GUIDE TO THE AV7 BURUSHO FILE

[This file is concerned with the Burusho, who are the inhabitants of Hunza and Nagir, two small Burushaski-speaking states in the northeasternmost part of Pakistan. They speak an isolated language which has not as yet been traced to any major linguistic stock. Since almost nothing has been written about Nagir, the file is basically on Hunza (the original of "Shangri-La"). Agriculture is the main occupation, with the major crops being wheat, barley, millet, potatoes, buckwheat and pulses. After grains and greens, the essential items of Hunza diet are apricots and mulberries. Some herding is done, mainly for milk and wool. Hunza is a stratified society, with a hereditary ruler, called the Tham or Mir and supposedly descended from Alexander the Great, with a total of six classes. The people of Hunza are Mohammedans of the Ismaili sect, while those of Nagir are members of the Shia sect. Contact with the outside world is quite limited, particularly since Pakistan has barred most travelers from the area because of its closeness to the Tibetan and Kashmir borders.

There are eight sources in the Burusho file, all of them in English. 1: Lorimer is a brief general source on the Kingdom of Hunza which concentrates on agricultural methods, food crops and the food supply. 2: Lorimer is a popular general account of Burusho ethnography which covers the main aspects of the culture. 3: Lorimer, 4: Lorimer and 5: Lorimer are parts of a three-volume linguistic work on the Burushaski language. 3: Lorimer contains an introduction and grammar, 4: Lorimer contains texts and translations, and 5: Lorimer contains vocabularies and an index. 6: O'Leary is a cultural summary based on the first five sources in the file. 7: Tobe, by an organic

gardener, contains a good deal of information on flora, agriculture, diet and general health conditions. 8: Clark is a study of the general health level of the Hunzukuts (inhabitants of Hunza) and debunks the stories of them living to the age of 120 to 140 years. In general the Burusho file is adequate for comparative purposes, although the information is skimpy in many categories. Linguistic data are relatively full and there is much folklore. No special marking decisions were made for the file, which was processed between 1955 and 1968.]

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India. It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

* *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

INTRODUCTION

THE LAND and the PEOPLE.

Burushaski, the main subject of the present work, is spoken in the States of Hunza and Nagir, which give a name to that tangle of snow-crowned mountains, long-drawn glaciers and deep-cut river beds that form the western extremities of the Karakoram and Kailās ranges of the Geographers. In elevation and ruggedness the tract may compare with any other portion of the earth's surface. The ground covered by the twin States is roughly defined by the lines 74° 10′ and 75° 40′ of East longitude and 36° and 37° 10′ of North latitude. Of this area the bulk falls to Hunza. Hunza marches on the North with Afghan and Chinese territory, from which it is divided by an immense mountain barrier traversable only by a few very high passes — the Irshad (16,060 ft.), the Kilik (15,600), the Mintaka (15,430) and the Khunjerāb.

The southern drainage from this range quickly assembles a few miles below Misgār to form the Hunza river, which proceeds southwards through the Hèrber or Gujhāl valley, or rather gorge. On its way the river receives reinforcement by tributaries from either side — the principal being the Batūra and Pasu glaciers on the West and the Shīmshāl valley on the East. About 15 miles East of Baltit, the capital of Hunza, the river changes to a general westerly course, and level with Baltit it receives on its left bank the waters of the Nagir river which represent the meltings of the

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

Buluki-ɣaj kor, "Bulūki's-path Cave", where she reared her family. 246.6. 103

Bululo. Name of a gorge up in the mountains above Haidarābād. 551

Bululom from Bālulo. 270.1, 350.5.

Burubedi. Name of a boy. 270.3.

Burulifłan. Name of the twin-brother of Pangchu (Kisar). 110.20, 144.16 ff. Death of 150.21.

Buri Burn. Name of a place, the "Silver Boulder". 234.2.

Buri Kotor. Name of a clan in Galmit. 272.16.

Burondo Bor. The "Ring Nullah", a tributary nullah on the left bank of the Hunza River a few miles above Bāltīt.

Burong. One of the "Four Clans" of Bāltīt. 268.1, 270.6, 302.8.

Burongłals. The territory of the Burōng Clan.

Burum Mow(als). The "White Mud-Flood" at Aliābād. 240.7,15.

Burum Pfut. The "White Div." 2.7 ff.

Burušaski, Borušaski, Borrišaski. The language of the Burūsho of Hunza and Nagir. I have been unable to get confirmation in either Hunza or Nagir of the term "Boorishki" used by Biddulph.

Burushaski is spoken in Nagir above Ghulmit. For its distribution in Hunza see Introduction Vol. I, p. XXXIV, where the facts given are mainly derived from the Census material of 1931. I was previously told (in 1924) that Burushaski was also spoken in Khaibar and Sost in Herbar, and Rāminj in Chupūrsan.

Burušo, Burušo, Burrišo, sg. *Burušin*. The people in Hunza and Nagir whose first language is Burushaski. They call themselves by this name. It is denied that the Burushaski-speaking people of Hunza and Nagir call themselves, or their language, "Yeshkun", as stated by Conway ("Climbing in the Himalayas", pp. 242—3) Classification of the Burūsho as "Yeshkun" by Biddulph (T. H. K. p. 38) is not supported by local practice, as indeed he admits. 101

At the present day the appelation *Yaškun* appears to be used only in differentiating the two main elements of the Shina-speaking population of the Gilgit and neighbouring regions, viz. the *Šin* and the *Yaškun*. See, however, the entries *yrš* and *Yrškunyu* in the Vocabulary, from which it would appear that a more general use of the term could be justified.

The word *Burušo* may be compared wiuh the first element of the words *Wəršagum*, and *Wərškuar* (*Wərčikuar*), the Khowar terms for Yasin and the Yasin dialect of Burushaski respectively. The Burushaski speakers of Yasin call themselves "Burūsho", and their language "Burushaski".

Sarat Chandra Das gives Tibetan "*Bru-tsha*" and "*Bru-sha*" as "the name of a country N. W. of Tibet".

Cp. also Jäschke, "*Bru-ža*", "*Bru-ša*".

Buzur Jamhur. A corruption of the Persian name, Buzurjmihr. 58.2 ff.

Buzurjmehr. 56.16 v. preceding entry.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 30

Who Are the Hunzans?

I HAVE HEARD the people of Hunza referred to as Hunzans, Hunzukuts, Hunzawals and Hunzas. They prefer to be called Hunzukuts. 101

However, in my writing I am referring to them as Hunzans. I do this strictly as a matter of simplification. I find it easy to say and easy to remember and I also believe it to be the most phonetical of all the terms given.

The Mir claims that the rulers of Hunza were and are direct descendants of Alexander the Great. I could find no proof to either confirm or refute this statement. But it is generally believed that not only the Mir, but the people of Hunza are descendants of Alexander or his soldiers. 643 173

It has been related by many writers that the Hunzans are not by appearance an Asian people. To that I will subscribe completely. They are definitely, in 144

nature of their homeland. 000

However, the Mir pointed out to me most clearly and emphatically that intermarriage among members of one tribe is absolutely forbidden. There are four tribes in the Baltit area and they can marry among these four tribes . . . Diramiting, Khorokoch, Borong, Barataling . . . but definitely not among their own tribe. 582 143 [101]

Lest this sounds like a difficult matter to hold in check, I want to explain that this is easier to control than may be imagined, for the simple reason that all marriages must be sanctioned and performed by the Mir. Therefore he positively knows who is marrying whom. [585]

However, even if this has been the rule for many hundreds of years, the total population of Hunza, even today, stands at something less than 25,000 souls and Lord Curzon in his memoirs states that in 1894, the total population of Hunza was only 6,000. Therefore, among so small a population, it is almost impossible for them to marry very far beyond a family relationship. (In 1934 it was estimated that the population had risen to 15,000.) 161 582 143

Let's put it in another way. If the people of Hunza have remained more or less a pure people for nigh on 1,000 years and the population today is only 25,000, there must have been fairly close intermarriages. Perhaps that would, as I mentioned, account for the similarity of features.

I want to stress, at this point, that I came to Hunza primarily to learn and study (1) about their health and longevity and (2) about their means and methods of agriculture. 121

Let's examine or re-examine a few of the more pertinent details of their unusual country. 000

Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

CHAPTER 49

Hunza vs. Nagir

184 AFTER I'VE had some time to think over the experiences of my visit to Hunza, I've been asked by others and I've also asked myself, "Is there any reason for the evident superiority of the Hunzans over the neighboring peoples?"

So I took the case of the people of Nagir, for example, and made comparisons with them. I'm not even sure whether that is a fair or proper means of comparison.

It seems somewhat strange to me that while the virtues of the people of Hunza were being extolled, the bad features or unredeeming qualities of the people of Nagir were being brought to the fore. So I took pains [101] to search and investigate and I came up with the fact that the people of Hunza and Nagir are of identical stock and that it was people originally from Hunza who populated Nagir.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Naqir

Therefore, it is my belief, one of the reasons for the Hunzan high standing throughout the world is due to the excellent quality of leadership that they have enjoyed for many years, and is being continued by the present Mir and his staff and family. 643

I don't want anyone to run off with the idea that everything I saw about the Hunzans impressed me or that I thought they were exceptional in every way, because that definitely is not true. I did then and I do today admire the people of Hunza for all the splendid qualities that make them outstanding people. Anyone who could live in the harsh, tough, back-breaking terrain of Hunza must be made of stern fiber. Yet they have their foibles and weaknesses as well. 123 114

You see there are no immigration rules or laws to stop them from going anywhere in that area . . . at least, there weren't until recently. They could have gone to China, India, Afghanistan, Russia, Pakistan or anywhere else where the pickings might have been easier. But their love of freedom and intelligence that told them they were better off than most people in the world, even though financially poorer, kept them on the mountain slopes that are the banks of the Hunza. 486

No book on Hunza would be complete to even a small degree, unless some mention was made of the fact that it was not always known as Hunza. In fact, back before the turn of the twentieth century, Hunza was known as Kanjut and the people as the Kanjuts. 101

From records that I have located, I learned that, when the rulers of Shignam came to Hunza, they called the valley Kanjut. That name remained until the time of the Girkis and they called the country Hunza, because all of the people were united like the arrows in a quiver. In the Burushaski language Hunza means "arrow."

[P. 39-C]

123 pull them out with my fingers. Bohar
164 gasped, then relaxed as the extraction permitted the abscesses at the roots to drain more freely."

101 This was in Hunza, the small, moun-
131 tainous, Central Asiatic kingdom
121 bordering on China, Kashmir, and Afghanistan, about which there has been recurring publicity, characterizing the land as a Shangri-La peopled by men and women of extraordinary
121 health and longevity. Since the beginning of man's role as a traveler, tales of far-off earthly paradises have been brought home to entertain the untraveled. No matter how many such El Dorados perish under examination, the next is inevitably welcomed into the lists with unblemished credulity.

[text continues on p. 40-B]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

DĀRDISTĀN—*continued.*

	Government.	Prevailing Races or Castes.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
HUNZA ..	Ruled by Raja Ghazan Khān, son of Ghazanfar. (Raja's family, Ayeshia.)	Yashkun	All Molāi.	Here slaves are both kept and dealt in.
ISHKOMAN, or CHATARKUN	Belongs to Yāsin	Yashkun	Molāi.	
YĀSIN ..	Ruled by Raja Mīr Walī, son of Gaur Rahmān. (Raja's family, Bakhte.)	Yashkun	Molāi and Sunī, the former predominating; no Shīa.	
CHITRĀL and MASTŪJ.	Ruled by Raja Imān-ul-Mulk. (Raja's family, Katorī.)	Yashkun	Sunī.	
GOĪJĀL in BADAKHSHĀN	Dependent on the Mīr or Prince of Badakhshān (tributary to Kābul).	Wākhik*	Molāi.	
DĀREL ..	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun	Sunī.	In these, captives of war are kept as slaves; slave-dealing is not practised.
TANGĪR ..	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun		
GOR	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun	Sunī.	
THALĪCHA ..	Republic.			
CHILĀS ..	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun		
KOLĪ	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun		
PĀLUS ..	Republic	Shīn and Yashkun		

The first five divisions I have already treated of as fully as I was able. We now come to the countries that surround Gilgit.

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Maharaja, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

The people of Nagar are called Khajanī.

Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Maharaja, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Raja sent an agent to Sirīnagar to open friendly relations, who was well received; I do not know

* I have never met any of these people, but I believe them to be Dārda. Goīje is another name by which they are called; that is the territorial name, while Wākhik is the caste name.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B 648 what since has occurred, but there seemed to me to be no likelihood of close friendship.

B 101 The people of Hunza are called Hunzije.

D 101 The people of *Ishkoman*, or *Chatarkun*, are called Ishkomanije, or Chatarkune.

As to *Yāsīn*, the most that we know of it has been told by Mr. Hayward *; I can add little to that. The people of Yāsīn are called Pure.

D 487 Here are some notes, taken from hearsay, of the roads that lead out of Yāsīn:

Yāsīn to Mastūj; Three Roads.

(1) By Shaver, five or six marches; it can be traversed by men all the year round; for horses it is difficult in winter, but is not altogether closed for them, or if it is, then only for fifteen days or so at a time, until the snow has hardened; also it is bad for horses for a fortnight in spring.

(2) By Tūī, three marches; the Pass crossed the second day.

(3) By Nazba, three marches; the Pass crossed the second day.

Both these are closed for traffic by the end of October.

Probably the marches are of 20 miles each.

Yāsīn by Shaver and Tangīr to Swāt;

A five days' journey they say; but I think these are long marches: it may be 120 miles.

Yāsīn to Badakhshān.

This road is the one which Mr. Hayward was taking when he met with his death.

The Pass closes for horses at the end of October, while for two months it remains closed for all traffic. There is a glacier on the north side, but horses can go over it, avoiding the crevasses.

D 101 The people of Chitrāl are called Katare.

361 642 *Dārel.* This has seven fort-villages in a valley about a mile and a half wide; the cultivation, I was told, is continuous along

* Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, 1870.

4: Durand C-3 (1888-93) 1900 . AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the finest stretch is just below the fort of the chief, and extends for some six and a half miles in length with a width of from a mile to a mile and a half, the whole of the land being irrigated. This main stretch of arable land, which is studded with villages, lies at an altitude of eight thousand feet, and faces south, and the climate here is delightful. Further up the valley lie scattered patches of cultivation, getting poorer and poorer as the altitude increases. The mountains enclosing the valley are very precipitous even for the Hindu-Kush; wood and grazing for cattle are therefore unusually scarce, and the people suffer in consequence. The clothing of the people is practically the same both in Hunza and Nagar as it is in Chitral, and has been described before,[1] the only difference being that the men's stockings are not knitted in such elaborate patterns, and that, as a general rule, the woollen outer robe is, in Hunza especially, more often white than brown. All, except on State occasions when the higher ranks don the turban, wear the Dard head-dress. This is a long bag of brown woollen cloth rolled back on itself till it forms a cap, which is one fold thick on the top, with a border an inch or so thick round the head. It makes a light, warm, and delightfully comfortable head-dress, but is a very poor protection against severe sun.

Nagar, as most of the surrounding people and the inhabitants themselves generally call it, though they also pronounce the word Nagér, and the scientific, for some cause best known to themselves, insist on spelling it *Nagyr*, is a smaller State than Hunza. The population is about the same,[2] and is composed of Yeshkuns, professing themselves Shiahs, but very

[1] [Cf. pp. 59, 75, 102, category 116 -- Analyst] [2] [ca. 10,000 -- Analyst]

~~20~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name of Kunjoot is given to Hunza, though this name is not in use among the inhabitants themselves, nor among any of the people dwelling south of the Hindoo Koosh. The name, according to the pronunciation of the inhabitants themselves, is more properly Hunzoo. In ancient times it was called Challaj Bultum, a name which has now fallen into disuse. 101

The ruling family of Hunza is called Ayeshé (heavenly), from the following circumstance. The two states of Hunza and Nager were formerly one, ruled by a branch of the Shahreis, the ruling family of Gilgit, whose seat of government was Nager. Tradition relates that Mayroo Khan, apparently the first Mahommedan Thum of Nager some 200 years after the introduction of the religion of Islamin to Gilgit, married a daughter of Trakhan of Gilgit, who bore him twin sons named Moghlot and Girkis. From the former the present ruling family of Nager is descended. The twins are said to have shown hostility to one another from their birth. Their father, seeing this and unable to settle the question of succession, divided his state between them, giving to Girkis the north, and to Moghlot the south, bank of the river. 173

Age did not diminish their enmity, and Girkis, while out hunting, was one day killed by an adherent of Moghlot, a native of Haramosh, named Mogul Beg, who under pretence of a quarrel with Moghlot took service with Girkis, and persuading him to look up at some game on the cliff above him, drove an arrow into his throat. Girkis left only a daughter, who, according to the custom of the country, became Queen or Ganish of Hunza. Her first care was to avenge her father's death. The tradition relates that having sworn to tear the murderer's liver with her teeth, she carried out her vow to the letter. Left without a chaperon, she was not long without getting into a scrape, as young ladies in similar circumstances are apt to do. The young prince Kamal Khan of Nager, a younger son of Moghlot, crossed the river by night, serenaded her, and won her heart. Night after night the lovers met, unknown to the rest of the world, till serious consequences ensued; and one fine day it was announced in Hunza that, though Providence had not yet provided the princess with a husband, it had seen fit to bless her with a son. Morals in Hunza are not of the strictest even now, so that few questions were asked, and the good people generally contented themselves with beating their drums, dancing, and the usual festivities proper on the occasion of the birth of the prince Chiliss Khan. Kamal Khan seems to have

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

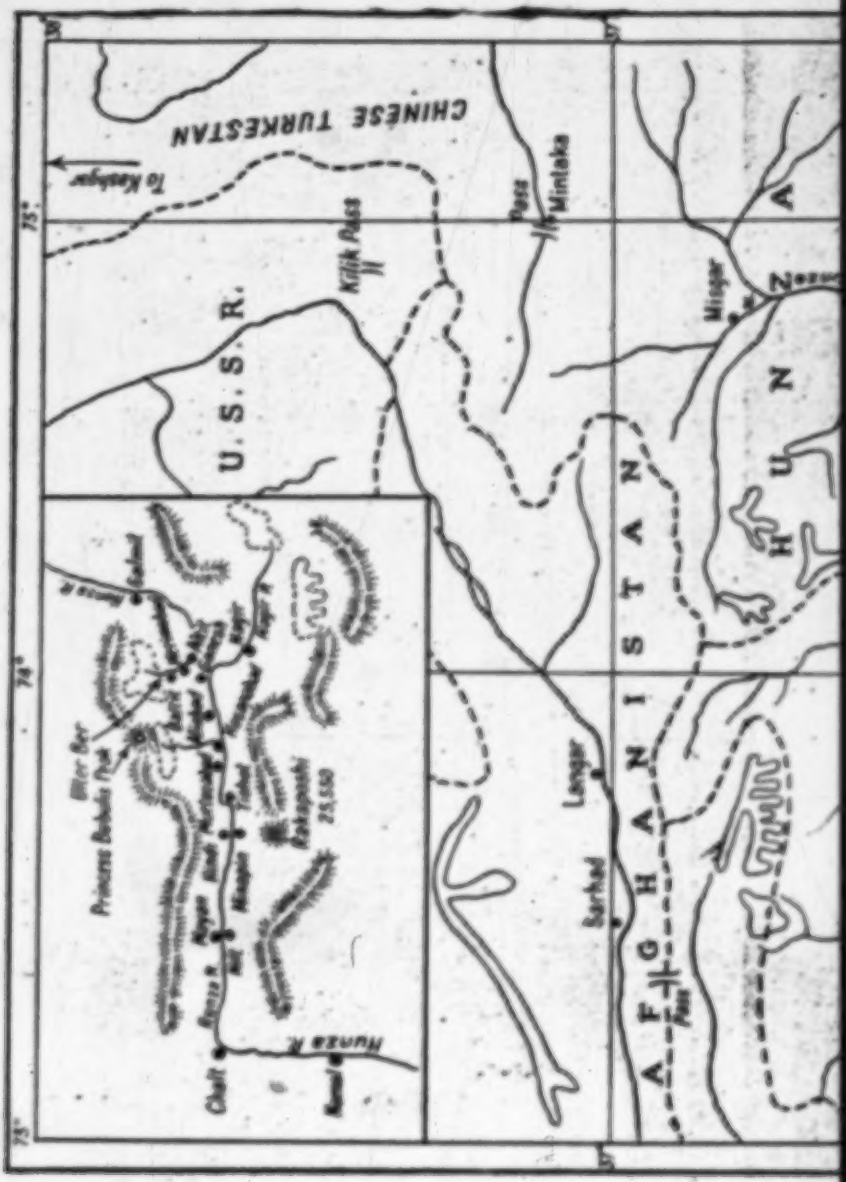
342 The Hunza dwelling house is a fortress-like cube of stone and mud whose front door is screened from the hostile outer air by a barn,

102

342 the door of which is strategically placed at right angles to, and some
354 distance from, the main door. The only ventilation is the central
171 smoke-hole of highly elaborate construction, three wooden frames

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushe AV7

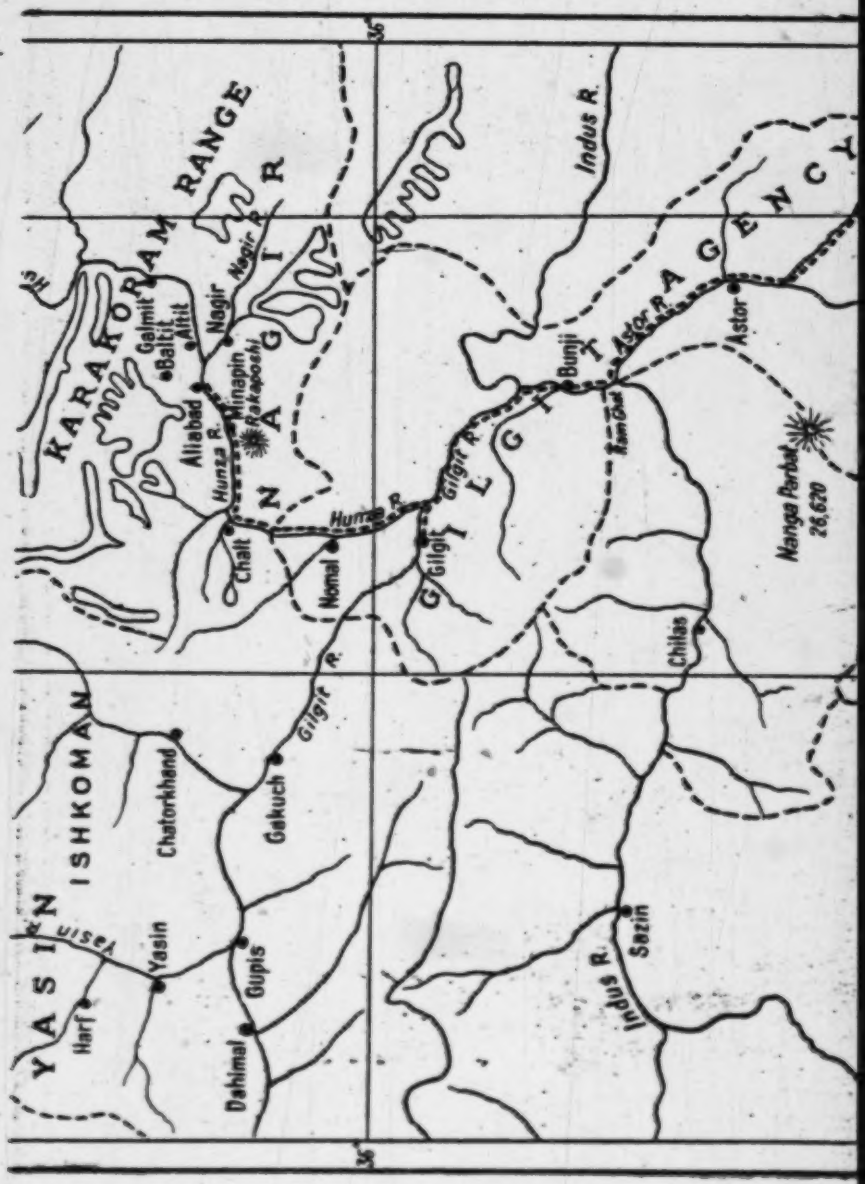
• 102



End Map (1)

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

• 102



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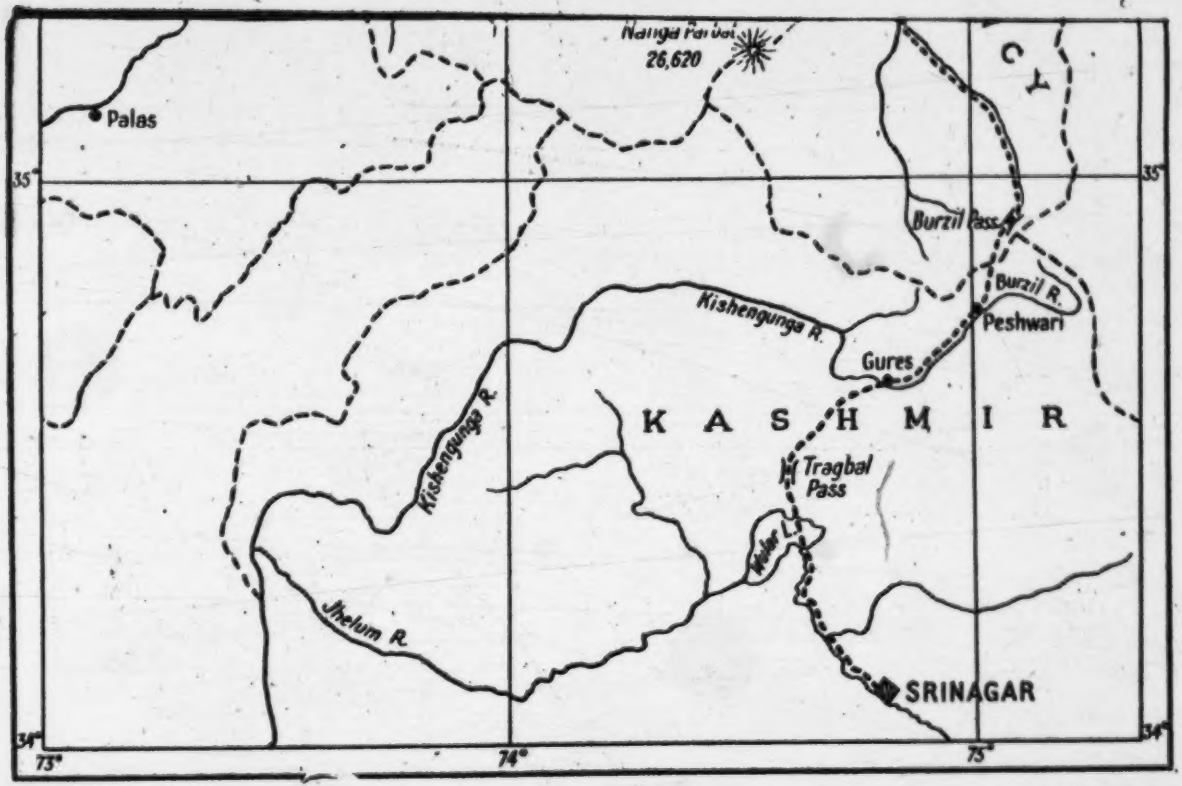

End Map (3)

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Printed in Great Britain

For use in the book "Language Hunting in the Karakoram," published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London

32 Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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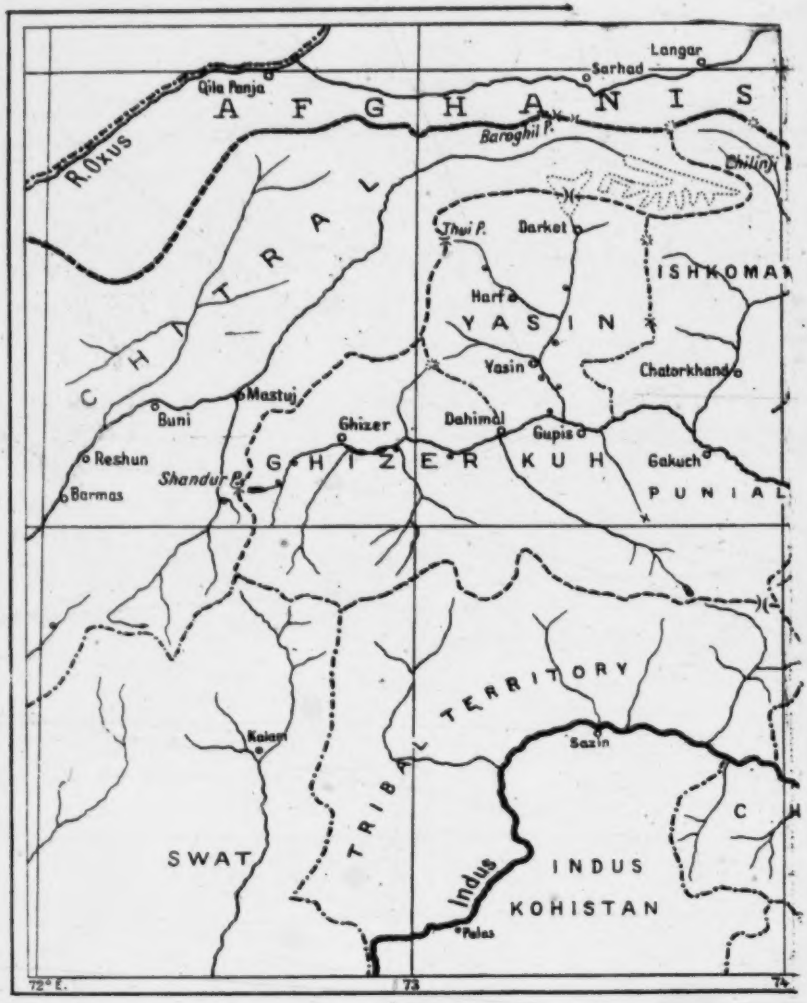

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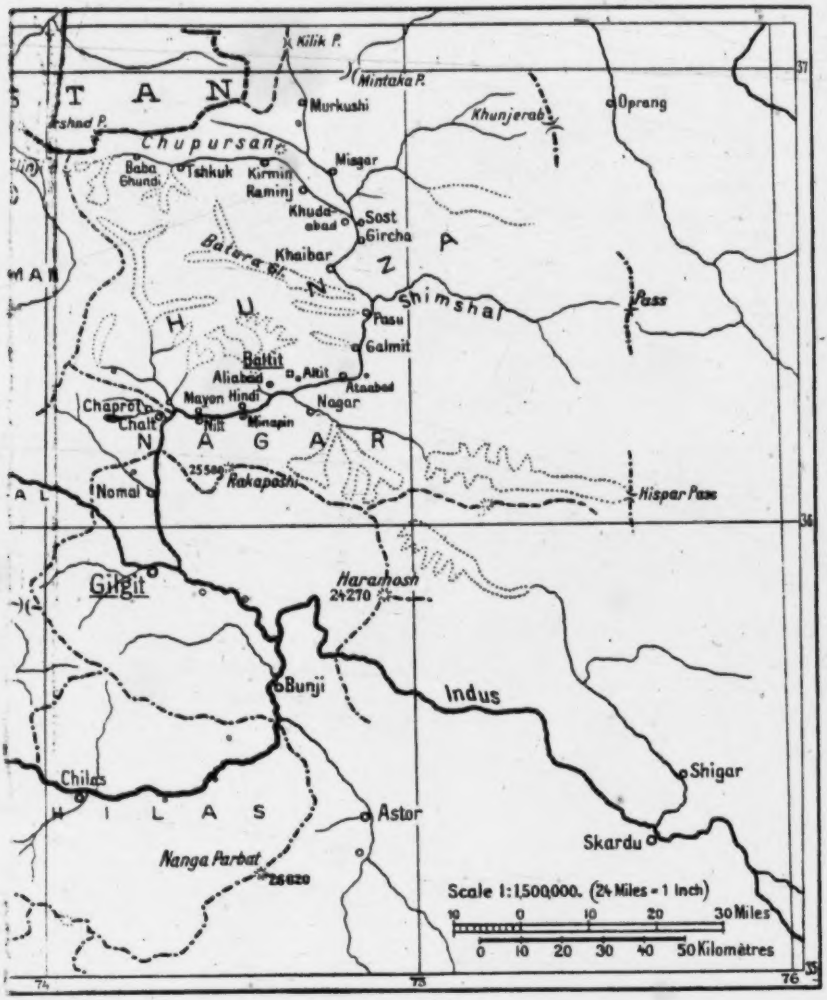
3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

●102



End Map (B)

5:Lorimer L-3 (1920-4;1934-5)1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

A and A.

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Aba Čoxtuŋ. 102.17.
Aba Dombu, Ab'Adombu. 102.2, 108.5, 144.6, 146.18 ff.
Aba Kituŋ, Aba Kituŋ. 102.13, 110.22 ff., 144.7.
Abdul MutAlib. 88.22 ff.
Abul Fani. 380.20.
Abul Fais. 380.20.
Aeš Maiyure Thum v. *Aiyešo M. T.*
Aga Xan. The Āghā Khān, the spiritual head of the Maulāi (i. e. Isma'ili) sect, 314.14, 330.5.
Ali.abad. A large, scattered village in Hunza, 4 miles downstream from Bāltīt on the right bank of the river. 296.6, 238.11, 240.9 ff., 318.4, 352.11.
Ali.abadkuts. The people of Aliābād. 318.9, 350.2.
AlqAš. Wazir of King Kubād. 48.1 ff., 82.22.
Altit, Alti. A village in Hunza about a mile east of Bāltīt, on the right bank of the river. It has an old fort, now unoccupied, and is said to have been originally the capital of the country.
Altitum belonging to Āltīt. 322.9.
Kisar is said to have lived at one time in Āltīt. 142.22.
Altīt is the scene of celebrations connected with various festivals. 186.10, 208.6, 238.1, 318.3, 330.8.
Altitkuts, Altikuts. The people of Āltīt. 318.8, 330.8, 350.1.
Aman i Mulk. The "Great Mehtar" of Chitral, died in 1892. 344.12.
Angrez, Angriz. English, British.
Sarkar Angrez. The British, or British-Indian Government, British Authorities. 196.9, 344.18.
AqtAš. 290.1. (Turki: *Aq*, white; *tAš*, stone).
ArAb. Arab; Arab country. 88.23.
AsAdullah Big. A Wazir of Hunza, son of Pūno Wazīr. 344.2, 352.7 ff.
AštAne. Name of a man. 382.6.

5. Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

103
551

Ata.abad. A village in Hunza about 10 miles upstream from Bāltīt on the right bank of the river. 348.12.

Azer. Chitrāl(?).

Azer Jamšed v. *Hazir Jamšed*

Azuwarīski (*baṛ*). The Chitrāli (language), i.e. Khowār.

Aiyešo Malik. 218.1 ff.

Aiyešo Maiyuri Tham, Aiyeš M. T., A.eš M. T. 238.8 ff., 236.7, v. entry *Boxar Tham* and Biddulph "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh" pp. 27—8.

I, *I*.

Ibrahim Paiγambər. The "Prophet" Abraham. 92.8.

Iram. Persia. 34.5 ff.

Irkīši . A nullah between Bāltīt and the Haidarābād Nullah. 268.3.

Iršad, Iršad. A pass at the head of the Chupūrsan Valley connecting Hunza and Wakhān. 284.17, 344.13.

Iskandər Azəmo, Iskandər Badša. Alexander the Great. He is supposed to have visited Hunza, and according to one story two Hunza personages, Dīram Tītang and Dīram Moghul are said to have been in his company.

The terms "*baba*" and "*zizi*" are said to date from his time. 208.3.

Islam. 92.6.

Iškašəm. The district of Ishkāshim. 332.5,

Iškuk. A locality in the Chupūrsan Valley, a few miles below the shrine of Bābā Ghwundi. 280.8.

Captain C. J. Morris was given the name as "*Yashkuk*", v. JRGS Vol. LXXI, No. 6, June 1928.

U, Ū.

Ultər, Ūltər. The grazing ground inside the Bāltīt Nullah. Explained as *ul(o)* + *ter* "the inside grazing ground", in which case the expression, *Ultəre ter.* 256.1 is tautological. *Ultəre Bər* the Ūltar Nullah. 292.2. *ultaron* from Ūltar. 248.9, 256.8.

These grounds originally belonged to the Hamachātīng tribe of Ganish, but they were eventually dispossessed in favour of the Khūrukuts, Barātalīng and Dirāmitīng. Later they were appropriated by the Thams of Hunza. 226.1, 246.9,20, 256.1 ff., 350.3.

Ūsengots, Ūsemots, Ūsengomots, Hosengots. Name of the tribe who originally occupied Āltīt, but were destroyed by Shābōs. 236.2,8.

Some survivors are included in the Rōno caste.

According to one account they are reputed to have been left in Hunza, along with the Hamachātīng and the Tapkhients, by Alexander the Great "when on his way back from China". 238.2,10.

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Uyum Das. "The Big Plain", described as "an open space between Nagir and Āltīt and near the latter". Perhaps the tongue of land in the bottom of the valley between the Hunza and Nagir rivers, just above their junction, is the place referred to. 204.11.

B.

Baba Γwundi. The name of a Muslim saint (in full: B. Γ. Mord Wali) and of the locality of his grave and shrine, near the head of the Chupūrsan Valley. For further particulars v. 284.10 and 286.19 ff.

Stone suitable for whetstones, and also lead ore and coloured earths are said to be found in the neighbourhood.

Balowski (*baš*). Balti (language), v. *Balo.*

(Cp. Sh. *Palev* Baltistan, *Palowyo* (adj). Balti).

Baltit, Baltit. The capital of Hunza, situated at the mouth of the Ūltare Bar on the cultivated terrace which extends 5 or 6 miles westwards to the Hasanābād Nullah. It is on the right bank of the Hunza River, roughly level with where it is joined by the Nagir River, but at some distance from the river and some hundreds of feet above it.

The dominating feature is the Mir's residence, a fort said to have been built five or six hundred years ago by people from Bāltistān. This stands on an elevation and the huts of the lesser inhabitants cluster below it.

The situation is a strong one, as behind it rise the mountains which are practically impassable, and on the East there is a perpendicular drop of some hundreds of feet to the bed of the Ūltar stream.

On the further (E.) side of the latter stream there is also a cultivated terrace, at the further end of which Āltīt stands, but this terrace is at a considerably lower elevation than the site of Bāltīt.

Abl. *Baltittum.* 208.5, 186.3, *Baltitum.* 212.21.

Adj. *Baltitum.* 258.1.

Loc. *Baltitulo.* 250.1.

Hunzo *Baltit.* Bāltīt in Hunza. 276.12.

The Seed-Sowing festival. 208.1 ff.

Water Supply. 350—352.

Water Supply, increased by Saiyid Shāh Wali. 292.

Clans at Bāltīt. 252.19, 238.1, 248.28, 270.5.

Celebration of Naurōz. 316—318, of Gināni. 326 ff.

Baltitkuts. The people of Bāltīt. 318.7, 350.3.

Baqi Kutor. A clan settled in Shīmshāl. 272.12.

Bare Dan. A tract at Khaibar (in the Upper Hunza valley), lying to the South of the "Northern Gate". 222.2.

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Baxtek. Name of a man. 88.13 ff.
Baxti. Name of a man. 272.9, 274.8.
Baxtiar. Name of a man. 88.9.
Baxt i Jamal. Name of a man. 48.1.
Baxti Kutor. Name of a clan settled in Shīmshāl. 272.2,14.
Balo. Bāltistān. 384.19. (Cp. *Baloski* and Sh. *Pale*).
Balots. Bāltis, people of Bāltistān. 274.7.
Baltistan. Bāltistān. 274.1,6.
Bani Hašim. The family of the Prophet Muḥammad. 92.2.
Bapo. A son of the Tham, Ghazan Khān. 344.11.
Bər'ataale. The territory of the Barātalīng clan. 200.1.
Bər'atalin, Bəratalin. One of the "Four Clans of Bāltit". Shadun Kapūri was a Barātalīng woman married to a man of the Khūrukuts v. 258.3.
Kulio Laskir (200.9) was of this tribe.
At one time they shared the Ūltar grazing-grounds with the Khūrukuts and the Dirāmitīng. 258.5.
Dances at marriage festivals. 302.9.
Bərbər. Name of a place in Ūltar(?).
Cave. 226.7. Irrigation Channel. 350.3. 352.6.
Bərča. Name of the Wazir of Shīri Badat. 384.4,19.
Baseŋ Gaisri. A former Tham of Nagir. 276.1 ff.
The name is also given as *Maseŋ*.
Baturra. Nullah and glacier which debouch from the West into the valley of the Hunza River just above Pasu.
B'eričo, sg. *Berits*, an alien people, calling themselves *Dum'a*, who are settled in small numbers in Hunza and Nagir. They serve the community as blacksmiths and musicians. They have an Indo-Aryan language of their own, but also speak Burushaski fluently. [563]
B'erišale. The territory of the Bēricho. 250.11.
Bibi Anjir. Name of a woman. 364.10.
Bidiro Mal. The "Round Field", a field belonging to the village of Sumaiyar. 198.9.
Bir'aldo Bər. A valley and glacier, formerly traversable, between Shīmshāl and Bāltistān. For present conditions v. "Unknown Karakoram" by R. C. F. Schomberg. 1936.
Boxar Tham. A king of Haihaiyūl (Hunza). He is mentioned with Shāh Tham, Nōni Tham and Lali Tham as contemporaneous kings (or members of the ruling family?) of Hunza, expelled and supplanted by Kisar. 142.16.
Biddulph, in his genealogical table of the Nagir and Hunza royal families ("Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh", p. 135) begins with

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Noori thum.
|
Bookha thum.
|
Shat thum.
|
Lalli thum.
|
Maiyroo thum.
|
Moghlot. — Girkis.

The authorised version of the Hunza family at the present day is:
Shah Malik (descended from Azur Jamshèd).

Trakhan. — Chilis Khān. — Shah Tham. — Bukho Tham. — Lali Tham.

Girkis (Tham of Hunza). — Mughlōt (Tham of Nagir).
|
Maiyūri. — Nūr Bēgum.
|
Ayasho.

551 *Boryo.* V. Vocab. s.v. *borin.*

103 *Boryo Gal.* "The Bōyo Juniper Tree". 214.2.

Brunkapardono. The name of a supernatural Golden Calf, birth of 104.22, hunting of 120.22, 124.2, 132.9 ff., death of 134.5. (In Sh. *dorno* = bull).

Bura Gan. "The Cow's Road", name of a track leading out of Ūltar above Bāltīt. 248.1.

Burbuli Gas. Princess Būbuli — a Princess of Haibaiyūl married by Kisar. 142.21 ff. Proposal that Kisar should marry her. 184.1.

Burbulimutiŋ. Būbuli's Peak; name of a mountain peak in the form of an aiguille, close to Bāltīt and to the N. W. of it. Pronounced:
Burbuli Mutiŋ, but the *-mu-* is the fem. gen. suffix, not the Pn.pf. with *tiŋ* peak. 142.28.

Budol's Kutor. Name of a clan in Galmīt. 272.18.

Bulčidas. Name of a locality in Gujbāl near Galmīt. 386.8.
(Probably *bul* + *či* (= *tsi*) + *das* the open ground at the spring).

Bulčutorko. 1. Name of a man who stole gold from a *ḍaŋalathas.* 204.1 ff.
2. (*Bulčathoko*) name of a man who knew the language of birds and fetched Sumalik to succeed Hazir Jamshèd as Tham of Gilgit. 386.4,6.

Bul Das. A place near Gilgit. 382.21, 386.5,6.

Bul Mal. "Spring-Field", name of a piece of land near Bāltīt. 246.12.

Bulwki. Name of a Hamachātīng girl who married Dīram Chūram, the sole survivor of the Tapkhiènts, and so originated the Dirāmitīng. 248.18 ff.

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Buluki ɣaḷ kur, "Bulūki's-path Cave", where she reared her family. 246.6. 103

Bululo. Name of a gorge up in the mountains above Haidarābād. 551

Bululum from Bālulo. 270.1, 350.5.

Burubadi. Name of a boy. 270.3.

Burmliftan. Name of the twin-brother of Pangchu (Kisar). 110.20, 144.16 ff.
Death of 150 21.

Buri Bun. Name of a place, the "Silver Boulder". 234.2.

Buri Kutor. Name of a clan in Galmīt. 272.18.

Burondo Bor. The "Ring Nullah", a tributary nullah on the left bank of the Hunza River a few miles above Bāltīt.

Burong. One of the "Four Clans" of Bāltīt. 268.1, 270.6, 302.8.

Burongāle. The territory of the Burōng Clan.

Burum Mos(ale). The "White Mud-Flood" at Aliābād. 240.7,15.

Burum Pfut. The "White Dīv." 2.7 ff.

Burušaski, Borošaski, Borušaski. The language of the Burūsho of Hunza and Nagir. I have been unable to get confirmation in either Hunza or Nagir of the term "Boorishki" used by Biddulph.

Burushaski is spoken in Nagir above Ghulmit. For its distribution in Hunza see Introduction Vol. I, p. XXXIV, where the facts given are mainly derived from the Census material of 1931. I was previously told (in 1924) that Burushaski was also spoken in Khaibar and Sost in Herbar, and Rāminj in Chupūrsan.

Burušo, Burušo, Burušo, sg. *Burušin*. The people in Hunza and Nagir whose first language is Burushaski. They call themselves by this name. It is denied that the Burushaski-speaking people of Hunza and Nagir call themselves, or their language, "Yeshkun", as stated by Conway ("Climbing in the Himalayas", pp. 242—3) Classification of the Burūsho as "Yeshkun" by Biddulph (T. H. K. p. 38) is not supported by local practice, as indeed he admits. 101

At the present day the appelation *Yaškun* appears to be used only in differentiating the two main elements of the Shina-speaking population of the Gilgit and neighbouring regions, viz. the *Šin* and the *Yaškun*. See, however, the entries *yeš* and *Yeškuyu* in the Vocabulary, from which it would appear that a more general use of the term could be justified.

The word *Burušo* may be compared with the first element of the words *Wəršogum*, and *Wəršikwar* (*Wəršikwar*), the Khowar terms for Yasin and the Yasin dialect of Burushaski respectively. The Burushaski speakers of Yasin call themselves "Burūsho", and their language "Burushaski".

Sarat Chandra Das gives Tibetan "*Bru-tsha*" and "*Bru-sha*" as "the name of a country N. W. of Tibet".

Cp. also Jäschke, "*Bru-ža*", "*Bru-ša*".

Buzur Jamhur. A corruption of the Persian name, Buzurjmihr. 58.2 ff.

Buzurjmihr. 56.16 v. preceding entry.

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Č and Čh.

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Čarrəambi Kutor. Name of a clan in Galmīt. 272.18.

Čəča Hər. Name of a place near Galmīt. 336.9.

Čhhalt. Name of a village in the lower part of Nagir, situated in a considerable open tract of ground on the right bank of the river, where it turns to the south. 276.4.

Čaman Gul. Name of a place near Galmīt. 336.6.

Čangi H'irpal. Name of Pangchu's (alias, Kisar's) horse. 122.7, 124.3, 156.17, 162.16.

Čaprot. Name of a nullah and settlement in lower Nagir. The nullah debouches from the West into the main valley at Chhalt. It provides the water for Chhalt cultivation. 228.1. 227.12.

Čə' Gazi, Čthil Gazi x. The "Forty Yards", name of a Jinn or Dīv who lived at Khaibar. 222.1 ff.

The measurement perhaps refers to his stature, but in that case his seven cubit stick would be too short. Prs.

Čin. China, Chinese territory. 344.21, 386.20.

Čitrar. Chitrāl. 344.15, 346.1.

Čorro Nur Ša. Nūr Shā, son of Chōro. 296.5.

Čupursan, Čupursan y. An open valley leading down from the Chilinji and Irshad Passes, and proceeding eastwards till it joins the valley of the Hunza River above Gircha. 280.1, 284.13 ff., 384.13.

Čuram. V. Dīram Chūram.

D.

Dəyur. Sh. *Dāiyor*, a place on the left bank at the junction of the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers, close to Gilgit. 380.21.

Dadi. Name of a Bilas who lived at Hīndi. 192.1 ff.

Daltas Manuko. A son of Sīng of Hīndi. 260.13 ff.

(In Sh. *manuko* = frog).

Dantsile Bun. The "Sulphur-Boulder", at Murtazābād.

Dərbušo. Son of Pfaqīr 'Alī. 180.2 ff.

Dašaman Xurdik. Fifth son of Dīram Chūram. 246.4.

Datu Siŋ. Name of the man who succeeded to Khamar's land. 252.16.

Datu Siŋkuts, his descendants.

Dəqoni Pir, Dehkan Pir. The prophet Khizr. 328.7, 332.3.

Di.emor. Local name of the mountain, Nanga Parbat. The form in Sh. is *Di.amər.* 134.9.

Diramišale, Dir'amišale. The territory of the Dirāmitīng clan. 216.6.

619 *Diramitiŋ, Dir'amitiŋ.* Name of one of the "Four Clans" of Bāltit, among whom they take precedence. They were said to number about 100 households (excluding the Tharakuts section?).

These four clans are individually exogamous, but intermarry with each other. Endogamy is said formerly to have entailed penalties and expulsion.

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619 Nowadays though rare, it does not appear to be penalised. The Four Clans are not now confined to Bāltīt, but also form part of some of the Thuānts settlements.

The Dirāmiting are the descendants of Diram Chūram, the sole survivor of the Thapkiènts (V. 248.33 and 238 ff.) and are spoken of as the "seed", i.e. descendants, of the original population of Hunza. 348.1.

They are said to have resided originally in Shīshpar, where they succeeded no doubt to the lands of the Thapkiènts, but to have also cultivated land in Bāltīt which is now their headquarters.

At the time of the quarrel between the Khūrukuts and the Hamachāting they were still living in Shīshpar, but after acting as arbitrators they obtained rights in Ūltar. 258.4 ff.

Darbèsh, who had the adventure with Mūnulum Dādo (180.2), was a member of the Dirāmiting, who at that time also were resident in Shīshpar.

A member of the clan in later days was Karamo Darbèsh. 214.1.

The mention of the Dirāmiting at 238.2 appears to be anachronistic.

For the part played by the Dirāmiting at the Bopfau V. 208—72, at the annual celebration of marriages. 300.13, and 302.7, at the Ōdi. 322.

The Dirāmiting are not liable to do gold-washing. 348.1 ff.

103 *Dov Khan.* Name of a village adjoining Aliābād on the East.

551 *Dumani.* A mountain in Nagir to the South of Ghulmit the "Rakaposhi" of the maps.

Duŋpa Miru. Father-in-law of Kisar's mother. 100.5 ff.

F.

Faizu. Son of Wazīr Asadullah Bèg. 344.4.

G.

Gan Siŋge. A re-incarnation of Būmlīftan. 176.20.

Galdaŋ Galpo. The name of a "Pfūt" or demon. 174.19.

(Cp. Tib. *rgyal-po*, king).

Galmit. The principal village in Gujhāl, or Hèrbar. It is situated on the right bank of the Hunza River about 20 miles above Bāltīt. The inhabitants are of Wakhi origin and talk Wakhi as their first language.

For the Galmītum Rōm, the clans of Galmīt, v. 272.

Ganiš, Ganeš, Ganiš. One of the three original villages of Hunza, the other two being Bāltīt and Āltīt.

It is situated on a terrace below and to the south of Bāltīt, between it and the Hunza River. According to one account it was founded by Shīshkīn, a lame man of the Khitāi. It was occupied by the Hamachāting before the time of Azur Jamshed. 236.1 ff., 238.2.

Ganišum. Abl. and Adj. 246.20, 322.9.

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Bulchutōko's grave at. 206.15.
Bilas at. 190.1 ff.
Diram Chūram. 244.10 ff.
Trangfa of. 318.2.
Twin Calves. 354.1 ff.
Water Supply. 352.10 ff.
Ashtanē's descendants. 382.7.

Ganiškuts. The people of Ganish. 318.6, 350.1.

Gantsupər. A locality in the mountain range which separates the Hunza and Nagir Rivers for some miles before their junction, and opposite Atā.abād. 204.3, 206.6.

Gər'ełt. A village close to the right bank of the Hunza River, below and level with Haidarābād. 204.2, 206.4. Marble is said to be found there.

Gər'ełtum Hərary. The "Garełt Tribe", a name applied to certain water-birds, black with long beaks, that sit and fly in lines (cormorants?), said to have been originally human inhabitants of Garełt. 206.12.

Gərib. A man of the Dirāmiting Clan. 208.8.

G'ərmʌh'ałmʌs, Gər Mʌhał Mʌs. The name of a goldsmith and blacksmith. 162.12 ff. (Cp. perhaps Tib. *mgar* smith).

Gilit, Giłt- y *Gilgit.*

gote Giłt(t)sum. From this Gilgit (here). 204.1.
Giłtum Thamu.s. The Gilgit Thams. 280.1.
Gil'it Yʌčh'ini. The Gilgit Yachini. 222.6.
Gil'itər. To Gilgit. 222.11.
Gilt-ołu, -ər, -e, -ʌfər. 376.1, 278.8, 380.9,10, 382.10.
(Sh. *Gil'it, Giłt-*).

[173] *Girkts.* The first Tham of Hunza after the political separation of Hunza and Nagar. His brother Mughlōt similarly became the first Tham of Nagar. They are the immediate progenitors of the two existing Royal Families.

Biddulph gives the parents of the brothers as Maiyroo Tham and a daughter of Trakhan, himself a descendant of Shīri Badat's daughter and Azur Jamshēd. In genealogical tables in my possession they are variously shown as the sons of Shā Tham and Lali Tham. The claims of the latter are at present favoured. Cp. the entry under *Baxa Tham* above, Biddulph T. H. K. pp. 24, and 135, and the addendum to the notes on Text XLVII.

Gohər. A man's name. 364.13.

Gu.iski. Adj. Wakhi. *gu.iski* (*ba*) the Wakhi language.

Gu'its, pl. *Gu'iṡo.* Wakhi (man). 338.9.

Guwʌči. Name of a locality and small village on the Nagar and Gilgit-Wazārat boundary, on the right bank of the Hunza River between Chhalt and Nomal. Abl. *Guw'ʌčim, Guw'ʌčitsum.* 276.5.

Guyo Bun. "Gūyo's Boulder" near Ganish, Gūyo being the name of a man. 190.10.

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Γ.

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Γaduꞷ. The name of a man. 384.1.

Γatoꞷiŋ. The name of a man.

pfilamiciŋ gatanꞷraꞷ Γatoꞷiŋ. Gh. the pattu-fuller.

jamiꞷp(t)ꞷ dukuꞷγanaꞷ Puꞷno Γatoꞷiŋ (you are) Gh. son of Puno, who work yourself to death for others, i.e. you are a self-sacrificing altruist.

Γaꞷan Xan. 1. A former Tham of Hunza, father of the present Mir, Sir Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān. He was murdered at the instigation of his eldest son, Safdar 'Ali, who succeeded him. 344.8,14.

2. The present Mir's eldest son and heir.

Γaṭam Sor. The name of a place. 388.9.

Γulmit. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river, between Nilt and Minapin. 294.22, 276.3.

Γulmitkuts. The people of Ghulmit. 294.21.

Γulwa Kago. The name of a man of the Ghulwāting. 200.10,13 note.

Γulwaṭiŋ. A section of the Burōng Clan, whose ancestor is said to have come from Puniāl, or, according to others, from Gōr. The living (1924) notables, Muhammad Rafi' and Zarparast belong to it. 200.10.

Γund, Γuund. A place stated as being in Wakhān. 286.21.

Perhaps Ghūnd in Shughnān is intended).

Γuno. The name of a woman. 232.11.

H.

Haclasa Boin. Name of a supernatural being. 250.10.

Haꞷzir Jamšed, Azur Jamšed. Supplanter and successor of Shīri Badat as King of Gilgit. An ancestor of the present Royal Families of Hunza, Nagar and Gilgit. 380.20.

Habaš. Abyssinia. 66.4.

Hakuꞷcar. Name of a place in Nagar, below the Phekar terrace and to the East of it. 294.4.

619 *Hamaꞷaṭiŋ.* 1. The name of one of three original tribes of Hunza (the other two being the *Usenuts* and the *Tapkhiants*) who, according to one tradition, were left in Hunza by Alexander the Great when "on his return jonrney from China". They were established in Ganish before the Azur Jamshed Thams came to power. They were almost exterminated by Khisran Tham. The survivors are now represented by the Rōno caste of Gilgit.

They owned Ūltar until they quarrelled with, and were dispossessed by, the Khūrukuts. 258.2.

Cp. 265.19, 238.2, 244.12 ff., 236.2,7, 352.10.

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2. Said to be the name given in Nagar and Yasin to the Rōno caste of Gilgit, who are represented in Chitrāl by the Zundra.

H'amaći. An irrigation channel, carrying water from the Ūltar Nullah, which supplies Ganish. 352.10.

Hamza. Son of 'Abdu'l Muṭṭalib. 88.22.

Hanisawi. The name of the Gilgit River. 382.20. V. Vocab. s.v. *Hanizawi.*

Hanuman Mum. The name of a mountain in Shishpar which has a high grassy spur. 180.3.

Perhaps *hanuman*, alone, isolated + *mum* stump.

Hərayšuŋ. The name of a track, leading from Ganish and passing above Bāltīt into the Ūltar Nullah. From a note it appears that it is to be taken as 2. *hərayy* + *šuŋ* = the "Track of the Tribe", i.e. of the Hamachāting. 248.3, 256.2.

Hər'ayy, pl. *Hərak'indəro*, and perhaps *Həraiyo* (? Biddulph), a term applied to the original independent tribes of Hunza.

V. s.vv. *Hamaćatiŋ*, *Hərayšuŋ*, and cp. *Gərelium Hərayy.*

Hərći, Hərće. The water-course issuing from the Ultar Nullah, immediately to the East of Bāltīt. 352.8,12.

Hər'eli. A locality 3 or 4 miles West of Gilgit on the left bank of the Gilgit River. 378.1.

Hərəŋ Gaδeŋ. The mountain side above Askūr Dās in Nagar, to the West of Sumaiyar. 198.3,8.

Həri Siŋ. A man of the Dirāmitīng, son of Mūko, son of Pūno, son of Garīb. He was an old man in 1923. 211.21.

Hasanabad. A village at the mouth of a nullah called after it, which debouches into the main Hunza valley on the north side about 6 miles West of Bāltīt. It marches with Aliābād on the East. The nullah is now, except at the lower end, filled by a glacier, but it is said that it was formerly warmer and that there was no glacier. The Shishpar Nullah is a tributary of the Hasanābād Nullah. 238.3.

Hazarat Suliman. King Solomon, who according to Muslim authorities "inherited from David the gift of prophecy and knowledge". 384.7.

Haidərabad. A village about 2 miles West of Bāltīt. 318.3, 346.10.

Haidərabadkuts. The people of Haidarābād.

Haihaiyul. The name of a country. Said to be the old name of Hunza. Alexander the Great is said to have brought his force through it. Seized by Kisar. 142.17.

It is explained as composed of "*hai hai*" an exclamation used to urge cattle along, and "*yul*" road.

Cp. T. *yol*, road.

Herbər, Her Bər. The Hunza valley from Galmit upwards, officially known as Gujhāl. 336.2, 342.6.

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Hindi, Hini. A village in Hunza on the right bank of the river opposite Mīnapin and about 14 miles below Bāltīt. The inhabitants are Ṣhèn. 192.1 ff., 260.1 ff.

Hindikuts. The people of Hindi. 196.5.

Hinzal. A village about 7 miles West of Gilgit on the right bank of the river. 384.13.

Horyul. The name of a country visited by Kisar. 142.23. It occurs in this form in the Ladakhi version of the Kesar Saga, while "hor" alone is used as the name of a conutry in the Tibetan version given by Madame David-Neel "The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling" (1933).

(W. Tib. *hor* Turks, *yul* country).

Huks Manu. "Dog's Milk", the name of a famous "bīṭan" of Hunza. 186.1 ff., 202.3.

It was stated in 1924 that a descendant of his, named Barak, was then living in Misgār, and that there was another in Bāltīt, but that under pressure from the religious authorities they had ceased to practise as "bīṭans".

This was probably exceptional and temporary, as between 1920 and 1924 I twice saw public displays by "bīṭans" in Bāltīt, and in 1935 in Aliābād a female candidate for recognition as a qualified "bīṭan" gave a public demonstration of her powers.

Humayun Big. An able and distinguished Wazir of Hunza, son of Wazīr Asadullah Bèg and half-brother of Wazīr Muhammad Thara Bèg. He became Wazir when Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān was installed as Mir in 1892 and continued in this office till his death in 1916.

Three sons by his first wife were prominent in Hunza in 1924. The eldest, Shukurullah Beg had succeeded him as Wazir, but had not inherited his personality or force of character. The second, 'Ināyatullah Bèg (IUB), acted as schoolmaster and provided me with a considerable number of Burushaski words in writing. The third, Imām Yār Bèg, was a Jemadar in the Gilgit Scouts and a noted polo-player. Most of the material in this book I owe to him (IYB).

Circumstances have now altered. Imām Yār Bèg was murdered in Gilgit in 1934, and Shukurullah Bèg was, I believe, deprived of his Wazirship in the end of 1935.

The family belong to the Tharakuts section of the Dirāmitīng. 196.8, 344.10.

Hunza Nagar. The States of Hunza and Nagar. 344.2, 380.10.

Hunzo, Hunzu y. The State of Hunza. In a strict geographical sense it seems to apply to the tract on the right bank of the river between Āltīt and Murtazābād. The form "Hunza" is not normally used by the people of the country.

Hunzo Baltitulo. At Bāltīt in Hunza. 238.1.

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Hunzo nokan. Seizing Hunza. 196.9

Hunzewer. To Hunza. 294.13.

Hunzolo. In Hunza. 186.2.

Cp. 192.8, 200.1, 208.1, 214.4, 238.1, 276.12, 292.4 f., 298 (title), 316.3, 320.1, 342.1, 344.17, 352.6,9, 354.1.

Hunzokuts. The people of Hunza. 272.1, 296.4,8.

Hunzumo. Of, belonging to, residing in, Hunza.

Hunzumo ba. I am of Hunza. Cp. 274.3.

Hunzumo bayen. The Hunza fowls. 322.1.

Hunzumo thamo. The Thame of Hunza. 266.20.

Hunzulem. From, belonging to, Hunza.

Hupar. Hopar, a place in Nagar, about 3 miles up the valley from Nagar village.

Hoporem. Belonging to Hopar. 380.18.

Hurukutsis v. *Xurukutsis.*

Hurukuts v. *Xurukuts.*

Huzrgots v. *Carogots.*

J.

Jawas, Jamasnaram. The names of a man and of a book. 48.1.

(Pers. Jāmāsp, Jāmāspnāmak).

Jaufu Sokowi. A tower at Hindi. 112.2.

Janfu was elsewhere given as the name of a man of Hindi.

Jaturikuts. A Clan said by IYB to have come to Hunza from Astor. At the present time they form a section of the *Burūng.*

K.

Karg Jakun v. *Qarg Jakun.*

Kargor Malik. A son of Shiri Rafat. 358.10.

Kaṡgor. Kashgār. 386.19.

Kampire Diar. The name of a place in Chapūrsan. 296.15.

(Wkh. *kampir* old woman + *diar* settlement, village).

Karamo Dorlet. An old man (in 1924) of the Dirāmiting. 214.1 f.

Karogafimots. An aqueduct that carries water from Ālitit to Karimābād over the track that leads down to Ālitit. 160.3.

(V. Vocab. s.v. *karogafi*).

Karimabad. Land belonging to the Mir of Hunza on the spur below Ālitit, where he has summer quarters, gardens and greenhouses. 380.4.

Karga. A nullah that debouches into the Gilgit Valley from the South, about three miles West of the Gilgit Fort. 222.11.

Kaṡmir. Kashmir. 254.1.

Kaṡmiri. Kashmiri; *Kaṡmiri ba*) the K. language.

Katiré Malkuts. The name of a woman. 160.17 f., 176.15.

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Kilik. The name of a Pass (15,600 ft.) leading from Hunza to the Taghdumbāsh Pamir. It lies to the West of the Mintaka Pass. 252.23.

Kirgiz, Кыргыз, Qyrgyz. The Qirghiz. 290.2,5.

Kirum'in. A place in the lower half of the Chupūrsan Valley. 344.13.

Kisar. The hero of Text No. IV. The "Kesar" of the Ladākhi "Kesar Saga", the "Gesar" of Madame David-Neel's "The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling" (English Translation. Rider and Co., London 1933), and the "Bogda Gesser Khān" of the Mongolian Version. (V. introductory note to the text).

See also the entry *Pirgin*, which is his alias when in his inferior form.

When in Hunza, Kisar lived at Altit. 134.4, 142.18 ff., 152.8—160.20 174.4—178.2, 182.18 ff.

Kisar's pl. The Kisar Clan, Kisar's uncles. 110.21, 112.15, 114.5,10.

Ka'ard. Name of a King (of Persia).

Kolilais. A family group descended from Kuli, the father of Kulio Laskir.

Kuli.'o Lask'ir. Laskir, son of Kuli, a famous Hunza "hipan" of the Barātaling Clan. 198.1, 200.9.

(*Kuli.o* ought probably to be *Koli.oy*.

-*oy* appears to be a recognised patronymic suffix).

X.

Xaw Wali. A place in the Misgār region. 252.22.

Xawaz. Khārazm. 56.12, 58.7.

Xawazum sodager. A trader of Kh. 56.12.27.

Xamor. The name of a man. 250.1 ff.

Xerum Bal. The "Split Stone", below the Mir's quarters at Karīmābād, overlooking Ganish. 210.5, 252.12.

Xayu Bol Šalowra. A polo-ground which once existed in Shishpar.

Xaibar. A village in Herbar (Upper Hunza) on the right bank of the river between Passu and Gircha. It is approached from N. and S. by narrow passages called "Gates". 222.1, 224.4 ff.

Xairullah. A son of Wazir Asadullah Beg. 344.3.

Xiwrau. A Thum of Hunza. 236.7. In one genealogical table a Khisrau is shown as the grandfather of Girkis and Mughlōt, but in the authorised pedigree the only Khisrau shown is a direct ancestor of the present Mir (Muhammad Nasīm Khān) in the fourth ascending generation. This makes the destruction of the Hamathāling a matter of recent history.

Xtavi. Chinese Turkistan, or the inhabitants thereof. 344.22. V. also s.v. Šakta.

Xodaabard. A village in Upper Hunza at the junction of the Chupūrsan Valley with the main valley. 342.27, 352.18.

Xuvi.as Burn. The name of a boulder situated in the lands of the Khūrukuts which extend downwards from the Bālīt pologround. 206.14.

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Xuro, X'oro. The ancestor of the Khūrukuts. 250.1 ff.

Xuro Pferi. "Khūro's Pond", a piece of open ground somewhere near Dudōur Murku. 276.13.

Xurukulals. The territory of the Khūrukuts Clan.

Xurukuts. One of the "Four Clans" of Bāltīt, the descendants of Khūro. The headquarters of the clan are still at Bāltīt, though nowadays there are Khūrukuts in some of the Thuānts villages. 252.19, 258.3, 302.8, 352.15.

Xul Beg. The name of a man. 274.3.

Xurwats, Qurwats. A mountain above Ālṭīt and in Ālṭīt territory. 212.6.

In regard to the note on the passage, *Xurwats* appears to be the form of the name by which the place is always referred to.

L.

Lakar(a)t. Sir William Lockhart, afterwards Commander-in-Chief in India. 344.20.

Lat Manat. The two idols worshipped by pre-Islamic Arabs. Mentioned in the Qurān, Sura LIII. 19. 96.12.

Lali Tham. A king of Haihaiyūl. 142.16. V. s.v. *Bozu Tham.*

Lamay. A place or country, variously said to be Bāltistān or Tibet. 100.1, 144.5, 174.3.

Laqabrumo. A princess of the country of the Kisare. 116.9 ff., 136.10 ff., 142.23, 164.14 ff., 174.11 ff., 176.16 ff.

Lato Hor. The name of a place described as a "trench". The second part is therefore probably 2. *hor* = ravine, nullah. 190.7.

Leli. Laila. 362.3.

Liqp'rkisar (also *Liqkp'rkisar*). An alternative form of the name of Kisar. 142.15, 156.12, 168.6, 174.14.

In the Ladākhi "Kesar Saga" gLing appears to mean "the earth", "the world" and then to be used of Kesar's country. Madame David-Neel now claims to have identified Ling (gLing), Gesar's kingdom, as "part of the land of Kham" Vide "The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling", p. 16.

(Cp. Tib. *gling* = "part of the globe", "division of lands" according to Sarat Chandra Das).

M.

1. *Mahmad Shā.* A man said to be a descendant of the "biṭan" Shongukūr. 226.5.

2. *Māmad Shā.* The name of a man. 214.9.

Mamwtas Mal. A field at Ālṭīt, where some parts of the "Bōpfan" ritual are carried out.

Madarin. The cities of Madīna and Mecca(?). 48.1, 98.9,14.

Mamu Hor. The "Milk Ravine", a locality on the farther side of the Ūltar Bar from Bāltīt, so called because of its white soil and foaming water. 276.12.

Mano Bay'rtham. A man of the Dirāmiting Clan. 214.16.

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Masot. A place in Nagar on the left bank of the river below Ghulmit and above Thöl. 276.8.

Matum Dasluts. The people of Matum Das, a Hunza settlement in Gilgit territory. It is situated on the left bank of the river nearly opposite Nōmal. The land is held on some terms from the Kashmir State. 318.10.

Maiyon. A village in Lower Hunza on the right bank of the river, downstream from Hindi and opposite Nilt. The people are Şhèn, speaking Shinā. 318.9, 348.12.

Meri Dooeni. The name of a "dangalaṭhas". 206.8.

Mingtaka. A Pass (elev. 15,430 feet) leading over from Hunza to the Taghdumbāsh Pamir. It is situated to the East of the Kilik Pass. 252.23.

(The word means "A thousand Ibex". Turki *ming* = 1000 + *taka* = he-goat).

Mizor. Egypt. Ar.

Misgaw. A village in Upper Hunza. The inhabitants are Burūsho. 252.22, 290.1, 318.9, 348.13, 344.1.

Misgawkuts, Misgawi. The people of Misgār. 290.6,7.

Moryol. The father of Diram Tītam.

More Daw, Mori D. "The Plain of Words" or "the Plain of Discussion", a locality in Lower Hunza above Maiyōn and opposite Ghulmit, where the people of Maiyōn and Ghulmit used to meet to discuss measures for defending themselves against a common enemy. Now called Mortas. 276.11, 352.20.

(Sh. *more* words, speech etc.).

Muḥammad Baqir. The personal name of Bāba Ghwundi. 286.23.

Mun. V. *Hanuman Mun*.

(Sir) *Muḥammad Nasīm Xan*, (K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.). The present Mir of Hunza, son of Ghazan Khān Tham. 196.3,7, 346.6, 352.21.

Munkir. The angel who with Nakir examines the Muslim dead. 218.5, 312.11.

Munolum Dado. "The Grandfather, or Old Man in (*or*, of) the Mūn", i.e. of Hanuman Mūn, a mountain in Shishpar in which he resides. He married Kisar's grandmother, V. 180—184.

A laconic note equates "Tapkhiènts Dāda", "Bāba Adam" and "Mūnulum Dādo", which perhaps means that the last is regarded as the primal ancestor of the Tapkhiènts and of the human race.

Murk'u. The name of an irrigation channel. 352.18. It perhaps refers to the same place as Doğōng Murku. 276.13.

Murkuli. A locality about 13 miles N. of Misgār, where the water-courses coming down from the Mingtaka and Kilik Passes unite.

(In the text given as *Murkoi*). 352.18.

Murtaza.abad. One of the *Thu.ants* (q.v.) villages in Hunza, situated just below the junction of the Hasanābād stream with the main river. 352.18.

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N.

Nafis Xan. A half-brother of the present Mir of Hunza (Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān). 342.21.

Nagər, Nagir. The State of Nagar.

Nagirum belonging to N., Nagari. 276.2, 344.22, 354.8.

Nagir is, I believe, the usual pronunciation in that State.

Nagər is what I heard in Hunza.

Nakir, Nakir. The angel who with Munkir examines deceased Muslims in their graves. 218.5, 312.11.

Namay. (Earlier recorded as *Nomay*), the village "Nōmal", which is the first stage on the road from Gilgit to Hunza. It is in Gilgit territory and about 17 miles from Gilgit Headquarters.

Nazimabad. A village in Upper Hunza near the junction of the Chupūrsan and main Hunza valleys. Previously called "Shīshkē Das" and renamed after the present Mir. 342.21.

Noni Tham. A king of Haibaiyūl (Hunza). 142.16.

V. entry s.v. *Boza Tham.*

Nur Bazā. A daughter of Shīri Badat. 380.12 ff.

Nuro. A man of the Burōng. V. 346.8 note.

Nūširwan. The Persian King Nūshīrwān. 86.25, 92.28 ff.

P.

Pangču, Pančū. The hero of Text No. IV. The original name of Kisar, and applied to him again when in his inferior form. 110.19 ff., 162.1—172.14.

Pahardan Galpo. A king of Hōryūl. 144.4.

(Cp. Tib. *rgyal-po* = king).

Panja.i Šah. 288.3.

Pfaqir Ali. 180.1.

Pfasan Karaski. 104.14.

Paiyambər. The Prophet (Muḥammad). 90.17.

Pfikər, Pfekər, Phekər. A village in Nagar on a very high terrace on the left bank of the river about 6 miles upstream from Mīnapin and Hindi. 242.12.

Pfekərum of or belonging to Pfekar. 242.7.

Pir Šah Nasir i Xisrau. The historical character, Nāṣir i Khisrau (c. 1004—1088 A. D.), poet and writer on Ismailism. For the latest account of him and his works see "A Guide to Ismaili Literature", by W. Ivanow, R. A. S. 1933.

In Hunza he was spoken of as the introducer of Maulai-ism into Turkistan, and was described as "of Kohistan", and again as "of Lutkoh" (in Chitral).

He is said to have sanctioned the use of musical instruments (the "charda" and the "daf") as an aid to religion, and to have attracted converts by musical entertainments. 314.3.

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Pisan. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river a little below Mīnapin and nearly opposite Hindi. 262.1 ff.
Pisankots. The people of Pisan. 266.12.
Ponzki Pforpfor. The name of Aba Dumbu's horse. 148.26 ff.
Ponal Maidan. A place near Gilgit (?). 384.20.
1. *Puno*. The father of Ghatōsing, q.v.
2. *Puno*. A man of the Dirāmitīng. 208.8 ff.
3. *Puno*. Wazir of Hunza in the time of Tham Shāh Silum Khān and father of Asadullah Bèg. 352.14.
Pfuruv Bul. The "Reed Spring". 292.12.
Puyesi Šamšer Bek. Shamsher Beg, son of Puyēs. 232.11.

Q.

Qang Jak'un. The "Braying Donkey". 202.4.
Qaraćokor. The name of a place in the Kilik-Mingtaka region (?). 252.23.
Qibla. The Qibla. As a point of direction, it is treated as being roughly West of Hunza. 310.1.
Qirgiz v. *Kirgiz*.
Qoli.'o Laskir v. *Koli.'o Lask'ir*.

R.

Ramrnj. A locality at the lower end of the Chupūrsan Valley. There is a tributary Nullah of the same name on the South side of the valley.
Raskam. A district (river and valley) lying to the East of Shīmshāl, beyond the main mountain range.
Right of occupation has been maintained by Hunza in spite of intermittent claims to ownership raised in recent times by the Chinese authorities in Kashgar.
V. "Unknown Karakoram" by R. C. F. Schomberg, 1936.
Rid'e Ramal. The name of a cook. 382.5.
Rum. The country of Rūm, the Eastern Roman Empire, Turkey.
Adj. *Rumi*. 34.1 ff.
Ruzdor Kotor. Name of a clan in Galmīt. 272.18.

S.

Sadi. The Persian poet, Sa'di. 362.3.
Saharla Bovin. A supernatural being. 250.9.
Sahib Xan. A Tham of Gilgit. 388.2 ff.
Safdar ('Ali) Xan. Tham of Hunza, son of Ghazan Khān. 344.14.
Saladar. Son of Alqash Wazīr. 66.5 ff.
Sariqol. The country of Sariqul lying to the North of Hunza.
("Sarikōl" is now generally regarded as the correct form of the name).

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Sərkar Angrizi. The British (Indian) Government. 196.9.

Sai.id Ša Wali. A miracle-mongering saint. 292—296.

Siŋ. A man of the Hamachāting, ruling in Hindi. 260 ff.

Siŋ appears as the second element in some double names of men. Cp. *Datu Siŋ*, *Həri Siŋ*, and probably *Γatəsiŋ*.

Soγurali. The name of a place near Ganish (?). 234.11.

Sumalik. Succeeded his father Hāzir Jamshèd as Tham of Gilgit. 386.10.

Sumaiyər. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river, opposite Ganish and Bāltīt. 294.3, 354.2.

Sumaiyərum ine that man of Sumaiyar.

Š.

Šabaz Xan. The second and last surviving son of the present Mir of Hunza (Muḥammad Naẓīm Khan) by his first royal wife. 342.21.

Ša Γazanfər. A Tham of Hunza, grandfather of the present Mir, Sir Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān. 274.3, 352.6.

Šahre Bano. Heroine of Text No. I. 12.7 ff.

Šahzada Behram. Hero of Text No. I. 2.1 ff.

Ša Rais. A King of Gilgit, killed and succeeded by Shīri Badat. 376.1 ff, 380.8.

Šari (Šahri) Šaskin. The name of a country or place. Said to be the equivalent of the Persian "shahr i sabz". 26.1 ff.

Ša S'ilom Xan, (Solom, Salim). A Tham of Hunza, father of Shāh Ghazanfar. 240.12, 352.11.

(The various forms are, I believe, corruptions of Salīm).

Ša Tham. A King of Haihaiyūl (Hunza). 142.16.

V. s.v. *Boxar Tham.*

Šayar. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river, between Sumaiyar and Pīkar, and opposite Aliābād. 294.3.

Šadon Kapuri. The name of a woman. 256.4 ff.

Šabos. I.e. Shāhbāz, a Tham of Hunza, of whom the present Mir (Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān) is a direct descendant in the sixth generation. This seems to give a comparatively recent date for the extermination of the Usenguts. 236.8.

Šamtu Miru. Wazir of the King of Haihaiyūl. 148.1 ff.

Šin. Shīn (people). Used of the Shinā-speaking people of Lower Hunza and Nagar.

Šiniski (baγ). The Shinā language. 302.3.

Šigir. The place generally known as Shigar in Bāltistān. 274.6.

Šikaki.ants. The name of a place a little to the West of Bāltīt, near the foot of the mountains. 292.16.

Šim'al Baγ. A garden in Bāltīt. 328.14.

Šimšal, Siŋšal. A large valley in the East of Hunza which is very difficult of access. Its drainage joins the Hunza River a little above Pasu. 272.10, 274.1 ff., 344.16.

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Since 1924 Shīmshāl has been visited by the Vissers (See "Among the Karakoram Glaciers in 1925" by Mrs. Visser-Hooft, Edw. Arnold, London 1926, and "Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Niederländischen Expeditionen in den Karakorum . . ." by Dr. Ph. C. Visser and Jenny Visser-Hooft, Vol. I Brockhaus, Leipzig 1935); by Captain C. J. Morris. (See JRGS June 1928); and by Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg ("Unknown Karakoram", Honkinson, London, 1936).

Širi Badat. A reputed early King of Gilgit, Hunza-Nagar etc. 378.5—384.15.

Širi Bərai.i Bayər Tham is said to be the Burushaski name of the same person. His cannibal habits, his vulnerability (to fire alone) and his destruction by Azur Jamshèd, are a favorite theme in Gilgit.

The Thumushèling fire is supposed to commemorate his death, as formerly did the Talèni festival in Gilgit. V. Biddulph T. H. K. p. 100.

Leitner gives an elaborate version of his history in "Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893" pp. 9 ff.

I have another record in Shinā.

Širi Bər'ai.i Bay'ər Tham. A supernatural young man. 210.11 ff.

In his title to Text No. XLVII Gh. Kh. gives the name as a synonym for Shīri Badat. In a Gilgit legend a certain "Bagar Tham" is said to have been the son of Kisar and the grandfather of Shīri Badat.

Leitner gives a word "barai" in both Burushaski and Shinā as meaning fairy. In Bu. he marks it as feminine.

Perhaps it is a variant of "*pəri*".

1. *Šiskin.* A lame man of the Khitai, who according to one account founded Ganish.
2. *Šiskin.* The name of a locality pertaining to Ganish. 206.15.

Šiske Das. The former name of the present Nazīmābād (q.v.). V. 342.21 note.

Šiəpər Bər. A tributary nullah of the Hasanābād Nullah in Hunza. Originally occupied by the Tapkhiènta, who also cultivated land at Bāltīt. After their destruction (240.5 ff.), the Dirāmitīng succeeded them in their possession and rights.

The climate of Shīshpar is said to have become colder, and there are now no permanent habitations in it, but the nullah is used as a summer grazing ground by the Dirāmitīng who enjoy exclusive rights in it.

There was formerly a polo ground at a locality called *Xayu Bəl Šəbərin*, which is now the site of a grazing camp.

There is (or, more probably, was) a track leading over to the Irshad Pass, i.e. into the Upper Chupūrsan valley.

It is also said that two dogs once came over from Ishkōman into Shīshpar, but there is no practicable route at the present day.

The Woolly Flying Squirrel (v. 2. *bada*) is found in Shīshpar. 180.2, 182.1 ff., 238.5, 240.3.

Šəri Pəri. The name of a "pari" or fairy. 358.14.

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551 ●103 *Šoŋ Gukur, Šun Gukur.* "The Blind Puppy" (?), a famous Hunza "biṭan", of whom there are said to be descendants living at the present day. 186.1 ff., 188.1, 190.5, 192.8 ff., 202.3.

T.

Taγdumbaṙ. The Pamīr lying to the North of Hunza, beyond the Kilik and Mīnṇtaka Passes, in Chinese territory. 252.23.

[619] *Tapkhi.ents* h.pl., *Tapkhi.entsan bai.i.* He is a member of the T. Tribe.

One of the three original tribes of Hunza (cp. *Ösengots* and *Hamačartiŋ*) who, according to one tradition, are the descendants of men left behind by Alexander the Great when returning from China. They occupied Shīshpar and also cultivated at Bāltīt.

For the story of their extinction and the origin of the Dirāmitīng from one posthumous male infant, V. 238 ff. and 236.

Thəra Beg. An elder half-brother of Wazīr Humāyūn Bèg, and Wazīr to Safdar 'Ali. 344.14 ff.

Thərakots. A section of the Dirāmitīng Clan, to which the family of Wazīr Humāyūn Bèg belongs, and of which the eponymous founder was one Thara. 302.6, 318.1, 330.1.

Tərtsi. Probably the name of a particular place in Wakhān, but it appears to be used to denote the country in general. 386.22. (The H. version has: *Waxan ki sərḥadmē aˈkar*).

Thoˈl. A village in Nagar between Ghulmit and Nilt near the latter. 294.9 ff.

Thoˈlkots. The people of Thōl. 294.22.

Traγbal. A pass giving access from the Kashmir valley to the valley of the Kishanganga, on the road to Gilgit. 254.1.

Traxanaˈtiŋ. A dynasty whose headquarters were at Gilgit. The word is derived from Trakhan, the name of a descendant of Azur Jamshèd, who was one of his successors on the throne of Gilgit. 280.2. Cp. 388, addendum to notes. V. s.v. *Boxaˈ Tham.*

Tsil Brš. A locality between Gilgit and Nōmal (v. *Namay*) about 7 miles from the latter. 222.9.

Thu.ants, Tho.ants, (h and x pl. of *thoṙ*, new).

The "new" settlements in Hunza proper, from Haidarābād to Murtazābād, both included, as opposed to the original settlements of Bāltīt, Āltīt and Ganish.

They form a separate section for the levy of communal labour. (V. Vocabulary s.v. *maqso*). 322.9.

Tərki. The Eastern Turki language. 290.3.

W.

Wače, Wača. A place in Sariqul. 344.4.

Waxan. The Afghan province of Wakhan. 286.20.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

Waxi (*baɣ*). Wakhi, the Wakhi language. Wakhi is spoken as the principal language in Galmit and most of the villages above it, except, according to information received in 1924, Khaibar, Sost, Misgār and Rāminj. In 1934 the exceptions were given as Khudā.abād, Nazīmābād and Misgār. The discrepancy is probably due to there being some mixture in the population. Wakhi is also the language current in Shīmshāl. 286.15. 197

Y.

Yaγtaš. A stone at Misgār which is said to exude oil, and which is treated as a shrine. 290.4. 103

(Turki: *yaγ* = oil, *taš* = stone).

Yarkand. Yarkand. 386.21.

Yaçh'eni. V. Vocab. s.v.

Yal Botort. The name of a country. 104.14.

Yaqin. The name of an Akhōnd living in 1924 in Dirāmitīng territory. 214.12.

Yasin, *Yasin*. The district of Yasīn in the N. W. of the Gilgit area. 208.3, 386.12 ff.

Z.

Zuŋartiŋ, *Zuŋnartiŋ*. A village, in Hunza proper(?). 320.1.

the Hunza River is the principality called Hunza. 131

It is nestled in a most enchanting setting, surrounded by three of the world's greatest and tallest mountain systems. Another piece of knowledge that adds even greater interest and appeal is the meaning of the names of the three mountain systems: Hindu Kush means "killer of Hindus" because so many Hindus have lost their lives in crossing this range; Himalaya means "abode of snow", well-named when one considers their height and the vast masses of glaciers lying on the mountains' breasts; Karakorum means "the black rock" and one has to actually penetrate this system to realize how accurately those hard bare stone walls are named. The word Kush is pronounced with an "oo" sound. Himalayas is pronounced with the accent on the "al". The Karakorums are pronounced with the broad "a" accent for the first syllable and "oo" sound for the "um". This word can be spelled either "am" or "um". I prefer "um" because that is more in keeping with the sound as spoken by the people of that area.

Hunza actually forms a part of what was the old Kashmir and on maps it is shown as part of Kashmir and Jammu.

During my travels through the area I was plagued with the questions . . .Where exactly are the Hindu Kush, the Karakorums, the Himalayas? Where among these ranges is Hunza? 'Tis simple, you say? That's what I said, too, until I began to investigate and ask questions. Then I found myself in a maze of confusion from which I found it difficult to extricate myself.

Surely one would believe that learned people, high school or university graduates both in America and abroad, would know a bit about the most important mountain systems in the world. But, no! Ask them yourself. See the ambiguous answers you get. Then you

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

Part or all of the armies of Alexander the Great wound their way through the Hindu Kush mountains. Whether or not they ever found their way into the Karakorums, history does not designate, but I suspect that they did, because the Hunzans are supposed to be descendants of Alexander the Great or his soldiers and Hunza is in the Karakorums. 131 133 [173]

The Himalayas in the encyclopedia are stated to lie in India, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and China but I know for certain the Himalayas extend into Pakistan as well.

At this point I am not seeking to take issue with any gazetteer, encyclopedia or other volume of facts. I am just pointing out the difficulty I encountered in getting the information down to a semblance of order and accuracy. Further, I have consulted with, written to and requested details from many sources who should know the facts, and in practically every case I came to a dead end. It seems as though very few people in the world know the exact location and extent of these three mountain systems. [114]

One man who did seem to know them and placed them accurately was Eric Shipton and by the heavens, he should know—he spent more time among these mountains than any white man in history.

A curious thing about the people of Hunza . . . they do not have names for the peaks in the area and there are some mighty lofty peaks. Even the famed Rakaposhi has no individual name in Hunza. It is just called "Dumani," the same as every other high mountain or mountain peak that they came across. Actually, "dumani" means "covered with a cloud." 823 103

I guess they're so accustomed to seeing these awesome peaks that they become impervious to them. So what? Another hill! Every time I asked one of the

823 bearers the name of yon mountain, he pointed to it
103 and said, "Dumani!"

It was quite some time before I found out that it wasn't the same mountain we kept seeing from different views or angles. In fact, after the second day's travel and the only peak that we had passed was "Dumani," I began to get suspicious and thought that somebody was pulling my leg. As a matter of fact, I didn't find out that "Dumani" meant "covered with a cloud," "high peak" or "big mountain" until I came across Professor Berger in Baltit. He, being interested in the language of the people, put me straight on the "dumani" business.

What made matters even worse—or should I say, more difficult—was the fact that long after we had left the Hunza area, people kept telling me about the "Dobani" nullahs and the "Dobani" mountains. Sometimes they said "Dobani," other times they said "Dubani" and then they would also say "Dumani" and "Domani." I don't think they know themselves exactly
[133] what they mean. Of course when they said Dumani Nullah, it would mean the "river flowing from the glacier on the breast of the mountain" and when they pointed to a hill and said "Dumani," they meant it was a big hill.

133 In trying to relate the circumstances covering our travel and journey from Gilgit to Hunza one must maintain a sort of running encounter of the trail and the incidents surrounding it. Then, too, in other parts of the book I try to tell about the agriculture, the habits and health of the people of Hunza. Therefore little time remains for one to describe the charm, the beauty and whatever else may be said about the scenes one passes.

So will you bear with me while I try to describe as

5: Lorimer
● 104

AV7 Burusho AV7

For Burushaski-English vocabulary and English index to Burushaski words, see category 116, entire text.

human being take to a task so assiduously and with so 114
much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's
going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly
make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even
if they are printed in German.

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it 104
is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last 197
syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to
spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of
my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I
found every other source, with one exception besides
myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also
use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by
the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think
it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger
agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he
felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better
if I, too, used the "aski".

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains un- 671
written, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of
Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I
believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has
many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the
Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding.

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza 648
was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included
on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in
Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowl-
edged sovereignty to India.

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly 643
has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I 175
know this power has never been used or abused by the [642]
present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the
death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little
is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office.

the Hunza River is the principality called Hunza. 131

It is nestled in a most enchanting setting, surrounded by three of the world's greatest and tallest mountain systems. Another piece of knowledge that adds even greater interest and appeal is the meaning of the names of the three mountain systems: Hindu Kush means "killer of Hindus" because so many Hindus have lost their lives in crossing this range; Himalaya means "abode of snow", well-named when one considers their height and the vast masses of glaciers lying on the mountains' breasts; Karakorum means "the black rock" and one has to actually penetrate this system to realize how accurately those hard bare stone walls are named. The word Kush is pronounced with an "oo" sound. Himalayas is pronounced with the accent on the "al". The Karakorums are pronounced with the broad "a" accent for the first syllable and "oo" sound for the "um". This word can be spelled either "am" or "um". I prefer "um" because that is more in keeping with the sound as spoken by the people of that area. 133 [103] [104]

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Burusho Cultural Summary

Orientation

105 The Burusho are the inhabitants of Hunza and Nagir, two small Burushaski-speaking states in the northeasternmost part of West Pakistan. The area, in the center of the Karakoram Himalaya, consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of peaks and glaciers, a great number of the former being over 20,000 feet high. Where the Hunza River (an affluent of the Gilgit River which flows into the Indus from the north) has cut its way down from the Pamirs there remain a few shallow terraces which are cultivated by the natives of the regions, the Burusho. They speak an isolated language which as yet has not been traced to any major linguistic stock. Comparative population figures are as follows:

	1878	1921	1931
Hunza	6,000	12,117	13,241
Nagir	10,000	14,188	13,672
Totals	16,000	26,305	26,913

The population density in 1931 for Hunza was 3 per square mile, that for Nagir was 9 per square mile -- Nagir being a much smaller kingdom with more level ground. Since almost nothing has been written on the State of Nagir, most of the following refers to Hunza.

105 The original inhabitants of the kingdoms are said to be descended from three soldiers from the army of Alexander the Great. The rulers of the two states (called Thum or Mir) claim actual descent from Alexander, although their families came from Iran about six centuries ago. At any rate, the physical type is definitely Caucasoid and not Mongoloid, with fair complexions, heavy beard, eyes which are usually brown, but sometimes blue or grey.

Economy

Agriculture is the main occupation of nearly all the inhabitants. The major crops are wheat, barley, several kinds of millet, sweet and bitter buckwheat, potatoes (introduced by the British), and several kinds of pulses. Barley seems to have been the original cultigen since it is basic in all festival and ritual foods. Wheaten bread is much preferred, but barley remains the largest crop. Bitter buckwheat is detested, but a good deal of it is planted, since it is a very hardy plant and will resist cold that would kill other grain crops.

They are skilled farmers and have a good knowledge of crop rotation, soils, and climates. All fields are irrigated, the water being carried by kuhls or aqueducts which extend along the mountain faces, some of them for many miles. This is necessary since nearly all of the fields are high above the river level, and rainfall at the levels at

105 which they live (6,000 to 8,000 feet) is meager.

Seed is sown broadcast in the fields. Fields are ploughed with a wooden plough, and the wooden digging stick, shod with iron, is the other major field implement. The fields are manured patiently with aged animal and human manure -- not a scrap of either being wasted.

Their main food is bread, which is made in a large number of varieties, both leavened and unleavened and with the addition of various pounded fruits and grains. Whole milk is not an article of diet. Milk produced by the cattle, sheep, and goats, is generally converted into butter (maltash), curds, and other products. Meat is taken perhaps two or three times a year at festive occasions.

The women have small vegetable plots in which they grow carrots, turnips, marrows, gourds, and a great variety of greens. They also have a few tobacco plants, although not much tobacco is smoked.

After grain and greens, the essential items of Hunza diet are the apricot, fresh and dried, and mulberries. A few apples, pears, and peaches are grown, but these are not particularly valued since they do not dry and preserve well. They also grow a few grapes, which are either eaten fresh or made into wine. Since the growing season is so short there usually is not enough time to make them into raisins.

Some herding is also done, principally for milk and wool. The most animals a family usually possesses is a flock of from 20 to 25

105 sheep, goats, and cows. Some of them are pastured during the summer at higher altitudes and are tended by herdsboys.

Each peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and independent, eating of the produce of its own fields and herds. There is always a period of extreme scarcity in the early springtime, since the production of all crops is low due to the poorness of the soil. The most that can usually be expected is a tenfold crop, with a seven-fold crop being more usual. They would rather starve than use the seed crop which is put away at the end of the harvest. As a result of all this, the diet is quite poor, especially lacking in proteins. However, the population of Hunza as a whole remains relatively free from disease, possibly due to the stringent cleanliness which custom forces on them.

Weaving is done by many families; the men spin the goat hair and the women spin the sheep wool. However, most clothing is made from cotton cloth which is imported. Clothes are kept until worn out, then picked apart and the thread used to make new cloth.

Social Organization

Hunza is a stratified society, with a hereditary ruler, the Tham or Mir, at the top. The "classes" generally are as follows:

1: The Thamo, i.e., the royal family with the Tham or Mir at the head;

2: The Uyônge or Akhbirting - the "Great," the superior officers of the state, but not of royal blood;

105 3: The Bär, Bäre, or Sīs - the cultivators, the bulk of the population;

4: The Shadarsho - the servants, who are exempt from menial labor;

5: The Baldakūyo or Īsīlgalasho - the load carriers;

6: The Bèrīcho - the musicians and blacksmiths.

The latter, the Berīcho, are a small community of ultimately Indian origin who were brought in to supply the blacksmith needs of the people. The Wakhi, an immigrant group, live in the higher areas of the kingdom and speak a different language and have a different culture. They are generally considered inferior to the Hunzukuts (inhabitants of Hunza).

Although the society is stratified, there is remarkably little servility in the population. In effect, there are two strata, the royal family and the rest of the people. There is no age stratification, but the elders generally enjoy higher prestige because of their greater experience. There is no great sex status differentiation. Although the Hunzukuts are Moslem, their sect, the Ismaili, does not force them to debase their women and accordingly they have a quite high status. The Nagar belong to a different, more orthodox sect and the situation is accordingly different there.

Social position is indicated more by the condition of clothing and house than by any outward difference in cut or pattern. The people are generally obedient and seldom defy authority unless there is a grave contravention of established custom.

Marriage

105 Although they are Moslems, they retain their old custom of exogamic marriages between the four main clans. Although cross-cousin marriage is the preferred marriage in Islam, it is rarely practiced in Hunza since it savors of incest to them in comparison with the exogamic practice. They very rarely take marriage partners from outside their own Hunza society, although the Mir and his family sometimes exchange wives with the corresponding family in Nagir. Marriage with other groups is almost non-existent. Although polygamy is mentioned in one source, none of the other sources mention this practice, although it probably is permitted.

Child marriages do not take place, but it is very rare that a girl older than 16 or a boy older than 18 is unmarried. A bride price is paid, but it is not large for the poor. It depends on the special status and wealth of the individuals concerned. The Mir's family pays the highest bride price. Divorce is allowed if the wife proves to be incompetent in the management of family affairs, or if husband and wife prove to be incompatible. No stigma is attached to divorce, and widows, widowers, and divorced people commonly remarry.

Inheritance

The majority of peasant families are freeholders. The land passes from generation to generation without tax during life or duty after death.

105 The land is generally not in one piece but in small lots scattered over the area. A woman cannot inherit land. When the father dies, the land is fairly divided among the sons -- the land classified according to the various types of trees on the land, its arability, etc. Although women do not inherit, the men have the obligation to see that the women are successfully taken care of or married. If a wife dies, the husband may remarry again, but if he has had any sons by the first wife he must divide his land equally with these sons. Thus if he had two sons, he will get one-third of the land and only the latter will be passed on to any sons he might have by his second wife. The youngest son inherits the family house, the eldest son inherits the best land.

The Sexes

Man and wife cooperate in their work without embarrassment and no work is taboo for either sex. In work men and women have recognized roles but these roles seem to be regulated by physical capacity and convenience rather than by established custom. There is nothing rigid about these working roles. For instance, usually a woman or girl will drive a ploughing team, but sometimes a man or a boy will take a hand.

The women hold a position of freedom and respect rare in other Eastern societies. It is quite common for a wife to entertain male

105 visitors without her husband being present, and when he arrives he feels no resentment. The women move about freely, unveiled and unaccompanied. They live in extended families, with the son bringing home his wife to live in the father's house. The young couple sleep in the common living room until conception, then they move to the common sleeping platforms, one for the men and one for the women.

Clans

The Hunzukuts are divided into four major clans, which are centered in Baltit, and several minor clans scattered over other villages. These clans are not localized groups since members can be found in every village in Hunza. Exogamous marriage between the clans is the rule. The clans are all of equal status, but the Diramiting clan is considered first in prestige for historical reasons.

Settlements

The Burusho cling to their settlements along the eight or nine mile stretch of the Hunza River below Altit at an altitude of 6,000 to 8,000 feet. They live grouped in several villages along this stretch. The houses are almost indistinguishable from the rocks against which they are built wherever they can stick; since the area is so steep there is no chance for an orderly layout of the villages. The buildings are

105 constructed of mud and stone. In many of them, the pillars supporting the roof, the lintels, friezes, and wainscoting are carved from wood and ornamented. The Hunza dwelling is generally a fortress-like cube whose front door is screened from the hostile mountain air by a barn built onto the house. The door of the barn is strategically placed at right angles to the door of the house and some distance from it. The only ventilation is the central smokehole. The idea is to have a draughtfree house, which is quite necessary in a country so lacking in fuel for fire. In the main part of the house are two sleeping benches arranged along the sides, about 18 inches above the floor. One of these is for the men and the other for the women. The cooking areas are near the ends of the benches. Cooking vessels were originally generally of soapstone, but nowadays aluminum and iron pots and pans are being brought in. Gourds are used as jugs. Spoons and forks are carved from wood or imported.

Administration

The villages are communities which live within definite geographical limits. They were originally centered around the khans (fortified places) which were used for protection before the British entered the area during the 1890s. They have no police. The headmen have no authority generally except for their personal influence and that of the

105 Mir. There are two or three headmen in most villages. There are a couple of officials in each village who arrange supplies for travelers, and also government appointed men who for a small regular retainer do necessary jobs for the central government. The Mir may deport ill-doers from the country for definite periods.

Each village group is an administrative unit. The Tham (Mir) is represented in it by one to three men who direct his orders to the public. The population is divided into five districts each of which bears one share of rajaki (obligatory labor). These are Baltit, Genish, Altit, Hindi, and Towants.

There is a long series of "courts" for settling disputes. In the first, the heads of the two houses involved and the families have a council. The second is a council of community headmen. Then there is a council of the headmen of the four principal clans. The Mir is the ultimate authority in making legal decisions.

As noted earlier, the Burusho are divided into two states, Nagir and Hunza. A Mir is at the head of each state, but the Mir of Hunza seems to be the more important. Both states were autonomous as regards internal affairs and acknowledged the Maharaja of Kashmir. Since 1947, when Gilgit Agency, which includes these two states, broke from Kashmir, the states have acknowledged the supremacy

105 of Pakistan. However, to enter the states it is still necessary to get the acquiescence of the Mirs. General access to the area is still blocked both by the Pakistan government and by the Mirs of Hunza and Nagir.

Religion

The people of Hunza are Mohammedans of the Ismaili (Mauli) sect. They are in no way fanatic. Restrictions, formalities, and ritual are reduced to a minimum. Religious freedom was declared in the state in 1892. There are no mullahs in Hunza, but rather khalifas (lay priests) who are the spiritual leaders or teachers. Religious observances do not play an evident part in Hunza life. The people of Nagir are members of the Shia sect of Islam and are much more strict and orthodox in their observance of the tenets of Islam. The Burusho became converted to Islam about three centuries ago. The people of Hunza became Ismaili heretics about five generations ago.

External Relations

The two states have not been on particularly good terms with each other, particularly since the conversion to Ismailism. In pre-British days, the people had a very bad reputation as warriors and brigands who raided the caravans in Central Asia. They made

105 many slave raids, but usually sold them rather than bringing them back to their own country. Since the British rule in the 1890s they have moved away from their tight-packed villages under the protection of the forts. Warfare as such has become a thing of the past.

Kinship

Although data concerning kinship terminology are poor, the cousin terminology seems to be of the Hawaiian type, i.e., all cousins are either equated with siblings or called by terms clearly derivative from those for siblings. This is reflected in the marriage pattern in which, contrary to Islamic custom, cross-cousin marriage is not the preferred type and in fact is very rare.

Conclusion

Burusho culture as of this date seems to be fairly stable, although contact with the outside world is increasing. Many Hunzukuts work for brief periods in Pakistan and probably as a result mild epidemics of infectious disease which were rare are becoming more common. Contact with the outside world will probably remain fairly limited for some time to come, however, in view of the complicated international situation, since China (i.e. Tibet) is along one border and Kashmir is quite close.

6: O'Leary E-4 (no date) 1965 AV7 Burusho AV7

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mentioned as being 100 miles long. 131

A few miles above the spot where the Hunza River 133
meets the Gilgit is a village called Secunderabad. It is here that Hunza begins and if you follow the Hunza River up to its source beyond Misgar, almost on the Chinese border, where it springs from a glacier, you will find in following the contours of the river that the country is almost 200 miles long. I have carefully checked this figure with the best authorities—the Mir being one of them—and I found that the 200 mile figure was as close as it can possibly be measured.

They are Asians. Of course they are Asians because 144
they dwell in Asia. But in appearance they are definitely unlike Asians. Without trying to sound dramatic or authoritative, the general appearance of the people of Hunza shows marked European characteristics. They are totally unlike the Indians, the Afghans or the Chinese. To me they looked like the Mediterranean peoples. At this stage I am not harping or relying on the fact that they claim to be descendants of Alexander the Great or some of his soldiers.

Primitive—Most writers refer to them as primitive 105●
people or say that their way of life is primitive. I will agree with the use of that term in describing the people of Hunza, if you will agree with me that the Christian world is primitive, because it too follows the teachings of the Bible which was written 3,000 or 4,000 years ago. It is agreed that the people of Hunza follow a 105
primitive form of agriculture and use no chemical fer- 241.
tilizers or modern sprays and insecticides. But then, they don't need chemical insecticides and chemical fertilizers. They use no modern machinery on their small, hard won, shallow surfaced fields. Their conduits which guide the glacial waters to their fields are, I agree, primitive, but no better form is known anywhere.

105 where. They use water to turn the mill that grinds
[376] their bread and that is primitive. But many thousands of people throughout the world would say that it is the right way. The adroitness and the ability of the Hunzan men would match that of any people in the Western world.

I cannot say that I found anything about them that was primitive. Further, they can choose the modern way of life if they so desire it. But the only people who seek it are those who are forced to leave Hunza because of the shortage of actual living room.

511 *Poverty stricken*—One writer referred to them as being poverty stricken. If the beast of the fields and forests and the birds of the air are poverty stricken, then I guess we would have to admit that the people of Hunza are poverty stricken as well. If you want to feel sorry for birds, because they have to seek shelter in their unheated nests high up in the trees, where the winds blow around them, and because they do not have oil heating for their nests or motors for their wings as a sign of poverty, then I will be forced to agree with you.

As long as the people of Hunza are free, have a bit of land to till and a house of their own that is not mortgaged or tax-ridden and are in good health and attain long life, I definitely cannot accede that they are poverty stricken.

142 *Fair complexioned*—Now and then some author refers to them as being fair complexioned. I did not see one fair complexioned person in all of Hunza. Perhaps
[144] the writers meant to say that they were Caucasians, which is true, as compared to Orientals or Negroes. They are not a fair people any more than the Spaniards, Italians or Greeks are fair complexioned peoples.

805 *Precise, exacting*—An occasional writer sought to

Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B [564]
D 564

(c) *Yashkuns*—The most numerous of the lot—come next in importance and form almost the entire population of Hunza, Nagar and Punial; they also outnumber all other classes in the rest of the Agency. They are of Turanian origin but intermarriage with people of Tartar and Aryan descent has obliterated most of their original characteristics.

(d) *Saiyids*—Who are thinly scattered through the Agency, declare that they first settled in the country when Tamerlane was king. They are greatly respected by all classes and receive the daughters of the ruling families in marriage. The daughter of a Saiyid usually can marry only in the same clan. Occasionally, however, they are married by kings and ruling chiefs, and also, in this district, by Akhuns and Mullahs.

B [564]

(e) *Kamins, Doms and Shotos*—They are of an inferior caste. The Kamins who do not exist in Hunza and Nagar are millers and potters and are most numerous in Darel and Chilas. The Doms who are musicians, blacksmiths and cobblers, are found mostly in Yasin, Nagar and Chilas. The Shotos are leather workers and exist only in Nagar.

(f) *Kashmiris*—Form the largest section of the population in Gilgit proper. They settled in the time of Ahmad Shah (about 1760) and are mostly weavers, goldsmiths and carpenters.

(g) *Gujjars*—Nomadic cattle owners form a floating population chiefly in the highlands separating Gilgit from the unadministered territory of Tangir and Darel.

D 105

3. A chief comes from the aristocrat class and usually marries only one wife from that class the children of the union being recognized as heirs, to the exclusion of children by a wife of an inferior class.

B 105

4. The organisation is autocratic in theory, in practice any important point is settled by a Jirga of headmen.

5. The origin of the tribes in the Gilgit Agency is conjectural. There would appear to have been three main movements—an incursion from the North as the inhabitants of Badakshan gradually expanded over the Hindu Kush; an invasion of the Shins from the South and the conquest by the Tartars from the East. There is also evidence that Tibet ruled in this part of the country for many generations.

Owing to the inaccessibility of the country, Hunza and Nagar seem to have been less affected by these movements than the rest of the Agency, and among the people living in the more isolated parts of these provinces, traces of Turanian descent can still be seen.

6. Most of the inhabitants are cultivators and all three types of cultivation are to be observed, depending entirely on the conformation of the ground. In hilly country terraced fields, often rivetted with stones, are the rule: where the country is open and flat ordinary plots are made.

Irrigation is carried out almost universally by water kuhls, some of which extend along the precipitous faces of the mountains for many miles. Where possible small canals are hewn out of the rock; where the hill is too steep the water is conducted through hollowed tree trunks which are propped by wooden supports.

7. There are no megalithic monuments in the Agency.

Two Budhist Stupas exist; one on the hillside about three miles east of Gilgit; the other on the road to Nagar, between Chalt and Minapin. There

is also a small Budha carved on the rocks at the mouth of the Kirgah Nulla, about three miles west of Gilgit and small Budhas and Budhist relics have been found in Yasin.

D 105

8. Stone is not used for seats.

B 105

9. Buildings are mostly constructed of mud and stone. In many of them the pillars supporting the roof, the lintels, friezes and wainscot are of carved wood.

There would appear to be no restrictions: the material used depending on the material available.

10. The social position of a man is indicated more by the condition of his clothes and house than by any particular cut or pattern.

11. The sun is considered to be masculine and to be composed of fire: the moon feminine, and made of glass.

The markings on the moon are accounted for as follows in Hunza and Punial:—

> A small girl went out one night to fetch water for her mother and saw the moon descending from the sky. Fearing that she would be carried away, she clutched a small tree but in spite of this precaution both she and the tree were swept up to the moon where they can still be seen. In the rest of the Agency the tree is omitted.

In an eclipse a large dragon swallows the sun or moon. Fortunately it has a slit in its throat so their eventual emergence from this is assured. Never-the-less to hasten matters drums are beaten and a great deal of noise is made.

The stars are thought to be basket shaped, to have no light of their own and to smell badly. The reason for this seems to be that a falling star (meteor) crashed into a field once long ago and had all these characteristics.

There are no specific names for any of the constellations.

Earthquakes are caused as follows:—

The theory more general is that a bull stands on the water supporting the the earth on one of his horns. When he itches he moves his body a little causing the earth to shake.

In certain parts of Hunza the theory is that at the centre of the earth a great bull stands and supports the ground on his immense horns. Should anyone sin greatly the bull shakes his head in remonstrance and the earth rocks.

The rainbow is supposed to be an animal which inhabits the clouds. Sometimes he comes down to drink at the river and the water he drinks is supposed to come out again at the other end.

12. The face of the dead is kept to the West. The head to the North and legs to the South. Both the hands *generally* are straight. In some parts of Hunza the right hand is placed under the cheek.

13. The ultimate abode of the righteous man is a land of comfort and good things. What he has desired in life he gets in abundance in death. There is no food there but the smell of the flowers which carpet the ground is enough.

For the bad man is a place of terror and misery. All kinds of tortures await him there; from fire, from insects, from knives. Toads and snakes abound and there he will remain until pardoned of God.

6:India G-3 (1931)1933 AVI Kashmir
Dard AV3
BURUSHO AV7

D 105
B 105

14. The complexion is, in most cases, very fair. Straight eyes, usually brown but not infrequently grey or even blue. The hair is straight, in some cases of a decidely reddish tinge and is often shaved over the pate.

The physique is good, although in many cases there is lack of stamina and a certain indolence, more mental than physical, is often observed.

The prowess of the locals on the mountains is remarkable and, probably unsurpassed elsewhere.

15. Seed is sown broadcast; fields are ploughed with a wooden plough.

16. Musical instruments are produced on any excuse and chiefs are invariably accompanied by their bands wherever they go. The most common instruments are the Sarnai; the Daramal which consists of a pair of drums on one of which the skin is tight and on the other loose, and a big drum.

In addition to these there is the Rubab and the Zitha stringed instruments which are played with remarkable skill and effect.

17. Swords, Guns and Rifles are the chief weapons, although bows and arrows still survive.

Heads are not taken from enemies.

PART "B".

In the Gilgit Agency there is little more contact with the outside world now than there was formerly and as, in the Political Areas, the Ruling Chiefs are encouraged to govern their own countries as much as possible without interference by the Political Agent, the effect of political dominance is not marked.

Education is carried out in all the larger centres, but it has been started so recently that it is impossible to tell at the moment, what its eventual effect will be.

In a land where ninety nine per cent. of the population is illiterate, where the threat of starvation is ever present, and where stark poverty is the universal rule, there is little chance of the inhabitants becoming slack and apathetic.

PART "C".

1. Ornaments of silver and semi-precious stones are worn but tattooing is not practised. The women apply certain drugs to their faces to protect the complexion against the rigour of the climate.

Tooth paste is not used and teeth are usually cleaned with a willow twig.

2. Wine, the only intoxicant indulged in, is drunk in Hunza, Punial, Ishkoman, Yasin and Kuh-Ghizr, where most of the inhabitants are Maulais. There are no general restrictions of age, sex, etc. but wine is usually produced only when entertaining guests, or at marriage ceremonies and occasions of rejoicing.

3. The people generally are very obedient and seldom defy the authority of their Chief unless there is any gross contravention of established custom. Various scales of fines are imposed in different districts and these are generally paid with good grace, as, in almost every case, they are imposed by the Chiefs in consultation with the elders of the country. Imprisonment is also awarded but excommunication is not observed.

4. Prayers are offered to God in the same manner as in other civilised places in India.

Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 105

5. Agriculture forms the sole occupation of nearly all the inhabitants of the Agency. Trade has recently been started by a few of the more enterprising people but at the moment the numbers engaged in it are almost negligible.

B 105

6. A pregnant woman is given no special diet and the delivery is assisted by any old woman who may be selected to help. After the third day the mother's clothes are washed and on the 10th day she, herself, takes a bath and is considered clean again.

The baby is washed in hot water immediately after birth and a man calls "*Azan*" first in the right ear and then in the left—if the child is male guns are fired and the firers are given a goat.

Alms are given soon after birth and again three days later.

A male child is preferred though, as no record exist, it is impossible to say to which sex the first child generally belongs.

No ceremonies are performed when the child reaches puberty.

7. Girls are not generally offered free. In rare cases they are exchanged with other girls but never sold. Rs. 60 to 80 is usually offered for a girl at the time of betrothal or before marriage. Ornaments are given by the girl's parents only and not by the groom's family.

Woman has sole authority in household matters, does all the work in the house and when it is finished helps in the fields. In some districts she also fetches fuel from the jungle.

A priest, who may be any man with enough religious education, is necessary to read the *Nikah* at the marriage ceremony, and receives from the bridegroom Re. 1 as his fee.

Polygamy is practised but the status of the first wife is considerably lowered by the arrival of a second, as this is usually caused by her own incompetence in household matters or to greater attractiveness on the part of her rival.

Sometimes, however, a man marries his brother's widow under compulsion, and in that case the position of the first wife is not altered.

Betrothal is the usual prelude to marriage. It is performed in this manner:—

The boys father or in his absence, any other important relative or friend goes with 4 or 5 other influential persons to the house of the intended bride and asks her guardian for her hand. He replies that his relatives must be consulted and tells the deputation to come again after a few days. When the party again visits the house if the reply is favourable the girl's family is presented with the following articles:—

Cloth	...	about 6 yards.
Cash	...	„ Rs. 10

Should it be desired *Nikah* can be read at that time. Usually, however, it is reserved until the marriage takes place.

Unless the *Nikah* has been read the alliance can be broken by either side on any pretext. If the move for annulment comes from the girl's side the gifts are returned: If from the boys they are not recovered.

Divorce is allowed in cases where the women is unable to manage the household affairs or is of bad habits. Rarely a divorce takes place where the husband finds it impossible for him to cope with his wife. Divorced persons are permitted to remarry.

D 105

Marriages are arranged for auspicious days and hours which are ascertained on each occasion from the village priest.

B 105

Temporary unions are allowed by Shias only.

Free access is not allowed before marriage generally.

No caste prohibits remarriages of widows. Moral laxity prevails to a certain extent.

8. *Death.*—The head of the dead points North but the face is turned to the West towards Mecca, the religious centre of Muslims. When a death occurs food is not cooked in that house for three days and cooked food is sent by relatives for that period. On the third, seventh and fortieth day alms are given to avert calamities, also on the first anniversary after the death.

Indigenous drugs are used for medicines and almost every one knows the medicinal properties of certain local plants and use them when required.

9. *Amusements.*—Swimming, polo playing, racing, wrestling, tug of war, archery, dancing, singing, etc., are some of the amusements indulged in; women do not participate in the sport undertaken by men. They hold their own separate congregation on occasions of rejoicings such as Id and indulge in singing and dancing away from the eyes of the men.

Festival occasions.—Id-ul-Fittar, Id Haj, Id Ghadir and Nauroz are the chief occasions on which rejoicings are made by dancing, singing, polo playing, running and wrestling etc. Dancing is held in a circle to the beat of drum.

D 585 539

10. Before a number of the village people after sunset on the night before the marriage the following song is sung at the bridegroom's house in the following manners:—

B 585 539

A large iron pan is placed in the middle of the assembly and a man of the Katchate or Babuse family rushes forth with some ghee, atta, and seeds of wild rue or leaves of chili, and, putting these things into the pan burns a little fire under it till the contents begin to smoke. To fumigate all the air in the room he holds the pan by its brim and lifting his hands above his head, commences to dance to the accompaniment of the band, while the people applaud and sing a song of which the following is a translation:—

(1) The pan belongs to Bair Gul.

I will never let any one place this pan on the hearth.

I will place it there myself.

(2) The pan belongs to Malik, the Chief of Gilgit.

I will never let any other place this pan on the hearth.

I will place it there myself.

(3) The pan is worthy of belonging to kings, etc.

(4) The pan is worth being kept by a family, etc.

(5) The pan belongs to Shah Mir, the Chief of Kashmir, etc.

(6) The pan belongs to Maqpun, the Chief of Skardu, etc.

(7) The pan belongs to Mughlot, the Chief of Nagar, etc.

111 AV7 Burusho

1: Lorimer, Emily Overend. The Burusho of Hunza. Antiquity, Vol. XII, pp. 5-15. Gloucester: John Bellows, Ltd., 1938.

4 plates

Yale: B50.An86.v.12

[This short article by the wife of the British Political Agent in Gilgit for the years 1920-24 discusses very briefly the life of the Burusho of Hunza. The emphasis is on agricultural methods, crops, and the problem of an adequate food supply, but mention is made also of their buildings, tools, water channels, and utensils. --Analyst.]

Field dates: 1920-24;1934-35
Analyst: Alice McCloskey

Evaluation: Traveller-3
Processed in 1955

2: Lorimer, Emily Overend. Language Hunting in the Karakoram. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1939.

Pp. 310;23 plates; 1 folding end map.

Yale: Eefa. 934L

/This is a popularly written account of the return trip of the Lorimers to Hunza in 1934, and of their life with the Burusho for the following fourteen months. The daily activities of the Burusho throughout this time are recorded, and data on their houses, land, marriage customs, harvest festivals, crafts, and care of children are given. --Analyst./

Field date: 1920-24;1934-35
Analyst: Alice McCloskey

Evaluation: Traveller-3
Processed in 1955

3: Lorimer, David Lockhart Robertson. The Burushaski Language. 3 vols. Vol. 1 Introduction and Grammar, Preface by G. Morgenstierne. Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B: Skrifter, XXIX, 1. Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co. (W. Nygaard), 1935.

Pp. lxiii, 464; 10 unpaginated plates; 1 end map.

[Pages processed for the files: lxiii (Preface and Introduction); 10 plates, 1 map.]

Yale: Fyn50. B952. L89. v. 1

[Lt. Col. Lorimer was the British Political Agent in Gilgit for the years 1920-24. During this time he collected much information relevant to the Burushaski language, and in 1934 he returned to the area, remained for a year to complete his three volume work on the Burushaski vocabulary and grammar, and also collected some information of an ethnographic nature. Of this volume, only the Preface by Morgenstierne and the Introduction have been processed for the file. In the Preface the relationship between Burushaski and other languages is discussed; the Introduction presents a short account of the land and the people. --Analyst]

Field dates: 1920-24; 1934-35 Evaluation: Linguist-3
Analyst: Alice McCloskey Processed in 1955

4: Lorimer, David Lockhart Robertson. The Burushaski Language. 3 vols. Vol. 2 Texts and Translations. Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B: Skrifter, XXIX, 2. Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co. (W. Nygaard), 1935.

Pp. vii, 418; preface; 1 end plate.

Yale: Fyn50. B592. L89. v. 2

[Lt. Col. Lorimer collected data on the Burushaski language while he was British Political Agent in Gilgit from 1920 to 1924. He returned to the area in 1934 to complete his three volume work, of which this is the second. Of primary interest for linguistic study, this volume contains several folk tales and legends, some of foreign origin; examples of verse and proverbs; local traditional history; and brief information about local customs regarding marriages, funerals, seasonal celebrations, gold washing and water regulation. The page of corrigenda following the text has been paginated 419. --Analyst]

Field dates: 1920-24; 1934-35
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Linguist-3
Processed in 1955

5: Lorimer, David Lockhart Robertson. The Burushaski Language, 3 vols. Vol. 3 Vocabularies and Index. Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B: Skrifter, XXIX, 3. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), 1938.

Pp. xvi, 547, preface, table of contents, corrigenda et addenda.

Yale: Fyn50. B952. L89. v. 3

/Lt. Col. Lorimer collected data on the Burushaski language while he was British Political Agent in Gilgit from 1920 to 1924. He returned to the area in 1934 to complete his three volume work, of which this is the third. Of primary interest for linguistic study, this volume contains vocabularies of the Burushaski and Werchikwar languages translated to English, classified lists of Burushaski words having no simple translations, a list of words common to Burushaski and Balti, and an index in English. Those entries which include descriptive information or data which is not likely to be encountered elsewhere have been marked for their content. Pages of two columns have been printed in two parts and paginated "a" and "b."--Analyst. /

Field dates: 1920-24; 1934-35
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Linguist-3
Processed in 1956

6: O'Leary, Timothy J. Burusho Cultural Summary. Unpublished manuscript. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1965.

Pp. 13 (typescript)

HRAF copy

/This source is a summary of the contents of the Burusho file as of late 1964. Mr. O'Leary is a professional anthropologist and chief analyst of HRAF. -- Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 4
Processed in 1965

7: Tobe, John H. Hunza: Adventures in a Land of Paradise. Emmaus, Pennsylvania: Rodale Books, Inc., 1960.

Pp. viii; 15 plates; end paper map; index.

Yale: DS485 H8 T63. DLC: DS485. H8T6. DLC card no: 60-S1809

Processed for the Files: pp. 236-397, 405-451, 457-461, 465-471, 480-496, and 610-638.

[During his short visit in Hunza Valley the author, an organic gardener, tried to detect factors relating to the longevity and good health of the people of this region. As a result this book contains useful data about the local flora, agriculture, diet, physical practices, and state of health of the people of the Hunza Valley. Data about their social and cultural life are rather limited.]

Field date: 1959
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Agriculturalist, traveler - 3
Processed in 1967

8: Clark, John. Hunza in the Himalayas: Storied Shangri-La Undergoes Scrutiny. Natural History, Vol. 72, No. 8, pp. 38-45. New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1963.

HRAF copy

[The author attempts to correct in this source certain misconceived ideas held by many people regarding the small, mountainous, Central Asiatic kingdom of Hunza as a Shangri-La or virtual Himalayan paradise peopled by men and women of extraordinary health and longevity (reaching the ages of 120 to 140 years). Using these erroneous assumptions as a starting point the author proceeds to list the many cases of disease which he encountered while maintaining a general dispensary in the area, and the dietary deficiencies in the native foods which contributed immeasurably to the development of such diseases. Upon investigating alleged cases of longevity the author found that usually the individual was simply estimating his age. Later investigations based on the rate of dental wear indicated that such elderly Hunzas were in reality no older than sixty to seventy-five years of age.

Other data to be found in the source pertain to the political organization of the kingdom, the status of women, weddings and the Tumushuling celebration, population emigration, and soils, agriculture and land use.

The author, Director of the Central Asiatic Research Foundation, visited Hunza twice between 1948-1951, with the primary purpose of discovering what resources were available to the Hunzas and to teach the people to use them to the best advantage.]

Field date: 1948-1951
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Natural, Physical Scientist-5
Processed in 1966-1967

Rodale, J. I. The healthy Hunzas. Emmaus, Pa., Rodale Press, 1948.

257 p.; 17 plates, one in color; map.

Yale: Uz45 I41 948r.

[This book, by a specialist in organic farming, is devoted to the theory that the Hunza people are so free from disease because they use only 'natural' foods in their diet. The author did no fieldwork in the area, relying on the published mateirals. The theory is pretty well demolished by Clark (source number 8, this file) who shows that in actuality the Hunza people are troubled with all sorts of diseases. Therefore, this source has not been processed for the AV7 Burusho file.]

113, 175

Burusho AV7

[For information pertaining to the history of Hunza and Nagar, 1842-1870, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 435-450 passim.]

113, 175, 721 Burusho AV7

/For history of military campaigns in Hunza and Nagar from 1889-1893 see 4: Durand, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 226-292./

1: Lorimer 7-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

101 THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India.
131 It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled
and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by
133 untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is
197 mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

114 When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he
121 made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

181 During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that
609 the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the
643 likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

113 * *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

Chapter 15

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

000 WHEN after three days we had got the house habitable, cupboards and bookshelves ordered, lamps burning, water and food routine running smoothly, and the first friendly contacts with our neighbours established, we asked leave to pay our first call on the Mir, the king of the country and our host.

Two horses were found for us—it was a welcome let-off that the nature of the country made it useless to keep our own horses—and we started early, while it was still cool, on the 441 four-mile ride to Báltít, his capital. The Great North Road from Kashmir to Central Asia is here some four to five feet wide; the only rideable road in the country. For the first couple of miles it runs fairly level between high field walls, just dipping 50 feet now and again to cross a stony gully, down which pour at times irresistible floods of mud and boulders; then it staggers almost perpendicularly up some hundreds of feet till it reaches the level of the Dála and runs along with the water channel (which is perhaps 4 feet wide and 2 feet deep) on its left and a steep drop on the right into the first fields below. High above us towered staircases of narrow fields and behind them great serrated snow peaks, the most interesting of which culminates in a 2,000-foot needle of sheer granite too steep ever to hold the snow.

133 773 This is Princess Búbuli's Peak, and the story goes that when the hero Kiser (the Gesar of Tibetan myth[1] and an

● 113 [1] For original Tibetan versions of his story, see Madame Alexandra David-Neel, *Gesar of Ling*; for the Burushaski version, see D. L. R. L., in *Folklore*, XLII, June 2, 1931.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

of India that it should not be taken over by Russia. It was 643
decided to put on the throne a younger brother of the fugitive 648
Safdar Ali's—who by good luck had escaped murder. This young man, Muhammad Nazím Khán, had had an unusually wide political education. As a boy of only nine or ten he had been sent down by his father as a hostage to Gilgit, and had there met British officers for the first time and gained many new ideas. Later he had acted as ambassador and negotiator for his father and his brother on missions to Chinese Turkestan and Afghanistan, and he could talk Wakhi, Turki, Khowar, and Hindustani, as well as his own Burushaski. Above all, he was an extremely able youth, and had drawn his own deductions from his varied adventures. In 1892[1] he was therefore made king, with the able Humayun Beg as his Wazir, and since that time he has been our trusty and faithful ally, guarding for us the lofty passes that are the extreme northern gates to India on the west. For four and forty years he has now ruled his people with firmness, sympathy, and kindness, maintaining security, dispensing justice in accordance with local custom and public opinion, keeping up and encouraging the traditional festivals that punctuate the year with joust and dance, music and merriment.

During his reign there have been only two murders on 674
Hunza soil, serious crime is unknown, and even theft and 625
petty pilfering are non-existent, though there are in the 697
country no prisons and no police. On rare occasions when
some mischief-maker threatens serious trouble, the Mir, with 691
the concurrence of his subjects, may deport the would-be disturber of the peace to the distant valleys of Shimshál to tend the royal flocks that pasture there or to spend his energy on roads or aqueducts. Food and pasturage are plentiful, and life in some respects more luxurious than in lower Hunza; but the Hunzukuts loves his home, his family, his apricots, and after a couple of years' exile the malcontent returns a wiser man. It is amusing to see a recent book indicting the Mir of Hunza for the "tyranny" that imposes so humane and so useful a punish-

[1] A popular account of these high matters may be found in Algernon 113
Durand's *Making of a Frontier*, and in E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

fewer youths to be educated. On the other hand they have for many years been in very close contact with one foreign language, Khowar, which has been brought to their doors, and for many into their daily lives This is reflected to some extent in the Werchikwar vocabulary as far as it is known, but I do not know enough to say anything definite about morphological and structural analogies between the two languages.

Earlier Work on Burushaski and Werchikwar by Europeans.

The only original work of importance done in the past on Burushaski is that published by Col. J. Biddulph in 1880 (revised 1884) and by Dr. G. W. Leitner in 1889. In the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII their results are revised and summarised and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son is added. Biddulph's work is sound as far as it goes, but it is only a brief sketch. There are 22 8vo. pages of Grammar, 4 pages of sentences and texts and 20 pages of Burushaski-English Vocabulary. He deals with the Nagir dialect which he calls "Boorishki" (v. footnote p. XVIII). Leitner in his "Hunza and Nagir Handbook", 1889, also principally describes the Nagir dialect. He collected a considerable vocabulary, extensive paradigms and a large mass of miscellaneous information, all of which he presents unfortunately in an ill-digested and unsystematic manner. His translations are often so loose as to suggest that he did not fully understand his texts, and naturally errors are not lacking.[1]

In both Biddulph's and Leitner's Vocabularies a considerable number of Shina words are to be found. This is probably characteristic af Nagir Burushaski, which has always been more exposed to infection by Shina than the Hunza speech.[2]

[1] It would be unwise to express a final judgment on Leitner's work without checking it through in detail with the assistance of Burushaski speakers, which I have not done.

[2] Cp. also the Bibliography in LSI, Vol. VIII, 1, p. 551. — Manuscript vocabularies compiled by B. L. Grombchevskiy and M. S. Andreev are in the possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy.

5:Lorimer L-3 (1920-4;1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

For the rest I can only hope that they may be attributed to physical limitations rather than to economy of endeavour on my part. I have made a vast number of corrections in the proofs, but unfortunately this is a case where anything short of complete achievement acquires no merit. 128

I have made no effort to turn this into a comparative philological dictionary, a task beyond my competence, but I have aimed at indicating obvious loan-words, for the benefit of those who may approach Burushaski with a mininum knowledge of other oriental languages 121 192

The bulk of these loan-words will be found to be Arabic-Persian, i.e. Arabic words current in Persian, most of which have probably been acquired, more or less indirectly, from the latter language. 192

The original source of dissemination of Persian in all this part of the world has undoubtedly been the language of the Tajik population of the plains of what is now known as Tajikistan iu USSR territory. This Tajik Persian is now beginning to receive attention (Cp. W. Lentz, "Pamir Dialekte, I" Göttingen, 1933, Introd. pp. 31 ff. and H. Sköld, "Materalien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen", Lund 1936, Introd. pp. 8 ff.). Work has been done on it in recent years by Soviet scholars, but copies of their publications are not easy to obtain. [113]

What proportion of the Persian words recorded by me in Burushaski are familiar to all Burushaski speakers, I cannot definitely say. Illiterate and untravelled men and most of the women would not, I think use, or know, many Persian words for which there are adequate Burushaski equivalents. Against this, every child in Hunza seemed to know the word *taswi'r* for "photograph". It was a very old man who, when he had lost or damaged his portrait, asked if he could have another copy of the *girm'inum*, the "script".

Other non-adjacent languages which have been laid under contribution are Hindustani and Punjabi.

With Tibetan I have no direct acquaintance but I have noted a few words in Burushaski which can be found in the standard Tibetan dictionaries.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

Burushaski—English Vocabulary

192 Burushaski and the dialect of Tibetan spoken in Baltistan possess some words in common, and comparison has now been facilitated by the Vocabulary printed in A. F. C. Read's "Balti Grammar" [113] (RAS 1934), which became available to me only after the greater part of this volume was in print. A separate note on the subject is now appended, v. pp. 532—536.

192 Turkish and Eastern Turki stand in much the same position as Tibetan. They have contributed words to Burushaski, but I have 197 no personal experience of these languages, and have only indicated words that I happened to know or such as were readily traceable. The source of these borrowings has undoubtedly been the Eastern Turki spoken in Chinese Turkistan.[1]

On the other hand, coming to Burushaski's immedate neighbours, I have quoted all the parallels known to me in Shina, Khowar and Wakhi. Except where otherwise stated, these are furnished from my own collections.[2] This is a first step towards a comparison of the complete vocabularies of these languages — at present impossible owing to deficiency of material — which would yield some interesting results. We should learn for instance the extent to which the various vocabularies overlap, the nature and amount of borrowing by one language from another, and the area of survival or dispersion of Burushaski words, Burushaski being by hypothesis the original language of a much wider tract than it occupies at the present day.

I have made some attempt to illustrate the possibility of tracing the transference of grammatical devices and idiom within this group of languages in a paper which is due to appear in the "Transactions of the Philological Society" of 1937.

[113] [1] An examination of G. Raquette's "English-Turki Dictionary", Lund, 1927, reveals a very large number of Ar. Pers. words. Of the genuine Turki words there recorded very few are to be found in Burushaski.

[2] In the Kho. words the cerebrals and aspirates are probably fairly correctly marked. In Shina words many have probably gone unnoted. I have therefore quoted any forms given by Grahame Bailey which differed from mine. In Wakhi I could get no assistance in phonetics from my informants. I recorded cerebral ṭ, ḍ, ṇ and occasionally ṭ, but no aspirates, which proves little.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5)1935
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LIST OF CONTRACTIONS.

000 The sign § refers to paragraphs in the Grammar, Vol. I.

Plain numbers divided by a full stop (e.g. 106.20) refer to page and line of the Texts, Vol. II.

Ordinary contractions of common grammatical terms, which will be readily understood, have not been included here.

*-A., *-At. *-AtAs.

*-Am. *-AmAnAs.

Ar. Arabic.

Ar. Prs. Arabic current in Persian.

(Ar.) Prs. Arabic base + Persian suffix.

b. Shina *boɪrki*, to be, become.

Balti. Tibetan as spoken in Baltistan.

[113] Bhai Maya Singh. Author of "The Panjábi Dictionary", Lahore, 1895.

Biddulph, Col. J. Author of "Tribes of the Hindoo Kush", Calcutta, 1880.

The section on "The Boorishki Language" was reprinted, "corrected" in JRAS, Vol. XVI, Pt. 1, 1884.

Bu. Burushaski.

Bu. syn. Burushaski synonym, only in the sense that the second word was used to explain the preceding one.

Cs. Causative.

d.pl. Double plural. Cp. § 41.

Dum. Dum-Āki, the language of the Bēricho of Hunza.

*t., t. tAs.

Eng. English.

EOL. E. O. (Mrs. D. L. R.) Lorimer.

E. Turk. Eastern Turki.

f. b. From bottom (of page).

f.n. Footnote.

[113] GB. T. Grahame Bailey ("Grammar of the Shina Language", RAS, 1924).

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
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List of contractions

Gh. Kh. Gushpūr Muḥammad Ghani Khān, v. Introd. p. lix.
GR. Rai Sāḥib Ganpat Rai, Medical Assistant in Gilgit in 1923—24.
H. Hindustani, or Urdu.
h. Human Category. V. § 19.
hf. Human feminine.
hm. Human masculine.
Hz. Hunza, (Burushaski) as spoken in Hunza.
IUB. 'Ināyatullah Bèg. V. Introd. p. lviii.
IYB. Jemadār Imām Yār Bèg. V. Introd. p. lvii.
Kho. Khowār, the language of Chitrāl.
Leitner, G. W. Author of "The Hunza and Nagyr Handbook", Calcutta, 1889; and "Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893", Woking.
LSI. "The Linguistic Survey of India", Vol. VIII. Pt. II, Calcutta, 1919, containing accounts of the Dardic Languages and Burushaski.
m. *MANG'S.*
*-m. *-MANAS.*
Ma. Gushpūr Muḥammad 'Ali Khān, eldest son of Shāh Sikandar Khān, Mīr of Nagar. He died about 1923.
Mck. Major L. Mackenzie, I.M.S., Agency Surgeon, Gilgit, in 1923—24.
MMP. Khān Bahādur Munshi Muḥammad Masih Pāl, Indian Assistant to the Political Agent Gilgit.
Morg. Professor Georg Morgenstierne.
Morg. Report. "Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan", by Georg Morgenstierne, Oslo, 1926.
N. Nagar, Nagir; (Burushaski) as spoken in Nagar.
n. Noun.
neg. Negative.
Nz. Nazar, a man of Aliabad, Hunza, for many years in the service of various Political Agents in Gilgit. V. Introd. p. lvii.
o.s. Oneself.
Pc. Participle.
Pn. Inf. Pronominal infix.
Pn. Pf. Pronominal prefix.
postpos. Postposition.
ppa. Past participle active
Prs. Persian.
Prs. H. Persian current in Hindustani, or Urdu.
Punj. Punjabi (i.e. Panjābi).
QUB. Qudratullah Bèg, son of Subadar Muḥabbatullah Bèg, of the family of Wazir Humāyūn Bèg, resident of Baltit. Principal informant 1934—35.
Sh. The Shin'a language.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
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Burushaski—English vocabula—

000

[113] Shaw, R. B. "On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhi and Sarikoli)", JASB Vol. XLV. Pt. I, No. II, 1876.

Shghn. The Shughni language.

s.o. Someone.

s.t. Something.

St. Pc. Static Participle.

ŠY. Mēhtarjan Shāhzāda Yūsuf, formerly of Yasin. V. Introd. p. lviii.

T. Turkish.

th. Shina *thorki*, to make, do.

Tib. Tibetan.

Werch. Werchikwār, i.e. Burushaski as spoken in Yasin.

Wkh. The Wakhi language.

x. X category v. § 19.

y. Y category v. § 19.

z. Z category v. § 187.

[113] Zarubin, I. I. "Vershikskoe Narechie Kandzhutskogo Yazika". V. § 500.

Kəʳʌmo Dərbeʳʃ in Diramitiŋ territory, v. Text No. XIV.. 776 782

See my article in JRAS of July 1929, pp. 507—36. [113]

Sahaʳla Bo in kɛ Haʳlasa Boʳin names of two Boʳin's in whose names oaths were taken. 250.9. *itsɛr boʳyo se.ibʌm* they called them "*boʳyo*". 214.5. *sivɛ itsɛ u.iʳliki bʌm* people used to worship, or placate, them. 214.4. *boʳyo u.iʳlikiʳnʌs*, (pl. *u.iʳlikiʳnʌso*), a boʳyo-worshipper, a heathen, (cp, *boi.induʳrgʌs*).

bokʌl y pl. seed-grain (of cereals). — *guks bokʌls gur bitsʌŋ* this is wheat seed-grain. 000

boʳmo y pl. seed (of corn). (The *-mo* is only an expletive, conveying at most a sense of multiplicity and indefiniteness). — *da boʳmo da uʳlji yərər gur hərí n'owsin* putting aside wheat and barley for seed and funeral rites. 382.11.

boʳnis a round lump of dough (2 or 3 inches or more in diameter for making cake of bread from). — *hʌn boʳnisʌns tha hoʳlər daudo 'ɛčʌm* I (can) make "daudo" for 100 troops with one lump of dough. 176.23.

boʳno, -muts x. plait of hair rolled up and knotted into a ball at the end. 302

The Hunza women wear their hair in two such plaits one at each side of the head. Formerly the men also wore their hair long and dressed it in *bono's* or twisted in spirals.

A N. y pl. form "*boʳniŋ*" was recorded. (Cp. Sh. *boʳno*).

bopfau "seed-scattering". — *bopfau ʃtʌs* to perform the ceremony of initiating the seed-sowing in the Spring. V. Text No. XIII. 241

6: O'Leary E-4 (no date) 1965 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India. It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

* *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

[Pp 1-4 contain no textual material]

NOTE

121 THIS is not a serious book. Comparative philologists hoping for news of Burushaski, anthropologists interested in the highly civilized though materially primitive life of the Burusho of Hunza, ethnologists curious as to their origin, the scientifically-minded of every sort, are once for all referred to the published and to the yet unpublished books and articles of my husband, Lieutenant-Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer, late of the Indian Army and the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, hereinafter referred to as David or DL.

121 I have been concerned merely to set down our personal day-
114 to-day experiences—they do not merit the name of adventures —and our first impressions of the delightful people who for fourteen months in 1934–35 were our neighbours and our friends.

The journey to and from Hunza and the semi-camp life there had at an earlier period been the commonplace, all-in-the-day's-work life of ourselves for four years (1920–24), as of a long series of other Political Agents and their wives both before and after us. The only thing that lent a spice of adventure to this last tour was our delightful freedom from all official responsibility, and our age. Changes of climate and altitude, shortages of food and sleep, fatigues of travel, at which one smiles at forty present a graver challenge to fifty-five.

αο The triumph of our elderly excursion lies not alone in the sheaves carried home by DL, but in the fact that we both came back more than a little battered, it must be confessed, but still smiling; and treasuring memories which are worth incomparably more than the price exacted.

121 My excuse for writing so superficial—perhaps worthless—a book at all must be that it has made me happy to recall this silver honeymoon spent in the Karakoram and to pay a tribute to our hospitable and beloved Hunzukuts as they were in 1935, as they must have been for uncounted generations in the past, as they may be for generations yet to come, if the poverty

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 2

GILGIT APPRENTICESHIP

THERE followed four glorious years in Gilgit. The seven districts or provinces under David's supervision gave him plenty of official work and lots of incident, of which in another time and place I should love to write. One, the district of Chilas in the Indus Valley, was directly under a British Officer, Assistant to the Political Agent. Lying on the borders of the restless, untamed democracies of the independent territories of Darel and Tangir (casually lumped together in ordinary speech as Yághistan—"The Home of Rebels") it had, unlike the rest of the Agency, an unenviable record of serious crime, including from nine to fourteen murders a year. Gilgit itself was then administered by Kashmir officials with all the paraphernalia of Wazír-i-Wazárat, Revenue officers, and law-courts. With these two districts the Political Agent was less directly concerned, though his official headquarters were in Gilgit, the only really prosperous oasis of any size in the Agency. Then there were the four political *iláqas*, small states ruled by Government-appointed governors, Punial, Yasin, Kuh-Ghizr, and Ishkoman, and finally the two semi-independent kingdoms of Hunza and Nagir, with their own kings, or Mirs, hereditary chieftains whose families (or family, since the two Mirs are descended from a common ancestor) have held sway in their present territories for at least six hundred years, since the days of our earliest Edwards. Since the famous Hunza Nagir Campaign of 1891 the two Mirs have been our trusty and faithful allies.

It was David's job to be the friend and counsellor of governors and chiefs; to keep a sharp eye out for tyranny or oppression; to be at all times, whether at headquarters or on the road, immediately and easily accessible to humble folk with

114 real or imaginary grievances; to ensure that slave-trading, arms-traffic, or foreign intrigue did not disturb the peace of the hardy peasant populations that were wringing a livelihood from the rocky mountain sides of what must be one of the highest and most inhospitable inhabited regions of the earth. This entailed constant travelling. He visited each district at least once a year, and most of them twice. Each tour entailed four or six days' travelling out and again four or six days back, up or down one river or another, for travel is only possible amongst the mighty mountains of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram where a river has contrived to cut its way. In summer he would push out beyond the inhabited oases to the great passes that form the gates of entry to British India from Afghanistan and Central Asia or the links with Chitral.

The spacious, if oddly planned and straggling, bungalow in Gilgit that was our home, with its English garden and valuable fruit and vegetable supplies, saw him only for a few weeks at a time between these ever-recurring tours on which I joined him when possible, but by no means always, for I could not feel it fair to nurse and baby to leave them too often alone. On the longer tours, moreover, during which David traversed every inch of the Gilgit frontier and crossed some unknown internal passes, difficulties of supply and transport which would impose burdens on isolated hill communities where the barest necessaries of food and fodder are cruelly scarce, debarred me from adding two extra mouths—mine and my pony's—to the party.

During those eventful and yet peaceful years David worked steadily and unremittingly at mastering and recording the local languages.

Obviously the first language to attack was Shina, and in this he accumulated over 400 foolscap typed sheets of texts, with ample notes, recording current folk-lore and superstitions, local history, customs, etc., and worked out the skeleton of a practical grammar to be amplified later into a more detailed, more scientific one, and collected a comprehensive vocabulary.

While he thus worked systematically I would sit by, knitting woollies for baby, mending the family socks and absorbing as

much as I could of what was passing between David and his 114
informant. Then, as I went my daily rounds with the servants, weighing in firewood, or issuing stores, packing away woollen clothes to protect them against moth or what not, I would enquire the Shina for all I saw, and listen to the servants' talk amongst themselves, jotting everything in my notebook to memorize it later, until by degrees I could substitute Shina for my sketchy memsahib's Hindustani. Not frequently but sometimes a phrase or word or form which I thus caught on the wing proved useful to supplement DL's much wider-flung enquiries.

Next came Khowar, the language of Chitral, of which David had made a preliminary study during nine months as Political Agent there during the War. To my bitter grief I had not been allowed to accompany him, and so had missed his first steps in Khowar. Though by listening I learnt enough for typing and indexing purposes, I always felt this delightful language something of a step-child compared with Shina, and I never attempted to speak it. The "Royal Families" of Yasin and Punial are descendants of the Chitral Khushwaqts, who had conquered parts of the Agency two hundred years ago. They retain their native language and have, to a certain extent, imposed it as a second language on the upper strata of their subjects. Throughout the Agency it is therefore regarded as a polite language, meet for chiefs. In the same way as for Shina, DL collected texts, notes, vocabulary, and all the data for a scientific grammar to supplement his considerable material from Chitral, noting how very trivial were the differences between the two varieties of Khowar.

Not until the end of our third year in Gilgit was he able to devote himself to the infinitely more thrilling task of acquiring Burushaski. Now Shina and Khowar are both members of the Indo-Iranian family of languages—possibly taking off from the parent stock before the Indian and Iranian branches were fully differentiated—and are therefore related to Hindustani, Persian, Pashtu, and each other, as for instance Icelandic to Rumanian, or Dutch to French. There was therefore nothing sensationally new about their structure, and a large number

114 of their words had for a scholar recognizable kinship with Sanskrit or Avestan roots. They might, in fact, be styled relatively "easy."

114 Burushaski was another matter. Here was, it would seem, a
197 language entirely unrelated to its neighbours, or to any other known form of human speech, alive or dead. If, as Sir George Grierson conjectured, it was the survival of an aboriginal language spoken perhaps over the whole of northern India before the Sanskrit-speaking Aryan invaders pushed their way southwards across the mountain barriers into India (some two or three centuries before Christ?), it had been driven ever further and further up into the inaccessible mountain valleys of the Karakoram, where it is preserved almost pure among the sturdy peasants of Hunza, somewhat contaminated by Shina amongst their Nagir neighbours across the river, and subject to independent development across the ranges in Yasin, where the peasant people speak what they call Burushaski, though the Khowar-speaking upper classes dub it Werchikwar.[1]

The fact that the structure of Burushaski is utterly non-Indogermanic, non-Semitic, non-Turkish, non-Mongolian, non-anything-known, and that—with the exception of a few Persian-Arabic loan words which have filtered in with the coming of Islam—its vocabulary is entirely its own, awaking no echoes in the mind to aid the memory, makes it a difficult language to tackle. Though British officers have been regularly associated with Hunza and Nagir since 1891, and less regularly for some years before, the only one who had attempted to work on it was that fine old sportsman, Colonel Biddulph—who had published in 1880 twenty-two octavo pages of grammar, our of sentences and texts, and twenty pages of vocabulary. Leitner, of the Educational Department, published a *Hunza and Nagyr Handbook* in 1889, which contains a considerable amount of material in unsystematic form. Both

[1] In the language of Chitral, -wár means "speech" and -ík "the people of a country." Their own language Kho-war is the "speech of the Kho people" and Werch-ík-war "the speech of the Weresh (= Burush) people," the earlier, if not necessarily aboriginal, dwellers in Yasin, at the time of the Chitrali conquests.

114 these pioneers deserve the greatest credit for their work, and
197 had to wait for forty years to find a successor. They had worked chiefly on the Nagir form of Burushàski, and had not, of course, distinguished the Shina elements in it, and they had to work wholly through interpreters, which accounts for much misunderstanding and inaccuracy. David therefore thought it wiser to start from scratch, as in the case of Shina and Khowar. Here, again, with infinitely greater labour, he amassed texts, notes, and vocabulary.

000 When we eventually bade a sad farewell to Gilgit in 1924 to go "on leave, pending retirement," we were comforted by knowing that we need not relapse into bath-chairs in Cheltenham or Camberley to bewail the good old times, the decay of the British Empire and the shortcomings of the young, nor to shout "koi hai?" to an unresponsive world, but had enough material in manuscript and typescript to keep us happily employed for the rest of our joint lives.

114 Incidentally David had snatched fleeting opportunities to
563 collect also some Wakhi material, though not on the same
197 scale as the other three languages. Wakhi is spoken in the higher levels of Hunza by immigrants from the Afghan territory of Wakhan, who have established themselves at the non-apricot-growing heights—often 10,000 feet and more—which the Hunzukuts proper consider barely habitable. Wakhi is a language of Persian descent, and was of particular interest to DL who, during many years in Persia, had made himself an authority on several unrecorded dialects of Modern Colloquial Persian, and while in Chitral had done what work he could on the Persian dialects of Madaglasht and Badakhshan.

128 [DN] The Burushaski material which had been collected in the leisure of one short year, while DL was continuing work on Shina and Khowar, took four and a half years of steady desk work to prepare for press, and resulted in three stout volumes of 464, 418, and 545 large printed pages. The typing for the printer was, of course, nearly concurrent with the manuscript draft, and when this was completed the next question was to find a publisher.

The prospect looked none too bright, and we gloomily predicted that some German or Russian would anticipate David's work on Burushaski, when an unexpected letter came from Professor Georg Morgenstierne, himself a professional philologist and a pioneer worker amongst Central Asian languages, asking whether DL would care to submit his Burushaski work for consideration by the Norwegian Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning (Institute for the Study of Comparative Human Culture) with a view to its possible publication by them at their expense. The offer was too generous to refuse. We felt sad, homesick as it were, that Oslo, not Oxford, should stand on the title-page; but if Norway with scientific endowments could face what unendowed English publishers could not, national pride had to give way before the practical consideration that if the work was to be of use to scholars it must first be printed, and if it were not speedily printed it might be anticipated. David therefore gratefully accepted for his Burushaski the honour of a place in the Institute's distinguished series of learned publications. We found later, to our surprise and pleasure, that the Institute having once undertaken a scientific book, undertake also that nothing shall prevent its reaching the right public, and are prepared to send copies to almost *any* person interested enough to want them—a generosity which no ordinary publishing firm could emulate. It will be remembered that when Hooker was bringing out his great *Flora Indica*, his publishers expressly stipulated that no copy was to be given free to anyone who could possibly require the book!

So the typescript went to Oslo in 1931 and work began on the proofs, the reading of which was even more laborious than

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 6

EAST AGAIN

We knew, of course, that it would not be possible to ride over the snow passes into Gilgit before June or July, but we had no wish to incur the heat of the Red Sea or the Indian plains in May. We therefore sailed on March 1st (1934), a slack shipping season, for few people return to India just before the hot weather if they can help it. After an uneventful journey out, with an unprecedentedly dull lot of fellow-passengers (or were we ourselves grown old and dull? we didn't feel it. We felt like a pair of school children who had snatched an unexpected holiday and were off on a wild adventure), we found ourselves back in the familiar clammy dampness of Bombay. We made it our first business to pay a courtesy call on the Russian scholar, Professor Ivanow, with whom DL had had correspondence from time to time. We thought of no practical advantage beyond the pleasure of the great man's personal acquaintance. Professor Ivanow is, of course, one of the leading authorities on the doctrines, practices, and literature of Ismailism, the Muslim sect to which the Hunza people belong. But the Hunza peasant would know as little about these esoteric mysteries as the nominal Church of England peasant aboutt he homoousian or filioque controversies or the detail of the Thirty-nine Articles.

It happened, however, that the Professor was in touch with some Hunza people in Bombay, more especially with a small deputation which had just come down—on foot through the winter snows—to pay their respects and their annual "Peter's Pence" to His Highness, the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis, and to them God's vice-regent upon earth, whether his headquarters be Paris or Monte Carlo or the racing stables.

in the summer), or that with luck we might see a doctor in a 759
month or two. In our little home-town there are indignation meetings because we have to travel seven miles in a motor ambulance to reach our nearest hospital.

Another pleasant thing had been the presence of the Indian sub-assistant surgeon in charge of the local dispensary. True when you were sick you would echo George the What-ever-it-was: "Give the doctor my compliments and say I am too ill to see him," but he had a store of any simple drugs absent from our own medicine chest and he kindly acted as sanitary inspector and supervised the disposal of the kitchen refuse, etc., and directed the activities of the sweeper. This removed a source of possible anxiety.

Altogether things might have been a lot worse. It was per- 000
fectly maddening for David to have missed all these interesting weeks of the harvest; but he had seen something of it from his window, and from the verandah, and if he was pretty fit again by mid-September we still had an entire year's cycle ahead of us. And I had sat about a good deal in the fields (within sight of the house and within earshot of his whistle—though he never blew it), and made lots of friends and taken what notes I could with as much of my mind as was on the spot. It wasn't a lot, for I was often anxious and always rather underslept. But with luck we should fill in the missing bits next year.

The September weather was delightful; the "bitter" heat 132
had gone, and it was like the best days of an early English summer, but with perfect dryness and the security we never have at home that to-morrow and the day after would equally be fine.

Before coming we had been afraid that further knowledge 114
might reveal all sorts of mistakes in the Grammar and the Texts (now finally in print and about to appear). We were immensely relieved to find as we worked that there was *nothing* incorrect. It seemed almost incredible. A few difficult points could be further cleared up, but there was nothing to retract. The Vocabulary proofs were beginning to come—and a hideous fag it was correcting them!—but this gave opportunity to eliminate a few question marks and occasionally to

114 add a new meaning without disturbing the main text. DL did not attempt to incorporate new material. It would be better not to tinker with the existing work but to wait till our work here was done and put new facts into shape for a supplementary volume.

The anthropological material would in any case be an entirely separate business.

194 One very tiresome task connected with the Vocabulary was to achieve what certainty was possible about aspirates and cerebrals. Neither David nor I had when young any scientific training in phonetics—the modern science of phonetics simply did not then exist—and perhaps our ears are not naturally acute. Anyhow, neither of us can distinguish these finer shades of sound with any certainty. Burushaski has, for instance, four different t's: a dental t and a cerebral t (= t and ṭ) and the same two sounds plus a light aspiration (= th and ṭh). It is practically convenient and scientifically lamentable that the English t holds an intermediate position between them. Our ordinary t does quite beautifully for conversational use. No doubt in all cases it sounds slightly "foreign" to a Hunza ear, but it seems to be perfectly acceptable. This, however, isn't good enough for accurate recording. Fortunately Qudrat Ullah was intelligent enough to detect the difference, and David has taught him to be on the *qui vive*; so they set to work through the whole Vocabulary to check every single spelling authoritatively. The scientist and phonetician will therefore be able to get the accurate spellings there and the more casual spellings of the Grammar and Texts will be good enough for the ordinary student.

If it was only the t's! But there are a dozen other sounds afflicted with cerebral and aspirate doubles. It was a long and weary business to register them all, but one at least which could only have been tackled on the spot. The ordinary speaker is of course unaware of these refinements of his own pronunciation. An odd point is that the aspiration is frequently dropped in Hunza speech in derived forms, whereas Nagir Burushaski is more logical in the matter; with them apparently "once an aspirate, always an aspirate" is the usual rule.

8: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

195 noticed, too, that when I asked: "Are you well?" the return question would sometimes be couched in the ungrammatical form: "Are your name well?" but this was chiefly used by the children as more respectful. I was told it would be unsuitable for me at my age to use to anyone, even to the King. Otherwise in Hunza spades are spades.

114 DL's original vocabulary (vol. iii of the book already alluded to) comprises some 3,000–4,000 words. From our first day with the Hunzukuts to our last, we were recording new words without ceasing, or registering new meanings for words we thought we knew. Far from having "completed" a vocabulary of Hunza Burushaski after a hard year's work DL felt he was just beginning it. Ten years more could have been profitably spent on the task if we had had them to spend. At least no language enthusiast can complain that the field is bare; there are ample gleanings left for him or her. A rich harvest indeed awaits the reaper—but labourers to date are few.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

PREFACE.

The present work deals with a language which is spoken in some inaccessible mountain-valleys at the meeting-point of three great linguistic families, viz. the Indo-European (represented by Indo-Aryan Shina and Iranian Wakhi), the Tibeto-Burman (represented by the Balti dialect of Tibetan) and Turkish, but which is unconnected with any of them. 1114 128

It belongs to a small and remote community, which has never played any rôle in history, nor contributed anything to the development of civilisation. Yet the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture has recognised the importance of assisting in saving from oblivion this relic of the past, of which, so far, only very summary descriptions have been given, and which in spite of, or perhaps just on account of, its apparent isolation may help to throw light upon the linguistic history of Asia.

The Institute has therefore undertaken to publish the first comprehensive account of Burushaski and the notes on the closely related Werchikwar dialect prepared by Lt. Col. Lorimer. During his term as a political officer in Gilgit, close to the Burushaski speaking country, the author contrived to collect very ample and reliable material relating to the language, and he has since successfully carried through the difficult task of classifying and arranging it, describing in detail the highly complicated grammatical system of Burushaski. He has earned our gratitude for

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

114 128 the painstaking energy with which, despite many difficulties, he has prosecuted this pioneer undertaking.

The writer of these prefatory pages, who has had the privilege of discussing with the author a number of questions relating to Burushaski, can testify to the accuracy and care which has been bestowed upon the work.

In scientific importance Burushaski may be classed under several categories. Each of these presents its own special problems which will require separate and detailed study, and here it is only possible to draw attention to a few points selected more or less at random.

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193 In the first place Bu. is of interest to the student of general linguistics on account of the many peculiar features of its morphological structure. These have been described in detail in the Grammar, and I shall only mention here one or two which seem worthy of consideration.

The division of nouns, etc., into four classes[1] is, of course, one of the outstanding features of Bu. grammar. L. is, no doubt, right in considering the first two categories (m. and f.) to be subdivisions of a common class denoting human beings (h.). The plural endings, the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, and the numerals are the same in m. and f. nouns, and it is only in 3 sg. of the prefixed pronouns and of the personal suffixes of the verb that the two classes differ. This is an interesting parallel to the Indo-European gender system, in which the distinction between m. and f. is supposed to be more recent and less fundamental than that which exists between m. and f. on the one hand and n. on the other.[2]

Of course, the Bu. x. and y. categories cannot be indentified with the I. E. n. As a matter of fact, the x. class, which among other things comprises non-human animate beings and which may, with great reserve, be defined as denoting individually conceived objects,

[1] §§ 19 sqq.

[2] V. e.g. Meillet, BSL (CE), 31, 7.

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Moreover several obviously Indian or Iranian loan-words in Bu. are used to demonstrate the relationship with Cauc. 197 114

On the whole, most of Bl.'s comparisons are unsatisfactory and are based on a slight and illusive similarity of sound. Cases like Bu. girkis *rat:* Karata herkwa, Awar hinxu, Varkus qurka; Bu. tatas *palm of the hand:* Georg. t'ot'i *paw*[1]; Bu. čumu (Shina čimu) *fish:* Mingrelian čhomu etc. are not sufficient evidence for us to build far-reaching conclusions on. Some kind of connection is perhaps possible between Bu. bičil *pomegranate:* Georg brec'ouli[2]; Bu. tili *walnut:* Georg. t'hili; Bu. šoγori *a kind of pear:* Budukh čüγür, Tabass. šeher[3], but such words may easily wander from one language to another.

I do not think that Bl. has succeeded in proving the probability of a relationship between Bu. and Cauc., and I very much doubt whether it is possible to prove anything of that kind at present. But the whole problem will certainly deserve a renewed and methodical consideration when the Cauc. languages and the connection between their different groups have become better known. And if we ever succeed in connecting Bu. with some other group of languages, it will be of the greatest importance for our understanding of the early history of Western Asia.

Our chances of ever being able to reconstruct older forms of Bu. either by comparisons with W. or by means of internal evidence in Bu. itself are not very promising. 197 195

Only in very rare cases is it possible to employ the latter method. We have mentioned above[4] that initial mediae may go back to older tenues.

Another case where a reconstruction seems possible is that of the pl. suffix -o.[5] Before this suffix certain consonants are palata-

[1] "Cf. Bar. *-to-to paw". Lorimer 2—4—1935.

[2] Acc. to Bl. himself this comparison is 'zweifelhaft'.

[3] Taken from Erckert's not very reliable material.

[4] p. XV.

[5] p. 28 sqq.

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Apparently ʊ and ɪ are unstressed variants of *u* and *i*, cf. e.g. gukɛ: guˑkɛ *these*. But in spite of cases like goˑn, gun *dawn o* and *u* must be considered to be separate phonemes. The same is undoubtedly true also of *ai* : *e* and *e* : *ə* although we find, exceptionally, (personal?) variations such as tail, təil, te.il, teˑl *such*, γai.iŋ, γe.iŋ *grapes*.

The vowel system of Bu. would thus appear to include the following phonemes; *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *o*. To these should probably be added *aˑ*, although quantity does not appear to be of phonemic significance in other parts of the system.

As regards the consonants L. is probably right in taking *ǵ*, *γ̇*, *q̇* to be variants of *g*, *γ* and *q* due to the proximity of *y*.[1] But the last mentioned sound is certainly a separate phoneme.

Regarding the cerebrals, aspirates, gγ and W. *ł* see below.

● 114
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[115]

During my stay in Chitral in 1929 I had an opportunity to take down short lists of Bu. and W. words. My Bu. informant was a certain Abdullah[2] from Baltit. The other called his language Wəˑčik waˑr and his native valley Wərči guˑm = Yasinˑ.[3]

I worked with each of them for a couple of hours only, and I am, of course, aware of the utter insufficiency of my observations. But both of my informants had a very good and clear articulation[4] and on the whole my notations agree unexpectedly well with those of L. and Zarubin (whose material I had not at hand). It may not be devoid of interest, therefore, to compare some of my words with those given by L. for the sake of checking and corroborating his perception of the sounds.

114

Many words are identical in L.'s and my notation of Bu. E.g. toˑrumo *ten*; maˑtum *black*; -ʂan *chin*; haˑγur *horse*; guʂ'puˑr *prince*; -ˈtatas *palm of the hand*. In some cases my notation of vowels differs slightly from L.'s. This may partly be due to individual latitude

[1] V. § 6. b.

[2] Brother of Ali Madat, cf. Texts, p. II.

[3] Acc. to Abdullah: Burušugum.

[4] I had less difficulty in recognizing their aspirates and cerebrals than those of some Dardic dialects which I had the opportunity of hearing for a much longer time.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

fewer youths to be educated. On the other hand they have for many years been in very close contact with one foreign language, Khowar, which has been brought to their doors, and for many into their daily lives This is reflected to some extent in the Werchikwar vocabulary as far as it is known, but I do not know enough to say anything definite about morphological and structural analogies between the two languages.

Earlier Work on Burushaski and Werchikwar by Europeans.

The only original work of importance done in the past on Burushaski is that published by Col. J. Biddulph in 1880 (revised 1884) and by Dr. G. W. Leitner in 1889. In the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII their results are revised and summarised and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son is added. Biddulph's work is sound as far as it goes, but it is only a brief sketch. There are 22 8vo. pages of Grammar, 4 pages of sentences and texts and 20 pages of Burushaski-English Vocabulary. He deals with the Nagir dialect which he calls "Boorishki" (v. footnote p. XVIII). Leitner in his "Hunza and Nagir Handbook", 1889, also principally describes the Nagir dialect. He collected a considerable vocabulary, extensive paradigms and a large mass of miscellaneous information, all of which he presents unfortunately in an ill-digested and unsystematic manner. His translations are often so loose as to suggest that he did not fully understand his texts, and naturally errors are not lacking.[1]

In both Biddulph's and Leitner's Vocabularies a considerable number of Shina words are to be found. This is probably characteristic af Nagir Burushaski, which has always been more exposed to infection by Shina than the Hunza speech.[2]

[1] It would be unwise to express a final judgment on Leitner's work without checking it through in detail with the assistance of Burushaski speakers, which I have not done.

[2] Cp. also the Bibliography in LSI, Vol. VIII, 1, p. 551. — Manuscript vocabularies compiled by B. L. Grombchevskiy and M. S. Andreev are in the possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 In the past Werchikwar has received even less attention than Burushaski. The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII contains a brief notice of it and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son furnished by an Indian Official, Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim. Recently, however, I. I. Zarubin has furnished in Russian a valuable description of the language (v. § 500 below), to which he appends a vocabulary and a detailed criticism of the L. S. I. "Prodigal Son", which appears just, as far as I have examined it.

The Present Work.

●111 The world has recently been presented with works on little-known Indian languages which represent the knowledge and labour of half a life-time. Such are Hoffmann's "Encyclopaedia Mundarica" and Bodding's Santali Dictionary. The present work makes no pretence to such a foundation. It represents merely an endeavour to squeeze the contents out of such material as I was able to collect hurriedly in a short time, and to arrange and present it in a systematic manner, so that it may be conveniently available to the student.

In September 1920 I took over charge as Political Agent, Gilgit, and remained there till September 1924. During the greater part of the first three years I devoted my spare time to the Shina and Khowar languages and it was only in May 1923 that I added to these Burushaski. From then until July 1924 it somewhat interruptedly received a portion of my attention. In 1921 my wife had made a start on Burushaski, working for two or three weeks with Gushpūr Maḥbūb 'Ali Khān, son of the Mir of Nagir, a bright and intelligent youth. I now turned to her work and gained some idea from it of the principal features of the language, the use of pronominal prefixes, the four "genders" and the main lines of inflexion. Otherwise I started from zero, as I did not wish at this point possibly to prejudice my openness of mind by having recourse to Biddulph and Leitner. In the event I never consulted them at all while I was in Gilgit.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

126 England I settled down first to translating the texts and working
128 out the vocabulary, and then to an intensive comparative study of every word and every grammatical form occurring in my material. On this basis I then prepared and annotated the Texts and drew up the Grammar and Vocabulary as they now stand. This took in all four and a half years, from January 1926 to June 1930.

I have dwelt at some length on my methods of work, because without such knowledge it is impossible for the reader to form any just estimate of the degree of authority to which the book can lay claim. For the same reason I have made a free use of question marks in the Vocabulary and elsewhere to indicate points in regard to which my information is uncertain. I hope I have stated nothing as a fact except on reasonably adequate grounds.

●114 The whole edifice stands essentially on the foundation of Jemadar Imam Yar Beg's Burushaski, a foundation the general reliability of which I think no one in Hunza would dream of questioning. But this statement requires serious qualification: it is IYB's Burushaski as affected by the mishearings and misunderstandings of the recorder. That there are such I have not the slightest doubt. I am only surprised that the substance of the Texts has worked out so homogeneous and, as I have now some ground for believing, so correct.

A special word of warning should be given in regard to the Phonetics. I am myself no phonetician and made no constant systematic attempt to distinguish by all means at my command between different sounds which sooner or later I knew to exist, but could not myself certainly distinguish. This applies specially to the two parallel series of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates. Many cerebrals and aspirates may have escaped undetected; I can only say that where a sound is marked as cerebral or aspirate, it may safely be assumed to be such.

121 My general aim in the preparation of this work is now sufficiently evident; it is simply to give a perfectly objective view of what I was able to ascertain about the language. I have created a hypothesis

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

only where it seemed necessary to attain brevity and clarity in the statement of facts. Such is my theory of the initial *-A- of many nouns and verbal bases, and the combination of it with the pronominal prefixes. Otherwise I have avoided speculation in realms outside my competence. I have raised no questions of the relationship between Burushaski and other languages and I have also intentionally omitted to point out many parallels in grammatical usage and idiom between Burushaski and the adjacent, though non-related, languages Shina and Khowar. In the Vocabulary on the other hand I have noted when the same word, or obviously a form of the same word, is in use in those languages. I have done this because I believe that many of these Shina and Khowar words have not before been recorded, and even when they have been, will not always be readily accessible to the reader.

As I have eschewed questions of relationship, so for still better reasons I have abstained from any attempt to propound linguistic theories of a more general nature. With less certain virtue I have also failed to supply any new grammatical terminology. Another terminology than that of my boyhood's reminiscences of Latin Grammar is certainly needed to describe the phenomena of Burushaski. I do not know that such exists, and I have thought it wise to leave this thorny matter to hardened experts and not to complicate the issues by amateur attempts which would only prove a stone of offence.

The principal work that remains to be done for Burushaski as I see it is:

1. To make a scientific determination of the phonetic system.
2. To clear up existing grammatical problems and to discover more.
3. To ascertain the relative frequency of various syntactical usages. Some which in my material occur rarely are probably in fact common enough.
4. To make a parallel study of Nagiri Burushaski and local variations in phonetics and vocabulary.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 5. To complete the vocabulary and to collect obsolete and obsolescent words. There are a multitude of general terms to be collected, while there is undoubtedly an immense field of "technical" terms, in the widest sense, to be covered.

In this last task the most fruitful line of approach will be by the way of anthropological interests and anthropological methods. Burushaski also appears to have a great facility in the metaphorical use of specific words, especially verbs. These uses can only be educed with time, patience and experience.

To these various subjects for enquiry, except the first, I now hope to be able to make some contribution.

114 122 Self-determination and luck have brought me again, after ten years, to the land of the Burusho, in the midst of whom, at Aliabad in Hunza EOL and I are now living. This luck I owe "first", as they would say here "to the grace of God", and then to the "kindness" of the Trustees of the Leverhulme Research Fellowship Fund, who have granted me substantial financial assistance. It is a short time spent again with Burushaski-speakers that has enabled me to say above that the Texts and Grammar appear to be generally sound beyond my dreams. This does not at all mean that they are impeccable.

How much can now be done will again be governed by the time factor — the harvest is ripe, but the labourers are few.

But this is anticipating.

000 Meanwhile in what concerns the present work there remains to me the pleasure of paying many debts of very genuine gratitude. To the Tham of Hunza, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E., I have paid my tribute in the Dedication. To him I owe much personal kindness and hospitality and also the services of IYB over a long period. The Burushaski of the Dedication, I may say, has been constrained with much expert advice to an unprecedented use.

Next I have to thank my active collaborators, to whom ultimately everything is due, Jemadar Imam Yar Beg, Inayat Ullah Beg,

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

I cannot see what difference it would make to them whether they were a part of the British Empire, India or Pakistan, or if they were independent. They receive little or nothing from the outside world and contribute little or nothing in return. They are content to leave the world alone if the world will but leave them alone. The law of "live and let live" seems to be the "Golden Rule" in Hunza. If only more peoples and nations throughout the world would follow this simple principle!

Why have the people of this tiny principality so fascinated the world? That is a question that I have sought to answer.

I believe it was Mrs. Lorimer's book *Language Hunting in the Karakorams* that first brought Hunza to the attention of many parts of the world. Then, too, Robert McCarrison mentioned the health of these people in his research writings. Other writers followed. J. I. Rodale in *The Healthy Hunzas* did a lot to focus attention on the people of Hunza. Then G. T. Wrench, Barbara Mons, Frank and Jean Shore, John Clark, Lowell Thomas, Jr., Owen Williams, Ian Stephens, Peter Fleming, Irene V. Unruh, Ben Ruhe and Dr. Allen Banik.

Here I would like to devote a few lines to the work of the above mentioned authors.

I still believe that the most accurate and detailed information about Hunza was given by Mrs. Lorimer.

Barbara Mons in her book *High Road to Hunza* gives a splendid account of the people. The only serious thing I found wrong with it was that there wasn't enough . . . her book left me hungry, eager and yearning for more information about these delightful people. I rank her work as the most concise, informative, pleasurable book on Hunza.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

114 John Clark in his book *Hunza—The Lost Kingdom of the Himalayas* devoted himself chiefly to his wood carving project and left little or no time to say, examine or do anything about the important happenings in Hunza.

When Lowell Thomas, Jr., and his party were in Hunza, they were too busy with the excitement and work involved in filming the scenes for Cinerama to learn much about the country and its people.

In the *National Geographic* of January, 1960 appears the story by Tay and Lowell Thomas, Jr. Part of this story deals with their visit to Hunza. However, the *National Geographic* takes pains not to mention the date of the trip to Hunza, which was December, 1954.

Frankly, I never believed that a magazine of the repute or supposed repute of the *National Geographic* magazine would stoop to that level—to publish an article about 5 years old and allow its readers to assume that it was of recent vintage. I guess the *National Geographic* must have been hard up for an interesting Asiatic story, so it dug up that old one of the Thomases.

A very good book that dwells here and there on Hunza in passages and references is one by an Englishman by the name of Ian Stephens. His book is called *The Horned Moon*. It is well written and this man does know the people of India and Pakistan . . . having been a leading correspondent and executive of one of the English newspapers in that country for many years.

Irene V. Unruh was a German doctor who spent considerable time in Hunza. Her observations concerning the health of the people are most enlightening. She attributes their good health to their unsophisticated, simple way of life and also suggests that the glacial water they consume plays an important role.

Owen Williams, who wrote *First Over the Roof of the World,* was one of the first Americans to see Hunza, although he spent very little time there. He just passed through. Hunza happened to be on the itinerary of the expedition of which he was a member. 114

Ben Ruhe, a young newspaperman from Allentown, Pennsylvania, spent some time in Hunza and Nagir and his account, published in his home town newspaper (and elsewhere) represents some of the best written and presented facts, tales and fables about the people of this part of the world that I have read anywhere and it's a pity that Mr. Ruhe didn't do a book. Perhaps there is still time.

And last, there is Dr. Allen Banik's book, *Hunza Land*. Dr. Banik was sponsored by Art Linkletter to go to Hunza and he found a great many obstacles blocking his path but eventually, when he did get into Hunza, he unfortunately spent but a short time there and his observations do not correspond very closely with my own. But I salute his inalienable right to differ! Dr. Banik, a genial pleasant man, ready and willing to help anyone, has been busy addressing meetings and making appearances throughout the United States and from the reports that I have read, he seems to be pleasing his audiences.

Peter Fleming's book *News from Tartary*, while it is to be regretted that he devotes a scant 15 pages to Hunza, is probably one of the best pieces of writing on the country, the scenery and the people that you will encounter—no matter where you search. Also, his findings are pinpointed. Peter Fleming had a keen eye, a sharp mind, an understanding far beyond his years when he wrote *News from Tartary*. The references, written 25 years ago, are as sharp and as clearly in focus as if written today. I compliment Mr. Fleming

114 on a remarkable piece of reporting!

A splendid bit of writing about Hunza appears in the book called *After You, Marco Polo* by Jean Shore. Mrs. Shore is a remarkable traveler, a wide-eyed, eager observer and a writer with a fine sense of humor. Although only 36 pages of her book are devoted to Hunza, they are "must" reading for anyone who wants to have a clear picture of the Mir, the Rani and the ways of life and the people. Oh, yes, and her description of the country is a delight.

114 164 Now I must deal with two books that deal principally with the health of the people of Hunza. They are written by G. T. Wrench in 1938 and J. I. Rodale in 1948. If the health of the Hunzans is a myth, then these two gentlemen helped spread or perpetuate the myth. However, here is evidence that should dispel any thought of fancy.

Sir Robert McCarrison, C.I.E., M.A., M.D., D. Sc., L.L.D., F.R.C.P., B.A.O., spent the years 1902-4 as regimental medical officer in Chitral and 1904-11 as the Gilgit Agency surgeon. In that important office he had a splendid opportunity to study the health of the inhabitants of that area. Hunza is a part of the Gilgit Agency.

Dr. McCarrison reports: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucus colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

This lends credence to the outlines and hypothesis

concerning the health of the Hunzans. I have found the observations made by both authors, J. I. Rodale and G. T. Wrench, to be both authentic and comparatively reliable when it is taken into consideration that their work was done in the early years when not much information was available from Hunzaland. They were pioneers in the field to show the people of the world that there was a simple, natural, organic way to health. 114● 164

Can anyone doubt that Hunza is located in one of the most inaccessible parts of the entire universe? The fact that a people—a handsome, virile, intelligent, civilized people—could live in such an inaccessible part of the world and still be considered among the healthiest of all people on the face of the globe is intriguing, to say the least. 131 164

Perhaps the story of their health, longevity and energy so shocked our concepts that we had to look twice or read twice to make sure that the statements we were reading could be accepted. Probably because of our smugness—with the feeling of security because of our modern medicines, our miracle drugs, our hospitals, our research techniques, our lab equipment and such—it was incomprehensible to us that a people so remotely located without all of these tremendous benefits could even exist, let alone be considered to be the healthiest and longest living people in the world.

Was it our disdain of eastern methods and way of life that rattled our concepts? 164

Now it could be that the dreamers among us had our imagination fired like it has never been fired before . . . to think that a people living truly on the roof of the world without benefits of modern civilization could subsist or exist, let alone be healthy!

But as one investigates, he finds that Hunza is one of the few places in the entire world, where there is a [177]

the past year the total collected from fines imposed by me upon the citizens of Hunza totaled less than 200 rupees. You know that my people do not have much money. There is no way or means of earning money—except by the few. We do not require money in order to live in Hunza. Further, the full amount that was collected in this manner was used in the maintenance of the irrigation system."

I waved my hand and said, "I only asked. I didn't think it was true, but I've read so many tales about Hunza in which ridiculous and fantastic statements are made without any justification or background."

"A few years ago," I went on, "two of the most influential and widely circulated magazines in the United States published an article by a famed and capable couple of writers—man and wife. I know they visited Hunza on two occasions because I saw their names in your guest book. Now the story they told and which both of these magazines published stated that it was a custom in Hunza for the mother-in-law to go and live with a newly married couple and remain with them on their honeymoon to teach them the ways of life. You explained that this was the reason why Hunzan marriages were so successful and there was seldom, if ever, a divorce.

"Before asking you to clarify this, I just want to tell you that I read this story and when I came to this specific part, I could hardly believe my eyes. But, as I have learned, there are many strange customs followed by different people throughout the world and of course, this could be absolutely true. But it certainly is strange and weird sounding to me anyway. So tell me, is that story true? Is it the custom of the people of Hunza to have the mother-in-law stay with the newly married couple during their honeymoon?"

•114 585 "I said it as a joke," replied the Mir. "I had no knowledge that it would be so widely publicized and written and taken as a fact. I did not mean to mislead the writers you mentioned."

"Then it is not true!"

"No," replied the Mir, "I meant it only as a joke!"

643 115 522 There was no doubt in my mind that the Mir had a keen sense of humor. In fact, through all my talks and discussions with the Mir which were frequent, there was seldom a time when he would pass by an opportunity for a bit of witticism or to laugh and have a bit of fun. He was just about as pleasant a man as could be found anywhere. He was not only a great ruler but he had a sense of humor. It was too bad that the writers referred to took him seriously. Maybe it was one of their bad days.

249 "Do you grow poppies here?" I asked the Mir bluntly and more or less out of the clear blue sky. I put this question to the Mir for a most definite reason.

On a few occasions I saw what I believed to be a field of flowers waving in the distance. But I wasn't sure. Invariably these patches of color were a mile or many miles away. I wondered what they were but I never could get close enough to see them. They were always sighted at great distance from where the road lay.

[123] You might ask why I didn't definitely, once and for all, set out across the field and find out. But remember, when you're in a more or less strange unusual territory, you just don't go off across the fields into someone else's private property.

All told, I doubt if I saw more than half a dozen of these patches of color during the full length of my travels. There might have been many more but I certainly didn't see them and I have an idea that if they

question, the error was cleared up. 128

Remember, I do not claim to be a Sherlock Holmes 124
or smart enough to detect by scent or otherwise an untruth or misunderstanding, so they may crop up in various places in the book.

Long before I left home I had prepared a set of queries. Among them were things for me to investigate —places, customs and chores for me to see and do. And from all this I was to make my own values and estimates as to the validity of the claims made about Hunza and its people. I tried to cover every aspect of importance and interest and I believe that, with very few exceptions, I faithfully accomplished my mission.

In preparation for the trip I read every book I could 122
find or locate that involved Hunza and in each case 114
the author had done a credible job, but most of them had failed miserably to give sufficient information—at least, for me—because 'twas information that I wanted. I wanted to know more about the agriculture of Hunza, about the health of the people, about their methods, their means and their way of life. None of the authors gave much of that vital data.

Right from the first moment that I made plans to go 121
to Hunza I decided that, if I wrote a book, it would 114
contain the most complete, the most detailed and the most thorough study of the people of Hunza yet accomplished by any writer. This determination came upon me from the frustrations I felt when I read the available books on Hunza and was left with a feeling that only the surface of the subject had been scratched.

In my endeavors to fulfill this undertaking, I have spared neither time, effort, risk nor expense. I certainly don't want my readers to be left with the feeling that all about Hunza has not been told. I definitely realize that no one in a short few weeks or even months could

121 learn all there is to know about these most unusual
114 people. At least I wanted to learn the answers to the many questions that come into the average individual's mind.

Therefore, it is my hope that I have not failed in these positive respects.

If my narrative is not everything that you hoped and expected, I sincerely trust that I will make up in the details and information of an authentic nature that I give to you concerning these remarkable people.

42 The facial features of the people of Hunza are most striking. They are invariably finer featured than the people of the West—more angular, more clearly outlined and defined, without being harsh or bold. Their facial characteristics can best be described by the phrase "finely, delicately chiseled physiognomy" . . . like the intricate creations of a gifted sculptor.

Whether because of the rugged outdoor life they lead or because of the tanning or curing process of their smoke-filled homes during the winter, the texture of their skin is quite unusual. I think I can describe it best if I say that their faces looked as though they were made out of smooth chamois.

I was struck by the similarity of the features of the people of Hunza. In the West, everybody you meet or know doesn't look like anyone else that you know. In fact, if you do happen to come across someone who has the likeness or features similar to those of someone else you know, you're immediately struck by that resemblance, which illustrates my point. In the Western world, there is a wide divergence of facial features and characteristics. In Hunza that does not hold true.

A little thought will establish the reason for this
[143] situation. Intermarriage during the centuries must have been the order of the day because of the confining nature of their homeland.

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 41

Cleanliness

ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS I have read and heard reports that the Hunzan homes are scrupulously clean. To that I will not subscribe. I just can't go along with any such assertion. 356 114

I peeked into, looked over at and viewed hundreds of the homes in Nagir on the trek and I also had a chance to see into many of the homes in Hunza and there isn't any question about it—the Hunzan homes are cleaner, tidier and have fewer odors (or none at all) than the others of this same area. But to say that they are scrupulously clean or that you could eat off the floor is, to my mode of thought, a gross exaggeration.

Obviously, the places the other writers saw were very clean and tidy. But, to me anyway, it is clear that the owners were notified in advance that they would have visitors.

Being curious and nosy by habit and turn of mind, I 356 123

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CHAPTER 42

Government

I DON'T KNOW whether to describe the mode of government of Hunza as being complex or simple. The language of the people of Hunza is Burushaski and this language is totally unwritten. Therefore, they have no written code of laws.

The first dictionary of the Burushaski language was written by Colonel David Lorimer in 1935 and at the present time Doctor Hermann Berger, a German language professor, a specialist in Sanskrit, is seeking to write another and perhaps a more thorough and complete dictionary of that language.

I recall in Chalt, while I was enjoying the company of Professor Berger, he showed me a set of books that was published in Norway in 1935. They were Colonel David Lorimer's dictionary of the Burushaski language.

In my estimation Dr. Berger's work should be a masterpiece, because never in my life have I seen any

human being take to a task so assiduously and with so much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even if they are printed in German. 114

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I found every other source, with one exception besides myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better if I, too, used the "aski". 104 197

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains unwritten, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding. 671

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowledged sovereignty to India. 648

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I know this power has never been used or abused by the present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office. 643 175 [642]

you realize that Hunza's neighbors are Afghanistan, China and India and slightly above a narrow corridor of Afghanistan there is Russia, just a scant few miles from the Hunzan border. 648 [131]

Therefore, any person who wanted to start trouble with either Russia or China could get into the Hunza area and it wouldn't take too much maneuvering to cause an international incident, especially if the Chinese or Russians were looking for an excuse. So I don't blame the Pakistani government for being cautious and realistic about those possibilities.

Just a few years ago an American scientist working with funds raised by an organization started for that purpose, known as the Central Asiatic Research Foundation, wanted to take a couple of the Hunzan boys to the United States and have them educated there and then brought back again to Hunza. At first the Mir flatly refused. Then after reconsidering the matter, and perhaps in consultation with others, he changed his mind and gave his permission. I did not inquire as to the exact rhyme and reason for the developments that took place, but eventually the Pakistani government decisively and definitely refused to allow the boys out of the country. 648 177

It appeared to me that the Mir felt that there was no reason why he should refuse when the foreign policy of his country was being looked after in Karachi. I am more than certain that the Mir's opinion was recorded in Karachi.

But John Clark, the writer of a book about Hunza, and some American authorities were very annoyed at this and felt that the Mir was being unreasonable, ungenerous and to say the least, unkind in not allowing these boys to come to America. [114

I did not know then the true reasons behind the Mir's

to the average little red school house in the West. The one in Baltit was quite a bit better and as good as any of our schools of 25 years ago . . . which I would say was mighty fine going for a far off place like Hunza. 871

Then I asked the Mir what had happened to John Clark's woodworking school and he told me, with calm deliberation, that he knew and felt that Mr. Clark was an earnest, honest man with the best of intentions. . . . "But, how could he," went on the Mir, "hope to improve the economy of our little country by means of a woodworking school and the training of our men in woodcraft when we do not have the required wood? We can't cut down our apricot trees, which are our very life, in order to get wood to use in making things that we could export to the United States!" 874 322 177 114

Then I recalled from Mr. Clark's book that he did have great difficulty in locating suitable lumber for his school.

From what I have read and learned on the scene about Clark's work, I know he was a man of high caliber and integrity and did a mighty good job with the boys, but for some strange reason there is an unusual silence about his work and his efforts. I could neither understand nor explain it. I'm still trying to get the true impression of the people concerning this matter.

At this point I want to emphasize that I am not seeking to pick a battle with anyone, but from my travels back and forth and around the Hunzan territory, it is fantastic to believe that there could ever be sufficient timber to make it worthwhile to run a woodworking school, especially to make woodcraft for export purposes.

Stonecraft, yes—for stones, even including some of the more precious and rare types, could without doubt be found in Hunza or at least in the mountains close

874 by. And if they were taught to make useful jewels and
177 do other types of work with rock, then they would have
322 something, because the supply is absolutely unlimited.
114 I agree wholeheartedly with the Mir that the thought of making a worthwhile contribution to the people of Hunza by opening a woodcraft school is utter nonsense.

in other countries distant from Hunza, would attach an aura of mystery or superhumanness to the people of Hunza, but the truth of the matter is that even in Pakistan the belief or the tale concerning the superiority of the Hunzan people also exists. In Karachi, when I mentioned I was going to Hunza or seeking to go to Hunza, ears pricked up quickly. They were interested, they were intrigued, for they knew and had heard tales of the prowess of the Hunzans.

A few weeks before I left home I learned that there was a Pakistani boy employed in Niagara-on-the-Lake and I made an attempt to contact him. My wife just about that time met the Pakistani lad and his wife at a social function and she told him that I wanted to see him and talk to him about Pakistan and about the people of Hunza. Then, when he heard that I intended to go to Hunza, he excitedly informed my wife and stressed that she be sure to tell me not to go because the roads in the mountains were terribly dangerous, that one could penetrate into that country only at the greatest of risk and danger and that many people had set out for Hunza and never been heard of again.

When my wife brought this tale to me, I was perturbed. I was worried and my wife was even more concerned. If a native of Pakistan, and not an illiterate, I want to remind you (this man was a technician), held these people in such awe and fear, you can see that the myth about the people of Hunza is universal.

It is further claimed that the people of Hunza have endurance that is unsurpassed by any other people on earth. I believe it was Eric Shipton, the famous mountain explorer, who said that the Hunzans had more endurance than even the Sherpa guides that are found on the borders of Nepal and Tibet. These Sherpas have long been considered the people with the greatest en-

durance and stamina known anywhere, and if Shipton says that the Hunzans had more endurance and stamina than these people, no higher tribute can be given. 114 [147]

It is my humble opinion that too much has been written about the people of Hunza by people who have never been there and know little or nothing about the actual conditions that prevail in that country. Then, too, many visitors spent most of their time taking pictures, viewing the scenery and dining at the Mir's and didn't pay much attention or learn anything about the actual living conditions of the people.

The people of Hunza have not in the least benefited by the visitors that have reached Hunza, and if future visits are discouraged, I believe there would be good cause for it. 177

Most of the diseases known to civilization are unknown in Hunza. I do not ask you to take my word for it but that is my report from consulting the resident doctor in Hunza, as well as a German woman doctor who visited Hunza. 164 [759]

It is further true that the Mir's wife, the Rani of Hunza, had her appendix removed and she took a trip to Rawalpindi to have it done. But in the first place she does not live according to Hunza standards and besides, it was probably stylish to have an appendix operation. On the other hand, if a good surgeon were let loose in Hunza for a few weeks, there's no doubt about it, he'd have hundreds of appendixes removed before he could be stopped.

Another important point that I wish to make at this time is that I paid my own way to and from Hunza. I had no financial backing. Therefore I am not committed to aid anyone or any product or radio station or newspaper. I have no one to fear and no one to please. I can afford to tell the truth. 122

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Hunza

CHAPTER 44

Health

For me to say that the Hunzans are the healthiest 164
people of the world, which many authors and writers 114
have claimed, would be sheer effrontery . . . mainly because I have not studied the health of all the peoples of the world, nor have I even met them. However, I do attest from what I have seen and observed, that the Hunzans are one of the healthiest people of the world.

To say that they are completely free from diseases or 754
health problems is definitely not true. At the time when 115
I visited Hunza there was a resident doctor located at [743]
Aliabad, where he was in charge of a 10-bed hospital. I conversed with him and questioned him daily during my stay and he answered my pressing questions with complete frankness and candor.

He is only a young man, a Pakistani, and his name is Dr. Mohammed Yusuf Khan, M.B., B.S. He is a handsome, capable, well educated doctor and is, in my

177 their salt and soon there will be a few more items added
263 and, as more of their people go out of the country to
439 earn a living and come back to visit or retire, more of civilization's curses will be brought back with them.

165 The doctor rather clearly indicated that infant mor-
•114 tality was not as low as some writers would like us to believe. I repeat—he made this quite clear.

164 Now I'll let you decide how it ties in with the statements made by Sir Robert McCarrison: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucous colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people, the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

276 Smoking in general is not an addiction in Hunza. The water-pipe or hubble-bubble is used by some of the people, usually at gatherings or ceremonies. It is then passed around in a wide circle, each one taking a puff
[562] or two. The women are included, but only after all the men have finished.

Some of the citizens use snuff. It is tobacco mixed with the ash of a plant called "sopa," which is indigenous to that area. They take the tobacco and the sopa ash, put in a dash of water, stir it up and mix it into a paste. Then they place gobs of this paste under their lip, exactly the same as the snuff chewer does in the West, although this practice has been dying out in the Western world.

164 Just how much of the health of the people of Hunza
132 is due to the fact that they get a lot of sunlight? That is a most pertinent question and one that will take a lot

of study before an answer can be given. They do get more sunshine than the Nagirwals—of that there is no doubt. While in Nagir fields are definitely in better tilth, their land is deeper, they have broader and more fertile valleys and can grow more and better food, yet undoubtedly the people of Hunza are by far the handsomer, healthier, more industrious and more energetic. 132 164 [133]

For my part I wasn't completely sold on the principle that the people of Hunza did have much more sunlight than the people of Nagir and I debated the matter with a few individuals. But each of them maintained stoutly that they did and claimed that they had scientific proof that Hunza did get more sunlight.

The last man with whom I did battle on the subject was Dr. Hermann Berger of West Germany. From his investigations he said that he had reached the conclusion positively and unequivocally, that the northern slope of the mountains through which the Hunza River flowed did get more sunlight than the southern slope which was Nagir. 132 114

As I found considerable difficulty and doubt concerning the theory of the people of Hunza getting more sunlight than the people of Nagir, I decided to draw a little chart that would illustrate the situation as I eventually found it to be. After seeing the drawing I think it will prove to you that the principle is natural and reasonable. (*See Fig.* 1.) 1/A

1/A [facing p. 390 - ANALYST]

131 will understand why "it plagued me thus."

133 Many writers who have visited the area, and many [114] others who have not, refer to Hunza as being in the Himalayas. I am sorry to be forced to contradict these good people, but from my research—and I repeat, research—I have come to the conclusion that Hunza is definitely in the Karakorum system and not the Himalayas.

[114] If this error was made just occasionally by casual visitors or tourists, it could go unmentioned, but when men with science education and degrees make this mistake, it is somewhat unpardonable. There are very few maps or gazetteers that give this information accurately, and if you think I came by this information easily, I would suggest that you take down whatever maps you have available and do some research on the topic.

The eventual decision as to which are the Karakorums and which are the Himalayas came about when it was firmly laid down in one place that the northwest upper Indus separates the Karakorums from the Himalayas. The Karakorums seem to start about where the Hindu Kush ends in Kashmir. The exact spot, according to the best data that I could obtain, is 74 degrees east longitude and from there the Karakorums run approximately 300 miles southeast down to the main bend of the Shyok River. Even encyclopedias are not completely reliable in this instance, because one encyclopedia (in fact, Columbia is the one I'm talking about) lists Mountain K2 which is now known as Godwin Austen as the second tallest mountain peak in the world and places it both in the Karakorums and in the Himalayas. The Hindu Kush culminates at Tirach Mir —26,426 ft. high. Just about there the Karakorum range takes over and extends as specified above.

Part or all of the armies of Alexander the Great 131
wound their way through the Hindu Kush mountains. 133
Whether or not they ever found their way into the [173]
Karakorums, history does not designate, but I suspect
that they did, because the Hunzans are supposed to be
descendants of Alexander the Great or his soldiers and
Hunza is in the Karakorums.

The Himalayas in the encyclopedia are stated to lie in India, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and China but I know for certain the Himalayas extend into Pakistan as well.

At this point I am not seeking to take issue with any [114]
gazetteer, encyclopedia or other volume of facts. I am just pointing out the difficulty I encountered in getting the information down to a semblance of order and accuracy. Further, I have consulted with, written to and requested details from many sources who should know the facts, and in practically every case I came to a dead end. It seems as though very few people in the world know the exact location and extent of these three mountain systems.

One man who did seem to know them and placed them accurately was Eric Shipton and by the heavens, he should know—he spent more time among these mountains than any white man in history.

A curious thing about the people of Hunza . . . they 823
do not have names for the peaks in the area and there 103
are some mighty lofty peaks. Even the famed Rakaposhi has no individual name in Hunza. It is just called "Dumani," the same as every other high mountain or mountain peak that they came across. Actually, "dumani" means "covered with a cloud."

I guess they're so accustomed to seeing these awesome peaks that they become impervious to them. So what? Another hill! Every time I asked one of the

the commodities that they eat. If that is the criterion, 241
then I am forced to admit openly that the fruits, vegetables and cereal grains of Hunza do not compare with those of the West.

Contrary to what any writer, expert or visitor to [114
Hunza has stated, in my opinion and belief, Hunzan fruit, vegetables and grains are not superior to those of the West. From the strict viewpoint of taste, size and appearance the American fruits, vegetables and grains are far better than those grown in Hunza. In this matter I must humbly yet fairly state, that the American standards and qualities in fruits make the similar varieties of fruits of other countries seem poor, puny and second rate by comparison.

Hunza need not feel too badly because of this as millions of dollars are spent annually in America by a hundred or more experimental farms of vast acreages, breeding fruits, nuts, vegetables, forage crops and grains. If some of these newer varieties of fruits or vegetables and grains were grown on Hunzan soils and under Hunzan conditions, I might have a different story to tell.

Let me cite an example. In America, in order to find
a better strain of strawberries, millions—and I repeat, millions—of seedlings have been planted. These plants have been carefully tended and watched. Then a selection of a mere handful from all of these for further testing was made. From these results a few new varieties which have shown an excellence of habit of growth, vitality, good foliage, ease of propagation, resistance to various diseases, flavor and color of fruit, good bearing qualities and other important factors were selected and disseminated throughout the country. No one in his right mind would expect tiny Hunza to follow such a procedure. In fact, only in the United

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on my own farm we definitely and positively use neither 241
chemical fertilizers nor sprays.

You can understand in Hunza that tastewise there is no interference or problem from chemical fertilizers and sprays.

I believe that the myth about the flavor and succu- [114]
lence of the Hunzan apricots came about because visitors ate the apricots ripe and freshly picked from the trees, whereas at home the apricots they ate were picked from the trees days before, because they had to be shipped long distances, and therein lay the difference in flavor.

In January, 1959, I sent the Mir of Hunza good 123
sized packages of the different kinds of hardy wheat 241
that were created by the experimental farms of the 177
Dominion of Canada. It was special seed, tested for hardiness in the colder areas and of such quality that would produce a fine loaf of bread.

I also sent the best strains of carrots, cabbages, Brussels sprouts, lettuce, beets and other vegetables. But when I was dining with the Mir and asked him about the results with the seeds, he admitted that the only seed they had got planted that year was the lettuce, which was being enjoyed at the Mir's table. He said that he would try the rest of them the following year.

It is understandable that the Western world would have better varieties of fruits, vegetables and grains, because here we spend millions and millions of dollars on hybridizing, trials, selections and improving the various strains . . . so we should get some results from our efforts . . . and we do! Therefore, without question, the Hunzans could profit by using Western strains of grains, vegetables and fruits. This is one aspect of modern civilization that could help them greatly.

The apricots that I saw, tasted and ate were not the

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Hunza
Nagir

Then wherein lies the difference? What happened through the years to create the obvious difference that everyone sees and feels the minute he comes into the territory? I am not an anthropologist, nor have I training in any scientific field. Therefore, I am quite unprepared to speak with any degree of authority, but I am told the difference is that the people of Nagir accepted or welcomed strangers and settlers from other parts of the area and thus, they became a polyglot group of mixed blood, habits, customs, religions and thought, whereas the Hunzan people, then and today, discourage outsiders from coming to live among them in their country. Then, too, I guess another important factor looms and that is that Hunza is not nearly as inviting from an economic viewpoint to a man coming from another part of the world to settle, whereas Nagir does offer many more advantages.

For me to assert that there are no mixed bloods in Hunza would be an untruth, because even in my travels about the towns and along the road, I saw distinct types that were not of the run-of-the-mill Hunzans. Some were distinctly Chinese and I am also reasonably sure that there is a fair amount of Afghan blood among the Hunzans; besides Russian—for, as you may recall, Russia is but a scant 14 miles away.

It is not my intention to try to build up a case for true-bloods as being the Hunzan heritage, for history clearly indicates that it is among the people of mixed bloods where the greatest advances are made in science, industry and the creative human arts.

In Hunza there are very few plains or expanses where farming on a large scale could be practiced. However in Nagir it is quite different. There were sections through which we passed that were wider than the eye could reach, covered with good soil that was carrying

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7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Naqir

Therefore, it is my belief, one of the reasons for the Hunzan high standing throughout the world is due to the excellent quality of leadership that they have enjoyed for many years, and is being continued by the present Mir and his staff and family. 643

I don't want anyone to run off with the idea that everything I saw about the Hunzans impressed me or that I thought they were exceptional in every way, because that definitely is not true. I did then and I do today admire the people of Hunza for all the splendid qualities that make them outstanding people. Anyone who could live in the harsh, tough, back-breaking terrain of Hunza must be made of stern fiber. Yet they have their foibles and weaknesses as well. 123 114

You see there are no immigration rules or laws to stop them from going anywhere in that area . . . at least, there weren't until recently. They could have gone to China, India, Afghanistan, Russia, Pakistan or anywhere else where the pickings might have been easier. But their love of freedom and intelligence that told them they were better off than most people in the world, even though financially poorer, kept them on the mountain slopes that are the banks of the Hunza. 486

No book on Hunza would be complete to even a small degree, unless some mention was made of the fact that it was not always known as Hunza. In fact, back before the turn of the twentieth century, Hunza was known as Kanjut and the people as the Kanjuts. 101

From records that I have located, I learned that, when the rulers of Shignam came to Hunza, they called the valley Kanjut. That name remained until the time of the Girkis and they called the country Hunza, because all of the people were united like the arrows in a quiver. In the Burushaski language Hunza means "arrow."

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Hunza

CHAPTER 71

Misconceptions

121 THIS CHAPTER I find the hardest of all the chapters in
114 the book to write.

So many gross errors or misrepresentations concerning Hunza have been given widespread publicity that I felt it was high time these errors were corrected.

110 It is established that a writer or a speaker who makes statements must stand behind the statements that he makes. That is all well and good in such instances and cases where the truth can be readily verified by means of encyclopedias, dictionaries or other reliable sources of information.

197 Inasmuch as Hunza is concerned, this definitely is not possible. To begin with, the language, Burushaski, is spoken only by the people in Hunza, Nagir and in a small area thereabouts. Dr. Berger in his intimate studies and broad travels has come upon only one other spot on the earth's surface where a similar tongue is

126 "nothing" where the ledge once led . . . a few well
192 appointed steel rods forced into fissures being the total
491 support. As yet I have failed to discover or learn the proper word describing these galleries.

114 I must admit that many or most of the errors or misconceptions concerning Hunza are due to the fact that insufficient time was spent by some of the writers who visited Hunza.

At first it was my wish to pass by this chapter on misconceptions because I did not feel that I should be involved in a hassle with other writers. But then I asked myself if I had any doubts as to whether or not I was right. And this made me feel that I definitely wanted to write the chapter on misconceptions.

It is not my intent or desire to be contradictory nor arbitrary. I am not seeking to pick a quarrel with anyone. But the facts and statements herein related are based on my seeing, hearing, research, questioning and investigating.

I have tried to make my book as accurate as humanly possible. And if and when errors are found, I trust they will be brought quite forcibly to my attention. I would like to believe that if I can dish it out, I can take it, too!

134 *Fertile valleys*—Some writers have referred to various valleys in Hunza as fertile valleys. By the standards to which we are accustomed, there is not one single fertile valley in all of Hunza. That the soil is productive and the valley green and beautiful, no one will deny. But at best the soil in Hunza is shallow and to be productive, it must be maintained assiduously. I repeat, in Hunza there are no such things as naturally fertile valleys as compared, for example, to parts of the Willamette Valley in Oregon.

131 *Hunza is scarcely* 60 *miles long,* says one writer. An-
133 other says it is 80 miles long and elsewhere I saw it

487 I am sure that a people who saw these caravans coming
177 and going could not be called isolated by any stretch of the imagination. They just like their little piece of paradise too well to leave it.

133 *Hunza empties into the Indus.* Two famed writers who should know better . . . or should I say, should have checked more closely . . . made the statement that the Hunza River flows into the Indus. Even a cursory glance at a map would show that the Hunza empties into the Gilgit and the Gilgit empties into the Indus.

585 *Mother-in-law taken along on honeymoon*—This bit of stupidity, or should I say absurdity, appeared in no less than two of the foremost publications in America.

Who ever heard of a honeymoon in Hunza? Not having a Niagara Falls, probably they'd go up and sit on top of Rakaposhi with the mother-in-law between them to cool their ardor.

When the Mir made this statement, he was joking, never believing for a moment that anyone would take such a broad joke as being factual.

481 *Hunzans walk* 60 *to* 100 *miles as though it were*
147 *nothing.* In fact, one author stated somewhere that the Hunzans could walk 60 miles easier than she could walk upstairs.

I will readily grant that I believe the Hunzan people are the world's best walkers and well they would have to be, because there just happens to be no other mode of locomotion. I'll even go further and say that all through my travels in that territory I did not once see a Hunzan man, or for that matter a Nagirwal, who appeared to be worn from the rugged walks and climbs. So it is clear that they have tremendous reserves of energy and stamina . . . but let's not go overboard!

486 *Anyone can visit Hunza.* Contrary to the assertion
114 made by one writer that anyone can get into Hunza, I

would like to mention that since 1950 here is a list of all the people who were allowed into Hunza from the outside world: Franc and Jean Shore, April, 1952; Lowell Thomas, Jr. in December, 1954; Benjamin Ruhe in July, 1956; Barbara Mons, May, 1956; Dr. Allen Banik, July, 1958; and John Tobe and Cecil Brunton in July, 1959. 486 114

I've a letter here from the Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D. C.: 486

"Dear Dr. Keller,

"Please refer to your letter of September 29, 1959, regarding your request to visit Hunza.

"The Government of Pakistan have regretted their inability to grant permission for your visit to this area. We would like to mention that we have received a number of similar requests from other individuals and we have not been able to comply with those requests.

"We have been informed by Dr. Francis Pottenger of Monrovia, California, that he and Dr. William Albrecht of the University of Missouri, also planned to accompany you on your proposed visit. We would appreciate it if you could kindly convey our regrets to Dr. Albrecht. We are writing to Dr. Pottenger ourselves.

"Yours sincerely,

A. Fatch, Second Secretary"

This should establish clearly, once and for all, whether or not it is easy to get into Hunza.

Court fines go to Mir's treasury. This statement was made by one of the writers on Hunza and when brought to the Mir's attention by me, it was vigorously denied. 652

Any revenue obtained in this manner goes to the state and helps maintain the canals and aqueduct systems. Further, the total obtained from fines during a year would not exceed 200 rupees, about $40.00. [312]

000 from what you saw in Hunza?"

I'm glad to have the opportunity of answering this question. I believe the lessons I have learned in Hunza have already removed years from my appearance. I am healthier, more active and of happier countenance. I possess boundless energy and seldom tire.

Since my return from Hunza, I have drastically decreased my intake of cooked foods. In their place I am consuming as much as possible (depending upon my ability to make the change) of natural, unprocessed, uncooked foods. Today I say that the only excuse for eating cooked foods is that they taste good or have a nicer flavor and are pleasant and appetizing. But I do not believe any food is nutritionally improved by cooking, baking, frying or roasting. Again I repeat, you may improve its palatability, its flavor, its taste and its succulence . . . but you have positively not improved it nutritionally.

I believe that I can live to be 100 years old if I care to live that long . . . and if the good Lord is willing . . . by following the lessons learned in Hunza.

"If you are convinced that there are so many benefits in following the ways of the people of Hunza to health, why don't you start a crusade?"

114 Well, let's be sensible. Mrs. Lorimer did a very nice delineation on the people of Hunza in her writings. McCarrison did a terrific piece of work in showing people how, by following the health habits of the people of Hunza, they could maintain or regain their health. So did Wrench and J. I. Rodale, Unruh and others. But only a small segment of the people of the world—even among those who have read the books—followed the principles. What makes you think they would follow my admonitions and advice, any more than they did 000 those capable illustrious ones who wrote before me? I

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.40-D]

798 gious sect to which all Hunzas belong;
643 the Mir of Hunza is administrator, but not religious deputy, for the Ismailians of the Central Asian District.

114 THE notes about Bohar and his teeth were made after I had worked with the Hunza people for almost three years during two prolonged stays in the small kingdom. I was introduced to this part of Asia as a reconnaissance engineer on General Stilwell's staff, and returned twice be-
114 tween 1948 and 1951. My primary
123 purpose as Director of the Central Asiatic Research Foundation was to discover what resources were available to the Hunzas, and to teach them to use these to their own best advantage. From the start of my second visit I operated a general dispensary with

[Text continues on p.41-A]

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P. 41- A]

114 Western equipment. (Training in anat-
123 omy, some concentrated informal studies of Asian diseases, plus previous experience, made this possible for me. In addition, I ran three experimental gardens and founded a craft school. with the Mir's approval.)

164 Bohar had developed scurvy, after
146 which staphylococcus infected the
123 gums and abscessed the roots of his teeth; the abscesses had then eroded downward through the jawbone and out through the flesh and skin. After washing out the sores, I gave him vitamin C tablets to stop the scurvy, and vitamin D with calcium lactate to cure the rickets that were stiffening his knees. The old man was by no means
[752] atypical. My dispensary was always beset by lines of waiting patients, all with afflictions that belied popular beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."

165 seventeen." Two years before he had
576 told me he was thirteen.

165 Because the Hunzas, themselves,
[217] have no written records, I attempted to
[128] estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

165 THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered
145 firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age
[146] in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance, a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

262 "Purity" has been attributed to the
[114] Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad.
[272] Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter, round out the

115

115 INFORMANTS--identification and characterization of persons serving as sources of information. See also:

Use of informants and interpreters in field research 124

Life histories 159

Chapter 6

EAST AGAIN

We knew, of course, that it would not be possible to ride 114
over the snow passes into Gilgit before June or July, but we had no wish to incur the heat of the Red Sea or the Indian plains in May. We therefore sailed on March 1st (1934), a slack shipping season, for few people return to India just before the hot weather if they can help it. After an uneventful journey out, with an unprecedentedly dull lot of fellow-passengers (or were we ourselves grown old and dull? we didn't feel it. We felt like a pair of school children who had snatched an unexpected holiday and were off on a wild adventure), we found ourselves back in the familiar clammy dampness of Bombay. We made it our first business to pay a courtesy call on the Russian scholar, Professor Ivanow, with whom DL had had correspondence from time to time. We thought of no practical advantage beyond the pleasure of the great man's personal acquaintance. Professor Ivanow is, of course, one of the leading authorities on the doctrines, practices, and literature of Ismailism, the Muslim sect to which the Hunza people belong. But the Hunza peasant would know as little about these esoteric mysteries as the nominal Church of England peasant aboutt he homoousian or filioque controversies or the detail of the Thirty-nine Articles.

It happened, however, that the Professor was in touch with 792
some Hunza people in Bombay, more especially with a small 115
deputation which had just come down—on foot through the winter snows—to pay their respects and their annual "Peter's Pence" to His Highness, the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis, and to them God's vice-regent upon earth, whether his headquarters be Paris or Monte Carlo or the racing stables.

115 racing stables. They came to see us—a cheery, pleasant group of wholesome mountain people—oddly out of place in the lounge of a Bombay hotel. They were naturally eager to get home as quickly and inexpensively as possible, and we were able to annex two. One, Daulat Shah, was willing to act as personal servant and factotum, though untrained in such work and more familiar with plough and spade than artificial European needs. Throughout the whole of our stay in Hunza "Dádo" was our trusty, loyal friend. God bless him! Secondly, a well-educated man of the Wazir's family, distantly related to the humbler, peasant-proprietor Daulat Shah, one Qudrat Ullah Beg, who proved an invaluable language-informant, and worked well for David to the end. He was not capable of the same whole-hearted devotion to us and our affairs as Dádo, and never stirred our affections to the same degree, but his knowledge of Persian and Hindustani was considerable; he could write as well as speak them both, and he possessed an interest in and a knowledge of his own language that proved unique. Under David's tuition he ultimately became in fact a fine philologist, and took the greatest delight in every new revelation about Burushaski that their joint work afforded. He was the kind of man that would have been an ornament to any Oxford Senior Common Room, and like the don of fiction was somewhat conceited, very self-centred, and little use in practical affairs.

It was incredibly cheering—within forty-eight hours of landing in Bombay—to have acquired two Burushaski speakers as travelling companions.

Dádo began his duties at once, took charge of our kit on the railway, and performed such shoe-cleaning, bed-making services as he could, with intelligence and will. Easter Saturday, 1934, saw us driving up the famous poplar avenue into Srinagar, and by teatime next day happily and most comfortably installed on a jolly little boat, aptly called the PAX. It was Easter Sunday, but luckily the Kashmiri does not observe our pagan festivals.

We moored our boat at the side of the main river, well upstream from the picturesque but highly septic city, quite

elaborate the statement: "She is my sister, at least: the 601
daughter of my Little Father."

David sadly bemoaned the hideous "waste" of nine weeks 126
spent in illness and convalescence; but in fact he managed to put in a lot of most valuable spade work. Even in the periods of weakness between the fever attacks he got a good deal done—including the Introduction to his first volume of the Burushaski—and during his convalescence he worked steadily and increasingly long hours every day, though he was not able to move freely about the countryside. Qudrat Ullah proved extremely intelligent. David suggested a subject he would like to go into—the rotation of crops; the clans; marriage or funeral rites, etc., etc.—and Qudrat Ullah went home to ponder and collect fuller information than he himself could give offhand, from his entire family, including the elders. Then he wrote out the facts in Burushaski (using still the inadequate and unsatisfactory Arabic script) and came a day or two later to read his "essay." This David took down verbatim—thus getting at least all the relevant technical vocabulary, asked further details, and suggested further lines of enquiry, drawing by this means on a far larger range of informants than he could hope to get into touch with single-handed. As soon as he was able to get about he was able to discuss matters on the spot with a background of knowledge that made it easier for him to understand the less sophisticated speakers, and from their talk and his own observation to check and supplement the information Qudrat Ullah had supplied. This method worked 115 ●
admirably. Nor was Qudrat Ullah his only sedentary informant: the levies and others took their turn in the study.

It proved immensely valuable to have the carefully dictated 000
manuscripts from Qudrat Ullah, with supplementary notes and comments. As soon as these had been worked through, I took them one by one and typed them out in triplicate, so that even if all our manuscript notebooks were to perish by fire or flood or avalanche—which heaven forfend!—we should still have *some* written record to supplement our memory. The two spare copies were posted home to the Bank in separate batches at longish intervals for safe custody till our return. In some ways

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

231 to keep her strength up—and this in one of the poorest houses,
844 where they have had no bread nor butter for themselves for
262 weeks. *Daudo* is one of the nourishing dishes you make for a human mother, and the cat was such a pet that the kittens were considered as a birth in the family, one of the emergencies budgeted for. There is as little need in Hunza for an R.S.P.C.A.
231 as for an anti-litter crusade. Everyone is devoted to his animals,
562 and the children have pet names for ever[illegible]mb and kid. You will often see a boy or girl carrying home [illegible] tired animal slung over the neck like a fashionable lady's fur. Only people who have lived in the East can realize how amazing was this affectionate care for a pet; or how still more amazing this happy family life where father could come in and find his wife and daughters entertaining two strange men and be obviously delighted to see the guests. At least, if this sort of thing is possible elsewhere in the East, I have not heard of it.

231 When we passed next day we heard that a strange cat, which must be the only other one in Aliábád, for in general everyone is too poor to keep either cat or dog, had come in while the mother was mouse-hunting and had killed two of the kittens.
[115] Yaman, the only brother of our most beloved young friends, and most intelligent of informants, lifted a pathetic little white body with his toes from the field to show us. The children were half horrified and half amused at the kittens' fate.

137 There were a few wild flowers these June days amongst the scanty grass of the *toqs*: red bladder campion, stitchwort, and an occasional starved-looking forget-me-not. The children were much amused when we told them what the English call it, and that sentimentalists amongst us use it as a love-token. After that, one or another would run up to us offering a tiny blue flower and saying, "Don't forget me!" Some future linguist, language-hunting like ourselves, may be puzzled to hear of *je til akol* growing in Hunza fields and rack his brains as to how
123 the idea came to the Karakoram. On principle we have tried to avoid poisoning the ground for future workers by importing European ideas, legends, or phrases, and in this connection the forget-me-not, the "one little pig" and Afrot's *How do you do?* are the only sins on my conscience.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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197 Apparently ʊ and ɪ are unstressed variants of *u* and *i*, cf. e.g. gukɛ: gu·kɛ *these*. But in spite of cases like go·n, gun *dawn* o and *u* must be considered to be separate phonemes. The same is undoubtedly true also of *ai* : *e* and *e* : *ə* although we find, exceptionally, (personal?) variations such as tail, təil, te.il, te·l *such*, γai.iŋ, γe.iŋ *grapes*.

The vowel system of Bu. would thus appear to include the following phonemes; *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *o*. To these should probably be added *a·*, although quantity does not appear to be of phonemic significance in other parts of the system.

As regards the consonants L. is probably right in taking *ǵ*, γ, *q̇* to be variants of *g*, γ and *q* due to the proximity of *y*.[1] But the last mentioned sound is certainly a separate phoneme.

Regarding the cerebrals, aspirates, gγ and W. *ł* see below.

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114 During my stay in Chitral in 1929 I had an opportunity to
194 take down short lists of Bu. and W. words. My Bu. informant
[115] was a certain Abdullah[2] from Baltit. The other called his language Wə·čik wa·r and his native valley Wərči gu·m = Ya si·n.[3]

I worked with each of them for a couple of hours only, and I am, of course, aware of the utter insufficiency of my observations. But both of my informants had a very good and clear articulation[4] and on the whole my notations agree unexpectedly well with those of L. and Zarubin (whose material I had not at hand). It may not be devoid of interest, therefore, to compare some of my words with those given by L. for the sake of checking and corroborating his perception of the sounds.

194 Many words are identical in L.'s and my notation of Bu. E.g. to·rumo *ten;* ma tum *black;* -san *chin;* ha γur *horse;* guš pu·r *prince;* -tatas *palm of the hand*. In some cases my notation of vowels differs slightly from L.'s. This may partly be due to individual latitude

[1] V. § 6. b.

[2] Brother of Ali Madat, cf. Texts, p. II.

[3] Acc. to Abdullah: Buršugum.

[4] I had less difficulty in recognizing their aspirates and cerebrals than those of some Dardic dialects which I had the opportunity of hearing for a much longer time.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

My mode of procedure was as follows, and in all the circumstances it seems to have justified itself. For a few weeks I worked with Nazer of Aliabad, head of my establishment of domestic servants, eliciting from him the principal inflectional forms of the language as well as the chief pronominal forms and the numerals. Nazer, though illiterate, was a man with excellent brains and the instincts of a teacher and elucidator, and Hindustani provided a medium of intercourse. After this I secured the services of Imâm Yâr Bèg, brother of the Wazir of Hunza and a Jemadar in the Gilgit Scouts, and began to take down texts to his dictation. Each day I wrote down as much as I had time to, making every effort to record the sounds phonetically as far as I was able to appreciate them, and to make sure of the division of the words. I did not make a point of fully following and understanding what I wrote. The same day, or the next working-day, I read out to him what I had written, corrected it as far as I could from every point of view and strove to arrive at the exact meaning of every word and sentence. I made notes of the translation and obtained the principal parts of verbs, the plural forms of nouns and so on, and recorded other words and phrases that were suggested by those of the text. 126 1150

All this was very hurriedly done, but the results have in general proved satisfactory and the texts themselves seem to be readily intelligible to Burushaski-speakers when read aloud to them. They will often complete a sentence and continue the narrative, where it is short, in much the same words as the original, for though there are no professional story-tellers in Hunza, many of the local stories or accounts of customs appear to be told habitually in a customary, if not stereotyped form. [537]

Imam Yar Beg was a man of first-rate intelligence, great energy and a forceful personality. His own tastes ran naturally to sport and the practical. He was an enthusiastic and skilled polo player and I fear linguistic enquiries must sometimes have bored him, but he stayed the course until at length he unfortunately fell ill a month or two before I left the country. In that month or two,

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

115 126 of course, everything was going to have been checked and corrected and much additional information was going to have been obtained — an impossible programme!

126 Simultaneously with the writing of the texts I ran through an extensive list of common English words and obtained as far as possible their Burushaski equivalents by direct enquiry. This method helps to fill up unexpected hiatuses which will always be found in the vocabulary obtained from any moderate body of texts and casual information. It works well enough with nouns that are the names of material objects and with the simpler direct verbal conceptions. As a sole method, with an imperfectly-known common language as medium of communication, it would be quite unsatisfactory.

Also, in desperation, to make the most of the time available, I adopted a still less satisfactory expedient. I commissioned Imam Yar Beg's elder brother, 'Ināyatullah Bèg, to write out for me a list of all the Burushaski words and proverbs he could think of with explanations in Hindustani. He had some months in which to do this. I gave him for the purpose a large number of slips, each to be used for a single word, of which the vital inflected forms were also to be given. Unfortunately I was not able to convey my instructions by word of mouth and IUB devoted himself to a paper-economy campaign, writing as many words in pencil in a small hand on each slip as he could cram on to it. The result was almost illegible. I handed these slips over to Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin to re-write. He had an adequate knowledge of Burushaski and non-literate Burusho at hand to consult. With great industry he rewrote all the words on separate slips, adding in some cases Roman transliterations of his own. This did not suffice, however, to distinguish with any certainty a from ā, i from e and u from o, nor to exclude ambiguity in the case of some other sounds.

128 All this material, which contained much that was new to me, I was unable to examine till years later when in England and unable to obtain help. Another very difficult manuscript with which I

Dr Leitner L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

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Gushpur Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin,
informant in regard to Werchikwar.

Jemadār Imām Yār Beg,
principal informant and communicator of the Texts.

End Plate a

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

[P. iv contains no textual material - Analyst]

PREFATORY NOTE.

The following texts were collected by me in 1923—24 in the manner described in the Introduction. No.s 1—3, 5—45 and 46. B. were supplied by Jemadār Imām Yār Bèg, son of the late Wazīr Humāyūn Bèg, a man of distinction to whom some reference will be found in Durand's "Making of a Frontier" and who later rendered valuable services in the Chitral Campaign of 1895. The eldest son, Shukr Ullah Beg, has been Wazir of Hunza since his father's death. Of some of these texts IYB wrote out versions in the Arabic script, which I possess. They do not always agree verbatim with the dictated versions.

On my return to Hunza, after ten years, in July 1934, I met Jemadar Imam Yar Beg briefly on two or three occasions and it was a great pleasure to renew our old cordial relations, and a happy prospect to look forward to their continuance. But this was not to be. On the evening of the 27th October Imam Yar Beg was shot in the Gilgit Bazar and died three hours later in hospital. This morning his body was carried past here on a bier, attended by the brothers and a throng of mourners. And in company with the local population, I could only pay a last tribute to an old friend as the cortège passed on its way to Baltit to the sound of a melancholy dirge and subdued lamentation.

So has disappeared in his prime a vivid personality from Hunza life. As I knew him in earlier days he was the embodiment of energy and zest for life. What his hand found to do — riding,

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

115 hunting, polo — he did it with his might; manly, competent and fearless; a dynamic figure, not necessarily every man's friend. Since then he had visibly aged, but there was still about him something of the alert, dashing air of the born adventurer.

To return to the Texts: No. 4 was related by a then old man, 'Ali Madat of Baltit, who, I believe still survives, though perhaps no longer capable of repeating his effort of eleven years ago.[1] IYB's help was essential in recording this text.

Nazar of Aliabad supplied the version of the "Prodigal Son" given in No. 46 A. No. 47 was written out and sent to me by Gushpur Muhammad Ghani Khān, the son of the Mīr by a local, non-royal wife. He also was a man of vigour and ability who died quite young of some illness, four or five years ago.

The Proverbs were furnished to me in writing by 'Ināyat Ullāh Bēg, the second of the three sons of Wazir Humayun.

The Werchikwār Texts No.s 1 and 2 were obtained by me in Yasin from Hidāyat Shāh of Thui, and the translation of the "Prodigal Son" from Bahādur Amān Shāh of Yasin. In recording these I had the valuable help of Mēhtarghau Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin.

538 One point of interest may be noted with regard to the Buru-
[565] shaski Texts, especially those containing local narrative. I have found, on reading out bits of them at random to several people here of the upper class, firstly that they appear readily to follow my rendering of the Burushaski, and secondly that they can habitually continue the statement at any point in almost the same
[195] words as the recorded text. This shows that, though there are no professional narrators in Hunza, with the possible, partial exception of Ali Madat, the ordinary people are in the habit of passing on tales and explanations of customs in a more or less
[175] stereotyped form of expression. This is probably the relic of a former custom of the upper classes of spending the evening after

[1] I have, since writing this, sought him out, and found him decrepit, but cheerful. Public opinion denies him any large measure of sympathy, as "he is not really old and has a number of sons who support him in comfort".

S: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

PREFACE.

The following Vocabularies are based on the material collected in 1923—24, to which reference has been made in the Introduction, Volume I (pp. lvi. ff.), and were completed in 1930—31. 122 128

Thanks to assistance received from the Leverhulme Research Fund, I was able to revisit Gilgit and Hunza in 1934—35, and I then collected a considerable amount of new material.

Of this practically nothing has been incorporated in the present work. The additions, in the way both of new entries and of the elaboration of the existing entries, would have been considerable, and their preparation would have entailed great delay in publication. As matters stand I have not yet worked out the new material[1], and this has saved me from much temptation. 128

The revision of the *Burushaski—English Vocabulary* as it already existed, was, however, one of the many items of a too ambitious programme, which I did carry out, if only in a hasty and perfunctory way.

For this work I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Qudratullah Beg (QUB), son of Subadar Muhabbatullah Beg, a literate and extremely intelligent young man, with a remarkable feeling for language and the refinements of phonetics. [115]

A thorough examination of the forms, meanings and uses of the words in even this very modest vocabulary would have been a major task requiring an almost infinite amount of time. I had therefore 128 121

[1] Attention may, however, be called to a note on certain features of Burushaski, published in the BSOS Vol. VIII, 1936, pp. 627—636, which throws light on some grammatical and phonetic devices of the language.

after the usual greetings, he asked how Cec was doing. 122
"He seems to be quite a bit better today!"

"I'm awfully sorry he had to leave last night," said the Mir.

I didn't think he'd even noticed it—but he had.

"The doctor is up visiting him now," I told him. "He said he would join us in a few minutes."

"What does he usually have for breakfast?" the Mir asked me.

"Oatmeal, poached or soft boiled eggs, toast, jam and coffee would be wonderful if they are available."

"Not only is it available," said the Mir, "it is ready, for that is part of the breakfast we usually prepare for our guests. It will be taken up to him immediately."

A signal and a few words in Burushaski and Cecil's breakfast was well on its way up.

So we had breakfast in the dining room and chatted 124
and I sought to make every moment count by asking questions that were vital to me . . . that is, questions about Hunza.

I am quite sure that the Rani understood most of [191]
the things that we talked about. She could not have been shamming as she looked both interested and charming while the conversation went on.

"I have arranged for an interpreter to accompany 124
you on your trips and you can go wherever you like, 115
providing you can get through and the roads are open," 191
the Mir told us.

Shortly after, Sultan Ali appeared. He was the schoolmaster and also taught the Mir's children at home. He was to be our interpreter and guide. He was a slender, handsome young man. I'd judge his age as being in the early twenties. His command of English was very good. But I don't think his English was up to the standard spoken by the Mir, who spoke so fluently

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115 that one would never believe that it was only a secondary language to him.
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231 "You know," I said to the Mir, "one of the things
115 that I wanted to see when I came to Hunza was a yak. I understand from my readings that yaks are used in this part of the country and I have been looking everywhere as I walked along the road to Baltit, but I have as yet seen no sign of a yak!"

"That is not hard to explain," the Mir said. "The yaks are further up in the mountains. They cannot stand the heat and we keep them in the higher altitudes where they can be comfortable. If they are brought to the lower altitudes, they suffer. They like to be up around 11,000 feet or higher."

"Well, then how can I get up to see them?" I asked. "I don't mind if I have to walk for a day or two, but see them I must!"

"I'll do better than that," said the Mir. "I will phone and have two yaks brought down as quickly as possible. They will have to come from Passu which is about 38 miles from here. I will have action taken at once and see that the yaks are provided."

115 (Does that not indicate to you the kind of man and
124 host was the Mir of Hunza?)

I then took my leave of the Mir and the Rani and went out with Sultan Ali and Jahangir to look, see, pry and ask questions.

344 Our first jaunt was a good stiff climb to the old
644 palace located about two miles from the Mir's new palace. As the crow would fly I'm sure it would not have been more than ¾ of a mile. But in order to get up there one has to wend and weave and climb slowly.

I was now becoming quite accustomed to the altitude. Kerimabad is up about 8500 feet and I am sure

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 29

Hunzan Crafts and Skills

THE NEXT MORNING Jahangir came to our quarters just as I was ready to leave for breakfast. Cec again remained in bed on the doctor's advice.

The Mir was waiting for us in his bright, pleasant sun room when we entered and with him was another handsome, beaming man whom he introduced as his brother, Ayesh, who had just returned from a trip up country.

It is customary for the Mir's oldest brother to remain unmarried and act as an advisor, assistant, secretary or whatever else this position might be termed. He also acted as the Mir's emissary and was the engineer of the electric light outfit in operation at the palace.

We were then ushered into the dining room for breakfast. The Mir, Ayesh and the Rani seated themselves just to keep us company and of course add delight and conversation while we breakfasted.

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[373]

124 "You understand," he said, "that the reason I do
[788] not have breakfast with you is due entirely to the fact that I must rise at 3:30 every morning to perform my religious duties . . . and 'tis then I have my morning meal."

"Thank you most sincerely for your explanation. It is most important to me so I may better understand the ways of your people and yourself."

Then the Mir went on, "I have received word that two yaks are being brought down from Passu and should arrive at Altit some time during the night and will be there tomorrow morning."

Then I said to the Mir, "Would it be all right if I walked to Altit and rode one of the yaks back here to your palace?"

"That's exactly what I had in mind for you," said the Mir.

"Well, seeing there are two yaks coming down, as you mentioned, and my friend Cec is confined to his quarters by the doctor, I'll take Jahangir along and he'll ride the other yak back."

"Fine, fine!" said the Mir.

124 Then the conversation continued and the Mir said,
●115 "I have another brother and I certainly hope you will
644 have an opportunity to meet him. He is serving in the Pakistan army—as a captain. I expect him back within the next 3 or 4 days and you will enjoy meeting him, I know. He is a most likable and interesting man. I hope he gets here before you decide to leave."

"I'd be very happy to meet him and I, too, hope he arrives before we depart."

"We call him Salat," he said. "That means mous-
[302] tache in our language. He has one of those handlebar moustaches and he's a big man—bigger than either Ayesh or I. His proper name is Capt. Jamshed Khan."

Ayesh was a most jovial character. He had the most pleasant smiling happy countenance of any man I've ever met. He was always either laughing or smiling and every time I looked at him I had to smile as well. He was a handsome man but in contrast to the Mir, who had a good head of dark hair, Ayesh was balding, the same as I.

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[644]
[142]

It was most pleasant to see the splendid cordial relationship that existed between him and the Mir's entire family.

"How are you coming along with your quest for information?" asked the Mir.

"Exceptionally well, sir," I replied. "But there are also many questions that only you can answer and I'm hoping that you can spare a few minutes some time within the next few days in private so that I may gain this information."

"Any time you say," replied the Mir pleasantly. "I'm at your disposal. You mention the time and that will be it."

"You are indeed very kind to grant me this great favor and I appreciate it," I said.

So there and then we made an appointment for 5 o'clock the following day.

Every meal at the Mir's was a joy and a delight and both the Mir and the Rani were always present. I had already mentioned to him that this was a trouble and an imposition and too much to expect of him. But he said that it was the way he wanted it and that nothing was too good and no effort too great for his guests. Well, what can you do with a man like that?

122
574

Then he informed me concerning my friend's health. "The doctor has things under control now," he told me, "but he will remain here with me as my guest at the palace during your stay so there will be no worries

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114 "I said it as a joke," replied the Mir. "I had no
585 knowledge that it would be so widely publicized and written and taken as a fact. I did not mean to mislead the writers you mentioned."

"Then it is not true!"

"No," replied the Mir, "I meant it only as a joke!"

643 There was no doubt in my mind that the Mir had
●115 a keen sense of humor. In fact, through all my talks
522 and discussions with the Mir which were frequent, there was seldom a time when he would pass by an opportunity for a bit of witticism or to laugh and have a bit of fun. He was just about as pleasant a man as could be found anywhere. He was not only a great ruler but he had a sense of humor. It was too bad that the writers referred to took him seriously. Maybe it was one of their bad days.

249 "Do you grow poppies here?" I asked the Mir bluntly and more or less out of the clear blue sky. I put this question to the Mir for a most definite reason.

On a few occasions I saw what I believed to be a field of flowers waving in the distance. But I wasn't sure. Invariably these patches of color were a mile or many miles away. I wondered what they were but I never could get close enough to see them. They were always sighted at great distance from where the road lay.

[123] You might ask why I didn't definitely, once and for all, set out across the field and find out. But remember, when you're in a more or less strange unusual territory, you just don't go off across the fields into someone else's private property.

All told, I doubt if I saw more than half a dozen of these patches of color during the full length of my travels. There might have been many more but I certainly didn't see them and I have an idea that if they

492 riding, I need more than that. Here I didn't have any reins but I could put my hands on the horn of the saddle. This was a case where I had the horn to hold onto and didn't need it. With those scrawny, skinny horses I could have used that appendage but I didn't have it.

This is also an excellent time to emphasize that a yak, whatever his sterling qualities, is by no means ever a speed demon . . . and that is for certain. He is built for comfort and security and my, oh, my, how important that is in the Karakorum or Himalayan terrain. The usual expected speed of a yak is approximately 9 miles per day which is somewhere around 1 mile per hour. However, I did not complain of the time that it took us to get from Altit to Baltit. I was having the time of my life and for once I wasn't the least bit afraid of falling off.

491 The road from Altit to Baltit actually is quite hilly —precipitous and steep in some places. But true to the Mir's prediction, I felt neither ascent nor descent because of the flexibility of the yak's legs.

Here I was 8,000 or 9,000 feet up in the firmament windingly wending my way around ledges and narrow trails while resting comfortably on the back of a yak. For the first time since leaving Gilgit I felt no fear or worry while riding. The beast on which I was sitting gave me a feeling of confidence.

The top of the final climb took us to the narrow opening of the valley. Here, if you turned right, the road led to the polo field and old Baltit Fort; if you turned left, to the Mir's courtyard.

115 I noticed what I thought to be a particularly unusual figure coming from the opposite direction, heading towards the pathway that led to the Mir's courtyard. He was in the company of another individual

whom I recognized as being a typical Hunzan. But the old fellow who caught my attention did so because he was so strange looking. He was slightly stooped, short of stature, looked very old, had a firm yet halting walk and a beard of bright henna red and wore a long brown coat that touched his boots. It didn't require intuition or even a keen mind to recognize that this man was not ordinary in any sense of the word and I remarked to Sultan Ali that this was someone with whom I would like to converse—by means of an interpreter, or course.

We headed the yaks over so we'd be directly in front of the two as they passed by, and Sultan Ali spoke to them. Then he turned to me with a smile and said, "You are quite right, there *is* something most unusual about this man. He says he's 105 years old today—it's his birthday—and he's come to pay his respects to the Mir."

I allowed myself to slide down off the beast's back as I asked Sultan Ali to introduce me to the fine old fellow and we shook hands. He said, "Salaam aleikum!" and I, too, said, "Salaam aleikum!"

I was really very happy and felt privileged to meet a grand old man like this!

I appraised him from head to foot, scrutinized every part of him—up, down, to the right, to the left—and I smiled as best I knew so as not to offend the fine old fellow. He was indeed a patriarchal old man, but he still looked in mighty fine fettle; he'd come from a little farm a few miles away, on foot!

The old man's name was Dado and he lived in Hasanabad. He has one son, two grandsons, three granddaughters and fifteen great-grandchildren. Dado has 10 close friends, all of whom are more than 95 years of age. Membership in that exalted group is hard to come by . . . a most restricted organization.

●115 Now I didn't see his birth certificate and I might as
165 well tell you, right here and now, that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. I accept the figure of his age as he told me but remember, I was not there at the time of his birth!

344 When I was through with my spasm of inspection
644 and admiration, we began to parade up the long driveway that led into the Mir's garden. This area is flanked on the right by space that looks as though it were a parking lot, and maybe that's exactly what it is, but instead of cars, the guests or members of the family park—or should I say tether—their horses and yaks in this area. Maybe now they park their jeeps there.
[493] The Mir owns two of them, but one, I understand, was away in Pindi being repaired. (Or was it the shambles and horrible wreck of a jeep that I came across a week later, on the road back to Gilgit?)

126 Now I noticed that the Mir, Ayesh, the doctor and Cec were coming along the roadway to meet us, and soon we joined forces and were gathered in one group. I thought this was the ideal time to take some photographs and, luckily for us, they were the best photographs we took on the entire trip. Photography is something that has never interested me and I had never taken half a dozen pictures in my life. Before leaving
[122] home, I did try to learn a bit about photography, but I couldn't learn enough fast enough.

124 When the fun, excitement and fast-flowing humorous remarks had subsided, I said to the Mir, "If you've nothing more important to do or if you would care to give me a little more of your time, we could start that question and answer session that I arranged with you for this afternoon."

"I am at your service," he replied pleasantly and with alacrity.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 44

Health

FOR ME TO SAY that the Hunzans are the healthiest 164
people of the world, which many authors and writers 114
have claimed, would be sheer effrontery . . . mainly because I have not studied the health of all the peoples of the world, nor have I even met them. However, I do attest from what I have seen and observed, that the Hunzans are one of the healthiest people of the world.

To say that they are completely free from diseases or 759
health problems is definitely not true. At the time when 115
I visited Hunza there was a resident doctor located at [743]
Aliabad, where he was in charge of a 10-bed hospital. I conversed with him and questioned him daily during my stay and he answered my pressing questions with complete frankness and candor.

He is only a young man, a Pakistani, and his name is Dr. Mohammed Yusuf Khan, M.B., B.S. He is a handsome, capable, well educated doctor and is, in my

759 humble opinion, equal to the best medical men that we
115 can turn out of the European or American universities. Besides his medical degree, he also has a bachelor of science degree which most of our doctors do not have. So if anything, he is perhaps a little bit better learned than our average physician.

164 One of the first questions that I asked of the Mir of Hunza was, "Are there many known epileptics?"

The Mir thought for a moment and then shook his head and said, "No!"

So I turned to the doctor who was on my left and said, "Doctor, do you know of any epileptics in Hunza?"

At that instant the Mir got up and left the room . . . and I wondered about this.

There was a definite purpose behind my question concerning epilepsy. You see, it has always been my conviction—or at least for 25 years—that epilepsy is strictly nutritional. Of the few epileptics that I knew in my life all had peculiar eating habits . . . that is, they had their positive likes and dislikes . . . and from that day to this I have believed that epilepsy was basically nutritional.

"Yes," the doctor replied, "right at this present time I am treating three epileptic patients. One is from Nagir and two are from entirely different locations in Hunza. But the Nagir case is one of these dream cases —the kind that every doctor hopes he'll come across some day in his work."

"Yes," he went on, "this Nagir case performs every act described in the medical journals. He's a perfect textbook case. The sick man has every condition, symptom and manifestation of epilepsy known to medical science."

Statistics indicate that in America there is one epileptic to every 350 of the population. The population of

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 55

Treasured Gifts

EITHER I AM most naive or I have an awful pile of unmitigated gall, because I kept harassing my fine and wonderful friend, the Mir, with continued questions. Luckily for me, the Mir is a most understanding man and he tolerated my questions. In fact, I sometimes believe he welcomed them. 115

I recall on this day we were chatting in his sun-living room and I said to him out of the clear blue sky, "Do you have any hermaphrodites in Hunza?" 838

A puzzled expression appeared on his face and he shook his head and said, "I don't know what you mean. I never heard the word before."

I smiled and said, "Don't let that make you feel too badly because most people, even native born English or Americans in many instances have never heard the word before either."

I started to grope for another word that would

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India. It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

* *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

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[643] ruled his country in the humanest and wisest of benevolent autocracies,
181 since the treaty of 1892 placed him on the throne of his murdered father
609 and parricide brother—to our humbler neighbours in Aliabad, the village four miles below the capital which we made our headquarters for fifteen months. As soon as the people grasped the purpose of our
[212] coming (which was not easy to explain to an illiterate people) they were overjoyed that a 'Sahib' should trouble to learn their vernacular—a thing which no white man or woman had done before—and take an interest in their customs and hereditary lore. At first they would hesitate: 'but you have wheels (=machines) in England, and can do all these things better than we can'. Within a few days they were vying with each other in explaining, demonstrating and bringing ploughs, looms, winnowing forks, bows, stone cooking pots to the resthouse where we were installed, that D.L. might measure them and take 'studio portraits' of them, 'for you mustn't put anything in the book about us that isn't exactly true'.

132 The entire life of the Hunzukuts is centred in water. The rain-
312 fall in the oasis level (7–9,000 feet), is negligible—we reckoned less than 2 inches per annum; in default of any means of raising the
361 water, the river, flowing between its crumbly earthen cliffs, 500 or 1,000 feet below their fields is useless for irrigation; there are no springs or wells; hence all water for all purposes must be trapped high up at the snout of some side glacier and conveyed on galleried aqueducts across yawning gorges and the faces of sheer cliffs. The main water channel, the Dala, which supplies all the more recent villages of Hunza, 'the new settlements' as they are called in contradistinction to the three original villages—Baltit the capital, Altit and Ganesh—travels some 8 or 10 miles in its circuitous route from the Herber glacier in the gorge behind Baltit, cradled between snow-peaks of 23,000 feet, before it peters out in a semicircular sweep round Aliabad.

312 The Dala was dug some three or four generations ago (90–100
412 years) with wooden shovels and wooden picks tipped with ibex horn, and represents an amazing feat of engineering skill for people without
816 any instruments of precision. The sluices that control the distribution of water—every teaspoonful of which is rigorously allotted—are of the simplest; most often a slab of flattish stone plastered in with mud, sometimes a wooden shutter sliding in a rude wooden frame, sometimes when the water is being taken off to a lower level a circular hole in a stone slab, closed at need with a mushroom-shaped stopper, rough hewn from a solid tree trunk.

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

342 The Hunza dwelling house is a fortress-like cube of stone and mud whose front door is screened from the hostile outer air by a barn,

102

342 the door of which is strategically placed at right angles to, and some
354 distance from, the main door. The only ventilation is the central
171 smoke-hole of highly elaborate construction, three wooden frames

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet*
513 long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
354 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that
324 of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a
322 lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece, the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The
177 delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Béricho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
342 for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

PLATE J

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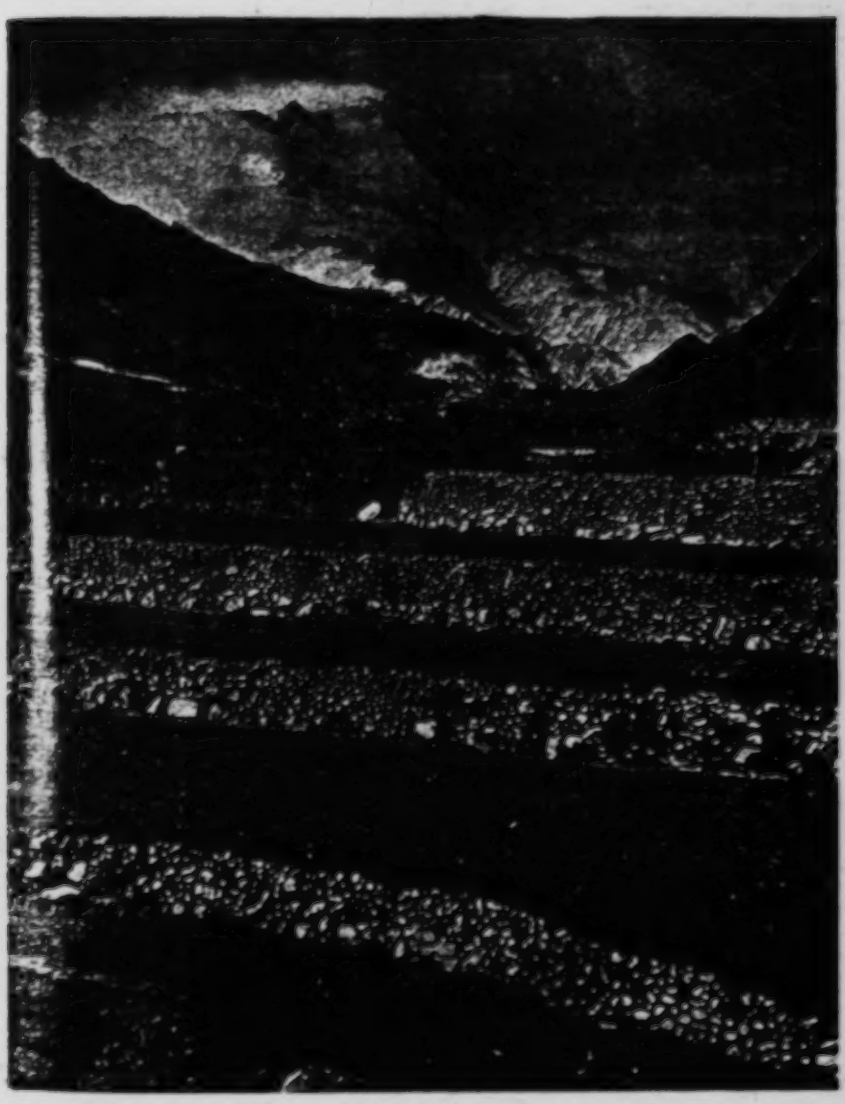

TERRACED FIELDS, HUNZA
(ph. 1-97, pl. E. O. Lorimer)

facing p. 8

P. 8(A)

PLATE II

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P. 8(B)

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

PLATE III

243

PREPARING THE THRESHING FLOOR, HUNZA (see p. 18)
(note the pronged fork in the man's hand)

P 8(C)

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burumbo AV7

PLATE IV

322
412

A PRIMITIVE LATHE: THE MAN FOR WHOM THE BOWL IS BEING MADE SITS IN A PIT AND SUPPLIES THE POWER WITH TWO TREADLES (see p. 14)

P. 8 (7)

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
335 through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
322 duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and independent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully
291 terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now
415 considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root
415 of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also
233 the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

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233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons
241 hopes to possess is a tiny flock of 20 to 25 sheep, goats and cows. In these circumstances manure is more precious than gold, and the small
237 children who conduct a cow to pasture carry a shoulder basket in which
592 every ounce of the day's output is scrupulously collected and brought home.

233 When the snow retreats on the upper mountains a few patches of green are left here and there, and the more athletic beasts are taken up by young men who live in shelters with their charges, collect the manure, convert the milk into butter and bring these home with the animals when the snows claim their own again. These patches of high pasture, several thousand feet above the villages, are all too few and can only be reached by serious feats of mountaineering. Through field-glasses we could see the grazing animals clinging—by their eyebrows as it seemed—to their precipitous 'summer pastures', but it was impossible to ride up even on a yak, and at our age impossible to climb on foot for a nearer view.

As soon as the trees put out their leaves in spring, each 'donkey tree' (*i.e.*, non-fruit-bearing) is stripped of every scrap of spare foliage to feed the half-starved beasts. This luxury diet has to be very carefully administered lest the animals should perish of its unaccustomed succulence.

243 The major crops grown by the Hunza people for their own use are wheat, barley, several kinds of millet, sweet and bitter buckwheat,
[177] nowadays also the highly-valued potato (introduced by the British in 1892) and small quantities of various pulses. Barley must have been the original staple crop, for all the traditional festivals, the Seed-sowing of early spring, the First Reaping of early summer and the Harvest
[242] Home, relate to barley alone. The peasant is wise about rotation of crops and the various types of wheat, millet, etc., which thrive best in given conditions. Wheaten bread is much preferred to any other, but barley remains the larger crop because spring-sown barley ripens three or four weeks before even the winter-sown wheat, and the vacant fields can be resown with millet; whereas after the wheat only buckwheat can hope to ripen before winter. Bitter buckwheat is frankly detested, but it is hardier than the sweet and can better withstand an attack of early frost, so a certain amount of it is always sown as an insurance.

So poor is the soil, so scanty the manure, that in the newer villages like Aliabad, the average return is only sevenfold and even the storeyed fields of Baltit, which have been tilled in the sweat of man and woman's brow for at least 600 years and probably for twice or thrice as long, yield

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

a miserable ten—none of your 'some thirty, some sixty, some an hundredfold'—while lucerne only gives three crops. 243

'The Hunzukuts' main food is bread, of which the housewife makes a large variety, from the leavened wheatened cake with butter for feast days, the unleavened flapjack of wheat, barley or blended flours for everyday, to the bitter buckwheat scones of leaner times. Milk is not an article of diet; the animals yield little at the best and none at all when their own offspring is weaned. Such milk as there is contains little fat content, which is not to be wondered at in view of the food on which the animals exist; it is converted into butter, curds and such preservable forms. Butter is stored in birch-bark wrappings beneath an adjacent water-channel and broached only on festive occasions or for the entertainment of a guest. Meat is tasted at most twice or three times a year, at festivals or on some day of domestic rejoicing, a wedding or a birth, and then it will be 'some tainted wether of the flock, meetest for death' who supplies the sacrifice. 262 234

The womenfolk tend small vegetable plots in the corner of a field or separate garden, where carrots, turnips, marrows, gourds and half a hundred kinds of humble 'greens' are grown, and a few plants whose leaves or seeds are esteemed for flavouring, along with a few tobacco plants for the men's pipes. After grain and greens, the essential item of Hunza diet is the apricot, fresh in the early summer and dried during the rest of the year; mulberries, fresh and dried, come next in importance, then a few apples, pears and peaches (these little valued because they will neither keep nor dry) and a few grapes for such relatively well-to-do houses as can afford space and water to grow them. Grapes ripen too late to be dried into raisins and the small quantity not consumed fresh is converted into light wine, brightening the winter days for those who have it, and drunk within a couple of months of manufacture. The apricot has yet further uses. Its kernel yields the oil which lights very modestly the winter nights. The Burusho woman is said to refuse, most wisely, to live above the level of the ripe apricot (say 9–10,000 feet). This is, I suspect only a base pretext of her husband's for refusing to live at these altitudes himself. Be that as it may, the upper villages of Hunza are almost exclusively inhabited by immigrants from Wakhan accustomed to a treeless existence and a diet of barley only. Grafting fruit trees is an art thoroughly understood. The above-mentioned fruits supply the only sugar which the Hunza people know. 244 262 245 [273] [354] 361 245

Despite all diligence in tilling the ungrateful soil, despite the utmost 262

262 care in rationing the year's supply (rationing begins the moment the first barley crop is harvested), scarcely a household we knew but was out of flour and out of potatoes weeks before the first barley was ripe, and was living solely on turnip tops, greens and edible weeds. 'Starvation Springtime' in Hunza evokes no poet's raptures, only a wailing of hungry babies who, as their mothers apologetically explain 'are too small to understand', and a tightening of the belt by those who do; but never a complaint. How these hardy people exist and work and smile—and keep on smiling—on a diet which no Minister of Health would consider even 50 per cent. adequate in quantity or 10 per cent. adequate in proteins, is a mystery, and must represent a miracle of
147 natural selection over centuries. There are no sick or ailing in Hunza; men, women and children are wiry, tough and fit, and a fair
888 proportion live to a ripe and honoured age, busy to the last about
561 such tasks as suit their waning strength and valued for their experienced counsel, for no devilish inventions—cinemas, wireless or machines—have created a gulf between the generations.

243 Harvesting processes are extremely simple. When barley or wheat is ripe, the adults of the family turn out and pull up the shallow-
476 rooted crop by hand, laying the swathes in neat rows to dry. Even when a sickle is used, it is used to pull with, not to cut. As soon as a suitable field is bare, it is flooded, and a circular (more rarely a rectangular) space is enclosed by a small mud wall four or five inches high. When the ground is soft but no longer wet, the whole family, down to the tiniest toddler, forms in line and marks time systematically over the surface to level it. After three floodings and tramplings the new threshing floor is as smooth and even as a hard tennis court. Two neighbouring houses sometimes share a threshing floor which becomes the focus of family activity till the last sheaf is gathered in. The cut crops are stacked conveniently near, and a small quantity of corn is spread on the centre of the floor. Then while Grandfather with his beautifully graceful five-pronged fork throws in more grain from time to time, the team of five cows, loosely lashed together by their muzzles, is driven round by man, woman, boy or girl in turns until the threshing
243 is complete (PLATE III). The person in attendance on the trampling beasts has a switch in the right hand and in the left a wooden bowl
262 as 'dung-dish' in which all excreta of either type are conscientiously collected, not only because the Hunza folk cannot afford to waste an ounce of manure but equally because they are too fastidious to tolerate the fouling of their food. Great was the contempt of our Hunza

companions who came down with us to Kashmir to observe peasants ploughing with *oxen* (whose wants could be less completely met) and without a dung dish ! 243 262

When the corn is fully threshed, the winnowing begins in cooperation with a light breeze. Next the winnowed grain is passed through a coarse sieve (barakbèsh) whose mesh is composed of thin leather thongs which retain any particles of straw, and it is finally tossed in a finer sieve (gherbèl) which retains the grain and lets the dust through. The grain is then loaded into great skin-sacks and carried off to store. The due amount required for seed-grain is set aside first, and not the utmost extremity of hunger would induce a Hunza peasant to encroach thereon. Next, emergencies are budgeted for—births, weddings, dues such as rent (if any) and hospitality, which includes deaths in *other* homes, for relatives and friends would be disgraced if a bereaved family had themselves to bake during the first seven days of mourning. What then remains, represents the year's supply. 243 261 251

Ripe millet is treated by being beheaded, and the ears may then be threshed by cows or beaten with poles according to quantity. The buckwheats are beaten only, even small children merrily cooperating half in fun, half in earnest to show their prowess. 243

Grain for current use is carried to the mill in sacks or bags of skin. The mill-house is a picturesque cube of stone and mud situated beside a convenient irrigation channel. It may possess one wheel or two. The wheel is a vertical oblong of tree trunk, fitted with 10 or 12 wooden wings ; the lower end of its axis is supported on a horizontal pole, the upper fitted into a central hole in the upper millstone. The water is led on to it by a steeply sloping hollowed log. The inside of the mill, lighted only from the door, is fitted with a cross rafter built into the walls on to which the hopper is ingeniously hung by a forked segment of tree. The hopper itself consists of a section of log, tapered and hollowed out. Attached by a string to the small tray below the aperture in the base of the hopper, is a loose clapper which is gently agitated by the rotation of the upper millstone on which it rests, this shakes the tray and encourages a steady flow of grain. The flour as ground is ejected into a hollow trough. Near by, a wooden pole, impaled on a horizontal wooden pin, projects up through the earthen floor. Each end of the pin rests on a 'Heath-Robinson' pile of stones and a simple adjustment of its height regulates the position of the lower millstone and thus the coarseness or fineness of the flour desired. The mill, the loom and the comparatively new-fangled lathe are the only [343] 402

402 'machines' known in Hunza, and the mechanism of all three is so simple that parts can be replaced, repairs or adjustments effected, by any intelligent child—and we met no *un*intelligent Hunza child.

286 Anyone desirous of doing so can acquire a weaver's skill, and in our village of some 200 families there were seven or eight expert weavers. The loom-pit is a hole in the ground, 2 feet wide and deep and 2 feet 4 inches from back to front, with a stone bench at the back. Two horizontal poles balanced on stones a couple of feet above the ground at either side carry the heddles, etc. Here the weaver sets up his home-made loom of ingeniously simple construction worked by four treadles in the bottom of his pit. While he works, the owners of the wool sit by and wind his bobbins. A skilful weaver can make the nine yards of narrow homespun required for a man's cloak in a day and a half. The loom-pit occupies fully half the width of the 'street' and when being used forms the centre of a shifting group of cheerfully gossiping passers-by.

Goat's hair is woven on an even simpler upright frame, a forked piece of tree supplying the single shed required.

322 Turning is a rarer accomplishment than weaving, and our village boasted only one lathe-master. Like the loom the lathe is set up in a pit. The person desiring a bowl supplies the necessary rough-hewn block of wood (apricot or vine root preferred) and the motive power required to turn the horizontal bar, on to one end of which the wood is spiked. The turner crouches alongside with a selection of small curved chisels which he rests on an adjustable tripod to steady his hand (PLATE IV).

415 There is no room to tell of all the simple yet ingenious household
411 utensils which the Hunzukuts conjure from the scanty resources at their disposal: the spliced wooden bow faced with plates of ibex
322 horn and beautifully curved; the boys' catapult bow with double string of horse sinew, for scaring birds; the double-chambered wool-container made of rowan bark; the small vessel like an ash-tray which steadies the woman's rotating spindle and is moulded from the refuse of the apricot kernels left after the oil has been expressed. Not a
372 shred of anything is wasted in Hunza. What cannot be eaten or turned
132 to use—even the shell of the apricot kernel—is gratefully seized on as fuel for the pitifully small fire that cooks the bread and vegetables. Fires for mere heating are an undreamt of luxury. Hence the draught-proof house is essential, for at 7–8,000 feet, with snow mountains all round and a temperature of 19° Fahrenheit, the 'Great Cold' is

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sufficiently severe. Happily winter is short, two or three months at most, and for the rest of the year day and night are spent mainly out of doors. 372 132

The social culture of the Burusho of Hunza is as high as their material culture is primitive. Three centuries of Islam—they are now Ismaili heretics, having been Shiahs until three or four generations ago—have not induced them to veil or despise their indomitable women, nor to abandon the wholesome tradition of exogamy between their different clans in favour of first-cousin marriage. They are freer from superstition and fanaticism than any people east or west of whom I have heard or read. Whatever be the esoteric teaching of the Ismailis of which Professor Ivanov might tell, it concerns the Hunza peasant as little as the homoousian controversy disturbs the mind of the British schoolboy. He goes his way in cheerful confidence that hard work, fair dealing, kindly affection and generosity must be as well pleasing to God the Merciful, the Compassionate, as ritual prayer or ceremonial fast, and his dreams are not broken by over-anxious fear of Hell or hope of Heaven. 771 [582] 783

The fastidiousness and personal cleanliness of the Hunza peasant are remarkable. Close packed amongst the crowd at festivals or sitting on the threshing floor amongst the workers, or entertained in their hospitable houses, we were never distressed by human exhalations or molested by parasites. The drinking water is guarded with scrupulous care from pollution by man or beast. Men and women cooperate without embarrassment or restraint and no work is taboo for either sex, though for obvious reasons the heavier jobs of wall-building, irrigation and ploughing fall more naturally to the man, and the care of infants to the woman. But as soon as the father is allowed to handle his child, he will carry the baby proudly and tenderly out for its first airings, while boys and girls alike play with and watch over the toddlers. 515 271 462 593

Again and again, in face of the high morality and unquenchable spirit of the Hunzukuts, we were ashamed to think of what in our vaunted civilization ' man has made of man '. 000

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

LANGUAGE HUNTING IN THE KARAKORAM

by

E. O. LORIMER

George Allen & Unwin Ltd
40 Museum Street
London

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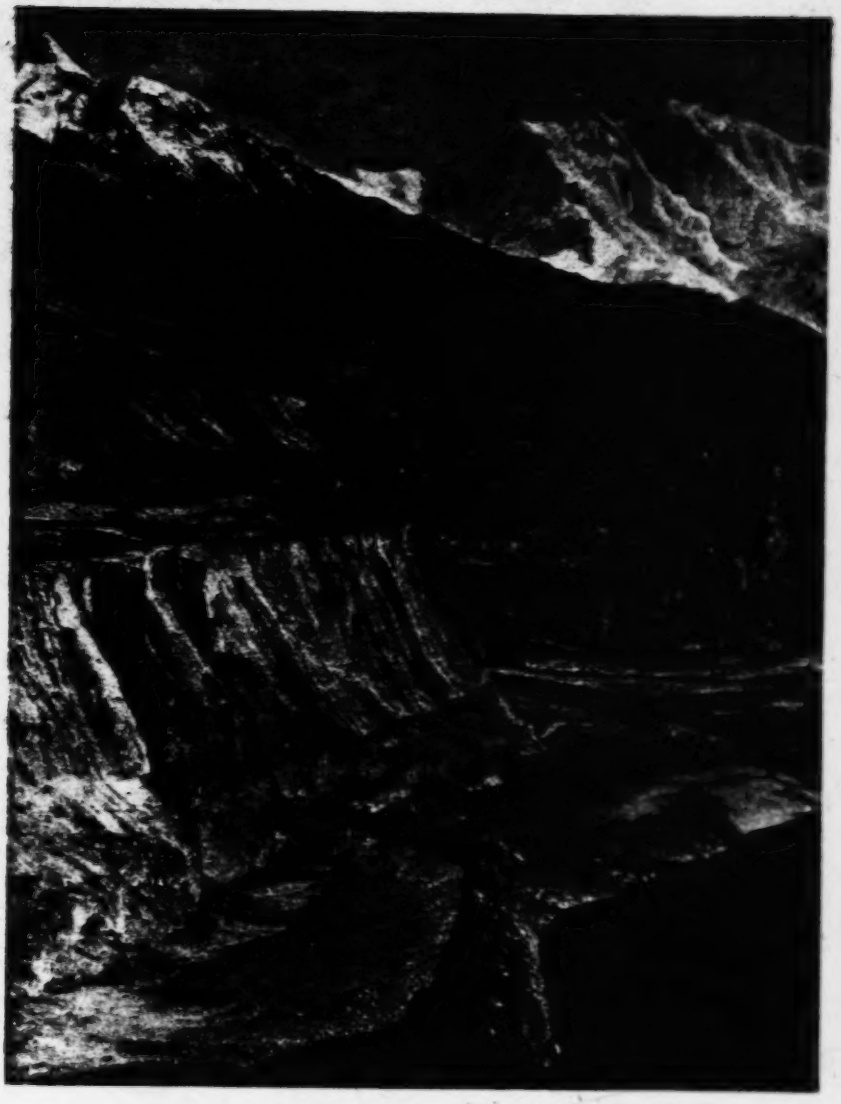

Hunza River at Aliábád (winter). Middle distance, Hasanábád Nullah debouching from right. Background, Rakaposhi, 25,550 ft.

(See pp. 138–9)

[Facing Title Page]

[pp. 1-4 contain no textual material]

NOTE

121 THIS is not a serious book. Comparative philologists hoping for news of Burushaski, anthropologists interested in the highly civilized though materially primitive life of the Burusho of Hunza, ethnologists curious as to their origin, the scientifically-minded of every sort, are once for all referred to the published and to the yet unpublished books and articles of my husband, Lieutenant-Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer, late of the Indian Army and the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, hereinafter referred to as David or DL.

121 I have been concerned merely to set down our personal day-
114 to-day experiences—they do not merit the name of adventures —and our first impressions of the delightful people who for fourteen months in 1934–35 were our neighbours and our friends.

The journey to and from Hunza and the semi-camp life there had at an earlier period been the commonplace, all-in-the-day's-work life of ourselves for four years (1920–24), as of a long series of other Political Agents and their wives both before and after us. The only thing that lent a spice of adventure to this last tour was our delightful freedom from all official responsibility, and our age. Changes of climate and altitude, shortages of food and sleep, fatigues of travel, at which one smiles at forty present a graver challenge to fifty-five.

000 The triumph of our elderly excursion lies not alone in the sheaves carried home by DL, but in the fact that we both came back more than a little battered, it must be confessed, but still smiling; and treasuring memories which are worth incomparably more than the price exacted.

121 My excuse for writing so superficial—perhaps worthless—a book at all must be that it has made me happy to recall this silver honeymoon spent in the Karakoram and to pay a tribute to our hospitable and beloved Hunzukuts as they were in 1935, as they must have been for uncounted generations in the past, as they may be for generations yet to come, if the poverty

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

NOTE

/2/ and inaccessibility of their country happily keep them safely quarantined against "the sick fatigue, the languid doubt," the unrest and fear and hustle of our civilization.

For the map I am indebted to DL; the illustrations are my own.

E. O. LORIMER

UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB

April 1938

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Chapter 1

THE HUNT IS UP

[pp 12-14 contain no textual material]

IT was in 1920 on a summer afternoon in Ziarat, the little hill station in Baluchistan, where various civil and political officers of the Government of India have their hot-weather bungalows at 8,000 feet among the barren but juniper-scented hills. David was at the moment away in Quetta conferring with colleagues, and I had to go alone to an afternoon tennis party at the Summer Residency.

David had had five or six gruelling months in Loralai, and I knew that he was finding thoroughly unsatisfactory to a man of his particular temperament and previous experience the unending office work, blent of law, revenue, and red-tape, that prevented his freely getting out to travel on horse or on foot and learn to know the people of his district—the first duty, as he saw it, of a political officer. All his earlier posts, military and political, had been actually on the frontier, or beyond it, in the Tochi or the Khaibar, in Persia, Arabia, or Mesopotamia, where human relationships were of more importance than office files and where senior officers were sufficiently distant to let the man on the spot get on with his job.

We were deep in a well-contested four when I saw the Chief advancing with a sheaf of papers. We finished the rally before I turned my head and responded to an imperious call. "Should you be willing to go with your husband to Gilgit?" was barked at me, in a tone which said plainly to the bystanders: "Of course, being a woman she'll prefer to stand in his way." The Chief's attitude to wives always challenged me, and I barked back: "I'm willing to go with my husband to HELL." This unconventional, not over-courteous, outburst provoked a milder: "Then I may wire him and say you'll have

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000 no objection?" "It will be a waste of time. He knows." We resumed the interrupted game, but my head was joyously humming at the thought of escape, escape to Gilgit; for me my first sight of great mountains, for David the open road again—people—the work he loved.

He returned from Quetta, overjoyed at the unexpected prospect of a transfer to Gilgit, a place he had always longed for, though—true to his principle of never clamouring for or pulling wires to get a coveted job—he had never applied for it. I had a suspicion that it was not thus that most of his colleagues nursed their careers. His only misgivings about Gilgit were that it might be rough on me: "It'll be lonely, and I shall be most of the time on trek, and you won't always be able to come." That didn't worry me. I asked only one question: "What language does it mean?" "I've been asking; there are four or five more or less unknown vernaculars, but the chiefs and headmen all talk a certain amount of Hindustani, and the Political Agent carries on in that." "And shall you?" He smiled without waste of words, and I knew we were for it. Gilgit offered few amenities, a hard life and constant travel at all temperatures; it offered the tangled politics of seven different provinces; it offered possible opportunities—if there were time—for mountains and big game (his favourite hobbies as a boy; some of his trophies still hung in the Guides' mess, some of his records were still holding a place in Rowland Ward); but above all, it offered "four or five more or less unknown vernaculars."

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Chapter 2

GILGIT APPRENTICESHIP

THERE followed four glorious years in Gilgit. The seven districts or provinces under David's supervision gave him plenty of official work and lots of incident, of which in another time and place I should love to write. One, the district of Chilas in the Indus Valley, was directly under a British Officer, Assistant to the Political Agent. Lying on the borders of the restless, untamed democracies of the independent territories of Darel and Tangir (casually lumped together in ordinary speech as Yághistan—"The Home of Rebels") it had, unlike the rest of the Agency, an unenviable record of serious crime, including from nine to fourteen murders a year. Gilgit itself was then administered by Kashmir officials with all the paraphernalia of Wazír-i-Wazárat, Revenue officers, and law-courts. With these two districts the Political Agent was less directly concerned, though his official headquarters were in Gilgit, the only really prosperous oasis of any size in the Agency. Then there were the four political *iláqas*, small states ruled by Government-appointed governors, Punial, Yasin, Kuh-Ghizr, and Ishkoman, and finally the two semi-independent kingdoms of Hunza and Nagir, with their own kings, or Mirs, hereditary chieftains whose families (or family, since the two Mirs are descended from a common ancestor) have held sway in their present territories for at least six hundred years, since the days of our earliest Edwards. Since the famous Hunza Nagir Campaign of 1891 the two Mirs have been our trusty and faithful allies.

It was David's job to be the friend and counsellor of governors and chiefs; to keep a sharp eye out for tyranny or oppression; to be at all times, whether at headquarters or on the road, immediately and easily accessible to humble folk with

114 real or imaginary grievances; to ensure that slave-trading, arms-traffic, or foreign intrigue did not disturb the peace of the hardy peasant populations that were wringing a livelihood from the rocky mountain sides of what must be one of the highest and most inhospitable inhabited regions of the earth. This entailed constant travelling. He visited each district at least once a year, and most of them twice. Each tour entailed four or six days' travelling out and again four or six days back, up or down one river or another, for travel is only possible amongst the mighty mountains of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram where a river has contrived to cut its way. In summer he would push out beyond the inhabited oases to the great passes that form the gates of entry to British India from Afghanistan and Central Asia or the links with Chitral.

The spacious, if oddly planned and straggling, bungalow in Gilgit that was our home, with its English garden and valuable fruit and vegetable supplies, saw him only for a few weeks at a time between these ever-recurring tours on which I joined him when possible, but by no means always, for I could not feel it fair to nurse and baby to leave them too often alone. On the longer tours, moreover, during which David traversed every inch of the Gilgit frontier and crossed some unknown internal passes, difficulties of supply and transport which would impose burdens on isolated hill communities where the barest necessaries of food and fodder are cruelly scarce, debarred me from adding two extra mouths—mine and my pony's—to the party.

During those eventful and yet peaceful years David worked steadily and unremittingly at mastering and recording the local languages.

Obviously the first language to attack was Shina, and in this he accumulated over 400 foolscap typed sheets of texts, with ample notes, recording current folk-lore and superstitions, local history, customs, etc., and worked out the skeleton of a practical grammar to be amplified later into a more detailed, more scientific one, and collected a comprehensive vocabulary.

While he thus worked systematically I would sit by, knitting woollies for baby, mending the family socks and absorbing as

much as I could of what was passing between David and his 114
informant. Then, as I went my daily rounds with the servants, weighing in firewood, or issuing stores, packing away woollen clothes to protect them against moth or what not, I would enquire the Shina for all I saw, and listen to the servants' talk amongst themselves, jotting everything in my notebook to memorize it later, until by degrees I could substitute Shina for my sketchy memsahib's Hindustani. Not frequently but sometimes a phrase or word or form which I thus caught on the wing proved useful to supplement DL's much wider-flung enquiries.

Next came Khowar, the language of Chitral, of which David had made a preliminary study during nine months as Political Agent there during the War. To my bitter grief I had not been allowed to accompany him, and so had missed his first steps in Khowar. Though by listening I learnt enough for typing and indexing purposes, I always felt this delightful language something of a step-child compared with Shina, and I never attempted to speak it. The "Royal Families" of Yasin and Punial are descendants of the Chitral Khushwaqts, who had conquered parts of the Agency two hundred years ago. They retain their native language and have, to a certain extent, imposed it as a second language on the upper strata of their subjects. Throughout the Agency it is therefore regarded as a polite language, meet for chiefs. In the same way as for Shina, DL collected texts, notes, vocabulary, and all the data for a scientific grammar to supplement his considerable material from Chitral, noting how very trivial were the differences between the two varieties of Khowar.

Not until the end of our third year in Gilgit was he able to devote himself to the infinitely more thrilling task of acquiring Burushaski. Now Shina and Khowar are both members of the Indo-Iranian family of languages—possibly taking off from the parent stock before the Indian and Iranian branches were fully differentiated—and are therefore related to Hindustani, Persian, Pashtu, and each other, as for instance Icelandic to Rumanian, or Dutch to French. There was therefore nothing sensationally new about their structure, and a large number

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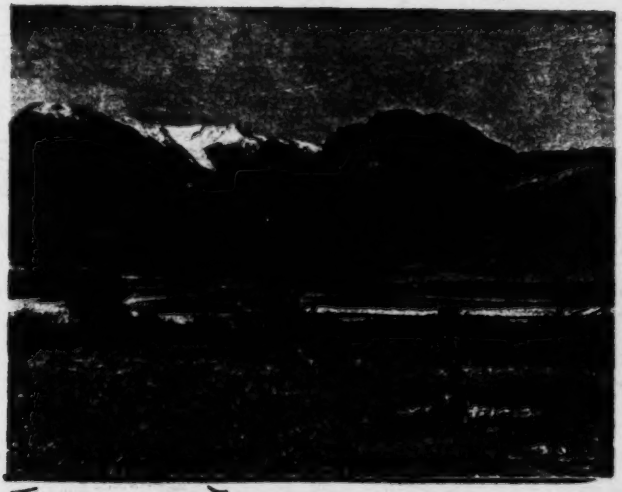
1. Trout-fishing in Kargah Nullah near Gilgit

PLATE I

2. Looking up Gilgit River from maize field in Gilgit.



[Facing P. 20]

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114 of their words had for a scholar recognizable kinship with Sanskrit or Avestan roots. They might, in fact, be styled relatively "easy."

114 Burushaski was another matter. Here was, it would seem, a
197 language entirely unrelated to its neighbours, or to any other known form of human speech, alive or dead. If, as Sir George Grierson conjectured, it was the survival of an aboriginal language spoken perhaps over the whole of northern India before the Sanskrit-speaking Aryan invaders pushed their way southwards across the mountain barriers into India (some two or three centuries before Christ?), it had been driven ever further and further up into the inaccessible mountain valleys of the Karakoram, where it is preserved almost pure among the sturdy peasants of Hunza, somewhat contaminated by Shina amongst their Nagir neighbours across the river, and subject to independent development across the ranges in Yasin, where the peasant people speak what they call Burushaski, though the Khowar-speaking upper classes dub it Werchikwar.[1]

The fact that the structure of Burushaski is utterly non-Indogermanic, non-Semitic, non-Turkish, non-Mongolian, non-anything-known, and that—with the exception of a few Persian-Arabic loan words which have filtered in with the coming of Islam—its vocabulary is entirely its own, awaking no echoes in the mind to aid the memory, makes it a difficult language to tackle. Though British officers have been regularly associated with Hunza and Nagir since 1891, and less regularly for some years before, the only one who had attempted to work on it was that fine old sportsman, Colonel Biddulph—who had published in 1880 twenty-two octavo pages of grammar, our of sentences and texts, and twenty pages of vocabulary. Leitner, of the Educational Department, published a *Hunza and Nagyr Handbook* in 1889, which contains a considerable amount of material in unsystematic form. Both

[1] In the language of Chitral, -wár means "speech" and -ík "the people of a country." Their own language Kho-war is the "speech of the Kho people" and Werch-ik-war "the speech of the Weresh (= Burush) people," the earlier, if not necessarily aboriginal, dwellers in Yasin, at the time of the Chitrali conquests.

GILGIT APPRENTICESHIP

114 these pioneers deserve the greatest credit for their work, and
197 had to wait for forty years to find a successor. They had worked chiefly on the Nagir form of Burushàski, and had not, of course, distinguished the Shina elements in it, and they had to work wholly through interpreters, which accounts for much misunderstanding and inaccuracy. David therefore thought it wiser to start from scratch, as in the case of Shina and Khowar. Here, again, with infinitely greater labour, he amassed texts, notes, and vocabulary.

000 When we eventually bade a sad farewell to Gilgit in 1924 to go "on leave, pending retirement," we were comforted by knowing that we need not relapse into bath-chairs in Cheltenham or Camberley to bewail the good old times, the decay of the British Empire and the shortcomings of the young, nor to shout "koi hai?" to an unresponsive world, but had enough material in manuscript and typescript to keep us happily employed for the rest of our joint lives.

114 Incidentally David had snatched fleeting opportunities to
563 collect also some Wakhi material, though not on the same
197 scale as the other three languages. Wakhi is spoken in the higher levels of Hunza by immigrants from the Afghan territory of Wakhan, who have established themselves at the non-apricot-growing heights—often 10,000 feet and more—which the Hunzukuts proper consider barely habitable. Wakhi is a language of Persian descent, and was of particular interest to DL who, during many years in Persia, had made himself an authority on several unrecorded dialects of Modern Colloquial Persian, and while in Chitral had done what work he could on the Persian dialects of Madaglasht and Badakhshan.

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Chapter 3

THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF VERNACULARS

000 It must not be imagined that the value of DL's work on these local languages of Gilgit Agency was merely scientific. His colloquial knowledge of them was turned to advantage every day. As he rode along from stage to stage, the fact that he greeted the villagers in their own tongue instead of Hindustani, and chatted with them about their crops; the fact that even if he used an interpreter in complicated discussions about ownership, inheritance, or water-rights, he was following the petitioner's speech himself and interpolating questions or comments in the vernacular gave pleasure and evoked confidence as well as surprise. In another respect, too, he created a precedent. At the Annual Jalsa in Gilgit it was the custom for the Political Agent to make a speech in English to the assembled chiefs and their retainers, which was then repeated in Hindustani by the Indian Assistant. At his first Durbar a few months after our arrival, DL followed, of course, the usual routine; at the second he made a short speech in Shina; at the third in Khowar; and at the fourth in Burushaski. This last effort came as a complete surprise. David had given much care and thought to the speech, and rehearsed in private with a good informant, but no rumour of it had got about even within the household.

Sitting on the dais behind him I saw with amusement an electric shock go through the Hunza Nagir ranks in the usual place of honour on the right of the large audience: bodies tautened and leaned forward, eyes brightened, faces smiled; there was no mistaking the amazement and delight with which the Burushaski speakers heard their language for the first time on the lips of a white man. Every syllable rang out clearly, every word was followed with rapt attention, and when cere-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

monies and presentations were over and the Political Agent had ridden off in state, the Mir of Hunza came over to me, radiant, to shake hands and offer congratulations. "Was it all right? Could you really understand?" "Every word and every sentence was perfect," he said, "far better than I or Nagir could have done it, for you know we don't ever attempt public speaking." His sincerity was transparent and his congratulations were presently reinforced by the Mir of Nagir. But the happiest moment of a happy afternoon still awaited me. After greeting the various other chiefs, I mounted as quickly as I might and trotted full speed uphill to the Agency House to see that tea and drinks were all in order for the informal gathering that always followed the Durbar. I rode round to the back verandah and made straight for the pantry to cast a final eye on boiling samovars and trays of cakes. All was well in train, but the place was buzzing with unwonted excitement. All our best servants were Hunza men, and the head-boy, Nazar, came forward, seized and kissed my hand with tears in his eyes: "Mother, dear Mother, we didn't know that it was possible." A chorus of appreciation echoed from the other Hunzukuts, standing respectfully about. This humbler tribute delighted me, I need hardly say, even more than the Mirs', and I noted with pleasure that Nazar's emotion had betrayed him into this unwonted form of affectionate address—little suspecting that the respectful "Mother, dear Mother" of Hunza would one day become so familiar, though never to the point of losing its thrill for me.

. . . . .

When we had settled into our own house at home and at last got books and papers sorted, and a study—woefully small after the spaciousness of Eastern rooms—into working order, the question was where to begin the long task of hammering all this material into shape. It was clear that Burushaski, being far the most difficult and "foreign" of the languages we had been working on, would also be the easiest to forget, and it was wise to set to work while the sounds of it were still fresh in our ears, if by no means fluent on our tongue. Also, it would be the most interesting to the comparative philologist, and

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000 possibiy when all David's data were available some scholar with a wider range might discover the affinities—if any—with perchance the Munda languages of southern India, which had been driven to the south by the same wedge of invasion as had (by hypothesis) pushed Burushaski up into its remote asylum in the Karakoram; or conceivably with the languages of the Caucasus; or better still, with some hitherto undeciphered language rescued from the dust-heaps of Central Asia by the archaeological zeal of Aurel Stein, Lecoq, or Sven Hedin.

His task would not be easy. For even if Burushaski *had* blood relations surviving anywhere, it had developed in isolation on its own lines for at least five thousand years, and in the absence of any record of its form at any point in that long stretch of time, relationship could not be superficially easy of detection. If there were no history, no literary records, no intermediate language-links, it would be "some" philologist who could now prove the identic origin of *cow* and *beef*, of *quick* and *vivus*, or the kinship between the Gaelic of the Scotch Highlands, the Greek of modern Athens, and the language of Bengal. Anyhow, all this was other people's job; ours the more modest one of throwing the bone for them to blunt their teeth on.

In writing "we" and "our," let me make it clear from the outset that while I was always vividly interested in David's work as he went along, and while I picked up enough of this and that to save his time by acting as amanuensis, I did no serious research of my own. This may seem feeble. To myself in retrospect it does. But I was pretty well occupied with the house and the nursery, with humble questions of clothes and linen, with keeping the "godowns" stocked with fuel, oil, food supplies, and wine, with supervision of the servants, the household accounts, the entertainment of passing travellers, the occasional outbursts of official hospitality entailed by Christmas, the King's Birthday, the Annual Jalsa, with routine family correspondence and business letters of various kinds—the thousand and one distracting but essential jobs which are the natural work of what the Census reports describe as "the unoccupied woman": the mere wife.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 4

AT HOME

THE language material amassed in the four Gilgit years was by no means in such coherent form as to be immediately available for other scholars. The final process of reducing it to order was not less but more laborious than the original collection. In Burushaski alone DL had some hundreds of pages of foolscap type-written texts carefully correlated by reference numbers with the original notebooks from which they had been copied, and in addition eight fat quarto notebooks full of notes in small writing on every imaginable subject. His first task was to make a careful, literal translation of the texts, aided by his own manuscript notes made at the time of recording; the second to work through these and the notes of every sort, card-indexing every word as it occurred with all its inflected forms and the reference to each place of its occurrence. This being done, he was able to begin to work out the grammar. For the paragraphs about the noun, for instance, 1,800 cards had to be taken out, examined, sorted, the results analysed and tabulated till the four gender-like categories and the thirty-eight possible plural forms of Burushaski were reduced to order. The subtle and complicated Burushaski verb eventually revealed its secrets —or the bulk of them—only to an examination of hundreds of cards, each packed full of recorded forms. The commonest and most everyday verbs gave—as every dictionary maker will understand—incomparably more trouble than the rarer ones.

Then the texts had to be edited with the necessary explanatory notes and a key-translation to help the potential student, for whom a free translation in more polished English would be less useful. Finally, the Vocabulary, or Dictionary, had to be drawn up with examples of the uses of the words.

128 The Burushaski material which had been collected in the
[114] leisure of one short year, while DL was continuing work on Shina and Khowar, took four and a half years of steady desk work to prepare for press, and resulted in three stout volumes of 464, 418, and 545 large printed pages. The typing for the printer was, of course, nearly concurrent with the manuscript draft, and when this was completed the next question was to find a publisher.

The prospect looked none too bright, and we gloomily predicted that some German or Russian would anticipate David's work on Burushaski, when an unexpected letter came from Professor Georg Morgenstierne, himself a professional philologist and a pioneer worker amongst Central Asian languages, asking whether DL would care to submit his Burushaski work for consideration by the Norwegian Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning (Institute for the Study of Comparative Human Culture) with a view to its possible publication by them at their expense. The offer was too generous to refuse. We felt sad, homesick as it were, that Oslo, not Oxford, should stand on the title-page; but if Norway with scientific endowments could face what unendowed English publishers could not, national pride had to give way before the practical consideration that if the work was to be of use to scholars it must first be printed, and if it were not speedily printed it might be anticipated. David therefore gratefully accepted for his Burushaski the honour of a place in the Institute's distinguished series of learned publications. We found later, to our surprise and pleasure, that the Institute having once undertaken a scientific book, undertake also that nothing shall prevent its reaching the right public, and are prepared to send copies to almost *any* person interested enough to want them—a generosity which no ordinary publishing firm could emulate. It will be remembered that when Hooker was bringing out his great *Flora Indica*, his publishers expressly stipulated that no copy was to be given free to anyone who could possibly require the book!

So the typescript went to Oslo in 1931 and work began on the proofs, the reading of which was even more laborious than

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

we had anticipated. In spite of the most generous co-operation 128
of Professor Morgenstierne, many sheets had to be read seven
or eight times, the first two volumes eventually appearing in
1935 with Messrs. Williams & Norgate as the English agents
of the Institute; and the third, the Vocabulary, in 1938.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 5

A DREAM COMES TRUE

122 THOUGH happily occupied with his other language work, David was pondering sadly on how much Burushaski there was yet to learn; how many questions of custom, beliefs, etc., he had not been able to pursue; how many knotty problems could only be resolved by a visit to Hunza and a study of peasant life on the spot. We toyed with the idea; it haunted us; it lured us. But a military pension in a post-War world, with a daughter still at school, could not by any arithmetical juggling be made to finance a private expedition to the Karakoram. Then luck took a hand. An elderly maiden aunt in Scotland, whose very existence David had almost forgotten, on whom we had no claim and from whom we had no "expectations," came to die, and left a small legacy. Prudence might suggest investing it, but what is the annual income from a couple of hundred pounds, which may at any moment be "converted" into even less? Common sense pointed out that this was not nearly enough for so long and expensive a journey and a lengthy stay. It wasn't. Then luck once more took a hand. One day we read in *The Times* of the new Leverhulme Research Fellowships for advanced workers, who lacked means or opportunity to complete a piece of research already begun. Not for some days did the idea dawn on us that perhaps David might come into the category of possible "fellows."

We pooh-poohed it to each other. The research would need to be on the line of pulverizing atoms, or curing cancer, or curving space, or liquefying air, or adding another span to already useless lives; it could hardly cover research into the speech and life of the Burusho of Hunza. Yet while laughing at the thought that our work could seriously engage the atten-

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tion of the Leverhulme Trustees, DL decided to lay his 122
programme and his financial problems before them. We could hardly believe our eyes or ears when we found that he was one of the first seventeen fortunate workers to be awarded a fellowship for which there had been four hundred applicants. We wasted some sympathetic philosophizings on the 383, and then began to think. There was a lot to think of.

It would take time to make preliminary arrangements, and while these were going forward DL attended lectures on Anthropology at London University, since clearly the anthropological approach to our task would be the most helpful, though his interest was primarily linguistic. We were both reasonably widely read in the subject, but in Professor Malinowski's lectures and seminars at the London School of Economics he got encouragement and stimulus, as well as new and useful points of view, and made many valuable acquaintances. In the interval various negotiations were proceeding. Would the Government of India permit an ex-Political Officer to return and settle for a year or more unofficially in his successor's bailiwick? Would the present Political Agent have enough faith to raise no objection? Would the Mir of Hunza, firm friend though he had always been, welcome the proceeding? The suggestion was entirely unprecedented. Retired officials do not come back.

> Our sons inherit us, our looks are strange,
> And we should come like ghosts to trouble joy.

Obviously an indiscreet ex-Political Agent might raise all kinds of trouble. Could all these parties be convinced that DL's interests were wholly scientific? Could they believe that he would show tact and detachment enough to cause no disturbance in the happy but always delicate relations between the Mir and his people, the Political Agent and the Mir?

To everybody's credit—not least, perhaps, to the memories of goodwill and understanding that DL had left behind him—Government opposed no objection, while the Mir and the Political Agent, Major Gillan, offered a cordial welcome; but all this varied correspondence took time.

A DREAM COMES TRUE

122 We were grateful for what was ultimately accorded: permission to go at all; to use the Government rest-houses *en route*, subject, of course, to the prior claims of officers travelling on duty; to draw supplies on payment from depots of the Indian Army Service Corps (more familiarly known to us by its original name of the Supply and Transport Department); to bring in kit and equipment duty free. This was a very great deal.

I seem perhaps to be dwelling rather sordidly on money matters, but despite the generosity of the aunt and the Leverhulme, we were going to have to exercise the utmost economy at every step if we were to avoid bankruptcy. A minor deficit we might hope to make good by spartan retrenchment on our return—though our normal way of life left little room for more spartanism—but a major deficit would be a disaster. And the expenses ahead were impossible to estimate.

Chapter 6

EAST AGAIN

We knew, of course, that it would not be possible to ride 114
over the snow passes into Gilgit before June or July, but we had no wish to incur the heat of the Red Sea or the Indian plains in May. We therefore sailed on March 1st (1934), a slack shipping season, for few people return to India just before the hot weather if they can help it. After an uneventful journey out, with an unprecedentedly dull lot of fellow-passengers (or were we ourselves grown old and dull? we didn't feel it. We felt like a pair of school children who had snatched an unexpected holiday and were off on a wild adventure), we found ourselves back in the familiar clammy dampness of Bombay. We made it our first business to pay a courtesy call on the Russian scholar, Professor Ivanow, with whom DL had had correspondence from time to time. We thought of no practical advantage beyond the pleasure of the great man's personal acquaintance. Professor Ivanow is, of course, one of the leading authorities on the doctrines, practices, and literature of Ismailism, the Muslim sect to which the Hunza people belong. But the Hunza peasant would know as little about these esoteric mysteries as the nominal Church of England peasant aboutt he homoousian or filioque controversies or the detail of the Thirty-nine Articles.

It happened, however, that the Professor was in touch with 792
some Hunza people in Bombay, more especially with a small 115
deputation which had just come down—on foot through the winter snows—to pay their respects and their annual "Peter's Pence" to His Highness, the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis, and to them God's vice-regent upon earth, whether his headquarters be Paris or Monte Carlo or the racing stables.

115 racing stables. They came to see us—a cheery, pleasant group of wholesome mountain people—oddly out of place in the lounge of a Bombay hotel. They were naturally eager to get home as quickly and inexpensively as possible, and we were able to annex two. One, Daulat Shah, was willing to act as personal servant and factotum, though untrained in such work and more familiar with plough and spade than artificial European needs. Throughout the whole of our stay in Hunza "Dádo" was our trusty, loyal friend. God bless him! Secondly, a well-educated man of the Wazir's family, distantly related to the humbler, peasant-proprietor Daulat Shah, one Qudrat Ullah Beg, who proved an invaluable language-informant, and worked well for David to the end. He was not capable of the same whole-hearted devotion to us and our affairs as Dádo, and never stirred our affections to the same degree, but his knowledge of Persian and Hindustani was considerable; he could write as well as speak them both, and he possessed an interest in and a knowledge of his own language that proved unique. Under David's tuition he ultimately became in fact a fine philologist, and took the greatest delight in every new revelation about Burushaski that their joint work afforded. He was the kind of man that would have been an ornament to any Oxford Senior Common Room, and like the don of fiction was somewhat conceited, very self-centred, and little use in practical affairs.

It was incredibly cheering—within forty-eight hours of landing in Bombay—to have acquired two Burushaski speakers as travelling companions.

Dádo began his duties at once, took charge of our kit on the railway, and performed such shoe-cleaning, bed-making services as he could, with intelligence and will. Easter Saturday, 1934, saw us driving up the famous poplar avenue into Srinagar, and by teatime next day happily and most comfortably installed on a jolly little boat, aptly called the PAX. It was Easter Sunday, but luckily the Kashmiri does not observe our pagan festivals.

We moored our boat at the side of the main river, well upstream from the picturesque but highly septic city, quite

near the Residency, the European Club, the Post Office, and the major shopping centre—the Band. To get to our boat we had to cross the river in a shapely little shikára, a cross between a punt and a canoe. We drew up alongside and stepped straight in to our drawing-room. 000

Our reach of the river ran roughly east and west, and caught the light of rising and setting sun and the reflections of sky and cloud in the most entrancing way. The left bank was irregularly but amply lined with willows and tall, thin poplars; the right with immense chenars—a particularly lovely type of maple—of untold age; both had barges, native boats, and European houseboats packed tight along them.

Walking down our tiny gangway and climbing a few feet of sandy, muddy beach we were at once in a little willow wood with rough grass underfoot. Going straight through it and up a bank which is the base of a fine row of poplars, we looked out over a sea of bright yellow mustard with occasional willow edges, across the valley to a huge range of glorious mountains, the Pir Panjal, averaging 10,000 to 15,000 feet, the lower half of which took every possible shade of blue, violet, and purple while the top half was still covered in snow. Close behind us in the other direction were small mountains (only 8,000 to 9,000 feet!), bare, rugged and seamed, drenched in the loveliest, ever-changing colours; these foothills screened from us the giant Karakoram.

We had some months to put in before the passes would be open, but we were able to live more economically than at home, and with our two Burusho retainers housed on the cook-boat next door we were able to work our fill—and did. After the fatigue of the last months at home, anthropologizing, buying equipment (cameras, exposure meter, cine-cam, etc.), packing kit, clearing the house for our tenants, and so forth, the peaceful Jhelum days and all the beauty round us gave us a deserved and needed rest. We were on occasion hospitably entertained by Colonel Lang, the British Resident in Kashmir, and Mrs. Lang, and by Colonel Colvin, the Maharajah's Prime Minister, and by an old friend of Gilgit days, Captain Wreford, now Food Controller for the Kashmir Valley, and his wife.

Chapter 7

HALT IN KASHMIR

BEFORE leaving home I had with some temerity approached *The Times* to ask whether I could perhaps, if opportunity offered, act as their amateur correspondent during our travels. I was met with the greatest kindness and courtesy, given some hints as to what sort of articles or news might prove acceptable, and provided, to my amused elation, with "cable facilities" for occasional use. This gave me a right—or at any rate the shadow of a right—to introduce myself to various departments and officials, whom as a private individual I should have hesitated to molest, and added greatly to the interest of our enforced halt. Colonel Millar, of the I.M.S., the Principal Medical Officer in Kashmir, allowed me access to his files, and demonstrated the immense progress that has of late been made in securing a trustworthy supply of drinking water for the city, in introducing vaccination, combating epidemics, fighting tuberculosis and venereal disease—a record of which the State has every reason to be proud.

Captain Wreford most generously gave a whole forenoon to showing us over his Food Control Department, and allowed us to wander at any time through the gardens and take photographs at will.

A visit to the State granaries was a most refreshing experience. Forty great containers, each capable of holding close on four hundred tons, are dotted about in an ex-royal garden with grass walks and stately trees and rows of willows. They are built of local wood, to a locally evolved design, by local workmen, and fit into the landscape as no ferro-concrete silos could. So perfect are the arrangements for turnover of stocks, extermination of vermin, etc., that the total loss from all causes is

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less than two-thirds of one per cent. With further grain stores in the city, the department is able to hold stores of over twenty-two thousand tons, which amply guarantee the valley against fear of famine, and help to stabilize general prices in times of scarcity.

With Sir Ivo Elliott, the inspiring spirit of the new Kashmir Constitution, we enjoyed motor drives to places of interest in the Kashmir Valley, which we had not been able to visit on previous fleeting visits to Srinagar, and which without his hospitable car would have been beyond our range.

In striking contrast to India, Kashmir has been jealous of her past and diligent in recording it, and the historian has stores of native material for the basis of his research. The early Hindu dynasties who held sway until the middle of the fourteenth century left their records not only on the written page but in magnificent stone temples, which not all the iconoclastic zeal of their Muhammadan successors was able wholly to blot out. There remain lovely ruins of cut limestone, dating from the third to the eighth century, to demonstrate that the ancient Kashmiris fully deserved the name by which the Indians knew them—"The Architects." Their architecture is their own, entirely distinct from the Buddhist and Hindu architecture of India, and to a Western eye no less impressive and incomparably more beautiful. It owes to Greek influence its pediments, its fluted columns with base and shaft and capital—learnt, probably, from the Bactrian Greeks of Kábul. The priceless possession of plentiful timber, as well as stone, permitted the Kashmiris to adapt Greek forms to Buddhist and Hindu ritual and to a climate of winter rain and snow. Their pillars were spaced farther apart than the Greek, their pediments pitched higher and their temples crowned with pyramidal roofs tapering to a single lotus blossom, while the interior walls were enriched with deep reliefs. Here their multifarious deities were depicted: the three-faced, eight-armed Vishnu, the river goddess Ganga with her crocodile and the rest, along with many real-life figures of lovers in balconies, ascetics, huntsmen, and dancing-girls, many rich designs of bird and beast and flower, interwoven with geo-

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PLATE II

1. Part of ruined temple of Martand.

2. Backdoor gossip in Kashmir.

Facing P. 36

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 metric patterns of great intricacy and beauty. Much excavation and restoration has been done under the direction of Sir John Marshall and his worthy Kashmir disciple, Mr. Ram Chandra Kak, author of *The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*. The best preserved of these stone temples are at Awantipura and Martand, both within easy motoring distance of Srinagar.

Mr. Kak's excavations of the site of Herwán have brought to light another style of Buddhist architecture immensely more primitive and yet apparently contemporary with the dressed-stone buildings of Martand. These are temples whose mud walls are beautifully faced with a diaper of pebbles, or of smooth boulder slabs framed in a setting of pebbles and small stones, their floors paved with self-coloured baked tiles bearing interesting reliefs and arranged in ingenious mosaic designs. India has, as yet, shown no other examples of this primitive yet beautiful building.

These refreshing distractions only added zest to the steady slogging at Burushaski. As time drew on we had to give more and more attention to preparation for our long ride to Hunza, the repacking of our kit in mule-trunks and small cases for pack transport, the purchase of saddles and camp gear of every sort, and homespun clothes for ourselves on the road.

My own riding outfit required some thought. I had come out to the East in 1911 with an expensive regulation side-saddle and habit which I never wore, and which, of course, had to be scrapped when we started on our 350-mile ride to Kerman fron the coast at Bandar Abbas. I had then substituted for it a dirzi-made divided riding skirt of the length and fullness that in 1912 seemed "suitable for a lady" when the mere idea of riding astride (the only non-suicidal thing to do) was a sufficiently dashing innovation. By 1920 women's fashions had become saner, and I adopted riding breeches like David's, with brogues and puttees and a Norfolk jacket for everyday, and smart riding boots and long, well-fitting white coat and white breeches for more ceremonial occasions. I rather fancied myself in this gear in 1920. But regretfully studying in the glass the more matronly figure of 1934, I decided to revert to the divided skirt (of more rational length and width than

1912's), and the capacious pockets of a Norfolk jacket. I had no reason to regret this. It proved an eminently practical and comfortable get-up, yet neither unsightly nor unseemly (at least so I imagined).

As always, we laid in a stock of Kashmir *chapplis*, well-fitting sandals with soft leather socks ankle-high, and well-nailed soles. These are safer and more serviceable for walking than any European shoe. The inner sock fits snugly and keeps out sand and pebbles, and when these creep in above the sandal sole they are easily ejected by gestures of the toes.

As the road to Hunza has rest-houses at convenient stages (which we had official permission to use) we were saved the necessity of carrying tents.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

PART 2

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The Journey

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Chapter 8

OFF AT LAST

MINDFUL of age and infirmity we knew that we must not attempt the passes till they could be *ridden* over. As June approached, with their official "opening," due on the 15th, we made such enquiries as were possible from occasional down-coming travellers. Their reports were not reassuring. There had been an abnormal late snowfall, and the passes would be slow to clear. My *Times* cabling had introduced me to the kind-hearted and obliging telegraph master, and he promised to keep us informed. One day we heard with joy that he had learned by telephone from Minimarg (the last telegraph station on the Kashmir side of the Burzil) that the pass was entirely clear of snow on the southern side.

We paid off our Kashmiri cook and boatmen, who, being over-paid and over-tipped, characteristically bade us a surly and injured good-bye. The better friends you are with a Kashmir servant, the more generously you treat him, the more he regrets on parting that he has omitted to squeeze more out of you. It is a well known but unlovable trait, and does the Kashmiri less than justice, for he is essentially a kindly, willing, even affectionate fellow, and these grudging farewells spoil your kindly thoughts of him. They mean nothing, however; he greets your return with radiant face.

We mobilized and started in the highest spirits on June 12th, comparing with amusement and no regret the very modest houseboat that bore us down the Jhelum and across the Wular Lake with the more sumptuous barges that the Political Agent of other days had commanded. We even welcomed the lesser luxury as proclaiming to ourselves and others our complete freedom from the ties of officialdom.

OFF AT LAST

000 At the other side of the Lake—growing less attractive with each year as its water surface shrinks and its mud-flats extend—we found our flock of pack animals awaiting us, and spent the night as the guests of Major Rice, of the I.A.S.C., in his bungalow at Sonawain, a couple of miles above the landing-place at Bandipur. He had already shown us much thoughtful kindness in Srinagar by placing a large storeroom in his depot at our disposal for the re-packing and assembling of our kit; cameras, photographic supplies; typewriters and eighteen months' stationery; reference books and lighter literature; carpenter's tools; Aladdin lamps; first-aid requisites, and all sorts of odds and ends that experience had taught us would be worth gold three hundred miles from shops; and, of course, the usual kitchen and pantry paraphernalia. Our own personal kit was a minimum, though we could not leave evening and "Sunday" clothes behind, as we should have liked to do, since we might have to turn out on occasion as civilized folk. Luxury stores, such as tinned meat, fruit, and vegetables, wines, or spirits, we took none: our only alcohol was one bottle of cognac for medical emergency. When emergency came we both forgot to use it, and David eventually drank it by thimblefuls out of a measuring glass (since we had no wine-glasses) during the last fortnight in Hunza to avoid the bother of re-packing it. We had always eschewed the use of tinned foods ourselves, though in official days we had had to keep goodly store of them, as of wines, for entertaining. So our "Europe stores" were confined to soap and baking powder, tea, coffee, and Quaker Oats, a little cornflour and arrowroot, and a few pots of marmalade, with some tinned milk and butter for the road.

We owed to Major Rice the supply of transport animals and all arrangements for their due payment in the regulation instalments. His kindness greatly simplified our upward journey as far as Gilgit.

Kashmir had been warming up; we had been painfully toasted in the sun-facing parlour on the boat coming down river, so we were not sorry to leave behind the sun-baked

flats of Bandipur and climb through scented pine-woods towards the Tragbal rest-house, some 6,000 feet above the lake. It was a glorious day of radiant sun as we mounted to begin the 200-mile preliminary ride to Gilgit, and it was a delight to feel a horse between the knees again. Looking back as we breasted the hillside we could see the whole fertile Kashmir plain outspread below us like a patchwork quilt in pastel colourings, silver-seamed by innumerable waterways, and dotted by dark green clumps of the magnificent chenár trees that Kashmir owes to her Mughal conquerors.

All the far horizon was enclosed by the jagged, snow-clad peaks of the Pír Panjál, the mighty range that separates Kashmir from the torrid plains of the Punjab. This middle and further distance formed a delicate study in water-colour under a pale blue sky, while the immediate foreground was a contrast in strong oils: spur after spur of pine-fledged ridges plunging abruptly into the plain like giant cliffs guarding a wide sea-coast.

Next day we rode up and ever upwards, still through pine forest, till we emerged on the great exposed plateau of the Tragbal itself, commanding a matchless panorama to north and west and east, of crowded snow-crowned peaks, conspicuous amongst them the sharp twin teeth of Haramuk on our right, and far ahead, beckoning us on, the glorious mass of Nanga Parbat.

Even on such a perfect summer day it was easy to realize how deadly this wide smooth plateau can be to bewildered travellers in mist or driving snow.

A long, slow descent—the first mile or two through unpleasant stretches of half-melted, slushy snow which our ponies emphatically did not like, then over easy grassy slopes—led us through forest to the wooded banks of the river, where our next rest-house nestled amongst pines at the junction of two mountain torrents.

Soon after us some of the caravan got in, and we looked forward eagerly to lunch—breakfast seemed to belong to a distant past—but still no sign of Shafi (the cook). We got hungrier and hungrier, and I began to be afraid that he had

sprained his ankle and David that some accident had happened to the balance of the kit. This seemed improbable, for it was as easy a stretch of road as we were ever likely to see. Presently Shafi came hurrying in on foot (happily unharmed) thinking of dinner—for lunch-time was long since past. He brought gloomy news. The ponymen had let their ponies cluster too close to drink at one of the little streams that crossed the track; two started a scrap, and one had contrived to fling his double load spinning down a steep hillside. Both boxes were smashed to smithereens, and Shafi had dutifully stayed behind to see that the men retrieved as much as they could of the scattered contents. We were not far ahead when it happened, and—oh!—if they had only called us back to superintend the salvage! The worst loss was one of the two new Coronas. It was spewed out from the nest of cushions and eiderdowns into which I had so carefully lashed it, out of its own travelling case, and smashed into three independent bits, with all its delicate arms and legs twisted and bent—a sorry sight. As well as this, all our precious stationery for a year and a half was scattered over half a mile of hill. Picture ten thousand index slips of different colours, ten reams of typing paper, boxes of carbon paper, dozens of file-covers and folders, quires of blotting paper, a ream of "shelf paper" for scribbling, envelopes of every sort and size, and two dozen nice large different-coloured note books and as many little ones, luggage labels, pins, paper clips, rubber bands—all scattered sheet by sheet and pin by pin like the track of an insane giant's paper-chase. It must have looked quite funny though we might not have seen the jest. To improve matters there came a heavy thunder shower to drench the mess. The poor ponymen, full of contrition over an inexcusable piece of carelessness, gathered up everything—including, alas! twelve unrolled typing ribbons—higgledy-piddledy into handkerchiefs, blankets, saddlecloths, and whatnot, and presently brought in these dripping bundles. It was inky dark; there was nothing to be done that night unless we had buried it darkly with a lantern dimly burning—as we should have liked to do. We went to bed and bitterly thought of the morrow. Just as we had got into a mournful

sleep one end of David's wooden *charpai* collapsed, and he spent the rest of that ill-omened night upon the floor.

Next day took us through the loveliest stretch of river and wooded hill country that even the Kishengunga can boast, and we gave ourselves up to the delight of the day's march. Happily a day's halt was due in Gurés. The rest-house is extra roomy, designed to house two parties at need; there was no one else there, so we had plenty of space. We got all the damp stuff dumped in a wide, sheltered verandah and started opening the unappetizing bundles. It was a grim sight.

We roughly sorted note books from papers, and papers from envelopes, etc., and carried bundles in and spread them on big kitchen tables (part of the most valuable equipment of every rest-house) and roughly wiped off the worst of the most obvious mud, and then spread things out on the grass to dry. Happily there are large rough lawns around the house, and by great luck there was no wind. We toiled all that afternoon till sunset; then carted everything into a big room and lit a fire and went on. Early next morning (the day that was to have been a rest) we were at it again—wiping, sorting, spreading, gathering, tying up and smoothing out—it was quite the dismallest and most fatiguing eighteen hours' work I have ever done at a stretch. You can't conceive how much ink lives in twelve typing ribbons, nor how much dye in the cover of a note book, nor how much gum in the flap of a manila envelope, nor how many sheets are in a ream, nor how many slips to a thousand till you have tried a job like this. Dádo and the others helped all they could, and we despatched a couple of ponymen to see whether they could anywhere raise a couple of packing-cases. There were none in Gurés, but seven miles ahead there was an S. and T. depot (why placed so far from where any traveller could want it, we never discovered), and after many formalities and the signing of documents and a promise to hand the boxes back to the depot in Gilgit, we succeeded in procuring four dirty, smelly kerosene oil cases without lids, which after some work with saw and hammer served well enough to pack the revolting stuff into as it was ready. How disgusting it looked I cannot tell you. All the file covers were

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 cobbled and distorted; all the smart note-books had their covers smeared, defaced, and bent; every single sheet of every one was smudged with ink or grass or mud or dye or gum or a mixture of them all; every sheet of paper, every index slip the same; the flap of every envelope was firmly stuck on to something else; almost everything would after a fashion be useable and must be used, for it would take too long to replace them from home. But to think of taking all our notes and writing all our writes on this revolting paper! However, it might have been much worse; it might have been the cameras and chemicals. On the other hand, if these precious ponymen could do this in the easy Kashmir country, what might they not do on the precipitous cliff roads ahead!

We cabled for typewriter ribbons and went to bed with aching backs and legs and hearts.

The next march was a short one to the hillside bungalow at Peshwari. We halted there a day to let the animals graze and to rest ourselves. The jolly little bungalow, clinging to the hillside above the Burzil river, was haunted more than any of the others we had passed, by memories of baby—in particular of her arrival there one pouring afternoon. The Willesden canvas cover of her doolie that should have completely sheltered her, had begun to leak in places, and as the willing coolies rushed the cradle up the last steep bit of hill we noticed that the faithful Alipo, who had voluntarily marched beside it every foot of the way from Bandipur, had stripped off his own homespun cloak and flung it over to keep Missie Baba dry. Good, smiling Alipo, wet to the skin! We could see him vividly again, and we gratefully remembered.

To-day there was no rain. It was the first time we had ever seen Peshwari without, and a very pleasant little spot it is in sunshine. Peasants were ploughing tiny fields below us, the grass of the slopes above was lit with big blue cranesbill, Siberian wallflower, hellebore, and spikes of blue larkspur, and a lovely yellow "weed" with flowers in feathery balls, over which armies of butterflies were hovering: tortoiseshells, painted ladies, half a dozen kinds of fritillaries and tiny blues, and one magnificent pair of swallowtails. We spent a happy,

OFF AT LAST

lazy day, strolling out to get a few photographs of this lower section of the Burzil Valley in the intervals of working at Gurezi Shina. The hillsides on our bank of the river were wholly bare of trees but covered with rich grass and grazing herds, while on the steeper-faced cliffs opposite us triangular masses of spruce and pine rushed uphill, vertically striped by pencil lines of muddy waterfalls.

As we rose and rose during the next day's march, through scenery that grew bleaker and wilder at every step, as we noticed the snows above us creeping lower and nearer, and as we saw the lines of fretful waterfalls now paralysed into silent impotence, our faith in the telephonist from Minimarg grew every moment less. We saw the village itself lying across the river in a bay of valley to our right, just below the present snow, magnificent snowpeaks towering over it; we turned the last corner and high above us saw the snow stretching right down to the last rest-house some 2,500 feet below the pass.

This was a blow. Pensively we climbed the steep hill to the bungalow of Burzil Chauki. The last half mile was soft and soppy, alive with water and carpeted thick with short-stalked primulas, mauve, purple, white, and glorious pink, masses of a starry waterflower like a huge white king-cup, quaint little bushes with yellow feathery tufts, and a thousand other lovely things only a botanist could name. There could be no waiting for the pass to clear; it would be a matter of weeks, and on these journeys you hope at such uninhabited stages to find at most one day's supply of fuel and fodder. The *chaukidár* (caretaker) agreed that by day the sun would make the snow impossible: there was nothing for it but to cross by night.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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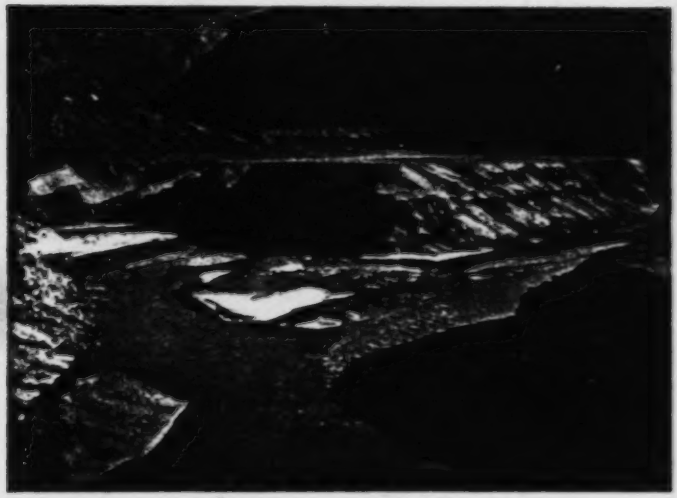
PLATE III

1. Mail-runners' refuge on Burzil Pass (summer). (See p. 53)

2. Junction of Gilgit (left) and Indus Rivers. (See p. 61)



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Chapter 9

ENTERING THE GILGIT AGENCY

CHILLUM CHAUKI
June 22, 1934

AT this point the two passes were safely behind us, and we had had amazing luck in having perfect weather for both. Anxiety had haunted me about them before we left home in the early hours of many a morning (when it is very hard to be a hero). I greatly feared that DL might crock on one of these passes and I be helpless to get help in time, or that I might crock and be a nuisance to him. Those spectres were now laid. We were over, and, though stiff and tired, apparently not a penny the worse. We were pleased to find in Kashmir that we were still able to fling a leg over our ponies (small pack animals only, not the officers' chargers of earlier days), and that the height of the Tragbal (close on 12,000 feet) didn't worry either of us. In fact, we had never trekked together in better spirits than those first days. The scenery and the smell of the sun-drenched pines were glorious. We were thankful to get away at last from Srinagar and the cramped quarters of the houseboat, and barring the accident to the stationery the journey to Burzil Chauki at the foot of the pass was leisurely and uneventful, but as I have explained, our "intelligence department" had failed us badly.

We had pushed on in good faith that we should be able to ride to the top of the Burzil Pass. We both admitted that it was unlikely that we could, either of us, *climb* at any altitude, and we had sat patiently two and a half months in Srinagar to avoid all risk of having to do it. At Peshwari we were passed by a cheery young couple, Wing Commander and Mrs. Somethingorother, who had been up for three weeks' shoot-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushe AV7

ing; they reported an abnormal amount of snow which was walkable only, and walkable only by night. There would, however, be a good moon from sunset till one-thirty.

After a picnic lunch at Burzil Chauki (11,100 feet) we consulted with the ponymen. They averred, quite truly, that the snow would be too soft till after midnight—so the precious moon was a washout. We agreed to start at twelve, and turned in to get what prophylactic sleep we could—which was little: partly height, partly uncertainty about the coming adventure. The caretaker of the rest-house assured us that there was a well-trodden riding track to the top, 13,775 feet according to one, 13,900 feet according to another reckoning. At ten-thirty we dined—or breakfasted?—and dear Shafi, instead of giving us plain hen and potatoes, outdid himself to produce a three-course meal, adding soup flavoured with rancid fat and birch-wood smoke, and finishing with "fritters" of dried apricots, fried in the same rancid grease, followed by gritty, smoked coffee. He meant kindly, and we did our best to do justice to his intentions, but we mounted our ponies with heavy tummies and some foreboding.

What moon remained had disappeared behind the mountains. Steep above us rose two fine snow peaks on the top of which squatted respectively the Great Bear and Cassiopeia, both looking oddly hunched up and accessible. In the snow-filled trough between lay our Pass, out of sight to the left, some 2,600 feet above and about six miles distant by the normal, well-graded, zigzag road, which we had ridden four times before in perfect comfort, but which was now smothered in snow and indiscernible. It was a beautiful, clear night with heaps of stars; our valley was darkened by the moon's shadow, and brightened only by the faintly starlit snow. Dádo led off on foot with a lantern, which it is true revealed immediate pitfalls but was otherwise nothing but a blinding nuisance. We followed on horseback, and behind came Qudrat Ullah leading Dádo's pony. A specially engaged "tiffin-coolie" carried two ferrostats of tea and a basket of sandwiches for future use. The laden caravan was to follow, lit by the remaining lanterns.

We zigzagged comfortably for about 200 feet, then all trace

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 of track disappeared and there was nothing but a wilderness of steep snow slopes. The ponies refused to set hoof on the untrodden snow as long as we were on their backs. You couldn't blame them; the extra ten or twelve stone made all the difference to their feet going through—into what?—and they took the safety first line. So we set out on foot. We had nail-studded *chapplis*, and each a long staff with an iron point.

Dádo, of course, is mountain bred; and DL, without being a mountaineer, had always loved mountain sides and heights and spent leave big game shooting in Tibet. He had at least the memory of the right muscles in his legs and the right wind in his lungs. But in my lady-like Victorian childhood the mildest exercise was enough for any girl, and never in my absurd life, overfilled with futile examinations, had I walked ten miles at a stretch or climbed 1,000 feet even at sea-level. Anyhow, whatever we had once been able for, we were both out of training and getting on in years. The others led on silently, and I followed carefully—even I silent for once—learning to prod my stick horizontally into the snow slope beside me. It was all rather thrilling and romantic.

The lantern only obscured larger issues, so we banished it behind us, while David and the hill-wise Hunzukuts chose routes and slopes keeping an eye on the general direction. It would have been easy to climb futilely up and down and reach an impasse every time. Now we swung left to avoid too steep a rise, now hastily veered right to escape an involuntary slide down unseen slopes at the base of which we could hear the torrent crashing below its crust of ice and snow. You would have been sure of an icy bath and a dislocated or broken limb. Woefully soon my wind gave out and I had to stop and blow. The slopes were about 65 degrees, and you could lean almost upright against them. The heat of my body would melt the snow under me, which then refroze, so I had always to tug myself free, wondering with amusement whether each stage of my progress would be marked by little tufts of fair-isle wool. David was unspeakably patient with me, urging me to go slow and take my time, and assuring me, in answer to gasping apologies, that the compulsory halts were equally necessary

for him (which was only partially true, for his early training was standing him in good stead).

So on we plodded, my halts getting longer and more frequent. It was the queerest experience. You felt quite active and vigorous when suddenly every muscle and sinew turned into vermicelli, your head got a centrifugal whirl inside it as if your skull and eyes and eardrums might fly up at any moment to join Cassiopeia and the Pleiades, and a deadly sea-sickness took hold. No amount of resolution could induce another step and you had to flop again against the sloping snow. Then for a second or two you felt as if you could never move again, while your body heaved involuntarily from head to foot with the deepest deep-sea breathing I have ever known. I could feel the wind whizzing in under my toe-nails. After a bit your head eased up and you could deep-breathe less violently, but still leaned paralysed till quite suddenly your muscles braced again and you set out full of new hope and vigour, only to collapse once more a few yards on. This effect of altitude was interesting and by no means wholly unpleasant; relapsing half vertically against the gentle snow, there came a delicious sense of powerlessness and utter, abandoned weariness, like the onset of a pleasing anaesthetic. At those instants I should have asked nothing better of life than in an ecstasy of self-surrender "to cease upon the midnight with no pain."

My mind restlessly toyed with relevant and irrelevant quotations from the poets (do other people, I always wonder, keep a first-aid outfit of this kind with them?)—"My eyes are closing and my lute is dumb, slower and slower go my songs to sleep—Geometria una et aeterna est in mente Dei refulgens—Because he finds his egg contain, green, hungry, horrible and plain, an infant crocodile—De l'enfer il ne sort que l'éternelle soif de l'impossible mort—For the wind has blown into my body and blown away my soul . . . in the pine-trees' top and dallies with the wind and scorns the sun—Der Dichtung Schleier aus der Hand der Wahrheit—and perchance the coming night is full of stars—Heureux ceux qui n'ont jamais vu la fumée des fêtes de l'étranger—and God have pity on the sadder folk who travail without hope—sie zu verscheuchen hab'

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

ich dann gepfiffen die frechen Reime eines Spottgedichts . . . —forest-tribute, sombre sightly"—miles and miles of forgotten poetry reeled through my head. I battled with the all too vivid memory of Shafi's fritters; I laughed inwardly (having no wind to spare for outward laughter) to think of starting mountain climbing at fifty plus; I wondered with a quiet chuckle whether David would have the nerve and wisdom to slide a vacated body down the hill and let Nature deal with it; I knew that even if he had the sense he couldn't do it before witnesses, and the thought of cumbering him at such a moment with an unmannerly, unhandsome corpse revived my will; I thanked whatever gods there be for his unconquerable soul.

The coolness of the air was like a draught of icy water on a hot-weather day. When after laboured gasping you were again able quietly to breathe your fill, there came an intoxication unlike any other delight I have ever known. David would constantly offer a hand to pull me upright or an arm to help me on; each time I gratefully refused it; reckoning that he might need all his own strength to reach the top. I could not, however, prevent his plunging his long alpenstock into the snow below my feet and standing guard for fear of an accidental skid.

At first an alluring boulder projecting from the snow occasionally tempted me to choose it for a prop, but as I took a step towards its reassuring firmness I plunged shoulder deep in softened snow. I was so green as not to know that the heat accumulated in the stone by day would have half melted the snow beside it! One lives and learns.

By day the melting snow had cut deep furrows for itself, whose ridges were as sharp as the teeth of a giant comb. Their graceful sweeps followed the curves of the mountain side as the natural waves of a woman's hair follow the lines of her head (a fact the "perm" forgets—a murrain on it!), but they flowed at an angle to our course and made progress infinitely laborious. These little trenches, only perhaps a foot across and eight inches deep or so, which any intelligent beast stepping from crest to crest could have negotiated easily, put the wind up our ponies, who gathered their four feet together—

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

like the chamois, in sudden short spasms on the brink of deep chasms—then leapt as if competing in a steeplechase and landed plunging and frantic in the bottom of the next trough. At one point of these winter sports Dádo's pony escaped from Qudrat Ullah, and an anxious hide and seek in the dark followed till he was recaptured.

About three-quarters up we gleefully recognized the mail-runners' shelter—a tiny hut that projects on wooden stilts above the 40 feet of winter snow and looks so otiose in summer time. Its legs were still buried knee deep in snow.

Inch by inch we crept up till we were within a couple of hundred feet of the top, and I was very, very near the end of my tether. Suddenly the rise grew extra steep again. If we had had to do it unaided (except by the poets) at my then rate of progress, we should be there still. By great good luck the snow here was harder and the slope straighter, and we struck a snow furrow running for once in the right direction. A reluctant pony was induced to walk in the inconvenient narrow trough; kind hands boosted me into the saddle and towed me to the top. So with bumps and jerks and springs and plunges I thankfully and ungallantly rode the remaining feet. Just then a dazzling star showed above a bend in the mountain to our right; I gasped out a query as to what planet it could be. David said it was the Morning Star, and right enough there was a slight glow all round, not coming, as for a moment I had thought, solely from the star. For the next few minutes you were conscious not so much of the coming of light as of the silent, mysterious disappearance of the stars. Then dawn crept on, and just as we landed on the brow of the Pass a first streak of gold caught the highest crests of the white-grey snow, and one tiny pipe of one tiny bird greeted the double event. The three direct miles had taken us just five long hours.

We jerked onwards to the four-roomed shelter that crowns the Pass and sat down in the verandah. It was dirty enough, but inside was unspeakable. I don't suppose it is ever cleaned, and generations of weary beasts, including man, have refuged there. Though cold, the night was windless and not bitter. Eight feet of snow lay round the shabby, welcome hut. The

sun's daytime heat echoing from the walls (a phenomenon I now thoroughly understood) had melted a wide, steep-sided moat all round it, and it stood there in comic isolation. The prudent Hunzukuts had brought some wood and invited us to a blazing fire. It was eminently cheering, but as we were well clad and warm and they had only cotton trousers—in spite of a generous gift of rupees "to buy warm clothes," which we suspect they had spent on gaudy rubbish!—we presently withdrew and called them in to cluster round it. I noticed with pride in them that they called the Kashmir sweeper to come and share the warmth. To the true Muslim, not contaminated (as so many Indians are) by Hindu caste-prejudice, all believers are men and brethren, whatever their occupation. It warmed my heart to see Sheikha, as they called him, treated as an equal and a friend.

So we sat awhile, paralysed with weariness, but happy and glad to be alive, and watched the gold creep down the peaks, and lovely lights and shadows flow across the basin of snow in which we sat. We saw our bird, who was neither a phoenix nor a simurgh as he should have been, but an impish, dingy, indomitable Cockney sparrow. I swear it was a sparrow. David had other theories, but could not supply a name. Anyhow it was the only bird in sight. Then we got up and tried to photograph the unforgettably lovely scene; but we could make no guess as to what exposure would record the grey, the white, the gold, the pale blue of the sky, and the meter was in a knapsack miles away. We lingered perhaps an hour, till the growing light, welcome as it was—for the relief from the impotence of darkness was very great—reminded us of snows softening below us and the thirteen miles that still separated us from Chillum.

The sandwich-coolie offered us his wares at the top, but we were too dead weary to eat just then, and waved him on: "Not just now; a little later." The caravan came up and toiled bravely past us, not daring to halt, and presently we started the descent. It was too steep to ride, but now gravity (pace Einstein) was with us, and we stepped out manfully. Soon we passed from softening snow into a welter of treacherous

slush and marsh and mud, and by the time we reached dry land again the sun was fiercely hot. We called for a little food, but the tiffin-coolie (despite the most explicit instructions) had streaked on and we found him innocently waiting for us at the next rest-house! We felt not only hungry but ashamed that our excellent *bandobast* had broken down. Only very inexperienced travellers incur unnecessary starvation. We peeled our outer wrappings, which were many and various, but we could not so easily rid ourselves of more intimate woollies, and that last seven miles was as hot a ride as I remember.

The triumph of that memorable night was wholly David's, for he had not only done the climb himself but by silent moral suasion enabled me to do it too. The joke was, of course, that our mighty feat would have been nothing to younger folk in training—a fact to which we were fully alive, but it was a feat we had very definitely done our best to avoid performing. The weather had been perfect. In wind or mist or driving snow there would have been a different tale to tell—and we should not have been the tellers.

Beyond being full of half a hundred aches and rather off our grub and off our sleep, with heads still somewhat dazed and buzzy, we did not seem seriously the worse. Neither of us would willingly have missed that Morning Star, that dawn, that piping sparrow, nor I my first experience of mountain sickness. Though I now it was not the height but Shah's meal of grease and birch-wood smoke that accounted for my nausea.

Chapter 10

TOWARDS GILGIT

AFTER the fertility of the wooded and grassy Kashmir valleys, the bleak grandeur of the first Gilgit marches, familiar though it was, was finely impressive. Chillum rest-house looks out over a great delta of grey high-piled boulders, flowing down from the Burzil, with a few storm-tormented birches sparsely scattered on the rocky mountain sides. Gradually you descend with the waters. The rare villages are built still somewhat in the Kashmir style, mainly of logs plundered from the rare pines, but already their lower walls are stone. The landscape grows in patches more genial, where pine and fir succeed to birch.

The women in their tiny terraced fields—which seem at this height to grow only barley and broad beans—wear woollen bonnets like a cloth bag with brass ornaments at the back, and in front Salvation Army peaks with a row of brass circles along their upper edge.

About five miles beyond Godai we came to a lovely well-remembered village with a real polo ground, levelled and well cared for, shaded by rows of tall, spreading poplars (the kind that do spread). Where every inch of levellable ground is priceless, it is touching to see, as from now on you do, the best piece always set aside for polo; no English heart can resist this silent appeal. From here we knew we must look for our first full peep at Nanga Parbat above the bleak and barren foreground hills. And there in fact she was, but before cameras could be snatched from knapsacks she had swathed herself, as she loves to do, in veils of flying cloud.

Soon after, you turn almost at right angles into the Astor Valley, and the crystal clear waters of the Burzil-Chillum

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

torrent are cut across by the muddy flood of the Rupal Nullah and bringing the drainage from the northern glaciers of Nanga. The two unite to form the wild, mud-laden Astor River, flowing between steep earthen cliffs. Gurikot is a beautiful and large oasis, the more lovely for the arid desolation round: some miles of poplars, walnuts, willows, and fields of barley, wheat, and beans, the two latter sown and reaped together.

The next two marches are tiring, for the road dips from its average level of 9,000 feet or so right down to the river-bed many hundreds of feet below, where glorious stretches of tamarisk-bearing sand invite a lovely canter (if you have a beast that isn't a pack pony), and laboriously up again. The picturesque village of Dashkin, perched on a crag, bears an unenviable reputation for leprosy, and its rest-house is invariably (in our experience) stiff with flies. After it, came a well-remembered mile or two through a belt of shady, scented pine forest, the last glimpse of natural vegetation we were to see for many a day, and we were out again on the bare mountain side. From the crest 10,000 feet or so which towers above Doian—a tiny settlement of small fields, clinging incredibly to precipitous rocks 2,000 feet below—we looked down into the utter and unredeemed desolation of the Indus Valley. It is the most awe-inspiring view I know, and reduces man to his true stature of a fidgety intrusive insect.

Immense mountains in every direction fold, project, retreat, hemming in the plain below, their browns and chromes, sepias and khakis indistinguishable from the colours of the boulder-strewn sands of the plain, and these again from the muddy flood of the Indus between the railway-cutting of its barren banks. And for all the miles the eye can see from this lofty eyrie, there is not one blade of grass, not one tree, not one human habitation, no sign of man or beast or bird. The only touch of hope is the line of jagged snow peaks in the far distance, whose tips contrive to peep over the dun-coloured nearer mountains. Without map and compass-bearings we could not distinguish which was Rakaposhi, which Haramosh, and which the guardian peaks of Hunza.

At the tiny Doian rest-house we met Major and Mrs. Gillan

on their way down to Kashmir. He was the outgoing Political Agent, and we owed it to his non-obstructiveness that we had obtained the Government of India's consent to our coming. They hospitably gave us tea and dinner, and we then retired to bed to snatch a few hours' sleep before another midnight start. By all that was unlucky, having had unexpectedly late snow on the Burzil, we were now plunging into a record heat-wave. The Fates clearly do not approve of *revenants*! A mile or so beyond the Ram Ghat defile the road crosses the Devil's Gorge, and the bridge across it had been carried away some years before, so that travellers have to make a long detour up the rocky sides of the ravine to find a possible ford. The torrent was now in full spate under the late June suns, and could only be attempted—with luck—at dawn, when the stream after the coolness of the night would be at its minimum. Hence we had to brace ourselves for another midnight start. The air of the Doian heights was deliciously bracing and cold, but the 4,000 feet drop of the next march would land us in the stifling heat of the Indus Valley. If you could sail down on a tea tray it would not be more than three miles to river level, but the graded road is full ten miles, now interminably criss-crossing the steep face of the Hattu Pir, where it seems impossible that a road should cling (and in fact it often slithers quietly downhill and has to be coaxed into place again), now along a rock-shelf where the left cliff almost overhangs the track and the right falls sheer 800 feet into the river below. The fact that you hear no murmur from the full, raging torrent at the bottom adds awe to the sense of height. Then another endless, precarious zigzag brings you down to the deafening roar of the Astor River as it plunges through the rocky narrows of the Ram Ghat defile to fling itself and its glacier mud into the Indus.

We crossed Ram Ghat, still in the dark, by the steel suspension bridge and duly reached the Devil's Gorge just before dawn. A day or two before I had had the bad luck when tramping downhill to crash—from carelessness or sheer fatigue—full weight with my left knee on a spiky rock, and the pain of that night's walk was an ugly nightmare. I wel-

comed the relatively level rock-shelf where I could mount again, for though the cramped position with foot in stirrup was hardly less painful, it was a change of pain. With instinctive chivalry Dádo leapt off his own pony and without a word led mine, knowing that with the wounded knee I could have no effective grip; and on these rock *peris* one slip may send horse and rider to certain—but not necessarily immediate—death. At any time this march is a somewhat racking one, but, with a treacherous moon throwing inky shadows where you most wanted light, it was even less luxurious than usual.

Having left the Astor torrent behind us we climbed up a rough track to the so-called ford, marked by the ruined piers of a dead bridge (one of many, for this ill-famed gorge is unkind to its bridges), bitterly grudging the extra miles entailed by some arm-chair official's economy campaign that had left the broken bridge unreplaced, and found that we ourselves were just able to cross three-quarters of the stream on two long tree trunks. Dádo insisted on going before us backwards and piloting us across; we both have steady heads, and slightly resented being treated as babies, but there was no doubt that his bare feet had a better grip than our *chapplis*, and his intentions were noble. A belt of swirling water still lay between us and the farther bank. The Hunzukuts, plunging in to their armpits, coaxed the riding horses over, then Dádo returned and insisted on carrying us over shoulder high. Again we should have preferred to take our own ducking as he had his, but one could not wound the sporting fellow by insisting.

The next two hours were anxious ones. We stood and watched the sturdy Kashmir ponymen, seconded by our resourceful Hunza people, post themselves on vantage points of steady boulders amidst the tossing, foaming waters. One man chased a reluctant pony in, the next caught it, steadied it, and pushed it on, and so, like the chain of buckets at a fire, the animals were herded safely over one by one. At every moment some precious box threatened to take a header into the maelstrom, where it would infallibly have been dashed to pieces. Would it be the cameras or the chemicals, the reference books or the one surviving typewriter? But luck this time was with

us. All loads, of course, were thoroughly splashed, but none were soaked or lost, and tin-lined cases and double waterproof wrappings guarded the most perishable stuff from harm.

During this anxious transit Shafi, the cook, provided some comic relief. He was a Hunza man we had picked up in Srinagar, and his main qualification for the job was the fact that he was a Burushaski speaker—we did not want to import language and racial distractions by taking on a Kashmiri. Secondly, he had served for some time as "cook's mate" in a Rawalpindi hotel, and he presumed he could "carry on." He did. It was we who nearly perished. Meantime, in contrast to his fellow-countrymen, he was a frail little creature, who had deteriorated physically in India. He insisted, however, on "helping." He kept mounting on rickety boulders and falling off and having to be rescued from a watery grave, causing endless agitation and delay. Again and again the others fished him up and with perfect good humour and much laughter redumped him on a steady rock. We shouted to him from the bank to leave the pony work, ride ahead, and put the kettle on; but either the roar of the water drowned our voices or he was fanatically determined to be a hero. Nothing would induce him to quit. We found out afterwards that—apart from his cooking—he had learned other evil things, including drug-taking, in India. He left Hunza again, for his country's good, soon after our arrival, heartily unregretted.

At last, after two hours of struggle, the crossing was accomplished without casualty to man or beast or kit, but the sun was now well up and there remained for us seven miles of red-hot riding over burning rocks and stones and sand to the thrice-accursed oasis of Bunji—hot enough at any time, but in summer a foretaste of Hell. The only vegetation in all the hateful Bunji plain was the great octopus of the caper plant, with its rubber ha'pennies of leaves and bold white flowers whose yellow stamens and pert pistil give a gay and insolent turn to its expressive face.

When we had scrambled out of the steep gorge and up on to the plain, we were rewarded by a magnificent early-morning view of the whole Nanga Parbat range blocking the valley to

the south, for once entirely free from cloud, dazzlingly white against the burning blue. The German party were on their way there. We tried to spy out their probable route, but it is never easy to tell among all those mighty peaks which is officially "the top." If they were blessed with such weather. . . .

We vainly tried to sleep through the hot day (100° and anything in the shade), and midnight saw us again quitting Bunji by a treacherous moon—I'm sorry to be always so rude to the moon—riding through a desolate waste of rocks and sand, in imminent danger of losing the semi-invisible track and having to plunge wearily up and down the countless gullies which seam the plain and which the "road" skilfully circumvents. The valley is shut in on both sides by giant hills whose surfaces of stone breathe out with interest the heat absorbed by day, and the hot air throbbed against our cheeks like the blast from a baker's oven.

The worst of night-marching (which in great heat is necessary for the animals) is that you can get little sleep in one-storey sun-steeped bungalows, thronged by flies despite their wire doors. Tents are, of course, infinitely worse, and the rest-houses on the Gilgit road are a most welcome mitigation both of heat and cold.

Seven miles out from Bunji we reached the river, flung ourselves full length on soft sand between the boulders and breathed deep of the cool river-borne air, then halted as we crossed the great bridge of Partab Pul to look down for a moment into the unplumbed muddy depths of the Indus. Swift, silent, and stealthy she flowed below us, terrifyingly still, hypnotizing and paralysing you with a sense of resistless latent power, like a great wild beast crouching to spring. No ripples, no waves, no sound. She might have been dead and motionless but for the quivering of her tawny hide and pitiless tiny whirlpools gleaming like a tiger's eyes.

As we turned from the Indus into the almost equal barrenness but lesser monotony of the Gilgit Valley, having seen "our" river noiselessly swallowed up by hers, we felt a delightful sensation of nearing home. At the mouth of the Gilgit River the mountain side wildernesses of stone and boulder are

2: Lorimer T-3 (1927-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

extraordinarily varied; no doubt a geologist could read their riddles. Some are of grey granite, some a dark chocolate colour, some the shade of golden sand. At one place for a hundred yards or more the cliffs and their boulder offspring are deep chocolate streaked with cream in the pattern of fantastic Swiss rolls.

On the two marches between Bunji and Gilgit there are many precipitous cliffs, *peris* as they are locally called, across the face of which the road rises and falls in flights of hairpin bends, where a false step at any turning will plunge you 50 or 100 or 200 feet into a rocky ravine. Even by day these ask for careful riding, but in quivering moonlight and pitchy shadow, when your eye can scarcely distinguish the narrow, grey path from the grey of the river far below, they strain your tired attention to breaking point. Whatever snatches of sleep I might have got by day had been banished by my aching knee, and at moments I nodded so helplessly on my pony that David would grow alarmed, and when we came to a flattish bit of ground would gently help me to dismount and lay me out between the boulders for a ten-minute snooze. It was luxury to stretch the aching leg and ease the nagging toothache in the joint, but I was never sure whether the temporary relief was not too dearly bought by the agony of mounting and dismounting. On the other hand, the tiny bouts of sleep enabled me to go on again with less risk of dozing in the saddle, which might have been final. As on the Burzil I felt apologetic for adding to a husband's anxieties.

After another sleepless day in Pari we passed the two welcoming oases of Minór and Seker,[1] and soon after daybreak were toiling slowly up the interminable, rock-strewn delta of Jutiál, but with the knowledge that invisible beyond the crest lay the glorious three miles of Gilgit cultivation.

On the brow we suddenly spied two horsemen who instantly dismounted to come towards us. It was two dear old retainers: Sar Faráz and Jemadár Kasír, less changed by time than we, whose happy faces radiated welcome, and who flung forward to cover our dust-stained *chapplis* with their kisses.

[1] Not "Minawar" and "Sequár" as British officers tend to dub them.

TOWARDS GILGIT

We were profoundly moved, for such demonstrations of personal affection are not offered to the official. They had nothing now to hope for from us, and we nothing now to grant; but man to man they were glad to see us back, and came to say so. It was worth the Burzil and the heat to know that we were remembered after all the ten long years with this disinterested affection. Riding between the prosperous fields where golden wheat was waiting to be reaped or was already stooked, where young rice was showing four inches of brilliant green, and purple lucerne bespoke a wealth of fodder; to the tinkle of flowing water—what a sound in arid lands!—and in the shade of willow hedges, we beguiled the way with eager question and answer; we enquiring for other Gilgit friends, they asking wistfully after Missie Baba, now a strapping, tennis- hockey-playing schoolgirl of fifteen. It appeared that this was the second morning they had ridden out and waited, for we had been expected yesterday. Everywhere peasants in the fields stopped their work to wave a greeting, more and more old friends joined our escort, and as we entered the gates of our old home, the Agency house (which the absent Political Agent had most graciously placed at our disposal), we were given a royal welcome, all the more impressive that it was not complicated by flags or guns or guards presenting arms.

We had indeed come home. Flowers in familiar vases stood everywhere that flowers could stand; dishes of lovely garden fruit were on the tables; tea was brought in cups we knew of old and drunk as we lounged in dear old chairs, while the very carpets smiled an old-time welcome. Our faithful new friends, Dádo and Co., looked on, half proud that we should be so popular, half perhaps a little jealous while older friends unwound our putties and carried off our dusty sandals.

We halted ten days in Gilgit, and no long-lost parents could have been given so much glad service and assistance on every hand. Unfortunately the heat-wave gave us 105° in the shade, and sandflies offered unwelcome company, so that our rest was less refreshing than we had hoped. David, who had held out on the journey so much more manfully than I, succumbed to an ominous bout of fever, and from his bed made the necessary

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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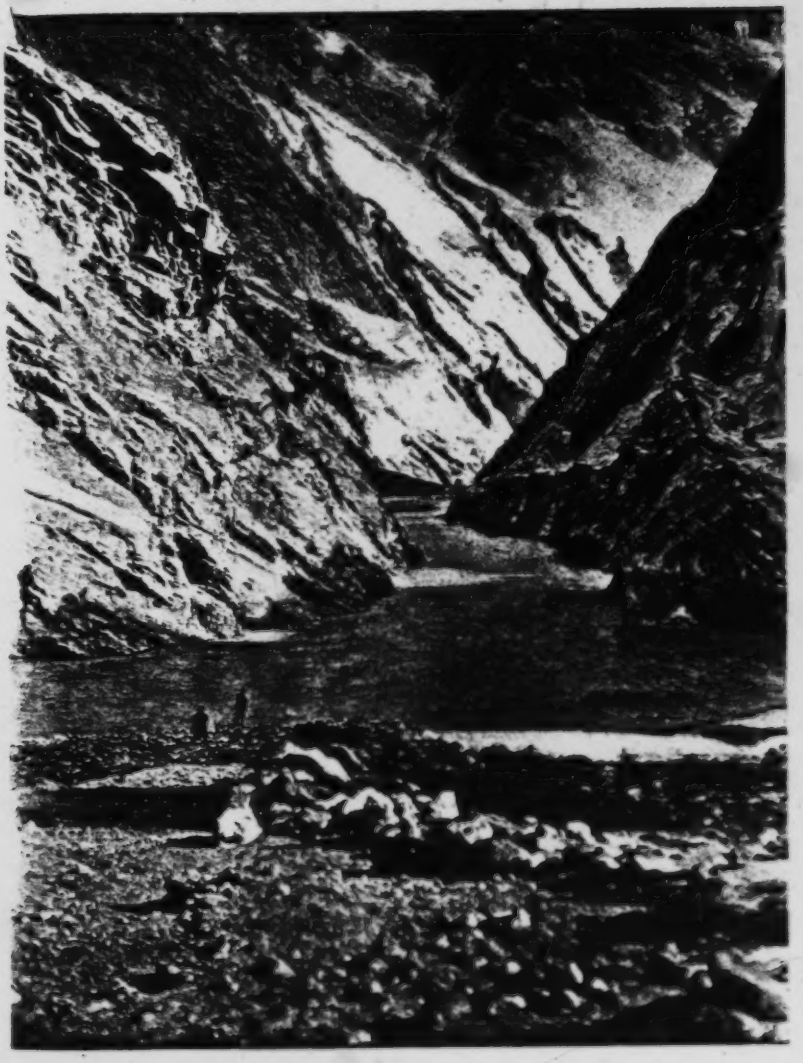

Looking up the Hunza River gorge, half a march from Aliábád. The road (see Plate V) runs round face of right-hand cliff. (*See p.* 67)

PLATE IV

[Facing P. 64]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

arrangements for paying off our Kashmir ponies and engaging local ones for our further journey. Meantime my knee obligingly mended itself, and in a few days DL rallied. We bade a regretful farewell to our staunch old friends, left the rich crops, the trees, and the English gardens of Gilgit not unwillingly behind, crossed the fine Gilgit bridge, passed the new landing-place for aeroplanes on a jutting windswept promontory at the junction of the Gilgit and the Hunza rivers, and turned north into the great barren gorges that lead to Hunza Nagir. After the first march—seventeen miles of sheer and utter desolation—the scenery gains in grandeur and shakes off the suggestion of wasteful, wanton chaos that haunts the Indus marches.

One of the inevitable economies that had hit us rather hard was the lack of our own good riding ponies. They would have entailed the wages of two extra men and extra fodder, so in Bandipur we had just chosen the two best of the pack ponies and made them do. They were stout, sure-footed beasts enough, with whom, however, it was impossible to establish human contact. They treated us as packs—of awkward shape and tiresome habit—and jogged steadily their wonted two and a half miles per hour, refusing to be cajoled or coerced into varying the pace. This meant that a twenty-mile stage which we had always ridden in three and a half hours would take us eight. Every traveller knows that it is not the distance covered but the number of hours in the saddle that measures the fatigue of each day's trek. Sometimes, as the cold bit through our wraps, or we raced the relentless rising of the sun, we thought fondly on Mohawk and Black Beauty, Ginger and Habshi, who had so gallantly carried us of old. But now we had exchanged the secure if uninspired Kashmiri mounts for two rickety old screws from the Gilgit bazaar—the only beasts available. David's white one was like a starved rocking-horse, whose legs needed to be better screwed in and whose back had been disjointed and badly set; while my brown was about the size of a mouse or a fairy cycle, and weak though willing. Occasionally in a sandy stretch he would just lie down, but allowed himself to be lifted inertly to his legs, till next time.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

TOWARDS GILGIT

133 Thus mounted, we rode sorrily to Chalt, a wind-swept
361 open plateau at the meeting of three gorges. Here we were able to procure slightly better ponies, and thankfully paid off the two Gilgit toys. From the Chalt rest-house through lovely fields, round a bold spur, over a fine suspension bridge into the Hunza Nagir gorge, where a magnificent view of Rakaposhi greeted us and a terrific *peri* led us into the large Nagir settlement of Sikandarábád. This had grown out of recognition in the intervening years, a fine oasis that owes its development to the enterprise of the present Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikandar Khan, after whom it is appropriately called.

High above the rocky river-bed the alluvial fans on our side (we were now in Nagir on the left bank of the river) are dotted by the green oases of Nagir, watered by the inexhaustible glaciers of Rakaposhi. On the opposite, sun-scorched, south-facing, waterless Hunza cliffs there is not a blade of grass to be seen. We passed through occasional villages, separated by roads slung between heaven and earth, fearlessly grazing the face of nightmare precipices, saw again the chorten at Thol, reminder of ancient Buddhist days, rode over the Nilt gorge, famous in frontier history, and dismounted as always to pass on foot at Ghulmit the ultra-sacred shrine of Saiyyid Shah Wali, making the halt an opportunity for tea under a magnificent chenar. The villagers gathered round us, goitrous, friendly, not too intelligent, and grinned broadly at David's chaff about the mean way in which they had stolen the holy relics from their neighbours. He thus made his first public appearance as a Burushaski speaker, only to find after this mental and moral effort that though they understood Burushaski we were still in the Shina-speaking area. His change-over to Shina caused further merriment. Between Sikandarábád and Nilt we recognized a jolly little orchard with grass and apricot trees and running streams and enclosed by low stone walls. We had drunk tea there ten years ago, when we never hoped to see this country again except in dreams. We *had* to get down and drink tea in it once more, as a sort of thanksgiving. This time the trees were laden with golden fruit. On we rode to our next halting-place at the fertile oasis of Minapin.

Chapter 11

THE LAST LAP

ALLÁBÁD REST HOUSE, HUNZA
July 17, 1934

133 MINAPIN was delightfully cool—we had, of course, been
361 climbing steadily since Gilgit—and we were able to sleep indoors with comfort. After we had said "Start at five," we almost thought it was foolish and unnecessary to be quite so early—for a mere eleven miles. When Dádo came at quarter to four and we were drunk with sleep, we thought so more than ever. We remembered, however, that the road is vertical rather than horizontal most of the way, and once we were off we were thankful to have made an early start. You can't imagine anything quite like it. I wish I had kept the aneroid at hand to verify how high the various climbs were. (I always vowed to take it next time, only my pockets were already so full of filters and exposure notebooks, penknife, and bits of string, spare hairpins and what not.) So I am frankly only guessing, but I think I am minimizing rather than exaggerating, for with these stupendous mountains all round, cliffs look small that would create a sensation at Dover.

Like most human habitations in the Karakoram, Minapin is on a fertile shelf some hundreds of feet above the river. We plunged straight over the lip of a cliff and down a steeply-graduated slope from the Minapin fan to the "beach" of the river—700 or 800 feet. Since our last visit the treacherous cliffs had suffered many landslides. High above us we could see the shattered revetments of the road we used to ride, and
133 several of its predecessors. Our new track scrambled painfully through and over masses of new-fallen boulders, or through miles of loose soft sea-sand. For one short stretch the rocks

were all a dark sinister crimson and gave out a suffocating 133
smell of sulphurous gas. Our men urged us to "press the pace," for the friable, forbidding cliff face above looked as if it were not nearly done with shedding boulders. There is assuredly no myth more misleading than that of the "everlasting hills."

From river[1] level we could see the pin-scratch along the 487
cliffs on our right, some 600 or 800 feet above the river, and, often as we had ridden the road before, it seemed incredible that it could be possible to round it. The cliffs on our left bore similar scratches, representing the Hunza road between the two oases of Mayun and Hindi. Poor starved-looking little places they seem in contrast to the rich Nagir ones. We chaffed our Hunzukuts that obviously the Nagir road up the gorge was the better one since Government had chosen it for the regular route. They rose at once to the bait: the Hunza road was really the better and well kept up—which we could quite believe since the Mir always travels it himself, not to trespass on Nagir territory more than he can help—it had only one slight drawback: there were seventeen places between the two oases where "shoots" were apt to carry it away.

As we scrambled our way along through the riverside 252
boulders we noticed dozens of discarded millstones, some 324
broken, some apparently perfect. Not that people bring their old millstones here to cast away! The opposing cliffs at this point happen to provide the best type of stone for mills, and, oddly, those on the Hunza side make the better nether millstones and those on the Nagir side the better upper ones (or it may be *vice versa*. David will have it accurately noted). When you want a new millstone you travel your ten or twenty miles or more to these cliffs, choose what seems the most promising boulder for your purpose, and with a rough bit of iron hack and chip it into a circle of the radius and depth required. You then bowl it home your ten or twenty or more miles like a child's hoop, up ravines and across gorges to your mill. If it hasn't broken as you fashioned it, which it frequently does—this explains the number of discarded millstones that here strew the countryside—it may very likely break on the rude road home. If so, you just go back and carve yourself another.

1 [The Hunza River. Analysis]

186 A note of bitterness crept into the Hunza voices. Whereas
324 Hunza permits the Nagirkuts to cross the river and help
798 themselves free to Hunza stones, the Nagir people levy a tax
563 on all stones taken from their side. So our folk averred; but
578 very probably we should hear the tale reversed if we spoke to Nagir millers on the subject. For the Burusho of Hunza and Nagir, though they speak the same language, are of different race and mentality, and understand each other as little as the Saxon and the so-called Celt, and the rivalry of centuries divides them. At one point they both professed the Shiah faith, but since the Hunzukuts some four or five generations ago adopted the Ismaili (or "Maulai") heresy religious differences have added to their ever-wakeful mutual hostility.

000 Quitting these contentious subjects, we essayed some photographs by the water's edge and turned sharp to mount a side-gorge and reach the level of the cliff road above, by the steepest thing calling itself a path you ever saw. The new Minapin ponies were happily sturdier than the rocking-horses, and managed to climb almost vertically for 600 feet or so. A
342 brisk torrent, which is most of the time a waterfall, pours
361 down the gorge[1] the sides of which are lined with trees and grass, and the track runs right through a most picturesque little village called Tishót. The stone houses are almost indistinguishable from the rocks against which they are built, one here, one 20 feet above, just wherever they can be got to stick.
000 The ponies took the four-foot steps from boulder to boulder as if they had been taught circus riding up and down the Great Pyramid. I never professed to be a horsewoman, and I don't know the orthodox way of staying in the saddle when my pony's back is perpendicular, so I shamelessly wound my right hand in his flowing mane, pressed the stirrups back, and lurched triumphantly to the top. When we emerged on to the fan above we felt so virtuous after the climb that we halted to drink tea, though we had only done four miles and had not really deserved it. Our usual routine on these slow marches was to divide the day's ride into three: have thermos tea at one-third and lunch at two-thirds the distance, and thus let Shafi get well ahead to be preparing the evening meal.

1 [of the Hunza River -- Analyst]

THE LAST LAP

From here we saw the fine granite piers of the old Tishót 491
Bridge, the one we always used to cross by. It had stood for 133
thirty years, and then was wrecked one day by a hurricane; wind can be fierce and powerful in these gorges. But the fact that it *had* stood thirty years proved that the chosen site was a good one. There was firm rock (not the crumbly kind of everlasting hill) on both sides at a considerable height above the river, well out of reach of summer floods. The obvious thing would have been to replace the bridge and use again the unharmed granite piers; but some engineer decided otherwise, and we had to stay on the Nagir side and ride on to the new bridge. The cliffs on each side here rise anything from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, and the road round them is a little ledge a few feet wide, some 800 feet above the river-bed. When it is a ledge of firm rock all is well, but, as I have already said, the mountain sides are mainly crumbly masses of stones, boulders, and sand, and there often seems no good reason why the road should not just slide down to join the other debris (and so often it does, especially after rain). Sometimes even where there is a firm rock ledge it isn't wide enough for a laden pony. Then if the inhabitants can find a couple of firm rock spikes below they throw a tree trunk across and build up a loose wall of unmortared stones on that till they get it to road level. If there are no natural spikes, they bore holes in the rock, and drive in a few pegs to take their tree trunks.

This is the method they have to use to revet the faces of [3/2]
their fields and the sides of their aqueducts, which are often carried eight or twelve miles round the face of the most impossible-looking precipices, so they are experts in the art. Accidents happen often enough to the road-makers, but are almost unheard-of amongst road-users. The look of the road might make your hair stand on end, but it is far safer than our murderous motor roads at home.

At last we got off this gallery business and out on to another fan, and we saw the new bridge on our left, quite fairly near, but the cliffs were steep and high and crumbly and there was no direct way of reaching it, so we had to overshoot it by a mile or two before the road turned down. And such a road!

491 It was the steepest spiral you can conceive, about 2 feet wide
133 and just one welter of soft dust like flour or french polish. There seemed nothing on earth to keep the path in place except a tiny wall of stones that rested on the dust. Still it did stay. Of course you could not ride it, so we slithered down on foot, over ankles in flour-like dust, and opposite, across the river, we saw the famous hot springs of Murtazábád. They say you can cook a chicken in them or wash your clothes, but clothes or chicken smell ever after of sulphur. We saw only dark red splashes on the face of the cliff. Having got down some hundreds of feet or so of floury slide, we had to ride back to the wretched bridge through tiring sea-sand. The bridge was the usual handsome steel-cable suspension bridge, but only a few feet above the summer water level; I wonder will it last the thirty years of its predecessor? I doubt it. Having crossed it, we set foot on Hunza soil (July 16th). The ascent from the river to Murtazábád was steeper and higher than the spiral we had just come down, but a shade firmer and less dusty, and the zigzag was better graduated; but we rose 1,000 feet as steeply as it was humanly possible, and I again had to take refuge in my pony's mane.

000 The view was magnificent: the tiny bridge, the gorge, and Ráka—looking her very best. We never normally dismount in awkward places (which makes you ride many a time when you would feel happier on foot), for it gives trouble to the men behind, who for courtesy must dismount too and have to take charge of two loose horses. But it was the chance of a lifetime to register this view; you might ride the same stretch a hundred times and never again get the same lighting and the freedom from cloud. So I hopped off and had a shot. DL was too far ahead for me to ask him kindly to read his "wonder-working" exposure meter (one of these glorious electric cell things which we had gratefully bought from the Leverhulme grant); so I blazed away by guesswork, and remembering that the amateur always tends to under-expose, I gave it a 25th at F8. It should have been about a 200th! The result is not too bad, but the negative is as black as ink and it takes hours to print, and is, of course, not nearly so delicate in tone as

it should have been. With heartfelt apologies to Dádo and Co., imperturbably good-tempered as they steadied the ponies on their hind legs on that criminal slope, I hurried to catch up the advance party. As we got higher and higher we began to meet fields and trees. Never were there such "fields." There would be a stone wall 15 or 20 feet high, beautifully built of loose stones packed most skilfully like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, so that though no mortar or mud is used to bind the walls they are nevertheless perfectly firm. On top of this a strip of ground not 3 feet wide and perhaps only 10 or 12 feet long, holding a tiny ditch for water and outside that a row of of poplar saplings and inside a strip of grass not as wide as a stair-carpet. There are staircases and staircases of "fields" like this with willows, apricots, poplars, grass, lucerne, and even barley or wheat. But they don't usually plant the two latter unless the field is at least the size of a hearthrug! Silly that in English we have only one word for "field." Burushaski, of course, has a dozen, to differentiate the various sizes and the steepness of the hillside on which they are and the height of the revetting walls.

There was water trickling carefully from one staircase to the next, not a drop being wasted, for it is a great deal more precious than gold. At last we got out on to a bleak, hot, sunny bluff, where we were met by two grandsons of the Mir, who apologized that their elder brother (the heir after his father) was not with them, but he was down in Gilgit training with his Hunza Scouts. I ought to have said sooner that we were met in Minapin by a son of the Mir of Nagir, a pleasant, gracious lad, whom we had known long ago as a small boy. He rode with us to the top of the Nagir cliff and there bade us good-bye, conveying polite messages of welcome from his father.

The two Hunza princes were very charming, the younger a little shy; it was, I fancy, his first serious grown-up appearance on one of these ceremonial meeting-parties. We dismounted to rest the animals after the long pull up, and sat for a few moments in some rather inadequate willow shade beside a tiny stream. The Mir had sent the kindest messages, and we

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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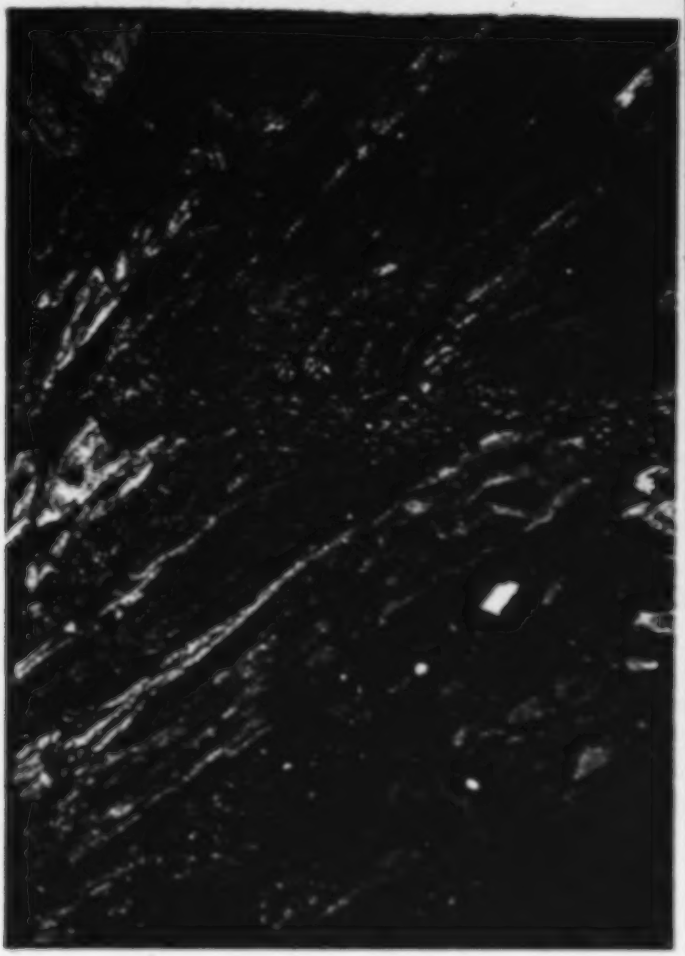
PLATE V



Cliff Road with three horsemen. (See p. 69)

[Facing p. 72]

enquired after all the Royal Family and exchanged the usual compliments. Then I remarked hopefully: "Aliábád is quite near now, only four miles isn't it?" "Oh yes, only four miles." I noticed David quietly smiling. We rode about ten yards when I saw (what he remembered but I had quite forgotten) that the great torrent from the Hasanábád glacier cuts in here to join the Hunza River, and we had to go down some 500 or 600 feet to cross it and then up again to get out on to the Aliábád fan. It was exactly the same sort of business as crossing the main river all over again, except that the Hunza roads, however steep and difficult, are better designed and better kept than Nagir ones. Hasanábád village lies on both banks of the torrent, and climbs up the farther side to its own excellent polo-ground. The fields were being reaped, and I marvelled at the neat, tidy rows in which the cut barley was laid out. Everything the Hunzukuts do is beautifully done, and their methods are in the greatest contrast to the slovenliness of Nagir; you notice this everywhere, down to the tinest detail; it may be merely because water is scarcer and life harder that their fields are more scrupulously level, their walls more ingeniously perfect, their cut swathes more exactly aligned, but I incline to think that the cause lies deeper; in the difference of race and temperament already suggested.

Just beyond the wooden bridge which took us over the torrent, we were met by a good-looking elderly man whom we both remembered but could not immediately identify. He was almost in tears as he greeted us. I was puzzled to think why he was so moved. As soon, however, as he had paid full tribute of politeness to us, he bolted on and flung himself on Qudrat Ullah's neck. The whole cavalcade, about forty of us by this time, burst into sympathetic laughter, and poor Qudrat Ullah looked radiant but sheepish as he returned his father's embraces. Going up the steep hillside with so large a following was, as usual, not at all funny. You dare not stop to let your pony breathe without holding up the rest whose horses would be at some most inconvenient turn.

We got up at last, however, and found a fine deputation of all the Hasanábád elders drawn up to greet us on the polo-ground

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushо AV7

outside the House of Assembly (the Maulai kind of meeting-house that has superseded the Shiah mosque). As we neared Aliábád, riding through rich, flat, large fields, and past walled orchards we heard the local band burst into the familiar "welcome music." Presently we came to an open steeply sloping space near the half-ruined Sarkari Fort, and here was a whole party from the capital (four miles away), including Prince Ghazan Khán, the eldest son, and heir of the Mir,[1] and father of the two young princes who had met us earlier. The band changed the time to the "arrival tune," and we all walked on together to this bungalow. We passed a smart set of new little buildings which are the dispensary, built by the Mir. There is a resident Assistant Surgeon here, an Indian with a certain amount of medical training, who is able to render first aid and keeps a stock of simple drugs.

We found chairs set out in the rest-house verandah, and while we and Ghazan Khán talked of old times and the latest Hunza news, the rest of our train grouped themselves on the steps, and all the small boys of Aliábád gathered under the trees along the neighbouring watercourse to see any fun that might be going: a jolly, cheery, intelligent crowd they looked, not a moron or cretin among them; again in a marked contrast to Nagir, where both abound. Presently a tray with teapot was brought, and we thankfully turned to the "doctor" (the aforementioned compounder) whose gift it was. Tea was what we were just dying for after the hot climb; but when I poured it out I found it was a tepid mixture of tea, milk, sugar—and cinnamon. David and Ghazan Khán dealt bravely with it; I unobtrusively hid my cup.

[1] He succeeded our good friend his father, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khán, in July 1938.

PART 3

Life in Hunza

[Pp. 74 and 76 contain no textual material]

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Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay:
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.

A time there was, ere England's griefs began,
When every rood of ground maintained its man;
For him light labour spread her wholesome store,
Just gave what life required, but gave no more;
His best companions, innocence and health;
And his best riches, ignorance of wealth.

(GOLDSMITH, *The Deserted Village*.)

P. 75

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 12

SETTLING IN

July 1934.

THE Aliábád bungalow is a good deal bigger than the ordinary rest-house, for it was enlarged to make room for a resident Assistant Political Agent (whose post after a year was found unnecessary), and then two further rooms were added on to accommodate on occasion the Political Agent himself (who never stays there). There is a good-sized dining-room, with pantry behind; a double bedroom with a bow window; two single bedrooms; three bathrooms of the primitive dak-bungalow variety of course (one of which we at once earmarked for a "dark-room"), and a really handsome sitting-room with another bow window; finally—an unexpected and welcome luxury—a store-room with plenty of good shelves where we could stack our modest supply of stores and all our spare stationery. At the back there are the usual kitchen, servants' quarters, "stables," and what not. Everything was most scrupulously clean when we arrived, and for this we had to thank the forethought of our good friend the Mir. It happened that our old "head-boy," Nazar (already mentioned), was up from Gilgit on leave at his home in Aliábád, and the Mir bade him take charge and get the house ready as he thought we should like it.

He gladly took over for a few days from Dádo, whom we sent off to see his people. The poor boy came back to find that his mother and his grandmother had died during his absence. This hit him hard, and when we stammered our sympathy he murmured: "It is God's will." We were glad to hear that he has a wife and baby boy to cheer him. To show how much we appreciated his devotion on the journey up—which had far

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

exceeded any normal "duty"—David gave him a good silver watch. (Our equipment, of course, had to include suitable objects for various presentations.) As a special testimonial from myself—for without his constant kindness I doubt if I should ever have got here—I added my own Guide knife, with its corkscrews, awls, etc. I missed it dreadfully, so I was glad I gave it; but I often had to borrow it back for a moment when doing odd jobs about the house.

We then got down to the business of making the house habitable for a longish stay. We unpacked and arranged things as well as we could; David went round with his carpenter's tools and in a short time made a wonderful difference to our comfort (yet some women marry men who can't drive a nail or turn a screw!); he assembled the Aladdin lamps and fixed up the brackets to hold them and got them into working order, and lovely things they are. Meantime I fished out cheap curtain materials picked up in Gilgit, the cuphooks and spring rods brought from home, and quickly ran up curtains to give us some privacy. Most of the doors and windows are wired against flies, but not, of course, the two big bow windows that are most needed. Whoever designed them had put bolts, etc., in the most inconvenient places and made them open *out* instead of *in*, so that it wasn't easy to drawing-pin mosquito netting over them; still with a little ingenuity it was contrived, though the job didn't look as neat as it should have done. Rings on a few travelling rugs let us sling up heavy curtains when necessary against the sun (which poured unfortunately straight into our bedroom all the afternoon so as to stoke it up for the night). Then we put our two kitchen tables in position, and with dark rugs to hide their ugly surfaces they served excellently to work at. Our own four camp easy chairs had come through unbroken, and soon with books and papers strewn about, the room looked extremely homely and Lorimer-ish; I think any friend would have guessed it was ours if he had come in without knowing we were there.

Two or three days got all this done, and the household routine working smoothly, and our next duty was to ride over to Baltit and make our formal call on the Mir, our host.

SETTLING IN

Our chief lack at first was shelves and cupboards, but as soon as we had seen what was most needed and what could be accommodated David got busy with rulers and squared paper and drew up detailed specifications, which he sent to the Divisional Engineer's office in Gilgit. They were able to make us the skeletons and send them up in such form that we needed only to screw them together. I then nailed cloth over the back of the cupboards and hung curtains over the front so that we no longer needed to live in the misery of half-unpacked boxes. 000

The bow window of the study where we sat to smoke and take tea looked out on to a jolly little watercourse (about 2 feet wide) which chattered merrily along. On its farther bank is a row of apricot and mulberry trees which, if they break the view a bit, also provide some welcome shade. From the foot of the trees terraced fields fall away, down, down, down to the top of the great cliff—some 500 feet or so—that forms the right bank of the river. We looked right across the gorge (the river, of course, is entirely out of sight, and nothing would lead you to guess its existence if you hadn't just had to cross it) to stark, magnificently seamed mountains, with tiny fans of green here and there, which are other villages similar to Aliábád on the Nagir side.

The nearer side of our little stream was one of the main highways; and all the life of the place went on in full view of our window. People passed by all day, laden with green fodder for their beasts, or carrying baskets of ripe apricots to dry. The nearest field of lucerne had just been reaped, and then below it the barley field, and we watched them stack the barley and make a circular threshing floor on which to deal with it. They flooded a patch of the newly reaped field, built a little circular wall of mud about four inches high round it, then flooded it twice more, and then when it was nearly dry a whole family, from grandfather down to the small boys and girls, systematically tramped it down with their bare feet till the surface was as smooth and level as a hard tennis court. 487 243

Jolly youngsters of all sizes romped in the new-cut fields, snowballed each other with clods of dry earth, tripped each 857

712
361

2: Lorimer 2-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Baluchistan AV7

PLATE VI

1. Old fort-village of Alishkil with beacon tower. Background, Rakaposhi. (See p. 115)

346

Old Mosque at Alishkil, with Hunzas seated in verandah. (See p. 131)

[Facing P. 80]

857 other up, chivvied their lambs and kids about by chucking stones skilfully to turn but not to hit them, and half a dozen noisy scamps would jump to and fro over the watercourse in competition.

361 Between us and the river bank were groups of poplars,
133 willows, and fruit trees with quaint cube-like stone houses dotted about in between, and right above this delightfully restful patch of green (which you could not properly appreciate if you had not had days and days of barren bleakness before you reached it), in the great triangular space between the barren mountains of Nagir and those of Hunza which rose around and behind us, there towered up the great mass of far the loveliest mountain on earth: RAKAPOSHI.

133 She is 25,550 feet high, and the top 10,000 feet which we saw from our window is a conical series of triangles, cliffs, precipices and peaks all covered in dazzling frozen snow—a never-ending joy to watch. At this time of year she was usually clear, escaping the skirts of the monsoon which are apt to catch on Nanga Parbat; and the clear sky behind changes from the palest blue at dawn to the brilliant burning blue of midday and then to delicate shades of pink, green, violet, and orange towards sunset. Ruskin could write volumes on the ever-changing shadows and colours that delighted us: I must leave them to the imagination. From our beds we could see Raka when we first woke and bid her good-night before we fell asleep. It is a wonderful thing when beauty such as this becomes part and parcel of your daily life.

132 It was still pretty hot in Hunza in July, in spite of our 7,600 feet. We had it up to 95° in the shade of the verandah outside, but were able to keep the study ten degrees cooler by closing doors and windows in the morning before the sun got up. Out in the sun the heat is all the fiercer for the altitude, a point stay-at-home travellers seldom realize. Another odd point is that in cloudless, dustless air like this, granted equal apparent brightness, photographic exposures need to be *longer* than lower down—at least this is David's experience.

157 The people round were from the first unbelievably friendly; we could run out quite informally at any moment and join

157 them in the fields and ask what they were at, and why, and what their various implements were called. They were quick to understand what we tried to say, and except when several of them talked at once we could usually make out most of their replies. They often started amusing arguments among themselves, not agreeing about certain words, just as at home you can set a discussion going in any company about "apple dumplings" or "pies."

243 I had a most entertaining half-hour my second afternoon.
123 Some women and little girls were beating a pile of green stuff on the threshing-floor just below, whacking it with a sort of wooden mallet. So I ran out (with pencil and notebook), greeted them, and sat down beside them on the nice dry ground and watched the whole performance. The crop was a small lentil or purple pea, and the heap was a pile of plants, stalks, roots, pods and all. They just beat and beat till all the pods had burst open, then piled pods and seeds into a big sieve and tossed it till most of the seeds were shaken out. Next they transferred it into a big flat tray and shook it to and fro till they could skim the pods off the top. Everyone was taking a hand, and after I had jotted down all the words I could conveniently collect, I took the various articles in turn and caused much amusement by saying carefully: "This is a sieve, I toss the lentils," "This is a tray, I shake it to and fro," etc. I felt rather like a star turn at a variety show, and brought down the house at the end with: "This is a little thorn bush, I sweep up the threshing-floor."

123 It is a sort of improved Berlitz method of teaching yourself. I found that when my Burushaski ran out I could still delight them by chattering on in English in a friendly way. They felt the goodwill, and they didn't know I was saying: "You're a nice-looking little minx, but you'll look better when you wash your face." I got most of their names written down, and then when they began to get ready to go home I had a romp with the small ones, who ran off squealing when I tried to catch them, just like English kiddies of the same age. I hadn't had such fun since our own youngster was small enough to romp with.

SETTLING IN

123 It was at once clear that there was not going to be any initial
609 hostility or distrust to overcome, even amongst the women.
771 This is rather remarkable when you think that not one of them has ever been more than five or six miles away from her home village, and that they have never seen a white woman at close quarters before. They are a fine, healthy, good-looking crowd, and always appear cheery and good-tempered. Undoubtedly the short-cut to the women's hearts was to make much of their youngsters. In a superstitious place this would be dangerous; they would be terrified of the Evil Eye; but we noted with thankfulness that these entirely non-Oriental people were as free from inhibiting superstitions as we ourselves. This promised to make our work immensely easier.

Chapter 13

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

BEFORE we could really settle down to the business of life 312
there were several practical problems to clear up. Water was 401
naturally the first item. The jolly little stream just in front of our rest-house did not run by any means all the time. It brings water from the great glacier behind Báltít; the actual aqueduct channel is some twelve miles long, and represents an amazing feat of engineering. It was made about three generations ago—before which the "New Settlements" of Aliábád and her outliers did not exist—when iron was still practically unknown in Hunza. The excavations and the galleries on which it is piloted so skilfully over gorges and along impossible cliff faces were all made with wooden shovels and picks tipped with ibex horn. The people had—and have—no instruments of precision, no [413]
theodolites, nor levels. Against this they have some hereditary instinct that we lack, and an inherited or traditional common sense that enables them to adjust the necessary downward gradients exactly right. You never hear of anyone making a false shot in laying out a water channel, and you never hear of any "labour" difficulties. When a new work is undertaken for 312
the public good it is supervised by the Mir, or his Wazir acting 653
for him, and it is carried out by communal labour, of which 476
everyone recognizes the justice and necessity. The Dála, which will frequently recur in my story, is the main aqueduct that supplies Aliábád, but it has to feed other villages *en route*, and our stream, which was its last section, was therefore only in action at certain times. These are, however, known to everyone, and our people drew water enough when they could get it to carry on for the day or half-day when it would be cut off.

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

312 It[1] was beautiful, soft, pure water which gave delightful baths,
271 but heavily silt-laden and supposed not to be fit to drink. We were luckily able to get half a dozen big petrol drums from Gilgit (left behind empty by the R.A.F.), and we stored it in these and let the silt settle. This water served us for washing and for photography.

312 About two miles away there was a spring of clear but hard water that issues from the foot of a cliff down near river level. This was recommended for drinking. So we took on a special man, Sagi by name, as water-carrier and general washer-up, to help in pantry and kitchen. He was a nephew of our old friend Nazar and a good fellow, though for some reason a little less cheery in appearance than our other men. Twice a day he would walk the two miles, climb down and up the 500 or more feet, and bring water for our tea, etc., and for making up the photographic solutions. We paid him the princely sum of about a pound a month, and he was delighted, while his brothers divided amongst them the extra work at home.

Considering the labour involved, it made us feel rather pigs to drink tea half a dozen times a day and expect a daily bath. When two of us were photographing hard and perpetually wanting to wash negatives and prints in eight or ten changes of water, my heart rather bled for Sagi. One day that had been particularly severe I said as he appeared with more and more water buckets at the door of the dark-room: "Poor man, I'm afraid our photographs give you a lot of extra work and trouble." His usually quiet face lit up with a peculiarly charming smile: "Nay, Mother dear, it is a pleasure, not a trouble. The work and trouble are yours."

262 The next thing in importance was food, and we found that
235 we could, without apparent hardship to the people, buy a
[624] daily hen. There are a couple of officials whose job it is to see about supplies for travellers, and they arranged to get the fowls now from one village and now from another, so that our demands might not press too heavily on anyone. The Hunza hen is an athletic bird. You may see her fly like a lumbering, over-weighted pigeon 15 or 20 feet across a gully, and so we were not surprised to find her wing muscles well-developed.

1 [The water in the Dala, the aqueduct--Analyst]

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

Still she provided us with hen-water soup, and we varied our 262
diet by having the wings for lunch and the legs for dinner, or 235
vice versa. When the cold weather came and the flocks had returned from the mountain grazing grounds, we were sometimes able to vary her with mutton—athletic mutton.

Shafi, the camp cook, had one major fault—he could not 000
cook for nuts. A minor one was that when anything went wrong he lost his head completely (as in the crossing of the Devil's Ford) and immediately did the wrongest thing that was possible. But he was willing, and no doubt did his best. Soon after we got in he went sick and we committed him to the care of the Compounder, who soon got him round. But we did not feel that we could face his food again. While he was ill, one Zaidu was announced who had come to pay his respects. Who was it but an old friend of Gilgit days who had been with us for four years as general underling! He had helped the cook and used often to cook for the nursery, so he was not without some elementary ideas. We offered to try him and he accepted with joy. His family could gladly manage the extra work at home, and hailed with pleasure the prospect of sharing his wages. We never thought of these jolly men as "servants" in any ordinary sense of the word. They were peasant proprietors in a tiny way, but though they had enough to eat and to wear, they were absolutely without cash, and were willing to do any honest work to get some. Zaidu looked much more flourishing and fitter than in Gilgit days. He was then rather young, and I suspect that the older servants put upon him a good deal, but now he had been living an independent life again and had got back his natural dignity and self-respect. His pleasure at the thought of working for us again was disarming. So we took him on, and though he was no chef he did us well. He was ingenious in devising new ways of cooking the half hen, and his scones were light and eatable, a pleasant change from Shafi's paper-weights. Moreover, he was willing to learn.

We were able to get white flour up from Gilgit for cakes 252
and biscuits, but we found that native bread-flaps made from the local stone-ground wholemeal wheat were more appetizing than white bread in any form. They are made without

252 yeast and cooked on a griddle, like small, thin pancakes. Zaidu made them as of course, since they are the normal local food, and we had a few fresh for every meal (they are horrid stale). Their great merit is that they can be eaten without butter or 262 jam. This was a great advantage, for butter was a problem. 234 The tinned butter we brought with us for the road all went bad—you could not blame it in that heat—and butter in our sense of the word is unknown in Hunza.

There was fortunately a little cow's milk to be had, but the cows get so little to eat that their milk has not much butter-content. A really good Hunza cow yields at most a quart of milk a day after she has fed her calf, and she only gives milk at all for a month or two after the calf is born. So [415] milk is no part of the regular local diet. The people normally milk into a gourd, which makes an excellent jug, but has the [372] drawback that there is no ready way of cleaning it. Where fuel is so scarce no one could boil water merely to scald milk-vessels, and the method is to hold the gourd over the smoke of the fire. This seems to be perfectly wholesome, but it gives a gruesome taste to the milk, already sufficiently tainted with memories of yesterday, last week, last year. So we would send one of our people with a clean aluminium bucket and get the cow milked straight into that. In this way we procured as much as we needed for tea and coffee and puddings, but of course not enough to make butter from, as we had been accustomed to do in Gilgit. Fresh butter proved to be an unattainable luxury. The local butter, which they call *maltash*, is much prized; there is so little of it that it is kept strictly for feast days and great occasions. Their chief chance of making it is from the goats' milk when the men have the animals up at the summer pastures. They make it day by day, a little at a time, and when they have collected about two pounds they shape it into a ball, wrap it in birch-bark, tie it up with strips torn from the roots of juniper, and then bring it home to [251] store. With luck one good she-goat will provide two balls of *maltash* per season. It is then stored in a tiny stone larder under the nearest water-channel to keep it damp and cool, and thence produced when wanted. Even when quite fresh it tastes very

"high" from the unwashed smoky gourds, and it gets more and more tasty the longer it is kept. The tastier it grows the more they value it, "nice and peppery" they say. But the taste for *maltash* must be acquired, and it was too late for us to acquire it.

When Dádo was going off for his few days' leave, his last words were: "I'll bring you back some nice fresh butter; I'll bring enough for a month; it shall be my gift, and you shall be my guests." He was only away two days, and he must have drained all the cows in the countryside and kept his womenfolk busy all the time, for he brought a glass bottle full of really lovely looking, clean butter—that was, alas! already thoroughly rancid. "I had new vessels, and I didn't let them use gourds, and I got it made your way," he boasted. It was really tragic. We had to eat a little for a day or two, not to hurt his feelings; but it nearly made us sick. The pantry stank of it, and the dining-room stank of it, and the stink was steadily creeping into the study! Then I had to break it to him that though his butter was beautifully clean and perfectly lovely, we ate so little at a time that it could not keep in this heat, and so he must please take it away and store it as *maltash* for his family. A few days later he brought just a couple of ounces, made as nearly European-wise as possible, and David was just able to eat it smothered under marmalade for a couple of days. We then pleaded for only an ounce or two now and again, and gave Dádo some salt to blend into it. I renounced my share of this luxury with pleasure (I really could not eat it), but David, who has had longer practice in non-faddiness, could manage a little and even preferred it to eternal dry bread.

Dádo would not hear of payment; but at last I persuaded him, since this exotic butter-making must give trouble to his people and deprive them of *maltash*, to allow me to pay him three rupees a month or so—"for the baby boy." He adored the little boy—a rather ugly mite of about eighteen months whom he brought from time to time to show us—and he ultimately accepted this compromise and solemnly took "Akíl Sháh's butter-money" with his own wages. No payment, however, could repay the goodwill and kind thought that he used to put into procuring butter for us before it had become

2:Lorimer:T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7
342
142 PLATE VII
291

Group on roof of No. 1 watching passers-by in street below. Small boy is carrying baby on his back of whom nothing is visible but tiny feet on brother's shoulders.

(See Chap. 16)

[Facing P. 88]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

maltash. We had had many native servants of many races and shades of colour in our time—including a French-speaking negro in Kerman long ago—whom we have grown fond of and who, I think, have been fond of us, but never anyone so entirely lovable as Dádo of Hunza.

While the summer lasted we were able to have as much fresh fruit, green vegetables, and potatoes as we could use, so that we were really very well off.

Several other problems that had threatened in advance to be serious solved themselves more easily than we had feared. The Political Agent's office in Gilgit has to send a post bag up to Hunza three times a week and they allowed our letters and parcels to come along in a separate bag to be dropped at Aliábád without payment of any extra postage. This was a great luxury, and we were amazed to find letters and newspapers coming through to us in exactly a calendar month from home. They could also send up in the mail-bag small quantities of white flour, sugar, raisins, rice, salt, matches, and cigarettes from the Gilgit bazaar—all unobtainable locally.

We needed money only to pay the wages and the daily milk, vegetables, etc. We had a strong suspicion that Shafi, for the few days he spent in charge of things, was gravely over-charging on the petty account, as well as making away with tea and sugar—having learnt, as I have said, more than his prayers in India. All the real Hunza men are so scrupulously straight that this distressed us. So we were doubly glad to have exchanged him for honest Zaidu.

At first all sorts of people kept bringing us gifts of fruit—apricots, pears, melons, peaches, apples, tomatoes (introduced like the potato by the British and much appreciated because they can be dried for winter use). This gift-business, however, is expensive for the recipient. If the Mir or any of the princes or any person of importance sent things, we must of course tip the people who brought them—not in proportion to the actual value of the articles, but to the dignity of the sender and ourselves. If a humbler person brought them we obviously must tip him also. As we could in season buy as much fruit and vegetables as we could use for about a half-

431 penny a day (even when Shafi was profiteering!), and as you can't well tip anyone, even the humblest, less than about sixpence (and if there are several big man's retainers it may run into many shillings), the getting of gifts is very costly! We were glad when the flow of gifts presently dried up a bit. There was always great rejoicing in our back quarters when *mahash* was presented, for as we could not possibly use it ourselves (not even for cooking) it was solemnly passed on (as soon as the donor was out of sight) to the servants to divide. I called them all up and handed it over publicly to ensure that all should get a fair share. They never seemed to quarrel about the division, but effected it on some well-understood principle of their own, so perhaps my precaution was unnecessary; but it's unfair to lead such generous-hearted people into temptation, and *mahash* is dearer to their hearts than much fine gold.

296 The only other major problem was the washing. I had quite expected that we might have to get the things washed in the house, and do with rough-dried sheets and towels, occasionally sending shirts and collars down to Gilgit. I do wish men could wear silk undies that only need a rinse. But we heard that there was in Báltít a "merchant" who had at one time been washerman to some British officer, so we made enquiries and asked him to come and see me. He didn't seem at all keen; he wasn't really a *dhobi*, he said, and he hadn't a "proper iron," and he could not starch or "get up" evening shirts. (I could not myself imagine David wilfully wearing "boiled shirts" in camp.) But we turned Qudrat Ullah on to have a talk with him as knowing all the local conditions and people, and so friend Baráto of Báltít agreed to take a small "wash" and see what he could do with it. To my delight he brought everything back clean and beautifully pressed with whatever "improper" iron he had. We had another chat, and if that was all I wanted done he was more than willing to do all our washing for 15s. a month—less than half my laundry bill at home, where we only send the larger things out! In theory he was going to earn his money. He was to carry the wash to the springs at Murtazábád, by the big river. You will remember it is a good five or six miles away, across the Hasanábád gorge and

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

296 down some 1,500 feet on the other side. He was to provide his own native Indian soap and heat his own iron somehow. In fact, however, I saw him unashamedly spreading out the things to dry on the grass behind the bungalow, having coaxed hot water out of Zaidu. And as Indian soap is made with ghee or some odious, smelly fat which we had no mind to breathe in off our sheets and pillows at night, I agreed to give him one cake of Sunlight soap per week (one of the few supplies I had prudently brought with me). Presently I found that he would much prefer to iron in the kitchen, "it would be so much better for the clothes than being carried to and fro to Baltit," and that he would take it kindly if I would supply the charcoal for his iron. You will deduce that Barato, like Shafi, had learnt a thing or two in India besides his *dhobing*. However, from my point of view the bargain was a good one, and I was glad it should be a good one from his side too. I don't doubt that my "merchant" saved one bar of soap in four, or perhaps one in two, to stock his "shop" in Baltit; but our clothes were nicely washed and he had no competitor within sixty-four miles and deserved to profit by his own enterprise.

He was an entertaining fellow, the *dhobi*, with a humorous kink in his face, and a quaint, half-defiant, half-amusing way of talking that made his calls rather pleasant episodes. His air implied: "Of course you can't afford to lose me; there's no one else in Hunza you could get instead. On the other hand, of course, 15s. a month for your little scrap of work is money for jam, and I like coming over for a chat with your people, so it suits us to be friends."

565 There is something very winning about the complete lack
576 of servility in Hunza. The people are hospitable, courteous, and polite, and too self-respecting to omit the deference due to "The Great," but they own their soil and live their own lives and can look the whole world in the face. They serve you faithfully and ungrudgingly and more than earn what you pay, but they are servants of none. For which reason I wish we had some other word for these lovable peasants who worked for us.

Two other points remained: heat and light. The Hunza

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

Two other points remained: heat and light. The Hunza mountains face south, and in contrast to the north-facing Nagir heights where pines are plentiful, are absolutely bare of trees. So fuel is a serious problem; each household has to manage on such wood as they can spare from their own gardens and orchards. If a tree has to be felled or pruned, or an old vine rooted up, they may be in relative luxury for a time, or if they have to cut down poplars for a house the trimmings will keep them going, but normally they must do with an occasional fallen branch or a few twigs. Even in the depth of winter no one can afford a fire merely to warm the house; they cook their bread and vegetables as economically as possible, and just sit round the ashes of the tiny fire till it is time to blow it into life again for the next meal. We feared we might therefore have to import wood from Nagir or even farther off, which would have been serious, for we needed a good deal for cooking, baths, etc., and would need more when it came to trying to heat the large and draughty sitting-room. We consulted our people about it, and presently one day they brought a charming man to see us. He had been dabbling in commerce and had contrived to contract a debt in Gilgit and was going to be forced to cut down some of his fruit trees to pay it. It would suit him far better to sell the lot to one buyer than to peddle it about amongst his fellow countrymen, who rarely had money to spend. So we easily made a bargain with him, and he delivered into one of the outhouses (with a rickety door which could be padlocked) a fine supply which with care lasted out our time for all purposes. What was more he was delighted to take notes in payment. We had brought up some ten and five rupee notes with us before we realized that only small silver would be any use. So that was that. I had no further trouble but the usual routine job of weighing out the day's wood.

In the old days in Gilgit, though oil was expensive, there was never any trouble in getting it. The S. and T. carried an ample supply both of the finer Snowflake and of the everyday kerosene. Remembering this, we had not brought any up with us from Kashmir. But the S. and T. was about to disappear, in consequence of various political developments which are not necessary to explain, and their supplies were almost done. We

[13] 354

21 [i.e., housekeeping problems --Analy]

354 hastily earmarked all the Snowflake they could possibly spare; for our treasured Aladdin lamps would have been little use to us if we had had nothing to feed them on and they can't digest the coarser oil. Snowflake worked out at 4s. 6d. a gallon plus carriage from Gilgit! But it was one of the absolute essentials to work. We bought also as much of the ordinary kerosene, as we could, so as to have oil for hurricane lanterns for bedrooms and bathrooms. But all through the winter we had to ration ourselves to *one* Aladdin lamp. It was annoying to think that we could have brought as many extra pony-loads as necessary up with us if we had realized the need. It was by July too late to order from down-country; the passes would be closed before a consignment could get through.

Chapter 14

FIRST WALKS ABROAD

THE very day after our arrival we went out for a stroll to take 487
stock of our immediate surroundings. Along the Dála, the little stream which ran in front of our house, there is a tiny footpath, just wide enough for one. On our right was the channel in its carefully made bed with a stone revetting wall above it holding up the field above; on our left a fine hedge of quickthorn to keep passing beasts from jumping into the field 4 or
5 feet below. We could hear a merry sound of drums and 527
pipes coming from somewhere downhill, and asked what was 624
on. It seemed that just before we arrived the first barley- [534]
cutting had been celebrated with various ceremonies, which we could only hope to see in detail next year, and some of the jollification was still being kept up. Qudrat Ullah was with us, and a "levy." I must explain the levies. In most villages 624
Government chooses, no doubt on the Mir's advice, one or 124
two of the most respected peasant-farmers who are not headmen or officials of the Mir himself, and pays them a small (very small) monthly wage so that they may be ready to do any little Government jobs that are wanted. There are three in Aliábád, which is relatively a large place with about two hundred scattered houses, and the Political Agent had kindly instructed them that one of their jobs was to be useful to us. I may as well at once introduce the two first: Kalbi is a fine upstanding man, rather darker in colour than the average; and Hurmat, a younger, very cheery fellow with dashing moustaches. They are both intelligent and extremely friendly and eager to help. We didn't see why they should waste time on us for nothing, so David at once agreed with them that he

624 would pay them a small retaining fee if they would take it in
124 turns to be "on duty" with him in their spare time. They would obviously be useful informants.

487 We had to walk along in single file. There is no "road" in
312 Hunza where two people can walk abreast, or along which you can ride, except the "Great North Road" running through from Kashmir to Kashgar, and even it is never more than 4 to 6 feet wide. The other tracks run mostly beside small water-channels to enable people to get from one sluice to another to juggle the water now off, now on. Even when you have a neat little track fairly horizontal (there are only three of these possible for ordinary walking) it is broken every few yards by a sluice which you must jump or step over carefully so as not to interfere with the water arrangements or, alternatively, break your leg. The sluices are the simplest things imaginable—just a gap in the side wall of the channel which can be closed with a couple of convenient, slab-like stones and plastered up with mud from the watercourse. Occasionally there is a little wooden shutter which can be raised or lowered in wooden slots at the side.

As we went along David asked the names of the various kinds of water-channels, fields, etc., that we saw (the *names* he already knew, but not at first hand which kind was which), and presently we had a train of bright-eyed boys in the fields on each side, full of amusement at this new game. One would cry: "This stone is a flint; this is a stink-stone," whereupon he would crack it and give it to us to notice the faint smell of sulphur it gave out. Another would run up: "Here's a poppy and a poppy-head"—so we were not going to lack for willing teachers.

After a little we turned down a narrow "lane," less like an English lane than anything else on earth. It plunged downhill pretty steeply, sometimes just a rocky slope, sometimes just one boulder below another making a very crude flight of steps varying from 18 inches to 3 feet or so. Beside the "path" ran the inevitable water-gutter in which you could walk, as it happened at the moment to be dry.

417 On each side, a bare 3 feet apart, were the usual walls of
323

loose stone. It is amazing how they get these walls to stand up, 6, 7, 10 feet high, without an ounce of mortar or mud. At the bottom they put huge stones like portmanteaux, then smaller ones like bandboxes, then others the size of quartern loaves, till as you get towards the top they have come down to the size of penny buns. Each is carefully chosen to fit as neatly as possible into the space left by the last, and wherever there is a gap left they choose a small stone that will just fit and wedge it in tight. The walls are really a beautiful sight. These side ones they build partly because they want a boundary to their field, but much more, I think, because if you didn't pile the stones somewhere there would be no field at all. There are no gates. Wood is scarce and very precious and, besides, at different seasons and for different purposes you might want the gate now in one place, now in another. So when you want to get in, you just pull down as much of the wall as necessary and build it up again when your work is done.

Presently we came to a large garden with handsome walnut trees, its long wall broken by a wooden door now open. Hurmat told us that this was the semi-royal domain, where the Mir's first wife and what the German royalties would call his morganatic family were settled. Festivities were going on inside, and we were assured that anyone might enter. Fortified by this we went in and were made welcome by two semi-royal grandsons, one a lad of seventeen or eighteen and one a jolly little boy of perhaps ten, who were sitting on a carpet spread on a raised piece of ground below some trees. Our hosts made us immediately at home, and a chair was fetched for me.

There was a little grass under the trees, and just inside the wall an open earthen space like a bit of a school playground. The band was sitting against the wall, while men and boys were dancing and a largish audience was clapping and hurrahing at intervals. Baskets and dishes of ripe apricots were lying about everywhere, and everyone helped himself as inclined. Fruit was brought for us and the merry-making went on as before. It was delightfully gay and informal and our young hosts did not allow us to feel out of things. We took care not to stay too

854

PLATE VIII

1. Grandfather sounding Baby Pangie. (See p. 181)

1. Baby worship. Pangie sounding in field. (See p. 113)

593

[Facing p. 96]

000 long, for fear we were in any way spoiling the fun. We took another route home, where a tiny 2-foot track at the base of a high wall led us past a fine reservoir of water and out on to the main road.

312 The whole countryside is dotted with these deep open-air reservoirs, their sides built of stone walls. They are drained from a hole at one side of the floor, and this can be plugged by a skilfully shaped wooden stopper mounted on a long slim poplar pole. It may happen that your turn for water comes at a moment when you don't immediately want to use it. In that case you store it till wanted and draw it off as required. When one of these *pferis* is full in summer time the men and boys use them as swimming pools. In winter everyone fills his *pferi* before the water ceases to flow, and this gives him a reserve of water for his animals and for washing purposes. The drinking water is carefully stored in smaller similar dugout pits which are scrupulously roofed over almost at ground level and approached down several rude steep steps, so that there is no fear of their being polluted by the animals. The Hunzukuts are most fastidious in their habits, and do not allow any of their water to be fouled.

000 Next evening David and I went out for another walk alone. We had no intention of being dogged by our retainers, however helpful, for we knew we could not hope to get into touch with the people themselves if any third parties were present. We pursued the Dála as before but without turning downhill. In the very first empty field (just reaped) there was a nice little girl about eight, whose name she told us was Kaníza—she will turn up again frequently, for she lives in one of the very nearest houses. She was carrying a small youngster on her back and wasn't in the very least shy. The small child was a girl and was her married sister's and had come over from Báltít to spend the day. The baby was two and would walk and talk, she said, and her house was just along there in front and she was going home. She came along behind us chattering away. These single-file paths are unsociable, and the fact that no one can ever walk beside you does not make it easier to talk Burushaski. Kaníza had evidently heard the boys yesterday telling us the

600 names of things, so she took up the good work: "That's our roof; that thing sticking out is a cross rafter," and "That's our ladder." Presently we came to the corner of her square, stone house, the wall of which rose straight from the water-channel, and there we found her father and a couple of small boys. We crossed a tiny two-trunk bridge to talk to them at the door, and papa was evidently much pleased that we had taken notice
251 of the two small girls. Mother and an auntie were sitting a little farther back under some fine mulberry trees splitting apricots, which they were going to spread presently on a big boulder or on the roof to dry. Everywhere we looked boulders and roofs were decorated with glorious golden-pink pools of drying apricots.

252 I slipped over to the women while David continued to chat
354 to the master of the house. With luck the dried apricots would
302 last them all through the winter, for this had been a good year. The apricot stones they were keeping carefully as they worked. Presently the children would crack them between stones and the kernels would be hoarded. Eaten with dried apricots they make a delicious almond-and-raisin dessert for feast days or offerings to guests, while a good proportion of them must be pounded by the women till the oil is squeezed out that will give their sole indoor light. If by good luck there is any oil to spare, it makes a prized unguent for the hair and most families contrive to have enough to sleek their plaits or fringes for
296 great occasions. This cheery family bade us a friendly good-bye as we moved on, and a little farther along the channel, which was now making a curved sweep round, we saw a man standing in a reaped field below us. This crop had been lucerne, he said; he gets two crops of it off one field each season. David told him how they get seven or eight crops in Persia, but consider the first crop bad for the animals (for some reason which we never discovered). He was much interested, and said they did not notice any difference in the wholesomeness of their first and second crop: Hunza animals are not encouraged to be
000 faddy. Presently we came to a fine, walled-in mulberry orchard on our left and climbed up into a sloping field where a slight crop of grass was growing between boulders. We sat down to

1 [of Kaniza, a Burusho child--Analyst]

000 admire the view with a fine stretch of terraced fields below us, quaint little stone houses with groups of trees dotted here and there, and behind all, in every direction, the great mountains. On our way back there was a small boy, of perhaps thirteen, in the ex-lucerne field: "Who does this field belong to?" Just in the boastful way of small boys at home, he answered: "Oh, this is my field and that's my mulberry orchard you passed just now, and here's my house with the big mulberry tree over it, and this is my apricot tree and that is my father over there," pointing to our earlier friend who had moved some distance off. "I'm going home now," and he came along with us chattering away. "That's one of our lambs, and that's a kid." He passed his own door and walked all the way back with us. When we came to the bungalow David imitated his way of speaking: "And this is our house, and that's our chair in the verandah, and now we are going in to eat bread." The boy burst out laughing, evidently quite aware that we were chaffing him, waved his hand in farewell, and ran home at the double to tell his family all about it.

We had quite expected that the people would be friendly, but we had no idea they would be so spontaneously forthcoming and so quick to guess what we were driving at. Already by our second day we had made two sets of friends in the two nearest houses, and were sure of a welcome as we passed.

285 I asked Levy Kalbi next morning whether there was anyone who could make us a wastepaper basket. Within an hour or two he came along with an armful of willow twigs, squatted in the verandah: "If the Sahib will show what shape he would like, I'll make it now." So David made him a rough sketch, and in an hour or two he had finished a capacious basket that only needed to dry for a day or two in the sun. We asked what it should cost. He was almost hurt: "You shall not pay me for
281 it. I am already eating your salt. And a basket is nothing,
462 anyway." The day after he came along with a bunch of goat's hair under his arm which he was going to spin, and he thought we might like to watch. Oddly, the men spin the goat's hair
181 and the women the wool. All these Hunza people are refresh-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

ingly competent. There's nothing connected with their every- 181
day life that they cannot all do, and do well.

I saw a couple of pretty young women sitting together in a 283
little orchard spinning, as they watched a few sheep grazing on some odd blades of grass that grew between the trees. I scrambled over the wall and sat beside them to watch. They showed me what they were doing, and as we talked a fine old greybeard passed by driving a few goats and sheep downhill. "What are you doing there, Mother?" "Najit and Zaida are showing me how to spin." "But don't you *know*?" Half shamefaced, wholly amused, I tried to explain that unfortunately in our country most of the spinning was done with "wheels" (a general sort of word for machinery of any kind—a thing which, of course, they have never seen), and quite a lot of women besides myself did not know how to spin. He shook his head sadly as if to say, "What is the world coming to?" and stood a moment to watch us. Then sympathetically but firmly he said: "You'll never learn now, I'm afraid. You should have begun as a child; it takes a lot of practice. Good-bye." And as he went after his animals I saw him still gently shaking his head over my lost youth—which he could not regret more than I.

Wherever she is going, whether to the orchard to gather 283
twigs for firewood, or to the mill with a small sack of grain to 415
be ground, the woman carries under her arm a quaint little kidney-shaped receptacle for her well-washed wool. It is usually made of wild rowan bark. The menfolk when up at the summer pastures cut a strip of bark and bend the two ends towards the centre, forming two circular chambers. They then bury it for a year or two till it has taken the required shape. Then they lash on a thin wooden base and lash the two circular chambers together, and the wife's *pfurúkus* is ready for her. In one side she puts the clean wool which she teases by hand, removing any lumps or bits of straw, which she puts into the odd-shaped cavity between the two circles. She then coaxes bits of the cleaned lump into a neat ribbon of wool about 6 inches long and 1½ inches wide, and beats it well on her knee till it is perfectly flat and even and coheres together, and this little

283 strip is folded and placed in the second chamber. When she
415 has enough of these *dapping* prepared, she takes out her little spindle, also shaped at home, puts the point of it into a little dish like a small ash-tray, which prevents it from wandering about while she rotates it. Then with a *dap* of wool in her left hand and the spindle in her right, she conjures somehow a fine even thread on to the whirring spindle. So many *dapping* make a spindleful, so many spindlefuls make a ball, so many balls suffice for a winter cloak. Undoubtedly you must learn as a child. The shape of the *pfurúkus* makes it most convenient to carry; even if you have a child on your shoulders and a basket on your back, it sits under your arm and stays there of itself, one circular chamber projecting back and front. The little ash-tray is cleverly moulded by the women from the malleable mush left when they have squeezed every drop of oil from their apricot kernels. It dries in a day or two and serves for many a year.

243 There was a jolly family party who worked the fields just below our house. I used to wish the fields didn't slope down and down and we could then have watched them better from the windows. When we arrived they had just reaped two fields of wheat (which ripens a fortnight later than the barley) and piled the sheaves in two big stacks. Then they made their threshing-floor as earlier described.[1] When the floor was dry they spread the entire circle 2 or 3 feet deep with cut wheat and got a team of five cows, tied their muzzles loosely together with a soft rope round each and then drove them round to
[462] tread out the grain. It is usually a woman or girl who drives the team, but sometimes a man or boy will take a hand. The outside beast has, of course, to make the biggest circle, while the centre one just buzzes round as nearly as possible in the
[46] same spot. As the driver gently touches them with her switch she keeps shouting "Hai, hai, hai!" to encourage them. When she gets tired one of the others comes on duty and she goes and sits down in the shade of the stack. As you can imagine, it is pretty hot in the noonday sun. I joined the women in the shade where they sat spinning away and keeping an eye on
000 the toddlers. There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and

1 [See p. 77, Cat. 116 or 243. — Analyst]

FIRST WALKS ABROAD

There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and 524
Banu, about six and four, who played with me and let me 177
tickle them with straws and play "One little pig went to market . . ." with their dusty little toes. This game proved such a success that I roughly translated it into "One little sheep went to drink. . . ." They would never have seen a pig, and if they had they *ought* to think it unclean, so I thought a lamb was safer. My first version gave one little lamb bread to eat, "bread" being a general word for "food." This caused great laughter: "Lambs wouldn't like bread, Mother dear." "Well, what do you think they'd like best?" "Oh, grass or leaves." "One little lamb had grass to eat and one little lamb had none." Thus amended, my little rhyme was approved, and other youngsters turned up to play "little lambs" till the game grew so popular that whenever I sat down on anyone's threshing-floor baby feet would be stretched out towards me: "One little lamb, Mother . . ." till I got quite tired of ". . . baa, baa, baa, all the way home," but it never palled on them. Centuries hence, when we shall have long been sleeping in the Garden of Rest at Golders Green, some anthropologist will come along and wonder what process of "diffusion" took "one little pig" to Hunza, or whether Hunza spontaneously generated the jingle for itself.

My pencil and little notebook were a great source of amuse- 124
ment, and the youngsters would crowd round: "Have you put 476
my name in? I'm Shamúli." "So you are; but whose Shamúli are you? I've got two Shamúlis already. Who's your Daddy? How many brothers have you got; how many sisters, are they bigger or smaller, what are *their* names? And which house is yours?" Thus gradually I got to know most of our immediate neighbours, but it was no easy matter to sort the families out, for groups would gather on each other's threshing-floors, and anyone whose own immediate work was done would join in to help the workers. I finally gave numbers of my own to all the nearest houses, and tried bit by bit to plot out the various relationships.

Meantime the threshing went steadily on, and I noticed that 243
the driver carried always a flat bowl shoulder high in her left 237
hand. "Now what's that for?" asked I. "Why, that's the dung-

243 dish," and right enough the driver quickly anticipated her cows'
237 needs, and when her dish was full went off and emptied it on a little heap of manure. You thus keep your grain uncontaminated and salvage your manure—most priceless of products. If the driver lapses into a daydream a warning yell from the onlookers would call her attention back in time. I don't know whether the dung-dish is in use elsewhere, but it is at any rate one more symbol of Hunza fastidiousness. You *plough* with oxen, but you thresh with *cows*, whose slighter needs can
[412] also be forestalled. When all the wheat is thoroughly trampled the men take great wooden five-pronged forks, most gracefully shaped things (made, of course, at home), and towards evening when there comes a little breeze they toss the broken
243 wheat up into the air to winnow it. The broken straw is blown to one side while the heavier grain falls into a heap. Then they take wooden, home-made spades and toss the grain again to get rid of any remaining straw. These processes take many hours' hard work, and will not be completed in one day; but they have no rain to fear and can leave their stacks of straw and
[674] heaps of grain from one day till the next. They leave their threshing-floors unguarded when they go home at night; pilfering a neighbour's food is simply "not done."

When the winnowing is over the women take a big sieve, made of thin strips of leather criss-crossed over a round frame. This is coarse enough to let the grain through but to catch any scraps of straw. When this first sieving is over, they take a finer sieve (with, of course, a totally different name) which keeps the grain and lets the dust fall through. But even then they don't consider the job quite finished. The women turn the pile over with their hands, carefully picking out any sliver of straw that may have previously escaped. When at last it is ready, the grain is filled into large skin sacks, which will take up to 160 lb. or so, and the men carry these off to the storeroom while the broken straw is loaded into huge open-ribbed baskets that can also be carried only by a man. The straw is taken up on to the flat roof and poured down through a central hole into the straw shed.

There is no hard and fast rule about what is woman's work

FIRST WALKS ABROAD

There is no hard and fast rule about what is women's work and what is man's except that, for obvious reasons, the extra-heavy loads are handled by the men; but a man will gladly take a turn at driving the threshing team or carrying the baby, and a woman will readily do a spell with the winnowing fork or shovel. No job is taboo for anyone able to tackle it, and the result is the pleasantest possible family co-operation. The great thing is to get this particular work polished off as soon as possible for there are other urgent things waiting to be done. 462

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 15

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

WHEN after three days we had got the house habitable, cupboards and bookshelves ordered, lamps burning, water and food routine running smoothly, and the first friendly contacts with our neighbours established, we asked leave to pay our first call on the Mir, the king of the country and our host.

Two horses were found for us—it was a welcome let-off that the nature of the country made it useless to keep our own horses—and we started early, while it was still cool, on the four-mile ride to Báltít, his capital. The Great North Road from Kashmir to Central Asia is here some four to five feet wide; the only rideable road in the country. For the first couple of miles it runs fairly level between high field walls, just dipping 50 feet now and again to cross a stony gully, down which pour at times irresistible floods of mud and boulders; then it staggers almost perpendicularly up some hundreds of feet till it reaches the level of the Dála and runs along with the water channel (which is perhaps 4 feet wide and 2 feet deep) on its left and a steep drop on the right into the first fields below. High above us towered staircases of narrow fields and behind them great serrated snow peaks, the most interesting of which culminates in a 2,000-foot needle of sheer granite too steep ever to hold the snow.

This is Princess Búbuli's Peak, and the story goes that when the hero Kiser (the Gesar of Tibetan myth[1] and an

[1] For original Tibetan versions of his story, see Madame Alexandra David-Neel, *Gesar of Ling*; for the Burushaski version, see D. L. R. L., in *Folklore*, XLII, June 2, 1931.

incarnate deity) conquered Hai Hai Yúl (= Hunza) he took to wife the Princess Búbuli. He had not been long in the country till he saw in a dream Tibet invaded and his earlier queen carried into captivity, so he determined to return and deal with his enemies. Even in the Tibetan versions of the Gesar Saga it is difficult to avoid thinking him an ugly type of hero, a still more unpleasant manifestation of the divine, and the absolute limit in undesirable husbands. Princess Búbuli asked when she might look for his return: "I'll go to-morrow and return yesterday"; he said, "when donkeys grow horns, when millstones grow beards, when the river flows uphill, I shall come back." Lest she should get into trouble during this brief grass-widowhood he seated her on this granite spike with a 200-lb. bag of millet-seed and a cock: "Give him one grain a year, and when the grain is done, I shall return." And there the luckless princess sits, and you can hear her wailing in the winter storm.

The road commands a fine view of the junction of the Nagir with the Hunza River, and the rugged, savage valley which leads to the Nagir capital, tucked away out of sight amongst its sunless mountains near the great Hispar glacier. On our Hunza side the ground falls steeply with fertile bays of terraced fields and groves of apricots, all still in late July laden with their golden fruit. The road winds round various bluffs, following of course the contours of the mountain-side, and you can see several villages below, including Ganesh, clustered on the very edge of the river cliffs. High above the field-terraces on our left we presently espied the white front of the fortress-palace that has looked down over the fields of Hunza for at least six hundred years—surely the most dominating seat of kings in the wide world. It is built on the cliff edge of a projecting promontory that falls perpendicularly—but from the road invisibly—behind it; and behind that again lies the mighty ravine of the Ulter Ber, up which, far out of sight, is the almost inaccessible glacier that supplies all the waters of Hunza, from Áltít (two miles beyond and some hundreds of feet below Báltít) to Aliábád, feeding five or six different aqueducts, including, of course, the Dála.

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

175 Some time in the days of our earliest Edwards, a princess of
361 Baltistán married the reigning prince of Hunza. For the last
712 hundred years or so the direct route to Baltistán has been completely blocked by advancing glaciers, but for centuries before, the two countries had been in communication with each other. Hunza consisted then of three small villages only: Áltít and Ganesh on the river cliffs, and Báltít high above. The princess's father sent with the bride an army of Balti masons, carpenters, and craftsmen, who built the two forts of Áltít and Báltít as part of the royal dowry, and to-day they still stand proudly on their cliffs, impregnable to assault,
[171] centres of ancient ceremonial. To this day, too, the Hunzukuts modestly attribute all their simple arts to Balti influence.

173 The original inhabitants of Hunza proper are said to be
643 descended from three soldiers of Alexander the Great, who were left behind sick, presumably plus their womenfolk, and thus while their comrades marched on became the founders of the three first villages in this inhospitable region. Like so many royal houses in Central Asia, the family that has ruled for more than six centuries in Hunza and Nagir likes to claim descent from Alexander himself. But while the Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikander (= Alexander) Khan still upholds this tradition, we noticed that the shrewder Mir of Hunza—who must have seen many a courteously-veiled smile greet this familiar genealogy—shied off the topic.

What seems probable is that the royal family is not in origin of the same stock as the people, and that it may well—as tradition asserts—have come from Persia at some prehistoric date. What is certain is that it can trace its authentic ancestry as far back as can the House of Windsor.

173 There may well be truth in the legend of the European
144 descent of the Hunza Burusho, for in temperament and looks our Hunza friends have nothing of the "Oriental" about them. Take from them the very lightly bronzed complexion, "the shadow'd livery of the burnished sun," to which at this altitude they are "neighbour and near bred," and you could transplant them without incongruity to the moors of Yorkshire or the Scottish lowlands.

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

Above and below us as we rode the barley harvest was being 243
speedily gathered in; family groups were reaping, threshing, winnowing, while the more advanced were already hastily reploughing their land for various kinds of millet. Though the [132]
Hunza summer is short, the sun at these heights is hot, and with luck each hard-worked field will bear two crops a season. The barley field which is soonest clear will ripen a later crop of millet; the wheat field, ready a fortnight or three weeks later, will still be in time for one or other type of buckwheat. Barley must in olden days have been the standard crop, for all the sowing and harvest festivals centre round it. But the Hunzukuts[1] of to-day vastly prefers wheaten bread and sows as much wheat as he dares. Even the winter-sown wheat, however, ripens later than the spring barley, and since every ingenious device of agriculture only "just gives what life requires, but gives no more," he cannot afford to concentrate on wheat alone. Each year the peasant farmer makes his calcu- [242]
lations afresh; experience has taught him much about the rotation of crops, the different varieties of grain that each field —according to soil, water, and aspect—can most profitably bear, and his gamble with nature is a highly intelligent one. In the opener fields of Aliábád we reckoned that the proportion of wheat to barley was roughly two to one, nearer Báltít one to two.

If later in the year you point to a field and ask "What crop is that?" the answer will not be "Such and such a millet, or such and such a buckwheat," but the name of the growing crop with the additional information "On top of wheat" or "On top of barley," which will give you the difference of some weeks in the date of sowing and probably also indicate some subtle difference in the quality of the soil if you have learnt enough basic agriculture to interpret the facts aright.

Our narrow mountain track skirted the face of a magnificent 644
amphitheatre of storeyed cultivation, plunging every now and then into welcome belts of fruit trees, willows and poplars, crossing foaming mountain torrents in cracks of the hillside, none too easy to ford in July, though only rock-strewn gullies

[1] Hunzukuts is both singular and plural.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burnho AV7

644 in winter. Rounding the last bend of the road, we saw before us, below the Fort, the park-like promontory on which the Mir has laid out royal gardens and orchards and built himself roomy summer quarters with two or three European guest-houses. As soon as we were sighted, the band broke out into the hospitable welcome music, and at the gate of the park a young prince stood to greet us, the loveliest boy of thirteen I have ever seen. He was Shah Khán, one of the Mir's youngest sons, but I christened him forthwith Lord Fauntleroy. Short dark curls framed his homespun cap, and with him were two playmates armed with wooden rifles, whom he calls his "bodyguard." They laughingly presented arms in fine style, and we rode on through the trees to a row of hospitable mangers where we left our ponies and saw Prince Ghazan Khan (the "Prince of Wales"[1]) advancing on foot to meet us.

On our right we left the large open courtyard banked up on to the hillside with verandahs on two sides, where the Mir sits daily in public to dispense justice in the final court of appeal. A steep flight of irregular stone steps is fitted to the contour of the hill; above them on a large granite boulder is picturesquely and ingeniously perched one of the Mir's new guest-houses ornamented outside with ibex horns and stuffed game animals. Then the stairs turned abruptly left through a fine gateway of cut granite with two heraldic monsters couchant on the lintel, where the Mir himself was standing to await us.

643 Though nearly seventy, he was still a fine figure of a man, every inch a king, as befitted one of the few true, hereditary autocrats left in a topsy-turvy world. He led us through into a lovely English-looking orchard with apple trees bending laden boughs above the grass, to where carpets were spread on the turf beside a miniature playing fountain. A gaily decked tea-table had been set out. Our meeting was one of genuine happiness on both sides. He laughed as he shouted for the tea. "I haven't forgotten, Colonel Sahib," he said, "any hour of the day or night is tea-time, isn't it?" This dear old chestnut-

[1] Now the Mir, 1938.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

joke recalled a journey he and David had made in company 643
twelve or thirteen years before to meet the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, on the Thui Pass as he entered Hunza from Chitral. Mir and Political Agent had messed together, and their shared passion for tea at any hour had strengthened the less frivolous bonds between them.

We noticed that our old friend was wearing coloured glasses and heard that his eyes were giving trouble. They looked as keen and shrewd and kindly as ever when he doffed his glasses, but he was awaiting an operation for cataract. It should have been performed in May, but Major Ledger, the Agency Surgeon, had himself gone down with typhus and was now recuperating in Kashmir, so the operation had been postponed until September. The Mir was also having to diet himself carefully to keep diabetes at bay, but despite these trifles he looked extremely well and very cheerful as he talked with expert knowledge of Central Asian politics and the tangled interactions of "Bolsheviki," Chinese, Turkis, and Tungans, and the mysterious disappearance into Russia of Ma Chung-yin.

We all enjoyed our tea, which was served by Mirza Hasan, a valued old retainer, sometime cook to a British officer, who is summoned to act as chef whenever European guests are expected. In the delightful informality of the Mir's intimate circle, Mirza Hasan stepped forward presently to welcome us and was gratified when I congratulated him on his cakes and biscuits (as I was conscientiously able to do). After a pleasant hour of interchanging news, we took our leave of the royal party, augmented meanwhile by the royal grandsons and a tiny son of two or three, and were seen out of the park with great solemnity by Lord Fauntleroy and bodyguard.

All initial duties were now performed and we could begin 000
our work in Aliábád in all seriousness. The Gods thought otherwise.

The ride home through noonday heat was hot and wearying; towards evening David felt feverish, before morning his temperature was close on 105°. There followed four anxious weeks. Five times his temperature ran up like this; five times after a spell of high fever it plunged down in five or six hours to 95°

008 or a shade below, leaving him swimming in sweat and weaker than a new-born kitten. As everyone knows who has lived in the East, these acute subnormal spells are almost more alarming than raging fever, and are more exhausting to the patient. Slowly, slowly he would regain strength on Zaidu's "chicken broth," on milk and custard, and creep, decimal by decimal, towards 98·4, and each time as we congratulated ourselves that he was nearly well, and he was sitting out on the verandah, observing the life about him and chatting to the passers-by—whizz bang—he was up to 105° once more.

Nothing like our people's devotion was ever seen. Dádo would carry off soaking sheets and drenched pyjamas, wash them and dry them in the sun. Zaidu would devise and cook such invalid dishes as our scanty resources permitted. Everyone, including Sagi and the levies, wanted to sit up all night, but this I would not allow; they had their fields to till and their harvest to gather in. I had a little Meta stove and could heat milk or soup or Ovaltine during the night myself; but always Dádo slept near the bedroom door, and no admonition would drive him from it.

Again and again those many nights I listened in vain for a sound of breathing, and often I feared my patient would be too exhausted to wake to see another dawn creep up on Rakaposhi.

When the fever fiend had played his last card and lost the trick, there started a fortnight of the most gruesome headache. All his life DL has been liable to an occasional bad headache, but they usually wear out their violence in twenty-four hours. This brute went on day and night for fourteen days so that he could neither read nor write nor sleep. That seems, however, to have been the last frantic struggle of the evil spirit before being exorcised.

759 It wasn't till nine weeks of illness and convalescence were past that I realized that I had never for a moment felt lonely or given a thought to the absence of a doctor. The servants had been such trumps, the neighbours so sympathetic and kindly, that I was never consciously aware that the nearest white person was not even four days off in Gilgit, but 150 miles off in Rama or 300 in Kashmir (for no one stays in Gilgit

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

in the summer), or that with luck we might see a doctor in a 759
month or two. In our little home-town there are indignation meetings because we have to travel seven miles in a motor ambulance to reach our nearest hospital.

Another pleasant thing had been the presence of the Indian sub-assistant surgeon in charge of the local dispensary. True when you were sick you would echo George the What-ever-it-was: "Give the doctor my compliments and say I am too ill to see him," but he had a store of any simple drugs absent from our own medicine chest and he kindly acted as sanitary inspector and supervised the disposal of the kitchen refuse, etc., and directed the activities of the sweeper. This removed a source of possible anxiety.

Altogether things might have been a lot worse. It was per- 000
fectly maddening for David to have missed all these interesting weeks of the harvest; but he had seen something of it from his window, and from the verandah, and if he was pretty fit again by mid-September we still had an entire year's cycle ahead of us. And I had sat about a good deal in the fields (within sight of the house and within earshot of his whistle—though he never blew it), and made lots of friends and taken what notes I could with as much of my mind as was on the spot. It wasn't a lot, for I was often anxious and always rather underslept. But with luck we should fill in the missing bits next year.

The September weather was delightful; the "bitter" heat 132
had gone, and it was like the best days of an early English summer, but with perfect dryness and the security we never have at home that to-morrow and the day after would equally be fine.

Before coming we had been afraid that further knowledge 114
might reveal all sorts of mistakes in the Grammar and the Texts (now finally in print and about to appear). We were immensely relieved to find as we worked that there was *nothing* incorrect. It seemed almost incredible. A few difficult points could be further cleared up, but there was nothing to retract. The Vocabulary proofs were beginning to come—and a hideous fag it was correcting them!—but this gave opportunity to eliminate a few question marks and occasionally to

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PLATE IX

1. Threshing. (See p. 100)

2. Winnowing. Foreground, Afiato and Yamam. (See pp. 102, 147)

[Facing P. 112]

114 add a new meaning without disturbing the main text. DL did not attempt to incorporate new material. It would be better not to tinker with the existing work but to wait till our work here was done and put new facts into shape for a supplementary volume.

The anthropological material would in any case be an entirely separate business.

194 One very tiresome task connected with the Vocabulary was to achieve what certainty was possible about aspirates and cerebrals. Neither David nor I had when young any scientific training in phonetics—the modern science of phonetics simply did not then exist—and perhaps our ears are not naturally acute. Anyhow, neither of us can distinguish these finer shades of sound with any certainty. Burushaski has, for instance, four different t's: a dental t and a cerebral t (= t and ṭ) and the same two sounds plus a light aspiration (= th and ṭh). It is practically convenient and scientifically lamentable that the English t holds an intermediate position between them. Our ordinary t does quite beautifully for conversational use. No doubt in all cases it sounds slightly "foreign" to a Hunza ear, but it seems to be perfectly acceptable. This, however, isn't good enough for accurate recording. Fortunately Qudrat Ullah was intelligent enough to detect the difference, and David has taught him to be on the *qui vive*; so they set to work through the whole Vocabulary to check every single spelling authoritatively. The scientist and phonetician will therefore be able to get the accurate spellings there and the more casual spellings of the Grammar and Texts will be good enough for the ordinary student.

If it was only the t's! But there are a dozen other sounds afflicted with cerebral and aspirate doubles. It was a long and weary business to register them all, but one at least which could only have been tackled on the spot. The ordinary speaker is of course unaware of these refinements of his own pronunciation. An odd point is that the aspiration is frequently dropped in Hunza speech in derived forms, whereas Nagir Burushaski is more logical in the matter; with them apparently "once an aspirate, always an aspirate" is the usual rule.

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194 Personally I felt at times impatient of the time that had to be "wasted" on these subtleties; but my better self acknowledges their importance—or potential importance—for comparative philology. I am, I fear, a curious mixture of a shameless philistine and a scholar *manquée*!

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burutho AV7

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1. Dumping manure.

(See p. 137)

2. Afuto ploughing.

(See p. 147)

PLATE X

3. Aliko sowing. Small boy interrupted in game of "foot-polo."

(See p. 184)

4. Party of women weeding.

(See p. 134)

Facing p. 114]

Chapter 16

HOME LIFE AT No. 1

293 WHEN the women are working in the fields through the heat
[132] of the day—and it is very, very hot at 7,800 feet with a tem-
854 perature of 105° in the shade—they usually have a large square
482 of cotton cloth with them, which they sometimes throw over their heads for protection. This cloth turns in for all sorts of purposes; if you are carrying a small quantity of flour home from the mill you can wrap it up and tie it across from one shoulder to the other armpit and so keep both hands free. If the baby is too small to sit safely on your back or shoulders, you treat it in the same way. In fact, if you see a woman with this kind of bundle that appears to have two lumps in it you may safely guess that it's a baby.

342 I made great friends with the family who worked just below us (I have named them in my notebook Household No. 1), and I felt quite sad when their wheat harvest was over—it was so convenient just to run down and join them in sight of our own windows. They asked me, however: "Won't you come home and sit in our shade?" Of course I accepted with delight. It was just a few steps along the Dála and down one of the little lanes, half path, half watercourse. We came to a slightly taller, mud-plastered wall on the left with a wooden door in it. Through this I stepped in to a tiny courtyard with a shed on each side, one for straw and one for the lambs and kids. The
[333] house itself is just a rough cube of stones plastered with mud, and it has a flat roof with a smoke-hole in it above the central hearth. You go up by a ladder, and the roof makes a nice place for sitting out, watching the neighbours go by, spinning, and drying apricots. It has a second store-room built on a part of

342 it, exactly over the main store-room below. There is no parapet, only a tiny raised rim to direct the rain into a small gutter-hole, on the rare occasions when there is rain; but it has a fringe of cut thorn bushes arranged round the edge to prevent an enterprising goat jumping across from the next-
351 door roof not many feet away. I didn't, however, go up on to
296 the roof, but on into a larger courtyard where there was a pool in the corner at which their washing is done. They would not dream of polluting the running water by washing themselves or their clothes in it as it flows by; they draw off what they want for these purposes into a separate pond of their own.
351 Then under a large shady tree there was a raised stone plat-
513 form which acts as a "sofa" by day and as a double or treble or quadruple bed by night—for, except in the depth of winter, nobody sleeps indoors. There was another raised platform, with a wall at the back and open in front and sides, roofed in for another sleeping place. It had a railing along under the roof, and over this were hung all sorts of padded quilts, homespun
[136] blankets, sheepskins, etc.—the family bedding. All the bedding is taken out and hung up every day, which helps to account for the complete lack of vermin—which I confess came to us as a happy surprise. In all our year in Hunza we saw only *one* flea, and that, as David said, was emphatically our own!

245 Round the corner from these sleeping places I got into a
312 walled-in shady garden full of fruit trees—apples, mulberries, peaches, apricots, and vines. It is incredible how luxurious mere *shade* is at such a temperature. It wasn't remotely like a garden in our sense. The earth was bare without one blade of grass or green, and was all cut up into little beds round each precious tree, with banks between them, so that the water could be directed to each tree as desired, when it was No. 1's
514 turn to have water at all. In the far corner of the garden was
343 a neat little circular "open-air pulpit." We had seen these pulpits dotted about, but—stupidly—did not at once guess what they were for. Coming straight from Kashmir, where the approach to each homestead is ankle deep in filth, or remembering Arab habits in Iráq, we never expected that we should find in Hunza a people as scrupulously decent as ourselves in

2: Lorimer T-3 (1927-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

514 matters of sanitation. The lower chamber of their little
343 pulpits is closed with one large slab, which makes them easy to clean; the upper is well supplied with nice clean sand, and has a small hole in the floor. The entrance opening to the upper part is narrow, and anyone inside is completely hidden; even so we never saw man, woman, or child disappear into one. The most prudish maiden aunt would never need to blush as she would in the streets of Paris or by the creeks of Basrah; and whatever Islám may recommend, the Hunzukuts does not dream of allowing his running water or his drinking tanks to be fouled by man or beast.

The pulpits must be regularly and frequently cleaned out, for, though they often stand beside the path, you never get a whiff from them to suggest their necessary purpose, yet I have never seen one being emptied; that also is a job they evidently prefer to do in the privacy of darkness.

252 A red felt carpet was quickly brought and spread for me, and soon the entire family was sitting round, making conversation. I went back another day soon after, also by invitation, and was allowed to watch Bibi Gímo cook the greens and bread for the mid-day meal. In the summer they cook in the open, in the garden or on the roof, which often has a roofed verandah or even a lightly enclosed upper room added on in front of the upper store-room. She had a little hearth of big stones to hold her tiny fire, and over it sat the big stone cooking pot of vegetables. In olden days the bread was cooked on hot stones, but nowadays everyone has a convex iron griddle which can rest either on the stones or on a tiny iron trivet. They have a neat, shallow wooden tray in which they knead their flour, adding a little water till it has become a flaky dough. Then they take the lid and on that roll out small lumps of the dough with the most ridiculous-looking toy rolling-pin hardly half an inch in diameter. They roll the dough into thin, thin pancakes, lift these with a wooden spatula on to the griddle, and turn them with a skilful twitch. Each takes only a second or so to cook, and is then twitched off on to a big
264 flat wicket platter till there is a sufficient pile. When mealtime comes the family gather round, squatting just anywhere that

is convenient. Each person has his own wooden bowl and 264
wooden spoon. They roll up their pancakes and dip them in [415]
their bowl of thick vegetable soup or take up the soup with
the spoon. The head woman of the house apportions a fair 262
share to each, and I fear there is rarely enough to allow of
second helpings.

The art of rationing the family all through the year is recognized as a difficult one; each able-bodied man is entitled to double a woman's ration, but the expectant or nursing mother gets a larger share than the other women; each child after weaning gets a certain ration according to its age.

If a *rúli gus* (housewife-in-chief) is over-generous with her 262
rationing during the post-harvest months of plenty the whole 586
family may starve before next year; so a "competent woman"
is highly valued, and incompetence is a fair ground for divorce.
No ill-will is felt or expressed, but back she goes to the father
and mother who bred her.

The No. 1 Household consists of grandfather, a charming 592
old man, who proudly boasts that he built the house they live in and himself laid out the fruit garden; his two sons, who now do all the heavy work and who both are lucky enough to have small jobs connected with the hospital—this accounts for the family's relative well-to-do-ness; the elder son's wife is my friend Bibi Gímo, the *rúli gus*; the younger son's wife is a beautiful girl Naját, who became one of our best friends. In a community where all faces are happy and kindly, she has the happiest face I have ever seen, and a natural grace of bearing and manner that would adorn any station in any country. Naját so far has no children, but Bibi Gímo's married daughter was staying with her at the moment. There is also an adolescent daughter, Shukuru, who is already growing her hair, and will no doubt presently be married; two nice boys of perhaps thirteen and nine, and the two little girls I have mentioned already, Shamúli, say six, and Banu of three or four, and I imagined there would ere long be another child.

On my second visit, since they had all been so kind to me, 526
I took a tiny rubber ball for Banu. It was a great success. Not only she and Shamúli played with it, but the grown-ups

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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PLATE XI

Hunza fields. Background, Raka in cloud. (*See p.* 211)

[Facing P. 118]

526 "stotted" it far more skilfully than I. They say the women and girls play a lot of ball, and in autumn the women sweep a smooth place under a willow tree, choose teams, and play matches! They *are* a sporting, jolly crowd. It is no use at all merely to bounce the ball and hit it down again as I did; you must spin round on your own axis between each stroke if it is to count. I didn't find this at all easy to learn at my age, and my feeble attempts gave much amusement. They laugh so openly and heartily that there is no offence in their merriment at your expense; even so, they are sensitive lest you might feel hurt, and Naját hastened to console me: "But, you see, you can read and write, and none of us can do that." So they saved my face for me, if it needed saving.

302 I had also brought a small coloured comb and offered it to Bibi Gímo for the children's fringes. All the youngsters, boys and girls alike, have their heads shaven—which makes for cleanliness—with just a neat fringe showing all round under their little caps. Banu at once appropriated the comb and started on her front hair, to the amusement of the congregation—which by now included many neighbours. She is the dearest little devil, and not a bit more grubby than any English child would be who played barefoot in a garden which is mostly half wet.

000 Whichever way I turned on my walks everyone was full of friendliness and welcome, and boys and girls ran along with me telling me all about their animals and naming anything I wanted; but I was longing to have David's company again, and felt rather mean to have been stealing marches on him and making friends in advance. I determined, however, that even after he was well enough to come out for walks I should still go back sometimes to sit with my women friends by myself. It would take too long to tell you about the other families I met and the people I made friends with: there were literally dozens. I solemnly entered their names in my little book and tried to memorize them all and assign them as well as I could to the different houses, but for a long time they all looked rather alike to me and all their dresses are much the same so that it was easy to confuse those I saw less often. Happily this

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 only made them laugh, and luckily they all kept forgetting my name, so that I could laugh *tu quoque*. "Larimair memsahib, they would say laboriously, but they had forgotten again before the morrow, and from the first day I was just "Mother dear" to everyone, and sometimes "Granny dear" to the kiddies. It was a delight to be quit of the formal "Memsahib" of India.

857 Meantime David would be seated in his chair in the big study window or out in the verandah, and everyone who passed by would try to catch his eye and wave a salaam, men and women alike. It was a joy to get away from the furtive, veiled womenfolk of India and Kashmir. When little batches of kids and lambs or an occasional cow passed by, the children in charge waved and showed off with an occasional hullabaloo as one beast broke away, leapt a wall, and started tucking in to the new green crop or the vegetable patch. The children dashed after it, chucking well-directed stones, and drove it out in double quick time, and the animals seemed to think it as much fun as the youngsters. After one of these asides they would run past David again to see whether he had noticed the little adventure and were greatly pleased if he shouted out "Well done!" or "Was that the 'bad goat' again?"

Chapter 17

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

423 By far the majority of the peasant families in Hunza are freeholders. The land passes from generation to generation without tax during life or duty after death. In olden days the Mirs owned a certain amount of land in every settlement, and the custom was to have this farmed by forced labour, spread, in theory, justly over the villagers. The Yerpa, or Steward, in charge of such royal demesnes, was obviously in the pleasant position of being able on the one side to cheat his royal master of a large proportion of the produce, and on the other to oppress and squeeze the luckless peasant-labourers. He extorted bribes in kind from anyone able thus to evade the communal work, and he could impose more than a fair share of the labour on anyone who incurred his dislike. When the present Mir (Sir Muhammad Nazím Khán)[1] was a boy he had seen this system at its ugly work under his father, Mir Ghazan Khan, and his elder brother, Mir Safdar Ali, and as he would tell you with a smile: "I knew just how much peculation and bribery went on—had I not acted as Yerpa myself!"

643 To secure the throne for himself, Safdar Ali, as may be
648 remembered, murdered his father and several brothers in traditional Karakoram style, and ultimately fell foul of the British Government of India by breaking promises and treaties and trying to play off the Chinese and Russian Governments against the Indian. After the brilliant little frontier campaign of 1891–92 he fled—unregretted—to Central Asia, leaving vacant the throne of his ancestors. The British had no wish to annex the country, but it was highly important for the security

[1] Now, alas! the late Mir.—E. O. L., 1938.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

of India that it should not be taken over by Russia. It was 643
decided to put on the throne a younger brother of the fugitive 648
Safdar Ali's—who by good luck had escaped murder. This young man, Muhammad Nazím Khán, had had an unusually wide political education. As a boy of only nine or ten he had been sent down by his father as a hostage to Gilgit, and had there met British officers for the first time and gained many new ideas. Later he had acted as ambassador and negotiator for his father and his brother on missions to Chinese Turkestan and Afghanistan, and he could talk Wakhi, Turki, Khowar, and Hindustani, as well as his own Burushaski. Above all, he was an extremely able youth, and had drawn his own deductions from his varied adventures. In 1892[1] he was therefore made king, with the able Humayun Beg as his Wazir, and since that time he has been our trusty and faithful ally, guarding for us the lofty passes that are the extreme northern gates to India on the west. For four and forty years he has now ruled his people with firmness, sympathy, and kindness, maintaining security, dispensing justice in accordance with local custom and public opinion, keeping up and encouraging the traditional festivals that punctuate the year with joust and dance, music and merriment.

During his reign there have been only two murders on 674
Hunza soil, serious crime is unknown, and even theft and 625
petty pilfering are non-existent, though there are in the 697
country no prisons and no police. On rare occasions when
some mischief-maker threatens serious trouble, the Mir, with 671
the concurrence of his subjects, may deport the would-be disturber of the peace to the distant valleys of Shimshál to tend the royal flocks that pasture there or to spend his energy on roads or aqueducts. Food and pasturage are plentiful, and life in some respects more luxurious than in lower Hunza; but the Hunzukuts loves his home, his family, his apricots, and after a couple of years' exile the malcontent returns a wiser man. It is amusing to see a recent book indicting the Mir of Hunza for the "tyranny" that imposes so humane and so useful a punish-

[1] A popular account of these high matters may be found in Algernon 113
Durand's *Making of a Frontier*, and in E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*.

681 ment. A few years' exile in Shimshál is incomparably preferable to three years' penal servitude in Wormwood Scrubs, yet Hunza delinquents do not become recidivists.

643 423 Young Muhammad Nazím Khán took up his job determined, in the light of his travels and experience, to alter much that had been traditional under his ancestors, and within three years of his accession he had completely abolished the Yerpa system of cultivating the royal lands. Such as lay immediately under his own eye he retained, but all the rest are leased out on easy terms to tenants. For the first years a tenant pays no rent at all for new ground that he brings under the plough; he has to get his fields carved out, his water-channels made, and the soil worked. After the land begins to bear he pays a small fixed rent in kind, and if at any point he finds the bargain unprofitable he is free to resign his holding. A large part of the "new settlements" of Aliábád, including all the district immediately round our house, was *kutúkal* land (viz. royal land leased out), and there was no question that the system was working to everyone's satisfaction. The extra fields available had been eagerly taken up by families in the older settlements who were finding their freehold land too cramped, and many of our neighbours were sons who had hived off from the family freehold and whose relations were still living in Báltít, Haidarábád, or Dorkhan.

556 842 We once enquired, *à propos* of the meaning of the words "rich" and "poor": "Now what would you people consider a rich man?" "One who had, say, a hundred animals." (The ordinary peasant household has twenty or so sheep, goats, and cows.) "And is there any rich man in Aliábád?" "Only one, the Yerpa." This struck us as highly significant; the one rich man still bore by courtesy his grandfather's title of "Steward"! He was no doubt still enjoying his grandfather's ill-gotten gains. Our Yerpa was, in fact, a genial, kindly man, reputed generous. He was not envied: "Poor chap, he has no sons; he has to hire herd-boys to mind his flocks, and labourers to work his fields." In Hunza a man's true wealth is in his sons; they work the farm with him; if there are several, some can go abroad and earn. Not that a woman or a woman's work is

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 643
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws 648
a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

463 ment departments, act as postal runners or dispensary assistants, do part-time jobs as "levies," or enter the private employment of British officers. Travel where you will in the Agency, some enterprising Hunza man is there before you, as carpenter or washerman, as touring merchant or in Government employ. You may even meet an old Hunza taxi-driver in Bombay or a Hunza *chaprassi* in Lahore.

177 At first the Mir rather discouraged these farther-afield
167 adventures, and not unwisely. New ideas, new customs, new dress, imported from abroad might well upset the happy balance of the home civilization; but the increasing pressure of population—a dubious benefit the *Pax Britannica* is wont to bring—makes some outlet necessary for ambitious youth, and some supplement necessary for home support, and the Mir's policy has been modified accordingly. With rare exceptions the travellers' hearts remain in their Hunza highlands; they go for a few years and return with newly acquired skill, with a set of carpenter's tools it may be, with a smoothing-iron or a sewing machine, to resume work on the family farm and earn a little "on the side."

593 We heard that a new house was being built by a certain
342 Kalbi (not the Levy; one of another clan) and were invited to go down—some hundreds of feet—and see it in its half-finished state. "It must cost a lot to build a new house," we said. "How did you come to have money enough to spare?" "Well, you see, I have two sons away working—thank God." And, in fact, except in the few cases where the Hunza man goes over-far afield to Bombay or the Panjab, and needs his own earnings to support a down-country family, the Hunza son remits home every spare anna, knowing well that it will be spent on the home he himself will presently enjoy and share. When he comes back on leave he brings his mother an aluminium cooking-pot or basin to jostle the stone *balosh* and wooden bowl, or an iron bucket which incongruously companions the local gourd when his sisters go to draw the drinking water.

342 In theory there are any number of sizes and patterns of house which you can build in Hunza: the cow-pattern, the ant-pattern, and half a dozen more, but in actual fact there are

exactly two—the old Hunza pattern and the new so-called 342
Wakhi pattern. Most of the Áltít and Báltít houses are, for obvious reasons, of the older type—that designed no doubt by the three original Greeks!—most of the Aliábád houses are of the second, for Aliábád is a new place. Water was only coaxed on to it three or four generations ago; before which it was just barren mountain side with a light sprinkling of thorn jungle.

Having decided on the pattern and proportions of a new house, every peasant family is capable of tracing the foundations and rearing the walls and roof; neighbours will lend a hand, at this as at any other job, asking no fee but a meal when they are working and some return of help another day. In olden days the family, wielding the invaluable adze (when this succeeded the earlier ibex-horn), was competent to rough-hew its doors and cupboards, its posts and rafters. But in more recent years the "standard of living" has risen, and this shows distinctly in indoor architecture. If he can at all afford it, the house-builder will now call in a carpenter-neighbour to put finishing touches of superior excellence. The rough doors of the byres are still picturesquely home-made of adze-hewn poplar slices, threaded on two wooden cross rods and revolving on a spiked wooden post which turns in two rough sockets, but the house doors and cupboards are sawn and panelled, planed and hinged and fitted, to the increased comfort of the inhabitants—and the sorrow of the antiquarian. When we had reached Kalbi's house a cheery carpenter was hard at work sitting on the floor with shavings and sawdust round him, fashioning the elaborate, quadruple frame that forms the smoke-hole. We stayed a while and David wrote up notes about the various woods preferred, and dimensions of the various parts, and took photographs of the interior.

A little later one Mírbán offered to let us inspect his newly finished house before the family moved in. We rode a mile or so along the Báltít road, then turned up a steep, twisting, boulder-strewn lane till a new-fangled wooden door gave entrance to a short of irregular compound with three or four houses in it. The new one looked exactly like the others, for

342 after a day or two the stone-and-mud walls have dried to the same appearance of timeless indestructibility as those of fifty or one hundred years ago. We passed first, as always, through a small byre, not yet inhabited by its cow; then at right angles through a dark, narrow passage 5 or 6 feet long, and then through the low hall-door into the house itself. Your main object in building a house at all is to be as warm and free from draughts as possible during the "Great Cold," and no one in his senses would let his hall-door open straight on to the wind-swept mountain side. Hence the byre ante-room, which not only defeats the direct outside air, but contributes something of animal warmth to the human warmth within.

291 When we emerged into the living-room (the *atrium*, as it
281 were), beautifully bright with light from the smoke-hole, we
352 were standing in a shallow trough below the floor level where the newcomer kicks off his muddy boots in winter. Most people at all well-to-do wear soft home-made boots up to their knees in winter-time. But skins are precious and, however cold the weather, they take their boots *off* to save them when they come to an extra rough bit of ground. This entrance place has in it the "musicians' bench," under which are stored the family basin and similar utensils and on which is piled a store of firewood.

342 The floor of the room is a small square of hard-beaten earth
[352] which in this gloriously dry climate remains admirably clean; and roughly in the centre of it is a shallow hole, edged with four stone kerbs, which is the hearth. Behind the hearth is a low bench sacred to the lady of the house, the presiding genius
343 of indoors. Beside it she sits to do or superintend the cooking
251 and behind her is a low wooden door opening into the store-
[414] room; the home-made wooden key of which hangs always on her person. The store-room runs the whole width and height of the house. It has need to be a roomy place, for here stand the skin sacks of grain, the heaped baskets of potatoes, apples, dried mulberries and apricots, the kernels, the wool, the stone wine-jars, the jars of apricot oil, the basket of savoury herbs—all the family's supplies for a twelvemonth, which it is her duty to guard and to apportion.

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

As you enter, you turn your eyes left and with your free 342
right hand salute the master of the house and wish him peace. [576]
You will find him seated on a spacious dais raised well above 352
the earthen floor and comfortably carpeted with goats' hair rugs of his own weaving, or it may be with felt carpets from Kashgar. The left-hand wall of the dark passage through which you have entered screens the end of this recessed dais, and is lined with a capacious cupboard reaching to the ceiling. At the head of the dais is a gigantic wooden bin, divided into chambers each with its separate lid, in which the various kinds of flour are stored as they are ground for use: barley, wheat, millets, and buckwheats. The dais itself is 6 or 7 feet wide and 10 or 12 feet long, the men's sitting place by day and the major sleeping bench by night. Each person has his own set of 352
bedding—padded quilts or homespun blankets—in which he 513
rolls himself like a sausage. The sleepers lie crosswise on the bench, which is wide enough to let them stretch full length, and when neatly packed for the night eight or ten can be comfortably accommodated. On the opposite side of the room is 352
the minor bench, equally roomy, but an inch or two less raised, which is the women's sitting place by day, and at night the sleeping bench for women and children. It also has a built-up cupboard at the foot, and at the head, corresponding to the large flour bin, the housewife's spacious "yeast-cupboard" in which she keeps her kneading trough and rolling-pin, her cooking-pots and what not. Its door is at her left hand as she sits on her cross-bench, and the top of it serves as general shelf, table, and "dresser." A more admirable scheme of 342
architecture, better suited to the family's needs, would be 352
difficult to devise. The complete absence of windows gives a sense of security and cosiness; the complete absence of senseless "furniture" gives a delightful feeling of space and peace and leisure, and makes you want to go home and make a bonfire of your tables and chairs. How much more we have lost than gained by learning to sit on chairs and losing the pliability of joint that makes squatting natural. How much unnecessary domestic slavery goes to our "housework." Every 356
morning the Hunza women take the family rugs and bedding

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920–4; 1934–5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

1. Street scene. Children carrying new-born lambs and kids in their arms to display them to us on our return from Yasin. (*See p.* 282)

PLATE XII

2. The Dāla, typical road-cum-waterchannel, flanked by field wall. (*See pp.* 83, 93)

[Facing P. 128]

356 and hang them in sun and air. Five minutes with a broom and the whole house is effectively cleaned!

576 The hospitality and goodwill of these people is beyond belief. We had never met or heard of the proud owner of this new house, yet he had spread his benches with rugs and carpets for us, had raised some glass bottles (incredibly precious things these) and filled them with flowers to do us honour. So we sat in comfort and asked innumerable questions, supplementing all we had learned from Kalbi's house and proudly showing off how much we knew. Qudrat Ullah and I worked the measuring tape and sang out various dimensions which David entered on the rough plan he had sketched. And as we worked we chatted about all sorts of things, and found our host most interesting, as indeed all people are who are close in touch with real life—the bore is a pernicious product of 'civilization. Before we went away they brought two huge dishes of peaches and lovely grapes and bunches of flowers for us to take home. We said all the nice things we could think of and wished the family happiness and long life in the new house and plenty of children to fill it, though to judge by the dozens of merry little faces crowding in the background and peering round the entrance, there was no shortage of these in
858 the neighbourhood. The Hunza children (as I have said more than once) are delightful: bright-eyed and eager, yet perfectly mannered. They never interrupt, they never bother you, they disappear like magic if bidden to go, but they love to see and
000 hear all that is going on. While the men were purposefully, gravely talking, I would keep one half my mind at leisure, smile and nod across at the womenfolk, wordlessly implying: "Yes, we know what men are, don't we, you and I?" I would wag a finger in greeting to one or another of the small boys and girls, and then find another catching my eye and demanding an equal attention; I would tickle an adjacent toddler, who responded with a judiciously muffled squeal, and the whole group of households were our friends.

When finally we said good-bye, we could not insult our host by offering money in return for his kindness and the fruit. So next day I plundered my store-room and took out a small

000 boulder of rock-salt, filled two empty cigarette tins (very valuable these) with sugar, and then wondered how to get them surely conveyed to our friends of yesterday. For sugar and salt are indescribably precious, and an ordinary messenger might be tempted. I consulted Dádo. He fell on them with delight: "Oh, do let me take them. Mírbán is a clansman of mine, and a relation by marriage." That settled it, for you could trust Dádo with untold gold—or salt. An hour or two later he was back with radiant face and messages of thanks and blessing.

159 Our next experience with a house was when we found that our dear old neighbour, Ustád Nadíro, was planning one for the marriage of his son. The Ustád (master-craftsman) is a wonderful old man. He spent some years in Gilgit in his youth working in the "barrack-cháp" (= workshop) of the divisional engineer, and came back with a fine set of saws, planes, and chisels, so that he is one of the most famous of the carpenters and is frequently employed by the Mir to embellish his quarters in Báltít. He is, in fact, Carpenter to the King by royal letters patent. But he has not scorned to perfect himself also in the local crafts; he is a famous weaver and bootmaker as well. His wife, a sporting old lady of about my own age, with a game leg and toothless gums, indefatigable energy, a priceless sense of humour and an unfailing smile, is his worthy consort. We made friends with this delightful couple, who lived quite near on the water-channel above us, very early in our stay, and none of our neighbours were so thoughtful as they to call us to their house when anything interesting was going on. They had tragically lost their two elder sons, and the courage with which the two old folk carried on all the work which by now ought to have been shared by two sons and two daughters-in-law, awoke our constant admiration. One married daughter came over sometimes to lend a hand, but otherwise the pair at No. 8 had only Kamber, a lad of perhaps fourteen, and Hérul Nisa, a small girl of ten or so, to help them. With his varied crafts the Ustád must have accumulated some considerable wealth, and he had now betrothed his only surviving son to a girl a shade "above" them in rank,

159 belonging to a family in which Prince Ghazan Khán had been fostered, and who had thus acquired the extra land, etc., which is the recognized recompense for fostering royalty. We supposed that it was a desire to live up to this distinguished new connection (possibly it was a stipulation of the bride's people) that prompted his intention to set the young son, Kamber, up in a house of his own instead of bringing the new wife to share the parents' home.

342 Whatever lay behind this departure from custom, Nadíro sent his Hérul Nisa one day to tell me that he was setting out to "smite his poplars" if I would care to come. It was a *very* hot morning and I was deep in something else, but of course you'd never see anything if you weren't ready to take chances as they turn up. So I shouldered my camera and tripod, seized my long walking-stick (which is a great aid to climbing walls or leaping down them), on which I had made notches every foot to serve for measuring distances, and set off with Hérul Nisa. [423] "Where is father's poplar garden?" I asked. The Aliábád people have a bewildering way of possessing odd scraps of ground dotted about all over the place, just according as they have taken up one plot or another of the sometime royal land. "Oh, quite near," she said. Everything is "quite near" to these active people, who think less of a 500-foot climb than we think of running a hundred yards to the pillar-box at the corner. It was, in fact, a hot, vertical half-mile over the 342 roughest ground without even a track. Here on a rugged patch 313 of stony, steep-sloping ground, carefully walled in, I found the whole of No. 8 and several neighbours busily setting about the felling job. One man scrambled up and attached a rope near the top of the fated tree. Two or three laid hold of the rope and stood at some distance to pull in the right direction, while the old Ustád himself skilfully hacked a triangular bite out of the trunk near to the ground and then axed away. It was only a few minutes till the slender poplar crashed down. Then 314 Kamber and his friends hacked off the few remaining upper- 415 most branches—the lower ones had been cut long ago—and 313 the womenfolk and young people all clustered along the trunk to peel off the bark, taking care to get it off in strips as long

and wide as possible; for bark strips are useful for many 314
things. Some of the flakes were 3 or 4 feet long and 8 or 9 415
inches wide. They would be kept to make large drum-like con- 313
tainers for storage purposes. While the men proceeded to deal with the next tree, the women and young people filled shoulder baskets with chips and twigs and branches and carried them home to store. "Lots of firewood for a long time to come," smiled Bibi Anjir to me gleefully as she limped away as fast and as surefooted as a girl, despite the stiff leg.

I helped, of course, with gathering up the firewood and the 000
bark, but I was never allowed to shoulder a basket. I would have done it gladly enough many a time, but what with silly shoes (which always provoked my companions' sympathy: "It would be so much easier for you to walk safely barefoot, Mother"; I wondered, seeing that my incompetent, soft feet had been for half a century encased in foolish footgear!) and unpractised muscles a cross-country scramble unladen required all my attention. In any case, however, they would never hear of my carrying anything—"the Great must not do that," they said, and as we were enjoying so many privileges of "the Great," we had to pay the recognized penalties.

When the trees were all prostrate, I measured the effective 342
poles that remained and found they ran from 50 to 60 feet: 137
the original trees must have stood 60 or 70 feet high. The Ustád had put the saplings in himself when he walled and planted the "garden" twenty years or so before. Good timber like this is a sound investment. Sixteen good poplars go to the making of a house; up to twenty may be needed if they are smaller. If people are definitely quitting an old house for a new they will dismantle the former for the sake of rafters and cupboards, and you will occasionally see the shell of an old house standing derelict. But the cases of house-building which we actually came across were the hiving-off of son or brother and required new wood. A man who has no trees of his own to cut must, of course, buy them from some neighbour, and this, with the carpentry, will be the major expense.

The Ustád had already levelled the ground for the new house 342
beside his own, and soon the trenches were dug for the foun-

342 dations, and the walls erected, every stone for which old Nadíro totted down the mountain side on his own back.

531 We often said to each other: "These Hunza people are no artists; that's one reason perhaps why they are so sensible and so like ourselves." But when we looked at the millions and myriads of stones that held their fields, each one in its place, and all fitted as neatly as a jigsaw puzzle, when we examined the lovely curves and tapering points of their five-pronged winnowing forks and the lashings of gut or sinew that bound them, we agreed that they were artists after all—in their own medium.

531 For many months we saw Nadíro spending every spare
342 moment on the site, squaring and planing and trimming the posts and rafters, door-frames and cupboards that will be the pride of his posterity. He was lavishing great care on capitals, and ornamenting them and the lintels with fancy carvings. Except in the house of a special carpenter, carving is not indulged in in Hunza (a great contrast in this respect to Chitral, or even Yasin, where the Chitral tradition has penetrated). The few carved doors and windows that you see in the old forts and mosques at Áltít and Báltít probably date back to
[346] the Balti craftsmen who built them. There is a little old mosque in Aliábád attractively carved, but no one could tell us for certain whether some foreign craftsman had done the work or local men. The ordinary peasant house, at any rate, has none—Hunza peasant architecture is essentially "functional."

Chapter 18

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

SUMMER is a breathless time in the Hunza fields. No sooner 243
does the ripening grain show a fine "fox-brown" than a line 516
of five or six men and women attack it in unison. They do 592
not "reap" in our sense of the word. They squat in that inimitably convenient way that the East has preserved for working—no backs bent with stooping, no knees worn out with kneeling—and grasp a full handful of the ripe stalks and pull up roots and all; first right, then left; clap the two together to shake off the all-too-valuable earth; lay the bundle behind them; shuffle on a pace and repeat. The fields are small and in an incredibly short space of time a golden field is prostrate and the ground carpeted with neatly aligned rows of swathes. It is beautiful to see a party at work: father and mother, daughters, sons, and wives; they space themselves and keep their line as exactly as soldiers on parade, yet each works individually, each at his own pace and in his own way—without haste and without pause. They possess rude iron sickles, but 412
when these are used at all they are not used to *cut*, but merely to pull against, if the crop is more than usually deep-rooted.

When the *shandiming* (cut crops) have lain a little and been 243
turned over once or twice they are tied into sheaves and 482
gathered into piles, some as big as a man can carry, others smaller to suit a boy—according to the "man-power" available. A double goat's hair rope is slipped round the waist of the pile and ingeniously knotted so as to leave two shoulder loops. The man or boy flings himself down backwards on to it, slips his arms through the loops and hitches the rope fast. Then some kindly bystander gives a touch to the load from behind,

243 and by a gymnastic miracle the bearer staggers to his feet,
482 almost invisible under his tossing burden, and sets off at a trot up a steep flight of rough stones, or a boulder track, or a rude wooden ladder laid against a high field wall, to the thresh-
243 ing-floor. Beside this, a stack is built by other workers as the loads come in. A core of several upright sheaves forms the centre; layers of other sheaves are laid symmetrically round these, heads to centre, roots out, till the stack is 5 or 6 feet high. The priceless grain is thus beyond the greed of passing goats, and if rain threatens a carpet flung on top suffices to keep the whole erection dry. The moment the *shandiming* are off the ground the children drive their tiny flocks, one minute cow, a couple of sheep and goats, on to the empty field, and the hungry beasts greedily snatch at every green blade of grass or weed they chance to sight. There is cruelly little. In the early days the crop is diligently and systematically weeded, and even after the grain has reached some height the field is invaded every few days by the women and children in the hopes that some further weeds may be detected and carried off for fodder. The two stages of weeding are quite distinct. I was much laughed at one day, when the second stage had set in, for asking a party of crouching women whether they were "weeding." "Oh, no," they said, "weeding time is long since over; we are just fetching some green stuff for the cow." Both weedings are done so thoroughly that the expectant beasts who invade the new-reaped field have quickly cleared the few remaining stalks.

857 When the fields are temporarily empty a great feeling of freedom pervades the land. The boys rejoice in the rare luxury of flat open spaces for foot polo, tip-cat, races, rounders, and a dozen other games; the weavers seize the chance to lay out their warp and the girls romp and play ball—"the fields are free" is joyfully remarked on every side. DL and I rejoiced no less in being able to walk side by side on the flat—an experience foregone these many months—and take short-cuts from one farmstead to another without the usual boulder-jumping scramble.

But the freedom of the fields is short-lived.

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

While one party is busy on the threshing floor, the empty 243
field is watered, ploughed, and sown again, and before the barley and wheat are well in store the bare fields are green again with the second crops, which seem to understand that they must grow at the double or be doomed.

There are two major kinds of millet grown: the one (called *bay*) has graceful feathery heads not unlike rice, but that the grain is smaller; the other (*cha*) has a tight-packed ear, also with tiny grains like what we call "canary seed." There are many varieties of each. When we arrived in mid-July the barley had all been reaped, and we just saw the wheat come in, but we were happily in time to see the second crops sprout, ripen, and fall. There are also two kinds of buckwheat sown. The sweet buckwheat is a lovely plant with fine dark leaves (something the shape of lilac leaves) and a glorious head of pink feathery blossom; the bitter is a smaller plant with lighter yellower leaves and a minute, unimpressive yellow flower. Neither of the buckwheats is really *liked* as food, and 243
the bitter is definitely *dis*liked, but *they are food*, and a skilful 262
housewife contrives to mix her flour so as to eke out the wheat and barley with a proportion of the buckwheats that is not too unappetizing and not inflict more "bitter buckwheat scones" on her family than she can help. The only reason that the bitter buckwheat is grown at all is that it can better stand the onset of winter, and, if the first crop is delayed, or if winter sets in untimely soon, it is a safer thing to gamble on.

When the terraced fields of Hunza are full again, with 243
waving *bay* and stately *cha* and seas of pink blossom send their delicate perfume drifting over the mountain side; when the trim field walls are vertical rock-gardens with wild thyme and the like crowding their crevices; when the fruit trees are still in full leaf, each variety of apricot turning a different shade of gold and red and flame; and bunches of green and red grapes are ripening under the pergolas of vines, while over all the barren mountain sides glare down and the snow peaks tower into a sky of burning blue—there are no words to tell the country's loveliness.

By the beginning of October the proud millets are laid low.

243 They are treated differently from the two first crops. You do not throw the whole stalks with roots and ear on to the threshing-floor. You tie a bundle up with one of its own stalks, then cut the ears off and thresh them by themselves, stacking the straw separately. I would scramble up when the millet was being beheaded, sit down with the workers, take out my penknife and ask leave to help. It was the greatest fun. Of course I could not work nearly as fast as others, but in itself the work is light and it makes opportunity for easy conversation. When I first turned up at one or other of several threshing floors—there were a dozen or so within comparatively easy reach—there would be only a couple of women who always made me enthusiastically welcome, but in a few minutes the mad Englishwomen (as I presume I must have appeared) was spotted from afar and quite a crowd soon gathered round; most would come and join in; a few would just politely stare. I always found it far harder to talk when there were a lot. The youngsters all crowded in behind me, and the elder ones constituted an informal advisory committee, for "Mother" was curiously thick-headed and not always sure whether an odd-looking ear was diseased and ought to be thrown away or was merely a little unripe but quite good. I consulted them in doubtful cases till I got to know; then I found that the young monkeys were beginning to think it a joke to pull my leg by misadvising. Fortunately I had learnt the difference before this bright idea struck them, and so I could turn the tables—"a beautiful farmer you'll make if you don't know a bad ear when you see it," said I; "I'm sorry for your poor wife, but perhaps you'll never get one!" and the joker slunk back a pace amid the titters of his friends. At first all my offers to "help" were met by considerate remonstrances—"You'll spoil your hands; it would be a pity." But I laughed and said "They'll wash!" I have always loathed to see a woman with milk-white hands, massaged and creamed and manicured and obviously useless, and have taken a—probably perverse—pride in my own square, ugly, little-cared-for, useful paws. In what odd ways one's snobbishness will out! But I must confess that even the mildest field work tears your skin most uncommonly.

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

When the threshing floor is heaped with ears, some people 243
turn cows on to trample them; some people prefer to beat the heap with sticks. It depends, I expect, how many cows you have without borrowing, or how many stout arms to wield the flail. It is rather fun to see a family beating, even the children hammering away with tiny poles. The Hunzukuts are kind to 593
their kiddies and fond of them, but have happily no time to 857
spoil them, and as the children have always something new and 861
interesting to do they are very rarely troublesome. If they are, some grown-up will give them a mild smack on the head (the little cap prevents its hurting much) and all is well again. If a child is sick they carry it out with them to the fields (no one can be spared to stay at home to mind it) and chuck a cloth over it to keep the flies off, and let it lie there in peace till it feels better. The youngsters work just as long as they feel interested, then fade away and play for a bit, and join another group and work a while again. There seems to be no attempt to force them or even overtly to encourage them. Their own instinct is to copy the grown-ups or next-older brother. Yet the sense of responsibility wakes early; a five- or six-year-old is often in charge of the two-year-old toddler, rejoices in steadying him as he tries to walk or in mounting him on the shoulders to cross a water-channel or climb a wall. We used sometimes to feel a little anxious about the baby's fate, but its mother never did. I have never heard a Hunza mother shout "Don't do that, darling," or "Take care, you'll drop the baby," or "Don't go so near the edge, you'll fall." Hunza consists of "edges"—the house-roof, the field, the reservoir, the cliff—and no doubt Nature in the course of centuries has weeded out the stocks that lose their balance. Our occasional solicitude was the cause of much merriment; we could not always suppress a "Take care, you'll slip," and this became a standing joke amongst our smaller friends. If all other conversation failed a jesting cry from someone of "Take care, Mother, you'll fall" would set the ball rolling again. Jolly little 000
scamps they are, and pleasant companions for a walk. I counted seven in front and three behind me one day, all between five and seven, with two or three babies mounted on the others'

000 backs. They all thought it rather a thrill to come along and see me safe home and hang about for a salaam to David before they dashed off to some fresh amusement.

487 As soon as DL was better I began exploring further afield. At first I used to be a little shy of just barging down any rocky track that seemed to end up in someone's back yard. But these tracks are all public ways, and just when you think you have reached a cul-de-sac and are about to plunge into a house, the path gives a sudden twist and leads you on.

576 No matter how far I strayed from home and my well-known families, the people came up to their garden walls or out on to their flat roofs—crowds of them sometimes—to shout a welcome and good wishes, and to ask where I was going to and what I was doing. This is the recognized Hunza greeting, not a fatuous, unanswered "How do you do?" countered by another. The answer is : "I'm going to fetch firewood from the orchard," or "I'm getting some green stuff for the cow," or "I've been taking the beasts to water," or "I'm off to get some grain ground at the mill," or "I've been spending the day with mother's people." No one "goes for a walk" to get exercise after a futile day of sitting still. So I was driven to reply that I had come "to see the country." "And a good idea, too," they would respond politely; "and do you like it?" Then I could truthfully say how beautiful it was, and how much I admired their walls, and what lovely air and water and fruit they have, but that most of all I liked the friendly people. Then they grinned with pleasure. When I sometimes risked a short cut and found myself at the top of a huge wall with no visible means of getting further, a kindly man or boy would leave his work to come and point out the almost invisible flight of projecting stones or pull down a side wall to let me out into a tiny lane, and always he would offer his hand to help me. I duly thanked him and perhaps added apologetically: "We haven't walls like yours in our country, and I'm not very good at climbing them." "No, and of course you've got shoes on," he would say sympathetically, "and you're not young."

133 Twice I found my way down to the very edge of the river bank. The river itself, grey and rock-tossed it looked, dashing

capriciously from side to side between its beaches, was 500 or 133
600 feet sheer below, and the great crumbly earthen cliffs on each side were most ominous-looking precipices. There are no paths down them except where a side gorge comes in at intervals. At the spot where I struck the bank there had been a 133
great fall of cliff not long before which had completely carried 312
away a new aqueduct they were—rather too hopefully—trying to engineer across the face of it. If the aqueduct had been successful it would have coaxed some water from the Hasanábád glacier on to a jutting promontory, potentially fertile, but at the moment as bare as the palm of your hand. Six men went over and two of them were killed. Risks like this are all in the day's work in Hunza. People were still prospecting for a more hopeful alignment, but my amateur eyes could see no earthly possibility of getting anything to cling to the friable face of those terrifying cliffs. Meantime I stood well back from the edge! It was pathetic to see gardens and trees within two inches of the treacherous brink and to realize that the farmer on whose land I stood had lost a fertile field or two and half his orchard. I noted that I must go back some day when the light was right and see whether (without committing suicide) I could get a photograph right down the gorge with Raka, of course, rearing herself up in the background. When [132]
the light was good it was still very hot in the sun (88° in the shade on an October afternoon), and rocky scrambles over shadeless boulders with a climb of some hundreds of feet to get home were not exactly restful, and I'm not so young!

One autumn morning when I was on the prowl I found a 243
man just about to turn on a small team of cows to thresh a pile of millet heads. He and his children were busy with this in the centre of the floor, while a neighbour and *his* family were beheading another variety at one side. Two or even three neighbours seem amicably to share one threshing floor so as not to waste valuable ground. So I squatted down as usual with my penknife and joined the beheading family and watched the threshing. Only three cows were in the team this time—the millet-heads make a very small heap in comparison with the

2: Lorimer T-3 (1922-4; 1924-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

243 wheat—the usual "Ha! Ha! Ha!" encouraging them and the usual dung-dish unostentatiously circulating behind. It was an interesting, very typical scene, and not a hundred yards below
000 our house. I sent a message up to David (there is always a small candidate to act proudly as messenger) to tell him that he might care to bring his camera. In a few minutes he was picking his way cautiously down the breakneck track while a great cheer of welcome rang from the little crowd. They had all been genuinely concerned about his illness, and were delighted to see that he was better and able to come down and watch things himself. It was his first visit to one of the field working parties. He sat on a low wall in a tiny speck of shade, made friendly chat all round, and was a great social success.

601 While I pottered each morning in the fields, enjoying myself
124 among the people, he was usually hard at work indoors with Qudrat Ullah, taking notes of how the irrigation is managed and the system on which the water is distributed by clans and families, and working out genealogical trees. This latter is a weary affair but most useful, for it gives you insight into all their marriage alliances, how many children each family has, how many boys and how many girls, who is allowed to marry whom, and what the relationship terms are, both in the vocative between the various members of a family group, and in the third person when others are talking of them—a highly com-
601 plicated but most instructive subject. An elder brother will address the younger by one method, while the younger will use a more respectful term towards the elder; all the younger boys of a family will use to their *eldest* sister the same respectful form of address as to their eldest brother, though to the uninitiated it would seem to imply that she was a male. A man addresses his wife's father and mother in precisely the same terms and with the same respect as his own. A child's "uncle" is a mother's brother only; the father's brother is "Little Father" or "Big Father" according as the speaker's own father (about whom there is no ambiguity) is older or younger than the uncle concerned. The children of brothers who all share the one home speak of each other as brother and sister, unless there is need to be more explicit, in which case they will

elaborate the statement: "She is my sister, at least: the 601
daughter of my Little Father."

David sadly bemoaned the hideous "waste" of nine weeks 126
spent in illness and convalescence; but in fact he managed to put in a lot of most valuable spade work. Even in the periods of weakness between the fever attacks he got a good deal done—including the Introduction to his first volume of the Burushaski—and during his convalescence he worked steadily and increasingly long hours every day, though he was not able to move freely about the countryside. Qudrat Ullah proved extremely intelligent. David suggested a subject he would like to go into—the rotation of crops; the clans; marriage or funeral rites, etc., etc.—and Qudrat Ullah went home to ponder and collect fuller information than he himself could give offhand, from his entire family, including the elders. Then he wrote out the facts in Burushaski (using still the inadequate and unsatisfactory Arabic script) and came a day or two later to read his "essay." This David took down verbatim—thus getting at least all the relevant technical vocabulary, asked further details, and suggested further lines of enquiry, drawing by this means on a far larger range of informants than he could hope to get into touch with single-handed. As soon as he was able to get about he was able to discuss matters on the spot with a background of knowledge that made it easier for him to understand the less sophisticated speakers, and from their talk and his own observation to check and supplement the
information Qudrat Ullah had supplied. This method worked 115
admirably. Nor was Qudrat Ullah his only sedentary informant: the levies and others took their turn in the study.

It proved immensely valuable to have the carefully dictated 000
manuscripts from Qudrat Ullah, with supplementary notes and comments. As soon as these had been worked through, I took them one by one and typed them out in triplicate, so that even if all our manuscript notebooks were to perish by fire or flood or avalanche—which heaven forfend!—we should still have *some* written record to supplement our memory. The two spare copies were posted home to the Bank in separate batches at longish intervals for safe custody till our return. In some ways

000 the typing seemed waste of time that ought preferably to be spent out among the people themselves, but there is a limit to the amount of "field work" you can usefully put into one day, and it was invaluable for me to have to work carefully through the information David had assembled in the study while I was more frivolously employed outside.

243 I seem to have wandered from the harvest! There is not much more to mention. When the sweet buckwheat was ripe and the gay, sweet-smelling flowers succeeded in due course by small black seeds, when the plants are "covered with black flies" as they picturesquely put it, they are gathered to the threshing floor and beaten with sticks till the seeds fall off and the straw can be stooked to dry. The less romantic bitter buckwheat follows suit, and last of all the potatoes are dug just as at [177] home. The potato crop is much valued, and due credit is given to the British who introduced it: "We can't imagine how we used to manage without potatoes," they say.

After this the fields were bare again—for good. It almost brought tears to my eyes to see the jolly little threshing-floors, where I had spent so many happy hours, flooded with the rest of the fields and ploughed up for the winter. About half the fields round us were left fallow till the spring, the other half were hastily resown with winter wheat, whose early shoots were the first green to greet our eyes next year.

Chapter 19

HARVEST THANKSGIVING

THERE are a couple of minor items of the autumn harvest I 312
have omitted to mention. In Aliabád, the widest and most 233
gently sloping bay of the Hunza mountain side, there is for one short stretch of perhaps a mile a patch of ground above the level of possible fields before the steep cliff face begins. Through and above this run the third and fourth of our horizontal watercourses, offshoots from the Berber Channel that waters the higher levels of Báltit and derives also from the great glacier of the Ulter Ber, but takes off much higher up than the Dála. Sufficient water can occasionally be spared from these two channels (which in the main are needed to irrigate high-lying "gardens" of trees) to flood these rocky slopes, which then bring forth that rarest of Hunza products, natural grass. These *toqs*, as they are called, are divided into strips by loose stone walls and used as grazing grounds by whoever leases them. Two or even four families often combine to share 857
a *toq*, and on your walks you will find children of various sizes 526
in charge of a few animals; a small girl may be sitting gravely alone practising embroidery stitches on a strip of calico, a boy may be twisting the string of horse-gut for his catapult bow, a group may be romping together or playing a game like rounders with a home-spun cap for ball, or "horses" where half the players are mounted on the others' backs and the pairs charge each other to a fall, and any rider thrown becomes in turn a horse. When these livelier games begin to pall, a couple 524
will withdraw to the edge of the little channel and scratch a draught-board on a level patch of ground and play with pebbles white and grey as men. The board is formed of triangles whose

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

857

PLATE XIII:
Young Friends

1. Nimo and sister with the baby.
(*See p.* 144)

3. Zulfi.

2. Dádo with Akil Shah aged two.
(*See p.* 87)

4. Khano with baby sister Gulib.

[Facing P. 144]

(See p. 144)

524 apexes (apices? no, no!) are the "squares" and any man can move and take in any direction. It requires quite as much skill and provides quite as much fun as draughts played in our way. There are half a dozen other games of the sort, roughly variants of "marbles," all played with pebbles and governed by complicated rules which we only partially mastered.

857 We used to watch Nimo, of No. 7, a jolly, bright-eyed mite of eight or nine, pass our window every morning about half-past six, sturdily carrying an empty shoulder basket as she herded her two or three small cows off to the *toq*; sometimes she was taking charge of a small brother or sister as well. Just before nightfall, after a whole summer day on the mountain side, she would return, driving her animals and stooping
237 slightly under her load. One evening in the very early days I
857 stopped her to ask *whose* Nimo she was (their names duplicate
241 each other like our Joans, Anns, and Dorises), and "What have you got in your basket there?" With courteous surprise at being asked a question to which there could be only one answer: "Why, to-day's cow-dung." Sure enough I soon discovered that every little cowherd conscientiously gathers every scrap of the cow's daily output and brings it home to the manure store in the barn—there are no untidy outdoor middens to spoil the landscape or defile the air.

Another day we met Khano of No. 3, one of our first boyfriends, breathlessly chivvying a cow uphill to a spot where he had safely dumped his baby sister Guláb, in charge of his basket. "Hullo, did she run away from you?" "She did, the villain, but I've got her back, and look, Mother, I've lost nothing," he said, as he proudly displayed the contents of his looped-up cloak. He threw his treasure into the basket and resumed his attentions to Guláb, while the cow resigned herself to orthodox grazing. He was playing with the little girl, patiently coaxing her to totter a step or two and flop into his waiting arms, and throwing up little stones for her to catch.

857 The tenderness of the bigger children to the babies is a
[593] beautiful thing to watch. I never saw boy or girl out of temper with a baby brother, sister, or cousin, or resentful of having one in charge. When the bigger ones are busy in some momen-

857 tarily empty field, playing team games of tipcat or chucking stones at a mark—they have dozens of admirable games, with rules strictly adhered to—the small ones sit about and look on or amuse themselves dabbling in water if there is any or making mud-pies. A group of youngsters were playing round me one day when a tiny girl unaccountably took fright and set up a terrified howl. A big boy stooped to comfort her: "There, there, don't cry, don't be afraid," he said soothingly, and wrapped his cloak round her to shut out whatever was the disturbing sight (I rather think it was I), and patted her reassuringly. "That will be your little sister?" said I. "No, no," was the answer, "I don't know really whose kid it is."

246 As autumn approaches and no further growth can be hoped
241 from the grass, these mountain meadows are painstakingly reaped, *cut* this time, with the blunt iron sickles—for the roots must be left for next year—and the tiny bunches of grass tied up. There will be a few longer, tougher stalks in each double handful, and these are doubled back over the shorter ones and the bundle tied twice, once at the base where it is fattest, and once near the top where the bent heads are caught. These bundles are then laid out in the sun—a benevolent accessory to harvest that never faileth—and gathered in to form part of the winter fodder. Then follows an incredible sight: every inch of the mountain side is painstakingly swept by the Nímos and Shamúlis, whose besoms are minute thorn bushes. Every pellet of sheep or goat, every half inch of stubbly grass above the root is garnered into the tiny shoulder baskets and added to the manure. When you have seen one strip of ground thus treated you might think the job was done; not a bit of it. A few days later Nímo and Shamúli are at it again and yet again, till not one speck of animal or vegetable matter remains. You can imagine that there is no need when walking round Hunza to "pick your steps" as in an English meadow.

233 Every individual leaf, from garden or orchard, from watercourse or steep hill-garden, is similarly swept up and stored; these dry leaves are the staple winter food for the stalled beasts —no wonder the milk lacks cream-content and the sheep is bare of fat! No wonder that I shudder now to see our autumn

223 bonfires recklessly consuming grass-cuttings and leaves that would be worth gold in Nimo's home.

511 Burushaski is an amazingly rich language, but it has evolved no word for "litter-lout." Go where you will in lane or courtyard, over field or bare hillside, you will not see an eggshell or a fleck of wool or a nutshell lying about. Hunza must be, bar none, the cleanest and the tidiest spot on earth. If a child is lucky enough to be given a few apricot stones he will crack them on a rock, eat the kernels with gusto, and gather up the shells for mother's fire. Only in a couple of the narrow lanes of the deserted fort did we stumble on a cast-away rag or two. When a homespun cloak has served father for three years' hard work, it will descend to a son, or be handed on to an orphan relation; when it is torn and tattered past repair it is carefully plucked to pieces, washed, beaten, and re-spun to make a girl's cloak, for her work is less strenuous than the boy's, and the re-spun cloak is stout enough for her and quite as warm.

771 Whatever the theoretical tenets of the Maulai (Ismaili) dissenters may be—and of these Professor Ivanow can best speak—the simple Hunzukuts has evolved for himself quite the most practical and admirable modification of Islam that 562 I have ever seen or heard of. He does not veil his womenfolk nor banish them to separate quarters, but treats them as equal partners in field and home. His standard of morals is so high that when a young husband goes abroad, he trusts his young wife to the care of his father and brothers without misgiving. 582 We heard no case of such a trust being abused. He retains his 515 own custom of exogamic marriage between the clans and the normal first-cousin marriage of Islam (though recognized as religiously allowable and occasionally practised by the upper families) savours to the ordinary peasant of incest, and is in fact avoided, though not in principle taboo; he also, as we have noted, preserves his own fastidious and wholesome ideas about sanitation, and keeps his running water scrupulously 793 pure. No archbishops or bishops (whom he would term *pirs*), and no professional priests or *mullas* reside in his territories, for which no doubt he has to thank some tacit concordat between his wise ruler and His Highness the Aga Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis.

spiritual head of the Ismailis. A few of the peasant farmers have learned to read—as some have learned to carpenter—and they have copied out such essential passages of their sacred Persian books as enable them to preside with due solemnity at a name-giving, a burial, or a betrothal. The Mir appoints a sufficient number of these modestly literate men to be khalifas, and lend a dignity to such ceremonies. When you need their services you send for one—as we send for the plumber when our pipes have burst. He performs his duty, shares with honour in the ensuing family feasting, accepts some small gift in kind according to the family's resources, and goes his way to resume his normal work in his own fields.

We knew Afiato of No. 6, for three months or more, as an obliging neighbour and father of a large batch of our child friends; we admired his skill in ploughing and threshing, and the hard work he had put into levelling an intractable patch of hill within a stone's throw of our house and converting it into a vegetable garden before we realized that he was a khalifa or lay-priest. There was nothing in dress or manner to distinguish him from his fellows; he offered no unsought advice and censored no one's morals but his own. If Hunza is, as I believe, the tidiest corner of God's earth, it is also the least priest-ridden, and the absence of fanaticism and superstition is as remarkable and refreshing as the absence of litter. There is an atmosphere of mental independence that makes the air of Hunza spiritually bracing.

What the pre-Islamic cults of Hunza were—and traces of them are slight though DL may have some conjectures to offer about them later—the Hunzukuts of to-day are extraordinarily enlightened.[1] Their folk-lore (very probably borrowed) may tell of apparitions and miracles, but they look for no marvels in their life of everyday, they see no ghosts and fear no Evil Eye. They indulge in no gymnastic prayers, they keep no Fast of Ramazan, they travel on no Hajj. I saw only one man turn Mecca-wards to pray, and that was our Kashmiri

[1] In astounding contrast to their magic- and witch-ridden Shin neighbours in Gilgit (V. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1929, *The Supernatural in the Folklore of the Gilgit Region*).

771 sweeper; I heard only one muezzin sound the Call to Prayer—
788 and saw no one pay heed to it. He was chanting from a cliff in the Mir's garden, and the Mir gathers round him craftsmen of
778 every sort. There are a few shrines in the country reputed
796 holy—including two burial places of Moses within a few
788 hundred yards of each other on one mountain side—where a few rags on sticks flutter unconvincingly in the wind; and one, the shrine of Baba Ghundi in Chupursan, some seven days' march above Báltít, is the object of an occasional pilgrimage. On Tuesdays and Fridays there are said to be services in the House of Assembly, which has supplanted the older Shiah mosque, but I never observed one of our servants or neighbours absent himself from work to go to them.

771 Yet the people are by no means without faith. It is difficult
181 to know exactly what even church-going Christians of our own
775 country effectively believe—it is impossible to be sure what one effectively believes oneself—so I can offer only a tentative guess as to the average person's simple credo. The Hunzukuts hold, I think, a comforting, unquestioning faith in a good and kindly God, whose ways they cannot profess to understand. They meet bereavement with a murmur that "there is no remedy against the will of God"; they bury their loved ones with genuine sorrow, but without anxiety. They feel that "it is well with the child," and vaguely trust that some day, somewhere, somehow, they will meet again. They assume as axiomatic that God asks of them diligence and truth, fair-dealing and goodwill. They are hard-working and thrifty, tolerant to others; kind and affectionate in the home, gentle to children and the aged; generous beyond their means to the orphan; truthful and just; and they go about their daily work in the happy confidence that God is well pleased. If they din no perfunctory prayers into His ears, there are occasions when they heartily and humbly pray, as will presently be seen.

771 The Hunzukuts is no mystic, no poet, no artist. This life
181 claims his full attention if he is to live at all; philosophic speculation about "fixed fate, freewill, fore-knowledge absolute" does not line his brow or disturb his rest, nor does he "keep in duty through the toilsome day, because of praise

or blame that comes at night." I may be misinterpreting his 771
attitude of mind. These are not subjects you can thresh out as 181
easily as the wheat, and neither his vocabulary nor mine would have sufficed to tackle them. But this I can vouch for, that every face you see looks restfully content, breaks readily into a happy smile; that there are in Hunza no nervous gestures and no haunted eyes, and in normal life no irritable words. There is little amiss with a faith which spells happiness and high-principled living without debasing fear of Hell or over-conscious hope of Heaven.

When the final crops of every kind are safely in, the first 651
duty of the paterfamilias is to take stock of the year's yield. 262
So much is set aside for seed-grain, and not the direst shortage 792
will tempt him to violate the sanctity of this; so much is set aside for rent (if he is a tenant) or for the tax due on any craft he pursues—the miller pays a very small tax on his mill, the weaver on his loom-pit, the khalifa on his learning; and all pay (alas!) a sum as "Peter's pence" to their spiritual head, the Agha Khan. Next he calculates the "emergency reserve" that may be needed for hospitality or charity during the coming year; this also is scrupulously put aside unground. On the rest he and his family must live till next harvest, under the careful rationing of the senior housewife, the importance of whose rôle I have already stressed.

The period of comparative—well-earned and welcome—rest 796
that ensues, is inaugurated by a solemn watch-night service of prayer and thanksgiving in the House of Assembly. One of our main difficulties in the early days was to get due notice of such events beforehand. Our people were slow to realize that the normal routine of their affairs could really interest us. The first news we had of this Harvest Thanksgiving Service was one late evening in October when Dádo casually said as he bade us good-night: "I'm off now to the all-night prayer." In [779]
answer to our questions he told us that the Assembly Hall and the women's annex would be packed with the entire population, and that the khalifas in rotation would keep up all night a reading of the sacred Persian books and of the Qur'an. "And shall you be able to understand all that they read?" "Oh no,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1922-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 of course not; but we shall hear the names of God and the Imams, and we shall pray."

Further, it appeared that while the non-stop worship went on inside the Hall, a great communal feast would be prepared outside to be enjoyed at daybreak. We sent Dádo off with our good wishes; when he was gone I raided his pantry, assembled materials for early morning tea, and set the alarm-clock. Up we hopped before dawn and made our way, rather sleepy and unwashed, down to the open space "At the Gate" of the old fort, to see whether we could without offence look on at the morning feast. As we drew near I wondered whether it was altogether wise. If you think of the fanaticism of Pathans or Arabs towards Unbelievers . . . we were still new to the country and had not sounded the depths of Hunza tolerance. Already, however, we had considerable trust in it, and this trust was not misplaced. As we were seen coming round the corner, two headmen of the clans came out to greet us, and a chorus of spontaneous, evidently gratified greeting went up from the crowd. Every inch of the open space was packed with boys and men, while women and girls crowded in the background and round every corner, but the most of them had already hurried home to get their houses ready.

796 In the centre on a large carpet was a pile of cooked beasts
262 presented by the more well-to-do—two oxen, fifteen sheep, and goats. Round this six men were crouching with a log in front of each, disjointing limbs and chopping off chunks of meat and bone with an adze. Beside the carpet were ranged ten or a dozen immense iron cauldrons, quite 3 feet 6 inches across and 2 feet deep or more. Each of these was full to the very brim of a rich porridge that looked like soft dripping. There were two kinds: one called *sherbet* (but not remotely like the sherbet of Persia) was made of flour and butter well cooked and stirred; the other, of unground wheat similarly blent with butter, was called *harísa*. The humbler families according to their means had contributed these ingredients. Some of the great cooking-pots were still standing on
796 large iron tripods over the ashes of the night's fire. Most of the audience had wooden basins in their hands, a few had

aluminium ones, a few had even iron buckets. Several people 796
were busy serving, while the headmen acted as masters of the
ceremonies. Every household—there are two hundred all told [592]
in Aliábád—was entitled to carry off one chunk of meat and
one ladleful each of *sherbet* and *harisa* for each mouth at home.

As always in this happy place, the company was full of jokes, laughter, and good temper. There was no hustling, no jostling, no attempt by anyone to secure more than his due share. Any person who had lent one of the big cauldrons (they are costly vessels brought up from down country) was granted an extra "mouthful" as hire, and anyone who had lent a penknife for cutting up was given an extra chunk of meat impaled on it. The people who had lent the tripods were not entitled to anything extra; this apparent injustice was thus explained: "You are fond of your cooking-cauldron; you are fond of your penknife; but no one could possibly be fond of a tripod."

We moved about for some time among the crowd, greeting 000
old acquaintances and making new ones, then the people insisted that we must sit down, cleared one of the stone sofas, dashed into the Assembly Hall and brought out a carpet and spread it for us, while one of the headmen came and sat by explaining the procedure of the festival and naming the various utensils. As the light grew David took a few photographs, but by that time most of the carcases had been hacked to bits and a large number of households, having got their share, had gone home to celebrate a sort of family Christmas dinner with it. Nor for the first time, still less for the last, I regretted my lack of enterprise in sticking to my old familiar quarter-plate camera with its lens working only to F.6.3. David with his 3.5's could get photographs in much weaker light than I.

They insisted on pressing on us a "share" for each of our 431
servants. How can you assess, how hope to repay, the generosity of these hospitable people? Remember that hardly any house has more than *just enough* to eat for the year; yet they must share their feast with our relatively pampered retainers! We could only gratefully accept and as a poor return offer the headman some money for distribution as they thought best "to the orphans and the poor." Hunza has, of course, no charitable 000

746 Hunza has, of course, no charitable societies, but everyone is related distantly or immediately to other families, and no one, however poor or orphaned, is allowed to starve.

123 It was sad to think that when this harvest thanksgiving came round again next year we should no longer be in Hunza. If we had been we should, I am certain, have been allowed to attend the all-night prayer. But, so soon after our arrival, to have suggested this might have been bad policy or doubtful taste even if we had had sufficient notice to sound the feeling of headmen and khalifas. We were in every detail most scrupulously careful to give rise to no anxieties by prematurely taking liberties, even such as would be gladly accorded. The slightest breath of resentment or suspicion roused in even one household might have spoiled all our future relations with our neighbours or given trouble to the Mir. It was wiser to forgo an occasional experience, however interesting and unique, than to take risks.

Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 20

HUNZA BABIES

EARLY one October morning I saw Naját going off to the mill 846
with a little sheepskin bag on her shoulder. She looked even more radiant than usual as she stopped to talk. After the usual interchanges: "Have you heard our news? Bibi Gímo's baby boy has been born!" This was splendid. No. 1 already pos- [302]
sessed four girls, one married, Shukuru almost marriageable and already growing her hair as a preliminary, and our two special friends, Shamúli and Bano, and two boys, Derwish and Man Ali Shah; a third son was the wanted thing. Mother and baby were doing well, and the household was overjoyed.

I took pains to ascertain how soon I might call to offer my congratulations—the eighth day was best. So I set Zaidu to bake biscuits with butter and treacle, which he was sure would be acceptable, and I borrowed Qudrat Ullah for half an hour to coach me in the correct phraseology. When the great day came I threaded my rough way down the lane and turned in at the hospitable door in the wall, through which I had several times entered their garden but never yet their house. Here I was greeted by the four youngest, all looking as pleased as if they had by themselves conjured the baby into being. They led me through the byre, past the cow, who also had a festive air on her bed of nice clean straw, and into the living-room. It was beautifully bright with sunshine pouring through the smokehole, and as neat and clean as a new pin. The chief sleeping bench had a red felt carpet on it and had been left empty for me. On the other dais, also gaily carpeted, Bibi Gímo sat in state beside the cradle. She was looking so fresh and young and tidy that I hardly knew her. Hitherto I had seen

846 her a little dusty as she worked in the fields and somewhat tired perhaps as her time drew on. To-day she had on a gay, green cap, new cotton dress and trousers of bright chintz, and her hair was beautifully brushed and braided. I gave her hearty greetings before accepting the seat of honour left for me. On the cross-bench sat old grandfather, looking very handsome with his grey beard neatly trimmed, and by him stood the proud father and uncle (all ousted by my presence from their normal sitting bench), while an old woman—Bibi Gímo's mother—crouched with the proprietary air of the *accoucheuse* on the ground beside the mother's dais. Derwish and Man Ali Shah joined the menfolk, the two small girls sat round the fireplace with Naját and Shukuru, while the married sister and other women formed a group behind. Dádo came in with me as a matter of course and sat at my feet, though neither a neighbour nor a relative. (I had fully expected him to fade out at the threshold.)

846 I took a long breath, summoned all my wits and—a little
576 self-consciously because of so large an audience—started carefully firing off one by one the fine phrases with which Qudrat Ullah had furnished me: "God grant your son long life and happiness! May he live to be a comfort to you! May he take your beasts in summer to the mountain pastures! May he bring you gifts when he comes home from his travels! May he give you a good daughter-in-law and children to brighten your age! May he prove a worthy son of worthy parents!" and so forth till I stopped from sheer exhaustion. These admirable sentiments, couched in the best traditional form, sounded so absurdly different from my usual, halting, extempore speech that they provoked giggles of delight from Naját and her companions. They fully realized that these pretty speeches must have been carefully prepared, and they told me afterwards that everyone had been much gratified at my having taken the trouble to learn the right things to say. But, after all, you may as well say the right things as the wrong, and even amid the simplicities of Hunza, ceremonial phrases are valued on ceremonial occasions.

846 Then, having recovered breath, I consulted Dádo in a whis-

per as to whether it would be in order to ask to see the baby, 846
who was entirely hidden by a doubled homespun blanket flung over the ridge-pole of his cradle. "Quite the right thing." I made my request and approached the cradle. They turned back the cloth for me, and there was a very handsome baby (for seven days old) in beautifully clean kit, very carefully [302] bolstered in, his eyes painted black all round, which gave his face a comical look of maturest wisdom. This black stuff is supposed to be "cooling" to the eyes, and is quite probably a disinfectant of some kind. I said what a fine baby he was, and how big for his age, and so forth, then wished them all the best of luck, repeated my congratulations, and turned to come away. But they called me back to receive two heaped dishes of grapes and apples. I protested as well as I could against robbing their store-room, especially at such a moment when hordes of hungry guests would come well-wishing—it is for similar occasions that the "emergency reserve" is set apart—but I protested in vain. Derwish and Man Ali Shah followed us up the hill bearing the fruit, and I could only resort to the contemptible expedient of small silver.

Anyone who knows life in the East will realize how in- 562
credible it seems that a woman should sit in state to receive visitors of both sexes while her menfolk look proudly on. No wonder the Hunza women have this happy fearlessness, this dignified gait, these courtly manners.

I was typing text next morning when I heard piping voices 000
in the verandah outside my window: "Mother, Mother, Mother, *dear*, do come at once; we are threshing buckwheat on our floor." I went out to find seven of my smallest friends, boys and girls from the Middle Channel above, led by Nímo, dancing with excitement and impatience: "Do come and take photographs! Father and mother say you are *please* to come." I wasn't very keen to go, for we were expecting some Swedish missionaries to lunch. They were passing through on their way to Kashgar—another month's march—and they might arrive at any moment. Still . . . I had asked all our neighbours to send for me when anything was going on, and if I showed reluctance such summonses might stop. I scrambled up to the

600 floor of No. 7 and found a large group of neighbours flailing buckwheat. They made me welcome, and I tried some photographs. "It was very kind of you to send Nímo for me," said I. "But we never sent for you." Then I repeated what the children had said, and we all laughed heartily—the young monkeys had fetched me out on their own account! A few moments later riders were seen approaching. I sped down to welcome them.

Nice folk they proved. The Swedes used to reach Kashgar through Russia in twenty-four days, but Russian travel being uncertain they had been forced to make the long detour via India and our Gilgit road—a matter of at least three months.

593 Some weeks after my last call on Bibi Gímo I was passing by her home again and was hailed by the children from the roof: "Do come in and see the baby!" I was always chary of too readily accepting such impulsive invitations. "Run down and ask mother if she would like to see me." In a moment Naját came out bearing an authorized welcome. It proved that I had come at a fortunate time, for Baby Faqér had just been lifted for a meal and was kicking and crowing in his mother's arms with wonderful vigour for so small an infant. She took
593 off the kerchief that bound his head—it was a large linen hand-
854 kerchief I had purloined from David's store for him, and I
751 gathered that its size and quality were prized—and ran her
291 hand lovingly through his fine crop of dark hair, keeping a watchful eye for possible inhabitants which she gladly failed to find. I was laughed at for admiring his head of hair so much. The kerchief had a funny little needlebook affair attached by bright-coloured threads which had a verse from the Qur'an stitched into it to serve as amulet. Most small children's caps are decorated with several of these gaily coloured, dangling charms, but I should guess that they are merely "the thing," and are not taken more seriously than a charm on a girl's bracelet at home or the mascot on her father's car. Grown-ups rarely display them, but Dádo used to sport a string of them underneath his waistcoat when we travelled.

593 I sat down for a chat while the ceremony proceeded, and I observed that baby-worship is as thorough in Hunza as amongst

ourselves. Naját and Shukuru and all the children were 593
gathered round, but the men were out at work and the house
was (relatively) empty. So while the mother fed the child I
learned all I could about orthodox baby management. Until 852
the baby cuts his first tooth his mother will not take him to 562
any house where there is another infant. Possibly it is felt that 574
with one tooth he will be armed for self-defence against his
contemporary; possibly the rival mothers might be tempted
into tactless comparisons. Up till this point, too, no male of
the house may handle him. An amusing little ceremony heralds
the cutting of this all-important tooth. Some elderly man—
usually the grandfather—"well skilled with children," takes
the baby in his arms and out into the open. After that his
father and brothers are free to play with him and carry him
about.

Until the child is two or thereabouts he lives the life of a 854
recluse, strapped into his cradle night and day except at meal-
times, or when taken out for an airing in grown-up arms.

When the moment came for replacing Faqér in his cradle, Naját and Shukuru bestirred themselves and fetched some dry, finely powdered earth which they gently warmed over the ashes of the fire. Bibo Gímo produced a large square of strong cloth, sweet and clean but dark with use, and spread it on the dais, lying the baby down on it with a tiny cushion under his head. Then plenty of the earth—it proved to be pounded sun-dried cow-dung, as clean and inoffensive to handle as the fibre in which we plant our bulbs—was packed round him above and below, and he was carefully parcelled up, arms, legs, and feet, into the stout cloth, bandaged into it with a long binder, and laid in the cradle. When he is "changed" the last lot of packing is thrown on to the fields for their enrichment—and that's that. Very cleanly and ingenious it all is and vastly preferable to the eternal washing of "nappies," which, indeed, would be a grim task with insufficiency of cloths, cold water, and no soap.

The bottom of the cradle was full of nice clean straw with a padded mattress on top, and by the time baby's cushion was adjusted and a red quilt laid up to his chin and well tucked in

854 round him, he looked extremely comfortable and well-protected. Next, a piece of wide cloth was threaded by its hem on a rod fastened along the side of the cradle, and passed several times over his tummy and under the wooden cot, being finally lashed to the ridge pole. If the cradle had then been knocked over or rolled down hill baby could neither fall out nor get bumped. Finally a thick blanket was thrown over like a tent, and he was safe from dust or smoke or flies—or fresh air. Mother gave a few gentle rocks and he settled into sleep.

854 The use of the cradle in Hunza is said to be relatively recent,
352 and the pattern of it, wherever it was introduced from, includes the prescription that it shall be made from a special sort of hard wood that grows wild on certain mountain spots and is supposed to possess magical properties. The ridge-pole forms a convenient carrying handle, and wherever you see a group of women working and chatting together, spinning in the shade or on the roof, beating out new-washed wool on a sandy patch beside a stream, pounding kernels, washing clothes, or busy on the threshing floor, you will usually see a cradle or two beside them. Truby King might disapprove of so much infant seclusion; but the flat roof offers a drop of 12 or 14 feet on to boulders, and even the living-room a gentle roll into the open
855 hearth, so that Hunza is no place for crawlers. By the time
593 baby is ripe for toddling, he is old enough to be entrusted to
857 the next-older children, who take him pick-a-back or on their shoulders, scaling walls and leaping streams with him as sure-footed as young goats, and as fearless. They carry him to some flat spot and guard him with the most scrupulous care and proudly watch over his first steps.

163 Babies in Hunza are spaced at intervals of three and four
866 years, so no mother is worn out with child-bearing or embarrassed in her daily work by ex-babies clinging to her skirts and jealous of the infant in her arms. Banu, for instance, was four, sturdy and ripe for independence, before Faqér came to claim the family's attention. Soon after his arrival we used to see her stalking about, proudly taking her first walks alone, and obviously savouring the new freedom from older supervision. One day she had passed twice or three times up and

down on the far side of our Dála. It had gently sloping banks 163
where it passed our door, and was both narrow and shallow, 866
having been divided a mile or so away to give Aliábád the "Middle Channel" that ran 30 or 40 feet above our level and watered the fields between. She looked long at it and pondered. She wanted to come over, but had always before leaped the little stream on Naját's or Derwish's back. Presently she made her decision and her first jump and fell spread-eagled into 18 inches or so of water. She gave a cry, wholly of vexation, not at all of fright, and scrambled safely out. Someone ran up laughing, took off her little shift and spread it for her in the sun to dry. She played about cheerfully on a sunny patch of sand till it was ready, and later we saw her jumping triumphantly to and fro, again and yet again, as if she could never jump enough. By the time Faqér emerges from his cradle she will be leaping the Dála with him astride her back.

Our very first girl friend, Kaníza of No. 3, has a younger 865
sister, Gúlo, a sporting little imp, who had just cut her second teeth. One day she had a difference of opinion with her family, and we met her striding away from home. "Where are you off to?" "I'm annoyed," she said. "I'm going to mother's folk in Báltít," and off she set on a solitary four-mile mountain walk and a climb of hundreds of feet to her grandparents' home. No one tried to call her back or reason with her. She was wisely left to work off her waywardness her own way. She must have tramped home again the same day, for on the morrow we saw her happily busy with her own people again. After that our usual greeting to her was: "Hullo, Gúlo, off to Báltít?" "Not to-day!" she would say with a mischievous twinkle in her eye. Thus the Hunza youngsters learn independence.

The only drawback—from my point of view—about the shel- 866
tered life of the Hunza infants, was that when they were out for a walk in someone's arms, they were distinctly world-shy and were apt to set up a howl if I approached too near. The [326]
three-year olds were seldom frightened—though you must remember that a pale-faced woman with horrible blue eyes ("cat's eyes" they call them amongst themselves), and an

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1. Bibi Anjir (left) and a neighbour.

2. Hérul Nisa with baby niece (the first grandchild).

PLATE XIV: Household of No. 8 (*See p.* 129)

3. Ustád Nadíro and Hérul Nisa.

[Facing P. 160]

866 outrageous hat, must be a terrifying sight when it advances on you for the first time—but I learned cautiously to admire the babies from afar, though the father or mother always wanted to show them off. Only little Faqér, initiated so young, was always unafraid, and would stretch out his little hands and gurgle at me and let me take him in my arms or tickle him.

123 Soni, of the next house to Bibi Gímo's (I had to call it
866 No. 1A, because in my first notes I had confused the two households) had a little girl Afrots—quite the ugliest and brightest atom of three years old in Hunza. She had cried the first day on seeing me but immediately made friends, and ever after if I were sighted would run up to me and put out an abnormally grubby little paw and say "How do you do?" in imitation English fashion. On general principles we resisted all temptation to teach the children English ways or words or tales. This was almost my one lapse from grace, but Afrots was by general consent a special case, and her old grandfather, Aliko, was extraordinarily proud when he was witness to our meetings.

123 In the very first days of romping with the children of No. 1
535 and 1A on the threshing floor I had—stupidly—thought it might
562 be fun to teach Shamúli, Bano, and Afrots to dance. So I stood
273 up and started on a Highland schottische, and endeavoured, with little success, to coax them to join in. I was puzzled by something a little frigid in the air and soon gave up the attempt. When I climbed home for breakfast Dádo gravely and kindly said: "Excuse me, Mother, but Hunza women do not dance. It is thought unseemly." I thanked him for the warning; I wasn't sure whether the fear was that I should corrupt the girls or merely make an unseemly exhibition of myself. Either danger was to be avoided, so that began and ended my dancing lessons. Later Qudrat Ullah explained that in the olden days, when the Hunzukuts distilled a powerful *araq* from their mulberries, men and women used to dance together in drunken orgies that had untoward consequences. The Mir had long since forbidden the spirit, which provoked quarrels as well as dances, and "mixed dancing" fell under the same ban. This was the only man-made restriction on woman's freedom that I encountered in Hunza, and it did not seem to worry anyone.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

HUNZA BABIES

846 A couple of months after Bibi Gímo's, Soni's baby son was born—the first grandson of No. 1A—and his arrival was the cause of great rejoicing. I had heard nothing of it till I commented one day to Aliko, whose handsome white beard had suddenly turned orange, on the fact that I had not lately seen Afrots. "She's been staying over with her mother's people in Haiderabad," he said, "but she's coming back to-day." When I next saw her she raced up to me breathless: "How do you do (in English), I've got a baby brother, I've got a baby brother, I've got a BABY BROTHER!" The opportunity of an eighth-day formal visit had passed, so I clambered over a boulder or two into their orchard-garden and called up the [364] blank, unresponsive-looking wall of the house. Soni was busy in the store-room, and put her head out of the one tiny wooden window—the only "window" of a Hunza house is a square, shuttered, ventilation hole in the store-room—inviting me to join her on the roof. I climbed the primitive ladder with caution—a camera and other impedimenta always made me even less agile than need have been—and there she was spinning away and occasionally giving a rock to the cradle beside her. I utilized as many suitable phrases as I could remember without rehearsal, and was rewarded with a peep at a fine little fellow of a fortnight whom any mother might have been 846 proud to own. Soni was gaily dressed, and had dotted her face 302 all over with unsightly brown spots which I learned were 752 supposed to be "good for the complexion" after childbirth. The custom used, it seems, to be universal, but it must be dying out, for I saw only a few young mothers so decorated. Anywhere else one might suppose it a charm against the Evil Eye, but the Burusho of Hunza are so free from any taint of this baleful superstition—so hard-lived where it has once had root—that I think there must be some other explanation. We later found that among the Burushaski speakers of Yasin, all the younger women lived under a permanent coating of similar brown cosmetic, washed off only for feast days, in the belief that it protected their skin against the cold winds of their harsher climate.

000 Afrots, joining devoutly in the admiration of her baby

baby

291 Afrots, joining devoutly in the admiration of her
358 brother, volunteered: "And now I put on my tunic right side out!" I looked up at Soni, mystified. She laughed and explained that the last-born of a family always wore its little shift inside out until the next baby came. She could not tell me *why*. It just was "done." If no further child is born, the youngest on reaching seven, is promoted to the right side of its clothes.

291 Up till six or seven the young children of both sexes wear no garment but the one cotton shift and cap (with a homespun cloak for the cold); after that they are outfitted with baggy trousers of but slightly different cut, the boys' held in at the ankle by a plain, straight band, the girls' by a more elaborate "cuff," something like our spats. There is no rigid rule about the kind of cotton cloth used—it depends, no doubt, primarily on what happens to be available when the family is able to buy—but the men and boys mainly affect plain striped shirtings and the women bright-patterned chintz. Since a whole "piece" will be bought at a time, if often happens that all the women and girls of one household will be dressed at the same time in the same stuff. You often see women in plain stripes, however, and more rarely some boy-Benjamin in an amazing chintz shirt.

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons
of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from
suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece,
no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows
supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the
man or woman who could not construct the one required
would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins
and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-
prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful
five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of
gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame
and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the
lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots.
When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at
any moment will shear another sheep while the women and
children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

326 son, and is accounted a rare treasure; but for the most part
177 local Béricho make such simple iron goods as are wanted: the
412 slightly convex baking-griddle, the tripod, the simple shears,
563 the sickle blade, the iron tip which shoes the wooden plough-share, the unpretentious iron razor, the rough tongs, the horse-shoe, the spatula for turning bread. The Béricho form the only "caste" in Hunza in anything like the Indian sense.

173 The story goes that long ago—two hundred years or so,
563 perhaps—some prince of Hunza rendered a service to the ruler of Baltistan, and was duly asked to name his recompense. He coveted neither gold nor horses, but begged for a few families of artisans. These were presented to him and allotted land in Hunza where they settled and multiplied, supplying the Burusho with blacksmiths for such rare iron as they could obtain, and with musicians to enliven their feasts and games of polo. These strangers in the midst are treated with courtesy and kindness, but remain "foreigners" and social inferiors. The Burusho will not intermarry with them. A threat to a troublesome daughter is said to be: "If you don't behave, I'll marry you to a Bérits"; but we never heard the threat employed,
[651] still less a case of its being carried out. Each Burusho household pays a small yearly tax to the Béricho community, and in return the blacksmiths tour the villages once or twice a year and make or mend whatever is required. You will see a little crowd gathered in the corner of someone's garden and in the centre the blacksmith crouching beside his simple forge—a few stones ingeniously built up to contain his charcoal fire, with a neat, hollow tube of soapstone below it, into which the bellows play; a stone anvil sunk in the ground; these accessories are provided on the spot and the blacksmith's outfit consists of his hammer and his skill. The bellows is a double one; two goat-skin bags are fitted with a nozzle at one end; at the other, two wooden lips that open as you raise your hand and meet tightly in your fist as you press down. They are worked with the right and left hand alternately, and the peasant whose job is in hand is expected to do the blowing.

565 The Béricho preserve their own customs, and though the
197 menfolk all talk Bitrushaski, Dumákī is the language of their

homes, and the women know no other. The existence of 563
this interesting language-island, within the language-island of 197
Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn.

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there 463
are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliábád there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master.

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above 286
us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo 487
of No. 7 and Ustád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin.

One day I had been sitting with one of Afiato's daughters- 531
in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking 192
the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

[192] embroidering, and I had filled several pages of my notebook
531 when her attention was diverted by the cow she was minding. It had plunged down a 6-foot wall and was enjoying itself in a
000 neighbour's ripening crop. "Excuse me," said Gohir Nimo, "having smitten the cow I shall come back." She did, and we resumed the lesson. I took the needle and ventured on a few stitches. "Oh, you can sew like us!" she exclaimed with surprise. There were so many everyday things I could not do just like them that her surprise was justified. Soon I noticed her growing restive: "I haven't yet had my morning bread; I
286 expect you had yours before you came out. Good-bye." As she left me, chivvying her cow homewards, I looked round for new occupation, and saw old grandfather of No. 7 climbing cautiously down a field wall with a shapeless bundle under his arm. I worked my way across country to the empty field he had made for, to see what was toward and found to my delight that he was getting his loom into order. Moth had played some havoc with his heddle threads and a finicky job he had to replace them. When this was done he called a son or two to help him to lay out the warp. They set up and steadied the loom with stones, then drove a peg into the ground so many cubits off. One of the assistants made fast one end and then paid out the wool from a fat ball of doubled thread, slung it round the peg, and brought it back to grandfather, who attached it with an ingenious knot that defied my analysis, and off went another loop round the distant peg. When these preliminaries were over, for which the flat space of the open field was necessary, the old man assembled his loom again and climbed up the wall to set it up in his pit and get to work. Hunza homespun is of a most beautiful thick quality, as unlike as possible to the loose, semi-transparent cloth that hand-weavers at home achieve, a stuff that would not withstand the hard wear of Hunza fields for an instant. Two hundred and forty warp threads go to the width of 9 or 10 inches of cloth.

The tiny pit is almost square—2 feet by 2 feet 9 inches—and just 2 feet deep; the sides of it are revetted inside with small stones on the model of the field walls and edged at the top with a wooden kerb, fitted with holes into which pegs can be in-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

serted as required. Outside, at the corners, stand four small stone piers, sometimes monoliths, sometimes just cairns of stones, and on these rest the two poles on which two pairs of heddles ride. Four treadles, threaded on a rod, are connected with the heddles by leather thongs. A stone shelf at the back of the pit accommodates the weaver, who hugs to his tummy the wooden bar on which the *pattoo* is rolled up as completed. There is no room in the cramped space of the twisting road to fling out the warp at length as had been done in the field. It is passed round a peg in the front of the pit and then carried in a loosely twisted rope to a second peg at the side within easy reach of the weaver's right hand, who can thus pay it out to himself as wanted.

As the weaver works, some of his family sit by and wind his bobbins, neat little hollow rods which revolve on the pin of his boat-like shuttle. There is an extraordinary fascination about the extreme simplicity and extreme efficiency of all the home-made gadgets of pegs and pins and thongs on which the working of the loom depends. Like lightning the old man works his feet and flings his shuttle to and fro, while with the heavy sliding comb he bangs each new cross thread into its place, as the thick cloth grows under his fingers in the characteristic herring-bone pattern. As the roll grows fatter, the bar is moved out to the next pair of pegs. Grandfather was delighted to hold forth about the details of his craft and explain the uses of his various contraptions, showing the ingenious loops in the vertical heddle-threads that lifted the warp threads in two's to produce the pattern. By his side stood a little rod fitted with a tiny hook. "What on earth is this for?" "Well, you see, sometimes the shuttle falls down into the pit. I have bored a hole in each side of it, and I can hook it up with this."

He would have welcomed photographs, but unfortunately his pitch was heavily and unevenly shaded by a tree in Afiato's garden opposite.

A few days later we were lucky enough to find Ustád Nadíro at work a few hundred yards farther along the road in full sunshine. Even then, in the narrow gangway it was difficult to get room to work a camera at a convenient distance. The

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

286 Ustád was wisely initiating two disciples into his art: one his son-in-law and one his next-door neighbour of No. 9. As he stood by, superintending and advising, he was busily twiddling a special spindle for doubling the single woollen thread ready for a new warp. Passers-by halted for a chat, children squatted
286 round watching and taking in all that was said. We learnt that
#65 nine yards of *pattoo* go to the making of a man's cloak and seven to a woman's, and that a skilled weaver can complete a nine-yard piece in two full days' work; a real master in a day and a half. If neighbours enlist his services they supply the wool and also the attendant men, women, or children to wind his bobbins. They may likely have a loom-pit near their house, even if none of them weave themselves; in that case he will go and weave in theirs, otherwise they bring their wool to his. His chief fee for weaving is three ample meals a day while he works, and a gift in kind (or cash if they have any) equal to about tenpence of our money.

286 The autumn is a favourite time for weaving; the harvest work is nearly over, and the weather is still warm enough for sitting out of doors. On our afternoon walks at this season we saw many other weavers dotted about not only in Aliábád, but in the neighbouring hamlets between us and Báltít, and we found looms and pits in all cases substantially identical. In only one house was there an innovator who had set up his loom on the roof, and was seated on a raised bench instead of a sunk one. Nadíro kindly promised that when his season's work was over he would bring his whole apparatus down, let us measure it in detail, and take a studio portrait of it. David devoted every Sunday forenoon to taking quarter-plate photographs in an improvised studio with a proper stand camera, thus obtaining exact records of the various vessels and implements that were most characteristic of the country.

One day Levy Kalbi called us out to see him preparing goats'-hair warp. This was a most entertaining performance. He had a large ball of single goats'-hair thread, ingeniously wound so that one end could be drawn out from the centre of the ball (many knitters at home are familiar with this device). He then took the two ends, one from the centre and one from the cir-

cumference, twisted them with his fingers till he had a small 286
nucleus of double thread. With a wooden peg he fastened this tiny ball so that it could not unroll, and started swinging it round his head, letting it touch the ground now and again to increase the spin. It travelled in wider and wider circles till the connecting thread became of unmanageable length and began to kink. Then he hauled it in and wound the beautifully twisted length of doubled thread on to the little ball and again pegged it down. Thus he continued till the original ball was exhausted.

Not long after, the Ustád's Hérul Nisa came to say that they were setting up a goats'-hair loom at their house if we would care to see it. We found that this time a large vertical frame standing on the roof of No. 8, lashed to the rafter of the balcony, and in course of being strung with just such a warp thread as Kalbi had shown us in the making. While Hunza sheep [233]
are uniformly white, three kinds of goat are kept: white, brown, and black. Black hair is used for the warp, while the bobbins are wound with white and brown. The bobbins in this case are long, needle-like rods the full width of the cloth, 2 feet or so, with the hair wound round notches in each end. There are only two heddles, thrown backwards and forwards by a forked peg like a boy's catapult. Goats'-hair weaving is a slower job and heavier than wool-weaving, but the Ustád is master of it, too, and was again initiating two younger men. The different coloured hair allows of pattern-weaving, and they enjoy devising new stripes and squares of brown and white. A very heavy comb is needed to beat down the intractable material, and in order to prevent the cloth being drawn too tight by the cross threads, two "bows" of flexible wood were spiked across it to keep it flat and taut. These are inserted as near as possible to the working edge and moved up 352
as work progresses. The goats'-hair strips are used as rugs, or 415
doubled and sewn together to form sacks and saddle-bags.

One day we were exploring the half-ruined village of the 346
old fort, threading the narrow switchback alleys between 345
deserted houses—so narrow that in places you could only edge along sideways—looking for points of vantage from which to

take photographs of the picturesque, abandoned Shiah mosque. It has been superseded by the New Assembly Hall in cut granite with pointed roof—an amazing achievement for local architects and masons, and one of which they are justly proud, but a dreadful eyesore in these surroundings and as uninspiring to an artistic eye as a Methodist chapel in a London suburb. Unfortunately it jostles the picturesque old mosque (whose entrance flight of steps is a delightful notched tree-trunk and whose flat roof bristles with a parapet of ibex horns), so that you can only see the older building squint-eye up or down a 3-foot lane. We pushed on and found ourselves emerging on a bluff covered with handsome graves. The Hunzukuts are too necessarily frugal to bury their dead on any ground that can be cultivated, so their graves usually stand on some barren hump that rises above the reach of irrigation water. Ordinary graves are just covered by flat slabs of concrete-like beaten earth, but more important folk have picturesque erections of varied shape to mark their last resting place. In theory all should no doubt be oriented in relation to Mecca, but in fact the graves face in whichever direction the site makes most convenient. We skirted round God's acre, re-entering the unappetizing labyrinth of desolate lanes, and presently came on a debris-strewn patch of ground whose houses had been dismantled (probably for their timber), and had fallen in. Here old Ferrájo had made a lathe-pit outside a rather handsome wooden door with a carved lintel. This had once led to his family's "town house," but now they lived out in Jamu, a suburb, as it were, of Aliábád. In its day, the warren of buildings to which he proudly pointed had boasted fifty-two "smokes." (A smoke represents a hearth-fire, and a hearth represents a household. In enquiring of a hamlet how many families it shelters, the correct phrase is: "How many smokes have you here?")

We begged Ferrájo to let us see him at work. He had, however, no wood in hand at the moment; chunks of root or cross-sections of willow trunks are the raw material of his bowls. But he let us inspect his pit—very similar in size and shape to a loom-pit—with the treadles and a leather belt passing three

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

times round a circular bar. The bar fits at one side into an iron socket, and at the other rests on the edge of the pit, held in place by one of the invaluable forked pegs that serve so many purposes in Hunza. The projecting end of the bar is furnished with three fierce iron spikes, which are driven into the lump of wood that is the future bowl. An ingenious wooden tripod stands beside the turner as he squats to work. It has one very long leg with deep notches, in one of which he rests his rude curved chisel to steady his hand. He had another pit at his country home in Jamu, and he promised he would let us know when he was working. We photographed him and his apparatus at the door of his ex-town house.

In due course we were invited to Jamu and welcomed with a broad grin that lit up his tanned and weather-beaten face. A large crowd was already gathered, some merely to watch, and some bringing lumps of wood and waiting their turn for his attention. He had a small bowl on the lathe, nearly finished. Its owner was seated in the pit, pedalling away for all he was worth, while Ferrájo gave a few final touches to his handiwork. The bowl was hollowed out as thin as fine cardboard, a few lines were added on the outside for ornament, and the bowl was gently levered off the three pegs on which it was impaled. Then with his adze—while we needlessly held our breath—Ferrájo boldly hacked off the rough base in which the pegs had held. A fraction of an inch miscalculated would have shattered the fragile thing. But eye and hand were as true as fearless, and in a moment he held it up for us to handle and admire. A rub with sand and a polish with oil would make it ready for use. While he had been at work an assistant or apprentice had been busy with an adze rough-hewing the next block into a solid hemisphere. It was then rudely but skilfully pounded on to the pegs with a big stone—Hunza has little need of hammers with so many stones of every size to hand—and we saw the new bowl carved out from first to last. When this was finished and we had taken as many photographs as we wished, the old man, with courteous hospitality, left his work to show us his house and fields and bring us out into the nearest lane—paved wholly with broken, wobbling boulders—that

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

322 would lead us home. A happy man he looked, though he told us that his back ached nowadays at work with lathe or plough, as it never used to do, and perhaps we had English medicines that would meet the case. We could only offer the sad tidings that we too, when we walked or rode or worked, were subject to fatigue and aches undreamt of in younger days, and that even in England the doctors knew no medicines to defeat on-coming age. This, oddly, seemed to comfort him a lot: "We're all ageing together then," he said, and we all three laughed a vain defiance at the years, "and we old ones have more skill and experience than the others, haven't we?"

462 Apart from their never-ending spinning the women have
241 many valuable crafts, though they are less spectacular than the
252 men's. They all bake a large variety of bread and scones from their blent flour—not only grains being pressed into the service, but pounded mulberries, walnuts, peas and beans, and semi-wild berries—and when *maltash* is available they make cakes and pastries of a dozen kinds. The vegetable patches are in their care, and amongst their many greens, their gourds, cucumbers and marrows, they tend a lot of plants whose seeds or leaves or flowers are valued as flavourings, and grow a little flax and mustard to supplement their apricot oil. In spring their plots are lit with the large blossoms of many-coloured poppies, whose seeds are not wasted on opium but scattered into the vegetable pot. They also grow small quantities of maize as a vegetable, but they do not consider it profitable as a major
249 crop. The kinder-hearted find a corner for tobacco for the
534 men's pipes, which circulate of an evening in the shade when
563 the day's work is done and someone tinkles a zither or tootles on a flute. These instruments are home-made like everything else, and are often very beautifully finished; we were neither of us qualified to judge of the music the players conjured up. To our unskilled ears it sounded amateurish, but eminently cheerful and pleasing. Serious music of drum and pipe and
262 kettledrum is the monopoly of the Béricho. When the women weed their crops they sort out the dandelion, stitchwort, and sorrel for their own brews before throwing the residue to
000 the cow. And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots,

And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots, and herbs from which they prepare simple medicines for their needs. Nowadays they are able to attend the Government dispensary in Aliábád, but its nostrums have not yet undermined their faith in their own home-made remedies. We very much wished that we had possessed some knowledge of medical botany and could have brought home records of their medicine; but like so many other branches of knowledge which we regretfully ignored, it would have been a specialist's job, and we had out hands full enough with our own work and all too little time at our disposal. 278 757

During the imprisonment of winter the women cut and stitch the winter cloaks, adorning each long seam with a double row of backstitching, which is not only seemly to the eye but serves to hold the raw edges in place. The stiff, shaped collar is decorated with varied designs, diamonds, triangles, and straight lines in the same backstitch. Happily few of them can yet afford to let Dirzi Nazir replace their time-honoured skill with the soulless, cotton stitchery of his sewing machine. We noted with grief that the beautifully hand-embroidered *chogas* with which the Mir presented us this time all had their seams Singer-sewn, and had thus lost (for us) much of their charm. 294 531 [177]

With prudent foresight the woman makes the *choga* six good inches too long for its destined wearer, and introduces a deep tuck above its lower edge. It will last at least three years and will shrink in successive washings. You can tell at a glance whether a man is wearing his best, or medium, or oldest *choga* by the depth—or absence—of the tuck. In former days embroidery was the monopoly of the few royal ladies who beguiled the tedium of their too-sheltered life by decorating *chogas* with bold designs in bright-coloured silks, or working raised patterns of gold and silver on velvet saddle-cloths, and above all in elaborating delicate designs in cross-stitch for the crown and border of their lovely little caps. Where we clumsily work cross-stitch with wool on canvas, they painstakingly cross-stitch the individual threads of calico with bright, gay silks. The patterns are infinitely varied—we possess dozens of specimens of this fine work, no two are alike—but

[The Burusho women -- Analyst]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

all appeared to us to suggest Persian inspiration. I heard one lady say with regret for a golden past: "What is the world coming to? Why nowadays the very peasant girls embroider silken caps for themselves!"

True enough; now that a little money filters into almost every home the women can get hold of coloured silk from India or Kashgar, and it was a common sight to see girls and women open a tiny home-made bag that hung on their tunic, and take out a strip or circle of calico, a needle, and a bunch of silk, and continue work on a dainty cap. The threads of the cloth were carefully counted and the design traced out in black thread. The silks they used were unspun, clinging masses that I found impossible to handle, and how they manipulated them so skilfully with fingers roughened, you would have thought, by field work, I could not divine. For about 1s. 6d. they can buy enough silk to cover one cap with minute embroidery, and they blend their colours, red, blue, green, orange, purple, yellow, and black, with unerring taste. We laid in a store of their favourite shades so that on occasion we could make an acceptable gift to a bride preparing her trousseau.

After a first experience of trifling gifts of balls and combs we had decided that it would be a crime to spoil the simple, spontaneous kindness of the children or their parents by indiscriminate giving. So we restrained a longing to distribute even sweets and pins, and only made an occasional present on very special occasions or for very definite services rendered. On the other hand, we made a note of such things as would be useful and acceptable, and gathered a hoard of them for our ultimate visits of farewell.

Amongst the women's crafts I have already mentioned the neat little "ashtrays" they conjure from the residual mush of apricot kernels after they have extracted the oil. Washing is amongst them a simple matter. Having no fat, they can make no soap, but there is a plant, called *híman*, which they grow amongst their vegetables, the seeds of which when pounded yield a delightful soapy lather. This is used for special washings only. Every-day cotton clothes are simply rinsed in cold water, flung on a flat stone and beaten with a wooden mallet. When

a *choga* is being washed, a man's greater strength is called into 296
play—nine yards of wet homespun is no joke. He dips it likewise into cold water, lays it on a stone, and tramples it with his full weight. There is, of course, no fuel to spare for washing 372
clothes or persons in hot water.

From our very first days in Hunza the mills had been a [133]
source of interest, and we constantly passed them and peeped 256
in as we traced out all the water-channels on our walks. When [312]
the water was in flow (no stream, not even the Dála, was continuously in action in any one stretch) the mills were the centre of social gatherings. The miller and his family would be inside superintending operations, while the women with their babies and their work quietly awaited their turn. They had brought small sacks or bags of grain to be ground and would squat in and round the doorway happily gossiping. Occasionally a man would come along, bent double under a huge sack of 80 lb. or so.

We struck a particularly interesting group one day, where 000
the water was plunging steeply down the hillside and turning three mills in succession, one below the other. David was photographing the busy crowd at the door, and I climbed up a little to join two old women busily spinning among the rocks above. "Father won't want to take pictures of us," they said, in a matter-of-fact tone quite free from bitterness, "we are old and wrinkled." As well as my halting speech permitted, I assured them that older people were our best friends, that we liked faces wrinkled like our own, and that if they would allow it, "Father" would much like their photographs. So I scrambled down the hill again to explain to DL where his next duty lay. He came and engaged the old dames in chat, but it was no easy matter to get a photograph for they were shy and self-conscious beyond the ordinary. The picture turned out at least recognizable, but when it came to delivering their copies we found that their houses were "quite near" of course, but down 500 or 600 feet of highly precipitous gorge, rather more of a rock-climbing feat than we were prepared to tackle in the course of an afternoon's walk. Enquiry revealed, however, that old Pfírúz's son was married to Ustád Nadíro's daughter, so

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1. Little girl barely five taking baby brother of two for a ride. Maḍat, the elder boy, watches the experiment with some anxiety. (*See p.* 137)

2. Fetching firewood in a shoulder basket. (*See p.* 131)

PLATE XV

857

3. Gúlo and friends working mud into "cakes like those Mother makes." A wish-fulfilment of Starvation Springtime. (*See p.* 290)

[Facing P. 176]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

we were able to leave the photo for her at No. 8. It was a constantly renewed pleasure to find how our photographs were welcomed and a constantly renewed surprise that these illiterate people, who had never seen a picture in their lives, were able at once to recognize and name the tiny reproductions of themselves. This was the one point in favour of my quarter-plate camera that it yielded larger prints than David's smaller ones. Only one woman in all our experience refused to take any interest in photographs, and that was, oddly enough, my special friend Bibi Gímo, of No. 1. "Take it away; I can't understand it," she would say to the others eagerly crowding round to see the latest of grandfather or baby Faqér. Quite possibly, unsuspected by herself, her eyesight was below par. But for the most part quite old people like the various grandfathers seemed as sharp-sighted as ever. On one occasion a man was studying a group of field-builders, the figures in which were very small, and he mis-identified himself: "Hullo, that's me all right, but *where* is my moustache?" He looked again more carefully, and found himself, moustache and all.

It was no negligible tax on our time to make spare prints for everyone, but we felt it was one small return we could make—without corrupting our friends—for the unstinted kindness we met on every hand.

We visited all the mills within range, studying them critically with future photographs in mind, for they were dark little hovels without smoke-holes, and lit only by the door and a small gap, representing one missing stone in the wall opposite, and we had to make elaborate calculations as to the aspect of doors and light-holes and sun and times of day to decide which offered the best hope of an interior photograph (we had unfortunately brought no flashlight apparatus with us).

When the water was not "on" we made an effort to master their complicatedly simple mechanism. The water is led from some height by a wooden shoot consisting of a hollowed-out log and falls on to the wings of a rude "wheel" below the floor. The central hub is a rough sphere or cylinder hacked out of a root or tree trunk in which the "wings," eight or ten of them, are obliquely set. The axis of this wheel passes up

256 through a central hole in the lower mill-stone and engages in an iron socket in the centre of the upper stone which it turns. The other end of the axis is shod with a pointed stone which revolves in a horizontal log. The lower mill-stone is firmly embedded in the floor of the mill, but an ingenious lever arrangement, which can be adjusted by wedges of convenient stones, enables you slightly to raise or lower the log below and thus to graduate the fineness of the flour. From side to side of the little hut runs a horizontal pole, whose ends are built into the walls, and from this the hopper is slung by two of the usual forked pegs. The hopper itself is most frequently a length of solid tree trunk shaped and hollowed out. Levy Kalbi's mill, in other respects highly suitable because better lit than most, was struck off our list of desirables because it had a horrible, carpentered hopper of planed planks—incongruously modern for our taste, though a source of natural pride to its owner. The narrow opening at the base of the hopper lets the grain trickle into a little sloping tray to which a wooden clapper is attached, ingeniously balanced by a thong so as to tap-tap on the revolving stone and gently shake the grain down to its fate. Another hollowed log acts as trough to receive the flour as it whirls out from between the stones. When the trough is full the flour is scooped up in double handfuls into its owner's bag. Beside the hopper lies a small wooden trowel of standard size, and the miller's fee for grinding the contents of an 80-lb. sack is one trowelful of flour. Another indispensable adjunct of the mill is a doubled piece of woolly sheepskin, which serves to sweep up any straying grain or flour.

Having calculated as best we might the most propitious lighting and a day when the Dála was not flowing we betook ourselves to our chosen Double Mill a mile or two away on the boundary between Aliábád and Dorkhan, where the Dála divides to give us our Middle Channel. There is a picturesque Mesopotamia here, with the mill-race and the mill-escape on one side and the divided stream on the other, and a fine grouping of trees above and below the Double Mill. We were armed with tripods and DL with his bigger camera, for at best ex-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

256 posures would have to run into several minutes. For an hour and a half we crawled about the interior of the amusing little mill—the roof was not high enough for us to stand upright—trying points of view and focuses to suit, and then propping our tripods steady with stones for each lengthy exposure. Our faithful escort was immensely amused by our clumsy antics, recking nothing of our aching legs and backs, and we could overhear them answering questions of this sort from the occasional passers-by: "What are you hanging about here for? The mill's not working. There's no water to-day!" "Of course not; we're waiting for Father and Mother." "Where are they?" "Inside here." "What on earth are they doing?" "Taking photographs." "What *of*?" "Oh, the hoppers and the mill-stones." Shouts of laughter! Our eccentricities were a never-failing delight to the populace, and our retainers loved acting as showmen. When at last we crawled out, half crippled with stooping and covered with dust and flour, we were greeted by a large crowd, friendly and mystified, to whom we had to explain how much better we liked their mills than our own at home. This of course pleased them, and they perhaps had visions of our attaining fame—perchance even riches—by erecting Hunza water-mills on the Isis or the Cam.

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 22

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

THE Burusho population of Hunza is divided into four major 614
clans, centred in Báltít, and several minor clans scattered over 621
other villages. Aliábád, being a "new settlement," contained 582
amongst its two hundred houses representatives of almost all the clans. Marriage outside the race is rare, but (as I have already said) exogamous marriage between the clans is the rule.

On the whole the Burusho cling to their settlements along 361
the eight or nine-mile stretch of river below Áltít (two or 563
three miles up-river of Báltít), at a height of 6,000 to 8,000 feet above sea-level. They are not eager to colonize higher-lying districts, for they say their womenfolk refuse to live where the apricot will not ripen. If this is so the women show [263]
sound sense, for the dried apricot is one of their staple foods and almost their only source of sugar. The favourite winter breakfast is a hot porridge of these *batéring*. It thus happens that the higher river-stretches above Báltít are mainly settled (if at all) by Wakhi immigrants from Afghanistan. These are a quiet, peaceable folk, markedly less intelligent than the Burusho, loyal subjects of the Mir, well content with their good pasturages and crops of barley and not missing the wheat and the apricot to which they are unaccustomed. A few Burusho colonies are scattered among the Wakhi ones, but, though friendly relations exist, the two learn little of each other's language; and intermarriage, though it would not be taboo, is very rare.

Similarly a couple of the lower Hunza villages are in- 563
habited by Shins, of the same stock as the Gilgit people, but 582
again intermarriage is the exception. We had fully expected to

find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some interesting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly symbolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

have attributed it to the north-facing mountains which though richer in grass and timber are sorely stinted of the sun. 157

Whatever the difference is—racial, temperamental, religious, political, or climatic—it is too deep-seated to favour intermarriage. Only the royal houses, sprung from a common ancester—Alexander or another—frequently exchange princesses across the water. 582 643

Within Hunza the clans are all reckoned of equal status, but the clan of the Diramiting enjoys a considerable measure of prestige, and at communal ceremonies a Diramiting sets the pace or leads the dance. The story of their origin is interesting. There was once a clan of Tapkients who grew so bold and arrogant that their offences cried to heaven. They were reported to put bread to ignoble uses, they were known to address their mothers by the term *zizi*, which is the exclusive privilege of royal or saiyyid families, and they were haughty and stiff-necked towards their Mir. In vain the eldest royal son implored his father to "do something about it," and when the Mir refused to take suitable measures, the young prince impatiently laid his own schemes. A great gathering of all the clans was to be held on a nameless space of open desert where Aliábád now stands, and the Tapkients attended in full force. The prince plied them with strong *'araq*, and when they had well drunk fell upon them with his retainers and slew every man, boy, and male infant. He did not know that one of the Tapkients had allowed his wife to return to her own people for the birth of her first child. The posthumous infant was called Diram, and from him are sprung the Diramiting of to-day, who carry themselves without arrogance and do not call their mothers *zizi*. 614 173

Child marriages do not take place in Hunza, but a girl will rarely pass sixteen or a boy eighteen unwed. The parents seek out a house among some other clan—frequently a house with which marriage relationships already exist—where there is a potential mate of suitable age and standing, and negotiations proceed between the families. In theory the young folk are not consulted; but in practice, where children have romped and played and worked together there is no doubt that per- 584

584 sonal preferences carry weight. The business preliminaries include a small payment from the bridegroom's people in recognition of the fact that the bride's family have had the expense of rearing her and are about to lose her services, an interchange of gifts between the houses, and the provision
585 by the bride's father of an outfit for his daughter. In average peasant families a girl will bring to her new home three sets of every-day cotton clothes and caps, a winter cloak, a set of bedding, and for feast days an embroidered cap or two and a coloured scarf; possibly in addition an aluminium pot or iron bucket; details will vary in every individual case.

428 The laws of inheritance in Hunza show the same equitable
585 common sense as distinguishes the Burusho's other customs. A woman cannot inherit land, since only a man can tackle irrigation work, field making, and so forth. But if a girl is still unmarried when her father dies, it is her brothers' duty to see her adequately outfitted, dowried, and settled. Among the gifts that may accompany a girl are apricot trees; her father or brothers may settle on her the right to the fruit of one or more of the family trees. Our friends of No. 3, who were very straitened and possessed only mulberry trees, had fortunately the right to an apricot tree in Zénába's home garden. We saw Kaníza and her sisters coming home one day, all carrying shoulder-baskets piled high with golden apricots: "We've been to Báltít to gather the fruit of mother's tree," they told us, "and this isn't nearly all. There's shaking-down for two or three days more." When the father dies the family property is fairly divided between the sons, who either work it in common or if they prefer divide it up. Questions then arise as to how many poplars equal an apricot tree, or how many willow trees a wheat field, but the distribution rarely gives rise to quarrels, for the people are just-minded and at need will call in neighbours to adjudicate over knotty points.

428 One of their customs is particularly sane: if a father of
587 grown sons elects to marry again, he is free to do so, but in that case he must share the property as if he were himself a son; and a son by the second wife will only inherit a grandson's
587 share. If a woman is widowed young, she will in the natural

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any un- 587
weaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *rúli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. 585
She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to 614
be "a daughter of the Burong," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gímo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of 607
fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will 431
ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltít, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltít when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza 561
is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific inno- 888
vations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burnho AV7

142
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1. "The Merry Widow" just about to be remarried; "And I'm in great demand, I can tell you," she said.

2. Washing a homespun cloak.

(See p. 175)

3. Brother and sister.

4. The "Cheshire Cat" of No. 4 with small sister.

PLATE XVI

[Facing P. 184]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

561 Hurmat was telling me about his home affairs one day: "Our
888 father and mother are fortunately still with us; they can't *do* very much nowadays, of course; but they are still able to give us orders, thank God." And he meant the "thank God." In the same way the uncanny skill of the old *rúli gus* in husbanding the year's supplies is fully appreciated, and her skill with wool and spindle still puts her daughters-in-law to shame.

888 Old Aliko of No. 1A was past all serious work, though he
159 kept up a plucky effort to preserve his youth by the constant dyeing of his fine white beard; but he was a renowned sower and could spread the seed more advantageously on the prepared
243 field than younger men. There is no reckless wastage of precious seed-grain in Hunza; it is never flung where thorns could spring up and choke it, nor by the wayside to be trodden by the feet of men. And the neighbours would call Aliko in to sow for them. A real centenarian is a family treasure. Old Aliko's father was still living at the old homestead in Dorkhan with the other brothers (Aliko had hived off to Aliábád), and we made a special journey by request to see him and take his photograph. He was seated on a roof commanding a magnificent view of a steep hillside on which the farmstead straggled downhill in several storeys, as Hunza houses often do where the ground is steep. He had put on his best silk robe to receive us, and as we climbed the ladder and popped up over the roof brink, he apologized that he could not rise to greet us. Mentally he was as bright as ever and not even slightly deaf, and while David was busy with the portraiture I sat beside him and heard how he had lived through the reigns of four Mirs and four Maharajahs of Kashmir (the Mir, it should not be forgotten, had already reigned forty-five years); how proud he was that his son, Sangi Khan, was one of the headmen of Dorkhan, and how he had three sons and twelve grandsons still living at home (not to mention daughters and their children elsewhere). Before we reached the tale of his great-grandchildren, the photography and our visit were drawing to a close. He counted himself at least a hundred, and was certainly well on in the nineties, but still seemed full of the joy of life.

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

888 One day when we were visiting a wine-press, far below the old fort and its graveyards, I made friends with a dear little boy of five who seemed exceptionally active and intelligent, even in a country where all children are peculiarly alive and bright. A beautiful old woman joined us, her handsome face framed by two becoming silver plaits. "Tawálut must be your grandson," I ventured. "'Deed then and he's not," she retorted, "he's my great-grandson. His father was my favourite grandson, and when the poor wife died at this baby's birth, I took and suckled him myself"—a feat with which not many of our great-grandmothers could compete. But of course if you marry at sixteen, you may with luck be a great-grandmother by fifty. Still, it was a good effort, and the boy was an excellent witness to her vitality.

[162] 147 The Burusho population is not large, ten thousand or so at most, and the ramification of well-remembered pedigrees—the humblest can record his genealogy for an astounding number of generations back—brings it about that all families seem ultimately related to one another. It may be this racial purity, judiciously combined with avoidance of close in-breeding, that has produced a stock so markedly fit and healthy. Travelling up through Astor, Gilgit, and Nagir to Hunza, the strong contrast in physical fitness and general intelligence is apparent to the most casual observer; and anyone who knows the races of the Agency will engage a Hunza servant in preference to any other.

585 Marriages normally take place in winter when the people have leisure to give thought to new alliances. The solemn betrothal, presided over by a khalifa, is the effective part of the ceremony. It is usually performed in the bride's house in a semi-private gathering attended only by the members of the families concerned. We were most anxious to be allowed to see one, but by no means hopeful of securing the privilege, to which of course we had not the slightest claim. The servants promised to negotiate matters if possible, and at last Dádo brought us word one day that a girl-relation of Sagi's was about to be betrothed and her people were willing to invite us, but said: "We are poor folk, and our house is humble and we feel

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

585 ashamed." We sent Sagi off with all the reassuring messages we could devise and a couple of bottles of our hoarded kerosene to help to light the feasting. The house lay near our own, down one steep lane and across some now open fields. We were met some yards outside the door and escorted in. The kind people had vacated one entire dais for us, which drove some of the younger folk on to the roof, and we could see bright eyes peeping in through the smoke-hole. The whole house was clean and swept and gay with rugs and carpets; the fire was bright, and over it capacious cooking-pots were [302] simmering. On the major dais, opposite us, four people only were in evidence: the khalifa, whose badge of office was a huge pair of spectacles; the bridegroom in a bright silk overdress, a new *chogo*, and cap of spotless white homespun (his eyes were blackened and a row of tiny dots of black becomingly distributed on his cheek bones); the "best man" and an equivalent representative of the bride, probably a maternal uncle. Every available inch of other space was gradually filled with members of the two families who, as they arrived at the door, were ceremonially sprinkled on cap and left shoulder with flour. The bride's father was standing near the store-room door, the mother modestly just inside it. Probably but for our space-consuming presence—which filled us with some compunction—they would have been seated on the second dais.

After we had taken our places and had exchanged greetings and congratulations all round, the simple but impressive ceremony began. The khalifa, with his open manuscript, sat at the outer edge of the dais, the bridegroom squatting beside him on his left, while the two best men stood gravely facing them. A railing, hung with a silk curtain, screened the further section of the dais, where the bride was temporarily concealed, supported by her brothers and maternal uncles. The service was in Persian, with a strong admixture of Arabic, and was read—or repeated from memory—clearly and reverently in a pleasant sing-song recitative, which rose to a beautiful intoning when rehearsing the names of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Forgiver of Sins.

When the religious exercise was over, the khalifa reverted

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

to the Burushaski of everyday, and enquired of the father whether the milk-money had been duly agreed on. "Yes," he replied, "500 rupees (about £35)." This left us fairly gasping till the colloquy went on: "And are you willing to remit 20 rupees in the name of Allah?" "Assuredly." "And 20 rupees in the name of the Prophet, on whom be peace?" "Agreed." "And 40 rupees in the name of the Imáms?"—and so on. The khalifa eventually thus worked the sum down to 40 rupees (£3). We afterwards heard criticisms of what was otherwise acknowledged to have been a fine performance of the khalifa's: he should have persevered till he got the milk-money down to 5 rupees (= 7s. 6d.); "but it doesn't matter, they won't in any case pay more; seven and sixpence is the current rate."

Then the embers of the fire were blown upon and some Syrian Rue thrown in, which filled the house with a delightful smell of incense. The khalifa now turned to the bridegroom: "I now ask of you, So and So, the son of So and So, Barataling, are you willing to take this girl, Rahil, daughter of So and So, Khurukuts, to be your wedded wife?" The question was put three times, and three times the bridegroom answered clearly: "Yes, willing." Then the girl's uncle, acting as her best man, stepped to the screen and looking over proposed to her the complementary question, and her voice answered: "Yes, willing, willing, willing."

The bridegroom's best man now lifted a silken handkerchief off a small wooden cup of water which the uncle had been holding all the while and passed the cup to the priest, who breathed over it in blessing, and gave it to the bridegroom, who solemnly—and audibly—sipped three times. The uncle now took the cup and passed it under the silken curtain to the bride, who did likewise. The two were now man and wife; the silk curtain was withdrawn and the bride tenderly led out. This courtesy might have been performed by the officiating uncle, but it seemed that he had been twice married, so another male relative, "the husband of one wife," gave her his arm. Bride and groom then seated themselves with linked arms side by side in the centre of the dais while a flat platter of

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

585 very thin wheaten pancakes was brought and presented to them. The bridegroom broke a piece of bread and, before eating, ceremonially touched with it his lips and forehead. The gesture was not unlike that with which a devout Roman Catholic crosses himself before meat. The bride followed suit, and then [292] retired again to her corner now unscreened. She was dressed in red silk and wore a pair of red-dyed soft leather boots; a tinsel scarf shot with gold and orange had been flung over her cap.

The ceremony was now complete, so we said good-bye to our host and hostess, thanking them most warmly for having allowed strangers to come, and pressing into their hands a modest gift of silver for the young husband and a bundle of embroidery silks wrapped in silver paper for the bride. With all-round greetings and best wishes we then withdrew, winning a special smile from the bride, leaving the two families to get down unembarrassed to their feast.

The silken handkerchief which covers the ceremonial drinking-cup is one of the perquisites of the khalifa, and we heard that—having no use for it himself—he usually trades it off to the next clients who summon him for a betrothal, and so it goes the rounds.

It had for a time looked as if we should altogether fail to witness a betrothal, but the ice having now been broken, we were honoured by several further invitations. We accepted one other in which the bridegroom was a relative of Qudrat Ullah's. It more or less duplicated the first; the khalifa recited somewhat less well, and the whole proceedings seemed to us a trifle less well organized. When the milk-money discussion was proceeding Qudrat Ullah suddenly broke in: "Oh, cut the cackle, and get down to five rupees at once!" The suggestion was duly acted on amid much laughter. The fictitious figure first quoted is a compliment to the bride, and in Nagir it is the custom, we were told, to start at thousands of imaginary rupees. This second bride was unusually plain, poor girl—scarcely worth 7s. 6d. at prevailing rates, we thought.

David was pressed to take photographs, which he duly tried to do. It was no easy task in a smoke-darkened, crowded room,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the 585
smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. 585
In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's
mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple 586
are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will.

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people 591
take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all.

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she 843
quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their 833
sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and 513
not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A 853
husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears 842
to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to 163
exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of

842 married life; he has been married early and has no arrears of
163 sex-starvation to make up, and he lives a healthy, active, outdoor life with no unwholesomely suggestive literature or cinema shows to stir his blood to rebellion. This admirable convention automatically spaces Hunza infants at decent intervals without artificial birth-control.

837 Unfaithfulness on either side is extremely rare, and I venture to assert without fear of contradiction that in Hunza morals
[548] are higher than in any other country in the world. There is no
[164] prostitute in the country, and no venereal disease. We may, I think, fairly ascribe this to high principle and a strongly developed tradition of fine practice, but we need not overlook the fact that circumstances conspire to reinforce principle. DL and I used sometimes to amuse ourselves speculating on the possible ways in which a pair of errant lovers, if such existed, could gratify their guilty passion, and we decided that the way of transgressors would be exceptionally hard.

No man or woman could be absent from the usual sleeping place without immediate comment, and by day each person's duties and destinations and occupations are common knowledge. The countryside lies sloping and open to view, and every corner and cranny of it, even the desolate rocky mountain sides where large boulders or ravines or semi-caves might seem to offer privacy, is subject to invasion at any moment by a herd-child with his goats. One tale was told us of an intriguing pair. The woman lover went to the edge of the river cliff, left some identifiable articles on the brink, and staged an accident. She then hid herself with the mother's connivance in the locked store-room of her lover's house. No search was made for the body, for these mountain rivers reveal no secrets, but it was, of course, not long before her presence in her lover's house was discovered. The unusual case came up before the Mir, whose sane judgment was that the guilty pair had better be divorced from their lawful partners and married to each other. Public opinion would have none of it, and while discussion was proceeding the disgraced woman drowned herself in earnest. I don't remember what the man's fate was, but general odium would certainly compel him to seek voluntary exile.

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

Where a couple are definitely ill-matched, or the daughter- 586
in-law fails to fit into the family scheme, the regrettable fact 592
is faced, the two families meet to arrange a divorce, and each party is free to remarry and hope for better luck. Nothing, however, in our Hunza observations amazed us more than the amicable relations that normally prevailed among the women of a household. There would be a mother-in-law with three or four sons' wives, all perhaps with growing families about them, an adolescent girl or two, and the herd of youngsters. They work together from dawn to dusk without argument or recrimination, and apparently without anyone's attempting to shirk her fair share of the common tasks.

An expectant mother works on in house and field till the 843
very last, but by common consent the heavier tasks are divided 262
amongst the others, and an extra-nourishing ration is assigned to her both before and after the baby's birth. There is no 844
sentimental pampering of the mother, but her immediate job is the baby, and she is expected naturally to concentrate on that. When a woman's monthly affliction overtakes her, she 841
dresses in her oldest clothes and lies immobile by the fire till [262]
she is well again. The others make *daudo* for her, a porridge of flour well boiled in water, which is reputed very sustaining, and bring it to her, saying, "Sister, eat." After two days she is herself again, takes a bath, washes her clothes, and sweeps the house; but she is not banished as a pariah nor subject to any degrading superstitions nor to any taboo not imposed by nature.

Shyly one day my friend Zénába asked me was it true that white women were immune from monthly trouble. "We notice that English ladies seem to ride and camp at all times; we have never heard of one of you having to lie up." I explained our habits and conventions, and that we made it our pride to carry on outwardly unruffled. "But surely it can't be good for you?" "I don't believe it is; but there you are; it is our custom, and we should think it shame if the household noticed any difference in our behaviour. It sometimes makes us cross and fretful perhaps, and then our menfolk just think how unreasonable women are." She laughed heartily: "So that's how it is; we've always wondered; but I think our way is better."

841 "I'm sure it is," said I, "and you are well again in two days, whereas our discomfort lasts twice as long."

680 So I betrayed to them some of our minor secrets, but I could not bear to reveal to these innocent, clean-minded people the cankers of our vaunted civilization: the dark, unanswered questions that cloud our childhood (in this matter there is nowadays, thank God, much more, though still only sporadic enlightenment); the too-long postponed marriage; the widespread sex-starvation; the so-called wild oats of so many young men; prostitution, unmarried motherhood, or the unwanted celibacy of so many young women; the secret, second establishments of so many respectable fathers of families; the sordid adulteries that lead to the divorce court—all the tangled maladjustments of our modern life in the West, where insane economics have trampled the humanities in the dust.

One of my gravest disappointments in Hunza was that for all my free and easy intercourse with the womenfolk I was not able to glean much of the more intimate detail of their married life: of their pregnancies and child-bearing and the like, from the woman's point of view. I had hoped to be able in such matters to offer a useful complement to David's masculine researches, but in fact he learned far more than I did. I rarely or never got a chance to speak to an older woman alone, or quietly, for any length of time; friends, relations, children, and babies were always buzzing round. There is no 864 false prudery in Hunza, and children know the basic facts of life from infancy and hear grown-up discussion on any topic under heaven; but there is great fastidiousness and decency in speech, and it would have required far more subtle knowledge of their conventions than I possessed to have framed my questions inoffensively, even if I had mustered the nerve to frame them at all.

000 This mattered the less that DL in his quiet *tête-à-tête* in the study, with his various informants, was able to go into all such matters with unembarrassed freedom. I had also hoped to be perhaps allowed to be present at the birth of a child, and to this end had taken a superficial course of study at Queen Charlotte's Hospital, which, as things turned out, I had no

opportunity of utilizing. I should not, of course, have dreamt 000
of offering advice or help—the reckless courage with which some travellers ply their medical ignorance has always horrified me—but I thought that some knowledge of birth-rites at home might enable me to follow Hunza procedure with more intelligence. But if an Englishman's house is his castle, the fortress-like home of the Hunzukuts is no less inviolable, and in the event I could no more have proposed to a Hunza woman to let me attend her confinement for mere scientific curiosity than I could make the same proposal to an English friend.

Like women in many other parts of the East, the Hunza 844
woman bears her child in a crouching posture, which gives full 846
play to her muscles—admirably developed by varied exercise and unatrophied by chair-sitting—and speeds up the period of labour. An experienced woman, usually her own mother, acts as midwife, while her husband guards the threshold and her brother the smoke-hole to prevent the instrusion of evil man or evil spirit. Within a week, as has been related, she is ready to receive visitors, and within a fortnight she is out of doors again doing light work in the fields.

There are, of course, no vital statistics available for infant 165
or maternal mortality, but as far as my enquiries and observations extended, casualties are rare. This is not to be wondered at, since for countless generations Nature has here been at her beneficent work of weeding out inferior stocks, uninterrupted by soppy sentiment or misguided philanthropy. No C_3 girl baby can be reared in an incubator to die in childbirth or burden the community with D_4 offspring.

Chapter 23

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

132 No climate could be more delightful than the autumn and early winter of Hunza, from October till far on in December, and the Burusho make the most of these bracing, genial days, hurrying to get through every sort of outdoor job before the six or eight weeks of the "Great Cold."

245 Not by any means every household can spare water, manure, or space for a vineyard, but those who can value not only the fresh grapes which ripen later than all other fruits, but also the home-made wine which helps to brighten the cheerless [251] winter days. Unfortunately, by the time the grapes are ripe, the sun has already lost its heat and raisin-drying is impossible. At least this was the only plausible explanation we could get for the fact that the Hunzukuts who dry their mulberries and apricots do not make raisins.

The vines are trained over low pergolas only 3 or 4 feet high, less frequently allowed to climb up living trees. Since the Hunzukuts greatly value shady sitting places we wondered why they did not go in for loftier pergolas like those the Persians love. The explanation is cruelly simple—they cannot spare the extra length of poles.

There were not many vineyards in Aliábád, but we located two favourably situated ones and paid several visits to each. One was many hundred feet down, at Gulkhan, below the old fort. Though the vine leaves were still green, every bunch of 273 fruit had been already cut when we came down to see the wine-making. Under the roof of an open-faced shed were three "mangers," as it were, set side by side, the two end ones stacked high with ripe grapes. There must have been 3 or 4 cwt. at least in each. The centre one was only partially full.

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

The central compartment—not unlike a kitchen sink—had 273
a stone floor slightly sloping towards a hole in front which was fitted with a neat little spout of birchbark, below which a great iron cauldron stood. One of the young men of the family (having doubtless washed his feet) leapt into the sink, rested his hands on the sides of it, and tramped, tramped, tramped, with all his weight. It looked very like hard work. Another man crouched alongside the spout, holding a large-meshed basket which filtered the juice as it ran out into the cauldron. The skins thus trapped were thrown back for another trampling. As required, further supplies of grapes were taken from the side compartments and thrown into the wine-press. After seeing our fill of this process and taking what photographs were possible in the patchwork of light and shade, we climbed steeply uphill to a flattish spot where other even more interesting activities were afoot.

Under a big boulder a flat stone had been converted into a trough by little "concrete" walls made of sand mixed with fat. The slimy mush of skins, stalks, and stones left after yesterday's pressing had been brought up here. In the trough they laid a wicker ring 9 or 10 inches across and a couple of inches thick. Into this they dumped as much of the green stuff as it would hold; then they laid another ring on the top of the first and filled it till they had a pile a foot high or so. On top they now placed a flat slab of stone, and across it a stout pole for lever, which they wedged firmly under the boulder as a fulcrum. The pole projected like one half of a see-saw. On to it a man leapt, thus pressing down the stone slab on to the articulated basket, and out gushed the juice into a vessel below. Then the stone was lifted, the top ring of the ingenious basket thrown aside, and the squeezing process repeated till nothing was left but a wet round cake of skins, seeds, and stalks. This is then [233] put in the sun to dry, and is much valued as a cattle food. Our wine-friends told us that the wine made from this second pressing is counted superior to the first.

When the receiving vessels are full, the juice is transferred through a wooden funnel into a skin sack and set aside to ferment. It is not allowed to stand overlong, for October's

273 brew will all be finished by the end of December, but a man is looked on as over-impetuous who does not keep it for at least a month. Old vintages are luxuries for wealthier lands. The Hunzukuts do not profess to be expert vintners or connoisseurs of wine. They consider it rather a gamble how the wine turns out: "Sometimes it is sweet and sometimes sour. Either is good to drink. But if we have enough manure and if the season has been hot enough fully to ripen the grapes, then the wine is sweet."

The wine and weaving having been disposed of and the winter-wheat sown, the year's serious work is over, and little remains but to fumigate the empty manure shed. We had come in from our walk one evening and were settling down to work after tea when I heard a modest little "Mother dear!" outside the window, and found Hérul Nisa had been sent down to tell us that Ustád Nadíro and Bibi Anjír were going to fumigate their byre in the good old style, if we would care to come. So we flung on our coats, seized a lantern, and scrambled up the particularly rocky track that led to No. 8. Bibi Anjír and her married daughter were watching proceedings from the roof of the byre which also forms the landing at the top of the ladder that leads to their verandah and summer living-room. The couple at No. 8 are old-fashioned and scrupulously keep up the ancient fumigating ceremony which many of their younger neighbours neglect.

The wall of their manure byre sticks out at right angles into the lane, and the door of it is sideways on. In the angle formed between it and the house, Nadíro had a little fire of dry sticks already burning. He took an iron ladle with a long handle and filled it full of precious apricot-kernel oil and heated it over the fire. There was a cold circular wind whizzing round which delayed the oil's getting warm and catching fire. We and a lot of interested neighbours pressed in round him as closely as we could to shelter the flame, which at last blazed up like the brandy in our tablespoons to light the Christmas pudding. Then the old man went into the byre and Hérul Nisa followed him with a bowl of cold water. He took a little of the water and flung it into the ladle four times, causing a lovely flare

addressed to each of the four corners of the shed. To our 788
amazement we saw by the light of the flames that the shed was chock full of goats (we had imagined that they would have been cleared out for the ceremony) who seemed not in the least perturbed. Nadíro then came out again and lit a torch of juniper twigs at the fire and went in to wave it similarly into each of the four corners. Bibi Anjír then handed [262]
down a big wooden basin of *múl* which looked like a rather slushy brown pudding with pinkish trimming on top. This festive dish is made only on special occasions, such as a child's birth or the like. Before starting in to eat the *múl* or hand it round, the old man took his stand in the door of the byre and with great dignity and reverence lifted his eyes to heaven and recited the fumigating prayer. Bits of it ran something like this: "O Moses, Holy Prophet, grant that one hundred milking vessels may be required, and that our shears may be used on a hundred sheep! May kid follow after kid and lamb after lamb! May there be rams with curly horns and he-goats with short horns turned in! May milk flow in floods and may the butter pit be filled with butter!"

Happily DL had already got the prayer written down so [233]
we were able to follow it better than if we had been hearing it for the first time, and were even able to note that the Ustád got it a bit mixed in parts. We ascertained what was the point of the "short horns turned in." It is simply a question of packing. The byres are small and the beasts have all got to live crowded together in them throughout the winter, so that a princely he-goat with spreading horns is a disaster to his owner and a danger to his fellows.

Now came the moment when the family and friends would tuck into the *múl*, and we thanked our kind hosts most warmly for letting us see the little ceremony, and fled to the warmth of our own fire and our butterless tea. I was in terror lest we should be pressed to partake of the *múl* which is so special a dish that it was sure to be reeking of priceless *maltash*—of which we had no wish to rob them.

The next item on the Hunza communal programme is the 585
Great Wedding Day, which falls about mid-December on some 787
Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners.

585 Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners. The sensible plan prevails of having all weddings celebrated on the same day throughout the country. This avoids all cross-entertaining and much reduces expense. The hungriest guest cannot attend more than one big feed at a time. All betrothals have taken place quietly a few weeks earlier at each family's own convenience. The Wedding Day is only the jollification which sets the seal of publicity on the existing private contract.

All the morning feasting is in progress at the bridegroom's house, attended by the menfolk of both families and by twelve of the bridegroom's tribal brothers who act as his "best men." In the early afternoon the bridegrooms and their guests all repair to "The Gate" of their village where every spare space is already packed with spectators. The women and children are collected roughly at one side, the men and boys at the other, but there is no taboo about this, and no offence is given if one or another happens to stray into or wishes to pass through a crowd of the other sex, nor was it thought odd or unseemly that I usually sat beside DL amongst the men.

585 Before we arrived, the tops of walls, the branches of the
292 nearest trees, and all the adjacent roofs were packed (till we feared the slight rafters were bound to give). Everybody had turned out in their best and brightest clothes, our little boy and girl friends almost unrecognizable, their jolly little fringes soaked in oil and plastered down into most unwonted and unbecoming tidiness. The women and girls were very gay with bright-coloured scarves flung over their prettiest caps; poor ones might have only a piece of chintz or muslin, but by far the greater number sported lengths of Bukhara silk in daring blendings of bright green, yellow, red, blue, or purple. The general effect was delightful, and the bunches of womenfolk on the roofs would have needed colour photography to do them justice. Not to be wholly outdone, the men had coloured cotton shirts of marvellous hues and gay silken embroidery trimming their woollen *chogas*.

The Bérichó band, with big drum, pipe, and kettledrums,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

squatted at the base of a big tree, and the tribal brothers of 585
each bridegroom led him to the dance. The Diramiting led off 292
and the other clans followed in their recognized order of precedence. Each unhappy bridegroom was amazingly got up. Instead of his ordinary homespun cap he was coiffed with an exotic white or coloured turban with a tuft of feathers at one side held in place by a fancy brooch and a dangling string of beads looped on to it. A brightly coloured silk shirt floated out over a startlingly white pair of baggy cotton trousers and (if he could afford it) a loose silk robe replaced his normal homespun *choga*. He carried in his right hand an old-fashioned 293
battle-axe tied with silken ribbons, and in this gaudy attire he looked as ill at ease as bridegrooms the world over.

The picturesqueness of the Hunza dancing, which is the 535
mainstay of every form of merry-making, is nowadays much 585
impaired by dancers who have acquired short-sleeved, would- [177]
be European shooting-jackets or tight trousers, or—worse still—have adopted tennis shoes or ammunition boots or some other form of horrible non-local footgear instead of the orthodox bare feet or soft leather boot. When carried out in the correct dress of the country Hunza dancing is amusing and interesting. Most of the footwork is merely a variant of a sort of polka-step—now short, now long, now in great leaps, now in fierce stamps, now on the toe, now on the flat foot. There is one characteristic step which would require a lot of practice: with one knee bent very deep, you rotate on that foot giving regular little taps on the ground with the other till the circle is complete; then you reverse and repeat in the opposite direction.

Each dancer dances independently, but the five or ten in the ring at any one moment all try to synchronize their steps in time to the music. The footwork, however, is but a small part of the dance; what is most admired is the action of the body and of the arms; these are waved and flung about and bent in a hundred different patterns. The long *choga* sleeves which dangle 6 or 8 inches below the hand give a most fantastic effect to these gestures.

When the second bridegroom's group came to dance they

2: Larimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

when the second bridegroom's group came to dance they
535 were joined by a young princeling (a morganatic grandson of
585 the Mir's) and a small friend of his, both in lovely silken
[643] gowns. They were a picturesque wee pair. The younger was about six, and his fond mother had got him up as a bridegroom, complete to the blackened eyes and fantastic dots on the cheek bones. The two boys polkaed round, stamping their bare feet and waving their tiny arms in perfect imitation of the grown-ups, and whenever they were in danger of being danced down, some kind hand would gently shove them to a safer place in the centre, where they went on gyrating. It was a jolly scene. Whenever there was room other small boys would join in; each normally venturing to do so only when his own clansmen were dancing. Once or twice some little dare-devil would intrude into the wrong group, and another small boy would try to punch his head. At once good-humoured bystanders would collar the pair and dump them out of mischief at some distance from each other.

All the spectators were very merry in their orderly way, and there were bursts of applause at frequent intervals. No small share of the fun was contributed by the bandsmen, who varied the time and pace and worked the dancers up to a fine climax. The big drummer of Aliábád is an old humorist called Húko. He waves his body and his arms about as he lustily attacks his drum and chaffs the dancers: "Go it, man! Leap, can't you, leap! Do you call that *dancing*? What are your legs for? Let your body swing, man! Get a move on there! Wave your arms, can't you? Oh, come alive!" etc., etc. The kettle-drummer flaunts his two sticks and wags his head, but being a younger and less privileged person than Húko does not venture on any verbal chaff. The poor piper who has mouth and hands glued to his funny-looking instrument that is half flute half trumpet just flings his body about and looks volumes. All three are so very much alive and on the spot that they imply that nothing else in life is quite such fun as playing while other men dance and marry. Their special efforts on such occasions are rewarded by extra gifts of bread, flour, and butter.

After about an hour and a half we came away, but for long after we could still hear the dance-music going on.

after we could still hear the dance-music going on. When 585
dusk begins to fall the bridegroom betakes himself with his train of tribal brothers to his bride's house, where feasting is resumed. When the guests can eat no more or the food is finished—which ever happens first—the bridegroom's party carry off the bride to her new home. In theory they carry her all the way, but as that may be for some miles across rough country they frankly admit that they soon set her down and let her walk herself, but carry her again when near their goal. On arrival the bridegroom's family welcome her at the door with incense and thin bread. Then the pair take hands and step over the threshold together putting their feet down simultaneously. The bride then advances to the hearth which is henceforth to be her own. She touches the hearth-stones with her fingers which she then kisses. She is then led to the seat of honour by the main pillar of the house and food is brought for her party, who presently return home. A brother or maternal uncle and a bridesmaid remain with her that first night.

Next morning the mother-in-law leads the bride to the flour bin and sets her to bake thin wheaten bread. She kneads the flour, rolls out the thin pancake, and flings it on the griddle for the waiting bridegroom to turn. If she spoils the bread he is entitled to tap her with the bread-turner; if, on the other hand, he botches the baking she is entitled to smack him with the rolling-pin.

The last public episode before the Great Cold is the 796
Tumushelling, the Midnight Bonfire of the Winter Solstice, a ceremony which, so far as anyone could tell us, had never before been witnessed in Hunza by a European, and small wonder, for late December is no time for a Political Agent to be on tour nor for globe-trotters to trot. We owed our chance of seeing it to our temerity in wintering on the spot. The [805]
Hunzukuts have long since adopted the Muslim Nauroz (the vernal equinox) as their official New Year, but not improbably their earlier custom was to reckon the turn of the year from mid-winter.

We had been told that we should be awakened in the small

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 hours by the loud drumming of a warning drum; then after an interval we should hear two outbursts and soon after, three, at which point we should set out. We could not ascertain how long the intervals would be between the summonses, but Dádo promised to waken us at the sound of the first. He was so fearful of oversleeping that he lay awake all night, and with characteristic zeal brought us morning tea two hours too soon. The third drumming was not, in fact, heard till about 5 a.m. It called us out into the inkiest night I ever saw, but it was windless and not unduly cold. Thick snow clouds over the whole sky hid every suspicion of a star, so that though the great mountains all round were white with snow to within a few feet of our level there was not even a glimmer from them.

All over the hillsides we could see tiny points of light converging on the rendezvous and hear the lively chatter of men [372] and boys from every homestead. Their torches were faggots of juniper held high on a long pole. From the polo-ground came the sound of music punctuated by unison cheers of Ha-Ha-Ha that echoed up the hill to hurry stragglers. By the time we got down there was already a goodly group of men thronging three deep round a princely bonfire, and each new party as it came flung in its torch over the heads of the crowd sending a shower of rocket sparks into the darkness of the night. Our arrival was greeted by a cheer and a lane was made for us to a stone sofa, where we speedily obliterated ourselves not to interfere with the progress of events, regretting only that our people had not thought to provide us with torches instead of the prosaic hurricane lamps which they doubtless thought more dignified.

796 The bonfire leapt, the band played, the jolly Ha-Ha-Ha
535 sounded at intervals, and still the velvet darkness was starred by points of oncoming light. As soon as a sufficient congregation had assembled, the band struck up in earnest and dancing began. In the flickering firelight the scene looked extraordinarily romantic. Prominent among the dancers were the bridegrooms of a few days ago, who thus made their re-entry into public life, clad happily once more in caps and woollen *chogas*. The dancers sprang and capered, their long sleeves

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

dangling fantastically as they waved their arms; now you saw 796
them in inky silhouette, now full-lit by the flames; and behind 535
the serried rows of eager laughing faces was nothing but the impenetrable blackness of the starless night.

After a short spell of ordinary dancing, more spirited and vigorous in the darkness than by day, swords and shields were brought and two men stepped into the ring. They threw their arms up into the air with sword and shield, leaped several times as high as they could with both feet together, and then staged a splendid duel: the one pursuing, the other fleeing, now this way, now that, and all the time the great curved swords flashed in the firelight and cut the air. When one fighter overtook the other, sometimes by a daring leap across the fire, they slashed and hacked till you felt sure that at any moment an ear or nose would go. When one pair was exhausted, they would suddenly fling up their weaponed arms again, turn sharply about, and bang their backs together in the oddest gesture imaginable, then lay down sword and shield and merge into the crowd as another pair stepped forward. Now and again the crowd would call by name on some favourite champions, who came forth with modest reluctance to take the challenge.

The variety of their poses and feints and gestures was astonishing; each couple improvised at will but kept in perfect time to the music. It was the best display of sword dancing I have ever seen, and the duels were more real than any I have witnessed on a stage at home: just as safe and incomparably more convincing. All the while the crowd shouted and cheered and bandied jests about, the band banged indefatigably, and every now and then in would whizz yet another blazing torch with its attendant shower of sparks.

We watched the ever-changing pageant for a couple of hours 796
without the slightest boredom. Still there was not the faintest streak of dawn, and the pessimists were whispering anxiously: "Great Scott, we must have started too soon, the wood will never last out!" And in truth the apparently inexhaustible mound of firewood was waning fast. At last the eastern sky above the mighty mountain rampart of the Nagir side showed faintly pale. With a cry of delight willing hands flung on all

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 the remaining wood for a final flare up; there was one last uproarious scamper of many dancers: and all was still. Then
796 up stood a pair of men, reverent, solemn, sword in hand, and
788 recited a moving litany:

> May the New Year be blessed!
> May the seed bring forth an hundredfold!
> May every ear be filled with golden grain!
> May the mountain side be piebald with goats!
> May the pastures be piebald with sheep!
> May kid follow after kid and lamb after lamb!
> May our houses be filled with children and empty of sickness!

and to each clause the congregation fervently shouted "Yá! Yá!" as an earnest Amen.

After some time the older man who was leading began to repeat himself somewhat, and a good-humoured protest went up: "Enough, Uncle, enough!" which brought the litany to a speedy conclusion. (What a useful innovation this would be in Church and Parliament!)

Then half a dozen grey-bearded men formed a semi-circle to face the rising but still long invisible sun, and struck up a delightful solemn chant that sounded not unlike a Te Deum. In contrast to the litany which was in wholesome, rhythmic Burushaski prose, the chant was in so-called Shina, mangled by generations of Burusho singers into an almost unintelligible, though impressive anthem. David later took it down verbatim, but could only very partially reconstruct or divine the Shina original, and so far he has not been able to trace the ungarbled Shina text, which is quite possibly no longer known in its country of origin.

Then, while drum and kettledrum and pipe still played and the old men still chanted, we all moved slowly downhill in the growing daylight to "The Gate," where dancing was resumed by those who wished it, and a faint lamp burning in the Assembly Hall silently summoned the pious to morning prayer, and the ice-bound pond invited them less cordially to the preliminary ablutions. Few seemed to accept the chilly invitation.

Except myself, no woman had attended the Midnight Bon-

fire, but the usual gaily dressed crowd were at "The Gate," 796
just as on the recent Wedding Day. I slipped across to join the 788
women and got a warm reception from many whom I knew and more whom I did not. Then an old crone came along, bearing a huge dish of flour and sprinkled a pinch on every woman's cap and left shoulder, saying as she did so: "Ya Ali!" All seemed pleased when I said: "Nay, mother, would you forget me?" and as she duly sprinkled me too I slipped a few pence into her hand. Then I extricated myself from the women's throng, scattering good wishes as I went, to rejoin David, whom I found similarly be-floured.

We thankfully toiled uphill home, too hot now in our 796
midnight wrappings, and very shortly faithful Zaidu and Dádo produced a hot breakfast, after which we turned in and slept. There must be some magic in the Hunza air. You would hardly contemplate sitting out of doors to watch an open-air show at home at 7,600 feet from 5 to 8 a.m. on December 21st (or even on December 16th, for the Hunza calendar has got its Solstice slightly "fast") with the thermometer reading 22° Fahrenheit.

There was to be more dancing that p.m., but we felt we had seen enough for one day, and the headmen seemed relieved when we said we would not come. They confessed that after the bonfire people went home and made merry with their wine, and that there might be some mild rowdyism—and since they have no other drink but water, who shall blame them? Not we, dissolute bibbers of hot tea! We did not want to spoil our impression of the astounding orderliness of the night's merry-making. Though everyone was in the highest spirits and the youngsters full of excitement, the crowd's behaviour was perfect. Even when one torch flew right across the circle into the faces of half a dozen spectators, there was only a laughing stampede, and when the circle drew in too close and threatened to impede the dancing, some responsible grown-up simply snatched a brand from the fire and swept it round the front ranks, driving the children back amidst fun 796
and laughter. Considering that there are no police in the 625
country, and that the headmen have no authority except their 622

[625] personal influence, we found the lack of even minor mis-
[622] demeanours among the Hunnukuts perennially astonishing.

796 The Tumushelling Bonfire would seem to have originated
773 amongst the Shins, but the Hunza Burusho, with their delight in pageantry, have lifted it and made it the central item in whatever were their own original Solstice rites. The oft-told story of the Bonfire is this: Once upon a time there lived a tyrant King of Gilgit, Shiri Badat by name, who exacted the tribute of one lamb or kid daily from his people. The custom was that each house in turn should pay the tribute. One day the turn fell to a poor old woman who possessed nothing in the world but one well-beloved pet lamb. Shiri Badat ate the lamb as usual, but remarked that it had a peculiarly delicate flavour, and asked its history. The old woman was summoned to the presence and cross-questioned. Yes, it was rather a special lamb. The ewe, its mother, had died when it was born, and the old woman had given it to her daughter-in-law to suckle; so the lamb had been reared on human milk.

This proved an unfortunate revelation, for from that day forward Shiri Badat demanded a human infant per day, and would not be gainsaid. The country groaned in misery, but the people were helpless, for Shiri Badat was no mortal man to be easily murdered; he was of Peri stock, and bore a charmed life.

Now it happened that a young prince from a neighbouring country had fled in disguise to Gilgit to escape intriguers seeking his life at home. He had taken sanctuary in the Wazir's house, and there he met Princess Nur Bakht, who was a foster-child of the Wazir's. The two young people fell in love, and when the Princess found she was with child she was filled with fear lest her baby should fall a victim to her father's unnatural appetite. So the Wazir, the Prince, and she hatched out a plot in which Nur Bakht was to play the rôle of Delilah to the cannibal Samson, Shiri Badat.

"Father," she said one day, "your subjects are full of wrath and hate because of the baby-tax you levy on them; I fear me they will find some means to slay you. Now if I knew the secret of your life I could the better protect you against harm."

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

The old simpleton thereupon revealed to her that while he was 773
invulnerable to spear or arrow, axe or sword, his heart was 796
made of butter and he could be destroyed by fire.

The conspirators thereupon, working privily by night, dug a trench close under the walls of the King's fort and filled it with dry wood, and on a given night at a given signal every Gilgit household poured forth its menfolk armed with blazing torches which they flung into the trench with a great cry: "The enemy is upon you!" The butter-hearted tyrant ran forth and perished miserably in the circle of fierce heat, and the Prince and Princess reigned in his stead.

While Gilgit itself has long since ceased to celebrate its deliverance, the Tumushelling Bonfire in Hunza keeps aflame the memory of Shiri Badat and his heart of butter. In olden days it seems that every Hunza household let its fire die out and rekindled the hearth by a brand from the Tumushelling Fire, but this practice had lapsed before any of our informants could remember.

One winter day, after a gruelling forenoon of solid hard 420
note-taking, DL said: "I'm just about half dead. We must 311
take a quiet walk this afternoon. We'll go up to the Mir's Stables; we can't meet anyone up there. I positively could not talk or listen any more."

The "Mir's Stables" bear no relation to a stable as we understand it. Above the line of terraced fields that sweep round the bay of Aliabad there are 200 or 300 feet of sloping mountain side, forming rude pasture grounds: the *taqs*. Above them rise the steep sand and rock slopes that flow down from the towering crags above. A little farther down the valley from us there is a kind of shelf above the *taqs*, a small roughly level plateau, scattered thick with huge boulders, which is called the "Mir's Stables." It isn't irrigated from any channel; it lies above the highest one, which in any case has petered completely out before it gets so far; but as it is fairly flat it catches any rain or snow there is, and it gets a certain amount of snow and rain drainage from the rocks above, and so in between the boulders and rocks there are patches of coarse, natural grass and thorn bushes. This bit of ground

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

423 belongs to the Mir, and once or twice a year he sends people to
311 cut the grass, such as it is, and bring it in for his horses. It was rather a favourite walk of ours when we felt inclined for an upward scramble, for there is a fine view from it over the whole of the Aliábád Bay and the smaller Bay of Jamu, before the ground falls sheer away into the great Hasanabad gorge with the glacier at the top that waters the village of Hasanabad, our next neighbour downstream. Moreover, it is one of the rare places where, once you have got there, you can walk a little on the level, dodging about between the boulders. We were about halfway up to the Stables when Khano overtook us, desperately out of breath: "I've parked my animals in that garden over there, and I'm coming with you," he said. The "garden" was a desert of stones and rocks, with a rough, loose-stone wall about it and a few miserable stunted trees. "But we know the way quite well, thanks." "Oh no, you don't, not half so well as I do," he retorted. (This, of course, was true enough.) "I'll come with you."

857 So along he came, chattering away nineteen to the dozen, and most entertaining he was. "Do you see the Red Rock?" "There are heaps of red rocks." "Yes, but there's only the one big red boulder, that's the Red Rock. There's a cave under it where we boys shelter when it rains, and on top there are cracks in the rock that hold rain water where we can drink." Right enough, the great boulder—50 or 60 feet high, I suppose—overhung a hollow (you could hardly call it a cave) and the youngsters had built themselves a rude wall and made a very cosy nest that would hold several dozen animals. We scrambled up on to the top and found as he had said that there were several deep cracks which would evidently make neat little drinking troughs when they weren't dry. Then Khano took us round in and out of the boulders and showed us all the boys' pet places. In one they had improved a natural stone sofa and built a sheltering wall and rigged up a fireplace with a few stones, and there they cook potatoes for themselves (when they can get any). They have a very merry life out all day on the hillside in every sort of weather instead of crouching indoors over lessons. The goats climb for miles and miles,

up and up amongst the stones till they look like mites in a cheese. What they find to eat is a mystery, for there is not one visible blade of grass and not one inch of thorn. But they "feed" there all day with the boys in the offing to see that they do not stray too far.

The Hunza sheep have prudently established the tradition that they cannot climb so high without breaking their legs, so they stay farther down where there is a small amount of very scanty grass (a home sheep would not recognize it as such) and an occasional dead leaf to gorge on.

Khano pointed out the "lizards' apricots"; patches of yellow, green, grey, and white lichen, which he says the lizards live on. He showed us the spoor of a fox and the tracks of his friends and a host of other interesting things. He's an amusing little play-actor. "Oh, I've got a thorn in my foot!" and he pretended to cry and limp helplessly about. Then with a laugh he clutched his foot, stooped to meet it, and whisked the thorn out with his teeth—a huge thing it was. Next he pulled a *mindak* out of some unexpected recess in his clothing and tried to teach us to play shuttlecock. The *mindak* is a most attractive toy. You get a small flat central button of lead and somehow contrive to attach to it a horizontal frill of kids' hair, black or white preferred. You then throw it in the air and try to kick it up with your foot, counting how often you succeed before letting it fall to the ground. You may kick it with your instep in an amateurish way, but the stylish thing is to strike it with the sole of your bare foot. The boys are extraordinarily adept, but the art is one not easily acquired in leather-shod middle age. Our indifferent attempts reduced us all three to helpless laughter. We were much amused to note that just as with the girls stotting their balls, the reckoning started at three and your first successful stroke was counted "four." In return for this demonstration lesson I tried to teach Khano to do handstands and cart-wheels, but my attempts to demonstrate these arts were somewhat unconvincing.

On the way home we met Kamber (Ustád Nadíro's boy) driving his herd of goats helter-skelter downhill. DL had

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

recently burnt a hole in one of his pockets and a cigarette mouthpiece was sticking out (this was the first I had heard of the catastrophe). "Shame, shame! Mother dear!" the boys shrieked with delight. "Why won't you mend it for him?" and the imp Khano officiously produced a needle from his woollen cap and offered it me with a bow worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh.

It was one of the most amusing of many delightful afternoons I remember with our boy companions, if not the entirely quiet and restful one we had set out to seek. Khano asked me to take a photograph of him. "But, my dear boy, I took a beauty of you the other day with your shoulder basket on your back." (His mother had been delighted with this.) "Yes, I know, but a basket is disgusting. I'd like one of just me." I could not resist the plea, and took a snapshot of him seated on a boulder, his merry, handsome face a-grin and a magnificent background of mighty mountains and eternal snow. Alas and alas! amidst our merriment I was careless and slightly shook the camera, and that photographic masterpiece was one of my most bitterly regretted duds. I took him many times again, but never hit off the "just him" that I missed that afternoon.

237 I have mentioned more than once the utter pricelessness of manure in Hunza. Every child out in charge of even only one cow or calf carries a shoulder basket on its back and scrupulously collects every ounce as it emerges. This keeps fields and lanes, courtyards and mountain sides as clean as a drawing-room floor (if only people would do this sort of thing at home!). As we were making our way home Khano spotted a few scraps that some careless herd had left behind, and hastily gathered them into the skirt of his *choga*. "Ah, ha," said I, "if you'd had your 'disgusting' basket with you, you would not have had to soil your *choga*." "That's no matter," he grinned as he carried his treasure trove along. Presently he saw a nice little hidey-hole under a rock and threw his find in there: "I'll come back and fetch it to-morrow."

If you have a decent cow she will yield you a basketful in two days, and it takes sixty baskets to manure a fair-sized field properly for the winter wheat. Very few people have more

than two cows. . . . You can work it out yourself. I'd like 237
to give our litter louts a few years' training in Hunza.

Salt is a crying need in Hunza, and while down-country rock- 135
salt can be obtained on payment from Gilgit, few families can 263
afford to buy. Hence in the relatively idle days of early winter you will see parties of women and girls and boys scouring the mountain side high up, and tasting as they go, till they find a patch of ground that seems to have a trace of saltiness in it. They scoop up the full of their baskets and carry this earth home. When salt is wanted they mount a conical basket filled with the saline earth over some receiving vessel. By pouring water through, they get a discoloured fluid, containing heaven alone knows what (probably a minimum of sodium chloride), which they pour straight into the vegetable pot.

Another job which is kept for winter days is the making of 241
new fields. It is all too true that the Hunzukuts have not enough water to serve their existing fields. But there are optimists who cannot resist the attraction of making a new field wherever they see a patch of ground that might with luck be irrigated in a good year. It's a serious business tackling a rocky bit of mountain side. You roughly plan your field and then start hacking out a great triangular gash at the upper side. It is full of stones and boulders which have to be removed; the smaller ones are set aside for the revetting walls; the larger ones are laboriously broken up with sledge-hammers (or blasted if you can get hold of a little gunpowder); the stony earth is carefully sifted into separate piles of varying degrees of fineness. Then the lower supporting wall is built to the level required, stones are thrown in for a foundation, next the coarser earth, and the surface is dressed with the finer. Field- 344
making is the only occasion on which a barrow of any kind is 493
of use. These barrows, of which in our whole time we only saw four, are the only wheeled vehicles known in Hunza. Whether the Hunzukuts invented them themselves or whether someone once saw a wheelbarrow in use elsewhere and imported the idea, who shall say? Anyhow, the Hunza wheelbarrow is a delightful affair. A sort of rude ladder with four or five rungs is made. A thick section of a tree trunk about

241 493 9 to 12 inches in diameter is impaled on one of the rungs to form the wheel. Axis and wheel rotate together in the two side holes of the frame, and to reduce the friction a tough ring of wicker work is placed between the wheel and the side of the ladder-frame. One of the usual shoulder baskets is then lashed between a pair of the rungs, and *voilà* . . . your apparatus is complete.

There were several batches of field-making enthusiasts whom we used to visit on our afternoon excursions—cold work it must have been with the snow lying to within a few feet of where they were working, but they did not seem to feel it, or perhaps the vision of future crops helped to keep them warm.

132 When once the Great Cold lays its icy hand on the country all outdoor human activity ceases as suddenly and completely as the sound of flowing water, and no one voluntarily stirs abroad. Occasionally you may see a woman, wrapped in the warmest *choga* available, dash with a gourd or bucket to the nearest drinking tank, break the thick crust of ice re-formed since yesterday and bring home the needed water. The steep, irregular stone steps were glassy with frozen water; it would have been easy to fall in and difficult to scramble out, but we heard of no casualties. Once again we noted that families prone to accident are weeded out by beneficent Mother Nature when her ways are not interfered with.

Once a day some man or boy drives out the beasts to the nearest open reservoir to drink, breaking the ice anew for them. As the water level sinks the ice crust cracks like pastry, the centre falls in, leaving stratum after stratum 6 or 8 inches thick adhering shelf-wise to the stone walls of the reservoir.

The winter was in many ways a disappointment to us. We had hoped for bright days and clear air and magnificent photographs. In fact, all the great mountains round were wrapped day after day in swathes of dark, snow-depositing cloud, and the floor of heaven, impenetrably grey, seemed suspended menacingly just a few inches above our heads. The immediate visible landscape was the dreariest it is possible to conceive; not an evergreen tree or bush, not a square inch of green grass to break the grim monotony of sepia-grey-khaki rocks, cliffs,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

boulders, and gaunt tree-skeletons amidst which the cubes of 132
stone-and-mud houses were indistinguishable save for the thin spiral of blue smoke that rose from their flat roofs at feeding time.

We were able to work on indoors, for informants were glad enough to come and sit by our fire and tell all they knew about any question asked, but we sorely missed the cheering chance encounters, the casual wayside chats that normally brightened our walks.

Indoors during the Great Cold the family is merry and happy 502
enough. The recurrent tiny fire, whose ashes never quite grow 861
cold and which is stirred into life at baking time, reinforced 538
by human heat and not squandered by wanton draughts, keeps sufficient warmth alive for comfort, and the weeks of enforced leisure from outdoor work are thoroughly enjoyed. The women spin and sew and bake and tend the babies; the men mend and make their various implements; the children eagerly demand the right to help in every job for which they are ripe, while the old people come into their own and entertain the company by telling tales of every kind; not only nor even mainly tales of heroes and of kings, of raiding chiefs and bandit exploits from the good old days before the Serkár brought peace and security at the cost of adventure, nor folklore yarns borrowed from other times and climes—though they have good store of these; but the history of their country and its clans and anecdotes of every day. In this homely school the Hunza child learns all that it needs to know, the elements of ethics, morals, and religion, the accepted codes of decent behaviour, and all the accumulated wisdom of the land.

The Hunzukuts have no artistic gift of story-telling, and no 538
professional story-tellers; they have no oral literature to match the Sagas of the North or the Persian wealth of the Thousand and One Nights, but they can tell a straightforward story simply and well and with considerable humour, and the phrases in which their yarns are couched have become sanctified and semi-stereotyped by frequent repetition. Some of these DL had recorded in 1923–24, and they were already in print when we returned to Hunza ten years later. We were surprised and

538 delighted to find that if he read a paragraph aloud from his massive Volume II, it was not only understood by the hearer but would be continued verbatim to the end.

539 Many of the anecdotes of daily life are amusing and delightful; a few are tragic. DL has made a large and representative collection of them. I shall only summarize a couple here which particularly took my fancy. A certain Alipo (let us call him) had married Nuri, whose home was several miles away. As wives not seldom do, she had gone home to spend the day at her parents' house, and her mother baked a rich cake with butter, walnuts, and what not for the girl to take back with her to her husband's home. Now though she had undoubtedly been hospitably fed by her own people, Nuri on the homeward way could not resist taking the cake out from under her arm and eyeing it covetously, and from looking she advanced to tasting, and from tasting to eating, till quite half of the cake was gone. On arriving, she presented what was left of it to her mother-in-law with suitable expressions of goodwill. Her husband, jealous of his wife's reputation, looked at it in dismay. "What hungry person did you meet on the way?" he tactfully enquired. "I met no one." "Who, then, has been eating at the cake?" "Nobody. My Mother baked only half a cake." Next morning Alipo restored Nuri to her family for keeps, saying: "She is not only a greedy-guts but a liar; and not only a liar but a fool as well."

There is a sadder story of a young wife: Nimo's job was to shut the kids and lambs into a byre at some distance from the house before coming home at night. One evening she had left the task over long and was afraid of reproof if she were late returning. "They will come to no harm," she thought, "if I leave them out for once." By bad luck, however, there was a fox or wolf about, and when she returned to round up her charges next morning she found only their torn and scattered corpses. In grief and remorse she fled home to her own people. No undue reproach was levelled at her, but there was no disguising the gravity of the catastrophe. She brooded over the calamity her carelessness had caused, and one day her father found her dead in the byre, where she had hanged herself.

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

I had expressed a wish to see what winter life "By the Lamp" was like, and one day Levy Kalbi brought an invitation from his womenfolk to join them some evening in their house. I was warmly welcomed into the living-room, where twenty people were at home and many guests besides myself had been invited. The guests included all our own household except the Kashmiri sweeper. I made my way over to the women's side of the house and murmured such compliments as I could improvise, on the skill and diligence with which they stitched and teazed and span. It was amazing. I could only hope that their zeal was perhaps a little extra on my account. Presently, when all had settled down after my incursion, a princely dish of potatoes cooked in *maltash* (producing a sort of Irish stew effect) was set on the floor in the centre and a wicker platter heaped with bread and another piled with grapes. Kalbi had most thoughtfully asked me to have my own dinner before coming, for he feared that I might not be able to enjoy their food (as *maltash* is an inevitable ingredient in any food set before a guest, this was both tactful and humane). Another large dish of grapes was set near me, and the children who clustered round shared them with me without reluctance.

Again I marvelled at the spaciousness and freedom gained by an absence of furniture. We must have been thirty or forty in that tiny-seeming room, yet there was no sense of crowding, and there was perfect ease of movement. And again I marvelled at the natural graciousness and instinctive good manners of these unsophisticated folk. My hosts and hostesses, who had never had a European in their house before, made me feel welcome and at home, and were evidently not conscious of the slightest embarrassment themselves. In a few minutes two or three prostrate sausage-rolls of bedding came to life, bright eyes peeped out and the respective mothers' exhortations, "Go to sleep again, darling!" were just as successful as their equivalents in similar circumstances at home.

Only a couple of the very senior men of the family shared the extra feast, but the guests were warmly pressed to fall to. Each folded a flap of bread round his potato and ate it neatly as from an egg-cup. Then Kalbi's old father, the patriarch of

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934+5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

the twenty, whose great-grandchildren were present in the room, a fine old greybeard, active and handsome still despite his years, set out to tell us his memories of the siege of Chitral and Kelly's famous march to its relief, in which he himself had taken part. That was only four or five years after "the downfall of Hunza," as he phrased it, but numbers of Hunza men enlisted in the British relieving force. (Another neighbour of ours in No. 6 was also one of Kelly's volunteers.) He showed me the sword he had carried and the handsome muzzle-loader with its forked rest, both carefully greased and kept in good condition as befits heirlooms of the kind. He discoursed with a tinge of unconcealed regret on the olden days when men were men and fighting was toward, "though of course peace is best," he added with incomplete conviction in his voice. The others broke in with questions, and led him on to talk of this episode and that, rehearsed no doubt many a time before, and to cap the tale he proudly put his finger through his jaw and out under his ear tracing the path of a Chitrali bullet. This honourable wound he wore more proudly than his medal, though this also was displayed with pride.

While he talked away with ease and modesty even the little children listened with intelligent attention, and you could easily picture them in years to come telling their great-grandchildren: "My great-grandfather used to say . . ." Their tastes uncorrupted by the sensational gossip of the daily press and the melodramatic improbabilities of the screen, their memories not undermined by second-hand book learning, these humble Hunza folk are immensely better educated than the products of our costly schools; not one of them but can tell you all the details of his own lineage for eight or nine generations back on either side. Outside Debrettites, how many of us British folk can do as much?

A youngster who has a taste that way or who covets the position of a priest in the future, can easily learn to read and write a little Persian and Urdu at the feet of one of the local khalifas. Burushaski has no script and is never written; nor would it carry anywhere outside the Hunza and Yasin valleys if it were. If he is more ambitious of letters, he can foot the four

miles daily to Báltít, as Yaman and a couple of our other young 793
friends did, and attend the Government-supported school 874
with the sons and grandsons of the Mir and the Wazir. Promising children of the more well-to-do can attend a more advanced school at Gilgit, and the really studious may even make their way down to Srinagar.

Ninety-nine per cent of the population, however, happily 212
still remain illiterate, and have not fallen victims to com- 871
pulsory education. When the people would question me about conditions in England, they were horrified to learn of such things as rates and income-tax, but even more aghast at the tyranny that compels both boys and girls to spend the years from five to fourteen at school. "But that's the time when they ought to be *learning things*," they said.

When my pleasant evening "By the Lamp" was ended and I 000
had said good-bye, cautiously descended the ladder and mounted my waiting horse, I was shocked to see my host accompanying us carrying a tray of food. I had expressly stipulated that I would only accept his kind invitation on condition of not being laden with food gifts to take home. To my protests Kalbi said: "Yes, yes, Mother dear, it's all right. I'm not forgetting. I'm only taking up his supper to the sweeper."

With honourable simplicity the Hunzukuts abide by the 771
fundamentals of Islam as they understand them. They may not 788
be strong on ostentatious prayer and fasting, they rack their brains over no theological subtleties, but a Believer is a man and a brother, be he a Kashmiri, be he twenty times a sweeper. Here was a man of substance, a Levy, a grandfather, a much respected citizen in his small community, climbing a mile uphill to carry with his own hands a share of the evening's feast to his absentee guest. That the man was absent was no doubt a tactful concession to any caste-prejudice with which India might have infected me.

The boys lighten the monotony of the indoor weeks of the 857
Great Cold by occasionally dashing out for a hasty game of 526
foot polo or tipcat with their friends or keeping themselves warm with *mindak* matches. Such young men as are real dance

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

526 enthusiasts may dance every afternoon at The Gate, but they
857 do not draw a large circle of spectators.

On one of the rare bright days that we were blessed with,
541 word was sent us that a special show was being got up for that
536 evening if we would care to come. We reached "The Gate" just before dusk and found a stone sofa duly carpeted for us. As the evening grew darker, the crowd became larger and the general feeling of infectious excitement increased, till at last the organizers of the show went round the crowd using their long sleeves as conductors' batons to mark time for the magnificent Ha-Ha-Ha and the unison clapping they so much enjoy which now announced the arrival of the performers. A lot of young men had got themselves up in various disguises, pairs of them stooping under a blanket with a horse's head fixed in front, pranced about most realistically under two boy-riders. Two other pairs were got up as markhor with real horns in front, while a fantastic huntsman with an aged muzzle-loading matchlock stalked them with exaggerated caution. Five or six were dressed up as women with silken veils to hide their moustaches. The best of all were two bent old men with flowing white beards; they were dressed in sheepskins with huge humps on their backs, and tottered very effectively on stout sticks. They contrived to look very aged and very frail. Then they got up a sham quarrel about the wife of one whom the other was supposed to have stolen. Thereupon they laid about each other with their cudgels—very carefully smiting only each other's well-padded humps—and did amazing leaps with their staves as jumping poles, the one lighting on the other's back and rolling him in the dust. This excellent horseplay was wildly applauded.

There were two absurd little boys with tiny besoms who made admirable clowns. They fussed about, sweeping the ground just in front of the dancers and choking everyone with dust, getting kicked out of the way and looking innocently pained at being so misunderstood. When anyone was knocked down in the rough and tumble they would officiously dash up to brush him down and get cuffed for their pains.

Altogether it was an extremely clever rag, mostly nonsense

and horseplay, of course, but with both humour and first-class 541
mimicry. A lot of the witticisms were lost on us, being in the 536
nature of "family jokes" only to be understood by the initiate, but they must have hit the mark, for they brought down the house. At one point one of the humped old men produced a mysterious black box from under his sheepskin and flung himself into a skilful caricature of DL taking photographs, pacing distances, peeping through view-finders, jotting things in notebooks, etc., etc. This was the star turn, and had been kept for the end. It was greeted with roars and howls of laughter, in which we joined till our sides ached.

After about half an hour, when everybody had been beaten and banged and rolled about enough to be tired out, we scattered home, surprised afresh at the magic in the air that made a show like this possible at 19° F. on a winter evening.

As we climbed home the great mountains of Nagir across the 132
river were looking their best in the evening light with massed patches of fresh-fallen snow and Raka resplendent in a new silver satin coat. But in many ways the winter snows—on the rare occasions when you can see them at all—are disappointing. We had pictured the whole land above, say, 10,000 feet one mass of snow; but in fact most of the cliffs and slopes are far too steep to *hold* snow, however much may fall, and while you do get magnificent stretches of pure white these are spoiled artistically by intervening scars of black and brown, khaki or dull grey. The topmost peak of Raka herself is a sheer rock-face of some thousands of feet whose grey austerity renders it almost invisible above the eternal snows beneath.

We had now reached the month which the people call "Crazy January," with its sudden and erratic storms of wind, and when the wind chooses to roar down these gorges from the glaciers then, by Jove! you do feel a temperature of 19°. We personally were lucky, for our bungalow was in a kind of sheltered pocket—a fact we regretted during the hot weather —and even when a wild wind was hurtling round it seemed just to miss our windows.

Our sponges had been frozen solid for weeks and our bathrooms were not places to linger in, but it was cosy near

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

132 the fire—less cosy at our working-tables near the light—and when mealtimes came we would carry in a couple of blazing logs from the study to thaw the air of the dining-room. Lucky as we were about fuel, we could not afford a continuous fire in a second room. But wood is gracious stuff, and a quick blaze just for meals was better than nothing.

Chapter 24

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

AFTER weeks and weeks of dismal weather, which except for 132
absence of rain or damp was about as cheerful as Fleet Street in December, we woke on February 1st to a white world, a glorious clear sky and SUNSHINE, so we downed tools and went out with our cameras to enjoy life again. When it snows here —a very rare phenomenon at this level, 7,600 to 8,000 feet— it is a disappointing sight. There are no "flakes" at all. It is as if Someone were very half-heartedly shaking the finest castor sugar out of one of those inefficient sugar-casters that people exchange as wedding presents. Even when it had snowed all night there was only a tiny sprinkling on the ground, and long before it was light enough to take a photograph with a Christmas-card foreground the stuff had evaporated, leaving you with the dark, empty fields.

It was delightful to see the whole place full of people again as if by magic. The old folk out on their roofs "taking the sun," and the whole place a-twitter with kiddies of every size. The little ones had been invisible for three months, and even 291
the bigger ones rarely seen and in small numbers: partly because they really haven't enough clothes. They wear no under-things at all, and in the bitterest weather, though they may be huddled in a tattered *choga* or two, you see their bare chests peeping through their cotton shirts. Oddly, though they cuddle their *chogas* over their heads, they never dream of crossing them in front. If Papa happens to possess a padded coat from Yarqand or a skin coat with its own wool inside, the family is well off, and anyone who has to go out will take the

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

291 loan of it. In Kanízah's house (No. 3), though they are very, very poor, they are lucky enough to possess a woman's cloak of feather-wool. It looks extremely cosy and furry—though very old and greasy—with feathers sticking out all over it. When you can get enough down you spin the feathers in with the wool [136] before you weave it. You can only use the breast feathers of the wild duck for the purpose, and it must take a lot of wild duck, which are seasonal and rare, to yield enough for seven yards of feather cloth. This cloak of No. 3 is the only one we have seen. So we watch "the cloak" go out for walks—now on Zenába, the cheery old mother, who is one of the few really ugly women here but who always wears a happy grin that would redeem any face, now on Apicho, the eldest unmarried daughter who seems to be always on the point of getting wed but always just failing for some reason to pull it off.

511 We eventually discovered the reason for No. 3's extreme and obvious poverty. Poor Zenába had produced five girls, including a pair of twins, and only one boy, the second youngest child. Yaman (in full Ali Aman Shah) was one of our best boy friends, a bright, intelligent boy full of life and fun and knowledge, and good at all boys' games, but he was only ten or thereabouts, and not yet able to help his father in the heavier work of irrigating, wall building, ploughing, etc., and poor Ali Akbar looked worn and frail with six to provide for single-handed—not to mention the rare extravagance of the cat. Yaman manfully did all he could, and in addition when he could be spared from home trudged four mountain miles to Báltít to attend the school there with the Mir's grandsons and a few other ambitious boys. A great little fellow, with (as far as we could see) a hard enough life before him.

Yet No. 3 was one of the most cheerful and most hospitable houses round.

511 We supposed that Apicho's prospective bridegroom was as
585 poor as she, and when the two families came to tot up the
302 necessary wedding feasts they just couldn't face it. Certainly it had missed fire twice after we had heard that the date was fixed (you can in certain circumstances get from the Mir a special

licence to marry at irregular dates). Meantime no one seemed 511
unduly cast down, and Apicho continued to grow her hair so 585
as to be ready. Sometimes it stuck out all round her head in 302
about a hundred tiny plaits, on other days she had a wonderful, if somewhat shaggy, mane of frizzy hair about 5 inches long. She was a dear.

The small boys and girls have the centre of their heads 302
close shaven (a cleanly and sensible arrangement) with just a neat fringe left all round to show below their caps; married women wear, hanging down beside their faces, two plaits which are knotted up into two balls to be well out of the way. It is a most becoming style of hair-dressing. The plaits softly frame the face and the two balls dance merrily about. When a girl reaches thirteen or fourteen and marriage beings to loom ahead, she starts growing her hair in some variety of bob as a practical preparation for the state of matrimony.

We went off to one of the deep open reservoirs hoping in 296
the good light to get a photograph of the cattle being watered at the usual time. But, alas! the nice bright day must have modified their time-table, for not the ghost of a beast turned up. On the way we saw a pretty young woman whom we knew, doing some washing. She was squatting in the sun on a stone sofa beside a pool which was still covered with thick ice and dipping the clothes in through a hole she had broken for the purpose. She then laid the wet garment on the stone and whacked it with a thick wooden beater. Further on, Najat of No. 1 was washing some tattered pieces of felt, probably to pluck down for shoddy. She had flung them into shallow water and was vigorously trampling them while chunks of ice clattered round her ankles. A hardy folk the Hunzukuts.

As we came back we found a large group of women and 524
children on the main road, and one of the wee girls had a "doll." This consisted simply of one piece of stick with some rags hung round it and two cross sticks for arms which were jointed on and neatly attached to a piece of string so that they waved about when you pulled. They made it "dance" for us with much amusement and laughter, but we could not detach the doll and its owner from the crowd to get a decent photograph.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1. Gohir Nimo of No. 9 reaping. (See p. 134)

PLATE XVII

592

2. Family group of No. 10. Aliko (seated in background) watches Soni proudly rocking his first grandson. (See p. 101)

[Facing P.224]

000 the doll and its owner from the crowd to get a decent photograph.

The snowfall, skimpy as it was, broke the Great Cold, and the milder weather made photographic work a good deal less painful: giving films and prints ten changes of water when there are large icebergs floating in your buckets and there is no means of heating the dark-room is not enticing. I basely sent some of my own off to Kashmir to be dealt with there, but nothing would induce DL to risk the perils of the road for his. It takes weeks and weeks to get them back so that my lazy method had its own drawbacks, and anyhow no D. and P. people, however good, give your photos the same affectionate attention as you do yourself.

The breaking of the cold while we still had a good hoard of firewood left, meant that we could now afford to be more luxurious and keep a fire going in the dining-room. This also meant that I had a room to click the typewriter in even when DL was working with an informant in the study, and that he could have another big table to spread out maps on.

A minor advantage of the cold weather was the possibility of hanging meat and so gaining respite from the daily hen, which as an article of diet is a thing you can get tired of. The sheep are lean and minute, but tender enough when sufficiently hung. Without being great meat-eaters, DL and I could polish off a leg of mutton in one sitting.

252 As we were slaying sheep for home consumption we thought it would be instructive to study the local methods of butchering, so Levy Kalbi, who was on the job, was instructed to call us before cutting up the next beast. I didn't specially crave to see the killing, but our folk evidently thought there was no good shirking any part of the rite, and when we went out there was the luckless animal with its legs tied and its neck nicely arranged on a stone.

They did the job neatly and humanely. I don't think the poor beast had an idea what was going to happen. He probably thought, if a sheep thinks at all, that he was merely going to be shorn. Anyhow, they sliced his throat expeditiously with a cry of "Bismillâh, ar Rahmán ar Rahím"—in the name of

252 God, the Merciful, the Compassionate—then they let the blood drain out, washed the neck carefully, and got busy with the skinning. Kalbi is a clever, neat-fingered fellow, as indeed all Hunzukuts seem to be, and in ten minutes had coaxed the skin off whole (without slitting it down the tummy) as easily as you peel off a pair of silk stockings. There were only the 415 holes at the neck and at the four "elbows" and a little slit at the tail, so that with a stitch at the tail and four ties at the legs the skin would serve as a water bucket or a bag for flour.

252 He then hung up the carcase and cleaned it—a wonderfully unmessy business—while we noted down all the words for its various innards. It would have been much more instructive and enlightening if either of us had ever seen a sheep killed at home or had known the English words for all the curious things it has inside it. There was not, even round the kidneys, one ounce of fat.

465 As usual out here, you do not pay a person in cash for performing a service of this kind; there is some recognized per-
237 quisite. In this case Kalbi considered that he would be handsomely remunerated if he might have the guts. We did not covet them ourselves, and gladly acquiesced. They are much
[534] valued. They will give you strings for your zither (many people, including Kalbi, make beautiful zithers for themselves), and for your bow; they serve as thread to sew your long boots and your skin sack, and you put them to a hundred other uses. Others of our retainers laid claim to the wool, the skin, and various other items. Later Kalbi gave us a demonstration of skin-curing and -kneading.

291 The long native boots are extremely comfortable-looking, like long-legged moccasins, and their construction is an elabo-
[281] rate art. Ibex skins are preferred, but ibex have nearly been killed off and other leather has to be substituted. The soles may be made of cow-hide. Boots are precious things, so however cold it is you take them off when you come to a very rough piece of ground or want to walk through water. At best the unlined boot is not over-warm, and really luxurious people wear woollen socks or stockings inside if they have them. The women can knit excellently well, but it is very rare for anyone

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

to have enough wool to spare for superfluities. The preciousness of boots accounts, I think, for a fact which puzzled us at first: you never see children, sporting as they are in every possible respect, sliding on the ice for fun. Boots are too valuable, and barefoot sliding would be a bit severe. Also, as David remarked, sliding and snowballing are games for such as can go home and change their clothes and get warm beside a nice big fire. These poor mites have at most one warm *choga* (and possibly a share of Father's on occasion) and a tiny fire at mealtimes only. Anyhow, they don't slide.

The bright weather of February 1st did not last, and though the cold was broken we reverted to gloomy grey weather and the ceiling of snow-cloud overhead. We knew that a week or two would bring the great festival of the Bopfau, or Barley Seed-Sowing, and we feared that it was going to take place in semi-darkness. But everyone assured us: "Oh no, it will be bright for the Bopfau." The great week drew near and we had heard no word from the Mir confirming his earlier invitation to come and stay at Kerimabad (his garden and rest-house in the park below the Fort at Báltít) for the occasion. We were beginning to fear that he had forgotten us and were wondering whether we could without offence remind him. Just as we were nearly in desperation and terribly afraid that we should wake some morning to be told that everything was over, a kind message came from him to say that he hoped we would come over on Wednesday afternoon. He himself would be away at Áltít, engaged with the preliminary ceremonies, but everything would be ready for us and we need only bring our own bedding. Now we knew that the GREAT DANCE was bound to take place on the Wednesday afternoon, and we feared that this meant that he did not specially want us at it—in which case, of course, there was nothing to be done.

We had a glorious ride over to Báltít on the Wednesday afternoon (of February 6th) in perfect weather, exactly as predicted. Various grandees had been told off to welcome us, a nice fire blazed in "our" beautifully furnished sitting-room, and the Mir's pet cook-for-European-guests, Mirza Hasan, was waiting with his best bedside manner to offer us tea. It was

then about three-thirty. We were gratefully drinking tea and 000
thinking that after all if we were not to see the dance, there were compensations in a quiet afternoon, when Mirza Hasan came in with a most courtly grin to say that if we had finished we ought to mount at once as the Mir had sent word that all was ready and they were waiting our arrival to begin.

So we gulped the rest of our tea, leaped into the saddle again, and set off for Áltít, only a mile and a half away. As someone else has already remarked, however, mere miles in this sort of country are a misleading form of reckoning, since they all stand on their hind legs. Kerimabad and Báltít Fort are perched on the brink of a great cliff about 600 and 1,000 feet respectively above the Áltít level. The ground on which they stand appears to be the ancient outpouring of the mighty ravine behind, whose glacier provides all the water for the central part of Hunza. The ground that forms the Báltít spur is not honest rock but finely powdered crumbly earth well strewn with boulders, and the zig-zag road that leads down it is not the kind of thing you would choose for a brisk canter. We scrambled down it with such reasonable caution as haste permitted, forded the torrent at the bottom—very small, of course, at this season—and made towards Áltít Fort. A fine stretch of open and (relatively) level ground lies on the landward side of the Fort, which in its turn is perched on a mighty rock cliff that falls a sheer 500 feet or more into the Hunza river, presenting a most inhospitable face to the Nagir enemy across the water. This open stretch of country explains the fact that Áltít was inhabited long before Báltít, and still remains the ceremonial centre for old-time festivals.

A lovely long polo-ground—the biggest in the Agency, 506
except perhaps the one at Gilgit itself—flanked on both sides by a row of poplars and, of course, by low stone walls (you can no more have a polo-ground in these regions without walls than you could have a billiard table without cushions), leads towards the Fort. Even from the landward side the Fort rises up most impressively from the great rock on which it is built, and the village huddles round it close and tight. We skirted 644
the polo-ground by a narrow path with high field walls rising 796

on our left and passed the field in which to-morrow the Bopfau ceremonies were to take place. As we drew near, the various princes and princelings came out courteously to welcome us, the less important ones, of course, coming farthest, then the grandsons in reverse age-order, and lastly Ghazan Khán himself, the heir and "Prince of Wales." Just outside the Fort there is a fine pond outlined with poplars, the main "road" (say 4 feet wide) on the left of it. The hall-doors of the houses open straight on to this track, their front-door steps being tree trunks with notches cut in them in which the foot is planted sideways as you mount.

Prince Ghazan Khan led us through a narrow alley between the town houses to where the Mir himself was standing to greet us. As always he made us feel more than welcome, and took us to a nicely carpeted balcony where chairs stood ready. The balcony was only a few feet above the courtyard, and we had a perfect view. You must try to imagine a "courtyard," with no straight walls or edges, shut in by irregular tiers of houses piled on top of each other, mounting the rock to the towering Fort above, their flat roofs and roofed balconies all projecting higgledy-piggledy as the haphazard contours of the rock dictate. Every roof and point of vantage was packed with people till, as usual, you felt sure the beams were bound to crash. Everybody was in their gayest and brightest dress, and every single face just radiant. There never was a people anywhere with such a gift for looking happy as the Hunzukuts.

In the courtyard the musicians squatted at the base of the walls: three pipers, three men with pairs of kettledrums, and three big drummers, all of them clowning and play-acting vigorously as they played. Dancing of the more or less ordinary type was going on, varied by the singing of songs—all unfortunately in Shina, not Burushaski. The Hunza people say they have no songs of their own. DL conscientiously recorded the words of these songs later, but as in the case of the Tumushelling chant it is doubtful whether after centuries of being mangled they will yield any intelligent meaning.

Presently the GREAT DANCE came on. The most glorious

piece of dancing either of us has seen. Oh, for a Philip Thornton to record the music and interpret the movements! It consisted of twelve acts with twelve separate tunes, through all of which, however, the same *time* was preserved (the only thing about a tune which I am competent to recognize!). The light was too weak for my 6.3 lens, so I had to leave all thought of photography to David, and in compensation I concentrated as best I could on memorizing the various figures of the dance. It wasn't possible to make courteous conversation to our hospitable hosts and at the same time overtly take notes, and when I set myself to write down the detail immediately on our return to Kerimabad I found to my disgust that I could reconstruct only ten out of the twelve acts. 796 535

The eight pairs of dancers, all old or middle-aged men, dressed in gay shirts, homespun *chogar*, and long soft native boots, each clutched a bright strip of barbaric-looking Bukhara silk thrown behind his shoulders (over the right and under the left arm), a foot or so of the silk dangling out beyond his hands. The figures of the dance were very varied; some of the most interesting and striking were these: The dancers formed a circle, doing a dignified slow polka on their flat feet three times round, then faced inwards and danced towards the centre with their arms stiffly stretched out in front. When they had nearly met they all flung their arms suddenly over the heads with a well-synchronized shout of Ha-Ha-Ha! Then all bent slowly forward and dabbled the ends of their scarves on the ground as if dipping them in water.

Again they all circulated, waving their arms and scarf-tails gracefully, then sat down on the ground with legs stiffly out in front pointing to the centre. Then they leaned forward and again dabbled the scarf-ends on the ground beyond their toes. Then they leaned back almost to the point of losing their balance and flung their arms up with the same shout. Next they leaned slowly back till they lay flat on the ground and rolling from side to side they gently flogged the shoulder of first one and then the other neighbour with their silken scarves.

Throughout a couple of other figures the dancers crouched

796 on their hunkers and waved their arms and leapt frog-like
535 along.

A very quaint and effective act consisted of the dancers turning back to back in pairs, each leaning heavily against his partner, and dancing with all his weight on his heels. They danced round the circle three times like this (it must be particularly difficult for the ones who have to dance backwards). All were raising and flourishing their arms alternately and making great byplay with the outward-facing dancer of the other pair. The semi-final act had no small resemblance to our Sir Roger de Coverley. The circle halted facing inwards and the two leaders of the teams of eight signalled across and danced to meet each other, overshooting and passing back to back. As they passed, they halted a second, leaned heavily back against each other's shoulders and raised first one hand, then the other with their waving scarves, and each then flourished off to take the other's place. When all eight pairs had similarly changed places the dance was at an end.

The team work was admirable throughout. There was not at any point the slightest hitch, such as invariably wrecks amateur lancers or quadrilles at home. I could not extract from my adjacent prince any information as to the length of time they had spent rehearsing; he implied that they just "remembered" from one year to the next; but such faultless co-operation must have followed very strenuous rehearsal both of dancers and musicians.

Seeing so many of the dancers very elderly, I asked the Mir was there no fear that the skill and knowledge of the dance would die out. He assured me that every year a couple of younger men are drafted into the team so that the tradition may not be lost. The dance, in very much its present form, has been performed uninterruptedly for six hundred or seven hundred years, and probably immeasurably longer.

789 It seems likely that it originated in some imitative-magic
796 rites designed to benefit the crops: dabbling the ground may
535 be preparing it for seed: the cry with high-flung arms may be intended to encourage the growing ears to tower to heaven: the crouching springs may imitate the springing of the shoots:

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

the flogging may portray the threshing and the back to back 796
scene with waving arms might well represent the winnowing. 535
None of the present-day Hunzukuts attach the slightest magical 789
value to these things, and it is hard to believe that they themselves at any period ever did so, for a less superstitious people can never have existed. But they love dancing and music and *tamashas*, they love any pretext for holiday-making and dressing up, and they may well have borrowed the Bopfau Dance, minus its magic implications, from some people amongst whom the magic was still believed to be potent.

The wise Mir fully realized the psychological value of periodic festivals, and though the keeping up of all the ancient ceremonial often imposed a good deal of hard work and fatigue on himself, he devoted thought and care to preserving the old traditions and preventing the ceremonial's being curtailed or scamped.

When the dance was ended the performers turned and all 796
saluted the Mir; then one by one they came forward and took his left foot in their two hands and stooped over it with the gesture of kissing and then faded out backwards.

The next item on the programme, the Seed Sowing itself, was scheduled for noon on the following day (Thursday, February 7th). We determined to ride down to Altít bright and early, partly to avoid crowds in narrow tracks, and partly hoping for photographs in the new-found daylight. We overshot the Fort and scrambled out on to the edge of the river cliff—not without some risk to our necks—in attempts to get good pictures of Altít Fort in profile.

There is a nice little old mosque not far from the Fort where chairs had most thoughtfully been placed in case we should like to rest a while before the show began. We presently installed ourselves here to watch the crowds pouring in from miles and miles away; people on foot streamed across the countryside, all very gay and merry, and as much interested in us as we in them. When a group of horsemen arrived, men of consequence from distant villages, they did not ride straight in, but halted at the end of the polo-ground till they were observed from the Fort; then the band struck up a wild tune

796 and the party galloped hell for leather down the field, providing a fine spectacle for the pedestrian crowds.

As noon drew on we went along towards the pond and took our stand where DL thought his prospects of cine-photography were best. It was his first serious attempt to use his cine-camera, and everything seemed unpropitious. The only point of view from which it was possible to command the path of the procession faced straight into the eye of the sun while the path itself was in heavy shade. I posted myself as well as I could to try to shade his lens, and as a matter of fact the film has not turned out too badly. We were both so much preoccupied throughout the day with the unwonted problems of the cine, and the endeavour not to appear rude or ungrateful, that I realized too late that I had entirely forgotten to take ordinary snapshots of separate figures, etc., as I should normally have done. It is particularly disappointing for the chance was unique, and there would have been ample opportunity if I had not let my wits go wool-gathering.

Noontide came; music was heard inside the Fort, and out came the band in necessary single file carrying on their usual byplay with vigour and evident enjoyment. Next followed "The Great" (viz. headmen, officials, and the like) in single file on foot, but carrying "horses" in their hands. The horses were wands made of a few dark red willow twigs, bent over in a circle at the top not unlike one of the toys a bishop has to play with. A striking personage was a man bearing two huge loaves of barley bread on his back. They were about the size [262] of millstones and looked about equally digestible. Next came a sturdy fellow bearing shoulder high an ancient iron platter hung with chains, on which was piled a white cone called the *chopan*, crowned with a pear and a bunch of maidenhair. The *chopan* is concocted of several favourite Hunza foods, *maltash*, of course, a mulberry preserve called *bing*, and other ingredients kneaded together and coated thick with flour. This dish was escorted by a man drowned from head to foot in flour, whose face was like an over-pierrotted pierrot; lastly came a man carrying a dish of burning incense.

Next appeared a lot of men bearing white and red pennants

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Next appeared a lot of men bearing white and red pennants and one carrying the Hunza standard (rather a new invention 796
this, I fancy). The standard is a large triangle of white with 186
two pairs of horizontal red stripes, an open hand in red, and a bow and arrow in green: a handsome and effective national flag.

After the standards came the men of the Royal Family, 796
including Hari Tam of three or four (but not the new baby), 643
the younger members leading the way, and lastly Sir Muhammad 292
Nazím Khán himself, mounted on his snow-white Badakhshani stallion. The horse wore a scarlet saddle-cloth heavily embroidered in gold, and from a broad gold collar round its neck there dangled a large "feather brush" of pure white yak's hair. The Mir, looking as always every inch a king, was robed in bright green velvet cloak with massive padded gold embroidery. He had on a fine silk turban of pale blue. All the people entitled to a place in the procession, from the Mir downwards, were wearing bunches of large-leafed maidenhair in their caps. Gathering this fern, which as far as we could learn grows only in one spot in Hunza near Áltít, and collecting the willows for the "horses" provide exciting tasks for the boys for a day or two preceding the feast, while women of the Diramiting clan are busy baking the barley mill-stones and compounding the *chopan*.

Before the procession ultimately emerges many elaborate 796
traditional ceremonies take place in the ancient rooms of the Fort, which is still used for these occasions though no longer inhabited. The detail and significance of these ceremonies (which we were not invited to witness) were fully investigated by DL and I shall not here anticipate his account of them.

The procession passed along the narrow track till it reached the Bopfau field, 6 feet or so above the path and supported by the usual revetting wall. The younger and more active scaled the wall, but for the Mir himself a ladder had been placed at an angle of 45 degrees, bridging the water-channel at the base of the wall, and I followed the royal lead up the ladder. The Mir then took his seat on a chair beneath which a carpet had been spread (chair and carpet being doubtless modern

796 innovations). Chairs had been set for us also and the crowd formed a circle round. A large skin sack was then brought containing sections of a roasted ox. These were emptied out on to a skin tablecloth on the ground, while hundreds of thin bread pancakes were spread on another skin. The Master of the Ceremonies, a fine old man with a white beard dyed orange, took an adze and hacked the joints of meat into neat little chunks. A dish of bread and meat was brought to the Mir to handsel, and he duly tasted a little of each.

A piece of meat was then folded into several flaps of bread and the name of a village was called out. The little parcel was promptly passed back over the heads of the crowd to the authorized representative of that village who was present to receive it. A portion of the royal food was thus distributed to every village in Hunza. Bundles of new arrows and bundles of arrow heads wrapped in red handkerchiefs were then emptied at the Mir's feet. These he distributed to all the people about to take part in the archery.

796 The stage was now set for the essential part of the Bopfau
789 ceremony. The Mir and Royal Princes stood up and formed a semi-circle facing east, holding their joined hands out cup-wise in front of them. A small bag of seed-grain had been brought adorned at the mouth with a bunch of maidenhair. From this, grain was poured into their hands, and on top of the Mir's handful was placed a microscopic bag made from the skin of a sheep's heart and filled with gold dust. The officiating greybeard intoned a prayer of blessing, and at a given signal the Mir and Princes flung the grain back over their heads and the people crowded in to catch it in their hands. Those lucky enough to secure any, promptly rubbed it between their palms and ate it. He was doubly lucky who secured the bag of gold, but we heard that he was expected to distribute it in alms, so the concrete advantage was slight.

796 The grain-throwing was three times repeated, and we all
241 moved off to another part of the field, where a little heap of manure had been spread out. Two yoked oxen were now driven forward drawing an old-style plough (rather perfunctorily attached for it came adrift and had to be readjusted).

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Then the Mir, still wearing his royal robes, ploughed three parallel furrows and formally initiated the Barley Sowing of the year. In theory no true Hunzukuts will sow his barley till this ceremony has been performed, but we were told that in fact anyone who is ready earlier and thinks the time is ripe has not the slightest hesitation in going ahead with the good work. Never was a people so admirably full of common sense! 796 241

The Bopfau field was now deserted for the polo-ground; the crowd helter-skeltered down the wall, bringing the stones down on their heels in clouds of dust: the one and only time when I saw Hunza folk knock even one stone from its place without halting to replace it. We descended by the ladder with greater dignity and proceeded to the raised dais reserved for "The Great" on such occasions. Directly opposite the Grand Stand at the farther side of the ground was a little pile of earth about 2 feet high, and piled as steep as it would stand, on the side of which was fixed a target of brittle wood covered with a thin plaque of beaten silver. The mark was about 2 inches by 2½, and much the shape of an egg in profile. 796 526

Before the archery began all the Mir's horses in fine trappings were galloped down the field—the band thumping and piping as they came. Then the archers rode by carrying their immense bows of spliced wood faced with plates of ibex horn and strung with plaited leather. There were about thirty of them, including Prince Shah Khan ("Little Lord Fauntleroy") on a small pony with a full-sized bow nearly as long as himself. From the far end of the ground they came hurtling along one by one, coaxing their horses into a steadier gallop as they neared the mark, then flinging down the reins and firing as they passed. Some arrows flew a bit wide, but by far the greater number buried themselves to the feathers in the little earthen mound. A few horses sheered off, not permitting their riders to take a shot, and one fine animal, seeing the mound stuck as full of arrows as it could hold, decided that the game was a steeplechase and cleared the mound in a magnificent leap, evoking much laughter. One man, a very William Tell, split the target through the very centre to thunderous applause.

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796 Lord Fauntleroy came along riding full gallop as if born in the saddle and got his arrow well into the mound of earth, to 526 his father's justifiable delight: "the boy is only learning," he modestly explained.

There were three courses of archery, at each of which the mark was won. The archer who strikes the target is entitled to pocket it for his reward, but on the two last occasions it was only grazed; I suppose that William Tell was debarred from further competition. If the targets had not been hit they would have fallen as perquisites to the bandsmen. After the archery there was going to be polo, but the Mir thoughtfully suggested that this was a thing of which we had seen enough for life, and perhaps we should like to ride home before the crush. It was by now two o'clock, and we had had nothing to eat since a very early breakfast, so we gratefully made our adieux. DL was fairly weary: there are few things more exhausting than wielding a 16 mm. cine-camera in adverse circumstances at eye-level.

000 We scrambled up the crumbling cliffs to Kerimabad again and found that the invaluable Mirza Hasan was awaiting us with a welcome spread of tea and cakes. He had observed us zigzagging up the hill. You can't, of course, easily arrive anywhere in Hunza unobserved if you come by the one and only road. Dádo got busy packing up our kit, and we made ready to start back on the road to Aliábád. Before we left, the Mir himself returned, and we were able to thank him once again, and congratulate him on his royal weather. He was delighted that we had taken the whole affair so seriously and done our best to put its main features on record; as far as he can grasp what DL's work is all about, he feels proud and happy that Hunza customs are considered of so much interest and importance. He said he thought he remembered one British officer having attended the Bopfau many, many years ago, but he could not recall the name, and we have not been able to trace any record left by this predecessor. It would be extremely interesting to have an earlier account of it all.

The two glorious days of Bopfau weather were almost a miracle: a very suitable miracle for a Chief traditionally

supposed to be able to control rain and sun. It is said of the Mir's grandfather, Ghazan Khan, that he was so skilled in the art that he could cause rain to fall when wanted and ride unwetted through it! On the second afternoon, as we were riding home, the clouds and mists were darkening in again and robbed us of some superb photographs we had marked down for taking on the homeward way. Some cold days ensued—an unpleasant jar after we had begun to shed cardigans and blankets. Still . . . the Great Cold was definitely over, and the sound of flowing water was a delight to the ear after the ice-bound months. An even greater delight was the sight of people working in their fields again, and all our jolly children friends romping about. Some of the women and children living quite near we had not laid eyes on for months.

Everyone was frantically busy. When the women weren't actually carrying manure out to the fields in their baskets and dumping it at regular intervals or squatting down to spread out the heaps evenly over the surface, they were sitting in groups here and there spinning for dear life in the welcome daylight and chattering like magpies, exchanging the gossip of their homes after the long seclusion. When I came upon any little lot I hadn't seen before, they hailed me eagerly: "We *have* missed you!" they shouted. And I laughed and said: "But I have been there all the time and *I* have gone out every day; it is you who have been hiding in your houses, crouching over the fire!" "That's true," was the laconic answer, "it was winter." It was fun to be amongst them all again and find them as natural and friendly and as merry as ever, and so very much neater and cleaner than I should be if I had their work to do and only icy water to wash in.

By the third week in February we could with a microscope begin to detect the first shoots of the winter-sown wheat, and even imagine a slight flush of green on the bare white twigs of the poplars, though the leaf buds had not yet begun to swell perceptibly.

I passed Kaníza's house one day as they were all busy dumping manure and noticed a strange girl helping. I knew that the married sister in Báltít had generously taken over Kaníza's

000 twin sister. "Is that Kaníza's twin?" It was—twice as big and flourishing as our little Kaníza. By way of making conversation I asked the mother: "Isn't it strange that Anjír should be so much bigger than her twin?" "Not really strange," she said quite simply, "there is food in Báltít." Yet when my photographing was done they pressed me to come in. I made to squat just anywhere on the woman's platform, but they must needs find a rug for me to sit on. They were cooking lentils in a big stone pot on a tripod over a tiny fire, and they produced a dish of boiled potatoes and wanted to share it with me. I took a tiny taste for friendliness, but excused myself from eating more with the phrase I had found gave no offence, "I
574 came, having just eaten." These people's hospitality just left me gasping. That dish of lentils and potatoes was probably the only serious meal of the day for five or six of them. And if I had so little, should I want to stuff any of it into over-fed foreigners? I trow not. We were not conscious of being exactly over-fed in Hunza, but by contrast with what our neighbours—much better folk than we—existed on. . . .

562 Another day I met on the narrow track a perfectly strange
576 lad with a lump of dried apricots in his hand (rather like a lump of the all-glued-together dates you see in a grocer's shop) which he was eating as he walked along. We greeted each other "Jú na!" This is the old-time native greeting, still much more in use than the formal "Salam aleikum" of Islam, which the women scarcely use at all. When you do say "Salam aleikum," the correct Hunza reply is "Salam aleikum." At first, of course, we used to answer: "W'aleikum as salam!" as is usual amongst Muslims elsewhere; but it came to sound stilted and highbrow to our own ears, as I do not doubt it did to theirs. Immediately the boy held out his apricots for me to take some. I tugged a small one off the corner and popped it into my mouth, where it lasted me like chewing-gum for half an hour. These apricots are very good and most sustaining, far tastier than the dried apricots we buy at home, but for serious eating they need to be steeped overnight and then make a delicious dish.

000 A month later, by the third week of March, we were well

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A month later, by the third week of March, we were well 132
into the Spring. The winter wheat formed a bright green carpet on the shelf-like fields, about three-quarters of our Aliábád ground being given over to it.

The barley which the men had sown after the Bopfau, just 243
the other day it seemed, was showing green over the most of the rest, and would presently outstrip the wheat and ripen first. The only brown fields left were those that were being prepared for vegetables and potatoes. No leaves were yet showing anywhere, but fat red apricot buds looked promising.

As autumn drew in we had begun to feel a little disappointed 241
in our Hunza friends whose marvellous field-walls we had always admired so much with not one single stone out of its place. There were breaches here and there, sometimes quite big ones, and paths were often blocked by a fall of stones, and no one seemed to bother. This puzzled us as out of character, but as soon as the last fear of frost was over, every spare moment was spent by men and boys restoring the countryside to its normal state of faultless tidiness. We now saw the reason of the apparent neglect. The frost and ice simply tear the walls to pieces, and to repair them during winter would be sheer folly. We might perhaps have divined this; but now at any rate we knew.

One early day in March we saw Khano on the mountain side 233
walking slowly and with circumspection. This was so strange a sight that we went over to investigate. "What are you carrying so carefully under your *choga*?" "My first kid," he said, opening his cloak to display the tiny head with triumph. "That's the mother there. I'm expecting four to-morrow. I do hope they won't get born at night in the byre. I'd rather they came when I'm out with them alone." "How do you happen to have so many goats?" we asked. "Oh, I'm herding for the Yerpa now. He's no boys of his own, you see." How crazy it would be to call a lad like that "uneducated" because he doesn't happen to have learned to read or write! He is proudly able to act as accoucheur to his goats, which few of our youngsters at home would feel equal to. We enquired later of Dádo and the rest what sort of wages Khano was able to earn, and their view was that he was probably not given

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burnbo AV7

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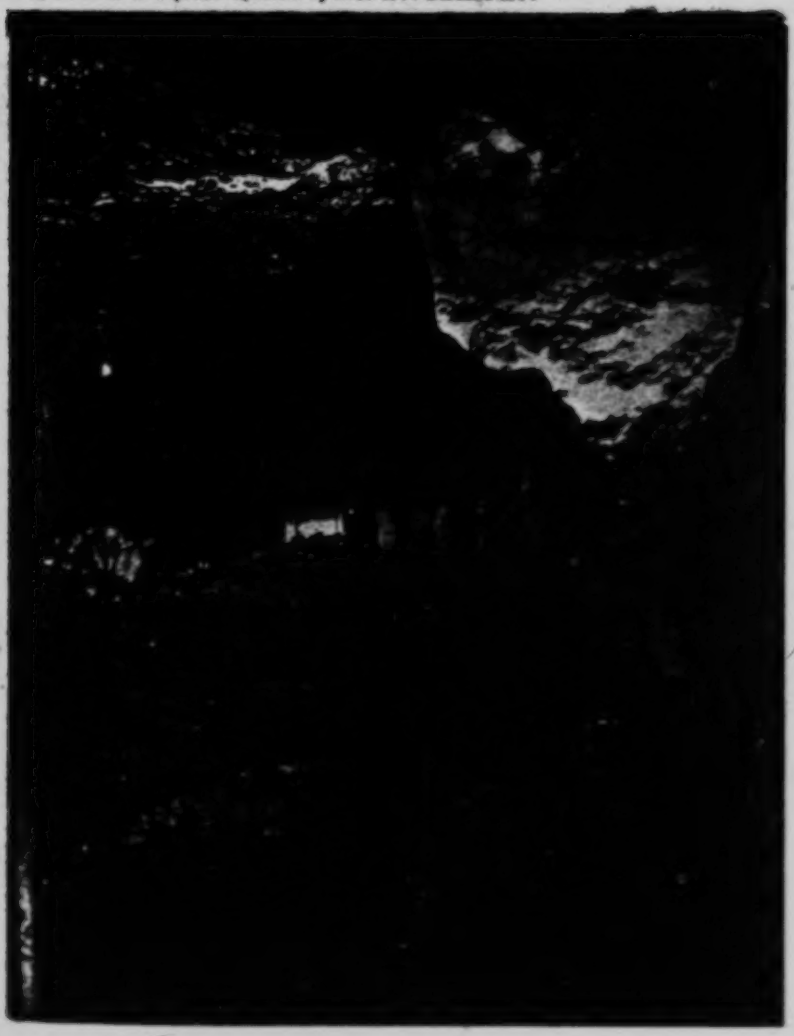

Mir's Fort at Bâltit, six hundred years old. Mountains in background 23,000 ft. concealing the great glacier that waters all the oases of central Hunza. (See pp. 105, 106)

PLATE XVIII

[Facing P. 240]

233 any wage in our sense of the term, but that he would certainly be getting one or two free meals a day, and thus sensibly reducing the rationing problems of his own home. Hunza sheep lamb twice a year, but the goats have kids once only, in the Spring. Khano's promotion to wage-earning status was a little sad for us, for we saw him much more rarely after that.

242 One fine morning early in March the apricot trees that line
245 the Dála just in front of our rest-house were suddenly invaded by the whole Dastagul family armed with long sticks, to the end of which a sharpened piece of curved iron had been attached. With infinite care they inspected every branch, and wherever they detected the nest of an insect they snipped down the twig on which it rested. These nests were small, cocoon-like things only about an inch long, with a nasty little grub inside. The nests clung very tight to their hospitable perch, and it was often necessary to cut quite a biggish spray in order to secure them; each was diligently collected and borne home to the fire. We were not qualified to identify the pest on which war was being waged, but it was reported to devour both leaves and fruit if not destroyed. All through the country every single apricot tree is scrupulously examined and cleared—there must be thousands. We certainly did not later see a single one that seemed to be suffering from insect attack.

563 About this time we made another addition to our re-
167 tainers—a dear old grey-bearded man with the jolliest bright
361 eyes and a merry, happy smile, but not a tooth in his head, was roped in to work at Wakhi. The Wakhis, as I have said, are immigrants into the north of Hunza from the Wakhan districts of Afghanistan. They have settled in various places above the level at which the Burusho themselves care to live. Hunza men will tell you that they cannot induce their womenfolk to live where the apricot will not ripen. I suspect, however, that the men are just as unwilling to forgo their trees and wheat and fruit, but Adam-like prefer to blame their mates. The higher villages of Hunza are therefore inhabited almost wholly by Wakhi-speakers. Being unaccustomed to wheat, apricots, or

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

trees of any kind, they do not miss them, and in compensation enjoy opener valleys and wider pastures.

Wakhi is an Iranian language, and, dearly as we both loved Burushaski, there is no denying that it was refreshing to revert to a tongue which has one form of plural instead of thirty-eight, and which cares no more about genders than English, less in fact, for it has only one word for "he" and "she." Charming old Farághat is a khalifa, or lay priest. He can read, and perhaps write a little Persian (a *very* little), but his mind is grammatically quite untrained, and one tense or case suits him for any purpose just as well as another. It is natural that at his age he is resistant to new ideas, but how resistant was almost incredible. After weeks of patient work he was no nearer appreciating the need for collecting the various tenses and participles than he was on the first day, so progress was slow. DL's patience amazed me. There would, of course, have been no use showing impatience, for it would have merely served to scatter such ideas as the nice old fellow had, and he was doing his best. There are some strange and wonderful consonant combinations in Wakhi, and Khalifa Farághat's lack of teeth did not make them any easier to diagnose: is it sh-kh-th, or th-kh-sh? It was clear that the hope of extracting any intelligible text of even the simplest form from Farághat was nil, and the Mir very kindly promised to fetch down from up-country a professional Wakhi story-teller to supplement. We awaited his arrival with eagerness. Picture our dismay when he proved to be an equally kindly, equally aged, equally toothless, equally futile old bird. Farághat had brought with him his youngest son, an extraordinarily handsome little fellow of nine or ten, so that the child might not miss his daily lessons, and as they sat about together pouring over a tattered, well-thumbed primer of some sort they made a touching picture.

It would be very unfair to generalize about Wakhi racial character from two such elderly men, but the impression these two left on us of kindly slow-wittedness confirmed DL's impressions of ten years earlier, when he had been travelling through their districts and had tried to get informants to work

with. They are the greatest possible contrast to the alert, intelligent Burusho: possibly there is more than sugar in a diet of apricots!

Quite suddenly after the first lovely rush of water the channels went silent again. Not that they were ice-bound, but it seems that the first warmth of the year melts all the recently fallen snow off the top, which gives you your first rush. After that comes a pause before the sun has gathered heat enough to melt the older, hardened snow and make an impression on the glaciers. This arrangement of Nature's suits the peasants well. The first rush waters their new planted barley and springing wheat; the pause gives them time to clear out all the silt and sand that is cluttering up their channels, and to repair the walls. They find the silt a useful top-dressing for their fields. All the menfolk worked hard to get their irrigation works into trim before the real water flow began. Meantime all the *pferis* near us were empty, and poor Sagi had to go a mile or more to draw water for baths and washing up, in addition to his usual pilgrimage for our drinking water. So we installed an assistant for him.

Among the enlivening sounds of these early Spring days was the tootle-tootle of boys' whistles. At a certain moment when they consider the degree of sap flowing in the willows is right for their purpose, they cut themselves sections of various lengths. With great ingenuity they coax off the bark in great flute-like pipes and make an extraordinary variety of whistles with many notes. The deepest notes are achieved by inserting a finer pipe into a larger one, and thus providing a lining to the latter as it were. The same procedure that yields a whistle will also supply a squirt, a pop-gun, or a pea-shooter, and these various toys diversify the day.

Despite the pleasure which water, work, and sunlight bring, the season of Spring awakes no poet's raptures in the Hunza heart. "Starvation Springtime" would have given Keats an odd title for an Ode. Many weeks before the new barley was ripe for cutting every household round us had already run out of every sort of flour, many also out of potatoes and apricots.

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The most cautious rationing had not been able to spread last year's supplies over the whole twelve months. Perhaps not all, but certainly many families were surviving on such edible weeds as they took from amongst the barley, and such small greens and turnip tops as were available in the women's vegetable plots. I had heard the phrase "Starvation Springtime" without fully realizing its import. One day passing along near No. 6 I saw Afiato's wife out on the roof, and shouted up: "Jú na, Bibi, the days are bright again; may I come some day and make a picture of you making bread?" "Come and welcome, Mother, but bread I cannot make till the new harvest. We have had no flour left this many a day. Have you not noticed the little children crying? They are hungry, poor mites, and they are too small to understand." Now that my attention was called to it, I did notice that we occasionally heard a wailing of small children such as had not been before. The bigger children and the grown-ups made no complaint, just tightened their belts and went on working—and smiling.

I had taken a photograph one day of Dirzi Nazar's wife, carrying a basin of greens up on to her roof to cook. It was rather a jolly photograph with Raka rising just behind Jamáli's head. When it was printed I went along as usual to give her a copy. She was nowhere about, but Nazar was on the roof doing the best he could with a dish of green stuff. He came down politely in answer to my greeting. I handed over the photograph. He was pleased. "Come along here, girl, and see what you look like!" he called to her. For a moment or two they lingered over the picture; suddenly Nazar burst out into uncontrollable laughter of so infectious a quality that it was some time before I could find voice to ask what the joke was. "Excuse me, Mother dear, but it really is so funny to have a lovely picture of the mountains and your wife and your house —with no bread in it," and off he went again in delighted appreciation of the irony of the situation. A few weeks later the mulberries ripened to vary and supplement the scanty diet of green food, and Nazar sent along a platterful for us. I could hardly *bear* to accept them; yet to refuse would have wounded

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 the generous givers. How petty a return was a small cash gift to the child who brought them!

245 At last, as March drew to its close, the apricot buds were reddening and swelling, and the most glorious season of the year from the scenic point of view was at hand. No one who has not seen Hunza, its fields carpeted with new green, its orchards clothed with blossom and the snow mountains towering behind, can form even a feeble picture of its loveliness. The sad thing was that we were going to have to forgo the sight.

000 The next door valley of Yasin is the home of the only extant dialect of Burushaski, and if our work on the language was to be at all complete we must go and spend some weeks there, making a study, however sketchy, of "Werchikwár." Many reasons made it advisable to devote April and May to the job, of which one was that we should thus pass through Gilgit while the annual Jalsa was on. Every year all the Chiefs and Governors of the Agency gather in Gilgit for a kind of Chiefs' Conference cum Ascot week, over which the Political Agent presides, and since Major Kirkbride had hospitably invited us, this would give DL an opportunity of meeting old friends of his official days whom he could not hope to visit in their own provinces.

When I say "next door valley" I refer to the geographical position of Yasin on the map. The great ranges that intervene between Hunza and the Yasin valleys are, however, impassable even for goats, and in order to reach Yasin—only some fifty miles distant as the crow flies, if any crows do fly over—we should be obliged to travel down the Hunza river to Gilgit (a four days' march at our modest pace) and five days' up the Gilgit river to our goal. With much reluctance we prepared to mobilize and bid Hunza a temporary farewell.

796 First, however, there were the celebrations of Nauroz to see, which, owing to the unexplained originalities of the Hunza calendar, fell some ten days before the correct date of the Spring Equinox. Again, as for the Bopfau, the Mir worked magic on the weather, and after several cloudy, gloomy days

the New Year ushered itself in with glorious sunshine and 796
bright skies.

Thanks to the good offices of the invaluable and versatile 000
Mirza Hasan, we had secured two excellent ponies for the Yasin trip, and we decided to try them for the first time on this New Year ride to Báltít. DL's was a handsome brown, guaranteed to be up to his weight, which though not considerable was nevertheless somewhat greater than that of the average Hunza rider. It was accompanied by the owner, Haiyáto of Hasanabad, one of the cheeriest-faced men I have ever laid eyes on. My white one, known as Busho (the cat), was escorted by a willing and obliging lad whose actual name I have forgotten since the temptation to christen him Ernest was immediate and irresistible, so obviously full was he of the importance of being earnest. It was a great delight to feel a real horse, in contrast to a "tat," between our knees again, and we set off in high spirits for Báltít. Instead of making for 644
Kerimabad, the Mir's hospitable gardens and European rest-houses, we mounted direct to the old Fort, which is perched on the perilous-looking brink of a great ravine with a magnificent view up and down the Hunza valley. Steep though the road is, our new mounts pluckily carried us up to the very gate. Dismounting here a rough spiral ramp led us to the "basement" of the Fort, which rises four storeys high. You enter a dark sort of hall with a square hole in the roof through which leads a rude wooden stair whose banisters are just plain poplar poles polished white by centuries of use. This lands you on an open lobby without parapet or railing, when another wooden stair (minus banister) conducts you to an open balcony, that serves as a spacious ceremonial reception-room. A low wall, not over 2 feet high, does nothing to impede the view—one of the finest views that any palace of kings can boast. At the back of this balcony is a handsomely carved pavilion under which stands a roomy "throne" covered with a purple velvet, gold-embroidered cloth. For the moment we were conducted further into a magnificent sitting-room with a fine bow window offering not only the distant scene but a more immediately amusing view of the flat roofs of the

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushe AV7

644 capital huddling as close together as they can and stepped up the steep hillside. Each, of course, with its square smoke-hole in the centre.

The Mir was dressed in khaki uniform and was wearing his K.C.I.E., lots of gold lace, etc., and a fine gold skull-cap as the foundation of a silken turban. It is only on state occasions that he abandons the native woollen head-dress of the country. He was also wearing a magnificent old sword in a gold embroidered, purple-velvet scabbard, whose name is Shihmir, "The King Slayer." After tea and smokes he adjourned with David to the outer balcony to receive his guests, all the headmen and officials of the country who had come from near and far to do homage and wish him a Happy New Year, and must be feasted with bread and meat. When the men had withdrawn the Queen and her ladies came in to join me, and we had an entertaining and amusing time. I had hoped to get some photographs of the royal group, but the indoor lighting was difficult; DL had taken the exposure meter with him, Dádo had removed my climbing stick (marked in feet) which I usually measured with, and the presence of so many grown-ups all offering good advice as to how the little princes and princesses should stand and comport themselves produced a strained atmosphere. In all the cirumstances a better photographer might have failed to get results!

Presently the outside ceremonies were over, the ladies said good-bye, and discreetly vanished before the Mir returned. After another go of tea, the Mir showed us a fine collection of old matchlock guns and swords finely damascened and overlaid with gold and silver wherever these could be got to stick. We then set off downhill to the polo-ground in advance of the Mir's party, and as we threaded our way through narrow lanes between the houses that seemed piled on each other's backs, Qudrat Ullah diverted us for a few moments to introduce us to his people. We were met at the front door by a large cow, a very nice cow, who was shooed back to her proper quarters while we were ushered up a ladder on to an open roof-balcony to meet some of the most beautiful women you can imagine, beautifully dressed, not a bit shy, and most cordial. No ladies

in Hunza affect seclusion except the immediate royal family. 649
In addition to Qudrat's mother, a delightfully gracious woman, and his pretty young wife, we met Dádo's wife—also very pretty, but a shade more embarrassed. The families are in some way inter-related. We got some photos here, the outdoor setting being more favourable, but dare not linger lest the Mir should be waiting for us.

We had only just got planted on the grand stand by the polo- 796
ground when we saw his procession winding down the hill, 643
the bodyguard in smart uniforms carrying the standard and the Mir with a white satin, gold-embroidered robe over his khaki, mounted on the Badakhshani stallion with the same handsome trappings as at the Bopfau. When he had taken his seat, up rushed a huge deputation from one village after another, shouting the equivalent of "O King, live for ever! May your New Year be blessed!" It was rather impressive. There was no mistaking the genuine affection and loyalty in voice and gesture.

After this followed the usual polo, archery, and dancing. Lord Fauntleroy again made excellent showing with his bow and arrow, and the youngest son of Ghazan Khan actually hit the mark, to his grandfather's pride and pleasure. The elder royal grandsons were not present; they were down in Gilgit doing their Scouts' training. We left about four, but the Mir settled down to see the daylight out at the sports and to preside at another bigger feed to The Great of the land. He was an amazing man for nearly seventy, and apparently entered into these shows with as much zest as the people themselves.

2: Lorimer 7-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 25

LEARNING AN UNKNOWN LANGUAGE

124 BEFORE we quit Hunza for our trip to Yasin, I may perhaps interpolate—for language lovers only—a few notes on the more technical side of our work.

People at home, whose idea of learning a new language—if they want to do anything so eccentric and unusual—is to buy grammar and dictionary, instal a set of Linguaphone records, attend classes, or hire a teacher, often ask how you can tackle the problem of learning an unwritten language where such aids do not exist and whose speakers are what the Germans call *analphabetisch*. It may be of interest to them to know how DL has usually set about it, though other pioneer language workers have doubtless evolved other methods.

You first select a few intelligent men who speak their language well and clearly, and work with them until you light on the one best suited to your purpose. You then annex him to the household at a fixed, generous salary, so that he will always be available when wanted, whether at home or on tour. I may mention incidentally that in our life the language hobby involved a considerable regular outlay in wages, pony hire, travelling expenses, etc., for such language retainers, of whom we often had two, three, or four in tow at once, and such a post with us was much coveted.

As long as he was an official, David had, of course, to fit this private amusement of his into the nooks and crannies left by his work, which naturally took unquestioned precedence, and was often so exacting as to leave no time at all save for meals and a minimum of essential exercise, so that these costly informants might be unused for days or weeks.

Having picked a suitable and congenial man—there is no

me trying to work if it can be avoided with a person you dislike—the game begins. In our regions it was usually possible to find a man with some smattering of Hindustani, Persian, or Pashtu, which helped to speed up the preliminary stages. You get him in, squat him on the floor, and by means of your medium language get hold of a few everyday words: 124

father	mother	grandchild	good	bad
grass	tree	wheat	arm	leg, etc.

then the primary colours: *black*, *white*, *red*; the numerals, pronouns, and a few simple time-expressions.

Oddly, many non-European languages have only one word for *blue* and *green*, but you take refuge in *blue as the sky*, "*blue*" *as grass*. Again, oddly as it seems to us, many have ambiguous time-expressions that look indifferently before and after (like the French *tout à l'heure*) so that *yesterday* is the same as *tomorrow*, i.e. one day before or after to-day.

The next most urgent item is, of course, the verb. You choose the seemingly simplest verbal idea "to have" but immediately strike a snag. *I have a stick* seems straightforward enough to an English mind, but you extract only "the stick is with me," "the stick is beside me," "the stick is in my hand"; there is, in fact, no verb "to have." So you take *to go* and try to get the forms of the present tense: *I go*, *thou goest*. . . . Bearing in mind that your man has no idea of grammar, you will not be surprised or daunted by arriving at something of this sort: 124 193

I'm off	we're making a move
thou goest	you are clearing out
he's starting	they flee

You're an old hand and you guess at once that the verb is not bedevilled, but that you have got a clue to six verbs instead of one and to the future as well as to the present tense. Pursuing the past tense of a verb which lets its action be graphically illustrated you may extract something like:

Yesterday I smote	We had beaten
thou hast hit *or* banged	you thrashed
he struck	they whacked *or* belaboured

123 again with a merry assortment of different roots and a con-
123 fusion of various shades of past-ness. All these various things you ultimately succeed in pigeon-holing.

124 According to the intelligence of your man—and many of these untutored folk are quite as intelligent as the average headmaster or Oxford don—and the amount of time you have to spare and the intricacy of the language (Burushaski being at least ten times as difficult as Shina or Khowar) your rate of progress will vary. In any case, you will find that, however bright and willing your informant, he is wholly unused to sustained concentration, and must immediately be released at the first sign of weariness or boredom. Also that you must spend many hours working through and sorting your notes and tabulating your results before the next interview, if this is to be profitable.

It was DL's practice to escape at the first possible moment from the thraldom of the intermediate language. First because translation from another tongue is always liable to distort and colour the speaker's own idiom, and secondly because both your and your informant's knowledge (especially his) of the second language is imperfect and often inaccurate, and the amount you actually have in common very limited. It is therefore at best an untrustworthy crutch.

126 You then bid him think over some short narrative—a fairy tale, an anecdote of real life (a wedding, a funeral, or a raid)—and be prepared to tell it to you very slowly. It is not the affair of a day to train him to speak at a pace you can carefully record, and at first if he has outstripped you and is asked to "say that again" he will repeat himself in totally different words till your text is an agglomeration of bewildering anacolutha.

Having got a first short text on to paper phonetically—without being at all clear of its meaning or the right division of words—and having deciphered of it what you can, you read it aloud to him next day, making corrections as required, and if *he* can understand it, you have made your first step forward. The more unsophisticated he is, the more enchanted he will be to hear his own words again verbatim, and you are half way to making a philologist of him; you have, at any rate, enlisted

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an interested collaborator. But you yourself have not got one 126
word in ten, perhaps not one in fifty. You then work painstakingly through the text, getting a rough translation by means of the medium language, asking plural forms and other verbal tenses and acquiring in the process a mass of extra material in your notes.

As the days go on, your man becomes more and more helpful, he gets to know something of your grammatical wants and will now volunteer the plural forms, or stop his tale to interpolate: "he went, he goes, he will go, he has gone," or the like; or he will offer an equivalent expression, no longer as an anacoluthon, or digress to tell of some native custom, the details of some cooking process or some current superstition.

It is no easy task to keep your notes in such form as to be readily available for reference; it is still less easy to keep at command—in your head and on your tongue—all that you have already learned. Here, of course, the whole-time philologist has untold advantage over the busy man who can only snatch odd moments before or after a hard day's work, and sometimes after long blank intervals, for the pursuit of this most exacting of hobbies.

I never lost my admiration of the determination with which 124
DL would give all his leisure to these exhausting séances. It might be half an hour before breakfast; it might be a pause between the reception of two official visitors; it might be a few minutes' interval while an important paper was being fetched from the office files, or a draft despatch typed for signature. Even on tour, when each day meant a mountain march of eighteen to twenty-five miles, in heat or cold, in rain or sun, over difficult and often dangerous country, plunging through banked-up sands by the river-bed, skirting precipitous cliffs along a rock-cut track eked out by the frailest of wooden bridges, or across the dreaded face of a stone shoot where the perpetual trickling of surface pebbles was an ominous reminder that any moment loose boulders might bombard the treacherous track; when each arrival at the rest-house of the day was the signal for visits of courtesy by some local headman or royalty, for the reception of petitioners and the sympathetic

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(2) hearing of complaints; no sooner had these matters and a cup of tea been disposed of, than out came pen, paper, and writing-board and one informant or another was on the floor beside the Sahib's chair. If we were passing through a district whose speech might be some variant of the "classical" Shina of Gilgit, some local man would be fetched in to throw light on the local patois and its divergence from what it was convenient to take as the norm. These extra séances by the road yielded, for instance, seven different methods—all instructive and all mutually illuminating—of conjugating the transitive verb in Shina.

Whether the locality had fresh local matter to offer or not, there was always some language-informant in our train, and in defiance of fatigue or headache, work could be and was pursued.

As knowledge accumulated, the word for word translation of texts was no longer necessary, and difficult passages were explained and commented on in the language itself, so that the last shred of possible misunderstanding and obscurity arising from the intermediate language was eliminated.

The problem constantly arose at every stage, whether with limited time at your disposal and limited endurance at the informant's, it was better to linger over a seemingly insoluble riddle or to pass on. DL found that in practice, though it went against all military principle to leave a fortress untaken in your rear, this sometimes fell of itself, if you ignored it and continued your campaign. In other words, that a tangle of to-day, which seemed only to grow worse as you wrangled with it, might unravel itself by some new turn of phrase acquired to-morrow, or a week hence—or a year.

Lest all this sound too easy, let me make it more vivid by an analogy. Suppose yourself shipwrecked on the coast of France, where the community are illiterate fishermen and peasants, and there are neither books nor schoolmasters. You get down to acquiring spoken French. There may be a couple of sailors among the foreshore folk who have, like yourself, a limited knowledge of Dutch. You set to work:

u(n)	deu(x)	trui(s)	quatre	
cinq	six	se(p)t	huit	neuf

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Having got the simple numerals you proceed:

u	nenfant	une	femme
deu	nenfants	deu	femmes
troi	nenfants	troi	femmes
quat	trenfants	quatre	femmes
cin	kenfants	cin	femmes
sé	tenfants	sé	femmes
hui	tenfants	hui	femmes
neu	venfants	neu	femmes

It will take a little time to work out the true initials of the nouns and the finals of the numerals, to discover the secret of the vowel—the *h* mute you will never reach for it is an orthographic fiction—and to formulate the rules of liaison.

You will not at once discover when the adjective precedes and when it follows its noun, nor which inanimate objects will be considered masculine and which feminine—why, in fact, *un couteau* but *une fourchette*, *un sofa* but *une chaise*—what principles govern the use of *du* and *de*, *beaucoup de* but *bien des*.

And when you turn to verbs it will take perseverance to disentangle the four "regular" conjugations and the handsome varieties of the "irregular." The uses of *me* and *moi* may hold you up a bit, and the idiomatic vagaries of *en*, *y* and *que*. By the time you have entirely reduced to order, say, the verb *s'en aller* and can account to your own satisfaction for n'est-ce pas? jusqu'a ce qu'il ne vienne, a moins qu'il ne soit, si j'etais que de vous, vas-y, ne voilà-t-il pas? and have recorded verbatim all the folk-lore, local history, and gossip that you can track down, your hair may well be turning somewhat grey. Yet French is a language closely allied to our own, of familiar structure, full of cognate roots and basing on Latin which we know; the Frenchman's customs and modes of thought are akin to ours; his religion and morals are variants of our own. Try Burushaski.

I am conscious that in writing of all we heard and said I may have seemed to imply—though I trust not with the unblushing disingenuousness of some travel-writers—that conversation always flowed smoothly and easily. This was not wholly the case. The worst brick I heaved was when I saw a

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

124 relatively strange woman clearing up after a day's work and breezily accosted her: "*Jú na*, sister, I see you are sweeping up the threshing floor with your little bastard." In extenuation I may remark that the words for "broom" and "bastard" differ only in ending in *s* and *sh* respectively, and that the *s*-one turns its *s* into *sh* in the plural. Any offence that might have been given was quenched in the delighted laughter of the people with me, but I was afraid to talk of brooms, whether singular or plural, for many a day.

Even at the end of fifteen months of strenuous practice in talking (and several years of preceding hard work), neither of us had acquired the skill or fluency in speaking that would have rewarded the same effort and goodwill expended on a language like Persian, German, or Shina. The most confirmed language-smatterer could not truthfully say that Burushaski is an easy language to "pick up." It may amuse the reader to know something of the snags that it holds for the unwary—and the wary, too.

193 Burushaski rejoices in four noun categories, roughly corresponding to "genders" in Greek or Latin, but not, as will be seen, based on sex-distinction. If, however, we think of the gender eccentricities of French and German we may indeed question whether grammatical gender in the European languages is really sex-linked as our terminology implies. Professor Meinhoff has other theories about its origin.

Be that as it may, Burushaski divides its nouns into names denoting human male and female—which is straightforward enough—but treats the names of all non-human, living animals as belonging to Class 3, cows and bulls, cocks and hens, mares and stallions alike, while including in the same class the names of a large number of inanimate concrete objects. Class 4 comprises the names of all abstract things—heat and cold, kindness and dreams—of all inanimate objects of indefinite shape and form (such as flour, water, cloud, and sand) besides a distressing number which might seem to belong equally well to Class 3 but just don't.

Amusing facts are that the same word in Class 3 denotes an *apple*, but in Class 4 an *apple tree*; in 3 the belly of a living

animal or person, in 4 of a dead one, and that while the 193
singular *foot* belongs to 3 the plural *feet* belongs to 4—explain this last phenomenon who can.

These categories might matter little, but that adjectives have inflected forms that must agree, and that in certain forms the verbal endings, in others the verbal prefixes, vary according to the class of the subject, or it may be of the object. The word "is," for instance, may be: *bai*, *bo*, *bi*, or *bila*, according to whether the subject is Class 1, 2, 3, or 4.

As if this were not enough, some of the commonest actions of everyday life require to be expressed by a totally different verb according to the class to which the object belongs. There is no one imperative for "Give me!" It will be *jar jao*, *jar achi*, or *jar aghun* according to what is to be given. So with *bring* and *eat*.

Nor does this exhaust the vagaries of the noun. A large number of nouns denoting relationship, parts of the body, or any object intimately associated with its owner, do not exist at all in an independent form. The attitude of mind underlying this phenomenon is not illogical. A *mother*, a *hand*, a *set of bed-clothes* cannot be conceived *in vacuo*; they must belong to somebody. A set of seven prefixes gives the clue to whose they are, and none of these "starred nouns" (as we called them for convenience) can be used without the appropriate prefix. There are therefore seven words for *mother*: mine or thine, his or hers, ours, yours or theirs. If all the prefixes conveniently ended in a consonant, or if none of the starred roots began with a vowel, the two component parts of the starred word could be simply juxtaposed. This is unfortunately not the case. All the prefixes end in a vowel, and when the hypothetical root-word has an initial *a-*, *i-*, or *u-* this blends with the vowel of the prefix to form a new combination, so that in practice you are confronted with four times seven possible pronominal prefixes for starred nouns.

Add to this the fact that there are thirty-eight possible endings for the plural, and you know most of the worst about the Burushaski noun.

It would be too much to hope that the verb would be any

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Old Port at Ākrit, centre of ancient commercial. (See pp. xxb, 111)

PLATE XIX

[Facing P.256]

193 simpler. Nor is it. The actual conjugation shows a gratifying regularity in the final inflections for tense and person. A proportion of intransitive verbs, however, demand a set of pronominal prefixes (the same possible twenty-eight as those required by the starred nouns) which vary according to the subject; some transitives require these prefixes to denote their direct object, others again to denote their indirect object.

A very large number of verbs or verbal participles, moreover, enjoy a separable prefix of their own after which the pronominal prefixes are infixed, not without suffering phonetic modification in the process. The sort of way this works out may be shown by one example: "Having gone" is represented by:

nán	(if it is I who have gone)
nukén	(thou)
nin	(he)
nunén	(she)
ninén	(we)
nanán	(you)
nin	(they)

The perfect tense of *to come*, "I have come, etc." is:

daiyaba
dukówa
dibai, dibi, dibila
dunóbó
dimíbán
dunábán
duwán, dubien, dibitsan

paradigms displaying a logical symmetry but not to be commanded at a moment's notice. DL and I used to say that given a pencil and paper and twenty spare minutes we could say a great many things in Burushaski with commendable accuracy, but to keep a brisk dialogue going without blundering required more mental agility than perhaps we had any right to hope for in middle life.

Lest all this should seem too childishly simple: a transitive verb can be formed from almost any intransitive by a simple lengthening of the vowel in the first root syllable and the

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

193 prefixing of an *a*; a further lengthening of the vowel will convert the same transitive into a causative. If the three verbs are clearly said one after the other, the difference is easy to distinguish, but I know no form of conversation in which the speaker wants to perform this feat. When one verb is heard alone in the quick current of colloquial speech I defy the beginner to be always certain which vowel-length has been employed.

193 Another bewildering trick of Burushaski speech—the im-
194 portance of which I must confess we did not at once discern—is that almost any word may mean its exact opposite if pronounced with lengthened vowel and a different tone of voice. If you ask what sort of a horse a would-be seller has brought, the answer *yashkian* may mean either "a very suitable, satisfactory beast for you to ride," or alternatively "a miserable nag you could not be seen on." You need to know. It is best to go and look. *Caveat emptor*, anyhow! Similarly, if I asked Zaidu how much flour we had left in store and he replied *haman*, this might be interpreted "a good deal, quite enough for the present," or "just a little," or "very, very little indeed."

This playing on vowel length, quality, and tone is carried to amazing lengths. The only kind of parallel I can think of in English is a child's use of *tiny* as less small than *teeny-weeny*, or the onomatopœic *squeak* denoting a thinner, less important sound than *squawk*. The Burusho can imply admiration, ridicule, contempt, degrees of size, importance, loudness, and what not by skilful sleights of vowel play. The only mild approach we can make to this in English is when by our intonation and expression we can say: "He's a fine fellow, he is," and give it to be understood that the remark is ironical. But we use this phonetic irony with extreme economy, whereas it is lavishly employed in Burushaski.

601 A particular snare into which I was apt to fall—though on paper I could have passed a stiff examination on the facts—lay in this: prefixes apart, Burushaski has no one word for *brother* or *sister*. If said by a boy, *acho* means "my brother"; if said by a girl "my sister." This form of the word means, in fact,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

601 "another child of my father and mother, of the same sex as I myself." A second word denotes a boy's sister; a third, a girl's brother. Just to prevent your feeling too sure of things, a boy will address a much older sister out of deference as "my brother." When chattering to my children friends I often provoked delighted chuckles by inadvertently saying the equivalent of: "is that little boy your sister?"

The same sort of differentiation is carried into several other relationships. It does not simplify the tracing out in haste of complicated family genealogies which was one of David's little tasks. My *cousin*, if our two fathers are brothers, is usually described as *my brother* or *my sister*, unless it is necessary to be more explicit; whereas a cousin not reared in the same house has a name to him- or herself. An *uncle* who is my father's brother is *big father*, *little father*, or *middle father* according to his relative age, while my mother's brother is an uncle.

607 One relationship word the Burusho have for which we might well devise an English equivalent. If young Mr. Smith marries young Miss Jones, what relationship exists between the parent Smiths and Joneses? (Amongst us, carefully dissembled hostility, of course.) Burushaski has a special and convenient term for what is amongst them this very real tie of friendship and alliance between the houses. If the Jones family are extra busy or short-handed, the Smiths will come along to lend a hand, or vice versa.

192 It is a common error of the uninitiate to take for granted that people of a primitive material culture will have a limited and easily mastered vocabulary. As all serious language-students know, the reverse is the case. Burushaski would no doubt be found to lack our large supply of terms—mostly non-English—to express philosophical ideas or aesthetic appreciation, though it would from its own rich resources be perfectly capable of creating them without borrowing at second-hand, if anyone could spare time from the urgencies of living to indulge in the futilities of philosophy or aesthetics; but it is rich beyond belief in verb-concepts and in concrete words denoting crops and buds and fruits at every stage of growth, implements of

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

every kind, fields of every shape, size, height, and aspect. 192
Domestic animals are differentiated by separate words to the nth degree. A mere *sheep* scarcely exists. A convenient word, for which there is no English equivalent, means "one head of small cattle, whether sheep or goat"; after that you must be more specific and make it clear whether you wish to designate the female lamb not yet weaned, the ewe who has not yet lambed, the ewe who has been once to the *tár*, or the ewe who has been twice, the unweaned male lamb, the one-year old castrated ram, the entire ram who has not yet sired, and so on almost *ad infinitum*. And a queer fool you seem if you fail to distinguish animals so different. Similarly with all other stock, the goats having special extra titles according to whether their horns spread out or more conveniently turn in.

There is, of course, no general *basket*: the large, open-ribbed one that carries dry leaves or straw is a totally different object from the small round basket with a handle in which you take a few eggs or apricots, or again from the shoulder-basket that serves all the purposes of our wheelbarrow. These explicit words save all need for circumlocutions like soiled-linen basket, picnic basket, wastepaper basket of ou rclumsier analytic speech.

Every peg and hook and gadget that forms a component part of loom or lathe, mill or sluice, has its own appropriate technical name for which no other name will do. The haughty armchair ignoramus who discourses about the limited vocabulary of the agriculturist would probably be surprised if he worked a while on a farm, at the manifold resources of a whole stratum of the English language that lay outside his ken and confounded his reckoning.

The rich variety of nouns in Burushaski is nothing, however, to the wealth and flexibility of its verbs. The Burusho would seem to think primarily in verbs, the precise meaning of which is a more elusive thing to grasp. Our simple adjective *cold* is, for instance, represented in Burushaski by the past participle of a verb meaning *to cool off, to become cold*. A verb that one day you pin down to meaning "to turn off" the water from a field, staggers you the next by obviously meaning "to

192 turn on," till you discover that it "diverts the flow of water" whether in one direction or another.

195 All technical terms, be they verbs or nouns, are capable of vivid metaphorical application, humorous and pointed when you are sufficiently *au courant* to appreciate the intended allusion. Such metaphorical uses are improvised as required with an originality and freshness that an American might envy.

A tiresome person may be "a wasps' nest" or "a painful disease," an over-strenuous worker "an earthquake," an only child "one torch-splinter," a loutish person "a pumpkin," an inexperienced fellow "a green apricot," a short-handled spoon "a tadpole," and so forth.

905 Clocks and watches are, of course, unknown where work is simply from dawn to dusk, yet the complicated exchanges of water at midnight or 3 a.m. are faultlessly concerted. Our day appointments would be defined "when the sun is one lance-length above the hill" or "when the first shadow falls on such and such a spot." Dido had had experience of European time in some earlier service, and was thrilled to possess the watch that DL gave him. He used to come to the study every evening to set it by our little clock. He always held it upside down, and in order to compare it with ours (which was naturally right side up) he went through the oddest neck contortions to get his head upside down. But the idea of time had enslaved him; he was more rigorously and unforgivingly punctual than any servant we ever had, and it was impossible to bear the reproach in his eyes if we waited to wind up a paragraph after dinner was on the table. When I was typing in the dining-room he would appear at the door and say politely but firmly: "I must come to lay the table in another three minutes, Mother." Sometimes, just to tease him, I would say, "Well, you can't, for I'm going to finish this, and it will take at least ten minutes." "Oh, Mother *dear*, then dinner will be late!"

192 Burushaski has no expressions for East and West or North
920 and South except the learned words of Arabic; Hunza thought runs "up river" and "down river," "uphill and downhill." One day in describing a house I said: "You know So and So's,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushо AV7

it is on the Dila." "No, no, it is on the Middle Channel." 192
For a moment I was puzzled, for the house, in fact, sat exactly [823]
on the upper bank of the Dila, but of course watered its fields and drew its water from the channel *above*: the essential fact to a Hunza mind.

Though their technical vocabulary is so exact, the Hunzukuts are only human, and occasionally like ourselves take refuge in "thingumabob," "what you may call it," and "bandobast." They have coined an invaluable word which for fun I wrote "Alice." I found it was quite in order to say: "We are nearly out of charcoal, tell Zaidu to do Alice," viz., to make the necessary arrangements for getting more, or "the Alices are coming, tell everyone to get the Alices," which would mean that the So and So's are coming, tell everyone to get ready whatever is necessary. I hoped to import "Alice" into my home-speech as maid of all work, but here she awakens thoughts of Wonderland and the Looking Glass and proves a plant too delicate to rear in another atmosphere.

The weather in Hunza also provides some entertaining idioms. It is natural to say "the rain is falling," but the Hunzukuts not illogically also say "the sun is falling", where we would say shining, and where we put a thing *in* the sun to dry he puts it *on* the sun, that is, on the patch of warm sunshine.

In the main, Burushaski is innocent of the elaborate cir- 195
cumlocutions of ceremonial speech in which Persian, for instance, is so rich. The humblest peasant addresses his King as "thou," but one foreign courtesy-word has crept in. One day I excused myself to the party of women amongst whom I was sitting by saying: "I must now go home. My husband will be ready to eat bread." "She has said 'my husband,'" they chuckled. "Well, isn't the Colonel Sahib my husband? What should I have said?" "You yourself should say 'my spouse' (*jama'at*) though we might say 'her husband.'"

After this I was careful in talking to man or woman, however humble, to enquire after the *jama'at* and not crudely after the wife or husband, and found that this was more acceptable. I

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195 noticed, too, that when I asked: "Are you well?" the return question would sometimes be couched in the ungrammatical form: "Are your name well?" but this was chiefly used by the children as more respectful. I was told it would be unsuitable for me at my age to use to anyone, even to the King. Otherwise in Hunza spades are spades.

1114 DL's original vocabulary (vol. iii of the book already alluded to) comprises some 3,000–4,000 words. From our first day with the Hunzukuts to our last, we were recording new words without ceasing, or registering new meanings for words we thought we knew. Far from having "completed" a vocabulary of Hunza Burushaski after a hard year's work DL felt he was just beginning it. Ten years more could have been profitably spent on the task if we had had them to spend. At least no language enthusiast can complain that the field is bare; there are ample gleanings left for him or her. A rich harvest indeed awaits the reaper—but labourers to date are few.

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Chapter 26

DIGRESSION TO YASIN

WE had intended to start on Friday, March 20th, but after a 777
couple of hellish days packing, clearing up correspondence, developing, printing, washing photographs, and tidying the house so as to leave all in order for our absence, we found that we must postpone till Saturday. This apparently unimportant alteration in our plans caused evident jubilation amongst the servants. "Why are you all so pleased?" I asked Zaidu. "Well, you see, Mother, it is said not to be lucky to start downstream on a Friday; upstream is all right, but not down." I said that if they felt like that they should have told us and we should have gladly changed the day to oblige them. "What should you have done if we had insisted on starting on a Friday?" "Oh, we'd have managed all right. We'd have said good-bye and left our own houses and camped on Thursday night in your compound, and so we should not have had to *begin* the journey on Friday." Wonderful people! The few superstitions they half-heartedly indulge (which we suspect they have caught in this mild form from their superstition-ridden neighbours, the Shins) they are always prepared and able to outwit.

We got off at nine on March 21st in lovely weather, at once warm and cool. Quite a large crowd assembled to say good-bye and see us start, our friends shouting: "Come back soon. We shall miss you." As we rode through Murtazabad we saw the first occasional fruit blossoms and felt sad to be leaving Hunza behind in apricot time. Slight steam was rising from the sulphur springs by the river as we passed. Later, in 136
Nagir, we saw the first wasps of the year and the first butter-

[136] flies—a copper-coloured fritillary and a tiny blue. The road was a very different proposition from what it had been as we 361 travelled up the previous July. From richly watered Minapin 487 we looked across the river to the Hunza village of Hindi with new eyes, for various fields were pointed out as belonging to one or another of our acquaintances. "Hindi is a fine place," they told us; adding without conscious irony: "There's hardly any water, but otherwise . . ." From the Nagir side the Hindi road looks pretty terrifying (as, of course, the Nagir road must also look from the Hunza side), but we were assured that it was really a better road; its only drawback is that there are fifty recognized spots on it subject to rock bombardments: a mere nothing amongst these ever-crumbling hills.

000 The onward journey was uneventful. At Sikandarabad and Chalt all the apricots were in full bloom—a glorious sight. After Chalt there was one part of the road completely buried under an avalanche which we had some difficulty in coaxing our horses over, we ourselves scrambling across on foot. A good deal of intermittent rain for a couple of days and a horrid ride in driving wind and sand on the last lap rather spoiled our ride to Gilgit. Just before we reached the Gilgit river we were staggered by a magnificent view of Nanga Parbat filling a whole triangular gap in the nearer mountains. Often as we had ridden this stretch before, we had never happened to see her like this.

In Gilgit (2,000 or 3,000 feet lower than Hunza) all the apricot blossom was already over, though a few peaches and apples were still in flower. We had a delightful (but from the work point of view wholly wasted) ten days in Gilgit. Nothing could have exceeded the kindness of Major and Mrs. Kirkbride, who put us up in the Agency House. It was odd to be quartered in the guest room of what had been for four years "our" house, and odder still, but delightful, to attend the Jalsa as guests and spectators instead of responsible hosts. The British officers as new friends and our old friends the Chiefs all treated us with the utmost kindness, and the ten-day holiday was extremely pleasant.

On April 4th we resumed our pilgrimage to Yasin. We imagined we had forgotten the road. Far from it: every detail

came back afresh as we rode along, and a host of vivid memories crowded in on us. It was yet early in the season; the river flowed graciously along, clear as crystal and a miracle of blended colours, which would put a peacock's tail to shame. When we returned a few weeks later, after the first melting of of the snows, it flowed sullen, swollen and strong, the more familiar thick, opaque, grey-muddy mixture. Quickened memory set me to watch for a lovely bush of "crow's pomegranate" at the foot of a rock by the roadside. We had seen it one year covered for the 6 feet of its height from tip to toe in yellow blossom, flame- and scarlet-flecked. As we had ridden nearer half the blossoms suddenly took wing: a swarm of "painted ladies." Alas! we were now too early, the painted-lady bush was not in leaf; as we returned, her blossoming was over. It was a sight too lovely for recapture.

We made the four-day ride to Yasin in six stages, partly in order not to arrive too tired for work and partly because DL seized chances of picking up some supplementary information about Shina dialects when we halted. The river junctions on these upper reaches of the Gilgit river are great, wide, open amphitheatres, possibly once the meeting place of glaciers, anyhow the greatest contrast to our narrower, wilder, more forbidding Hunza ravines.

On April 11th we set out on the last stage from Gupis to Yasin, having given two days in Gupis to Kuhi Shina. At the great bridge over the Yasin river we were met by Rajah Khan Sahib Mir Baz Khan, one of our good old friends, and found that he had staged a ceremonial welcome for us with bands and *feux de joie*, and decorations over the gateway of the rest-house. We made enquiries for a Yasin ex-retainer, Muslim by name, with whom DL had worked in olden days. To our great joy he was still to the fore, somewhat older and maturer, now a Levy too; but he had not forgotten his earlier lessons in language work, and was immediately booked to start work on the morrow.

A couple of hundred years ago Yasin was conquered by a royal Khushwaqt family from Chitral, and since then Khowar has been the language of the upper classes. Indeed, the passing

traveller might well be unaware that the language of the people remains their original Burushaski, though most of the menfolk are of convenience or necessity bi-lingual. We had known Muslim as a Khowar speaker; it was a pleasant surprise to find that, as he put it, "Burushaski is my mother and father tongue," and that he spoke nothing else in his home and among his friends. To distinguish Yasin Burushaski from its sister speech of Hunza it is convenient to call it Werchikwar, as the Khowar-speakers do.

The Yasin country is opener and far more plentifully watered than Hunza, but higher lying with a longer, severer winter. We had snow still on the ground on April 14th. The different conditions are reflected in the architecture. All the houses are one-storeyed only, and none of them have the delightful upstair balconies that are such a cheerful and sociable feature of the Hunza house. With ample land and water the Yasinis are able to grow more wheat than they can themselves consume, and sell their surplus to Gilgit in exchange for tea and sugar, luxuries unknown to the Hunzukuts. On the other hand, their summer season is too short to allow of any second crops. We found the peasant people extremely kind and friendly, and if we could have made a longer stay among them we should have been able to feel thoroughly at home. Their women are also free and unveiled, and I think good-looking, but all the younger ones affected a dark brown face cream of some kind which was said to be protective to the skin but was extremely unsightly. As we walked about making what observations we could, we found them very ready to try to understand our exotic Burushaski. David got as far as speaking in Werchikwar, but I with less ready linguistic adaptability firmly imposed on them the speech of Aliábád and Báltít. Despite dialectal differences we could hear one party of boys shouting delightedly to another: "They speak our language!" (which was scarcely true).

It was wonderful, after the precipitous Hunza country, to be able to walk up and down gentle slopes of natural grass and skip across moss-and-fern-lined streams amidst a wealth of tiny flowers.

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DIGRESSION TO YASIN

There was no advantage in my also trying to slog at Werchikwar as we were not staying long enough to turn it to account. So we had decided beforehand that I could best employ working hours in trying to work out the major differences between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski which are perhaps too nearly identical to be styled separate dialects, but yet naturally show some distinctive variations. To this end we had borrowed from the Mir of Nagir a morganatic brother-in-law of some education, Ali Ausat by name, a young man about the same age as Qudrat Ullah, and annexed him—at a salary, of course.

The two had travelled together in our train since Aliábád with instructions to talk together about everything under heaven, and make notes of all the points, however trifling, in which their speech differed. While DL toiled away with Muslim in one room of the spacious rest-house, I set up my writing table in another, and got the two young men in to help me to set on record whatever observations they had made. Each day I suggested one set of things for them to work out together before the morrow—household utensils and field implements, irrigation terms, the vocabulary of relationship, etc., etc., and we then ran through their comparative lists with ample digressions whenever any point of interest challenged attention. It proved a most amusing game, and their good-humoured wrangles over which of two forms of expression was the more classical Burushaski were a constant amusement to all three of us. I hope it will prove that we covered most of the vital points; it is for DL to work out the material in due course.

Superficially the main items that leaped to the eye (or ear) were: first, that the Nagir vocabulary has been far more deeply interpenetrated—or corrupted—by Shina than Hunza Burushaski, but that on the other hand Nagir has been more conservative in preserving full verbal forms and un-telescoped vowel sounds. Nagir preferring, as it were, "I shall" to "I'll," "he does not" to "he doesn't," "we will not" to "we won't," and the like. The differences, however, between the Hunza and Nagir speech proved (as we already knew) to be trifling compared with those between Hunza Burushaski and

197 Werchikwar, where the two forms constitute different and independent dialects. It was, however, extremely interesting to find that in some important points Werchikwar and Nagiri were closer than Werchikwar and Hunza Burushaski. Since there are no historical records of Burushaski a hundred or two hundred years ago—what would we not give for them!—these dialectal variations are doubly valuable to anyone attempting to understand the direction in which the language has developed and is developing.

000 After strenuous mornings at these tasks, we spent the afternoons exploring the country on foot or on pony back, and getting what contacts we could with the people. Just behind the bungalow we succeeded after some hunting in re-finding the boulder on which the carved initials "W.H. '70" form a humble memorial to the luckless Hayward who was murdered by his treacherous Yasin hosts. Newbolt's fine poem "He Fell Among Thieves" gives the poetical version of his death. The prose one seems to be that by the somewhat indiscreet display of gifts which he had with him (intended for bestowal on chieftains in Chitral whither he was bound) he excited the cupidity of the Yasini Chief, who could not bear to see these treasures carried beyond his borders. Human life was held of little account in these regions before the coming of the Pax Britannica, and the obvious thing was to murder the gift-laden guest and annex the spoil. Hayward's tent was therefore quietly surrounded. He realized his danger, and sat on his camp bed, revolver in hand, and loaded rifle by his side, determined to sell his life as dear as might be. But the plunderers had no mind to take unnecessary risks. They bided their time till he grew drowsy from fatigue, cut the tent-ropes, and murdered him at their convenience like a rat caught in a trap, without speechifyings on either side. A tragic, sorry tale.

Yasin houses tend to be grouped in fives and sixes within a walled enclosure. We halted to admire some carving on a wooden lintel, and the owner of the house, Arab Khan, forthwith invited us to come straight in and see some better carvings inside. This gave us a wonderful chance to see a Yasin interior just as it is in normal life. Cows, calves, hens, and

chickens shared the one main living-room with men and women in a promiscuity unthinkable in Hunza; though it is true the large animals were in theory confined to one end of the room by a small partition a couple of feet high. None of the human occupants showed the least shyness or embarrassment. They showed us fine, well-smoked carvings on the handsome square pillars of the house. The idea of the greater ornamentation of the inside of their dwellings has probably come to them from Chitral, and possibly the longer winter with the longer spell of enforced leisure may be a factor too. I wish we could have stayed longer than the short three weeks we had allowed ourselves, learned to speak Werchikwar, and settled down really to making friends with these hardy kindly folk, less radiant that our Hunzukuts, but in many ways akin in temperament and not behind in goodwill.

We returned again another day to Arab Khan's house to try some interior photographs, and were shown an interesting collection of utensils: a wooden bucket hollowed in one piece from a tree-trunk, and provided with a square lip and a wicker handle; some delightful wooden spoons with the handle rising sharp from the side, such as Hunza calls "Wakhi spoons," wooden ladles all in one piece, etc. A nice old woman was teasing wool from a small but highly ornamented *pfurukus* beside her. The house possessed no cupboards like those roomy ones that are a feature of every house in Hunza, and all the family kit was either lying about or slung over rails above the partition.

The space seemed greater than in the Hunza house (partly owing to the lack of cupboards and the fact that the byre formed part of the room), but the general effect was much untidier and grubbier. The sleeping platforms appeared to be shared by the hens and chickens and a layer of straw was spread under the blankets. The hospitable folk kindly put out the fire to get rid of the smoke in the interest of DL's photographs. The room had two semicircular fireplaces, the one just behind and at a slightly higher level than the other. The floor similarly rose by one low step, and a door at the back of the upper compartment seemed to lead into a store-room. A

certain delicacy—to which the true anthropologist should be a stranger—prevented our intrusively examining everything in as much detail as we should have liked. While we were within we saw many pairs of bright young eyes peering at us and our strange antics through the "vulture smoke-hole" above our heads. When David pressed a rupee into the hand of the old lady who had so hospitably done the honours of the house, she received it with much pleasure and genuine surprise.

One day we devoted to the exploration of the Naz Ber, a great nullah which runs up behind the village of Yasin. At this time of year, with grass and willows and flowing water, the steeply rising valley was romantic and picturesque, but it must be bleak and desolate for the greater part of the year. Such women and children as we met were friendly and unafraid, though we may well have been the first white people they had ever seen.

As we left Yasin on April 28th heavy clouds hung over the mountain tops and robbed us of our parting view. Half way to Gupis we noticed the first house with a wicker, mud-plastered grain bin on the roof such as are common in Gilgit, but are not seen either in Yasin or Hunza. Next day we got a rarely beautiful view of the rocky promontory of Róshan towering above the river, with a ruined fort on top, like a finer, larger, and more impressive version of one of the robber castles on the Rhine, and a better sight than we had ever had of the curiously twisted vertical streaks in the mountain above that are known as "The Snake and her Babies" about which the obvious local legend runs. Below Róshan there is a huge, lofty pocket of boulders—a weary thing to toil across—reported to have been pitched there from his shoulder basket by an ill-tempered Div. The Gilgit-Yasin road has some fine old native rope bridges to show, and Haiyáto obligingly stepped down one to pose for us. We now got into the region where every large forked tree is made to serve as a store for a stack of maize-straw, a familiar Gilgit sight, unknown at higher levels.

Passing through a gorge in which wild almond trees were growing in profusion, our Hunza men fell out to cut themselves a supply of polo-sticks, for which almond wood is

reckoned the best of all. They had noted the spot on our upward march. A few "crow-pomegranates" were in flower, lovely little bunches of tiny yellow bells with yellow tongues, shading off into orange and flame and even scarlet. The painted ladies were hovering round, but the largest swarm I counted was a beggarly dozen. The blossoms are guarded by the most savage thorns.

All this downward ride to Gilgit we enjoyed perfect weather, bright and sunny but not over-hot, and indescribably lovely views. Rounding a corner on a shelf-like track I spotted the first and only live snake I have ever seen in these parts lurking in two inches of shade cast by a big boulder. Haiyáto bravely seized it by the tail for me, swinging it gingerly, but it was extremely active and sat up half its own length so that he prudently judged it better dead than alive, though I don't for a moment suppose it was a poisonous type. He lashed it so vigorously against a rock that its head was crushed beyond hope of recognition.

Near Gakuch we came upon a lot of gold-washers at work by the river-side. They turned out to be people from Yaghistan. Gold-washing is considered rather a base occupation, and gold-washers enjoy no social prestige. A whole family working hard all day in a favourable spot—that is a sandy backwater well out of the main current of the river—may salvage as much as eightpennyworth of gold. Wherever we came to habitations, the young green of crops and willows was refreshing to the eye.

The great boulder-estuaries from the side gorges that had been dry as we marched up, were now seamed with water-channels. We were still able to take short-cuts by fording these, but it was evident that in a very short time they would be impassable and travellers would have to stick to the higher, longer road and Government bridges. Amongst the boulders the tamarisks were out but not yet in blossom; instead, there were some lovely brooms with tufts of butter-golden blossom edging the fields and jolly blue clumps of small wild iris dotted here and there. Such people as we met on the roads all had sprigs of spring blossom in their caps.

Before getting into Gilgit we halted at the Wishing Boulder

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1. DL taking photo of Mir Muhammad Nazim Khan on the mountainside at Baltit.

PLATE XX

2. View of Ältit Gort from same spot, looking up Hunza River. (See p. 227)

[Facing P 272]

to let our followers try their luck. There is a curious mark on one side of it rather like the impression of a giant's open hand. The story runs that if you take so many paces from it with closed eyes, turn and approach again, and finally succeed in placing your hand in the mark, your accompanying wish will be fulfilled. Futile attempts to earn their wishes provoked much mirth and chaff. About four miles before Gilgit, where the Kargah and Naupor Nullahs debouch, there is a fine tongue of smooth-faced cliff, on which, a hundred feet or so above the nearest accessible ground, some unrecorded artist at some date unknown carved a handsome figure of a standing Buddha. We reckoned it must be about 30 feet in height. Having during four years in Gilgit omitted (as one does) to take particular heed of this really remarkable monument, we now took some pains to visit it. Unless the light happens to strike the figure at a certain angle it is by no means easy to descry. Later inhabitants, knowing nothing of Buddha or his history, call the figure a Yakhshini, and tell of a man-devouring ogress who had her dwelling here. A passing saint was called on for assistance, and succeeded in pinning her to the rock. He said she would be unable to escape again as long as he was alive, and that if, when he died, the people would bury him at the foot of the rock, all would be well. He was then about to resume his peregrinations. The people were grateful for their deliverance, but prudently considered that they might not know the moment of his death nor where to find his honoured and valuable carcase. To avoid future disappointment or disaster they therefore prudently slew their benefactor and buried him forthwith. The Yakhshini is still there to attest the truth of this moral tale. On the near-by spur to which we laboriously scrambled we found a lot of well-built ruined walls on a site commanding a fine view. They suggested an ancient fortification or perhaps a monastery such as abound on similar but more inaccessible heights in Tibet. On a bare mound above the adjacent village of Naupor, the ruins of an ancient stupa were unearthed a few years ago. The top, stone-built chamber in which some manuscripts were found is now exposed to view. It would be interesting to know the history of the stupa and

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 the ruins, but the manuscripts threw no light on the matter. So far as they have yet been examined they appear to be comparatively commonplace copies of already well-known sacred writings of latish date. They are now lodged in the Srinagar Museum, which is permanently closed.

Our return to Gilgit coincided (somewhat unfortunately we ungraciously felt) with the Jubilee celebrations and perforce we spent another very pleasant (but time-wasting) holiday with our most hospitable friends the Kirkbrides. It was May 13th before we were able to disentangle ourselves from Gilgit and its seductions and set our faces once more towards Hunza. The very horses seemed to scent that they were heading home and gave us of their best. The weather was now very
137 definitely warming up, and we marched early to avoid the greater heat. Nomal and Chalt provided us as usual with loathsome milk tasting of Tom Cat. This indescribably vile flavour is due to some wild herb that grows in these neighbourhoods at certain seasons. I am not botanist enough to know its name, and it is not a plant of which I covet seeds or slips. It is mercifully unknown in Hunza.

312 As we rode through the rich, well-watered string of Nagir villages we were escorted for part of the way by various Nagir princes sent by their father to show us courtesy. Green crops, shady walnut trees and masses of blue iris and wild rose made the road enchanting, its loveliness enhanced a thousandfold by the bleakness and barrenness of the great mountains. I confess I always covet these lovely villages for Hunza, the more so that the Nagirkuts are far more slack and slovenly in their cultivation than "our" people. All the irrigation water, coming straight from the melting glaciers of Rakaposhi, was now milky
576 and unappetizing. The Nagir people, though not actively un-
643 civil, never volunteer a greeting as you pass and never throw you a kindly smile even when they speak. We noticed, too—and how it shocked our loyal Hunza folk—that the Nagir princes also were allowed to ride past unsaluted and apparently unregarded. The Mir of Nagir had been pressing in invitations to us to visit him—as soon as he had convinced himself that no great harm seemed to be accruing to Hunza from our

presence there.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 presence there. It was tantalizing to delay our return to headquarters; on the other hand, since in common courtesy the visit must some time be paid, we had promised to visit Nagir before returning to Aliábád, so we remained on the Nagir side of the river and proceeded to that gloomy, sunless capital.

At Minapin, the last stage before Hunza or Nagir, as the case might be, we were met by a laughing, bright-eyed boy, too genial to be a Nagir product: it was Haiyáto's son (one of three) who had come the fourteen miles to meet his father, explaining "I was heartsick for you and the horse, my father."

Ernest, Dádo, and Qudrat Ullah had never been in Nagir before, and were much amused at seeing Hunza from across the water. Everything *did* look odd, Aliábád beacon-tower very imposing above the empty, graveyard hill. Nagir is more
241 spacious and richer than I had remembered. The fields are all slightly sloping and the revetting walls not nearly so high or
342 so well-built as those of Hunza. The houses, like the Gilgit houses, are mainly built of sun-dried brick, and looked tidy and neat. Upper balconies are rare, and it seemed to me that the smoke-holes were much smaller and usually at one side of the roof, but the roofs appeared to have a parapet of a foot or so all round. The villages, so familiar in profile from the Hunza side, are much deeper than their appearance from the
487 distance would suggest. The path from Sumair onwards up the Nagir gorge was very narrow, crumbly, and in poor repair, but looking at the texture of the cliffs it was not easy to see how anything radical could be done to improve it unless the course of it were entirely altered and carried much higher up and over the top of various bluffs and crags: an expensive engineering feat. Presently we came to an ugly *zhingát* on a long stretch of steep, almost fluid rubbish-heap slope—a place well remembered in my nightmares—across which the track, such as it was, was a bare 18 inches wide, and not even level at that. It is a good quarter of a mile; we took it on foot at the double, and were thankful to reach comparative safety at the other side, and see our horses and men follow without mishap. There is no shame in funking these things; the natives like them as little as we, and are as frank about it. Familiarity with a

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zhingát breeds caution, not contempt. As we rode in we saw 487
Ali Ausat at the nicely carved door of his house, rather grubby
but pleased to see us, passed the miserable apology for a [743]
hospital which contrasts ill with the well-built one at Aliábád,
though the two Mirs got the same grant from Government
for the purpose of building them, and on past a fine, large,
shallow pond. On our right was a steep green slope with jolly
poplars and a lot of grass, and then we reached the polo-
ground. Here the Mir came himself to meet us from the
shelter of a roofed summer-house where he had been waiting.
Another mile of almost perpendicular zigzag, which the ponies
could only just manage, brought us to the familiar old polo-
ground (now disused for play), with its lovely double line of
poplars. This peculiarly steep and horrible approach is new,
and the Mir is very proud of it. From the top there is a mag- 644
nificent view with the pond below looking like a lake and the 643
Mir's palace picturesquely perched on a steep hill-face with
fine windows looking out not at any view but straight into
the terraced hillside opposite. Mir Sikandar Khan looked
shrunken and frail compared with ten years ago, but very brisk,
and was apparently able to ride up his new road without a
qualm.

He himself received us most hospitably and kindly, but his [511]
people serve him ill. Immediately on our arrival a shindy broke
out with talk of grass- and fodder-shortage, though grass and
fodder are plentiful in Nagir, and we found the rest-house
dirty and unswept, bathroom and utensils uncared for, and a
general atmosphere of grudging incompetence pervading it.

We dined with the Mir that evening and duly entertained 643
him in return, while I paid a visit to the ladies and met the
numerous little princes and princesses. The Queen of Nagir,
a fine, handsome woman, not a day older than when I had last
seen her eleven years ago, is a sister of Khan Sahib Mir Baz
Khan of Yasin, and I was able to bring her first-hand news of
her brother and his family, in which it is fair to say she did not
seem over-interested. But she is a gracious motherly woman,
and very intelligent—she even followed my Burushaski (Hunza
variety) with ease. The brightest moments of my call were

643 provided by the charming little prince, Shaukat Ali, son of the Mir's eldest son, who unhappily died young during our time in Gilgit. The boy is therefore his grandfather's next heir. He is a most intelligent, well-mannered lad, and manfully upheld the conversation whenever it threatened to flag.

Two of the royal ladies were Hunza princesses married across the border, one a daughter, one a granddaughter of the Mir.

In his day the Mir of Nagir was a mighty hunter before the Lord, and one of the best polo players in the Agency. He told us he had shot three thousand head of big game in his life. He has now been forbidden by the doctors to attempt over-strenuous physical feats, and indeed it is obvious that he would no longer be able for them, but he still has the regal carriage of younger days. His sons used to tell us that they dreaded hunting expeditions with their father because he appeared impervious to fatigue, and quite indifferent to such trifles as food or sleep. His reception-room is hung with lordly trophies of the chase: local ibex, markhor, and several magnificent heads of *bara singh* bagged in Kashmir.

He is justifiably proud that his six sons form a polo-team equal to any other in the Agency.

We had feared that decency would compel us to spend at least three days in Nagir, but since *one* day easily exhausted all our conversational resources—the Mir has nothing like the wide range of interests nor the intellectual curiosity that distinguished his Hunza colleague—and since his ungracious underlings raised one difficulty after another about supplying our very modest needs (we had sent straight through to Hunza all our spare kit and animals so as not to impose any avoidable burden) though offered as of course more than adequate payment, we decided to curtail our visit and the Mir greeted our decision with unconcealed relief, though he "only wished we could stay a year." So the 18th saw us pack up and thankfully make our escape.

000 We had not been reckoning on any language work in Nagir, for we had secured as much material as we could hope for from Ali Ausat during our time in Yasin, so we lost nothing of that sort by cutting short our Nagir visit. We gained one valu-

DEGRESSION TO YASIN

We gained one valu- 291
able piece of information: the Nagir women *do* wear trousers! 562
The trousers-for-women fashion in these parts is new: that is, [77]
it has been going only for the last four or five generations, introduced we were told from Chitral, and my Hunza women friends had assured me that the Nagir women were so backwoodsy that they had not yet adopted it—which I now know to be a libel. The little girls wear cotton caps and fringes like our Hunza ones, but the women cover all their hair in black woollen Salvation Army bonnet-like caps (a type of headgear of which I saw only one specimen surviving in Hunza). What the Nagir women and older girls look like I cannot say, for when they sight a man they crouch down with their backs turned and either pull a cloth over their faces or bury their heads in their arms. Give me the Maulai variety of Islam every time!

After I got back to Hunza and the women crowded round to ask "all about everything," I got a lot of fun by demonstrating—with only a mild amount of legitimate exaggeration—how the crouching and face-hiding ought to be done; but I cleared the Nagir women's character on the trouser question. Certainly half the charm of our delightful country is the freedom of the women and girls. They come up to the roadside or out on to the roof to greet DL just as naturally and frankly as to greet me. They are not brazen-faced or forward, just unafraid and perfectly unselfconscious.

They have one charming custom which I have not heard 576
of elsewhere, and which could only exist amongst free women. 562
When the Mir or any distinguished traveller (such as we!) is passing, the women and girls crowd on to their house tops and silently wave their hands. Not in a stiff Heil Hitler salute nor with our undisciplined exuberance, but with a quiet, graceful circular motion from the wrist, the two hands moving opposite ways outwards from the breast. It is the most gracious and dignified gesture of welcome and goodwill I have seen. We knew it from official days of old, when it might well have been merely a command performance; but it warmed our hearts when it greeted us as private individuals.

To revert to our homeward journey: After descending the 600

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

487 To revert to our homeward journey: After descending the Mir's famous new road on foot (it was so steep that our people voluntarily carried the loads down and loaded the animals below) we rode as far as the perilous *zhingát*, then dismounted and scooted across it in undignified but prudent haste. It was actively streaming pebbles, and at the safer spots where a bush or an apparently well-rooted boulder sheltered the track, we halted, looked, and waited to make sure that nothing larger was coming and then ran for it. A biggish stone or boulder takes three to four seconds after it is sighted to reach the track, and you must use your judgment and gamble on your chances. We felt a little anxious till we saw that all our people and kit were safely over too. Under a small new half-built mosque we halted in the shade to drink some thermos tea. The owner of the land, an intelligent man, courteously came up and offered to spread bedding for us to sit on; there were some children about but they were shy and churlish and unresponsive to our advances. The ride through the villages was pleasant; there are lovely big trees in Nagir (such as Hunza
241 cannot afford), and lashings of water. The fact that the Nagirkuts don't level their fields completely, but allow them to be on a fairly steep slope, seems to entail a much more elaborate system of ridging and much more trampling through the crops to direct the water. We wondered whether it really saved trouble after all.

487 Presently we came to the long Shayár *zhingát* just opposite Aliábád, though so many dusty miles away by road. We had had it under observation for many months from our windows, and knew that in fact boulder bombardments down it were rare, though very thorough and impressive when they did occur. Still, it is always a nasty business. Like the other one, it was trickling actively, but the surface of the track across it was wide and fair, so we rode at it as always before. We were about half-way across when Haiyáto looked up and saw puffs of dust above us indicating the marksmanship of falling stones. He shouted "Ride for your life, Sahib!" and stupidly got so excited as to frighten the horses, who, without any additional incentive, are always nervous and jumpy on these mountain shoots. I know few feelings more unpleasant than the trembling

between your knees of a frightened horse. We put the animals into a quick trot—anything faster only invites stumbling—and got happily across without accident, though some quite nasty rocks were falling at intervals. All the rest got over safely too. We were not sorry when this bit of the road, was behind us. These two Nagir *zhingáts* are to my mind the ugliest bits of road in the Agency. They don't look nearly as sensational as the many *peris*—which can, of course, be dangerous enough at times—but a firm shelf, however high and narrow, is preferable to a shifting surface.

Somewhere below us under the cliffs on the Nagir side of the river gorge, but out of sight of the road, is the Hakúchar spring, where Hunza and Nagir royal ladies occasionally go into camp together for a few days. It was pleasant to think that the young princesses, married across the water into the related family of the hereditary foe, are able to meet their own womenfolk in privacy from time to time. When such a party is arranged five large tents are pitched there for them.

It was very hot slithering down the powdery spiral descent to river level, riding along the sea-beach to the bridge and then mounting the long Hunza zigzag to Murtazábád, but once there we came again into the welcome shade of apricots and *gindáwer* (jujube trees, I think). I very much wished that rome of our own family could have been with us to see our arrival "home." Never in the days when DL was Political Agent and was popularly believed to have money and offices in his gift did we get such a reception. Though we were forty-eight hours ahead of our programme, the news that we were coming had got all round the countryside. Our easily identifiable little procession had, of course, been seen crawling for hours along the Nagir mountain side. Four miles out from Aliábád, on the hither side of the great Hasanabad Nullah, the advance guard met us: two small boys of six or seven had pattered out on their bare feet to be the first to welcome us. A few hundred yards farther on another little pair; next the three levies, who were, of course, to a small extent in our pay (they got the princely sum of nine rupees a month every third month when they came "on duty"!), and then at the bridge at the bottom

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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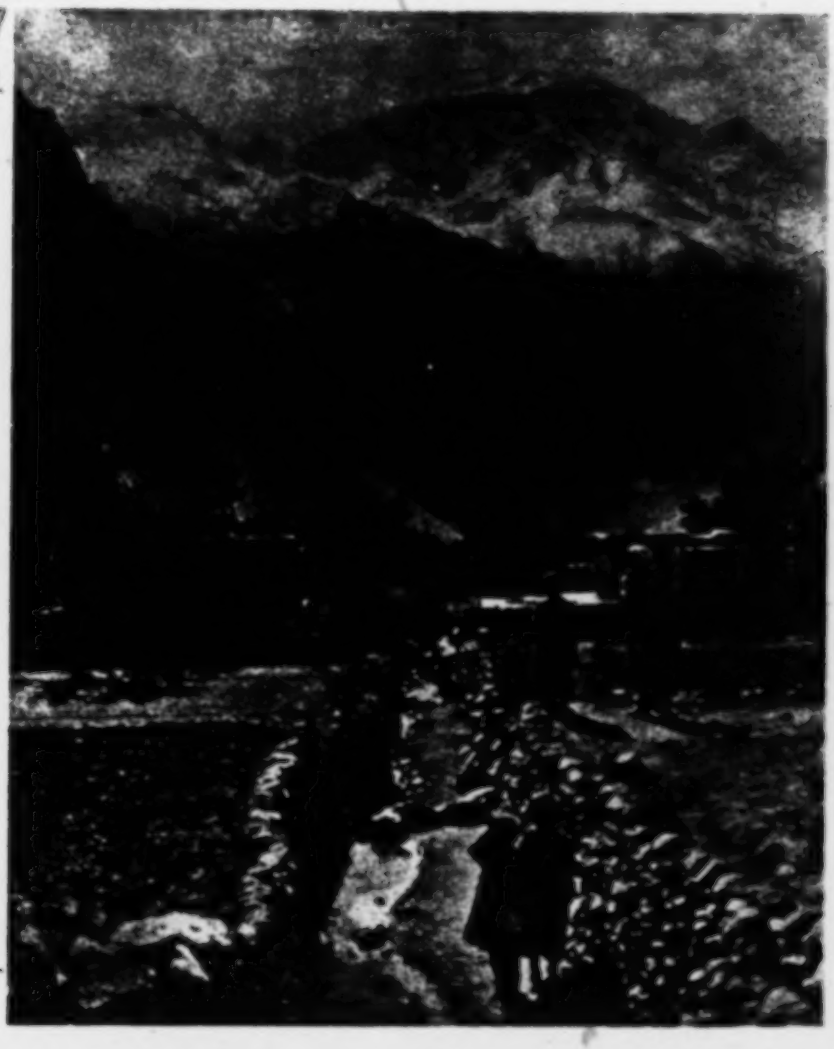

The road-cum-waterchannel on which our nearest neighbours lived.

(See p. 214)

PLATE XXI

[Facing P. 280]

of the nullah there was a whole horde of our boy friends of every sort and size. I felt so sorry for the wee-er ones who had footed it out so far, that I hoisted them in turn on the back of my saddle to everyone's amusement. As we rode up the hill, zigzagging by the path, the whole herd scooted up by cracks in the cliffs and other impossible short-cuts and waylaid us again and again with shrieks of delight like a sort of Hengler's Circus. Every few yards new ones added themselves in with cries of greeting: "You've come back! Are you well? Had you trouble on the journey?"

I was terribly afraid that my small pillion-riders might slip off to glory—and their mothers might not have been pleased—so I clutched their fat little dusty paws round my tummy, reflecting happily that coat and jumper would in any case be going to the wash to-morrow. Suddenly at the top of the hill I missed the last little one and spun round anxiously to ask Ernest what had happened. "Oh, that one was my kid; I lifted him down and packed him home"—so that was all right, but he might have mentioned it.

As we climbed the last barren steep into the outskirts of Aliábád, everyone rushed to the door of the house or the edge of the field or the corner of the roof, men, women, and babies, to shout a welcome and enquiries after our health and the fortunes of the journey till we grew hoarse with answering and retorting with enquiries for them and theirs. Presently we descried a mob of more small boys ahead and heard bursts of cheering and laughter. The youngsters had somehow got hold of a big drum and a pair of kettledrums and set up a lusty banging in excellent imitation of the regulation "welcome tune" of the professional musicians. As we drew nearer in, our small girl friends turned up in groups of four and five, and by the time we got to the big open slope beside the Sarkári Fort we looked like a modern version of the Pied Piper of Hamelin with at least two or three hundred laughing, dancing, shouting boys and girls in front and behind and around us. We were very proud that after two months away we remembered all their faces and most of their names (and the ones whose names you didn't remember you could conveniently call

000 "grandson"), and were able to ask after the other members of their families and the sore leg or hurt finger, and congratulate Shamúli on having grown two new front teeth and been promoted to trousers in our absence. I noticed that small boys and [291] girls who in their baby days are clad merely in a shift, don their first trousers with their second teeth.

Our miniature escort swarmed into the verandahs and all round the house, and the difficulty was to coax them to run home after we had many times said a pointed "Good-bye for the present." It was the greatest fun, and we would not have missed it for anything. The luck of arriving prematurely had forestalled any formal grown-up reception, and this was a much more delightful and spontaneous welcome home. And these are the people of whom a recent traveller writes that they are "quarrelsome and grasping and out only for what they can get from the traveller." There are various types of traveller. The only comfort is that people who read a superficial travel book forget ten minutes after they have laid it down whether the author was writing of Hunza or Honolulu. The same writer says that no one in these regions cares about clean drinking water but all drink from ponds that have been fouled by the animals watering, whereas as I have already recorded the Hunzukuts most scrupulously roof in their drinking tanks and approach them down steep steps to prevent any animals possibly getting near them. It is grievously unfair to libel in print a people who have no opportunity to protest and correct mis-statements of fact.

We found the bungalow just as we had left it, but without the two months' dust we had fully expected. After tea and a rest we quickly shunted chairs back to their accustomed places, I got out tablecloths and rehung curtains, and we had our cosy camp-home looking like itself before dinner.

Chapter 27

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

000 THE first few days after our return we spent in picking up threads again, and very jolly it was to make the tour of the dear, familiar farmsteads and be shown the new kids and lambs, the new stone shed, etc., to comment on the progress each field was making—in some, little knobs were forming on the barley stalks, where presently the new ears would come, in some few, the ears were already taking shape—to see how far the new fields had progressed towards completion, and what jobs were now in hand. We were touched to find that it was not only our more immediate, better-known neighbours who seemed glad to see us, but even the more distant, rarely visited families flocked to the doors and came out to kiss our hands till the greetings became almost monotonous: "We have missed you. You were long away. We are glad you are back. Are you well?" Old men tottered up to talk to us, young mothers brought new babies to be introduced; Baby Faqér laughed and crowed and "knew his grandmother" (he was a very bright and intelligent little chap for only five months), and little Afrots had not forgotten how to shake hands and say "How do you do?" performing these feats to the admiration of crowds from the three adjacent house-roofs and a large passing party in the lane.

233 Bare fields that had been lying fallow were being got ready
241 and dotted with manure dumps for the independent millets, sand was being dug from the silt traps to add to the beasts' bedding, whence it would duly reach the fields, and women were fetching baskets of earth from the "Mir's Stables" to add to the banked soil round their potatoes. The whole

countryside was a hive of industry. We missed the larger 233
animals and learnt that they had already been taken up to the 241
tér for the summer, while the tiny lambs and kids who were being carefully shepherded about to get what scanty grazing they could find without trespassing into the springing crops, demanded the unceasing vigilance of their small guardians.

The most noticeable new phenomenon was the constant 137
stream of people, men or women, stooping under huge bundles 233
of greenery till they looked in truth "like trees walking." We had come back to find the poplars well clothed and bushy (for poplars), giving an unwonted air of luxury to the landscape, but now they were being ruthlessly stripped to provide fodder for the animals, half starved throughout the winter on a diet of dry leaves. Poplar, willow, and *gindówer* are all laid under contribution, but the new fodder has to be very carefully issued at first lest the poor beasts should perish of its unaccustomed succulence. I stood one day watching and photographing a minute human insect at the top of a 50 or 60 foot poplar skilfully stripping it of its spring glory and leaving only the tiniest green tuft at the top. A whole handsome row were about to be similarly shorn. In a moment of thoughtlessness I said to the peasant at my side: "They look so lovely, it does seem a pity. . . ." He turned on me almost fiercely: "What, Mother? Would you starve our beasts for the sake of a poplar tree? The leaves will come again next spring. There is no cure for a dead sheep." I stood rebuked.

No. 3 had been laying out a new vegetable plot. Apicho 244
showed me the various beds ready for beans, scarlet runners 233
(which here have yellow flowers), marrows, and greens, but confessed that manure was their great problem. They have only one cow, poor devils, and with the best will in the world one cow cannot produce enough.

The end of May is the season when new saplings of poplar, 245
willow, etc., are planted, and we occasionally met people 252
carrying off bundles of them to set in place. The mills were in action again, and such fortunate folk as had a little grain still left from their emergency store—not, after all, exhausted by weddings or funerals—were carrying pathetically small bags of
to be ground.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

it to be ground. But "Starvation Springtime" was still ruling the land, and we noticed the children looking very thin and peaky, and a few with sores on their faces—hunger sores. We had often remarked on the complete absence of skin diseases amongst these cleanly folk, and the hunger sores rapidly disappeared with the coming of more food.

The opening of June saw weeding being very intensively carried out, not only for the sake of the growing crops, but for the weeds' own sake; those which were dubbed "crows' vegetables" were thrown to the sheep and goats, while sorrel and the like found their way into the family cooking-pot. Irrigation questions were now serious, for the crops must not be starved of water at the critical moment, and we used to meet bands of Aliábádkuts armed with shovels walking out the eight or more miles to the highest point of the Dála to guard and govern the controlling sluices. The potatoes were now beginning to flower and the mulberries to show signs of ripening, and the air was rent by shrill boy and girl noises designed to scare the birds off the mulberry trees. Every boy was armed with his catapult bow, made and strung of course by his own hands. I asked Yaman how many birds he had killed with his little stones: "Seventy-two, so far this season, Mother, but I'll get lots more." "What do you do with them?" "Oh, I take them home and put them in the pot, but there's not much meat on them." Our first impression of Hunza had been that, except for magpies, it was an entirely birdless land; this was a mistake. Migratory birds came in flocks at various seasons when any sort of likely food was going. Their various species I was not ornithologist enough to know; to me, as to A. J. Balfour, each was just "an average small bird," and the Hunza terminology was no great help to identification, for they were known as "mulberry birds," "barley birds," or the like, according to which crop they threatened. We now also for the first time saw shorn goats. Whereas the Hunza sheep are robbed of their wool just whenever wool is needed, so that you never see a really generous-looking ample fleece, the goats are shorn only once a year, in early summer. If you think of it, goat's hair would be too wiry to spin at all unless it were a decent length.

[At the end of May -- Analyst]

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Windy weather was knocking down unripe mulberries in 233
alarming quantities, which were incontinently guzzled by the 245
goats and sheep.

By June 9th ripe mulberries were reported from Ganesh and Hasanabad, some hundreds of feet below us, but we had to wait another three weeks for ours.

One afternoon we were out on the hillside and stopped to 524
watch a group of boys playing a complicated game of *bada bada* with a lot of small stones cast into twelve little holes in the ground. It was roughly equivalent to some of our games of marbles, and thinking of a large consignment of these which we had brought with us for future gifts we ruefully realized how useless marbles would be in a country where there are not
six inches of smooth, level ground. As we sat trying to master 231
the rules of *bada bada* Gulo crept up alongside me and slipped her hand confidentially into mine, whispering "Our pussy cat has had a confinement," using for fun the same term as she would have applied to her mother, and not the word suitable for cats. "There are three kittens, and they opened their eyes yesterday; do come and see them!"

When the game was over we accordingly started crosswise downhill to No. 3. I halted at the door to make sure that Zénába was prepared to endorse the impulsive invitation. She was sitting crouched by the hearth boiling the greens for dinner and jumped up with delight to bring us in. We squatted down on a sleeping-bench, from the back of which the children produced a round fruit basket in which the cat was cosily curled up. She was evidently accustomed to seeing her babies tenderly handled, for she let us take them out without other comment than a loud purr. Dear little furry things they were, about the size of small mice, and Gulo bubbled over: "She made first the black one and then the white one and then the yellow one—and that was all." Meantime, in addition to Kaníza and Apícho, a strange young man had drifted in to see what was going on, and presently Father arrived and we all
chatted together very gaily. Laughing somewhat apologetically, 231
Zénába confessed that she had drawn on the emergency reserve 844
to make some *daudo* (a sort of porridge with butter) for pussy 262

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

to keep her strength up—and this in one of the poorest houses, where they have had no bread nor butter for themselves for weeks. *Daudo* is one of the nourishing dishes you make for a human mother, and the cat was such a pet that the kittens were considered as a birth in the family, one of the emergencies budgeted for. There is as little need in Hunza for an R.S.P.C.A. as for an anti-litter crusade. Everyone is devoted to his animals, and the children have pet names for every lamb and kid. You will often see a boy or girl carrying home a tired animal slung over the neck like a fashionable lady's fur. Only people who have lived in the East can realize how amazing was this affectionate care for a pet; or how still more amazing this happy family life where father could come in and find his wife and daughters entertaining two strange men and be obviously delighted to see the guests. At least, if this sort of thing is possible elsewhere in the East, I have not heard of it.

When we passed next day we heard that a strange cat, which must be the only other one in Aliábád, for in general everyone is too poor to keep either cat or dog, had come in while the mother was mouse-hunting and had killed two of the kittens. Yaman, the only brother of our most beloved young friends, and most intelligent of informants, lifted a pathetic little white body with his toes from the field to show us. The children were half horrified and half amused at the kittens' fate.

There were a few wild flowers these June days amongst the scanty grass of the *toqs*: red bladder campion, stitchwort, and an occasional starved-looking forget-me-not. The children were much amused when we told them what the English call it, and that sentimentalists amongst us use it as a love-token. After that, one or another would run up to us offering a tiny blue flower and saying, "Don't forget me!" Some future linguist, language-hunting like ourselves, may be puzzled to hear of *je til akol* growing in Hunza fields and rack his brains as to how the idea came to the Karakoram. On principle we have tried to avoid poisoning the ground for future workers by importing European ideas, legends, or phrases, and in this connection the forget-me-not, the "one little pig" and Afrot's *How do you do?* are the only sins on my conscience.

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Men left at home in the village were now making pilgrimages 233
towards the *tér* to fetch down the manure that their brothers 262
up on the mountain side on the animals have been scrupulously collecting. They usually arrange to meet half way, the village brother taking up any supplies the other may need and the brother of the *tér* bringing down not only manure but butter and *brús*, a kind of preparation of dried curd not unlike cream cheese. The lads up at the *tér* have rather a jolly time. They take up only their oldest clothes, for the life is rough and the work is hard. Anywhere that there is a scrap of suitable [245] ground they plant a little barley, harnessing themselves to the plough so as not to put work on to the horses or oxen they may have with them, who are considered to have earned a holiday. Each day at dawn they loose their animals, but keep 233
a careful eye on them, and sometimes have hair-raising adventures in rescuing a beast which has fallen down a cliff. There used to be considerable danger from wild animals, but nowadays there are few of these surviving. Any family that lacks a spare son to take the animals up entrusts them to the care of some other, after a rather touching little ceremony in which the beasts are solemnly committed to the care of their new master, who is at the same time given a certain amount of grain with him as part of his fee. Milking, making butter, collecting the manure, tending the barley (if any), cooking their own food, corralling the animals at night, etc., occupy the herds the greater part of the time, but they find leisure enough for various games and feats of skill.

Every now and again they decide to supplement their scanty 262
rations—the village can spare little enough to send with them 536
—by the sacrifice of a goat and a feast of meat. The donor of 233
the beast plays for the evening the rôle of Mir, appoints another as his Wazir, and they play-act their several parts with gusto. It is frankly admitted that the animal sacrificed to make this holiday usually is one of those whose owner is not present. When eventually the boy returns, minus one of the 233
animals for which he was trustee, he formally announces the 262
regrettable "loss" to its owner. The nature of the catastrophe is fully understood but not crudely stated. A wise owner is

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1. Rakapóshi in summer from Aliábád. Apricot trees in foreground. (See p. 80)

PLATE XXII

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2. The sole type of wheeled vehicle in Hunza; a barrow used only in levelling fields.

(See p. 211)

[Facing P288]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

expected to reply: "It is God's will. Accidents will happen. After all, they are beasts of the mountain and the wild." He is reckoned a churlish fellow who institutes enquiries and demands compensation, though no one denies his right to it. The liberty to indulge in an occasional free feed is, we understood, sparingly taken and not abused.

With luck a she-goat will yield enough milk while up on the summer pastures to make two *maltash*, i.e. two birch bark parcels of butter for storage. If the goat is a trustee goat the herd is expected to hand one *maltash* to her owner and to keep the balance as his fee. Sheep's milk is poor in fat content and yields little butter, so it is usually devoted to making *brús* and *rakhpín*, a kind of hard, dried curd which has great lasting qualities and the appearance of a cake of soap.

The day that the herds return from the mountain with their charges is a festive one for the villages. Large parties go out to meet the returning absentees. Before finally leaving the *tér*, driven down by cold and the advancing autumn snows, the herds bake some special little cakes to bring back with them, and crowds of dancing, shouting boys and girls fall on their elder brothers demanding their share. Trust the Hunzukuts to stage a festival on the slightest provocation.

Our Ernest of the white horse reappeared unexpectedly from the *tér* in the middle of the season and walked over from Hasanabad to call on us and bring an offering of *brús* for DL and of wild mountain flowers for me. He had given his animals into a friend's charge, and taken a couple of days off because he was a member of the Hasanabad polo team and was wanted to play in an inter-village match. These matches rouse as much interest as Arsenal *versus* Chelsea, and a good player who is also the possessor of a good pony can ill be spared. I duly took a photo of him and The Cat, he no longer in the rôle of the humble *sais* but of the gentleman polo player. Stout fellow!

These early June days were the time for apricot and mulberry grafting. The cultivated fruit shoots are grafted on to wild trees. We watched the process, about which the Hunzukuts have little to learn. Each graft was given a double lashing of bark from mulberry root. We returned later and found them

000 all thriving. The field walls looked very jolly at this season,
241 with wild flowers of the rock-garden type growing in the
137 crannies between the stones and fostered by the seepage from
263 the irrigated fields above. Amongst them was a wild mint and a wild thyme, the flavouring qualities of which are known and appreciated.

243 On June 12th we saw some people hungrily eyeing their barley and reckoning that it would be ripe for cutting in another fifteen days. It was said to be good this year in spite of an abnormally cold, late spring. Some rain showers that we had were welcomed though they temporarily cooled the air. But as clouds and rain continued, anxiety began to be felt lest the wheat should be late and delay too long the planting of the buckwheat-on-wheat. The barley is subject to a disease called *tam*, which stripes the leaves an ugly yellow and produces a milky liquid in the ears. Few plants were attacked this year. The disease called *matèl* (rust?), which makes black ears, attacks only wheat and millet, and if the cold and rain persisted it might be expected to set in. We were doubly anxious that this year's crops should be good: unselfishly for the people's sake; selfishly lest a bad year should be attributed to the maleficent influence of two crazy people learning Burushaski—though indeed these highly rational people would be unlikely to indulge any such fantastic association of ideas.

386 We saw some people one day collecting the under-bark
314 from red willow trees; they use it for dyeing the leather of their native boots and skilfully chip it out from the living tree without injuring the willow.

262 Now that the people were really within sight of food they
[152] frankly confessed to being desperately hungry, and the strain of unremitting work—weeding, ploughing, manuring, grafting, irrigating from dawn to dusk on empty tummies—was showing in drawn, thin faces, but appeared powerless to damp their spirits or fray their tempers. It was dreadful to look on and be helpless to feed the multitude with loaves or fishes, while we lived—sparingly enough by home standards but—riotously compared with these much more deserving neighbours. We saw one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry

1 [in June -- Analyst]

262 one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry tree silently munching unripe fallen fruit, but the most pathetic
524 sight was groups of little girls crouched beside a water-channel scooping out sand and mud and forming it into various types of breads and cakes which they pretended to "bake like Mother." They knew nothing of modern psychology, and were unaware that we interpreted their poor little mud pies as wish-fulfilments.

136 Cuckoos and larks were now filling the air with welcome, strangely home-like sounds.

000 One day the news of the Quetta earthquake reached us by telephone and spread dismay in twenty homes which had sons in British service there. How to get news? Mercifully the suspense was not prolonged. Thanks to the humane arrangements which allowed survivors to telegraph free, a telegram was telephoned through from one of the Hunza men to say that he and all his compatriots had escaped, owing to the fact that they were all employed by officers of the Staff College. It would be blasphemy to suppose that those were all unrighteous on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, but we could hardly resist a suspicion that the God of Earthquakes shared something of our feeling for the folk of Hunza.

294 It was the very end of June before the Barley Harvest was in sight, but as the time approached nearer and nearer, by painfully slow degrees, we saw women and girls devoting all their spare time to making new caps for the jollifications of Ginání, and the men, who are not a whit less vain, were already sporting bright new shirts in anticipation. We came on Kaníza and Apícho putting the last touches on a cap made of some scraps of Tootal material which I had given to Kaníza to dress the new doll that Yaman had made for her. They were weaving the braid edging straight on to the cap, stitching it on as they wove. The method was interesting: six long coarse crimson threads are made fast by both ends to the edge of the double cap—outside, and slightly padded lining. The stitcher holds the cap inside out. The braider sits near and takes the six long loops of equal length, passing three over the fingers of the right and three over the fingers of the left hand; then she slips the left-hand loops on to the right-hand fingers, deftly lifts the

original right-hand loops off on to the left fingers carefully 294
crossing each pair of threads as she does so. Widely drawing her two hands apart Apícho then drove the set of crossed threads down on to the edge of the cap, where Kaníza secured the twelve-fold plait with a large stitch. This was repeated *ad infinitum*, the braid only showing on the right side of the cap and the long ugly stitches on the wrong. The process looks rather like cat's-cradle. I had always wondered why, when they take such infinite trouble over the minute cross-stitch embroidery of their caps and the hand-plaited twelve-ply braid, they finished the cap off with these long stitches. I also wondered why it seemed impossible to detach the braid without its ravelling out. I now saw that braid-weaving and stitching were part of one elaborate process.

By July 1st the luckier folk were already cutting their 243
barley and clearing a field for their threshing floor without waiting for the formal harvest-initiation ceremonies of the Ginání, the date of which is naturally fixed by the Mir to suit Báltít, 1,500 feet higher, and consequently some days behind Aliábád. All our potatoes were by now in full flower and our wheat was turning "fox-colour."

On July 5th we rode over to Báltít for yet another of the 487
Hunza festivals, and ye Gods! it was hot on the road—90 de- [132]
grees in the shade—and we had to start at the very hottest time of day, about 2 p.m. The Mir gave us tea in his nice shady grass-grown apple orchard before we remounted and climbed up to the Fort. It is not easy to convey how steep the road is that in Báltít corresponds to the Mall. Your pony steps from one boulder to the next with a great lurch, his spine almost vertical, and for my part I could only just stick on by my usual technique of thrusting my stirrups back to the root of his tail 487
and firmly gripping his mane with my right hand. The road 361
runs between high stone walls and zigzags wildly. The little box-like stone houses of the capital are piled on top of each other in the craziest way—town-planning has to accommodate itself to the vagaries of a precipitous mountain side. They are indescribably picturesque, but you would not think them possible to live in, yet they provide a high degree of simple com-
fort

487 fort. When you reach the courtyard the Fort towers above you like Bush House. Up the semi-spiral ramp outside and the two flights of ladder-like stairs, and out you come on to the great reception balcony with its incomparable view. The country looks its very best in July, every field green or golden with its crops and every fruit tree in full luxuriant leaf, apricots turning golden but not yet ripe.

600 There was a crowd of fifty or sixty on the balcony, and we chatted to the princes and others while DL endeavoured to find some spot from which he could command with his cine-camera the steep approach almost vertically below us up which the Harvest procession would presently be coming, without himself toppling over to certain death. The little parapet—not calculated for the convenience of camera men—just caught his shins in such a way as to encourage a fatal plunge. It is needless to mention that the sinking sun stared straight into his lens. The sun blazed relentlessly on the white mud floor of the balcony, the resultant glare alternating with inky shadows, while the table and chairs which had been hospitably provided for our convenience intruded with infernal incongruity into every foreground. If you escaped sudden death over the parapet to rocks 1,000 feet below, you might meet a less spectacular but equally fatal end by an unpremeditated dive down the trap-door. Photography in Hunza is fraught with danger and difficulty.

643 The Mir meantime had disappeared inside to robe himself before taking his seat on the throne under the carved verandah, where he would be well-nigh invisible to the camera lens. The cloth spread on the throne was the loveliest imaginable: a thick, bright sapphire-blue velvet with a border of apricot colour, or rather that delicate, yellowy, salmony pink which upholsterers call "apricot," though never was an apricot that shade. The whole border as well as a great medallion in the centre was embroidered in real gold, padded quarter of an inch thick: a barbarically lovely thing, bought, the Mir said, for Lord Curzon's visit twenty or thirty years ago, and as untarnished still as only real gold can be.

At last, when we were nearly grilled to death, we heard a

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

shout of "Here they come!" Far away, hundreds of feet below 643
us, we could just descry a pair of horsemen scrambling up the road I have described. It was two of the royal princes, one of them Lord Fauntleroy, each with an armful of ripe golden barley. Soon they disappeared into the bowels of the Fort below us and presently their heads popped up through the trap-door. Someone whisked the barley from their arms and disappeared with it to rub the ears and toast the grains. The Mir appeared from an inner door. He was wearing a loose gown of pale blue silk all embroidered in gold and a pale turban also touched with gold. He greeted his people like a king and went over to his seat, quietly kicked off his slippers, and neatly slithered himself on to the couch-like throne in photograph-defying shadow, and sat cross-legged—the perfect picture of an Oriental monarch whose authentic ancestors were ruling Hunza while our Black Prince was fighting in the fields of France. He graciously signed for us to come near, and I let my chair be brought under the verandah, but DL begged to be allowed to stay out in the balcony where he could move about more freely.

Then came a henchman with ewer and basin and the Mir 241
very sensibly spread a towel over his silken knees and velvet cloth while water was poured over his hands. Another minion then presented a priceless china bowl filled with sour milk, and the Mir taking a silver spoon lifted half a spoonful of the junket and held it out while the man sprinkled in three grains of toasted barley. This he ate—three times three grains in all—thus handselling the first fruits of the year's new harvest. Then the bowl was circulated to DL (with a fresh spoon) and then to me, and then in order of rank and precedence to the rest of the assembled company. It was a simple yet impressive little communion service. And throughout the country every family in like fashion ceremonially tastes the first grains of the new barley, and carries in the first-cut stalks solemnly to bind them round the *shiri dako*, the main pillar of the humble atrium, where they remain till in due course replaced a twelve-month later.

When the bowl and barley grains had made the rounds, in

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

was brought the largest wooden tray I ever saw, piled high with various foods: I noted a fresh cabbage, stacks of several kinds of bread, dishes of dried curds, mountains of rice with nuts and onions on top, and every sort of vegetable cooked in butter. The Mir sampled everything very sparingly, laughingly explaining that he must not tuck in now as he had to eat dinner with us presently. Then the royal tray was taken over and placed before the princes, while mountains of bread and meat were set in the centre of the balcony for everybody. The meat was hacked up as usual with an adze and the food quickly distributed and almost as quickly disposed of, no one going through the farce of having a delicate appetite. The beauty of this kind of feast is that there is no "clearing away," for in five minutes not one visible crumb was left.

Then all stood up and turned to the Mir with a bow and a curious gesture brushing down their beards or moustaches or whiskers with both hands (whether they had any such trimming on the face or not) and said in unison *mubárak manish!*—may it be blessed!—thereupon fading out one by one down the trap-door. When the road was clear we all climbed down too, and in the courtyard the Mir mounted his horse again for a sort of triumphal march home. He suggested our riding with him, but we explained that we should prefer to walk down if we might. He laughed and said: "So should I, but I must not!" The ascent of the Hunza Mall is all right, but riding down it is unattractive. We waited till he had plunged vertically out of sight and took our time to the descent on foot. There is a wonderful collection of old buildings, with balcony rooms propped on rudely carved pillars, a charming old, now disused mosque, also lavishly carved, and a wonderful old mill, all packed tight round the feet of the Fort for safety.

After we got back to the Mir's gardens we washed and changed, and dined with him in a roomy tent. The poor man had been having severe toothache for several days and no sleep at night, yet he manfully ate his way through dinner and kept the conversation going. Next morning we were awakened by a magnificent voice chanting the Call to Prayer before dawn. It was the only *muezzin* we ever heard in Hunza, but the Mir

takes a pride in having every sort of artisan and artist in his service. I peeped out through the muslin curtain of our tent, but I didn't notice any great rush of the population to pray. There was polo at 6 a.m., to which we did not turn out.

After breakfast there was a great feast in the large courtyard outside the garden at Kerimabad where the Mir sat daily to hold public court. The large open space was packed with feasters. The Mir was seated under a verandah on another throne (again in heavy shadow), and strings of people came with huge baskets on their backs, laden with food. We were seated on the vantage ground of a rocky shelf in a great boulder that commands the courtyard and at the same time forms the foundation of a splendidly sited guest-house bungalow of comparatively recent date. Yesterday's performance was repeated but without the ceremonial of the toasted barley grains. Yesterday the guests on the Fort balcony had been only "The Great," but to-day the feasters were a more representative and larger crowd. The eating did not take long, and we then adjourned to see the usual kind of dancing.

After that lunch we said good-bye and rode home: again at the very hottest time of a ninety-in-the-shade day. But we were thankful to have seen the Ginání ceremonial which was just over when we arrived the year before. We had now seen the Hunza year right through with all its festivals, and alas! packing and departure were beginning to loom large in our thoughts. We could not linger so long in Hunza as to risk having again to *walk* the Burzil—Fate and weather might not have been so kind the second time. DL had toiled with his two Wakhis through all the work he was likely to be able to extract from them, and we bade the dear old men an affectionate and thankful farewell. Khalifa Farághat was the proud possessor of a pair of "old age spectacles" we had procured for him from the Agency Surgeon in Gilgit, which he said gave his eyes a new lease of life.

We had brought the faithful Muslim back with us from Yasin, having obtained leave for him from the Rajah, and David had been spending all his leisure from Wakhi and Burushaski on rounding off his Werchikwar, but we

2 Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 presently dismissed him too, to concentrate on our own windings up.

There was an unbelievable lot to do: specimens of plants and grains to be labelled and packed; photographs and manuscript notes of every kind to be sorted into order and well wrapped in waterproof paper; parting gifts to be thought of; arrangements for the journey down to be made in advance; the last lot of duplicate typescript, texts, etc., to be got off by different posts to the Bank lest one lot should be lost; specimens of such utensils and implements as we could hope to carry to be collected. We had reluctantly to abandon the hope of bringing home in triumph a stone *balosh* as too heavy for any load, and breakable withal.

Chapter 28

FINALITIES

Our final weeks in Hunza were overcrowded with unavailing 132
attempts to fill all the lacunæ of over a year's work, and 133
working was not rendered easier by a temperature of 105 degrees in the shade, nor by the fact that we were both beginning to feel the strain of an intensive fifteen months at close on 8,000 feet (although we had not been consciously conscious of the altitude), and were undeniably somewhat played out.

We had to try to take all the photographs—moving or still—that had hitherto escaped us, develop and print the latter, and keep up to the end our practice of giving copies to the interested parties.

Two lines of enquiry in particular demanded attention. 126
Until faith in the purely scientific and disinterested character of DL's intentions had been firmly established, he had refrained from any attempt to map in detail the inhabited country immediately about us, or to enquire too closely into the amount of land belonging to any given household. Such activities would inevitably have given rise to the fear that he had been sent to make a survey for Government as a prelude to land taxation. Now that such fears were unlikely to arise—and would not impede us greatly if they did—we toiled up and down the steep and rocky tracks, taking sights, pacing distances, measuring fields, and making calculations. A country harder to survey, even in the rough and ready fashion which alone was possible, it would be difficult to conceive. It was impossible to find even twenty yards of level ground in a straight line to make a base from which anything else was visible; pacing distance was almost otiose when spurs jutted and angles re-

126 entered everywhere. There were no landmarks: every house was a rough replica of every other and not certainly identifiable from any distance, every poplar tree which from one point of vantage stood out in splendid isolation immediately fell into line with a dozen others when you walked a hundred yards. The whole habitable country was tilted at an angle of 45 or 50 degrees, and seamed with sunken rock-ravines; the river was perennially invisible in its gorge; tracks and water-courses were sunk between high walls, and not to be divined unless you were actually in them out of sight of everything: a heartbreaking, leg-exhausting task, the sketch map that DL coveted.

A second important task was an enquiry into matters of revenue and taxation. To have questioned the peasantry, except very casually and incidentally, would again have been to excite curiosity as to ulterior motives—the non-existence of which might well have seemed incredible—though we did manage to accumulate a good deal of information that was invaluable as corroborative material. The only way to get coherent information was to approach the Mir direct and beg permission to enlist the assistance of Prince Jamál Khán, now his grandfather's right hand in administrative matters, and then try to keep the boy's untrained attention from wandering off the point at issue.

000 All the while book-boxes had to be gradually packed and top-dressed with lighter material so as to make manageable loads, new boxes had to be conjured out of old to take the curious and unwieldy articles—from bows to winnowing forks—ultimately destined for some museum. The contents of each box had to be inventoried in detail, for Customs purposes as well as for our own reference, then strongly wired, then painted with name and numbers. Dádo and the rest helped manfully over all such tasks as they could tackle, but much could be done only by DL or by myself.

197 Finally there was one blind spot of language which cried
563 out for—and got—attention, the Dumáki spoken by the alien Béricho, that minute language-island within the larger language-island of Burushaski itself.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

FINALITIES

During fifteen months in Hunza our solitude had been invaded only twice by a European passer-by: an inspecting engineer, Mr. Halcro Johnson of the Orkneys, had spent a night and explored some of the countryside with us, conjecturing about hydraulic pumps to lift water from the ever-changing bed of the river to the fields above, and Colonel Schomberg, ever entertaining, informative, and critical, had passed through on one of his endless wanderings in the wilds. As luck would have it, no less than two parties turned up in those last hectic days. Colonel Lang, Resident in Kashmir, made the pilgrimage to Hunza in company with Major Kirkbride, lunched with us on August 28th on the way up, and spent a night on the way down; our genuine pleasure in seeing these distinguished guests was slightly marred by pressure of work and less-even-than-usual ability adequately to entertain, for our supplies were sorely on the ebb. We gave them the one and only tin of sausages we had had!

It was many years since a Resident had found time or inclination to travel up to Hunza. Soon after the party had left us we heard the Mir's saluting gun (a new toy since our time) sending unwonted echoes through the immemorial silences, and that night the mountain side was magnificently starred with bonfires lighted high on almost inaccessible peaks and spurs. Impregnated as we were with knowledge of Hunza fuel-poverty, we could not but reckon the cost of such a gallant and loyal tribute to the King Emperor. Most probably the sheer delight in accomplishing the feat of carrying treasured juniper logs to such heights and setting them ablaze at the concerted moment, and the love of every Hunzukuts for a *tamasha*, prevented anyone but ourselves from indulging in such sordid reckonings. We wondered how much or how little Colonel Lang appreciated what those bonfires meant.

Our next visitors were of another sort. A couple of months before *The Times* had cabled me that one Peter Fleming, evidently a white-haired boy of theirs, was apparently missing somewhere in Central Asia on the way from Peking to Kashgar. They had had no news for months and were getting anxious. Could I make enquiries? Distances that look slight enough on

a map in Printing House Square are more formidable in the mountains of the Karakoram. From Báltít to Kashgar is a month's severe marching in favourable weather conditions, and in others not marchable at all. The telegraph stops at Misgar, five marches up, and there is no telegraph office between Misgar and Gilgit. So far as we knew Kashgar had no wireless; anyhow, we had not. We had, indeed, seen a party pass, bound for the north, and said to be taking up a wireless *receiving* set to Kashgar, though they themselves preserved a hush-hush silence about the contents of their massive loads, far too heavy for pony packs, and as we thought far too unwieldy to be manhandled round the cliffs and over the glaciers of the route, so that we anticipated its almost certain non-arrival.

My only chance of getting news was to indent on the kind co-operation of the Mir. He has—by Central Asian standards—an efficient if unorganized news-service, which, however, conveys its news on foot, by word of mouth. He promised to keep me informed. At length he sent me word that there was a traveller, Temmelemming or possibly Semmelemming or possibly almost any other name, reputed to be heading for Kashgar, but still about nine marches out, travelling with a lady. As to whether he was a *Times* correspondent or not, there was no word. Newspaper correspondents are parasites of modern civilization, a human type unrecognized amongst the happy dwellers in the oases of the Tarim Basin or of Hunza. We had not then heard that Peter Fleming was crossing Central Asia under the wing of the famous international ski-ing and hockey champion, Mademoiselle Ella Maillart, and the fact that Temmelemming was accompanied by an unexplained lady suggested that he was not improbably some enterprising Swedish missionary touring with his wife. I cabled, therefore, to *The Times* with caution, anxious not to raise hopes that would be distressing to Fleming's people if he should prove to have perished. News of Temmelemming under a bewildering variety of aliases continued to come at intervals, and I duly continued to forward them to *The Times*. At last I was able to cable that the traveller was indeed Fleming,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

and had safely reached Kashgar—a stop-press scoop that fell a little flat in London, which had had a wireless from Fleming in Kashgar some weeks before. Meantime Fleming and the lady (whoever she might prove to be) were approaching Hunza, and we sent a runner out to meet them, bid them welcome, and invite them to look in on us at Aliábád.

They turned up on the morning of August 29th at eight o'clock, sunburnt, hatless, happy, and indomitable, and we had the honour of offering them their first English breakfast on British soil after the famous journey of which all the world now knows. It wasn't much of a breakfast, but it wasn't *tsamba*. They were an engaging pair of adventurers. If Fleming might have stood for the errant knight in search of a distressed princess to rescue, Ella Maillart was obviously quite as competent to do any rescuing that might be required.

Over a merry breakfast we learned Peter Fleming's indignation at the suggestion that he was lost at all. He had reached Kashgar ahead of his scheduled time. While we were still at table our merriment was enhanced by a cable that came for me, forwarded by post, of course, from Gilgit. Dated many weeks before, it came via the Dead Letter Office in Lahore, where it had been mouldering for some reason that we never fathomed. It announced Fleming's wireless from Kashgar, and reasonably suggested that I might cease to cable Temmelemming's progress. I felt that nothing but courtesy and cable-economy combined had prevented an exasperated Foreign Editor from qualifying my cables with some forcible adjective. I was now able to close the cable-correspondence with the triumphant news that Fleming and Maillart had just breakfasted with us in excellent health and spirits, and hoped to reach Srinagar in a fortnight or three weeks. I then air-mailed a letter enclosing the Dead Letter telegram to prove that I was not really the congenital idiot I must have seemed. The explanation was, I presume, accepted, for I never received either a dressing-down or a bill for my cabled futilities.

Meantime we adjourned from table to take photographs of each other outside. I had been boasting to Miss Maillart of the friendliness of Hunza women and their lack of camera-shyness.

She had a bobbed shock of dusty brown hair, long untrimmed, a horizontally-striped jumper of navy and white, loosish navy knickers, and long boots. She made an unheralded descent on a group of Hunza women in a neighbouring field—they fled in terror from the apparition. Unfortunately there was no time for me to round them up and woo them back, for the two newspaper colleagues had to hasten back to Báltít to join in some festivities in honour of the Resident. We later had the pleasure of hearing them both lecture in London on their astounding journey, and it was hard to identify the beautiful lady in evening dress graciously displaying lantern slides to the Central Asian Society and humorously making light of the hardships and perils of those seven famous months, with the tomboy figure of the Karakoram who had left so vivid a memory behind in Aliábád.

By mid-August the last batches of drying apricots had been gathered in, withdrawing those bright pools of colour which had so gaily painted roofs and boulder surfaces. But the independently sown millets were tossing glorious golden heads (*cho*) far more challenging to the eye than wheat or barley, or graceful tassels of golden rain (*boy*) lovelier even than ripening rice; the millets-on-barley, later sown, were still a brilliant green, and the sweet buckwheat-on-wheat was bursting out into seas of beautiful, sweetly-smelling pink. We were glad not to have had to leave without seeing and scenting sweet buckwheat once again, while the yellow ill-smelling blossoms of the bitter buckwheat were too unobtrusive to spoil the delicate sheets of green amongst which they hid or taint the general air. It was going to be hard to tear ourselves away from Hunza in her summer glory.

All our last comings and goings amongst the farmsteads were clouded by "that go-ey feeling" which schoolchildren know so well, casting the shadow of the prison house over the last precious hours of holiday.

After my first ill-advised distribution of a few Woolworth balls amongst the toddlers we had firmly abstained from any form of gift-giving. Now the moment had come when self-discipline could be relaxed. We got up from Gilgit two pony-

loads of rock salt, a consignment of large, bright-coloured handkerchiefs, and a supply of the unspun, bright, Central Asian silks which go to embroider women's caps. Needles, safety-pins, thimbles, and multi-coloured beads I already had by me in large quantities, and I had the store-room full of carefully hoarded empty tins and containers, spare packing-cases and kerosene tins, while the dark-room offered rows of empty bottles and the six priceless petrol drums which had faithfully stored water for innumerable photographic washings.

Three of the petrol drums we set aside for the three headmen of Aliábád, to whose kindness we had owed carpeted stone sofas at "The Gate" for merry festivals, and many another gracefully offered courtesy. The other three we reserved for the trusty servants, Dádo, Zaidu, and Sagi. To Sagi, also, who had toiled so many weary miles and climbed so many thousand feet to fetch us never-failing supplies of drinking water, we gave a couple of spare buckets, which he had more than earned; packing-cases and kerosene tins were divided at their own discretion—and without quarrelling—between levies and servants. Since even two pony-loads of salt would go nowhere among two hundred households, we had reluctantly decided that we must confine our farewell largesse to the twenty houses of our more immediate and most intimate neighbours, which happened to stand geographically somewhat apart from the rest of the village.

With heavy heart I divided the salt into twenty equal shares, added needles, pins, and beads according to the numbers of the womenfolk, with a supply of silk for every house with a maturing bride, and supplemented all with a few empty tins or bottles. Then I tied this odd and heterogeneous offering into a coloured handkerchief, to be delivered by my own hand on our last evening.

For Ustád Nadíro, the master carpenter, to whom we owed more thanks than to any other single individual, DL had ordered from Bombay a saw and chisels, augurs and awls of Sheffield steel, and for Afiato, the peasant priest, also an outstanding benefactor, a pair of old-age spectacles to prolong his reading days. The tools came in the nick of time, and DL

312
857

1. Children watching water-hole (centre) to close it with the mushroom-plug (right) at given signal from father. (*See p.* 94)

PLATE XXIII

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2. Two small Hunza princesses with pet puppy. (*See p.* 246)

3. Khalifa Farághat teaching his son to read the Persian scriptures. (*See p.* 241)

[Facing P. 304]

sent up a message to No. 8 that if the Ustád could spare time after dark to come and open a packing-case for him, he would be grateful. The old man sat down to the task, and as the tools came into view he lifted them out with the loving reverence of a good craftsman. "These are the things, Sahib." "And these things are yours, Ustád, old friend, with our thanks." A moment of dumb, delighted incredulity and the old man was on his knees raining kisses on an embarrassed hand. Long may Nadíro live to wield his English steel!

There was—I regret to confess—an almost inexhaustible supply of empty cigarette tins. They were known to be considered ideal receptacles for embroidery odds and ends. I let it be known that any little girl of embroidering age who cared to come might have one on application, and for nearly half a day I stood by the verandah distributing one each, while an orderly mob of well-loved eager faces surged round me. To their honour be it said that of many hundreds only one child attempted fraudulently to secure a second tin, and she, poor kid, must nearly have perished of the unanimous scorn poured out upon her. "A grasping people, the Burusho of Hunza!" Let anyone say that in my hearing and I shall make him eat his lie.

The children's joy in possessing these valued momentoes a little eased the pain of parting.

At last, on September 2nd, everything down to our last toothbrush was packed. We started out betimes to evade as much as possible of the heat of that gruelling road. The whole of Aliábád, great and small, young and old, men and women, was gathered on the open slopes by the Sarkári Fort to see us ride away, and the air was thick with cries of "We shall miss you!" We waved as far as possible to each, and shouted our good wishes and farewells as the band played us on our way. Dozens accompanied us, running alongside through adjacent fields for a full mile or so, then slipped away to resume the insistent toil of a summer's day which must be done though the heavens fall or Sahibs ride into the blue. The road plunged, steep and narrow, into the Hasanabad ravine, the last stragglers

000 dropped off, and left us with only the immediate followers who were accompanying us to Kashmir.

As we toiled up the hot, dusty, unending zigzag out of the gorge towards the Murtazabad ridge, we espied three forlornly idle little figures under a tree ahead. Girls seldom stray so far beyond the village boundaries as their brothers. "If it weren't so far out I should guess those youngsters to be Kaníza, Shamúli, and Nigín," said I, "but they couldn't possibly . . ." But they had. As we drew near we saw that all three were crying, but bravely battling for self-control and jerkily wiping their eyes with their cuffs: "We shall remember you! May your way be blessed!" they called in chorus. "God make you grow! And may you, too, be blessed!" we answered back. And our mutual "Khudayár! God be with you!" blended, as our ponies breasted the last inch of crest and vanished over the ridge. With instinctive delicacy of feeling the children had chosen a strategic spot where there could be no looking back, no lingering of farewell.

Valete, Hunzukuts nostri gratissimi!

[P. 306 is blank]

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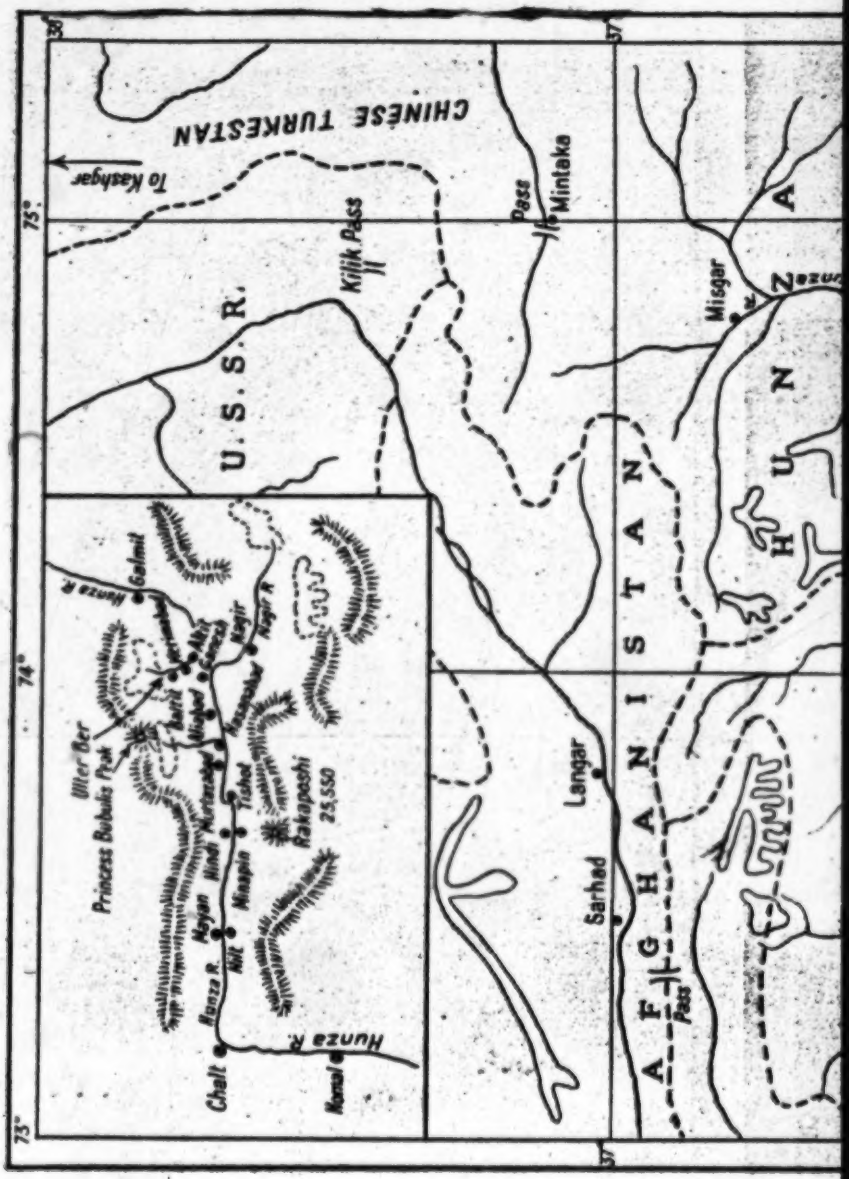
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To Kashgar
U. S. S. R.
Killik Pass
Pass
Mintaka
Misgar
Langar
Sarhad
A F G H A N I S T A N
Pass
H U N Z A
Princess Bubuks Peak
Ulter Ber
Gulmit
Hunza R.
Chalt
Nagar R.
Rakaposhi
25,550
Hunza R.
Nagar R.
Nagar
Hunza R.
Nagar
Nagar R.
Nagar
Nagar R.
Nagar
Nagar

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KARAKORAM RANGE
Indus R.
Gelmit
Baltit
Altit
Nagir
Nagir R.
Minapin
Rakaposhi
Aliabad
Hunza R.
Chalt
Nomal
Hunza R.
Gilgit R.
Gilgit
Bunji
Astor R.
Astor
Nanga Parbat
26,620
Chilas
Indus R.
Sazin
Gilgit R.
Gakuch
Chatorkhand
ISHKOMAN
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Yasin
Harf
Gupis
Dahimal
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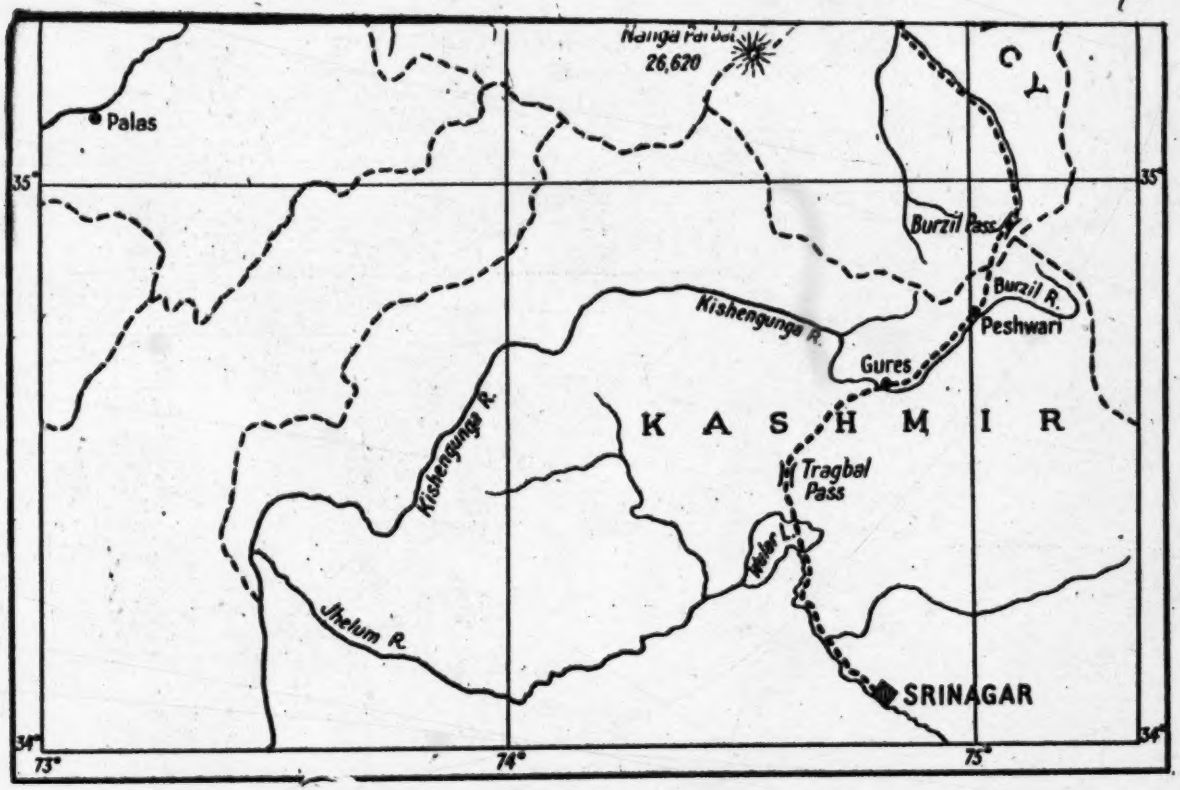

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INSTITUTTET
FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE

BY

LT. COL. D. L. R. LORIMER

VOL. I

INTRODUCTION AND GRAMMAR

WITH A PREFACE BY G. MORGENSTIERNE

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INSTITUTTET FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

SERIE B: SKRIFTER

XXIX,1

LT. COL. D. L. R. LORIMER:
THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE

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IV

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000

Ja ay'ɛrum šuguθlu.ɛr
Hunzu.ɛ Tham
SIR MUHAMMAD NAZĪM KHĀN, K. C. I. E.,
buʿt gunʿɛʿɛo kɛ da niʿrɛ.i suʿyas haʿkɪman,
šuʿlbalikɪš kɛ da mehɛrbaʿn soʿmu.an.
ʿinɛ kuyoʿčɛ ɛtas itɛ baʿɛ nɛtan ja girmiʿnum
gutɛ kɪtaʿp
buʿt adapɛ ka ɛr oʿia ba.

Gutɛ bɛrɛ hai.ʿan manʿiʿš nusen
kɛ mi yɛrum šuguleʿyɛ gɛruʿrumkuš
mi čɛraʿti nimiʿman toʿrimi deʿnɛ iʿlji
dʿɛrum jiʿndo kɛ di.ʿayum
duwaʿsum bila.

To my dear Friend,
SIR MUHAMMAD NAZIM KHAN, K. C. I. E.,
Tham of Hunza,
A wise and humane ruler,
And a sincere and kind friend,
With great respect I present this description of
the Language of his People.

May it be a token that our old friendship still survives
After ten years of separation.

V

000 *Mr. Shaw's proposal for "An Analysis of the Scotch Celtic Language" were thus illuminated by the pen of Johnson:*

"Though the Erse Dialect of the Celtic language has, from the earliest times, been spoken in Britain, and still subsists in the northern parts and adjacent islands, yet, by the negligence of a people rather warlike than lettered, it has hitherto been left to the caprice and judgement of every speaker, and has floated in the living voice, without the steadiness of analogy, or direction of rules. An Erse Grammar is an addition to the stores of literature; and its author hopes for the indulgence always shown to those who attempt to do what was never done before. If his work shall be found defective, it is at least all his own: he is not like other grammarians, a compiler or transcriber; what he delivers, he has learned by attentive observation among his countrymen, who perhaps will be themselves surprised to see that speech reduced to principles which they have used only by imitation".

"The use of this book will, however, not be confined to the mountains and islands: it will afford a pleasing and important subject of speculation, to those whose studies lead them to trace the affinity of languages, and the migrations of the ancient races of mankind".

Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson LL.D.
(Under date April 4, 1777).

VI

Dr Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-8) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

PREFACE.

The present work deals with a language which is spoken in some inaccessible mountain-valleys at the meeting-point of three great linguistic families, viz. the Indo-European (represented by Indo-Aryan Shina and Iranian Wakhi), the Tibeto-Burman (represented by the Balti dialect of Tibetan) and Turkish, but which is unconnected with any of them. 114 128

It belongs to a small and remote community, which has never played any rôle in history, nor contributed anything to the development of civilisation. Yet the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture has recognised the importance of assisting in saving from oblivion this relic of the past, of which, so far, only very summary descriptions have been given, and which in spite of, or perhaps just on account of, its apparent isolation may help to throw light upon the linguistic history of Asia.

The Institute has therefore undertaken to publish the first comprehensive account of Burushaski and the notes on the closely related Werchikwar dialect prepared by LA. Col. Lorimer. During his term as a political officer in Gilgit, close to the Burushaski speaking country, the author contrived to collect very ample and reliable material relating to the language, and he has since successfully carried through the difficult task of classifying and arranging it, describing in detail the highly complicated grammatical system of Burushaski. He has earned our gratitude for

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114 the painstaking energy with which, despite many difficulties, he
128 has prosecuted this pioneer undertaking.

The writer of these prefatory pages, who has had the privilege of discussing with the author a number of questions relating to Burushaski, can testify to the accuracy and care which has been bestowed upon the work.

In scientific importance Burushaski may be classed under several categories. Each of these presents its own special problems which will require separate and detailed study, and here it is only possible to draw attention to a few points selected more or less at random.

---

193 In the first place Bu. is of interest to the student of general linguistics on account of the many peculiar features of its morphological structure. These have been described in detail in the Grammar, and I shall only mention here one or two which seem worthy of consideration.

The division of nouns, etc., into four classes[1] is, of course, one of the outstanding features of Bu. grammar. L. is, no doubt, right in considering the first two categories (m. and f.) to be subdivisions of a common class denoting human beings (h.). The plural endings, the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, and the numerals are the same in m. and f. nouns, and it is only in 3 sg. of the prefixed pronouns and of the personal suffixes of the verb that the two classes differ. This is an interesting parallel to the Indo-European gender system, in which the distinction between m. and f. is supposed to be more recent and less fundamental than that which exists between m. and f. on the one hand and n. on the other.[2]

Of course, the Bu. x. and y. categories cannot be indentified with the I. E. n. As a matter of fact, the x. class, which among other things comprises non-human animate beings and which may, with great reserve, be defined as denoting individually conceived objects,

[1] §§ 19 sqq.
[2] V. e.g. Meillet, BSL (CR), 31, 7.

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ranges in several particulars with the h. (m. and f.) group. Thus the pl. endings to a great extent agree with those of h.; the prefixed pronoun 3 pl. is *u-* in h. and x, but *i-* in y.; and we find yanas *to take* with h. and x. objects, but ganas with y. objects[1], and in Nagiri Bu. and Werchikwar the y. form of the 3 sg. of the verb *to be* is formed from a root *d-*, while h. and x. have the usual *b-*.[2] 193

This seems to show that y. stands apart from the three first categories.

A definition of the x. and y. categories is given by L. in § 25, note. In most cases x. nouns appear, as indicated above, to denote objects conceived as separate, individual units, while y. might, perhaps, be said to designate 'amorphous substances', including what we would call abstract ideas. Cases like baγundo x. '*bread*', but y. *dough*, and the fact that the names of coarser cereals (where each single grain is considered as a separate unit) are x., while finer grains are y., give a good idea of the underlying central conception. The distinction between ba'lt x. *apple* and ba'lt y. *apple-tree*, etc. indicates a conception of the fruit-bearing tree as a kind of non-individual, common substance of which the single fruits are made.[3] But in many cases the principle of distinction seems quite obscure, cf., besides the examples given on p. 24, e.g. iγan x. *cream*.

Regarding the trace of still another category cf. § 187.

At any rate the detailed and well-considered account of the Burushaski nominal classes given in this book will be sure to prove valuable for our understanding of the complicated problems connected with the origin and nature of such classifications.

Another interesting feature of Bu. grammar is the constant use of possessive prefixes with most nouns denoting Parts of the Body., Relatives and "certain things which usually stand in close relation

[1] § 231. Cf. yalas trans. and galas intr. *to break*.

[2] V. §§ 496 and 527.

[3] Quite a different conception is found in Lat. malus f. *apple-tree*: malum n. *apple!* — Regarding Prof. Varma's theory about "x" v. p. 34.

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193 to some being".[1] This inability to consider certain objects without any relation to a possessor is shared by many languages.[2] Those of Melanesia, especially, present great similarities to Bu. in this respect.[3] But even in some Indo-Aryan dialects of the North-West, e.g. in Pashai, I have come across individuals who, when asked about the words denoting parts of the body or relatives, would preferably answer dandēm '*my* tooth', puθlem '*my* son', etc. This is certainly due to common psychological factors and not to the influence of a hypothetical Bu. substratum in Pashai.

According to Bleichsteiner[4] Leitner states in his Hunza and Nagyr Handbook that when he first heard Bu. of Nagir, every genuine Bu. noun had a pronominal prefix, but that the use of these possessives had decreased when he studied the language again 21 years later. In Leitner's 'The Languages and Races of Dardistan' embodying material collected during his first tour in 1866 and published in 1878[5], the use of the prefixes is, however, restricted to the names of parts of the body and of relatives, and the same principle prevails in Biddulph's material, which was collected in 1876.

Besides this, it is intrinsically improbable that the general use of the prefixes should have been given up in Nagir within such a short space of time, and that a parallel development should have taken place in Hunza and Yasin at a somewhat earlier date. Obviously the distinction between prefixed and nonprefixed nouns is, in its principle, very ancient and 'primitive'.

The details described in §§ 126—133 are very curious. Why, for example, is one word for "stick" used with a prefix, but another not? *Under-* and *upper-bedding* and *pillow* are conceived as belonging to a certain person, but this is not the case with articles of dress, etc.

[1] § 128.

[2] Cf. Havers Handbuch d. erklär. Syntax. p. 111.

[3] Cf. Lévy-Bruehl, La possession dans les langues mélanésiennes, MSL. 19, 6 sqq.

[4] P. 301 of the work quoted below, p. XIII f. n.

[5] Acc. to LSI, VIII, 1, p. 551. My copy of the book bears no date.

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Life can be spoken of in the abstract, but *death* only with reference to somebody. As regards the names of parts of the body those which like *blood*, *brain*, *skin* etc. denote a "substance" have no prefixes, nor are they used with recent loan-words such as muč *fist*, pini *leg*, buʿī *shoulder-blade*[1], etc. *Bone* and *horn* may be considered either as substances or as parts of the body belonging to a certain person or animal. Consequently we find both tin *bone*, tur *horn* and -ltin, -ltuʿr (y!). 193

One very curious employment of the pronominal "prefix" is as an *infixed* object in the verb ši·as, etc. *to eat*[2] This may be the last remnant of a verbal system which has been given up in modern Bu.

Among other peculiarities of the nominal inflexion I shall only draw attention to the interesting "double plural"[3] and to the circumstance that the interrogative pronoun mɛn is a plural (probably originally irrespective of number), of which the sg. is mɛn-ʌn '*who-one?*' Note also complicated formations such as eʿyɛnmur '*to a daughter of his*',[4] i-e. "i-ay-ɛn-mo-ər *his-daughter-one-f.-to*".

The temporal inflexion of the verbs is dominated by the existence of two temporal bases. From each base three tenses are formed:[5] From the Present Base present, imperfect and future, from the Past Base preterite, perfect and pluperfect. The resulting system agrees completely with that of Shina as expounded by L.,[6] and resembles to some extent the Latin one.

Of general interest are also the indiscriminate active and passive use of some verbal forms[7], the "Static Participle"[8], the addition

[1] But -phoi, L. -phoiŋ *shoulder*, which may have been borrowed at an earlier date.
[2] V. § 252.
[3] § 41 and Corrigenda, pp. 453—54.
[4] § 57.
[5] V. §§ 210 and 274.
[6] Cf. Lorimer, JRAS, 1927 pp. 739 sqq.
[7] V. § 346.
[8] §§ 329 sqq.

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193 of the Pronominal Prefix to the Past Participle Active[1], and the use of finite verbal forms with case suffixes.[2]

601 One detail regarding the vocabulary deserves special notice. The word -ạčo denotes both '*a man's brother*' and *a woman's sister*. The German translation would be *Geschwister von demselben Geschlecht*. A similar conception is found in the word -rik *wife's brother*, *husband's sister*, (*a woman's*[3]) *brother's wife*, (*a man's*) *sister's husband* (but not *wife's sister* or *husband's brother*). Apparently this word denotes *a brother- or sister-in-law belonging to the same sex as the person in relation to whom he or she is mentioned*. Note that *woman's brother* (-ulus) and *man's sister* (-yas) are denoted by separate words.

I have not met with this curious nomenclature in other languages, and I do not know to what kind of special structure of the family group it may originally have been due.

---

197 If we turn to the important question of the genealogical relations between Bu. and other languages, we are faced by great, perhaps insurmountable difficulties, *inter alia* because we possess no ancient records of the language and have only the closely related Werchikwar dialect to compare it with.

One fact, however, seems quite certain and indisputable: Bu. is not related to any of the surrounding Indo-Iranian, Turkish or Tibetan languages.

If we exclude A. Hyde's claim that Bu.[4] has a Siberio-Nubian origin, the first attempt to determine the position of Bu. was made by Ph. L. Barbour[5] who suggested the possibility of a connection with the Muṇḍa languages (Santali etc.). In spite of the great anthropological difference between Burusho and Muṇḍas this hypo-

---

[1] § 326.
[2] § 407.
[3] Cf. Texts, p. 364.8 where avrikmo *my brother's wife* is said by a girl.
[4] Indian Antiquary, I, 258 (quoted LSI, VIII, 2, 551).
[5] JAOS, 1921, p. 60 sqq.

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thesis is not *a priori* inadmissible, considering the fact that Muṇḍa influence has been traced in Tibeto-Burman dialects far towards the North-West. But the specific accordances between Bu. and Muṇḍa are so insignificant that Barbour himself concludes with a *non liquet*. 197

Trombetti's attempts to compare Bu. with Dravidian and Andamanese [1] are not accessible to me, but I have not been able to detect any similarities between Bu. and Dravidian.

It was only natural that attempts should be made to connect Bu. with the Caucasian languages, or more correctly, with one of the linguistic families belonging to Caucasia. There is nothing improbable in the idea that languages of a Caucasian type should have extended eastwards through Iran before the advent of the Aryans, and that a remnant of them should have been pushed up into the uppermost valleys of the Indus system. There can be no doubt that Bu. was formerly current over a larger territory than at present. But we must remember that in any case the connection between Bu. and Caucasian must have been cut off several thousand years ago, and that, consequently, we cannot expect the relationship, if there ever was one, to show very clearly.

Marr [2] has expressed his opinion that Bu. belongs to the "Japhetitic" group among which he includes the Caucasian languages also, but, as far as I am aware, he has not yet tried to prove this in detail, so I need not discuss his theories. Zarubin [3] simply accepts this thesis and claims a typological affinity between Bu., Dravidian, Muṇḍa and Abkhaz.

The most interesting, and I believe most recent attempt to compare Bu. and Caucasian has been made by R. Bleichsteiner [4] who,

[1] Le Origine della Lingua Basca p. 12, Elementa di Glottologia p. 63, quoted from Bleichsteiner (v. below) p. 292.

[2] Яфетический Кавказ, p. 36.

[3] Вершикское наречие Канджутского языка, p. 314.

[4] Die werschikisch-burischkische Sprache im Pamir-gebiet und ihre Stellung zu den Japhetitensprachen des Kaukasus, Wiener Beitr. z. Kulturgeschichte u. Linguistik, I, 289—331.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

197 accepting Marr's views, deals with the subject in some detail and enumerates a long list of Bu.-Cauc. accordances.

The great number of Cauc. languages and their extreme variety may in one way be said to render his undertaking comparatively easy. On the other hand the same circumstances undoubtedly detract considerably from the value of the conclusions drawn from a comparison between Bu. and words and forms culled from the Cauc. languages in their modern form. Possessing only a most superficial knowledge of Cauc. languages I shall not endeavour to discuss all the points raised by Bleichsteiner, but it may be useful to consider a number of the most important ones in order to gain an impression of the tenability of his thesis. I shall try to give a fair selection of his arguments and not to leave out any of his best points.

It must be remembered that the Bu. and W. material which Bleichsteiner had at his disposal was far from exhaustive and not always correct.

I shall deal with Bleichsteiner's comparisons in the same order in which he presents them.

Phonology. The similarities between the phonetic systems of Bu. (including W.) and Cauc. mentioned by Bl. are very vague and of little interest. This does not, however, disprove relationship. Nobody could find out from the phonetic systems of Modern Irish and Bengali that these languages belong to the same family.

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There is, however, one apparent phonetic accordance between Bu. and certain N.E. Cauc. dialects. Acc. to L.[1] we find in Bu.-W. a curious change of 'initial voiced sounds to their voiceless counterparts when they become medial', e.g. W. buttu *day:* he-puttu *to-morrow.* Bl., p. 296, connects this change with that of a *final* media into a tenuis before a suffix, e.g. in Kürin rab *needle:* pl. rapini. I had also been struck by this parallel, but further consideration made me doubtful of its significance. In the first instance the Bu. change affects an *initial*, the Cauc. a *final* consonant. Then, as pointed out by L., Bu. often renders a foreign initial

[1] § 10.

tenuis by a media in loan-words. Thus Bu. ba
a *turban* < Shina paẓo; Bu. gu'pas, W. γu·pas (Leitner kupásya) *cotton* (*thread*) < Indo-Aryan, cf. Skr. karpāsa; Bu. gi·li *peg* < Shina ki·li, etc. Probably Bu.-W. initial surds have become voiced in certain, as yet unknown, circumstances.[1] This change has taken place late enough to affect even loan-words, and cannot go back to a common Bu.-Cauc. period. 144 197

Morphology. I. Nominal Classes. The Bu.-W. system of nominal classes is undoubtedly in general accordance with that of several N.E. Cauc. languages. I admit that I have always been impressed by the similarity in this respect between Bu. and Andi, which together with some other Daghestan languages has four classes: 1) m., 2) f., 3) animals and some dead objects, 4) all the rest.[2] 193 197

But we must not forget: a) That similar systems of classification appear in other languages as well. b) That it has not as yet been shown that the 4th class of Andi etc. is based upon the same conception as the Bu. y. class.[3] c) That other N.E. Cauc. languages have up to eight classes and that we are not in a position to assert that the four-class system in the original one. d) That the formation of the classes and their use differs, as admitted by Bl., considerably in Bu.-W. and Cauc. The similarity between the *t* in Bu. gu-tε *this* (y.) and the *t'* in Archin ya-t' *this* (4th class)[4], has very little significance in view of the great number of varying class-elements in Cauc. which differ altogether from those in Bu.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the existence of nominal class-systems in Bu. and Cauc. cannot be taken as more than an indication of the *possibility* of relationship.

II. The parallelism between the use of possessive prefixes in Bu.-W. and N.W. Cauc. is less striking than that mentioned

[1] Cf. also ki·nε h. *this*: gu-sε x., gu-tε y. — But note tiṣči *span* < diṣti- (v. below p. XXIII!)

[2] Cf. Bl., p. 299, Dirr., Einführ. in die kauk. Spr. p. 183.

[3] Жирков, Грамматика Даргинского языка does not give any information on this point.

[4] Including, *inter alia*, sexually immature animate beings — a conception unknown to Bu.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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above[1] between Bu. and Melanesian. Bl. mentions the 'remarkable identity between Bu. 3 sg. i- and Cherkhess ji-, Abkhas j-[2] but forgets to mention Ubykh gi- which points to a different origin of the Cherkh. and Abkh. forms.

III. The number of plural suffixes in Bu.-W. is very considerable[3]. It seems reasonable to assume that many of them have been converted to this use at a comparatively recent date, and the similarity which Bl. detects between Bu. -a, -i[4], -ik, -ko, -nts, etc. and Akhwakh -a, Chechen -i, Abkhaz -k'ua, -cwa[5] is not very impressive.

IV. Declension. The use of a special Agential case for the subject of a transitive verb is common in Cauc. In Bu. it is the rule when the verb is in a past-base tense, and it is found occasionally with present-base tenses.[6] The construction of the transitive verb varies, however, very much in the Cauc. languages[7] and in most cases it is passive in contradistinction to Bu. In Shina, where the construction is very similar to that of Bu., it may be due to the influence of a Bu. substratum, but this cannot be the case with Tibetan. Moreover, we must remember that a passive construction of the past tenses with the subject in the agential case is also used in most Indo-Iranian languages. I do not think, therefore, that the partial agreement between Bu. and Cauc. in this respect affords any strong indication of relationship.

The phonetic similarity between the Bu. agential ending -e and the -ē, -iē, -a, -o etc. of certain Cauc. languages may easily be accidental.

V. The Adjective. The expression of the comparative by the formular 'x is big *from* y' is common to very many languages besides Bu. and N. E. Cauc.

[1] V. p. X.
[2] Bleichsteiner's j = our y.
[3] §§ 27 sqq.
[4] Only in hiri *men*.
[5] Only of rational beings.
[6] § 60.
[7] V. Dirr., pp. 62—76.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

I cannot perceive any striking similarity between the Bu.-W. type šika-m *grass-ish*, i.e. *green* and Mingrelian čil-am-i '*married* (*man*)' from čil-i *wife*. 193 197

VI. Numerals. The vigesimal system is used in Bu. and in most Cauc. languages, but also in a great number of other languages, e.g. in N. W. India, and it cannot be used to prove genealogical relationship. [802]

VII. Pronouns. Bl. compares the Bu. pronouns with Cauc. ones. Opening, at random, a grammar of the West African Ewe language, I cannot help thinking that one might make out as strong a case for comparing the pronouns of this language with Bu. Cf.:

	Bu.	Udic	Kürin.	Tsakhur	Awar	Ewe
I	jɛ[1]	zu	zun	zə	dun	nye
Thou	uᵊŋ, gu-[2]	un	wun	γu	mun	wo[2]
We	mi	yan	čun	:ši	nit:	miawo (Abure ame).
You	ma	wàn	k'uᵊn	šu	nuž	mía (,, ama).
He, etc.	iᵊ- (nɛ etc.)	šeno	am(a)	man(a)	doṉ	(y)e.
They	uᵊɛ	šonor	àbar	manbo	dol	wo.
Who?	amin	šu		ha-: šu-nä	amẹ	ka.

VIII. The Verb. Bl.'s comparison of the Bu. infinitive in -as, (which is a noun taking case suffixes) to the datival form in -as, -es of some Daghestan languages is not convincing.

Somewhat more striking is the accordance between Bu. n- which forms the Past Ptc. and Georgian na-, used in the same way. But we must remember, that the odds are greatly in favour of finding some elements resembling those of Bu. among the heterógenous mass of Cauc. languages, between whose different groups the relationship has yet to be established.

An objective conjugation is found both in Bu. and in S. Cauc. (Georgian). I know nothing about the history of the Georgian forms in question, but the addition of an element denoting the object is

[1] Which might easily be derived from a conjectural *njɛ. — I agree with Bl. that there is no reason to derive the Bu.-W. forms — with Zarubin — from Ir.

[2] Which might be derived from *(u)ŋu, cf. N. Chinese ŋ- > w-.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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common to so many languages that is does not prove any genealogical relationship.[1] In Bu., with its pronominal prefixes, the development of an objective conjugation is only to be expected.

The pl. forms of the Bu. pronominal prefixes are, of course, used to denote a plurality of objects. This has certainly nothing to do with the Abkhaz constructions of the type i-z-bl-ueit *I burn it* (: *it- I burn-ing*): i-z-bəl-k'-ueit *I burn several things*, where *i-* is the pronominal prefix denoting the object.[2]

An interrogative particle -a, -e is found in most Indian and Ir. languages adjoining Bu. It might, of course, be considered to be of Bu. origin, but this is by no means certain, and the similarity to the -a, -ë of some Cauc. dialects may easily be accidental.

Vocabulary. Still more dangerous than the comparison between structural and inflexional elements in Bu. and one or other of the numerous Cauc. languages is the search for lexicological correspondences at the present state of our knowledge of Cauc. If we have to reject most of the comparisons proposed by Bl., it does not mean that they are all necessarily wrong. It is quite conceivable that one may at some future date be able to sift them, and that some of them may, after all, prove to be correct.

But at any rate it will be necessary to apply other methods than those borrowed by Bl. from Marr. The derivation of Bu. huk *dog* from *hoγor in order to compare Budukh ḫor, Awar hoj, Mingrelian joγori, Sumerian ur, etc., and the association of this group of words with Bu. hal *fox* is only too typical of Bl.'s methods.

Bu. har *bull*, hare *barley*, herča *to weep*, huk *dog* are compared with Mingrelian ḫoji, k'eri, n-gara-gara and joγori, and huk *dog*, huyēs *herd of goats*, hu'äs *boy*, huṭes *foot* with Awar hoj, k'uj (*sheep*), 'oloqan (*young bull*) and ḫeṭe, without any attempt to establish any system of regular phonetic correspondences between Bu. and the Cauc. language in question.

[1] Cf. e.g. Pashai (Indo-Aryan) degg-ey-ām '*I see thee*', digg-im-aī *thou seest me*, etc.

[2] Note that the Abkhaz pron. prefix 3 pl. is r-, not k'-.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

Moreover several obviously Indian or Iranian loan-words in Bu. are used to demonstrate the relationship with Cauc. 197 114

On the whole, most of Bl.'s comparisons are unsatisfactory and are based on a slight and illusive similarity of sound. Cases like Bu. girkis *rat:* Karata herḳwa, Awar hinẋu, Varkua qurka; Bu. tatas *palm of the hand:* Georg. t'ot'i *paw*[1]; Bu. čumu (Shina čimu) *fish:* Mingrelian čḫomu etc. are not sufficient evidence for us to build far-reaching conclusions on. Some kind of connection is perhaps possible between Bu. bičil *pomegranate:* Georg brec'ouli[2]; Bu. tili *walnut:* Georg. t'ḫili; Bu. šoγorī *a kind of pear:* Budukh čüγür, Tabass. šeḫer[3], but such words may easily wander from one language to another.

I do not think that Bl. has succeeded in proving the probability of a relationship between Bu. and Cauc., and I very much doubt whether it is possible to prove anything of that kind at present. But the whole problem will certainly deserve a renewed and methodical consideration when the Cauc. languages and the connection between their different groups have become better known. And if we ever succeed in connecting Bu. with some other group of languages, it will be of the greatest importance for our understanding of the early history of Western Asia.

Our chances of ever being able to reconstruct older forms of Bu. either by comparisons with W. or by means of internal evidence in Bu. itself are not very promising. 197 193

Only in very rare cases is it possible to employ the latter method. We have mentioned above[4] that initial mediae may go back to older tenues.

Another case where a reconstruction seems possible is that of the pl. suffix -o.[5] Before this suffix certain consonants are palata-

[1] "Cf. Bur. *-to-to *paw*". Lorimer 2—4—1935.

[2] Acc. to Bl. himself this comparison is 'zweifelhaft'.

[3] Taken from Erckert's not very reliable material.

[4] p. XV.

[5] §§ 26 sqq.

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lised, n into y, ts into č, s into š. This seems to indicate that the original form was *-yo, which may have been preserved in γaiyo, pl. of γa *crow*.

Somewhat more doubtful is the supposition of a formative *-y- in the present base of verbs on the evidence of the change of n > y, k and s > š, ts > č, t > č, š, l > lj[1] in Bu. and W. It this is the case, the regular pres. base in -ič- must be a secondary, analogical formation.

Regarding the change of ny > y cf. Bu. ya: W. nya *bear*. But in internal position we have also W. ny > y, e.g. in žakuyu *asses* from žakun.

It is tempting to suppose that a·ltan, a·lta *two* and a·ltambo *eight*, wa·lto *four* are somehow or other related. a·ltər *twenty* must evidently be connected with a·lta, but it is quite uncertain whether it ought to be analysed as alt + tər, cf. to·r-umo *ten*. The similar ending of tsundo *five* and mıši·ndo *six* may be due to a secondary adaptation. The 'Ablaut' in hin h., hik z.: han x., y. *one*, and the 'Umlaut' in usko x., y.: i·ski z. *three*; tsundo h., x., y.: tsindı z. *five;* to·rumo: to·rimi *ten* are too isolated to render possible any explanation. Cf. also, however, ɛtimi *he made*, etc.: ɛtumo *she made*, possibly from *ɛtum-i, *ɛtum-mo.

As mentioned above, Nagir Bu. di·la *it is* (y.) di·lum it was (y.), W. du·wa, dułum are more original forms than Hunza bila, bi·lum.

Nor does the comparison between Bu. and W. carry us much further. Some of the phonetic differences between the two dialects have been pointed out by L.[2] But it appears impossible to reduce them to any fixed rules, and in most cases we cannot guess which form is the more archaic one.

This is the case with Bu. mišiндo, W. bišiндo *five*, and with the words where a long vowel appears in W.

W. isko *three*, tshendo *five* have probably got their palatal vowel

[1] V. § 210.
[2] §§ 501 sqq.

from the z. forms[1], and Bu. -susun *elbow*, bu'a[h][2] *cow* may also be more original than W. -sesen, 'bi·a'. 193 197

In some cases a group of consonants seems to have been better preserved in W.: Cf. W. ayast *my sister;* yainži *watermill;* γendeš *gold;* nya *bear* with Bu. ayas, yäiṇ, gγeniš, ya. But notice W. hučo (L. huti) *nine:* Bu. 'humčo. Bu. gγ- (acc. to my informant) may or may not be older than L.'s Bu. and W. γ-. For other details see below.

That biranč *mulberry*, W. branš derives from an older form *mranč < *mrač is proved by Kho. mrač, from which the Bu.-W. word is evidently borrowed.

But apart from such stray cases the reconstruction of older forms through internal comparison appears to have poor chances of success.

A great number of words are common to Bu. and Shina, and to some extent also to Khowar. When the vocabularies of Shina and the adjoining Indo-Aryan dialects have become better known, it may be possible to distinguish to some extent between words of Aryan and of Bu. origin, and this will be of importance for the history of the Indo-Aryan languages as well. Khowar, however, appears to contain a number of words which cannot at present be traced either to an Indian, Iranian or Bu. source. 192 197

Grierson has pointed out that the word for *iron* in the Dardic and Kafir dialects (Kho. čumur, etc.) is probably borrowed from Bu. čumar. This may very well be the case, but it is, of course, possible that the ultimate source of the word, which is probably connected also with Turkish timur, temir, may be some unknown language. Note, however, that Bu. has also an apparently genuine word for *gold* (γeniš), and it is by no means impossible that the pre-Aryan population of the Hindu Kush region, of which the Burusho are the last relic, may have known the use of some metals.[3]

[1] V. above p. XX.

[2] Acc. to Lor. (2—4—1935) bu'a(·) is the gen. of 'bua, bua.

[3] It is a curious fact that Bu. girmi- *to write* is genuine, and yet cannot be derived from any known Bu. word. The similarity to Arm. gir *writing*, Finn. kirja *book* must, however, be accidental, and it is improbable that a word with this meaning would go back to very remote antiquity.

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L.[1] mentions a few Shina words which are suspected of being borrowed from Bu. Very probably Bu. has exerted a very considerable influence on the vocabulary of Shina, but at present it is in many cases impossible to tell to which of the two languages a certain word originally belongs. ǰakun, jakun *ass*, which is found only in Bu. and Shina, while derivatives of Skr. khara- and gardabha- are used in other Dardic dialects, has evidently been borrowed from Bu.[2] And Bu. γamu, gγa·mo[3] *ice* is certainly the source of Gilgit Shina gamuk, corresponding in meaning to *sor* in those Shina dialects which are further removed from the Bu. speaking territory.

Similarly the Bu. verb bisərkas *to cut corn* shows that Bu. bisarš, W. bisarč *sickle* is the source of Shina bisa·č. It is also probable that some Shina words with initial γ- have been borrowed from the corresponding Bu. ones, and the same applies to a great many other Shina words of un-Aryan appearance.

On the other hand the number of Shina words in Bu. is certainly very great, as may be seen from the Voc., and W. contains some loan-words from Khowar.

Some of these loan-words in Bu. are of special interest because they are not found in modern Shina, at any rate not in the published material, or because they have preserved older sounds, or meanings.

Such words are e.g. Bu. sinda *river:* Sh. sin[4]; aiyaš *sky:* Sh. agai < Skr. ākāśa-. Reg. Bu. gu·pas, W. γu·pas *cotton* v. above. — Bu. giram, gira·m *clan, village* is not found with this meaning in Shina[5]. Nagiri Bu. gəru·m, W. ga·rum *hot* (Hunza Bu., with a curious reduplication, gəru·rum!) seems also to have been taken over from Shina at a time when gi·rom *perspiration* had preserved a more general meaning. Bu. me·š *skin-bag* has retained the -š-

[1] P. L.

[2] Cf. Grierson, LSI. VIII. 2.

[3] With the peculiar Bu. gγ, see below.

[4] But Bu. buro·ndo *finger-ring* may be the source of Sh. baro·no, which has passed through the Sh. change of nd > n.

[5] But cf. Sh. giro·m *cow-pen*, v. Voc. s.v. gira·m[3].

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

which would have been lost in a modern Sh. word, and also a very ancient meaning of the word.[1] Bu. tiṣči, (cf. Skr. diṣṭi-), W. teṣčik, teštik *span* may have been borrowed from an older form of Sh. drṭ, cf. Kho. diṣṭ. Bu. *-phoʳi(ŋ) *shoulder* cannot have been borrowed from modern Sh. pyō·lo or Kho. phiʳu, etc.

If Bu. bada *pace, step, sole* (*of foot* or *boot*) is borrowed from a form corresponding to Skr. padá- *step, footprint foot*, etc.[2], as I think is likely, this would indicate a very early contact between Bu. and Indo-Aryan.[3]

Very curious is the relation between the initial consonants in Bu. pfəri *pond*, pfəriš *duck* and Sh. bəri, baʳuš, especially as we do not know the origin of the words.

It is noteworthy that the phonetic system of Bu. agrees so closely with that of Shina and of the Indo-Aryan languages in general — that Bu. should e.g. distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated tenues, between cerebrals[4], dentals and palatals. Did Bu. originally possess aspirates and cerebrals, or did they come into the language through the influence of Indo-Aryan?[5] Bu. *pf* as a variant of *ph* is, of course, of Shina origin.

The morphological parallels between Bu. and Shina are also numerous and important.[6] Some of them exhibit traits not shared by Shina with the adjoining I. A. dialects, and it is quite conceivable that Bu., the ancient language of at least a large part of the Shina country, influenced the speech of the invaders; in other words that Shina developed on a Bu. substratum. But, of course, morphological influence may also have worked the other way. — Cf. also the possible trace of Khowar influence on W. forms mentioned by L. § 536.

[1] Cf. Skr. meṣa- *sheep, fleece*, but Slav. měxŭ, etc. '*skin-bag*', Lith. maišas *bag*

[2] Reg. b- for p- cf. Bu. giʳl *peg* < Sh. kiʳl etc., see above.

[3] The similarity of Bu. -akin, pl. -akimiŋ *liver* to Skr. yakn- must, of course, be considered accidental.

[4] Including č and j, as in Shina.

[5] Cf. the secondary development of cerebrals in Tibetan, Wakhi, etc.

[6] V. p. LI.

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L. is quite right in maintaining that Wakhi, the Iranian neighbour of Bu. has not made 'any general impression on it'[1]. Some loan-words from Wakhi do, however, occur. L. in his Voc., has noted war *ram* and ruś *Ovis Poli* from Wakhi waʳr, ruś. To these words may be added buʳi *scapula, shovel* < *puʳi, from an older(?) form of Wakhi peʳi *wooden shovel*, and ʂap *horse-shoe* (cf. Kho. ʂapuk *hoof*) from Wakhi *ʂap < Av *safa-*. As I shall try to show elsewhere Ir. *f* seems to have resulted in *p* in Wakhi I am also inclined to believe that the present base -wərč- *to become tired* is borrowed from Wakhi wərč- (< *ava-rič-), and that the past base -war is a back-formation. Wakhi watsiʳ, wuʳts agrees with W. wets *calf*, but it is doubtful whether this is a true Wakhi word. Bu. urʳk, urk *wolf* may come from Ishkashmi urk, or from a lost Wakhi form.

Several Bu. words seem to belong to some Iranian dialect which cannot be accurately determined.

Thus mɛl *wine* points to an Ir. dialect which, like Munji and Yidgha, has *l* for original *d* (cf. Av. maδu-), and the same is true of laman *skirt*, -lamat *lap, front*, (var: -laʳmat *skirt of choga*). The varying forms render it improbable that what we have here is simply Psht. laman, borrowed through Shina, which has laban, with dissimilation.

On the other hand we find W. veʳri *smell*, which it is tempting to derive from Ir. *βēδi < *baudya-. Cf. Kho. woʳr < *βōδ.

γoro *stone* may be of Ir. origin, and likewise W. xork *grass*, Bu. xurk *broken straw*, while W. deɨk *manure* is compared by Zarubin with Ishk. wūḍé]. And finally we have guʂpuʳr *a prince*, a word common to Bu. and Shina, which one would like to derive from a middle Ir. dialect form of an ancient *wisya-puδra-.

I have not been able to detect any influence of Bu. on the Iranian dialects of Pamir.

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[1] It may be noted here that Bu. bras *rice* is probably of Tibetan origin (hbras).

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

In §§ 1 sqq. L. explains his notation of Bu. and W. sounds; and he does not claim a perfection which is unattainable when making the first serious attempt to describe a new and strange language. 194 197

The difficulty does not consist merely in recording the sounds actually heard, but also in distinguishing between essential "phonological" differences and variations within the range of a single phoneme and in detecting the system of phonemes. This is specially hard in the case of the vowels. L. has done wisely in giving his impression of the sound-varieties heard in each case, and I shall not make a premature attempt to establish the phonological system of Bu. vowels.

To a certain extent it seems possible, however, with the abundant material and the descriptions of the sounds given by L., to distinguish the vowel phonemes from the variations due to the position in the word or to the individual speaker.

Thus *a*, ʌ and *ə* seem to be variants of the *a-* phoneme, *ə* appearing especially before *r* (e.g. fər, gər, hər). The vacillation between ʌ and *ar* e.g. in giraṃ, giraʳṃ *clan, village*, gupaltiṇ, gupaʳltiṇ *trousers* and the rendering of Prs. badaʳm *almond* by badam would seem to indicate that they, too, are variants of the same phoneme. But on the other hand the difference is significant e.g. in gaʳn *a crow* (=ga+ʌn): gan, gan *road;* gaʳr *giddiness:* gər *marriage;* gaʳl *wound:* gal *juniper;* giraʳn *dear:* giraṇ *basket*, etc. It is possible that some speakers distinguish between an *a* and an *ar* phoneme, others not.

It is more doubtful whether *i* and *iʳ*, *u* and *uʳ* are to be classed as separate phonemes. Cf. e.g. hir, hiʳr *man*, hirum, hiʳrum *active*, giraṃ, giʳraṃ, etc. *village*, gili, giʳli *peg*, hurgo, huʳrgo *ascent*, hoʳlguṣ, hoʳlguʳṣ *battle*, gunts: guʳnts *day*, etc. Probably there is only one *i* and one *u* phoneme. The same applies to *e: er* and *o: or*.

Probably *e*(ʳ) and *e*(ʳ) are also variants of the same phoneme, cf. γeʳniṣ and γeʳniṣ *queen;* g(y)e, g(y)eʳ *snow;* heʳras, heʳras *to weep;* deʳk, deʳk *cooking-pot*, teʳlε, teʳlε *there*.

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Apparently u and ɪ are unstressed variants of *u* and *i*, cf. e.g. gukɪ; gu·kɪ *these*. But in spite of cases like go·n, gun *dawn o* and *u* must be considered to be separate phonemes. The same is undoubtedly true also of *ai* : *e* and *e* : *ə* although we find, exceptionally, (personal?) variations such as tail, təil, te.il, te·l *such*, γai.iŋ, γe.iŋ *grapes*.

The vowel system of Bu. would thus appear to include the following phonemes; *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *o*. To these should probably be added *a·*, although quantity does not appear to be of phonemic significance in other parts of the system.

As regards the consonants L. is probably right in taking *ǵ*, γ, *q̣* to be variants of *g*, γ and *q* due to the proximity of *y*.[1] But the last mentioned sound is certainly a separate phoneme.

Regarding the cerebrals, aspirates, gγ and W. *ł* see below.

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[115]

During my stay in Chitral in 1929 I had an opportunity to take down short lists of Bu. and W. words. My Bu. informant was a certain Abdullah[2] from Baltit. The other called his language Wə'čik·wa·r and his native valley Wərči gu·m = Ya·si·n.[3]

I worked with each of them for a couple of hours only, and I am, of course, aware of the utter insufficiency of my observations. But both of my informants had a very good and clear articulation[4] and on the whole my notations agree unexpectedly well with those of L. and Zarubin (whose material I had not at hand). It may not be devoid of interest, therefore, to compare some of my words with those given by L. for the sake of checking and corroborating his perception of the sounds.

194 Many words are identical in L.'s and my notation of Bu. E.g. to·rumo *ten;* ma·tum *black;* -ʂan *chin;* ha·γur *horse;* guš·pu·r *prince;* -'tatas *palm of the hand.* In some cases my notation of vowels differs slightly from L.'s. This may partly be due to individual latitude

[1] V. § 6. b.

[2] Brother of Ali Madat, cf. Texts, p. II.

[3] Acc. to Abdullah: Burušugum.

[4] I had less difficulty in recognizing their aspirates and cerebrals than those of some Dardic dialects which I had the opportunity of hearing for a much longer time.

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of pronunciation, but I have no doubt that his forms are on the whole the more correct ones. Thus I have 'alto[1] (a·lto)[2] *two;* 'altar[3] (a·ltar) *twenty;* 'nanamuts (nanamuts) *eyeball;* -ltumal (-ltumal) *ear;*[4] har (har) *bull;* 'hari (hari) *barley;* gäri (gari) *pupil of the eye;* -ṣak (-ṣak) *arm;* sar (sar) *hare;* pharię (pfarię) *duck;* bi'sarę (bisarę) *sickle;* yän (yan, yen) *handle;* iski (i·ski) *three;* 'hatai·n (hatain) *thigh;* mi'tindo (mitiindo) hxy *six;* urk (u·rk) *wolf;* -'wuwum (-uwum) *elbow;* -lčumuts (-lčumuts) *eyes;* 'hunax (hunax) *arrows;* 'tsko (tsko) *three;* 'tsundo (tsundo) *five;* 'hundo (hundo) *nine;*[5] -multuräą (-multuraą) *nostrils;* joṭumuts (jo·tumuts) *small boy;* hurgätko (hurgas) *thick;*[6] -lpureą (-lpuraą) *eyebrows;* ṣal (ṣa·l) *stomach.*

As far as my material goes I heard cerebrals in all words where they are given by L.

Thus: -yäṭis (-yaṭis, etc.) *head;* -mupuṣ (mu·puṣ) *nose;* o·ṭis (-oṭis) *my foot;* aṣ (-aṣ) *my neck;* ḍoḍo (ḍo·ḍo) *throat;* 'amiṣ, 'gumiṣ (-amiṣ) *my, thy finger;* muč (=) *fist;* tiṣči (=) *open;* čiṣ (čiṣ) *hill;* bi'ranč (biranč) *mulberry(-tree);* baṣ (=) *bridge;* manč (manč) *gden;* ha'riṣ (hari·ṣ/ṣ) *spade;* ṭi'ąan (ṭiąan) *egg;* mal'taṣ (=) *clarified butter;* ṣa'pik (=) *bread:* ṣi- (ṣi-) '*to eat*'; -eṭar (-aṭar) *to.*

Besides these I heard a cerebral in čhur (čur) *knife;* ṣi'kurk (ṣikurk) *yellow, brass;* bu'ṣai (buṣai·i) *field;* peṣo (peṣo) *pear;* ju·w (ju) *apricot;* bu'ṣo·ṣo (buṣo·ṣo) *calf;* 'aṣo, go·ṣo (-aṣo) *my, thy brother;* ṣi'qam (ṣiqam) *blue;* ṭi'li (ṭi·li) *walnut.*[7]

My notation of aspirates agrees with L.'s in khan *castle;* a'phoi (for -phoriq?) *my shoulder;* -phi'niko *hair;* tham *king;* phu (phu, pfu) *fire;* phati (pfatiq) *ashes,* etc. But I heard aspirates also in thas (tas) *smoke* and thalo (talo)[8] *seven.*

On the other hand I have rarely noted čh, čh: čap (čhap) *roof;* čumo (čhumo) *fish;* čar (čhar, čar) *high hill;* čumar (čhumar, etc.) *arrow.*[9] But note the loan-word čhur (čur) *knife.*

[1] With a deep *a*.

[2] Lorimer's forms are throughout given between brackets.

[3] First *a* palatal, second *a* velar.

[4] E.g. 'altumal *my ear;* 'miltumal *our ear;* gunma 'moltumal *the women's ear;* 'eltalik ine 'hive 'iltumalig *both of this man's ears.*

[5] All three with advanced *u*.

[6] In: 'ine 'hive buṭ h° ya'yeg bi'čan *this man has very thick hair.*

[7] But cf. W. ta'le below p. XXIX. — "I now support all the forms given by you except ṭili". Lor. 2—4—1935.

[8] But cf. LSI., Bu. thalo, W. thale. — "thas thalo are said to be correct". Lor. 2-4-1935.

[9] L. W. čar, čumar. — "QUB admits that the difference between *č* and *čh* and *ć* and *ćh* are slight, and in pronouncing on them his reactions are usually much slower than in the case of other aspirates. I can hear no difference as a rule" Lor. 2—4—1935.

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I heard, with L., ɣ in qarɣarmuta *hen;* ti'ɣam *blue;* aɣ *iron arrow-head,* aɣat (-akat, -aqat?) *my armpit,* but not in to'hak (tohaq) *oak.* My aqhat *my mouth* corresponds to L.'s xat, but in a letter L. states that a variation between *x* and qh appears in several words, e.g. in xam, qham, kham *cooked, repatable.*

Corresponding to L.'s γ, γ.[1] I distinctly heard a voiced velar affricate in my Bu. informant's pronunciation of ᵊγa'mo *ice;* ᵊγe'nii *gold;* ᵊγa'ing *grape;* ᵊγi'n *thief;* ᵊγaṭenê *sword:* L. γamu, γenii, γai.iŋ, γin (gin),[2] γaṭenê.

In words ending in a vowel I generally heard a faint final aspiration: gyth *snow;* bu'sh *ear;* ya' *bear;* as' *ass;* amt' *my teeth;* ta'mt' *bear* (L. gyt, bus, ya, as, -mt, -damt). But after an initial h I heard ha *house* (= L.).

The peculiar sound ɹ, described by L. § 6, b, I heard as a kind of fricative retroflex r, which I have noted r: bar *millet;* ara *my father;* bay, -ay. But it was, of course, impossible to determine the exact nature of this sound in the time at my disposal.

I noted a slightly palatal ʷ, ɣ in han *ear;* khan *castle;* gan *road;* and also in gaɣ'i *axe;* aɣ'i (ᵊ-ɣi) *my beard.*[3]

In bal' *apple;* ha'val' (hovalt) *cloud* the final *t* was weakened, possibly implosive. I heard no ɣ in do'um (do.yum) *right* and ya'vum (yauyum) *left.*[4]

The ɣ in čuɣudar (čuγudar) *peach* is probably due to a mistake on my part.[5]

In W., also, my notation of vowels in some cases differs slightly from that of L. or of Zarubin. E.g. yaṭes *head;* -as *heart;* sende *river;* γendeš *gold;* hare *barley,* har *bull;* ha'γoγ *horse;* huk *dog;* bui *cat;* gan *road;* bu'rum *white;* ma'tum *black;* ba'rdum *red;* ha'lanta *moon;* čar *cliff:* L. -γeṭie, -as, sind, γendiš, hare, har, haγur, huk, bui, gan, burum, matum, bardum, halanta, čar; Z. yaṭes, as, [illegible], —, hare, har, haγur, huk, bui, gan, buγum, ma'tum, bardum, halanda, —.

I heard cerebrals in yaṭes *head;* -hu'ṭes (L. hu'ṭis, hu'tis) *foot;* u'mesi (L. -amii) *my finger;* ti'ṭkin (Z. ṭin'gan) *egg;* ṭeṭo, (L. aṭo,

[1] Cf. § 6 c.
[2] "γaiŋ and sometimes 'γeiŋ'". Lor. 2—4—1935.
[3] Acc. to Lor. (2—4—1935) ᵊgai (v. Gramm. p. 136) is a slip.
[4] "When there is u's and o's about ɣ tends to sound to me as a corresponding ɣʷ". Lor. 2—4—35.
[5] "QUD. says the word is definitely only čuɣudar, but I think I have heard -γ- too. Lor. 2—4—1935.

ačo, Z. aču) *my brother;* iṭ'kark (L. ṭɪkərk, ɪṭ-, Z. iṭ'kark) *yellow,* and besides in γendeṭ *gold* (v. above): -muṣṭ (Z. muṣt) *fist;* 'teṭčik (Z. 'teštik) 'span'; pha'riṭ *duck;* branṭ *mulberry* (both with a cerebral in Bu.); uγk (Z. urk) *wolf;* čirč (Bu. čiṭ) *ladder;* 'aṇi' (Z. ni') *my beard;* haγoṣṭ (L. Bu. haγuts) *hill.* 194

'aččiṇ (Z. ačting) *waist;* barts (L. bərč, Z. barč) *bridge;* bisarč (Bu. bi'sarč) *sickle;* ṭičam ba (L. ṭičam ba, Z. ṭičam, cf. Bu. ṭɪč-) *I am eating;* is'qam (L. ṭɪkam, Z. iṭ'qam, Bu. ṭi'qam) *blue* are probably misheard or miswritten forms.

Aspirates occur in a'phenas (Z. 'penas) *my hair;* a'phoγonas (Bu. phoi) *my shoulder;* khan *fort;* tham *king;* thame'ye' *prince;* 'pha'riṭ *duck.* No aspiration was heard in 'čumu *fish;* čap (= Z.) *meat,* čumar (L. čumar, Z. čumar) *iron.*[1]

Corresponding to Bu. γ. I heard γ in γa'iṇ *grape;* γen (Z. γen) *thief;* γendeṭ (L. γendɪṭ) *gold;* γa'tenṭ (Z. γ/ya'tenṭ) *sword;* γa'mu (= Z.) *ice.*

No final [b] was noted in gye (Z. gyê') *snow;* as (= Z., L.) *sun;* a'me (Z. mä) *tooth;* nya (= L., Z.) *bear;* ha (= L. Z.) *house.* But de[b] *village* from Pre. and 'bi-a' (L. bi.a, Z. bi'ya) *cow* with glottal stop. This sound was also noted in ba' (L., Z. ba) *millet,* corresponding to Bur. *r.*

Z.'s velar *l* (l) I have only noted in a'hi'l (Z. hil) *my lip.* Not in hal (Z. ha'l) *fox;* te'le (Z. teła) *walnut;* 'ta'lo (L. talɪ, Z. ta'lu) *screw;* a'u'l (L. au.u'l, Z. awul/l) *my belly.* It is quite probable that Z.'s Russian ear was able to distinguish different kinds of *l* better than L.'s or mine. On the other hand he may have been led astray by the lack of a "neutral" *l* in his own language. Before a surd I heard a voiceless *l*[?] in aḷto (L. alto; Z. a'tan) *two;* aḷtambo (L. alɪtambe, Z. a'tambu) *eight;* 'waḷto (L. walt, Z. wa'to) '*four*'; ha'raḷt (Z. haraṭt) *cloud;* ba'ḷt (Z. baṭt)' *apple;* -ḷtumal (L. -ɪtumal, Z. 'tumal) *ear;* -ḷči (L. -ɪčin, Z. lči) *eye.* Z., too, has ordinary l in ha'lanta (L. ha'lanta, Z. halanda) *moon;* tu'l (= Z.) *snake.*

q was noted in 'paqo (L. pako, p'ha'ko $p^{h}\tilde{a}_{\circ}$, Z. 'paku) *bread;* is'qam *blue* (v. above), qar'qa'mus (Z. qa'γqamus) *hen.*

I have yut (but Bur. L., Sh. jut) *grass;* ya, ia, (L. ja, Z. ía) *I, my,* in ya 'yaṭos *my head,* y/ia' bap *my father,* y/ia 'pako 'ṭičam ba *I am eating bread.*

[1] Cf. above p. XXVII.
[2] Cf. § 468.

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Note also my ˈayumus (Z. ˈyungus, but Bu. -umus) *tongue*.

A few of the words given above have not been noted before, or only by Z. In order to corroborate the forms heard only by *one* previous observer I give also the other words in my list which are not included in L.'s vocabulary:

-muš *nose;* -xat *mouth:* -sesen *elbow;* ˈaken *liver;* sau *sand;* guʀ *wheat;* ˈgirkis *mouse;* sar *hare;* aˈyast *my sister;* all identical with Z.'s forms. -šak (Z. šakˈ) *arm;* -ˈuʀru (Z. ˈuru) *nail;* ˈirič (iˈrič) *kidney;* bap (Z. baʀp) *father;* yainži (ˈyanji) *water-mill;* daˈγom (Z. daˈγum) *flour*.

Göteborg, 30th November 1934.

Georg Morgenstierne.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

In a letter from Hunza of 18th Nov. 1934 Colonel Lorimer gives some additional information about some Bu. sounds, from which I quote the following passages: "I have now heard from QUB and one or two others in Aliabad initial 1) ^{s}γ- (going also into > gʀ- > g-), medial -γ- seems to remain plain spirant. 2) ^{k}x- (or ^{q}x-?). This QUB always says is "xe", x-, but I tend to record it as kh-. Medially, to both our minds it changes into -q- (*-xəras, ixəras *to cut up*, but ppc. niqər; xəraṭas *to stick, adhere*, but cs. *-aqəraṭas).

Then there is ph-, pf-, f- which is an instance of the same phenomenon. I haven't noticed any tendency to *w-* > ^{b}*w*, and there are no dental spirants".

[Ad p. XII, l. 12. — But cf. e. g. Luganda; v. BSOS. VII, p. 917. — Corr. note].

Göteborg, 18th January 1935.

Georg Morgenstierne.

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INTRODUCTION

THE LAND and the PEOPLE.

Burushaski, the main subject of the present work, is spoken in the States of Hunza and Nagir, which give a name to that tangle of snow-crowned mountains, long-drawn glaciers and deep-cut river beds that form the western extremities of the Karakoram and Kailās ranges of the Geographers. In elevation and ruggedness the tract may compare with any other portion of the earth's surface. The ground covered by the twin States is roughly defined by the lines 74° 10′ and 75° 40′ of East longitude and 36° and 37° 10′ of North latitude. Of this area the bulk falls to Hunza. Hunza marches on the North with Afghan and Chinese territory, from which it is divided by an immense mountain barrier traversable only by a few very high passes — the Irshad (16,060 ft.), the Kilik (15,600), the Mintaka (15,430) and the Khunjerāb.

The southern drainage from this range quickly assembles a few miles below Misgār to form the Hunza river, which proceeds southwards through the Hèrber or Gujhāl valley, or rather gorge. On its way the river receives reinforcement by tributaries from either side — the principal being the Batūra and Pasu glaciers on the West and the Shīmshāl valley on the East. About 15 miles East of Baltit, the capital of Hunza, the river changes to a general westerly course, and level with Baltit it receives on its left bank the waters of the Nagir river which represent the meltings of the

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133 Hispār, Barpu and other large glaciers. Henceforth until Chalt is reached, where it turns South, the river forms the boundary between Hunza on the North and Nagir on the South. Chalt itself and the Chaprōt valley which debouches into it belong to Nagir. Otherwise Nagir is confined, generally speaking, to the valley of the Hispar glacier and Nagir river and the northern slopes of the Kailas range, the crest of which forms the dividing line between it and Gilgit.

On the extreme East Hunza marches with the Oprang valley in Chinese territory and southwards with Baltistan, but the mountain range which separates these regions is scarcely surmountable (v. Text XXVIII). On the extreme West again, Hunza and Nagir territory terminates on a lofty range which runs roughly North and South and is only traversable with difficulty by a couple of passes, the Chillinji (17,000 ft.) and the Daintar (15,210). Beyond lies the sparsely-inhabited valley of Ishkoman, which again is bounded on its western side by a North and South range of mountains on the further side of which is situated the Wershigūm valley, known officially as the Yasin 'Ilāqa. This Wershigum valley is the habitat of the Werchikwār language, a variant form of Burushaski, to which brief reference is made in this work.

133 From the West of Hunza to the East of Wershigum is as the
487 crow flies a mere 20 or 30 miles, but the traveller will spend six days and cover some 115 miles in making his way from Chalt via Gilgit and Gupis to Yasin. Such is this country where cross-country travel is impossible and practicable routes can be found only by following the natural lines of least resistance, and that not without pain.

361 I have now placed our language on the map, approximately, but
162 greater precision is required. In the first place we have to take account of the fact that the bulk of Hunza and the eastern portion of Nagir are uninhabited and uninhabitable. Permanent population exists only on the elevated terraces that skirt in places the sides of the river valleys.

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In the second place we have to note that the population of Hunza and Nagir is neither linguistically nor ethnologically homogeneous. Viewing the territories as a whole, Burushaski occupies only a limited central position. It is legitimate perhaps to see in this an indication that the country has been subject to more or less peaceful penetration from the periphery, but that it has never been overwhelmed by any flood of conquest or organised immigration. We may picture Burushaski as here standing at bay — a language which has once covered a much larger area and has gradually been driven in on its least assailable territory, or has been displaced and pushed back to a final refuge. 162 174

The country with its physical savageness and poverty could never have attracted the ambition or cupidity of any sane conqueror, and with easier routes available to the West there is little reason to believe that any serious invader has traversed or even penetrated it in force. Against this argument, however, are to be set the efforts of the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmir to penetrate and master the country in the nineteenth century. Their aim was doubtless to strengthen their position in Gilgit. 177 721

The relative strengths of the languages current in Hunza and Nagir are set out in the following tables, which are based on figures collected for the 1931 Census, and on the results of private enquiries as to the language spoken in each individual village. 162

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Burushaski	Shinā	Wakhi	
Hunza . . .	9,938	1,184	2,411	13,533
Nagir . . .	10,362	3,293	—	13,655
Total . . .	20,300	4,477	2,411	27,188

To obtain the absolute total numbers of known Burushaski-speakers 513 must be added to the total of the first column on

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162 account of 512 Burushaski-speakers recorded in the 1931 Census as resident in the Gilgit Wazarat, and one as resident in North Kashmir. The total thus becomes 20,813[1].

The local distribution of these linguistic groups has now to be considered. On examination it will be found that they fall in the main within definite and unbroken geographical limits. In Hunza from the North southwards down the Herber valley, to and including Galmit the population are Wakhis, speaking Wakhi, with the exception of the inhabitants of Khudāabād (population 97), Nazīmābād (82) and Misgār (174). Proceeding down, southwards and westwards, through Hunza, the rest of the population are Burushaski-speaking with the exception of the two villages, Hīndi (977) and Māyūn (207) whose primary language is Shinā.

In Nagir there are no Wakhi-speakers, but the Burushaski-Shina dividing line falls at practically the same point as in Hunza, viz. at Mīnapin opposite Hindi. From and including Minapin down the valley, with the exception of Sikandarābād (406, a recent settlement) and Chalt (587), the people of Nagir are primarily Shina-speakers.

162 It is to be remarked, however, that these radical linguistic distinc-
191 tions are to a large extent masked, if not superficially deleted, by bilingualism. I believe that all Shina-speakers of both Hunza and Nagir readily understand and speak Burushaski. This is not so with the Wakhis, of whom only a few know the language of their neighbours. On the other hand the Wakhis have imposed their own language on the Burusho settled in Shimshal, and Wakhi elements are to be found in place-names in all the northern part of the country.

563 How far do these linguistic divisions represent also ethnic divisions? Are the Wakhi-speakers (Guwīcho, sg. Guīts, Guwi·čo, Gu.i·ts), the Burushaski-speakers (Burūsho, sg. Burūshīn, Buru·šo, Buru·ši·n) and the Shina-speakers (sg. and pl. Shèn, Ṣɛ·n) to be regarded as racially distinct peoples?

[1] The figure 26,076 given in the Kashmir Census Report 1931, Vol. XXV p. 237, appears to be incorrect. It is still incorrect if the figures for Werchikwar are taken into account.

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In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly 563
of totally distinct stock from the Burusho. Much more difficult
is the question of the relation of the Burusho and the Shina-speakers.
My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shèn of lower
Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burusho of Hunza.
They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to
apparent mentality and sanitary ideals. A large proportion of the
child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous
in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity
of comparing the people of the Hunza Shèn villages of Hindi and
Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burusho fellow-
"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the 184
Burusho of Hunza and the Burusho of Nagir? That is a question 157
which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; 361
but it is the general impression among European visitors that there
is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples.
The Hunza Burusho are felt to be a happy and cheerful people,
their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching
sombreness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to
the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in
winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part
attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be 125
worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical 141
measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency.
The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so
were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measure-
ments were recorded uninstructedly according to an antiquated scheme
of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting
time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and
are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only 141
measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are rea-
sonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing
the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

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District	Number of Subjects	Head Measurements in Centimetres			Cephalic Index	Height in Feet & Ins.
		Ant.-Posterior Diameter	Transverse Diameter	Frontal Minimum		
Hunza . .	138	19·135	14·833	10·423	76·834	5′ $6\frac{8}{11}$″
Nagir . .	152	19·411	14·256	9·536	73·424	5′ $5\frac{1}{2}$″
Yasin . .	78	19·035	14·788	10·413	77·714	5′ $6\frac{1}{10}$″
Gilgit . .	40	19·362	14·493	10·075	74·931	5′ $4\frac{15}{16}$″
Astor . .	43	19·005	14·494	10·197	76·306	5′ $3\frac{1}{2}$″
Punial . .	65	19·165	14·611	10·342	76·286	5′ $5\frac{13}{15}$″
Kuh-Ghizer	78	19·099	14·791	10·217	77·432	5′ $5\frac{10}{11}$″

Without allowing too much importance to these figures, we may tentatively accept a considerable difference between the Hunza and Nagir subjects in cephalic index and its factors, in frontal minimum and in height. The Nagir type seems to approximate to the Gilgit type, while the Hunza type approaches to that of Yasin. These conclusions receive further support from a detailed examination of the figures. I have plotted the numbers under each figure of the anterior-posterior and transverse diameters of the head, and of the height, and very similar curves are yielded by the Hunza and Yasin records; and the same holds of the Nagir and Gilgit records.

141 My own visual impressions, however, for what they are worth,
184 would suggest that in physique and feature there is a perceptible
157 difference between the Burushaski-speakers of Hunza and the Werchikwar-speakers of Yasin. It is to be noted that both the Hunza and Nagir subjects are almost entirely Burusho; only a few individuals of those measured came from the Shina-speaking villages. This difference in the attitude to a very mild form of militarism may indicate an inherent difference of temperament. On the other hand it may be due to economic or other unsuspected causes.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Among the vast and savage mountains of the Western Karakoram, 133
which are generally devoid of a blade of grass, and of which the surface 241
by falls of cliff and boulders, the slipping of detritus, and the down- 233
pouring of mud-floods, is kept in a constantly raw and unstable state, nature has made it possible for a small population to maintain itself, in the sweat of its brow, by agriculture and the pasturing of small cattle.

Terraces, apparently the remains of glacial deposits, supplemented 312
it may be by downpourings from the mountain sides, have been left 241
here and there along the sides of the valleys of the main rivers, at a height usually of some hundreds of feet above their stony beds. Where water for irrigation can be obtained from side-ravines these tracts can be cultivated. Without irrigation no cultivation is possible. There are no rain-watered cereal crops and water cannot be raised from the main river. The surface of these terraces is not flat, but slopes down at every kind of angle from the hillsides till the terraces end in abrupt earth-cliffs descending to the river beds. As the ground has to be irrigated it also has to be more or less levelled, otherwise all the soil would soon be washed away. This is accomplished by constructing terraced fields, the lower edges of which are supported by revetting walls built up of the rounded stones available in the diluvium. This revetting is highly skilled work, and is beautifully carried out, and maintained in perfect repair by the Hunzukuts. The Nagirkuts seem on the whole to be less strenuous workers and less tidy-minded cultivators.

There remains the task of constructing channels to bring water 312
from where it is available, often miles away. These channels are designed with precision and executed with great resource and ingenuity, often being carried on revetted or galleried aqueducts across cliff faces. Having made your land and brought your water, it still remains to elaborate a system of distributing the water among the various communities or individuals entitled to a share of it.

Pressure of population in recent years has led to constant endea- 241
vours to devise means of providing water supplies for tracts of waterless but cultivable land. Where land and water have been

3: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

241 brought together, the following are the principal crops grown in Hunza and Nagir: wheat, barley, two or three kinds of millet, buckwheat, broad beans, peas and various pulses, lucerne (yielding two crops) for fodder. Maize and rice are not grown at these levels[1]. Lucerne is often grown on the sloping unterraced hillside where water is insufficient for crops. Fruit is ~~also an~~ important item of cultivation. The apricot is universal, and fresh and dry the fruit is a staple food. Besides its kernels are collected and eaten, or crushed for their oil. Apples, peaches, cherries, cherry-plums and grapes are also extensively grown, but do not appear to be dried, though apples and grapes are stored in straw for some months. Pears, pomegranates and walnuts are cultivated in places. The mulberry is eaten fresh and is also dried and preserved. Poplars and willows are grown for their timber, and in the lower tracts the chenar.

233 Agricultural crops and fruit would not however provide a com-
237 plete subsistence. Goats, sheep and a small type of cow supply the necessary milk and fat products, particularly ghee, also hair for ropes and coarse cloth, wool for clothing, skins and hides for containing vessels, foot-wear and thongs. These cattle are kept in the villages during the cool and cold weather, when they are fed on such scanty natural grazing as is to be found, agricultural waste and dried leaves, and pay their way by providing milk and manure. During the hot months they are sent up in charge of herds to the few summer grazing-grounds (tēr, pl. tērming; terr, terrmiŋ), which exist in the higher
234 parts of some of the nullahs. There their milk is collected and converted into forms in which it will keep: ghee, dried buttermilk etc.

361 [1] I.e. from about 7000′ upwards. Chhalt, the lowest village in the country,
133 stands at 6560′. Māyūn and Hīndi are probably about 7000′ and Aliābād about 7500′. Baltit is 8000′ and Nagir 7550′. Misgār, the highest place at which the Burusho have been induced to live, is 10.158′. It is said that the Burusho women refuse to go where the apricot will not ripen, and there are few Burusho settled above 8000′. In Chupūrsan and Shīmshāl the Wakhis are found up to about 11.000′, which is probably the extreme limit at which barley will grow in this region. In recent years a little maize has been grown in Māyūn, Murtazāabād and Ganish.

Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushe AV7

These various subjects of general interest and actively postulate the existence of a large vocabulary relating to agricultural processes, implements and products; irrigation, fruit culture and the management of live stock and the treatment of their products. 192

Crafts.

Any people who are in the main self-supporting must have developed, and must command, a number of essential crafts. Here it is only possible to enumerate very briefly the principal crafts practised by the Burusho. They include: 463

Building: wall-building without mud; house building, stone-and-mud walls and mud-plastering.

Woodwork: supporting pillars, roofing timber, shaped and unshaped, door-frames, doors and windows. Agricultural implements: ploughs and various forms of wooden shovel and pitchfork; wooden bowls and spoons. Wearing and milling apparatus.

Spinning: hair and woollen thread and twisting into yarn and ropes.

Weaving: woollen home-spun for clothing; hair-cloth for bags and mats.

Basketwork of willow twigs: various forms of baskets and creels.

Preparing skins: for bags for grain etc. and for holding water, milk etc.; also thongs, foot-wrappers and boots.

Metal work: a little iron-work.

Sewing: clothes.

Milling: water-mills are used for grinding flour.

Salt-washing: a method of obtaining salt from saline earth by dissolving it out is sometimes practised.

Gold-washing: the river sand is washed to extract gold-dust. This is done for the Tham of Hunza at certain places, by the lower classes only. I do not know that it is practised privately.

Wine-making and distilling: the latter is now prohibited.

Imports.

The Burusho are dependent on the outside world for their supply of metals and in general for all metal manufactures, e.g. plough- 439

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho

439 shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bēricho (sg. Bērits; b'e·ri·čo, b'e·ri·ts), corresponding to the Doms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also [335] within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

463 Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

531 I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

535 563 534 Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bēricho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitār is known.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging. 526

Religion.

By religion the Burusko of Hunza are Muhammadans of the Isma'ili or, as they term it, Maulāi sect, to which, however, they were converted from Shia-ism only three generations ago. 779

With the Maulais, restrictions, formalities and ritual are reduced to a minimum. The masjids of the former Shia days have been abandoned, and have been replaced in recent years by "jamā'atkhānas". There are no mullahs of the ordinary type. Instead there are khalīfa (pl. khalīfātīng; xʌli·fa, xʌli·fa·tiŋ), who are more servants of the public — being called in chiefly to perform the necessary ritual at marriages and funerals — than its spiritual leaders or teachers. Spiritual authority rests with the Pīr, in this case 'Abdul Ma'ni, son of the late Shahzada Lais of Chitral. He himself now lives in Zēbāk. He replaced the honoured Pir Jalāli Shah, latterly resident in Ishkoman, who died in February 1931. Two of the latter's daughters were taken in succession as his principal wife by the present Tham of Hunza, which affords an indication of the Pir's status in the country. 795 793

Religious observances and prescriptions do not play any very evident part in the life of the Burusho of Hunza, but this does not appear to have any prejudicial effect on their character or conduct. They seem to have firmly planted in them the root of morality and the social and domestic virtues. The Maulais pay tribute to the Agha Khan, the head of the sect. The Burusho of Nagir are Shiahs (pl. Shiātīng; ši.a·tiŋ), a more rigorous and formal school, but they do not indulge in a fanatical interpretation of the duties and implications of religion. They mildly contemn the "mogi[illegible]" (Maulais) as misguided heretics and imperfect Muslims. 788 795 798

Social and Administrative Organisation.

The life of the people is based on the family, and then on the village or community groups which live within definite geographical 621

8: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

621 limits and were originally it seems centred round the *khan* (khan, fortress or strong-place). The general security of later times has led to the scattering of habitations seen in more recent settlements like Aliabad. Inside these village-units, such as Baltit, Altit, Ganish, Haidarabad etc. there survive the names of tribal or class divisions. How far these divisions play any significant part in the communal life of the present day is a subject that remains for investigation.

565 463 Society is recognised as divided into the following general classes:

1. Thamo: the Royal Family, including:
   i. the Karèli, the royally-born on both sides.
   ii. the Arghundaro, of commoner origin on the female side, but in Hunza children of wedlock.
2. Uyōngko or Akābirting — "The Great" — those who enjoy, or have the right to occupy, superior offices in the State, e.g. the posts of Wazīr, Trangfa, Yarpa and Farāj.

   These two classes do not work with their hands.
3. Bār, Bārè Sīs, — These cultivate their land and work with their own hands, but, if personally worthy, are eligible for appointment to posts by the Tham. They are not required to carry loads or perform any inferior class of work.
4. Shadarsho — a large class who get their title ("servants") from their eligibility for employment by the Tham as couriers to convey notice of his movements, carry messages etc. They are exempted from menial labour. This class is increasing by recruitment from the next below.
5. Baldakūyo or Tsilgalasho — these are liable to have to carry loads for the Tham and Uyongko, and to wash for gold. They are exempt from the payment of taxes. The Tsilgalasho are Baldakuyo who are in the employment of Uyongko families and then do not carry loads, but on quitting such employment they revert to the status and obligations of the Baldakuyo. The numbers of this class are declining. Their ascent into the ranks of the Shadarsho is now controlled by the Tham; formerly it was in the hands of the Wazir and Trangfa.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

6. Bērīcho — now of two classes: 565

i. ēgherasho bērīcho — musicians who provide music on all public occasions. 463

ii. ḍak ètasho bērīcho — blacksmiths.[1]

The functions of the Bericho are undergoing a process of extension. They now fetch firewood for the Tham and thorns for protecting enclosures. They also do plastering work for him. A few serve as sweepers. Their status is said to be rising. The Burusho will now eat food prepared by them, which they would not formerly do.

In both Hunza and Nagir the supreme power resides in an autocracy exercised by the Tham, or Mīr. The two royal families derive from a common source and are inter-related by subsequent marriages. This joint royal family claims to have come from Baltistan and to have been established in Hunza and Nagir for the last six hundred years. 643

Each village group is an administrative unit and the Tham is represented in it by one to three Uyōngko (Uyūmko) or Trangfāting (sg.s uyūm = *great*, trangfa). Under their direction these officials have Cherbuting (sg. cherbu, čərbu) who transmit orders to the public. Where the Tham owns land he has a steward, or personal representative, called a Yarpa, who again has subordinates under him to supervise the division of the water-supply. 631

For the settlement of cases and disputes of all kinds there is in Hunza a long progressive series of "courts", if one may use the term. First the case is dealt with by the heads of the two houses and the two families in conclave. Failing settlement it is referred to the Headman of the community (girāmè uyūm; giramɛ uyuˑm). Thirdly: again failing settlement, it is referred to the Headmen of the Four Clans (wālto girāmichīngè uyōngko; waˑlto giraˑmičiŋɛ uyoˑŋko) who proceed to the "gate" of the *khan* and adjudicate on it. 692

[1] The following are the phonetic renderings of the Burushaski words in the above paragraphs: 1. Thamo; karɛˑli; aryˈundəro; 2. uyoˑŋko *or* uyuˑmko; akaˑbirtiŋ; waziˑr; traŋfa; yərpa; faraˑj; 3. bavɛ sia; 4. ḕadərṣo; 5. baldakuˑyo; tailgalaṣo; 6. beˑriṣo; eˑyəraṣo; ḍak etaṣo.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

692 Fourthly: even after this an aggrieved party may carry his suit to the gate of Baltit Fort, where it is heard by the four Headmen of Baltit and the Kaḍako. Fifthly: if he has still failed to obtain satisfaction he can next submit his case to the Wazir. Sixthly: If the Wazir fails, where so may before him have failed, the case then goes to the final court — the Tham's Audience Assembly (Thamo maraka). Here it is heard and adjudicated on for the last time by the Tham, the Wazir, and the elders and officials of every *khan* in council, and a final irrevocable order is passed. It is said that in recent years the Tham has dispensed with the presence of the elders and officials and gives judgement himself. But I imagine this would not apply in a case of major gravity. All "courts" are held in public.

It is thus the policy in Hunza that only matters of serious importance should be referred to the Ruler and that he should be regarded as a final court of appeal. In this way his prestige and authority are not impaired by the constant decision of minor disputations or factious matters.

Character.

157 Of the character of the Burusho something has already been said in *obiter dicta* above. It may be summarily stated that the Hunzukuts are a cheerful, frank and straightforward people; intelligent, keen, and active, with a sense of fun and humour and a commendable spirit of tolerance. They are pleasant people to meet and work with. Among themselves they appear to be good-natured and forbearing, associating together in relaxation, and cooperating happily and amicably in work. They are fond of their children, but do not spoil them, and are considerate to the old or ailing.

000 For more than a month, while partially laid up, I have sat in the Rest House at Aliabad and from the verandah and through the windows seen the life of the place drift past me or concentrate in activity in the fields immediately in front. There is here no

garden, no fence, to interpose a barrier. The much-frequented 000
public way, following the further edge of an irrigation channel, passes within a dozen yards and beyond lie the fields of lucerne, wheat, buckwheat and pot-herbs descending gently in graded terraces. But the ground is beaten hard right up to the verandah edge, and the more adventurous take full advantage of the right of way when they can do so without intrusiveness. So here, almost within touch, pass men, women and children on their various occasions, none without a salute or a smile, or at least a shy recognition. Fifty yards off toil a joint family party, successively reaping, stacking, threshing and winnowing the wheat and pulse crops and carrying off the spoils.

Work goes on harmoniously, without idleness and without hurry. [461]
Normally division of labour obtains, men and women have their 462
recognised rôles, but the division seems regulated purely by physical 578
capacity and convenience. There is nothing rigid about it and in general each sex will freely assume the work of the other if occasion makes it desirable. In this household there are only two men, one able-bodied on whom the heaviest work falls, and one aged who can only do light jobs and rest, intermittently. There are several women and they relieve each other at the heavier work seemingly from a sense of what is the game and without prompting. There is no apparent shirking, there is no quarrelling, disputing or shouting. I have not seen or heard a quarrel yet, except a minor affair between two small boys, Voices are only raised when information has to be conveyed to a distance.

Children roam about in groups of boys and girls, or mixed family 857
parties, playing along the water-channel, chattering and laughing or retrieving the last over-looked apricots by knocking them down with stones or climbing and shaking the trees. Everyone shares without question in the harvest. Children help spasmodically in the elders' tasks; it is not obligatory. There are always one or two rounding up an errant and centrifugal flock of lambs and kids, or a single agile and enterprising cow.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

312 And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of
423 the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

562 Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the
884 East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

609 To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and
123 Mīm sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

184 So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours
157 I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

000 We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Worčikwar). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasin district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasin is shown in the following table:

000

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Werchikwār	Khowār	Shinā	
Yasin . . .	7,518	230 (2,506)	336	8,084
Total . . .	7,518	230	336	8,084

The whole population of Yasin, with the exception of small intrusive colonies of Shina and Khowar speakers, talk Werchikwar as their mother tongue. About one-third of these, it is estimated, have a greater or less command of Khowar, which has been the speech of their rulers for some generations. This bilingual minority is represented in the above table by the entry (2506).

The general physical circumstances of the Wershik are not widely dissimilar from those of the Burusho, but their country is much opener and easier in the habitable tracts, and it is much more accessible from the Gilgit valley than are Hunza and Nagir. On the cultural side it is believed that they share some of the festivals and customs of the Burusho, but their political history has been very different. So far as tradition goes back they have been under the domination of outsiders. For a number of generations they have now been continuously ruled by members of the Khushwaqt or Katōr families of Chitral.

The effects of this domination have been somewhat modified in later times by British control, but the traditions of the Wershik have not been those of a free and independent people able to treat with, ignore, or defy the outer world, but of a subject people existing to serve the interests of their foreign rulers. It is therefore not surprising, whatever their origin may be, if we fail to find among them the same spirit of self-respecting independence, frankness and cheerfulness that we have seen to characterise the Burusho of Hunza. In fact they are reputed to be shifty and untruthful. I am not personally in a position to support or rebut this charge, but in ordinary circumstances I have found them pleasant enough people to meet.

3r Leitner L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1936 AV7 Burushe AV7

THE LANGUAGE.

212 Having described in some measure the country where Burushaski is spoken and the people who speak it, I must now give some account of the language itself and of the influences to which it has, at least in recent times, been subjected.

[59f] Burushaski[1] has no literature and is in fact an unwritten language. Obliging friends may have occasionally written Burushaski letters or texts in the Arabic script to humour enquiring foreigners such as Leitner or myself, but no convention has ever been arrived at to represent the sounds which are unknown to Arabic, Persian or Hindustani. When literate Burusho, and there are not many of them, have occasion to write, they do so in Persian for choice, or
217 in Hindustani. The student of Burushaski has thus no manuscripts, ancient or modern, to turn to for enlightenment. He must go direct to the linguistic fountain-head — the *sujet parlant*. As far as contemporaneous speech is concerned, this is rather a blessing than a loss, but a series of manuscripts or inscriptions going back through some hundreds of years would throw an invaluable light on the development of the language. Lacking them, we cannot divine its history, nor make any guess as to its primitive forms. Only the co-existence of Werchikwar enables us sometimes to deduce that a word or form which occurs in the one as an isolated or rare phenomenon is a survival of what was once perhaps common property, or else normal in some dialect.

[1] I have never succeeded in getting anyone to recognise the word "Burushki", the term applied to the language by Biddulph, and apparently accepted by Leitner, v. H. and N. Höfn. p. 195 l. 9. Leitner also talks of the "Burushki race". One cannot imagine that Biddulph and Leitner invented the term, so it would appear that it has gone out of use since their day. Possibly it may still flourish somewhere in Nagir. Leitner uses the term "Khajuna". This name is applied to Burushaski by outsiders and non-Burusho, as Leitner himself seems to admit (loc. cit.). I have heard the word used in Chalt, in opposition to Shina, by a man who was probably himself normally a Shina-speaker.

Burushaski and Werchikwar[1] are to be regarded as two dialects of one language of which no other dialects exist. The Burushaski of Hunza and Nagir, it is true, differ to some extent: there are differences in vocabulary and minor variations in morphology, but, as far as I am in a position to judge, these are not sufficient to constitute them separate dialects. Local variations occur inside Hunza itself: thus the people of Aliabad say "etsi" *he has done*, whereas the Baltitkuts say "etai". At present we do not know the full range of difference between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski, nor the number and extent of local variants in either, nor how far these are strictly local or possibly connote some difference of social status. 197

Burushaski and Werchikwar have both been subjected to outside influences, some of which must be of ancient standing, some of recent origin, but a glance at the vocabularies will impress one with how little either has borrowed from other languages and how large an original stock of words each has preserved. This can best be judged from the pronouns and from the number and variety of verbal conceptions which are expressed by undoubtedly native verbs. Both dialects seem to have presented a very resistant front to foreign intrusion. Even in these latter days, though many Arabic and Persian words are generally known, and though their use is convenient and probably increasing, they are not essential to the expression of ordinary ideas and many are not used by the common people. 197 177

Of contiguous languages Burushaski has been in direct contact with Shina and with Wakhi. The Qirgis used to raid into the north of Hunza and have left behind them at least two place names: Mintaka and Aqtash (v. Text No. XXXI), but that seems to be all. Some contact with Baltistan, doubtless a very slight one, is to be

[1] "Werchikwar" appears to be analysable into: Werch- or Wersh- + ik + war, of which Werch- is to be equated with the Wersh- of Wershigum; -ik- with the Khowar -ik added to place-names to denote the people of a place (e. g. Laspik, Laspik); -war with Khowar -wár denoting "language", as in the word Insiff Khowár, "the language of the Khó". The probable connection of Wersh- and Burush- is obvious.

177 177 presumed from the possession of a pattern of door known as "Baloski
[829] hing" (baloski hiŋ), and a method of thorn-fencing "Baloski chash" (baloski ćaś). See also Text No. XXVIII. I have even been told that the Burushо believe that they acquired the whole of their material culture from Baltistan. Though there is no territorial contact with Khowar, an occasional surprising common property in words suggests questions.

197 193 The Qirgiz and Balti languages may at once be dismissed as sources of any perceptible influence on Burushaski, and, with infinitely greater opportunity, Wakhi seems to have been equally impotent to make any general impression on it. There remains Shina. Clearly there are borrowings from Shina to be found in the Burushaski vocabulary. Words with characteristic Shina prefixes and endings may be assumed to be Shina e. g. Bu. ʌ-baś, ʌ-ḍ̌ʊmo, ʊ-ḍ̌ʊmo, ʌ-ḍato; adjectives ending in -ʌṭo, ćʌmʊr-ʌṭo, ɣʌlīś-ʌṭo; abstract nouns ending in -ʌr, -iʌr, and -ʊi such as: damijʌr, ćuriʌr, ćuguloi etc. In Shina -o is a very common ending in nouns and the masculine singular of adjectives. Where such words are shared the probability lies that in Burushaski they are borrowings from Shina. Examples are: bargo, baskʊto, bijivo. Sometimes the final -o is lacking in the Burushaski form. In such cases is the -o of Shina possibly an addition to a Burushaski word? Such are:

Bu.	ɣulk	Shn.	gulko	*covered water-tank*
	ɣuḍʊm		guḍʊmo	*deep*
	hisk		hesko	*loom*
	hokʌr		hokʌro	*tamarisk*

Of undistinguished shared words it is for the Philologist to say whether they are of Indo-Aryan stock, and so presumably a contribution from Shina, or not. The same applies to similarities of a more radical character found in the sharing of syntactical practices and idiomatic usages, which seem to postulate direct translation from one language into the other. It is a fair hypothesis that such a process came into action at some time when the two languages were in intimate association, probably by intermarriage, after the

Shina-speaking stock had forced its way in among, or acquired 147
domination over, an originally Burushaski-speaking population. To 193
enumerate such similarities would require a treatise in itself, and in the Grammar I have purposely abstained from drawing comparisons with Shina, which would have taken up space and obscured the immediate issues. I may here just draw attention to a few points. V. § 43. There is much parallelism in the use of the Bu. suffix -an and the Sh. -ek, -k (ek = one), e. g. Sh. ek manu-ju'k *a man*; a-pu'k *a little*; with pronouns: ko-uk *what person?*, jak-ek *something*, kaca-k-ek *a certain number of*, cp. Bu. berrum-an; with numerals: dai bai-ek *ten or a dozen*, bi-ek *a score*. It is also used with the plural and so corresponds to the Bu. -ik. Employed with passive participles and verbal bases it replaces the indefinite by a definite sense. Thus: rai.ituk *the thing said* cp. Bu. senuman; ā-thi hanuk *the bones there are*, cp. Bu. maltaj bilcman *the ghee there was*.

Points of similarity can also be found in the use of the case suffixes: Sh. jak čokrj *how?*, cp. Bu. belaṭz. Sh. -rj = ajz is semantically parallel to Bu. -aṭz. Sh. abl. -jo, parallel to Bu. -tscun used with meaning *after* (of time). Among the pronouns, Sh. ek ek is parallel with Bu. hin hin *one another* v. § 134. Sh. baiyz *both* and bu-to pl. bu-tz *all* generally follow the noun: jak bu-tz *all the people*, cp. Bu. *-altalik and *-yo-n, §§ 177—178.

There is a parallelism between the use of the Sh. ga, gz and the Bu. kz with the indefinite pronouns when the verb is in the negative e. g. Sh. jaga nis, Bu. bezan kz api *it is nothing*, v. §§ 148—154 and 333.

The higher numeral system of both languages is based on the [802]
score (20). In compound verbal expressions there is much parallelism in the use of the verbs *to come*, Sh. wai.o-iki Bu. ju-yas; *to bring*, Sh. walo-iki and aṭo-iki, Bu. d*-taas, dusu-yas, su-yas, v. §§ 261 ff. and 266, also in some other cases. These seem to be translations.

Parallelism of use can also be noted in some independent verbs e.g. Sh. nikhai.o-iki, Bu. du-yas, *to come out, go out, get out, escape;*

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to cross (*a river*; etc.) *to climb up*; *to win* (*in a game*). Both languages use the interrogative suffix -a with verbs, and use it in the same way, v. § 340.

There seems to be some parallelism in the verb *to be able*, Sh. boʼiki, which also means *to be*, *become*, and the Bu. *-amanas which is presumably related to manaʼs, v. § 298.6. Cp. also Kho. bik.

The Conditional particles Sh. taik and Bu. tsɛ, Wer. taik are largely similarly employed.

The extensive use of the past participle active and its employment as a connective are common to both languages. Sh. the *having said*, is used to close a quotation, exactly as the Bu. nusan, v. § 367. Cp. Kho. re.

Sh. thoʼiki and Bu. ɛtas, both meaning primarily *to do*, are always used for *to speak* (*a language*), and the Sh. constantly, and the Bu. sometimes, for *to say*.

There are correspondences in the use of the Sh. passive and static participles and the Bu. static participle, cp. rai.ituk mentioned above, also the active use in Sh. rai.ito manuʼjo *a man who has read* i.e. *a literate man*, v. § 378. b. With §§ 379. b. and 460 cp. Sh. wato o manuʼjo *the man who has come*.

The infinitive is used in Shina as in Burushaski with case suffixes, v. § 392. I. Curiously, the Sh. locative form in -ər in used in the same way as the Bu. dative form in -ər, as described in § 395 d. Is this a case of adoption? The same phenomenon is seen in the Sh. ačaʼkər and the Bu. terrumanər, both expressing in the same way, *at this point*, *thereupon*, *then*, v. § 409 1.

As in Bu. so in Sh. the same or approximately the same form functions as infinitive, inflectable verbal noun, noun-agent and gerundive(?): thoʼiki, thoʼk, *to do*, *doing* (noun); thoʼikəjo fatu *after doing* (*it*); thoʼikət čak *ready to do it*; mas doʼiki asulusus *I was a giver*, *prepared to give*; mas thoʼkunus, tus thoʼkuno, roʼs thoʼkun *I am to*, *have to*, *must do*, *thou must do*, *he must do*; aspɛ kurə kərpa thoʼkun *it is necessary to cut the horse's hoofs*, *its hoofs are to be cut*; aspič tilɛn doʼkun (doʼiki) *the saddle is to be put on the horse*.

In Sh. mat ɪəl han-ɪj *on its being known to me* i.e. *with my knowledge*, mat ɪəl nuš-ɪj *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -ɪj (ajɛ = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -aṭɛ in ayctum-aṭɛ etc. in § 384, and the combination of the base han with a case suffix, with o·ni-tsum and asqan-aṭɛ in § 407. b. and c. 197 193

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of tho·iki viz. *the*, e.g. lo·ko thɛ *quickly*, mišto thɛ *well*, Bu. yər nɛ *forwards*, šu.a nɛ *well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *ks* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar. 192

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi 177 and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of [443] contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazārat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay.

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustanī, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

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192 A third point of contact is provided by the Schools attended by
177 a very limited number of boys chiefly of the upper classes. Elementary
674 instruction in reading and writing Hindustani in the Arabic script is obtainable in Baltit and Nagir. A small number of boys proceed to the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School in Gilgit, where they learn Urdu and Persian, and can make a beginning on English up to the VIIIth. Standard. A few of the sons of the *élite* now go for two or three years to the State College in Srinagar, where they can carry their studies to the point of passing the B. A. examination in English. But as yet there are no Burusho B. A.'s.

177 From all these encounters people return to their homes, temporarily or for good, bringing with them some degree of linguistic acquirement, and an enlarged, not necessarily improved, view of life. A few in recent times have brought with them some foreign accomplishment, tailoring, clothes-washing or, petty trading and shopkeeping.

177 One great source of extraneous culture remains to be mentioned:
192 the Islamic Tradition, which carries with it many kinds of lore and knowledge not directly religious. What exactly it connotes in any given case would be a complicated subject of research, on which I have made no attempt to embark, but it is probable that what Ismailism has brought to Hunza does not exactly tally with what Shiahism has brought to Nagir. What comes in the way of doctrine, history, legend and language (Arabic terms) directly through mullahs and religious teachers, where they exist, and what is transmitted by the ordinary intercourse of Muslims of all nationalities and in all places? It is by the latter route presumably that folk tales such as Texts I, II and III have found their way into Hunza and Nagir. I think it may also be assumed that the bulk of Arabic words current in Burushaski have been acquired through the medium of Persian and Hindustani, or have filtered through Shina.

ccc The people of Yasin have had less numerous external contacts than those of Hunza and Nagir. They have also, I think, sent

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fewer youths to be educated. On the other hand they have for many years been in very close contact with one foreign language, Khowar, which has been brought to their doors, and for many into their daily lives This is reflected to some extent in the Werchikwar vocabulary as far as it is known, but I do not know enough to say anything definite about morphological and structural analogies between the two languages.

Earlier Work on Burushaski and Werchikwar by Europeans.

The only original work of importance done in the past on Burushaski is that published by Col. J. Biddulph in 1880 (revised 1884) and by Dr. G. W. Leitner in 1889. In the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII their results are revised and summarised and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son is added. Biddulph's work is sound as far as it goes, but it is only a brief sketch. There are 22 8vo. pages of Grammar, 4 pages of sentences and texts and 20 pages of Burushaski-English Vocabulary. He deals with the Nagir dialect which he calls "Boorishki" (v. footnote p. XVIII). Leitner in his "Hunza and Nagir Handbook", 1889, also principally describes the Nagir dialect. He collected a considerable vocabulary, extensive paradigms and a large mass of miscellaneous information, all of which he presents unfortunately in an ill-digested and unsystematic manner. His translations are often so loose as to suggest that he did not fully understand his texts, and naturally errors are not lacking.[1]

In both Biddulph's and Leitner's Vocabularies a considerable number of Shina words are to be found. This is probably characteristic af Nagir Burushaski, which has always been more exposed to infection by Shina than the Hunza speech.[2]

[1] It would be unwise to express a final judgment on Leitner's work without checking it through in detail with the assistance of Burushaski speakers, which I have not done.

[2] Cp. also the Bibliography in LSI, Vol. VIII, 1, p. 551. — Manuscript vocabularies compiled by B. L. Grombchevskiy and M. S. Andreev are in the possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 In the past Werchikwar has received even less attention than Burushaski. The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII contains a brief notice of it and a version of the parable of the Prodigal Son furnished by an Indian Official, Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim. Recently, however, I. I. Zarubin has furnished in Russian a valuable description of the language (v. § 500 below), to which he appends a vocabulary and a detailed criticism of the L. S. I. "Prodigal Son", which appears just, as far as I have examined it.

The Present Work.

114 The world has recently been presented with works on little-known Indian languages which represent the knowledge and labour of half a life-time. Such are Hoffmann's "Encyclopaedia Mundarica" and Bodding's Santali Dictionary. The present work makes no pretence to such a foundation. It represents merely an endeavour to squeeze the contents out of such material as I was able to collect hurriedly in a short time, and to arrange and present it in a systematic manner, so that it may be conveniently available to the student.

In September 1920 I took over charge as Political Agent, Gilgit, and remained there till September 1924. During the greater part of the first three years I devoted my spare time to the Shina and Khowar languages and it was only in May 1923 that I added to these Burushaski. From then until July 1924 it somewhat interruptedly received a portion of my attention. In 1921 my wife had made a start on Burushaski, working for two or three weeks with Gushpūr Maḥbūb 'Ali Khān, son of the Mir of Nagir, a bright and intelligent youth. I now turned to her work and gained some idea from it of the principal features of the language, the use of pronominal prefixes, the four "genders" and the main lines of inflexion. Otherwise I started from zero, as I did not wish at this point possibly to prejudice my openness of mind by having recourse to Biddulph and Leitner. In the event I never consulted them at all while I was in Gilgit.

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My mode of procedure was as follows, and in all the circumstances it seems to have justified itself. For a few weeks I worked with Nazer of Aliabad, head of my establishment of domestic servants, eliciting from him the principal inflectional forms of the language as well as the chief pronominal forms and the numerals. Nazer, though illiterate, was a man with excellent brains and the instincts of a teacher and elucidator, and Hindustani provided a medium of intercourse. After this I secured the services of Imām Yār Bèg, brother of the Wazir of Hunza and a Jemadar in the Gilgit Scouts, and began to take down texts to his dictation. Each day I wrote down as much as I had time to, making every effort to record the sounds phonetically as far as I was able to appreciate them, and to make sure of the division of the words. I did not make a point of fully following and understanding what I wrote. The same day, or the next working-day, I read out to him what I had written, corrected it as far as I could from every point of view and strove to arrive at the exact meaning of every word and sentence. I made notes of the translation and obtained the principal parts of verbs, the plural forms of nouns and so on, and recorded other words and phrases that were suggested by those of the text. 126 115

All this was very hurriedly done, but the results have in general proved satisfactory and the texts themselves seem to be readily intelligible to Burushaski-speakers when read aloud to them. They will often complete a sentence and continue the narrative, where it is short, in much the same words as the original, for though there are no professional story-tellers in Hunza, many of the local stories or accounts of customs appear to be told habitually in a customary, if not stereotyped form. [537]

Imam Yar Beg was a man of first-rate intelligence, great energy and a forceful personality. His own tastes ran naturally to sport and the practical. He was an enthusiastic and skilled polo player and I fear linguistic enquiries must sometimes have bored him, but he stayed the course until at length he unfortunately fell ill a month or two before I left the country. In that month or two,

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115 of course, everything was going to have been checked and corrected
126 and much additional information was going to have been obtained — an impossible programme!

Simultaneously with the writing of the texts I ran through an
126 extensive list of common English words and obtained as far as possible their Burushaski equivalents by direct enquiry. This method helps to fill up unexpected hiatuses which will always be found in the vocabulary obtained from any moderate body of texts and casual information. It works well enough with nouns that are the names of material objects and with the simpler direct verbal conceptions. As a sole method, with an imperfectly-known common language as medium of communication, it would be quite unsatisfactory.

Also, in desperation, to make the most of the time available, I adopted a still less satisfactory expedient. I commissioned Imam Yar Beg's elder brother, 'Ināyatullah Bèg, to write out for me a list of all the Burushaski words and proverbs he could think of with explanations in Hindustani. He had some months in which to do this. I gave him for the purpose a large number of slips, each to be used for a single word, of which the vital inflected forms were also to be given. Unfortunately I was not able to convey my instructions by word of mouth and IUB devoted himself to a paper-economy campaign, writing as many words in pencil in a small hand on each slip as he could cram on to it. The result was almost illegible. I handed these slips over to Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin to re-write. He had an adequate knowledge of Burushaski and non-literate Burusho at hand to consult. With great industry he rewrote all the words on separate slips, adding in some cases Roman transliterations of his own. This did not suffice, however, to distinguish with any certainty a from ā, i from e and u from o, nor to exclude ambiguity in the case of some other sounds.

128 All this material, which contained much that was new to me, I was unable to examine till years later when in England and unable to obtain help. Another very difficult manuscript with which I

had to struggle unaided was that of text No. 47 which had been supplied to me in two not identical versions, Burushaski and Urdu, by Gushpūr Muhammad Ghani Khān, before I had begun to work at the language.[1] 128

In collecting linguistic material there is a choice of two attitudes one may adopt. The first is to try and clear up and master every difficulty as it occurs and ideally to make one's effective knowledge keep pace with the information that one writes down; the other is not to linger over difficulties which prove at all intractable, not to memorise and not to endeavour to learn to speak as one goes along, but to write down in the way of Texts etc. as much as possible in the time available, only making notes of the meaning and of usages as far as that is possible without undue delay. 126

The former method is of course the ideal one, but I doubt whether it is the wiser when time is limited. One may spend hours debating over an obscure phrase or construction without arriving at a full comprehension of it, while if the time is spent instead in recording more texts, there is a considerable chance that the word or phrase will turn up again in contexts which make its meaning or force plain. At least this has been my frequent experience. As regards trying to talk and memorising one's material as one goes along, where the language is as difficult as Burushaski, that is largely a question of the quickness and acquisitive power of the recorder. With no spare time or energy at my command such ambitions lay beyond my hopes.

I therefore resigned myself to the second method and devoted myself to collecting as much material as I could in the time — and the "time", it must be remembered, was what remained to me when my official work was done, and had to be divided between the three languages I was working at concurrently, Shina and Khowar as well as Burushaski. Then on retiring and returning to 126 128

[1] There is an error in the statement made in l. 3 of the note on p. 376 of the Texts: "1923" should be altered to "1922", or else the words "more than a year" should be cut out. I am not sure which.

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126 England I settled down first to translating the texts and working
128 out the vocabulary, and then to an intensive comparative study of every word and every grammatical form occurring in my material. On this basis I then prepared and annotated the Texts and drew up the Grammar and Vocabulary as they now stand. This took in all four and a half years, from January 1926 to June 1930.

I have dwelt at some length on my methods of work, because without such knowledge it is impossible for the reader to form any just estimate of the degree of authority to which the book can lay claim. For the same reason I have made a free use of question marks in the Vocabulary and elsewhere to indicate points in regard to which my information is uncertain. I hope I have stated nothing as a fact except on reasonably adequate grounds.

114 The whole edifice stands essentially on the foundation of Jemadar Imam Yar Beg's Burushaski, a foundation the general reliability of which I think no one in Hunza would dream of questioning. But this statement requires serious qualification: it is IYB's Burushaski as affected by the mishearings and misunderstandings of the recorder. That there are such I have not the slightest doubt. I am only surprised that the substance of the Texts has worked out so homogeneous and, as I have now some ground for believing, so correct.

A special word of warning should be given in regard to the Phonetics. I am myself no phonetician and made no constant systematic attempt to distinguish by all means at my command between different sounds which sooner or later I knew to exist, but could not myself certainly distinguish This applies specially to the two parallel series of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates. Many cerebrals and aspirates may have escaped undetected; I can only say that where a sound is marked as cerebral or aspirate, it may safely be assumed to be such.

121 My general aim in the preparation of this work is now sufficiently evident; it is simply to give a perfectly objective view of what I was able to ascertain about the language. I have created a hypothesis

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only where it seemed necessary to attain brevity and clarity in the statement of facts. Such is my theory of the initial *-A- of many nouns and verbal bases, and the combination of it with the pronominal prefixes. Otherwise I have avoided speculation in realms outside my competence. I have raised no questions of the relationship between Burushaski and other languages and I have also intentionally omitted to point out many parallels in grammatical usage and idiom between Burushaski and the adjacent, though non-related, languages Shina and Khowar. In the Vocabulary on the other hand I have noted when the same word, or obviously a form of the same word, is in use in those languages. I have done this because I believe that many of these Shina and Khowar words have not before been recorded, and even when they have been, will not always be readily accessible to the reader.

As I have eschewed questions of relationship, so for still better reasons I have abstained from any attempt to propound linguistic theories of a more general nature. With less certain virtue I have also failed to supply any new grammatical terminology. Another terminology than that of my boyhood's reminiscences of Latin Grammar is certainly needed to describe the phenomena of Burushaski. I do not know that such exists, and I have thought it wise to leave this thorny matter to hardened experts and not to complicate the issues by amateur attempts which would only prove a stone of offence.

The principal work that remains to be done for Burushaski as I see it is:

1. To make a scientific determination of the phonetic system.
2. To clear up existing grammatical problems and to discover more.
3. To ascertain the relative frequency of various syntactical usages. Some which in my material occur rarely are probably in fact common enough.
4. To make a parallel study of Nagiri Burushaski and local variations in phonetics and vocabulary.

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000 5. To complete the vocabulary and to collect obsolete and obsolescent words. There are a multitude of general terms to be collected, while there is undoubtedly an immense field of "technical" terms, in the widest sense, to be covered.

In this last task the most fruitful line of approach will be by the way of anthropological interests and anthropological methods. Burushaski also appears to have a great facility in the metaphorical use of specific words, especially verbs. These uses can only be educed with time, patience and experience.

To these various subjects for enquiry, except the first, I now hope to be able to make some contribution.

114 Self-determination and luck have brought me again, after ten
122 years, to the land of the Burusho, in the midst of whom, at Aliabad in Hunza EOL and I are now living. This luck I owe "first", as they would say here "to the grace of God", and then to the "kindness" of the Trustees of the Leverhulme Research Fellowship Fund, who have granted me substantial financial assistance. It is a short time spent again with Burushaski-speakers that has enabled me to say above that the Texts and Grammar appear to be generally sound beyond my dreams. This does not at all mean that they are impeccable.

How much can now be done will again be governed by the time factor — the harvest is ripe, but the labourers are few.

But this is anticipating.

000 Meanwhile in what concerns the present work there remains to me the pleasure of paying many debts of very genuine gratitude. To the Tham of Hunza, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E., I have paid my tribute in the Dedication. To him I owe much personal kindness and hospitality and also the services of IYB over a long period. The Burushaski of the Dedication, I may say, has been constrained with much expert advice to an unprecedented use.

Next I have to thank my active collaborators, to whom ultimately everything is due, Jemadar Imam Yar Beg, Inayat Ullah Beg,

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Shahzada Yusuf and Nazar. Further I would very specially thank my friend, Khan Sahib Muhammad Masih Pāl, in my time and still, Indian Assistant to the Political Agent, Gilgit, for many and various services extending over a number of years.

To Professor Georg Morgenstierne's inspiration and good offices this work owes its appearance in print, for he introduced and sponsored it to the Directors of the Norwegian Instituttet For Sammenlignende Kulturforskning who have honoured me by approving it and publishing it at the expense and under the aegis of the Institute. I should like here to express my sincere and cordial thanks to the Institute and its Directors. With great unselfishness Professor Morgenstierne has also spent no little valuable time and much patience on matters connected with proofs and printing. He promises to crown his kindness by contributing a Preface.

Finally my thanks are due, as always, to my Wife for steadfast encouragement, judicious but unvexatious criticism, and unstinted typing, each of which contributions is in its way equally essential to my continued functioning.

Aliabad, Hunza, *D. L. R. L.*
1st September 1934.

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Nazar of Aliabad.

End Plate 1

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Gushpur Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin,
informant in regard to Werchikwar.

Arsamlār Imām Vār Beg,
principal informant and communicator of the Texts.

End Plate 2

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

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A woman "Bitan" dressed in red, dancing on the Polo ground at Baltit. The Band with pipes, big drums and kettledrums. Chenar and apricot trees.

End Plate 3

3t Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnsho AV7

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The Road between Chalt and Nilt., *End Plate 4*
The Hunza River below. Looking Westwards.

St Lorimer L-S (1920-4; 1934-8) 1935 AV7 Burnsho AV7

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The road between Chalt and Nilt. Fig Plate 5
The Hunza River below. Looking Eastwards.

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Ballet from the South.
Tracks of the Wanes family in the foreground. Below Ballet are against snow. Taken in April.

End Plate 6

Sa Lorimer L-8 (1920-4; 1934-6) 1935 AV7 Barnsley AV7

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View from the left (south) bank of the Nagir River at its confluence with the Hunza one hundred Nanaks or in the left distance is the conclusive Rakaposhi Wazing peak, on the right the Ultar Sar. Rakaposhi is hidden.

End Plate 7

Zr Lothner L-8 (1923-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnsho AV7

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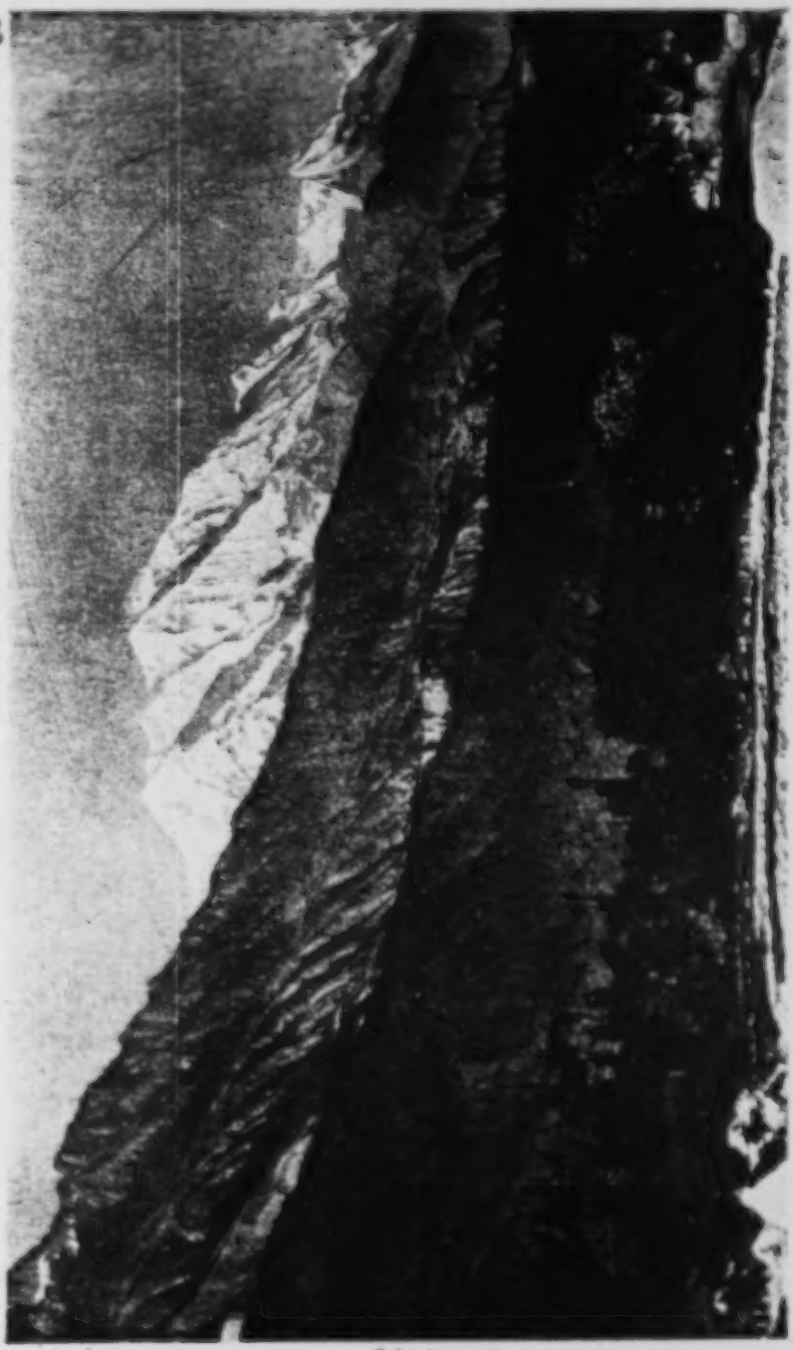

Dhaulagiri ("Kakapurski") 25,500 feet high from the North-East.

End Plate 8

Le Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

Altit from the W. from near Baltit

In the foreground the Harchimun Har. Beyond terraced cultivation Altit and the Valley of the Hunza River.

End Plate 9

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3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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Looking S. W. from the Nagir Polo Ground.
Terraced fields and apricot trees in blossom above.

End Plate 10

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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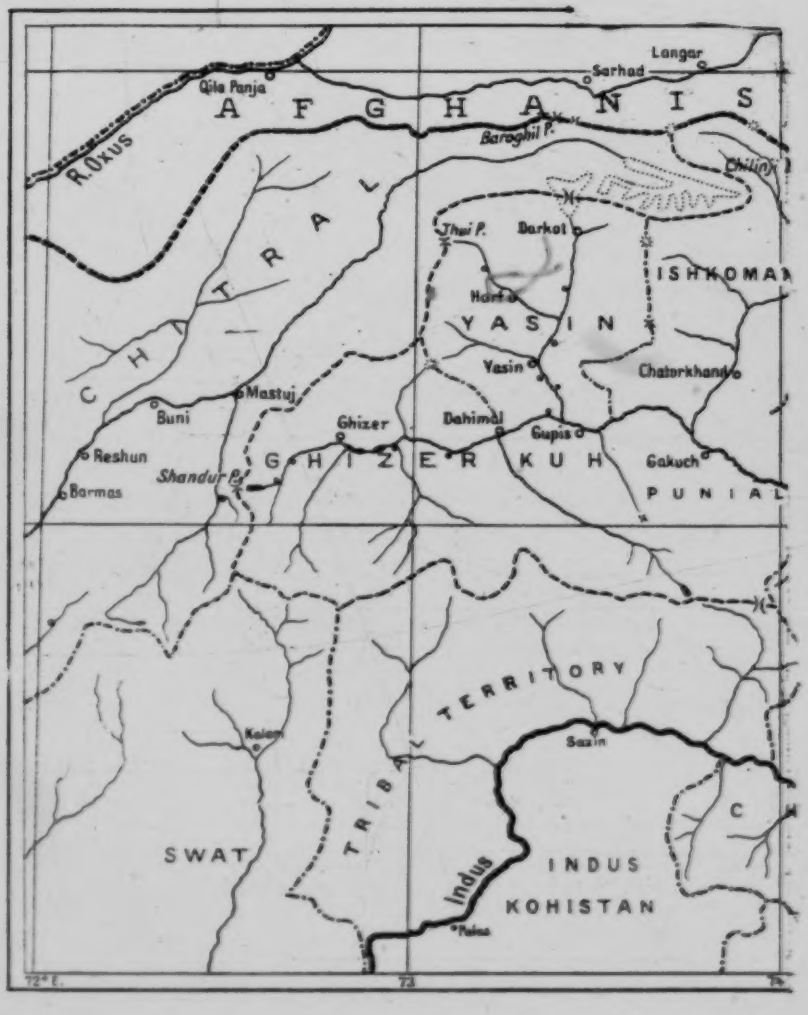

End Map (A)

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Birusho AV7

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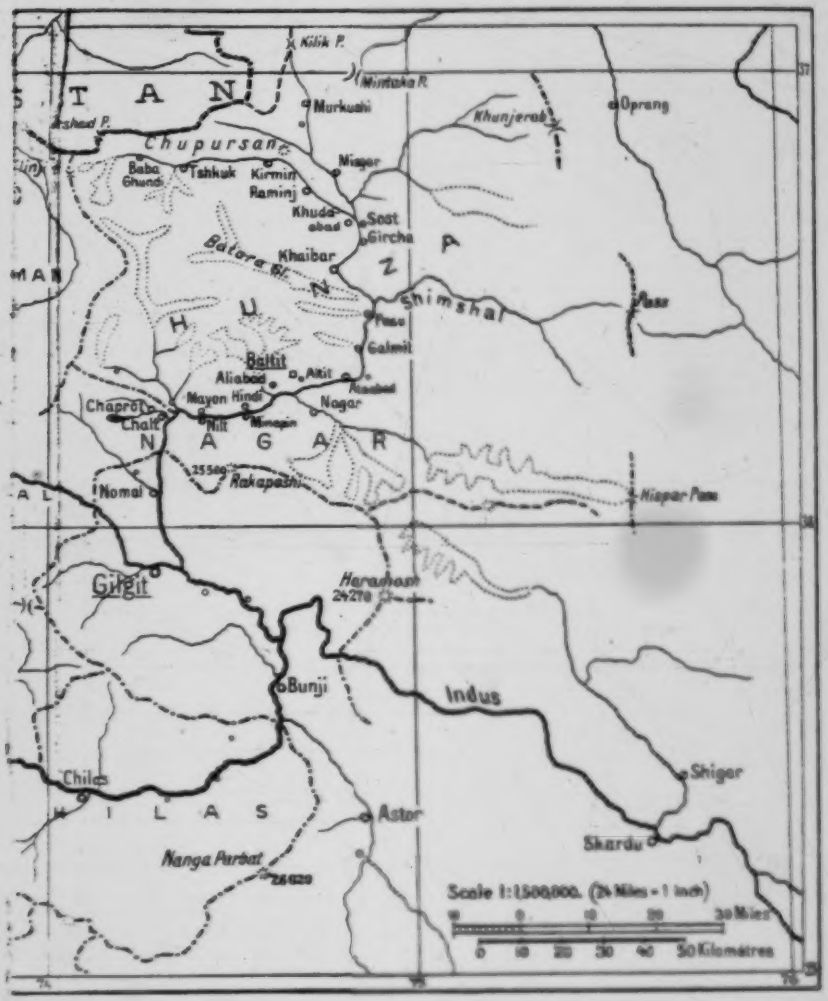

End Map (B)

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 820

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INSTITUTTET FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

SERIE B: SKRIFTER

XXIX,2

LT. COL. D. L. R. LORIMER:
THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE

OSLO 1935
H. ASCHEHOUG & CO. (W. NYGAARD)

LEIPZIG
OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

PARIS
SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉDITION
«LES BELLES LETTRES»

LONDON
WILLIAMS & NORGATE, LTD.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

[P. i is blank--Analyst]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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INSTITUTTET
FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE

BY

LT. COL. D. L. R. LORIMER

VOL. II

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

OSLO 1935
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[iii]

IV No TEXT

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

[P. iv contains no textual material - Analyst]

PREFATORY NOTE.

The following texts were collected by me in 1923—24 in the manner described in the Introduction. No.s 1—3, 5—45 and 46. B. were supplied by Jemadār Imām Yār Bèg, son of the late Wazīr Humāyūn Bèg, a man of distinction to whom some reference will be found in Durand's "Making of a Frontier" and who later rendered valuable services in the Chitral Campaign of 1895. The eldest son, Shukr Ullah Beg, has been Wazir of Hunza since his father's death. Of some of these texts IYB wrote out versions in the Arabic script, which I possess. They do not always agree verbatim with the dictated versions. 126 115

On my return to Hunza, after ten years, in July 1934, I met Jemadar Imam Yar Beg briefly on two or three occasions and it was a great pleasure to renew our old cordial relations, and a happy prospect to look forward to their continuance. But this was not to be. On the evening of the 27th October Imam Yar Beg was shot in the Gilgit Bazar and died three hours later in hospital. This morning his body was carried past here on a bier, attended by the brothers and a throng of mourners. And in company with the local population, I could only pay a last tribute to an old friend as the cortège passed on its way to Baltit to the sound of a melancholy dirge and subdued lamentation. 115

So has disappeared in his prime a vivid personality from Hunza life. As I knew him in earlier days he was the embodiment of energy and zest for life. What his hand found to do — riding.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

115 hunting, polo — he did it with his might; manly, competent and fearless; a dynamic figure, not necessarily every man's friend. Since then he had visibly aged, but there was still about him something of the alert, dashing air of the born adventurer.

To return to the Texts: No. 4 was related by a then old man, 'Ali Madat of Baltit, who, I believe still survives, though perhaps no longer capable of repeating his effort of eleven years ago.[1] IYB's help was essential in recording this text.

Nazar of Aliabad supplied the version of the "Prodigal Son" given in No. 46 A. No. 47 was written out and sent to me by Gushpur Muhammad Ghani Khān, the son of the Mīr by a local, non-royal wife. He also was a man of vigour and ability who died quite young of some illness, four or five years ago.

The Proverbs were furnished to me in writing by 'Ināyat Ullāh Bèg, the second of the three sons of Wazir Humayun.

The Werchikwār Texts No.s 1 and 2 were obtained by me in Yasin from Hidāyat Shāh of Thui, and the translation of the "Prodigal Son" from Bahādur Amān Shāh of Yasin. In recording these I had the valuable help of Mèhtarzhau Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin.

538 One point of interest may be noted with regard to the Buru-
[565] shaski Texts, especially those containing local narrative. I have found, on reading out bits of them at random to several people here of the upper class, firstly that they appear readily to follow my rendering of the Burushaski, and secondly that they can habitually continue the statement at any point in almost the same
[195] words as the recorded text. This shows that, though there are no professional narrators in Hunza, with the possible, partial exception of Ali Madat, the ordinary people are in the habit of passing on tales and explanations of customs in a more or less
[173] stereotyped form of expression. This is probably the relic of a former custom of the upper classes of spending the evening after

[1] I have, since writing this, sought him out, and found him decrepit, but cheerful. Public opinion denies him any large measure of sympathy, as "he is not really old and has a number of sons who support him in comfort".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the lighting of lamps, between supper and bedtime, in recounting past events, and doubtless in confirming and explaining traditional behaviour and practices:

> šapi·k ši·mtsum gučaspal xa (I am told) gəri·tsɛ gəri·bilumiło ya dapiŋ ɛtało hurusa·n. Thamini tɛ·ndili gərɛŋtɛ akə·birtiŋ hurusam da sajara (= šajara = ta·ri·x) ɛčam.

"From eating food till lying-down time those who had lamps or those who were preparing wool for spinning used to sit "by the lamp." In former years the people of the upper class used to sit by their lamps and recount past events."

That these séances had an educative and moral intention is evident from the saying, ascribed by tradition to Big Ali of the Ghulwätting clan:

> Ghulwaṭiŋɛ Big Ali.ɛ bor bila: "uyo·n ja gəri·tsar du·n ja·tsum siskuṭ (= insa·ni.at) haki·ba·n. Ja khu γuniki.ɛnta ayu· γuniki.ɛntɛ gərɛ·ŋtsar niča·n."

"There is the saying of Big Ali of the Ghulwätting: 'All people have come to my lamp-side and have learnt from me human virtue. Only these evil sons of mine go to the lamp-sides of evil persons."

The few remarks I have to make about the provenance of the subject matter of the texts are embodied in the notes subjoined to each. Otherwise the notes are chiefly confined to grammatical queries and explanations. Paragraph numbers quoted in the notes refer to the Grammar. Obviously the texts, especially those relating to local traditions or customs, require much fuller annotation to reveal and explain their full content; but lack of knowledge, no less than lack of space, made it impossible for me to attempt such annotation.

I hope that my present investigations in Hunza may serve to throw light on many of such obscurities.

Aliabad, Hunza, *D. L. R. L.*
29th October 1934.

[p.1 contains no textual material – Analyst]

[2]

BURUSHASKI TEXT

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No. I.

Minas.

Šahza·da Bahra·m ke Burum Pfu·t.

Yerum zama·na.ulo hin Šahza·da Bahra·m senas ba·dia bam. Bu·t daltasan bam, bu·t a·dil bam. I·ne kuyo·čer bu·t ara·m bilum. Bese ke i·n i·mo tenuitsum ho·le atu·čam, i·ne bušai.e du·ro i·ne Wazi·re čam. Bu·t muddat ni·mi si·se (ya kuyo·čs) i·n e·itsuman. Han guntasanulo han pfu·tan kiya·l etimi: "Ba·dia Šahza·da Bahra·m ye·tam" nusin. I·ne hiṇtser di·mi. I·ne pfu·te i·k Burum Pfu·t bilum. Be·ruman denin xa ba·dia nokeri.ulo huru·timi. Ba·dia ho·le atu·nimi. Ba·dia su·rat e.itsimi (e.iteimi), bu·t hairan emanumi. A·xer xi.a·l etimi: "Gutatsum ti besan tla·j api. Wazi·re bater niki·n ničam," se·nimi.

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1 senas — infin. form 'to say', specialised in the sense of "called", "by name".

2 daltasan — suffix -an with nouns and adja. v. §§ 43. 4. & 103.

3 ertuičam = a + duičam — 3rd.sg. imperf. negative of duwas 'he used not to come out'.

4 ečam — 3rd. sg. hm. imperf. of ečas.

ya kuyo·čs — the harrator merely meant to substitute the word kuyo·čs for sise.

e·itsuman = a + i + °-itsuman or °-itsuman, 'they did not see him' from °-itsas, °-itsas 'to see'.

5 guntasanulo = gunts + an + ulo. MS. here and in p. 20 l. 1 has gunteanulo.

han pfu·tan — 'a demon', dem. Note that pfu·t is n not hm. hence han not hin. Similarly line 7 ewe pfu·t, but sometimes the human conception prevails v. p. 18 l. 8 note.

6 yeičam = i + °-ečam, 'I shall see him', 1st. sg. fut. of °-ečas 'to see'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

TRANSLATION.

[3]

No. I.

Shāhzāda Bahrām, Shahri Bānu and the White Dēu.

In former times there was a King called Shāhzāda Bahrām. He was a very good man and he was very just. His subjects enjoyed great peace and comfort. As he never came out of his palace his Wazir looked after his land. A long time passed and the people (*or* his subjects) did not see him. 5378 173

One day a certain Dēu thought: "I'll have a look at King Shāhzāda Bahrām," and he came to his door (and asked permission to enter his service). The Dēu's name was the "White Dēu." For some years he continued in the King's service, but the King did not come out and so he did not see his face. He was greatly exercised in mind. At last he reflected and said to himself: "There is no other remedy than this — I will enter into the skin of the Wazir and go to him." 5378

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ozaro, ozaro — p. pc. active of *ozaz* 'to say' constantly used to indicate the end of Oralle Recta.

ćuz highar dirwi — *hig* + *ću* + *ar* 'on to the door', *dirwi* 'he came' 3rd. sg. hm. s. & y of *ćayaz* 'to come'. Literally "he came to his door", perhaps has some idiomatic implication of taking service with a master.

9 *ofurwimi* = *o* + *durwimi* — 'he did not come out' from *durwaz*.

10 *omazowi* — So the MS. Doubtless for *omazowi*. Note the *-wi* ending. See § 314.1.

11 *Wazirv hāir ashīrv* — *ashīrv* p.pc. active of *ćayaz* n.c. 'to plunge, precipitate oneself', "entering into the skin of the Wazir" i. e. 'assuming the form, appearance of the Wazir'.

660 Han gunteanulo Wazi·ts batar nikiʼn bardia salaʼmar niʼmi. Hiṇatsum maharamtiṇe bardiaʼr xabar ctuman ke "Waziʼr di baiʼi" nusen. Bardia hukum ctimi "Ulo juṭ" nusen. Waziʼr diʼmi. Diʼn bardiaʼr salaʼm ctimi. Salaʼm ne iʼmo diṭulo adabe ka huruʼtimi. 5 Bardia ke Waziʼts čayamiṇ hiʼn hiʼne ka ctuman. Čaya netan netan Waziʼts senimi: "Nazar bardia, ke uṇe kuyoʼč uʼn guyctaase armaʼnulo buʼt baʼn. Berum den niʼmi akuʼiʼtsumate ormaʼn atuʼsum berumian uʼiʼruman."

Bardia gute čaya deryalin waziʼrar senimi: "Buʼt šuʼa ke je buʼt 10 xuš amanam. Jiʼmale jeʼimo kuyoʼč uyoʼne ka baʼne šikarar ničen. Teʼrdine uyoʼn gati maniṭan."

Waziʼr bardiaʼr gute čaya eʼsase ka dʼusimi. Duʼs marakaʼulum uyoṇkuwar da šadarṭuʼar, niʼrštkartiṇar hukum ctimi: "Jimale bardia fulaʼna iʼte diṭar šikarar ničaiʼi. Ma ke taiʼar maʼnin." Iʼne waziʼts 15 batar gi bam iʼte batetsum duʼsimi.

Tapeʼi iʼse pfuʼt iʼte šikare diṭ yakalate niʼmi. Telar niʼn han buʼt šuʼn šikam hayuran manimi. Teniṭe tiliṇ yeniṭe taʼbaṇe ka niʼltul huruʼtimi. Eʼka menen ke sisan apam. Hinuman hayur numa huruʼtimi.

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1 *bardia salaʼmar niʼmi* — "he went for the salam of the king" i. e. 'he went to' pay his respects to the king'.

2 *hiṇatsum* = *hiṇ* + (*i*) + *tsu* + um. -um here adjectival, 'those being at-the-door,' v. § 78.
xabar ctuman ke — 'informed him that'. This *ke* after verbs of "saying" etc. is not necessary. It has presumably been picked up from Persian or Hindustani.
di baiʼi — 3rd. sg. hm. perf. of *juṭyan*, 'he has come'.

3 *ulo juṭ* — 'let him come in' fr. *juṭyan*, v. § 357.
diʼn — p.pc. active hm. sg. of *juṭyan*.

4 *ne*, or *netan* — p.pc. active of *ctan* 'having made or done' v. § 298. 4.

5 *bardia ke waziʼrs . . . ctuman* — note that only the latter of two nouns united by *ke* takes a case suffix v. § 97.
netan netan — the repetition of the verb denotes continued action.

6 *iʼte* — apparently dependant on *senimi* and unnecessary.
uʼn guyctaan armaʼnulo — 'in the desire of seeing thee'. *guyctaan* gen. of infin. *gu* + °*-ctan*, *uʼn* a variant of *wṇ*, in Nagir *wne*.

6 *beʼrum den* — 'a number of years'. Note the sg. v. § 170.
akuʼiʼtsumate — 'without having seen thee'. *a* + *gu* + *itsum* + *ate* static pc. of °*-ctan* with active meaning v. § 384.
atuʼsum = *a* + *durum* static pc. of *durtan*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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One day, entering into the skin of the Wazir, he went to salām to the King. The confidential servants at the door informed the King: "The Wazir has come." The King commanded: "Let him come in." The (seeming) Wazir entered and salamed to the King. Having done so he respectfully sat down in his own place. The King and the Wazir conversed with each other. Talking on and on, the Wazir said: "Sir King, your subjects are very desirous of seeing you. How many years have passed and how many of them have died without their grief at not seeing you having left them!"

On hearing this speech the King said to the Wazir: "Very good I am much pleased. Tomorrow we shall go a-hawking with all my people. Let them all assemble in the morning."

After speaking thus to the King the Wazir went out. Going out he gave orders to the great men of the Court and to the servants and to the huntsmen: "Tomorrow," he said, "the King is going out to such and such a place to hunt. Do you also be ready." He then came out of the Wazir's skin into which he had entered.

At night the Dēu went off to the hunting place. Having arrived there he turned into a very handsome grey horse, and, equipping himself with a golden saddle and a golden bridle, there he remained.

9 *deryœlin* — 3rd. sg. hm. p.pc. active of *d**-*ayilas* 'to hear', a transitive verb in which the pronoun infix refers to the subject v. § 249. 4.

ḫwa ka je — this *ka* is unintelligible to me.

10 *ammanam* — 'I have become', 1st. sg. pret. of *a* + *-*manas*.

niten — 1st. pl. fut. of *niyas*, 'we shall go', or 'let us go'.

11 *manijan* — 3rd. pl. injunctive of *manas*, 'let them become'.

12 *eṛaso ka dusimi* — infin. *i* + *-*asas* 'to say to him', v. § 400 'after saying this to him he went out'.

dus — p.pc. active of *dusas*.

muṛakaṛolom — adjectival v. § 77.

13 *uyoṛgkuṛor* — dative of *uyoṛgko* pl. of *uyuṛm*.

14 *maṛnin* — i. e. *manin*, imper. pl. of *manas*.

17 *niltul* — p.pc. active of *-*ilulas* v.t. 'to put a saddle on a horse' (direct object). *kayor iltulas* 'to saddle the horse'. The dual personality complicates the situation. The Dēu saddles the horse which is himself. It seems necessary to understand *iṛkor* himself as object.

18 *eṛka* — 'with him' *i* + *-*aku*.

numa — p.pc. active of *manas*, cp. p. 6 l. 6 note.

(10) Teordinar bardia ikorer i-ro tərqəiteum durəimi. Mirtikartiq yor ne thamteum gutəuram. Mirtikartiq jurtəuman ke i-te dasulo han hayurən bi-m. Da hin sisane i-teu uyur bilum. Telateer nin i-teu balu bilum, i-se hayur bim yurtəuman. Ni-tai-n kao etəuman ke: "Gusu
5 hayure daman ərmin ba, ərmulo ba?" Beu ke i-tər ati-mi, e.iteuman, hairam umanuman. Nu-man sambe etəuman. Sambe netan hi-ne ənimi ki: "Humalkum bardiav xaber tauien." Telateum hin i-iji ne bardia.e yakalater khaber nukan nimi. Djum bardia jurtam. Mirtikav di-n salam etimi. Bardia duyərənimi: "Amulum dukərma?" Mirtikave
10 ənimi: "Bardia salamat, fulane i-te dasulo han burt ənə ikam ranq hayurən yəmnic tilkaq tarbaq ne.ztan (or, ne.ztan) bi. Ewe daman ərpai i. Burt odori etəuman menan ke eiteuman."

Bardia di-mi. Di-n bare.imi ke teane ənə hayurən bi. Burt ərtiq imanumi. Ni-man wazi-ner ənəumi: "Gusu hayurete hulja, bereyen
15 beituk bi ke." Wazi-ve ənimi: "Ya bardia, gusu je huljaiyase yalki ap i, balki u-n huljaiyastes yalki bi, bese ke guso hayur urqe nasi-bteum Xudaye tə-muk etai i." Bardia hayurteum ərkimi. Dusərk i-ro

2 *yor ne* — 'ahead', for adverbs formed with *ne* v. § 416.
gutəuram — 3rd. pl. plup. of *gutəuras*.
jurtəuman ke — for this idiom, future + *ke*, v. § 343. 2.
3 *telateer* — *tele* + *ter* + *er*.
4 *balu bilum* — 3rd. sg. y. plup. of *baleryas* 'to be lost'.
5 *ever* — *i* + *-*der*, used as the indefinite form of *-*der*, 'a voice, sound'.
atimi — *a* + *dimi*, 'it did not come'.
e.iteuman — cp. p. 3 l. 4. *kraka or mumun ke* may be understood as the object.
6 *numan* — *n* + *u* + *man* p.pr. 3rd. pl. of *-*manas*. The p.pr. of *manas* is *nume.an*, *nume.an* or *nume* and is invariable.
7 *iiji ne* — adverb cp. *yor ne* l. 3 above.
bardia.e yakalater — the genitive suffix *-e* is not usually found after final *-a* nor before p-.
8 *nukan* — p.pr. active, invariable, of *gunas* 'to take' (a *y* object).
djum — 'behind', strictly, 'from behind'.
jurtam — 3rd. sg. hum. imperf. of *juryas*.
9 *duyərənimi* — 3rd. sg. hum. pret. of generalised non-pronominal form of *d*-ayərənas* to question (someone); also *dəyrənəmi* p. 10 l. 11.
dukərma — 2nd. sg. pret. of *juryas*.
11 *hayurən . . . tilaq . . ne.ztan bi* — cp. p. 4 l. 17 *mirtikel*. We have again the dual personality of the horse to complicate matters.

The exact nature and force of *ne.ztan*, *ne.ztan* is uncertain. Are these forms

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV? Barnabo AV?

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There was no other person with him. After turning into a horse he stayed there alone.

Next morning the King went forth from his palace to hunt. The huntsmen had gone on before the King, and when they came (to the place) there was a horse in the plain and there was the track of a man (leading) on in front of them. They saw that the track had gone up to the spot and disappeared and that there was the horse (there). On seeing it they called out: "Owner of this horse, who are you? Where are you?" No answer came and they saw no one. They were confounded. They reflected, and one of them said: "Let us quickly take the news to the King." Then one of them went back thence in the direction of the King, bearing the news. The King was coming along behind. The huntsman approaching him salamed. The King enquired: "Where have you come from?" "Hail King," replied the huntsman, "There is a very fine grey horse wearing a golden saddle and bridle in the plain; and its owner is not there. We made great search, but saw no one."

The King came on and saw that in fact there was a fine horse. He fell greatly in love with it and said to the Wazir: "Mount this horse and let us see what it is like." "O King," said the Wazir, "this horse is not suitable for me to ride, rather is it suit-

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of ctas with a prolonged first vowel causatives, or are they simply accidental variants? v. § 240. One would expect the man in the present case simply to say that "there is a horse saddled with a golden saddle", but *ucstas* can scarcely be passive. The sense is perhaps "having put on", "wearing" a saddle.

10 *hovcimi ke . . . hovcem ki.* — This is a stock idiom. The future of *hovcmas* to look (at) + *ke* followed by a statement of what was seen. The meaning seems to be "when he looks (he sees) there is a horse" i. e. "he looked and saw that there was a horse". There is an exact parallel in the Shina [*okei te . . .*

One may also have the preterite *hovcimi ke*, cp. p. 8 l. 1.

11 *ucvmas* — p.pc. active 3rd. sg. hm. of *°-mamas* cp. *ucvmas* l. 6 above.

hovcyem hetek ki ke — "let us see what sort (of a horse) it is". *hetek* usually appears as a simple interrog. particle "of what sort?" "how?" Here it is used with *ke* in an indirect question.

13 *je holjaiyaas yakki* — *holjaiyaas* is doubtful. *yakki* regularly takes *-des* as in the following line. Note the nominative *je* and *wg* with the infin. The genitive is also permissible.

17 *ucvimi . . . dosrè* — This is a case where the verbal prefix *d-* is optional and appears to have no effect on the meaning cp. § 256.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushki AV7

hayurete "Bismilla" ne holjami. Nu-ljan berunimi ke han ajal.ib hayuren bi. Burt xuś manimi. Burt xuś num'an i-mo wazirtiq ke akabirtiqer e-nimi: "Akorlateem i-lji ne tarq yakalater pfor maiyam." Nusen pfor manuman. Pfor nerman hayur e-gutearimi. Hayur burt tir manimi, humalqum humalqum gutearimi. Nukurtaer mukurtaer i-mo wazirtiq ke ladurtetem yer matan i-tearmi, i-lji pfat umanuman.

Ine pfurte salsal numa pfurt manimi. Numan a-nmarner di.uenimi. Di.uerin han burt ilura dikenar dershumi e-urutimi. Nerurt salam etimi. Senimi ke: "Lei Šahsada Bahram, kurito ja aram manimi. Ja urq guyetaam. Ja akorler dukurtaam bese ke berum den urq guyetaase gane urqer ladarer ne horurtam. Horle a-turuenma, wazire hater nikirn daiyam. Daru šikere berna ne dukurisam. Dukurisirn je akor i-te dasulo han hayuren etam. Ne korler dukurtaam. Mu arum ne ja apaći hurort. Je urqe gur am'anam, urq ja eri gumanuma. Ja dorlat uyoru urqer guliram."

Ho e-urutimi, ker tarrdimo Šahsada Bahramner salarner nirdam. Du e-ka xuśi čayomiq et am. Akilete berunan gunterq nimi.

Beial Šahsada Bahram i-te dastem i-mo tarqé yakalater i-ne hayurete nu-ljan pfor manuwam ke i-mo uyorqhutem matan i-teu bi-m.

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1 *hemalir ne* — *ne* p.pr. active of *ela* used apparently in the sense of "to say".
nu-ljan — p.pr. dative of *holjoiqas*.

2 *num'an* or *nurm'an* — p.pr. of *nusere* cp. p. 6 l. 6 note.

4 *pfor maiyam* — 1st. pl. fut. = present subjunctive of *mamera*, 'let us go back'.
e-gutearimi — *i* + *°-gutearimi* 3rd. sg. hum. post. of causative of *gutearas* with *e* as object, 'he made it go'

5 *humalqum humalqum* / *nukurtaer mukurtaer* } The repetition indicates continuousness without intermission.
nukurtaer — p.pr. active of *gutearas*.

6 *wazirtiqke ladurtetem* — only the latter of two co-ordinated nouns is inflected for case.
i-tearmi — 'it bore him away', *i* + *°-tearyas*.

7 *di.uenimi* [*di.uenimi* / *dyenimi* — 3rd. sg. post. n. of *d°-enas* with sg. hum. object, v. §303.

8 *di.uerin* — p.pr. active of same.
drukumi — from *d* + *i* + *°-uberyas*.
e-urutimi — from *i* + *°-urutas* causative of *horutas*.
ururt — p.pr. active of same.

10 *dukurtaam* = *d* + *pu* + *ikam*, 1st. sg. post. of *d°-ikas* with 3rd. sg. object.

11 *a-turuenma* = *a* + *durumo* 3rd. sg. post. neg. of *dersas*.

12 *daiyam* — 1st. sg. pret. of *fayas*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-8) 1936 AV7 Burushe AV7

able for you to ride on. For it is by your good fortune that God has created it." The King dismounted from his (own) horse and saying "Bismillah" mounted the other and found that it was a marvellous animal. He was highly pleased, and said to his Wazirs and Elders: "Let us return hence to the palace," and they turned about. On the way back he made the horse gallop. It was a very fast horse and galloping swiftly on and on it carried him far away in front of his Wazirs and followers. They were left behind.

The Dêu, shaking himself, became a Dêu again and bore the King up to the sky. He set him down in a very beautiful place and made him sit down. Then he salamed to him and said: "O Shâhzâda Bahrâm, today I have become at rest in my mind. I have seen you. I brought you here because for a number of years I have continued serving you in order to see you. As you did not come out, I entered into the skin of the Wazir and came to you and making a pretext of hunting I brought you out. Having got you out I turned myself into a horse in the plain. Then I brought you here. Now dwell with me in peace. I have become your father and you have become my son. I have given you all my property."

Then he established Shâhzâda Bahrâm there and every morning he came to salam to him, and he used to converse pleasantly with him. In this wise a number of days passed.

(Now) when Shâhzâda Bahrâm, mounting the horse, had turned back from the plain in the direction of his palace, (the horse) had

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13 *dêw* — p.pc. active of *jwryas* with 1st. sg. subject.
dabwiasw — 1st. sg. pret. of *d*-*wras* with 2nd sg. obj. cp. l. 7 above and § 303.
14 *pir* — *pa* + *-ary 'thy father'.
ei — *a* + *-ê 'my son'.
15 *gwirâm* — 1st. sg. pret. of *-ârâ.as with 2nd. sg. indirect object and *y* sg. direct object (*dârâ*).
16 *nâzam*, *ofâm* — 3rd. sg. hm. impert. of *nâyas* and *âsa*.
17 *hewmân gwâzâg nâwai* — *nâwai* is here 3rd. pl. *y* pret. of *nâyas*.
18 *mânu(w)âm* — 3rd. sg. hm. plup. of *mânâra*.
êdwâbêw — 3rd. sg. n plup. of *i* + *-âwryas* with sg. hm. obj. Subject *hâyêwa* understood.

Ni·tsum dəspapali bi·m. I·ljum wazi·rtiŋ kr šaderio uyo·n i·tsi nultan du·man. Ba·dša amulo e·itsuman. Kiya·l etuman, albatta ba·dša hayure ni.en i·mo ta·ŋar itsu·mi. Ba·dša ta·ŋar du·man bor·cnuman kr ne hayur bi ne ba·dša ta·ŋulo bai.i. Doγ·arusi·n odo·ri etaeur
5 duw·aiuman. Amulo kr ato·γurkuman. Beruman guntsiŋ γa·mulo hurućuman. Axer i·ne wazi·r tham yanuman. Da i·ne huku·mat eγutaari·mi.

Yate pfu·te ka Šahza·da Bahra·m phu·te i·te teŋućulo han uć'aqanulo bam. Beruman guntsiŋ nimi. Pfu·ter han xatan phu·te ećutsum di·mi.
10 Pfu·te xat γatanimi. Ećuwe girmi·nam: "Ja e·iye gor bila. Gorur ju," nuan. Di·u Safi·de Šahza·da Bahra·mtsum doγ·eruxu·mi: "Le e·ti, ja a·ćutsum xat di bila. I·iye gor ećai.i. Jaγ ka.o etai.i. Jimale je ni·ćn ba kr u·ŋ je ju·t za tamar·m gu·kr baeŋe sail ku pari·tiŋe ka e·ti. U·ŋe her beaan xa·tir go·ućuman." Šahza·da Bahra·me,
15 "Šu·n baba," e·nimi. Pfu·t ruxsat manimi. Da ni·asulo kr Šahza·da Bahra·me ka bu·t xuti etimi. Pfu·t ećn ha·ter gute·rimi.

Šahza·da Bahra·m u·e pariti·ŋe ka sailar du·wimi. Pfu·te u·e pariti·ŋer

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1 *n·tsum* — *n* + *e* + °-*ter* + *n* p.pc. active of *i* + °-*duryan*.
dəspapali bem — *Bali.* sg. 2 plup. of *d*°-*aspapalan* 'it had carried him through the air'. This verb is based on the adjective *bálal* 'hanging, suspended'. cp. Shina *bálala*, 'floating'.
etsi nultan — 'following him'. *ne* + *lla* + *n* p.pc. active of °-*lai lisiyan*. I have recorded the *-l-* only in this part of the verb. Owing to the divergence of meanings it seems impossible to connect this verb with °-*litsiyan*, °-*altsiyan* 'to put on' (shoes etc.)
2 *duwan* — 3rd. pl. hm. pret. of *furyan*.
ni.en u·r uyon — 'taking him', *n* + *i* + °-*yan* p.pc. active of *i* + °-*yanan* with sg hm. object.
4 *doγ·arusin* — p.pc. active of *doγ.arusan*.
odori et.aur — 'in order to search', dative of infin.
5 *duw.iuman* — 3rd. pl. hm. of *dewalan* 'to go out' etc. This form is usually so recorded, but should be *duw.al.uman*.
atoγurkuman — *a* + *d* + *w* + °-*γurk* + *uman* 3rd. pl. hm. negative pret. of *d*°-*γurkan*: a transitive verb with a pronominal infix referring to the subject § 307. 3.
γamulo — for *γ.amulo*.
6 *hurućuman* — for *hurućum.an* 3rd. pl. hm. pret. of *hurućiyan* | *hurutan*.

6; Leitner 1-2 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV? Barnsho AV?

carried him far away from his chief men and had borne him off through the air. All the Wazirs and servants came along following him from behind. They nowhere saw the King and thought: "Doubtless the horse has taken the King and brought him to his palace." They went to the King's palace and saw that neither the horse nor the King was there. They made enquiries and then they went out to search for him. Nowhere did they find him. For some days they remained in grief. At last they took the (original) Wazir as king and thereafter he carried on the government.

Up above, Shāhzāda Bahrām and the Dēu were in a chamber in the Dēu's palace. Some days passed and a letter came to the Dēu from his brother. The Dēu read the letter. His brother had written: "It is my son's marriage. Come to the wedding." The White Dēu said to Shāhzāda Bahrām (lit. 'asked'): "O my son, a letter has come from my brother. He is celebrating his son's marriage and has invited me. When I go off tomorrow, do you walk about all these gardens with these peris till I come back. They will show you every attention." "Very good, Father" said Shāhzāda Bahrām. The Dēu took his leave, and at his departure he displayed great friendliness to Shāhzāda Bahrām. The Dēu proceeded to his brother's home.

Shāhzāda Bahrām went out for a stroll with the peris. Now

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6 *hakuma.ai vyatavavami* — from °-*ayatavaya* 'to cause to proceed'. Cp. Hind. *hakumat dalanā*.

9 *ai'ādam* — *i* + °-*aiti* + from 'from his brother', cp. 1. 12 *ai'ādam* 'from my brother'.

10 *eriya* — 'of my son', *a* + °-*i*- + *r* cp. 1. 12 *ēriya* 'of his son'.

11 *dēva zafāi* — for Persian *dēv i zafāi*, of which *hawm gifta* is the Burushaski equivalent.

duvarnavami — here, as frequently, introduces a statement, not a question.

12 *di bila* — Ind. sg. y. perf. of *faryaa*.

13 *je jurī aa* — 'till I come back', $\frac{1}{2}$ form from *faryaa* cp. § 550.

14 *aastar gwāmaa* — i. e. *g'āmaa*, *ga* + °-*ātamaa*, Ind. pl. fut. of °-*ā'ta*. Gen. case pred. representing the indirect object.

15 *wāsulo* — 'at the time of going', infinitive *aigaa* + *ulo* v. § 336.

659 ovam kana.o ortam: "I-tz han basi.ene čeri er ajonin. Magar xafa ka ayertin, uyone ail ertin. Xafa etuman ke ją ma masqaiyam." Nusen kanan ortam.

Yat gunter Šahza-da Bahra-m da sailer duvimi. I-tz basiv hiątaer
5 ni-mi. Čeri d[illegible]rm bim. "Do-onin," ennimi. Poriti-ną ato-numan, beer ke pfu-tz hukom arpi-m. Hin pori.ennu ga-ne i-tz basi ortam. I-nnu nu.i-k Šahre Ba-nu bilum. Pfu-t i-nemuts arąq bam, magar iri-ną(er) ajuto bem. Šahza-da Bahra-m bur-t xafa manimi, ennimi: "A-r do-nin, be ke ja aker esqai.am." Poriti-ną ar umanuman. "Ki-ne
10 i-ker esqanimi ke, pfu-tz mi nahaq mesqaimi. I-t e-teum ke Šahza-da Bahra-mer gute basi.e hią do-yan." Do-numan.

Šahza-da Bahra-m u-in nimi. Bere-nimi ke but han ajai ib basi-en bila. Makuči han pfori.en bi, han mujure-n bila, bur-t manante bi.en. Nuparen nuparen i-tz gunter pfer numa pfu-tz ha-ler di-mi. Di-u
15 hure-timi. Yat gunter da i-tz basi er nimi. Ulo ni-nin han diternulo i-kerer tisan ne i-ker čap ne hure-timi. Duą hure-taer ka talo taljo i-tz mujure-ter d'u-mi.e. Duą nu-rit ennimi.e ke: "Mu guer pferlo

1 *ovam* — 'he had said to them', 3rd. sg. plup., subject *a* indirect object *h.* pl. *o* + °-*am.am* from °-*am.a*.
ortam — ditto from °-*ilam* better *ortam* as in line 6 below.
čeri — by origin "key" (Shina, *čheri*, Hind. *čabi*), applied to the local wooden bolt-and-pin "lock", *čeri dova.e* 'to open a lock' and so 'to unlock a door'.
ajonin — 'do not ye open', *a* + *donin* from *dova.e* or *dova.e*.
7 *masqaiyam* — 'I shall kill you', *ma* + °-*asqaiyam* 1st. sg. fut. of °-*asq.a.e*.
8 *d'uyorm* — 'closed' static pr. pass. of *duya.e*.
6 *pfu-tz hukom arpi-m* — 'the Dewa's order was not' i. e. his order was to the contrary, or, 'there was not his permission, cp. Hind. *parbab kar hukum nahi hai*.
pori.ennu — general oblique of the hf. noun *pori* + *en* 'a peri', *pori* + *en* + *nu*.
ortam — 'he had made (people) make', *u* + °-*ilam*.
ennu — 'of her' gen. hf. of *ine*.
nu.i-k — 'her name', *nu* + °-*ik*.
8 *iri-ną(er) ajuto bem* — 'she was not coming into his hand, she continued not coming . . . . . .' *i* + °-*riną*, *a* + *juto bem* 3rd. sg. hf. neg. imperf. of *juyo.e*. The imperfect here denotes continuous action etc. commencing in the past and persisting in the present: "she had continued up to the present not to come into his power," "he had as yet failed to get possession of her".
9 *ke ke* — 'if not, if you don't, otherwise'.
ją — Transitive nom. form as subj. of pres tense of trans. verb § 61. III.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Buruho AV7

the Dēu had said to the peris and warned them: "Don't open the door (lit. 'key') of that one garden for him, but take him round everything (else); and (see you) don't vex him. If you do vex him I will kill you." Thus had he admonished them.

The next day Shāhzāda Bahrām again went out for a walk and came to the door of that garden. The lock was shut. "Open it," said he. The peris did not open it because of the Dēu's prohibition. (The Dēu had had the garden made for a certain peri. Her name was Shahri Bānu. The Dēu was in love with her but he could not get possession of her.) Shāhzāda Bahrām was very much annoyed: "Open it for me," he said, "if you don't, I shall kill myself." The peris were frightened. "If he kills himself," they said, "the Dēu will kill us for no fault of ours. For that reason let us open the door of the garden for Shāhzāda Bahrām." They opened it.

Shāhzāda Bahrām went in and saw that there was a very wonderful garden. In the middle of it there was a pond, and there was a weeping willow tree, and there were many raised sitting-places. After looking all round he returned again the same day to the Dēu's house and remained there. On the following day he again went to the garden. Going in he made a pit for himself in a certain place and sat hiding in it. When he had sat there for a little seven pigeons came (and lighted) on the weeping willow tree.

9 *ēkēr sapōi.ām* — 'I shall kill myself', *ē* + °-*sapōiy.ām*. °-*ēkēr* is always treated as 3rd. pers. sg. § 397.

10 *ēkēr sapōmēnē ke* — 'if he kills himself', 'if he were to kill himself'. The perfective is regularly used to express a condition in future time which is imagined as fulfilled.

ēt'ēnēm ke — 'for that reason, therefore', ablative of *ēte*. Note the use in such cases of the *y* form of the pronoun. *ke* appears to be unnecessary cp. Engl. " and so ...".

11 *dōyām* — 1st. pl. fut. of *dōwām*.

14 *sapōmēn* — p.pe. active of *hōwām*.

gēnāe — gen. obl. v. § 84 III.

15 *nēmēn* or *nēn* — p.pe. active 3rd. sg. hm. of *nēyām*.

16 *hōrwīnē ke* — v. § 400.

17 *d'wnāē* — 3rd. pl. a pret. of *ḑwyām*.

nēwēt — p.pe. active of *hōrwīnē*.

ānāmāē ke — the *ke* is merely the connective 'that'.

060 tam deljan, berse ke i·lji Šahre Ba·nu dumo·mer mer dil ·o·maimi." Ke te·rumanser a·sma·ntsum ši·riširiŋ numan han taxtanste Šahri Ba·no d umu·tsuman. Dumu·tsun mo·rutuman. Šahri Ba·no senumo: "Bere·nain, a·damźa·de nasen ju·čila." Bere·numan, ámulo ke e·itsuman.

5 Te·rumanser Šahri Ba·no.e i·ese mamu.e pferulo tam delaser gatuŋ taxtate pfat etumo. Laq dure pferi.er pariti·ŋe ka gi·mo. Ho·le Šahza·da Bahra·me Šahri Ba·no nunu·itai·n i·namu su·ratate a·šiq manuwam. Xi.a·l etimi: "Ki·nemutse du·yam," nusen. Bayai.iŋe tas etimi. Šahri Ba·numo gatuŋ yal·am ne tasate etimi. Peritiŋ uyo·n duw aluman.

10 Šahri Ba·no pferilo dumu·wasumo. Ho·l ne uzur etumo: "U·ŋ amin ba ke Xuda.e gane ja gatuŋ ayun." Šahza·da Bahra·me amoyunimi. Da uzer etumo: "Ja su.n baćen a·yun." I·ne senimi: "Je u·ŋe gu·y ap·a." "O·lus baćen a·yun," senumo. "Je u·ŋe gu·ye i· ap·a," senimi. "Aŋgo baćen a·yun," senumo. "Je u·ŋe gu·mimo mulus

15 ap·a," senimi. Šahri Ba·no.e senumo: "Hapku·in baćen ayun," senumo. Gatuŋ tasate ne moyunimi. Be·lumo, du·walṭ amomanumo. Mu·riŋtse du·n ha·ler dumu·tsimi. Ha·le haru·čaman. Da hin hinate a·šiq man uman.

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1 *dumo·mer* — 3rd. sg. hf. Static pc. of *juyas* with *-er* suffix. v. § 382.
o·maimi — neg. pref. *o-* with *maimi* v. § 339.

2 *ke* — I cannot explain.
ši·riširiŋ numan — the pc. would usually refer to the subject of *dumu·tsuman*, but is probably used adverbially: 'with a swishing of wings'.

3 *d umu·tsuman* — 'they' (i. e. the other peris) 'brought her', *d* + *mu* + *°-tsuman* from *d°-ikas*.
dumu·tsun — p.pc. active from same.
mo·rutuman — 'they made her sit', *mu* + *°-r(i)rutas*.

4 *nasen ja·čila* — idiomatic use of *juyas*, 'a smell comes i. e. there is a smell', (I) 'perceive a smell'. *ja·čila* 2nd. sg. *y* pres.

6 *gimo* — 3rd. sg. hf. pret. of *giyas* (intrans.)

7 *nunu·itai·n* — 'having seen her', *n* + *mu* + *°-itis* + *in* p.pc. active of *°-itas*, *°-itas*.

8 *ki·nemutse* — 'on her', *kinemu* gen. obl. hf. of *kinu*.
du·yam — 'I shall lay hold' 1st. sg. fut. of *duwas*.

10 *dumu·wasumo* — 'she remained' 3rd. sg. hf. pret. of *d°-wasas* (*d°-wisas* etc.) v. Vocab.
ho·l ne — 'outwards' or, 'from the pond'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Buzusho AV7

After sitting there for a short time they said: "Let us now bathe in this pond, for later, when Shahri Bānu has come, there will be no room for us." Just at this point with a sound of wings they brought Shahri Bānu from the sky on a litter. They set her down and Shahri Bānu said: "Look about. There is a smell of human being." They looked but saw no one anywhere.

Thereupon Shahri Bānu, with a view to bathing in the pond of milk, left her clothes on the litter. Then coming out naked she entered the pond with her peris. Outside, Shāhzāda Bahrām, having seen Shahri Bānu, had fallen in love with her face. He thought to himself: "I will catch her." Then he made cow-dung smoke and snatching up Shahri Bānu's clothes he held them over the smoke. All the (other) peris flew away (but) Shahri Bānu remained in the tank. She begged and implored from where she was in the pond: "Whoever you are, for God's sake, give me my clothes." Shāhzāda Bahrām did not give them to her. Again she implored: "As my father, give them to me." "I am not your father" said he. "As my brother, give them to me." "I am not your father's son," said he. "As my uncle, give them to me." "I am not your mother's brother," said he. "As my husband, give them to me," said Shahri Bānu, and (then), after holding the clothes over the smoke, he gave them to her. She put them on, but she was unable to fly. Taking her by the hand he led her into the house. They sat down in the house and then they fell in love with one another.

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11 *ja gaθēŋ ayʿvn* — 'give my clothes to me', imper. of *-γωλαs (and *-ayωωαs) 'to give' when the direct object is y pl. § 231 d.

aωayωnimi — 'he did not give them to her', *a* + *ωa* + *-ayωnimi*. *ωaa* or *ωa* 'my father' *a* + *-ωʿy*). *ayn* was given as an alternative.

12 *haδra* — v. § 271. 1.

13 *ovlas* = *a* + *-alas*

14 *gωωωmo* — 'of thy mother', *gω* + *-ωi* + *ωω*.

malas = *ωa* + *-alas*.

16 *dωʿv* — v. § 259.

aωωn.....aωω — 'she was not able to . . .'

17 *havlo* — this seems to be the regular expression for "in" as well as "at" 'the house'. I do not remember to have met *hωvlo*.

690 Terumanər Di.u Safid kz čču.i iriyz gər nəwpas i-mo hə-lər di-mi. I-mo hə-lər di-n, "Šahəzda Bahrəmər salərm nz jučam" nusen, Šahzəda Bahrəm ərpačər di-mi. Šahzəda Bahrəmz Di.u Safidtsum ar niman Šahri Bə-mo han bənanulo mərstaqami. Pfut di-mi. Di-n Šahzəda Bahrəmər salərm ztimi. Salərm nutan bərqanz ztimi. Da hə-lattsum dorərusimi. Šahzəda Bahrəm ar imai.imz xuši 'ztimi. I-tz guntsz pfu-tər le-l ərmanimi. I-mo hə-lər nimi. Yat guntər da salərmər di-mi. Šahzəda Bahrəm burt yəngiə numa hurutam. Pfutz duyərusimi: "Bəz xafa ba?"

Šahzəda Bahrəm ar imai.imz pfu-tər ənimi: "Han guntzanulo jz basi.z sailər ni.a baiyam, han basi.entsz qulf dəlum (ər, wəlum) bim. Kani-ztinər 'do-nin' ərsam. Ar ato-numan. Ja ənam, 'Ma ato-i bə-n kz akər ərsai.am.' Ar numan ar do-numan. Jz duq hurutamər i-tz mojuretər talo taljo du-mi.z. Duq hurutasər han taxtanatz hin pəri.en dunutsuman. I-nz pəri.z ənunno: 'Jz ədamazdz nasen dai.ečča ba, bərunin,' ənunno. Jz tia nz ti-k yər baiyam. Da-usiš ayərmanuman. Terumanər gatuq di.uə-n pəritiq uyə-n i-nz pfəri.ər u-lo gə-ruman. Jz i-nz pərimutz ə-čiq ənanam. Rai ctam 'i-nenutsz duyam' nusen. Gatuq inenno i kz yaxam ctam. yaxam nz bayərinz tasatz ctam. Pəritiq uyə-n duwaluman. Šahrz Bə-mo duwali

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1 *gər nəwpas* — 'having settled the marriage', *n + i + °-nəpas* p.pr. active of °-nəpas.

2 *ərpačər di-mi* — 'he came to him'. The verb "to come" is constantly used where we should say "to go".

4 *hə-nanulo* — this form has been cut out of the Ms. text and again restored to it. One would expect *hə-nuq* (*hə- + an + uq*). Perhaps it is for Persian *xəno + an*. *mərstaqami* — 'he hid her' from °-*stəqəriyas*.

5 *bərqanz ztimi* — 'he embraced him'. *bərq* is 'throat, front of neck'. I cannot explain the form; perhaps the suffix is for *-anp*, or possibly *-az* in the p.pc. act. of *ztas*.

6 *ar imai.imz* — 'fearing' *i + mai.imz* present pc. of °-mə.əs.as.

8 *hurutam* — 'he was sitting', plup. equivalent to impf.

11 *ni.a baiy.am* — 1st. sg. plup. of *əiy.as*, 'I had gone'.

qulf dəlum bim — 'the lock was affixed, applied (to our garden). *dəlum* static pc. passive of *dəl.as*; *wəlum* (i. e. *w.əlim*) static pc. pass. of *w.əli.as* is given as an alternative. The conception is probably of a padlock.

12 *ərsam* — 'I said to them', *n + °-əsam* from °-*əsas*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnbo AV7

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Meantime the White Dēu, having disposed of the marriage of his brother's son, returned to his home. Arriving there he said to himself: "I will go and pay my respects to Shāhzāda Bahrām and come back again." He went to him. Shāhzāda Bahrām, fearing the White Dēu, hid Shahri Bānu in a chamber. The Dēu came up and salamed to Shāhzāda Bahrām and embraced him. Then he enquired how he was. Shāhzāda Bahrām was afraid and feigned gladness. That day the affair did not become known to the Dēu. He went off to his own house. The next day again he came to pay his respects. Shāhzāda Bahrām was sitting in deep grief. The Dēu enquired: "Why are you distressed?"

Shāhzāda Bahrām in fear answered him: "One day I had gone to visit the garden(s). The lock on one garden was closed. I said to the slave-girls: "Open it," but they did not open it for me. I said: "If you don't open it I shall kill myself." They were frightened and opened it for me. When I had sat there for a short time seven pigeons came (and lighted) on the weeping-willow tree. When they had sat there for a little some peris brought a peri on a litter. The peri said: "I feel a smell of human being. See what it is." I had made a pit and was below the ground and they weren't able to find me out. On this the peris all took off their clothes and plunged into the pond. I fell in love with the peri and determined to catch her. I snatched up her clothes and held them in the smoke of (a) cow-dung (-fire). All the other peris flew

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13 *ōtvī hava* — 2nd. plural present negative of *dravas*.

14 *hawrtāmar* — 1st. sg. of Static pc. + *w*. V. §§ 329 & 383.

16 *nasam daiṛta ha* — 'I get a smell', 1st. sg. pres. This expression has been twice recorded; otherwise I know nothing of the verb to which it belongs. It is possibly the verb °-*paiyas* with a *d-* prefix. v. Vocab. s. v. *d*°-*paiyas*.

17 *darusīl* — *-ā* form of *d*°-*usas* with 1st. sg. pres. infix, v. § 303.
ayrasinawsan — 'they were not able to', *a* + *u* + °-*asnas* + *sasas*.
dīsaira — p.pc. active of *d*°-*usas* with *y* object.

18 *gawtamsan* — better *gawtamsan*.

19 *gāwg iscno i* — probably: "the clothes of herself (not of the others)", but it would read more naturally: *ēsc sawī ha* — "her clothes and herself".

20 *tasāc* — so repeatedly for *tas* + *ās*.

2 — Lorimer.

amo·manumo. Gatuŋ jatsum dum·erumo. Ja amoγunam. 'A.u bačen a·γun,' senumo. 'Jatsum atu·kumana,' mosam. 'O·lus bačen aγun,' senumo. Amo·γunam. 'Hafku·in bačen aγun' senasar tasatε nε gatuŋ moγunam. Be·lumo. Duwalasar rai etumo, amomanumo, bese kε gatuŋ baγe·iŋε tasatε nε d·e·emila baiyam. Ja du·n Šahri Ba·no ko·le ha·lar dumu·tsam. Mu jε u·ŋtsum ar amaiya ba, 'Bese dumu·tsuma,' nusen, a
uçuma."

Pfu·tε bu·t imo·s di·mi, bese kε pfu·t kε Šahri Ba·nomutε a·čiq bam. I·kere dumu·tsase gane basi kε mamu.e pfari či·ki mujuγ e·γi bam. Na.tla·j imanimi, bese kε Šahza·da Bahra·m kε bu·t e·γarum bam. "Be·s kε parwa· api. Amulo· bo kε dumu·tsu," senimi. Šahza·da Bahra·me Šahri Ba·numo muri·ŋtse du·n Di.u Safid epačer dumu·tsimi. Di.u Safi·dε Šahza·da Bahra·m kε Šahri Ba·numo xutba o·γ γatanimi. Di.u Safi·dε xuš numa Šahza·da Bahra·m kε Šahri Ba·numur senimi: "U·ŋ ja e·i, u·ŋ ja ai.i, mamanuman. A·ra·me ka huru·čai.in," nusen i·mo ha·lar nimi. Da o·simi: "Yer nε jε Šahza·da Bahra·me sala·mar ju·ča baiyam, mu·to ma ma·ltalik ja sala·mar har gu·nts ju·in, bese kε Šahri Ba·nu jε je·i mutsuyase gane erma·n bilum, u·ŋε mutsu·ma," senimi. Ho huru·čuman. Hε gu·nts Šahza·da Bahra·m kε Šahri Ba·nu Di.u Safi·dε sala·mar nε·am.

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2 *atu·kumana* — 'thou hast not been born', *a* + *d* + *gu* + °*-m.ana* 2nd. sg. perf. neg of *d°-m.ana*, 'to be born'.
mosam — 'I said to her', *mu* + °*-asam*.
3 *amasar* — dat. of infin. v. § 295 d.
4 *dawalasar* — dat. of infin. v. § 295 a.
5 *d·emila baiyam* — 1st. sg. plup. of *d°-amilas*. When the object of a transitive verb is a y noun sg. or pl. the pronoun prefix (infix) is uniformly -+ so: *gatuŋ* (y. pl.) *d* + *i* + *amilas*. V. §§ 122 & 251. 4.
6 *ar amaiya ba* — note the abl. of object feared, *wafam*; "that" or "lest" is not expressed.
7 *aju·uma* — 2nd. sg. fut., or pres. subjunctive, of °*-furyas* the form of the verb used when the object is a human being v. § 262.
8 *pfu·tε . . imo·s di·mi* — idiomatic use of *furyas* in the sense of 'to be affected by' v. § 266 6.
pfu·t . . bam — The Dee has been humanised here and below p. 28 ll. 7 & 9, otherwise we should have *bim* cp. p. 2 l. 6.
9 *mamu.e* — the Ms. has *mamu.s* cp. § 46 note.
eγi bam — 3rd. plup. of °*-aγiyas* with *y*. sg. object
10 *eγarum* — 'beloved of him', *i* + °*-aγarum*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1924-5) 1935 AV7 Buzurg AV7

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away, (but) Shahri Bānu was unable to fly. She demanded her clothes of me, but I did not give them to her. She said: "As my father, give them to me." "You were not begotten of me," I answered her. "As my brother, give them to me," said she. I did not give them to her. "As my uncle, give them to me." I did not give them to her. "As my husband, give them to me." When she said this, after holding the clothes in the smoke, I gave them to her. She put them on, but when she tried to fly she was unable to, because I had made her clothes impure by putting them in the cow-dung smoke. Seizing her I brought Shahri Bānu here to the house. Now I am afraid of you, (lest you may say) 'Why did you bring her here?' and eat me up."

The Dēu became very angry because he was himself in love with Shahri Bānu. In order to get her for himself he had planted there the garden and the milk pond and the musk weeping-willow. But there was nothing he could do, because Shāhzāda Bahrām was also very dear to him. So he said: "It doesn't matter. Wherever she is fetch her." Shāhzāda Bahrām, taking Shahri Bānu by the hand brought her before the White Dēu and the White Dēu read the marriage service of Shāhzāda Bahrām and Shahri Bānu for them. Then graciously he said to Shāhzāda Bahrām and Shahri Bānu: "You have become my son, and you have become my daughter. Abide here in peace." So saying he went off to his own house. He further said to them: "Formerly I used to come to salam to Shāhzāda Bahrām. Now do you both come every day to salam to me. For I was desirous to marry Shahri Bānu myself, but you have married her." So they remained there and every day Shāhzāda Bahrām and Shahri Bānu used to go to salam to the White Dēu.

11 *dasurtu* — 2nd. sg. imper. of *d*ᵃ-*tāas* with hf. sg. object v. § 318. 3.

16 *aiá* — 'my daughter', *a* + ᵃ-*áá*.

17 *jwēn baiyam* — 1st. sg. imperf. of *jwyas* with habitual force, 'I used to come'. *marilalik* — 'you both, you two', *ma* + ᵃ-*alilaik*.

18 *je jwi . . . armawa bilam* — 'there was a desire (on my part) for me to marry her myself'.

je jwi — 'I myself' v. § 142. Note nominative with *ma* + ᵃ-*dwryas* 'to carry her off, marry her'.

Beruman guntsiŋ akoˈlɛ pfuˈtɛ haˈlɛ huruˈčuman. Han guntsanulo Šahzaˈda Bahraˈmɛ yuˈlji(ɛn) yɛˈtsimi, iˈmo watanɛr wˈalimi, iˈmo tɛˈŋuśɛr diˈn bɛrɛˈimi kɛ iˈmo γɛˈniś kɛ iˈmo γuˈ buˈt γunikiś haˈlatulo bam. Čilimdaˈnɛ thamkuś ʒɛ bam, da iˈnɛ γɛˈniś xizmatgaˈrɛ diḭulo tsil dumoˈšam. Nuˈitsin buˈt γamgiˈn imˈanumi. Daŋtsum ditalimi. Dital buˈt afsuˈs etimi. Šahri Baˈnu.ɛ duγɛrusumo: "Bɛ gumanuma?" nusɛn. Šahzaˈda Bahraˈm hˈɛrimi. Nuher moˈsimi kɛ: "Kuˈlto ja je.imo watanɛr oˈlji awˈalam, je.imo tɛˈŋuśɛr niˈam, bɛrɛˈnam kɛ ja γɛniś kɛ ja aiyu γunikiś haˈlatulo baˈn. Da Čilimdaˈnɛ thamkuś ʒɛ bali." Šahri Baˈno.ɛ senumo: "Le Šahzaˈda Bahraˈm, muˈto uˈŋ guˈimo watanɛr ni.asɛr rai (*or*, rak) sčˈa kɛ, Di.u Safiˈdtsum nukoˈn ruxsat bɛsɛ at umerča? Ruxsat gučiči, muˈto uˈŋtsum bizaˈr imanai.i," senumo.

Šahzaˈda Bahraˈm kɛ Šahri Baˈno Di.u Safiˈdɛ salaˈmɛr nuˈn aiɛ etuman. Di.u Safiˈdɛ duγɛrusuˈmi: "Bɛsanɛr dama baˈn?" nusɛn. Šahzaˈda Bahraˈmɛ senumi: "Ya baba, kuˈlto ja je.imo watan oˈlji yɛtsam," senumi. 'Ja γɛniś kɛ ja aiyu buˈt saxti.ulo baˈn. Da ja thamkuś waziˈrɛ ʒɛ bai.i," senimi. Di.u Safiˈdɛ Šahzaˈda Bahraˈmɛr da Šahri Baˈnumur ruxsat očimi.

(Šahzaˈda Bahraˈmɛr) Šahri Baˈnu.ɛ senumo: "'Je gan akeˈyam, bɛsɛ kɛ but muddat ni bila,' sen," senumo. Da Šahzaˈda Bahraˈmɛ Di.u Safiˈdɛr ɛrɛ etimi. "Le baba, mehɛrbaˈni netan jar ruxsat ačiˈma,

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2 *yuˈlji* — 'his dream', *i* + °-*uˈlji*, cp. *oˈlji* 'my dream' *o* + °-*uˈlji* l. 8.

3 *yuˈ* — 'his sons', probably here for 'children'. °-*yuˈ* plural of °-*i*.

4 *ʒɛ bam* — 'was eating', 'was enjoying the benefits of' cp. Hind. *khānā* Mn. Pers. *xurdan*. 3rd. sg. hm. imperf. of *ʒɛˈɛ* 'to eat' where the object is *y*.

Čilimdaˈn — the word, according to the narrator, means "pipe-bearer".

5 *tsil dumoˈšam* — 'he was making her fetch water'. 3rd. sg. hm. imperf. of *d*°-*ašɛ* 'to cause someone to bring', pres. base *d*°-*aš*-, *d* + *mu* + °-*ašam* v. § 241.

The last three verbs were also given alternatively in the pres. tense: *bɛrɛ*; *ʒɛ bai.i*; *dumoˈši.i*.

nuˈitsin — p.pc. active of °-*uˈčɛ*, °-*ičɛ* 'to see' with h. pl. object. *u* + *u* + °-*its* + *in*.

ditˈalimi — 3rd. sg. hm. pret. of *d*°-*talɛ*.

7 *ʒɛ gumˈanumɛ* — 'what didst thou become?' i. e. 'what has happened to you?' 2nd. sg. pret. of °-*mɛnɛ*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushe AV7

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For some time they remained here in the Dêu's house, (then) one day Shāhzāda Bahrām had a dream. (He dreamt) that he found himself in his own country and that going into his palace he saw that his Queen and sons were in a very evil case. The Pipe-Bearer had possessed himself of the sovereignty and was making his Queen fetch water as a servant. On seeing this Shāhzāda Bahrām was greatly distressed. He awoke from sleep and made great lament. Shahri Bānu asked him: "What has happened to you?" Shāhzāda Bahrām wept and said to her: "Today in a dream I found myself in my own country. I went to my palace and saw that my Queen and my sons were in an evil state. The Pipe-Bearer has possessed himself of the sovereignty." "O, Shāhzāda Bahrām," said Shahri Bānu, "if you wish to go now to your own country why don't you go to the White Dêu and ask for leave? He will grant you leave, for he has now become disgusted with you."

Shāhzāda Bahrām and Shahri Bānu went and salamed to the White Dêu and addressed him. The White Dêu asked: "For what purpose have you come?" "O Father," said Shāhzāda Bahrām, "today I saw my own country in a dream. My Queen and my sons are in great difficulties, and the Wazir has taken possession of the sovereignty." The White Dêu gave Shāhzāda Bahrām and Shahri Bānu leave to depart.

Shahri Bānu said to Shāhzāda Bahrām: "Say to him, 'I do not know the road because a long time has passed (since I came by it)'." Then Shāhzāda Bahrām addressed the White Dêu: "O Father, you have kindly given me leave to go, but I do not know the way."

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7 *ṇaker* — 'weeping' p.pc. active of *kerɹa*, invariable.

11 *ṇakera* — 'thou going' p.pc. active of *ṇiyɹa* with 2nd. sg. subject.

12 *bese aʼsmorćo?* — 'why dost thou not ask for?' *a* + *damorćo* from *damerɹa*.
gućiśi — 'he will give to thee', 3rd. sg. hm. fut. of °*-ćiɹa* with *a y* sg. direct object and 2nd. sg. indirect object.

14 *ṇera* — 'they having gone' p.pc. active of *ṇiyɹa*.

18 *ćima bera* — 2nd. pl. perf. of *ćeryɹa*.

19 *ućiṇi* — i. e. *ućiṇi* 3rd. sg. hm. pret. of °*-ćiɹa* with 3rd. pl. indirect object.

20 *ćheryɹa* — 'I do not know', *a* + *heryɹa* 1st. sg. neg. fut. of *herɹa*.

21 *ṇi bila* — 3rd. sg. *y* perf. of *ṇiyɹa*.

22 *aćima* — 'thou gavest to me', from °*-ćiɹa*.

610 magar ʼe gan akeryam," senimi. Di.e Safi-le senimi: "Jartem ke
hort Šahri Barno.e durmate gan bentem bo. *Ime* gutsuto," senimi.
"Šora" nusen Šahzada Behram ke Šahri Barno urimo harler
durman.

5 Šahri Barno.e senumo: "Han baran til melnman ke urqe Di.e
Safi-lisum rusat durmarastio gute usuruma, 'Jar benan ahalen
juvli urq jar guyakaltem han hai.eman ati, tarki ahal ayata dimer
urqtem maddat durmertam'." Senimi. Pfute ekatiartum bi-tke
pyuran iyunimi. Da senimi: "Betal ke guyate ahalen dimi ke
10 gute pfuter gi, da je harer ma.jam," senimi.

Šahzada Behram ke Šahri Barno urimo watan yakalater berruman
pfute dorlat nukan gutsuruman. Hik saratanor Šahzada Behram ke
Šahri Barno urimo watana mutier dotqaltuman. Ite bunai.e mutolo
[illegible] ha bilum. Ime hiqtaer durman. Maper durin berenumi
15 ke [illegible] hort daltas juwaman ke hin hort pakisa guman bo. Ime
[illegible] nitsin maper berimi, bene ke Šahzada Behram ime
[illegible] yuria bam. Ine juwan neyan harler utsurmi. Da hort ov
[illegible]timi. Berruman guntaiq ime hark hurutaman. Da Šahzada
Zenaram gunta dersar gidam.

[illegible] *ke* — 'she is read-knowing, acquainted with reads', *kenem* static pr. [illegible] of *kenas* "in a state of knowing". Perhaps, 'the road to the world'.
[illegible] — 3rd. sg. hf. fut. of *gu* + °*dergas*.
[illegible]*uman* — 'we forgot', 1st. pl. post. of *ki* °-*alas* v. § 249. 4.
[illegible] — probably means "namely that".
[illegible] *durmarasele* — 'at the time of thy asking', infin. + *ele* v. § 298.
[illegible] — *a*- neg. prefix v. § 233.
javli — one would expect *javli ke* 'if, or, when, a difficulty comes'.
[illegible] — *gu* + °*gakal* + *lasa*.
[illegible] — 'give to me', from °-*ri.as*.
[illegible] — 'so that, in order that', a Persianism.
[illegible] — 'upon me', *a* + *gab*.
[illegible]er — dat. of static pr. 3rd. sg. *y* of *jergas* v. § 251.
[illegible] — 'from below his armpit', *i* + °-*akal* + *gur* + *ne*.
[illegible] pyuran iyunimi — 'he gave him a little hair'; °-*yunas* 'to give' is used when the object is *y* pl.
[illegible] *durqaltuman* — 3rd. pl. post. of *d*°-*alqaltas*.

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"Shahri Bānu," replied the Dēu, "is much better acquainted with the road to the world than I am; she will conduct you." "Very good," said Shāhzāda Bahrām and (he and) Shahri Bānu returned to their own house.

"We have forgotten one thing," said Shahri Bānu, "in asking the White Dēu for leave, you did not say this: 'In case trouble come upon me give me a token from yourself so that when any (such) trouble presents itself I may seek help from you'." Shāhzāda Bahrām said this to the White Dēu and the latter gave him a little hair from under his arm-pit and said: "Whenever any trouble comes upon you, throw this in the fire and then I shall appear."

Shāhzāda Bahrām and Shahri Bānu set out in the direction of their own country, taking with them a considerable quantity of the Dēu's wealth. In one hour Shāhzāda Bahrām and Shahri Bānu arrived at the frontier of their country. (Now) there was the house of an old man on the extreme border of the land. They came up to his door. The old man coming out saw that there was a very handsome youth and a very lovely lady. On seeing the youth's face the old man wept, for he had reared Shāhzāda Bahrām as a foster-child. (So) having recognised him he conducted (the couple) into the house, and showed them great honour. They remained in his house for some days, and Shāhzāda Bahrām used to go out (every) day to hunt.

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17 *gwāz hām* — 3rd. sg. hab. pisp. of *-*wēz.ēd*.

ēyēn — a difficult word. Apparently p.pc. of *-*ēyēmēnēd*, *ē* + *i* + *-*ēyēn*. There is a transitive verb *-*ēyēmēnēd* meaning 'to count', the pronoun predx referring to the object, but there is also another verb *-*ēyēmēnēd* in which the pronoun predx refers to the subject, which seems to mean 'to see, to regard as' and which is used where in English we should say "it appears to me" etc.

dādēl ēyēn ēd 'I see it thus, it appears thus to me'.

This must be related to *yōnēn* v.i. 'to appear'. *ēwēn ēyēn ēyēn* probably means, "seeing him as the youth", "recognising in him the youth".

ēyēn may of course be *ēn* 'like, resembling', but this would hardly aid construal.

19 *gwāzē* — for *hēr gwāzē* 'every day'. Otherwise, 'in the daytime'.

060 Han guntsanulo i·tɛ bušai.ɛ tham, ki Šahza·da Behra·mtsum i·ljum manuwam, i·nɛ maper hi·re ha·r yakalater sailer di·mi. Šahri Ba·nu deri.ulo heru·tum bo·m. I·nɛ thamɛ i·skiler han rašan lam manimi. Yatɛ pfu·t etimi. Bere·nimi kɛ hin ajai.ib nu·rɛ ka gusan moyetsimi.
5 A·šiq imanimi. Telɛ so·kimi. Duso·k i·mo sieer senimi: "Ni·na, ki·nɛ hi·rə ha·lɛ menan bo kɛ je mutsu·čam." Altan sis ulo ni·man. Ulo nu·n i·nmo su·rat ni·itsin bihu·š umanuman. Bu·t kɛranuman, ulum juwa·b ati·mi. Da a·ltan o·rimi. U·ɛ jawa·b dusu·man: "Hin ajai.ib su·ratɛ gu·san bo."
10 Ba·dša senimi: "I·nɛ gu·smur mosi·n je mutsu·čam." Ba·dša yakaltsum nu·nin Šahri Ba·numur senuman: "U·ŋ ba·dša gutsu·čam se.ibai.i." Šahri Ba·nu.ɛ sentumo: "Ja oyeran bai.i. I·ner bɛ se·yam?" senumo. Ba·dša da o·rimi: "Zulem nɛ dumutsu.in. Je numuyen ta·ŋer mutsu·čam," nusen, hukem etimi.
15 Nu·nin zulem etuman kɛ: "Ba·dša gutsu·čai, ju," nusen. Šahri Ba·nu.ɛ senumo: "Ja gatuŋɛ sanduqɛ či·i ja o·yeralɛ bi. Kɛ sanduqulum gatuŋ ɛ·r di.usin kɛ nupel badša itsučam," senumo. Ba·dša hukem etimi: "Či·i api kɛ sanduqatɛ dan isark, taq nɛ gatuŋ di.usin kɛ be·ljo," senimi. Sanduq taq ečer manuman. Šahri Ba·nu.ɛ senumo:
20 "Taq aiyetin či.i ja·lɛ bi" nusen, do·numo. Tsanduqtsum ɣaibi gatuŋ di.usin nupel tsiester du·sumo. Du·sin šatinə kao nɛ senumo: "Lɛ maper hir, Šahza·da Behra·m di.ɛ kɛ i·ner e·so, 'Čilimda·nɛ

3 *kerurum heru* — 'she was seated' static pe. plus substantive verb.
4 *moyetsimi* — i. e. *mogetsimi*, 'he saw her'.
5 *ni·na* — 2nd. pl. imper. + *a* of *niyas* v. § 320.
6 *nu·n bo kɛ* — 'whoever (the woman) is'.
ni·nɛ.n — 3rd. pl. hm. pret. of *niyas*.
9 *ati·mi* — v. § 187. 2. & 201.
o·rimi — 'he sent them', *u* + *°-ayas*.
10 *mosi·n* — for *mosu.in*, from *mu* + *°-asas*, 'say ye to her'.
11 *nu·nin* — alternative form for *nu·n* p.pe. 3rd. pl. h. of *niyas*.
12 *oyeran* — *a* + *°-eyer* + *an*.
13 *nuwuyen* — 'taking her', *u* + *nu* + *°-yan* from *°-yanas*.
16 *oyeralɛ* — v. § 67. 3, cp. *jerlɛ* line 20 below.
kɛ — appears to anticipate the *kɛ* after *di.usin*.
17 *di.usin kɛ . . . čiučam* — 'take them out and I will marry him' v. § 356. 3
nupel — p.pe. active of *belas*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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One day the Tham of the country, who had succeeded Shāhzāda Bahrām, came for an outing in the direction of the old man's house. Shāhri Bānu was sitting at the window. A bright light shone in the Tham's face. He glanced up and when he looked he saw a lady of wondrous beauty. He fell in love with her. He dismounted there and said to his men: "Go. Whoever the woman in this man's house is I will marry her." Two men went into the house and on entering and seeing Shāhri Bānu's face they lost consciousness. (The party outside) waited a long time, but no news came from inside. Again the Tham despatched two men. They brought answer: "There is a marvellously beautiful woman."

The Tham said: "Say to the woman that I will marry her." Going to her on behalf of the King they said to Shāhri Bānu: "The king says he will marry you." "I have a husband," said Shāhri Bānu, "what am I to say to him?" The King sent them again: "Fetch her here by force," he commanded, "and I will take her and carry her off to my palace."

They went and pressed her, saying: "The King is going to marry you. Come along." "The key of my trunk of clothes is with my husband," said Shāhri Bānu. "If you get my clothes out of the box for me I shall put them on and marry the King." "If there is no key," said the King, "bash the box with a stone and break it up and take out the clothes and she can put them on." They were proceeding to break up the box, (but) Shāhri Bānu said: "Don't break it. I have the key," and she opened the box. Taking magic clothes out of the box, she put them on and went out on to the roof. Then she called out with a loud voice: "O old man, if Shāhzāda Bahrām comes say to him: 'The Pipe-Bearer

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18 *iwrk* — imperative of *-*wrkas*.

19 *brijo* — 3rd. sg. hf. fut. of *belas*, probably means: 'and then she will put them on'.

tsq sčor manuman — probably means: 'they proceeded to break it' v. § 406.

20 *aiystin* — *a* + *stin*.

22 *dis* — short form of 3rd. sg. hm. pret. of *furyas*.

rao — 'say thou to him', from *-*asas* v. § 318. 3.

000 gutsu·čam senasər be· nusen Šahri Ba·no Šahri Šaski·nər ni·mo' sen" nusen, i·nε ba·dāa muriŋulo tik nukan i·skilulo ni·dilεn duwalumo.

Te·rumanər i·nε maper hir Šahza·da Bahra·mε i·k Šahri Ba·numutsum de·yal yasetε ti·k nε Šahza·da Behra·m dəru·ər ni·m i·tε diš yakal'atər
5 ga·rtsimi. Ni·či kε Šahza·da Behra·mε dəru nεtan i·tsε ka maŋyu·l bam. Maper hi·rε kau etimi: "Le.i Šahza·da Bahra·m humalqum ju, Šahri Ba·nu Šahri Šaski·nər ni·mo da Čilimda·nε ho·l nuyεn uŋ go·sqanasər di·a." Šahza·da Behra·mε gutε bər de·yal kaman bihu·š imanumi. Hu·šər di·n duyarusumi: "Hik kε sεn bεsan se.iba kε."
10 Maper hi·rε da e·simi: "Šahri Ba·no Šahri Šaski·nər ni·mo, bε·sε kε Čilimda·nε gutsu·čam nusεn zulεm etimi, da uŋ go·sqanasər di·a," e·simi.

Šahza·da Behra·mε gutε bər de·yal pfu la·m etimi. Da Di.u Safi·dε eyunum i·kε bi·škε i·tε pfu·ər gi·mi. Giyasər pfutu (*or*, pfutants)
15 hazir mani·mi.εn. Terumanər Čilimda·nε ho·l kε do·šqaltuman. Di.u Safi·dε Šahza·da Behra·mtsum doyərusimi: "Bεsan go·r abaš di·mi?" Šahza·da Bahra·mε senimi: "Čilimda·nε ho·l nuyεn asqanasər di bai.i. Da Šahri Ba·no gutsu·čam senasər Šahri Šaski·nər ni bo." Di.u Safi·dε senimi: "Uŋ humalqum Čilimda·nε ho·lər kau eti. 'Ja baman
20 hanpa mani·n, da Čilimda·nε baman hanpa mani·n' sεn," 'esimi.

Šahza·da Bahra·mε kau etimi. Kau etasər uyo·n Šahza·da Behra·m yakalatər hanpa manu·man. Kaman sis Čilimda·nε ka manu·man. Mana·sər u·ε pfu·t'u·ε u·šu·mi.ε. Da Šahza·da Behra·mər pfutε e·simi: "Mu uŋε bεsan xi.a·l bila?" Šahza·da Behra·mε i·nε u·šam
25 maper hir Čilimda·nε dišulo tham nε teŋušatε e·urutimi. I·i Šahri Ba·no mutsi taiy asər rai etimi. Rai nε kuyo·č kanao otimi: "Jε

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2 *ni·dilεn* — i. e. *ni·delin*, *n + i + del + in* p.pc. active of **-delas*.

4 *yas* — only twice recorded for the ordinary *yatsε* 'head'. Cp. *yači* p. 28 l. 16 note. *ni·m . . . dii* — static pc. of *niyas* v. § 279. e.

5 *i·tsε* — it is difficult to account for this x pl. If the pronoun stood for "affairs", "work", "business" it would be in the y form. Perhaps it is *i + *-tsε kε*, 'on it also', v. § 74.

7 *nuyεn* — 'having taken them', *n + u + *-yan* from *-*yanas*. *ho·l* is regarded as a plural. This participle is constantly used as the equivalent of "with": 'he has come with an army'. Cp. Hind. *lekar*'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

having said: "I am going to marry you," Shahri Bānu said 'no' and went off to Shahr-i-Shaskin.'" So saying she took earth in her hand and flinging it in the King's face she flew away.

Meanwhile the old man, on hearing from Shahri Bānu the name of Shāhzāda Bahrām, put earth on his head and ran off towards the place where Shāhzāda Bahrām had gone to hunt. When he got there Shāhzāda Bahrām was busy with his hunting. The old man called out: "O Shāhzāda Bahrām, come quickly, Shahri Bānu has gone off to Shahr-i-Shaskin, and the Pipe-Bearer has come with an army to slay you." On hearing these words Shāhzāda Bahrām lost consciousness for a little. Coming to his senses he said: "Say once again what you said." The old man told him again: "Shahri Bānu has gone off to Shahr-i-Shaskin, because the Pipe-Bearer put force on her saying: 'I will marry you,' and now he has come to kill you."

On hearing this Shāhzāda Bahrām lighted a fire and threw into it the hair that the White Dēu had given him. When he had done this the Dēus appeared. Meanwhile the Pipe-Bearer's army also arrived on the scene. The White Dēu enquired of Shāhzāda Bahrām: "What trouble has come upon you?" "The Pipe-Bearer has come with an army to kill me. And on his saying: 'I'll marry you' Shahri Bānu has gone off to Shahr-i-Shaskin." "Call out quickly to the Pipe-Bearer's army," said the White Dēu, "and say: 'Those of you who are for me move to one side, and those who are for the Pipe-Bearer move to the other side'."

Shāhzāda Bahrām called out accordingly and on his summons all came over to his side. (Only) a few men joined the Pipe-Bearer and these the Dēus ate up. Then the Dēu said to Shāhzāda Bahrām: "Now what do you propose to do?" Shāhzāda Bahrām appointed the old man, his foster father, Tham in the place of the Pipe-Bearer and established him in the palace. And he decided himself to follow after Shahri Bānu. Having so decided he enjoined on his subjects:

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14 *ɣunum* — 'the (hair) given to him', *i* + *-ʌɣunum* static pl. of *-ʌɣunʌs. The verb is also found in the form *-ɣunʌs cp. p. 22 l. 9.

19 *ja bamʌn* — v. § 389.

23 *wḍumi.ʌ* — 3rd. pl. *x* pret. of *-ḍuɣʌs v. § 252.

ju·ę xa ki·nɛ ja u·ɛam a.u.ɛ (*or*, aya) hukəmulo manin. Da jɛ tsoʳ ju·čam." Nusen gutsərimi.

Di·n Di.u Safi·d ɛpačər di·mi, ərz ɛtimi: "Šaʳ i Šaski·nɛ gan a·ltiri," nusen. Di.u Safi·dɛ pfutu uyo·n gati o·timi. Gati no·tan doγərusumi: "Šaʳ i Šaski·nɛ gan mɛnɛ he.iba·na?" nusen. Uyo·nɛ "mi akeγan" senuman. Hin pfutan da·l numan ərz ɛtimi ki: "Fala·na dišulo hin buʳt maper pfutan bai.i. I·nər lɛl me.imi," senimi. Humalqum di·tsuman. Deγərusuman (*or*, doγərusuman): "Šaʳ i Šaski·nɛ gan he.iba·?" nusen. I·nɛ pfut buʳt jat bam da kam deyaljam. Šati·ŋɛ qyu nɛ ɛ·suman. E·ɛasər senimi: "Awa, ja heya ba, ja a.u.ɛ ka jɛ huyɛ·ltərtɛ baiyam, ka ɛ·sɛ čišetər niya baiyam." E·mišatɛ išaʳat ɛtimi.

Da beʳuman pfutuʳɛ i·nɛ ni·ɛn Šahza·da Behraʳm kɛ ka i·sɛ čišetər utsuʳman. Di.u Safi·dɛ Šahza·da Behraʳmər han ifaγo·an yuʳam, hin ɛ·čuʳanɛ han pfərtsinan yuʳam, hin ɛčuʳanɛ čapalimutsik yuʳam. Pfərtsin yači ɛtimi kɛ mɛnɛ ɛ·išam, čapalimutɛ ultaʳmi kɛ γunikiš gan jangal uyo·nɛ gutsərɛ a·sa·nɛ me.i bilum. Dəroʳγo dušmaʳyo o·sqanasər madad ičiči bim. I·tsɛ u·usko nuyɛn Šaʳ i Šaski·nɛ yakalatər gutsərimi. Hi tha·nər niči kɛ hin hilɛ·san kɛ hin dasi·nan huy ɛ·salɛ duwam. U·alɛ šapik utsiyɛnas a·lta pfitimutɛ bim. Šahza·da Behraʳmɛ o·itsas pfərtsin yači ɛtimi. Yači netan o·pačər di·mi. O·pačər di·n

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4 *a·ltiri* — 2nd. sg. imperv. of **-altirɛs* v. § 318. 2.

7 *me.imi* — 3rd. sg. (γ?) fut. of *manɛ·s*.

9 *pfuʳt . . . bam* — cp. note to p. 18 l. 8 above.

kam deyaljam — 'he used to hear little' i. e. 'he was rather deaf', imperf. of *d*-ayel.ɛs*.

11 *ka* — adverb cp. l. 13 & p. 30 l. 11.

ɛmišatɛ — 'with his finger', from **-amiš*.

13 *kɛ ka* — 'also along (with them)'.

14 *γaγo·an yuʳam* — 3rd. sg. hm. plup. of **-uyɛs* 'to give' an h. or x object.

16 *ɛ·išam* — imperf. neg. of **-itsɛs*, *a + i + *-išam* 'they used not to see him' i. e. 'they could not see him'.

ultaʳmi — from **-ltaiyɛs*. *Yači* — v. § 71. 3.

17 *uyo·nɛ* — genitive or gen. obl. indicating some sort of relationship to *gutsərɛs*.

"Till I come again, abide by the orders of (this) my foster father, and I shall return soon." So saying he departed. 539

He came to the White Dēu and said to him: "Show me the way to Shahr-i-Shaskin." The White Dēu assembled all the Dēus and asked them: "Does anyone know the way to Shahr-i-Shaskin?" All replied: "We do not know it." One Dēu, however, got up and said: "In such and such a place there is a very aged Dēu. He will know." They quickly fetched him and asked him: "Do you know the way to Shahr-i-Shaskin?" The Dēu was very old and hard of hearing, so they shouted loudly at him. On this he replied: "Yes, I know it. I was a goatherd with my father and I had gone with him to the mountain," and he pointed it out with his finger."

A number of Dēus then taking the old Dēu with them and also Shāhzāda Bahrām carried them off to the mountain. The White Dēu had given Shāhzāda Bahrām a stick, and one of his brothers had given him a cap and another a pair of sandals. If he put the cap on no one would see him; if he put the sandals on it would become easy to traverse every vile road and jungle; the stick would aid him in killing enemies. Taking those three things he proceeded in the direction of Shahr-i-Shaskin. When he came to a certain place a boy and a girl had come there to (their) goats. They had with them two cakes of bread as provision for the road. Shāhzāda Bahrām put on his cap of invisibility and came up beside them and

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17 *ɑʷɑʷnɨ* — perhaps for *ɑʷɑʷni* a foreign noun wrongly used as an adjective v. § 101. e. cp. *ɑʷɑʷnɨ dɨrɨʷʌn* p. 50. l. 20. Otherwise the genitive.

18 *mʌdʌd ičičі bim* — 'it used to give help (y sg.) to him'. From **-čiʌs*.
ʷʌʷsko — the number *ʷsko* 'three' with the x pl. pron. prefix *ʷ* v. § 133.

19 *huy'ʷʌʌlɨ* — the force of the *-ʌlɨ* is not clear to me. The ordinary meaning would be "to", but here one would rather expect "with".

20 *dʌʷʌʌm* — 3rd. pl. h. plup. of *juyʌs*.
ʷtsiyenʌs — from **-tsi yenʌs* 'to take with one', with specialised meaning.

21 *ʷitsʌs pfɨrtsin* — 'the cap of invisibility'. A form of **-itsʌs* 'to see'. *Ʊitsʌs* seems to be *ɑ* + *u* + **-itsʌs*, literally 'not to see them' or 'the-not-seeing-them', which it is rather difficult to twist to the required meaning, but the -u- is possibly indefinite, equivalent to "one", "anyone".

080 huru·timi. Hilɛ·s kɛ dasi·nɛ senuman: "Utsiyɛnas ditsu kɛ mu ʂiçɛn." Pûtimuts du.i·suman. I·nɛ dasi·nɛ senumo: "Ja kultu rak api, bese kɛ ku·lto mi ka·ki, Šahri Ba·no, mutsučər hin ba·dša·n ho·l nuyɛn di bai.i. Ka·ki aq'arišo bo, bese kɛ i·nɛ Šahza·da Behra·m senas thaman i·tsu bo·m. I·tɛ·tsum mumumi.ɛ bərč(ɛ) o·mai.ibo."

Gutɛ senasər Šahza·da Behra·m bu·t xuš imanimi: "Muto Šahri Ba·no mopačər dašqaltam" nusen. I·nɛ u· hilɛ·s kɛ dasin uyɛ·šam, u·ɛ ɛ·išam. I·sɛ šapik Šahza·da Behra·mɛ uyo·n ʂimi, u hera·n umanuman. "Kos am ni·mi?" nusen hin hin deliman, "U·ŋə bu·t ʂima" nusen. Čɛl numan hai yakal'atər huyes tsu·man Šahza·da Bahra·m kɛ utsi nultan ka ni·mi. Ni·n ba·dša tɛ·ŋušər nimi. I·nɛ dasin kɛ i·tɛ tɛ·ŋušər nimo. I·n kɛ u·lo nimi. Ulo ni·n bərɛ·imi kɛ Šahri Ba·nu kɛ mu·mi o·ltalik huru·ča ba·n. Mu·mi.ɛ duγərušu bo·m: "Xudai.ɛ ganɛ ki·nɛ di·m ba·dša i·i i·tsu nusen 'U·ŋɛ bab'a da·rai.i'." Šahri Ba·no.ɛ senumo: "Ya zizi, jɛ Šahza·da Behra·m fat nɛ tu·man ɛ·tsučam. I·n juwanan du.ina·tulo apai.i," senumo. Γeniše senumo: "Amulo bai.i kɛ ṭu·m açuč aiya?" Terumanər Šahza·da Behra·mɛ pfərtsin kaman pfata·ŋ ɛtimi. I·nɛ su·rat lam y'ɛ·tsuman. Lam ni·itsi·n Šahri Ba·no ač'era numuman qi.u nɛ: "Le Šahza·da Bahra·m," senumo. Da sus mumanumo. Hu·šər dumo·mər Šahza·da Behra·m pu·ra ikər sərkɛ ɛtimi. Šahri Ba·nu kɛ mu·mi o·ltalik bu·t xuš u·manuman.

Šahza·da Behra·mər e·skusɛ senumo: "Tsoт Šahri Ba·nu numu·yɛn mai.iino ji xala·s ɛtin," senumo. Šahza·da Behra·mɛ senimi: "Ku·lto

1 *ʂiçɛn* — 'let us eat it' (x sg. object), 1st. pl. fut. of *ʂi.as*.
4 *aqarišo bo* — 'she does not agree', 3rd. sg. hf. neg. pres. of *γərisas*.
5 *mumumi.ɛ* — *mu* + *-uγ* and *mu* + *-mi* + *ɛ*, 'of her father and mother'.
7 *mopačər dašqaltam* — 'I have arrived at her, or, overtaken her'.
u· pl. demons. with coordinated sg. nouns.
9 *kos* — 'this' x sg. sc. *šapik*.
10 *čɛl* — i. e. *čal*.
11 *kɛ* — adverb.
13 *o·ltalik* = *u* + *-altalik*.
duγərušu bo·m — 'she was asking'. *duγarusas* is sometimes used where there is no question involved, cp. p. 10 l. 11.
14 *di·m* — static pc. 'the king who has come'.
i·i — 'himself', equivalent to 'this very'.
da·rai.i — perf. of *d-asas* means 'he has sent me'. The sentence is obscure and

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

sat down. The boy and the girl said: "Produce the food and let us eat it now." They took out the bread. The girl said: "I have no appetite today, because today a king has come with an army to marry my sister Shahri Bānu. My sister is refusing him because she had married a Tham called Shāhzāda Bahrām. For that reason she is disobeying her father and mother's command."

At these words Shāhzāda Bahrām was greatly pleased, saying to himself: "I have now found Shahri Bānu." He was able to see the boy and girl, but they did not see him. Shāhzāda Bahrām ate up all the food and they were quite at a loss saying: "Where has this (food) gone to?" and they beat each other saying: "You have eaten (too) much." Quarrelling (thus) they drove off their goats homewards. Shāhzāda Bahrām also went with them following along behind. Going along he approached the King's palace. The girl entered the palace and he too went in. Entering he saw that Shahri Bānu and her mother were both sitting there. The mother was saying: "For God's sake marry this king who has come to you saying: 'Your father has sent me'." "O mother," said Shahri Bānu, "I will not give up Shāhzāda Bahrām and marry another. There is no one like him in the world." The Queen said: "Wherever he is, why doesn't he come?" On this Shāhzāda Bahrām removed his cap a little and they saw his face shining. At the sight Shahri Bānu was perturbed and cried out: "O Shāhzāda Bahrām!" Then she fainted. When she came to herself Shāhzāda Bahrām made the whole of himself visible. Shahri Bānu and her mother were both greatly delighted.

His mother-in-law said to Shāhzāda Bahrām: "Quickly take Shahri Bānu and save your lives." Shāhzāda Bahrām replied: "I will not

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apparently confused. Probably to be read: "*Xudai.e gans 'wṇe baba dawai' nusen kirne dim badša iri itsu*" (*nusen*).

15 *ersučam* — 'I will not marry him', *a* + *i* + **-tsurčam*. The Ms. has *ečučam*.

17 *turn ačuč'aiya* — 'why does he not come?' *a* + *jučai* + *a* neg. interrog. pres. of *juyas*. The final interrog. *-a* is irregular in the presence of what appears to be an interrogative particle, but the exact force of *turn* is uncertain.

19 *numuman* — 3rd. sg. hf. p.pc. of **-manas*, *nu* + *mu* + **-man*.

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je i·nɛ ba·dša ho·lɛ ka jaŋ ay'ɛtumatɛ not'ʌγʌn 'o·ničam. Šapik a·r ditsu·in kɛ ni·ṣin je muto i·nɛ baŋut dɛlim pa·dša ka jaŋ ɛ·čam," sɛnimi. Šapik ditsuman, nišin e·riŋ daro·γo yænimi, pfərtsin yači ɛtimi, čapalimuts ult'ami. Nultan i·nɛ pa·dša yakalatər hahan nɛtan ga·rtsimi.
5 Da u·ɛ ho·lɛ ka ifʌγo.atɛ jaŋ ɛtimi. I·nɛ u uy'e·šam, u·ɛ i·n e·išam. U u·i hərʌŋ u·kər ɛsqanuman, uyo·n u·kər tačap 'ɛtuman. I·nɛ kɛ be·ruman 'o·sqanimi. Pfatə ɛtimi, nɛtan i·nɛ 'e·skirɛ ha·lər di·mi.

'E·skir bu·t xuš 'imanumi. Γusul ne.itan, gatuŋ tu.a·ŋ ne.ibil, Šahri Ba·no kɛ dum'utsun e·rərɪ ka bu·t xuš manimi. Beruman guntsiŋ
10 ɛ·pači o·rutimi. Šahza·da Behra·m kɛ Šahri Ba·no u·imo watanər ruxsat d'u·məruman. Ba·dša bu·t dolat nučin ruxsat ɛtimi.

U·imo watanər do·šqaltuman. Kuyo·č uyo·n bu·t xuš umanuman. Tɛ·ŋušatɛ huru·čaman. I·nɛ mapɛ·r u·šam yu i·mo wazi·r ɛtimi. Bu·t amanɛ ka i·mu tɛ·ŋušatɛ qəra·rɛ ka huru·timi.

15 Jɛ šičumɛ, mimɛ, č'aminɛ daiyam.

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1 *jaŋ ayɛtomʌtɛ* — *a* + *ɛtom* + *ʌtɛ* v. § 384.

notʌγʌn — i. e. *notʌγʌn*, 'hiding' i.e. 'secretly', p.pc. active of *dʌγai.ʌs* v.i. 'to hide'.

o·ničam — *o·* neg. prefix. v. § 339.

2 *ni·ṣin* — p.pc. active of *ṣi.ʌs* (or **-ṣi.ʌs?*)

baŋut dɛlim pa·dša — 'the king who has constructed breastworks'. *dɛlim* static pc. active of *deli.ʌs* cp. § 378 b. cp. *delimʌn* p. 30 l. 9; the verb *delʌs* yields *delomʌn* and *delom*.

3 *e·riŋ* — for the usual *iriŋ*. There is a tendency for the uninflected **-riŋ* to be used for **-riŋər* or **-riŋolo*.

4 *hahʌn* — *haha* seems to mean primarily "shout", especially the shout raised in attacking, the "battle-cry", and then to be used for the attack itself.

6 *u u·i hərʌŋ* etc. — 'they among themselves killed themselves' i. e. 'they killed each other'.

u and also the following *uyo·n* are here used in the simple nominative form with the past tenses of transitive verbs, an exception to the general rule which requires the Trans. nom. v. § 60.

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go away today secretly without having fought with the king's army. Bring me food and I shall eat and presently engage in battle with the king who has entrenched himself." They brought food and after eating it he took the stick in his hand and donned the cap and put on the sandals. When he had done so, raising a battle-cry he charged in the direction of the king. He fought the army with the stick. He saw them, but they did not see him. (Fighting) among themselves they slew each other and entirely annihilated themselves. He too slew a number of them. He won the victory and returned to his father-in-law's house.

His father-in-law was greatly delighted. He made him have a bath and put on new clothes and he fetched Shahri Bānu, and he was greatly pleased with his son-in-law. He made them stay with him some days. (Then) Shāhzāda Bahrām and Shahri Bānu asked leave (to go) to their own country. The King presented them with much wealth and dismissed them.

They arrived in their own country and all the people were greatly pleased and they took up their residence in the palace. The old man, his foster father, Shāhzāda Bahrām made his Wazir and he abode with great peace and security in his palace.

Eating, drinking and hungry I have come.

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8 *tu.aŋ* — y pl. of *toi* 'new'. Such agreement of adjectives is not very common, at any rate in the texts v. § 106.

ne.ibil — 'making him put on', p.pc. of *°-ʌbilʌs* causative of *belʌs* used when the object is *y*.

11 *nučin* — 'having given to them', n + u + °-či + n p.pc. active of °-*čiʌs*.

13 *yu, yuʷ* — 'his father' *i* + *uy*.

15 *je ǰičoma, mima* etc. — 'I came eating, drinking, hungry'. This is a story-teller's formula and is I think intended to indicate that he would appreciate some reward.

ʌaiyʌm — 1st. sg. pret. of *juyʌs*.

No. 11.

[34] **Ru·mɛ γərib Hi·r kɛ Ira·nɛ Ba·dša.**

000 Yɛrum zama·na.ulo Ru·mɛ bušai.ulo hin hiran bam se.iba·n. Inɛ hirɛ hin yu·ɛan kɛ bo·m, a·ltan yu.u bam. Inɛ hir bu·t γərib bam, bu·t ašə·to bam. Ši.ɛsər šapikɛ taŋ bam, yo·lasə, gatu.ɛ taŋ bam.

Han guntsanulo ikərɛŋɛ samba ɛtimi: "Gutə bušai.ulo jama·at kɛ aiyu·ɛ ka du·šɛ·ɛs muškıl bila. Ite·tsum Ira·nɛ bušai.ər ničam, bɛsɛ kɛ se.iba·n Ira·nə ba·dša musa·fır kɛ γəribtiŋər šapik gatu nu·n (*or*, nu·nin) pərwəriš ɛčai.i se.iba·n." Nusɛn yu·smutsum sala doγ·arusumi. Xudai.ɛ qudrat i·nɛ hi·rɛ yu·s akurəman muyərɛ bərči bo·m kɛ i·nɛ i·tɛ bərtsum ga·hi ho·lə atu·ušo bom. Muyərɛ senimi: "Sɛ jama·at, ku·lto ako·lɛ ča·minɛ kɛ ta·tinɛ be·rum dɛn di·miwasuman. Da umi·d ap i kɛ ako·lɛ šapik gatu mi.ai.ɛsan. I·tɛtsum ja daiyɛla ba Ira·nə ba·dša bu·t rahmdıl da bu·t γəribtiŋ uše.ɛs bai.i, s'e.iba·n. Ite·tsum ku·lto gutsimo doγərušə ba. Miyu· kɛ nuyɛn Ira·nər ničɛn, ta·ki Xudai.ɛ mehərba·ni ɛti kɛ i·nɛ ba·dša yakalatum šapik gatu di·me.i-γurkan kɛ šukur nɛ huru·šan," sɛ·nimi. Yu·s gutɛ bər dumo·yɛl

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2 *yu·ɛan* — 'his wife' *i* + *-*u·s* with suffix of singleness: -*an*.

4 *ikərɛŋɛ* — *i* + *-*kər* + *aŋɛ* v. § 144.

jama·at kɛ aiyu·ɛ ka — '(my) wife also with my sons' i. e. 'my wife and sons'.

6 *nu·n* — 'giving bread etc. to them' n + u + *-*u* + n from *-*uyas* 'to give' (h. and x objects) v. § 231 d.

kɛ — apparently dependent on *akurəman* 'so much . . . that'.

10 *di·miwasuman* — v. Vocab. *d**-*u esas*.

11 *mi.ai.asan* — I took this to be the infin. form of *-*yaiyas* 'to obtain' (cp. §§ 230. 3. and 249. 4) + suffix -*an*, meaning perhaps 'a thing we are to obtain',

[Errata', should be - yo'lasar, cf. corrigenda, p. 419, cat. 116 -- analyst.]

No. II.

The Poor Man of Rūm and the King of Irān. [35]

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In former times, they say, there was a man in the land of Rum. He had a wife also and two sons. The man was very poor and he was very weak. He was in straits for food to eat and for clothes to put on.

One day he thought to himself: "In this country it is difficult to support my wife and sons, so I shall go to the land of Iran, for they say that the King of Iran gives food and clothing to wayfarers and poor people and provides for them." So saying he consulted his wife. By the power of God his wife was so obedient to her husband that she never used to depart from what he said. "O wife," said her husband, "today for some years (now) we have continued hungry and cold and there is no hope that we shall here obtain food and clothing. I have heard them say that the King of Iran is very kind-hearted and a great cherisher of the poor. So today I put it to you — let us take our sons and go to Iran, so that if God shows favour and we get food and clothing from that King we may abide there returning thanks (to God)." The

but I now understand that Professor Siddheshwar Varma has recently discovered a sort of Subjunctive form *ə'mʌnəsi* = 'I would become'. This might well have a 1st pl. form *mimʌnəsʌn* to which *mi.ai.ʌsʌn* would correspond. *Ame.imʌnʌsʌn* (p. 50 l. 11) could also be similarly explained.

I·tstsum — here appears to anticipate the *itertsum* in l. 12.

13 *gutsimo* — 'from thee' *gu* + **-tsimo*.

14 *dirme.iγurkʌn* — v. § 261 A at end; 1st. pl. pret. of *d*-ʌγurkʌs*.

060 but xuš man'umo. Bərči numan senumo: "Bu·t šu·a se.iba, ke ja jama·at, ničen," senumo.

Ru·mtsum u·imo ha·tsum Ira·n yakalatər gutsəruman. Beruman guntsiŋ nuku·tsər Ira·nə mušər do·šqaltuman. Ira·nə ba·dša i·mo
5 teŋušulum matan i·te ganər har gunts durbi·n waščam: "Be·se ke amulum musa·fir men γəribtiŋ ja gutə bušai.ər duyan ke o·r taklif o·manš," nusen. Bəre·imi ke i·te bušai muštsum ba·dša teŋuš yakalatər isken sis pi.a·da ju·čə·n. Ba·dša hukum etimi: "U·i pi.a·da sisər haγur tsu·in," nusen. "Ṇo·ljan ditsu·in" nusen hukum etimi. Hukam etasər
10 u·ər haγur tsuman. Nutsun i·ne hi·r ke i·ne gus da u·e jo·tumuts o·ltalik no·ljan d'utsuman.

Ba·dša u·ər han ha·n tai.a·r o·tam. I·te ha·le di·rum šapik, tsapanum gatuŋ, da u·ya·riki u·yatiki uyo·n tai.a·r o·tam. D'utsun ba·dša hukumtsum i·te ha·lər utsu·man. I·ne γərib hir ke i·ne γərib gus
15 uy'u·e ka a·ra·m ne huru·čuman. B'eruman guntsiŋ bu·t ara·me ka d'uwasuman.

Han guntsanulo yu·se mu·yerər senumo: "Le·i jama·at, ki·ne ba·dša mehərba·nitsum but ara·mulo ba·n. Da me·uru·tai.i. Ku·lto u·ŋər muna·sib bila ba·dša e·pačər nuko·n no·kəri·en e·ti," senumo. Ine
20 hir yu·smo gute γayatsum xuš n'iman ba·dša ta·ŋər ni·mi. Ira·nə ba·dša hi·ŋtse·ra·či bam, u·e·lər ni·n sala·m ne nu·rutin ra·čikuyetum (sərda·rər ya) uyu·mər senimi ke: "U·ŋ mehərba·ni netan ba·dšatsum ja·r maka tapmo tsər huru·tasər hukum du·mər," senimi. Ba·dšatsum e·r hukum du·mərčər ni·mi. Ba·dša "Bu·t šu·a" nusen rja·zat ičimi.

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5 *waščam* — *wašč-* seems to be the customary present base of *waši.ar*, instead of the *wašič-* which one would expect.

Leve ke — usually means 'because' but here it appears to be used in the sense of 'so that', 'in order that' cp. Vocab. s. v.

6 *duyan* — short form of 3rd. pl. pret. of *juyas* v. § 314.

7 *o·manš* — Ma. has *o·maš*.

9 *no·ljan* — 'causing them to mount' n + n + *-*ALJA* + n from *-*AUljaiyas* Ca. of *hulja*iyas.

12 *o·tam* — 3rd. sg. plup. of u + *-*ATAS*, probably Causative with the u standing for "people": 'he had made people prepare a room for them'.

In *tai.a·r o·tam* in the next line the u may refer to the *šapik* etc.: 'he had made them ready'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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wife was greatly pleased on hearing this suggestion and falling in with it she said: "You say well, O my husband, let us go."

From Rum, from their home, they set out in the direction of Iran. Proceeding for some days on their way they arrived at the frontier of Iran. From his palace the King of Iran used every day to train his telescope far away on the road: "So that," as he said, "if any poor travellers should come from anywhere to this country of mine trouble may not befall them." When he looked he saw that three persons were coming on foot from the frontier of the country towards the royal palace. The King commanded, saying: "Take out horses for those wayfarers and make them mount and bring them in." When he had so commanded, (his servants) took out horses for them, and they mounted the man and the woman and their two little ones on them and brought them in.

The King had had a house made ready for them and in the house he had had cooked food and ready-sewn garments and under- and upper-bedding prepared for them. When they had brought them in, by the King's command they conducted them to this house and there the poor man and the poor woman and their two sons took up their abode in peace. There they remained for some days in great comfort.

One day the wife said to her husband: "O husband, thanks to this King's kindness we are living here in great ease, for he has given us a home. Today it is befitting that you should go to the King and do him some service." The man was pleased with this suggestion of his wife's and went off to the King's palace. There were guards at the King of Iran's gate and he went to them and salamed and sitting down said to the chief of the guards: "Be so good as to ask permission from the King for me to keep watch with you at night." The officer went to seek authority from the King for him to do so. The King said "Very good" and granted permission.

But in both cases it is possible that the *ɔ-* has the force of the indirect object, "for them" v. § 248. 2.

14 *hukumtsum* — v. § 75. III.

000 Teˈrumanər tap manˈimi. Toˈrimi saˈatanər asiˈr me.imtse kine Ruˈme γərib hiˈre kaˈr manaˈsər galt diˈmi. Hik saˈatan kaˈr manu.am. Matanum han hˈeˈršε učəran diˈmi. Baˈdša dˈeˈelimi. Baˈdša dˈeˈyelin tsərər kau etimi: "Hin namaˈnin menik herčaˈn ke iˈte xabər dusuˈin," 5 senimi. Buˈt tuˈtˈaŋ tap bilum, tsər uyoˈn bik manuman. Ine Ruˈme γərib hir tubak fat netan iˈte xabər dusuˈčər taˈŋtsum duˈsimi. Duˈsin iˈte diš yakalatər gutsərimi. Baˈdša ke dəriˈe xa dulu.ate šak numan iˈne Ruˈmi itsi tami.

Ruˈmi hir iˈte heˈras dišər niči ke isken gušˈiŋents han basˈiˈenulo 10 hˈerčan. Ine Ruˈmi iˈltumal ˈetimi, netan uˈe oˈpačər niˈmi. Ni.iniˈn u.eˈtsum doγərusuˈmi: "Qurbaˈn amanša, mamatsəro aiyastsəro, beˈse heˈrčaˈn ke jaˈr asuˈin," senumi. Iraˈnə baˈdša ke iˈltumal ne bam. Ruˈmi hiˈrər uˈe gušiŋantse juwaˈb eˈčiman. Da uzər eˈtimi: "Maimo Xudai.e gane jaˈr ˈasu.in ma beˈse herčaˈn ke." Terumanər uˈe 15 hərœŋulo hin maper gusan boˈm iˈne yakal pfar numan senumo: "Mi gusastsum besan faˈida? Čup ne amulum dukoˈwa ke ni. Mi ka uˈŋe beskę duro api," esumo. Ruˈmi hiˈre: "Be, mama, Xudaˈe gane beˈse herčaˈn ke ˈasu.in," senimi. Iˈne guse senumo: "Mi gutetsum herča baˈn jimale tsˈordine Iraˈnə paˈdša iˈrčai.i. Mi iˈne rˈaˈčiki.o 20 baˈn. Iteˈtsum Iraˈnə baˈdša ˈiˈrase γamulo herča baˈn," senumo.

Senase ka but xafa nˈiman da doγarusumi: "Ya mama, uˈŋ gute ke jaˈr ˈaso, baˈdša be zailate kuˈli ˈatiwˈeše.a? Inə doˈlat buˈt bila, Xudaˈe iˈkate xərč ˈetiˈ ke hazaˈr dyuweši.a?" senimi. Ine guse senumo: "Be, doˈlat xərč etumate di.u.asas (*or*, dyu.asas) apai.i. Baγeˈri

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1 *me.imtse* — 3rd. sg. conditional of *manaˈs*. Cp. §§ 313 & 351.

3 *učəran* — from *-*čər*. *u-* has a vague sense of "some people," 'a sound of people crying'.

4 *namaˈnin* — 2nd. pl. p.pc. act. of *niyas*.

9 *heˈras dišər* — Infin. as a pseudo-adjective v. § 402.

10 *ni.iniˈn* i. e. *niˈnin* || *niˈn* — 3rd. sg. hm. p.pc. of *niyas*.

11 *amanša* — v. § 357. 2.

12 *ne bam* — v. § 368.

13 *eˈčiman* — *a* + *i* + *-*čiman* 'they did not give to him',

15 *mi gusastsum* — for *gusastsum* 'from our saying to thee' *gu* + *-*asas* + *tsum*.

16 *dukoˈwa* — 2nd. sg. perf. of *juyas*.

22 *be zailate kuˈli ˈatiwˈeše.a?* — the meaning is clearly: 'will (or may) he not in any way escape?' but I am not certain of the exact force of *be*. It is probably

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In the meantime night came on and when it might be near to 10 o'clock the poor man of Rum's turn came to walk up and down (on sentry go). He had patrolled for an hour, when a sound of people weeping came from a distance. The King heard it and called out to the watch: "One of you go and find out and report who are weeping." It was a very dark night and all the watch were afraid. The poor man of Rum, putting down his gun, went out from the palace to get the information. He proceeded in the direction of the place (from which the sound was coming). The King also, slipping down from the window by a cord, followed after the Rumi.

When the man of Rum came to the place of weeping (he found that) three women were weeping in a garden. The Rumi listened and then went up to them and questioned them. "May I be your sacrifice, my mothers and my sisters!" said he, "tell me why you are weeping." The King of Iran was also listening. The women gave the man of Rum no answer. Again he entreated: "For your own God's sake tell me why you are weeping." There was among them an old woman and on this she turned towards him and said: "What would be the good of our telling you? Hold your peace and go (back) where you came from. You have no business with us." "No, mother," said the man of Rum, "for God's sake tell me why you are weeping." "It is for this we are weeping," said the woman, "early tomorrow the King of Iran is going to die. We are his Guardians. Therefore we weep in grief at his death."

The Rumi was deeply distressed at her words and again asked: "O mother, tell me this also; is there no means by which the King may escape? He has great wealth. If he expended something in the name of God might he perhaps escape?" "No," said the woman,

an indefinite adjective 'any', standing in the same relation to the interrogative *be?* as *beʀʌn* 'anything' does to *beʀʌn?* 'what?' cp. § 155.

kwli — seems here to be merely emphatic, 'at all'.

24 *bʌγevri* — repeated as *bʌγairi* p. 44 l. 8. If *bʌγevri* has the original meaning of Ar. Pers. *bʌγair i* (*in ki*) 'except, unless' then the construction is elliptical or contaminated: 'except if someone slay his sons he will escape, otherwise he will die'. The sense clearly requires 'only if' for *bʌγevri . . . ki*.

100 menen hi·tanɛ i·mo altan yu· ako·lə du·tsun, gutɛ tapɛ kaš oti· kɛ ba·dša dyuwɛ·ši. Bɛ kɛ tso·rdinɛ i·tas bai.i," senumo.

T'erumanər i·nɛ Ru·mi hir gutɛ xabər d'eyal nuk'an hai yakalatər pfər manimi. Ira·nə pa·dša kɛ intsum yər gutɛ xabər de·yel xafa niman yər manimi. Yər numa di·n i·nɛ Ru·mi.ɛ ha asi·r not'ayan huru·timi. Terumanər Ru·mi kɛ di·mi. Hiŋatsər di·n bəre·imi kɛ yu·sɛ sərik nɛ guča bo·m, kau etimi kɛ at'utaluman. Tɛši.ɛ samatər du·simi. Du·sin ya·r nɛ kau etimi: "Sɛ jama·at, a·r hiŋ do·n" senimi. Yu·sɛ yat nɛ esumo: "Da bɛs dukor·wa, ba·dša no·kəri ayetum(atɛ)?" esumo. "Bɛ, a·r do·n," senimi. Terumanər e·r do·num o. Ulo ni·mi.

Ulo ni·n yu·smur senimi: "Ku·lto mi my·u·šai.as pa·dša tso·rdinɛ i·rčai.i. Fula·nɛ i·tɛ dišulo i·nɛ ra·čiki.o herča·n. Ja u·ɛtsum doyarusam. U·ɛ se.iba·n; 'Amın hirənɛ i·mo yu·s riza numo yu riza· no o·ltalik yu gutɛ dišulo kaš oti· kɛ Ira·nə ba·dša dyu.ši. Bɛ kɛ tso·rdinər i·rčai,' se.iba·n. Ite·tsum jɛ u·ŋ duk'oy'urasasər daiya ba, bɛ·sɛ kɛ kinɛ pa·dša bu·t mi·mər ra·hat etai.i," senimi. Ira·ne pa·dša kɛ samatɛ i·ltumal nɛ bam. Yu·sə senumo: "Ku·lto jɛ kɛ u·ŋ kɛ miyu oltəlik ba·dša·tum xe·r mimanəŋan. Mi·i wa·lto te·lər nim'en mikər esqai.en," senumo. Nusen o·ltalik riza numan u·yum i·i kɛ jo·t i· oltəlik dostsal du·l no gatuŋ no nuyan u·ɛ ra·čiki.o bam dišər utsu·man. Ira·nɛ pa·dša kɛ utsi nultan ni·mi.

Ra·čaki.o o·pačər i·nə hi·r yu o·ltalik n'uyen n'inin yu·s basi·ɛtsum holumpa pfat num'o ra·čakuyər sala·m nɛ senimi: "Ja jama·at kɛ

2 *i·tas bai.i* — v. § 403. 3.
5 *notayan* — i. e. *nutayan* p.pc. of *dayai.as*.
6 *hiŋatsər* — variant of *hiŋtsər* v. § 73 VIII.
7 *at'utaluman* — from *d*-talas*.
10 *ayetum(ate)* — v. § 378. a. and § 384.
12 *my'u·šai.as* — *mi* + **-uše.as*.
13 *ra·čiki.o* — plural of *ra·čaku.in* v. § 26. 12. d.
14 *numo* — short form of p.pc. of **-atas* with 3rd. sg. hf. object.
so ditto with 3rd. pl. h. object v. § 298. 4.
16 *duk'oy'urasasər* — i. e. *dukoy'arusasər* dat. infin. of *d*-ayarusas* with 2nd. sg. obj.
19 *ba·dša·tum xe·r mimanəŋan* — v. § 70. VII. and § 357. 2; *-(a)tum* is here glossed as = *yatum* = Hind. *upar*.

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"he will not escape by expending his wealth. Only if some man bring his two sons here and slay them this night, then only will the King escape. Otherwise he will die tomorrow morning."

When the man of Rum had heard this news he returned with it towards his home. The King of Iran having also heard the news was grieved and getting ahead of him came and ensconced himself in hiding near the Rumi's house. Presently the Rumi also turned up and coming to the door he found that his wife had bolted it and gone to bed. When he called out she didn't wake up. He went up to the smoke-hole on the roof and called down: "O wife, open the door for me." The wife answered up to him: "Why have you come back again without having done service to the King?" "It is not so. Open the door for me," said he. On this she opened it for him and he went in.

When he had entered he said to his wife: "Today the King who has nurtured us is going to die in the morning. His Guardians are weeping for him at such and such a place. I enquired of them and they say: 'If anyone will get his wife to consent and get his sons to consent and will (then) slay his two sons at this spot, the King of Iran will escape. Otherwise he will die in the morning.' So I have come to ask you (about it), because this King has made life very pleasant for us." Now the King of Iran was listening at the smoke hole. The wife said: "Today I and you, and both our sons, must be a sacrifice for the King. Let us four go there and kill ourselves." When she had said this, the two of them being agreed, they woke up both the elder son and the younger son, and applying antimony (to their eyes) and dressing them (up) they took them along with them to the place where the (King's) Guardians were. The King of Iran also went following after them.

The man, leaving his wife outside the garden, and taking his two sons with him, approached the Guardians. He salamed to them

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19 *min'en* — 1st. pl. p.pe. act. of *nipan*.

21 *dostxal* — past participle active of *d*ᵘ*-astxalas* with h. plural object.
ruṭikiₒ ham dikr — v. § 379. a.

000 jɛ m'eltalik rɪza nimi·man ba·dša ba·go kuɛ miyu kaš očər du·tsa·n," senimi. R'a·čaku.inɛ senumo: "Bɪsmill'a, Xuda kɛ rɪza mi· kɛ rɪza. Uyu·m gu·i· kaš ɛ," senumo. Kaš e·čər w'ašimi. Nyu.ešin dodo.atɛ čur is'ərkimi. Be·s kɛ ay'e·skərtsimi. Da hik kɛ is'ərkimi da aiye·skərtsimi.
5 Da is'ərkimi da aiyə·skərtsimi.

Iski·ər r a·čaku.inɛ Ru·mi hi·rɛ iriŋtsɛ du·numo. Du·nin senumo: "Xuda·r (*or*, Xud'ayər) manzu·r manimi. Ki·n fat ɛ. Hin inɛ gu·i kaš ɛ·ti," senumo. In kašər w'ašimi. In kɛ ču·rɛ aiy'e·skərtsimi. Iski.ər da ir iŋtsɛ du·nin senumo: "Muba·rak maniš! u·ŋɛ ni.at du·tsanimi,
10 ba·dša dyu.asimi. Mu i·ras apai.i. Xuši.ɛ ka xabər nukan gu·imo guyu kɛ nuyen jama·atɛ ka ha·lər ni," ɛ·suman. Hai yakalatər yu nuyen gutsəruman. Ba·dša yər di·nin i·mo tɛ·ŋušər dulu·atɛ du·simi. Ra·čakuyu.ɛ hɛ·ras čup ɛtuman.

Ru·mi i·mo jama·at kɛ yu ha·lɛ pfat no ba·dša ta·ŋer ni·mi. Ni·nin
15 tsərgu.intsum tobak du·mər ka·r mana·sər duy·u·eskinimi. Terumanər pa·dša i·tɛ dəri.ər di·n kau ɛtimi: "Le Ru·mi, i·tɛ dištsum mɛn hɛ·rčam kɛ xabər dusu·ma?" senimi. Ru·mi.ɛ senimi: "Ya ba·dša, awa, te·lər na·n dniyam." Pa·dša senimi: "Mɛn hɛ·rč'am?" Ru·mi.ɛ senimi: "Ya pa·dša, telɛ hikum sisik tsilanatɛ u·i hərəŋ čal
20 numan i·tɛ u·čər jučilum. Da jɛ na·nin o·r astam nɛ čup o·tam," senimi.

Pa·dša gutɛ čaγa de·γal tso·rdinɛ dɛsqatasɛ (deskatasɛ?) ganɛ i·mo tɛ·ŋušər ni·n ara·mɛ ka guč'ami. Du·ŋ gučaiyasər go·n manimi. Gon mana·sər ba·dša mərakaʏ du·simi. Mɛrakaʏ ba·dša du·sasər i·nɛ

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1 *očər* — v. § 406.

3 *wašimi* — *-*awrufas* can also be used of casting an animal prior to cutting its throat.

4 *is'ərkimi* — the radical meaning of *-*sarkas* seems to be "to bring something down on another." Here perhaps to "apply to."

ɛrɛ kɛ — 'nothing, no' here appears to be used in the sense of '(not) at all'.

6 *iski·ər* — obviously means 'at the third time', but one would expect some form of the ordinal. Perhaps it may be explained as the z form with some such meaning as: 'on occasion No. 3'.

19 *tsilanatɛ* — 'over a water (supply)' i. e. in regard to the distribution of irrigation water.

[Error: should read aiye'skərtsimi, cf. corrigenda, last of analysis.]

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and said: "My wife and I, both of us being of one mind, have brought these our sons to slay them in place of the King." The (elder) Guardian said: "Bismillah, God is satisfied and we are satisfied. Slay your elder son." The father threw him down to kill him and applied the knife to his throat, but the knife cut not at all. Once again he applied the knife and again it did not cut; again he applied the knife and again it did not cut.

At the third time the Guardian laid hold of the Man of Rum's hand and said: "This one has been accepted by God, let him go. Slay this other son of yours." The man threw him down to slay him, but him too the knife did not cut. At the third time again the woman laid hold of his hand and said: "Congratulations! Your wish has been accomplished. The King has escaped. Now he will not die." And the Guardians said to him: "Take the news and take your sons, and with your wife go joyfully to your home." So taking their sons they proceeded home. The King arriving first climbed into his palace by the cord, and the Guardians ceased their weeping.

The Rumi leaving his wife and sons at home went off to the King's palace. There he demanded back his gun from the sentry and began to march up and down (again). Presently the King came to the window and called out: "O Rumi, have you brought news from there of who was crying?" "O King," replied the Rumi, "yes, I went there and have come back." "Who was weeping?" asked the King. "O King, a few people were quarrelling there among themselves over a water supply. It was their noise that we heard, and I went and settled the matter for them and silenced them."

The King, having heard this story, with a view to investigating it on the morrow, went into his palace and lay down and slept peacefully. When he had slept a little day broke and the King went out to the place of assembly. When he had done so his

22 *tsordine desq(k)atan gane.* — The idea appears to be: "he determined to investigate the matter next morning and in the meantime went off to his palace and lay down". The use of *gane* 'for the sake of' here appears rather strained.

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010 waziˑrtiŋ iˑnɛ uyoˑŋko daˑšaderšo uyoˑn duˑnin salaˑm netan merakaˑulo
huruˑčaman. Paˑdša terumanɛr iˑmo waziˑrtiŋtɛum doγaruɛumi: "Le
ja waziˑrtiŋ, kuˑlto ja han oˑljiˑan yetɛam. Oˑljilo hikum guštiŋɛntɛik
heˑrčam. Uˑɛr duγaruɛam: 'Ma beˑɛ heˑrcɛˑn?' nuɛen. Uˑɛ ɛenuman:
5 'Teoˑrdine Iraˑne paˑdša iˑrčai.i,' ɛenuman. 'Mi iˑne raˑčaki.o baˑn.
Ine γamulo heˑrča baˑn,' ɛenuman. Ja uˑatɛum duγaruɛam: 'Paˑdša
be šailate kuˑli beˑɛan xudai.e ˑeti ke šiˑwˑeˑti.a?' Uˑɛ ɛenuman.
'Be, beɛan eti kuˑli dyu.aɛaɛ apai.i. Baγsiri hin hirane altan ya iskɛn
yuˑ iˑmo rɛɛai.e ka gute diler dutɛun kaš oˑti ke baˑdša eˑrči. Be
10 ke, teoˑrdine iˑrči,' aɛuman. Kuˑlto aˑr ja doˑlat šeyaso waziˑrtiŋ ke
akaˑbirtiŋe mai.imo maiyu ˑaltan kaš oˑtan ke, je dawuša ba; be ke
je eˑrča ba. Beɛˑnin," ɛenimi.

Terumanɛr waziˑrtiŋ ke akaˑbirtiŋ uyoˑn dˑaldi.en paˑdšaˑr ɛenuman:
"Le.i paˑdša, mi ha buˑtai.i uyoˑn ke uˑŋatum di.uˑušaˑn, magɛr mimo
15 miˑu kaš oˑtiš ame.imaiyan," ɛenuman. Terumanɛr paˑdša uˑɛtɛum
xafa numan iˑne Ruˑme hiˑrɛr ɛenimi: "Le.i Ruˑmi hir, šabaš maniš
uˑŋɛr! Waˑlto guntsiŋulo ja uˑŋɛr šapik gatu guya baiyam, guyumo
altan iskɛn goyɛrumiso guyu je daspaɛaɛ gane uˑɛ raˑčakuˑyu.ale
nutɛun kaser guˑme da čuˑr iserkuma. Xuda.e hukumtɛum uˑɛ dodo
20 aiyoˑskertsimi. Da je dau.aɛam. Kuˑlto kuˑɛ ja doˑlat šeˑaso waziˑrtiŋ
ke uyoŋkotɛum doγaruɛam, meˑnane ke oˑɛe ka gute oˑɛenuman: 'Mi
miyu kaš oˑčen.' Uˑŋ ke guˑɛe han ber ne ja xiɛmatulo maiyuˑɛ
jimičiŋ pasoˑm amamanum di.uˑɛuman. Kuˑlto ja gute butai.e waziˑrtiŋ
uyoˑnate uˑŋɛr uyuˑm waziˑrekuš gučiyam."

25 Da mahramɛr hukum etimi: "Kiˑne Ruˑme hiˑrɛr yɛr ne uˑlo serpa
tai.aˑr ne fat etˑam duɛuˑin," nuɛen, doˑotsimi. Doˑutɛun iˑne Ruˑmi

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4 uˑɛr *duγaruɛam*. — 'I enquired of them'. This use of the dative is rare. The generalised *duγaruɛaɛ* usually takes the person questioned in the ablative, while the pronominal form *dᵃ-duγaruɛaɛ* takes the accusative.

10 *šeyaso* — pl. of *šeyaɛ* indn. form with the force of noun agent.

11 *oˑtin* — either 2nd. pl. or 3rd. pl. pret. short form of *u* + *ᵃ-ɛiɛ* v. § 214.

14 *uˑŋatum* — cp. note p. 69 l. 19. The *-atum* is the suffix associated with *gerbum* and similar words.

17 *guya baiyam* — 1st. sg. pivp. of *ᵃ-ɛyaɛ* with 2nd. sg. indir. object.

19 *guɛme* or *mahime*. — *guyaɛ* is used with pl. h. or x object. v. § 230. 2 and § 252.

20 *dau.aɛam* — from *dᵃ-u.aɛaɛ*.

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Wazirs and Elders and servants came and salamed to him and took their seats in the court. Thereupon the King addressed the Wazirs: "O my Wazirs, today I have had a dream. In my dream a party of women were weeping. I asked them: 'Why are you weeping?' They said: 'Tomorrow morning the King of Iran is going to die. We are his Guardians and we are weeping in grief for him.' I asked them: 'Will the King in no wise escape if he gives some alms?' 'No,' said they, 'whatever he may do he will not escape. Only if some man of his own free will bring two or three sons of his to this place and slay them, will the King not die. Otherwise tomorrow morning he will die.' Thus they spoke. (Now) today if you Wazirs and Elders who live on my wealth slay two of your sons, then I shall escape. Otherwise I must die. Look to it."

Immediately all the Wazirs and Elders rose up and said to the King: "O King, our houses, our lands, everything, we will surrender for your sake, but we cannot slay our own sons." On this the King was vexed with them and said to the man of Rum: "O man of Rum, bravo to you! For four days I had given you food, and in order to save me you took your two or three beloved sons to my Guardians and threw them down to slay them. And you applied the knife, but by God's command it did not cut their throats, and I was saved. Today I asked these Wazirs and Elders who batten on my wealth and none of them said from their hearts: 'We will kill these our sons,' but you and your wife with one accord ungrudgingly sacrificed the lives of your sons in my service. Today I have given you the Chief Wazirship over all the Wazirs of this country."

Then he commanded his attendants, saying: "I had got ready beforehand in the house a robe for this man of Rum, fetch it." And he caused them to bring it and made the man of Rum put

21 [illegible] . . . [illegible] . . . [illegible] — sg. subject with pl. verb and pl. pron. prefix. 'no one have said with their heart'.

22 [illegible] — "saying one thing" i. e. 'unanimously'.

23 [illegible] — a word of somewhat uncertain meaning. See Vocab.
[illegible] — static pc. 2nd. pl. negative of [illegible], a + ma + [illegible].

26 *dovlaimi* — from *d*[illegible] v. § 241.

000 hir ɛ·bilimi. Da beruman bušai.i 'u·ǯaki ičimi. Bert xuši.ɛ ka Ira·nɛ pa·dǯa kɛ i·nɛ γərib Ru·mi Ira·nulo wazir numan huru·čaman.

Jɛ ǯečumɛ, mi·mɛ, daiyam.
Yu·mušo o·tum inɛ ɛ·ǯatɛ balda.

5 o·tum — static pc. active of u + °-*ata* v. § 378. a.

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it on. Then he presented him with a large quantity of land free of obligations. 539A

(Thereafter) the King of Iran and the poor Rumi, who had become Wazir of Iran, continued to live in great happiness.

I came eating and drinking.
The burden (be) on the neck of him who has told lies!

No. III.

[48]

Buzur Jamhur kɛ Alqaš Wazir.

100 Madai.in pa·dša Kuba·d, wazir Alqaš bam. Alqašɛ šugu·lo Baxt i Jama·l. Baxt i Jama·lɛ Jamas Haki·mɛ e·i mutsowam. Jamasna·ma nusɛ kita·pan bilum. E·imur mutɛ·ŋi muci·mi. Su·mo mu·imo ha·lər Baxt i Jama·lɛ bərɛ·imi. Inər bɛ·skɛ lɛ·l o·manimi. Krta·p γatanč aiy·e·manimi. Uyu·m aliman bam. Inɛ·lər tsu·mi. "Le.i alim, gutɛ kita·p jɛ aya·maiyaba. Gutɛ sabaq ačičuma?" A·limɛ se.ibai.i. "Dus·u." A·limər ičičai.i. Alimɛ bərɛ·nimi. A·lim kɛ aiyɛ·mai.i bai, inɛr kɛ ačuč·ila. "Ya Baxt i Jama·l, ja·r kɛ ačuč·ila." "Ačučila kɛ te·lɛ fat ɛti. Et be·ičan? Ja·r kɛ ačuč·i·la."

Alqaš Wazi·r kɛ Baxt i Jama·l ji·ɛ šugu·lotiŋ bam. Alqaš wazi·r padša sala·mər o·nin imu šugu·lu.ɛ sala·mər ni·n i·skilər pfu·t nɛ

The entirely foreign origin of this narrative is obvious. It deals with such historic personages as the Persian Kings, Kubad and Nushirwan.

Buzur Jambur is only a corruption of Buzurjmihr, as was known to the narrator who gave the approximately correct form of the name on one occasion (v. p. 56 l. 16).

For a synopsis of what is recorded about Buzurjmihr see the very interesting article, "La légende du sage Buzurjmihr" by Professor Arthur Christensen in the "Acta Orientalia" vol. VIII (1930).

It is interesting to note that the name is given as Bazarjamhir in the Syriac of Bar-Hebraeus (op. cit. p. 96 note 6).

2 *mutsowam* — i. e. *mutswyam*.

3 *nusɛ* — here used like *sman* with a passive meaning: 'called'.

No. III.

[49]

Buzur Jamhūr and Alqash Wazīr.

Kubād was King of Madāin and Alqash was wazīr. Alqash had 539*
a friend, Bakht-i-Jamāl. Bakht-i-Jamāl had married the daughter of Jamas Hakīm. There was a book called the Jamasnāma. Jamas gave it to his daughter as her dowry. She brought it to her home for Bakht-i-Jamāl to see. He could understand nothing of it. He was unable to read the book. There was a great scholar and Bakht-i-Jamāl took the book to him (and said:) "O sage, I am unable (to read) this book. Will you instruct me in it?" "Bring it here," said the learned man, and Jamas gave it to him. The man of learning looked at it. He too was unable (to read it), to him too it was unintelligible. "O Bakht-i-Jamāl," said he: "I also can make nothing of it." "Well," said Bakht-i-Jamāl, as it is unintelligible, leave it there. What are we to do with it? I too cannot understand it?"

Alqash Wazīr and Bakht-i-Jamāl were bosom friends (lit. 'soul's 539* 572
friends'). Alqash Wazīr, before going to salām to the King, used to go and salām to his friend. Then, having looked on his friend's

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4 *ʊmanimi* — *ʊv Atimi* is given as an alternative.

8 *aiyʊmai.i bai* — 'he is not able' (sc. 'to read it'). This absolute use of *ʊ-AMAMAS* is common.

açučila = *a* + *jučila*, — 'it does not come

9 *bʊičan?* = *be ečan?*

11 *ʊnin* — 'he not going'.

4 — Lorimer.

000 padša salaˈmər ničam. Te.i hin(h)iˈnər xuš bam. Hiniˈnɛ ˈeˈyɛrumišo bam.

Hikulto Alqaš Waziˈr Baxt i Jamaˈlɛ salaˈmər diˈmi. Eˈr salaˈm nɛtan yakal bərɛˈnimi. Γunikiš nazərɛtə bərɛˈnimi. Baxt i Jamaˈlɛ: "Le.i šuguˈlo, bɛˈsɛ kuˈlto γunikiš nazərɛtɛ bərɛˈi ba?" "Lɛ šuguˈlo, gu.iˈras gunts diˈmi. Gu.iˈrčˈa. Iˈtɛˈtsum aγam numan guyakal bərɛˈya ba." Alqaš Waziˈr nujuˈmɛ hisaˈb heˈi bam. Baxt i Jamaˈl jiˈtsum ar imanimi, "axɛˈr eˈrča ba" nusen. "Lɛ šuguˈlo, uˈŋɛ gutɛ tsan bila. Hazaˈr bɛˈsan ilaˈjɛtɛ dˈauwɛˈšama?" Alqašɛ se.ibai.i: "Šuguˈlo, han duroˈwan jɛ. kɛ uˈŋ ɛˈtiš meˈmanan kɛ dukˈuˈɛˈša. Ameˈmanuman kɛ gu.iˈrča." "Le.i jiˈɛ šuguˈlo, bɛsan ame.imanasan bila?" Alqašɛ se.ibai.i: "Lɛ jiˈɛ šuguˈlo, aˈltuwaltər kutsˈulo guˈimo haˈtsum hoˈlə atˈuˈs, mɛn yakal čaγa ayeˈti, mɛnɛ iskilər pfuˈt aiyɛˈti. Uˈŋ guyakal mɛnɛ pfut ayeˈtišan, uˈŋ guyakal mɛnɛ čaγa ayeˈtišan, uˈŋɛ bər mɛn atoyɛˈlšan, mɛnɛ bər uˈŋ atuˈki.alš. Aˈltuwaˈltərtsum hik bas huruˈtuma kɛ da gu.iˈrča. Aˈltuwaltər kutsˈoˈmanš xa han guntsɛn tsoˈr duˈsuma kuli guwiˈrča. Taq aˈltowaltər kutsˈmaniˈmi kɛ gu.imo hatsum duˈsa kɛ aku.iˈrča."

Baxt i Jamaˈl aiyaš imˈanimi. "Lɛ.i jiˈɛ šuguˈlo, kot buˈt sačo (*or*, aˈsaˈnɛ) dərˈoˈwan bila. Šuguˈlo amit guntsulo huruˈšam haˈlɛ?" Alqašɛ se.ibai.i: "Kuˈltumo gˈuntsulo huruˈt." "Šuguˈlo, jamaˈatmur hukəm ɛti šapik bɛlatɛ joˈčo, tsil bɛlatɛ ačˈičo, kanˈao mo." "Dumuˈtso, šuguˈlo." Baxt i Jamaˈlɛ yuˈs dumuˈtsumi. Alqaš waziˈrɛ se.ibai.i: "Aiyaˈs, ja čaγa gultumal ɛti. Buˈt doˈm (*or*, zoˈr) duro bila. Šuguˈlo haˈlɛ ˈeˈuruˈt, guˈi baldyuˈlo huˈrˈu. Gučər ɛčər šaŋˈɛti. Yaˈr nɛ bərɛˈyər šaŋ ɛˈti, (yaˈrɛ apˈərɛn). Šuguˈlo, guˈčər aiyɛti, yat nɛ apˈərɛn, šapik kɛ tsil iˈmu waxtulo samɛ xa goˈr baˈl nɛ

10 *meˈmanan* — short form of 1st. pl. pret. of **-awanas*.

11 *ame.imanasan* — infin. form + *-an* parallel to *mi.ai.asan*, like which it may be a 1st. pl. subjunctive. .V. note on p. 35 l. 11.

15 *aturki.alš* — 2nd. sg. negative of the *-š* form of *d*-ayelas*. One would expect *atukoyelš*. V. § 321. 5 and § 357. 2.

16 *bas* — perhaps *hik bas basik* is to be read.

18 *duˈsa* — 2nd. sg. perf.; should perhaps be *duˈša* 2nd. sg. pres.

22 *joˈčo* — 'she may give to me' from **-uyas* v. § 255.

24 *aiyaˈs* — for *a* + **-yas*.

zoˈr — foreign noun used as an adj.

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face, he used to go and salām to the King." So dear were they to each other. They were devoted to each other. 539x 572

One day Alqash Wazīr came to salām to Bakht-i-Jamāl. Salaming him he looked at him, he looked at him with an unfavourable eye. "O friend," said Bakht-i-Jamāl, "why do you look at me today with an unfavourable eye?" "O friend," (replied Alqash) "the day of your death has come. You are going to die. It is for this reason that I look at you with repugnance." Alqash Wazīr was versed in astrological calculations and Bakht-i-Jamāl was alarmed for his life. "I am going to die then," he thought, and he said: "O friend, this that you say is true, but may I perchance escape by some device?" "Friend," said Alqash, "there is one thing, and if you and I can do it, you will escape. If we cannot do it you will die." "O beloved friend, what is it that we cannot do?" "Beloved friend," said Alqash, "for 40 days do not come out of your house, do not speak to anyone, do not look at the face of anyone, let no one look at you, let no one speak to you, let no one hear you speak, and do not you listen to anyone speaking. If you remain (thus) one day more than the 40 then you will die, and if you go out one day too soon, before 40 days are completed, you will die. When exactly 40 days are up, if you go out of your house, you will not die." 534x

Bakht-i-Jamāl was overjoyed. "O beloved friend," said he, "this is a very easy matter. On which day shall I (begin to) stay in the house?" "Stay in today," said Alqash. "Friend, give my wife instructions and advise her how she is to give me food and how she is to give me water." "Bring her here, friend." Bakht-i-Jamāl brought his wife and Alqash Wazīr said: "My sister, give ear to what I say. It is a very serious matter. Make my friend stay in the house. Sit yourself in the upper verandah. Take care not to speak. Take care not to look down. (To Bakht-i-Jamāl) Friend, do not speak. Do not look up. Let her send down food and water to you at the proper time, letting it down on something through the smoke-hole, and do you eat the food and drink the

000 bɛsantsɛ dɛ·skuš, u·ŋ šapik ši, tail min'ɛ. I·sɛ dɛ·skum walgi·tsɛ taq nɛ fat ɛ ɛk yatɛ di·ušo. Ya·tɛ ap'ərənum mo·š mərə·k nɛ yɛtɛ di·ušo. Yɛ ja kana·o gan. Wa ji·ɛ šugu·lo, u·ŋ gu·imo ha·lɛ guntsiŋ iγ'an, jɛ je.imo ha·lɛ iγaiyam. Yɛ kultumo gutɛ guntsatsum u·ŋ kɛ
5 hisa·p ɛti, jɛ kɛ hisa·b ɛčam."

I·mo šugu·lɛ ha·lum du·simi. I·tsɛ hiŋ tam nɛ qulp wašimi. Qulpɛ če.i i·tsɛ yænimi. I·mo ha·lər Alqaš ni·mi. Han qhi.ɛn fat ɛtimi. Baxt i Jama·lɛ gi·rminimi: "Hikulto manimi," nusɛ. Gutɛtsum i·lji Alqaš Wazi·rɛ i·mo ha·lɛ gunts kɛ kan qü.ɛ wašimi. Baxt i
10 Jama·lɛ gunts gajat ɛtimi. Alqaš Wazi·rɛ a·ltowaltər qü.ɛ manimi.ɛ, pu·ro a·ltowaltər kuts manimi. Baxt i Jama·lɛ kɛ a·ltowaltər kuts manimi. O·ltalik babər di·mi. Xuda·yo qudərat o·ltalik hərænulo han gunts tis manimi (*or*, umanuman).

Alqaš Wazi·r i·tsɛ quyɛ nuyɛn Baxt i Jama·lɛ hiŋtsər di·mi. I·mo
15 iri·ŋɛ ka qulf do·nimi. Ni·mi ha·lər sala·m ɛ·r ɛ·timi. Yu·t iri·ŋ du·marimi. E·ka čaγa ɛtimi: "Le.i ji·ɛ šugu·lo, a·ltowaltər kuts manimi, u·ŋɛ hisa·b mani bila bɛ?" Baxt i Jama·lɛ se.ibai.i: "Ja hisa·b babər manimi, ju·čuma nusɛ alčin ɛ·ča baiyam." Alqaš Wazi·rɛ sɛnimi: "Ja hisa·b gutsɛ quyɛ.ɛtɛ ɛta ba. Gunts kɛ han
20 w'ašča baiyam. Ku·lto a·ltowaltər ku·ts manimi. Ga, gutsɛ utsan (*or*, uγ'an)." Baxt i Jama·lɛ: "Ja girmina ba. Gutɛ girminumər u·ŋ bərɛ·n." I·nɛ girminumər bərɛ·nimi. Inɛ quyɛ utsanimi. O·ltalikɛ hisab babər di·mi. Alqaš se.ibai.i: "Mɛltalike hisa·b babər di·mi. Yɛ mu duw'ašečan." Duwašaman ha·tsum.
25 Baxt i Jama·lɛ se.ibai.i: "Le šugu·lo mata·n sailər ɛ·čan. Bu·t aski duw'alila." Alqaš Wazi·rɛ: "Šu·a, šugu·lo." Gutəruman, mata·n

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4 *iγan* — note the sing. pron. prefix referring to pl. y noun *guntsiŋ*. With an x pl. the pl. pron. prefix is used e. g. *gutse wγan* l. 20 below.

6 *i·tsɛ* — probably means 'after him, behind him' cp. **-tsi thaiyas* 'to follow after, pursue someone', but l. 7 **-tsi yanas* 'to take with one'.

7 *qhi.ɛn.* — the sound of this word I found very illusive. v. vocab. s. v. *qhuye*.

12 *Xuda·yo qudərat* — in this stock expression *qudərat* is apparently used in the sense of "will". The ordinary gen. of *Xuda* in this and other phrases is *Xudai.s*. For the gen. sg. in *-o*, v. § 46 note

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water. (Then) tie (the things) to the cord which was let down and leave it there and she will pull them up. Turning her head away, she will pull it up without looking down. Come now, take my advice. O my beloved friend, count the days in your house and I shall count them in my house. Now from this present day you keep the reckoning, and I too will keep the reckoning."

(Alqash then) went out from his friend's house and he closed the door after him and locked it. The key of the lock he took with him and he went to his own house and put down one pebble. Bakht-i-Jamāl wrote 'one day is passed' and thereafter every day in his own house Alqash Wazīr put down a pebble and Bakht-i-Jamāl struck off a day. (Eventually) with Alqash Wazīr 40 pebbles were (collected) and the full forty days were completed and with Bakht-i-Jamāl also the 40 days were completed. Both (accounts) came out even. By the power of God in both of them there was an error of one day.

Alqash Wazīr took the pebbles and came to Bakht-i-Jamāl's door. With his own hand he opened the lock. He entered the house and salamed (to Bakht-i-Jamāl). He asked for his foot and hand (to kiss) and he conversed with him. "O beloved friend, forty days have passed. Is your reckoning completed or not?" "O beloved friend," said Bakht-i-Jamāl, my reckoning has come out even. I was watching, thinking you would come." "I have kept my account with these pebbles," said Alqash Wazīr, "every day I kept adding one. Today the forty days were completed. Take the pebbles and count them." "I have written the days down," said Bakht-i-Jamāl, "have a look at this written record." The one examined the writing and the other counted the pebbles. Both their reckonings came out even. "Both our reckonings have come out even," said Alqash. "Now let us go out." And they went out from the house.

"O beloved friend," said Bakht-i-Jamāl, "let us go for a long walk. I very much wish to." "By all means, friend," said Alqash Wazīr.

26 *Aski duw'Alila* — glossed as Hind. *avrru horgiya* and explained as "my heart has risen". It seems to be a metaphorical use of the verb *duwalas* 'to fly (up)'.

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gutsəruman. Baxt i Jama·lɛ se.ibai.i: "Uŋ ako·lə sa·at manɛ, h'ərɛšen di·mi. Istinja·b nɛ ju·čam," s'enimi. Wazi·r huru·timi. Baxt i Jama·l ni·mi. Mata·n gutsərimi. Bu·t uyu·m bas'i·ɛnər w'alimi. Istinja·b 'ɛčər huru·timi. Γu·san čas ɛtimi, γumo·ran bal'imi. Han kɛ čas ɛtimi, tərišan bal'imi. U·lo h'iŋɛn γan'imi. I·tɛ hiŋtsər ni·mi. Qu·lptsɛ če·i wašim bim. Če·i do·nimi, hiŋ sika ɛtimi. Bərɛ·nimi γeniŋɛ yɛ·tsimi. Bu·t atoγ'anas γeniŋi·k yɛtsimi. Ikərɛŋɛ se.ibai.i: "Səle·man Paiγambərɛ i·sɛ xazi·na.atɛ fat amanam." Xazi·na hiŋtsum pfər manimi. "Ja ji·ɛ šugu·lo ya·rum gukɛ γenaŋ čap ai.e·čam. Ji·ɛ šugu·lo 'e·ltirčam."

I·tɛ dištsum i·lji di·mi. Qau ɛtimi i·mo šugu·lowər. "Šugu·lo, kul ju·." Alqaš e·pačər di·mi. "Bɛsanər qau ɛ·ča?" sɛnimi. "Le ji·ɛ šugu·lo, γenaŋɛ xazi·na yɛtsam." Alqaš Wazi·rɛ: "Amulo yɛtsuma?" "Šugu·lo, aku·lo bitsan." 'E·ltirimi. Alqaš Wazi·rɛ bərɛ·nimi. Alqaš Wazi·rɛ yɛtsimi, samba 'ɛtimi. Samba nɛtan da·l nɛ tiktsɛ dəlimi. "Le.i šugu·lo, ja b'e· ɛtam? Bɛsə tɛ ɛč'a?" Alqaš Wazi·rɛ se.ibai.i: "G'o·sqai.a ba." "Lɛ šugu·lo, ja b'ɛ· ɛtam kɛ asqai.a ba?" "Gu·kɛ γenaŋ adi·matɛ e·čam, ak'ərɛ tsu·čam. Mɛn kɛ lɛ·l ayočam. Gukɛ γenaŋ mɛltalikɛ traŋ ɛt'atɛ (*or*, ɛtan kɛ) gutɛ čaγa d'u·ši. I·tɛ·tsum go·sqaiya ba. Kok γenaŋ bala bitsa. Padša deyɛlimər jɛ kɛ uŋ mɛltalik m'ɛ·sqaimi. Itɛ·tsum go·sqaiya ba." Baxt i Jama·lɛ se.ibai.i: "Lɛ šugu·lo, ja aiyasqan. Gu·kɛ γenaŋ gudi·matɛ maniš. 'Gukɛ γenaŋtsum pyuwan jaγun (*or*, aγun)' go·sam kɛ, uŋər axirɛtɛ jak'un am'anša. 'Gukɛ γenaŋ yɛtsam' sɛnam kɛ da uŋ axirɛtɛ jakun amanša," sɛnimi.

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7 *γeniŋɛ* — I cannot account for the *-ɛ*. It is probably a glide to the following *y-*. *γenaŋ* (*γeniŋ*) is the plural of *γeniŋ*. The use of the plural indicates (large) quantity. V. §§ 35 (end) & 45.

atoγ'anas — or *atoγanas* glossed as "uncountable" "inexhaustible." The first meaning would suggest a connection with *°-γanas* 'to count'. There are, however, a number of forms referable to infinitives *d°-γanas*, *d°-ayanas* with the meaning 'to be used up, exhausted, worn out, finished; to come to an end' with which, in the absence of any strong reason to the contrary, it is natural to connect it, so that the meaning 'inexhaustible' may be taken as the more exact.

8 *fat amanam*, — *tumok amanam* was given as an alternative.

16 *bəsa tɛ* — MS. *bəsatɛ*, but doubtless for *bəsɛ tɛ.i*.

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They went on, they went on a long way and Bakht-i-Jamāl said: "Wait here, I want to relieve nature. I shall do so and come back." The Wazīr sat down and Bakht-i-Jamāl went off. He proceeded a long way and came upon a big garden and squatted down to relieve nature. He pulled up a clod and a hole appeared. He pulled up another clod and a large aperture appeared. Inside, a door became visible. He went up to the door. The key was hanging on the lock. He undid the lock and threw open the door and looked and saw gold. He saw inexhaustible quantities of gold. He said to himself: "I have lighted on the treasury of Sulēman the Prophet." He turned back from the door of the treasury saying: "I won't hide this gold from my beloved friend. I will show it to him."

He came back from the place and called out to his friend: "Friend, come here." Alqash came to him: "Why are you calling?" he asked. "O beloved friend, I have seen a treasury of gold." "Where did you see it?" said Alqash Wazīr. "Friend, it is inside here" said (Bakht-i-Jamāl) and showed him. Alqash Wazīr looked and saw it. He reflected and having reflected he lifted up (Bakht-i-Jamāl) and dashed him on the ground. "O friend," said Bakht-i-Jamāl, "what have I done? Why do you act thus?" "I am going to kill you" replied Alqash. "O friend, what have I done that you should kill me?" "I am going to appropriate this gold and carry it off for myself. And I shall let no one know (of it). If the two of us shared this gold the story would get out. So I am going to kill you. This gold is a calamity. If the King were to hear about it he would kill us both, me and you. So I am going to kill you." "O friend," said Bakht-i-Jamāl, "don't kill me. The gold may be for you alone. If I (ever) say to you 'Give me a little of it,' may I be your donkey in the next life. If I say 'I saw this gold,' again, may I be your donkey in the next life."

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17 *gosqai.a ba* — The present expressive of determination on future action. 'I am going to kill thee'. There are many examples of this use in what follows.
ke — the Pers. Hind. *kiā* 'that' (conjunction).

19 *et'ate* / *etan ke* } v. § 407 c.

000 Alqaš waziʸrɛ se.ibai.i: "Lɛ naʸdaʸn, uʸŋtsum ja buʸt heʸya ba. Kərkaʸmutsɛ qiš nɛ duʸnan kuli qyuʸ ɛči bi, zoʸr nɛ duʸnan kuli qyu ɛči bi. Kərkaʸmutsɛ yatis ayʿeʸskərtsiš xa čup ɛtas apʿi. Yɛtis eʸskərtsumɛ ka qyu čup me.i bila. Guyɛtis akoʸskərtsiš xa kot bər čup manaʸs apʿi. Iteʸtsum guyɛtis gʿoʸskərša ba."

Baxt i Jamaʸl dyu.asastsum umiʸd ɛʸskərtsimi. Baxt i Jamaʸlɛ se.ibai.i: "Lɛ šuguʸlo, aʸlto čaγamiŋ bitsa goʸšam." "Yɛ aso," se.ibai.i Alqašɛ, "bɛsan čaγamiŋ bitsa kɛ." "Ja jamaʸat moʸski duwʿalilʿa. Altowaltər kutsuloʸmoʸski duwalilʿa, 'ja jamaʸat juʸči' nusɛ mulčin ɛtubo. Uʸŋ nukoʸn ja jamaʸatalər gukɛ γɛnaŋtsum turma aʸlto xərʿiʸŋ γɛnaŋ nukʿan ja jamaʸatmulər niʸ. Gukɛ γɛnaŋ moγun. Iʸmmur tai.i moso: 'Xaʸrʿuzum sodagərɛnɛ ka Xaʸruzər niʸmi,' mʿoso. "Miš in samo jučam," sɛnai.i' mʿoso. 'Gukɛ γɛnaŋ jɛ juʸš xa gukərɛ šapʿik gatʿu ditso,' moʸso. Ja jamaʸat huruʸto bo. 'Ja ačuʸš xa gučaʸma kɛ goyan dumʿumano kɛ guguʸi mu.iʸkan oʸs. Gwiʸyɛn dimanimi kɛ Buzurj Mɛhər oʸs,' sɛnimi. Gukɛ čaγamiŋ mosuma kuli guʸimo xuš, amoʸsuma kuli guʸimo xuš. Yɛ akuruʸmtsum čaγa ʿapači apʿi." Alqaš Waziʸrɛ: "Ya akuʸruma?" Baxt i Jamaʸlɛ: "Awʿa."

Alqaš Waziʸrɛ iʸtɛ birkištsum iʸtɛ zaʸq kuʸnanər niʸtsun, Alqaš Waziʸrɛ biraqimi, tis ɛtimi. Iʸsɛ tisɛtər nitsun ɛʸsqanimi, uʸlo wašimi, yɛtɛ tiʸk gimi. Hik ɛtimi, yuʸtiŋɛ zaq ɛtimi. Yaʸrɛ ɛtumɛ nišaʸn ɛʸspalimi.

Alqaš Waziʸrɛ, "Gukɛ γɛnaŋ ja manimi" nusɛn, aiyaš niman iʸkɛ γɛnaŋtsɛ tsap aiyɛtimi, qulp nyuʸʿɛšin ban ɛtimi, čap ɛtimi. Mɛnər lɛʸl ayʿoʸtimi, iʸmo haʸlər diʸmi. Imo haʸlum turma aʸlto xəriŋ γɛnaŋ nukʿan Baxt i Jamaʸlɛ yuʸs mopačər diʸmi. "Ai.aʸz, gukɛ γɛnaŋ guʸyərɛ gor doʸtsai.i. Xaʸrəzum saudagərɛnɛ ka Xaʸruzər niʸmi.

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2 *kərkaʸmutsɛ* — perhaps for *kərkaʸmuts* + *tsɛ*, but one would expect *kərkaʸmutsatsɛ*.

4 *akoʸskərtsiš* } The pronominal prefixes here stand for the secondary indirect object
5 *goʸskərša ba* } (or have the force of an ethic dative). "I'll cut off your head for you".

10 *jamaʸatalər* } The latter form is the more correct, as *jamaʸat* here is hf.
11 *jamaʸatmulər* }

16 *Buzurj Mɛhər*. — V. introductory note on this text.

17 *akuruʸmtsum* — the abl. of comparison with the adj. not expressed, 'I have nothing to say (more) than this much'.

18 *ya* — probably for *yɛ* under the influence of the *a-* of *akuʸruma*.

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"Ignorant fellow," said Alqash Wazīr. "I know much more than you. If one catches a hen gently, it makes an outcry. If one lays hold of it violently, it makes an outcry. Till you have cut off the hen's head it won't keep quiet. When its head is cut off its clamour is silenced. So long as your head is not cut off this matter will not remain quiet. So I am going to cut off your head."

Bakht-i-Jamāl abandoned hope of escape. "O friend," he said "there are two things I would tell you." "Well, tell me," said Alqash, "what they are." "My wife has been longing (to see me), for these 40 days she has been longing (to see me) and she has kept looking out saying: 'My husband is coming.' Go to my wife, go to her with twelve *khars* of this gold (Rs. 72), give it to her and say thus to her: '(Your husband) has gone to Khāruz with a merchant of Khāruz.' Say to her, 'He said: "I shall come back in six months."' (Say to her from me). 'Until my return buy food and clothes for yourself with this gold.' My wife is with child. (Say to her from me): 'If you give birth before my return, if a girl is born to you, give her a name yourself. If a son is born to you, call him Buzur Jamhūr.' If you say this to her, it is as you please; if you don't say this to her, it is as you please. Now I have nothing more to say." "Oh, is that all?" said Alqash Wazīr, "Yes," said Bakht-i-Jamāl.

Alqash (then) led Bakht-i-Jamāl forward into a corner on the far side of the Treasury and (started) digging. He made a pit and leading (Bakht-i-Jamāl) up to it he killed him and flung him into it. He threw in earth on the top and filled (the hole) up and trampled it down with his feet, and destroyed all signs of the burial.

"This gold has become mine," said Alqash Wazīr, rejoicing. He did not touch the gold, but putting on the lock he closed (the door) and concealed it. He told no one about it and returned to his home. Taking 12 *khars* of gold from his house, he went to Bakht-i-Jamāl's wife: "My sister," said he, "your husband has sent you this gold. He has gone to Khāruz with a Khāruzi merchant

19 *ivte* — 'the far side of, beyond'.
26 *aixvz* i. e. *a* + **-yas*.

'Mišin samo ju·čam' senai.i," mo·simi, "'U·ŋ huru·ta, goyen dum'umano ke gu·gu·i mu.i·kan o·s,' senai.i. 'Gwi·yen dimanimi ke Buzur Jamhu·r o·s,' senai.i." Turma a·lto xərin γenaŋ moγ'unimi. "'Guke gukəre je ju·š xa xərč eti. Šapik gatu.ər guke xərč eti,' go·sai.i." Gute
5 čaγa mo·r ne i·mo ha·lər ni·mi.

Baxt i Jama·le yu·s aiyaš mom'anumo. "Aku·ruman γenaŋ a·r jama·ate do·tsai.i," nuse, aiyaš mum'anumo. "Xa·ruzum miši·n samo di·bate da besan a·r di·ši," nuse, a·ra·me ka huru·tumo. Be·urum guntsin ni·mi i·n ačuš xa guč'amo. Mu.i·yen diman'imi. Buzər
10 Jamhu·r o·samo. Mu·yər ni·mtsum hisa·b 'eču bo·m. Miši·n sa ni·mi, ati·mi. Talo sa ke nimi, ati·mi, iyo·le g'ate turma a·lto sa ke nimi, ati·mi. Ama umi·d e·ču bo: "Ja jama·at ju·či," nuse.

I·ne mu.i· diman i·ski den manimi, muyertsum umi·d e·skərtsumo. "Ja jama·at bame lel o·manimi, hal i·rume lel o·manimi. Je beska
15 at'aiyelam." Tai bu·t xapa ke am'umanumo. I·ne mu.i·yər e·sumo: "Le.i e·i, u·ŋ ba·za·retər ni, daγo·an pyuwan dus'u. Xər γeniš go·yaiyam. Ja u·ŋ aqalkišan ba." E·ka sisan netan 'e·rumo. Ba·za·retər ni·mi fara·čelər. "Asala·m ale·ikum, fara·č." "Wa ale·ikum sala·m, hile·s. Le.i hile·s, be·s duk'o·w'a?" "Le.i fara·j,
20 γenišen bila gašər dusuya ba. Gute γenište i·k daiyela ba. Γenišen bila se.iba·n. Gute tsane γeniš bil'a, ap'i·a, u·ŋ bare·n." Fara·je: "Kol dusu." Fəra·če bəre·nimi. "Le hile·s, asili γeniš bila." "Le.i fəra·č, gute asil γeniš bila ke gute gaš kam aiy'ači. Kote gaš b'e·uruman bila ke ja ake·ya ba. Gute ja·r γenište gaštsum
25 kaman ači·ma ke axa·rate guntsulo guts'imo doγərušam. Gute γenište gaš æčima ke axa·ratu·lo je u·ŋtsum at'uγurušam."

Fəra·je torim čuqan gur iγ'unimi. "Le.i hile·s gute gu·imo γenište gaš gučiʼam. Ja ka besan ba·zxa·s o·manš." "Le fəra·č, manimi.a?" Fəra·ce: "Awa, ye tsu. Akurum manimi." "Le.i fəra·j, ye mu
30 tsane sen." "Le.i hiles, besan tsane seya ba?" "Guke gu·r guyu·e ka muša·qat netan de.imi ba? Meniktsum dusu·'a, meniko bits'ana? Ye tsane sen." Fəra·če se.ibai.i: "Le.i hile·s, 'etaŋe be gu·ruš mene

6 *momanumo* — i. e. *mumanumo*.
8 *di·bate* — apparently *di bai* + *ate* v. § 407. a.
10 *o·samo* — i. e. *o·sumo*.

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and he said: 'I shall come back in six months. You are with child. If a daughter is born to you, give her a name yourself. If a son is born to you, call him Buzur Jamhūr'." Alqash then gave her the twelve *khars* of gold and said: "(Your husband) said to (say to) you: 'Spend this on yourself till I come back. Spend it on food and clothes'." Having said this to her he went off to his own house.

Bakht-i-Jamāl's wife was delighted. She said: "My husband has sent me all this gold," and she rejoiced. "When he comes back from Khāruz in six months, then he will bring me more," she said, and settled down in peace. Some days passed and she was brought to bed before he had yet returned. A son was born to her and she named him Buzur Jamhūr. She kept reckoning (the time) from the departure of her husband. Six months passed and he did not come, and seven months passed and he did not come, and the twelve months of a full year passed and he did not come. But she kept hoping: "My husband will come."

Three years passed after the birth of her son and she abandoned hope of her husband. "Nothing has become known of my husband's being alive," she said, "nor has anything become known of his being dead. I have heard nothing at all." Thus thinking she still did not become unduly depressed. She said to her son: "O son, go to the bazar and fetch a little flour. I shall give you a *khar* of gold to take with you. You are a sensible fellow." She sent him off with a man with him and he went to the bazar to the Farāch (the King's Treasurer). "As salām alē.ikum, Farāch". "Wa alē.ikum salām, boy. Why have you come, boy?" "O Farāch there is some gold I have brought to sell. I have heard this name of 'gold.' They say this is gold. Is it really gold or is it not? Have a look at it." "Bring it here," said the Farāch. The Farāch looked at it. "Boy," he said, "it is real gold." "O Farāch, if this is real gold do not give me short value for it. I don't know

14 *bame lel* — v. § 382.
17 *goyaiyam* — fut. of *gu* + *-*ayanas*.
22 *aiyači* — neg. imper. of *a* + *-*či.as*.
22 *elaŋe* — also in Ms. *eteŋe*, probably y demons. *el* or *ete* + *aŋe*.

60 kɛ maniṣ. Ja pfalo·k guγ'unam, u·ŋɛ γeniš ač'ima. Rai bila pfalo tsu, rai api kɛ gu·imo γeniš tsu." Buzur Jamh·rɛ se.ibai.i: "Go·šər saŋaličiŋ g'ogičam. Padša akuruman gu·r guk'ərər xərč ač'a, ja γeniš gukərɛ gai.iba? Padša mərakə·ulo gutɛ seyam." Fəra·jɛ
5 seibai.i: "Le hiles, gutɛ o·ʌan. Ʌsulum i·tɛ bər u·ŋə æša. Gutɛ γeniš ʌkərər gaiya ba. U·ŋɛ tsʌn se.iba. Gutɛ bər mərakə·ulo o·ʌan. Kok gur kɛ tsu guk'ərɛ, gu·i ʌčim γeniš kɛ i·lji tsu. Gutɛ bər mɛnalɛ o·ʌan. Ja æši šaŋaličiŋ a·giči." Buzər Jamhu·rɛ se.ibai.i: "Padša gusɛ ši.ʌs uyo·n u·ŋər hala·l bi.a? je kɛ šičam," sɛnimi.
10 Ik'ərɛ ɛt γeniš kɛ tsu·mi gu·r kɛ tsu·mi i·mo ha·lər.

I·mi.ɛ: "Le.i e·i, amulo bazə·rʌn γiki ɛtumana, kuk akuruman pfalo· kɛ su·man g'oyɛnam γeniš kɛ dusu·man?" "Bɛ, mama, bazə·rɛn e·dila·n, γiki ayɛta·n." "Le e·i, tum kok bɛlatɛ (*or*, amulum) su·man?" "Mama, gult umal ɛ·ti. Fəra·jtsum ər nɛtan dusu·yam." I·mi aiyaš
15 mum anumo.

Buzur Jamhu·rɛ: "Mama, ja·r kɛ bu·t jo.u, o·l a·ti, gu.i· kɛ bu·t ši. Dyu.'ɛsuman mɛnər kɛ u·. Gukɛ torim čuq gu·r hisər go·r su·čam."

Yati gu·ntsər (i·mi.ɛ): "Lɛ e·i u·ŋə ta·pʌn šu·a bil'a. I·tɛ γeniš gučiʼčam, baza·rɛtə· nukə·n lukʌn čap dusu·," ɛsumo. "Šu·a mama,
20 kul jač'i." Ičj·mo. Nukʌn baza·rɛtər ni·mi Padša gulčin ɛ·pačər,

3 *gogičʌm* — 1st. sg. fut. of *gu* + *-*ʌgiyʌs*. In such cases the meaning of the verb appears to be 'to put something on some one' (or 'on some thing'), and the pn. pf. represents the indir. obj. as in the present instance, or is a sort of ethic dative as in line 8, *ja æši šaŋaličiŋ a·giči* 'he will put chains on my neck for me' cp. § 245.

7 *ʌčim* — static pc. of *a* + *-*čiʌs*.

9 *gusɛ ši.ʌs . . . bi.a.* — cp. p. 62 l. 23 The infin. as subj. is generally accompanied by the y form of the verb 'to be' viz. bila. Again *gusɛ* is surprising, as the words for which it might naturally be expected to stand are all y: wheat, grain, gold, property. It seems necessary to take *ši.ʌs* as being x and translate *padša gusɛ ši.ʌs uyon* 'this eating everything of the king's' or 'all this living at the expense of the king'.

11 *ɛtumʌna* — alternative *dɛlumʌna*.

13 *ayɛta·n.* — The plural verbs in this passage must refer to B. J. and the man whom his mother sent with him (v. p. 58 l. 17), but who is not otherwise mentioned.

16 *o·l a·ti* — from *-*u·l* *-*ʌtʌs*.

17 *hisər* — this use of the dative of *hisa* with the sense of 'every month', 'per month' occurs several times and must be regarded as idiomatic.

20 *jačі* — v. § 255.

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what its value is. If you give me less than the price of the gold, I'll lay a claim against you at the Last Day. If you give me the (full) price of the gold, at the Last Day I will make no claim against you."

The Farāch gave him ten twelve-seer measures of wheat. "O boy, I have given you this as the price of your gold. There must be no dispute with me about it." "O Farāch, is that all?" "Yes. Now take it away. It has worked out at so much." "O Farāch, come now tell me the truth." "O boy, what am I to tell you the truth about?" "Have you acquired this wheat by labouring along with your children? (Or) have you got it from others? Does it belong to someone else? Now tell me truly." "O boy," said the Farāch, "what business is it of yours whom it belongs to? I have given you the grain; you have given me the gold. If you wish to, take away the grain; if you dont wish to, take away your gold." "I'll put chains on your neck," said Buzur Jamhūr. "Do you expend all this wheat of the King's for yourself and do you take my gold (too) for yourself? I'll tell this in the King's court." "O boy," said the Farāch. "Don't say this. You are saying exactly what I feel in my heart. I am taking the gold for myself; you are right in saying so. Don't tell this in the court. Take this wheat for yourself and take back the gold you have given me and tell no one about it. (The King) will put chains on my neck." "Is it lawful for you," said Buzur Jamhūr, "to devour all this (grain) of the King's? I will devour it too." (So saying) he carried off home for himself the gold, and he also carried off the wheat."

"O son," said his mother, "have you looted a bazar somewhere, that you have fetched (home) all this grain and have also brought (back) the gold I gave you?" "No mother, we have not raided and plundered a bazar." "Then how else did you get this, my son." "Listen to me, mother. I frightened the Farāch and got it (from him)." His mother was pleased.

"Mother," said Buzur Jamhūr, "give me a lot (to eat) and fill my belly, and do you too eat a lot, and what is over give to others. I shall bring you these ten measures of wheat every month."

"As salaˈm ale.ɪkum, gulčin." "Wa ale.ɪk us salaˈm, le hileˈs. Besanər dukoˈma, le hileˈs?" Buzur Jamhuˈte se.ibai.i: "Γenišan dusuˈya ba. Γeniš bila api ke ja akeˈya ba. Uˈŋ bəreˈn." Gulčine, "Kul jači," se.ibai.i. Ičiˈmi. Gulčine bəreˈnimi. "Asil γeniš bila, le hiles." Buzur Jamhuˈte: "Asili γeniš bila?" Γulčine: "Awa, asil γeniš bila." Buzur Jamhuˈte: "Gute γenišε gaš akeˈya ba. Gute beˈuruman bila ke uˈŋ baren. Gute γenišε gaš kam ačiˈma ke axaˈrete guntsulo uˈŋtsum duγˈərusam. Gute iˈmo gaš ačiˈma ke axarete guntsulo je ke uˈŋ baˈxxaˈs besan oˈmanš."

Baskaretan γulčiˈne yuˈmi. "Le.i hileˈs, gu.iˈmo γenišε gaš gučiˈam. Axaˈrete guntsulo je ke uˈŋ baˈxxaˈs ˈoˈmanš. Ye tsu." Buzur Jamhuˈte se.ibai.i ke: "Leˈ γulčin, ye muˈto tsane bər eti. Guse guguˈi nˈi.uˈšan akiˈl uyuˈm etˈaˈna, meniktsum dumərˈaˈ? Ti mene bˈi.a?" esimi. Γulčine se.ibai.i: "Leˈi hileˈs, eˈtaŋe bɪ guˈtuš? uˈŋe γeniš ačiˈma, ja guse baskaret guˈyam. Čup ne oˈtsučˈa?" "Le.i γulčin, kos beˈse čup ne tsuča ba? Padša yaˈrum γiˈki ne joča. Beˈse čup ne tsuˈča ba? Je padša mərakaˈulo seˈyam: 'Γulčˈine γiki ne baskaretan joˈmi,' seyam." Γulčine: "Le.i hileˈs," se.ibai.i. "Guyatum qurbaˈn amanša. Gute γiˈki ataˈagus. Je ke ayuˈaka buˈkər šaŋaličiŋ meˈgiči." Gulčine se.ibai.i: "Kut guˈimo γeniš ke tsu, ja guˈyam baskaret ke tsu. Hisər daˈ žuˈ, akil baskaretan ke guˈčam. Ya hisa manum tsanč akil baskaretə guˈčam." Buzur Jamhuˈte se.ibai.i: "Le.i γulčin, guˈsə padša ši.as uyoˈn uˈŋər halaˈl bˈiˈa? Jaˈr ke jo je ke šičam." "Qurbaˈn amanša, guˈčam. Gute hisər guse baskaret guˈčam. Kot guˈimo γeniš ke tsu."

Buzur Jamhuˈte tsuˈmi iˈmo haˈlər iˈmi mopačər. "Mama, hisər guse baskaret ke ditsam. Ye muˈto huzuˈr ne šičan." Huruˈčaman araˈme ka. Hikulto iˈmi.e se.ibo: "Le.i eˈi, šikamiŋ hoˈi amulo dukˈoˈoγuršama?" "Mama, iˈte γeniš ači." "Ye ga, eˈi," nuse

16 *joča* — v. § 255.
19 *ataragus* — neg. imper. of *d*-*-agusas* with *-a-* infix.
21 *žuˈ* — variant for *ju*.
22 *yu* — perhaps for *ye*.
tsanč — not recorded elsewhere and said to be used only in this phrase.
baskaretə — should presumably be *baskaretan*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

Next day she said: "O son, your plan is a good one. I'll give you the gold and you take it to the bazar and get a little meat." "Very good, mother, give it to me here." She gave it to him and he went off with it to the bazar. (He went) to the King's steward and said: "As salām alē.īkum, Cook." "Wa alēik us salām, boy. Why have you come here, boy?" "I have brought some gold," said Buzur Jamhūr, "whether it is gold, or is not gold, I don't know. You have a look at it." "Give it to me here," said the Cook. He gave it to him and the Cook examined it and said: "It is real gold, my boy," he said. "Is it real gold?" "Yes," said the Cook, "it is real gold." "I don't know the value of this gold," said Buzur Jamhūr, "you look and see how much it is. If you give me less than its value I'll lay a claim against you at the Last Day. If you give me its proper value there need be no dispute between you and me at the Last Day."

The Cook gave him a wether (saying:) "I have given you the price of your gold. At the Last Day there must be no dispute between you and me. Now take it away." "O Cook," said Buzur Jamhūr, "come now, speak the truth. Have you reared this sheep and made it so big as this yourself? (Or) did you get it from someone else? Does it belong to someone else?" "O boy," said the Cook, "what business is that of yours? You gave me the gold, and I gave you the sheep. Won't you shut up and take it away?" "O Cook, why am I to shut up and take this (beast) away? You steal it from the King and give it to me. Why am I to shut up and take it away? I'll say in the King's court 'The Cook has stolen a sheep and given it to me'." "O boy," said the Cook, "May I be your sacrifice! Don't give me away over this theft. (The King) will put chains on the necks of myself and my children. Take away this gold of yours, and take away too this sheep which I have given you. Come again in a month and I'll give you another sheep like this. Indeed(?) at the end of every month I'll give you a similar sheep." "O Cook," said Buzur Jamhūr, "is it lawful for you to devour all the King's substance like this? Give me (a share) too and I also will devour it." "May I be your

000 ičimo. Nukan nimi. Amulo kuli apim. Alqaš Waziɪɛ basi.ulo bitsum. Alqaše basi.ɛ hiŋatsər nimi. Basi.ɛ yatku'in hiŋatsɛ bam. "Le.i baγobaɪn, γenišan guč'ičam, gusɛ karɛ'ti.ulo hori jaγurima?" Basi.ɛ yatkuinɛ: "Su'a! guγuyam." Hiŋɛ qulf domimi baγbaɪnɛ.
5 Hiŋ sıka ɛtimi. Hiŋ sıka ɛtas Alqaš Waziɪɛ y'ɛtsimi. Imo hadərɛŋulo bam. Ɛsalimi yatkuin dimi bas'i.ər itsi.atɛ hilɛsan kɛ dimi. Basi.ɛ yatkuin šani.ɛ kutkusər nimi. Buzur Jamhuɪɛ itɛ basi.ulo belisan gili dɛli bam. Iɪsɛ ɛpačər nimi. Naš bim, čəruk 'ɛɛtimi. Ɛs belis nin askuriŋ šemi. Basi.ɛ yatkuinɛ belis yɛtsimi.
10 Askuriŋ šeyas y'ɛtsimi. Dinin belistsɛ duɪn taq ɛtimi. Nimi šani.ɛ kutusər basi.ɛ yatkuin. Buzur Jamhuɪɛ belis hɛt ɛtimi. Hik kɛ ninin askuriŋ šemi. Baγobaɪnɛ da yɛtsimi. Baγobaɪn belan nukan dimi, iɪsɛ belisɛ 'ɛščiŋɛ xa d'ɛlimi. Ɛs belis irimi. Buzur Jamhuɪɛ se.ibai.i: "Usko halaɪlišo hərɛm ortuma." Basi.ɛ
15 yatkuin se.ibai.i: "Kos bi kɛ han belis, da ɛɪts alta amulum hərɛm umamimi.ɛ(n)?" "Lɛ yatkuin, alta iɪskumuts biɪe iγumurulo. Han matuman bi, han buruɪman bi. Bruɪm iɪsɛ halkaɪsan bi, matum iɪsɛ tuγulien bi." Yatkuinɛ: "Ɛɪsɛ imi numuγɛn," se.ibai.i.

Alqaš deγɛlimi. Iɪnɛ hilɛɪsɛ ɛtašo iɪkɛ čaγamiŋ deγɛlimi. Alqaš
20 Waziɪɛ qau ɛtimi: "Le.i basi.ɛ yatkuin, iɪnɛ hilɛɪs kɛ ditso, iɪsɛ belis kɛ difso." Yatkuinɛ belis yænimi, Buzur Jamhuɪɛ itsi thami, oltalik niman Alqaš Waziɪtalər. Iɪnɛ hilɛɪsɛ salaɪm ɛčuwai.i (i. e. ɛɛai.i). Alqaše iɪnɛ hilɛɪstsum doγərušai.i: "'Usko halaɪlišo hərɛm ortuma' ɛš'a. Bi kɛ han belis, alta amulum duš'a?" "Ya waziɪr,
25 gusɛ belisɛ mamu ɛti bi. Yululo alta iɪskumuts biɪen. Han matuman bi, han buruɪman bi. Bruɪm iɪsɛ halk'aɪsan bi, m'atum iɪsɛ tuγuli.en bi." Alqaše yatkuinər hukəm ɛtimi: "Iɪsɛ belis tsər 'ɛt'a." Yatkuinɛ tsər ɛtimi. Buzur Jamhuɪɛ belatɛ čaγa ɛt'am kɛ teiljuko alta iɪskumuts bim. Burum ɛɪs halkaɪsan bim. Matum ɛɪs tuγuli.en bim.

15 *kos bi kɛ* — *kɛ* seems here to be only an emphatic particle, 'this indeed is one sheep'. *amulum* — here practically means 'how?'

18 *ɛɪsɛ imi numuγɛn.* — This is an abusive expression the precise meaning of which is not clear to me. It may be literally either "having taken its mother" or "having known its mother" (*γanas* or *γɛnas*).

19 *ɛtašo* — the plur. of the infin. form used with the force of the static pc. v. § 404.

27 *ɛt'a* — imper. + *a* cp. also p. 72 ll. 17—18 also *ɛti.a* p. 74 l. 17. See § 220.

[Errata should be - Su'a. Cf. corrigenda, p. 419, cat. 11c — [illegible]]

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sacrifice: I'll give you (a share)," said the Cook. "For this month I'll give you this sheep, and take away this gold of yours too."

Buzur Jamhūr took (the sheep and the gold) home to his mother. "Mother, I have brought this sheep too for the month. Come now and let us feed in peace." So they lived in comfort, and one day his mother said: "O son, will you get green vegetables somewhere?" "Mother, give me that gold." "Well, take it, my son," she said and gave it to him. He took it and went off. There were no (green vegetables) anywhere. (Only) in Alqash Wazīr's garden were there some. He went to the gate of Alqash's garden. The superintendent of the garden was at the gate. "O Gardener," said Buzur Jamhūr, "I'll give you some gold, will you give me (some) greens in this basket?" "Very good," said the Gardener, "I'll give you some," and he unlocked the door and opened it. Alqash Wazīr saw the opening of the door. He was at the window of his house. He saw the gardener enter the garden and a boy follow after him. The gardener went to a vegetable plot. Buzur Jamhūr had tied up a sheep to a peg in the garden. He went up to it and he cut the cord (by which it) was (tied) and the sheep went and ate the flowers. The gardener noticed the sheep and saw it eating the flowers. He went and caught it and tied it up. The gardener went (back) to the vegetable plot and Buzur Jamhūr let the sheep loose. Once again it went and ate the flowers and again the gardener saw it. He took a spade and came along and struck the sheep on the loins. The sheep died. "Three lawful things you have made unlawful," said Buzur Jamhūr. "This is only one sheep. How have the other two become unlawful?" "O gardener," said Buzur Jamhūr, "there are two young ones in its belly; one is black and one is white. The white one is a female lamb, and the black one is a male lamb." "Curse its mother!" said the gardener.

Alqash heard what the boy had said. He called out: "O gardener, bring the boy and bring the sheep." The gardener took the sheep, Buzur Jamhūr followed after him, and they both went (to the Wazīr). The boy salamed to Alqash Wazīr. Alqash asked him: "You said (lit. 'say') to him: 'You have made three lawful things unlawful'.

070 Alqaše i·nε hilε·ωωr: "Le.i hilε·s, gu·yi i·k bεsan bila?" "Mi aya i·k Baxt i Jamaʼl." "Uηε gu.i·k bεsan bila?" "Ja e·ik Buzur Jambuʼr bila."

Habaše pačiε i· Alqaš Waxi·rε e·imutεs pfut niman Alqašεr nokωri
5 eʼr εčam. Alqaš Waxi·r e·pači bam. (Alqaše senimi:) "E·i Saladaʼr. ki·nε hilε·s fulaʼna i·tε diεr nitsum qaš ε. E·kin kε εωumuts jajam no aʼr dutεo. Yε i·taʼu." Saladaʼrε i·tsuʼmi. I·tε εωqanas diεr Buzur Jambuʼrε se.ibai.i: "Le.i Saladaʼr, uηε mu jε asqai.i baʼa?" "Awa goʼsqai.a ba." "Jε asqanatε uη kε goʼsqai bai.i." "Uηε
10 belatε iγumurulum i·skumuts lεl oʼta kε bε? Ja asqanas da uηε akωri ba?" "Ja asqanatε goʼsε mudʼaʼ belatε goʼr mε.imi?" "Ja asε mudʼaʼ bεsan bila?" Buʼzur Jambuʼrε: "Alqaš Waxi·rε e·mutεs pfuʼt gumai.i ba bε?" "Uηε tsan se.iba. Pfuʼt amaiya ba." "Uηε goʼsε mudʼa gočam. Aiyasqan kε aʼltuωaltεr kutsum Alqaše e·i goʼši
15 gowεččam." "Gʼokin kε gʼosumuts jε bεsantsum tsuʼčam?"

I·tε e·pači bilum γεnιš iči·mi. "Bazaʼrεtεr gašεr tuγuli.εn di·usaʼn. Gutε γεnιš nʼučin i·sε tuγuli dʼitεo." Saladaʼrε se.ibai.i: "Ya Buzur Jambuʼr, εωs haiωaʼnan amulo kε aiyεʼčam (or, aiyačam), banda čapε mana εωtεs oʼmaimi na?" "Le.i Saladaʼr, teʼljuko εk akʼεʼima.
20 Gusan hurεʼto boʼm, belisanε mamu εti bim. I·nε gusmo moʼiyεn dumʼumanumo. Belis nuhalkin tuγuli.εn dimani bim. Gusmo moʼi muʼi·rumo. Mamuli.ε i·mi i·rimi. I·nε gusε moʼimu šuʼlatε i·sε

1 *gωyi* — for *gωye* gen. of *gωy*.
mi aya — the expression is probably more respectful than *ja aωy*. For other examples of *mi* = 'my' v. vocab. s.v. 2. *mi*.
9 & 11 *asqanεr* — v. § 407 C.
10 *ja asqanas . . . akωri ba.* — This is said by Saladar. I miss the point of it. S. says: "Didn't you somehow find out about the young ones in the sheep, and don't you then know about the killing of me?" But B. J. had just told him that A. W. would kill him in certain circumstances, and now he goes off on another line: "How will my death benefit you?" S.'s speech seems to hang in mid air. Perhaps *asqanas* is a slip for *gωsqanas* 'my killing thee'.
14 *εi gωši gωsεččam* — **-amaši.εs* is a difficult verb v. § 248. The meaning is probably: 'I will throw A.'s daughter on your neck for you'.
18 *εωhaiωaʼnan* — the *-an* suffix following a demons. adj., if correct, is at any rate rare.
amulo kε. — One would rather expect: *amulo aiyεʼčam kε* 'if I get it anywhere', or, 'if I somehow get it'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

One is this sheep. Where do you get the other two from?" "O Wazir, this sheep was pregnant and there are two young ones in its belly. One is black and one is white. The white one is a female lamb and the black one is a male lamb." Alqash commanded the gardener: "Cut the sheep open." The gardener cut it open, and there were two young ones just such as Buzur Jamhūr had described. The white one was a female, and the black one a male lamb. Alqash said to the boy: "O boy, what is your father's name?" Bakht-i-Jamāl is my father's name." "What is your own name?" "My name is Buzur Jamhūr."

The son of the King of Habash, being in love with Alqash's daughter, was serving Alqash. He was with Alqash Wazīr. Alqash said to him "Saladār, my son, take this boy to such and such a place and put him to death. (Then) roast his liver and kidneys and bring them to me. Now take him away." Saladār led him away. At the place of slaughter, Buzur Jamhūr said: "O Saladār," "are you going to kill me now?" "Yes, I am going to kill you." "On your killing me he (Alqash) will kill you too." "Somehow or other you found out about the lambs in the sheep's belly, did you not? Do you not also know about my being killed?" "By killing me," replied Buzur Jamhūr, "how will you attain your heart's desire?" "What is my heart's desire?" said Saladār. "Are you not in love with Alqash Wazīr's daughter?" said Buzur Jamhūr. "You speak truly, I am in love with her." "I shall bring about your heart's desire for you. Don't kill me and in forty days I shall throw Alqash's daughter on your neck." "(But) from what shall I take your liver and kidneys?"

(Buzur Jamhūr) gave him the gold that was with him and said: "They have brought out a male lamb to the bazar to sell. Give them this gold and buy the lamb." "O Buzur Jamhūr," said Saladār, "Wherever I may get that animal, it won't have the taste of human flesh, will it?" "O Saladār, you don't understand such matters. A woman was with child and a sheep was pregnant. A daughter was born to the woman. The sheep gave birth and a male lamb was born. The woman's daughter died and the lamb's mother died.

000 mamu·ši.ər mu·imo mamu ići·mo. Mundaq imanumər šapik kɛ 'e·isi·rumo. Bani.a·damɛ mamu mini bi, šapik ši bi. I·sɛ tuγuli di.u·sa·n baza·retər. Yɛ i·sɛ tuγuli.ɛ čapɛ maza banda čapɛ ju.an maza bila. Yɛ ni, tso·r nuko·n di·tso."

5 Saladaʳər i·tɛ γeniš ici·mi. Saladaʳɛ nukan ni·mi bazaʳretər. I·sɛ tuγuli bazaʳretər ditsam. I·tɛ γeniš učiʳmi tuγuli d'itsimi Buzur Jamhuʳr ɛ·pačər. "Le.i Saladaʳr, d'itsuma?" "Awa d'itsam." "Yɛ gusɛ qaš nɛ ni·patər ɛ·sɛmuts kɛ e·kin jajam nɛ eʳr tsu. Da ja ha·lər hik dukoʳras bai.i. Uʳŋ ya, o·san, ja ha·lər ju." Nɛsun Buzur

10 Jamhuʳr i·mo ha·lər ni·mi.

Saladaʳɛ i·sɛ tuγuli qaš ɛtimi, if'atərimi. Nipatər e·kin kɛ 'ɛsumuts du·isimi, kaba·b o·timi, do·tsərimi, Alqašalər tsu·mi. Alqaš yaʳɛ 'o·simi. Alqašɛ šu·mi. Alqaš: "Ki·nɛ ja dušman bam. Ki·nɛ kɛ ɛ·sqanam. Ja yɛtsam i·kɛ γenaŋər kinɛ keʳr bam. Yɛ da γenaŋ

15 mɛnər kɛ lɛl o·mai.imi. Yɛ mu ad'imatə manimi." Alqašɛ ximoʳr galimi. Buʳt aʳraʳm nɛ huruʳtimi.

Buzur Jamhuʳr i·mo ha·lər ni·mi. I·mi.ɛ: "Ho·i atuʳtsuma?" ɛsumo. "Alqaš Wazi·r yaʳrum bɛsan nɛ daiya ba asqanastsum. Saladaʳtər 'ɛ·sqan' sɛnam. I·n yaʳɛ buyat nɛ 'aiyasqan' nusɛ 'fat

20 æti' ɛ·sabatɛ fat ætimi. Da bɛsan nɛ ho·i su·ča baiyam?"

Buzur Jamhuʳr sabaqatɛ wɛ·šimo. Alimalɛ sabaq γat animi. I·skikuts wa·lkutsatsum tamaʳm alimalɛ bilum i·tɛ uyo·n pfaš ɛtimi. Alim hairaʳn imaibai i·nɛ huʳš kɛ faʳm ni·itsin. Alimɛ se ibai: "Ya Buzur Jamhuʳr, ja·lɛ doʳm kıtaʳpan bila, jaʳr ač̣učila Hik bareʳima,

25 g'o·ltirčama?" "Šu·ai.ɛ dusu, a·ltiri," ɛsimi. Axo·nɛ dusun ići·mi. Buzur Jamhuʳrɛ barɛ·nimi. Buzur Jamhuʳrɛ: "Le.i axo·n, gutɛ

8 *ni·patər* — p.pc. act. of *-*fatəras*.

8 *dukoʳras* — infin. or agent form with 2nd. sg. pn. pf. of *d*ᵉ-*aras* 'to send someone'.

17 *hoʳi atuʳtsuma.* — This appears to be wrong. *hoʳi* is y pl. and should take a form of the verb *dusuʳyas* (or, *suʳyas*) not of *d*ᵉ-*tsas* which is used when the obj. is h or x v. § 231 d.

The correct form would be *atusuʳma* (*a* + *dusuʳma*) cp. l. 20 *hoʳi suʳča baiyam*.

20 *ɛsabatɛ* — apparently *ɛsa'ba* + *atɛ* 1st. sg. perf. of *-*asas* with case suffix, cp. note to p 58 l. 8.

25 *šuʳai.ɛ* — probably *šuʳa yɛ*.

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The woman, out of love for her daughter, gave the lamb her milk. When it grew big she fed it also with bread. (So) it had drunk human milk and eaten bread. They have (now) brought out that lamb to the bazar. Now the taste of its meat is like the taste of human flesh. Go now quickly and buy it."

(So saying) Buzur Jamhūr gave Saladār the gold and Saladār went off with it to the bazar. They had brought the lamb to the bazar and he gave them the gold and brought the lamb to Buzur Jamhūr. "Hallo, Saladār, have you brought it?" "Yes, I have." "Well now slay it and skin it and roast its kidneys and liver and take them to (Alqash). Then he will send you once again to my house. You hold your tongue and say nothing and come to my house." Having said this to him Buzur Jamhūr went off to his home.

Saladār slaughtered the lamb and flayed it. Then he took out its liver and kidneys and having roasted and cooked them took them to Alqash. He set them before Alqash and Alqash ate them. "This was my enemy," said Alqash. "I have killed him too (as well as his father). He was a partner in the gold I saw. Now again the gold is known to no one. Now it has become my very own." Alqash's uneasiness was dispelled and he lived in great comfort.

Buzur Jamhūr went off to his home. "Have you not brought any greens?" said his mother. "Somehow or other I have escaped from death at the hands of Alqash Wazīr. He told Saladār to kill me. I implored Saladār 'Don't kill me,' and on my saying 'Let me go,' he let me go. But how was I to bring back any greens?"

(His mother) put Buzur Jamhūr to study. He studied with a man of learning. In three days or four he exhausted all that the learned man had (to teach). The man of learning was amazed on seeing his intelligence and understanding. "O Buzur Jamhūr," said the learned man, "I have a difficult book which is unintelligible to me. Will you just have a look at it? Shall I show it to you?" "Good!" said Buzur Jamhūr. "Bring it and show it to me." The Akhund brought it and gave it to him. Buzur Jamhūr

000 je·imo ha·lɛ a·ltul ɣat'aiyam, æčičuma?" Axo·nɛ se.ibai.i: "Gutɛ u·ŋɛ kita·p bila. Gutɛ kita·b gopkutsə go·pi.ɛ bilum. G'umimur mutɛ·ŋi muči bam (*or*, mo·r ɛtam). U·ŋɛ gu· kɛ šu·a axo·n bam. I·nɛ akɛ·nimi. Ja·lər dusu·am. Ja kɛ akɛ·nam. 'Kot akɛ·ya ba·n
5 kɛ ko·lɛ biliš,' nusɛ, fat ɛtam. Yɛ i·tɛ kita·b bilæ, u·ŋɛ ma·l bila."

Bu·zur Jamhu·rɛ tsap nɛ ba nɛ ganimi. I·mo ha·lər tsu·mi. Nutsun i·mo ha·lər y'atanimi. Nuq'atan dum'atsimi, h'ɛrimi, i·mi kɛ h'ɛrumo. I·mi kɛ mu·i hɛruman. Da pfataŋ ɛtimi, ɣat'animi.
10 Du·ŋ žiga ɣatanimi. Nuq'atan dum'atsimi. De·ɛɣasimi, i·mi kɛ dumo·oɣasumo. Da pfataŋ ɛtimi ɣatanimi. Dum'ats da·l ɛtimi. D'i.ɛn gir'atimi.

I·mi.ɛ: "Le e·i, gutsi baɣ'altama?" "Bɛ, mama, atsi apa·ɣaltaiya ba." "Yər h'ɛruma, i·lji duko·ɣasuma da gir'atuma, gutsi baɣ'altama."
15 "Mama, gultumal ɛti. Alqaš Wazi·rɛ ja a·uy ɛ·sqanai.i (*or*, a·sqanai.i). Gutɛ kita·pulo lɛl a·r mai.i bila. A·u.ɛ ja·k a·r di·n h'ɛram." "Tsan se.iba, lɛ e·i. Gu·y ha·tsum dyu·s sailər itsu·am. Sailər itsumtsum am ni·mi kɛ w'a·limi. U·ŋ tsan se.iba." "Mama, jɛ da (ja) d'a·ɣasas gutɛ bila kɛ Alqaš Wazi·ratɛ haɣu·rɛ asba·b ne·igin
20 yatɛ huljaiyas ba. Aya ɛ·sqanum i·tɛ dišulo Alqaš Wazi·r ɛ·sqai.a ba. Ja a·u.ɛ ti·njo d'e·ɛgus, mazər nɛ ɣana·s ɛ·ča ba." "Lɛ e·i, kutə o·san. Alqaš Wazi·r bu·t do·m bai.i. U·ŋ tərɛs hilɛsɛ i·n ɛ·sqanš bɛ g'oməi.iba? U·ŋ kɛ go·sqaimi. Mɛnalɛ gutɛ čaɣa aiy'eti."
"Mama, gutɛ kita·pulo gutɛ čaɣa bila i·n bɛ e·mai.i bai.i jɛ asqanš,
25 jɛ 'ɛ·sqanas ba.

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2 *gopkutsɛ go·pi.ɛ* — *gopkutsɛ* was an addition to the original text. *-*apkuts* appears to be used in the sense of 'the members of the mother's family', and then in the genitive as 'maternal'. It looks as if it were compounded of the base *-*api* 'grandfather' plus *kuts* 'people'. See Vocab.

5 *biliš* — ā. λ. recorded with -*š* v. § 271. 3.

15 *a·sqanai.i* — see below, p. 80 l. 12 note.

18 *itsumtsum* — static pc. of *i* + *-*tsuyas* + *tsum* v. § 387.

jɛ da (ja) *da·ɣasas* — either *jɛ* or *ja* is correct, and one is redundant.

21 *ɣana·s.* — The idea seems to be to make a grave that will be visible and obvious. Alqash had taken pains to make the original grave invisible.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

examined it. "O Akhund," said he, "will you give it to me? I shall read it for a couple of days in my own house." "This is your book," said the Akhund. "It belonged to your mother's father. He had given it to your mother in her dowry. Your father also was a fine scholar. He did not understand it. He brought it to me. I too did not understand it. He left it behind saying: 'As we do not understand it, let it remain here.' (This) is now that book, and it is your property."

Buzur Jamhūr touching it with his fingers and kissing them took it. He carried it away to his own home and there he read it. When he had read it he shut it and wept. His mother also wept. Both mother and son wept. Again he opened and read it. He read it for a long time and (then) shut it up. He laughed. His mother also laughed. Again he opened it and read it. (Then) closing it he put it away, and getting up he danced.

"O son," said his mother, "have you gone mad?" "No, Mother, I have not gone mad." "First you wept, next you laughed and then you danced. You *have* gone mad." "Mother, listen to me. Alqash Wazīr murdered my father. I learn that in this book. Moved by grief for my father, I wept." "You say truly, O my son. He brought your father out of the house and had taken him for a walk. Wherever your father went after he was taken for the walk he disappeared. You speak truly." "Mother, then again my laughing was due to this: I am going to put horse-gear on Alqash Wazīr and mount him, and at the spot where my father was murdered I am going to kill Alqash Wazīr. I shall exhume my father's bones and make a grave and make it visible (to all)." "O son, don't say this. Alqash Wazīr is a very hard man to deal with. How will you, an orphan boy, be able to kill him? He will kill you. Don't speak thus to anyone." "Mother, in this book it is stated that he will not be able to kill me, but that I am going to kill him."

24 *be emai.i bai.i* — *be* here seems to be the negative. Its use as a neg. particle in conjunction with and preceding a verb is rare, but seems to be established by this example and ll 12—14 p. 72. V. § 342.

Padša yu·ljɛn yɛtsimi. Yu·lji ni·itsin til e·limi. Alqaš Wazi·rtsum doγ·ərusimi: "Le Alqaš Wazi·r, ja o·lji ni·itsin til a·lam. Jɛ til a·lum (*or*, a·lam) i·tɛ čaγa u·ŋ a·r ɛti." "Le.i padša, u·ŋɛ gu·lji yɛtsa, jɛ čaγa ɛtiš ay·a·maiyam." "Le həramza·da, gu·yɛtis nuk·o·skərts himaltərtsɛ dukoʳtsiki.am. Ja do·lat u·ŋə bu·t şe.iba." Alqaš Wazi·r ər imanimi, ər niman se.ibai.i: "Ya padša, a·ltul i·skikuts pfat ɛti. Gu·lji.ɛ čaγa amulum dusu·ya kɛ jɛ go·r su·čam." Padša se.ibai.i: "Le.i Wazi·r, han hisa tɛ fat go·tam. O·lji.ɛ čaγa u·ŋ ar su·yas ba kɛ bu·t ina·m go·r ɛ·čam, bu·t uyu·mkuš gumai.ima. Yɛ ni."

Alqaš Wazi·r ni·mi. Alqaš Wazi·r ni·nin i·mo ha.lər Saladaʳ qau nɛ d·itsimi. "Le.i Saladaʳ, ja 'ɛ·sqan' nusɛ gu·yam i·nɛ h·ilɛ·s am itsu·ma?" "Le.i Wazi·r, u·ŋ 'ɛ·sqan' nusɛ bɛ hukəm a·r ɛtam? 'Nɛ·sqan e·kin kɛ ɛ·sumuts d·otsirin du·tsu' bɛ asam? Bɛ go·r du·tsam u·ŋɛ bɛ şu·ma? Da i·n ja am itsu·yam?" Wazi·rɛ se.ibai.i: "Lɛ Saladaʳ u·ŋɛ 'ɛ·sqan'a kɛ jɛ mu go·sqaiya ba." Saladaʳɛ se.ibai: "Aiyɛ·sqana ba." "Hē, bihɛl gumanš. Yɛ bɛlatɛ aiyɛ·sqan'a kɛ yɛ a·r čaγa ɛta, ja kɛ 'ɛ·sqan' go·sa baiyam. E·sumuts kɛ e·kin bɛsantsum a·r dusu·am, yɛ čaγa ɛta."

"Wazi·r, jɛ mu go·r čaγa e·čam. Bazaʳrtsər han tuγuli.ɛn di.·usam. 'Jɛ aiyasqan isɛ tuγuli nuko·n d·itso,' 'asimi. Γɛniš xəran ači·mi. 'Gutɛ gaš nɛ i·sɛ tuγuli ditso,' asimi. 'Es tuγuli bɛ ɛčan? E·s tuγulitsɛ banda čapɛ maza o·mai.imi,' ɛ·sam. 'E·t u·ŋə ake·ima. Čup nɛ nuko·n i·sɛ tuγuli ditso,' æsimi. 'Gusan nuku·čɛn das·inɛn dum·osmanu bo·m. Bɛlisan nuhalk tuγuli.ɛn dɛ·smani bi·m. I·sɛ ač·asɛ i·mi i·rimi, i·n gusmo mo·i mu.i·rumo. I·nɛ gusɛ ačas čuš

5 *dukoʳtsiki.am.* — 'I will hang you up,' but here the pn. pr. is probably to be taken as an ethic dat., as also in the case of *nuk·o·skərts*. 'I will cut off your head for you and hang it up'. V. § 249.-3.

7 *dusu·ya* — short form of 1st. sg. pret. v. § 314.

8 *han hisa tɛ.* — The Ms. has *hisatɛ*, but it seems really to be *hisa te.i.* 'I have' (i. e. 'I shall') let you be for one month thus' i e. 'as you are'.

9 *uyu·mkuš* — is properly a noun 'greatness'. There is probably a contamination of construction.

12—13 *bɛ* — see note to p. 70. 24.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

(Now) the King had a dream, but he forgot his dream. He asked Alqash-Wazīr: "O Alqash Wazīr, I had a dream and I have forgotten it. You tell me what it was that I have forgotten." "O King, *you* had the dream. I cannot tell you what it was." "O bastard. I'll cut off your head and hang it up on the gateway. You have consumed much of my wealth." Alqash Wazīr was frightened and said: "O King, let the matter stand for two or three days, then if I get the story of your dream from anywhere I'll bring it to you." "O Wazīr," said the King, "I'll let you go for a month, and if you bring me the story of my dream I'll give you a big reward and you will be promoted to very high rank. Now go."

Alqash Wazīr went off and going to his own house summoned Saladār to him. "O Saladār," he said, "I gave you a boy and told you to kill him. Where have you taken him?" "Wazīr, did you not order me to kill him and say to me 'Kill him and cook his liver and kidneys and bring them to me?' Did I not bring them to you and did you not eat them? Where then did I take him?" "O Saladār," said the Wazīr, "if you have killed him, I will now kill you." "I haven't killed him," said Saladār. "Aha, bravo to you! Now tell me how you haven't killed him when I had told you to kill him. Of what did you bring me the liver and kidneys? Come tell me that."

"I'll tell you now, Wazīr," said Saladār, "People had brought out a lamb to the bazar and the boy said to me: 'Don't kill me; go and get that lamb'. He gave me a *khar* of gold and said: 'Pay this and buy the lamb'. I said to him: 'What shall we do with the lamb? The lamb will not have the flavour of human flesh'. 'You don't understand the affair,' said he, 'hold your peace, and go quickly and fetch the lamb. A woman was brought to bed and gave birth to a girl. A sheep yeaned and gave birth to a male lamb. The lamb's dam died and the woman's daughter died. The

21 *gots gAš ne — gAš etAs* ordinarily means 'to sell,' but here probably 'to pay for, buy.
25 *i·mi* — as referring to a sheep is here x, hence *i·rimi* not *mu.i·rumo.*

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000 ɛ'tumo. Uyu'm imanumɛ ka šapik ɛ'sirimo. I'sɛ mu uyu'm niman bazaʼrɛtər diʼtsʼa'n. I'sɛ tuγuli.ɛ čapulo banda čapɛ maza bila. Uŋ humalqum nukoʼn tsoʼr diʼtso.' I'sɛ tuγuli ja ditsam. Ditsu'in-qaš ɛtam, ifʼatəram. E'kin kɛ ɛsumuts deʼɛgus jajʼam nɛ dʼotsirin goʼr
5 dutsam. I'n pfat ɛtam."

"Bihɛl gumanš. Yɛ nukoʼn iʼnər 'ju' ɛ'so." Saladaʼr niʼmi Buzur Jamhuʼrɛ haʼlər. "Ya Buzur Jamhuʼr, Waziʼrɛ 'ju' gušai.i." Buzur Jamhuʼrɛ: "'Jaʼlər jučuma,' gosa baiyam. Yɛ gon ničɛn." Oʼltalik Alqaš Waziʼr ɛ'pačər duʼman. Buzur Jamhuʼrɛ Alqʼašər salaʼm
10 ɛčʼai.i. Waziʼr eʼr daʼl me.ibai.i. Daʼl numan kursi.etɛ eʼurušai. Neʼurut: "Le Buzur Jamhuʼr, ja be.adapi.ɛn ɛta ba. Aʼr baxšiš ɛti." "Le.i Waziʼr, uyoʼŋko.ɛ tai.i duroʼwan ʼɛčaʼn. Bɛskə bər api." Alqaš Waziʼrɛ se.ibai.i: "Ya Buzur Jamhuʼr, mɛnɛ uʼlji niʼitsin til oʼlan kɛ iʼtɛ ʼɛtiš gʼoʼmai.iba?" Buzur Jamhuʼrɛ: "Yɛ te.iljuko
15 iʼkɛ ja eʼčaba." "Ya Buzur Jamhuʼr, qurbaʼn amanša. Padša yuʼljɛn niʼitsin til elʼai.i. 'Ja oʼlji.ɛ čaγa uʼŋ aʼr ɛti,' æšai.i. Yɛ bɛsan yuʼlji.ɛn yɛtsai kɛ yɛ ɛti.a uʼŋ." Buzur Jamhuʼre se.ibai.i: "Le.i Waziʼr yuʼlji yɛtsum iʼnɛ sisɛ iʼskil ja eʼitsiš xa jaʼr ačuʼčilʼa." "Ya Buzur Jamhuʼr, kɛ padšaʼlɛ uʼŋɛ guʼiʼk
20 ɛčam jučumanʼa?" "Le.i Waziʼr, padšaʼnalər tum jɛ æčuʼčama? Jučam."

Waziʼr padša salaʼmər niʼmi. Niʼn padšaʼr salaʼm ɛtimi. Padša doγʼarusumi: "Le Alqaš Waziʼr, ja oʼlji.ɛ čaγa suʼa bɛ?" "Ya padša, suʼya ba." "Yɛ čaγa aʼr ɛti." "Ya padša eʼt ɛtiš aiyaʼmaiya
25 ba. Baxt i Jamaʼlɛ iʼ Buzur Jamhuʼrɛ ɛčai.i. Ama jaʼ ka nasaʼs bai.i. Guguʼiʼ sisan eʼri kɛ jučimi." Padša: "Buʼt šuʼa. Jɛ sisan

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4 *deʼɛgus* — with the x plur. *ɛsumuts* one would expect *doʼgus*. The sg. pronoun infix in p. 70 l. 21. *ja auɛ tinjo deʼɛgus* and also p. 80 l. 22. *ja auwɛ tinjo deʼɛgušam* is similarly peculiar. The infix must in fact refer to the person etc. affected, here 'the lamb' and 'the father' respectively.

jajam nɛ — can hardly be accounted for in this way. It is probably a mere lapse from grammatical rectitude. We had *ɛsumuts jajam no* p. 66 l. 6 and *eʼkin jajam nɛ* p. 68 l. 8, both correct.

7 *gušai.i* — i. e. *gošai.i*.

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woman suckled the lamb. When it grew up she fed it with bread. It has now become big and they have brought it to the bazar. In its flesh there is the taste of human flesh. Go quickly and fetch it here at once.' I fetched the lamb and killed and skinned it. I extracted its liver and kidneys and roasting and cooking them brought them to you. The boy I let go."

"Bravo to you!" (said the Wazīr). "Now go and tell him to come." Saladār went off to Buzur Jamhūr's house. "O Buzur Jamhūr," said he, "the Wazīr says to you 'Come!'" (Buzur Jamhūr replied): "I said to you: 'you will come back to me.' Now come let us go." And the two of them proceeded to Alqash Wazīr. Buzur Jamhūr salamed to Alqash and Alqash got up to receive him and made him sit on a chair. Then he said: "O Buzur Jamhūr, I have done you a discourtesy. Forgive me." "O Wazīr, the Great do such things. It is nothing." "O Buzur Jamhūr," said Alqash Wazīr, "if anyone dreams a dream and forgets it, can you interpret it?". "I do do such things." "O Buzur Jamhūr, may I be your sacrifice! The King had a dream and has forgotten it and he says to me: 'Tell me my dream.' Now you tell me what was the dream he had." "O Wazīr," said Buzur Jamhūr, "until I have seen the face of the person who had the dream it is not revealed to me." "O Buzur Jamhūr, if I mention your name to the King will you come (to him) or not?" "O Wazīr, why would I not come to a King? (Of course) I'll come.".

The Wazīr went to salam the King. He salamed to him and the King asked: "O Alqash Wazīr, have you brought the story of my dream or not?" "Yes, King, I have brought it." "Tell me it." "O King, I cannot tell it. Bakht-i-Jamāl's son, Buzur Jamhūr, will tell you it, but he is on bad terms with me. You yourself send a man and he will come." "Very good," said the King, "I'll send someone." And he gave orders to a man: "Go, and tell Buzur

15 *sise* — used for a single person instead of *sisan*. The *-an* suffix is barred by the demons. *ime*, cp. also p. 76 l. 2 & p. 78 l. 17.

19 *ke . . ečam* — an unusual displacement of *ke* = 'if'. *ečam ke* would be normal.

000 ɛrčam." Padša hukəm ɛtimi hin sisanər: "Nukoʷn Buzur Jamhuʷrər 'ju' ɛʷso." Iʷnɛ sis niʷmi Buzur Jamhuʷr ɛʷpačər. "Ya Buzur Jamhuʷr, padša 'ju' gošai.i." Buzur Jamhuʷrɛ: "Uʷŋ mʿɛnan ba?" "Jɛ šadəran ba." "Uʷŋɛ guʷimo šadəre.i ɛti. Padšaʷr tai ɛso; 'Uʷŋ guyaʷrɛ jɛ bɛsan atʿačana ba. Uʷŋalər juʷčər ja rai apʿi. Je.imo ʿoʷtiŋɛtɛ nukuʷtsər jɛ bɛʷsɛ juča ba?' ɛʷso."

Šadər niʷmi padšaʷlər. Padša deʷyərusumi: "Lɛ šadər, ætiʷtsuma?" "Ya padša, ætiʷmi." Padša: "Bɛʷsə ætiʷmi?" ɛʷsimi. "'Jɛ padšaʷlɛ bɛsanɛ atʿačana ba. Jučər ja rai.i api. Jɛ bɛʷsɛ juca ba?' senimi." Padša: "Iʷnɛ tsan se.ibai.i." Padša iʷmo hayur yenišɛ tabaŋ tili.eŋ asbaʷb uyoʷn ne.igin aštanɛ ka oʷtsumi. "'Gusɛʷɛtɛ nuljɛn ju' ɛʷso." Aštanɛ iʷsɛ niltul tsumi Buzur Jamhuʷrɛ hiŋtsər. Qau ɛtimi: "Ya Buzur Jamhuʷr, padša iʷ huljaiyas hayur goʷr doʷtsai.i. Yɛ ju," ɛʷsimi. Buzur Jamhuʷrɛ se.ibai.i: "Le.i aštan, 'ɛʷs hayurɛtɛ hik kɛ jɛ oʷljaiya ba. Nauwešin bɛsan 'aʷyɛli kɛ bʿɛʷčam? Jɛ gaʷhe ačučam,' ɛʷso, ni," senimi.

Aštan hayur niʷɛn niʷmi padšaʷlər. "Lɛ i aštaʷn, atiʷmi.a?" "Ya padša, 'Eʷs hayurɛtɛ jɛ hik oʷljaiya ba,' senimi. 'Nauwɛʷsin bɛsan 'aʷyɛli kɛ be ɛčam?' senimi." "Tsan se.ibai.i," senimi padša. Hastowatɛ taxt ne.ibišɛn oʷtsumi. "'Gusetɛ nuljɛn ju' ɛʷsu.in," nusɛ oʷtsumi hasto. Hasto tsuʷman Buzur Jamhuʷrɛ hiŋtsər. "Ya Buzur Jamhuʷr, padša sailər tsuyas iʷsɛ hasto goʷr doʷtsai.i. Yɛ ju guseʷtɛ hulja." "Le.i hasto aštaiyo, gutɛ ja senas bər padšaʷr ɛʷsu.in. 'Yərum gusɛ hayur jotan bim. Eʷsɛʷtsum kɛ uyuʷman doʷtsuma. Gusɛ imupušatɛ gajat nɛ xa aweʷši kɛ jiʷtsum aʷrči. Iʷter be ɛčam?' Iʷlji tsuʷin." Hasto ditsuman padša mərakaʷr. Padša se.ibai.i: "Le.i ætiʷmi.a?" "Ya padša, 'Yərum ɛʷstsum kɛ uyuʷm doʷtsuma. Gusɛ uyuʷm mupušatɛ

4 *šadəre.i* — is a Shina form of abstract noun.

13 *iʷ huljaiyas hayur* — 'the himself-riding horse' i. e. 'the horse he himself rides'.

15 *oʷljaiya ba* — *a* + *huljaiya ba*.

aʷyɛli kɛ — v. § 249. 3.

20 *ne.ibišɛn* — cp. *ne.igin* l. 11 above. **-abišaiyas* presents the same difficulties as **-agiyas* and **-ankaši.as* v. §§ 245, 246 & 249. 3. The pn. pr. here probably refers to the elephant. If the meaning were causative presumably the prefix wd. be *o-* as in the case of *oʷtsumi*.

23 *ja senas bər* — v. § 404.

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Jamhūr to come." The man went off to Buzur Jamhūr and said: "O Buzur Jamhūr, the King says to you 'Come'." "Who are you?" asked Buzur Jamhūr. "I am a servant." "Perform your service then. Say thus to the King 'I want nothing from you. I have no intention of coming to you. Why should I come walking on my own legs?' Say that to him." 539*

The servant went off to the King and the King enquired of him: "O servant, haven't you brought him?" "O King, he didn't come." "Why didn't he come?" said the King. "He said: 'I want nothing of the King and have no intention of coming. Why should I come?" "What he says is true" said the King. And he had a golden bridle and saddle and complete trappings put on his own horse and despatched it with a groom. "Say to him: 'Mount this horse and come'," he said. The groom saddled the horse and took it away to Buzur Jamhūr's door and called out and said: "O Buzur Jamhūr, the King has sent you his own riding horse. Now come." "O Groom," said Buzur Jamhūr. "I have never ridden that horse. If it throws me and breaks some part of me what shall I do? Tell him I won't come. Go."

The groom went off with the horse to the King. "O Groom, has he not come?" "O King, he said, 'I have never ridden that horse. If it throws me and breaks some part of me what shall I do?'" "What he says is true," said the King. And he had a litter placed on an elephant and despatched it. He said: "Say to him. 'Mount this and come'," and he sent off the elephant. They led the elephant away to Buzur Jamhūr's door and said to him: "O Buzur Jamhūr, the King has sent you the riding elephant that takes him out. Now come and mount it." "O Elephant-grooms, this that I say, repeat to the King: 'The horse (you sent) before was small (in comparison), (now) you have sent something even bigger than it. If this (elephant) seizes me with its trunk and flings me down it will kill me. In that case what am I to do?' Take it back." They brought the elephant back to the King's court and the King said: "Hallo, hasn't he come?" "O King, he said to us: 'You have sent an even bigger (animal) than the first one. If this great brute seizes me with its trunk and throws me down it will kill me.

080 gajat nɛ xan awe·ši kɛ ji·tsum a·rči, i·te·r be ɛčam? I·lji tsu·in', me·simi." Padša: "Tsana se.ibai.i," senimi. "I·nɛ tsan se.ibai.i. Taxt ɛ rawa·n tsu·in. Gute·te ne·urut d'itsu.in."

U·ɛ ts'u·man. "Ya Buzur Jamhu·r, yɛ ju·. Taxt i rawa·n dusu·a·n. Gute·te nuko·ərur·t gutsu·čɛn." "Le.i, jɛ bɛ gusan ba, hal ja bɛsan gali bi.a, taxt i rawa·nete atsuč'a·n? Padša·r te.i 'ɛ·su.in. 'U·ŋ bu·t ahmaq na·da·n ba. Aki·lete ačuča ba'." I·lji pfər numan tsuman padša mərakar. "A·ti·mi.a?" "Ati·mi." "Bɛsə ačučai.i?" "'Je bɛ gusan ba kɛ taxt ɛ rawa·nete aiy'ai.i ba·n? Hal ja bɛsan gali bi.ɛ kɛ aiyai.i ba·n?' me·simi." Padša se.ibai.i: "Tsan se.ibai.i, ja na·da·ni ɛtam. Gute galči 'Gu·imo rai.ete belate juča kɛ t'əilate ju,' 'ɛ·su.in." E·rimi šu·a sisan.

Ni·mi Buzur Jamhu·r ɛ·pačər. "Le.i Buzur Jamhu·r, padša: 'U·ŋ belate juča kɛ gu·imo rai.ete ju,' go·šai.i." "Ja je.imo rai.i Alqaš Wazi·rete hayure asba·b ne·igin tu·r kɛ tili.eŋe ɛ·šər n'e·iwešin ni·ltul ditsu.in kɛ i·ne·te nu·ljen jučam."

I·nɛ uyu·m sis gute čaya nukan padša ɛ·pačər di·mi. "Ya padša, i·n ajai.ib bəren ɛčai.i." Padša se.ibai.i: "Le.i, ine bɛsan bər'ɛn ɛč'ai.i?" "'Alqaš wazi·rete hayure asba·b ne·igin ni·ltul tili.eŋe ɛ·šər tur kɛ n'e·iwešin d'itsu.in kɛ ine·te nuljen jučam,' se.ibai.i."

Padša hukəm ɛtimi: "Alqašate tili.eŋ 'e·igin" nuse. Alqašate tili.eŋ 'e·igiman, ixači tabaŋ e·ətuman, tili.eŋe 'ɛ·šər tur w'ešiman. Alqaš Wazi·r niltul itsu·man Buzur Jamhu·re hiŋtsər. "Ya Buzur Jamhu·r, yɛ ju. U·ŋe senum (*or*, senam) juwan nɛ Alqaš Wazi·r niltul ditsa·n. Yɛ ju." Buzur Jamhu·r i·mo ha·lum du·simi. Alqaš Wazi·rate huljami, tur tili.eŋe ɛ·šulum de·egus i·ri·ŋər w'ešimi. Alqaš

1 *ji·tsum a·rči* — 'it will despatch me from life'. Use of **-ar as* 'to send' as cs. of *ni.as* 'to go'.

5 *nukoərur·t* — p.pc. of *gu-* + **-asruras*.

9 *je be gusan ba* — the *be* seems to be used as a simple interrogative particle, or else to have some such meaning as: 'in some way', 'in any respect' or perhaps, 'some sort of' v. § 155.

je ... ba kɛ, — *kɛ* seems to be a mere connective, 'that'.

14 *ja je.imo ... jučam* — a somewhat complicated sentence. *gute bila* must be understood after *rai.i*. 'This is my will': —

22 *ixači* — *i* + **-xat* + *tsi* v. § 71.

24 *senam* would be 2nd. sg. plup.

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In that case what am I to do? Take it back'." "What he says is true," said the King. "He is quite right. Take the travelling litter and seat him in it and bring him along."

They carried away the litter (to him) and said: "O Buzur Jamhūr, now come. We have brought the litter. We'll seat you in it and take you along." "Look here. Am I a woman? Or has some part of me been broken that you would take me away on a litter? Say this to the King: 'You are a very stupid fool. I won't come in such a way'." (On this) they carried the litter back to the King's court. "Hasn't he come?" (said the King). "No, he hasn't come." "Why doesn't he come?" He said to us 'Am I a woman that you should take me up on a travelling-litter? Or has some part of me broken that you want to carry me?'" "What he says is true," said the King. "I did a stupid thing. This time say to him: 'Come in whatever way you yourself prefer to come'." And he despatched a man of consequence to him.

The man went to Buzur Jamhūr and said: "O Buzur Jamhūr, the King says 'Come in whatever way you like best'." "This is my pleasure," said Buzur Jamhūr, "Put horse furniture on Alqash Wazīr and hang the whip on the pommel of the saddle, and saddle him and bring him along and then I shall mount on him and come."

The man of consequence returned with this answer to the King. "O King," he said, "he says a strange thing." "Well, what does he say?" said the King. "He says: 'Put horse furniture on Alqash Wazīr and saddle him and hang a whip on the pommel of the saddle and bring him to me. Then I shall mount on him and come."

The King gave command, saying: "Saddle Alqash." And they put a saddle on him and in his mouth they put a bridle and hung a whip on the pommel of the saddle. And (so) having saddled Alqash they led him away to Buzur Jamhūr's door. "O Buzur Jamhūr," they said. "Now come. In accordance with your instructions we have saddled Alqash Wazīr and brought him to you. Now come." Buzur Jamhūr came out of his house. He mounted

24 *senom juwʌn ne . . . ditsa·n* — 'conformably to the thing said by you' cp. p. 80 l. 20. *yetsom juwʌn ne* v. § 377. c.

25 *e·ūolomi* — v. § 77

00 Wazi·ratɛ tur is'ərkimi. Alqaš Wazi·rɛ Buzur Jamhu·r ni·ɛn ito·tam'iŋatɛ gutsərimi. Padša mərakaʼr i·tsu·mi. At'uskum Alqašɛ isɛ kursi.ɛtɛ ni·n huru·timi. Alqaš Wazi·ratum tili.ɛŋ da·l ay'e·tum te.i fat ɛtuman.

Padša doγ'ərusumi: "Ya Buzur Jamhu·r, mɛnɛ u·lji ni·itsin tilɛ o·lum i·tɛ čaγa u·ŋɛ ɛ·ča?" Buzur Jamhu·rɛ: "Ya padša, i·tɛ ɛča ba." Padša se.ibai.i: "Ja o·ljɛn ni.ɪtsin tilɛ a·la ba, yɛ i·tɛ čaγa aʼr 'ɛti." Buzur Jamhu·rɛ se.ibai.i: "Ya padša, u·ŋɛ gutɛ gu·lji.ɛ čaγa i·ljum goʼr ɛčam. Ja ast'aman bila, i·tɛ tsoʼr aʼr ɛti." Padša se.ibai.i: "U·ŋɛ bɛsan ast'aman bila?" se.ibai.i. Buzur Jamhu·rɛ se.ibai.i: "Ja a·u.ɛ kundaʼr ki·nɛ Alqaš hərəmza·da bai.i."

Padša qa·zitiŋ dušai.i gati u·čai.i: "Le qa·zitiŋ, gutɛ astam bɛsan bila kɛ Buzur Jamhu·rər eʼr ɛtin. 'A·u a·sqanai.i,' se.ibai.i." Qa·zi di.ečai.i astam ɛčər. "Le Buzur Jamhu·r, yɛ u·ŋ mu tsanɛ sɛn. Asta·mər dukoʼw'a? U·ŋ atukumanam guʼ i·raiya walaiya bɛskɛ lɛl api, mi mɛn xabər apaʼn. Gutɛ čaγa mɛnɛ goʼr ɛta·n kɛ u·ɛ guwa·tiŋ du·tso. U·ɛ ka astam ečan." Buzur Jamhu·rɛ se.ibai.i: "Ja au yɛ·numa be?" Qa·zi.ɛ: "Lɛl bai.i mi.o·nər." "Ja auwɛ i·imo i·kaŋɛ bur'o·ndumutɛ γɛnišɛ bi·ma bɛ? Toʼrumo 'ɛ·mi.ants uyo·nulo bi·ma be? I·tsɛ uyo·natɛ i·mo i·k biluma be?" Qa·zi.ɛ: "Tsanɛ sai.iba. U·ŋɛ yɛtsum juw'an nɛ čaγa ɛ·č'a." "Ja gutɛ tsan bila bɛ·?" "Awa, u·ŋɛ gutɛ tsan bila." "Ki·nɛ Alqaš ja au.u ɛ·sqanum i·tɛ dišər namatsun nip'i·raqin ja auwɛ tinjo de·ɛgušam. E·mi.ɛntsɛ itsɛ tinjo.ulo buro·ndumutɛ mai.'i·mi.ɛ. I·tsɛ d'u·isin ma·lt'ira kɛ ja·tsɛ daq s'učamana bɛ?" Qa·zi.ɛ se.ibai.i: "Gutɛ u·ŋɛ sɛnum gutɛ

2 *At'uskum* — Ms. *At'usqum*, glossed 'not dismounting.' Probably the static pc. neg. of *dos'o·kas* 'to dismount', the suppression of the *o·* being made possible by the shift of the stress accent.

11 *dušai.i* — 3rd. sg. pres. of *du·tsas* (*d°-tsas*).
u·čai.i — i. e. *o·čai.i*.

12 *a·u a·sqanai.i* — here the pr. pn. of the verb has the ethic dative force, 'he has killed my father for me'. Usually one would have *a·u ɛ·sqanai.i* 'he has killed my father' cp. p. 70 l. 15.

14 *atukumanam* — probably *atukumanom*, 'you not having been born,' from *d°-manas*.
i·raiya — a kind of indirect question: 'nothing is known as to whether he has died . . .'

17 *mi.o·nər* — 'to us all' from *°-yon*.

18 *ɛ·mi.ants uyo·nulo* — pl. of *°-amiš*. Note that the case-inflection is attached to *uyo·n* and not to the noun v. § 178.

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on Alqash Wazīr, took the whip off the pommel of the saddle and slung it (by the loop) on his wrist and he gave Alqash Wazīr a cut with the whip. Alqash Wazīr proceeded on all fours with Buzur Jamhūr and carried him to the King's court. Without dismounting Buzur Jamhūr went (in), and he took his seat on Alqash's chair. Alqash Wazīr they left just as he was, without removing the saddle from him.

The King asked him: "O Buzur Jamhūr, when people have had dreams can you tell what it was when they have forgotten them?' "O King I can do that," replied Buzur Jamhūr. "I had a dream," said the King, "and I have forgotten it; now tell me what it was." "O King," said Buzur Jamhūr. "I'll tell you about your dream afterwards. I have a suit, settle that for me first." "What is your suit?" said the King. "This bastard, Alqash," said Buzur Jamhūr, "is the murderer of my father."

The King brought up and assembled the Qazis (and said): "O Qazis, whatever this suit may be you decide it for Buzur Jamhūr. He says: 'He has killed my father'." The (chief) Qazi stood up to deal with the case: "O Buzur Jamhūr," he said. "Now speak the truth. You have come for justice? Nothing is known, none of us have any information as to whether your father died, or got lost, before you were born. Whoever have told you about this, produce them as witnesses. We shall settle the case with them." "Did you, or did you not, know my father?" said Buzur Jamhūr. "He is known to all of us," replied the Qazi. "Had not my father gold rings bearing his name? Had he not got them on all his ten fingers? Was not his name on all of them?" "What you say is true. You speak as one who has seen." "Is not this statement of mine correct?" "Yes, this statement of yours is correct."' "(Well) I shall take this Alqash to the spot where he murdered my father, and I shall dig and I shall exhume my father's bones, and on the bones of the fingers will be the rings. If I take them and show them to you, will you believe me or

22 *namatsun nipiraqin* — p.pc.s act. of *ma* + **-isuryas* and *biraqas*.

23 *ma'lt'iraʌ ki* — short form of 1st. sg. pret. of **-altiras* v. § 314.

24 *suĉamana* — i. e. *surĉuman* + *a*.

duro ˈɛtuma kɛ uˑŋ juˑanan mɛnan kuli apai.i. Da mi bɛlatɛ daq atuˑša baˑn?"

Buzur Jamhuˑrɛ se.ibai.i: "Yɛ juˑin. Tamaˑman juˑin. Mərin mərin sis kɛ aˑka juˑin. Maiyoˑnɛ yɛˑšuman." Padša hukəm ɛčai.i: "Mərin mərin sis kɛ niˑn maiyoˑnɛ yˈešuman."

Padša mərakaˑulum gutsˈəruman. Yu ɛˑsqanum iˑtɛ dišər uˑtsuˑmi. Iˑtɛ ɛˑsqanum dišulo ˈoˑbiraqimi. Tik bitsuman diˑˈuˑsuman. Tinjo duwˈašemi.ɛ. Duˑisuman tinjo uyoˑn. Bareˑiman kɛ γɛnišɛ iˑtsɛ buroˑndumutɛ toˑrumo biˑɛn. Da bareˑiman kɛ itsɛ buroˑndumutsatɛ Baxt i Jamaˑlɛ iˑk girmˈinum bila. "Le.i qaˑzitin, gutsɛ biˑɛna be ja aˑuwɛ buroˑndumutɛ?" Qaˑzi.ɛ se.ibai.i: "Le Buzur Jamhuˑr, uˑŋ juwanan mɛnɛn kuli oˑmai.imi. Uˑŋɛ guˑyɛ buroˑndumutɛ gutsɛ biˑɛ. Alqašɛ guy ɛˑsqannai.i. Uˑŋɛ tsan bila." "Kiˑnɛ aˑuˑɛ gutsɛ tinjo mazər nɛ yaˑrɛ no γanaˑs aˑr ɛtin." Iˑtsɛ tinjowər mazər ɛˑtuman, uˑlo guˑman. Mazərɛ man nɛ γanaˑs ɛˑtuman.

Padšaˑlər duˑman. Padša doγˈərušai.i, Buzur Jamhuˑrɛ sɛnum itɛ tsan bilˈa? Galtin bilˈa? Yɛ čaγa ˈɛtin." Qaˑzi.ɛ se.ibai.i: "Ya Padša, kinɛ juˑanan mɛnan kuli apai.i. Kinɛ sɛnum iˑtɛ tsan bilˈa." Padša se.ibai: "Le qaˑzi, yɛ ɛˑakərtɛ gutɛ astˈam." Qaˑzi.ɛ se.ibai.i: "Eˑakəršam. Ya Buzur Jamhuˑr, yɛ mu uˑŋ tsan sɛn." Buzur Jamhuˑrɛ se.ibai: "Bɛsan tsan seˑya ba?" "Kiˑnɛ gu ˈɛˑsqanasulo Alqašɛ mɛnan ɛˑka imantsɛ itsuˑama? Alqašɛ guyər hik šau ɛtˈama, alto šau ɛtˈama? Gutɛ čaγa ˈɛti." Buzur Jamhuˑrɛ se.ibai: "Le qaˑzi, ɛˑk je.i heˑya ba (*or*, heˑyam). Alqašɛ hinuman au nitsun ɛˑsqanˈai.i. Hik šau nɛtan ɛˑsqanˈai.i. Yɛtɛ tik kɛ iˑ gi bai.i, yuˑtinɛ

1–2 *daq atuˑša baˑn.* — This form is confirmed by another record *daq atuˑša ba.* 'I don't believe'. One must conclude that the idiom is *daq duˑsas*, though that seems inherently improbable. *atuˑša* can otherwise only be referred to *dˑ-tsas* with a pl. h or x obj. (*duˑtsas, duˑš-*) but *daq* is y sg. as is established by the phrases: *daq biin, daq ačučila, daq suˑyas* and *daq dasuˑiyas.*

4 *mərin mərin* — v. § 114.

7 *tik bitsuman* — v. §§ 43. 8 & 9 and 389.

24 *je.i* — the corroborative or emphatic form 'I myself' v. § 142. Why the 'I' should be emphasised is not clear, but perhaps the effect produced is the Eng. 'I *do* know.'

[Errata: should read [ˈaltin], cfr corrigenda, p. 419, cat. 116 -- Analyst.]

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not?" "If you do this thing that you have said," replied the Qazi, "then there is no one like to you. How then shall we not believe you?" 5914

"Come then," said Buzur Jamhūr. "All of you come. Such of you too as are men of standing come with me and you will all see (for yourselves). The King gave command: "You who are men of standing, all of you go too and see."

They set out from the King's court and Buzur Jamhūr conducted them to the place where his father had been murdered. At the site of the murder he made them dig. They removed the earth that was (in the grave) and the bones emerged. They took all the bones out and when they looked there were the ten gold rings, and when they looked again the name of Bakht-i-Jamāl was engraved on all the rings. "O Qazis," said Buzur Jamhūr, "are these my father's rings or not?" "O Buzur Jamhūr," said the Qazi, "there has never been any one like you. These are your father's rings. What you say is true. Alqash has killed your father." "Make a grave," said Buzur Jamhūr, "and bury these bones of my father in it and make it (a) visible (monument) for me." They made a grave for the bones and threw them into it, and made a burial mound over it that could be seen.

They returned to the King and the King enquired of them: "Is what Buzur Jamhūr said true, or is it lies? Come tell me about it." "O King," said the Qazi. "There is no one like this man. What he said is true." "O Qazi," said the King, "settle this case." "I shall settle it," said the Qazi. "O Buzur Jamhūr, now speak the truth." "What am I to speak the truth about?" "When he murdered your father did Alqash take anyone with him to help him? Did Alqash strike your father one blow or two blows? Tell (us) this." "O Qazi," said Buzur Jamhūr, "I know about that. Alqash took my father away alone and murdered him. He killed him with a single blow, and he himself threw earth on the top of him and stamped the earth down with his feet, and

tik ɛ·tsi bai i.[1] Apim juwan ɛtai.i. Mu jɛ nitsun au ya·rɛ ɛtum i·sɛ tisər nɛ·sqan ulo w'aščam." Padša hukəm ɛtimi: "Yɛ təilatɛ nitsun ɛ·sqan."

Itsu·mi Buzur Jamhu·rɛ yuy esqanum i·sɛ tisatər hik šau nɛ čərap nɛ i·sɛ tisər wašimi. Iri·ŋčiŋatɛ ti·k gimi, yu·tiŋatɛ ɛ·tsimi. Hik ɛ·timi. Ya·rɛ ɛ·tumɛ le·l aiye·timi.

Di·mi padša mərakaʼr Buzur Jamhu·r. "Ya Buzur Jamhu·r, u·ŋɛ go·sɛ mud'a· manimi.a?" "Ya padša ja asɛ mud'a manimi." "Yɛ ja o·lji.ɛ čaγa ɛ·ti be·ɛsa." "U·ŋɛ gu·ljulo uyam ta.a·man guya·rɛ di biluma?" Padša se.ibai.i: "Le ačuko·n, wa! ja bəlatɛ yetsa baiyam kɛ i·tɛ ju·an nɛ a·r čaγa 'ɛčai.i." Buzur Jamhu·rɛ se.ibai.i: "I·tɛ ta.a·m u·ŋɛ šɛ·čər bu·t rai di biluma?" "Awa šɛ·asər rai di bilum." "Matum hukanɛ i·t o·to i·tɛ ta.a·mər dɛsku bi·ma? I·tɛ γunikɛ̄ nuk'o·γan hazaʼr čaŋ go·tiluma (*or*, go·timi.a)?" Padša se.ibai.i: "Ya Buzur Jamhu·r, u·ŋ ju.anan mɛnan kuli apai.i. Ja bəlatɛ yetsa baiyam kɛ i·tɛ čaγa a·r ɛtuma. Gutɛ o·lji yetsum gutɛ ma·ni ake·ya ba. U·ŋ a·r 'ɛti." "Le.i padša, u·ŋɛ gutɛ ma·ni ak'e·i ba?" "Be·, ake·ya ba." "Ama gusɛ mərakaʼulo go·r aye·ča ba. Čito bamatɛ go·r ɛ·ča ba."

Padša i·mo imaʼratər dimi, Buzur Jamhu·r o·ltalik. "Ya padša, gulji.ɛ čaγa ja go·r 'ɛtam. Ma·ni ak'e·i ba?" "Awa, ak'e·ya ba." "Yɛ jɛ go·r ɛ·čam. Gultu·mal ɛti. Uyam ta.a·man go·r di bilum. Šɛ·čər rai 'ɛtuma, matum hukɛ ito·to i·tɛ ta.a·mər dɛ·sku bi·ma?

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4 *čərap nɛ* — glossed "cutting his neck." Probably this means "cutting off his head" as *čərap* usually implies "severing."

6 *γuyɛ ɛtumɛ* — v. § 382.

7 *di·mi . . . Buzur Jamhu·r* — such inversions, which will frequently be noticed, are due to the casual, colloquial style: 'he came to . .' i. e. 'B. J. came.'

9 *be·ɛsa* — I cannot explain this form. It is glossed "now get on with telling" and annotated "not otherwise used". The only guess I can hazard is *be* + *asa* + *a?* with some such meaning as "tell me, won't you?"

13 *i·tɛ γunikɛ̄ nukʼo·γan* — p.pc. act. *γu* + °-*aγanas* v. Vocab. and § 249. 4. Cp. *nuγan* p. 22 l. 17.

14 *čaŋ go·tiluma* — 3rd. sg. *y* plup. interrog. of *caŋ* °-*atas* 'to vomit' v. § 261. II.

18 *ama* — (sc. 'I will tell you) but I won't tell you here'.
čito bamatɛ — the meaning is 'in seclusion, in private', literally, "on (our) being apart" v. § 391.

[1] [Errata - Should be - bai.i. cf. Corrigenda, p.419, cat.116 - Analyst]

[2] [Errata - Should be after i·tɛ insert ju.an nɛ. cf. Corrigenda, p.419, cat.116 - Analyst]

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made (it) look as if there was nothing (there). Now I shall take him and slay him at the pit where my father was buried and fling him into it." The King gave command: "Take him away and slay him in this wise." 539*

Buzur Jamhūr led Alqash off to the pit where his father had been slain and cutting off his head with one stroke flung him into the pit. With his hands he threw in earth and with his feet he stamped it down. He filled up (the hole) and removed all evidence of the burial.

He then returned to the King's court. "O Buzur Jamhūr, has the desire of your heart been fulfilled?" "Yes, O King, my heart's desire is accomplished." "Well, now, get on and tell me about my dream." "In your dream," said Buzur Jamhūr, "did some savoury food appear before you?" "O Brothers," said the King, "he is telling my dream. Wa! He is telling me just what I saw." "Did a great desire come on you to eat the food?" said Buzur Jamhūr. "Yes, I felt a great desire to eat it." "Did a black dog plant its paw in the food? Feeling this (to be) revolting, were you perchance seized with vomiting?" "O Buzur Jamhūr," said the King, "there is no one like you! You tell me things just as I saw them. (But) I do not know the meaning of this vision that I saw. Explain it to me." "O King don't you know the meaning of it?" "No, I don't." "Well, I won't tell you in this public assembly. I'll tell you when we are alone."

The King went to his palace, he and Buzur Jamhūr, the two of them. "O King," said Buzur Jamhūr. "Don't you know the meaning of your dream that I told you?" "No, I don't know it." "Well, now I will tell you, listen. Some savoury food appeared before you. You wished to eat it. A black dog put down its paw in the food. Feeling this (to be) revolting, you vomited?" "Yes, I vomited." "Well, you saw all this?" "Yes, I saw all this. Now interpret it for me." "Good. I'll interpret it for you. Have you, or have you not married the daughter of the King of Habash?" "Yes, I have married her." "She was the savoury food. She has

069 I·te γuniksi nukoγan čaŋ gωtiluma?" "Awa, čaŋ atilum." "Ye akuruman yetama?" "Awaγ, akuruman yetea baiyam. Ye gute maγni aγ eti." "Šuγ, goγ ečam. Habaši padša ei muteuγ ba?" "Awa muteuγa ba." "Uyam ta.aγu iγe manumo. Murimo muyuwe
5 (muγwe) šarteum murimo jiγer yaγan ditei be. Uγ apamate iγe ka maγγuγi maiibo." Padša seibai.i: "Mu gute waxtulo amulo bai.i?" "Gute waxtulo Padša eimo xazinaγulo bai.i." "Mu baiγa?" padša seibai.i. "Awa, mu bai.i."

Padša ine Habaši padša eimo xazina hiŋ doγnimi. Padša bereimi
10 ke ulo bai.i. Ineγtee duγn di.usimi. Merakaγγ itsuγmi. Qaγzitiŋ gati oγtuman. Padša seibai.i: "Le qaγzitiŋ, je padša ba. Kin ja jamaγate muγimo jiγer yaγan ditee be. Ye gute astam etin." Qaγzi.e: "Astaγm ečam," seibai.i. "Ya padša, ku mene oγqanas be. Ku d.asenaγ nuteun huγnan traq (or, taar) ne hin iγte pfer hin kiγte
15 pfer no uriγnčiŋ nodilin fat oγčan." Qaγzi.e: "Gute astam etam," senimi. Utsuman iγe daser nuteun eγe huγner uriγnčiŋ odiluman. Nodil iγke paγγomiŋ di.usin fat oγtuman iγte dasulo. Buzur Jamhuγγer waziγri ičiγmi.

Beγuruman denγiŋ nimi, padša merakaγulo araq mi bam. Padšaγγ
20 eγγ ti bam ičiγman, iriγqate ganimi. Padšaγγ muburtak etuman. "Gu.iγyen dimanimi," eγsuman. "Ya Buzur Jamhuγγ, ei iγk besan oγčam?" "Binuγ" (= mine) senimi. Padša iriγqulo araq bilum mininsi. "Ya Buzur Jamhuγγ, beγsan iγk oγčam?" senimi. "Le.i padša, mu be oγsam?" senimi. "Mu araq bilum 'mine' asuma,"
25 senimi. Nuširuwaγn oγsimi.

"Ya Buzur Jamhuγγ, gute uyoγn uγqe he.iba. Ja kiγne šu.aγn dimanimi.a, taγpan dimanimi.a? Ye gute čaγa aγγ eti." "Padša

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5 *uγq apamate* — v. § 391.

13 *oγqanas be* — v. § 491.

16 *odiluman* 'they fixed their hands for them in the leg' v. § 248.

22–24 *araq bilum.* — In the first case *bilum* may be the 3rd. sg. *y.* past, in the second it seems to be the static pc. based on *bila*, 'the-wine-which-is'.

25 *Nuširuwaγn* — this unorthodox derivation of the name *Nuširuwaγn* is not carried to its conclusion in the text. The narrator explained it as: *numin γeiser* 'drinking, go'; 'drink and go'. Pers. *nuš o raωaγn* (Pu).

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brought a friend for herself from her father's city and she amuses herself with him in your absence." "Where is he now at the present time?" asked the King. "At the present time he is in the King's daughter's treasury." "Is he there now?" said the King. "Yes, he is there now."

The King opened the door of the treasury of the Habashi King's daughter and saw that he was inside. Seising him he dragged him out and led him off to the court. They assembled the Qazis and the King said: "O Qazis, I am King and this wife of mine has brought a lover here for herself. Now give judgement." "I'll give judgement," said the Qazi. "O King, let no one kill these two. Let them take them away to a waste place and split a log and put one of them on one side of it and one of them on the other side of it, and securing their hands in it leave them there. This is the judgement I have given," said the Qazi. They took (the guilty parties) away to the desert and secured their hands in the (split) log and pulling out the wedges left them there in the desert.

On Buzur Jamhūr (the King) bestowed the Wazirship.

A number of years passed and (one day) they were drinking *'araq* in the King's court. They had poured out (some) for the King and they presented it to him and he took it in his hand. Then they offered their congratulations to the King and said: "A son has been born to you." "O Buzur Jamhūr," said the King, "what name shall I give my son?" "Drink (Persian: 'Binūsh')" said he, and the King drank the *'araq* that was in his hand. "O Buzur Jamhūr, what name shall I give him?" "What name did I just now give him, O King?" "You said to me just now 'Drink the *'araq*' (that was in my hand)." He called him: 'Nushīruwīn' ("drink and go").

"O Buzur Jamhūr", said the King. "You know all these things: has this son of mine been born good or has he been born bad? Now tell me this." "Listen King, I shall tell you. He was born in a happy moment. He was born lucky. Seven kings will serve him. He will have 4000 private attendants. There will be 5000

060 gultumal eti; čaγa go·r e·čam. Šu.a sa.atulo dimanimi. Ni·kbaxt dimanimi. Ki·nər talo padšaha·ntiŋe e·r nokəri e·čuman. Walti sa·s məramtiŋ e·r me.iman. Tsindi sa·s e·r xabərda·ri etiš me.iman. Sa·s daqomutsaŋe gut e·r dumaimi. Ta·j uyo·n adilase mai.imi.
5 Fərš uyo·n zər kimxa·be me.imi. Gute gilimute uyo·n γeniše me.imi. I·te gut uyo·nulo uy'aman kursimute γeniše maimi.e. Tsane astame šaŋaličiŋ i·ne himaltərtse d'itsikimi. I·te waxtulo a·dil imai.imi. Ešuman, 'Nuširwa·n A·dil'."

Gute čaγa etume ka Baxti.a·re i·en dimanimi. Padša se.ibai.i:
10 "Ya Buzur Jamhu·r, i·ne badbaxte ke i·en dimanimi, se.iba·n. I·ne bečuk dimanimi?" "Bu·t da·na d'imanimi," se.ibai.i. "Makərčen dimanimi," se.ibai.i. "Ki·ne gu.i·yər wazi·r dimanimi," se.ibai.i. "Ki·ne i·k besan o·ši?" se.ibai.i. "Ki·ne i·k Baxtek o·ši," se.ibai.i. "Gu·inu ke gu.i·yen dimanimi" nuse muba·rak ečа·n Buzur Jamhu·rər.
15 "U·ne gu.iye i·k besan oštuma?" eš'a·n (*or*, esuman). "Ja e·i.e i·k Si.a·oxaš," se.ibai.i. Ku·e u.i·ski nala dumanuman.

Ku·e dumanumtsum a·ltər den nimi. De·šqaltimi Nuširwa·n padša bal e·γər. Kuba·de duγ ərušai Buzur Jamhu·rtsum: "Ki·ne dimanumulo u·ne čaγamiŋ etum i·ke hai.ai.iŋ ja kine·ete bitsan. Ja e·i.e dušman
20 amulo baiya be?" "Me.imi gu.i·yər dušmanan." "'Amulo bai.i gute waxtulo?" "Yuye e·ščiŋulo bam. I·mimo halk i·šər m u gi·mi." "Yu·ye i·k besan bila?" "Abdul Mutalib bila." "I·ne i·i.e i·k besan o·ši?" "I·ne i·i.e i·k Hamza o·ši. I·ne ša·re i·k Arab bila." Kuba·de se.ibai.i: "Mu u·ner ruxsat eča ba. Arape mulkulo men
25 huru·ča ba·n ke u·lišo tər o·ti." Turma a·lto ta ut'antsate γenaŋ tai.a·r o·timi. "Ya Buzur Jamhu·r, turma a·lto ta ut'antsatum γenaŋ gane xərči go·r etam. Gutər Arape mulkər."

2 *padšaha·ntiŋ* — the Persian pl. *padšaha·n* + *Burus.* pl. suffix *-tiŋ*.

3 *xabərdərri etiš me.iman* — *etiš* is perhaps for *etašo* the pl. of the noun agent. It does not seem possible to take it as *etiŋ*.

4 *dumaimi* — presents some difficulties. As far as meaning goes it could best be attributed to *d**-*MAN.IS* 'to come into existence' etc. but the form should then be *dimaimi*, so that it is necessary to assume a generalised form of *d**-*MAN.IS*: *DUMANAS*.

A verb *DUMANAS* does exist meaning 'to freeze, coagulate, take shape'. Whether or not this is a generalised form of *d**-*MANAS*, or a distinct verb, there is no clear evidence.

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men to guard him. He will have a tent with 1000 poles. His crown will be all of satin. His carpets will be all of gold brocade. The pegs of his tent will all be of gold. There will be as many golden chairs as can find place in the whole tent. Over his doorway he will hang chains of true justice. In those days he will be "The Just." They will call him "Nushīrwān the Just."

Even as he had finished saying this a son was born to Bakhtiār. "O Buzur Jamhūr," said the King, "they say a son has been born to this wretch too. Of what nature has he been born?" "He has been born very knowing. He has been born a trickster. He has been born (to be) Wazīr to your son," said Buzur Jamhūr. "What will (Bakhtiār) call him?" "He will call him Bakhtēk." They said to Buzur Jamhūr: "A son has been born to you too," and they congratulated him. "What name will you give your son?" they asked. "My son's name is Siā.okhash." These three sons were all born at one time.

Twenty years passed after their birth and Nushīrwān Pādshā came of age. Kubād said to Buzur Jamhūr: "The signs which you spoke of at the time of his birth are (evident) on this son of mine," and he asked him: "Is there anywhere any enemy of my son or not?" "There will be an enemy of your son." "Where is he at the present time?" "He was in his father's loins and he has now passed into his mother's womb." "What is his father's name?" "It is Abdul Mutalib." "What will he call his son?" "He will call his son Hamza. The name of his country is Arab." "I now give you leave to go," said Kubād, "and whatever women are with child in the country of Arab rip open their bellies." He made them get ready gold on 1200 camels and said: "O Buzur Jamhūr, I have prepared this gold on 1200 camels for travelling expenses for you. Proceed to the country of Arab."

4 *taj . . . ADILAS* — one would have expected a golden or jewelled crown rather than a satin one.

6 *uyAMAN kursimots* — *uyAMAN* from **-yaiyAs*. The form seems to be analagous to *bAMAN* and is probably the static pc. plus *-AN* v. §§ 389—390.

16 *u.ēski* — numerals with the pron. prefixes are rare v. § 133.

18 *dusyərubai* — as here, frequently introduces a statement not a question.

Buzur Jamhuʿr Arap yakal gʿutsərimi, beʿuruman nokər nʿuyen. Arapər xabər niʿmi. "Uyuʿm padša hukəmate buʿt uyuʿm hiran buʿt daʿna hiran Arapər deʿerai.i diʿa" nusen xabər tsuman. "Gušiŋentse ʿuʿlišo tsər ʿoʿčər dʿiʿa" nusen, dʿoyeluman, ar umʿanuman. Abdul Mutalib se.ibai.i: "Le.i Islaʿme gurʿuʿ, le.i Xudaʿyər bandegi etumišo, buʿt uyuʿm hir diʿa. Yenčər ničen, juʿina." "Šuʿa nʿičan," se.iba n. Niman yenči.ər. Beʿuruman mataʿn gutsəruman. Uyančər diʿa yetsuman. Abdul Mutalib hayurtsum dusoʿkimi. Buzur Jamhuʿre yetsimi. Buzur Jamhuʿr ke soʿkimi. Ho hin-hiʿnər salaʿm ʿetuman. Hin hiʿne iriʿŋčiŋ dumʿəruman. Huručaman. Buzur Jamhuʿre se.ibai.i: "Le Abdul Mutalib, ma besantsum aʿr baʿn ke ma maskʿilulo raŋ api? Ma raŋ badal maniʿla. Ər amʿamanin. Jaʿtsum niʿki juʿas bila, jaʿtsum bayərkuš ačuʿči. Ma besantsum ər baʿn ke ər amʿamanin. Jaʿtsum mirbaʿni maʿr juʿči. Je bayərkuš aiy eʿčam." Buʿt aiyaš umanuman. Buʿt xuši.e ka Arape mulkər itsuʿman. Buʿt izzate ka eʿurutuman. Šuʿa araʿm ne huruʿčaman.

Han hʿisan hurʿuʿtimi. Abdul Mutalib paiyambəre iʿen dʿimanimi. Buzur Jamhuʿrər ʿesuman: "Abdul Mutalibe iʿen dimanimi," nuse. Buzur Jamhuʿre: "Qau etiʿn Abdul Mutalibər." Qau etuman. Abdul Mutalib diʿmi. "Ya Abdul Mutalib, mu dimanum iʿne guʿi jaʿlər, (*or*, jaʿle) ditso." Abdul Mutalib niʿmi ʿiʿe dišər. Niʿnin dʿitsimi. Buzur Jamhuʿre: "Kule jaʿr jo," ʿeʿsimi. Yuʿmi Buzur Jamhuʿre iriŋetər, iʿne ilčumutsate baʿn etimi, iʿne kiʿrts bim uyoʿnate baʿn etimi. Iʿse majlisulo baman uʿe sise: "Ya Buzur Jamhuʿr, kin jot giyaʿsanər uʿne besan izzat etuma? Uʿŋ akiʿl daʿna, akiʿl uyuʿm hiʿre kinər bese akiʿl izzat er ʿetuma?"

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2 *padša hukəmate . . . deʿerai.i* — *hukəmate* is out of place. Simply: 'the king has sent.'

4 *nusen doyeluman* — is equivalent to: 'they heard it said that . . .' *nusen* merely indicates reported speech.

7 *diʿa yetsuman* — 'they saw he has come to meet them' i. e. 'they saw him coming.'

11 *ma besantsum aʿr baʿn ke* — this would normally mean, as it does in line 13, 'whatever you are afraid of', but here the *ke* is probably merely the connective 'that' and the *besan* interrogative: 'what are you afraid of that there is no colour in your faces?'

maskilulo — 'in your' (pl.) 'face' (sg.). The plural pronoun prefix is frequently felt sufficiently to notify the pluralness of the noun v. § 128. III.

[Errata - after etimi insert ifatiyate baʿn etimi cf. Corrigenda, p. 419, cat. 116 -- Analyst.]

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Buzur Jamhūr proceeded in the direction of Arab taking with him a number of servants. News (of his coming) reached Arab. They reported: "A great King has sent a very great man, a very wise man, to Arab and he has arrived. He has come to rip open the women's bellies." The people heard and were alarmed. Abdul Mutalib said: "O community of Islam, you who do service to God, a very great man has come. Come, let us go to meet him." "Good, we will go," said they.

They went out and proceeded some way to meet him. They saw Buzur Jamhūr coming to meet them. Abdul Mutalib dismounted from his horse. Buzur Jamhūr saw him and he too dismounted. Then they salamed to each other and kissed each other's hands and sat down. Buzur Jamhūr said: "O Abdul Mutalib, of what are you afraid that there is no colour in your face? Your colour has changed. Do not fear. Good will come from me, evil will not come from me. Whatever you are afraid of, do not fear. You will receive favours from me. I shall do no evil." They became very happy and led him off joyfully to the country of Arab, and established him there with great honour and settled down themselves in great peace and comfort.

Buzur Jamhūr stayed there for a month and a son was born to Abdul Mutalib the Prophet. They told Buzur Jamhūr. "A son has been born to Abdul Mutalib." "Call Abdul Mutalib," said Buzur Jamhūr. They called him. Abdul Mutalib came. "O Abdul Mutalib," said Buzur Jamhūr, "bring me the son who has just been born to you." Abdul Mutalib went off to the place where his son was and fetched him. "Give him to me here," said Buzur Jamhūr. He gave (the child) into Buzur Jamhūr's hands and Buzur Jamhūr kissed it on the eyes and he kissed it on the forehead and he kissed it all its joints. The people in the assembly said. "O Buzur Jamhūr, what honour have you done to this small child? You, so wise and so great a man, why have you done it such honour?"

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25 *besaw* — should probably be *besanor* 'for what reason?'

000 "Maltumal ɛtin, ki·nɛ sifat ma·r 'ɛ·čam. Do·wum ɛmokišɛ xa Bani Ha·šrmɛ giši bi. Ilta·nts hərəŋulo han niša·nan bila. Aki·ljuko ku·ɛ Ibra·him Paiγambərɛ xa·nda·ntsum dumai.i ba·n. I·tɛ xa·nda·ntsum bai.i. I·tɛtsum təi.i ɪzzat ɛča ba. Jɪl mana·stsum bur mana·stsər
5 šatilju·ko padšaha·ntiŋ u·yumo tɐxttsum do·skuči, yu·katər gu·či. Isla·m baja ɛ·či. Isla·mɛ daqo dimanimi." Turma hik ta utantsatum γɛnaŋ Abdul Mutalibər mirma·ni ɛ·r ɛtimi. "Ki·nɛ gu·i u·ŋɛ kɛ gu·i ja kɛ e·i. Han guntsanulo ja·r kɛ fai.ıda imanas bai.i. Gukɛ uyo·n xərč nɛ bu·t daltas ne yu·ša."
10 Matanum hin sisanɛ isoγuči bɛsan ni·ɛn Buzur Jamhu·r 'ɛsaljam. "Mɛnan bai.i mat'anum asalas i·nɛ?" "Ya Buzur Jamhu·r, Isla·mtsum bai.i. Ja haqulo bai.i." "'Ko·lɛ ju' ɛ·su.ina," s'ɛnimi. Ho i·nɛ ditsuman. "Le hir, u·ŋ matanum jɛ bɛsɛ asulj'a?" "Qurba·n amanša. Paiγambərɛ ki·nɛ i· dimanum guntsalo ja· kɛ 'e·iyɛn di·manai.i.
15 I·nɛ ditsa ba." "Kul ja·r jo·wa," ɛsimi Buzur Jamhu·rɛ. I·nɛ yu·mi. I·nɛ kɛ ki·rts bimanatɛ ba·n ɛtimi. Uyo·nɛ se.iba·n: "Ya Buzur Jamhu·r, Paiγambərɛ i·yər u·ŋɛ (ɪzzat) ɛtas haq bilum. Kin am·i·ɛ u·iyɛn bai.i. Ki·nər bɛsə te.i ɛtuma?" "Maltumal ɛtin. Ki·nɛ d'imanum sifat ma·r ɛ·čam." 'Ultumal ɛtuman uyo·nɛ. "Kinɛ
20 tama·m šatiljuko pahlwa·ntiŋɛ u·ŋ'i·ɛ bap gai·ımi. Bu·txa·naŋtsɛ pfu ɛts'iči. Ki·nɛ Paiγambərɛ i·ər wazi·r dimanimi. Kinɛ bɛsan sɛnimi kɛ i·tɛ 'ɛči. Kinɛ bərči me.imi," o·sımi.

Buzur Jamhu·r huru·timi Arapɛ bušai.ulo. "Kuba·dɛ: 'Ja e·i.ɛ dušmanɛ tsiriš de·pirts (*or*, do·pirts)' nusɛ da·ram. Ja ku·ər ina·m
25 učı·am. Jɛ mu niyas aiy'amanam je.imo bušai.ər. Jɛ mu ko·lɛ huru·šam." I·ski dɛn huru·timi. Iski dɛn ni·mtsum i·ɛ xatan ɛ·r do·tsimi. "Lɛ.i ja a·u, u·ŋ juwanan mɛn kɛ apam [i·nɛ a.u]. Kuba·d duni.a·tsum ni·mi. Nu·širwa·n taxtatɛ basimi. Baxtɛkɛ wazi·ri šɛ·mi. Gun'iki.aŋ astamiŋ ɛtimi, γun'iki.ɛŋ zuləm ɛ·timi. Mulk xəra·b

9 *yu·ša* — alternative reading *yu·šen* 2nd. pl. imper. of *i* + **-uše.as*.

17 *u·ŋɛ ɛtas* — *ɪzzat* must be supplied.

19 *ki·ne dimanum* — i. e. 'of this one who has been born'.

27 *u·ŋ juwanan mɛn kɛ apam i·nɛ a.u.* — This passage is obscure. The main difficulty, *i·nɛ*, was a later addition to the original text. The *i·nɛ* seems to be due to an uncompleted change in the form of the expression from: "there was no one like thee, O father" to: "there was no one like him, that father of mine."

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"Listen," said he. "I shall tell you the child's virtues. Down its right cheek is the line of the Bani Hāshim, and between its eyebrows is a sign. Such as these are born of the family of Ibrahīm the Prophet. The child belongs to that family. For that reason I do it such honour. From the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun (*or* from the East to the West) mighty kings will he cast down from their thrones and fling them on the bier. He will establish Islām. He has been born a pillar of Islām." Then he bestowed on Abdul Mutalib a present of 1100 camel's loads of gold. "This son of yours," said he, "is your son, and he is also my son. One day he will benefit me too. Expend all this gold and rear him handsomely."

From a distance, a man carrying something in his bosom was looking at Buzur Jamhūr. "Who is that looking at me from a long way off?" (said Buzur Jamhūr). "O Buzur Jamhūr," said Abdul Mutalib, "he belongs to Islām, he is of my faith." "Tell him to come here," said Buzur Jamhūr. Thereupon they brought him up. "O man," said Buzur Jamhūr. "Why do you look at me from afar off?" "May I be your sacrifice! On the day that this son of the Prophet was born, a son was also born to me. I have brought him." "Give him here to me," said Buzur Jamhūr. The man gave him (the child) and of him too Buzur Jamhūr kissed the joints. All said: "O Buzur Jamhūr, your doing honour to the Prophet's child was right and proper. This is the son of common folk. Why do you treat him thus?" "Listen and I shall tell you his virtues." All listened. "This child," he said to them, "will take a tax of the beards of all mighty men of valour. He will set fire to idol temples. He was born (to be) Wazīr to the Prophet's son. Whatever the prophet's son says he will carry out. He will obey his behests."

Buzur Jamhūr took up his abode in the country of Arab. (He said) "Kubād sent me saying: 'Tear out the roots of the enemy of my son'. (Instead) I gave them presents. Now I have become unable to go (back) to my own country. I shall now stay here." He abode there for three years. When three years had passed his son sent him a letter: "O my father, there is no one like you, my

000 manimi. Ja gutɛ xat tapɛ dešqalti.a tapɛ ju', sa dešqalti.a sa ʒu'."

Buzur Jamhu'rɛ Abdul Mutalibtsum doγ'arusu'mi: "Ya Abdul Mutalib, je.imo bušai.ər ničа ba." Abdul Mutalib seibai.i: "Ya
5 Buzur Jamhu'r, u'ŋatɛ mɛnɛnɛ šalda nɛ 'n'i' go'sasan apai.i. U'ŋatɛ mɛnɛn šalda nɛ 'huru't' gosasan apai.i. Ničа kuli go.imo rai.i, huruša kuli go.imo rai.i." Buzur Jamhu'rɛ: "Ničа ba," sɛnimi. "Xuda ya'r go'r manišə. Yɛ ni."

Arapɛ mulkɛtsum Buzur Jamhu'r da'l man'imi. Gutsərimi i'mo
10 bušai.i yakal. Nu'šərwa'n padša de'ɛlimi: "Arabtsum Buzur Jamhu'r di'a" nusɛ. "Yančər ničam" nusɛn sa'ma'n ɛtimi. Baxtɛk wazi'rər qau o'timi. Baxtɛk wazi'r di'mi. "Le.i Baxtɛk Wazi'r, Buzur Jamhu'r di'a, se.iba'n. Yančər ničama ya'?" Baxtɛk Wazi'rɛ se.ibai.i: "Le.i padša, aki'l uyu'm padša'n yančər o'ni. In jut sis bai.i."
15 Nu'širwa'nɛ se.ibai.i: "Le.i badbaxt, ja baba kanao atai.i (*or*, ɛtai.i): 'U'ŋɛ dušmanɛ tsiriš de.ipi'ršər 'e'rə b'a. I'nɛ gutɛ du'ro 'ɛ'či. Ju'as waxtulo u'ŋ yančər ni,' asəi.i. 'Bu't uyu'm hir bai.i,' asəi.i. 'Bu't da'na bai.i,' asəi.i. Jɛ yančər ničа b'a. U'ŋ ju'ča be ja ka?" "Padša, u'ŋ ničа kɛ jɛ kɛ jučam." "Awa, jɛ ničа ba. Ja (a)ka'tumər
20 o'r xabər ɛti." Baxtɛk wazi'rɛ o'r xabər ɛtimi.

Padša yɛnčər ničər du'simi, i'mo baman sisɛ ka, gutsərimi. Be'uruman nuku'tsər tu'mak (*or*, paid'a) manuman. Matanər hinin

1 *dešqalti.a* — this is the short form of the 3rd. sg. pret. + *a*, and it is obviously equivalent to the common form of future condition, the pret. + *kɛ* 'if it arrives, should it arrive'.

2 *ʒu'* i. e. *ju'*. In Shina I have found this vacillation between *j* and *ʒ*, and between *j* and *ž* very common. It occurs in Burushaski also, but, in my experience to a much less extent. With my informants *ʒ* and *ž* were not very common sounds.

5 *ni go'sasan* — 'a sayer to thee (of) "go"'. Noun agent from *°-asas* § 403. 1.

9 *mulkɛtsum* — the *ɛ* is probably to ease pronunciation.

11 *di'a nusɛ.* — I am not sure whether this is to be taken as: 'N. P. heard it said (that) B. J. has come' or as: 'N. P. heard of it and saying "B. J. has come..." (and saying) "I shall go to meet him" . . .'

Probably the former. Cp. note on p. 90 l. 4.

13 *ničama ya'?* — I am not sure of the force of *ya'*. Perhaps it is simply the interjection v. § 344.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

father. Kubād departed from this world. Nushīrwān took his seat on the throne and Bakhtek secured the Wazīrship. He gave evil judgements and committed evil acts of oppression. The country has been ruined. If this letter of mine arrives at night, come (the same) night. If it arrives by day, come (the same) day."

Buzur Jamhūr addressed Abdul Mutalib: "O Abdul Mutalib, I am going to go back to my own country." "O Buzur Jamhūr," said Abdul Mutalib. "There is no one over you to give orders and say to you 'Go.' There is no one over you to give orders and say to you 'Stay.' If you go, it is your own pleasure. If you stay, it is your own pleasure." "I am going to go," said Buzur Jamhūr. "God be with you, then go."

Buzur Jamhūr rose up from the country of Arab and proceeded in the direction of his own country. Nushīrwān, the King, heard that Buzur Jamhūr had come from Arab. "I'll go to meet him," he said, and got his things ready. He sent for Bakhtek Wazīr. Bakhtek Wazīr came. "O Bakhtek Wazīr," he said. "They say that Buzur Jamhūr has come. Shall I go to meet him or not?" "O King, do not you, so great a king, go to meet him. He is an insignificant person." "O you wretch," said Nushīrwān. "My father counselled me saying 'I have sent Buzur Jamhūr to pull up the roots of your enemy. He will achieve this task. At the time of his returning do you go out to meet him.' He said to me: 'He is a very great man, he is very wise.' I am going to meet him. Are you coming with me or not?" "King, if you go I will come too." "Yes, I am going. Inform my followers." Bakhtek Wazīr informed them.

The King went out to meet (Buzur Jamhūr), and proceeded with those of his men who were there. When they had gone some

14 *padšan* — vocative: 'you, so great a king, do not go.'

15 *kanao atai.i* or *stai.i.* — If *atai.i* stands *kanao* *-*ataš* is treated as a compound verb with the object regarded as "me"; with *stai.i* the object of *-*ataš* is *kanao* and the indirect object *ar* ought probably to be expressed as in the case of *or xabor eti* in line 20.

19 (*a*)*kartomor* — the Ms. has *kartomor*, but the word is otherwise established as *-*akartom*. The *a*- has been absorbed in the *a* of *ja*.

yɛtsuman. O·ltalik hayurtsum duso·kuman. Hini·nɛ iri·ŋčiŋ d'umərumen. Huru·čaman. Nu·širwa·n padša makuči huru·timi. Baxtɛk Wazi·r do·upa huru·timi. Buzur Jamhu·r γagpa huru·timi. Asma·nulo balašu.ik čal e·ti.ɛ. Γauγ'a manimi. Baxtɛk Wazi·rɛ padša·r ɛšai.i: "Buzur Jamhu·rtsum doγ'arus, balašu.ɛ ba·š he.ibai.i, bɛsɛ te.i məibi.'ɛ kɛ." Nu·širwa·n padša duγərušai.i: "Ya Buzur Jamhu·r kutsə balašu b'ɛsɛ han han d'ɛlji.ɛ?" Buzur Jamhu·rɛ se.ibai.i: "Ya padša, gutsɛ bɛsɛ te.i məi.ibi.ɛ kɛ jatsum at'o·γərus." Padša se.ibai.i: "Gutsɛ bɛ·sɛ te.i məi.ibi.'ɛ kɛ gutɛ čaγa ja·r aiye·č'a kɛ jɛk (= jɛ kɛ) u·ŋ hərəŋulo ni·mi." Buzur Jamhu·rɛ se.ibai.i: "Ya padša, go·sə ka gu·ltu·mal ɛtas ba kɛ gutɛ čaγa go·r ɛ·čam. Dalbat ɛtum gult'u·mal ɛ·ča kɛ jɛ kot čaγa go·r aiy'e·čam." Padša se.ibai.i: "La·t Mana·ttsum tɛš maniš, 'ase ka altu·mal ɛčam." Buzur Jamhu·rɛ: "Yɛ g'ultumal ɛti, go·r čaγa e·čam," senimi.

Padša iltu·mal ɛtimi. Buzur Jamhu·rɛ se.ibai.i: "Le.i padša, jɛ kɛ u·ŋər tu·ki ju·as duro·wanatɛ aki·l məi.ibi.ɛn." Padša samba ɛtimi: "Besan γunikiš duro·wan ɛtuman?" nusɛ. Buzur Jamhu·rɛ se.ibai.i: "Gusɛ han balasanɛ han isɛ·r se.ibi: 'Ja e·iər go·i jo,' 'ɛši bi. I·sɛ balasɛ: 'Bɛsɛ gu·ča ba?' ɛši bi. I·sɛ balasɛ: 'Bɛsɛ aiyau.uča?' 'ɛši bi. Da i·sɛ balasɛ se.ibi: 'Nu·širawa·nɛ wa·lto ša·riŋ xəra·b manitsa, i·kɛ ja ai.imo mu·mimo muy'ɛnimiŋulo muγu·nas ba kɛ ja ai.i gu·čam.' Da han i·sə balasɛ se.ibi: 'Nu·širwa·n taxtatɛ bačantsɛ (*or*, bamantsɛ), Baxtɛkalɛ wazi·ri biličantsɛ, turma walto xəra·b mana·šo bitša, ɛk kɛ goγ'u·yam. A·ltər wa·lto xəra·b mana·šo bitsa, ɛ·k kɛ goγ'u·yam.' Ya padša, yɛ (*or*, ya) aki·l čaγan 'ɛči.ɛ gutsɛ b'alašu.ɛ."

1 *iriŋčiŋ* — the plural is due to the plural verb used with *hini·nɛ*. Each, I think, seeks only 'one' hand of the other.

3 *γagpa* — δ. λ. The *-g-* is hard to account for. Otherwise for "left" I have: *γayum* and *γauγum* (i. e. *γayum*, *γauyum*).

9 *məi.ibi.ɛ kɛ* — the force of the *kɛ* is not clear. It probably corresponds to the English form of direct question "why ever are they acting so?"

10 *go·sə ka* — i. e. *gu* + **-as* + *ɛ ka* 'with thy heart'.

11 *dalbat ɛtum* — originally written *dalbatatum*. It is difficult to say whether the static participle of *ɛtas* or the suffix **-ate* + *um* is the more probable.

16 *tu·ki ju·as* — appears to mean 'from which comes' i. e. 'involving contempt,' or 'disgrace' v. Vocab. & § 402.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

distance (the two parties) met, and (Nushīrwān and Buzur Jamhūr) saw each other in the distance. They both dismounted from their horses and each kissed the other's hand. They sat down. Nushīrwān the King sat in the middle, Bakhtek Wazīr sat on his right hand, and Buzur Jamhūr sat on his left. Some birds started fighting in the sky and there was a disturbance. Bakhtek Wazīr said to the King: "Ask Buzur Jamhūr, who understands the language of birds, why the birds are behaving thus." Nushīrwān the King asked him: "O Buzur Jamhūr, why are these birds attacking each other?" "O King," replied Buzur Jamhūr, "don't ask me why they are acting thus." "If you don't tell me," said the King, "why they are acting thus, then all is over between you and me." "O King," said Buzur Jamhūr, "if you will listen seriously, I will tell you all about it. If you listen heedlessly, I won't tell you." "I swear by Lāt and Manāt that I will listen with all my heart." "Well, listen, and I will tell you," said Buzur Jamhūr.

The King gave ear and Buzur Jamhūr continued: "O King, they are behaving thus over a matter that entails disgrace to you and me." The King thought: "What evil thing have we done?" "The one bird," said Buzur Jamhūr, "is saying to the other: 'Give me your daughter for my son'. The other bird says: 'Why should I give her to you?' The first says: 'Why won't you give her to me?' Again the other says: 'Four cities of Nushīrwān's have been destroyed. If you will give those (cities) among the wedding gifts of my daughter's mother, I will let you have my daughter." Then the first bird says: "Owing to Nushīrwān's being on the throne and to the Wazīrship's being in the hands of Bakhtek, fourteen (more cities) will be destroyed. I will give you those too. Twenty-four (more) are going to be destroyed and those too I will give you.' O King, such things are the birds saying.".

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19 *aiyau.ṡča* — *a* + *a* + °-*uryʌs* v. § 255.

22 *bʌčʌntse* } both ā. λ. v. § 271.
23 *biličʌntse* }

turma — Ms. *turmo*.

7 — Lorimer.

000 Padša se.ibai.i: "Ya Buzur Jamhuʳ ja besan γuniki.aŋ duroʿiŋ
ɛta ba kɛ padšahaʿntiŋ ačі (= ätai) γas ičuman. Gutɛ šərum 'askiltsum
jaʿš (*or*, matan) atiš g'omai.ima? Baxtɛk Waziʿrɛ gusɛ kursi.ɛtɛ
mu gutɛ goʿrušam." Buzur Jamhuʿrɛ se.ibai.i: "Uʿŋɛ gutɛ duro
5 ɛtuma kɛ uyoʿŋko padšahaʿntiŋɛ šabaš ju.as ɛčam, uʿŋɛ taʿrif thaʿnum
goʿčam."

Padša Baxtɛk Waziʿr kursitsum daʿl ɛtimi, Buzur Jamhuʿr eʿurutimi
ɛʿs kursietɛ, waziʿri itai tawiʿl ɛtimi. Waziʿri ičiʿmi. Uyoʿnɛ eʿr
mubaʿrak ɛtuman. D'iʿɛn gutsəruman, Mada.inər d'ošqaltuman.
10 Buzur Jamhuʿrɛ iʿnɛ iʿkɛ buš'ai.imičiŋ uyoʿnər xat bišami (*or*, oʿtsuʿmi):
"Mamatɛ besan γuniki.aŋ astaʿmiŋ bitsum kɛ, mamatɛ besan bapičaŋ
bitsum kɛ, Buzur Jamhuʿr (kɛ) daiyam. Waziʿri šeʿyam. Wa tsanɛ
astam ɛtas iʿnɛ d'aiyam. Maʿr tsanɛ astam eʿčam."

Madai.inulo araʿm nɛtan Nuširwaʿnɛ ka waziʿri nuṣɛn huruʿtimi.

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4 *mu gutɛ* — perhaps an abbreviation for *mu gutɛ waxtulo* cp. p. 86 l. 6.

5 *padšahaʿntiŋɛ šabaš ju.as ɛčam* — probably: 'I shall cause the praise of kings to come'.

12 *B. J. kɛ* — the *kɛ* has been put in brackets in the Ms. as optional.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

"O Buzur Jamhūr," said the King. "If I have done any evil deeds the (other) kings will laugh at me. Will you be able to remove this disgrace from my face? (If you can) this very moment I will seat you on this chair of Bakhtek Wazīr's." "If you were to do this," said Buzur Jamhūr, "I shall win you the applause of mighty kings, and I shall exalt your fame on high."

The King made Bakhtek Wazīr get up from the chair and seated Buzur Jamhūr on it, and he charged him with the duties of Wazīr and bestowed the Wazīrship on him. All wished him joy, and they rose up and went their way and arrived in Madāin. (Then) Buzur Jamhūr despatched letters to all the lands (of Nushīrwān) saying "Whatever injustices have been done to you, whatever taxes have been imposed on you, I Buzur Jamhūr have come and have entered into possession of the Wazīrship. Lo, I, the man who does even-handed justice, have come. I shall do even-handed justice for you."

(Thereafter) occupying the Wazīrship, he abode in peace and comfort with Nushīrwān in Madāin.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. IV.

[100]

The Story of Kiser (alias Pangchu).

010 Lama.ulo hin dolatman hiran bam. Inɛ hirɛ gəru·mo waxtulo kisər gu·r oγu·i bam. I·kɛ gu·rulo hin jot giyasan paida manimi, di.u·simi. Dyu·sin i·nɛ giya·s, i·nɛ γamɪs hi·rɛ ixakinmutsɛ mamu bilum, ditsun yu·šami i·nɛ jot giya·s, i·nɛ nyušan (*or*, ni.ušan), mundaq
5 manimi. Mana·sər i·nɛ i·k Duŋpa Mi·ru o·suman. Uyum imanimi

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Kiser, the central figure of this tale, is no petty personage of merely local distinction, but a hero of renown throughout Northern Asia. Kesar provides the subject of a lengthy epic in Tibetan, and Gesser Khan's exploits are recorded in a Mongolian saga. His fame is further perpetuated in the unwritten folk tales of many Siberian and Mongolian peoples.

The tale of his deeds was found to be current in every village in Ladakh by A. H. Francke, who collected and published two of these oral Tibetan versions, with an argument for their significance as the relics of a primitive religion. It is from this tradition that the Burushaski version seems to derive.

The home of the Kesar legend remains undetermined, and this is not the place to examine either its character or its geographical extension.

It will suffice to provide clues to the literature on the subject in the following references:

Bergmann, Benjamin. "Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken in den Jahren 1802 und 1803." Hartman, Riga. 1804. Vol. III pp. 233—284. "Bokdo Gäsär Chan," Eine mongolische Religionschrift in 2 Büchern.

Schmidt, I. J. "Die Taten Bogda Gesser Chan's." (Translated from the Mongolian). Petersburg und Leipzig 1839. Reprinted, Auriga Verlag E.G.M.B.H., Berlin 1925.

Francke, A. H. "The Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga." "Indian Antiquary." Vol. XXX, 1901 pp. 329—341. Vol. XXXI, 1902 pp. 32—40 and 147—157.

"A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga." "Bibliotheca Indica." (A. S. B.) 1905—1909. Fasiculi (New Series), No.s 1134, 1150, 1164 & 1218.

The article "Gling Chos" in Hasting's "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,' vol. VIII, pp. 75 ff.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. IV.

The Adventures of Kiser.

[101]

In Lama there was a rich man. In the Spring season he was giving wheat to the people. A small child made its appearance *in the wheat and he took it out. The rich man's* daughter-in-law was with milk and he brought the child (home) and reared it (with her help). It grew up and they gave it the name of Dungpa Miru

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Laufer, Berthold. A review and criticism of Francke's "Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga" (as originally published in German). "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes." Vol. XV 1901 pp. 77—107.

Contains what amounts to a bibliography of previous literature relating to Kesar or Gesser Khan.

Poppe, N. "Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der mongolischen Version des Gesser Khan." "Asia Major" Vol. III. Fasc. I and III, Lipsiae 1926.

The little I have to contribute on the subject will be found in "Folk-Lore," Vol. XLII, 1931 no. 2.

This text presents a good many difficulties, a considerable proportion of which are probably due to the circumstances in which it was recorded. 'Ali Madad of Baltit, the old man who related the story, was only able to do so at a pace at which it was impossible to write it down.

He could not repeat himself, and when asked to do so was liable to lose the thread of the story. The services of my usual informant, Imam Yar Beg, had therefore to be requisitioned to catch each episode as it fell from Ali Madad's lips and retail it at a pace and in a form convenient for the recorder.

The process was not an easy one for any of the persons concerned and it undoubtedly resulted in some confusions and errors which were not all eliminated by subsequent revision.

2 *dyarsin* . . . . *mendag* MANINI. — The meaning of this is clear, but it affords an example of the confusion just referred to.

(90) gusan ɛr dumu·tsuman. I·nɛ yu·s huru·tumo. Hunčo satsum mušul gi·mi. Muš·ul gičilum mu·i besan a·t'imanimi. Aku·čamo. Ta qutsulo mušul gi·mi aku·čamo.

I·nɛmu mu·yər nuju·malɛ ni·mi. Ni·n, "Le.i nuju·m, ja o·smo ta qutsulo mušul gi·mi, aku·čačubo." Ramalči.ɛ: "Gu·ča bo, yɛ ni," senimi. Ni·mi, niči kɛ guča bo mu·iyen dimanai.i. I·nɛ bare·imi kɛ i·nɛ giya·sɛ jakunɛ su·rat bila, bani a·damɛ idi·m bi. Mušul gi·m bila. Da ni·mi ramalči.ɛlɛ, ni·nin, "Le.i nuju·m, u·ŋɛ tsan, gu·ča bo, ama i·nɛ su·rat jakunɛ bila, i·nɛ idi·m bani a·damɛ bi. I·nɛ i·k je besan o·šam?" "I·nɛ i·k Ab'adumbu o·s," senimi. "Da guča bo, ni," senimi: "Hilɛ·san dimanai.i." Nimi, niči kɛ da guča bo, hilɛ·san dimanai.i. I·nɛ bare·imi ki hu·kɛ su·rat bila, bani a·damɛ idim bi. "I·nɛ i·k besan o·šam?" Senasər "Aba Kitu·ŋ o·s," senimi. "Da gu.i.en dimanai.i, ni," senimi. Da juči kɛ i·en dimanai.i. I·nɛ su·rat gasaučɛ bila, bani a·damɛ idim bi. Da ni·mi nuju·m ɛpačər, senimi: "I·k besan o·sam?" Nuju·mɛ se.ibai: "I·nɛ i·k Aba Čuxtu·ŋ o·s," senimi. Da nimi, i·nɛmutsum aki·l zailatɛ (*or*, ju·ko) tha muyu dumanuman.

I·nɛ Duŋpa Mi·ru tha yu d'umanumtsum i·lji dəru·anər nimi. Dəru.ər ninin han ru·ŋanulo hanuman giri tsi·ran bi. I·n nazərər gi·mi. I·n nazərər giyasər a·lta tsir γani·mi.ɛ. Nazərtsum da·l manimi. Mana·sər han tsir bi. Da nazərər gi·mi. Da a·lta γan'imi.ɛ. Tawakal ne bišami. I·sɛ tsirtsɛ di·ru yami. I·sɛ tsir ɛpačər nimi. Ni·n i·sɛ kaš ɛtimi, kaš nɛ ifatəri·mi. Bərɛ·imi kɛ batulo a·lto γumo·riŋ bitsa. I·nɛ hik biša bam. I·nɛ ik'ərɛŋɛ seibai.i: "Ja hik bišaiya baiyam han γumur məimtsɛ, kok a·lto γumo·riŋ bitsa."

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3 *aku·čamo* — 3rd. sg. hf. pret. neg. of *gučai.as*.

7 *su·rat* — is used either of the "appearance" in general or of the "face". It is here probably equivalent to "head". In the Ladakhi version of the story the corresponding personages have animals' "heads" in Francke's translation.

8 *gi·m bila* — for this use of the static pc. v. § 379 d.

21 *nazərtsum dal manimi* — "he rose from aiming", but it is probably only meant that he ceased aiming and looked direct at the ibex.

28 *məimtsɛ* — 3rd. sg. Conditional of *manɛ·u*, *mai* + *um* + *tsɛ* v. §§ 313 & 351.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

53A

When he had reached manhood they procured a wife for him. In due course she became with child, and after nine months her labour came on. Her labour continued, but no child was born. She was not delivered. For 100 days her pains continued and she was not delivered.

Her husband went to a diviner and said: "O Diviner, my wife has been in travail for 100 days and she does not give birth." "She has been delivered," said the diviner, "now go." He went off and when he came (to his home) his wife had been delivered and a son had been born to her. He saw that the child had a donkey's head and a human body. (Again) labour pains seized his wife and he went once more to the diviner. "O Diviner," said he, "you were right. My wife has been delivered, but the child has a donkey's head and a human body. What name shall I give it?" "Call it Abadum Bu (*or*, Aba Dumbu)," said the diviner. "Your wife has again given birth, go, a boy has been born." Dungpa Miru went off and when he reached home his wife had been delivered and a boy had been born. He saw that it had a dog's head and a human body. (He went again to the diviner and said:) "What name shall I give it?" "Call it Aba Kitung. Another son has been born to you, go," said the diviner. When he came again (to his home) a son had been born to him. He had a hawk's head and a human body. Again he went off to the diviner and said: "What name shall I give it?" "Call it Aba Chukhtung," said the diviner, and the man went off again. In like manner one hundred sons were born to his wife.

After the hundred sons had been born Dungpa Miru went off a-hunting. In a jungle was an ibex goat all by itself. He took aim at it. When he did so there appeared to be two goats. He got up from his aiming and there was only one goat. Again he aimed and again there appeared to be two. Putting his faith in God he fired. The bullet hit the goat and he went up to it and finished it off and skinned it. In the skin he noticed that there were two (bullet-)holes, while he had fired only one shot. He said to himself: "I fired only once, there should be only one hole, but here are two holes."

000 A·ltan niri ɛ·pačər du·uman, u·ɛ se.ibə·n: "Le.i hir, u·ŋ tsan sen," se.ibə·n. "Gusɛ yər nɛ mi d'ɛlibam, u·ŋ guy'ə·rər w'alimi," senuman. "Gusɛ u·ŋɛ mai.i bi.ə, mi mai.i bi kɛ, tsanɛ sen," senuman. "Ma tsan," senimi; "gusɛ yər nɛ ma deli bam. Ast'amulo ja mai.i
5 bi," s'ɛnimi. "U·ŋɛ tsan, astamulo u·ŋər me.imi" senuman. I·nɛ hi·nɛ se.ibai.i: "Gutɛ čap jə·r ači, bat u·ŋ tsu." "Bat ka aku·čičam, čap ka akučičam," 'ɛzimi. "Ja jama·atɛ nas tsučo bo·m, 'gi·ri.ɛ čap su,' senubo. Čap ači," senimi. I·nɛ seibai.i: "Čap guč'i·čam, ama han ka·tanatɛ guči·čam, ti aku·čičam." "Ti bɛsan ka·t nɛ ači"
10 senimi. "Ja ka·t gutɛ bila, gu·smutsum hile·san dimanimi kuli, dasi·nan dum'u·manu kuli, jə·r jo," senimi. Riza g'animi. Čap i·nər iči·mi Duŋpa Mi·ru.ɛ se.ibai.i: "U·ŋɛ g'u.i·k ja ake·ya ba, u·ŋɛ watanɛ i·k kɛ ja ake·ya ba," senimi. "U·ŋɛ bušaiyɛ gan kɛ akeya ba." "Ja ɛ·i·k Pfasan Kar'aski bila," se.ibai.i. "Ja bušai.ɛ i·k Yal Butor
15 bila," se.ibai.i. *Gan kɛ 'ɛlt·irši.i.* "*Gutɛ gan jo,*" se.ibai.i. "Yo·lɛ gatɛ guntsiŋ nitsan, kɛ·n kɛ nɛ·sal, jo," se.ibai.i.

Nusɛn čap nuka (*or*, nukan) i·mo hai yakaltər ni·mi. Ni·nin i·tɛ čap yu·smur muči·mi. I·tɛ čap nušɛ i·n huru·tumo. I·ljum i·n hisa·b babər ɛtimi, nɛtan i·tə waxt kɛ i·tɛ gunts babər nɛtan i·nɛ hai
20 yakal gutə'ərimi. Beruman guntsiŋɛ nuku·tsər i·nɛ ha·lər d'ɛ·šqaltimi. Yər i·nɛ yu·ə nuku·čan hile·san dimanam. Han tsi.ərɛ bušo·šowan kɛ i·nɛ hile·sɛ ka dimani bi·m. I·sɛ tsi.ər bušo·šo.ɛ i·lt'u·ri.eŋ γeniše bitsum. Ifačimutə kɛ γeniše bim. E·sɛ ičokuraŋ kɛ γeniše bitsum. E·sɛ ešpuraŋ kɛ γeniše bitsum. E·sɛ gaptsum bišk kimi.'a bitsum.
25 I·nɛ hile·ə ɛ·lɛ jot bam. Šati·lowan diman'am. I·nɛ wa·da ɛ·tumulo

7 *nas tsučo bo·m* — this expression is used of the cravings for special food etc. sometimes experienced by pregnant women.

9 *ti bɛsan ka·t nɛ ači* — the force of this 'ti' is not clear to me. I can only translate the phrase as: "making any (*or*, some) other condition, give it to me", and I have it glossed in this sense, but no previous condition has been stated.

11 *dum'u·manu* — the short form of 3rd. sg. hf. pret. v. § 314.

17 *yakaltər ni·mi* — this is followed in the text by *i·nɛ kɛ i·mo hai yakaltər ni·mi* "he (i. e. *Pfasan Karaski*) too went off to his home," but this breaks the syntactical sequence.

18 *i·ljum* — 'from behind' i. e. from the date of the agreement.

24 *gaptsum bišk* — *gaptsum* is to be regarded as adjectival: *gap* + *tsə* + *sum* 'the being-on-the-skin hair'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho.AM1

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Two men came up to him and said: "O man, speak the truth. We had shot this ibex first, (but) it fell in front of you. Is it yours or is it ours? Speak the truth." "You are right," said he, "you had hit it first, (but) according to justice it is mine." "You are right," they replied, "according to justice it is yours." (Then) one of them said: "Give me the meat and do you take the skin." "I will give you neither the skin nor the meat. My wife (being pregnant) had a craving for it and said: 'Bring me ibex meat,' so give me that meat." The other said: "I will give you the meat, but only on a certain condition will I give it to you. I won't give it to you for nothing." "Well, make whatever condition you please and give me the meat." "My condition is this: If ever a boy is born to your wife, or if ever a girl is born to her, give the child to me." The man obtained Dungpa Mīru's consent and gave him the meat. "I do not know your name," said Dungpa Mīru. "Nor do I know the name of your country, nor do I know the way to your country." "My name," said the man, "is Fazan Karaski, and the name of my country is Yal Butot." He also showed him the way to it saying: "Come by this road. Count the days up to twelve months and watch the appointed time and then come."

Dungpa Mīru (then) took the meat and went off to his home. (Arrived there) he gave the meat to his wife and she ate it and became with child. Thereafter Dungpa Mīru kept the tally of the days and having made up the exact time and day he set out for the other's abode. Proceeding on his way for a number of days he arrived at the man's house. Before this his wife was brought to bed and a boy had been born to her and with the boy a bull calf had also been born to her. The horns of the bull calf were of gold, its hoofs were of gold and its forelock was of gold, and its mane was of gold and golden also was the hair of its coat. The boy there was small, (but) he had been born strong. That is, the boy who had been born under

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26 *two words* [illegible] — The exact meaning is doubtful v. § 188. The sentence seems to be a parenthesis to clarify the meaning of the preceding one.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920–4; 1934–5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

610 dimanum i·nɛ šati·lo an bam. I·nɛ yu·čər yu·y pasə·m imanumi. I·nɛ senimi: "Ja wa·da ɛta baiyam ki·nɛ hile·zan baiya das'i·nan bo?" senimi. "Hilezan bai.i," senimi. "Jo·čumana?" s'enimi. "Gu·čam," senimi. "Mulkulo astam no·tan gučam," senimi.

5 I·nɛ yu· nuyɛn asta·mər du·simi. Mulkulum sistsum doγarusumi: "Daltas ki·nɛ ɛ·u·ča ba. Ašə·to nɛ yu·čaba. Jɛ hunərin 'o·čam, ma bare·nin," senimi. Yu·ər hukəm ɛtimi: "Ki·nɛ ka galt nɛ suluma du·nin," senimi. Hin di.ɛn du·nimi ɛ·ka. I·nɛ jut i·nɛ šat nɛ uyu·m inɛ wašimi. Yatɛ hi·nər hukəm ɛtimi: "Du·n" nusɛ.

10 I·n kɛ wašimi. "Ma asta·m ɛtin ku·ɛ hərəqulo amin γunikiš, amin daltaš bai.i kɛ." U·ɛ ki·nɛ šatilo inɛr han bər nɛ 'ašato bai.i' se.iba·n. Da "ki·nɛ ka·tulu kɛ ki·nɛ dimanai kinɛ yučam," se.ibai.i.

I·nɛ ditsun ha·lər. "Šugu·lo, u·ŋɛ ka·tulo ki·nɛ dimanai.i, gu·čam," se.ibai.i. Ho i·nɛ hile·zər doγarusumi: "Lɛ ɛ·i, u·ŋ ja ka·tulo ba.

15 Ja kɛ jučuma bɛ?" "Aγa, jučam," senimi. "Ama u·n gu·imo bušai.ər ni ku·ltomo guntsatsum pfər gutɛ dɛ·nər yo·ltəər hisa·b ɛti. Gu·imo tešatər du·sin hisa·b ɛti. Han baḍali·kɛn (*or*, barali·kɛn) gopači no·s, čup nɛ huru·t. Hərə·ltɛ asma·nulo xuro·nčan numan i·tɛ xuro·nčatsum han čuto·wan numan i·sɛ baḍali·kər gi·čam," ɛsimi.

20 "I·tɛ tail numan amin gu.i·ɛ goxakin goy·ɛrum bo kɛ i·tɛ baḍali·kulum tail inɛmur muči, mo·min. Te·latɛ jɛ jučam. Mu·to u·ŋ guyɛmo ganatɛ guyɛmo bušai.ər ni," senimi.

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2 *i·nɛ senimi* — i. e. *Pfaran Karaski* said . . . The narrative is continued from *drəqaltisi* p. 104 l. 20.

ja wa·da ɛta baiyam kinɛ . . . 'the one whom I had stipulated about'. This is an example of how the lack of a Relative Pronoun is made good in Burushaski. The clause is adjectival and one must either suppose a relative which does not exist or regard the verb as being participial.

4 *astam no·tan* — 'causing them (the people) to make a decision'. The exact nature & significance of the episode which follows is obscure.

6 *ašə·to nɛ* — i. e. *ašə·to inɛ* 'that weak one' there is nothing to indicate who the "weak one" was.

9 *yatɛ hi·nər* — probably 'next, to another'.

15 *ama u·ŋ . . . ni* — "he said to his own father" should be inserted either before or after *ama*.

805 16 *pfər* — the use of *pfər* here is peculiar. The literal rendering of the passage is probably "reckon from today backwards in the current year up to twelve

4: Lorimer L-S (1933-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Bursaho AV7

the contrast was strong. His father grudged to hand him over to the man. The latter said: "Is (the child) I had made the condition about a boy, or is it a girl?" "It is a boy," said Dungpa Mru. "Are you going to give him to me, or not?" "I will give him to you. I will have the matter adjudicated on in my country and then give him to you."

Taking his sons with him he presented himself for a decision of the case. He said to the people of the country: "I won't give him this fine boy. I'll give him the feeble one. I'll make them show off their accomplishments. You watch." Then he gave orders to his sons saying: "You take it in turns and wrestle with this boy." One got up and grappled with him. The small lad overpowered and threw the big one. Then the father said to another: "Tackle him," and the small lad threw him too. "Now you decide," said he to the people, "which among them is the inferior, and which is the superior?" They all with one voice said of the strong one: "He is the weakest." On this Dungpa Mru said: "I shall give him this boy, as the one who was born under the agreement."

So he brought him along to the man's house and said: "Friend, this lad was born under the agreement, I give him to you." "My son," said the man to the boy. "You are mine according to the agreement. Will you come with me or not?" "Yes, father, I will come," said the boy. But (to his own father he said:) "You go back to your own country and in this coming year reckon up to twelve months from today. Then go up on to your roof, make your reckoning, put a bowl down beside you and sit in silence. I shall become a rainbow in the sky and I shall become a drop of rain and fall from the cloud into the bowl. Then whoever is your favourite daughter-in-law give her the water from the bowl and make her drink it. Thus shall I come (back). Now go off by your own road to your own country."

months". We should say "forwards" but the point of view is the end of the twelve months and one reckons backwards towards commit.

IB *zuvvalan mumu* — is perhaps absolute: "a rain-cloud having come into being in the sky" i. e. 'a rainbow will appear in the sky and I shall turn into a drop of rain and fall from that cloud'.

IB *gu.iv gurahin* — 'your daughter-in-law (wife) of your son.' *-rahin or *-zrahin alone means 'daughter-in-law'.

(68) Ni·mi ha·ler. I·mo ha·ler ni·min guntaiŋ cy'anastee (or, cy'anaser) du·nimi. I·te guntaateum yo·le gate guntaiŋ manaˑser i·se baḍalik niyem i·mo te·iater du·nimi. Terumaner han xuro·nčan aiyaštulo i·me te·iene (or, te·ti yaŋe) čaˑrer di·nin i·te xuro·nčateum hera·ṭie
5 čuto·wan numan baḍali·ker so·kimi. I·te teu·mi, Aba Dumbu i·kaŋe i·se i·e ix·akinmer i·te teil mučimi. I·te teil i·me m·inumo.

Nusnin (or, minaˑser) i·me gu·e huru·tumo. Huru·tumteum musamutee guntaiŋ hisa·b etumo. Turma a·lto ee nimi, aku·čamo. Turma a·lto ee ni·mteum mučul gi·mi. Ulo moyumerulum ho·l ne kau manimi:
10 "Gi·ri amulo halkiči.en ke te·le damaiyam (or, damanas ba)." I·mi.e čiše burri.er (or, itaner) ni·mo. "Ye ako·le alwatta (or, albatta) gi·ri teir ha·lkiči.en" nusen, numu·er tele huru·tumo, m·oyenumo. Moyenumter mučul gi·mi. Mu·lulum da kau etimi: "Se mama, je amulo čumo d·umanas diš bila ke te·le d·amanas ba.
15 I·te diter ateu," senimi. Ine gue da i·se čiše burriteum mu·lulum i·te kau manaˑser but mutaqate ka sinda kayer sokumo. Duso·k numu·er guč·amo. Nukulen m·oyenumo.

Moyenumter (or, moyenaser) mučul gimi. Da kau etimi: "Amulo hayur halkiči.en ke i·te diṭulo d·amanas ba, teler ateu," senimi.
20 Ho te·lateum da·l numan ajo čume mučumučuter du·n hayure terkaŋer dumo·mo. Te·le dumo·n jafat numu·man, sus mumanumo. Mumanaser da kau etimi. "Bura amulo halkiči.en ke i·te diṭulo d·amaiyam. teler ateu" senimi. Ho bura i·kači.ee i·te terker i·teumo. Teler ni.aser da mu·lulum ho·l ne se.ibai.i: "Beliṭo halkaˑe diter
25 ateu," se.ibai.i. Beliṭo halkaˑe terker iteumo. Itenyaser da kau etai.i: "M·ama, m·ama, je mi·mo ha·le damanas ba, te·ler ateu," saibai. Ho da mu·imo ha·ler iteumo. Ho i·ke uyo·n sul numo fai numo i·mo ha·ler mutaˑram. Tele ha·ler numo·n jafat numu·man m·oyenumo.

I·ne mu·lulo čayamiŋ etas i·ne giyas moyenumter mu·lteum du·nin

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4 *ferimu* (or, *frši* 'pap). — probably *frši* + *ap*.

12 *numaˑer* — p.pr. active hf. of **-numa* 'to become tired'.

14 *se mama* — the use of *se* in addressing one's mother is an impropriety.
ḍume damanas diš — the fishes' birthplace cp. § [illegible].

21–22 *mumanaser, mumanaser* — The Ma. has *mo-* in each case.

27 *sul numo* — I have not recorded this expression elsewhere. I gathered that *sul numo* "wandering round".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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The father went off to his home and there began counting the days. When a twelvemonth of days from that day were accomplished he took the bowl and went up on to his roof. Thereupon a cloud came up in the sky straight over his roof and a drop of rain descended from the cloud into the bowl. That (drop of) water he carried off and gave to the wife of his son named Aba Dumbu, and she drank it.

After drinking it the woman became with child and she kept a reckoning of the days of her pregnancy from the date of her conception. Twelve months passed and she was not delivered, but when those twelve months were passed her labour came on and a voice came out from her inside: "Where the ibex bear their young, there I am to be born." His mother went up to the crest of the mountain. "Now here," said she, "the ibex must certainly have their young." Then being tired she sat down there and went to sleep. As she slept her labour came on and again a voice came from inside her: "Mother, where the fish are born, there I am to be born. Take me thither." When the voice had thus spoken, the woman came down with great difficulty from the crest of the mountain to the river beach. Then, being tired she lay down and fell asleep.

As she slept her pains came on and the voice again came saying: "In the place where the horses have their foals there I am to be born. Take me there." So she rose up and groaning and grasping her knees she came to the horses' stables. When she got there she was utterly exhausted and became unconscious. Again the voice came saying: "Where the cows calve there I shall be born, take me thither." So she bore him off to the enclosure where the cows were kept. On her arriving there again the voice issued from inside her saying: "Take me to the place where the sheep have their lambs." So she took him to the sheep's lambing-fold. When she had done so, again he called out: "Mother, mother, I am to be born in our own house. Take me there." She then took him to her own home. Thus having made her wander round all these

[1] *fat* ususo — this may mean "making her finish off (the business") or, perhaps "exhausting her". *fat* ctas appears to be used also in the sense of "to search" v. Vasah.

ho·lpa jo·ŋ num'a huru·timi. Da mušul niki·n dumu·talımo. Bəre·imo kɛ i·nɛ mu·lulo čaγamiŋ ɛtas i·nɛ holpači ye·tsumo. I·nɛ ni·tsin da gučamo. Hin kɛ mu.i·yɛn dimanimi. (Dimanasər) i·tɛ waxtulo mu· ya·rɛ walum i·nɛ gya·s yər mu·ltsum du·sum inɛ i·nɛ lap (*or*, γiri·t) ɛt·imi. I·nɛ i·mi.ɛ i·nɛ γiri·t ɛtas ni.itsin ər numu·man qi.u· ɛtumo. Qi.u ɛtasər i·nɛ giya·s ixattsum ho·lɛ we·šimi. I·tɛ ho·lə weši.asɛ ka: "Mama, mama," sɛbai.i, "kinɛ aču.ɛ huba·l u·ŋər ju·š. Du·ŋ kɛ fat ɛta·m kɛ ki·nɛ aču.ɛ idim uyo·n čumarɛ meimtsɛ. "Ekatiŋ ya·rər ja dam at·ešqaltimi. Ekatiŋ ya·rɛ bania·damɛ čap du.a·simi. Ya·rɛ uyo·n idi·m čumar imanimi. Kintsɛ bɛsan kɛ thaiyas api," se.ibai.i: "Ki·n mɛnɛ kuli de·lš ay·omaiman. Ekatiŋ ya·rɛ mɛnɛ le·l numan dɛluman kɛ ki·nər nuqsa·n bila."

U·ɛ d·umanasər u·y dimi. U·y yu· nuyɛtsin xuš imanimi, inɛ yu·sɛ a·ltu muyu do·smano bo·m. Ho u·mi.ɛ mamu ču·š no 'u·šamo. Inɛ yər dusum (*or*, dimanum) inɛ mu·i guntsatsum gunts ašə·to imai.imɛ γunikiš im'animi. Inɛ i·ljum dimanum inɛ guntsatsum gunts pa.imɛ sa·ro šati·lo imanimi. Yu·sɛ muy'erər se.ibo: "Ku·ɛ o·ltalik guyu·ɛ u.i·kičiŋik o·s," se.ibo (*or*, sɛnumo). I·nɛ u·ikičiŋ o·səmi. Yər dimanum γuni·kiš da ašə·to i·nɛ i·ik Pa·ŋču o·simi. I·nɛ i·ljum dimanum šati·lo inɛ i·k B·u·mlift an o·simi.

Ho berum dɛniŋtsum oyo·ŋko umanuman. U·ɛ tha uyo·n Kisər·ɛ u·i·tsɛ mana·sər šuru ɛtuman. Abu Ki·tu·ŋ u·ɛtɛ uyu·m bam. Pailwa·n bam, si·ŋgɛ ɛ·s bim. I·n mɛntsum kɛ ar emaibam. Kisərɛ uyo·n gati· no·tan i·nɛ se.ibai.i: "Ju·in, jɛ ma bušai.ɛ traŋ ma·čam." Ho u·ɛ tha uyo·nər bušai.i traŋ nɛ u·čimi. Pa·ŋču.ər ɛčimi. Pa·ŋču

6 *i·tɛ ho·lə* — 'out of it' i. e. 'out of his mouth'.

21 *Kisərɛ* — the original 100 Animal-headed Brothers, sons of *Duŋpa Mi·ru*. The term apparently means the Kisərɛ Brethren, or Kisərɛ Clan. It is not a Burushaski plural form.

The *Pa·ŋču* of the present story is Kisər and later on is called so, and occasionally Liŋpikisər or Liŋkpikisər.

The hero of the corresponding Ladakhi and Mongol stories is "Kesar" and "Gesser Khan".

22 *si·ŋgɛ ɛ·s* — As the verb is x agreeing with *ɛ·s*, the exact meaning must be 'his was a lion's heart' rather than 'he was lion-hearted'. This is borne out by the genitive of Abu Kituŋ in *Abu Kituŋ si·ŋgɛ ɛ·s bi·m* p. 114 l. 2.

24 *ma bušai.ɛ traŋ ma·čam* — 'I shall divide your land for you' v. §§ 249. 3 and 261 I. b.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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places and leave nothing out he had brought her home again. When she arrived there she was worn out and fell asleep.

As she slept the child who had spoken inside her made his way out and sat crouching (on the ground) outside. Once more her pains came on and she woke up. She looked and saw the child that had spoken inside her (now sitting) outside. Again she was delivered and another son was born to her. As soon as it was born, the child which had first come out from inside her put the child that had now been born in his mouth. His mother seeing him swallowing the other one was frightened and screamed out. On this the one child put the other out of his mouth and cried: "Mother, mother, may the responsibility for this brother of mine fall on you! If you had let matters alone for a little my brother's whole body would have become iron. (As it is) my breath did not reach his armpits and under his armpits has remained (ordinary) human flesh. All the rest of his body has become iron. Nothing will have any effect on him and no one will be able to injure him. Only, if anyone knows about his armpits and hits him there, then he will be injured."

After the children had been born their father came and saw them and was pleased (that) his wife had given birth to twin sons. The mother suckled and reared them. The boy who was born first day by day became weaker and weaker and more and more ill-favoured. But the later-born one day by day grew bigger and became stouter and stronger. The wife said to her husband: "Give names to these two sons of yours." So he gave them names. The first-born, ill-favoured weak one he named Pāngchu, and the later-born, strong one he named Būmlĭftan.

In the course of some years they grew up. Now all the hundred Kiserè (brothers) prepared to separate. The senior of them was Aba Kitung. He was a man of might and lion-hearted and he feared no one. He assembled all the Kiserè and said to them: "Come along, I shall apportion your land among you." Then he divided up the land among all the hundred of them and allotted it to them. To Pangchu he gave nothing. Pangchu rose up and said: "O Aba Kitung,

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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da·l me.ibai. "Ya Aba Kituŋ, jɛ kɛ ba·, n'a?" "Awa, uŋ ka ba, gučiˑčam," senimi. Mazəriŋɛ diš ičimi. Paŋču.ɛ: "Ju goˑr maniš," seibai.i. "Kuˑɛ uyoˑntsum gutə miltuˑsɛ diš šu.a jaˑr ačiˑma."

Aba Kiˑtuŋɛ da maˑl traŋ oˑtimi (*or*, oˑčai.i). Paŋčuˑər ɛˑučai.i. Yaˑrɛ ta u uyoˑnər maˑl uˑmi. Paŋču dal di.eˑmi. "Ya Aba Kituŋ, jɛ kɛ ba, jaˑr kɛ jo." "Uˑŋ kɛ ba, guˑčam," senimi. "Uˑŋər maˑlɛ dišulo sinda huma gučiˑam," senimi. "Ya Aba Kituˑŋ, kuˑɛ uyoˑntsum jaˑr šu.a traŋulo ačiˑma," senimi.

Hakˑičaŋ traŋ oˑtimi. Aba Kituŋɛ hakičaŋ uyoˑnər uγˑunimi, Paˑŋču.ər ha ɛčimi. Paˑŋču dal di.eˑmi. "Ya Aba Kituŋ, jɛ kɛ ba, jaˑr baˑgo (*or*, aγərum) ha ači," senimi. "Šu.a, gučičam" nusen, buˑt γunikiš oˑrutas guti.ɛn bim, "Iˑsɛ uˑŋər maniš" nusen, yuˑmi. Daˑl manimi Paˑŋču. "Ya Aba Kituŋ," se.ibai.i, "kuˑɛ uyoˑntsum traŋulo jaˑr šuˑa dišmiŋ aγunuma," se.ibai.i.

Uˑɛ Kisərɛ qaum hərəŋtsum hin sisan ˑiˑrimi. Iˑnɛ nitsun mazərˑiˑŋatɛ yaˑrɛ ˑetuman. Paˑŋču niˑnin mazərtsum dyuˑusimi. Iˑnɛ iˑrum gutas ditsun sama xau wašimi. Mazəriŋɛ diš auˑučimi (*or*, oˑčimi). "Ja Aba Kituŋɛ jaˑr traŋulum ači bai.i. Ja diš bila," senimi. "Ma gutešo dutsun ja dišulo beˑsɛ yaˑrɛ očˑaˑn?" senimi. "Ja diš bila, amačiča ba," senimi. Uˑɛ ɛˑsɛ (*or*, iˑsɛ) gutas uˑimo haˑlɛ e.uruˑtuman. Amulo yaˑrɛ eˑčər (*or*, ɛˑtas) diš apiˑm, ultuˑsɛ diš Aba Kituŋɛ Paˑŋču.ər iči bam.

Aba Kituŋ iˑmo bušai.ər ničər niˑmi. Humaˑtɛ Paˑŋču rač nɛ bam. Humaˑ duˑšər Aba Kituŋ iˑmo buˑšai.ər nˑičər haγur ɛˑgičər ditsimi. Paˑŋču hərt manimi. Hərt numan se.ibai.i: "Le hərəmzaˑda, Aba Kituˑŋɛ gutɛ ja aγərum ači bai.i. Uˑŋ menen ba ja Aba Kituŋɛ

1 *ka* or *kə* — a frequent variant of *kɛ*.

7 *kuˑɛ uyoˑntsum* . . — Note the ellipsis common in statements of comparison. 'This place you have given me (is) better than (what you have given to) all these'. *kuˑɛ uyoˑntsum* — the Ma. has *kuˑo*.

12 *oˑrutas* — negative *a* + *hərutas*.

23 *rač nɛ bam* — a quasi imperf. 'was keeping guard', but really "he, watching, was there" cp. p. 88 l. 12 *iˑltumal nɛ bam*.

duˑšər — present base + *ər* of *duˑsas*, denoting purpose, intention.

24 *ɛˑgičər* — probably to be regarded as Causative of *giyas* v. i. 'to enter, plunge into' etc.

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there is me too, isn't there?" "Yes, there is you too. I shall give you something," said Aba Kitung, and he gave him the site of the graveyard. "I thank you," said Pangchu. "This burying place that you have given me is better than (what you have given to) all the others."

Again after this Aba Kitung divided up the (family) chattels. To Pangchu he gave nothing, but he gave things to all the other hundred. Pangchu rose up: "O Aba Kitung," said he. "There is me also. Give me something too." "Yes, there is you too. I shall give you something. Instead of chattels I give you the ford in the river." "O Aba Kitung," said Pangchu. "You have given me a better share than all these others."

Then Aba Kitung divided up the houses among them. To all he gave houses, only to Pangchu he gave none. Pangchu got up and said: "O Aba Kitung, there is me too. Give me the house that is my due." "Very good. I shall give you one." Now there was a very foul uninhabitable (isolation) hut and (pointing to it) Aba Kitung said: "Let that be yours," and gave it to him. Up rose Pangchu and said: "O Aba Kitung, you have given me for my share better places than you have given to any of these others."

(It happened that) one of the Kiser clan died and they took (his body) to the graveyard and buried it there. Pangchu came and took the dead body out of the grave and carrying it along threw it down through the smoke-hole (in the roof of the dead man's house). Thus he refused them (the use of) the burying-ground. "Aba Kitung," he said, "has given it to me as my share. The place is mine. Why do you bring your corpses and bury them in my land? The place is mine and I won't give it to you." So they deposited the corpse in their own house, for there was nowhere any place to bury it, as Aba Kitung had given the burying-ground to Pangchu.

Aba Kitung set out to go to his own land, but Pangchu was keeping guard at the ford. Intending to cross the ford and proceed to his land, Aba Kitung set his horse to cross (the river) but Pangchu sprang up and cried: "Ah Bastard, Aba Kitung has given me this (ford) as my portion. Who are you who appear in the skin of my

000 bater nıkiˑn ja baˑguˑε iˑti duˑša?" nusεn, jak daˑl nε tiktsε dεlimi. Aba Kituŋε siˑŋgε εˑs biˑm, diˑuˑsin lap εtimi. Halε εˑsan ditsun čaˑm εtimi. Itˑεˑtsum Aba Kituˑŋ εˑsε ašaˑto imanumi. Aba Kituŋ ər niman iˑlji pfər manˑimi.

5 Iˑlji uˑε Kisərε hərantsum hin gusan gušiˑski galiˑs mumanumo. Mumanasər iˑsε γuniˑkiš guˑtiˑər moruman. Paˑŋču diˑmi, diˑnin inε gus mudεlimi. Numudılin mutˑoˑtulo duˑn hoˑlε muwašimi. Huma kε iˑtε duˑsasər oˑčimi. Mazəriŋε diš kε oˑčimi. Gušiŋents oˑrutasər εˑs γuniˑkiš guti kε ˑoˑumi.

10 Oˑyasər Aba Kituŋε Kisərε uyoˑn gati oˑtimi. Gati notan seˑibaiˑi: "Leˑi ačukoˑn, kinεr bušaiˑi kε maˑl kε haˑn kε toš traŋ nε iči'čen," sεnimi. Uˑε saiˑibaˑn: "Ya Aba Kituŋ, uˑŋ traŋ netan iˑnər kε iči," sεnuman. Aba Kituŋε dεγurusumi: "Leˑi Paˑŋču, kuˑε uyoˑnaŋε babər buˑšaiˑi kε haˑ kε uˑyoˑn traŋ nε guˑčam," sεnimi. Sεnumε

15 ka Paˑŋču.ε seˑibaiˑi: "Le Aba Kituŋ, daltas guˑtε jaˑr maniˑla, yər goˑsa baiyama bε? Jeˑimo gutε ar maniš" aqˑərusimi. Aba Kituŋε seˑibaiˑi: "Leˑi Paˑŋču, gutε kuˑε uyoˑn babər hik traŋ učičam, uˑŋər hik traŋ gučičam. Riza guman," sεnimi. "Buˑt šuˑa, uˑε uyoˑnər hik traŋ da jaˑr hik traŋ ha bušaiˑi ačičaˑ kε riza amanam."

20 "Buˑt šuˑa" seˑibaiˑi. Uˑε uyoˑnər hik traŋ da iˑnər hik traŋ nε iči'mi.

Ho mazəriˑŋε diš, huma, γuniˑkiš guˑti oˑr fat εtimi. Ho iˑtε iˑmo bušaiˑεtε huruˑtimi. Ho iˑrum iˑsε gutas Paˑŋču.ε mazərtsum diˑusin ha sayam kha (*or*, sagam kha) waši bam, iˑsε guˑtas yaˑrε

25 εtuman. Gušˑiŋents iˑsε γunikiš gutiˑεr γaliˑz umanumər nuˑnin huruˑčaman, sinda huma araˑmε ka iˑtε kiˑtε manuman. Iˑn εˑr dim itε bušaiˑεtε, "Mu jaˑr manimi" nusεn, araˑmε ka huruˑtimi.

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1 *jak daˑl nε* — this *jak* I have not recorded elsewhere. Its exact meaning is doubtful as I glossed the whole expression as "he snatched him up"

5—6 *mumanumó, mumanasər* — in Ms. spelt with *mo-*.

7 *mutˑoˑtulo duˑn* — for the use of *-ulo* after *duˑnas* instead of the usual *-tsε*. Cp. *ošumutsulo duˑn*, p. 206 l. 9.

13 *uyoˑnaŋε* — Ms. *uyoˑŋaŋε*.

14 *guˑčam* — probably a narrator's slip for *gučˑiˑam*, or *gučˑičam*, as both *bušaiˑi* and *ha* are y sg.

19 *amanam* — anticipatory pret.

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Aba Kitung and proceed to cross over my allotment?" So saying he snatched him up and flung him on the ground. Aba Kitung had a lion's heart, Pangchu took it out and put it in his mouth. Then he took a fox's heart and shoved it down (Aba Kitung's throat). As the result of this Aba Kitung became feeble-hearted. And overcome by fear, he turned and went back.

Later on a woman among the Kiserè was afflicted by her menses and they sent her off to that foul isolation hut. Pangchu came and beat her, and seizing her by the hand threw her out. Thus he neither let them have the ford to cross by, nor the burying ground, nor did he surrender the foul hovel for them to put their women in.

On this Aba Kitung summoned all the Kiserè and said: "O brothers, let us make a new distribution and give Pangchu land and chattels and a house." "Yes, Aba Kitung," said they. "Make a redivision and give him a share too." Aba Kitung addressed Pangchu saying: "O Pangchu, I am going to divide up everything and give you land and a house the same as to all the others." "O Aba Kitung," replied Pangchu, "This that I have got is excellent. Did I not say so to you before? What I have got must remain mine." And he refused to be persuaded. "Look here, Pangchu," said Aba Kitung. "I shall give one share to all these together and one equal share to you alone. Be content." "Very good," said Pangchu, "if you will give all of them jointly one share, and then to me an equal share of land and houses, in that case I agree." "Very good," replied Aba Kitung, and he proceeded to give one share to all the others and then one share to Pangchu.

Pangchu then resigned to them the graveyard and the ford and the foul hovel, and settled down on his own land. Then they buried the corpse which Pangchu had taken out of the grave and thrown down through the smoke-hole, and the women when they fell ill went and took up their abode in the foul hovel, and they passed to and fro over the ford in peace. Pangchu now settled down at his ease on the land which had come to him, saying: "Now it has become mine."

000 I·tɛ mulkulum sis Pa·ŋču n'i·tsin i·tsi nuqas do·γašam, bɛsɛ kɛ su·rate γuni·kišan da haŋajaŋ'an bam. I·tɛ mulkɛ Pa·dša talo yu·gušants bam. Pa·ŋču.ɛ i·tɛ su·rat kɛ "tamašakiš bai.i" nusɛn, yɛtsuman, doyɛluman. Do·yɛl u·ɛ hərəŋulo thamɛ e·yɛn bu·t daltasan
5 bo·m. Da yu·gušants u·yo·ntsum uyu·m bo·m, bu·t daltas bo·m. Hukəm ɛ·tumo: "Pa·ŋču ditsu.in kɛ me·r tamašan e·či," nusɛn. Pa·ŋču.ɛ dišər ni·man. Pa·ŋču.ər qau nɛ "Qau ɛčubo" nusɛn, ditsuman. Pa·ŋčutsɛ kəru bu·t bim, i·lji kɛ gutsərči bim yər nɛ kɛ gutsərči bim; te.i γunikiš bam. I·nɛ bu·t daltas Laŋa Bromo mopačər dimi.
10 Ho mučoko·nɛ kɛ i·ɛtsuman mu·i ki yɛtsumo. Ho "Ki·n bešken bai?" nusɛn ni·itsin itsi nuqas d'o·γaša·n.

Pa·ŋču.ɛ jadu nɛtan u·ɛ gašu·ər 'o·γasasər jadu ɛ·čai.i. Da 'o·pačim hamɛ·ša fat ayɛtas o·čai.i. I·nɛ padša yu·gušants 'o·pači Pa·ŋču te.ilate huru·timi. Bu·t d'o·oru·tuman, Pa·ŋču.ɛ tamaša
15 ni·itsin. I·n hami·ša o·pači sa tap bam. Ho Laŋa Brumo mutsuyasər ɛ·sulo rai ɛt'imi. I·nɛ jadu ɛčai.i. Padša yu·gušants i·mo bušai.ulo u·yasər rai ɛtimi. I·mo dɪr berumanər thamkušɛ bilum kɛ uyo·ŋər xabər ɛtimi: "Ja aiyu·gušants hir'i·ər u·ča ba. Fula·na i·tɛ guntsər gati manin," nusɛn, xabər o·timi. Pa·dša yu·gušantsər o·simi: "Ma
20 gər e·ča ba. Je·imo guti bušai.ulo menanər ma rai ɛča·n kɛ i·tsu·in," o·simi.

Tso·rdinər uyo·n gati məi.iba·n. Padša: "(A)yu·gušants ma barɛnin," sɛnimi. Padša yu·gušantsɛ o·saŋɛ xi.a·l ɛ·ča·n: "I·nɛ itsu·čama? ki·nɛ itsu·čam?" nusɛn. Pa·ŋču jadu ɛčai.i: "Padša yu·gušants tso·r

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1 *i·tsi nuqas do·γašam* — 'they laughing at him, used to laugh'.

3–4 *Pa·ŋču.ɛ . . . doyɛluman* — This sentence is probably corrupt. *yɛtsuman* was possibly a mistake of the narrator's which he intended to be replaced by *doyɛluman*.

14 *d'o·oru·tuman* — The exact meaning of this passage is uncertain. *d°-a.uru·tas* means 'to have one's heart fixed on, be attached to, be fond of'. When the obj. is expressed it takes the case ending *-ulo*. Here it was translated by the Hindustani *dil laggiya*. It seems to mean either that the princesses took a fancy to Paŋču personally, or that they took pleasure in watching him.

17 *i·mo dɪr . . . bilum . . .* — Apparently *dɪr* is the subj. and *thamkušɛ* a dependent gen.; that being so *bilum* should be *bim* for *dɪr* is x.

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The people of the country seeing Pangchu laughed at him because he was ill-favoured and stupid. Now the King of the country had seven daughters. They heard it said by those who had seen him that Pangchu's appearance was a sight worth seeing. Amongst the Tham's daughters there was one who was very beautiful. She was the eldest of all the daughters and was very lovely. She gave orders saying: "Bring Pangchu here; he will make a show for us." They went off to where Pangchu was and summoned him, saying: "The princess calls you," and brought him along. Now Pangchu was covered with lice; they streamed off him behind and they streamed off him in front, so foul was he. (Just as he was) he came into the presence of the very beautiful Langa Brūmo, and her sisters saw him and she herself saw him. "What sort of a man is this?" said they on seeing him, and they mocked at him and laughed.

(Meanwhile) Pangchu, working magic, cast a spell on the princesses to make them laugh, and he caused them never to let him go from them. Thus Pangchu remained with the daughters of the King. They were much delighted with watching the spectacle of Pangchu and he was constantly with them day and night. Presently he determined in his mind to marry Langa Brūmo. (Accordingly) he wrought magic and the King made up his mind to give his daughters in marriage (to people) in his own country. As far as the bounds of his kingdom extended he notified to all: "I propose to give my daughters to men in marriage. Assemble together on such and such a day," in these words he made notification. To his daughters he said: "I am going to give you in marriage. Marry whomever you take a fancy to in this my country."

Next morning all assembled and the King said: "My daughters, look about you." Then the daughters kept thinking in their hearts: "Shall I marry that one? Shall I marry this one?" Then Pangchu wrought magic saying: "May the King's daughters go early to

22 *(a)yuʷgoš̌ʌnts* — The Ms. has *yuʷgoš̌ʌnts*. The initial *a-* has probably been lost in the final *-a* of *padša*. Otherwise we must read: *yuʷgoš̌ʌntsʊr* "*ma barenin*" *senimi* 'he said to his daughters . . . .'

800 daŋtsɛ nišɛn (*or*, daŋ dusu·šɛn)," nusɛn. Te·rumanər Padša yu·gušante o·yɛnuman. Pa·ŋču oyɛnumtsɛ di.ɛn du·simi. Du·sin, han tərkaŋanulo jakunɛnɛ mamu ne (*or*, mamu ɛtum) bim, di·nin dapiski nidilin, i·sk nɛ.iwašin, i·sɛ jakunɛ go·ko joɣajaɣa·to (*or*, jaɣa·tu.ɛ ka) ɛkati.a·rɛ
5 n'idilin ditsimi. Laŋa Brumomo mariŋ siki·mɛ i·kɛ muy'a·rɛki muy'atɛki da·l nɛ mopata dal jakunɛ go·ko ɛ·gučami.

Go·n mana·s ya·r ya·r u·ɛ mučuko·n do·stsalimi. U·ɛ d'i.ɛman u·t uri·ŋ šawɛčər nimaŋ. U nimər Laŋa Brumo·mo daŋ (*or*, L. Bru·mo daŋtsum) mo·rimi, dumo·stsalimi. Dum'utalju kɛ mopatɛ dalər jakunɛ
10 go·ku.an negučan bi. I·sɛ ni·itsin muk'əriŋɛ mundi·ltsɛ dam nɛ aki·l ɛčubo: "Da ko·t bɛ manimi?" nusɛn. Pa·ŋču.ɛ se.ibai.i: "E.i Laŋa Brumo, bɛ·sɛ haira·n gumaiba? gu·i rai.i nɛ ditsun go·ka bɛ ɛguča ba?" "Ai.i Pa·ŋču, o·san, jɛ paso·m amaiyam, gutɛ bər o·san. Jakunɛ go·ko ja ati·tsa ba," se.ibo. Da Pa·ŋču.ɛ se.ibai.i: "Tsan
15 gusɛ jakunɛ go·ko mɛnɛ ditsun u·ŋ gusoɣutər (*or*, gusoɣuči) gowɛ·ši ba·n." Laŋa Brumo.ɛ se.ibo: "Le.i Pa·ŋču, gutɛ han ja·r bala·n manila, gutɛ bər (*or*, čaɣa) mɛnulo (*or*, mɛnər) o·san," se.ibo. "Ja ta·rif but bila, ama gutɛ čaɣa ti mɛnalɛ aye·ti, jɛ afsɛt amaiyam." Pa·ŋču.ɛ se.ibai.i: "Tsan u·ŋɛ gutɛ du·ro n'ɛtan huru·t'a, magər ja
20 guyɛtsam. Da mu bɛ·sɛ mɛnalɛ 'o·saiya ba? Se·yam," se.ibai.i. Laŋa Brumo se.ibo: "Le.i Pa·ŋču, gutɛ bər mɛnulo o·san. Besan u·ŋɛ seiba kɛ jɛ gu·čam." Pa·ŋču.ɛ se.ibai.i: "Ja sɛnuman (*or*, sɛnaman) jočum'a?" Laŋa Brumo se.ibo: "U·ŋə sɛnuman gu·čam." Da Pa·ŋču.ɛ se.ibai: "Yɛ jo·yas ba kɛ ti bɛ·san ayau, u·ŋ jɛ ats'u." "E.i Pa·ŋču, u·ŋ gutsu·čam.
25 Gutɛ čaɣa mɛnər ay'ɛti." Pa·ŋču.ɛ seibai: "Ga·hi mɛnər čaɣa aiyɛčam u·ŋ ja atsuča kɛ. Jakunɛ go·ko ja·r jo jɛ ča·p ɛčam," seibai. Laŋa Brumo jakunɛ go·ko Pa·ŋču.ər yu·mo. Iso·ɣuči yænimi (*or*, yanimi).

7 *ya·r ya·r* = *yər*, 'before'. The force of the reduplication is not clear, 'long before(?)', 'just before(?)'

mo·rimi — "he caused L. B.'s sleep to go (for her)". The alternative being: "he caused L. B. to go from sleep".

10 *go·ku an negučan bi* — This is what resulted after one or two alterations in revision, but it is still unintelligible to me. *negučan* is the p.pc. act. of the Ca. or Trs. verb *-*agučaiyas*. The pc. of the Intrs. verb *gučaiyas* is *nukučen*. It could be: "a donkey having laid down a foal, it (the foal) is (there)".

11 *akil ečubo* — probably: 'she says thus (as follows)'.

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sleep," and thereupon they went to sleep. When they were asleep Pangchu got up and went out. Now in a stable there was a donkey big with young. He went up and kicked it and caused it to drop its foal. Then taking the donkey foal (all) slimy (as it was) under his arm he brought it with him, and raising Langa Brūmo's handsome silken upper and under bedclothes he put it to sleep along by her side.

Before it was dawn he woke her sisters and they got up and went to wash their feet and hands. After they were gone he roused Langa Brūmo from sleep and wakened her up. When she woke up there was a donkey foal lying at her side. On seeing it she kept beating her breast and saying: "What is this that has happened?" "O Langa Brūmo," said Pangchu, "why are you so surprised? Haven't you brought it here and made it lie with you of your own desire?" "O Pangchu, don't say so. I protest. Don't say this. I did not bring the donkey foal here." "Well," replied Pangchu, "assuredly someone has brought (it) and put it down beside you." "O Pangchu, this is a calamity that has befallen me," said Langa Brūmo. "Don't tell anyone about it. I have a high reputation, so don't tell anyone this story. I shall deeply resent it (if you do.)" "As a matter of fact," said Pangchu, "you sat there and did this thing. I actually saw you. So why should I not tell other people about it? I will tell." "O Pangchu, don't tell anyone and I will give you whatever you ask." "Will you give me whatever I say?" "Yes, I'll give you whatever you say." "Well then," said Pangchu, "if you are going to give me something, give me no more than this: marry me." "O Pangchu, I'll marry you, only don't tell anyone about this affair." "I will never tell anyone of it, if you will marry me," said Pangchu. "Give me the donkey foal and I will hide it." Langa Brūmo gave him the foal and he took it up under his arm.

17 *menolo oʀʌn* — this strange use of *-olo* instead of *-ɔr* or *-ʌlɛ* only occurs in this passage (twice).

18 *afset* — explained as: "regretting a thing as unjust".

19 *mʌgɔr* — is here glossed as "in fact", "*wʌrqí*".

24 *ayau* — 2nd. sg. impv. neg. of **-wyʌs* with 1st. sg. pron. prefix.

26 *ja atsuča kɛ* — ja is probably only due to the *ɛ* of *jɛ* being affected by the following *a-*.

Padša yu·gušantsər hukəm ɛtimi: "Mu duwašai.in, mɛntsɛ pfu·t mamai.i ba·n kɛ i·nɛ i·tsu·in," nusɛn. Ho duw'ašaman. Padša masi·ndo yugušantsɛ u·ɛ gati manum u·ɛ hɛraŋtsum damši no juwa·yo utsu·man. I·sɛ mərakaʼulo Pa·ŋču kɛ jaku·nɛ i·sk ɛkati.a·rɛ niyɛn bai.i (*or*, bam). Laŋa Brumo: "Hiran itsu·čam" nusɛn, di.'ɛčubo. "Pa·ŋču ɛ·tsučam" nusɛn, Pa·ŋču.ɛ yakal pfu·t ayɛtum ti mɛnan yakal pfu·t mumanumo kɛ i·nɛ yakal bada bešaču bo (*or*, bišamo). Terumanər Pa·ŋču.ɛ mɛn ayo·ltirumatɛ i·sɛ jakunɛ go·ko Laŋa Brumo m'o·ltirč'ai.i. I·nɛ yɛ·šubo. Pa·ŋču yakal pfər mai.ibo. "Bɛ·sɛ kɛ jakunɛ go·ko.ɛ čaγa mɛnər se.imi," nusɛn, Pa·ŋču yakal du·mo·mo. Dumo·mər Pa·ŋču ɛpačim u·ɛ mariŋ sisɛ dɛljaʼn (*or*, dɛluman), "Mi mitsu·čər dumo bo, u·ŋ la·ŋ manɛ" nusɛn. I·n han gu·niyɛ·nər (*or*, ku·niyɛ·nər) ničai.

I·nɛ Pa·ŋču dɛlas Padša yɛ·šai.i: "E·dɛlin, te.i baǰ," se.ibai.i. E·pačər dumo·n xat (*or*, khat) huru·tumo. Huru·tasər Padša xafa (*or*, taŋ) iməibai.i. Niman bu·t ɛ·γam mai bila. "Γunikiš i·nɛ Pa·ŋču i·tsu·mo" nusɛn, mərakaʼtsum fataŋ numa ničai.i. Pa·ŋču i·ts'umo Laŋa Brumo.ɛ. Pa·ŋču.ɛ i·mo ha·lər mutsu·mi. Pa·ŋču i·imo γunikiškušər ka huru·timi. Da Laŋa Brumo taŋ mumai.ibo, "Γunikiš ki·nɛ i·tsuyam" nusɛn.

Padša hukəm ɛt'imi yu·gušɛnts utsu·m u·ɛ ɛ·rərəšu·ər: "Bru·ŋ Kapurdo·nu.ɛ dəru·ər ni·n," nusɛn. U·ɛ u·mišiʼndo ɛ·rərəšu.ɛ bandobas ɛ·tuman, "Dəru·ər ničɛn" nusɛn. U·k'ərɛ ši·asər xuraʼka gɛnpfi·ti u·y'a·rɛ u·yatɛki tobak mobak asbaʼb nukan duwašaman. Pa·ŋču kɛ du·sin u·tsi ta·mi. Laŋa Brumo.ɛ seibo: "Le.i Pa·ŋču, gutɛ lu·m kɛ hawa·lɛ ka bɛlatɛ ničʼa, bɛ g'o·mai.iba? O·ni," ɛsumo. Pa·ŋču.ɛ seibai.i: "Ja·r lu·m kɛ hawa·l gutɛ bila. U·mɛnɛ dɛljuman kɛ tamašaʼr ku·li bareʼyam, ničam," se.ibɛ.i. G'utsərimi Pa·ŋču.

1 *mɛntsɛ* — should be the sg. *mɛnantsɛ* in view of the following *i·nɛ*.

14 *baǰ* — probably the *ǰ* form of the verb *ba* v. § 271.

17 *fataŋ nəma* — glossed "getting up in anger," probably somewhat akin to the English "flinging (v. i.) out of (the assembly)".

19 *mumai.ibo* — the Ms. has *mo-*.

21 *utsu·m* — static participle of *u* + **-tsu·yas* with active meaning.

26 *ɛsumo* — the Ms. has *ɛsuman*.

27 *u·mɛnɛ dɛljuman* — This sentence is beyond my powers to analyse and there is probably in fact confusion. *U·mɛnɛ . . . kɛ* may mean 'which of them' or

[Errata: after baǰ insert Et'in. Cf. Corrigenda, p.419, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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Now the King commanded his daughters saying: "Go now and take for husbands whomever you fall in love with." Thereupon they went out, and the King's six other daughters, choosing young men from among those who were assembled, took them as husbands. Pangchu was also in that assembly with the donkey foal (hidden) under his arm. Langa Brūmo got up, saying to herself: "I will take (some other) man, I won't take Pangchu." And she did not look in the direction of Pangchu, but fixed her eyes on someone else and advanced towards him. On this, Pangchu, without letting anyone else see it, showed her the donkey foal. She saw it and turned towards Pangchu. "For," said she to herself, "he will otherwise tell someone the story of the donkey foal." So she approached Pangchu. On her doing so the fine fellows who were near Pangchu started beating him saying: "You get out of the way. She has come to take us." So Pangchu retired into a corner.

The King saw Pangchu being beaten: "Don't beat him," he said, "let him be." Then Langa Brūmo came and sat down beside him. The King was vexed at this. The affair greatly disgusted him. "She has taken this hideous Pangchu," said he, and rising up (in anger) he left the assembly. Langa Brūmo married Pangchu and Pangchu carried her off to his own house. There he sat down in his own proper hideousness. Then Langa Brūmo was vexed saying to herself: "I have gone and married this hideous fellow."

Now the King gave orders to his sons-in-law who had married his daughters, saying: "Go off and hunt Brūngkapurdōno. The six sons-in-law made their preparations to go hunting. They took food to eat and bread for the journey and their under and upper bedclothes and their guns and things and set out. Pangchu also started out and followed them. "O Pangchu," said Langa Brūmo, "how can you go in this powerless and miserable condition? What will you be able to do? Don't go!" "My power and condition are as you see," replied Pangchu, "(but) I shall just go and watch the show in case any of them kill (the calf)," and off he went.

'whether' or 'if any of them' and may depend on either *tamaśaw* or *bareyam*. *Kwli* probably duplicates *ki* and is curiously placed. *Tamaśaw* may be governed by either *bareyam* or *nicam*, but the latter is probably independent.

Laŋa Brumo u·šam mu·mimur se.ibo: "Mama, belatɛ ničai.i kɛ bəre·yɛn, ganulo nutaγan huru·šen. Go·na" senumo. "Yɛ go·n, ai.i," senumo. U t'um ganane nu·nin mərakane (*or*, mərakantsum) yar duwasaman. Nutaγan huru·čaman. Huru·tasər i·ne ju·as ganər bar'e·rmi huru·čaman (*or*, huru·tuman). Paŋču pha·š manimi, u·ɛ ɛ·saluman (*or*, ɛ·saljam). Bu·t ta·rifɛ padša bam. I·nɛ haγurɛ i·k Čangi H·irpal bilum. Nu·ljan dandanatɛ dimi. Bu·t za·rda·r Padša bam. Dandanatɛ ɛ·skəršume ditsimi. U·ɛ yetsuman. Laŋa Brumo ni·itsin but ayaš mumanumo. "Aki·l ja· jama·atan bai.i," nusen, bu·tteum bu·t aiyaš mumanumo. Laŋa Brumo kɛ u·ɛam mu·mi sərkɛ manuman. Mana·sər Paŋču.ɛ nu·i·tsin haγurtsum draŋ numa ti·š ka hərə·ltɛ xurts di·usimi. I·mo haγur i·mo žiŋɛ·ulo čap ɛtimi. I·mo γunikišɛ i·tɛ batər xurtsulo i·kər wašimi. Xurts la·ŋ nanumtsum Laŋa Brumo kɛ mu·mi.ɛ yetsuman Paŋču i·i bai.i. Xafa umanuman. "Mi·lčinər šu.ai (*or*, daltas) y·etsam; kinɛ i·mo inɛ bai.i," nusen, xafa umanuman.

I·n yər nupərən u·yakal pfu·t ayɛtum čup nɛ gutsər·ai.i. Laŋa Brumo.ɛ: "Mama," sai.ibo, "hik kɛ bare·yan yərpa kɛ nimɛ·nin," senumo. "Šu.a, ai.i, yɛ ju," nusen, niman. Da· nu·nin tum ganane yər duwašen, mərakanulo nutaγan huru·čaman. Ho i·n di·a i·mo haγuratɛ bandobasɛ ka nuljan prik e·d iljumɛ, i·mo asəli batər nikin. U i·tɛ dišulo laŋ omanum ral numa huru·čaman. O·pačər di·mi. I·tɛ mərə·ktsum Laŋa Brumo du·sin haγurɛ jilautsɛ du·numo. Du·nasər haγurtsum draŋ manimi. "Se.i Laŋa Brumo, u·ŋɛ jana·at jɛ ba. U·ŋ mu ha·lər i·lji ni, bu·t šuriy·ɛ·š ɛti, bu·t ara·me ka huru·t. Ja

1 *Laŋa Brumo u·ɛam . . .* — The Ms. appears to have *Laŋa Brumone*.

3 *mərakane* or *mərakantsum* — I understood this to mean 'by a circuitous route *Mərak* means essentially 'bend, twist' and appears to be used for a "bend in the road" at lines 20 and 23.

5 *bar'e·rmi* = *bəre·rme* — present participle.

10 *mumanumo* — Ms. has mo-.

12 *ti·š ka* — *ka* = *ka*.

13 *γunikišɛ* — equivalent to *γunikəškəš*.

15 *mi·lčinər* — note the singular *°-lčin* with the plural pron. prefix *mi-* cp. § 128. III.
šu.ai — *-ai* for *-a* is probably due to the following *y-*.
yetsam — 1st. pl. plup.

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Langa Brūmo said to her foster mother: "Mother, come along and let us hide ourselves by the road and sit and watch how he gets along." "Come on then, my daughter," said her mother, and proceeding by another road, by a circuitous route they came out ahead (of Pangchu). Then they posted themselves in hiding and sat watching the road by which he would come. Presently Pangchu came into view and they watched him. He was (in the guise of) a very distinguished king. His horse's name was Changi Hirpal. He was a very fierce-looking king and he came galloping (his horse) over the stones. The two women saw him, and Langa Brūmo on seeing him was greatly pleased. "What a fine man my husband is!" she said and was delighted beyond measure. Langa Brūmo and her foster mother showed themselves and when Pangchu saw them he dismounted from his horse and brought forth a whirlwind of rain and dust and hid his horse in his sleeve. Then in the midst of the dust he threw himself into that hideous skin of his. When the dust had passed by, Langa Brūmo and her mother saw that it was just Pangchu himself and were vexed: "We had seen him looking handsome," said they, "but this is his same old self," and they were vexed.

Looking straight before him, he passed on in silence, without casting a glance at them. "Mother," said Langa Brūmo. "Let us go on ahead and see him again." "Very good, my daughter, come on," said her mother, and they went on. Proceeding by another road, they came out ahead (of Pangchu) and sat hiding at a bend in the road. Presently he came along, riding on his horse in fine style and making it caracole. He had entered again into his real skin. They remained where they were on the *qui vive* without stirring. He approached them and then Langa Brūmo came out from the bend in the road and seized his horse's reins. Pangchu dismounted and said: "O Langa Brūmo, I am your husband. Go back home now and enjoy yourself and live in comfort. I have lots of wealth. Spend it and give to

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20 *dawaśen* — p.pc. active of *dawaśe.as*. The form might also be the short form of the 3rd. pl. pret.

dolat but bila, xərč eti, mener kɛ u·u. Ši, mi·nɛ, γiltir," m'osimi, "Bruṇ Kapərdo·no jɛ dəljam. Um'ɛnɛ dəljuman?" mošai.i. U pfər manuman, i·n Čaṇgi Hirpalatɛ nu·ljan tsu·mi.

U·ɛ u·miši·ndo yər nimiše Padša e·rərštusum tum ganane u·yər di.usimi (*or*, dyusimi). U·yər di·usin utsimo yər za·k numan haγurtsum draṇ numan haγu·r šiṇɛr nyu.ɛ·šin i·mo γunikiš bater gi·mi. I·ljum u·ɛ uyər bai.i yə·ka·n. "Le.i, ki·n baγara·čo amitale din miyər du·sai.i. Ma bərɛ·nin ki·nɛ besan šičai, besan y'ate dɛ·rčai.i, besan ɛ·ka ditsai.i. Ni·n barɛ·nin," o·suman. U·ɛ niman i·ner bərɛ·yər (*or*, barɛnasər) mata·n nu·rut nut'aγan ɛ·saluman. Ho ikərɛ be šu.a ta.a·m dɛtsirčai.i. Šu.a čaγurum tsil ɛpači bila. Šu.a ara·mɛ ka ya·riki yatiki besan uyo·n ɛpači bi. Ik'ərɛṇɛ čaγan ɛčai.i: "Gute ganate jɛ daiyn ba, ja·r lɛ·l bila," se.ibai.i. "Bu·t bala gan bila. Jimale tso·rdine gute'ərčam. Aiyər han bu·lan bila. I·te bu·ltsum tsil ak'ərər gaiyam, bɛ·rɛ kɛ yərum i·te basa·ulo tsil api," se.ibai.i. "I·te tsil ak'ərɛ tsučam (*or*, gaiyam) kɛ i·te basa·ulo akərɛ xura·k ɛčam, da numin ara·m ɛčam," se.ibai.i.

U·ɛ d'o·yuluman i·nɛ i·kɛ čaγamiṇ. Niman Padša ɛ·rəršu o·pačər, o·r čaγa ɛča·n: "I·nale ši.as xura·ka kɛ ərza·n, i·nɛ minas tsil kɛ ərza·n, i·nɛ yariki yatiki kɛ daltas; i·nɛ da čaγan ɛčai.i: 'Gu·te ganate jɛ hik daiyam ba,' se.ibai.i. 'Bu·t bala ganan bila,' se.ibai.i. 'Tso·rdine jɛ gutsərčam,' se.ibai.i. 'Yər bu·lan bila, i·te bu·ltsum akərər tsil gaiyam,' se.ibai.i. 'Aiy'ərum i·te basa·ulo tsil api akərɛ gaiyam,' se.ibai.i. 'Akərɛ šapik ɛčam da miya·m, numin ara·m ɛčam,' se.ibai." U·ɛ seiba·n: "I·te bu·ltsum mi· kɛ mikərər yər i·te basa·ulo tsil api kɛ mikərɛ gaiyen," seiba·n.

Tso·rdinər di.ɛn gutsərča·n (*or*, gutsəruman). I·te bu·ltsar do·šqaltuman. "Tsil gaiyen na?" senuman. "Šu.a, gaiyen" nusen tsil

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2 *umɛnɛ dəljuman?* — 'which of them will slay it?' but I understood that it here means "who are they that they should slay it?" and that suits the context.

4 *nimiše* — static pc. of *niyas* with pl. suffix.

5 *di.usimi* — one would expect the intr. *dusimi*.

7 *amitale* — this form occurs twice in the text: here and on p. 156 l. 1. It is probably the y sg. form of the pronoun *amin* with the suffix *-ale*. 'On some (way)', 'on any (way)'; or here it may be interrogative 'by which way?'

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others too. Eat and drink and give yourself a good time. I shall slay Brūngkapurdōno. Who are they that they should slay him?" The women went back, and Pangchu mounting Changi Hirpal rode him away.

Proceeding by another road he came out ahead of the six sons-in-law of the King who had gone on before. Pushing on ahead of them he dismounted and putting his horse in his sleeve he entered into his evil-looking skin. From behind, the sons-in-law saw that he was on in front of them. "Look," said they (to their servants), "that bogle has come by some way or other and got in front of us. You go and see what he is eating, what (bedclothes) he spreads over him, and what he has brought with him. Go and see." The servants went off to look at him and sitting down at a distance in hiding they watched him: What good food he is cooking for himself! He has nice cold water. He has comfortable upper and under bedding and everything else. He is saying to himself: "I have come by this road before. I know it. It is a road of great hardship. Tomorrow morning I shall go on. Ahead there is a spring. I shall take water for myself from that spring, because at the next stage there is no water. So I shall take that water with me and at the halting place I shall prepare food for myself and then I shall drink and take my ease."

The servants heard these remarks of his and they went off to the King's sons-in-law and reported to them: "He has lots of food to eat and lots of water to drink. He has under and upper bedclothes of the best. He says: 'I have once before come by this road. It is a road of great hardship. I shall go on tomorrow. There is a spring on ahead and I shall take water from it for myself. At the next halting place there is no water, so I shall take it with me. I shall cook some food there for myself and then drink and take my ease.'" (The King's sons-in-law) said: "We too will take water for ourselves from the spring, for there is no water at the next stage."

Next morning they got up and went on their way. They arrived at the spring and said: "We shall take water; shan't we?" "Yes, we

21 *daiyam ba* — *daiyam* an example of a 1st. person form of a static pc.: 'I am in-the-position-of-having-come', cp. § 229. a.

684 i·tɛ bu·ltɛum uɛ uyo·natɛ ganuman 'o·yɛnuman. Noyɛn gutɛɛruman. Sa·ɛctumo basa·r do·šqaltuman. Do·šqalt bɛre·iman kɛ i·tɛ basa·ulo tsilɛ bɛsan diš api, bu·t bila, γaši·lɛ pfiri·nč kɛ api. Padša e·rəršu.ɛ uyumo nokərər se.iba·n: "Lɛ mai.imulɛ ni·m! Ko·lɛ tsilɛ diš api, γaši·lɛ pfirinč kɛ api. Šapik bɛ·sanatɛ daŋ ečа·n? Lɛ.i bəramza·damutɛ, ma sa·timo i·nɛ čaγa tis 'ɛtumana, bɛ 'tuman kɛ? Ko·lə γašil ap·i. Phi·ti bɛsanatɛ daŋ ɛ·ča·n? Ni·nə Pa·ŋču.ər hik kɛ barɛ·nin i·nɛ bɛ· ečai kɛ," o·ɛuman.

U·ɛ altan sis 'o·rasɛ ka nu·n bər'e.iba·n. Bəre.iman kɛ šu·a ɛ·pačər γašil bitsa, pfu lam ɛtai.i, šapik daŋ ɛtasɛ doγu·iskí·nai. Da ik'ərɛŋɛ čaγa ečai.i: "Gutɛ dišulo γašil apim, i·ljum ak'ərər γašil nukan daiγa ba, mu akərɛ pfiti daŋ ečam." Ho gutɛ čaγa uɛ d'oyɛljа·n. D'oyɛlin ničа·n Padša e·rəršu.alɛ. U·ɛ ni·mika doγurušа·n: "Bɛ·čuk Pa·ŋču? Epači γašil bitsana? Bɛ maibai.i?" nusɛn. U·ɛ čaγa ečа·n: "Lɛ m'aimulɛ n·im, awa, i·n ɛ·pači γašil bitsa, šu·a ara·mɛ ka nɛsqul pfiti daŋ ɛ·čai.i." "Mi bɛ maiγa ba·n? Mi belatɛ pfiti daŋ ɛ·ča ba·n? Bɛsan šiča ba·n?" sɛnuman. "Ma hik kɛ namа·n maltu·mal ɛ·tina i·nɛ bɛsan čaγa ɛ·čai.i kɛ."

Niman ult'u·mal ɛ·čər. I·nɛ čaγan ikərɛŋɛ ečai.i: "Tsɛ·rdinər je ničam. Aiγər han šu·a bu·lan bila, bu·t mazada·r bu·lan bila, šu.a mi·a·m," seibai.i. "Ho da sa·ɛctumo i·tɛ basa·r γašil api. Gutɛ jaŋgaltsum ho šu·a γašil gaiγam. Sa·ɛctumo i·tɛ basa·ulo γašil nutsum ak'ərɛ pfu nɛ pfiti daŋ nɛ ara·mɛ ka hurušam," se.ibɛ.i. Gutɛ d'oyɛl Padša e·rəršu.ɛ o·rumišo uɛ o·pačər du·man. U dɛγurušа·n:

1 *uɛ uyo·natɛ ganuman 'oyɛnuman uɛ* — The juxtaposition of the two verbs is peculiar, and the exact sense obscure. Perhaps *oyɛnuman* was intended to replace *ganuman*. Cp. however p. 134 l. 6 note.

3 *tsilɛ bɛsan diš api* — 'there is no room for (more) water'.

4 *mai.imulɛ ni·m* — this is an expression of abuse *ma* + °-*ai* + *mu* + *ale* 'to your daughter(s)?' The meaning seems to be "you who have gone to your daughters", i. e. have committed incest; but the sense is possibly optative v. § 380. Possibly: "Damn you!" would be a fair equivalent.

6 *tis 'tumana bɛ 'tuman kɛ* — explained as 'have you misunderstood, or what have you done?' The *kɛ* in a direct question is unusual and probably gives an indefinite sense *bɛ . . . kɛ* 'whatever?' 'what else?' *kɛ* frequently appears in indirect questions. Cp. § 467.

10 *daŋ ɛtasɛ doγuruški·nai* — *doγuruški·nai* usually takes the dependent infin. with *-ər*, so *ɛtasɛ* here may be a slip for *ɛtasər*.

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shall." So saying they took water from the spring and loaded it up on all of them and proceeded. In the evening they arrived at the halting place, and there they saw that there was no end of water, it was abundant, but there was not a stick of firewood. The King's sons-in-law said to their servants: "O you blackguards, there is unlimited water here but there isn't a stick of firewood. How are we to cook our food? You bastards, have you misunderstood what he said yesterday? Or what have you done? There is no firewood here; how are we to bake our bread? Go, have a look at Pangchu again (and see) what he is doing."

The two men on being sent off went and looked. They saw that Pangchu had excellent firewood and had lighted a fire and begun to cook his food. He was again talking to himself saying: "There is no firewood in this place. I brought wood for myself with me from the last place. I shall now bake bread for myself." The servants heard what he was saying and went off to the King's sons-in-law. When they came to them the latter enquired: "How is Pangchu? Has he firewood? How is he?" They replied: "O blackguards, yes, he has firewood and he is burning it and cooking bread in comfort." "What is to become of us?" said the sons-in-law. "How are we to cook our bread? What are we to eat? Go again and listen to what he says."

They went off to listen. Pangchu was talking to himself and saying: "I shall go on tomorrow. On ahead there is a good spring. It is a very sweet spring and I shall have a good drink. But then at the evening halting place there is no firewood so I shall take a good supply of wood from the jungle near the spring. I shall take the wood with me to the halting place and I shall light a fire and bake bread for myself and I shall halt there in comfort." The men who had been sent by the King's sons-in-law, having heard this, returned to them. The King's sons-in-law asked them: "What

12 *pfiti daŋ čam.* — The narrator here lost his way and introduced a passage referring to a past episode. It is practically a repetition of p. 124 ll. 14—16. As variants and corroborants are of value it is given here: "*Tsordinər je gutsərčam*" *se.ibai.i.* "*Aiyərum itə bassəulo ho tsil api. Ho aiyər burlan bila, itetsum akərər tsil gaiyam. Bas amanam diθulo miyəm, akərə pfiti daŋ čam*", *snibai.i.*

14 *m'aimulə n'ina* — i. e. *mai.imulə nim* v. l. 4. note.

24 *ərrəuilo* — plural form of static pc. pass. of *u* + *-ARAS.*

000 "Paŋčuṇ be ešbai.i?" Uṇ eibaṇ: "'Teordine je nitam. Yer gute burlteum ešuṇ tail miṇaṇm, numin gutaerčam. Yerum i-te basaṇdo yaśil api. Gute jangalteum akareta gaiyam, unkan basaṇdo pfu lain ne pīti daŋ ne araṇme ka gutaerčam,' eešbai.i," eenuman.

5 Teordiṇer daṇl numan gutaeruman. Nukutaer nuṇn i-ne eenum i-te bultaer doṣqaltuman. I-te burlteum tail minuṇman. Numin ite jangaler nuṇn yerum basaṇ gane yaśil baldaŋ ne ganuman. Nukutaer eeretumo basaṇ doṣqaltuman. Doṣqalčuman ka yaśile besan dit api, i-ljum yaśil uṇiṇčume baldaŋ ne duuwaṇn. E-le jangal bila,

10 teile, bes ke darak api. "Le.i heraṇmaṇdamute, tail epim diter yaśil baldaŋ nimṇe dimṇi-teimi. Teil bilum diter teil baldaŋ nimṇe dimṇi-teimi. Albatta ma i-ne eenae čayn yalat dumai.aljaṇ, ya ma tie ečaṇ," eenuman. "Ye mu bort aqolkyentaik namaṇt Paŋčuṇer beraṇnina da maltumai etina be ešbai.i ke, da besan ečai.i ke" nusen, uṇruman.

15 Uṇe niičuman ke Paŋču dešqaltai.i basaṇdo. Teil eu.ai.i, duum, araṇme ka nuṇrut ekere šapik ečai.i, da teil rai.čo mibai.i. Ikeruṇ čayn ečai.i: "Teordiner di.en je gutaerčam. Bruṇ Kapurdoṇowale dešqaltae ba, mu asiṇ manuman. Han burlantaer dešqaltae ba. I-te bu-l juwaṇman amulo ke api. Dayu.i gap i-te burlulo i-lan ke

20 miltumal jawaṇn yiryit manaṇe bi. I-te burle teil aka gaiyam, unkan basa diter dešqalčam. Je taočiŋ kuraṇti manitaan. I-te burle tellulo hu-čo ke ta.očiŋ gonšere i-ljam. Ho teordiner ek pakiṇa yiryitiŋ mai.imi. Manume ka hu-čo ke ta.očiŋ multan ho gutaerčam," eešbai.i.

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9 *akareta gaiyam* — 'I shall take on myself' i. e. 'with me'.

9 *uṇiṇčume* — present participle of *u* + °*-iṇčum*, 'in the condition of dying'. No direct translation is possible. They had almost copied under the effort of making up and carrying the loads.

11 *nime* — short p.pr. active of *mi* + °*-aṇm*. Causative 'having made to make'.

12 *ene eenae čayn* — a curious use of the infinitive form. Cp. § 404.

14 *ekere* — the regular form of prefix is *i-*. The *e-* is a slip in pronunciation or hearing.

16 *manuman* — 3rd. pl. pret. for 3rd. sg. Less probably the static pr. + *an*.

19 *i-lan* — short form of the 3rd. pl. pret. cp. § 314.

20 *miltumal* — the use of the 1st. pl. form of the pron. prefix with a noun where the meaning is really impersonal 'our ear' = 'one's ear', 'the ear'. Cp. § 198. III.

4: Lorimer 1-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1936 AV7 Barnho AV7

does Pangchu say?" They replied: "He says 'I shall go on tomorrow morning. I shall have a good drink at the spring which is on ahead and then go on. At the next stage (however) there is no firewood, (so) I shall take wood for myself from the jungle (near the spring) and I shall light a fire at the halting place and bake bread and then go on in comfort.'"

Next morning, getting up, they proceeded on their way. As they went along they came to the spring of which Pangchu had spoken. They drank water from the spring and then they went to the jungle and made up loads of wood for the next stage and took them with them. Proceeding on their way, they arrived at the evening halting place. Arriving there (they found) there was unlimited firewood (while) they had nearly killed themselves making up loads of wood and bringing them along from behind. There was a jungle at the place, but not a trace of water. "Ah, bastards," said the sons-in-law, "for a place where there is no water he made us make up and bring loads of wood; for a place where there is water he made us make up and bring along loads of water. You certainly misheur what he says or else you misunderstand it. Now be very intelligent and go and watch Pangchu and listen to what he says and see too what he is doing." So saying they sent them off.

When they got there Pangchu had arrived at the stage. He had brought water with him and he was sitting at his ease and preparing food and when he felt inclined he drank water. He was speaking to himself saying: "Tomorrow morning I shall get up and go on. I shall come to Brüngkapurdhan, for he is now near. I shall come to a spring. There is no other spring like it anywhere. If one soaks raw hide in it, it will become soft like one's ear. I shall take water from that spring with me and (in this manner) I shall arrive at the halting place. My leather foot-wrappers have become hard. I shall soak my boots and foot-wrappers the whole night in the spring water. Then in the morning they will be nice and soft. When they have become so I shall put on my foot-wrappers and boots and go on."

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Semaser gute d'oyel čaya nukan Padša ererču.aler du-uman. Dur čaya ečan ke: "Parąču.e basarulo ikere tail d'usun, bu-t ara-me ka čapik dąą ne n'iłin, rai.ulo tail numin, ara-me ka huru-tai.i. Da ik-ereąą čaya ečai.i, se.ibai: 'Teo-rdine ako-latsum gutserčam.
5 Nuku-tsar nan yer ta'ą bu-lan bila. I-te-lar nan, bu-t uyaman bila, hik mi-urm. I-te bu-lulo dayu-i gap i-lan ke m'iltumal juwan yiryit mai.ibi. Ferimo hu-čo ke ta.očią kura-ti mani-tean. I-te bu-litsum tail nukan nan basarulo hu-čo ke ta.očią i-ljam. Apfayo (or, darorgo) te-le čam ne i-se-te hu-čo ka ta.očią tailtsum di.usin
10 gomiere o-lam. Teo-rdiner i-ke yiryitum man'umi ke n'ultan nult'an ho Brurą Kapurdo-nowale daiqalčam," o-uman.

"I-te bu-litsum tail mi ke gaiyen, mi ke hučo ta.očią i-ljen, mi eke yiry i-tią maimi. Teo-rdiner di.en mi ke niken," senuman. Ho teo-rdiner di.en i-te bu-litsar niman. i-te bu-litsum tail ganuman, i-te
15 nuka gutseruman. Sa-ectumo basar doriqaltuman. Doriqaltin Padša ererču.e se.ibam: "Parąču.ele nin berenain i-te bu-le tailulo ta.očią hučo u.i-ljaiya be ke." U niman Parąču.er berever. U beveriman ke Parąču.e hu-lo ke ta.očią i-ljai.i (or, ilai.i) i-te bu-le tailulo. U-e yertsuman ipfayo tikulo čam ne ike ta.očią i-se-te ni-lin o-lai.i.
20 I-te imo ke tail čačaą (or, čučut) mai.i bila. U-er yai.i bila bu-le tailulo i-lai.i. I-ne maltaąr čilulo i-l'am. Ni-lin i-se der oyowate fat etam.

Pfar nema gute čaya nuka Padša ererčuwale du-man: "Mi mi-ltine yertsuman ipfayu.ate o-uimi." Padša ererču.e senuman: "Mi ke mimo hučo ke ta.očią Parąču.e juwan tailulo i-ljan" nusen, tailulo i-luman.
25 Ni-i dorayo.ete (or, ifayu.ete) o-uuman. Nosin gomiere o-yenuman.

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6 *hik mi-urm* — *hik* is here probably the adjective 'full'.

12 *n'ultan nult'an* — there is a difference in the participle according as the object is sgl. or ypl. *kere* (a) *n'ultan*, *n* + *'n* + **-ltan* < **-ltaiyan*. *ta.očią* (y) *nult'an*. The latter appears to be from a form of the verb without the pron. prefix, *ltaiyan*. Otherwise with a ypl. object one would expect: *n* + *i* + **-ltan* as in an alternative given: *ta.očią n'ilin* from **-lilan*. 'Putting on a single [illegible]' is [illegible] *nult'an*.

15–16 *mi eke* — in the Ms. *mi.eke*, is a little doubtful. It is probably *mi* + *eke* 'those of ours'. The context would be better served by 'ours also', but this would be *mi ke*. I know of no authority for a genitive of *mi* '*of us, ours*' of the form of *mi.e*.

20 *i-te imo* — 'from them' i. e. the *ta.očią*, *i-* is ypl.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Having heard what he said the servants came with the report to the King's sons-in-law. They said: "Pangchu brought water for himself to the camping place and he has settled down there in great comfort, cooking and eating food and drinking water as he feels inclined. Then he spoke to himself and said: 'Tomorrow morning I shall go on from here. A little further on, as I go along, there is a spring. I shall go to it. It is very sweet and I shall drink my fill. If one soaks raw hide in that spring it becomes as soft as one's ear. (As) my boots and foot-wrappers have become hard, I shall take water from the spring and coming to the camping place I shall put my boots and foot-wrappers in it. Then I shall plant my stick there in the ground and take the boots and foot-wrappers out of the water and hang them up (on it) all night. In the morning when they have become soft I shall put them on, and (go on till I) come to Brūngkapurdōno.'"

(The King's sons-in-law said:) "We too will take water from the spring and soak our boots and foot-wrappers in it and they too will become soft. Then in the morning we too will get up and go on." Getting up next morning they proceeded to the spring and drew water from it and went on taking it with them, and arrived at the evening halting place. On arriving there the King's sons-in-law said: "Go to Pangchu and see whether or not he soaks his wrappers and boots in the spring water." The servants went off to look at Pangchu and they saw him put his boots and foot-wrappers in the spring water and then they saw him fix his stick upright in the ground and put his boots etc. on it. They saw the water dripping from them. It seemed to them that he had put them in the spring water, (but) he had (really) put them in oil of ghee and had then left them (hanging) on the stick.

Returning with this report they came to the King's sons-in-law and said: "We have seen with our (own) eyes that he put the things (in the water and then hung them) on his stick." The King's sons-in-law said: "We too will soak our boots and wrappers in the water like Pangchu." So saying they put them in the water and after that they hung them on a stick and having done so slept all night.

U oʿyɛnuman; Paʿŋču goʿn oʿmanš̌ xa di.eʿmi. Di.ɛn iʿmo huʿčo kɛ ta.očiŋ dəlulo iʿlam, γiγitumiŋ bitsum, nʿultan nultʿan gutəərimi. Nukutsər nimi. Iʿlji goʿn manaʿsər dʿutaljuman kɛ ta.očiŋtsɛ tawaʿ γamu nukan dan juwan manitsan. Taiyasər oʿr muškil jučila. Se.ibaʿn: "Muto mi bɛ mai.aʿn? Bɛsan iʿltačan? Koktsɛ γamu ganɛ bi." Nusɛn, na.ilaʿj nʿuman pfuʿan lam nɛ pfu.atsɛ gəruʿrum ne neʿspin nukʿatumur γiγit ɛʿtiš̌ xa prʿaʿq duγu.i manimi. Uʿɛlɛ duγu.i manimi.

Bruʿŋ Kapurdoʿnowalər dʿɛšqaltimi Paʿŋču. Dɛšqaltin kau ɛčai.i: "Nana, nana." Sɛnasər ɛʿsɛ "ʿaʿu" ɛčibi. "Mama 'guʿŋgu.alɛ ni' nusɛn daʿrubo, 'hoʿl duwaʿn čap guči' nusɛn. Čap ati." "Yɛ juʿ, lɛ asaʿγwun, aʿltumalər gi, čap goʿčam," ɛʿsimi. Eʿsumɛ ka Paʿŋču n inin iltumalčər (*or*, iltumalər) giʿmi. Nikin bɛsan kurukuruʿt ɛčumi šiʿmi. Bruʿŋ Kapurdono.ɛ sɛnumi: "Le asʿaʿγun, uʿŋ bɛsan šiča?" "Le nana, mama γaʿqay baruʿɛ giyaliŋik aʿr ɛtubom, iʿkɛ šeča ba," sɛnimi. "Le ʿasaγun, jɛ kɛ maza daʿatsam, lukan jaʿr kɛ ačiʿa, jɛ kɛ šečam," ɛʿsimi. "Le nana, buʿt γaqʿayum bila." "Yɛ te.i lap a. lɛ asaʿγun," sɛnimi.

Sɛnasər uʿsko čɛmiliʿŋɛ pfitimuta lap ʿɛʿtimi. Iʿtɛ lap neʿtan Paʿŋču.ɛ seibai.i: "Nana, gutɛ γemiše gultuʿratɛ yatɛ guʿsɛ čarate taʿŋ a. Hoʿl duwaʿn uʿŋə gaʿnɛ. Bɛlatɛ dʿoljuma kɛ hik maqmɛʿsan ʿɛta," ɛsimi. Turate ɛʿsɛ čišatɛ taʿŋ nɛ ho iʿtɛ gʿo.asulo prik dɛlimi. Prik dɛlasər turaŋ iʿtɛ goʿɛulo ne.igat bakoʿriŋ lip ɛtimi. Terumanər čɛʿmɛliŋə zaʿraʿtɛ dam dʿɛʿɛtaimi. Gaʿr din bran wʿalimi. Walumɛ

7 *nukatumər* — p.pc. active of *gatamorɣas*.

11 *guči* — i. e. *goči* 3rd. sg. fut. of *gu* + *-*atas*.

14 *je kɛ maza daʿatsam* — glossed "*ja ka maza dirmi.*" *Daʿatsam* is probably 3rd. sg. plup. of d*-*atsas* with 1st. sg. pron. infix. This idiom is to be compared with *-*mors* d*-*atsas* 'to make angry', to 'worry someone'. The corresponding intrans. expressions are *-*mors duzuryas* and *-*mors juryas* with which compare *mam dirmi* above.

The sense is 'to cause someone to "bring" any kind of sensation' i. e. 'to cause him to experience or feel anger' etc. But what is here the subject of *daʿatsam*?

17—18 *Lap a* — short form equivalent to *Lap aʿti* the 2nd. sg. impv. of *lap* *-*atas* with 1st. sg. pn. pf. "put it in my mouth for me". So also *Lap ʿɛtimi* (l. 19) 'he put (them) in B. K.'s mouth.' *Lap stas* is 'to put something in one's own mouth'.

21 *belatɛ doljuma kɛ . . .* — this sentence is obscure and the translation uncertain.

(While) they slept, before it was yet dawn, Pangchu rose up and putting on his boots and foot wrappers, which he had steeped in the oil and which had become soft, he went on his way. Afterwards at dawn when the others got up their (boots and) foot-wrappers had frozen hard and they had become like stone. They found difficulty in putting them on. "Now," said they, "what are we to do? What are we to put on? These are frozen." As there was nothing else they could do they lighted a fire and heated the things at it. Then they dried them and wrung them till they had made them soft. But now the sun was well up, midday was upon them.

Meanwhile Pangchu came up with Brūngkapurdōno. He called out "Uncle, uncle." "Āu," said the calf. "My mother has sent me," said Pangchu. "She said: 'Go to your uncle. An army has come, he will hide you.' Now hide me." "Good, come along, sister's son," said the Calf, "get into my ear and I'll hide you." Pangchu went and got into the Calf's ear. Then he ate something, making a crunching noise with his teeth. "Nephew," said Brūngkapurdōno, "what are you eating?" "O uncle, my mother had made flapjacks of bitter buckwheat for me. It is they I am eating." "Nephew, I have got the savour of it too. Give me a little, so that I may eat it too." "Uncle, it is very bitter." "All right, just put it in my mouth as it is, nephew."

On this Pangchu put three pieces of poisonous bread in the Calf's mouth. As he did so he said: "Uncle, shove me up with this golden horn of yours on to this mountain. The army has come up against you. Give a buck and somehow or other you will defeat them." On this the Calf pushed Pangchu with his horn up on to the top of the mountain. Then he bucked up and down on

24 *zavavts dam d'evtsimi* — This presents difficulties. If there is a noun *zavvuṭ* = 'power, potency', we can take *zavavts* as the subj. of *devtsimi*: 'the power of the poison caused him to struggle for breath' (*dam dosuyas* = 'to draw breath'). This suits the the *d*-*atsas* idiom as we have seen it in the note on l. 16.

We have, however, a noun (or adj.?) *zavu* = 'power' or 'powerful' and an adj. *zavdav* = 'fierce', 'wrathful' "гневливый", *zavavts* might therefore be *zavu* + *ats* an instrum. form giving: 'by the power of the poison', or with adverbial force: 'violently', 'powerfully'. *Čemalīgo* would then be the subject.

ka Bru·ŋ Kapurdonu.ɛ se.ibi: "Le.i duso·k, a·ltumalči čur bi, jɛ hala·l ba, kaš æti." Draŋ manimi. Draŋ numa Bru·ŋ Kapurdo·no ɛpači.ər dimi. Di·mɛ ka Bru·ŋ Kapurdo·no se.ibi: "Mi mama ja·r ʌsu bo·m: 'Kısər iri·ŋtsum gu.i·rčuma' (*or*, guwi·rčuma)."

5 Hik dam kaš ɛtimi. Hik dam ifatərimi. Nipatər γeniše isu·mal, 'ešpuraŋ, ič'okuraŋ, ipfačumuts da·l o·timi, (*or*, da·l nɛ oyʌnumi). I·sɛ ti·nj'o.ulum baliŋ duwaq nɛ di.usin g'animi. Nukan Čaŋgi Hirpalatɛ pfal man'imi, gutsərimi. Gaptsɛ bi·škɛ kimi'a.ɛ kɛ γeniše ju.an lam mai bitsum. Gapɛ ka fat ɛtimi. Di.ɛmurulo gaptsum

10 i·kɛ bi·škɛ sa ya·ri·tsɛ lam mai bitsum.

Padša e·rəršo te·rumanər do·šqaltuman. Do·šqalt yɛ·tsuman (*or*, bare.iman) lam me.ibila. Tubaquts i·sɛ yakalatər bišamən. E·s laŋ kɛ 'o·manimi. 'O·manasɛ ka 'ha ha' nɛ i·tsɛ ga·rčaman. Se.iba·n, hinɛ: "Ja dɛla ba," hinɛ: "Ja dɛla ba." E·pačər do·šqaltuman.

15 Do·šqalt gaptsum biškɛ u·i u·i i·m'oquman. Nimuq kawa·ntsər dɛliman. I·sɛ čap kɛ ganuman. Nukan u·imo hai yakalatər gutsəruman.

Nuku·tsər, Padša·lər (*or*, o·skiralər) do·šqaltaman. Padša senimi: "Le.i arəršo, aminɛ dɛli ba·n kɛ ye barɛ·nin," o·simi. U·ɛ se.iba·n hi·nɛ: "Ja dɛla ba," hi·nɛ: "Ja dɛla ba" nusen, Padša ɛ·sulo

20 aiy e·bišača·n. Padša se.ibai.i: "Am'inɛ dɛli ba kɛ ɛ·sɛ haiya.i.iŋ

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6 (*da·l nɛ oyʌnomi*) — *oyʌnomi* is hard to explain. There was no one whom he could compel to take the things up. One would expect *yʌnimi* or *tsu·mi*. The original version *da·l o·timi* is straightforward as the *o·* refers to the things.

This seems to be an instance where the cs. form *-ʌyʌnʌs is used as a simple trs. verb, 'to take up', 'load up' cp. § 247.

7 *ti·nj'ovlom* — (in Ms. *tiŋj'o.olom*) = 'being-in-the bones', *duwʌq nɛ* refers to breaking the 'bones'. I have noted as a synonym *ti·ŋ nikər*, *ti·ŋjo nukər* (from *-xərʌs). The repeated ŋ in these examples must, I suppose, be accepted as a variant for the usual n.

10 *sa ya·ri·tsɛ* — *sa* was explained as "sunshine" and *ya·ri* as "first light in the morning", but it is not elsewhere recorded and one is tempted to connect *ya·ri* with *yər*, *yar*. But whence the *-i?* *Sa·atsɛ*, *sa.atsɛ* is used for (to sit etc.) "in the sun".

15 *u·i u·i* — 'they each separately', 'each by himself'.

18 *Aminɛ dɛli ba·n kɛ ye barɛ·nin* — one would expect *bərɛ·yen* 'let us see whether any of you', or 'which of you, has slain it'. *Ye barɛ·nin* might be *for ɛbərɛ·nin*, but "make him see" would not suit the context.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the meadow and dug his horns into the pasture and tossed up the divots. Then the power of the poison made him gasp for breath and becoming giddy he fell down with a smack. When he had fallen Brūngkapurdōno said (to Pangchu): "Ho, there, come down. In my ear is a knife. I am 'halāl,' slay me." Pangchu came down (from the mountain) and went up to Brūngkapurdōno. When he came up to him Brūngkapurdōno said: "My mother said to me: 'You will die by the hand of Kiser.'"

Forthwith Pangchu slew him and flayed him and taking up his golden tail, mane, forelock and hoofs, carried them off. He also smashed up his bones, and extracting the marrow took it (with him). Then he mounted on Changi Hirpal and went his way. The hair on the skin, which shone like gilt and gold, he left with the skin. That hair on the skin glittered on (the mountain of) Diāmer in the early sunshine.

Just after this the King's sons-in-law arrived on the spot and saw (the skin lying) shining there. They fired off their guns at it and it did not stir. Then, shouting "ha ha" they rushed up to it. One said: "I shot it," another (said) "I shot it." When they got up to the skin they each tore out its hair and shoved it into their leather travelling-bags. They also took its flesh. After which they went off in the direction of their home.

There they came to the King. "Hallo, sons-in-law," said he, "see whether any of you has killed (the Calf). Each of them said: "I have killed it," "I have killed it," but they did not convince the King's mind. He said: "If anyone has killed it I shall recognise

19–20 *Padša ɛsvlo aiy'ɛbišačan* — 'they do not convince the king'. This is undoubtedly the meaning, but the exact force of the verb is open to question.

*-*ABišaiyAs* should properly mean 'to cause someone to throw something' and there is at least one example of it with this meaning. The question is whether it can also be used with the same meaning as the simple verb *bišaiyAs* 'to throw' of this use there is also one probable example (see Vocab s. v.).

The alternatives are therefore:

1. they caused the king to project it into his mind i. e. to accept it.
2. they projected it into the king's mind v. §§ 239 and 242 ff.

20 *ba* — is 2nd. sg. *ban* is probably to be read as in l. 18.

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(*or*, nišaˈniŋ) jɛ leˈl ɛčam Kawaˈntsum diˈusin," oˈsimi. Gaptsum biškɛ uˈi uˈi dyuˈsuman. Dyuˈsasər biˈškɛ lam jam manimi. Padša se.ibai: "Lɛ ˈarəršo, ma hiˈnɛ kɛ eˈdilaˈn, moˈmušo, koˈs tumanɛ dɛli bai.i. Eˈsatum nišaˈniŋ am bitsan? Ґɛnišɛ isuˈmal, γɛnišɛ
5 turaŋ, γɛnišɛ ifačumuts, γɛnišɛ ɛˈšpuraŋ, γɛnišɛ ičokuraŋ am bitsan?" oˈsimi. "Eˈstsɛ apim," senuman. "Momušo oˈčaˈn, ma Bruˈŋ Kapurdoˈno ɛˈdilaˈn. Ti mɛnɛnɛ dɛlibai.i," oˈsimi. Noˈsum, "Niˈn" oˈsimi.

Paˈŋču iˈmo haˈlər di bam. Iˈmo γunikiš suˈratulo nikin di bam.
10 Laŋa Brumo.ɛ: "Ai Paˈŋču, uˈŋɛ ˈjɛ dɛljam' senam; uˈŋ bɛ gumanuma? Eˈdiluma?" "Ja luˈm kɛ hawaˈl gutɛ bila. Jɛ bɛ aˈmaiya baiyam?" Laŋa Brumo buˈt xafa manuˈmo. "'Dɛljam' senam, da kiˈn iˈmo gutɛ suˈratulo bai.i. Ja buˈt daltasan yɛˈtsa baiyam nˈiˈasulo." Xafa numuˈman čup nɛ huruˈtumo.
15 Paˈŋču.ɛ se.ibai.i: "Ai Laŋa Brumo, uˈŋɛ babaˈr ja gˈoˈyɛnum gutɛ haiyɛn tsu." "Šu.a, tsuˈčam" se.ibo. Tiˈli.ɛ hanpačimo iˈtɛ fˈatəriˈlo iˈsɛ Bruˈŋ Kapurdonu.ɛ iˈtɛ bal uyoˈn iˈtɛ tiˈli.ɛ fatəri.ər uyoˈn ˈerimi. Mučičai.i. "Yɛ gutɛ tsu uˈŋɛ babaˈr." Laŋa Brumo se.ibo: "Jɛ šəruˈm, gutɛ jɛ bɛˈlatɛ tsuˈča ba?" Paˈŋču.ɛ se.ibai.i:
20 "Ja luˈm kɛ hawaˈl gutɛ bila, jɛ hiˈšan amulum dˈišam? Yɛ tsu ja gučiˈam gutɛ." "Iliˈš, yɛˈ šuˈa, ači, tsuˈčam," nusɛ, nuka Padšaˈlər niˈmo.

Padša imaˈratɛ hiŋtsər nuˈmoˈn tɛlɛ huruˈtumo. Padša Waziˈr mupačər diˈmi. Buyat ɛčibo: "Le baba Waziˈr, babalər nukoˈn
25 iˈnɛ salaˈmɛnər atsu." Waziˈrɛ: "Kuˈlɛ duˈŋ huruˈ. Jɛ naˈn taxpa gaiyam" Waziˈr niˈmi Padšaˈlər. "Ya Padša, uˈyuˈm goˈi uˈŋə

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8 *moˈmušo* — 'your lies' (*-umos) i. e. 'it is lies on your part,' or possibly *oˈčaˈn* is to be understood as in line 6, 'you are telling lies'.

11 *bɛ aˈmaiya baiyam* — 'what should' (or 'might') 'I have been able to do?' v. § 350. 3

14 *xafa numuˈman* — the Ms. has *numoˈman*.

15 *ja gˈoˈyɛnum* — this was originally written *goyɛnam*. Cp. § 329. 6.

17—18 *tiˈli.ɛ . . . ˈerimi* — The construction is broken, hence the repetition of *tiˈli.ɛ fatəri*. "In the one-side section of a walnut shell, he stuffed all that marrow of B. K. into that half walnut shell".

24 *mupačər* — i. e. *mopačər*.

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its trophies. Take them out of your bags." Each pulled out the hair belonging to the skin and the hair glittered and shone. "Sons-in-law," said the King, "none of you has killed the Calf. You are lying. Someone else has killed it. Where are the tokens that were on it? Where are its golden tail, and golden horns, and golden hoofs, and golden mane, and golden forelock?" "They weren't on it," said the sons-in-law. "You are lying. You haven't killed Brūngkapurdōno. Someone else has killed him. Go, be off with you!" said the King.

(Meanwhile) Pangchu had returned to his home, after having first gone back into his hideous form. Langa Brūmo said to him: "O Pangchu, you said: 'I will kill (the Calf)'. What has happened to you? Have you not killed it?" "My strength and condition are as you see. What should I have been able to do?" Langa Brūmo was much annoyed. "He said: 'I will kill it' and here he is back again in this (hideous) form of his. At the time when he went away I saw him looking very handsome," said she, and she sat in aggrieved silence.

"Langa Brūmo," said Pangchu, "take this present which I give you to your father." "Very good, I will take it." Into half a walnut-shell he stuffed all Brūngkapurdōno's marrow and gave it to her, saying: "Take this to your father." "I am ashamed to," said Langa Brūmo. "How can I take him (so small a thing as) this?" "My power and condition are as you see, where am I to get more from?" said Pangchu. "Now take away what I have given you." "It is a great deal. Good, give it to me. I will take it," said Langa Brūmo. And she took it and went off to the King.

Going to the gate of the King's palace she sat down there. The King's Wazīr came to her. She said to him: "O my father's Wazīr, go and take me to my father to pay my respects to him." "Wait here a little," said the Wazīr, "and I shall go and get permission." The Wazīr went to the King and said to him: "O King, your eldest daughter has come to pay her respects to you. May she come and

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salaˑmənər dumˈobo. Juˑša goˑr salaˑm ečo?" Padša se.ibai: "Waziˑr, juˑš, dumuˑtso." Waziˑre dˈumuˑšai.i. Dumˈonin muˑimo babaˑr salaˑm ne yuˑtis iriˑŋete ba (*or*, baˑn) ečibo.

Iˑse tiˑli.e fatəriˑlum bal Badša yaˑre ˈoˑsumo. Padša eˑmišate gajat ne laš etimi. Eˑmiš ke ka čuruˑk etimi. Buˑt maza deˑetsimi, ixati hik manimi, buˑkulo yam eˑyam numa nimi. Mast imˈanimi. Waziˑrər kiˑl ˈetimi. Iˑne ke eˑmišete gajat ne laš etimi. Iˑne ke eˑmiš čuruˑk etimi. Netan čap etimi. In ke mast imˈanimi. Uyoˑnər tsirtse tiˑli.e fuˑlulum iˑte bal oˑr (*or*, oˑr) kiˑl etuman, tsiˑrtse laš ečume oˑmi.ente čuruˑk ˈoˑtuman. Iˑlji-mušum ine eˑmišate [gajat ne] laš ne eˑmiš ke čuruˑk etimi, ine se.ibai.i: "Le, ja amiš čuruˑk ˈetam." Ho terumanər iˑse məraka.ulum uˑe uyoˑne senuman, hiˑne: "Ja ke čuruˑk ˈetaba," hiˑne: "Ja ke čuruˑk etaba." Waziˑre: "Ja ke čuruˑk etaba," seibai.i. Badša: "Ja ke čuruˑk etaba," seibai.i. Məraka uyoˑnulo uyoˑn duˑljaman, tili.e fuˑlulum iˑte bal atˈoyanimi. Hairaˑn umanuman.

Padša Waziˑrər ešai.i: "'Gute ta.aˑm besantsum bilum?' moˑsoˑ," saibai.i. Waziˑre dumˈoyərušai.i: "Gute ta.aˑm besantsum bilum?" "Waziˑr, ja besantsum ayˈeˑta baiyam. Paˑŋču.e ˈayenam dˈaˑtsam." Padša seibai.i: "Paˑŋču.ər kau etin!" Paˑŋču kau ne dˈišaˑn. Paˑŋču diˑmi, Padšaˑr salaˑm ečuˑai.i (*or*, ečai.i). Padša se.ibai.i: "E.i Paˑŋču, gute taˑaˑm uˑŋ besantsum etˈam?" "Padša, ja luˑm ke hawaˑl gute bila, daltasan uyaman amulum suˑčam tse?" senimi. Ho Bruˑŋ Kapurdoˑno.e iˑke asbab, isuˑmal, eˑšpuraŋ, ičokuraŋ, iltuˑri.aŋ, ifačimuts, kauwaštsum Padšaˑr šaˑq šaˑq diˑusimi. Di.usin yaˑre oˑsimi. Padša se.ibai.i: "E.i Paˑŋču Bruˑŋ Kapurdoˑno uˑŋe d eliba." Paˑŋču.e seibai.i: "Ja luˑm ke hawaˑl gute bila, je be ˈaˑmana ba?" Padša se.ibai.i: "E.i Paˑŋču. uˑŋtsum ti menen ke eˑdilai.i, uˑŋe deli ba."

Buˑt xuš niman deˑyurusimi: "Uˑŋe besanər rai eča ke aso, goˑr merbaˑni ˈečam." "Ja luˑm ke hawaˑl gute bila. Pfalo tuˑran (*or*,

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5 *eˑmiš ke ka čuruˑk etimi* — glossed "he bit his finger also at the same time (through magic)". It may, however, be "he bit off" as *čuruˑk etas* elsewhere means "to cut off".

10—11 *eˑmišate laš ne* — *gajat ne* is to be supplied after *eˑmišate*.

20 *ečuˑai.i* — a form usually condemned by Imām Yār Beg as vulgar.

22 *suˑčam tse* — v. §§ 313 and 351.

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make her salām to you?" "Yes, Wazīr, she may come, bring her," replied the King. The Wazīr brought her in and coming up she salāmed to her father and kissed his foot and hand.

Then she set the half walnut-shell of marrow before the King. The King scraped it with his finger and licked it, and he also bit his finger at the same time. It gave him a very pleasant sensation and it filled his mouth and passed with difficulty down his throat (though he had put only a very little of it in his mouth). He became intoxicated. He presented the marrow to the Wazīr. He also scraped it with his finger and licked it and he also bit his finger, but he concealed the fact. Then he too became intoxicated. To all in turn they presented the marrow in the walnut cup and all in turn licked it and bit their fingers. The last man of all (similarly) scraped it with his finger and licked it and bit his finger. He said: "Hallo, I've bitten my finger." Thereupon all those in the assembly began saying, one: "I've bitten my finger too," and another: "And I've bitten mine," and the King said: "And I too have bitten mine." Everyone in the whole assembly was satisfied (and yet) the marrow in the walnut-shell was not exhausted. They were astounded.

The King said to the Wazīr: "Ask her what this food was made of." The Wazīr inquired of Langa Brūmo: "What was this food made of?" "Wazīr," said she, "I didn't make it of anything. Pangchu made me take it and bring it." "Call Pangchu," said the King. They called Pangchu and brought him along. He came up and salāmed to the King. "Pangchu," said the King: "Of what did you make this food?" "O King, my power and condition are as you see them, whence would I get anything good and sweet?" Then he pulled out from his bag Brūngkapurdōno's things, his tail and mane and forelock, and his horns and hoofs and laid them before the King. "Pangchu, you have slain Brūngkapurdōno," said the King. "My power and condition are as you see them. What could I have done?" "No, Pangchu, no one but you has slain him. It is you who have slain him."

The King was greatly pleased and said: "Tell me what you would like and I will bestow it on you." "My power and condition are

000 pyuwan) ayun, maltaš ečʿi," esimi. Padša hukəm eʿtimi: "Guʿre tišʿantsete het etʿin, maltašate ke het etin. Beruman tsučai.i ke eʿmanuman." Padša fəraʿje Paʿŋču itsuʿmi. "Ye bəreʿn, het gotam." Paʿŋču se.ibai: "Gute kuʿtulo pfalo ayʿunin." Senume ka uriʿŋčiŋ
5 xarts ne telum uʿe sise iʿtsi yasuʿman. Akuʿruman iʿte kuʿtwar pfalo tuʿre er eʿtuman. Haʿne sayʿam xa giʿm juʿan iʿte kutuwər šaršər manimi. Asbaʿbanlu gʿiʿman šaršər manimi. Hiʿne giʿmi iwʿərimi. Ite hik ʿomanimi. Da hine gimi hik oʿmanimi. Da hiʿne giʿmi, hik oʿmaibitsa. Padša guʿr bitsuman tiši.uʿlum (*or*, tišantsuʿlum)
10 tam manimi. Paʿŋču.e kuʿto.e hik omanumi. Uyoʿn hairaʿn umanuman. "Maltaš gučʿičan, gur faš manimi," esuman. "Šuʿa, ačin," oʿsimi. Iʿne maltaš biluman uyoʿn ke iʿne kuʿtwər bišʿaman, hik oʿmanumi.

Terumanər fəraʿj ke baman sise Paʿŋču.ər ʿesuman: "Le Paʿŋču, Padša gur ke maltaš uyoʿn tham manimi, bes ka atuʿasiʿmi. Akoʿlatsum
15 dafa numa ni," esuman. Ho heʿrčume, qyu ečume, yərtsapišulo kuʿto babal ne: "Gute.ulo ke aʿr ayetuman. Padša het atam, ma aiyaʿyunuman," senimi. Iʿmo hai yakalatər duʿsimi. Padša de.eljai Paʿŋču.e qyuʿ etas. "Bese qyu ečai.i?" senimi. "Uʿŋe gur bitsuman,

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2 *beruman tsučai.i ke eʿmanuman* — glossed "so much as he can, he may take away". This seems to suit the context but cannot easily be extracted from the words.

3 *eʿmanuman* — appears to be the static pc. of *i* + **-amanas* with the suffix *-an*. This might mean 'that-which-he-has-been-able-(to-do)'.

5 *akuʿruman* — 'this much' (indicated by the narrator as a little taken up in the fingers).

6 *tuʿre* — I do not understand the *-e*.

7 *asbaʿbanlu gʿiʿman* — somewhat obscure. *-lu* is for *-ulu*, *giʿman* must be the static pc. plus *-an*, and *ju.an* must be understood after it.

9 *hik oʿmaibitsa* — the subject is *pfalo* understood, which is y pl. The preceding *oʿmanimi*'s are also y pl.

The idiom with hik 'full' is that the content is the subject and the vessel is put in the general oblique, or in the genitive form:

kuʿto.e hik omanumi — line 10, but we have also

kuʿto hik oʿmanumi, p. 142 l. 1, where perhaps *kuʿto* is the subject.

The idiom is similar in Shina and Khowar, the containing vessel being expressed in the locative.

guʿr bitsuman tiši.uʿlum — 'the wheat that was in the grainpit.' For *bitsuman*

i [Errata: for Ka read beska. cf. p. 419, cat. 116 ;- Analyst.]

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as you see them. Give me a little grain (and) give me some ghee." 539*
The King commanded: "Turn him loose in the wheat pits, turn him loose on the ghee. He may take away as much as he can." The King's steward took Pangchu away (to the stores) and said: "See now I leave you free (to take what you please)." "Give me grain in this little lambskin bag," said Pangchu. When he said this the people there clapped their hands and laughed at him and they put a little grain in the bag for him. There was a sound in the little bag as if grain were being poured through the smoke hole of a house. There was a noise as of something being poured it into a big dish. One man poured (the grain) in. He became tired and the bag wasn't filled. Then another poured it in and still the bag wasn't filled. Then another poured it in and still it wasn't filled. All the King's grain in the pit was cleared out and yet Pangchu's bag was not filled. All were astonished. They said: "We'll give you the ghee (now); the wheat is all finished." "Very good, give it to me," said Pangchu. Then they poured all the ghee there was into the bag and it was not filled.

On this the steward and the people present said to Pangchu: "O Pangchu, all the King's wheat and ghee are exhausted. There is nothing left. Get out of here and go." Weeping and crying out he held the bag up suspended from between two fingers: "You haven't filled even this for me," he cried. "The King gave me a free hand and you haven't given me (what I could take)." Then he went off to his home. The King heard Pangchu's outcry. "Why is he crying out?" he asked. "He has cleared out all the wheat and all the ghee you had and carried them away and his bag has

v. §§ 389—390. *Tiši.u·lum* is probably the adjectival locative rather than the ablative locative. The *i-* preceding *-u·lum* is probably for the *-s* of the general oblique v. § 65.

The word for 'pit' is *tis* but the plural is normally *tišants* (also once recorded *tišaiyo*). It seems probable that the *s* always changes to *š* when followed by a vowel.

12 *i·ns MALIAŠ* — *i·ns* must mean 'the king's'.

13 *bAMAN sise* — v. §§ 389—390.

16 *aystomAN* — 'you have not made it (full)'.

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uŋɛ maltaǵ biluman tham nɛ tsu·mi, i·nɛ ku·to hik o·manumi. I·tɛ·tsum qyu ·ɛčume tsu·čai.i 'ja·r 'ayaγ'unuman' nusɛn." Padša hairɛ·n maibai: "Ja ɛkɛ uyo·n gu·r kɛ maltaǵ tsanɛ tsu·mi.a?" "Awa tham nɛ tsu·mi. Bɛ·ɛkə ap·i." Padša kɛ hairɛ·n imanimi.
5 Paŋču i·mo ha·lər i·kɛ uyo·n nukan tsu·mi. Ho i·nɛ ha·lɛ gu·r kɛ maltaǵɛ bɛsan diš omanumi. "Ai Laŋa Brumo, uŋɛ baba taltaq ·etam. I·nɛ gu·r kɛ maltaǵ biluman uyo·n dusu·yam. Hazu·r gu·i ki ši, mɛnər kɛ u·," mo·simi.

Te·l ɛəilatɛ Paŋču kɛ Laŋa Brumo beruman waxt xašiŋər i·tɛ
10 bušai.ulo huru·čaman. Ikər ɛsəli batər wašimi. Mo·simi: "Tsanɛ uŋə g·oyər jɛ ba," mo·simi. Bu·t xuši.ɛ ka ɛškkaš numa huru·čaman (*or*, huru·taman). "Sɛ Laŋa Brumo, mu·to uŋɛr han hukəman go·r ·e·ča ba." "Šu·a, jama·at, bɛsan ɛ·ča kɛ a·r ɛti," ɛsumo. "Jɛ mu ɛailər niča ba. I·lji ara·m nɛ niqi·ltir huru·." Ho ɛailər du·simi Liŋpi·kisər.
15 Beruman guntsiŋ nimi Liŋpi·kisər Haihaiyu·lər dɛ·šqaltimi. Haihaiyu·lər Padša, Ša Tham, Boxa· Tham, No·ni Tham, Lali Tham, i·tɛ zama·na.ulo Haihaiyu·lɛ ku·ɛ thamo bam, ku·ɛ thamkuš bilum. Kisər dɛ·šqalt ku·ɛ thamo o·spalimi. No·spal Haihaiyu·lɛ thamkuš Kisərɛ šɛ·mi.
20 Haihaiyu·lulo turma a·lto dɛn Kisərɛ thamkuš nuǵɛ huru·timi. Hin gasan bo·m, i·nmo mu·ik Bu·buli Gas bilum. Kisərɛ muta·u·am. I·nɛ huru·tas diš A·lti bilum. Ho i·mo watantsum xabər ɛ·r di·mi, "Ho·ryu·lə Padša di·n Laŋa Brumo mutsu·mi, uŋɛ bušai.i das manimi, uŋ ko·lɛ Bu·buli Gas numu·tsun bɛ·ča?" ɛsuman. Hərt manimi
25 ni·asə ganɛ. Bu·buli Gasɛ itai du·numo: "Ja·r bɛ ·ča?" nusɛn. "Jimalɛ ničam, sa·ati ju·čam. Salg·o·sɛ i·ŋi di·mər ju·čam, jakuntsɛ tu·r diški·mər ju·čam, dəri.a dal nɛ gutsərimi kɛ jučam" nusɛn, hiču·ti.ɛn bay muγo·nimi, han kərk·a·mutsɛn kɛ mu·mi. Ho Bu·bulimu

8 ur — one would expect urši, or urγun, with a y sg., or y pl., object understood.
14 *Liŋpi·kisər* — at this point in the story *Paŋču* suddenly assumes the name of Kisər of which Liŋpi·kisər appears to be an extension. V. Index of Proper Names s.v. He appears again as Paŋču on p. 162 l. 1; the latter name is specially attached to his inferior form.
16 *Ša Tham* — etc. v. Index of P.N. s.v. *Boxa Tham*.
21 *Bu·buli Gas* — See a further reference to this marriage on p. 184 l. 1.
28 muγo·nimi — i. e. muγunimi.

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not been filled. On this account he is carrying it off crying out: "You haven't given me (what I was to get)." The King was amazed: "Has he really carried off all that wheat and ghee of mine?" he asked. "Yes, he has cleared out the whole lot and gone off with it. There is nothing (left)." The King was astounded.

(Meanwhile) Pangchu went off to his own house, taking all the stuff with him. Then the wheat and ghee in his house were beyond reckoning. "Ah, Langa Brūmo," said he. "I have reduced your father to beggary. I have brought here all the wheat and ghee he possessed. Consume it in comfort yourself and give it to others."

In this manner Pangchu and Langa Brūmo abode for some time in that country. He projected himself into his real skin and said to her: "I truly am your husband." Thus they lived together in great happiness and contentment. "Langa Brūmo," said Pangchu, "I am going to give you an order." "Very good, my husband, tell me what you have to say." "I am going off now," said Pangchu, "on a journey. You stay behind here and make your self comfortable and do yourself well." Then Lingpikiser set out on his journey.

When some days had passed he arrived in the country of Haihaiyūl. The Kings in Haihaiyūl (were) Sha Tham, Bokhā Tham, Nōn Tham and Lali Tham. These were the *thams* of Haihaiyūl. There was the sovereignty. Kiser arriving there drove these rulers out and possessed himself of the sovereignty of Haihaiyūl.

For twelve years Kiser abode in Haihaiyūl enjoying the sovereignty. Now there was a princess (there) whose name was Būbuli Gas, and her Kiser took to wife. His place of residence was Alti. (After this) news came to him from his own country. They said: "The King of Horyūl has carried off Langa Brūmo. Your land has been laid waste. What are you doing here married to Būbuli Gas?" He sprang up to go off, but Būbuli Gas laid hold of him saying: "What are you going to do with me?" "I shall go away tomorrow and come back yesterday," said Pangchu. "When the grinding stone and the rolling pin have got beards I shall come back. When horns have grown on a donkey I shall come back. When the river flows uphill I shall come back." So saying he gave her a measure

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009 Tiŋster taŋ numo, "Yo·ltum han bayr pfal gusr kerka·mutser er bila. Guke fal manu·mer ju·čam," nusr, fat numo i·mo watan yakal gute·rimi.

Ho·ryu·le·Padša, i·nr i·k Paha·rdaŋ Galpo bilum, — Ho·ryu·le
5 Padša Lama·ter ho·l di·imi. Di·nin Lama g'animi. Nukan Laŋa Brumo mutsu·mi. Aba Dumb'u.r se.ibal.i: "Le Aba Kitu·ŋ, besan ča·ra aku·čila (or, ako·čila)? Laŋa Brumo mutsu·mi." Nimi Aba Kitu·ŋ u·tai tami. Do·šqalčer tai.ar manimi. Ho kau etimi: "Le Ho·ryu·le Padša, tsat manr, dašqaltam." Ho·ryu·le Padša Laŋa
10 Brumomur saibai: "E.i Laŋa Brumo, ki·nr bečuk bai.i?" Laŋa Brumo.r se.ibo: "Kinr er bidil bi. Ha ha etin, ar niman ga·ši," o·sumo. Ho·l uyo·nr ha ha etuman. Aba Kitu·ŋ ar (or, bik) niman pfer manimi. Iiji pfer numa i·mo ha·ler nimi. Ni·aser Aba Dumbu.r esimi: "Le Aba Kitu·ŋ, besan ako·manuma?" "Ha ha etuman, je
15 ar amaram pfer numa daiyam."

"E.i Bu·m Liftan, u·ŋ hasar besan g'omaima. Ni·čuma?" "Šu.a, aya, ničam." Nimi Bu·m Liftan, kau etimi: "Tsatin, dašqaltam," esnimi. Tsat manuman. Duyurušai.i Padša: "E.i Laŋa Brumo, ki·nr bečuk bai.i?" "Fat etin, ki·nr bu·t ser bai.i. Ki·ntsr besan thaiyas api. Čuma·re
20 bai.i, dčlj ma·manas api," o·sumo. "Hin Palu.a·nan ja apači nutayan e·uru·tin, i·n ja apačer ju·či." Hin Pa·luwanan fat etuman: "Laŋa Brumo mopači nutayan huru·," esuman. Nutayan huru·timi.

Bu·m Liftan Laŋa Brumo mopačer di·mi. "Ayas, besate (or, -tai) me.ibu? Ja aco gopačer ju·či." Laŋa Brumo.r se.ibo: "Le.i o·ulus,

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5 hol — nagen should probably be supplied after hol.

7 /a·ru akuvila — this is the correct form for a + gu + °-ačila 3rd. sg. y neg. pres. of °-ačas with 2nd. sg. pron. prefix.

For this idiomatic use of °-ačas v. § 261. II.

8 dašqalčer — As a rule with this verb the pronoun-infix refers to the subject. V. § 207. Here the er is either a slip for ar, or the er form has been generalised.

15 o·sumo — the Ms. has o·suman.

17 šatin — a doubtful form. Tsat manin would be the usual thing.

19 fat etin — i. e. fat ehin (not čin).

20 dčlj manamas api — manamas (°-amanas — 'to be able') is here the noun of action, not the noun agent, as is shown by the verb api (a + bila) v. § 405.

23 besate — i. e. besr tai 'why thus'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1933-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

(2 or 3 lbs.) of small millet seed. He also gave her a fowl. Then shoving her up on the top of Būbuli's Peak (he said to her): "Every twelve months throw down one grain of the seed for the fowl. When the grain is exhausted I shall come back." Having said this he left her there and proceeded in the direction of his own country.

The King of Horyūl's name was Pahārdang Galpo. With his army he came to Lama and took possession of it. Having done so he carried off Langa Brūmo. Aba Dumbu said: "O Aba Kitung, can't you do anything about this? He has carried off Langa Brūmo." Aba Kitung went off in pursuit of them. When he had nearly come up with them he shouted out: "O King of Horyūl, stop. I have come." The King of Horyūl said to Langa Brūmo: "O Langa Brūmo, what sort of a fellow is this?" "He is a poor-spirited creature. Shout out "Ha ha" and he will take fright and run away." All the army raised a "Ha ha" and Aba Kitung was frightened and turning back went off to his home. On his arrival there Aba Dumbu asked him: "O Aba Kitung, were you not able to do anything?" "No. They raised a 'Ha ha' and I was frightened and turned and came back."

"O Bumliftan," said Aba Dumbu. "You will perhaps be able to do something. Will you go?" "Yes, father, I'll go," said Bumliftan and he went off and shouted out: "Stop there. I've come." They stopped and the King of Horyūl asked: "O Langa Brūmo, what sort of a fellow is this?" "Leave me behind," said she. "He is very powerful. There is nothing that has any effect on him. He is made of iron. You won't be able to get the better of him. Make a Pahlawān sit in hiding near me and then this man will come to me." The King left a Pahlawān with her saying to him: "Sit here in concealment beside Langa Brūmo." The Pahlawān did so.

Bumliftan came up to Langa Brūmo "My sister," said he, "Why are you behaving thus? My brother will come back to you." "O brother," replied Langa Brūmo, "If you will marry me I will

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4, 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

u·ŋe ja atsu·ča· ke jučam, ayctsuča ke ačučam," esumo. "Gute du·ro jatsum ačuči, je u·ŋ akutsučam." Laŋa Brūmo.e se.ibo: "U·ŋ ayctsuča ke je u·ŋe ka ačučam." Bu·m Liftane Laŋa Brumomur mo·simi: "Bezan pfu·lan asba·pan go·pači bi· ke ja·r jo, tail(an) maiya·m," mosimi. Mosime ka senumo: "Le o·lus, i·se čertsum tail (*or*, bu·l) duši·la, i·t·etsum mi·ne, dostaak apači api," esumo. I·n ni·n e·se čertser (*or*, čertse) iri·ŋčiŋe i·te ki·te waq ne du·n tail mi.a·r duyu·uskinimi (*or*, tailtse gatimi). Terumaner Laŋa Brumo.e mopači e·estaqam i·ne Palwa·ner e·sumo: "Mu·to e·katiŋ ya·re čape bai.i, jamek deli," esumo. I·ne Pahlwa·ne e·katiŋ y·a·re jame nut·askin hu·ntaate delimi. Delaser i·se hu·nte i·tum per atu·sum iyumerulo dik etimi.

Terumaner hayurete pfal me.ibai (*or*, manimi). Pfal numa Laŋa Brumo muri·ŋtse du·n hayu·rate i·lji muwašimi. I·nmo j·iŋečiŋ dum·o.gus i·mo e·ši kite taq etimi. Hayur turak (*or*, tur) delimi. I·ne mopači čur bi·m, mo.imo jiŋečiŋ čerap ne hayurtsum i·lji ne kha ga·rtsumo. I·ne hayur tur delimi i·mo hai yakal. Du·šqaltimi Aba Dumbuwale (*or*, Dumbuwaler). "E·i, be gumanuma?" "Aya. adiliman (*or*, adiluman). Ja ji.e b·ertser bereŋ, e·rčama dau.ešam ke." Beru·nimi. Nuperan: "A·ku.i·rčuma, dukuešuma. Dukuesae ba ke je u·ŋe ma·r ečam, ničam," nusen, Aba Dumbu ni·mi.

Deri.·a bilum. Deri.a·tsum Ho·ryu·le Padša ke ho·l i·ti duwašebam. Kau etimi: "E Ho·ryu·le Padša taat mana. Aba Dumbu daiyam, dašqaltam." Dumo·yurušai Ho·ryu·le Padša Laŋa Brumo: "Ki·ne bečuk bai.i?" Laŋa Brumo se.ibo: "Ki·n maper imanai.i, beske

1 *je* — for *je* cp. p. 118 l. 28 note.
ayctsuča — i. e. *aystsuča*. Also in l. 3.
esumo — Ms. *esum.ga*.
4 *tailan* — cp. § 45.
maiyam. — i. e. *maiyam*.
7 *iriŋgiŋ* — instrumental with *dum*. *Iriŋgiŋ* is again to be understood with *waq ne* in the sense of 'arms': 'spreading out his arms on either side and laying hold with his hands on the cliff'.
13 *dum'oyus* — p.pn. active of *d'-ayusas*. The pronoun-infix *-mu-* is a sort of ethic dative 'pulling out her sleeves for her' v. § 249. 3.
18 *mo imo* — i. e. *mo.imo*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burmbo AV7

come back with you. If you won't marry me I won't come." "That is a thing I cannot do. I will not marry you." "Very well, if you won't marry me I won't come with you." Bumliftan then said to her: "If you have any bowl or vessel with you, give it to me. I want to drink some water." "Brother," said Langa Brūmo, "There is water coming out of that cliff there. Drink from it. I have no vessel with me." He went and stretching out his arms on either side he grasped the cliff and began to drink the water. On this Langa Brūmo said to the Pahlawān who was hidden with her: "Now shoot him with your bow under the armpits, where he is flesh." The Pahlawān drawing his bow shot him with an arrow under the armpits. The arrow did not come out on the other side, but remained sticking in his vitals.

Thereupon Bumliftan mounted his horse and seizing Langa Brūmo by the hand threw her on to the horse behind him. Then pulling her sleeves out (beyond her hands) he tied (the ends of) them round his neck in front and whipped up his horse. But Langa Brūmo had a knife and she cut her sleeves off and threw herself down backwards off the horse. Meanwhile Bumliftan whipped up his horse and made for his home. He came to Aba Dumbu who said: "My son, what's happened to you?" "Father," said Bumliftan, "they have wounded me. Examine my pulse and see whether I shall die or recover." Aba Dumbu examined his pulse and then said: "You won't die. You'll get better. As you are going to recover I shall go and avenge you." So saying, Aba Dumbu departed.

Now there was a river and the King of Horyūl and his army had crossed to the other side of it. Aba Dumbu called out: "O King of Horyūl, stop. I, Aba Dumbu, have come. I have arrived." The King of Horyūl asked Langa Brūmo: "What sort of a man is this?" "He has become an old man," said she. "He won't be

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19–20 *cvtāma dau.ctam ke* — *ke*, *ke* an indirect question depending on *kerem* which should be repeated, cp. § 487.

20–21 *dekwesar ke ke* — *ke* here must be taken as "since", "as", which is required by the context: "since" 'you are going to recover I shall (go off and) avenge you, I am off.'

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 ayɛ·mai.imi." Šamtu Mi·ru Wazi·rɛ se.ibai: "Le Padša, ma gutaarin, ki·nɛ na·l jɛ huru·šam." Padša guta'ɛrimi. Aba Dumbu kau ɛtimi: "Le i, Šamtu Mi·ru, ja na·l uŋ huru·t'a?" "E Aba Dumbu, awa jɛ huru·ta ba." "Le Šamtu Mi·ru, guyo·n dal usko gi·ri d'u·iyɛn, 5 makučim i·sɛ ɛ·sal." Aba Dumbu.ɛ jamɛ·tɛ makučim ɛ·sɛ g'iri d'ɛlimi. Šamtu Mi·ru.ɛ se.ibai: "Le Aba Dumbu, guyo·n dal taljiʼk du·yan, o·sal. Makučim i·sɛ tal 'ɛ·sal, bər'ɛn." Šamtu Mi·ru.ɛ jamɛkatɛ yat nɛ aiyaš yakal makučim i·sɛ talər biš'ami. Xat (*or*, khat) w'ašimi. Aba Dumbu kau ɛčai.i: "Ai.i Šamtu Mi·ru, uŋtsum jɛ kam apa; 10 jatsum uŋ kam apa; mɛltalik babər ba·n."

Aba Dumbu.ɛ da kau ɛ·čai: "Le Šamtu Mi·ru, da uŋər galt bišaiyam. Bɛ·sanɛtɛ mɛib'a? Bɛsanɛ xa adɛ·lj'a? Bɛsanər bərɛ·i ba? aso," se.ibai. Šamtu Mi·ru.ɛ se.ibai: "Le.i Aba Dumbu, gulčumutsər bərɛ·ya ba, go·s traŋ nuko gudɛ·lja ba, jamɛ·tɛ maiya ba." 15 Aba Dumbu.ɛ tu·rma a·lta bu·ndo i·ŋgi tsa do.imi. Yatis pfa·š nɛ bərɛ·nimi. Šamtu Mi·ru Wazi·rɛ žamɛ·r hu·nts nyu.ɛ·š'in nut'ask biš'ami. I·tsɛ turma a·lta bu·ndo ča· no Aba Dumbu.ɛ ɛ·satər lim kaman gatimi. Ixolini·mi. "Le Šamtu Mi·ru ad'ɛlima." Šamtu Mi·ru.ɛ se.ibai: "Le Aba Dumbu da ča·ra biluman ɛ·ta ba." Aba 20 Dumbu.ɛ se.ibai.i: "Mu ja galt."

Šamtu Mi·ru.ɛ se.ibai: "Bɛsanatɛ me.iba? E·t kɛ aso. Bɛ·sanɛ kha adɛlj'a kɛ? E·t ka aso. Bɛsanər bərɛ.i ba kɛ? E·t ka aso." Aba Dumbu.ɛ se.ibai: "Gu·lčumutsər bərɛ·yam. G·utan traq nuko gudɛljam. Γatɛ·nčatɛ maiya ba." Šamtu Mi·ru.ɛ y'asatɛ lakpi·san 25 pfa·l ɛtimi. "Γatɛ·nč ko·lər atɛ·šqalči, y·umošo (*or*, yomošo) oč'ai.i." Aba Dumbu Poniki Pfurpfo·ratɛ huljami. I·nɛ γatɛnč misərɛ bilum.

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5 *d'u·iyɛn* — short form of 3rd. pl. x pret. of *ju·yas*. The sense is the perfect "have come", or as we should say "are coming".

6 *du·yan* — alternative of *du·iyɛn* just above.

7 *jamɛkatɛ* — These forms with the *-ak*, *-k* suffix are ordinarily used in their simple state with the verb *delas*. E.g. *jamɛk delas*.

12 *bɛ·sanɛtɛ mɛib'a* etc. — This and following similar passages present several difficulties and the translations are tentative.

bɛ·sanɛtɛ — 'on what' or 'with what'; from the answer it appears to mean 'with what are you armed?'

bɛ·sanɛ xa — 'down (on) what part?'

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Baruku AV7

able to do anything." "O King," said Shamtu Mīru the Wazir, "I will wait and confront him. You go on." The King went on. Aba Dumbu called out: "Ho, Shamtu Mīru, have you stayed to match yourself with me?" "Yes, Aba Dumbu, I have stayed behind (for you)." "O Shamtu Mīru, up above you three ibex are coming along. Watch the middle one." Then with his bow Aba Dumbu shot the middle ibex. "Aba Dumbu," said Shamtu Mīru, "Over your head some pigeons are coming along. Look at them." Watch the middle one. Look." Then Shamtu Mīru shot with his bow up in the sky at the middle pigeon and brought it down. Aba Dumbu shouted out: "Ho Shamtu Mīru, I am not inferior to you and you are not inferior to me. We are both equal."

Again he called out: "Shamtu Mīru, I have given you another chance. Tell me what weapon you are using, where you are going to hit me and what you are looking at." "O Aba Dumbu, I am looking at your eyes. I am going to hit you so as to divide your heart in two. I am using a bow." In front of himself Aba Dumbu set up twelve stones (one in front of the other), and putting (only) his head out, watched. Shamtu Mīru Wazir fitting an arrow to his bow and drawing it, let fly. The arrow passed through the twelve stones and its head penetrated a little into Aba Dumbu's heart. It hurt him. "O Shamtu Mīru," he cried. "You have hit me." "I have done what I could, Aba Dumbu," replied Shamtu Mīru. "Now it's my turn," said Aba Dumbu.

"What weapon are you using? Tell me that," said Shamtu Mīru. "Where are you going to hit me? Tell me that too. What are you aiming at? Tell me that too." "I shall look at your eyes," replied Aba Dumbu, "I shall strike you on the centre line of your head and split you down. I am going to use a sword." Shamtu Mīru threw a handkerchief over his head. "His sword will never reach me here," said he, "he is lying." Aba Dumbu mounted Pūniki Furfūr. His sword was an Egyptian one. "O Pūniki Furfūr,"

14 *gre ḫ-aq* make — 'dividing your heart in two for you'.

18 *ṭai du.ini* — he is probably for *ḫ.ṭ*, but conceivably it is the suffix *-ini* attached to *ṭuṭi*. *du.ini* — is the pret. of *d'-ādgur* or, of *dugur* 'to stand up'.

"Lei Pirnki Pfurpfur, gute dištem hal nidilin ire epaćer nukarte da i-ljum pati gulmo dišer i-lji garte. Akumanima ke urqar lerat manij. Pirnki Pfurpfur mano akuwnjan. Lei mimere yatirnć ešto traq Šamta Mirru ke hayur ka ayutima ke urqar lerat manij. Mimere yatirnć akuwnjan. Je ism ayutam ke jer lerat manij. Aba Dumbu mon ayanćan."

Numan tirr dalimi. Pirnki Pfurpfur hal nidilin, Šamta Mirru epaćer gartalimi. Aba Dumbu yatirnć irnćkimi. Hayur ke iru ka ešto traq otimi. Aba Dumbu hayur ke ifaterimi iru ke ifaterimi. Nupaćer pfutiq ke hanjil hayure gapalo utalimi, irne batolo ke ćtalimi. Notain Šamta Mirru jirudo jowanc hayure gapate ćuljami. Nuwlijan tirrak dalimi. "Padša epaćer nitem hayur ke kiru gati traq umanćan, pfutiq ke hanjil pfun manićan," nume, jadu etimi. Hayur ćakartalimi, irmo Padša epaćer itawmi. Ašto traq Šamta Mirru ke hayur gati Padša epaćer dećqaltin traq umanćman. Padša hairen imanimi. "Ei Lanja Brumo, het be dero (or, duro) bila?" "Padša, je kure hunar hikmat akiri ešlr bila. Kiru ya akuwnćtem da hanan ayumaćimi, urq gutear," ećmo. Nimi Padša Lanja Brumo numoryen irmo terqiner. Aba Dumbu irmo harler dimi.

Aba Dumbu i-lji juti ke Aba Kitunc hunta dećgumimi. Dećgumaner Bum Liftan irimi. Aba Kitunc hunta yer ne dećgumam ke wirlum tac. I-lji ne dećgumimi. I-lji ne dećgumaner irimi. Irne (or, ire?) lirme

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1 akuwnjan — 'may they not say to them!' a + ga + *-uwnjan (from *-uwan). The meaning seems to be: 'may no one call you P. Pf.!' or 'may no one speak of you as P. Pf.!'

4 Šamta Mirru ke hayur ke — 'Sh.M. and the horse together'.

10 otimi — rather grammatically to pfutiq (y pl.). If hanjil (x pl.) were considered the verb would be etimi. Normally the nearer noun is the governing factor.

11 jowanc — probably jowanjo ne.

12 traq umanćan — Ma. umanćan.
manićan — or, manij.

14 ešto traq — out of place and redundant in view of the following traq.

17 kiru ya akuwnćtem — probably for kiru akuwnćtem. akuwnć — 'this month'.

22–23 nuwlum ke — Ma. nuwmin. The n is either a slip or due to phonetic assimilation. V. § 218.

4: Lortmer 1-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnho AV7

said he, "leap from here and gallop up to him. Then gallop back again to your own place. If you fail, may you be accursed! May no one speak of you as Pūnīki Furfōr! O Egyptian sword, if you do not cleave Shamtu Mīru and his horse together into two halves, may you be accursed! May no one speak of you as the Egyptian Sword! And if I do not strike my blow may I be accursed and may no one speak of me as Aba Dumbu!" 5394

So saying, he gave him a cut with his whip and Pūnīki Furfōr sprang forward and galloped up to Shamtu Mīru. Then Aba Dumbu smote with his sword and cleft him and his horse in two. Aba Dumbu flayed the horse and flayed Shamtu Mīru. Then he stuffed the horse's hide full of ashes and charcoal and he did likewise with Shamtu Mīru's skin, and he mounted Shamtu Mīru as if he were alive on the horse's skin and gave it a cut with his whip. Then working magic he said: "May the horse carry him away to the King and then may horse and man together fall in two halves and may the ashes and charcoal be scattered!" (So saying) he made the (stuffed) horse gallop and it carried the Wazir to his King, and as soon as they reached the latter Shamtu Mīru and the horse, both together, split in two. The King was amazed and said: "O Langa Brūmo, what miracle is this?" "King, this is the extent of their skill and knowledge. He will not be able to do more than this (that he has done). You go on" said Langa Brūmo. The King went on to his palace, taking Langa Brūmo with him. And Aba Dumbu returned to his home.

When Aba Dumbu came back Aba Kitung had pulled out the arrow (which was sticking in Bumliftan's armpit), but on his doing so Bumliftan died. If he had extracted the arrow (by pushing it through) forwards, Bumliftan would not have died, but he pulled it out backwards and on his doing so Bumliftan died, for the tip of it had barbs pointing backwards and when it was pulled back-

w *ḫrmo* — the preceding demonstrative I originally wrote as *ṭū*, to which I added an *a* so that it might read *ṭūa*. This cannot be, however, as *ḫrmo* is not a pl. cp. *ḫm gatiwi* p. 149 l. 17. The narrator after giving it as *y ṭū*, must I think have felt a doubt that it should perhaps have been *a* and corrected himself to *ṭwo*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4, 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushaski AV7

i·lji ne kayante bim. I·lji ne itaskane ka ev ṣat ne i·rimi. Bem Liftane i·rasolo epadi bam ṣiser i·mo ṣčokorner ovimi: "Le.i ačukorn, ja ado aṣ̌u·ti be ju·ti. Di·nin Lanja Brumo dumu·ši. Ma gute ·esu.in: 'Lanja Brumo ja gute masarate dumu·teem mumupuš gajat mor,' e·su.in. Bese ka je ji·ndo amanas be. Agur pasorn imanumi ka min'a mumupušan kuli numo·tan i·se mumupušate no·osin i·se gajat numo mazarter mo·uwdiš," esnumi.

Terum guntainer Kiser de·ṣqaltimi. Kiserc i·mo bepayan Pamerulo hat bim. Ya bater nikin ise i·mo bepay iṣ̌u·mi. Aba Dumbu.er xaber di·mi ka Kiserc bepayan ya iṣ̌u·mi (or, ya· ṣibi). "Ese e·i dumu·isum! Ja jame eči·na. Aba Dumbu jat imanimi," esnimi. "Ja Kiser wa·limi," esnimi. Nimi i·mo jame nukan Aba Dumbu i·se ya epačor asir manimi. Jamer kunta wašimi. Žame taskimi. I·ne žame taskaner i·se ya esnimi: "Ab'a umw," esnimi. Aba Dumbu se.ibai: "Ye gu·ker ši. Horyu·le Pašia Lanja Brumo mutesumi. Bu·mo Liftan delimi. Da gu.imo bepay ṣiča?"

Kiser i·mo batulo numan Aba Dumbu epačor dimi ka. "Le.i bab'a, nujo·mtiṇ gati oti, 'ja Kiser amulo bai?' o·so. Gum, niken ha·lar." Baniadame bater nik·in, Aba Dumbu i·tai nultan ha·lar di·mi. Nujo·mtiṇ Aba Dumbu.e gati no du·taimi. "Le.i nujo·mtiṇ, ja Kiser amulo baiya? I·raiya? Ma baru·nin." Nujo·mtiṇe se.ibaen: "Hal Kiser guguri

1 *ev ṣat ne* — the Ms. has *ene* which would be 'his kidney', but we have *ev ṣaṭ ne* on p. 154 l. 9. It seems that the subject of *ne* is 'he' or 'it': 'he, or, it breaking his heart, (he) died', but it is conceivable that '*ṣaṭ ne*' is intransitive and *ev* the subject: 'his heart breaking, he died'.

2 *oforši* — one would expect the interrogative particle: *oforši.e*. As it is we have two positive assertions contrasted.

4 *gute* — i. e. *gute ker*.

5 *gajat mor* — i. e. *ma* + *°-a* short form of imperative of *ma* + *°-ates*. In this and the passage following *mor*, *numo·tan*, *numo*, *mo·uwdiš* might be taken as being dusative in meaning: 'make her pluck off', 'let him make her throw (it) down', but it is pretty certain that the pronoun prefixes are rather to be regarded as ethic datives: 'pluck off her nose for her', 'let him throw it down for her'.

This is supported by the use of the plain *wašimi* in the parallel passages p. 154 l. 19 (where *mo-* is optional) and p. 178 l. 20.

6 *nosin* — i. e. *nosin* p.pc. act. of *ewas*.

9 *bepay iṣ̌u·mi* — § 183.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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wards it broke his heart and he died. To the people who were present when he died, his brothers, he said: "Brothers, will my brother not come back? Yes, he will come. He will come and he will fetch Langa Brūmo. Then do you say this to him from me: 'Bring Langa Brūmo to my grave and cut off her nose there,' for (in that case) I shall come to life. If he grudges to do this, then let him make a nose for her out of oil-pressings and put it on her nose and let him pluck it off and throw it on the grave."

Some days later Kiser turned up. His own yāk was out grazing (lit. loose) on the *pasnir*. Entering into the skin of a bear he devoured his own yāk. News reached Aba Dumbu that a bear had eaten Kiser's yāk. "Foul fall its daughter! Give me my bow! Aba Dumbu has become an old man," he said. "My Kiser is lost." Taking his bow Aba Dumbu went off. He came close up to the bear, and fitting an arrow to his bow, he drew it. As he did so the bear said: "Aba umā," (that is to say), "It is I." "Well, eat yourself up," said Aba Dumbu. "The King of Horyūl has carried off Langa Brūmo, and has slain Bumliftan, and you (merely) eat your own yāk."

Kiser, returning to his own skin, came up to Aba Dumbu. "O Father," said he, "assemble the astrologers and say to them: 'Where is my Kiser?' Come on, let us go home." Kiser now assumed the form of a human being and following Aba Dumbu came to his home, and Aba Dumbu collected the astrologers and

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10–11 *cwe ci dumurimen* — this is an abusive expression of which the exact meaning is not clear. *A. D. jal imaximi* is probably a parenthesis of the narrator's.

12 *dumurimen* — the form of the static participle of *durimen* (*d*ᵊ*-imi*), either with *-mm-* infix and with optative force v. § 890: 'may he take out its (the bear's) daughter' or 'may its daughter be taken out'; or it may be the static pc. with active meaning: 'he who has taken its daughter'.

The bear may be the subject, but then one would expect *ewe* before *ci*. Cp. *mutimmin* mim p. 136 l. 4 note.

14 *ābin ownīr* — said to be Balti and to mean *je ba* 'I am', but this is not supported by the "*Linguistic Survey of India*".

19 *hamirdimo halter mihin* — Kiser was already in his own human form cp. line 17. It appears that he now assumed a human form not his own in order to test the powers of the astrologers. When he has accomplished this he returns again to his own true form, p. 154 l. 1.

000 ba, hal gopačim kiᵛnɛ hilɛᵛ baiᵛi." Kisɛr iᵛmo batulo manimi. "Lɛᵛi nujuᵛmtiŋ, gutɛ kᵛl aiyɛtᵛam ki batulo pfɛtiŋ matsičam tɛc. Ma han guntsanulo jaᵛr derkaᵛr baᵛn, bɛ kɛ pfɛtiŋ mᵛatsičam tɛc."

Kisɛr doγᵛɛrušai: "Lɛᵛi ačukoᵛn, jaᵛr čaγa ɛtᵛin Horyuᵛlɛ Padša ja jamsᵛat belatɛ mutsuᵛmi kɛ. Namaširin mutsuᵛŋ xa ma mɛne kuli (*or* bɛsan) čaᵛra amaᵛtiᵛa (*or*, amaᵛtimiᵛa)?" Uᵛɛ seᵛibaᵛn: "Lɛᵛi Kisaᵛr, goᵛčo makɛrɛᵛtɛ dɛluman. Aba Kituᵛŋ ɛr niman pfɛr manimi. Aba Dumbu niᵛmi. Šamtu Miᵛru Waziᵛr Aba Dumbuᵛɛ dɛlimi. Aba Dumbu iᵛlji juᵛči kɛ Buᵛma Liftan apaᵛrtsatɛ huᵛnte deᵛɛgus ɛᵛɛ čat nɛ iᵛrini. Buᵛmo Liftanɛ iᵛrasulo mimɛr mɛᵛsai: 'Laŋa Brumo atuᵛmuši bɛ duᵛmᵛuši? Mumupuš gajat (*or*, gašat) numo ja gutɛ mazafatɛr (mo)waštimi kɛ jiᵛndo (d)amaiyam' ɛsnaiᵛi, 'ɛsnin'."

Kisɛr nimi Horyuᵛlɛ Padša yakaltɛr. Nᵛičimi kɛ aᵛlta čiškoᵛ han(h)antɛc dᵛuᵛɛ dɛlji bim. Iᵛlji Horyuᵛlɛ Padša Laŋa Brumo dumᵛoᵛγurušai: "Kisɛr bɛᵛtkan bai kɛ iᵛnɛ šakalɛ čaγa ɛti kɛ ja Pahlawaᵛntiŋalɛ čaγa ɛti." "Šuᵛa, yɛ duᵛtso je ɛᵛr čaγa ɛčam." Padša Pahlawaᵛntiŋ duᵛtaini kan ɛtan. "Laŋa Brumo, ɛᵛr čaγa ɛti iᵛnɛ šakalɛ." "Šuᵛa, ɛr ɛčam," seᵛibo, "awal berɛᵛnin yutiŋ juᵛtiŋ bitsa; aᵛltoᵛulum ɛčiŋɛr barɛᵛnin, but biᵛrᵛiko bitsa. Yatɛ balgičiŋɛr berɛᵛnin, but daldaljuᵛko bitsa. Iᵛnɛ iᵛmɛᵛr berɛᵛnin, han imen šiqam bi. Iᵛlčumutɛɛr berɛᵛnin, bᵛuᵛšuᵛn baiᵛi. Iᵛnɛ ifatiyɛr berɛᵛnin, jotan bi. Inɛ yatiɛr berɛᵛnin, uyuᵛmᵛn bi. Yɛ gutɛ šakalɛ bandaᵛn mɛnan gutɛ gan yakalatɛ diᵛɛ kɛ fataiyɛᵛtin, ɛᵛɛqanin," oᵛɛumo. Paᵛlwaᵛntiŋɛ: "But šuᵛa," seibaᵛn.

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2 *batulo pfɛtiŋ matsičam tɛc* — 'I would have pressed, crammed, ashes into your skin' i. e. 'I would have stuffed your skins with ashes'.

4 *čaγa amaᵛtiᵛa* — cp. p. 144 l. 7 note. *amaᵛtiᵛa* is the short form of the pret. 3rd.sg. y with neg. prefix and interrog. suffix: *a* + *ma* + **-ati* + *a* from **-atas*.

12 *jiᵛndo damaiyam* — this use of *d*-maiyar* is, as far as I know, unparalleled.

ɛsnaiᵛi — unnecessarily duplicates *mɛsnaiᵛi* and obscures the sense.

13 *nᵛičimi kɛ* — a rare variant for *nᵛiᵛi kɛ*.

14 *iᵛlji* — i. e. after the king's arrival with Laŋa Brumo at his palace v. p. 160 l. 18.

15 *Kisɛr bɛᵛtkan bai kɛ* — the *kɛ* indicates that the question is dependent on *čaγa ɛti*, while *šakalɛ* is also dependent on *čaγa*: 'tell us what kind of a man Kisɛr is, and give us an account of his appearance'. The second *kɛ* is out of place. If, as we could appear, it means 'also', 'and'.

18 *juᵛtiŋ* — the *y* pl. of *jat*. We have a curious outbreak here of plural adjectival forms.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

brought them up. "O astrologers," said he, "Where is my Kiser? Is he dead? You look and see." The astrologers replied: "Either you yourself are Kiser, or else this boy with you is he." On this Kiser appeared in his own form and said: "O astrologers, if you hadn't discovered this, I would have stuffed your skins with ashes. One day, however, I shall have need of you, otherwise I would stuff you with ashes." 537X

Kiser then enquired of his brothers: "Brothers, tell me how the King of Horyūl carried off my wife, and when he took her from you before he carried her off, was none of you able to do anything?" "O Kiser," replied his brothers, "they struck down your brother by treachery. Aba Kitung was frightened and came back. Then Aba Dumbu went out and Shamtu Mīru Wazir wounded him. When Aba Dumbu came back (they) had drawn out the arrow the wrong way and had broken his heart and he had died. When he was dying he said to us: 'He, Kiser, won't bring back Langa Brūmo, will he? Yes, he will. Then if he cuts off her nose and throws it on my grave here I shall come to life again. Tell him this'."

Kiser set out to (seek) the King of Horyūl. As he was going along (he came to where) two cliffs kept clashing against each other. Afterwards the King of Horyūl asked Langa Brūmo: "What sort of a man is Kiser? Describe his appearance. Describe him to my Pahlawāns." "Very good. Bring them here and I'll tell them", said Langa Brūmo. The King called up his Pahlawāns and presented them. "Now, Langa Brūmo, tell them what he is like." "Very good. I'll tell them. Firstly, mark this, his feet are small. Secondly look at his waist, it is very slender. Then look up at his back, it is very broad. Look at his teeth. One of his teeth is blue. Look at his eyes, he is cat-eyed. Look at his forehead, it is small. Look at his head it is big. Now if any person of such appearance comes along this road, do not let him go. Kill him." The Pahlawāns said: "Very good" and went off. They made for the bridge. There was no other road (of approach), so he was bound to come by the bridge. The Pahlawāns arrived at the bridge.

060 "Šuʿa" nuse niman. Iʿse bašatər niman. Ti amitale gan apim, ye ise baše ju.as bilum. Isə bašatər Pahlawaʿntiŋ dəšqaltuman.

Kisər iʿtse hanaʿntse diʿs manaʿs iʿtse čiškowale (*or*, čərkowale) dʿeʿšqaltimi. Kisəre se.ibai.i ke. "Gutse ja gane dakiʿl mai.ibi.en."
5 Kisəre seibai.i: "Ja guse šamʿe huʿnts ke ja hayur bʿabər biʿen. Guso huʿnts čap ečam ke huʿntsetse dunimi ke ja hayurtse duʿimi. Huʿntsatse duʿnṇ aiyʿeʿmanimi ke ja hayurtse ke duʿnṇ aiyeʿmaimi" nusen, huʿnts čap etimi. Huʿntse tərkoʿṇtse čərkoʿwe duʿnimi. Kisəre se.ibai.i: "Ja hayʿure isuʿmaltse du.imi." Tur delimi, hayur
10 isumal ilji ne tiṇ etimi. Isumaltse itse čərko.e duʿni.e. Kisər hayurtsum draṇ manimi, yateʿnč di.uʿsimi hayur isumal čərap etasər. Čərko.e senimi.e: "Le.i Liṇpʿikisər (*or*, Liṇkpʿikisər), šaʿrar hayure isumal čərap ne belate ničʿa?" "Hal fat etin, čərap aiyʿeʿča ba ke." "Horyuʿlə Padša guʿs numuʿtsum aʿltan muyʿu dumanaʿn.
15 Hine yatesan hiʿnər, hine yatesan hinər meʿr ditsas ba ke fat eʿčen." Kisəre seibai "Bəraʿbər maʿr duʿšam." Fat etuman; Kisər gutaʿrimi.

Čangi Hirpal jiʿṇe.ulo čap etimi. Uʿe bašatum Pahlwaʿntiṇalər dəʿšqaltimi. Paʿlwaʿntine yʿeʿtsuman. Iʿne hine se.ibai: "Kiʿno bai.i, yaʿre yuʿtiṇ juʿtiṇ bitsan, bareʿnin." Kisəre se.ibai.i: "Uʿṇe tsan,
20 mi mamʿa jot baiyam 'Gʿoʿltačər bersan aiyʿaiye.am (*or*, ataʿayurkam).

1 *ti amitale gan apim* — *amitale* has been noted on p. 124 l. 7.

2 *ise bašatə ju.as bilum* — *bašatə* general oblique 'by that bridge'. For the infin. with the verb "to be" v. § 401.

3 *iʿtse hanaʿntse* — the Ma. has *ise*. The second *iʿtse* is scarcely necessary.

6 *dunimi ke* — The subject understood being *čərko* x pl. the verb should be *dun(im)i.e(n)*, *duʿimi.e(n)* and so on. The narrator was, however, consistent in using the x sg. or y sg. and pl. forms cp. *čərkoʿwe duʿnimi* and *duʿimi* ll. 8—9, but he returns to orthodoxy with *čərko.e duʿnir* l. 10.

11 *hayər isumal* — should be *hayəre* . . .

13 *hal fat etin* — *hal* is an obscure word. In certain cases it seems to mean 'or' 'either . . or', and probably in indirect questions 'whether' (Hindustani *agar*?). Replies to later inquiries by letter-state that it means only 'or'. On the other hand "ok" does not seem to suit the present context where I have glossed it "all right", and elsewhere I was told it meant "of a truth", "in fact", "verily". *aiyʿeʿča ba ke* — one would expect the *ke* to follow *etin*.

17 *bašatum* = *baš* + *ate* + *um* — adjectival, 'being on-the-bridge'.

18 *iʿne hine* . . . . *iʿne hiʿne* — seems to be used as English 'the one', 'the other' or 'one, another' there were several pahlawans, cp. *upone* l. 20, page 158.

Meanwhile Kiser came to the cliffs which clashed against each other. 5394
"They are doing this for my benefit," said he. "Now the arrow from this bow of mine and my horse are equal (in swiftness). If I shoot this arrow and if the cliffs catch it they will catch my horse. If they cannot catch the arrow then they won't be able to catch my horse." So saying he shot the arrow and the clashing cliffs closed on its feathers. Said Kiser: "They will catch my horse's tail." He gave his horse a cut with the whip. It (shot forward) raising its tail up behind and the cliffs closed on its tail. Kiser dismounted and drew his sword to cut off his horse's tail. "O Lingpikiser!" cried the cliffs. "If you cut off your horse's tail how will you go to the city?" "Let it go then and I won't cut it off." "Well," said the cliffs, "the King of Horyūl married a woman and two sons have been born to her. If you bring us the head of one boy for one of us and the head of the other boy for the other of us we will let go (of your horse's tail)." "By all means," said Kiser, "I'll bring them for you." Then they let him go and Kiser went off.

He concealed Changi Hirpal in his sleeve and came to the Pahlawāns at the bridge. They saw him and one of them said: "This is he. Look, his feet are small below." Kiser said: "What you say is true. My mother told me: 'When you were small I found nothing to put on your feet and I (had) shod you with raw hide. The raw hide squeezed you and (your feet) became small like this.' Another said: "Hold your tongue. He is an unfortunate creature, let him go." The first one said: "This is he. His waist is slender." Said Kiser: "To be sure you are all intelligent men aren't you? My mother told me: 'When you were put in swaddling clothes I had tied you up with a leather strap.'" The other Pahlawān said: "O shut up, this is a poor fellow, let him go." The first said: "His back is broad, this is he." Said Kiser: "Through carrying people's loads my back became big."

20 *mi mama* — this use of *mi* with names of relatives, with the force of "my" is to be noted, v. Vocab. s. v. (2) *mi*.

gəlitəw — present base + *w* apparently of a verb **-ilitiyas*, based on **-litiyas* with the meaning 'to put (shoes etc.) on to someone else('s feet)'.

aiy'aiyəsəm — 1st. sg. neg. post. of **-yaiyas*.

000 Daγu·ɛ ¯gapər go·giya baiyam. Daγu·ɛ gapɛ dukoˑtsin akil jotiŋ manitsˈa' asuboˑm." Hinɛ se.ibai: "Ya.in, bičaˑraˑn bai.i, fat ɛtin." In hinɛ se.ibai: "Kiˑnɛ bai.i, eščiŋ bi.eˑiko bitsa," se ibai.i. Kisərɛ se.ibai.i kɛ "Ma mayoˑn hˈɛnašu.ik baˑna xair kɛ! 'Gultali.asulo gap
5 jikˈananɛ gultali.ɛ baiyam,' asuboˑm." Iˑnɛ hiˑnɛ se.ibai.i: "Le yai.in lɛˑ, kiˑn γəriˑban bai.i, fat ɛtin." Iˑn hiˑnɛ se.bai: "Le, balgičiŋ daldaljuˑko bitsa, kiˑnɛ bai i." Kisərɛ se.ibai.i: "Mɛnɛ kɛ baldaŋ nuka aˑščiŋ uyoˑŋko manitsa." Iˑn hiˑnɛ: "Iyai.iŋ lɛ, bičaˑra fat ɛtin," se.ibai.i. Iˑn hiˑnɛ se.ibai: "Han iˑmɛ šiqam bi," se.ibai.
10 Kisərɛ seibai.i. "Hai, uˑŋɛ tsan se.iba. Buˑla dəljam, goˑdarɛtɛ baiyam, hiˑn amˈuko.anɛ šau.u nɛ amɛˑulo təˑi yami. Təilatɛ šiqam mani bi." Iˑn hiˑnɛ se.ibai: "Yaˑin lɛ, γəriˑpiˑs, fat ɛtin." Iˑn hiˑnɛ se.ibai: "Lɛ, buˑšo bai, kiˑnɛ bai." Kisərɛ saibai.i: "Tsana se.iba, mi mama seiboˑm 'Uˑŋaŋɛ huruˑtamulo bˈuˑšanər pfuˑt amˈana baiyam.
15 Tailatɛ buˑšo gumanˈa,' asuboˑm." Hiˑnɛ se.ibai: "Yai.in lɛ, γəriˑpis, fat ɛtin." Iˑn hiˑnɛ se.ibai: "ˈEfati joˑtan bimˈ, sɛnuboˑm." Kisərɛ saibai: "Hai ma hɛˑnasə nazər, axˈɛr maiyoˑn hɛ.našu.ik baˑn. Mˈi mama: 'Kuˑli ataˑaγurkum bərpiˑtanɛ taq goˑta baiyam,' asuboˑm." Iˑn hiˑnɛ: "Yai.in le, tɛ aiyɛˑtin," sɛnimi. Iˑn hinɛ se.ibai: "'Yætis
20 daγanuman bai.i,' sɛnuboˑm." Uyoˑnɛ sɛnuman: "Kiˑn γəriˑpan bai.i, yaiyɛ fat ɛtin," sɛnuman. Fat ɛtuman.

Uˑɛtsum mataˑn numa Čaŋgi Hirpalatɛ pfal manimi. Čo ɛtˈimi. Han pameˑranər dˈɛˑšqaltimi. Iˑtɛ pfamərər galai.ik nuˑyɛn galabaˑn duˑuman. Oˑpačər niˑmi. Galabaˑn iˑmo watanulum Laŋa Brumomo
25 naukər kɛ baˑn. Da tiˑ kɛ baˑn. Uˑɛ oˑpačər niˑn asmaˑntsum hərəltan ɛˑakərtsimi. Buˑt di.aˑrtsimi. Uyuˑm buˑnan diˑtsum

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1 *dukoˑtsin* — *d* + *gu* + °-*atsi* + *n*, p.pc. act. of *d*°-*atsi.as* which is referable to °-*atsi.as*.

8 *aˑščiŋ* — should be *ja balgičiŋ*.
iyai.iŋ — i. e. *yai.in*, *yaˑin*, pl. of 3. *ya*.

13 *γəriˑpiˑs* — also at line 15. I cannot explain the final *-iˑs*, *-is*.

14 *huruˑtamulo* — the static pc. 1st. sg. + *ulo*.

18 *efati* — i. e. *ifati*.

17 *ma hɛˑnasə nazər* — The singular *hɛˑnasə* is peculiar. The meaning seems to be 'you knowledgeable ones'. *nazər* is said to mean *çərbaˑn* 'sacrifice' but in

The other Pahlawān said: "Come shut up and let the wretch go." 539
The first said: "One of his teeth is blue." Said Kiser: "Alas, you speak truly. They were playing polo and I was (sitting) on the wall. A dreadful man hit a stroke and the ball struck my tooth and thus it became blue." The other Pahlawān said: "Shut up you and let the poor fellow go." Said the first Pahlawān: "Look he is cat-eyed. This is he." "You speak true," said Kiser. "My mother used to say: 'When I was pregnant with you I had fallen in love with (*or*, looked at) a cat. And so you became cat-eyed,' so she told me." The other Pahlawān said: "Shut up, let the poor fellow go." The first said: "She said his forehead was small." "Well may I be your sacrifice!" said Kiser, "you wise men. Indeed you are all very wise. My mother told me: 'I could not find a head-bandage, so I had bound you with a strap." "Shut up," said the second Pahlawān, "don't treat him like this." The first said: "'He is big-headed' she said." But all (the rest) said: "He is a poor fellow, shut up and let him go." So they let him go.

When he was some distance from them he mounted Changi Hirpal and galloped off. He came to a *pamir*. Some herdsmen, bringing their flocks, came to the *pamir* and he went up to them. The herdsmen were from his own country and were servants of Langa Brūmo. There were also others. Going up to them he brought down a shower of rain from the skies. It rained heavily, and fetching a large boulder he propped it up on his stick. All the herdsmen rushed in under the boulder. Those who were of his own country he plucked by the clothes and pushed about and flung out. The other lot (remained) crowded under the stone. Kiser

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practice it appears as a term of address or response to superiors. Presumably Ar. nazr.

18 *ataryuhum* — If the *-um* is correct this is the static pa. Otherwise with *-am* it would be the 1st. sg. plup., which is more probable.

21 *yaiye* — probably: *ya, ye* . . .

23 *pamerʌnir* — *pamer* was Imam Yar Beg's pronunciation; *pʌmir, pʌnir* Ali Madad's.

26 *rakortsini* — probably from *°-ʌskortʌs* causative of *gurtʌs* 'to run, throw one self down' etc. in the sense of 'to make pour down'.

000 efaγo.ate d'e·staγimi. U·e galaba·n uyo·n i·se bun ya·rər giy'aman. I·mo watane u·e jiš jaš tiŋ taŋ no ho·l nə gu·mi. U·e hikum u·e i·se hik umanuman. I·n i·ke həralti.a·re dy'u·esimi. "Le.i, kos ja dəro·γo.ate de·staγa ba. Je həralti.a·re, ulo aiy'asərša·na?" "Guse dəro·γo.ate
5 guse bu·n de·stsaγ'a?" Awa, de·stsaγa ba," se.ibai. "Ye šu·'ai ye di.u·s'a belate de·staγ'a ke." Jaš netan dyu.isimi. Bača·r girkis walum ju.an i·se bu·n uyate nyu.al o·sqanimi (*or*, čakis o·timi).

Bo·t e·rimi. Ho·lə baman u· ke i·n ka u·yaman. I·mo watane u·e bam, u·e ye·numan (*or*, lel etuman). I·nər sala·m 'etuman.
10 Kisəre seibai.i: "Batulo pfetiŋ m'atsičam tse, han gu·ntsanulo ja·r dərka·r ba·n," senimi.

Gutsərimi. Horyu·lə Padša ša·rər de·šqaltimi. Han duka·nan bilum, i·te duka·nə hiŋtsər ni·mi. Ulo i·ne zərgəre daqadaq ečam. Kisəre: "U·lo i·ne selane ka surmai.i bai.i. Γate·nčan i·ne iri·ŋulo
15 dumanč" nusen, niyat ne, i·ne hi·ŋe ulo gimi (*or*, gičai). Zərgəre iri·ŋulo i·te sel γate·nčan (do)manimi. Zərgər haira·n imai.i bai.i. E·ye e·r šu ečubo·m, e.imo·r se.ibai.i: "E· Kati·š Malčučo, ki·ne menən bai.i ke bu·t ni·kbaxtan di.a. U·ŋ i·ner yu·čam," nusen, ni.at 'etimi.

20 Ho·lum Kise· di·a, γunikiš yərum i·te batər nik'in, pfut laγ'an ju.an numa. Zərgəre ni·itsin xafa imanimi, "But γunikišen bai" nusen. "Ja ai.i but daltasan bo, pas'o·m! Je ki·nər aiyu·čam," senimi. Kati·š Malčučo se.ibo: "Le.i 'aya, u·ŋe wa·da et'a·, laŋ o·man. Ja ki·ne i·tsu·ča ba." "Aimo nazər, je u·ŋtse paso·m amaiya ba. U·ŋe itsu·ča ke, ye šu·a." Gərmahalmase se.ibai:

1 *efaγo.ate* — i. e. *ifaγo.ate*.

2–3 *i·se hik* — 'became full in it' *i·se* is determined by *bu·n x*, but actually refers to 'the space under the boulder'.

həralti.a·re — i. e. *həralt γa·re* 'under the rain'. With *i·ke* we ought to have *həraltiŋ*.

4 *aiy'asərša·na* — from **-arkas*.

6 *dyu.isimi* — i. e. *di.usimi*.

girkis walum ju.an — 'like (a) rat fallen (into a trap)'.

8 *u· ke i·n ka* — 'they and he together'.

u·yaman — 'they dried up'. V. Vocab. s. v. *γwyas*.

13 *dumanč* — from *dumanas* a generalised form from *d*-manas* 'to coagulate, freeze, take solid form'(?) Later both with *dostaxan* p. 162 l. 6 and with *aqarpan* p. 162 l. 8 we have *dimanimi*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

himself was left out in the rain. "Look here," said he, "It is I who have propped the boulder on the stick. I am out in the rain and you won't let me in, will you?" "Have you propped up this boulder on this stick?" asked the men. "Yes, I have propped it up." "Very good, now then take it off, just as you have propped it up." He gave the boulder a jerk and pulled it off. It fell on them like rats caught in trap and ground them to powder.

Then he made the sky clear, and those who were outside, and he along with them, became dry. They were the men from his own country and they recognised him. They salāmed to him and Kiser said to them: "I would stuff your skins with ashes, only one day you will be of use to me!"

Then he proceeded on his way and came to the city of Horyūl. There was a (Goldsmith's) shop there and he went up to the door of it. Inside, the Goldsmith was tapping away. Kiser (said to himself): "The man in there is starting work on a needle, may it turn out a sword in his hand!" So saying and willing, he entered the door and the needle became a sword in the Goldsmith's hand. The Goldsmith was astounded. His daughter was blowing (the bellows) for him and he said to her: "O Katīsh Malchūcho, whoever this is he has come to us as a bringer of great good luck! I will give you to him (to wife)," he vowed.

Kiser came in from outside, having (first) entered into that former hideous skin of his and become like a dumb Dēu. On seeing him the Goldsmith was vexed: "He is very ugly," he said, "and my daughter is very pretty. It would be a shame. I won't give her to him." "Father," said Katīsh Malchūcho, "you have made a promise don't go back on it. I'll marry this man." "May I be your sacrifice, my daughter!" said Germahalmas, the Goldsmith, "I grieve for you. (But) if you will marry him well and good." (Then to Pangchu) he

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There may be a question of x and y involved: *sel* is y; *doctsak* in this connection is probably x, *asbep* I have only recorded as y, but it is probable that like *doctsak* it may be x when used of individual articles.

We have again at p. 162 l. 11 *dere* (y) *dumanimi*.

11 — Lorimer

"Le.i, ja ai.i gu·čam. Mutsu·čama?" Paŋču: "Šu·a," se.ibai. E·i yu·mi.

"Šu· ɛtiš gomai.ima?" ɛ·šai.i. "Šu·a," se.ibai.i. E·imo·r: "Yɛ da·l mana ai.i" I·n da·l mai.i bo. Paŋču šu· ɛ·čər nimi. Zərgərɛ asba·ban ši.ər wasimi. I·nɛ p'ultiŋyɛ·ntaatɛ šu· ɛtimi. Zərgərɛ bɛsan dostsakan dɛ·smanasər rai.i bilum kɛ šyu·lo ik'ərɛnɛ d'imanimi. Haira·n imaibai.i zərgər. "Ja hik kɛ guse·tsɛ šyu·lum di.usin daq (*or*, dak) ayɛ·tumatɛ, ikərɛŋɛ d'imanimi." Han kɛ aspa·pan wɛ·šimi. I·nɛ šu· ɛtasɛ ka ikərɛŋɛ dimanimi.

Zərgər bu·t xuš imanimi, bu·t aiyaš imanimi. Zərgər ɛ·pačim duro uyo·n (*or*, pu·ro) dumanimi. I·n ɛ·pači bɛska duro at'u·wasimi. Gərmahalmasɛ se.ibai: "Le.i 'arər, hanjil pyuwan du·šuma? Du·tsuš goməima?" "Šu·a, d'u·šam." Kapan yu·čai.i: "Yɛ gu·sə.u·lo du·tso." I·sə kap ni.ɛn hanji·l du·šər nimi. Ni·nin akil hik dam tha tayər hanjil o·timi. I·mo watanulum u·ɛ sis dutsun hanjil 'o·yɛnumi (*or*, o·yɛnimi). Čaŋgi Hirpalatɛ nuljan uy'ər manimi. U i·tsi thaman.

Gərmahalmasɛ e·imur "Tɛšatɛ d'u·sa" senimi. E·i tɛšatər du·sumo. Bərɛnumo ganər. Čaŋgi Hirpalatɛ nuljan uyər bai.i, i·lji t'a sisɛ hanjil nu·yɛn i·tsi tha ba·n. Duso·ko muy 'ɛpačər. "Aya, bɛ Padša bai kɛ, bɛ daltasan bai.i kɛ, bɛ šu·a hayuran b'i kɛ, nuljɛn u·yər manuw'ai." "Aimu nazər, tsan se.iba?" "Awa, aya, tsana tsano seya ba." "Jɛ kɛ bərɛ·yam, hik tɛ·šatər du·šam." Gərmahalmas tɛ·šatər du·simi. Muyɛ ka i·n ɛ·i kɛ du·sumo. Gərmahalmasɛ bər'ɛ·imi kɛ sərə baldaŋ ɛčai.i, yɛrpa han fat nɛ i·lji ničai.i ga·ršai.i. I·nɛ se.ibai: "Aimu nazər, do·uman bai.a xair kɛ? Sərə baldaŋ o·čai.i." "Bɛ

1 *Paŋču* — notice this name again in association with the inferior form ep. note p. 142 l. 14.

6 *mana* — i. e. *mano*.

15 *ɛtimi* — the *ɛ-* refers to *hanjil* (x pl.).

17 *d'wsa* — *dusas* means both to 'go out' and to 'go up' to 'climb up on to'. With the low flat roofs often running into the hill side at the back, it is an open question which rendering is preferable.

19 *dusɛ·ko* — short form 3rd. sg. h.*l.* pret.

bɛ padša bai kɛ — 'what a king he is!' *kɛ* seems here to convey merely emphasis.

25 *sərə baldaŋ ɛčai.i* — Either *ɛčai.i* is Cu. or else the object must be understood to be *hanjil* (x pl.). In l. 24 *ɛčai.i* implies that the object is *baldaŋ* (y pl.).

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said: "Hallo! I will give you my daughter; will you marry her?" 539A
"Very good, I will," replied Pangchu.

Germahalmas gave him his daughter and said to him: "Can you blow (the bellows)?" "Yes," said Pangchu. "Now get up (from the bellows) my daughter," said the Goldsmith to his daughter, and she got up and Pangchu went to blow. The Goldsmith put an article on the forge and Pangchu blew with the bellows, and whatever the article the Goldsmith proposed to make, it came into existence of itself in the forge. The Goldsmith was amazed: "The thing came into being of itself without my once taking it out of the forge and hammering it," he said. Then he put on another article and with the blowing it too came into existence of itself.

The Goldsmith was greatly pleased and delighted. All the work he had in hand was completed. No work remained with him (to be done). "O son-in-law," said Germahalmas, "will you bring a little charcoal. Can you get it?" "Yes, I'll get it." Germahalmas gave him a big sack, saying: "Bring it in this." Taking the sack he went off to bring the charcoal. In a moment he made a hundred similar sacks of charcoal (out of the one sack). Then fetching those men of his own country he made them carry the charcoal. Mounting Changi Hirpal he went ahead of them while they followed him.

Germahalmas said to his daughter: "Go up on to the roof." She went out on to the roof and looking at the road she saw that Pangchu (in his kingly form) was riding ahead on Changi Hirpal and that behind him a hundred men were following him carrying charcoal. She came down to her father and said: "Father, what a king he is! What a handsome man he is! What a fine horse it is that he is riding on ahead of them!" "May I be your sacrifice, my daughter, are you speaking the truth?" "Yes, father, I am speaking the absolute truth." "I'll have a look too," said Germahalmas. "I'll just go up on the roof." And his daughter also went with her father. Germahalmas saw that Pangchu was carrying the loads by stages. He kept putting down one load on ahead and running back (for another). "May I be your sacrifice, my daughter. Isn't he a strong man? He is carrying the loads by stages." "What's

000 mai.i ba, lɛ aya? Ta ŋa i·tɛə tabə·n hanjil n'uyɛn." "E.i hɛramaə·da, ja o·iša ba, bə·sɛ gumušo oč'a?" "Bɛ aya, ja gutɛ tɛan bila, ja akilatɛ uyɛ·ša ba." Yu ɛ·i atum'ayuman, dusokuman ha·lər.

Dutsimi hanjil hiŋɛtər, kau ɛtimi: "Hanjil dutɛa ba." Ulum
5 i·nɛ: "Hanjil gu.as ha·n bila, i·tar gu." I·nɛ ulo gu·mi hanjil. Itɛ ha hik manimi.ɛn. Da qan ɛčai.i u·l nɛ: "Pyu·wan bask manimi.ɛ." "Han kɛ ha·n bila, itər gu." Itɛ ha·r kɛ gu·mi. E·tɛ kɛ hik manimi.ɛ. Da bask mai.i bi.ɛ. Da qan ɛčai.i: "I·tɛ kɛ hik manimi.ɛ." "Han kɛ bila, itə·r kɛ gu," ɛ·simi. E·tɛ kɛ hik manimi.ɛ. Di·mi
10 Paŋču zərgərɛ dukə·nɛtər. "Le.i 'ərər, i·te 'u·ako hik man'imi.ɛ(na)?" "Awa, manimi.ɛ." Zərgər bu·t xuš maibai. "Ki·n juwə·nan men k' apə·n, hik ni·n usko ha·kičaŋɛ hik hanjil o·timi (ər, manimi.ɛ)."

Zərgər ɛ·pači bɛsan du·ro ap i. Paŋču holpa d'u·simi, sa·tɛ huru·timi. Laŋa Brumo Padša ta·ŋɛ (ər, ima·tatɛ) tɛšater d'u·sumo.
15 Mundi·ltɛ to·ŋ čama bi·m, ama Kisərɛ dukə·nɛtɛ di·manum bi·m. Bu·t šu·a bi·m, bu·t daltas bi·m. Paŋču.ɛ bayɛ pfalanɛ ɛ·mišatɛ du·n i·sɛ čama makuči d'ɛlimi. Taq čot im'animi. Tikɛtər walimi. Laŋa Brumo hairə·n mai.ibo, mu·ndi·ltɛ bi·matɛ ikərɛŋɛ taq imanimi. I·sɛ taq imanum čama pfu·kaŋ nukə·uni·n Padša·lər tɛumo. "Ya
20 Pa·dša, ikərɛŋɛ andi·ltɛ bi·matɛ ikərɛŋɛ taq imanimi." Padša: "Gərmahalmasɛ warta 'ɛ·či," ɛnimi. Laŋa Br...o.ɛ: "Aiy ɛ·mai imi," ɛnumo. Padša: "'E·mai imi" nusɛn 'o·tsumi Gə..mahalmasalər.

Tsuman Gərmahalmas ɛ·pačər. "Le.i Gərmahalmas, Padša yuriŋmo čama mundi·ltɛ bi·matɛ ikərɛŋɛ taq manimi. 'Gusɛ bɛlatɛ bim kɛ i·sɛ juwanan ɛ·ti,' g'osai.i." Gərmahalmasɛ: "Šu·a, 'ɛ·čam." Gərmahalmasɛ: "Le.i arər, u·ŋ šu· ɛti." "Šu·a, aya, ɛ·čam."

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4 *ulum i·nɛ* — sc *ɛ·ribai.i.*

5 *gu·mi* — probably to "pour down" through the smoke-hole.

7 *kɛ·r* — the only occurrence of this form in the texts in place of the usual *kərər*.

10 *man'imi.ɛ* — the subject is *hanjil* x pl. It is a question and *man'imi.ɛnɛ* was also given.

15 *amɛ* — cannot here mean 'but'.
di·manum bi·m — v. § 379. d.

18 *pfalanɛ* — the *-ɛ* has either been anticipated from *ɛ·mišatɛ* or is the instrumental (general oblique) dependent on *dɛlimi*.

19 *nukə·uni·n*, and *nukə·un* — p.pc. active of *goyas*.

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the matter with you, father? A hundred men are following him carrying the charcoal." "You bastard!" replied Germahalmas. "I don't see them. Why do you lie?" "No father, what I say is true. I see them just as (I say)." The father and daughter could not agree and came down into the house.

Pangchu brought the charcoal to the door and called out: "I have brought the charcoal." From inside the Goldsmith said: "There is a house for putting the charcoal in. Put it in it." Pangchu put the charcoal in it and the house was filled. He called out again into the (dwelling-) house: "There is a little over." "There is another house, put it in that," replied the Goldsmith. Pangchu put it in that house too and it too was filled, and again there was some over. Again he called out: "That one is full too." "There is still another room. Put it in it," said the Goldsmith. That also was filled and Pangchu came to the Goldsmith's shop and the latter said "Hallo, son-in-law, are those three houses full?" "Yes, they are," replied Pangchu. The Goldsmith was greatly delighted. "There is no one like this man," said he. "He went (only) once and he filled three houses full of charcoal."

The Goldsmith had no work to do and Pangchu went outside and sat down in the sun. Now Langa Brūmo came out on to the roof of the King's palace. On her breast was a delicately-wrought brooch which had been made in Kiser's shop. It was very handsome and beautiful. Pangchu, taking a grain of millet on his finger, (flicked it and) hit the brooch in the middle. The brooch broke into little pieces and fell on the ground. Langa Brūmo was astonished; while it was on her breast it had broken of itself. Picking up the little fragments of the broken brooch she took them to the King. "O King," said she, "while it was on my breast, (the brooch) broke of itself." "Germahalmas will repair it," said the King. "He won't be able to," said Langa Brūmo. "Yes, he will," replied the King. So saying he sent it to Germahalmas.

They took it to Germahalmas and said: "O Germahalmas, the Queen's brooch broke of itself while it was on her breast. The King commands you: 'Make it as it was before'." "Very good,"

500 Germahalmasc ṭi·er w'ašimi kc Paṇču.c šu· ctimi. Do·u iri·ṇc šu· ctimi. Ikerunc i·sc čama tatas dimanimi. Gauyum iri·ṇc i·sc pfultiṇišc ho·lc γəri·ṇ manimi. Numan taq imanimi. "Le.i arər, hik kc šu· cta (or, cti)." Šu· ctimi. Doyu·m iri·ṇum i·sc pfultiṇišc
5 ho·lc γəriṇ manimi. Tatas dimanimi. Da γauyum iri·ṇc i·sc pfultiṇišc ho·lc gəri·ṇ manimi. Taq imanimi.

"Le.i arər, Kisər ba b'eyam." "Le.i heramza·da, mcnon bai Kisər?" A·r ctimi. "Yc su·a, lc arər, hik kc šu· cti." Hik kc ctimi šu·, tatas d'imanimi. Germahalmasc i·sc tatas da·l ctimi. Fat ctimi te.ilc, e·scka
10 o·surm'animi. E·sc-fat ncton beruman guntaiṇ ni·mi. I·sc mcn kc ay o·ltirum i·mo watanar o·tsumi. "Gusc bolatc dimani bi·m kc de·sman, d o·tsu.in." Tsu·man Kisərc duka·ncter. De·sman d o·tsuman, Kisərər yu·man.

Laṇa Brumo: "Ja i·se de·sman'aiya?" nusc, dumo·mo. Germahal-
15 masaler čaγa ctuman: "Laṇa Brumo u·ṇe duka·nater dum'o·yo" nusc, e·r čaγa ctuman. Germahalmasc i·mo duka·n daltas tam nc paki·za nc huru·timi. Laṇa Brumo dumo·mo zergerc duka·ncter. "Ai.i Germahalmas, ja čama gutc xa·šiṇer aiyc ta?" "Qurba·n amanja, tatas cta ba." Laṇa Brumo.c: "Kol di·tsu bare·yam,"
20 csumo. Germahalmas o·sum diśulo bore.i bai.i, api o·sum diśulo. Germahalmasc pfu·sciumfat ctimi. Čama api. Germahalmas haira·n imai.ibai. "Ya Laṇa Brumo, tatas nc akolc fat cta bayam, am ni·mi kc api." "E.i heramza·da, ja c·s am tsuma?" Paṇču.c

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2 *γauyum* — i. e. γəγyum.

6 *iri·ṇum* — a rare example of adjectival -um being added to the simple form of a noun. It is evidently a synonym for the genitive *iri·ṇc* a few words further on: 'the right hand', 'left hand', 'bellows'.

8 *tatas dimanimi* — the Ms. has: "*taq imanimi*".

7 *ši·γum* — this word does not occur elsewhere. It was said to be equivalent to Shina *šuf* '[it] is not known', but it may only be so in an indirect way. The sense was also given as: 'perhaps you are K.'.

13 *dum'o·yo* — is the short form of the Ind. sg. hf. pret. = dumo·mo, here equivalent to the Perf.

20 *o·sum diśulo* — the static pr. as an adjective, falsely attached to a noun v. § 377 d. 'in the placed place' i. e. 'in the place in which the brooch had been placed'.

22 *ja c·s* — "my that" i. e. 'that thing of mine'.

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said Germahalmas. "I shall do so." "Ho, son-in-law," said he, "blow up." "All right, father. I'll blow." Germahalmas put the brooch in the forge and Pangchu blew the bellows. He blew with the right-hand (bellows) and the brooch of itself took shape in rough form. Then a tune came out of the left-hand bellows and the brooch broke. "Blow just once again, son-in-law," said Germahalmas and Pangchu blew. A tune came out of the righthand bellows and the brooch took shape. Then a tune came out of the left-hand bellows and again the brooch broke.

"Son-in-law," said Germahalmas, "one would think you are Kiser." "Who is Kiser you bastard?" replied Pangchu and intimidated him. "All right then, son-in-law, blow just once again. Pangchu blew once more and the brooch took shape in a rough form. Germahalmas took it away, but he left it as it was and did not begin working on it. Some days passed, and Pangchu, without showing it to anyone sent it off to his own country (with a message) saying: "Make it as it originally was and send it back to me." They took it away to Kiser's shop. (There) they made it (as it had been) and sent it back and gave it to Kiser.

Langa Brūmo came along saying to herself: "Has he repaired that brooch of mine?" They told Germahalmas, saying: "Langa Brūmo has come to your shop." Germahalmas carefully swept and cleaned his shop and then sat and waited. (Presently) Langa Brūmo came into the Goldsmith's shop: "O Germahalmas," she cried, "have you not mended my brooch yet?" "May I be your sacrifice! I have worked it up in a rough state." "Bring it here and let me look at," said Langa Brūmo. Germahalmas looked for it in the place where he had put it. It wasn't there. He turned everything upside down (searching for it), but the brooch was not to be found. He was amazed: "O Langa Brūmo," he said, "I had left it here after working it up in the rough. Now wherever it has gone to, it isn't here." "Where have you taken that thing of mine to, you bastard?" "You base-born creature," struck in Pangchu, "who has taken it? This thief of a woman has stolen it herself. People of this sort are thieves. Let her stand up!" Langa Brūmo

60 se.ibai.i: "Le.i kaŋga·l, ·ɛ mɛnɛ tɛu.a·n? Ki·nə γi·nɛ mu.i· tɛu bo. Aki·lju·ko kuɛ γiyantɛ (*or*, γiyaŋ) ba·n. Da·l manʼiła." Laŋa Brumo da·l manumo. Lei amo·tum i·ɛɛ čam·a museγuči ča·m mo·tam. Da·l mana·ɛɛ ka museγutɛ ɛa ti·kstɛr walimi. Bɛre.imo kɛ mu.imo (*or*, mu.imu) čam·a museγučim ɛa wali ḫi. Tɛap nɛ da·l ɛtumo. "E·i Gərmahalmas, Liŋpikisər di·ta·a, go·pači bai.i. Padša·ale sə·yam, čap aku·riki go·iči" nusɛn, čama n·i.ɛn ni·mo.

Gərmahalmasɛ se.ibai.i: "Le.i arər, atsi pfu a·tsima, Kisər uɛŋ ba." "Le.i kaŋga·l, uɛŋ bɛ he.iba? Etɛ bər sɛnč (*or*, sɛnā) am·o·mai.imo. 'Kisər bai.i' sɛnč am·o·mai.imo. Uɛŋ sifat ečo, duk·opukurčo. Padša mirba·ni gor (*or*, gur) d·o·ši. Čup nɛ hur·u."

Laŋa Brumo, čama ni.ɛn, Padša·lər ni·mo. Padša·lər numo·n, "Gərmahalmas juwan usta·tan mɛn kə apa·n, ja čam·a but šu·a ɛtimi." Bu·t d·ɛ·ɛpuk·urumo. Padša Gərmahalmastsum bu·t xuš im·anumi. Xuš nimaɛ inər mɛhərba·ni ɛ·r o·tsumi. Tɛu·man Gərmahalmasalər Padša o·tsum mɛ·rma·ni. Gərmahalmas siy·aš imanimi. Paŋču.ɛ seibai.i: "E.i Gərmahalmas, go·se baiyama bɛ?" Bu·t xuɛ numan huru·čaman.

Beruman guntsiŋ (*or*, berukutsan) ni·mi. Padša Gərmahalmasər qau ečai.i: "Kisərɛ šame taska·s bila, tɛo·rdinər ja mərakaɛ ju." Gərmahalmasə: "Šu·a, ju·čam," sɛnimi. Paŋču.ɛ: "Lei a·akir, jɛ kɛ go·ka atsu." Gərmahalmasɛ: "Be, e.i, aki·lju·ko γuniki.ɛntɛ mɛn kə apa·n. 'Ki·nə arər bai.i' sɛnabatɛ uyu·nɛ atsi γasi·čuman. Ja gutɛ hiŋ sam rač nɛ huru," ɛ·simi. Paŋču: "Šu·a" sɛnimi. Gərmahalmas tɛo·rdinɛ Padša mərakaɛ ni·mi. Huru·timi mərakaɛulo

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1–2 γi·nɛ, γiyantɛ, γiyaŋ — all these were originally written with a post-velar g. This was altered to γ which was also marked as post-velar γ.

The ordinary natural plural of γi·n is γiyo or γiyantɛ.

Γiyaŋ which was given and repeated is a most surprising form of the y type. I have no other h. pl. to compare with it.

2 mɛnɛ ḫa — the -a is unusual. Perhaps it is the -a sometimes used with the Imperative.

4 museγutɛ ɛa — explained as: down along her "naked side" inside her clothes.

7 akuriki — 'he will make your flesh (into bits) so big for you' (indicating little pieces).

19 berukutsan — V. Vocab. ká·r, bɛrɛ.

22 sɛnabatɛ — sɛnɛ bɛ + atɛ v. § 497 a.

26 ḫiŋ sam — v. § 97.

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stood up. Now, without letting her know, he had thrust the brooch into her bosom (under her clothes) and immediately when she stood up it fell down along her side to the ground. She saw that her brooch had fallen down from her side and she clutched at it and picked it up. "Ah Germahalmas," she cried, "You have brought Lingpikiser here and he is with you. I shall tell the King and he will chop up your flesh into little bits, like this." So saying, she went off taking the brooch with her.

"O son-in-law," said Germahalmas, "you have set fire to me. You are Kiser." "You base-born creature, what do you know? She won't be able to mention this (to the King). She won't be able to say: 'It is Kiser.' She will (in fact) sing your praises. She will commend you and the King will send you presents. Sit still and hold your tongue."

Langa Brūmo went with the brooch to the King and said: "There is no craftsman like Germahalmas. He has repaired my brooch excellently." And she praised him highly. The King was very much pleased with Germahalmas and sent him a present. They took the present sent by the King to Germahalmas and he was very happy. "O Germahalmas," said Pangchu, "didn't I tell you so?" (After that) they remained where they were in great happiness.

Some days passed and then the King summoned Germahalmas and said to him: "Come to my court tomorrow morning; Kiser's bow is to be drawn." "Very good, I shall come," said Germahalmas. "Father-in-law," said Pangchu, "take me with you too." "No, my son. There are none so ill-favoured as you. If I were to say: 'This is my son-in-law,' they would all laugh at me. You sit here and keep guard on my door and the smoke-hole," replied Germahalmas. "Very good," said Pangchu. Next morning Germahalmas went off to the King's court. He took his seat in the court and then he saw that Pangchu had come carrying the door-frame and the frame of the smoke-hole slung on his neck. Germahalmas went to meet him. "Son-in-law," said he. "Why have you knocked down my house and brought this door-frame of mine and the smoke-hole frame here? Take them back." Pangchu went back with them and Germahalmas returned to the Court.

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borwmi kr Panču.r tworaŋ kr samaraŋ čši nikin diwa. Germahalmas yanši.er nimi "Le, arer, le, kot ja ha d'ewrin kok twaraŋ kr samaraŋ kok bere sewa? Kok i-lji tew." I-lji tewmi. Germahalmas i-lji morakwr dimi.

5 Kisorr šame ho tairtem taskwman. Germahalmas lokan nard bark jawi (or, šwi) ctimi. Nutaskiwn Padša morakwtewm dari newman (or, numa) Germahalmas imo harler dimi. Jwči kr imo tworaŋ imo dišulo laŋ apiwn bitsa(n), samaraŋ tešitem laŋ apim bitsa. "Le arer, kok tworaŋ dipirtsam kot tayayan kr kha (or, xa) sp'alila

10 (na)." Panču.r scnimi: "Et bewr kha (or, xa) baliči-la?" ctimi.

Padša da qan ctimi: "Jimalr kr ju. Kisorr šame da taskwr bila." "Šwa, jučam," scnimi. Panču.r: "Le awkir, jimalr kuli atew, ayewtewma kr gutr hr uyowr nuka jučam." "Beya jimalr gutewčam."

Twordine e-ka itewmi. Padša morakwr dorišqaltuman Kisorr šame

15 tairtsum taskwman. Germahalmas epačor dimi. Germahalmasr ičiwman Germahalmasr taskimi Panču.r: "Le.i awkir, hik jawr kr ači." "Le.i arer, uwr šat i-ljuko ayowmai.ibewn, akowmai.ima. Ya šorum." Padša dwyclimi. "Be seibai.i?" scnimi. Germahalmasr: "'Hik jawr kr ači.a' seibai.i," scnimi. Padša: "Te-ljuko u šu.a

20 manawšu bawn. Ičiwa." Germahalmasr ičimi. Kisorr imo šame izači (or, iriŋ) balimi. Jaš jaš ctimi. "Le awkir, gutr gali kr mewr adeljumana?" Padša: "Bw seibai?" scnimi. "'Hik kr gutr gali kr mewr adeljumana (or, adeljama)?' seibai." Padša: "Be" scnimi.

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2 *tworaŋ* — the Ms. has *tawran*.
čši — v. § 66.
7 *jwči kr* — originally given as *jwčimi kr* cp. *nirimi kr* note p. 184 l. 13.
10 *baliči-la* — a curious use of the present tense. It most mean, 'why should it fall down?'
13 *ayowmai* — one would expect *ayowmai* cp. *ayowmi* p. 146 ll. 1—3.
beya — what exactly the *ya* is I do not know, but it seems to give emphasis to the asseveration. Glossed "No. I'll certainly take you". Perhaps, however, *ya* is the imperative 'shut up' as in the next note.
17—18 *ya šorum* — Glossed Hindustani *hai, šorum hai*. *Ya* must be the imperative "shut up".
22 *izači* — the alternative *iriŋ* 'into his hand' is given, but as far as I know *izači* can only be referred to *izaf* 'his mouth'.
23 *adeljumana* — originally *adeljama* was given, which would be the 3rd. plural imperfect interrogative 'would anyone beat me?'

6: Lortzner L-3 (1933-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Surmbo AV7

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Then in turns they drew Kiser's bow. Germahalmas drew it a little further than the others. After drawing it he got up from the King's court and returned home. When he came (to the house) the door-frame was there undisturbed in its proper place, and the smoke-hole frame was there undisturbed on the roof. "Son-in-law," said he. "You had taken out this door-frame, but even this mud (at the side of it) has not fallen down." "Why should it fall down?" said Pangchu.

The King again sent for Germahalmas saying: "Come tomorrow again. There is again to be a drawing of Kiser's bow." "Very good, I shall come." "Father-in-law," said Pangchu, "do take me tomorrow. If you don't take me I shall come bringing the whole of this house with me." "No, don't," replied Germahalmas. "I'll certainly take you with me tomorrow."

Next morning he took him with him, and they arrived at the King's court. The people drew Kiser's bow in turn. The turn came to Germahalmas and they gave him the bow and he drew it. "Father-in-law," said Pangchu, "give it to me too for a turn." "Son-in-law, these strong men cannot (draw it). You won't be able to. Hold your tongue. You should be ashamed of yourself." The King overheard. "What does he say?" he asked. "He says: 'Give me a turn too,'" replied Germahalmas. "People like him are good men," said the King. "Give it to him." Germahalmas gave him the bow. So Kiser's bow came into his own hand. He gave it a couple of sharp tugs. "Father-in-law," he said, "if this bow breaks, will anyone beat me?" "What does he say?" asked the King. "He says: 'If this bow were perchance to break, will anyone beat me?'" "No," said the King. ("No one will beat him.") "If it breaks and in breaking a splinter strikes someone and someone is killed, will they beat me?" asked Pangchu. "What does he say?" (asked) the King. ("He says," replied Germahalmas), "'If the bow breaks and a splinter strikes someone and he dies, will anyone kill me?'" "Blessings on you!" replied the King. "Let them all die! Tell him to draw the bow."

60[a] "Gutī galī ke gute ṇukal mentec ṭimilicą yaiyi ke men uiṭran ke
adiljumana?" seibai.i. Padśa: "Be seibai.i?" "Gute galī ke mentec
ṭimilicen mien uiṭren ke mene aṇqaimana?" Padśa seibai.i:
"Gutiṇe xerṇe, uyem uiṭrān! 'taskr' ćeo."

5 Ho taskimi, jadu etimi: "Gute jame ja taskarmar tirumter manit,
akure haman uyoutec yaś. Padśatec ćiaś, jatec ćiaś, kirec arakirtec
ćiyaś. Yere haman kure faś umanjan!" Nuec ho taskimi, ḍame
kerap etimi. Terumter ne ure marakarulo haman uyoutec yami.
Ure uyem muṭtanc ser etimi. Uyem uiṭruman. Padśa: "Aufriu
10 manit!" aiyaś imaibai.i. Padśa deyarumi: "Kiser senasan ja
duśman bai, ire ka dure gomaima, be?" Paṇṭu.c seibai.i. "Ditec,
mō hoier ditec, mo gute deljam." Padśa seibai: "Ire mure be."
"Ju.se bai.i ke qan ne ke ditec." (Padśa seibai:) "Be, ja qan eta
kuli ayuśai.i. Ire bāel dia ke irmo rai.ete jurti." Paṇṭu.c seibai.i:
15 "Bāel dirmi kuli deljam."

Padśa damāc etai.i: "Besanar rai.i bila ke gurćam, gure mirmarni
ćia ure." "Damāi ader ke ćumar lukan ati." Padśa: "Itsurin ćumare
xazinarater." Itsurman ćumare xazinarater. Da ser jadu etai.i. Ite
ćumar uyem beake ayoitirem tham ne uyem teurni. Gormahalmase
20 ḍukarnater teurni. Ite yer dutsem itec hanjiri ovyami, ćumere
teṇṇe devmanimi. Katiś Maltuło gołai.ener han, ṭi.se xuraker
han, ṭe.se teiler han, eequlae yaśiler han, ḍapi-k etaner han, horai-aner
han, tam de.aner han. Akil mileta ćumare teṇṇe devmanimi.
Katiś Maltuło ite teṇṇecio mo.urutimi. "Gute diścio guća, gute

1 *ṭimilicą* — may be a plural form, but is possibly meant for *ṭimilicen*.
yaiyi — short form 3rd. sg. or pl. y pret. of *paiyan* equivalent to *yami* l. 8.
2 *mien* — p.p. act. of *paiyan*.
4 *gutiṇe xerṇe* — the exact meaning is uncertain, v. Vocab s.v. *xer*. Here glossed Hind. "*tumhare pur ko sadaqa*". Perhaps the general meaning is: 'may they all die by way of a sacrifice for you!'
5 *taskrmar* — 1st. sg. form of the static participle + *er*.
6 *akure* — this *a-* added to the ordinary *kure* (not elsewhere occurring in the texts) is to be compared with the *a-* or *ā-* preceding the proximate demonstrative base in *akirem*, *akirte* etc.
9 *ure uyem . . . ser etimi* — The literal translation of this sentence is uncertain.
12 *mo gute* — sc. *want*.
19 *ete* — short form of 1st. sg. pret.

Then Pangchu drew the bow and he worked magic saying: "When I draw it may this bow break in pieces and may it strike all these present, but may it not hit the King, and may it not hit me and may it not hit this my father-in-law. Otherwise may all these present here be wiped out!" So saying, he drew the bow and it snapped and flying in pieces it struck all those present in the court and caused the blood of all of them to flow in a flood and they all perished. The King was pleased and said: "Bravo to you!" Then he said: "There is one called Kiser who is my enemy, will you be able to tackle him or not?" "Bring him here," said Pangchu, "Bring him here now and I'll slay him this very instant." "He is not here now." "If he will come, summon him and bring him here." "No," said the King, "if I sent for him he would not come. Should he ever come, he will come of his own free will." "Well, if he ever does come," said Pangchu, "I'll slay him." 53¾

The King was pleased with Pangchu and said to him: "I'll give you whatever you wish. I'll make you a present of it." "If I find favour in your eyes, give me a little iron," said Pangchu. "Take him to the treasury of iron," said the King. They took him to the treasury of iron and again he wrought magic, for, without letting them see anything, he cleared out and carried off all the iron (that was there). He carried it off to Germahalmaa's shop. Then he made use of the charcoal that he had previously brought there and fashioned an iron palace. There was a room in it for Katiah Malchücho to sleep in, and a room for food-supplies, and a room for drinking-water, and a room for firewood, and a kitchen, and a privy, and a bathroom. After this manner he fashioned the iron palace and he settled Katiah Malchücho in it, bidding her: "Sleep in this place, cook your food in this place, fetch water for yourself from this place, wash your feet and hands here, and make water

17 'ots w'o — for *ots* is a phonetic corruption not usually permitted by Imam Yar Beg.

20 *gyami* — from **-LAMI-AS*.

21 *KLAS zorokev* Aos etc. — 'a room for food-to-eat', 'a room for drinking water'. By this I understood was intended 'a room in which to eat food' etc., but this is grammatically impossible. What is actually expressed is 'rooms for (storing) food and water'.

(60) diścło gukarr ǎapik cti, gutr diśtum gukarr tail ar, akork gurt
guriṇ ǎa.o cti, da kork harr." Ho ar jardu natan irtr tarṇuś kr
Katiś Malčuło ka irmo buiai.ar biśemi, Lamarr biśemi. Tsorrdinr
yuyr itr tarṇuś yrtaimi. "Gutr ja Krsarr durro bila," ecnimi.
5 I-iji Garmahalmasar: "Ta qaś ǎaṇaličiṇ arr drrman. Šaṇaličiṇr
yati muś han čamarr arr drrman," esimi. Garmahalmasr ta qaś
ǎaṇaličiṇ drrmanimi. Krsarr irtr ǎaṇaličiṇ nukan nirmi. Padśa tarṇuś
yarrar nirmi. Padśa tarṇuśr han sinčan horl ar pfarś bim. Iscrr
irkr ǎaṇaličiṇ yat ar pfal ctimi, irsr čama nirnin sinčar walimi.
10 Irtr ǎaṇaličiṇ dal (ar, yatr) drrsimi. Padśa tráatar drrsimi. Ertr
tarṇuś uyorr laq (ar, lerra) manimi. Laṇa Brumo.r: "Krsar dirmi"
ecumo. Krsar burśr batar nikin irtr aam irdigarri marr ctimi.
Padśa: "Buścn bi" ecnimi. Laṇa Brumo.r ecnumo: "Burścn akirl
narra epi. Linp ikisar dirmi."
15 Krsar irmo batuło manimi. "Eri heramzarda, d'aśqaltam. Guča
ba kr di.r; di.r ba kr ral manr." Krsar čup delimi (ar, garrtaimi).
Oltselik eruma drrnuman. Hik dam da tirktar delimi. Nidilin
izirsimi. Irsr tarṇuśło biman marl uyorr gati ertimi. Balda 'e.i.eyar
han pfutan bim d'itsimi. Erar irk Galdaṇ Galpo bilum. Irsr zanarra
20 biman eyorr tam ar irarrtr 'e.iyrnimi, ergutaarimi irmo buśai.i
yakalar.

Altan manyu bam, Laṇa Brumo(.r) uyanumo. Ganar niman, gutr arrman. Gantło Krsarr ecibai.i: "Sc.i heramzarda, urr guyu kul jarr jorwa," nusca mutaimo d'utaimi. Oltalike uyartumuta nerrokarta
25 oyrnimi. Mu gutaarimi.

1 ǎaṇaličiṇ — is the plural of *ǎaṇal*, but is here used to denote a single chain. The plural *irkr* is used with it in l. 9, but the singular *irkr* in ll. 7 and 10.

10 gati ertimi — probably causative: 'made them collect all the property'.

'e.i.eyar — or *e.i.er* the present base of **-eyanar + ar*. What is the exact meaning is difficult to determine, as between:

1. causative 'in order to make him carry the load';
2. transitive 'in order to load up the load on him'.

In line 19 *narrna . . . irarrtr* 'e.iyrnimi is most probably: 'he loaded up the treasure on him'. It is less likely that *irarrtr* is here instrumental.

In line 24 *eyrnimi* may be 'he loaded them (the heads) up' or 'he made them (someone not specified) carry them'.

**-eyanar* — is very difficult to explain in some of its uses. It was often rendered

Gesamtausgabe I-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1936 AV7 Barnabo AV7

here." Thereon, working magic he set down the palace and Katiah Malchtcho in his own country, (that is) he put them down in Lama. Next morning his father saw the palace. "This is the work of my Kiser," said he.

After this (Pangchu said to) Gernahalmas: "Make me a chain of 100 cubits (in length) and make me a ring at the upper end of the chain." Gernahalmas made the 100-cubit chain and Kiser went off with it and proceeded to the foot of the King's palace. In the King's palace there was a beam which projected out (from the wall). He threw the chain up to the beam and the ring caught on it. Then he climbed up the chain and went up on to the King's roof and all the palace shook. "Kiser has come," said Langa Brtmo. Kiser entering into the skin of a cat (came and) miaowed round the smoke-hole. "It's a cat," said the King. "A cat isn't as powerful as that," said Langa Brtmo, "Linggikiser has come."

Kiser (now) went back into his own skin. "Ah bastard," said he (to the King), "If you are sleeping, get up. If you are up, get ready." Then Kiser jumped down (into the room) and the two of them commenced wrestling. In a moment Kiser flung the King to the ground and tore him in pieces. Then he had all the property in the palace collected and to carry away the loads he brought a Dtu there was, whose name was Galdang Galpo. Then clearing out all the treasure he made the Dtu take it up and proceed in the direction of his own country.

There were two sons (of the King and Langa Brtmo). Langa Brtmo took them with her and they set out and proceeded along the road. On the way Kiser said: "Bastard wife, give those children to me here." He took them from her and, cutting off both their heads, had them carried along. After which he proceeded on his way.

Going on he came to where there was a big river and the Dtu with all the goods proceeded to ford it, but he halted in the middle of the stream and didn't come out. Kiser said: "My wife is with

by Hindustani sipahiyana. Some examples of the use of *-ayanas* will be found in § 247 and in the Vocabulary s.v. Cp. note on p. 184 l. 6.

[2] ma gstarcinai — sounds unnatural. Perhaps magstarcinai was intended, 'he made her go on'.

§ 61 Yar jurti kr uyum sindan bilum, ire pfut torum mari nian humar girmi. Dari a makuti hurutimi, horlo aturusimi. Kisar scibai: "Ja ore hurute ho, teundo aiyu dum anaño bam. Ure uyonke numan bikiticin ergiyaño bam. Ikrtar dorovo vio meimi.en. Ure teundo ayu odim kr han han nerskarte, jar kr han nerskarte ho irtar dorovgño durkuman. Dutaume ka kr gusr pfut mi miñindo numa dorljam." Gurte eunar pfut dorylimi. Ar niman dorsimi sindatsum. Itai.ete Kisar kr durimi, dulimi.

Ho erguteerimi. Pahlwanticaler dorqaltimi. "Lei Pahlwanticin ma daltaiko čayamin etam, be kr, batulo khurk mutoičam tar. Ye fat matam. Hari hari singetin ore.ana, Kisar je ba. Padša erqanam, irar zazame uyum ditaam." Irtar čiškowaler (or, čerkowaler) dorqaltimi. "Ma kartan etam, ye gai.in, mar durtaam." "Ye mi rai.i gutar bilum, mar dutcuma."

Irmo bušai.er berr kutaantsum (or, kutaanmo) dorqaltimi. Katiš Malčuco morpačer dimi. Lana Brumo (Bruno) mašken moši num owčin tail dum oruteimi. Lana Brumo eru.o Bum Liftanc mazarctar mutarmi. Mumupuš gajat (or, čeruk) moročer pasorm imanumi. Mina mumupušan mumupušatc orsimi. Nor čeruk (or, gajat) numo mazarctar ra wačimi. Mazartsum han singern durimi. Irar irk Gurn Singc.

Iyoltaer Lana Brumo Katiš Malčucomo murinyrtc tail morsimi. Ho yoltaer oltalik doryurusimi: "Mamalc (or, ma bean) hunar kerran bila?" Lana Brumo.e: "Han bornianc tha horler dando etam. Han čerši.e pušorru.e ta qaš qar dermaiyam," ecnumo. Katiš Malčuo.e: "Jurk beakc hunar api, aiyermaiyam," ecnumo. "Gun manare ma belatc kl eran?" orsimi. Lana Brumo.e: "Gun manarer ja amulturrnc uyam nanan dai.čin ba," ecnumo. Katiš Malčuo.e: "Gun manarulo ja harač jurčila," ecnumo.

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6 *mi mitindo eunar doljam* — 'we being then six persons are going to beat him'.

17 *eru.e* — this may be a mere slip for the normal genitive *eru.e*, but v. § 46, note.

18–19 *mumupušan* — Note how this as yet impersonal noun, having to have some pronominal prefix, is periphrastically given a mu-.

21 *tail morsimi* — 'he made her pour water' v. § 249. *Morsimi*, may simply be an accidental variant of *mortimi*, but it suggests a possible causative made from the transitive verb *ofar*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushō AV7

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child. Five sons are going to be born to me. When they grow up they are going to plant willow trees. On these trees will grow sticks. My five sons will each cut a stick for himself and they will also cut a stick for me and they will bring those sticks along. Then the six of us will beat this Dêu." The Dêu heard this speech and taking fright came out of the river, and Kiser came out after him and beat him.

Then he made him go on and he came to the Pahlawāns and cried out: "Ho, Pahlawāns, you said some excellent things, otherwise I would have stuffed your skins with straw. Now I have let you off. I am Kiser, the slayer of many famous monsters. I have killed the King and brought away all his treasure." Kiser then came to the (clashing) cliffs: "You made a condition," said he, "Now take (these heads) I (have) brought for you." "Yes, we wanted these heads and you have brought them to us."

Some days later Kiser arrived in his own country. He came to Katish Malchūcho. Langa Brūmo he made take a water-skin on her shoulder and fetch water. Then he took her to the grave of his brother, Bumliftan, but he hesitated to cut off her nose. So he put on her nose a nose (made out of) oilpressings and then cut it off and threw it on the grave. (Straightway) a monster came up out of the grave. Its name was Gān Singē.

For twelve months Kiser made Langa Brūmo pour water on the hands of Katish Malchūcho. Then at the end of the twelve months he asked each of them: "What is your (particular) accomplishment?" "I, out of one lump of dough," said Langa Brūmo, "will make broth for an army of 100 men, and out of one cocoon of silk I will make a shawl-cloth 100 cubits in length." "I," said Katish Malchūcho, "have no accomplishments. I can do nothing." "How do you know when day is going to break?" asked Kiser. "When day is coming," replied Langa Brūmo, "in my nostrils I feel a sweet perfume." "When day is approaching," said Katish Malchūcho, "I feel a desire to make water."

ñeil ofas — 'to water'.

ñeil mo.sfas — 'to make her water'.

27 *daisōs ka* — v. Vocab. s.v. *d*-gōyas.

§00

Laŋa Brujo taxtatɨ dum'uisimi. Katiš Malčučo mu.imo čumarɨ taŋučlo m'ɔrutimi. Kisɨrɨ padša.i ctimi. But uyu'm padša bam, se.ibam.

5 Gutɨ mementum daiyula ba. Gutɨ i'nɨ taan bila kɨ ja kɨ taan. I'nɨ γalat senaiya, i'nɨ čšatɨ. Gutɨ ja uŋalɨ ctam. Gu'imo watanɨr ara'm xuši.ɨ ka niyas gumanš!

1 *dum'uisimi* — from *d'-isar* v. § 303.
4 *senaiya* — apparently equivalent to *senaiɨ ko* 'if he has said . . .

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Buruslo AV7

On this Kiser brought Langa Brūmo out (and set her) on the throne. Katish Malchūcho he made to dwell in her Iron Palace. Kiser (thereafter) ruled as King. They say he was a very great King.

I have heard this story from someone. If what he said is true, then what I have said is also true.

If he has told the story wrongly, the responsibility rests on his shoulders.

I have told you this story, may you go to your own country in comfort and gladness.

No. V.

Muruchum Darde.

000 Pfaqir Ali senas hin hiranz čaya ečam. Ïnz ïzn bam, ïčk Darbe·io bilum. Šišporz ïzrz bam (or, hurutam bam). Han guntaanulo huyez Hanuman Mun yakalatz uyerčar tsu·mi. Huyez ruŋulo fat no gučami. Gučaiyasar eyunumtsz qau manimi. "Darbe·io, 5 Darbe·io" nusen. Di·talimi. Di·tal berezimi kz hin burt pa·kiza dasi·nan eškitsar dumo ło. Inz senumo: "Mi baba gor qau ečai.i" esumo. Senasar izz dasinmutsi nultan izz Hanuman Mun yatsr ni·mi. Ni·asar izz čišz han hiŋan etka manimi.

Ulo nici kz hin γeniiz ealatanz hiran hurutum bai.i, burt mariŋ 10 mariŋ talo guŝiŋantz sitarriŋ nuka huručam ba·n. Darbe·io ni·n salaum etimi. Ïnz hiz salaumz juwa·b du·merimi. Dumeri·n yuguŝantsar o·zimi: "Darbe·iu.ar hat hari·pan sitatsrtz eγerin."

I have already published this text with fuller annotations in the "Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies", Vol. III. Part III. 1927, pp. 505—531.

So far as the present text, translation and notes differ from their predecessors they may be regarded as representing corrections and more mature opinions.

Muruchum Darde — vide Index of P.N. s.v.

2 *ïzrz* — Gen. obl. with locative force.

hurutum bam — Should be *hurutum ham*.

3 *uyerčar* — literally: 'to make them grace'.

4 *eyunumtsz* — v. § 266.

5 *berezimi kz* — 'when he looks, (he sees that)' cp. l. 9. *nici kz* and § 362. 3. Cp. the Shina *čakai to* .. corresponding in grammar and meaning. There is no reason to believe that the *kz* is the Persian *ki* which sometimes follows verbs of "saying".

7 *dasinmutsi nultan* — the MS. has *dasin mutsi* . . . but the -*mu*- is rather to be

No. V.

Mūnulum Dādo.

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I shall tell the story of a man called Faqīr Alī. He had a son whose name was Derbēsho. Derbēsho was staying at the Shishper grazing ground. One day he took the goats to graze in the direction of Hanuman Mūn. Leaving the goats in the pasture, he lay down to sleep. When he had lain down and gone to sleep, a shout came: "Derbēsho, Derbēsho." He woke up. Waking up he saw that a very beautiful maiden had come up to his head. She said to him: "My father is calling you." When she had said this he followed after the girl and came up to the foot of the Hanuman Mūn. On his approaching it a door opened in the mountain.

When he went in a man with a golden moustache was sitting (there, and) seven very beautiful women were sitting there with sitārs (in their hands). Derbēsho, entering, salāmed. The man responded to his salām. Then he said to his daughters: "Play a tune for Derbēsho on the sitār." The seven (women), taking their sitārs,

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regarded as the general oblique termination of the hf. noun *dasin* than as the pronominal prefix with *-ini*. Are the two *-mu-* in origin one and the same thing?

8 *ʒēje* — may be taken either as the Gen. or as the gen. obl. with locative force.

9 *hawdem hai.i* } the Static pc. + the verb *be* cp. § 379 *d*.
10 *hawdem hem* }

11 *dumerimi* — *dumer.a* ordinarily means 'to demand, ask for'. Here the context requires 'to grant, to accord'. Perhaps the form is to be referred to the verb *dumay.a*, *dumay.a* (*d°-mayas*) 'to be on good terms,' 'to suit,' 'to fit'. *y* is an elusive sound. Incidentally we have the combination of the two ideas in the English "accord" meaning 'to be in harmony' and 'to grant'.

660 Uṇ talo·wṇ sitaṇ·riṇ nuka buṇt uyam uṇ̌ṇṇ ka hariṇpan ·eṇyeruman." Munulum Daṇdu.ṇ Darbeṇ·iu.ṇr ·ṇimi: "Le.i ṇ·i, uṇ̌ ar akumanum giṇ·at. Jṇ uṇ̌ṇ daṇdo ba, ja e.ik Munulum Daṇdo bila. Ku ja aiyu·guṇ̌ants baṇ·n. Kiṇ·n hin ja oṇ·ṇ bo. Kiṇṇṇ ṇ·pi mutsuya ba. Gutṇ ja ha
5 bila. Girat," ·ṇimi.

Teṇ·rumanṇr Darbeṇ·o giratimi. Nikiṇ·rat hurutṇṇṇr Munulum Daṇdu.ṇ yuṇ·emur ṇ·nimi: "Ja Darbeṇ·iu.ṇr giṇ·ri.ṇ biṇ·stṇṇ diram pitimutsik eṇ·r oṇ·ti." Yuṇ·ṇ eṇ·r diram pfiṇ·timuts eṇ·r oṇ·tomo. Šu.ṇṇr Munulum Daṇdu.ṇ hin eṇ·yenmur hukam ṇ·timi: "Darbeṇ·o i·mo dilar nitaum
10 fat nṇ ju." Eṇ·yenṇ i·ṇe Hanuman Muntsum di.usin huyeṇ·s opačar ruṇ·ṇar ditsumaṇ. Ditsum fat nṇ ni·mo. Iṇ·nṇ Darbeṇ·iu.ṇ huyeṇ·s nuyem haraṇ·yar diṇ·mi. Diṇ·n duṇ̌ sus imanimi.

Huṇ·ṇar walaṇṇr (or, diṇ·nin), huyclterčuṇ·ṇ doyṇ·erusuman: "Bṇ gumanuma?" Iṇ·nṇ Munulum Daṇdu.ṇ haṇ·lar nitsum yuguṇ̌ants sitaṇ·r noṇ·yar
15 egiratumṇ da diram pfitimuts giri.ṇ biṇ·stṇṇ eṇ·siruṇṇ čayṇ oṇ·r ṇ·timi. Uyoṇ·n hairaṇ·n umanuman.

Yerum čayṇ kṇ bilum "Šiṇ·par Barulo Munulum Daṇdo bai.i" nuṇṇn. Kiṇ·nṇ Munulum Daṇdo Kiṇṇṇ ṇ·pi mutsuṇ·am," ṇ·eibaṇ·n Kiṇṇṇ

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1 *uṇ̌ṇ̌ṇ̌ ka* — *-ṇ̌ṇ̌ṇ̌* may mean either 'voice' or 'sound' and either interpretation seems legitimate here. For the use of a plural prefix with a sg. noun v. § 128. III.

2 *ar akumanum* — 'not being afraid' static pr. neg. of *-akumanṇ*, *a + ga + -m.num*.

7 *biṇ·stṇ* — *-ṇ̌ṇ̌* (v. § 78. II.) here indicates 'means' or 'material'. Perhaps the radical idea is: 'on' or 'with' a basis or foundation of (her) fat.

11 *ditsumaṇ* — pl. for sg. *ditsumo*, whether through oversight or politeness. Other similar cases have already been noted.

14–15 *i·ṇe M. D. . . . čayṇ oṇ·r ṇ·timi.* — A perplexing and probably ungrammatical sentence. *i·ṇe* may be either the demonstrative adjective qualifying M. D., or it may be a pronoun referring to *Darbeṇ·o*.

Munulum Daṇdu.ṇ probably starts as being the genitive dependent on *haṇ·lar*, but then comes to be the subject of *noṇ·yar*. In that case a subject has to be imagined for *nitsum*. Otherwise *M. D.ṇ* may be the subject of *nitsum* and *noṇ·yar*: 'M. D. having taken him to (his) house and having made his daughters play . . .'.

After this one would expect a finite verb with M. D. as subject, but the construction changes and becomes dependent on *čayṇ*.

eṇ·siruṇṇ and *eṇ·siruṇṇ* appear to be genitives dependent on *čayṇ*. They are static participles of Causative verbs, but whether they are to be taken as passive or active in meaning is not clear: 'he told the story of his having been

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

(sang) with very sweet voices (and) played a tune. Mũnulum Dãdo said to Derbẽsho: "O my son, dance without fearing. I am your grandfather. My name is Mũnulum Dãdo. These are my daughters. This one is my wife. I married Kiser's grandmother. This is my house. Dance!" he said to him.

Upon this Derbẽsho danced. When, having danced, he sat down, Mũnulum Dãdo said to his wife: "Make some *diram* bread with ibex fat for my Derbẽsho." His wife made *diram* bread for him. When he (Derbẽsho) had eaten it, Mũnulum Dãdo commanded one of his daughters, saying: "Take Derbẽsho away to his own place and leave him there and come back." One of his daughters took him from the Hanuman Mũn and brought him to the pasture ground to the goats. Having brought him (there) she left him and departed. The (man) Derbẽsho, taking the goats, came to the camping place. Having arrived there he became for a short time unconscious.

When he came to his senses the herdsmen asked him: "What became of you?" He told them the story of their taking him to the house of Mũnulum Dãdo, and of (M. D.'s) making his daughters play on the sitãr and of his being made to dance and then being fed with *diram* bread made with ibex fat. They were all astonished.

There was also an old-time story that Mũnulum Dãdo was in the Shtahper nullah.

They say that this Mũnulum Dãdo had married Kiser's grandmother. Kiser's grandmother said to Kiser: "When you marry

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made to dance ...'. or: 'he told the story of M. D.'s having made him dance'. On the whole I favour the passive.

For the use of the Static pc. as a noun v. § 382.

The whole passage is of interest as a valiant attempt to face the difficulties of indirect speech.

14 ասպեր — °-ԱՂԱՐԱՍ is usually a simple transitive verb in the form ՍԱՂԱՐԱՍ 'to play (music)', but here it is unquestionably causative: 'having made them play'.

15 ԳԻՐՈՒՄ ԷԱՂԱ ... ՍՈՍԵՌ. — This might be taken as following on ՀԱՅՐՈՒՆ ԱՄԱՆՈՒՄԱՆ. 'All were astonished, saying': "there was formerly a story that M.D. lives in the Š. nullah".

Only the narrator, I think, could say which rendering is correct.

18 *Dardo* — more correct: *Dardնs* with ՍՈՏԱՎԱՄ.

Kisere epi — said to have been Kiser's paternal grandmother. For the story of Kiser and his marriage with *Burbeli Gas* see No. p. 142 l. 20.

epiɛ Kisarɛ ɛsumo: "Uŋɛ Burbuli Gas mutsuča kɛ jaɛ kɛ hiran ɛɛ ditso. Šiišpar Berulo γeniič salataŋɛ hiran bai.i, seibaɛn. Iɛnɛ ɛɛ ditsu kɛ ja gar kɛ uŋɛ gar nala eičen."

Essar Kisar niči kɛ hin γeniič salataŋɛ hiranɛ hiskatɛ nuɛrut pfilaman gistačai.i. Iɛnɛ hiɛ Kisarɛ ešatɛ pfal nɛ imo haɛlar ditsimi. Kisarɛ epi yatɛ tsiatɛ hurutum boɛm. Kisarɛ γeniič salataŋɛ hiɛ ditsas nistain, "čiič xa sokečam" nusen, xa nemuɛl muyalmuɛyo gali biɛm, seibaɛn. Beruman guntsiŋtsum Kisarɛ epimur milɛnta numo, waɛrta numoɛtan. Munulum Daɛdu.ɛ ka gar ɛtimi. Iɛmo kɛ gar ɛtimi, seibaɛn.

Darum xa Šiišpar berulo Hanuman Muɛntsum lavo mai.i biin. Muto xa doyɛljaɛn.

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1 *sutsuɛn kɛ* — perhaps to be taken in its original sense: 'when you bring away B. G. (to marry her)'. Otherwise one may suppose the sense of intention common with the present tense v. § 249. 4: 'when you propose to marry B. G., when you are going to marry B. G.'

jaɛ kɛ hiɛn ɛɛ ditso — the redundant use of the two pronominal forms is not uncommon.

7 *ditsu nistain* — for this use of the Infin. see § 293. b.

sokečam — i. e. *sokiičam* from *sokas*.

nemuɛl — p.pc. active with 3rd. sg. hf. prefix of *°-muɛlas* 'to fall'; 'from the ladder' would be *čilatsum*.

9–10 *epimur milɛnta numo* — *milɛnta* is the plural of *mili*, meaning 'medicines, drugs'.

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Bübali Gas, bring a husband for me too. In the Shiahper nullah, they say, there is a man with a golden moustache. You fetch him for me and we shall celebrate my marriage and your marriage at the same time."

On her saying this to him Kiser (went off and) when he came (to the place) a man with a golden moustache was sitting at a loom weaving a piece of *patta*. Kiser threw the man over his shoulder and brought him to his home. Kiser's grandmother was sitting up on the roof. When she saw Kiser bringing the man with the golden moustache, saying to herself: 'I'll go down the ladder,' she fell down and her ribs were broken, they say. After some days, when he had applied remedies to his grandmother and made her well again, Kiser married her to Münulum Dädo. He also effected his own marriage, they say.

Up to the present day a halloo comes from Hanuman Min in the Shiahper nullah. People still hear it.

In *uemo* the *-mo-* infix (*ue* + *mu* + *°-a*) must be a kind of dative, duplicating the *ergiuer*.

A local method of treating broken ribs is to apply paper with paste or gum over them.

11 made *zis* — The narrator, Jemadär Imäm Yär Big, claimed to have heard it. *Dodeto's* experience took place some 80 or 90 years ago.

No. VI.

Šon Gukur kr Huke Mamo.

p59 Gerumo A·ititido Šon Gukur kr Huke Mamo bitan uwasčer utsuram sesibam. O·italik mašbur Humzido bitaiyo bam.

O·italik nuruv bam. Terumanar Baltitteum Karagadimutar xat han gareyi buram di·mi. Bitaiyuv yuteuman. Šon Gukuvr Huko
5 Mamuvor zaimi: "Gusr bura mamu etum bi (or, eti bi)." Huko Mamuvr Šon Gukuvor senimi: "Awa. evar yu·lulum i·ekr if atil·burum tiku bi." Šon Gukuvr senimi: "Ba, burum ti·ku api, γalat sesiba. Iver i·zumalr mujoγ burum bila, iver izumalr mujoγ i·ekili xa bali·la. I·tr te·i goγr ba," zaimi. O·italik atuvmaγuman.
10 Ho teruman i·er bura hin hi·tanr A·ititer d·itsimi. Beruman guntaiηteum i·er bura halki·mi, ier butoruto dimanimi. Izumalr mujoγ burum bilum. Da i·ekila xa balilum.

Šon Gukuvr senuman tsan manimi. Ho sis heraru du·zuman.

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1 *Šon Gukur* — means apparently "The Blind Puppy", and *Huke Mamo* "Dog's Milk".

uwaščer — *waši.ar* (= Hind., *darāna*) is used with *bitan* in the sense of 'putting a bitan on to practise his craft, to make him operate', cp. p. 316 l. 11.

8 *i·ekili* — i. e. *i·ekila*.

9 *balila* — "has fallen" i. e. 'is hanging'.

No. VI.

Shon Gukŭr and Hŭkè Mamo, the Rival Bitans.

In the spring time they had brought Shon Gukŭr and Hŭkè Mamo to Áltit to make them act as *bitans*. Both were famous in Hunza as bitans.

The two of them were sitting (together) when a piebald cow came down from Baltit by the Karagudimuta. The bitans saw it and Shon Gukŭr said to Hŭkè Mamo: "This cow is in calf." "Yes," said Hŭkè Mamo to Shon Gukŭr, "and there is a white patch on the forehead of the young one in its belly." "You are wrong, it is not a white patch," said Shon Gukŭr, "the tassel on the end of its tail is white and is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that." The two disagreed.

Then presently a man brought the cow in to Áltit. Some days later the cow gave birth and a calf was born to it. The tassel of its tail was white and it was hanging down over its face.

What Shon Gukŭr had said turned out true. The people were filled with amazement.

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9 *ŭtz ta.i gayu ha* — 'you seem to see it so'. This use of [illegible] in the sense of 'to regard as', 'reckon as', 'seem to see' with the pron. prefix referring to the subject is very peculiar. There are not many examples of it, but it is, I think, sufficiently attested, cp. § 249. 4 and Vocab. s.v.

10 *hawru da.[illegible]* — 'remained astonished', [illegible].

No. VII.

Šun Gukuʷr Ber.

Tsorum zamaʷna.ulo Šun Gukur Bitanr han čaγan ctam, se.ibaʷn: "Beʷrum dennŋteum hikum kutuʷiko qaltačʼamuts nuyʼoʷlin, ʒikiʷlišo sisik paida me.iman (or, juč̣uman). Uʷr burt msaʷf ečuman. Da Hunzo burt abaʷd mai.imi. Uʷr bʼuʷdutrŋ sis apiʷm ganr gutsarčuman. Čumarr gʼaljun gʼičuman. Da jukai.uʷr (or, jukaʷmutsr) dišulo madur mai.imi. Maduʷr dišulo jukaʷŋuts (or, jukaŋuts) mai.imi.r" senam, se.ibaʷn.

"Aʷq'arar inr γsriči, γsraʷs iʷn aʷq'arči iʷljum beltsr" senam, se.ibaʷn.

Faqat, čaγa dakuʷrum bila.

This prophecy is held of course to refer to the British.

2 *ʒikiʷlišo* } *ʒikiʷl* and *burdu* were said to be synonymous 'fair, fairish'; *burdu* (lit-
4 *burdutrŋ* } out-eyed), I think, primarily denotes the possession of light-coloured eyes, and *ʒikiʷl* was first explained as describing fair, grey-eyed people. *γsrʷs* is, I understand, used of persons with a reddish colouring, with eyes and hair darker than those of the *burdu*.

apiʷm ganr — "by non-existent road(s)" *apiʷm* being the static pr. It would be possible to take *sis* with *apiʷm*, "road(s) on which there are no people," "unfrequented tracks".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. VII.

Shon Gukūr's Prophecy.

539A

They say that in early times Shon Gukūr, the Bītan, had made a prophecy. They say he had said as follows: 177

"After some years there will appear a handful of fair-complexioned men wearing short coats. They will do great justice and Hunza will become very prosperous. These fair folk will go where there are no roads. They will construct iron bridges. Moreover in the place of privies there will be stables. In the place of stables there will be privies." They say he said: "In those latter days the man who should hold his peace will speak, and the man who should speak will hold his peace."

That is all: the story is this much.

The last two sentences indicate changes in customs and the social system. I do not understand the exact implication of the confusion between stables and privies; but *yowu*, I think, means a man who has a right to speak in public assemblies, i. e. a person of social standing, while *ayawas* is the humbler individual who is not expected to air his opinions in the presence of his betters. 178

A note elsewhere says that Shon Gukur prophesied that Hunza would be conquered by people wearing "topees" (sun-helmets, hats) and good clothing.

No. VIII.

Ganiše Bilas.

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Tsorum xama·na.ulo Ganišulo hin bilasan bo·m, se.iba·n. Hi tha·nɛ nu·rut hin nimi kɛ i·nɛ išu·čo bo·m. A·ltan niman kɛ hin fat nɛ hin išu·čo bo·m. Isken niman kɛ a·ltan nušun hin fat ečubo·m. Be·ruman dəniŋ xa· aki·latɛ bu·t sis ušu·mo.

5 I·tɛ xama·na.ulo Šon Gu·kur bitan bam. In·er xabər ɛtuman. Etasər Ganišər ni·mi, se.iba·n.

Han dišen bilum, i·tɛ i·k Lato Hər bilum. Te·lɛ hin bilasan bom. I·nɛ sis ušu·čo bom. Šun Gu·kurɛ han čum·arɛ gi·li.ən o·timi, se.iba·n. No·tan i·nɛ bil·as dam nɛ —. Te·lə han bu·nan bim, isɛ

10 i·k Guy·o· Bu·n se.ibam. Guy·o senas hiran bam, i·nɛ basi.ulo bim. I·sɛ bu·nulo i·nɛ bilas gi·li mudelimi.

Isɛ bu·n dərum xa·bi, ama i·mo dištsum. i·latɛ bim. ya·rɛ xau wali bi. Čumarɛ gi·li dərum xa bi.

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2 *išuco bo·m.* — Note the use of the *-*huyas* form of the verb 'to eat' when the object eaten is human v. § 252.

7 *hin bilasan* — presumably the same *bilas* who has just been mentioned.

9 *dam nɛ* — there is a break in the construction and *bilas* is not the object of the *dam nɛ*; sense carries on to *gi·li mudelimi*.

12 *i·latɛ* — *čərɛ*, or *mərtɛ*, is to be understood before *i·latɛ*.

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No. VIII.

The Bilas of Ganish.

They say that in early days there was a Bilas in Ganish. She dwelt at a certain spot and if one person came along she ate him up. If two people came along she used to let one go and eat the other. If three people came along she used to eat two and let one go. In the course of a number of years she thus devoured many people. 539

At that time Shon Gukūr, the Bitan, was living. They told him about it, and he went off, they say, to Ganish.

There was a place of which the name was Lato Her. There was a Bilas there who used to devour people. Shon Gukūr got them to make an iron peg. Having done so he made a spell. Now there was a boulder there. They called it the Guyō Būn. There was a man called Guyō and it was in his garden. Shon Gukūr pegged her into that boulder.

The boulder still exists, but it has fallen down from its original site which was on the edge (of the cliff). The iron peg is still there.

No. IX

Hindi.ɛ Dadi.

000 Hindilo yərum xamaˈna čaγa bila. Hindi han šikaˈri.ɛn biˈm, iˈk Jandu Šikaˈri bilum. Iˈsɛ šikaˈrulo tapmo tsər huruˈšam seibaˈn. Aˈlt an niman kɛ hin tsoˈrdinər dyuwɛšam. Isken niˈman kɛ uˈatsum hin nišun aˈltan fat očuboˈm.

5 Hindi.ɛ sis iˈtɛ xamaˈna.ulo kam abaˈd bam, hairaˈn umanuman. Beˈruman dənıŋ xaˈ šərum nuˈman Thamo uyaˈrum čap etuman. Axɛr Thamo doyɛluman.

Huˈnzulo iˈtɛ waxtulo hin Šoˈn Gukuˈr sɛnas bit anan bam. Inˈɛˈ Hindiˈər eˈruman. Iˈnɛ niˈn bərai.imi kɛ iˈsɛ šikaˈrilo hin bilasan

10 bo. Da talo muyuˈgušants baˈn. Iˈnmo mu.ik Dadi bilum. Inˈɛˈ tsər uš učo boˈm.

Šon Gukuˈrɛ ho Hindi.ɛ sis tobak γataˈŋ noˈyɛn ha ha oˈčumɛ da i.iˈ dam ˈɛčumɛ iˈsɛ šikaˈri yakalatər niˈmi. Niˈmər ho talo muyuˈgušantsɛ ka šikaˈritsum duwašaman. U.ɛˈtsum hin čəraˈti

15 numan kantsum sinda yakalatər gaˈrtsumo. Tɛˈlə han uyuˈm buˈnan

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1 *Hindilo* and *Hindi.* — These cases are suspect. It is possible that the narrator changed his mind as to what exactly he was going to say. One would expect: "a story of Hindi", and "a tower in, or at, Hindi".

4 *nišun ... fat očoboˈm* — this anticipates the discovery that the disappearance of the guards was due to the cannibalism of some female being.

5 *kam abaˈd bam* — Hindi is said now to comprise 100 houses.

6 *Thamo* — "the Thams" either vaguely meaning the ruling family, or a complimentary plural for "the Tham".

12 *ha ha oˈčumɛ* — the meaning of *ha ha etas* seems to vary between raising the shout or battle-cry with which one attacks, and actually charging or attacking.

No. IX.

Dadi of Hindi.

539/

In Hindi there is a story current of former times. There was a tower at Hindi. Its name was Jandu Shikāri. They say that men used to sit on guard in the tower at night. If two men went (on duty), in the morning there was (only) one remaining. If three went, (a *bilas*) ate one and let two go.

The people of Hindi, who were a small community in those days, were perturbed. For some years out of shame they kept the matter secret from the Thams. In the end the Thams heard of it.

At that time there was in Hunza a bītan called Shon Gukūr. They sent him to Hindi. When he had gone there and looked (he saw that) there was a bilas in the tower; and there were also her seven daughters. Her name was Dadi and it was she who kept eating the guards.

Shon Gukūr thereupon made the people of Hindi take guns and swords, and making them keep shouting the battle cry and himself reciting spells, he advanced towards the tower. On his approach Dadi with her seven daughters quitted the tower. One of the latter got separated and fled from the fort in the direction of the river. There was a large boulder there and she flung herself into it. Shon Gukūr, coming up, and making an enchantment, fixed her in the boulder with a peg.

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13 *dam 'sčume* — the exact meaning of *dam* is also doubtful. It is no doubt the Persian word which begins by meaning "breath" and passes on to "incantatory verses" (Steingass). In Burushaski it may be taken as 'charm', 'spell', 'incantation', 'enchantment'. The phrase is here glossed "praying" (i. e. probably H. *du'a· karke*).

bim, iˑser giˑmo. Giyasər Šon Gurkər diˑn iˑsɛ buˑnulo dam nɛ gili mudɛlimi.

Hin Dal Kan yakalatər gaˑrtsumo. Elə han buˑnan bim. Iˑsɛr giˑmo. Elər niˑnin dam nɛ giˑli mudɛlimi. Tail oˑčumɛ uˑ talo muyuˑgušants buˑndo buˑnd o.ulo giˑli udɛlimi.

Da uˑmi tiˑts m otuman. Dumutsun Hindi kanɛ čaˑr ɛšulo, ɛšulum laˑtɛtər dum u.isuman. Tɛlɛ giˑli modɛlimi. Modɛlasər ɛsumo: "Jɛ besan šičam?" Šon Gukuˑrɛ moˑsimi: "Turma aˑlta tsiˑr guyam (*or*, guˑčam). Iˑtsɛ multan miˑnɛ. Da hər dɛn goˑr duˑsɛn. Turma aˑlta tsiˑr ayoˑmanuman kɛ talo kuˑli guˑčan, ama uˑŋatɛ gutɛ bap oˑsam, bešal mi hoˑlguˑš amulər niman kɛ miyər manɛ. Ho turma aˑltatsatsum talo xa tsiˑr guˑčan."

Numoˑsun iˑsɛ doˑmulo čumərɛ giˑli dam nɛ giˑli modɛlimi. Da iˑnɛ gili modɛlumtsum hər dɛn turma aˑlta ya talo tsiˑr nutsun tobak gaˑtaˑŋ nuka ha ha ɛčumɛ nuˑn iˑsɛ giˑli iwˑərɛ tsiˑr duˑšumɛ

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1 *iˑser giˑmo . . . gili mudɛlimi* — Such beings as bilases have the power of hastily entering into boulders and in the normal course could no doubt come out again, but if an iron peg is driven into the boulder and a suitable spell employed they can be kept shut up for at any rate a long period.

Dadi's eventual escape is said to have been predicted by Shon Gukur: *amɛlę yasurmər Dadi duˑši*, "when my jaw-bone has rotted Dadi will come out". But the jaw-bone is a very durable article. Cp. also the tale of *Qaŋ Jakun*, p. 202 l. 1.

In this and other stories iron evidently retains its magical qualities, which is not surprising as it was comparatively rare and precious in Hunza till quite recently. A couple of generations ago the important Baltit 'Ali.ābād irrigation channel was dug with ibex horns used as picks.

2 *giˑli mudɛlimi* — I don't think this is to be taken as meaning that the peg was visibly driven into her. She was imprisoned by simply driving the peg into the stone.

5 *buˑndo buˑndo.ulo* — the plural is surprising, but the meaning is obvious.

7 *dumu.isuman* — from *d*-isas* ~ *d*-usas* 'to take out extract'. Here glossed "made her climb" which suggests a point of contact with the intransitive *duˑsas* cp. § 303.

modɛlimi — from here on the prefix *mo-* replaces the previous *mu-*. As the text was recorded at one sitting there was probably an actual difference in pronunciation by the narrator, not merely a variation in my hearing. So we have **-adɛlas* being substituted for **-dɛlas*. Cp. §§ 242—243.

8 *guyam* — "I have given you" the anticipatory Pret.

[Errata: for duˑši read duˑšo, cf p. 419, cat. 116 — Analyst.]

539A

Another daughter fled towards the Upper Fort. There was a boulder there and she flung herself into it. Shon Gukūr proceeded thither, and making an enchantment secured her with a peg. Dealing with them in this wise he pegged down the seven daughters in separate boulders.

Then they pursued (and caught) the mother, and bringing her to the col facing the Hindi Fort, they made her climb from the col up on to the spur. There Shon Gukūr pegged her down. When he had done so she said to him: "What am I going to eat?" "I shall give you twelve goats," said he, "drink their blood. Then every year we shall bring you (the like). If we cannot manage twelve goats, we shall give you at any rate seven, but I lay this duty on you: whenever we go anywhere to battle, you must go in front of us, then (on that condition) we shall give you from twelve to seven goats."

Having so addressed her he wrought an enchantment and pegged her down in the mound with an iron peg. Then from the time that she was pegged down, every year they took 12 or 7 goats and with guns and swords and shouting as they went, they led

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10 *tʌlo kwli* — the precise meaning of *kwli* is uncertain. The phrase was explained as H. *sat hi* "exactly seven" (?). This may be correct as we have "twelve or seven" later on at line 14; but one would rather expect "at least seven" and this would be borne out by "from twelve to seven", l. 12.

gwčʌn — in the MS. *gwčʌn*.

bʌp — usually means "tribute", "tax", cp. the double significance of English "duty".

11 *hoʳlgwčʌ nimʌn ke* — 'if we go to war', or 'battle'. One would expect *hoʳlgwčʌr*, but we have *hoʳlgwčʌ niʌs* again on p. 252 l. 17.

aʳltatsatsum — *aʳltaʳts* + *tsum* The accentuation must have been peculiar as I originally recorded: *torma aʳlta tsaʳtsum*.

15 *giʳli iwora . . . dwʳčumʌ* — the idea of circumambulation v. Vocab. s. v. *-*wora*. *dwʳčumʌ* is the present participle of *dwʳtsʌs* (*d*-tsʌs*).

An explanatory diagram shows the goats as going round the peg against the sun (widdershins), but that may be only accidental. It was further stated that first the men and then the women danced round the boulder as a compliment to Dadi.

000 kaš oč'am. Multan i·sɛ gi·li.atər ga·rtsumər gi·li fərfər mai.i bi·m se.iba·n.

I·tɛ zama·natsum kin Tham Mir Muhammad Nazi·m Kha·nɛ thamkušɛ be·ruman dɛniŋ xa·šɪŋər Hi·ndılo i·sɛ l'a·tɛtər tsi·r nuyɛn nu·n Hi·ndikutsɛ Dadi·mur ʂu·čam. I·tɛ i·k šər'e·s se.ibam. Da mu kɛ se.iba·n.

Anda·zan to·rɪmi turma a·lto dɛn manimi H'indikutsɛ Mi·r Muhammad Nazi·m Kha·n kɛ Wazi·r Huma·yun Bi·gɛ i·tsɛ la·tɛtər tsi·r nutsun Dadi·mur šar'e·s ɛtas fat o·ta·n. Bɛ kɛ Sərka·r Angri·zi Hu·nzo nukan i·lji be·ruman dɛniŋ xa·šɪŋər Hi·ndilo Šon Gu·kurɛ sɛnumatɛ (*or*, hukumatɛ) šɛre·s ɛčam. U·ɛ se.ibam: "Šəre·s aiyɛtuman kɛ, Dadi du·šo."

Šo·n Guku·rɛ dɛlum čumərɛ gi·li i·lji xa· uyo·nɛ i.e·šam bim. Mu·to api. Mɛnɛnɛ γi·ki ɛtai.i se.iba·n. Baγairi Šon Guku·rɛ gi·li yatɛ (*or*. gi·li.ɛtə) wa·rum bat dərum xa· bila.

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1 *fərfər mai.i bi·m* — I gathered that the peg waggled round in its socket, the top describing a circle.

3 *kin Tham . . .* — lit. "up to some years of this Tham's sovereignty".

5 *Dadi·mur ʂu·čam* — either: "they sacrificed them to Dadi" or literally: "they feasted on them in honour of *D.* *ʂu·yas* appears sometimes to be used in the sense of "to slaughter" when a feast is going to follow v. Vocab. It appears that the people consumed the carcases of the goats. It was assumed that Dadi would only drink the blood (v. p. 194 l. 9), and the blood was poured over the peg (line 1).

The "bleeding sacrifice" has distinct economic advantages for the worshipper, over the "burnt offering"

the goats round the peg and slaughtered them. And they say that when the blood flowed on to the peg the peg used to revolve.

From that time until the present Tham, Mīr Muhammad Nazīm Khān, had been Tham for some years, the people of Hindi used to take goats to the spur at Hindi and sacrifice them to Dadi. They used to call the ceremony the *Sherēs*, and they call it so now.

About ten or twelve years ago Mīr Muhammad Nazīm Khān and Wazīr Humāyūn Big made the people of Hindi give up taking goats to the spur and celebrating the *Sherēs* in honour of Dadi. Otherwise for some years after the taking of Hunza by the British Government they used to celebrate the *Sherēs* in Hindi according to the instructions of Shon Gukūr. They used to say: "If we don't celebrate the *Sherēs* Dadi will come out."

For a long time all used to see the iron peg that Shon Gukūr had driven in; it was (still) there. Now it is not there. They say someone has stolen it. Only the flat stone that was put by Shon Gukūr over the peg is still there.

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7 *ten or* twelve years ago i. e. in 1914 or 1912 A.D. British suzerainty was established in Hunza in 1891—2.

9 *bɛ kɛ* — here seems to be equivalent to "but", the sense being: the practice was stopped 12 years ago, but it had gone on after the British occupation for a number of years.

13 *i·lji ɣa* — exact meaning doubtful.

uyoma i.eɨ̈.ɹm bim — *bim* is independent of *i.eɨ̈.ɹm*.

No. X.

Kuli.o Laskiʿr kɛ Hərɛŋ Gašɛŋɛ Daŋalatas.

Kuli.o Laskiʿr han guntsanulo iʿmo malulo tsil yaljam. Tap bilum, tsiʿle galt ɛʿr di bilum. Hinuman bam. Tutaŋ γuʿa biʿm.

Terumanər Hərɛʿŋ Gašiŋatɛ pfu.an manimi. Iʿtɛ pfu guts ərčumɛ Kuli.o Laskir yakalatər diʿmi. Kuli.o Laskir ɛpačər diʿmi, bare.imi kɛ hin daŋaletasan bo. Oʿltalikɛ sulamʿa dunuman, muwašimi. Numuʿwašin ɛʿčumuši tiʿšk bilum mundiʿlatɛ is ərkimi. Yaʿrɛ bɛs kɛ lɛʿl omanimi. Amiʿtɛ am niʿmo.

Iʿimo haʿlər diʿmi. Diʿn jamaʿtər čaγa ɛtimi: "Hərɛʿŋ Gašenatum bilas meltalik Bidiʿro Malulo suluma dunam. Ja muwaši.am (*or*, muwaši.a ba), da tiškak (*or*, tiʿškatɛ) mudɛlam. Tiʿšk malulo fat maniʿla. Namaʿn dusuʿin. Bareʿnin, tiʿšk tikulo gatum bila kɛ ja šat ɛta ba. Malak niʿm bila kɛ iʿnɛ šat ɛtubo." oʿsimi.

Teoʿrdiʿnɛ ničuman kɛ tiʿšk tiʿkulo gatum bilum. Tiʿšk maʿlulum dusuʿman.

Akuruman čaγan bilum.

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1 *Kuli.o* — I also wrote it *Qoli.o*. I understand that it is *Laskir*, son (or descendant) of *Kuli* who is, or was, represented by a tribe, the *Kulikots*. *Kuli.o* is probably a gen in *-o* v. § 46 note.

6 *ɛʿčumuši* — explained as "at his waist", "stuck through his belt or waistcloth" The word is possibly a compound of the base of **-aččiŋ* 'loins', 'waist' and *muš* 'end', 'limit'.

yaʿrɛ — 'further', 'beyond this', connected with *yər* 'in front' etc. not with *yaʿrɛ* 'down', 'below'.

7 *Amiʿtɛ Aim niʿmo* — S. A. glossed as Hindustani *krdharse krdhar giya* (i. e. *gari*).

No. X.

Kulio Laskīr and the Dangalatas of Harèng Gashèng.

539/

Kulio Laskīr was one day running water on to his field. It was night and the turn for the water had come to him. He was alone and the night was dark and moonless.

At this point a fire appeared on the Harèng Gashèng. The fire came moving along in Kulio Laskīr's direction. It came up to Kulio Laskīr, and when he looked he saw that there was a Dangalatas. The two began to wrestle and he threw her. There was a dagger at his waist and when he had thrown her he smote her on the breast with it. He knew nothing more; she (simply) vanished somewhere.

He returned to his home and told his family about it. He said to them: "A bīlas from the Harèng Gashèng and I had a wrestling bout in the "Round Field." I threw her and stabbed her with my dagger. The dagger has remained behind in the field. You people go and fetch it. Take note: if the dagger is sticking (upright) in the ground I have had the best of it, (but) if it has fallen over, then she has had the best of it."

On the morrow when they went (to the field) the dagger was sticking in the ground. They brought it back from the field.

There was this much of a story.

The nature of the *Amíte* is obscure. It may be compared with the equally obscure *Amitʌle* v. Vocab. s. v.

meltʌlik . *sulama dunʌm* — 'the two of us had wrestled'. Supply: *je ke*, 'and I', before *meltʌlik*.

No. XI.

Bərašalɛ Qa·ŋ Jakun.

000 Hunzulo Bər·ašalɛ han tili.ɛn bilum, it·ɛ·tɛ hin bilasan n·urut bo·m, seiba·n. Tapɛ ɪnɛn altan te·lər niman kɛ hin ni·şun hin fat ɛčubo·m seiba·n. Beruman dɛniŋ xa aki·l zailatɛ sis uşu·mo. Uşu·ɛsər hukum ɛtuman: "I·tɛ ti·li gamuntsum dɛlin" nusɛn.

5 Hunzu.i sis uyo·n gati numu i·tɛ ti·li.ɛtɛ gaŋi isərkuman. Isərkasər i·tɛ gaŋi.ɛ če.i ho·lɛ multan du·simi. I·tɛ ti·li malak 'e·ruman (*or*, dɛliman). Dɛlasər han jaku·nɛn ka·ŋ nɛ paida man·imi. Mɛnər kɛ bada ap·išami.

Kuli.o Laskir sɛnasan yərum i·tɛ zama·na.ulo bam, seiba·n. Inɛ

10 wazi·r kɛ bam, da šati·lu.an kɛ bam. I·tsɛ hin Γulwa·tiŋɛ šati·lo hiran kɛ bam. I·tsɛ hin hiran kɛ bam. Ku.ɛ u.i·sküyɛ (*or*, i·skɛnɛ) damumuts han han nu·yɛn, du·n, jakunatɛ Kuli.o Laski·tɛ isərkasər turma alto badaŋ gi·mi, seiba·n. Γulwa·y i·nɛ hi·rɛ damo isərkasər tsundo badaŋ gi·mi, seiba·n. Te.i ɛčumɛ dɛljumɛ, Xu·ri.as Bu·n

15 sɛnasan bi. tɛ·lər itsu·man. Itsuyasər i·sɛ bu·nər gi·mi.

Giyasər Hunzulo altan bitaiyo bam. U·ɛ ja·du nɛ, dam nɛ, i·sɛ bu·ntsum ho·lɛ du·sas aiy·ɛtuman. U·ɛ sɛnuman: "Bɛšal

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10 *i·tsɛ* — seems to be *i* + **-tsɛ* 'upon him, in addition to him'.

11 *i·tsɛ* — this second *i·tsɛ* is *i·tɛ* in the MS., which must surely be wrong.

Γulwa·tiŋɛ . . . hiran — His name is said to have been, *Γulwa Kaŋo* the latter word being connected with the braying of the donkey in this episode.

u.i·sküyɛ — is doubtless for *u.i·ski* + *ɛ* instead of the usual *i·sken* + *ɛ* v. § 201.

12 *han han* — "they, taking sticks, one each, came" v. § 207.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV

No. XI.

The Braying Donkey of Berashalè.

5397

They say that in the Berashalè (lands) in Hunza there was a walnut tree, and that on it there used to sit a bīlas. At night if any two people went there she used to eat one and let the other go. In this manner for some years she devoured people. (The authorities) gave orders, saying: "Cut the walnut tree down from the roots."

All the people of Hunza having assembled they hacked at the tree with an axe, whereupon blood issued from the gash made by it. They felled the tree and then there appeared a braying donkey. It would not budge a step for anyone.

In those early days there was a man called Kulio Laskīr. He was the Wazīr and he was also a strong man. Besides him there was a strong man of the Ghulwātīng and in addition to him there was still (another) man. These three came on the scene, each carrying a thick stick. They say that when Kulio Laskīr brought his stick down on the donkey it took twelve steps (forward); and when the Ghulwā man brought his stick down it advanced five steps. Going on beating it thus they brought it to a boulder there is, called Khūrias Būn. When they had got it there it entered into the boulder.

There were in Hunza two bītans, and when it had gone into the boulder, they wrought magic, and made a spell and did not allow it to come out again. They said to the people: "When we

mi guse tin mi·rumər pur'a ni·γas tik manimi kε guse jakun du·sas bi," o·suman. Sis uyo·n u·yumo ha·kičanər d·u·uman.

I·nε hin bitanεnε i·k Hukε Mamu bilum, hi·nε i·k Šo·n Gukuʳ bilum. I·sε jaku·nε i·k Qa·ŋ Jakun bilum, seiba·n.

1 *mi guse tin* — "this (jaw) bone of ours" cp. p. 194 l. 1 note.
2 *d'u·uman* — i. e. *du·man*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

have died and these (jaw) bones of ours have entirely rotted and become earth, then this donkey will come out."

Then all the people returned to their homes.

The name of the one Bitan was Hukè Mamṇ, and of the other, Shōn Gukūr. The name of the donkey, they say, was Qāng Jakun (the "Braying Donkey.")

No. XII.

Bulčuto·ko kɛ Daŋalatas.

000 Bulčuto·ko senas hiran gutɛ Gi·ltsum Hunzo yakalatər di bam, seiba·n. I·nɛ si·rɛ ka bam, se.iba·n. Gər·ɛ·ltər di·n tɛ·lɛ huru·timi. N'urut beruman deniŋtsum Gantsupər tɛ·rər ni·mi seiba·n. Niči kɛ Buro·ndo Bərulo hin daŋalɛt'asanɛ yai.iŋenulo γenaŋ do·rču
5 bo·m. Ni·itsin tsil yɔrčər ni·mi. Tsak pfataŋ nɛ yai.iŋɛ ki·tɛ pa daγ'ami. Terumanər yai.iŋ bas'imi. Basa·sər daŋalatas tsil detsačər du·somo. Du·šu kɛ tsak pfataŋ meniko etsa·n. I·nɛ tsak detsaš xa· Bulčuto·ku.ɛ γenaŋ meŋanər nikin g'a·rtsimi. Ju·čo kɛ γenaŋ menene nukan ga·ršai.i. I·tsi thamo. I·n si·ri ka bam, nuka ga·rtsimi.
10 Daŋalɛtas kɛ i·tsi nultan d·ɛ·šqalčər asi·r man·umo. Mana·sər Uyu·in Dase gam·u·nulo han uyu·m batan bilum. Pfər numa Bulčuto·ku.ɛ i·tɛ batatɛ γate·nč is'ərkimi. Isərkasər i·tɛ bat alto traq etimi. Daŋalatase yetsumo. Ni·itsin mukareŋɛ senumo: "Ki·nɛ

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1 *gutɛ Gi·ltsum* — "from this Gilgit" (where the story is being narrated).
di bam — here, as frequently, the verb "come" is used where we should use "go".

5 *yɔrčər* — ɔ is a mere variant of ə. The infinitive was given as *yɔrras*. The word does not occur elsewhere in the texts.
tsak pfataŋ nɛ — refers to the opening in the side of a waterchannel by which the water can be allowed to escape. Such an opening enables water to be turned on to a field, but in the case of a mill it is I think used to deflect the water from the mill-race. In the fields such openings are closed by blocking them with mud, but for a mill there is a small wooden frame into which a bit of board can be vertically slipped.
ki·tɛ pa — is presumably the other side of the mill from the sluice.

7 *meniko* — v. § 151.

XII.

Bulchutōko and the Dangalatas.

534

They say that a man called Bulchutōko had come from Gilgit here to Hunza. They say he possessed magical powers. Coming to Gerèlt he settled there.

After some years he once went, they say, to the Gantsūper jungle. When he entered the Burōndo Nullah, a Dangalatas was grinding gold (there) in a mill. Seeing this he went to cut off the water, and opening the sluice (so that the water flowed away to waste) he hid himself on the near side of the mill. The mill immediately came to a standstill. On its ceasing to work the Dangalatas came out to stop the water (from escaping). When she got out (she found that) someone had opened the sluice. While she was closing it Bulchutōko flung the gold into a skin bag and ran off with it. When the Dangalatas came back again (she saw that) someone was running away with the gold. She pursued him. He (however) had magical powers and continued to run off with it.

The Dangalatas, chasing after him, was near to overtaking him. Now there was a big stone at the lower end of the Uyūm Das, and Bulchutōko turning round smote at the stone with his sword and cleft it in two. The Dangalatas saw this and said to herself:

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7 *detsaǰ xu·* — the MS. has *detsas xu·*, but the infin. was given as *detsiyas* and it must be the *-ǰ* form of the verb.

10 *dreqalēr* — seems to be a lapse for *dumreqalēr*. The pron. infix in *d*ᵐ*-aḳqaltas* normally refers to the subject cp. p. 144 l. 8 note.

11 *ḃatas* — *ḃaf* is ordinarily used of a thin flat stone. In p. 206 l. 1 however, the Dangalatas calls it a *burn* i. e. "large stone" or "boulder".

bu·n trak ɛtai.i, jɛ kɛ ku·riap aiyači," nusɛn tɛlətsum i·lji pfər manu·mo.

Inəmu m·u·ik Meri Duwe·ni bilum seiba·n.

Bulcuto·ku.ɛ Garɛltər i·kɛ γɛnaŋ nuka di·mi. Sis uyo·nɛ y·ɛ·tsuman.
5 Sisɛ sɛnuman: "Bulcuto·ku.ɛ γɛnaŋ tsuš xa mi bɛ mimana·n? Mi kɛ nimɛn sučan." Nusɛn gati numa Gantsupərər niman.

Ničuman kɛ daŋalɛtasɛ γɛnaŋ do·rču bo(m). U·ɛ kɛ Bulčuto·ko iltu·ro numa tsak pfataŋ ečər niman. Tsak pfataŋ ɛtuman. Daŋalatas du·šu kɛ sisikɛ tsak pfataŋ ɛta·n. Ošum·utsulo du·n hi·n hi·n očumɛ
10 o·š mara·k no yai.iŋɛ hu·rɛ xa gu·mo. Tsilɛ diri·šalɛ ho·lɛ du.isimi. Du.isasər hikum duwalašo ja·nawəri·k umanimi.ɛ.

E·tsɛ u·ik Gare·ltum Hɛray bila. Dərum xa Garɛltɛ hərki.ɛ pa·či manu·mər i·tsɛ duwašači.ɛ. Du·nin mərt·eŋatɛ ya kayulo sinda i·ltsɛ bo·či.ɛ. I·tsɛr Gəre·ltum Hərə·y se.iba·n.

15 Bulčuto·ku.ɛ mazər G·anišulo Šiski·n seiba·n. Te·lɛ mu·to xa alamičiŋ n·idili·n panji bila.

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1 *ku·riap aiyači* — only recorded in this passage. Glossed: "he will not let me off". She realised that he was stronger than she.

9 *očumutsulo du·n* — for the *-ulo* with *du·nas* cp. *mutortulo du·n*, p. 114 l. 7 note. *hin hin očume* — is probably equivalent merely to "one at a time".

11 *du·ralašo ja·nawərik* — "flying animals".

Gare·ltum Hɛray (or *Hərə·y*) — i. e. the "Gerelt Tribe".

These birds are said to be black and to have long necks and to fly and sit in lines. They must be passing migrants, perhaps some kind of cormorant.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

"He has cleft the boulder in two, he will not spare me." So saying she turned back from there.

Her name, they say, was Mëri Duwëni.

Bulchutōko came with the gold to Gerèlt. All the people saw it and they said: "While Bulchutōko has been procuring gold, what has been happening to us? Let us too go and get some." And they gathered together and set out for Gantsūper.

When they got there the Dangalatas was grinding gold. Imitating Bulchutōko, they too went to throw open the sluice, and they opened it. When the Dangalatas came out (she found that) some men had opened the sluice. Seizing them by their necks she took them one by one and twisting their necks flung them down the mill-race. The water carried them out by the escape channel; whereupon they became a flock of birds.

Their name is Gerèltum Hera. Up to the present day, when it is the time of ploughing at Gerèlt, they come out and they come and light on the cliffs or the strand at the edge of the river. They call them Gerèltum Hera.

It is said that Bulchutōko's grave is at Shiskīn in Ganish. There they have put up flags and there is still an enclosure.

No. XIII.

Širi Bɛrai.i Bayɛrth'amɛ čayɛ.

000 Hunzulo qadi·m zama·natsum dastu·r bila, Dalu.ɛ hisalo (turma tsindi.ulo) bopfau sčə·n. Han uyu·m hanikan qadi·mtsum bi, i·sɛ juwanan han Yasinulo kɛ bi. Seiba·n Iskandɛr Azomo (*or*, Badša) waxttsum gutsɛ hanekuʼts bi.ɛn.

5 Ho bešal bopfau ɛtas manimi kɛ i·sɛ hanik Ba·lititsum Diramiti·nɛ sa·at ɛtas isɛ ni·ɛn 'Altitɛr tsučai.i. Da bopfau ɛtumɛr i·nɛ ni·an Baltitɛr dilai.i.

Hin Gɛri·b senasanɛ i· Pu·no senasan yɛrum zama·na.ulo bam. Da i·nɛ hanik ni·ɛn bopfau.ɛr tsumi Altitɛr. Bopfau nɛ dyu.asuman

10 čap kɛ šapik Baltitɛr i·mo ha·lɛr hanikulo dii·am. Da i·i· thamo o·pači mɛl numin nɛrtan juč.am. Ha·lɛr di·n jama·atɛr se.ibam: "Hanikulo šapi·k kɛ čap bila, ha· ha· ɛ·tin," o·simi. Yu·ɛ kɛ yu·ɛ hanik pfataŋ nɛ bɛrɛ·iman kɛ bɛ·ske api. Pu·nuwɛr ɛ·suman:

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5 *bopfau ɛtas manimi kɛ* . . . — v. § 401 d.

6 *sɛ·at ɛtas i·nɛ* — the basal meaning of *sɛ·at ɛtas* seems to be 'to be the first to do a thing'.

554 In the present case the idea is that the function should be performed by a suitable member of the most original tribe in the country. The Diramiting claim to be the most ancient and the senior tribe in Hunza, and Puno's family was considered the most deserving of the appointment.

tsučai.i — he carries the bowl on his head.

9 *bopfau nɛ* — "having done the Bopfau" i. e. 'after the Bopfau is over'.

dyu.asuman — Static pe. + *an* of *d*·*u.asan* v. § 304. This form is x sg. agreeing with *šapik*. The *y* form which would be required by *čap* would be *dusuwum.ɛn*.

10 *dii.am* — is also appropriate to *šapik* x sg.

This meat and bread are given by the Mir and are called *šano* v. Vocab. s.v.

No. XIII.

The Story of Pūno and Shiri Bersi Baghertham.

There is a custom in Hunza from ancient times. In the month of Dalv on the fifteenth (day of the month) they carry out the Bopfau. There is a large wooden bowl (which has come down) from olden days. There is also one like it in Yasin. They say that these bowls have been in existence from the time of Alexander the Great.

Now when the Bopfau has to be performed, the man who has precedence among the Dirāmiting takes the bowl and carries it from Bāltit to Āltit. Again, when the Bopfau has been completed, he takes it and brings it to Bāltit.

In former times there was one, Pūno by name, the son of Gerib, and he took the bowl and carried it to Āltit for the Bopfau. The meat and the bread which were left over after the Bopfau he used to bring back in the bowl to Bāltit to his own home. Then when he had drunk wine and become intoxicated he used to present himself to the Tham. Returning to his home he used to say to his family: "There are bread and meat in the bowl. Handsel them." When (however) his wife and sons uncovered the bowl and looked there was nothing in it. They said to Pūno: "You are out of your

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10 *ākamo* — plural of respect.

11 *jamarator* — here obviously includes the other members of his family besides his wife.

ar.tham — being in the Imperf. implies that the following little drama was of yearly occurrence, though it is narrated in the Past Definite.

14 — Lorimer.

300 "Uŋ diwa·na gumana. Gutsi baγalta ba. Nukoʳšen amulo čot ɛtʌ·," esuman. Pu·no haira·n imanimi. Amulo čot 'ayet'am. Daki·l zailate tale dɛ·nulo šapik hanikulo atiu.esimi.

Ho Pu·nu·ɛ hik dɛ·nɛ mɛl o·minum hanik ni.ɛn bopfautsum di·mi.
5 Ganulo han batan bilum, ɛtɛ i·k Xarum Bat bilum. Te·lər ju.asər han uri·ŋan hanikər di·mi. Pu·nu.ɛ i·tɛ uri·ŋtse dap du·nimi. Fat ɛ·tasər kušiš 'ɛtimi. Pu·nu.ɛ fat ai.ɛtimi. Ai.ɛtasər ho ɛ·simi: "Lɛ aya, je go·r jap aiyamaiyam, fat ati," ɛ·simi. Bəre.imi kɛ ipf'aγo ri·lɛ bi, da ta.očiŋ kɛ ri·lɛ bi·tsa, hin bu·t daltas hilɛ·san bai.i.
10 Pu·nu.ɛ doγ'ərusumi: "U·ŋɛ bɛ gu.ik bila?" I·nɛ senimi: "Ja 'e.ik Širi Bar'ai.i Baγ'ərtham bila." Ta.očiŋ kɛ ifaγo Pu·nu.ɛ išiʳrimi. Išiʳtasər Širi Bar'ai.i Baγərtham Pu·no i·tsi thami.

Da ha·lər di·mi. Punu.ɛ yu·smur mo·simi: "Gukɛ ta.očiŋ kɛ ifaγo sandu·qulo o·s. Je ap'aiyamatɛ gutsimo du·məri· kɛ 'ɛ·γun," mo·simi.
15 Ho Širi Barai.i Baγərtham o·pači huru·timi. Da o·simi: "Aya mama, je u·i·rumə ha·lər aiya·rin. bese kɛ te·lɛ hi·rɛ yu·s mu.i·ru bo kɛ i·nɛ ɛ·r ki·l mana·sər šapik ditsum gušiŋants 'o·saljai.i. Da ja lɛl ɛča ba, daγaša ba. U·ɛ 'mitsi γasičai.i' se.iba·n. Hi·r i·rimi kɛ, gusɛ hi·ri o·saljubo, 'i·nɛ istučama? ki·nɛ itsu·čam?' nusen.
20 I·t ɛtsum je u·ə ha·lər aiya·rin," o·simi.

I·nɛ Pu·nu.ɛ ha·lər di·mtsum Pu·nu.ɛ huyɛ·s kɛ da pfalo bu·t

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1 *nukoʳšen* — and *neršan* p. 208 l. 11 are p.pc.s active of *-aršaiyas*.

3 *tale denolo* — note the unusual singular with a numeral.

4 *o·minum*—the static pc. of *minas* with active meaning the *o·*- is the negative prefix, v. § 339. *Xarum Bat* — 'the Split', or 'Broken Stone'. *xarum* is the static pc. of *'-xərʌs*.

6 *han uri·ŋan* — the u- prefix here has an indefinite sense "a hand of theirs" i. e. 'a hand of someone'.

9 *gor jap aiyamaiyam* — glossed "I cannot stay with thee", but I do not know the exact significance of *jap*.

11 *Širi Barai.i Baγərtham* — so written down, but how many words the name consists of I do not know, nor whether the final *-tham* is the word *tham* 'ruler'.

14 *je apaiyamate* — static pc. of *bo* 1st sg. + *ate* v. § 391.
γun — is appropriate to the object *ta.očiŋ* (ypl.), but not to *ifaγo* (xsg.). The reverse is the case with *jo* on p. 212 l. 5.

16 *uri·rumə ha·lər* — "to the house of those who have died" v. § 379 c. It is equivalent to the English "to the house where someone has died" or "to houses where people have died".

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senses. You have gone mad. You have got drunk and dropped the food somewhere.". Pūno was quite confounded. He hadn't dropped it. In the same way throughout the course of seven years no food (ever) remained in the bowl.

Then one year he returned with the bowl from the Bopfau without having drunk wine. On the road there was a stone of which the name was the Kharum Bat (the "Split Stone.") When he came to it a hand approached the bowl. Pūno promptly seized the hand. (The owner of it) tried to release it, but Pūno would not let it go. Then (the owner) said to him: "O Father, I cannot stay with you. Let me go." When Pūno looked (he saw that) there was a very handsome youth and that his stick was of copper, and that his leg-wrappers also were of copper.

Pūno asked: "What is your name?" "My name," he replied, "is Shīri Berai Baghertham." Pūno took his stick and leg-wrappers from him, and Shīri Berai Baghertham followed along after him.

In due course Pūno came to his house and he said to his wife: "Put these leg-wrappers and this stick of his in a box, and if he asks you for them in my absence, don't give them to him."

After this Shīri Berai Baghertham stayed there with them. (Once) he said to them: "Father and Mother, don't send me to a house where anyone has died, because there, if the wife has died, the husband casts his eye on the women who (have come) bringing food to offer condolences to him. And I will know it and will laugh and they will say: "He is laughing at us." If the husband has died the woman casts her eye on the men saying to herself: "Shall I marry that one? Shall I marry this one?" Therefore do not send me to the house of those people (who have had a death.")

From the time that Shīri Berai Baghertham came to Pūno's house they say that Pūno's flocks and grain became abundant. For about

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16 *aiyawin* — negative impv. of *-ʌrʌs with 1st sg. object.

17 *ditsum* — the static participle with active meaning v. § 378 b.

The present tenses in this passage I have translated by the English future. The speaker, to make a hypothetical case vivid, expresses it as actually occurring.

18 *daγʌša ba* — The MS. has *da γʌša ba*, but the pres. base of γʌsa's is γʌsi'č-.

21 *dimtsum* — the MS. has *dimtsum* for which there is no grammatical parallel.

000 manimi se.ibaˈn. Andaˈzan aˈltər dənɪŋ Puˈnu.ɛ haˈlɛ Širi Bərai.i Bayərtham dyuˈɛsimi, aɟɛ.uˈrutimi.

Han guntaanulo Puˈno γašiˈlər ni bam. Širi Bərai.i Bayərtham haˈlər diˈn: "Se maˈma, se maˈma," senimi. "Aˈo" ɛtumo. "Ta.očiŋ
5 kɛ afayo jo. Aya æt'imi, ikəraniˈmi, yanči.ər naˈn balda dˈiˈmərčam," mosimi. Puˈnu.ɛ yuˈs kaˈt motam, "Hazaˈr Širi Bərai.i Bayərthamɛ ta.očiŋ kɛ ifayo duˈmərči, ɛˈγun" moˈsam. Æčəra numˈuˈman sanduqtsum diˈusin iγˈunumo.

Ta.očiŋ, nultan, ifayo niˈɛn čišɛ yætə duˈsimi (*or*, maniˈmi).
10 Teˈrumanər Puˈno γæšil nukˈa haˈ hiŋɛ uˈlo diˈmi. Širi Bərai.i Bayərtham apai.i, čišɛ yatɛ manuwai.i. Širi Bərai.i Bayərthamɛ: "Xudai yaˈr maˈma wa aya" se.imɛ gˈaˈrtsimi. Puˈno: "Le eˈri" se.ime iˈtsi thami. Širi Bərai.i Bayərthamɛ Puˈnowər ɛsimi: "Dyuˈasumˈan uˈŋər bərkat, ɟi.aman jaˈr bərkat, yɛ huˈru ˈaya," ˈɛšumɛ
15 yər gˈaˈrtsimi. Puˈno kɛ itsi thačumɛ fat ˈaiyɛtimi. Širi Bərai.i Bayərtham mataˈntsum mataˈn me.imɛ Xˈuˈwatɛ (*or*, Qˈuˈwatɛ) malak manimi seibaˈn Puˈno pfər numa iˈmo haˈlər diˈmi.

Ho Širi Bərai.i Bayərtham Puˈnu.ɛ haˈtsum niˈmtsum Puˈno taltak imanumi seibaˈn.

20 Puˈno roˈm Diræmitiŋɛ bam. Muto kɛ iˈnɛ aulaˈdɛ bopfauwɛ hˈanik Baltitum Aˈltitər niˈɛn ničai.i. Iˈk Həri Siŋ bila. Thamo thaˈŋtsum bopfauwɛ pfau ˈɛtas bo nˈeˈri.ɛn Tham yər nɛ Mamuˈtsa malər dišaˈn.

Faqat, čaγa dækilatɛ bila.

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5 *jo* — see note on *ɛˈγun* p. 210 l. 14.
balda diˈmərčam — glossed: "I shall take his load from him". The literal meaning is probably: "I shall demand his load of him (to carry it for him)".

8 *diˈusin iγˈunumo* — both verbs are again determined by the ypl. *ta.očiŋ* understood as object.

14 *dyuˈasumAn* — vide note on p. 208 l. 9.
ɟi.amAn — 'what-has-been-eaten-by-me', 1st sg. static pc. of *ɟiˈAs*, 'to eat' (x sg. obj.) + *An*.
ɛšumɛ — pres. pc. of *i* + *-*AsAs*.

16 *XuˈwAtɛ* — I am not sure whether this is a nominative form, or whether it is *xuˈ* + *Atɛ*. In a rough sketch map drawn on a different occasion I have the same place apparently entered as *XuˈAtɛ*, but it may possibly be *XuˈAtɛ*. *XuˈAtɛ* might be a plural of *Xuˈ*.

21 *Həri Siŋ* — the family tree is *Həri Siŋ* son of *Muˈko* son of *Puˈno* son of *Gəriˈb*. *Həri Siŋ* was an old man in 1923.

twenty years Shīri Berai Baghertham remained in Pūno's house 53¼ but he did not become attached to it.

One day Pūno had gone for firewood and Shīri Berai Baghertham coming into the house said: "Mother, Mother." "Yes," said Pūno's wife. "Give me my leg-wrappers and stick. Father has not come back; he is late. I shall go to meet him and take his load from him." (Now) Pūno had charged his wife, saying, "Perhaps Shīri Berai Baghertham will ask for his leg-wrappers and stick. Don't give them to him." (But) losing her head she took them out of the box and gave them to him.

Putting on the leg-wrappers and taking his stick Shīri Berai Baghertham climbed up the mountain. Meanwhile Pūno came in at the door of the house bringing the wood. Shīri Berai Baghertham was not there, he had got up on to the mountain. He made off, saying: "Good-bye, Mother and Father." Pūno, shouting: "Heigh, son!" gave chase to him. Shīri Berai Baghertham said to him: "What is left over be your portion, what I have eaten be mine. You just stay where you are, Father." While he said this he ran on, and Pūno pursuing after him would not let him go. Getting further and further away Shīri Berai Baghertham, they say, crossed over the Khu. Pūno, turning back, came again to his home.

Then after Shīri Berai Baghertham had left Pūno's house, Pūno, they say, became indigent.

Pūno was of the Diramiting tribe. At the present day too one 53¾ of his descendants goes with the Bopfau bowl from Bāltīt to Āltīt. His name is Heri Sing. They make him carry the seed that is to be scattered at the Bopfau from the Tham's palace and bring him along in front of the Tham to the Mamutsa field.

That is all; The story is on this wise.

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22 *pfau stas bo* — 'the seed that is to be thrown up', or 'scattered' by the Mir.
Tham yor ne . . . dišan — I am not sure of the meaning of this. *yor ne* may, I think, mean: 'forwards', 'ahead', 'in front' or 'putting him in front', 'making him go ahead' *Tham* may be accusative, or it may be genitive or general oblique (the *-e* being lost before the following *y*). It is said that they whiten the man's face on the occasion with flour.
Mamutsa — probably the gen. of a nom. *Mamuts*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XIV.

Boyo Galɛ Čaγa.

000 Qadi·m zamana·tsum Kəramo Dərbəš sɛnas hirane basi.u·lo han galɛn bilum. I·tɛ i·k Boyo Gal se.ibam.

Yərum zamana·tsum čaγa ɛč'am i·tɛ gal ya·tɛ huqe guku·rišo ju.an ja·nda·rik duwašači bim se.iba·n. Hunzu.ɛ sise i·tsɛ u.i·liki
5 bam. I·tsər Boyo se.ibam.

I·tɛ gal hin Mano Baγ'ərtham sɛnasane dɛlimi se.iba·n. Čərap ɛtasɛ k'a· tɛ·lɛ i·rimi se.iba·n. Da gamuntsum i·tɛ gal da du·silum. A·lto jakər šərk'o bim. Hin hirane han šəran čərap ɛt'am. I·n čoko ča·ko imanam seiba·n. Han dyu.asum i·se šər hin Mamad Ša
10 sɛnasane čərap ɛtimi seiba·n. 'Etasər i·n kɛ čəratum xau w'alimi.

Daki·latɛ u.'i·rasər ər nu·man han damu·an fat ɛtuman se.iba·n. I·sɛ damo tami·ni yər dɛn kɛ bim. Hin Yaqi·n sɛnasane damantsum hukum nuka i·sɛ čərap n'etan ha·lər d'itsimi. Ditsasər tapɛ yu·lji

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1 *zamana·tsum* — this unusual form of the word is due to the concentration of stress on the third syllable: an apparently arbitrary proceeding.

Kəramo Dərbəš — i. e. *Dərbəš*, son of *Kəramo*, is, as will appear, the present owner. He was still living in 1924 as an old man of the Diramiting. The *Mano Baγərtham*, mentioned below, l, 6, also belonged to the Diramiting.

4—5 *u.i·liki bam* — it is difficult to know how exactly to translate this. "Worship" probably implies too much, "pay consideration, or attention, to" is perhaps nearer the mark. In practice people put down food for the Boyo.

[82]

The word is also used of appeasing or placating ordinary human beings or of doing them honour, and seems to correspond very closely in use with the Shina *šilo·rki*.

6—7 *čərap ɛtasɛ ka tɛ·lɛ i·rimi* — I think it is meant that the moment he perpetrated the deed he fell dead on the spot.

No. XIV.

The Story of the Bōyo Juniper.

From ancient times there was a juniper tree in the garden of a man called Keramo Derbèsh. They called it the Bōyo Juniper.

They say that from of old people used to relate that animals like puppies came out under the tree. The people of Hunza used to do worship to them. They called them Bōyo.

They say that a man, by name Mano Baghertham, cut the juniper down. Having cut it down they say he died on the spot. The juniper grew up again from its stump. There were two stems (growing) in a fork. A man cut down one of the stems, and he, they say, became paralysed and an idiot. A man, called Mamad Shah, cut down the remaining stem, after which he fell down from a cliff.

When these men had perished in this fashion the people took fright and left one stem (growing). Last year and the year before, that stem was (still) there. Then a man called Yaqin got permission from the owner and cut it down and brought it home to his house. After doing so, at night he saw some women in a dream.

7—9 *dwsilom, st'ʌm, imʌnʌm* — are all unnecessary pluperfects.

8 *avlto jʌkər šərko bim* — *šər* is the ordinary word for a branch, but here it refers to stems which have sprung up from the root. *avlto jʌkər* is used as an adjective "forked" but here the meaning must be, "two stems (forming a) fork".

9 *hʌn . . . ivsi* — the combination of *hʌn* and *ivsi* both qualifying *šər* is interesting.

11 *hʌn dʌmuvʌn* — this 3rd. bough has not been mentioned, but must have been there, as the juniper is extremely slowgrowing.

12 *tʌmini yər dən* — i. e. 1923 and 1922.

Yʌqin — was a mulla still living in 1924.

00C guśiŋentsik uyˈɛˑtsimi. Da uˈɛˑ: "Mi gal bɛˑsɛ dɛli ba?" nusen ɔr ɛtuman. Er ɛtasɔr iˑsɛ damo damanɔr, Kɔramo Dɔrbeš senasan baī.i, iˑnɔr yuˑmi.

Muˑto xaˑ iˑsɛ Boˑyo Gale huˑn iˑnɛ haˑle bi. Er numan iˑsɛ
5 aiyˈesquljaˑn.

Gute gal Diramišalɛ bilum.

Faqat, čaγa dakuˑrum bila.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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They said to him: "Why have you cut down our juniper tree?" and frightened him. Upon this he gave the bough back to the (original) owner who is a man called Keramo Derbèsh.

The wood of the Bōyo Juniper is still in his house. Fearing [824] (what might happen) they do not burn it.

This Juniper was in Dirāmiting territory.

That is all the story there is.

No. XV.

Aiyɛšo Malɪkɛ Čaγa.

000 Yɛrum zamaˑna.ulo hin Ai.ˈɛšo Malɪk sɛnas buˑt zoraˑwər thaman bam se.ibaˑn.

Iˑnɛ γaliˑs imanimi seibaˑn. Γaliˑs imanasər iˑmo akˈaˑbirtˈiŋər oˑsimi: "Jɛ mu eˑrča ba. Ai.ɪramər ja tiˑăk kɛ aˑka mazˈərər bišai.in, 5 beˑsɛ kɛ jɛ mazˈərulo Nækir u Munkirɛ ka sulama duˑnas ba," oˑsimi. "Jɛ yaˑrɛ natan, batɛŋ nyuwər, ma mataˑn huruˑča.in. Da mˈaltumal ɛtin. Ho jɛ kɛ iˑn duˑnamər mazˈərulo biḍiŋ maimi. Da čup manuˑmər batɛŋ fatɛŋ nɛtan, bareˑnin kɛ ja tiˑăk tikulo gatum bila kɛ ja šat ɛta ba. Tiˑăk malˈak nim bila kɛ jɛ yatɛ fər na asqa 10 ba kɛ uˑɛ šat ɛtaˑn. Ho maˑr lɛl mai.ɪmi" sɛnam, seibaˑn.

Beˑruman guntsiŋtsum iˑrimi, se.ibaˑn. Ho yaˑrɛ ɛtuman se.ibaˑn. Yaˑrɛ nɛtan batɛŋ nyuˑər tik akiˑm (*or*, aqiˑm) mazərate huruˑtaman. Tsan kɛ tsan mazərulo biḍiŋ manimi, se.ibaˑn. Biḍiŋ numa čup manaˑsər batɛŋ fataŋ ɛčuman kɛ tiˑăk tiˑkulo γurtsu(m) bilum. Ai.ɛšo

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2 *se.ibaˑn* — the reiterated "they say" in this and succeeding stories I have not thought it always necessary to translate.

4 *ai.ɪrɑmər* — originally written *eˑrɑmər* following the narrator's usual phonetic custom. It may be regarded as a 1st. sg. form of the static pc., rather than as the 1st. sg. pret.

5 *Nækir u Munkir* — the *u* is, no doubt, the Persian connective.

6 *nɑtɑn* } p.pc. act. of *-ɑtɑs, with 1st. sg. obj.
9 *na* }

6 *nyuɪcər* — v. Vocab. s. v. *ɪoɑˑrɑs*.

7 *jɛ kɛ iˑn duˑnɑmər* — *duˑnɑm* is the 1st. pl. form of the static pc. of *duˑnɑs*.

8 *čup mɑnumər* — "on (the noise) becoming silent", or, perhaps, "on silence supervening".

No. XV

The Story of Aiyèsho Malik.

539k

In former times, they say, there was a very powerful Tham, called Aiyèsho Malik.

He fell ill, they say, and on this occurring he said to his elders: "I am now going to die. When I am dead put my dagger also with me in the grave, for I am going to wrestle in the grave with Nakir and Munkir. When you have buried me and put the covering stones (over the grave, then go and) sit down at a distance and listen. When I and they (lit. 'he') come to grips there will be a noise in the grave. On its ceasing remove the grave-stones and look, and if my dagger is sticking up in the ground, then I have had the best of it; but if the dagger has fallen down and they have turned me over and I am lying on my back, then they have had the best of it. So you will know (how it is)."

They say that he died some days later and that they then buried him. They put the stones over (the grave) but did not fill in the earth and then they sat down (keeping watch) over it. Right enough, a noise arose in the grave. When it ceased and they removed the stones, the dagger was (there) plunged in the ground, and Aiyèsho

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8 *fʌteŋ* — is *pfʌtʌŋ*.
gʌtum — Ms. has *gʌtuŋ*.
9 *yʌtɛ fər na* — "turning me up" i. e. face up.
10 *senʌm, seibə·n* — i. e. 'they say that he had said' (what precedes).
12 *tik akim* — static pc. of *giyʌs* with active meaning and negative prefix.
14 *yortsu bilum* — as originally written, would be the plup.

000 Malɪk ɪm'u·škɛnə bam se.iba·n. Ho hera·n nu·man mazərɛtɛ batɛŋ nyu·ər yatɛ tik niki·n tsil nuti·n du·man se.iba·n.

Da ki·rumanɛ 'Ai.ɛšo Malɪk sire ka (*or*, sɪre ka) bam se.iba·n. Da in i·rumtsum i·lji 'aminan i·nɛ mazərɛtɛ du·simi kɛ tɛ·lɛ i·nɛ
5 yu·tis ya išak galji·lum se.iba·n. Huy'ɛs bu.a·n du·si kɛ 'ɛtsɛ kɛ u·tis galji bim se.iba·n.

Dərumxa· 'Ai.ɛšo Malɪkɛ mazar Do·lo sɛnasanɛ malulo bila. Ama t'ɛ·ruman mu·to šaŋ mɛn aiye·ča·n. Mazər i·tɛg'a·ri dɛ·šam bila.

10 Faqat. Čaγa daku·rum bila.

3 *da ki·rumanɛ* — v. § 180.

6 *u·tis galji bim* — i. e. each of them used to sustain the fracture of a leg. *u·tis* is in order, but *galji bim* (x sg. or pl.) seems to be a mistake for *galji·lum* (y sg.) as in l. 5. Possibly *bim* is x pl. under the influence of the pl. *etsɛ*.

8 *tɛ·ruman* — "so much (as formerly)", or, perhaps, absolutely "so much (as all that)". *dɛ·šam* — the enclosure round an important grave is called a *panji*. Cp. p. 206 l. 16.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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Malik was lying on his face. Astounded, they replaced the stones over the grave, filled in the earth on top, and poured water over it, and then returned (to their homes).

Some people say that Aiyèsho Malik was possessed of magical powers. After his death they say that if anyone mounted on his grave, there and then his leg or arm broke, and if a goat or a cow got on to it, its leg broke.

Up to the present day Aiyèsho Malik's grave is in the field of a man called Dōlo, but no one now pays much attention to it. The grave is enclosed round about.

That is all the story there is.

No. XVI.

Čil Gazi.ɛ Čaγa.

000 Yərum zama·na.ulo Čihil Gazi Xaibərulo bim seiba·n. Mu·to Xaibər Ba·rɛ Danulo Čhıl Gazi.ɛ hurutas diš čərulo bila. Čıl Gazi.ɛ Ta·ŋičiŋ se.iba·n.

Yərum zama·na čaγa bila Čıl Gazi.ɛ tɛ·ŋušulo bu·t du·stsak bitsum, 5 se.iba·n. E·pači.ər ni·čər ər umai.i bam, seiba·n.

Ho Čıl Gazi Ba·rɛ Dantsum Gil'it Yač'ɛnimulər ničər du·simi seiba·n. Gilit Yæčɛnimo ka Čıl Gazi.ɛ tis bilum se.iba·n. Mɛnɛ se.iba·n yu·s bom seiba·n.

Čıl Gazi Hunzu.ɛ xa di·n, Tsil Bišər di·n, tɛ·lɛ basa manuwam 10 se.iba·n. 'E·yɛnumtsɛ u·rkai.ik du·n talɛ kaš ifaγo ši bim se.iba·n. Lɛl 'e·manam. Čıl Cazi di·n Gili·tər Yač'ɛnimulɛ Kərga·r nimi se.iba·n. Ni·n moka guč'ami.

Gilit Yæčɛni.ɛ Čıl Gazitsum doγ'arusumo: "Ku·lto bɛ guman'a? Gupfaγo ku·t mani bi, kos gufaγo bɛ ɛt'a?" ɛsumo, seiba·n. Bare.imi

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1 *bim* — Chil Gazi was of the order of "Jinns", demons etc. and so falls grammatically into the category x.

Xaibər — for the Nominative v. § 59 V.

3 *ta·ŋičiŋ* — cp. the plural *ha·kičaŋ* again on p. 224 l. 7. Apparently there is a collection of buildings (or caves?).

ta·ŋ and *tɛ·ŋuš* are both used of a King's or Tham's residence. Neither "palace" nor "fortress" is quite the appropriate word. "Residence" is not sufficiently royal.

4 *du·stsak* — y pl. "things" in general v. § 25. A note says that there is a cave in the cliff in which there is said to be treasure. Also that there are said to be big rooms, but people are afraid to enter and explore them even when roped together.

No. XVI.

The Story of Chil Gazi.

They say that in former times Chil Gazi lived at Khaiber. At the present day his dwelling place is (there) in the cliff at Bārè Dan in Khaiber. They call it Chil Gazi's palace.

There is an old-time story that there were many articles of property in Chil Gazi's palace. People were afraid to go to it.

Then they say that Chil Gazi set out from Bārè Dan to go to the Gilgit Yachèni. He misconducted himself, they say, with the Gilgit Yachèni. Some say she was his wife.

Chil Gazi, coming down through Hunza, and coming to Tsil Bish, had stayed the night there. While he was asleep some wolves came and ate seven cubits (off) his stick and he had not been aware of it. Arriving at Gilgit Chil Gazi proceeded to Kerga to the Yachèni and slept with her.

She asked him: "What has happened to you today? Your stick has become short. What have you done to this stick of yours?"

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5 *ɐpʌči.ər* — here means "to it (the palace)" and not the more usual "to him", v. § 79. The narrator explained that they were afraid to go to Ch. G.'s palace after his death.

7 *tis* — 'error', 'fault' "there was an indiscretion on the part of Ch. G. with the Yachini".

10 *tʌle kʌš* . . . . — probably rather *qʌš*. One would naturally translate this: "had eaten his seven-cubit stick", but it appears they only ate a bit off the end.

ifʌγo — this appears to be a euphemism. In place of **-fʌγo* the Vernac. MS. has throughout **-šʌf*, 'penis'.

11 *lel 'ɐmʌnʌm* — it looks as if *lel* were here used with an active meaning "knowing", "aware", but perhaps *a* + *imʌnʌm* is impersonal: "it had not become known to him".

000 kε talε kaš api. Bεsanε čərap 'e·ti bi. D'ε·γurusumo: "U·ŋ amulo gu·čạ bam?" Čıl Gazi.ε sεnimi: "Tsil Bišulo basa mana baiyam. Tε·lε kikış̌ ju.an a·ti bim," mosimi, se.iba·n.

Ho tε·latsum Xaibərər di·mi seiba·n. B'e·ruman d'εniŋtsum tε·lε
5 Xudaiyε hukumatε Čıl Gazi Xaibər Ba·rε Danulo i·rimi, seiba·n. Čıl Gazi ε mazər Ba·rə Dan Bərulo bilum, se.iba·n. I·tε mazər yər sisε iye·šam, mu kušε·lila, api, se.iba·n. Da ε·sε h'a·kičaŋ čərulo mu·to (*or*, mo·to) ki bitsa.

10 Faqat. Čaγa daku·rum bila.

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1 *api* — "non est", is constantly used in the sense of "it is missing", "wanting", "absent", "not to be seen" etc. cp. *api* l. 7 below.

3 *kikrş̌ ju.an a·ti bim*:

1. *kikrş̌* — means "tickling of the soles of the feet"; *kikrt* tickling of the body. This differentiation seems strange, but I was on two separate occasions informed of its existence.
2. *ju.an* — must be taken as meaning: "something like . . .", "a sort of . . .",
3. *a·ti bim* — "had affected me" i. e. "I had felt . . ." This idiomatic use of *°-ATAS* has been noticed in earlier texts v. § 261. II. Is *kikrş̌* y in spite of the x verb? Vide note *post* § 25.

1 [Errata: for mu'to read mut'o, cf. p.419, cat.116 -- Analyst]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV

When he looked (he saw that) seven cubits of it were missing. Something had cut (a piece off) it. The Yachèni asked him: "Where did you sleep?" Chil Gazi replied: "I spent the night at Tsil Bish. There I felt a sort of tickling of my feet."

After this they say he returned from there to Khaiber. Some years later, by God's will, Chil Gazi died at Bärè Dan in Khaiber. His grave was in the Bärè Dan nullah. Formerly people used to see the grave, now it has fallen into ruins, they say, and disappeared. His living quarters, however, are still there in the cliff.

That is all there is to tell.

No. XVII.

Diratsil Batɛ Čaγa.

000 U·ltarɛ Diratsil sɛnas han dišan bila, tɛ·lə han batan bila. Qadi·m zamana·tsum čaγa ɛčə·n, [i·tɛ batatɛ] mɛnən i·rimi kɛ mu.i·rumo kɛ, u·lum bilašu·ɛ i·nɛ gu·tas ni·tsun Diratsil Batatɛ taq nɛ traŋ n'ɛtan ǰičə·n sɛ.ibə·n.

5 Hin Mahmad Ša sɛnas hiran bam. I·nɛ čaγa ɛč'am: "U·ɛ bilašu.ər čap ją traŋ o·ča ba (*or*, o·ča baiyam) da jɛ bilašo pfani·s baiyam. Bərbərɛ ko·rulo huru·ša baiyam. Ho mɛnɛn i·rimi kɛ ja·r kɛ lɛl mai.i bilum. Da bilašu·ɛ irum i·nɛ gu·tas ni·ɛn du·n jɛ kɛ ka 'atsuč'am."

10 I·nɛ Momad Ša i·rumtsum to·rimi turma tsindi dɛnıŋ mai.imi. I·n uyo·nər lɛl bai.i. Da Diratsil Bat uyo·nər lɛl bila. Ru·ŋulo bila. I·tɛ halali·to bila. I·tər "Bilašu.ɛ čap taq ɛtas bat" sɛ.ibə·n.

Faqat. Čaγa aki·latɛ bila.

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1 *U·ltarɛ* — is probably locative.

2 *i·tɛ batatɛ* — appears to be out of place and to duplicate the following *Diratsil Batatɛ*.

3 *u·lum* — lit. 'from' or 'of inside', here glossed as equivalent to P. Ar. *bar̄ūnī*. The meaning is perhaps that they were not externally recognisable as bilases, and were not known as such.

5 *Mahmad Ša* — The narrator remembered him as still living.

6 *pfani·s* — two meanings were recorded for this word: 'chopping-block' and "Ganymede". In the present context the former would be supported by certain popular beliefs in Gilgit.

8–9 *jɛ kɛ ka* — *kɛ* as adverb v. § 423.

13 *čap taq ɛtas* — lit. "meat-cutting-up".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XVII.

Concerning the Diratsīl Bat.

537x

There is a place in Ūlter called Diratsīl. There is a flat stone there. From olden times they relate that when any man or woman dies secretly-practising Bīlases carry off the body and cut it up into bits on the Diratsīl Bat and, apportioning it among them, devour it.

A certain man, Mahmad Shāh by name, used to say (as follows): "I (used to) divide up the meat for the Bīlases and I was their chopping block (*or*, servitor?). I used to live in the Berber cave and when anyone died I became aware of it. Then the Bīlases used to come, bringing the dead person's body, and carry me off with them."

It will be 10 or 15 years since this Mahmad Shah died. Everyone knows of him, and the Diratsīl Bat too is known to all. It is in the grazing ground. It is greasy. They call it the "Bīlases' Chopping Stone."

That is all: Such is the Story.

No. XVIII.

Čaproˈtum Yaˈ Čaγa.

Yərum zamaˈna.ulo han yaˈn Čaproˈtulo hakičaŋər diˈn gušiŋants oˈči biˈm seibaˈn. Teˈlum hiri ər nuˈman yaˈ amiˈt haˈlər niˈmi kɛ oˈničam, seibaˈn.

Hˈikulto hin hiˈran iˈmo haˈlər juˈči kɛ yāˈ iˈnɛ haˈlɛ yuˈsmo ka guˈča bi. Hiˈtər γerat er diˈmi amma čaˈra aiyeˈčilum. Ikˈəraŋɛ samba gutɛ ɛtimi: "Tˈešatər duˈs yāˈr han biˈman (*or*, biˈkan) ɛˈčam," nusɛn, tešatər duˈsimi, se.ibaˈn. Sagam xa kiˈl numa qau ˈɛtimi: "Se jamaˈat, iˈsɛ yāˈ akˈulɛ dˈi biˈa? ya bˈiˈa? Yatısɛ xa guse aš'atɛ nidılin aˈlto traq ɛˈčam tɛɛ," sˈɛnimi, se.ibaˈn.

Yāˈ iˈltˈuˈmal ɛči kɛ hiˈtɛ ajab čaγan ɛčai.i. Yāˈ ikˈərɛŋɛ samba nɛˈtan haˈtsum duˈsimi: "Tobˈaqɛ γatˈɛˈnčatɛ doˈli.as daiyɛla baiyam, kiˈnɛ kut akeš čaγan ɛčai.i," nusɛn, ər niˈman gaˈrtsimi, se.ibaˈn.

Gaˈršumɛ gaˈršumɛ, hi thaˈnər niˈči biˈm, hin jat guˈsan tumuk manumo, seibaˈn. Yāˈtsum doγˈarusumo: "Le.i yāˈ, bɛ gumˈanuma? bɛs gaˈršˈa?" Yāˈ moˈsimi: "Wa šakər ˈapi, laˈŋ manˈɛ, kuˈlto ajab čaγan daiyˈɛla ba. Hin hiˈranɛ haˈlɛ yuˈsmu ka gučaiya baiyam,

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2 *oˈči biˈm* — an idiomatic use of °-*atas*.

3 *guˈča bi* — the perfect "has lain down" = "is lying down", graphic present for "was lying".

γerat er diˈmi — ('an impulse of) self-respect came to him'.

4 *biˈm* — glossed "angry word, threatening, intimidation", but the word, like *biˈk*, probably really means "fear" cp. Skr. √bhī-, bhīma-.

The meaning of the passage is given as: 'I'll frighten the bear'.

5 *yu biˈa . . . ɛˈčam tɛɛ* — The exact meaning is doubtful. *Ɛčam tɛɛ* usually represents the apodosis of a condition, but it would hardly be justifiable to trans-

! [Errata: for haˈtsum read haˈtsum cf p.419, cat. 116 — Analyst.]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

No. XVIII.

The Story of the Chaprōt Bear.

5394

In former times, they say, a bear used to come to the houses in Chaprōt and violate the women. The men of the place were afraid and would not go to any house into which the bear had gone.

One day when a certain man came home the bear was lying in his house with his wife. The man's pride was roused, but there was nothing he could do. He thought to himself: "I'll go up on to the roof and give the bear a fright." So saying he got up on to the roof and bending down over the smoke-hole he shouted out: "O wife, has that bear come here? Is it there? (If it were) I would smite it on the head with this penis of mine and split it in two."

The bear, listening, heard the man say an amazing thing, and it went out of the house thinking to itself: "I have heard of slaying people with gun and sword, but this is a strange thing that this man is saying," and it ran off in a fright.

Running on and on it was coming to a certain place when an old woman met it. She asked the bear: "O bear, what's happened to you? Why are you running away?" "O Sweet Grannie," replied the bear, "get out of the way. I have heard an amazing thing to-day. I was lying in a man's house with his wife and he came on to the roof and shouted out: 'Is the bear in my house?

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late *pe śśu* as "should the bear be there". It must be taken as a simple question, failing actual proof to the contrary.

11 *śśuu ket . . . etsiś* — lit. "this man says this strange thing".

13 *Eaker* — MS. *Saker*.

890 ŝkater di·n qan stimi 'yā ja ha·lz bi.a ni?' nusen. 'Gus·t ab'atz it'anase xa ni·dilin a·lto traq sdam tsz' senimi. Gutz bor jz bezel kz at'alyzla balyam. Ite·tsum ga·rta ba," mo·simi.

Jat gusz kz i·nz hi·rz yar tsum i·tz bor ju·an nz de·amay yā·r
5 e·sumo: "Hai ja ji gusw·ere, hunalqum ga·rta. Hin hi·ranz jz kz ib'atz atan traq na sdeli bam. Šu.'a kz jz jat amanam. At'anastsum ru ju·čumz ako·ler di bá,' nusen, laman da·l nz ya·rz muyu·ŝ e·ltirumo seibe·n. Yā bere·imi kz a·lto traq bila. Ho er ni·man ite·tsum i·lji h'akičanzer ya ati·mi, se.ibe·n.

10

Faqat. Čaya dakí·late sbe·n.

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1 ga . . . bi.a ni — I cannot explain the *bi.a ni* unless it be an inversion of *ni bi.a* 'has it gone?' but I know of no other such inversion. It is probably a simple error.

4 *ju·an ne deamay* — the two expressions duplicate each other and, both being transitive, an object has to be supplied.

6 *ŝu.a ke* — This phrase occurs only thrice in the texts. From the contexts one would take it to mean "so much so that . . .", but here it is glossed: '*anqarib*, 'almost, approximately'.

7 *ru ju·čumz* — *ru* was explained as the "joining of a wound", "scar"; 'the mending of the wound has come to here'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

(If it were) I would smite it with my penis on the centre line of the head and cleave it in two.' I had never heard such a thing said before, and so I am running away."

The old woman, adapting (her words) to what the man had said to the bear, said to it: "Welladay! My life be your sacrifice! Run for your life! A man had struck me too with his penis and cleft me in two. I practically became an old woman. The healing process, (proceeding) from the crown of my head, has reached here," and raising her skirt she showed the bear her vulva. When the bear looked and saw that it was cleft, it was frightened and after that, they say, it did not come again to the people's houses.

That is all. This is how they tell the story.

No. XIX.

The Laconic Man and Wife.

000 Tsoˑrum zamaˑna.ulo hin hiran kɛ yuˑsan but juwaˑb sawaˑlɛ tˈɛ čaγamiŋ ˈɛtas hˈakinam.

Hikulto uˑɛ haˑlɛ han yatisan waši bam dɛtsirčər. Dˈiričər tai.aˑr mani bim. Teˑrumanər iˑnɛ haˑlər hikum ˈoˑšo.ik duˑman se.ibaˑn.

5 Duˑmər muyərɛ yuˑsmur moˑsimi: "Oˑšo oˑgutsər, ja goˑsa, uˑŋ dukoˑyal, guyuˑər bərˈɛn."

Sɛnasər waˑlto yuˑtiŋ yatisɛ ka gi bom. Oˑšu.ər oγˈunumo, muyərər yuˑmus yuˑmo, muyuˑər ilčumuts uˑmo, mukərər kalamˈutumuts oˑsumo.

10 Uˑɛ oˑšo hairaˑn nˈuman duwašuman.

Hiˑrɛ iˑk Puyeˑsɛ Šamšer Bɛk bilum. Gusmo mu.iˑk Γuno bilum.

Faqat. Čaγa dakiˑlatɛ bila.

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1 *sawaˑlɛ tɛ* — MS. *sawaˑl etˈɛ*, but the *tɛ* must be for *ti* 'without'.

3 *yatisan* — the head of a goat or sheep.

4 *hikum oˑšo.ik* — *menik oˑšo* is given as an equivalent.

5 *duˑmər* — static pc. 3rd. plural + *ər*.

goˑsa — 1st. sg. short form of pret. of *gu* + *-asas*.

6 *guyuˑər* — *-yuˑ* is properly "sons" but is often used for 'children'.

7 *oγˈunumo* — *-aγunas* requires a y pl. object. Hence *yuˑtiŋ* is here referred to.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XIX.

The Laconic Man and Wife.

539k

In early times a man and his wife had learnt to converse without a lot of questions and answers.

At home one day they had put on a (goat's) head to cook. It was nearly cooked when a party of guests came to the house. On their arrival the husband said to his wife:

"Speed the guests;
I have told you;
You listen;
Look at your children."

When he had said this she [had] set out the four feet along with the head. To the guests she gave the feet; to her husband she gave the tongue; to her children she gave the eyes; and she kept the ears for herself.

The guests departed marvelling.

The man's name was Shamshēr Bèg, son of Puyēs, and the woman's name was Ghuno.

That is all. The story is told thus.

[234 blank]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XX.

The Man Who Supped with the Pfūts.

539*

A Story of Former Times.

One day a goat belonging to a man got lost. (As he went on) looking and looking for it night came down on him. He was returning to his home without having seen it and as he came along there was a light in the Būri Būn and there were Pfūts dancing. He also went in, they say, and mixed with them, and danced, and then sat down among them.

After dancing, the Pfūts brought food for a wedding party and at the end when they had eaten they brought a skin. Then they demanded from all the bones of their shares of the meat, and collected them. There was one rib short. That rib the man, to whom they had given it as his share, had hidden from them. Then they made a rib of wood and threw the bones into the skin, and on shaking it up the goat came to life. When the man looked he saw that it was his own goat. The Pfūts drove it out and then they went off as a wedding party to the house of the Sughūralo Pfūt.

When the man, having departed thence, came to his home that goat of his was there at the door. On the morrow, when he slaughtered it, one rib was missing and in its place was a wooden rib.

Besides this, the man had brought a dance tune from the Pfūts [533] house. They still call that tune the "Pfūt's Tune" and they play it even at the present day.

No. XXI.

The Three Original Tribes of Hunza.

000

Hunzulo ɪskˈiˑkum qaum abaˑd bam — Baltit, Tapkiˑents; Ganeš, Hamačaˑtiŋ; Altit, Ɔseŋumuts.

Ite zamˈaˑnaˑulo thamo apˈam. Kuˑˈe bap gati ne uˑi hɔraŋ traŋ ne ṣečam.

5 Ho Girkɪse aulaˑdtsum thamo Hunzulo numˈan, thamkuš nuṣə, bap ṣˈeman.

Tapkiˑents Aˑˈeš Maiyuˑre Thame ˈoˑsqanaiˑi; Xɪsrauˑe Hamačaˑtiŋ ˈoˑsqanaiˑi; Šaboˑse Ɔseŋuts ˈoˑsqanaiˑi.

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1 *ɪskˈiˑkum* — here obviously means "a set of three", "a triplet", but the same word used of shoes etc. means "three sets" i. e. "three pairs". v. § 197.

These three tribes are said to be the descendants of people left by Alexander the Great when he was on his way down from China.

4 *ṣečam* — cp. *nuṣe* and *ṣeman* in line 6. All these forms are from *ṣeˑas* 'to eat' (a y obj.) which is frequently used in some such sense as "to benefit by", "to enjoy possession of", "to use for oneself".

4. Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXI.

The Three Original Tribes of Hunza.

539*
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There were three tribes settled in Hunza — the Tapkients at Bāltīt; the Hamachātīng at Ganēsh and the Usèngumuts at Āltīt.

In those days there were no Thams. These (tribes?) collected the taxes, and dividing them amongst themselves, appropriated them.

The Thams arose in Hunza from among the descendants of Gīrkis and took to themselves the sovereignty and the taxes.

(Later) Aèsh Maiyūrè Tham massacred the Tapkients, Khisrau massacred the Hamachātīng, and Shabōs massacred the Usènguts.

No. XXII.

The Fate of the Tapkients and the Origin of the Diramiting.

Awal Hunzo Baltitulo Tapki.ents aba·d bam, se.iba·n. A·ltitulo Ɔsɛ·ŋuts aba·d bam, Ganišulo Hamača·tiŋ aba·d bam. Dira·mitiŋ i·tɛ zama·na.ulo Baltit kam huru·šam. Hasanaba·dtsum ul nɛ i·tɛ bər i·tɛ zama·na.ulo but aba·d da gəru·rum bilum. Γamo·nts apim se.iba·n. T'elatsum ul nɛ Šišpərɛ xa aba·d bilum. Tapki.ents huru·šam se.iba·n. Tɛ·lɛ nu·rut but masti ɛč'am. Da u· u·mi.ər "zizi ba·ba" se.ibam.

Hin Aiyɛ·šo Maiyu·ri Tham sɛnas gušpu·ran Tapki.entsə yu·ša bam. Ho i·nɛ Hunzu.ɛ thamkuš nuṣɛ u·ɛ masti ɛtasɛ ka Hamača·tiŋ kɛ Usɛ·muts da Hunzo mariŋ mariŋ sisɛ ka nuku·škin o·sqanasər Maiyu·ri Thamɛ rak ɛtimi, se.iba·n. N'ɛtan Ali.aba·dulo doγ'a·ačan asba·b nuka huru·čaman, se.iba·n.

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2 *Dira·mitiŋ* — These are here represented as existing before the events which in this account professedly gave rise to them. They were possibly one family or clan of the original Tapkients.

6 *zizi ba·ba* — These terms for "Mother" and "Father" are only used in Royal families. For commoners to use them is insolent arrogance. They are said to have come down from the time of Alexander the Great. Here they should be reversed to suit *u· u·mi.ər*.

10 *Usɛ·muts* — the *m* is probably only the common variant for *ŋ*. The name also occurs with the initial H-.

nuku·škin — p.pc. act. of *gušuginas*, v. vocab. s. v.

11 *doγa·ačan* — The form is puzzling. It is glossed as meaning "separating out" from the verb *doγa·atas*: *doγa·aš-* which appears to mean 'to separate out' (intrs.) 'to be chosen, selected'.

No. XXII.

The Fate of the Tapkients and the Origin of the Dīramiting.

Originally, they say, the Tapkients were settled at Bāltīt in Hunza, the Usènguts at Altīt and the Hamachāting at Ganish. At that time there were few Diramiting living at Bāltīt. The nullah in behind Hasanābād was at that time very populous and warm. There was no glacier. Thence inwards as far as Shishper there was habitation, and the Tapkients lived there. Living there they became very arrogant. They used to call their fathers and mothers "Bāba" and "Zizi."

The Tapkients had fostered a gushpūr called Aiyèsho Maiyūri Tham. Now on their displaying arrogance this Aiyēsho Maiyūri, who had become Tham of Hunza, took counsel with the Hamachāting and the Usènguts and the best men of Hunza, and decided to slaughter them. (The Tham) having arrived at this decision, selected men armed themselves and took up their lodging (secretly) in Aliābād.

The sense probably is "men having been chosen (for the job) took up their post in Aliabad". But for the p.pc. one would expect the form *doγaʿatan*. Perhaps there is an alternative Infin. *doγaʿčaiʿas*. Cp. *hurutas* || *huručaiyas*.

The text gives as an alternative *doʿsqat* p.pc. active of the corresponding transitive form from *dᵊ-asqatas*. This would give: "A. M. T. having chosen men, they took up their post at Aliabad".

I at first took the meaning to be that the men were scattered about through Aliabad, but I now think that the separation is that of selection.

12 *huručaman* — glossed "sat in secrecy", i. e. the whole scheme was kept secret.

080

Hin hiˈran Tapki.ɛntsər tamaša baˈna nɛ dutsasər Maiyuˈri Thamɛ qauwər eˈrimi, se.ibaˈn, "'Hir sis baman uyoˈnər Thamɛ qau ɛčai' nusɛ dutsu" nusɛn. Ho hikum sis ũˈyamo Šisparər, "jatpat baman da huruˈtam gušiŋɛnts kɛ ˈoˈsqanin," nusɛn, oˈram (*or*, oˈrimi) se.ibaˈn.

5 Ho Maiyuˈri Thamɛ eˈrum sis Tapki.ɛntsalər niˈmər, "Thamɛ maˈr qau ɛčai.i" sɛnasər, hir sis baman hayurɛtɛ nuˈljɛn uyoˈn duˈman se.ibaˈn. Ali.abaˈd Buˈrum Mˈoˈsatər dˈuˈmər žoˈmanačˈo nɛ oˈsqanuman, se.ibaˈn. Hir sis bˈaman uyˈoˈnɛ tačap bɛl oˈruman. Uˈɛ guˈtašo kɛ yaˈrɛ aiyoˈtum Ali.abaˈd Buˈrum Mˈoˈsatɛ gəraˈri no

10 fat oˈtuman, se.ibaˈn.

Iˈtɛ zamaˈna.ulo Ali.abaˈd abaˈd apiˈm, das bilum. Beˈruman dɛniŋtsum iˈljum Ša Silum Xaˈnɛ waxtulo Baltittsum goˈtsil ditsun abaˈd oˈtˈai.i.

Ho iˈmo raˈati heraltan nˈuma moˈsan diˈnin iˈtsɛ Tapki.ɛntsɛ gutašuˈatɛ laˈš manˈimi, se.ibaˈn. Itˈeˈtsum muˈto xa "Burum Moˈsatɛ"

15 se.ibaˈn. Sərkaˈri iˈsɛ Kánɛ pači iˈtɛ dišər Šafa Xaˈna xaˈšiŋər "Burum Moˈsatɛ" se.ibaˈn. Ho Maiyuˈri Tham araˈmɛ ka huruˈtimi, se.ibaˈn.

Ho uˈɛ Tapki.ɛnts ˈoˈsqanastsum iˈlji Hunzulo hərki(čiŋ) ɛtuman matɛlɛ ču duˈsimi, se.ibaˈn. Beˈruman dɛniŋulo hairaˈn duˈasuman.

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1 *Tapkiˈɛntsər dutsasər* } *qauwər = qau ɛčər*: "he sent a man to call (to) the T. and to bring them".
2 *qauwər eˈrimi*

hir sis . . . nusɛn — The *nusɛn* must be regarded as being dependent on *eˈrimi* 'he sent out a man saying to him . . . .'

It would have been simpler if the clause had been made independent by using *eˈsimi* instead of *nusɛn*.

3 *jatpat* — *jatbaˈrtš* is given as an alternative. *jat* is 'old' of man or beast. The second element *-pat*, *-phat* is found also in *jotphat* 'young people'. In my MS. *o* is entered over the first *a* as though an alternative pronunciation, which it cannot well be. Perhaps both words were used and were telescoped by me in ignorance.

jatpat baman, jotpat baman, da huruˈtam gušiŋɛnts kɛ . . 'the old folk, the young folk and the pregnant women'.

This would be nearer what the context requires, *viz* the massacre of all the tribespeople remaining behind after the ablebodied men had obeyed the Tham's summons.

4 *huruˈtam* — should probably be *huruˈtum*.

8 *uyoˈnɛ* — why the *-ɛ*?

tačap bɛl — for what is known about these two words v. Vocab. s. vv.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

On the pretence of (holding) a fête Maiyūri sent a man to the Tapkients to call and fetch them in. He instructed him: "Say: 'the Tham summons all the male persons there are,' and bring them here." Then secretly he despatched a party of men to Shīshper with instructions to kill all the old people and pregnant women.

When the man sent by Maiyūri Tham came to the Tapkients and said: "The Tham summons you," all the able-bodied men mounted their horses and came along. When they arrived at the Būrum Mōs at Aliābād (Maiyūri Tham's men fell on them) without warning and slew them. They exterminated all the males (of the Tapkients). Nor did they bury their corpses, but strewed them over the Būrum Mōs at Aliābād and left them there.

(At that time Aliābād was not inhabited, but was waste land. Some years later, in the time of Shah Silum Khan, he brought a water channel from Bāltīt and made them occupy the place).

Then without warning it rained and a mud flood came down and overlaid the dead bodies of the Tapkients. And so up to the present day they call it "On the White Mud-Flood." (Būrum Mōsatè). (That is) the place beside the Government Fort up to the Dispensary they call "Būrum Mōsatè."

After that, they say, Maiyūri Tham lived in peace.

After the slaying of the Tapkients (when) they cultivated corn in Hunza, the corn came up with black ears. For some years they remained at a loss (what to do) and a great famine arose. Then

13 *gotsil* — This word is x though the *-tsil* is surely the word for 'water' which is y. The category of the compound is fixed without regard to the category of its components according to the nature of the actual thing denoted. A "water channel" is not necessarily of the same category as "water". V. § 25.

ivno ravati (*rai* + *ate*) — 'of its own accord, spontaneously'. One must suppose it here to mean 'suddenly, unexpectedly, without warning'.

14 *Burum Mosate* — One would expect the simple *Burum Mos*.

17 *korki*(*čiq*) *ashman* — *korki* appears in the first instance to mean a 'plough', *korki ates* 'to plough', but the meaning is extended to cover 'to plough and sow', 'to sow' and generally 'to cultivate'. *korkiciq* is also probably used in the sense of 'crops'. *ke* is to be supplied after *ashman*.

18 *matele ču* — *matel* is explained as "black grains", *ču* is an 'ear of corn'. The disease referred to is perhaps some kind of "smut".

000 But čam di·mi, se.iba·n. Ho bitaiyo ugˈu·man (*or*, ˈo·giratuman) se.iba·n. Ho bitaiyo γər ɛtuman, se.iba·n. "Wa Tapki.ents aula·dan amulum di·tsun bo ɛ·gi.ɛn, Hunzo dˈultalaimi, bɛ kɛ dɛntsum dɛn matɛlɛču du·ši" nusɛn γər ɛtuman se.iba·n.

5 Ho γər ɛtˈasər, "Hazaʳ amulo uˈɛ aula·dan maimi.ɛ" nusɛn, dɛγ·ərušumɛ odo·ri o·tuman se.iba·n. Hin Tapki.entsɛ muto·ŋ u·san bo·m se.iba·n. Inˈɛ o·sumo: "Hin huru·tum gu·san Pfɛkərum o·i bo·m. Be·ruman guntsiŋ maimi mˈu·u.ɛ ha·lər ni bom, Tapki.ents o·sqanastsum yər nɛ. I·nɛ gus gučai.as tai.aʳ bom. Mosˈamuts

10 gi.a bim. Hazaʳ inˈe·mo mu.i·yɛn maimi.a (*or*, manˈuwaiya) barɛnin," ˈo·sumo.

ˈO·sasər ho Pfikərər o·ruman se.iba·n. Ničuman kɛ i·nɛ gus nuku·čɛn hilɛ·san dˈimanam. I·nɛ i·k Dˈiram Čurˈam o·sam. ˈE·pkutsatsum dumərumaṇ se.iba·n. ˈE·pkutsɛ ˈo·uman se.iba·n. "Kin mˈɛ·mis

15 kɛ ni·tsun ma ɛsqaiman. Yu·tsəru.ɛ təraq bɛl o·ra·n, kin kɛ ˈɛsqaiman" nusɛn ˈo·man.

Ho bu·t tɛ·š ka·t o·ka nˈɛtan Čuram tališulo bam i·mi kɛ ka ditsuman se.iba·n. Dˈitsun gu·rə bo iri·ŋatɛ ne·əgym taq ɛtuman se.iba·n. Ho i·tɛ dˈɛnɛ matɛl kam manimi se.iba·n. Yat dɛnər Čurˈam

20 xɛli ču·st (*or*, Čurˈam mundˈa·q) imanimi. Šu·a kɛ pfiti·k pfataq

1 *uguˈman* — from **-guyas* explained by Hindustani *ḍa·la* 'they put them on (to work)'. Elsewhere we have **-waši.as* used to express the same idea.

2 *wa* — an exclamation to call attention.

3 *ɛ·gi.ɛn* — from **-agiyas* 'to make someone throw' (i. e. 'sow') but what part of the verb is not clear. Probably it is the 2nd. plural of the short form of the pret., in which case *kɛ* must be supplied after it to make it conditional: 'If you made (i. e. make) him sow the seed Hunza will become fruitful'.

5 *aula·dan maimi.ɛ* — The MS. has *maimi.ɛn* but the *-n* is probably due to liaison with *nusɛn* which is a frequent source of spurious final n's. *maimi.ɛ* should, I think, be *maimi.a*. The *-a*. (Interrog.?) indicating a sort of indirect question suggested by *hazaʳ*.

In line 10 below we have *hazaʳ . . . maimi.a barenin*; but the *-a* there is probably due to dependence on *barenin*: '. . . see (whether) . . . .'

6 *Tapki.entsɛ wsan* — 'a wife of the Tapkients' (*u* + **-us*).

7 *Pfɛkərum oi* — 'a daughter of Pfeker' (*u* + **-a.i*). A woman is described as "the daughter" of her father's tribe or locality, and "the wife" of her husband's tribe.

8—9 *Tapki.ents . . . yər nɛ* — This clause probably goes with *ni bom*, and not with *tai.aʳ bom*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

they made the Bītans dance and then the Bītans sang: "Ho! If you get from somewhere a descendant of the Tapkients and make him sow the seed, Hunza will be fruitful again. If not, year by year this smut will continue to appear." Thus, it is said, they sang.

On this the people said: "Perhaps somewhere there may be some descendant(s) of them," and making enquiry they sought for them. There was a childless wife, they say, of the Tapkients, she said to them: "There was a woman with child, a girl of Pfèker. Some days it would be before the slaying of the Tapkients, she had gone to her father's house. She was approaching child birth; her time had come. See whether perhaps a son may have been born to her."

When the woman had said this they sent men to Pfèker. When they got there the woman has been brought to bed and a boy had been born. She had given him the name of Dīram Chūram. They demanded him from his mother's people. The latter refused to give him to them. They said: "You will take away this grandson of ours too and will slay him. You have destroyed his father and uncles and you will murder him too." So saying they did not surrender him to them.

Eventually, having taken many oaths and given many undertakings to them, the Hunza men brought back Chūram, who was in swaddling bands, and along with him his mother. Having done so they put wheat seed into the child's hand, and gave it a knock (so that it was scattered). Then that year the disease of the grain

9 *moʀamots* — i. e. *moʀamots* v. *-ʀamots.

ǵiʀ bim — apparently from *ǵiyuiʀs* not *ǵiyʀs*, probably 'her period of pregnancy had elapsed, come to an end'.

10 *mʀnumaiya* — 3rd. sg. hm. perf. + -a.

15 *yurtaʀuʀ* — "his fathers". The paternal uncles reckon almost as fathers, or at any rate used to do so, cp. p. 284 l. 18.

tʀʀq — cannot well be *trʀq*, *trʀk* v. Vocab. Is it a mishearing for *tačʀp* (*tačʀp?*) cp. p. 240 l. 8.?

18 *neogyin* — p.pc. act. of *-ʀǵiyʀs* with simple trans. sense "putting, pouring". The pron. infix probably refers to the child. 'Putting seed on his hand for him . . .' v. § 245.

20 *ʀwa ki* — here glossed "so much so", "to the extent that". cp. p. 230 l. 6 note.

000 numa gutsˈəras manˈimi. Iriˑŋatɛ bo eˑgimər pfiˑu fau ɛtimi. Ho saˑat neˑətan botɛ tsap nɛˑətan hərkičiŋ ɛtuman, se.ibaˑn. Aˑlto iˑski dɛnɪŋtsum sˈaˑro.an bam, iˑi bo giˑmi se.ibaˑn. Ho matɛl ˈoˑmanimi.

5 Dɪram Čurˈam juwaˑn baˑlɪγər (*or*, baˑlɪγi.ər) tai.aˑr imˈanimi. Imˈanasər Ai.ɛšo Mai.uˑri Thamɛ hukəm oˑtimi, "Dirˈam Čurˈam hər kananatɛ buˑč fat ɛtin" nusɛn, "mɛnə haˑlər dˈiˑa kuli aiyˈɛˑsqanin" nusɛn, gati no kaˑt haˑt oˑtimi, se.ibaˑn, Čuramɛ nasəl uyoˑntsum diˑusˈasɛ ganɛ.

10 Dirˈam Čurˈam hikulto Ganiš yakal(atər) niˑmi, se.ibaˑn. Gutsərčumɛ gutsərčumɛ Soγuˑralɛ sɛnas han dišan bila tɛˑlɛ hin but daltas dasiˑnan biranč̌ rač̌ no (*or*, biranč̌alɛ) bom, se.ibaˑn. Hamačaˑtiŋɛ oˑi bom. Gər aiyˈɛtum bom. Ho Dirˈam Čurˈam iˑnɛ dasˈinmutsɛ pfuˑt imanimi. Niˑman muˑmuˑmi kɛ šaŋ aiyˈoˑtum doq numuˑyɛn

15 Baltitər dumuˑisimi, se.ibaˑn. Baltitulo kɛ mɛn šaŋ aiyˈoˑtum, "Hamačaˑtiŋ dˈoyɛljuman" nusɛn, but ačˈɛˑmutiŋ bam, ar niˑman yatɛ čərulo han koˑrɛn bim teˑlər numuˑtsun mˈoˑrutimi se.ibaˑn. Iˑnmo mu.iˑk Bulˈuˑki bilum.

Yaˑrə Hamačaˑtiŋɛ Bulˈukimo ganɛ faš ɛčam se.ibaˑn. Beˑruman

20 guntsiŋ xa udoˑri mˈotuman, amulo amuˑitsuman amulo atoˑγurkuman. Ho "Amulo tsilaŋˈɛ mumanumuˑa" nusɛn mutsˈiˑɛtɛ iskikutsɛ čiraˑγ ˈɛspaluman se.ibaˑn.

Yatɛ koˑrulo Čuram kɛ Buˑluki araˑm nɛ huruˑčaman. Ho beˑruman dɛˑniŋtsum Buluˑki huruˑtumo. Nukuˑčɛn mu.iˑyɛn dimanimi, se.ibaˑn.

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2 *nɛˑətan* — Causative v. § 240.

7 *buč fat ɛtin* — for the same idea cp. p. 262 l. 8.

12 *biranč̌ rač̌ no* — *rač̌* *-*atas* here used as a transitive compound verb. The use of *no* indicates that she was keeping guard over the mulberry fruit (x pl.), not over the mulberry trees (y pl.), as the latter would require *ne*.

20 *amuˑitsuman* — 3rd. pl. pret. neg. of *mu* + *-*itsas*, *-*itsas* 'to see her'.

21 *tsilaŋɛ mumanumuˑa* — The *-a* seems to denote uncertainty or assumption. She has probably been drowned but it is not actually known.

The idiom *tsilaŋɛ* *-*manas* is only recorded here. Its exact force is not known. The passage is explained as "she will have fallen into the water", "she will have been drowned". V. Vocab. s. v. *tsil*.

mutsiˑɛtɛ — v. Vocabulary s. vv. *-*tsi* and *iskikuts*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

became less. The following year Chūram had grown up a little, to this extent that he began to go about creeping on all fours, and when they put the seed in his hand he (waved his hand about and) scattered it. Then making him touch the seed and lead the way, they sowed (their fields). After two or three years he was a sturdy child and sowed the seed himself. After that no more disease appeared.

(In course of time) Dīram Chūram grew to be a youth on the verge of puberty. Upon this Aiyesho Maiyūri Tham issued orders saying: "Let Dīram Chūram go free about every village like a he-goat. If he enters any one's house do not kill him." And he assembled the people and laid injunctions on them with the object of obtaining progeny of Chūram from all of them.

One day Dīram Chūram set out in the direction of Ganish. As he went along on his way (he came to) a place there is called Soghūralè and there a very pretty girl was keeping watch over the mulberries. She was a daughter of the Hamachāting and was unmarried. Dīram Chūram promptly fell in love with the girl, and without letting her father and mother know he took her up on his shoulders and carried her off to Bāltīt. In Bāltīt too he let no one know. "For," thought he, "the Hamachāting will hear of it;" and the Hamachāting were very malignant people. So, being afraid, he carried her off to a cave there was in the cliff above and settled her there. Her name was Bulūki.

Down below the Hamachāting kept looking for Bulūki. For some days they searched for her. They did not see her anywhere. Nowhere did they find her. Then they said: "She must have got drowned somewhere" and they lighted the three-day lamps for her.

Up above in the cave Chūram and Bulūki dwelt in peace. After some years Bulūki became with child, and she was delivered and a son was born to her. They gave him the name of Dīram Daltas. Again after two years another son was born and they called him

000 I·nɛ i·k Diram Dalt'as 'o·suman. Da 'a·lto d'entsum hin i·yen dimanimi, i·nɛ i·k Diram Maltaš o·suman. Da a·lto dentsum hin d'imanimi, inɛ i·k Diram Haidər Ali o·suman. Da hin dimanimi, i·k Diram Pfuno o·suman. Da hin dimanimi, i·nɛ i·k Dašaman
5 Xurdik o·suman. Ho tsundo yu· d'umanuman. Tsundo yu· d'umaniš xa Bulu·ki kɛ mu·yu· yatɛ B'uluki ΓaŠ Ko·rulo bam, se.iba·n.

U·yu· juwa·yo 'umanuman. Ho bəru h'ərki.ɛ ken di·mi se.iba·n. Čuram kɛ Bul'uki.ɛ uyo·ŋko altan uyu·ər o·suman: "Le aiyu·a, 'Öltarɛ 'ayamo hər'o het bi·en. Nama·n, dutsu.in," o·suman. O·sasər
10 hər du·šər ni·man se.iba·n. 'Öltarɛ talɛ nal hər bim. Ho talɛ nal hər dak no du·tsuman, se.iba·n. Du·tsun u·imo bušai.ulo, malɛ i·k Bu·l Mal bilum, bəru.ɛ hərki.ər oγəršam se.iba·n. Čuram at'i· bam.

Da Bulu·ki.ɛ mu·yu· kana·o o·to bom: "Ayamo baγərku ba·n. Hazaγ du·n ma·r nuqsa·n ečuman. Hər oγ'ərkasulo 'Bapo·tsəru·ɛ
15 hərɛ nazir, nan·ɛtsiru·ɛ gasa·ntsɛ qurba·n! Tale·yam ga ha·r' se·ume (*or*, se.imi) uγ'ərkin," o·sumo. "Axəna d'u·yen kɛ mamatsum duγ'ərusuman kɛ, 'Mi ma masaγundəro ba·n,' 'o·su.in. 'Da mi B'ulukimu muyu· ba·n. Myu· Diram Čuram bai.i,' 'o·sin," nusɛ, kana·o o·tumo.

Ho hər nutsun malulo uγəršam, se.iba·n. I·tɛ guntsulo hər du·šər
20 Ganišum Hamača·tinɛ kɛ uyu·ik 'Öltarər o·ram, se.iba·n. Ničuman kɛ talɛ nal hər ap'i·en. U·tso·ŋər bar'e.iman kɛ khan (*or*, xan) nɛ bitsa. Khan nɛ i·tsu (*or*, utso·ŋ) dak nɛ du·man, se.iba·n. Bu·a Ganɛ

1 *Diram Daltas* — This and the three following names are kept in currency by the Wazir's family, but for ordinary use they employ aliases. They are descended from *Daltas Pfuno*.

The narrator said that in fact there wasn't a fifth son, hence there was no *Dašaman Xurdik*. Why he admitted him to the story I do not know.

6 *Buluki ΓaŠ* — γaŠ is said to mean 'track', 'path'.

7 *bəru hərki.ɛ ken* — 'the time of sowing (Pers. *kišt*) buckwheat', the seventh of the month of *Asad*.

13 *u·imo bušai.ulo* — I have taken this with what follows, but it may go with *du·tsun*.

14 *bapo·tsəru·ɛ* — *bə·bo* or *bəpo* is 'mother's father' but, like *bə·ba* and *zizi* is used only in the Ruling Family. It is insolence for commoners to use it among themselves, cp. p. 238 l. 6 note. The plur. denotes the father and his brothers. Cp. p. 242 l. 15 note.

The literal translation of what follows is doubtful.

15 *gasa·nts* — is the plural of *gasanč*.

![[Errata: for NAN'ETSIRU'E read NANETSIRU'E. Cf. F.Y.19, CAT.116 -- Analyst]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Dīram Maltash. Again two years later another was born and they called him Dīram Haider Ali. Another was born and they called him Dīram Pfūno, and yet another whom they called Dashaman Khurdik. So five sons were born to them. Until the five sons had been born Bulūki and her children remained up in the Bulūki Ghash cave.

The sons grew up into young men. Then (one year) the time for sowing the buckwheat came round and Chūram and Bulūki said to their two eldest sons: "Sons, our relations' oxen are loose, grazing in Ulter. Go and bring them here." The sons went off to fetch the oxen. There were seven yoke of oxen in Ulter and they drove them along and brought them in. In their land there was a field called Būl Mal ("Spring Field.") They were ploughing it for the buckwheat sowing. Chūram had not come (with them).

Now Bulūki had counselled her sons saying: "Our relations are a bad lot. Perhaps they will come and do you hurt. As you drive the oxen keep saying: 'May I be a sacrifice for the ox of my mother's father and his brothers, may I be a sacrifice for the hawks of my mother's brethren! I go round you, oxen!' Keep repeating these words as you plough. If they come and question you, say to them: 'We are your sister's sons. We are the sons of Bulūki. Our father is Dīram Chūram.'" Thus did Bulūki counsel her sons.

Then they took away the oxen and were ploughing with them in the field. That day the Hamachāting too had sent their sons from Ganish to Ulter to fetch the oxen. When they got there the seven yoke of oxen were not to be seen. When they examined their tracks (they saw that) they went downwards. They came along, following the trail downhill. There were the tracks of the oxen outside (the nullah) on the Būa Gan ("Cow Road"). The

15 *taleyam ga kav* — glossed: Hindustani: *lo, abhi kam phirta hail*, "Take, now I go round you, ox".

Ga is apparently taken as being the singular of *gaiin* v. Vocab. cp. also *korpa* s. v. "Circulating round" contains some notion of respect, possibly of protection. The same idea is presented also in Khowar by ґаґаwm. 'I go round' which is equivalent in sense to *taleyam*.

22 *khan*, *xan* — probably the usual *kha*, *xa* with n from *na*.

000 ho·lɛ hərɛ utsoŋ bitsum, U· kɛ Bu·a Ganɛ ho·lə du·n Šərai.iŋatum bar'e.iman kɛ ya·rɛ Bul Malulo meniko (hər) oγərša·n.

Nu·itsin umo·se ka diγ'i·numan se.iba·n. Hərə-ju·ŋər du·n ultumal ečuman kɛ 'Ba·po·tsəru.ɛ hərɛ nazir, nan'e·tsəru·ɛ gasa·ntsɛ nazir!' s e.imɛ meniko oγ'ərša·n. Öltumal ečuman kɛ 'ba·po·tsəru·ɛ nan'e·tsəru·ɛ nazir!' se·imɛ u.i·likiɛmɛ oγ'ərša·n. "Ki·rumanɛ nim'e·n nu·dılin taq o·čan!" senuman. U·ɛ hərəŋtsum hinɛ senimi. "Be, ačuko·n, ačo·in. Doγərus do·ljen ku m'ɛnik ba·n kɛ Hamača·tiŋ nimɛtsin Öltarum hər dutsum mi·liki·mɛ oγərša·n," o·simi.

10 Nusen pərčat malər du.ašuman se.iba·n. Duw'ače.asər Čuramɛ yu·ɛ hər fat no, "Ju·na (*or*, sala·m) nanatsəro!" o·suman. Hamača·tiŋɛ uyu·ɛ: "Ma menik ba·n? Kots hər bɛn dutsa·n?" o·suman. "Mi ma Bulu·kimo muyu· ba·n, da mi myu·tsɛ Diram Čuram bila" o·suman.

"U amulo ba·n?" o·suman. Oasər, "Yatɛ čərulo ko·rulo ba·n," 15 s'enuman.

"Elɛ be.iča·n? Ko·lɛ bəsər o·ruča ba·n?" o·suman.

"Mamatsum ər nu·man te·lɛ huru·ta·n" o·suman.

O·asər ho yatɛ ni·man, se.iba·n. N'ičuman kɛ Bulu·ki kɛ Čur'am o·ltalik ba·n. Ho xuš numa Čuram kɛ da Bulu·ki nuyen du·n talɛ 20 nal hər kɛ 'u·man, se.iba·n.

Ho Čur'am kɛ Bulu·ki da usaγ'undəro G'anišər nu·yen nu·n toš gər nɛ mut'e·ŋi nɛ Čur'amər Bulu·ki yu·man, se.iba·n.

I·nɛ Čuramɛ nasaltsum Dir'amitiŋ mu·to B'altitulo ba·n.

Faqat. Čuramɛ čaγa akilatɛ ečа·n.

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1 *ho·lɛ* — probably means "outside the nullah". The ruins referred to are on a spur which forms one side of the entrance to the nullah.

6 *u.i·likiɛmɛ* — means, "propitiating", "appeasing", "doing honour to". It is here glossed "praising (their oxen)".

nudılin taq o·čan — or *taq ne doljen*.

8 *doγərus do·ljen* — these words logically should follow oγərša·n l. 9.

nimɛtsin — from *-atsi.ar.

10 *pərčat* — I understood to mean "the outer edge of a plateau or terrace". The field was no doubt of the terraced variety, but coming down hill one would not have expected that they would approach it by the outer edge.

How the word stands grammatically in the sentence is obscure.

13 *myu·tsɛ* — *mi* + *-ar + tsɛ* — v. § 72. III.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

men too coming out by the Bũa Gan, looked from the Sherai.ing, and saw that some people were ploughing with the oxen down below in the Bul Mal.

As soon as they saw them they rushed down full of anger. Coming to the Herśahũng they listened and heard them saying: "May I be a sacrifice for the oxen of my mother's father and his brothers! May I be a sacrifice for the hawks of my mother's brethren!", as they ploughed. When they heard them saying this and doing honour to their oxen as they ploughed, they said: "Let some of us go and beat these people and smash them up." But one of them said: "No, brothers, wait a little. Let us first ask who they are who oppress us, the Hamachãting, by bringing our oxen from Ulter and then do us honour while ploughing with them."

When he had said this they came out over the edge into the field. On their appearing Chũram's sons left the oxen and said to them: "Salãm, Uncles." The sons of the Hamachãting said: "Who are you? Why have you brought these oxen here?" "We are the sons of Bulũki," said Dtram Chũram's sons, "and our father's name is Dtram Chũram."

"Where are they?"

"They are in the cave up in the cliff."

"What are they doing there? Why don't they live (down) here?"

"From fear of you they have taken up their quarters there."

After this the Hamachãting went up (to the cave) and when they came to it both Bulũki and Chũram were there. The Hamachãting were delighted and they took Chũram and Bulũki and returning (home) they gave them the seven yoke of oxen.

Then taking Chũram and Bulũki and their sisters's sons (with them) they proceeded to Ganish. And they celebrated a fresh marriage and arranged a dowry and gave Bulũki to Chũram.

There are Diramating in Bãltit now, descended from that Chũram.

That is all. Thus do they tell the story of Chũram.

[Errata: should ... them, and then let us best. cf. p419 -- Analyst.]

No. XXIII.

X'u·ro kɛ X'amərɛ Čaγa.

Yərum zama·na.ulo Xu·ro kɛ Xamar senas a·ltan ɛčuko·n Baltitulo bam, se.iba·n. Xu·ru.ɛ hin i bam, Xamərɛ talo yu· bam.

Xu·ru kɛ Xamər čal nu·man at'u·maγuman seiba·n. Bušai.i traŋ ɛtuman. Xamər balgu·in bam, Xu·ro ar nɛ xumu·in bam, bu·t pači bu·šai.ɛ ik'ərər ɛtimi.

Xu·ru ɛ Xamərər ɛ·simi: "Le a·čo, bušai.i uyo·n guk'ərər ɛtuma, ja·r kam ɛtuma, babər traŋ ɛčan," ɛ·simi. Xamərɛ senimi: "Bɛ, balki u·ŋər hi·š mani·la. Ba·wər ak'u·mai.i ba kɛ tə·š ɛčan." Xu·ru tɛšər rizai imanimi, Xamərər senimi: "Lɛ a·čo, Saha·la Bo·in kɛ Ha·lasa Bo·in bu·t zo·rišo bi.ɛn, omo·uski.ɛntɛ bi.ɛn." "Itse·tsum tɛš ɛtumər mɛ·r abaš ɛči.ɛn. B'erišalɛ [uk'u·ər nim'ɛ·n tsiltsum tɛš ɛčan," ɛsimi. Ɛsasər Xu·ru.ɛ "Šu.a" nusɛn, ni·man, se.iba·n. Nu·n γuku.ulo tsiltsum tɛš nɛtan duman, seiba·n.

Be·ruman guntsiŋtsum da čal umanuman. Xu·ru.ɛ Xamərər ɛsimi: "Be, bušai.i toq traŋ ɛčan." Xamərɛ senimi: "Bɛ, traŋ aiye·čan. Yɛ gon tik (*or*, zamin) ba·q ɛ·čan. Ami·nər hi·š bila kɛ ɛtɛ mɛ·ši."

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1 *Xu·ro* — I at first wrote the initial H, and the derived tribal name I have frequently written *Hu·rukutɛ*.

ɛčuko·n — the 3rd. sg. pron. prefix is interesting. Each is the other's brother i. e. "his brother".

10 *omo·uski.ɛntɛ* — merely a phonetic variant for *umə·uski.ɛntɛ* v. **-mə·ukri* 'wrathful' etc. This anger is of course directed against the oath-breaker or false-swearer.

11 *Beriŭalɛ* [*uk'u·ər* — γuku is a 'ravine' or 'defile'. *Beriŭalɛ* the territory of the *Beriče* or Doms (musicians).

12 *ni·man* — the MS. has *dum.ɛn*,

15 *be* — i. e. "No, this won't do".

No. XXIII.

Khūru and Khamer.

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They say that in former times there were in Bāltit two brothers called Khūru and Khamer. Khūru had one son and Khamer had seven sons.

Khūru and Khamer quarrelled and could not come to terms, (so) they divided up their land. Khamer had a large family of males, and he intimidated Khūru, who had no family (to back him), and took the bigger share of the land for himself.

Khūru said to Khamer: "Brother, you have taken all the land for yourself and given me too little. Let us divide up the land equally." "Not at all," said Khamer, "the fact is you have got too much. If you don't believe me let us take oath on it." Khūru agreed to taking oath and said to Khamer: "Brother, the Sahāla Bō.in and the Hālaza Bō.in are very powerful. They are quick to wrath." "If we swear by them," (said Khamer,) "they will (afterwards) work us evil. Let us go to the Bērishalè Ghūku and swear on the water there." Khūru agreed and they went off. Proceeding to the ravine they took oath on the water and returned again.

Some time later they again quarrelled and Khūru said to Khamer: "No, let us divide the land afresh." "No," said Khamer, "we won't divide it. Come along and let us demand the opinion of the land. It will tell us which of us has too much."

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18 ḥeṛ *eṛan* — ḥeṛ *°-ṛan* (Causative) is explained as "enquiring from someone under pressure" i. e. I suppose, "to force an answer out of someone". The narrator said they would beat the ground to make it give the answer.

ds — MS. *dr*.

[illegible] Xuru burči (or, rima) imanimi. Xamir tapr maler hin iren niren, niru, nipirak, yarr nitan, kanaro ur, harler dirni seibaru.

Ho Xuru kr niren itr iri yarr ctum maler nirman. Nuru doyaru-
sumar, seibaru: "Hr tirk, yr burrua jar burt bila, Xurur.or but
5 bila'kr" Xamirr ir yar(r) ctam tikyarum sanimi: "Br, Xuru.or
burt bila." Ho Xurru barwar nirman "Tik kr yarirmi" nusen, harler
dimi, seibaru.

Xamar, Xuru harler nirasar, ir dirtar maler nirmi, seibaru. Yarr
ctum itr dihar niru fataq ctimi, seibaru. Yarr ctum itr diculo ir-
10 ap'am. Ho irk ur qan ctimi, seibaru. Erir kr apaii. Yurpa "aru"
manimi, seibaru. Yurpa niru biraqimi. Erir kr apaii. Da qan
ctimi, yurpa "aru" ctimi. Tai cŭmar mal uyorulo ·rbiraqmi.
Amulo kr eritaimi, seibaru.

Ho iruo harler dirni. Harir mutindo yur ham. Ur kr da Xamar
15 irimi seibaru. Xamarr bulai.i beri niru pfat manimi. Xurur.r itr
bulai.i orirmi. Itr bulai.etr Datu Siq senasan diritum ĕ.uru·tuman,
seibaru. Irur Datu Siqr sulard Hunzulo amular horlgut nirar manimi
kr alam gai.i baru.

Xurrutum murto Baltitulo Xurrukutr baru. Da Xamarr bulai.etr
20 Datu Siqkutr baru.

Gutr kr čayr bila irur Xamarr sulardtum. Ai.inaq senas han
jandarran bi. Hunzulo ormai.i bi. Misgarr, Xaru Wali ŭrkarritum
ul ur, Murkut, da Miqtakr, Kilik, Qarabŭkur Tayrumbartulo mai.i

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1 niru, niru — etc. five consecutive participles must be approaching a record even for Burushaski.

ir iri yarr ctum maler — cp. § 377 d. Several other examples will be noted.

3–4 doyarusumar — 'they enquired', but it was Xamar who actually asked the question.

5 ir yar ctam — ctam is the plup. One would rather expect the static pr., yar' ctam ir.

12 aru ctimi — The subject must either be "the valve" or "his son" aru is explained as hru.

16 eirmi — negative prefix er + hrmi, from hran.

17 horlgut nirar — cp. p. 194 l. 11 note.

18 alam gai.i baru — a note says they are given goats for their service. Some went with the Gilgit forces to Chitral as far as *Lowpar* (in 1919?)

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Khūru agreed to this. At night Khamer taking one of his sons with him went and dug (a hole) in the field, and after giving him instructions he buried his son there and went home. 539A

Then he took Khūru with him and they went to the field in which his son was buried. On arriving there they put their question (and Khamer said:) "O land, look and see whether I have got the larger share or Khūru." Khamer's son whom he had buried answered from below the ground: "No, Khūru has got too much." On this Khūru, being convinced, returned home. "For," said he, "the land said so too."

When Khūru had gone home, Khamer went off to the field to extract his son. He went to the place where he had been buried and opened it up. His son was not there. Then he called him by name, but he was not there. On ahead there came a call "Hallo!" He went forward and dug, but his son wasn't there. Again he called, and on ahead (the voice) called "Hallo!" Going on in this way it made him dig all through the field, but nowhere did he find his son.

After that he returned to his home. At home there were his six sons. Both they and Khamer, it is said, died and Khamer's land was left heirless. Khūru did not make use of it. It is said they brought in a man named Datu Sīng and settled him on that land. In Hunza when it is necessary to go anywhere to fight, the descendants of Datu Sīng carry the standard. [539]

In Bāltit there are at the present day the Khūrukuts descended from Khūru, and on Khamer's land there are the Datu Singkuts.

There is also the following story about Khamer's descendants. 539A There is an animal called the marmot. There are none in Hunza, 225 but they are found in Misgār, above the Khān Wāli Fort, at Murkush. 173

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22 *Misgar* — the intention is probably: "In the Misgar Valley, above the Khan Wali Fort, at Murkush".

23 The Miṭṭaka and the Killk are passes above Murkush, leading over to the Tagdumbash Pamir.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

bi.ɛn. Da i·tsɛ Kašmi·rɛ hʌγučo Tra·gbal xa· mai.i bi.ɛn. I·nɛ Xāmərɛ i· ti·kya·rɛ ɛtumtsum i·nɛ i· ai.inʌq i·lt'ʌlanʌm seiba·n.

Čʌγʌ qʌdi·m zama·na·tsum daki·latɛ ɛča·n.

1 hʌγučo — the *Burzil*, *Kamari* and *Tragbal* Passes are probably meant.

2 ai.inʌq — Whether all existing marmots are derived from *Xamər's* son, or whether he joined the already existing race of marmots, was, unfortunately for science, not made clear.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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and also at the Mintaka, the Kilik and the Qarāchukur in the Tagdumbāsh. Again they occur on the Kashmir passes as far as Trāgbal. Now they say that Khamer's son after being buried turned into the marmot.

From ancient times they tell the story thus.

No. XXIV.

The Xuru·kuts and the Hamača·tiŋ.

000

Yərum zama·na.ulo Ultər'ɛ tər Hamač'a·tiŋɛ bilum, se.iba·n. B'altitɛ yatɛ Hərə·šuŋɛ dal U·ltarər gan bilum. But bušai.i 'o·qušɛljam. Bɛsan 'osasər ar umai.i bam. Hamača·tiŋ but šat'ili.a·r bam.

Hikulto hin Šadun Kapu·ri sɛnas gu·san Hurukutsɛ u·s bom Hərə·šuŋulo mo·rutuman se.iba·n. "Hamača·tiŋ U·ltərum du·mər g'ukər utsi (*or*, utsɛ) taŋ ɛti, da 'Atsi d'u·numan' nusɛn, qiyu pyu ɛti kɛ mi jučan." mosuman.

Ho U·ltərum Hamača·tiŋ gal diršu nuyɛn Hərə·šuŋɛ xa du·man, se.iba·n. Šadun Kapu·ri ganulo bom, "la·ŋ" mosuman. La·ŋ 'o·manumo. Hamača·tiŋ umo·ski.ents bam. Hinɛ taŋ m'o·timi. Taŋ m'o·tasər, "Wa ga·yu uš'u·šan! Atsi d'u·numan," nusɛn, qiyu pyu ɛtumo. Elɛ ko·lum sis du·n utsi du·n ti·m tam o·tuman.

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2 *Hərə·šuŋɛ dal* — *Hərə·šuŋ* is itself the name of a road or track v. Index of P. N. *'o·qušɛljam* — the road would be injurious to the cultivated land it crossed, because animals passing would damage the crops and roll down stones on to it and break the revetting wall.

The x pl. prefix *o·* indicates that the narrator had a multiple object in his mind e. g. "land, crops and walls", but these are all y.

3 *šatili.a·r* — this occurs as an abstract noun ('strength') in Shina, in which language *-a·r*, *-i.a·r* is a regular nominal ending. The Shina adjective is *šati·lo*.

4 *Šadun Kapu·ri* — she is said to have been very ugly and generally undesirable (*na· lariq*).

Hərukutsɛ — I give the *kh* initial to Khurukuts throughout the translation, as I have taken *Xu·rə* to be the name of the founder of the tribe v. p. 250 l. 1.

[Errata: for uš'u'šan read uš'u'šan, cf. p. 419, cat. 116. -- Analyst]

No. XXIV.

The Khūrukuts and the Hamachātīng.

In former times, they say, the Ulter grazing ground belonged to the Hamachātīng. There was a road to Ulter up the Herāshūng above Bāltīt. This road used to do much damage to the land, (but the owners) were afraid to say anything to the Hamachātīng about it. The Hamachātīng were very powerful.

There was a woman called Shadun Kapūri, a wife of the Khūrukuts, and one day they made her sit down on the Herāshūng and said to her: "When the Hamachātīng come from Ulter, jostle against them and then start shrieking out 'They have laid hands on me,' and we shall come (to your help)."

Presently the Hamachātīng came down the Herāshūng carrying long juniper poles. Shadun Kapūri was on the road and they said to her: "Get out of the way!" She didn't budge. The Hamachātīng are quick-tempered and one of them gave her a shove. On this she raised an outcry, shrieking: "May the crows eat them! They have laid hands on me." From one side and the other men ran up and caught hold of the Hamachātīng and banged them about.

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7 *eti ke* — v. § 356. 3.

8 *dirāu* — *dir* is described as a "long branch", but the juniper has no branches to speak of. It is the main stems that are meant. Such timber, up to four or five inches in diameter, was formerly used as rafters for roofs. Cp. p. 214 l. 8.

000 Ho Baltitum wa·lti giram gati numa Hamača·tiŋɛ ka ast'am ɛtuman. Ast'am nɛ Šadun Kapu·rimo m'ayulo Hamača·tiŋtsum U·ltəre ter g'anuman. Bara·taliŋe 'o·i bom, Hurukutsɛ u·s bom. Dəramitiŋ sa·ju numa Hamača·tiŋ kɛ u·ər ast'am ɛt'am.

5 Ho Hurukuʼts ke Diramitiŋ ke Bərataliŋɛ hərəŋ U·ltare huye·s o·rutuman. B'eruman dɛniŋtsum 'ilji Ultare tɛ·r Thamo.ud'i·matɛ ganuman. Mu·to xa Thamwalɛ bila.

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1 *wa·lti giram* — the "four tribes" of Baltit are the: *Diramitiŋ*, *Xu·rukuts*, *Bərə·talin* and *Burow*, but at that time the *Diramitiŋ* were living in *Šišpər*. *ast'am ɛtuman* — It is always difficult to get an exact English equivalent for *astam* which is an elusive word v. Vocab.

2 *mayulo* — the correct form of this word is, I think, *mayo*. This is supported by the Shina form *mau.u*, for Shina simply omits the *y* in Burushaski words.

4 *sa·ju* — explained as "*xa·liŋ*", "unprejudiced third parties". It is therefore "persons qualified to act as arbitrators" rather than actual "arbitrators".

5 *hərəŋ* — in this use denotes "sharing in something", "having a joint interest", "being partners", v. Vocab.

7 *Thamwalɛ* — i. e. *Thamo* + *ale*. It is in the exclusive possession of the Mir.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

After this the four communities of Bāltīt assembled and instituted a case with the Hamachāting, and by way of settlement they took the Ulter grazing from the Hamachāting as a fine on account of Shadun Kapūri. She was a daughter of the Berātaling and a wife of the Khūrukuts. The Diramating, as disinterested parties, had decided the case for them and the Hamachāting.

After that the Khūrukuts, the Diramiting and the Berātaling in partnership settled their flocks in Ulter. Some years later the Thams took the Ulter grazing ground for themselves and up to the present it is in the Thams' possession.

No. XXV.

Siŋ of Hindi.

000 Seibaˑn Hindilo hin Siŋ sɛnas hiran bam. Iˑnɛ iˑsken yuˑ bam. Iˑtɛ waxtulo mɛn thamuˑɛ hukəm Hindi.atɛ apˈim. Iˑnɛ Siŋɛ hukumat nɛ teˑlum uˑɛ sisatɛ bam. Kaman sis abaˑd bam.

Iˑnɛ uˑɛ yuˑ buˑt mariŋɛk bam. Han guntsanulo čišər dəruˑər niˑman. Nuˑn haŋ dišanulo sərkeˑtsɛ huruˑčaman. Yaˑrɛ Hindilo Siŋ katɛnatɛ iˑmo hiŋtsɛ guča bam. Yatɛ yuˑɛ sɛnuman: "Yɛ bəreˑnina, miˑmi han han hunəran ɛˑčan (*or*, ɛˑltˈirčan), (kɛ) yaˑrɛ mi myu khatatɛ guˑča baiˑi Iˑnɛ ˈeˑdiljan." "Iˑnɛ khatɛ yuˑtisulo jɛ dɛljam," uyuˑm inɛ sɛnimi. Makuči iˑnɛ: "Han khatɛ yuˑtisulo jɛ dɛljam," sɛnimi. Jut iˑnɛ: "Mašərbˈa šuˑliˑlo dɛljam" sɛnimi.

Nusɛn uyuˑm iˑnɛ jamɛˑr (*or*, žamɛˑr) hunts nyuˑɛšin iˑsɛ khatɛ yuˑtisər bišami. Khatɛ yuˑtisulo huˑnts nin yami. Hin iˑnɛ kɛ bišami. Iˑnɛ kɛ khatɛ yuˑtisanulo dɛlimi. Jut iˑnɛ, iˑk Daltas Manuˑko bilum, žamɛr huˑnts nyˈuˑɛšin ɛˑsɛ masərbˈa šuˑliˑlo dɛlimi. Dɛlasər Siŋ šaŋ imanimi. Bareˑimi kɛ aˑlta hunzɛ khatɛ yutiŋulo gati biˑɛ. Han mašərba šuˑlulo gati bi. Xɛˑaˑl ɛtimi: "Aiyuˑɛ jɛ asqanasər pfɛreˑi ɛtaˑn," nusɛn, tɛlum iˑmo uˑɛ sis uyoˑnər xabər nɛ, uˑɛ oˑsqaiyər uˑtsi thami. Utsi nultan niˑinin aˑltan yuˑtsɛ duˑn

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2 *mɛn thamuˑɛ hukəm . . . apim* — 'there was no authority (or rule) of any Thama'.

hukumat nɛ . . . bam — *nɛ* is probably to be taken as immediately preceding *bam*: 'he was ruling over the people'. V. § 368.

3 *abaˑd* — Here and elsewhere this is a very difficult word to get at the exact meaning of. The sense is that the population was small.

4 *mariŋɛk* or *mərinɛk* — The *-ɛk* is probably the collective suffix *-ik* v. § 44. II.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXV

Sīng of Hindi and his son Daltas Manūko.

They say that there was in Hindi a man called Sīng. He had three sons. At that time there were no Thams ruling over Hindi. Sīng exercised authority over the people of the place. There were few people settled there.

His sons were very fine fellows. One day they went off to the mountain to hunt. There they sat down at a place where there was a view. Down below in Hindi Sīng was lying on a bed at his door; up above his sons said: "Look here, let us each perform (*or*, display) an act of skill. Down there our father is lying on the bed. Don't let us hit him." "I'll hit the leg of his bedstead," said the eldest. "I'll hit a leg of the bedstead" said the middle son. "I'll hit the spout of his water jug," said the youngest.

So saying, the eldest, putting an arrow to his bow, shot at the leg of the bed. The arrow hit it. The other son also shot and he also hit a leg of the bed. The youngest, whose name was Daltas Manūko, putting an arrow to his bow, hit the spout of the jug.

On this Sīng woke up. When he looked he saw two arrows sticking in the legs of the bed, and one sticking in the spout of the jug. "My sons," thought he, "have plotted to kill me." And he notified all his people there and pursued after his sons intending to kill them. Pursuing and coming up with them he seized two of

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yuṛ senuman — The sons' combined statement, which is rather elliptical, ends with *ediljan* (line 8).

000 o·sqanimi. Daltas Manu·ko uya·rum nuka·rtsin Pisanər du·simi. Si·ŋ di·nin i·mo u·ɛ kaman sisɛ ka Hindilo bam.

I·nɛ Si·ŋɛ, Hindi.ɛ tsil bu·l kam bilum, han hisa·pan ɛtam. Y'ai.iŋɛ do·rulo i·ski·čo bay niki·n dig'i·ɛyasər tsilɛ galt pfər ɛč'am. Te·latɛ
5 hisa·b nɛ tsil y'aljumɛ Hindi aba·d nɛ bam.

Ki·ti Pisanulo Si·ŋɛ Daltas Manu·ko bu·t xuš ɛtuman, be·sɛ kɛ su·ratɛ bu·t daltas bam, paki·za juwa·n bam. Uyo·nɛ ka·t ɛtuman: "Ki·nɛ mɛnɛ kɛ aiy'ɛ·sqaiyan Mi.o·nɛ ha·kičaŋatɛ bu·č fat ɛ·čan. Ki·ntsum daltas nasal du·ši," nusɛn fat ɛtuman. Hin hi·ranɛ e·i
10 nyu·ni·n 'e·urutimi.

Beruman guntsiŋtsum gus gya·s gati numan u·imo uyəršu·ər sɛnuman: "Si·ŋɛ Daltas Manu·ko mɛka nuku·čɛn aula·d dyusasɛ xɛ.a·l aiye·čai.i. Čəra·ti nɛ šak di·usin ga·ršai.i." Sɛnasər Pisanɛ sis uyo·n gati numan ɛ·sqanasər rai ɛtuman.

15 Rai ɛtasər yu·s hurutum bo·m. I·nɛ ɛsumo: "Go·sqai.i ba·n." Sɛnasər ga·rtsimi. Nuka·rtsin Pisanulo han mujuɾɛn bilum. I·tɛ mujuɾ ya·rɛ han γulkan bi·m. I·tɛ mujuɾatər du·sin uya·rum nutaγan huru·timi. I·tsi thačumɛ ničuman kɛ i·sɛ γulkulo i·nɛ su·rat γe.ači·la. Uyo·nɛ: "Gutɛ tsilulo bai.i," nusɛn, tsil uyo·n γulkulum
20 d'e·miman. Ya·r a·pam, yatɛ mujuɾatɛ bam. I·nɛ i·tɛ su·rat ya·rɛ tsilər bali bilum.

Hin maper hiran te·rumanər di·mi. Di·n d'oγərusimi: "Bɛ mai.i ba·n?" U·ɛ sɛnuman: "Si·ŋɛ Daltas Manu·ko miya·rum nuka·rts

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1 *uya·rum* — I take to be "from before them" not "from below them". *dusimi* — may mean "crossed over to", but here probably rather "escaped to".

5 *tsil bu·l* — i. e. the spring water available on the terrace for drinking and irrigation, as opposed to the abundant water in the Hunza river down below.

4 *i·ski·čo* — probably a slip for *i·skičuk* cp. p. 266 l. 15.
The description is too brief to make the system of apportioning the available water between the various users clear, but apparently the time required to grind three "*Čuk*" of millet in the water-mill was taken as a unit of time.

8 *bu·č fat ɛ·čan* — cp. p. 244 l. 7.

12 *Siŋɛ Daltas Manu·ko* — the genitive *Siŋɛ* indicating paternity.

13 *čəra·ti nɛ šak di·usin* — glossed Hindustani: *juda· hoɾkar nikalkar*. *šak* I have taken to be *šak* or *šaq* 'slipping', 'sliding' etc., but then the transitive *di·usin*

1 [Errata: after aiyɛ'sqaiyan insert a full stop. cf. p. 419, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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his sons and slew them. Daltas Manūko, fleeing before him, escaped over to Pisan. Sīng, returning with his handful of men, remained in Hīndi.

The Hīndi spring of water was scanty, and Sīng had made a system (of apportioning it). Putting three *chuk* (72 lbs.) of millet in the hopper of the mill, when it was finished he used to change the turn of the water(?) Making the reckoning in this way and turning the water on (to the fields) he used to cultivate Hīndi.

On this side in Pisan the people greatly liked Sīng's son, Daltas Manūko, because he was very handsome of face and a fine upstanding youth. They all made an agreement saying: "None of us will kill him, we shall all, make him free of our houses as a male goat. A good breed will come from him," and so they left him at liberty. They gave him the daughter of a certain man (to wife) and settled him there.

After some time all the women folk came together and said to their husbands: "Daltas Manūko, son of Sīng, has no thought of lying with us and producing offspring. Holding aloof and slipping off, he runs away." On their saying this all the men of Pisan assembled and determined to kill him.

Daltas Manūko's wife was with child. She said to him: "They are going to kill you." Upon this he fled. Now in Pisan there was a weeping willow and under the willow there was a tank. He climbed up into the willow tree and sat there hiding from his pursuers. Following after him, when they arrived there, his face appeared in the tank. They all said: "He is in the water here," and they emptied all the water out of the tank. (But) he was not below; he was up on the willow tree. The image of him had been reflected (lit. had fallen) in the water.

At this point an old man appeared on the scene. He asked: "What's the matter with you?" They said: "Sīng's son, Daltas Manūko, fleeing from us, came here and has plunged into this tank.

is difficult to explain. It is tempting to identify *ʃak* with the Shina *ʃak* 'neck' when we should have "extracting his neck (from the yoke)".

20 *d'ermimʌn* — v. Vocabulary s. v. *dermiyʌs*.

000 di·n guse γulkər gi bai.i. Ya·rum di.usasər ku·šiš εča ba·n." Maper hi·rε senimi: "Le.i nad'aiyo, i·n ya·rε tsilulo apai.i. Yεtε mujuṭatε bai.i. Bare·nin. I·nε su·rat ya·rε γaičila." O·sasər bare.iman kε yatε bai.i. D'ε·skuman. Dε·skuyasər Si·ŋε Daltas Manu·ku.ε senimi: "Mu (y)asqai.i ba·n. Hindi.εŋε ča·r natsun asqanin." Hindi.aŋε ča·r ni·tsun Pisanulo 'ε·sqanuman.

Si·ŋε Daltas Manu·ku.ε yu·s huru·tum bo·m. Nuku·čεn mu.i·yεn dimanimi. Diman berum dεnantsum jotimutsε ka holpa tamaša εtasər nimi. U·ε jotumutsε i·nər ε·suman: "Le guwa·lum, tərmanum, mi bεsε midε·lja?" Esasər pfər numa i·mi mopačər di·mi. Di·nin doγarusumi: "Sε mama, ku jotumutsε ja·r 'tərmanum guwa·lum' ašan. Jε bεlatε damana ba kε, jε amulum daiya ba kε, ja bušai.i amulu bila kε, aso," mosimi.

Imi·ε senumo: "Le.i e·i, tsan gutε Pisan mi bušai api. Gu· Hinditsum (*or*, Hindimo) di bam. Ako·lε jε atsu·wam. Gu·yε bušai Hindi bila. U·ŋ ko·lε dukuman'a. Gu· Pisanε sisε ε·sqana·n" 'εsumo.

Esasər i·mimur senimi: "Jε je.imo au·ε bušai.ər ničam." I·mi.ε senumo: "Le.i e·i, Si·ŋ bayərk bai.i; u·ŋε gu·utsəro a·ltan 'o·sqanai. Guy εsqanas ya·rum nuka·rtsin ko·lər di bam. U·ŋ mu·to ni·ma kε Ši·ŋε i·mo yu·ər šar aiyεtai.i, u·ŋ kε go·sqai.imi. O·ni," εsumo. Mu.i·yε: "Bε, niča ba" nusεn, zo·r εtimi.

Etasər εsumo: "Yε šu·a ni, magər Si·ŋ guča bai.i kε matanər i·nε xo·rε ičər dukoyεljuma, lel εti kε i·n guča bai.i. Da asi·rər nuko·n barεn ilčumuts zat bi.ε kε e·yεnai.i, bε, o·staqam bi.ε kε šaŋ bai.i, u·ŋ gosqai.imi. I·tər (*or*, i·tεr) nupəran ni," εsumo.

Esasər Pisanulum sindatər ni·mi. I·tε waxtulo sinda kam bilum, seiba·n. Šu·n i·ti ki·ti han hantsε du·num bi·m, seiba·n. I·sε i·tε

5 *mu asqai.i ba·n* — This is probably to be taken as a conditional clause, in which case *kε* is to be supplied after *ba·n*.

8 *dεnantsum* — v. § 43. 5.

11 *sε mama* — v. Vocab. s. v. *sε*.

18 *guwtsəro* — plural of *-uy* used to denote 'father's brother' as well as 'father'. In the MS. *guwtsəro* is preceded by *gu·y* which seems to be out of place, but may be the genitive.

23 *lel εti kε* — *kε* is here probably the connective 'that'.
('If you hear him snoring) know that he is lying down (but not necessarily asleep').

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

We are endeavouring to get him out from below." "O you silly fools," said the old man, "he isn't down in the water, he is up in the willow tree. Look. (It is only) his reflection that appears below." On his saying this, they looked, and there he was up above. They pulled him down. When they had done so Daltas Manūko said: "(If) you are now going to kill me, take me opposite to Hīndi and kill me there." So they took him to opposite Hīndi and killed him in Pisan.

The wife of Dàltas Manūko, son of Sīng, was with child. When she was brought to bed a son was born to her. Some years later he went out to play with the (other) children. They said to him: "O you fugitive interloper, why do you beat us?" On this he came back to his mother and asked her, saying: "O Mother, the children call me "interloper" and "fugitive." Tell me how I was born, where I came from, and where my land is."

His mother said: "My son, it is true this Pisan is not our land. Your father had come from Hīndi. He married me here. Your father's land is Hīndi. You were born here. The people of Pisan killed your father."

The boy said to his mother: "I will go to my father's land.' "O son," said his mother, "Sīng is an evil man. He killed your father's two brothers. Your father, fleeing from death (at his hands) came here. If you now go, Sīng, who showed no mercy to his own sons, will kill you too. Don't go." "No, I will go," said her son, and he persisted.

Eventually she said: "Well then, go. But if Sīng is lying down you will hear the sound of his snoring from a long way off, then know that he is lying down. Then go near and look, and if his eyes are open, he his asleep. Otherwise, if they are shut, he is awake and he will kill you. Keep that in mind when you go."

On this the boy went from Pisan to the river. In those days, they say, the river was small. There were vines on either side

24 *eyenai.i* — 'he has gone to sleep' i. e. 'he is asleep'.

25 *iter nuporʌn* — 'looking at that' i. e. 'keeping that in mind'.

27 *šun* — There were apparently two vines, one growing on each side and intertwining in the middle over the river, but the narrator regards the double growth as a unity.

000 (*or*, i·ti) du·simi. Du·sin i·mo yuyɛ bušai.ər ɛ·pi hai.i yakalatər niči kɛ Si·ŋ guča bam, xɔrɛ ičər jučilum. Lɛl ɛtimi guča bai.i. Asi·rər ni·či kɛ ilčumuts zat bim, ni·nin 'eyɛnumatɛ Si·ŋ kaš ɛtimi. Kaš nɛ yatis tɛlɛ pfat nɛ day'ami.

5 Dayai.asər Si·ŋɛ yastsəro da ha jama·at xabər um'anuman. Bareiman kɛ Si·ŋ mɛniko kaš ɛta·n. Hindi.ɛ sistsɛ jo·niŋ (*or*, žo·niŋ) ɛtuman. Etasər uyo·n hera·n umanuman: "Kin mɛnɛ kaš ɛta·n?" nusɛn. Terumanər Si·ŋɛ Daltas Manu·ku.ɛ i· du·simi. Du·sin senimi: "Sɛ nanatsəro (*or*, antsutsəro), da·do ja kaš ɛta ha. Ja altan

10 au.utsəro o·sqanam. Ja au.u Daltas Manu·ko ɛsqanas ya·rum nuka·rtsin Pisanər du·sam. Te·lɛ ja mama numu·tsun jɛ damana baiyam. Ja au.u Pisankutsɛ ɛsqanuman. Jɛ mu·to da·n Si·ŋ ɛ·sqanam, bɛ·sɛ kɛ Si·ŋɛ na·haq i·mo yu· o·sqanam. I·tɛ ma·rulo ja ɛ·sqanam," o·simi.

Nosun Hindilo Si·ŋɛ dišulo n'urutin uyu·mkuš ne hurutimi.

15 Yər ɛ·pi.ɛ iski·čuk bay yai.iŋɛ do·rər nikin i·tɛ hisa·patɛ tsilɛ galt traŋ o·tam. *Kin Si·ŋɛ Daltas Manu·ku.ɛ i·ɛ ɛt ɛat* nɛ sa hisab nɛ tsilɛ galt traŋ o·timi. Mu·to xa·šiŋər i·nɛ i·tɛ hisa·batɛ sa traŋ nɛ tsilɛ galt yɛ·lja·n.

Kinɛ Si·ŋ Hamača·tiŋɛ qaumtsum bam seiba·n. Ki·nɛ Si·ŋɛ Daltas

20 Manu·ku.ɛ i·i waxtulo Hunzamo Thamo Hindi.ər ho·l n'uyɛn du·nin Hindi ganaa·n. Da Si·ŋɛ Daltas Manu·ko.ɛ i· ɛsqana·n, seiba·n.

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3 *kaš ɛtimi* — *kaš* is used ordinarily of slaughtering animals and probably implies cutting the throat and cutting off the head, hence the statement that he left the head behind.

6 *žo·niŋ* — was originally preceded by *utsi* referring to the unknown murderers: 'they reviled them'.

15—18 *yər ɛ·pi.ɛ . . . yɛ·lja·n* — cp. p. 262 l. 4. Again it seems impossible to give an exact translation and explanation of the water-system. The new system was based on the *sa*; and *sa* means 'sun', 'sunlight', 'daylight', 'day'. I have a note that it was "on the basis of days". The word *-sa* 'month' may be ruled out.

I am suspicious of the phrase *tsilɛ galt yɛ·lja·n*. The ordinary phrase is *tsil yalas*. Perhaps *nɛ* should be supplied after *galt*.

20 *Hunzamo Thamo* — These Thams are said to have been a dynasty preceding the present one, which was initiated by Girkis, a great-great-grandson of Azur Jamshed. This earlier dynasty is said to have been of Persian origin and to have died out.

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4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

which interlaced (over the middle of the stream). He crossed the vine to the other side. When he had crossed and gone towards his grandfather's house on his father's land, Sing was lying down and there came the sound of his snoring. He knew that he was lying down. When he approached near, Sing's eyes were open, and he went up to him and killed him as he slept. Having slaughtered him he left his head there and concealed himself. 539*

Presently Sing's sisters and the people of his house heard (of his death), and when they looked they found that someone had murdered him. They cursed the people of Hindi. All marvelled saying: "Who has murdered him?" Thereupon the son of Daltas Manūko, son of Sing, came out (from his hiding place): "O aunts," said he, "it is I who have slain grandfather. He had killed my father's two brothers, and my father, fleeing from death (at his hands) had escaped (*or*, crossed over) to Pisan. There he married my mother and I was born. The people of Pisan slew my father. I have now come and killed Sing because he had without justification killed his sons. In revenge for that I have killed him."

Having said this, he settled down in the place of Sing in Hindi and abode there exercising lordship.

Formerly his grandfather had put three "chuk" of millet in the hopper of the mill and had fixed the distribution of the water (supply) for the people on that basis. Now the son of Daltas Manūko, son of Sing, abandoned that system and allotted the water on a basis of days. Up to the present time they divide up the days and allot the water according to that system of his. 539* 312

They say that this Sing was of the Hamachāting tribe. In the time of the son of Daltas Manūko, son of Sing, the Thams of Hunza came with an army to Hindi and took possession of it. It is said that they then slew the son of Daltas Manūko, son of Sing. 539*

No. XXVI.

The Burəṇ Girl's Lapse.

Yərum zam'ə·na.ulo Burə·ṇɛ hin hiran bam. Da inɛ hirɛ hin eyen bom. Gər ayetum, gərkus manubom.

I·rkiši.ər huyɛ·s m'o·i yerčər m'o·tauč'am. Hin huyeltərtsane ka tis 'etumo. Ine hurə·tumo. Hunčo sa manimi 'Irkiši gud'amo, mu.'i·yen d'imanimi. Niyen ha·lər dum'o·mo. Mu·m'u·mi.ɛ o·imur mosuman: "Kin 'amulum d'itsuma?" In dasinɛ s'enumo: "Le a·ya, ča·šulo la·dus," 'osumo.

Osumər but xafa um'anuman: "Amulum pfopušan d'ezmanuma. Da mi ho·le du·siš ametuma. Tsane čayə 'eti," m'o·suman. Dasinɛ senumo: "Men kɛ alčine o.'i·tsa ba, bayeri h'ikulto I·rkišər huyɛs tsuya baiyam, tsilɛ bu·k yu·yimi. Dalt'anasulo tsil bilum, ite mina

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2 *gər ayetum* — it is difficult to decide whether the Static pe. is here active or passive: "She not having married", "(her father) not having married her off", or, "she not having been married".

3 *yerčər* — from *yərɛs*.

5 *mu·m'u·mi.ɛ* — Ma. *mom'umi.ɛ*.

7 *čaši·lo la·dus* — this is said to be Shina: "I got him in the thorns".

čaši — is Shina for 'thorn-bushes' or 'hedge of cut thorns'.

la·dus — cannot possibly be the first person of any active past tense of a Shina transitive verb.

It might be the 3rd. sg. hm. plup. of an intrans. or passive verb, and may belong to the passive of the verb *la·tki* 'to obtain', though the form I am familiar with is *la.čtu*. *d* and *t* are practically interchangeable in these forms, but the *-i-* remains a difficulty.

The slightly different *la·tki* 'to reap' would probably give passive *la·dus*, but the metaphor is improbable.

8 *asplem* . . — This would naturally be a question: 'from whence?' or possibly:

No. XXVI.

The Burōng Girl's Lapse.

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In former times there was a man of the Burōng and he had a daughter. She had become marriageable, but she had not been married.

He used to make his daughter take the flocks to Irkishi to pasture them. She misconducted herself with a certain herdsman and became with child. Nine months passed and she was delivered at Irkishi and a son was born to her. She took him and returned home. Her father and mother said to their daughter: "Where have you brought this child from?" The girl said: "O Father, I found him in the thorn bushes."

When she said this they were much annoyed and said to her: "Somehow or other you have given birth to a bastard, and now you have made it impossible for us to go out (of the house for shame). Tell us the truth about it."

"I have seen no one with my eyes," said the girl. "Only one day I had taken the flocks to Irkishi and I became thirsty. There was (rain)water in a hollow in a stone and I drank it. (Now) a

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'how have you given birth . . .?' but the following *da* . . . suggests that the clause is similar to the succeeding one i. e. a statement of fact.

9 *dwēiḷ* — MS. *dwēlil*.

ametoma — 'thou hast not allowed us to come out'. *mi* + *-atas* + verb in *-ḷ* v. § 359 2.

Perhaps both clauses are dependent on *ḍaya ēti*: "Tell us truly whence (how?) you gave birth to a bastard and so prevented us from going out (for shame)".

10 *alēine* — is probably emphatic: "I haven't even set eyes on anyone".

11 *tsīle bwk ywyimi* — 'my throat got dry of', or 'for, water' an idiom for 'I became thirsty'.

10 baiyam. Bululum han g'iri haldene ga'tan dir̄n ise danatum dalt'anasulo
hera bim. Ite'tsum alčine bes ke 'eritsa ba," 'osumo.

Ho inz mu.'i'ye i'k Burmbedi osuman. U ba'wer umanuman,
"Ga'tz itz harakate me.i huru'to bo. Menz ka akutseru bo," nusem.
5 Durum xa' ine Burmbedi.e aula'ditsum b'eruman hak'idan Ba'ltitulo
Buro'qe ba'n.

Faqat.

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1 *gartan* — *gart* is a male seeking the female. *halden* is a male of the goat kind. It is not clear why it has an *-r* here.
danatum — adjectival "on-the-upper-surface-of-a-stone".

3 *Burmbedi* — said to mean "the son of the ibex or markhor". *Bere* means "markhor" in both Burushaski and Shina, but *bedi* is unknown to me. I have nothing to show either that *girri* is used of markhor, or *bere* of ibex.

4 *akutseru bo* — from *gutsera*. "She has not gone with anyone", a euphemism, as is also *tis alse* in l. 4 on the preceding page.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

rutting ibex had come from Bululo and urinated into the hollow in the stone. Apart from that I have seen nothing."

They gave her son the name of Būmbēdi. They believed her and said: "Our daughter has become pregnant by the urine of the rutting ibex. She hasn't consorted with anyone."

Up to the present day there are some households of Burong in Bałtit who are descendants of Būmbēdi.

That is all.

No. XXVII.

Raskam: Čaγa.

600 Raskamulo tscrum zamaʷna.ulo Hunzukuts abaʷd bam se.ibaʷn. Uʷsr Baxti Kutoʷr se.ibam. Raskam but abaʷd bilum, se.ibaʷn. Birs.ulo γuski dʷequlanumsr gamuʷnulo dsʷl sar maś.i bilum, se.ibaʷn. Ho Raskamulo but mast manuʷman se.ibaʷn. Hin guʷzanz mu.ṭ-
5 nʷsʷγuran muʷšatz ixaśiṇ ḥapiʷkatz γaḥaʷp etumo, se.ibaʷn. Xudaʷtsum kz sr oʷmanum ʷoʷi kz uyʷasmo, yas ki mʷuʷlusc, farq ayʷtsum oʷka zina etuman se.ibaʷn.

Ho Raskam Xudaʷr hukumatz hik nala nupʷapayin sis kz buʷśaś.i kz uyoʷn γark maniʷmi se.ibaʷn. Baγair Baxti esmas hiran dyuʷzsin
10 Šimšaʷlar di bam se.ibaʷn. Iʷnz Baxti aulaʷltsum muʷto Šimšaʷlulo šu.a kz toʷrumo turma taʷundo hakičaṇ maniʷtsa.

Yaʷrz aʷlto roʷm, Ḥaʷzi Kutoʷr kz Baʷqi Kutoʷr, Čaproʷt yakalatum Šimšaʷlar duʷn abaʷd manuwaʷn se.ibaʷn.

Kuʷz zakikum roʷm Šimšaʷlulo baʷn: Baxti Kutoʷr, Ḥaʷzi Kutoʷr,
15 Baʷqi Kutoʷr.

Faqat. Čaγa dakuʷrum bila.

Galmitum roʷm (Waxi):

Buriʷ Kutoʷr, Ruʷzdoʷr Kutoʷr, Čaʷrtambi Kutoʷr, Budulʷz Kutoʷr.

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2 *Kutoʷr* — is said to be a Wakhi word and the equivalent of the Burushaski word roʷm.

5 *nʷsʷγuran* — the only part of this verb recorded. The infinitive must be *-γuʷzz or, if the -an of the past participle is taken seriously, *-γuʷzuś.an, cp. the noun γuʷzś 'human excrement'.

6 *ʷoʷi kz . . . farq ayʷtsum* — This is very confused and confused. The other object of differentiation must be "women and men not within the prohibited relationships". From such father(s) did not distinguish their daughter(s) or brother(s) their sister(s).

yas is perhaps a nom. in which case we have: "and a sister did not distinguish her brother from permissible men".

No. XXVII.

The Story of Baskam.

They say that in early times there were people of Hunza settled in Baskam. They called them the Bakhti Kutōr. Baskam was very prosperous. After kneading dough in the kneading-tray oil used to flow out at its lower end. Eventually in Baskam the people became extremely presumptuous. They say that a woman after making her boy stool finally wiped his buttocks with a piece of bread. And they say that, fearing not God, they made no distinction of daughter and sister, and sister and brother; they committed incest with them.

Then by God's command Baskam all at once boiled up and people and land were all submerged. Only a man called Bakhti, escaping, had come to Shimshāl, they say. There have now come to be some ten or fifteen houses of the descendants of that Bakhti in Shimshāl.

In addition, two tribes, the Ghāsi Kutōr and the Bāqi Kutōr who came to Shimshāl from the Chaprōt direction, have become established there.

There are these three tribes in Shimshāl: the Bakhti Kutōr, the Ghāsi Kutōr, and the Bāqi Kutōr.

That is all there is to say.

The tribes of Gulmit are Wakhi and are the following: the Burt Kutōr, the Rūndōr Kutōr, the Chārshambi Kutōr and the Bōdulē Kutōr.

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6 [illegible] — ppc. of [illegible].

11 [illegible] — cp. p. 242 l. 20 note. Here glossed: "about".

14 [illegible] — v. § 187.

17 *Gulmitōm rowa* — The people of Gulmit, and *Gujrē* generally, are largely of Wakhi origin. The names of the four tribes are said to be the names of men, presumably the founders.

18 — Lorimer.

No. XXVIII.

The Raskam Salt Tribute.

Tscrum samaʼna.ulo Baltistantsum Šimšaʼlor Biʼraldo Bʼurc gan bilum, muʼto kr bila, se.ibaʼn.

Hunzumo Xuš Beg semas hʼiran ke Šah Ṭazanfere kʼcnc Ṣigirum hikum dʼamal nuyen Biraldo yʼoʼn di bam.

But tscrum samʼana.ulo Raskamulo abʼaʼd bam. Uʼeʼtsum baiyu.e bap Biʼraldu yʼom Baltistan Ṣigirer tsučam se.ibaʼn. Raskame baiyʼuʼe bap Baloʼtsr oʼuʼaʼn.

Ho Raskam kušelumtsum ilji Raskamum Baxti Šimšaʼlor di bam. Ite Raskamc baiyʼu.e bap Hunzu.e Thamu.er učʼiman. Muʼto xa datumo tha salo, gerʼumo tha salo, bap Šimšaʼltsum (muʼto ks) duiʼan.

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1 ʼcrtsum . . . lraʼcm — mixed construction; the Baltis exacted tribute of salt, and presumably the Raskamis used to convey it to Ṣhigir.

9 učʼiman — "they (i. e. Bakhti's descendants) gave . . .".

10 tha salo — a note says that 100 are given to the Mir and 12 to the Wazir.
gerʼumo — i. e. in March.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXVIII.

The Raskam Salt Tribute.

In early times there was a road from Baltistān to Shimshāl by way of the Biraldo Nullah. They say that there still is.

A man of Hunza called Khush Bèg had come in the time of Shah Ghazanfer from Shigir over the Biraldo with a pair of small drums.

In very early times there were people settled in Raskam, and they say that they used to take a tribute of salt from them to Shigir in Baltistan over the Biraldo. The Baltis imposed the Raskam salt tax.

Then after the destruction of Raskam Bakhti had come from Raskam to Shimshāl. The Raskam salt tribute they (then) paid to the Thams of Hunza. Up to the present day they bring in as tribute from Shimshāl a hundred moulded blocks of salt in autumn and a hundred blocks in spring.

No. XXIX.

The Story of Basen Gairi.

000 Tsorum zama·na.ulo Basen Gai.iri senas hin za·lim tha·man Nagər ila·qa.ulo bam, se.iba·n. I·ne bu·t zuləm u·ete eč'am. I'ulmite gamu·nulo Maso·tər g'otsilan do·gušər do·gunimi se.iba·n. Kuyo·č uyo·n gati no·tan, o·r hukum 'etimi: "Čaltum taγay dusu·in. 5 Guw'ačitsum (*or*, Guw'ačim) baten dusu·in." nusen.

Be·ruman denin akiʼlate but damija·r o·timi. Go·tsil di.usiʼš ay'o·manuman. Ow'aldašo šadaq mani·mi.en. Ho Basen Ge·ri.ər fere·i etasər gušu·ginuman se.iba·n. Go·tsile raja·ki o·č'am. Hik nal'a i·tsi hē· ne hi·riki dan etasər i·tsi ga·rčaman se.iba·n.

10 I·tsi ga·rče.asər Basen Ge·ri.e haγur e·pači bim pfal mani·mi, se.iba·n. Nu·m'an te·lum Mo·ri Da·sər hal 'e·dilimi se.iba·n. Ho i·te pači.e dal Hu·nzuwər du·simi se.iba·n. H'unzo Ba·ltitər ni·n Mamu Hərε dal n'i·nin, Do·do·n Murku.atər du·s te·lum haγ'ur Xuro Pfari.ər e·skərtsimi, se.iba·n. Te·le duso·k i·mo tur ti·šen bu·l bilum čə·m 15 etimi se.iba·n. Da i·n ke haγur 'o·ltalik te·le γurtsu·man, se.iba·n.

1 *tha·man* — a mere variant for *thaman*.

3 *do·gušər* — present base of *d*-agusas* 'to pull out', 'extract'; (of a canal) 'to open up', 'construct', 'run'.

Cp. the similar conjunction of notions found in the Hindustani *nikaʼlna*. Here *do·gušər* is probably causative. It is glossed H. *nikalwa·neko*.

do·gunimi — the only other part recorded of this verb is the p. pc. active *do·gun*. In both instances it is explained as meaning 'seized'. Presumably there is a verb *d*-agunas*.

6 *di.usiš* — again the same conjunction of notions as in *d*-agusas*.

7 *šadaq* — 'galled' sc. with carrying loads, stones etc.

8 *fere·i etasər gušu·ginuman* — *fere·i etas* seems primarily to mean 'to plot, conspire, meditate treason against a ruler' (not against an ordinary commoner).

1 [Errata: for uwaldašo read uwaldaǰo, cf. p. 419, Cat. 116; Analyst]

No. XXIX.

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The Story of Basèng Gairi.

In early times, they say, there was in the Nagir district a tyrannical Tham called Basèng Gairi. He practised great oppression on his people. He seized them to make them construct a water-channel to Masōt at the lower end of Ghulmit. Assembling all his subjects he commanded them, saying: "Bring wrought mud from Chalt and bring flat stones from Guwach."

For some years he thus put them to great trouble. They were unable to carry the channel through. Their backs became galled. Then they took counsel together how they might assassinate Basèng Gairi. He was making them do forced labour on the water-channel and all at once the men attacked him and rushed upon him with intent to stone him.

Basèng Gairi had his horse with him, and he mounted it and they say he made it leap from there to Mōri Dās. Then he escaped up that side of the river to Hunza. He proceeded to Bāltīt in Hunza and up the Mamu Her, and climbing up the Dōdōng Murkū he galloped his horse thence to the Khūro Pferi. Dismounting there he thrust his whip into a tiny spring there was, whereupon both he and his horse sank (into the ground).

The idea of 'murder, assassination' is probably always implicit and may predominate, so the passage is glossed: "they plotted to secretly-assassinate B. G".

9 *hivriki* — originally written *hivri ki*. It is probably *kivri* + *ik* (+ trans. nom. suff. *-i*, which is unnecessary) cp. § 44. 1.

11—12 *ivle pAči* — 'the other side' sc. of the river or valley.

900 Iˈsɛ hɑɣur ɣurtsum čərɛ hoˈlɛ, hɑɣurɛ iˈsumalɛ hoˈlɛ, buˈl duˈsimi, se.ĩbaˈn. Iˈtɛ buˈlər: "Basəŋ Gairi.ɛ Buˈl" se.ibaˈn (*or*, se.ibam). Muˈto kɛ bila. Da Basəŋ Gairi.ɛ čaˈm ɛtum turtsum tɛˈle buˈltsɛ čɑɣučiŋ duwaša bitsum. Muˈtu kɛ biˈtsa. Da Basəŋ Gairi.ɛ dˈoˈgusum
5 goˈtsil čərtsum sasɑŋɛčiŋ kɛ ʃulmɪtɛ xɑtɛ muš dərum xa biˈtsa.

Mɛne se.ibaˈn Basəŋ Geˈri thaman bam, mɛnɛ se.ibaˈn-ɣaibaˈna bam.

Faqɑt. Čɑɣa dakiˈlatɛ ɛčaˈn.

5 *čərtsum sasɑŋɛčiŋ* — probably refers to the revetting walls built up to carry a water channel across the face of a cliff where excavation is impossible.
čərtsum adjectival, *čər* + *tsɛ* + *um* 'being-on-the-cliff'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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From the hillside into which the horse had sunk, out of the horse's tail, issued a spring of water. They used to call the spring "Basèng Gairi's Spring." It is still there. Furthermore, from the whip which Basèng Gairi had thrust (into the ground) there at the spring, canes had sprung up. They are there now. Also the water-channel which Basèng Gairi had constructed and the revetments on the cliff at the lower end of Ghulmit are there to the present day.

Some say that Basèng Gairi was a Tham, some say he was a supernatural being.

That is all. They tell the story thus.

No. XXX.

The Story of Ba·ba Ɪwundi.

000 Yərum ʒama·na.ulo Čupu·tsan bu·t aba·d bilum se.iba·n. Gi·ltum Th'a-mu.ɛ Čupu·tsantsum bʌp su·čam. Traxana·tiŋɛ Thamkuš bilum se.iba·n.

Da I·šku·kulo talo kanants bi·m se.iba·n. Te·lɛ han pf'əri.ɛn bim, ise.ulo han aždəran bim. I·sɛ aždərər u·ɛ si·sɛ han bepʌy hərʌn da
5 han pušo·ri.ɛn, da hin sisanɛ bʌp ma·ri hər gunts hiŋ tsi·r nɛ yu·čam. Be·ruman d'ɛniŋ ʌki·latɛ yu·man.

Ho hin h'iranɛ aždərər ma·ri.ɛ galt di·mi. I·n'ɛ· ha·lɛ hin yu·san bo·m, da hin e·yɛn bo·m. I·i· kɛ ka i·skɛn bʌm. Yu·smur mo·simi: "Yɛ bərɛn, jʌma·ʌt, ku·lto ja·tər ma·ri.ɛ galt di·mi. Jɛ ni·čam.
10 Aždərɛ ma·ri.ɛ xʌbər ʌ·r ɛta·n," mosimi. Mo·sasər yu·s he·rumo, da muyɛrər ɛsumo: "Le jʌma·ʌt u·ŋ o·ni. Jɛ ni·čam. U·ŋ o·ni," ɛsumo. Te·rumanər 'e·iyɛ mu·mi kɛ mu·u.ər osumo: "Le a·u, se ami, ma o·nin, jɛ ničam, bɛsɛ kɛ aždərɛ jɛ ašu·i kɛ mamatsum mai.i·yɛn da mai·yɛn du·mai.imɛn. Jɛ ni·čam. A·r gali gatu tai.a·r ɛtin," o·sumo.

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3 *pfəri.ɛn* — might be a "lake", but the small dry hollow pointed out to me could never have deserved that title.

4 *u·ɛ sisɛ . . . yu·čam* — *bʌp* is 'tribute, tax', and *ma·ri* are 'supplies furnished without payment' to Thams and high officials. One may take them as being in apposition: 'tribute-supplies'.

5 *sisanɛ* — is dependent on *bʌp ma·ri*, and so therefore are the preceding nouns. *bʌp ma·ri* should therefore be the object of the verb *yu·čam*. In that case *ma·ri* must be x. But it is possible that by the time the narrator has come to the verb he feels *bepʌy*, *pusoʼri.ɛn*,[1] *sisanɛ* to be the objects. The x-ness of *ma·ri* cannot therefore be considered established by this one passage.

hiŋ tsir nɛ — *hiŋ* 'door' apparently used for "household", *tsir* 'a line of individuals', 'a succession', 'one after another'.

[1] [Errata: for pusoʼri.ɛn read pušoʼri.ɛn - cf. p. 419, cat. 1163 - Analyst].

No. XXX.

The Story of Bābā Ghwundi.

They say that in former times Chupūrsan was very populous. The Gilgit Thams used to take tribute from it. The Thamship was in the hands of the Trakhanāting.

In Ishkūk, they say, there were seven villages. There was a pond there, and in it there was a dragon. The people of the place — each household in turn — used every day to give the dragon as tribute in kind a bull yak, a lump of ghee and a human being. For a number of years they gave to it after this manner.

Then the turn for (furnishing) the supplies for the dragon, came to a certain man. In his house he had a wife and he had a daughter; with himself there were three of them. He said to his wife: "Look here, wife, today the turn for furnishing supplies has come to me. I am going. They have warned me for the dragon's supplies.', When he said this his wife burst into tears. Then she said to her husband: "O husband, don't you go. I will go. Don't you go." On this the daughter said to her mother and father: "O Father, O Mother, don't you go. I will go, because if the dragon devours me a son and a daughter will again be born to you. I will go. Get ready a set of clothes for me."

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8 *ivi ke ka* — 'himself also along (with them)'.

12 *eiye* — "his daughter said to her father and mother".

13 *ʌ̃ṵvi* — 3rd. sg. x of short form of pret. of *a* + *-*ju.as*.

mai.iyen da maiyen — i. e. my death won't signify: you will be able to have other children and the family will not become extinct. It is curious that she should limit their procreation to "a son and again a daughter".

[Errata: for daughgther read daughter.
Cf. Pu19 [illegible] Analyst]

60a O·sasər o·imur gali gatu numo·tan han bepay həran, da han puš'o·ri.en numo·yen ašdərər ma·ri mo·ruman. Ho he·rčume ni·mo. Niču kɛ te·lɛ hin i·ŋi burum manum hiran tumuk manimi. Dasi·nɛ ɛ·r salə·m ɛtumo. I·nɛ hi·rɛ salə·mɛ juwa·b mučiʼmi, i·nɛ dasin-
5 mutsum doγ'arusumi: "Sɛ dasin, kolɛ bɛs dukowa? Da kolɛ be·ča?" mosimi. I·nɛ dasi·n(ɛ) nuh'ɛ·r ɛsumo: "Le a·u, guy'atum qurba·n amanum! Ku·lto ja au·wər ma·ri.ɛ galt ašdərər di bilum, daiya ba. Jɛ mu· ašdərɛ ašu·či. Au· ami.e ba·go daiya ba," ɛsumo. 'Esasər i·nmur mo·simi: "Jɛ du·ŋ 'aiye·ya ba. Ja 'aŋi.ulo kəru·ər pfiti·k
10 pfutu·k ɛti" mosimi. Mo·sasər i·ŋi.u·lo kəru.er bər'ɛnumo.

Tə·rumanər ho aždər du·sas tai.a·r manimi. I·n'ɛ hir daŋ pfu·ŋ imanam. Ir numu·man h'ɛ·rumo, mu.u·wan i·nɛ i·skilɛtər tsər manimi. Tsər mana·sər d'i·talimi. Bar'e.imi kɛ dasin he·rču bo. Doγ'ərusimi: "Bɛ gumanuma?" Irɛ ɛtumo: "Le ja a·u, mu ašdərɛ ašu·ci bi.
15 Pfərɛtsum yatɛs di·usimi" 'ɛsumo. 'Esasər bar'e·imi kɛ ašdərɛ γe·ratɛ ka· du·si. Ho i·mo i·tɛ γatɛnč maper hi·rɛ yu·lgištsum di·usimi. Di·usin i·sə ašdər tərumtər ɛtimi. Dasi·nmur hukum ɛtimi: "Uŋ mu gu·imo gu·a ha·lər guts'ər. Ašdər ja 'ɛsqanam."

M'o·sasər ho mu·a ha·lər ni·mo. Ha·lər n'i·asər mu· kɛ m'u·mi.ɛ
20 muy'ɛ·tsuman, da "ər numu·man, dumo·bo," ɛsmunan. Mo·suman: "Bɛsə, ai.i? Ašdər mu·to di·n mišu·či. Aki·l ər gumai.i bam kɛ yər nɛ o·ni" mo·suman. Mo·sasər o·sumo: "Ar naman at'aiya ba. Hin buzurg hiran tu·muk (*or*, paida) numan ašdər tərumtər ɛtai.i. Pfəri hik multan kɛ ti·njo mani.ɛn. Ba·wər ama·mai.i ba·n kɛ
25 go·in ma·ltirčam" o·sumo.

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5 *be·ča?* — i. e. *be ečа?*

7 *amanum* — static pc. form as optative v. § 380. But the 1st. sg. should be *amanam (?)*.

9 *aiye·ya ba* — from *-*ayenas*.

12 *mu.u·wan* — from *-*u* 'a tear of hers'.

15—16 *γe·rate ka·* — *γe·rat* is always difficult to translate. Here it is glossed Hindustani, *jurū kə sa·th*.

16 *du·si* — 3rd. sg. of the short form of the pret.

i·mo i·tɛ γatɛnč — why *i·tɛ* when the sword has not been mentioned before?

18 *gu·a ha·lər*
19 *mu·a ha·lər* } This gen. form of *-*ay* is peculiar. V. vocab. s.v.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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On their daughter's saying this they prepared a set of clothes for her and making her take with her a bull yak and a lump of ghee they sent her off as the (required) tribute to the dragon. She went on her way weeping.

When she got there a white-bearded man met her. She salāmed to him. The man replied to her salute and enquired of her: "Girl, why have you come here? And what are you doing here?" The girl replied in tears: "O Father, may I be your sacrifice! Today the turn had come to my father to furnish supplies for the dragon and I have come. The dragon will now eat me. I have come in place of my father and mother." When she had spoken thus the old man said to her: "I am going to sleep for a little. Rummage through my beard for lice." (He went to sleep and) she searched for lice in his beard.

Presently the dragon was on the point of coming out and the man had just gone to sleep. The girl was afraid and wept and one of her tears fell on his face. He woke up and when he looked he saw that the girl was crying. He asked: "What's the matter with you?" "O my Father," she replied, "the dragon is now going to eat me. It has put its head out of the pond." As he looked the dragon came fiercely forth. Then the old man drew his sword from the scabbard and hewed the dragon in pieces. Then he commanded the girl saying: "You go off now to your father's house. I have slain the dragon."

She went off and when she came to the house her father and mother saw her and said: "She's taken fright and come back!" They said to her: "Why's this? daughter. Now the dragon will come and eat us. If you were so much afraid, you shouldn't ever have gone." "I haven't come back because I was afraid," replied the girl. "A holy man appeared and he has cut the dragon in pieces.

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22 *yor ne oni* — the meaning is clear from the context: "if you were so much afraid, you shouldn't have gone in the first instance".

I know of nothing that *oni* can here be except the imperative. It would not help to take it as a past base v. § 407. 6.

The imperative would be natural if the sentence were cast in the present tense: "if you are afraid, don't go", and perhaps it has been illogically used here for simplicity's sake.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 O·ʌsəsər ni·man. Ničuman kɛ ašdərɛ to·rumuts f'ərilo gəra·r (*or*, gəra·ri) ɛtai.i. Xudai.ər šukuru ɛtuman. Da pfər num'a kanər du·n sis uyo·nər xʌbər no·tʌn, gʌti o·tuman. Da ašdər d'ɛ·lumɛ čʌγa o·r ɛtuman. Kanɛ sis ba·wər 'o·manuman. Ho i·tɛ dišər n'utsun
5 obər'anuman. U·lčinɛ ka y'ɛ·tsuman. Ho kuyo·č uyo·n xuš nu·man u·imo hakičanər du·uman.

I·n'ɛ buzurg hi·rɛ ašdər tərumtər nɛ·tʌn γai.ɪb manuwam. Ho i·tɛ t'apɛ u.ɛ Čupu·rsanɛ sis uyo·nɛ u·lji i·nɛ ašdər dɛ·lum i·nɛ hir yɛ·tsuman. U·ər o·simi: "Ašdər ja dɛla ba. Da bešal ma·mar
10 ʌbašʌn subašʌn di.ɛ kɛ ja·r qau ɛtin. Ja e·ik Ba·ba Γ(w)undi bila. Jɛ tsindi.ulum ima·m ba" o·simi.

Ho u a·ra·mɛka huru·čuman. Da bu·t mast man'uman. H'ikulto Čupu·rsanɛ u·ɛ sis gʌti numʌn sɛnuman: "Yɛ go·ina bare·yɛn i·nɛ mi·lji yɛ·tsum hi·rər qau ečʌn, tsanɛ ju·či.a be kɛ," nusɛn nu·n
15 wawe·la nɛtʌn ɛ·r qau 'ɛtuman. 'Etasər haγu·ratɛ nuljan šıkam kʌt nɛtʌn niza ni·ɛn tu·muk (*or*, paida) manimi. Čupu·rsan uyo·nuk Iršʌ·dtsum xʌti muš Raminjɛ xʌ·, fʌš ɛtimi. Bɛs(ʌn) kɛ 'e·itsimi Da γai.ɪb manimi.

Da yʌt gunts kɛ Čupu·rsanɛ sisɛ tama·ša nɛtʌn ɛ·r qau ɛtuman
20 Da du·simi. Bɛ·skə ap'im, mɛn kɛ dušmanʌn ap'am, o·r bɛsʌn ʌbaš api·m. Tailatɛ i·ski hɛ·ši ɛ·r qau nɛtʌn di.usuman. Ho hin γəri·b hirʌnɛ bʌtər nikin i·kər tumuk ɛtimi. Uyo·nɛ 'ɛka tama·ša nɛtʌn ža·o q'yu· ečumɛ tik pfɛ·tinɛ dɛluman. Ho bu·t o·tsimo xʌfa manimi. Čupu·rsʌn γunikiš du·'a nɛ γərk ɛtʌsər rai ɛtimi.

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1 *to·rumots* — "large fragments", the notion conveyed by *to·ri* being, more or less, "a quarter".

3 *ašdər d'ɛ·lumɛ čʌγa* — 'the story of the dragon being killed', cp. *ɛgirʌtumɛ čʌγa* p. 182 l. 15, note, and § 382.

10 *ʌbʌšʌn subʌsʌn* — The words *ʌbʌš* and *subʌš* are Shina. The two prefixes occur in a number of pairs of words to express contraries, the *ʌ-* being a negative prefix and the *su-* doubtless the Sankrit *su-* 'good'.

There is no point in the *subʌšʌn* here, the phrase is used as a 'cliché': "anything unfavourable, contrary or difficult and anything favourable, or propitious".

14 *ju·či.a be kɛ* — This I think is dependent on *bare·yɛn* which would better follow *ečʌn*.

22 *o·tsimo* — i. e. *u·tsimo*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

The pond is filled with (its) blood and bones. If you don't believe it, come along and I'll show you."

They went off and when they came (to the place they found that the holy man) had strewn about the fragments of the dragon in the pond. They gave thanks to God. Then they came back to the village and summoning all the people assembled them together and informed them of the slaying of the dragon. The people of the village, (however), did not believe them. So they took them to the place and made them look and they saw (everything) with their own eyes. Then all the people returned to their homes rejoicing.

The holy man after cutting the dragon in pieces had vanished. Now that night all the people in Chupursan saw in their dreams the man who had slain the dragon. He said to them: "I have slain the dragon. Now if at any time weal or woe come on you, call me. My name is Bābā Ghwundi. I am the fifth Imām."

After this they dwelt in peace, and they became puffed up. One day those people of Chupursan gathered together and said: "Come now and let us call the man we saw in our dreams and see whether he will really come or not." So saying they went off, and raising lamentations they called to him. No sooner had they done so than the old man appeared, dressed in green garments, riding on a horse and carrying a lance. He searched all through Chupursan from the Irshād down to Raminj at the lower end, but he saw nothing and again he vanished.

Again the next day too the people of Chupursan, making a sport of it, called him. Again he came out, but there was nothing. There was no enemy and they were not in any difficulties. Three times in this manner they called and fetched him out. (Then) he entered into the skin of a poor man and (so) presented himself. They all made game of him and, howling and shouting, pelted him with earth and ashes. He became very wroth with them and invoking curses (on them) he determined to overwhelm Chupursan.

000 Ho hin jat gusanmo ha· hiŋtsər nimi. Ni·asər i·nɛ jat gusmo ha·le han halqu·m belisantsum thi bɛsan apim. E·r mamu ča·o ča·o nɛtan hiŋtsər fu·lulo yanči.ər diu·sumo. Mo·r du·'a· nɛtan mo·simi: "Wa 'a·pi, go·r bərkat maniš! Da tso·rdinər gu·imo ha·tsum ho·lə
5 atu·s, gu·imo tɛšatum tama·ka·r bare·n. Hamalɛ ha·kičaŋulo u·ŋə bɛsan du·stsak bitsa kɛ gu·imo ha·lər dus'u·. Ho·lɛ bɛ·san fat aiy'ɛti. Tso·rdinər bɛsan yɛ·tsa kɛ y'e·šuma" mo·simi. Gutɛ nusɛn jat gusmutsum γai.ıb manimi.

Ho Čupu·rsan uy'o·n tso·rdinər hik nal'a ya·rum yatɛ num'a i·mo
10 ra·ati b'apayimi. Sis uyo·n kɛ γərk um'anuman. I·nɛ buzurg hir niza ir'iŋ ni·yɛn i·tɛ mo·satɛ nuljɛn jat gusmo ha asir manimi. Jat gusmo ha kɛ bušai.i du.'a·simi. Ya·rə uyo·n γərk manimi. Jat gusə bare.imo kɛ γərb'el api. Da i·tɛ mo·sulo mu·imo γərbel bi. E·r qau ɛtumo. Etasər i·mo nisa·tɛ mor ho·lə wašimi.
15 Ine jat gusmo i·tɛ ha kɛ buš'aiyɛ i·k Kampi·rɛ Di.o·r bila. Waxi ba·šatɛ "kampi·r" maper jat gusmur se.iba·n. "Di.o·r" gira·mər se.iba·n. Mu·to kɛ inɛ jat gusmo ha·ɛ šər'an kɛ bušai.i bila. Kampi·rɛ Di.o·r seiba·n.

I·nɛ buzurgɛ i·ik Ba·ba Γwundi Mərd Wali bilum. Da zi.a·ratɛ i·k
20 kɛ i·t'e·tsum Ba·ba Γwundi se.iba·n. Kine buzurg awalulo, Waxa·nulo Γund senas dišan bila, tɛle tumuk manuwam se.iba·n. Ite·tsum Ba·ba Γwundi sena·n. M'ɛnɛ (t)sindi.ulum Ima·m bam se.iba·n. I·ik Muhammad Ba·qır bila.

Da Čupu·rsanulo han dišanulo i·mo haγu·rɛ kiji·mɛ naqša fat

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5 *hamalɛ ha·kičaŋulo* — the singular *hamalɛ* must be regarded as adjectival "neighbour houses".

7 *bɛsan yɛ·tsa kɛ yɛ·šuma* — "you will see what you have seen" (pret. = perf. tense).

9 *ya·rum yatɛ numa* — explained as "turning upside down", but literally it contains the idea of bursting or boiling up from below which would fit in with *bapayimi*. Immediately after, however, we are told that it was a mudflood that came down and overwhelmed the place. This would be quite in accordance with nature.

16 *maper jat gusmər* — *jat* was probably meant as a correction for *maper*.

gira·mər — *gira·m* or *giram* was here explained as an "enclosure for keeping goats in", equated with a Shina word *giro·m* which I do not know in that

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then he went to the door of an old woman's house. There was nothing in her house except a sheep that had lambed. She milked it for him and took the milk out in a bowl to the door to welcome him. He blessed her and said: "O Grandmother, blessings be on you! Tomorrow morning do not go out of your house. Look on at what happens from the top of your roof. If you have any belongings in your neighbours' houses fetch them into your own house. Leave nothing outside. Tomorrow you will see what you will see." With these words he vanished from the sight of the old woman.

Then on the next day all Chupursan of a sudden turned topsy-turvy, and spontaneously boiled up, and all the people were overwhelmed. The Holy Man, riding on the mud-flood with his lance in his hand, drew near to the old woman's house. The old woman's house and land remained; all the rest was submerged. When the old woman looked she saw that her sieve was missing and that it was in the flood. She called out to the Holy Man and he threw it out for her with his lance.

The name of the old woman's house and land is Kampīrè Di.ōr. In the Wakhi language they call an elderly (or) old woman "Kampīr," and they call a settlement "Di.ōr." The ruins of the old woman's house and her land are there now; they call them Kampīre Di.ōr.

The Holy Man's name was Bābā Ghwundi Merd Wali. Hence the name of the shrine also is Bābā Ghwundi. This holy man had originally made his appearance, they say, at a place called Ghund in Wakhān, and for this reason they have called him Bābā Ghwundi. Some say he was the fifth Imam. His (personal) name is Muhammad Bāqir.

At a certain place in Chupursan he has left the pattern of his embroidered horse-cloth. It is there still at the present day. It is

sense. It is presumably the ordinary word of which the essential meaning in Burushaski seems to be 'any community living together'.

Laqēa — there is said to be a flat thin stone marked like a leopard skin.

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180 ctai.i. Mu·to kr bi, danantsr bi. Da hi tha·nr hayurr i·ten bila. Hi tha·nr hayu·rr tili.aŋ danr bitsa. Da hi tha·nr batanatr tartapu·r nima·rr bila. Hi tha·nr irir̥r panja bila. I·ter "Panja.i Šah" se.iba·n.

Faqat.! Čaya dakuʼrum bila.

! [Errata for faqat read faqat, cf. p. 419, cat. 116, -. Analyst.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5\ 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

on a stone. Then at one place there is his horse's hoof mark, and at one place there is his horse's saddle in stone. Again, at another place on a flat stone there is his praying carpet, and at another place there is (the imprint of) his open hand. They call it the Panja i Shāh. 5394

That is all there is to tell.

No. XXXI.

The Misgar Shrine, Aqtash.

Misgarulo han astanan bi, esse i·k Aqtaš bila. "Aqtaš" Turki.u·lo burum daner se.ibam. Kirgiz i·k o·sam.

Da i·se dantsum del du·šilum se.ibam. Asoli i·k Turki.u·lo "Yaγtaš" bilum; "yaγ" delor se.ibam. "Del Duwas Dan" se.ibam.

Tsorum zamana.ulo Misgarulo Kirgiz abad bam. U·z ukerer i·se dan si.arat et'am. Da mu ke Misgori iser·ter nun hi·ri.e salam ečam, gušiηantse u·riη 'eltalai.i bam. Da huy·e nu·yen nun Misgar·kutse xudai.i ečam. Iser·tz doru ne turi.aη yorum zamana·tsum deli bam.

Ise danalum del pfa·š mai.i bila.

Faqat. Čaγa dakurum bila.

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4 *del duwas dan* — i. e. "the oil-coming-out-stone" i. e. "the stone from which oil comes out".

6 *hiri.e* — note the extended nominative with a present tense. Similarly *gušiηantse. uriη eltalai.i bam* — v. Vocab. s. v. **-altalanas*. Women wave their hands with a circular motion as a token of respect to the Tham.

8 *xudai.i ečam* — On such occasions the animal is slaughtered and its flesh distributed as alms. Whether the proceeding amounts to a technical "sacrifice" I do not know.

No. XXXI.

The Misgār Shrine, Aqtash.

At Misgār there is a shrine of which the name is Aqtash. In Turki they call a white stone "aq tash." The Kirgiz had given it the name.

Then they say that oil used to come out of the stone. Its proper name in Turki was "yāghtash." They call oil "yāgh." They used to call it the "Oil-Exuding-Stone."

In early times the Kirgiz were settled in Misgār. They had made this stone into a shrine for themselves. Even now the Misgāris go to it, and the men salām and the women wave their hands. And the Misgār people take goats and go there and sacrifice them. From old times they have fixed up horns on (the wall round) it, after they have been hunting.

Oil exudes from the stone.

That is all there is to tell.

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8 *ierte* — a note adds: *hritse dali hawa* 'they fix them on the wall'. It is a common practice to fix horns on the enclosure walls of shrines and mosques.

10 *ier dawalewa* — possibly means: 'from the environs of the stone' as opposed to *dawalewa* (l. 8) 'from the stone itself'. But perhaps *dawalewa* — 'from inside the stone' — was intended.

No. XXXII.

Sai.ɪd Ša Wali.ɛ Čaγa.

000 Tsorum zamaˑna.ulo hin Sai.ɪd Ša sɛnas hiran yuˑsmu ka Hunzu.ɛ Uˑltərɛ Bərɛ hoˑlɛ di bam, se.ibaˑn. Sis hairaˑn bam: "Kiˑn amulum bˈɛlatɛ di bai.i kɛ, gan amulo apˈiˑm" nusɛn. Ho Sai.ɪd Ša kɛ yuˑs Hˈunzulo xuš nɛ huruˑtuman se.ibaˑn.

5 Sai.ɪd Ša siri ka bam se.ibaˑn. Hikulto oˑsimi: "Le.i Hunzakuts, Baltitɛ tsil kam bila, han pfuˑtanɛ tsil uyoˑn mi bi. Iˑsɛ pfut jɛ maˑr diˑušam, ma dɛlin," oˑsimi. Iˑtɛ waxtulo sis ar umanuman, se.ibaˑn. Ar umanasər ho Sai.ɪd Ša tobaqatɛ bišami se.ibaˑn. Bišˈai.asər ho tušaˑran bul(ɛ tsil) duˑsimi. Sai.ɪd Ša oˑsimi: "Axənˈa

10 pfut ma dɛli bam kɛ buˑt tsil dušum tsɛ. Mu ja iˑsɛ pfutɛ han iˑme.ulo tobaqatɛ dɛli.aba. Maˑr hamiˑša gutɛ buˑl du.aˑaši," osam, se.ibaˑn. Muˑto kɛ bila. Itˈɛr "Pfuruˑɛ Bul" seya baˑn.

Ho Sai.ɪd Ša beˑrum kutsantsum besanatɛ azaˑr numa Hunzutsum ni.asər rak ɛtimi. Etasər gati numa "Oˑni" nusɛn ɛˑr buyat ɛtuman,

15 se.ibaˑn. Qabuˑl aiyɛtum Sai.ɪd Ša Hunzotsum yuˑs numuˑyɛn duˑsimi. Amma Sai.ɪd Ša Hunzulo han Šikaki.ants sɛnas dišan bila, buˑt xuš ɛtˈam. Iˑmo γoyaŋ uγˈunimi se.ibaˑn, "Gukɛ tɛˑlɛ yaˑrɛ ɛtin"

2–5 *amolum belatɛ . . . kɛ* — the *kɛ* gives the sense of the English -ever: 'wherever has he come from and however has he come?'

3 *gan apim* — the *Ultəri Bər* is a 'cul de sac' surrounded, except at its exit through a narrow gorge, by 20,000 foot snow-capped mountains.

5 *Hunzakuts* — a variant, probably incorrect, of *Hunzukuts*.

8 *Ho Sai.ɪd Ša* — The meaning is probably that, as the people were afraid, *Sai.ɪd Ša* himself shot at the *Deˑu* when he had forced him to come out.

No. XXXII.

The Story of Saiyid Shāh Wali.

They say that in early times a man called Saiyid Shāh had come with his wife out of the Ulter Ber in Hunza. The people were amazed saying: "Wherever this man has come from, and however he has come, there was no road (for him) anywhere." Saiyid Shāh and his wife settled down happily in Hunza.

Saiyid Shāh possessed supernatural powers, they say. One day he said to the people: "O men of Hunza, the water of Bālti is scanty; a Dēu is drinking up all the water. I shall get the Dēu out for you, and do you slay him." At that time the people were afraid, so Saiyid Shāh shot (at the Dēu) with a gun; whereupon a considerable spring of water gushed out. Saiyid Shāh said to them: "If you had slain the Dēu much (more) water would have come out. I shot him just now in one tooth. The spring will remain to you for ever." The spring is there now. We call it the Pfurū̂ Bul (the "Reed Spring.")

Then after some days Saiyid Shāh was annoyed at something and determined to quit Hunza. On his so deciding the people assembled and petitioned him saying: "Don't go." Saiyid Shāh did not agree and taking his wife he went out from Hunza. But Saiyid Shāh had taken a liking to a place in Hunza called Shikakiants. They say he gave the people there some of his hair, saying: "Bury this there." And he had said to them: "When there have come

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10 *dulum ūr* — 3rd. sg. y of the "Conditional" v. §§ 318 and 321.

11 *bevum ketanāsum* — Note the -um suffix with a plural noun v. §§ 48. 3 and 170.

(99) stoin. "Beial gute ditdo talo Seitarum mazariq manimi ke Hunzo bort abard mai.imi," ovam, se.iharu.

Ho Sai.id ña Sumaiyaur dura xan ne divni se.iharu. Ñayur ke Hakurtar haraqdum i-te ñin'at bort dorčilum. Sai.id ña čavur divnar dorimi se.iharu. Han uyum bornan yatum dimi. Sai.id ña i-ne boru do.ir ne yat ne thur etimi, se.iharu. I-ne ñiqa dirm bun ite i-ndilulo taat etimi se.iharu. Durum xar Sai.id ña dura netan taat etum boru i-te indi-lulo bi.

Ho Sai.id ña ke yure Thorlar durman se.iharu. I-te dit ovur xuá dirmi. Xuá n'uman kuru-tam'an. Berum saxmo Sai.id ña yalire imanimi. U-e sisar ovimi: "Je ovča ba. Jur kafan Hunzutum nam'an, durmarin, dusurin," ovimi. Pur.an sa bim kafan Hunzu.e Thamutum durmatar dorimi, se.iharu. Hunzurwar dura, kafan nuk'a pfar numa Turlar nit xa i-ne pfari sa ter bur omanum tallate him se.iharu. Sai.id ña Xudayu Wali ham, ine sa bur ayutum e.urutam se.iharu. Kafan teuyasar (or, euyasar) Sai.id ña Wali wafat manimi, se.iharu.

Turlc sisar ovam: "Je kurlo aw'atin. Gute dit ja xuá stam," numan dit oltiram. Murto xa i-ne xuá ne oltirum dit Turlulo tark ne bila.

Ho terumanar Tulmitc sis ten umaruman se.iharu. Turlc sistarum Sai.id ña gitar utirtar durman, se.iharu. Sai.id ña gutas Tulmitkutas Turlkutastarum utirruman se.iharu Tulmitc sis bort ham, Turlc sis

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(99) *trail* — for about three-quarters of a mile the track crosses the face of a steep slope consisting of broken stones, shale etc. which is covered by cliffs from which stones big and small are constantly rolling down. These "stone-shoots" are a common feature in the Gilgit and Chitral area and one which adds to the excitement of travel.

This particular specimen between *Ashurdas* and *Ziliker* to Sagir is a very fine one.

(100) 2 *ene bore* — is not wanted here.

dusir ne — i. e. *dusir ne*. As a magician S. Ñ. would employ "a spell" or "enchantment", but as a "holy man of God" he presumably had recourse to "prayer". So *dusir* probably bears its orthodox meaning.

6–7 *ñiqa dirm bun* — "the boulder which had come as a rolling stone".

10 *berum saxmo* — cp. note p. 292 l. 12, and § 170.

12–14 *Hunzurwar dura . . . tallate him* — Note the common difference of point of view as regards "going" and "coming" between Burushaski and English: "having

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

to be seven Saiyids' graves in this place Hunza will become very prosperous."

After this, Saiyid Shāh, crossing over to Sumaiyer went down (the valley). The stone-shoot between Shayār and Hakīcher was raining down stones, and on Saiyid Shāh's coming level with it, it sent down stones. A big boulder came down from above. Saiyid Shāh, saying a prayer, spat upwards and made the stone, which had come rolling down, halt on the face of the slope. The boulder stopped by Saiyid Shāh's prayer is there on the slope to the present day.

Saiyid Shāh and his wife then came to Tōl. The place pleased them and they settled down there. After some months Saiyid Shāh fell ill and he said to the people "I am going to die. Go and ask for a shroud for me from Hunza and bring it here." It was a short time to sunset when he despatched them to ask for a shroud from the Thum of Hunza. It was still that hour, the sun had not set, when they arrived (back) at Tōl after going to Hunza and getting the shroud and returning. Saiyid Shāh was a holy man of God, and they say he had kept the sun from setting. On their bringing him the shroud Saiyid Shāh Wali died.

He had said to the people of Tōl: "Bury me here," and he had showed them the place, saying: "I have chosen this spot." Up to the present day the place which he chose and showed them is kept as a walled enclosure in Tōl.

Presently the people of Ghulmit learned what had happened and came to carry off Saiyid Shāh's body from the people of Tōl. And they did carry it off, for the people of Ghulmit were many and the people of Tōl were few. Overpowering and beating the people of

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come to Hunza, having taken the shroud, having turned back till they went to *Tōl* that *gwi* so, not having become sunset, was as it was (when they started)".

10–11 *ze ḥuv ayshow ewwrtim* — "he had stabilised, kept, the sun unset".

16 *ḥwyuser* — again the point of view is Hunza, not *Tōl*: "when they had completed carrying it away (from Hunza to *Tōl*)".

18 *ewshin* — "throw me down, deposit me" i. e. 'bury me'.

19 *ḥewk ne ḥilz* — must be explained as: "(people) having enclosed it, it is there".

480 kam bam. Šat nt nu·dilin ʃulmrter nutsum ya·rt nt qabur stuman, se.iba·n.

Hunzokuteer kt o·uwam se.iba·n. Ho Sai.id Ša ni·rin be·ruman daniątsum i·lji Hunzukuta ʃulmrtater hol ni bam se.iba·n.

5 Hin Čo·ro Nu·r Ša s·kmasanc Sai.id Ša qaburatum Sai.id Ša i·mo nisa bim γi·ki ne ditsam se.iba·n. Dorum xa i·sc nis·a Ali.aba·d maǰi·tulo bi.

Faqat. Čaγa dakuʃum bila.

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1 nidirw — must be from ɪrwγas. If it had been from *·drwγas it would have been ·ɪdirw.

2 *Hunzokuteer ki o·uwam* — This clause seems to be related to the following one: "they had not given up the body 'though' the Hunzukuta had attempted to force them to do so".

o·uwam — 3rd. pl. plup. neg. of *·eγas, $a + w + *·uwas$ 'they had not given to them'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Töl they carried off the body to Ghulmit, where they buried it and made a tomb.

To the Hunza people too, it is said, they did not surrender the body, (though) some years after Saiyid Shāh had died the people of Hunza had come up in armed force against Ghulmit.

One Chōro Nūr Shāh, by name, stole from the grave Saiyid Shāh's own lance which was on it and brought it (to Hunza). The lance is still in the Masjid at Ali.ābād.

That is all there is to tell.

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3 *Ho S. Š. nivin . . .* — A very marked example of the less common absolute use of the p.pc. active. An almost identical example occurs in l. 10 p. 344. *ivumiżuma* would be more normal v. § 287.

5 *Čoro Nur Šu* — *Nur Šu*, son of *Čoro*.

6 *nizu* — People accused of theft etc. used to swear to their innocence on this lance. This has now been stopped.

No. XXXIII.

Hunzulo Gərɛ Dastuɪ.

000 Hirɛ iˈyər gusan dumuˈtsasər rak ɛtimi kɛ, amirɛ eˈyɛn bo kɛ iˈnɛ ka guˈl manaˈsər rai ɛtimi kɛ, iˈnɛ haˈlər hin iˈmo jaˈman ya gəruˈrum sisan hərəŋuš e dˈuˈmərčər ˈeˈrčai.i. Iˈnər "hərəŋuš" se.ibəˈn.

Inɛ hərəŋušɛ inɛ haˈlɛ niˈn adabɛ ka oˈšai.i: "Kuˈlto jɛ falaˈnə inɛ hirɛ iˈyər Xuda kɛ Peγambərɛ hukumatɛ go.i duˈmərčər daˈrai.i, 'ja aiˈyər goˈi jo' nusɛn." Inɛ hiˈrɛ iˈtɛ guntsulo hərəŋušər e yuˈyasɛ bər ˈečiˈai.i. "Yɛ bɛ maimi bəreˈyɛn," nusɛn, ˈeˈrčai.i.

Yat guntsɪ kɛ hərəŋuš iˈnɛ haˈlər ničai.i. Ho yuˈyasər bər ičičai.i. Hərəŋuš daˈl numˈa, "jati ditsu.in" nusɛn, doˈutsun iˈi dasin daγoˈwaŋɛ mudəljai.i. Ho, "Falaˈnə guntsɛ gər ɛčɛˈn, fulaˈnə guntsɛ dau.u waščɛn, da fulaˈnə šukuro pfuˈl hanik dišɛn" nusɛn, nukuˈškin hilˈɛˈsər dasin(er) musal gi bəˈn.

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gərɛ dastuɪ — *gər stas* was given as an alternative for *gərɛ*, and *mirus* for *dastuɪ*.

3 *gəruˈrum sisan* — "a warm person", cp. the English, "a warm friend".

6 *ja aiyər* — Ms. *ja iyər*, doubtless owing to the running together of the *ja* and the pronoun prefix *a-*. There are other instances of *a* + *i* > *ai* as well as > *e*.

7 *bər* — seems here to be used in the sense of "promise", as in English "he gave his word".

9–10 *daγowaŋ mudəljai.i* — a note adds that he sprinkles the flour on her head.

10–11 *dau.u waščɛn* — A sort of technical term also denoting a ritual act. I take it as meaning literally: to put the griddle on the fire.

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The griddle also plays an important role in the Shin marriage ritual. The term used in Shina is *fuo dorki*, 'placing the griddle (on the fire')'. It is rather surprising that the words used in the Burushaski account for "Marriage" "bridegrooms party" "bride" and "bridegroom", *gər*, *gərəmi* and *gəruˈmo*, are Shina (or shared with Shina).

No. XXXIII.

Marriage Custom in Hunza.

When a man proposes to get a wife for his son, and decides to enter into marriage-relationship with someone who has a daughter, he sends one of his own relations or a personal friend to the man's house as an intermediary to ask for his daughter. The delegate they call a "herangush."

The intermediary goes to the man's house and says to them politely: "Today such and such a man has sent me, in accordance with the command of God and the Prophet, to ask for your daughter for his son. He says: 'Give me your daughter for my son.'" That day the man gives the intermediary no promise to give him his daughter. He dismisses him saying: "Well we shall see what will happen."

The next day too the intermediary goes to the house and then the man promises to give him (the girl). The intermediary standing up says: "Bring me a dish (of flour)." When he has got them to bring it he himself sprinkles the girl with the flour. Then they consult together saying: "We shall celebrate the marriage on such and such a day, and on such and such a day we shall 'put on the griddle,' and on such and such a Friday we shall fetch the dishes (of food, from the Bridegroom's house)," and they betroth the girl to the youth.

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1 *ſukuro pſul λʌnik diſen* — Friday i. e. the day before the marriage; all marriages being celebrated on Saturday.

From a note I gather that the *pſul λʌnik* are taken from the bridegroom's house (presumably to the bride's) and contain: *diraʌmpſi·ti*, apricot oil and ghee; and that the bridegroom's representatives take with them (on their persons?) two sets of clothes, one of which is kept and the other sent back.

Ho gərər manoteki dorčaʼn. Xamali.ər iʼ, šərbatər iʼ, qistaʼr iʼ. Aʼlto talečuqiŋ xamali.er, tsindi čuqan šərbatər, gul ke ečukoʼnər doʼrčai.i. Ho saʼatər nobaren dʼau.u waščaʼn. Aʼltʼululo xamʼaličiŋ sukuʼyo dutsun daŋ oʼčaʼn. Hikulto qista očaʼn. Da čap detsirčaʼn. Huyʼes waʼlto tsundo šuʼčaʼn. Da šərbat detsirčaʼn.

Ho gəroʼni gatuŋ nʼeʼetan, kurdi yaxtai.i neʼbil, baš'a nʼeʼetan, tišk neʼəyan, hik nika biluʼmane gatuŋ ʼeʼəbiljai.i. Iriʼŋulo gampfuʼri ʼeʼəyaibaʼn. Ho roʼme ečukoʼn haʼlər gati no haʼle mel oʼmi bai.i, šapik uʼčai.i. Östa'diŋ dutsun γəriŋ nʼetan tamaša ečʼaʼn. Ho iʼlčumutse itigaʼri (*or*, itigaʼr tali) burʼum da niʼle tikumuts gəroʼni ečaʼn.

Ho sa pari.en dyʼuʼasumər Thamu e hukum bila gəroʼni baman uyoʼn ite guntsulo mərakaʼr duʼišaʼn. Qadiʼmtsum miraʼs bila uyoʼntsum uyər mərakʼaʼr Diramatiŋe gəroʼni uyər di.ušaʼn. Ho ilji iski

1 *manoteki doʼrčaʼn* — These and the following supplies appear to be prepared by the Bridegroom's father. They are presumably those produced and consumed in the Bridegroom's house when the guests and the Bride and Groom have gone there after the conclusion of the actual marriage ceremony by the Akhund in the Bride's father's house. V. p. 304 l. 21.

iʼ — is probably the Corroborative Pronoun, "for the *xamali* itself" i. e. 'by itself, separately'.

2 *aʼlto talečoqiŋ* — a *čoq* or *čok* is said to be 12 seers i. e. 24 lbs. avoirdupois. So 2 × 7 × 24 = 336 lbs.

Otherwise, a *talečoq* is said to be = 2 maunds
= 160 lbs.
in which case 2 *talečoq* = 320 lbs.

gul — i. e. *guʼl* as in l. 2 p. 298 and also in a note. Here glossed as "Bride's party" consisting no doubt of her family connections, corresponding to *ečukoʼn* the Bridegroom's "tribal brethren, the members of his tribe related to him". *saʼatər nobaren* i. e. 'the mullahs look for a (favourable) time for making them'. The day or days for holding marriages are, however, fixed by the Tham.

4 *daŋ oʼčaʼn* — a note says that "baking is carried on in both houses".

5 *šuʼčaʼn* — is here probably used in its special sense of 'slaughtering (with a view to eating)'. It here explains what meat they cook. The number of goats depends on the means of the household.

6 *tišk neʼəyan* — The dagger is stuck in the waistbelt at the left side.

7 *hik nika biluʼmane* — glossed as "a once-married woman who has had a child", but it must be a 'once-married man', having regard to *ʼeʼəbiljai.i.*

The phrase is interesting grammatically. The Bride, a note adds, is also dressed up and oil put on her hair, etc.

Then they grind the *manotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmiting bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gərɛ mojok* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 γəriŋ — the songs are in Shina.

10 *tikomots* — *nil* must be the genitive of *nil* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gərɔni — originally written *gərɔno*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gərɔni* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gərɔno*, 'bridegrooms'.

12 *ite gontsolo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *mərʌk'aw* — this is in front of the Fort at Bāltit.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 ro·m dawasačaˑn. Ho Tham kɛ mərakaˑr duˑšai.i. Walti giramɛ gəroˑni uyoˑn jatˈaqər duwašačaˑn. Duwˈašan tsir numan qadiˑmɛ (*or*, yərum) Thamutsum tsirtsɛ gərin ɛčaˑn. Ґərin Šɛniskulo ɛčaˑn.

Hikumɛ γər di.ˈušaˑn da hikumɛ duˑmərčaˑn. Te.i ɛčumɛ jɪgˈa duˑn γərin ɛčaˑn. Thamu.ɛ γərin tsirtsɛ ɛˑčumɛ faš manˈumər ho Bapoˑɛ Dani eˑγərčaˑn. ˈEˑγərumər Tərakutsan uyər numa girašai.i. Ho Diramatinɛ gəroˑnomuts inˈɛ ka giraš'aˑn. Duˑn nikiˑrat Thamər ju nˈɛtan huruˑšaˑn. Da (gəroˑni.ɛ ka) Hurukuts giraša'n, da Bərorn giraša'n, da Bəratalin giraš'aˑn.

Tai.i mai.imɛ šaˑm xa tamˈaša ɛčaˑn. Ho šaˑm manuˑmər gərˈoˑni uˑi uˑimo gərə haˑlər gəroˑni hilɛˑs yakalatum turma altan ya mɪšiˑndo, ničaˑn. Ho haˑlər gəroˑni giˑmər nutsan han butˈəran kaš ɛčaˑn. Uˑlo haˑlər nuˑn gəroˑni nˈuručan dun γərin ˈɛčaˑn. Ho šapik uyaˑrɛ oˑšaˑn. Šapik ši·mər axoˑnɛ (*or*, xaliˑfa) hilɛˑs kɛ dasˈinmo nika ɛtasər xutba γatai.i bai.i.

Da hir yakalum hin, dasin muyakalum hin jaˑman sindˈabal do.ičaˑn. Uˑˈɛr "wakil" kɛ se.ibaˑn. Xutba nuqˈatan maˑr (*or*, mahr) nɛˑskərts tsoˑr gəroˑnimutsum axoˑnɛ talˈa doγˈarušai.i: "Kinɛ hirər uˑn rɪzˈa?" nusɛn. Tala, "Jɛ rɪza," se.ibo. Da gəroˑnitsum doγarušai.i. Iˑnɛ

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2 *tsir numan* — glossed "forming a circle with the tribespeople round about", but *tsir* actually only means a 'line', or 'row'

3 *Šɛniskulo* — 'in the Shina language'. When songs are required on ceremonial occasions recourse always seems to be had to Shina.

Bitans also, I think, use Shina. There is very little Burushaski verse; at any rate I was able to get hold of very little.

4 *duˑmərčaˑn* — glossed "take from them", "take up and repeat song". For a few other examples of this special use of *duˑmərar* v. Vocab. s. v. *dᵊ-mərar* The first party are the *Diramitin* and *Bəratalin*; the second The *Hurukuts* and the *Bərorn*. The second party repeat what the first party have sung.

5 *γərin . . . ɛčumɛ far manumər* — *ɛčumɛ* can scarcely be dependent on *far manumər*. There is a grammatical break: 'Going on singing songs' — 'when that is finished they play . . . '.

534 6 *Bapoˑɛ Dani* — v. Vocab. s. v. *dani*. For this big drums, kettle drums and pipes are all played. For the preceding singing only the two kinds of drums accompany.

8 *(gəroˑni.ɛ ka)* — this was a later insertion in the text and I do not know what it means.

Bərorn — i. e. *Bərorn*.

[Cf. Lorimer: Singing and dancing mentioned on p. 303 -- Analyst]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then afterwards the (grooms of the) other three tribes come out. Then the Tham also comes out to the place of assembly, and all the bridegrooms of all the four tribes come out on to the dancing place and, forming a circle, sing songs about all the former Thams in order. They sing the songs in Shina.

One party start a song and the second party take it up from them. So doing they sing songs for a longer or shorter time. When they have finished singing in succession the songs of the Thams they then play the (slow time tune) *Bapo.è Dani* and a man of the Terakuts tribe dances before them, and the Diramiting bridegrooms dance with him. When they have danced for a little they salām to the Tham and sit down. Then the Hurukuts (bridegrooms) dance, and then the Burōng, and then the Berātalīng.

In this way they amuse themselves till evening. Then when evening comes the bridal parties — on the Bridegroom's part twelve or six men — go off each to the house of their respective brides. When the party enters the house they count them and slaughter a kid and the party go inside the house and sit down and sing songs for a little. Then they set food before them and, when they have eaten, the Akhond recites the Khutba in order to effect the marriage of the youth and the girl.

Then they make a relation stand up on the part of the Bridegroom, and they make a relation stand up on the part of the Bride as their representatives. They call them *wakīls*. The Akhond when he has recited the Khutba and fixed the bride-price first asks the Bride in a low voice: "Are you content with this man?" and she

10 *gəroni* — here glossed: "*H. bərətwa'e*, groom's party; each lot go to their bride's house".

11 *gəroni hilsə* — i. e. the Bridegroom. Similarly one may say *gəroni dʌsin* for the Bride. *tərma altʌn* — a note says that the Bridegroom's party consists of 6 or 12 persons, and the Bride's of 12.

12 *nətsʌn* — 'counting them up to six, or twelve'. For the larger number perhaps the allowance of kid is increased.

17 *nəq'ʌtʌn* — past participle of γʌtʌnʌs here, and often, written *nək'ʌtʌn*; but I have generalised *q* for the unvoiced equivalent of γ.

18 *gəronilsum* — *gəroni* is here used for "Bridegroom".

ke "Je rɪza" se.ibai.i. Iski he·ši dasinm'utsum, ɪski he·ši hil'estsum rɪzai.i doγərušai.i. Ho čutan tsil šiša·nulo xutba nuq'atan dasinmur tso·r mučičai.i. Ine čutan mi·bo. Duwa·suman gəro·nu.ər ičičai.i. Ič'i·mər ine ite uyo·n γɪḍi·p ečai.i.

5 Nika gəro·nimo mu·ə ha·le ečа·n. Mahər [illegible]u·ε γərip sise bu·t ap'i. A·ltər wa·lti qaš maiyada·r pači (*or*, ɪtta) mai.i bila. Ete gaš tsundo rupi.a bi.en. Tsundo rupi.a 'ma·r eskəršа·n. Thamu.ε (*or*, Thamene) ka gər etuman ke u·ε mahər but bila. Sa·s rupi.a ya tsindi ta rupi.a e·skəršа·n.

10 Ho gəro·nu.ε ha·lər duwašač'a·n. Dasinmur ɪski w'alti tsir pači.ε gatuŋ ečа·n. Itse "toš gatu" se.iba·n. Do·n m'o·uwaščа·n, kašawa·riŋ multumalči mogičа·n, pfartsintse mujuk mo·εyaiba·n (*or*, mo·εyeba·n). Ho mu·ε ha·tsum dumu·išа·n. Dum'u·isasulo dasinmo yakalatum gər'o·ni.ε (h)aj'o·li ečа·n. Etumər dasin ke he·rčubo, mu· mu·mi ke herča·n.

15 Ho dasiwants, jo·tumuts, gušiŋants gati numan gəro·nu.ε ha x'a jučа·n. Gəro·nu.ε hɪŋtsər du·mər tomal xam'ale di.ušа·n. Hanikate tsap ne ba ne gəro·no ke gəro·ni hin hine iri·ŋtse du·n tsərišε u·lo ha·lər nal'a u·tis is əršа·n. Ha·lər numo·n tso·r šutinate tsap ne ba ečubo. Ho gəro·ni num'u·tsun dalimuš, ši·rid'aku ya·te, mo·tušа·n. Gəro·ni.ər hanikuts

20 dušа·n, šapik šičа·n. Nišin gəro·ni u·imo hakičaŋər ničа·n.

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2 *šiša·nulo* — glass tumblers not being generally known in Hunza *šiša* has come to be applied to a 'china cup'. After the ceremony the Mullah appropriates the cup as a perquisite.

7 *tsundo rupi.a* — the sum is only fixed. It is not paid except in case of divorce.

7–8 *thamu·ε ka gər* — glossed: "if chiefs marry among themselves".

11 *itse* — One would expect *i·ke* agreeing with *gatuŋ* (y pl.) It is probably attracted into the category of *gatu* which is x sg.

mo·uwaščа·n — this and the following verbs are probably to be taken as simple transitives the pronoun prefixes being indirect objects or ethic datives. Otherwise the verbs may be causatives. V. §§ 245—7.

12 *mujuk* — this is presumably the tassel referred to in the note on p. 300 l. 7.

13 *gəro·ni.ε* — "the bridal party sing" (?) or "they sing bridal songs" (?)

16 *tomal* — Originally *maltaš* was written after *du·mər*, and I am not sure whether it was meant to remain.

tomal is the smoke obtained by burning *supandər* or *ispandər* (Syrian rue?). It figures largely also in the Shin marriage ceremonial.

As *xamali* is here noted as "thin bread smoked with *supandər*", *tomal* is perhaps to be taken as qualifying *xamali*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

in a low voice replies: "I am content." Three times he asks the Bride and three times he asks the Bridegroom whether they are content. Then, reciting the Khutba, he gives a little water in a cup first to the Bride who drinks a little, and what remains over he gives to the Bridegroom, who drinks it all down at a gulp.

They perform the marriage in the house of the Bride's father. For poor people in Hunza the bride-price is not large. It is twenty four cubits of sized cotton cloth of which the price is five rupees. They fix the bride-price at five rupees. When the Thams marry among themselves the bride-price for them is very big. They fix (it at) a thousand rupees or five hundred rupees.

Then they go out to the Bridegroom's house. They make three or four sets of cotton clothes for the girl. They call them "Tosh Gatu" (the New Clothing). They put a veil (over her head) and they put earrings in her ears and fix a tassel on her cap and then they bring her out of her father's house. As they bring her out they sing bridal songs in her honour and the girl weeps, and her father and mother weep.

Then the girls, children and women collect and come (along with her) to the Bridegroom's house. When they have arrived at his door (his people) bring out *Tomal* (smoke of Syrian rue) and *Khamali* to them and the Bridegroom and Bride touch the hearth-stones (with their fingers) and kiss them, and taking each other by the hand they each simultaneously put a foot down inside the threshold in the house. The Bride, entering the house, first touches the hearth-stone with her fingers and kisses her fingers. Then they take the Bride and make her sit down at the upper end of the room at the foot of the main pillar of the house. They bring trays to the Bride's party and they eat food. When they have eaten they go off to their own houses.

17 *tsrise uʼlo* — both must step over the threshold at the same moment. The one who may chance to step over first will be inferior. The hinder one's star will be "buland" i. e. he or she will be dominant. A sly man may push his bride over first.

18 *sutinate tsap ne . . .* — touching with the fingers and then kissing the fingers is a demonstration of respect. Here the Bride's thought is said to be: "God bless this house to me".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 Hin muˈŋgo ya muˈlusan huruˈšai.i. Hin dasˈinan gəroˈnimu ka huruˈšabo. Inɛmur "mokaˈtum dasin" se.ibaˈn. Nukˈučɛn tsoˈrdinɛr ho dasin xamali moˈbišɛčər moˈasguse (*or*, moˈaskuse) tsaɣurɛtum daɣo.aŋ dusuˈčər mutsuˈčubo. Dasˈinɛ tsaɣuratɛ han pˈači.ɛn ya
5 burˈi.e dustsakan moˈsgusmur fat ɛčubo. Dastuˈr bila isɛ gatu moˈsgusɛ yoˈljubo.

Jati.ulo daɣo.aŋ dusun ine gəroˈnimur moɣuˈibaˈn. Dɛˈqulai.i bo, xamali bišačər duɣuˈuski bo. Gəroˈnu.ə yuˈsɛ xamali šar nɛ dawatɛ bišamər inɛ ɛltalai bai.i. Gəroˈni.ɛ xamali ɛˈkušɛlumo kɛ gəroˈnu.ɛ
10 mučuˈškatɛ duwaq moˈučai.i. In ɛltalaniš aiyeˈmanum ˈekušɛlimi kɛ yuˈse ɣaisɛ duwaq ɛčubo. Gutɛ yərum zamanaˈtsum dastuˈr bila.

Ho usko waˈlto xamaličiŋ daŋ ɛtumər dau daɣo.aŋɛ niˈdilin diˈušaˈn. Ho xamali moˈbišai.ɛs muˈŋgo ya muˈlus mokaˈtum dasin
15 kɛ uˈimo hˈakičaŋər ničaˈn.

Ho gər nɛ iskikutsum aŋaro guntsɛ yus muˈyər kaˈ ˈoˈgučačaˈn. Aŋaro tsoˈrdimo Hunzu.ɛ dastuˈr bila tumišɛliŋɛ pfu bišɛčˈaˈn. Inɛ gəroˈno yuˈsmu ka nukuˈčɛn iwˈatatɛ tail nutˈin toˈntsatɛ girašər jučai. Nikiˈrat iˈmo haˈlər nimər yu ˈiˈmi.ɛ eˈr mul ɛčaˈn. Ise mul
20 šičai.i. Iser "oˈtiki mul" se.ibaˈn. Yərum zamanaˈtsum dastuˈr bila.

Dasˈinmur mu mumi.ɛ haˈlum gərər aˈlto iski sərmutsiŋ kanˈiˈ kɛ

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2 *mokaˈtum dasin* — is in effect a "Bride's Maid", but the precise meaning of *mokaˈtum*, from **-akaˈtum*, is doubtful. It is used of a person in one's service.

8 *dawatɛ* — *dau* + *atɛ*.

13 *dau daɣo.aŋɛ nidilin* — "striking the griddle with flour" the idea is probably "sprinkling it with flour", as in l. 9 p. 298.

14 *moˈbišai.ɛs* — i. e. *mu* + **-abišai.as*, the agent form of the Causative.

[55] 16 *iskikutsum aŋaro* — Tuesday: because marriages are always celebrated on Saturday.

17 *tumišɛliŋɛ pfu* — vide Vocab. s. v. There is a difficulty here as *tumišɛliŋ* appears 805 to be a period of a few weeks about midwinter, and the fire appears to be connected with the *Šiˈri Badat* myth

This would seem to imply that marriages only take place within a fixed period at midwinter. Perhaps the marriage fire is only similar to, or derived from, the *tumišɛliŋ* fire.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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One of the brothers of the Bride's mother or one of the Bride's own brothers stays with the Bride, and one girl stays with her. They call this girl the *Mokātum Dasin* (bridesmaid). Then after sleeping (the night), in the morning the (bride's) mother-in-law takes the Bride away to fetch flour from the flourbin and to make her bake *khamali*. On the bin the Bride leaves a shirt, or an article of silver, for her mother-in-law. It is the custom for the mother-in-law to put on the garment.

They bring flour in a bowl and give it to the Bride. She kneads (dough of) it and begins to cook *khamali*. (As) wife of the Bridegroom she rolls out the dough and throws it on the griddle, and then the Bridegroom turns it. If the Bride spoils the *khamali* the Bridegroom gives her a rap with the bread-turner. If he fails to turn it and spoils it his wife gives him a rap with the rolling pin. This is the custom existing from former times.

When they have baked three or four pieces of *khamali* they throw a little flour on the griddle and take it off. After this the Bride's aunt, or sister, who has made her make the *khamali*, and the bridesmaid depart to their own homes.

Then three days after the marriage, on the Tuesday, they make the wife and husband lie together. On the Tuesday morning it is the custom in Hunza for them to set (lay? light?) the Tumishèling fire. And the Bridegroom, after lying with his wife, washes himself and comes out to dance at the Tumishèling fire. When he has danced and gone home his father and mother make *mūl* (gruel) for him and he eats it. They call it *Ōtiki Mūl*. It is a custom obtaining from ancient times.

For the Bride they prepare two or three large bags of parched grain and dried apricots (and bring them) for the wedding from

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18 *isu'state tsil sutin* — lit. "pouring water over his body" an idiom for "washing oneself". It is noted that he does this in private.

22 *sormutsiŋ* — A note states that the supplies mentioned are brought by the girl's relations to her father's house one day before the marriage.

bat'eriŋ ečuᵊn. Hičuk aᵊlto čukan han'i oᵊčeᵊn. Han pfatanulo diram ečaṇ. Han delguṣanulo han'iᵊe del ečan. Han mančan ečan. Han gaṇi.en ečan. Han čumareᵊ ṭi.en, han dawan, han čodiᵊnan ya deᵊkan ečan. Han mučuᵊškan ečan. Han šapowan ečan, ya gali.en. 5 Han kamaᵊn ečan. Čumarpa duṭsakar "mut'eṇṭ" se.ilaᵊn.

Faqat. Čaγa dakuruman bila.

1 *pfatanulo* — Ms. has *pfataṇplo*.

4: Lorimer 1-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushe AV7

her father's and mother's house. And they prepare for her one *chaq* (= 24 lbs.) or two *chaqs* of apricot kernels, and they provide *diram* on a tray, and apricot-kernel oil in an oil vessel, and an adze and an axe and an iron brazier (trivet?) and a griddle and a Kashgari or Indian metal cooking pot and a bread-turner, and a quilt or blanket, and a *zumda*.

The iron-ware (and?) domestic articles they call *mutingi*.

That is all there is to say.

No. XXXIV.

U.i·rumer utai.atɛ etaaɛ Dastu·r.

ꝑ ꝓ

Hir ya gusan u.i·ruman kɛ, ji di.u·waamer, qibla yakal ufati no·tan jɛ·ɛk no·tan tikatɛ fat očɛ·n. Da u·lčumuṭe uri·ṇatɛ liṭ očɛ·n. 'Utiṇ uri·ṇčin duṇ no·k ɛ̄·k očɛ·n. Ho sukuyu.ɛ tail dusun d'u·sqarɛčɛ·n. Xalifa di·n kafan danyu (or, day·u) netan (t)ser očai i. A·ltar wa·lti qaṣ latt·a kafan očai.i.

Šori.atɛ dastu·ratɛ γusulu.ɛ ni.at netan hirer aminan ja·m jama·tanɛ i·rum inɛr laq balkatɛ jɛ·k nɛ γusul očai.i. Ho tam e·dilumer n·capin kafan 'e·čɛ·n (or, kafan etuwačɛ·n).

Ho hiri kɛ gutiṇants gati numa herč·an. Duṇ nuh·er čiṭ ditsun, čiṭatɛ gutas ny·uwčin tak netan gutiṇants kɛ hiri h·erčumɛ ha·tsun gutas d·i·usa·n. Gutiṇants anda·zan a·lto ta gas eka nu·n pfer me.iba·n.

Axo·ndero gati numa salwa·t se.ime mazaretor gutas nitsun ta·lɛ čiṭsun d·eskun, nima·ɛ 'očɛ·n. Nima·ɛ netan mazer tai.a·r bil·a kɛ nitsun ja·manɛ ya xalif·a mazerer deskučai.i. D·eskun qiblai.i yaka-

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očai.ab — v. Vocabulary s. v. *-ai.

1 u.i·ruman — A departure from the usual practice of making the verb agree with the last element of a compound subject.

di.u·waamer — An ambiguous form being as it stands, the 3rd. pl. pres. + -er, but it is probably to be taken as di.u·wamer the 3rd. pl. static pt. active + -er.

4 (t)ser očai.ɛ — glossed "he cuts (the cloth)", but the meaning is probably rather, 'he tears off a piece' (the right length).

6 γusulu.ɛ ni.at — glossed "the washing prayer for the dead". The -u.ɛ is puzzling. Perhaps it is merely the pron. "they", "the people present".

7 ɛner — dat. dependent on γusul očai.i.

e·dilumer — Caus. form with simple trans. meaning.

8 n·capin — v. capi.ab. After being dried the body is rubbed with oil.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXXIV.

The Custom in regard to Funeral-Rites for the Dead.

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When a man or a woman dies, on their giving up the ghost (their relations) put them on the ground stretching them out with their forehead facing the Qiblah. Then with their hands they close their eyes and for a little they bend and straighten their legs and arms. Then the relations fetch water and heat it, and the mullah comes and measures the shroud and tears it off. He makes the shroud of twenty-four cubits of cotton.

According to the Sherist custom some relation of the man's, repeating the prayer for the washing (of the dead), lays the dead man out naked on a plank and washes him. Then having washed him and dried him they put him in the shroud.

Then the men and women collect together and weep. After weeping for a short time they fetch the bier and placing the body on it and tying it there the women and men take the body out of the house, weeping as they do so. The women, after going with it about 200 yards, turn back.

The mullahs together carry the corpse to the grave, repeating prayers as they go. There they take it down from the bier and recite prayers. Then when the grave is ready a relative or mullah lowers the body into it, and they lay the body down, turning it to

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9 *kafan stamditen* — This is the original reading and probably stands for *kafanib waditen*, 'they put it down on the shroud'.

10 *gili sema* — probably here means "all together", "jointly" rather than "having assembled".

11 *dosirf'ai* — It seems an arduous task for one man.

later for netan jek netan, 'iakilatum kafan fataŋ n'ɛtan d'oγum iriŋ 'eśki ne.ɛtan γanγum iriŋ 'ɛpatatɛ jɛ'k nɛ'tan fat ɛčʼan. Han γ'usan kɛ ditsum 'eśki ɛčʼan.

Ho xali'f'a i'mo maserulum itsoŋ 'akuśeljumɛ ho'lə du'tai.i. Ho
5 bateŋ wa'rčʼan, yatɛ tik gičʼan. Tik nik'in masorɛ kalib di.us tail tičʼan. Ho axunderu.ɛ aiy'a γatai.i ba'n. Aiya 'nusɛn dûw'a ɛčʼan. D'uwa n'ɛtan mazer kɛ bateŋ dusu'mantsum baxkil dumerčʼan. Ho maserisum da'l me.ibʼan. Talo badaŋ guta'erumer axunderu.ɛ masoratɛ baŋ (or, ba'ŋ) qau ɛčan.

10 Se.ibʼan masoratum talo badaŋ gi'mer altan sisik maserulo gutas ɛpačar jučʼan. Hin i'k Nakir bila, hin i'k Munk'ir bila. U'ɛ dun gutaser, "qum be.ism illa'h" ɛnumer, gutas di.'eči bi. Di.'ɛn wa.o qa'u nɛ tutaŋ m'aserulo hart (or, hart) maibi, masorɛ battes yatus yuči bi, da xat huru'ši bi. "A'ya, mama, nana, ka'ko" nusɛn qau
15 ɛčai.i. Mɛntsum kɛ juwa'b aźučila. Ho Nakir kɛ Munkirɛ itaimo doγ'ɛuśʼan. Iter'sum ax'underu.ɛ baŋ qau ɛčan, "Hazar isɛ gutaser sawa'b mermi.ɛ" nusɛn.

Masoratum da'l manum sis ha'ler jučan. Ha'ler du'mer suk'uyu.ɛ dando.'er dusučʼan, nasi'pa očʼan. Ša'mer sukuyu.ɛ ha'lum u.i'rumo
20 ha'ler šapik dišʼan. Ho iskikuta manu'mer čira'qo huy'ɛs qaš ɛčʼan.

1 doγum — I take the correct form to be doγum.

2 ɛśki } *'ɛśki was twice explained to me as "bed-head" i. e. where one's head is
3 ɛśki } when one is lying down. The Hind. equivalent was given as sirhāna. *'ɛśki was also given me as the equivalent of "pillow". It is probable that the hand is put beside the head, and the clod under the head as a pillow.

2 ne.ɛtan and ne'ɛtan — The long vowel suggests that the pron. prefix is doubled: "they put it for him" v. § 240.

3 masorɛ kalib — glossed "they mark out the shape of the grave with earth and pour water on the mound". The word here undoubtedly denotes the 'mound' over the grave. It is of course the P. Ar. *kalib*.

7 maser — requires a verb "dug", "prepared", dusu'mantsum relating only to bateŋ.

dusu'mantsum — The form is that of the 3rd. pl. pret. + form and is probably to be regarded as the static pr. active + -an + -tsum. Cp. §§ 320, 322 g. 'They ask pardon of', i. e. 'they thank, those who have done the work'.

8 da'l me.ibʼan — probably, "they remove from the vicinity of", not literally "they get up from on".

9 šaŋ, šaŋ — probably this should be the *fatiḥah*. A note adds that the mullahs ask for forgiveness (*karāmat*) on the tomb.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

face the Qiblah, and undo the shroud from over the face and put the right arm under the head and lay the left arm along the side of the body, and so they leave it. They also bring a clod of earth and put it as a pillow. 534* 764

Then the mullah, obliterating the marks of his feet in the grave, comes up out of it. After that they place flat stones over the grave and throw earth on the top. And they make a mound over the grave and pour water on it. Then the mullah recites verses from the Qur'an and offers up supplications. After this (the relations) ask pardon of those who have (dug) the grave and brought the stones. Then they withdraw from the grave and when they have gone seven paces the mullahs cry out the call to prayer over the grave.

It is said that when they have gone seven paces from the grave two persons come to the dead body in the grave. The name of the one is Nakir and the name of the other is Munkir. When they come and say to the corpse: "Arise with God's permission," it gets up. It starts up with a shout in the dark grave and its head strikes against the stones over the grave and then it sits down again. And it calls out: "Father, Mother, Uncle, Brother!", but answer comes from no one. Then Nakir and Munkir interrogate it. For this reason the mullahs cry out the call to prayer, saying: "Perhaps it will count for merit to the corpse." 534* 775

The people who have left the grave come to the (deceased's) house. On their arrival there the relatives bring them *demdo* and put it in their mouths. In the evening they bring food from the houses of the relatives to the house of the deceased. Then when three days are up they slaughter the *chirāq* goats ("Goats of the Lamp.") 534* 765

11 *hin ēk* — i. e. *hine ēk*.

18 *Ḥasuv iw gulasov* . . . — or possibly: "perhaps the deceased has some merit".

19 *nasīpa ot'an* — glossed: "put it in their mouths by force".

20 *iskikuts* — apparently comes to be a technical term: "The Three Days" or "The Third Day". So also *Čirauṛ* the "Day of the Lamp" being also the third day, and *taloikuts* "The Seventh Day". If *iskikuts manumov* means "on the three days being completed" then the day in question would be the fourth day; but my impression is that the phrase means: "On its becoming the *iskikuts*". Similarly for *taloikuts*.

Gur hitukan thalhavn. Huyewn šapr ka dehistavn, šarhat ehen, gori espaljavn. Čirayę espalasnlo axwnar čirayę navma[1] yatali hali. Gute dastur Pir Ba Nawire Xurwna hukumate ehen.[2] Fite taj na axonr yatai hali. Fat manewnar fite pfetiq tellar nikte vlahnar dwmiten. Ho šapik šiḥavn. Axonar ilehve hanik ehen. Huyewn bat yatis yuḥan.

Talakute nar ivrme harir sukuyo raḥ no hurstavn. Benan dure manimi ke or ehen. Talakute manewnar qurwn šapik ehen. Ho vrimo harier niḥin traq na ehen ivrme hartenn dwalahavn. Talakutenn daman ke hartenn harir dirahavn. Ho er .nerer na raq dwmer niḥan.

Čirayr espalasnlo han huyew šiḥam. Talakutenn qurwn yatanawr veko warito huyew da tovrenan malharaq irerham. But nerê unali ham. Tamimnurtenn Aya Xurwa hukumate Thanw fat ehali. Čirayar han huyew šiḥa hukum ehali. Han malhaḥan, hitukan pfalo šapikar hukum ehavn.

Faqat.

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1 thalhavn — from thawra.

2 gori — a "light" here means "oracle" translated with herself oil and cotton wick, but it is officially a čirayę, P. čirayi.

espalasnlo — 'at the time when they light the lamp, the mollah reads . . . This is not very satisfactory, perhaps the meaning is: 'while they burn the lamp', 'while they keep the lamp burning . . .'.

3 *fite taloa* — a note elsewhere states that: "prayers are read by the mollah and an assistant till the lamp goes out".

5 šapik šiḥavn — this is the wheat and goat or sheep-flesh mentioned above. A note elsewhere says: "13 seers (i. e. 24 lbs.) of wheat are pounded up and salt, ghee and the mutton are added. When the lamps are exhausted this is eaten. The sheep (before being killed) has its legs washed and antimony put on its eyes".

7 raḥ no — implies a plural object. Perhaps: "looking after them (i. e. the people of the house")

8 talakute — vide note on talakute, p. 212 l. 20.

! [Errata: for čirayę na'ma read čirayęna'ma, cf. P. 313 l. 14 — Anklesaria]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Barnako AV7

They pound one *chag* of wheat and cook it with the goats flesh and they make *sherbat*. And they light a lamp and the *akhond* then reads the *chirāg-nāma*. They practise this custom in accordance with the commands of Pīr Shāh Nāṣir i Khisrau. The *akhond* reads until the wick is burnt out. When it is finished they put the ashes of the wick in water and pour it out in the *sūnkā*. Then they eat the food, and for the *akhond* they make a dish of the breast of a goat and they give him its skin and head. 5314 765

For seven days the relations remain keeping watch in the house of the deceased, and they do whatever work turns up for the people of the house. When the seven days are up they prepare the "Qur'an Food." Having eaten of this they divide and take (what remains) and depart from the house of the deceased to their own homes. At the end of the seven days they also fetch the master out of the house. Then, after respectfully kissing his hand, they depart.

At the "Lighting of the Lamp" they used to eat one goat, and after the seven days reading of the Qur'an they used to slay three or four goats and cut up ten pieces of ghee. They used to be at great expense. (But) From last year (i. e. 1923) by order of the Agha Khān the Thaw has made them give this up. He has permitted the eating of one goat for the Chirāg, and for the Qur'an Food he has permitted one piece of ghee and one *chag* of grain.

That is all.

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12 *ṣāfān* — perhaps in its special sense "daughter".
ṣāḥibānu — is probably adjectival, rather than adverbial ("after 7 days").
13 *ṭawwān* — is glossed "ten pieces", otherwise I should have taken it to be "so much", "that much", "the same number (i. e. 3 or 4) of . . .".

No. XXXV.

Nauroue Čaya.

(2) Nauroe Hamalc iski.ulo ołaru. Thame han h'uran niłin ǎapik nutan ǎabartner dirulai. Čako girimote burire ołai.

Tham ke uyoqku.e da Humzure uyon tamala harumalo hiri ke guiiqante ǎuru gatuq nupel uyoqitiq ołan. Thame waziror da beruman akabortique Nauroue gatuq or ołai.

Ho ǎabartner dun giri e čop ne deritaru. Uyontsum uyor Wazire taqyara dilai. Ho Goipurtaru.e ditaru, Akabortaru.e ditaru. Amrne giri d'elimi ke ise giri iner yurlai. Yurner Thame irin dumordaru. Hayurki.ure girimote ski hrsti čap ne doli aiyomanouman ke girimote oryoralo beritu.er uyas dastor bila.

Nozabari ołan; bola deljaru; bitan muwaldaru. Guiiqante ke daiw'ante gaiko nuyen non hacquolo tharko jorqr ǎorkortae tak nortan qr mai.i haru. Šabartne giraǎaru.

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1 *iski.ulo* — Note the regular use of the cardinal numbers in stating the day of the month, sometimes with *-ulo* and sometimes with *-er*.

niłin — the special use of *ni.er* in the sense of 'killing for a feast'.

3 *Thame ke* — here and in line 11 on page 318 the MS. has *Thamko*, but the final vowel of the *ke* has probably been affected by the initial *u-* following. There is no evidence for a plural *thamko*.

Humzure uyore . . . guiiqante — This phrase is rather obscure *ka'mado* can hardly be taken as meaning "going to see" or "in order to see". It is an agential adjective 'those who go to see', *uyore* probably qualifies *hiri ke guiiqante* and not *Humzure*. It usually follows the noun it qualifies, but not always.

7 *ǎaryora ditai* — *ǎaryora* was explained as "archery", but *ditai* refers to the bows. The general meaning is: galloping down the ground and shooting at a mark with a bow and arrow.

No. XXXV

About Nauröz.

They hold Nauröz on the third of Hamal. The Tham slaughters an ox and prepares food and brings it out to the polo-ground. He gets them to make three marks of silver (for an archery contest).

The Tham and the notables and all the men and women of Hunza who go to see shows put on their best clothes and smarten themselves up. The Tham provides Nauroz clothes for the Wazir and some of the elders.

Then they come to the polo ground and make a heap of earth for the mark and set it up. First of all the Wazir gallops down (and shoots his arrow at the mark). Then the Gushpurs do so, then the elders. If anyone hits the mark (the Tham) gives it to him; on which they kiss the Tham's hand. If the horsemen in three shots are unable to hit the marks then it is the custom to give them to the bandsmen.

They also do tent-pegging and play polo. And they put on a female Bitan (to perform). And the women and girls take ropes and go to the gardens and tie them to the boughs of tall apricot trees and swing. And the people dance on the polo ground.

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9 *ḍāḍ* — originally written *ḍāḍ*.

11 *wonderwi* — It is said that till the British came in 1892 it was the practice, while carrying the lance under the right armpit, to take the peg on the near side of the horse; which must have been an exciting performance.

mamaktum — glossed H. *ḍarīb kar*; alternative *marpiṭaben*.

13 *gur* — this diversion is said to have been originally taught by Fatima.

Tsor Turakutsan Thame hukum ne giraśar d'eričai.i. In nikirrat bas'urmar B'altite Tranfa giraśai.i. Da Yarpa giraśai.i. Da Ganele Tranfa giraśai.i, da Altite Tranfa girassi,[1] da Haiderabadc Tranfa giraśai.i, da Allahabadc Tranfa giraśai.i. Ho akilatc turma alta kanantse Tranfatin uyon tairtse ogiraśan. Da Thame mener rak etimi kr ogiraśai.i.

Ho tamaśa faś man'urmar bano diśan. Tsor Baltitkutsar učan, Ganilkutsar učan, yate Altitkutsar učan, Haiderabadkutsar učan, Allahabadkutsar učan. Tairtse bano učan Misgarrtsum Maiyun xa, balke Matum Dsakutsar kr učan.

Bano urmar Tham kr uyonko hakičanar ničan.

Naurose ite gunteulo uyono hakičanulo bukak d'otsirčan.

Faqat. Akilatc qadimtsum mirare bila.

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7 *bano diśan* — Note: "It is brought from the Masjid near the end of the polo ground or above it". I don't know if two masjids are here referred to. There is one on the hill side just above the polo ground and somewhat to the West of the middle of it.

Each of the twelve sections is called up by name in turn and its share is handed over to it.

12 *bukak* — Bones have been associated with the spirits of the dead in the beliefs of some peoples, e. g. the Romans.

[2] In Hunza on this occasion necklaces of beans are made and put on the children. Children not so provided try to snatch the necklaces of the more fortunate.

[1] [Errata: for giraśai read giraśai, cf. p. 419 cat. 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [i.e. the day of Nauroz 13 -- Analyst]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

First the Tham gives the word and makes one of the Terakuts stand up to dance. When he has danced and sat down again the Trangfa of Bálút dances. Then the Yerpa dances; then the Trangfa of Ganésh; then the Trangfa of Álút; then the Trangfa of Haidarábád, and then the Trangfa of Alíábád. In this manner they make the Trangfas of all the twelve villages dance, one after another. And then the Tham makes whomever he pleases dance.

Then when the show is over they bring the Bano. They give it first to the people of Bálút; then to the people of Ganesh; next to those of Álút, and to those of Haidarábád and to those of Alíábád. They give the Bano to them in succession (one lot after another) from Miagár down to Maiyún, and they give it even to the people of Matum Dás.

When they have distributed the Bano the Mir and notables go off to their houses.

On the day of Nauroz they cook beans in all the houses.

That is all. From ancient times such is the custom.

No. XXXVI.

Šıkamatiŋɛ Čaγa.

660 Hunzulo joᵊŋ doxᵊerčumɛ Zuŋ'aᵊtiŋɛ giᵊramulər askuᵊriŋ diᵊmər (ər, diᵊmi kɛ) han dastuᵊran qadiᵊmteum bilum, iᵊtɛ iᵊk Šıkamatiŋ se.ibaᵊn.

Šıkamatiŋər haᵊlum jamaᵊat udᵊim kɛ han pfiᵊti ečaᵊn (ər, ečam).
5 Pfiᵊti makuči kaman γutoᵊpus ečaᵊn. Isɛ.ulo čutan del tiš ečaᵊn. Isɛ pfiᵊti.ɛ iᵊk Kečі Kıčaᵊli se.ibaᵊn.

Beᵊruman demiŋ manᵊi Šıkamatiŋ Hunzulo aiyᵊečaᵊn.

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1 doxᵊerčumɛ — An instance of the rather rare use of the Absolute Pres. pc.

137 132 The opening of the blossom begins first in the lower and warmer parts of the valley and gradually extends up the valley and up the hill-sides as warmth increases with the advance of the season. On the hillside facing Nagir one may see the apricot trees at the higher levels still in full blossom when those at the lower levels have shed their flowers.

giramulər — i. e. when the trees on the boundary of the lands belonging to the Zuŋᵊtiŋ community came into blossom. All this part of Nagir is in full view of Baltit and the adjacent populous tract in Hunza which contains the villages of Ganesh and Haidersbad, Allabad and Hassanabad.

660 The custom is described as a Hunza custom. I do not know whether it does, or did, exist in Nagir.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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No. XXXVI.

The Shikamating.

539 In Hunza when the apricot trees are coming into blossom and
527 the blossom has come (up the valley) to the village of Zungátin there was from of old a custom which they call the Shikamating.

For the Shikamating the people of (each) house make a *pṡiti* (a thick cake of bread) for each person. In the middle of the *pṡiti* they make a slight depression and into it they pour a few drops of oil. They call the *pṡiti* "Kèehi Kichāli."

For some years now they have not kept the Shikamating in Hunza.

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6 *ṡiam* — "they used to make" — the custom being now obsolete.

8 *yeirpyas* — the hollow is made by pressure with the thumb.

ćulas dal — *ćul* and *til* both seem to mean much the same thing 'a drop', 'a very small quantity of liquid'. With *ćlas* each seems to be used in the sense of 'to pour a few drops'.

7 *maaVi* — 3rd. pl. *y* of the short form of the pret. of *maaru*.

ṡiy'eirsu — It was stated that the custom was abandoned in 1892 as an excessive or futile expenditure, "*fazul sarf*".

No. XXXVII.

O·di.e Dast'ur.

Hunzumo huy'ɛ·s term'iṇər Mai.i.e turmatsindi.ulo tsučˌa·n. Wa·l-kutsan tsučər duwa·sumər Čərbu·e qau zčai.i: "Wa, j'imale O·di ṇsərkas bila. Mai.i mai.imo tsir čau aiyo·tin," nusɛn.

Ho Dir·amitiṇɛ tsire mamu gati čau no 'alto iski č'urkas gunts ke Wazire ha·lər dusuč'a·n. Ite mamu ma·ę ne šapike ka Wazire eču.ane ka ya i·e ka Diramitiṇe hin huyɛltərtsan ne.iyɛn Tham i·ltse e·zčər tsuča·n. Thame ha·lər n'utsun "bismillah" nɛ·tan i·ltse ečа·n.

Ho Ganišum, A·ltitum da Tu.a·ntse o·di.e mamu Thamər dusuča·n. Diramatiṇe tsir wa·lkuts mamu čau.n no Wazi·re ha·lər gati ne

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O·di ṇsərkas — altered from *ṇsərkas* which appears in the following note: "He shouts from a high place: *Lar tsordinər O·di ṇsərkas bila. Wa mamu tsir čau.n aiyo·tin*"". I do not know the exact meaning of the phrase. The only explanation I have of *O·di* is that it is the "day" on which milk is collected etc., but that must only be a secondary usage of it.

None of the known meanings of *°-ṇsərkas* or *ṇsərkas* is obviously suitable: 'to bring' (a weapon etc.) 'down'; 'to strike (a blow) with'; 'to leave' (behind), 'to put down'; 'to divorce' and perhaps 'to let', 'permit'.

Possibly the idea is 'to leave' i. e. not to take the milk for oneself, or 'to keep' it in deposit.

In either of these cases *o·di* would refer to the 'milk'; but we have *o·di.e mamu* "the Odi milk" in l. 9 below.

The plural prefix of *ṇsərkas* might be because the *o·di* was conceived as being in large quantity. *O·di* would have to be x.

3 *mai.i mai.imo . . .* — Literally: "Don't you yourselves milk your own

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

No. XXXVII.

The Odi Custom.

On the fifteenth of May they take away the Hunza flocks to the grazing grounds. When four days remain to the (time for) taking them away the Cherbu calls out: "Ho, tomorrow the Odi is to be kept. Do not milk your goats for yourselves!"

Then the Dirāmiting milk their goats and collect the milk and every day they bring two or three pumpkin-vessels (full) to the Wazir's house. They boil the milk and making a Dirāmiting herdsman carry it and some bread, in company with a brother or son of the Wazir they take it to get the Tham to handsel it. They take it to the Tham's house and get him to say "Bismillah" and taste it.

After that they bring the Odi milk of Ganish, of Altit, and of the New Settlements to the Tham.

For four days the Dirāmiting milk their goats and collect the milk at the house of the Wazir and make four or five vessels of

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goats", but the sense and a gloss make it 'don't milk your goats for yourselves'.

The alternative given in the first note above is even more indefinite: 'let none of you milk goats!'

hire mamu gali ṭau ne — This appears to be an attempt to telescope *hir ṭau ne* and *mamu gali ne*. But possibly it means "milking their goats all together".

ilite ewir — *ilite* appears to be *-il + te* 'on his lip', *ewir* in the causative of *ilas* 'to make him put' v § 208.

(69) wa·lto tsundowan d'iltəriŋ netan, da maska ke d'iltər nuk'a Wazire ha·lum Thamər tsuč'an. Ho Thame or bezan mirma·ni (or, mermaˈni) ɛčai.i. U·imo ha·lar jučaˈn. Ho Diramatiŋe huy'ɛ·s terminər tsuč'an.

5 O·ditsum yər ne mene huy'ɛ·s terər tsuman ke han baskarate jərpa očaˈn.

1 *diltəriŋ* — is glossed as "bowls of buttermilk".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnho AV7

butter milk and carry the butter and buttermilk away from the Wazir's house to the Tham. Then the Tham gives them some present and they return to their homes. After that the Dirāmiting take away their flocks to the grazing grounds.

If any people take their flocks to the grazing grounds before the Odi they fine them a ram.

No. XXXVIII.

Gɪn'ani.ɛ Dast'ur.

Yərum zaman'atsum dastur bila Sərat'ane turmataindi.ulo den gəɪ'ə-rum di-mi kɛ Gɪnani mai.i bi. den čaγ'urum di-mi kɛ a'ltərulo Gɪnani sč'a-n.

Hər i.ɛ pfal nuka halɛ iw'at manimi kɛ ho Thamɛ wazir kɛ ak'abirtiŋɛ kɛ doγ'arušai, ax'on sa'atər 'eborebai.i: "Amit guntəc Gɪnani 'ečan kɛ" nusen. Axone krta-pulo nup'ərɛn gunte muqarar sč'ai.i.

Ho Gɪn'ani.ər alta-ŋute duw'a-sumər usta-dtiŋ dutsun Thame hiŋtec gɪnani.e hərip 'oγərča-n (ər, očan). Torimi baja xa n'eγər ustatiŋ ničə-n.

Altul duw'a-sumər Čərbu.ɛ qau.n ečai: "Wa ful'ana guntec Gɪnani ʒ'i.ɛs bi. Matanum terminər nama-n bur'us ditsu.in," nusen. G'onərɛ g'on maniʒ xa usta-tiŋ hərip sč'an, bɛxɛ kɛ: "Gəribtiŋ b'a-man uy'o-n d'oyelin xuə umanʒan" nusen.

Da Gɪna-ni 'e-ʒiʒ xa hari ipfupərɛs sp'i. Jotphat kɛ kana.o

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2 *Gɪnani* — It is held later in *Gujhal*, the Upper Hunza valley. The term *Gɪnani* seems to apply originally to the small quantity of barley which is torn up and brought into the house, see line 8, page 238, and to the grain of it which is eaten, see line 11 page 238, and then generally to the festival associated with this sampling of the crops.

4 *pfal nuka* — *pfal gaman* seems to be the idiom for "coming into grain, developing grain".

halɛ iwat — appears to be literally "fox's body" (*-anaf). It was explained that the term is used to describe corn when the ears have turned yellowish or reddish i. e. the colour of a fox's fur.

5 *ak'abirtiŋɛ kɛ doγ'arušai.i* — *kɛ* was here substituted for the original *ka* ("with").

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXXVIII.

The Gināni Custom.

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It is the custom from ancient times that the Gināni be held on the fifteenth of Seratān if the year turns out hot, but if the year is cold they celebrate the Gināni on the twentieth.

When the barley has formed grain and the ears have turned yellow, the Tham, after consulting the Wazir and Elders, makes the Akhond look for a favourable time, saying: "Which day should we hold the Gināni?" The Akhond looks in his book and fixes a day.

Then when eight days remain to the Gināni they bring the musicians and make them play the Gināni tune at the Tham's door. The musicians play till ten o'clock and then go away.

When two days remain the Cherbu calls out: "Ho, on such and such a day the Gināni is to be eaten. Go to the distant grazing-grounds and fetch in the *burūs*. All night till daybreak the musicians play music so that all the poor people may hear and rejoice.

Then, until the eating of the Gināni, rubbing the barley between

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Perhaps the narrator had originally had some other verb in view, as *dayarwas* is not elsewhere accompanied either by the general oblique or by the postposition *ko*.

-11 *Granā ṭi.ao bi* — *bi* agreeing with *granā* v. § 401.

12 *bas ko . . . sesen* — the grammar is rather confused. The meaning is: "in order that the poor people may be happy", but actually *bas ko* 'because' appears to introduce *sesen* "because they say (lit. 'saying') 'let the poor people be happy!'"

bewas — a chance variant for *bawas*.

13 *cṭṭi ze* — negative *a* + *i* + *-ṭṭi*.

000 očan. "Hori ipfu·poruman kɛ Thamɛ momus čur·uk ma·ači" nusɛn, ar očan.

Ho Gɪn'ani.ɛ horip, Gɪnani ditɛas (or, ditɛasor) tai.a·r manu·mor, ta·ŋe s'urke.ulo teordimo 'eyerčan. Teor Thamo ta·ŋum Gɪnani
5 diłor duwałačan. Thamo Gɪnani maltsum ditsumor ho ya·rɛ uyo·n nu·n ditɛas mira·s bila.

Malor nu·n "bɪsmillah!" nɛtan Dehka·n Pi·r kɛ ni·likin ho hori pfy'u·ɛn dipirtain ha·lor dusu·čan. Ha·lo dusu·n pfyu.an hori širidaqotse tak ečan. Pfy'u·an pfu.atɛ n'esqul n'ipupur pf'atanulo diltor
10 dusum kapanulo hori.ɛ usko ya talo pfalo·ŋo hine ha·lum uyu·m inɛ·r iski hoči e·r kapanulo gičai.i. Ine šu·k ečai.i. Tailatɛ teirtse ha·lum jama·at uyo·ne Gɪna·ni.ɛ pfal haha ečan.

Ho Gɪna·ni.ɛ tamaša yat guntse eč'a·n. Te·ordimo Baltit bula deljа·n. Bula n'i·dil Tham kɛ aka·bortiŋ Thamo yatɛ ho·lo basi·or tamaša 'o·zčor
15 jučа·n. Dumor Hunzu.ɛ aka·bortiŋɛ ha·kič'aŋulum Thamor buru·s šapik diła·n (or, duła·n). Tham morakа·ulo taxtatɛ huru·šai.i Wazir ka aka·bortiŋ u·e u·imo dišulo huru·š'an. Ho šapik šičа·n. Šapik ši·mor ho·lum jat'aqulo tamaša ɛtasor gati me.ibа·n. Tham kɛ aka·bortiŋ

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1 *momus* — Note the sg. noun with the pl. pron. prefix cp. § 128. III.
ma·či = *ma* + **-ati* from **-atas*.

4 *teordimo* — is glossed "first" but I think the correct meaning is "in the morning" as in line 13.
Thamo — this seems to be a gen. sg. in *-o*. Otherwise it is the pl. less the *-e* of the gen. See also line 14.

5 *yate uyo·n* — This is 2. *yate* = *yor* 'ahead', 'in front' etc. I take it here as meaning 'next'. Otherwise, taking it with *uyo·n*, 'all beyond this', 'all the rest'.

[72] *Dekha·n Pir* — elsewhere recorded as *Pir Dekaŋ·n* and *Diqarai Pir*. He is said to be that multiple and ubiquitous personality *Xuarja Xuar*.
hori — barley is used for the Ginani in Baltit and Altit: elsewhere, it is said, wheat.

8 *duwačan* — the object being *hori* (y). Originally *diłoru* was written *ginani* (x) being understood as object.

9 *nɛqul* — MS. *nɛalul*

11 *kapanulo . . . gičai.i* — The sentence is not very clear. *Hine* 'one person', 'someone' is the subject of *gičai.i*. What is meant is that some buttermilk is put in the dipper (*kapan*) and a few grains of barley are added, and this is

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the hands is not permitted; and they warn the small children, saying: "If you rub the barley the Tham will cut out your tongues for you," and frighten them. 534A 527 241

Then when it is time to bring in the Gināni, they play the Gināni tune in the morning on the balcony of the Tham's palace. First they go from the Tham's palace to bring in the Gināni. Then when they have brought the Tham's Gināni from the fields it is the custom next for all to go away and bring in their own.

They go the fields and say "Bismillah" and pray to the Dēhkān Pīr and then they tear up a little barley by the roots and bring it home. Bringing it to the house they tie a little of the barley to the main pillar and a little they roast at the fire and rub it between their hands. Then they bring buttermilk in a bowl and three times in a spoon(ful of it) one of them puts 3 or 7 grains of the barley for the principal person of the house, and he laps it up. And in like manner all the people of the house in turn handsel the Gināni grain. [176]

Then the next day they hold the Gināni sports. In the morning they play polo at Bāltit. After playing polo the Tham and the Elders come to the Tham's upper outside garden to make the people give a display. After they have arrived there they bring bread and *barūs* for the Tham from the houses of the Hunza Elders. The Tham sits down on a seat in the place of assembly and the Wazir and Elders sit down in their respective places and then they eat the bread. When they have eaten, the people assemble for an entertainment at the outside dancing-place, and the Tham and Elders come out and make them dance. First the Tham makes

then given to the senior person in the house who laps it up. This procedure is gone through three times. The word is more correctly *ḫapen*, but when the accent as here is on the first syllable the quality of the second vowel is not clear.

14 *ḫaṣor* — called the *Šimʿal Bay*.

15 *berwe* — here and in l. 9, p. 330 written *berwd*, owing no doubt to the influence of the *ā* of *ḫapik*.

16 *ka* — for *ka*.

060 duṇ̄ ogiraśaṇ. Teor Turakutsan ogirešai.i. Ho tairtse traṇfaṭiṇ da aka-bortiṇ ogiraśaṇ.

Gus guyaṇ ke tamalaṇ uyo-kičiṇ netan juṭan. Da hir sise biranče arakičiṇ di-usin num'in uortan juṭam. Tham'ine kuṇin

5 A-ya Xaṇe hukumate mei minas arak minas fat otai.i. Ho duyuṇ̄ ra giraśaṇ.

Duyuṇ̄ manumteum Tham meraka.atsum daṇ̄ numa gučačai.i. Duṇ̄ nokuṇ-čen di.en A-titar sawetumo bula deljor nicaṇ. Altitkutse ke buruṇ̄ šapik dušaṇ. Šapik nitin bula dzljaṇ. Nidilin uṇ̄mo

10 hukičanjar ničan.

Ginaṇ̄ni ne a-itulanmo Pi.akmar ebaṇ.

Ho gur horeṇ̄ nipiṇ̄ar dorteṇ̄ netan darte gičan.

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1 uyo-kičiṇ — v. Vocab. s. v. *-gey.
Ikamiṇ̄ kuṇ̄in — i. e. 1933 and 1934.

11 *Pi.akmar* or *Pi.akmar* — originally written *Pi.ammar* is said to be the word *pairamber*.

12 *nipiṇ̄ar* — ppn. act. of *hiṇ̄rkas*.
darte gičan — the exact meaning or meanings of *darte* are doubtful. The primary meaning is probably "crops that have been cut and brought and deposited at the threshing floor". I get it originally as the equivalent of "threshing floor". All recorded examples of its use will be found in the Vocab. s. v.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1933-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushe AV7

one of the Terakuts dance and then they make the *Trang/as* and Elders dance in turn. 539; 527

The women and children deck themselves out to come to the display. And the men used to come, after they had produced mulberry spirits and drunk and become intoxicated. This year and last year by the order of the Agha Khan, (the Tham) has made them abstain from drinking wine and spirits. Then they dance till midday. 241

When midday has come the Tham leaves the place of assembly and (goes and) lies down. After lying down for a little he gets up and they go off to Altit in the evening to play polo. The people of Altit also bring bread and *baris*, and when they have eaten they play polo and then go off to their homes.

Two days after holding the Ginâni they celebrate the Piakmer. Then they cut the wheat and barley and prepare threshing floors and stack the harvest.

No. XXXIX.

Harvesting.

060 Hunzuio taor hariʿc darta buriθaʿn. Nupar gati ne ho γumaldi netan han šerowan netan sermutaiq dartaor nutsum utiʿbaʿn.

Utinasulo akiʿl seibaʿn: "Diqoʿni Pirtsum (or, Pir Dehqaʿntsum) berkat dumerda ba. Bismillah, ya Xudaiya! Daasulja, ya Xudaʿya! Daaspiʿren ya Xudaʿ! Iškašum berkat eti, ya Xudaʿ!" Seʿmi sermutsulo utibaʿn.

Aʿitanc utibaʿn. Hine sermutae iʿltae duʿibai.i, hine utibaiʿi. Yaʿre uyoʿn oʿstaqačaʿn. Ho nuʿtin oʿr qau.u ne dniʿaʿn. Duʿn, "Sumʿan berkat" seibaʿn. Otinas ine "baxt dolat" seibai.i.

Ho šapik nišin sermutaiq haʿlar dusuʿn taγurer gidan. Ho guʿre darta kr da beruʿ kr dusuʿn, da boʿmo da uʿlji yarer gurʿberi

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1 *gati ne* — the grain is collected and put in a pit.

3 *Iškašum berkat* — I do not know why Iškašum should be regarded as particularly blessed or fertile nor why this small and remote district should have specially attracted the attention of the people of Hunza. Perhaps the Dehqan Pir was associated with it.

sermutsulo utibaʿn — utibaʿn is used where in English we should use "fill", but the Burushaki idiom is "to fill something into something". The real meaning is probably "to pour" and the verb is probably connected with the ordinary verb šinas 'to pour'.

6 *oʿstaqačaʿn* — A note says that this is in order that they may not cast the "Evil Eye" on the grain.

9 *sumʿan berkat* — I do not know whether *sumʿan* is the 2nd. pl. pret. or the Static pl. passive + -an, of *seγas*.

I think the stress on the last syllable would be less unusual in the pret. than in the pr.

No. XXXIX.

Harvesting.

In Hunza first they thresh the harvested barley. Having done so they collect (the grain) and make some thin bread and a cake of thick bread. Then they take big bags to the threshing floor and fill them (with the grain). 539% 243

As they fill them they say thus: "I crave a blessing from the Diqūni Pīr. In the name of God! O God! Fill my belly, O God! Fill me full, O God! Grant the blessing of Ishkāshum, O God!" Saying (these words) they fill the bag.

Two men do the filling. One man holds (up) the mouth of the bag and the other fills it. They make all the others hide themselves. Then the two men, when they have filled (the bags), call to the (concealed men) and bring them up, and the latter, coming up say: "You have brought prosperity!" And the filler replies: "(It is due to your) luck and fortune!" 539% 243 251

Then they have some food and bring the bags to the house and empty them into the grain-bin. Subsequently they bring in the wheat harvest too, and then the buckwheat. And, setting aside wheat and barley for seed-grain and for funeral rites, they take

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11 *hewa* — not recorded elsewhere; it is perhaps for *hewo* a possible plural form of *ho*. *wāji gwiw* — exactly corresponds to Shina *gw fāla* inverted. It is glossed Hindustani *orpe pīche* which confirms the natural identification with the words *-āji and *gw* but does not elucidate the sense in which they are used. Compare the term *-āti.ālo (Vocab. *-āti) also meaning 'funeral rites' which also seem to contain the idea of 'after', 'following'.

The grain is distributed as alms, *zakwāt*, after a death.

n'o·usin, dišaki d'i·us sa·atse yai.iŋki n'ɛtan, da sərmutsiŋər nikin d'o·ɪasər yai.iŋale tsuča·n.

Yai.iŋgu·inər sərmuts kɛ hičuti pfi giyas dastu·r bila. Han pfiti.an ke e·r ečа·n.

5 Ho do·r dusu·n taayurər nik'i·n utiŋatɛ 'etsiča·n. N'e·tsin taayuratɛ taγay ne fat ečа·n.

Datumu šečər (*or*, ščər) uγ'əriki 'i·tsi dorč'a·n. Ho T'umešəliŋər hərі.e taayurtse u.'i·ltse ečа·n. Gər'u·mo gu·re taayurtse u.i·ltse ečа·n.

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1 *yai.iŋki n'stan* — glossed "sifting", but literally: "making it millable, i. e. fit for grinding".

4 *er ečan* — in such cases it is not easy to decide whether *ečan* is to be taken literally 'they make', 'prepare' or in some specialised sense such as 'they allot', 'assign', 'present'.

6 *taγay ne* — the mud is used in some way to render the bin air-tight, whether [37] by sealing the junction of the lid and body or plastering over the whole article must depend on the exact nature of the *taγar* of which I am not informed.

4a Lorimer L-2 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1936 AV7 Burushe AV7

the year's food supply out (of the bin) and they sift it in the sun. Then they put it into bags and take it away to the mill to be ground.

It is the custom to ladle out a *ḫiṭṭuli* (2 or 3 lbs. of grain) per bag for the miller, and they also make for him one piece of bread.

Then when they have ground it they bring it back and pour it into the bin and stamp it down with their feet, after which they seal the bin with mud and leave it.

They grind separately their daily rations for consumption during autumn, and then at the Tūmishbling they begin on the barley bin and in spring they begin on the wheat bin.

In Gilgit grain is kept in a *ḫuṭul* consisting of a wattle frame which is plastered over with mud. In Persia large clay vessels *zum* are used for similar purposes. The mouth is closed with a lid and the junction is sealed with mud.

? *ḫeṭer* — if the idea in the mind is "flour"; *ḫiṭṭw*, if it is bread.

wɣ'wzki — v. Vocab. s. v. *-ɣwzki.

No. XL.

Herber Thamu.er Dastur.

Tham her dat-ver Setamber ya Akter-ber, ya Hambel'a termatemdi.er ya ailtaner, H'erberer eka walti altaran ladaste ke akarbertiq ueyen nitai.i. Akarbertiq teremo termatemdowan, da termatemdowan mariq ais, da tailum ladaste ailtaran, miriskavtiq tale altambu.an, da [5] eryaeno ustartiq altambu.an, aitaiyo waltuwanz ka akilate nitai.i.

Galmitum erbertiq da yave berumen juwayo Čaman Gul za Tham yanier jeras mirae bila. Han hayeman nitin da lapike ka giramanelo ueyen Bolitdaner yanli.er dikan. Ite ik "etaq" bila. Ho Tham tele u-ertin aitai.i. Nitin Čafa Hara nimer gutinante [10] iriater dara Thamer uriqtiq ailalai bara.

Ho tailateum Tham yer hariq etume Galmit jateqnio dawakitai.i. Dawkumer han b'aran Thamer delitara. Yerum samarnavilo mirae bilum Thame hin lara akaberamer hukum etumer ise her

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Thamu.er — was a later addition to the title and the result is probably incomplete and ungrammatical. The intention is: "The customs observed when the Tham visits Herber".

Herber — I have written as one word as it is usualist, but it is no doubt. *Her Her* 'the Her Valley'. It is the upper portion of the valley of the Hunza river and, at least outside Hunza, is usually called Gojhed.

[4] *ailtaner* — is the term for 'headman' among the Wakhis who form the bulk of the population of Upper Hunza. Wakhi influence is also apparent in some of the place names.

[7] *Čafa Hara* — *Čafa* is said to be a Wakhi word meaning "hurry up quickly". The name is given as *Čafa Her*, leaving the *-a* to be explained.

[10] *iriater* — *ri* is the 'edge' above a declivity, e. g. the top edge of the earth cliffs formed by the cutting of a river through an old alluvial or glacial deposit. It might, I think, also be the edge of a terraced field.

[1] [Errata: for juwa'yo read juwa'yo cf p. 419, 627, 116 -- Ansiyst]

No. XL.

The Custom in regard to The Tham's Annual Visit to Hirber.

Every Autumn, in September or October, or on the 15th. or 20th. of Sambula, the Tham sets out for Hirber taking with him eighty followers and Elders. With ten or fifteen Elders, fifteen men of superior rank, twenty minor servants, seven or eight huntsmen, eight bandsmen and four grooms, thus he sets out.

It is the custom for the Elders of Galmit and, in addition, a number of young men, to come as far as Chaman Gul to receive the Tham. Slaying a goat and loading it along with a supply of bread in a panier they bring it to Bulchi Das for his reception. It is called *Otag*. Then the Tham stops there and eats it. When he has eaten and has gone on to Chacha Hera the women come out on to the edge of the terrace and wave their hands round in the Tham's honour.

(Proceeding) thence they keep playing music in front of the Tham (until) he dismounts at the Galmit dancing place. When the Tham has dismounted they present an ox before him. In former times it was the custom for the Tham to give orders to a distinguished Elder, upon which the latter, they say, seizing the ox and pulling

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[1] *ŝaiŝaiwa* — probably from *ŝeiz* 'there' and not from *ŝail* etc. 'such'. There seems to be a verb or two missing in this sentence: the party proceeds, music being played in front of the Tham until the Galmit dancing ground is reached, when the Tham dismounts.

[2] *ŝeiŝiwa* — "they make an ox stand", "they stand up an ox", or "they keep an ox standing for the Tham", a sort of technical expression for presentation.

940 (γatundate) djl.er jari ne dorugem iltalhariqe gud γaŝap ne γaturudate deljam se.ibaru. Muto ite dasturr kin Thame fat ortai.i. Her duriyer nen ke d'ori bara.

Ho terumaner Tham dusark jatanq manate hartumer mamo.e
5 pfuturk dusurtaru. Thame "hemilah" ortan kaman niqin ho arbarbtiqer deyarutai.i: "Ŝura barna?" ormen. U d'aldi.en Thamar "Xuŝ amadi" se.ibaru.

Ho Tham ulo tarqer nitai.i. Ŝadurtu ke akarbartiq ur urimo quiqer nitaru. Qoliqer nirmer er Gu.i-du.e kurute dandan dusurtaru.
10 Ho iarmer ite gurtaulo arbarbe harle alta hayere tutai.i. Da han pcioori.en. turmatarudi ser mai.imi, nikher (or, nikhur) ŝarbat ciuai.i. Da turmatarudi čuk gurre ŝapik ortan Tham iadurtu.e ka harlar itsurai.i.

Altan Hunzumo Tranfatiq se.ibaru. U aurain ŝapik čap tarq
15 ortan hanikuto tai.ar ciaru. Baskarate itair Thamar kabab ne marakar dusurtaru. Hane itairan γenimner tauŝaru. Eremuta uyuru γoqurrer amin manimi ke, tauŝaru. Han ekinan Wazir manimi ke, γa Wazir onimi ke ine ciu.aner γa i-i.er iŝiŝaru.

Tham harle ni.aner hiqtaner nimer dayo.anq jatir ke da tormal da

1 γatundate . . . . — This passage is full of difficulties. The first γatundate seems to be 'do trap'.

dorugem — 'missing'; *djl.er jari* or 'pulling it to behind or backwards'. A note explains "pulling out by the horns and tail", but it is difficult to see how one man could pull it in two directions, or even one, and at the same time give it an effective blow on the neck with his sword. He probably has assistants who hold the animal and cause it to stretch its neck out. He then strikes it on the neck just in front of the shoulder. The explanation is probably that *dorugem* is causative.

gur — was explained as the 'front edge of the shoulder' but the word is not recorded elsewhere. V. Vocab. s.v.

γatap ne — was glossed as 'straight down'. It is perhaps identical or connected with γatarp ofar 'to wipe' and so possibly means "making a sweeping cut" or "following the line of the front edge" etc.

2 *hir duriyer* . . . . — the exact sense is not clear. *hir duriyer* is glossed H. *pakarnake* i. e. 'in order to seize' which would be the ordinary meaning, but does not make obvious sense. And why does *hir* not have the suffix *-du* ordinarily required by *durier*? The idea seems to be that they still lay hold of the ox but do not slay it on the spot.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnbo AV7

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it backwards smote it with his sword straight down the front line of the (shoulder and) forelegs. Now the present Tham has made them give up this practice. (As) for laying hold of the ox, they still lay hold of it.

Then when the Tham, having dismounted, has taken his seat on the platform at the dancing ground, they bring a small bowl of milk to him. The Tham, saying "Bismillah," drinks a little and enquires of the Headmen: "Are you well?" and they, standing up, reply to the Tham: "You are welcome."

Then the Tham goes into the fort and the servants and elders go off to their respective lodgings. When they have done so the Wakhis bring them *Kurutè Dandan* (a form of food).

Then on the evening of the same day the Headman kills two goats at his house, and then cutting up a lump of ghee, which may be 30 lbs. in weight, he makes *sherbat*. Then, having prepared 15 *chaqr* of wheat bread he conducts the Tham, accompanied by his followers, to his house.

There are two Hunza Trangfas and they go and cut up the bread and meat and prepare the dishes of food. They roast the breast of the one he-goat for the Tham and bring it to the place of assembly, and they convey the breast of the other to the Tham's consort. The kidneys they take to the senior Gushpir if there is any. One liver they give to the Wazir, if he is there, or, if he has not come, to one of his brothers or his son.

When the Tham goes to the house and when he has arrived at

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4 *ḫarə ḫarwa?* — said in Wakhi which is said to be "*ḫaſirya?*" i. e. *ḫaſ*, 'good'; *ḫrə*, 'now'; *a*, interrog. particle.

The equivalent Wakhi for the Persian *Xuš amadi* was given as *ḫakar wi.ca*.

6 *ḫarqar* — The Tham's official residence. It is scarcely a 'fort' and certainly not a 'palace' in the ordinary acceptance of the term.

9 *qaiqar* — Shaw gives Wakhi *qai* as "household, quarters, camp". It is also used in Sh. and Khow. It is here glossed 'inhabited house', but seems to mean "lodging".

11 *nikar* — past participle active of **-xwrə*.

16 *ferq* — i. e. *ḫaq* refers I think only to the meat, cp. l. 12, page 340 below. It was glossed "cutting up".

18 *ḫaskərdə* — usually 'ram'; here glossed 'male goat'.

19 *dərə:qp* — a note adds that the Tham puts a little flour on his head.

§90 maltaże hanik di.utwn. Thame twap ne b'a ne hwlar nin uyu.m manate hurwtai.i. Ha daman otokone ka yovtilo daldi.en "zuś armadi" se.ilwn. Thame "Burzakullah" se.ilwi.i.

Ho hiqtse akwbortiq ke ładoto dorq worurutin Wazirer qan
5 ołwi.i. Da Yarpaw qan ołwi.i. Ho teirtse akwbortiq hwlar dułwn. Ho teilum ładoto ke dułwn. U-i wimo dił mongarrer bila wrułwn. Ho Thame irtiq wołallar maharamane teil dowłwi.i. Thame wołhalt da akwbortiq wołhałwn.

Łapik Thame yawe wułwn. Thamer yołtin ke da aświ.e xam
10 ołwn. Boskarate (wałdae łorbat ke łapike ka Tham yawe wtwn. Wełto dołdwrqi ke da han pfatanło pai.i ke da han łilanło iran ke. Iołtine łap Thamer taq ołwi.i.

Ho uyuqło uyawe ke hanikute ołwn. Tham yarrum łap akwbortiqer da ładoto.er ov bikałwn. Alta yatumute huyowe ke mai.i
15 bi.en. Han łapike ka beritu.er wtwn. Han altalyu.er wtwn. Mir Śikwrtiqer Tham yarrum dowma wtwn. Da wełmate alta hanikute ułwn. Badiqarder teundo hanikute ułwn.

Da Thame jama.ater ke łapik hanikute ołwułwn. Gołpurtero.er ke han han hanikute ołwułwn. Gołpurtero Tham ke akwbortiqe ka
20 xonindoke hwlar ju.ee api. U-er wimo qołer ołwułwn.

Ho łapik oitin Tham dułwi.i. "Mar berkat!" wnowner, "Śabe jowi berkat!" se.ilwn. Thame ka hiqtewn hole mq daman jołai.i.

Ho xonindaqe hałum wazire.iki łak da łorbat nipilan łapike ka

7 *wołhałtar* — causative: 'to make the Tham wash his hand'.
9 *aświ.e* — glossed "Gojhali assistants".
xam — the *x* is marked here as peculiar and *gh* is given as an alternative.
11 *han pfatanło pai.i* — 'crude in a bowl', i. e. a bowlful of crude.
16 *altalyu.er* — 'for each lot of them' i. e. the musicians, the grooms and the bustamen.
19 *ołwułwn* — "they make them take away" i. e. 'they send' or, 'from the house of the entertainer'.
20 *xonindoke* — a Wakhi word *xon* is 'house'; *xonin* is probably for the ablative form *xonen*; *dak* was explained as 'hospitality'. Another note gives the combined word as meaning 'the person in whose house the Tham is'. So here and in l. 23 one might take *xonindaqe*, *xonindaqe* to mean 'master of the house', 'host' or 'entertainer'.
In that case *xonindaqitiq* in l. 12, page 342 apparently means 'hospitalities', 'acts of entertainment', and is probably the pl. of an abstract noun *xonindaqi*.
21–22 *aale jowi berkat* — Wakhi *aale* (= *ava*?) 'your'; *jowi* life.

the door, they bring out a bowl of flour, and *ispandar* smoke, and 594
a dish of ghee. The Tham touching these and kissing (his fingers) 643
enters the house and sits down on the large dais. The master of 574
the house and his brothers, standing in the centre part of the room, say: "You are welcome!" "God bless you!" replies the Tham.

Then he makes the Elders and followers sit down for a little at the door and he calls up the Wastr and then he calls up the Yerpa. Then they bring the Elders one by one into the house, and then they bring in the *inferior* followers, and they make them sit down in their appointed places. After this a personal servant brings water for the Tham to wash his hands, and when they have made the Tham wash his hands they make the Elders wash theirs.

Then they set food before the Tham. The Head Cook and the 262
assistant cooks prepare vegetable soup for the Tham and put the 539
hindquarters of a sheep and *sherbat* with bread before him. Also 643
four cakes of thick bread, and curds in a bowl, and cream in a cup. 574
The Head Cook cuts up the meat for the Tham.

Then they place dishes of food before the leading men, and the meat that is in front of the Tham they dispense to the Elders and followers. There are also the two heads of the goats: one of these with some bread they give to the musicians; the other they give to the grooms. To the huntsmen they give the fat tail (of the sheep) which is in front of the Mir. They give two dishes (of food) to each party separately. To the Bodyguard they give five dishes.

Then to the Tham's womenfolk also they send bread and dishes of food and to the Gushpurs they send one dish each. The Gushpurs are not allowed to come to the host's house with the Tham and Elders. They send the food for them to their various lodgings.

When he has eaten the Tham comes out. He says: "Blessings 594
on you!" and they reply: "On your life blessings!" The master 643
of the house comes out in front of the door with the Tham. 574
576

22 *ka-kow* .. *kanik ki* — the sentence is grammatically obscure and probably faulty, *ka-kow* unless it is adjectival, seems to require a verb, such as "they carry away from ...".
wasiwski — an alternative reading is: *wasiw kan* . . .
uyulas — is the p.p.c. active of *bilsipas* used absolutely.

hanik bi. Da arbab ke Hunzu.e altan Tranfatinar ke han han šak
nipiłan hanik bi. Da asirri.ar alta huyewe bi'e ke čumuta da
hatonp bitsa. Da ustardinar han tuspuran qadimtsum bi. Ise hik
del šorbatatum oči.as mirawe bila. Ho in'e ha'tum tsordinar ke ise
5 sabuwmo šapiktsum n'o'nin qurute tsam'iko ka morakar dusurčaru.

Akilate Tham Herbare hisan ya altosan hurutimi ke har gunta
tarkwane alta huyewe da han pušori da termatsundi čuq pfalu.e
šapik ke šorbat netan Tham ha'lar itsuwaru. Akubertinar gunta
Thamo hayurar šoqa uyu.i bai.i. Wazirar tsundo hakičanjtsum siqa
10 iyurnas bitsa. Hičuti haspur Wazirar iyuri baru. Hayurar kan ke
gaik iyularu.

Xomudaqičin fai manowmar da han huyewan tsundi čuq pfalu.e
šapik urbaru. Ite i'k otiaq bila. Otaqe mirawe ite bila, han han mal
Thamu.e učim bila. Itwete utaqo hap osaru. Da tarkwane ilb'an
15 wa'lto huyew, han h'aldan, han b'askarct, han ta'ir, han b'urtar,
Thamar har den yurčai.i. Alto.ulum šadar ke baldakuin ke usko
huyes har den yurčai.i, han tairan, han b'elisan, han burtar. Gutse
baldakuinate hap bila. Da "Šabur jrti" nusr ha ki walti pfalo
iyuri baru. "Yale yurk" nusr ha ki hičuti hari iyuri baru. Hukai
20 ke hayur berum bi'e ke kan ke han han walgi učiras mirawe bila.

Xuda.abarde ilban Nafis Gušpurrar bila. Nazimabarde ilban Šabar

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4 šorbatatum — oil comes up off the šorbat when it is cooked.
oči.as — It is to be noted that the object in del (y) not ier (s) the idiom being "oil fall in it" and not "it fall of oil". If ier were the object, the verb would be uyas not oči.as.
in'e — presumably refers to the 'host' or 'entertainer'.
tsordinar — probably goes with dosordaru 'in the morning' they bring food which they have set aside . . .
7 čurbaru — is sg., but here used with collective force.
pfalu.e — depends on šapik 'bread of 15 choqs (of) grain'.
8 netan — governs both šapik and šorbat.
10 iyuri baru — i. e. the local inhabitants give.
14 učim bila — this is equivalent to a finite passive tense: 'it has been given them by the Thams'.
ilban — This tax is paid when the Tham is leaving at the end of his visit.
19 šabar — is Wakhi for 'four'.
walti — ground "four measures". It probably stands for "four hičuti".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920–4; 1934–5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

Then from the house of entertainment there is (sent) a dish on which they put as the Wazīr's portion, a leg (of mutton), and *sherbat* along with bread; and also there is a dish apiece for the Headman and the two Hunza Trangfas on which they put a leg. Then for the cooks there are the fat of the two goats and their necks and skins. And for the musicians there is from ancient times a wooden jar which it is the custom to give to them filled with the oil from the *sherbat*. From that evening's food they set something aside and in the morning, and they bring it with *qurūt tuzwik* from the host's house to the place of assembly. 539* 643 574 262

When the Tham stays thus for a month or two months in Herber every day the people who are exempt from carrying loads bring to the Tham's house two goats and a lump of ghee and bread, which they have made with 15 *chaqs* of grain, and *sherbat*. And every day the Tham gives green grass to the Elders for their horses. To the Wazīr grass is given from five houses and they give the Wazīr one *chati* of grain (for his horse). For the horses each village gives (him?) a rope. 539* 643 574 431

When the hospitalities have come to an end they give a goat and bread (made) of five *chaqs* of grain. This is called *Otaq*. The custom of *Otaq* is as follows: One field has been given to each of them by the Thams and on that they have imposed the *Otaq* tax. Further the exempted man every year gives the Tham as *ilhas* four animals viz. one he-goat, one ram, one she-goat and one yearling kid. Followers of the second rank and load-carriers give every year three animals viz. one she-goat, one sheep and one yearling kid. These are the tax (imposed) on load-carriers. Further, each household gives the Tham four (measures of) grain, which they call *sabir jiti* and each household gives a *hichati* of barley, which is called *yashi yūrā*. It is the custom also for every village to give one rope each for as many dogs and horses as there may be. 539* 643 574 651

The Khudā-abād *ilhas* is (assigned) to Gushpur Nafīs, and the Nazīmābād *ilhas* to Shāhāz Khān and the Miagūr *ilhas* is vested 539* 173 651

19 *yashi yūrā* — Wakhi for "horse's barley"; *yāl* 'horse' and *yūrā* 'barley'.

21 *Nazimabad* — the older name of this place was *Ālāh Das*.

Xa·nar bila. Misga·re ilban guŝpu·re.iki bila. Γazan Xa·ne thamkuŝulo Wazir Asadullah Biger iĉim bila, bese ke Wazir Asadullah Bige altan yu· Seriqular holate serdar no ·r·r'am. Hine i·k Xairullah bilum, hine i·k Faizu bilum. 'O·ltalik Seriqui Waĉi.ulo Kirgize tobaqiski (or, tobaqate) doli bam. U·e dutsum Misga·rulo ya·re otam. Gerurume wazi bilum. Telum dat'u·er Wazir Asadullah Bige du·isin B'altitar dutsum han mazar ne sand'uqiŝulo ya·re otai.i. Ite xidmatsum Misga·re bap Γazan Xane Asadullah Biger mira·s iĉi bam. Asadullah Big 'irumtsum ilji Γazan Xa·ne Waziri Wazir Huma·yun Biger iĉi bam.

Asadullah Big ni·rin yo·l ati bilum, Γazan Xa·ne hin Bapo senas i·yan bam, in'er Ĉitra·rum Amani Mulke e·yen dum'u·ŝar i·ye ka Wazir Huma·yun Big ke garo·ni Irŝad ganate o·ram. Kirm'inar doŝqaltasar ilji Γazan Xa·nar pfere.i ne Safdar Xa·ne ka Tura Beg ke Γazan Xa·n 'u·eqanuman. Da Wazir Huma·yun Ĉitra·rar 'u·epaluman. Γazan Xa·ne i·i guŝpu·r pfar ne ditsum Šimta·lulo 'u·eqanuman. Ho Safdar Xa·ne Hunzu.e thamkuŝ ŝemi. Da Tura Beg Wazir manimi.

Thamkuŝ nuŝe taindi den manilum Sarka·r Angre·r Hunzu.atar ho·l di·mi. Tura Beg ke Safdar Xa·nar Sarka·r Angrese hin afsaran, La·kart senas, di bam, se.iba·n. Inar bu·t be.adabi etam. "Hunzo ulo Ĉinar gan aĉin," senas ke but bedariŋ e·r et'am.

Hunza Nagir gati suma jaŋ etuman. Da Safdar Xa·n ke Tura Beg jaŋ etiŝ ayomanum Xrta·rlar nuka·rte.niman.

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1 *guŝpu·re.iki* — "gushpuri" must mean either that it is assigned to all Gushpurs jointly, or more probably from what follows that it is assigned to one or another Gushpur according to circumstances. The preceding *Xodo.abad* and *Narimabad* are both "gushpuri" inasmuch as each has been allotted to a Gushpur.

5 *tobaqiski* — the only example of the suffix *-iski* unless *digiski dalse* 'to kick' is to be reckoned a second. Functionally it is to be compared with the suffix *-ak* added to *ŝw* 'whip' and other words.

8 *mirce* — as a thing which should pass to his heirs i. e. 'in perpetuity'.

11 *nivin* — the past participle active used absolutely.

yol ati bilum — 'a year had not come (round)'. 3rd. sg. *y* neg. of perf. of *yo·yan*.

14 *Tura Beg* — he was an elder brother of *Humayun Beg*, but they had different mothers.

20–21 *Hunzo ulo* — "inside Hunza" probably meaning "through Hunza", cp. the temporal use of *-ulo* in the sense of "in the course of", "during" a period of time.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushe AV7

in the Gushpurs. During the Thamship of Ghazan Khân it was given to Wazir Asadullah Bèg, because (the Tham) had sent his two sons in command of an army to Seriqôl. The name of the one was Khairullah and the name of the other Faizu. The Kirgiz had shot both at Wachó in Seriqôl, and they had brought them back and buried them in Misgár. It was the hot weather, and in autumn Wazir Asadullah Bèg exhumed them and, bringing them to Bálitt, he made a grave and buried them there in coffins. For that service Ghazan Khân had granted Wazir Asadullah Bèg the Misgár tax as a permanent inheritance. After Asadullah Bèg's death Ghazan Khân had bestowed the Wazirship on Humáyûn Bèg.

A year had not passed after Asadullah Bèg's death when Ghazan Khân, who had a son called Bapo, despatched Wazir Humáyûn Bèg and a Bridal Party, with his son, by way of the Irshad to fetch a daughter of Amán-i-Mulk of Chitrál (as wife) for the latter. After they had arrived at Kirmin, Tera Bèg conspired with Safdar Khân against Ghazan Khân and they murdered him. Then they banished Wazir Humáyûn to Chitral, and bringing back the Gushpur, Ghazan Khân's son, they murdered him in Shimshál. Then Safdar Khân possessed himself of the Thamship of Hunza and Tera Bèg became Wazir.

When five years had passed with Safdar Khân in possession of the sovereignty the army of the English Government advanced against Hunza. They say that an officer of the English Government, called Lockhart, had come to Tera Bèg and Safdar Khân. They had shown him great disrespect, and when he had said: "Give me right of way through Hunza to China" they had subjected him to great insults.

Hunza and Nagir, joined together and made war. But Safdar Khân and Tera Bèg found themselves unable to fight and fled away to Chinese territory.

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21 ههلا ته — 'when he said' an unusual expression instead of the normal هه‌ل‌ته‌ر.

22 ئه‌وه‌ل‌ه‌ه‌ه‌ن — lit. "were unable to" but the sense is more active: "they failed to. In fact I believe they at once fled without making any pretence of fighting.

Hó Wazir Humayun Big Čitrartsum Sorkar Angrez ka Hunzu.er dimi. Da Sorkare Waziri itimi. Balke gavernori.e ixti.ar iči bam. Thamo uyon Safdar Xanz ka ni bam, mon kr apam. Da Tora Beg kr yure ka ni bam. Tora Begre bušai.e ke Sorkar Angrez Wazir Humayun Begur iči bam.

Ho Wazir Humayun Bige Sorkarer arz netan, Mir Muhammad Nazim Xan ite waxtulo Seriqui bam. "Tham ine maniš!" nusen, xat n'o-utsum Sorkarolar ditsum, Sorkare thamkuš itimi.

Ho Mir Muhammad Nazim Xanz Mingare bap guspure.iki toi Wazirer itimi. Da Haiderabade guspure-ki bušai.e ke itimi.

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1 *Sorkar Angrez ka* — *S. A.* here and in what follows means of course the "British Authorities", "British officers locally in charge".

6 *xat nusen* — The messenger was a man of the *Burum* tribe called *Nuro*. *Safdar Xan* apparently got hold of him and is said to have tied him up in a (bush?) *sewakin* and left him in the cold. He survived this, however, and was said to be still alive in 1934. There was also a son of his in the Mir's Bodyguard and another in the Gilgit Scouts.

9 *toi* — glossed 'alvah', but it might equally be an adjective qualifying *Wazirer*: 'to the new Wazir'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then Wazir Humāyūn Bēg returned from Chitral with the English authorities to Hunza, and the Government gave him the Wazirship. Indeed they gave him the powers of Governor. All members of the Ruling Family had gone off with Safdar Khān; there was none (left in Hunza). Tera Bēg too had gone off and his sons with him. The English Government also gave Humāyūn Bēg, Tera Bēg's land.

Then Wazir Humāyūn Bēg represented to Government that Mīr Muhammad Nazīm Khān, who was at that time in Sariqol, should be made Tham. He sent a letter to him and brought him to the Government and the Government gave him the Thamship.

Then Mīr Muhammad Nazīm Khān gave once more to the Wazir the Miagār tax, which was *Gushpuri*, and the *Gushpuri* lands of Haidarābād he also gave to him.

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No. XLI.

Maru ctas Dasturr.

660 Diramitiqe Th'amu.er maru ctas qad'imteum ap'i, bene ke Hunru.e aw'alr abardi yuno barn, da Th'amu.e benan uyornar sart oč'arn.

Thamo amular niyas man'imi ke Diramitiqe mirare bila Thame yenšie qawaš (or, kawaš) 'oye.ibarn. Baqi iski rorme zurarpo 5 'oye.ibarn. Ku.e iski rorme zurarbgurine ka ari urimo r'omulum alt'an b'uro nuryen kayar nurn Thamu.er datu garu.e maru eč'arn.

Hin zurarbgurinate bai.i yenšie bap bila. Turma arita rupi.a mai.i bi.en. Thamar har datu garure maru ne ya manduri ne bap dusurč'arn.

10 Maru ctas ure qad'imteum yury epi bahlakurin me.ibai.i. Šura xidmat ctum sis maru aiyerčarn.

Gute maru.e bap Maiyorteum Ata.abard xa bila. Her Bere Galmit(t)eum Misgarr da Čapurran xa marure dasturr ap'i. U aiyerčarn.

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1 *ap'i* — Note the idiom. *Diramitiqe* is probably the subject of *maru ctas* and the phrase cannot be translated literally. The nearest is: 'there is no Diramiting gold-washing'.

3 *Thamo . . .* — similarly *Thamo* is the subject of *niyas* and *niyas* is the subject of *manimi*.

614] 4 *qawaš oye.ibarn* — is causative: 'they make the Diramiting carry the Treasury Bag'.

5 *zur'arbgurin* — the "*jemadar* of Goldwashers", the man who directs and controls the operations. There is one in each of the "three tribes", which are the *Herakots*, *Berqq* and *Berstalig*.

651] 6 *datu garu.e* — perhaps "in Autumn and Spring" as in line 8 below.

8 *manduri ne* — the tax has to be paid in cash, which may be acquired in any way, and not in gold. The *bai.i* is traditionally Rs. 12, but is now reckoned as Rs. 16.

10 *maru ctas ure . . .* — A curious study in the employment of grammatical number.

No. XLI.

Gold-Washing in Hunza.

From ancient times the Diramiting have not (been required) to wash for gold for the Thams, because they are the seed of the original inhabitants of Hunza, and the Thams give them precedence in everything.

When the Thams have to go anywhere it is the custom for the Diramiting to carry the Tham's bag of gold. The remaining three tribes they make carry the gold-washing tray. The three tribes, each taking, along with the Chief Gold-Washer, two assistants of their own tribe, proceed to the edge of the river and carry out the Autumn and Spring gold-washing for the Tham.

There is a tax of a *bai.i* of gold on each Chief Gold-Washer, Twelve rupees are (a *bai.i*). Every autumn and spring they either wash for gold or work for hire and bring in the tax.

Those (only) are gold-washers whose fathers and grandfathers have from of old been carriers of loads. They do not make people who have done superior service, wash for gold.

This gold-washing tax is in force from Maiyūn up to Ata-abād. In Hèrber from Galmit to Misgār and the Chapūrsan there is no custom of gold-washing in force. They do not make the people (there) do it.

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but the sense is clear and is re-inforced by a note: "gold-washing is only imposed on coolies, low-class people and retters".

In Gilgit and Chilas gold-washing is carried on by a separate community, the *Sewaiard*, who are looked down on but are fairly prosperous. They are probably of foreign origin.

10 *yuy ayi* — is equivalent to "ancestors".

11 *aiyrwiew* — the Causative of *°-afas*, as also *aiyrwfew* in line 18.

No. XLII.

Tsil yelase Dastur.

190 Garumo tsil yelase dastur. U-ltare Bore tsil Ganitkuta ke Altikuta, Aliabadkuta, kure iskikumar harkitsum i-lji yate tsil ze traŋ galt bila.

Ultare tsil d'usumtsum Borbore Baltitkutar čutan tsil dztaačen. Thamar gorumutsum tori.e tsil Karimabadar ovaa mirere bila.

5 Baltitkuta ke Haiderabadkutaar Burlulu.e tsli ke burle tsil heraŋ bila. Haiderabadkutaar taor Hurt girmar Baltite tsil hori.e hurki.er yaljaen. Harki.e tsil niryal Baltitar devčaen. Baltit harki.er niryal

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This text was the last written down and the narrator was at the time somewhat ill. It was not therefore very carefully revised.

1 *tsil yelase* — *yelse* is presumably the same as the verb meaning 'to break'. It perhaps refers to making a breach in the side of an irrigation channel — this is, in effect, opening a sluice — by which the water is allowed to escape into a field that is to be watered or into another channel. It seems to mean in general: 'to turn water on to land' and so, simply, 'to use water', or else 'to let it pass on to others'.

2 *traŋ galt* — 'a half' 'divided' or 'part', 'turn' and so 'an equal share'.

3 *tsil d'usumtsum* — 'after the water has come out' i. e. when with rising temperature the ice and snow higher up begin to melt and come down the channel as water. *Borbore* — is possibly locative "in the Borber channel".

The matter depends on the relation of the Borber channel to the Ultar supply. To all appearance the Borber channel comes out of the Ultar nullah, but it appears to have its own supply of water derived from *Burlulu* wherever whatever that exactly is.

4 *tori.e tsil* — The exact meaning is doubtful. *Tori* refers to a stone with a hole in it, through which the water is allowed to pass. Presumably it acts as a measure or regulator. *Tori* itself in this connection appears to mean the "stopper" or "plug" with which the hole can be closed.

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No. XLII.

The Distribution of the Spring Water Supply in the Bálti Region.

The custom in regard to distributing the water in spring-time: The people of Ganish, of Alíti and of Ali Abád, these three communities, have equal shares in the water of the Ulter Nullah from the (time of) ploughing till the second watering.

From the time that the Ulter water begins to flow the people of Bálti stop a little of the Berber water. It is the custom, from the beginning of Spring, to turn the water on to Kartmabád for the Thum, through the regulator.

The snow-water and the spring-water of Bílulo is shared by the people of Bálti and of Haiderábád. First, at the commencement of the month of Hói they release the water to the Haiderabadkuts for the barley sowing. Having released the water for the sowing, they (then) direct it to Bálti. After supplying water for the Bálti

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6 *swat* — The exact sense is here also doubtful, lit. 'to place' or perhaps 'to turn on to', but it can also mean 'to keep' which might give the sense 'to retain for Kartmabád'.

8 *-ladar . . . ḥawq bila* — the form of *ḥawq* must here be something like "property common to both".

7 *ho ḥarkiz ṭal* — i. e. when the Haiderabadkuts have had what they required the water is given to Bálti.

The subject of *dewdrew* can hardly be the Haiderabadkuts as Haiderabad is lower down on the course of the channel than Bálti.

The difference in level is not sufficient to make a very appreciable difference in temperature, but there must be something in the situation which makes the agricultural season slightly earlier in Haiderabad than in Bálti, otherwise Haiderabad, being the less important place, would not get the first turn of the water.

(78)

burwi.er Haiderabadikutaur ulilam. Burwi netan Baltite burwi.er devdam.

Talekuta Haiderabadikutae yaluman ke Baltitkuta termatarndi kuta yaljam. Haiderabadikuta termatarndi kuta yaluman ke Baltit hiso yaljam. Gute dastur qadimteum mirae bila.

Hunzulo Burbure tail malkur bila. Burbure gutail ŝa Tazanfure waxtulo Wazir Azadulla Bige d'usai.i. Burbur apŭ xa Hunzulo taile but taq bilum. Mi.er tail sutur Hazda.er xura gulinqantae sud'am. Baltite tailate Hunza abad bilum.

Ganitur Hamadatiqe Hamade gutail di.ua'am. Altitkutae ke U'itare Burtaum gutail tau.am. Ali.abadar ŝa Salim (or, Sulam) Xarue Hazdimo gutail d'ua ditem Xarum Batale dewqatam. Di.usiŭ ustaum yar aiyumanam.

Wazir Purso bazanate Wazirituum di.uaam. Iruo hale ham. Hikulto Xurukuta nuyan xiu tape (or, thape) Xarum Bat i-ijikan nubir'ak daḍaq hariṗ no gutail dewgusimi. Ho ŝa Salim Xarue xuŭ niman da Wazirl iliumi.

Murkur Azadulla Bige dewgusai.i. Murtaza.abade gutail ke Xula.abade gutail ke Wazir Azadulla Bigt di.usai.

Da Mure Dawe gutaile ke Wazir Azadulla Big ke hai.'an ham. Ite hai.anate Mir Muhammad Nazim Xarue dewgusai.i.

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7 *d'usai.i* — the perfect used to state a historical fact of which the results persist.

8 *mi.er* — present base + *-er* (*or* due to accent).

10 *Baltite tailate* — i. e. the *Burbule* supply.

abad bilum — lit. "was prosperous (*or*, inhabited, populous"). One would expect *maximi*.

11 *Xarum Batale dewqatam* — *dewqatam* (property *dewkatam?*) is transitive and *ŝa Salim Xaru* must be the subject.

The word means to 'choke', 'block', 'stop', 'hold back' and it is a question whether it is the same word as *d^w-aqatat* 'to choose out', 'select'. It is glossed here "closed". The meaning is probably: 'he had stopped' the channel at the boulder.

13 *i-ijikan* — written in two words and glossed "behind"

Once elsewhere I have recorded *aijikaq* 'behind me'. What this *kan* or *kaq* is, I do not know.

4c Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

sowing, they give it to the Haiderābādkuts for the second watering; when the second watering is done they despatch the water for the Bāltit second watering. 539A 312 221

When the Haiderābādkuts have used the water for seven days, the Bāltīkuts use it for fifteen days, then when the Haiderābādkuts have used it for fifteen days the Bāltit people use it for a month. This custom has been in force from olden times.

The Berber water (supply) is famous in Hunza. Wazir Asadullah Bèg constructed the Berbér water channel in the time of Shah Ghazanfer. So long as the Berber was not in existence there was great scarcity of water in Hunza. To get drinking water the women used to go to Herchē and fetch it. Hunza was made habitable by the Bāltit water. 539A 312 173

The Hamachāting constructed the Hamachi water channel to Ganish and the Altitkuts took a channel off from the Ulter Nullah. Shāh Salim Khān had constructed a channel for Alī.ābād from Herchē and bringing it along had stopped it at the Kherum Bat. He had been unable to carry it beyond that.

For some reason he had dismissed Wazir Pūno from the Wazirship. Pūno was living at his own home. One day, taking the Khurukuts with him he went by night and made them dig behind the Kherum Bat. Making them play on drums he got them to carry the channel through. Shāh Salim Khān, being pleased at this, gave him the Wazirship again.

Asadullah Bèg constructed the Murkū channel. He also made the Murtazā.ābād channel and the Khudā.ābād channel.

Wazir Asadullah Bèg had also laid out the trace of the Mōrē Dās channel. Mir Muhammad Nazim Khān carried it out on that trace.

10 *dowyowimi* — I have taken here as being Causative, as it is glossed Hindustani (infra.) "*nikalwowa*", but the verb seems ordinarily to be a simple transitive with the same meaning as *diwaas*.

No. XLIII.

The Birth of Twin Calves.

690

Hunzulo yər ne dastuᵛr bilum: menane buᵛa nuhalq aᵛltu doᵛsmanimi ke Ganiśər niᵛn Sumaiyərər qau.u eč'am: "Le n'ana, le n'ana." Senumər iᵛtum ine "aᵛu" eč'am.

Etumər kine se.ibam: "Wa, ja buᵛa nuhalq aᵛltu doᵛsmanimi," se.ibam. Sumaiyərum ine: "Wa, goᵛr bubaᵛtak maniš!" senimi ke kine hirər šuᵛa mai.ı bilum se.ibaᵛn. Be, γunikiš senimi ke eᵛr γunikiš mai.i bilum se.ibaᵛn.

Da Nagirum menane buᵛa nuhalq aᵛltu doᵛsmanimi ke in diᵛn Somaiyəre iᵛlatum qau.u eč'am: "Wa, ja buᵛa nuhalq aᵛltu d'osmanimi," nusen.

Dakil dastuᵛr yərum dir hərangulo bilumulo qau.u eč'am.

Faqat.

---

2 niᵛn — Ms. nuᵛn which is not strictly speaking correct with the singular menane.

6 ke — probably the negative: 'otherwise', 'on the contrary', 'on the other hand'. But it may be the indefinite pronoun "if he said something evil . . . ".

7 γunikiš — "ma γuᵛni numerγuᵛ!" is given as an example. Cp. p. 64, l. 18.

9 iᵛlatum — Somaiyər stands on a terrace which terminates in a precipitous face of alluvial deposit descending to the Nagir river near where it joins the Hunza river. Ganish is somewhat similarly situated on the further side of the Hunza river.

11 yərum — probably the ablative: 'from former times'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XLIII.

The Birth of Twin Calves.

It was formerly the custom in Hunza that when anyone's cow calved and gave birth to twin calves he used to go to Ganish and shout out to Somaiyer: "Ho, uncle! Ho, uncle!" When he did so, a man on the other side would answer: "A.u." 539A 231

On this the first would say: "Ho, my cow has calved and given birth to twins!" Then if the Somaiyer man said: "Ho, may it be blessed to you!", they say that it used to turn out well for the Hunza man. On the other hand, if the Somaiyeri said something evil, then evil befell him.

Again, if any Nagir person's cow calved and gave birth to twins, he used to come and shout out from the edge of the cliff at Somaiyer: "Ho, my cow has calved and given birth to twins!"

Thus it was the custom for them formerly to shout when there was a closed boundary between (Hunza and Nagir).

That is all!

---

11 *dir* — glossed "closed boundary", "hostility". This was when there was perpetual active hostility between Hunza and Nagir and there was not free passage from the one to the other.

I do not know whether *dir* which means a 'boundary' can really be used as a synonym for "hostility".

bilumolo — v. § 391.

No. XLIV.

Hunzu.ɛ γər (or, γəriŋ).

000

Vir loquitur. Wa matanər saphər jaʷr manimi, milʲi.
Tuʷm'ariŋ jɛ til naʷl daiyam, adiʷmɛ (or, adiʷmər)
buʷiki manuʷm.

Puella loq. Wa "buʷiki" se.imɛ guʷkər bɛsɛ imalča?
5 Miʷ kɪn naʷdaʷn oʷyər iʷrum. Ši.ulo goʷsquli na!
Wa watanulo šahiʷn maniʷ kɛ gaʷyu.ər bɛsan araʷm?

538

The two texts No.s 44 and 45 were all the response received to my demands for Burushaski poetry or verse.

It is commonly alleged that there are no poems or songs in Burushaski, the songs sung on special occasions being in Shina, but Leitner has clearly shown that this is not literally true by publishing five songs in his "Hunza and Nagyr Handbook", to which I now add these two.

At the same time versification is not I believe a really indigenous, or at any rate popular, art in Hunza. No one who had lived among the Chitralis or the Bakhtiari Persians would be likely to report that *they* had no popular poetry. Where there is tradition of verse-making the fact is, in my experience, plain enough.

In Hunza I have heard of no traces of epic or ballad poetry. The few songs recorded deal with love, which I think is normally a later development. These and others which may be presumed to exist, are probably due to the efforts of individual adventurers, inspired by foreign examples.

My two specimens seem to me to show some poetic feeling, but if they are supposed to be in verse it must be the free-est of *vers libres*.

Of these two texts I can give only an imperfect rendering. I made enquiries and notes at the time that I took them down, but I intended to return to them later and with greater knowledge. Lack of time in the end forbade this and points remain obscure which might have been cleared up.

Verse, however, is always difficult to deal with. The language often contains archaic or elliptical expressions of which the people themselves do not know the

XLIV.

A Hunza Song.

5394

Vir loq. A distant journey has fallen to my lot,
O thou my healer,
I have come forgetting my amulets,
May they be funeral alms for me!

Puella loq. Why dost thou outrage thyself,
Saying "funeral alms?"
May this foolish husband of mine die!
He has burnt thee up in the forge, alas!
When a hawk has appeared in the country
What peace is there for the partridges?
If there be friendship between me and thee

---

exact meaning; and poetic expressions are not easily to be paraphrased in an imperfectly known foreign language, the less easily perhaps if they have been reduced to conventional *clichés*. 538

A further possible obstacle to comprehension is that lines may have been forgotten and have dropped out or been altered. These losses are particularly liable to occur where there are no rhymes and no fixed metrical form.

ژبر — the alternative of the plural ژبرِیِ suggests that the meaning is something like "verses" or "lines", but it seems more probable that the word is connected with ژبرِوِ 'to speak' and denotes something that is recited. 640

1 ىىا — seems to have no very special meaning. It represents perhaps an effort to command attention.

5 ىىِ *kىىِ* — written in the Ms. as one word appears to be really *ىىِ kىىِ*, the *ىىِ* being used for *ʃا* as in other cases with names of relations, v. Vocab. s. v.

ىىىىِ — the static pe. form with optative force is very common in these two texts.

ىىا — was said to be an exclamation denoting sorrow.

000

Wa jɛ kɛ uŋɛ du·sti mani· ke bu·šai.ulo šo·r o·maimi.
Bɛs tai.i me.iba? Lɛ· ja gufi·nišo daltas.
Lɛ mi· kɪn šakər ma·ma, bɛ uŋɛ ganɛ dasmanubo·wa?

Vir loq. Wa as tap manu·mulo di·ru.ɛ ga·l mani·la.
Wa di·ru.ɛ ga·lər mili amulo ai.ɪtsum e·rča ba na|
Wa mašu·γtiŋ uyɛ·tsas, daltas sa kɛ ni·mi.
A·šiqtiŋɛ ji·miŋ γula·s, wa matum tap di·a, aya le·i.

Puella loq. Wa mi a·ya kɛ ma·ma hi·ranər yu·wa·n se.iba·n.
Wa zaru·r be.ɪsa (*or*, be·sə), aya.
Mu·kɛ ki·rtants 'a·yeljai.i.

Vir loq. Wa pəritiŋə ʂu·ŋər da jɛ ni·čam nusɛn.
Wa jɛ tis nɛ na·nin ja·tsɛ ti·šan yami.
Wa ti·šər mili bɛsan mai.ɪmi? so·mo le·i.

Amicus loq. Wa Šo·i Pəri·mo γoyaŋ hazar mili maimi.ɛn, ñi·?

Puella loq. Ja dina·r di·a nusɛn xabər daiyɛla kɛ,
Γuyaŋ e·r ɛ·skəršam gan e·r tham e·čər.

---

3 *bɛ* — glossed "why?", if that is the meaning then the verb ought not to have the interrog. suffix *-a*.

4 *as tap manu·mulo* — *as tap* is glossed "the middle of the back behind the heart" and this is confirmed by another isolated record of the word as meaning "between the shoulders at the back". Otherwise one would be tempted, for the sake of *mašu·mulo* to take *tap* as the ordinary word for "night" — "in the course of the night I received a wound in the heart".

5 *ai.ɪtsum* — static pc. act. neg. of **-ɪtsas* — 'to see', 'not having seen'.

6 *sa kɛ* — *kɛ* pronounced as if belonging to the preceding word with reduction of the vowel; so also l. 15 *daiyɛla kɛ* and p. 360 l. 4 *dəγarosə kɛ*.

9 *be.ɪsa* or *be.isa* — originally written *bɛsə* seems to be the same as *be.ɪsa*, p. 84 l. 9, and is, at any rate, as enigmatic. Here the passage is glossed "certainly there is no remedy" and the further illustration added.

Akil sen be.isa 'you must say so'. On the evidence all one can say is that the word seems to denote 'necessity', "must". V. Vocab. s.v. *bɛsəa*.

aya — seems to be used here in the sense of "O beloved". Cp. also l. 7 & p. 364 l. 3.

10 *a·yeljai.i* — the pres., probably with fut. meaning.

11 *pəritiŋɛ ʂuŋər* — I suppose means the lane to his mistress's house.

14 *Šo·i Pəri* — the name of a particular fairy which the friend applies to the heroine.

There will be no unrest in the land.
Why art thou thus? O my beloved with the beautiful locks.
O this sweet mother of mine,
Has she not born me for thee?

Vir loq. O, I have received a bullet wound in the middle of the back.
Nowhere have I found a cure for the bullet wound and I am doomed to die, alas!
O, the fair sun that looks on lovers, it too has departed,
O, the black night that burns up the souls of lovers, it has come, O my father(?)

Puella loq. O, my father and mother have given me to a man, they say.
It needs must be(?), my beloved.
He will break in pieces my limbs of pearl.

Vir loq. I said: "I shall go by the Fairies' Lane,"
And going astray a blast of (Fairy) wind struck me.
What remedy is there for the (Fairy) wind? O friend.

Amicus loq. Perchance the hair of Sho.i Peri may prove a remedy?

Puella loq. If I should hear news that my beloved has come,
I would cut off my hair for him to sweep the road for him.

---

14 *maimi.n ñi* — should probably be *maimi.a ni*, the subject being ypl. Imam Yar Beg's Ms. which I have, reads *mai.imi mia ni* ميّمى ميا ني. I take this as due to his having written the usual *mai.imi* with a final ى and then having found that he wanted to add an ا to it; so he rewrote the termination separately and then went on.

ñi — was explained as indicating a question or suggestion. Cp. *yā bi.a ni?* p. 230 l. 1. I think by the mark over the ñ I meant to denote that it was emphatically nasal.

15 *dinar* — glossed "a kind of bird". Steingass gives it in Persian as "name of a large bird, kind of falcon".

daiyela ke — 1st. sg. of short form of pret.

16 *er eskorīam* — IYB.'s Ms. *ja eskorēa ba*.

Ja dinaʷrər iʷkɛ kam kɛ,
Ja gusə dutsanum adiʷm eʷr kursi dəljam tse.
Duʷnaʷtɛ miraʷs, lɛ mi šakər yaʷr baʷr.

Vir loq. Ja dinaʷrɛ duγarusu kɛ, "Buʷt bidam bai.i"
5 m'oʷsu.in.

Puella loq. H'erčumatɛ jɛ šoʷn amana.
Wa bɛ jig'a goʷr saphəren manimi.
Dinaʷrɛ gu.ikɛ nazər!

3 *baʷr* — I do not know what this word is.
7 *bɛ jiga* — probably: "for what a long time".
8 *dinaʷrɛ* — probably: *dinaʷr ɛ!*

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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If for my beloved my hair is too little,
this straight body of mine
I would place as a chair for him.
The heritage of the world, O my beloved friend,
(be thine?).

Vir loq. If my beloved asks for me, say to her
"He is very weak."

Puella loq. I have become blind from constant weeping.
O what a long journey thou hast had to make.
May I be a sacrifice for thy name, O beloved!

No. XLV.

Ïər.

000 Vir loquitur. Juwa·ni.ɛ lačaʼr hami·ša jil numʼan
Mi dina·rmo burji.ɛtɛ buʼr mai.ibi.
Wa Sa·di.ɛ kɪta·btsum ja yeʼtaa ba, Leʼli,
A·šiqtiṇər sɛnas, ʌwa jɛ dʼaiyɛla ba.
5 Saphər du·šam nusɛn jɛ duʼsam kʼɛʼnər
Ja adi·mulum ruʼ niʼn dina·rmo hiṇ gai.i bi.

Puella loq. Bɛsə tai.i mai.iba? Dušmayo guyər umanum.

Vir loq. Dušmaʼyo thai.ɪko ayoʼ. Mi huba·lɛ gutsuʼm.

Puella loq. Xabəran suʼa hamal nanamo nazər.
10 Tsanɛ xabəran suʼya kɛ, u·šam mama guyʼaiyam.

Vir loq. Juwaʼyo bamanɛ bulbulmo γəriṇ ɛčaʼn.
Bɛ xuda·yɛ hər̥alt boʼwa kɛ maiyoʼnər tsər mumai.imo?

---

5 *du·ʌm* — probably the 1st. sg. static pc.

7 *guyər umʌnom* — "May they be before thee!" This is glossed as meaning "die before thee", but I think it may be taken literally, "be before you" meaning either: "surpass you", "take precedence of you", or "be in front of you", so as to prevent your going.

The former would fit in best with the man's reply.

8 *mi hubaʼlɛ gutsuʼm* — The phrase is obscure to me, owing to ignorance of the exact meaning here of *hubaʼl* v. Vocab. s.v. *Mi* probably = my.

9 *xʌbərʌn suʼa* — glossed "bring me news, neighbour's wife, that I may be your sacrifice", in which case *suʼa* is the impv. with the suffix -a.

nʌnʌmo — appears to have passed from the vocative to the genitive under the influence of *nʌzər*. In line 8 page 364 a similar double rôle is apparently played by *ariʼkmo*. *nʌna* is used as a general term of address between women.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XLV.

Song.

Vir loq. The morning star of youth ever rises 5394
And sets in the "mansion" of my beloved.
I have seen from the book of Sa'di, O Lēli,
What is said to lovers. Yes, I have heard it.
I say "I shall go on a journey," and at the time of my departure
The soul goes out from my body and clings to the door of my Beloved.

Puella loq. Why art thou thus? May thine enemies be before thee!

Vir loq. Do not exalt my enemies. May the wrong thou hast done me(?) carry thee off.

Puella loq. Bring me news, neighbour mine, and I shall be thy sacrifice.
If thou bringst me true news I shall take thee as my foster-mother.

Vir loq. All the youths make songs in honour of my Beloved.
What! Is she God's rain that she should fall on all of you?

---

12 *be . . . bowa ke* — glossed "What! She is not God's rain (i. e. common property)". The verb, however, is interrog. and not negative. *ke* seems to be merely a connective "that", "so that", introducing the second clause.

Dušm'a·yo baman uyo·n ja·tɛ ulčin ɛča·n.
Bulbulmo mu· iho manu·m, be mɛnər dər ne bo·wa?

Puella loq. Ai.asaljubo, kot ja·r o·san, aya.
Tap fat ɛti, o·lji goka ba.
Bəriŋ se·yər bɛ ja rai api·a?
Čanum kanɛ bɛl ni·m, bər dərb'ɛš mai.i bila.
Ayamo galiŋatər i·n ja ji di bam, se.iba·n.
U·ŋe e·itsuma sɛ ari·kmo gu· ho manu·m.

Vir loq. Ja ji·mo ɛk či·ki.ɛ γoyaŋ ɛk ja bu·kər nikin
Da mula·mačər na·n ja ji di.ušam. Ja ji Bi·bi Anji·r.

Puella loq. Maltumal ɛtina, wa ma·matsəro.
Ja in hɛ·niŋ daltaško Go·hər di·a se.iba·n.

---

2 *mɛnər dər ne bo·wa* — glossed "she will not give a chance to anyone". I do not know exactly what *dər* means here. IUB. gives *dər* as meaning *forṣat*, i. e. 'leisure', 'opportunity', and it has been recorded in Shina as equivalent to 'desire', 'intention', 'power of choice' or perhaps 'leisure'.

3 *aya* — "O father", said to be here applied to the lover.

4 *tap fat ɛti* — i. e. "don't speak of the night; I see you even in my dreams".

6 *čanəm kanɛ* — the "tight" i. e. congested village.

bər dərbɛš — the idea is, I think, that it is not safe to talk, there is a danger of what is spoken getting about, and so she keeps silent.

galiŋatər — i. e. "the steps leading up to my father's house". *galiŋ* are steps of stone or earth, not the notched log used for climbing on to the roof.

ja ji·mo . . . — IYB.'s Ms. has *ja ərma·nmo(?) či·ki.ɛ γoyaŋ*. *ərma·n* I suppose in the sense of "desire", transferred to the "thing desired".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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All my enemies turn (hostile) eyes on me.
May my Beloved's father die! What! Does she
favour others?

Puella loq. "She does not look at me," O, do not say that
to me,. Beloved.
Let the night alone, I am with thee (even) in my dreams.
What! have I no desire to talk?
May the seed of the cramped (little) village perish!
(But) The spoken word is a (wandering) derwesh.
They say that that lover of mine had come on to
my father's staircase.
Did you not see him, Madam sister-in-law?
May your father die!

Vir loq, Throwing my Beloved's musk-scented tresses round
my neck
Then shall I betake me to her lap and breathe
out my life.
Bibi Anjīr is my soul (*or*, beloved).

Puella loq. Harken to me, O ye mothers,
That sweet-spoken Goher of mine has come,
they say.

---

13 *hʷniŋ dʌltʌško* — *hʷniŋ* (v. Vocab.) appears to have some such meaning as "sayings", "speeches", but has not been recorded elsewhere. The two words are used as a compound adjective, an unusual phenomenon in Burušaski. Cp. p. 358 l. 2, *ja gufʷnīšo dʌltʌv*.

No. XLVI. A.

Wa·lum i·ɛ mɪsa·l.

00 Da i·nɛ sɛnimi kɛ:

Hin hiranɛ altan yu· bam. U·ɛtsum jut inɛ sɛnimi yu·yər: "Lɛ aya, mi ɛtɛ dolattsum ja·r bɛsan ba·go jučila kɛ ja·r ači."

Yu·yɛ i·mo dolat u·ər traŋ nɛ učimi.

5 Da bu·t guntsɪŋ hərarŋulo o·nitsum (*or*, omanitsum) jot i·nɛ i·ɛ i·mo bɛsan uyo·n gati nɛtan bu·t matan bušai.ɛnər ni·mi. Da i·tɛ dišulo (*or*, bušai.ulo) γunikiš duro·ulo i·mo bɛsan biman faš ɛtimi. Bɛsan biman uyo·n fas ɛtumtsum i·lji i·tɛ bušai.ulo bu·t daŋ čam di·mi. Bu·t abaš ɛ·r di·mi. Inɛ ni·n i·tɛ bušai.ulum hiranalɛ walimi.

10 I·nɛ inɛ i·mo malɛŋulo ku·kišo uyərčər e·rimi.

Inɛ ɛ·sulo ərma·n bilum kɛ "I·tsɛ xu·kišo bɛsan šiči.ɛn kɛ i·tsɛtsum ja o·l maniš" nusɛ. Inɛr mɛnɛ bɛsan kɛ e·učam.

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136 [197] These two versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son were made from the text of the British and Foreign Bible Society's "Persian Urdu" translation of the New Testament (Luke XV, 11—32).

The first version, A, was produced by a committee of whom the leading spirit was Nazer of Aliābād, Hunza, and the secretary Sarferāz, a literate Yazkūn of Gilgit with a Nageri wife and an acquaintance with Burushaski. I eventually wrote it down to someone's dictation. Sarferāz's vernacular Ms., which I possess, is a somewhat ambiguous document, as it is not very carefully written and he had not arrived at a fixed system of correlating the sounds of Burushaski with the symbols of the Arabic-Persian script. For instance he uses ج regularly to represent ts, but also on occasion to render č, j, š, or rather, as far as can be judged, the post-alveolar or cerebral forms of them č̣, j̣, and ṣ̌.

The second, or B version, was made some four months later by Jemadār Imām Yār Bèg and was recorded with his own hand, but it is probable that he consulted the previous translators who were on the spot. The Ms. is fairly clear and consistent.

No. XLVI. A.

The Parable of the Lost Son.

539k

And he said:

A man had two sons. The younger of them said to his father: "Father, give me the share of our property that comes to me."

The father divided up his property and gave it to them.

Then when not many days had passed, the younger son collected all his belongings and proceeded to a very distant country. In that country he exhausted all he possessed in evil conduct. When he had done so there came a very severe famine in the land and great adversity came upon him. He went and settled with a man of that country, and the man sent him into his fields to feed the swine.

He longed in his heart, saying: "Would that my belly might be (filled) with the things that the swine eat!" And no one gave him anything.

Both versions show traces of the influence of the Urdu original. The B version occasionally indulges in amplification and paraphrase. 176 177

In both, alterations were made during the process of dictation, and the vernacular Mss. and my transcriptions (especially in the case of the A version), are not identical.

Title. This in fact was supplied only with B. It is a translation of the Urdu rubric: *Khoye hure berṣe ki tamsil.* 180

1 *kr* — this particle, introducing the words of a speech or thought etc. occurs constantly in this text, probably owing to the influence of the Urdu *kiā*.

5 *ownitsum* — v. § 407. b.

7 *yunikrī dorovolo* — Urdu *badčalani mī*.

9 *walimi* — The Urdu is: *ek baīrade ke hawn jarpayu*.

10 *kwkrīo* — vernac. Ma. has *xwkrīo*.

000

Da i·nɛ čərči niwal sɛnimi kɛ. "Mi inɛ aya beruman duroskuyor šapik at·e·γanum učɛ.i, jɛ ako·lə čaminɛ ɛ·rča ba. Jɛ ko·lum da·l numa je.imo aya ɛ·pačər ničam. Da je.imo aya·r se·yam. 'Le.i aya, jɛ aiyaš kɛ u·ŋɛ gulčinər baγərk amana ba. Mu jɛ gutɛ sɛnš aiy'a·maiya
5 ba ki "jɛ u·ŋɛ gu.i· ba" sɛnas. Baxšiš ɛtuma kɛ jɛ gu·imo durusku·yo ju.an atsan,' nusɛ gukɛ čaγamiŋ i·mo ɛ·sulo se.ibai.i.

Čaγa duro, to·lum i·nɛ da·l numa i·mo yu·yɛlɛ ni·mi. I·nɛ i·i dərum matan bam i·nɛ yu·yɛ ni·ta·in ɛsulo ra·m dusu·mi. Yu·y ga·ršumɛ ni·nin jot i·i ɛ·šulo waščai.i, da i·skilatɛ ba·n ɛčai.i.

10 I·i yu·yər se.ibai.i; "Lɛ aya, jɛ aiyaš kɛ u·ŋɛ gulčinər baγərk amana ba. Mu gutɛ yaški aiy'amana ba kɛ jɛ da u·nɛ gu·i ba sɛnas," se.ibai.i.

Yu·yɛ i·mo šadərišo·r se.ibai.i ki "Daltastsum daltas gatuŋ humalkum dyu·sin, i·ner ɛ·bilin," se.ibai.i. "Da inɛ emišulo buro·ndo, yu·tiŋulo kafšamutɛ ɛ·ltai.in" se.ibai.i. "Da yu·šam i·sɛ bušo·šo ditsin,
15 kaš ɛtin. Bɛsɛkɛ ja ki·nɛ e·i iram mu dyu.ɛrimi (*or*, jindo imanimi), wa·lam (*or*, ɛspala baiyam) mu daγurka ba," nusɛ ɛ·lum (*or*, ɛlɛ·mo) i·lji šuri.ɛ·š ɛtastɛ du·numan.

Te·rumanər (*or*, i·tɛ kɛnulo) uyu·m i· i·mo malulo bam, i·mo ha·lər di·nin bare·imi kɛ γeriŋ kɛ hərip giratasɛ ičər de·yɛljai.i. I·mo

1 *čərči* — suggests *čər* + *tsi* (= *tsu*). For *čər* cp. *ačəra* 'confused', 'perturbed'. But there is a Shina word *čərč-* (?), 'senses', of which only the loc. *čərčər*, dat. *čərčəl*, and abl. *čərčejo* have been recorded.

niwal — 'having fallen'. This was substituted for *dim*.

2 *ate·γanum* — Urdu *zfrat se*; glossed. 'generously', 'ungrudgingly', but the actual meaning is probably 'inexhaustible', v. p. 54 l. 7. n.

učɛ.i — the vernac. Ms. added "or *uyačum*" i. e. *uyačuman* for *uyačan* 'they obtain' from **-yaiyas*.

4 *gulčinər* — Urdu, *nazər mi*.

5 *u·ŋɛ* — Vernac. Ms. here and elsewhere *ums*. The form um is, favoured in Nagir, and here was probably due to Sarferaz. Nazer used to say u·n and Imam Yar Beg u·ŋ.

sɛnas — apparently used with the force of the past participle active *nosen*; but the vernacular Ms. differs and perhaps there has been an uncompleted change of construction from that which appears in line 11 on which see note.

6 *gukɛ čaγamiŋ* — vernac. Ms. *khukɛ bəriŋ i·mo ɛ·sulo se.ibam*.

7 *čaγa duro* — seems to be a translation of the Shina *čagai.i mor* "the word or matter of the story" i. e. 'as the story goes' or 'to continue the story'.

to·lum — a note states that Nazer gave instead, *alemum*, cp. *ɛlɛ·mo* line 16.

8 *ra·m dusu·mi* — vernac. Ms. *jark dimi*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then, coming to his senses, he said: "To how many labourers does that father of mine give bread without stint, and I am dying here of hunger. I will arise hence and go to my father, and I will say to my father: 'Father, I have become wicked in the eyes of heaven and in your eyes. I now cannot say: "I am your son." If you will pardon me, then make me as (one of) your labourers.'" Thus he spoke (to himself) in his heart. 539k

As the story goes: Arising thence he went to his father. While his son was still a long way off, his father seeing him was moved to pity, and he went running (to him) and threw (himself) on his younger son's neck and kissed him.

The son said to his father: "Father, I have become wicked in the sight of heaven and in your eyes. I have now become unworthy to say again 'I am your son.'"

(But) the father said to his servants: "Bring out quickly the best of clothes and put them on him, and put a ring on his finger and shoes on his feet, and bring the fatted calf and slay it. For this son of mine had died (but) now he has come to life again; he had become lost (*or*, I had lost him), (but) now I have found him (again)." After that they began to make merry.

In the meantime the elder son was in his field. On coming home when he looked he heard a sound of singing and music and

9 *ṡ̌ṡolo wasḑçai.i* — the vernac. Ms. seems to have: *i·mo jot i·i i·mo ṡ̌ṡolo ninasin buk ṡ̌çai.i.* The object of *wasḑçai.i* is apparently the son, the neck being the father's. Cp. p. 66 l. 14.

bam ṡ̌çai.i — the Ms. has: *iśki·lete ban ṡ̌çubai.i.*

11 *yaśki aiyamana ba ke* — vernacular Ms.: *mu khuts yaśki fat aiyamana ba ke . . . senas.* In the earlier passage, l. 4, the Ma. also has *fat*: *khuts senasir fat aiyamana ba ke.* The meaning seems to be: "I have not remained able to say . . . cp. *atsuasa ba* p. 373 ll. 8 & 16. The Urdu is: *ze lariq nahī rahā kih . . .*

13 *i·mer* — I think a mistake for *i·ne*, due to the Shina idiom which has the dative: *resit banire.*

e·mitolo — the vernac. Ms. has the plural: *e·mi.antsolo berondomots.*

15 *iram* — vernac. Ms. *i·rubam.*

18 *kaler* — vernac. Ms. *ka asir.*

19 *deyeljai.i* — vernacular Ms. *deyeljubai.i;* similarly *daṛarṡ̌ubai.i* in this line and *o·tubai.i* for *o·tai.i* p. 370 l. 2.

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šadəranər qau nɛ doγərušai.i kɛ: "Ko·t bɛsan mai.i bila?" nusɛn. Inɛ šadərɛ i·nər se.ibai.i ki. "U·nɛ walum i·nɛ jut go·čo di bai.i. Da u·nɛ gu·yɛ yu·šam i·sɛ bušo·šo kaš o·tai.i, gutɛ ganɛ kɛ u·nɛ jot go·čo daltasku·šatɛ yami."

5 Gutɛ bər uyu·m i· dɛyɛlin i·mos dusu·n ulo ha·lər ni.asər rai.i aiye·čai. Magər i·nɛ yu·y ho·lɛ ni·n i·i bərči 'ɛčai.i. I·nɛ i·mo yu·ɛ sɛnum bərər se.bai.i: "Lɛ aya, berum dɛnmiŋulo ja go·r xɪsmat ɛča ba, da u·nɛ sɛnumər (*or*, sɛnum bərər) bɛ o·sɛna ba, magər ja·r u·nɛ bɛšal han tai·rɛnɛ du·an kuli aiyawa kɛ ja je.imo šugu·lotiŋɛ ka

10 nišinin šuri.a·r ɛ·čamtsɛ. U·nɛ kinɛ jut gu.i·di·mi, aminɛ u·nɛ daulat γunikiš duro·iŋulo e·rimi, u·nɛ i·n'ɛ ganɛ u·nɛ (*or*, gu·i) yu·šam bušo·šo kaš o·tuma."

Yu·yɛ uyu·m i·er se.ibai.i: "Lɛ e·i, u·n kɛ hər kɛnulo ja apaci ba, da ja bɛsan biman uyo·n u·nɛ bi. Minada·r mimanas xuš

15 mimanas yaški bilum, bɛsɛkɛ u·nɛ ki·nɛ jot go·čo i·ram mu di.uwɛrai.i, wa·lam mu dime.iγurka·n."

Čaγa faš manimi.

6 *bərči ɛčai.i* — glossed Hindustani *mana·na* ('to make agree', 'persuade', 'conciliate'). The vernac. Ms. seems to have *bərər dišubai* (= *dišai.i*).

9 *aiyawa* — vernac. Ms. *ajo·ba* i. e. 2nd. sg. perf. of **-uyas* with the *ja-* prefix, preceded by the negative *o-*, v. § 255.

10 *aminɛ* — vernac. Ms. *mɛnɛ*.

7

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

dancing. He called to one of his servants and asked him: "What is this?" The servant answered him: "That missing younger brother of yours has come back, and your father has made them kill the fatted calf, because he has got back your young brother safe and sound." 539*

The elder on hearing this became angry and refused to go into the house. But his father went out and (tried to) persuade him. To what his father said he replied: "Father, for many years I have done you service, but you have never given me a kid that I might eat it and make merry with my friends. Now this younger son of yours, who has dissipated your property in evil doings, has come back, and for him you have made them slay the fatted calf."

The father replied to his elder son: "Son, you are always with me, and all that I have is yours. It was right that we should make merry and rejoice, for this your younger brother was dead and now he has come to life again, he was lost and now we have found him again."

The story is ended.

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11 *uwe* — or *guvi* — must go with *yuvdam*, 'reared by you'.
yuvdam — vernac. Ms. *ovdam*.

15 *ivram* . . . — vernac. Ms. *ivru bam mu jindo manimi, wavlu bam mu dimc.iyurkuman.*

No. XLVI. B.

Wa·lum i·i.ɛ mɪsa·l. (By Jemada.r Ima·m Ya·ɪ Beg).

00 Da i·nɛ sɛnimi:

"Ho mɛnan hirane a·ltan yu· bam. 'U·atsum jut i·nɛ yu·yər sɛnimi: "Le aya u·ŋɛ ma·ltsum bɛsan ja·ɪ traŋulo a·ɪ ju·či bi kɛ jo," 'ɛsimi.

5 'Ɛsasər u·wɛ i·mo ma·l ha·l u traŋ 'o·timi. Da bu·t guntsiŋ o·nitsum ho jut i·ɛ i·imo bɛsan uyo·n gati nɛtan matan γus'anum bušai.ɛnər gutsə'rimi.

Da t'ɛ·lɛ i·mo ma·l γuni·kiš duro·watɛ xərč ɛtimi. Da b'ɛšal uyo·n xərč ɛtimi kɛ ho i·tɛ bušaiyulo daŋ čaman bali·mi (*or*, di·mi).

10 Da i·n muhta·j im'anasər di·mi, bɛsɛkɛ auqa·t bil'uman γun'ikiš dur'o·watər xərč ɛt'am. Xərč nɛtan ti dyu·asam. Da i·tɛ bušai.ɛ.ɛ hin hurutas hi·ɪanɛ tɛ·lɛ ni·n w'alimi. I·nɛ hi·ɪɛ i·nər i·imo mal'ɛŋulo xu·kišo uy'ərčər 'ɛ·rimi.

Da ki·nɛ hi·ɪɛ rai.i (*or*, ərma·n) bilum bɛsan wat'ɛ·ŋ xukišu·ɛ

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10 *imanasər di·mi* — *di·mi* is clear both in my transcription and in the vernac. Ms. We therefore have an idiom similar to the English "he came to be . .".

11 *ti dyu·asam* — 'ha had remained empty' i. e. he had nothing left. This phrase is an excrescence on the Gospel.

12 *horu·tas hi·ɪane tɛ·lɛ ni·n walimi* — this follows so closely the Urdu (see note to A p. 366 l. 9) that doubt arises as to its Burushaski orthodoxy. Whether *tɛ·lɛ* can mean "house of" as well as "there". I do not know, but the ordinary Burushaski would be: *hi·ɪanale nin*. This use of *walimi* is also suspect.

14 *wat'ɛ·ŋ* — the original text had *mɛ·ɪou ɛrqa* and in l. 16 *ɛrqa·tsum*, to which I objected. *mɛ·ɪou* was probably due to a misunderstanding of the Urdu *phali.ā* 'beans'; *ɛrqa* ordinarily means 'grass'; *wat* 'bark' (of tree), 'peel', 'rind'.

šečiːɛn kɛ iːkʼeːtɛ iːmo yuːl nɛ nuʂʼɛ huruːtiʂ, magər kiːner iːkɛ
xuːkiʂuːɛ ʂeːyas watʼɛːŋtsum ti ʂiːasər menɛ bɛsan ʼɛːučʼam.

Ho beːruman guntsiŋtsum kiːnɛ hilʼɛs huːšər diːn ikʼɛrɛŋɛ seːíbaiːi.
"Ja ʼanːuːɛ ʼbeːruman duroːskiːuːər šapʼik bos uːčaiːi (*or*, uyʼačaːn)
5 da jɛ akoːlɛ čʼaminɛ eːirča (*or*, aiːirča) ba. Ækiːlatɛ eːramtsum (*or*,
eːrastsum) jɛ daːl numa jeːimo ʼanːu ɛpačər niːčam. Da iːnər seyam:
"Lɛ ʼaya, jɛ aiyaš kɛ da uːŋɛ nasərulo gunagaːr amʼana ba. Mu
ækiːl yaškí ʼataw'asa ba kɛ da 'jɛ uːŋɛ guːi ba' seyam. Jɛ guːimo
duroːskuyo juːan ʼati. Uːʼeːka goːr duro nɛ huruːšam."
10 Ho ikʼɛrɛŋɛ dækiːl nʼusɛn iːn diːmi iːmo yuː ɛpačər gutsʼɛrimi.
Iːn mu mataːn bam iːnɛ yuːuːɛ iːnɛ iː niːitsin raham diːmi. Da
nukʼaːrts iːnɛ iːi bukər wʼašimi da baːn ɛtimi.
Iːyɛ yuːwər senimi: "Lɛ ja ʼanːu, jɛ Xudaː kɛ da uːŋɛ nasərulo
gunagaːr amʼanam, beːsckɛ uːŋɛ bərči oːmanum maːl traŋ namaːtin
15 (*or*, nukoːtin) nʼutsun ɣunikiš duroːwər eːram. Muto gutɛ senastɛ
yaškí ʼataw'asa ba kɛ jɛ da 'uːŋɛ guːi ba' seyam."
Iːiːɛ dakiːl sʼɛnasər yʼuːwɛ iːmo nʼokartiŋər ʼoːsimi: "Šuːaːtsum
kɛ čuːʼa gatuŋ humalkum dyuːɛsin kiːnɛ ʼɛːbilin, da iːnɛ iriːŋulo
buroːndo da yuːtiŋulo (*or*, yuːtisulo) kafla ʼɛːltaiːin. Da yuːkam iːɛ
20 bušoːuše dʼitsun kaš ɛtin kɛ ho nʼiʂin šureːaːr (*or*, xuši) ʼɛčan," oːsimi.
"Beːsckɛ ja kiːnɛ eːi ʼirum (*or*, ʼiram) bam mu dyʼuːɛrimi, waːlam
mu daːɣurka ba." Ho uː xuši ɛtastɛ duɣʼuːɛskinuman.
Lɛkin iːnɛ uyuːm iː malulo bam. Bɛšal iːn maltsum diːn haːlər
asiːr dɛːšqaltimi kɛ ɣɛriŋ kɛ hɛriːpɛ da giːʼataseː iːčər dɛːɣɛlimi.
Da hin nokɛranər qau nɛ doɣʼɛrusumi: "Kɔt bɛsan maiːi bila?"

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2 *huruːtiʂ* — 'that he should stay, remain'. I have not noted any other example of *ruiːi* being followed by the *-ʂ* form of the verb.

magər — "but no one gave him anything except the husks to eat". Luke implies that he did not even get the husks.

5 *eːramtsum* — The vernac. Ms. has only *eːrastsum*.

8 *dʼaːsɛsɛ ba* — from *dʼaːsɛsɛ*.

14 *namaːtin* — so both Mss. instead of *namaːtɛn*. The clause is an interpolation.

19 *ɣutiŋulo* — vernac. Ms. has *ɣutisulo* as a first alternative.

22 *ʼiram* — vernac. Ms. has only *ʼirum bam* i. e. 'was dead'. Urdu *mardə thə*. The plup. *ʼiram* 'he had died' amounts to the same thing. *ʼiram bam* is, I think, incorrect.

Iṇe nokserane iṇer ʿesimi: "Uṇe gorčo di bai.i, da uṇe gurn.e yuṡam buṡoruṡo kaṡ oṡtai.i. Gute gane xuṡi oṡčai.i ke ṇalum i ṡi.at salamat dʿeuyurkʿai.i," esimi.

Iṇe uyum i nokserum gute čaya deyel imoṡ manimi, da uṡlo
5 haṡler niṡaser rak aiyeṡtimi. Mager iṇe yuṡwe deyal hoṡle niṡn uyum iṇe i ʿesmilaser duyʿuṡukinimi. Iṇe imo yuṡwer jawaṡbulo senimi ke "Le aya, barʿen, akuṡrum deṇiṇulo je uṇe xidmat eṡa bʿa, da bʿeṡal ke uṇe hukum fer akoṡte ba, ʿamma jaṡr uṇe bʿeṡal ke han taiṡe duṡan kuli aiyawʿa (or, aiyʿan.uma) ʿguṡimo
10 šuguṡlutiṇe ka giltiṡr (or, xuṡi eti),ʿ nusen. Lekin beṡal uṇe kiṡne guṡi diṡmi ke akuṡruman šureṡr etʿa. Iṇe uṇe maṡl ke dolat uyoṡn zinaṡate xeṡč etai.i, uṇe iṇe gʿane yuṡam buṡoruṡo kaṡ ʿoṡta."

Uyum iṡi.e yuṡwer ekil ʿesaser yuṡwe iṇer senimi. "Le eṡi, uṇ hamiṡte je apaṡi ba, da besan je bi ke es uṇe bi. Lekin xuṡi
15 etas da aiyeṡ amʿanas yaṡki bilum, beṡsoke uṇe kiṡne goṡčo iṡrum gutas bam, muṡto dyuṡwesai.i, ʿespalam, mu dimeṡiyurkaṡn," esimi.

Čaya faṡ manimi.

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6 *esmilaser* — 'to pacify', 'placate'. The meaning hardly allows of any connection with *d°-asmilas* 'to defile'. The *es* is perhaps the noun *°-as* 'heart'.

8 *akoṡte ba* — 1st. sg. perf. neg. of *ge* + *°-alas*.

9 *aiyawa* — cp. version A p. 370 l. 9. The vernacular Ms. here has *aiyawa* and *aiyawa*.

10 *giltiṡr* — is not given in the vernac. Ms.

14 *je apaṡi* — vernac. Ms. *je apaṡi*.

[P. 375 is blank - Analyst]

[Errata: for aiy'e't imi read aiy'e'timi, cf. P419 (at. 18, -- Analyst]

No. XLVII.

Minas Širi Badat ya Širi Bərə·i Bayər Tham.

800 Qadim zamanulo Gi·ltulo Thaman Ša Ra.i·s nusε bam. Se.ibə·n ine kapalulo γeniše tur bilum. Gutε sir sirf hin xə·s mahramanər lεl bilum. Inε Thamε γuyaŋ εčam.

Thamε gutε čaγa nihə·yat čap εčər xi.ə·l bilum. Nokərε bər čap 5 εtumε sabab(p)aṭε γali·z (*or*, mus?) imanimi. Ine samba netan

126 I have placed this text by itself because it was not, like those that precede it, written down by myself from oral communication.

I received it in manuscript from the Mir of Hunza in 1923, more than a year before I began to work at Burushaski.

It was written out by the Mir's son, Gushpūr Muhammad Ghani Khān, in Arabic script in two versions, one Burushaski the other Hindustani. The two versions do not exactly correspond, neither being a direct translation of the other.

The Hindustani version has been of great help in elucidating the Burushaski; where the two coincide they provide a double guide to the sense, where they differ, it not infrequently happens that the Hindustani throws light on motives or reasons which are obscure in the Burushaski.

Burushaski is, I believe, never written in ordinary life, so Muhammad Ghani Khān's effort must have been something of an adventure.

He had probably to make his own conventions and he no doubt anticipated that it would only be read by some literate Burushaski-speaker like himself to whom the story would be well-known and to whom no very precise rendering of the words would be necessary.

The points are not always clear and are sometimes doubtfully or incorrectly placed, and though vowel-signs are liberally provided they are not always found where wanted.

I think I have, with some labour, deciphered all except words with which I am not acquainted.

000 Muhammad Ghani Khān distinguishes between

No. XLVII.

The Story of Širi Badat, *or* Širi Bəraí Bayər Tham.

(From the Burushaski of Gushpūr Muhammad Ghani Khān).

In ancient times there was in Gilgit a Tham called Shāh Rais. They say that he had a gold horn on his head. This secret was known only to one private servant who used to trim the Tham's hair.

The Tham was very anxious to keep the affair secret. Owing to (the strain of) keeping the matter secret the servant fell ill (of

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ت and ٹ	*t* & *ṭ*.	ت and تھ	*t* & *th*.
د and ڈ	*d* - *ḍ*.	چ and چھ	*č* - *čh*.

He uses the sign ش but he writes غنس for غنش (*γənis*).

He does not usually distinguish between initial short vowels: *a*, *ʌ*, *ə*, *e* *i*, *u* etc. nor between *č* and *ç*, or *š* and *ṣ*.

Final لا is frequently written like لہ.

Many other points might be noted.

It is interesting to note that *Širi Badat*, known in Shina legend, is identified with *Širi Bəraí Bayər Tham* vide Text No. 13, p. 208.

It is not clear in the Ms. whether *Šir* or *Širi* is intended, but, as far as I know the word is always pronounced *Širi* or *Širi*.

1 *Gilltulo* — here and elsewhere, by a mere clerical lapse, written *G-lil-t lu*.
Ša Ra.is — the name is still preserved by the nominal Ruling Family of Gilgit. The uncle of the present titular *Raja* of Gilgit bears it.

2 *tər bilum* — In spite of the singular verb one suspects that "horns" is intended, especially in the absence of *kan* or the suffix *-an*.

5 *γalis* — this takes the place of a word in brackets which seems to be *muz*. The H. version has *pečiš* 'dysentery'.

1—5, page 378 / 1—2, page 378 / 17—18, page 378 The extraordinary similarity between the stories of *Ša Ra.is* and Midas and their respective servants will be remarked. It is highly unlikely that it is due to even a secondhand acquaintance in modern times with Greek mythology, on the part of the people of Hunza-Nagir or Gilgit.

Hərɛli.ər ni·n ti·kulo qaman nɛtan qau ɛtimi kɛ "Šah Raisɛ kapalulo γɛnišɛ tur bila." Yaṭɛ tik nikin i·lji di·mi.

Hərɛlilu(lo) hin dasinanɛ huyɛ·s uyərču bom. Hin hiran tɛlər di·nin šuqa (da sər?) mu·mi. Šuqa du·nkɛ turu·mi, sər ba qa·ida du.a·simi. Haira·n numuman duγarusumo: "Albatta un Širi Badat ba, xair?" Juwa·b mučhimi: "Awa jɛ Širi Badat ba. Jɛ mu Gi·ltulo tham mana·s ba. U·nər buṭ ina·m ɛč'am," nusɛ, γaib mani·mi.

Da Gi·ltər di·nin Šah Ra.i·se tərka·ŋulo nutaγan hurutimi. Da Ša Ra.i·sɛ haγurər baliṇe baspur gimər Širi Badatɛ ɛk šɛčam. Axir Thame duγarusimi: "Ja haγur la·ša bɛsɛ manimi.ɛn?" Aštane but košiš nɛtan du·nimi. Širi Badat sɛnimi: "Ša Ra.i·s Tham manuwaṭɛ jɛ baspur kɛ ošɛčama?" Aštane Thamale di·nin čaγa ɛtimi kɛ: "Akhi akhi nusɛn hiran daγami."

Itɛ zama·nulo Piṭaiyu(?) nigirat fa·l gibam. Piṭai.ur(?) giratasər hukum učimi. Piṭai.ur čo·ṭale gabants uγərčam. Ajab itifa(q)tsum čoṭale gabants Hərɛlilum dutsam, nokəre be(?) tik nipiraq qau.u ɛtum ite dišulo usko čoṭal duwaša bim. Piṭai.ur uγəras kɛ gabantse sirf: "Šah Ra.i·se kapalulo γɛniše tur bila," sɛnimi.ɛn.

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4 The word following *šuqa* looks like *dərustər*. If this could be taken as a slip for *dərust ečər* it would agree with the *dərust ɛtəm* in l. 11 p. 380. On the other hand the H. text has: "giving her a little thread, he said 'mend my choga'". This suggests that the reading might be *šuqa da šutur mu·mi*, *šutur* meaning "thread" in Khowār, but the Ms. will not support this. Perhaps we are to read, *da tsər*, for *da sər*, 'and thread'. The *t* points may be unintentional.

šuqa du·nkɛ təru·mi — the transliteration of the two last words is somewhat conjectural *tərumi* may be compared with *turum*, 'ripped' and perhaps *i·ltərAs* 'to spoil', 'to damage'. The Hindustani, as I read it, has "the choga became more torn". The word however might be read as *tərumi* or *tsərumi*. The latter form would point to *tsər*, 'torn'.

9 *bAliṇɛ bAspur* — *bAspur* means "grain", but only as food given to horses. These horses were given walnut kernels in place of grain.

10 *la·ša* — V. Vocab. s. v. The H. has *dubla* i. e. 'thin', 'emaciated'.

11 *mAnuwaṭɛ* — here seems to be the 3rd. sg. perf. *mAnuwai* + *Aṭɛ*. In l. 6 p. 382 it appears to be the 2nd. sg. perf. + *Aṭɛ*. V. § 407.

12 *oṣɛčama* — another example of the negative prefix *o·*, v. § 339.

13 *Akhi* — probably for *Aki·l*.

daγami — the H. has: "The King said. 'Where is he?', but he had disappeared".

dysentery?). After reflecting about it he went to Herèli and digging a hole in the ground he shouted into it "Shāh Raīs has a gold horn on his head." Then he filled in the earth and returned (home). 539*

A girl was grazing flocks in Herèli and a man came to her there and gave her a *choga* and some thread(?). In a little the *choga* became more torn(?) and the thread remained as it was. She was amazed and asked: "You are surely Shiri Badat, are you not?" He answered her: "Yes, I am Shiri Badat. I am now going to become Tham in Gilgit, and I shall give you a great reward." So saying he vanished.

Then coming to Gilgit he took up his quarters in hiding in Shāh Raīs's stable; and when Shāh Raīs's horses were given their ration of walnut kernels Shiri Badat used to eat it. Eventually the Tham enquired: "Why have all my horses got into poor condition?" After great efforts the groom caught Shiri Badat who said: "Because Shāh Raīs has become Tham am I not to eat horse-food?" The groom came to the Tham and reported: "A man said thus and thus and has disappeared (*lit.* hidden himself)"

In those days *Bitans* used to dance and practise divination and Shāh Raīs (now) gave orders for them to dance. For the *Bitans* they used to play on pipes made of *choṭal*. By a strange chance they had been in the habit of getting the *choṭal* reeds from Herèli, and (now) at the place where the servant had dug the ground and shouted into it, three (clumps of) *choṭal* had come up. On their being played for the *Bitans* the pipes said only: "Shāh Raīs has a gold horn on his head."

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14 *piṭaiyu* — here and in what follows this word could be transliterated in different ways, but from various indications it is clear that it is intended for *biṭaiyo* the pl. of *biṭʌn*, 'soothsayer'.

The Hindustani has in its place the word دیل with a note saying "in Shina". This must be the Shina word *daīyʌl* which corresponds in meaning to the Bu. *biṭʌn*.

The H. version also clarifies the context by saying: "In order to clear up this mystery the Raja gave orders to play (for) the *daīyʌl*".

nigirʌt — i. e. *nikirʌt* 'having danced', but it can be read as *negirʌt* the Cs.

15 *ʊɣərčʌm* — the first vowel is not marked, but is short. I should expect *oɣərčʌm*

16 *be* — I do not know what this is. It may only be a repetition of the final *-e* of *nokəre*.

000 Tham hairaˑn niˑman nokərər ɛsimi. Nokərɛ saˑf saˑf iˑmo bayaˑn ɛtimi. Hərɛlilu ɛtumate Tham balke xuš manimi.

Gutɛ tamašaˑulo Širi Badat kɛ bam. Aštane lɛl nɛtan dunimi.

Da Thamɛ Širi Badatatər čodo ničin ɛsimi: "Unər zaruˑtat bilum
5 kɛ jaˑlar dukoˑn bɛs ayauˑma(?) kɛ baspur γiˑki ɛča." Širi Badatɛ sɛnimi: "Uˑn Tham manuwaṭɛ jɛ baspur kɛ oṣɛčama?" Thame imoˑs din iˑmo xanjər yakal lip nɛ sɛnimi: "Yɛ ga gutɛ goˑr dərkaˑr bila kɛ." Širi Badate xanjər nukan Šah Ra.iˑs ɛsqanimi.

Da mašhuˑr ɛtimi kɛ "Jɛ Širi Badat ba. Jɛ mu Giˑltulo thamkušɛ
10 hukum manila." Giˑlte taxtaṭe nuˑrut inɛ (itɛlu Hunza-Nagir kɛ šaˑmil bilum) Hərɛlilo šuqa durust ɛtum inɛ dasinmu ka nika·h ne dumutsimi. Beruman waxttsum han gusan Nuˑr Baxš nusɛn paida manumo.

Širi Badatɛ xuraˑk gunts kɛ han han mumuši bim. Hikulto
15 Hupərum hin jaṭ gusanê han gusanmutsɛ yuˑšam mumuši.an yuˑmo. Čhape maza diˑnin Širi Badate sabab duγarusimi. Jaṭ guse sɛnumo: "Juṭkuše imi iˑri bim. Aˑiˑmu mamu ničin a.iˑmu uša ba." Isɛtsum ilji hin hin yoˑlekus hilɛs muqarrər xuraˑk bim. Gute zuləmtsum kuyoˑč but xafa manˈuˑman.

20 Ite waqtulo iskɛn ɛčukoˑn, Abul Ґais, Abul Faˑni da Haˑzir Jamšɛd Daˑyuˑrə khuˑṭaṭər duˑman. Tɛlɛ Širi Badate basi yaṭku.ine hərɛn bim. Hazir Jamšɛdatər sɛnuman: "Guse dɛljan." U.iski.e žamaŋ

5 *ayauˑma, ayoˑma (?)* — probably the 2nd. sg. pret. negative of *yaiyas* 'to obtain'. The correct translation is quite uncertain.

7 *yɛ ga . . .* — The H. version makes the King's motive clearer: "If you are to act as Raja, then take this sword".

15 *gusanmutsɛ* — this use of the suffix *-tsɛ* is curious. From the Hindustani it appears that the old woman had had the lamb suckled by another younger woman.

17 *aˑiˑmu* — probably the 1st. sg. form of **-iˑmo*, which is not found in the other texts, its place being taken by *je.imo*. Possibly however the 1st. *aˑiˑmu* is the gen. of *aiˑi* 'my daughter', and the following *aˑiˑmu uša ba* is to be read: *a.iˑ muˑuša ba*, 'I have reared her as my daughter', or 'I myself have reared her'.

uša ba — **-uše.as* seems to be capable of use without a pron. prefix, cp. the use of *uˑš.am* as an adjective.

isɛtsum ilji — the use of the x form instead of the y form in this phrase is unusual. The regular thing is *itɛtsum*.

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The Tham was astonished and spoke to the servant about it. The servant made a clear statement of his doings and the Tham it appears was pleased at what he had done in Herèli.

Shiri Badat was also present at the show and the groom recognised him and seized him.

The Tham reviled Shiri Badat and said to him: "When you were in need why did you not come to my house and get something, instead of stealing the horses' food?" Shiri Badat replied: "Because you have become Tham am I not to eat horses' grain?" The Tham losing his temper threw his dagger towards him and said: "Then take this if you need it." Shiri Badat took the dagger and killed Shāh Raīs with it.

Then he proclaimed: "I am Shiri Badat. The authority of the Thamship of Gilgit has now become mine." And he took his seat on the throne of Gilgit (Hunza-Nagir was also included in it). He performed the marriage ceremony with the girl who had repaired his *choga* in Herèli and espoused her. After some time a girl (*lit.* woman) called Nūr Bakhsh was born to them.

Shiri Badat's food was one lamb every day. One day an old woman of Hoper gave him a lamb which had been reared by a woman. On getting the (human) taste of the meat Shiri Badat asked the reason of it. The old woman said: "When the lamb was young its mother had died and I gave it my own milk and reared it as my own (child)." After that a year-old boy was his fixed (daily) ration. The people were much annoyed by this cruelty.

At that time three brothers, Abūl Ghais, Abūl Fāni and Hāzir Jamshed came to the Daiyōr fort. There there was an ox belonging to Shiri Badat's gardener. The others said to Hazir Jamshed: "Let us shoot at it," and the three of them shot (at it) with their

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yo·lekos — the first two vowels are doubtful. I connect it with *yo·l* 'a complete year' and conjecture that it means 'yearling'.

Ha·zir Jʌmšed — written حاضر جمشد but the name is ordinarily spoken as *Azor Jʌmše·d* or *Jʌmšer*. As the writer does not specially mark the vowel *e*. I have used that as a compromise. The dat. form *JʌmšedʌAtər* in l. 22 is surprising.

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bišaman. Oltalike this manimi. Hazire dɛlimi. Inər ɛsuman kɛ: "Uˈn nukoˈn khaš ɛti, da kabaˈb nɛtan mimər kɛ xabər ɛti."

Ine niˈnin khaš nɛtan ɛkin kabaˈb nɛ qau ɛtimi. Uˈɛ juwaˈb ičhiman: "Awal uˈn Bismilla ɛti." Inɛ Bismilla nɛtan šuruˈ ɛtasər oˈltalik xarts nɛtan γaib manuman. Inər hin xaˈnsaˈmaˈn (Riˈle Ramal nusɛ) iˈriŋčiŋ čhumare hin aštan Aštane nuse, (aulaˈd muˈ xa Ganišulu baˈn), phat ɛtuman. Hazir Jamšɛdatər ɛsuman: "Un nukoˈn mu Giltulo tham manɛ."

Haˈzir Jamšɛd iˈmo xaˈnsaˈma kɛ aštan da hərɛ čhap kɛ nukan Giltatər duˈn iˈne base yaṭku.ine haˈle dusoˈkuman. Bərɛnasər baˈγbaˈne jamaˈate basiˈlum asquˈriŋ dusuˈn baṭumuts ɛčər duˈnumo. Haˈzir Jamšɛde (*ms.* "Jamšɛd te") sɛnimi: "Bɛsan ɛča?" Sɛnumo: "Širi Badate eˈi Nuˈr Baxšmur baṭumuts oča baˈn." Haˈzire sɛnimi: "Jɛ kɛ han ɛčama?" Jaṭ guse sɛnumo: "Xuši(ɛ) ka ɛti." Han buṭ šuˈa baṭu.antse iˈmo γuyaŋ — — —(?) kharɛṭilo wašimi.

Jaṭ guse Nuˈr Baxšmule piˈš ɛtumo. Nuˈr Baxše ise Hazir Jamšadɛ baṭuwər duγarusumo. Ine tamaˈm haˈlat bak biˈk mosumo. Nuˈr Baxš aˈšiq numuˈman čup ne haˈle oˈruˈṭumo. Beruman waqttsum Nuˈr Baxš nuruṭ mu.iˈyan dimanimi. Oltalike Širi Badattsum xauf ne han sanduqanər ulo niwašin band nɛtan hıfaˈzatɛ ka Hanisaˈri dəri.aˈɛ ulo wašimu. Dəri.a isɛ sanduˈq niˈyan Buldaˈsər di.usimi.

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5 *xarts nɛtan* — the H. seems to have *naˈi bajaˈkər* 'playing on pipes', but in a Shina version of the story I have "*ha ha the hati trap the muti ɔi.i jaˈrɛ baiyɛ tər dɛ bujenən*", "the other brothers both laughing and clapping their hands flew off".

From the Shina version it also appears that A. J. could not follow them because, being of fairy race, he had been rendered impure and incapable of flight by having come in contact with the ox's dung (or perhaps simply with the ox). Cp. the case of the peri *Šahri Baˈno*, p. 14 l. 16.

5—6 *Riˈlɛ Ramal* — *riˈl* ordinarily means 'copper' and perhaps does so here. It will be remembered that in No. XIII (p. 210 l. 9) *Širi Bərai Bayər Tham* had a copper stick and copper leg-wrappers.

From the Hindustani version it is clear that it was the cook and not the groom who had iron hands.

13 *oča baˈn* — probably a slip for *oča ba*. The H. has the 1st. sg.

15 *γuyaŋ* — the following word appears to be a p.pc. active: *negalər* or *nıkakər*, neither of which is known to me. It must mean "fastening" or "tying on to".

[Errata: for this read this. cf. p 419, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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bows. The two others missed, but Hazir hit it. They said to him: "You go and kill it and roast its meat and let us know (when it is ready)." 5397

He went and slew it and roasted its liver and called out to them. They answered: "You say 'Bismillah' (and begin) first." He said 'Bismillah' and when he began (his repast) the other two clapped their hands and disappeared. They left behind for him a cook called Rīlè Ramal with iron hands and a groom called Ashtanè, whose descendants are in Ganish to the present day. They said to Hazir Jamshed: "You go now and be Tham in Gilgit."

Hazir Jamshed took (with him) his cook and groom and the flesh of the ox and they came to Gilgit and alighted at the house of the gardener. On looking about he saw the gardener's wife bring in flowers from the garden and begin to make up nosegays. "What are you doing?" said Hazir Jamshed. "I am making nosegays," she replied, "for Shiri Badat's daughter, Nur Bakhsh." "May I make one too?" said Hazir Jamshed. "By all means make one," replied the old woman. Tying(?) some of his own hair on to a very fine nosegay he threw it into the basket.

The old woman presented the basket to Nur Bakhsh, and the latter enquired about Hazir Jamshed's nosegay. The old woman chattered away(?) and told her all the facts of the case. Nur Bakhsh falling in love with him lodged him secretly in the house. After some time Nur Bakhsh having conceived a son was born to her. As both of them were afraid of Shiri Badat she placed the infant in a box and shutting it up put it carefully in the Hanisāri river. The river carried down the box and cast it up at Bul Dās.

The H. has "tying (*bənd kʌr*) his hair on to a bunch of flowers".

17 *bʌtuwər d.* — 'enquired about the nosegay' — an unusual use of the dative. The person to whom the question is addressed is often put in the dative.

bʌk bi·k — presumably based on the H. *bʌkna* 'to chatter', 'to talk at length'. The H. has: *sʌb mar̥ərə bʌyan̥ ki.*

18 *ə·rutəmo* — should presumably be *e·rutəmo.*

20 *sʌndu·qʌnər ulo* — the final *-r* may be only a slip of the pen, but cp. *γölkər ulo* l. 11 p. 384.

000 Hin- ʿaḍuˈš nuse mərutsguˈinan deˈγurkimi. Člo bəreˈimi kɛ hin paˈkiˈza hilɛˈsan bai.i. Haˈlɛ nitsun pərwəriš nɛ yuˈšami.

Sis gaṭi numa Širi Badat ɛsqaiyər salah (pusuˈman?) da salah Nuˈr Baxšmutsum ganuman. Širi Badatɛ imo waziˈr Bərča bam. Nuˈr
5 Baxše muˈwər ɛsumo: "Baˈba be sabab bila uˈnɛ hilɛse čhap ṣɛča, ja oṣeča ba?" Širi Badatɛ sɛnimi: "Ja zaˈt jinn zaˈt bila. Jaˈr Hazarat Sulimaˈn 'a. m. asi(?): 'Un sırf phuwaṭɛ gu.irčuma.' Bɛsɛkɛ ja as maska maltaṣɛ bi."

Sisɛ gutɛ bərat ɛ talɛnumutse phu nutsun thapɛ taˈŋɛ iḍigaˈr talɛ
10 qabal waṣiman. Da hiŋulo asiˈr nıpiraq γulk ɛtuman. Širi Badat gərurumtsum beqaraˈr niman haˈtsum duˈsimi. Duˈs isɛ γulkərulo walimi. Tamaˈm sisɛ phu.ɛ talanumuts yaṭɛ fal oˈtuman.

Tɛˈlum γaib numan mulk Hinzal duˈsimi. Hin hiranɛ tɛˈlɛ hərki ɛčam. Inər ɛsimi: "Humalkum tsil ačhi." Inɛ sɛnimi: "Tsil api,
15 sırf mɛl bila." Širi Badatɛ sɛnimi: "Agər tsil ačhima kɛ buṭ goˈr šuˈa maimtse, xair, gutɛ mulkulo uskotsum bask hakičaŋ oˈmanṣ!" Gutɛ nusɛn in tɛˈlum γaib manimi. Maˈluˈm api amulər duˈsimi kɛ.

Giltɛ taxtaṭɛ Haˈzır Jamšɛd huruṭimi. Haˈzır Jamšɛtɛ Waziˈr Bərča Baloyər bap dusuˈčər eˈrimi. Wazir Balotsum buṭ nikəran
20 diˈmi. Tham Punal Maidaˈnər yanči.ər niˈmi. Mulaqaˈt nɛ Waziˈrɛ sırf han band ṭuruˈwan Thamɛ yər ɛpat oˈsimi. Thamɛ sɛnimi: "Baldaŋ bapɛ amulu?" Waziɛ juwaˈb ičhimi: "Yɛ gusɛ ṭuru bi." Imos diˈnin waziˈr kɛ ɛsqaniˈmi. Amna(?) ṭuru kɛ taq ɛtimi. Se.ibaˈn isɛ ṭuru.ulum dɛlɛ bərtsilaŋ duwašimi. Amna(?) imoˈs diˈnin Haˈzir
25 Jamšɛd ikhar kɛ ɛsqaniˈmi.

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3 *salah* — The word following *salah* appears to be *posuˈman*.

7 *'a. m.* — contraction for the Arabic *'alaihi's salām*.

asi — the 3rd. sg. hm. of the short form of the pret. of *a* + *-asas*, 'he said to me! The reading is supported by the H. *mujhe kaha*.

10 *qabal* — I know of nothing this can be except the Pers. Ar. *qabl*.

11 *γulkər ulo* — cp. *sanduˈqanər ulo* p. 382 l. 20.

21 *han band ṭuruˈwan* — the H. has *ṣırf ek kadu* "only one pumpkin".

23 *amna* — repeated in l. 24. I do not know the word.

24 *bərtsilaŋ* — perhaps *bər* 'nullah' + *tsil* 'water'. The H. has *tɛl ke naˈle naˈle jaˈri hue*.

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(There) one Ghaḍūsh by name, a gold-washer found it. On looking inside he found a fine boy. Carrying him off to his home he took care of him and reared him. 5394

(Meanwhile) the people collected and took counsel to slay Shiri Badat and they sought advice from Nur Bakhsh. Shiri Badat's wazir was Bercha. Nur Bakhsh said to her father: "Father, why is it that you eat boy's flesh and I don't?" Shiri Badat replied: "My nature is the nature of the Jinns. Hazarat Sulimān, peace be on him, said to me: 'You will only die by fire.' That is because my heart consists of butter and ghee."

On the strength of this statement the people at night took lighted faggots and threw them down round about in front of the fort. Then they dug a water pit near the gate. Shiri Badat becoming disturbed by the fire came out of the house and as he did so he fell into the pit. All she people threw the burning torches in on the top of him.

Disappearing thence he turned up in the Hinzal country. A man was ploughing there and Shiri Badat said to him: "Quick, give me water." "There is no water," said the man, "there is only wine." "If you had given me water," said Shiri Badat, "it would have been a very good thing for you. As you haven't, may there never be more than three houses in this land!" So saying he vanished from the spot and it is not known whither he betook himself.

Hazir Jamshed took his seat on the throne of Gilgit. He sent the Wazir Bercha to Baltistān to fetch the revenue. After a long delay the Wazir returned from Baltistan. The Tham went to Punal Maidān to welcome him. When they had met the Wazir put down only a single pumpkin in front of the Tham. "Where are the loads of tribute?" asked the Tham. "There is just this pumpkin," replied the Wazir. Flying into a passion the Tham slew the Wazir. Then(?) he broke open the pumpkin and they say that streams of oil issued from it. Then Hazir Jamshed in a fit of temper (remorse?) killed himself too.

000 Gilte sis alto traŋum manuman. Hikume senuman: "Thaman zaru·rat apai.i." Hikume: "Be, Thaman zaru·r yaiyen." Axir ka·r thamanər tala·š etuman.

Ite zamana.ulo hin hiran Bulčathuko nusen balašu.e ba·š he.ibam.
5 Han qərqa·mutsane qau ne se.ibim: "Tham Bulda·sulo bai.i." Bulčathuku.e beruman sis Bulda·sər o·rimi, ke "Γaḍu·š ha·le altambo joṭumuts ba·n. Hita·ne phat etin, u·e hərarŋulo amine ikhərəre ta·ŋ, tərka·ŋ, xaza·na etimi ke, ine ditsu.in; ba·qi zaminda·re ukhərər tərkan, sərarŋ, malan ečuman."
10 Gute intiza·m netan u·e hərarŋtsum hin ditsuman. Sumalik i·k nosin Gi·lte Tham etuman.

Khine Sumalike yasan Hazir Jamšedtsum bom. Ya·sine Thamər ghər etuman. Ni.asulo mo·simi: "Agər besan go·r muṣi·bat di·a ke huk eši gu.imo tsamarŋ ṭak netan de·ri."
15 Hik he·ši tama·šaraṭe pinčane thame muriŋe xaṭ mudelimi. Γeniš mumo·s di·nin mu.imu tsamarŋ eši ṭak etumo, huk ga·ršume Gi·ltər di·mi. Sumalike šabərine bula deljam, huk ni·tsin hayur čho netan Ya·si·nər ni·nin Thame išake xaṭ nidilin išak iyelimi. Ya·sine Thame senimi: "Šu·a. ja tamaša eta baiyam, magər ma qasd netan adeliman."
20 Sumalik šərum numan Či·n yakal ikhər espalimi.

Be·rum den Ka·šyər Ya·rkandulo nu·ruṭ watane eski di·nin i·lji di·mi. Tərtsi.ər(?) di·nin hin mape·r jaṭ gusanmo ha·le basa manimi. Ite ha·lum yu·s ke muyər čal nu·man muyəre yu·smo mušakaṭe han danane zaxum mo·timi. I·mi senumo. "Le a·i, un ke hu·š ne bese
25 amudelja? Un Sumalike čaya atukuyela belate ikhər espala.i?"

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4 *Bulčathuko, Bulča Thuko* — For this gentleman's prowess cp. No. 12, p. 204.

7 *hita·ne phat etin* — The idea is stated more clearly in the H. "Take them to an open space and leave them at play. Then bring the boy who plays aristocratic games, such as riding, constructing stables and large buildings"

9 *sərarŋ* — probably for *tsərarŋ* 'door-frame'.

12 *Sumalik* — *Sumalik* appears in a story I have in Shina which recounts how, having been carried off prisoner to *Badaxšan*, he escaped on a magic horse.

14 *huk eši* — the dog is taken for granted. It must have had some previous history. *tsamarŋ* — it may be *zamarŋ* as the writer uses *ʒ* for both sounds. The H. has *ha·r*. Perhaps the pl. of *čama* is intended.

15 *γeniš* — here and elsewhere written غنس, or what is meant for that.

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The people became divided into two factions; one party said: 5397
"A Tham is not necessary" and the other party said: "No, we must take a Tham." In the end they made search for one.

At that time there was a man called Bulchathuko who understood the language of the birds. A cock crowing kept saying: "The Tham is in Buldās." Bulchathuko sent some men to Buldās saying to them: "There are eight youngsters in the house of Ghaḍūsh. (Take them and) leave them in a place (by themselves) and whichever of them makes for himself a palace and stables and a treasury, bring him here. The rest will make a byre and a door-frame and a field for themselves such as cultivators have."

Having carried out this arrangement they brought back one of the boys; and they gave him the name of Sumalik and made him Tham of Gilgit.

A sister of this Sumalik was the offspring of Hazir Jamshed and they married her to the Tham of Yāsīn. When she was going away Sumalik said to her: "If any trouble comes upon you fasten your necklace on the dog's neck and despatch it to me."

One time in play the Yasin Tham struck her on the hand with a polo stick. The Queen was angry and fastened her necklace on the dog's neck, and the dog running (all the way) came to Gilgit. Sumalik was at the polo ground playing polo. Seeing the dog he put his horse to the gallop and went off to Yasin. There he struck the Tham on the arm and broke it. The Tham said: "Good; I was only playing, but you have struck me on purpose." Sumalik was ashamed and banished himself to China.

After staying for some years in Kāshghar and Yārkand, a longing for his own country came on him and he returned back. Arriving at Tertsi(?) he put up for the night in the house of an old woman. The wife and husband of the house quarrelling, the husband wounded his wife on the arm with a stone. His mother said to him: "O son, why do you too not strike her intentionally? Have you not heard the story of Sumalik — how he banished himself?"

22 *Tərtsi.ər* — transliteration uncertain. It may be *Tərz*, *TərAz* etc. The H. has *Sərḥad WAxan* and later *WAxan ki Sərḥad* i. e. *Sərḥad* in *WAxan*.

000 Sumalik du·nkɛ imo·s di·nin iskikutsum Giltər di·mi. Sumalik ikhər ɛspalasulo γɛnɪš umi·dwa·r bom. Gušpu·ran, Sa·hib Xa·n nusɛ, diman; juwa·n manuwa·m.

Thapɛ sagamaṭər di·nin bəre·imi kɛ han juwa·nan ha·lɛ ba.i.
5 Awal awal ɛsqai.ər tai.a·r numan, da inɛ Tərts(?) gus muyər ya·d di·mi. Akhurumanər Sa·hib Xa·nɛ i·mimur sɛnimi: "Ja ba·ba amulu zɪnda baiya apa·ya lɛl api." Gutɛ čaγa de·yɛlin ha·lər di·nin mula·qa·t ɛtimi.

Sumalikɛ di·mɛ jalsa Ґaṭam Sərulo ɛtuman. Ka·ŋgər Malikɛ(?)
10 kɛ jalsa ganɛ di·mi. Sumalik kɛ Ka·ŋgər Malik(?) gutɛ ka·ṭ nɛtan bula dɛliman: mɛn giyaman kɛ uyaṭɪs čərap o·čan. Axɪr Ka·ŋgər Malikɛ(?) walimi. Sumalik hala danaṭɛ yaṭɪs čərap nɛtan i·mo γɛnišmur dotsimi.

Bɛsɛkɛ γɛnɪšmu daman mu·lus bam, gutɛ zɪdaṭɛ γɛnišɛ čhɛmiliŋ
15 nɪpišan Sumalik ɛsqanumo.

Da Sahib Xa·n Gi·ltɛ Tham manimi.

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1 *du·nkɛ* — written exactly in the same way as the word in l. 4 p. 378. The H. gives no help here.

5 *Tərts . . . . gus* — Ms. ترزز ليهس perhaps for *Tərts-tsum, Tərtsum.*

9 *Ґaṭam Sər* — so in the H. and this is I think the correct name. The Bu. Ms. has *Ґanam Sər.*

10 *Ka·ŋgər Malikɛ* — In the Bu. text *Malikɛ* and *Malik* in this line and the next two are followed by a separate word اى or اِى. One might suppose this to be *i·* (his) son, but the H. has only plain *Ka·ŋgər Malik.* It is probably a double writing of the ending *-ɛ.*

11 *giyaman* — in the Ms. indistinguishable from *gi·man.*

12 *hala danaṭɛ* — *hala dan* is the term used for the stones that mark the goals at polo, and must be what is intended here. Otherwise in the Ms. the first word looks more like بدا or بلا. The H. has merely "cutting off his head".

14 *daman* — is used of full relatives as opposed to "step-" relatives. *Nu·r Baxš* and *Ka·ŋgər Malik* were children of the same father and the same mother.

Addendum.

At the end of the Hindustani version there is the following additional passage which has been scored out by the writer, but is worth putting on record:

After him his son, Dalā Shāh. After him, Shāh Malik and Trakhān. From Trakhān's brother, Lali Tham, two brothers were born simultaneously, Girkis and Mughlōt. Trakhān made Mughlōt Rāja of Nagir, and Girkis Rāja of Hunza.

From Girkis there were born one boy and one girl, Maiyūr and Nūr (Bībī?).

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Sumalik was vexed for a little and three days later he arrived at Gilgit. At the time that he banished himself the Queen was with child and a Gushpūr called Sāhib Khān was born, who had (now) become a young man. 539x

Coming at night to the smoke-hole Sumalik looked and saw that there was a young man in the house. At first he was preparing to slay him, then he remembered the woman and her husband at Tertsi (?) and just at that moment Sāhib Khan said to his mother: "It is not known whether my father is alive anywhere, or whether he is not." On hearing these words Sumalik went into the house and introduced himself.

They held the festival for the return of Sumalik at Ghaṭam Ser. Kānger Malik also came for the festival. Sumalik and Kānger Malik played polo on the agreement that whichever was beaten they should cut off his head. In the end Kānger Malik lost the game and Sumalik cut off his head on the goal-stone and sent it to his own Queen.

As (the murdered man) was the Queen's full brother, she, out of resentment for this action, put poison in Sumalik's (food) and killed him.

Sāhib Khan then became Tham of Gilgit.

Gushpūr Maiyūr played a trick on the Tapkients and had them murdered at 'Ali.ābād and his father was angry with him and had him banished from the country. He wandered about and came to Derwāz where he married and a boy, Shāh Khān, was born to him. 539x

In Hunza Girkis died and Wazir Baṭu went in search of Maiyūr with a view to arranging Nūr (Bībī?)'s marriage. When he got to Derwāz, Maiyūr had died. He brought back his son Shāh Khān and holding an assembly installed him on the throne of Hunza.

From Nagir they enquired: "What are you doing?" Answers were returned from Hunza: "Aiyèsho has arrived from Aiyèsh" that is: "A Heavenly King has arrived".

After that the following rajas, in order, ruled in Hunza . . .

In the above fragment Girkis is written Girkits or Girkiz. With Trakhān, a figure in Gilgit legendary history, compare the Trakhanāting referred to in No. 30. 000

The word following Nūr is doubtful.

For Maiyūr and the Tapkients see No. 22 where he is called Ai.èsho Maiyūri Tham which would ordinarily mean Maiyūri the son of Ai.èsho.

For Aiyèsho Malik see No. 15.

Burušaski Proverbs.

136 Like the preceding text I received these in written form. They were originally recorded for me by 'Ina·yat Öllah Beg and rewritten more legibly by M. Ša·hza·da Yu·suf. I have used both versions. The comments are mostly condensed from Hindustani notes by 'Ina·yat Öllah Beg which were not rewritten by Š.Y. Much more elucidation would be required for the proper understanding of these proverbs.

537X 1. ɣam ɛtas hukər tin.

To the barking dog a bone

H. bhauṇknewa·la kutteko haḍḍi.

P. dahan i sag ba luqma basta bah(?)

i. e. to a ruler who takes bribes, give bribes (otherwise you won't get off).

2. hukɛ tin šiyas asa·nɛ; ja·ri ɛtas do·m.

It is easy for a dog to eat a bone, i. e. eating bones is easy for a dog, but to digest (pass?) them is difficult.

i. e. a ruler may take bribes but it is difficult for his days to be completed(?)

3. Sinda kam a.i·ts (? *or*, ayɛts?); pa·dša jut a.i·ts (*or* ayɛts).

Don't regard the river as small; don't regard the king as young (immature).

H. dəri.a·ko kam najə·n; aur pa·dšahko čho·ṭa xi.a·l nakar.

i. e. If there is little water in the river it will almost certainly increase; if the king is young there is every prospect that he will grow older. Both things are likely to increase so don't despise them.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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4. gu·imo ša·isər nupəran gutis je·k ɛti.
   Stretch out your leg having regard to (the size of) your blanket.
   H. apna kambal dekhkar pa·ō phaila·o.
   i. e. only undertake things that you have the strength or means to carry out. Suit your expenditure to your income.
5. gu·imo diltarər mɛnɛ kɛ ʂuqu·rum o·se.iba·n.
   No one says that his own buttermilk is sour.
   P. kas nagu·yad kɛ du·γ i man turš ast.
   i. e. no one runs down his own things; even if they are bad he considers them good.
   gu·imo is ungrammatical with se.iba·n.
6. qərqa·muts humalkum khaš ɛta kɛ hər han fulγu·wan laŋ laŋ maimi.
   If you kill a fowl quickly every feather will go on moving.
   (i. e. the more hastily you kill it the longer its convulsive struggles will continue).
   H. muryiko jitna jaldi zibaḥ karega, itna de·rtak hilta rahega.
   In proportion as an act is done hastily the longer will its evil results last, e. g. when a ruler without reflection gives an order in a hurry it will be a source of complaint and disturbance in the country for a long time to come.
7. hukɛ me·š mana·s api; aγun tham mana·s api.
   A dog's(-skin) can't be made into a bag, the son of a low-class mother can't become king.
   H. kutteke čamṛeka kalaḍu nahī· ban sakta, aur lawanḍiza·da ra·ja nahī· ban sakta.
8. γa·ka mana kɛ γuraš, gaʂančɛka mana kɛ čhap.
   If you associate with a crow (you will eat) dung, if you associate with a hawk (you will eat) meat.
   H. kauweke sa·th rahoge to gu·, ba·zke sa·th rahoge to gošt kha·oge.
   If you associate with the evil you will get evil, and with the good you will get good.
9. balo·ʂɛ senimi: "ja axa·šiŋ γenišɛ bi." Ši·ɛ senimi: "jɛ amulo baiyam?"
   The pot said: "my bottom is of gold." The fireplace said: "where was I?"

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

5398 H. ha·ndi·ne kaha: "mera tala so·neka hai." ču·la·hne kaha: "mai̯ kıdhər tha?"

When a man boasts of his good birth, another who knows all about him says "I know all about your root." (I. e. your origin).

10. hərɛ ʂapikɛka maska o·ši; badza·tər qısmat ai.ɛti.

Don't eat butter with barley-bread; don't serve a low-class man.

H. jauki ro·ṭike sa·th makhan mat kha·o; badza·t ʂaxʂki xıdmat mat karo.

Never do good to an evil man. If you do, he will certainly do you evil in return, and will always remain your enemy, and there is no hope of ever receiving good from him.

11 ta.ho·rdimo jilər γa· kɛ gaʂanč.

From early morning till the forenoon the crow is a hawk.

H. ʂubhse dopahər (*or*, ča·ʂt) tak kauwa bhi ba·z hai.

If anyone obtains authority from morning till midday, that is enough. If one is governor for only an hour that is enough, and if only once one fills one's belly that is government (ḥuku·mat).

12. ḍaḍanər nupəran nat.

Dance, keeping your eye on the drum.

H. ḍho·lko dekhkar na·č.

i. e. zama·nako dekhkar ča·l ("jump with the cat"); jaisa de·s waisa be·s (Punjabi bhe·s?).

Whatever country you may have to live in, you must conform to the law of that country. ("When in Rome do as the Romans do".)

13. hukɛ tha iskumuts ta (*or* šeɛ·rɛ) han ke bəra·bər.

A hundred puppies and one leopard cub are equal.

H. sau na·mərdõ·se ek mərd behtar; sau badza·tõ·se ek xa·nda·ni aččha ho·ta hai.

i. e. one man of good family is better than 100 of low birth.

14. ni·m hərɛtɛ gaḍhi.

The rod (is applied) to the ox that goes.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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H. čalnewale bailpar ḍanḍa.

i. e. the man who obeys authority and observes the law is always hardly treated.

15. bušo·šu.ε čaγa: "amu·puṣ napus kε ami· yεrε."

What the calf says: "(even if you) tie up my muzzle (leave me) with (*lit.* under) my mother."

i. e. kill me if you please but leave me in my own country.

16. čhul mε·ṣε tam dεlji, balčum mε·ṣε ε·sfa·imi.

H. ko·i xidmat kare, ko·i gharmē baiṭhkar apni ta·ri·f kare.

i. e. one talks and the other does the work.

17. Supaṭ ya·rum di·šam nusen gopat ya·rum e·tas.

Saying "I shall get from (—?)" you get rid of what you possess (?)

H. ba·hirse kama·neke xi.a·lmē apne ghar ko berba·d karna.

18. hεrε himmat, xuda·ε madad.

The effort of the ox, the help of God, i. e. "God helps those who help themselves."

19. girkise ji·yεr di·mulo buser tama·ša.

The rat at its last gasp is sport to the cat.

H. ču·heki ja·nkani bilko khe·l hota hai.

20. dεrta (Ś.Y. dhεrta) apεrtεa? bu·a apεrta?

Is the corn (that is being threshed) awry? or are the cattle (going) awry?

H. xirman (khila·ta) ulta hai? kih gaε ulte čalte hai?

i. e. Is what I say wrong, or is your understanding wrong?

21. šu·akuṣ nεtan sindar biła.

Do good and throw it in the river.

H. ne·ki karke darya·mē ḍa·l.

i. e. As far as possible go on doing good; (virtue at any price?)

22. tasε (IUB. tha·sε) γaqayum samar lεl.

The pungency of the smoke is known to the smoke-hole.

H. gharka du·ā čhatko ma·lu·m.

i. e. "The inhabitant of a country knows its conditions," said when a stranger to the country sings the praises of its ruler.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

23. hər hʌɣʊrɛ jiˑyər diˑmulo hun dʌn čɛhaŋ (*or* dʌntsɛ haŋ?)

539X When the ox and horse have reached the limit of their strength they —? (every piece of) wood and stone.

H. ŠY. bail ghoˑre ki jaˑn parˑa bʌnti hai(?), to lakṛi pʌthʌr č(h)ubaˑta hai. (IUB. us wʌqt lʌkri aur pʌthʌr ko čaˑp ḍaˑlte haī).

jʌb kʌsipər muṣibʌt aˑti hai to čaˑrõˑṭʌrʌf haˑth peˑr maˑrta hai.

i. e. When misfortune comes on anyone he hits out with hands feet in every direction(?)

24. hukɛ iˑmu haˑlɛ šeˑr.

The dog is a lion in its own house.

H. kutta apne gʌlimẽ šeˑr hoˑta hai.

i. e. every man is very valiant when in his own country.

25. šoˑn ɛˑpači hɛrʌs guˑi(mo) gulčin šoˑn ɛtʌs bila.

To weep with a blind man is only to make your own eyes go blind.

H. ʌndheke paˑs roˑna ʌpni aˑṇkhẽ ʌndha kʌrna hoˑga (*or*, ʌpna nʌzər khoˑna hai. IUB.).

i. e. It is better to stay in your own home than to go to an unjust ruler.

26. ɣʌliˑsɛ (*or*, ɣʌliˑs siˑsər) hʌn thʌp tha thʌpičʌŋ, raˑḥʌtɛ tha dɛniŋ hʌn thʌp.

To a sick man one night is (like) a hundred nights. A hundred days of ease are (like) a single night.

H. biˑmaˑr šʌxṣke liye ɛk raˑt sau raˑtõki tʌraḥ (biˑmaˑri ki ɛk raˑt sau raˑtke bərʌˑbər IUB.) aˑraˑmka sau saˑl ɛk raˑt maˑluˑm hoˑta hai. IUB.

27. likɛ dʌn ixərči.

A bribe breaks stones.

H. paisa (rišwʌt) pʌthər (muškil kaˑm) toṛta hai.

i. e. One who has money gets justice. Even if a ruler is just money dissipates difficulties. Money is the labourer and the ruler is the stone. Just as the labourer has to break the stone so the bribe renders the ruler amenable.

28. gu·imo mo·n gatu daltas jami·pe thoḋetum. 539X
Your own old clothes are better than others' new ones.
H. apna pura·na kapṛa γe·rkı na.ese aččha hai.
i. e. the dry scrape in your own house are better than eating bread by the means, or through the help, of others.

29. har niṭin hayuraṭı balda.
Slaughtering the ox (you have to put the?) load on the horse.
H. bailko ṛibaḥ karke gho·repar bo·jh.
i. e. some one who is well off as he is, gratuitously involves himself in some affair. Then when misfortune comes on him he remembers that he has himself to thank for it.

30. urk (uhurk Ś.Y.) mamu guṭhi·mi kı unı be·lis bi. Be·lis mamu akuṭhi kı unar urk bi.
If the wolf gives you milk it is your sheep. If the sheep does not give you milk it is for you a wolf.

31. huru·tum hik ṭıqar, di·um tha ṭıqar.
When sitting there is one shame, when standing up there is 100-fold shame.
H. baiṭhneka ek ḋarm, uṭhneka sau ḋarm.
Said when a man has got up to do something and is then unable to do it.

32. jamipe hunı, danı hayan.
Another's arrow, a stone target.
H. γe·rka ti·r patharka niṡa·n.
i. e. use other people's property as you please (without regard to the consequences to it).
(Presumably the arrow would be spoilt by being shot at a stone).

33. uṭ api kı, jamı taskı.
If there is no debt, draw the bow.
H. qarz nahī hai to kamа·n khi·nč.
i. e. If there is no debt due to you(?) then make use of other people's property.
The idea seems to be that you should not use your debtor's property, as if you damage it you are damaging what is really your own.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

34. ụt nerin galiṇ.

539K

Preparing the road after having despatched the camel.

H. unṭ gum karke (IUB. unṭko marke) rasta banana.

i. e. to do the wrong thing first and then think about it. The idea seems to be the same as in the English "shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted."

galiṇ, galiṇ are steps prepared with stones or cut in earth, such as might be prepared to enable a camel to ascend or descend a difficult bit of track.

nerin variously translated by Ś.Y. and IUB. seems to be the past participle active of *-aras 'to send' etc.

35. ji niṣ buṭar oniṣ!

May I lose my life, but not the kid!

H. jan jau, bakara na jau!

said of a stingy man: "May life go, but may not a penny of money be spent on good works."

V. Vocab. buṭar.

36. gus gorram manu ki thap açuçi (IUB. açuṣ?)

If your wife becomes distasteful to you, the night won't come (to an end).

H. biwi agar napasand ho, to rat xatm (na) hoga.

No translation or explanation by IUB.

Thap açuçi would ordinarily mean 'the night will not come', but in this and No. 37 Ś.Y. has taken it as meaning 'will not come to an end,' unless he uses the fut. with an optative sense.

In both, IUB. seems to have written açuṣ of which the probable meaning would be: (You say) "may the night not come."

37. gupaltiṇ omani ki sa açuçi (IUB. açuṣ).

If you have no trousers the day won't come (to an end).

H. pajama agar na ho to din xatm na hoga.

No translation or explanation by IUB. Cp. No. 36.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

38. γa gayu (*or*, gau.u) iltur numan i·mo gutaharas ke til e·lum juwan (*or*, γa·n "gayu iltur mayam" nusen . . .) 539x
Like the crow who imitated the partridge and forgot his own gait (*or*, a crow saying: "I will imitate etc. . . .)
H. kauwa čiko·rka ča·l čalkar apni ča·l bhu·lgiya.

39. gutise go·miš dantse yami ke, guri·ŋe go·miš guxater.
When your toe strikes a stone your finger (goes) to your mouth.
H. pa·ōki uŋgli pathərse lage to ha·thki uŋgli mūh mē.

40. Qirγiz astam o·mana·s! Seriqule astam mana·s!
Don't let us have Qirgiz justice! Let us have Seriqul justice!
H. Qirγiz ka inṣa·f na ho! Seriqu·l ka inṣa·f ho!
Said when a ruler favours the rich and no one does justice to the poor.

41. jamipe ne·ki eti ke, gu·imo bai.i.
If an outsider works good for you he is your own (relation).
H. agər γe·r ne·ki kare to te·ra hai.

42. gu·imo ne·ki ayeti ke, jamip bai.i.
If your own relation does not work good for you he is an outsider.
H. agər xe·š badi kare to te·ra dušman.

43. huye·ltərte mamu xabər, tsi·r ji·e xabər.
The herdsman is concerned about the milk, the goat is concerned about its life.
H. ču·pa·n du·dh ke fikrmē, bakri ja·nke fikrmē.
i. e. The ruler is concerned with collecting the revenue and the subjects are concerned with preserving their lives. Said when the people are dying of hunger and the ruler is pressing for the payment of revenue.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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Proverbs from other Sources.

44. ğuˈʌṭɛ uš̌ api kɛ jʌmiˈpɛ tobʌk yʌn.
    If your father has no debt get some one else's gun.
    i. e. borrow a gun and it will get broken and a claim will be made on your father.
45. hʌmʌlɛka čʌl apiˈ kɛ tsiˈr duˈmər.
    If you have no quarrel with your neighbour, buy a goat.
    i. e. if you want to pick a quarrel with a neighbour get a goat from someone else which will eat his vegetables (and so exasperate him).

[P. 399 contains no textual material - Analyst]

WERCHIKWĀR TEXT.

No. I.

How The Parrot Escaped.

010 Tsoʷr zamaʷna.ulo hɛn saudaʷgərʌn baʷstimi. Nɛ hʌn toʷti.ɛn baʷstimi. Nɛ haʷlɛ berum mʌšquli kha berum bərin̥ ɛčum tsɪq nɛ toʷti.e. Berum aušin̥ di.a kɛ sɛ bərin̥ kha mʌšquli ɛčum tsɪk.

Hɪkulto nɛ hir Hɪndustaʷna saudaγa rahi (*or*, rʌhi) ɛti. Nɛ haʷla
5 e.i bum, nɛ us bum, nɛ ye bʌm. Čɪkɛ sɛnʌn kɛ: "Uʷn̥ Hɪndustaʷnum miγa hai.ʌn dits." Nɛ saudagəre uyoʷnɛγa "Šuʷa" sɛni. Nɛ hir rʌhi nɛt hɛkha (*or*, hɛʷqa) duʷsi ka nɛ totiʷe nɛγa qau ɛti, "Jʌγa bo hai.ʌn dišuma?" Nɛ sɛni, "Un̥ čɛn, goγa bo hai.ʌn dišʌm?" Nɛ toti.e sɛni, "Jʌγa tɛ hai.ʌn, Hɪndustaʷn šaihrule
10 gʌla ka ja yaʷr toti Hɪndustaʷn drʌxt yɛt biʷɛn. Ja yɛkultsum tsɛγa sʌlam ɛti." Nɛ hir "šu.a" nusɛnin gʌli.

Berum dɛn gutsʼəri, berum hisa gutsəri, axər Hɪndustaʷnɛ dɛšqʌlti. Ikʼərɛ bazaʷrule sauda yɛni. Iʷa bo haʷjati dul̥um ka drust puʷra yɛni. Iʷa hʌpʌγa bo hai.ʌn yaiyum bʌš dul̥um ka yɛni. Niʷa iʷlja
15 rʌhi ɛti. Rʌhi nɛt dərʌxtʌn yaʷr diʷnin naʷltsɛ hurʼuʷti. Nuʷhrut

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As all the principal grammatical forms are entered in alphabetical order and explained in the Vocabulary, they are not as a rule referred to in these notes.

This and Text No. II were recorded, with the assistance of Mehtarjan Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasīn, from the dictation of Hidāyat Shāh of Thū.i, Yasīn.

The actual stories were said to have been provided by a Yasīni who had lived in Kābul where he had heard them.

2, 3 *mʌšquli* and *bərin̥* — these words were glossed as "business and affairs", but they can, I think, also bear the interpretation I have given them in the succeeding line.

TRANSLATION.

No. I.

How The Parrot Escaped.

In early times there was a trader. He had a parrot. The parrot used to transact much of the affairs and business in his house. Whatever guests came it used to do the talking and entertaining. 539x

One day the man set out for India for trade. In his home there was his daughter, there was his wife and there was his son. They all said to him: "Bring us a present from India." To all of them the trader replied: "Very good." As the man was starting off and went out into the entrance, the parrot called to him: "What present will you bring for me?" "You (are a) bird," said the man, "what present am I to bring for you?" "When you go to the Country of India," replied the parrot, "my fellow parrot(s) are on the tree in India, greet them from me. That is my present."

"Good," said the man, and took his departure. Some years passed, some months passed; at last he arrived in India. He bought merchandise for himself in the bazar. All his needs he acquired complete and entire. All the presents that had to be got for his family he procured. Having procured them he started off back. On his way, coming to a tree he sat down in its shade. Sitting

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3 *aušiŋ di.a* — is singular, which goes oddly with *berum . . . ks.*

6 *hai.ʌn dits* — note the use of *d*-tsʌs* with a y object, and similarly of *yʌnʌs* in line 14.

14 *bo hai.ʌn yaiyom bʌš dulom ka . . .* — is an imitation of the Khowār idiom: *kovriko bʌš* (*šev*), 'it is necessary to do it', 'it is to be done'.

010 tsɛ totimu tɛ dəraxt yʌtɛ huru·čam bi·ɛm. Mai.aγa se toti.e tɛ bər nɛ hi·rɛ ɛski di·a. Tsura se tɛ salam tsɛ to·timuγa 'ɛti. 'Ečа tsɛ čik sust man'ɛn. But tsɛ ɛs taŋ man'i. Tsɛ hərаŋ sɛ han kat nyu·al yu·ri. Yu·rča nɛ hir but pešman mani. "Gutɛ salam gutsɛ·γa
5 aiyečam tsɪq kha šu·a du·ḏum, gusɛ ai.eyu·rčum tsɪq."

To·lum nɛ hir raehi nɛt berum waxta i·a ha·lɛ d'ɛšqalti. D'ešqalt u·ɛ čika hai.an uč'i. Učiča sɛ toti.e nɛγa doγ'ərusi ki "Ja te hai.an bɛltum ɛt'a?" Se.a ne hire tai.i sɛni ka "Go· tɛ salam ja tsɛ·γa ɛča tse čik taŋ man'ɛn. Han tsɛ hərаŋgum khat nyu·al yu·ri."
10 Təi.i sɛnas nɛ hi·re ha·le se to·ti ke yu·ri. Yu·rča i·a i·aγa "Se nitsu lip ɛt" sɛni·. Se.a nɛ se nitsu ho·la lip 'ɛti. 'Ečа sɛ to·lum jando nima du·w'al gali.

Ni Hindusta·n tɛ šahrule d'ɛšqalti. Dɛšqalča to se yu·rum to·ti akulum ni·ɛm seγa təi.i sɛni kə "Ja akər sust ɛta ka goγa išа·ra
15 mani, u·ŋ ka ja a·ltulum gukər sust 'ɛti. 'Eta ka u·e u·ŋ lip go·čuman. Go·tɛn ka u·ŋ ka təi.iya duwal ak'o gutɛ šahra d'ɛšqalčuma."

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2 *eski* — *-ki* was explained as meaning "in", but there is no other evidence of the existence of such a suffix. It suggests the idea, however, that the Bu. *-*ʌski* is to be taken as a Locative, and that *-*ʌs* may represent an original *-*ʌsk*.

3 *but tsɛ ɛs taŋ mani* — *tsɛ* is to be taken as the genitive: 'the heart of them became much distressed'.

se hʌn — 'that one'. The parrot probably referred to a particular parrot, the natural rendering of *ja yə·r to·ti* in line 10 page 400. The following *bi.ɛn* is probably a slip for *bi*, or due to a confusion of statement.

5 *aiyečam tsɪq kha* — I know of no other example in W. or Bu. of the use of the conditional particle (*tsɛ*, *tsɪq*) in the protasis of a conditional sentence. *kha*, *ka* is the ordinary conditional particle of the protasis, 3. *ka*.

The second *tsɪq* is doubtless applicable to *du·ḏum* as well as to *ai.eyu·rčum*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

down (he saw that) those parrots were perched on the tree. This being so the saying of the parrot came to his mind. On its coming to his mind he conveyed its greeting to those parrots. On his doing this they all became unconscious. They were very much distressed. That one among them (which was the parrot's friend) fell down and died. On its dying the man was very repentant (for what he had done). "If I had not conveyed this greeting to them," he said, "it would have been well, this one would not have died." 539*

Thence, proceeding on his way in the course of some time the man arrived at his home. He gave them all the present(s). On his doing so the parrot asked him: "How did you do about that present of mine?" On its saying this the man replied: "When I gave them your greeting they all became unconscious, and one among them falling down, died." On his speaking thus the parrot in the man's house also died. On this the man said to his son: "Take it away and throw it out." The son took it away and threw it out. When he did so it came to life and flying away departed thence.

It came to the Country of India. There the parrot who had died spoke thus to the one that had gone from here: "When I made myself unconscious it was a sign to you: 'Make yourself unconscious like me. If you do so they will throw you out. When they have thrown you out, you too in like manner flying off will arrive here in this country.'"

No. II.

The Silent Princess.

Qadi·m zama·na.ule hɛn badša·n ba·stimi. Inɛ tɛmɛn aula·d apa·stuman, hɛn eyɛn bu.astumo. Ne eye bərin ai.et'a·stumo. Badša sɛni ka "Mɛnɛ ja kum'o ai.i dumo·akal bərin ɛtan ka ja kumo nɛya u·čam. Mɛnɛ bərin m'oča aiyomanɛn ka u·'ɛ uy'ɛtis oskərčam." Kutɛ wayda yɛtɛ but badšatinɛ uy'u· bərin moča aiy'umanɛn. U·ɛ čikɛ uyætišo o·skərčai.i.

Axər hɛn badša yɛn kutɛ dawa nɛti di.a. Inɛ γərɛ han bərin ɛtas bu·lya bim. Sɛ bu·ly'a badša yɛγa sɛni, "Jɛ bo hikmatulo mo dumo·wakal bərin mo.ɛčam. U·ŋ hawel ha·lɛ gala ka jɛ hinulɛ di.ečam. U·ŋ hinə doγ'arisa ka ja go·γa jawa·b ɛčam." Tai.e sɛnas badša ye ha·lɛ gali. Sɛ bu·lya di te hinulo huru·ti. Badša ye h'inaγa doγarisi, "Badša 'eye bo bərin ja ka·t ai.e·čum bo. U·ŋ bo ja mašqul 'ɛti." Hinɛ sɛni "Jɛ u·ŋ bo mašqul g'učam. Ja a·ltumalči kamrenan qisa du·a, tɛ goγa ɛčam." Təi.i nusɛni hinɛ sɛni:

Tsor zama·na.ulo hɛn badša·an bam. Nɛ badša iake yu bam.

See the introductory note to No. I.

1 *temen* — is probably not a phonetic variant for *tuman* (especially in the light of *thum* in l. 20. p. 412) but *ti* + *men* cp. Bu. 2. *thi*.

3 *domo·akal* — cp. line 9. The verb perhaps only means 'to make one do something'. It was glossed Khow. *čake*.

Khow. *čake.i*, *čake* is the ppa. of *čake·ik* 'to fix', 'fasten', but is also used to denote the agency or instrumentality of another person: *hatayo čake hai.a kormo korevim* 'I will make him do this job'.

The principal verb is here itself causative, so that the idiom seems closely to resemble l. 9 *mo domo·wakal bərin mo·čam*.

4 *u·čam* — is equivalent to Bu. *yu·čam* (pn. pf. *i-* + *u·čam*).

No. 11.

The Silent Princess.

In ancient times there was a king. He had a daughter, there were no other children. His daughter did not talk. The king said: "Whoever makes this daughter of mine talk and converses (with her) I will give her to him. Whoever are unable to make her talk I will cut off their heads. On these terms many kings' sons failed to make her talk. He cut off all their heads. 539*

Finally a king's son arrived on this quest. He had with him a talking monkey. The monkey said to the king's son: "By some device I shall make her talk and converse. If you go first to the house I shall stand in the door. Then if you address a question to the door I shall answer you." On its saying this the king's son went to the house, and the monkey came and sat inside the door. The king's son addressed the door: "The king's daughter will not talk with me. Do you entertain me in some way." The door (i. e. the monkey) said: "I will entertain you. There is a story in my ear(s), I will tell it to you." So saying the door proceeded:

In early times there was a king. The king had three sons. At

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3 *mene . . . ełan ka . . . nεγa* — grammar and sense require the ag. *menene . . . ełi ka.*

-13 *wγ bo ja mašqul ełi* — the exact sense and translation are uncertain.

13 *g'učam* — is probably for *gočam*, since *wγ* is not in the dative as it would be with **-ωγas*, but why then is it *'ełi* and not *ωł(s)* in the preceding sentence?

14 *kamrenan* — I cannot explain this word, but it is probably *kam* ('a little') + *ren* + *an*('*a*'). It is glossed "a little (amount of story)". Cp. perhaps Kho. *kamro.*

Han waxtulo badša but aulum mani. Yu.e senan ka "Uŋ a·ulum gumana, miγa bo nasi.at 'eti." Badša seni kε "Jε maγa bo nasi.at εčam. Ja aiyu·rum tseči fəla·ni jaγa či ja dust badša·n bai.i. Nε pači ne.in." Nuxat badša yu·ri.

Nε yu nε badša nε dust pači galen. Nε badša doγarisi, "Ma tati maγa bo ɪzzat 'ε·tɪt bam?" Ne nyu i·e seni, "Ja tati hər gučačum kenər jaγa tu(w)'a ai.a·rεki ai.εtɪki ε·tɪt bam." Mačukuša duγariša nε seni, "Ja tati hər pako ke·na hər saxtε pako jaγa εčum tsɪq." Da nε εčuγ'una doγariša nε seni, "Ja tati jaγa hər gunts jaγa toš gatuŋ εčum tsɪqε."

Gutε bərin yεtε badša i·a waz'ira seni, "Ko(w)ε·γa gutε zaila adab 'et." Gunčatε badša yu tsura badša nyu ye·γa doγ'arisi, "Go tati waxt ju·a goya·rɪki goyætɪki gyi·ena?" Nε seni, "Awa təi.i.a gi·en, magam šenjan ai.a·rε waši.en. Tε sabab yatε mušaqqat amana."

Badša we· sesa mos mani ka, "Nε ya·rε šenj besa waši.en?" U·ε senan ka "Mi ni·γan gum ba·n. Bo šenj ai.e·wεšim ba·n." Badša nε ya·rɪki γaiya hen sesan e·ri. Nε ni· γani ka nε ya·rɪki y'εtε han b'u·ran ba·stimi. Ho badša lel εti kinε but nazukan b'a·stimi ka han b'u·ran ne·γa šenj e·γ'ai.ɪni.

Da mačukus y'εγa duγarisi, "Go·γa šu.a pako guy'ena?" Nε seni, "Pako šu.a bim ka b'εlisa mamu xair di·a." Badša pako εtas deγərisi, "Belɪsε mamu besε t(h)im bam?" Nε nu·ltε seni, "Belɪsε mamu apim, magam tsɪgir yu·rča du nitsu belɪs ya·rε d'εsmai.ina. Sε du belɪs ya·rε dusmai.ɪni. Sε du tsɪgur maiya·wa sε du maltašε isput εtam bam.

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15 *mos mani ka* — a verb of "saying" is understood before *ka*.

16 *ni·γan gum ba·n* — cp. l. 7 p. 408 *nuγa·nin*. It is doubtful whether the vowels following the *n-* are the pn. pf.s *i-* and *u-*.

In Bu. *gum ba·n* (*guyas*) would imply a pl. *h* or *x* object, but here the logical obj. is *ya·rɪki yætɪki* which is *y*. This would be suitable for *ni·γan* if the *-i-* is the pn. pf.

20 *šu.a bim ka . . . xair di.a* — probably, "if it was good", "though it was good".

22 *nu·ltε* — the *u·* can scarcely be the pn. pf. *u-*. It must simply be a stop-gap vowel. We must on all analogies presume an original verb **-lteyas* which lost the **-l* when it occurred initially, giving *te(y)en* (l. 6 p. 408), but retained the *l*, while giving up the pn. pf., in *nu·ltε*.

Cp. the similar phenomenon in Bu. 2. and 3. *taiyas* and 1. and 2. **-ltaiyas*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

one time the king became very ill. His sons said: "You have become ill. Give us some good advice." "I will give you some advice," said the king. "After I am dead, there is, at such and such a place, a king who is my friend, go to him." Having said this, the king died. 539*

His sons went to that friend of the king's. The king asked them: "What honour used the king (your father) to do you? The eldest son said: "My father at every bedtime used to provide new under and upper bedding for me." When he enquired of the middle son the latter said: "At every food-time my father used to provide every kind of food for me." Then on his asking the youngest son he replied: "Every day my father used to provide new clothes for me."

On (hearing) these statements the king said to his wazir: "Pay them attention on these lines." When the king's sons came up in the morning the king asked the eldest son: "Did they put down under and upper bedding as in your father's time?" "Yes," said he, "they did so in like manner, but they put a beam under me. For that reason I was uncomfortable."

The king was angry with the men (saying): "'Why did you put a beam under him?" "We watched what we were doing when we spread (his bedding), and we did not put any beam (in it)." The king sent a man to examine the bedding and when he went and looked there was a hair on the lower bedding. Then the king perceived that the prince was a very sensitive person since a hair seemed to him like a beam.

Then the king enquired of the middle son: "Did they give you good food?" "The food was good," said the youth, "but there came from it an odour of sheep's milk." The king asked the cook: "Why had you put in sheep's milk?" He took oath and said: "There was no sheep's milk. But the (mother) goat died and they took the kid and reared it under a sheep. The kid was reared under a sheep, and when it became a (full-grown) she-goat I had

24 *dusmai.rni* — glossed: "it was reared", but the form is difficult to explain.
se du . . . stam bam — *du* is probably the object, *maltais* being either the general oblique with instrumental or sociative force, or else the genitive dependent on *ispot*.

000 Albat-sɛ bɛlisɛ xer maltašɛ di·m du·a." Badša nɛ mačukuš ye hušya·ri but akiš tsani.

Da nɛ ɛčuɣ'una doɣariši, "Go·ɣa šu.a gatuŋ g'o·w'ɛl̲ɛna?" Nɛ sɛni ka "Gatuŋ šu.a bim, magam tɛ makuči hukkuku·rišo bim."
5 Badša i·a sɛs doɣarisi ka "Hukkuku·rišo besa gum bam?" Nɛ sɛs te(y)ɛn ka "Mi bo hukkuku·rišo ai.e·gum ba·n." Da badša hukəm 'ɛti, "Nama nɛ gatuŋ ɣa·nin." U·ɛ nuɣa·nin ka han hukkuku·rišo han tanɛn ne gatuŋ makučo bim. Badša nɛ te nazuki ni·ɛts hairan mani.

10 Ho hiŋ badša ye·ɣa sɛni, "Uŋ jaɣa jawa·b dɛl̲ ki u·ɛ hərar̲ŋ mɛn but nazuk ka huši.a·r bam?" Ho badša ye sɛni "Albat 'ɛčuɣun but huši.a·r ka nazuk bam."

Gutɛ bər yatɛ badša nɛ bəriŋ ai.'itas e.i sɛno ka "Be·s, nɛ badša nyu· yɛ but nazuk ka huši.a·r ba·stimi ka han buran ne·ɣa šɛnj
15 ya·nis desali."

Momu gutɛ bər ɛčumɛ saxɛn badša muya mo.i nɛɣa u·i.o.

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1 *di·m du·a* — is perhaps not for the 3rd. sg. *y* perfect of *žo.as* (*di·m du·a*), but two independent words: "Having come is there".

7–8 *han . . . han* — the first probably also refers to *tanɛn* and so is tautological.

10 *mɛn* — must here be singular.

16 *badša muya mo.i nɛɣa u·i.o* — this is glossed "gave his daughter to him" but this would require *badša* to be feminine. The last words would normally mean "she gave her own daughter to him".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

made the kid into *isput* with ghee. The odour of the sheep must have got into the ghee." The king marvelled at the perceptiveness of the middle son.

Then he enquired of the youngest: "Did they give you good clothes to put on?" "The clothing was all right," replied he, "but in the middle of it there was a thorn." The king asked his men: "Why did you put thorns in the clothes?" They took oath (saying). "We haven't put any thorns in them." Then the king gave orders (saying): "Go and examine his clothes." And when they examined them, there was a single point of a single thorn in the middle of his clothes. The king marvelled when he saw his delicacy.

Then (having told this story) the door said to the king's son: "You answer and tell me which of them was the most delicate and perceptive?"

"Assuredly the youngest" replied the king's son, "was the most perceptive and delicate."

At these words the non-talking daughter of the king said: "No. The king's eldest son was the most delicate and perceptive, since a hair appeared to him like a beam."

By reason of her saying this the king's (daughter) gave herself (to the prince).

No. III.

The Prodigal Son. (Luke XV, 11 ff.)

Da· nɛ sɛni: Hɛn hi·tanɛ alt'an yu bam. U·ɛ hərang ɛčuγon yɛ tatiγa sɛni, "Lɛ tati, maltsum be·rum ba·go ja·γa dɛšqalčum bi ka jaγa a·u." Nɛ tati i·a mal i duni.a u·ɛγa pfaki.

Da bu·t mudda ai.igali ɛčuγon yɛ i·a kul daulat jama nɛtɛ matan mulkɛnə r'ahi 'ɛti, to i·a malh šu·m duro.uδlɛ 'ɛspalu.i (*or*, de·me·yi).

Da bɛ·ša čiq xərj ɛti ho tɛ batanulɛ saxt dəγanj mani. Nɛ halɛ·s mahta·j man'iš tai.i. Da· tɛ batanulɛ hɛnɛ ha·lɛ gali. Nɛ hi·tɛ nɛ halɛ·s i·a malulɛ hu·kišu ya·rča 'e·ri. Nɛ halɛ·sɛ ərma·n dulum, "Tsɛ hu·kišu mukakɛ k'ošišu šučum bi.ɛn ka jɛ· ka tse yætɛ au.ul hɛ·k ɛčam." Magam mɛnɛ aiyu· aiyu· bam.

Da nɛ hıles hu·šulɛ di sɛni, "Ja tati be·rum bu·t mazdu·rišuγa but pha·ko dɛšqalčum bi. Jɛ ak'o čamɛnɛ aiyu·rčam ba. Ja di·ɛ aiya tati ɛ·paiya tsəra·m. Da nɛγa s'iyam, 'Lɛ tati, ja aiyaš kha

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This version of the "Prodigal Son" was made by Bahādur Amān Shāh of Yasīn, and was written down and dictated to me by Mehtarjan Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasīn, whose vernacular transcript is in my possession.

pfaki — this word also occurs in the same passage in the LSI. version of the Prodigal Son, but has not been otherwise recorded.

The use of the dative with it suggests that the meaning is "allotted" or "assigned"

4 *nɛtɛ* — The vernacular Ms. has *nɛt*.

5 *de·me·yi* — is the vernac. Ms. reading.

7 *maniš tai.i* — this and the similar *de·γeressiš tai.i* (l. 14 p. 412) are each in the vernacular Ms. and in my own Ms. written as one word. I similarly wrote *hi·li·ki·ništai* where the vernac. Ms. has *hi·li·ki·niš ta·i*. On the other hand I have *stiš taï(y)ɛn* where the vernac. Ms. has *stišta·ɛn*. V. ll. 19 & 12 p. 412.

No. III.

The Prodigal Son

Then he said: A man had two sons. The younger son of them 539*
said to his father: "O father, give me whatever portion of your property comes to me." The father apportioned his property among them.

Then a long time had not passed (when) the younger son, collecting all his possessions, set out for a distant country. There he lost (*or*, wasted) his property in evil work.

When he had expended all, then there occurred a severe famine in that country. The youth began to be in want. Then he went to the house of a man in that country. The man sent the youth into his field(s) to feed the swine. The youth's desire was that "I also may fill my belly with the husks the swine eat," but none used to give (anything) to him.

Then the youth coming to his senses said: "To how many hired servants of my father does much food come, (while) I am dying here of starvation. Getting up I shall go to my father and shall say to him: 'O father, I have become guilty in the sight of heaven and in your eye(s), and now I have not remained worthy of this

---

I think there is no doubt that these forms represent combinations of two words which are, however, closely correlated in pronunciation.

9 *mukʌkɛ* — this word, of which the meaning is unknown, does not appear in the vernac. Ms. which has *bo* in its place. *bo* seems to be necessary in any case. Perhaps, *mukʌk* = Bu. *bukʌk*, 'beans'.

12 *phaʿko* — cp. *pʌko* l. 8 p. 406. The vernac. Ms. has *pʌqo*, which is also recorded by Morgenstierne in unpublished notes.

000 go gulčinuḷɛ gunahgaʷr amana, amʼutuk gutɛ lai.aquḷɛ ʼataw'asa go guyɛʷ siyam. Ja guʷya mazduʷrišu žu.a aʷt.'"

Iʷlji nɛ diʷɛ iʷa tati ɛʷpai.a gali. Nɛ halɛʷs matan iʷa bam. Nɛ halɛʷs nʼi.ɛtsə nɛ tati ɛʷs γoʷli. Nuhuʷni nɛ yɛ iʷa ɛʷši.ʼaʷra dʼɛli, 5 ho bah ɛti. Yɛ nɛʷ tatiγaʷ sɛʷni, "Iæ tati, ja aiyaš kha go gulčinuḷɛ gunahgaʷr amʼana. Amʼutuk gutɛ lai.aquḷɛ ataw'asa da go guyɛ siʷyam."

Tati iʷa duʷlušuγa seni, "Šuʷaʷtsum šuʷa gatʼunzišu duʷyeša nɛʷγa ɛʷwɛʷliṇ. Nɛ halɛʷsɛ eʷmiša baroʷndu ʼɛʷdiliṇ. Huʷtiša kau.nšumo 10 ʼeʷltai.iṇ. ʼUʷšim boʷšo diʷtsə bɛʷsmɛl ɛʷtiṇ. Mi niʷši xušaʷni ɛʷčan. Boʷta siʷya ja kiʷnɛ aiyɛ yuʷrum bam, amʼutuk žando mani. Waʷlum bam amʼutuk daʷγaši." Ho wɛ xušaʷni ɛtiš tai(y)ɛn.

Magam nuʷ iyɛ maḷulɛ bam. Baša nɛ diʷa asuʷr dʼɛʷšqalti ɛʷγərčum kha γərin ɛčumɛ hawaʷza deʷli. Hɛn halɛʷsan nyu dɛʷγɛrɛsʼiš tai, 15 "Gutɛ bo maiyuʷm duwʼa?" Nɛ nɛʷγa seni, "Go goʷčo diʷm baiʼi. Go tati uʷšim boʷšo bɛsmɛl ɛtum baiʼi. Gutɛ gandi ka nɛ taʷza tandurust dʼɛʷγaši."

Nɛ ɛʷtčo moʷs mani, uʷlə tsəraʷγa rai aiyɛti. Magam nɛ tati hoʷḷɛ niʷ nɛ hiʷlikiʷniš tai. Nɛ iʷa tati tɛ boruḷɛ seni, "Ґaʷn, akuʷrum 20 dɛntsum iʷlja go xɪsmat ʼɛčam ba. Baša goʷ hukəmtsum thum (*or*, thum) aiyʼɛʷtam ba. Magam uʷṇ jaʷγa baša kha tsigiʷtɛ duʷan aiyaum ba, aiya duʷstišuγa xušaʷni ɛčam tsik. Magam baša go

---

1 *gulčinuḷɛ* — here and in line 5 the vernac. Ms. has *nazivuḷɛ* (l is not distinguished in the script from l).

lai.aquḷɛ — also line 6. The locative suffix, which appears in the vernac. Ms., suggests that the word is regarded as a noun. In a similar idiom Kho. uses the locative form *lai.sqa*.

4 *nʼi.ɛtsə* — the vernac. Ms. has *niʼats*.

8 *duʷyeša . . . ɛʷwɛʷliṇ* — the vernac. Ms. has this and the following imperatives in the singular, *ɛʷwɛʷal* etc. In these circumstances *duʷyeša*, (vernac. Ms. *duyuʷša*), v. Vocab. s. v., may be the imperative sg. of a verb *duʷyešai.as* (*dʼ-ešai.as*). More probably it is the p. p. act.

The exact force of *nɛʷγa ɛʷwɛʷliṇ* is obscure. It cannot mean "cause him to put on", nor "cause them to be put on to him". It is probably a simple transitive with a 3rd. person beneficiary: "put them on to, *or*, for, him" *ɛʷ-* referring to the prodigal.

that I should call (myself) your son. Make me like your hired servants.' 539*

After this, getting up, he went to his father. The youth was still a long way off (when) his father seeing him his heart burned (i. e. was moved). Running he put his son under his neck (i. e. embraced him) and kissed him. The son said to his father: "O father, I have become guilty in the sight of heaven and in your eye(s), (and) now I have not remained worthy that I should again call (myself) your son."

The father said to his servants: "Take out the best of clothes and put them on him, (and) put a ring on his finger and put shoes on his feet and fetch the fatted calf and slay it, that eating it we may make merry. If you ask why, (i. e. because) this my son had died and now has come to life. He was lost and now he has returned to me." Then they began to make merry.

But the elder son was in the field. When he came back and approached near he heard the sound of playing music and singing. The elder son enquired of a lad: "What is this that is going on?" The lad replied to him: "Your brother has come back and your father has slain the fatted calf, for this reason that he has returned to him safe and sound."

The brother was angry and would not go in, but his father going out began to entreat him. He, (replying) to his father's words said: "Lo, since how many years do I serve you? Never have I done anything contrary to your command, but you have never given me even a goat's kid that I might make merry with my friends. But when this son of yours has returned, this son who

---

10 *ditso* — vernac. Ms. *dits*.

13 *nur iye* — vernac. Ms. *nur ye*.

19 *bovle* — a curious use of the locative. Cp. the Bu. *menelo* ‖ *menale ovan* 'dont say to anyone'.

22 *aiyanum ba* — 2nd. sg. perfect, "thou hast not given to me". The vernac. Ms. has 2nd. sg. pret. *ayawayar*.

dwstibeya — this dative is probably wrong. The vernac. Ms. has *dwstibeyga* (or, -*ega*), where -*ega* or -*ga* apparently means "with".

ki·nɛ guyɛ diya, ki·nɛ gu·yɛ go mal i dunya šu·m du·ro harəŋ
ɛ·spaḷu.i, nɛ gandi u·ŋ u·šim bo·šo bɛsm'el 'ɛta."

Nɛ tati nɛ·γa seni, "Aiyɛ, u·ŋ hami·ła ja apaiya ba, bo ła bi·
ka go gu·i.a bi. Magam xuła·ni ɛčum kha xuła·n gumaiyum muna·sib
5 duḷum, bo·ta siya go ki·nɛ go·čo yu·rum bam amutuk žando mani,
wa·lum bam amutuk dim'ɛ·γaši·."

3 apaiya — the vernac. Ma. has ɛyɛ·i.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

has lost your property in evil work, you have slain the fatted calf for him." 5394

His father said to him: "My son, you are always with me. Whatever is mine is yours. But it was right for you to make merry and rejoice, since this your brother had died, and now has come to life, he was lost and now has returned to us."

[P. 416 is blank - Analyst]

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CORRIGENDA.

BURUSHASKI TEXTS.

Page		Line				
33		3	for	‹rnada ol›	read	‹rnad ta›.
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
43		6	»	alyowkwtalmi	»	alyowkwt-imi.
64		4	»	ßuw	»	SSuw.
76		18	»	N'awwain	»	N'awwäin.
82		17	»	Galtig	»	Ґaltig.
84		1	»	hai i	»	hai.i.
		18	after	ɟeo	insert	ɟu.an ne.
90		22	»	etimi	»	ifaiiyate hawa etimi.
98	note 11		for	[illegible]	read	-ate.
130		14	after	hai	insert	ette.
140		14	for	hen ha	read	henka.
194	» 1	6	»	dwäi	»	dwäa.
224		8	»	mwte	»	mwte.
228		11	»	hatwrm	»	hatwrm.
246		15	»	nanwinrew	»	nanwinrew.
249		13	»	. . . them	»	. . . them, and then let us beat them.
256		11	»	ußwßan	»	ußwßan.
262		8	after	aly'vuqalyan	insert	a full stop.
276		7	for	cwaldale	read	cwaldale.
280	» 5		»	pmewien	»	pulewi.en.
281		10	»	daughber	»	daughter.
288		5	»	Faqat	»	Faqat.
314		1	»	ßrawj nawna	»	ßrawqnawna.
318		8	»	gizami	»	gizalai.
336		6	»	jawayo	»	jawayo.
374		5	»	alywtimi	»	aly'wtimi.
382		1	»	this	»	this.

4a Lectionar 1-3 (1930-4) 1934-5) 1936 AV7 Bernabo AV7

واليم إنه تمنيل

وا إنه سه بنبي بهوه سن برانه الثن يوبم -
أوا جم بنا إنه يورسه بني له أرزا - أوتگ مال جم به سن
بارگ لو ارجوچي لگ بوه سي - نه بهسر أوته ييمو مال
جلي أو غرگ أوتني - وابت گن چگ أونيم بوجت إنه يمو
له سن أو يون گني نه تن فتن خوهنم مگ نز گو چرسي -
وا تله ييمو مال خوني گني دوه بنه خرج نه بتي - وا به تله
أو يون خرج نه بتي گ - هو إنه ملگ لو ذگ چهمن بلتي
- وا ان بهاج إمانسر دبي - به سه كه اوقات بلتن
خرج نه تم - تي ديواسم - وا إنه ملگ بان هسروس برانه
ته له پنين ذلبي - إنه بهسه إنيسر ييمو ملگ لو خوس
شو أو ير چر نه يرسي - وا كهنه بهسه ارمان بلم به سي

Manuscript page containing the beginning of the Prodigal Son. Cf. Tests, p. 372.

[End plate]

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[For native texts and translations, see complete source, category 116.]

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INSTITUTTET FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

SERIE B: SKRIFTER

XXIX,3

LT. COL. D. L. R. LORIMER:
THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE

OSLO 1938
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CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
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[p II]

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INSTITUTTET
FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING 000

THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE

BY

LT. COL. D. L. R. LORIMER

VOL. III

VOCABULARIES AND INDEX

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[p. IV]

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PREFACE.

The following Vocabularies are based on the material collected in 1923—24, to which reference has been made in the Introduction, Volume I (pp. lvi. ff.), and were completed in 1930—31. 122 128

Thanks to assistance received from the Leverhulme Research Fund, I was able to revisit Gilgit and Hunza in 1934—35, and I then collected a considerable amount of new material.

Of this practically nothing has been incorporated in the present work. The additions, in the way both of new entries and of the elaboration of the existing entries, would have been considerable, and their preparation would have entailed great delay in publication. As matters stand I have not yet worked out the new material[1], and this has saved me from much temptation. 128

The revision of the *Burushaski—English Vocabulary* as it already existed, was, however, one of the many items of a too ambitious programme, which I did carry out, if only in a hasty and perfunctory way.

For this work I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Qudratullah Beg (QUB), son of Subadar Muhabbatullah Beg, a literate and extremely intelligent young man, with a remarkable feeling for language and the refinements of phonetics. [115]

A thorough examination of the forms, meanings and uses of the words in even this very modest vocabulary would have been a major task requiring an almost infinite amount of time. I had therefore 128 121

[1] Attention may, however, be called to a note on certain features of Burushaski, published in the BSOS Vol. VIII, 1936, pp. 627—636, which throws light on some grammatical and phonetic devices of the language.

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128 to restrict my aims to improving the phonetic representation of
121 the words, principally in regard to distinguishing cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates, and to clearing up doubts indicated by question marks in the original script, which chiefly related to noun-categories and to plural and pronominal-prefix forms, but also sometimes to meanings. Even these limited aims were not completedly realised; many forms and queries escaped notice or otherwise resisted determination.

128 One point resulting from this revision may be noted. The keyword as given in the Vocabulary, or the first form, where alternatives are offered, is the representation of the word, which from all information available I believe to be the correct one. Many words are misspelt, as regards cerebrals and aspirates, in the Grammar and Texts, which were in print before this revision was carried out. No attempt has been made to correct them in the quotations given in the Vocabulary. The reader is therefore asked to concentrate his mind on the keyword forms.

It will be observed that among the meanings given Arabic and Persian words frequently occur, to all which "H" (Hindustani) has been prefixed. This is for the sake of simplification and because explanations were usually given in Hindustani (or Urdu) in which these words are current.

Occasionally another Burushaski word is quoted under the description "Bu. Syn." (Burushaski Synonym). This is not to be taken as meaning that the one word exactly duplicates the other in meaning, but only that the second was used to explain the first.

This volume began to go to press while I was still in Hunza, and Professor Morgenstierne very generously undertook the unpleasant task of working my emendations into the earlier part of the script and revising the proofs of the first few sheets. This resulted in a very considerable saving of time.

I regret to have to append a lengthy list of corrections and additions. These are due in large part to the upsetting effect of growing knowledge and the alterations in the text which it entailed,

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For the rest I can only hope that they may be attributed to physical limitations rather than to economy of endeavour on my part. I have made a vast number of corrections in the proofs, but unfortunately this is a case where anything short of complete achievement acquires no merit. 128

I have made no effort to turn this into a comparative philological dictionary, a task beyond my competence, but I have aimed at indicating obvious loan-words, for the benefit of those who may approach Burushaski with a mininum knowledge of other oriental languages 121 192

The bulk of these loan-words will be found to be Arabic-Persian, i.e. Arabic words current in Persian, most of which have probably been acquired, more or less indirectly, from the latter language. 192

The original source of dissemination of Persian in all this part of the world has undoubtedly been the language of the Tajik population of the plains of what is now known as Tajikistan iu USSR territory. This Tajik Persian is now beginning to receive attention (Cp. W. Lentz, "Pamir Dialekte, I" Göttingen, 1933, Introd. pp. 31 ff. and H. Sköld, "Materalien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen", Lund 1936, Introd. pp. 8 ff.). Work has been done on it in recent years by Soviet scholars, but copies of their publications are not easy to obtain. [113]

What proportion of the Persian words recorded by me in Burushaski are familiar to all Burushaski speakers, I cannot definitely say. Illiterate and untravelled men and most of the women would not, I think use, or know, many Persian words for which there are adequate Burushaski equivalents. Against this, every child in Hunza seemed to know the word *taswi'r* for "photograph". It was a very old man who, when he had lost or damaged his portrait, asked if he could have another copy of the *girm'inum*, the "script".

Other non-adjacent languages which have been laid under contribution are Hindustani and Punjabi.

With Tibetan I have no direct acquaintance but I have noted a few words in Burushaski which can be found in the standard Tibetan dictionaries.

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Burushaski—English Vocabulary

192 Burushaski and the dialect of Tibetan spoken in Baltistan possess some words in common, and comparison has now been facilitated by the Vocabulary printed in A. F. C. Read's "Balti Grammar" [113] (RAS 1934), which became available to me only after the greater part of this volume was in print. A separate note on the subject is now appended, v. pp. 532—536.

192 Turkish and Eastern Turki stand in much the same position as Tibetan. They have contributed words to Burushaski, but I have 197 no personal experience of these languages, and have only indicated words that I happened to know or such as were readily traceable. The source of these borrowings has undoubtedly been the Eastern Turki spoken in Chinese Turkistan.[1]

On the other hand, coming to Burushaski's immedate neighbours, I have quoted all the parallels known to me in Shina, Khowar and Wakhi. Except where otherwise stated, these are furnished from my own collections.[2] This is a first step towards a comparison of the complete vocabularies of these languages — at present impossible owing to deficiency of material — which would yield some interesting results. We should learn for instance the extent to which the various vocabularies overlap, the nature and amount of borrowing by one language from another, and the area of survival or dispersion of Burushaski words, Burushaski being by hypothesis the original language of a much wider tract than it occupies at the present day.

I have made some attempt to illustrate the possibility of tracing the transference of grammatical devices and idiom within this group of languages in a paper which is due to appear in the "Transactions of the Philological Society" of 1937.

[113] [1] An examination of G. Raquette's "English-Turki Dictionary", Lund, 1927, reveals a very large number of Ar. Pers. words. Of the genuine Turki words there recorded very few are to be found in Burushaski.

[2] In the Kho. words the cerebrals and aspirates are probably fairly correctly marked. In Shina words many have probably gone unnoted. I have therefore quoted any forms given by Grahame Bailey which differed from mine. In Wakhi I could get no assistance in phonetics from my informants. I recorded cerebral ʈ̚, ʂ, ʐ and occasionally ʈ, but no aspirates, which proves little.

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Preface

Apart from indicating undoubted loan-words, often to me of unknown origin, which are shared by Burushaski with one or more of the neighbouring languages, I have made no attempt to pronounce on the authenticity of those words which *primâ facie* appear to be true Burushaski. Sanskrit cognates have been suggested for some of them by Professor Morgenstierne. 192 121

One important question remains to which I can give no precise or certain answer: What proportion do the Burushaski words in this Vocabulary bear to the total word-stock of the language? When I returned to Hunza in 1934 one of my hopes was to record sufficient new words to make my collection fairly complete as regards words in daily use and known to everyone. I was well aware that the still popular belief that peoples living in primitive conditions must possess simple languages and employ small vocabularies had been abundantly disproved by facts, but I had not realised what a lengthy business it is to collect and adequately record even a few hundred words after the first couple of thousand in constant daily use have been noted. How many new words I actually recorded I have no idea, but I am certain that they will go only a short way towards making the vocabulary complete. I could always easily get new words, the difficulty was to find time to have them elucidated and to write them down. 192

Burushaski possesses a large number of nouns of a technical nature relating to all the ordinary occupations of life, which, given time, can be ascertained by observation and enquiry, but it also appears to be very rich in verbs, aud these are not so easily and quickly discovered by any direct method.

The *Werchikwar—English Vocabulary* remains much as it was when it was originally compiled. In 1934—35 I made several efforts to bring Werchikwar-speakers to Hunza to work with me there, but failed to secure competent men. The principal result was disappointment and wasted time. Eventually I paid a visit to Yasin and found an old acquaintance, with whom I worked there and whom I brought back to Hunza and kept with me for a few 126

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126 weeks. Unfortunately I did not remember how full of uncertainties my Werchikwar Vocabulary was, and instead of revising it I spent all my time trying to obtain new material. From this, however, I have been able to fill in some details lacking in the original vocabulary.

128 The *English—Burushaski* and *English—Werchikwar Indexes*, prepared by my wife, are not to be taken as dictionaries, they merely give references to the occurrence of the English words in the preceding Vocabularies. These English words are not necessarily the exact equivalents of the vernacular words which follow them. These should therefore in every case be looked up.

EPILOGUE.

000 With this Preface to the last volume may be combined an epilogue to the whole work. The latter, concocted in the course of the years 1926—30 from material collected in 1923—24, passed on to the ordeal of printing, from which it now finally emerges. It has therefore been something of a preoccupation, almost continuously, for fifteen years, and has consumed a considerable amount of time and labour.

The expenditure of time and energy in routine work, or without definite objective, easily passes unnoticed and seldom arouses active regret. When there is, or ought to be, a definite result to show for it, we become critical, and we are specially apt to find the outcome of self-imposed, directed labour inadequate and unsatisfactory. We then realise that time passed is irrecoverable, and that energy expended is virtue that has gone out of us for ever.

The author of an imperfect work on Burushaski can therefore quote with humble fellow-feeling the sad case of Burzoë described by Ath Tha'ālibi in his "History of the Persian Kings."[1]

[1] Zotenberg, "Histoire des Rois de Perse", Paris, 1900, p. 630. The quotation is from the translation by Sir Denison Ross in the Foreword to Vol. V of the "Ocean of Story", edited by N. M. Penzer (privately printed by Charles Sawyer, London, 1924—28) p. vi. Typographical difficulties rule out the reproduction here of the original Arabic.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
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Burzoë (Buzurjmihr) was a learned doctor at the Persian Court who obtained permission from the King, Anushirwan, to proceed to India to search for a medicinal plant, of which he had read, which possessed the property of bringing the dead back to life. He went, and searched, and failed:

"Burzoë, avoiding no effort or fatigue, wore himself out in picking, collecting, sorting and combining these plants, so that he might have said with the people of Baghdad, 'We have continuously been busy with nothing at all, and now we have finished.' He experienced much grief and disappointment, because without attaining his object he had wasted his days . . . ."

But Burzoë's story continues to a happy ending.

Welwyn Garden City, Herts. *D. L. R. L.*
6th November 1937.

5; Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5)1935
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LIST OF CONTRACTIONS.

000 The sign § refers to paragraphs in the Grammar, Vol. I.

Plain numbers divided by a full stop (e.g. 106.20) refer to page and line of the Texts, Vol. II.

Ordinary contractions of common grammatical terms, which will be readily understood, have not been included here.

*-A., *-AI. *-AIAS.

*-AM. *-AMANAS.

Ar. Arabic.

Ar. Prs. Arabic current in Persian.

(Ar.) Prs. Arabic base + Persian suffix.

b. Shina *bowki*, to be, become.

Balti. Tibetan as spoken in Baltistan.

[113] Bhai Maya Singh. Author of "The Panjábi Dictionary", Lahore, 1895.

Biddulph, Col. J. Author of "Tribes of the Hindoo Kush", Calcutta, 1880.

The section on "The Boorishki Language" was reprinted, "corrected" in JRAS, Vol. XVI, Pt. 1, 1884.

Bu. Burushaski.

Bu. syn. Burushaski synonym, only in the sense that the second word was used to explain the preceding one.

Ca. Causative.

d.pl. Double plural. Cp. § 41.

Dum. Dumaki, the language of the Běricho of Hunza.

e., el. elas.

Eng. English.

EOL. E. O. (Mrs. D. L. R.) Lorimer.

E. Turk. Eastern Turki.

f. b. From bottom (of page).

f.n. Footnote.

[113] GB. T. Grahame Bailey ("Grammar of the Shina Language", RAS, 1924).

S: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
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List of contractions

Gh. Kh. Gushpūr Muḥammad Ghani Khān, v. Introd. p. lix.
GR. Rai Sāhib Ganpat Rai, Medical Assistant in Gilgit in 1923—24.
H. Hindustani, or Urdu.
h. Human Category. V. § 19.
hf. Human feminine.
hm. Human masculine.
Hz. Hunza, (Burushaski) as spoken in Hunza.
IUB. 'Ināyatullah Beg. V. Introd. p. lviii.
IYB. Jemadār Imām Yār Beg. V. Introd. p. lvii.
Kho. Khowār, the language of Chitrāl.
Leitner, G. W. Author of "The Hunza and Nagyr Handbook", Calcutta, 1889; and "Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893", Woking.
LSI. "The Linguistic Survey of India", Vol. VIII. Pt. II, Calcutta, 1919, containing accounts of the Dardic Languages and Burushaski.
m. [illegible]
*-m. *-[illegible].
Ma. Gushpūr Muḥammad 'Ali Khān, eldest son of Shāh Sikandar Khān, Mīr of Nagar. He died about 1923.
Mck. Major L. Mackenzie, I.M.S., Agency Surgeon, Gilgit, in 1923—24.
MMP. Khān Bahādur Munshi Muḥammad Masīh Pāl, Indian Assistant to the Political Agent Gilgit.
Morg. Professor Georg Morgenstierne.
Morg. Report. "Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan", by Georg Morgenstierne, Oslo, 1926.
N. Nagar, Nagir; (Burushaski) as spoken in Nagar.
n. Noun.
neg. Negative.
Nz. Nazar, a man of Aliabad, Hunza, for many years in the service of various Political Agents in Gilgit. V. Introd. p. lvii.
o.s. Oneself.
Pc. Participle.
Pn. Inf. Pronominal infix.
Pn. Pf. Pronominal prefix.
postpos. Postposition.
ppa. Past participle active
Prs. Persian.
Prs. H. Persian current in Hindustani, or Urdu.
Punj. Punjabi (i.e. Panjābi).
QUB. Qudratullah Beg, son of Subadar Muḥabbatullah Beg, of the family of Wazir Humāyūn Beg, resident of Baltit. Principal informant 1934—35.
Sh. The Shin's language.

Burushaski—English vocabulary

[113] Shaw, R. B. "On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhi and Sarikoli)", JASB Vol. XLV. Pt. I, No. II, 1876.

Shgha. The Shughni language.
s.o. Someone.
s.t. Something.
St. Pr. Static Participle.
ŠY. Mihtarjan Shāhzāda Yūsuf, formerly of Yasin. V. Introd. p. lviii.
T. Turkish.
th. Shina thorki, to make, do.
Tib. Tibetan.
Werch. Werchikwār, i.e. Burushaski as spoken in Yasin.
Wkh. The Wakhi language.
x. X category v. § 19.
y. Y category v. § 19.
z. Z category v. § 167.

[113] Zarubin, I. I. "Verchikhsoe Narechie Kandahutskogo Yazika". V. § 400.

Sir Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The alphabetical order followed in the Vocabulary is as follows: 194

Vowels: *a*, *ʌ* and *æ*, *ai*, *au*, *e* and *ε*, *i* and *ɪ*, *o* (including *ɔ* and *ɔ̃*), *u* and *ʊ* (and *ü*).

Consonants: *b*, *ḃ* (including *ḃh*, *ḃ* and *ḃh*), *d* and *ḍ*, *f*, *g*, *γ*, *h*, *j* and *ǰ*, *k* and *kh*, *x*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *p* (including *ph* and *pf*), *q*, *r*, *s*, *š* and *ṣ*, *t* (including *th*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*), *ts* and *tsh*, *w*, *y*, *ỷ* *ẓ* and *ẓ*.

An attempt was made to distinguish and separate *a* from *ʌ*, and *e* from *ε*. This I came to see was a mistake, but only when it was too late to rectify it, except in the Werchikwar Vocabulary, and in the Burushaski Vocabulary in the case of initial *e* and *ε*, which have been combined.

In many cases the differences between these sounds are accidental, due merely to stress, which may vary, and to other undiagnosed causes, and these variable sounds cannot be relegated to one category. In this connection see Professor Morgenstierne's remarks in his Preface, p. XX.

The alteration of some of these variable sounds in the course of revision necessitated the transference of a number of words in the Vocabulary. A few have been overlooked and are now out of their alphabetical place, e.g. *lalεr*. Attention has been drawn to these in the Corrigenda.

While vowels were over-differentiated, certain types of consonants which should have been distinguished, were treated as one. Cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates ought to have been kept separate, but I was originally too uncertain about many of the sounds to be able to give effect to this principle. Now, however, the initial keyword represents, in almost every case, the form of the word considered correct by QUB.

Internally, some effort was made to rearrange groups of otherwise similar words according to the presence or absence in them of cerebrals and aspirates (e.g. the entries *dam* and *ḍam*, *dεr* and *ḍεr*), but at the stage then reached practical considerations necessitated the abandonment of this procedure, with the

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194 result that series of entries such as *tham*, *ṭam*, *ṭam*, *ṭham*, have remained unadjusted.

The following remarks on a few of the vowel sounds supplement what is stated in § 3.

ɔ, representing the sound of English *awe* may some times be heard in a few words as a variant of *o*, e.g. *yowči*.

ô occurring medially in some monosyllables appeared to me to be a short and advanced *o*.

ü I now believe to be *u* pronounced with spread lips and the tongue somewhat retracted owing to the neighbourhood of *y*. The point of articulation is probably in advance of that of *u*.

BURUSHASKI—ENGLISH VOCABULARY.

a', a.

(See also under a).

500 **a-**, **a-** negative prefix used with verbs —, *ina amudzii* don't strike her. *ja jurē ayumaiye* Ja I cannot come. V. § 10 A §§ 332 ff.

a-, **a-** privative prefix v. **a-**.

a' (= *arē*) 2nd sg. Impv. of *°-atas* with 1st sg. Pn. pf.

abrd established in occupation of land, settled (in a country); inhabited, habitation; cultivated, prosperous, (of a country), populous. — *Mingurvolo Kirgiz abrd ham* the Kirgis were in occupation of Mingur. 290.5. *ārīlo rum Šindarlar durn abrd manamum* two tribes have come and settled in Shinshal. 272.1 & 13. *Raskamulo abrd ham* there was population in R., R. was inhabited. 274.5. *Hindi.e ale ēlo zamanamale ham abrd ham* in those times the people of Hindi were few, i. e. the population of H. was small 192.5. *Čuparan but abrd bilem* Ch. was thickly inhabited, very populous 280.1. *Hunzo but abrd maimi* Hunza will become very populous, or, prosperous 188.4. V. 200.9, 202.5, 272.1. Pm.

[p. 1]

000 *ebrdi* y. habitation. Pra.
erdamard h. human being 14.4. Pra.
erdat y. custom, habit; habit of mind, temper. — *qf.ara fa.as ina erdat ja.mirla* he has become addicted to eating opium. — *ha.a(yamikrf) erdatap hai i* he is good- (bad-) tempered. Ar.
erdil just; justice. — *hurt erdil h.am* he was very just 3.1. — *erdil atas hai i* he is a justice-doer, a just man. V. 88.7. Ar.
efur hm. effour. 344.19. Eng.
efut ruined (?), destroyed (?). — *ja efut amaiyam* I shall be ruined (?) 118.18. (Cp. Sh. & Kho. *ene'at*, ruined, destroyed. The meaning originally obtained, "put out, distressed, resentful", and adopted in the Translation is probably incorrect).
efura, *efure* y. sorrow, grief. — *efure atas yakki bila* it is right to grieve; *ja efure ata ha* I am sorry. Pra.
epen n. a circle, halo round the sun (or moon?). Pra. *marhala*. — *epen mali hi* a halo has appeared, formed (lit. fallen).
erh atas ICB to threaten, to intimidate, H. *dhamkana*; to prevent, H. *rokna*.
erima, *eima* my, my own. (Doubtful.

000 Only in Gh. Kh.'s ms. آخ مو). 880.17. V. § 143.2.

ajho, ajo an exclamation of pain, groan. *ajo ekme* crying out "ajo", groaning. 106.20.

aj'ersimi v. ياريسمز.

akermaz ungrateful. — *akermaz sizan ḫoli* he is an ungrateful fellow (*a* + *ḫemaz* q. v.).

akkorlo, akkorlo, akkolo here. 84.1. — *akorlotem, -otem, akolotem* hence 140.14. *akorlotem ḫiji* henceforth. *akorlum* from here. *ja kolum ajyetij* (or, *akwetij*) *ez akorlom ewi* don't go from here till I tell you, give you leave. (= *a* + *kk* + *w* + *alo*? (*a*)*kk*-proximate demonstrative).

Aktober October. 336.1. Eng.

akwlo in here, inside here. 84.14. S. λ. — (= *a* + *kk* + *wlo*? Cp. Werch. *kwlo* = inside).

akwwiki this much (?) S. λ. — *čap akwwiki gwoti* he will make your flesh for you into bits like this (indicating with the fingers) i.e. he will tear your flesh into little bits. 168.7. Cp. *akkorum*.

akkorum, akkoromaz, akkoromaz — Adj. Pn. as much as this; this much, all this; as many as this; so much, so many. — Adv. so (much as this). *H. rina.* — *akoromaz gabeg ḫoz mermi* this much cloth will be enough. *akoromaz yemez* so much gold. 88.6. *akoromaz pateemu? awere, akoromaz gatez ḫoiyam* had you seen this much? (or, all this?) Yes, I had seen all this. 88.2. *akorum dreuiplo ja weg aziimat ezje ḫo* for these many years I have been serving you. 374.7. *akkoromaz S.K.s ḫwimer semimi* at this point (= *koromaz*) S.K's said to his mother.

000 388.6. V. § 182. (*a* + *kh* + *u* + *r*, cp. *berumaɴ* how much? *be* + *r*. The *-r-* seems to denote "quantity".)

axavat, axirat, axarst the next life, the last day. — *axavatɛ* (or, *axarets*) *guntsvlo* at the last day. 58.25, 62.9. *axavatvlo* at the last day, in the next world (?) 58.26. *wuṇor axirate jakun amanṇal* may I be your donkey in the next world! 54.23. Ar.

axer, axev finally, in the end, at last, well then. 50,8, 1.9, 10.6. Ar.

axir kav in the end, eventually. 356.2. Ar. + Prs.

ax'ɔn ax'ɔn pl. *ax'ɔndɔro, axundɔro, axoyo* hm mullah, priest. 68.25, 302.14, 310.12 ff. Prs.

albat, albatta, alwatta certainly, for sure, surely, doubtless. 10.2, 108.11. 128.12. Ar.

alemum (Ns.) from there = *torlum*. S. λ. (cp. *ele* and *ale.i*).

alim hm learned man. 48.5. 68.21. Ar.

almari, -miṇ y cupboard, almirah. (Cp. N. *almaira*).

a'lta x form of *a'lto* q.v.

alt'a'ṇuts 8 days. 326.8. (*altam* + *kuts*).

altarts, a'ltats an x form of *a'lto* q.v. two. — *turma a'ltatsatsum talo xu tsir gu'čan* we shall give you from 12 (= 10 + 2) to 7 goats. 194.12. N. *altarts hayurints, kabarimuts, čandamuts* two horses, coats, pockets.

alt'am v. *altambo*.

altambi'lum, a'ltambilum eighth.

alt'ambo, a'lt'ambo (h,x,y), *alt'ambi, alt'am* (s), eight. — *altambo hiri, ha'kičaṇ* eight men, houses. *alt'ambi dan, hši* eight years, times. *alt'am kum* eight pairs, sets. *alt'am sa* eight months. *alt'a'ṇuts* eight days. *talo alt'ambu.an* 7 or 8 persons.

000

aˈltʌn h form of *aˈlto* q.v.

aˈltər (invariable), N. *aˈlther*, *ʌlther* twenty, a score. — *aˈltər hin, hʌn, hik* twenty-one (h, x y, z). *aˈltər hunčo* twenty-nine. *gutse aˈltər* these twenty (x things). *šʌdəršo aˈltərʌn* twenty followers. *aˈltər tovumo* thirty.

aˈltəvlum, N. *ʌltheriˈlum* twentieth.

aˈlto (y, z); *aˈlta, aˈliaˈts* (x); *aˈltʌn* (h); *aˈlto, aˈlti* (z) two. *aˈltʌn hiˈri, gušingents* two men, women. — x *aˈlta hʌγurišo, tsir, šuqamuts* two horses, she-goats, chogas. — y *aˈlto mʌleŋ* two fields. — z *aˈlt'oˈsa* two months; *aˈlto heši* twice. *aˈlto den* two years. — z *hik uˈer u, aˈlto heši jaˈr jo* give them one share and give me two.

The following examples of a z form *aˈlti* have been recorded:

aˈlti romər to the two tribes. *aˈlti mʌkso* two shares of communal labour. *aˈlti denkus birʌγo* a two-year-old colt.

aˈltokum two pairs, two sets. — *huˈčo aˈltokum* two pairs of pabboos. *qʌči aˈltokum* two pairs of scissors. *jərʌpičiŋ aˈltokum* two pairs of socks.

aˈltovlum, altˈoˈlum.

i. second.

aˈltolum *-*ʌmiš* the second finger (i.e. the one next the little finger);

ii. secondly, in the second place.

ʌwal bəreˈnin ... aˈlto.vlum eʃčiŋər bʌrˈenin see first .. secondly look at his waist. 154.18.

aˈltowaˈltər, aˈltu.aˈltər, aˈltuwaˈltər forty. — *aˈltowaˈltər kuts omʌnj xa* before 40 days have elapsed. 50.16. Cp. 52.10. (*aˈlto* + *aˈltər*).

aˈltowaˈltər tovumo fifty.

aˈltu pl. h. and x. twins (human or animal). — *aˈltu (hilešo, dʌsiwʌnts) duˈmʌnʌn* twins (boys, girls) have been born.

3a

yuvs ɑ·ltu muyur doɣmʌno bɔm his wife had given birth to twin sons. 110.14. *ja bɔvɑ . . . ɑ·ltu dɔvɑ.ʌnimi* my cow has given birth to twin calves. 354.4. 000

ɑ·ltul (y?) two days. — *gute (krtayp) jerimo hɑ·le ɑ·ltul ʏʌtaiyʌm* I shall read this (book) in my own house for a couple of days. 70.1. *ɑltul duwɑɣumɔr* when two days remain. 326.11. *altolʌn iski kuʏtsʌn* two or three days. *altul(ʌn)tɔvm i·lji* after two days. *ɑ·ltulum ju* come after two days. *ivns ɑltulum yɔr dimi* he came two days before. *ɑ·lt'ulʌnmo* after two days, two days later. 330.11. *ɑ·lt'ululo* for, during, two days. 300.3.

h·lu x sg. and pl. potato. — *hʌn ɑ·lu.ʌn* a potato. (Prs.) H.

ɑ·m common, public. — *ɑ·m xʌbɔr* public news, common knowledge. Ar.

ɑ·mi the common people, the common herd. — *kim ɑ·mi.s u.iyen bai.i* this is a son of the common people, i.e. of humble birth. 93.17. (Ar.)

amin hm, hf; *amis* x; *amit* y. (Variants: *ʌmin, ʌmis, ʌmɪn, amiɣ*). — pl. *men(ik) amin, amits, amik.* — hf. sg. gen. *aminmo;* dat. *aminmur;* abl. *aminmulum* etc.

1. Interrogative Pronoun and Adjective "which? who?" V. §§ 159, 161. — *kin amɪn bai.i?* which is this (person)? who is this? *menik sisik duwɑ·n?* which people have come? *amis hʌʏur, bʌyum, dʌn?* which horse, mare, stone? *amit mʌl?* which field?

2. In Indirect Questions, v. § 467. — *amin,* etc. . . *ke.* — *ʌmins delibɑ·n ke ye borenin* now look and see who has (have) killed it. 184.18.

3b

OOO 3. Indefinite Pronoun and Adjective, v. § 152. — *amɪn hirʌnɛ . . . . ʊltalik yuʷ . . . kʌš ʊʷti kɛ, baʷdša dyuʷši* if any man kills his two sons, the king will escape. 40.14. (No examples recorded of x and y forms.)

4. Relative Pronoun, v. § 185. A doubtful usage; only one example: — *uʷnɛ kinɛ . . . gu.i dimi amins uʷnɛ daulʌt . . . ʊʷrimi* this son of yours has come who wasted your property. 370.10.

5. General Relative, v. § 186. — *amin(ʌn) . . . kɛ, ʌmis . . . kɛ, ʌmit . . . kɛ.*

Often impossible to distinguish from its use as an Indefinite Pronoun in a conditional clause: if anyone comes.. || whoever comes.. *uʷʒ amɪn ba kɛ . . . ja gʌtʊʒ aγ'ʊn* whoever you are give me my clothes. 14.10. *ʌmisər uʷʒɛ xʊš bi kɛ isɛ tsu* whichever (horse) you prefer, take it.

ʌm'uko of terrifying appearance, dreadful, fearsome, H. *ḍaraʷmewaʷla, haibʌtnaʷk.* 158.11. (Probably a- privative, cp. Skr. *su-mukha-*).

ʌmʊlo, ʌmʊlo, N. *ʌmʊli.*

1. where? in what place? whither? *ja pfaʷrtsin ʌmʊlo bi?* where is my cap? *uʷnɛ uʷ ʌmʊlo uyɛtsʊma?* where did you see them? — dat. *ʌmʊlər(?)* N. *ʌmʊliʷrɛ* whither? — abl. *ʌmʊlʊm,* N. *ʌmʊliʷm* whence? from where? *un ʌmʊlʊm dukoʷma?* where have you come from? *kin ʌmʊlʊm d'itsʊmʌ?* where have you brought (this infant) from? 268.6. — Belonging to where? *ʌmʊlʊm ba?*

000 where do you belong to? — how? wherefore? *da ɛtɛ aʷlta amulum hərəʷm umʌnimi.ɛ?* then how have those two (other animals) become unlawful? 64.15.

2. Anywhere, somewhere — *ʌmulo čot ɛt'aʷ* you have dropped it somewhere. *hoʷi amulo dukoʷɣurkuma?* will you get vegetables somewhere? 62.28. *hʌsaʷr amulo wɛ aulaʷdʌn maimi.ɛ* perhaps there may be a descendant of theirs somewhere. 242.5. — *amulum* from somewhere, somehow. *amulum pfopuʔʌn d'ɛsmʌnuma* somehow you have given birth to a bastard. 268.8. *Tʌpkiants aulaʷdʌn amulum ditsun* getting a descendant of the T. from somewhere. 242.2. — *amulo (kɛ)* + negative verb "nowhere, not anywhere". *ʌkil sisʌn amulo atiʷmiɣurčʌn* nowhere shall we find such a person, we shall not find . . . anywhere. *ʌmulo yaʷɛ ečər diš apim* there was nowhere a place to bury it. 112.21. *ʌmulo kɛ e.itsumʌn* they did not see him anywhere. 14.4. *ʌmulo kɛ atoʷɣurkumʌn* they did not find him anywhere. 10.5.

3. *amulo* + verb + *kɛ* wherever. *ʌmulo bai kɛ . . .* wherever he is. 30.16. *amulo bo kɛ domuʷtsu* wherever she is bring her. 18.11. (*amulo* = *am*, *ʌm* + *vlo*).

aʷo, v. *aʷu*. 212.4.

ap-, *ʌp-*. Negative of the verb "To Be" (*a* + *ba* etc.)

Present Tense.

1st. 2nd. sg. *apa*. — 3rd. sg. hm *apai.i*. — hf *apo*. — x, y *api*.

1st. 2nd. 3rd. pl. h *apaʷn*. — 3rd. pl. x *apiʌn* — 3rd. pl. y *api*.

drink and have a rest. 124.17. *šu.a aravmeka yavɪki yatɪki bezan uyon ɛpači bi* he has excellent comfortable under- and upper-bedding and everything. 124 11. (γaši) *šu'a aravme ka nesqul* burning the wood at his entire ease. 126.15. Prs. 000

avan, avan -iŋ y. a wooden frame on which a basket containing saline earth is placed, through which water is poured to extract the salt. — *diščiki avan* a mould for making bricks. (Cp. Sh. *ivɪn*, brick-mould). 258

avɪ N., v. *av*, to me. 000

avrkuš y. fear, dread, anxiety. — *ja avrkuš bila* I am anxious. Cp. *Ar.*

ar'un pl. *aruyo* disobedient, refractory, Prs. *nafarman* (*bordav*). Said of a horse that won't go on, or a child that won't obey.

asan easy. — *kot but asane dərowan bila* this is a very easy matter. 50.20. *ugone gutsəras asane me.ibilum* it was easy to traverse everything. 28.17. (*asane* perhaps for *asani* used as adjective). Prs.

asani easiness, ease. — *asani.ska mevmi* it will be done with ease, easily. Prs.

asalam ale.rkum; wa ale.rkum salam Peace be with you; And with you be peace. 58.18. Ar.

asman sky — *asman šikam* sky-blue, azure. Prs.

astan x. shrine. — *Misgarvulo han astanan bi* there is a shrine at Misgar. 290.1. Prs.

aɪrq -tiŋ in love with, enamoured of; lover. — *inmu suvrats aɪrq manuwam* he had fallen in love with her face. 14.7. *šu.a hayuren bi. but aɪrq imanumi* there is (was) a fine horse. He fell greatly in love with it

000 (metaphorically). 6.3. *aškıqtiŋs jimiŋ* the souls of lovers. 358.7. Ar.

aškıltər -iŋ (y) strap with which yoke is fastened to shaft of plough; formerly of withies, now of leather. (*hərs bərpitiŋ*).

ašuʂ IUB cheerful music, H. *baʒja*, *sur baʒja ka*.

ašuʂ nilbaʒdo IUB — ? H. حنگي ديوى — (div's bell?)

aʒtΔšbel -iŋ y. fire-shovel. Prs.

aʒtΔšgiʒr -iŋ y. fire-tongs. Prs.

atiʒγunum unripe. (Negative Static pc. of *d°-γunΔs*).

atiʒrum raw, not cooked. — *atiʒrum čΔp* raw meat. (Negative Static pc. of *diraʒs*).

aʒu, *aʒo* exclamation to call attention, or in reply to a call. Hullo! Yes! Yes? — *yərpa aʒu mΔnimi* there was a (call) "hullo" on ahead. 252.10. . . . *qau.u eč'Δm* . . . *iʒlum ine aʒu eč'Δm* (the one) used to call out . . . and the one on the other side used to shout "hullo". 354.3. "*ss maʒma*" *senimi*. "*aʒo*" *stumo* "Mother", said he. "Yes", she replied. 212.4. — Cp. 132.10.

aʒuʒya N. — *js aʒuʒya ba* I have got thirsty. (Probably Perfect tense of a hypothetical *°-uyΔs*. Cp. *yuʒyΔs* to dry up, and in the same sense *buʒk yuʒyimi* my throat became dry, I became thirsty).

awaʒjs necessary (to), required (by). — *hΔn Δkil bΔlkΔn jaʒr awaʒjs bila* I require a plank like this. *kins sis duroʒwər awaʒjs apai.i* this man is not needed (fit?) for the work. — N. *Δwaʒji -mots. js juʒyΔs Δwaʒji dila* I have to come. *jaʒrs mu BurošΔski baʒʂ hensΔs Δwaʒji dila* I must now know (learn) Burushaski. (Sh. 3rd.

sg. Pres. Fut. of *ʌwarjovrki* to be necessary). 000

ayʌš v. *aiyʌš*.

ayʌta = *a* + *-yʌte* upon me.

ayau = *a* + *a* + *-u* neg. impv. of *-uyʌs* with 1st. sg. Pn. Pf. — *šʌpik javr ayau* don't give me bread.

aye = *a* + *e* neg. impv. (short form) of *etʌs*, do not thou do.

ayetʌs. Negative of *etʌs*.

aya, *ʌya*, *-tsəro* hm (*-*ya*?) 601

1. my father! A Vocative used in addressing fathers and father-equivalents, e.g. paternal uncles, step-father, foster-father, father-in-law; but it is also said that in recent times it has ceased to be used for uncles: "because there is only one father".
2. my father, used in the nominative and other cases.
   uyum aya father's elder brother.
   jut aya } father's younger
   ečukun aya } brother.
   aya divmi my father came; *ja uršʌm aya* (*or au.e*) *hukəmulo manin* abide by the orders of my foster-father. 28.1. *je.imo ayavr seyʌm*, "*le.i ʌya*" I shall say to my father. "O father . . ." 368.3. *mi ine aya berumʌn durosku yor šʌpik* . . . . *uče.i* to how many labourers does that father of mine give bread? 368.1.
3. In verse used by woman addressing her beloved (?) 364 3.

(It is not clear whether there is any etymological connection between *aya* and *-uy*. The genitive forms *gwa* and *mwa* (282.18. 19) could be referred to a hypothetical *-ya*).

6b

ayamo, ʌyamo "our family", "our relations" (an expression used only by women). — *'ayamo hər'o het bi.en* the oxen belonging to our relations are loose. 246.9. *ayamo bʌɣərku bʌm* our relations are evil people. 246.13. *ʌyamo gʌliŋʌʃər* to my father's staircase. 364.7. 601

(The word seems to be composed of *aya* (-°*ya*) and the adjectival ending *-mo* and so should mean pertaining to my father).

a·za·d free, at liberty, independent. Prs. ○○○

a·za·di freedom. Prs.

aza·r troubled, vexed, displeased. — *bɛzʌnʌʃs azaʌr numa* being troubled (*or* vexed) by something. 292.13. *bɛzʌntsum a·za·r gumaima?* what are you displeased about? *je u·ntsum bu·t a·za·r* I am much displeased with you. Prs.

ʌ and ʌ.

(See also under a).

ʌ- v. *a-*. Negative prefix used with verbs.

ʌ-, a-. Privative or negative prefix used in composition with some adjectives and nouns. The corresponding positive prefix being *su-*, e.g. *ʌbʌš, subʌš; ʌçɛ·mo, suçɛ·mo.* (Cp. Sh. *a-* and *su-*; Skr. *a-* and *su-*).

ʌba um'a· said to be a Balti expression meaning "It is I", but this is not supported by the L. S. I. 152.14.

°*-ʌbʌltʌs,* °*-ʌbʌlč-* to cause s.o. to wash s.t., to wash s.t. for s.o. (probably only of y objects). — *thʌmʌ iriŋ 'ɛ·ɛbʌlčər mʌhʌrʌmʌnɛ tsil dʌsu·čai* a private servant brings water to make the Tham wash his hands. 340.7. *thʌmʌ n'ɛ·ɛbʌlt da ʌka·bərtiŋ 'o·rbʌlčaʌn* having made the Tham wash (his

hands) they make the elders wash theirs. 340.8. Cs. of *baˈltʌs*. 000

*-*ʌbərʌnʌs*, *-*ʌbərɛ-* to cause s.o. to look, to make s.o. examine. — *iˈte dišər nutsun oborʌnumʌn* taking them to the spot they made them look (at what was there). 284.5. *thʌme axˈon saˈʌtər ˈeborebai.i* the Tham makes the mullah look for a favourable hour. 326.5. *saˈʌtər nobərɛn* making them look for a favourable time. 300.3. Cs. of *bərenʌs*.

ʌbʌs ordinary, H. *maˈmuˈli:* — *ʌbʌs gatuŋ* ordinary clothes. (Cp. Sh. & Kho. *ʌbʌs* worthless, useless etc.) Ar.?

ʌbʌš y. difficulty, trouble, hardship, calamity, misfortune; difficult etc. — *ʌbʌš diˈ bila*, or, *mʌnila* a misfortune has occurred, trouble has arisen etc. Ordinary idiom: *ʌbʌš ˈjuyʌs* + dat., or *-ʌfe* trouble comes to s.o. *or*, on s.o. *jaˈr besʌn ʌbʌšen juči* should any difficulty present itself to me. 22.6. *besʌn gorr ʌbʌš diˈmi?* what difficulty has met you? 26.16. *burt ʌbʌš ɛr diˈmi* he got into great straits. 366.9. *ʌbʌš ayʌtə diˈmər* when trouble has come on me. 22.7. *guyʌte ʌbʌšen diˈmi ke* when you have got into difficulties. 22.9. *ɛr besʌn ʌbʌš apiˈm* there was no difficulty to them i. e. they were in no sort of difficulty or danger, 284.20. *ʌbʌš denʌn bila* it is a difficult year i.e. a year of scarcity. (Cp. Sh. *ʌbʌš*).

*-*ʌbilʌs* (*-*ʌbrlj-?*), Impv. *-*ʌbrl*, Ppa. n*-*ʌbil* to make s.o. put on clothes. (Probably the object must be y as with *belʌs*). — *gatuŋ tu.aˈŋ ne.ibil* making him put on new clothes. 32.8. (*sərpa*) *iˈne Rumi hir ɛbilimi* he made the Rumi man put on (the robe). 46.1.

7b

000 *gʌtvŋ kiᵛnɛ ˈɛᵛbɪrlin* make ye him put on clothes. 373.18. *gʌtvŋ inɛr ɛᵛbɪrlin* 368.13.

Here the Dat. *inɛr* is peculiar and suggests that the force of the verb is "cause clothes to be put on him" or "put clothes on him".

The dat. occurs in the text in vernacular script written by Sarfarāz, who may have been misled by the Shina idiom. There is, however, a possibility that the verb means, or may mean, "to put (clothes) on s.o. else". Cp. **-ʌltʌlaiyʌs*. Cs. of *bɛlʌs*.

**-ʌbirʌqʌs* to make s.o. dig. — *mʌl uyoᵛnvlo ɛᵛbirʌqimi* he made him dig all through the field. 252.12. *ilɛ dišvlo ˈoᵛbirʌqimi* he made them dig in that place. 82.7, also 352.16. Cs. of *birʌqʌs*.

**-ʌbišaiyʌs, *-ʌbišʌč-*,

1. to cause s.o. to throw, put, H. *ḍʌlwaᵛna*.

2. to throw, place etc. = *bišaiyʌs*. v. § 242.

dʌsin xʌmʌli moᵛbišɛčɔr in order to make the girl make bread (lit. "throw the *xʌmʌli*" sc. on the griddle). 306.3. *hʌstowʌtɛ tʌxt nˈɛᵛibišen oᵛtsumi* having a howdah placed on the elephant he made them take it away. 76.20.

The exact meaning of *nˈɛᵛibišen* is obscure. It very probably simply means "he having placed", though being a king he certainly did not himself place the howdah.

padša ɛsvlo aiyˈɛᵛbišačaᵛn they do not convince him. 134.20.

Probably "they do not inject it

000 into his heart for him". See generally §§ 242—247. Cs. of *bišaiyʌs*.

ʌblʌq piebald. Ar.

ʌčaᵛčo IUB hasty, brusque.

ʌčəra, ʌčʲera, æčəra confused, bewildered, having lost one's head, startled, alarmed, Prs *pərišaᵛn; H. gʌbraᵛkər*. — *Šʌhri Baᵛno ačʲera numuᵛmʌn qi.u ne . . . . sus mumʌnumo* Š. B. being bewildered cried out . . . . and lost consciousness. 30.19. *ačəra numʲuᵛmʌn . . . iγʲunumo* losing her head she gave him (the things). 212.7. (Perhaps *ʌ + čəra*, cp. *čərči* = *ʿčər + tsi?*)

ʌčʌs pl. *ʌčʌšo* x. sheep and/or goat. 72.25.

ʌçᵉmi hf. mischievous (woman), malicious. — *ʌçᵉmi.en* (γumikršen) *bo* she is an evil woman. (F. sg. of Sh. *ʌçᵉmo*).

ʌçᵉmo, ʌçᵉəmo, açᵉmo, pl. *ʌčʲᵉmutiŋ* h. mischievous, dishonest person; rascal, villain, dangerous person; H. *šʌriᵛr*. — *iᵛljum biltse* (*beltse*) *ačᵉmutiŋ dʌmaᵛmʌnumʌn*(?) (Sh. *ʌçᵉmo*. Cp. *suçᵉmo*).

ʌči = *a + tsi*. — *ʌči γʌsičumʌn* they will laugh at me. 98.2.

ʌčo, pl. *ačoᵛin*.— 1. wait! *be ačukoᵛn, ačoᵛin doγərus doᵛljen* No, my brothers, wait (and only) after enquiring let us beat them. 248.8. — 2. waiting(?) delay(?) *duᵛŋ ʌčoᵛwər* or, *duᵛŋ ʌčo ke* presently, soon. *duᵛŋ ʌčoᵛwər juᵛči* he will come soon.

601 *-*ʌço* pl. *-*ʌçukoᵛn* hmf. Gen. sg. hm. *-*ʌçu.e*, hf. *-*ʌçumo*.
(a man's) brother; (a woman's) sister. sg. *aᵛčo* (*ʌčo*), *goᵛčo, eᵛčo, moᵛčo; meᵛčo*. pl. *ʌčukoᵛn, goᵛčukoᵛn, ečukoᵛn, močukoᵛn*. *ačutsum* from my (m.) brother. 10.12. *eᵛčutsum* from his brother. 10.9. —

8b

The following cover certain categories of nephew and niece: 601

ʌču.e ivi my (m.) brother's son.
goʿču.e ivi thy (m.) brother's son.
sču.e ivi his brother's son.
meʿču.e yuʿ our (m.) brother's sons.
ačumo mu.i, muyu my (f.) sister's son(s).
goʿčumo mu.i thy (f.) sister's son.
moʿčumo mu.i her sister's son.
ʌču.e evi my (m.) brother's daughter.
Ačumo movi my (f.) sister's daughter.
gučumo movi thy (f.) sister's daughter.
ine imimo moʿčo his mother's sister.
inemo mumimo moʿčo her mother's sister. *oʿsmo moʿčo* my wife's sister. (*ja*) *oʿyere eʿčo* my husband's brother. *roʿme ečukoʿn* his (the bridegroom's) tribal brethren. 300.8. *uʿe mučukoʿn* those sisters of hers. 118.7.

ačumai.i -miŋ y. mischief, evil-doing. 000
ačum'aimiŋ uyʌtis, ačumaimiŋ sərdaʿr leader in mischief.
ačumai.e etʌšo uyʌtis (or *sərdaʿr*), } ringleader of evildoers.
ačumaimiŋ etʌšu e sərdaʿr } ringleader of evildoers.
ačumai.i etʌs uyʌtum uyuʿm the chief of evildoers. (Cp. *Ačemo*. Sh. *Ačemai.i*).

ʌdʌp, ʌdʌb y. respect, politeness. — *ʌdʌp etʌs* to show respect, treat respectfully. *ʌdʌpe ka huruʿ* all respectfully. Ar.

**-ʌdilʌs, *-ʌdilj-*, Impv. **-ʌdili*, Ppa. *n*-ʌdil, n*-ʌdilin*.

1. Cs. of *delʌs*. — *prik delʌs* to leap, jump; *prik *-ʌdilʌs* to make jump. *prik eʿdiljume* making his horse jump. 122.21.
2. Equivalent of *delʌs*. (The pronoun prefixes seem to be acting as Ethic Datives) to put, apply, fix. — *ese hunəʿr urinčiŋ oʿdilumʌn* they

fixed their hands (for them) in the piece of wood. 86.16. *Aṇyerib balda ewdili* put the load on the horse. *Aṇyerikoete baldag ewdili* put the loads on the horses. (The prefixes referring to "horse" and "horses" respectively). (*ivum ins*) *ṭam edilumor* after washing (the dead person). 310.7. Cp. *sap* *-*adilas*, *mali.as* *-*adilas*. Ca. form of *delas*. Cp. § 242. 000

adilas satin (?) 88.4. Ar. *aflas*.

*-*adurugas*, *-*adurut*-, Impv. *-*adure*, to use, make use of, employ (thing or person). — *gusa drk eduro* use this pot; *biruṇ sia ayerdure* don't employ this man; *gerdurutam*, *eduruṭam* I shall make use of you, of them. (Denominative from *dure*).

*-*a.atas*(?), *-*a.atas*(?) Ca. of the *atas* form of *-*atas*? The vowel of the Pa. pf. is lengthened or diphthongal. V. § 240.

*-*a.ayunas* v. *-*ayanas*.

*-*afat* v. *-*apat*.

afyun, *afyun*, *afiun* y. opium. — *afyun ferysa* to eat opium. *afyun tasbure* (or, *minure*) to smoke opium. Pra.

afyuni, *afyuni* opium-eater, opium-smoker. (Pra.).

agor . . . *ke* if. — (*agor* is not acclimatised in Burushaski and has only been recorded a few times). — *agor pasuru imanumi ke* if he were to hesitate. 153.5. *agor teil athima ke* if you gave me water. 384.15. *agor beam gur musibat dia ke* if any misfortune comes on you. 386.13. Pra.

(*-*agatas*?) v. *ugatas*.

*-*agirat.as*, *-*agirat*- to make s.o. dance, H. *nacana*. — *bitaiyo 'ugirateenas* they

9b

[See corrigenda category 116, p. 541 — Analysis]

made "bitane" dance. 242.1. *da tkame menor rak stimi he 'ogirakaci* then the Than makes dance whomever he pleases. 318.6. *ogiratema daya* the story of his being made to dance. 182.18. Cs. of *giratas*.

*-*ogiyas*, *-*ogyas*, *-*ogić-*, Impv. *-*ogi*; Fpa. n*-*ogin*. V. § 248.

1. Cs. of *giyas* v.i. (to plunge into, to enter) to cause s.o. to enter. — *koma durdur A. K. . . . hayur ogiter ditsimi*. A. K. brought his horse to make it enter in order to cross the ford (?) 112.24.
2. Cs. of *giyas* v.t. (to throw etc.). to cause s.o. to throw, to sow (seed). — *Tapkimis oulardan he ogiten* (if) you made a descendant of the Tapkients sow the seed. 242.8.
3. To put, place. Pa. pf. with force of ethic dative. — *ja mši hanalićig ogići* he will put chains on my neck (for me). 60.8. *ja he ogureka burkur hanalićig merići* he'll put chains on my and my children's necks (for us). 62.20.
4. To plant (trees). — *koma ogićam, ogyam, ogi baći* I shall plant, I planted, he had planted a tree. *koma ogi, ogergi, nergin* plant, don't plant, having planted a tree. *bebićig ogigalo bora* they are going to plant willow-trees. 176.4. *hasi he . . . gfori . . . nagjur ogi ham* he had made the garden and tank and planted the weeping willow. 18.9. (It is doubtful whether the verb properly applies to the first two nouns).

*-*agočiyas*, *-*agočać-* to make s.o. lie down, put s.o. to sleep. H. *solomas*. —

CCC *ɣyučatam* I shall make him lie down. *ɣyučati* he will make me lie down. *gɣyučati* he will make you lie down. *ɣyučaiyam* I made him, it lie down. *mapab dal jakma gɣko ɣyučami* he put the donkey foal to sleep beside her. 118.6. *ɣuz mɣyɣr kɣr ɣyučatum* they make the wife and husband lie, sleep, together. 306.16. *mɣyučam* v. 118.10 note. *ɣyučz ba* thou hast made it lie down. 118.13. Cs. of *gučaiyas*.

°-*ɣuseɣyas* N. °-*ɣuseɣ-*, Impv. °-*ɣuseɣ* °-*as* °-*ɣuseɣyas* to make s.o. fear, frighten s.o. — *ine je ɣe ɣyuseɣča bai* he is frightening me. *ine ume gue gɣyuseɣču bai* he is frightening thee. *se ɣuseɣča ba* I am frightening him. *se ɣuseɣ!* frighten him! *se ai.ɣuseɣ!* don't frighten him. Cs. of *guseɣyas*.

°-*ɣutsɣrɣas* to cause s.o. to go, to make s.o. proceed, to despatch, to carry on (government). — *kɣyɣr ɣyutsɣrimi* he made the horse go. 8.4. (p/af) *ɣyutsɣrimi ɣmo bakai ɣakalatɣr* he made the Div proceed in the direction of his own country. 174.20. *ɣne kukurmat ɣyutsɣrimi* he carried on the government. 10.7. Cs. of *gutsɣrɣas*.

°-*ɣyam* distasteful (to), disliked (by), unfavoured (by); disliking, feeling aversion, repugnance (towards person, thing or speech). — *ɣyam ɣuɣ* his unfavoured wife, cp. *ɣyerum ɣuɣ* his favourite wife. *ilrium ɣyam numan ɣuɣakal berɣa ba* for that reason I look at you with aversion, dislike 60.8. *padiz zafa imaibrii, nimam burt ɣyam maii bila* The King becomes annoyed (at the act of a person).

Becoming annoyed he feels disgust(?). 120.16. *guve gorɣam manu ke* IUB if your wife should become distasteful to you. ooo

*-ɣanas, *-ɣaṇi-, Ppa. n*-ɣan to regard as, reckon, account, seem to see. The pn. pf. agrees with the subject. — *dakil aɣaiṇa ba* I see it thus, thus it seems to me. *ite taṇi gorɣ ba* you see that thus, it seems so to you. 186.9. *dakil aɣaṇi baṇi* it seems thus to him. *ite ɣunikiṇ nukoɣan* you regarding this as an evil thing. 84.13, 86.1. (*mapere*) *ine juman neɣan harlar utsumi*, v. 22.17 note. (Cp. ɣanare to appear and *-ɣanas to count).

*-ɣarras, *-ɣarré- to make s.o. play music. — *yurgudants sitar nerɣar* having made his daughters play the "sitar". 182.14. *ginanila harip arɣarčam* they make them play the "ginani" tune. 326.9. The form *arɣaras* (q.v.) is used for to play music. Cs. of ɣarare?

-ɣ'arkas, *-ɣ'arč- to drive oxen in ploughing, to plough with oxen. — *har arɣarkas* to plough with oxen. *maniko (har) arɣarčam* some people are ploughing with oxen. 248.2. *boruṇa harkiar ɣ'arčam (ɣ'arkumas)* they were ploughing for the buckwheat sowing. 246.12. *har ɣ'arkasulo* as they ploughed. 246.14. — Twice with u- prefix. "*uɣ'arkin!*" *arumo* she said to them: "plough!" 246.16. *har nutsum malulo uɣarčam* having taken the oxen there they were ploughing in the field. 248.19. 1/A

-ɣaṇas, *-ɣaṇ- to make s.o. laugh. — *je in arɣaṇam* I shall make him laugh. *ina je aɣaṇaṇi* he makes me laugh. *arɣaṇimi* he made me laugh. *'arɣaṇaṇar*

11a

1/A [See addenda, category 11b, p. 541 - Analyst]

in order to make them laugh. 116.12. ○○○
Cs. of γasa·s, cp. d*-ʌγʌsʌs.

(*-ʌγoltυrʌs) v. εγoltυrʌs.

*-ʌγυnʌs, [1A] *-ʌγu.i impv. *-ʌγυn. (Forms frequently as from *-γυnʌs. The Nagiri form, from a few instances recorded, seems to be *-γo·nʌs, *-γoy·) to give (only when the direct object is y pl.). The pn. pf. refers to the indirect object. — *pyuwʌn šrqa ʌγυn, gʌtυŋ ʌγυn* give me a little grass, give me clothes. *pfʌlo ʌγυnin* give me grain. 140.4. *Di.u Sʌfi·dʌ εγυnυm biršk* the hair given him by the Diu Safid. 26.14. γenʌŋ *moγ'υnimi* he gave her gold. 58.3. (*gʌtυŋ*) *amoγυnimi* he did not give her (her clothes). 14.11. *ίnʌ hίrε sizər gυr oγu.i bʌm* the man used to give wheat to the people. 100.2. (*yυrtiŋ*) *oršu.ər oγ'υnυmo* she gave the feet to the guests. 232.7. *šu.a dištmiŋ ʌγυnυma* you did not give me good places. 112.14. (*gυr kε mʌltʌi*) *ma ayaγυnυmʌn* (and *'ayaγ'υnυmʌn*) you did not give me the wheat and ghee. 140.17, 142.2.

Forms from *-γυnʌs.—(*hoγi*) *guγuγʌm* I shall give you vegetables. 64.4. "*ta.očiŋ kε xfʌγo dumərči, εγυn*" . . *ίγυnυmo* "if he asks for his leg-bandages and stick, don't give them to him" . . she gave them to him. 212.7. (Here *ta.očiŋ* is taken as the object. Elsewhere we have *ta.očiŋ kε ʌfʌγo jo* give me my bandages and stick, where *ʌfʌγo* is taken as the object). *bʌspυr wazirər ίγυri ba·n* they give the Wazir grain (for his horses). 342.10. *šrqa ίγυnʌs bitsa* grass is to be given to him. 342.10. For the Pn. pf. of the 1st. pers. sg. *ja-, jʌ-* is sometimes used instead of *a-, ʌ-*. V. § 255.

116
[1A] [See corrigenda, category 116, p. 541 – Analyst]

000 *kovi* *ϫⲁⲩⲱⲙⲁⲓ?* will then give me vegetables? 64.8. *ⲡⲱⲗⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲁϩⲓⲉⲣⲉ ⲣⲩⲙⲁⲓⲉ ϫⲁⲩⲟⲙ* (or *ⲁⲩⲟⲙ*) give me a little of this gold. 84.23.

*-ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲓⲩⲁⲓ) to cause to defecate. S. l. — *kin ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲛ'ⲁⲩⲱⲁⲓⲩⲁ* a woman having made her (baby) see stool. 272.8. Cp. ⲩⲱⲁⲓ.

ⲁⲕⲙⲁϩ, ⲁⲥⲙⲁϩ, ⲁϩⲙⲁϩ fool. — *ⲁϥ ⲃⲉⲓ ⲁⲕⲙⲁϩ* you are a great fool. 73.7. Ar.

ⲁⲕⲱⲉⲓ (v. *ⲕⲉⲓ*) state, condition, circumstances. Ar.

601 *-ⲁⲓ pl. *-ⲩ'ⲱⲣⲱⲁⲛⲉ bf.

1. Daughter (also, brother's daughter M.)—*ⲟⲓ, ⲣⲉⲓ, ⲟⲓ, ⲙⲁⲓ* my, thy, his, her daughter. *ⲙⲁⲓⲓ, ⲙⲁⲓ; ⲙⲁⲓⲓ, ⲙⲁⲓⲓ; ⲟⲓ* our, your, their daughters. *ⲟⲓⲱⲣⲱⲁⲛⲉ* my daughters. *ⲣⲱⲣⲱⲁⲛⲉ* his daughters. *ⲙⲱⲣⲱⲁⲛⲉ* her daughters. *ⲙⲁⲓ ⲙⲓ* our daughter and son. *ⲙⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲓⲣⲱⲣⲱⲁⲛⲉ* our sons and daughters. *ⲣⲱⲣⲉ ⲇⲁⲙⲁⲙⲉⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ* if a daughter were born to you. *'ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲣ ⲉⲙⲙⲉ* the (his) daughter said to her father and mother. 280.12. *ⲙⲁⲙⲁⲓⲁⲙ ⲙⲁⲓⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲁⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲇⲁⲙⲁⲓⲓⲙⲉⲛ* a son and a daughter will be born of you (pl.). 280.14.

2. Tribal daughter. — *kin ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲧⲉⲛⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲓⲕⲓⲙⲉⲛⲉ ⲟⲓ ⲃⲟⲙ* there was a woman with child (who was) a daughter of (the people of) *Pykimen* (name of a village or community). 242.7. *ⲃⲁⲣⲁⲧⲁⲗⲓⲕⲉ ⲟⲓ ⲃⲟⲙ, ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲁⲗⲓⲕⲉ ⲱⲉ ⲃⲟⲙ* she was a daughter of the Baratalig (tribe) and a wife of the Markalig (tribe). 244.2.

000 *-ⲁϫⲓⲙⲉ, *-ⲁϫⲓⲕⲓ)-, Impv. *-ⲁϫⲓⲕⲉ.

1. To teach, instruct, educate, train

000 (human being, horse etc.). With Fu. pfx: *ə.ši(r.ə.r)*, *pə.šə*, *ə.šə*, *mə.šə*; *mə.šə*, *mə.šə*, *ə.šə*. — *jə ə.šəimi* he will teach me. *jə wŋ pə.šəir.əm* I shall teach you. *ləi wi mə.šəimi* he will teach us. *əgə.šəin!* don't teach him! *ə.šəirəum ləi.i* he is educated. *ə.šəirəum ləcr* a trained hawk.

2. To inform, communicate (a message). — *dur.əke ka ləir* (*ə*, *ləyə*) *ə.šəiməs ləiŋ.əm* I had informed them by a messenger. *ə.šəin.əm* I informed them; *ə.šəiŋ.əm* I shall inform them. Cs. of *ka.šəin.ə.r*.

ə.ŋ.ŋ, *ə.ŋ.ŋ* strange, wonderful, extraordinary; wonder. — *ə.ŋ.ŋ* *ə.ŋ.ŋ.əm ləi.i* he is a strange, wonderful man (in praise or blame). *ə.ŋ.ŋ* *dwə.ŋ.ŋ.ə.r.əm* an extraordinary thing (article). *jə ə.ŋ.ŋ* *ə.ŋ.ŋ* *ləi* I wonder, marvel. Ar.

ə.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ strange, wonderful. — *ka.əm ə.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ* *ka.yə.rəm ləi* there is a wonderful horse. 6.1. *ə.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ* *ləcm ə.ŋ.ŋ.i* he says a strange thing. 78.18. Ar.

ə.ŋ.ŋ, *ə.ŋ.ŋ* IUB quickly, H. *jaldi*.

ə.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ, *ka.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ*, v. *ka.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ*, marriage-song. H. *lardi ka gīt*.

ə.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ IUB strange. H. *ə.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ*. Sh. *ə.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ*.

-*ə.ŋ*, (-*ŋ*) a suffix associated with the idea of instrumentality. V. ere. *jə.ŋ.ŋ*, *-ŋ.ŋ*, *-ŋ.ŋ*, *ŋ.ŋ.ŋ*, *ŋ.ŋ*.

-*ə.ŋ.ŋ* v. *ka* with, along with.

ə.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ, *ə.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ*, -*ŋ.ŋ*, -*ŋ.ŋ.ŋ*, -*ŋ.ŋ.ŋ*. leading man, headman, elder. — *ŋ.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ* *ka.ŋ.ŋ.ŋ

akʌra without knowledge, without reason; H. *nurma'lum*, *nādān*. 000

*-*akrtum* in the service of. — *ɔkrtum ɔna*, we that person, those persons, in my service. *gɔkrtum ɔna kir (gua)* the man (woman) in your service. *ja 'kartumar ov zakar* ati tell those in my service. 94.19. *morkrtum dāsin* the girl who accompanies and stays with the bride for the first days after marriage. 206.2. (Probably derived from *karī* with, otherwise from *karī* condition, undertaking). [585]

*-*akat* -iq *y.* armpit. — *akaliarum* (*akat parum*) *brāki* hair from under his armpit. 22.8. *'akatiguvar ja dam ai'ēgalimi* my breath did not reach (under) his armpits. 110.8. *jakum gɔrko akatiarv nāilin* putting the donkey-foal under his arm. 118.4. (Perhaps *-*agat*, cp. *-*qat*).

akhra IUB inopportune, untimely (?). H. *narungī*. (*a* + *khra*).

akhrī, IYB, *akī*, *akī*, pl. *akhrīo* strange, novel, extraordinary, remarkable; stranger. — *kirna kut akī dayan otai* this man says this strange thing. *akī dastakhra* a strange thing, object. *akrian kai* he is a stranger. (Cp. Sh. *akhrī* unfamiliar, inexperienced).

*-*ak*-*i* N. daughter and son, children. — *ɔkari*, *gokari*, *ɔki*; *makni*, *makmari*, *ɔkari*. (*-*ai* *ki* *-*ɔ*. Cp. *-*ak* *-*gu*). [601]

akki akki = *akkīl akkīl* — *akki akki nuwa kirsn dayami* the man, having said thus and thus, kill himself. 378.19.

akkīl IYB, *akīl*, *akīl akīl*. — Adj. such as this, like this, of this kind. — Adv. thus, so, H. *aisa*. — *akīl halkan* a plank like this, of this sort. *akīl ciyeli* don't do thus. *akīl ovan* don't be like this.

akhélafe in this wise, thus, in this manner. — *čayu akhélafe étuu* they tell the story on this wise, thus. *akhélafe beruman gustarg néni* some days passed in this manner. 8.7. 000

akhéljuwo pl. h. (of *akhél*) similar, such as. — *čaumutum akhéljuwo tha muyu dumanuman* a hundred similar sons were born of her. 102.17. *be, ai, akhéljuwo yon'ikents man ke ayuu* No, my son, there are no such ill-favoured people (as you). 168.22.

*-*akin*, *-*akimig*, N. *-*akinig*, *y*. liver. — *kan 'akinan . . čiitum* they give him one liver. 338.17. Cp. 66.6, 68.16, 74.4.

*-*akirminas* EOL to make s.o. write. Cs. of *girminas*.

akirtum of dreadful, alarming, appearance, H. *hatibqtarà*; ill-favoured, hideous(?); IUB *hadpuvat*. — *akirtuman hai.i* he is a terrible-looking person.

akuu these (people). — *akuu hamas upum* all those people who are present. 172.8. Variant of *kuu* pl. of *kéu*.

k- (*kh-*) has the force of a proximate demonstrative and is sometimes preceded by *a-*, *a-*. V. § 133 note.

ak'ula here. — *yo akula d'i hia* has the bear come here? 228.8. Cp. *kula* and preceding note.

akuš IUB without leisure (?) H. *uaryarqat*. (Cp. Khо. *yuš* leisure).

*-*akuselas* v. *-*aqušélas*.

*-*ak* *-*gu* daughters and sons, children. 601

Sg. 1. *ak aiyu, ak ayu.*
2. *gok guyu.*
3. *ak yu.*
muk muyu.

Pl. 1. *muk muyu (muiyu).*
2. *muk muiyu.*
3. *ok uyu.*

13b

601 *mʌk maiyu baʷnʌ? awa nʌxər, ʌk ayu baʷn* Have you (pl.) any children? (lit. are there your children?) Yes Sir, I have children. *gok guʷi (guyu) baʷna?* have you (sg.) any children? *ma ja ak ayu baʷn, sanirn* you are my children, speak. (Cp. *-ʌk *-i).

*-*ʌxakin* v. *-*xakin* daughter-in-law.

000 *ʌxəna . . . ke.*

1. if. — *ʌxəna pfut ma dili bam ke buʷt tsil dudum tse* if you had killed the Div, much water would have come out. 292.9. *ʌxəna duʷyen ke . . . ʊʷu.in* if they come (lit. came) say to them . . . 246.16.
2. though. — This meaning (H. *agərče*) is supported by IUB and by one other doubtful example. *ʌxəna maper bam kuli ʌʌfərete nimi* though he was an elderly man, he went on a journey.

*-*ʌxənʌ* is rarely used in Burushaski and its occurrence is perhaps due to the influence of Shina. (Sh. *ʌxəna* if).

*-*ʌxəwʌs* v. *-*xəwʌs*. — (Written by IUB اخجارس i.e. *ʌxuwʌs*, but *ixəwʌs* was probably meant).

ʌxʌrut v. *ʌxuwʌt*.

*-*ʌxuwʌs*(?) v. *-*xiʷʌs* to rend (slay). (Only once so recorded). — *kəri kəri s'ingetiq ʌxʌʷʌs* the render (slayer) of famous monsters. 176.11.

ʌxmʌq v. *ʌhmʌq*.

ʌxta castrated. — *ʌxta stʌs* to geld (a horse). Pra.

*-*ʌxurpʌt -iq*, v. *-*xurpʌt*, lung. — N. *ʌxurpʌt* his lung.

ʌlam, ʌlam -iq, -ičiq flag, standard. — *ʌlam deli.ʌs* to put up, plant a flag. *ʌlam di.uʌs* to take down, remove, a flag. *ʌlam deskuyʌs* to lower, haul

000 down a flag (leaving the flagstaff). *ʌlʌmičiŋ n'idilin* having put up flags. 206.16. *alʌm gai.i bʌ·n* they carry the flag. 252.18. Ar.

*-*ʌlʌs* *-*ʌlj-*, Impv. *-*ʌl*, Ppa. *n*-*ʌl*. The Pn.pf. refers to the subject. Only recorded in *til* *-*ʌlʌs* to forget (with, or without, an object expressed). — *ti·l a·ljʌm* I shall forget. *ti·l a·lʌm* I forgot. *ti·l a·la baiyʌm* I had forgotten. *til go·l!* forget; *til ako·l* don't forget! *til ako·lḭ* you (sg.) mustn't forget. Ppa. *na·l, nukoʌl, na·l, numo·l; nimʌ·l, nʌmʌ·l, no·l* I, thou, he, she etc. having forgotten. EOL. *je ti·l a·lʌsʌn ba?* am I one who forgets? *hʌn bərʌn til me·lumʌn* one thing we forgot. 22.5. *yu·lji ni.itsin til e·limi* he had a dream and forgot it. 72.1. *ulji . : . ti·l o·lʌn ke* if they have forgotten their dream. 74.13. *tu·mʌriŋ je til(e) na·l daiyʌm* I have come, forgetting the talismans. 356.2.

*-*ʌle*, *-*ʌlər* case suffix, v. § 67.

ʌle.i, *ʌle.i* N., there. — (*ha*) *ʌmuli dila? iti ʌle.i* (or, *ʌle.i dila*) where is (the house)? Over there (or it is there). EOL. (Cp. *alemum* and Hz. *e·le*).

ʌlmaira N., pl. *ʌlmairimiŋ* cupboard. Cp. Hz. *alma·ri*. (Anglo-Indian, *almirah*, H. *almaʌri*).

*-*ʌltʌlʌnʌs*, *-*ʌltʌlemʌs*, *-*ʌltʌlai-*, Impv. *-*ʌltʌlʌn*.

1. to turn over v.t. (bread on griddle, cloth drying in sun etc.) — *xʌmʌli ine eltʌlai bai* he turns over the bread (on the griddle). *gur eltʌlʌnʌs* "to thresh the wheat" (probably to "turn over" the cut wheat in order to let it dry. D. L.).
2. to turn back v.t. (a person on road, horse, bird etc.). — *i·lji eltʌlʌn*

turn him back! *ɨlji ayɛltʌlʌn* 000
don't turn him back!

3. to wave round, revolve v.t. H. *fɪrɑmɑ:* — (*thʌmər*) *gʊšiŋʌntɛ urin(či.ɔ) 'ɛltʌlai.i bɑn* the women wave their hands (in compliment) to the Tham. 290.7.

This is a demonstration of reverence made by women to the Tham, a shrine etc. They wave their two hands with a circular motion in front of the body, each hand inwards, upwards, outwards, downwards, and so on. They remain sitting while doing this. 782

Cs. of *-*ltʌlʌnʌs*, cp. also *tʌlɛnʌs*.

*-*ʌltʌlɨk*, *-*ʌltɨk*, pl., Adj. and Pron. 000
both, the two of. — *mɛ-, mɑ-, o-* both of us, we two, both of you, both of them. — *oltʌlik bʌlhoŋ* both planks. *mɛltʌlik niyʌs amɨmʌnumʌn* neither of us had to go. EOL. Cp. 42.1, 148.10, 198.5. V. § 177.

*-*ʌlt(h)aiyʌs*, *-*ʌlt(h)ʌč-*.

1. to put (shoes) on s.o. else; to cause s.o. to put on (shoes).

In the 3 examples available the first meaning would best suit the sense, and in the third of them the second meaning is unsuitable. See note on *-*ʌbilʌs*.

yuɛtiŋulo kʌfīamots ɛltai.in, and *yuɛtiŋulo kʌfīa 'ɛltai.in* put ye shoes on his feet. 368.14, 373.19. *goɛltʌčər bɛsʌn aiy'aiyɛʌm* I got nothing to put on you, i.e. to shoe you with. 156.20. Cs. form of 2. *-*ltaiyʌs*, cp. also 3. *i(h)aiyʌs*.

2. In an obscure note I have: *yuɛmuŝonɔ ɛltʌmi* glossed "he joined on".

The idea, I think, is that "he

OOO added falsehood to truth", "he embroidered on the truth".

Here *ɐltʌmi* might be the Cs. of **-ltaiyʌs* meaning "he caused (falsehood) to follow (truth)".

ʌltherɐlʊm N. v. *ɐltərʊlʊm*.

**-ʌltiɐk* v. *-ʌltʌliɐk* both. — *mɐltik* we two, *maɐltik* you two, *ɐltik* they two.

**'-ʌltiɐrʌs*, **'-ʌltiɐrč-*, Impv. **-ʌltiri*, Ppa. *n*-ʌltirin* to show (s.t. to s.o.).

The Pn. pf. refers to the Indirect Object. Where the Indirect Object is also expressed by a noun or independent pronoun this is uninflected. *iɐn uɐŋ goɐltirčʌm* I'll show him to you. *uɐŋ in ɐltirčʌm* I'll show you to him. *gʌn aɐltiri* show me the way. 28.4. *Pʌŋ̌čuɐ.ɐ men ayoɐltirʊmʌtɐ iɐsɐ jʌkune goɐko Lʌŋa Brumo moɐltirčai.i* P., without showing it to anyone else, shows the donkey foal to L. B. 120.8. *bɐsʌn aɐltiri. nʊkoɐltirin tsučʌm* show me something (says a thief). After showing it to you I'll take it away. (This perhaps refers to some unexplained form of the 'confidence trick'). *itsɐ* (*bʊroɐndʊmʊtɐ*) *maɐlt'irʌ kɐ* if I show you (pl.) the rings. 80.23. (*maɐltira* 1st. sg. pret., v. § 314.2). The form recorded in N. is **-ʌtiɐrʌs* q.v.

ʌm, am, v. *am* and *amʊlo*, where? whither? — *nišaɐniŋ ʌm bitsʌn?* where are the tokens? 136.4. *kos ʌm niɐmi?* where has this (bread) gone? 30.9. *uɐn am niča?* where are you going? Cp. 72.12.14. — + *kɐ* wherever. *akole fʌt eta bayʌm. ʌm niɐmi kɐ api.* I had left it here. Wherever it has gone, it is not (here now). 166.22. *ʌmiɐtɐ ʌm nimo* she departed somewhere or other(?) = she vanished. 198.7. V. s.v. *ʌmiɐtɐ*.

OOD *ʌma, ʌmma* but. — *jaʷka waʷd stimi, ʌma pur' ai.stimi* he made an agreement with me, but did not fulfil it. *Sai.id Ša Hunzolsum . . . duʷsimi, ʌmma Hunzulo hʌn . . . dišʌn . . . buʷt xuš st'ʌm* S. Š. departed out of Hunza, but there was a place in Hunza which he had taken a great fancy to. 292.16. So also: 58.12, 102.9, 220.7, 228.5.

In a number of instances the adversative nature of *ʌma* is not clear This may be due to inconsequence of thought or looseness of expression on the part of the narrator. So 84.18, 118.18, 164.15.. Ar.

*-ʌmʌlʌs, *-ʌmʌlj-*, St.pc. *-ʌmʌlum.* to feel shame, be ashamed, H. *šʌrmaʷna.*

ʌmʌn peace, quiet. — *buʷt ʌmʌneka . . . huruʷtimi* he abode in great peace. 32.14. Ar.

'ʌmʌna then, then next. — *waziʷr ke esqʌnimi, ʌmna ṭuʷru ke tʌq stimi* He slew the Wazir and then he broke the pumpkin. *iʷse ṭuru.vlum dele bortsilʌŋ duwašimi* (=*duwʌšʌmi?*); *ʌmna . . . ikhor esqʌnimi* from the pumpkin flowed streams of oil; then he slew himself too. 384.23.

*-ʌmʌnʌs *-ʌmai-* to be able, can, to be capable of. The dependent verb is put in the *-ṭ* form.

1. With dependent clause v. § 359.
juṭ 'aʷmaiya ba I can come.
je niṭ ay'aʷmaiya ba I can't go.
juṭ am'omai.i bo she can't come.
kʌš oʷtiṭ ame.imaiyan we shall not be able to slay them. 44.15.
šuʷ stiṭ gomai ima? are you able to blow? 162.3. *ɣʌtʌnę aiy'ermʌnimi* he was unable to read it. 48.5

000 *stiš meʷmʌnʌn ke* if we can do it. 50.10. (*meʷmʌnʌn* 1st. pl. short preterite).

One apparent instance of the infinitive in the dependent clause has been recorded: *je mu niyʌs aiyˈʌmʌnʌm* I have become unable to go now. 92.25. The short vowel, however, makes one suspect that the verb may be *-mʌnʌs not *-ʌmʌnʌs.

2. Without dependent clause: to be able, to be able (to do s.t.).
be gˈomaː ba? } what will you
besʌn gˈoʷmaima? } be able to do? 120.26, 144.16. *beʷumʌn goʷme.i ba ke toʷʷumʌn* (ʌʏʊn) (give me) as much as you can. "*Gor Mʌhʌlmʌsi eči*" *senimi*, "*aiyˈeʷmai.imi*" *senumo* "ˈ*eʷmai.imi*" . . . "G. M. M. will do it" said he. "He won't be able to", said she. "He will be able". 164.21. This use is common in the negative: to be unable, to fail, to do (s.t.). *ayˈaʷmaiya ba* I am unable. 48.6, Cp. 48.8, 176.25. *Akoʷmʌnuma ke* if you fail. 150.2. *da besʌn ayˈeʷmai.imi* he won't be able to do anything more. 150.18. *beʷumʌn tsučai.i ke eʷmʌnumʌn* . . he may take away as much as he can. 140.3. *eʷmʌnumʌn* seems to be the. St.pc. + *ʌn* and to have been transposed with *tsučai.i besʌn ame.imʌnʌsʌn?* what may we not be able to do? V. 50.11 note.

ʌmburʷ -iz, -miz h. pincers, pliers. — *uʷmi doʷpirtsʌs ʌmburʷ* teeth-extracting pliers, i.e. dentist's forceps. Prs. *-ʌminʌs, *-mi-, Impv. *-ʌmin, to cause s.o. to drink. — *tsil inemurʷ muči moʷmin* give her the water and make

her drink it. 106.21. *sčukoʷn . . . mal oʷmi bai.i* he makes his brothers drink wine. 300.8. Cs. of *minaʷa*. 000

*-*ʌmis* hm grandson, H. *nawasa*. 242.14.

*-*ʌmrǐ*, pl. *-*ʌmi.ʌnts*, (*-ents*), x finger, (toe).

The fingers are reckoned in order from the little finger.

γel aʷmrǐ my little finger. *aʷltoʷlum aʷmrǐ* my third finger. *makvči aʷmrǐ* my middle finger. *waʷltilum aʷmrǐ* my first finger. *laphut aʷmrǐ* my thumb. *gutise goʷmrǐ* thy toe. *oʷmients čuruʷk oʷtumʌn* they bit their fingers. 138.10. *torrumo ʼʷmi.ʌnts uyoʷnulo (burʼoʷnduʷmots) biʷma bɛ?* were there, or were there not, rings on all his ten fingers? 80.18. *emrǐulo buroʷndo . . . ell(ai)in* put a ring on his finger. 368.13.

ʌmitʌle only twice recorded. — *kiʷn . . . ʌmitʌle din miyər duʷcai.i* . . . coming by some (what?) way he has got in front of us. 124.7. *iʷse bʌlʌtər nimʌn. Ti ʌmitʌle gʌn apim* they proceeded to that bridge. There was no road any other way(?) 156.1.

The exact nature of the word is obscure. Perhaps it is *ʌmit* + *ʌle* = on, or by some or any (way).

ʌmiʷte ʌm somewhere or other(?) Only once recorded. — *yaʷse beske lel omʌnimi. ʌmiʷte ʌm nimo* Nothing further appeared (became known); she vanished. 198.7. The phrase is glossed H. *kıdhərse kıdhər giʷa*.

*-*ʌmoʷqrǐ*, v. *-*moʷqrǐ*, cheek. 92.1.

ʌmulaʷr being of base birth, low-caste; H. *badzaʷti*. (Cp. *ʌmuʷlu*[1] Sh. *amulaʷr* opposition, hostile).

ʌmuli N. where? *ʌmulim* whence? *ʌmulirs* whither? Cp. Hz. *amulo*.

17 a

[1] [See corrigenda, category 116, p. 541 – Analyst]

ʌmu·lo IUB base-born, of low birth. (Cp. *ʌmulaʍ*. Sh. *amulo* base-born, low-class, mean. < *a* + *mu·li* without root?). ooo

ʌmulum v. *ʌmulo* whence?

-ʌn, (*-sn*) Suffix.

1. Denoting Singleness, Individuality, used with nouns and predicative adjectives. V. § 43.1—5.
2. With various Interrogative, Indefinite, Quantitative Pronouns and Adjectives, and with the Numerals. V. § 43.5—7, also §§ 201 & 203.
3. In the plural endings of certain tenses of verbs, e.g. 1st pl. fut. *sč·ʌn*, 3rd pl. pret. *si·um·ʌn*. V. paradigms of verbs.
4. In certain cases with the Static Participles (or Static Participle forms), especially those of the verb "to be", and with the Infinitive form. V. § 43.8.

ʌndaʍzʌn approximately, about. — *ʌndaʍzʌn a·ltər dənrŋ* for about twenty years. 212.1. Cp. 196.7. Prs.

-ʌngə Only once recorded, apparently for *-ʌŋə* q.v. *jʌkur šu·limutsʌngə tobʌk* a gun with two barrels, a double-barrelled gun.

ʌŋʌro, *ʌŋaʍro* y Tuesday. — *ʌŋʌro gunisə* on Tuesday. 306.16. *ʌŋʌro tsoʍdimo* Tuesday morning. 306.17. (Sh. *ʌŋgaʍro*).

-ʌŋə, *-əŋə* Suffix used with nouns and pronouns. For uses and examples v. § 68. Cp. *-ʌŋgə* and *-iŋyə*.

ʌŋyəʍ N. hail. (Sh. *aĩyaʍ*, *aĩ.aʍ*).

**-ʌ.olʌs* (?), **-ʌ.olj-*, to cause s.o. to put on (an x garment). With Pn. pf.s: *au.ol-*, *gol-*, others not recorded. — *inə jə šuqa au.ulimi* he made me

17b

000 put on a choga. *we je šuqa au.vlumʌn* they made me put on a choga. *je wᵊŋ šuqa goᵊljʌm* I'll make you put on a choga. Cs. of *yoᵊlʌs*.

*-*ʌpʌči* beside, close to, with, in the possession of. Used almost exclusively with reference to animate beings. Dat. *-*ʌpʌčər*, *-*ʌpʌčiər*. With verb of motion denotes movement to, up to, a person. For uses and examples v. § 79.

*-*ʌpʌčim* Abl. and adjectival form of *-*ʌpʌči*.

1. From beside, from the presence of (referring to human beings). *oᵊpʌčim hʌmeᵊčʌ fʌt ayᵊtʌs* never to let him go from them. 116.13.
2. Being with, beside, in the possession. *Pʌŋču ᵊpʌčim u.ʌ mariŋ sis dᵊljaᵊn* the superior persons (who were) beside Pangchu beat him. 120.11. *goᵊpʌčim kiᵊne hilᵊs* this boy (who is) with you. 154.1. *zərgər ᵊpʌčim duᵊrə* the work (which was) in the hands of the goldsmith. 162.10.

ʌpʌroṭo upside down, inverted, inside out(?), H. *vlṭa*. (Sh. *afroṭo* twisted, complicated).

ʌpʌrts, *ʌpərts*, *ʌpaᵊrts*, *apaᵊrts* the wrong way, contrariwise, reversed, wrong side out; perverse, cross-grained, H. *vlṭa*, Sh. *ʌboᵊm*. — *apaᵊrtsʌfʌ huᵊnts deᵊgus* pulling out the arrow in the wrong direction. 154.9. *gusʌ šuqa ʌpərts bi* this choga is inside out. EOL. *isʌ gʌtu.ʌ ʌpərts* the wrong side of the cloth. EOL. *warts apaᵊrts čʌγamiŋ aiyᵊsti* don't talk confusedly. *ʌpʌrts sisʌn baiᵊi* he is a perverse man. (Negative *a* + *warts*).

000 *-ʌpʌt, (*-ʌfʌt) -iŋ y side, flank (of person); beside, close to. — *ja aᵛpʌtulo hʊruᵛtimi* he sat down beside me. *dʌl aᵛpʌt* beside me on the upper side. *khʌt aᵛpʌt* beside me on the lower side. *ilji aᵛpʌt* behind me. *yaᵛr aᵛpʌt* in front of me. *mopʌtə dʌl jʌkune goᵛko eᵛgučʌmi* he put the donkey foal to sleep along beside her. 118.6. *eᵛfʌtər guča bai.i* he is lying on his side. *iriŋ 'epʌtʌte jek netʌn* laying out his (the dead man's) arm along his side. 312.2. *ʃuruᵛwʌn thʌm yər epʌt oᵛsimi* he placed a pumpkin before the Tham. 384.21. *goᵛpʌt yaᵛrum eᵛrʌs* —? Prov. 17. (Cp. Sh. *efʌt* side, direction; beside).

601 *-ʌpi -tsəro hmf grandfather, grandmother (on either side). Used also of any old man or old woman. — *jeᵛimo aᵛpi* my paternal grandfather. *aᵛpkutse aᵛpi* my maternal grandfather. *wa 'ʌpi!* O father's mother! 286.4. *wa šʌkər ʌpi!* O dear mother's mother! 228.15.

In these two cases the renderings are as given by the narrator. The woman was not actually related to her interlocutor.

Kisəre eᵛpi mutsuya ba I have married Kiser's grandmother (father's mother). 182.18, cp. 184.1, 8. *guts kitaᵛb gopkutse goᵛpi.e bilum* this book was your maternal grandfather's. 70.2.

*-ʌpkuts (related on the mother's side), maternal; maternal relatives. *aᵛpkutse nʌna, aᵛpkutse aᵛŋgo* my maternal uncle. *aᵛpkutse aᵛpi, aᵛpkutse daᵛdo* my maternal grandfather. *eᵛpkutsatsum dumərumʌn* they demanded (the boy) from his maternal relatives. 242.18, cp. 70.2.

*-ʌpusʌs, *-ʌpuš-, Ppa. n*-ʌpus to tie up, bind, fasten (s.t. on to s.t.). 000

Only recorded with pn.pf.s a-, e- & o- amu'pušj napus tying up my muzzle for me(?) Prov. 14. sʌp epusʌs bi (the horse) is to be shod. sʌp opusʌs manišj (the horses) must be shod. || *-pfusʌs, cp. also pusuyʌs. Semantically compare Sh. sa'rpe ganoʼzki, H. na'l bandhna — to shoe (a horse). Cp. pusuyʌs.

ʌqəl intellect, intelligence, sense. Ar.

ʌqəlkšj, ʌkrlkšj, pl. ʌqəlkyents(ik) intelligent, clever, wise, sensible, prudent. — ja uŋ ʌqʌlkšʌn ba you are my clever fellow (sc. son). 58.17. ye mu bur aqəlkyentsik namaʼn Paŋčuʼər bərenina now you very intelligent people go and have a look at P., 128.13. (Ar.).

*-ʌqərʌfʌs, *-ʌqərʌš-, Impv. *-ʌqərʌf, St.pc. *-ʌqərʌfom v.t. to stick, fix, join on to, H. joʼrna, paiwʌst karna. Only recorded with Pn.pf. e-, e-, gute baʼlk baʼltse eqərʌf fix this plank on the wall. Ca. of xərʌfʌs.

*-ʌqʌtʌnʌs(?) *-ʌqʌtai, Impv. *-ʌqʌtʌn ppa n*-ʌqʌtʌn to cause s.o. to read. Ca. of γʌtʌnʌs.

*-ʌqušelʌs (-k-), *-ʌqušelj- to spoil, damage. Recorded only with Pn.pf.s e- and o-. — gorovniʼs xʌmʌli 'ekušelumo ke if the bride spoils the bread. 300.9. itsuŋ 'ekušeljume obliterating his footmarks. 312.4. (sis) but bušaiʼi oʼqušeljʌm (people) used much to damage (their) land for them. 256.2. Trs. of qušelʌs.

ʌr, ər, ar (afraid, frightened).

1. ʌr*-ʌtʌs to frighten, put in fear, threaten, startle. menʌn ʌr stʌs

to threaten s.o. *in ar elam* I frightened him. *fwajtsum, ar netan, (kok) duswyam* putting him in fear I took these things from the treasurer. 61.14. 000

2. *ar* °*-manas* to be afraid (of), to fear.

The object, when expressed, is put in the ablative:

akil ar gumaiś ham ko if you were so afraid. 212.21. *ar namas atʼaiya ko* I have not returned, fearing (i.e. out of fear). 232.22. *ja wuṇtsum ar anaiya ko* I am afraid of you. 114.6. *Ś. Bahrum Diu Safidtsum ar mimas . . . mostaqami* fearing the Diu Safid, Ś. B. . . . hid her. 16.4.

The dative is found in:

ispaćiar nićer ar umaiśam they were afraid to go to it. 232.5. (Cp. Sh. *ar*).

ar °*-manas* as Adj. and Noun.

1. One who fears: cowardly, timid. — *ar imanas hiran boiś* he is a timid man.
2. That which one fears; alarming, dangerous, dreadful, terrible (to look at). — *ar mimanas dil, gan* a place, road which we are afraid of, i.e. a dangerous place, road. *ar mimanasan boiś* he is a dangerous man, or a man of alarming aspect. *ar mimanasan (kayur) ko* it is a dangerous horse.

arabu -mute x gun-carriage, a kind of crude wheel barrow, on which a basket is fixed, used for transporting earth. 493

aran v. *awan*.

araq -iṇ, -ićiṇ y alcohol, spirit, arrack. — *gindawera araq* spirit made from "Sinjid" (fruit of jujube tree). *biranto araq* mulberry spirit (used 273

273 to be made till recently in Hunza). *hir ziw hirants arakitiq dizwin* the man, having produced mulberry spirit. 330.4. *pudāk morakowlo arag mi hzw* the King was drinking spirits in the court. 86.18. *pudāk triqoli arag bilow minimi* the King drank the arrack that was in his hand. 88.22. Ar.

604 °-*arar* -*do* hm son-in-law. — *lzi 'arar!* O (my) son-in-law! *ererz ha bari zuz manimi* he became much pleased with his son-in-law. 89.2. *pudāk hakow atimi . . . . wo ererāmar* the King gave orders to those sons-in-law of his. 130.21.

000 °-*arar*, °-*arō*, Impr. °-*ari*, Pps. n°-*arin*.

1. To send (a.o.), despatch. The Pn. pf. refers to the direct object.
   ine ji arōi he will send me.
   gerāam I'll send you.
   ererāam, mo.erāam I'll send him,her.
   merāmar they'll send us.
   marāam I'll send you (pl.).
   erāam I'll send them.
   ererin having sent him.
   wo aiperi don't send them!
   Imarm Yaw Bag Faikaje eri send I. Y. B. to Faik. *da arāan ererāmi* again he sent two men. 34.8. *iwa . . . gurāar merāmar* they sent her to the hut. 114.8.
2. It may be regarded as supplying the causative of *nizar* to go, i.e. to cause to go.
3. It is used, more or less metaphorically, in various idiomatic expressions: — *gwa . . . ziar ererōi ke jirāam arōi* if this (elephant) flings me down it will kill me (despatch me from life). 74.25. *wuz dzalat yenikat derwiqale*

000 *evimi* he has expended (squandered) your wealth in evil doings. 370.11.
ite ḥal ugem ite tili e fatwi.ɛr evimi he stuffed the marrow into the section of the walnut(shell) (glossed H. *bhareya*). 138.18.
bori evimi he made the sky clear. 160.8.
daqiwem movimi } he roused her
daq movimi } from sleep. 118.9.
(In the former phrase the meaning would seem to be "he caused her to go from sleep" in the second, "he caused sleep to go away for her", the result being in both cases the same).
gwahilatem ɛuvte 'vori wipe the dust off your face.
malah *-*ɛrɛa* to overturn (thing or person).
ite tili malah evumɛn, } they felled
or, *ite tili dalimɛn* } the walnut tree. 300.8.
mowɛa IUB to divorce (a woman).
*-*ɛa* *-*ɛrɛa* EOL to discourage.
ɛa ɛgowi don't discourage me.
ɛa ɛgori don't discourage him.
mɛa ɛmowi don't discourage her.
It will be noted that most of the above idioms become easily intelligible if we take *-*ɛrɛa* as "to cause to go", and in fact in intransitive expressions *nipɛa* "to go" is associated with *bori, daq, d malah*. (Cp. *d**-*ɛrɛa*).
ɛrɛlo lazy, slack.
ɛrbori -tiq km headman (of Wakhie only) *Galmittem ɛrbortiq* the headmen of Galmit. 326.6. Ar.
*-*ɛrfɛrɛa* v. *-*ɛrfɛi.ɛa* to get drunk.
ɛrɣum, ɛrɣun born of a mother of inferior status to the father, e.g. the child of a Tham by a commoner, (non-royal), wife. Pun). *derɣa*. Oppo-

sed to *karali* q.v. Prov. 7. (Cp. Sh. *argun*, low-born). 000

armán y sorrow, grief; longing, desire. — *armaw ɛ̃ɛ* to grieve. *kuyoť wɛ̃ gugɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ armawalo buť* how your subjects are earnestly longing to see you. 4.7. *Ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ri Burun ja jeri* [illegible] *gana armaw bilum* I desired to marry S. B. myself. 18.18. *ja armawano* . . . [illegible] (vernac. Ma.). 354.9. (In my dictated Ma. it is: *ja jirmo* . . . [illegible] my beloved's hair). Pre.

°-*arɛ̃ɛ̃i.ɛ̃ɛ* °-*arɛ̃ɛ̃ť* Impv. *gurɛ̃ɛ̃*, Pya. n°-*arɛ̃ɛ̃n*. (Also received as °-*arɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃*, 1st sg. pret. *urɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃m* 3rd sg. hm 'urɛ̃ɛ̃mi, 3rd pl. *urɛ̃ɛ̃m.ɛ̃n*) to get drunk, become intoxicated.
arɛ̃ɛ̃ťm I shall get drunk. *urɛ̃ɛ̃ťi* he will get drunk. *arɛ̃ɛ̃.ɛ̃m* I got drunk. *ɛ.rɛ̃ɛ̃mi* he got drunk. *gurɛ̃ɛ̃mɛ̃* you got drunk. *gurɛ̃ɛ̃i.ɛ̃?* have you got drunk? *akurɛ̃ɛ̃!* don't(thou) get drunk! *amarɛ̃ɛ̃i.in!* don't (ye) get drunk! *ɛ̃ɛ̃mɛ̃ urɛ̃ɛ̃ti mɛ̃l wumin nurɛ̃ɛ̃n ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃m* having drunk wine and get drunk, he used to come to the Thama. 208.11. *nukurɛ̃ɛ̃m* you, having got drunk. 310.1. *u'urɛ̃ɛ̃n* they, having become drunk. 330.4.

arz -iɛ̃ y representation, statement, petition. — *arz ɛ̃ɛ̃* to make a representation, state (respectfully). *dɛ̃ɛ̃rɛ̃ɛ̃mi, "ha gum.ɛ̃ɛ̃mɛ̃?" arz ɛ̃ɛ̃mɛ̃, "la ja ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ mu ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ bi* He asked: "what's the matter with you?" She replied (with all respect): "O my father, the monster is now going to devour me". 382.14. Cp. 30.22, 28.8. Ar.

arɛ̃ɛ̃n, arɛ̃ɛ̃n cheap, plentiful, abundant. — *ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ ɛ̃i.ɛ̃ɛ̃ ɛ̃ɛ̃'ɛ̃ɛ̃ ha arɛ̃ɛ̃n, ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃*

mincw tril ke orazwa he has abundance of food to eat and water to drink. 134.19. Pra.

orazwi cheapness. Pra.

-ae, 1. *-aewaete*, x heart, mind. — *A. D. . . . hunte de.agwe ve ʇat ne (B. L.) ivimi* A. D., drawing out the arrow, breaking his heart, B. L. died. 184.9. (It is not clear whether A. D. or B. L. is the subject of *ʇat ne*). *podke ewele aiy'ebiiʇawa* they do not project it into his heart (they do not convince him?). 184.19. *L.aqabrumo matsuy.aaw ewle rui atimi* he planned (or desired) in his heart to marry L. B. 118.16. *gowe mod'e bel.aʇe gow ma.imi?* how will the desire of your heart come to pass for you? 66.11. Cp. 84.8. *owe ke gwie ozawa.aa "mi.aiyu kai oden"* they did not with their hearts (gladly, spontaneously?) say this: "we will slay our sons". 44.21. "*ya podke gowa kaqulituw.al etae ba ke gwie ʇ.aya gow ofam*". "*'aae ke altuw.al ofam*" "If you, O King, will listen attentively, I will tell you this story". "I will listen attentively". 96.10. *ewle bea.ae api* there is no harm in him. EOL. *aaolowa* v. s.v. *-aaolowa*.

-ae figures in a large number of idiomatic phrases:

1. *-aeafe* + vb. "to be", to remember ("to be on one's mind"). — *je awale bila* I remember (it). *gowafe aqi.a?* don't you remember?
2. *-aeafe -afae* to remind s.o. — *iwa je aeafe 'wafimi* (or, *dawafimi*) he reminded me. *sahib ewafe oti* remind the Sahib.
3. *-aaw* + st. pc. of *fuyae* + vb. "to be" to like s.o., or s.t. —

ooo *ʌʒʊr domomʌn bo* I like her.
ʌʒʊr dimʌn bi I like it (x).
ʌʒʊr dim ʌpi I don't like it.
gowʌr dim ʌpi you don't like it.
ʌʒʊr (domomʔ) ap'o I don't like her.

4. In combination with adjectives:
*-*ʌʒʊ* (or *-*ʌʒʊ*) *ʌšaʷto* faint-hearted, poor-spirited, cowardly.
ese ʌšaʷto bai he is poor-spirited.
*-*ʌʒʊ* (-*ʊ*) *dʌg* stout-hearted, courageous, valiant.

In the following the adj. is predicative:
*-*ʌs bidil* — *kimʊ* (gen.) *es bidil bi* his heart is cowardly, he is a coward. 144.11. *A. K.... singe ʊ bimʊ* A. K. was lion-hearted. 114.2

5. In association with verbs: (se under the respective verbs).
*-*ʌs* *-*ʌrʌs* EOL to discourage.
*-*ʌs d*-*ʌtsʌs* to make s.o. take heart, encourage, EOL.
*-*ʌs duxʌrʌs* IUB to become happy.
*-*ʌs fʊʷnʌs* IUB to become vexed.
*-*ʌs gʊsʊʷyʌs* N. to fear.
*-*ʌs* *-*ʌgʊsʊʷyʌs* N. to frighten.

In the above where the verb is intransitive the subject of it is *-*ʌs* so that the idiom is "some one's heart performs some particular function".

Where the verb is transitive the Pn.pf. refers to the direct object.

ʌʒʊ soft, tender, not tough (of cucumbers, lambs etc.).

ʌʒʊl, ʌʒʊl v. *ʌʒʊli*.

*-*ʌsʌlʌs*, *-*ʌsʌlj-* Ppa. *n*-*ʌsʌl* to look at, watch. Recorded only with Pn.pf.s *ʌ-* and *e-*. — *B. J. esʌljʌm.* "*menʌn bai.i mʌtʌnom ʌsʌlʌs imeʔ*" B. J. was looking at him. "Who is that who is looking at me from a distance?"

○○○ 93.10. *aŋ ma.ŋaaw ji ban .andi'u?* why do you look at me from a distance? 93.13. *we ŋaiji.an, ŋaiaw.an* they were watching, watched him. 133.8. 134.10. *ŋaiimi* he watched him. 64.8. *ban ŋawal ji* keeping an eye on the time, come; i.e. come when it is the right time. *ŋawal daw ŋ.aw* I did the thing intentionally (sp. "with my eyes open").

andi, andi, anel, anel real, proper.

andi yawat bila, } is is real gold.
anel yawat bila } 58.33, 62.8.

anel kapiy bila it is a real corroboree.

ŋaw anel kaber ŋabin entering into his own proper skin, i.e. changing into his proper form. 133.21. Cp. 143.10. — *anel daw ŋ.aw* I did the thing intentionally(?). (Perhaps *-.ŋ + ali*). Ac.

-.aŋ.an, -.ŋ.an Imper. *-.aŋ* Pyn. *ŋ-.aŋaw* (*ŋ-.aŋ.in*). For additional forms see § 298.5. The Pn.pl. refers to the person addressed. To say to a.n., to tell a.n. a.t., to call a.n. a.t.

Pres. *gwiki ba* I say to you. *gwiki "ji" gwiki* the King says to you: "come"! 78.8. *"ba ali gwanimaw?" ŋbiki* he says to him: "can you blow the bellows?" 78.8. *B. K. "ji daijan" ŋwiki* he says to her: "I'll slap B. K." 134.8. *jaw "gwanbaw" ŋbaw* they say to me "blow, lent one". 884.13. *"Lip gwiyan" ali bi* (the calf) says to him: "I'll bite you".

Fut. *gwiyan* I'll say to thee. 58.7.
ŋbiyan I'll say to him.
gwiki he will say to thee.
gwiki - - - to us. Cp. 898.16.
ŋwi - - - to them.

Pret. "*hrynli ditur*" *ucrui* "*tends the sheep*" he said to me. 73.32. "*ŝiev le ge*" *ouimi* "*pour it into that (room) too*" he said to him. 154.9. "*hel ditur ŝ.ovyam*" *ouvme* "*bring it here that I may see it*" she said to him. 146.30. *mevam* I said to her. 18.8. *mevimi* he said to her. 149.4, 204.13. "*ŝiji ŝmeŝe*" *mevimi* he said to us "*take it back*". 73.3. "*mu rui ŝiev le ŝimeŝe*" *ouimi* "*take (many) whomsoever you please*" he said to them. 116.21. "*ev mimam gavŝi*" *ouvme* "*he will be afraid and run away*" she said to them. 144.18. "*mive ŝ.ovule*" *ouvmam* "*Go and look*" they said to them. 194.9.

Pret. *ovulule* v. a.v. 68.30.

Plup. *mi mumu ŝiev am hem* my mother had said to me. 188.18. *gvem ŝuiyamu le* had not I said to thee? 114.16, 188.17. *le mam* hadst thou not said to me? 73.18. *gavŝiyge mam* he said to the Pwin. 19.1.

Impv. Sg. *(ŝiev)* *am* tell me. 199.23, 149.23. *pudŝev ŝui ovu* my thee-to the King. 76.4. *mevu* say to her.

Pl. *ŝiev ovu.in* tell me. 88.14. *ovu.in* say ye to him. 76.23.

Once or twice recorded without the -v.

mumiu 94.10 and *ovuin*.

Neg. *ŝiev vin ŝiyam* don't tell me a thief.

ŝiyam don't tell him.

-4 Form (*-ɛwɛ).

A. D. mɔnɔ ay'ɛwɛ̃ɛn may no one call me A. D. 150.6.

P. P. mɔnɔ ak'ɔwɛ̃ɛn may none call thee P. P.! 150.8.

Past Pr. Act.

"ɔ̃ kɔlɔr ɔ̃ɛ" nɔnɔ . . . *ɔ̃ɔ̃nɔ̃* saying to him "Come to my house" he went off. 68.9. *"ɔ̃ mɔnɔnɔ dɔ̃ bɔ̃ɔ̃"* ɔ̃ɔ̃nɔ̃. nɔnɔn, *"ɔ̃ɔ̃"* ɔ̃ɔ̃nɔ̃ He said to them: "Someone else has killed it". Having said (this) to them, he said to them "go" 136.7. nɔnɔnɔnɔ saying to her. 194.13.

Sit. Pr.

ɔ̃ɔ̃nɔ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃ on his saying (this) to him. 183.13. . . . *nɔnɔnɔ̃.* nɔnɔnɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃nɔ̃ He said to her. . . . When he had said this to her, she said . . . 148.5.

Infin.

Wɔnɔ̃r kɔ̃kɔ̃r gɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃nɔ̃ . . . The Wɔnɔ̃r, after saying this to the King, went out. 4.12. *nɔ̃ gɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ (go-?) ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃?* what advantage (would there be) from our telling you? 88.18. *ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃ "nɔ̃" ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃* there is no one to say to you, commanding, "go". 94.5.

ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃, ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃, ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ pl. *y*..

1. Kit: weapons, arms; horse-furniture; equipment. — *ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃* taking arms, arming themselves. 200.13. *ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ . . . . ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃

000 *ashrêsn(e)lu gîrmsn kurlur mamimi* there was a noise as of something being poured(?) into a big vessel. 140.7. Ar.

(*-*ssfarmsn*?) IUB to praise oneself. *ssfarimi* ʾi may praise itself, H. *ssmi ta'rêf kare*. Prov. 18.

(Perhaps *-*ss* heart + 3. *yfarmsn* to grow. There is also *-*ss farmsn* to be vexed (v. sv. *-*ss*) which may possibly be *-*ss* + 2. *yfarmsn* to crack).

ssi, ssei s breakfast (only for EKJ&s and aristocrats).— *tarrdimo ssi* early breakfast, *dayrimo ssi* midday breakfast, *ssi bi.n?* is there breakfast? is breakfast ready? *ssei fi bsiân?* has he eaten breakfast?

ssi -mate (s) star.

ssiv, ssiv.

Adv. near close.

ss ssiv kare they are near.

ssiv drêqsltsm he had arrived, got near. *ssiver ssîl ke* when he went near. 266.2.

Postp. (with the dative) near.

ên gapsiv ssiv fat ayeli don't let him near you. *kurlur ssiv drêqsltimi ke* when he arrived near the house. 272.24. *farrimi sersfsmer ssiv* near 10 o'clock.88.1.

but: *ke ssiv ssîfsrsn* hiding near the house. 40.6. *gusmo ke ssiv msmimi* he came near the old woman's house. 266.11.

*-*ssivsn*, *-*ssivê*, Impv. *-*ssivi* v.t. to feed, make s.o. eat(?), give s.o. s.t. to eat, H. *ikûlawa*. The Pa.pt., which frequently develops a subordinate *-s* refers to the eater. The object eaten is in the nominative form. *ssivîi* he will feed me.

24 a

[See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 541 - Analyst]

000 *ʌapik gosirćʌm* I'll feed you with bread. I'll give you bread to eat. *ins ji ćrisirimi* he fed me. *ćrsirumo* she fed me. *gʌ.rsirʌm* I fed you. *ćrsirʌm* I fed him. *ʌapik ʌe 'ćisirumo* she fed it (the lamb) with bread. 68.2. *mo.rsirimi* he fed her. *bʌyum* (*bʌyur*) *bʌrpur ćsiri* feed the mare (horse) with grain. *ʌiqa ćsiri* give it grass to eat. *bʌyur(iko) 'ćsiri* feed the horses. *gʌtimuta ćsirume ʌʌya ov ćimi* he told them the story of his being fed with bread. 182.18.

Metaphorical.

ʌʌmijur gosirʌm N. I have caused you trouble.

(The exact force of the word is doubtful. It has the appearance of a Ca., but no corresponding simple transitive form is known).

ʌsiri, ʌsiv, pl. *ʌsiri; ʌsivi* N. pl. *ʌsirimuta* cook. — *thʌmur yulćin ʌe ʌa ʌsiri.e xʌm ćtum* the head cook and the assistant cook(s) (*Gujhalia*) prepare vegetable soup for the Thum. 340.9. *ʌsiriur 'ćrin ʌuyuru . . . ʌaf'ćrqo bilen* the skins . . . of the two goats are (allotted) to the cooks. 342.2.

(I understood that in Ha. *ʌsiv* was the sg. and that *ʌsiri* was pl.; but in view of the forms recorded in N. and the Sh. sg. *ʌsiri*, pl. *ʌsiro*, it seems probable that *ʌsiri* is also the Hunza sg.).

ʌsirum adj. near. — *ʌsirum jowu* near relative. EOL.

(Adjectival form based on *ʌsiv*).

(*.*ʌsisirʌsif*) in the form *ćsisirʌs* N. to strain, filter (water). — *ćsisirum ʌsil* filtered water. (Cp. *ćsirum* and Sh. *ćsiro* clear, pure).

000 *-*askhāqun* hollow below the lower end of sternum. — *awkhqunsle azoljirla* I am suffering from heart-burn(?), indigestion(?) (*-*as* heart + *khāqun* spoon? Morg. reports Yidgha *kafči*, spoon, used in the same sense).

*-*askanas* v. *-*asqanas* to kill.

*-*askhoranas*, *-*askhorui-*, Impv. *-*askhoran*, v.t. to make s.o. late, delay s.o., keep s.o. waiting. — *-*askhoraiyam* I shall delay .. *-*askhoranam* I delayed .. *wuṣ ine gure hesi mowkhoranma?* why did you delay that woman? *amowkhoran*, *ma* don't keep her waiting, give it to her. *hesi ewkhoranma?* why have you delayed it(?)? why have you brought it late? Ca. of *-*khoranas*.

*-*askhortas*, *-*askhoṛ-* (*-*askhoṛ-*), Impv. *-*askhorte*, Ppa. *-*askhorte*.

1. To cut, cut off, cut down, cut (wood) across.

The Pa.pf. generally refers to the person who has something cut off. *gupstie gowkhorda ha* I am going to cut off your head (for you). 56.5. *hwkhowstie gatie ayowkhortej* as so long as the fowl's head is not cut off. 56.8. *gupstie akowkhortej* as so long as your head is not cut off. 56.4. *gupstie mokowkhorte* cutting off your head. 72.4. *ovlzalike ugatowstie mowkhorte* cutting off the heads of both of them. 174.24. *gatie ewkhortema ha* after its head has been cut off. 56.4.

In the following the Pa.pf. does not refer to the person affected. It perhaps refers to the object *yuyaq*: *yuyaq ev ewkhortam* I shall cut off my hair for him. 358.16.

And in the following the verb seems to be used without an object:

(*čuvs*) *ay'evkortsimi* (the knife) did not cut. 142.4. 000

2. To make gallop, to make s.o. flee, put to flight, rout. — *evkortsumʌn* they put me to flight. *uʌ un gevkortumʌn* they will put you to flight. *hoi evkortsumʌn* they routed the army. *nevkorts* putting them to flight. (*hʌyur*) *dandʌnsfe evkortume dilsimi* he brought (the horse) along, making it gallop over the stones. 122.8. Cp. 150.18.

3. To decide (a matter, case), settle (a quarrel, dispute). — *ye eskorts gots astʌm . . . eskortʌm* Now decide this case . . . I will decide it. 83.19. *astʌm eskortsumʌn* they decided the case. *thʌme gots astʌmulo besʌn evkortsimi?* what did the Mir settle in this case? *yor eskortsum evtsum bila* Ns. it is a previously-decided case. — Also: *gevtsum bila(?)* Ns. *tsundo rupiʌ mav eskortʌm* they settle the brideprice at five rupees. 304.7. Cp. 302.17.

4. To make come down, to make pour down (of rain). — *kirʌltʌn evkortsimi* he made a storm of rain descend, pour down. 155.28.

IUB gives two meanings for **-eskortʌs:*

A. To separate, H. *jodn karna.*

B. To remove, drive away, H. *dur karna.*

It is not clear whether there are two radically distinct verbs of the same form. There is obviously one **-eskortʌs* which is the Ca. of *gevtsʌs* q.v.

This covers the examples given under 2 above. It also possibly

000 covers 4, as *gavtsas* seems to mean "to flow" as well as "to run", and in one idiom it apparently means "to throw oneself (down)".

There remain the meanings under 1 and 3. The underlying sense of the first "to cut (off)" is probably seen in IUB's "to separate, *joda karna*". In cutting off there is a separation of parts, but it is still rather a long step to *gavtsas*.

Similarly there is doubt in regard to the conception which lies behind the third set of meanings, to "settle, decide".

There are two points to be mentioned:

a. A synonym for *astam eskortsas* is *astam kanpa stas* to put a case or a decision on one side which suggests that the former may contain the idea of "separation" or "removal", IUB's *joda karna* and *dur karna* respectively.

b. From a very early note it seems that Nz. gave me *astam gavtsum bila* as a synonym for *astam eskortsum bila*, which would imply that *eskortsas* in this idiom was derived from *gavtsas*.

Note that the Sh. *čhinoski* and the Kho. *čhinik* mean both to cut, sever and to settle a dispute etc.

Attention may be drawn to the following phrases which correlate the verbs *gavtsas* and *-askortsas* 1. to cut off:

-il gavtsas "(a person's) means of subsistance to be cut off, stopped"; *-il *-askortsas* "to stop (a person's) means of subsistance". *gwimo gu.il a.rskorts* "don't yourself destroy your own means of livelihood".

000 *-*ʌski* y. remembrance; longing, desire. H. *awzu*. Recorded only with the Pn.pf.s *ʌ-*, *e-*, *& mo-*. — *sailər sčʌn*. *But ʌski duwʌ'ʌlila*. Let us go for a walk. I have conceived a great desire (to do so). 52.26. *ja jʌma'ʌt moeki duwʌ'ʌlila* my wife ardently desires. . . . 56.8. *duwʌ'ʌlila* appears to be the 3rd sg. Perf. y. of *duwʌlʌs*, of which the ordinary meaning is to fly. It is stated that when a member of the family (?) has returned from, or is going on, a long journey the women say: *ʌski duwʌlimi* ("my heart has risen" sic!) and kiss and touch the eyes of the traveller. *wʌtʌns eski dimin ilji dimi* his desire for his country coming on him, he came back, i.e. feeling a longing for his country he returned to it. 386.21. (Cp. Werch. *eski* which seems to be a locative form of *-*ʌs*).

*-*ʌskir*, pl. *-*ʌskundəro*, hm. father-in-law i.e. wife's father, or wife's father's brother, or husband's father. — *eskire hʌlər dimi* he came to his father-in-law's house. 32.7. *eskirʌlər* to their father in law. N. pl. *-*ʌskrivnts* "father-in-law on either side, or father-in-law's brother, or father-in-law of your child, or any male relation by marriage". (*-*ʌs* + *kir*? Cp. *-*ʌskus*).

*-*ʌskirʌs* IUB, *-*ʌskirč*, St.pc. *-*ʌskirum*, to dye, H. *rang karna*. — *eskirum* Ns. dyed. *eskirumrlo gʌtunts* EOL dyed cloths.

ʌskuw, *askuw* (*ʌsquw* Gh. Kh.) -*iq* y.

1. Blossom, flower.—*bʌsilum ʌsquwiq duwum* bringing in flowers from the garden. 382.11. *ew balis niw askuwiq ʃrmi* the sheep went and

ate the flowers. 64.9. *joŋ duxər-čume . . gir'amulər askuriŋ divi ki* when, the apricot trees coming into blossom, the blossom (pl.) has reached the village. 320.1. 000

2. *askur* sg. (?) & pl. x. smallpox rash, smallpox. — *imtsə askur duwaləə bi.en* smallpox rash has come out on him. *askur awala ba* I have got smallpox. *askura (i)walai.i(ʃ)* or *askure walai.i(ʃ)* he has got smallpox. *askurtsum duwai.i* he has recovered from smallpox. *askurtsum duwaləə bar* they have recovered from smallpox. (Cp. Kho. *isprur* blossom, smallpox; Sh. *pfonər* flower, smallpox).

*-*askurtsas* v. *-*asqurtsas*.

*-*askus*, *-*asgus*, pl. *-*asgušiŋants* N. *-*askušints* hf. mother-in-law, wife's mother, husband's mother, H. *sas*, *xoidarman*. — *awkus apo* my mother-in-law is not (here). *gowkus tele bo* your mother-in-law is there. *han pačien . . . mosgusmor ʃat ečubo* she leaves a shirt . . . for her m.-in-law. 306.5. *ise gatu mosguse* (or *morəskuse*) *yorljubo* her mother-in-law puts on that garment. 306.6. (*-*as* + *gus*. Cp. *-*askir*). 601

*-*asmilas*, *-*asmilj-*, to pacify, placate, persuade, IUB. H. *ravkpar lama*, *manguw karama*, *qabul karama*. — *uyum ine i-'asmilasor dwi'awskinimi* he began to persuade the elder son (H. *use manawe lage*). 374.6. 000

*-*aso* pl. *-*asomots* kidney. — *jotrə̄o mosomots* our "little kidneys" (meaning?). *gosomots* thy kidneys. 66.15. *esomots* his, its, kidneys. 66.6, 74.4, 338.18. *'asomots duriimi, kaberə̄ ortimi, d'otsorimi* he took out its

kidneys and roasted and cooked them. 68.11. ○○○

1. *'-aspalas, *-aspalj- Impv. *'-aspal to kindle, light, H. *jalawa*.

Only recorded in the form *aspalas*, the object in all cases being singular x and y.

čirayŋ (or, *čirag*) *aspalasulo* at the time of the lighting of the lamp. 314.12. *geri espaljam* they light a lamp. 314.2. *pfu espal* light the fire. *pfu espaljan* let us light the fire. *ai-espal* don't light (it). Cs. of 1. *balaw* v.i. to burn.

2. *-aspalas, *-aspalj-, Impv. *-aspal, Ppa. *-aspal.

Recorded only with Pn.pfs. *go-*, *e-*, and *o-*.

1. To lose, H. *gum karna*. — *gu-kar ayespal* don't lose yourself. *ei . . espala baiyam* I had lost my son. 368.16. *go-čo . . . 'espalam* we had lost thy brother. 374.16. *gawe sirme nišam espalimi* he removed (lit. caused to be lost) the trace(s) of the burial. 56.22.
2. To exile, deport, expel, H. *jala wafan karna* — *kuwe šhamo espalimi . . aespal . .* he drove out those kings . . having driven them out. 142.18. *wŋ gespaljam; gespalam* I shall expel you; I expelled you. *W. H. Čitrawer 'espalowan* they exiled W. H. to Chitral. 344.15.

Trans. and Cs. of *aspalas* to be lost.

(*-aspapayas?) probably only in the form *espapayas* q.v.

*-asperas, *-asperč-, Impv. *-asper. v.i. to tire, fatigue, exhaust. — *asperči* he will tire me. *gesperam* I have tired you. *amesperčam* I will not tire you (pl.). N. (EOL) *-ker *esperas*

000 to tire (one)self, exert (one)self. *gukər ay'espər, akuwər* don't exert yourself, don't get tired. *gukər lokʌn espərʌs bila* you must exert yourself a little. Trs. and Ca. of *-wərʌs to become tired.

(*-ʌspʌsʌs?) only recorded in the form *espʌsʌs* q.v.

(*-ʌspi.ʌs and N. *-ʌspuɣʌs?) only recorded in forms *espi.ʌs* and *espuɣʌs* q.v.

*-ʌsqʌnʌs, *-ʌsqʌí-, Impv. *-ʌsqʌn, Ppa. n*-ʌsqʌn, v.t. to kill, slay, murder, H. *mawdalna, qatl karna*. A number of forms are given in § 298.3. *ʌsqʌimí* he will kill me. *uɣ ke gosqʌimí* he will kill you too. 264.20. *ʌk'ər esqʌi.ʌm* I shall kill myself. 12.9, 16.13. *padša je ke uɣ meltʌlík m'esqʌimí* the king will kill us both you and me. 54.21. *je mə wʌsqʌiyʌm* I shall kill you (pl.) 12.2. *ʌsqʌi.i ba? gosqʌi.a ba* are you going to kill me? I am going to kill you. 54.17, *ʌwə esqʌnʌi.i* he has killed my father. 70.16.

Also:

ʌwə ʌsqʌnʌi.i he has killed my father (for me). 70.15, 80.12. *i-mo yu esqʌnʌm* he had killed his own sons. 266.18. *ayesqʌn* don't kill him. *ʌiyʌsqʌn* don't kill me. 54.22. *gəliqəmis esqʌnin* kill the women. 240.4. *in esqʌnj be g'omsi.i ba?* how can you kill him? (or you can't kill him?) 70.28. *in be ʌmʌibai.i je ʌsqʌnj?* how can he kill me? (or he can't kill me?) 70.24. *Tʌpki.ʌnts esqʌnʌmʌsʌm ilji* after the killing of the T. 240.17. *yu esqʌnʌm ite dišolo* at the place where his father was killed. 82.6, cp. 84.4. *je 'esqʌnʌs be* I am going to kill him. 70.25. *ku mənə esqʌnʌs*

000 *be* let no one kill these persons(?) 86.13. *kine ɣu esqanasulo* at the time of the killing of this father of yours. 82.21. *esqanasir . . ?ak etimi* he determined to kill them. 288.10. *nesqan . . .* having killed him. 84.2. IUB *esqaimtse* (he) would kill him(?), H. *mavta zwa karta. esqanum maimtse* he would be killed(?), (or, he would have killed him). IUB gives as equivalent H. *mava hoya* he will have killed, which seems to be wrong.

(*-*asqanas*?) *seqanas* IUB to make beautiful, H. *zubyurai banama*. (Perhaps connected with γanas to appear).

*-*asqoranas*?) *seqoranas* IUB to carve, draw(?), H. *nagi karma. seqorai.i bai, seqora.i bam, seqoranimi, seqoranum.*

*-*asqases* to make go bad, rotten, addled. The only example is: *tiqaiyo esqasi bi* (the hen) has addled her eggs, i.e. has let her eggs go addled. Cs. of γases.

*-*asqulas*, *-*asqulj-*, Ppa. n*-*asqul*, IUB *nesqulin*.

1. To burn, burn up. Only recorded with the Pa.pf.s *go* and *e*. — *'esquljam* I shall burn it. *esqulam* I burnt it. *ise Boyo Gale hum aiyesquljam* they do not burn the wood of that Boyo Juniper. 216.5. (γasil *bitse*) *nesqul* burning the wood (y. pl.). 136.15. *esqulas* γasil wood for burning, firewood. 173.23. *Bi.ulo gesquli* he burnt thee in the forge. 356.5.
2. To roast, parch. — *gfy'wan hori n'esqul* roasting, parching a little barley. 328.9.
3. IUB to lose, waste, squander (?). H. *nagpam karma*. Cs. and trs. of γulam.

*-asqurisas, N. *-asyurisas, *-asqurš- v. t. to sink, make sink, drown. — *asqurši* he'll sink me. *gosqurišam* I'll sink you. EOL *ai.asyuris* don't drown me. *ai.asyuris* don't drown him. Cs. of *-yurisas. ooo

astakwi old, aged, very old (of human beings only?); an elder. (Sh. *astakwi*, cp. Kh. *awaqwi* from Turki *aqsaqal* = white-beard).

astam, astawm, astawm, astam -iŋ y.

1. Judgment, decision, settlement of a case, justice, H. *'adalat*. — *jaw astawm ayutimi* he did not do justice for me, did not decide my case. *ma astawm stin* do you decide the matter. 106.10. *astawm nodas* getting people to decide the matter. 106.4. *-ov astam ma* settling the matter for them. 43.20. *astawmar dawimi* he came up for a decision. 106.5. *ast'amulo ja mai.i bi* according to justice (in law?) it is mine. 104.4. *yus'iki.aŋ astawsig* bad decisions, unjust judgments. 92.29 *maw tsana astam ešam* I shall do true justice for you (pl.). 98.8.

2. A matter for judgment, case, suit, cause. — *astam sikortsas* to settle, decide a case v. s.v. *-sikortsas. *astam hanpa stowas* they settled the case. *astam hanpa wanimi* the case was settled. *thama gots astamulo besas faiwlo stimi?* what decision did the Tham give in this case? *ja ast'amas bila, ite haw ov sti* I have a case, settle it for me first. 80.8. *Baltitum wuriti giram Hamodatigsko ast'am stowas* the four tribes of Baltit instituted a suit with (i.e. prosec-

dings against) the Hamachating. 258.1. 000
(Cp. Sh. *astom* judgement).

(*-*asthayas*) v. *esthayas* to extinguish.

*-*asthap*. — 1 2 *astap manumulo divus gavi manila*. 358.4. Glossed: "in the middle of my back behind the heart" (a bullet wound has come). *astápà* was elsewhere given by IYB as a word with a final aspirated *pà* with the meaning "between the shoulders at the back", but it was written by him in the above passage, *asthap*. (Probably a compound of *-*as*).

*-*astaqayas*, *-*astaqać*-, Impv. *-*astaqa*.
1. V.t. to hide, conceal (living beings).
je wŋ gostaqaćam I'll hide you.
je estaqaćam I'll hide him.
mostaqaći he'll hide her.
yawe wyow estaqaćam they hide all the others. 232.8.
Pret. *gostaqaiyam* I hid you.
estaqami he hid him.
mostaqami he hid her.
Perf. *estaqa hoi.i*, *mostaqa hoi.i*.
Static Pe. *morpći estaqam ine pahlawar eesmo* she said to the pahlwan (who was) concealed beside her. 146.9.
2. To close (the eyes). — *eićin estaqayam* I closed my eye. *iićimoto estaqam hi.s ke* if his eyes are shut. 264.24. Ca. of *dayai.as*.

asu ćas to chew the cud. — *asu ći hi* (the cow) is chewing the cud.

asuhrj gullet (based on the preceding *asu*?).

*-*asuiow* which-is-in-the-heart, pertaining to the heart. *asuiwm ite her wŋ mis* you speak to me the thought that is in my heart. 80.8. (*-*as* + *sio* + *ow*).

*-*aj* pl. *-*ajomuts* n.

000 1. Neck, nape of the neck, external throat. — *ino hir Kiser eṭaje gʼa/ ne Kiser*, throwing the man on his neck i.e. over his shoulder. 194.8. *yumuło otom ino eṭaje halda* the burden (be) on the neck of him who has lied! (i.e. he must be responsible). 46.4, cp. 178.8. *gʼdar ḫaṇaliṭiṇ gʼogiṭam* I'll put chains on your neck. 60.2. *yuṇ .. ṭot ṭi eḍolo waṇṭoṭ* the father falls on his younger son's neck. 383.9. *ḫut gʼd ṭiṇ oṭje* don't stretch your neck too high (said to a proud, insolent person). *ebewtsolo dam* seizing them by the necks. 206.9.

Special locative: *-aṭi* v. § 66, on the neck. — *ja aṭi ḫaṇaliṭiṇ ayiṭi* he will put chains on my neck (for me). 60.8.

As regards meaning this locative appears from various examples to replaceable by *-*aṭaje* or *-*aṭer* be as in the preceding illustrations.

2. Collar (of coat, shirt, shoes).
3. Col, neck of hill. — *domiawa Hindi Kaṭa ḫaw eṭolo, eṭolow laṭatar dum'u.ḫum,an* bringing her to the col opposite to the Hindi fort, they took her up from the col on to the spur. 194.8.
4. Pommel (of saddle). — *ḫaw ḫa ṭili eṭ(e) eṭer ebʼiḫaṇḫin* putting also the whip on the pommel of the saddle. 78.18.

aḫeto, aḫeto, aḫato weak, feeble, powerless, destitute. — *ino hir ḫut yerib ḫam, but aḫeto ḫam* the man was very poor, he was very weak (or powerless). 84.8, also 108.6, 17. Cp. *-*as aḫeto* s.v. *-*as*. N. ḫu

000 *ateto* pl. *ateteweta*. *at ateti* pl. *ateteweta*. (Sh.m *ateto*, f. *ateti*, < *a* + *ati?*).

ateteloj weakness.

atelpuv IUB weakness, poverty, H. *kamzori*, *muflisi*. (Sh. *atelov*. *atelpuv*).

-elfiq *y*. pl. small of back, loins, reins, waist, (of human being and animal). — *elfiqir ker'vnin, ker bi.'viko bilen* look at his waist it (pl.) is very slender. 184.18, 188.8. *erfiq eqerqio manirdes* my loins have become big (a narrator's slip for *halpiriq* back). 188.8. *yerye elfiqulo kam* he was (still) in his father's loins. 88.21. *fur elfiq gami* its back has been touched i.e. it is sore-backed (of a horse). *elfiqulo halyan imawi li* a wound has come on its back, or, it has become wounded on its back. Cp. 64.18.

elfom waistcloth, waistbelt. Recorded:

1. In the form *erfom* in the following: *erfom -rdo* (waist)belt (of pattu). *erfomu berpil* leather belt. *erfomu jokowi* this belt of poor man. *erfomu mudon li* (no translation, but *mud* glossed "edge"). (In *erfom* the *e* is invariable).
2. In the form *erfumudi*. — *erfumudi rilli bilow* there was a dagger at his waist (explained as stuck through between his waistcloth or waistbelt and his body, handle up, point down). 198.6.

In the light of *elfomu mudon* this must be taken to be *elfum* + *mudi*, *mudi* being a locative of *mud*, which means any extremity i.e. end, edge, side. What the exact meaning would be here it is difficult to surmise.

From *ərʲʃum* and *ərʲʃum* we may assume a basal form *-*aʃ(um* taking the pronoun prefixes, *ərʲʃum* being the 3rd plural form applying to people in general. 000

(*-*aʃ(um* must almost certainly be connected with *-*aʃ(iq* the waist etc. which is y. pl. and presupposes a singular *-*aʃ-* which has not been recorded, but which would stand in the same relation to *-*aʃ(iq* as English loin does to loins and perhaps actually possesses the same significance: *-um* would be the adjectival suffix and *-*aʃ(um* would mean what pertains to the loins or waist and might be specialised to mean waistbelt).

aʃər v. *ataʃər*.

aʃʲʃum ugly, evil-looking H. *badpuwat*.

*-*aʃki* at the head, under the head (of a person lying down); bolster, pillow, H. *sirhana*. — *dəryum ərig 'əʃki ərəʃan* putting (the corpse's) right hand under his head 312.2. *Ham γ'uman əʃki ətan* they put a clod under his head (as a pillow), 312.3. *hin dasinan əʃkirtur dumə bo* a girl has come up to his head (as he lay there), 180.6.

aʃkat (*aʃkat?*) happiness, comfort, delicacy(?), H. *sukh, ḥaq, ārām*. — *aʃkat ərmə hərwʲʃaman* they abide happily. (Cp. Sh. *aʃkat hərtki* to embrace), 142.11.

*-*aʃkij* pl. *-*aʃkimiq* y. pillow.

(*-*aʃpuraq?*) y. pl.

Only recorded in form *əʃpuraq* mane.
hayuru əʃpuraq horse's mane.
burmə əʃpuraq a markhor's mane (beard?). *bəkərdus əʃpuraq* the calf's mane. 104.24, 184.5, etc. (Probably *-*aʃ* neck + *bur* hair).

ałłan, ołłan, ałłen, pl. *ałłoiyo, ołłoiyo* hm groom, "aais". — *ówo ḥayer ... ałłano ḥa ołłumi* he sent his own horse with the groom. 76.11. *ḥa ḥaste ałłoiyo!* O elephant grooms! 76.22. *ałłoiyo w'ałłumaa* four grooms. 336.5. *ḥan ałłoiyu.w ałłen* they give one (goat's head) to the grooms. 340.18. (Sh. *ałłen*). 000

ałłyo by chance. — *ałłyo manimi* it happened by chance. *ałłyo doi'ełłan* I heard by chance. (Cp. Sh. *ałłyo, ołłoiyo* unexpectedly, accidentally).

°-*ałłan*, °-*ał*, Impv. °-*ałł* and °-*ł*, Ppa. n°-*ałłan* and n°-*ł*.

For forms v. §§ 274 and 298.4. Some of the short Impv. forms will be found separately mentioned in this vocab., v. *er, ir, mor*, and neg. *eye, ołye, ołye*. To make, to do etc.

The pronoun prefix refers to the Direct object, or to the Indirect Object, or to a Noun Dependent on the Direct Object.

Where the word to which the Pn.pf. refers is the 3rd pers. hm sg., x sg. y sg. or pl., the Pn pf. is *e*.

Where the verb is associated with a noun to form a compound verbal expression, the noun being the object of the verb e.g. *gur ełłan* to marry, we get compounds in which the *e*-prefix remains constant (— *ełłan*).

ełłan also fills the place of the English "to do" where the direct object is a thing or action.

In view of these facts it is natural that *ełłan* is much the commonest form of °-*ałłan*, so much so that it appears to be an invariable verb in its own right.

000 1. The uses of *-ɛtɛ* in association with a noun, adjective or adverb are analysed and illustrated in the Grammar § 261, and need not be further dealt with here.

2. To do, make, carry out etc. — *čayɛ ɛtɛ* to make a statement, tell a story, narrate. *ivɛ bukɛ̄ɛ duro ivɛ Wazivɛ ɛtɛm* his Wazir used to do the business of, i.e. manage, his land. 1.4. *ʌ̄ɛ ɛtɛ* to make, build, a house. *kapik ʌ̄ɛ ʌ̄ɛrbat ɛtɛn* preparing bread and sherbat. 342.9. *ʌ̄ɛmarɛ ɛtɛrɛ* they do (i.e. recite) prayers. *gɛkɛ kasɛp ɛtil . . . ɛti* make the round of these gardens. 10.12. *ivɛ gɛtɛ duro ɛti* he will do this. 94.16. *ʌ̄ɛurɛ . . . ɛtɛrɛ* they hold, celebrate, Nauruz. 316.1.

In the above we have the *ɛ-* prefix only because the object is in every case x or y sg. It would be the same were it y pl.

With the x pl. we get *ɛ-*. *pɛ̄ɛtimɛtɛ ɛv ɛtɛmɛ* she made cakes of bread for him. 182.8. *ishi ʌ̄ɛmatɛiŋ . . . hal'ariŋ ɛtɛrɛ . . . ɛlto čɛkɛn kani ɛtɛrɛ* They prepare three sacks of dried apricots . . . they prepare two "*čɛk*" of kernels. 306.22.

3. Ca. to cause to do, make do. — *ɛstɛrɛ ʌ̄ɛrɛn* making them decide the case. 106.4. *ji kʌ̄ʌ̄riŋ ɛtɛm* I'll make them show their accomplishments 106.6. *ʌ̄ʌ̄wilčiŋ ɛwlwyɛ dɛtɛrɛ dʌ̄ŋ ɛtɛrɛ* fetching their relatives they make them bake "*ʌ̄ʌ̄wali*". 300.4. *ivɛ kani ɛtɛm* he had made them (people) make that garden. 12.6. *čʌ̄ʌ̄rɛ pirilɛn*

000 *ortimi* he made them (people) make an iron peg. 190.8.

+ Infin.

orpačim hʌmrʌa fʌi aystʌs orčai.i he causes them never to let him go from beside them. 116.18.

4. To let, allow, permit. With the -ŋ form of the dependent verb: *im nrŋ sti, aysti* let him go, don't let him go. *nrŋ ayorti* don't let them go. V. § 359.

5. With a dependent Infinitive the sense is causative:

ires bʌntsum hole dwesʌs aiy'stumʌn they caused it (the donkey) not to come out of the boulder. 200.17. N. *gots čʌyʌ ins sis deryʌlʌs sti* make that man hear the story.

6. To say, to speak (a language).

stʌs is apparently occasionally used with the meaning "to say". It is not a regular idiom as with the Sh. *thorki* to do and to say. *bismilla ne* saying "bismillah".8.1. *mukorings . . . ʌkil scobo, "da kot be mʌnimi" nosen* she says thus to herself "What is this that has happened?" says she. 118.11. *kirns sifʌt mar sčʌm* I will tell you his merits. 92.1. *Borošʌski stʌs* to speak Burushaski.

7. To have sexual intercourse with (a woman). — H. *čordna, mujarma'at k.* — *mortʌs* to "have" (a woman). *hʌn yam.. hʌkičʌŋer dim gušiŋʌnts orči bim* a bear used to come into the houses and violate the women. 228.2.

In this sense are probably to be interpreted: *gortʌm* (recorded as a term of abuse), *matumʌn* (recorded as referring to illicit intercourse).

-ejs, -ejs, -ejs suffix on, upon; over. V. § 70. ○○○

-ejw suffix to. V. § 70. VI.

-ejwm, -ejwm suffix from on, being on. V. § 70. VII.

*-ebiwas N., *-ebiwi-, Imper. *-ebiwi to show s.t. to s.o., cp. Ha. *-ebiwas. Pn.pf. refers to the indirect object. N. *ine ste ke hete kirey ebiwiden* the man is showing me this book.

(*-ebeni.ses) v. ebei.as.

*-ebei.as, *-ebei-, Ppa. a*-ebein.

1. To press down, crush down, trample on: to stuff into, fill into a vessel, trample down (earth etc.), H. *debewas*.
   a. Pn.pf. referring to Direct Object. *gwtei/am* I'll trample on you. *gwtiyr ilk ebei hoi* he has trampled down, stamped down the earth with his feet. 84.1. *gf'etig kr kenjil kayere gapolo 'ebeini.* *Nitein* . . . . he stuffed ashes and charcoal into the horse's skin. Having done so . . . i.e. he stuffed the skin with ashes etc. 180.10. *kayerer ashiva ufigeb 'ebeidrem.* *n'eiain* . . . . pouring (the flour) into the bin they trample it down with their feet. Having trampled it down . . . 234.5. *kkewk ebei hoi* he has pressed down the straw. With the Pn.pf. referring to the indirect object: *kaiele gf'etig metei/amiw* . . . . I would have stuffed (or would stuff) ashes into your skin(s) (for you), i.e. I would have stuffed your skins with ashes. 154.2, Cp. 160.10, 176.10.
2. Metaphorical: to oppress, treat unjustly, wrong (of a superior doing

injustice to *ra* inferior, refusing share of property due to him etc.) — *ottiwi*, *mulaini* he treated me, us, o. justly. *nimurhin* opposing-me. 248.8.

8. *-dar (*-dal) *gfa* *-ulaiar* to set fire to, burn v.t. The Fu.pf. refers to the thing set fire to. — *Inrhanwagiar gfa ottiri* he will set fire to, burn down idol temples. 93.21. *ottai gfa ottiima* you have set fire to me, ruined me. 168.8. (*-ulaiar in 8 is clearly the Ca. of *lai.ar*, but it is difficult to connect the latter with *-ulaiar in 1 and 3).

*-ulaqar, *-ulawi-. In the form *ottaqar*, to send.

The verb appears to be the causative of *laqar* with the possess prefix of the 3rd. pl. "to cause them to take away", but the "them" frequently does not refer to people who have been actually specified.

In no case recorded does the *o-* refer to the object sent.

On the whole it seems probable that *ottaqar* is in origin "to cause them (i.e. people) to take away", but that it has become so identified with the idea of "sending" that the possess prefix itself, i.e. *o-*, has lost all definite significance.

Ow ima wulaar 'ottawi he sent it to his own country (nowhere not specified). 166.11. *Aayar . . . ottawi* he sent the horse to him. 76.11. *Aatawaja taaf wirihiko ottawi.* "*Guarja maijen ja' ana.ia*" *aata ottawi haato. Haato tawaa* putting a howdah on the elephant he sent it off. Saying: "Say to him "Mount

000 on this and once[illegible] he despatched the elephant. They took the elephant away. (Here there are conveyors). 74.33. *the hel'ai.ámitiq ugrour nal ortaami* (or, *hilami*) he despatched a letter to all those countries (no conveyor mentioned). 98.10. *thamu ḡamrulir ko ḡapiñ kamikete ortaotaru . . . wur wimu gaber ainetaru* they send dishes of food also to the Them's wife . . . they send them to them to their own quarters. 340.18. (Here neither subject nor conveyors are clearly specified). *hewam.an kedi wulur ortaqam* I sent (what?) to them several times.

*-a.wiljeiqa.Impr. *-a.wiljo.Pps.n* -aljen to cause s.o. to mount (on a horse), v.t. to mount (s.o. on s.t.) Pa. pf.s recorded: *o'ial*), *o.(wó'*); *ol*). — *ewaljo* make me mount. *a.wiljeiqam* I made him mount. *Ayyere gapab o'aljami* he mounted him on the horse's skin. 150.11. *na 'wiljen* having made him mount. *Ayyer tawin. Nerljen d'ojw.in* take out horses and having made them mount bring them in. 34.9. Cs. of *ḡaljeqa.n*.

1. *-a.wi.as, *-a.wi.at* Impr. *-a.wi.o to expend, use up, make use of, put to work. Only recorded with Pa.pf.s *o'(w-)* and *o(w-)*. — *(tawar) ewi.ami* he made use of (the iron). *rite kanjól* (x pl.) *ewyami* he expended that charcoal. 170.30. *rupi.n* (x pl.) *owi.aam, owi.ami* I'll spend, he spent, the money. *'ewi.a* put him to work.

2. *-'a.wi.as* (as 1.) *-a.wi.as* to teach, train. *'ewi.am Ayyer* a trained (to pole) pony. *ñwa 'wwi.aami* he is training it well. *ñwa ye*

000 *ottalib ha.n* 'ovi.ctsi he is teaching, or training his two sons well.

* ʌ.ovuʃʌ, *'-ʌ.ovud, Ppa. u'*-ʌ.ovuʃ. Pa.pfa recorded: *pu(r-)*, *ou(r)*, *mu(r-)*; *o(r-)*.

1. To cause to sit; seat. — *hovi.ofo ovudoti* he makes him sit down on a chair. 74.10. *dalimud movudovu* they make her sit at the upper end (of the room). 204.19. *'ovutimi* he made the animal lie down (when going to slaughter it), (or, *uatimi* he cast it). *potrfo uʌ.ovud d'ilim.in* seating him on this (litter) being him here. 79.3. *potrfo ualu.ovut gotovi.ton* seating you on this we shall take you away. 78.5. *ha.n difonor dwalumi ovutimi. Novovi ualovu ulimi* he set him down in a nice place and made him sit down. Having seated him, he salaamed to him. 8.8.

2. To settle, centre to dwell, make stay. — *jo wy hovlo povoton* I'll settle you here. *ilo hrgudolo movovulimi* he established her in the palace. 172.24. *Ulimo hagro ovoton.on* they settled their flocks in Ulter. 250.6.

3. To maintain, keep (servants, animals etc.). — *Ayuv* (noke) *hovon.on ovoda?* *uarlo Ayuv ovoda* ha how many horses (servants) do you keep? I keep four horses.

4. To keep, detain (a person). H. *rakkoz.* — *mivig pavo ovovtoa* sis a man detained under our hands, i.e. a hostage. Cf. of *hovuʃʌ* (f. IUB etc.).

ʌvo, ʌuo yes (in answer to a question). — *Hakati podki ovi motuvu le?* ʌuo, motuvgu ha Have you not married

the daughter of the Habashi king? Yes, I have married her. 88.4. *aust* *ausa* to say "yes", consent, agree. (Cp. Sh. *aust*, yes).

aurá, *aual* in the first place, firstly, originally. — *aual hawwin yadig fwtig bitar. ariin.alow* . . firstly look his feet are small, secondly. 104.18 . . *aual Hawaa Baltiyle Tapkl.awis alard* how originally the T. were settled in Baltit in Hunza. 188.1. *awalolo* . . . *tale tawak mawaaam* firstly,originally, he had appeared there. 186.20. Ar. *awwalalow* (?) first.

awwlam N. first.

(*-*awwasf*) v. *awwaa*.

*-*awal* back (tooth), molar. — *awal awa* my molar teeth (or teeth). *gawal gawa* thy ditto. *warpal wawa* our ditto. (Other authority gives *-*wal* *-*wa*).

*-*awakl.as*, *-*awakl*, *-*awakl*, Pps. *a*-*awakla*, *a*-*awakla*. Only Pa.pt.s recorded: *go*, *ori*. *wa(a)* to cause to throw(?), to throw, pflg, place.

The problem of this verb is discussed in § 248. Occasionally it seems to be a causative, but in the majority of cases it is most naturally to be considered by a simple transitive, the pronoun prefix referring in many cases to a third party who is in some way affected.

The following appears to be causative, but may possibly belong to the transitive category:

Lazz.Brumo mashkw wali wawawalin tail dum wawaisimi making L. B. throw a "mashk" on her neck, he made her fetch water or throwing a water-skin on her neck (for her) he made her fetch water. 176.16.

The following seems more probably to fall into the transitive category: *Aligāl ei gōki pawdīam* I'll throw Aligāl's daughter on your neck (for you). i.e. I'll secure her for you as wife. 88.15. Cp. *ōsu ei* (i.e. *ei*) *bōdar wuhimi* he threw his son on his neck, i.e. he embraced him. 378.13.

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For further examples see § 246. Ca. form of *wuhi.ar*.

*-*ugalar* N. *-*ugalj*, Imper. *-*ugal* to break s.t. affecting s.o. else; to make s.o. break s.t.(?) ← *ōsu pōnf ei.ugal* does't make him break his polo-stick. N. *jīrendes bolo dalamdo ōkawr wuar pōnf ugaljī* tomorrow the Mir will make you break your stick when playing polo N.

The meanings of these two sentences however appear suspect and it seems more probable that they are to be rendered in the same way as the following.

nawrōn hauar ugali le if the horse throws me and breaks some (part of me). 76.16.

I have taken it as actually meaning "breaks something (for me)", cp. *o.n ugamili* he has killed my father (for me). 70.15. Ca. form of *-*galar*.

*-*ugar*, *-*ugal*, Fpa. *-*ugan* to cause to take, or carry; to load up; to charge with.

The problem of this verb has been dealt with in the Grammar § 247, where typical examples are given. A few more examples and forms may be added here:

halda 'ei.ugar hau gfulon bōu ditsimi he brought a dēo who was there, in order to make him carry (or to load on him) the treasure. 174.18.

C.O.C. [illegible] cutting off their heads he made (people) carry them(?), or loaded them up(?). 174.23. *je g'eyuuuu gob ksiyun* fro take away this token which I have made you take, or have charged you with(?) 196.16. *mawu . . . kin kapolitkan ueiyun* . . . making a herd carry the milk. 322.6. *tkaw yeuile gawii eye.ilaw* they make them carry the Sir's bag of gold. 348.4. *kayuwejo halde eyun* put the load on the horse. *kayuwikajo halldag eyun* put the loads on the horses (in this last the *e-* cannot refer to *halldag* which is *y* pl.). *je wy eiiyuw* I shall make (some person) take you up (H. *ofkuwua*). *je wy eiiyuu* I shall make (some persons) take you up. *je wy poiyoiyun* I shall make thee take up (something). (*wy* in the last cannot be the object taken up).

Infin. + *ar*.

eiyanaar in order to cause him to carry. *poyanaar* in order to cause you to carry.

First. base + *ar*.

eiyeyar in order to make me carry. *poiyeyar* in order to make you carry. *eeiyar*, *'eiiar* in order to make him carry. Cs. form of *yanaa*.

*-*yanaa*, *-*yaei*, *-*aye*, Impv. *-*ayen* to fall asleep, go to sleep. — *eiyeyaw* I shall go to sleep. *wy poyai.ema* thou wilt go to sleep. *mi ma.eiyen* we shall go to sleep. *je dwy 'eiyeyo ba* I am going to sleep for a little. 292.9. *'podio poyeiiaeis eyanawan. Pay'a eyeeewie di.en dwaimi* the King's daughters went to sleep. When they had fallen asleep F. got up and went out. 118.2.

000 *m'ayenomo* she fell asleep. 105.17. *mayenomlo* or *mayenaser* after she had gone to sleep. 108.18. *ayenasi* he has gone to sleep, is asleep. 254.24. *ayenaşen* he had gone to sleep. *şayen* go thou to sleep.

*-ayerem, *-ayerem, -rão beloved, dear, favourite. — *ja ayerem* my darling (said to child, wife, lover, brother). *ja ayerem kapuło* my dear friend! *ayeremzło gaga* thy beloved sons. 44.18. *ayerem* gave his favourite wife (opposed to *-ayam). *Ř. Bakerem la bari ayerem ham* R. B. was also very dear to him. 18.10. *kimirar 'ayeremzło haw* they were dear to each other. 80.1. *Xodaya ja ayerem kapupalimi* God took away my beloved (child). EOL.

ałdar, ałdir dragon, monster x. — *ierele ław ałdaran him* in it (the pond) there was a monster. 250.4. *le ja ewi, mu'ałdiro ałwrti bi* O my father, the monster is now going to eat me. 252.14. (Pers. *ałdar*. Cp. Sh. *ałdero* brave, valiant. *ałdar* occurs as a man's name among Shina-speakers).

ał.

(ał- before i or y is merely a modification of a or ə).

ałb, ałp -itig (EOL) y defect, harm, fault, injured. — *łayere łeaza ałb bila?* what's the matter with the horse? *ja łeaza ałb bila?* what fault is it of mine? *ałb ałpi* there is no harm, it doesn't matter. *nawał ałp amaraw* falling, I hurt myself EOL. *ałp yamaraw* you were injured EOL. Ar.

ałi bf. v. *-ałi my daughter.

ałina -mete x mirror, glass (as window pane). — *belwlo ałina* mirror of thick

glass. *ovuwlo aiśna jawan hai* he is like a mirror (compliment to a handsome young man). ○○○

aiśnak -ṭṭo, -ṭṭe x spectacles, eyeglasses. — *aiśnakuto* a pair of spectacles.

aiśnag, aśnag, -ṭṭo x marmot. — *aiśnag asnas kan jandawan hi* there is an animal called a marmot. 282.21. (Said to be a *Śiṇāṇī* word. Cp. Wkh. *aśnali*.

aisu v. *aśno*.

aiy'a verses of the Qur'an. — *asundowas aiy'a yatali haw* the mullahs recite verses of the Qur'an. 312.6. (Ar. *ayat*, pl. *ayat*).

aiyawa, aiyawano v. *-ayas*. 374.9.

1. *aiyas, ayas, ayas* *y* the sky, the heavens.

a. *ayahoto* in the sky: *ayahotowa* from the sky. *ayas ṭaṭkum* sky-blue, azure. *yahu aiyas yakal* makuction *ron talor hikami* he shot up towards the sky at the middle pigeon. 148.8.

b. Heaven, = God(?). — *ji aiyas ka way gotinar haywa awana ka* I have become evil in the sight of heaven and of thee. 368.4. (A literal rendering, probably unidiomatic, of the N. *mai awaran ka aur tewi nazar mai gunahgar hun*, "I have sinned against heaven and before thee". Luke XV.18).

2. *aiyas, aiyed* pleased, happy, delighted. — *sunyar hurt zud imanimi, but aiyas imanimi* the goldsmith was greatly pleased, he was greatly delighted. 162.10. Cp. 122.10, 374.18.

aiye, ais = *a* + *i* + *°-a*, neg. Impv. sg., with 3rd. sg. Pn.pf., of *°-atas*. — *yat galtor aiye* don't do so again, next time.

aiye = *a* + *u* + *°-i* neg. Impv. sg., with 3rd. pl. Pn.pf. of *°-ałas*. — *wiyaxy fał aiye* don't let them go. 000

au.

au- N. Negative verbal prefix, cp. Hz. *ev*.

aufrin brave! — *aufrin manił!* brave be to him! 172.9. Pra.

aulavł usually plural, sg. *aulavłax* h offspring, descendants. — *ivu Datusiq aulavł . . . ałux gaiłhow* the descendants of Datusiq carry the standard. 282.17. *ivu Bastł aulavłtem wuvto . . . 20, 15 hałitaq wawitas* from the offspring of that B. there have now become 10 or 15 households. 272.10. *wuvto ła ivu aulavłs . . . hanik niwu nitaiś* even now a descendant of his goes with the bowl. 212.20. *Taphi ułła aulavłax awołow ditaw* fetching from somewhere a descendant of the T. 242.2. Ar.

auqarł y sg. means (of living), resources. — *auqarł bilawax xwł ełax* he had expended all his means. 372.10. Ar.

e, e.

e-, e- represents 1. Pn.pf. *i* + *°-a*.
2. Neg. *a* + *i*.

e sg. Impv. of *i* + *°-ałas, ełas*. — *gwiś łaś e* slay thy son. 42.3.

eduku younger, youngest. — *eduku ayu* my father's younger brother. (Cp. Wert. *eduyom*).

edilas, v. *°-adilas*, to rub on, apply. — *gwłafe malłam* (or *mali*) *edilas* to rub ointment (or medicine) on the wound.

eqełas v. *°-agiyas*. — *filłax eqełł* put on the saddle.

ełas v. *°-aałas, °-ałas*. Cp. § 240. — *filłax ełł* put the saddle on (the

horse). *Kan kayuran tili.aq tirhaq nevtan li* there is a horse saddled and bridled. 6.11.

ryalas[1] *ryalić*- to drive s.t. into s.t. — *ferazq ćis gorsolo neiqal* driving (or, digging) his horse into the meadow (?) 182.28. (*-*apalas*, Ca. cf *galore*?)

ryyas v. *-*apiyas* — *ferm ryi hali* he has planted the tree.

ryuran, *'ryuć*-, Impv. *'ryur*, Pya. *n'ryur*. Cp. *-*ayuran*.

1. To play (a musical instrument, including drum). — (*gifts kerip*) *mu ka 'ryurćuru* even at the present day they play it (the Div's tune). 284.16. *Kan keripan silevqis ryurin . . . ryurumsan* play (pl.) a tune on the sitar . . . they played. 180.12. *Sovimi haja na n'ryur nitum* playing till 10 o'clock they then go away. 226 9. *ryurćo herito* music-playing Dums, musicians, bandsmen. 216 10. *damab* (*kalaqs*) *ryuran herito* drummer.
2. To strike (of clock), *H haja—nikivadi 'ryurumur* (or, *'ryurasur*) when six has struck, at or, after 6 o'clock.

ryulf'uran EOL. *ryulćuć*-, Impv. *ryulćur*, Pya. *nryulćur*. To turn upside down, invert. (Probably *-*ayulćuran*).

ry'unjaiyan, *ryunjać*-, to be eclipsed. — *ez, kalonts, ryunjimi* (*ryunjać*) the sun, moon, was (will be) eclipsed, there was an eclipse etc. (A later informant gives the verb as *ry'unji.an*, *ryunjić*).

(*ryunsiyan*?) v. *-*ayunsiyan*.

ri, v. *-*i*, my son.

ri, *ri*, *ri*, exclamation, O! *ri Langa Brumu!* O, Langa Brumu! 180.16.

rů, *ele* 7 pl. sg. *ot* q.v. V. § 140. Demonst. Adj. & Pron. those, those things. Cp. 128,22, 142.8.

38a

[1] [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 641 - Analysis]

ele, ele, ele there.

OOO 1. *ele ke apei.i* there too he is not. 252.10. *ele kan hawan bi* there is a boulder there. 194.2. *'ele hede* there and here, i.e. here and there. *ele holom ele dawa* people coming from there and here i.e. from every side. 254.13.

2. *elar, elar* thither. — *elar nin* he is going thither. 194.4.

3. *elaw* from there(?) — *elaw ilji* thereafter, after that. 268.16. (*i + ale?* Cp. *fede*. V. also *elawan* & *ale.i*).

1. *ale.i* N. there.

2. *elere* thither. — *elerer* (= *elelar?*) thither.

3. *elewo* thence. (Cp. *ale.i* and *elawan*).

'elgil, -ero (*-dero?*) a she-goat (over one year old, which has not yet borne young).

er, er to him, for him. — *er elewin* don't open (pl.) for him. 12.1. *er mamar dero nelan* milking (her sheep) for him. 286.2. *er gon elowan* they called to him. 284.15. (Agglutinative Pronoun *i + er*, v. § 122).

eraiafe v. *-aaar* (= *era ka + afe?*) 1st sg. Perf. of *eraa* to say to him + suffix *-afe?* on my having said to him. 68.20. V. § 407.

era, ear, era n sg., pl. *ele*, q.v. V. § 140. Demons. Adj. and Pron. that, that one, that thing, it. — *wa era gulas wime hede eurufawan* they placed the (that) corpse in their own house. 112.20. *era dawan* its (the horse's) owner. 8.11. *era ka ewerwanimi* he did not begin on (lit. with) it (x). 166.9. *fi era an fawa?* where have you taken that thing (x) of mine? 166.28. *eraifon nilawig* the marks that were on it (the calf). 186.4.

сіісіѵаѕ v. (*-*аіісіѵаѕ*). ○○○

сѵрѵіѕѕ v. 1. *-*ѕѵрѵіѕѕ* and 2. *-*ѕѵрѵіѕѕ*.

ѕѵрѵрѵуѕ v.t. to make s.t. boil, to boil s.t. *-*ѕѵрѵрѵуѕ*(?) Cs. of *hѵр..ѕ*.

сѵрѵѕѕ, *сѵрѵі-*, Fpa. *ѕѵрѵѕ*. To make s.o. sit down; to complete, finish off, settle; to cool down (boiling water). *gukor 'сѵрѵѕ* seat yourself, quiet yourself.(?) *gor ѕѵрѵѕ* finishing off the marriage. 16.1. *gorіѵ сѵрѵѕѕѵѕ* they concluded the marriages *-*ѕѵрѵѕ*(?). Cs. of *hѵѕѕѵ*.

сѵрі.ѕ, *сѵрі́-*, Impv. *сѵрі*, neg. *ѕѵрі*, Fpa. *ѕѵрін*. V.t. to dry, parch (clothes, bread etc.). — *ѕ́ѕѵѕ сѵрі.ѕ* to dry it at the fire (or, by fire?). (*kok*) *ѕ́ѕ.ѕіѕ gorѵѕѕѵ ѕ ѕѵрін* warming them (y pl.) at the fire and drying them. 182.7. (from *ins*) *n'сѵрін* drying him (the dead man). 310.8. (See end of next entry).

сѵрѵѕ N. v.t. to dry. — *сѵрѵѕ ѕаѕ ѕѵѕ ѕѵ* put it in the sun to dry.

Regarding the relationship of this verb to the intrans. verbs *hѵрѵѕ* v.i. to dry used of y subjects and *ѕѵрѵѕ* used of x subjects, v. § 282.

It is probable that *сѵрі.ѕ* just above is properly *сѵрі́ѕ* and referable to the same source, though the well-authenticated -*і*- vowel requires explanation.

сѵthѵѕ,[1] *сѵthі-*, Impv. *сѵthі*, pl. *сѵthі.іѕ*, Fpa. *ѕѵthіѕ(іѕ)*, (it is doubtful whether the root contains -*th*- or -*t*- to extinguish, put out, blow out, H. *bujhna*). — *čѵraq*, *lаѵіѕ*, *ѕ́ѕ*, *сѵthі* put out the lamp, lantern, fire. *ѕѵthіѕ* EOL, *ѕѵѵthіѕіѕ* (-*thі-*) IUS having put out. *-*ѕѵthѵѕ*(?). Cs. of 1. *t(h)іѕѵѕ*, or

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1 [See corrigenda & addenda category 116, p. 541 - Analyst]

ŝkleyas. (A later authority gives *ŝkeiyas* to go out, but *ŝrŝeiyas* to put out). 000

ŝrŝem IUB melted, cooked (?), H. *pakarya hava, pakarya hava.* (Static Pc. Pass. of *ŝrŝeyas*(?) Cs. of *deyas* v.i. to melt?).

ŝrŝeyas(?) v. preceding.

ŝrŝ[umudi, v. °-*ŝkŝem.* 198.6.

ŝrŝŝ = *a* + *ŝ* + *ŝŝ*, negative -*ŝ* form of °-°*ŝŝ.as* with Pn.pf. *ŝ-*. V. s.v. °-*ŝŝ.as.*

ŝŝpuparas, IUB *ŝŝpuparŝ*, Pp.a. *ŝŝpupar* to clean ears of corn with the hands, to separate, H. *bali-ko harkar arf karna, joda karna. jaw ya gahŝ-ko bali-ko harkar dawa alag karna,* i.e. to separate the grain from an ear of corn by rubbing it between the hands. (Cp. *ŝŝ/uparas*, but where does the *ŝ* come from? It is clear in both IUB's and ŠT's Mss. and in a number of forms of the word and cannot therefore be a casual slip for *s*). 252

ŝŝpurag v. °-*ŝŝpurag.* 000

ŝŝ, *ŝŝ y* sg., pl. *ŝŝ q* v. V. § 140. Demons. Adj. and Pron. that, that one, it. — *ŝŝwa ŝŝ yanŝŝ ŝe ŝumi* he carried off that gold for himself too. 60.10. *mi ŝŝ dalattawa* .from that property of ours. 366.2. *ŝŝ ŝe ŝŝo* tell me that too. 148.21. *ŝŝ ŝeŝŝŝ?* what can we do with it (the book)? 48.9.

ŝŝas v. °-*ŝŝas.*

1. To do, to make. The form of °-*ŝŝas* with the Pn.pf. *ŝ-* referring to a noun which is hm sg., x sg., or y sg. or pl.

The form is stable in some verbal compounds v. § 261.

39b

[See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 641 – Analyst]

○○○ 2. Do-able, possible to be done. — *ofas dowo* a possible thing. *gots ayofas dowo bila* this is a thing that is not to be done, this is impossible.

3. Noun and Adj. do-er, one who does, pl. *ofado*. — *rajavri ofado sis* people who do forced labour, v. § 408.

ofa, ofao N. x pl., sg. *ov* q.v. V. § 140. Demons. Adj. and Pron. those, those ones, they. — *ofa alla* those two (animals). 64.15. *ofao kayurivata, kapikivata* those horses, those pieces of bread.

°-(y)ofaas, °-(y)ové, Impv. *°-(y)oda*, Ppa. *n°-ofa(ie)*, or *°-ifaas, °-ii* Impv. *°-ifa*, Ppa. *n°-ifaia*. To see; to find. — The Pn.pf. *i* + *°-ofaas* + *yofaas*. *y* also usually appears between any other Pn.pf. and *°-ofaas*. —

The following are typical forms: Fut. *ja ino yovfaas* I shall see him.— Pres. *ja wo gayovda ba* I see you. *yovda ba* I see him.

ugovda ba I see them. 184.2. *ino yovdabo* she sees it. 120.0. *ja ababila ba* I don't see you. *ja ovila ba* I don't see them. 164.2. *uno ja ay'ovifin?* (or *ayovi'vda?*) don't you see me? —

Impf. *mono ovifaas* no one (pl.) used to see him. 28.16. *ino ugovfaas wo ovifaas* he was seeing them, they were not seeing him. 30.7.—

Pret. *ja gayofaas* I saw you. 118.20. *ja ino yofaas* I saw him.

ja uovilo bowa wyofaas I saw 4 markhor. *uno ba ugovinma?* did you see them too? *gaaa moyofaini* he saw a woman. 24.4 *mugovfaaman* they saw her 282.20.

OOO Pret. *ni.ikam* I did not see him, 11. *ji u ni.ikam* I did not see them. *hulku nuwat ni.ikini* he did not see the King's face. 1.8. *in ni.ikamsan* they didn't see him, 1.4. *amulu ararikamsan* they did not see her anywhere. 344.20. —

Impv. *ni.amulu ugulu* see me at the time of departure. *iwu gulu, iwu ulu* see him, don't see him. —

-*i* Form. *iwu ikkil ulilu* as long as I don't see his face. 74.12. —

Ppn. Pa.pf.

1st. sg. *nai.ulu, nai.ilain* having seen me.

2nd. sg. *nakurilain* having seen you.

3rd. sg. hum. *u* and *y* *nirilain, nirilaru* having seen him, 11. 6.4, 22.18, 80.18.

Inf. *nanurilain* having seen her. 14.7. —

1st. pl. *ninurilain* having seen us.

2nd. pl. *nanai.ilain* having seen you.

3rd. pl. h and *u* *nurilain* having seen them. 345.8.

y (*nirilain*).

Static Pr. Act. *nin.ilamu.ji ararara ulurara* (their) grief, at not having seen them, having not departed . . . 4.7. —

Infin. *lugurî pugulaar ararasulu* Hurî have the people are greatly desiring to see you (in the longing of seeing). 4.6. *urilaar yiferlain* cap of invisibility. 22.21. (*ur* + *u* + **-ilaar* not to see them).

ilaiyar, *ilar*, (**-ilaiyar?*) to fix (?) plant (?). — *halafi ilaiyar ilaai.ar* to fix

out there bushes on the top of a wall (the equivalent of broken glass).

[Perhaps a variant of, or related to, *-ulu.ur].

ruulur, *ruulji*, to winnow (*-ruulur, connected with *kuulur*).

ruurkur, *ruurkit*, to plant (flowers), plant out (seedlings). — *brur ziprd ruurkur* to plant out rice-seedlings.

[Later authority gives a verb *-ruurkur].

ʃ, ʃ.

1. *-ʃ. Corroborative Pronoun (taking the Pn.pl.s) self (myself, thyself etc.) e.g. *ʃiʃ, ʃuʃ* etc. V. § 142.

a. Adjectives are formed by the addition of the suffix *-ʃu* e.g. *ʃrimu, ʃurimu* etc. V. § 143.

b. The 3rd person is frequently used with nouns or other pronouns: Thus:

ʃur ʃ he himself. *ʃu ʃu hoiʃ* he is he himself, it is he himself. *hʃyor ʃ* the house itself. *hr ʃ* the house itself. *hokiʃag ʃ* (y pl.) the houses themselves.

c. The 3rd person form, *ʃiʃ, ʃ*, may come to mean: by himself, on his own initiative; by itself, separately, H. *alag*, e.g. *manoki dorʃiʃu: namaliur ʃ, darkatur ʃ, gradur ʃ* they grind flour for the "*namali*" separately, for the "*darkat*" separately, for the "*grada*" separately. 300.1. *ʃu haldartum ʃ ethul* he acted himself, apart

4/a

from my order, i.e. he acted on his own contrary to my order. *iri kakičaŋ* separate rooms. EOL. Other persons can probably be similarly used. IUB gives *mir mir*, separately, apart, Ar., H. *'alahrda*. 000

2. *-i, *-ir, pl. *-yu, *-yur, *-yura hm. son, 601

Hs. son.

Pn.pf. sg. 1. *ri* my son. 2. *gwri* thy son. 3. *ir, iri* his son. *muri, mari* her son.

Pn.pf. pl. 1. *mir, miri* our son. 2. *mai.i, mai.ir* your son. 3. *uri* their son.

Pn.pf. sg. 1. *ayu, aiyur, aiyura* my sons. 2. *gayur* thy sons. 3. m. *yur, yura*, f. *mayur*.

Pn.pf. pl. 1. *miyur, mi.u* our sons. 2. *maiyur*. 3. *uyur*.

N. son, brother's son.

ari, ari my son. *ayura'a* my sons. *yura'a* his sons. *maŋyura* her sons.

II. examples:

le ari! O my son! 374.12. *gwiyan dimanimi ka* ... if a son is (was) born to you. 56.18. *uyura ir* his elder son. 388.18. *jot ire irimo bazan uyura gati ustan* his younger son, collecting all his own property. 372.6. *hirs iyur gazan dumurtasar rak ctimi ka* ... when a man decides to fetch a woman (wife) ... for his son. 298.1. *maiyan dimanimi* a son was born to her. 58.9. *le aiyura* O my sons. 246.8. *je ka ayura ka* I and (with) my sons. 62.19. *miyu oltalik* both our sons. 40.18. *mai.imo maiyu altan kas ostan ka* ... if you were

601 to slay two of your own sons. 44.11. *Hamačatiŋ ujuʷik Ultaʷər oʷtam* The H. had sent their sons to U. 246.30.

000 *ičagər*, *-iŋ* (y) ray, beam of light, H. *kiʷran*. — *sa ičakər* ray of the sun, sunbeam. *sa sčakər dusimi* a sun beam has come out. *sa.ə ičakər dusašimi* the rays of the sun have come out. EOL.

iʷčər (*i* + *-čkər* q.v.) his (a man's) voice; voice of non-human animate being; noise, sound (pertaining to or arising from an inanimate object).

iʷčit, *ičit* y permanently cultivated land, H. *abadi*. — *kiʷte pa ičit bila?* is there any cultivation hereabouts? *gute diš ičit bila* this place is cultivated (land). EOL.

iḍigaʷ tali (Gh.Kh.), *iʷtigaʷ tali*, *iʷdigaʷri*, *itigaʷri* round s.t., round about (s.t.), round about (Adv.) — *mazər iʷteg'ari dešam bila* the grave is enclosed round about. 220.8. *ite zam iʷdigaʷri maʷu stimi* he mewed round the smokehole. 174.12. *iʷčumute itigaʷri* (or, *itigaʷ tali*) *tikumute sčam* round his eyes they paint spots. 300.9. *ha iʷtigaʷ tali* round the house. *itigaʷ tali dᵃ-ašeas* to surround. *taŋe iḍigaʷ tale* round the palace. 384.9. (*-ḍ-* Gh. Kh.). (Later found to be a form of *ᵃ-ḍigaʷ*).

iʷzasas, *iʷzasum*, v. 2. *γasaʷ*.

iʷi v. 1. *ᵃ-i*, and 2. *ᵃ-i*.

zjaʷzat y permission. — *zjaʷzat zčimi* he gave him permission. 36.24. Ar.

-ik suffix added to the plur. of Nouns and Adjs. V. § 44.

ᵃ-iʷk, *-ičiŋ*, y name; good name; good reputation, H. *naʷm*, *nerbnami*.

000 Pn.pf. sg. 1. *e.ik, ai.ik* my name. 2. *gu.ik.* 3. m. *ik.* f. *mu.ik.*
Pn.pf. pl. 1. *mik* our name. 2. — 3. *u.ik.*
Pn.pf. pl. 1. *mikičiŋ* our names. 2. *mai.ikičiŋ.* 3. *u.ikičiŋ.*
uŋe g'u.ik ja akeya ba . . . ja eik Pfaran Karaski bila I do not know your name . . . My name is P. K. 104.12. *ine ik Duŋpa Miru osuman* they named him D. M. (lit. they placed his name D. M.) 100.5. *kuu guyuu u.ikičiŋik oe* give these sons of yours names. 110.18. *goyan dum'umano ke guguri mu.ikan oe* if a daughter is born to you give her a name yourself. 56.15, *da ri.awats ik ke it'etsum Baba l'icundi sevibaw* so for that reason they call the shrine also B. Gh. 286.19. *Xudaw ikaṭa (dolat) xarč eti ke* . . . if he were to expend (his wealth) in the name of God (i.e. as alms etc.) 28.23. *ine ik (ŋ)anikrš manila* his name, reputation, has become evil, he has been disgraced. *ik ḍusum (eis etc.)* famous, notorious, well-known (of man, horse, thief, liar, gun).

ik doltalanas, v. *doltalanas*, (to begin) to bear fruit (of a tree).

ike y pl; sg. *ite* q.v. Demons. Adj. and Pron., those, the; those ones, they — *ine kilewe . . . ike čaŋamiŋ deyelimi* he heard those words of the boy's. 64.19. *wa'lto šariŋ . . . ike . . . muŋumas ča ke . . .* four cities . . . if you will give them to (her). 96.21.

izači in one's mouth, into one's possession(?) — *izači tabaŋ evtuman* they put a bridle in his mouth. 78.22. *Kraare imo ṭame izači* (or, *iriŋ*)

balimi K's own bow fell into his mouth (or, hand), i.e. came into his possession. 170.20. (*i* + **-xat* (mouth) + *teir*). 000

ixat v. **-xat*.

xti.aw y right of decision, (free) will, powers, authority. — *sərkaws . . . gavərnəri.s xti.aw iči bam* the authorities had given him the powers of governor(ship). 346.2. Ar.

**-il*, *-iŋ* y. With Pn.pt. Sg. *e.il*, (*ai.il*), N. *avil*; *gu.il*; *il*, *mu.il*. Pl. *milin*; *melin*; *u.ilin*.

1. Lip. — *yavum il* the (his) lower lip. *yatum il* the (his) upper lip. **-iltse etas* (to put to the lip?) to taste (first fruits), to handsel = (*ha ha etas*). *ite mamu . . . tham iltse evčər tručaw* they take the milk away to make the Tham handsel it. 322.7. *tumeselinər hərı.s tsagortse u.iltse sčaw* at the Tumešelin they begin on (i.e. eating from) the barley bin. 334.8. **-il pfawas*, *el pfawila* my lip has swollen owing to a kind of soft boil. **-il gawtsas* IUB **-il gawši-* the lip to be cut (off); means of subsistence to be cut off, stopped. *el gawši* my lip will be cut off, my subsistence will be cut off, H. 1. *lab kafna*. 2. *ruwri kam hawna*.

2. Edge, brink, bank (of river, cliff). *sinda il* the edge of the river, side of the river. *sind ilintse* on the river banks. *čore il* brink of the cliff. *mərte il* brink of earth-cliff. *kayolo sinda iltse bərči.s* they light on the strand at the side of the river. 206.13. *gušinants ilatər dwa* the women coming otu

on the edge (of the cliff or bank). 336.10. *i·laʂ*. 190.12. 000

il eye of needle. — *il ʌpim sel* eyeless needle, i.e. pin. (Cp. Sh. *il* sluice (opening) on side of irrigation channel, eye of needle).

ilaj cure, remedy; device, means (of escape). — *ilaj etʌs* to cure. *dərowər ilaj eti* find a remedy for the affair; put the matter right. *ʰkʌzaw bəsʌn ilajəte dawərʌma* perhaps by some means, device, I may escape. 50.9. Ar.

ɪlaɣa district (term used officially for the various states of Gilgit). *Nagər ɪlaɣa.olo* in the district of Nagir. 276.2. Ar.

**-i·lʌs*, **-i·lj-*, Impv. **-i·l*, Ppa. *n*-i·l*, *n*-i·lin* to soak, steep; to wet(?). — *daɣu.i gap i·te bu·lolo i·lʌn ke* . . . if they soak raw hide in that spring. 128.19. *i·te bu·le tsilolo hu·čo ke ta.očiŋ* (y pl.) . . . *i·ljʌm* I shall soak (my) boots and leg-bandages in the water of that spring. 128.22. *bərə·nin tsilolo hu·čo* (x pl.) *u.i·ljaiya be ke* . . . see whether he soaks his boots in the water or not. 130.17. *maltaʂe delolo i·l'ʌm* he had steeped them in oil of ghee. 130.21. (*ipfʌgo*) . . . *i·ke taočiŋ iserʂe ni·lin ovʌai.i* after soaking them (in water?) he has put the leg-bandages on it (his stick) (*iserʂe* is almost certainly dependent on *ovʌai.i* and not *ni·lin*). 130.19.

Other forms:

Pres. 3rd sg. m *i·ljai.i*.

Pret. 1st. sg. *i·lʌm*. 3rd pl. *i·lumʌ.n*

Perf. 3rd sg. m *i·l'ai.i*.

tsilolo i·l, *aiyi·l* soak it, don't soak it, in water. *tsilolo ni·l* having steeped it in water. [Cp. *di·lʌs?*]

43b

ilbʌn y the name of a certain tax in kind paid by the inhabitants when the Tham is leaving a place (in Herber). 342.14. *Xuda.abad ilbʌn Nʌfis gušpurər bila* the "ilban" of Xuda.abad is (assigned) to Gušpur Nʌfis. 342.21. 651

ilbʌf IUB both sides, edges, of s.t., edges of mouth of leather bag. 000

ilam, ilam x pl. nap of cloth.

ilgʌf, -iŋ meeting point; corner of eye. — *aličiŋ ilgʌf* the corner of my eye. (Cp. Sh. *irgif*, corner of eye).

*-ilikinʌs, *-iliki-, Impv. *-ilikin, Ppa. n*-ilikin to do reverence to, worship, supplicate (God, the Prophet and the Boyo); to do honour to, propitiate, cajole (?), speak fair (?), praise (?). Pn.pf. + l-: el-, gu.il- (gul-), il; mil-, —, u.il-. *Xuda ilikinar bila* God is to be worshipped. *Dehkan Pir n ilikin* doing reverence to(?) supplicating(?) the Dehkan Pir. 328.7. *sisi itsi (boyo) u.iliki bʌm* people used to do reverence to them (the Boyo). 214.4. *boyo uilikinʌšo* Boyo worshippers, heathens. *ja iliki.a ba* I propitiate him. *ja guliki.a ba* I propitiate thee. *ine ji elikimi* he propitiate me. *ilikin, ailikin* propitiate, don't propitiate him. *nuku.ilikin (nilikin) ʃičʌm, yoljʌm* I shall eat, put on (a garment), in thy honour, in his honour. *uilikimu oyəršan* they are ploughing praising them (the oxen, as they do so). 248.6. *milikimu* praising us. 248.9.

ilji cp. *-lji.

1. Adv. afterwards, behind, back. — *ho ilji iski rom duwʌšačan* then afterwards (after them) the three

000 tribes come out. 300.13. *i·nɩ i·lji di·mi* he came afterwards. *i·n i·lji bʌm* he was behind. *jɩ yər niʌm in i·lji jućai.i* I went on ahead, he his coming behind, or I went first, he is coming later(?) *i·lji pfʌt umanumʌn* they were left behind. 8.6. *Sərkər Angri·zi Hunzo nukʌn i·lji bə·rumʌn dənʌŋ xə·šiŋər* The British Government, having taken Hunza, afterwards for some years . . . 196.10. *i·tɩ dištəm i·lji di·mi* he came back from that place. 54.11. *i·lji tsu·in* take (the elephant) back. 76.25.

2. + Abl. after, behind (prep.) — *i·nɩ niyʌstsum i·lji* after his going. *altultsum i·lji* after two days. Cp. 296.4. *Tʌpli.ʌnts oəqʌnumtsum i·lji* after the slaying of the T. 240.17. *gutʌtsum i·lji ovʌn* after this, hereafter, in future, don't say so. *mamʌtsum ilji dʌšqʌlčʌm* I shall arrive behind you, i.e. I shall overtake you.

3. *i·lji nɩ* backwards. — *i·lji sɩ de·gusimi* he drew it (the arrow) out backwards. 150.22. *i·sɩ šimɩ i·lji nɩ kayʌnts bim* the arrow head had barbs pointing backwards. 152.1.

4. Adjective hind-, rear-, back-. — *i·lji* (properly *i·ljum?*) *i·dumuɩ* its hind-knee, i.e. hock. *i·lji-muəšum i·nɩ* the back-end, i.e. the last, man. 138.10.

i·ljikʌn behind, at the rear of. — *Xərum Bʌt i·ljikʌn nə·birʌk* making them dig behind the X. B. 352.15. (Cp. *alji·kʌŋ*, v. s.v. *-lji*).

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1. Adv. from behind, from a preceding date. — *i·ljum i·n hrsa·b bʌbər stimi* he completed the reckoning (from a date in the past). 104.18. *i·ljum γʌbil ... dusuwca·n* they have brought firewood from behind (the last camping place). 128.9. *i·ljum u·e uyər bai.i ye·ša·n* from behind they see that he is in front of them. 124.6. ooo
2. + Abl.: from behind (prep.) — *u ja·tsum iljum doṣqʌltumʌn* they arrived from behind me, i.e. they overtook me.
3. Afterwards, later: + Abl.: after. — *i·ljum di·mi* he came afterwards, later. *i·ntsum in i·ljum ni bai.i* he has gone after (i.e. later than) him. *thʌm . . . Š. Behra·mtsum i·ljum mʌnuwcʌm* (he who) had become Tham after Sh. B. 24.1. *be·rumʌn deniṇtsum iljum* after some years, some years later. 240.12
4. Adj. hind-, rear-, back-. — *i·ljun yu·tiṇ* its hind legs. *tili.eṇ iljum pfʌta* cantle of saddle.
5. Adj. v. § 413, pertaining to what is behind, last; pertaining to what follows, next. — *i·ljum hisa* last month. *i·ljum hisa* next month.
6. Adv. last in a series, last, latest. — *i·ljum dimʌnum* the last born, latest born.

i·lmeṣ̌, *-iṇ* y selvedge.

ilt'ʌγʌyʌs, *iltʌγʌç-*, Impv. *iltʌγʌy* to plaster, daub. — *iltʌγ'ayʌ·n* they have plastered (it). (*-*ltʌγʌyʌs?* from *tʌγʌy?*).

*-*iltʌš* x pl. cattle (in general, cows, goats etc.), live stock, Prs. *mal*. — *i·ltʌš ʌ·pi.en* he has no cattle (lit. his

cattle are not). *uʻiltaʂ aʻpi.ɛn* they have no cattle. 000

iʻltai.ɤŋ y pl. complete legs (of man or animal).—*kʌɣɤɛ iʻlji (yaʻrum) iʻltai.ɤŋ ɑɛʻrko bitsʌn* the horse's hind- (fore-) legs are long. *iʻltai.ɤŋ thai.iko.ʌn bai.i* he is a long-legged fellow. (From **-ltʌnts*, pl. **-ltai.iŋ* y).

**-iʻltɛɛ stʌs* v. **-iʻl*.

iʻltumʌl v. **-ltumʌl*.

iʻltɤrʌs, *iʻltɤrč-* v.t. to pull down, dismantle, pull to pieces, undo. — *ha, hakičʌŋ, iltɤrčʌm, iltɤrʌm* I shall pull down, did pull down, the house, houses. (Later authority gives the verb as **-ltɤrʌs*. Cp. also 2. *tɤrum* and *tɤruʻmi*).

iltɤr, iltɤro manaɤ, v. **-ltɤr*, to imitate. — *Bulčutoʻko iltɤro numa . . . nimʌn . . .* imitating B. they went. 206.8.

imaʻm Imām. 284.11. Ar.

imaʻn y faith. — *imaʻn bilumʌn bai.i* he is a faithful fellow. Ar.

imaʻndaʻr faithful, loyal, trusty. — *imaʻndaʻrʌn bai.i* he is a faithful fellow. Ar. Prs.

imʌrʌyʌs IUB, *imʌrʌč-* to cut, pollard. (Stated to be a variant of **-mɤrɤyʌs*; v. s.v. *imʻuʻritinʌs*).

imaʻrʌt palace. 136.23, 84.20. Ar.

imʌkrʂ, pl. *imʌki.ents*, x.

1. A vessel for dough, H. *xʌmiʻrdaʻn*.
2. A man who is lazy and doesn't move about ("travel").

imauqti N. *-mots* x cupboard. 1/A

imeʻkus, imʻeʻkus, iʻmekus, pl. *iʻmekuyants* x small peg which fits into a hole in the bolt (*sɤrik*) of a door and so secures it. Rung (of ladder). [355]

(Perhaps **-me* tooth. For *-kus* cp. *yaʻrokus* and *yʌtokus*? It may also be noted that the word for bolt in

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1/A [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 541 — Analyst]

000 Sh. is *ɜrikos* and that the Burushaski pl. *ɜrikuyants* would correspond to a sg. of this form).

ɪmi nomuyen a term of abuse. It is noted that *nomuyen* does not come from *yanas*, but this must, I think be a mistake, as it has all the appearance of being the Ppa. or Impv. with the infix *-mu-*. — *ɜɜɜ ɪmi nɜm'uyen!* having taken its mother(?) 64.18.

imiɪras, *imiwč-*, to act homosexually (of a man or animal); to commit sodomy, to have carnal commerce (of males?); sodomy. IUB H. *jɪmaɪ' karna, mujamA'at.* — *imiɪrčor rai stimi* (the male dog, goat, mule) wanted to mount (another male?).

ɪmo, *ɪɪmo* hm and x sg.; y sg.-and pl. his own, its own; his, its (referring to subject, cp. H. *apna* and Latin *suus*). V. § 143. — *Buɪur Jamhuɪr ɪmo hador nimi* B. J. went off to his (own) house. 68 17. *hakičaŋ* (y pl.) *ɪmo ranati tapi doritsan* the houses have fallen down of themselves at night ("by their own will, or intention"). Cp. 286.9.

imu'uɪritinas[1] v.t. to pollard. — *tom imuɪritinas* to pollard a tree. *imu'ɪritinum tom* a pollarded tree.

The following forms were also given, which imply a form of the infinitive without the *-in-*.

1st sg. Fut. *imuɪritam*.

1st sg. Pret. *imuɪrutam* || *imuɪritinam*.

(Later information gives three forms of this verb: **-muɪrutas*, **-muɪrut-*; *muɪrutinas*[1] **-muɪruti-*; and **-muɪruyas* with no Pres. base. V. also *imarayas*).

inaɪm y reward, present. — *lut inaɪm*

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[1] [See corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 541 - Analyst]

000 *gov ečʌm* I shall give you a great reward. 72.9. *ja kuvr inavm uči.ʌm* I gave these people presents. 92.24. Cp. 378.7. Ar.

ivnč inch. Eng.

ivndil v. *-ndil* hill slope, face of hill. 294.5.

ivne, ine hmt., oblique m *ivne*, f *inemo-*; x *ivse*, y *ivte*. Pl. h *uve*, x *ivtse*, y *ivke*. Demons. Adj. and Pron., and Personal Pron. that, the; that one; he, she, it. V. § 120.

ɪnkavr stʌs to deny. Ar.

ɪnsavf y justice. — *ɪnsavf api* it is not justice, there is no justice. *ɪnsavf stʌs* to do justice. *ɪnsavf stʌs sis* a doer of justice, a just man. *ɪnsavf apivman bai.i* he is an unjust man. Ar.

ɪntɪzavm y arrangement. — *ɪntɪzavm stʌs* to arrange. *gute ɪntɪzavm netʌn* making, carrying out, this arrangement. 386.10. Ar.

-ine case suffix, v. *-ʌne*.

[252] *ipfuvporʌs*, Ppa. *n'ipopor*, to rub grain between the hands to get the husks off. — *heri ipfuvporuman ke* if you rub barley between your hands. 328.1 Ppa. *n'ipopor*. 328.9. (*-pfuvporʌs? but probably always with i- as object is probably always y. Cp. *ešpupurʌs*).

ɪgravr confession. — *ine ɪgravr etimi, "ja yiski ba" nusen* he confessed 'I have committed theft'. Ar.

ɪravda y intention, purpose, design. — *ɪravda besʌn bila?* what is the intention? *ɪravda etimi* he intended, proposed to . . . Ar.

ivʌn, -ʌbo x cream. — *ivʌn bi* there is cream. Cp. 340.12. (A liquid that is x and not y is a surprising phenomenon). 1/A

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1/A [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 541 - Analyst]

*-*ivʌs*, *-*ivč-*, Ppa. *n*-*ivrin* to die. — 000
Pn.pf. + *v-*: *evr-* (*exr-*), *gu.ivr-*, *ivr-*, *mu.ivr-*; *mivr-*, *mevr-*, *u.ivr-*.

Fut. *evčama?* shall I die. 146.19. *gu(w)ivrčuma* youwill die. 134.4. *aku.ivrčuma* you will not die. 146.20. *ivrči*, he will die. 44.10. *exrči* he will not die. 44.9.

Pres. *be ke je evrča ba* otherwise I am going to die. 44.19, cp. 50.8, 358.5. *gu.irča* you are going to die. 50.6,11. *Aku.irča* you are not going to die. 50.18. *jimʌle padša irčai.i* tomorrow the King dies. 38.19.

Pret. *evʌm* I died. *irimi* he died. 112.15. *mo.i mu.irvmo* her daughter died. 66.22. 72.25, cp. 226.2. *bevumʌn u.irvmʌn* how many of them died. 4.8.

Perf. *savʌli irai.i* he (has) died yesterday.

Plup. *irʌm* he had died. 308.15, 370.15.

-*ẹ* form. *uyon u.irẹʌn!* may they all die! 172.4.

Pres. Pc. *u.irčume* they dying. 128.9.

Past Pc. *nirin* he having died. 296.3, 344.11.

St. Pc. *irum* dead. — *ai.irʌmər* when I am dead. 218.4. *irum gutʌs* the dead corpse. 114.23 *irum bʌm* he was dead. 373.21. *mirumər* when we have died, after we are dead. 202.1. *u.irumə havlər aiyarin* don't send me to a house of dead persons i.e. where someone has died. 201.16.

As Optative: *oyər irum* may my husband die! 356.5.

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Infin. *iʔʌsɛ γʌmulo* in grief for his death. 38.20. *gu.iʔʌs gunts dimi* the day of your dying has come, i.e. your last day. 50.6. *iʔʌs(ɔr) imʌnimi* he nearly died. 000

Pres. Base. *ins γʌliʔ nimʌn iʔrčɔr imʌncai* having fallen ill he is (has become) about to die.

Conditional. *'ɛʔrčum tɛs* he would not have died. 150.21.

The following form I cannot explain:

iʔrs iʔrs nimʌn dyu.ɛsimi having been on the point of death, he recovered.

iʔrʃš pl. *iʔri.ints* (*-ints*), *iʔrʃšo* x crest. ridge (of a descending spur). — *mɔrts*, *čɔrs*, *iʔrʃš* spur, ridge of earth-cliff, of rock-cliff.

The word was on two separate occasions given me in the plural duplicated:

iʔri.ents iʔri.ents bi.en, *iʔrʃšo iʔrʃšo bi.en* and *iʔri.ʌg iʔri.ʌg(?) bi.en* This must denote some common physical formation — a series of spurs?

iʔrum v. *-iʔrʌs dead.

isɔʔmɔʔnum IUB first-born (child), H. *ʌwʌl bʌčʌ*. (According to later information a form of *-ts'ʌmʌnum*). [601]

isʌn IUB a stone vessel. H. *patthʌr ka bʌrtʌn*. (Not confirmed).

isɔrkʌs v. *-sɔrkʌs*.

iʔsɛ, *isɛ* x sg., pl. *iʔtsɛ*, cp. h *iʔnɛ*, y *iʔtɛ*.

Demon. Adj. and Pron.: that, the; that one, it. V § 120.

isɛ tisɛtɔr nitsun ɛsqʌnimi taking him to the (that) pit, he murdered him. 56.20. *iʔsɛ yāʔ ʌkolɛ di bi.a?* has that bear come here? 218.8. *iʔsɛ dʌn ʒi.aʔrʌt ɛt'ʌm. da mu kɛ isɛtɔr nuʔn hiʔriɛ ʒʌlaʔm ɛčaʔn* they

000 had made that stone a shrine, and even now, men going to it, pay their respects. 290.6. *gusɛ hʌn bʌlʌsʌnɛ hʌn isɛr sɛ.ibi* this bird is saying to that one. 96.18.

iɛk, -umuts x V. **-sk* the young (of, an animal).

iɛka v. **-sga*.

iskɛ N. hmf three. — *iskɛ hirikʌnts* three men. *iskɛ gušiɛyɛnts* three women.

iɛken hmf three, v. §§ 188 and 201.

iɛki z three, v. §§ 188 and 190. Cp. *usko* (x y).

**-iɛki* h in form *u.iɛki*, v. §§ 133 and 201.

iɛki surface(?) — *kʌfša yaɛrum iɛki* the sole (under surface?) of a shoe. (Probably *iɛkil* from **-skil*. Cp. however Kho. *iɛki* heel).

iɛki aɛltər sixty.

iɛki aɛltər (or *ʌltər*) *torumo* seventy.

iɛskikum, ɛskikum, ɛskiɛkum, three (referring to composites?), three pairs, three sets of, triplets). — *iɛskikum yuɛtiŋ* three pairs of feet, three people's feet. *kuɛ ɛskikum rom Šimšaɛlolo bam* these three tribes (tribal groups?) are in Sh. 272.14, cp. 236.1. 350.2. V. § 197.

iskikuts.

1. Three days. — *aɛltul iɛskikuts pfʌt eti* let the matter stand for 2 or 3 days. 72.6. *iskikutsum ʌŋʌro guntsɛ* after three days on the Tuesday. 306.16.
2. Terms applied to certain ceremonies observed 3 days after a person's death. — *mots'iɛts iskikutsɛ čɛraɛ espalumʌn* in her funeral rites they lighted the "iskikuts" lamp. 244.21, cp. 312.20.

iskil, -iŋ y v. **-skil* face, side.

skiɛlum N. } third.[1]
s ki.'uɛlum }

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[1] [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 541-Analyst]

ispʌkpa y minced meat. (Said to be Shina). 000
ɤstinjaʷb ɤtʌs to urinate, relieve nature.
54.4. Ar. *ɤstrnjaʷ*.
iʷstər, *-iŋ* y.
1. Lining, inner side of cloth. H. (IUB) *astʌr*, *kʌpre ke ʌndʌr ka rux*.
2. Planks fixed on outside of house to keep off rain. (IUB vernacular Ms. *estər*, but this is probably merely due to a misuse of symbols).
-iʷš, *-š* (*šʸ*) Nominal suffix, v. § 21.c. e.g. *γʌsaʷs* to laugh, *γʌsiʷš* laughter.
-iš, *-š* Verbal suffix, v. §§ 321 and 357.
iʷša solstice. period following the solstice(?) — *sa išaʷr walimi*, or *nimi* the sun has fallen into, or, entered the *iʷša*, i.e. the sun has reached the solstice. *bai.imo iʷša* winter solstice (explained as the months of Dalv, (Ḥuʷt), Jaddi — the Chilla, but the Chilla is roughly only January and the beginning of February). *šinimo iša* summer solstice. *sa iʷšaʷr gimi je šərmaʷr guyʌm* or *sa išaʷr je ke šərmaʷr* the sun has gone into the *iša* and I have gone under the rug(?), i.e. I have got fever. 805

(Biddulph gives B. iša and Sh. iša as "winter solstice" and "summer solstice". Leitner gives them as "January" and "July" and translates iša literally as "mill pond". V. "Handbook" pp. 18—20).

išaʷra, *išaʷrʌt* y sign, signal. — *išaʷra ɤtʌs* to make a sign, to signal. *ʷmrštʌts išaʷrʌt ɤtimi* with his finger he pointed out (the hill). 28.11. Ar. 000
ɤšpoʷš y sg. and pl. seedling (of rice, tobacco etc.). *brʌsɤ ɤšpoʷš ɤncərkʌs* to plant out (rice) seedlings.
išq y love (of lovers). Ar.
itʌn, *itaiyo* x. v. *-thʌn*, top, point.

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ite y sg., pl. *iska*, cp. h *ime*; x *ise*. Demons. Adj. and Pron. that, the; that one, it. V. § 120. — *ite paći* that side, the other side, v. *iti*. *ite dil wor xuł dimi* that place pleased them. 294.9 *han ke ham bila itor ke gu* there is another house too, put the charcoal in it. 164.7.

As a Pronoun it provides an abstract "that". — *itetsum* for that reason, therefore. 30.5, 240.14, 54,21, 56.5. *itetsum ilji* after that, thereafter. *xan awełi ke . . . itew be ečam?* if it throws me down . . . in that case(?) what shall I do? 78.1.

iti, *ite* that side (of), across, H. *par*, *vəłaraf*. — *ja bagusa iti dusa* you are going across my share (of land). 114.1. *dəri.atsum . . . paćła ke hol iti duwaše bam* the king and army had crossed the river to the other side. 146.22. — *iti kiti*, *ite kite* that side and this, backwards and forwards, H. *idhar udhar*. *sinda huma ite kite manuman* they went backwards and forwards over the river ford. 114.26, cp. 264.27. *ite kite ataš* to exchange (prisoners). *iti kiti manimi* (the matter) has been settled, decided.

itifaq.

1. Agreement, composition. — *itifaq ne* agreeing together.
2. Chance. — *ajab itifaqtsum* by a strange chance. 378.15. Ar.

-itsas v. *-stsas*.

itse x pl., sg. *ise*, cp. h *ime*; y *ite*. Demons. Adj. and Pron. those, the; those ones; they. V. § 120. — *isumaltse itse čorko.a dunia* the (those) cliffs closed on (seized) its tail. 156.10. *itse* (sc. *duwalašo*)

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[See Corrigenda et addenda, Category 116, p. 541 - Analyst]

dunaʌʌačiʌ they (those birds) come out. 206.13. *itsetsum tə̄ stumər mer ʌbʌš ečiʌm* when we have taken oath by them (boyo x pl.), they will work us evil. 250.10. 000

itsu, itsi, v. **-tsu*, **-tsi*.

itsimo v. 1. **-tsimo*. 130.20.

itsimo fresh(?), latest(?). — *mʌltaj itsimo bila* the ghee is fresh. (From **-tsi* after, "what follows", i.e. most recent?).

ilsir v. **-tsir* 1, 2 and 3.

itsu v. **-tsu*.

itum the other, the further (side). — *itum paći* that side, the other side. *hunts itum pər* (*pa* + *ər*) *atusum* the arrow not having come to the other side of the man. 146.11. *senumər itum ine anu ečʌm* on his saying this the man on the other side used to shout "anu". 354.3. (Adj. based on *iti?*)

iyol v. *yol*.

ززʌt y honour, respect. — *but or ززʌt etimi* he showed them great honour. 22.18. Ar.

o.

(See also under u).

o-, N. *au*, Negative verbal prefix, v. § 339. *oni* don't go. 120.26. *osenuma* you did not say. 22.6.

odi the collection of milk in the Wazir's house for the Mir of Hunza. — *jimʌle odi isərkas* (or, *usərkas*) *bila* tomorrow the "odi" is to be kept, set aside. 322.2. (Vide note on the passage).

odori **-ʌtʌs* (*odori, udori*) to seek, search for, look for. — *odori stanna be?* have you looked for it or not? *bəriŋ udori ʌtʌs* a searcher for news,

000 i.e. a spy. *beruman guntsiŋ xa odori m'otuman* they searched for her for several days. 244.20. *doγ'ərušume odori otuman* (keeping) making enquiries they searched for them. 242.6. Cp. 10.4. (Sh. *oḍorozki* to look for).

oγ'ərkas v. *-*aγərkas*.

oγur -ło (x) wave.

oiyas, oić-, Impv. *oi*, to measure grain (by bulk?). — *phalo oi, aiyoi* measure the grain, don't measure it. *oićam* I shall measure; *oimi* he measured.

okši rakši y plenty, abundance (of food). — *besans kam aipi, okši rakši bila* there is no scarcity of anything, there is abundance.

olja = *a* + *holja* neg. impv. of *holjayas* don't mount (the horse).

'oltalik v. *-*altalik*.

or to them, for them. — *or ast'am ne čup otam* settling the matter for them I silenced them. 42.20. *or čaγa ećam* they report to them. 124.19. (Agglutinative Pron. *u-* + *ər*, v. § 123).

ori.as v. *-*a.uri.as*.

orutas = *a* + *hurutas*.
1. Not to sit etc. 2. Uninhabitable. *orutas gutien bim* there was an uninhabitable hut. 112.12.

o.rutas = *u* + *-*a.oruutas*, to make them sit etc.

oṡas, oṡ-, Impv. *os*, Ppa. *nos(in)* to put down, place, set, lay; keep (things); impose (tax). — *kitab tikefe os* (*ayos*) put (don't put) the book on the ground. *uyoŋko uyans ke hanikute oṡam* they set dishes before the chief men also. 340.13. *hurco ke ta.očiŋ . . tsilulo ilumian. nil dərγo.ete*

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000 *o·ʊʊmʌn. no·ʊin . . . oyenʊmʌn* they soaked their boots and leg-bandages in the water. Having done so they put them (hung them) on a stick. Having thus put them they went to sleep. 130.25. *hʌn baḍʌlikʌn gopʌ·i no·ʊ čup ʊʊ hʊrʊ·t* placing a bowl beside you, sit in silence. 106.18. *i·k o·ʊʌs* + gen. to give a name to s.o., to call. *i·ʊʊ i·k je bʊsʌn oʊʌm?* what name shall I give him? 102.13. *gurin̥ (yʌ·r) o·ʊ* keep it in your hand. *ʌʌ̨ ʊʊ o·ʊ* keep it carefully. *o·ʊʊm* (St.Pc.) *diʊʊlo bʊrʊ·i bʌi.i ʌpi o·ʊʊm diʊʊlo* he looks in the place where he had put it, it is not in the place where he had put it. 166.20. Cp. 274.7, 342.5, 14.

o·ʊʊnʌs negative *o·* + *ʊʊnʌs* not-to say; to say "no", prohibit (?).

o·ʊʊin, pl. *o·ʊʊo*, h guest, visitor. — *o·ʊʊin ʊʊʌs* (*-*ʌʌʌs?*) to entertain as a guest. *hikum 'o·ʊʊo·ik dʊ·mʌn* a party of guests came. 232.4. *o·ʊʊu.er oγ'unumo* she gave them (y pl.) to the guests. 232.7. *mʊnik o·ʊʊo* some guests. (Sh. *o·ʊʊo*, pl. *o·ʊʊ*).

o·t y loss.

ot'ʌq, ut'ʌq food supplies provided free (in Gujhal) to the Mir when on tour (It appears to be the same as *mʊ·ʊ*). — *it'e·ʊʊ utʌqo bʌp osʊ·n* on that (field) they have placed the "otaq" tax. 342.14. Cp. 336.8.

585 *o·tiki mʊ·l* a form of food given to a bridegroom by his parents three days after his marriage. — *i·ʊʊ mʊ·l ʊʊčʌi.i. i·ʊʊr o·tiki mʊ·l ʊʊ.ibʊ·n* he eats that "mʊ·l". They call it "o·tiki mʊ·l". 306.20. (*o·tiki* = copulatory, from *o·tʌs*. Cp. *-*ʌtʌs* 6).

o·tsuyʌs v. *-*ʌtsuyʌs*.

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252 *ownərʌs, ownərč-*, Impv. *ownər*. to make (oxen) extract the grain by walking round over the cut crops. — *buva ownərčʌm* I'll make the cattle trample (out the grain) (*u* + *-ʌwərʌs*, from *-wəra*, to make go round?). V. § 236. a.

000 *ryom* variant of *uyum* great.

oyom variant of *uyom* q.v., from *-yom* q.v., all.

U, U.

(See also under o).

u v. *uv*.

u- Pn.pl. 3rd. pl. h and x.

-u, pl. *-umots*, (x) tear. Forms: *ovu, guv, yuv, muv; miyu, mavu (movu?), uvu*. — *uumots* their tears. *muvwcʌn ine ivakiletər tsər mʌnimi* one of her tears (a tear of hers) fell on his face. 282.12.

-u v. *-uy* father.

učʌk, učʌq, -čeiq y.

1. Chamber, small room (in Raja's palace etc.).
2. Small separate building for baking bread in (possessed by Mirs, Wazirs etc.).

Š. B. pfuts ivtə tengululo, han učʌqʌnulo, bʌm S. B. was in a small chamber in the Div's palace. 10.8.

(T. *ojaq* hearth, fireplace; E. Turki *učʌq* fireplace, cooking-place).

uvčo MA. tongs. (Sh. *ūvčo*, tongs).

udovi v. *odovi*.

uv, uv h pl., sg. *ine*. Personal and Demons. Adj. and Pron.: those, the; those people; they. V. § 120. — *tslum uv sise ivtsi yʌsuvmʌn* the people (belonging to) there laughed at him. 140,5. *padša evərdu.s. ovumilo uv ovpʌčər duvmʌn* those (men)

5/a

despatched by the king's sons-in-law returned to them. 126.28. ʍʍ *ɔpačɔr nimi*; *ni.inin u.rtum dɔyɔrusumi* he went up to them; having gone he enquired of them . . . 88.10. 000

ʍi, *ʍi·* h and x pl. Corroborative Pron.; (they) themselves. V. 1. **-i*, v. § 142. — ʍʍ *ʍi*, *ʍ· ʍi* they themselves, *hayɔrzło*, *hayɔmzło ʍi* the horses, mares, themselves, (but: *hʍ·ki̇čag* (y pl.) *i·* the houses themselves). ʍʍ *ʍi hɔrag dum'u·čɔm* they are coming to terms among themselves. *ʍ· ʍi hɔrag ʍkɔr ɔqanɔman* they among themselves killed, themselves i.e. they killed each other. 82.6. Reduplicated *ʍi ʍi* they each, (they) separately. *biłka ʍi ʍi i·m'oqɔman* they each tore out the hair. 136.2.

ʍimo, ('ʍyɔmo) their own. Possessive adj. V. § 142. — *ʍimo hʍ·čɔr dʍ·mɔn* they returned to their own houses. 22.8. *'ʍyɔmo nokɔrɔr ni.ibʍ·n* they say to their (own) servant(s). 126.4. *ʍimo hʍki̇čagɔr ničʍ·n* they go off to their own houses. 306.15. — *ʍi ʍimo* each their own. *ʍi ʍimo dił muqarɔr bila ʍwča'n* their place for each is fixed (and) they make them sit down in them), i.e. each has his own appointed place. 340.6. Cp. 302.11, 338.8. (Adj. form from *ʍi*, *u* + **-i* + *mo*).

u.i·ʍas = *u* + **-i·ʍas* (people's) dying, i.e. death.

ʍiyas = *u* + **-ʍyas*, v. s.v. *ʍli*.

**-ʍl*, x pl. **-ʍlzło*, *y* pl. **-ʍliŋ* belly, abdomen: pl. bellies, innards. — Forms: *ʍl*, *gʍl*, *yʍl*, *mʍl*; *mi.ʍl*, *moʍl*, *uʍl* — pl. 1st *myʍlzło* our bellies; *gʍliŋ* thy innards. N. *'ʍʍl*, —, *i.ʍl*, pl. **-ʍlirło*. — *ʍʍlolum da qaw stimi*

000 again he called out from inside her belly. 108.13, cp. 108.24, and *moγumərulum* (*-γumur). 108.9. *murlulo čaγamiŋ ełas ime giyaγ moγumutsə murltsum da sin* the child who had spoken in her belly, on her going to sleep, coming out of her belly . . 108.29, cp. 110.2, 4. *urlšo tsər oti* cut open their (the women's) bellies (for them). 88.25.

*-*ul manaγ* to have one's belly filled, to be satisfied (with food). — *ja ol mani bi, yul mani bi* my belly has been filled, his belly has been filled, is full. *ine esulo ərmaγ bilum . . . itsetsum ja ol maniŋ* he wished that his belly might be filled with those (husks). 366.12. (Cp. *duljayas*).

*-*ul* *-*ałas* to fill s.o.'s belly, to satisfy s.o. (with food). — *jaγ bur jo: ol oti* give me much; fill my belly. 63.16. *ikete imo yul ne* filling his belly with those (husks). 372,1. (Cp. *d*-*asuljaiyas*).

There is a difficulty about the category of *-*ul*. It is usually x with plural *-*urlšo*, but in the plural at least it also appears in a y form *-*uliŋ*.

On different occasions I was told:

1. That the x form refers to a full belly, the y form to an empty one.
2. That the x form is used of the human belly, the y form of an animal's.

It will be noticed that both these statements, as far as they refer to the x form would be true of the expressions *-*ul manaγ* and *-*ul* *-*ałas* as ordinarily used.

I am inclined to believe that the x form denotes the belly as a whole i.e. as a non-composite unit — the

000 view usually taken of the human abdomen, and that the y form denotes the belly as consisting of an assemblage of parts, intestines, stomach etc. — the aspect in which this portion of the body in animals is perhaps most earnestly regarded by people who do their own butcher work.

This theory seems to cover the single instance I have recorded in which the y form is used with reference to human beings — the woman's curse:

gu·liŋ ʃem (or *ʃeṛʃ*) may thy innards be devoured! an alternative, I believe, of identical meaning being: *gutsiriŋ ʃem!* (*-*tsir* intestine etc.). (A later authority says that *-*uliŋ* is used of dead animals, *-*ulišo* of living ones).

u·l, ul, (inside). — *u·l ne* inwards; + abl. to the inside of, on the inside of. *qau ečaiʃ u·l ne* he calls out to inside (the house). 164.6. *Xa·n Wali Škha·ritsum ul ne Murkuš* . . . inside (i.e. up the valley from) the X.W. tower, Murkush . . . 252.23. *Hasanaba·dtsum ul ne ite bər* the nullah on the inside of (i.e behind and above) H. 238.3. *telʌtsum ul ne Šišpərs xa* thence inwards (i.e. up the nullah) as far as Sisper. 238.5. (*u·l* cp. *u·lo; ne* Ppa. of *etʌs*, v. §§ 408.4, 416).

342 *'ulʌči* "clean place in the house for keeping flour in". — *'ulʌče.ər d'emičan* they pour (the water) out in the "*ulʌči*". 314.4. (A later authority says the word denotes the innermost, private part of a house).

000 *ula·nʌs, ul'ʌnʌs* N., *ula·-*, Impv. *ul'ʌn*, to be able. — *je mu nrš ula·ya ba,*

52 b

[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 541-Analyst]

awlaya ba I am able, unable, to go now. *kitap sinas ulaya ba* I am able to read the book. *Burošaski etiš ulanas ine hir kine bai.i* this is the man who can speak Burushaski. *doro etas ulanas* . . . this is the man who can (do the) work. Negative: *aulanas, aulaya ba, aulanam; aul'an.* (Recorded by EOL from a N. source. I have not met with the word in Hunza. It is given by both Biddulph and Leitner). ooo

*-*wlgrš*, pl. **-wlgi.aŋ*. y nest; sheath, scabbard. Only recorded in forms: *ywlgrš* q.v. with 3rd sg. Pn.pf., and *wlgi.aŋ* with 3rd. pl. Pn.pf. — *han činane usko ywlgi.aŋ bitsan* one bird has three nests. *čivo wlgi.aŋ bitsan* there are birds' nests.

-ulji y. dream. Pn.pf. + 1: *ol-, gwl-, ywl-,* —; *mi.wl-* (*mivl-*), —, *wl-*. The Pn.pf. refers to the dreamer. — **-ulji yetsas* to dream. **-ulj(i)en yetsas* to have a dream. *kwlto ja han oljiyan yetsam.* *Oljilo hikum gušinentsik hevčam* today I had a dream. In my dream a party of women were weeping. 44.3. ("A dream" occurs usually in the form **-ulji.en* or **-uljen*). *kwlto je jerimo watanər olji awˈalam* today in a (my) dream I found myself in my own country. 20.8. *unge gwlji yetsa* you have had a dream. 72.3, *unge gwljulo* in your dream. 84.9. *gwlji.e čaya* the story (content) of your dream. 72.7. Cp. 84.9. *ywlji yetsum ine sise ivskil ja evitsiš xa* so long as I have not seen the face of the person who had the dream. 74.18. *ine mivlji yetsum hirər qau ečan* let us call the man whom we saw in our dream(s). 284.14. *sis*

000 *uyoˑnɛ uˑlji inɛ ʌšdər delum inɛ hir yeˑtsumʌn* all the people saw the man who had slain the dragon in (their) dream(s). 284.8.

(The *yeˑtsumʌn* seems to do double duty governing both *uˑlji* and *hir* as direct objects, but cp. *oˑlji ʌwʌlʌm* "above" where one must take *oˑlji* as meaning "in a dream").

menɛ uˑlji ni.itsin any persons having had dream(s). 74.13.

uˑlji yər funeral rites, obsequies. — *uˑlji yərər gur hərі nˈoˑusin* putting aside wheat and barley for funeral rites (i.e. for funeral alms, *xairat*). 332.11.

(Explained by H. *aˑge piˑčhe*, so *uˑlji* is from *-*lji* and possibly liable to change of Pn.pf. The phrase seems to be an exact equivalent, with inversion, of the Sh. *yer fʌtu*).

(Later authority gives basal form *-*lji* *-*yərər*).

uˑlo, uˑlu adv. in, inside, within. — *uˑlo ju; uˑlo hurutˑ* come in; sit inside. *uˑlo hiŋɛn* γʌnˈimi inside a door appeared. 54.5. *uˑlu niˑmi* he went in. 12.12. *iˑsɛ tisər neˑsqʌn uˑlo wʌščʌm* killing him I shall fling him into that pit. 84.2. *uˑlo haˑler niˑʌser* on going (in) into the house. 370.5, 374.4. Regarding: *hiŋɛ uˑlo*. 212.10, and *tsəriše uˑlo*. 304.17, v. § 65.

(Probably an oblique form of *uˑl* and related to *-*uˑl* belly).

-ulo case suffix, v. § 76.

uˑlum 1. Adv. from inside. — *uˑlum juwaˑb aˑtimi* from inside no answer came. 24.8.

2. Adj. inside-, inner, internal, indigenous. — *uˑlum inɛ* (*se.ibai.i*) the inside man (i.e. the man inside the house says . . .) (or perhaps: "the other, from inside, says . . ." 164.4.

000 *u·lum baiyu* indigenous (i.e. locally produced) salt. *u·lum bilaštu.ε ime gu·tas ni'tsun . . . ṣičaʼn* domestic, i.e. human, "bilases" carrying off his corpse . . . devour it (*u·lum* is here glossed Prs. *bavtrni*).

-ulum suffix denoting:

1. From inside of.
2. Pertaining to (the inside of). V. §§ 77 & 102.

(601) **-ulus*, **-ulutsəro*, hm. a woman's brother, husband's brother. Forms: *o·lus, gu·lus, mu·lus; milutsəro*, —, *u·lutsəro*. — *ja o·smo mu·lus* my wife's brother. *mu·lusə i·i, e·i* (a woman's) brother's son, daughter. *ma·mamo mu·lus* maternal uncle. *je uŋε gu·mimo mu·lus ap'a* I am not your mother's brother. 14.14. *hin muŋgo ya mu·lusʌn* an uncle or a brother of hers. 306.1. *o·lus*. 14.18, 18.2; *mu·lus*. 306.14.

000 *um* N., cp, *uŋ*, thou.

-um 1. Ablative suffix.

2. Adjective suffix. V. §§ 78. & 102.

[601] *umʌgus* IUB, co-wife; H. *saut*. (A later authority gives the word as **-mʌngus*)

umər, umər age, lifetime. — *umərə uyum ba* I am the elder. *kiŋε umər bə·rum me.imi* how old will this man be? *umər xa* so long as you live. N. *thamε imo umərulu but sʌfʌriŋ ε·tubai.i* the Tham has made many journeys in his (life)time. Ar.

umi·d, ume·d y hope, expectation. — *umi·d bila*, or *mai bila* there is hope, it is expected, there is reason to hope. *ume·d api jimʌlər ju·ʌsε* there is no hope, possibility, of (his) coming tomorrow. *ʌma umi·d ε·ču bom* but she kept hoping. 58.12. *umi·d ε·ykərtsumo* she abandoned hope. 58.18. Prs.

000 *umi·dwa·r* hopeful; expectant (mother), pregnant. 388.2. Prs.

*-*umus*, pl. *-*umušo*, x. Pn.pf. *o·*, *gu·*, *yu·*, *mu·*; *mi·*, *mo·*, *u·*.

1. Tongue. *thʌmɛ momus čur'uk ma·či* the Tham will cut out your tongue(s) for you. 328.1. *phu·ɛ yu·mus*, a tongue, or flame, of fire.
2. Lie, falsehood.

a. The Pn.pf. referring to the liar: *-*umušo o·tʌs* or *senʌs* to tell lies. *bɛ·sɛ gumušo oč'a?* why dost thou lie? 164.2. *yu·mušo oč'ai.i* he is lying. 148.25. *momušo o·ča·n* you are lying. 136.6. *yu·mušo o·tum inɛ ɛ·čʌtɛ bʌlda* the burden (responsibility) (be) on the shoulders of him who has lied! 46.4.

Sometimes with *ɛtʌs* in place of *o·tʌs*, and sometimes with *senʌs*, or with both:

bɛsɛ gu·mušo sča? or *se.iba?* why dost thou lie? *u·ɛ uyo·n u·mušo nɛ senumʌn* they all lied. *gumušo o·sen* don't lie!

b. Used predicatively and absolutely (i.e. without direct reference to any particular person) the 3rd pers. forms with initial *yu·* and *u·* appear to be used. The Eng. equivalent is frequently the adj. "untrue":

gutɛ čʌγa u·mus bila this story is untrue. *gukɛ čʌγamiŋ u·mušo bitsʌn* these statements are untrue. *gutɛ bor yu·mus*, or, *u·mus*, or, *u·mušo bila* this (saying) is a lie, untrue. But: *gu·mus bila* (what you say) is a lie (lit. your lie).

c. It appears possible to use *-*umušo* as the subject of the verb: *u·mušo bi.ɛn* . . . (sic).

uŋ IYB, *um* Nz. and GH. Kh., *um* N. thou. V. § 119. 000

upal šo x a kind of grub.

*-uri IUB, N. *-mots* nail (of finger, toe), H. *naxun*. — *yuri* his nail; *mi.urimots* our nails. N. *auri* my nail. *iuri* his nail.

urk -ai.i, N. pl. *urkaiints*, x wolf. — *urko bat* wolf-skin. *urkai.ik dun tale qaš ifayo ši bim* a pack of wolves coming, had eaten seven cubits off his staff. 222.10. (Cp. Ishkashmi, *ṛrk* wolf).

urusi -mots x rifled gun (matchlock?) (Cp. Kho. *urusi* (*tourk*), a kind of gun ("Russian").

*-urvš y concern, affair, business. Forms: *orvš, gurvš*, —; — *morvš, urvš* — *je be orvš bilum* what business was it of mine? *je be orvš ke senam* (*etam*) . . . what concern (was it) of mine that I said (did) . . . *'eteŋe be gurvš mene ke manišš* what concern (is it) of yours to whom it may belong? 58.32.

*-us, obl. sg. *-usmu-*, pl. *-ušints* wife. 601
Forms: *os, gus, yus*; —, —, *us*. pl. *ošints*, —, *yušints*. — *kin hin ja os bo* this one is my wife. 182.4. *ja osmo mulos* my wife's brother. *muyore yusmur mosimi* (her) husband said to his wife. 232.5, 210.13. *hin . . . hiran yusmu ka . . . di bam* a man had come with his wife. 292.1. *ine hir yusmo gute čayatsum xuš n'iman* the man, being pleased with his wife's suggestion. 36.20. *Boratalinge oi bom Hurukutse us bom* she was the daughter of the B. and the wife of the H. i.e. she was married into the H. tribe. 258.3, cp. 256.4. *jamavat* appears always to be used

601 for the Vocative, and frequently for the other cases.

000 *vsko* x and y, cp. *iʷski* and *iʷsken*, v. §§ 187 and 206, three. With the Pn.pf., v. § 133. — *iʷtse uʷsko nuyen* taking those three things. 28.18.

vskuʷin IUB hm (kin), H. *bəraʷdəri*. V. *svkuʷin*.

vsquʷin N., EOL, v. *svkuʷin*.

vstaʷd, *vstaʷt*, pl. *vstaʷd(t)iŋ*, *vstaʷtiŋ* hm craftsman, skilled craftsman; musician. — *dʌq stʌs vstaʷd* blacksmith. *čʌk stʌs vstaʷd* carpenter. *buʷt vstaʷd bai.i* he is a very skilful craftsman. *Gərmʌhʌlmʌs juwʌn vstaʷtʌn men kə apaʷn* there is (lit. are) no craftsman like G. M. M. 168.13. *vstaʷdiŋ dulʷn . . . tʌmʌša sčaʷn* bringing the musicians . . . they make an entertainment. 300.9. *da eγərešo vstaʷtiŋ altʌmbuʷʌn* then eight music-playing craftsmen, i.e. musicians, bandsmen. 336.5. Prs.

vstaʷdi craftsmanship, technical skill. — *vstaʷdi.s ka stai.i* he has done it, made it, with skill. Prs.

uʷ̌ y debt. — *ayeṭs uʷ̌ bila* debt is on me, i.e. I am in debt. *ayeṭs uʷ̌ diʷbila* debt has come on me, i.e. I have got into debt. *ja tsundo rupi.a iʷneṭs uʷ̌ bila, jaʷr joyʌs bai.i* he owes me five rupees, he is to pay (them) to me. *iʷne tsundo rupi.a jaʷeṭs uʷ̌ bila, yuʷyʌs ba* I owe him 5 rupees, I have to pay him. *gʷʷʌṭs uʷ̌ apiʷ ke* . . . if your father has no debts. Prov. 44. *uʷ̌ ičiʌs* the debt-giver i.e. the debtor. (-ʷ̌ confirmed by IUB, cp. Sh. *uʷ̌*.).

423 *ʷʷšʌki* term applied to land given to foster-parents, or relations, for service or cash-payment. No obligation in regard to forced labour attaches

423 to it. Something in the nature of a fief, explained by the H. *jagir*. — *berumʌn bušai.i wšʌki ičimi* he gave him some "*ušʌki*" land. 46.1. *wšʌki γinʌŋ stum bušai* "*ušʌki*" land acquired by purchase. (*-šə-* base of *-*wše.ʌs* + suffix *-ki*?)

601 *wšʌm -rišo* foster-. — *wšʌm aya* (or, *a.u*) my foster-father. 28.1. *wšʌm yu* his foster-father. 32.13. *wšʌm mama, aćo, ayʌs* my foster-mother, brother, sister. *ine wšʌm maper hir* that old man who had fostered (him). 26.24. *wšʌm mama guyaiyʌm* I will take you as my foster-mother. 362.10. *Lʌŋa Brwmo wšʌm muwimur se.ibo* L. B. says to her foster-mother. 122.1. *thʌme ivi* (*e..i*) *inər wšʌm yumi* the Tham gave out his son (daughter) to him to foster. (The exact force of *wšʌm* here is obscure).

I also recorded *wšʌm -rišo* as the equivalent of "mid-wife" and "nurse", but I do not imagine that it can bear these meanings except so far as the function in question may be performed by a foster-mother.

(Form of Static Pc. of *wše.ʌs*).

000 *ušʌŋ* IUB limbs, parts of body, H. *jor*. (Later information: *-*šʌŋ* y pl. occurs usually in the phrase *-*lčin* *-*šʌŋ* eye and limbs).

*-*wše.ʌs* (*-*wšai.ʌs*), *-*wšeč-*, Impv. *-*wša*, Ppa. *n*-*wšʌn* to rear, nurture, foster, cherish. Pn.pf. + *i*: *oš-*, *guš-*, *yuš-*, —; *myuš-*, —, *uš-*. — *ine je ošʌmi* he reared, or fostered me. *ine uŋ gušʌmi* he fostered you. *ine hʌγur yušʌmi* he reared the horse. *ine hʌγurišo ušʌmi* he reared the horses. *Šahsawda Bahram mapere yuša bʌm* the old man had fostered S. B. 22.17.

56 a

000 *dʌltʌs ne yuršen* (or, *yuršu*) rear ye him well (or, rear thou). 92.9. *guse* (*bʌskʌrsf*) *n'i.uršʌn* (or *nyušʌn*, *ni.ušʌn*) rearing this (ram). 62.18, 100.4. *yuršʌm ise bulovšo* "the fatted ones". 368.14, 373.19. *bust γərštiŋ ? se.ʌs bai.i* he is a great cherisher of the poor. 34.12. *mi my'ušai.ʌs pavlša* the King who cherishes us. 40.12.

usguvin, pl. *usguvyo*, creditor, also debtor. (*usf* + *guvin*, v. § 21. b.).

usfulom by reason of, because of. — *taiyʌsə usfulom* by reason of (the fire) going out.

ušuto cuckold, H. *daiyuu*.

usf -ʌnts, N. *-ršo*, x camel. — *hiv usf*, *boryəva usf* male camel. *gus usf* female camel. *turma avlto ta ut'ʌntsʌtom guks γenʌŋ* this gold (that is loaded) on 1200 camels. 88.26. (*-f* IUB, cp. H. *ũf*; Sh. *ũf*).

*-uf *-riŋ feet and hands. — *akovle gust guriŋ ła.o sti* wash your feet and hands here. 174.1. *ust uriŋ šavəsčər ninʌn* they went off to "wash their hands and feet" i.e. for purposes of nature. 118.7. *yust iriŋ duvə.ərimi* he sought his foot and hand (to -kiss). 52.15. (Cp. *-ufis* and *-riŋ*).

utinʌs, *ytinʌs*, *uti-*, Ppa. *n'utin* to fill (pour?) s.t. into s.t. — *sərmutsiŋ dərtsər n'utsun ut'iv bavn. Ut'inʌsvlo ʌkivl se.ibavn* . . . taking the bags to the threshing-floor they fill them. While filling them they say thus . 332.8. *sərmutsvlo ut'ibavn* they fill (the grain) into the bag. *n'utin* having filled the bag. 332.6. (Cp. *t(h)iyʌs* to pour?)

-ufis (*-r-*), pl. *-ufiŋ*, y. N. pl. *-utiŋ*, *-utivšo*(?) *-utivnts*(?) foot (of man); lower leg (below knee or hock of

quadruped). Forms: *o(tis), gu-, yu-, mu-*; IUB *mitɨs, mitiŋ* and *myutiŋ, motiŋ, utiŋ*. 000

N. 1. *autiṣ*, 3. *iutiṣ*. — *yutiŋ jutiŋ bitsʌn* his feet are small. 156.19. *haṭar nala utie iarčan* they put down their foot (sc. feet) at the same moment in the house. 304.17. *wałto yutiŋ . . . oḍu.ar oγ'unumo* the four trotters (or lower legs, of the sheep or goat) she gave to the guests. 232.7.

(From later information it is clear that in the sg. *-utis* is ordinarily x and in the pl. normally y. For an illustration of the former cp. *utɨs galji bim*. 220.6).

utɨkum IUB straight, like a camel, H. *sidha, ūt ki ṭarah*. (Equivalent to "as the crow flies"?).

utsimo v. *-tsimo*.

utsiyenʌs food taken with one when away from home, "shepherd's bread". — *uʌle ḳapik utsiyenʌs aʌita pɨtimots bim* they had with them two cakes of bread as outdoor food. 28.2(*utsiyenʌs ditsu ke mu ḳičen* produc the food and we shall eat it now. 30.1. (*-tsi yenʌs*).

u ui they themselves, V. *ui* and 1. *-i*.

uy'ʌm -ṛšo sweet, tasty, savoury. — *gutse baʌit uyʌm bi.en* these apples are sweet. *uyʌm nʌs* a sweet smell, perfume. *uyʌm nasaŋs askuriŋ* sweet-scented flowers. *uyʌm baiyu* sweet salt(?). *uyʌmʌn amolum sučʌm tsa?* where would I get a tasty thing from? 138.22. *uyʌm učore ka* with sweet voices. 182.1.

ūyʌmo secretly. — *hikum sis ūyʌmo Šišporor ovimi* he sent a party of men secretly to S. 240.3.

uyʌnčimo receptional. V. **-yʌnčimo*. — *uyʌnčimo hərip* music played when welcoming a guest of honour. 000

uyʌrʌs v. **-yʌrʌs*. — *uyʌrʌs diš* place for (animals) to graze, i.e. grazing-ground, pasture.

**-uyər*, **-uyer*, *-šo* hm. husband. Forms: *oyər*, *guyər*, *muyər*; *mi.uyəršo*, —, *uyəršo*. — *ja oyərʌn bai.i* I have a husband. 24.12. *čevi ja oyərʌle bi* the key is with my husband. 24.16. *muyəre senimi* her husband said. 34.9. *muyərər senumo* she said to her husband. 36.17, 68.10,13. *guke γenʌŋ guyəre gor dotsai.i* your husband has sent you this gold. 56.27. *uvimo uyəršuər senumʌn* (the women) said to their husbands. 262.11. N. **-uyer -rəo*; *aruyer* my husband. 601

The place of **-uyər* is very often taken by *jʌmaʌt*.

**-uyʌs* **-uč-*, Impv. **-u*, Ppa. *n*-un(in)* to give (h and x objects), v. § 231. d. Forms: *joyʌs*, *guyʌs*, *yuyʌs*, *muyʌs*; *myuyʌs*, —, *uyʌs*. 000

The Pn.pf. refers to the Indirect Object, the person or thing to whom the thing is given. This does not prevent the Indirect Object's being expressed also as noun or independent pronoun.

When the Indir. Obj. is the 1st person sg. the Pn.pf. *a-* is replaced by *ja*, and we get the infinitive *ja* + **-uyʌs* → *joyʌs*, to give (h or x object) to me. When the verb is negative the Pn.pf. *a-* reappears, v. § 255.

Forms of the Affirmative of this type which have been recorded are:
Fut. 2nd sg. *jočuma*. 106.3, 118.22. —
3rd sg. bf. *joreo*. 50.22.
Pres. 2nd sg. *joč'a*. 62.16. —

OOO Pret. 3rd sg. hm. *jo·mi*. 62.18.
Impv. 2nd sg. *jo*. 60.16, 62.24, 90.22, 96.18, 104.11, etc. *jo·ka*. 92.15. N. *ja·u*. —
Infin. *jo·yas*. 118.24. —
tu·m ču·ran (x) *jo* give me another knife.
guli.en (x) *jo* give me a dried apricot.
hayuran (x) *jar jo* give me a horse.
thi jo·mi he gave it to me gratis.

In the case of the other persons of the Pn.pf.s the forms are according to rule.

The following are a few typical examples, the direct object being always h or x. —

Fut. *gu·čam* I shall give to you. 106.4, 112.6.
Pres. *gu·ča ba* why should I give (her) to you? 96.19. — *yu·ča ba* I am giving to him, going to give to him. 106.6. *u·ča ba* I am going to give to them. 116.18. *u·čai.i* he gives to them. 373.4, 368,2, 300.8. *iyučan* they give to him. 342.11. *mučan* they give to her. — *u·čan* they give to them. 340.15.
Pret. *gu·yam* I gave to you. 62.15. *yuyam* I gave to him. *yu·mi* he gave to him. 62.10, 112.12. *u·mi* he gave to them. 112.5. —
Plup. *guya baiyam* I had given to you. 44.17. *yu·am* he had given to him. 28.15. —
Impv. *inər yu* give to him. *mu* give to her. *u·ər u·* give to them. *menər ke u·u* give it also to others. 60.17. —
Infin. *yu·sas bər* promise of giving (her) to him. 936. *myuyas* to give to us. *u·yasər rai etimi* he decided to give (his daughters) to men. 116.17, cp. 298.8.

58 a

000 Ppa. *nyuʷnin* having given (her) to him. 262.10. — *nuʷn*, *nuʷnin* having given to them. 34.6.

St. pc. *ja gurʌm bʌskʌrst ka tsu* take away too the ram given thee by me. 62.21. —

Pres. base + *ər*.

ivna yuʷčer yuʷy pʌsoʷm imʌnumi the father grudged to give him (his son) to him. 106.1. —

Negative Forms.

bese aiyau.uča? why don't you give me (your daughter)? 96.19. *aiy'au.uma* thou didst not give me (a kid). 344.9. *aiyawa*, (Vernac. ms. *oʷjoʷba*) thou hast not given me (a kid). 370.9. *ayau* don't give to me. 118.24. *eʷuča ba* I won't give to him. 106.6. *eʷučai.i* he does not give to him. 112.4. *ečʷučʌm* no people used to give to him. 366.12, 378.2. *oʷmi* he did not give to them. 114.9. *oʷmʌn*, *oʷumʌn* they did not give to them. 242.14. *oʷuwʌm* they had not given to them. 296.3. *oʷyʌsər* on his not giving to them. 114.10.—

*-*uyai.ʌs*(?) v.i. to become dry, dry up. — *uʷ ka in ka uʷyʌmʌn* they and he too became dry. 160.8. (Cp. *yuʷyʌs*, v. § 232).

uyoʷn uyoʷn, *oyoʷn*, 3rd pers. form of *-*yoʷn*. Adj. and Pron. all the, the whole of, the entire, all.

Though the Pn.pf. is plural, this form is used as a generalised 3rd pers. form with nouns of all categories, whether singular or plural.

It normally follows the noun that it qualifies and takes case suffixes. *mʌl uyoʷnulo* through the whole field. 252.12 For more detailed account and examples, v. § 178.

58 b

uyum, pl. *uyoŋko* (*uyumko*, *uyomko*, *oyomko*). OOO

1. Big, great, large (of size, age, social position). — *esetsum ke uyumʌn dotsuma* than it (a horse) you have sent me a bigger thing (an elephant). 76.24. *uyum ha* a large house. *hʌn uyum bumʌn yʌtsm dimi* a great boulder came down from above. 294.5. *uyum mʌnʌte hurušai* he sits on a large platform.
2. It is used with words referring to age. — *umərs uyum, dimʌnʌsə uyum, dəniŋs uyum, ba* you are the greater in age, by (date of) birth, by years. All meaning: you are the elder, the senior.

   So by itself it comes to mean elder, eldest.

   jatsum uyum bai.i he is older than I. *uyum gori . . . dum'obo* your eldest daughter . . . . has come. 136.26, cp. 116.5, 368.15.

   It is also used of children growing up.
3. Chiefly in the plural, it is used for headman, chief man, elder, man of authority. — *waltí giramo uyoŋko* the headmen of the "Four Tribes" (of Central Hunza).
4. A person of consideration, entitled to respect, H. *izzʌtmʌnd*; a notable. (Not always distinguishable from the last meaning) — *uyum sis bo* she is a woman of consideration. *uyumko gušiŋʌnts bam* they are women entitled to respect. *uyoŋkuiwər da šʌdəršuwər . . . hukum ɛtimi* he gave orders to the elders (or notables) and followers. 41.3. *ho uyoŋko uyawɛ kɛ hʌnikuts oršam*

then they set dishes also before the notables. 340.13. 000

uyuᵛmkv̄, y. greatness, authority. — *uyumkvī ne hurutimi* he abode, practising greatness, i.e. exercising authority, governing. 266.14.

In the following it seems to be used as an adjective. There is probably some error:

buᵛt uyuᵛmkvī gumai.ima you will become very great. 72.9.

'uᵛyumo, variant of *uᵛimo*, their own. 126.14, 92.5.

*-uᵛy, *-u, pl. *-utsəro father; father's brother. 601

The *-y* was to me more often than not imperceptible. To the following forms it may be added to taste: *aᵛu* (*au*), *guᵛ*, *yuᵛ*, *muᵛ*; *myuᵛ*, *maᵛu*, *uᵛu* (*uᵛy*).

The non-coalescence of the 1st sg. Pn.pf. *a-* with the *u-* is noteworthy. The combination appears as: *aᵛu-*, *au-*, *au.u-*. — *le aᵛu* O, my father! (as a term of respect). 282.6, cp. *aya*. *auᵛ ʌmi.e bagoᵛ daiya ba* I have come in place of my father and mother.282.8. *au.e tinjo* my father's bones. 80.22. *ja au.ʊər maᵛri.e gʌlt ʌdəraᵛ di bilum* the turn for (providing) supplies for the monster had come to my father. 282.7. *ja altʌn au.utsəro oᵛsqʌnʌm* he had killed my two father's-brothers. 266.10. *je uŋe guᵛy* (*guᵛye i*) *ap'a* I am not your father (your father's son). 14.13. *uᵛŋe guᵛy gutsəro altʌn 'oᵛsqʌnai i* he has killed your father and your father's two brothers. 264.18. *muᵛ ke muᵛmi.e muyetsumʌn* her father and mother saw her. 282.19. *muᵛmi ke muᵛu.ər oᵛsumo* she said to her mother and

601 father. 280.12. *jvt ine yuɣyər ɛnimi* the younger said to his father. 372.2. *yuʷtsəruʷ təraq bel ovraʷn* you have exterminated his fathers (i.e. his father and father's-brothers). 242.15. *mi myu kʌtʌṭe guča bai.i* our father is lying on the bed. 260.8. *uɣ dimi* their father came. 110.13. *uʷe (uɣe) iʷmo mavl . . traq ovtimi* their father divided his property among them. 372.5.

What appears to be a genitive in *ça* is found in the following, but perhaps it is referable to a hypothetical *-*ya* cp. *aya*.

guʷa haʷlər gutsər . . . muʷa haʷlər niʷmo go to your father's house . . . she went to her father's house. 282.18,19.

N. has *uyum* *-*uy* father's elder brother. *jvt* *-*uy* father's younger brother. *makučim* *-*uy* father's intermediate brother.

In Hz. I have recorded *uyuʷm aya* etc., but it is legitimate to say:

ja aʷu ɛ ɛčo my father's brother.

*-*uyas* v. *yuɣyas*, v.i. to dry up (h and x subjects).

000 *uzər*, *uzur* entreaty; excuse. — *uzur ɛtumo . . . gatuŋ aɣun* she entreated . . . give me my clothes. 14.10. *da uzur ɛtimi . . . jaʷr asuin* again he entreated, implored tell me . . . 38.13. *uzur ɛtas* to make an excuse. Ar.

uʷžo, *uju*, pl. *uʷžumuts*, otter. (Cp. Sh. *uʷju*, Skr. *udrá-*).

B.

ba verb substantive, I am; thou art. The parts of this verb, which lacks an infinitive, are based on; *ba-*, *bo-*, *bi-*. For the paradigm see §§ 269, 270.

ba, *bʌ* kiss — *ba ɛtas* to kiss, H. *čuʷmna*. *yuʷtis iriŋɛṭe ba* (or, *baʷn*)

60 a

000 *sči bo* she kisses his foot and hand. 138.3.

Used especially of the action of touching something with the fingers and then kissing them or putting them to the lips:

hʌnikʌṭe tsʌp ne bʌ ne gəromo ke gəromi . . the bridegroom and bride, touching the dishes and kissing (their fingers). 304.17, Cp. 18. *Thʌme tsʌp ne b'ʌ ne hʌlər nim . . . horuṭai.i* the Tham, touching (the dish) and kissing (his fingers), going to the house, sits down . . . 340.1. Cp. 70.7.

In this phrase *bʌ ne* sounds like one word, *b'ʌne*. The kiss direct is expressed by *bʌn stʌs*. *bʌn* is probably *ba* + *ʌn* = a kiss.

ariŋeṭe bʌn stimi he kissed my hand. *ine ilčumotsʌṭe bʌn stimi, ine ifʌtiyʌṭe bʌn stimi, ine kirts bimʌn uyonʌṭe bʌn stimi* he kissed (the child) on its eyes, he kissed it on the forehead, he kissed it on all its limbs. 90.23.

I have *hilas bʌn stimi*, he kissed the child, but I think this must be wrong, as in all other examples where the object kissed is expressed it has the suffix *-ʌṭe*. 92.16, 138.3, 368.9, 373.12.

bʌba v. *bʌb'a*.

bʌbo v. *bʌpo*.

bʌbuk[1]*-rão* (x). — *čili bʌbuk* very small bead. EOL. (Perhaps "juniper berry." Cp. Sh. *čili* juniper tree).

bʌdʌm v. *bʌdʌm*.

625 *baḍigar* the Mir's "Bodyguard". Small bodies of armed men maintained by the Mirs of Hunza and Nagir with the sanction and assistance of the Government of India. 340.17. Eng.

60 b

[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 541-Analyst]

baˑdša, paˑdša, king. 2.1 (et passim). 000
V. § 50. Prs.

baγo, pl. *baγoćiŋ* (e.g. of bread), *baγomiŋ* (of land), the pl. form *baγotiŋ* (cp. 32.16) is denied, y share, portion, fraction.

1. *aˑlto baˑgo ganimi* he took a double share. *jaˑr besan baˑgo jućila* the share that falls (comes) to me.366.3. *jaˑr baˑgo ha ači* give me (a) house for my share, or my share of houses(?). 112.11. *baˑgo stas* to apportion, share (bread, land etc.) IUB. *tiˑki baˑgo manaˑs* to become the share of the earth, i.e to be wasted, H. *xaˑk ka ḫiṣa, yaˑns borbaˑd, homa*. N. *alto bego* two-thirds. *iski bego* three quarters.
2. Substitute (for), in place of *auˑami.s baˑgo daiya ba* I have come as a substitute for my father and mother. 282.8, 42.1.
3. On the part of, on behalf of. *guˑimo jaˑni jamaˑr ja baˑγo* (sic) *ju sti* salute your relations from me. EOL. (Cp. Sh. *baˑgo* share, *baˑgoˑski* to divide, to apportion).

baγairi v. *baγeˑri*.

baγeˑrŋ v. *baγe*.

baγobaˑn, baγbaˑn (hn) gardener. 64.3, 382.11. Prs.

bahri (x) a kind of black-eyed hawk. Prs.

baˑi, bai.i a sum, formerly of 12, now of 16 rupees. It is divided into 2 *xor*. — *hin xuraˑbgu.inaṣ bai.i γanṣše bap bila. ṭurma alta rupi.a mai.i bi.an* there is a tax of a "bal" of gold on each Jemadar of Goldwashers. It amounts to 12 rupees. 348.7. (Cp. Sh. *baˑi, bai.i*, twelve). 436 651

baˑj (y) toll, tax. Prs.

61 a

ba·k[1/A] punishment. — *ba·k ʌtʌs* to force s.o. to answer, to question under pressure. — *tik ba·q sućʌn* let us enquire of the land and force it to answer. 250.16. (The ground is beaten to make it answer). *ba·q stumʌn, ba·q stin* they forced him to answer; force him to answer. *ba·q atumʌn* they forced me to answer. *ǰʌpik gatu.e gans ba·k umai.ibʌ·n* they beg exigently for food and clothing. 000

bakinç, bʌkinç, pl. *baki.aŋ*. N. *bʌki·nś*, pl. *bʌkæŋ* razor.

ba·l v. *bʌl*, wall.

ba·l ʌtʌs to suspend s.t., to lower s.t. (?), to let s.t. down (?). — *ǰʌpik ks tsil sʌms xa gor ba·l ns besantse dʌ·skuǰ* . . . let her letting down through the smoke hole bread and water to 'you lower it on something. 50.27. (Cp. Sh. *bʌl tho.rki*).

ba·latrʌŋ surcingle (of leather). Prs.

ba·li, (v. *bʌli*).

ba·lɤ arrived at puberty, adult. Ar. Prs.

ba·lɤ(i), balɤ·ɤi puberty ("14 or 15 years of age"). — *a·ltʌr dʌn ni·mi bal'ɤɤr dʌǰqʌltimi* twenty years passed and he reached puberty. 88.18. (A final *-i* is probably absorbed by the ending *-ɤr*). Ar. Prs.

balo·ski, Balti (belonging to Baltistan). — *balo·ski baǰ* the Balti language. (V. Index of Proper Names svv. *Balo, Balo·ts*).

1. *ba·lt*[1/A] sg. and pl., also pl. *-rśo*, x apple (fruit). — *uyʌm ba·ltrśo* sweet apples. *gutse ba·lt uyʌm bi.en* these apples are sweet.
2. *ba·lt*[1/A] *iŋ* y apple-tree. Also: *ba·lts tom* apple-tree.

ba·ltʌs ba·lć, Impv. *ba·lt*, neg. *apa·lt*, Ppa. *nupa·ltin*, v.t. to wash (y things).

61 b

[1/A] [see corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 542 - Analysis]

000 — *gots pati bavlt* wash this (woman's) shirt. *gatoŋ bavltas* to wash clothes. *miškil* (*mishil?*) *mirig bavltas* to wash our hands and faces. (Cp. *yavltas* to wash (h & x objects). v. § 231. h. Ca. *°-shaltas*).

bavs v. *ba*, kiss.

bavsa v. *bakavsa*, pretext. Prs.

1. *bavg* y "charas" (hemp drug). — *bavg minavs*, *bavg tashavs* to smoke "charas". H.

2. *bavg* v. 2 *bag*, the Call to Prayer. Prs.

601 *bavpo*, *bavbo*, *bapo*, *-tsavo* his grandfather, (paternal or maternal). (Like *bavbo* this word is appropriated to Royal Families). — *bavpotsavo hav* (our) grandfather's cows. 248.5. (Here = "mother's fathers", i.e. probably the father and his brothers).

bavpos dani ayavdavs they play the B. D. "the Grandfather's slow time music". 302.6. (Here *bapo* is said to be "the Grandfather of the Mir").

000 *bapots* IUB felt socks, or stockings, H. *wanda ka jurab*. (Cp. Sh. *bayavtig*. Prs. *payavt?*)

bavg °-atas v. under *bavk*.

bavgi remaining; remainder. — *bavgi zahi* rem the remaining three tribes. 248.4. Pl. the other ones. 286.8. Av.

bav contemporary, one's own kind, congenial (?) H. *kam'umr*, *kamjirna*, *kamdam*. — *dunatsavs*, *le mi bakav yav bav* the way of the world, my dear friend and fellow. 260.3.

bavakullah God bless you!' 240.3. Av.

bavdum pl. hx *-sto*, y *-ig*, xy *bavtuko*; N. *bavd'um* pl. *bavjuko*, red. — *bavdum hava* red ant.

bavzi, *bavi.ag* —? — *dustak bavzi*, *dustak bavi.ag* (miscellaneous?)

62 a

1/1 [see corrigenda at addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 things. *jaṭ bavṛṭ* = *jaṭpaṭ* old folk This supplementary word has no meaning of its own; it only conveys a vague sence of multiplicity.

bav IUE, given as variant of *bavz*, hawk. Ar. Prs.

bavṛ -iq (y) language, speech. — *angrezi bavṛ* the English language. *balatu.e bavṛ ke.ibai.i* he knows the language of birds. 96.5. *Wani bavṛate kampir maper jat gumur se.ibam* in the Wakhi language they call an elderly (or old) woman "*kampir*". 286.16.

In the Index of Proper Names vide: *arumawṛaki*, *gu.iraki*, *balorki*, *balorto*, *kaśmiri*. (Cp. Sh. *bavṛ*, language).

bavṛa a kind of yellow-eyed hawk (female), Sparrow-hawk(?). — *bavṛa čup*, ditto (male). Prs.

bawur believing, crediting; belief, credence. — *bawur* *-*manas* to believe, give credence (lit. to become believing). *bawur amamai.i bam ke* if you (pl.) don't believe. 252.24. *sis bawur ommanuman* the people did not believe. 284.4. Cp. 250.8, 252.6, 270.3.

In none of these is any object expressed.

I have once recorded:

bawur (or, *dag*) *ataṛa ba* apparently with the meaning of I don't believe. *ataṛa ba* is the 1st sg. pres. of the neg. *a-duṛtas*, which usually replaces the positive *duṛu-yas* (with *y* object) when the neg. prefix is present. Prs.

bayan statement, narrative, account. — *ṛmo bayan atimi* he made his own statement. 380.1. Ar. Prs.

bavz, *bav* kind of yellow-eyed hawk (female). — *ṛimale . . . bavz ṛkorer niṭan* tomorrow we shall go a-hawking. 4.10. Prs.

62 b

[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

baʿzaʿr -*iŋ* y collection of shops, "bazar", market. — *baʿzaʿren bila* there is a bazar. *baʿzaʿrefer ni* go to the bazar. 58.16, 60.11, 19, 66.16, 72.19. Prs. 000

baʿzi IUB trick, deception, H. *makkari*. Cp. *bazi*, Prs.

baʿzzaʿs claim, demands; disputing, discussion. — *jaka besan baʿzzaʿs oʿmanj* there must be no disputing(?) with me. 58.28. *je ke uŋ baʿzzaʿs besan oʿmanj* there must be no claims (disputing?) between thee and me. 62.9. Prs.

bab'a, baʿba father.

This term is used properly only in Royal Families (according to a Nagiri informant in the families also af Saiyids). For commoners to use it among themselves implies arrogance and insolence which demand punishment. Compare the history of the Tapkients, p. 238. 601 554

The corresponding term for mother is "*rizi*".

These words are said to have come down from the time of Alexander the Great who was accompanied by Diram Titag and Diram Moghul. *uʿ uʿmiʿer* "*rizi, baʿba*" *se.ibam* they used to address their father(s) and mother(s) as "*rizi baʿba*". 238.6.

Muʿnolum Daʿdo apparently claimed equality with rajas: 000
ine sinomo "*mi bab'a goʿr qau ečai.i*" she said to him: "my father summons you". 180.6. And Shahzada B. addressing the "White Deu" said: *šu.a bab'a uʿŋe baba daʿrai* your father (the King) has sent me. 30.14. *uʿŋe babaʿr . . . gute haiyen tsu* take this token to (the King) your father.

63a

136.15, 18. *le baba Wazir, bəbaʿlər nukoʿn* O father's Wazir, you going to (the King my) father. 136.25. Cp. 94.15. Prs.(?). ooo

1. *bəbəl, babəl.*

a. Suspended, hanging, IUB H. *laṭkana.* — *kuʿto babəl ne* suspending the bag. 140.16. *bəbəl etəs* v.t. to swing s.t. *bəbəl mənaʿe* v.i. to swing. **-skil bəbəl etəs* to scowl. 1

b. A kind of leapfrog. (Cp. *d*-əspə-pələs* v.t. to whirl through the air, and Sh. *bəbəla* floating, in the air etc., reduplication of *bəl,* suspended).

2. *bəbəl* N. *-iŋ* y earth cliff (crumbly). (Cp. 1. *bəbəl* & *bəlbəl*).

bəbər -čuko (= *joko?*).

1. Equal, alike, H. *bəraʿbər.* — *meltə-lik bəbər baʿn* we are both alike, equal. 148.10. *kuʿe uyoʿnəŋe bəbər bušai.i trəŋ ne gučəm* (*gučičəm?*) dividing up the land I shall give you (a share) equal with all these others. 114.14. *kuʿe uyoʿn bəbər hik trəŋ oʿčičəm* (i.e. *učičəm*) I shall give them all (jointly) an equal half-share. 114.17.

Through the idea of equal halves we get:

goʿne bəbər midnight, *bəbər gən* half-way.

2. Even, level, exact, tallying (of accounts). — *hisaʿb bəbər etimi* he kept the accounts exactly, he made it tally. 104.19. *oʿltəlike hisaʿb bəbər diʿmi* (the accounts) of both came out even. 52.23.

3. Share, equal share. — *bəber eti* divide up equally. *hik bəbər, aʿlto bəbər, iski bəbər* 1, 2, 3, equal shares. (Equivalent to Prs. & H. *bəraʿbər* and probably derived from it).

63 b

1 [See Corrigenda et addanda, Category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 *bʌbərum* hot (of taste); hot, ardent (of temper); smart, sharp. — *marvč bʌbərum bi.ʌn* pepper is hot. *bʌbʌrum mʌltʌš* old (strong-tasted ?) ghee. EOL. *bʌbərumʌn bai.i* he is a hot-tempered(?), keen(?) man. *bʌbərum šau.ʌn etimi* he gave him a smart slap (in the face).

bʌč -eŋ y fissure (in ice). — *γʌmuʷe bʌč* fissure in ice. (Cp. *bʌγ*).[1]

bʌčʌn (state of) being. Recorded only twice, in the form *bačʌntse*.

1. *je bʌčʌntse*, merely mentioned and explained as equivalent to Kho. *ma asika* (in my being, at the time of my being).
2. In the following where it is glossed: Bu. *bʌmʌntse*, H. *honese*. — *Nuvširwaʷn tʌxtʌte bʌčʌntse* (or, *bʌmʌntse*) owing to (at the time of?) N.'s being on the throne. 96.22. (Probably based on the verb *ba* etc. Cp. *biličʌn* apparently the y equivalent of *bʌčʌn*. V. § 271).

bʌčen being(?), becoming(?), as(?), in place of(?). Occurring in one passage only, but repeated seven times. Glossed "become", "as", "instead of". It is probably identical with *bʌčʌn*. — *oʷlus bʌčen aγun* as being(?) my brother, give me (my clothes). 14.12 ff., 18.1 ff.

1. *bʌda, -miŋ, bʌdʌŋ*, y step, pace.

a. *hik bʌda* one pace. *aʷlto bʌda diš bila* there is a space of two paces. *aʷlto bʌdamiŋ bitsa* there are two paces. *hʌn bʌdaʷn biša* take one step. *hilese bʌda bišʌmi* the child toddled (said of child or person recovering from injury who can just take a step or two). *iʷne yʌkʌl bʌda bršʌču bo* she steps towards him. 120.7. *tʌlo*

64a

[1] [see Corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 *bʌdʌŋ gutsʼərumer* when they have preceeded seven paces. 312.8. (*jakun*) *tsundo bʌdʌŋ gi·mi* (the donkey) advanced, moved on, five paces. 200.14.

b. Sole (of foot or boot), pl. *bʌdʌŋ*, *kʌfša yʌ·rum bʌda* the (lower) sole of the shoe. (Cp. Eng. "tread" = "part of boot sole that rests on the ground").

136 2. *bʌda -muts* x the Woolly Flying Squirrel (Eupetaurus Cinereus).

It occurs in various localities in the Gilgit region and is said to be found in the Šišpər nullah in Hunza. Its name in Shina is *čərgeɨ*.

See my letter in the "Journal of the Natural History Society of Bombay" of 1st. October 1924, and Editor's note in which it is stated that "so far it has only been recorded from Gilgit".

000 *bʌdʌl* changed; (as noun) y substitute, equivalent. — *bʌdʌl ɛtʌs* v.t. to change. *ma rʌŋ bʌdʌl mʌni·la* your colour has changed. 90.12. *bʌdʌl mʌni bi* it has become, been, changed. *ji.ɛ bʌdʌl* (*bila*) blood-price, ransom. Ar. Prs.

bʌdʌla revenge, vengeance. — *ja i·nɛ bʌdʌla gʌnʌm* I took his revenge, i.e. I avenged him. *ja i·ntsum bʌdʌla ɛtʌm* I took revenge on him. Prs. H.

bʌḍʌli·k, (*bʌrʌli·k*), *-uts*, *-rəo* (EOL), x small metal bowl (for drinking from). — *i·tɛ bʌḍʌli·kulum tsil* the water (that is) in the bowl. 106.17 ff. *ri·lə bʌḍʌli·k* copper bowl. (IYB and self *-ḍ-*, self also *-r-*, EOL *-ṛ-*. Cp. Sh. *bʌḍəli·k*).

bʌdʌm, *ba·dʌm*, x almond; y, pl. *-iŋ*, *ičiŋ*, almond tree. — *bʌdʌm bi.ɛn* there are almonds. *bʌdʌmɛ hʌni.ɛn* (*bi*) an almond (kernel). *bʌdʌmɛ hʌni*

64 b

(*bi.en*) almond kernels. *bʌdʌme torman bila* there is an almond tree. Prs. 000

bʌdbʌxt unfortunate, unlucky. Prs.

bʌdnaʷm spoken ill of, defamed, slandered. Prs.

bʌdnaʷmi y ill-repute, disgrace. — *iʷn bʌdnaʷmi maniʷla* he has fallen into evil repute, he has been disgraced. Prs.

bʌdšʌkəl evil-looking, ugly. Prs. (+ Ar.).

bʌdsuʷrʌt N. *-iʷnts* ugly. Prs. (+ Ar.).

**-tsi bʌɣʌlteʷʌs*, *bʌɣʌltai.ʌs*, **-tsi bʌɣʌlteč-*, *-ač-* to be mad, to go mad.

The Pn.pf. with **-tsi* corresponds to the subject of the verb. I know of no other parallel construction.

Pres. *aʷtsi bʌɣʌlteča ba* I am mad. *gutsi bʌɣʌlteča* you are mad. *iʷtsi bʌɣʌltačai* he is mad, he is an idiot.

Impf. *iʷtsi bʌɣʌltečʌm* he was mad.

Pret. *aʷtsi bʌɣʌlte.ʌm* I went mad. *gutsi bʌɣʌltʌma?* have you gone mad? 70.18.

Perf. *be mʌma, aʷtsi apaɣʌltaiya ba* No, mother, I have not gone mad. 70.18. *gutsi bʌɣʌlta ba* you have gone mad. 210.1.

The Noun Agent form is also used in the sense of the adj. mad: *aʷtsi bʌɣʌlte.ʌs ba* I am mad (a madman). *gutsi bʌɣʌlte.ʌs ba* you are mad. *iʷtsi bʌɣʌlte.ʌs bʌm* he was mad. *iʷtsi bʌɣʌlte.ʌs sis* a mad person, idiot.

bʌɣʌraʷço hmf. hideous creature, scare-crow, bogle(?) (term applied to children, servants etc.). — *kiʷn bʌɣʌraʷço* this figure of fun(?) scare-crow. 124.7. (*bʌɣərk rʌʷço*. *rʌʷço* is related to *raʷçi* = guardian angel).

bʌɣ'ərk, *-rəo*, *-u*, evil, evil-doing, evil-natured, quarrelsome.

(The word seems to cover such ideas as "bad-tempered", "fierce", "violent", "avaricious", "stingy" (H. *bʌxiv̩*), as applied to human beings). *bʌγərkrši̇o hirivk* evil men. *aγʌmo bʌγərku bʌn* my relations are evil people. 246.13. *inɛ ʌjʌb bʌγərk ʌpərts sisʌn bai.i* he is an extraordinarily ill-tempered, quarrelsome fellow. EOL. *bʌγərkɛ tsiriv̩ʒ* root of evil (a term of abuse for evil-doers). 000

bʌγ'ərkkuʒ y evil. (Opposed to *nivki*). — *jʌrtsum bʌγərk(k)uš ʌçuvči* evil will not come from me. 90.13. *jɛ bʌγərk(k)uš aiy'evčʌm* I will not do evil. 90.14.

bʌγbe.aγo lynx. (Cp. Sh. *bʌgbe.aγo*. Hz: *šunuṭ*).

bʌγ'eviŋ, bʌγai.rŋ̩'y d. pl. *-ičiŋ*, cowdung. — *gʌtuŋ . . . bʌγeɪrŋɛ tʌsʌlɛ ɛtʌm* I held (her) clothes in cowdung smoke. 16.20. Cp. 14,8, 18.5.

Cowdung is antipathetic to *peris*. 776
The smoke of it when burned deprives them of the power to fly. Cp. also 382.5. n.

bʌγeɪri, bʌγairi, bʌγair only, except that. — *men kɛ o.ivtsa ba, bʌγeɪri hikulto Irkrši̇ər huyɛs tsuya baiyʌm tsilɛ buvk yuγrmi* I have seen no one, only one day I had taken the goats to Irkiši and I became thirsty. 268.10. *bʌγair Bʌxti sɛnʌs hivʌn duγʌsin* only a man called B. escaping. 272.9. *bʌγairi S.ɛ givli.etə wʌvum bʌt dərum xa bila* only the stone placed by Š. over the peg is still there. 196.14. *bʌγeɪri menen hivʌne ivmo ʌvltʌn yu kʌš ovti kɛ bʌvdša dyuweši* only if someone slays his two sons will the King survive. 38.24. Ar. Prs. 000

bʌγu -čiŋ, -mičiŋ y double armful (whatever can be embraced by the two ~~arms~~

65 b
[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p.542 - Analyst]

000 — *bʌγu.ʌn ʂɪqa* an armful of grass. *bʌγu ɛtʌs* to embrace. *bʌγučiŋ ɛtʌs* to turn over cut-crops to dry them (done by women).

bʌγ'ʊndo y yeast, leavened dough. — *bʌγʊndo juʿʌn mʌnuʿma* you have become like dough, i.e. lazy, slack.

bʌγ'ʊndo, -mʊts x leavened bread. — In Hz. the term is said to be applied to *bəru.ɛ ʊltoʿpomʊts*, small buckwheat cakes.

bʌγ'ʊndokrʂ, (*ba-*), pl. *baγʊndoki.ʌnts*, x. 1. A vessel for keeping fermenting dough in, H. *xʌmiʿrdaʿn*.
2. A lazy, soft, man.
baγʊndikrʂ bʌpʌγʊm juwʌn oʿmʌn don't be like a fermenting dough-vessel. (This is said to a slackster). (IUB *bʌγʊndikrʂ* = H. *aʿtęki xʌmiʿr rʌkhneka bʌrtʌn*).

bʌhaʿna, baʿna pretext. — *šikərɛ baʿna nɛ dukuʿisʌm* making a pretext of hunting I got you out. 8.12. Cp. 240.1. Prs.

bʌja o'clock. — *bervm bʌja?* at what o'clock? *mišiʿndi bʌjaʿr* at six o'clock. *t'orimi bʌja xa* till 10 o'clock. 326.9. H.

bʌja ɛtʌs to set up, establish, — *Islaʿm bʌja ɛʿči* he will establish Islam. 92.6. Prs.

bʌk biʿk chatter(?), at length(?), in detail(?). — *inɛ tʌmaʿm haʿlʌt bʌk biʿk mosʊmo* he told her all the circumstances in detail(?). 382.17 . . . (Cp. H. *bʌkʔ*).

bʌkoʿr, bʌkʊr, pl. *bʌkoʿriŋ, bak'uʿriŋ*, y. a sod of turf, divot. 132.23.

b'ʌkʊr, -šo x roofed pen or small hut for lambs and kids. (Cp. Sh. *baʿkur* — shed, *or* hut, for kids).

bʌxmʌl y velvet. Prs. (*mʌxmʌl*).

66 a

000 *bʌxšɪnda stʌs* to forgive. — *bʌxšɪnda dʊmərʌs* to ask for forgiveness.

bʌxšiš y present, gift; pardon. — *bessʌn bʌxšiš inev iči* give him some present. *av bʌxšiš sti* pardon me. 74.11. *bʌtəŋ dusumʌntsʊm bʌxšiš dumərčʌn* they ask pardon of those who brought the stones. 312.7. *bʌxšiš stʊma ke* ... if you forgive me. 368.5. Prs.

bʌxt y fortune, luck. — *bʌxttsʊm* by good luck. *šu.a bʌxt* fortunate, lucky. *bʌxt γunikrš* unfortunate. *bʌxt dolʌt se.ibai.i* "(it is your) good fortune and prosperity" he says. 332.9. Prs.

bʌl, bʌl, -eŋ y wall. — *turi.ʌŋ bʌltse deli bʌn* they have fixed horns on the wall.

ʰʌl, -iŋ y.

1. Marrow, H. *mʌγz*. — *ivse tinj'o.ulʊm bʌliŋ duwʌq ne di.usin gʌnimi* smashing them and extracting the marrow that was in its bones he took it. 134.7.

   (*duwʌq ne* requires an object, *timjo*, and *tinj'o.ulʊm* may be an adj. qualifying *bʌliŋ* or an abl. dependent on *di.usin*).

   ivte bʌl uyom all the marrow. 136.17. Cp. 138.4, 8.

2. Kernel of walnut, IUB *bʌliŋ*, IYB *lili.e bʌl(iŋ)* = H. *giri ʌxrotki, mʌγz i čʌr-mʌγz.*

   hʌγurər bʌliŋe bʌspur gimər on putting down for the horses horse-food of walnut kernels. 378.9.

bʌla y calamity, misfortune. — *gute hʌn jʌr bʌlʌn mʌnivla* this is a calamity that has befallen me. 118.16. *bur bʌla gʌn bila* it is a road of great calamity, i.e. peril or danger (?). 124.18. Ar. Prs.

66 b

1. *balas, balič-*, v.i. to burn. — *pfu balići, balićila, balićilum* the fire will burn, is burning, was burning. *pfu balimi* the fire burnt. N. *balići bila*, Plup. *bali bilum*. (Cp. 2. *balas*? Ca. 1. *-aspalas*). 000

2. *balas, balič-* to fall, to make its appearance (of y subjects only). — *ayalulum bere xa balimi* lightning came down from the sky. *ʒrqame ji balimi* (new) life has come (fallen) into the vegetation. *kot tayayan xa ap'alila . . . bese kha balićila?* this mud has not fallen down! . . . why should it fall down? 170.9. *ja bufai.afe gan balila* a road has fallen on (crossed) my land. *ime ite suwat gawe tsilor bali bilum* that appearance of him had fallen on the water below (i.e. his reflection). 262.21. *γωxan čas itimi γωmowan balimi* he tore up a clod and a hole appeared. 54.4. Cp. 172,21, 186.9, 372.9.

balan manas, balanej manas to writhe, wallow. (Cp. Sh. *bal'an b.* to roll about).

balaŋ, -iŋ y (curtain-)pole. !

balas, pl. *balašo*, x bird. — *ovmamulo balašu.ik čal etis* some birds fought, or quarrelled, in the sky. 96.4. *balašu.s bas* the language of birds. 96.5. *guse han balasane han iesw se.ibi* this one bird says to that one. 96.18. Cp. 96.25. (Cp. Sh. *balats, balas*).

balats N. *-ršo*, bird. (Variant of *balas*).

balbal, -iŋ y a rock that leans outwards, projecting or overhanging rock. (V. 2. *babal*. Cp. Sh. *bal berki*, to be suspended, to hang).

67a

[see Corrigenda et addenda, Category 16, p. 542 - Analyst]

balban, pl. *balbæiŋ*, N. *balbaniŋ* y a big hole. 000

balçum IUB —? — *balçum mɐrɐ*. Prov. 16.
Perhaps a miswriting for *baltɐum* ← *bal* + *tɐɐ* + *um*, being-on-the-wall.

balda, pl. *baldaŋ*, y load, burden. — *ɣaṡil baldaŋ nɐ* making (fire)wood up into loads. 128.7. *balda ganas* to carry a load. *menɐ kɐ baldaŋ nɐka* carrying people's loads. 158.7. *balda ɐvi.ɐyɐr han pfutan bim* there was a Deu to make carry the load. 174.18, *haɣvrɐṡ balda ɐvɐyɐn*, or *ɐvɐdzli* put up the load on the horse. *haɣvriṡo.ɐṡ baldaŋ ɐvɐyɐn*, or *ɐvɐdili*, or *ɐvɐti* put the loads on the horses. Cp. *-ayenas* and *-adilas*. *traŋ balda* a half-load.

baldakrɐ -*iŋ* y large (skin) bag (taking about 240 to 290 lbs. of grain).

baldakwin, -*kwyo* hm carrier of loads, porter, "cooly" — *baldakwinan ditsu.in* fetch a cooly. 342.17, 348.10.

baldan, *baldan*, pl. *b'aldaiyo*; N. *bald'an*, *baldayo*, x whetstone (obtained in the neighbourhood of Baba Ghwundi), hone.
(IUB has *baldɐn* بَلْدَيْنْ but this is almost certainly a slip, as there is no reason to doubt that the latter part of the word is *dan*, a stone).

bald'i, pl. *baldents*, N. *baldimots*, x porch, verandah. — *baldyulu hurw* sit in the (upper) verandah. 50.25. *sɐrkɐ baldi* a room made on the top of roof (for sake of the view).

balgal balgal loose, slack, not taut (as of suspended rope, rope-bridge etc.). (Cp. *jafal*).

balgičiŋ y pl. back of shoulders, upper part of back. — *yate balgičiŋɐr bɐr'enin, but daldaljuko bitsa* look above at his shoulders, they are very broad. 154.19, 158.6.

67 b

[See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analysis]

ooo *bʌlguʷin* pl. *bʌlguʷyo* hm a man who has several grown-up working sons, a man with large family of males. — *Xʌmər bʌlguʷin bʌm* Khamer was a man with a number of grown-up sons. 250.4. (Cp. opposite *xumuʷin*).

bʌlγʌn having a sore, galled. — *ise hʌγur sēčiŋeṭe bʌlγʌn imʌni bi* that horse has become sore-backed. (Cp. Sh. *bʌlgʌn*)

1. *bʹʌli* sg. and pl., N. pl. *-muts*, measure of wine = *1 hipərs* = *4 čuti* = about 5½ lbs. — *hik bʌli, aʷlto bʌli.* IUB a large earthenware vessel, H. *mʌṭi ka bʌra bʌrtʌn, mʌṭka.* N. earthenware pot (imported).

2. *bʌlʹiʷ* *-ʌtʌs* to put one thing on top of another, to pile up, heap up. *rupiʷa hʌhʌnʌṭe bʌli ortaʷn* they have piled up the rupees one on another.

bʌlk, baʷlk Nz., pl. *bʌlkoŋ*, y plank, board, shelf. — *gute baʷlk baʷltse deʷli*, or *eʷgərʌṭ* fix this plank, shelf, to the wall.

bʌlki, bʌlke indeed, in fact; on the contrary; rather. — *be, bʌlki uŋər hiʷi mʌniʷla* No! on the contrary, you have got the larger amount. 250.8. *je hʌljaiyʌse yʌški apʹi, bʌlki uŋ hʌljaiyʌstse yʌški bi* it is not suitable for me to ride, rather is it suitable for you to ride. 6.16. *bʌlke Mʌtum Daskutsər ke učan* indeed they give it even to the people of Matum Das. 318.10. Cp. 346.2. Prs.

bʌloʷḷ, pl. *bʌlowʌnts*, N. *bʌloʷḷrso*, cooking pot (made of a kind of soft local stone). — *bʌloʷḷ dʌn* the stone in question, of which cooking pots and lamps are made. *bʌloʷḷdʌnt čirʌq* a stone lamp. V. s.v. *pʃultiŋiṣ*. (Cp. Sh. *bʌloʷḷ*).

68 a

000 *baltaᵛnas, baltai-* to be discontented (with). — *uᵛŋtsum baltaᵛna ba* I have become discontented with you. 1st sg. Fut. *baltʿaiyam;* 1st sg. Pret. *baltaᵛnam.*

baluᵛyas, baluᵛč- to be lost, † get lost. (Of y subjects only, é.g. clothes, needle, foot-tracks).
iᵛtsu baluᵛ bilum the track had got lost, disappeared. 6.4. 3rd sg. Pret. *baluᵛmi;* 3rd sg. Perf. y *balu bila.* (Cp. *waᵛlas,* to get lost (of h and x subjects) and Cs. **-aspalas,* to lose).

bam, baman, bame, bamaṭe Static Pc. of *ba,* v. § 389.

bambuᵛla N. — *bambuᵛla biš* tom-cat.

1. *ban* closed, shut. — *ban etas* to close, shut. *gusi sanduq ban bi* this box is shut. Prs. (*band*).
2. *ban, -oᵛŋo, -oᵛmo,* y anything used for tying with, tape, etc. — *huᵛčo ban* thong, *or* lace, for tying on pabboos (footwear). *kati ban* webbing etc. used for stringing bedstead. Prs.

band closed. — *han band furuᵛwan* a closed pumpkin. 384.21 Prs.

banda human being, person. — *banda čape maza* the taste of human flesh. 66.18. Prs.

bandegi service (to God as slaves). — *lei Xudayor bandegi etumrão* O (ye) who do service to God. 90.5. Prs.

bandixaᵛna y prison, jail. Prs.

bandobas arrangements, preparations. — *bandobas etuman* they made preparations (to go). . 120.22. *hayorate bandobase ka nuljan* he came along, riding his horse in fine style (?). 122.21. Prs.

bani aᵛdam human being. — *bani aᵛdame rdim bi* it had a human body. 102.7. Ar.

68b

bʌn'o x meat and food given annually by the Mir of Hunza to the people on certain festivals: 574

1. At the Bopfau: one ox, one very small kid, one very small lamb.
2. At Nauroʿz: the flesh of an ox and bread brought from the Masjid near the Baltit polo-ground and distributed to the people of the "12 kanants" the name of each section being called out in turn. 318. — *bʌno dišam . . . tsor Baltit-kutsər učam* they bring the "bano" . . . first they give it to the people of Baltit. 318.7. (Cp. Sh. *bʌn'o* = *baʿgo*, share).

1.. *bʌŋ* y resin, gum (of fruit trees), H. *gond*. — *bʌŋ duʿšila* gum exudes. 278
The resin of apricot and peach trees is eaten dissolved in water and is said to be strengthening. It is also used as adhesive gum. Others say apricot resin is a remedy for heartburn

2. *bʌŋ*, *baʿŋ* the Call to Prayer 000
Axomdərui.ε mʌzʌrʌtε bʌŋ qau the Mullahs call out the Call Prayer over the grave. 312.9. Prs

bʌŋut, *-iŋ* y fortified camp, cantonment; pl. separate bodies of men. — *imε bʌŋut dεlim padša* that King who has made entrenchments. 32.2. (Cp. Sh. *bʌŋut*, *bʌŋuts*, Kho. *bʌŋqut*, both meaning breastwork of stones, 'sangar').

bʌp, *-ičʌŋ* y.

1. Tribute (as paid by Mirs of Hunza and Nagir to Kashmir), tax. -- *bʌp iči.ʌs* to pay tribute to him. *iŋi.ε bʌp gai.rmi* he will take tribute of their beards. 92.20. *Giʿltum thʌmu.ε Čupuʿrsʌntsum bʌp suʿčʌm* The Gilgit Thams used to collect tribute from Chupūrsan

280.2. Cp. 348.8. *baiyu.e bʌp* *Bʌlo·tse osa·n* the Baltis have imposed a salttax. 274.7. *baiyu.e bʌp . . . thamu.ər uč'imʌn* they paid a salt-tax to the Thams. 274.9 Cp. 280.5, 344.8. 000

2. Custom, rule, condition, H. *šart, dʌstu·r.* — *uŋʌte gute bʌp osʌm* I have imposed obligation(?) on you. 194.10. Cp. 342.17. (Cp. Sh. *bʌp*).

bʌpʌyʌs (*bap-*), *bʌpʌč-*, v.i. to boil, ferment. — *bʌpʌyum tsil* boiling water. *tsil bʌpʌčimi, bapʌčila, bapʌyimi* the water will boil, is boiling, boiled. *Čupu·rsʌn . . . imo ra·ʌti bʌpʌyimi* Ch. spontaneously boiled up. 286.10. *nup'ʌpʌyin* boiling up. 272.8. *baγundikiš bʌpʌyum juwʌn* (a man) like a vessel of fermenting dough, a babbler(?). Cs. *espʌpʌyʌs* to cause to boil.

bʌq N. x sg. sour curds. — *bʌq šiyʌs* to eat sour curds. (Cp. Sh. *meli bʌk*, buttermilk after the liquid has been drained off).

1. *bər*, *-iŋ* y saying, speech, word; promise; affair, matter, business, H. *bart*, Sh. *mo·r.* — *ine besʌn bərʌn ečai.i?* what does he say? 78.18. *yu·s gute bər dumo·yel but xvš mʌn'umo* his wife, hearing this saying (i.e. what her husband said) was greatly delighted. 34.15. *uŋe bər men atoyelšʌn* let none hear your speech (i.e. hear you speak). 50.15. *ime ite bərtsum ho·lə atuwšo bom* she used never to go outside that which was said, i.e. never disobeyed his instructions. 34.9. *e· yu·yʌse bər 'ečiča.i.i* he does not give a promise to give him his daughter. 298.7. *yu·yʌsər bər ičičai.i* he promises to give (her) to him. 298.8. *yərum bər bila* there is an

000 old-time saying. *hʌn bər nɛ* making one statement i.e. saying one thing; unanimously; with one voice; with one accord. **uŋ kɛ guʷsɛ hʌn bər nɛ* you and your wife unanimously. 44.22. Cp. 106.11. *hʌn bərʌn bila* there is a matter . . . a piece of business. *bɛskə bər api* it is a matter of no consequence; it doesn't matter. 74.12. *gutə bərer dʌk dəsuʷyʌm* I believed this report, affair etc. *bəriŋ udəri ɛtʌs* a seeker of information, spy.

2. *bər, -kiŋ* (and *-miŋ?*), y nullah, ravine, valley.

Larger than *hər;* appears in quasi-Proper Names e.g. *Bərəndo Bər, Šišpər Bər* etc. (Cp. Sh. *bər*, as in *Kərga.ɛ Bər*).

3. *bər, -ʌnts* x a piece (of woven rug). — *šərma bər* one small goat's hair rug. (Cp. Sh. *bər*, width of cloth, Kho. *baʷr*, width *or* piece of cloth, *trʌŋ baʷr*, narrow width, *or* piece, of cloth).

bəraʷbər equal, alike, duly, certainly, by all means. — *bəraʷbər maʷr duʷšʌm* I shall duly bring them (the boys' heads) to you. 156.11. Prs. (Cp. *bʌbər*).

bəraʷɛ, bərič-, Ppa. *nuper*, to thresh (by making oxen trample the cut corn on the threshing-floor). — *guʷr bəričʌm, bərʌʷm* I'll thresh, I threshed, the wheat. *heri.ɛ dərts bəričʌm. Nuper* . . . they thresh the barley (cut) crop. Having threshed it . . . 332.1. (Cp. **-ʌwərʌs*. V. §§ 236. A. & 241, Note).

bərʌntsʌl, -šo x catgut. The simple form also appears to be plural: *bərʌntsʌl bi.ɛn* there is catgut.

bərbaʷd wasted. — *bərbaʷd ɛtʌs* to waste. Prs.

000 *bərč*, *-iŋ* y.

1. Lightning, H. *bxjli*, *bʌrq*. — *bərč lʌm mʌnimi* lightning flashed, it lightened. *ayʌšulum bərč xa bʌlimi* lightening came down from the sky.
2. Intense cold. — *čʌγurəmɛ bərč bʌlimi*, or *duʷimi* it became extremely cold. *haʷlɛ bərč duʷčila* it is very cold in the house.

bərči, *bərče*.

1. (gen +) *bərči mʌnaʷ* to comply with, agree to, obey, be obedient to (orders, wishes of s.o.) *mu mumi.ɛ bərče oʷmai.ibo* she doesn't obey her father and mother. 30.5. *kinɛ bərči mɛ.imi* he will comply with his instructions, obey him. 92.22. *ʌkurəmʌn muyɛri* (-ɛ) *bərči boʷm kɛ* . . . she was so complaisant, obedient to her husband's wishes . . 34.8. *uŋɛ bərči oʷmʌnəm* disobedient to you. 378.14. *Xʌmərɛ sɛnimi* . . . *Xuru bərči* (or, *rɛza*) *imʌnimi* Kha. said . . . Khu. agreed (to what he said). 252.1.
2. *bərči* *-*ʌtʌs* persuade, make conform. — *yuʷy* . . . *iʷi bərči ečai.i* the father (tries to) placate, persuade his son. 370.6. (The parallel version 374.6 has *iʷ ɛʷmilʌsər duγ'uʷuʷskinimi*). (Probably 1. *bər* + *-tsi*, *-tsɛ*. Cp. § 71).

bər'ɛʷnʌs, *bərɛ-*, Impv. *bərɛʷn*, Ppa. *nupərɛn*. to look; to look at (dat.); watch, look for, look about. — *koʷlə bər'ɛn* look here. *iʷnɛ hiʷər bərɛʷn* look at that man, watch that man. *iʷnɛ yʌtisər bərɛʷnin* look at his head. 154.21. *apər'ɛn*, *ap'ərʌn* don't look. 50.26. 27. *miyʌkʌl ap'ərɛn* don't look at, towards, us. *Pʌŋču.ər hik kɛ bʌrɛʷnin*

ine bɛr ɛčai.i ke . . . just have a look at P. (and see) what he is doing. 126.7. *ɯɛ altʌn sis* . . . *nuɛn bəreibaɛn. Bəre.imʌn ke šuɛa ɛpʌčər γʌšil bitsa* The two men go and look. When they look (they see that) he has excellent firewood with him. 126.9. *bəre.imi ke* is a stock phrase: "when he looks (he sees) something is happening . . ." i.e. "he looks and sees something is happening". *hik ke bareyʌn* let us have another look. 122.18. *iɛn yər nupərʌn* . . . *gutsərčai* he proceeds, looking straight ahead. 122.17, Cp. 14.4. *iɛni.ɯlo kəruɛr bər'enɯmo* she looked in his beard for lice. 282.10. *yaɛs ap'ərʌnum* not looking down. 52.2. Cs. -*ʌbəranʌs*. 000

bər'enč watching, look out, H. *ɛntzraɛ*. — *bərenč ne baei*, he is keeping a look out. *pfu bər'enč* (*ɛtʌs*) pl. *pfu bəraɛ* to kindle) an alarm fire, beacon fire. (From *bəraɛnʌs*).

bər'ɛs, *baɛ'ɛs*, Pl. *bər'ɛšo*, N. *bʌris*, Pl. *bʌrɛšo*, x artery, vein, pulse. — *bərɛs bust hʌmʌlkum bi* his pulse is very quick. *ja jiɛ b'ərɛsər bər'en* examine my life's artery, i.e. feel my pulse. 146.19.

b'ərginʌs, pl. *bərginʌšo* x.

1. Edging round rim of anything.
2. A small piece of wood, charcoal etc. used in repairing a hole in a "mashk"[1] The skin adjoining the hole is gathered together round the *bərginʌs* and is secured with ligatures above and below the latter. 415
3. A stick used when prodding ghee to test whether the milk has become sufficiently solid. The stick is placed vertically in it, and if 234

71a

[1] [a skin bag for carrying water. — Analyst]

it stands up by itself the milk is 234
ready for the next process.

ɔriŋkṭ IUB. 000

1. Chatter-box, buckstick, H. *bakwawi*.
2. Tale-bearer, calumniator, H. *suxan-čin*.
3. Liar, H. *duruṛgu*. (Pl. of 1. *bɔr* + *kṭ*).

bɔrkat.

1. Blessing, blessings, prosperity. — *mar bɔrkat* blessings on you! 340.20. *gor bɔrkat manij* blessings be on you! 286.4.
2. Portion, share. — *dywasuman uṛgɔr bɔrkat* (the food) that is left over be your portion. 212.14. Ar. Pra.

bɔrpit, -*iŋ* y leather strap. — *cəčçoma bɔrpit* leather waist-belt. *bɔrpitana taq gota baiyam* I had bound you (sc. your head) with a leather strap. 158.18. (Cp. Sh. *pfarpit*).

bɔrtsil, -*iŋ* a small stream in a nullah. — *furu.ulum dele bɔrtsilaŋ duwaštimi* streams of oil flowed from the pumpkin, H. *nale nale*. 384.24. (2. *bɔr* + *tsil*?).

bɔru, *baru*, y pl., double pl. *bɔrosiŋ*. buckwheat. — *yaṛqay baru* bitter buckwheat. 132.15. (Cp. Sh. *bɔru.o*).

baruh'andri -*iŋ* y cranesbill (plant).

bɔrzan manas v.i. to turn over (as of fish in water. H. *tarapna*.

bas, -*oṛgo* x ploughshare (wooden, for shallow ploughing). — *čumar bas* modern iron ploughshare. IUB. H. *halmṭ lagai ka lakri*, *phal achini ya hiṛsumi*.

bas, v. *bask*, extra, too much. 50.16.

b'asa pl. *basaŋ*, N. *basamiŋ*, y halting for night, halting-place, stage, day's march, H. *manzil*. — *bɔruman basa bila*? how many days' march is it?

000 *berumaṇ basaṇ me.imi?* how many stages will it be? *akoʻle hik, aʻlto, basa maiyam* I shall halt here one day, two days. *ite basa.ulo tsil api* there is no water at that stage. 124.15, cp. 126.20. *bas amanum diśulo* at the place where I spent the night. *Tsil Biśulo basa mana baiyam* I had halted the night at T. B. 224.2. *haʻle basa manimi* he put up for the night in the house. 686.22. (Cp. Sh. *bas*, Kho. *bas*).

basaw, basić-, Impv. *bass*, Ppa. *nupʼas(in)*. St. Pc. *basum*.

1. To fall (of dew, snow), to alight, settle (of bird). — *gye* (y pl.) *basitsan* snow has fallen (and is lying). *tal basimi* the pigeon alighted.
2. To sit down. — *in nikʼirat basumor* on his sitting down after dancing. 318.2. *Nuśirwan taxtaṭe basimi* N. has seated himself on the throne. 92.28.
3. To sit down and be quiet, keep still, keep quiet. — *ye bass* sit down and be quiet!, shut up!. *jap bass* sit still, don't move. *nupʼasin horut* sit down! *basum* I kept silent, made no reply.
4. To cease work, come to a stand still — *yai.iṇ basimi* (or, *horutimi*) the mill stopped, came to a standstill. 204.6.
5. To subside, go down. — *doqum basimi* the swelling subsided, went down. N. *nupas jurin* come slowly (?)

Other parts:

3rd sg. Fut. *basići*; 3rd sg. y Pres. *basićila*.

3rd pl. y Pres. *basićiṭsan*.

3rd sg. y Perf. *basiʻla, basi bila*. (Ca. **-aspaxas*. Cp. *du.sas* ‖ *duwasas?*).

000 *b'asi*, pl. *hasuṇ*, N. *hasaṇ* y garden, orchard. — *hasi.s yatikuin* person in charge of garden, gardener. 64.2. *has'ver divni* he came to the garden. 64.6. (*hoṛ*) *hasi.ulo bilaan* there were vegetables in the garden. 64.1. *hasi-lom asqurig dowa* fetching flowers from the garden. 282.11. *hasi.ulom lidi.o* garden violet. Cp. 10.13 ff.

hasikuin N., pl. *hasikuyo*, gardener.

hask, N. pl. *-avuṇ*, extra, spare; in excess, more (than). — *pywaan hask manimi.s* a little (charcoal x pl.) has remained over. 184.6. (*lamu*) *lokan ziṛ-d hask jaṛ-d ṛtimi* he drew (the bow) a little further (than the others). 170.6. (*zi.ṛ-d* here seems to be redundant). *avtuuultvtum hik has* (*hask?*) *hawtoma ke* . . . if you remain one (day) in excess of forty . . . 60.16. *oskotrom hask hakiṭaṇ ovanaf* may there never (not) be more than 3 houses (here). 284.16. (Cp. Sh. *hasko*, too much, more).

haskaraf, *b'askaraf*, pl. *haskarato*, *haskarilo* wether, ram (over 2 years old, castrated). — *has haskarais jirpa ovów* they fine them one wether. 324.5. *haskarais ilsiv thamar kaborò ne* roasting the breast of the wether for the Tham. 328.18. (The trsl., "he-goat", given in the Texts is wrong, and *hugere* in l. 10 may refer to either sheep or goats).

Cp. 62.10 ff., 340.9, 342.14.

haskoṛò extra, spare. — IUB *haskoṛò* more than one's share, H. *apne bijpa se zijyada*. (Cp. *hask* and Sh. *haskoṛ-o*, f. *-i*, spare, superfluous).

haspuv y pl., N. double pl. *-iṇ*, grain for horse, horse food. — *ṛsur haspuv*

ɛyun don't give it (the horse) grain. *hiṭoṭi hazpuv wazivir ivvi* how they give a "*hiṭoṭi*" of grain (for his horse) to the Wazir. 342.9. *halige hazpuv gimur Ḗ.B.ɛ ch ṭaṭam* on their putting down horse food of walnuts Sh. B. used to eat it (y pl.). 278.9. (Cp. Sh. *hazpuv*). 000

hazum, (of a person) equable, forbearing, self-controlled, mild; H. *halīm, sahir, narm*. (St. Pe. of *hazuv*).

1. *haṭ*, -*anda*, N. -*ānda*, x bridge (general term). — *sindafum, hurafum, haṭ* the bridge over the river, over the nullah. *haṭ-talanum maqso* share (of communal labour of the region, or people) beyond the (Gulmit) bridge. (IUB -*j*).

2. *haṭ* let him be! — *ɛdalin, ṭaṭ haṭ ɛlin* don't beat him, let him be as he is. 130.14. (3rd sg. hm of -*j* form of *be*. V. § 271).

haṭ'a -*mate* x "lungi", turban, H. *pagṛī, pagrī*. — *hate n'ɛvtan* making him put on a lungi. 300.6. (IUB -*j*-. Cp. Sh. *paṭ'o* turban).

haṭṭur '-*iq* y loophole.

1. *haṭ*, -*eq* y flat stone, flagstone, shale. — *hateq duwati.as* (*duwate.as?*) *dan* stone that "goes off" into thin sheets, i.e. shale. *je yuwe natan hateq ugurur* burying me put flat stones over the grave. 218.6 ff. (Three or four thin stones are normally put over the grave-cavity). *hateq dowin* bring flat stones. 278.5. *han uywu hatan bilum* there was a big flat stone. 304.11 ff. Cp. 196.15, 210.5, 226.1, 312.5. (Cp. Sh. *haṭ* stone (general word; Kho. *haṭ*, slab of stone). [764]

2. *haṭ, hare*, pl. *hartiq* y (not used alone), *hrase haṭ* plain, boiled rice. *ɛylu.s haṭ*

000 mashed potatoes. (Cp. Sh., Kho. *bat*, cooked rice; Kshm. *bata*, boiled rice).

3. *bat*, *-o·ŋo* *y* skin (of sheep, goat, marten, tiger, leopard, bear, wolf, fox, man); leather (of ditto). — *a·lía huyese bat'oŋo bitsa* there are two goats' skins. 342.2. *bat dav·l stas* to flay. *bate čaγa* a leather patch (for "pabboos"). *batulo γfetiŋ matsičamtse* I would stuff ashes into your skin(s) i.e. I would stuff your skins with ashes, 154.2, cp. 150.10. *bate bu·la* a leather ball.

a. Skin (metaphorically, for) shape, form, likeness. — *wazi·ra bator nzki·n ničam* entering into the skin i.e. assuming the form, of the Wazir I shall go. 2.10. *yd· bator nzkin* entering into the skin of a bear. 152.9. *i·mo batulo manimi* he returned to his own shape. 154.1.

This is a stock phrase in regard to magical transformations. Cp. 122.13, 124.6, etc. (Cp. parallel idiom in Sh. *čomor bo·rki*).

b. Scrotum (?). Given as the equivalent of this by G.H., but it seems improbable that it is sufficient in itself to carry this meaning.

bata, *-muts*, *-tiŋ* bald, scald-headed(-person), hornless.

batow (*r*), *-iŋ* *y* dried apricot (split and stoned). 308.1. (IUB *-t-*. Cp. perhaps Sh. *pfatow*).

252 *batiŋ* dusting-flour, a powdering of flour sprinkled on the board on which dough is rolled out into chupatties, to keep the dough from sticking to it. — *γuski.e ɣapik etasulo batiŋ thi·l ne ɣer ečan: γuski balktse oŋorataas gans*, when making bread of dough they dust flour on the board and roll

252 it out: (this is) to prevent the dough sticking to the board. *ma ha·le ʌkhuʷrʊmʌn bʌʃiŋ ke ʌp'i*, in your house there isn't even this much dusting-flour.

000 *bʌʃo*, pl. *bʌʃʊmʊts*, x small bundle, bunch, nosegay, bouquet. — *ʌskuʷriŋ bʌʃo* a bouquet of flowers. *bʌʃumʊts ečʊr dumʊmo* she began to make nosegays. 382.11. *Nuʷr Bʌxīmʊr bʌʃumʊts oča bʌ* I am making nosegays for N. B. 382.13. (Cp. Sh. *bʌʃi* & *bʌʃo*).

bʌtsin, *bʌtsiŋ*, pl. *bʌtsimiŋ* y thigh, hind-leg above hock (of quadrupeds), H. *ranʷ*, *ʃaʷŋ*.

1. *bʌy* y pl., double pl. *bʌčeŋ*, millet (a small-grained variety), Punj. *čiʷna*, Panicum Miliaceum(?). — *hičoti.en bʌy muγ'ʊnimi* he gave her a "*hičoti*" of millet. 142.28. Cp. 164.16, 262,4. 266.15.

2. *bʌy bʌʷy -iŋ* y fissure in ice. — *γʌmu.e bʌy bila* there is a fissure in the ice. *γʌmu.e bʌʷy nimi* he fell into a crevasse (cp. *bʌč*).

bʌyʊm, *-iso* x mare. (Cp. Sh. *bʌm*).[1]

bʌzi(?) ŠY بزي but IUB بازی — *baʷzi* q.v. (*bʌzi* is merely a miswriting by ŠY).

bai.i y winter. — *bai.i mʌniʷla* it has become winter, winter has come. *bai.i ya bila* winter has set in.

bai.i v. *ba.i*.

bai.iḍaʷr stʌs IYB, v. *bedar*, to give cheek to a superior.

bai.imo pertaining to winter. — *bai.imo keʷn* winter season (i.e. Dec., Jan., Feb.) *bai.imo iʷša* period following winter solstice, v. s.v. *iʷša*. *bai.imo sa kuʷt bi* the winter sun, daytime, is short.

bai.itin, pl. *bai.itiyo*. x collar-bone, cla-

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[1] [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 viele, H. *hāsli*, *galle ka haḍḍi*, Sh. *garai*. (Cp. *tin*, bone).

baiyu x and y, x pl. *baiyonts* salt; rock-salt is x, granular salt is y. V. § 25. b. — *sada baiyu* (*bi*), *baiyonts* (*bi.en*) rock-salt (from the Punjab). *tik baiyu*, *baiyu tik* (*bitsan*) local earth containing salt. *tsil baiyu* (*bila*) salt solution made by filtering water through *baiyu.e tik*. *wlom baiyu* local salt. *matum* (*khatum*) *baiyu* salt from below, i.e. from the Punjab. *Šimšavlə baiyu* Shimshali salt. *matum baiyu* black salt (from Misgar). *baiyu tik*, *baiyue tik* earth containing salt. Cp. 274.5 ff. (Cp. *sran* and *sal*).

be v. *bə*.

be- v. also *bi-*.

be-adab disrespectful, rude. — *be-adab oman!* don't be rude! Prs. (Ar.).

be-adapi, *be-adabi* disrespect, rudeness, discourtesy. — *be-adabi ayetin* don't behave disrespectfully. *ja be-adapi.en eta ba* I have committed an act of rudeness. 74.11. Cp. 344.20. Prs. (Ar.).

be-aqəl, *bi aqal*, *be-aqəlkrš* stupid, foolish; fool. Prs. (Ar.).

beḍar, *beviḍar*, *bai.iḍar*, *baḍi.ar*, *-iŋ*, insolence, impertinence, H. *gustaxi*. — *bur bedariŋ er st'am* they had done many impertinences to him, i.e. they had repeatedly treated him with insolence. 344.21.

bersa, *bersa*, *bers*. A post-verbal exclamation, "is it not?", presuming assent. It is very common in ordinary colloquial ard gives courteous emphasis to a statement of fact: "yes", "certainly", "of course". A similar use of the simple Interrog. *be* is even commoner. It is probably to be translated as a weak "must" in

the following: — *ys ja ovlji.s čʌγa evti be.esa* now you must(?) tell me the story of my dream. 84.9. *wa zʌruv be.rsa* and it needs must be(?). 358.9. *ʌkivl sen be.rsa* you must(?) say so. ○○○

be-izzʌt disgraced. — *be izzʌt imʌnimi* he was disgraced; treated with disrespect. *ins be izzʌt nivmi* he went away in disgrace. Prs. (Ar.).

bĕ-izzʌti disrespect, disgrace. Prs. (Ar.).

bevlis, belis, pl. *belišo*, x ewe (which has had young). — *ev belis ivrimi* the ewe died. 64.13 ff. Cp. 342.16.

be-pərwa careless, thoughtless, heedless. — *be pərwa ovmʌn* don't be careless. Prs.

be-pərwa.i carelessness, heedlessness. — *be pərwa.i aiysti* don't behave heedlessly. Prs.

be-qərʌw restless, uneasy, uncomfortable. 384.11. Prs. (Ar.).

be-rʌhʌm, bi-rʌhʌm cruel, pitiless, unkind. Prs. (Ar).

bevriski pertaining to Doms (*bevrits*). — *bevriski ṭʌlavq*, v. sv. *tʌlavq*.

bevrits, pl. *bevričo*, musician, bandsman; craftsman; H. *Ḍom*, *miraṣi*. — *ḍʌmʌlə* (*ḍʌḍʌnə*) *eγərʌs bevrits* kettle-drummer, big-drummer. *'eγərʌšo berič'u.ər uγʌs dʌstuv bila* it is the custom to give them to the bandsmen. 316.10. *dʌq etʌs bevrits* blacksmith.

bevru, bevvru a certain number of, some. — *bevrs* (read *bevru*) *kutsʌntsum* (or, *kutsʌnmo*) *dəšqʌltimi* he arrived after some days. 176.15. *beru kutsʌn* (or, *beruman gontsin*) *nivmi* some days passed. 168.19. V. also *bervsʌn*. Cp. *bevrum* and v. § 170).

bevrum, bevvrum.

1. Interrog. Adj. (and Pron.?) how much? how many? V. § 181. —

bevʊm denig? how many years? *bevʊm denkʊs(e) ba?* how old are you? *kiʊne ʊmər bevʊm me.imi* how much will his age be? how old will he be?

2. Quantitative Adj. (and Pron.?) a certain number of, some. V. § 170. — *bewʊrʊm gontsig nimi* some days passed. 58.8. (*be* + *r* + *ʊm*. The *r* seems to denote "quantity". Cp. *aku* + *r* + *ʊm*, this much).

bevʊmʌn, beurumʌn.

1. Interrog. Adj. and Pron. how much? how many? V. § 181. — *rupi.a bevʊmʌn bi.en?* how many rupees are there? *brʌs bevʊmʌn bitsʌn?* how much rice is there? (y pl.). *kiʊne denig bevʊmʌn me.imi?* how many will his years be? i.e. how old will he be?
2. Adverb. — *gʊse miʊz bevʊmʌn dʌldʌlʊm bi?* how wide is this table?
3. Quantitative Adj. and Pron. a (certain) number, or quantity, of; several; some. V. § 170. — *bevʊmʌn heši u.elər ʊtsuyʌm* I sent to them a number of times. *beurumʌn denig nimi* some years passed. 86.19.
4. Correlative Adj. and Pron. — *bevʊmʌn . . . ke* as much as . . ., as many as . . . § 184, *berumʌn dʌyʊ'ʌn umʌle bitsa ke tovrumʌn jaʊr ʌyʊn* as much flour as is in your possession, so much give me, i.e. give me as much flour as you have. *berumʌn jatsʊm mʌni ke tovʊmʌn* . . . as much as came from me, i.e. as much as I was able . . . so much . . . (*bevʊm* + *ʌn*).

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000 *bevrus*, *bevrus* hx., *bevrut* y. how large? how big? (in size, rank, or age). — *torme gʌmʊn bevrus bi?* how big is the base of the tree? *mʌl, tom, bevrut bila?* how big is the field, the tree? *bevrusʌn bai.i?* how big, how old is he? *bevrutʌn bila?* how big is it? (y ag.).

be-šʌk without doubt, doubtless, certainly. Prs. (Ar.).

be-vquʷf, *biwvquʷf* stupid; fool. Prs. (Ar.).

bʲeyʌm "it is not known". Sh. *buʷš*. — *Kisər ba bʲeyʌm* it is not known if you are Kiser. 166.7. *beyʌm mene yʌlʌn ke* it is not known (I don't know) who tore (broke?) it. EOL.

These are the only two examples recorded, and I cannot place the form.

The Sh. (*buʷš*) *bvš*, *bəši*, known also from other sources, is equally enigmatic.

It is possible that *be* is the negative and *yʌm* the static pc. of *yaiyʌs*, which is a verb of varied meanings.

1. *be, be* no, not.

a. Primarily an exclamatory particle, not normally used to negative the conception of a verb. — *be senimi* he said "no", he denied, refused. *uŋe senʊmər be ovsena ba* I have not said "no" to your instructions. 370.8. *uʷe senʊmʌn "be, besʌn eti kuli dyuʷsʌs apai.i"* they said: "No, whatever he does he won't escape". 44.8. *be, mama* No, mother. 38.17. Cp. 250.7, 5, 252.5, 264.21.

b. *be* (at the end of a clause) not; neither . . . nor. — *in muʷto be* he is not now (here). 172.12. *un ke be, je ke be, meltʌlik niyʌs amiʷmʌnʊmʌn* neither you nor I, both of us, had not to go, i.e. neither you nor I had to go. *gote duʷro dʌltʌs be* this is

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000 not a good deed, business. EOL. *gutɛ gunts bɛ, tum gunts ju* this day not, another day come, i.e. don t come today, come another day. EOL. *ku menɔ osqʌnʌs bɛ* (let) none be killers (of) these people, i.e. let no one kill them. 86.13.

c. Used after a verb in the interrogative. . . . or not? — *šuʌn bila bɛ?* is it a good one or not? *odori etama bɛ?* have you looked for it or not? *yər gosa baiyʌma bɛ* had I said to you before or not? i.e. had I not said to you before? 114.16. *borondomuts . . . bima bɛ?* were there rings or not? 80.18. *uyomʌtɛ imo ik biloma bɛ* was his own name on all of them, or not? 80.19. *uŋ juča bɛ ja· ka?* are you going to come with me or not? 94.18.

d. *bɛ kɛ* if not, otherwise. — *ar domin, bɛ kɛ ja ʌkər esqaiyʌm* open (the door) for me otherwise I will kill myself. 12.9. *menen hirʌnɛ imo altʌn yu . . kʌš oti kɛ bardša dyuwešī, bɛ kɛ tsordinɛ irʌs bai.i* if some man slays his two sons the King will escape, otherwise he will die tomorrow morning. 40.2. Cp. 40.15, 44.10, 11, 196.9, 242.3. *bərenin . . . tsilulo . . . hučo u.iljaiya bɛ kɛ* see whether he puts his boots in the water or not. 130.17. (The *bɛ kɛ* is here final and the *kɛ* indicates a dependent question). *bɛ* for *bɛ kɛ*, 264.24,

e. The nature of *bɛ* in the following is open to question, but it is probably a negative accompanying the verb. — *im esqʌnš bɛ g'omši.iba* you are not (won't be) able to kill him. 70.23. *im bɛ emai.i bai jɛ ʌsqʌnš*

he is not (won't be) able to kill me(?). 70.24. *uŋ esqʌn nuse be hokəm ʌv etʌm . . . . dətsu be azʌm . . . . be gow dutsʌm, be ɟuvma?* Had you not commanded me, saying "kill him"? . . . had you not said to me "bring them"? had I not brought them to you? did you not eat them? 72.12. Cp. 118.12. V. § 342. ooo

2. *be, be.*

a. Interrog. Adj. and Pron. what? V. § 163. — *uŋe be gu.ik bila?* what is your name? 210.10. *gəte duvro be dərkaʌr bila?* what is the necessity for this? *inər be seyʌm?* what shall I say to him? Cp. 128.1, 206.5, 262,22, 298.7.

b. How? V. § 163. — *hilee be me.i bai.i?* how is the boy? *be mai bai.i?* how is he? 126.14. *uŋ haʌl be me.i ba?* how are you?

c. What! how! (exclamatory). — *be hirum hilesʌn bai.i!* what a smart boy he is! *be ɟu.a ta.aʌm detsirćai.i!* what excellent food he is cooking. 124.10. *be jig'a sʌphəren!* what a long journey! 360.7.

It is perhaps also exclamatory in some passages in the verse texts *be uŋe gʌne dʌsmʌnubowa?* What has she given birth to me for you? 358.3. *be Xudayse hərʌlt bowa ke ...* 362.12. *be menər dər ne bowa. . .* 364.2.

d. Some, any. V. § 155.

bećuk of what sort? what sort of? how? V. § 166. — *haʌl ʌhwaʌl bećuk bila?* how are you? *kine hir bećuk bai.i?* what sort of a man is he? *ine ɟi.aʌl bećuk bila?* how does he behave? *bərenyen (hʌyur) bećuk bi ke* see what kind of a horse it is, see what the horse is like. 6.15.

bel, bel, -čaŋ y spade. — *bélan nokan* taking a spade. 64.12. Prs. ooo

bel stock, (y?), Ar. *nasl*. (Originally given as, heirless, ownerless, H. *lawwarīs*). — *bel niyas* the stock to die out, to become ownerless (of land), to become heirless. *Xamsra bušuli bel nim pfat manimi* Kh.'s land became and remained ownerless. 252.15. *tačap bel nimi* the race died out completely, he perished without heirs. *čanum kans bel nim* may the stock (human) of the small village be destroyed! (H. *tabah*). 364.6. IUB *bel nim maimi* and *bel ničilum*.

The Transitive or Causative to *bel* *-aras to exterminate. V. § 238. *hir sis baman uyome tačap bel oruman* they exterminated all the males, (leaving them heirless). 240.6. *yutsoru.s toraq (?tačap)* [1] *bel oran* you have exterminated his father and his father's brothers. 242.15.

(The apparent genitives, *kans, uyome, yutsoru.s*, suggest that *bel* is a noun and this supported by the uses of *bel* in Shina, e.g. *Xodaw theri bel hworot*, may God cause your stock to be carried away, i.e. to die out. Cp. *belise*).

-las, belj-, Impv. *bel*, neg. *apel*, Pps. *nupel* to put on (clothes), don, wear (the object being y). — *mamuli gatoŋ bel* put on ordinary clothes. *beljoko gatoŋ beljai?* what sort of clothes does he wear? *pači belas* to put on a woman's tunic. *gatoŋ di.usin ki beljo* take out the clothes and let her put them on. 24.19. *gatoŋ di usin nupel* (she) taking out the clothes and putting them on. 24.21. Cp. 18.4, 316.4. [Ca. *-abilas. Cp. *yolas* to put on (the object being x)].

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[1] [see corrigenda at addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 *belaṣe* how? in what manner? — *gote duvo je belaṣe ečam?* how shall I do this job? *uno belaṣe gurię dimi?* how did it come into your hand i.e. possession? *belaṣe nič'a?* (in your circumstances) how are you going to go? Cp. 66.11, 120.26, 156.18. (*bel* + *aṣe*. Cp. *bel-joko*).

belaṣe . . . ke however, in whatever way, just as, how (in a dependent clause). — *gurimo raiaṣe belaṣe joča ke tvilaṣe ju* in whatever way you (propose to) come according to your own pleasure, so come i.e. come in whatever way you please. 78.11, 14. *ja belaṣe yetsa baiyam ke ite juan av čaya ečai.i* just as I had seen, like that, he tells me it, i.e. he tells me it exactly as I saw it. 84.10, 15. *belaṣe aiyreqan'a ke ye av čaya eti* now tell me how you have not killed him. 72.16. *uŋe belaṣe iyumorolum ivkumuts lel ota ke be, ja asqanas da uŋe akei ba?* somehow you have detected the young ones in its belly, haven't you? and don't you know then about my being killed? 66.10. *uŋe hc.iba gote duvo belaṣe etas bila ke . . .* do you know how this work is to be done? (dependent question). Cp. 64.28, 122,1, 160.6.

belaṣum Nz. of what kind? in what manner? H. *kaisa?* (Presumably *-f-*).

belę, *-iŋ* y armour. — *čomare belę* iron armour. (Cp. Sh. *bręć*, chain-armour; *bilčako*, chain-helmet).

belča, *-miŋ* (y) shovel. Prs.

b'eljoki.ents, *beljoko*, *b'eljokuyo* (pl.) of what sort? of what kind? — *beljoko gatoŋ beljai.i?* what sort of clothes does he wear?

beljoki.ents bi.en? } of what sort are
beljokuyo bi.en? } they? (V. § 167).

000 *beltse, biltse*, (with *i·ljum*) in later times, in future days, H. *pi·čhle ʂʌmaʌnamẽ*. — *i·ljum beltse*. 188.8. *i·ljum biltse ačʌʌmutiŋ dʌmaʌmʌnumʌn* after our times you have been born rascals. (Cp. *bel*).

b'ʌpʌy, bʌpʌy, -ršo x yak, H. *xuŋgaʌ*. — *bʌpʌye biške* yak's hair. *bʌpʌye γuroʌp* yak-down (fine wool). *bʌpʌy hʌrʌn* a male yak. 280.4. Cp. 152.8 ff. (Cp. Sh. *bʌpo*).

bes, bese, beso why? — *bese dukow'a*? why have you come? 58.19. *beso* (*bes*) *tai.i me.iba*? why are you thus? 144.28, 358.2. *beso te eča*? why are you doing thus? 54.16. *uʌye ine gus bese moskʌrʌnuma*? why did you make the woman late? *besʌr* (?) *guʌkʌrʌnuma*? why have you delayed? why are you late?

bese . . . ke in dependent clauses: *bese hʌrčaʌn ke 'ʌsu.in* tell me why you are weeping? 38.18.

(*bese* and *beso*, the commoner forms, are doubtless the general oblique of *bes*).

bes v. *beske*.

besʌn x and y.

1. Interrog. Adj. and Pron. what? V. § 162. — *gutetum besʌn fai.rda duʌšila*? what advantage comes out of (accrues from) this? *besʌn rʌŋ bila*? what colour is it? *uʌne iner besʌn* (x) *γuʌma*? what did you give him? *besʌn* (x) *eʌka ditsai* what has he brought with him? *besʌn juwaʌnʌn goγe.iba*? like what do you seem to see it, i.e. how does it appear to you? *besʌnʌr*? why? wherefore? 20.15, 54.12, 62.2. *besʌnʌfe*? with what? how? 126.5. *besʌne gʌne*? N. for what? what for?

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2. Indef. Adj. and Pron. V. § 153. Some, any; + neg. none, not any; something, anything; + neg. nothing, not anything. — *besʌn mʌltʌǰ ʌči* give me butter. *tum besʌn dustsʌkʌn* some other utensil. *da besʌn?* anything else? *besʌn uyom, hər besʌn* everything. *besʌn ne daiya ba* somehow or other ("doing something") I have come. 68.18. *gute hale besʌn api* there is nothing in this house. *besʌn kuli* (or, *ke*) *jale api* I have nothing at all. 000
3. Indef. Relative. — *besʌn . . . ke* whatever. V. § 186 (End). *besʌn dumərča ke* whatever you want. (*bes* + *ʌn*, cp. recorded pl. form *bes-ik*. *bes* ← *be* + *s*, the *s* apparently signifying "thing". *bes* appears in *beske* + *neg. ke* being a common concomitant of the neg., and in *bes*, *beso* why?).

beseke because, since, for.

1. The principal clause is often introduced by *itetsom*, *gutetsom*, *gute gʌne* etc. for that reason, on this account, therefore.

   The order of the clauses varies. *ja sʌlamər hər gunts juin, beseke Šahri Banu je jeri motsuyʌse gʌne ərman bilom* come every day to pay your respects to me, because I myself desired to marry Sh. B. 18.18. *ite bultsom teil ʌkʼərər gaiyʌm bese ke yərom ite bʌsaulo teil api* I shall take water for myself from that spring because at that next halting-place there is no water. 124.15. *beseke ine γiki stimi ja ineː itetsom* (or, *ite gʌne*) *sʌzʼa ičiʌm* because

he committed theft, therefore I punished him. Cp. 2.8. 120.9, 368.15, 370.15. 000

2. In the following there seems to have been a confusion of thought or construction which has led to *besske* taking the place of "so that", "in order that":

hərip sč'an besske gəribtiŋ . . . doyelin xuš omʌnʃʌn, nosen. 326.18.

The idea seems to be "Because they say: (or, think to themselves:) 'Let them be happy hearing it' therefore they play", i.e. because they have this feeling therefore they play.

ivte gʌnər . . . durbin wʌščʌm bersekə amolom mosayfɪr men . . . duyʌn kə or tʌkliyf omʌnʃ, nosen. 36.5. He used to direct a telescope on that road, saying to himself: "So that should any travellers come along from anywhere there may be no inconvenience to them."

(*bese kə* = *bese*, why? + *kə*).

besik, pl. of *besʌn*, what things? — *u.ə besik ečam?* what (things) are they doing?

Also used of things represented by plural nouns: e.g. tea-leaves, rice, etc.

bersk, *bersk*. Indef. Adj. and Pron. Only used with negative. Nothing, no. V. § 154. — *bersk ivčər ætimi* no sound came. 6.5. Cp. 38.17. *besske pərwa api* it is of no consequence. 18.11. *besske be* nothing! *wlo besske ap'i* there is nothing in it.

beskom. — *beskom oyom qolælimi* everything has gone wrong, been damaged. *sodagərə beskom buf dišaci* the trader brings every sort of thing.

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000 *beršʌl, bešel, bešɪl; bešʌlər, bešelmo* —.

1. When? — *beršʌl(ər) juʷčuma?* when will you come? *bešɪl xa hʊruʷi?* till when, how long, will he stay? *gʊte duʷro beselmʊtsʊm sʊm bila* since when has this thing been done?
2. *bešʌl bešʌl* sometimes, occasionally, now and then. — *bešʌl bešʌl sta baiyʌm* I had sometimes done it.
3. *bešʌl . . . kɛ* whenever, as soon as. — *bešʌl divmi kɛ* whenever he comes (has come). Cp. 194.11, 208.5, 294.1, 374.10.
4. *bešʌl (kɛ), bešʌl kʊli,* + negative, never. — *bešel (kɛ) bɛ, bešel kʊli bɛ* never. *bešel kɛ ʌkiʷl aiyɛ* never do thus. *bešel (kə) atiʷmi* he never came. *jaʷr uʷgɛ bešʌl kɛ hʌn tsiʷrə du.ʌn kʊli aiyaʷ'a* you have never given me even a kid. 373.9. Cp. 370.9. *bešel kʊli aiyečʌm* I shall never do it.

beški, pl. *beški.entsik.*

1. What sort of? what kind of? — *Gilt beški dišʌn bila* what sort of a place is Gilgit? *beški phʌloʷik dʊmərča?* what kind of grain do you want? *uʷn haʷl beški ba* (or, *bila*)? how are you?
2. *beški.ɛn, bešken, beʷškʌn* what sort of a. . . .? *beški.ɛn bai.i?* what sort of a man is he? *beški.ɛn bo?* what sort of a woman is she? *beški.ɛn bi?* what sort of a thing (an animal) is it? *kim bešken bai.i?* what sort of a fellow is this? 116.10. Cp. 154.15.

bi-, v. also *be-*, without (used as a privative prefix). E.g. *bi-ʌqʌl, be-ʌqəl.* Prs. *bi.ai.i bi.ai, -mičiŋ;* N. *biyɛ.i,* ỳ illness, disease. — *hin hintsɛ niyʌs* (or, *dʊwnʌs*)

000 *bi.ai.i* a contagious or infectious disease. *bi.ai.ər mili ɛti* treat (medically) the disease.

bi.ai.iko pl. of *bi.ɛnum*.

bi-čaʷra wretched, miserable, unfortunate; wretch. — *bičaʷran bai.i fʌt ɛtin* he is a miserable creature, let him go. 158.2, 8. Prs.

bičil-intsx sg. and pl. pomegranate (fruit).

bičil-iŋ y pomegranate tree. Also: *bičilɛ tom* pomegranate tree.

biçuʃ N. y pl. (?) forked lightning. (Cp. Sh. *b'ičuʃ*).

bidʌm (*be-dʌm?*) lifeless, exhausted, played out, H. *sust*. Prs.

bidil[1] cowardly. — *kinɛ ɛʷ bidil bi* his heart is cowardly. 144.11. Prs. (*be-dɪl*).

biḍiŋ noise of thumping, report of gun, sound of drum, etc. — *mʌrərulo biḍiŋ maimi* there will be a noise in the grave. 218.7. Cp. 218.13.

(The *-ḍ-* is very marked. I noticed it myself both in Bu. and in Sh. and IYB gave it as *ḍ*. Cp. Sh. *biḍiŋ*).

biḍiriʷko IYB, *biḍiroko*, round. (Cp. Sh. *biʷḍiriʷko* and *biʷḍiruʷko*).

biḍiʷro, *bɪrḍiʷro* round, circular. — *bɪrḍiʷro gɪrši* a circle. *Biḍiʷro Mʌl* the "Round Field". 198.9. *dər bɪrdiʷro* quite round. (*-ḍ-* IUB and IYB. Cp. Sh. *biḍiʷro*).

bi.'ɛnum, pl. *bi.'ɛʷiko*, *bi.ai.iko*; N. *biʷɛnum*, *biʷɛyɛʷko*, thin (of stick etc.), narrow (of line etc.); slender. — *bi.ɛnum sɛl* a fine needle. (*ɛʷçiŋ*) *buʷt bi.ɛʷiko bitsa* (his loins) are very slender. 154.19, 158.8.

bi-gʊna innocent, guiltless. Prs.

bi-haʷl weak after illness, run down. Prs.

bih'el bravo! (expression of praise, applause). — *thʌmɛ inɛr bihɛl ɛsimi*

80 b

[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

the Tham said to him "bravo!' *thamɪ inɪr bihɪl ɛtimi* The Tham applauded him (by clapping him on the shoulder). *hɪ bih'ɛl(ɛ) gumanɨl* Oho, bravo to you! *šabaɪ šabaɪ!* Cp. 72.16, 74.6. (Cp. Sh. *bɛhrl* =? Prs. *bɪhrl*).

bihrɛ̄t y heaven, paradise. Prs.

bi-huɪ̄ unconscious. 26.8. Prs.

bi-imaɪn faithless, disloyal. Prs. (Ar.).

bi-rnsaɪf unjust. — *bi.rnsaɪfan bai.i* he is an unjust man. Prs. (Ar.).

bi-rnsaɪfi injustice. — *but bi.rnsafi ɛtimi* he practised great injustice. Prs. (Ar.).

brjvaɪto MA. evil-looking. (Cp. Sh. *brjvuɪto*).

bijaɪn N. *-rɛ̄o* x rainbow. (Cp. Sh. *biǰoɪn*).

1. *biɪk, -ičiŋ* y willow-tree. — *biɪkɪ toɪm* willow-tree. *biɪkičiŋ ɛgiyaɛ̄o baɪn* they are going to plant willow-trees. 176.4.

2. *biɪk* afraid, alarmed, startled, anxious; fear, fright. — *jɛ biɪk amaiya ba, jɛ biɪk ba* I am afraid, anxious. *biɪk amanam* I started. *biɪk imanimi* he took fright. *tsɪr uyoɪn bik manuman* all the guard were afraid. 88.5. *biɪk mimanasan bai.i* he is dreadful, fear-inspiring in appearance (one we are afraid of). *biɪk *-atas* to frighten, threaten s.o. *yāɪr han biɪkan ɛčam* I'll give the bear a fright. 228.6, (Cp. *bim*, Sh. *bijoɪrki*, to be afraid).

biɪkkuǰ y fear, dread.

bil full, brim-full. — *gilaɪsolo tsil bil bila* the tumbler is brim-full of water. *bil hik bila* it is quite full (said of a measure). (Cp. Kho. *biɪl* mouth of a vessel (also cover, lid), Sh. *bil* opening, mouth of vessel, edge (of roof, precipice, river, etc.).

bilas, pl. *bilašo*, bl. (and m.). 776

1. Female demon, ogress, H. *čhorel*, *bhut*. — *Ganišolo hin bilasan bem* there was a "bilas" in Ganish. 190.1. Cp. 192.9, 200.1.
2. *hir bilas* male demon, one-eyed ogre, Cyclops. These are apparently much rarer than the female variety. There is said to be one in the Shishper nullah. He has one eye and looks up towards the sky, not towards the ground. When he sees a man he calls out his name. One should make no answer, otherwise he comes and eats one up. People have seen him. — *hir bilas manuma* you have become a "hir bilas" (said to a youth who is very tall, or troublesome).

bilbinas, *b'irbinas birbi-* to rise ex[illegible]sively, fill up (of water), H. *pani ka ziada čarhjana*. — *pfəri.olo tsil birbinila* the water has filled up in the pond. 000

(Connected with *bil* and *bir*?).

b'ili, swinging, H. *jhulna*.

bilirča N. *-mots* x swing. (Cp. *b'ili*, *qurbili* and *bilinčak*?).

biličan (state of) being. — *Baxtekale wazirri biličantsa* owing to (at the time of) the wazirship being in the possession of Bakhtek. 96.23.

(Probably based on the *y* form of the verb *ba*. Cp. *bačan*. V. § 271).

bilinčak, *-išo* x hammock-cradle (made of blanket and ropes). Cp. *birirča*?).

bil'is weeding crops and softening and cleaning the ground. — *bilis stas* to weed, etc.

81 b

[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

ooo *bilij* let it be. — (*kitaɣ*) *ko-la bilij nuss fat ɛtam* I left the book, saying "let it remain here". 70.5.
(*-j* form of the *y* sg. form of the verb *ba*. V. § 271).

bi-l'um IUB weak, H. *kamzov*. (Cp. *lum*).

biltsoɣ, *biltsoɣ*, pl. *biltsoɣo*.
1. The name of a wandering beggar woman.
2. A man who constantly moves about and doesn't settle down, a "rolling stone".
3. A quadruped (?).

bim fright, threat(?), intimidation (?). — *ɣów kan bimɑn ɛtam* I'll threaten the bear(?), give it a fright. 238.6. (Cp. *bi-k*).

bi-mani perverse, unreasonable. — *bimani sis baiɛ* he is a perverse fellow, Prs. (Ar.).

bi-masa tasteless, insipid. Prs. (Ar.).

biɣ y sg. and pl. fruit dried and ground like flour, Sh. *sarto*.

bi.o N. 3rd. pl. pres. x of verb *ba* = Hz. *bi.en*.

bir IUB full, Prs. *pur*. (Cp. *bil*, *birbir* and *dibiranum*).

biraɣo, *biraɣo*, pl. *biraɣuło*, *biraɣumots*, x foal, colt. — *kik*, *alti*, *tsindi denkus biraɣo* a one-year, two-year, five-year (!) old colt. *ges biraɣo* filly.

birʼal. Only recorded in: *ɣtqam birʼal manav* to become giddy from eating the first green food of the season.

biranę, *biranj* x sg. and pl. mulberry (fruit). — *biranęɣn* a mulberry. *biranę bi.an* there are mulberries. *biranę raę no* watching, guarding, the mulberries. 244.12. *tik biranj* earth-mulberry, i.e. strawberry. (*-ę* confirmed by IUB. Cp. Sh. *marʼoę* Kho.

000 *mɔrʌç̌, mrʌç̌*. Cp. Bu. *hɔrʌnç̌* || Sh. *hʌrɔç̌*).

birʌnç̌, pl. *birʌŋ*, y mulberry tree.

bir'ʌqʌs, biraqiĉ, Impv. *biraq*, neg. *apiraq*, Ppa. *nip'iraq(in)* to dig. — *Alqaš Wazirɔ bir'ʌqimi, tiš ɛ' ʌi* A. W. dug and made a pit. 56.20. Cp. 80.22, 252.2, 11. (-*q*- IUB. Cs. **-ʌbiraqʌs*).

birbir quite full, full to the mouth, H. *mūh tak bhʌra hɔna*. (Cp. *bir*, also Kho. *birbir*, brimful).

birdi IUB, N. (N. x) the ground, H. *zʌmin*. (Cp. Sh. *b'irdi*).

bir'ɛspʌt y Thursday. (Cp. Sh. *brɪspʌt*, H. *brɪhʌspʌti*).

bire, -mots x a wooden vessel about 3 ft. long with a lid, in which dough is kneaded. 272.3.

birga fight, battle. — *birga stʌs* to fight, have a battle. (Cp. Sh. *brɪrga*).

birgɔr IUB, *birɣɔr, birɣɔr* a kind of plant which appears in barley and wheat fields in Baltit and Altit at the end of March and is used as spinach. (Cp. Sh. *brɪrgɔl*, lesser stitchwort?).

biri x boiling (of liquids and anger). — *tsilɛ biri juči bi* the water is boiling. *biri dɛ̈tsʌs* (*d*-ʌtsʌs*) to make boil. *biri dimi* (his anger) boiled up. N. *tsil biri diti bi* (*d*-tsʌs*) the water is boiling. *biri* was also recorded in N. as an adjective boiling with y pl. *-miŋ*. [Cp. Sh. *bire, biri* with verbs, intrs., *wai.ɔrki* (to come), and Cs., *wɔrɔrki* (to cause to come)].

brrik, -ots x a kind of gun. Prs.?

brrkiǰ, birkiǰ, pl. *brrkirʌŋ, birki.ʌŋ* and *brrkiǰiŋ*, y treasury, treasure, 56.19. (Cp. Sh. *brrkiǰ*).

biru N. *-mots*, male. (Cp. Sh. *biru*).

bis, pl. *ovēo*, x fat. — *givis bistar diram yilimotrik ev ovi* make "diram" bread with ibex fat for him. 182.7.

bi-sabor impatient. Pre. (Ar.).

bisorkas, *bisorkiō-*, Impv. *bisork*, Ppa. *nipiwir* to cut crops, reap. — *hersem, gwr, bisorkas* to reap the crops, cut the wheat. *gur horeg nipiwir* reaping the wheat and barley. 880.12. *bisorkas khen dirni* reaping, i.e. harvest, time has come.

bisorj, pl. *bisorag*, y sickle.

(-j IUB. Cp. *bisorkas* and Sh. *bisorj*).

bisman stas (*-atas?*) to circumcise. (Cp. Sh. *bremaw*).

bremsil'a, *bremillah* in the name of God. — *bremilla stas* to say "bismilla" (preparatory to doing s.t.). 42.2, 322.7, 382.4, 382.4. Ar.

bisqz y saliva. Some people's saliva, it is said, dries up and they can only eat food with water.

biläiyas, *biläi-*, Impv. *biläz*, neg. *apēläz*, Ppa. *nrp'ivtan*.

1. To throw, fling, put down; to put on (to cook). (Primarily only with y objects?). — *krtesp kha biläami* he threw down (or, dropped?) the book. *maltaj kha biläami* he threw down (or, spilt) the ghee. *čap 'akubertiqir da . . . ev biläzem* they put down the meat before the elders etc. 340.14. *berbat nrpiläan; Trangfertiqir kan kan čak nrpilan* putting down "halwa"; putting down one fore-leg (?) each for the Trangfa's. 342.2. *čap biläiyas* to put on meat (in pot to cook) *namali biläzer dwywuli bo* she begins to cook (i.e. put on griddle) "namali". 306.8. *yuwu namali . . .*

93 a

dawafs bikamar when his wife has put the "zamali" on the griddle. 306.9. *fari bikoiyas* to take omens (from stars etc. before going on a journey, to detect thief etc.), to cast lots(?) Cp. 144.3, 174.8, 306.16. 000

2. To put forward, despatch; shoot (with bow or gun). — *hada bikoiyas* to take a step, pace. *hada ap'ilawi* (the donkey) didn't move a step. 300.8. *wyonar nat bikami* (or, *ofarni*) he despatched letters to all. 98.10. *tshagafs bikami* he fired with a gun. 292.8. *jamakafs yat ne . . . ite talar bikami, nat wabini* he shot with his bow up at the pigeon and brought it down. 148.8.

Often the instrument is not mentioned:

hik bida ham he had fired once. 102.28. *ilamrw hawafs eyuwafin nat'ash bi'ami* fitting an arrow to his bow, and drawing it, he shot. 148.17. *ikafs yutisar bikami* he hit the leg of the bed (with his arrow). 260.12.

It is also permitted, however, to treat the weapon as if it were the object of *bikoiyas*:

tshagafs ten yakalafar bikawan they fired their guns in the direction of it. 184.12.

In all the above examples, except where the meaning is "to shoot", the object of *bikoiyas* is *y*. Where it means "to shoot" one would expect the unexpressed object to be *hawafs* arrow or *dowa* bullet, but both these words are *z*. Despite this it seems unquestionable that *bikoiyas* is properly used only with a *y* object.

000 When the object is h or x the same notion is conveyed by the verb *wałi.as*. Cp. in the above:
mal wałimi and *nyuwałin*, and v.a.v. *wałi.as*. V. § 231. (Ca. °-*abiłaiyas*).

biźk y pl., double pl. -*miŋ* hair (of animals), fur. — *teiwi*, *hayuri*, °*bepaye*, *yd*°, *biźk* goat's, horse's, yak's hair, bear's fur. Cp. 104.24, 134.8 ff.

biśkekrṭ hairy. — *biśkekrṭ* γalγu a hairy caterpillar.

791 *biłan*, pl. *biłaiyo*, (*piłaiyu*. 278,14), hm. and hf., soothsayer, wizard, sorcerer.

A person of either sex with certain supernatural powers, e.g. the ability to tell what is happening at a distance and to foretell the future. Nowadays they exercise these powers at public assemblies where they inhale the smoke of burning juniper twigs and dance till they reach a state of exaltation when their gifts become operative. Eventually they collapse from exhaustion. In earlier days they possessed the power to "bind" malignant supernatural beings. Cp. Texts Nos VI, VII, VIII, IX and XI.

000 To cause *bitan's* to play their rôle is expressed by several verbs:
biłaiyo 'ɣyirałuman } they caused bi-
biłaiyo uguman } tans to dance.
242.1. Cp. 278.14. *S. G. ki H. M. biłan wuwałdir ołuman* they had brought S. G. and H. M. to make them act as bitans. 186.1.

(Possibly *biłan* goes with the names, in apposition).

biłan wuwałdum they set a female bitan to work. 216.11. Cp. 190.5 192.8, 200.16.

84a

000 (ʃ IUB. *biʃʌn* is a synonym of Sh. *daĩyʌl*).

biʼts N. *-aʼints* x front facing of choga. (But Cp. Kho. *biʼts*, the space between the choga and the breast when the choga is tied round the waist, bosom, Prs. *bʌɣʌl*. This seems equivalent to Bu. **-soɣʊl*).

biʼum, neg. *ʌpiʼum*, N. they (x pl.) were = Hz. *biʼm*.

bi-ʼuguʼf v. *be-ukuʼf*.

biyabaʼn, *-iŋ* y desert. Prs.

bisaʼr vexed, annoyed. — *uŋtsum bisaʼr imanaiʼi* he has become vexed with you. 20.12. Prs.

bo y pl., double plural *boʼćiŋ*. 1. seed (of corn). 2. y sg. semen, H. *nutfa*, *mʌni*. — *bo ɢiyʌs*, *bo jʌliʼʌs* to sow, scatter seed. Cp. 242.8, 18 ff.

bodo y Wednesday. (Cp. Sh. *boʼdo*, H. *budh*).

boɣʊra, *boɣʊra uʃ*, male camel. Turki.

776 782 *boʼin*, pl. *boʼyo*, x some kind of divine or sacred being; in the plural: animals like puppies to which offerings used to be made.

At *Hiʼni* there used to be animals like puppies for which people used to put offerings at the foot of rocks and trees.

The *boʼyo* came out of holes and ate the offerings. This cult was maintained by the *Hiʼni* people till a few years ago when it was stopped by the Hunza authorities. They slaughtered animals in the name of the *boʼyo*.

According to one statement the *boʼyo* lived at a spot a little above *Hiʼni* Fort known as the *Dadimo Lart*.

There were also *boʼyo* resembling puppies which lived under a juniper tree in the garden of a man called

Kərəmo Dərbeʃ in Diramitiŋ territory, v. Text No. XIV. 776

See my article in JRAS of July 1929, pp. 507—36. 782 [113]

Sahəla Bo in kə Hə'lasa Bo'in names of two Bo'in's in whose names oaths were taken. 250.9. *itsər bo'yo se.ibʌm* they called them "*bo'yo*". 214.5. *sivə itsə u.i'liki bʌm* people used to worship, or placate, them. 214.4. *bo'yo u.i'likinʌs*, (pl. *u.i'likinʌšo*), a bo'yo-worshipper, a heathen, (cp, *boi.indu'rgʌs*).

bokʌl y pl. seed-grain (of cereals). — *guks bokʌlə gur bitsʌŋ* this is wheat seed-grain. 000

bo'mo y pl. seed (of corn). (The *-mo* is only an expletive, conveying at most a sense of multiplicity and indefiniteness). — *da bo'mo da u'lji yərər gur hərə n'owsin* putting aside wheat and barley for seed and funeral rites. 332.11.

bo'nis a round lump of dough (2 or 3 inches or more in diameter for making cake of bread from). — *hʌn bo'nisʌnə tha hə'lər daudo 'sd.im* I (can) make "daudo" for 100 troops with one lump of dough. 176.23.

bo'no, -muts x plait of hair rolled up and knotted into a ball at the end. 302

The Hunza women wear their hair in two such plaits one at each side of the head. Formerly the men also wore their hair long and dressed it in *bono's* or twisted in spirals.

A N. y pl. form "*bo'niŋ*" was recorded. (Cp. Sh. *bo'no*).

bopfau "seed-scattering". — *bopfau ʃtʌs* to perform the ceremony of initiating the seed-sowing in the Spring. V. Text No. XIII. 241

85a

From further very brief notes it appears that the field is first manured in preparation, and the ceremony consists in the Mir's throwing up some barley seed mixed with gold dust, after which he makes some display of ploughing the land. 241

The plough is then taken in succession by the Mir's son and by the Wazir. V. 208 and 212.22.

(*bo* + *pfau* q.v. Cp. Sh. *bipfau thoʷrki*. The Turki equivalent is said to be "*čʌγaʷn*").

enough, sufficient; plentiful, cheap. — *bos bi.en, bilsʌn, mai.imi, mʌnimi.* (Cp. Sh. *bos*. Prs. *bʌsʔ*)

boʷt y clear sky IUB *asmaʷn ka ṣaʷf homa.* — *boʷt ni bila, nivmi* it has cleared up, it cleared up. *boʷt bila* the sky is clear. *boʷt eʷrimi* he made the sky clear up. 160.8. ooo

boʷyʌs, boʷč- to alight (of birds), perch. — *mərtʼeŋʌṭe ya kayulo sinda iʷlte boʷči.e* (the birds) alight (perch?) on the earth-cliff or strand at the edge of the river. 206.14. 3rd sg. Pret. *boʷmi.*

boʷyo v. *boʷin.*

boi.induʷrgʌs, boʷindʌrgʌs, x pl. ancestral spirits, spirits (of the virtuous dead), H. *ərwaʷḥ, bʌrzʌrgaʷn, ruʷḥaʷni.aʷt.* — *boi.induʷrgʌs rɪza umai.imi.e* the spirits will approve, be pleased. *boi.induʷrgʌs na-rʼɪza ayʼoʷ* don't displease the spirits. (Cp. *boʷin* and *durgʌsuʷto*).

brāʷ brāʷ etʌs N. to bleat (of sheep). (Cp. Sh. *brāʷ thoʷrki;* Kho. *braʷγ,* bleating).

orʌk, -ʌnts x crease, wrinkle. — *ifʌṭi.e brʌkants* wrinkles on the forehead. (Cp. Sh. *brʌk*).

ooo *bran* a loud sudden noise. — *bran walas* to fall down suddenly with a smack. 182.24. (Cp. Kho. *bram*, noise, bang; Sh. *bran*, noise of falling, or exploding(?), *pran bo·rki*, to explode, burst).

bras y pl., double pl. *-iŋ*, *-miŋ*, rice (grain). — *bras berruman bitsan* how much rice is there? *brasi ḍaudo* "daudo" made with rice.

Double pl. growing rice. — *brasiŋ stan* they have planted rice. *brasmiŋ bitsa* it is (a crop of) rice. (Cp. Tib. *h̲bras*).

buwa sg. and pl. (and pl. *bu.ents*), x cow, H. *gawe*, *gawu*. — *menane buwa nuhalg awltu dowemanimi ke* when anyone's cow calves and bears twins (twin-calves). 354.8. *buwa amulo h̲alkiwči.en ke* wherever the cows have their young. 108.22. *buwa ba* you are a cow, i.e. a fool.

bu.aṭer, *-šo*, N. pl. *-ršo*, young cow, heifer.

bu.au.ukum pertaining to. cows. — *bu.au.ukum dilk* cow-dung manure.

bubawrak blessed; congratulations. — *gow bubawrak maniši!* may it be blessed to you! congratulations! 354.5. (Cp. Kho. *bumbawrak*). Ar. Prs. (*mubawrak*).

bubawraki y congratulating, wishing joy. Ar. Prs.

buboq, *bub'uk -ičiŋ* y mass of flesh. — *batsini bubuk* flesh of thigh, ham. *bobok* used of buttock and calf of leg EOL. (Cp. Kho. *bubuq*, *bubuk*; *thul bubuq*, the thigh).

bubulo N. *-miŋ* warm (of liquid), tepid. — *tsil bubulo sti* warm the water. (Cp. *bulbulo* and Sh. *bubulo*, luke-warm).

buwč, *-ants* x.

1. He-goat (2 or 3 years old, entire). — *mi.ome hawkičaŋaṭs buwč fat sečan*

86 a

[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 let us leave him free (to wander about) the houses of all of us as a he-goat (the idea being that he should procreate freely). 262.8, 244.7. (Cp. Wakhi *buč*).

2. IUB gives *buč* as = H. *sa·nḍ*, *nʌr mʌwerši*, *sa·nḍ* in H. being: "a bull, especially one set at liberty as an act of piety".

buč -ʌŋ y chenar, plane tree. (Cp. Sh. *buč*, *bu·č*).

ˈuč'a, pl. *bučʌŋ*, y trap made of stones (for catching rats, foxes, bears, birds), any kind of trap. — *bučʌr girkis wʌlum juʌn* like a rat fallen into a trap. 160.6. (Cp. Sh. *bʌča.o*, trap for leopards, etc.).

buḍo·k, *-ršo* x bin (for grain etc., smaller than *tsʌγur*). Recorded in N. as *buro·k* by EOL.

buḍo·ko, pl. *buḍo·kumuts*, x foal (very young, 10 days and upwards). IUB a small-sized horse, pony, H. *ṭʌṭu*, *čho·te qʌdka gho·ra*.

budul, *budu·l- iŋ* y rags, torn clothes, H. *čithra*, *phʌṭe kʌpre*, (Cp. Sh. *budul*, *budɪl*).

buḍulo·γo, *boḍo·lo·γo* muddy (of water). (Cp. Sh. *buḍulo·ko*).

bu·'i, *bu.i*, *-mičiŋ* y.

1. Shoulder-blade, scapula. — *ja bu.i* my shoulder-blade.

2. Shovel, N. pl. *-mičʌŋ*. — *hu·nə bu·i* wooden shovel. *ču·mər bu·i* iron shovel. (Cp. Sh. *pyō·lo*, scapula, shovel; Khp. *phi*, shoulder-blade, *pi.u·*, *pyu·h*, shovel. See also Bu. *pfi*).

765 *bˈu·ɪki*, *bu.i·ki* food eaten only by the relatives of a deceased person on the 7th. day after his death. IUB alms-bread distributed on behalf of a dead

person, H. *mordake liye xairatki roṭi*. — *burkyər gumanom* a term of abuse. *buriki.s mučuṣk* (the spatula used for turning funeral bread; originally there was a separate *mučuṣk* for this purpose), a person who performs every sort of action, good or bad. Cp. 356.3. 765

buk, *-ants* x throat (external and internal), front of neck, neck. — *bukulo šok stas* to strangle. *ine iri bukər w'ašimi* he fell on his son's neck (lit. threw his son on his neck?). *bukər* (or, *gorṣər*) *šaŋaličiŋ gorgičam* he will put chains on thy neck. *tsirle buk yuyimi* I became thirsty (lit. my throat became dry for water). 268.11. *uŋə buk* (by) thy throat (what I say is true)! a form of oath or asseveration. (Cp. Kho. *buk*, throat). 000

buk'ak x pl., double pl. *-ints*, beans. — *bukak dotsirčam* they cook beans. 318.12. *bukakints* bean-crop. (Cp. Sh. *bukak*).

bukane *-*atas* to embrace (neck to neck). — *bukan' stam* I embraced him. *bukane metuman, otuman* they embraced us, them. *bukane m'atuman* they embraced you (with a bad sense referring to illicit intercourse). *bukane stimi* he embraced him, 16.5. (Explained as *buk* + *kane* ← *kan* = along, beside).

bul, *i-*.*an*[1] y spring (of water). — *yər bulan bila* there is a spring on ahead. 124.14 ff. Cp. 128.18 ff., 276.14 ff., 292.9 ff.

bula, *bula* (y?) polo; originally(?) ball, — *baṭs bula* a leather-covered ball. *bula delas* to play polo. 158.10, 316.11, 328.13, 330.8. *hayoreṣum bula* (ordi-

87a

[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 — Analyst]

nary) polo (played) on horseback. 000 *qatal bula* polo on foot (children's game). N. pl. *bulevin*, *bulavin*, *bulen*. *bulevin daljana be?* do they play polo or not? EOL.

It is not clear whether *bulevin* means "balls" or "games of polo". (Cp. Sh. *bo·la*, *bula*, head of polo-stick, polo-stick, polo; Ladakhi, Tibetan *bo-lo*, ball for playing).

bula sg. and pl., N. pl. *-mats*, *-ik* x rām-chikor (large, high-altitude, mountain partridge). — *bulan bi* there's a ram-chikor. *bula bi.en* there are ram-chikor. (Cp. Sh. *bul'ej*).

bulbul (poetic) beloved, mistress. 358.15. Prs.

bulbulo lukewarm (of water), H. *nim garm*, *pani jo thora garm hai*. (Cp. *bubulo*).

1. *bulqa*, pl. *bulqan*, or *min*, y hammer, (Cp. Sh. *bulqa* farrier's hammer; Kho. *borlqa*).

2. *bulqa* pl. *bulqan*, or *-min*, y woman's veil. — *bulqa bisa bo* she has put on a veil. *bulqan gibam* they have put on veils, are veiled. (Cp. Sh. *bulk'a*). Ar. (*burqa'*).

bulul x. crystal. — *bulule ai.ina* mirror of thick glass. Ar. (*bullur*).

1. *burm* sg. and pl. x markhor. — *burm bi.ana?* are there markhor? *burme tsir* female markhor. *burme du* markhor kid. (Markhor are not found in Hunza). (Cp. Sh. *burm*, markhor).

2. *burm*, *burum*, dry (of ground), thick (of semi-liquid), IUB H. *xuk* and *garha*. — *burum kai.i*, *tayay* thick soup, mud.

(Probably used only of y things, cp. *buryam* from *buryai.an*. *burum*, *burum*

87.b

[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 comes from a parallel verb *buryas*. (Cp. *gurγas* and *gurγum* used of x things. V. § 232).

burn -do, N. pl. *bunesíuts* x big boulder, very big stone, H. *bara pattkar*. — *turma avita burndo* twelve boulders. 148.17. Cp. 190.11, 192.15, 194.5, 294.5 ff.

bon x mountain (grazing-ground), high country, open jungle, H. *čarugarh*, *kuśavda jangal*. (Cp. Sh. *bon*).

bon dado vagabond, wanderer, H. *awawagard*. — *bon dado duśas*, or *ovas*, to expel, exile (people).

buro -tiŋ h helper, assistant. — *altas buro* a couple of assistants. 348.6. (Cp Sh. *buro*).

bupur pl., double pl. *-iŋ*, y down, fine wool ("pashmina"), of birds and animals. — *γforsis bupur bites* it is duck's down (sometimes woven into pattu as a luxury). *givis bupur bupurtiŋ* ibex down. (Cp. Sh. *bafur*)

burpoj, pl. *burpisats*, N. pl. *-zio* x pumpkin, gourd, H. *kaddu*. N. "large gourd with waist". (-j IUB)

1. *bur* setting (of sun): West. — *sa bur mani bi* the sun has set. *sa bur manas hen* the time of sunset. *lačar bur maisibi* the morning star sets. 362.2. *ise γfori sa tsi bur omanum, tsilas bien* (the general meaning is that the sun remained where it was and had not set.) 294.14 *ise sa bur ayistum eurustam* he had kept the sun unset. 294.15. *bur manas yakal* towards the West *bur manastar* (from the East) to the West. 92.4. (Cp. Sh. *bur*).

2. *bur*, *-isaŋ*, *-aŋ*, N. *-eŋ* y a single hair (of man or animal). — *bur jowas* like a hair. *burtsum hi bisuv*

000 thinner even than a hair. γuyʌŋi *buvʌn bila* it is a single human hair. (Cp. *-ʌ̃pur, also Kho. *pur*, hair & Sh. *buri*, mane).

'uvu N. *-muts* x sack. Cp. *buri*. H. (*bora*).

buvʌn -ɹŋ y seam, hem. — *buvʌn stʌs* to stitch, hem. (Cp. Sh. *b'oren*, close-sewn seam).

b'ordi IUB a great quantity (of), excess(ive), H. *bahut zi.ada*.

boryʿu -muts x trumpet. Prs.

1. *buri -muts* x crest (of hill), summit, peak. *čiši buri.ər dusʌm* I climbed on to the crest of the hill. *čiši buri.ər* (or, *itʌnər*) *nimo* she proceeded to the top of the mountain. 108.11. Cp. 108.15. (Cp. Sh. *buri*, summit, crest, *also* mane; Kho. *pur*, top, end. Cp. 2. *bur*).
2. *buri -muts* x sack, gunny bag. (Cp. *bura*. Sh. *bori*). H. (*bori*).
3. *bor'i* no pl. y silver. — *bur bori bila* there is much silver. *bor'i* of silver, silver (adj.). *bori.i dustsʌkʌn* an article of silver. 306.5. (Cf. *burum*).

borinda tool for cutting leather. Prs.

borji sign of the Zodiac, planetary station. 362.2. (Poetic). Ar. (Prs.).

borok N. v. *bojok*.

borondo, borondo, pl. *borondumuts* x ring (for finger), signet-ring. — *ja auci irimo irkʌŋi borondumuts γeniši bima bet* had my father, or had he not, gold rings with his own name (on them). 80.18. *ermi.entsi itsi tinjovlo borondumuts mai.irmi.i* the rings will be on the bones of his fingers. 80.28. Cp. 82.9 ff., 368.13, 373.19. (Cp. Sh. *barono*).

boruri stʌs to do the second watering of land, i.e. the first after the crops

have begun to come up. Kho. *pastey*. 352.1. (Cp. Sh. *buruwi*, *bur'i*). 000

burum, *burum*, *borom*, x pl. *-ršo*, y pl. *-iŋ* white. — *tik burum m.:nitsa* the ground has become white (e.g. with hoar frost). *borom šam* evening dusk, twilight. *burum mʌnom sis* an elder, an elderly person. *ju.s askuriŋ buruminŋ bitsa* the apricot blossoms are white. *buruminŋ gur bitsa* it is white wheat (pl.). *-lčiŋs burum nʌna* the white of the eye. *kərkʌmutse tiŋʌnulum burom del* the white of a hen's egg. *burum dʌp* an aged person (m. or f.) grey-beard. Cp. 64.17, 26, 29; 186.7, 240.14, 290.2. (The same root as 3. *buri?* Cp. Sh. *buro*, whiteish (of horse, etc.)).

buruṇč -iŋ y cloud(s) in the sky, cloudy sky.

buruṣ, IUB *borots*, x milk product obtained by boiling buttermilk ("*lʌssi*"), Kho. *šrpinʌk*. — *bor'us ditsu.in* bring the "*buruṣ*". 326.12. *buruṣ* (Ms. *buruš*) *šʌpik* pieces of thin bread with "*buruṣ*" placed between them and butter on top. 328.15, 330.9. (Cp. Sh. *bruts*, "'*lʌssi*' heated and water driven off").

buṣ pl. *bušoŋo*, *bušono* (*Gʌniš* form) x bundle (of grass, etc.), bound sheaf. (In Hunza used only of lucerne). — *šrqa buṣ* a bundle of grass.

buš -oŋo x cat. — *buṣ' ivsk* kitten. *buš ga mʌmu čut* "cat take, a drop of milk" (said to cat or child to induce it to come to one). N. *bʌmbula buš* tomcat. Cp. 158.14, 174.12. (Cp. Sh. *buši*, Kho. *puši*).

buš'ai.i, *buš'ai.i*, *-mičiŋ*, N. pl. *-miŋ*, y cultivated ground, land, country, territory, H. *zʌmin*, *mulk*, *wʌtʌn*. —

jaˈ(lɛ) bušai.i api I have no land. *jɛ ma bušai.ɛ trʌŋ maˈčʌm* I shall divide up, apportion, your land for you. 110.24. *gʌn bilum: but bušai.i oˈqušɛljʌm* there was a road (which) did much damage to the land (for them?) 256.2. Cp. 250.3 ff. *buˈt mʌtʌn bušai.ɛnər niˈmi* he went off to a very distant country. 372.7. Cp. 372.7. *iˈtɛ bušai.ɛ thʌm* the king of that country. 24.1. Cp. 104.13. *iˈkɛ bušˈai.imičiŋ uyoˈnər xʌt bišʌmi* he sent out letters to all those countries. 98.10.

bˈuˈšo, bˈuˈšu, -tiŋ.

1. Cat-eyed, i.e. with green or light-coloured eyes. — *iˈlčumutsər bərɛˈniŋ buˈšu.ʌn bai.i* look at his eyes; he is cat-eyed. 154.21.

   That the word is actually derived from the word *buˈš* cat appears plain from the statement of Kiser's mother, v. 158.13 ff.

2. Fair-complexioned, fairish = *ʂrkiˈl*[1] — *uˈɛ bˈuˈšutiŋ sis* those fair-complexioned people. 188.4.

bušoˈšo, bušoˈuʂo, pl. *bušowʌnts*, N. pl. *bušoˈšomuts*, x.

1. Calf (of cow). — *tsi.ər(ɛ) bušoˈšo* bull-calf. 104.21, 22. *yuˈšʌm bušoˈšo* "the fatted calf". 374.12, 368.14. Cp. 186.11.
2. As a term of contempt. — *bušoˈšo ba* you're a calf, i.e. a fool, *yɛ la bušoˈšo* get along you fool. (Cp. Werch. *boˈšo*).

1. *buˈt.*

1. Adj. and Pron. much, many, numerous. — *buˈt zoləm uˈɛtɛ ɛčʌm* he used to practice much tyranny on them, 276.2. *buˈt guntsiŋ oˈnitsum* when many days had not passed.

89 b

[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 372.5. *uɐ mahər burt bila* in their case the bride-price is much, i.e. big. 304.8. *burt tsil dušum tɐɐ* much water would have come out. 292.10. *Purnu.ɐ huyɐs kɐ da pfʌlo burt mʌnimi* Purnu's flocks became many and his grain became much, i.e. his flocks and grain increased greatly. 210.21. *burt pʌči bušai.ɐ* the greater share of the land. 250.5. As a pron. 252.4, 6.

2. Adverb. very, much, greatly. — *iri uɐ yu burt mariŋɐk bʌm* those sons of his were very fine fellows. 260.4. *burt uyʌm* very sweet. 182.1. *but uyum hirʌn di.a* a very great man has come. 90.2. Cp. 116.5. *burt d'ororutumʌn* they became greatly attached to him. 116.14. *burttsum burt aiyʌš mumʌnumo* she was extremely delighted. 122.10.

(-ṭ IUB, IYB, Gh. Kh.).

2. *burṭ -ɪšo* x boots (European). Eng.

burṭər, b'urtər, -ɪšo x male kid (under 1 year old). 302.12, 342.15. (-ṭ- IUB).

but'əriŋ y pl. sorcery (to gain power over a person, and especially to compel a woman's affections). — *iner šɪqa burtəriŋ ɐtimi* he worked magic on him.

(Only recorded in this phrase. *šɪq'a* alone is also credited with the same meaning).

burtxaɐna, pl. *-xaɐnʌŋ*, (y) idol-house, heathen temple. 92.20. Prs.

butpʌrʌst idolater, heathen. Prs.

butɐn, pl. *butuɐyo*, x bag, purse; H. *bʌṭwa*.

Originally used for holding collyrium-case, comb and salt, now also for money, and if big enough for dried apricots.

tili ɐŋə butɐn saddle-bag. (Cp. Sh. *pfut'un*, small bag, purse).

OOO *buʷm* v. 2. *buʷm*.

buʷwər -išo x water-melon, H. *tʌrbuʷz*.

A man told to take a water-melon along a very dangerous road to the Mir, asked: "Am I to hold on to the cliff or to the melon?":

čərtsɛ duɣʌma, lɛ, buʷwərtsɛ duʷɣʌm? (Cp. Sh. *buʷwər*).

buɣʌl N. *-iŋ* earthquake. (Cp. Sh. *buɣʌl*, *bū·ɣʌl*, *bō·ɣɛl*).

buʷɣʌm dry, dried (of y pl. things only). — *buʷɣʌm ṣɪrqa* (y pl.) *bitsʌn* there is dry grass, hay. *buʷɣʌm γai.iŋ* (y pl.) *bitsa* there are dried grapes, raisins. (Static Pc. of *buɣai.ʌs* q.v. Cp. *buʷm*).

buʷɣʌs, buʷč-. v.i. to become dry, dry up (of y sg. things only). 3rd sg. Fut. *buʷči*. 3rd sg. Pret. *buʷmi*. EOL.

Also 3rd sg. y perf. *buʷbila* recorded by myself. Static Pc. *buʷm*, q.v.

buɣʌt -iŋ y representation, petition. — *buɣʌt ɛtʌs* to petition, state with deference. "*omi*" *nusen ɛʷr buɣʌt ɛtʷmʌn* they petitioned him, saying: "don't go". 292.14. (Cp. Sh. *buɣɛt*, *buɣʌt*).

buɣai.ʌs, buɣʌč- v.i. to be become dry, dry up (of y pl. things only). 3rd pl. Fut. *buɣʌči*. 3rd pl. Pret. *buɣʌmi*. 3rd pl. Perf. *buɣa bitsʌn*. Static Pc. *buɣʌm*, q.v. (Cp. with *yuɣʌs* to become dry (of h and x subjects).

It is asserted that *buɣʌs* has a cerebral *ɣ*, but *buɣai.ʌs* an ordinary *ɣ*, and this accords with my own observation.

(Trs. or Cs. form *ɛspi.ʌs*, & N. *ɛspuɣʌs*. V. § 232).

buɣɛčo N., pl. *buɣɛčumuts* hm weaver. (Cp. Sh. *buɣēṛičo*).

90 b

bozorg, *bozoruk*, pl. *bozoruktiŋ*, hm holy (man), saint, ascetic. — *hin bozorg hirʌn* a holy man. 282.23. *kiⁿe bozorg ʌwʌlolo teⁿle tomuk mʌnuwʌm* this saint had first made his appearance there. 286.20. Prs.

Č.

čha pl. *čhai.ints* x millet (Punj. *kangni*, setaria Italica?).

čhaⁿ through, right through. — *iⁿtse 12 buⁿdo čaⁿ no* (the arrow) passing through the 12 stones. 148.17.

čaⁿdzr N. *-iŋ* y sheet. Prs.

čaⁿi, N. *čaⁿ* y sg. and pl. tea. — *čaⁿi bila* there is tea (liquid, to drink). *čaⁿi bitsa* there is tea (dry, tea-leaves). Prs. H.

čajʼuⁿš pl. *čajuⁿwants* x a sort of tea-kettle (copper). Prs.

čaⁿkur N. *-ršo* hmf youth, young man, young woman. — *ja æçu (aⁿyʌs) čaⁿkor bai (bo)* my brother (sister) is a young man (woman). (Cp. Sh. *čaⁿkor*).

čaⁿl y quicksand.

čaⁿlto the fourth day in the future.

çaⁿm *-ʌtʌs v.t. 1. to shove s.t. into, stuff into, thrust into. Pn.pf. referring to Dir. or Indir. Object. — *hʌle eⁿsʌn ditsun čaⁿm etimi* bringing a fox's heart he stuffed it (into A.K.'s body). 114.3. *ʌpfʌyo teⁿle čaⁿm ne* thrusting my stick (into the ground) there. 130.19. *iⁿse čʌmʼa musoyuči čaⁿm moⁿtʌm* he had stuffed, thrust, the brooch inside her clothes (breast). 168.3. *iⁿmo tor tiⁿšen buⁿl bilum çaⁿm etimi* there was a trace of a spring there and he thrust his whip into it. 276.14. 2. to pull on (boots etc.) — *huⁿčo čaⁿm oⁿ* pull on the boots.

šuqa ǯiŋečiŋ čam ne gutəər pull on (i.e. put your hands through) the sleeves of your choga and go on. 000

(Cp. Sh. *čham thoɪki*, to spear (with a fork), to pierce, prick).

čamine, N. *čamimi*, v. *čhamɪne*, hungry.

čaŋčaŋ *-*ATAs* to shut s.o. up. — *čaŋčaŋ gočAm* (in reply to abuse) I'll reduce you to silence.

čančAn a space of time. — *2 čančAn* = *1 pəri(sa)* q.v.

čar opposite, facing, level with. — *Samaiyər ke BAltit čar bila* S. and B. are opposite each other (on different sides of valley). *HindiAŋe čar* opposite H. (H. *Hindi ke samnhe*). 264.5. *Hindi kane čar* in front of Hindi fort. 194.6. *(ǯiŋAt) Saiyid Šah čarər dimər* when S. S. had come up level with it (the stone shoot). 294.4. *hAn xuroncAn aiyAšulo ine tešiyAŋe čarər dinin* a cloud coming up in the sky level with (i.e. directly over) his roof. 108.4. (Cp. Sh. *čar* + gen., opposite, facing, equal to, peer of).

čara y remedy, resource (in regard to some difficulty). — *čara biləmAn ata ba* I have done what was in my power, what I could. 148.19. *čara* *-*ATAs* to possess a remedy, resource.

čara being the subject of *-*ATAs* and the Pn.pf. referring to the person, v. § 261. II.

dərowər čara ači I shall have a remedy for the affair. *ma mene kuli čara amati.a* (or, *amatimi.a*)? were none of you able to do anything to prevent it? 154.6. Prs.

čAča v. *ČAča Hərə*, Index of Proper Names. Said to be a Wakhi word meaning: hurry up! quickly! 336.9.

91 b

000 *čhačhaŋ* dripping. — *ivtsimo tsil čačaŋ mai.i bila* water is dripping from them (*ta.očiŋ* y pl.). 130.20.

1. *čaγa -miŋ*, N. pl. *-iŋ*, y anything said, or recounted, narrative, story, tale; affair, question, matter. — *guki čaγamiŋ ivmo ivsolo se.ibai.i* he says these things in his heart (to himself). 368.6. *ivne hilerse etalo ivki čaγamiŋ devyelimi* he heard the remarks made by the boy. 64.19. *yorum zamana čaγa* a story of former times. 284 (title). *kaman čaγa bila* there is a small matter (to discuss). *čaγa sta* to tell a story, narrate, recount, give an account of, report, tell about, talk, etc. *gute gurlji.a čaγa iljum gor ečam* I'll tell you the story of this dream of yours later, or, about this dream. 80.8. *gute čaγa mune gor stam ke* if any people have told you about this. 80.15. *ye gultumai sti gor čaγa ečam* now listen and I shall tell you. 96.14. *menale gute čaγa aiy'eti* don't talk like this to anyone. 70.28. Cp. 118.18, 182.15, 284.3. (Cp. Sh. *čaga*).

2. *čhaγa*, pl. *čaγaŋ*, y, patch, small piece (of ibex or goat leather). — *baṭe čaγa* patch of leather (for repairing pabboos)

čhaγaltas, *čhaγalč-* to card, or clear wool (by beating it with sticks). — 1st. pl. fut. *čaγalčan*, pl. pres *čaγalčam*, 3rd sg. hf. pres. *čaγalčubo*, 3rd sg. hf. pret. *čaγaltumo*.

*-*čhaγaltas*, *-*čhaγalč-* to castrate (by crushing the testicles). — *ičaγaltas* to castrate one goat, or sheep. *učaγaltas* to castrate several goats or sheep. *ičaγaltum* castrated.

(This is probably identical with the preceding word, the radical meaning being "beating" or "pounding").

314 *čhaγo*, pl. *čhaγučiŋ*, *y*. A kind of plant which produces hard-wood sticks or switches. Oil is got from it by heating and is applied hot to children (as a remedy?). H. *čaboikol (?)* — *čaγučiŋ duwaša bitum* "*čaγo's*" had come up. 278.4.

000 *čhaγurum*, N. *y* pl. *-iŋ*, cold. — *čaγurum amanam* I have become cold. *čaγurum atsi yami* I have got a chill, I got chilled. *čaγurum guntaan bila* it is a cold day. *kuvi (= kulto) čaγurumaan (mai) bila* today is a cold (day). *čaγurum yami* cold (weather) has set in. *čaγurum tsil* cold water.

čak -iŋ, N. *-ičaŋ*, *y* pickaxe, pick, a onesided pick. (Cp. Sh. *čak*).

čak stas ustavi, N. *čaks ustavi*, carpenter. (Cp. Sh. *čak*, a blow (?), *čak thozki*, to strike with an adze).

čak stas v. *čaq* (which is the correct form) to chew.

čakor (?) v. *ičaqor*.

čakro v. *čaqro*.

čhako habitually foodless, starving; foulmouthed.

čal, čel, čal, pl. *čaliŋ*, *y*, quarrel, dispute, wrangle, fight. — *daŋ čal bila* there is a severe quarrel. *hamale čal apike* if you have (*lit.* if there is) no quarrel with (your) neighbour. *čal stas, čal °-manas* to quarrel, dispute etc. *daŋ čal stam* they are quarreling hard. *asmarnulo balaštu.ik čal etis* some birds fought, quarrelled in the air. 96.4. *wi horeŋ čal umanumaan* they quarrelled among themselves. *yus ke muyor čal numan* . . . the wife and husband quarrelling . . . . 386.23. Cp. 30.10, 42.10.

čam, čam y pain (acute, stabbing). — *daŋ čam* severe, acute pain. *čam gi*

bila a stabbing pain has come on. 000
aʳskapʊnʊlo čaʳm heart-burn.
(Perhaps the same as *čaʳm (ʳtʌs)*).

čʌm. — *čʌm čoʳko* very steep.

čhʌm y famine, hunger. — *kuʳin(mo dʌn) čʌm bila* this year there is famine, this is a famine year, H. *qahʌṭ-saʳl.* *iʳtʌ bʊčaiʳʊlo but dʌŋ čʌm diʳmi* a very severe famine came into that country ("there arose a mighty famine in that land"). 366.8. *iʳtʌ bʊčaiʳʊlo dʌŋ čʌman bʌliʳmi* a severe famine fell in that country. 372.9.

čʌmʿa -mʊtʌ x brooch (circular metal plaque with a large hole in the middle and a pin crossing it hinged at one side. A portion of the cloth is drawn through the hole and secured by running the pin through it), buckle, clasp, ring. — *mʊndiltʌʳ toŋ čʌma bim* on her breast there was a finewrought(?) brooch. 164.5. Cp. pp. 166 & 168. *šʌŋʌličiŋʌ yætimʊl hʌn čʌmaʳn aʳr dʿesmʌn* make a ring for me at the end of the chain. 174.6, 9. (Cp. Sh. *čʌmʿa*, GB *čhʌma*). 301

čʌmʌx, čʌmʌq -ʊtʌ, -iʳntʌ, -rʌo x. "steel" (used with flint to produce fire). (Cp. Sh. *čʌmʌk*, Khō. *čʌmʌx*; from T. *čʌqmʌq*). 000

čʌmərʌʈo half-hard and half-soft (e.g. bad potatoes). (Cp. Sh. *čʌmərʌʈo*).

čhʌmʌrʌ, čhʌmini, čhʿamine hungry, starving. — *jʌ čʌmʌrʌ bʌ* I am hungry. *uʳʌ čʌmini uʳiʳrʊmʌn* they died of hunger. *jʌ akʊlʌ čʿʌmine ʌʳirčʌ bʌ* I am dying here of hunger. Cp. 32.15, 34.10, 368.2, 373.5. (Cp. *čhʌm*).

čhʌmʌʳʌ, y sg. dried apricots rubbed down in cold water. — *gərʌʳki čʌmʌʳʌ čiʳʌʳʌn* in spring time they prepare apricot water. (Cp. Sh. *čʌmʌʳʌ*).

93a

[See corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

čanoe MA. bug. (Cp. Sh. *čemoe*). ○○○

čhan, pl. N. *-ergo*.

1. Empty (of a dish). — *goe hafalik čan bi* this bowl is empty.
2. Unemployed, unoccupied, free, at liberty, at leisure, H. *fawry*, *malary*. — *čan be* I am at leisure. *čan gumaima?* will you be free? (Cp. Sh. *čon*, Kalm. *chon*², Skr. *śūnya-*).

čhanis constipated (severely, of children). — *čanis imonaii* he is (has become) constipated.

čanda, *čanda -mate* x pocket. (Cp. Sh., Kalm. *čanda*).

čhanon, x pl. *-čio*, y pl. *-čig* narrow, confined, restricted (of space, house, etc.), tight (of clothes). — *gan bert čanon bile* the road is very narrow. *ganeŋ čanomiŋ bilaan* the roads are narrow. *čanon čapuman* a tight "chapan". *čanomiŋ čapuliŋ* tight "chapans". *čanomčio koymoto* tight "chogus". *čanon kan* a tight-packed village. 264.6. (*čh-* IYB and QCB. Recorded by me *č-* and *ǰ-*).

1. *čaŋ -iČaŋ* (y) talons. Pre.
2. *čhaŋ y* vomiting — *čaŋ *-ataa* to vomit. *čaŋ* is the subject of the **-ataa*, and the Pn.pf. refers to the sufferer; "vomiting affects x.o." V. § 261. II. *numin čaŋ čhimi* having drunk he vomited. *čaŋ gorti* you will vomit. *čaŋ ortile* they are vomiting. *čaŋ ortilem* I had vomited. *čaŋ ortilem* they had vomited. Cp. 84.14, 88.1. *čaŋ furgaa* to vomit. Here the subject affected would be in the genitive, dependent on *čaŋ*. (Cp. Sh. *čhaŋ čhorki*).

**-čaŋaraa*[1] pl. **-čhaŋarado* x. back of head, occiput. — *ičhaŋaraa yami* he got hit on the back of the head.

93 b

[1] [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

○ ○ ə *ẖaqyu* —? *ẖqyu ẖaqyu* crippled, lame, paralysed.

ẖaqyu, ẖaqyi, a very steep descent, declivity. *ẖaqyu ẖil*, water coming down a steep course.

ẖap, -iq, -mëq, -ẖtaq, ɣ meat, flesh. — *hawdz ẖape* mazz the taste of human flesh. 95.18, 98.3. *ẖap mar* (or, *merd*, or, *yemikr*) *manimi* the meat has gone high, bad. Cp. 340.13, 384.6, 390.16, 392.9. (ch IYB, Gh. Kh.).

ẖap hidden, concealed, secret. — *ẖkar ẖap ne* concealing himself. 12.16. *ẖap ati . . . ẖap gorlam* hide me . . . I'll hide thee. 182.11. *ẖar gorimam . . . 'wakarem ẖap ef'am* he had hidden that rib from them. 384.8. *ẖap ekem* hidden. *ẖap lar, ẖap ẖarz* a secret affair. *ẖakrus gorke . . . ẖe ẖarp ekam* I'll hide the donkey foal. 118.26. Cp. 122.12, 156.17, 384.8. (Cp. Kshm. *chapun*, to be hidden).

ẖap ekar to shoot (with a bow and arrow). — *ẖamerdi ẖap ekar*, to shoot with a bow. *gaar hawdz ẖap ekam* I shall shoot this arrow. 156.6. *girimets zaki hedi ẖap ne ẖrift aigermanemar ẖe . . .* if, shooting (with bow) three times, they are unable to hit the marks. 316.9. (Cp. Sh. *ẖap ẖarski*, same meaning).

ẖapan, ẖapam, pl. *ẖapaiq* ɣ long coat, robe. (Cp. Sh. & Kho. & Kabali Pra. *ẖapan*).

ẖapëimets n pl. "chaplis", sandals. — *ẖwzme ẖapëimetsik yerum* one of his brothers had given him a pair of chaplis. 99.15. *ẖapëimets ellarmi ẖe* if he put on the chaplis. 99.16. H.

ẖapap, ẖapap, -iq ɣ scar, mark, patch (of crops in field). — *zamme ẖapap* the scar of a wound.

94a

[See corrigenda & addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 *ʒapčup* quite silent. — *ʒapčup ham* he was silent. *ʒapčup ɛtimi* he became silent. *ʒapčup ɛtimi* he silenced him. (Cp. čup, and H. *čupčup*).

ʒaq ɛtɛ to chew. (Cp. Sh. *čaq*, movement of jaws).

ʒaqɛrɛṭo, sticky; N. *ʒaqr'ato*, pl. *ʒaqrɛ-ṭamoṭo*, ugly (?). (Cp. Sh. *čaqɛrɛṭo*, sticky, ugly).

*ʒaqɛ, ʒaqas, *-ɛtɛ* to crush to powder. — *ɛsɛ bum wɛ.ṭɛ wɛ.ɛl čakɛ ɛtimi* the boulder falling on them crushed them to powder. 160.7.

ʒaqu N., Hs. *čaqu*, *-mɛṭo* x penknife. T. Pra. (*čaqu*).

1. *čhar*, *-ɛqu*, slice, section. — *ɣɛrɛ čhar* a slice of melon. (*čh* IYB. Cp. Sh. *čhar*).

2. *čhar -ko* x cliff, rocky mountain. — *čar dɛwimi* the cliff fell down. *čar dɛwɛm dɛt* a place where the cliff has fallen down. *čarɛṭɛm khɛw wɛlimi* he fell down from (on) the cliff. 214.10. Cp. 132.20, 164.8 ff., 176.12, 232.2, 244.17, 278.1. (*čh* IYB. Cp. Sh. *čhar*, GB *čhar*; Kho. *čhaw*, *čhar*).

*-*čhar -iq* y. voice, noise, sound. — *ɛsɛ ḥwɛ.ṭi čhar bilo* he has a good voice. *gɛčar čhar ʒaq ṭi* beware of making a noise, raising your voice. 50.25. *hikɛm ṭiṭik čal wɛmɛn čhɛ wɛr jurilɛm* some people quarrelling that noise of theirs was coming, i.e. was heard. 43.30. *wɛlɛnɛm ḥɛn čarɛ wɛrɛn dirɛmi* from along way off came a sound of people weeping. 88.3. Cf. 192.1.

The "sound" of things naturally appears ordinarily in the form *čhar*: *čhake čhar* the report of a gun. *Siq gɛčɛ ham, xɛrɛ čhar dirɛmi* S. was lying down, the sound of his snoring came, i.e. they heard him snoring.

266.2. Cp. 264.23. *hərip giraʌas ičər deryəljai.i* he hears the sound of music and dancing. 368.19, 373.24. (*čh-* IYB, IUB).

čhərə, čhərə, x. pl. small-shot. — *čhərə čobaq* shotgun. H.

čəraṭi separated, separate, apart. — *čəraṭi* *-*aʌas* v.t. to separate. *čəraṭi manəə* v.i. to become separate, to separate. *čəraṭi čəraṭi* separated from each other. *čəraṭi čəraṭi orti* separate them (the quarrellers). *čəraṭi ni* keeping himself aloof. 262.19. *uvisum hin čəraṭi numʌn* one separating from them, or, one of them, separating off. 192.14. (Cp. Sh. *čəraṭi*, separation).

čər'ʌk, -ute (of animal), *-ise*, (of man) x cleaned carcase of animal, hinder parts of man. *i-ljom čərʌk*, hindquarters of horse.

čərʌp *-*aʌas* (only recorded with the form *ʌas*) to cut down, cut off. — *tom čərʌp ʌas* to cut down a tree. *γuyʌŋ čərʌp ʌas* to cut off (a woman's) hair (as a punishment). *mo.inə́ fiŋečiŋ čərʌp ne* cutting off her own sleeves. 146.16. *γaiunčəfə čərʌp ʌimi* he cut off with a sword. *ʌapik čərʌp ʌti* cut the bread (European fashion). EOL. Cp. 84.4, 214.8, 13, 388.11. (*č-* IYB. Cp. Sh. *čərʌp, čərʌb*).

čhərbʌn, pl. *čhərbaiyo*, x hip, one side of buttocks.

čərbu, pl. *-čiŋ*; N. *-mutə*, hm. village official, "chaukidar". 322.2, 326.11. (Cp. Sh. Kho. *čhərbu*).

čərčər, čəčər sound of water falling. (Cp. Kho. *čərčər k.*, of liquid coming out of hole in water skin, to dribble (?), to gurgle (?); Sh. *čəčər* (= *čər* + *čər*) *k.* to drip).

000 *čhərči* (to one's) senses. — *da ime čərči niwʌl senimi* then, falling into his senses, i.e. coming to himself. 368.1.

(The other version of the Prodigal Son has *hwər dim*. 373.3).

(Perhaps *čər + tsi*, cp. *a + čər + a* perturbed. But rather cp. Sh. *čərč* $\frac{1}{1}$ meaning "consciousness, senses", only recorded in oblique forms: *čərčər*, *čərčit*, *čərčejo*).

1. *čhərda*, *-muts* x stallion. — *čhərda hayərršo* stallions. (Cp. Sh. *čhərda*, stallion).

534 2. *čhərda*, pl. *-miŋ*, *čərdʌŋ*, y a stringed musical instrument, sort of guitar. Formerly used in *Maulai* "*jamaʿat xana*" (places of worship) along with *dʌf* (tambourines).

Pir Šah Nasir i Xsran of Kohistan and Lutkoh in Chitral, allowed the use of these instruments in order to attract possible converts by musical entertainments.

000 *čərk i fʌlʌk* the "Milky Way". (Cp. Kho. *čar fʌlʌk*). Prs.

1. *čərx -ičʌŋ* y wheel, machine. Prs.
2. *čərx* x a kind of black-eyed hawk. Prs.

čhəru tightly-twisted thread.

čəruk v. *čuruk*.

čhʌs IYB circle, or plaque, of gold or silver for Treasury (not confirmed).

čʌs ečʌs to pull out, pluck out, tear out. — *dʌn čʌs etimi* he pulled out the stone. *yuzʌn čʌs etimi* he pulled out a clod. 54.4.

čʌs manaʿs, to come out, disperse. — *tom čʌs manimi*, the tree came away from its roots. *tamʌdatsum sis čʌs manumʌn*, the people got up and dispersed from the entertainment.

Also used of a tooth. [Cp. Sh. *čhʌs thoʿzki* to tear out (hair),

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$\frac{1}{1}$ [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 pluck off; *čhʌs boʿrki* to be torn out, broken off; chipped (of hoofs)].

čʌs mʌnaʿs v.i. to stick, adhere. Prs. *čʌsp-* (?), (not confirmed).

čhʌʃ, pl. *čhaʿŋ*, y thornbush, pl. thorns. — *čaʿŋ cgi.ʌs* to plant a hedge of cut thorns. *bʌlʌʃe čaʿŋ etsaiyʌs* to fix thorns on the top of a wall (as an obstacle to climbing over it). *čaʿšulo laʿdus* "I found him in the thorns" (seems to be meant to be Shina, v. 268.7. n.). (Cp. Sh. *čhāʿʃ*).

čhʌʃ -oʿŋo, N. pl. *čʌtʿuyoko* (?) short (of man), low. — *čʌt sis* a short person. *čʌt hiʿri* short men. *čʌtoʿŋo sis(ik)* short people. *ha čʌt bila* the house is low. *čʌtoʿŋo hakičʌŋ, tom* low houses, trees.

čʌʃ, -eŋ, -iŋ y closed crack (showing a line, as in china). — *čʌt niʿmi* it became cracked. (Cp. Sh. *čhʌʃ*).

čʌʃ etʌs to pluck, pick, pull (flowers, fruit), to snap, break (string etc.). — *baʿlt čʌt ai.s* don't pull the apple. *gʌsk čʌt eti* break the string. *eʿs čʌt ne ʿrimi* breaking his heart (perhaps: his heart breaking) he died. 152.1, 154.9. (Cp. Sh. *čhʌʃ thoʿrki* v.t. to pull and break, snap, pluck).

čhau, čaʿo *-*ʌtʌs* to milk, to draw milk. — *buʿa čau etʌs* to milk the cow. *eʿr mʌmu čaʿo čaʿo netʌn* milking (her sheep) for him. 286.2. *mai.imo tsiʿr čau aiyʿoʿtin* don't milk your goats. 322.3. *Diʿrʌmʌtiŋe tsir waʿlkots mʌmu čau.u no* the D. milking their goats for four days. 322.4. *čau.ʌŋe bi* it is a milch (cow), i.e. it is giving milk to its calf. (Cp. Sh. *čha.o*).

čauli male hawk (of species *baʿz*), Prs *jurra*.

che.i -mots x key, lock. — *qulpe čе.i* the key of the lock. 52.7. *qulptse čе.i*

oOo *wʌšim bim* the key was hung on, fixed in, the lock. 54.6. *čɛ.i donimi, hiŋ sɪka ɛtimi* he opened the lock, he opened the door. 54.6. *ɪtɛ hʌn bʌsi.ɛŋɛ čɛ.i ɛr atonin* don't open the lock of that one garden for him. 12.1. *čɛ·i d'wgom* (*atugum*) *bim* the lock was open (closed). 12.5. (Cp. Sh. *čhɛ·i*).

čɛ, čɛ.i cut, gash (made by axe); notch. — *ɪtɛ gʌŋi.ɛ čɛ.i hole moltʌn duɛsimi* blood issued from the cut made by the axe. 200.6.

čhɛ.imučhɛ.i in little bits, in pieces. — *čɛ.imučɛ.i gumʌnum* (or, *gumʌnʂ*) may you (fall down from the mountain and) become little bits! (women's curse). (*čh-* IYB).

-čɛ = *tsɛ (?)*. (Cp. *-či*). — *xʌbərčɛ apaiyʌm* I didn't know what was going on.

čečərum, v. *jʌčərum*, rough, coarse.

čɛhaŋ this form in Prov. 23 is due to a misuse of symbols in the vernacular Ms. The suggested emendation "*dʌntsɛ hʌŋ*" is correct, the meaning being "they gnaw or chew, (on) wood and stones."

čɛl v. *čʌl*.

čhɛmɪliŋ y sg. poison, poisonous.— *čɛ·miliŋ bi, bila, bitsa* it is poison(ous). *čɛmɪlinɛ pfitimots* poisonous bread. 182.19. *čɛ·mɪliŋə zaɛraɛtɛ dʌm dɛ·ɛtsimi* the potency of the poison made him gasp. 182.24. *gutsɛ širiɛjuɛyo oɛʂuɛin, ɛtsulo čɛmiliŋ bila* don't eat these mushrooms, there is poison in them. EOL. *gukɛ pfutɛ mʌltʌrʌŋ oɛʂin, gukɛ čɛmiliŋ bitsʌn* don't eat these mushrooms, they are poisonous. EOL. *γʌqʌy čɛmiliŋ jwɛ'ʌn* bitter like poison. EOL. 388.14.

-či = *tsi, tsɛ?* Cp. *-čɛ*. V. § 71.

čiʌn cast-iron. — *čiʌne čumaʌr* cast-iron. *čiʌne tiš* cast iron ploughshare. 000

(Perhaps referable to Prs. *čuʌdʌn* cast metal, through some dialect form. Is there any connection between thi word and *čidiʌn*?).

-čhiʌs* **-čhič-*, Impv. **-čhi-*, Ppa. *n*-čin*, St.pc. **-čhim*. Pn.pf. *ʌ-* and *jʌ-*, *gu-*, *i-*, *mu-*; *mi-*, *ma-*, *u-*; (occasionally *e-* for *i-*). To give (only of *y* sg. objects), v. § 231. d.

The Pn.pf. refers to the Indirect Object, the person to whom the thing is given, v. § 249.2. Forms: Fut. *γenɪšʌn gučičʌm* I shall give thee gold (*y* sg.), but: *guke γenʌŋ moγun* give her this gold (*y* pl.) from (**-ʌγunʌs*). *čʌp akuʌčičʌm* I won't give thee the meat. 104.7. *gute (kɪtaʌp)* . . . . *æčičumà* will you give me this (book)? 70.1. *ruxsʌt gučiči* he will give thee leave. 20.12. *tsil bɛlʌte ʌčičo* how will she give me water? 50.22. *haʌn* . . . *ičiʌčen* let us give him a house. 114.11.

Pres. *ja diš bila, ʌmačiča ba* it is my place, I am not going to give it to you. 112.20. *bušai.i ʌčiča ke* if you give me land. 114.19. *ruxsʌt ayæčičai.i* he doesn't give me leave. *bər ičičai.i, ečičai.i* he gives him his word, he does not give him his word. 298.7, 8.

Imperf. *dəroγo dušmaiyo cʌsqʌnʌsər mʌdʌd ičiči bim* the stick used to (would) give him help in killing (his) enemies. 28.19.

The following forms have all been recorded with *y* sg. objects.

Pret. *gučiʌm* I gave, have given, to you. 8.5, 58.23, 112.7. *učiʌm* I

gave to them. 92.25. *ačima* you gave, have given, to me. 20.22, 60.1, 112.3. *ičimi* he gave to him. 66.16, 98.8, 112.2. *ičimo* she gave to him. 68.1. *učimi* he gave to them. 68.6, 110.25. *ečimi* he did not give to him. 110.25. *očimi* he did not give to them. 114.8. *auučimi* (ditto). 112.17. *učimʌn* they gave to them.

Perf. *ači baiʼi* he has given to me.

Plup. *iči bʌm* he had given to him. 112.22, 344.10, 346.5. *muči bʌm* he had given to her. 70.3.

Imperv. *(jaʼr) ači* give thou to me. 22.7, 366.3. *gʌš kʌm aiyʼači* don't give me too small a price for this. 58.23. *iči* give to him. 114.13. *muči* give to her. 108.21. *ačin* give ye to me. 344.21.

The form *jʌči* give thou to me has been twice recorded. 60.20, 62.4. V. § 255. Cp. N. *dʌčiryʌs.*

-ǵ form. *ja hukum akuʼčiǵ xa akolum oʼni* don't go from here till I give you permission (so long as I don't give you permission). *jaʼr juwaʼb ačiǵ gomeʼibaʔ* can you give me an answer?

Past Pc. Act. *ničin* having given to him. 380.4. *nučin* having given to them. 32.11, 66.17.

Static Pc. (Act. and Pass.), (*-čhim). *thʌmi rʌxsʌt ačimər niyʌm* when the Tham had given me leave I went off. *ji ačim dʌmʌn* the Lord who has given me life. *ji ičim uyon* all life-given things. *taʼlim ičim baiʼi* he has been educated, he is educated. Cp. 60.7, 342,14, 344.2. *ji mičim dʌmʌn* the Lord who has given us life.

OOO Infin. *iči.ʌs; mičiyʌs; uči.ʌs, učiʌs.* 342.4, 20.

As Abstract Nouns are all, or mostly, y sg., *-či.ʌs* comes naturally to be used in a number of more or less metaphorical expressions, e.g. *juwa·b* *-či.ʌs to answer. *xʌbər* — to inform. *xʌbər miči.ʌs*, (or, *učiʌs* etc.) *sis* an informant. *ruxsʌt* *-či.ʌs — to give leave (of absence). *ta·lim* — to instruct, educate. *hukəm* — to give permission. *dəro* — to be useful, serviceable. *tʌklif* — v.t. to trouble, worry. *madʌd* — to help. (*ch-* IYB, Gh. Kh.).

čidi·n, čɪdi·n, pl. *čidi·yo* (x) — metal cooking-pot (of Kashgari or Indian origin). 308.3. (Cp. Sh. and Kho. *čɪdin, čidin*; Ishk. *čudʌn*).

čiji·ŋ, čiri·ŋ bare (of ground naturally bare or grazed bare). — *čau čiriŋ* quite bare (of ground). *čiji·ŋ* (or, *čiri·ŋ*) *-ʌs dəlimi* he threw him down on the ground. IYB. *čɪdrŋ dzi* a smooth place. EOL.

čik m. to spring up, sprout (from ground). — *ɪzqʌm čik manimi* grass has sprung up.

čika, IYB "sour curds drained in a bag", H. *dʌhi*.

čikʌn pl. *čikai.iŋ* y embroidery (pattern).

1. *či·ki* —? — *či·ki nimi* (or, *manimi*) (the ball) went out (at polo). (Probably a variant of *tsi·k*).

2. *čiki* y musk. — *či·ki mujuv* the musk weeping-willow. 18.9. *ja jimo čikiʌ yoyʌŋ* my beloved's musk (scented) tresses. 364.9. (Kho. *čikhi mʌdhuv*. In Sh. *či·ki* = small; *chi·ki* = "sweet-scented plant like saffron").

čilʌm, čilim, -uts, -iso x tobacco-pipe. — *čilʌm minaʌm* I shall smoke a pipe. *čilʌm tʌskaʌs* to smoke a pipe. Prs.

000 ʿHamčí x basin (European). Pre. II.

čili — ? — *čili ḃrdeḃ*, a very small bead. EOL. (Cp. Sh. *čili*, juniper).

436 *čilə-ki*, *čəlki*, *-mots* x obsolete coin (formerly worth 8 annas). — *jəle čəlikiəm api* I have no money, "I haven't a penny". (Cp. Punjabi *čilki*, "A kind of Nanak Shahi rupee . . . a kind of rupee worth ten annas current in the Jammu and Kashmir State". Bhai Maya Singh).

000 *čilwidəra* pipe-bearer to the King. 20.4, 26.7. Pre.

čimi-li, *čimili*, *-miq*, *y* chip, splinter. — *mənəs čim'ili.eq gujpi ḃs* . . . if the splinters strike anyone (or perhaps for *čimili'en* as in 172.8). 172.1.

čhiw, pl. *čhiyo*, N. *čiw*, x bird. — — *čiw dorlas* to shoot (small) birds.

činta active. — *činta ḃirak* an active man.

čipuphaj -iq y whirlwind.

čiq'ir -ste white-eyed (i.e. with whitish pupil, of horses only).

(Cp. Khe *čiyor*, *čiqor*; *čiyori*, light-eyed, "if there is too much white beside the black of the eye that is called *čiyor*". - ŠY. Wakhi, *čakir*, "light-coloured of eyes", Shaw).

čir stas to spin. — *gančəli čir stas* to spin. (Cp. Sh. *čirčir* th., to twirl spindle in the fingers).

čiraqnama. — *azəma čiraqnama yatai boli* the mullah reads, recites the "*čiraqnama*" (a prayer (*du'a*) used when three days have elapsed after a funeral). 314.2. Pre.

354 765 *čiraq*, *čir'ak*, *čiraq*, *čirar*, *-ste*, *-ots* x lamp, small stone container with floating wick. — *haloqdaas čiraq* stone lamp. *ḃumare čiraq* iron lamp, lantern. *čir'ak aspalas* to light a

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[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

lamp. Cp. 314.2. *čɪrʌk ɪstayʌs* to put out a lamp. *iskikots mʌnuʼmər čɪrrʌʼgs huyʼɪs kʌš sčʼan* at the end of three days they slaughter the "goat (sheep) of the lamp". 312.20. *iskikutsɪ čɪrrʌʼy ɪspʌluman* they lighted the "three days" lamp(s). 244.21. 354 765

This refers to the lighting of lamps three days after a funeral, after which a mullah reads the Quran, or prayers, until the lamps are burnt out. After this the people have a feast consisting of 12 seers of pounded wheat with salt and butter added and mutton.

Before the sheep is killed its legs are washed and collyrium is put round its eyes. Prs.

čɪrbɪʼt -ʂo a kind of plant(?). ooo

čɪrbɪʼt -ʂo x snipe.

čɪrɪʼŋ v. *čɪdɪŋ*.

čɪrɪʼpo, -muts x scrap of cloth. — *čɪrɪʼpo ɪsu* take a scrap of cloth, i.e. a sample. (Cp. Sh. *čɪrɪpi* shred of cloth, small rag).

čɪʼvo, -muts x top (child's toy). — *čɪʼvo ɣʼor ɪtʌs* to spin a top.

čɪʂ, -ko x mountain, hill. — *čɪʂko čɪʼvko bɪvn* the mountains are lofty. *čɪʂeʂ duʼsɪmi* he climbed up the mountain. *čɪʂtsum yʌʼs sokɪmi* he came down from, descended, the mountain. *čʌt čɪʂ* a low hill. *ʃot čɪʂ* a small hill. *čʌtoʼŋo, ʃoʼtʂo čɪʂko* low, small hills, hillocks. 156.3, 176.12, 180.8, 212.8, 260.4. (Cp. Sh. *čhīʼɣ*, GB *čhīʼɣ*).

čhɪʂ -ko x.

1. Ladder (including log with footnicheс cut in it). — *čɪʂs ʂu sokečʌm* I'll go down the ladder. 184.7.

2. Bier, stretcher for carrying dead body on. — *čiʒʌtɛ gutʌs ny'uwɛšin* placing the body on the bier. 310.9—18. (Cp. Sh. *čič* ladder, GB *čhɪč*), OOO

čiʒikərk, -išo, very yellow. (Cp. *ʒikərk*).

čhiʒkinʌs, čhiʒki- to complain against, bring an accusation against. - *uwər čiški.ʌm* I shall make an accusation against them.

čiʒtərʌs, pl. *čiʒtərʌšo*, x swallow.

čiʒ(ə)riʒ, pl. *čiʒər'iʒšo*, x upflying spark of fire. — *čiʒəriʒ mʌnɛ* be very quick, run, gallop quickly.

čhito separate, apart, alone. — *čito *-ʌtʌs* v.t. to separate. *čito čito oʒti* separate them (persons quarrelling). *čito mʌnaʒs* v.i. to separate, go apart. *čito horwtai.i* he has sat, settled, down alone. *čito horwtʌs* a recluse. *čito bai.i* he is alone. *čito bʌmʌtɛ goʒr eča ba* on our being by ourselves, in private, I shall tell you. 84.18. (Cp. Sh. GB. *čhɪto*)

čiʒu čiʒu ɛtʌs to chirp, to cheep (of bird). (Cp. *šyu šyu* whistling).

čiʒu čiʒu ɛtʌs to squeak (of rat or mouse).

čiʒ -išo, -iŋ x and y thing. — *ʌjʌb čiʒʌn bi* it is an extraordinary thing. Prs.

čho ɛtʌs to make gallop. — *hʌʒur čo ɛti* make the horse gallop. Cp. 158.22, 386.17. (Cp. Sh. *čo*).

čoʒdo -miŋ y taunt, contumely, showing up s.t. reprehensible on s.o.'s part, sarcasm(?) H. *ta'na, burai 'kɛ ʒa'hɪr karna. — jaʒr čoʒdo ʌčimi* he taunted me. *thʌmɛ Širi BʌdʌtƏr čoʒdo ničin* the Tham taking Sh. B. to task(?). 380.4. *čoʒdo(ʌtɛ) pušoʒro*, one taunt upon another (*pušoʒro* has no specific meaning). (Cp. Sh. *čoʒdo*).

čoʒdogaʒro one who disgraces himself, scapegrace, ne'er-do-weel.

000 *čo·k* recently, lately, just, H. *ʌbhi ʌbhi*. — *čo·k dimʌnum hiles* a boy who has just, very lately, been born.

čok(o) upright(?) in *čok(o) khʌpʌn* a kind of spoon also known as the *gu.i·ski khʌpʌn*, in which the handle rises up at an angle from the side of the bowl. (Probably identical with *čo·ko*).

čo·ko perpendicular, upright, steep. — *gʌn čʌm čo·ko bila* the path is very steep. *bʌl čo·ko bila* the wall is perpendicular. (*č-* IYB. Cp. Sh. *čo·ko*, upright, vertical, *čo·k(u)*, straight; GB. *čoke.i* ascent. Kho. *čo·k-tu*, upwards, uphill, steep. Badakhshi Prs. *čuk*, upright, steep).

čo·ko ča·ko, quite crippled, paralysed, H. *lʌŋgra lu·lu*. — *i·n čo·ko ča·ko imʌnʌm* he had become paralysed. 214.9.

*-*čho·qurʌŋ* y pl. hair cut in a fringe on forehead, forelock. — *ičo·kurʌŋ* (a boy's) fringe. *mučo·kurʌŋ* (a girl's) fringe. *bušo·šo.ε ičo·kurʌŋ* the calf's forelock. 104.23. *hʌγurε ičho·qurʌŋ* a horse's forelock.

343 789 *čokuṭi, -mutε* x hut, shelter; hole dug beside the threshing-floor in which the grain used to be stored for three or four days. It was covered over with cloths etc. so that it might not be seen by people, for fear that it might be lessened by the evil eye.

000 *čokuṭo* hut, shelter.

*-*čhonjuš*, pl. *-*čhonji.ʌŋ*, y beak, bill. — *ičhonjuš, učhonji.ʌŋ*; N. *ičunjuš, učunjuyæŋ* its beak, their beaks. (Cp. H. *čōč*).

čop -utε x small heap (of cut corn, grain or flour); heap of earth on which the mark (*giri*) is fixed for shooting at with bow and arrow from horseback. 316.6.

čopuri, čopəri x caper-plant. — *čopurε ʌskuriŋ* the flowers of the caper plant.

000 *čopuri* x sg. and pl., double pl. *-muts*. caper-seed (used in cooking and in the preparation of a cosmetic).

čoṭ x blow, stroke. — *hik čotʌn yuʿyʌm* I gave him, it (e.g. polo-ball) a blow; I struck him, it. (Cp. Sh. *čoṭ*, *čuṭ* blow; H. *čoṭ*).

1. *čhoṭ* y a heap of . . .; x a large quantity of, a large stock of.
2. *čhoṭ* heaped up, piled up, collected in large quantity or numbers. — *phʌlo, tik, čot bitsa* the grain, earth, is heaped up, there is a heap of . . . *daiyo čot bi.ɛ* there is a heap of stones. *sis čot bavn* people are assembled, crowded together (?), there is a crowd of people. (Cp. Sh. *čot*, *čut* heap, pile, assembled, GB *choṭ* heap).
3. *čhoṭ* spilt. — *gʌž ʌto čoʿt bi.ɛn* the matches are spilt (?) (they were lying loose in a heap). *amulo čot ɛta* you have spilt (*or*, dropped) it (the food) somewhere. 210.1.

   (In the first example *čoʿt* may be 2. *čhoṭ*).
4. *čhoṭ* broken into bits. — *baiyu čhoṭ imʌnimi* the (rock) salt has broken into bits. *čʌma tʌq čhoṭ imʌnimi* the brooch was broken into little bits. 164.17.

čoʿṭʌl -iŋ y.

1. Rhubarb. (Is mixed with tobacco to make it "softer"). N. *čoʿtʌl* x pl. rhubarb.
2. Flower-bearing (?) stalks of rhubarb used to make musical pipes. — *čoṭʌlɛ gʌbʌnts* pipes of rhubarb stalks. 378.15. *usko čoṭʌl* (x) *duwaša bim* three rhubarb stalks had come up. 378.17. (Cp. Sh. *čōʿtʌl* rhubarb).

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čoʸyo -mots x testicle. 000

1. *čhu*, pl. *čhoŋgo*, y.

a. Ear (of corn), bunch (of grapes), head (of polo stick). — *γe.iŋe ču* a bunch of (grapes), head (of polo stick). *mʌtele ču duʷsimi* the corn came up with black ears (the literal meaning is uncertain). 240.18, 242.4.

b. Blade of knife.

2. *čhu, čho* barefoot.

čhučhuṭ dripping. — *iʸtsimo teil čučut mai.i bila* water is dripping from them (y pl.). 130.20.

(Probably a reduplication of *chuṭ*. This type of reduplication is common in Shina).

čuʷgudər, čuʷγudər x (sg. and pl.), peach (fruit). y *-iŋ*, peach tree.

čuʷk'-miŋ y sewing, embroidery. — *yʌfe čuʷk* embroidery. *čuʷk duwaʷesimi* the sewing (has) remained over, i.e. is not finished. *čuʷke lʌkpiʷe, faʷrtsin* an embroidered handkerchief, cap. *čuʷk etʌs* to sew, mend by sewing, embroider. *pʌči čuʷk etobo* she has sewn the cotton (cloth). *qrsumʌn čuʷk etʌs* to mend (sew) a torn (garment). *yʌfe čuʷk etom šoqa, pfartsin* an embroidered choga, cap. (Cp. Sh. *čuk doʷrki* to embroider).

čuk v. *čuq*.

čhukečhu quite barefoot. (Cp. 2. *čhu*).

čhukus, pl. *čhukušo*, x.

1. Bow-string. — *žʌme čukus* bow-string. *tərmuke čukus* string of pellet-bow.

2. Beam laid along the top of the wall of a house to support the ends of the rafters.

čhul, erroneous form in: *čhul meʷše tʌm delji*. Prov. 16.[1] The correct reading is either *tsulmərij* or *tsilmai.iʸ*

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[1] [see corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000

čhəmaʿr, čhumər, -iŋ y.

1. Iron. — *čəmaʿrɛ ši* iron trivet. *čiʿanɛ čumaʿr* cast-iron. *čəmʌr lukʌn ʌči* give me a little iron. 172.17.
2. Gen., of iron, iron- (adj.) — *idim uyon čumʌrɛ meʿimtsɛ* his whole body would have become iron. 110.8. Cp. 144.19, 190,8, 196.13, 382.6. *čumaʿrə baiʿi* he is hard-hearted, or steadfast.
3. *čumaʿrɛ, čumʌr, -ɛšo* x frying-pan. — *aʿlta čhumʌ'rišo bi.ɛn* there are two frying-pans.

N. *čuʿmər, čiʿmər;* steel.

(*chumər* IYB, Gh. Kh. Cp. Sh. *čiʿmɛr*, Kho. *čumər, čəmuʿr*. V. Morgenstierne Rep. 1926. p. 68 n.)

čhumərpa adj., of iron, ironware. — *čumərpa dustsʌk* ironware, domestic utensils. 308.5.

čhumo x sg. and pl., double pl. *-muts* fish. 108.14. (*čhuʿmo* IYB. Cp. Sh. *čhimo, čhumo*).

čəmuʿso pl. *čəmuʿsəmuts*. 1. the grub that eats woollen materials. 2. the fish-insect.

čəmuṭkɛr hf. young woman. — *hin čəmuṭkɛr gusʌn ja.o* give me a young wife. EOL. (Cp. Sh. *čumuhkiər*(?), GB. *čəmʌṭkɛr;* Kho. *čumuṭkeʿr*).

čuʿna x cement, plaster. H.

1. *čup, čup,* silent; silence. — *čup °ʌtʌs* to make silent, to silence. *čup oʿtʌm* I silenced them. 42.20. *raʿčʌkuʿyuʿ herʌs čup ʌtumʌn* the guardians silenced their weeping, i.e. ceased weeping. 42.13. *čup ʌtʌs* to make silence, i.e. be silent. EOL. *bese čup nɛ tsuča ba* why am I to take it away silently, quietly? 62.17. *čup nɛ nukom* you going silently. 72.23.

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[see corrigenda et addenda category 1.6, p. 542 - Analysis]

000 *yʌtis ay'eʌkərtsiǰ xa čup ɛtʌs ap'i* until one cuts off its head there will be no silence, *or*, it will not be silent, *or*, there will be no silencing it. 56.3. *čup mʌnaʷs* to be silent. *kot bər čup mʌnaʷs ap'i* this affair will not remain silent, i.e. secret. 56.5. (Cp. Sh. *čup thoʷrki*, or *boʷrki* to be silent. H. *čup*).

2. *čup, čop*, in *čup dɛlʌs, čup gaʷrtsʌs* to jump down. 174.16.

3. *čuʷp* in *baʷša čuʷp*, male *baʷša* (a kind of yellow-eyed hawk). (Cp. Kho. *baʷša čop*, male *baʷša*).

1. *čuq, -iŋ* y sieve (obsol.); a measure of grain, approximately 24 lbs. — *hičuq* one "čuq", 24 lbs. *alto, iʷski, tsindi, tʌlɛ, torim čuq* 2, 3, 5, 7, 10 "čuq". *iʷskičuk bʌy . . . nikin* pouring in 3 "čuq" of millet. 266.15. Cp. 262.4. *aʷlto tʌlɛčuqiŋ* two *7-čuq* = *100 yərbaʷl* = 336 lbs. 300.2. *torim čuqʌn gur iγ'unimi* he gave him 10 "čuq" of wheat (240 lbs.). 60.17. Cp. 338.12, 342.7,12.

2. *čuq* kind, sort, manner. — *ja čuqɛ hirʌn bai.i. wʌgɛ čuqɛ hirʌn bai.i. bɛčuq? šuʷa dəkoʷma?* (Cp. *bečuk* (*bečuq*) and Sh. *čok*).

čuqus v. *čukus*.

čhur, čhur -ʌnts, N. pl. *-aʷints*, x knife. — *tuʷn čuʷrʌn jo* give me another knife. *dodoʌʃɛ čur isərkimi*, he applied the knife to his throat. 42.3. *in ki čuʷr aiy'eʌkərtsimi* him too the knife did not cut. 42.8. (Cp. Sh. *čuʷr*, small knife. H. *čhur, čhuraʷ, čhuriʷ*).

čuʷra, čur'a, -mots, -ints x wicker panier (which holds one maund of broken straw).

čh'urkʌs, pl. *čhurk'ʌso*, x vessel made of pumpkin for holding milk. 322.4.

000 *čoruk -ilo, -ićiŋ* x & y piece, bit, fragment (of iron, bread, wood etc.) x or y according to category of the substance. — *čorukan, čorukilo, ŋapik* a piece, pieces, of bread.

*čoruk, čoruk, *-ʌtʌs* to cut, trim, cut off. — *γuγʌŋ čoruk stʌs* to cut, trim (a man's) hair.

The Pn.pf. may refer to the Direct Object, *ja amsi čoruk 'stʌm* I have bitten my finger (does not appear to mean "bitten off"). 138.11. *ownimets čoruk ɔtomʌn* they bit their fingers. 138.10. Or it may refer to the Indirect Object, *mumupuś čoruk m'ovočor pasom imʌnomi* he hesitated to cut off her nose (for her). 176.18. *momoo čoruk mɔγɔći* he will cut out your tongue(s) for you. 328.1. (Cp. Sh. *čoru, čoru thɔrki*).

*čoruf *-ʌtʌs* to bite, sting (of insect, mosquito, flea, ant etc.), to pinch. — *kine čoruf goći* the flea will bite thee. *kirdo čoruf mɔtimi ku* when (if) the mosquito bit us. *kirdo čoruf mɔtʌstsom dimuγʌćila* owing to the mosquito's biting us it itches us (i.e. we feel an itch). (Cp. Sh. *čoruf thɔrki*, GB. *čoruf*).

čust, čuwt big, growing up (of a child). Bu. syn. *mondʌŋ*. — *čuwt imʌnimi* (the child) grew bigger. 242.20. (Cp.? Kho. *čusi*, beautiful, handsome, Pra. *čust*, active, strong).

čuwj stʌs to suck mother's milk (of child, etc.).

*čuwj *-ʌwʌtʌs* to make suck, suckle. — *čuwj swʌtʌs* to suckle (male infant, young animal). *čuwj mɔwɔćobo* she suckles it (female infant). *wɔmis mʌmu čuwj so 'wʌtʌmo* their mother, making them suck her milk (i.e.

suckling them) reared them. 110.14. *guse ačas čuł 'ɔtəmo* she suckled the lamb. 72.25. (Cp. Sh. *čuf thorzhi*). ooo

čhurši y sg. and pl.; *-miq* double pl. raw silk. — *čuṡiṡ* γalγu silkworm. *čuṡiṡ puṡuru* (or, *puṡumoro*) silk cocoon. 176.24. *čuṡiṡ las* remains of cocoon after the silk has been taken off. (Cp. Sh. *čhurši*).

čhuf, *čhufo* (recorded in the forms *čufan*, *čufan*, *čufumaan*) a small quantity of a liquid; a few drops; a drop of ... — *čufan tsil* a little water (for irrigation). 350.2. *čufan čuł šilamulo* a little water in a cup. 304.2.3. *čufan dal* a few drops of oil. 320.5. *ha.i čufan* a little soup. EOL. *čufumaan* a drop (of rain). 106.19. *čurd ga, mamu čhuf* "cat take it! (There's) a drop of milk (for you"). This is said when one wants to attract a cat or child. (Cp. 2. *čhof*).

čuf *-*atas* to pluck, pick, pull (flowers, fruit); to snap, break off (thread etc.). (The "small word" corresponding to *čaf atas*).

čutikaj slanderer, backbiter, malicious.

čhofkus, pl. *-kuṡo*, a basket (in which salt-impregnated earth is placed. Water is then poured over it which drains out bringing with it the salt in solution).

čufo v. *čhuf*.

čhumukhal IYB.

1. Women's menses.
2. Mourning in the house of deceased person.

čyu' čiru ataa to speak with a small cheeping voice like a bird. — *čyu' čiru buf ai.ali* don't go on cheeping away! (Cp. *čiru čiru*).

čyu·čyu· a game (12 a side; hide in the dark and put hand on a stone). 524

D and D.

d- becomes *-t-* when preceded by the negative prefix *a-*, or by the causative prefix **-ʌs*. 000

d-* denotes *d-* followed by the simple forms of the pronoun prefixes: *gu- i-* etc.

d-ʌ-* denotes *d-* followed by the altered forms of the pronoun prefixes: *go- e-* etc.

Vide §§ 257, 302 & 308.

da This particle is one of the hardest-worked words in the language. It has many shades of meaning which pass into each other, and in any given case the precise meaning is often difficult to determine.

The following scheme of meanings is offered only as a rough guide:

1. Again. — *i·ne da i·te du·ro stimi* he did that thing again. *yʌf gunts: Š. B. da sailər du·simi* the next day Sh. B. again went out for a stroll. 12.4. *da tsor jale ju* come to me again soon. 24.8, 24.13, 26.10, 38.21, 40.9, 42.4, 102.11,22, 108.13,25, 148.11.
2. Then, and then. — *guks pfu·or gi, da je hazir maiya·m* throw this (hair) in the fire, and then I shall appear. 22.10. *senimi . . . . Da mahrʌmər hukəm stimi . . . .* he said ". . . . ." and then he gave orders to his servant . . 44.25. *hik (gunts) bʌs(k) horu·təma ks, da gu.i·rča* if you remain one day more (than 40), then you will die. 50.16. Cp. 8.17, 10.6, 20.17, 26.13, 32.5, 44.19, 118.14, 140.8, 302.4.

000 3. Further, in addition, moreover, and also, and. — *ɨme lɨv ke ɨme gua da uv jotomoh* . . . . . *dakuwum.an* they brought in the man and his wife and also their children. 96.10. *ɨnumale mujoy ḫurum bila, da ṭaḫila au ḫalilum* the tassel of its tail is white, and further it had fallen (i.e. it is hanging) down over its face. 188.12. Cp. 4.18, 20.4,9, 22,17, 24.7, 26.11, 28.9, 34.10, 34.12, 36.18, 42.20, 44.1, 116.5,13, 124.20, 128.18, 130.4, 136.3—7, 238.6,10.

4. Special cases of 1 and 2 may give equivalents of "more" and "else". — *da jo* give me again, i.e. give me more. *da ke ɣaḫil ɨu* bring still more wood (or once more). (TUB, H. *aur ḫāl*). *de lotan* something else. *da mumun ɨfɨmi.n?* has no one else come?

601 *dardo* -*tawo*, N. -*mute*.

1. Grandfather. — *ja.ime dardo* my paternal grandfather. *ɨṭpuṭu dardo* my maternal grandfather. *dardo je kaḫ ɨta ke* I have slain father's father. 266.9. Cp. 182.2.

2. Used of any old man. (Cp. Sh. *dardo* and H. *dardā*. A foreign equivalent of *-ayī*).

000 *dakluwum*, *dakluwum.an* as much as this, this much. — *čayu dakuwum bila* the story is this much, this is all the story. 216.7, 220.10, 224.20, 272.16, 290.11, 288.5. *dakuwum.an*, 308.6. (-*ki*- presumably as in *akkuwum*. *da* + *akkuwum*).

dari up (cp. *dal*). — *dari ɨtas* to take up, raise, remove, H. *uṭhānā*. 70.11. *tili.aŋ dari ɨti* take off the saddle. *ḫaf dari ɨtas* to remove the skin, to

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000 skin, fur. *mugurvaki mugzhki dori ne* raising her lower and upper bedding. 118.5. *dori manare* to get up, stand up, rise up. *dori mane* get up! *dori manan ere ottini* standing up, he stated. 88.6. *dori manimi* "he has removed", said of a person who has died of disease (i.e. not by a violent death?). IUB *dori manare* 1. to get up. 2. to fall in love. H. *'ordy horua*. IUB *dori!* get up! H. *ojhe*. Pra. *horuiro*.

ḍamal, ḍamai sg. and pl., also pl. *-do*, s.
1. Small drum (used in pairs), kettledrum. — *ḍamal bi, bi.an. damale ryuran* to play, beat, the kettledrum.
2. Testicle. Pra. *zorya* (a polite substitute for *ḍorya*, used in answering a question by a child in public). (Cp. Sh. *ḍamal*.) [1]

ḍamalii -mute, hm drummer (for small drum).

darua wine. Pra.

day gallows. — *daruje dioveas* to hang (a person). Pra.

ḍahal -ko n a "double Čilrai", i.e. a rupee; money. Punj. Eng.

ḍabi -mute n small box. — *gajati dabi* match box. (Cp. Sh. Khe. *ḍabi*, Punj. *ḍabbi*).

d°-ottanas d°-ottó- to be in need of, have need of, require. H. *mujhej horua*. — *wg gugurv je bazaur ot'otana ba* I have been in need of nothing from you. 76.5. *je parikorio bazaur ot'otana ba* I have required nothing of the King. 76.5.

(The exact literal meaning is rather doubtful).

1st Fut. *dottaiyam*.

3rd sg. hm Pres. *dotaii hoii*.

dinotanaur for our future needs(?).

104 b

[1] [See corrigenda et addenda, category 11b, p. 642 - Analyst]

000

d-ataqarat* to make fork, to separate. Ca. *ut d*-taqarat*. Cp. *d'ataqer*.

datiyat N., *datit* to give to me. — *datitobuli* he gives to me. *datirni* he gave to me. Impv. *dati*, pl. *datin* give me.

(From *-ti.a. Cp. Ha. *jati* give to me. Either *da* = *ja*, or *d*-ti.a* with pronom infix 1st. sg.

dadal atat to drag along, pull along. IUB H. *ghasiṭna*. — *gfash dadal atat* bila it is necessary to harrow.

dafaq -ate x big drum. — *dafaq kerip* so making them play on big drums. 363.16. (*dafaq* IYB. Otherwise I have recorded it as *dafaq*, or *dwaq*. Cp. Sh. *dafaq*).

dafaqN hm big-drummer.

dader 'mazare to tremble, shake, shiver, H. *Lerza karna, kampna*. — *irig dader mali bila* his head shakes. *yatin dader malibi* his head shakes (as from palsy). *dader* IUB. Cp. Sh. *dader*).

dafer x pl., double plural -dafe, -do. Loose stones (up to 3 or 4 lbs. each) in quantity, scree, talus. (Cp. Sh. *dafer*).

daferkat stony (in sense of having *dafer*). — *daferkat dat* a stony place.

d-aelat* v. *d*-agalat*.

daf -ite, x tambourine. Pra.

dafa. — *dafa mazare* v.i. to clear out, go off. *dafa nawa ni* clear out and be off! 140.15. Az. Pra.

d-agawat*, (*d*-atagawat*, v. *d'ogawat*.

d-agawat*, (*d*-atagawat* *d*-agak*, Impv. *d*-agua*. Pya. *d*-agua*. With Pa. infix. *dawag*, *dakawag*, *dawag*, *dawawg*; —, —, *dawg*.

1. To pull out, extract, draw out, etc. ooo
The pa.inf. refers to the person or thing from which the direct object is extracted etc.
ćśin ke asumots dووgus having extracted its liver and kidneys. 74.4. *ćmmo jinoćig dممممyos* pulling out her sleeves (for her). 146.16. *ja koyi gun dووgus* take hold of my boot and pull it off (for me). *ćto dźior . . . nipćممqin ja ممممu tinjo dووgustممم* having dug in that place I shall extract (from it) my father's bones. 80.22. Cp. 150.20—22, 70.21, 78.26.

2. To reveal, bring to light, H. *nźkalممممu* (= to cause to come out?) — *ker, fere, dووgusimi* he revealed the affair, the conspiracy. *ja ممممy yiki dukووgustممم* I'll reveal your (act of) theft. *gute yiki alووgus* don't reveal this theft of mine. 62.19.

3. To cause to extract, to cause to take off, to cause to construct (a water channel). H. *nikalممممu*. — *gotsilممم dووgoir dووgusimi* he had the people seized in order to make them construct a water channel. 276.3. *Basoq Gairi e dووgusممم gutsil* the water-channel constructed by B. G., which B. G. had made (them) construct, had had constructed. 278.4. (V. § 236. b.). Cp. 862.16—21.

d°-ممممممم, d°-ممممم v.t. to grudge, stint.
Only recorded in the form of the neg. Static Participle Passive.
ممممممم ممممممم *ممممممم* he gives them food without stint. 368.2.

ممممممم, pl. x and y *ممممممم*.
Large in circumference, thick (of

105b

000 post, stick, thread); robust, stout, fat (of man).

dʌɣanum sil a thick needle. *ʂɔr dʌɣanumʌn bi* the thread is a thick one. *tɔr dʌɣanum(ʌn) bai.i* he is a very stout man. *tɔr dʌɣanum(ʌn) bi* it is a very robust (horse). *dʌɣai.rkurik* stout people. *yutis dʌɣanumʌn bai.i* he is a big-headed man. 158.20.

dᵉ-ʼʌɣʌrusʌs dᵉ-ʌɣʌrus̄. Pn.inf + ɣ, sg. 2nd. *dok'oɣ-*. 3rd. *doɣ-*, *dom'oɣ-*. pl. 3rd. *doɣ-*.

Variants: *-ɣor-* ‖ *-ɣʌr-*. 3rd. sg. pret. *-umi* ‖ *imi*.

1. To question, ask s.o. Pn.inf. refers to the person interrogated.

The occurrence of this verb with the variable pronoun infix is comparatively rare. Usually we find it in a generalised invariable form, *duɣʌrusʌs* q.v., or *doɣʌrusʌs*.

With this invariable form the person questioned is frequently expressed and is put in the ablative, or occasionally dative case.

With *dᵉ-ʌɣʌrusʌs* the person questioned is usually expressed only in the Pn. infix. In one of two instances in which it is expressed it is in the uninflected nominative or accusative form; in the other it has an *-e* suffix, but there are grounds for questioning the correctness of this *-e*.

It is probable that with *dᵉ-ʌɣʌrusʌs* the person questioned should always, when expressed, be in the uninflected form.

je wɣ dok'oɣ'urʌsʌsur daiyu ba I have come to ask you. 40.16. *thamu wʌcir ha ʌkurbirtiŋ(e) ha doɣʌrusʌi.i* the Tham asks of the

000 Wazir and Elders. 326.5. *wazire dəmʼəγərukai.i* the Wazir asks her. 138.17. Cp. 146.24. *d'eγərusəmo*: "*wə amelo guča bam?*" she asked him: "where had you slept?" 224.1. *d'itəuman, deγərəuman* (..., *deγərəuman*): ". . . *he.iba?* they fetched him and asked him: "Do you know. . . .?" 28.8.

2. To address, say to. Occasionally thus used to express an assertion, not a question.

Aba Kituγə deγərusəmi: "*le.i Pəγču, kuv wəγəγə babor . . . gu(ič)am*" A. K. said to him: "O P., I shall give you . . equal with all these others. 114.13. *deγərusimi*: "*wəγə bananir rai ečə ke ano, gov marbəwi ečam.*" he said to him: "Tell me what you would like and I will present it to you". 138.28. *podša Laγə Brəwno dəmaγərukai.i*: "*Kuer bəčkan bai.i ke ine čakale . . . čaγə eč*" The King said to L. B. "tell what sort of a person K. is (and) describe his appearance". 154.14. Cp. 30.13. (Cp. *duγərusə*).

.γaγaə d*-.γal- to laugh.

Fut. *deγalam* I shall laugh.
dokəγaləsə thou wilt laugh.
deγali he will laugh.

Pres. *deγale ba* I laugh. 210.18.

Impf. *dəγalam* they used to laugh. 116.1. Pres. 116.11.

Pret. *dəγaləimi* he laughed. 70.10. 3rd. sg. 70.14.
dəmaγaləimo, dəmaγaləəmo she laughed. 70,11. (Cp. γaləəw).

d*-.γaγaə d*-.γal.

Pa.inf. + γ. 1st. sg. *deγ-*, 1st. pl. *dimeγ-*. To itch.

The Pn.inf. refers to the sufferer and the verb is impersonal: it itches me. 000

daγačila, daγayimi I feel, felt, a sensation of itching. *kiṭo čoruṭ metaṭe* (QUB *metastsum*) *dimeγačila* owing to the mosquito(s) biting us we feel a sensation of itching.

daγai.as, daγayas; daγač-, daγaṭč-.
Impv. *day'a* neg. *ataγa*; pl. *daγai.in.*
Ppa. *not'aγan*, static pc. *daγam.*
V.i. to hide, take refuge.
Fut. sg. 1st. *daγačam* 2nd. *daγaṭčuma.*
Pret. sg. 1st. *daγaiyam.*
yai.iṇe kiṭe pa day'ami he hid on the near side of the mill. 204.5. Cp. 266.4. *uyaṭum notaγan huruṭimi* he sat hiding, taking refuge, from them. 262.18. *notaγan* hiding. 122.2,4,20. *not'aγan ɔniičam* I shall not go away secretly, by stealth. 32.1. (Cs. *-astaqayas*).

daγo, daγu, pl. *daγumiṇ, daγoṇ* y. gum (adhesive), glue, H. *sareś* IUB. Sh. *dok.* (Sometimes smeared on paper and put over broken ribs). 757

daγoaṇ, daγoaaṇ y pl. flour. — *daγoaṇ jačorum bitsa* the flour is coarse. *tsilumiṇ daγoaṇ* fine flour, H. *maida.* *daγoan pyuuan dosu* bring a little flour. 58.16. *daγoaaṇ ɔyum fal maiyaṭ taiyaṭ manisci* all the flour has come near to being finished. Cp. 298.9, 306.4,7,13, 338.19. 000

daγu daγu IUB game played by children with closed eyes, blindman's buff.

day'uṭi, unprepared, unfinished, raw, H. *kaca, aṭuṭ.* — *daγuṭi gap* raw hide. 130.6, 188.1. *daγu.i ṣor ši* it is untwisted thread, H. *kuca.*

d°-aγorkas d°-aγorš-
d°-aγoras d°-aγorč } v. §§ 219 & 222.

The second forms were given as shown but do not occur in the texts, in which the verb in any form occurs very seldom. OOD

To obtain, come into possession ; receive, find. Pn.inf. refers to the subject, v. § 249.4.

The long vowels of the Pn. Infix all tend to be dissyllabic.

Forms:

Fut. sg. 1. *daʷaγurčam, daʷaγurčam.*
2. *dukoʷγurčuma, dukoγurčuma.*
3. *deʷγurči, deiγurči.*
hf. *domoʷγuršo*, neg. *atomoγuršo.*

Pres. 1st. pl. *dimeiγurča bam.*

Pret. sg. 1. *daʷaγurkam, daʷaγuram.*
2. — *dukoγuruma.*
3. — *deiγurimi.*

N. Impv. *dukoγurk*, pl. *damaγurkin.*
dimeiγurkas our finding. *dimeiγurkas meibi* it is procurable for us, it is a thing we can obtain. *hoi amolo duk'oʷγuršama* (*-uma*) will you find, procure, vegetables somewhere? 62.29. *but hušti daʷaγurkam* I obtained much plunder. *goltačer bešan ataʷaγurkam* I found nothing to put on your feet. 156.20. Cp. 158.18. *deγurkimi* he found it. 384.1. *amolo ataγurkuman* nowhere did they find him. 10.5. *dimeiγurkuman* we (have) found, recovered, him. 370.16. n. *daʷaγurka ba* I have found, recovered, him. 368.15, 373.22. *dimeiγurkam* we have found, recovered, him. 374.16. (*-γuiγas* appears to be used as a synonym).

d-ʌiγas d*-ʌič* to make stand up, set up, erect.

With, Pn.inf. sg. 3rd. *deč*, pl. 3rd.

000 *dɔvi-*. N. sg. *dɔvi-*, *dukɔvi-*, *devi-*, *domɔvi-*. — *devičam* I shall set it up. *lsɔr Tɔrakutsan thame ... giraṣɔr d'ɔvičai.i* the Tham first makes one of the Tɔrakuts stand up to dance, puts him up to dance. 318.1. *haiyan d'ɔvičan* they set up the mark. 316.6. *hir yakalom hin, dasin muyakalom hin jaman sind'abal dɔvičan* they make stand up (put up?) as agents a relation from the side of the man and one from the side of the girl. 302.16. Cp. 336.12.

Other forms:

Pret. 3rd. sg. *dɔvimi*. 148.15. 3rd. pl. *dɔvimAn*.

Infin. *dɔyas*, *dɔyas*.

The adverbs *dal* and *tsal* may be used in conjunction with this verb: *dal doyas*, etc.

N. Pret. 3rd. sg. hm *tsal davimi*, *dukɔvimi*, *devimi*, *domɔvimi* he made me, thee, him, her stand up. (Ca. of *di.eyas*, to stand up, of which *di.e-* is invariable).

dak v. *daq*.

dak *-*atas* to drive (animals), follow up (tracks). — *bum dak atas* to drive the cow. *huyem dak ɔtas* to drive the goats. *tale nal hɔr dak no* driving along the seven yoke of oxen. 246.11. *utsɔng dak ne* following up(?) their tracks (y pl.). 246.22.

dakhil, *dakhil*, *dakhil* adv. like this, thus, so. — *gutse ja gane dakil mai.i bi.en* these (cliffs) are thus on my account, i.e. behave thus for my benefit(?). 156.4. *ik'ɔrenɔ dakil n'usen* saying thus to himself. 373.10. *dakil zailafe* in this manner. 210.2. *dakilafe* in this manner, thus.

108a

In the story-ending:
čʌγa dækilʌʃe bila the story is in this wise (as just narrated). 212.28. *čʌγa dakiˑlʌʃe ečaˑn* they tell the story thus (as narrated). 230.11, 254.3, 278.8. *dʌkiˑlʌʃe uˑiˑwʌsər* on their dying in this manner. 214.11.

(*da* + *ʌkhiˑl*. IYB *dʌkhiˑlʌʃe*, and in vernac. Ms. "*daˑ akhil*" which, however, does not represent the actual pronunciation of the vowels).

ḍʌko, -muts x wooden post supporting roof, pillar, tent-pole. — *saγ dʌqomutsʌŋ gut* a tent with 1000 poles. 88.4. *dʌkotsum haiγai.iŋ* tally kept by making notches on the roof-post. Cp. 92.6, 304.19, 328.9.

(Cp. Sh. *ḍʌko*, Kshm. *ḍʌkh* support, prop).

dʌxʌl interference. — *dʌxʌl ayʌti* don't interfere. Ar. Prs.

dʌl cp. *daˑl*, up, above, on upper side. — *dʌl diˑeγʌs* to stand up, v. *diˑeγʌs*. *dəriˑa dʌl ne gutsərimi ke* when the river flows uphill. 142.27. *Baltitʌ γʌʃe Hərəˑtuŋʌ dʌl Uˑltʌrər gan bilum* there was a road to Uˑltʌr up the Hərəˑtuŋ above Baltit. 256.2. *dʌl aˑpʌt kərwˑtimi* he sat beside me on the upper side, i.e. he sat above me. *mopʌta dʌl, mopʌtʌ dʌlər* beside her. 118.6. *guγum dʌl* up above you. 148.4. N. *dʌl* uphill. *dʌl ne* Eastwards (the trend of the valleys in Hunza proper and Nagir being downwards from East to West). Cp. 174.10.

(Probably only a variant of *daˑl*).

dʌla -muts x larger irrigation-channel (smaller channel being *gutsil*). (Cp. Sh. *dʌla*).

d°-alas, d°-ali.as, d°-alj-. 000

Only in the forms *delas, deli.as* } 99v.
dolas, doli.as }

There are also the Pa.pf. forms *°-delas, °-deli.as* to strike, hit, shoot, kill etc. (Is this possibly a *d°-* form of the verb *°-alas*).

dalbaf floating, in suspense, superficial; IUB II. *wpar, zrm, nayuzla — tsilefe dalbat amanam* I floated on the water. *dalbafsfum boram* an ordinary affair, an indifferent matter. H. *marmarli bert, dalbaf sfum gurltum.al ečin ke* if you listen inattentively. 98.11. *dalbat dumas* to catch (polo ball) in the air.

dal d.l "up, up" said to plough oxen to make them keep up to the horizontal line. ("Down" in the corresponding sense is *zaf*). [Cp. *dal*].

daldalum pl. x and y *-ljuko*, y *-lomig*; N. *-čilo* broad, wide, (of road, plank, back etc.) — *halgičig bert daldaljuko bitse* his (upper) back is very broad. 184.19.

daldalomkut y breadth, width.

daldi.am St. Pc. of *dal diryas*.

daldi.an Ppa. of *dal diryas*.

daldinas, daldirnas, daldi-, Ppa. *nutaldin* to sift, to strain(?), H. *čhanna*.

Fut. 1st. sg. *daldiram*.
Pret. 1st. sg. *daldirnam*.
Impf. 1st. sg. *daldi beryam*, IUB.
St. pc. *daldinum*, IUB.

d'ali upper. — *d'ali mut* upper end, top end (of room). 304.19. *eguntsum dali mut* above them all (in a room).

(Perhaps to be taken as one word *dalimut*).

d'ali, N. *-dag* y harrow. (Cp. Sh. *dale, dale*. The Hunza equivalent is *pf'ani*).

S. Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

dalo the zodiacal month of *Dalv* (Aquarius commencing in January). 208.1. Ar. Prs. ODO

dalt'anas, pl. *dalt'anaśo*, x hollow in a stone. — *dalt'anasvlo tsil bilum* there was (rain)water in a hollow in a stone. 268.11.

daltas pl. h x y *daltaśko*.

1. Good, fine (especially of appearance, health). IUB. H. *xuɔ̄b*, *'umda*, *xuɔ̄bɯrat*. — *daltas nas* a nice smell, pleasant perfume. *but daltas bai*, *bau* he is, they are, very handsome, good-looking. *but daltas bo* she is very pretty. *daltaśko suwatiŋ* beautiful faces. *ma daltaśko čayamiŋ stam* you had said excellent things. 176.10. *kuv gušiŋents daltaśkuvik* these are a handsome lot of women. *daltas dukoma? daltas ba?* have you come well? are you well, in good health? (said to new arrival). *kulto lskan daltas awana ba* today I am (have become) a little better. EOL. 138.22, 160.22, 162.20, 164,6. 210.9. 244.11, 358.6, 364.13.
2. Well. — *daltas osum bi* it is well-secured, put away *daltas kurusai.i*, *ficai.i*, *mi bai i* he sits (lives?) eats, drinks well. *i-mo dukan daltas tam ma* cleaning his shop well. 166.16.

daltaskuł y excellence, good health, beauty. — *ise čaya but daltaskuł bila* his is a very fine story. (*daltaskuł* is perhaps the subject of *bila*, or else it is used adjectivally). *ayu jot gorto daltaskułafe yami* he has recovered your younger brother safe and sound(?) happily (?). 370.4.

daltum, used only in the combination *-as daltum*. canl (human).

109b

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

000 1. *dʌm* y breath, IUB H. *sdʷs*, *dʌm*. — *dʌm dʊsuʷyʌs* to breathe, draw breath. *dʌm dɛlʌs* to breathe hard, pant (from running), gasp (of dying person). *esər dʌm di bila* his breath has come to his heart, i.e. he is breathing still, but near death. EOL. *dʌm dišaiyʌs* the breath to be stopped. *dʌm dišʌmi* (he was) suffocated. IUB. *dʌmtsum niyʌs* to go faint, H. *sust homa*. *čemeling zaʷrəʷtɛ dʌm devetsimi* the force of the poison made it fetch its breath, gasp (?). 132.24. *hik dʌm* immediately, forthwith. 134.5, 162.14. (But Cp. Sh. *ḍʌm*, time, occasion). Cp. 110.9. Prs.

2. *dʌm* breathing on, spell, charm, incantation. — *uʷ jadu nɛ dʌm nɛ iʷɛ buʷntsum hoʷlɛ duʷsʌs aiy'stumʌn* they, working magic and making spells, did not allow it (the donkey) to come out of the boulder. 200.14. *iʷi dʌm sɛ̌ume* he himself working an enchantment. 192.13. Cp. 194.4,13, 190 9. Prs.

(The same word as 1. *dʌm*).

3. *dʌm* x — ? — *dʌm diʷtsʌs* to charge (an enemy), attack. *dʌm diʷdaʷn* they charge. *dʌm diʷtsumʌn* they charged.

1. *ḍʌm stʌs* (*-*ʌtʌsr*), IUB. to put to flight, drive off. (Cp. Sh. *dʌm thoʷrki* to drive game).

2. *ḍʌm* *-*ʌtʌs*, IUB, to beat (quick-time music). *ḍʌm aʷti* beat quick time for me.

3. *ḍʌm* *-*ʌtʌs* to massage (by beating). — *dʌm stʌs* to beat upon, thump. *mundiʷltɛ dʌm nɛ Akiʷl sɛ̌ube* beating her breast she speaks as follows . . . 118.10. A

(Probably the same as 2. *ḍʌm* *-*ʌtʌs*)

dʌmʌl v. *ḍʌmʌl*.

110a

A [See corrigenda et addenda, Calcor. y 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 1. *dʌm'ʌn*, pl. *dʌmaiyo*, hm. master, owner, lord; Lord, God. IUB H. *aʷqa, malɪk, Xʊdaʷʊand — ha dʌmʌn* the master of the house, host. 340.2. *bʊšai.ɛ dʌmʌn* owner of the land, landlord. *au.ɛ, mi.uʷ dʌmʌn* my father's, our father's master i.e. the Mir, Tham. *jí dʌmʌn* the Lord of Life, i.e. God. *ji.ɛ mičim dʌmʌn* the Lord who has given us life. *dʌmʌn yaʷɛ* under the control of the master. H. *maʷlɪk ke zeʷr fʌrmaʷn*. IUB. *dʌmʌn yʌltsɛ* by the kindness, blessing, of the master. H. *maʷlɪk ke mɪhərbaʷnise*. IUB. *dʌmʌn yʌlʊlo* in the shade, under the protection of the master. H. *aʷqa ke saʷyamẽ*. IUB. Cp. 214.12, 216.2. (Cp. Sh. *dʌb'on*, Skr. *damana?*)

2. *dʌmʌn* real, own (as opposed to step relation), H. *ḥaqiʷqi*. IUB. *dʌm..n maʷma* own mother (not, step-mother). *oʷsmo muyu baʷn, dʌmʌn apaʷn* they are my wife's sons, they are not my own. Cp. 388.14. (Cp. Sh. *dʌb'un*).

ḍʌm'ʌn N. (also Hz.) time; occasion. — *hik, alto, iski ḍʌm.ʌn* once, twice, thrice.

d-ʌmʌtʌlʌs d*-ʌmʌtʌlj-*, to yawn.

Pres. sg. 1. *daʷmʌtʌlja ba* I am yawning.
2. *dukoʷmʌtʌlja*.
3. m *deʷmʌtʌljai.i*.
f *dumoʷmʌtʌljo*.

ʌtuk oʷmʌtʌl! don't yawn!
dimeʷmʌtʌlʌs our yawning.

dʌmbʌlʊm slight (ascent), easy (ascent).

ḍʌmb'u -muts x mouth piece of musical pipe, "surnai". (Cp. Sh. *ḍʌmbu*, mouthpiece of surnai). A

ḍʌm ḍʌm stʌs 1YB to sound, beat (drums). — *hərib ḍʌm ḍʌm stimi* he beat out music (on the drum). (Presumably the same as 2. *ḍʌm *-ʌtʌs*).

1106

A [see corrigenda at addenda category 116, p.542 - Analyst]

ḍʌm ḍum'ul in dense crowd, thronging (lit. packed like fine earth), (*sis*) *ḍʌmḍʌmul bʌm* there is a crowd of people. 000

dʌmjʌr, dʌmijʌr y trouble inconvenience, worry. — *bʌt dʌmijʌr ʌtimi* he put them to great trouble. 276.6. N. *dʌmijʌr ḳeyʌs* to suffer, experience, trouble. *dʌmijʌr °-ʌsiʌrʌs* to cause trouble to s.o. (Cp. Sh. *dʌmijʌr*).

dʌmkʌtai N. y bronchitis, asthma. (Probably Sh. *dʌm* + *kʌte.i*. Cp. Sh. *kʌto*, GB *khʌṭo* short).

ḍʌmo, pl. *ḍʌmʌmʌts*, x.

1. Straight young branch, sapling. Sh. *kyeŋ*. — *hʌn dʌmu.ʌn fʌt ʌtumʌn* they left one (sapling) shoot (growing from stump of cut-down tree). 214.11.
2. Thick stick (3" in diameter), cudgel. IYB club, wooden-pounder, Bu. *ḍiŋʌr*. Cp. 200.12.

dʌmši, dʌmši, °-ʌtʌs to approve, choose, select, prefer. — *ʌr hʌrʌŋtsʌm dʌmši no juwʌyo utʌmʌn* they selected and took away young men from among them. 120.3. *dʌmši ačʌ ke* if you approve of me. 172.17. (Cp. Sh. *dʌmši thoʌki*).

dʌn pl. *daiyo* x stone. — *uyʌm dʌn* big stone, small boulder. *duxʌrʌs dʌn* "splitting stone", shale. *bʌteŋ duwʌši.ʌs* (*duwʌše.ʌsʌ*) *dʌn* stone that splits into flat sheets, shale. *dʌn °-ʌtʌs* to stone someone. 276.9. *dʌn dʌnʌṭe ʌskʌriʌmʌ* galloping (his horse) over the stones. 122.8. *dʌnʌṭʌm bʌkʌk* IUB "the bean on the stone" (H. *pathʌrpʌr bʌqʌla*).

(Said of a man when all band together in hostility to him and leave him by himself — H. *sab*

dušman bankar ik laxṣko tanha čhoṛna). 000

dani -muts x slow-time music (for dancing to). 533

Said to have been brought from Chitral by Wazir Asadullah Beg, grandfather of Wazir Shukrullah Beg and Jemadar Imam Yar Beg.

bapoʷ dani, or *thamə dani* a tune played when the Mir should be going to sleep at his midday siesta, also when the Wazirs dance. 202.6.

Bapo refers to the Mir's grandfather. It is also played at marriages. The *ḍamal*, *ḍaḍaŋ* and *sonai* are all employed. (Cp. Sh. *dhani*, Kho. *daṇi*).

dantsil y sulphur. — *dantsile bun* a boulder so called near Murtaza-abad in Hunza. There are sulphurous springs there, the water of which is hot enough to cook meat, eggs, etc. and in which the local people wash their clothes. (Cp. Sh. *dantsal*, sulphur). 000

daŋ y sleep. H. *nind*, *xab*. — *je daŋ juči·la* my sleep is coming, i.e. I am becoming sleepy. I am sleepy. *tapu daŋ atimi* at night I did not get to sleep. *daŋtsum ditalimi* he woke up from sleep. 20.5. *daŋ dosuyas* "to bring sleep", i.e. to go to sleep. *je duṛŋ daŋ dosučam* I shall sleep for a little. *jadu·učai.i tsor daŋ dosutas* (or, *dantse nifen*) he does magic that they may go early to sleep. 118.1. N. *daŋ d*-atsas* to put s.o. to sleep. (*d*-atsas*, Ca. of *dosuyas*). *daŋ *-asas*, or *daŋtsum d*-astsalas* to cause to wake (**-asas* being in effect the Ca. of *niyas* to go. Cp. the 6th. example above). *Lanja Brumoʷio daŋ movimi*

000 he made L. B.'s sleep depart from her, i.e. he wakened her. 118.8. *Laŋa Brumo daŋtsum domostaalimi* he woke up L. B. from sleep i.e. he wakened her. 118.8. (Cp. Kho. *daŋ dik*, to drop off to sleep, no

1. *ɖaŋ* pl. *ɖaŋo* hard (literal and metaphorical), stiff, severe (of pain, famine). — *daŋo hiri, gušiŋats* hard (tough?) men, women. *ese daŋ* stout-hearted, valiant. *tsu daŋ* very hard. *tsu ɖaŋ* very hard. IYB. *daŋ čam* a severe famine. 366.8, 372.9. (Cp. Kho. *ɖaŋ, ɖaŋ*).

2. *ɖaŋ s'as* to bake, cook (bread). — *šapik daŋ sti* bake bread. *gšiti besasafe daŋ es'as* with what are we to bake bread? 126.7. Cp. 126.12,16,22, 128.4, 180.3, 306.12.

(The same word as 1. *ɖaŋ* and so to "harden" by firing the dough).

3. *ɖaŋ stas* to keep; store, lay up, hoard, H. *rakhnā karna*.

ɖaŋal -ilo x lever, crowbar, H. *jabal*. — *čumare daŋal* iron crowbar.

ɖaŋal'at -ilo x aqueduct, water channel (crossing an irrigation channel).

776 *ɖaŋalafh'as* a kind of "*bilas*", wild woman monster who devoured men, H. *čuvel*.

According to another account (M. M. P.) the D. is not a "*bilas*" but the consort of a *Deu* or *Jinn*.

D.'s live in the mountains, but come to inhabited places at night. *hin daŋalatasas* he there is a d. 198.8. Cp. 204.4 ff.

000 *ɖaŋalieki* IYB a kind of grape. — *ɖaŋalieki čum* a kind of vine.

ɖaŋarowo IYB half-sour half-sweet (of wine).

ɖaŋ ɖaŋ stas to knock. — *hiŋafe ɖas ɖaŋ stas* to knock at the door. (Cp Sh. *daŋ(daŋ)* th.).

○○○ *ḍaṇḥ'as* °-*manas* IYB to be bewildered, confused, H. *hairan*.

dap -*iṇ* y strip of teased wool of two fingers' breadth ready for spinning (prepared by hand by women), flake. — *burum dap* an aged person, greybeard. *gye dapiṇ* flakes of snow. (Cp. Sh. *dap*, a small ball(?) of wool, Kho. *darpi*, strip of cleaned cotton, flake of snow).

1. *ḍap* suddenly and quickly. — *Purus ite wriṇise dap durnimi* P. laid hold of that hand quickly and firmly. 210.6. (Ch. Kho. *ḍap*, suddenly, without warning).

2. *ḍap* IYB a store-room, pantry; according to others: plank, shelf. (Cp. Sh. *ḍap*, wooden cupboard).

d°-*apfaltas*, *d*°-*apfalt*- with Pa. infix, 3rd. sg. *d'epf*-, 3rd. pl. *d'epf*-, v.t. to break up, burst, blow up, blast. — *bum d'epfaltam* I'll break up the boulder. *bum depfaltimi* he broke up the boulder. *bumdo depfaltam* I'll break up the boulders. *ovopalt* don't break it up.

(Tra. of *dufaltas*. Cp. also °-*faltas*. Some say that the correct form of this verb is *d*°-*apaltas*).

d°-*apirkanas* *d*°-*apirkni*- to stumble (of man or horse). Pa. inf. + p *darp*-, *dulup*-, *derp*-; 3rd pl. *derp*-. — *darpirkniyam* I shall stumble. *deprirkimimi* he stumbled. *je dapirkanam ki darpirkanam da uṇ ofurkupirkni.rma?* if I stumbled, I stumbled, won't you stumble too?

(This is a verbal catch to be repeated quickly like the English: "school cool-scuttle" or "round the rugged rocks the ragged ragamuffin ran".) (Cp. *pirkanas*).

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d-ɹpirtɹɹɹ d*-ɹpirŝ-*, Impv. *d*-ɹpirtɹ*. Pn. inf. + p sg. —, *dokorp*, *dorp*. 3rd pl. *dorp*.

1. Cs. (*d*-ɹ-ɹpirtɹɹɹ*) to cause s.o. to pull out, eradicate. *ɹrme dorpirtɹm* I shall make them pull out my tooth. (*ɹrme*) *dokorpirtɹm* I shall make you pull out (my tooth). *ɹtrpirtɹ* don't make him pull it out. (Cs. of *d*-pirtɹɹ*).
2. Trs. (*d*-ɹpirtɹɹ*), the Pn. Infin referring to the Indir. obj. — *ɹrme dorpirtɹɹ ɹmbur* (their) tooth-extracting pliers, dentist's pliers. *Kobardo "ja eɹɹ dɹŝmɹɹ tsirŝ dorpirtɹ* (or, *dorpirtɹ*)" *ɹɹɹ dɹrɹm* K. had sent me saying "Pull out the root of my son's enemy (for him, for them). 92.24. Cp. 94.16. (Cp. *d*-pirtɹɹ*).

dɹpɹŝi, dɹpiŝi dɹlɹɹ to kick (of man or horse). — *hɹyɹrɹ im dɹpɹŝi dɹlimi* the horse kicked him. *dɹpiŝi nidilin* giving it (the donkey) a kick. 118.3. (For *-ɹŝi* cp. *tohɹqɹŝi*, s.v. *tohɹq*).

d-ɹpokurɹɹ, d*-ɹpokurŝ*, to praise, extol. — *dokorpokurŝo* she will praise thee 168.10. *d'ɹrɹpokurɹrɹmɹ* she praised him. 168.14. (Cp. *dɹfɹrɹrɹɹ*).

dɹq, dɹk (The correct form is *dɹk*) *y* hope, expectation, belief. — *ja dɹk bilɹ* I have hope, I hope. *ja dɹk ɹrpi*, or *ɹfuŝilɹ* I have no hope. *gutɹ borɹr dɹq dɹɹrɹyɹm* I believed this statement, matter. *jɹ-ŝɹ dɹq ɹ'uŝɹmɹmɹ ba?* will you (pl.) believe me or not? 80.24. *dɹq ɹtrŝɹ ba* I don't believe. *ɹɹ belɹfɹ dɹq ɹtrŝɹ bɹrɹ?* how should we not believe? 83.1.

(In regard to *ɹtrŝɹ bɹrɹ* v. s.v *bɹrɹrɹ*, but according to later information *ɹtrɹrɹŝɹ ba* and — *bɹrɹ* ɹɹ

also permissible in the last two examples). N. *ja dak dila umr hal daltas mermi* I hope you are well. (Cp. Sh. *dak*, hope, trust, reliance). 000

daq stas, dak stas (The correct form is *dak*), to hammer. — *gusular byrlem di.usin'daq ayatomafe* without taking it out of the forge and hammering it. 162.7. *daq stas ustard* (or, *berita*) blacksmith. N. *daka ustard* blacksmith. (Cp. Sh. *dak thorzki*, or *dorzki*, to knock on, strike on).

daqadaq stas. (The correct form is *dakudak*), to tap. — *zergere daqadaq etem* the goldsmith was hammering, tapping, away. 160.13.

daqo v. *d'ako* pillar.

d'-aqqqqyas* v. *d'qqqqyas.*

1. *dar, -mig* y leisure, opportunity, H. *fursat.* — *be manar dar ne bona?* 354.2 seems to mean: What, is she in the habit of making an opportunity for all and sundry? Cp. § 168. (Cp. Sh. *dar*, intention, desire, will; and perhaps, opportunity).

2. *dar* trembling fear, H. *karap.* (Cp. Ba. *dadar*, Sh. GB. *dar dar berki* to palpitate (of the heart).

1. *dar -ants* x hole in ground for storing butter in. — *maltafe dar* small storeroom for butter. (Cp. Sh. *dar*).

2. *dar* quite, totally: full (of moon). — *halants dar mani bi* the moon has become full. *dar manum halants* the full moon. *dar hdivo grki* a quite circular line. *dar hdivo* full (of moon). (Cp. Sh. *far-barra*, all-whitish?).

dar N. *-sto* x ridge (of hill). (Cp. Sh. *darr*, Punj. *dhar*).

dar'ak y sign, trace. — *taile bealo darak api* there is no trace of water. 138.10.

ooo (Used in same sense in Pasht. & Khow., & probably Sh.). Ar. Prs.?
d-ʌrʌs, d*-ʌrē-*, Impv. *d*-ʌri*, Ppa. *d*-ʌrin*.

1. To send, despatch. As distinguished from **-ʌrʌs, d*-ʌrʌs* views the "sending" from the point of view of the place to which the object is sent. — *jarlər derri, dumorri* send him, her, to me. *sisʌn ʌr derri* send a man to me. *mʌma . . . darrubo* mother has sent me (here). 132.11. *Thʌmi da darʌs bai.i* the Tham is going to send me again. *da ja harlər hik dukorʌs bai.i* he will send thee to my house once again. 68.9. *uŋi bʌba darrai* your father has sent me (to you). 30.14. *Baltitər tsil niyʌl derčʌn* releasing the water they send it on (by the irrigation channel) to Baltit. 350.7. (The narrator regarding the operation from the standpoint of Baltit). Cp. 90.3, 294.13.
2. To spread, lay out. — *bərenin bəsʌn yʌfi derčai.i* see what bedding he spreads over himself. 124.8.

dəri pl. *dəreŋ* y window. — *dəri.ulo hərutum bom* she was sitting at the window. 24.3. *dəreŋulo bʌm* he was at the windows (i.e. set of windows). 64.6. *dəri.i ulo . . . girmi* he went in through the window. Cp. 38.7, 42,16. Cp. Sh. *dəri*. Cp. Prs. *dəriča*).

dəri.a y river. — *dəri.a dʌl ni gulərimi ki* when the river flows uphill. 142.27. Cp. 382.21. Prs.

dəkur, S. pl. *-ilo*, required, wanted, necessary. — *akurumʌn kʌyur bəsʌn dəkur bi.an?* what need is there of so many horses? *kʌn ʌkil kʌlkʌn jur dəkur bila* I need a plank like

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000 this. *dorkev qpi* it is unnecessary. *nurto (ava) nizas dorkev* it is necessary for you to go now. Pra.

dorm.an, pl. *dormai.iq* y a piece of clear, level ground. (Cp. Pkht. *dirm.and*, threshing floor?).

dorm.onda IUB in want, destitute, without resources, H. *muhtaj*, *na'zaj*. Pra.

doro v. *duro*, work, affair etc. 80.20, 190.16. — *dorowar zlaj ch* find a remedy for the business.

doro IYB wooden roller (for rolling polo-ground).

dorotyo -do -ilo -ado, a stick, staff, rod, H. *sotji*. 28.17, 32.3, 130.26, 160.3, 176.4. (Synonym, *-yf.ayo*).

dorta -aq y cut crops (brought in to, or deposited beside the threshing-floor), threshing floor, H. *xirman*. — *ko gawa dorta ko da horw ko dosawa* then bringing in the wheat harvest (cut wheat) and then the buck-wheat. 332.11. *karto dorta horiawa* they thresh the barley harvest (cut barley). 332.1. *aramaiq dortaar wafawa ufi hawa* they take the bags to the threshing floor and fill them. 332.2. *gar horaq nipiraar dortaq nel.an dorta pitawa* cutting the wheat and barley, having prepared threshing floors, they put it down in heaps for threshing. 330.12.

I also got the following, in trying to ascertain the word for "threshing-floor": *dorti pi.am* (*pitawa*), *dorta.aq pi hawa*, *dorta.aq horiqawa*.

doru hunting big game (ibex, markhor, etc.), "sport". — *dorowar nitam* he used to go hunting. 22.19. Cp. 102.20. *dorowanar nimi* he went on a hunting trip. 102.19. *doru ata* to hunt. *doru* is said not to mean the game

animals. Cp. 26.4.5, 290.8. (Cp. 000
Sh. *dzvu*).

dzvuk'so EGL pl. *dzvulop.sots* s wooden door-bolt. (Cp. *sevilm*).

(Others give the words as *dzvion*, pl. *dzvlop.sots*).

dzvuu yet. — *dzvuu zo* up to now, up till the present, still, yet, hitherto. 190.13, 196.16, 206.12, 220.7, 270.5. (Cp. Sh. *dzvuu* and *dzvuu lovig*).

dzvuts -*ilin*, -*tig* hm heater. — *dzvuts lurk* heating dog. (Cp. Sh. -*dzvudz*).

dzvgi -*tig* hm tether. H.

d.se, *dze* -*mig* y unoccupied, uninhabited land; uncultivated plain, waste, desert. — *gate dzé d.se bile* this place is waste. *ahard tsil apim, d.se bile* it is uncultivated land, without habitation (without water). *kogere d.se.sfe fan.in* take the flocks to the uncultivated land (*to graze*). *wrgr bukai i d.se m.zuimi* your land has become waste. 142.22. Cp. 6.10, 8.13, 86.14,16,17, 240.11. (Cp. Sh. *dzve*, Khn. *d.se*, *dzve*).

d°-.zuny.se d°-.zuzi to provision the faults of s.o., to run down, speak ill of. — *je wu dzlu-zuzi.zuu* I shall speak ill of you. *dzu-zyimi* he spoke ill of me. *dzuzyimi* he spoke ill of him. *dzuzyimi* he spoke ill of them. *dzu.zy* speak ill of him!

d°-.se.sl.sf.se d°-.se.sl.sé to wrap up. H. *l.sperfmt*, to cover one's opposite number at polo. — *gate kzhrp kuy.zuelo dzu.sl.sf* wrap this book up in paper. *je wg g.sklilo dzlu.sl.sf.zuu* I shall wrap you up in a blanket. *dzu.sl.sf.zuu*, *dzu.sl.sf.zuu* I shall wrap him, them up. (-f- IUB. Cp. Sh. *e.sl thurzki*, to fold, wrap up in).

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d°-.ɛɛilɛɛ d°-.ɛɛilj- to wet (of water, rain). — *hewrilɛ dekɛɛilji, dɛɛilji, dɛɛilji* the rain will wet thee, him, them. *hewrilɛ dɛɛilimi, dekɛɛilimi, dimɛɛilimi* the rain wet me, thee, us. *gɛkɛr .ɛhɛrɛ* don't wet yourself. (Tr. of *d°-.ɛilɛɛ*. Cp. also, however, *dɛlɛɛ* & *°-.ɛlɛɛ*). 000

dɛɛin pl. *dɛɛin.ɛɛts* bf girl, lass, woman (unmarried and till 1 year after marriage), "the bride" at time of wedding. — *jɛt dɛɛin* a little girl. *gɛrɛɛ dɛɛin* marriageable girl. 585

Gen. *dɛɛ'ɛɛns*. 302.14.
Dat. *dɛɛɛnɛɛr*. 304.2.
Abl. *dɛɛinɛɛtɛɛn*. 304.1.
dɛɛinɛɛtɛɛ. 344.13.
Pl. *dɛɛin'ɛɛts*. 304.15, 316.12.
mɛkɛrɛɛn dɛɛin girl who accompanies bride for the first day after her marriage. 304.2. Cp. 28.19, 268.6, 292.3.

d°-.ɛɛkɛr.ŋɛɛ v. *drɛkɛr.ŋɛɛ*. 000

d°-.ɛɛkɛrtɛɛ v.i. to make rain, or pour, down. (Cp. *°-.ɛɛkɛrtɛɛ*, 4).

d°-.ɛɛkɛf.ɛɛ d°-.ɛɛkɛf- to stop, prevent, hold up, block, impede. — *ɛhrɛkɛf* don't prevent him. *drɛkɛfimi, drɛkɛfɛɛi* he prevented, has prevented, him. *gɛtɛl dɛɛ* ditto *Xɛrɛɛ Batɛlɛ drɛŋɛf.ɛɛ* excavating the water-channel and bringing it along he had stopped it at the Kh. B. 382.12. (Tr. of *d°-kɛf.ɛɛ*).

d°-.ɛɛhɛr.ɛɛ d°-.ɛɛhɛr- to decrease, reduce, deduct. — *drɛhɛr.ɛɛ, drɛhɛr.ɛɛ*. (Ca. and Tr. of *d°-khɛr.ɛɛ*).

°-.ɛɛlɛŋ.ɛɛ d°-.ɛɛlɛŋ-, Impv. *d°-.ɛɛlɛ*, Pps. *d°-.ɛɛlɛɛ*. To make descend, lower, let down, put down, set down, pull down, H. *ɛɛɛɛɛɛ*. — *dɛkɛrɛɛlɛŋ.ɛɛ*, I'll make you get down, I'll set you

down. *dreskumi* he made me get down, set me down. *ha.a diśeur dreskumi* the horse made him get down in a pleasant place. 6.8. *hawimas le gafe loti. dreskumas. drekoyasar ... ensimi* when they look they see that he is up (in the tree). They make him get down. When they had made him get down he said ... 264.4. *ḍapik le tail xima so ... dreksf* let her lower bread and water down through the smoke-hole. 52.1. *dreksm wilgi* the let-down cord. 52.1. *gutas ḍiṭtum dreksa* putting down the corpse from the bier. 210.13. *(gutas) ... masowar dreksuti ... dreksm* he lowers the body into the grave ... having lowered it ... 210.14. *alam dreksa* lower, strike, the flag. Cp. 84.13, 92.5. (Cs. of *dearksa*).

°.sam.sa.sa *d°.samsi* to give birth to, bear, create. — *pura ortu wagu dream.sam hawa* his wife had given birth to twin sons. 110.14. *ja dekoram.sma hoiyam* I had given birth to you. *he wap gone dream.sas hawa?* what! has my mother borne me for you? 258.3. *pfopot.sa dream.sormer* you have given birth to a bastard. 268.9. *d°.sam.sa.sa* "to give birth to" appears to be used chiefly of human beings, but I was given the forms *dreamsimi* and *dreamihi* and there is *hawa nakafy ortu dream.simi* the cow has calved and given birth to twins. 254.1.

To make, fashion, remake (what has been broken), complete. — *jimak yuto durro dream.sa.sar* (or, *pura ekasar*) *kakid ofi* try to complete this work tomorrow. Cp. 162.6, 166.12–14, 172.23, 174.5, 176.24.

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○○○ (Ca. of *d°-m.ɪm.ɪs* which is doubtless derived from *m.ɪnɪv* to be, become. A statement of a birth is usually so phrased that *d°-m.ɪn.ɪs* can be used and not *d°-ɪnm.ɪn.ɪs*)

d°-.ɪnm.ɪŋ.ɪs d°-.ɪnm.ɪ-, Pps. *d°-.ɪnm.ɪŋ*. To reconcile, bring together, make agree. — *dimɪrum.ɪŋum.ɪn* they reconciled us (with each other). *drum.ɪŋum.ɪn* they reconciled them with each other. *jɪt gum ki ɪrɪn bɪrɪ yɪr ɪnm ɪdɪ bɪr jɪn.ɪn ɪn drum.ɪŋ pɪr ɪnmɪ* . . . the old woman too, making her words agree with what the man had said to it, said to the bear . . . 230.4. *kaiyɪki kaiyɪ d'rum.ɪŋ.ɪm* I suited the (quantity of) salt to the soup, i.e. I put in the amount of salt it required. (Ca. of *d°-mɪŋ.ɪs*).

1. *d°-.ɪnmil.ɪs, d°-.ɪnmilj-* to render impure.

(Only recorded in the form *drum'i.ɪs*). 1st. sg. Fut. *drumilj.ɪm*, Pret. *drumil.ɪm*. — *gɪtɪŋ drumilɪ kaiy.ɪm* I had rendered (the Peri's) clothes impure. 18.5. (Ca. of *d°-mil.ɪs*. The Pres. Base *drumilɪ-* given in § 220 is not corroborated).

2. *d°-.ɪnmil.ɪs, d°-.ɪnmilj-* to placate. H. *rɪrɪ kɪrɪn*. (Cp. *°-.ɪnmil.ɪs*).

d.ɪnmɪzɪ pl. *d.ɪnmɪz.ɪŋ* y glove. (Cp. Sh. GB. *d.ɪnmɪzɪ*). Prs.

d°-.ɪnpap'.ɪl.ɪs, d°-.ɪnp.ɪp.ɪlj- to carry away, whirl away (thro' the air). — *tɪdɪ drupɪp.ɪlimɪ* the wind carried it (him) away. *ɪbɪtɪn drupɪp.ɪli bɪrɪn* (the horse) had carried him off thro' the air. 10.1.

(Denominative based on *b.ɪbal'*).

[°-.ɪnp.ɪ.ɪs d°-.ɪnp.ɪ-, Impv. *d°-.ɪnp.ɪs*, to protect, save, rescue. — *ji d.ɪnp.ɪs!* protect me! *gukɪr drupɪs!* take care

of yourself! look out! *ja dzepmanem* 000
gane in order to save me. 44.16.
dokrepatam I'll save you. *dzrepashini*
he will save us.

(Probably a Ca. of *d*ᵊ-*ranan*, *d*ᵊ-*ranan* to remain, survive etc., in association with which it occurs, v. 44.18 & 20. Cp. § 304).

*d*ᵊ-*repirenen*, *d*ᵊ-*repirai*, Impr. *d*ᵊ-*repiren*, to fill to the brim, to fill full. — *d'erepiren, pa Xoder!* fill me full O God! (i.e. satisfy me with food, or blessing?) 222.5. *drepirelyam* I shall fill it full. *drepirenem* I filled it full. (Ca. of *dibirenen*. Cp. also *bir*).

*d*ᵊ-*reqafen*, *d*ᵊ-*reqafi*.

1. To choose, select. — *ritu ker reqafem d'reqafam* I shall choose (men) from among them. *gatetanem d'reqafam* I chose one of them. *dok'reqafam* I (have) selected you. *d'reqafem kevi* selected men.
2. To sort out, clear up, clean (grain). — *rupiru elem pagkafi dreqafi* sort out the small change from the money. *gele pafelo d'reqafi* clean this grain.
3. To ascertain the facts of a case, investigate a matter, to examine and decide a case. — *ta kowdine dreqafen gane* two thrugder are going to his palace with a view to investigating the matter the most morning. 42.22. *ja gane dorenqafi* determine my guilt (or innocence) for me. *ew dreqafen* ang he you are the person to settle (the case) for me.

(Tra. of *dereqafen*).

dasta, pl. *dastaq* grip, hilt. — *yatenqa dasta* grip of a sword. Tra.

*d*ᵊ*-ostɛ.ŋ.ɛ*, (occasionally *d*ᵊ*-ostɛ.ŋ.ɛ*), *d*ᵊ*-ostɛ.ɛ*-, *d*ᵊ*-ostɛ*. ooo

1. To prop up, support, stay. — *bɛw.ɛn ditɛm ɛf.ɛyɛ.ŋɛ* (*i*) *d'ɛstɛ.yɛmi* bringing a boulder he propped it up on, or with, his stick. 158.26. *kɛw jɛ dɛwɛyɛ.ɛfɛ dɛstɛ.yɛ* Is I have propped up this (boulder) on my stick. 160.2.

   Then follow:

   dɛstɛ.yɛ bɛ and *dɛstɛ.yɛ ɛ dɛstɛ.yɛ*.

2. To protect from, deliver from, uphold; to hold up (an enemy), withstand.

3. To assist a person (who is getting into difficulties), to support, reinforce (troops), to fix (a stone securely in a dry stone wall).

*d*ᵊ*-ostɛ.ɛ.wɛ.ɛ* v. *dɛstɛ.ɛ.wɛ.ɛ*.

*d*ᵊ*-ostɛ.ɛ.ɛ*, *d*ᵊ*-ostɛ.ɛ.ɛ*, Impv. & Pps. *d*ᵊ*-ostɛ.ɛ*, v.i. to awaken, wake up, rouse. — *jɛ mɛrɛ ɛn dɛstɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛm* I shall waken him now. *jɛ mɛrɛ ɛn dɛkɛstɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛm* I shall waken you now. *ɛn dɛstɛ.ɛ.ɛm, dɛwɛstɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛm* I wakened him, her. *jɛ ɛ.ɛstɛ.ɛ, mɛ ɛtɛmɛstɛ.ɛ* don't waken me, us. *ɛtɛstɛ.ɛ, ɛtɛstɛ.ɛ* don't waken him, them. *ɛtɛlɛk dɛstɛ.ɛ* wakening both of them. 40.21. *ɛn mɛrɛkɛn dɛstɛ.ɛimi* he wakened her sisters. 118.7—9.

   (Cp. of *d*ᵊ*-ɛ.ɛ.ɛ*, from which it seems probable that the second *ɛ* is intrusive).

dɛstɛr -ig *y* custom, practice, habit, rule. — *qɛdɛm ɛɛmɛrɛtɛm dɛstɛr bɛlɛ* it is the custom from ancient times. 208.1. *kɛrɛ.ɛtɛ dɛstɛr.ɛfɛ* according to the "aberiat" custom, law. 310.6. Cp. 306.17, 338.2. Dre.

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A [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 *d*-.ssuljaiy.ss, d*-.ssulj.st-*, Impv. *d*-.ssulja* to fill up (with food or wealth), to satisfy, sate. — *dessulja*, ya *Xodaya!* fill me (with food or wealth) O God! 332.4. *dessulja, dimessulja* satisfy (etc.) him, us. *da-ssulj.sm.ss* they filled me. *jiltsem dessulj.smi* he "fed me up", disgusted me, with life. (Cx. of *dwljaiy.ss*, which is a *d*-. form from *holjai.ss*, to mount, fill up (v.i.), swell up).

*d.s

́ikin* pl. *d.sےےikire* (s) single upright stone.

d-.sےe.ss, d*-.sےs.st-*, Impv. *d*-.sےa*.

Variants: Past base *d*-.sےe-, d*-.sےai-, d*-.sےi-*.

Pres. base *d*-.sےeé-*.

1. To stop, hinder, prevent. — *je um dekeé.sےm* I'll stop, prevent, you. *ow mi dimeé.sm.ss* they stopped us. *in deےa* stop him! *u deےa* stop, or, prevent them. *je at.sےa* don't hinder me. *u ateےa* don't hinder them. *miy.sےtsem deےa* prevent them from going. *gote dwre st.sےtsem deےa* prevent him from doing this.
2. To block, dam up (water). — *tsil deےey.ss* to dam up the water. Cp. *detsaiy.ss* which occurs in the texts with this meaning. v. 204.6.7, 350.8.
3. To enclose, shut in, surround, hem in. — *b.ssi deےe.ss bila* the garden is to be enclosed. *b.ssi deé.sےsm* I'll enclose the garden. *m.sےsriq deےam bitsa* the graves are enclosed. (*ite*) *m.sےsr itsgawi deé.sm bila* the grave is enclosed round about (by a wall). 220.6. *yin deےe.sm* I shut in the thief (when he was found in the house).

○○○ *rtigev t.ši* (or, *t.storv.ši*) *dokoréčam* we shall surround you, hem you in. (Cx. *of dičaiy.ši*).

d°-ašq.ltas, d°-ašq.lč-, Ppa. *d°-ašq.lt(in)*.

1. To arrive (at), reach.

The pa. infix usually refers to the subject of the verb.

The principal forms recorded are:

Fut. sg. 1. *d.ašq.lčam* pl. —
2. *dokoriq.lčema* —
3. m. *dorq.lči dorq.lčem.an*.

Pret. sg. 1. *d.ašq.ltam* pl. —
2. *dokoq.ltema* —
3. *dorq.ltimi dorq.ltum.an*.

Perf. 3rd. sg. m. *dorq.ltui.i*. 128.15.

Ppa. *doq.ltin*. 132.9. *dorq.lt*, *dorq.ltin*. 150.15.

The "point of arrival", when a place, takes the suffix *-er*, *-ter*.

When it is a person the suffix *-.ši*, *-.šer*, or the postposition *°-.ap.ter* is used.

Astorrer dokorq.ltema you arrived at Astor. *ru jarle dorq.ltimi* he reached me. *basar dorq.ltum.an*. *Dorq.lčum.an le* . . . they arrived at the halting place. When they arrive. . . . 128.8. Cp. 128.6, 126.2. *Brunkaparlomow.ši d.ašq.ltas be* . . . *han burl.antser d.ašq.ltas be* I am just going to come to B. k. d. . . . I am just going to come to a spring. 128.18. *ep.ater dorq.ltum.an*. *Dorq.lt* . . . they came up to (the calf). Having come up . . . 134.14. *mato Šakri Burno mop.ater d.ašq.ltam* I have reached Sh. B. 30.7. Cp. 150.15.

2. + °*-lji-*, *i-lji*, *iljem* and ablative: to overtake, come up with. — *a-lji dokorq.lčema* you will overtake me. *u jartum iljem doq.ltum.an*

they overtook me. *mamatsum iljum dəšqaltam* I shall overtake you. *wutsum ivji dəšqaltam* I overtook them.

2. Frequently used absolutely: to arrive. — *tsat mano, dəšqaltam* wait! I have arrived. 144.9. *ja gots xat tape dərəqalti.a tape ju* if this letter of mine arrives at night, come (that) night. 94.1.
4. To arrive at puberty. — *aya, ja mwto dəšqaltam, ja mema.an hir.anw yuwya.as manij* Father, I have now come of age, I should be given to some man (as wife). EOL.
5. With the Pa. Infix referring to an object the meaning is: to overtake. — *itsi soltan dərəqaltər anw manumo* pursuing him, she came near to overtaking him. 204,10. *A.K. utsi tsmi. Dərəqaltər tsi.anw manimi* B.K. pursued them. He was near to overtaking them. . . . 144.8.

dat.aywr, dat.aywr, tat'aywr y fever. — *uma dat.aywr di bila?* "has your fever come?" i.e. have you got fever? *zanzan dat.aywr jučila* fever with shivering comes (on me you, him etc.). *ja tat'aywr jučila, di bila, di bilam* I have, have had, had hill, fever.

(The forms *tat'aywr, tatawr* are by some said to be vulgar).

d-.atanas* to make straight, straighten. — *dərtsanas, dərtsanas.* (Ca. of *dats.anas*, based on *ts.han*, straight).

d-.atas d*-.ato*, Impv. *d*-.ato*. The vowels of the pronoun infixes are always long and are very often diphthongised. So: *dava-, doko-, dvv-, dumow-*; —, —, *dow-*.

1. To cause to bring, make fetch. — *Pastus 'oyum d'ustum* P. had made me take it and bring it. 138.8. *ówa yonsi . . . tsil dumotsi (dumotum)* he is, he was, making the queen fetch water. 20.8. *Lagu Brumo tsil dumotsimi* he made L. B. fetch water. 176.17. *in je ustu dustimi* (or, *-stimi*) he made me bring it on my mind, i.e. he reminded me. *dum dostimi* it made him fetch his breath. 132.24.

2. The Causative of idioms in which *dotum, dosuyus* are used to express the experiencing of a sensation or the entering into a condition.

a. (*-more dosuyus* to become angry, annoyed). — *omore ostus* don't annoy me, don't worry me. *uyu in hoto imore dotu* why do you worry him? *je imore dotu lo* I am worrying him.

b. (*hivi ditus* N. v.i. to boil). — *hivi dostus* to make it boil, v.t. to boil it.

c. (*mazu dosuyus* to experience a pleasant taste?) — *hoi mazu dostimi* (the food) made him experience a very pleasant taste, i.e. gave him pleasure. 138.5. *mazu dustum* it had given me pleasure (said of food, or when a scoundrel or an enemy is beaten etc.).

d. (*dag dosuyus* to go to sleep). — N. *dag domotsu* put her to sleep.

e. N. **-us d*-ustus* to encourage (make take heart). — *as dostu, gire dokotum, gore dokotum.*

3. The form *dotum, dostus* is used with the meaning to send (a thing or an animal by human instrumentality).

000 The operation is regarded from the point of view of the *destination* in which it differs from the analogous *ɔtsuy.ɛs*.

The meaning has apparently developed from "to make them bring s.t.", "to make people bring s.t.". The interest has become centred on the object conveyed and the plural pronoun infix has become stereotyped for the conveyor, irrespective of number and identity. Cp. § 244. — *padśa mirbarni gur dɔdi* the King will send you a present. 168.11. *gulu* γєw.ŋ *gurgɔrɔ gur dɔdusi.i* your husband has sent you this gold (by me). 56.27. Cp. 58.7. *hɛγur gur dɔdusi.i* he has sent you the horse (by us). 76.13,22. *ɔwɔtsum ke ŋgwrm.ɛn dɔtsumɔ* you have sent me a bigger one than it. 76.24. *gum . . . d'ɔtsu.in* send this (to me here). *dɔtsum.ɛn γurm.ɛn* they sent it and gave it to him. 166.12.

It is possible that *dɔutsɛs* may be used in a similar sense, amounting to "to send". I have recorded:
hɛγur dɔutsu send the horse.
hɛγur ɔtsutsu don't send the horse.
But some context would be required to show that the conception was "send" rather than "make him bring". (*d*ᵊ*-ɔtsɛs* supplies the Causative of both *d*ᵊ*-tsɛs* and *dɔutsɛs*, v. § 241).

*d*ᵊ*-ɔtsuiγ.ɛs* v. *dɔtsuiγ.ɛs*.

dɔtsh'ɛ́i -mɔtɔ hm witness, fl. *gw'ɔrd*, *'ɔrkɔd*. — *dɔtsɔri bɔiɔ* he is the witness. *dɔtsɔri ɔrɔtɔ bɔiγ.ɔm* I had appointed him witness.

*d*ᵊ*-ɔtsi.ɛs*. *d*ᵊ*-ɔtsiɔ*, Impv. *d*ᵊ*-ɔtɔ*, Ppa. *d*ᵊ*-ɔtsin*.

1. To pull in, pull up, (belt, horse etc.).

000 2. To squeeze, pinch (of tight coat, boots etc.). — *detsi.as*, *dimetsi.as* to squeeze him, us. *dukotsiči* it will squeeze you. *dastsimi*, *dukotsimi*, *devtsimi* it squeezed me, you, him. *dayuv gape dukotsin akil jočig manilku* the raw hide having squeezed, compressed, you (your feet) have become small like this. 158.1. *dotsin* v. a.v. (Cp. *°-atsi.as*).

d°.atsir.as, *d°.atsirč*. Impv. *d°.atsiri*. Ppa. *d°.atsirin* to cook (general), to bake (bricks). — *tigan detsiri* cook the egg. *tigaiyo dotsiri* cook the eggs. *detsirum diščik* baked (burnt) brick. *dotsirum diščik* baked bricks. *be ha.a ta.arm dotsirčai.i* what excellent food he is cooking! 124.11. *hau yatia.an wali ham dotsirčer* they had put on a (goat's, sheep's) head in order to cook it. 232.2. *imtsu.*, *im.afs*, or *ine iri-ytam*, *dotsiri* cook it by him, i.e. have it cooked by him, make him cook it. EOL. Cp. 69.12, 72.13, 74.4, 300.84, 318.12. Cp. *diri.as* v.i. to cook. Perhaps: *d°.atsir.as* ← *d°.atsir.as* ← *d°.as-diri.as*).

d.atu y autumn. — *d.atu divmi* autumn has come. *d.atu dwvimi* autumn has passed, ended. *d.atu y.mi* autumn has set in. *d.atu goru.a* in autumn and spring. 348.8. *her d.atwor* every autumn. 336.1, 344.6.

d.atukuv y autumn season. — *d.atukuv walimi* (*halimi?*) autumn has begun.

d.atumo, *d.atumo*.

1. Pertaining to autumn (Sept., Oct., Nov.). — *d.atumo* (*kyem*) autumn time.
2. In autumn. — *d.atumo tha salo ... dukem* in autumn they bring 100 moulds of salt. 274.10. Cp. 334.7.

d-ʌ.ʌrwʃʌ* *d*-ʌ.ʌrwē-* to have one's heart attached to, to be fond of, be enamoured of, to like, H. *dil lagiowa.* ○○○

The pn. infix refers to the subject. After the negative prefix the Pn. Infixes *-u'ko-*, *-u'mo-* and *-iu'o-* are reduced to *-uku-*, *-umu-* and *-imi-*. — *Giltolo dauʌrwēs ba* (or, *dawrwēs ba*) I like Gilgit, I am attached to G. *Giltolo ʌtauʌrwēs ba* (or, *ʌtawr-*) I don't like Gilgit. *Giltolo dokorwēs?* do you like G.? *dawrwēsi.i* he likes it. *ʌtawrwēs bo* she doesn't like it. *dauʌrwēsʌw* they like (it). *ʌtawrwēsʌw* they don't like (it). *Pawʌ.s kārs Š.B.B. Thʌm dywwsimi, ʌt'ʌwrwēsimi* Š.B.B. Thʌm remained in P.'s house, (but) he did not like it. 212.2. *bart d'ʌpwrwēsʌn Pʌqēw.s tʌmaks nirtrin* on seeing the spectacle of P. they became greatly enamoured of him (*dil lagiya*). 116.14. IUB *dauʌrwēsʌn mainī* = *H. dil laga horga.*

(A derivative from *kārwʃʌs*).

d-ʌwʌrʌnʌs*[1] *d*-ʌwʌrwī-* to require, be in need of.

d.ʌwʌrī x inkstand, inkpot. Ar. Prs.

d-ʌwʌlʌs, d*-ʌwʌlj-* to make fly (away), blow away. — *tirlo kʌrʌʃig ʌpʌw dewʌlji* the wind will blow all the papers away. EOL. *tirī ʌpiw; belʌfi dewʌlimi* there was no wind, how would it blow them away? EOL. (Cs. of *duwʌlʌs* to fly).

d-ʌwʌltʌs, d*-ʌwʌlē-*, to disgrace, show up, expose (s.o.), to humiliate, IUB H. *be- 'ʌzzʌt karwa, 'ʌzzʌt ʌqawa.* — *dukowʌlēʌm* I'll show you up, give you away. IUB. *dewʌlēʌm, dewʌltimi*, st.pc. *dewʌltum.*

(A *d*-ʌ-* form of *bar-ltʌs* to wash; the meaning being 'o wash out,

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[1] [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542-Analyst]

wash off, one's good name, dignity, etc.). ○○○

dʌw'ʌni race. — *dʌwʌniʌr* to *-ʌtʌr* to gallop in a race. Prs.

d-ʌgelʌr d*-ʌgelj-*, Impv. *d*-ʌgel*, Ppa. *d*-ʌgel(in)* to hear (a.t.), to hear.

The Pa. infix refers to the subject. The subject with all tenses is usually the simple form of the nominative.

The following are average forms for the Future and Preterite:

Fut.	Sg.	1.	*daiʌlʌm.*
		2.	*dakveljoma.*
		3. mx	*dʌʌlji.*
		f	*damoyelju.*
Pret.	Sg.	1.	*ji daiʌlʌm.*
		2.	*dak'oyeloma.*
		3. mx	*dryelimi.*
		f	*damoyeloma.*
Fut.	Pl.	1.	*dimeyeljʌn.*
		2.	*dʌmayeljomʌn.*
		3.	*doyeljomʌn.* 906.19.
Pret.	Pl.	1.	*dimeyelimʌn.*
		2.	*dʌmayelimʌn.*
		3.	*doyelimʌn.*

hariɣ gʌrʌtʌn iʌr dryeljaiʌ he hears the sound of music and dancing. 365.19. *ɣʌf nʌmʌn ʌfeyeljaiʌ* being deaf he doesn't hear. *ʌmʌ sʌmʌn dʌɣʌ ɣʌlʌf dʌmaiʌljʌm* you hear wrongly what he says. 128.12. *gʌlʌ dʌɣʌ wʌ d'oyeljʌm. D'oyelin ʌiʌm* they hear this speech. Having heard it they go off. 128.12. *ʌahʌr daiyela ki* (1st sg. pret. short form) if I heard news. 358.15.

Pret. 58.18, 124.18, 176.7, 373.24.
Impf. 29.9.
Perf. 35.11, 58.20. 178.5, 228.16.
Plup. neg. *ʌf'ʌiyela baiyʌm.* 230.3.
Impv. sg. *dakoyel, dakeyʌl.* 232.6.
pl. *dʌmaiʌlin.*

000 ~~d~~ Form.
mene ber ɯŋ *ɑtɑrki.ɑlj* (see that) you hear no one speaking. 50.15.
More correct forms are *dukoyɑlj*, negative *ɑtɑkiŋ.ɑlj*.
ɯŋ *ber mɑn ɑtoyɑlj.ɑn* let none hear you speak! 50.15, v. § 321.5.
Pps. 3rd. sg. m. *doyɑl*, *doyel*, *doyelin*, *doyɑlin*. 4.9, 370.4. 374.
3rd. sg. f. *dumoyel*. 34.15.
3rd. pl. *doyel*, *doyelin*. 196.24, [180.1.
Ss. Pc. Passive.
daiyelow (*daiyelɑmɑ*) *ɑ.ɑyu* the thing heard by me. *dukoyelow ɑ.ɑyu* the thing heard by you. *doyelow ɑ.ɑyu* the thing heard by him.

d.ɑŋ -ɑnts, *-oŋo*, N. *daiy -oŋo* stout, robust, fat. (Cp. Sh. *dai*, fat on top of soup, & *dau*, fat meat).

d.ɑŋ'u, *daiŋu*, measuring. IUB II. *moŋ*, *paimoŋ*. — *kɑfɑn d.ɑŋ'u nɑtɑn* measuring the shroud. 310.4.

dai.ɑcin ba v. *d°-yaiy.ɑn*.

daiy.ɑn, *dai.ɑć-* to fade (of a flower). — *dai.ɑći*, *dai.ɑmi* it will fade, is faded.

ɟawfo, *ɟawfaw* y name of a kind of food, kind of gruel, Pra. *ɑrd.* — *daudo ɑć.ɑn* I shall make "daudo". *xɑmɑlitin daudo* "daudo" made with "xɑmɑli". *lazin ɟawfo* "*ɟawfo* with stripe of dough in it". *brɑse daudo ɑiw* "daudo". *korwto* daudo "daudo" made with "*korwt*". 333.9. *daudo ov dosw'ɑrw* they bring "*daudo*" for them. 312.19. (Cp. Sh. *ɟawfo*, Khn. *ɟawfaw*).

daw.o, *daw.u*, N. *dɑw*, pl. *dɑw.ɑnts*, *daw.ɑmots*. x griddle (for cooking flaps of bread on). H. *tawa*. — *ffolɑwo gɑntɑ daw.u w.ɑćɑw* on such and such a day we shall "put on" the griddle (part of the marriage cere-

money). 208.13, 209.8. *namali dauife bil.mer* when she has put the "namali" on the griddle. 208.8. *kan dawan* a griddle. 208.3. (Cp. Sh. *tawi*).

*d*ᵐ*-caqarsa, d*ᵐ*-daqaré* v.i. to spread out, to be extended, to open (v.i.). H. *phailna, phailjerna*.

Only recorded in the following forms given by IUB.

daihaqarsa, daihaqarirbem, daihaqarimi, daihaqarem. (Cp *daiakar*. A denominative based on *jaqar* the correct form of *jakar*).

dwqyarsa, dwqyaré v.i. to bend, bend down (with sg. obj.).

(From a verb *d*ᵐ*-aqyarsa*.[1] Cp. the corresponding latex *dwqyarsa*).

dagami N. cooked (of fruit). — *ondagami* uncooked (of fruit).

(Ought probably to be "ripe" and "unripe" and is probably the 3rd. sg. pret. of *d*ᵐ*-yamsa, diyamsa* to ripen).

The *g* is marked as peculiar which is frequently the case in the Magir records where in Ha. I have *y*.)

dri(y)sa, dristara v. *d*ᵐ*-ariyasa*.

drami.sa, dramit, Imp. *drami*, Fpa. *dramin*.

1. To collect, accumulate, acquire. H. *sanchaina, kamana*.

Fut. 1st. sg. *dramit.am*.

Pret. 1st. sg. *drami.am*.

kat drami kaiá he has accumulated much (property). *gaka gaw mainyat nalan drami ka?* have you acquired this wheat by (your own) labour. 58,31. *dramin mankife zarab ainai* having collected it in the end he spoilt it.

2. To collect and store (crops, fruit). — *drami.sa kkan* the time for gathering fruit (for preserving it).

(From a verb *d*ᵐ*-ami.sa*).

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[1] [See corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

dewrʌs, dewré, Impv. *dewr*, to knock down, pull down. — *ja ʌs dyurin* knocking down my house. 170.2. *dewrʌm, dewrʌm, dyurin* I shall knock down, I knocked down, knock *ye down!*

(Probably a Ca. corresponding to 2. *dewʌs* to fall down).

detʌqur opening out, extending. — *detʌkur* wrinkup the opʌn of the four fingers when extended laterally.

(Fpa. of *d*-ʌtʌqurʌs*. Cp. *detʌn* unrinkup).

ferk, ferk, -ets, N. *-rko*. x. metal cooking pot. (Cp. Sh. *ferk*). Fra. H.

f'rkurʌm -iq, y small garden.

del y.

1. Oil. — *ferʌ del* kerosene oil. *Kanis del* oil made from apricot kernels. 288.2. *hirw del* oil made from animal fat. *malʌlo del* oil extracted from butter. 190.21. *ivʌ dʌnʌwʌ del durkilow* oil used to come out of that stone. 290.2. Cp. 290.10 272.3, 290.5.

2. Contents of an egg. — *hwkurwdu tiqʌ'ʌkilow burwʌ del* white of (hen's) egg. *tiqʌnolow ʌwʌrk del* yolk of an egg. H. (*ferk*).

*-*delʌs*, *-*delʌʌs*, *-*delj*
delʌs, delʌʌs, delj
} Impv. *delʌ*.

Fpa. { u*-*delʌ*(*m*).
widelʌ(*m*).

i. The form with pa.pf. seems chiefly to be used when the Direct Object is a human being. Only this form can be used with the Negative prefix.

Where the object is 3rd. sg. hm or x, or sg. or pl. y the pa.pf. does not usually appear.

It will be remembered that in

such cases *delas* is the appropriate form of d°-*alas* and though this verb has become generalised to *delas* it is still no doubt felt to be adequate in its legitimate place. 000

The constant Ppa. prefix of *delas* appears to be *ni-* which cannot be distinguished from that of *i* + *delas*.

ii. The vowel of the base *e* tends to become *i*, *ɪ* when unaccented.

iii. The form of the verb with the past base *deli-* occurs invariably in the impv. sg. and sporadically in the Infin. and in parts of past tenses.

The present base is always *delj-*.

1. To beat, strike, smite, hit, shoot.

The instrument used occurs variously in the general oblique form, with the suffix *-ats*, with the suffixes *-ak* and *-rski*.

The spot, or particular part of the thing hit is expressed in the locative, i.e. with the suffix *-ato*, or where the blow is a descending one the postposition *ra* is employed.

°*-delas*, °*-deliias*.

besans ra adeljo? Gow tras nuko gideljo ba. On what part are you going to hit me? Cleaving your heart in two I am going to strike you. 148.12. *ja idelam* I beat him. *ins ardiljan* we shall not hit him. 280.8, *modelimi. Numardilin* . . . he beat her. Having beaten her . . . 114.7. *mi bese midelja?* why do you beat us? 264.10. *nimsa nardilin tag ortan* going and beating them let us smash them in pieces. 248.6. *adelima* you have hit me. 148.18. *adilimas* ‖ *adilumas* they have hit me (with arrow). 146.19. Cp. 148.14.

delas.

000 *gose pfot mi . . . deljam* we are going to beat this Div. 176.6. *hai.an delam* I hit the mark. *čama . . . delimi* he hit the broo' 164.17. *ime khate yurtisolo delj.am* I shall hit (with my arrow) the leg of his bed. 260.8. *tik pfetige delomam* they pelted him with earth and ashes. 284.23. *jamek deli* shoot him with (your) bow. 146.10. *huntsafe delimi* he hit him with (his) arrow. 146.11. *hik dam da tikte delimi* then all of a sudden he struck him (i.e. flung him) on the ground. 174.17. *Š. G.e delom čumore girli* the iron peg knocked in by Sh. G. 196.13. Cp. 64.13, 148.5. 338.2.

deli.as.

'a in deli.am I beat him. *ja ime pfute han imenolo tobaqafe deli.a ba* I have hit with my gun one of the Div's teeth. 292.11.

2. To kill, slay. It is not always possible to say whether the meaning is 1 or 2.

-delas.

ma hime ke edilam (i.e. *a + idelam*) none of you have killed it (the Golden Calf). 136.3,7. *edilyma?* haven't you killed it? 136.11. *menen ke edilaii.* 138.27.

delas.

ja deljam I shall kill (the calf). 136.10. *umene deljuman ke* whether any of them will kill it. 120.27. *ašder ja dela ba* I have killed the monster. 284.9. *kin mene keli delj ayermaimas* no one (pl.) will be able to kill him. 110.11. *ime ašder delom ima hir* the man who had

000 slain the monster. 284.8. *dʌ ʌldər dəlʊmɪ ĉʌɣa ʊr ɪtʊmʌn* then they told them of the slaying of the monster. 284.3. Cp. 172.12, 124.2, 134.19. (*dəlin*) 292.7.

dəli.ʌs.

kʊs tʊmʌnɪ dəli bʊi.i someone else has killed it (the calf). 136.3,7. *ʌxənə pfʊt mɑ dəli bʌm kɪ* . . . if you (pl.) had killed the Div. 292.10. Cp. 138.5. (Cp. *dᵊ-ʌlʌs* and *dəlʌs*).

3. To cut down.

dəlʌs, dəli.ʌs.

ɪtɪ tɪli gʌmʊntsʊm dəlin cut down that walnut tree from the roots. 200.4. *ɪtɪ gʌl* . . . *dəlimi* he cut down the juniper. 214.6. *mi gʌl bəsɪ dəli baʔ* why have you cut down our juniper. 216.1.

4. To bite, sting.

ɪrkərɪ ʌdəlimi the wasp stung me.

5. To put in (on), apply, affix.

dəlʌs, dəli.ʌs.

gʊtɪ bɑɪlk bɑɪltɪ dəli fix this plank to the wall. *hʌn bʌsi.ɪntɪ qʊlf dəlʊm bim* on (the gate of) one garden there was a padlock fixed. 16.11. *bʌʃtɪ rʌŋ dəli.ʌs* to apply colour to the skin, i.e. to dye it. *bʌʃtɪ rʌŋ dəlʊm bilɑ* the skin is dyed. *iscɪtɪ tʊri.ʌŋ* . . . *dəli bɑm* they have fixed up, put up, horns on it (the boulder). 290.8. (*biškɪ*) *k.:ɑntsʊr dəlimʌn* they put (the hair) in bags. 134.15. *ʌlʌmičiŋ ɪ idrlin* putting up flags. 206.16.

Here may be mentioned:

ɪnɪ bʌŋʊt dəlim padša ka jʌŋ ɪćʌm I shall fight with the King who has made breastworks. 32.2.

6. To sprinkle (i.e. to strike or throw s.t. on s.t.). — *dʌsin dʌɣoʷwʌŋ modeljai.i* he sprinkles the girl with flour. 298.9. *dau dʌɣoʷʌŋ ʷidilin* sprinkling the griddle with flour. 306.13. ooo

7. In Compound Verbal Expressions, v. § 266.2.

a. In combination with words denoting some form of physical activity, forming *Intransitives*.
hʌl nidilin leaping. 150.1,7.
prik delimi je jumped. 132.22.
čup delimi he jumped down. 174.16.
tʌm delʌs to bathe. 172.3.

b. With the simple forms of words denoting instruments, forming *Transitives*.
hʌɣor tor delimi he whipped up the horse. 146.17. *iss burnulo . . . gili mudelimi* he pegged her down (secured her with a peg) in that boulder. 194.1. Cp. 194.4,5, 200.11.

This phrase was also recorded with *modelimi* as from *-ʌdilʌs, 194.7,13,14. As however, the accent is on *-del-* the *-o-* is probably only a variant of *-u-*, *-o-*.

I have taken *-ʌk*, *-k* in *jʌmsk* to be an instrumental suffix (v. section 1. above). On the same principle,
tiškʌk mudelʌm he stabbed her with a dagger. 198.10. *torʌk delimi* gave (the horse) a cut with the whip. 150.12, are not to be regarded as compounds.

So also probably: *dʌprski d.* & *tobʌqrski d.*
Bula delʌs, to play polo, is ambiguous as in Bu. *bula* seems to mean the ball and in Shina the

polo-stick. V. 328.14, 330.8,9. (Cp. *dᵊ-ʌlʌs, dᵊlʌs, dᵊli.ʌs*). 000

dᵊlgus pl. *dᵊlg.ʌs, dᵊlgoyʌnts* oil-bottle (small pumpkin holding about 2 lbs. of oil, used for holding apricot-kernel oil, a woman's cosmetic). 308.2. (Cp. Sh. *tilgus*). 415

ᵊrmiyʌs, dᵊrmiyʌs, (also *dᵊrmi.ʌs*) *dᵊrmić*- Impv. *d'ᵊrmi*, Ppa. *dᵊrmin* v.t. to spill, pour out, empty out, throw out (water, wine, oil, milk), to bale out, ladle out (water, grain). — *filta yf'stiŋ tsilᵊr nʌkin ulʌćᵊr d'ᵊrmićʌn* putting the ashes of the wick into water they pour them (water and ashes) out in the "*ulʌći*", 314.4. *tsil uyᵊn γᵊlkulum d'ᵊrmimʌn* they baled the water out of tank. 262.19. *tsil dᵊrmiᵊn gus γʌlʌγp eti* throwing out the water, wipe this (vessel). EOL. (Cs. of *dimiyʌs*. Also recorded as *dᵊrmiγʌs*. Apparently not connected with *dᵊrmi.ʌs*). 000

den, pl. *denig, dᵊnmiq, y*.

Na. has *deni* for the sg., and possibly also for the pl. He has also a genitive or adjectival form *denuᵊm, denym*. There is also an oblique form *denmo*.

Year.

1. For "this year", "last year", "next year" etc., v. § 412. b.
2. With *Numerals* the singular form is often used instead of the plural. The numerals are in the *z* forms.
3. The uninflected form of the noun can denote either the period of a particular year or of a series of years:
   tʌmini yᵊr den ki bim last year and the year before that it was (still) there. 214.12. *berumʌn denig*

000 *akɨlaʃɨ bust dʌmijaʷ oʷtimi* for a number of years he had put them to great trouble in this way. 276.6. Cp. 280.6.

4. *Passage of time*, or time that has lapsed is indicated by the verb *mʌnaʷ* which may provide the equivalent of the English idiom with "ago":
hik den manimi a year has passed, a year ago. *toʷrimi den(iŋ) mʌnimi* ten years ago. *aʷlto den maimi in jaʷlɨ bai* it is, will be, two years he is with me i.e. he has been, will have been, with me for two years. *gutɨ dustsʌkər* (or, *dustsʌkɨ*) *toʷrimi den maimi*, or, *manimi* this thing will be, or is, 10 years old. Nz. *kiʷnɨ hilesɨ berum deni manimi?* how old is this boy?
The independent passage of time can also be expressed by *niyʌs*: *beʌʷrumʌn denig nimi* some years passed. 86.19.

5. The values of the various case-suffixes and postpositions in temporal connections are illustrated in the Grammar. A few examples will suffice here:
hɨk denɨ . . . diʷmi one year he came. 210.4. Cp. 242.19. *yʌʃ denər . . . mundaʷg imʌnimi* next year he had become (lit. became) big. 242.19. *toʷrimi dentsum akoʷlɨ baiɨ* he is here since ten years i.e. he has been here for ten years. *aʷlto iʷski denigtsum* after 2 or 3 years. 244.3. Cp. 244.24. *berum denʌntsum* after some years. 264.8. *berumʌn denigtsum iʷlji* after some years, some years later. 296.4, 258.6. *berumʌn denigtsum iʷljum*

000 after some years, some years later. 240.11. *dentsum den, dʷnmo den* year by year, yearly. 242.3, *akuʷum deniguło je uʷṇ xrdmʌt ɛčɑ bɑ* through the course of so many years, for so many years. I am doing (i.e. I have been doing) you service. 374.8. Cp. 370.7. *torimi denolo* in 10 years. Cp. 210.3. *beʷumʌn denin̥ xɑ* (or *xɑʷin̥ər*) up to, for some years. 192.6, 196.4. *hɪk den, aʷlto denmin̥, iʷski den hɔrænolo* in the course of one year, two years, three years.

6. Nz. *ku.iʷnmo denum pfʌmol* this year's fruit. Nz. *hik denum bap* one year's tax. Nz. *denin̥ər di bai.i* he has reached puberty (15 years), *or* has reached old age.

denkus years-of-age. — Nz. *kinɛ hiles berum denkuse bai.i* of how many years of age is this boy?

In all other examples it appears to be used adjectivally: *turmatɛrndi denkus mʌnuwai.a?* has he become 15 years of age? (attained puberty). *berum denkus ba?* how old are you? *berum denkus me.imo?* how old will she be? *kinɛ hiles torimi denkus bai.i* this boy is 10 years of age. *gusɛ hʌɣur torimi denkus bi* this horse is ten years old. *hik, aʷlti, tsindi, denkus birʌɣo* a one-, two-, five-year-old colt. *hik, aʷlto, iʷski, waʷlto denkus tsiər* a one-, two-, three-, four-year-old steer.

denum v. *den* 6.

deʷqulʌnʌs, dequlai-, Impv. *deʷqulan* to knead (dough), H. *gundna*. — *dʌɣoʷʌʒ dʷskulai.i bo* she kneads the flour. 306.7. *ɣuski dʷequlʌnumər* after kneading the dough. 272.3.

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dɛqvqu·yʌs, dɛqvqvč- v.t. to tangle, to cause to become tangled. — *dɛqvqvčvma* you will tangle (it). *dɛqvqu·mi* he tangled (it). (*d*-ʌqvqu·yʌs*. Cs. of *doxvqʌs*). OOO

dɛ·rginʌs, dɛ·rgi- v.t. to spin. — *dɛ·rgiyʌm* I shall spin (it).

d'ɛ·skərʌyʌs, d'ɛ·skərʌč- v.t. to heat. — *tsil dɛskərʌy* heat water. *deskərʌčʌm, dɛskərʌyʌm* I shall heat. I heated (it). *tsil d'ɛ·sqʌračʌn* they heat water. 310.8.

(If the verb can apply to other than *y* objects it may be assumed to be only one form of *d*-ʌskərʌyʌs*. Perhaps based on N. and Werch. *gər-um*, Hz. *gər-u·rum* hot).

d'ɛ·skərtsʌs (*d'ɛ*-ʌskərtsʌs*) to make pour down.

1. *dɛ·smʌnʌs* v. *d*-ʌsmʌnʌs*.
2. *dɛ·smʌnʌs* to cause to coagulate, to "set" milk. — *mʌmu dɛsmʌn* coagulate the milk.

(Cs. of *dumʌnʌs* to coagulate, set, take shape, the *y*-subject form of *d*-mʌnʌs*).

dɛ·smilʌs v. *d*-ʌsmilʌs*.

dɛ·stsuyʌs, dɛstu·yʌs; dɛ·stsuč-, dɛstuč-, Impv. *dɛ·stsuy, dɛstu·y*, Neg. *atɛ·stsuy* v.t. to melt.

(Hypothetical *d*-ʌstu·yʌs* Cs. of *duyʌs*. Regarding *-sts-* ‖ *-st-* Cp. *d*-ʌstsʌlʌs* and *d*-ʌstsʌyʌs*. The *-st-* form was recorded from Nagir. Cp. also *ɛ·stum* implying a transitive form *ɛstuyʌs*, without the *d*-* prefix, parallel to *duyʌs*).

dɛtsʌiyʌs, dɛtsʌč- to stop, dam up (water). — *tsil dɛtsʌčər du·sumo* she went out to stop the water (from running away). 204.6. *ime tsʌk dɛtsʌš xa* until she closed the sluice. 204.7. *čutʌn tsil*

detsadʌn they stop, detain, a little of the water. 350.3. ○○○

detsin. — *detsin wʌ'ltsup* the breadth of the four fingers when pressed together. Cp. *deĉʌqor wʌ'ltsup* the same with the fingers separated. (*detsin* is the Ppa. of *d*-atsi.ʌs*).

d'etsirʌs pl. *d'etsirʌšo* hm cook. — *detsirʌs kole apai.i* the cook is not here. *detsirʌšo kole man apʌn* there are no cooks here.

(Noun Agent form of *d*-atsirʌs*).

detsirʌm cooked. (St.pc. passive of *d*-atsirʌs*).

d-γʌnʌs, d*-γai-,* Ppa. *d*-γʌn.*

1. To be worn out, exhausted, (of man). — *dʌγai.ʌm, dʌγʌnʌm* I shall be, I became, worn out. *dukuγai.ʌma, dukuγai.ima* you will be worn out. *jamirptsa dukuγʌnʌs Pʌrno* Γatowiŋ you are a Γatowiŋ, son of *Pʌrno*, who wear yourself out for others, i.e. you only work for others, you are an altruist. *matsi dʌγʌn dʌγʌn beske atʌγorkʌm* wearing myself out on you (your work) I got nothing.
2. To wear out, become old (of cloth), to be exhausted used up (of food). IUB. *diγʌnʌs*, H. *pʌrʌna hʌna.* — IUB. *diγai bim* it was becoming old, H. *pʌrʌna hʌrʌha tha. gatu diγʌn* the cloth having worn out, having become old, worn. *gatu diγʌnimi* the cloth wore out. N. *diγʌnʌm -rio* old.

(Cp. *dʌγ'ʌnʌs* which in spite of its form is intransitive and is to be regarded as a variant of *dʌγʌnʌs*, a generalised form of *d*-γʌnʌs* with *y* subjects.

000 Is it possible that *-ʌsqʌnʌs to kill is derived from the γʌsʌs of d*-γʌnʌsʔ).

d*-γʊnʌs, d*-γu.i- (with h and x subjects, duγʊnʌs with y subjects) v.i, to ripen (of fruit, crops), to become mature. IUB. (vowel -u- and -o-) H. pʌkjʌna, tai.ʌr hojʌna, 'umər pʊra hojʌna. — diγu.imi it will ripen. diγuni bi it has ripened. bʌlt (x pl.) duγʊnimi.ʌ the apples ripened. mʌl (y sg.), γʌriŋ (y pl.) duγunimi the wine matured, the grapes ripened. Nz. gave doγonʌs. doγonimi.ʌ they ripened. (x pl.). hərkičiŋ, bošai.i, doγorimi the crops, "land", will ripen. (Cp. N. degoni).

diʌ, diʌ a form of 3rd sg. m. pret. of juʌyʌs.

di.ʌnʌtdʌr, di.ʌnʌtʌr honest, upright, virtuous. — di.ʌnʌtdʌrʌn bai.i he is an upright man. (Ar.) Prs.

di.ʌrtsʌs di.ʌrš- to rain, H. bʌrʌna, bʌrrš hʌna, — hərʌlt di.ʌršila it is raining. (hərʌlt) di.ʌrtsiʌla it has rained. bʌt di.ʌrtsimi it rained heavily: 158.26. hərʌlt di.ʌrtsʌstʌm dʌrš oγoγn diʌlimi all the place has become wet from the falling of the rain. EOL.

IUB. di.ʌršilʌm, di.ʌrtsʌm maimi. (Cp. d*-ʌskərtsʌs. V. § 236. b.).

di.ʌši.ʌs, di.ʌšič- to be released, to be free, unrestrained, H. khʌljʌna, ʌzʌd h. — The meanings of the following examples are open to question. ʌdim di.ʌšimi, di.ʌšiči (the animal) became, will become, randy. modim di.ʌšimi[1] the female came on heat (the mo- must refer to a human being).

dib'irʌnʌs, dib'irai- to become full, be filled full.

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[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 547. Analyst]

000 (Form of *d*-birʌnʌs*, Ca. *d*-ʌspi-ʌnʌs*. Cp. *bir*).

ḍiḍ'iṇ smooth and bare (of ground). (Cp. Sh. *ḍiḍiṇ*).

di.ɛyʌs, di.ɛč, Impv. *di.e, di.ɛ*, neg. *ati.a*, Ppa. *di.en*, St.pc. *di.em*.

V.i. to stand up, rise up, get up.

Frequently re-inforced by *dʌl*.

dʌl di.ɛʌs to stand up, rise and remain standing, H. *ʊfhkhʌra homa*. *qazi di.ɛčai.i astam ɛčər* the Qazi rises up to decide the case. 80.13. *gotʌs di.ɛči bi. Di.en....* the corpse gets up, sits up. Sitting up ... 312.12. *Pʌṇču dʌl di.ɛmi* P. stood up. 112.5,10 *uɛ d'i.ɛmʌn* they got up. 118.7. *gučn ba kɛ di.ɛ. Di.ɛ ba kɛ rʌl mʌnɛ* if you have lain down, stand up. If you have stood up, prepare yourself. 174.16. *hin di.en dunimi ɛka* one getting up tackled him. 106.8. Cp. 70.12, 118.2, 338.6, 340.2. *hiṇtsɛ dʌldi.ɛm bʌm* he was standing at the door. Other parts:

Fut. 1st. sg. *di.ɛčʌm*.
Pret. 1st. sg. *di.ɛ(y)ʌm*.
Perf. 1st. sg. *dʌl di.ɛya ba*.
Impf. 3rd. sg. or pl. *di.ɛčʌm*.
3rd. sg. neg. *dʌl ati.ɛmi*.
3rd. sg. m. *dʌl di.e bai.i*.
Impv. 2nd. pl. *dʌl di.ɛin*, neg. sg. *dʌl ati.a*. (Ca. *d*-ʌ.iyʌs*).

digi.ɛyʌs, digiyaiyʌs, digi.ɛč to fall down. — *dorrolo . . . iskičuk bʌy nikin dig'iɛ(y)ʌsər* having put 3 *čuqs* of millet in the hopper, on its (all) having fallen (from the hopper into the mill), i.e. when it has all been ground. 262.4.

Fut. 3rd. sg. (*phʌlo*) *digi.ɛči*.
Pret. 3rd. sg. *digi.emi*.
(A *d*-* form of *giyai.ʌs*).

diγanas v. *d*-γanas*.

diγinas, *diγ'i-* to run down a steep place (to save trouble), to rush down. 000

Fut. 1st. sg. *diγ'iγam*.

Pret. 1st. sg. *diγinam*,

3rd. m. *diγinimi*, f. *diγinumo*. *umosa ka di'inuman* they rushed down in a rage. 248.3. (*di-* invariable).

dikaṭas dikaš- v.i. to choke; to get caught, entangled, to catch in s.t., H. *band hona*, *fāṭjana* (*phāṭjana*). *hunts iγumarulo dik stimi* (i.e. *dikatimi?*) the arrow caught in his bowels. 146.12.

Fut. 3rd. sg. *dikaši*.

(Form of *d*-kaṭas*. Cp. *dukhaṭas*. The *-k-* and *-kh-* are corroborated).

dikhiras, *dikhirč-* to decrease, become less, wane, H. *kam hona*, *ghaṭna*. — *halants guntsatsum dikirči bi* the moon is waning day by day.

IUB. Impf. 3rd. sg. y *dikirčilum*. *dikhirum maimi* H. *kam huva hoga*.

(A form of *d*-khiras*. Ca. *d*-askiras*).

dilá N: (it) is (3rd. sg. y subject). Corresponds to Hz. *bila*.

dilawar brave, courageous. Prs.

dilas, *dilj-* to become wet, get wet, to be soaked. — *hir dilai* the man has got wet. *hiri dilan*, *hayor(ilo) dilian*, *gatuŋ dilitsan* the men, horses, clothes, have got wet. *dilastum oni.am* owing to getting wet I didn't go.

Fut. 3rd. sg *diljí*, Pret. 3rd. sg. m. *dilimi*. EOL.

(Curious as apparently duplicating *disilas* in meaning. It is a *d*-*form of *ilas*).

dilk y pl. double pl. *-iŋ* manure, dung, H. *khad*, *hail*. — *hunyaskum dilk*

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goat's dung manure. *bu.au.ukum dilk* cowdung manure. *dilkɛ jʌqər* pitchfork for manure. 000

d'iltər -iŋ y buttermilk, H. *lassi*, Prs. *dur*γ. — *diltərə* γʌʔ *dumi.en* the buttermilk has become frothy(?). *wa·lto tsundowan d'iltəriŋ nɛtʌn* making some 4 or 5 (bowls of?) buttermilk. 324.1. *da mʌska kɛ d'iltər nuk'a* then taking butter and buttermilk. 324.1.

di·lum damp (of flour, mud, bread). (St.pc. of *di·lʌs*).

di·lum N. (it) was (y sg. subject). Corresponds to Hz. *bilum*.

*-*ḍim*, *ḍim*, *-uts* x body, person, self. — *inɛ bani.a·dʌmɛ idi·m bi* he has a human body. 102.7,9,15. *gusɛ dutsʌnum adi·m* this straight body of mine. 360.2. *ja adi·mulum ru·* the soul in my body. 362.6. *u·ŋɛ gudim šu.a bi.a? ja adim šu.a bi* Are you well in health? I am well. EOL. *idi·m* the back (of a choga). N. *u·ɛ tsundo ayu ud'im kɛ han han* (*dəroγo*) *nu·skərts* those five sons of mine cutting a stick each per person, or, for themselves. 176.5. *ha·lum jʌma·ʌt ud'im kɛ han pfili ečan* the people of the house make a piece of bread for each person (of themselves). 320.4. *udimʌfɛ a·lto hanikuts učan* they give them 2 dishes to each party separately. 340.16. *gukɛ γenʌŋ ʌdi·mʌfɛ ečam* I shall appropriate this gold for myself. 54.18. Cp. 54.20. *adi·m* I by myself, I alone; *mudim* she by herself, she alone. *midi·mʌfɛ ba·n* we are alone *mi-*, *ma-*, *u-dimuts*.

(Cp. Sh. *ḍim*, body, person, trunk of tree; Kho. *ḍi·m*, trunk of tree).

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000 *ḍim* a loud noise of beating. — *yu·tis ḍim stimi*, or, *ḍimḍim stimi* he stamped (his foot in anger). **-ndiltsɪ ḍim stʌs* to beat the breast. *tom ḍim bʌl'ila* the tree has fallen at full length with a loud noise.

di·m st. pc. 3rd. sg. m, x and y of *ju·yas*.

dime·γurkʌs obtainable (for us). — *hʌzaʌr dime·γurkʌs me.ibi* perhaps it will be obtainable, perhaps we shall be able to obtain it.

(Infin. form with 1st. pl. pn. infix of *d*-ʌγurkʌs*).

dim'ilʌs, *dim'ilj-* to be rendered impure, defiled, H. *čhuṭ hona, napak, nʌjɪs*. *di·miljilum*, *di·mi·limi*.

(Form of *d*-milʌs*. Cs. *d*-ʌsmilʌs*. Cp. Sh. *dimɪle.i* he having been rendered impure).

dimi·yʌs dim'ič- v.i. to spill, be spilt: to fall. — *pfʌlo dimičitsa* the grain is falling. *tsil dimi·čila* the water is spilling. *tsil, pfʌlo, dimimi* the water, grain, was spilt, fell. *pfʌlo ku·in dimi·mi* this year the grain has increased (?). (Cs. *de·miyʌs*).

di·n y the faith, the religion. Prs.

di·n, di·nin, Nz. *di·ni*, 3rd. sg. hm. x y Ppa of *ju·yʌs*.

dinaʌr (poetical term for) lover, the beloved. 358.15 ff., 362.6. (Prs. *di·naʌr*, a gold coin, also, "name of a kind of bird, the sun", Steingass). Prs.

d'indiṣ pl. *dindirʌŋ*, N. *-iŋ* y rowan tree, mountain ash.

dints.h'i·rʌs, *dints.h'i·rč-* v.i. to spread out, overflow, H. *phailna*. — *sinda dintsi·rimi* the river overflowed.

Fut. 3rd. sg. *dints'i·rči*.

Perf. 3rd. sg. y *dintsirila*.

(*di-* invariable, The aspiration of

000 the *ts* in this Intrs. vb. is asserted as against the plain *ts* of the Trs. vb.).

d'ɪntsirʌs v. *d'ᵊ-ntsirʌs* v.t. to spread out, strew.

This and the preceding intransitive verb, as I got them, were distinguished by the accent. They were not differentiated by IUB in writing.

liŋ 1. Blue, green, ŠY *nirʌs*, IUB *sʌbz*.
2. *lapis lazuli*, H. *lajwərd*.

diŋ mayun a blue bead, male mallard.

ḍiŋər club, wooden pounder, Bu. *ḍʌmo*.

dip a wink; *dip etʌs* to wink. — *ine inər ilčin dip etimi* he winked his eye at him, he winked to him. Fut. 1st. sg. *dip ečʌm*.

Cp. Sh. *dip thorki*, to close the eye, to wink).

1. *ḍir*, x and y, x pl. *-ʌnts* (y pl. *-miz*, *Biddulph*).

i. x boundary, dividing line, or small irrigation channel, between fields.

ii. y closed frontier; enmity, hostility.

The y form is said to denote a "closed boundary".

mi ke u hərʌŋulo dir bi (or, *bila*) there is a (closed) boundary between us and them. *yərum dir hərʌŋulo bilumulo* formerly when there was enmity between them. 354.11. (As between Hunza and Nagir when there was hostility between them). Cp. 116.17. *dirʌṭe* on the border.

iii. forbidden, prohibited.

ma hartsum be mene ḍir metarna? has anyone forbidden us your house?

(IYB *ḍir*. Cp. Sh. *dɪr*).

ḍir -rʌo x over-hanging rock, a slightly sloping field.

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3. *dir -ło* x long, straight juniper stem or pole. — *gal dir* trunk of young juniper tree, juniper pole (formerly used as roof beams, 4" or 5" in diameter). *ɮal dirłu nuyen* carrying juniper poles. 256.8. *gal dir juuan gumʌna* (*imʌnai*, you have (he has) become like a juniper stick (i.e. dry and roughbarked), emaciated and haggard.

diraʷ v. *diri.ʌs*.

diraʷco, *diraʷco* sloping down, downward slope. — *diraʷco bila* it is a slight slope down.

diram a special kind of flour.

Wheat is damped and placed in a dish and covered over until it begins to sprout. It is then taken out and dried in the sun and ground up.

One part of this "*diram dʌyoʷʌn*" is taken and mixed with two parts of ordinary flour and made into bread, which is called "*diram pfiti*'," v. 182.7.

diram is made at two times of the year and a bowl of it is given to a bride by her father's family after the marriage. Cp. 308.2. (Cp. Sh. *dirʌm*).

ḍiri rolling. — *ḍiri mʌnaʷ* v.i. to roll. *ḍiri ełʌs* v.t. to roll. (Cp. Sh. *dir thoʷki*, to roll).

diri N. cooked, *audiri* raw.

1. *d'iri.ʌs*, *d'iriċ* St. pc. *d'irim*.
2. *dir'aʷ*, *dir'iċ* St. pc. *dirum*,

d'iri.ʌs (in fact *d'ᵊ-ri.ʌs*) is used with h and x subjects.

dir'aʷ (invariable) with y subjects.

Both mean v.i. to cook, to be come cooked; to ripen (of fruit).

1. Also means: to become experienced (of persons).
2. Also means: to become turned (of milk)

Fut. 3rd. sg. *diriči.* OOO
Pres. 3rd. sg. x *d'iriči bi*, y *diričila.*
pl. y *diričitsan.*
Impf. 3rd. sg. y *diričilum.*
Pret. 3rd. sg. x *d'irimi*, y *dirimi.*
(*yatsa*) *d'iričor tai.ar mani bim* (the head) had become on the point of being cooked. 232.3. *gose dustakulo iki diričiršan* they (y pl.) are cooking in this vessel. EOL. *dirum maimi* it will have become cooked.

(Cp. *d'*iri as*, Ca. *d*-atsiras* with *-ts-* for *-st-*, cp. Werch. *d*-astor*).

diriđal -iq y escape-channel of water passing out from below a mill. — *tsile diriđals hole du.asimi* the water ejected them by the escape-channel. 206.10.

điru, điro -muts x bullet, little ball. — *lsirtsi diru yami* the bullet hit the goat (ibex). 102.23. *diru.s gal* bullet wound. 358.5. *milis diro* a pill.

(*điru* IYB. Cp. Sh. *dirju, diru*, GB. *điru*).

đis manas to come into contact with to come together, H. *milna, skatta hona*, Syn. Ru. *juk manas.* — *hanantsi đis manas irtsi čorkowals đerđaltimi* he came to the cliffs that clash together against each other, the "Symplegades". 156.3.

disaras, disarč- to be saturated, fully watered, H. *sirab hona.*
Pres. 3rd. sg. y *bufai.i disarčila.*
Impf. 3rd. sg. y *disarčilum.*
Perf. 3rd. sg. y *disarila.*
St.pc. *disarum.*

(The verb is in fact *d*-saras* with Ca. *d*-asaras*).

d-isas* in: *dukurisas, dumurisas, durisas*, to take out, etc., you, her, them. V. sv. *d*-usas.

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[See corrigend et addenda category 116, p. 593 - Analyst]

000 *disi·ɪlas, disilj-* to become wet, H. *tor huma.* — *burk disi·limi* (his) throat became wet, i.e. (his) thirst was satisfied.
(Cp. *burk yuryimi* (his) throat became dry i.e. (he) became thirsty).
3rd. sg. Fut. *disi·lji.*
Impf. y *disi·ljilum.*
Perf. x *disi·li li.*
disi·lum maimi it will have become wet. IUB.
(The verb is really *d*-ɪsi·las*, Cp. *d*-ɪsilas*).

diš -mig y place: room (space). — *Diratsil sinas han dišan bila* there is a place called Diratsil. 226.1. *jar ɪura dišmig ayunumu* you have given me good places. 112.14. *ma ɢutšo dutsun ja dršulo brse yarr ocur?* why do you bring your corpses and bury them in my place? 112.19. *api ɪsum dišulo* it is not in the place in which he had put it. 166.20. *azzmatyarr dišulo* in the place of a servant. 20.4. *ɪrus dišulo* in his place, instead of him. (Cp. *bargo*). *urgir marle dišulo sinda huma guči am* I have given you, instead of property, the river-ford. 112.7. *tsile basan diš api, bur bila* there is no room for water (i.e. water is superabundant), there is much of it. 126.3. *ɪrus harle gurr ka maltais basan diš ɪmanumi* in his house there was no room for wheat and ghee, i.e. they were beyond reckoning. 142.6. (Cp. Sh. *dis*).

dišaki grain that is ground into flour for consumption during the current year. — *dišaki dirus* taking out the grain for the year's consumption. 334.1.

dišaiyas dršuć- to be stopped, dammed up (of water), to be impeded (of

000 breath). — *Šimšaʿla pfəri diʿšd bi* the *Šimšaʿl* lake has been dammed up, blocked (i.e. the stream has been blocked so that it has formed a lake).

A recurring phenomenon liable to produce floods by the eventual bursting through of the accumulated water. *dʌm* (or, *muʿ*) *dišʌmi* (his) breath was stopped, he suffocated.

Fut. 3rd. sg. *dɪšæči*.

(This verb appears to occur only with the *-i-* Pn. Pf. Cs. *dᵊ-ʌšɪ.ʌs*).

diṭ̌ça, -miq, -q. y seedling (of tree). — *diṭ̌ça.mum marq* seedling plants. (*marq* pl. of 1. *mrṭ̌*).

diṭ̌çik sg. and pl., also pl. ints x brick, sun-dried brick. — *diṭ̌çik ɪtʌs*, — *ɪtʌs*. — *dolʌs*, — *du.ɪsʌs* to make bricks. *dɪtuirum diṭ̌çik* a kiln-burnt brick. *dotuirum(ɪšo) diṭ̌çik ɪšo* burnt bricks. (Cp. Sh. *dɪštik*).

diṭ̌kiyʌs, diṭ̌kiç-, to grow, come up, sprout (of plant, tree, horns). H. *uʿgna*. — *tom, turʌq, diṭ̌kiçi* the tree, the horns, will grow. (*hʌn*) *ɪrkaʿ(n) diṭ̌kiʿla* a blade of grass has come up. *jakuntu turr diṭ̌kiʿmʌr* when horns have grown on a donkey. 142.27.

(The verb is really *dᵊ-ṭkiyʌs*).

diṭ̌ʿuʿʌs v. *dᵊ-suʿʌs* to undo, untie.

ditsʌs v. *dᵊ-tsʌs* to bring.

di.uʿlʌs, di.uʿlj- neg. Impv. *ʌti.ul*.

1. To wind. — *loʿto di.uʿlʌs, sar di.uʿlʌs* to wind a ball (of thread), to wind thread.
2. To roof. — *ha di.uʿlʌs* to roof a house.

Fut. 1st. sg. *di.uʿljʌm*.

Pret. 1st. sg. *di.uʿlʌm*.

di.usʌs v. *dᵊ-usʌs* to take out etc.

diuʿna mad. — *uʿq diuʿna gumʌna* you have gone mad. 210.1. Prs.

d'iy)ɐrʌyʌs, d'iɐrʌč- to become warm, hot, to warm up of oneself. *pfu·tɐ d'iɐrʌčʌm* I shall warm up at the fire. Pret. 2nd. sg. *d'iɐrʌyuma;* 3rd. pl. *d'iɐrʌyuman.* ○○○

(There is also a verb *d*-yɐrʌyʌs* to become warmed by an external instrumentality).

d-kʌfʌs* v. *d'ikʌfʌs* and *d'ukhʌčʌs.*

d-khi·rʌs* v. *dikhi·rʌs.*

d-kufʌs, d*-kuš-* to become thin, lean, in poor condition (of person or animal). *da·kušʌm* I shall become thin, EOL. *dikuši* it will become thin.

di·ku·šu bai he is } becoming thin N.,
domu·kušu bo she is } (*šča·to maimi*).

sis diku·tai the man } has become thin.
gus domu·kuto bo the woman
kayor d'iku·ti bi the horse

dâku·tʌm I became thin.

diku·timi he, it (x) became thin.

St. pc. *d*-kufom*, thin, emaciated, in poor condition.

(With pl. subjects there is an alternative form of the verb: *d*-kučaiʌs, d*-kučač-* yielding: e.g. St. pc. 3rd. pers. pl. *dukučʌmišo* || *dukufumišo*).

d-mayʌs, d*-mʌyʌs; d*-mač-, d*-mʌč,* Impv. *d*-may.*

1. To be on good terms, come to terms, make peace, make it up, be reconciled, make friends. II. *mɪlna, mu.a·fɪq ho·na.* IUB *do·sti karna.*

Fut. sg.

1. *d'ʌmačʌm* neg. *ati'ʌmačʌm.*
3. m. *dimʌči* *atimʌči.*
pl. 1. *dimimačʌn* *atimimačʌn.*

Pret. pl.

1. *dimimʌyumʌn* we made it up.
2. *damamʌyumʌn* you made it up.
3. *dumʌyumʌn* they made it up

ja·ka ʃ'imayum apai.i he is not on good terms with me. *yu e.i ka afum'ayuman* the father and the daughter did not make it up. 164.3. Cp. 250.3.

2. To fit (of clothes, wood work); to suit, be convenient. — *gusi ʃoya ʃaw dimati bi* this choga fits well.

This verb, however, occurs frequently in the generalised form *dumayas, dumayas*, which is also used when the subject is *y*.

mi mi horay dumarda hem we are making peace among ourselves. *ji dumayum* I came to terms. *ja akya ba, mai.i dumayin* I don't know about it, settle it among yourselves. *ile wazi atsi (itsi) aformatila* that time doesn't suit me (him). *gafug atsi (itsi) dumayimi* the clothes fitted me (him).

(This verb was frequently recorded with -γ- as the final consonant of the past base. Originally I recorded it from Nz. as *dumaʃ̌as, dumajas*, once even with -ʃ- in *mihoray dimimolonda hem* we are friends among ourselves).

This is consonant with other experience of what I have decided to be *ʃ*, appearing as a kind of *l, r*, or *ł* in the mouths of individuals or in particular words.

(Cs. *d*-ayayas*).

d-manas, d*-mai-* to be born, to come into existence; to be made. — *dumaiyam* I shall be born; *dumanam* I was born. *hilasan dimai.imi, dim'aimi, dimanai* a boy will be, was, has been born. *dasi·nan dumumai.imo, dumumanomo, dumumanu be* a girl will be, was, has been born. *i·ts*

000 *ditolo d'amaiyam* I shall be born in that place. 108.23. *ite ditolo d'amanas ba* I am to be born in that place. 108.19. *jatsum atu·lomana* you have not been born of me. 18.2. Cp. 264.16. *hin ke wu.iyen dimanimi* another son was born to her. 110.8. *goyen dumumane* (pret.) *ke* if a daughter is born to you. 56.15, 58.1. *tsundo gur d'umanij ma* up to the time that, i.e. when, five sons had been born. 246.5. *mudefum*, or *iljom*, *dimanum* the last-born, latest, or final-born child. *hilman dimanam . . . bakoiowan ke . . . dimani bim*, a boy had been born and a calf had also been born. 104.21. *dostak tyulo ilbrengi d'imanimi* the article came into existence of itself in the forge. 162.6. (*čamu*) *Kuuri dukanefe dimanum bim* the brooch had been made in K.'s shop. 164.15. Cp. 166.11.

(See also *dumanas* which is the form assumed by the verb when the subject is *y'*.

d°-manas is a *d°-* form of *manan* or *°-manas*. The Ca. is *d°-asmanas*.

d°-mmas, *d°-mare* to take s.t. from (the hands of) s.o. — *balda d'imarčam* I shall take his load from him (and carry it), I shall relieve him of his load. 212.6. *dukumarča ba* I am going to take the load from you. *dukumarčama?* shall I take it from you?

(*jatsum*) *kitab damar ov.*, take (lit. taking) the book from me (and) put it down.

d°-mafnas, *d°-mab-*, Ppa. *d°-mafe* to wrap up, roll up, fold up, close up. — *je ung galilo dukumabam* I'll wrap you up in a blanket.

OOO Also recorded in the form *dimatsas* etc. With y subjects it appears in the form *dumatsas:*

1. *guts krtaᵊp kaγasulo dumats* wrap this book up in paper. — (*krtaᵊb*) *nuq'atan dum'atsimi* . . . *dumats* having read the book he shut (folded? or rolled?) it up . . . having shut it. 70.10. *aiyaᵊrtki dumašam* I shall roll up, fold up, my bedding.
2. *dumatsas'* to remove and stack cut crops.

dᵊ-milas, v. sv. *dimilas*.

dᵊ-ntsiras, *dᵊ-tsirč-* v.t. to spread out, unroll, strew. H. *brčhaᵊna*.—*d'iᵊntsiras* to spread (bedding, clothes i.e. y objects). *d'uᵊntsiras* to spread (people, fruit, carpets i.e. h. and x pl. *diᵊntsirčam*, *d'iᵊntsiram* I shall spread, I spread. (Cp. *dints.hiᵊras* the corresponding intrs. verb. Cp. also Sh. v.t. *dinširoᵊtki*, to spread out, lay out, e.g. a carpet).

dᵊ-qaras, *dᵊ-qarč-* to split, divide. — *γaši·l diqaras* to split firewood. *foromuts duqaras* to split logs. *itan diqaras* to divide the hair (with a piece of stick). *gančeče itan diqarai.i* he has divided his hair with a stick ("spindle"). *diqarčai.i diqariᵊmi.*

do.'aᵊ v. *du.'aᵊ*.

ḍoᵊḍo -mots x larynx, (by extension, wind-pipe, throat). — *doᵊḍo.s maγon* adam's apple (a point seized when fighting). *doᵊḍo γunikiš* (a term of abuse for a man, implying that he has a prominent larynx). *uᵊ doᵊḍo aiyoᵊskərtsimi* (the knife) did not cut their throats. 44.19. Cp. 42.3. (Sh. *ḍoᵊḍo*).

[See corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 543 - Analyst] 134b

dofoɣurʌs IUB, *dəpfoɣurʌs*, *dofoɣurč-* to praise oneself, boast, H. *xud sɪtaʻrɪ̈ kʌrna*, *ʌpne taʻrif kʌrna*.
Impf. *dofoɣurčʌm*, Pret. 3rd. sg. *dofoɣurimi*.
St.pc. *dofoɣurum*.
(Intrs. corresponding to *dᵉ-ʌpuɣurʌs*)

doʻgunʌs to make (people) seize, lay hold of, to make (people) begin to. — *yˈotsilʌn doʻgrəər doʻgunimi* he had the people seized in order to make them make the water-channel, or, he made the people begin to make them . . . etc. 276.3. *isɪ hər ˈiljiər jaʻɨ nɪ dˈoʻugun . . . ɣʌtenčʌtɪ dəljʌm* making people lay hold of the ox (by the head) and pulling it out backwards . . . they used to smite it with a sword. 338.1.

(This verb is really *dᵉ-ʌgonʌs*, Cs. of *duʻnʌs*, with 3rd. pl. Pn. Infix).

doɣaʻʌtʌs, *doɣaʻʌčai.ʌs*; *doɣaʻʌš-*, *doɣaʻʌčʌč-*; Impv. *duɣaʻʌt*. v.i. to separate out, disperse(?), be selected; to be cleared up, finally settled (of a case).
Fut. sg. 1. *doɣaʻʌšʌm*. 2. *doɣaʻʌšuma*.
Pret. sg. 1. *doɣaʻʌtʌm*. 2. *doɣaʻʌtuma*.
Ali.abaʻdulo doɣˈaʻʌčʌn ʌsbaʻb nuka hurʻučʌmʌn. 238.11.

(*doɣaʻʌčai.ʌs* and its forms are only used with plural subjects. *Doɣaʻʌčʌn* in the example is the Past Pc. Act.) ^1

doɣˈʌnʌs, *duɣˈʌnʌs*, *doɣai-* to be finished, exhausted, used up, to come to an end, syn. Bu. *fʌš mʌnaʻs*.
Fut. 3rd. sg. *doɣai.imi*.
Impf. 3rd. sg. y *duɣai.i bilum*.
Pret. 3rd. sg. *duɣˈʌnimi*.
atoɣˈʌnʌs ɣenɪŋik inexhaustible quantities of gold. 54.7. *itɪ bʌl ʌtˈoɣʌnimi* the marrow was not exhausted. 138.15.

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^1 [see Corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

(This is the form of *dᵊ-γʌnʌs* which is used when the subject is y). 000

doγˈʌrʊsʌs, *doγʌrʊš-*, Impv. *doγˈʌrʊs*, Ppa. *doγərʊs(in)*. Also: *dʊγ-*, *duγ-*. Nz. sometimes *duγaʷrʊsʌs*.

The Pret. 3rd. sg. m. has the ending *-umi* as well as *-imi*.

1. To ask (s.o.), enquire of, question (s.o.)

The person questioned is usually expressed by a noun or independent pronoun and is put in the ablative. Occasionally the dative is used.

gərʊnimʊtsʊm ʌxʊnɛ . . doγʌrʊšai.i kinɛ hirər uŋ rɪzˈa nʊsen the "ʌxon" asks the bride: "are you content with this man?" 302.18. *itsimo dˈoγərušaʷn* they enquire of him. 312.15. *inɛ dʌsinmʊtsʊm doγʌrʊsimi* he enquired of the girl. 282.5. *jatsum atoγərus* don't ask me. 96.8. *atuʷγʊrʊsumʌʃɛ* without asking. *da haʷlʌttsum doγˈərusimi* then he enquired for his health, asked how he was. 16.6. *dʊγʌrušər eʷra ba* I have sent him to enquire. 10.4, 10.11, 20.6, 26.9, 38.11, 44.2,6,21, 64.23, 222.13, 228.14, 246.16, 248.8, 252.3, 264.11.

With Dative:

iʷnɛ hilɛʷsər doγʌrʊsumi: "*le.i eʷi . . .*" he asked the boy: "O my son . . .?" 106.14. *uʷer dʊγʌrʊsʌm* "*ma bɛʷsɛ heʷrčaʷn?*" *nʊsen* I asked them "why are you weeping?" 4.44. Cp. 338.6.

2. To make a claim against, to demand . . — *kʌmʌn ačiʷma kɛ axaʷrʌtɛ gʊntsʊlo gʊtsˈimo doγərušʌm* should you give me too little, I shall

000 make a claim against you at the Last Day. 58.25.

(A generalised form o *d*-ʌγʌrʊsʌs* q. v.).

doγʊnʌs Nz. v. *d*-γʊnʌs*.

doγʊm v. *doyʊm*.

doʿiγʌs, *doʿičʌn*, v. *d*-ʌ.iγʌs*.

doxʿərʌs, *doxʿərč-*.

1. To open (of flower), to come into blossom, H. *khɪljʌna* (*khɪlna*).

Fut. 3rd. sg. *doxʿərči*.

Pret. 3rd. sg. *doxərinɪ*.

Hunzulo jʊŋ doxərčʊmɪ (as) the apricot trees (are) coming into blossom in Hunza. 320.1.

2. V.i. to split (of wood).

(The second meaning is probably the primary one and the word is the same as *duxərʌs*, and *duqərʌ* EOL, v.s.v. *duxərʌs*, where othe examples of its use are given. All are presumably generalised *d*-* forms of **-xərʌs*). !

doxʊqʌs, *doxʊqʊč-* v.i. to be tangled, tangle

Fut. 3rd. sg. *doxʊqʊči*.

Pret. 3rd. sg. *doxʊqʊnɪ*.

doxʊqʊm tirtʊm juʌs mʌnʊma you have become like a tangled bobbin.

(Identical with *dʊxʊqʊγʌs* (q.v.) which appears to be the more correct form. The corresponding transitive verb is *d*-ʌqʊqʊʿγʌs* v. s.v. *dʌqʊqʊʿγʌs*).

doʿlʌs, *doʿliʌs*, *doʿlj*, to beat, strike, hit, shoot, kill.

doʿlʌs as a form of *d*-ʌlʌs* appears to be used correctly i.e. only when the object is h or x pl.

doγʊnɪ doʿljʌ let us beat them after questioning them. 248.8. *(hoʿl) bilʌfi doljʊma ki* somehow you will beat, slay, (the army). 132.21. *giriniʊts doli* (or, *doli*) *niγʊmʌnʊmʌn ki* if they

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! [see corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 543-Analyst]

000 have not been able, if they fail, to hit the marks. 316.9. *či.u dolas* to shoot birds (small game). *dišči' dolas* to make bricks. *γatrnçaţ. dolias daiyela baiyam* I had heard of striking (people) with the sword. 228.11. *oltalik Kirgiz tobaqaţe doli bam* The Kirgiz had slain both of them with guns, had shot the two of them. 344.5.

Pres. 3rd. sg. *doljai.*

Pret. 3rd. sg. *dolam.*

(Cp. *d*-alas* and *delas*).

dolat y property, wealth, riches. — *in epači burt dolat bila* he has great wealth. *donats dolat* worldly wealth. *imo dolat wor trang ne učimi* he divided and gave his property to them. 366.4. *baxt dolat* luck and prosperity(?). 332.9. Ar. Prs.

dolatman, daulatman rich, wealthy. 100.1. (Ar.) Prs.

1. *ḍom, ḍoum* strong, powerful, hard, severe, difficult. — *ḍouman baia xair ke* is he not a strong man? 162.25. *A. Wazir burt ḍom baiši* A. Wazir is very hard (metaphorical). 70.22. *burt ḍom duro bila* it is a very hard, serious, business. 50.24. *jale ḍom ktarpan bila* I have a difficult book in my possession. 68.24.

2. *ḍom -ants* x heap of earth, mound ("in plain or talus fan"). *ise domulo čumere gili . . . modelimi* he secured her with an iron peg in the mound. 194.13.

(Doubtless identical with ~~A.~~[1] *ḍong*).

3. *ḍom manas* to run away, to scatter, be scattered about.

ḍomaḍom confused, at a loss, wandering about, H. *sargardan*. — *ḍomaḍom*

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[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 543- Analyst]

manas to be confused, wander about. IYB. 000

(Probably 3. *ḍom* duplicated).

don, pl. *doyo*, x woman's head-sheet. — *don monwaščan* they throw a head-sheet (veil) over her (head), or, make her put on . . . 304.11.

(Cp. Sh. *doʌn*, *don*).

1. *domas*, *dononas*, *dori-*; Impv. *don*, neg. *aton*, to undo, unfasten, open (door, cupboard, lock). — *sərik dononas* to undo a bolt. *hiŋ don* to open the door. *basiʌne čeri er atonin* don't open the lock (sc. on the door) of the garden for him. 12.1. *basiʌ hiŋ doyʌn* let us open the door of the garden. 12.11. *ma atori ban ke akər esqaiʌm* if you don't open (it) I will kill myself. 16.13.

Fut. sg. 1st. *doyʌm*, 3.rd. *dorimi*.
Pres. sg. 3rd. m *dori baiʌ*.
Pret. sg. 1st. *domʌm*,
3rd. m. *domimi*.
f. *domomo*. 24.20.
pl. 3rd. *domomʌn*. 12.11.
neg. *atomomʌn*. 12.5.
Impv. pl. *donin*. 12.9.

(In the past base *o* tends to become *ovo*).

2. *domʌs* N. variant of *dunʌs*.

ḍoŋ IYB mound, elevation in level place, humped.

(Variant of 2. *ḍom*. Cp. *doŋqʌm*).

ḍ'oŋɣoraʌs, *ḍ'oŋɣorč-* v.i. to bend, bend over (of tree), lean over (side of horse when playing polo). — *ḍʌŋ bila, kʌm ḍoŋɣorčila* it is stiff and bends little.

(Intrans. of *ḍ*-ʌʌŋɣorʌs* v. s.v. *ḍeŋɣorʌs*. Cp. *ḍuḍuŋ* and Sh. *toŋ*, stooping, bent).

ḍoŋh'ər IYB mustard (of plant and oil). (Cp. Sh. *duŋhʌr*).

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[see corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

ḍoŋqam -ršo, -iŋ rough, undulating. (Probably ✗. *ḍoŋ + qam*). ○○○

doomayas. doomač- v.t. to exchange s.t. permanently with that of s.o. else. Fut. 1st. sg. *doomačam.*
ine ka hayor doomayam I exchanged horses with him (permanently).
atoomay, dont exchange . . . .
(Connected with *d*-mayas* and *d*-asmayas*, the idea apparently being "to make something equivalent to s.t. else". "to match things").

ḍoq on the shoulders. — *doq numuyen* taking the girl up on his shoulders. 244.14. (Cp. Kho. *ḍok* on the back).

doqas doqič-, (and *doquč-?*) p.pc. *doq, doqin,* v.i. to swell. — *ja ariŋ (uŋ gurin) doqila* my hand (your hand), has swollen. *doqum basimi* the swelling went down. *doq ilčin juan mani bi* swelling, it has come like an eye-ball. (Cp. Kho. *ḍok,* mound heap, ball of hand).

ḍor, -ants x N. *dor, -aints,* receiver in which grain is put in mill, hopper. — *yai.ine doroulo . . . . bay nikin* putting, pouring millet into the hopper of the mill. 262.4. Cp. 266.15. (Cp. Sh. & Kho. *ḍor*).

1. *doras* v. *d*-aras* to send them.
2. *doras, dorč-* to fall down (of cliff, stones, house). — *hakičaŋ imo ravati dorčitsan, dorimi, doritsan* the houses are falling, fell, have fallen, down of themselves. *čor, mort, dorimi (dorči)* the cliff, earthcliff, fell down (will fall down). *čorko dorimi.en* the cliffs fell down. *čor dorum dzš* the place where the cliff has fallen down. *žiŋat burt dorčilum* the stone-slide was coming down, was very active

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[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 543- Analyst]

000 i.e. a lot of stones were coming down the stone-shoot. 294.4.

(Intrs. of *dɐ·urʌs* (i.e. *dᵊ-ʌ.urʌs*). Perhaps a *dᵊ-* form based on the same root as Sh. *hur-ijo·rki*, to fall down of an earth cliff etc. Cp. Werch. *dohor-*).

3. *dorʌs*, *dorč-*, Ppa. *dor*, v.t. to grind in a water mill, IUB H. *čʌki čʌla·na*, *čʌkmē pi·sna.—phalo do·rčai.i*, *do·rimi* he is grinding, he ground, the grain. *yai.ɛŋulo γɐnʌŋ do·rču bo·m* she was grinding gold in a mill. 204.4. Cp. 300.1,3, 334.2,5,7.

(Perhaps related to 2. *do·rʌs*).

doro N., v. *du'ro*.

došolʌs IUB, *dušolʌs*, *dušolj-* to be obtained, received (from s.o.), H. *krsise ha·srl ho·na*.

Impf. 3rd. sg. y *dušoljilum*.
Pret. 3rd. sg. m. *dušolimi*.
St.pc. *dušolum*.

do·tsʌs, *do·otsʌs*, v. *dᵊ-ʌtsʌs*, to make them bring, to send.

d'o·u, *do·wum* v. *do·γum*.

do·γum, *doy* (recorded: *do·γum*, *do·γu·m*, *do·wum*, *do·γu*, *do·u*) right (hand).

doγum ariŋ, *ašʌk* my right hand, arm. *do·u iriŋɛ* with his right hand. 166.1. *doγu pʌči ni.ʌs bila* one must go to the right. *doγu·m iri·ŋum i·sɛ pfultiŋiš* the right-hand bellows. 166.4. Cp. 92.1, 96.3, 312.1.

do·zʌx, *zo·zʌx* y Hell. (Cp. Sh. *zo·zʌk*).

dᵊ-pirkʌnʌs v. *dᵊ-ʌpirkʌnʌs*.

d'ᵊ-pirtsʌs, *d'ᵊ-pirš-* to pull up, root out, eradicate, H. *ukha·γna*. — *tsirištsum dipi·rtsʌs* to pull (tree, person) up by the roots. *dukuᵛpiršʌm* I'll eradicate you. *kok tsɐrʌŋ dipi·rtsʌm* you had pulled out this door-frame. 170.9. *hɐri pfyu·ɛn dipirtsin* tearing a little

000 barley up (by the roots). 328.8. (Cs. *d*-ʌpirtsʌs*).

drʌŋ mʌnaˑs to dismount, get down. — *hʌγorɛtʊm drʌŋ mʌnɛ* dismount from the horse. *hʌγurtsum drʌŋ numa* dismounting from the horse. 122.11,24. (Cp. Sh. *dərʌŋ boˑɪki*, to dismount).

d-riˑʌs, d*-raˑs*, v. *diriˑʌs*, v.i. to cook, be cooking. — *gusɛ dustsˈʌkulo itsɛ aˑlu duˑrići biˑɛn* those potatoes (x pl.) are cooking in this pot. EOL. *brʌs diˑrićiˑtsʌn* the rice (y pl.) is cooking. EOL.

d-silʌs* v. *disˈiˑlʌs*.

dˈ-šunʌs, d*-šuˑnʌs, d*-šu-*, Impv. *d*-šʊn* to untie, undo, loosen (anything tied up e.g. man, horse, bedding, boot, knot, rope, hair). — *dukˈuˑšuyʌm* I shall untie you. *dˈišuyʌm* I shall untie etc. him, it. *dʌmaˑšuyʌm* I shall untie you (pl.). *jɛ dʌšʊn* undo me. (Trans. of *dušˈunʌs*).

d-tʌlʌs, d*-tʌlj-*. Impv. *d*-tʌl*, Pps. *d*-tʌl*, v.i. to awake, wake up. — *datʌljʌm, ditʌlji* I shall wake up, he will wake up, *ditʌljaiˑi* he is waking up. *dʌtʌlʌm* I woke up. *dʌŋtsʊm ditʌlimi. Ditʌl* . . . . he woke from sleep. Having wakened up. 20.5. Cp. 180,5. *dumuˑtʌlɪmo* she woke up. 110.1. *dukuˑtʌl* wake up! *atukuˑtʌl, goˑyɛn* don't wake up, sleep. *atitʌlimi, atumutʌlumo* he, she, didn't wake up. *atˈutʌlumʌn* they didn't wake up. 40.7. (Cs. *d*-ʌst(s)ʌlʌs*).

d-tsʌs, d*-s-*, Impv. *d*-tso*.

The principal forms recorded are given in § 302.

1. To bring, fetch (only h and x objects). (With y objects *dusuˑyʌs* or *suˑyʌs* are used, v. § 231 d). *dumuˑtso* bring her. 138.2.

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akaʷbərtiŋ haʷlər dušaʷn they bring the elders into the house. 340.5. Cp. 332.8. *kin amulum ditsumaʔ* from where did you get (bring) this (child)? 268.6. *hʌγur diʷtsʌs* to bring one's horse along, to ride along to ride past. *dʌndʌneʃe eʷskəršume ditsimi* making his horse gallop over the stones he rode along. 122.8. *Wazire tsʌγəra dišai.i, ho gušpurtəru.e dišaʷn* (The sense is:) The Wazir rides down the ground to shoot with bow and arrow at the mark and then the gushpurs ride down. 316.7.

(*tsʌγəra* denotes "archery", and *hʌγur* is understood as the object of *dišai.i, dišaʷn*).

2. *ditsʌs* is used with some x nouns to form compound verbal expressions: *dʌm ditsʌs* to charge (an enemy). *biri ditsʌs* to boil, v.i. Cp. 8.10,13, 14.3,17, 18.7, 40.1, 58.8, 66.7,17, 68.6, 72.11,13, 74.2,3,5, 128.11, 138.2, 152.3,4, 162.12, 174.19, 208.10, 344.5, 346.8.

(V. also *dusuʷyʌs* used with y objects. The Cs. common to both is *d*-ʌtsʌs* v. § 241).

d-ts.hʿiginʌs, d*-ts.hʿigi-* v.i. to hang, to be hanging, be suspended. — *baʷz dits.hʿigini bi*, the hawk (has fallen and) is hanging suspended (by the string). *hir mərtolo dits.hʿigi bai.i*, the man is hanging suspended on the face of the earth cliff. *xʌlta gilulo dits.hʿiginum bi*, the haversack is hung up (hanging) on the peg.

(With this and the following verb cp. *dʿ*-ntsirʌs*).

*d*ʿ-tsikinʌs, d*-tsiki-*, Impv. *d*-tsikin*, v.t to hang up, suspend. — *dukuʷtsiki.ʌm*,

ditsiki.ʌm I'll hang you up, I'll hang up him, it. *dʌtsikimi* he'll hang me up. *dimitsikimʌn* they will hang us up ("in Hell"). *ditsikinʌm* I hung him, it, up. *gi·lulo ditsikinʌm* (or, *wʌšim*) *bi* is hung on, hanging on, a nail. *ditsikinʌs bi* it is to be hung up. *dutsikinʌs bi.ɛn* they (x pl.) are to be hung up. *guyɛtis himʌltərtsɛ dukoʳtsiki.ʌm* I'll hang up your head (for you) on the gateway. 72.5.

(Apparently *d*-ʌtsikinʌs* with Pn.-inf. referring to indirect object).

ʌstʌmɛ šʌŋʌličiŋ i·nɛ himʌltərtsɛ d'itsikimi he will hang up chains of justice from his gateway. 88.7.

du,' -wʌnts, N. *-ʌ·i·nts*, x kid (up to one year old of either sex, including *buʳtər*, *sumfʌlikrš* and *hʌlka·s du*), H. *buzγa·la*, Sh. *čʌl*, — *hʌn tsi·rʌnɛ du·ʌn* a goat-kid. 370.9, 374.9. *gi·ri duwʌnts* ibex kids. *bu·mɛ du* markhor kid.

du.'a·, duw'a, do.'a· y prayer, supplication (to God), invocation. — *du.a ɛtʌs* to offer up a prayer. 294.6, 312.6. *mor du.'a· nɛtʌn* invoking a blessing on her. 286.3. *γunikrš du.'a nɛ* uttering a curse, invoking a curse. 284.24. Ar. Prs.

du.a·ni y two annas, a two-anna bit. H.

du.asʌs v. *d*-u.ɛsʌs*.

du.ʌk du.ʌk ɛtʌs v.i. to knock, tap on. — *hiŋʌṭɛ du.ʌq du.ʌq ɛtʌs* to knock at the door. Cp. *duwʌq* q.v.).

du.ʌŋ du.ʌŋ ɛtʌs v.i. to knock. — *hiŋʌṭɛ du.ʌŋ du.ʌŋ ɛtʌs* to knock at the door. IYB. *duwʌŋ duwʌŋ ɛtʌs* to knock against s.t. accidentally (as a child's head against a wall).

dučhaγurʌs, dučhaγurč- to be, become, cold H. *ṭhʌnḍa hoʳna*, or. *hojaʳna*.

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000 Pres. 3rd. sg. y *dvčhaγvrčila.*
Impf. 3rd. sg. y *dvčhaγvrčilvm.*
Pret. 3rd. sg. *dvčhaγurimi.*
St.pe *dvčhaγvrum.*

(Denominative from *čhʌγu·rvm.* This invariable form is used only with y subjects. When the subject is h or x there is a variable Pn. Infix, *d*-čhʌγvrʌs*).

ḍuḍu·ŋ stooping. Cp. *ḍo·ŋγvras.*

ḍuḍu·r a kind of apricot tree.

ḍ'uḍvr -iŋ y, a small hole. — *ḍ'uḍvriŋər gi.ʌmʌn* "they have taken refuge in small holes (in battle)".

ḍvḍu·ro, pl. *ḍvḍu·r-išo, -vmvts*, x.

1. Bud.
2. Bells worn by dancers on their ankles.
3. Teat, nipple.

mərdakayε ḍuḍu·ro green capsule of poppy.

(Cp. Sh. *dodo·ro*, small bell, & *ḍvḍu·ro*).

d-u.εsʌs* etc. *d*-u.εš.*

The forms of this verb vary considerably and it is impossible to refer them to a single invariable base.

Besides *d*-u.εs-* we find *d*-uwʌs-*, *d*-u.ʌs-*, *d*-wʌs-*, *d*-(u)wεs-*.

When the subject is y there seems always to be *du-* followed by *-wa·s-*, *-a·s-*, *-wa·ʌs-*, or *-wa·εs-*. It appears therefore that with y subjects the pronoun infix is stabilised in the form of *-u-* and that the accent tends to fall on the following vowel strengthening it to *a·*. Occasionally, however, we have *du·(w)ʌs-*. Some forms of this verb are given in § 304. Others will be found below:

The primary meaning appears to be "to remain", of which the other

OOO meanings can be regarded as merely special aspects. For convenience they may be roughly classified as follows:

1. To remain, remain over, stay behind, to continue (to be).
2. To survive, escape, get off, be saved; to recover, get well.
3. To be left out, to be passed over.

1. *ivlji dyu.ɛsʌs, dywʌsʌs* to remain behind (subject h or x sg.). *duwavʌsʌs* to remain (y subject). *dʌŋ ativmi dauwʌsʌm* sleep did not come, I remained, i.e. remained sleepless. *šʌpik hʌnikulo ati.u.ɛsimi* no food remained in the bowl. 210.3. *pfərɪlo dumuwʌsumo* she remained behind in the pond. 14.10. *čavmine bevum dɛn dimivʌsumʌn* we have remained, continued, hungry for some years. 34.10. *b'erumʌn guntsiŋ buvt aravmɛ ka du(w)ʌsumʌn* for some days they continued in great comfort. 36.15. *dyu.ʌsum ivsɛ šər* the remaining bough. 214.9. *dyuvʌsumʌn wŋər bərkʌt* (the food) that has remained over be your portion! 212.14. *dyu.ʌsumʌn čʌp kɛ šʌpik* the bread and meat remaining over (agreeing with *šʌpik* x). 208.9. *yʌški 'ataw'ʌsa ba* I have not remained worthy. 373.8.

With a y subject we have: *čuvk duwavɛsimi* the sewing has remained over, i.e. is not finished. *bʌni.avdʌmɛ čʌp du.avsimi* it remained human flesh, lit. human flesh remained. *mavr gutɛ tsil du.avʌši* this water will (always) remain for you. 292.11. (*mʌltaš*) *bɛska atuvasimi* nothing has remained (of the butter). 140.14. *bɛska*

du·ro at'u·(w)ʌsimi no work has remained. 162.11. *duwa·sumʌn (tsil) gəro·nu.ər ičičai.i* he gives what remains (of the water) to the bridegroom. 304.3. *gina·ni.ər altaˑŋuts duw'a·sumər* when eight days remain to the Gina·ni . . . 326.8. *duwa·sum čʌp, pfʌlo, mʌltaʔ, tsil, pʌči, pilam* the meat, grain, ghee, water, cotton cloth, woollen homespun left over. *duwa·sum(ʌn) tʌn.xa* arrears, balance, of pay,

2. *e·rčʌma dau.ešʌm kə* (see) whether I shall die or recover, survive. 146.19. Cp. 50.9. *duku·ešma; duku·esʌs ba, duk'u·eša* you will recover; you are going to recover. 50.10, 146.20. *hirʌn dyu·ʌsin Šimša·lər di bʌm* a man escaping, or surviving, had come to Shimshal. 272.9 *xʌtərtsum dyu.esimi* he escaped from the danger. *daweša ba* I am going to escape, survive, 44.11. *dau.ʌsʌm* I escaped, survived. 44.20. *atiw'eše.aʔ dyuweši.aʔ* will he not escape? will he escape? 38.22,23. *di.u·ʌsʌs apai.i* he is not going to escape. 38.24. *γʌli·e numʌn i·re i·re nimʌn dyu.esimi* having fallen ill and nearly died, he recovered. *dyu.ʌsimi* he has been saved, he has escaped. 42.10. *gusmo hʌ ke bušai.i du.'a·simi* the woman's house and land remained, escaped (destruction). 286.12.

3. *dau.esʌm* I was left out. — *dyu·esimi* he was left out, passed over (said of a man who has not received his share in a distribution). (Cs. *d*-ʌspʌsʌs*. Possibly related to *bʌsa·s*, v. § 304).

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dufaltas, dufalč-, v.i. to burst (of gun, dam, boil, blister). — *tubak dufalči, dufaltimi* the gun will burst, burst. *pfəri dufaltimi* the tank (or, dammed up water) burst. *sər bilum, tsʰil dufaltila* there was a flood, the water has burst out.

(Trs. *dᵃ-Afaltas*, Cp. also *ᵃ-faltas*).

dufareskinas, dufareski- v.i. to spread (of a sore or skin disease), to increase in girth (of a tree).

Impf. 3rd. sg. m. *dufareski bam.*

Pret. 3rd. sg. *dufareskinimi.*

dug'ər N. *-iŋ* y scissors.

d'uguças. d'uguč-, Impv. *dugo* (*-u*), neg. *atugo* (*-u*), to fasten (door-bolt, or lock). — *sərik dugu.ai.i* he has fastened the bolt. *sərik atugu* don't fasten the bolt. *sərik dugum bi* the bolt is fastened, closed. *čeʿi d'ugum bim* the lock was closed. 12.5. *čeʿi atugum bim* the lock was not closed.

Fut. 1st. sg. *dugučam.*

Pret. 1st. sg. *dugu.am.*

duγatas v. *doγatas.*

du'γanas, v. *do'γanas.*

duγanderas, duγanderč-, (*do-*), to be, become crooked; (of a person) to become contrary, opposed, to s.o.

Perf. 3rd sg. x *duγanderi bi.*
y *duγanderila.*

Plup. 3rd. sg. x *duγanderi bim.*
y *duγanderilum.*

(Denominative from *γander*, crooked).

duγarusas v. *doγarusas*

duγuʿi y midday. — *duγuʿi bila, manila* it is, has become, midday. *duγuʿi xa* up till midday. 330.5. *duγuʿi manumtsum* after midday is passed. 330.7.

duγuʿimo pertaining to midday. — *duγuʿimo ken* midday (time). Nz.

000 *duγuʿimo ʌsi* midday breakfast (a Raja's meal). *duγuʿimo pʃiti* midday bread (a children's meal).

duγ'uʿrskinʌs, duγuʿrski-, Impv. *duγuʿskin.*

Also: *duγuʿsk-, duγuʿsk-, duγuʿsk-, doγuʿrsk-*, to begin, commence. *tʌle kutsunmo duγuʿski.ʌm* I shall begin in (after) 7 days.

A dependent verb is usually put in the dative of the infinitive: *ʿrnʌsər duγuʿrskinimi* he began to say. *kuʿr mʌnʌvʿər duγ'uʿrskinimi* he began to patrol up and down. 42.15. *ʿinu ʿrsmilʌsər duγ'uʿrskinimi* he began to persuade him. 374.6.

Other idioms are: *xuši ʿtʌstʌr doγ'uʿrskinumʌn* they began to make rejoicing. 573.22. *xʌmali bišʌčər duγuʿski bo* she is beginning to make the "xʌmali" bread. 306.8. *šʌpik dʌŋ ʿtʌsi* (for *ʿtʌsər i*) *doγuʿrskimai.i* he has begun to make bread. 126.10.

Fut. 1st. sg. *duγuʿski.ʌm,*
duγuʿrskiyʌm.
Pret. 1st. sg. *duγuʿrskinʌm.*
2nd. *duγuʿrskinuma.*

601 *du.iʿčo* N. step (relation). — *dü.iʿčo baba, mama* step-father, step-mother. *·duʿiʿčo aʿču, aʿyʌs* my step-brother, step-sister, (man speaking).

000 *duʿinʌt, dunʌt, dunʌ.a* y the world. — *dunʌʿtʌ dolʌt* wordly wealth. *in juucaʿnʌn du.inʌtulo apai.i* there is no one like him in the world. 30.16. Cp. 22.2, 92.28. Ar. Prs. (Cp. Sh. *dunyʌt*).

duʿisʌs v. *dᵊ-usʌs.*

585 *duʿk -ʌŋ* y.

1. Spindle, used for spinning goat's hair.

585 2. y sg. and pl., a present formerly given by a man to his bride. It was originally 12 yards of "latta" (sized cotton cloth). This was kept and passed on to the next generation, old and dirty. It was called the "*du·kr paći*".

Rs. 5 is now nominally fixed as its pecuniary equivalent, but this is actually paid only if the woman is divorced.

3. (metaphor.) right, claim.

IUB gives *duk* = right, woman's dowry, H. *ḥaq*, *mahr* 'aurat ka. V. s.v. *gər*. (Cp. perhaps Sh. *du·k*, debt).

000 *dukan -iŋ duk'an* y shop. — *dukanolo ja·ka hərAŋ baí.i* he is partner with me in the shop. *Kizəri dukanəṭs dimAnom bim* it had been made in K.'s shop. 164.15. *dukanəṭər* (*dimi*, *dumomo*) (he came, she came) to the shop. Prs. 160.12, 164.10, 166.15.

dukandar hm shop-keeper. Prs.

dukh'arAs dukh'arć- to deny, repudiate, reject, refuse compliance, H. *munkir hona*, *inkar karna*, *na· mana*.

dukhAṭAs, *dukhAs-*, v. *dikAṭAs*, to be stopped, closed, impeded, H. *band hona*.

(Form of *d°-kAṭAs* used when the subject is y).

duke duke with great pleasure, very gladly, I ask for nothing better. — *duke duke ićhi* give it to him very gladly.

dukon Ppa. 2nd. sg. of *juryAs* thou having come.

ḍukuri -muts x any very small hut, hovel, N. henhouse. Hz. also used contemptuously of a house. (Cp. Sh. *ḍukuri*).

142 b

duxˈərʌs, duˈxərē-.

1. To open (of flowers), H. *khilna.* 000
— *gusi šutuko duqərčər taiyar bim* this bud was on the point of opening. EOL.

2. To expand (of the heart), to become happy. IUB, H. *dil khuljana, dil xuš hona.* — *-ʌs duxˈʌrʌs* to become happy. *is duxˈʌri bim* his heart had become happy.

3. To split. — *duxərʌsdʌn* "splitting stone" i.e. shale (occurring in the Baltit Nullah).

(Identical with *doxˈərʌs*, q.v.).

duxʌšn -niŋ y festival day, day of rejoicing, H. *mela, xušika koi din.*

duxau.ukuts x a sheep sacrificed on the third day after a person's death (the word appears to be only used in curses). — *duxau.ukuts(ər) šiqʌn* they eat it for d. *duxau.ukutsər gumʌnč* (or *gumʌnum*) may you be used for d. (*or*, may you be for (?) the d.! (a curse).

(Cp. Sh. *dukhani, duxani* with similar sense and use).

duxərquyʌs, dəxərquč- to be entangled, involved, H. *uljha jana.*

Impf. 3rd. sg. y *duxərqərčilum.*
Pret. 3rd. sg. *duxərquni.*
St.pc. *duxərqum.*

(Identical with *daxuqʌs* q.v.).

dul collyrium (black stuff painted on eyelids). A mineral found in the Hasanabad Nullah in Hunza. Used for small children to protect their eyes, and by amorous young men — *šauqin juwan*). — *dul -ʌtʌs* to apply collyrium to s.o. *ultəlik dustʌl dul no gatuŋ no utsumʌn* waking up both (the children) and applying collyrium to them and dressing them 302 751 751

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up . . . they took them away. 40.21. 751
(Cp. Sh. *dul*).

dulduŋ, duldoŋ, duldun, -ičiŋ y bread-oven; fixed earthen fireplace (in houses of the well-to-do.), H. *tanur, čulha*. 000
(Cp. Wkh. *dildong* a special kind of fire-place and open oven[1]
Morgenstierne derives *dildong* from Prs. dēgdān. "Etym. Vocab. of Pashto", p. 21).

duld'oŋgi, duldoŋi thick bread (Wakhi) made in "duldoŋ". — *wa·lto duldoŋi* four pieces of duldoŋgi bread. 340.11.

duld'um, duldom, y. a rising cloud (as of dust), a great quantity of.

du·ljaiyas (*-eyas*) *du·ljać-* to be full (of food), to be sated, to have enough, H. *rajna*.
Fut. 1st. sg. *du·ljaćam*, 3rd. *du·ljaći*.
Pret. 1st. sg. *du·ljaiyam*.
je du·ljeya ba I have become full, sated. *je jitsum, duni.atsum, mamatsum du·ljaiyam* I am "fed up" with life, the world, you, *gute watantsum du·ljaiyam* I am "fed up" with this country. EOL. *uyon du·ljaman* all had their fill (of the marrow), were satisfied. 138.15.
(A *d*-* derivative from *huljaiyas*. Cs. *d*-asuljaiyas*).

dult'alanas, dultalai-, to become (fruitful). — *Hunzo d'ultalaimi*, Hunza will become fruitful again i.e. the crops will flourish. 242,3. *šune iski denum ik dultalai.i bila*, a vine bears fruit (i.e. begins to bear) after 3 years.
(A *d*-* derivative of *tal'enas, *-ltalanas*, which can have the meaning of "to turn into," "become").

dultapi.as, dultapuyas (also with *-y-*), *dultapuč-* v.i. to wither (with y subjects), — *dultapoči, dultapimi* it

143 b

[1] [see corrigenda et addenda. category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

000 will wither, it withered *deltapem* withered.

del'u, pl. *delowik*, N. *del'umeik*, x thin rope, cord; string, thread (for suspending amulet and charms). — *dwiś ne delwaję čak* мамаи slipping down from the window by a rope. 38.7. *ówe bregdor delwaję dwwimi* he climbed up by the rope into his palace. 42.13. (Cp. Sh. *delw*, *dwlu*).

1. *doma*, *duma*, -*meik*, x all patched, ragged clothes. — *loga domaya yoldi* he has dressed in rags and tatters.
2. *duma*, *doma*, -*meik* x tail of fat-tailed sheep. — *duma ubwi* he gives them (it) fat tail. 340.16. Pra. *dumbr*.

dumayas v. *d*ᵃ*-mayas* 2.

dumanas dumai-.

1. To come into being, take shape. — *duro dumanimi* the affair succeeded, took shape. *yatrečas ine drigalo dumanę* may a sword come into being, take shape, in his hand. 160.14. *ave dakomahage yat ov dumaimi* a 1000-poled tent will come into existence for him. 88.4. *duv'o upow* (*pavo*) *dumanimi* all the work was completed. 102.11.
2. To take solid form, solidify, freeze, coagulate, curdle. — *tail dumanida* the water has frozen. мамо *dumanida* the milk has curdled, coagulated, set. *dumarow* мамо coagulated milk.

(The form of *d*ᵃ*-manas*, used with *y* subjects).

dumaras, *dumaré*. Impr. *dumar*, Pps. *dumar*.

1. To demand, ask for, request, want, procure, H. *mangna*. — *ja wy ślamtom dumarda* So I am asking the Tham for you. *ślamtom*

000 *dumɔraa wasiv ja apaɔr dɔrɔaw* I asked the Tham to send the Wasi to me. *beiki ɣfaloik dumɔrɔa* what kind of grain do you want? *kɔrkɔmatu jotomatu aɔlu dumɔrɔa ba* I want two chickens. *tobak dumɔr* asking for a gun. 42.15. *gɔtɔimo dumɔrɔi ka 'ɔrɔa* if he asks (lit. asked) you (for the things) don't give them to him. 210.14. Cp. 212.7. **-rig dumɔraa* to seek (a person's) hand (in order to kiss it as a token of respect), to kiss s.o's hand. Cp. Sh. *kat bɔtɔhɔrki*. *hin hinɔ iriŋgig dumɔrumaa* they kissed each other's hand(s). 90.10. *ɔr ɔɔdir ɔɔ ɔriŋ dumɔr nidɔrɔ* paying their respects to him and kissing his hand, they depart 314.10. *gɔɔɔ gɔgɔrɔ akil ugɔrɔ ɔlɔrɔa? mɔnikiraa dumɔr'a?* have your wife and children reared it up like this, or have you got it from some one else? 62.13. Cp. 294,12,13. *ɔiɔv dumɔr* procure, buy, a goat.

2. To respond to, answer. — *ja salam ɔlumɔrimi, he dida'* respond to, take notice of, my salutation.

V. Texts, 180.11.n., *dumɔrimi* is correct and not an error for *dumagimi* as suggested.

hilumɔ ɣɔr di.'ndɔrɔ, da hilumɔ dumɔrɔrɔ one party start a song and then another party sing in response, 327.4.

(Generalised form of *d*-mɔraa*).

dumɔl *y* cloud (of dust, smoke, water i.e. spray?). Syn. Bo. *dul'dom*.

dumɔlɔaa v. *d*-mɔlɔaa*.

d'umbal.ɣɔr -ilo x breechloader (gun). Fys.

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dəmoʿqʌs to fall out (of hair). Pres. 3rd. sg. y *dəmoʿqičila*. 000

dəmoʿqəm moulted, bald-head! (term of contempt). IUB. "with feathers-burnt", having lost its feathers through weakness. Also a term of contempt for a man: *pʌr suʿxta, baʿl o pʌr jrske kʌmzoʿrise uʃhrʌhe hōʿ, rnsaʿn ko bhi tʌnzan kʌhe jaʿta hai.*

(St. Pc. of *dəmoʿqʌs*. As applied to human beings the metaphor is based on an enfeebled sheep whose wool is falling out, *ʌšaʿto belis*).

dumoʿdʌm, dumoʿdai.i v. *d*-ʌtsʌs*.

1. *dəm'oʿyo* 3rd. sg. hf Pret. of *juʿyʌs*.

2. *dum'oʿyo* x a kind of cake made with flour, butter, and milk.

dum'ol a kind of very fine alluvial earth occurring in stratified deposits.

**-dəmos, *-dəmots*, N. **-duʿmus*, pl. **-dəmočo*, N. **-duʿmočo*, knee, hock. — **-dəmusə pfuʿl* knee-cap. *iʿlji iʿdəmos* (the horse's) hock. **-dəmočowʌʃt hoʿruʿtʌs* to kneel. *ayo ečəmə mədumočotsə duʿn . . . dumoʿmo* groaning and grasping her knees (with her hands) she came to . . . 108.20.

dən N., no plural, flock, herd. (Cp. Sh. *ek dən lač* a herd of goats).

dunaʿt, dəni.a, v. *duʿinat*.

duʿnʌs, duʿ-, Impv. *dun*, neg. *atuʿn*, Ppa. *duʿn*, St.pc. *duʿnəm*.

1. To seize, lay hold of, catch, arrest, grasp, hold on to, H. *pʌkʌrna*. The object seized usually takes the suffix *-tsə* (and **-tsi* forms) and occasionally *-ulo*. — (*čərkowə*) *huʿntsətsə duʿnimi ke ja hʌyərtsə duʿimi* if (the clashing cliffs) catch the arrow, then they will catch my horse. 156,6,8. (Should be x pl. *duʿnimi.ə* and *duʿimi.ə?*)

inɛ iriŋtsɛ dun catch him by the hand. Cp. 210.6. *tɔri(tsɛ) dun* catch the polo-ball. *bɛstsɛ dun gutsɔrɔai.i* he walks holding on to something (as of child, or person with injured leg). *ɑtsi dunumʌn* they have laid hands on me. 256.6. Cp. 142.26.

With *-ulo/*

mutɔtulo dun seizing her hand, seizing her by the hand. 114.7. *ɔkgumutsulo dun* seizing them by the necks. 206.9.

Miscellaneous:

inɛ ka dunǧ gomaima? will you be able to tackle him, grapple with him? 172.11. *ɔltʌlikɛ sulʌm'a dunumʌn* the two wrestled. 198.5,9. Cp. 174.17.

2. Used of the action of some physical phenomena, e.g. frost, rust etc. — *γʌmu dunimi* it will freeze. *tsiltsɛ γʌmu dunni bi* ice has seized on the water, i.e. the water has frozen. *tsilɛtɛ γʌmu dunni bi* ice has formed on the surface of the water, i.e. the water has frozen over. *γʌtenčtsɛ zʌŋ dunila* the sword has rusted. *xʌlowʌŋ dunitsʌn* soot has seized (it), i.e. it is covered with soot. *diltɔrɔ γʌǧ dunni.en, dubi.en* froth, foam, has formed on the butter-milk.

3. To begin to, to set to. = *guntsiŋ ɛγʌnʌstsɛ* (or, *ɛγʌnʌsɔr*) *dunimi* he began to count the days. 108.1. *šuri.ɛš ɛtʌstɛ dunumʌn* they began to rejoice. 368.17. (N. *domʌs*. Cs. *d*-ʌgunʌs*).

1. *duŋ* a short time, a little (time), a space of time(?) — *duŋ šu ɛtin* rest (pl.) for a little. *duŋ jɛk maiyam*

000 I shall lie down for a little. Cp. 182.12. 302.7, *duʷŋ ʌčoʷwər, duʷŋ ʌčoʷkɛ, duʷŋʌnəm, duʷŋʌnər, juʷči* he will come in a little, presently, soon. *duʷŋ žiga γʌtʌnimi* he read for a long short time, i.e. for some time. 70.10. Cp. 302.4.

2. *dəŋ -ʌnts* x IUB. pudendum muliebre, vulva, H. *aurʌt ki šʌrmgaʷh, (fʌrj)ke dʌrmi.aʷn čiʷz.* QUB a membrane above the vagina, Punj. *pfʌmʌn(?) pfodde ka.*

ḍonḍu, -mots x big black beetle, bee, etc. — *mʌči.ɛ ḍonḍu* honey-bee.

duʷnkɛ 378.4, 388.1. This is an error for *doʷn (kɛ)* ~~q.v.~~ meaning: all the same, yet.

1. *dor* y IUB 1. Sleep, H. *nind.*
2. Death, H. *maut, ʌjəl.*

QUB "Sleep from which awakening is difficult", or "from which there is no awakening", hence a euphemism for "death". — *yɛ dor dosu* go to sleep then (and stay asleep). *Xodaʷɛ dor dokoʷtsuš* may God make you go to sleep for ever (said in anger).

2. *dor* N. v. *ḍoʷr* hopper (of mill).

duʷrʌs(?) IUB revolution of time, H. *gʌrdʌš i zʌmaʷna.* (Not recognised by QUB).

durʼʌts, duʷrʌts, -išo hm envoy, messenger, agent. — *duʷrʌts čʷra baiyʌm* I had sent a messenger. (Cp. Sh. *durʌts*).

duʷrbin, pl. *duʷrbiŋo*, x telescope. — *itɛ gʌnər durbin wʌščʌm* he used to train a telescope on the road. 36.5. Prs.

duʷrga evil odour, evil-smelling, H. *badbuʷ* — *nʌsə duʷrga dimi* an evil smell came, was felt.

dorgʌsuʷto weak, exhausted, played out, H. *aʷjɪz. kʌmzoʷr.* IYB *morda.* (Cp. *boi.induʷrgʌs*).

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λ[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

000 *duʷginʌs, duʷgi-* to swarm round, hang-about, H. *gɪrd phɪrna.* — *akhoʷlɛ dʌltʌs gʊsʌn bo, juwaʷyu.ik buʈʌn duʷgi bam* there is a beautiful woman here and crowds of young men swarm round. Also used of spies.

durguʷtsikrš -miŋ y very thin poor cotton cloth, shroud, H. *kʌfʌn.*

dʊrmˈʊšaʷyʌs IUB *dʊrmˈʊšʌč-* to be anxious, worried, grieved, *aʷjɪɛ* *-*mʌnʌs*, H. *fɪkərmʌnd, ɣʌmgiʷn hoʷna.*

Fut. 1st. sg. *dʊrmʊšʌčʌm.*

Pret. 3rd. sg. *dʊrmʊšʌmi.*

St.pc. *dʊrmʊšʌm.*

muʷni mu.iʷrʊmo kɛ moʷi dʊrmʊšɛču bo when her mother dies a daughter grieves.

durˈo, dʊrˈo, -iŋ, y work, business, job, affair, thing, H. *kaʷm.* Sh. *koʷm,* Khow. *koʷrʊm.* — *iʷnɛ bʊšai.ɛ duro iʷnɛ wʌziʷrɛ ɛčʌm* his Wazir used to conduct the work, business, of his land. 2.3. *zərgər ɛrpʌčim durˈo* the work in the hands of the goldsmith. 162.11. *uʷnɛ daulʌt ɣʊnikrš dʊroʷiŋʊlo ɛʷrimi* he wasted your property in evil works. 370.11. *mika uʷŋɛ bɛʷskɛ dʊro api* you have no business with us. 38.17. *gʊtɛ duʷro bɛ dərkaʷr bila* what is the necessity for this? what need is there to do this? *gʊsɛ dustsʌk dʊro miči.ʌs(ʌn) bi* this thing gives us work, i.e. is useful to us. *gʊsɛ dustsʌk dʊroʷwər* (or, *dʊroʷwɛ*) *bi* this thing is useful, of use. *dʊroʷwər šuʷa api* it is useless, unserviceable. *kinɛ sis dʊroʷwər bɛsʌn lai.rq* (*yʌški*) *apai.i* this man is unfit for work, i.e. is incompetent, useless for service. Cp. 98.1, 162.11, 366.7, 372.8.

(V. also *dəro.* Recorded in N. as, *doʷroʷ*).

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duroʻyʌs, duroʻčʻ to do work, H. *kaʻm kʌrna.*

Fut. 1st. sg. *duroʻčʌm.*
Pres. 3rd. sg. m. *duroʻčai.i.*
St.pc. *duroʻm.*

QUB. *duroyʼʌm amaiyʌm* I shall have done work.

duroʻm maimi he will have done work. H. *kaʻm kiʻa hoʻga.*

(Denom. from *durʼo.* Cs. *-*ʌduruyʌs*).

duroʻskuʻin, pl. *duroʻskuʻyo*, hm. hired labourer, hired servant. — *berumʌn duroskuyoʻr*(*duroʻski.uʻor*)*šʌpikučai.i?* to how many hired servants does he give food? 368.1, 373.4.

(*durʼo* + *s* + *kuʻin*, v. § 21. b).

durust ɛtʌs Gh. Kh. to repair, mend. 380.11. Prs.

ḍus butting. — *ḍus dɛli.ʌs, ḍus duʻnʌs* to butt, crash together, shoulder, hustle. *aʻlta čiško hʌnhʌntsɛ duʻs dɛlji bim* the two mountains were butting, clashing together. 154.14. *ḍus dɛlʌsʌn bai.i* he is a pugnacious man, one who is always ready to take up a quarrel, fight, argument.

dusʼʌlʌṭʌs, dusʌlʼʌšʻ v.i. to fold up, roll up, double up, (metaph.) to be "crumpled up" (by grief, etc.).

Impf. 3rd. sg. *dusʌlʌšʌm.*
Pret. 3rd. sg. *dusʌlʌṭimi.*
St.pc. *dusʌlʌṭum.*

(Cs. *dʻ*-*ʌsʌlʌṭʌs*).

duʻsʌs, duʻšʻ, Impv. *duʻs*, Ppa. *duʻs.*

There are two radical conceptions attaching to *duʻsʌs* to which all the more special meanings of the verb can be traced back.

These are: 1. To come, or, go out from + ablative.
2. To come up, go up, (on to + -*ʌṭɛ*).

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In many of its uses it corresponds to H. *nɪkʌlna*. OOO

I. 1. To come out, go out, emerge, issue, go off, depart. — *xʌliˑfa ... hoˑlə duˑšai.i* the Mullah comes out (of the grave). 312.4. *iˑsɛ dʌntsum dɛl duˑšilum* oil used to come out of that stone. 290.3. *buˑt tɛil duˑšum tsɛ* much water would have come out. 292.10. *guˑimo haˑtsum hoˑlə atuˑs* don't come out of your house. 286.6. Cp. 2.3. *huˑnts iˑtum pər atuˑsum* the arrow not having come out to the other side. 146.11. *pfu dusiˑla* "fire has come out" (said of a fever patient who has got a hot fit). *bɛsʌn fai.ɪda dušiˑla?* what good comes of it? *iˑmo hai yʌkʌlʌʈər duˑsimi* he went off to his own house. 140.17.

iˑk duˑsum "name-come-out", i.e. famous, notorious (of man, horse, gun, thief, liar etc.), — *iˑk duˑsum γiˑn bai.i* he is a notorious thief. *u.iˑk duˑsum γiyu baˑn* they are notorious thieves.

2. To get out, get free, escape, recover (from illness). — *aˑriŋtsum duˑsimi* he got off (safely) out of my hands. *buˑšaitsum duˑsimi* he escaped from the country. *askuˑrtsum duˑsai* he has recovered from smallpox.

3. To go out, end. — *dʌtu duˑsimi* autumn has come to an end. *ərmaˑn atuˑsum* (their) grief not having ceased. 4.7.

4. To cross (a river, ford). — *humatsum duˑsʌs* to cross the ford. *huma duˑšər* in order to cross the ford. 112.24. *ja baˑgu.ɛ iti duˑša* you cross to the other side of my

share (i.e. the ford which had been given to the speaker). 114.1. Cp. 114.8. *Pisʌnər duʷsʌm* he had crossed (?), escaped (?) to Pisan. 266.11. *čʷr nimʌn duʷsimi sindatsum, itsiʷtɛ, Krsər kɛ duʷsimi* getting into a fright he crossed the river and K. crossed after him. 176.7.

5. To win (in a game or contest).

II. 6. To rise, come up. — *sa duʷsas kɛn* sunrise (time). *gʌmuʷntsum iʷtɛ gʌl da duʷsilum* the juniper had come up grown up, again from the root. 214.7. *tiktsum xuronč duʷsimi* a mist rose from the ground.

7. To climb (up, on to). — *čər-, čiš-, tom-, čɪš-, -ɛṭɛ (-ʌṭər)* to climb a cliff, mountain, tree, ladder. *iʷtɛ mujuʷrʌṭər duʷsin* climbing up into the weeping-willow. 262.17. *čišɛ yæte duʷsimi* he climbed up the mountain. 212.9. *'AminʌN inɛ mʌzərɛṭɛ duʷsimi kɛ . . huyɛs bu.ʌm duʷsi kɛ . .* if anyone climbs on to his grave . . if a goat or cow climbs on to it . . . 220.4.

Other examples: principally of I. 1: 4.15, 8.11, 34.9, 110.4, 200.6, 202.1, 204.7, 206.9, 209.17, 222.6, 228.7,11, 240.18, 262.9, 278.1, 282.16, 284.20, 350.3.

EOL gives the N. form as *doʷsʌs*. (Cp. the trs. verb *d*-usʌs*. With plur. subjects this verb appears also in the form *duwʌše.ʌs*, V. BSOS VIII, 1936, p. 628).

d-usʌs* } *d*-uš-* } Impv. *d*-us*, Ppa.
d-isʌs* } *d*-iš-* } *d*-us(in)*.

The form *d*-usʌs* is used when the pronoun infix is *-a-* or *-i-*, i.e. when the object is 1st. sg. or hm 3rd. sg., x sg., y sg. or pl.

000 The form *d*-isʌs* has been recorded with the Pn.infixes *-ku-*, *-mu-* and *-u-*.

With *d*-usʌs* the accent seems to vary: *d'iusʌs* and *di.'usʌs*.

With *d*-isʌs*, from the few examples available, the accent seems to fall as a rule on the Pronoun infix. To take out, bring out, extract; take off (clothes); turn out, expel, repel.

In general it corresponds to H. *nɪkalna*.

I. *d*-usʌs* forms. (*dausʌs; diusʌs, di.usʌs, dyusʌs*).

1st sg. object:

dausiš aiyo.mʌnɔmʌn they were unable to extract me, i.e. to find me out, detect me. 16.17.

hm. sg. object:

wazir . . . d'i.usai.i he turned out (i.e. dismissed) the Wazir. 352.14,19. *asmaner di.usimi* (the horse) carried him off (from the earth) to the sky. 8.7. *daretə di.usʌs* to hang, crucify (a man). *dušmʌn diusʌs* to expel the enemy. *wʌtʌntsɔm dyušʌm* I shall expel him from the country. Cp. 284.21, 300.13, 314.10.

x sg. object:

bazaretər gʌšər tɔγli.en diusam they have brought out a wether to the bazar for sale. 66.16, 72.19. *ise pfut je mar di.ušʌm* I'll fetch out, drive out, the Dīv for you. 292.7. *Hʌmʌče gotsil di.usʌm. . . . gotsil d'i.us . . .* they had opened up (constructed) the Hʌmʌč water channel . . . having opened up the channel. 352.10. Cp. 310.11, 340.1, 352.7,19.

y sg. object:

hikumε γər di.ušam a party start

a song. 302.4. *tik . . . di.'uʷsuman* they took out the earth. 82.7, 286.3, 310.1. 000

y pl. object:

maiyuʷ jimičiŋ di.'uʷsuman you took out, i.e. sacrificed, the lives of your sons. 44.23. *gʌtuŋ di.usin pəritiŋ uyon* the Peris all taking off their clothes. 16.17.

So: *gʌtuŋ di.usʌs* to take off one's clothes, undress.

But: *tsʌnduqtsum γaibi gʌtuŋ di.usin nupel* . . . taking the magic clothes out of the box and putting them on . . . 24.21. Cp. 134.7, 136.1, 330.4, 368.13, 373.18.

II. *d*-isʌs forms.*

dukuʷisʌm, dukuʷisin I carried you off (from the earth), having carried you off. 8.12. *muʷ haʷtsum dumuʷišaʷn. Dumuʷisʌsulo* they bring her out from her father's house. As they bring her out . . . 304.13. Cp. 152.11, 244.15. *gəroni bʌmʌn uyon . . . duʷišaʷn* they bring out all the bridegrooms. 300.12. *gilimuts du.is* pull out the nails. *eʷkin ka esumuts duʷisimi* he extracted its liver and kidneys. 68.11. Cp. 80.23, 82.8.

(It is difficult to believe that there is no connection between *d*-usʌs* and *duʷsʌs* having regard to the similarity of form and to the fact that they represent the transitive and intransitive aspects of the same concept.

We have, however, to account for the simple form of the pronoun infix (*-i-* not *-e-*) in a trs. verb and for the second radical form *d*-is-*. V. §§ 236.b. & 303).

dʊsoʷkʌs, dʊsoʷkiᶜ-, Impv. *dʊsoʷk*, neg. *atʊsko*, Ppa. *dʊsoʷk*.

To dismount, get down.

Fut. 1st. sg. *dʊsoʷkičʌm*.

Pret. 1st. sg. *dʊsoʷkʌm*.

hʌγʊrtʊm (or, *hʌγʊrɛʃʊm*) *dʊsoʷk* dismount from the horse. *badša hʌγʊrtʊm soʷkimi. Dʊsoʷk* . . . The king dismounted from (his) horse. Having dismounted . . . 6.17. Cp. 24.5. *jʌtʌqʊlo dʊsoʷkičai.i. Dʊsoʷkʊmər* . . . he dismounts at the platform. When he has dismounted . . . 336.11. *ʌtʼuskʊm ʌlqʌš isɛ kʊrsi.ɛʃɛ nin hʊruʷtimi* without dismounting Alqaš went and sat down on the chair. 80.2.

Here *ʌtʼuskʊm* is the neg. St. Pc. 3rd. sg. The *-o-* has been dropped following on the loss of stress as in the neg. Impv. *atʊsko*. Cp. *nukʼuʃkin* the Ppa. of *gʊʃuginʌs*.

(*dʊsoʷkʌs* is a *dᵉ-* form of *soʷkʌs*).

duʷsti y friendship. — *jɛ kɛ uŋɛ duʷsti mʌniʷ kɛ* should friendship arise between me and thee. 358.1. Prs.

duʷstsʌk, dostsʌk, duʷstʌk x pl. and y pl.; y double pl. *-ičiŋ, -iŋ*, article, thing, implement, instrument, utensil, pot, dish; pl. also: kit, apparatus, H. *ʌsbaʷb*.

x when used of kitchen utensils of wood or metal.

y when used of miscellaneous small things.

duʷstsʌk is normally plural. When a single article is referred to, the suffix *-ʌn* is usually added.

duʷstsʌk bi.ɛn there are kitchen things. *duʷstsʌk bitsa* there are a lot of (miscellaneous) things. *čumaʷɛ dustsʌkʌn* an iron implement, utensil. *čuk ɛtʌs dustsʌkʌn, dustsʌk* (*-iŋ*) sewing imple-

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[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

000 ment, sewing appliances. *tuˑm bɛsʌn dustsʌk* something else. *duˑstsʌk baˑrɪš̌, duˑstsʌk baˑri.ʌŋ* things (*baˑrɪš̌* is an expletive). *hʌmʌlɛ haˑkičʌŋolo uˑŋɛ bɛsʌn duˑstsʌk bitsa kɛ* if you have any things, *or*, whatever things you have, in neighbours' houses. 286.5. *tɛˑŋošolo buˑt duˑstsʌk bitsum* there was much gear in the palace. 222.4. *čumərpa dustsʌkər mutɛˑŋɛ seˑiban* they call the ironware utensils "*mutɛˑŋɛ*". 308.5. *zərgərɛ bɛsʌn dostsʌkʌn dɛˑsmʌnʌsər rai bilum kɛ* whatever article the goldsmith proposed to make. 162.6.

(It is apparently used here as a synonym for *ʌsbaˑb* which occurs twice in the same passage).

dʊsuˑyʌs. *dʊsuˑč-*, Impv. *dʊsuˑ*, Ppa. *dʊsuˑn*, *dʊsʊn*.

1. To bring, fetch (y objects only). Cp. *d*-tsʌs*.

   For forms of past base tenses v. § 289.

   tsil dʊsuˑčai he brings water. 340.7. Cp. 338.5,9,16. *jʌwaˑb dusuˑmʌn* they brought answer. 24.8. *kitaˑp dʊsˈu* bring the book. *xʌbər dusuˑma?* did you bring news? 42.17. Cp. 58.16,20, 60.12,19. *hai.ʌnər nʌzər dʊsˈu* aim at the mark.

2. Forming verbal compounds with certain y nouns, most of which denote a state of mind or body, v. § 266.4.

   So: *dʌm*, *dʌŋ*, *ˈdʌk*, **-moˑs*, *rahm*, *dʊsuˑyʌs* v. s. vv.

   bɛsɛ gumoˑs dʊsuwa? why have you become angry?

3. In the negative, *dʊsuˑyʌs* is generally replaced by *atuˑtsʌs* (← *a* + *dutsʌs*). The forms *atuˑtsʊma* (68.17) and

000 *atu·ša ba·n* (82.2) are therefore correct and the footnotes to those may be cancelled. V. Grammar, Corrigenda, p. 454 ad calc.

QUB however asserted the existence also of negative forms from *dʊsu·yʌs*, e.g. *atu·sʊmi* || *atu·tsɪrmi*.

(*d*-tsʌs* is used with h and x objects. The Causative of both *d*-tsʌs* and *dʊsu·yʌs* is *d*-ʌtsʌs*).

d'-ušc.ʌs*, / *d'*-ušʌč-* to be maintained, supported, reared.

Fut. 1st. pl. *d'ušʌčʌn*.

3rd. pl. h. *d'ušʌčʊmʌn*.

jʌma·ʌt kɛ aiyu·ɛ ka dʊše.ʌs mʊškɪl bila it is difficult for my wife and children to be supported. 34.5.

(*d*-* form of **-ušc·ʌs*).

dʊšmʌn, pl. *dʊšmaiyo*, *dʊšma·yo*, *dʊšmʌntiŋ*, enemy, foe. 28.17, 88.20, 92.24, 94.16, 362.7. Prs.

dʊšmʌni, *dʊšmʌnc·i* y enmity, hostility. — *dʊšmʌni ɛtʌs* to show enmity, act hostilely. Prs.

dʊšo·qiyʌs, *dʊšo·qič-* v.i. to open out, widen, expand, H. *khʊlna*, *khʊljama*, Impf. 3rd. sg. y *dʊšo·qičilʊm*.

Pret. 3rd. sg. *dʊšo·qimi*.

St.pc. *dʊšo·qʊm*.

(Cp. *šo·qʊm*, *šʊqʊm* loose, roomy).

dʊšu·nʌs, *dʊšu·i-* to come undone, be loose. — *gʌt dʊšu·i bi*, *dʊšu·ni bi* the knot is coming undone, has come undone. *dʊšu·nʌs šo·k* a running loop, slip knot. *ʌlušʊnʌs šo·k* a fixed loop.

St. Pc. *dʊšu·nʊm* loose, unbound. *mu·yuyʌŋ dʊšu·nʊm bitsa*, her hair is loose, unbound. (Intrans. of *d*-šunʌs*).

ḍuṭa·ŋkɛ EOL y dawn. Cp. *ṭuṭa·ŋkɛ*.

ḍuṭʌŋ pl. x *-ɪšo*, y *-iŋ*. EOL dark — (*ḍuṭʌŋ* IYB, said to be the more correct form of *ṭuṭʌŋ* q.v.).

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/ [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p.543-Analyst]

duts.hʌnʌs, duts.hai- to become straight; come true(?) be fulfilled. — *uŋe ni.ʌt dutsʌnimi* your purpose has been accomplished. 42.9. 000

Fut. 3rd. sg. *dutsai.rmi.*

duts.hʌnʊm straight. *gʊse dutsʌnʊm adi·m* this straight body of mine. 360.2. (Denom. from *ts.hʌn*, straight).

dutsʌs, duwš-, v. *d*-tsʌs.*

dūtsʌs in *atūtsʌs* (← *a* + *dutsʌs*), *atuwš-*. Supplying negative forms of *dʊsuryʌs* q.v. § 3.

duwʊ·sʌs
duwʊ·sʊm } v. *d*-u.ɛsʌs.*

duwʌlʌs, duwʌlj-.

1. To fly (of bird, or Peri), fly away. — *pʊritiŋ uyʊm duwʌlʊmʌn* all the peris flew away. 14.9, 16.20. *duwʌlš amʊmʌnʊmo* she was unable to fly. 14.16, 16.20. *hikʊm duwʌlʌšo jʊ·nawʊri·k* a pair (o flock) of flying animals, i.e. birds 206.11.
2. In the phrase: **-ʌski duwʌlʌs* to remember (with longing, or affection), to long for, think of. 52.26, 56.9. V. s.v. **-ʌski.*

(Perhaps the root is *-bʌl-*, seen in *bʌbʌl* = *bʌl* + *bʌl*).

duwʌltʌlʌs, duwʌltʌlj-, v t. to parch, toast, H. *bhunna.*

Probably with y objects only.

Fut. 1st. sg. *duwʌltʌljʌm.*

Pret. 3rd. sg. *duwʌltʌlimi.*

St.pc. *duwʌltʌlʊm.*

ḍuwʌŋ v. *ḍu.ʌŋ.*

ḍuwʌq x, Cp. *ḍu.ʌk*, smashing s.t. forcibly on s.t., smashing. — *i·sɛ tiŋjo·ʊlʊm bʌliŋ duwʌq nɛ divusin gʌni·mi* smashing (its bones) and extracting the marrow from the bones, he took it . . . 134.7.

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duwʌq nɛ here cannot well govern *bʌliŋ* which is the object of *diˑusin*; "the bones" must be understood with it. 000

gəroˑnu.ɛ moč̌uˑškʌʃɛ duwʌq movčai.i . . . . *yuˑse γaisɛ duwʌq ɛčvbo* the bridegroom gives her a smack with the "*moč̌uˑšk*" . . . the wife smacks him with the rolling-pin. 306.10.

(Here *duwaq* ought to be *ḍuwʌk*, *ḍu.ʌk* (q.v. supra). *Ḍuwʌq*, "smashing on", is the "big word" corresponding to the little word *ḍu.ʌk*, "tapping on").

dəwʌqʌs, *dəwʌqič-* to become damp, moist, H. *nʌmnaˑk hoˑna; tər hoˑna, hojaˑna.*

With y subjects only.

Impf. 3rd. sg. y *dəwʌqičiləm.*
Pret. 3rd. sg. *dəwʌqimi.*
St.pc. *dəwʌqəm.*

duwʌsʌs form of *dᵊ-u.ɛsʌs* used with y subjects.

duwˈʌšɛ.ʌs (*-ɛ.ʌs*), *duwʌšʌč-* (*-ɛč-*), Impv. pl. *duwʌšai.in*, Ppa. *duwʌšɛn.*

1. To come out, go out, go off, set out. — *yɛ mu duwˈʌšɛčʌn. Duwʌšamʌn haˑtsəm* "Now let us go out". They went out from the house. 52.24. *padša yuˑgošʌntsər hukɛm ɛtimi:* "*Mu duwʌšai.in. Mɛntsɛ pfuˑt mamai.i baˑn kɛ iˑnɛ itsuˑin*", *nəsɛn. Ho duwʌšʌmʌn* the King gave command to his daughters saying: "Now go (*or*, come) out and take whomever you may fall in love with". Then they went out. 120.1.

(I have on several occasions recorded *duwʌšʌmʌn* as *duwʌšəmʌn*. I did not at first realise that the verb had a final *-a-* in the past

000 base and as the vowel is unaccented in this form the difference is in practice slight. So: *odoʷri ɛtʌsər duwˈʌšəmʌn* they went out to search for him. 10.5. *tinjo duwʌšemi.ɛ* the bones came out. 82.8. *paʷdša kɛ hol iʷti duwʌšɛ bʌm* the King and army had come out (i.e. crossed) over to that side (of the river). 146.22. *tum gʌnʌnɛ yər duwʌšɛn* coming out ahead by another road. 122.20. *bʌtɛŋ duwʌši.ʌs* (i.e. *duwʌšɛ.ʌs*) *dʌn* shale, v. s.v. *bʌt̤*. Cp. 120.24, 122,4, 192.14. 214.4, 248.10.

2. To win (cp. Engl. "to come out winner, to come out on top"). — *uʷ bolaʷr duwʌšʌmʌn* they won at polo. *mi hʌlimoʷnər duwʌšʌčʌn* we shall win (in) the wager.
3. To come out, spring up, appear, become visible. — *hərki.ɛ paʷči mʌnuʷmər iʷtsɛ duwʌšʌči.ɛ* when the cultivating season has come, those (birds) come out, make their appearance. 206.13. *čʌγučiŋ duwʌša bitsəm* "chaghu" canes had sprung up. 278.4. *intsɛ askuʷr* (*duwʌšə*) *bi.ɛn* small pox rash has come out, appeared, on him. *gʌtu diγʌn juwʌnts du.ʌšrmi* (*duwʌšʌmi.ɛ?*) the cloth becoming old (i.e. getting worn) the threads of the warp came out, i.e. showed.
4. To recover (from illness). — *askuʷrtsəm duwʌša baʷn* they have recovered from smallpox.
5. To go, to melt, disappear, (of snow). — *gyɛ* (v pl.) *duwʌšʌčitsa* the snow is melting. disappearing. *gyɛ duwʌšʌmi, duwʌša bitsa* the snow melted, has melted.

000 (Only with pl. subj.s. V. *duʷsʌs*, note at end).

duyˈərʌs, duyˈərč- v.i. to graze (of animals). H. *mʌwcʷši ka xʊd čʌrna.* — *huyˈesʌn duyˈərči bi* the goat (or sheep) is grazing.

Pret. 3rd. sg. *duyərimi.*

St.pc. *duyərʊm.*

(Intrans. *dᵉ-* form of *ᵉ-yərʌs* v.t. to graze).

duʷyʌs, duʷč-; duʷyaiyʌs, duʷyič- v.i. to melt, liquefy (of butter, sugar, snow etc.)

duʷyʌs is used with a sg. subject and *duʷyaiyʌs* with a pl. subject.

Nz. *gɛ* (sg.) *dučila* the snow is melting (of "a large quantity" i.e. probably continous snow).

Nz. *gɛ* (pl.) *duʷyečitsʌn* the snow is melting (of "a sprinkling" i.e. probably patches of snow).

Nz. γʌmu *gəruʷʊm numˈʌn duʷyimi* the ice, becoming warm, melted.

Nz. γʌmu *duʷ(y) tsil mʌnimi* the ice, melting, became water.

(Cs. with *dᵉ-ʌs-: dʷstsuyʌs* q.v. Cp. also *ʷstʊm*).

dᵉ-ɯərʌs, dᵉ-ɯ(ɯ)ərʌs, dᵉ-ɯerč- to come into existence, to come to life (again).

Recorded only in the following:

ja kinɛ ʷi irʌm mu dyuʷrimi this my son had died and has now come to life again. 368.15, 373.21.

di.u(ɯ)erai.i, dyuʷɯərai.i he has come to life again. 370.15, 374.16.

The following forms were given independently:

Fut 1st. sg. *daʷɯərčʌm.*

Pres. 3rd. sg. m. *dyuʷɯərčai.*

Pret. 1st. sg. *daʷɯərʌm.*

2nd. sg. *dukuʷərʊma.*

Infin. 3rd. sg. m. *dyuʷɯərʌs.*

dyuʷɯərʌs bai.i he is going to come

to life. *duwɔrʌšo ba·n* they are going to come to life. 000

d-wʌsʌs* v. *d*-u.ssʌs.*

(*d*-yaiyʌsr*) *d*-(y)eč-* to perceive, feel (a smell). — *ja amoltwr·ŋ uyʌm nʌsen daiseča ba* I perceive a sweet odour with my nostrils. 176.27. *je . . . nʌsen daiseča ba* I feel a smell. 16.16.

(Possibly a *d*-* form of **-yaiyʌs* to obtain, receive. I have later however been given forms by QUB which suggest an Infin. of the form *d'*-ʌiyʌs*, e.g. Pres. sg. 1st. *daiviča ba*, 2rd. *dukoviča*; 3rd. hm. *devičai* and so on).

dyuwrʌs v. *d*-wɔrʌs.*

dyu.ssʌs v. *d*-u.ssʌs.*

F.

(See also pf & ph under p).

It is doubtful whether *f-* occurs as an initial sound in true Burushaski words.

I have myself recorded it chiefly in foreign words and frequently with the alternative of *pf* which again by some people seems to be replaced by *ph*.

IUB, however, has used *f* frequently to represent both initial and medial sounds.

fahmdar intelligent, understanding (adj.). (Cp. *fa·m*). (Ar.) Prs.

fa·l -iŋ y omen. — *fa·l brtaiyʌs* to take omens (from stars etc. in regard to a journey, theft etc.).

fa·l giyʌs in the following must mean "to soothsay, divine".

its zʌma·nolo pifaiyu nikirʌt fa·l gi bʌm. 376.14.n. Ar. Prs.

fa·m intelligence, understanding (noun). 68.23. Prs.

fawsi Persian. Prs.

fa·rtsin v. *pfartsin* cap.

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fʌl -ʊʒo little bit (= a "grain") of meat. ooo
(The same as 1. *pfʌl*).

fʌlʊmʊ, fʌlʌmʊ, folʊmʊ such and such a . . . , So and So. — *folʊmʊ ĭ'ts dĭtʊr ŝikʊrʊr* he his going to go for hunting to such and such a place (not specified in the narrative). 4.14. *fʌlʊmʊ, fʌlʌmʊ, gunisʊ* on such and such a day. 298.10. Ar. Prs.

'ʌlʊmi N. *pʌlʊmi* N. same as *fʌlʊmʊ*.

fʌl'ʌki v. sv. 2. *hĭrak*.

fʌl'ʌko, fʌl'ʌkus, pl. *fʌl'ʌkumots, fʌl'ʌ-krĭo*, x weaver's beam.

*-fʌltʌs, *-fʌlĕ-, (*-pf-) v.t. to break, break up. — *bum ĭfʌlĕʌm, bumdo ufʌlĕʌm* I shall break up the boulder, the boulders. *ĭfʌltʌs* to break (a hole in a wall). Cp. d*-ʌfʌltʌs).

fʌqʌt only; that is all, the end, finis. 212.23. Ar. Prs.

fʊr. — *mʊ hukum fʊr ʌkʊrtʌ bʊ* I have not disobeyed your commands. 374.8. (Probably a variant of 1. *pfʊr* back. 1YB Ms. *fʊr*).

fʊrʊj, fʌrʊ'ĕ, -ĭŝo hm. treasurer, steward (of a King, Mir etc.), H. Xazanči. — *bazʌrʊfʊr nimi fʌrʊ'ĕlʊr* he went to the bazar to the King's steward. 58.18, ff. Cp. 140.13. (Ar. Prs. *farrʊ-ĭ?*)

fʌrʌŋ IUB Englishman (European?) H. *ʌŋgrez*. Prs. *fʌrʌŋgi* (← Frank).

fʊrfʊr v. 2. *pfʊr*. 196.1.

fʊrĭ carpeting. 88.5. Ar. Prs.

fʌsʊd y disturbance, row, mischief. Ar. Prs.

fʌsʊl y. pl. crops. — *fʌsʊl bum bitʌn* the crops are good. Ar. Prs.

fʌŝ, pfʌŝ finished, used up, exhausted. Bu. syn. *dʊɣʌnʌs*.

1. With *mʌnʌ* and *ŝtʌs*. — *dʌɣʊmʌŋ ʊyʊm fʌŝ mʌnʌmʊr ĭniyʊm mʌnimi* all the flour has come near to

being exhausted, i.e. the flour is nearly all finished. *hʌn hisa kha* (i.e. *xa*) *fʌš ṅemi* it will be exhausted within (*lit.* up to) a month. *kuv fʌš umʌnḑʌn* may these people be finished off, done for! 17.7. *tʌmʌm alimʌlʌ bilom ite uyom pfʌš stimi* be exhausted all (the knowledge) that the sage possessed. 68.22.

2. *fʌš stʌs* to search. Bu. syn. *odovi stʌs*. — *Bul'ukimo gʌne fʌš ečʌm* they were searching for Buluki. 244.19. *Čupurʌsʌn uyornolo Irśavdtsom xʌti moš Ramiṇjʌ xa fʌš stimi* he searched throughout all Čupurʌsʌn from I. down to R. 284.17. (Cp. Sh. (*p*)*fʌš*, finished etc.).

fʌt, pfʌt, phʌt. — *fʌt* *-ʌtʌs*. 1. To release, let go, set loose, leave. 2. To let, allow.

1. *fʌt ortin* let (the horses) go.
fʌt gorčʌn we shall let thee go.
fʌt ečʌn we shall let it go.
fʌt stomʌn, Kisor gutsorimi they let K. go and he went on his way. 156.16. *gʌnolo fʌt stom* left behind, left lying on the road. *kitarb tirkṣṭe fʌt eti* leave the book on the ground. *je Š. Behram fʌt ne turmʌn ertsučʌm* leaving S. B. I will marry no one else i.e. I'll marry no one but Sh. B. 30.15.
Also: 72.8, 158.6.
fʌt eti niče (ničir) / *niče fʌt e* } let him go.
niyʌsor fʌt e let him go.
ulo juvʌsor fʌt e let him come in.
niyʌsor fʌt aiyo don't let them go
in gorpʌčor ʌsir fʌt ayeti don't allow him (to come) near you

000 *thama fat ahmar nilam* when the Tham has allowed me I shall go, when he lets me, or leaves me at liberty, I shall go.

2. *hatsin ke ilak fat manila* his thigh and arm have become out of action, i.e. paralysed.

3. *ive nasivna.ak fat omanam* I have come upon, lighted on, the treasury. 54.8. (Cp. Sh. *fat, pfat, phat* left etc., and perhaps *fate* behind, after).

f'ata, pfata y victory, conquest. — *fata etas* to conquer, defeat. *ine ke berumam ongaanimi, pfata atimi* he also slew a number of them and he defeated them. 82.7. Ar. Pers.

-f'aporas*, **-faporé-*, Ppa. n-pafor* to peel, flay, skin. — *berit ifaporéam* I'll peel the apple. *if'aporam* I skinned it (the lamb). 74.4. *ive fuir if'aporimi* he skinned the goat (ibex). 102.24. Cp. 134.5. *nipafor* having skinned it (the calf, lamb). 68.8, 134.5. *hayur ke ifaporimi ive ke ifaporimi. Nupafor* . . . he flayed both the horse and S. M. Having flayed them . . . 150.9.

f'apori, fat'ori -mig y section, part of (apple, walnut). — *tilis hanpatimo ivis f'aporido (faporiser)* in the one half of a walnut shell. 136.17. Cp. 138.4.

-f'afi*, **-phafi -mets* n forehead. — *ifafi lot atimi* he frowned. *ive ifafiger hereem* look at his forehead. 154.21. *efafi (ifafi?) fotan* him his forehead is small. 158.16. (-fafi* IUB. *phafi* N.).

faiała, faida y advantage, benefit, profit, good. — *guiefum beam faiała dwiila* (or, *maiła bila*) what advantage comes

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out of this? What good comes of this? *ikow faiʒda etas* a self-seeking, selfish person. *mi gwastawa hawa farida* what would be the good of our telling you? 38.16. *jaw faiʒda ɪmawas hoi* he is going to be of service to me. 92.8. Ar. Prs.

faiʒala, faiʒela decision, settlement. — *faiʒala ɪbawas* they decided, settled, the matter. *faiʒala mawiwi* it has been decided. Ar. Prs.

farkaj pl. *farkiʒats* swindler, cheat. H. *ḥad fel, dhoḥabaz.*

fi IUB, v: *pfi*, mill dues, payment in flour made to miller who grinds the grain, H. *ṭaki ki mazdawi. aya jo niyakar 'rwaswa lete hai.*

fiʒel y conduct, behaviour, (QUB a word used by the Wazir family). — *iwa fiʒel boček bila?* how does he behave? Ar. (*fi'el*).

frkar IUB reflection, thought, H. *fikar, ziʒel.* Ar. Prs.

filal -iq y mint, H. *pudina.* (Sh. *pfilil*).

filam v. *pilam* woollen homespun.

filta, pilta IUB *-ewts* z wick; match (of matchlock), fuse. H. *fatila, batti.* — *filta pfetiq tailar azk'in* throwing the ashes of the wick into water. 814.4. *filtaʒi tobaq* matchlock gun. (*milizqe*) *filta* fuse (for blasting-charge). (Cp. Sh. *fylta*). Ar. Prs. (*fatila*).

fiʒ etas breaking wind, fart, H. *gwz.*

fikaj IUB farter.

fulard y steel. Prs.

falawa v. *falawa.*

falyw v. *pfalgo* feather. Prov. 6.

farsat y leisure, spare time. — *farsat ayi* there is no time (for it). Ar. Prs.

G.

(See also γ).

Initial γ- is by some in many cases pronounced *g*-. 000

This appeared in the pronunciation of Nz. and is found in EOL's Nagir records. Medial -γ- is also sometimes similarly replaced.

Regarding the pronunciation of initial γ- as ɣ- v. Gram. pp. XXVIII and XXX.

There appears to be a *g* which is produced with the tongue more retracted than with the normal *g*. V. § 6.c.

Initial *g*- changes to -*k*- after the negative prefix *a*-, and the *n*- prefix of the Ppa., and the Causative *-*ʌs*-. v. § 10.

1. *ga* pl. *gai.ʌs* impv. take! also a mere exclamation to demand attention, "look here", H. *lo, le·lo — ga, gutsi uγʌn* take these (pebbles) and count them. 52.20. "*i·ts γenzā ʌči*". "*yi ga, ei*", *nusen ičimo* "Give me that gold". She gave it to him, saying: "There, take it my son" 62.29. *yi gai.in, mav duʿtsʌm* now take (these heads), I have brought them for you. 176.13. *bu·ī ga, ma·mu čhuf* look here cat! there's a drop of milk, *or*, spilt milk. (This is probably better than the rendering s.v. 2. *čhuf*). *talryʌm ga bav* glossed H. *lo! abhi hʌm pārvṭn, bail!* 246.15.

The meaning seems to be: Look ox! I am turning round (do you turn round too). Cp. also *herga*.

(Perhaps related to *gʌnʌs* to take, of which there is a form of the Ppa. lacking the -*n* viz. *nuka*. Cp. § 325).

2. *ga* v. γa crow.

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OOO *gaʸhe, gaʸhi* + negative, never. — *gaʸhi menər čʌγa aiyɛčʌm* I shall never tell anyone. 118.25. *jɛ gaʸhe açučʌm* I will never come. 76.15. Cp. 34.9.

gaʸl -iŋ y wound, sore. — *kiʸnɛ gaʸl mʌniʸla* he has been wounded. *kinɛ jɛ gaʸl aʸtimi* he wounded me. *gaʸlʌṭɛ mʌli.ʌm ɛʸdilʌs* to put ointment on the sore. *gaʸlʌṭɛ mili xʌš ɛtʌs* to rub "medicine" on the wound, sore. *diʸruɛ gaʸl* bullet-wound. 358.4. (Cp. Sh. *gaʸl*).

qaʸlin EOL pl. *gaʸliʸyo* carpet.

(The *g* is marked as peculiar. Probably N. variant of *qʌli*, Turk. Prs. *qaʸliʸn* and *gaʸli*, knotted-pile carpet. *qaʸliʸn* is used both in Sh. and Kho.; in the latter for a woven carpet).

gaʸljo, kaʸljo sg. and pl. x a species of wild dog(?). Explained by IUB as H. *giʸdʌr* and IYB and QUB as *šʌγaʸl*, i.e. jackal. The jackal however does not occur in the Gilgit region. It was elsewhere given as the equivalent of Sh. *kōʸ*, Kho. *koʸγ*, which appears to be a kind of wild dog.

(Leitner gives *gál* pl. *gálju* with the remark "this seems to be a kind of ounce, perhaps the *baghbiáro* of Gilgit".

He thinks that the *kō* is a species of wild dog, the *canis rutilans*, v. "Dardistan" p. 66).

gaʸn N. pl. *gaʸyo* x cp. *γa* crow.

1. *çaʸr* y giddiness, H. *sʌrmē čʌkkʌr aʸna*. — *kʌpʌlɛ gaʸr jučila* giddiness (of the head) is coming on. *gaʸr din wʌlimi* giddiness coming (on him) he fell. 132.24. (Cp. Sh. *gaʸr*).

2. *-gaʸr, -gaʸri* v. *iḍigaʸr*.

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000 *gaʷrčaiyʌs, gaʷrčeʷʌs, gaʷrčʲʌč-*, v. *gʌʷrtsʌs*, to run etc.

A parallel form of *gaʷrtsʌs* used only with pl. subjects. V. BSOS VIII, 1936, p. 628.

ivtsi gaʷrčʌmʌn . . . ivtsi gʌʷrče.ʌsər . . . they rushed upon him . . . when they rushed upon him . . . 276.9. Cp. 16.18, 134.18.

gaʷ gaʷ ɛtʌs, also *gaʷ* and *gagaʷ*, v.t. to stir. — *baiyu (ga)gaʷ ɛtʌs* to stir round and mix salt in food. *kʌpun gaʷ gaʷ ɛtʌs* to stir with a spoon. (Cp. 1. *gaʷ*).

gaʷrtsʌs, garš-, Ppa. *nukaʷrts(in)*. V. also *gaʷrčaiyʌs*.

1. To run, gallop.
   Pret. 1st. sg. *gaʷrtsʌm*.
   ər nimʌn gaʷrtsimi. gaʷršəmɛ gaʷršəmɛ hi thaʷnər niči bim (the bear) ran off in alarm. Running on and on he was coming to a place. 228.12. *bɛʷs gaʷrš'a* why are you running? 228.15. "*itɛʷtsəm gaʷrša ba*" *mosimi* "(it is) for that reason I am running" he said to her. 230.3. Cp. 368.9, 373.12.
   hʌγər gaʷrtsimi the horse galloped. *həmʌlkəm gaʷrtsʌsʌn bi* it is a swift galloper, a good racer.
2. To run away, flee. — *ar nimʌn gaʷrši* he will be frightened and run away. 144.11. *D. M. uyaʷrəm nukaʷrtsin* D. M. fleeing from before them. 264.19. Cp. 204.9, 262.13.
3. Accompanied usually by *-ʌʃɛ* and *-tsɛ* to rush upon, charge, attack. — *uʷɛ hoʷlʌʃɛ gaʷrtsumʌn* they charged, attacked the army.
   uyʌʃɛ gaʷrtsʌm I attacked them. *iʷnɛ padša yʌkʌlʌʃər hahʌn nɛtʌn*

gaʷrtsimi raising a shout, he rushed upon, charged, the king. 32.4. 000

4. Accompanied by *-*tsi* to run after, pursue. — *utsi gaʷrtsin* follow them up, run after them.
5. To flow, pour down. — *mʊltʌn iʷse giʷli.ʌʃər gaʷrtsumər* when the blood flowed on to the peg. 196.1. *gowr gaʷrši bi* the waterfall pours down.
6. Miscellaneous: — *kha gaʷrtsʌs* (*gaʷrš-*) to throw oneself down (as from a cliff for suicide). *hʌγʊrtsʊm ilji ne kha gaʷrtsʊmo* she flung herself down backwards from the horse. 146.17. *čop gaʷrtsimi* he jumped down. 174.16. N. (*ine*) *dʌtʌγər dilʊm, inšaʷlla gaʷrši* he had fever, D. V. it will pass off. Hz. *dʌtʌγər gaʷrtsila* the fever has passed off. *goʷtsile iʷl moʷs diʷn gaʷrtsimi* a flood coming down the sluice was carried away. QUB. (*aʷstʌm*) *gaʷrtsʊm bila* (or, *eskərtsʊm bila*) the case is settled, has been settled. *je ke ja aʷuy hərʌŋolo gaʷrtsila* an estrangement has arisen between me and my father. QUB. *iʷl gaʷršila* his means of subsistence are cut off. QUB.

(The Ca. is *-*ʌskərtsʌs* corresponding to 1 and 2 above: to make run, put to flight; corresponding to 5: to make pour down; corresponding to 6 (*aʷstʌm gaʷrtsʊm*): to settle a case. V. § 236 b).

gaʷša v. *quʷbrli*.

gaʷtaʷŋ pl. of *γʌtenč* q.v., swords.

gatu pl. *gatʊŋ* v. *gʌtu* cloth, clothes.

gaʷt male, seeking the female, rutting. — *hʌn gʷiri hʌldene gaʷtʌn din . . . hərə bim* a male ibex (which was

rutting?) had urinated. 270.1. *gaʿtɛ itɛ hərʌšʌʈɛ mɛ.i hərʌʿto bo* our daughter has become pregnant by the urine of the male (rutting?) ibex. 270,4. *giʿri gaʿt mai.i bi* the ibex is rutting. *giʿri gaʿt mʌnimi* the ibex has paired, mated(?) = *jʌmaʿʌt ɛtimi*. QUB. 000

gaʿuʿn N. x sg. and pl. v. *γoʿn* musk melon. — *gaʿuʿn šuʿyʌs* to eat musk melons. (Cp. Sh. *goʿʌn*, GB. *gʌwʊn*).

gayu sg. and pl., double pl. *gayoʿnts* x the red-legged hill partridge, "chikor". — *gayu tiʿšolu du.ʌlimi* the chikor flew down the wind(?) *or* in the air(?). *gayu bʌsimi* the chikor alighted. *gayu.ər bɛsʌn araʿm?* what peace (is there) for the chikor? 356.6.

1. *gʌbi* pl. *gʌbʿents* x reed (used for musical instruments and also with tobacco-pipes), tube. — *čilimɛ gʌbi* tube of tobacco-pipe. *čoʈʌle gʌbʌnts* stems of rhubarb plant, used for musical pipes. 378.16.
2. *gʌbi* N. *-mʊts* x horse's bit. (Cp. Sh. *gaʿpi*).

gʌčʌnč N. *-išo* v. *gʌsʌnč* falcon.

gʌčhɛ, gʌčhi pl. *gʌčhɛŋ* y twig, especially osier twig, withe.—*gʌči isərkʌs* to beat with withes. Prov. 14. (Cp. Sh. *gʌčhi*).

gʌdaĩ ɛtʌs to beg. Prs.

gʌjʌt ɛtʌs.

1. To scrape, scratch. — *gʌjʌt ɛtʌs* to strike (a match). *pfu gʌjʌt ɛtʌs* to strike fire (with flint and steel). *gʊnts gʌjʌt ɛtimi* he struck off a day (from the reckoning). 52.10. *paʿdša ɛʿmɛšʌʈɛ gʌjʌt nɛ lʌš ɛtimi* the king, scraping (the marrow) with his finger licked it (i.e. he drew his finger over the marrow and then licked it). 138.7.

000 2. To pull off, cut off. — *mumuʻpoš gʌjʌt moʻ* cut off, pluck off, her nose for her. 152.5,7. Cp. 176.18 where *čoruʻk* is given as an alternative and *gʌjʌt* is written with *g-*.

3. With *-tsi* to intrigue against; seek excuse to find one at fault, persecute. — *iʻtsi gʌjʌt ɛtʌm* I intrigued against him. *thʌmɛ atsi gʌjʌt ɛčai.i* the Mīr is seeking excuse to find me at fault.

gʌjɛri N. *-mots* x horse-cloth, "jhul". (Cp. Sh. *gʌjəri*, Kho. *gʌjʌri*).

gʌjɛti, gʌjʌti N. *-mots* x Cp. *gʌčʌto*, match (lucifer). — *gʌjɛti kʌč* (=*khʌš*?) *ɛtʌs* to strike a match. *gʌjʌti dʌbi* match-box.

(The *g* is marked as peculiar. Cp. Sh. *kʌčʌti*, GB *kʌčʌti*).

gʌkʌči, gakʌči -mots, -šo h stutterer, stammerer. — *gakʌčišo, gakʌčimotsik baʻm* they are (a lot of) stammerers. *gʌkʌči kaʻpo* term of contempt for a stutterer (explained as "a kind of bird that stutters", which seems an unfair description of the *cuckoo* — *kaʻpo* — whatever its vocal demerits). (Cp. Sh. *kakaʻčo*, Kho. *kaʻkʌči*).

491 1. *gʌl -ɛŋ, -joŋ*(?) y "rope-bridge", suspension bridge (made of cables of twisted birch twigs, of which the ends are anchored on each side of the river under heaps of stones). Punj. (Kaŋgra) *jhula*.

In the following *gʌljon* (i.e. *gʌljoŋ*?) must be a plural form of this word. *čomʌrɛ gʌljon gʌičumʌn* they will construct iron bridges. 188.5. (Cp. Sh. *gʌl*, country bridge).

000 2. *gʌl -joŋ, -joŋ* y juniper tree. 214.2. ff. — *gʌl dir* v. sv. *dir*. 256.8.

158 a

000 *gʌla* (grammatical pl.) x herd, flock. — *hik gʌla bi.ɛn* there is one herd. *gʌlai.ik nuɣyɛn . . . dunumʌn* they came . . . taking (i.e. with) herds. 158.23. Prs.

gʌlabaɣn sg.(?) and pl. hm. herdsman. — *gʌlabaɣn dunumʌn* herdsmen came. 158.23. Prs.

gʌlʌs, *gʌlj-*, Ppa. *nukʌl*, v.i. to break. The corresponding transitive verb is *yʌlʌs*. V. § 229.

Fut. 3rd. sg. *gʌlji*.

inɛ yutis ya išʌk gʌlji·lɔm (Impf. 3rd. sg. y) his leg or arm used to break. 220.5. *ɛtsɛ kɛ utis gʌlji bim* their (goat or cow) leg also used to break. 220.6.

(Note that *-utis in the sg. is x). *gɔtɛ* (*žamɛ*) *gʌli kɛ* if this bow were to break. 172.1. *gʌlimi* it (the polo stick) broke. *bʌlk gʌlila* the plank has broken. *ja bɛsʌn gʌli bi.a?* has any part of me broken, been broken? *gɔtɛ nukʌl* this having broken. 172.1. *uɣɛ guriŋ gʌlš* may your hand be broken! (sc. "as you have struck me with it" — a woman's curse). *gušʌk gʌlš*, or *gʌlɔm* may your arm be broken! *gʌlɔm bi*, *gʌlɔmɪšo bi.ɛn* it is broken, they are broken.

Metaphorical:

Alqʌšɛ ximoɣr gʌlimi A.'s desire was broken, i.e. was satisfied. 68.15.

gʌlči occasion, time, turn. — *hik gʌlči* once. *yʌt gʌlčər ʌkil aiyɛ* don't do so the next time, another time. *yʌt gʌlči* (or, *gʌlčər*) *bɛšel dɔkɔma kɛ* next time when you come. *gɔtɛ gʌlči* on this occasion, this time. 78.11.

(Probably *gʌlt* + *či*, v. sv. *gʌlt* & § 71).

158 b

gʌlgi -čʌŋ y. 1. Wing, fin. 2. Wooden side piece of saddle tree (in N. including the padding on under side of it called in Hz. *yuʷrγʌli*). 000

1. *gʌli -mʊts* x blanket. — *je uʷŋ gʌliʷlo dʊkuʷmʌšʌm* I'll wrap you up in a blanket. Cp. 308.4. *hʌγʊrɛ gʌli* a horse blanket. *gʌli gʌtu* an outfit of clothes. *oʷimʊr gʌli gʌtu nʊmoʷtʌn* preparing a set of clothes for their daughter. 282.1.
2. *gʌli -mʊts* x vertical section of cloth of a choga. — *šʊqa indil gʌli* front section of choga. *meʷkʌt yaʷrʊm gʌli* section of choga from armpit down. (Cp. Sh. *gaʷliŋ, gʌliŋ*, front, *or* skirt, of coat).

gʌliŋ, galiŋ y pl. steps, stair, staircase, (of stones or cut in earth). 364,7, Prov. 34. (Cp. Sh. *gaʷliŋ*, path made on a cliff).

gʌliʷz v. *γʌlis* sick, ill.

gʌlt y v. also *gʌlči*, occasion, time, turn, chance. — *kinɛ . . . hirɛ kaʷr mʌnaʷsʊr gʌlt diʷmi* this man's turn came to patrol, 38.2, *kinɛ ka gʌlt nɛ sʊlʊma duʷnin* you (pl.) wrestle in turn with this (boy), 106.7, *da uʷŋʊr gʌlt bišaiyʌm* I have given you another turn, chance, 148.11. *tsitɛ gʌlt* (one's) turn for (irrigation) water. 262.4, 266.15 ff. Cp. 280.7, 350.2.

gʌltar, gʌltʊr -iŋ y small branch.

gʌltʌš -išo x centipede, earwig.

It is credited with entering a person's ear, eating his brains and so rendering him mad.

gʌltoʷr, kʌltoʷr -išo x big wooden water-conduit (*xuʷr*) carried over a torrent bed (*moʷsɛ hʊr*). (Cp. Sh. (obsolete) *kʌltuʷr*, bridge).

qʌmiʷʌs, gʌmič- to pay, repay, recom-

pense (with y objects). — *uŋɛ uʷj gʌmiđʌm* I'll pay you your debt (i.e. what I owe you). *mar gʌmiʷđʌm* I'll pay you compensation(?), H. *qʌsaʷɛ ʌda karuŋga*. (With x objects the form is *-*yʌmi.ʌs*). 000

gʌmpfuʷri, (*gʌz-*), *-miz* y ceremonial axe (carried by the bridegroom at his wedding). 300.7.

gʌmuʷn pl. *gʌmuʷyo* x bottom, lower part (of anything); stump, root (of tree), trunk up to first branches (probably only of low-branching trees). — *Uyuʷm Dʌsɛ gʌmuʷnolo* at the lower end of U. D. 204.11. *Ґolmɪrtɛ gʌmuʷnolo* at the lower end of, below, Gh. 276.3. *iʷtɛ tiʷli gʌmuʷntsum delin* cut down that walnut tree from the roots. 200.4. *gʌmuʷntsum iʷtɛ gʌl da duʷsilum* the juniper had come up again from the stump. 214.7. Pl. *gʌmuʷyo* stubble. N. *gʌmuʷnolum* lowest. (Cp. Sh. *gʌbuʷn*).

gʌn, *gan -iŋ*, *-ɛŋ* y road, path, track, way. — *gʌnolo* (IUB *gʌn gʌnolo*) on the road, on the way. *gʌn ni bila* the road has gone, i.e. goes . . . . . *ja bušai.ɛtɛ gʌn bʌliʷla* the road has fallen, i.e. passes, over my land. *gutɛ gʌnʌtɛ jɛ hik daiyʌm ba* I have once come by this road. 124.21. *gutɛ gʌnɛ ju* come by this road. 104.15. *uŋɛ bušaiyɛ gʌn kɛ akeʷya ba* the road to your country also I do not know. 104.13. Cp. 28.5. *gʌnɛ xərči* travelling expenses. 88.27. *gʌn-hɛnum* acquainted with the road, a guide. *jatsum kɛ burt Šahri Bamu duʷinaʷtɛ gʌn hɛnum bo* Sh. B. is much better acquainted with the road to the world than I. 22.2. Cp. 28.17.

(*gʌnaʷs?*) EOL *ga.ič-*, v. 2. *ʌnaʷs*, to leak.

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000 *gʌnʌs, gai-*, Impv. *gʌn*, neg. *ʌkʌn*, Ppa. *nokʌn, noka*. To take etc. with y objects only. With h and x objects the verb *yʌnʌs* is used.

1. To take, take with one, carry. — *ja γeniš gukəre gai.i ba?* are you taking my gold for yourself? 60.4. *gote γeniš akərər gaiya ba* I am taking the gold for myself. 60.6. *tsil gaiyʌm, gaiyen, gʌnumʌn* I shall take, let us take, they took, water. 124.15,26, 126.1. *γʌšil nokʌn daiya ba* I have come bringing fire-wood with me. 126.11. Cp. 128.7, 134.16. *tobʌk gaʼtaʼŋ noka . . . nuʼn* taking guns and swords and going . . . 194.15, Cp. 120.24. *γʌtenč gotsi gʌn* take the sword with you. *Thʌme jaʼtsom bošai.i ganimi* The Tham took (my) land from me. *alʌm gai.i baʼn* they take, i.e. carry, the flag. 252.18.

   Metaphorical:

   maʼr gʌnʌs to take vengeance, avenge. *je maʼr gaiyʌm* I shall take revenge. *hokəm akʌnʌs* not to take, i.e. to disobey, an order. *gote čʌγa nokʌn paʼdša eʼrəršuwʌle duʼwʌn* they came with the story to the King's sons-in-law. 130.22. *ja kʌnaʼo gʌn* take my advice. 52.3.

2. To seize, capture. — *Hindi gʌnaʼn* they have captured, seized, Hindi. 266.21. *Sərkaʼr ʌngriʼzi Hunzo nokʌn* The British Government having seized Hunza. 196.9.

3. To obtain, get, procure. — *inelər nokoʼn hik seʼr mʌltʌš gʌn* going (i.e. go) to him (and) get a seer of butter. *pʌči gaiyʌm* I shall get obtain, cotton cloth. *taxpa gaiyʌn* I shall get information. 136.25.

000 4. *həri.ɛ pfʌl nʊka* the barley having formed its grain. 326.4.

5. With γʌmu as subject, with the sense of to freeze (intrs.). — γʌmu *gæni bi* it has frozen. *koktsɛ* γʌmu *gʌnɛ bi* ice has formed on these. 132.5. *ta.očiŋtsɛ tʌwa·* γʌmu *nukʌn* hard frost having formed(?) on the foot-bandages. 132.3.

(The Imperative *ga* "take" is possibly connected with this verb).

gʌnç pl. *ga·ŋ* y spindle (made of juniper wood; used for spinning thread). V. also s.v. *dikʌrʌs*.

gʌnɛ, ga·nɛ for, for the sake of, because of, on account of, in order to. — *u·ŋɛ gʌnɛ* for your sake. *gʊtɛ gʌnɛ* on this account, because of this. *u·ŋ guyɛtsʌsɛ gʌnɛ* in order to see you. 8.11. Cp. 14.11, 42.22, 128.7, 156.4. For other examples v. § 81.

gʌŋi -čiŋ, N. *-čʌn* y axe. — *gʌŋi.ɛtɛ ɛ·skərtsʌs* to cut with an axe. *gʌŋi ma·ŋ bitsa* there are tools (axe, saw etc.) (*ma·ŋ* is pl. of *mʌnç* adze). *-i·tɛ ti·liɛtɛ gʌŋi isərkumʌn* they brought down an axe on the walnut tree, i.e. they gave it a chop with an axe. 200.5. Cp. 308.3.

gʌndɪr Nz. v. γʌndɪr crooked.

γʌn-hɛnʊm -ɪšo, v. s.v. *gʌn*, gnide, etc.

γʌp -ʌnts, N. *-ai·nts* x hide (of ox, buffalo, camel, horse, donkey). — *hərɛ gʌp* ox-hide. *bu·a gʌp* cow-hide. *dʌγu·ɛ gʌp* raw hide. 158.1. Cp. 134.8,15, 136.1. *yʌtamʊrʊm gʌp* prepared hide.

gʌpʌl N., v. *kʌpʌl*, head.

gər -iŋ y marriage. — *ki·nɛ f.:lɛmə ɛ.imʊ ka gər ɛtimi* he married So and So's daughter. *gusɛ i·nɛ hirɛ ka gər ɛtʊmo* the woman married that man. *ma gər*

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ɛča ba I am going to arrange your marriages, I am going to marry you off. 116.19. *ja gər kɛ uŋɛ gər nala ečɛn* we shall celebrate my marriage and your marriage at the same time. 184.3. *M. D.ɛ ka (ɛpi) gər ɛtimi, imo kɛ gər ɛtimi* he married his grandmother to M. D. and also effected his own marriage. 184.9. *ja ɛiyɛ gər bila* my son's marriage is (to come off). 10.10. *gəriŋ ɛspʌsʊmʌn* they finished off the marriages. Cp. 16,1. *gər aiyˈɛtʊm bom* she was unmarried. 244.13. 000

For details of the Hunza marriage customs see Text No. 33. See also the entry s.v. *duk*.

Add: A payment of a "*bari*", Rs. 12, is made to the Mir. The Mir and Wazir also receive payments of butter, and the four tribal muqaddams are each entitled to 1½ seers (3 lbs.) of butter. In practice they receive a half or a third of this. 585

(Cp. Sh. *gər* marriage).

gəraˈri scattered, strewn about, lying about. — *ʌšdərɛ torʊmʊts fˈərilo gəraˈri ɛtaiɛi* he has strewn the fragments of the dragon about in the pond. 284.1. *gəraˈri mʌniˈtsa* they (y) have been scattered about, they are lying about. *uˈɛ guˈtʌšo gəraˈri no fʌt ɛtʊmʌn* scattering their corpses about they left them there. 240.9. *gəraˈrɛ jʌqər* a pitchfork (for tossing threshed crops). 000

gərˈeɛi Hz. -*mičiŋ*, N. -*mičʌŋ* y shears.

gəreˈltʊm hərʌy "the tribe of Gərɛlt" a name given to a kind of bird (presumably collectively). They are black with white on the head and have long necks, frequent river-sides 136

and sit and fly in lines — a kind of dipper or cormorant (?). 136

Regarding their reputed origin see 206.12.

gəreẓ (*gəreẓi*, *gəre.i*) piebald, variegated in colour. — *gəreẓi buʌm* a piebald cow. 186.4. 000

(V. *γəreẓ*, which is supported by QUB).

1. *γəri* pl. *gəreẓ* y lamp (with wick floating in oil), light. — *gəri 'espʌljʌm, črraq espʌlʌsulo* they light lamps ... when they light the lamps ... 314.2. *Buri Bumulo gəri me.ibilum* there was a light at B. B. 234.3. *gəri tiš numʌn thʌmi* wind coming, the light went out. *gəri.e rʌš* lamp-light.

Probably *γəri* 1 and 2 are the same word.

2. *gəri -ẓ* y. — *-lčine gəri* pupil of the eye.

IUB *milčin gəri* = H. *ʌmkh ki putli.*

gərib v. *γəriᵽ* poor.

gərk pl., double pl. *-ints*, *-ents* x peas (seeds and growing crops). — *gərken* a single pea. *gərk bi.en* there are peas. *gərkə hərki etʌm* they have sown peas. N. *gərk* small shot (buck-shot?).

gərkus -išo marriageable. — *gərkus dʌsin* a marriageable girl. *gərkus(išo) dʌsiwʌnts, hilešo* marriageable girls, lads. *gərkus mʌnu bom* she had become marriageable. 268.2.

gərma -muts x a kind of bread (thinner than *pfiti*) cooked with vegetables.

gərmun x eagle, a large bird used for hawking, H. *'ugab, škkari pʌrind.*

gʌrra' N., Mck. collar-bone, clavicle. (Cp. Sh. *gʌrai*, *gʌrra*, Kho. *gəravi*).

gəroni -muts hm and hf (gen. sg. f. *-mu*). Bride, bridegroom; sg. form as pl., party accompanying bride or bridegroom.

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[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

000 1. *gəroˑni dʌsin* bride. *gəronimʊts* bride and groom. *tsʊˑr gəronimʊtsʊm ʌxʊˑnɛ doγˈʌrʊšai.i* . . . *da gəronitsʊm doγʌrʊšai.i* . . . first the mullah enquires of the bride . . . then he enquires of the bridegroom. 302.18. *gəronimo muˑɛ haˑlɛ* in the house of the bride's father. 304.5. *gəroˑni* bride. 304.17,19.

2. *gəroˑni gʌtʊŋ nɛˑɛtʌn* making the bridegroom put on clothes. 300.6. *gəroˑni bʌmʌn uyoˑn* all the bridegrooms there are. 300.11. *gəroˑni* bridegroom. 300.10. *gəroˑni hilɛˑs* bridegroom. 302.11.

3. *gəroˑni uˑimo hakičʌŋər ničaˑn* the bride's party go off to their own houses. 304.20. Cp. 234.5, 304.13,19. Cp. also 302.10,12,13 said to refer to bridegroom's party.

(Cp. Sh. *gəroˑni*, party accompanying bridegroom to bride's house).

gəroˑno -mʊts hm bridegroom. — *gəroˑno* (*hilɛˑs*) bridegroom. *gəroˑnomʊts inˈɛ ka girʌšaˑn* the bridegrooms dance with him. 302.7. *gəroˑnuˑər* (*tsil*) *ičičai.i* he gives the bridegroom the water. 304.3. *gəroˑnuˑɛ haˑlər* to the bridegroom's house. 304.10,15,16. *gəroˑno kɛ gəroˑni* the bridegroom and bride. 304.17. Cp. 306.9,18.

(*gəroˑno* would be a regular Sh. masculine form corresponding to a feminine *gəroˑni* and it seems probable that the words originally meant bridegroom and bride, though Sh. *gəroˑni* now means bridegroom's party).

gəru y, *gəruˑki* y spring (from the spring equinox to the summer solstice), spring-time, "Early Spring" (about the month of March). — *gəru* (or,

000 *gəruˑki*) *di bila, mʌniˑla* spring has come. it has become spring. *dʌtu gəruˑ mʌrˑu ččˑam* they wash for gold in autumn and spring. 348.6. *gəru aisi atuˑmʌčila* spring doesn't suit me.

262 "People are slack in spring and sleep much. They extract apricot-water (*gəruˑki čʌmuˑs diˑuˑšan*) and eat wheat bread if available. In winter they eat buck-wheat and barley bread". Vide also Text No. 39 end.

000 *gəruki* v. *gəru*.

gəruˑkus period following *Thuˑmušeliŋ* (midwinter), when the days slightly lengthen and the air is warm like an ox's breath (*hərɛ ši yaˑnɪs gəruˑrum maiˑi bila*).

gəruˑm N. y pl. *-iŋ* hot. — *sa gəruˑm mʌni bi* the sun has become hot. (Cp. Hz. *gəruˑrum*, Werch. *gəruˑm*).

gəruˑmkuš, *gəruˑŋkuš* McK. and GR. typhoid fever. (Cp. Hz. *gəruˑrumkuš*).

gəruˑmo pertaining to spring (V. s.v. *gəru*, but usually referring to earlier part of that period). — *gəruˑmo ken* spring season. *gəruˑmo wʌxˈulo* in spring-time. 100.1.

Used independently:

gəruˑmo in spring. 186.1, 274.10, 334.8, 350.1. *gərumulsum* from (the beginning of) spring. 350.4.

(Derived from *gəru*).

gəruˑrum pl. h and x *-ršo*.

1. Hot, warm. — *iˑtɪ bər . . . but abaˑd da gəruˑrum bilum* that nullah was (then) very populous and warm. 238.4. *pfu juwʌn gəruˑrum* as hot as fire. *hiˑš gəruˑrum* very warm (of sun, or fever patient). (*taˑočiŋ*) *pfuˑʌtɪ gəruˑrum nɪ* warming (the foot-bandages) at the fire. 132.6. Cp. 326.2.

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2. Friendly, well-disposed. — *gəruᵊrum sisʌn* an intimate friend. 298.3. *ja gəruᵊrumʌšo baᵊm* they are friends to me.

3. As a noun: heat. — *gəruᵊrum* (*-ʌ ʌbʌb*)*-tsum* owing to the heat. *buᵊt* (or, *hiᵊʌ*) *gəruᵊrum bila* there is great heat (or, it is very hot?)

gəruᵊrumkuʃ y heat, warmth: affection, well-wishing, gratitude; fever. — *uᵊʌs šu.akuʃe gəruᵊrumkuʃ ja ʌsulo bila* I am grateful for your kindness. EOL. ("gratitude for your goodness is in my heart"). *gəruᵊrumkuʃ uᵊʌs gosulo bila, baᵊ?* are you grateful or not? EOL. *i-toi gəruᵊrumkuʃ ʌuᵊila* he has got fever. QUB.

gərzʌŋgaᵊt N. *-ršo* x seesaw. (Cp. Kho. *zʌŋgu*, a swing. Paht. *zʌŋgeᵊdəl*, to swing).

1. *gʌs* pl. *gʌšu* hf princess. — *uᵊʌ gʌšuᵊr* to those princesses. 116,12. *hin gʌsʌn baᵊm, iᵊnmo muᵊik Buᵊbuli Gʌs bilum* there was a Princess, her name was Princess Buᵊbuli. 142.21.

2. *gʌs* pl. *gʌšu* x woof yarn. — *gʌs diᵊwlʌs* to wind up woollen yarn. *gʌšuᵊʌ loʃo* ball of yarn for woof.

3. *gʌs, gʌz* sg. and pl. yard. — *hik, alto gʌs* one yard, two yards. *aᵊlto ta gʌs ᵊka nuᵊm* going with it 200 yards. 310.11. Prs. H.

gʌsʌnč, gʌšʌnč pl. *gʌsaᵊnts, gʌsaᵊnč* x hawk (general term). 102.15, 246.15.

gʌš -miŋ y price, cost, value, sale. — *gʌš beᵊrumʌn bila?* what is the price? *gʌš beᵊrumʌn sča?* how much do you make the price? i.e. how much are you asking for it? *buʃ gʌšᵊr bi* it is very costly. *hiᵊʌn gʌš bila* it is very highly priced. *gosʌ gʌš mimutsum gʌn* recover its price from

us. *gaš ɛtas* to sell. *γɛnɛš xɔrʌn ačimi*, "*Gots gaš ma ivɛs tɔγoli ditɛo*" *azmi* he gave me a "khar" of gold and said: "sell (or pay?) this and buy the lamb". 72.21. *gašɔr yanas* (*ganas*) to buy, purchase. *γɛnɛšɛn bila gaštɔr dusuya ba* there is gold I have brought to sell. 58.20. *guts γɛnɛšɛ gaš akɔγa ba* I don't know the price, value of this gold. 62.6. *γɛnilɛ gaštsum kaman ačima ke* . . . if you give me less than the value of the gold . . . 58.24. *ɛts gaš tsundo rupia bian* Rs. 5 are the price of it i.e. it costs, is worth, Rs. 5. 204.7. (Cp. Sh. *gaγ*).

gaštsum salt sweet (i.e. tasting both salt and sweet). — *šakɔrs čaiolo baiγu ɛtumɔr gaštsum maiá bila* when salt is addbd to tea with sugar in it, the tea becomes *gaštsum*.

gaši pl. *gašeŋ* y fir, pine tree.

gašil N. and Nz., v. *γašil*, stick, firewood.

gašk -o x rope (thick, for tying loads, for swings etc.). — *gaškolo ikɔr wašimi* he hanged himself on a rope (suicide). *gašk čat sti* break, snap, the rope. *gaško n'uyen . . . joŋs šɔrkotsɛ tʌk novʌn qu mai.ibaŋ* taking ropes and tying them to the branches of apricot trees, they swing. 316.12. |

1. *gaškur* -iŋ y a tree bearing a small, sour, green kind of cherry.
2. *gaškur* sg. and pl. x the fruit of the preceding.

1. *gaf* -ants, N. -avints x.
   a. Knot (in string etc.). — *gaf wašiʌs* to tie a knot.
   b. Knot (in wood), swelling caused in tree by suppressed shoot.
   c. Knuckle (of finger). — *memiʌntɔ gafʌnts* the knuckles of our fingers.

000

d. A point of completion or maturity. — *yoṡ gaf* a whole year, H. *ari bhar*. *yoṡ gafo gonisiṇ nitsan* counting the days of a whole year. 104.15. V. also s.v. *yoṡ*. (Cp. Sh. *gaf*, knot in wood, node of reed etc.).

2. *gaf* y enmity, grudge, spite, malice, H. *hima*, Ilu. synonym *ṡsl*. — *i-ne jaṡka gaf bila* he has enmity against me, he bears me malice. *gaf ayoṡ* don't bear spite. (Cp. Sh. *gaf*, enmity, malice, spite).

gafow, *gafić*.

1. Accompanied by *-ñsi*, *-ise*, to bite (of dog, horse, snake), to apply the mouth to [illegible] the snake bit me. *ese gutsi gafići* it (the dog) will bite you. *imek gafow* to bite with (its) teeth. *tsiltse gafimi* he put his mouth to the water (in order to drink). 146.8. *tsiltse gafi bi* it (cow etc.) has drunk. *tsiltse gafuwati.i* he has drunk (kneeling down and lapping up water).

2. To stick into, penetrate a little. — *a-lta hwase khale yutiṇulo gafi bi.s* two arrows have stuck into the legs of the bed. 260.16. *ersafor lim kaman gafimi* the arrow-head penetrated a little into his heart. 148.18. *tiṡik tikulo gafum bila ki* if the dagger is sticking (upright) in the ground. 198.11,13. Cp. 218.8.

3. To be effective, carry weight. — *ja lor thamale gafićila* what I say carries weight with the Mir, i.e. is accepted by him. QUB. (Cs. **-agafas*).

gafal, *kafal* on foot. — *gafal bai.i* he is on foot. *gafal niyas*, or *gutowas* to walk, go on foot. *kafal bu-la* foot

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OOO polo (played by children). (Cp. Sh. *gʌtʌl*).

gʌtʌmʊrʌs, gʌtʌm'ʊrč-, Ppa. *nʊk'ʌtʌmʊr* to wash by kneading and wringing, to full, to soften skin, hide, for use (by kneading and wringing).

(Used with y objects only; with x objects the form *yʌtʌmʊrʌs* is used). *pʃilʌm gʌtʌmʊrʌs* to wash "pattu" (homespun). *bʌt gʌtʌmʊrʌs* to prepare a skin. *pʃilʌmičiŋ gʌtʌmʊrʌs* Γʌtʊrsiŋ Gh. the pattu-fuller. (*ta.očiŋ*) *nuk'ʌtʌmʊr* kneading, *or*, wringing, the foot-bandages. 132.7.

gʌtʃi assembled, collected, together. — *sis gʌtʃi bʌm* people are assembled, there is a crowd. *gʌtʃi gʌtʃi* in a herd, [illegible] assemble, collect, gather together. *pʃutu uyom gʌti ortimi* he assembled all the dīva. 28.4. *uyomtsom . . . tinjo d'umʊr gʌti ortʊmʌn* requiring the bones from all of them, they collected them. 234.6. Cp. 110.24, 284.3. *gʌtʃi mʌnʌs* v.i. to assemble, collect, gather together. *tsʊrdins uyom gʌti mʌniʃʌn* tomorrow morning let all (the people) assemble. 4.11. *uv sis gʌti numʌn* those people coming together. 284.13. Cp. 116.19,22, 328.18. (Cp. Sh. *gʌtʃi*).

gʌtʃkrj̄ 1. Knotty (of wood). 2. Bearing a grudge, inimical, spiteful, malicious. — *gʌtʃkrʃʌn bai.i* he is (a) grudge-bearing, spiteful (person). (Cp. 1. & 2. *gʌtʃ*).

gʌts.hir -rīo vulture, lammergeier, H. *mʊrdarxwʊr pʌrind, gidh*, Sh. *gitgin*(?) — *gʌtsirīo goʃum* (or, *guʃurj̄(en)*) may vultures eat you! (a woman's curse).

(Perhaps a metathesised form of Sh. *girč*, vulture).

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gafu x, Ha. x pl. *gafowiz*, N. x pl. *gafowuz*; y pl. *gafog*.

1. x sg. cloth, clothing, woman's shirt. x pl. Ha. *chogus*, N. women's shirts.
2. y pl. clothes (ordinary word), dress.

1. *gafu*. The meaning cloth does not often occur. — *gafwiso fiko waliso* to put a patch on cloth. *mem gafu* old clothes. Prov. 28. *gwiasor gafuso tag hem* they were hard up for clothing to wear. 34.3. *tapik gafu ditso* get food and clothing. 56.14. Cp. 34.6, 58.4. *gali gafu* a set of clothes. 280.14. *wolti fair pafiso gafog cówu; ówo ford gafu sochem* they prepare four sets of cotton clothes; they call them "the new clothing". 304.10.

   Here *ówo* as representing *gafog* (y pl.) should be *ówo*, but it has been attracted into the category (not the number?) of the following *gafu*. *ówo gafu mengusu gwiju ho* her mother-in-law puts on that shirt (previously referred to as *pafi*). 306.5.

2. *gafog* is the word ordinarily used for clothes in general. — *gafog hwt beinsu* there are a lot of clothes. *gafog so* causing them to put on clothes. 40.21. *gafog tsaafi so mogwusimi; bwlomo* after holding the clothes in the smoke, he gave them to her and she put them on. 14.16. Cp. 14. *pusim*, 16.19. *tsandoytsem gafog dimain sapel* taking the clothes out of the box and putting them on. 34.30. Cp. 206.6, 316.4,5, 368.12.

   Note the use of *gwiso* with the x object *gafu*, and *bolso* with the y object *gafog*.

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gafwiso *-*masaw* to menstruate, be menstruous. — *gafwiso mumasum gua* a menstruous woman. *gafwiso mumasu* he she has become menstruous. 000

(The word is doubtless connected with *gafu*. Cp. Sh. *ghido* clothes; *ghidaj berki* to menstruate).

gaswaari governorship. — *gaswaari.e xtiiaw* powers of governor. 346.2. Eng.

gaz v. 3. *gas* yard.

gaf.iu *-*afas* N., Cp. *ɣafam*, to bite, seize. N. *kuio gafam ofimi* the dog bit me.

gaf.ifo sg. and pl., Double pl. *gafafomoto* match, matches. (Cp. *gafofi* and Sh. *kaf.ati*. The word is said to come from the noise of striking a match. If so, Cp. *gafaf*).

gai.ip v. 1. *ga*.

gwagas v. *gwagas*.

geltig x the projecting bones of the ankle. — *ortso geltig* my ankle. (Probably *tig* for *tin* bone).

geetas N. *geet.*, impv. *giat*, to play. (The same word as *giatas*).

ge, *gye*, *ge*, *gye* ɣ sg. and pl.; Double pl. *getig*, N. *gemig* snow. — *gye fakas bila* there is a little snow. *ge dapig* snow-flakes. *getig*, *getig* snow drifts. *gye.e pfuri manitas* there is a sprinkling of snow on the ground.

With *furyas* to come:

ge di bitas snow has come (e.g. has appeared on the hills etc.). *ge furitas* snow is coming.

With *giyai.as* to fall:

gye giyafi, *gi.atitas* (*gi.atitas*) snow will fall, is falling. *gye giyawi* (*gi.awi*), *gi.a bitas* (*gye bitas*) snow fell, has fallen.

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000 With *basev* to settle (on the ground):
gye basičitan snow is settling on the ground. *gye basitan* snow has fallen and is lying.

With *duwaśeas* to go away disappear (melt):
ge dawaśičites, duwaśu bites the snow is disappearing, has disappeared.

With *dwyas* to melt:
Nx. *ge dučiła* (sg.) the snow is melting (of a large quantity).
Nx. *ge dwyičitan* (pl.) the snow is melting (of a sprinkling of snow).

The sg. possibly denotes a single continuous stretch of snow; the pl., patches, or a thin sprinkling of snow. QUB however considered that the meanings of these two examples should be transposed.

goč x white plaster (a kind of earth found at *Marłazrubad*). Prs. (*gač?*)

gevayas, gevaśas (*gevas*), pl. *-ilo* & *gevaśiyanła* widowed; widow, widower. — *gevayas* (*-ias*) *baiś*, *ho* he is a widower, she is a widow. *gevayaśilo bava* they are widowed. *gevayas gus; gevayas gušiyanła* widow woman; widow women. *gevayas hiv* widower. (Cp. Sh. *giyavs, giavs*, widow, or widower).

gevąź pl. *gevąźyą* y small bag (made of skin; smaller than *mavł*).

gandźi x food esp. [illegible] for a journey (including thick bread). Prs. *farda* (*i rawł*). 120.22.

(*gan* road + *pźi* thick bread?).

gadiyor'im N. y pl. thunder. (Cp. Sh. *gayim, gayam, gaźam*, thunder, *gava gawąź*, a noise, banging).

gil QUB y anus (Cp. *gif*).

giśiw pl. *giśiyo* x ring, finger-ring, earring.

000 *gilas, glas* tumbler. Eng.

girli, grli -mots x peg, tent-peg, nail. — *hune girli, čumare girli* wooden peg; iron peg, nail. *gilimots du.is* pull out the nails, pegs. *girlolo wašim bi* it is hanging on a peg. *basi.olo belisan girli deli bam* he had pegged out (i.e. attached to a peg) a sheep in the garden. 64.8. *gili mudelimi* or, *modelimi*) he fixed her down, secured her, with a peg. 194.2,7. Cp. 88.5, 190.11. (Cp. Sh. *kirli*).

giligimom, giligimom pl. y *-iŋ*, x & y *grl'iko* thin (of paper etc.). (Cp. Werch. *grlimom*).

giltir -rio x pod, legume, IUB H. *mafar wayera ki phal.*

grltiras v. *yrltiras.* 374.10.

grnani, ginani x sg. the harvest festival; small sheaf of barley (brought home before the reaping); the grain thereof (which is eaten); IUB H. *na.e fayl kafne ka rasmiu din.* V. Text No. 38.

The second meaning is probably the original one. — *folama gontas grnani fi.as bi* on such and such a day the "ginani" is to be eaten, i.e. the "ginani" is to be celebrated. 326.11. *tsor thamo thamum ginani diśor duwaśaćan* first they go out from the Tham's residence to fetch the "ginani". 328.4. *sərafan turma tsundi.olo . . . grnani mai.i bi . . . aśtərulo grnani sć'an* on the 15th. of Sərafan . . . the "ginani" takes place, is held . . . on the 20th. they celebrate the "ginani". 326.1. *grn'ani.ər alt'amots duwasomər* when eight days remain till the "ginani". 326.8.

(Cp. Sh. *ganorni*).

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ginḍaʷər, ginḍauʷər the "sinjid" tree, jujube tree and fruit; IUB, Punj. *beʷri* (zizyphus jujuba). Ar. Pers. *ʿunnaʷb jʌŋgʌli.* 000

ginḍaʷər ʧhin Nz. a kind of bird, starling (?).

1. *giraʷm, girʌm* h pl. community, clan, IUB H. *gurohʰ, qaum;* Bu. synonym *roʷm.* — *waʷlti giraʷm* (*baʷn*) the "Four Tribes" of Baltit, viz. *Diramitiŋ, Xuʷrukuts, Bərʌʷtʌliŋ* and *Burorŋ.* — *waʷlti giraʷmo uyoŋko* the headmen of the Four Tribes. *Bʌltitum waʷlti girʌm gʌti nəma Hʌmačatiŋε ka astʿʌm ɛtumʌn* the Four Tribes of Baltit assembling instituted a case(?) with the *Hʌmačaʷtiŋ.* 258.1. *waʷlti giramər rʌjʌkiʷər qau ɛti* call on the Four Tribes for communal labour. The translation "tribes" exaggerates the significance of these divisions. 621

2. *girʿaʷm, gʿirʌm -ičiŋ,* N. *-iŋ* y.

a. Isolated houses or hamlets situated among the cultivated lands outside the "Khan", the formerly fortified village.—*Zuŋaʷ[illegible]ε girʿamulər* to the hamlet of Zungating. 320.1.

b. Roofed cattle-house, for goats and sheep.

(Presumably the same word as the preceding and ultimately deriving from Skr. *grāma-*).

gɪraʷn dear, expensive, costly. Prs. 000

girʿʌn, pl. *girʿaiyo* x wicker basket or panier (for carrying grass, manure etc. on the back). 336.8. — *girʿʌnε niʷʌs* the proceeding of the bride accompanied by the bridegroom, 4 to 8 days after their marriage, to her father's house when they bring back a present of bread and dried apricots (*ɣfiʷtimuts kε bʌʧerin*). 585

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gɪrəriːt(?) Nz. v. *γɪrγit*. 000

girˈʌtʌs, *girʌš-*, Impv. *girˈʌt*, neg. *ʌkˈirʌt*, Ppa. *nikˈirʌt*(*in*) to dance, to play. — *duγu.i xa gɪrʌšaːn* they dance till midday. 330.5. *pfutu girʌši bim* the DIVs were dancing. 234.3. *girʌšər deːičai.i* he puts him up to dance. 318.1. *biːtʌn girʌtumo* the "bītan" danced. "*girʌt*" *esimi teːrumʌnər*, *Dərbɛːšo girʌtimi*. *Nɪkiːrʌt* . . . . he said to him "dance". Thereupon D. danced. Having danced . . . 182.5. *girʌtʌsɛ ičər* the sound of dancing. 368.19, 373.24. *hʌn girʌtʌs hərɪːpʌn* a dance-tune. 234.15. Cp. 302.7, 316.13, 234.4,5, 378.9. *joṭəmuts ukhˈərər girʌšaːn* the children are playing (by themselves). QUB. (Cs. *-*ʌgirʌtʌs*).

girča, *kirča* (of sheep affected by) a certain disease (said by some to be caused by worms in the liver). — *bɛlis girčˈaː wʌli bi* the sheep has fallen sick (of *girča*). *Hʌsʌnabaːdulo buṭ girča umai.i biːɛ* in H. sheep suffer much from *girča*.

girgaːr *-*mʌnʌs* to be restless, = *beːqərarr* *-*mʌnʌs*.

girgin pl. *girgˈiːyo* x a small "mashk" (water-skin), H. *mʌškiːza*.

1. *girgir* x pl. a kind of pulse, H. *daːl mʌsuːr*.

2. *girgir* sg. and pl. x female mallard. (Cp. *diŋ maγun* male mallard).

girgɪš y the injurious emanation of a "pari" or other supernatural being. — *-*tsi* . . . . *yaiyʌs* to be affected, or smitten by such influence. *gutsi girgɪšʌn* (or, *tiːš*) *ya bila* has a fairy blast smitten you?

1. *gˈiri* sg. and pl. x ibex, said also to be used of other wild sheep (?) or goats, not including the oorial. —

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000 *giri.ɛn* an ibex. *giri bi.ɛna?* are there any ibex? *giri haldɛn* big male. *giri tsir* female. *giri žai.rt* male 2 or 3 years old. *giri du* kid. *hʌnumʌn giri tsirʌn bi* there is a single female ibex. 102.20. *girɪ.ɛ čʌp* ibex meat. 104.7. *girɪ amɔlo hʌlk'iči.ɛn kɛ* where the ibex bear their young. 108.10. Cp. 108.12, 270.1.

526 2. *g'irɪ -mɔts* x plaque about 2" × 1½", fixed on a small heap of earth and fired at with bows and arrows from horseback. It is made of dry pumpkin-shell, or, on state occasions of wood covered with silver foil. — *g'irɪ.ɛ čop nɛ de.ičaɪn* making the mound for the mark, they set it up. 316.6. *amɪnɛ g'iri dɛlimi kɛ* whoever hits the mark. 316.8.

000 *g'irkɪs* N. *girkits*, pl. *g'irkičo* x.

1. Small species of rat (intermediate in size between the European rat and mouse). — (*ʏʌširɛ pfirɪnč*) *girkis dɛlʌsər kuli kɛ api* there isn't a scrap of stick even to beat a rat with. Cp. 160.6.

2. Muscle (biceps and calf of leg). — *pirni girkɪs* muscle of calf of leg. Cp. Latin mus: musculum.

(The plural *-čo* suggests that the N. form *girkits* is the original form of the singular).

girm'inʌs, *girm'i-*, Impv. *girm'in*, neg. *ʌk'ɪrmin*, Ppa. *nɪk'irmin*, to write.
Fut. 1st. sg. *gɪrmiyʌm*.
Pres. 1st. sg. *girmiya ba*.
Pret. 1st. sg. *ja girmirnʌm*.
girminimi "hikɔlto mʌnimi" nɔsɛ he wrote: "One day has passed". 52.8. *ja girmina ba. Gɔtɛ girminɔmər uɪŋ bərɛɪn* I have written it down. You look at this written statement. 52.21.

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000 *ečuwɛ girmi·nʌm*, "*ja eiyɛ gər bila*" his brother had written "It is my son's marriage". 10.10. *uyo·nɛ u.i·kiči.ʒ girminʌšo bitsʌn* the names of all of them are to be written down. *itsɛ buro·ndomotsʌṭɛ Bʌxti Jʌma·lɛ i·k gi-m'inom bila* B. J.'s name is written (i.e. engraved) on all the rings. 82 10.

giryi·tom (?) N. v. γɪrγit.

giš'ʌšku·in, giṣʌšku.in, -ku·yo hm. weaver. (The second form though incorrect is said to be now in frequent use. The form *giṣʌsku.in* is not confirmed and should be deleted in § 21. b.).

giš'aiyʌs, gišač-, Impv. *giša*, neg. *aki·ša*, to weave, knit. (Usually with y obj.s).

Fut. 1st. sg. *gišačʌm.*
Pres. 3rd. sg. f. *giša·čo bo.*
3rd. pl. h. *gišačʌ·n.*
Pret. 3rd. sg. m. *gišæmi.*
f. *giša·mo.*

pfilʌmʌn gi·šačai.i he is weaving a piece of pattu (homespun). 184.5. *pilʌm gišaiyʌs hi·sk* a loom for weaving pattu, *jora·b gišaiyʌs* to knit socks. (Cp. *yʌšiʌš*).

grš'i'-mots x.

1 Line. — *bɪdi·ro grṣi* a circle. Cp. 92.2.

2. Limit, boundary. — *gusɛ gor grṣi di.usʌm* I have fixed this boundary for you. QUB.

3. Demarcated section. — *ṭo·gɛ grṣi* a section, holding, of irrigated grass-land. QUB. (Cp. Sh. *krṣ'i*, a line).

grt, git N. Mck. GR. anus. (Cp. Hz. *gik*. *git* is said to be also Sh.).

giyʌlt IUB spoon, ladle, H. *čʌmča.* (For *giyʌlt, güyʌlt* q.v. Cp. also γi.*ʌlt*. Cp. *khuṭgiyʌlt*, tadpole).

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[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

5. Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

1. *giyʌs, gič-*, Impv. *gi*, neg. *ʌki*, Ppa. *nɪkiˑn*, St.pc. *giˑm*. 000

a. V.i. to go into, enter into, to project oneself(?). — *hiˑnɛ ulo gičai.i, giˑmi* he goes, went, in at the door. 160.15. *haˑlər gəroˑni giˑmər* when the bridal party have gone into the house. *iˑn wʌziˑre bʌtər gi bʌm* he had entered into the skin, i.e. assumed the form, of the Wazir. 4.1. *homaˑr giˑmi* he entered the ford. 176.2. *pfəri.ər giˑmo* she entered the pond. 14.6. Cp. 200.15. *hərʌŋ giˑmi* he interfered, interrupted. EOL. *hərʌŋ ʌki* don't interfere, don't interrupt.

b. Metaphorical. — *mɛnʌn yaˑrɛ giyʌs* to take refuge with someome. *dʌn yaˑrɛ giyʌs* to take refuge behind a stone(?). (of pain etc.) to come on, take possession of one. *aˑriŋolo šuˑl giˑmi* "pain has entered my hand", my hand has begun to tingle (after being cold). *mošwˑl giyʌs* (a woman's) labour pains to come on. *mošul gičilom, giˑm bila* her labour continued(?), her labour has come on and is in progress. 102.2,8. *mošul nikiˑn* her labour pains having come on. 110.1.

Other parts:
Fut. 1st. sg. *gičʌm*.
Perf. 3rd. sg. y *gi bila*.

(This verb can be conceived as a sort of reflexive of 2. *giyʌs*, but that it is so in fact cannot be proved.

The *-g* I almost always marked as "retracted", but the *-k-* in *nikiˑn* did not seem to correspond to it in that respect, I was not tempted to write it *q* and IYB Ms. has نكيمن).

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It is probable that the *y* of the infinitive is really *y*, and the *-č-* of the Pres. Base *-ç-*. 000

(From one fairly certain example it appears that the form *-ʌgiyʌs can act as the Cs. of this verb).

2. *giyʌs, guyʌs, gič-, guč-*, Impv. *gi, gu*. v.t. to throw down, put down, throw in, pour into.

guyʌs, is used when the direct object is h pl. or x pl. The forms are the same as those of 1. *giyʌs* except that in those derived from *guyʌs* *-u-* takes the place of *-i-*. V. § 230.2.

yæṭɛ tiʷk gimi he threw earth (into the hole) on the top of him. 56.21. *yʌṭɛ tiʷk gičaʷn* they throw, or fill in, earth on the top. 312.5. (*dišʌki*) *sərmutsiŋər nikin* putting (the grain) in sacks. 334.1. *dorr dəsuʷn tsʌγərər nikiʷn* having ground (the grain) and brought it back and put it in the bin. 334.5. Cp. 22.10, 328.11, 330.12, 334.3. *tik ʌkiʷm mʌzərʌṭɛ hərutʌmʌn* without filling in the earth they sat down at the grave, 218.12. *giʷm bitsa* (the earth) has been filled in.

(*ʌkiʷm* may belong either to 1. *giyʌs* or to 2. *giyʌs*. It was explained first as H. *nʌhī ḍaʷlkʌr* and then as *ḍaʷla huʷa*).

bo giyʌs to sow seed. *tʌlo bʌ́dʌŋ giʷmər* when they have taken 7 paces. 312.10. Cp. 200.13. *pai.iga gučaʷn* they put (the horses) on the race course(?), they make them race. (*padšahaʷntiŋ*) *yuʷkʌṭər guʷči* he will fling (kings) on the bier. 92.5. *guyu . . . kʌš oʷčər guʷma* you threw down your sons (intending) to slay them. 44.19. *hʌ̃njiʷl guʷʌs haʷn bila*

there is a house for putting charcoal in. 164.5. Cp. 164.7.9. *bʌtər tinjo nəkwn* throwing the bones into the skin. 234.9. Cp. 206.10.

The Pn.pf. appears in:

bitaiyo uguʷmʌn they put on "bitans" (to dance). 242.1.

(V. note under 1. *giyʌs*. There is nothing to distinguish the two verbs of this form except their functions. Cs. *-*ʌgiyʌs*. V. § 245).

giyˈai.ʌs, gi.ai.ʌs, giyˈʌč-, gi.ʌč-. Used only with pl. subjects.

1. To fall (of snow and hail), come down (of rainbow). V. s.v. *gɛ* where a number of forms will be found. — *gyɛ gi.aʷyʌstsum drš oyom diʷlimi* by the falling of the snow the ground all became wet. EOL. *hiʷo gi(y)ʌči.ɛn* hail is falling *hiʷo gi(y)ʌmi.ɛ* hail fell. *niʷrunʌŋrši giya bi.ɛ* rainbows have come down i.e. appeared.

   Metaphorical:

   uyom isɛ bum yaʷrər giyˈamʌn all got under, took refuge under, the boulder. 160.1. *mosʌmots gi.a biʷm* her time had come, she was near to child-birth. 242.9.

2. *kəru, žiki, giya bi.ɛn* lice, nits, have fallen, descended, i.e. made their appearance. Glossed H. *pʌra*. There is a parallel idiom in Sh. with *poʷrki* to fall.

3. To be the loser (in polo) — *bulaʷr gi.ʌmʌn* they lost at polo. *mɛn gi.ʌmʌn kɛ* whichever should lose (in a game of polo). 388.11. N. *jɛ aʷyɛkʌl gi.ʌmʌn* my side lost at polo

   (*giyai.ʌs* is the form of *giyʌ* with an *-a-* theme. V. BSOS VII 1936, p. 628. Cp. *digi.eyʌs*).

006 *ġiyaˑs, ġyaˑs, ç̣uyaˑs*, pl. *ġiyaˑnčo*, hmf. infant, baby, sucking infant. — *kin jot ġiyaˑsʌnər* to this small infant. 90.25. Cp. 100.2, 108.29. ff. *gʊs ġyaˑs gʌti numʌn* the womenfolk (lit. woman and child) assembling. 262.11. *guˑs ġuyaˑs* women (and children). 330.3.

ġiyʌl (ġuyʌl), -iŋ y thin bread made from watery dough (of all kinds of grain). Sh. *goˑli*, Kho. *rɛšiˑki*. — *γaˑgʌy̧ bərɯ.ɛ ġiyʌliŋik* pieces of bitter buckwheat bread. 132.15.

glaˑs v. *gilaˑs*.

go v. 2. *goˑn*.

goˑa N. v. *γuˑa* no-moon.

goˑra -mʊts x cradle. Prs. (*gʌhwaˑra*).

gˈoʌs v. *goˑz*.

goˑbi y sg. and pl., d. pl. *-čiŋ*, cabbage. H.

goˑdər -iŋ y big thick wall. — *šʌbərɪŋɛ goˑdər* wall round polo-ground. Cp. 158.10. *khʌnɛ goˑdər* wall of fortified village.

goˑko -mʊts x donkey-foal. 118.4—120.8. (Cp. Sh. *goˑko*, "donkey-foal", given as a name to children).

goˑmʊr N. *-iŋ*, v. *γamur*, hole.

1. *goˑn, gʊn* .dawn, Punj. *lo*. — *goˑn oˑmʌnš xa diˑɛmi* he got up while it was not yet dawn. 132.1. *goˑn mʌnaˑsər* on its becoming dawn, when it was dawn. 132.3. *goˑn sʌŋ mʌnimi* morning twilight has come. *goˑnɛ lʌčaˑr* the morning star. *goˑnɛ bʌbər* midnight. Cp. 42.23, 118.7, 176.26, 326.13. V. also s.v. *ṭwˑk*.

2. *goˑn(a), gʊn, goˑin(a)*; *go* get along, come along, go ahead, proceed, H. *čhʌliˑyɛ, čhʌlo*.

I understood it to be said that *go, goˑn* was singular and *goˑin* plural. *go* does not occur in the texts.

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mama . . . gonna senomo "Mother . . . come on" she said. 122.2. *ye gon, ai.i* well, come along, my daughter. 122.2. *gonin maltirčam* go on and I'll show you. 282.25. Cp. 74.8. 152.18, 284.13. OOO

3. *gon* N. v. γon.

gonholalas pl. *-holalašo* x bat (zool.). (1. *gon* + *holalas?*).

gonikiš N., *gunikiš* Nz., v. γunikiš bad.

gono a foul-smelling person, H. *badbuwala*. (Cp. Sh. *gon*, smell; *gono*, smelly, stinking).

gonšere all night. — *g'onšere g'on manišxa* all through the night till dawn. 326.12. Cp. 128.22, 130.10.25.

1. *gor* (*gu* + *ər*) to thee, for thee. 26.16 etc. V. § 123.

2. *gor -išo* x water-fall, water-shoot. — *gor garši bi* the waterfall pours down. *hure gor garši bi* the water from runnel (roof-drain) pours down.

gork'un N. pl. *gorkoyo* x small stone cooking-pot. (Cp. *gurkun*).

gor'o N. x pl. coarse shingle beside river course. (Cp. γor'o).

1. *gos* v. 1. *guyos*.

2. *gos* v. 2. *guyos*.

gosil N. v. *gotsil*.

gofi -muts x a kind of waterfowl.

gotsil -šo x a small irrigation-channel, Sh. *yap*. — *Bərbəre gotsil* the Berber water-channel (Baltit). 352.6. *Baltittsum gotsil ditsun* bringing the water-channel from Baltit (to Aliabad). 240.12. *Ultare Bərtsum gotsil tsuam* they had carried an irrigation channel from the Ultar Beg. 352.11. *gotsil diusas* to construct an irrigation channel. *gotsil diusiš ayomanuman* they were unable to construct the water-channel. 276.6.

171 a

000

Cp. 352.12,19. *go·tsil do·gusʌs* to cause people to construct a water-channel (H. *nikʌlwa·na*), i.e. to cause to be constructed. *no·birʌk ḍʌḍʌŋ hə·ri·p no gotsil do.ugusimi* making them dig and beat drums he made them construct, carry through, the channel. 352.16. Cp. 276.3, 352.21.

go·yʌs, go·č-, Impv. *go·*, neg. *ʌka·o.*

1. To pick, pluck (flowers), H. *čhu·nna.*
2. To pick up.

asku·riŋ go·yʌs to pick flowers.

čʌma pfu·kʌŋ nuk'a·un(i·n) picking up the fragments of the brooch. 164.19.

go·z, go·ʌs y pasture, grass land, meadow. — *turʌŋ i·tɛ go·zulo (g'o·ʌsulo) nɛ.igʌt* digging its horns into the meadow. 132.23.

(Said to be a Turki word *go·z, ga·z,* but as regards the latter Steingass gives the Persian *ga·z,* pasture).

gubaʷr N. y pl. dust in air, mist from ground. Prs. (*γubaʷr*).

guç -ʌnts x line, *or* angle, of meeting, especially of vertical and horizontal planes. — *iltʌltə·riŋɛ guč* angle, *or* line, of junction of shoulder and neck (of ox). 338.1. (Cp. Sh. Kho. *gu·ç*, base, foundation, angle, usually line *or* angle of junction of an object with the ground).

gučhʌšpʌl bedtime, the time following bedtime (i.e. 9 or 10 p.m.). — *gučhʌšpʌl mʌnimi* it has become bedtime.

(*gučhʌš-* is apparently the *-š* form of *gučhaiyʌs. -pʌl* is perhaps to be compared with Sh. *-bʌl. wai.o·rki* to come, *wai.o·bʌl* at the time of coming).

guč'aiyʌs, guč'ʌč-, Impv. *gučha*, Ppa. *nukuʷčʌn*, St. Pc. *guč'ʌm.*

171 b

000 1. To lie down, to be lying down, to lie down to sleep, to lie sleeping, to go to sleep.

(The essential idea appears to be that of *lying down*, the idea of *sleeping* being secondary, but usually present, and sometimes dominant. It was repeatedly explained by, or given as the equivalent of H. *sɔ·na*, *sɔ·jama*).

gučaiyʌsər eyɛnɔmtsɛ gau mʌnimi when he had lain down and had gone to sleep there was a shout. 180.4. *yā . . . yuɜmo ka guča bi* the bear is lying with his wife. 228.4. Cp. 306.18.

(The Perf. and Plup. are commonly used with the force of the Pres. and Imperfect).

guča ba kɛ di.ɛ, dive ba kɛ rʌl mʌnɛ if you are lying down get up, if you are up get ready. 174.15. *gučʌmo. Nukučen' m'oyɛnɔmo. Moyɛnʌsər . . .* She lay down, having lain down she went to sleep, After she had gone to sleep. 108.17. *gučaiyʌs kɛn mʌnimi* it has become lying down time, it is bedtime. Cp. 42.23, 260.6,8, 264.22 ff. *uŋ amɔlo guča bʌm?* where had you slept? 224.1. *yuɜɛ sərik nɛ guča bom . . . . atučʌlɔmʌn* his wife fastening the bolt had gone to bed . . . . they did not wake up. 40.7. *Siŋ guča bʌm, xɔrɛ ičər jučilɔm* S. was lying down, the sound of his snoring was heard (*lit.* coming). 266.2. Cp. 264.22. *gučaču bom* she was sleeping. N. *gučaiyʌs drš* camping ground ("sleeping place"). Cp. 42.23, 172.21, 260.6,8.

000 2. To be brought to bed, to be delivered of a child, to give birth (of woman only). — *muri besʌn ʌrt'imʌnimi, akuʳčʌmo* a son was not born to her, she was not delivered. 102.2. *akuʳčʌčubo . . . guʳča bo* she is not brought to bed . . . she has been delivered. 102.5. Cp. 104.21. *uŋ gočaʳma kɛ, goyʌn dum'umʌno kɛ . . .* if you are delivered and a daughter is born to you . . . 56.15. *guč'ʌmɛ haʳlɔm* from the house of the woman who has given birth. *guč'ʌm gɔsmɔr* to the woman who has given birth. Cp. 242.9,13, 244.24, 268.4.

gɔdɔŋ nodding (with sleep). — *dʌŋɛ* (or, *dʌŋtsɛ*) *gɔdɔŋ imai.i bai.i* he is nodding with sleep.

gɔdurʳ -ɪšo x big shallow wooden bowl. (Cp. Sh. & Kho. *gɔdurʳ*).

guguʳi thyself, thou thyself. V. s.v. 1. *-i, and § 142. — *uʳn guyuʳi ni* go yourself. *uʳŋɛ bɛʳsə guguʳi delima?* why did you hit (him) yourself?

guguʳrus v. *gukuʳrus*.

guʳk'ʌŋ, -ɛŋ y chisel. (Cp. Sh. *guʳk*).

guγoʳs v. 2. *guyoʳs*.

1. *guʳi* thyself. V. s.v. 1. *-i, and § 142. — *guʳi ʌʳim γɛnɪš* the gold which you yourself have given me. 60.7. Cp. 118.12.

2. *guʳi* thy son v. s.v. 2. *-i.

guʳimo, goʳimo, guyɔmo thy own. V. s.v. 1. *-i (2), and § 143. Cp. 50.12, 94.7.

gɔkɛ, guʳkɛ y pl., sg. *gɔtɛ*, cp. *khiʳnɛ*. V. § 135.

Demonstrative Adj. and Pron. these, these ones. — *guʳkɛ* (sc. *biʳškɛ* y pl.) *pfuʳɔr gi* throw these (i.e. this hair) in the fire. 22.10.

172 b

[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p.543-Analyst]

gukuvus, gogurus, pl. *gukuvṛšo* x. 000

1. Puppy.—*kuks gukuvṛšo juʌn* like puppies. 214.3.
2. This year's young of the "Ram Chikor" (snow-partridge). (Cp. Sh. *kukuv*, puppy, and Bu. P. N. *Šon Gukuv*).

gul, gul relations by marriage; relationship by marriage? IUB H. *naṭa, vṛšta;* Kho. *xṛltabari.* — *ins ka gul mʌnaʌor rai ešmi ka* . . . if (the youth's father) wants there to be marriage-relationship with him (the prospective bride's father). . . 298.2. *gul ka ečukoʌnor* for the bride's relations and the bridegroom's tribal brethren. 300.2. 601

gulab v. *γulap* rose. Pra. 000

gulgul aloes, a sweet-scented drug, H. *'ud, ek dawai xušbudar.*

guli, goli x sg. and pl., dried apricots with the stones in them; any small round object. — *goli.en jo* give me a dried apricot. *goṭe guli* a lump of "gur" (crude sugar). *sur guli* a ball of thread.

gulsuvi a kind of flower. Pra.?

gumaʌn y suspicion, expectation, supposition. — *kisuṭe gumaʌn bila* suspicion rests on this man. *gumaʌn bila jimʌle juči* there is expectation that he will come tomorrow, i.e. he will probably come tomorrow. *ja gumaʌn bila; ja gumaʌn eča ba* . . I suspect, think, imagine. Pra.

1. *gun* v. 1. *gon* dawn.
2. *gun* v. 2. *gon* come along.
3. *gun* v. *γon* musk-melon.

gun'a -mig y sin, fault. — *ja beʌan guna bila?* what fault is it of mine? *guna apim* innocent, guiltless. *guna apimaṭe* in the absence of fault, innocently. Pra.

173a

gunagav -*ṡko* guilty, sinful, blameworthy. Prs. 000

1. *g'undaru* x sg. and pl. cherry-plum, H. *aluča*. (Cp. Sh. *gildor'u*, *guldoru*).
2. *g'undaru* pl. *gundarog*, -*ug* y cherry-plum tree.

gunerṡṭo, *gunerṭo*, pl. *gunerṡṭomats*, *gunerṭotiŋ* understanding, intelligent, competent, reflective, H. *qarbil*, *qarbir*. — *gunerṡṭowan bai.i* he is an intelligent fellow. (Cp. Sh. *gunerski*, to think, of which *gunerṭo* would be a regular agent form).

gunī v. *kunī* corner.

gunts, *gunts* -*iŋ* y day. — *kan gunts*, *kan gunṡen* one day. 52.13, 50.17. *avito*, *usko*, *wavito gunṡiŋ* 2, 3, 4, days. *bur gunṡiŋ korangio ornitsum* after many days had not elapsed, i.e. before long. 366.5. *kan gunṡanaio . . . ṡtimi* one day he did . . . 2.5. *kor gunts* every day, daily. *gunts ki kan ṭuṡ wašimi* he put down one pebble per day, i.e. each day. 52.9. *gunts dorawr niṡam*, he used to go out to hunt every day. 32.19. *gunṡamo gunts korait diawṡimi* it rained day by day, daily. *gunṡatsum gunts asṡto insri.ins* from day to day becoming weaker. 110.15. *yaf gunṡe*, *yaf gunṡer* next day. 12.4,15. *ṡto gunṡe pfor numa* returning that day. 12.14. *yor gunts*, *ilertsum yor gunts* the day before last, the day before that. V. § 412.

gup'altiŋ, *gupla-ltiŋ* y pl., double pl. -*ṡiŋ*. trousers (man's or woman's), H. *pajama*. — *ja gupaltiŋṡitsa* they are my trousers. (Cp. N. *gorpaltiŋ*).

gup'as, *gupas* pl. *gupasiŋ* y cotton. — *gupasi ṭuṡ* cotton seed. *gupasi gafu* cotton cloth.

173b

○○○ *gur* y pl., double pl. *-iṇ*, *-eṇ*, wheat. — *ku.in gur ḥu.a manimi* wheat has turned out good this year. *gurin ku.in ḥu.a manimi* the wheat crops(?) have done well this year. *gurr ḥapik* wheat bread. *ṡiki gurulo kin jut giṇurr.an paida manimi* a small child turned up in that wheat. 102.2. *gurr ṭilants* wheat-pits (pits in wh. wheat is stored). 140.1. *gur ḥarṇ nip'irur* cutting the wheat and barley (crops). 330.12. *gur-ḥari n'o.ṡein* putting aside the wheat and barley (grain). 332.11. *gurr dirts* ... *dosurr* bringing in the cut wheat. 332.10.

Wheat is eaten, when available, from spring onwards, v. Text 39 end. Cp. 140.9,18, 142.3,5,7, 234.8.

gurr N. error for γωυ? downhill.

gur N., cp. Hu. *gur*, to thee.

gurr tran (*tsḥal?*) Name of a constellation. ("Heap of Wheat"?).

gurg'an y pl. wheat sown in autumn. y sg. the sowing of wheat in autumn.

gurγinas, *gurgi-* to grind on a stone (y objects, e.g. spices, tobacco, snuff, grain). This is done by men as well as women. (Cp. *γurγinas* used with x objects).

1. *gurgur manar* IUB to take counsel. consult H. *salaḥ karna*, *mashwara karna*. QUB gave this word the form γωrγωr. (Cp. Sh. *gurgur berzi*, to talk together, discuss. Kho. *gurgur kurik*, to talk love, talk together).

2. **-tsi gurgur manar* to throng after, crowd after s.o. (of children, servants etc.). — *sis atsi.ats gurgur mai.ibum* people crowd after me.

g'urgui y a (pleasant) mild wind. — *ṡ'inimo ny'am g'urgui.an γ.ṡiṡila gots dṡṡalo* in the hot-weather a pleasant mild breeze blows here. QUB.

000 *gorkun* pl. *gorkoyo* x.

1. A small cooking pot made of *baloṭ* stone. — *Xama gorkun* pot for cooking vegetables.
2. A shallow vessel of *baloṭ* stone in which oil is expressed from kernels, *del di.ʍʌʌ gorkun*. (Cp. *gorkun*).

gurv self-coloured (of woollen homespun), greyish. — *gurv pilʌm* grey pattu. *ṭikurk gurv* yellowish-brown. *bawdum gurv* reddish-brown. *gurv* used of human complexion denotes, I believe, wheat-coloured, something darker than *bwṭu*. The word is also used to describe ripe barley. (Cp. Sh. *gurv* self-coloured, grey, brown).

gurpʌltiṇ N. trousers. (Cp. Hz. *gupʌltiṇ*).

gurçots N. pl. *gurçoto* x frog. — *gurkots delʌs* to swim with breast-stroke (i.e. like a frog?) (Cp. Hz. *γurkun*).

gurtsurv, *gurtsuryʌs* N. *gurtsurv*-, Impv. *gurtsu* to dive.

Pret. 1st. sg. *gurtsuryʌm*.

(Cp. Hz. γurtsurv).

γur'u assembly, community, — *le.i Islʌmʌ γur'u* O community of Islam! 90.5. Prs.

gus, *gus*, gen. *gusmo*, pl. *guṭiṇʌnts* (*-ents*), N. Nz. *guṭi.ents*, hf. woman (married); female, ! for forms v. § 56. — *gus ʍʌʌu* be she (the girl) has become a woman. *hin jʌt guʌʌmo hʌ hiçtur nimi* he went up to the door of the house of an old woman. 286.1,11,15,17. *talo mariṇ guṭiṇʌnts* seven fine women. 180.10 ff. *gus giyʌv* women (and children), womenfolk, IUB H. *ʍʌsturvʌt*. 262.11, 330.3. *hin hurutum guʌʌn . . . bom* there was a pregnant woman. 242.7. Cp. 22.15, 24.4,9, 66.20,22, 78.5, 114.5,25,

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! [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

210.17, 228.13 ff., 310.9, 316.4,11. 000
gus hok a bitch, female dog.

gusʌnomkuš N. length, v. γusʌnum.

gusɛ x sg., pl. *gulsɛ*, cp. *khi·nɛ* v. §§ 135, 136.

Demonstrative Adj. and Pron. this, this one.

gusɛ yor nɛ ma deli bʌm you had shot this (ibex) first. 104.4. *gusɛ hʌγoreṭe holja* mount this horse. 6.14.

guspen, *guspfen* x pl., d. pl. *gusperyo* orbicular dung (goat's, sheep's, camel's).

*-ʌs *gusuryʌs* N. *-ʌs *gusuč*, Impv. 2nd. sg. *gos gusu* to fear, be afraid. *je hoktsum* (*bola delʌstsum*) *but as gusuča ba* I am greatly afraid of the dog (of playing polo). *gus gusu* fear thou. *gus augusu* don't be afraid. *es gusuryʌs* (he) to be afraid.

(Originally recorded only in N., but later given by QUB for Hz. as. — *-ʌs *gusuryʌs*, *-ʌs *gusas*, Impv. 2nd. sg. *gos gus'e*, neg. *gos ʌk'us*.

For the variation in the infinitive ending, cp. N. *gortsas* ‖ *gortsuryʌs* v. s.v.).

gušiski pertaining to woman, women's, H. *zanana*, *'aurʌtana*. — *gušiski mʌltsiḷ*, *pfortsin*, *gupʌltiṇ* women's abuse, cap, trousers. *gušiski γʌlise* women's illness, i.e. menstruation, H. *ḥaiẓ*. 114.5.

gušpur, *-iko*, *-tiṇ*, *-toro*, hm. prince, "son of a Raja", male member of ruling family, IUB H. *raja ka lʌrka*. Cp. 238.8, 316.7, 340.18,19, 342,21. (Cp. Sh. *gušpur*).

gušpure.iki pertaining to Gushpūrs, "gušpuri". — *Misgari ilbʌn gušpure.iki bila* the "ilbʌn" of Misgar is "gušpuri", allotted to a Gušpur. 344.1. Cp. 346.10.

175a

g'ufugomas, g'ufugi-, Pgn. *nuk'wtkin* to take counsel, consult. — *mi mi hovaq gufugipen* let us take counsel among ourselves, let us take counsel together. *fwaj ofaor gufuqinomaon* they took counsel to plot against . . . 276.8. *marig gaor ha nuk'wtkin* taking counsel with superior persons. 336.10. Cp. 298.11.

Pres. 1st. pl. *gufugipa hova.*

(As regards the loss of the vowel in *nuk'wt(o)kin*, cp. *al'wakow*, v. s.v. *dzaokas*).

guf, guf -eq y tent. — *ots guf ugowolo wyamon hovimots* as many chairs as will fit into the whole of that tent. 88.8. Cp. 88.4,5. (Cp. Sh. *guf*).

gurfas, gufas pl. *gurfako, -ako* a dead body, corpse (principally, if not exclusively, human), IUB. H. *murdo, lord.* — *ow ow gufas wimo hoto eowatowaon* they kept the corpse in their own house. 112.20. *ovomo gufas* a dead body. *gaowaon (-owa?) gurfas ha you're* a dead corpse, i.e. lifeless, lazy. *gurfas ugowa hovimig ofowa* they are weeping in the absence of the corpse, i.e. for someone who has died away from home. *hovimi manow gurfas* carrion, a dead body that is unlawful for food. *gurfaho.s hayor* a "corpse-horse", i.e. a bier (an old expression). 112.16,19, 114.22. 240.9, 310.12, 312.10, 374.16.

gufo, gufo y sg. pl. *gufo*, cp. Ekiss v. §§ 125, 126.

Demonstrative Adj. and Pron. this, this one. — *gufokow ti hovaq gloy epi* there is no remedy apart from this. 2.9. *ow gufo doljam* I'll kill him now forthwith. 172.12.

(After *gufo* sc. *waxt*, time).

175 b

841 *guji* pl. *gujenda*, EOL. *-inda*, n hut, shed. — *kwkwmatar guji* a hen-house. *gujiaio* in the hut, etc. *kwf ymikki ewaiar gujiaon* him there was a very evil uninhabitable(?) hut. 112.12. Cp. 114.8,9,26.

This is said to refer to a hut in which it was formerly the practice to isolate women for seven days during menstruation. This practice has been abandoned and women only bathe according to the prescriptions of the Shara' law and use separate bedding for 3 or 4 days.

000 *gukhawar*, *gukhawi*, Fpa. *-ukwtaw* to walk, go on, proceed, pass, flow, H. *rahaw* — *kwa gukawar ainan* a man who is a good guer, walker. *kwwdiar je gukawriam* I shall go on tomorrow. 139.2,17. *kwwdiwar dwi nanan gukawanan*. *Kukwtar . . . . kwdiar kwkgalhwanan* getting up in the morning they proceeded on their way. Proceeding . . . . they came to the spring. 139.8. *gukawiyaw gukawiyaw* going on and on. 144.10. *dwia dal na gukawiwi ke* . . . when the river flows uphill . . . 142.27. 8.6, 22.12, 26.3, 134.9, 144.8, 244.1, 272.10.

gulu n pl., sg. *gunu*. cp. *khinu*, v. §§ 158, 156.

Demonstrative Adj. and Pron. these, those ones. — *gulu kwdi ugaan kiam* those apples are sweet.

gului v. *gulul*.

gulumu — [illegible], Pp. § 149 n., 555., from thee.

gunu -tig h witness. — *na gunutig dofar* bring them as witnesses. 80.15. Pra.

gunwi y evidence, testimony. — *awa gunwi ainii ki* my heart gives me

000 (this) evidence, i.e. I testify with conviction. Pys.

ganarlaw St. Pe. 2nd. sg. of * *warlas* you lost one! fugitive! (a term of contempt). H. *farawi, lawarwzy*(?). 264.11.

gaŋ.as, gaŋ.as v. 2. *giŋ.as*.

gaŋamli, gaŋamo variants of *ga.imo* thy own. 44.17, 106.22.

gaŋ.ilaw Kashmiri.

gaŋ.il v. *giŋ.il*.

gaŋ.ilt -*aro* x ladle v. *giŋ.ilt*.

415 1. *gaŋ'ra* pl. *gaŋ'rawanda* x grinding-stone (an oval stone with which things are ground by hand on another flat stone, *zal*). (Sometimes recorded as *gara*).

000 2. *gaŋ'ra, gaŋ'ra*, pl. *ga.rdo, ga.rdo, gaŋardo* x small field (intermediate in size between *khetjiw* and *jw*).
(Also recorded as *gara*).

gaŋawa livelihood, subsistence. Pys.

gaŋara v. *giŋara*.

gaŋoiŋ.as v. *giŋoiŋ.as*.

gaŋ, gaŋ v. *gi*, snow.

γ.

(See also under g).

Initial γ- was in some cases pronounced by Ns. as *g*- and is sometimes similarly represented in EOL's Nagir records. Regarding the pronunciation of initial γ- as *gγ*- vide Gram. p. XXVIII l. 6 ff. and p. XXX Additional Note.

It is possible that a "retracted" γ corresponding to *g* occasionally occurs, e.g. in γίνα.

Initial γ- is changed to an unvoiced stop after the negative prefix *a*-, the n-prefix of the Pya., and the causative *-as-*. I think that the resulting sound is *-q-*.

176 b

ga, gaya, *ga*, pl. gayo, gaiyu, *gayu* x crow, H. *kawwa*, غراب. — Ana gaya || Ana gayana a crow. gaiyu *gujum* may the crows eat you! (said by women to an oppressive husband or son). ua *gayu ujuʔan!* may the crows eat them! 256.11. Cp. Prov.s 8 and 39.

galiʔ v. galiʔe sick.

gamʿes v. gamis wealthy.

*-gaya pl. *-gayo x heel, H. *ʿqb*.

gaqay, gaqaway bitter. H *kara.a*. — gaqay *barwa giyaliqik* bread of bitter buckwheat. 132.15. gaqaʔilo, gaqayinta, Anai bitter kernels.

gaqʿayum, gaqʿayum bitter, sour. — *bal* gaqayum *bila* it (the bread) is very bitter. 132.17. *mal* gaqʿayum *bila* the wine is sour. gaqawamiq gawayan *bali* he is a speaker of bitter things, i.e. he is a bitter-tongued fellow. Cp. Prov. 22.

gaqala pl. gaqalo enemy. — gaqala *bawa* a heavy, immobile thing (boulder). gaqala *bawa talʿeli ba* you have become an immobile boulder, i.e. you dont make a move to work, you are not responsive to an order. H. *kabbal*, *barbarous*. QUH. IYB gave gaqalo *bawa*.

gar v. gir sing.

galʿemd, galʿemd, pl. galiʔq, galaq, gardaq.
1. Sword. — *galemd ismkimi* Ana*ya la in ka alto traq otimi* he brought down his sword and cut horse and man together in two. 150.8. *galemdate deljam* they used to smite (the ox) with a sword. 328.1. *ewo galemd yudgittoem dinsimi* he drew his sword from the scabbard. 282.16. *bobak galemd, bobak*

γʌlaŋ arms, weapons. 192.12. *tobʌk gaʌtaŋ* arms, weapons. 194.15. γʌʌtenčʌ *yʌn* sword hilt. Cp. 148.24 ff., 160.14.

2. Hz. & N. Stick for playing tip-cat with.

γayum, γʌʌyum, γauyum (*gauyum*), cp. γʌg, left (hand). — γayum *ašʌk, ariŋ* my left arm, hand. γauyum *iriŋs iʌs pfultinzš* the left-hand bellows. 166.5.

γʌdʌm (sound of) spl. sh. (Cp. Sh. *gʌdʌm*, "noise of a stone falling into water").

γʌg, for γay, cp. γayum, left (hand). — γʌg *pa kurutimi* he sat on the left-hand side. 96.3.

γʌkauy v. γauqay.

γʌkʌli, N. *gʌkæli*, *-muts* x scarecrow. — γʌkʌl(i?) *juʌn* (term of abuse), "stuck pig".

γʌlʌt *-iŋ*, γʌltiŋ, γʌltesŋ y error, mistake; incorrect(ly), wrong(ly), false. — γʌlʌt *se.iba* you say wrongly, what you say is wrong. 186.7. *ma ine senʌs čʌγa γʌlʌt dumai.ʌljaʌn* you hear wrongly, you mishear what he says. 128.12. *B. J.s senum its taʌn bil'a, γʌltiŋ bila?* is what B. J. said true, or is it false? 82.17. Ar. Prs.

γʌlγu *-muts*, *-nts*, γʌlγunts x any small creeping thing, grub, worm, weevil, maggot, "bugs". — γʌlγu *čurust goči* the "insect" will bite you. γʌlγu *dutsimi* he has got worms(?) ("said of a child whose lips have turned white"). *ustsi* (*mustsi*) γʌlγu *dumi.s* "bugs" have come on my (our) heart, i.e. I (we) have heartburn, a taste in the throat. IUB *imelum* γʌlγu "tooth-bug", a person who gives one

000 trouble. H. *davt ke kivɩ, tʌklif denewavla. bɪsqa* γʌlγu a soft grub, soft weevil (in flour). (*bisqa* is said to be the word meaning "saliva"). *biškʌkrš* γʌlγu hairy caterpillar.

γʌlivɩ, γʌlivɩ, *galivɩ*, pl. γʌlivɩzɩo, γʌ.ivɩ-tiŋ, γʌlivɩ̣o.

1. Ill, sick, unwell; sick person. — *ivɩ* γʌlivɩ *nimʌn ivɩčər* (*tai.avɩ?*) *imʌnimi* he becoming ill, came near to dying. γʌlivɩ *imʌnimi* he fell ill. 294.10. Cp. 376.5. γʌlivɩər *mili ɩti* physic, treat, the sick man.
2. Illness, N. *galis -iŋ* (γ). — *gušivski galivɩ* menstruation. 114.5. (Cp. Sh. *galivɩ*, ill).

γʌlisavɩ̣o chronically ill, ailing, sickly. (The ending *-avɩ̣o* is that of a Sh. participle or adj.).

γʌlivɩzkuš y illness, sickness, disease.

1. γʌm, γʌm y sorrow, grief, H. γʌm, *rʌnj, mavtrm.* — γʌm *avpi, menikuvər kɩ uv* it is no matter, give it to someone (pl.). *badša ivʌsɩ* γʌmulo *hɩrča bʌn* we are weeping in grief for the King's dying. 38.20. Ar. Prs.
2. γʌm *ɩtʌs* to bark (of a dog). Prov. 1.

1> γʌmgiv̄n sad, sorrowful, unhappy. — Š. *Bekravm but* γʌmgiv̄n *vuma horutʌm* Š. B. had sat down (i.e. was sitting) very sorrowfully. 16.8. (Ar.) Prs.

γʌmɩs, γʌm'ɩs, γavm'ɩs, pl. γʌm'ɩšc wealthy, rich. — *but* γavm'ɩs *hirʌs bai.i* he is a very rich man. *ivɩ* γʌmɩs *hivɩ* of that wealthy man. 100.3.

γʌmɩn, N. *gʌmu*, pl. γʌ*mvnts*, γʌ*monts* s ice, frost; glacier, H. γʌx, *jʌm'a hʌvɩ bʌrf.* — γʌmuɩ čɩ icicle γʌmu *gorɩvrum numʌn dɩvrimi* (i.e. *dɩvyimi*) the ice, becoming warm, melted. Nz. *tsiɩltʌs* γʌmi *dɩvrimi, dɩvni bi* ice

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1 [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p 543 - Analyst]

000 (frost) has seized the water, i.e. the water has frozen. *tsiʌleṭe* γʌmu *duʌni bi* the water has frozen over. γʌmu *mai.imi* it will freeze. γʌmu *gʌnʌe* to freeze. *koktse* γʌmu *gʌne* ': ice (frost) has seized on these, i.e. these have frozen, *or*, have become covered with ice. 132.5. *taʌočiṇtse tʌwaʌ* γʌmu *nukʌn* hard frost having seized the foot-bandages, i.e. they were frozen stiff. 132.3. *Batuʌs* γʌmu the Batuʌra glacier. *ite zʌmaʌna.ulo . . .* γʌmoʌnts *apim* in those days there was no ice, no glacier (in the Hʌsʌnabaʌd nullah). 238.4. (Cp. Sh. *gʌmuk* ice).

651 γʌn IUB gold-tax, i.e. the tax imposed to pay for the annual gold tribute paid by the Mir of Hunza to Kashmir and to the Chinese representative in Kashgar.

000 1. γʌnʌʌs, γai.ič-, γe.ič-, γaič- and γai-, γəi-, to appear, seem, be visible H. *dɪkhaʌi-dʌʌna, nʌʒʌr aʌna*, Bu. *lel mʌnʌʌs*.

The forms recorded of this verb, chiefly without contexts, are as follows:

Fut. sg. 1. γaiyaʌm. 3. γai.imi.

Pres. sg. 3. x γai.iči bi. neg. *ʌqai.iči bi.*
y γai.ičila. neg. *aqai.ičila.*
γai.i bila.

Pret. sg. 1. γʌnʌm.
3. γʌnimi. neg. *ʌqʼʌnimi.*
pl. 3. x γʌnimi e.

Infinitive and Noun Agent γanaʌs. The abnormal Pres. Base in *-ič-* has been confirmed and appears to be in commoner use than the normal γai-. *gute duʌro jaʌr šuʌa* γai.ičila, or γai.ibila, or, γʌnʌʌs *bila* this work, affair, seems to me good.

Similarly: *jaʌr šuʌa* γʌniʌmi it seemed good to me. *šuʌa* γʌnʌʌsʌn

bai.i he is a fine-looking fellow. 000
toğ ju.ʌn γai.ičі bi it looks, appears, like new, as if it were new. *a·lta tsi·r γʌni·mi.ɛ* two goats appeared; there appeared to be two goats. 102.21. *u·ər γəi.i bila bu·lɛ tsilulo i·l'ai.i* it appears to them that he has soaked them in the spring water. 130.20. Cp. 54.5, 262.19, 264.3.

Tō be visible (of village, moon, horse, etc.): — *ʌkulutsum NʌmʌY aqai.ičila* Nomal (village) is not visible from here. *itɛ gunts ɛ Duma·ni aqʌnimi* that day Duma·ni (mountain) was not visible. *mʌzər nɛ γʌna·s ɛča ba* making a grave I am going to make it visible, apparent, i.e. I am going to make a grave that will be visible to all. 70.21. *mʌzər nɛ . . . γʌna·s a·r ɛtin . . . mʌzərɛ mʌn nɛ γʌna·s ɛtumʌn.* 82.14.

Here *γʌna·s* is glossed "in my presence", but it is to be taken rather as meaning "making a grave make it visible to me", i.e. "make a real tangible grave that I can see".

(Cp. *-ʌγʌnʌs).

2. *γʌna·s*, N. *g-*, *γai.ič-*, *γai-* to leak (either of vessel or liquid).

This verb presents the same peculiarities as 1. *γʌna·s*.

γai.ibi it (the vessel) leaks. *gusɛ khači γai.ičі bi* this bucket leaks. *gusɛ khʌči.ulo* (or, *khʌčitsum*) *ts.hil γai.ičila*, or, *γaibila* the water leaks in, or from, this bucket. *γʌna·s(ʌn) bi* it (the vessel) leaks, it is leaky. N. *gusɛ kʌči.ɔ tsil ga.ičі bila* the water of (i.e. in) this bucket is leaking.

γʌnʌs, *-γai- v.t. to count. — *u·ŋ gu·imo ha·lɛ guntsiŋ iγ'ʌn, jɛ je.imo ha·lɛ iγaiyʌm* you count the days in

your house, I shall count them in mine. 52.3. *gutsɛ uγ'ʌn* count these (pebbles). 52.21. *gumtsiŋ ɛγ'ʌnʌstsɛ dunimi* he began to count the days. 108.1. ooo

Here *ɛγ'ʌnʌstsɛ* is merely a phonetic variant for *iγ'ʌnʌstsɛ*.

(The relationship of *-γʌnʌs, *-ʌγʌnʌs and γʌnaʷs is uncertain and obscure).

γʌnḍɪr, N. *gʌnd'ər* (-ɪšo), cp. *gʌndɪr*, crooked. (Cp. *duγʌnḍɛrʌs*).

γʌnkɪš, this term, of which the literal meaning is uncertain, is applied to land which does not produce good crops because they are liable to disease. Hollow or low-lying land (γʊʃuʷm) is of this description.

γʌnkɪš *buṣai.ɛn bila.*

γ'ʌqʌli, N. *gʌkœli*, *-mʊts* x, also QUB *-miŋ* y a scarecrow. — γʌqʌli *ju.ʌn*, "like a scarecrow", is used of a single, solitary, isolated person. *mʌthʌnʊm* γʌqʌli *ju.ʌn* γʌnimi he appeared from far off a solitary figure. γʌqʌli *ju.ʌn hin ɛri bai.i* he is a solitary only son.

γər (γar, gər) *-iŋ* y song, tune, H. *gaʷma*, *giʷt*. — γər(iŋ) *ɛtʌs* to sing. *bitaiyo* γər *ɛtʊmʌn* the "bitans" sang. 242.2. γəriŋ *šeniskulo ɛčaʷn* they sing songs in Šina. 302.3. *iʷɛ pfultiŋɪšɛ hoʷlɛ* γəriŋ *manimi* songs, a tune, came out of that bellows. 166.3. *gər(iŋ)* 166.6, 302.3. Cp. 356.1, 362.11, 368,19.

γəraʷs, γəriʷč-, Impv. γəre, neg. *ʌqər* to speak, talk. — *aq'ərʌs ine* γər'iči, γəraʷs *in aq'ərči* the non-speaker (i.e. the man who should not speak) will speak and the speaker will not speak. 188.8. γakauʷumiŋ (v. γaqʌyʊm)

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OOO γəraʷsʌn *bai.i* he is a speaker of bitter things. *jəčərum ʌqər* don't speak roughly. *tik kɛ γəriʷmi* the ground said (so) too. 252.6.
Fut. 1. sg. γəriʷčʌm.
Pret. 1. sg. γəraʷm.
(*-ʌγərʌs is probably the Cs. of this verb).

γʌγʌm IYB, cp. γəḍʌm, (sound of) speech. (Not known to QUB).

γərʌṣ̌ x pl. a kind of pulse. (Cp. Sh. *gəraʷš*, Kho. *kəraʷš*).

γərʌt v. γeʷrʌt.

γʌrau thunder. — *ʌyʌšulo γərau mʌnimi* it thundered in the sky. (Cp. Sh. γəra.o, γərau.u, noise, disturbance).

γərbaʷnts *-išo* x shelter under overhanging rock (such as is used by ibex). (QUB gives this word as y with no pl. form).

γərb'el, γərb'ɛl, γərbaʷl *-ɪšo* x.
1. Fine-meshed sieve for cleaning grain, flour-sieve. — *iʷtɛ moʷsulo γərb'el bi* the (old woman's) sieve is in the flood. 286.13.
804 2. Measure of grain, equivalent to the *hičuq*, of 22—24 lbs. (QUB denies that this meaning is current in Hz. Bu, though the Wakhis use γʌlbɛl in this sense).
OOO 3. Yearly allowance of grain payable to a labourer, which from a note would appear to be 9 *čuq*, H. *saʷlaʷna muzd*.
dur'oskinər γərbel yuʷ give the labourer his yearly allowance. Ar. Prs.

γəreʷy, γərɛʷy, variegated in colour, parti-coloured, piebald. (V. *gəreʷy*).

γərγər *ɛtʌs* to gargle, H. *kulli kʌrna*. — *mili.ʌz γərγər ɛti* gargle with the medicine.

000 *-γ'ərɪki daily allowance, ration, of grain. — *datumɯ ʂečər uγ'ərɪki ivtsi dorčam* they grind separately their allowance (of grain) for eating in autumn. 334.7. *hirɛ iγəriki turma aʼlto čuq* (or, γər-*baʼl*) *pfʌlo, gusmo muγəriki mɪšin čuq* a man's allowance (is) 12 čuq of grain (for the year), a woman's allowance (is) 6 čuq. (Cp. *-γəruɯ).

γəriŋ ɛtʌs, v. γər, to sing.

γəriʼp, γəriʼb, gərib, pl. gəriʼbtiŋ, poor, wretched; poor person. — *inɛ hir but gərib bʌm* the man was very poor. 34.2, pl. 326.13. *kim γəriʼbʌn bai.i, fʌt ɛtin* he is a poor fellow, let him go. 158.6.20.

γəriʼpis poor fellow, miserable, wretched. — γəriʼpis *fʌt ɛtin* let the poor fellow go. 158.12,15. γəriʼpis *thər'ɛsʌn bai.a xairʌn* perhaps he is a wretched orphan.

γəriʼsʌs, γəriʼš-, Impv. γəris, neg. aqəris, to agree, accept a proposal, consent. — ʌq'ərisʌs not to agree. *kaki ʌq'ʌrišo bo* (our) sister is refusing (to marry a suitor). 30.4. *akʼərusimi* (for *aqʼərisimi*) he did not consent (to re-allotment. 114.16.

Fut. 1. sg. γəriʼšʌm.

Pret. 1. sg. γəriʼsʌm.

γərk ɛtʌs to overwhelm, submerge. 284.24. γərk mʌnʌs, γərk *-mʌnʌs to be overwhelmed, submerged. 286.10,12. Ar. Prs.

*-γ'ərkʌs, *-γ'ərš- to plough with oxen. (Cp. *-ʌγ'ərkʌs, assumed from such forms as oγ'əršʌm which from later information appear to be mere phonetic variants for uγ'əršʌm etc. '*-ʌγərkʌs with the stress on the Pn. pf. is Cs., "to cause s.o. to plough").

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γərqʌs pl. γərqʌčo x lizard, H. čhɪpkʌli, Sh. kɪrkʌli. ooo

γərtsapiš the space between two fingers or first finger and thumb. — γərtsapišulo kūrto babʌl ne suspending the bag from between two fingers. 140.15.

(According to QUB this form is an error for γʌltapiš).

*-γ'ərum̄ -iŋ what falls to one's lot, one's share, one's part. — ja·r ʌγərum (or, ba·go) ha ači give me the house that is my share, give me my share of houses. 112.11. gutɛ ja ʌγərum ʌči bai.i he has given me this as my share. 112.26. uyo·ntsum čʌpɛ uγ'ərumɛ tinjo gʌti o·tumʌn they collected from all of them the bones of their share of meat (i.e. of the share of each). 234.6. isɛ ya·lmun ine hirər iγərum yu.ʌm čʌp ɛtʌm the man to whom they had given that rib as his share, had hidden it. 234.8.

(*-γərum by its form is an adjective and is probably to be regarded as such. Cp. *-γərɪki).

1. γʌsa·s, γʌsi·č-, Ppa. nuqʌs to laugh.
Pres. 1. sg. γʌsi·ča ba.
Pret. 1. sg. γʌsa·m.
3rd. sg. m. γʌsi·mi.

With *-tsi to laugh at someone. mɛnɛ gutsi γʌsičumʌn people will laugh at you. uyu·nɛ ʌtsi γʌsi·čumʌn all will laugh at me. 168.23. Cp. 98.2. mitsi γʌsičai.i he is laughing at us. 210.18. i·tsi γʌsu·mʌn they laughed at him. 140.5. itsi nuqʌs laughing at him. 116.11.

(Cp. d*-ʌγʌsʌs. Cs. *-ʌγʌsʌs).

2. γʌsa·s, *-γ'ʌsʌs, *-γʌsič-, *-γʌš-. Ppa. n*-γʌs, St. Pc. γʌsu·m, *-γ'ʌsum to rot, go bad, become addled; stink.

Pn.pf.s, only *i-*, *u-* recorded. OOO
Fut. 3rd. sg. *iγ'ʌsiči*.
Pret. 3rd. sg. *iγʌsimi*.
uʷγʌsi.ɛn they (fruit etc. x pl.) went bad. *tiŋʌn iγʌsi bi* the egg has become addled. *iγʌsum tiŋʌn* an addled egg, a bad egg. *čʌp γʌsi bila* the meat has gone bad, H. *sʌrgiya*. *uʷγʌsaʷn* they have putrified, are putrid, stinking. (Said of corpses and of persons who smell foul). (*pfʌlo*) *γ'ʌsi bitsʌn* (the grain) has rotted. *γʌsuʷm mʌltʌš*, *γʌsuʷm čʌp* rancid butter, rotten meat. *bɛšʌl mi gusɛ tin miʷrumər pur'a niʷγʌs tik mʌnimi kɛ* .. when after our death this bone (sc. jaw bones) of ours entirely rotting, has become earth. 202.1.

γʌsiʷš laughing, laughter. — *γʌsiʷš diʷmi* laughing came, i.e. he etc. was overtaken by a fit of laughter.
(Cp. 1. γʌsaʷs).

γʌski, pl. γʌskɛŋ (and γʌskimičiŋ?), y waist-string of trousers, H. *izaʷrbʌnd*, *naʷra*. (Cp. Sh. *gʌsk'i*).

γʌsuʷm v. 2. γʌsaʷs.

1. γʌš -*ʌnts* x path, track. — *Buluki γʌš* the Buluki-track, i.e. B.'s path, track. 246.6.

2. γʌš -*ʌnts* x sg. and pl. foam, froth, scum. — *tsilɛṭɛ γʌš duʷni bi* foam has formed on the water. *saʷbuʷnə γʌš* soap-suds. *diltərɛ γʌš duʷni.ɛn*, *bi.ɛn* (on the) butter-milk foam has formed, there is ... *γʌš juči bi*, *di bi*, *mʌni bi* foam appears, has appeared. *hʌγ'urɛ ixʌtɛ hoʷlɛ γʌš juʷči bi* foam is coming from the horse's mouth.

γʌšaʷp, γʌšʌp, *ɛtʌš* to wipe. — *lʌkpiʷsʌṭɛ guʷskil γʌšaʷp ɛti* wipe your face with a handkerchief. *gusɛ γʌšaʷp ɛti* wipe this (vessel). EOL. *sʌpʷkʌṭɛ*

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ooo γʌšaʷp *ɛtʊmo* she wiped it with a piece of bread. 272.5 *iltʌltəriŋe guč γʌšʌp nɛ γʌtɛrnçʌtɛ dɛljʌm* they used to smite with a sword with a sweeping cut. (Cp. Sh. *kʌšaʷp thoʷɪki*). 338.1.

γʌš'ɛp *-išo* x.

1. Magpie; chatterbox (said of children).
2. Some part of a match-lock gun, the fuse-holder(?). (Cp. Sh. *kʌšʌp*, magpie).

γʌšiʷl, N. and Nz. *gʌšiʷl*, x and y, pl. *-iʷnɪs* and *-iŋ*.

1. x individual stick, piece of wood, (both in the rough). — γʌšiʷlɛn a stick. *ʊsko γʌšiʷl biɛn* there are three sticks. *ḍʌŋ γʌšiʷl imʌnimi* he became a stiff stick, i.e. he was unable to answer. Nz. *ᵏhuʷtuʷiko gʌšiʷliʷk* short sticks.
2. y sticks (collective), firewood. — *da kɛ γʌšil su* bring more wood. γʌšiʷl, or, γʌšiʷliŋ *bitsa* there is firewood. 126.10. *iʷtɛ bʌsaʷ γʌšiʷl api. Gʊtɛ jʌŋgʌltsʊm ho šuʷa γʌšiʷl gaiyʌm* at that halting-place there is no (fire)wood, (so) I shall take a good supply of sticks from this jungle. 126.20.

γʌšk *-o* x 1. withe. 2. wire. — *šʌskɛ γʌšk* withe of the *šʌsk* tree. *čhumərɛ γʌšk* iron wire.

1. γʌšu, γašu x sg. and pl. onion, onion plant. (Cp. Sh. *kʌšu*).

2. γʌšu, γašu *-čiŋ* y.

1. *tɛrɛ γʌš'u* the wild onion.
2. pl. nettles.

γʌt'ʌnʌs, γʌt'ai-, Impv. γʌtʌn, neg. *ʌq'ʌtʌn*, Ppa. *nʊq'ʌtʌn* to read; to recite.— *gʊtɛ* (*kɪtaʷp*) . . *aʷltʊl γʌt aiyʌm* I shall read this (book) for a couple of days. 70.1. *ʌxʊmɛ* . . . *xʊtba*

000 γʌtai.i bai.i the mullah recites(?) the "Xutba". 302.15. Cp. 314.2, γ'ʌtanimi, γʌt'ʌnimi he read it. 10.10, 70.8 ff. alimʌle sʌbʌq γʌt'ʌnimi he took lessons, studied, with the learned man. 68.21. γʌtai.i ba·n they recite, read. 312.6. krta·p γʌtʌnç̌ (or, gʌṭʌnç̌) ... aiye·mʌnimi he was unable to read the book. 48.5. nuq'ʌtʌn having read it. 70.8,10, 302.17. qura·n γʌtʌnʌsər after reading the qura·n. 314.12.

γʌte·nç̌, v. γate·nç̌, sword.

γʌy left (hand). Cp. γayum.

γʌyu, γayu -tiŋ, γayu·nts, γayumots; N. gʌyu pl. gʌyo·nts lame; cripple, H. lʌngra, lʌŋ. — yʌyu čʌŋgu crippled, lame.

γʌž̌ʌm etʌs, to snatch up, to snatch away. To scratch (the face) with nails or claws. — gʌtuŋ γʌž̌'ʌm ne tʌsaṭe etimi snatching up (her) clothes he held them in the smoke. 14.9, 16.19. (Cp. gʌž̌ʌm. Cp. Sh. gʌjʌm th., to snatch at, lay hands on).

821 787 γʌž̌ʌmi.o x pl. the Pleiades. — γʌž̌ʌmiyu.s ʌw'ʌši.en the Pleiades have overpowered, overthrown, me, H. γa·lib hu·giya hʌma·re upʌr.

Their influence is apparently in general injurious to human interests. If, when going off to bring in grain from the threshing-floor to his house, a man sees the Pleiades, he abandons his intention, as it is an unlucky omen.

000 γaiba·na supernatural, not human, H. kʌra·mʌti. — mĕne se.iba·n (Bʌseŋ Geri) γaiba·na bʌm some say that B. G. was (a) supernatural (being). 278.6. (Ar.) Prs.

γaibi supernatural, magic. — γaibi gʌtuŋ magic clothes. 24.20. (Ar.) Prs.

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γai.rb, γaib, mʌnaʷs to become invisible, vanish, disappear. 284.18, 286.8, 382,5. Ar. Prs. 000

1. γai.rs, γai.is, γais, pl. γai.rło x. — *jʊraʷpɛ γai.rs* knitting-needle. *tʊbʌkɛ γai.rs* ramrod (of gun). *ʃʌpiʷkɛ γai.rs* rolling-pin (for dough). *γuʷsɛ γaisɛ duwʌq ɛčʊbo* his wife gives him a rap with the rolling-pin. 306.11.

2. γai.rs, γais mʌnaʷs to rear (of a horse). — *hʌγʊr γai.rs manimi* the horse reared.

γaiyṵ pl. of γa, crow.

γauγa disturbance, row, uproar. — γauγ'a *manimi* there was a disturbance. 96.4. Prs.

γauγʊm, v. γaγʊm, left (hand).

γe.ičiʷla, for γai.ičila, v. 1. γʌnaʷs. 262.19.

γeʷiŋ, γai.iŋ y pl., double pl. -ičiŋ, grapes, H. *ʌŋgur*. — γeʷiŋɛ *ču bila* there is a cluster of grapes. γeʷiŋɛ *pfʊ(l)puʷl bi* there is a single grape. *buγ.ʌm γai.iŋ bitsa* there are dry grapes, i.e. raisins.

γeʷl —? — γeʷl *-ʌmʌǯ the little-finger.

γeʷrʌt, γʊrʌt y sense of honour, pride, self respect. — *ʌ̌dʊr(ɛ) γeʷrʌtɛ ka duʷsi* the dragon came out (of the pond) with a display of consequence (?). 282.14.

The H. gloss *juʷ̌ ka sarth* violently, furiously, can scarcely be taken literally.

hiʷʊr γeʷrʌt ɛr diʷmi his sense of honour came to the man, i.e. his sense of honour, or self-respect, was roused. 228.5. Ar. Prs.

γeʷrʌtdaʷr self-respecting, jealous of one's honour; generous worker (of an animal). γeʷrʌtdaʷrʌn *bai.i, bi* he is a big-hearted man, horse etc. (Ar.) Prs.

γerhaʷzʌr absent. Ar. Prs.

183a

1. ɣɛnʒí pl. ɣ'ɛn.ʒ y gold.

In general the sg. seems to denote a lesser, and the plural a larger quantity. The sg. may further take the suffix -ʌn, and the plural the suffix -ʌk, v. § 45.

ʃʌnʌ ɣɛnʒí bilu? is it really gold? 58.21. *nɛr ɣɛnʒí peyeiyʌm* I'll make you take, entrust you with, a "ner" of gold. 58.17. *ɣɛnʒíʌn dʌɛwyʌ bu* I have brought some (a small quantity of) gold. 62.2. Cp. 64.8. *ɣɛi ʌʒɛwʌlo ɣɛn.ʒ dɛwʌ bɛn* she was grinding gold in a mill. 204.4. *pɛlo ɣɛn.ʒʌʃɛm ʃɛrmʌ ɛrlu ʌɛwiŋ ɣɛn.ʒ nʌkʌn* taking 12 "ness" of gold out of this gold. 58.11. *bɛf ɣɛnʒɛrk ʃɛlɛmɛ* he saw great quantities of gold. 84.7.

The genitive is used as an adjective equivalent to "golden", "gold-". *ɣɛnʒɛ ɛɛrmʌl* its golden tail. 134.5. *ɛlɛwriʒ ɣɛnʒɛ bilɛm* its horns were of gold. 104.22. *ɣɛnʒɛ* (or, *ɣɛn.ʒʌ*) *dʌɛlʌk* gold vessels, articles. *ɣɛnʒɛ* (or, *ɣɛn.ʒʌ*) *kʌrkʌn* gold ornaments, "jewelry". Sg. Cp. 58.16—62.29 (passim), 76.10, 80.18, 196.4. Pl. Cp. 54.18—24, 56.12,25, 58.3,6, 204.8, 206.4—7.

2. ɣɛnʒí, ɣɛnʒí. N. *genzí*; gen. obl. *ɣɛnʒímɛ*, pl. *ɣ'ɛn.ʒʌlɛ* hf. queen, ranee, Tham's wife. — *ɛmɛ ɣɛnʒí la ɛmɛ yɛr bɛf ɣɛnikɛ kʌrʌlɛlɛ bɛn* his queen (wife) and sons are in very evil circumstances. 20.8. *ɣɛnʒímɛr* for the "ranee", the Tham's wife. 298.16. *pɛʃlʌ ɣɛnʒímɛ ʃʌmʌ* the king's queen's brooch. 164,32. Cp. 20.4,9, 80.16.

(Apparently the same word as 1. ɣɛnʒí. Cp. Sh. *ɛɛn*, gold; *ɛɛwi* queen, princess).

183 b

000 γəʌʂ̌ʃ̌ʰin some kind of bird. [γəʌʂ̌ + ʃ̌ʰin?].

γí.ʌli N. -ʰki x, v. *gíyʌli* ladle.

34 γə̂ʌq y resin (of conifers and the 'sinjid" tree).

Pine resin is used for burning, sinjid resin is used by women for their hair.

γiʌq dwells resin has exuded.

(The latter part of the word is *ʌq* q.v.).

000 γə́ʃ̌γq 1. Uncooked milk. 2. A small quantity of liquid. — γə́ʃ̌γq *ɛ́ti* sip (a liquid).

γəʃ̌γp *ɛ́ʌɛ* to gulp down (water). — *ɛ́ʌ* (*ʌsl*) *ugɛ́n* γəʃ̌γp *ɛ́ʌɛ.i* he gulps down all the water. 304.4.

γə́ʰki y theft, robbery. — *ja* γə́ʰki *ɛ́ta ʌa* I have committed theft, stolen, robbed. Cp. 60.13. γə́ʰki *ʌ.ɛsi ʌi* a theft has taken place (probably: an x thing has been stolen). γə́ʰki *ɛ́ʌʌ.ɛn* they stole (something). *ʌanʌ́r ɛ́nr* γə́ʰki *ɛ́ʌɛsi, ja ɛ́nr ɛ́ʌ́ gɛ́nɛ ʌ.ɛ́ʌ ɛ́ʰki.ɛn* because he committed theft, therefore I punished him. *ʌ.ʌ.ɛ́ʌ.ɛn* γə́ʰki *ɛ́ʌʌ.ʌ.ɛ́ʌ?* have you looted a bazar? 60.11. *gɛ́ʌ* γə́ʰki this theft. 62.19. Cp. 62.16,18, 296.6.

(When I first recorded the word the γ seemed to me peculiar, cp. γə́ʌ.

IYB also gave γəi.ʰki, cp. Leitner "*ghiinn*" thief).

γəʃ̌ʃ̌ʌ́ʌ, (*ɡ-*), γəʃ̌ʃ̌ʌ́ʌ́-, Impv. γəʃ̌ʃ̌ʌ́ʌ, neg. *ʌgəʃ̌ʃ̌ʌ́ʌ*, Fpa. *ʌ́ɡəʃ̌ʃ̌ʌ́ʌ*. To be extravagant in regard to dress and food, to do oneself well, to show off, make a display. Pers. *sarʌ kardʌn*.

Fut. 1. sg. γəʃ̌ʃ̌ʌ́ʌ́ʌ́ʌm.

Pret. 1. sg. γəʃ̌ʃ̌ʌ́ʌm.

3. sg. m. γəʃ̌ʃ̌ʌ́ʌ́.i.

ʃi, mina, γəʃ̌ʃ̌ʌ́ʌ eat and drink and

600 give yourself a good time. 124.1. *kwt ʌqaltir* don't be wasteful, extravagant (said to wife, husband, children, servants). *ararus ʌs ʌqirtir kurw* stay (here) and take your ease and do yourself well. 142.14. *ga.imo kayuhtiqs ku galtiv* give yourself a good time with your friends. 374.10.

γίγu, N. *giγu;* pl. γίγu, γίγ.ʌnʌ, γ'ίγ.ʌq, N. *giγuqq* thief. — *kiruʌ γίγuʌ* *mari tsu ko* this thief has carried ij off herself. 168.1. *kuv γίγuʌnʌ* (or, γίγ.ʌq) *kurw* these are thieves. 168.2.

(The γ was on some occasions marked as retracted, and once or twice was replaced by *g*, as also with γiki. The pl. *giγ.ʌq*, as normally a *g* form, is anomalous).

γʌγγίl, γʌγγίlʌw *y* pl. -iq soft. — *dʌγu.i gap . . miltum.ʌl juw.ʌs γʌγγil m.ʌnʌw ki* raw hide will become soft like our (i.e. one's) ear. 128.20, 130.7. *ek (ka.ʌtiq) pakiʌs γʌγγitiq mai.imi* the (foot bandages) will become nice and soft. 128.22, 130.13. *ʌka γʌγγilʌw m.ʌnʌmi ku . . .* when they have become soft. 130.10. *ka.ʌtiq γʌγγiltʌmiq kilʌw* the foot bandages were soft. 132.2. (The N. records give *giγγilʌw* -iq fine).

γiriγ *ʌl.ʌ* (*-*ʌl.ʌ*) v.t. to swallow. 110.6. (Cp. Sh. *giriγ thrahi* to swallow).

γʌtirti -miq *y* 1. groin. 2. animal's "armpit". (Cp. Sh. *getirti*, armpit).

γ'ʌγʌndʌl -iko *x* dove, H. *fanfa*. (Cp. Werch. γʌndʌl).

γʌkʌrʌs, γʌkʌrʌlʌ pl. γʌkʌrʌlʌ *x* raven. — γʌkʌrʌlʌ *gaiwij* may the ravens eat you! (a woman's curse).

γʌrʌ (*γʌrʌ, γʌr*) *x* sg. and pl., also pl. γʌγγʌ, musk-melon, H. *x.arbuza*.

γʌr'ʌ *x* pl. stones. (Cp. Werch. γʌrʌ).

184 b

γoγ.ɪŋ v. γuγ.ɪŋ, human hair. ooo

1. γuγu -aɪŋ y 1. descent, decline, slope down; downhill, H. *sʌrui*. — *bɪt γuγu bilɪ* it is a steep descent. 2. in descent, declining, (of the sun). — *ɪt γuγu mʌnɪ bi* the sun has begun to decline, i.e. it is afternoon.

(QUR. γ'uγu, with a high tone in first syllable).

2. -γuγu; EOL. *gʌ.ʌ*, pl. *gʌ.ʌmots*, a period when moon is invisible (at night), new moon. — γuγu (*hɪsi*) the moonless portion of month. γuγu *fuʃʌŋkut* the darkness of no-moon. γuγu *manɪmi* it has become new moon. *fuʃ.ɪŋ* γuγu *bɪm* it was dark (and) moonless. 198.2. *gunu gewʌlte* in this time of no-moon. EOI.

(QUR. γuγ'a, γuγ'a, with low tone in both syllables).

γulu v. γuγu.

1. γul y grudge, enmity. — *jɪrɪk* γul *bilɪ* (he) has a grudge against me. *ɪmɪlɪ* γul *ɪmɪnɪ* he harboured a grudge in his heart.

(With γul 1 and 2 cp. *gaʃ* 1 and 2).

2. γul y pl.

a. Small refuse left after winnowing and clearing up grain and straw.

b. Rotten wood. *ɪmɪlɪ* γul *bilɪm jɪrgɪrɪ bilɪ* it is a poplar tree with rotten wood at the core.

(Cp. Sh. γul, very small remains of kheema, dust left after winnowing).

γulɪrɪ, γulɪ.γ, *gulɪrɪ* y rose. — γulɪrɪ *ʌsluγ* rose-flower. *bɪrɪdum, bɪkɪrɪ*, γulɪrɪ red, yellow, rose. *pɪr.ʌndɪ* γulɪrɪ cultivated (grafted) rose. Prs.

γulɪw (*-γ'ulʌ), γulɪwɪ- (*-γ'ulj-).

1. V.i. to burn, be burnt. — *ʌz* γulɪwčilɪ, γulɪwɪ, γulu *bilɪ* the house is burning, was burnt. bɪu been

burnt. *gunɨ γulunɨ* may your beard be burnt! (a curse). *gupinišo uγulɨʌn* may your hair be burnt! *hun iγ'ulimi* the wood was burnt. *γul'ʌs gumʌnɨ* may you be burnt (a curse). (*i*)*γunlum ɨʌpik jan ayau* don't give me burnt bread. *uγunlumišo ɨʌpik* burnt bread (pl.). 000

2. To burn as the result of extreme cold, be frostbitten (?). — *aniγ γulunči, γulumi* my hand will be, was, frostbitten (described as becoming stiff and numb).

(Cp. *-*ʌsqulʌs*).

γulčin, gulčin, qulčin pl. *γulčiyo* hm. head-cook (of rajas etc. only), H. *xansaman*. 644

M. M. P. supplies the following note: "'Superintendent of the Kitchen of the Tham'". There are two *γulčin*, one the superintendent who has charge of the flour for the kitchen and superintends the baking of bread by women; the other is a cook who cooks *ʌdlan*'. (= meat and vegetable dishes?). 60.20 ff., 340.9,12.

(Cp. Sh. *qulčin*, land steward (?). Kho. *γulčin*, official in charge of grain).

γulk -ʌnts x underground water-tank, cistern. — *γulk uʌdi.ʌs* to construct a tank. *mujur yaris hʌn γulkʌn bim* under the weeping-willow was a tank, pond. 262.17 ff. 312

As far as I have seen there are no wells in Hunza-Nagir fed by subsurface springs. The *γulk* is a pit dug in the ground and filled periodically from an irrigation channel. It is roofed over a little above ground-level, one side being left open; but in this story the *γulk* cannot have been covered over.

000 So also in 384.10,11 it appears to have been an open pit or trench. (Cp. Sh. *gulka*).

262 ɣow'*aldi* alternate layers of this bread (*ɣawali*) and curdled milk over which milk and oil are poured. 321.1. (Cp. Sh. *gulwaldʼu*, a dish made of sour milk, butter & this bread).

000 *-ɣawar, *-ɣowar *y* bowels, (generally) the "inside", body, H. *wojard*. — ɣawar *dzg wanilo* his bowels have become hard, i.e. he is constipated. ɣawar *ɣwaz wali* medicine to make his bowels move, purgative. *ayawar hililow wanila* my bowels have become soft (after operient). *wilo wayawarulow hel ta qow wanilal* a cry came out from her inside. 108.9. *hawla . . . ɣawarulo dik ɣilal* (i.e. *dikaʼilal*) the arrow stuck in his innards. 146.12. *wilo ɣakwanto hiz ɣawarulo* there are two young ones in its inside. 64.16.

ɣow'ar, ɣowar *-eq y* hole (small, in strap etc.), H. *wawra*. — ɣowar *eli* make a hole. *hahilo wilo ɣowaɣq hilaz . . . hin ɣowar wanalo* there are two (bullet) holes in the skin . . . there should be one hole. 102.26. *ji gatagolu ɣowar eiali* don't make a hole in my clothes. EOL. Cp. 64.4.

1. ɣow *-ando* a wooden block in mechanism of door-bolt which carries the drop peg (*ɣawlaz*).

2. ɣow *-ando* a stocks. — ɣowar (or, ɣowolo) *wadiwaz* they put (him) in the stocks.

ɣawa pl. ɣaɣo a quail. (Cp. Sh. *gawa*).

*-ɣawaz, v. *-ɣowaz, to give.

ɣawi, pl. ɣawiq *y* mice, H. *ɣawaq*.

ɣawikel. ɣawikez, (No. *p*), pl. ko ɣawikezalo, *y* ɣawikeq bad, evil,

1960

000 wicked, ugly, ill-favoured, H. *kul, kuva.* — *ʌʌp* ɣmukij *m.nimi* the most want bad. ɣmukij.mdo *nie* evil persons. ɣmukij.ŋ *kerij kilim* they are bad words, evil sayings. ɣmukij.ŋ *dawrij ele ka ka* . . . if I have one evil things. 98.1. Cp. 93.21, *ch.*11, 112.12, 194.24, 314.6. ɣmukijʌn (or, kulikakʌn) *kui i* he is an ugly fellow. *ɣmu* ɣmukijʌ *ɣdi kuler* in his own skin of ugliness(?), in his own hideous form. 123.13. Cp. 116.9, 130.20, 140.21, 366.7.

(Occasionally the initial ɣ- or *g-* was faint and I recorded mukij.mdo Ns., and *ɣmu ɣdi* mukij *m.mile* his name has become bad, he has fallen into disgrace, ill-repute. EOL. has gmukij).

ɣmukijkij *y* evilness, ill-humouring, ill-favouredness. 130.19.

ɣmu'u, N. *gmu u* and *y.*

a seed (not of cereals), H. *kuva, kuj.* — *gugʌdi* ɣmu cotton-seed. *Dir.m.dig Hawra.o ma'ale* ahardi ɣmu here the D. are the seed of the original population of Hawra. 343.3.

y seaves, H. *ʌʌ'ji.* — *ni.m* ɣmu'u human seaves. (Cp. Sh. *gmu'u* seed (not of cereals).

1. ɣuŋ'u pl. ɣuŋmdo a goitre. — *ɣmu ɣadir* ɣuŋu *di ki* goitre of his throat has come, i.e. he has goitre.

2. ɣuŋ'u pl. ɣuŋmdo a dells, gorge, precipitous-sided dells in the mountains with water in it. — *Hawrilale ɣuŋ'uw nimi'ew* . . . *mawi ɣuŋu.ele* . . . we are going to the D. gorge . . . they having gone into the gorge. 260.11.

ɣuŋ'ukij pl. ɣuŋuki.mdo h a goitrous person.

ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵭ pl. ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵩ y. human excrement, sometimes (cow) dung. H. *gur*. — *ḥᵊᵣᵊ* ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵭ cow's dung (fresh). Prov. 8. (Cp. *-ᵭᵊᵣᵊᵩᵊᵭ). 000

ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣ m. QUB to talk and consult together secretly. (Cp. *gurgur*).

ᵧ'ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣ, pl. ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵩᵊ and ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ'ᵊ, frog. H. *mᵊrᵊḡᵊḥ*. (Cp. N. *gurgule*).

ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵩ y pl. *yak's* fine (body)wool. — *ḥᵊᵩᵊᵩᵊ* ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵩ *yak's* "pashmina".

ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ, ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵩᵊ, ᵧᵊᵣᵊ'ᵊ- to dive, plunge into, be plunged into, sink into.
Fut. 1. sg. ᵧᵊᵣᵊ'ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ.
Pret. 1. sg. ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ.
3. sg. ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ.
ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ ᵭᵊᵣᵊ (*ᵭᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ*, or, *ᵭᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ*) ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ they both there sank, plunged (into the ground, or, cliff). 278.13. *ᵭᵊᵣᵊ ḥᵊᵣᵊᵣ* ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ *ᵭᵊᵣ* the cliff into which the horse had sunk, or, plunged. 278.1. *ᵭᵊᵣᵊ ᵭᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ* ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ *ᵭᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ* the dagger had stuck (upright) in the ground. (Perhaps ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ *ᵭᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ* was plunged in the ground). 318.14.
(Cp. N. *gurkare* to dive. How far ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ really differs in meaning from *-ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ is not certain, but ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ seems generally to be used in the sense of "dive", "plunge into", and *-ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ in that of "sink").

*-ᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ, *-ᵧᵊᵣᵊ- to sink, be drowned;
Fut. sg. 1. *ᵊᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ*.
2. *ᵊᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ*.
Pret. sg. 1. *ᵊᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ*.
Impv. sg. *ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵧᵊᵣᵊ*.
Some Ed. mod. forms have been recorded with *o-* and *u-* for *i-* and *u-*. *ᵊᵧᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ* I had come near to drowning. EOL.
ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ, ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ ᵊᵣᵊᵣᵊ O youngsters, take care of yourselves, you will be drowned in

the water. EOL. *ées* γwib *gaγwatimi* the unfortunate fellow was drowned. EOL. *weγwis atiwaximi ivimi* being drowned he did not escape, and (so) died. EOL. (Cx. '*-aspwiaa*). 000

γwtinkrás a disease in which hair and skin of sufferer fall off (occurs in Gojhat). — γwtinkrás *hi.ni* the — disease. γwtinkrás *walaiá* he has contracted the — disease.

(The -a is probably an inflectional ending. QUB. did not accept this form, for which he gave γwtinkrí q.v.)

γwe, γwa, pl. γwás, γwówgo(?) x clod, lump of hard earth or dried clay. Pre. *halwa*. — γwaxw *ías atimi* he pulled out a clod. 54.4. Ásx γ'waxw *ás dilawx* bringing a clod of earth. 312.3.

1. γwe'.xwxw, N. *g*., pl. h. x y γwaxi.rko long, tall (of man); long way off, distant. — γwa.xwxw *hir, gua, halk, gaa, γwíra, hur* a tall man, woman; a long plank, road, foot, hair. γwaxi.rko *hiri, gulíγwís, halkoγ, γwíríγ, huri.aγ* tall men, women; long planks, feet, hairs. *wa.ix* γwe'.xwxw *hokai.xwr gulawimi* he proceeded to a far distant country. 372.6. N. *wwx γwγ.aγ hal γwaryako hilas* your hair is very long.

2. γwe'.xwxw -*sis* x snake.

(Probably "the long one" to avoid directly naming the inauspicious reptile).

γwaki *y* dough; doughy, half-cooked. IUB. II. *γwaníka hara xamír arís ka*. — γwaki *dwγwi.xwx* to knead dough. 272.2. (*Jopéá*) γwaki *hi* the bread is doughy, i.e. half-cooked.

γwaí washing, bathing. — γwaí *wa.ilas γ.aíraγ ha.aγ wwíbí* making him have

000 a bath and put on fresh clothes. 32.8. γesoiu.ε ni.ał nałan saying the prayer for the washing of the dead. 310.6. ivum'iner . . . γesol ełai.i he washes the deceased. 310.7. Ar. Prs.

*-γwj pl. *-γwγaŋ y woman's privy parts, vulva, IUB. H. farj, ḥarugah i 'aurat. Only recorded in the singular: mwγwj. 230.7. (McK. gives mwγwj = vagina).

γuſçikſ QUB leprosy, H. juzami. — γuſçikſo biłai.i leprosy. γuſçkſo wałai.i he has contracted (lit. fallen into) leprosy.

γuſ, N. g-, pl. hmf. -oγo, -oγmo, N. pl. -eγałe deaf. — γuſ ni-m.an ałey'eljai.i being deaf he doesn't hear.

415 γuti, pl. gutente, gutimote x soft leather bag (used for holding gunpowder for charging a gun). — γuti.ałum mili.eŋ gunpowder from the bag, i.e. for charging a gun. (Cp. Sh. kuti, Kho. guti).

-uſ oγpus pl. γuſorpudo, γuſorpoγante x hole in ground (small in comparison with tiu); hollow, depression. — pfiti makuli ḥ.um.an γuſorpus ełoγu they make a slight depression (with the thumb) in the middle of the cake of bread. 320.5.

343 γuſurl -ido, N. pl. gufulzio, x big wicker container (narrower at mouth than base), N. "basket for grain".

(Cp. Sh. gufurl a cylindrical wattle-and-daub structure of above mentioned form (3 or 4 feet high and 2 or 3 feet in diameter at base) in which grain is stored on the roof of a house).

000 γuſ'om, γuſ'wm, N. g-, -ido deep. — pfirimote γuſomido biłan the ponds are deep. (Cp. Sh. gufurmo, deep).

γuγ.aŋ, γoγ.aŋ, *-γuγ.aŋ y pl., N. guγ.aŋ, double pl. -ełaŋ, human hair (of

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head, of men, women and children). Children have all the top of the head shaved, a fringe being left on the forehead and round the sides and back.

When married a woman grows her hair long and wears it in 2 plaits, one on each side of the face. The ends of the plaits are rolled into 2 balls at the level of the chest.

Men used to wear their hair long, but now have it "bobbed", or cut, in European fashion or shave the head.

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The word is usually used without the pa.pf. Biddulph gives it with the prefix, and Leitner (p. 30) gives ɯɯγɯγ.ąą for a woman's hair, but otherwise says that the prefix, which was in universal use 20 years earlier, had by then been dropped. His book is dated 1889.

I have recorded it only twice with the prefix:

γɯγ.ąą his hair. ɯɯγɯγ.ąą *ɓak ɛ́ɓɔ́ɓɔ* she is combing her hair.

but: γɯγ.ąą *ɓak ɛ́ɓɛ* to comb the hair. γɯγ.ąą *ɓɔ́ɓɔ́k ɛ́ɓɛ* to cut (a man's) hair. γɯγ.ąą *ɓɔ́ɓɔ́p ɛ́ɓɛ* to cut off (a woman's) hair (as punishment). γɯγ.ąą (*ɓɔ́*) *ɛ́ɓɛ* to shave the head. *ɓɔ́ ɓɔ́ɓɔ́* γɯγ.ąą *ɛ́ɓɛ́* he used to shave the Thom's hair. 276.3. γɯγ.ąą (a woman's) long hair. γɯγ.ąą *ɛ́ɓɔ́ɓɔ́ɓɔ́* I shall cut off my hair for him. 258.16. Cp. 292.17. (Cp. *-ɓɔγɯγ.ąą).

H.

ɓɔ pl. *ɓɔ́ɓɔ́.ąą*, *ɓɔ́ɓɔ́.ąą* f house, home; room; household.

I. *Forms.*

Gen. and Gen. Obl.: *ɓɔγ*, — *ɓɔγ ɗ̀ɔɔ.ɔɔ* the master of the house, host 249.2.

Dat.: The ordinary dative form *hav* has only been once recorded. — *ista hav ki gumi* he poured (the charcoal) into that house (or, room) also. 164.7.

Loc.: The locative in *-ulo* has not been found. The place of the dative and locative forms is supplied by: *havle* and *havlor*.

havle usually denotes "rest" at, or in, the house, but is sometimes used after verbs of motion: to the house. — *uv havle han yaṅisan wabi ham* in their house (home) they had put on a head (to cook). 23[illegible]. Cp. 52.2, 228.4, 300.8, 314.7. *ruz havle mis* going to the man's house. 298.4. Cp. 328.8, 338.19.

havlor denotes "motion" to, or into, the house. It is not always possible to say which. — *havlor juṅi ki* when he comes to his house, returns home. 234.12. Cp. 228.2,4, 232.4, 242.8, 298.2,8, 302.11, 322.7 etc.

havlor sumow going into the house. 304.18. Cp. 52.15, 340.5, 274.5.

Abl.: The ablative is represented by both *havlum*, and *havlom*. — *wimo havlum ḷrum yakalafor gulasumas* they proceeded from their own house in the direction of Iran. 26.3. Cp. 50.13, 228.11, 304.13, 310.10, 314.9. *rumo havlum . . . ṇmaq ṅuk'as* taking gold from his own house . . . he came . . . 56.25. Cp. 234.15, 306.22, 312.19, 324.2.

havlum is also used adjectivally: "pertaining to the house, of the

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house". — *ha·lum jama·at* the people of the house. 320.4. Cp. 328.10,12.

The plural: *ha·kičaŋ* takes the ordinary inflections: — *ha·kičaŋər* 228.1, 304.20, 306.15, 318.11. *hakičaŋtsum*. 342.9. *hakičaŋulo*. 318.12. *hakičaŋulum*. 328.15.

II. *Meanings.*

Home is of course only one's own house. — *u·imo ha·lər jučə·n* they return to their home(s). 324.3. *u·imo hakičaŋər ničə·n* they go off to their homes. 330.10.

Household is the conception of a house as containing a unit of population. — *berumaŋ ha·kičaŋ bitsaŋ*? how many houses, households are there? Cp. 272.11, 270.5.

Room. The meaning room appears definitely in the passage. 172.21—23, e.g. — *gučai.sər haŋ* (or, *h'aŋ*) a room for sleeping in, and perhaps in 164.5 ff.

III. *Phrases.*

ha stas to build a house.
ha di.wlas to roof a house.
ha dewras to knock down a house. 170.2. *ha xa jučəw* they come as far as the house. 304.15.

hâ· stas to breathe hard, pant (as when climbing).

haγots v. *haγuts*.

1. *hak'a stas* to shout (when attacking), to charge. — *padša yakalatər hakas wstas* raising a battle-cry and charge against the king. 32.4. *Sa hakas ostomo S.* making them shout, or attack. 192.12. Cp. 124.12, 144.1* 194.15.

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000 2. *hah'a ɛtʌs* to eat first-fruits, handsel, H. *nʌɣiv̀ kʌrna*. — *hʌnivkulo šʌpivk kɪ čʌp bila havhav stin* there is bread and meat in the dish, handsel them. 208.12. *birʌnč haha ɛɛtʌs* to make someone handsel the mulberries. 32.12.

havjʌt y necessity, need. — *tɛlər nivʌsər havjʌt api* there is no need to go there. Ar. Prs.

(h)*aj'ɔli hʌjɔli*, y v. *ʌjɔli* marriage-songs (sung at weddings). — *dʌzinmo yʌkʌlʌfum hajɔli ɛčʌm* they sing marriage-songs referring to the bride. 304.14. (Presumably not derived from Ar. *ḥʌjla*).

havkim -tiŋ, '-*dəro*, hm governor, ruler. Ar. Prs.

havl y state, condition. — *hʌl'ɛsɛ havl bɛčuk bila?* how is the boy? Ar. Prs.

havl ʌhwavl y circumstances, state, condition. — *havl ʌhwavl bɛčuk ba*, or *bila?* how are you? Ar. Prs.

havlʌt state, position, state of affairs. — *bur γunikɛš havlʌtulo bʌm* they were in a very evil state. 20.3.

havn = *ha* + *ʌn*, "a house", "a room", treated as a simple form to which *-ʌn* is again added in: *Š. B. hʌn havnʌnulo* (= *havnulo*) *mɔrstʌqimi* he hid Š. B. in a room. 16.4.

haŋ = *hʌŋ*, gnawing, chewing. — *dʌntɛs haŋ*. Prov. 23.

haw v. 1. *hər*. 246.15.

1. *hawɛ* pl. *havšo* x. — *tivliɔ hawɛ* complete walnut in shell.

2. *hawɛ* pl. *havšo* x live coal. EOL, spark.

havzir present. — *ji havzir maiyʌm* I shall become present, I shall appear. 22.10. Ar. Prs.

hʌbʌši Abyssinian, Ethiopian. 86.9. Ar. Prs.

hʌfkwin, v. *hʌpkwin*. 18.3.

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006 *hʌγʊm* pl. hx *-išo*, y *-iŋ*, wet, damp, moist, (of bread, cloth, wood etc.), IUB. H. *tʌr*, *gi·la*.

hʌγ'ʊr -išo, N. *-ints*, x horse.

Sing. also used as plur.

ʊ·i . . . sisʊr hʌγʊr tsu·in take out horses for those people. 36.8. *amʊlo hʌγʊr halkičiʌn ke . . .* where the horses foal . . . 108.19. *gustašu.ɔ hʌγʊr* bier (old expression).

hʌγʊrtʃe holjaiyʌs, pfʌl mʌna·s to mount, ride, a horse.

hʌγʊrtsʊm dʊsɔ·kʌs, sɔ·kʌs, drʌŋ mʌna·s to dismount from a horse. *hʌγʊr eskɔrtsʌs* to gallop a horse. *hʌγʊr di·tsʌs* to bring one's horse along riding it.

For examples see the various verbs. Cp. 4.17 ff., 76.10, 96.1, 112.24, 122.6 ff., 146.13 ff., 150.9, 156.5, 276.10 ff., 284.15, 286.24, 342.10, 386.17.

hʌγʊrkʊ·in, *hʌγ'urku.in*, pl. *-kuryo*, *-ki.u*, hm. horseman, rider. 316.9.

hʌγʊrtsʌp, *hʌγʊrtsa·pi* gusset (under armpit of choga). — *šʊqa hʌγʊrtsa·pi* gusset in chogn (cloak).

(Cp. Sh. *ag'ʊrsʌp*, gore under sleeve of shirt).

hʌγʊts, *hʌγ'ʊts*, pl. *-išo*, *hʌγʊčo*, N. *hʌgʊts -ints* x mountain-pass. — *tha·nʊm hʌγʊts* a high pass. *hʌγʊts(tsʊm) tʌle·nʌs* to cross a pass. *hʌγʊtsʊlo iriŋ jʌk mʌnimi* his hand was frostbitten on the pass. Cp. 254.1.

hʌk y steam, H. *bhap*. — *hʌk bila, duršila* there is steam, steam is coming out.

hʌki·m hm. learned man, doctor. 48.2. Ar. Prs.

h'ʌkinʌs, *hʌki·*, Impv. *hʌkiz*, p·g. *'ɔ·hʌkin* to learn.

Fut. 1. sg. *hʌkiyʌm*.

Pret. 1. sg. *hʌkinʌm*.

hin hirʌn ʒ yusʌn but juwaʿbʌwaʿlʌ tʿʌ (i.e. *ti*) *čʌγamiʒ ʌtʌs hʌkinʌm* a man and his wife had learnt to converse without many words (answer and question). 232.1. (Cs. *-ʌ.ikinʌs*).

1. *hʌl* (. . . *hʌl*) or, either (. . . or). — *hʌl Kʌsʌr gugu.i ba, hʌl gopʌčin kinʌ hiles bai.i* . . . either you yourself are Kiser, or this boy with you is he. 152.21. *hʌl gusʌ hʌl ʌse ʌtʌs gumʌnʒ* you should have done either this or that. EOL. *hʌl uʌn niyʌs gumʌnʒ, hʌl jʌ niyʌs ʌmʌnʒʌ* either you must go, or I must go. Nz.

It is sometimes expressed only in the second clause.

jʌ be gusʌs ba? hʌl ja besʌn γʌli bi.ʌ? Am I a woman? or has some part of me been broken? 78.9. *jʌ jʌmaʿʌt bʌmʌ lʌl oʿmʌnimi, hʌl iʿʌumʌ lʌl oʿmʌnimi* there is nothing known of my husband's being alive, or of his being dead nothing is known. 58.14. (The construction does not seem to be quite logical). *hʌl ʌkhil mʌniʿʒ ya tail nʌniʿʒ* let it be either this way or that.

In the following it can only mean "all right", "very well". Perhaps there is some mistake.

hʌl fʌt ʌin čʌrʌp ʌiyʿʌta ba very well, let it go and I won't cut it (the horses tail) off. 156.13.

2. *hʌl, hʌʿl jo* x fox. — *hʌʿlʌ bʌʒ* foxskin. *hʌlʌ γwʌlγʌʒ* a fox's hole, earth, lair. *hʌlʌ ʌsʌn* a fox's heart. 114.2. *hʌlʌ iwʌt* "fox's body", said of ears of barley when the beard and husks have turned yellowish or reddish. 326.4.

3. *hʌl dʌlʌs, hʌl γʌwtʌs* to jump, leap, spring. — *γʌtʌiltʌum hʌl dʌlimi*

he jumped over the water-channel. *mizəfər ʜʌl delimi* he jumped on to the table. *gutə diltsəm ʜʌl nidilin* leaping from this place. 150.1,7. *telum Mori Dawər ʜʌl 'edrlimi* he made (his horse) leap from there to M. D. 276.11. *ʜʌl gawrtsʌs* to jump (long jump). (Cp. Sh. *ʜʌwl*, long pace, stride, and *ʜʌl dowrki* to jump over). 000

ʌla, N. pl. *ʜʌlaŋ*, y goal (at polo). — *ʜʌla manimi* a goal has been scored, it was a goal. *ʜʌla nimi* (the ball) went through the goal. N. *ʜʌla etʌs* to score a goal. N. *ʜʌltsik* v. s.v. *tsik*. Cp. Hz. *čiki*. (Cp. Kho. *ʜʌl*).

ʌladʌn, pl. *-daiyo* x goal-stone (i.e. goal-post, the goals at polo being originally marked by stones). *ʜʌladʌn yom gawrtsimi* (the ball) went over the goal-post. *Su Malikə ʜʌladʌnʌtə yʌtrs čərʌp netʌn* S. M. cutting off his head on the goal-stone. No. 47 end 388.12. (Cp. Kho. *ʜʌldunʌ*).

ʌlagom -iŋ y furrow (the first furrow made, cp. *pforoŋ*).

(*ʜʌl-* is probably the same as the Sh. *ʜʌl*, plough).

ʌlawl lawful, permissible by law (esp. to eat). — *jə ʜʌlawl bʌ* I am lawful, i.e. it is lawful to slay me. 134.2. *ušo ʜʌlawlšio* three beings (that are) lawful for food. 64.14. Cp. 60.9. Ar. Prs.

ʌlaliwto exuding oil, or, grease (of a stone). — *ivtə bʌt ʜʌlaliwto bila* that stone is oil-exuding. 226.12.

ʌlants, N. *ʜʌlans*, EOL. pl. *-ršo*, x moon. — *dor manom ʜʌlants* the full moon. *tormanʌltilum ʜʌlants* moon of the 14th. day, i.e. full moon. *tormatsindilum ʜʌlants* moon of the 15th day, i.e. waning(?). *ʜʌlan'ts dikiwči* the

000 moon is waning. *hʌlantsɔ sʌŋkuš* moonlight. *gusɛ hʌlantsɔtsɛ* in this time of moon. EOL.

hʌlç -eŋ, -iŋ y torchwood.

halden, halden, pl. *hʌldeyo*, x he-goat (full-grown, and in the case of domestic goats castrated). — *giri halden* a full-grown male ibex. 270.1.

314 *hʌli* pl. *hʌleŋ* y birch bark (used as wrapping material and formerly as paper), Sb. *juŋ*. — *hʌli.ulo maltʌš dumʌšan* they wrap up butter in birch-bark. *yerum khene hʌliyʌte girmibʌm* in former times they used to write on birch-bark. EOL. *gute hʌliyʌte girmin* write on this birch-bark. EOL.

526 *halimon -iŋ* and *halimoiŋ*, y wager, bet, stake. — *halimon etʌš* to make a wager. *halimone bula* polo for a wager; polo-match played in which the losers present the winners with a sheep, goat, etc. *halimonɔr bula deluman* they played polo for a stake. *halimon uči ban* they have paid up the stake to them. (Cp. Sb. *halibon*).

000 1. *halkaɛ, halk'ić-*, Ppa. *nuh'alk.in*) to bear young, to give birth, (of mammalian animals).

Fut. 3rd. sg. *halkiɛči*.

Pres. 3rd. sg. *halkiɛči bi*.

Pret. 3rd. sg. *halkiɛmi*.

giri amulo halk'ičian ks . . . where the ibex bear their young . . . 108.10. *beliło halkaɛ diłɔr atsu* take me to the bearing-place of the sheep i.e. where the sheep lamb. 108.24. Cp. 108.12,19,22,25. *menan: bɛɛu nuhalq aɛltu doɛmanimi ks?* . . . if anyone's cow calving, gave birth to twins . . . 254.1. Cp. 66.21, 72.24. *han halquɛm*

000 *belisʌn* a sheep that had had a lamb (and so was with milk). 286.2.

(In these examples *-q-* ought to be *-k-*).

2. *hʌlkaʿs* as the noun-agent form is used to denote or describe an animal actually, or ultimately capable of bearing young, i.e. a female. — *hʌlkaʿs du* female kid (under 1-year old). *hʌlkaʿs mʌmoši* female lamb. *buruʿm iʿrs hʌlkaʿsʌn bi* the white one is a female. 64.26,29.

hʌlkiʿ̥, pl. *hʌlki.ʌŋ*, womb *y* H. *rʌhim* — *iʿmimo hʌlkiʿšʌr mu giʿmi* he has now entered into his mother's vomb. 88.21.

hʌltsiʿk N. v. *tsiʿk*.

1. *hʌmʌl-iso* h neighbour; neighbouring. — *hʌmʌls ka čʌl apiʿ ks* ... if there is (i.e. if you have) no quarrel with your neighbour. Prov. 45. *hʌmʌl sis* neighbours. *hʌmʌl haʿkičʌŋ* neighbouring (*or*, neighbours') houses. *hʌmʌls haʿkičʌŋolo uʿŋi bʌsʌn duʿtsʌk bitsa ks* if you have any things in your neighbours' houses. 286.5. Cp. 362.9. (Cp. Sh. *hʌmʌl*).

2. *hʌmʌl* the month of Hamal i.e. Aries, (commences 21st March). Ar. Prs.

hʌmeʿša, *hʌmiʿša*, EOL. *hʌmeʿš* constantly, always, ever. 116.15, 362.1. Prs.

hʌmiʿšo IUB. a kind of small insect which attacks lucerne. H. *ek qism ka kiʿra jo rʌška ko lʌgta hai*. (Not known to QUB.).

hʌn x y; *hin* h; *hik* z one; a. — *hʌn hʌyʌr*, *bʌyʌm*, *gʌp*, *ha* one horse, mare, hide, house.

V. §§ 187 ff. and § 43.2. N. *hʌn ses* (*sis*) *tumʌn* that other one (x, y).

(See also references under *hin*).

hʌn, v. *ha*.

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hʌn ḍʌm IUB. simple and stupid, honest and simple, H. *sa·da lo·ḥ, si·dha sa·dha.* 000

hʌn hʌn, hʌnʌn, hʌna·n x y; *hin hin* h.

1. One another, each other. V. § 134. 96.7, 154.13, 156.3.
2. *hʌn hʌn* one each. V. § 207.

(See also references under *hin*).

hʌni sg. and pl., double pl. *hʌnents*, x kernel (of apricot, peach, cherry etc.), apricot-kernel, H. *giri.* — *bʌdʌme hʌni.ʌn bi* it is an almond kernel. *bʌdʌme hʌni bi.ʌn* there are almond kernels. *a·lto čukʌn hʌn'i očʌ·n* they make (ready) 2 chuqs of apricot kernels. 308.1. (Cp. Sh. *hʌni*).

hʌnik -uts x. 415 531

1. Big wooden vessel for food (shallower than a bowl, and deeper than a dish or platter). — *maltʌls hʌnik* a dish of butter. 340.1. Cp. 340 13—19, 342.1,2.

Regarding the old Bopfan haniks at Baltit and Yasin see Text No. XIII, p. 208.

The former, said to date from the time of Alexander the Great(?), I have seen and handled. It is cut out of a single piece of chenar wood and is 29" in diameter. The upper surface presents a gentle uniform concave curve, and bears 3 sets of lines, each set consisting of 3 slightly incised lines. It is crossed by four copper bands which intersect at the centre and divide the circle into 8 equal sectors.

On the underside and towards the centre four protuberances of wood have been left to act as feet. Nearer the circumference 4 iron handles are attached to it by iron chains.

2. The word is also used to denote a dish with food on it, a dish of food. — *badigardɔr tsundo hanikuts ućum* they give five dishes (of food) to the Bodyguard. 340.17. Cp. 304.19.

han ilćinaŋs one-eyed. — *han ilćinaŋs sis* a one-eyed person.

hanisarr. — *hanisarr baiʃ* he is a trimmer, changeable, fickle.

From the name of the Gilgit River, Hanisari, which like other rivers of its kind is liable in places to change its course in its bed.

QUB. says it is also used of "a big man who restrains all his feelings".

h'anjil x pl., double pl. *-ints*, charcoal. — *hanjilik dutsu* bring some charcoal. *hanjil pyuwan duriuma? durtuʃ g'omzima? hwz, dwtam* will you fetch a little charcoal? Can you bring it? Good, I'll bring it. 162.12 f. Cp. 164.1—12, 150.10,12.

hanjwko pl. alike, similar; the same, identical. — *ćiltalik halkorg hanjwko bitsan* the two planks are alike. *gusu ko gusu hanjwko bi* this (animal) and this one are (*lit.* is) alike. (*han* + *jwko*).

hanpa one side, one direction; aside. H. *ekaw, ektaraf.* — *hanpa* (*laŋ*) *mana* get to one side, get out of the way. Cp. 26.20.

hantsil N. y blood and water.

hanuman x and y, cp. *hinuman* h, by itself, alone, solitary. — *han ruŋanulo hanuman giri tsirran bi* in a pasture there is a female ibex alone by itself. 102.20.

hanjaŋs senseless, stupid, H. *berkuf, ber'aqil.* — *berulo sarrate ranikstan da hanjaŋsrs hanu* because he was

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000 ugly in appearance and a stupid fellow. 116.2.

hagwrɨf hard, self-willed, refractory, IUB H. *warfɨrwarw*, QUB *xast*, *xarkɨl*. — *gɨf hagwrɨf waɨ-ibi*, *gɨf xpɨrw hawa hilirlow waɨ-i bi* a knot is hard, knotless wood is soft. *hwɨ hagwrɨf xrɨ.ɨn hɨɨ.i*, *rwo rɨ ɨhɨ.i* he is a refractory person, he acts as he pleases.

601 **Hapkwin**, *hafkwin* hsf. spouse, husband, or wife. — *hapkwin hɨɨen ɨyɨw* as my husband give me (my clothes). 14.16, 18.8. Dat. m. *hapkwinɨer*, f. *hapkwinmer*.

000 **hag** *y* right; party. — *ɨyɨw wɨy* (*rrɨ.ɨf*) *ɨfɨx hag hilow* it was right for you to do honour to his son, you were in the right to . . . 92.17. *ja hagolo hɨɨ.i* he is of my party, he is a partisan of mine. 92.12. (So QUB. Correct the translation given with the text accordingly). Ar. Pra.

hagɨy *-ɨlɨg*, *y* cornelian. Ar. Pra. (*'agɨy*).

1. *hɨr -o n.* Sg. also used as pl. ox (male), bullock (used for ploughing). H. *hɨɨl*, IUB. *hɨrzopɨrw* — *ɨrhɨr ɨfɨw hɨr* castrated ox, bullock. *teindɨr hɨr(o)* entire ox(en), bull(s). *hɨr hɨrɨ* (*hɨ.ɨn*) cattle. *hɨn hɨpɨg hɨr.ɨn* a bull-yak. 280.4. *tɨlɨ n.ɨl hɨr* seven yoke of oxen. 246.10. *hɨr ɨy'ɨrkɨnɨlo* while ploughing with the oxen. 246.14. *hɨr dɨrhɨr . . . ɨgwɨh ɨrɨ.ɨw* they had sent their sons to fetch the oxen. 246.10. Cp. 245.9—248.12. *tɨlɨyɨ.ɨw pɨ hɨrw* look out, oxen, I am going to turn (said by ploughman to plough oxen). 246.15. *hɨr pɨ, hɨr pɨ* (said to plough oxen to make them go slowly).

2. *hɨr, hɨr -mɨg*, (*-rɨ*) *y* small nullah, ravine; N. torrent and bed. — *hɨr.ɨfɨw*

hal bridge over nullah. *Mamu Hwe dal nrain* going up the Mamu Hwe (Milk Nullah). 276.12.

3. *hor* -*ilo* n a weevil (that eats the substance out of old wheat). — *hwrik gi.n ilon* weevils have appeared in it, have attacked it.

4. *hor* every. — *hor gunh* every day. 342.6. *hor dun* every year. 342.16. *hor hanan* everything. *hor hanan mrtsr gwrlum.an* they will show you every kind of attention. 10.14. *hor hin* everyone. *hor hine ahil mihaki* everyone says so. *hor ilit* everything. *hor waat* every time. Pre.

horell, horalt, pl. *horellig* y.

1. Rain, H. *barsā*. — *horaltan* a rainstorm, shower of rain. *horaltan rakarimi* he made a rainstorm pour, i.e. he brought down a shower of rain. 158.26. Cp. 122.12. *rwo ranali horaltan numa* a rainstorm coming of itself (i.e. without warning?) 240.12. *horellig* much or continuous rain, rains. *horellig di hilam* the rains had come. *horell di.wrtsilem* it had rained. *horalt tsil* rain water, a puddle. *horelto amarnalo zrwwlan numan* a rain-cloud appearing in the sky. 106.18. *horelto rolowan* a drop of rain. 106.4. *ren ir lo horelliawe* (i.e. pure) *dyn.animi* he himself remained in the rain. 160.2.

2. Rain-clouds, overcast sky. — *horalt di hilo* clouds have come up, the sky is overcast.

horum unlawful, not permitted as food. — *horum ima.nom gurlan* carrion. 64.14. Ar. Pre.

1. *horey horag* -*ilo* n enclosure, fold (for animals); camping place (in high

pasture grounds for flocks and their herdsmen. — *hapro nagen hoorpor dirai* taking his flocks with him he returned to the camping ground. 192.12. Cp. *Hoorjung* = *Hoory* + *jung*, v. Index of Proper Names.

(Cp. Sh. *hooro*, which will be found in the maps marking the site of camps in the summer pasture grounds).

2. *hoory*, *hooy*, pl. *hooshindoro*, a free and independent tribe owing allegiance to no one. (There are none such nowadays). — *dusalalo jarnamrik wasaimis, ito wik Garetium Hooy* (or, *Hoory*) *bila* they turned into flying animals, their name is the Garetti Tribe. 206.12.14. *Hunzulo Safar Hoory ansaio hikum rum ko qadim zamanulo abad hum* a tribal community called Safar Hoory were established in Hunza in ancient times. *mathaw gum wikicig: Diram Hoory, Safar Hoory, Bowtale Hoory* . . . famous tribe names: the D. H., etc.

(From their meanings it is doubtful whether 1. *hoory* and 2. *hooy* are the same word. Cp. however *giraw*, village and tribe, community).

hoomuzda -*muts* bastard, of illegitimate birth; ill-begotten. A general term of abuse. 80.10, 112.35, 128.10, 174.33. (Ar.) Pre.

hooud, pl. *hooug*, *y* pitchfork (five-pronged wooden fork for separating straw and grain). (Cp. Sh. *hooro*). [112]

hoong, *hoong*.

1. Among, between, in the midst of, in the course of, in the middle. Cp. § 92. — *sis wo hoong ashum* people are saying among themselves. *u wi hoong wiler cuyamman* they among themselves killed

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themselves i.e. they (mutually) killed each other. 32.8. *hikum sin wi hərəŋ čal wamən* some people quarrelling among themselves. 42.19. *hərəŋ trəŋ čin* divide it among you. *hərəŋ piyət* to intervene, interfere, join in.

The locative, *hərəŋpilo*, is very commonly used.

kən hinz, kik don, ərito dəmniŋ čuki don hərəŋpilo in the course of 1 month, 1 year, 2 years, 3 years. *Hunzo ki Nagur hərəŋpilo sinda bila* the river is between Hunza and Nagir. *mi ki u hərəŋpilo dir ki* it is the boundary between us and them. *ərilikik hərəŋpilo čwl čin kən* the two were conversing with each other. *ji k' wuŋ hərəŋpilo nimi* relations have ceased, all is over, between me and you. 92.7. 96.10. 106.10. 116.4. 354.11.

hərəŋtum from among, cf. *wu Kuyu qəum hərəŋtum kin sizən čwimi* a man of the K. tribe died. 112.15. Cp. 114.5, 120.2.

2. Shared, jointly owned, in partnership, jointly. IUB. II. *čarəkat.* — *gəriŋ hərəŋ ki* the mill is jointly owned, is joint property. *dukanilo jəku hərəŋ bili* he is partner with me in the shop. *Baltistən ki Horukəmur . . . čil hərəŋ bila* the water is common property to i.e. is jointly owned by, the B. and H. 350.5. *Horukəwtə ki Dirəmstiŋ ki Bootaliŋ hərəŋ Ultər hugən čwəfəmən* the H., D. and K. jointly, or in partnership settled their flocks in Ultar. 258.5.

3. *hərəŋtali.* — *budəis hərəŋtali gən ni bila* the road has gone

000 (goes) through the middle of the cultivation.

Cp. *iḍigavrtʌli*, V. § 84.

4. Also, once recorded, without explanation: *hərʌŋuči*.

hərʌŋolum being-in-the-middle. — *hərʌŋo:ʌm dzš* interval, intervening space.

hərʌŋoi, pl. *hərʌŋoyʌnts*, intermediary, go-between (in arranging marriages); pimp. H. *dallal*. — *hin imo jarmʌn ya gəruvvum sisʌn hərʌŋoi e durmərčər 'evrčai.i* he sends a relation of his own or an intimate friend as intermediary to ask for the (other man's) daughter. 298.3 ff.

hərʌj y urine. — *ja hərʌj jučila* my urine comes, i.e. I feel a desire to urinate. 176.28. *h'ərešen dimi* a desire to urinate has come (on me). 54.2. Cp. 270.4.

(Cp. *hərai.ʌs*).

hərai.ʌs, *hərʌčʌs*, Impv. *hər'a*, neg. *'ovəra*. Ppa. *nuh'ərə* to urinate, make water, to stale.

Fut. 1. sg. *hərʌčʌm*.
Pret. 1. sg. *hərai.ʌm*.
3. sg. m x *hərəmi*.

g'iri halden . . . hərə bim a male ibex had staled. 270.2. Cp. 172.22, 174.2.

hərbuə x pl. cattle (oxen and cows). (*hər* + *buə*).

hərčum, *hərčum*, -iŋ y.

1. Yoke-bar of plough (that rests on the necks of oxen). — *hərčum obtilaiyʌs* to yoke (oxen). *hərčum dituwʌs* to unyoke.
2. Butt (of gun). — (*tobʌqə*) *hərčum* butt of gun.

hərgə hərgə "look out ox!" (said to oxen when ploughing). (*hər* + *gə*).

000 *hɔŋgɔ* dragon, monster. 1UB. Ponj. *wagur watôh*. QUB. *atdw*.

(I have recorded Sh. *hɔŋgɔ* no meaning, "female snake").

hɔr hɔn n and *y hɔr hin* h each each one, every one. — *hɔr hinɔr ɔ ɔ hɔn rupi.n* yw give each one rupee apiece, give them one rupee each.

1. *hɔri* y sg. and pl., double pl. *hɔrɔŋ* barley (plant and grain). — *hɔri.ɔ pfɔlɔn* a grain of barley. *hɔri.ɔ ɔnkɔ gɔ talɔ pfɔlɔŋgɔ* 5 or 7 grains of barley. 226.10. *hɔrio pfɔl* ɔnkɔ the barley having formed its grain. 226.4. *hɔri pfy'w.ɔn dipirtɔin* pulling up a little barley. 239.7. *tɔil hɔri.ɔ h'ɔrki.ɔr gɔ.ljɔrɔ* they turn on the water for the barley-sowing. 250.6. *hɔrɔŋ* barley growing in the fields, barley crop. *gɔrr hɔrɔŋ mijɔrɔr* reaping the wheat and barley. 230.12. *hɔri hɔri* wooden shovel for winnowing barley. Cp. 228.1,8, 232.1,11, 234.5, 242.19.

2. *hɔri* famous, renowned. — *hɔri hɔri ɔ'ŋgɔtiŋ ɔz'rɔ.ɔs Kɔnɔr jɔ hɔ* I am Kɔnɔr, the slayer of (many) famous monsters, or perhaps: I am the famous K., slayer of monsters. 176.11.

QUB. gave: *h'ɔri hɔri sin, gɔ.fɔŋ, hɔ.ŋurido* = every kind of excellent people, clothes, horses.

hɔriʧi -ɔsiŋ y saw, H. *arra*. — *hɔriʧi.ɔʧ rɔkɔrtɔ.ɔs* to cut (off?) with a saw. *hɔrɔ hɔriʧi.ɔʧ izɔr.ɔs bi* the wood is to be sawn. *hɔriʧi.ɔ ɔrɔr* the teeth of a saw. (Cp. Sh. *hɔr'ɔti, h'ɔrɔti(?)*, GB. *hɔr'ɔʧi*).

hɔri.ɔ tɔal name of a constellation(?), the "Heap of Barley"(?).

(Not known to QUB.).

hɔriʒ -ɔnts, -i.ɔnts, -ɔts n music, tune. — *uyɔnʧimɔ hɔriʒ* music played for

the reception of distinguished persons. *thama hiqhum hariy* ("Thama's dance-music") music played for the Thama when he lies down at midday. *kan hariyan sitawafa* ‘music play ye a piece of music on the sitar. 190.12, 192.1. *hariy ro* making them play music. 202.16. *yariq ke hariye da pirata kiar dayalima* he heard the sound of songs and music and dancing. 269.19. Cp. 278.24. *pirata hariyan* a dancing-tune, dance music. 234.15. *ma hariyan "pfarta hariy"* ‘ehara they call that tune the "Div's tune", (sometimes played for a very odd man). 224.16. (Cp. Sh. *hariy, hariri*).

hari, pl. *hariyata*, a long-headed wooden shovel.

harkan pirat to make an error, mistake. — *aarab spai manki harkan nitai* in the presence of the sahib the monkey makes mistakes (from fear).

harki -riq *y* cultivating, ploughing & sowing; cultivation. — *Hunzai harkiriq ehman, mahle ta dawisai* they cultivated in Hunza and the corn came up with black ears. 240.17, 244.2. *harki ehma haisai* *mal* cultivated land, field. *hin hiwan tele harki ellam* a man was ploughing there. 384.13. *gawa harki ehma?* have you sown, cultivated, wheat? *gerke harki ehma* they have sown peas. *harkia tal* water for ploughing (and sowing). *tal harka harki ir yalgam* they water for the ploughing for barley (sowing). 350.6. Cp. 246.7, 350.2. *harkiriq* (or, *haisai*) *dayamisai* the crops have ripened. Nz. (Cp. *hirum*).

A *zrdum* in the manner of an ox, ox like. H. *lail ki tarah*. *hir + hum*.

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ʌwʌnu, ʌwʌnu y pl. women's ornaments, jewelry. (Cp. Sh. *ʌwʌnu*).

ʌwonɔ -ɔ́ŋ, N. *-ɔ́ŋ y* a kind of tree related to, or resembling the tamarind.

ʌwy.ʌ.ʌ pl. *ʌwyɔ́ŋɔ* orbicular dung (of goats, camels etc.), N. *ʌwyɔ́.* (*ʌwy.ʌ.ʌ* is said to be harder than *yuyuu*).

ʌwɔ́, pl. *ʌwɔ́ŋ, y* plough.

ʌwɔ́, ʌwɔ́ m.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ to spring up, get up, rise up abruptly. — *Piŋ'e ʌwɔ́ m.ʌ.ʌ.ʌ́* P. sprang up. 112.23. *ʌwɔ́ m.ʌ.ʌ!* up with you! get up! Cp. 142.24, 312.12.

ʌwɔ́ʌ́ʌ y pl. growing crops. — *ʌwɔ́ʌ́ʌ́ ʌwɔ́ ʌ́ʌ́ʌ́ʌ* the crops are good. *ʌwɔ́ʌ́ʌ́ ʌ́ʌ́ʌ́ʌ́ʌ* to cut the crops.

(*ʌwɔ́ʌ́ʌ́* suggests a st. pr. and *ʌwɔ́ʌ́* & *ʌwɔ́* seems formed from a base *ʌw-*).

ʌwɔ́ʌ́ʌ v. *ʌwɔ́ʌ́ʌ*.

ʌ.ʌ́ʌ́ pl. N. *ʌ.ʌ́ʌ́ʌ́ʌ́* a elephant. — *ʌ.ʌ́ʌ́ʌ́ʌ́

ooo been: a son of hers look (and find out). 244.16, 212.6, 242.5, 242.10, 350.14. (In 242.5 and 350.14 *moi mi.en*, mawn, mi, should probably be *moimi.a*, mawn, mi).

hanow v. *hanow*.

hai, *hai.i* alas! — *hai.i ofas* to sigh. *hai hai alas*, alack, woe, H. *hebe*. 156.10, 230.5. (Cp. however *ha*).

haiegra, v. *haraw*.

haiearo, pl. *-ero*, *haiearge*, a beast, animal, quadruped. — *ce haiearo.en emeln le sigerfam* I won't get that (particular) animal anywhere. 66.18. *Ar. Fra.*

haigan, *hai.'an*, pl. *haigani.ig*; N. *haigan*, *-ig*, y mark, target. — *hai.mar n.aar dawn alm at the mark. hai.an dalam* I hit the mark, target. *haigan d'eitera* they set up the target. *Mere Dawn gofaln W. A. U. Big hai.an ofam* W. A. U. Big had marked out, laid out the trace of, the M. D. irrigation channel. 352.20.

1. Score, tally. — *dawnyar.afam haigani.ig* (*bitas*) score, record of numbers, kept by making notches on a stick. *ifakofawa haigani.ig* ditto on pillar of house.

   The above with *ofam*, *ce ewa.en*, to make, or keep a record or score in this way.

2. Token (material evidence), sign, memento, trophy. — *ewe haigani.ig* (*ce, nilawig*) *je lal ofam* I shall recognise the tokens of it, its trophies (i.e. golden horns, tail etc. of the golden calf. 134.20. *gofe haigan faw* take this token, complimentary gift, (to the King), H. *hefa* (*tahfa*), 136.16. Cp. 88.19. (Cp. Sh. *haigan*).

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137 *hasiyow, hasiow* y pl. caraway seeds. — *wahunig hasiyow* black caraways.

The plant occurs in the higher areas of the Gilgit region, e.g. below the Darkot Pass in Yasin.

(Cp. Sh. *hasiyowa*).

060 *halwa* N. "halwa", a kind of food, sweetened with sugar, probably the equivalent of the Hn. *halwā*. Ar. Pro.

hawro, hairaro astonished, perplexed, at a loss, bewildered. 29,6.6. 118.12. Ar. Pro.

hariniq, hariniq y pl. much weeping, lamenting. — *gwtsa ayow hariniq ctaro* they are lamenting in the absence of the corpse (i.e. for some one who has died away from home). *hariniq hariip hila* (for *hi?*) it is a dirge. *hariniq hariip ctaro* (the band) are playing a dirge, or are playing badly, dismally, slowly.

ha, hā, hai an exclamation: halle! — *ha ṭlā* O ground! 252.4. *hā hikel gumanai* he, bravo to you! 74.6. *hai mo hamaso nagaw* O my wise sire! 58.17. *-ini hā ctas* to attack, set on, assault. *hā nal'a ṭini hā-* all together attacking, setting on, him. 274.9.

(QUB. distinguishes *hai* = wa, and *hā* an exclamation inciting to attack).

1. *hamas, hari-*, neg. *akkari-*. Impv. *ham*, neg. *akkam*, Ppa. *nal'an*, to know, understand.

The subject with all tenses usually appears in the General Oblique form. Pres. *wajsam ja hart hanya ha* I know much more than you. 56.1. Cp. 28.10. *gate ayow wag hari ha* you know all this. 86.26. Cp. 28.9. *wau hari ha gate duro hilate ctas hila ha?* do you know how this is to be done?

Dalstáe bené hei heli he knows the language of birds. 98.5. *ngyrne hei hare* all know.

Fut. *je hrynam.* I shall know.

Impf. *je heryo heiyam* I was knowing.

Pret. *je hrnam* I know. *ung hrnanna?* did you understand? have you understand?

Perf. *je hrna he* I have known.

Plup. *je hrna heiyam* I had known, understand.

Negative:

Pres. *je ákrya he* I don't know, understand. *hete gat hrnrnnan hila he je ákrya he* I do not know how much the price of this is. 10.24. Cp. 62.6. N. *palerni dere ofas ákrya he* I don't know how to do such and such a thing. *hit ákrya hern* we don't understand this (book). 70.4.

Fut. (= Pres.) *je ákrynm* I don't know anything about it (angrily). *trijeke ek ákrnme* you don't understand such things. 66.19. Cp. 72.22.

Pret. *rne ákrnmi . . . je he ákrnam* he didn't understand it . . . I too didn't understand it. 70.4.

2. *hrnas* (agent form of the last) one who knows; wise, intelligent; grateful.—*hrnas hei* he is one who knows. *hrnas hirnn hei* he is a wise man. *hrnas (ákrnas) ninn heli* he is a grateful (ungrateful) person.

ma mayern hrnshrik hern you are all wise intelligent men. 159.4,17. *ma hrnas nastr* you wise girl(s). 159.17.

hrnaslot *y* wisdom.

hrnig dáltáke maker of fine speeches, sweet-tongued, honeyed. 364.13.

k'ewan, kewan, kwé-, kwó-; Impv. *kw.* ooo
neg. *cwor.* Ppa. *cwkw*, to weep, cry, lament.

Fut. 1st. sg. *kwéam.*

Pres. 3rd. sg. c. *kwóiá*, f. *kwóiko.*
pl. 1. *kwóia kwa*, 2, 3 *kwówa.*

Impf. 3rd. pl. *kwó'an.*

Pret. sg. 1. *k'ewam*, 2. *k'ewma*,
3. m. *k'ewini*, f. *k'ewmo.*
pl. 3. *kewwan.*

Pres. pc. *kwóiwa* *wówo* she went off weeping. 202.2. *k'ewtumsto jo ówa ewana* (ka) by (constant) weeping I have become blind, or, in the course of weeping. 260.6. *kwówa.* 140.15.

Ppa. *cwkw*, *cwk'ew* having wept. 20.7, [illegible] 6.

Infin. Noun Agent *ówo kewan dówi wiri ke . . .* when he goes to the weeping place, i.e. to the place where the sound of weeping came from. 20.9.

The forms quoted will be found in the following passages in addition to those passages already mentioned: 20.4—20, 42.17—18, 44.4—7, 202.2—13, 210.9—10.

kewinig (y pl.?) EOL. mourning. — *kewinig ówa* to mourn. *kewinig kewip* mourning music. V. *kewinig.*

kewó y weeping. — *kewó wówan* a sound of (people) weeping. 28.3.

kwí tamed, accustomed, trained (of animal, man), H. *wayif*, *halad.* — *kwí wówini* it has become tamed.

kwói time, occasion; share. — *kik kwói* once, on one occasion. *ówto kwói* twice. *ówki kwói* three times. 284.21. *wówti, twówi, wówwi, kwói* 4, 5, 6 times. *ówto kwói jaw jo* give me two times, i.e., a double share

080 *k'ɛ́ɛkwɛn* pl. *k'ɛ́ɛkwɛ* guide, one who has seen and knows a place, or is familiar with some kind of work.

kɛ́ɛ loose (not tied or shut up); free, at liberty. — *kɛ́ɛyɛr kɛ́ɛ* bi the horse is loose. *gɛrɛ́ ɛ́ɛkɛ́ɛnɛ́ɛ kɛ́ɛ ɛ́ɛ́* let (the man) loose on the wheel pin, i.e. give him free access to, give him the run of . . . 140.2. *pɛ́ɛdɛ́ɛ kɛ́ɛ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ* The king had given me full liberty, a free hand. 140.16. Cp. 64.11, 183.9, 246.3. (Cp. Sb. *kɛ́ɛ* loose, free).

kɛ́ɛ́. — *kɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* in one place, in a certain place. 190.1. Cp. 28.19, 266.1—2.

(Probably for *kɛ́k*, cp. *kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́*, *kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́*, v. § 191).

kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ one "*ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́*", v. s.v. *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́*.

kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́, *kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* -*ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* y measure for grain, one eighth of a *kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́*, and so equal to about 2½ or 3 lbs. — *kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* he gave her a "*kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́*" of millet. 142.28. Cp. 242.10, 254.3.

kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ care, security, safety. — *kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́* carefully, safely. 262.20. *kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́* keep it in safety. *kɛ́ɛ́.* Pm.

kɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́, for *kɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́*, the one . . . the other; each other, one another. — *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* the two struck each other. *kɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* they abused each other.

kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ to neigh, whinny. — *kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* the horse neighed.

1. *kɛ́k*, *kɛ́k*. the *c* form of b *kɛ́ɛ́*, x *ɛ́* y *kɛ́ɛ́*.

a. Gnc. V. §§ 190—192. — *kɛ́k ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* one "*ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́*" (2 lbs.). *kɛ́k kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* one time, once. *ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́k* the 1100. 92.6.

b. Usually with *kɛ́*: *kɛ́k kɛ́* one time, once, once more, perhaps also, just. V. § 194.

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The following additional examples: *hik ke ma hazan ma i ka* say once more what you say. 26.9. *da hik ke ṭarkimi* once again he made a cut. 42.4. *hik ke hareyan* let us look once more, let us have another look. 122.18. *mirma P'aqtu.er hik ke hereain* just go and have another look at P. 126.7. *ma hik ke namara mithamai ofina* just go once more and listen. 126.17. *gate gamaje je hik daiyam ka* I have come once (before) by this road. 134.21. *je ke hereyam, hik teiafer dwiam* I shall have a look too, I'll just go up on the roof. 162.22. *hik ke gate gali ke mara adeljomaan* if this once (by any chance?) broke, would anyone (pl.) beat me? 170.22. *ma hayarefe hik ke ofjaiga ka* I haven't once even (i.e. I have never) ridden on that horse. 76.18. Cp. 102.25.26, 170.19. *hik dam* forthwith. 134.5, all of a sudden. 174.2,17. *hik dam* once. *hik nal'a* all at the same time, all together, all of a sudden. 272.8, 276.8, 296.9. (Cp. *hikan*).

2. *hik* full. This word refers directly to the content and indirectly to the container, e.g. "water is full in the glass", not as in English: "the glass is full of water".

The same idiom occurs in Shina and Khowar.

The container in Bu. is usually put in the form of the General Oblique or Genitive case. It is probably a Locative-equivalent as the Locative with *-olo* has once been recorded. *gilasolo tsil hik bila* water is full in the glass, i.e. the glass is full of water. *bil hik bila* it is brim(?) full

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(of a measure). *trep hik bila* it is quite full. *hik* [illegible] to become full (in s.t.), be filled (the content being the subject). *hik* [illegible] to fill (the pm.pf. referring to the content). [illegible] *hik* [illegible] (x pl.) [illegible] (or, [illegible]) the charcoal became full in 3 rooms, i.e. three rooms were filled with charcoal; or, he filled charcoal into 3 rooms, i.e. he filled three rooms with charcoal. 164.12.

The remaining examples are rendered only in the transposed form natural to English:

Pa[illegible] ha[illegible] hik [illegible] (y) P.'s bag did not become full, was not filled. 140.10. Cp. 140.8,9.

The nominative form of the container occurs in:

[illegible] *hik* [illegible] his bag was not filled. 142.1.

And probably in:

pfori hik multan ke tirajo [illegible] the pond was filled with blood and bones. 252.24.

ha may be either nom. or gen. obl. in:

(*hanjil*) *ito ha hik* [illegible] that room was filled with charcoal. 164.6.

Similarly I was given as alternatives:

gilase hik tsil sti and *tsil glase hik sti* fill the tumbler with water. [illegible] *hik* [illegible] they (the men) filled it (the space under the boulder, by crowding into it). 160.3. Cp. 86.21, 138.6, 342.3.

hik.an sometimes, unexpectedly, H. *kabhi*, [illegible]. — *hik.an hik.an* occasionally. (Cp. 1. *hik*).

ʼikolto one day, a single day. — *hikolto* *i·mi. ʼeilo* one day his mother says . . 62.28. Cp. 50.3, 52.8, 228.4, 234., 266.16, 284.12.

(*hk* + *olto*, cp. *hk-alto* this day, today, also *-holto* in *pa(·)holto*, *hi-pelto* q.v.).

hikolwa first.

hikwa a entity consisting of more than one unit. V. § 197.

1. A pair, couple, set. — *hikum hawto* a pair of "pabbons" (boots). *hikum dawal* a pair of kettle-drums. *hikum qaci* a pair of scissors. EOL. *Mispawalo* (*Alisbadalo*) *hikum* [illegible] *hawa* probably merely means: there is a clan in M. (A.).
2. Party, band, team, small body (of people etc.) a few. — *hikum . . . shirlto sisik* a party of fair-complexioned men. 188.2. *hikum sis* a party of men. 240.8. *hikum* [illegible] . . . *hikum* (*ammam*) . . . one lot of people, or a party, said . . . another said . . . 246.1. (p. 302.4.

hilawi.

1. bride, bridegroom, (before marriage). — *hilawi dawin* bride. *hilawi hilas* bridegroom.
2. (probably only as aspects of 1.) unmarried, virgin. (Cp. Sh. *hilawi*, bride; *hilel'a*, bridegroom).

hil'as s. *hil'ado* hon. boy, lad, youth (unmarried), child, infant (male).

infant: *tok dimanam hilas* a newly-born male infant. *jot hilas* a small child (male). *gawantawa hilawan dinanimi huli, dawinan dum'awan kwi jaw jo* if a boy should be born to our wife (or) should a girl be born to her give the child to me. 104.10.

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Boy: 28.19, 58.16, 62.1, 64.20,22, 66.6, 72.11, 102.11, 104.21, 106.3 etc.
Youth: 210.9.
Bridegroom: 298.12, 303.14, 304.1.

hilrlom soft (of leather, blanket etc.) — *ayemar hilrlom mamila* my bowels have become soft (after constipation and laxative).

himayat y help. — *jav lokan himayat ati* give me a little help. EOL. Ar. Pro.

him'alter -iq y gateway (of castle, fort). — *gupelie himalteln dukotalki.an* I'll hang up your head (for you) on the gateway. 72.5. Cp. 88.7.

himan x sg. & pl. A kind of plant that springs up in the fields. It has black seeds which are used for washing clothes.

himmat, hirmat y endeavour, magnanimity. — *himmat ati* hurry, make an effort, "buck up" (said to coolies etc. to stimulate them at work). Cp. Prov. 19. *jav lokan hirmat ati* give me a little encouragement. Ar. Pro.

hin hmf. cp. *han* x y, *hik* x.

1. Numeral adj. and pron. one (person), a. — *hin yerib hirane haler nikin* entering into the skin of a poor man. 284.21. *hin bart maper pfetan hali* there is a very old Div. 28.7. *hin jat gurannao* in the house of a very old woman. 286.1.

   Distributive: *hirn hirn ortoma* taking (*lit.* making) them one by one. 206.9. V. §§ 201, 203, 207.

   The accompanying noun may, or may not, bear the suffix *-an*. V. § 43.2.

2. Indefinite pron. and adj. : — *hin* may be made definite by a quali-

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fying demonstrative or adjective, v. § 141. *hin . . . hin* one (person) . . . another. *hir hin* everyone, v. §§ 121 and 156.

3. Reciprocal Pron.:

hin hin / *hin ivu* / *hihivu* } one another, each other, v. § 154.

hindu Hindu, infidel, irreligious; bad-tempered, stingy. — *wu hindu ho* you are an infidel, etc. H.

hinhin, *hinivu*, v. s.v. *hin*.

hiwumun alone, by oneself (of human beings). Cp. *hawumun*.

hinzir.

1. A single garment, a single suit of clothes; wearing a single garment. — *hinzir hai.i*, or, *iwafafe hinzir hi*, *ofto tsiv hesun epi* he has only one garment on, he has no second. QUB.
2. Of one type, or character. — *hinzir sisik* people of one type, H. *ek rag ho*, *ekhi tarqal ho*. QUB.
3. Weak, poor. H. *kamzor*, ئرىبۇ. IUB.

hiq *-oi.iq*. N. *-s*, y door, gate. — *hiqfu*, *hiqafu* at the door. 260.8, 64.7. *hiqfu mun hawat?* is there anyone (pl.) at the door? *hiqfu opum, ovofow* they were not at the door, they are not sitting at the door. *hiqfur*, *hiqafur* to the door. 64.2, 338.19. *ifs hami.s hiqfur sirmi* he went to the door of the garden. 12.4. Cp. 2.6, 40.6, 160.13, 286.1. *hiqafum makarumdiq* the confidential servants of the door, the ushers. 4.2. *ha hiqs urlo dirmi* he went in at the door of the house. 160.15. *hiqoi.iqfu qufurus* a house-to-house beggar. *irsu ĉife hun hiqun arka manimi* a door opened in the mountain. 180.8.

Cp. 64.6, 64.5. *hinai ayun asku hitan* all the doors are open. N. *av hiq dow* open the door for me. 40.8. Cp. 12.5. 64.4. *hiq tam e* (*ee, eti*) shut the door. *hiq tam ne gulp wanimi* shutting the door he locked it. 62.6. *hir gunts hiq tair ne yurtam* they used to give him daily (such and such supplies) each house in turn. 280.5.

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hiro x pl. hail. — *hiro giyai.as* to hail. *hiro gipanis* hail fell.

hipuro a measure of grain. A quarter of a *hiduq* and so about 5 or 6 lbs.

hirpulto day after tomorrow. (V. *hilulto* and note).

hir, hiv -i, N. pl. *hirikants*, hum. man (as opposed to woman, Latin "vir"); male (of animals birds etc.). — *hut ayum hiran dewrai.i* he has sent a very great man. 90.2. *hiri ke gulinants* men and women. 952.9,10, 316.3. *hir sir hawan ayun* all the males, all the male population. 240.2,6,8. *eltan hiri ispator durunan ne sei-bam: "lei hir" . . .* two men came up to him, "O man", they say . . . 104.1. *ja aiyuyulants hir'ive wis* ha I am going to give my daughters to men (i.e. husbands). 106.18. *hiwiki* (*hirik + e? hiri ke?*) *dan ilasor itsi gurtamun* the men chased after him in order to stone him. 276.9. *hir huk* male dog.

(The N. pl. *hirikants* is probably *hir + ik + ants*).

hir hayur manow to work strenuously all together. IUB. H. *mard wa 'aurat mazikar hum karna.* — *Hunzukuts kinimo be ku be dorts be lira kwiki nal'a ke nal'a derowar hir hayur mai.ibun* the people of Hunza in

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summer all join to working together whether at the apricots, or the threshing floor or the buckwheat cultivation. QUB. 476

hir'ïgnaa, ir'ï-naa pl. *hir'ïgnado* x. 000
1. Soft fleshy stalk of such plants as broad bean, potato, melon, pumpkin, etc.
2. Stalk of a fruit.

h'irimaa pl. *hirim'aiyo* x an insect resembling a centipede.

'hiriski pertaining to men, man's. — *hiriski gforsain* a man's cap. *hiriski gupalfiq* men's trousers. *hiriski bl.ai.i* gonorrhoea.

hirkoł y manliness, valour, H. *mardanagi*.

hirom, hir'om, pl. h and x -*ido*, y -*iq*, smart, active, sharp, H. *hiz*. — *he hirom hileaa hai.i* what a sharp lad he is. *hirom pa* sharp side, i.e. edge (of knife).

hiaa -*moq* y a single tooth, mouth. — *gufa hiaa* this mouth. Na. *Haa hiaa* one month. Na. *Haa hiaawa* in a month. Na. *hik hiaa* one month. *Haa hiaa hha* up to a month. Na. *hiaa waawa fa.haaq* at the end of every month. 62.22. *gufa hiaar gaaa h.aakarof gurdaa* I'll give you this wether for this month. 62.25. Cp. 60.7, 62.21,26, 342.6.

(*hiaa* appears to be *hi*, or *hik*, one + *aa* month. Two or more months are expressed by *aa* q.v.).

hisarb, hisarp y account, reckoning. — *gufa gunfaafaam waq ha hisarp efi, ja ha hisarb ecaa* from this day you keep a reckoning (of the days) and I too shall keep one. 52.5. *ailowaalter hufa waaimi, waqa hisarb waai bila he? . . . ja hisarb halor waaimi* 40 days have passed. Has your reckoning

come to a conclusion: . . . My reckoning has come out exact. 52.17. *ołłałiło hisrō łałer disi* the account(s) of both of them came off level, exact. 52.22. *berowʌn hisrō bila* how much is the reckoning? *berowʌn hisrō bi.ʌn* how many do they (2 pl.) amount to, work out at? Ar. Pre.

1. *hirū* -ʌg, N. -ʌrig, y comb.
hirū -ʌg, y loom. — *pilʌm gilaiyʌn hirū* a loom for weaving "pattoo" (woollen homespun). *hirūkʌfe sawat* sitting at the loom. 184.4. *hirūło falʌki* a tax recovered from weavers.
(Cp. Sh. *hesūo*. With *falʌki* cp. Sh. *palʌqo*, *palorqo* weaver's beam(?); and Pre. *falʌk(o)* beating pole, or *falʌq* stocks).
3. *hirū* -ig y wrist. — *mirigʌ hirū* "the wrist of our hand", i.e. the wrist.
(This meaning is doubtful; I think I have heard the word applied to the back of the hand).

hirūbufo -*mats* weaver, H. *jolaha*.
(-*bufo* may be the same as -*burfo* in Sh. *tallurfo*, N. Bu. *talaburfo*(?), spider, and one may suspect a connection with Sh. *burporki* to weave).

1. *hif* y breathing, breath; (with longer vowel) sigh. — *hif ełʌn* to breathe; to sigh, grieve for. *hif bila* there is breath (i.e. he etc. is just alive).
(Cp. Sh. *hiif* breath, also Sh. *hiif* breath, sigh).
2. *hif*, *hifʌn* abundance of, lots of; excessive, too much, excessively. — *hifʌn gʌfe bi* (*bila*) it is of very high price, costly. *tsiri, mel, tirk hifʌn dusu* bring a lot of water, wine, earth. *hifʌn gorurum* excessively hot. *jo hifʌn amolum difʌm?* where am I

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to get a large quantity (i.e. a big present) from? 186.20. *ká'i* it is plenty, it's lots. 186.21. *ungir ká'i m.anila* you have got too much (of the land). 256.5. *ammar ká'i bila ás ots marhi* which has too much (land) tell us that. 260.16.

Ás(m.ayú) (-ás?) s. sg. & pl. buffalo. — *ás(m.ayú) ówk* a buffalo calf. (Cp. next entry).

Ás(m.ayú) N. -ás buffalo.

(The latter part of this N. form agrees with the Sh. *maiyori* buffalo, which was also once given me as a N. word).

Ásthara a certain place, one place.

Only recorded in the forms *Ásthara* (locative) and *Ásthaman*.

Ásthara Ázyaw ítta bila in one place there is a horse's hoof-mark. 298.1 (trs). Cp. 306.7. *Ásthaman aiti him* (the bear) was going to a certain place. 229.13. Cp. 29.19.

ás there, thereafter, after this; and so etc. V. § 422 & 420.

In parts of the texts it occurs with extreme frequency, in other parts it is completely lacking.

The following references will illustrate its use: 8.16, 18.19, 108.20,23.27, 110.14,21, 114.22,23, 116.10,15, 120.2, 122.20, 126.12,20, 128.22,23, 130.11,19, 132.22, 138.22, 140.15, 142.5, 142.8,14, 22,26, 292.3,9,13, 294.3,9,20, 298.10, 300.1,3,6,8,9,11,12, 302.1,5,10,12,13, 304.2,10,15,18, 306.13,14,16.

ás m.anaw to be deprived of, H. *m.ásnum*. — *nur ás m.anaw* may she lose her father! 264.2. *gur ás m.anaw* may you be deprived of your father. 264.8. *u ás m.anaw* may they lose their fathers.

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hoṭ SY a kind of food, Wersh. *ṭṣyot*, Sh. *ṭapo*, Punj. *ṭwka*. (Cp. Khe. *hoṭ*, cooked fat. Sh. *ṭapo* appears to mean food cooked in butter).

hoṛi y sg. and pl. vegetables (green), H. *sāg*, *sabz sāg*.

In the singular the word means "cooked vegetables", and in the plural "uncooked vegetables".

'hoṛi (ṛum) ḥiło there is cooked vegetable (soup). *hoṛi hoṛi ḥiłto* there are garden vegetables. *ḥiłamiṇ hoṛi ... ḥoṛi ale ḥiłtum* there were green vegetables in the garden. 64.1. *hoṛi ḥiṛwima? ... ḥoṛ ḥiṛwiṛum* will you give me green vegetables? ... Yes, I will give you some. 64.2. *ḥoṛme (ḥoṛm ne?) hoṛi ewła ḥaiṛum?* how was I to fetch vegetables? 68.20. *hoṛi aṭurtoma?* have you not brought vegetables? 68.17.

(V. Gram. p. 454 note on § 329).

1. *hoṛl*, v. *hoṛle*. — *hoṛl ne* outwards, to the outside. *pfirzie ḥawurwsoma, hoṛl ne uwr ṛtma* she remained in the pond, she entreated to the outside (i.e. she addressed entreaties from the pond to Ś. R. who was outside it). 14.10. Cp. 106.9.

2. *hoṛl* h pl. armed forces, troops, army. — *hoṛl ḥawa* there are troops, an armed force. *hoṛl wuṛen ḥaṛmawr di ḥoṛi* he has come with (*lit.* taking) an army to slay me. 26.17. *hoṛl ḥawure* an army has come. 132.11. *fa hoṛle* for 100 troops, for a force of 100 men. 176.23. Cp. 26.7,16,19, 32.1, 144.5,12.

In the following it appears to be used in apposition: as an army, in force; or else "wuṛen" is to be understood after it.

Hunzukuts Tsimstsfer hoi ni hass the Hunzukuts had proceeded in force against Tsimst. 295.4. *Sorkar Angres Hunzwatsr hoi dimi* the British Authorities had come in force, or with an army, against Hunza. 344.19.

hoilalas pl. *hoilalaio* x butterfly, moth. (Cp. *gumhoilalas*).

hole, hoio.

a. Adv. out, outside.

Usually with a verb of motion; but to "come out" or "go out" and to "take out" are usually expressed by the simple verbs *dawas* and *d°-uasas* with the Ablative, though *hole* may be used to reënforce them:

hole ni go out(side). Cp. 370.6. *hole hasas fat aiy'ofi* leave nothing outside. 286.6. *ima giyat iratsum hole vertimi* he spewed (flung) the infant out of his mouth. 110.8. Cp. 114.7, 286.14. *imo tagsitsum hole ertsiam* he used not to come out of his palace. 2.3. Cp. 286.4. *damas hartsum hole dirukers* they bring the master (of the house) out of the house. 314.10. *hiqtsum hole zarq jutsi i* he comes out in front of the house. 340.22.

In all the above the Ablative is probably dependent on the verb and *hole* is merely an adverb.

b. Postp. out of.

In the following, *hole* seems to have postpositional powers, the nouns in the general oblique must be dependent on it, as, were they dependent on the verb, they would be in the ablative:

ima pfoltiqile hole yerig manimi tunes came out of that bellows. 166.3,5,6. *ima hole hayare iranmals hole hoi dersimi* a spring came out of

OOO the cliff out of the horse's tail. 278.1.

(*korle* is probably the general oblique form of *kor* seen in *kor ne*, *korlpa*. The ablative and adjectival form is *korlem*).

korlguṭ, *korlguṭ* -iŋ *y* battle, fight. — *korlguṭ bila* there is a battle, fight. *korlguṭ ɛtɛs* to fight a battle. *korlguṭor ral bem* they are ready to fight.

In the texts it occurs only with *niyɛs* when for some reason it dispenses with the dative suffix. *beṭal mi korlguṭ ɛmolor nimɛn ke* whenever we go (went) anywhere to fight. 194.11. *ɛmolor korlguṭ niyɛs manimi ke* wherever it is necessary to go and fight. 252.17. *korlguṭ ni bɛm* they had gone to fight.

(Cp. 2. *kor*).

korlpa outside. — *korlpa kurut* sit outside. *murltum dusin korlpa joŋ nema kurutimi* coming out of her belly he sat squatting outside. 110.1. *korlpa tɛmɛrlu ɛtɛsor nimi* he went to play outside. 264.8. (*kor* + *pa*).

korlpɛci outside. — *ime korlpɛci yotsumo* she saw him (sitting there) outside. 110.2.

korlem Adv. from outside.

Adj. outside, foreign, strange. *korlem Kɛsor dim* K. came in from outside. *korlem sis* strangers, outsiders, foreigners. *korlem jɛtɛqulo . . . gɛti mɛ.ibem* they assemble on the outside meeting-place. 328.18. *yum basi.stum korlem pa pʃat numo* leaving his wife outside the garden. 40.24.

kos swelling up (of belly). — *kos gum'ɛnum* may you become swollen-bellied! (a curse used by women).

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(Cp. Sh. *kun*, "a disease of cattle and horses in which a swelling appears on chest or throat").

kowor pumpkin, H. *kaddu*.

kubə·l sin, fault, penalty. — *kinɪ açu.e kubə·l wuṇr ǰwɪ* may the penalty for (the sin, wrong, done to) this brother of mine fall (come) on you. 110.7. (Glossed: *kaq*). *mi kubə·l gotrum* may your sin towards me carry you off(?). 362.8. (Glossed: "right, fault, sin").

(Cp. Sh. *ubə·l*, sin, "*gona*"). Ar. (*u.kbə·l*).

kuṛço x pl., double pl. *-mots*, *-ints* pair of "paboos", i.e. boots made of skin, Sh. *kuṛri*. — *gutsɪ kuṛço* this pair of paboos. *kuṛçomots* (several) pairs of paboos. *kuṛço iltaiyas* to put on a paboo. *kuṛço ultaiyas* to put on paboos. *kuṛço ki ta.oçiṇ . . . s'ultas nolt'as* putting on paboos (x pl.) and putting on foot bandages (y pl.). 130.9—10. Cp. 128.23—132.1 passim.

koda, *kuda*, *'oda* *-atas* to inoculate, vaccinate. — *koda atum* they have inoculated me. *koda atas sis* a vaccinator. *be kuda (askuru?) wolai.i* without vaccination, being unvaccinated, he has contracted smallpox.

(Cp. Kho. *kod'a*).

kuhoopo N. pl. *kuhoopomots* x hoopoe.

(The second *h* is probably an error, Cp. Sh. *kupupo* and Hz. *pupo*).

kuk, *kuk -ai.i*, N. pl. *kukuints* x dog. — *kir kuk* male dog. *gus kuk* bitch. *ḍrumts kuk* a hunting, sporting, dog. *kukai.i ǰumas* (a term of abuse) dog-like, "talkative"(?). *matum kukans itoto its ta.amar dosku birma?* had a black dog put down its paw in the food? 84.13,23. Cp. 102.12, 214.3.

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hukəm, hukum -*iŋ* y order, command, authority; permission. — *padša hukəm etimi* . . . *we ewərdəwər: "Bruŋkapərdənuə dəruər nin"* *nusen* the king gave orders to those sons-in-law of his saying: "Go to hunt B. K. D." 120.21. *hukəm ganas* to take, i.e. obey, an order. *hukəm akanas* one who is rebellious, a rebel. *pəritiŋ atənəmən bəsi ke pfuti hukəm apim* the Peris did not open it because there was not the Div's permission, i.e. because the Div had forbidden it. 12.6. *hukəm apimaṣi* there not being permission; without orders, contrary to orders. *jəw* . . . *tsər hurutəsər hukəm dumər* ask for permission for me to sit on guard, go on sentry duty. 36.23. *damantsum hukum nuki ini* . . . *hərlər d'itsimi* getting permission from the owner . . . he brought it to his house. 214.13. Cp. 260.2. Ar. Prs.

hukər -*iŋ* y tamarisk, Punj. *pilchi*. (Cp. Sh. *hukərə*).

hukumat y government, rule. — *da inə hukumat eyutsərimi* then he carried on the government. 10.6. *inə* . . *hukumat nə* he ruling. 260.2. Ar. Prs.

huld'o sg. and pl. a measure of grain, half a *hićuṭi* (about 1½ lbs.).

huljaiyas (-*ayas*), *huljać-* (-*æć-*, -*ać-*), Ppa. *nuljin*, Impv. *hulja*, neg. *ulja*, to mount, ride.

Fut. 1st. sg. *huljaćam, huljæćam*.

Pret. 1st. sg. *huljaiyam, huljayam*.

inə hayuriṣṭ huljami he mounted the horse. 8.1. Cp. 78.26. *hulja baiya bə?* has he mounted or not? *hulja bəna bə?* has she mounted or not? *hulja bəna bə?* have they mounted

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or not? *ev hʌγvrefe hik ke je ovljaiya ba* I have never mounted (*or* ridden) that horse. 76.14—18. *gese hʌγvrefe hulja* (*ovlja*) mount (don't mount) this horse. 6.14. Cp. 76.22. *nuljen niyas* to ride, go riding along. *nuljen jivas* to come riding. 76.11,20. *ive dive ivno hʌγvrafe* . . . . *nuljan* he came up riding on his horse. 122.21. *movafe nuljen* riding on the mud-flood. 286.11. Cp. 8.1,19, 76.11, 124.3, 162.18, 284.15. *ev hʌγvrafe hik ke huljaiyam apev* I have never mounted (*or* ridden on) that horse. (*huljaiyam* is here probably the 1st. singular of the static pe., v. § 329). *gese je huljaiʌsv* (or, *huljaiyastse*) *yaski ap'i* this horse is not suitable for me to ride on. 6.15,16. *padša i huljaiyas hʌγvr* the horse on which the king himself rides, the king's own riding horse. 76.13.

hum'a pl. *humai.iq* y ford. — *humatsum duvimi* he crossed the ford. Cp. *humav duvʌsʌ*. 112.24, 114.7. *sinda huma gučivam* I have given you the river ford. 112.7. *humav givmi* he entered the ford. 176.2. Cp. 114.22,26.

humʌk -ižo x quiver. — *humʌkulum hunts* an arrow in the quiver.

hum'ʌlkum (*hu-*), pl. x *-ižo*, x *-iq*.

1. Light (of weight). — *humʌlkumiq balkovq* light planks.
2. Adj. quick, swift, fast.
   Adv. quickly, soon.
   Noun. hurry, haste.
   šum humʌlkum gutsvrʌs sizʌn a good quick walker. *humʌlkum gavrtsʌsʌn* a swift racer (of a horse). *humʌlkum bedšev xʌbir tsučin* let us take the news to the king quickly. 6.7. *hʌγvr . . . humʌlkum*

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humalkum gutərimi the horse kept going on swiftly. 8.5. *da humalkum* (or, *tsorr*) *jarle ju* come to me again quickly, soon. *humalkum eti* make haste, hurry! *humalkum ormar* don't be in a hurry. *humalkum ai.sti* don't hurry. Cp. 26.6, 368.12, 373,18, 384.14.

hurmar x sg. & pl. linseed (from which oil is extracted).

humurin, pl. *humuriyo*, man with wife but no, or few, grown-up sons. 250.4.

humul dry leaves (collected as fodder).

hum -ants, N. *-ants* x wood (generic term); timber, log, beam. — *hume mirz* a wooden table. *humar tsor ne* splitting a log. 86.14. Cp. 86.16. *ire boyo gale hum ine harle bi* the wood, timber, of the Boyo juniper is in his house. 216.4.

hul'am y pl.

1. Fine cloth, a gift of honour, H. *xillat*, QUB.
2. A bride's jewelry. H. *larki ki hardi ke zewar*. JUB. (not supported by QUB).

hunər -iŋ y skill, accomplishment, gift. — *hunəre ka stai.i* he has done it with skill, skilfully. *je hunəriŋ orčam* I'll make them display their accomplishments. 106.6. Cp. 260.7. *mamale hunər bisar bila?* what special gift do you possess? 176.22. Pra.

hunərmar skilful. Pra.

hunćo, hunčo h x y, *hunti* z, nine. — *hunčo hiri* nine men. *hunćo hayurišo, ispamots, hakičaŋ* nine horses, chogas, houses. *hunčo satsom* after nine months. 102.1. Cp. 268.4. *hunti den, hesti* nine years, nine times. *hunti ikum* nine pairs. *hunti tha* nine hundred. Cp. §§ 188 ff.

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000 1. *hundɔr'es, hund'ɔris* pl. *hund'ɔrešo, -išo* x small cross timbers of roof.

(Cp. *hunʔ*. Also perhaps the latter part of Kho. *kanjar'es* = *khanj* + *daris*, piece of timber laid along top of wall of house).

2. *hund'aris*, pl. *hund'arišo*, x callosity (on hand or foot).

hunti, hunti, v. s.v. *hunčo*.

h'unti.u·lum, hunti.ulum, N. *hunti·lum*, ninth.

hunts, pl. *hunze*, N. *huntsišo huntsa·ints*, x arrow, H. *tir*, (IUB, also bullet, H. *goli*). — *huntsʌts delimi* he shot him with an arrow. 146.11. *gusɔ hunts čʌp ečʌm ke huntsetse dunimi ke* . . . if I shoot this arrow and if it catches this arrow . . . 156.6. *huntse tɔrko·g* the feathers of an arrow. 156.8. *žʌmer hunts nyuwešin nutʌsk bišʌmi* fitting an arrow to his bow and drawing it he shot. 148.16. Cp. 152.13. *hunts d'eugusimi* he pulled out the arrow. 150.20, 154.9. Cp. 260.11 ff., Prov. 32.

hu.o·, (*huyo·ʔ*), wool-bearing animal, sheep. — *hu.o·s bʌt* sheepskin.

hu.o·kum, (*huyo·kumʔ*), pertaining to wool-bearing animal. — *hu.o·kum bʌt, čhʌp* sheep's skin, flesh.

(*hupu·poʔ*) v. *hu·ho·po*.

312 *hur, -ants*, N. *hur, -a·ints*, x conduit for water, water-shoot (made of hollowed-out log or piece of wood).

Used also of aqueduct channel and mill-race (both made of hollowed log), gutter (for draining roof).

kɔra·lts hur, or, *tešis hur* runnel for draining rainwater off roof. *hirske hur* bottom piece of frame of comb of loom. *yai.ine hure xa gumo* she threw them down the mill-race. 206.10,

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1985
AV7 Burusho AV7

(Cp.? Sh. *hur*, GB. *khur*, water-shoot made of hollowed log, wooden aqueduct). 312

hurgas, *hurgas* thick, stout (of cloth, leather), H. *moṭa čiz*, Sh. *phaṭoro*. — *hurgas gap*, *baṭ* thick hide, leather. *pfilam*, *pači*, *hurgas bila* the woollen homespun, the cotton cloth, is thick. 000

hurgo, *hurgo* -ŋ y ascent, slope up; uphill, H. *čhaṛhai*. — *tsan yaṭ ne*, *buṭ hurgo bila* it is a very steep ascent straight up. *ḍaŋ* (or, *buṭ*) *hurgo bila* it is a stiff ascent. N. *ine hir hurgo nimi* the man went uphill.

huriginas IUB stream, current, wave, H. *dari.a ka dhar*, *mauj*.

hurorɣo, N. *horogo*, y perspiration, sweat. — *hurorɣo di bila* sweat has come, i.e. I etc. have begun to sweat.

hurš, *-ants* x stack (of cut crops).

hurt -eŋ y revetting wall (of terraced field). (Cp. Sh. *hurṭ*).

hurts.hil the water that flows off at the lower side of a field when it is irrigated. (= *hurt* + *ts.hil*? Cp. Sh. *hũ·tsəl*, muddy water coming off irrigated field).

huručaiyas to sit, sit down, abide, remain, settle down; become pregnant. A parallel form to *huruṭas* q.v., used only with plur. subjects. V. BSOS VIII, 1936, p. 628.

Forms recorded:

Pres. 3rd. pl. *huručačan*. QUB.

Pret. 3rd. pl. *huručaman*, *-aman*, also *-uman* (the vowel not being stressed is not very distinct). V. pp. 10, 18, 20, 22, 32, 36, 46, 90, 96, 122, 228, 294.

Perf. 3rd. pl. = Present. *oltalik hurača ban* both are sitting. 30.13. *men hurača ban ke* whatever women are pregnant. 88.25. *kole bisar*

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ovučam why haven't they settled, why don't they live, here? 248.16.

Imperative Pl.:

huručai.in = *huruṭin*. 18.16, 218.6.

Past Pc. Act.:

n'uručam (-*an*) = *nuruṭ*. 302.13.

Static Pc.:

huručam bam they are seated, sitting. 180.10.

huruṭas, huruš-, Impv. *huruṭ, huru*, Ppa. *nuruṭ(in)*.

Negative forms: *oruṭ-, oruš-*.

1. To sit down, sit.

Pres. *uyum manaṣe huruṣai.i* he sits down on the big platform. 340.2. (*gutas*) *xat huruṣi bi* the corpse sits down. 312.14. *Thamor ju netan huruṣam* saluting the Tham they sit down. 302.8. *oruṣam* they do not sit down.

Imperf. *tsor huruṣam* (guards) used to sit on watch. 192.2.

Pret. *ise kursi.ṣṭe nim huruṭimi* he went and sat down on the chair. 80.3.

Perf. *huruṭai i* he has sat down, he is sitting.

Imper. *Laṇa Brumo mopaći notaṇan huru* sit down in hiding with L. B. 144.22.

Past Pc. Act. *Hindilo Siṇe diṣulo n'urutin uyumkuṣ ne huruṭimi* sitting down in the place of S. he abode exercising authority in H. 266.14.

Besides this ordinary use of the Ppa. its occasional appearance in combination with the verb "to be" is to be noted:

oltalik nuruṭ bam they both were sitting (there). 186.3. *han tili.en bilum iteṭe hin bilasan*

000 *nurut bom* there was a walnut tree and a "bilas" used to sit (or, dwell) on it. 200.1.

In these cases *bam* etc. is to be regarded as the principal verb and not as an auxiliary to *nur*. V. § 368.

Static Pc. *hin hiran hurutum baiɨ* a man is sitting (there). 180.9. *dəriulo hərutum borm* she was sitting at the window. 24.3. Cp. 184.6. *Tham . . . manafe hərutumər* after the Tham has taken his seat on the platform. 338.4.

Infin. 182.6.

2. To settle down, be settled, dwell, abide, stay, live.

Fut. 1st. sg. *hurušam*. 373.9.
3rd. sg. m. *hurušɨ*.
šukur ne hurušan we shall abide or we may settle down, returning thanks. 34.15.

Pres. 2nd. sg. *hurša*. 94.7.
3rd. sg. m. *hurušaiɨ*. 306.1.
hin dasinan gəronimu ka hurušabo (i.e. *hurušubo*) a girl stays with the bride. 306.2.

Imperf. *Bərbəre kurulo hurša baiyam* I used to live in the Berber cave. 226.7. *Tapkiants hurušam. Tele nurut but masti ečam* the T. were settled (there). Being settled there they displayed arrogance. 238.5 & 3.

Pret. *iski dan hurutimi-* he abode there three years. 92.26.

Perf. 1st. sg. *hurata ba*.
2nd. sg. *hurata*. 148.3,4.

Imper. *akələ hurut* stay here. 94.6.

š-Form. *hurutiš*. 373.1.

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Infin. and Noun Agent.

The form *huruʃʌs* is used adjectivally with the meaning:

1. Residential, living. — *Čhil Gʌzi.s huruʃʌs dil čorulo bila* C. G.'s dwelling-place is in the cliff. 222.2. Cp. 142.22.
2. Resident, inhabitant. — *Hunzumo huruʃʌšo sis* the inhabitants of Hunza. *Aŋulo huruʃʌs sis ba?* where do you live? of where are you an inhabitant? *ite bušai.s hin huruʃʌs hirʌn* a man dwelling in that country, an inhabitant of that country. 372.12.
3. The expression *dilulo huruʃʌs* is used in the sense of "heir and successor". — *yuŋs dilulo huruʃʌs* his father's heir and successor. Cp. *Siŋs dilulo n'urutin.* 266.14.

Other examples of *huruʃʌs* sit; settle, abide, stay etc. will be found in the following passages:

Fut. 50.16, 52.20.
Pres. 306.2, 314.17, 328.16,17.
Impf. 192.2.
Pret. 2.8, 58.8, 142.12, 262.18, 342,6.
Perf. 248.17.
Impv. 50.21, 50.25, 142.14, 144.22, 166.17, 234.4.
Ppa. 12.17, 190.2.

4. To become pregnant (of a woman). — *ine yus huruʃumo* his wife became pregnant. 102.1. Cp. 104.18, 244.24, 268.4.

The Perfect gives the sense of being in the present state of pregnancy:

uŋ huruʃa you have become, i.e. you are, pregnant. 58.1. *ja jamaʿat huruʃo bo* my wife is pregnant. 56.14. Cp. 176.3.

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The same sense is given by the Static Participle:
hvruʿṭum bo she is pregnant.
hvruʿṭom bom she was pregnant. 264.7. *hin hvruʿṭum gusʌn* a pregnant woman. 242.7. Cp. 240.4. *ivnɪ guʿs hvrwʿtvmo. Hvruʿtvmtsvm mosamotsɔ gvntsiŋ hisaʿb stvmo* The woman became pregnant. From her becoming pregnant (i.e. her conception) she counted the days of her pregnancy. 108.7.
(The occasional recording of *hər-* instead of *hvr-* is of no significance.
Cp. the parallel verb *hvruʿčaiyʌs* used only with plur. subjects. Causative *-ʌvruʿtʌs*).

hvskinvm IUB evil works, doing everything good and bad, H. *bure kaʿm, ʌčča ʌur bura sʌb kaʿm karna.* — *hʿuskinvm dʿuskinvm dvrʿo sču bo* she does every sort of thing, good & bad. QUB.

1. *hvʿš* sense, intelligence; sensible, intelligent. — *hvʿšər diʿn* coming to his senses, recovering consciousness. 26.9. Cp. 373.3. *hvʿšor wʌlʌsər* when he had come to his senses. 182.13. *bvṭ hvʿš baiʿi* he is very intelligent. Prs.
2. *hvʿṣ* y wetness (of ground), moisture. — *mʌlulo hvʿṣ bila* there is wetness in the field, the field is wet.

hvʿṣi -miŋ y loot, plunder, booty. — *ugetsvm bvt hvʿṣi daʿaɣvrkʌm* (or, *ayaiyʌm*) I obtained much loot from them. *hvʿṣi stʌs* to loot, plunder, rob, raid. *gʌnulo hin kirʌne maʿl hvʿṣi stvmʌn* they robbed, plundered a man's property on the road. *hvʿṣi stʌšo sis* robbers, brigands. *ja ha hvʿṣi mʌnila* my house has been plundered. (Cp. Sh. *hvʿši dovtki*, to plunder.

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huši.ʌʊ clever. Prs.

huʊškr̥ EOL intelligent. (Prs.).

1. *huʊt* y quicksand. — *sis huʊt nimi* the man sank in the quicksand.
2. *huʊt* the Zodiacal month of Pisces, February-March. 350.6. Ar.

huy'ʊltərts pl. *huyʊltərčo* hm. herdsman, shepherd. Also used as a term of contempt for inferiors. 28.11, 182.13, 268.3, 322.6. (*huyʊs* + —?)

huy'ʊs sg. and pl., N. pl. *huyʊšo*, x small-cattle (i.e. goats and sheep). — *huyʊsʌn bi* there is a goat, sheep. *huyʊs bi.ʊn* there are goats, sheep. *huyʊs Hʌnumʌn Muʊn yʌkʌlʌfs uyərčər tsuʊmi* he took his flocks off in the direction of H. M. to pasture them. 180.3. *huy'ʊsʌn* a goat. 234.1. *isi huyʊs* that goat. 234.12. *hʌn huyʊs* a goat. 314.15. *huyʊsi bʌt yʊtis* the goat's skin and head 314.5. *ʊsko wʌlto huyʊs* three or four goats. 314.13. Cp. 28.19, 268.3, 290.7, 312.20, 324.3,5, 340.14, 342.2.

huy'ʊskum pertaining to goats or sheep. — *huy'ʊskum dilk* goat-, or, sheep-dung manure.

hʊzuʊr, *hʌzuʊr* peace, comfort, enjoyment. H. *ʊrʌm*. — *hʊzuʊr ne ʒičʌn* let us eat (or, enjoy) it in peace. 62.27. *hʌzuʊr guri kr ʒi* eat it yourself in peace. 142.7. (Cp. Kho. *hʊzuʊr*).

huʊyo -mʊts x owl; blind. (Cp. Sh. *huʊo*, owl).

huyoʊ(?) v. *huʌoʊ*.

J and J.

(See also under ž, ʒ).

ja, v. *jʌ*. Genitive and Gen. Oblique form of *jʌ* and the form used when it is the subject of the past tense of a transitive verb.

000 Genitive used as Poss. Adjective, my. — *ja diš bila* it is my place, the place belongs to me. 112.18.

jaʿdu, v. *jʌdu*, magic. Prs.

jaʿdugər sg. and pl, hm. magician. Prs.

jaɣun v. s.v. *jʌɣuʿima*.

jaʿhʌl impetuous, unruly, H. *tundru*. Ar. Prs.

jaʿhʌli wilfulness, unruliness. Bracketed with *hukəm akʌnʌs* not to take orders, to disobey. Ar. Prs.

1. *jaʿk* y pity, compassion, grief. — *jaʿk diʿmi, di bila* pity came (to me, him etc.) i.e. (I, he etc.) was, have been, moved to pity. — *auʿs jaʿk aʿr diʿn hʼerʌm* pity for my father coming over me, I wept. 70.16. (Cp. Sh. *jaʿk wʌloʿrki* to feel pity, Kho. *jaʿk*).
2. *jaʿk* dry, dried up, parched. — *buḷai.i jaʿk mʌniʿla* the land has become dried up.

jaʿl -iŋ y net. (Cp. Sh. Kho. *jʌl*, H. *jaʿl*).

jaʿlo -muts x raft (of inflated skins). (Cp. Sh. *jaʿlo, žaʿlo*; Kho. Psht. *jaʿla*).

601 *jaʿm* sg. and pl., EOL pl. *-ints*, hmf. relation, kinsman (of relations so far removed as to have no claim to inheritance of land etc.) — *ja jaʿm bai i* he is a relation of mine. *ja jaʿm bo* she is a relation of mine. *jaʿm baʿn* they are relations. *jaʿm jʌmaʿʌt* relations; N. family and relatives. *hin iʿmo jaʿmʌn* a relation of his own. 298.2. Cp. 302.16. *hirər ʌminʌn jaʿm jʌmaʿʌtʌnt iʿrum iʿner . . . ɣusul sčai.i* some relation of his washes the dead man. 310.6. *mʌthʌnum, ʌsiʿrum, hoʿlum jaʿm(ints)* distant, near, outside, relatives. EOL.

(The relation of this word to *jʌmaʿʌt*, if any, is not clear. The latter was [illegible] given as though it were equivalent to a plural of *jaʿm*).

212 a

000 *jaʷnaʷɔr, jaʷnɔʷɔr -rão*, x animal. — *hikum duʷalašo jaʷnauʷɔrik umanimiʷ* they became a party of flying animals i.e. birds. 206.11. Prs.

jaʷndaʷ sg. and pl. x living thing, animal. — *hokz gukʷrišo ju.an jaʷndaʷrik duʷašači bim* (some) animals like puppies used to come out. 214.4. *ai.inaq ʷnas han jaʷndaʷran bi* there is an animal called a marmot. 252.22. Prs.

jaʷŋ manaʷ to clear up (of the weather after rain). — *ts.horrdinz di.ʷrhium, nu jaʷŋ manimi* it was raining in the morning, now it has cleared up.

jaʷr, N. *jaʷr*, dative of *ja* q.v., to me, for me.

jaʷ![1] *•-ʌtʌs, jaʷ! •-ʌ., ʒaʷ! •-ʌ.* to pull (rope etc.), draw. — *ʒaʷ! etum* taut, strained tight (of a rope). *isz hɔr iʷlji.ɔr jaʷ! ne* pulling out the ox backwards (i.e. so as to straighten its neck horizontally). 338.1. (*ʒʌmʷ*) *lukan zi.aʷd bask jaʷ! etimi* he drew the bow a little more (than the others). 170.6. *gots ɔʷum askiltsum jaʷ! atiʒ gormeima* can you draw (i.e. remove) this shame from my face for me? 98.3. EOL gives N. *ʒaʷ!* as "tight", which may be a secondary meaning. *etum* being understood.

(Cp. Sh. *jaʷs, ʒaʷs thoʷrki*).

jaʷ! manaʷ, jaʷ!, jʌ! m. — *iʷlji jaʷ! manaʷ* to withdraw, retreat, from position to position. *iʷlji jaʷ!* in the course of some time, some time later. QUB. (The same word as the last).

jaʷu N., from *ja* + *•-uyʌs*, to give to me. — *jaʷu* give thou to me. *jau.in* give ye to me. *jaʷuʷbai* he gives to me. *jaʷumi* he gave to me.

The corresponding Hz. forms are: *jo, jomi* etc. V. § 255.

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[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, Category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

jabal -*iko* x crowbar, jumper. 000

jačorum, *jačarum*, *jičorum*, *čičorum* coarse, coarsely ground (of flour, powder etc.); roughly. — *jačorum dayoraŋ* coarse flour. *jačorum* (*jičorum*) *aqor* don't speak roughly.

(Cp. Sh. *čhičaro* coarse (of flour), rough).

jači, from *ja* + *-*čhi.as* to give to me, s. § 255, give thou to me. — (*yanŋ*) *kui jači* give me (the gold) here. 60.20, 62.4.

jačiv$_d$*i*-, sg. & pl. x, d.pl. -*ŋko*, -*inis*, thistle. (Perhaps also the colocynth plant).

(Cp. Sh. *čačiv*, Khe. *čančiv*).

jačo, N. *jačo*, N. pl. *jačoik* unripe (of fruit). — *jačo jarofi* unripe apricot; an immature person.

jaḍau dry (of weather), very clear (of sky). — *jaḍau bert nimi* it became very clear weather. *jaḍau manila* it became quite dry.

jadu, *jadu* magic. — *jadu stas* to work magic. *Paṇčus jadu netan, uv gabuor ʼoyasasor jadu ačaiis* P., practising magic, works magic on the princesses to make them laugh. 116.12. Cp. 150.12, 172.5,18, 200.16.

jafat, *čafat* slack, not tight (as of rope-bridge); relaxed, collapsed. — *čeis dumom jafat numurman aus mumanomo* having arrived there, collapsing, she became unconscious. 106.28.

jaguiá, (*ḱ*-), -*mets* x food brought (for seven days following a death) to the house where someone has died. 765

This is apparently what is called "*qurume čapik*" in. 314.8.

uṇs čapuiimots durim! may your funeral meats be cooked (an ill wish). QUB.

jayuṇu slime. 116.4. 000

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jayuima, *jayun*, from *ja* + *-ayunas* to give to me, v. § 255. — *hoi jayuima?* will you give me vegetables? 64.3. *gudi yerayisum pyuman jayun* (or, *ayun*) give me a little of this gold. 54.23.

jahavr N. *-ido* x ship. Ar. Prs.

jajam *-atas*, *jajam* —, *jajam* —.

1. V.t. to roast, H. *kabob karna*. — *cap jajam stas* to roast meat. *reumuto jajam no* roasting the kidneys. 66.6. Cp. 68.8, 74.5 (where *ne* seems to indicate the use of invariable *stas*).
2. With the Pn.pf. referring to the person affected, to burn ("of a wound when water gets into it") v.i. — *jajam ačila* it burns me, i.e. I feel a burning sensation v. § 261. II.
3. *jajam stas* to sizzle, fizzle (as of burning hair).

(*jajam* is said to be onomatopoeic, being based on the sound of a thing roasting).

1. *jak -iq* y pain (rheumatic?), rheumatism. — *jak* *-atas* (of pain) to affect one. *jak ačila, gočila, rečila* rheumatism is affecting me, you, him i.e. I am etc. suffering from rheumatism. *jakiq 'ačilsa* I am suffering from (rheumatic) pains (in several places). *očiqulo jaq(an) gi bila* a pain has come in my legs. EOL. (Cp. Sh. *jark* pain, rheumatism).
2. *jak* *-atas* to burn, scald v.i. — *yfuru jak ačči* the fire will burn me. *tirli jak mevtimi* the water scalded us. *čak manom čapik* scorched bread. *jak manev* to be frostbitten. *čayuteulo irrig jak manimi* his hand was frostbitten on the pass. *gyrulo jak manev* to be frostbitten in the snow.

OOo[3]. *jak* completely, bodily, QUB H. *brikul*. — *jak dal ne tiktsi delimi* picking him up bodily he flung him on the ground 14.1.

jakuši, *ʒakuši*, N. *jakari*, *-mots* x weighing-scales (large). (Cp. Sh. *čhakuši*, GB *čakave*.

jakər, properly *jaqər*, *-ṡło* x fork, (wooden) pitchfork; forked, dividing in two, dual (in non-technical sense). — *šapik tiyas jakər* a food-eating fork, table-fork. EOL. *gorəre jakər* pitchfork for turning cut-crops. *gurə eltalanas jakər* pitchfork for turning wheat. EOL. *jakarafi ile kirte ati* move it (crops) about with a pitchfork. *dilke jakər* a pitch fork for shifting manure. *tayə jakər* forked prop for supporting pergola. *jakər gan(ig)* forked road(s). *jakər ganolo* at the fork in the road. *jakər ču* double-blade, two-bladed (of leaf, grass, knife(?). *iski jakər* three-bladed. *jakər ipfati* cloven-hoof (of goat etc.). *jakər šər(ko)* forked branch(es).

Also with *aɹlto*.

aɹlto jakər šərk'o bim there were branches forming a fork. 214.8.

(The context seems to imply only one forked stem).

aɹlto jakər (toboq) (a) double-barrelled (gun). *aɹlto jakər bor aiati* don't say a different thing from what you first said, don't contradict yourself. *jakər gutalo dwalamiren* a pair of corpses went out(?). ("Said of a pair of dead bodies being carried out together").

It was said that this word could be used of a camera tripod.

(Cp. Sh. *čakər*, fork).

jakun, *jakuṇ* *ʒ-*, pl. *jakuṇyo* x donkey, ass. — *hir jakun*, *gus jakun* male

000 donkey, female donkey. *jakuns gorko* donkey foal. 118.4—120.10. *jakunens mamu ne* (or, *atum*) *bim* there was a donkey big with young. 118.3. *uŋ(or) axirats jakun amanjal* may I become your donkey (beast of burden?) in the next world. 54.25,26. *ins jakuns ik Qaŋ Jakun bilum* the donkey's name was Q. J. 202.4. *jakun ba?* are you an ass?. EOL. Cp. 102.7. 142.26. (Cp. Sh. *ɖakun, jakun*).

jali.as, jalić- to scatter. — *bo jali.as* to sow seed (corn). (Cp. Sh. *jalorki* to scatter, sprinkle, sow).

527 *jalsa* y assembly, gathering, festival. 388.9.

(Probably from the official annual gathering of the Chiefs and their principal followers, which takes place in March at the Headquarters of the Political Agency, in Gilgit, and which is known as the Jalsa). Ar.

000 1. *jam* completely; perfect. QUB H. *izikul.* — *jam jadugor bai.i* he is a real magician. IYB.

2. *jam* *-*atas* to beat (a tree, with a long stick to knock down fruit) to worry (a person). — *ɖu jam oti* beat down the apricots. *sis jam aiyoti* don't worry people.

3. *jam* *-*mamas* to feel shame, be affected by s.t. — *jam emaibai.i* he is unashamed, unaffected.

(This and the preceding are possibly the same, the radical meaning being "to shake". Cp. Sh. *jam jam thorki*, to shake a thing and turn it round).

601 *jamarat* sg. and pl. hmf.

1. Spouse, wife, husband.

a. Wife. In the vocative it takes the special form of address: *a. as jamarat* O wife! 34.9, 40.8.

214 b

In the oblique cases it may, or may not, take the feminine theme *-mu-*. 601

jamaʿate ka haʿlər ni go home with your wife. 42.11. *jamaʿatmur hokəm eti* give your wife instructions. 50.21. *urg nokom ja jamaʿatalər . . . ɣmag nukʿan ja jamaʿatmulər ni* you going to my wife . . . taking the gold go to my wife. 56.10.

b. Husband. In the vocative it takes the particle *le, lε*.

"*le ja jamaʿat, niεn*" *ssuumo* "O my husband", she said, "let us go". 36.1. *ja jamaʿate yas* my husband's sister. *akʿl ja jamaʿatan baiʿi* such a (fine) husband is mine. 122.9. Cp. 122.26, 68.7,12.14.

2. Family, people of the house, women-folk. — *jarm jamaʿat* relations (not living in the house). *ha jamaʿat* relations living in one house, the people of the house. 266.5. *haʿlər dirn jamaʿatər seʿiham* arriving home he used to say to the family (or, his wife?). 208.11. *thams jamaʿatər ke . . . hanikuts otsuεʿn* they send dishes of food also to the Tham's women-folk. 340.18.

(Cp. Sh. *jamaʿat*, wife, family, members of household).

jambolos IUB large intestine, H. *bari antari*. (Not known to QUB). 000

jambolos IUB very hairy, a person with a lot of hair on the body. H. *riʿada barlwala, ek saxi jis ke jism par riʿada bal hε*. QUB a hairy dog, a tree with a thick growth of twigs.

jama, jamak, v. *ɣame* bow.

215a

jamip.

000 *1. Foreign, outside, H. ग़ैर, *begana.* — *jamip ato* a outside person. *jamipe tobak yan* borrow an outside person's gun. *jamip(i)ac dukuyanas Pusno Γaiwig* you (are) a P. Γ. who wear yourself out for others.

2. Step- (of relationship). — *jamip ayu, jamip au* my step-father. *jamip mamac, jamip ami* my step-mother. *jamip ayu hen, daman ayum* they are my step-sons, not my own.

jamkat *-*manas* to be affected by, influenced by, restrained by, QUB H. *maylub, asar.* — *bexan dorostum kuli jamkat ermaishri.i* he is not restrained by anything (Cp. 2. *jam*).

janam'or *-*atas* to cause s.o. much trouble. — *janam'or 'ordimi* he gave me a lot of trouble. *janam'or atas* to make an effort, exert oneself.

821 *jand'ora* an animal which is said, when there is an eclipse, to have swallowed the sun or moon, as the case may be.

The people on such occasions make a noise by beating griddles etc. and the luminary escapes through a cut in the *jandora's* throat.

In its function the *jandora* seems to correspond to the Sh. *grō*, Kho. *grush, grush.*

(*jander'a* has been recorded in Sh. as a dialectal equivalent of *jan*, snake).

000 *janjal* disturbance, row, quarrel, H. *fsaad, jhagra.* (Cp. Kho. *jrajarl*). Pra.

janjalkaṛ quarrelsome, fighter.

janub y South. — *janub yakalafe* towards the South, southwards. Ar. Pra.

jaŋ -ičaŋ y war, fighting. — *padša ka jaŋ čam* I shall fight, do battle, with the King. 32.2. *jaŋ ṭaṭo sis* warlike people. Cp. 344,22,23. Prs.

jaŋgal -iŋ N. y forest, jungle; wild, uninhabited country. — *jaŋgals* from a wild, or natural tree (as opposed to a grafted one). *jaŋgal* is not so thick as *mošk*. N. Cp. 28.17, 128.3. Prs.

jaŋgali wild (i.e. not domesticated or cultivated). — *jaŋgali bolt, badam, ṭu* wild apple, almond, apricot. Prs.

jap with force, hard. — *yuw ne jap ṭrisas* to press down hard. H. *ḍabana*.

jap *-[illegible] to stay, remain, survive, H. *baćjana*. — *ji gow jap ćiyamaiyam* I will not stay with you. 210.8. *jap* *-*ṭas* to make stay, keep. *ine yuṭinte ḷap ćiyoṭai* he cannot keep his wives, cannot make them stay with him, i.e. he divorces them.

jaqor -ṭo x fork. This is the correct form of *jakor* under which examples are given.

jorajorag, jojajojag *ṭas* v.t. to stir (a liquid).

jorawaṭo neither dry nor wet (of wood).

jori.aw IYB grief, anxiety, H. *yam, fikar*. — *jori.aw čati* he is in anxiety, is worried. (Cp. Sh. *joraw, jojaw*, vexation, grief).

1. *jorjor* IUB spark of fire, H. *čingari*. — *jajor manas* to spark. QUB.

2. *jorjor*, QUB *jajor*, noise of roasting meat, or sputtering hot iron. — *jorjor mai.ibila*. (Cp. *jujur*).

jorkus anxious, worried, H. *fikrmand*. (Cp. *jori.aw*, and *jorkhawa*. For the suffix *-kus* cp. *gorkus*).

1. *jormaj* mixed. — *jormaj ṭas* v.t. to mix (two things, liquids etc.) *jormaj*

○○○ *manaʷ* v.i. to mix, mingle with, take part in (game etc.). *uʷ ka jərmaʃ numa gir'atimi* mingling with them he danced, he joined in and danced with them. 234.4.

2. *jərmaʃ* x forbidden food. — *jərmaʃ ʃiʷma? be ituma? tɔilate alto ta.hiʷr ɣaliʷ gumanuma* have you eaten prohibited food or what have you done that you have thus become ill again? *čamus jərmaʃ bila, oʃi* "chamus" is forbidden food, don't eat it.

1. *jərpa* pl. -ŋ, *jərpaŋ* y Lombardy poplar tree, H. *safedaʷ*.

2. *jərpa* pl. *jərpaŋ* y fine, H. *jurmaʷna, taʷcaʷn*. — *jərpa* *-*atas* to fine (s.o.). *je jərpa aʷtuman* they fined me. *je jərpa amaiyam* I shall be fined. *kan baskarate jərpa očaʷn* they fined them a wether. 324.6.

jaʃ, jaʃ, etas to jerk, pull away. 160.6. — *jaʃ jaʃ etas* to give one or two quick tugs, or jerks (said in regard to pulling a bow, shaking hands). (*ʃ̌ami*) *jaʃ jaʃ etimi* he gave the bow a couple of tugs. 170.21.

(A variant of *jaʷʃ*).

jaʃ pl. *jaʃuʷ*, and x *jaʃoʷŋo* old (of man or beast), aged H. *buḍha, 'omər rasiʷda*. — *kins hir jaʃ imanai.i* this man has become old, or is old. *jaʃ gus, gušiŋants* old woman, old women. *kaɣʷr jaʃ imani bi* the horse has become old. *jaʃuʷu baʷn* they are old. Cp. 28.9, 152.11, 230.6, 286.1,15, 280.15, 382.14.

jaʃab'ero IYB, *jaʃaberi* old-age.

jat'aq public meeting-place in the open where dancing is carried out. In Baltit 302.2, 328.18. At Galmit 336.11, 338.4.

jaʃbaʷiʃ old and young, also, old folk, old people, H. *buḍha-moḍha*.

216 b

jʌti, jɛti x. 000

1. Wooden dish or vessel covered with skin with the hair on it (the skin is sewn or tied on to the dish). Used for fetching flour in: "*jʌti ditsu.in*" *nosɛn dowtson ivi dʌsin dʌγowʌŋ modɛljai.i* saying "bring a *jʌti* (of flour)", and making them bring it, he himself sprinkles the girl with flour. 298.9, — *jʌti.ulo dʌγowʌŋ dusɛn* fetching flour in a "jʌti". 306.7. *dʌγowʌŋ jʌti'i* a "jʌti" of flour. 338.19. 415
2. A measure of grain etc. (about 3 lbs.). — *altʌmbi jɛti* (*8 jʌti*) = *1 γerbʌl* = 24 lbs. 804

   The single *jʌti* is equivalent to the *hiĉuṭi*, and the Sh. *hai.i*.

   sʌbur jɛti four "jʌti" (*sʌbur* being Wakhi for 4). 342.18.

jʌtpʌt. V. 240.3 and footnote. This form is denied by QUB. Substitute for it *joṭpʌṭ*. 000

jʌṭor, jʌṭur.

1. Quince (x fruit, y tree). B . .i.
2. Knot in shape of a quince at end of thong etc.

   (Cp. Sh. *ĉʌṭor*, quince).

jʌwʌn, v. *jowʌn*, youth. Prs.

jai.i nimʌz prayer-mat, praying-carpet. Prs.

jau ɛtʌs.

1. To hold a thing in the fire and burn it.
2. To weld two bits of iron together.
3. To join falsehood to truth.

   (In this combination of meanings there is perhaps a rough analogy with the various uses of the English "forge".

   The word was given by IYB with reference to the phrase:

ivkɛ bivškɛ ivtɛ pfuʊr gimi he threw the hair in the fire. 26.14. Uses 1 and 3 were not known to QUB). OOO

jauji, -mʊtɛ x and *-miŋ* y horse's bit. (Cp. Wakhi *jaoji*).

jauwa -mʊtɛ x big sinew of neck or heel.

jauwa bər'ɛs, pl. — *bər'ɛšə* x the tendo Achillis).

(Cp. *jauwa*, and *bʌr'ɛs* which can probably mean "sinew" as well as "artery", "vein". Cp. the use in H. of *rʌg* in both senses).

je.i, jeje.i I myself, I (emphatic), v. § 142. Cp. 82.24.

je.ib N. other (person). — *hər čizʌn je.ibɛ šu.a, aulavd gu.imo šu.a* everything belonging to others is better (than your own), only (your own) child is better (than others').

(*je.ib* seems to be a variant of, or substitute for *jʌmiʊp*).

je.imo, je.imo my own, v. § 143.2. — *je.imo tɛʊgušər ni.ʌm* I went to my (own) palace. 20.8. Cp. 94.4, 116.20.

jeʊl y pl. originally recorded as meaning: "uncultivated ground used as grazing-land".

For this QUB, however, substituted: "grass left in the ground or scattered about when grass is being cut".

(Cp. Sh. *jel*, jungle of trees or thorn bushes).

jeʊlxaʊna y prison, jail. Eng. + Prs.

jɛ. Gen. Obl. and Genitive: *ja*, I. V. § 118.

jɛčərum v. *jʌčərum*.

jɛʊk, jeʊk, ǯɛʊk extended, stretched out, prostrate, lying down. — *jɛʊk *-ʌtʌs* v.t. to extend, stretch out, lay out. *jɛʊk noʊtʌn tikʌtɛ fʌt očʌm* stretching out, straightening out (the dead bodies) they lay them on the ground.

000 310.2. Cp. 310,3,7, 312,1,2. Prov. 4. *jek manas* v.i. to extend oneself, lie down. *jek mane* lie down! *duŋ jek maiyam* I shall lie down for a little. (Cp. Sh. *jek*, *ṭek*).

jet v. *jati*.

ji mičiŋ, *-miŋ* y.

1. Life, soul, self, H. *jan*. — (*ja*) *jiv ṭuguło* (my) soul's friend, i.e. bosom friend. 50.11 ff. *jiṭ badal* life's price, i.e. blood-price. *hir ya gusan u.ivruman ke, ji di.usamər* . . . when a man or woman die(s), when he (she) has expelled the soul, i.e. has given up the ghost . . . 310.1. *ji ačim daman* the Lord who has given me life. *jiv ičim oyom* all life-given things i.e. all living things. *jivi pfamul* life's fruit, i.e. delicious [illegible]. *jivmiŋ bitsum* things with life, living things, (*bitsum* is here probably participial). *jivtsum avči* (the elephant) will despatch me from life, i.e. will kill me. 76.25. *ṭrqame ji balimi* new life has come into the vegetation. *jiyər juryas* to come to the end of one's resources, to be in straits, sick of life, H. *jan ama, taŋ hona, jansc bizar hona*. IUB. *mai.imu ji xalas stin* save your lives, save yourselves. 30.23. *mu.imo jiryər yavran ditsu bo* she has brought a lover for herself. 86.5. Cp. 358.7.

2. Beloved, darling, hmf. — *ja ji* (*bai.i, bo*) (he is, she is) my beloved. *in ja ji di bam* that beloved (m.) of mine had come. 364.7. *ja jimo* . . . *ɣoyaŋ* my beloved's (f.) hair. 364.9.

000 The word seems to occur in *ji je.i*, v. § 142.

je ji je.i bayam ... I myself was ...

ja ji je.i gote duwo etam I did this myself.

Also in N. *ja jiʷkər* (*ji* + *-khor*): *ja jiʷkər delam* I hit myself.

ja jiʷkəre gane dumərča ba I want it for myself. (Cp. Sh. *jil* soul, life).

jig'a v. *ṭiga*.

jije.i v. *ji* 2.

jik'an, *ṭrkan*, pl. *jik'aiyo* x thin leather thong. — *ta.očine ṭrkan* thong for tying foot-bandages. *gap jik'anane gultali.e baiyam* I had swaddled you with a hide thong. 158.5.

(Cp. Kho. *ṭrkan*, *ṭskan*).

jiʷkər N., v. *ji* 2.

jil.

1. Rising (of sun etc.), sunrise. — *sa jil manimi* the sun rose, or came out (after rain). *jil praʷq manimi* (later than *jil manimi*). *sa jil manaʷs kin* sunrise (time). *lačaʷr jil numan* the morning star rising, 362.1.
2. Forenoon (when the sun rising over the mountains strikes the ground). — *tsowdimo jiʷlər* from early morning till the forenoon. Prov. 11.
3. The East. — *jil* (*manaʷse yakal*) (towards) the East. *jil manaʷstsom* from the East. 92.4.

Cp. Sh. *jiʷl*, *ẓiʷl*).

jilau y sg. and pl. reins. — *hayore jilautse dumomo* she seized the horse's reins. 122.23. Prs.

j'imale tomorrow. — *jimale tsowdine ja apačər ju* come to me tomorrow morning early. Cp. 4.10,13, 10.12, 38.19, 142,26, 170.11,13.

000

j'imden.

1. Nz., N., tomorrow.
2. Hz. any time in the future, future state, life to come, H. *qai.ʌmʌt, 'uqba.* QUB.

jɪn, jin, pl. *-oŋo*, EOl. *-ʌnɪs*, jinn. 384.6. Also applied as epithet to a glutton. Ar. Prs.

jiᵛndo, jindu living, alive. — *jiᵛndo juw'ʌn* as though alive, looking as if alive. 150.11. Cp. 152.5, 154.12, 234.9, 368.15. (Cp. *ji* and *jiᵛno*).

jiᵛno N., hf. *jiᵛni*, pl. *-mʌts* living alive. (Cp. Sh. *joᵛno* and *jiᵛno*. The feminine form *jiᵛni* must be borrowed from Sh.).

jiŋɛ, v. *čiŋɛ*, sleeve.

jiŋjaᵛŋ with long steps. — *jiŋjaᵛŋ oᵛmʌn* don't go striding along.

jiǰjʌš *-*ʌtʌs* to twitch, pull, pluck s.o. by the clothes. 160.2. (Cp. *jʌš*).

jo, joᵛu impv. 2nd. sg. of *joᵛyʌs* ← *ja* + *-*uyʌs*, v. § 255. Give to me (an h or x object). 60.16, 90.22, 92.15, 104,11, 112.6, 372.4.

joᵛča 2nd. sg. pres. of *joᵛyʌs*. 62.14.

joᵛčo 3rd. sg. hf fut. of *joᵛyʌs*. 50.22.

joᵛčuma 2nd. sg. fut. of *joᵛyʌs*. 106.3, 118.22.

joγajʌγaᵛto slimy. — *iᵛsɛ jʌkunɛ goᵛko joγajʌγaᵛto ekʌti.aᵛrɛ nidilin* putting the donkey-foal slimy (as it was) under his arm. 118.4. (Cp. *jʌγaᵛto*).

jojoṭ *-*mʌnʌs* to look at and desire, to look at enviously. — *hin gʌṭu.ʌn etimi kɛ hin jojoṭ imai.ibai.i* if one makes himself a garment another looks at it enviously. *jojoṭ oᵛtʌs* to make people envious by displaying something one possesses.

jöl, jul y pus. — *jöl bila, mʌnila, duᵛčila* there is pus, pus has formed, is coming out.

jomi 3rd. sg. pret. of *joyas*. — *baskarstan jomi* he gave me a wether. 62.18. 000

jomiŋ, *jajomiŋ* (*stas*) cp. *žomiŋ*., (to offer) every kind of abuse. — *atsi jomiŋ sčasi* he abuses me.

jomŋ pl. of *ju* apricot tree.

jomŋ manas to crouch, squat. — *jomŋ noma hurutimi* he sat squatting. 110.1.

jöt, v. *jut*, small.

jotis pl. *jotišo jotimuts* h small child.

joto pl. *jotumuts* h and x small child, young (of animal). — *jotimutse* (or, *jotumutse*) *ka holpa tamača stasor nimi* he went out to play with the children. 264.8—11. Cp. 304.15, 386.7. *kərqamutse jotumuts* (QUB *jotišo*) *altа dumərča ba* I want two chickens.

(According to QUB the *-muts* pl. forms are only used of children. He also says that *joto* is a vocative form: *le joto*, hallo child! Cp. *jut*.

Is the Sh. *joto*, chicken, only a coincidence?).

jotpat h pl.

1. Small children, youngsters. 326.15.
2. Young and old.

Substitute this form for *jatpat* in 240.3.

jotu N. *-muts* x chicken. (Cp. Sh. *joto*).

joyas ← *ja* + **-uyas*, v. § 255. To give to me (an h or x object). — *ye joyas ba ke ti besan ayau, uŋ je ats'u* if you are going to give me anything, don't give me anything else (but just) marry me. 118.24.

V. *jo*, *jorča*, *jorčo*, *jorčuma*, *jormi*.

1. *ju* x sg. & pl. apricot (fruit). — *juen* an apricot). *tsorr diγunum ju* early-ripened apricots.
2. *ju* pl. *jomŋ* y apricot tree. —
berumAn ju.e tom bitsAn? } how many
berumAn jomŋ bitsAn } apricot

219 b

000 trees are there? *Hunzolo joŋ doxərčumɛ* when the apricot trees are coming into blossom in Hunza. 320.1. *gaško . . . thaviko joŋɛ šərkovtsɛ tak notʌn* tying ropes to the branches of tall apricot trees. 316.12.

(According to QUB the *j-* of the pl. is not cerebral).

576 3. *ju*, *juvna* y.

a. An expression of respect to a superior, greeting, salutation, obeisance, H. *salam*. — N. *awa ju* yes, Sir! *ju gor maniš!* "thanks to you", sometimes used sarcastically: "thanks for nothing". 112.2. *ju etʌs* to pay one's respects to, thank respectfully. *thamɛ ju ečər ničʌm* I shall go to pay my respects to the Tham. *thamər ju netʌn* saluting the Tham. 302.8. *guvimo jamʌlɛ ju eti* say "salam" to your family. EOL. *gulɛ ju menər etoma?* whom did you salute? EOL.

b. An extended form *juvna* is also in use:

juvna nʌnatsəro! hail, mother's brothers! 248.11.

I have also the following notes:

juvna — "a greeting to which the response was formerly the same: *juvna*. Now under orders from (the Agha Khan) Bombay the response is: *salam alei.kum*; in which matter even the women comply".

juvna nʌzər — "said by women, and sometimes also by men, as when a small gift is received".

(Both forms were still in 1935 in general use especially by women. *Ju* has also been recorded in Sh.).

000 4. *ju*, *ʒu*, pl. *-ʌnts*, *juwʌnts*, x warp-yarn. — *gʌtu diyʌn juwʌnts du.ʌši-miʒ.ɛt*, the cloth becoming old the

warp-threads came out (i.e. became visible).

5. *juv -miŋ* y sheep's entrails with the dung in them. — *juvɛ nas juvčila* there comes a smell of sheep's entrails.

juva -miŋ y recommendation, I. *axfavrtɛ*. — *thʌm ɛpʌči* (or, *thʌmʌlɛ*) *javr juva ɛti* recommend me to the Tham.

ju.ʌn, juw'ʌn, pl. *juwai.rko, ju.ʌnjuvko* like, resembling, similar to; as if.

The object with which comparison is made is usually in the Nominative, but once or twice the General Oblique has been recorded, v. § 116.

a. With the Nominative:

dʌn juwʌn mʌnitsʌn they have become like stone. 132.4. *pfuł lʌγʌn ju.ʌn* like a dumb Div. 160.20. *uŋ ju.ʌn(ʌn)* like thee. 82.1.

b. With the general oblique:

mimo . . . ta.očiŋ Pʌnčuvɛ juwʌn tsilvlo iljʌn let us like P. soak our foot wrappers in the water. 130.24. *bivškɛ . . γeniše ju.ʌn lʌm mai.i bitsum* the hair was glittering like gold. 134.8. *mʌza bʌnda čʌpɛ ju.ʌn mʌza bila* the taste is a taste like human flesh. 68.3.

(But perhaps the second *mʌza* is misplaced and should follow *čʌpɛ*).

c. *ju.ʌn* is frequently followed by *nɛ* Ppa. of *ɛtʌs*. — *ja belʌte yetsa baiyʌm kɛ ivtɛ ju.ʌn nɛ avr čʌγa ečai.i* just as I had seen (the dream), making it like that, he is telling me the story, i.e. he is telling me the story (of my dream) just as I saw it. 84.15.

d. *ju.ʌn*, or, *ju.ʌn nɛ* may take an adjective or a static pc as the object of comparision. — *jivndo juw'ʌnɛ* (i.e. *juwʌn nɛ?*) *hʌγɔrɛ gʌpʌte ɛnuljʌmi* he mounted him as if (he were) alive on the horse's hide. 150.11. *apim*

000

juwan etai.i he has made it as if not being, i.e. as if it were not. 84.1. *i·kər eyenum* (*i·rum*) *ju.an etimi* he made himself as if asleep (dead), i.e. he feigned to be asleep (dead).

e. *ju.an* may take the suffix *-an*: *ju'anan, juw'anan, juwa·nan.* — *i·se juwa·nan biya be?* is it like that or not? *guse juwanan etas manis* one like this is to be made. *i·n juwanan du.ina·tolo apai.i* there is no one like him in the world. 30.16. Cp. 82.1,18. *guse ke guse juwanan bi* this (animal) is one like this one, i.e. this and this are alike. *gute tsil i·te tsil ju.anan bila* this water is (one) like that water.

Additional references:

a. 160.7, 168.13, 224.3. 230.4.

c. d. 80.20, 140.6.

e. 82.12, 164.11,25

j'učor -ig y chip of wood (larger than *čimirli*). (Cp. Sh. *čučar*).

*jujur, jujur, *-atas* to make s.o. like roast-meat (said by wife beaten by her husband). — *jujur ačai.i* he beats me into roast-meat, i.e. he oppresses, bullies, me. (Cp. 2. *jərjər*).

juk, N. pl. *-a·ints*, x kidney. (Cp. Sh. *juk*, Kho. *bruk*).

juk manas to come into contact, touch, reach; to be obtained. H. *malna, ekatta horna.* — *juk etas* to make reach, deliver. (Cp. Sh. *juk thorki* to touch, rub against, etc.).

jukanę y large spindle used in twisting two strands of yarn together to make warp-yarn. (*ju* + *ganę*).

jukan, pl. *jukai.o, jukanuts, jukanuts, jukanuts* x water-closet, latrine, privy, H. *pa·rana, fatti·rana.* 188.5,6. (Cp. Sh. & Kho. *čukan*, latrine).

-juko, *-ju·ko* plural ending, v. § 29.7. 000

jukuˑni -miŋ y an inferior bit of strap. — *oʂçume jukuˑni* the narrow waist-belt of a poor man.

jul N., v. *jöl*, pus.

julaˑb x a purgative, aperient. — *julaˑb ʂiˑa ba* I have taken a purgative. y purging. — *julaˑb mʌniˑla* purging has taken place.

jüli N. *-miŋ* y soup. (Cp. Sh. *juˑli*, *ʐuˑli*).

juluˑʂ y soup poured over broken-up bread. — *gutʂ juluˑʂ ʂe* eat this soup.

jum y precipitous, almost impassable (ground), H. *pʌhaˑri*. — *jum bila* it is a very difficult track.

jun IUB intelligent, H. *hušyarˑ sʌmʌjh-waˑla*. (Not known to QUB).

juˑna v. 3. *ju* 2.

juˑnojʌnˈʌs ill, filthy, impure. H. *naˑpaˑk*, *hʌraˑm*.

juraˑb, *juraˑp*, *juraˑp*, pl. *-ičiŋ*, N. *-ičʌŋ*, y socks. Ar. Prs.

jurk wind from falling avalanche. — *jurk diˑmi* an avalanche-wind came.

Such winds, coming out of the Ulter Nullah, frequently strike Baltit suddenly and without warning. Their force must be felt to be believed.

Such a blast is said to have carried a cat from Baltit across the main valley to Sumaiyar: a distance of a mile or two. The subsequent condition of the cat is not recorded.

jurkhuˑso IYB in great grief, very sad, despondent; QUB, stingy, avaricious, H. *bʌxiˑl*.

(Cp. Sh. *juraˑr*, vexation, sadness).

juroˑʈi sg. v. pl., N. pl. *-mots* x unripe apricot fruit.

(Cp. Sh. *juroˑti* apricot fruit).

juruˑno, N. IYB, pl. *juruˑnimots* x man's curl of hair N.; little curls of hair

000 made by women above the ears. IYB, (Cp. Sh. *juruni* hair cut in fringe over the forehead). C

1. *jot, jõ:*, pl. hx *-išo*, y *-iŋ* small (in size, age, social rank etc.) little, younger. — *lukʌn joṭ eti* make it a little smaller. *joṭ hilɛ* baby boy. *joṭišo čhiṭko* small hills. *yutiŋ, juʿtiŋ bitsa* his feet are small. 154.18, 156.19, 156.1. *jot baiyʌm* I was small, little. 156.20. *ifʌtiyɔr bɔrenin jotʌn bi* look at his forehead, it is small. 154.21. Cp. 158.16. *hin jot giyasʌn* a small infant. 100.2. *umɔrɛ jot; dɛniŋɛ jot* small in age, young. *zaʿtɛ jot* of low birth. *in jot sis bai.i* he is a person of low standing. 94.14. *uyoʿntsum jot* the youngest. *uʿɛtsum jot iʿnɛ* the younger one of them. 366.2, 372.2.
[601] *jot mɛʿço, jot mi.ʌs* our younger brother, sister, (man speaking). *aʿu.ɛ jot ɛço* my father's younger brother, i.e. my junior paternal uncle. N. pl. *jotorko* (?) probably for *jotu.ɹko*. Cp. 76.24, 90.25, 104.25, 106.8, 260.10, 366.5, 370.2.
2. *jot, juʿt* green grass. — *juʿt ʒiqʌm* grass-green, green. *bʌsi.ɛ jut* garden lawn. (Cp. Sh. *juʿt* growing grass, meadow, lawn).

joṭkuš y infancy, childhood. — *iʿmi jotkušɛ iʿri bim* its (the lamb's) mother had died during its infancy. 380.17.

juwaʿb, jʌwaʿb -ičiŋ y answer. — *jaʿr juwaʿb eti* answer me. *jaʿr juwaʿb ʌčiʿš gome.iba?* can you give me answer? *jimʌlɛ jɛ uŋɔr jʌwaʿb gučičʌm* I shall give you an answer tomorrow. *juwaʿb atiʿmi* no answer came. 24.8. Cp. 312.15. *uʿɛ jʌwaʿb dusumʌn* they brought answer. 24.8. Cp. 232.1. Ar. Prs.

OOO *jʊwaihir -aˑt* y jewel, jewelry. Ar. Prs.

juwaˑn, jʌwaˑn, pl. *juwaˑyo* h. young (of man, horse etc.). — *juwaˑn (hir)* young man, youth. *hin but dʌltʌs jʊwaˑnʌn* a very handsome youth. 22.15,17. Cp. 120.3, 2 .5, 336.6, 362.11. Prs.

juwaˑni (y) youth, the time of youth. — *juwaˑni.ulo* in youth. Cp. 362.1. *juwaˑni etʌs* IUB to cultivate a friendship with any woman, H. *kɪsi 'aurʌt ke saˑth doˑsti kʌrna*. Prs.

juwʌnʌn, juwaˑnʌn, v. *ju.ʌn (e)*.

juˑwər fighting, quarrelling, H. *lʌɽaˑi, jʌŋ*. — *juˑwər aiyeˑti* don't fight (with me).

juˑyʌs, juˑç-, neg. *açuˑç-*; past base *d*-, d*-ʌ-*, neg. *at*-*.

For forms see below and the paradigm in § 287.

The *-ç-* of the present base I now believe to be *-ç̇-*. It is affected by the *j*.

1. To come, with such natural special developments as: come along, come up, approach, arrive.

The point of departure takes the Ablative suffix *-tsʊm*. The destination takes the dative suffix *-ər*, either alone or in the combinations, *-ʌlər -tsər*.

With persons the postposition **-ʌpʌçər* is ordinarily used.

The verb is, however, often used absolutely.

ɢuˑ Hinditsʊm di bʌm your father had come from Hindi. 264.15. *hʌɣʊrɛ tərkʌŋər dumoˑmo* she came to the horses' stable. 108.21. *iˑmo haˑlər diˑmi kɛ* when he came to his house. 170.7. *iˑn ja apʌçər juçi* he will come to me. 144.21 ff.

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Where the purpose of coming is stated it is expressed by the present base, or the infinitive, of the appropriate verb with the suffix *-ər*:

girʌšər jučai.i he comes (in order) to dance, 306.18. Cp. 30.3, 294.21.

uṇ gosqʌnʌsər diva he has come to kill you. 26.8,11. Cp. 26.17, 40.16.

2. To come back, return.

The sense is often made explicit by the addition of *pfər numa*, or *ilji*, but these are frequently dispensed with:

tevlər nani daiyʌm going there I returned, i.e. I went there and came back. 42.18.

Cp. inter alia: 10.13, 16.1, 22.3, 126.23, 202.2, 312.18, 370.10. The usage is extremely common.

3. *juṇyʌs* is sometimes used where the English would prefer the verb "to go". It is of course merely a question of the topographical standpoint taken up by the speaker in his mind.

hirs have yʌkʌlʌṭər sailər dimi he came (i.e. he went) for a walk in the direction of the man's house. 24.2. Cp. 16.2, 56.26, 336.7.

4. It is used in a number of idioms expressing the idea that a person suffers or experiences some sensation, condition, illness etc.

The same ideas may often be conveyed by the verb *dosuṇyʌs*. The one presents a passive, the other an active, attitude on the part of the person concerned. V. § 266.6 & 4.

In some cases the person is put

in the Genitive, and in others in the Dative. While in others the person is omitted. OOO

ɣfuʂt but ímoʂ dívəi "of the Div much his anger came", i.e. the Div became very angry. 18.8. *auʂ jaʂk aʂ div̀n kərʌm* "pity of my father coming to me, I wept" i.e. being overcome by pity on account of my father, I wept. 70.16. Cp. s.vv. *dʌm, dʌg, dʌk, gaʂ, ɣuʂku, jaʂk, *-moʂ, rahm.*

b. *juɣʌs* in used in many idioms of which it is difficult to suggest any classification, but of which the meaning is clear enough.

bəʂki ívər ʂtívni no sound (voice) came, i.e. was heard 6.5. Cp. 38.3, 42.20, 266.2. *aʂdʌmʌʂʂdə nʌsen juʂčila* the smell of human being comes, i.e. (I) smell a smell of human being. 14.4. *ívt bušai.vlo but dʌg čʌm dívni* a very severe famine came on (in) the land. 366.8. Cp. 342.1. 372.9. *kinʂ . . . hívʂ kaʂ mʌnaʂər gʌlt dívni* this man's turn came for patrolling. 38.2. Cp. 198.2, 280.9, 282.7. *huʂər div̀n* coming to his senses. 26.9, 30.20, 373.3. *ʂaiɣʌsər oʂ muškrl juʂčila* difficulty comes to them for putting them on, i.e. they find difficulty in . . . 132.4. *ʂalgoʂt ívgi dívmər jučʌm* I shall come back when the grindstone's beard has come, i.e. when the grindstone grows a beard. 142.26. *gutʂ duʂo jaʂtsum ačuʂči* this act does not come from me i.e. I can't or won't do it. 146.2.

Cp. with different sense:

jaʂtsum niʂki juʂʌs bili good is

000 going to come from me i.e. I am going to be a source of good. 90.12. *aiyemai.i bai.i, inev ki açučila jav ki açučila* he cannot (read it), it doesn't come to him and it doesn't come to me i.e. neither he nor I can understand it. 48.9. Cp. 74.19. *ja hərAš jučila* I want to urinate. 176.28. Cp. 54.2. *ołtalik(ə hisəb) habər divmi* both reckonings (the reckonings of both) came out level. 52.12,23. *den gerevum divmi ki* if the year turns out hot. 326.2. *jav bisan bargo jučila* the share that falls to me. 366.3. Cp. 372.3. *buł Abaš ev divmi* much trouble came on him; he got into straits. 366.9. Cp. 22.7,9, 26.16. *ite diš uvor xuš divmi* the place pleased them. 294.9. *čape maza divnin* the taste of the meat coming (to him . . .), i.e. perceiving the taste of the meat . . . 380.16.

The following are some references to the rarer forms or those less frequently recorded in the texts:

Fut. sg. 2nd. *jučuma*. 52.18, 74.8,20, 106,15.
3rd. m. *juči* passim. *jučimi*. 74.26.
3rd. f. *juče*. 204.8.
y. *jučila*. 14.4.
pl. 1st. *jučan* 256.7.
3rd. *jučuman*. 6.2, 188.3.

Pres. sg. 1st. *juča ba*. 76.6,9.
2nd. *juča*. 78.11,14, 94.18.
3rd. m. *jučai.i*. 306.19, 34 22.
x *juči bi*. 372.3.

Impf. sg. 1st. *juča baiyam*. 18.17.
3rd. m. *jučam*. 6.5, 208.11. 234.2.
y. *jučilom*. 42.20, 266.2.

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Pret. sg. 1st. *daiyam*. 8.12, 32.15. 42.18, 144.15.
2nd. *dokoma*. 6.9.
3rd. m. x *diva*, *div*. 24.22, 36.8, 90.6,7, 154.22, 160.18,20, 170.1, 28 10, etc.
f. *dumomo*. 166.17, 108.21, 268.5.
dumoyo. 166.15.
pl. 3rd. h *duyan*. 36.6, 246.16.
duiyen, *duyan*. 148.4,6.
x *dumi s*. 12.17, 16.14.

Perf. sg. 1st. *daiya ba*. 40.16, 264.13, 282.7,8.
2nd. *dokowa*. 38.16, 40.9. 58.19, 60.14, 282.5.
3rd. m. *di bai.i*. 4.2, 30.4, 292.3, 374.1
di baṭe (= *di bai.i* + *aṭe*). 58.8.
f. *dumobo*. 120.12. 138.1, 180.6, 282.20.
x *di bi*. 230.7.
y *di bila*. 10.12.
pl. 2nd. *dama bam*. 20.15.
3rd. *dumam*. 132.11.

Plup. sg. 3rd. m. *di bam*. 136.9, 264.15, 204.1, 292.2, 364.7, 272.10, 274.4,8. 344.20.
y. *di bilum*. 198,2, 282.7.
pl. 3rd. h *dumam*. 28.20.
x *du bim*.

Impv. pl. *juvin*. 18.18, 82.3, 110.24.
juvina. 90.6.

-ṭ forms. *juṭ*. 4.3, 10.13, 28.1, 56.13.15, 110.7, 138.1,2.

Pres. Pc. *juṭome*. 230.7.

Past Pc. A. sg. 1st *dam*. 8.12, 42.18.
2nd. *dokom*. 380.5.

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000

Past Pc. A. 3rd. m. x y *dim* passim, *dimin*. 42.22, 108.4, 144.5, 240.13.
f. *dumom*. 108.21, 120.15.
dumomin. 138.2.
pl. 3rd. *dum*. 130.1, 200.12, 272.13, 284.2, 294.13 etc.
dumin. 44.1, 206.13, 266.20.
Static Pc. sg. 1st. *daiyam* (*ba*). 124.21.
3rd. m. x y *dim*. 114.26, 134.3, 142.26, 294,5,6. 320.1.
f. *dumom*. 14.1, 30.20.
pl. 3rd. h. *dum*. 232.5, 240.7, 312.18.
Pres. Base + *ar*. *jurčar*. 76.9.
Infinitive, Gerundive, Noun Agent, *jurjas*, *juras*. 96.16, 98.5. 122.4, 156.2, 210.5, 336.7, 340.20.

Negative Forms:
Pres. Base. *açurč-*, *açu.ç-*, *açurč-*. 30.17, 56.15, 74.18,20, 76.16, 78.7,8, 90.13, 146.1,3, 152.3, 172.14.
Past Base. *at-*, *ar-*. 6.5, 24.8. 76.7,8,26, 78.8, 230.9, 246.12, 282.22.

K and KH.

(See also under q and x).

In this section *kh* is distinguished from *k* wherever I have external authority for its existence. I was unable myself to distinguish it with any certainty.

For the relationship between *kh-*, *x-*, and *q-* v. Gram. p. XXX, Additional Note.

1. *ka*, *-aka*, (*-ka*).

I. *Postposition*, with, H. *sarth*.

It is preceded by the Genitive or General Oblique form of the

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noun. It may be used with the prefixal forms of the pronouns, yielding: *a·ka*, *go·ka*, *e·ka*, *o·ka* etc. postulating the form *·*-ʌka*; but also *mika* as from *·*-ka*.

For a detailed analysis of its uses v. § 85.

a. Sociative: with, along with, in company with.

b. Denoting accompanying circumstances: with.

c. Instrumental: with, by means of, N. by the instrumentality of.

Of the last use EOL recorded the following examples. The idiom is hardly credible and it is denied for Hz.

Thʌmɩ ine ostade ka hʌn etimi the Mir made the builder build a house. *Thʌmɩ ja ka hʌn atimi* the Mir made me build a house and so on: *umɩ ka gotimi*, *mi·ka metimi*, *ma·ka matimi*, *uɩ ka otimi*.

Sahe ʌltʌne ka kaškičʌŋ jʌš etimi The Sahib made the groom tighten (pull) the girths.

Note that both in Hz. and N. *ka* may be used with the ordinary pronouns: *ja ka*, *umɩ ka*, *ine ka*, etc.

uɩ ka jormʌš noma girʌtimi da o·ka horutimi mingling with them he danced and then he sat down with them. 234.4.

d. Reënforcing or replacing *ke* and

e. Miscellaneous uses.

f. With the Static Participle.

g. With the Infinitive.

II. *Adverb* in association with *ke*: and also, at the same time, in company, together. H. *hʌmra·h*. V § 423.

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000 Cp. also 28.11,18, 150,8, 298.9, 299.8, 306.16.

2. *ko*, *ko* v. *ko*.

kko, v. 1. 2. *ko*.

kafir unbeliever, infidel (from point of view of Muslim). Used of the Chinese and also of the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush. Ar. Pers.

kafur ·ق y camphor. Ar. Pers.

kagaz ·ق y paper, letter. Ar. Pers.

601 *kaka*, *gaka* elder brother (only used of each other by members of Rajas' families). N. *kak'a*, "Rajas' and Saiyids' sons call each other *kak'a* or *aja*".

kaki, *gaki*.

1. Elder sister (term only used in Rajas' families and by the people of Ganish and Altit). N. *kaki*, "Rajas and Saiyids call their sisters *kaki*".

2. Form of address for elder sister.

kako.

1. Stepfather ("the proper word, but *aya*, is also used". QUB questioned this meaning and substituted *nana*).

2. Elder brother (a form of address). 312.14. (Cp. Sh. *kako*, elder brother; *kaki*, elder sister).

kalto the 5th day in the future.

000 *khaw* IUB, *xaw* QUB Kashgari cotton cloth. H. *khadar*, *desi kapra*. (Cp. Sh. *khaw*; Psht. *xawdi*, coarse cotton cloth).

khap, QUB *xap*, *ماپ* to fade (of falling leaves, flowers). (Cp. Sh. *kap*, withered, dried up, and perhaps also Sh. *kap* tinder, consisting of some dried vegetable material. Cp. Ba. *ghap*).

kapo, v. *kapa*, cuckoo.

000

kew manow to walk up and down as sentry, patrol, stroll, IUB. II. *ṭahlna, phirna, kasarvi karna.* — *kik sraṭan kew manam* he had patrolled (as a sentry) for an hour. 38.2 (bis). Cp. 42.18. (Cp. Sh. *kawa!dorki*).

kewṭ'we -iq, and *kewṭwdig*, *y* cartridge. Fr. H.

1. *kerṭ* with. — *wq ke mism sarkrbo smirl.ai kerṭ manim.an* i.e. (I hope) that you and the Mem Sahib are thriving. (Cp. Werch. *kerṭ*). (Biddulph. *kiṭ*).

2. *kerṭ -iq y* condition, stipulation, injunction, undertaking, agreement, treaty, promise. — *ama kan kerṭanafe gudiṭam* but I will give it to you (only) on a condition. 104.9. *kerṭelu dim.anai.i* he has been born within the (i.e. subject to) the agreement. 106.13. *kerṭ kerṭ ṭtimi* he laid injunctions on them. 244.8. Cp. 212.6. *kerṭ sṭas* to make an agreement, treaty. 176.13. Cp. 388.10. (Cp. Sh. *kerṭ* promise, wager etc.).

ke variant of 2. *ke*.

1 *kaberb* *-*sṭas* v.t. to roast (meat). — *emonis . . . kaberb ṭtimi* he roasted the kidneys. 68.12. Ar. Prs.

kaberi -mate x coat. Prs.

kaber v. *xaber*.

kaberl -ido x holster. H.

kaṭahon y ambush; plot, conspiracy, rebellion, H. *kamin, sazzi, kayawal.* — *asqanasser kaṭahon ṭtemam* they plotted to assassinate me.

kkaṭi -mate x bucket, pail. — *ṭumawi, kerna, rido kkaṭi* an iron, wooden, copper, bucket.

*-*kkaṭi.an*, *-*kkaṭiṭ-* to shut up, enclose (animals). — *kerw ṭkkaṭi.as ṭṭe tyker* in the byre for shutting up the cow(s) in. 106.22. (Cp. Sh. *kaṭoriki*).

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[see corrigenda at addenda, category 116, p. 573 Analyst]

000

kaçvl -iŋ y fir-tree. (Cp. Sh. *kaçvl*).

kəɖakus pl. *kəɖakuyants*.

1. x native lock. EOL; door-bolt (*sərik*). IYB; door bolt and key. QUB.
2. b. an additional, fifth, headman of the four clans of Baltit.

kafan, *kaphæ:*, pl. *kaphæiŋ*, y shroud. — *jar kafan ... dosuin* fetch a shroud for me. 294.11. *kafan nok'a* taking the shroud. 294.13. *kafan tsər ečai.i* he tears off (the cloth for) the shroud i.e. a piece 24 *qaɨ* (cubits) long. 310.4. Ar. Prs.

kafši, *kavša*, *-muts* x shoe — *yu·tiŋulo kafšamuts eltai.in* put shoes on his feet. 368.14. *yu·tiŋulo* (or, *yu·tsulo*) *kafša eltai.in* ditto. 373.19.

khajun'a the Burushaski language (a term used only by foreigners).

kaka·yo N. walnut (unbroken). (Cp. Sh. *kakai.ɨ*).

kæki N., v. *ka·ki*.

khalaɖu leather bag. Given as the equivalent of *khawaɨ*. (Also in Sh.? Probably a foreign word).

kalamu·ło -ms' x base of external ear, flesh of ear. 232.8.

kalib, *qalip*, *-uts* x form, shape, mould. — *mazar kalib di.us* marking out the shape of the grave, making the grave-mound. 312.5. Ar. Prs. (*qa·lıb*).

kam little (in quantity), deficient, inferior, less; scarcity, shortage, H. *tho·ra*. — *gusetsum kam* less than this. *kam gəruvum* a little hot, slightly hot. *besans kam api* there is scarcity of nothing. *kam paći bolaia* the lesser share of the land. Cp. 250.7. *wŋtsum ji kam apa* I am not inferior to you. 148.9.

+ *an*, a little, a few, H. *thorasa*.

kʌmʌn kɛntsʊm in a little time. *kʌmʌn duʷro bila* there is a small piece of work. *kʌmʌn sis dumʌn* a few people came. Prs. 000

khʌm v. *xʌm*.

kʌmʌn v. *kʌm*.

khʌma pl. *khʌmʌŋ* y felt, "numda". — *hʌn kʌmaʷn* a piece of felt. 308.5. (Cp. Sh. *qʌmu*, felt).

kʌmbaxt unfortunate. Prs.

kʌm kʌm mʌnaʷs IUB to become covetous, H. *ṭʌma' homa*. (QUB gave this as *xʌm xʌm*).

kʌmquʷxʌt weak, feeble. Prs. + Ar.

kamzoʷr week, feeble. Prs.

khʌn -ʌnts, N. pl. *-aʷints*, x fort; fortified village, village community. 361

The population is now tending to abandon the concentrated villages for houses scattered about the cultivated lands singly or in groups of two or three which are called *giraʷmiciŋ*. The *Khʌn* at Aliabad is nowadays occupied only partially for two or three months in winter.

kʌntsʊm sinda yʌkʌlʌṭər gaʷrtsʊmo she fled from the fort towards the river. 192.15. *Iʷškuʷkulo tʌlo kʌnʌnts biʷm* there were 7 villages in Ishkuk. 280.3. *tʊrma alta kʌnʌntse trʌŋʃatiŋ* the trangfas of the 12 villages, (e.g. Baltit, Ganesh, Altit, Haiderabad, Aliabad). 318.5. Cp. 240.5, 244.7, 284.2,4. (Said to be a Balti word). 1/1

khʌn, xʌn, v. *xʌn*. Only in: *khʌn* (*xʌn*) *nɛ* downwards. 246.21. 000

(Probably 2. *kha*, 2. *xa* down + *nɛ* adverb-formative, with anticipation of the *n*-).

-kʌn. Suffix meaning: direction of, side of, along. V. *iʷljikʌn* & *-lji*

kʌnaʷo y advice, counsel, instructions,

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1/1 [see Corrigenda et addenda, Category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

000 injunction. — *ja kʌna.o gʌn* take my advice.

Occurs most frequently in *kʌnaʷo* *-ʌtʌs* the pn.pf. referring to the person to whom advice etc. is given: *iʷn kʌnaʷo ɛti* advise him, counsel him. *kʌnaʷo mo* instruct, advise her. 50.22. *pəritiŋər kʌnaʷo oʷtʌm* he had enjoined on the peris. 12.1. Cp. 246.13, 252.2. (Cp. Sh. *kʌnaʷo*).

kʌndʌq, v. *xʌndʌq*, trench. Prs.

khʌnḍ'əri half-full, a little short of full, not-brimming. — *khʌnḍ'əri bitsa* it is half full ("bitsa" probably refers to the contents).

khʌn'i, kh'ʌni, pl. *khʌnɛŋ*, d.pl. *khʌnɛŋičiŋ* y parched wheat or barley, "pop-corn". 306.22.

khʌnimɔjuʷko ladybird (insect).

kʌniʷz -tiŋ hf. female slave, female servant. 16.12. Prs.

kʌnjha IYB back of neck. QUB x & y neck-joint.

kʌŋ -ɛnts x small pond, pool.

sauwɛ kʌŋ a recess made at the side of a water-channel in which a backwater is formed and the sand in suspense in the water is deposited. This sand is collected & mixed with manure.

-kʌŋ recorded in *aʷljikʌŋ*. For *-kʌn*, q.v.

kʌŋgaʷl -išo h low-caste, lowborn, person (e.g. *Domʷ*, bandsman etc.).

Applied to an insolent inferior.168.9. (Cp. Punj., Kshm. & Kho. *kʌŋgaʷl*).

kʌŋka -mɔts x "a kind of thin-legged spider which goes up walls and then down again"

kʌp v. 2. *qʌp*.

kʌpʌl, gʌpʌl, -išo x head. — *ja kʌpʌl axoʷlinimi* my head ached, I had a headache. *ine kʌpʌlulo γɛnɪšɛ tɔr*

000 *bilʊm* he had a golden horn on his head. 376.2. (Cp. Kho. *kʌpa·l* and *kʌpʌl;* Sh. *kʌpa·lo*, *kʌpʌlo*, head, skull; Skr. *kapāla* skull).

kʌpi·nɛs N. pl. *kʌpi·nɛšo* x step, footnotch on log-ladder.

(The Hz. form is *gʌpfi·nʌs*, step of stair).

kʌpo, *ka·po*, *-mʊts* x cuckoo, v. s.v. *gʌkʌči*.

415 *kh'ʌpʊn*, pl. *kh'ʌpʊyo* x spoon, dipper, ladle. Originally all were of wood, but one may now say:

hʊ·nə k'ʌpʊn wooden spoon. *gu.i·ski kʌpʊn* a "Wakhi spoon", i.e. spoon with bowl set sideways. *čok kʌpʊn* upright spoon (the handle rises perpendicularly from the base of the bowl for three inches and then turns back horizontally). *kʌpʌnʊlo*. 328.10,11. (For *khʌpʊnʊlo*). (Cp. Sh. *khʌpa.i*, *kʌpe·i* wooden spoon; Kho. *kɪpi·ni*).

000 **-kh'ər*. Reflexive Pronoun. -self (oblique cases), v. § 144. — *ja jijeri ʌkhərər γʊn'ikɪš ɛta·m* I myself did evil to myself. *ikhərər fai.rda·ɛtʌs* one who does good to himself, i.e. a selfish, self-seeking person. *ʊ·ɛ ʊ·i ʊ·khər ɛsqʌnʊmʌn* they themselves killed themselves

As the object of a transitive verb **-khər*, whatever its number or person, ranks as 3rd. sg. hm or x.

kʌrəgʌḍi -mʊts x big wooden props supporting aqueduct, Bu. syn. *hʊ·nɛ dʌna·to*. — *Baltittɛʊm kʌrəgʌdimʊtsɛ xʌt hʌn . . . bʊ·ʌn di·mi* a cow came from Baltit down by (in fact, under) the aqueduct. 186.3.

kəragʌḍo strong, stout.

kʌr'ʌki N. "clapper that helps to pound rice".

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000

kʌrʌli. A child both of whose parents are of noble stock, e.g. the child of a Mir by his Ranee or principal, highborn wife.

(Opposed to *ʌrɣʊn* q.v. Cp. Sh. *k'ʌrɛli*. Spelt by QUB *qʌrʌli*).

*-*khərʌnʌs*, *-*khərai-*, *-*khərɛ-*, Impv. *-*khərʌn*, Ppa. *n*-*khərʌn(in)*, to be late, to delay v.i., H. *deɛr karna*.

Fut. sg. 1. *ʌkəraiyʌm*. 2. *gukəraima*. neg. *ayakərɛyʌm* I shan't be late. *jimʌlɛ akukəraima* you won't be late tomorrow.

Pret. *bɛsɛ gukərʌnʊma* why have you delayed?, i.e. why are you late? *ikhərʌnimi* he is late. 212.5.

Impv. *ʌkuɛkərʌn* don't be late, don't delay.

Ppa. *nʌkərʌn daiyʌm* delaying I came, i.e. I came late.
bɛsɛ nʊkuɛkərʌn dʊkɛma why have you come late?
buɛt nikərʌn dimi he returned after a long delay. 384.19.

The verb also occurs without the pn.pf.:
bɛsɛ kərʌnʊma? why have you delayed? why are you late? *nʊkərʌn* || *nikərʌn dimi* he came late. *buɛt kəranumʌn, ulum jʊwab atimi* they were a long time (in the house) and no answer came from inside. 24.7.

IUB gives it thus: e.g. Impf. *khəra.i bʌm* 3rd. sg. *khərʌnʊm maimi* he will have delayed.

(Cp. Sh. *khərnaɛr thoɛki* to delay, be late).

kərʌp ɛtʌs to snap, break, (a thing, with a single sound). — *taskimi žʌmɛ kərʌp ɛtimi* he drew the bow and snapped it. 172.8.

(QUB *qərʌp*).

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kʌrɛ·lu N. *-mʊts* x ram. (Cp. Sh. *kʌrɛ·lo* castrated ram). 000

khʌr'ɛ·ṭi -mʊts x wicker basket (small). — *gʊsɛ kʌrɛ·ṭi.ʊlo* in this basket. 64.3. *khʌrɛ·ṭilo.* 382.15. Also recorded in N. (Cp. Kho. *khərɛ·ṭi;* Sh. *kʌrɛ·i, karɛ·i,* wicker basket).

kərgʌl'o MA the smaller flying-squirrel. (Cp. Sh. *gərgol'o*).

kərkā·mʊts v. *qərqa·mʊts.*

kərk'ʌnʌs pl. *kərk'ʌnʌšo* x a kind of spider (which has a big body and long legs and bites).

khəru sg. and pl., d.pl. *-mʊts, -ints* x louse. — *kəru giya bi.ɛn* lice have fallen on . . . i.e. he has become infested with lice, or he is . . . *Pʌnčutsɛ kəru bʊ·t bim* there were many lice on P. 116.8. *i·ni.ʊlo kəru.ər bərēnʊmo* she looked in his beard for lice. 282.10.

kərukrš lousy (term of abuse for very poor people).

kəru·sʌl wild strawberry (occurs in Nagir, but not in Hunza).

khʌs, kha·s, EOL; *xʌs* at all.

Usually accompanied by negative, when the meaning is often only an emphatic negative. Cp. some uses of *bilkul* in H. — *khʌs čʌt ai.ɛti* don't break it at all. EOL. *bɛ, nʌzir, ja·r kha·s lɛl 'api* No, sir, I don't know (at all). EOL. *kha·s dʌltʌs api* it is not at all good. EOL. *gʊsɛ atišʌm. kha·s ditsa kɛ?* I won't bring it. Won't you bring it at all? EOL. *jɛ xʌs ayʌmʌlts* don't abuse me (ever, or, at all). Nz. (Cp. Sh. *khʌs, xʌs*).

khʌsk N. *-ičʌn* y girth (of saddle). — *kʌsk(ičʌn) ja·š ɛ* tighten the girth(s). (Cp. Sh. *k'ʌsko,* saddle-girth).

000 *khʌš* slaying, slaughtering (usually for food or sacrifice). — *in kʌšər wʌšimi* he threw him down for (the purpose of) slaughtering (him). 42.8. *guyu kʌšər . . . gu·ma* you threw down your sons to slaughter them. 44.19. *kʌš* *-*ʌtʌs* to slaughter, H. *ḥʌla·l kʌrna*. *kʌš ečər wʌšimi* he threw him down to slaughter him. 42.3. *kʌš o·čər gu·mi* he threw them down to slaughter them. *i·mo a·ltʌn yu· . . . kʌš o·ti kε* if he were to slay his own two sons. 40.1.

But cp. with *-*ʌtʌs* causative: *bušowšo kʌš o·tai.i* he has made them slay the calf. 370.3, 374.2. Cp. 370.12, 374.12. V also: 40.15, 42.1, 44.9,11,15,22, 66.6, 68.8, 234.13, 266.6, 368.15, 382.2.

kʌṣawa·r -iŋ y earring(s). — *kʌšawa·riŋ moltumʌlči mogiçam* they put earrings on her ears. 304.11.

1. *khʌṭ -ʌnts* x bedstead. — *khʌṭε bʌn* webbing, cord etc. for stringing bedstead. *khʌṭεnʌṭε i·mo hiŋtsε guča bʌm* he was lying (had lain down) on a bedstead at his door. 260.6 ff. (Cp. H. & Sh. *khʌṭ*).
2. *khʌt* v. *xʌt*. — *khʌt khʌt* v. *xʌt*.
3. *kʌt* y sg. & pl. clothes, suit of clothing. — *šɪkʌm kʌt nεtʌn tu·mok mʌnimi* he appeared wearing green clothes. 284.15. (Cp. Sh. *kʌt*).

kʌṭʌl v. *gʌṭʌl*.

k'ʌti N. y pl. hoarfrost. (Cp. Sh. *kʌṭi* hoarfrost).

kʌt'u *-*ʌtʌs*, used in the expression: — *kʌtu go·tʌm* said by a person when pushed up on a swing, and interpreted to mean "I am above thy head". Similarly:

kʌtu mʌtʌm ("you" pl.). *kʌtu mutʌm*

000 ("her"). *kʌtu* is probably connected with 2. *khʌt, xʌt* down: "I have downed you" i.e. "risen above you".

kʌrša v. *kʌfša*.

1> *khʌwʌš, khauwʌš*, pl. *khʌwa·nts*. "Small leather bag for travelling, with lock on mouth", "leather travelling-bag for bread", Kho. *šʌngʌši* and Wakhi *šˈəngiši*.- *thʌmɛ γɛnišɛ kʌwʌš ˈoγe.ibʌ·n* they make them carry the Tham's gold-bag. 348.4. *biškɛ . . . kʌwa·ntsər dɛlimʌn* they put the hair in bags. 134.15. *kʌwa·ntsum dirusin* taking it out of the bags. 136.1. Cp. 138.24. (Cp. Sh. *kʌwʌšo* (?).

1. *khʌy -ʌnts, -ents* x hook, barb of arrow; stirrup. — *čw·k ɛtʌs kʌy* hook for sewing saddlery and boots. *jυra·pɛ kʌy* crochet-needle. (*kʌγυrɛ*) *kʌy* stirrup. *kʌyɛ bərpi·t* stirrup-leather. V. 152.1.

   (Cp. Sh. *khā·* hook, bill-hook; stirrup. In N. it was recorded by EOL as: *qʌ.iy -ents* x stirrup).

2. *khʌy* x beach, strand (where a river is in an open, sandy or shingly bed), part of river-bed not covered by water. Also explained as H. *ghaṭ*. — *sinda kʌyər so·kumo* she came down to the river beach. 108.16. *mərteŋʌṭɛ ya kʌyolo sinda i·ltsɛ bo·či.ɛ* (the birds) alight on the cliffs or on the beach at the edge of the river. 206.13. Cp. 348.6. (Cp. Sh. *khai.i*).

kʌyˈʌs N. cotton. — *kayʌzɛ* of cotton.

   (Cp. Sh. *qai.a·s*, GB *khʌya·s*. *kh-* is probably correct for both Sh. and Bu.).

kai.i, ka·i, y soup, H. *šorba*. — *kai.i bila* there is soup; *kai.i ɛtʌs* to make soup. *kaiyolo baiyu dˈɛ·smʌyʌm* I put (the proper quantity of) salt in the soup. (Cp. Sh. *kai.i*).

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1 [see supplement to corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 545 – Analyst]

khau variant of *kha, xa* down. — *khau wʌlʌs* ‖ *xa wʌlʌs* to fall down. V. 2. *xa*. OOO

kauwʌš v. *kʌwʌš*.

kevr h opponent, rival, H. *muxa'lɪf*. — *i'ke γenʌŋər kine kevr bʌm* this man was a rival, competitor, for the gold. 68.14. (Correct the translation there given).

(Cp. Sh. *kyev*, opposed to, against, hostile to).

kɛ, (*kə*, *ka*).

1. Also, too, and. It also seems to serve as an emphasising particle. — *kɛ . . . kɛ* both . . . and; with neg., neither . . . nor. *jɛ kɛ uŋ kɛ miyu o'ltʌlik* I and you and our two sons. 40.18. *uŋ niča kɛ, jɛ kɛ jučʌm* if you go, I shall come too. 94.19. *e'kin kɛ ɛ'sumuts d'otsɪrin duʼtsu* cook and bring his liver and kidneys. 72,13. (*čərʌp*) *'ɛtʌsər im kɛ čərʌfum xau wʼʌlimi* when he had cut it he also fell down from the cliff. 214.10. *bʌt kū akuʼčičʌm, čʌp ka akuʼčičʌm*. I will give you neither the skin nor the meat. 104.6. *koʼs bi kɛ hʌn bɛlɪs* this is *one* sheep. 64.15.
2. *kɛ* frequently follows immediately after Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives and Indefinite Adverbs of Time and Place when accompanied by a negative. — *mɛn kɛ dušmʌnʌn apʼʌm, oʼr bɛsʌn ʌbʌš apiʼm* there was no enemy, there was no difficulty (present) to them. 284.20. *mɛnʌn kɛ eʼitsumʌn* they saw no one. 6.12. *bɛʼske iʼčər ætiʼmi* no sound came. 6.5. *ʌmulo kɛ atoʼγurkumʌn* they did not find

him anywhere. 10.5. *bɛšɛl kɛ bɛ* never. 000

The effect of the *kɛ* appears to be to emphasise the negative. Cp. §§ 148.4, 153.4, 154.

men kɛ
hin kɛ
hʌn kɛ } not accompanied by the negative may mean practically: others, and another one. V. § 148.6.

3. *kɛ* is also used in association with the Indefinite Pronouns, Adjectives and Adverbs, but placed after the verb (and not immediately after the pronoun etc.).

In this situation it gives these words the force of General Relatives, corresponding to the English whoever, whichever, whenever, wherever etc.

wŋ amɪn ba kɛ . . . ja gʌtʊŋ aɣʊn whoever you are give me my clothes. 14.10. *wŋɛ bɛsʌnər rai ɛča kɛ aso* whatever you wish for tell me. 138.28. *amʊlo bai.i kɛ . . .* wherever he is. *bešʌl bopfau ɛtʌs mʌnimi kɛ . . .* whenever it has become (the time) to carry out the "bopfau". 208.5. Cp. also:

hʊkai kɛ hʌɣʊr berʊm bi.ɛ kɛ . . . however many dogs and horses there may be . . . 342 20.

For further examples with the pronouns v. § 186.

4. *kɛ* is very frequently used immediately after finite parts of verbs, when it gives the sense of "if", or "when".

a. It is especially common after the Preterite Tense to denote an anticipated condition, v. §§ 353,3, 452. — *gʊtɛ gʌli kɛ mena ʊdɛljʊmʌna?* if this (bow) broke would

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000 anyone beat me? i.e. if it breaks, were to break. 170.21.

b. It frequently occurs with the Future used as a Historic Present, v. §§ 348.3, 435. — *ɪtɛ hɛrʌs dišər niči kɛ isken gušiŋents . . . herčam* when he went (lit. will go) to the place of weeping, there were (*lit.* are) three women weeping there. 38.9.

The short forms of Preterite and Future (especially of the 3rd. sg.) are commonly used in this way with *kɛ*.

c. *kɛ* in the sense of "if", "when" is also employed with other tenses e.g. Pres., Impf., Perf. and Pluperfect: *jimʌlɛ jɛ niča ba kɛ, uŋ . . . sail ɛti* when I go away tomorrow, do you go round (the garden). 10.13.

Impf. 282.21; Perf. 210.16; Pluperf. 292.10.

d. There is a special use in which it is employed with the Imperative as the equivalent of a conditional sentence, v. § 356.3. *qiyu pyu ɛti kɛ mi jučʌn* you raise an outcry and we shall come up. 256.6.

5. The sense of "if" also occurs in the expression: *bɛ kɛ* if not, otherwise . . . *hin hirʌnɛ allʌn . . . yu . . . kʌš orti kɛ bavdša ɛɪrči. Bɛ kɛ tsorrdinɛ ɪrči* if a man slays his two sons the king will not die. Otherwise he will die tomorrow morning. 40.15. In: *bʌrɛyɛn . . . jurči.a be kɛ*, 284.16, it seems to mean, "(whether) or not".

6. *kɛ* appears after the dependent verb in Indirect Questions:

000

bɛʋɛ hɛʋrčaʋn kɛ jaʋr ʌsuʋin tell me why they are weeping. 38.12. *mɛn herčʌm kɛ xʌbər dusuʋma* have you brought news (as to) who were weeping. 42.17. *kolɛ gʌš b'ɛ.uruʋmʌn bila kɛ ja akɛʋya ba* I don't know how much the price of this is. 58.24.

7. *kɛ* occasionally appears after verbs of saying, thinking, perceiving etc., and in other cases, introducing an dependent clause. But this is probably a reminiscence of the Persian-Hindustani *kih*.

8. *kɛ* is regularly used to convert an adverb into a conjunction in *bɛsɛkɛ* because (*bɛsɛ* why? + *kɛ*). *iʋɛ buʋltsʋm tsil ʌk'ərər gaiyʌm bɛʋsɛkɛ yərʋm iʋɛ bʌsaʋlo tsil api* I shall take water for myself from that spring, because there is no water at the halting-place ahead. 124.15.

9. *kɛ* is used after nouns with the sense of per, (for) each, (for) every. — *'alto iʋski č'urkʌs gunts kɛ wʌziʋɛ haʋlər dusučaʋn* they bring 2 or 3 vessels (of milk) each day to the Wazir's house. 322.4, *kʌn kɛ hʌn hʌn wʌlgi učiʋʌs miraʋs bila* it is the custom to give them one rupee each per village. 342.20.

10. In the following expression the force of *kɛ* is somewhat problematic: *ħik kɛ* once, once again. Cp. *hin kɛ*, sec. 2. above. *šu.aʋ kɛ* v. s.v. *tsʌn kɛ tsʌn* in very truth, 218.13.

kɛči krčaʋli bread used at the *Šrk'ʌmitiŋ* festival. 320.6.

khɛʋn, kɛʋn, kyɛʋn -iŋ y time, space of time, period, season. — *kʌmʌn kɛʋntsʋm*

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000 *tai manimi* it has been so for a little time. *ivtɛ kɛntsum* since then, thereafter. *ivtɛ kɛnulo* at that time. *kɛnʌntsum dimi* he came some time ago. *niyʌsɛ kɛn dimi* the time for departure came. *jɛ dusʌm k'ɛnər* at the time when I set out. 362.5. *bai.imo kɛn* the winter season. *Šah Γʌzʌnfərɛ k'ɛnɛ* in the time of Shah Ghazanfer. 274.3.

(Cp. Sh. *khyen*, time).

-ki suffix, v. §§ 21. c. § 102.

khi -muts x shield, H. *ḍhal*. — *khi γʌtɛnč* arms, weapons.

(Cp. Sh. *khai.i*, *khɛ.i*, and perhaps Kho. *kʌl̲i*, *kʌδi*, *kɛr̲i* of which the medial consonant is probably the peculiar *l̲* of Khowar).

khiɛ, v. *qhüyɛ*, pebble, gravel.

khiɛkrš v. *qhüyɛkrš*.

kijim -uts x embroidered horse-cloth (used under the saddle). 286.24.

(Cp. Kho. *khijim*). Prs. (*kʌjim*)?

k'iki -muts x kind of small hawk, sparrow-hawk(?) (like the Šahin). Sh. *ušpuki*.

khikhrš *-*ʌtʌs* to tickle someone on soles of feet (*or* body QUB). — *tɛlɛ kikrš juʌn ati bim* there a sort of tickling on the feet had affected me, i.e. I felt a sort of tickling. 224.3. (Cp. *qiqrt*).

kil N. ibex, cp. Hz. *giri*. — *kil hʌldɛn* male ibex. *kil tsigir* female ibex. *kilɛ du* ibex kid. (Cp. Sh. *kil* ibex).

khil mʌnas.

1. To see, look, view. — *sʌgʌm xa kil noma qau ɛtimi* looking down through the smoke-hole he called out. 228.7. (Correct the translation given there). *hinɛ holɛ khil mʌn'imi* he looked out at the door. *ɛrinolɛ*

khiʷl mʌnaʷm I looked in the mirror.

2. To pay a visit of condolence to, *aʷr, gowr, eʷr, khiʷl mʌnaʷs* to pay a visit of condolence to me, thee, him. Cp. 210.17. — *khiʷl maiʌʷr niʷʌs* to go to condole.

khiʷl ɛtʌs.

1. To show to, present to, offer to. — *wʌziʷrər kiʷl ˈɛtimi* he presented it to the Wazir. 138.7. *uyonər tsirtsɛ . . . ivtɛ bʌl oʷr kiʷl ɛtʊman* to all in turn they offered the marrow. 138.9. *gʊlʌmʌt khiʷl ɛti* hold out your skirt (to receive s.t.).
2. To yoke an ox to the plough for the first time. — *ɛʷʒɛ khiʷl ɛtʊm tsi.ˈər* an ox that has been put to the plough, i.e. one that is fit and old enough to work. *khiʷl ɛtʌs mani bi* it has become fit to have yoke put on neck, i.e. to plough.

(I am not sure whether the word under these two meanings is the same, or whether in the second case it is *kiʷl* or *khiʷl*).

kiʷlaʷy (*-ʂšoʃ*) x curds made from biestings. — *kiʷlaʷy dˈiʷušaʷn* they extract curds.

(Cp. Kho. *kiḷaʷḷ* & *kiḷaʷri*, cheese when kept; Sh. *krraʷri*, "a milk product made by Gujars").

kiʷli N. *-mʊts*, x, cp. Hz. *giʷli*, nail, very small pick.

(Cp. Sh. *kiʷlɛ*, Punj. *kiʷlliʷ*).

kiʷlto Nz. the sixth day in the future.

(Cp. *kaʷlto*, the 5th. day in future. Leitner gives it as *kayálto* and the 6th. day as *payálto*, v. H. N. Hd.bk. p. 15, n.).

kimi.ˈa y golden, gilt, golden-coloured. — *ɛʷɛ gʌptʊm biäkɛ kimi.ˈa bitʊm*

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000 the hair on its hide was golden. 104.24. *gʌptsɛ bi·tkɛ kimi.'ʌɛ kɛ γɛniɛ̃ ju.ʌn lʌm mai.i bitɛʊm* the hair on the hide was shining like gilt and gold, 134.8. Grk. Prs.

kimxaʊ̃ brocade. 88.5. Prs.

1. *khi·n* v. *khi·nɛ*.

2. *khi·n* pl. *khi·yo* x flea. — *khi·nɛ čoru·t go·či* the flea will bite you. *sʌwur ja dʌŋ ati·mi, khi·yu.ə aʃu·mi·yɛ* yesterday I didn't get to sleep, fleas devoured me. EOL. *khi·nʌnə čoru·t a·timi* (or, *aʃu·imi*) a flea bit me. EOL.

khin'a pl. x, double pl. *kin'ɛints*, stalks, straw. — *gu·rɛ kin'a* wheat-stalks.

khi·nɛ, khi·n, kinɛ, kin, khɛn, pl. *khuɛ, khu·*, hmf, obl. sg. m. *khi·n(ɛ)-*, f. *khi·nɛmʊ-*.

Demonstrative Adj. and Pron. this, this one (of persons only); he, she. Sometimes = Eng. Def. Art. the.

Cp. sg. x *gosɛ* y *gots* (N. *kusɛ* etc.).
pl. x *gotsɛ* y *gokɛ*.

Also: sg. x *kos* y *kot*.
pl. x *kots* y *kok*.

V. §§ 135—138.

The forms *khi·n* and *khu·*, without the final *-ɛ*, are rather the less common.

Examples of *khi·n* will be found at: 42.7, 86.11, 110.11, 116.10, 124.7, 182.4, 882.7.

And of *khu·* 10.13, 86.13. 182.3.

khi·ŋ N. direction. — *kʊtə ki·ŋ* (in) this direction. *ɛtɛ ki·ŋ* (in) that direction. Hz. *khi·ŋɛ dʌl dɛli* strike (him) on one cheek. (Cp. Sh. *khi·ŋ*, direction, side).

khi·ŋ khaʊŋ very slackly. — *khi·ŋ khaʊŋ ʊmʌn* don't go along very slackly.

kiŋki·ti N. *-mʊts* x red hawk. (Cp. Hz. *ki·ki*).

krraʊya y hire, rent. — *krraʊyaʊ yʌnʌm* I hired . . . Ar. Prs.

000 *khirts -ʌnts* x joint (articulation of bones), part of limb between joints. — **-wʌldasi kirts* a vertebra. *imu kirts bim uyonʌfi bam etimi* he kissed all its (the infant's) joints. 90.23. *muki kirtsʌnts* pearly limbs(?). 358.10. (Cp. Sh. *kirts*).

khiruman a certain number, some, half of, (of persons & things). Only twice recorded: *kirumʌni nim'em tʌq oičʌn* let some of us go and smash them up. 248.6. (Glossed: "some half of us"). *da kirumʌni 'Aiʌšo Malik sireka bʌm' seʌibam* some say that A. M. possessed magical powers. 220.3.

kišmiš & *kh-* seedless grapes. Ar. Prs.

krišti -mots Hz., *-ršo* N. x ship, boat. Prs.

khiršo, -u, -muts x mosquito. — *kiršu čuruł goči* the mosquito will bite you.

kitap, krtab -ičiŋ, N. *-ičʌŋ* y book. — *Jamʌsnama nusi kitapʌn bilum* there was a book called the Jamasnama. 48.2.

(*krtap*) *nuq'ʌtʌn dum'ʌtsimi . . . da pfʌtʌŋ etimi* having read (the book) he closed it . . . then he opened it again. 70.10. Cp. 68.24 — 70.24. Ar. Prs.

khiti, khite this side, the near side. — *kiti Pisʌnolo Siqi Daltʌs Manuko buł xoł etumʌn* on this side (of the river) in Pisan they took a great fancy to D. M., son of Siq. 262.6. *immo j'iŋičiŋ . . . imo eti kite tʌq etimi* he tied her sleeves on this side of his neck (she was sitting behind him and he brought her sleeves on either side of his neck and tied them in front). 146.15. *kite* is opposed to *iti, ite* (v. s.v. *iti*), and is usually followed by *pa* side. *sinda huma ite kite . . . manumʌn* they crossed

backwards and forwards over the ford in the river. 114.26. Cp. 264.27. *ahin ište ɣfor, hin kiṭe ɣfor* one on that side and one on this side. 86.14. (*ɣfor* is here probably the dative of *pa*). *kiṭe pa ju* come to this side. *pai.ṭa kiṭe pa daɣ'ami* he hid himself on the near side of the mill. 204.8.

(*kh-* is probably the proximate demonstrative *kh-* seen in *khirus* etc.).

kṭli x kettle. Eng.

khiyal v. *ri.al*.

kiɣu N. x small shot, buckshot (?).

(Probably the same word as *ghuɣu* gravel etc. Cp. also *gurk*. "*k-* pronounced with teeth clenched". EOL).

kuɣ v. *khuɣ*.

1. *khok, khok* y pl. these. — *kok ešto ɣumorriɣ bitsa* these are two holes, there are these two holes. 102.26.

(Corresponds to *guku*, v. §§ 136 & 138).

2. *kok -iṭaɣ, -iɣ* y long stitch, basting. — *kok dali bara* they have stitched (it).

kakor o McK and GR scab (over wound).

(Not known to QUB).

khoṭa, khol, khul here, hither. — *dišiwaṭo kolo mun apara* there are no cooks here. *kolo ɣaṭil ap'i* there is no firewood here. 126.6. *kol mun bama?* are there any people here? *kol*, (or, dat.) *kolar, ju* come here. *kol ditsa* bring it here. 166.19. *we gugu kul jaw jowa* give these two sons of yours to me here. 174.23. Cp. 54.12. 60.20.

Abl. *kolum* from here. — *je kolum dal noma . . . niṭam* arising from here I shall go . . . 368.2. *ele kolum sie dara* people coming from here and there, i.e. from every side. 286.12. (Cp. *aliṭola*).

khóu, khoṇ, pl. *khoṇo* x ant. — *ṇaṇum khoṇ* black ant. *bowdum khoṇ* red ant.

kor, koṛ, -ile x cave (in earth or rock cliff), shelter under overhanging cliff. 226.7, 244.7,23. (Cp. Sh. *koṛ*. Possibly same word as Kho. *khoṛ*, open cave).

koṛi boot. — *ja koṛi yen daraguṇ* take hold of my boot and pull it off (for me). (Cp. Sh. *koṛrs*, native boots).

koṛoṇ, koṛuṇ N. y mist. (Probably same as Hz. *zuroṇ, guroṇ*).

khoṇ, khoṇ x sg. this, this one. — *koṛ (ḥ.spik) ṇm nimi* where has this (bread) gone? 30.9. *koṛ.ṇum nilgmiṇ* the distinctive marks (which are) on this one. 64.15, 138.2, 160.3, 222.14.

Corresponds to *guṇ*, v. §§ 136 & 138.

koṛiṭ, kuṛiṭ y endeavour, attempt. — *koṛiṭ ṇtas* to try, endeavour. *jimṇ.ṇle gote duro dromṇ.ṇṇṇṇor* (or, *puro ṇtaṇor*) *koṛiṭ ṇti* try to complete this business tomorrow. Cp. 264.1. Prs.

kh'ṇio -ṇuṇ with fingers bent up, cripple-handed; crippled in feet.

(Cp. Sh. *kuṇo*, maimed, crippled; and Kho. *khoṇi*).

khoṛ, khoṛ y sg. this, this one.

Corresponds to *guṇ*, v. §§ 136 & 138. *koṛ le ṇ.ṇniṇi?* what is this that has happened? 118.11. *koṛ le duro bila?* what is this (that has happened)? 150,16. Cp. 50.19, 70.4, 98.12. 150.16, 370.1, 373.25.

koṛ fort. — *Duṇyuro khuṛ.ṇṇor* (read: *koṛ-*) *duro.ṇ* they came to the Duiyor fort. 350.28.! (Cp. Sh., H. *koṛ*).

khoṛo x pl. these ones, these.

Corresponds to *guṇu*, v. §§ 136 & 138.

koṛo koṛ these ones. 21 .12.

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A [see Corrigenda et addenda, category 11a p. 543 - Analyst]

000 *khuʷ*, *khu* h pl. these, these persons, pl. of *khiʷu*, v. § 187. — *kuʷ heraŋolo amin* . . .? which of these? 106.10. *kuʷ miyu* these our sons, these sons of ours. 42.1. Cp. 10.13, 86.13, 112.7 et passim.

khu.iʷn this year. — *khu.iʷn čam bila* this year there is a famine. *thamʿine ku.iʷn* last year and this year. 330.4.

khu.iʷnmo of this year, in the course of this year. — *khu.iʷnmo dan čam bila* this year there is a famine. *khu.iʷnmo haraltiŋ buʃ manimi* this year there have been heavy rains.

kuʷk -ilo x, v. *xuʷk*, pig. 366.10.

khoke N. y pl. these, these ones. (Corresponds to Hz. *guke*).

kukuk etas N. to cackle (of hens), to cluck.

-khukura pl. *-khukurio* x short soft rib.

khukuʷj whisper. (Cp. *khuʷj*).

khul v. *khole*.

khole.i N. here. — *ja ha kule.i dila* my house is here. *kulere* hither. *kulemo* from here. (Variant of Hz. *khole*).

1. *kuli*, *kuli*. An enclitic particle which seems to duplicate some of the functions of *ke*, v. § 425.

a. Following Indefinite Pronouns, and Indefinite Adverbs of Time and Place in negative clauses it appears to re-enforce or emphasise the negative:

uŋ jumman mman kuli apai.i there is no one like you. 82.1. Cp. 82.12. *amulo kuli apiʷm* nowhere were there (any vegetables). 64.1.

b. In the following:

beital ke han . . . duʷan kuli aiyaica you have never given me even a kid. 374.9.

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000 The negative is stressed by the *ka*, and *kuli* comes merely to emphasise the *durga*.

Similarly in the following it appears to lay stress on the *tale*:
terma ariła ṭaiv ayem.enem.en ka tale kuli gurdan If we are unable to give twelve goats we shall give (at any rate?) seven. 194.10. (This was glossed H. *aur kir*).

The explanation H. . . . *kir*, given elsewhere, would apply to the first two and similar examples: *kuri kir*, *kuki kir*.

c. From one or two examples it appears that *kuli* can be used like *ka* to form General Relatives:
ka, hesen eti kuli dyu.sse apeti no, whatever he does (*lit.* did) he will not escape. 44.8. *kelel dirni kuli deljem* whenever he comes, *or*, if at any time he comes, I shall slay him. 172.15.

d. Used after finite parts of verbs it appears to mean: if, if ever:
mene kuler dira kuli aiyereg.nain if he (ever) goes (*lit.* went) into anyone's house, don't kill him. 244.7. *kan gunisen ṭaiv durama kuli gurirein* if you (were to) come out one day too early you will die. 50.17.

2. *kuli* -*mig* y band of cloth tied round an infant's head. Pra. *arb.ud.* 158.18.

kkuilto, *kkulto* today. — *kulto jim.ale se.ime ayerini.i* saying "today, tomorrow" he doesn't do it, i.e. he procrastinates. *kulto nim tap* last night. *je kulto rak api* I have no appetite today. 30.2. Cp. 30.3,23. 222.12. (With -*ulto* cp. *kilulto* and *kipulto*).

kkuiltomo of today. — *kuiltomo g'uatnoio* (in the course of) today. 50.21.

kwilume gunkalum from today. 106.16 000

kulu N. variant of Ha. 1. *kuli*. — *mnan kulu apuli* there is no one. *ansis kulu kayeran api* there is not any(?) horse.

1. *-kum* a suffix used with *x* forms of the Numerals denoting:
   1. a pair.
   2. a multiple entity. V. § 197.

   The forms recorded are: *kilum*,

   ell o- / *ewki-* / *ewri-* / *tsindi-* } + *kum*. *mzirn-* / *tulo-* / *ell'am-* / *kuf'i-* } + *kum*.

   1. *kilum kuvlo* a pair of pathoos (boots). *yerapeciq ellowum* two pairs of socks. *ewkilum kufite* three pairs of boots.
   2. *uv kilum* that party (of people). *kilum sinik* a party of men, a few persons. *kuv iskilum rown* these three tribes 272.14.

2. *-kum* an Adjectival suffix:
   Cp. *wylum*, *kuanulum*, *kwkum*, *kuyrulum*, *perkum*.

kunda -*mufe* x stock of gun. Pre.

kundev, v. *zundev*, murderer. — *ja ana kundev* my father's murderer. 90.10. (Probably *kk-* for *z-*). Pre.

kuru, *kurni*, pl. *kkunzufs*, corner. — *kan kurnigenor* (or, *gurni-*) *nicui* (he goes off into a corner. 120.12. *ney kurunzor nifum* leading him forward into a corner. 84.19. (Cp. Sh. *kun'i*).

1. *kuv -zio* x fetlock. (Cp. Sh. *kkuvo* hoof).

2. *kuv -zio* x. a very small bird with a red top to its head.

   (Seen in summer at Ilawa, altitude about 10,000 ft.).

3. *kur -zufe* x small ejor tank.

kuraṭi, pl. x *-ṭio*, y *-ṇ*, *miṇ*, hard, stiff (of leather, cardboard etc.). — *kuraṭilo gapanis* hard hides. *kuraṭimiṇ korpétiṇ* stiff straps. *ja ta.ociṇ kuraṭi manitsan* my leg-bandages have become stiff. 128.21, 130.7. (Cp. Sh. *kuraṭo*, stiff, and *kuro*, hard, strong). OOO

kurdi, *kordi*, pl. *kurdents*, *kordents*, N. *-mots*, x shirt, man's shirt. 938.13. (Cp. Sh. *kurt'ani*, man's shirt). Prs.

kurí.ap atas to let off, spare; QUB to overpower, H. *maylub karna*.

Only once recorded: *kime bun traq stuṭá, ja ke kurí.ap aiyeći* he has split the stone, he won't let me off. 206.1.

QUB. Explained the second clause as: *kamko moyabzla ke liv ne takrayen*. Meaning perhaps: "he won't let me remain to oppose him".

kkurk, v. *xurk*, broken straw.

kuro N. pl. *kurumots* x hoof (of horse). (Cp. Sh. *kkuro*, hoof).

kuron, pl. *kurenyo*, a meaningless expletive in the expression: *ken kuron*, pl. *kuromo kurenyo*, blind.

kurpan gentian (plant).

kursi -mots x chair. — *kursi.aṭs eurušaí.i* he makes him sit on a chair. 74.10. Cp. 80.2, 88.6, 360.2. Ar. Prs.

kurukuruṭ breaking up, snapping, crunching (sound of teeth when something hard is eaten).

Only once recorded: *kisan kurukuruṭ eéume ṭirni* he ate something with a crunching of the teeth. 132.13.

kurut, v. *gurut*, dried curds.

kus N. v. *xus*, cough.

-kus, *-kuro*.

1. A nominal and adjectival suffix occurring with certain words denoting time:

000

dʌtukus, *denkus*, *gərukus* and *yoʿlɛkus*. Cp. *gərkus*, marriageable.

2. *-kus*, a suffix in the words: *yaʿrokus* and *yʌtokus*.

3. *-kus*, probably a suffix in: *sərik(k)us* and *imeʿkus*.

kusa -tiŋ, -mots hm scanty-bearded man. Prs.

kuse N. x sg., equivalent to Hz. *guse*, this, this one, it.

khuʿʒ, cp. *khukuʿʒ*, whisper. — *khuʿʒ ne senʌs* to whisper. (Cp. Kho. *kuṣeʿrk*, to whisper).

-kuʒ suffix used to form abstract nouns.

kušelʌs to go wrong, become spoilt, damaged. V. *qušelʌs*.

kuʿšiš v. *koʿšiš*.

1. *khuʿt*, x pl. *khutuʿiko*, *khutoŋo*, short; low (?). — *khutuʿiko γʌšiʿlik* short pieces of stick. *gufʌγo kuʿt mani bi* your stick has become short. 222.14. *kutuʿiko qʌltʌčʌmots* short coats. 188.2. *khutoŋo miʿzišo* low (?) tables.

Perhaps also in: *khuʿt sokʿuʿin baiʿi* he is a close relation. (Cp. Sh. *khuʿto*).

2. *khuʿt*, v. *koʿt*. — *Daiγuʿrə khuʿtʌtər duʿmʌn* they came to the Daiyor Fort. 380.21.

(*kh-t* Gh. Kh. but one wd. expect *kuʿt*. Cp. Sh. *koʿt*, H. *koʿt*).

kutə, *kuʿtɛ*, N. *kuts*, sg. y this, this thing. — *kutə oʿsʌn* don't say this. 70.22. *kuʿtɛ pa* this side.

(The form seems to be characteristically a N. one corresponding to Hz. *gots*. Presumably the initial is *kh-*).

khutqiyʌlt -iso x tadpole.

(Presumably 1. *khuʿt + qiyʌlt*, from the resemblance to a short-handled ladle. Cp. Yasin-Kho. *aiʿɛ krpiʿni* snake-spoon, i.e. tadpole).

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ODO *kʊlgʊs* v. *khʊʃkʊs*.

kʊ·ʊti N. *-mʊts* x wood-pigeon. (Cp. Sh. *kʊ·ti*, dove).

khʊʃkʊs pl. *khʊʃkʊšo* x smallest size of field, garden plot, H. *kiya·ri*. — *šɛni.ɛ kʊtʊšo* garden beds. *šʌni.ɛ kʊtʊsər nimi* he went to a plot of vegetables. 64.17. (EOL has *kʊtgʊs*, pl. *kʊtgʊyɛnts*).

kʊ·to pl. *kʊ·tʊmiŋ* y a bag of lamb-skin (holding 4 to 12 lbs. of grain). — *gʊtɛ kʊ·tʊlo pfʌlo aγ'ʊnin* give me grain in this bag. 140.4.

Dat. *kʊ·twʌr*, *kʊtʊwər*, 140.5,6,12. Cp. 140.16, 142.1. (Cp. Sh. *kʊ·to*).

kʊtʊ·r tribe, tribal section, Bu. *rʊm*. 272.2,12. (A Wakhi word).

1. *kʊts* days. Recorded only with the Numerals above two, and with *bɛ·rʊm*, a certain number of, some.

The following forms have been recorded with the *z* numerals up to 10:

i·skikʊts	three days.	*tʌlɛkʊts*.
wa·lkʊts	four days,	*a·lta·ŋʊts*.
tsɛndikʊts etc.		*hʊntikʊts*
miši·ŋkʊts		*tori·mkʊts*.

When the particular period of days mentioned is regarded as a whole *kʊts* takes the suffix *-ʌn*.

t'orimkʊts ten days; *t'orimkʊtsʌn* a period of 10 days. *berukʊtsʌn* a period of some days. 168.19.

kʊts has been recorded with the Ablative suffix *-ʊm*, and *kʊtsʌn* with the suffixes *-tsʊm* and *-mo*.

a·ltʊwʌltər kʊtsʊm after 40 days. 66.14. *berʊm kʊtsʌntsʊm* after some days. 292.13. *tʌlɛ kʊtsʌnmo ju* come after seven days.

The Locative suffix *ʊlo* gives the sense of: in the course of, for, during. *a·ltʊwʌltər kʊts'ʊlo ho·lə atʊ·s* don't come out for forty days. 50.12.

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[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p.543-Analyst]

tʌ kutsulo during 100 days. 102.2,5. V. s.vv. *iskikuts* and *tʌlskuts*. Cp. 50.15, 52.11, 322.10.

2. *-kuts* h pl. A suffix attached to place-names denoting the inhabitants of that place.

The singular is obtained by adding the suffix *-ʌn*.

ja ʌu.u Pisʌnkutsɛ esqʌnomʌn the people of Pisan killed my father. 266.12. *Hindikuts* the people of Hindi. 196.5. *Hunzokuts* the people of Hunza. 296.3.

So: *Misgarkuts*. 290.7; *Tolkuts*, *Tolmrtkuts*. 294.21.

In some cases the base-word is, according to tradition, the name of a person, as in: *Thərakuts* and *Xurukuts*.

'kutsə, N. *kutsɛ*, x pl. these, these ones. — *kutsə bʌlaʃu* these birds. 96.6.

(Characteristically a N. form, equivalent to Hz. *gutsɛ*. Presumably *kh-*).

kutuiko v. 1. *khuʃ*.

kuyoč h pl. people of a country (as opposed to the Ruler), subjects, populace. — *kuyoč otimi* he made them subjects, he subjugated them. 4.6. *umɛ kuyoč* your subjects. *kuyoč uyon xuš umʌnomʌn* all the people, subjects, were delighted. 32.12. Cp. 2.2, 4.10, 26.26, 380.19.

(Cp. Sh. *kuyoč*).

khüy -ʌʒ, EOL *kiy*, y leaf.

kyu v. *qyu*.

X.

Initially this sound is also heard as *ᵏx-* or *qx-*, and *kh-* or *qh-*. Medially in some circumstances it changes to *-q-*, e.g. in the Ppa. and Cs. V Gram. p. XXX. Additional Note.

239a

1. *xa·, kha·* (rare), cp. also *xa·ṣiŋər* and v. § 72. 000

a. (Of time) up to, till, for. — *mu·to xa, mu xa* up to now. 382.6. *i·tɛ xa* up till that time, till then. *torimi den xa* for ten years. *jɛ ju·ṣ xa* till I come, till my return. 28.1. *čumʌrɛ gi·li i·lji xa uyonɛ i.e·šʌm, bim* all used to see the iron peg till later times, it was there. 196.13. *40 kutɛ omʌnṣ xa hʌn gontɛn tsor* until 40 days are up one day earlier i.e. one day before 40 days have elapsed. 50.16.

b. (Of place) up to, as far as. — *ha xa ju·čam* they come as far as the house. 304.15.

c. (With numerals) up to. — *tʌlo xa* up to seven, 194.12.

2. *xa, kha,* also *xau, khau* before a *w-*.

a. Adv. down, downwards. — *xa wʌlimi* it fell down. 168.4. *xa awɛ·ṣi kɛ* if it threw me down. 76.25. *čərʌṭum xau* (or, *khau*) *wʌlimi* he fell down from the cliff. 214.10. *xau wʌšimi* he flung (it) down. 112.17.

b. (Postposition) down, down through, down on. Cp. § 86.

The noun is generally in the General Oblique form.

hu·rɛ xa gu·mo she threw them down the mill-race. 206.10. *i·sɛ isumʌlɛ mujo·q i·skili xa bʌli·la* the tassel of its tail is hanging down (over) its face. 186.8. *sʌgʌm xa ki·l numa* looking down through the smoke-hole. 228.7. *yʌtɪsɛ xa gusɛ ʌš'ʌtɛ nidɪlin* striking (down) on its head *or*, striking it on the head, with this penis of mine. 228.8.

Cp. also:

bɛsʌnə xa adɛlj'a? which probably

000 means: "on what part of me are you going to hit me?" 148.12.

601 *-*xakin*, *-*xʌkin -dəro* hf. Some recorded forms postulate *-*ʌxakin*.

Pn.pf. sg. 1. *a-*, 2. *gu-* & *go-*, 3. *i-*, *mu-*.
pl. 1. *mɛ-*, 2. *ma-*, 3. *o-*.

daughter-in-law, son's wife, H. *bʌhu*. *iʷnɛ γʌmis hiʷrɛ ixʌkinmʊtsɛ mʌmu bilʊm* the rich man's daughter-in-law was pregnant. 100.3.

The relationship to the son may be expressed:

amin gu.iʷɛ goxakin goyˈɛrʊm bo kɛ whichever is your favourite daughter-in-law (son's wife). 106.20. *iʷɛ ixˈakinmʊr iʷtɛ tsil mʊčimi* he gave the water to his son's wife (his daughter-in-law). 108.6. (IUB *-*xaʷkin*).

000 *xaʷli* empty. Ar. Prs.

xaʷm QUB, v. *khaʷm*.

601 *xaʷn* hm "khan". The eldest son and heir of the Mir of Hunza is spoken of, and addressed, as "*Xaʷn*".

Rajas and Saiyids call their sons "*xaʷn*" (as well as *eʷi* etc., or by name); *uyuʷm xaʷn* eldest son; *makučim xaʷn* middle son; *jʊt xaʷn* youngest son. N.

000 *xaʷndaʷn*, *xaʷnadaʷn* y a distinguished family; family stock. — *iʷtɛ xaʷnadaʷntsʊm bai.i* he belongs to that family (the Prophet Abraham's). 92.3. Prs.

xaʷnsaʷma(n) hm cook, major domo. 382.5. Prs.

xaʷp mʌnaʷs, *khaʷp m.* to fade (of falling leaves, flowers).

(Cp. Bu. *xʌp*, "tinder". See also duplicate entry under *khaʷp*).

xaʷs private. — *xaʷs mʌhrʌmʌnər* to a private servant. 376.2. Ar. Prs.

240a

000 *xaʿš ɛtʌs* to rub slowly, rub down.

(V. *xʌš ɛtʌs* and cp. Sh. *kaʿš, khʌš thoʿrki* to wipe, rub off, etc.).

xaʿšiŋər, cp. 1. *xaʿ* and v. § 72.

a. (Of time) up to, until, for. — *toʿrimi den xaʿšiŋər* up to, for, ten years.

b. (Of place) up to, as far as. — *šʌfaxaʿna xaʿšiŋər* as far as, up to, the dispensary. 240.15.

(*-šiŋ(ər)* may be compared with the Sh. *-siŋ* up to, until, used as a suffix with verbal bases).

xaʿtɪr attention, consideration, deference. — *uʿnɛ hər bɛsʌn xaʿtɪr goʿučʊmʌn* they will show you every kind of attention. 10.14. *ɛr xaʿtɪr nɛ* paying him (their) respects. 314.10. Ar. Prs.

xʌbər, k(h)ʌbər -iŋ y.

a. News, information. — *bɛsʌn xʌbər bila?* what's the news? what news is there? *xʌbərčɛ apaiyʌm* I didn't know what was going on. *khʌbər nukʌn niʿmi* he went off taking the news. 6.8. *xʌbəriŋ suʿyʌs* news-bringer, reporter, spy. *xʌbər ɛtʌs* + Dative to inform (a person). *menər xʌbər ɛti* tell someone. *oʿr xʌbər ɛti* inform them. 94.20. *uyomər xʌbər nɛ* telling them all about it. 260.17. *xʌbər učhiʿʌs* to inform them.

b. Adj. informed of, acquainted with (a fact). — *mi men xʌbər apaʿn* none of us are acquainted with it. 80.15. *mɛn(ʌn) xʌbər ɛtʊma?* did you inform anyone? Ar. Prs.

ʌbiʿɛ impure, base. Ar. Prs.

xʌčiʿr, qʌčiʿr -išo x, N. *ǫʌčiʿr -išo*, mule. (Cp. Kho. & Wkh. *xʌčiʿr*.)

xʌfa, xʌpa sad, depressed, distressed, vexed, annoyed, displeased. — *tai buʿt xʌpa kɛ amʿumʌnumo* and so she did

240 b

[see corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

not become unduly sad. 58.15. *xʌfa ayɛtin* don't vex him. 12.2. *pa·dša wɛtsum xʌfa numʌn* the king being displeased with them. 44.16. Cp. 38.21, 120.15, 284.23, 380.19. Ar. Prs.

xʌlaʿs freed, at liberty. — *mai.imu ji xʌlaʿs ɛtin* save your lives. 30.23. Ar. Prs.

xʌlifa, pl. *xʌlifʌtiŋ*, hm priest.

Term used by the Maulāi sect for mulla, *or* akhond. 302.9, 310.4. Ar. Prs.

xʌlonwʌŋ y pl. soot. — *xʌlonwʌŋ dumitsʌn* soot has seized it, i.e. it has got covered with soot.

xʌlta N., *xɪlta* Hz., *-muts* x bag.

(Cp. Kho. *xʌlta*, Sh. *khʌlta*).

1. *xʌm* plain, simple. Used in the expression: *xʌm ʃʌpʼik*, plain bread.
2. *xʌm*, *khʌm*, *qhʌm* y cooked vegetables, vegetable soup, Sh. *kuni*, H. *suruna*, (neither known to me). QUB "any moist food eaten with bread". — *xʌm ɛčʌm* they prepare vegetable soup. 340.9. *hovi xʌm bila* it is green-vegetable soup. *čutʌn qhʌm ačhi* give me a little vegetable soup. *xʌmɛ ka ʃʌpʼik* bread with vegetables. QUB. (Cp. Sh. *kam*, cabbage (?).

xʼʌmʌli, pl. *-čiŋ* and *xʌmʼʌličiŋ*, (EOL *qʌmʼʌli -čiŋ*, *-yʌŋ*), y thin bread (like paper). — *xʌmʌli bišʌčər duγuwski bo* she begins to make (toss on the griddle) "khamali". 306.8. Cp. 300.1,3, 306.13.

xʌn, *khʌn*. Only in: *xʌn nɛ*, *khʌn nɛ*, downwards. 246.21 (bis), 294.3.

Probably for *xa* + *nɛ*, v. 2. *xa*.

xʌndʌq, *kʌndʌq*, *-ičiŋ*, *-ɛčiŋ*, y ditch, trench. Prs.

241 a

xʌnjər y uagger. — *xʌnjər nukʌn* taking the dagger. 380.8. Prs. 000

xʌp, qhʌp y tinder (the skin of a kind of plant). (Cp. *xa·p* & *xʌpkinʌs*).

xʌpkinʌs a kind of herb, of which the skin is used as tinder and the roots (*xʌpkinʌsɛ gʌmu·n*) as an aperient for children. (Cp. *xʌp*).

xər -iŋ y a quantity of gold, also used to denote a monetary value formerly of six now of eight rupees. 2 *xər* = 1 *bai.i.* — *turma a·lto xər'iŋ γenʌŋ nuk'ʌn* taking 12 "khars" of gold. 56.11. Cp. 56.25, 58.3, 58.16.

(In the texts recorded also as *kər* and *qər*).

xʌr ɛtʌs to fry, H. *bhunna*. — *čhʌp xʌr ɛtʌs* to fry meat.

xəra·b bad, ruined. — *čhʌp xəra·b mʌnimi* the meat went bad. *wa·lto ša·riŋ xəra·b mʌnitsa* four cities have become ruined. 96.20. Ar. Prs.

*-xərʌs, *-xərč-*, Ppa. *n*-qər*, St. Pc. *xərum*. Pn.pf. sg. *i-*, pl. *u-*.

1. V.t. to break (a hard object, stone, bone, walnut, by striking it with something). — *sʌmdʌnʌtɛ dʌn ixərčʌm* I'll break the stone with a sledge-hammer. *hʌni ixərʌm* I broke the apricot-stone. *tin niqər* breaking the bone. *tinjo nuqər* breaking the bones. *xʌrum bʌt* P. N. the "Broken", *or* "Split", Stone. 210.5.
2. To saw (wood). — *hun hərivči.ɛtɛ ixərʌs bi* the wood is to be sawn.
3. To split (wood), cleave, cut up. — *hʌn pušorri.ɛn . . . nikhər* cutting up a lump of butter. 338.11. *mʌltʌrʌŋ ixərčʌm* they used to cut up the lumps of butter. 314.13. (Cp. *du·xərʌs*).

241 b

ooo *xərʌtʌs, xərʌš-* v.i. to be joined (of wood etc.), to adhere, stick. — *buˑt xərʌši bi* it is very adhesive. *šuˑa xərʌtimi, xərʌti bi* it has been well joined, fixed (of a join in wood). *tek* (i.e. *tik*) *qərʌtimi* the mud stuck. Nz. *g utse xərʌtimi* it has stuck to the cloth. (Cs. *-ʌqərʌtʌs).

xərč, xərči y expenditure, expense, expenses. — *xərč ɛtʌs* to make expenditure, expend, spend. *doˑlʌt xərč ɛtʊmʌtɛ* by spending wealth. 38.24. *gukɛ γɛnʌŋ gʌnɛ xərči goˑr ɛtʌm* I have made over this gold to you for travelling expenses. 88.27. Cp. 372.8,9. Ar. Prs.

xʌrts, qərts clapping the hands. — *uˑriˑŋčiŋ xʌrts nɛ* clapping their hands. 140.5. *oˑltʌlik xʌrts nɛtʌn γaib mʌnuˑmʌn* both of them, clapping their hands, vanished. 382.5. (*x-* Gh. Kh.).

xʌs v. *khʌs*.

xʌš ɛtʌs to rub (backwards and forwards), to scour (with mud). — *mili xʌš ɛtʌs* to rub on medicine. *xʌš xʌš ɛtʌs* to stroke the shoulders and face as a caress when going away.

(Cp. *xaˑš ɛtʌs* and see BSOS VIII. 1936, p. 632).

*-*xʌšiŋ*. *-xaˑšiŋ* x Pn.pf. *a-, gu-, i-*, buttocks, backside, bottom, Ar. *mʌqʿʌd*. — *ixʌšiŋ yaˑltʌs* to wash the buttocks. *ixʌšiŋ šʌpiˑkʌtɛ γʌšʌˑp ɛtʊmo* she wiped his backside with bread. 272.5. *bʌloˑšɛ sɛnimi ja axaˑšiŋ γɛnɪšɛ bi* the pot said: "my bottom is of gold". Prov. 9.

1. *-*xʌt -iŋ* y mouth; opening, H. *mūh, dʌhʌn*. — *toˑbʌqɛ iˑxʌt* the muzzle of a gun. *sʌkʌyɛ ixʌt* opening in top of grain-store on roof. Cp. 138.6, Prov. 39.

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000

*-xʌči = *-xʌt + tsɛ(?), v. s.v. ixʌči. 170.20, 78.22.

2. xʌt -ɛŋ y writing, letter — *ja aᵛčutsʊm xʌt di bila* a letter has come from my brother. 10.12. Cp. 10.9,10. Ar. Prs.

3. xʌt, khʌt down, downwards, down on. — *gʊtʌs xʌt hʊrʊši bi* the corpse sits down. 312.14. *Karəgʌdimʊtsɛ xʌt hʌn bʊᵛʌn diᵛmi* a cow came down (by) the K. 186.3. γʊᵛa xʌt *daiyʌm* I came down a descent. *mʊriŋɛ xʌt mʊdɛlimi* he struck down on her hand, i.e. he struck her on the hand. 386.15. *xʌt* (or, *khʌt*) *wʌšimi* he (shot and) brought down (the pigeon). 148.8. *khʌt khʌt* "down, down" (said to plough-oxen meaning "keep down to the line"). N. *xʌt nɛ* westwards (being down the valley). (Cp. 2. *xa*).

xʌtər y danger, dangerous. — *gʊtɛ gʌn, gʊtɛ duro, xʌtər bila* this road, this business, is dangerous. Ar. Prs.

xʌṭi, xʌṭɛ lower. — *xʌṭi* (or, *xʌṭɛ*) *mʊš* the lower end, lower side of. *Iršaᵛdtsʊm xʌti mʊš Raminjɛ xa* from Irshad as far as Raminj at the lower end (of the valley). 284.17. Cp. 278.5.

(Probably the Oblique of 3. *xʌṭ*; contrast *dʌli, dʌlimʊš* the upper end).

xʌṭuᵛm from below, from down-country. — *xʌṭuᵛm baiyu* "salt from the Punjab". Nz.

xʌzaᵛna x treasure. — *xʌzaᵛna bimʌn uyoᵛn* all the treasure there was. 174.19. Ar. Prs.

xʌziᵛna, γʌziᵛna x treasury. — *iᵛsɛ xʌziᵛna.aṭɛ fʌt ʌmʌnʌm* I have come upon the treasury. 54.8. *itsuᵛin čʊmʌrɛ xʌzinaᵛaṭər* take him to the treasury of iron. 172.18. *xʌzinaᵛlo bai.i* he

is in the treasury. 86.7. *xʌzina hiŋ* the door of the treasury. §6.9. Ar. Prs. 000

xair, xair kɛ not? (following an interrogative verb and expecting an affirmative answer; cp. Latin nonne).

It appears to be used as an equivalent for: assuredly, to be sure, indeed, H. *albʌttʌ*. QUB gave the meaning as: "perhaps", "may be". *do.umʌn bai.a xair kɛ?* is he not a strong man? 162.25. *um Š. B. ba xair?* you are Š. B. aren't you? 378.6. *ma mayom h'ɛnʌšwik bama xair kɛ* you are all wise men to be sure(?) 158.4. *tsil ačhima kɛ gowr šuwa maimtsɛ, xair, gutɛ mulkulo . . . omʌnš!* if you give me water it will be well for you; if you don't may you not remain in this country! 384.16.

(Here there is no interrogative and *xair* seems to be equivalent to *bɛ kɛ* if not). (Cp. *xair* used in Persian as a negative exclamation, No!).

xau v. 2. *xa*.

xauf ɛtʌs to fear. — *oltʌlike Širi Bʌdʌttsum xauf nɛ* both fearing Š. B. 382.19. Ar. Prs.

xewr sacrificial offering. — *badšatum xewr mimʌnšʌn* let us be a sacrifice for the king. 40.19. *gwtiŋɛ x'ereŋɛ, uyom uwrşʌn!* let them be a sacrifice at (for?) your feet, may they all die! 172.4.

Explained as "*xairat*". The exact meaning is doubtful. If a child breaks anything and is afraid at what it has done its parents say to it "*gwtiŋɛ xereŋɛ!*" to encourage it.

xɛli somewhat, a little, H *thorasa; zʌra*.

Only once recorded:

xɛli čust imʌnimi (the infant) grew somewhat bigger. 242.20.

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000

(In Kho. there is a word *xɛli* meaning "special, superior, select").

xi.aˑl, xɛ.aˑl, khiyaˑl y thought, idea, opinion. — *khiyaˑl ɛtimi baˑdša . . . yɛˑšʌm nosen* he thought "I shall have a look at the king". 2.5,9. *aulaˑd dyusʌsɛ xɛ.aˑl aiyɛˑčai.i* he has no thought of producing offspring. 262.12. Ar. Prs.

'xɪdmʌt, xɪsmʌt, qɪsmʌt service. — *xɪdmʌt ɛtom sis* a man who has rendered service. 348.11.

xɪlta v. *xʌlta*. Ar. Prs.

ximoˑr desire, longing, lust, H. *šauq, rišti.aˑq, tʌmʌnna, aˑrzu*.

Only recorded in:

Ilqʌše ximoˑr gʌlimi A's desire was broken, i.e. satisfied. 68.15.

(Amend the translation given with the text).

(Cp. Kho. *xomoˑr*, desire, taste for, appetite; and Ar. Prs. *ximaˑr?*).

*-*xiˑsʌs*, *-*xiˑš-* to tear, tear in pieces, rend, H. *čirna*. — *gʌtoŋ ixiˑsʌs* to tear (up) cloth. *uˑxiˑšʌm* I'll tear them in pieces (in battle). *guxiˑši* (the wild animal) will tear you in pieces. *nidilin ixiˑsimi* he threw him down and tore him in pieces. 174.18. (Cp. *-*ʌxɛˑsʌs*).

xɪsmʌt v. *xɪdmʌt*.

xismʌtgaˑr, qɪsmʌtgaˑr, -išo hm personal servant. (Ar.) Prs.

xɪsta, qɪstʼa, N. pl. *-mots* x leavened dough, bread made with yeast, yeast. Pers. *xʌmiˑr*. — *xɪsta šʌpik* leavened bread. *qɪsta oˑčan* they make them bake leavened bread. 300.4. Cp. 300.1.

(Cp. Kho. *xɪsta* leaven. Sh. *kɪstʼa* large kind of bread).

xoˑl silk cocoon.

2436

000 *-xo·lʌs, *-xo·lj- Pn.pf. refers to sufferer, to ache, pain, hurt, be sore. — *ja ayæṭis ʌxo·lji bi* my head is aching. *gumɛ guxo·lji bi* your tooth is aching. *amɛlʒ axo·ljivla* my jaw aches.
Pres. Pl. 3rd. x *-*xolji.ɛn*, y *-*xoljitsʌn*.
The following is an isolated variant (said to be vulgar):
inɛ yu·lolo yʌqo·lji bi he has a pain in his belly. Nz.
(Cp. **xo·linʌs* and N. *-*xulʌs*).

*-*xo·linʌs*, *-*xo·li* to pain, hurt. — *ixo·lini·mi* it hurt him. 148.18.
Pres. 3rd. sg. x *ixo·li bi*.
Impf. » » » *ixo·li bim*.

xonɪndʌk -ičiŋ y taking s.o. as a guest to one's house, entertaining, hospitality. (Used only of the entertainment of the Tham when he visits Hèrber). — *xonɪndʌkɛ ha* the house in which the Tham is put up and entertained. *xonɪndʌkičiŋ fʌš mʌnu·mər* when the hospitalities are concluded. 342.12.
(The word stands for the Wkh. *xon yundʌk*. "taking away to one's house", which is used in the same connection. This entry supersedes the note on p. 340 of the Texts).

xor, xɔr, xʊr, snoring, snorting, purring. — *xor ɛtʌs*, N. *xʊr ɛtʌs* to snore. *i·nɛ xo·rɛ ičər dukoyɛljʊma* you will hear the sound of his snoring. 264.23. *xɔrɛ ičər jučilʊm* the sound of his snoring was coming, i.e. was audible. 266.2. *hʌɣʊrɛ xor ɛči bi* the horse is snorting. *bu·šɛ xʊr ɛči bi* the cat is purring. ^1

xoro·nč v. *xʊro·nč*.

xšü· ɛtʌs to blow with bellows. V. *šü· ɛtʌs* of which it was said by IYB to be the correct form.

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^1 [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

000 *xvd'a* hm God. hf. divine being, goddess (term applied to Fatima). — *xvdai.e gʌnɛ ʌkivl a·i.ati* for God's sake don't do thus. *Xvda·yɛ tu·mvk etai.i* God has created it. 6.17.

A Genitive in *-o* was once recorded: *Xvda·yo qvdərʌt* by the power of God. 52.12. *Bi·bi Fa·tɪma xvd'a bo* B. F. is a goddess. QUB. *xvda·mo hə·dər ni bai.i* he has gone to the house of the wife of a prophet. QUB. Prs.

xvda·mo (Gen. of *xvd'a* hf) pertaining to the Goddess (i.e. Fatima). — *xvda·mo xvdeɪ bai.i* he is an offering to the Goddess, i.e. he is unmarried.

xvda·yaʊ, *xvdaiyaʊ* good-bye, adieu, farewell. — *xvdayaʊ goʊ mʌniṣ!* God be with you, farewell to you! 94.8. Cp. 212.12.

(The expression is used in both Sh. and Kho. and is presumably *Xvda* + *yaʊ* God (be your) friend!) Prs.

xvda·yo v. *xvd'a*.

xvdeɪ, *xvdəi.i* an offering in the name of God, alms (in the form of food), *xairat*. — *ku·lto xvdeɪ etʌs bila* alms are to be given today. *mu xvdeɪ učhi.ʌs* alms are now to be given to them, i.e. the people. *huyɛ·s nuyɛn nu·n Misga·rkutɛ xvdəi.i ečʌn* the Misgaris taking goats go and sacrifice (and distribute) them as alms 290.8.

xu·k, *ku·k*, *-ršo*, *-uts* x pig. — *xu·kršo* (or, *ku·kršo*) *uy'ərčər evimi* he sent him to pasture the swine. 372.13. Cp. 366.10.

Used metaphorically: h. *xu·kršo* (or, *xu·kuts*) *-ba·n* they are swine i.e. bad-tempered people of evil character. Prs.

*-xvlas, *-axvlas; *-xvlj-, *-axvlj- N., v.t. to hurt. — *axvlji bi* it hurts me. *exvlja ba* I am hurting him. *ixvlam* I hurt him. *aiyexvli* don't hurt him. (Cp. *-xvlas). 000

xvmuʷin pl. *xvmuʷyo*, v. *hvmuʷin*. 250.4.

xuʷn elas to commit murder. Prs.

xuʷndaʷr, *kundaʷr -iło* h murderer. Prs.

*-*xundo* x hunch, hump.

*-*xvndukiţ*, pl. *xvndukiʌants* hunch-back; humped, rounded. — *ixvndukiţ sis*, *ixvndukiţan* a hunch-backed person. *ixundukiţ mərtan bila* it is a humped, rounded, earth cliff. QUB.

xuʷni -tiŋ h murderer. Prs.

[illegible]

xvr v. *xor*.

xvraʷbguʷin -guʷiyo h. Jemadar or Superintendent of gold-washers (of whom there used to be one for each of the three tribes: *Xvrukots*, *Bvroŋ* and *Bəraʷtiliŋ*). 348.5.

xvraʷk, *xvraʷka* x food. — *ţi.asər xvraʷka* food for eating. 120.23. Cp. 172.21, 380.18. Prs.

xvraʷpo, *xvraʷpomets* x tray for washing sand to extract gold. 348.4.

xvrg'as v. *hvrgas*.

xuʷrgo v. *hvrgo*.

xuʷrk, *xvrk*, *khuʷrk*, *-iŋ* y broken straw, "*bhoosa*".

xvroʷnę, *xərroʷnę*, *xoroʷnę*, *qoroʷnę*, *xvrunę* y cloud, rain-cloud, fog, mist. — *hərraʷlte* . . . *xvroʷnčan* a rain-cloud. 106.18. *ivte xvroʷnčatsum* from that cloud. 106.19. *tiʷktsum xvrunę duʷimi* a mist rose from the ground. (Cp. perhaps N. *kovrom*, *kvruʷn* mist).

*-*xvrpat -iŋ* y lungs. H. *phephra*. — *ixvrpat galiʷz* pneumonia. McK & GR. N. *aʷxvrpat(iŋ)* my lungs. *exvrpat* his lungs.

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[see corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

xurtə, xurtə, -iŋ, -eŋ y. N. *xurtə, qurtə* -*iŋ* dust. — *gurəkilafum xurtə 'eori* wipe (*lit.* send) the dust from your face. *tiri kha horəlte xurtə dirəsimi* of which the meaning is: he produced a storm of combined wind, rain and dust, (no doubt the usual dust-storm followed by rain). 122.12. Cp. 122.13.

xurtəsumə̄ having a cold in the head. — *ja xurtəsumə̄ amana ba* I have caught a cold in the head. *wa xurtəsumə̄ gumanʼa?* have you got a cold in the head?

xurwt v. *qurwt*.

xus, y N. *kus* cough. — *xus* [illegible] *stas* to [illegible] cough (prop. [illegible] to cough), *xus ačila, xus gočila* I have a cough, you have a cough.

1. *xuṣ*, pl. x *xuṣarnts*, y *xuṣarŋ*, empty. (Possibly to be compared with Psht. *xuže*).

2. *xuṣ*.

a. Glad, happy, pleased. — *xuṣ amanam* I am (have become) very glad, pleased. 4.10. *basantsum xuṣ gumaima?* what are you pleased about? EOL. N. *kinə sis but xuṣ ačinə̄* this man pleased me greatly.

b. *xuṣ stas* to choose, select, like, prefer. — *amanor xuṣ ečə ki* whichever person you prefer. *Pisanulo Daltas Manuwko burt xuṣ stuman* in Pisan they very much liked, or took a great fancy to, D. M. 262.6. N. *inə sis jawə xuṣ ečubai.i* the man likes me. N. *ja inərə xuṣ ačiwčə ba* I don't like him.

c. Pleasing to, attractive to. — *tərə kin inər xuṣ ham* one was so pleasing to the other, i.e. they so loved each other. 50.1. *itə dil wor*

000 *xuś dirusi* the place pleased them. 294.9. *xuśar wye xuś bila ke ifen* take whichever (horse) you prefer. *xuśo yuve* his favourite wife.

(In the last two examples *xuś* seems to be used as a noun). Trs.

xuś amadi! welcome! — *thamar xuś amadi xishen* they say "you are welcome" to the Tham. 338.7.

(This Persian phrase is apparently used by Wakhis).

xuśi pleasure, joy, rejoicing. — *xuśi.e ka* with pleasure, gladly, happily. 178.7. *xuśi ofas* to display pleasure, make merry. *xuśi 'ofas* let us make merry! *ar imaśimo xuśi 'ofimi* being afraid, he made a display of joy. 16.6. [illegible] *'ofimi* at the time of his departure he expressed pleasure with Š. B., probably meaning he took a cordial leave of Š. B. 10.15. Prs.

xuśwari glad, happy. Prs.

xuthe the marriage service (read by a priest). — *xuthe γafonimi* he read the marriage service. 18.13. Cp. 302.15. Ar. Prs.

L.

la· an exclamation: ho!

lavi lavi manow to chatter cheerfully, or out of happiness, H. *xuś hokar bavt karna.*

lajʼeś manow (of a thing spilt) to flow over everything. QUB. — *moltaiiq γafunfu lajʼeś manitu* the blood has flowed all over the clothes. *siarki gutsi lajʼeś manilu* the ink has been spilt all over you. (IUB gave the meaning as H. *ałtar*, spoilt).

lanta -mots x strips of dough. — *lanta ifunfo* a kind of food with strips of dough in it.

OOO *lal -iŋ* y ruby. Ar. Prs.

lal'ɔr, lal'ir naked. — *lam lalɔr* stark ("shining") naked.[1]

lalṭen, pl. *lalṭiviyo, lalṭiŋuts* x lantern. Eng.

**-lamaći -iŋ* y in the lap of. — *malamaćɔr nam ja ji di.uźam* going on to her lap I shall expire. 364.10.

(This is simply the noun **-lamat* + *ći*).

lamat y curse, imprecation. — *imɔr lamat stin* curse ye him. *uŋɔr lamat manić* curse be on you! 150.2. Ar. Prs.

1. *laŋ* aside, to one side, out of the way. — *laŋ man'e* get to one side, get out of the way. 228.15. Cp. 120.12. [illegible] had passed away. 122.13. *laŋ masuman. laŋ ormanumo* they said to her: "Get out of the way!" She didn't budge. 256.9. *laŋ orti* move them (animals, stones) to one side.

(Cp. *Laŋ* of which it is the diminutive).

2. *laŋ manam* to walk swinging one's arms. H. *bazu ko hilakar čalna.*

(Cp. Sh. *laŋ laṭhaŋ*, or *laŋ lathak, thaṭki*, to swagger along?).

lao y.

1. A shout, halloo. — *Hanuman Muntsum lao mai.i bila* a shout, halloo, proceeds from H. M. 180.11.
2. Hullo! equivalent to *aru*.

lao jao mischief maker, slanderer, H. *kariv, nahaq bakwas karnewala.* — *sodagɔr sisɔr se.ibam "buṭ lao jao"* they say of a merchant b. l. j. i.e. that he is hard in a bargain and dishonest, giving short weight. QUR.

laq late, delayed. — *khu.in biranć laq manimi.en* this year the mulberries

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[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 543-Analyst]

have been late. *ḥori laṛ̥ ḍuṛ'unimi* the barley ripened late. *ölji laṛ̥ gots ćowan* they will do this later. *srub nivs laṛ̥ manimi* the Sahib's going has been delayed. *sruba nivs laṛ̥ ćnii* the Sahib has postponed his departure.

laṛ̥ manow to spread over, overlay. — *morsan dimin ćiso gotuḍ'aji laṛ̥ man'imi* a mud-flood coming, overlaid the dead bodies. 240.14.

(Cp. Sh. *laṛ̥ hoski*, to be spread over, collected on).

laṛ̥a thin, out of condition, H. *dubla*. — *ja hayur laṛ̥a bas manimison* why have my horses become thin? 378.10.

(Cp. Sh. *Laṛ̥o Laṛ̥o manuṛ̥i*, very poor men; Kho. *Laṛ̥a*, dull, stupid, weak, lazy).

laṛ̥ f small rounded hill, hillock. 194.7. — *Hindzio ćsu laṛ̥ṛ̥er ćsiw mayen* at Hindi taking goats up on to that knoll. 196.4.8. (This is reckoned a Sh. word. Cp. Sh. *laṛ̥*, small hill).

laṛ̥haw x (morning)star. — *gowa laṛ̥aw* the morning-star. *ḍuṛ'unis laṛ̥aw ... ḍuw maśi bi* the morning star of youth ... sets. 262.1.

(-ch- IYB. Cp. Sh. *loṛ̥i laṛ̥aw* the morning-star).

laṛ̥et v. *laṛ̥het*.

laṛ̥ay paṛ̥ay swaying with hunger and weakness.

laṛ̥an pl. *laṛ̥ani* dumb. — *gfwt laṛ̥an ju.an* like a dumb Div. (an idiot — Kho. *gadevi* — who can't speak properly). 160.20.

laṛ̥pire v. *laṛ̥pire*.

laṛ̥ N. v. 1. *laṛ̥*.

laṛ̥am, laṛ̥ap glittering, shining. — *laṛ̥am manow* to glitter, shine. *hayur laṛ̥am mai bi* the horse is shining (after

being groomed, or with perspiration when galloping in the distance). *Ilam* + *Lam*. Cp. Sh. *lalam* burning brightly).

1. *Lam*, *lawa* shining, burning, H. *tamak*. — *Lam ałas* to light (fire etc.). 36.15. *yfu lam s, ce, ełi* light the fire. *lam ałum yfu* a lighted fire. *lam manare* to shine, flash. *ivkilar kan ralan lam manimi* a light shone in his face. 24.2. *hard lam manimi* lightning flashed. *ine sowat lam gwtumas* they saw his face shining. 30.18. Cp. 132.6, 134.9,10,12.
   (Cp. Sh. *Lam thrrki*, *Lam hrrki*; Khe. *lawa*, *lam*).
2. *Lam* y pain in any part of the head above the throat, catarrh QUB; headache, H. *sardard*, *dard i sirasar* IUB. *lam atila* I am suffering from pain in the head. (Cp. Khe. *Lam*, burning pain).

Lamas skirt. — *Lamas dari* as raising her skirt. 230.7. (Cp. Sh. *lahan*, Pahl. *Lamas*, Pre. *daman*).

**Lamal*, **lamal* -ąg y lap, front skirt. — *galamal khirl ełi* hold out your skirt (for gifts). *alamali hurałali* (the child) is sitting on my lap. (Cp. **lamali*)

Lam dam biri. IUB.
   1. Pain in any part of the body and in the head. QUB; a disease which causes pain in the joints, H. *jorbad dard hurała marag*. IUB.
   2. A person who gives trouble, H. *taklif dernewala kaya*. (Cp. 2. *Lam* and 1. *dam*).

Lam jam manare to glitter. 186.2, to be resplendent. — *Hunzas gulgamis khwaiyar ranirag galag ragil lam jam mulikam* the women of Hunza

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[see entry Inl'ts'r, p. 246b, category 66 – Analyst]

000 at festival time putting on coloured clothes become resplendent. (Cp. 1. *Lam*).

Laŋ moving, shaking. — *Laŋ manov* v.i. to move, stir. *Laŋ omoi.i bi* it doesn't move, it is stable, firm. *Laŋ oman* don't move, keep still. *wap ωrda ef*... *Laŋ oman* you have made a promise, don't move, i.e. abide by it. 160.23. Cp. 134.12. *Laŋ otas* v.t. to move, shift, shake. *gafie Laŋ otas* to shake the head.

(Cp. *Laŋ* & Sh. *Laŋ berski*, *Laŋ thorski*, & Khe. *Laŋ lak*).

Lap.

1. Mouthful, morsel. — *Lap* (or, *Lapas*) *...*atas* to put s.t. in s.o's mouth, to feed (a child). *Ieŋ Lap a* put it in my mouth as it is (i.e. even though it is bitter). 132.17. *Kilov Lap e* feed the child (with s.t.). *ωnlo . . . pfitimots Lap 'etimi* he put 3 pieces of bread in its (the calf's) mouth. 132.19. *Lap otas* to put in one's own mouth. *ωur ωpov yur ...* *dωωm ωur Lap ef'imi* that infant put (the infant) that had come out first, in his mouth. 110.4.
2. A portion, half of a flap of bread, field etc.). — *Lapas* is more than *ledas*.

(Cp. Sh. *Lap*, mouthful, morsel, small piece of s.t., half of a flap of bread. *Lap thorski*, to put in one's mouth).

Laph cf. *lephef*; *Lifef*. Only recorded in: *Lephef* *...*amsi* thumb.

1. *Laŋ* naked, uncovered (man, horse etc.). — *tan Laŋ* stark naked. *Laŋ dωω pferi.ar pimo* advancing naked she plunged into the pond. 14.6. Cp. 316.7. N. *Lar* bare, desert (of land).

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000 *ese ćiṣ tan lax bi* that mountain is quite bare. (Cp. Kho. *luq*, stark naked).

2. *laq manaw* to shake, tremble. — *ete teṇoṣ uyon laq* (or, *lorza*) *manimi* the whole palace shook. 174.11.
(Cp. Kho. *laqalaq*, "not being able to walk straight owing to weakness", staggering).

laqbeṣ etas IUB to pound, H. *kuṭna*. QUB to hammer (a man).

laqpiṣ, pl. *laqpiṣiṇ*, *laqpiæṇ* N. y also: *laspiṇ* handkerchief. 148.24.
(Cp. Sh. *lakpiṣ* & *laspiṣk*).

lor.
1. Waggling about; swinging or swaying irregularly.
2. (Of a person) coming empty-handed (because a man who is not carrying a load swings his body and arms as he walks).

lorza shaking. — *ete teṇoṣ uyon lorza manimi* the whole palace shook.174.11. N. *lordza* y ague. Prs.

1. *las*. Only recorded in: *ćhuṣiæ las* the remains of a cocoon after the removal of the silk. —

2. *las* IUB without consequence, insignificant, H. *biṣaṇa*. QUB gave: *lal'as*, *lilis*, without rank or dignity, H. *biṣaṇa*, *beṇuṭha*.

laspiṇ N. v. *laqpiṣ*.

laṣ etas to lick. 138.5 ff.
(Cp. Sh. *laṣ thorki*, to lick).

laṣu -mots gluttonous, glutton, greedy. — *laṣuwan bai, bo* he, she, is a glutton. *laṣumotsik baṇ* they are gluttons. *jaw laṣumi aso* (i.e. *laṣu aiyaso*) don't call me a glutton. (Related to *las*).

laṭ damage, loss, H. *nuqsan*. — *laṭṭer ayaiyam* I incurred loss.

laṭh'a, pl. *laṭhaṇ* y cotton cloth, Punj. *laṭṭha*. — *maiyadar laṭṭa* sisal

cotton material (in which the bride-price is assessed), v. 304.6, also used for shrouds, v. 310.5.

lai.iq. *laʿiq*, *-iśo* capable, worthy, proper. Ar. Prs.

**-lčin*, pl. **-lčumʊts*, x eye. — **-lčin pʃuʿt ɛtʌs* to open (one's) eye. **-lčin liʿǰ ɛtʌs*, **-lčin ɛstʌqai.ʌs* to close (one's) eye. **-lčin diʿp ɛtʌs* to wink the eye. **-lčin ɛtʌs* to watch, look out; + dat. to watch, keep an eye on s.o. *juʿčoma nʊsɛ alčin ɛča baiyʌm* saying "you will come" I was watching (for you). 52.18. Cp. 56.10. *kiʿnɛ sisər gulčin ɛti* watch, keep an eye on, this man. *gulčʊmʊtsər bəreʿya ba* I am looking at your eyes. 148.14. *miʿlčinər dʌltʌs yʿetsʌm* we had seen him handsome in our eye(s), i.e. he appeared handsome to us. 122.15. *jɛ aiyʌš kɛ uʿŋɛ gulčinər bʌɣərk amʌna ba* I have become wicked in the sight of heaven and in your sight. 368.4. *mɛn kɛ alčinɛ oʿiʿtsa ba* I have seen no one with my eye(s). 268.10. *dʊšmaʿyo bʌmʌn uyoʿn jaʿtɛ ulčin ɛčaʿn* all my enemies cast (hostile) eyes on me. 364.1. *hʌn iʿlčinʌŋɛ sis* a one-eyed person. Cp. 90.23.

(V. also s.vv. *gəri*, *nʌna*, *tʌl*).

1. *le.i*, *le*, *lɛ* O! (an exclamation used in addressing a male person or persons, and usually followed by their name or title). — *le.i hʌsto ʌštaiyo!* O elephant grooms. 76.23. *le.i padša!* O King! 94.14. Cp. 92.13,27, 164.23,26 etc. *padša se.ibai.i "le.i ʌtiʿmi.a?"* the king says: "O (you) has he not come?" 76.26. *le jʌmaʿʌt, ničen!* "O my husband, let us go!" 36.1. *lɛ ɛʿi!* O, my son! 106.14. *čərtɛ duʿyoma lɛ, buwərtɛ duʿyom?*

am I to hang on to the cliff or to the water-melon? (*le* is probably here equivalent to, "you there!", or "look here!"). 000

2. *levi -miciŋ* y breastwork, H. *morča*. (Cp. Sh. *lɔi*, loophole).

levkin but. — *ho u xoši etastse dɔγ'u-rskinomAn, levkin ine uyum i mAlolo bAm* then they began to make rejoicing, but his elder son was in the field. 373.23. Ar. Prs.

levli o mAjnum name of a constellation in which one star appears to follow another. Ar. Prs.

l'eḍo, pl. *leḍomots, leḍutiŋ, leḍišo*, bastard. (Cp. Sh. *leḍo*).

lel, lel lel known, apparent to. — *jar lel api* I don't know. *lel mAnas* + dat. to be, become, known to. *iner lel me.imi* it will be known to him. 28.7. *ja jAmaat bAme lel omAnimi* of my husband being (alive) it has not become known, i.e. it has not appeared whether my husband is alive. 58.14. *ekAtiŋ yare mene lel numAn delumAn ke* if anyone becoming aware (of the facts) hits him under the armpits. 110.12. Cp. 16.7. *lel *-AtAs* to let s.o. know, to make known. *yare etome lel aiyetomi* he made it not known concerning the burial, i.e. he concealed all traces of the burial. 84.6. *lel amortom* without letting her know, i.e without her knowledge. 168.3. *lel etAs* to know, recognise. *ise haiyai.iŋ je lel ečam* I shall recognise its tokens. 136.1. *lel netAn* recognising him. 380.3. Cp. Prov. 22. (Cp. Sh. *lel*).

lelitu IUB, *lalitu* QUB, blood-stained, H. *xum aluda*. (Cp. Sh. *lel* blood. The word is also Sh. in form).

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OOO*lifaʸfa*, pl. *lifaʸfʌŋ* y envelope. Ar. Prs.

liʸk -iŋ, -imiŋ y bribe. — *liʸk gʌnʌs, liʸk ɛcyʌs* to take a bribe. *iʸnər liʸk ɛtai.i*, or, *iɛhi bai.i* he has bribed him, he has given him a bribe. Cp. Prov. 27. (Cp. Sh. *lɪk*, lik).

lili.'o, -miŋ, -miɛiŋ y violet. — *ruʸŋɛ lili.'o* wild violet. *bʌsi.ulʊm liʸli.'o* garden violet. (Cp. Sh. *lilo*).

liʸm -ʌnts, N. Pl. *-aʸints*, x arrow-head ("sharp for hunting" N.). — *iʸsɛ liʸmɛ iʸlji nɛ kayʌnts bim* the arrow-head had barbs (pointing) backwards. 150.22. Cp. 148.17.

(Cp. *sɪq*. In Hz. both words are said to denote "arrow-head" in general).

liʸo laʸo sparkling, showy, meretricious. — *liʸo laʸo maʸl di.ušaʸn Bavlšɪviʸki; yərʊm ju.ʌn šu.a ḍʌŋ maʸl-api* the Bolsheviks produce showy goods; it isn't good strong stuff as in former days.

lip ɛtʌs to fling, throw away, throw about. — *mʌtʌn lip ɛ* throw it far away. *bʌkoʸriŋ lip ɛtimi* it threw about the turfs. 132.23. *iʸmo xʌnjər yʌkʌl lip nɛ* flinging his dagger towards him. 380.7. *gʊtɛ mʌmu nʌs numʌn lip ɛtʌstsɛ yʌški bila* this milk having gone bad ("smelly") is fit to be thrown away. EOL.

(Cp. Sh. *lɪp thoʸrki*, to throw away).

liʸš closed, shut, (joined together). — *aʸlčin liʸš ɛtʌm* I closed my eye. *sʌndʊqɛ waʸrɪš liʸš bila* the lid of the box is shut. *uʸlčömʊts uriʸŋʌṭɛ liʸš očaʸn* they close the eyes (of the corpses) with their hands. 310.2.

(Cp. Sh. *liʸš thoʸrki*, to shut, make join).

*-lji behind. This word can take all the Pn.pf.s., *a-, gu-, mu-*, but in

000

practice appears almost always in the form *iʷlji* q.v. — *aʷlji dosʒʌlčoma* you will arrive behind me, i.e overtake me. *ja aʷljikʌŋ dʌldi.ɛm bʌm* he was standing behind me.

loʷi N. *-mots* x fox.

(Cp. Sh. *loʷī* female fox).

loṭ, *loʷṭ* crumpled, wrinkled. — *loṭ ɛtʌs* v.t. to crumple, to wrinkle (the forehead). *loṭ ɛtom* crumpled. *ufʌṭimots loṭ ɛtomʌn* they wrinkled their foreheads, i.e. they frowned.

(Cp. Sh. *loṭ*, crease).

loṭkrš, pl. x *loṭki.ɛnts*, y *lotki.ʌŋ*. crumpled. — *loṭki.ʌŋ ɣuyʌŋ* wavy (?) hair.

loʷṭo -mots x ball (of yarn, string). — *loʷṭo di.uʷlʌs* to wind up a ball of thread. *gʌšu.ɛ loʷṭo* ball of yarn (for woof). (Cp. Sh. *loʷṭo*).

loʷyo chicken-pox.

loʷyomots N., *loʷimots* McK, measles. (This word is apparently the plural form of the preceding. There is a difficulty about the names of diseases which are probably not differentiated by the people).

*-*lpuʷr -ʌŋ*, IUB *-iŋ* eyelash.

(Probably *-*l* + *buʷr*, hair).

*-*ltaʷnts* x eyebrow, eyebrows. — *iltaʷnts hərʌŋolo* between his eyebrows. 92.2.

*-*ltʌɣʌyʌs*, v. *iltʌɣʌyʌs*, *bʌldɛnts ultʌɣʌyomʌn* they plastered the verandas.

*-*ltʌlʌnʌs*, *-*ltai-*, v.i. to change into, turn into. — *aʷltʌlaiyʌm* I'll change into . . . *iltʌlai bai.i* he is turning into . . . *aʷltʌlʌnʌm* I changed into . . . *iʷnɛ iʷ ai.inʌq iʷltʌlʌnʌm sɛ.ibaʷn* his son had turned into a marmot, they say. 254.2.

The corresponding transitive notion is sometimes expressed by *pfər ɛtʌs*.

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(Cs. *-*ʌltʌlʌnʌs*. Cp. *tʌlɛ·nʌs*, which appears to be a simplified form lacking the *-*l* prefix. Cp. also *dʊltʌlʌnʌs*). 000

*-*ltʌli.ʌs*, *-*ltʌličʌ-*, v.t. to swathe, wind up in (swaddling clothes). — *gʊltʌli.ʌsʊlo gʌp jikʌnʌnɛ gʊltʌli.ɛ baiyʌm* when strapping you (as infant) up I had wound you up with a hide strap. 158.4. *tališʊlo bʌγɛriŋ nikiɛn iltʌličʌn* putting (dry) cowdung in the swaddling clothes they wind him up in them. (V. s.v. *tʌliš*).

*-*lt'ʌltər -iŋ* y.

1. Foreleg of quadruped from shoulder to fetlock. — *i·ltʌltəriŋɛ guč* front edge of legs and shoulder. 338.1.
2. Shoulder of horse. — *hʌγʊrɛ ilt'ʌltər* the horse's shoulder.
3. Human arm (sometimes). — *mʌlt'ʌltəriŋɛ gʊkɛ bitsʌŋ* "your arms are these!", meaning "you have become fat!"

*-*ltʌnʌs* to pound (x objects). — *gʊsɛ baiyu iltʌn* pound this salt. EOL. *hʌni* (x pl.) *ʊ·ltʌn*, *n'ʊ·ltʌn* pound the kernels, having pounded the kernels.

(Cp. 1. *tʌnʌ·s*, used when the object is y).

*-*ltʌnts*, pl. *-*ltai.iŋ* y the whole leg (of man or animal). — *hʌγʊrɛ i·ljі i·ltai.iŋ tha·rko bitsʌn* the horse's hindlegs are long. *i·ltai.iŋ tha·rko.ʌn bai.i* he is a long-legged man.

1. *-*lt'aiyʌs*, to follow.

Only recorded in the Ppa forms: *i·tsi nʊlt'ʌn* following him. *gʊtsi nʊlt'ʌn* following thee. *ʊtsi nʊlt'ʌn* following them. 30.10.

(Cp. 2. *taiyʌs* of which it probably represents an earlier stage, the *l-*

having been preserved owing to the Ppa. prefix *nv-*). 000

2. '*-*ltaiyʌs*, *-*ltʌč-*, *-*ltæč-*, Impv. *-*lta*, Ppa. *n**-*ltʌn*, to put on (foot-gear, when x objects). — *hu·čo i·ltaiyʌs* to put on one pabboo (boot). *hu·čo u·ltaiyʌs* to put on a pair of pabboos. *bɛsʌn i·ltačʌn* what shall we put on (our feet)? 132.5. *čʌpʌlimʊts ultʌ·mi* (or, *ultʌmi*) he put on the sandals. 28.16, 32.4.

The forms of the Ppa. may be noted. When the object is
x sg. it is *n'iltʌn;* when it is.
x pl. it is *n'ultʌn;* when it is.
y pl. it is *nʊlt'ʌn* (from 3. *taiyʌs*).

So: *hu·čo kɛ ta.očiŋ . . . n'ultʌn, nʊlt'ʌn* putting on the pabboos (x pl.) and putting on the leg-bandages (y pl.). 130.10, 132.2.

Negative:
(*hu·čo*) *e·ltaiyʌm* I did not put on (a pabboo). (*čʌplimʊts*) *o·ltaiyʌm* I did not put on (sandals).

Similarly, Impv.: *e·lta, o·lta.*

(Cp. 3. *taiyʌs*, used when the object is y. Cp. also '*-*ʌltaiyʌs*).

*-*ltin*, pl. *-*lt'i·yo*, x.

1. Bone.
2. Blood-relation. — *jɛ·imo altin bai.i* he is my blood-relation. *u·imo ult'i·yo ba·n* they are their blood-relations.

(This is an *-l-prefix form of *tin*, bone. Cp. *-*ltur* and *tur*, horn. V. § 128. II.).

*-*ltʊlʌs*, *-*ltʊlj-*, Impv. *-*ltʊl*, Ppa. *n'*-*ltʊl* to saddle, equip (a horse). — *hʌγʊr i·ltʊl* saddle the horse. *hʌγʊr e·ltʊl* don't saddle the horse. *i·ltʊljʌm, i·ltʊlʌm* I shall saddle it, I saddled it. (*hʌγʊr*) γɛnɪše *tili.eŋ gɛnɪše ta·bʌŋɛ*

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ooo *ka niltvl* equipping the horse with a golden saddle and a golden bridle. 4.17. *Alqaš wʌzir niltvl itsuʷmʌn B. Jʌmhuʷr hiŋtsər* saddling Alqash Wazir they led him off to B. J.'s door. 78.23.

*-*ltumʌl -iŋ* y.

1. Ear. — *aʷltumʌlər gi* get into my ear. 132.12. *dʌγu.i gʌp . . . m'iltumʌl juwʌn γɪrγit mai.i bi* raw hide . . . becomes soft like one's (*lit.* our) ear. 128.20, 130.6.

   With the suffix *-či, -čər.* *aʷltumʌlči čur bi* there is a knife in my ear. 134.1. *Pʌŋču n'inin iltumʌlčər giʷmi* P. proceeded and got into its ear. 132.13.

2. *-*ltumʌl ɛtʌs* to listen. — *ja bərər gult'umʌl ɛti* listen to what I say. *mʌltuʷmʌl ɛtina iʷnɛ bɛsʌn čʌγa ɛʷčai.i. Nimʌn ultuʷmʌl ɛʷčər* listen to what he says. They went off to listen. 126.17. Cp. 38.12, 40.18, 96.11,13, 128.14, 218.7, 248.5.

3. Priming-pan of matchlock gun. — *tobʌqɛ iʷltumʌl* priming-pan. *iʷltumʌlʌtɛ miʷli.ɛŋ* priming-powder.

*-*ltuʷr, -i.ɛŋ, -i.ʌŋ* y horn. — *bušoʷšo.ɛ iʷlt'uʷri.ɛŋ* the calf's horns. 104,22. Cp. 138.23. *gutɛ γɛnɪšɛ gʊltuʷrʌtɛ* with this golden horn of yours. 132.20.

(This is an *-l-prefix form of 1. *tuʷr* q.v.).

*-*lt'ʊr*, *-*lt'uʷro mʌnaʷs* to imitate. — *uʷɛ kɛ Bʊlčʊtoʷko iltuʷro nʊma* they too imitating B.-206.8. *γa gayu iltʊr numʌn* the crow initating the chikor (partridge). Prov. 38.

*-*lturʌs*, *-*ltʊrč-*. V. s.v. *iʷltʊrʌs*.

*-*ltʊs*, *-*ltuʷs*, pl. *-*lt'ušiŋ* & *tuš'ʌŋ* y burying, burial, interment. — *gutə miltuʷsɛ diš* this burial place, grave-

000

yard, of ours. 112.3. *ultuʷsɛ diš* their burial ground. 112.21. *iʷltus ˈɛʷtʌs* to bury him.

lukʌn a little, a small quantity; slightly. — *čʌp lukʌn gʌn* get a little meat. *lukʌn šʌpiʷk* a little bread (less than *lʌp*). *čumʌr lukʌn ʌči* give me a little iron. 172.17. Cp. 132.16. *lukʌn ɣi.aʷd* a little more. 170.5. *lukʌn awʌrʌm* I have become, i.e. I am, a little tired. *lukʌn gəruʷrum* a little hot.

(Cp. Sh. *lukuk* a little. Sh. *-uk* (← *ɛk*) corresponds to Bu. *-ʌn*).

luʷlˈɛʷš (*ɛtʌs*) weeping, mourning for and praising the dead, H. *gɣrya*, *maʷtrm*.

luʷm y strength, power, resources, H. *ṭaʷqʌt*, *quʷwʌt*, *čaʷra*.

In the texts also used ironically for weakness, wretched state, powerlessness, H. *kʌm ḥaiṣiyʌt*, *ˈaʷjɣzi*, *laʷčaʷri*.

ja luʷm kɛ hʌwaʷl gutɛ bila my strength (i.e. weakness) and circumstances are this (that you see). 136.11,20, 138.26. Cp. 120.27. (Cp. *biʷluʷm*, weak).

luq, *loq*, *-ˈʌnts*, *-uts*, x rag, rags, ragged clothes. — *luqʌn iyoʷlai.i* he has put on rags. *luqots uyoʷljaʷn* they dress in rags. *luqa dumaʷn yoʷlai.i* he has put on rags and tatters.

(Cp. Kho. *luq*, rag, rags, very old clothes).

M.

ma you (pl.). The base in most of the oblique cases is *maʷm-*, *mʌm-*. For the case forms see § 119.

ma-, *mʌ-* prefixal agglutinative form of *ma*, your, you (pl.). Used also independently with some case suffixes, e.g. *maʷr* to you; *mʌtsimo* from you. V. § 123 & 127.

m'aγυn, mʌγυn, pl. *m'aγuyo* x. 000

1. Bead, necklace. — *diŋ maγυn* 1. a blue bead. 2. a male mallard (= "blue-green necklace"?)
2. Spool, reel. — *sərɛ maγυn* reel of thread. *hi·skɛ mʌγυn* spool used as pulley wheel on loom. *ḍo·ḍo.ɛ maγυṇ* Adam's apple.

(Cp. Sh. *ma·ni, ma·nɛ*, round bead, necklace; GB (*ḍoḍāī*) *māṇi*, Adam's apple).

mahr, mahər, ma·r, mʌhər y payment due from bridegroom to the bride's father at marriage. — *tsundo rupi.a ma·r* (or, *mahər*) *ɛ·skərša·n* they fix the bride-payment at five rupees. 304.7. V. 302.17 ff. 583

The cloth of which the Rs. 5 represents the price was the *du·kə pʌči*, v. s.v. *du·k*. Ar. Prs.

makuči y. 000

Noun and Adj.: middle, centre.

Adv. and Postp.: in the middle of. *trʌŋ makuči yʌmi* it hit dead in the centre. *makuči(m?) mama* mother's middle sister. *makuči i·nɛ* the middle one (of 3 brothers). 260.9. *makuči hʌn pfəri.ɛn bi* in the middle was a pond. 12.13. *dəri.a makuči hurυ·timi* he sat down in the middle of the river. 176.2. *bʌsi makuči* in the middle of the garden. EOL. *sa ay'ʌš makuči yɛr di·mi* the sun has come up (forward) into the middle of the sky. EOL. [601]

(It is doubtful if the word is a nominative form. The *-či* may be the *-tsi, -či* suffix).

makučim, N. pl. *-išo*, adj. middle, central. — *makučim i·sɛ ɛ·sʌl* look at the middle one (of three ibex), 148,7.5. Cp. 148.5,7,8.

ma·l x property, movable property, chattels. — *gusɛ hʌɣʊr inɛ ma·l bi* this horse is his property, belongs to him. *da ma·l trʌŋ o·timi* then he apportioned the movable property among them. 112.4. *uyo·nər ma·l u·mi* he gave property to all of them. 112.5. *i·nɛ tɛ·ŋʊʂʊlo bimʌn ma·l uyo·n gʌti o·timi* he made them collect all the property that was in the palace. 174.18. *u·ŋɛ ma·ltsʊm bɛsʌn ja·r trʌŋʊlo ju·ʂi bi kɛ jo* give me whatever of your property comes to me as my share. 372.3. Ar. Prs. 000

ma·l ha·l property. 372.5. (Ar.).

ma·lto the day after the day after tomorrow; the third day in the future.

ma·lu·m known. — *ma·lu·m api* it is not known. 384.17. Ar. Prs.

ma·ma, mʌma, -tsəro hf mother, maternal aunt. —*je.imo ma·ma* my own mother (not, stepmother). *dʌmʌn ma·ma* one's own mother (not, stepmother). *jʌmi·p ma·ma* stepmother. *mi mʌma* my mother. 156.20, 158.14. *se ma·ma* O mother! 212.12, 264.11. *mamʌtsəro* mothers! 38.11, 364.12. *ma·mamo mu·lʊs* mother's brother, maternal uncle. *ja ma·mamo mo·ço* my mother's sister, my maternal aunt. *joʈ ma·ma, uyu·m ma·ma, makʊčim ma·ma* mother's younger, older, middle, sister. 601

ma·mər Dat. of *ma*.

mamʌtsʊm Abl. of *ma*. — *mamʌtsʊm iljʊm* from behind you. 000

mamai.i yourselves (corroborative Pron.), v. § 142. — *ma mamai.i ni·n* you yourselves go.

mamu, v. *mʌmu*, milk.

ma·mu·li ordinary, usual. — *mamu·li gʌtʊŋ* ordinary, clothes. Ar. Prs.

mamu·ʂi, mamʊši, mʌmʊši, mʊm'ʊši,

000 *-mɔts* x lamb (female, or sex not known). 66.20, 68.1.

*-m'ʌmɔt, pl. *-m'ʌmɔčiŋ y breast (female), nipple (male or female), teat, H. *pɪstʌn*. — *mumʌmɔtɛ ḍɔḍ'uʌro* (a woman's) teat.

manʌs v. *mʌnʌs*.

manʌni y meaning. — *gɔtɛ bɔrɛ bɛsʌn manʌni bila?* what is the meaning of this (phrase, etc.)? *gɔtɛ ʌlji.ɛ manʌni akɛʌya ba* I do not know the meaning, interpretation, of this dream of mine. 84.16. Ar. Prs.

manʌukɔr well-bred (?), courteous (?), H. *ašrʌf*. (The exact meaning is uncertain. The word also exists in Sh. *mʌnuʌkɔr*, courteous peaceable, quiet (of a person)).

There is also in Sh. the verb *mʌnuḉoʌrki*, to quiet down (after anger).

map'er, mapɛr, -tiŋ, N. *mafɛr -išo*, old, elderly, mature (of man or horse); old man. — *map'er gumʌna* you have become old. *hin mapɛr gusʌ bom* there was an elderly woman. 38.15. *hin map'erʌnɛ ha bilum* there was the house of an old man. 22.14 ff. Cp. 24.22 ff., 28.7, 32.18, 146.25, 262.22, 286.16. N. *ja aʌuy mafɛr bai* my father is an old man. (Cp. Sh. *mapɛr, mʌf'er*).

1. *maʌr* (y) vengeance, revenge, retaliation. — *maʌr gʌnʌs* + Gen. to take vengeance on behalf of, to take revenge for . . . *maʌr gʌnʌs* + Abl. to take vengeance on s.o. *maʌrulo maʌr gʌnimi* he took vengeance in revenge. *Sɪfʌt nesqʌn yuʌwɛ maʌr ɛtimi* he avenged his uncle by killing S. *itɛ mʌʌrulo ja esqʌnʌm* in revenge for that I killed him. 266.13. *maʌr*

ooo *gami.as* to pay compensation. *je wŋe mavr sčam* I will avenge you. 146.21. (From the idioms it appears probable that the exact meaning of the word must be something like "compensation").

2. *mavr* y death, H. *maut*, *ajal*. (Cp. *mavran*).
3. *mavr* v. *mahr*.
4. *mavr* Pn.pf. *ma* + *ər* to you, for you (pl.).

mavran y death, H. *maut*. (Cp. Punj. *marán*, Sh. *mavran*).

mavri tax paid in turns in kind, supplies given according to roster without payment to a ruler or official, — *kulto jaṭər mavri.e galt dimi* today the turn has come to me for (giving) "*mavri*". 280.7,9. Cp. 282.2,7. (Cp. Sh., Kho. *mavri*).

mariŋ, *mərin* fine, good, superior. — *mariŋ sikime* of fine silk. 118.5. *mariŋ sis* fine men, superior folk. 82.5, 120.11, 238.10, 336.3. *bust mariŋ mariŋ talo gəšinants* seven very fine women. 180.9.

m'arvč, *marvč* x pl. pepper; capsicum. — *marvč bałərum bi.en* the pepper is hot. *gyakum marvč* Kashmiri pepper, black pepper. *matum marvč* black pepper. *marvče təriŋičiŋ* chillies. (Cp. Sh. *mavruč*).

mavul y toll, tax. Ar. Prs.

mavum h infant. Ar. Prs.

1. *mavš* *-*atas* to massage, hand-rub. — *oṭiŋ mavš a(ti)* massage my feet (for me). (Cp. Sh. *mavš* th.).
2. *mavš etas* to boil, scald (milk), to heat water, meat etc. — *ite mamu mavš ne* scalding the milk. 322.5.

mašuvq, pl. *mašuvtiŋ*, pl. lovers. 358.6. Ar. Prs.

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maʿtam mourning. — *maʿtam stas* to mourn. Ar. Prs. ○○○

maʿṣi x a kind of earth. — *baʿrdam maʿṣi* red plaster, or wash, made from a kind of earth found in Irshad.

(Cp. Sh. *maʿte*, a kind of white earth; *moṣi*, white earth, chalk).

maʿu stas to mew (of cat). 174.12. — N. *maʿu maʿu stas* to mew.

maṣhi y honey. — *maṣi.s yuṛigṛṣ* honeycomb. (Cp. Sh. *maṣhi*, honey).

madad, *maddat* y help, aid. — *madad aṣiʿcoma* will you give me help? will you help me? *doroʿyo doimaʿyo oukanasor madad iciči bim* the stick would give him help in killing enemies. 28.18. *wʿyisom maddat dwmarčam* I shall demand help from you, I shall ask you for help. 22.8. Ar. Prs.

madrasa y school. Ar. Prs.

maduv, *madov*, *-iṣ* y manger, standing place for horses; EOL trough, H. *thaw*, *ayzov*. — *kayuv madav* horse's manger. Cp. 188.5. *yuiṛiṣ madav* trough of mill. (Cp. Sh. *madav*).

magor.

1. But. — *ičo kan hanisar čeri ev aiowis . . . magor zafa ka aptin* don't open the lock of that one garden for him . . . but don't vex him. 12.1. *ja ka wordu stimi, magor pur' ai.stimi* he made me a promise, but he did not fulfil it. Cp. 22.1, 264.22, 370.8.

2. In fact, H. *wayʿi*. — *ikan wʿyo goto dwro natan horwin, magor ja gugotam* you really did this and (then) eat (here), in fact I saw you. 118.19.

(The exact notion of the whole sentence is rather uncertain and with it the force of *magor*, though

it was explained as wuy'i. Compare the similar difficulty in determining the sense of *ama*, v. s.v.). Pra. 000

mage.i N., McK & GR, boil (medical). (Cp. Hz. *mage.i*).

mayo v. *mayo*.

makaram, *moram* -*tiq*; N. *maram* -*tiq*, -*ilo*, confidential servant, servant in position of trust. — *hiqatum makaramtiq* doorkeepers, ushers, "chaprasis". 4.2. Cp. 88.2. Ar. Pra.

majit masjid, mosque. 296.7. (Cp. Sh. *majid*). (Ar. Pra.).

majlis x & y assembly, meeting. — *ivo majlimolo haman uv sisi* the people in the assembly. 90.24. Ar. Pra.

makor y trick, base stratagem. — *gondo makarofo deluman* they killed your brother by a trick. 154.7. Ar. Pra.

makorion h. swindler, cheat, rogue. — *makorion dimanimi* he has been born a swindler, cheat 88.11. (Ar. Pra.).

makorkij h. cheat, swindler; adj. swindling. — *makorkijon hoi.i* he is a swindler. (Ar. Pra.).

makui.i x pl., double pl. *makui.onto*.

Indian corn, maize (growing crop and grain).

mal -*oq*, EOL -*iq*, y field. — *malor hin ivo niven* taking a son of his to the field. 252.1. *uyuwo ŷ ivo malolo hin* the elder son was in his field. 268.18. Cp. 373.22. *thamo ginani maltom dihemor* when they have brought in the Thom's "ginani" from the field. 328.5. *mal'oqolo* in the fields. 372.12, 386.10. *tirik mal-olem* (i.e. *malolom*) *dorwman* they brought in the dagger from the field. 198.14.

Cp. 196.9,10, 246.11,18, 282.8,12, 343.12.

000 *malaq elas* v.t. overturn, roll over; to bend (permanently), to wrap up in. — *dan malaq eli* turn over, roll over, the stone (A variant of *malaq*).

mal'aq, occurs with the verbs *niyas*, **-ayas* and *manaw*.

1. *malaq niyas* to fall over. — *tirdi malak niw bila ke* . . . if the dagger has fallen over (and is not sticking upright in the ground). 198.12, 218.9.
2. *malaq *-ayas* to overturn (a thing or man), to fell (tree). — *ide tirli malak 'ewman* they felled the walnut tree. 200.6.

   (For **-ayas* officiating as the Ca. of *niyas* v. § 238 and entry under **-ayas*).
3. *malaq manaw* to cross over (behind a ridge of hill). — *Xwmale malak manimi* he crossed over the Kh. mountain. 212.16.

   (Cp. Sh. *malak berki*, to fall down. *malik, malak, 'firiji* turning round, turning back).

malmal y muslin. x an article of muslin. Fra.

maltariq, maltaraq, v. *maltaj*.

maltaj, pl. *maltariq, malt'aray, maltaraq* y butter. This is kept in blocks, or lumps, hence:

kan maltajan a lump of butter. 314.15. *ferwman maltaraq* ten lumps of butter. 314.13. V. also *pedewi*. *ime maltaje dalale ilam* he had cooked them in oil of butter. 130.21. *maltaj thewa bila* the butter is fresh. *herwman maltaj bila?* how much butter is there? *pfute maltaj* mushroom (lit. Devil's butter), pl. *pfute maltaraq*.

1> Cp. 349.1, 384.8.

256 a

2[see supplement to corrigenda et addenda, category IIb, p. 595 - Analyst]

000 *-*maltaa*, *-*malt-*, Impv. *-*malta* to abuse, revile. There is possibly a parallel form: *maltaa*, *maltat-*. The only evidence is two isolated forms: *(i)maltaatai* Nz., and *maltaa* in: *maltaa ḥwu api, yuaikst bila* to give abuse is not a good thing, it is evil. Nz.

Of *-*maltaa* the following forms were given:

gumalda la I abuse thee.
imaltam I abused him.
amaltaimi he abused me.
je ayamalta don't abuse me.
ín emalta don't abuse him.
ín amamalta don't abuse her.
gwkar ḥwe imalta? why do you abuse (outrage?) thyself? 356.4.

maltaij y abuse. — *gudraki maltaij* female abuse, i.e. terms of abuse used by women.

malyam, *malḥam* y ointment. — *gwlafe malḥam 'edilas* to apply ointment on the wound.

MAMA v. MAMMA. 60.12.

MAMA, MAMM, *-dig*, *-maig*; N. *-dag* y milk. H. *dwdk*, *ḥiw*. — *dumamum* MAMA (*-maig*) coagulated milk (in a bowl), (*-dig*) (in a skin). Nz. MAMA.o *gfori* a pond of milk. 14.6. (MAMA.o 18.9. n.). *Diramaitiy tair wwlkots mamu ḥwa* so the D. for four days milking their goats. 322.10. *ite mamu marj* so scalding the milk. 322.5. *kilwa mamu fat ettas* to wean a child. *hinu kilwa mamu fat atam baiá* this boy is weaned.

862 Boys are weaned after 3 years, girls after 2 years. To facilitate this the teats are blackened, or pepper is put on them.

mamu stas (past tenses) to be in an advanced stage of pregnancy; to be big with young (of animals). *mamu stom* pregnant. *jakunens mamu ne* (or, *stom*) *bim* there was a donkey which was big with young. 118.3. *gusa bu'a mamu stom* (or, *sti*) *bi* this cow is pregnant. 186.5. Cp. 64.25. 000

. The same idea is presented in regard to a woman in:
ixakinmotse mamu bilom there was milk on his daughter-in-law, i.e. she was with milk, approaching child-birth. 100.3.

Shins formerly considered milk impure. It is said that still shikaris going out to hunt will not take milk or beef because it will anger the *poris* ("fairies"). Cp. 286.2, 338.4. 262

1. *man -ants* x an earth platform, sleeping and sitting platforms in house, dais (on which the élite sit at public functions, polo-matches etc.); mound (over grave), H. *čaburtra*. — *tham dusok jataqs manafs horušai.i* the Tham dismounting takes his place on the platform at the place of public meeting. 338.4. Cp. 340.2. Pl. *manants* 12.13. *mazars man* the mound over a grave. 82.15. 000
2. *man* x "a hard thing found in a goat's inside and used as medicine"; IUB. antidote to poison, H. *man*, Prs. *zahr-muhra*.

mana, mani.a prohibited, forbidden. — *mana estas* to prohibit him. *mana estas* to prohibit them. *gute čaya mana stas bila* this affair, talk, is to be forbidden. Ar. Prs.

[ma.n'ava, mai-, Impv. ma.n'a, Ppa. ma.n'an, ma.n'a. OOO
[*-ma.nas, *-mai-, Impv. gma.n'an, Ppa. a'*-ma.n.

To be, become, H. Arma, hojana.

The parts of the two forms of the verb are given in §§ 276—277 and § 278 respectively. The variations may be explained by the difference in the position of the accent. When the accented negative prefix ga- is added to manava, the latter assumes forms similar to those of *-manas.

*-manas is used only with animate, and usually only with human, subjects. It takes the negative prefix a-.

manava can be used with every kind of subject and takes only the negative prefix ga-.

For the part played by manava and *-manas in forming compound verbs v. §§ 262—264.

The following examples roughly illustrate the scope of the verb:

a. To be.

mar did ormaimi there will be no room for us. 14.1. Cp. 142.6. *Pagro ho maibai?* how is P.? 126.14. *hoor hairora gamai ha?* why are you perturbed? 118.12. *aqam ha.ora ha.manamo* she was the sweet food. 96.4. *horamas gamiq valiv mamas . . . dga.aimi* after being ill for some days he recovered. Cp. 16.6,8,10, 138.15, 144.24.

+ Gen. To belong to:

gaas wqi mai.i hi.a, ma mai-hi? is this yours or is it ours? 104.3. *ast'amolo ja mai-hi . . . astamolo wqir mai.imi* in law it is mine . . . in law it belongs to thee. 104.4.

000 b. + *Adj.* or *Adv.*, or their equivalents. To become.

Most of the combinations classified as compound verbs are referable to this heading:

je hurt xud ωωωωω I have become very pleased. 4.10. *hurt yil ωωωω

going to become of us? what are we to do? 126.16. Cp. 123.5, 206.5.

d. To become (absolute) + to come into existence, occur, take place, be completed (of time), elapse.

ṭep mavimi night became, i.e. it became night. 38.1 *gow mavimi* it became dawn, dawn came. 42.22. Cp. 118.7, 123.2. *hwile ja ovow mavimi* today peace has come to me, I have attained peace of mind. 8.9. *ovowdas woman, ile zovowdaiowa kas dabowas mawas* . . . a cloud coming into being, and from that cloud a drop of water coming into being . . . 106.16. *hwl ne gow mavimi* a cry came out (from her inside), there came a cry. 108.9. *wula dayuwi mavimi* it became midday with them. 122.8.

+ *Dative.* To befall, come to, come into possession of.

ele ma jow mavimi that (land) has now come into my possession. 114.27. *jow halowa mawile* a calamity has befallen me. 116.16. *ja gow mawiji!* may respite come to you! 112.2. *wuje lawat mawiji* may curses fall on you! 152.2.

e. To proceed to (do, etc.), be about to, begin to.

sandaj tag elor mawawas they proceeded to break up the box. 24.10. *lowowas gwaiaj wawas ewaw* (or, *ewal*) *wawas dyawimi* for several days having been about to die, he recovered. *gelawas mavimi* (the child) began to walk. 244.1.

In the last, however, *gelawas* may rather be the noun agent: he became a walker.

Similarly in the preceding example

ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲛ may be: having become a dicer, a dying person. 000

f. To be necessary (to do s.t. or, for s.t. to be done). V. § 401.

ϩⲁⲛⲟ ⲁⲛⲟⲗⲟ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲓ ⲗⲁ when it has become necessary for the Them to go anywhere. 348.3. Cp. 252.17.

Reference may be made to some of the less common forms and their uses:

The "*Conditional*". V. §§ 313 & 351. Only the form of the 3rd. sg. of *ⲙⲁⲣⲉ* has been recorded. It means "(it) would be, would become, would have been, would have become", and similarly substituting "should", for "would".

This form, *ⲙⲁⲓⲙⲉ*, is analogous to *ⲇⲉⲗⲉⲙⲉ* the 3rd. sg. Conditional of *ⲇⲉⲣⲉ*, and to *ⲥⲧⲁⲙⲉ* the 1st. sg. Cond. of *ⲥⲧⲁⲓ* (allowing for the difference of person).

It has only been recorded three times:

ϭⲱⲣⲙⲓ ⲁⲩⲥⲧⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲣ ⲙⲁⲓⲙⲉⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲓⲛⲁ . . . ϩⲓⲣⲉ . . . ϥⲁⲓ ⲇⲱⲙⲓ it would be near to 10 o'clock (when) this man's turn came. 39.1. *ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲃⲓⲃⲓⲟⲩ ⲇⲉⲓⲟⲩⲁⲛ ϩⲁⲛ ⲩⲱⲛⲓ ⲙⲁⲓⲙⲉⲛⲁⲩ . . .* I had fired one (and) there should be (only) one hole. 102.26. *ⲇⲉⲩⲗⲉ ϫⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲱⲙⲓ ⲙⲁⲓⲙⲉⲛⲁⲩ . . .* if you had left me alone for a little my brother's body would all have become of iron. 110.8.

The *Present Base* + *-ⲉⲣ*. V. § 406. The form from *ⲙⲁⲣⲉ* is: *ⲙⲁⲓⲣⲉⲣ*, *ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲣ*.

ⲇⲉⲩⲱⲛⲓ ϥⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲓⲣⲉⲣ ϩⲓⲁⲣ ⲙⲁⲓⲙⲓ the flour was on the point of being exhausted, of giving out. *ϩⲓⲓ ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲣ ⲙⲓⲁⲣ* to go to other condolences.

sa buv mayav ni·mi the sun has gone to set, is near setting. EOL. 000

The *Short Forms of the Preterite.* V. § 314.

Sg. 1. *amana.*

Sg. 2. *mana* and *guman'a* (but these may be 2nd. sg. Perf.).

Sg. 3. xy *man'i.*

Pl. 3. x *manion.* 282.24.

Pl. 3. y *mani.*

je ism amana I became blind. 360.6. *yu· ku mana ke* ... if you associated with a crow ... Prov. 8. *beruman jo·tum man'i ku ferruman* ... as much as came from me, i.e. as much as I could, so much ... *beruman dwiq man'i ikkamatiq* ... *aiy'eriu* some years have passed (that) they do not celebrate the Ṡ., i.e. for some years past they have not celebrated the Ṡ. 229.7. Cp. 356.6, 358.1.

The *-j Forms.*

These are: for *manav*: *manij*,

for *-*manas*: *-*manj*, *-*manja*.

For the negative of *manav*, viz. *amanas* the form is: *amanj*.

Illustrations of the use of these forms will be found in § 357.

Used independently they express:

a. Various degrees of desire, rising to will and command.

b. Moral necessity or obligation (+ infinitive).

guyajum gurbaru amanja may I be thy sacrifice! 62.19. *Kayur ki kin gati tray umanjan* ... *Kanjil yfaru manijan* may the horse and he together split in two, and the ashes be scattered. 150.12. *gute duro etas gumanj* you ought to, or must, do this. Na. *manij* may be used in an impersonal way: *mato uru niyas*

000 *manis* now you should go, you ought to go or may go. Nz. *gots duro elas manis* it is incumbent on s.o. to do this, this is to be done. Nz. *manis* occurs frequently in dependence on *xa*, up to, till. *go*. *manis xa* till dawn comes.

The *Infinitive* and *Noun Agent* Forms. These are *manus* and *-manas*, and their principal meanings are:

a. Verbal Noun: being, becoming.

b. Noun Agent: one who is, one who is going to be.

For illustrations of a. v. §§ 393. a, b; 395. b, d; 396—7; 400, 401. e. Of b. v. § 403.1, 3. a, b.

The *Static Participle*. The forms are: *manum*, *-manum*.

The principal meanings are:

a. Adjectival: (in a state of) being, or having become.

For illustrations v. § 379. a. e.

b. Optative: may (it etc.) become! v. § 380.

c. Verbal noun: being, becoming, v. §§ 382, 385, 387.

NOTE.

-manas is to be distinguished from *-amanas* to be able.

Except in the 1st sg. and 2nd pl. they are differentiated by the forms of their pa.pf.:

a-, *gu-*, *i-*, *ma-* etc. belong to *-manas*.
a-, *go-*, *e-*, *mo-* etc. belong to *-amanas*.

The latter are regularly long or accented (but in the texts the *mu-* and *u-* prefixed to *-manas* have occasionally been recorded as *mo-* and *o-*).

In the 3rd. sg. m. and in the 3rd. pl. h the negative prefix with *-manas* yields forms resembling the

000 corresponding positive forms from *-AMANAŞ, e.g.

emai.imi he will not become, and he will be able.

omAnomAn they did not become, and they were able.

Again there is the 3rd. pl. h of *mAnaʷs* with the negative prefix *oʷ-*, *oʷmAnomAn*.

mAnç̌, manç̌, pl. *maʷn̥* y adze. — *gAgi maʷn̥* tools (axe, adze, saw etc.). Cp. 308.2.

mAnḍaʷq, mindaʷq x crane (bird). (Cp. Kho. *mAnḍaʷx*, heron).

mAn'i 3rd. sg. x and y, and 3rd. pl. y Pret. of *mAnaʷs*.

mAni'ṣ v. *mAnaʷs*.

mAnoṭiki y pl. grain ground specially for a wedding or feast (*mAnoṭ*). — *ho gərər mAnoṭiki doʷčaʷn* then they grind the "*mAnoṭiki*" for the wedding. 300.1.

*-mAnṣ, *-mAnṣa* v. *mAnaʷs*.

*-mAntsa, *-mAntsi* h sg. & pl. helping, aiding; helper (in work, fight, game etc.).

The pn.pf. refers to the person helped.

jaʷka AmAntsi mAni help thou me. *jaʷka AmAntsa mAnin* help ye me. *ji uʷn̥* (or, *uʷŋər*) *gumantsa maiyAʷm* I'll help you. *Alqaši menAn eʷka imAntsi itsuʷAma* had Alqash taken anyone with him as helper. 82.22.

mAnts.hil y whey (boiled to make *rAxpiʷn*).

mAnuwafe.

For: *mAnuwai* + *Afe* 3rd. sg. perf. of *mAnaʷs* + *Afe*. 378.11.

For: *mAnuwa* + *Afe* 2nd. sg. perf. of *mAnaʷs* + *Afe*. 380.6.

(V. § 407. Perhaps these forms contain only the impersonal base form of *ba*).

mʌnzuʷr accepted by, acceptable to. — *xudaʷr mʌnzuʷr mʌnimi* it has been acceptable to, i.e. accepted by God. 42.7. Ar. Prs. 000

mʌq y pain (rheumatic, in the sinews or nerves, *rʌg*. QUB). — *aβčiŋulo mʌqʌn gi bila* lumbago has settled in my back, loins. EOL. *mʌq aʷčila* I am suffering from rheumatic pains. QUB. *mʌq tsʰhoʷr dušila* rheumatic pains quickly go away(?). QUB.

(Cp. *jʌk*, which is said to be due to cold).

mʌqmɛʷs leap, bound, buck, Punj. *čhaʷl*. — *hik mʌqmɛʷsʌn ˈɛta* give a buck. 132.21. *mʌqmɛʷs dɛlʌs* to caracole.

mʌqso h. pl. a section of population, y share, allotment (of obligatory labour). — *hik mʌqso*, one share; *alti mʌqso* two shares. 631

In Hunza proper the population is divided into five sections, each of which bears one share of *rʌjaʷki* (obligatory labour). These are:

1. Baltit. 2. Ganish. 3. Altit. 4. Hindi. 5. Towants (the "New Villages" from Haidarabad to Murtaza.abad).

In Gujhal there are 2 sections each bearing one share: 1. Galmit, Ghulkin and Pfaso. 2. Khaibar to Irshad and Misgar.

The latter share is called: *bʌβ tʌlˈenum mʌqso*.

mʌra -miŋ y storehouse on roof. 000

1. *mərʌʷq* *-*ʌtʌs*, to twist, wring. — *gʌtu mərʌʷk ɛtʌs* to wring out (wet) cloth. *moʷβ mərʌʷk nɛ* twisting her neck, i.e. turning her face away. 52.2. *oʷβ mərʌʷk no* (she) twisting, wringing, their necks (for them). 206.10. (Cp. Sh. *mərʌʷk thoʷzki*, to twist v.t.).

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2. *mərɑ·q* y dysentery. — *mərɑ·qɛ bi.ai.i* the malady of dysentery. *mərɑ·q ɑ·čila, ɛ·čila* I am, he is, suffering from dysentery. V. § 261. II. 000

(This word is no doubt the same as 1. *mərɑ·q*, cp. the Persian *pi·č* and *pi·čɪš*).

mərɑk'a x & y assembly, council, court; place of audience, H. *dərbɑ·r, mɑjlɪs*. — *mərɑka bila, mərɑka ɛtɑ·n* there is an assembly. they have held an assembly. Cp. 4.12. *bɑdša mərɑkɑ·r du·simi* the king went out to the assembly. 42.24. *i·sɛ mərɑkɑ·ulo Pɑʒču . . . bɑm* P. was present in that assembly. 120.4. *mərɑkɑ·ulo hʊrw·čɑ·nɑn* they took their seats in the assembly. 44.1. *ɑma gʊsɛ mərɑkɑ·ulo gʊ·r ayɛša ba* but I won't tell you it in this public assembly. 84.18. Cp. 76.26, 78.8, 82.6, 138.12,14. *mərɑkɑ·ulʊm sis* the people of the court, assembly. Cp. 4.12. *mərɑkɑ·tsʊm* from the assembly, court. 120.17.

(Cp. Sh. *mərɑka* king's court. Probably Ar. *mɑ'rɑka*).

mərɑm v. *mɑhɑrɑm*.

mərɑq -ičin y bend, twist, circuit. — *mərɑkɑnʊlo nʊtɑγɑn* hiding at a bend (in the road). 122.20. *i·tɛ mərɑktsʊm du·sin* coming out from that bend. 122.23. *tʊm gɑnɑnɛ nu·nin mərɑkɑnɛ* (or, *mərɑkɑntsʊm*) *yər dʊwɑšɑmɑn* going by another road, by (n[illegible]ng) a circuit(?) they came out ahead of him. 122.3.

(A variant of *mərɑ·q*. Cp. Sh. *mərɑk bo·rki*, to return, to cross over a hill pass, cp. *mɑlɑq*).

mər'ɑqʊts, mərɑqʊts, y cheating, swindling, tricking. — *jɛ mər'ɑqʊts atsi adɛlimi* he swindled me. *mərɑqʊts*

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000 *ortimi* he deceived them, tricked them.

mərˈʌqʊtskrɨ̆ cheat, swindler. — *mərʌqʊtskrɨ̆ʌn bai.i* he is a cheat.

**-mərʌyʌs-*, **-mərʌč-*, to cut a tree off below the branching point. — *tʊmɛ ḍirmʊmʊts umərʌyʌs* to cut the trunks of trees.

(Cp. **-muʷʊṭinʌs* & **-mʊruʷyʌs*).

mərdakay sg. & pl., d. pl. *-ints* x poppy. — *mərdakayə ḍuḍuʷro* green capsule of poppy. *mərdakayə ṭʊkoʷro* dry capsule of poppy.

(Cp. Sh. *mərdʌka*, poppy).

mərgʊn a kind of white grape. (Cp. Sh. *mərgunʷ*).

mərγʊl -iŋ y curl, curly. — *mərγuʷliŋ ičhoʷqurʌŋ* (his) curly fringe.

mˈərhʌbba N. bravo! Ar. Prs.

mərin̆ v. *marin̆*.

mərma, pl. *mərmʌŋ*, y awl. (Cp. H. & Kho. *bʌrma*).

mərmuʷk x handful. — *tiʷk mərmuʷkʌn bitsa* there is a handful of earth. *dʌγoʷoʌnə mərmuʷk bi* there is a handful of flour.

(Cp. Kho. *mərmʌ̄k̆ koʷrik*, to squeeze a handful of a thing).

mərt, -ɛŋ, y earth-cliff, scarped side of alluvial terrace beside river-bed. — *mərtɛŋʌṭɛ ya kʌyolo sinda iʷltɛs boʷči.ɛ* (the birds) settle on the earth cliff or on the strand at the side of the river. (Cp. Sh. *mʌč, moč*, earth-cliff).

mərˈu y washing river-sand to extract gold dust. — *mərˈu stʌs* to wash for gold. 348.1. *mərˈuʷɛ dʌstuʷr apˈi* it is not the custom to wash for gold. 348.13.

mərutʊ, mərotsguʷin, pl. *mərutsguʷyo* hm gold-washer. 384.1. (Cp. Sh. *mərutʊ*. For the ending cp. *dəru* : *dəruʷtʊ*).

000 *mʌsa·la* y pl. spices. Ar. Prs.

mʌska -miŋ, -ŋ y butter. 324.1. Prs.

mʌsxər'a y joke. Ar. Prs.

mʌst intoxicated, excited, arrogant, presumptuous. — *in kɛ mʌst im'ʌnimi* he too became intoxicated. *buvt mʌst mʌn'umʌn* they became very arrogant, "uppish". 272.4, 284.12. Prs.

mʌsti y pride, arrogance, insubordination. — *tɛ·lɛ nuvvot buvt mʌsti ɛč'ʌm* dwelling there they used to display great arrogance. 238.6.9. Prs.

mʌstikrš pl. *-ki.ʌnts* arrogant, puffed-up.

mʌš ɛtʌs, mav·š ɛtʌs v.t. to bend. — *rıʌš ɛtʊm bila* it is bent.

mʌš'a -miŋ y fuse-holder, and trigger. (In matchlocks the match-holder and trigger are in one piece).

(Cp. Sh. & Kho. *mʌša;* also Madaglašti Prs. *mʌša* and *mav·ša* trigger; Prs. *mav·ša* "that part of a matchlock gun that holds the match", Steingass). Prs.

mʌš'ʌla -ʌmʊts x mouthpiece of a reed-pipe in which the reed (*ḍʌmbu*) is fixed.

mʌšərb'a x water-vessel with narrow neck and a spout. 260.10. Ar. Prs.

mʌšγu·l busy, occupied. — *ıtsɛ ka mʌšγu·l bʌm* he was occupied with those things (the game he had killed?). 26.5. *ınɛ ka mʌšγu·l mai.ibo* she occupies, amuses, herself with him. 86.6. Ar. Prs.

mʌšhuv famous, renowned, well-known, notorious. 186.2. — *mʌšhuv ɛtʌs* to proclaim, announce, give out. 380.9. Ar. Prs.

mʌšk, N. mʌški -mʊts, x "mashk", skin-bag for carrying water. 176.16. Prs.

mʌšq, mʌqš exercise, practice. — *mʌšq ɛtʌs* to practise. Prs.

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mʌṭhʌli gʌl dwarf-juniper. ooo

mʌth'ʌn, mʌthạn, N. pl. y *-iŋ* far, distant. — *uʷtsʊm mʌtaʷn nʊma* getting a long way from them. 158.22. *buʷt mʌtʌn bušai.ɛnər niʷmi* he went off to a very distant country. 366.6. *gʊtɛ šərʊm aškiltsʊm mʌtʌn atiš gomai.ima* can you remove this shame from my face? 98.3. *mʌtaʷntsʊm mʌtaʷn me.imɛ* getting further and further off. 212.16. *mʌtʌnər sʌphər bila* it is a journey to a distance, a long journey. 356.1. *mʌt'ʌnʊm* (abl.) from a distance, from a long way off. 38.3, 92.10. *mʌt'ʌnʊm* (adj.) distant. *mʌtʌnʊm terminər nʌmaʷn* you going off to distant grazing-grounds. 326.12. Cp. 368.8, 372.6, 373.11.

mʌthʌnʊmkʊš y distance, farness.

·*mʌtɛl* y a disease of grain (in which the grain develops but turns black), smut (?). — *mʌtɛlɛ ču duʷsimi* disease appeared in the corn. 240.18. (Lit. "disease-affected ears came out"). *mʌtɛl kʌm mʌnimi* the disease decreased. 242.19. *mʌtɛl oʷmʌnimi* no disease appeared. 244.3.

(Perhaps, *mʌthɛl*).

mʌṭhiʷr x walnut. V. s.v. *ṭhir*.

(Cp. Sh. *mʌtəri*, walnuts).

mʌtlʌb -ičiŋ, -iŋ y object, purpose. — *bɛsʌn mʌtlʌb bila?* what is (your) object, purpose? Ar. Prs.

mʌto -miŋ y brain. — *mʌto ap'i* (he has) no brains. (Cp. Sh. *m'ʌto*, brains).

mʌtsimo from you. V. §§ 74.4, 127. III.

mʌtʊm x pl. *-išo*, y pl. *-iŋ*, black. — *mʌtʊm iʷɛ tʊɣli ɛn bi* the black one is a male lamb. 64.17. Cp. 84.12.

mʌyuʷš N. *-išo* x inflated skin (used as an assistance in swimming). (Cp. Sh. *maiyuʷš*).

mʌyo -mots x fine (penalty). — *Š. Kʌpu·rimo m'ʌyulo Hʌmʌčʌ·tiŋtsum U·ltəre ter gʌnumʌn* They took the Ulter grazing ground from the H. as a fine on account of Š. K. 000

(Recorded with -γ-, -γ- and -ǯ-. Cp. Sh. *ma·o, mau.ʍ*, fine).

mʌza, -miŋ y flavour, savour, agreeable taste. — *mʌza api·m* insipid, tasteless; (of human being) boring, bore, *guse mʌza bečuk bila?* what sort of a taste has this? *i·se tωγuli.ε čʌpε mʌza bʌnda čʌpε ju.ʌn mʌza bila* the taste of the flesh of this lamb is like the taste of human flesh. 68.3. *mʌza d*-ʌtsʌs* to cause someone to feel a taste. 132.16, 138.5. V. § 244.2. Prs.

mʌzada·r tasty, savoury. — *bu·t mʌzada·r bu·lʌn bila* there is a very pleasant-flavoured spring. 126.19. Prs.

mʌzər -iŋ y grave, tomb. — *mʌzəriŋε diš* place of graves, grave-yard. 112.2. Cp. 82.14, 112.16,17, 310.13 ff., 344,7. Ar. Prs.

mʌzdu·ri y hired labour; wages (of hired labourer). — *mʌzdu·ri.ər yaiya ba* I am engaging (him) on hire. Prs.

mazhʌb -iŋ y religion. Ar. Prs.

maidan open comparatively smooth and level ground. Prs.

1. *mai.i; mai.imo* yourselves; your own. V. 1. *-*i*. — *mai.imu ji* your own lives (life). 30.23. *maimo Xudai.ε gʌnε* for the sake of your own God. 38.13. Cp. 322.3.
2. *mai.i* the month of May. 322.1.

mai.imulε ni·m a term of abuse, probably meaning: you who have gone to your daughter(s), *or*, may you go to your daughters. V. 126.4. Note, 14.

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000 *maiyadaʷr* sized (cloth). — *maiyadaʷr pʌči* (or, *lʌtta*) sized cotton cloth (only used for bride's present and for shrouds). 304.6. Prs.

maiyaʷr Pres. Base of *mʌnaʷs* + *ər*. V. s.v. *mʌnaʷs*.

mauqa y opportunity, chance. V. *moʷqa*. Ar. Prs.

meʷš, *me.rš*, v. 2. *meʷš*.

meʷnis, pl. *meʷnišo*, x female sheep over one year old which has not had young. — *meʷnisə bʌt* sheepskin.

mˈeyʌŋ y pl. snow and wind, snowstorm. — *mˈeyʌŋ mai.i bitsʌn* there is a snowstorm.

*-*mɛ* x sg. and pl. tooth. — *yɛrʊm aʷmɛ* my incisor tooth. *awʌš aʷmɛ* my canine, or molar, tooth. *aʷŋgimo*, *yaʷʃʊm*, *yaʷrʊm*, *aʷmɛ* my front, upper, lower teeth. *aʷmɛ axoʷlji bi* my tooth aches, I have toothache. *iʷnɛ imˈɛr bərɛnin*, *hʌn imɛn šiqʌm bi* look at his teeth, one of his teeth is blue. 154.20. *ʌmɛʷulo tərˈi yʌmi* the polo-ball hit my tooth. 158.11.

mɛhərbaʷn, *mɛhərbaʷni*, v. *mɛrmaʷn* and *mɛrmaʷni*.

mɛl -iŋ y wine (of grapes). — *mɛl numin nɛršʌn jučʌm* he used to come having drunk wine and become drunk. 208.11. *tɛil api*, *ɛrrf mɛl bila* there is no water, there is only wine. 384.15.

*-*mɛlč -ʌŋ* y jaw, jaw-bone, — *yaʷʃʊm* *-*mɛlč* upper-jaw. *yaʷrʊm*. *-*mɛlč* lower-jaw. *amɛlč γʌsuʷmər Dʌdi duʷšo* when my jaw-bone has rotted Dadi will come out.

mɛl phuʷnər -iŋ y "a plant with sky-blue flowers that grows at high altitudes".

(*Phuʷnər* or *phʊnər*, is probably

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OOO the Sh. word *pfonər*, flower. In Sh. *meɹ*, *meɹl* = buttermilk).

mˈeɹltʌlik v. *-ʌltʌlik*, we both, we two.

1. *men?* h pl. who?. V. § 160.

The sg. is *menʌn*, and the the *-ik* suffix may be used in the plural, *menik*, which perhaps has a collective sense.

The fem. gen. obl. of *menʌn* is *menenmo-*.

The plurals *men* and *menik* serve as the h pl. of *ʌmin?* which? and may so be used adjectivally.

kin menʌn bai.i? who is this (man)? *men herčˈʌm?* who were weeping? 42.18. *menik sisik duwarn?* what (which) people have come?

In Indirect Questions it is supplemented by *ke* placed after the verb of the clause.

menik herčarn ke ite xʌbər dusuin fetch news (i.e. go and find out) who are weeping. 38.4.

2. *men, menik* h pl., Sg. *menʌn*.

a. Indef. Pron. and Adj.: some one, anyone; some people, any people; some, any. V. § 148.

menənər xʌbər eči he will tell someone, *mene gutsi γʌsičumʌn* (some) people will laugh at thee. *hiŋtse men barna?* are there any people (is there anyone) at the door? *meniktsum dusuwa?* have you got it from anyone (pl.)? 58.31. *men thʌmu.e hukəm Hindi.ʌte ˌapirm* there was not the authority of any Thams over Hindi. 260.9. *menʌn sisʌn* some person.

b. (+ *ke*) + negative, no one, none; not any, no.

da menʌn atirmi.a? has no one else come? *da menik ˈaturmʌna?* have no other people come? *menʌn ke*

ɛvitsumʌn they saw no one. *ɛvi* 000
menʌn ke sizʌn apʌm there was no person with him. 4.18. *mi men xʌbɔr apʌn* none of us know. 80.15.

3. *men* . . . *ke* is used as an Indefinite Relative. V. § 186.
menɔr uŋe xuš ɛčʌ ke itsu whomever you prefer, take, i.e. take whomever you please. Cp. 120.1.

4. *mɛn*, pl. x *-iso*, *mɛyo*, *mɛyʌnts*; y *mɛyʌŋ* old. — *men kʌγur bi* it is an old horse. *men kʌγuriso bizʌn* they are old horses. *men sis bʌn* they are old (experienced) men. *men čʌp bilu* it is old meat. *men gatuŋ* old rubbed clothes. *men šuqa* an old, threadbare choga. *mɛyo*, or *mɛyʌnts šuqamuts* old chogas. *mɛyʌŋ gatuŋ, kʌrkičʌŋ* old clothes, houses.

maniko an occasional plural form of 2. *men*. It occurs as the nominative with transitive verba — i.e. it is probably equivalent to the extended nominative (*menu*), — and as the genitive. A dative form *manikuɔr* has been once recorded. V. § 151. *yʌrɛ bul malulo maniko kɔr ɛγɛrʌn* down below in the Spring Field some people are ploughing with oxen. 248.2.

mɛr (= *mi* + *ɔr*), v. *mi*. to us, for us. 14.1.

mɛrmʌn, merbʌn, mirmʌn, mirbʌn, mehɔrbʌn kind, gracious, benevolent. Prs.

mɛrmʌni (other forms do for *mɛrmʌn*) y (and x?) gift, present, reward. *ɔr bezʌn mɛrmʌni ɛčʌi* he gives them some present. 324.2. *mirmʌni ɛtʌs* + dat. to bestow on (s.o.). Cp. 92.7. *mehɔrbʌni netʌn* kindly. 20.22. Cp. 168.15, 172.16. (Prs.).

1. *merj*, pl. *merq*, EOL *me.eq*, *y* small tree, sapling; EOL bush; H. *sakel*. (Cp. *maj*, small tree, sapling, shrub).
2. *merj*, *merj*, *me.ij*, pl. *merqag*, (*meqoe*), *merjig*, *y* bag of skin (smaller than *aremuts*, holds 24—40 lbs. of grain), Sh. *kalafu*. ɣmag *mejaner* nikin putting the gold in a bag. 204.8. Cp. Prova 7 and 167

(1. *merj* is pronounced with a high tone, 2. *merj* with a low tone).

1. *mi* we. The base in most of the oblique cases is *mine-*. For the case forms see § 118.
mir mi kan kan kenoran eliirian let us each display one clever act. 260.7. Gen. as Possessive Pron.: *wqe matá bin, mi mati ki ka*, *kano* are say truly whether it is *yours* or whether it is *ours*. 104.8:
2. *mi* my. Only occasionally used, with titles of relations:
mi apa my father. 68.1, 368.1.
mi mama my mother. 184.8, 186.20, 188.14. *mi baba* my father. 180.8. *mir kru eyar* this husband of mine. 324.8.

-*mi*, pl. *-mimoro*, hf. mother; mother's sister, maternal aunt. — *gwemimo* *mwlos* your ...other's brother. 14.14. *Sakri Ikawa ka mami* S. I. and her mother. 30.21. *Ojow mimi* (our) stepmother, H. *anakh mdr*.

mi.aw Pron. Base of *mimo* + *w* for drinking. — *mi.aw ikil* water to drink, drinking-water. 323.8.

mimi, *mir* we ourselves. V. 1. *-i*. — *mi mir* we ourselves. *mir merlir* the four of ourselves. 60.19.

mijow. *mijow y* temperament, nature. — *had mijowan heki* he is a bad-tempered, evil-natured person. Ar. Pro.

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[see corrigenda at addenda, category 116, p. 593 - Analyst]

000 **mówu** JUB vulture(?), Sh. *ko.ev* (white vulture). (Not known to QUE).

mirí, miPí, pl. mil'vuk, x medicine, drug, **remedy.** — *ówuw ewas mirí* purgative drug (lit. medicine that makes (his) bowels go). *mirí ełas* to administer medicine, treat. *Ki.ei.ni mili eti* treat (he sickness(?). *Kiuro ergimur milinds* name Kiuro doctoring his grand-mother. 184.8. *kiuur mili omoimi* there will be no medicine, cure, for this man. *divu.s pirder mili* remedy for a bullet wound. 358.5. As a title for the Beloved. 358.1.

mili.ŋ, mili.ŋ, X. *miriŋgŋ*, y pl., d. pl. *mili.ŋgiŋ* gunpowder, explosive. — *ikkage mili.ŋ* gunpowder. *mrengr miliŋ* blasting-powder. *mili.ŋgr folta* detonating fuse. *ełłumałgr mili.ŋ* priming-powder.

(Apparently a *y* pl. of *mirí*).

mówu draught, a full drink. — *kił mówu ik.kil, mul* a drink of water, wine. *kił mówu.us tam'ałw* a fill of a pipe. (St. Pr. form of *mówu*).

mówu of us, our, V. *mi*. — *mówu kerło* at our home. 105.26. Cp. 44.14.

[601] ***-mówu,** gen. of **-mi*, mother's, maternal. — *ja ewówu mergo* my mother's sister, my maternal aunt.

mów'u, mówu, -mofr x remains of kernels (after the oil has been expressed from them), oil-cake, H. *khali*, Punj. Pers. *kunjada*. — *mów'u mumapodus . . . newotus* making a nose for her out of oil pressings. 153.6. Cp. 176.18. (Cp. Sh. *pino*, Dem. *pinova*)

mówudev pleased (at, with), grateful (?), rejoicing. — *ja mówudev ka* I am pleased. EOL. *ja wełłum mówudev ka* I am pleased with you. EOL. *ja ine miyastum mówudev ka* I am

000

pleased at his going. EOL. *minadow minanas yalki bilem* it was right that we should rejoice. 870.14.

(Possibly for Ar.Pers. *mamnu' + daw*).

minav, *mi(y)-*, Impv. *mine*, neg. *ownin*, Ppa. *namin* to drink, smoke (tobacco etc.). — *ile tail ine m'inomo* she drank that water. 108.6. *bilem minavu* I smoked a pipe. *tamarên, sigaret, minavu* to smoke tobacco, a cigarette. N. *afyun minavu* to smoke opium.

Pres. base + *av*: *mi.av*.

mi.av tail water to drink, drinking water. 313.8. *ja tail mijav vai dîwai* I wanted to drink water. *mi.av dey'wushinimi* he began to drink. 144.8.

Other parts:

Fut.	1st. sg.	*mijavu, minavu*. 124.24, 126.20.
Pres.	3rd. sg. m.	*mi'dai*. 128.16.
Impf.	3rd. sg. m.	*mi'dan*.
Pret.	3rd. sg. m.	*mini'wai*.
	3rd. pl. h.	*minawan*. 126.6.
Impv.	2nd. sg.	*mine*. 86.24.
-*i* forms		*mini'i*.
Pres. Pt.		*mine*. 22.15.
Ppa.		*namin*. 108.7, 124.17,24, 208.11.
Sta.pt.		*minavu*.
Neg.		*ownimu*. 210.4.

min'alhin, pl. *min'alhiyn*, s pelvis, hip. — *ja min'alhin* my pelvis, hip.

(Also recorded with final -*q*, but the latter part is probably, fin — tooth).

minas pl. *min'alig*) story, tale, 2. Title, 876. Title.

min'ai.is, pl. *min'ai.iin*, s doll.

mindow -*mots* s withers. — *Asyuv mindow* the horse's withers.

(Cp. Pehl. *manduw*).

mirow McK and GR tamour. (Not known to QUB). 000

miŋ closing the lips and projecting the lower one, in scoffing or preparatory to crying. — *ɔriŋ miŋ ɔlimi.*

miŋ miŋ ɔlɛ to smile.

mirɔw y.

a. Inheritance (land, vessels, gun etc., not living things), heritable inanimate property, hereditament, patrimony. 428

As regards inheritance, the youngest son inherits the family house, the eldest son inherits the best land. Guns, swords and such articles are divided up, but the father can allot them in his life-time.

A thing specially left to any one, not subject to reversionary rights, is "*mirɔwɔ*".

ɔwɔrɔ mirɔw the heritage (?) of the world. 302.2. 000

b. Family in which there has been long unbroken descent.

je mirɔw bila, or, *je mirɔwɔ ba* I am of a family of long unbroken descent.

c. Customary law, traditional custom, practice, habit, IUB H. *ɛ̃ɔnɔŋ, ɛ̃ɔnɔ, ɛ̃ɔnɔw.*

ɛ̃ɔlirɔdɔm mirɔw bila it is the custom from ancient times. 309.12.

ɔlɔje mirɔw the custom of "*ɔlɔg*". 342.12. *Ikam ɛ̃ɔnɔŋ jɔrɔ mirɔw bila* it is the custom to go out (*lit.* come) to meet the Tham. 338.7. Cp. 342.20. Ar. Fra.

mirɔwɔ v. *mirɔw* 1. and 2.

mirɔwɔ, mirɔwɔ; mirɔwɔ, mirɔwɔ. V. *mɔrɔwɔ* and *mɔrɔwɔ.*

mirɔi McK and GR epilepsy. (H. *mirɔi*).

mirīzkaw -*tiŋ* hm falconer. 4.13, 6.2,9, 326.4, 340.15. Prs. 000

mɪsəre of Egypt, Egyptian. 150.3. Ar. Prs.

mɪsəri y 1. sugar. 2. a kind of cotton cloth. *mɪsəri* (*latha*) *bila*.

mɪšīndilam sixth.

mɪšīndo, *mašīndo* h x and y, z *mɪšīndi*, *mɪšīn-* six. — *mišīndo hivi* six men. *mašīndo yuγuđanise* the six daughters. 120.3. *umišindo eγərđu.s* the six sons-in-law. 120.22, 124.4. *mišīndi bajaw* at six o clock. *mɪšīndi dan*, *kši* six years, six times. *mɪšīnsa* six months. *mɪšīnqots*, *mɪšīnqots* six days.

mɪvz -*rīlo* x table. Prs.

mīrpuvī -*īlo* x table-cloth. Prs.

mo. Impv. 2nd sg. of *-*aſas* with hf sg. pu.pf. — *kan'no mo* advise her. 50.22.

-*mo*, -*mu*.

1. Adjectival suffix:
imo his own. *duγu.imo* pertaining to midday. V. § 102.
2. Suffix of general oblique or abl.: *tapmo* at night. V. § 64. III.

moδaq (repetitive of *toδaq* q.v.) — *toδak moδak* guns. 120.24.

moçe v. *-*açe*, her sister. — *ja amimo moçe* my mother's sister, my maternal aunt. *uγs gumimo moçe* thy maternal aunt. *ma mamimo moçokon* your (pl.) maternal aunts. 601

mo.i, *mo.imo*, v. *mu.i*.

moγ manaw to smile.

moγa, *mauga* y right time, opportunity, chance. — *niyase moγa divni* the right time, or opportunity, for going came. Ar. Prs. 000

*-*m'oγas*, *-*m'oγić-*, *-*moγoč-* to tear (hair off a skin), to pluck (a fowl). — *gumoγićam* I'll tear thy hair on

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000 *gapkun. ukki ... ewiqamas. Nimuq* . . . they tore the hair off the skin, tearing it off . . . 134.15.

(Cp. *demurqum*).

*-*murqit* pl. *-*murqi.aq* y cheek, H. *gal*, *ruzzur*. — *imuqela dal doli* give him a smack on the cheek. *dwuum ewiqzle ze . . . gili bi* there is the . . . line down his right cheek. 92.1.

1. *mur* (= *mu.* + *ur*) to her, for her. V. § 123.

2. *mur* -*iq* (y) anal. Fra.

murzas, v. *-*arzas*, 1. to send her. 2. to divorce (a wife) ICUB II. *falaq drus*.

mure, pl. *murwiq*, *murbiq* y mud-flood, avalanche of mud and stones. — *mure jadvin* a mud-flood is coming. *kawdle mure* a flood caused by rain, a spate in a river. Cp. 249 19.18, 284.11,19.

(Cp. Sh. *mure* mud-flood, a flood caused by rain-water).

*-*mure* y anger, rage, temper, annoyance.

1. *imure ke kurutqi* he sat with anger, (looking) angry, scowling. *emure kg diyirmaman* they rushed down with anger, in a rage. 249.8. *pfuli bert imure divai* the Div's anger came, i.e. the Div became very angry. 18.8. *amure di bila* I have become, I am, very angry. EOL.

2. *-*mure eurzas*, or, *dewrzas* to "fetch anger", i.e. to become angry, get into a temper, lose one's temper. *urq ker gumire dewzis?* why are you angry? *imure dumurzam, imure dewn* he had become, was, angry; he becoming angry. 270.5. *imure eurzi* he has become, is, angry. *ine gure mumure dewn kewn* the woman had become angry.

000 2. *-mure d*-gren, the Causative of *-mure dmergim to make angry, annoy, worry. mure airdin don't worry me. ang (or, wagi) in bene mure dróit? why do you worry him? ja (or, jai) mure dróit ón I am worrying him.

4. Used adjectivally:
mure ómnii ónii be in angry.
mure maniuni be become angry. 274.4.

*-mureki pl. *-mureki.enb prone to anger, wrathful, violent tempered. — (forgi) cmureki.enb bi.en (the forgi) are "wrathful ones", i.e. resentful towards oath-breakers. 290.10. Cp. 294.10.

mur ammb, v. *-ammb. 242.9.

murtar (= ma + *-atar), murt-, to perform the sexual act with a woman, to copulate. ICB II. majrowa'al karna, fróiim.

murtag, mutrug, -ch children, without young, barren, unmarried, bachelor, spinster. — murtag bir ini be in a bachelor. murtag ni be che has gone, i.e. in, childless. mutrugchi bini, prolignate bachelor men, spinster women. Lagow murtag bi the mow in barren. murtaniti bi.en they (animals) are barren. murtag fora, bella barren cow, sheep. murtag wa.en bene there was a childless married woman. 242.6.

mu, cp. marb, mow. — ja ma lirdi lorwi.en mow I shall stay here. 92.23. ma gab mow at this time, now (emphatic). 98.4, 172.12.

This appears to be ellipsis for: ma gab waatlolo. 86.6. Cp. 42.10, 80.18, 82.20, 94.1, 98.24, 120.1, 123.20, 196.6, 202.14,16, 210.6, 276.15.

ma.erf forgiven, pardoned. — ma.erf ó.ne to forgive [him]. Ar. Pm.

ma.eyā *y* forgiveness, pardon. — **ma.eyā dawa.a** to seek forgiveness. *Ar.* Fm.

mabrowāk blessed (expression of congratulation or well-wishing). — **mabrowāk ma.ini!** may it be blessed (to you), congratulations to you! 62.8. **ugowa ev mabrowāk ehma.a** all congratulated him. 99.9.

(Cp. *habrowāk*, and Kho. *mambrowāk*, *hambrowāk*. *Ar.* Fm.).

mabrowākhardi wishing joy, congratulation. — **mabrowākhardi ela.a**, or, *-dhi.a* to congratulate. (*Ar.*) Fm.

maf, mafi, -mafig *y*.

1. Closed hand, fist. — **drig maf hila** his hand is a closed fist, i.e. he is close-fisted. **maf ev dilimi** clenching his fist he struck (him) i.e. he struck him with his fist. **maf ev ise ehmi** he gave him a blow with his fist.
2. Single handful. — **ishi mafi.ee gi.a.ee** I took (a) three handfuls.

(Cp. Sar. *mafiy*- fist, handful; Kho. *mafi* handful; *mafiji* fist, grip of plough handle; Sh. *maf* fist; *mafiji*, plough-handle).

mafji, mafi -*mafe* a handle of a plough. (Cp. *mafiji*.

mafwēk this iron or wooden instrument for turning bread on the griddle, with flat disk and long handle. — **ha.ishi mafwēk** a greedy man who goes about everywhere eadging food. **gowa.a mafwēkdo dawag ma.ehni.i** the bridegroom gives her a smack with the bread-turner. 306.10. Cp. 308.4.

mafir *y* desire. — **gowa mafir lelādo gow ma.ini?** how will the desire of your heart come to pass for you? 66.11. Cp. 84.8. *Ar.* Fm.

mafowa always, constantly. *Ar.* Fm.

moddat y period, space of time. — *bwt moddat niwsi* a long time passed. 2.6. Ar. Fra. 000

moyali Maulai sect. (Cp. Sh. *moyali*, contemptuous term applied to the Maulais by the Shinha, who say they themselves are Maulais).

moy'ulo d'ovo N., pl. — *dovowa'a*, tadpole, (*dovo* is perhaps connected with the Khe. *dovi*, Sh. *dôvi*, *dovo*, ladle. Cp. the Hz. *bindpiyalt* tadpole, of which *piyalt* means ladle.

Similarly the Tanin Khe. is *ali kiyówi*, "snake-spoon". The Sh. for tadpole is recorded as *mawuhd'ulo*, *mawuhu* being the word for frog, and *dulo* probably for *dovo*).

mokhry in want, destitute. 272.10. Ar. Fra.

mu.i, *mu.i*; *mwimu*, *mu.imu*, v. 1. *-i*, she herself. V. 16.19 note; her own 49.3, 68.1, 146.16.

mujuq, *mujuq*, *-ôliq*, *-iq* y tassel (as of chuga), tuft of hair (at end of cow's tail). — *ñupa mujuqôliq* tapes with tassels attached to breast of chuga on either side, nominally for tying across chest. *gwo mujuq* an ornament worn at weddings by both bride and groom. It is suspended at the side of the cheek and consists of a string on which is strung a piece of mother of pearl and below it a pearl (?) or piece of coral, beneath which the string ends in a tassel. Cp. 304.12. *ûn ûwamalo mujuq ñewu hilo* the tassel of its (the calf's) tail is white. 166.8. 292

mujuw *-iq* y weeping-willow tree. *hun mujuwun hilo* there is a weeping-willow tree. 12.12. *dôdi mujuw ryi hum* he had planted the mink weeping-willow. 18.9. 000

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000 If, owing to evil conduct (?) a woman's hair falls out, she buries the fallen hair under a weeping-willow, then her hair grows in long again. Cp. 12.17, 16.14, 262.16.

(Cp. Sh. *mořkaw*, weeping-willow).

mařé ag. and pl., d. pl. *mařik*, x pearl. — *mařkin li* there is a pearl. *mařir hirtsants* my pearly joints, limbs (?). 248.10.

(Cp. Sh. *mařé*, *mak* pearl).

mařa x pl. small shot (for gun). — *mařa* (or *mařai*) *tshag* shot-gun.

(Cp. Khо. *mařa*, small shot; *mařai tsak* shot-gun).

mařher hm informer. Ar. Pm.

mal x a form of food, a sort of gruel — *mal ots* to prepare "mal". *ów mal ítsi* he eats the "mal". 306.19. *ořiki mal* the "mal" given by his parents to their son on his returning home soon after marriage. (Cp. Sh. *mal*).

malrim gently, slowly. — *malrim gatsrs* to go along slowly. Ar. Pm.

malrqat y meeting. — *malrqat ro* having met (him). 384.20. *ker-ów ilrain malrqat ofimi* coming to the house he presented himself to them. 268.8. Ar. Pm.

malk y country, territory. — *ów malk-ówu nis* the people of that country. 116.1. *Arapo malkhaw* from the Arab country. 94.9. *malk Himzal ilrsimi* he came out, turned up, in Himzal territory. 384.12. Ar. Pm. Cp. 92.29.

marlo -mats x turnip, taproot, H. *ilalyam*

(Cp. Sh. *marlo*, turnip, radish, H. *mooli* radish).

malton, pl. *mallai.in*, y blood. — *malton darbrin* blood is coming out

600 (n. of to bleeding. *ta i hrvle multen ewemi* blood issued, flowed, from the gash. 200.6. Cp. 196.1, 202.24.

*-m'ller, -eg, -eg, *y* nostril, N. naflna. *ji ewellwrwp wyam nasen daiada ha* I perceive a sweet odour with my nostrils. 178.27.

mawn *y* wax. Pro.

mamavi (she) herself. V. § 143. — *ena gna mamavi* the woman herself.

mawn -ondz *n* stump (of anything that has been cut), pl. stubble. — *penarlo mawn* the stump of a pencil. *tamarku mawnan hi* it is a tobacco plant (less the leaves?) *tamarku mawnondz* tobacco of whole plant less the leaves. (Cp. Sh. Kho. mawn, stump).

mawnwzö -ilo right, proper, suitable, fitting. 88.19. Ar. Pro.

mawdzy *mawd'ay* grown big, developed (of child or young animal), Bu. *ilwd*, upgrown. — *mawdzy* (or, *dwd*) *mawinai* (the baby boy) grew big. 100.4. *mawdzy imawmar* when it (the lamb) grew big. 68.1. Cp. 242.20. (IYB *mawdzy*).

mawdi v. *mawwdi*.

mawdan, pl. *mawdalo*, *n* tick (insect).

mawkzy *mawzy* to decay. Ar. Pro.

*-mayzel, pl. *-mayzi.ondz*, *n* nose, muzzle (of animal), trunk (of elephant); toe (of boot, pubhoo, etc.). — *mai'a mawzipodan mawzapodale ewinai* he placed a nose of oil-greenings (for her) on her nose. 178.16. Cp. 182.4—6. *gnu ewzapodale gajal ne ne ewdi la . . .* if this (elephant) snatches me off with its trunk and flings me down. 76.24.

Cp. *ngawa mapodale* 76.27, where the po pf. is lacking.

*-muṣṭe nal septum of nose. Cp. Prov. 15. 000

(Cp. Sh. m'ṣpuṭ, muzzle of animal, beak of bird).

moŋarvar fixed, appointed. — *gunī: moŋarvar ṣāṣī* he fixes the day. 326.6. Cp. 380.18.

moruṭī of oneself, on one's own initiative. — *ja jijeri moruṭī ṣāṣm* I did it myself on my own initiative. (But perhaps: *jerimo ruṭī*). Ar. Pra.

[illegible], [illegible], pl. [illegible], y file (tool). (Cp. Sh. [illegible], file).

morda -mafa, x ring, or hoop, e.g. of twisted withes.

mor'ed, -ṣāo, -ṭāg, h disciple, follower (of spiritual leader). Ar. Pra.

*-[illegible], *-[illegible]-; *-[illegible], *-[illegible]-; *-[illegible], no Pres. Base.

1. To cut off the branches or shoots of a tree, to pollard (a tree), to lop. — *ṣum ḍir* [illegible] *ṣmurulem* when a tree has begun to fall they lop it (i.e. cut off its branches). 1st. sg. Fut. *ṣmurulam* || *ṣmurufiqam ḍirko ṣmoruŋas* to lop off branches. *ḍirko ṣmurufin* cut off the branches.

2. (Metaph.) to strike, hammer (a person. — (*hin hiran ḍolmi ha*) *ṣmurufimi. ais, ḍolmaŋo, ṣmurufimi* he hammered the people, the enemy. *gomurulam* I'll beat you. (Cp. *-*muraŋas*).

mosrfir -ṭāg h traveller. 36.6. Ar. Pra.

mosrhat y hardship, difficulty. 386.13.

1. mud, mud, -afa x.

a. End, extremity; side, edge; limit, frontier. — *ḍaŋaliṭāg gati mud han ḍamoru ar ḍrumas* make a ring for me at the end of the chain. 174.6. *mutafo* at the end,

finally. 234.5. *gʌnɛ muś* the side of the road. *muśulu* round the edge. N. *uʻimo wʌtʌnɛ muʻiər doʻšqalluman* they arrived at the end, frontier, of their own country. 22.13. Cp. 36.4. *iʻte bušai.ɛ muśulo* at the frontier of the country. 22.13. Cp. 36.7.

b. *muś* is used adverbially or postpositionally in:
iʻti muś that side of; *kiʻti muś* this side of. *dʌli muś* at the upper end of, on the upper side of. *xʌli muś* at the lower end of etc. V. s.vv. *dʌli*, *xʌli* etc.

c. It produces adjectival forms: *muśum* and *muśeṭum* (*muʻušʌṭum*), last, final. — *iʻlji muśum ɛnɛ* the last man (of all). 138.10. *muśeṭum gonɛ diʻmi* (his) last day has come. *muśeṭum mauqa bila* it is the last chance. *muśeṭum dimʌnum hiles* the last-born, final, child.

d. *muś* can also be used in the sense of: small piece, scrap, (of land). (Cp. Sh. *muś*, in *muśxj*, in the end, eventually).

2. *muṣ̌ y* breath. — *muṣ̌ diłʌmi* (his) breath was stopped, he suffocated. *muṣ̌ diłʌmɛr miʻrin hɛn* when our breath is stopped we die. *čhʌnum hɛʻle muṣ̌ diłʌṭila* in a small room one's breath is impeded, i.e. one suffocates in a congested room. QUB.

3. *-muś* x snot, nasal mucus.

muśʌqʌt muśʌqʌt y trouble, labour, toil. — *bɛʻt muśʌqʌt ka* with much labour. 108.16. *muśʌqʌt nʌtʌn* expending much labour. 55.31. Ar. Pra.

muśʌṭum, *muśeṭum* (= *muś* + *ʌṭe* + *um*), v. 1, *muś* c.

muṣ̌k, *muṣ̌k*, N. pl. *-ʻimiz*, x jungle, forest. — *čhʌnɛ muṣ̌k* thorn jungle.

000 *tomɪ muʂk* jungle of trees. (Cp. Sh. *muʂko, moʂko,* forest).

*-*muʂkʌnɪ* prone, on one's face, face down. — *imuʂkʌnɪ walai.i* he has fallen on his face. *umuʂkʌnɪ wwʌlʌs* to fall on their faces. *imuʂkʌ ˌ guča bai.i* he is lying (*lit.* has lain down) on his face. *ɪmˈuʂkenɔ bʌm* he was (lying) on his face. 220.1.

*-*moʂki* y pl. hair below navel, pubic hair.

moʂkɪl difficult. — *taiyʌsɔr ovr moʂkɪl jučila* it comes difficult to them to put them on, i.e. they have difficulty in putting them on. 132.4. Ar. Prs.

muʂʂi -mots x handle of a plough. (Cp. *muʂi* and Sh. Kho. *muʂʂi*).

moʂuˑl, moʂol, y, v. *-*ʂuˑl,* (her) labour pains.

muˑʂolum N. *-iʂo* last. V. 1. *moʂ*.

moʂom v. 1. *moʂ* c.

muthˑɔi, v. *-*thˑɔi* (her) bridal trousseau.

muˑto, cp. *mu,* now, at present, nowadays. — *muˑto its dʌsluˑr kin thʌmɪ fʌt oˑtai.i* now this Tham has made them give up this practice. 338.2. Cp. 146.9, 196.16, 248.23, 252.19, 266.12, 272.10, 374.16. *muˑto ks, muˑto ki* now too, even now, still. *muˑto ks inɪ jʌt gusmo kaˑɪ ɔrˈʌn ks buʂai.i bila* there are still the ruins of the old woman's house and her land. 286.17. Cp. 212.20, 224.8, 278.3,4, 288.1. *muˑto xrˑ* up till now, to the present day, still. *muˑto xrˑ ɪrɪ boyo gals hum .ɪmɪ kaˑle bi* the wood of the "boyo" juniper is in his house to the present day. 216.4. Cp. 184.11, 206.15, 234.16, 274.9, 294.19. *muˑto xrˑdiqɔr* up to the present time. 266.17.

moforg v. *mofurg*.

000 *muyenum -iŋ* y a present of cloth given to the bride's mother at a wedding (normally 6 yds. of cloth?) — *mumimo muyenum* her mother's wedding present.

Figuratively used in:
i·ke šariŋ ja ai.imo mu·mimo muy'e-nimiŋulo muɣunʌs ba ke ja ai.i gu·čʌm if you will give those cities to my daughter's mother as her bridal-present, I will give you my daughter (as wife). 96.21.

(The word is a form of *-yenum q.v.).

291 *muz'a*, N. *mu·za*, *-muts* x long boots (made in Kashgar of good leather).

(Cp. *dʌsmu·za* gloves. The word *mo·za* is similarly used in Badakhshani Persian for "long leather boots". In Kho. it denotes knitted woollen stocking-legs used like gaiters). Prs.

N and ŋ.

000 Finally, more rarely medially, *n* sometimes interchanges with *ŋ* and *m*.

1. *na·* IUB channel conveying water to mill, H. *ha·n(?) a·siya*. (Prs. *nao?*).
2. *na* Exclamation of grief or sorrow. — *e·rča ba, na!* I am going to die, alas! 358.5.
3. *na·* not?, or not? (after a final verb). — *je ke ba·, n'a?* I am also, am I not?, is there not me too? 112.1. *tsil gaiyen na?* shall we take water or not? 124.28. (But perhaps only: *gaiyena*). *bʌnda čʌpe mʌsa estse omaimi na* there will not be the taste of human flesh on it, will there? i.e. it won't taste of human flesh, will it? 66.19. *jučuma n'a?* will you come or not? i.e. won't you come? 74.20. *jočuma na?* will you give him to me or not? 106.8.

272 b

(The examples are too few to reveal the exact meaning and use of this particle. It is possibly borrowed from H., e.g. *wo ayiya na?* "he has come hasn't he?" Cp. Sh. *na* which appears to be used in the same way as the Bu. word). ○○○

naʿčaʿra helpless, destitute, wretched. Prs.

nəʿdaʿn, pl. *nadʿiyo*, ignorant, foolish; ignorant one, fool. 56.1, 78.7, 264.2 (pl.), 356.5. Prs.

naʿdaʿni y folly, stupid act, — *ja naʿdaʿni etam* I did a stupid thing. 78.11. Prs.

naʿhaq without regard to right or wrong, unjustly; without just cause, for no fault. — *mi nahaq mərqaimi* he will kill us for no fault of ours. 12.10. Cp. 266.13. Prs. + Ar.

naʿi severity, violence, punishment, H. *zoləm, jaur*, ظلم. — *uŋafe aiʿetas naʿyen ečam* I'll give you a deterrent punishment.

naʿlaʿj helpless, at a loss, unable to do anything. 1810, 132.6. Prs. Ar.

naʿl -iło mate, one of a pair; "opposite number", paired (for polo). — *hiʿna ja naʿl baiʿi* he is my mate. *hiʿna naʿl je horuʿdim* I shall stay as his pair, i.e. to match him. 148.2, cp. 3. (Cp. *nal*).

naʿn, naʿnin, Ppa. of *niyas* with 1st. sg. pn. infix, I having gone; I going. 42.18,20.

naʿnaʿ willy nilly, of necessity, H. *zaʿhmaraʿh*. — *naʿnaʿ gote dor o eti* you absolutely must do this.

naʿo IUB boat, ship, H. *kəšti*. (Cp. Sh. *naʿo*. Presumably Prs. *nao*, boat).

naʿpaʿk unclean, impure. Prs.

naʿs unfortunate, unlucky, H. *manhus*,

badqrsmat. (Perhaps Cp. Sh. *na·s Akbar*, the name of a star which is considered unlucky). Ar. Prs. (*nahas*). 000

na·š y blame, reproof, rebuking. — *uv ine na·š-stuman* they rebuked him. *tol ki no·le na·š ki ma·ran bila* there is enmity to the death between the snake and the weasel.

na·umi·d hopeless, despairing, disappointed. Prs.

nafs, *nams* greed, greediness. — *nafs gane* by reason of greed. Ar. Prs.

nafskrṣ, *navskrṣ*, *namskrṣ*, pl. *nafski.ants*, *-ents* avaricious, greedy. — *nafskrṣan* a greedy person. *nafski.entsik* greedy people.

nage.i -muts x a hard and painful boil (medical), from the site of which hair does not grow again. (Cp. N. *mage.i*).

nayc.i, *nayc*, pl. *nay'eviṇ* y dung (human and animal's, general term). H. *fatti*. — *bad'a nayc* the excrement of the flying-squirrel which is credited with medicinal properties and ranks as "*mu·mi.a·i*". 278

nazša, cp. *naqša*, map. Ar. Prs. 000

nal yoke (of oxen). — *nal hor* yoke of oxen, yoke-fellow. *tale nal hor bim, bi.e* there were (are) seven yoke of oxen. 246.10. (Cp. Sh. *na·l*, yoke of plough; pair, couple. Cp. also Bu. *na·l*).

nal'a together, at the same time, simultaneously. — *nala bidaman* they fired together, fired a volley. *kuv u.i·ski nala dumanuman* these three were born at the same time. 88.16. Cp. 304.17. *hik nal'a* all at once, all of a sudden.

(Cp. Sh. *nal'a* together, at the same time, *ek nal'a* all together).

273 b

000 *namaⁿm*, Nz. *namaⁿni* Ppa. 2nd. pl. of *niyas*, you having gone. 128,13, 246.9.

namas Ppa. 1st. sg. of *-*manas*. 282.22.

nams v. *nafs*.

namuⁿma y (and x if the object is x) sample. Prs.

601 1. *nana*, *nane*, pl. *nanˈaisəro*, *nanˈeisəro* hmf.

a. Uncle (paternal or maternal), H. *čačā*, *maⁿma*. The form *nane* is properly used only in Rajas' families; *nana* being used by aristocrats and commoners.

jot nana father's, *or* mother's, younger brother. *uyuⁿm nana* father's, *or* mother's, elder brother. *nanˈeisəruⁿ gasaⁿtsi nazir* (we do) homage to (our) mother's brothers' hawks! 248,4. Cp. 246.15, 248.5.

Father's brother. 130.10.15,17.

Uncle. 312.14.

b. Term of respectful address used between men, also applied to old men. Cp. 354.2.

c. Aunt (paternal). — *si nanaisəro* O father's sisters! 266.9.

(Not recorded for maternal aunt).

d. Term of address between women, (applicable to older women). — *xabər suⁿ? Ḥamal nanamo nazir* have you brought news? (I do) homage to (you) lady neighbour. 362.9. (*nanamo* is gen. sg. f.).

000 2. *nana -mots* x ball (of eye). — *aˈlčine nana* my eye-ball. (Cp. Sh. *nani*, eyeball).

nane v. *nana*, a.

naphˈa, *nafa* y gain, profit; profitable. — *gusi Ḥayar aw nafa ci* this horse is profitable to me. Ar. Prs.

napd x cash. Ar. Prs.

000 *nʌqša*, pl. *nʌqšʌŋ* y picture, impression, tracing. — *ɨmo hʌγvrɨ kijivmɨ nʌqša fʌt ɨtaiɨ . . . dʌnʌntɨr bi* he has left the impression of his horse's saddle-cloth . . . it is on a stone. 286.24.

nərɨm y mince, minced. — *nərɨm ɨtum čap* (*bila*) (it is) minced meat. *nərɨm bila* there is mince.

nərm soft. Prs.

nəro, pl. *nəromots*, x body of mill-wheel. (Cp. Sh. *nəro*, hub of water-wheel).

nərro N., pl. *nərromots*, difficult. (Cp. Sh. *nəro*, *nero*, difficult).

nʌs, *-miŋ*, *-iŋ*, y smell, odour, scent; musk, H. *bu*, *mušk*. — *uyʌm*, *dʌltʌs*, *šuʷa*, *nʌs* sweet, pleasant smell; perfume. *γunikrš nʌs* bad smell, evil odour. *uyʌm nʌsʌŋs askur bila* it is a sweet-scented flower. *nʌs bila*, *nʌs jučila* there is a smell, a smell comes. *gulʌbtsum nʌs jučila* the rose smells, gives out scent. *ɨts ʌskurə šu.a nʌs ačiči bila* that flower gives me a sweet smell, smells sweet to me. EOL. *uyʌm nʌsʌn daiɨsča bɨ* I feel a sweet perfume. 176.27. Cp. 16.16. *ja jʌmaʷʌtɨ nʌs tsuʷčo bom*, "*giriɨ čʌp su*" *ɨmubo* my wife was getting the scent (of it) and said: "fetch ibex meat". 104.7. (The literal meaning is uncertain, but the phrase refers to the peculiar craving of a woman in pregnancy).

As Adj. stinking, gone bad, "high". *nʌs mʌnʌrɨ* to become "smelly", become "high", go bad. *čʌp nʌs mʌnila* The meat has become high, putrid. *gučɨ mʌmu nʌs mʌmʌn lip ɨtʌs* (*bila*) this milk having gone bad (or become tainted) should be thrown out. EOL.

274b

nasaʷs, nasaʷz not on good terms (with), H. 000
naʷsaʷz, naʷraʷz. — *ja ka nasaʷz baiʼi* he is not on good terms with me.
(The real Bu. equivalent is: *ja ka dʼimʌyum apaiʼi*, v. s.v. *dʰ-mayʌs*). Prs.

nʌsʌl y stock, breed, progeny. — *kiʷntsum dʌltʌs nʌsʌl duʷši* fine progeny will come from him. 262.9. *Čorʌsis nʌsʌl uyoʷntsum diʷusʼʌsi gani* in order to propagate (*lit.* extract) *Č.*'s stock from all. 244.8. Ar. Prs.

nʌsiʷb y fate, fortune. — *naʷk nʌsiʷb, šuʷn nʌsiʷb* fortunate, lucky. *gosi kʌyur uʷgo nʌsiʷbtsum Xudaʷyi šuʷmuk staiʼi* out of your good luck God has created this horse, i.e. it is your good luck that it has been created, or, brought on the scene. 6.16. Ar. Prs.

nʌsiʷpa partaking, tasting. — *sukʼuyuʷs dando oʷr dosuʼʌʷn, nʌsiʷpa oʼʌʷn* their relatives bring "dando" for them, and put it in their mouths ("by force"). (Literal meaning uncertain). 312.19. Ar.?

nʌski a fragrant herb (grown in vegetable garden).

nʌstʌʷr -*iq* y lancet. (Cp. Punj. *nʌstʌr*, Pra. *niʷštʌr*, lancet).

nʌsuʷr y pl. snuff. H.

1. *nʌš* -*ʌsis* x.
   a. A small piece of rope (suitable for a nose-rope). 64.8.
   b. Peg securing a tenon; nose-peg (for camel). (Cp. Kho. *nʌš*, nose-peg).
2. *nʌš* y hole for nose-rope or nose-peg. — *uʷs imupʼolo nʌš maiʼiboila* in the camel's nose there is a hole (for a nose-peg).
3. *nʌš* the septum of the nose.

nʌf stʌs to dance. Cp. Prov. 12. (Cp. Sh. *nʌf thoʷzki, nʌfa doʷzki*, to dance).

tafiya y consequence, result. Ar. Pra. 000
nawaq -iciq y ploughshare (triangular 487
iron sheath slipped over the end of the body of the plough).

1. *nazir, nazir.*

a. Sacrifice, offering, Ar. Pra. 000
-vhara, fidayat. The word appears to be Ar. *nazir.* It is used with a dependent genitive, and the sense is probably: "may I be a sacrifice for . . .", which may be expressed otherwise as "I do homage to . . ." *aimo nazir* (may I be) my daughter's sacrifice (an expression of endearment to a daughter). 160.24.

Similarly for a son; *e.i.i nazir.* *barpotsrua hova nazir* respected oxen of our grandfather and grand-uncles! We do homage to the oxen of. etc. 246.13. *nazir bavika* (may I be your) sacrifice, King! 4.6.

In practice it comes to be used independently as a form of address for a superior, equivalent to "Sir" etc. Ar Pra. *hazarat, janab, hazur, Lahbaik.*

b. Sir etc. — *hai, ma hovaso nazir* alas! you wise sirs, (alas, may I be a sacrifice for you wise men). 158.17. *ainu nazir* yes sir! (the regular response of a servant to his master). Ar. Pra.

2. *nazir* y look, glance, sight, aim, H. *nazar.* — *yonikri nazirefe hovanimi* he looked at him with an evil eye. 50.4. *je aiyaf ko da wye nazirulo gunagar amana ba* in the sight of heaven and of thee I have become sinful. 273.7. *hai.anow nazir dununi* he has taken aim at the mark. *ina nazirur girni* he started aiming. 102.20. Ar.-Pra.

○○○ **narila** *y* a gathering of water beneath the skin of the forehead, which is said to produce partial, or complete blindness. gr. Pts. (*narlal, narlo*).

Nawruz *y* Nawruz, the Persian New Year, the time of the Vernal Equinox. — *Nawruz Hamalo iskiolo eleu* they celebrate Nawruz on the third of Hamal. 316.1. Pts.

***-ndid** *-dg y.*

a. Breast, chest. — **-ndidlin ḍen elar to beat the breast. ondilig dalar* to beat their breasts (in token of mourning). Pts. *ginazzal. mendidlin . . . ḍama hirw* there was a brooch on her breast. 164.15 ff.

b. Face (or, slope) of hill. — *ou . . . ḍan ḍir ondilolo ḍat eleu* he made the boulder stop on the slope (of the hill). 204.7.

ne . . . **ne, ne** . . . **ne** neither . . . nor. — *ne ḍir . . . ne ḍor* neither that one nor this. *ne kayar bi ne lodlo ḍengalo bolé* neither in the horse (there) nor in the king in his palace. 10.6.

nidhaif, nidhaif fortunate, lucky. — *nidhaif dimonlani* he has been born fortunate. 98.1. Cp. 100.18. Pts.

nidi v. **nidi.**

nenaberi *y* tent-pegging. (Cp. *nire*). — *nenaberi elar* they tent-peg. 216.11. Pts.

neyulter EOL Pps. of *eyulteran*, q.v. upside down (lit. having inverted). — *neyulter ere* put it upside down. EOL.

nerian Pps. Ind. sg. m. of **-ardeyan.* 208.11.

nerul Pps. with Ind. sg. Pt. Indo of **-anilan*, intentionally (i.e. looking with one's eyes open). — *nerul dere elar* I did the thing intentionally

000 [illegible] IUB Fpa. v.t. having melted (s.t.). H. *galeda*. (Fpa. of *[illegible]*).
[illegible] Fpa. of *-[illegible] with Pa. infix -4- having said to him.
*-qgi in front of. — *12 barada ŋgi* for *divini* he set up twelve stones in front of himself. 168.18.
*-qgiwa Adj. front. — *gowon ŋaŋgiwa* [illegible] our lower front teeth, incisors. *ŋaŋgiwa* over my front teeth.
601 *-qgo, pl. *-qgoiawo, hm. uncle (paternal and maternal). H. *ŋaŋa*, [illegible]. — *ŋgbatu ŋaŋgo* my maternal uncle. Cp. *'ŋgon*. 14.14. [illegible] "*ŋaŋgo.ale ni*" [illegible] (my) mother saying: "go to your uncle" (father's brother) ... 192.10. *kin ŋaŋgo* go [illegible] a brother of her mother, or her own brother, i.e. a maternal uncle or a brother of hers. 306.1. *ŋaŋgo* [illegible] present given to bride's maternal uncle(s).
000 *ni* (occurring as a particle after a verb) ..., or not? — *gö ja kuda kia ni?* is the bear in my house or not? 230.1. (Correct the footnote to the passage). *kaŋov mili maimi.a, ni?* perhaps it will be a remedy will it not? 356.14. (Extend the text). *Thaw Ali.lahadu di kuia ni?* has the Thaw come to Allahad or not?

It may be used with a rude effect: [illegible] *kalalw* [illegible], *ni?* When are you going to go? Will you tell me that?

-qi pl. *-qiiq; N. *-qge pl. *-qgiiaq; y beard. — *gorqi pulwi* may your beard be burnt! (a woman's curse). *ŋgi kowow* [illegible] *kaki* he has become white-beard, i.e. he is a grey-beard, old man. *kiw kowow* ... *pulkwaniqi, ŋgi.a kup pulwai* he

will take tax of the beards of all the champions. 92.20. 000

niṛas v. niṛas.

niṛaf, niṛaf y purpose, intention, willing, prayer. — *wṛṛ niṛaf darkanimi* your purpose has come straight, i.e. been fulfilled. 42.9. *niṛaf ṛe* willing it. 180.15. *niṛaf ximi* he vowed. 180.19. *yomiṛas niṛaf ṛeṛan* saying the prayer for the washing of the dead. 310.6. (*niṛaf* is technically the "vow or declaration of the intention to perform prayers", Hughes, "Dictionary of Islam" s.v. *niyat*). Ar. Pers.

niṛik Pya. of *-ṛ.ṛas with 3rd. sg. m. & a object.

niṛeṛṛaf extremely, extremely, very. 276.4. Ar. Pers.

niḳ'a y solemnizing of the marriage contract, marrying. Ar. *nikāḥ*. — *ṛaṛas ḳiṛe ḳ dasimas niḳa ṛiṛar* when the mullah has solemnized the marriage of the youth and the girl. 302.14. *dasimas ḳa niḳaṛ ṛe dromimi* celebrating his marriage with the girl he brought her, i.e. he married the girl and brought her in (to Gilgit). 180.11. *ḳiṛ niḳa ḳiṛumṛas gaṛiṛ ṛeṛiṛi* probably: a man of whom there has been one marriage (i.e. who has been once married), makes him put on his clothes. 300.7. Ar. Pers.

niḳiṛar for niṛar q.v. 338.11.

niṛḳiṛat v. neṛḳiṛat.

niṛi, neṛi y (news) good. — *jotaṛas niṛi ṛaṛas ḳiṛ* good is going to come (to you) from me. 90.12. Cp. Prov. 41 & 42. Pers.

niṛiṛ, niṛiṛ, Pya. of *piṛas*.

niṛ s indigo, indigo-blue. — *niṛ diṛeṛas* to extract(?) indigo. *niṛ ṛiṛumi* blue spots. 300.10. 278

Indigo is said to be injected with a needle as a cure for a swollen finger, and also to be given to a child or horse with a cough, to drink. Fra. 278

nirw Sh. Fr. of niyas.

nimarz y prayers. — nimarz *ciaz* to say, or perform, the Muslim prayers. nimarz *yalai loi* he is reciting, reading, the prayers. Cp. 310.13. Fra. 000

nrw.ch *kurwai* y treachery, disloyalty. — *ikanar* nrw.ch *kurwai zimi* he practised disloyalty towards the Thum. Fra. (+ Ar.).

niw.ra.

1. Fpa. of *-m.ra.ra with Fn. Infix *i-*.
2. 3rd. pl. Pret. of niyas.

niwa'ar N. -ęą y story. Cp. Hz. nain.ar.

nimera Fpa. 1st. pl. of niyas. 248.6.

n'iqar Fpa. of *-zwr.ar with Fn. Pf. *i-*.

n'iron.ąą, -*ało*, *nironarqała* a rainbow. — nirom.ąą *wali bi* a rainbow has appeared (*lit.* has fallen). nirom.ąąło *gi.a bi.o* rainbows have appeared (*giyai.ra*) (*lit.* come down). 821

It is said that something comes down from the skies to drink. It drinks and goes up again, legs up and head down. It leaves a pot (*k.ishw*) behind.

nirom.ąą *dewi bi* the rainbow has come out.

(Cp. Sh. nerora || *bijora*, rainbow).

nziorn -ęą y sign, token, mark, Ba. *kaiyan*. — *iliranda kar.ągała kan* nziorn.an *bila* there is a mark between his eyebrows. 92.2. Cp. 198.1. Fra. 000

niyas. ni.as, *nii-*, Impr. ni, Fpa. n*-n (and n*-.an). Sh.pr. nirm

1. To go (in all aspects); go, depart from; go, proceed to; (absolute) go away, go off.

For forms see the paradigm § 194.

000 The point of departure, which is seldom expressed in the texts, takes the ablative suffix *-tsum* (*-ʊ..ı*).

The destination usually takes the dative suffix *-ər*, which may be in combination, as in: *-ʌlər*, *-ʌʃər* and *-tsər*.

With persons the suffix *-ʌlɛ*, *-ʌlər* is used, and with both persons and animals the postposition *-ʌpʌčər*.

The verb is often used absolutely.

In the negative, *niyʌs* takes only the prefix *ʊ-*.

hʌnik Baltitum Altitər niʊn ničai he goes with the bowl from Balt to Altit. 212.21. *Kubad doni.a tsum nimi* K. went from the worl i.e. departed this life. 92.22 *akolatsum dʌfa numa ni* clear out and go from here. 140.14 (The abl. is perhaps dependent on *dʌfa numa*).

Gʌntsupər teʊər nimi he went to the G. pastures. 204.3. Cp. 92.25. *imo hʌlər nimi* he went (to his) home. 68.10,17. Cp. 302.11. *imu sis nimi Buzur Jʌmhur ʊpʌčər* the man went to B. J. 76.2. Cp. 64.8, 102.15,23, 368.3. *šʌdər nimi padšalər* the servant went to the King. 76.7. Cp. 136.26. *nujumʌlɛ nimi* he went to the astrologer. 102.4. Cp. 368.7. *sindʌʃər nimi* he went to the river(side). 264.24. Cp. 68.5. *hiŋtsər nimi* he went to the door. 64.2, 286.1.

2. When the purpose or object of the going is mentioned it is expressed in the Dative. When such complement is a dependent final

000 clause, the verb of that clause is expressed in the form of the present base + *ar*.

ḋiḋer derwar nirwar they went to the mountain for game, hunting. 280.4. *Perwo yabiḋer ni ḃi* . P. had gone for firewood. 212.3. Cp. 74.22. *ḃeḋa ḋiḋer nirwar* Qoy go to play polo. 292.8. Cp. 86.24, 112.28, 118.8, 124.9, 162.14, 204.5, 206.9.

Similarly the Infinitive + *er* may be used:

helpa ṁwaḋa ṁner nirwi he went outside to play. 284.9. Cp. 124.10.

2. Used absolutely:

ge ni, fner nedwa ḋiḋo nwo go, and going quickly fetch it. 60.4. Very many examples could be quoted; cp. 64.12, 70.8, 74.9, 94.5,19.

4. *nigar* is sometimes employed where in English the verb "to come" would rather be used:

ḋwapor zaher nirwi news, reports, went (i.e. came) to the Arabs that . . . 90.2. *wazir 'enimi ḃi* if the Wazir hasn't come . . . 238.16.

5. To pass, elapse (of time).

berwar ṁanteig nirwi some days passed. 166.10. *ṁḋi den nirwfawa* after 2 years had passed. 92.26. Cp. 56.11, 86.19.

The Static Participle *nirwa* is used in the sense of "past", "last".

nirwa dawa a past affair.

nirwa den the past year, last year.

nirwa hinn last month.

kwlto nirwa fap last night.

6. The verb **-arar*, to send, acts as the Causative of *nigar*.

jirtowa ewrḋi it will make me go

from life, i.e. despatch see 74.16. *wow dwalat yewlatf dawrigalo ewlwal* ○○○
he has made your wealth go in evil works, i.e. squandered 11. 270.10.

Cp. the transitives *ol wiyat* and *wulak wiyat*.

7. A few special uses and idioms may be mentioned: Pga. of *gawat*, *gawat* + *wiyat* to go, taking . . . i.e. to go off with, to take away. (wuzd) *wakat hawrwfar ewwl* he went off with the gold to the bazar. 60.20. Cp. 94.1, 98.5, 212.21. *law ugalo wiyat* to go in between pass. *law pawlaig law ugalo ewallawn* after many days had not passed, i.e. after an interval of not many days. 288.5. *ja k' urg law ugalo ewwl* everything is over between us. 98.8. **-gawlat* (**-gawlar*) *wiyat* to go to meet, or receive, someone. *gawlar wilwn let ta go to meet him.* 90.8,7. Cp. 94.11 ff. *wiyat . . . jawat* coming and going, traffic. *ede gaw wawla bila, ate wiyat bila jawat bila* the road is in order, there is coming and going of people, i.e. traffic, on it. EOL.

IUD gives the phrases:
wiwr hawa, H. *jawar ho tha*, he had to go(?). *wiwr wawaha*, H. *jawar ho hoga*, it will be necessary to go(?).

8. *wiyat* occurs as a component in verbal compounds with:
bal, *berl*, *tal*, *tikl*, *yalal*, *wulak*, and *brag*, v. s.vv.

9. The following are some references to forms occurring in the texts:
Pot. sg. 1. *wiłam* 264.17, 280.11, 288.8, etc.
2. *wiłwno* 144.16.

Fut. sg. 2. m. [illegible] 180.8, 194.4, 206.2 etc.
[illegible] 194.13.
f. [illegible] 202.8.
pl. 1. [illegible] 4.10, 94.18, 190.10 etc.
2. [illegible] 206.7, 202.18, 204.1 etc.
Pres. sg. 1. [illegible] 10.13, 142.14, 264.21.
2. [illegible] 130.20.
3. m. [illegible] 133.1, 212.21, 214.9 etc.
pl. 3. [illegible] 126.13, 206.16, 219.11 etc.
Impf. sg. 3. m. [illegible] 22.19.
n. [illegible] 238.18.
pl. 3. [illegible] 16.20.
Pres. sg. [illegible] 20.8.
2. [illegible] 164.19.
3. m. o [illegible] 4.1, 30.9.
f. [illegible] 108.11, 192.11. 196.7, 202.3 etc.
pl. 1. [illegible] 194.11.
2. [illegible] 192.3, 200.2, 208.8,9 etc.
Fut. sg. 3. f. [illegible] 26.10.
y [illegible] 30.21.
Disp. sg. 1. [illegible] 16.11, 20.11.
pl. 3. [illegible] 296.4.
Impr. sg. 2. [illegible] 38.16, 76.16, 140.18 etc.
pl. 2. [illegible] 130.22, 134.9 etc.
[illegible] 24.3, 196.7.
-i Forms [illegible] 294.14 Cp.
[illegible] you go.
[illegible] I let him go.
Pl. 2. [illegible] 118.1.
Fpr. sg. 1. [illegible] 42.18, 180.5, 264.10. etc.
[illegible] 42.20, 168.12

000 *Pyn.* sg. 1. [illegible] 98.19, 99.10, 72.10, 74.9,6, 264.24 etc.

3. m. [illegible] 6.8, 192.9, 260.13 etc.
[illegible], [illegible] 20.10, 250.18, 266.3 etc.

f. [illegible] 108.20, 194.20, 198.12 etc.

pl. 1. [illegible] 40.19, 268.6, 250.11 etc.
[illegible] 122.10.

2. [illegible] 198.11. 246.9, 256.12 etc.
[illegible] 28.4.

3. [illegible] 104.18, 260.5, 294.14 etc.
[illegible] 24.11, 114.26, 122.3,19 etc.

Sg. pr. [illegible]. The vowel is invariable. There is not an indeed pronoun as in the Pyn.

For examples of the uses of the form see §§ 271, 272.ii, 279.b,c, 193, 197.

For [illegible], past, see under b above.—*[illegible] ella ar [illegible]* after 12 months had passed. 108.9. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]* above she was keeping the reckoning from her husband's departure. 56.10. Cp. 212.18. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] . . .* (in front of) those six sons-in-law of the King who had gone on ahead. 124.4. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]* a fugitive. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]* the place to which he had gone for gone." 26.4.

It is doubtful whether [illegible] has the meaning of the static participle or is deliberative or optative in: *[illegible] [illegible]* you who have gone, or, may you go, to your daughter(s). 126.4,14.

000 In addition to the ablative form of *niwa* (see examples immediately above), we find the dative form *niwane*:

ve niwane when they had gone, 119.8. *Ikhavi pakalaje niwai. Niwane* ... he went towards the fort. On his going towards it ... 192.13. Cp. 228.3.

niwa occurs once with the postposition *ka*:

ve niwaka (*niwa ka?*) when they went, or had gone. 126.13.

Present Base + ne, *niine*, 94.21, 112.23, 222.5. V. § 406.

Preterite + ḿeno, negative: *ovaiḿeno*. Only twice recorded: 304.5, 373.6. V. § 407.

Infinitive. *ni..ne*, *niyane*..V. §§ 202. f. *niyane* when he (etc.) had gone. 108.24, 180.8, 252.8, 282.19, 296.1 etc. *Ḿenavaḿeno niyane vakā ohiai* he decided to depart from Hunza. 272.14. Cp. 279.5. *Ikert manimi niyane gane* he sprang up to go off. 142.25. *niyanlo* at the time of going: 10.15, 198.13.

Negative forms:

Fut.	sg. 1.	*ovaiḿen* 32.1.
Impv.	sg. 2.	*ovai* 120.26, 264.20, 280.11.
	pl. 2.	*ovain* 280.13.
Impf.	pl. 3.	*ovaiḿen* 228.3.
Pret.	sg. 3. m.	*ovaiḿi* 238.18.

niin -ooda s lance, spear. — *niin niwa* carrying a lance. 294.16. Cp. 236.14. Cp. *nevadaro*. Fm.

nuvā heat, flesed. — *'ahig uvingig daṇ nuvā ṭoṇā* (or, *ṭoṇā*) *ovawa* for a little while they flex and stretch out the legs and arms (of the dead bodies). 310.3.

nokor, *-ñiq*, *-ñin*, kin servant. 373.17,35. ooo
Cp. *ñoker*. Pm.

nokori y nerim. — *Gerdin nokoriñin hawdimi* he remained in the service of the King. 3.7. Pm.

ngi *-ñin* an animal something like a small weasel. They sometimes frequent houses and are harmless and considered lucky.

(Cp. Pukt. *nrin* weasel, mongoose; Punj. *nrul* mongoose).

nowe Pya. of **-ne.ne* with pa. infix *-n-* having said to them.

**-nin*, pl. **-ninduere*, **-ninrorin*, **-ninin*, hf. father's sister, paternal aunt. H. *phuphi*. Also: mother's brother's wife. — *in ninindawe* O my father's sisters. 266.5. ooo

nojawe *-ñiq* kin. astrologer, diviner, fortune-teller. — *nojawañin ninni* he went to the astrologer. 102.4. E.

At 102.5 *rumañi* is used as a synonym.

nojawñiq astrologers, diviners. 102.168.

nojawe kawñi hewñim, he knew, was skilled in, astrological calculations. 50.7. Ar. Pm.

nokowtajin Pya. of *pewtan*.

nokan, *nokn* Pya. of *pakan*.

nokow Pya. Inf. sg. of *nijan*.

nokowtan Pya. Inf. sg. of **-pekiyan*.

nokowtin Pya. of *pekiyan*.

nokowtkin Pya. of *pekupkan*.

nos'a (*nosiete*) having said, saying. Ro. *nosen*.

(Cp. Wanji- *nosiet*, having said, which belongs to a Verb *nsian-*, *nsii-*).

nosa y debet. — *Ianyore ñawan nosa'ñila?* what debt has the horse? Ar. Pm.

nosijen Pya. of *keñjaiyan*.

nsiñan Pya. of **-ñinjan*.

nomowen Fpa. of *-ɨnan with Fn. Indir -ene- having said to her.

nere, nerein.

1. Fpa. of *-ɨgan to give with pn. indir -e-, having given to them.
2. Fpa. Rrd. pl. of eijan to go, they having gone.

neparre y damage, harm, injury. — neparre eyi there's no harm. nemmer neparre elan epi it hurts no one. hinner neparre hile he is (will be) injured. 110.12. Ar. Fm.

nenne, nennelan Fpa. of *-elan with Fn. Indir -ene-.

nere y beauty. — hin ejoi.th nere he gatan a woman of wonderful beauty. 24.4. Ar. Fm.

nep/epapin Fpa. of hepepyan.

nenen Fpa. of nenan.

nöl'ɨyan, nel'ɨyan, Fpa. of dɨyoi.an, concealing oneself, so vetly, stealthily. 22.1.

neperlin Fpa. of perlan.

*-ege N. v. *-ej.

nyu.'ɨnin Fpa. of *-ɨnɨl.an with Fn. Indir -i-.

nyawein Fpa. of *-ɨgan with Fn. Indir -i-, having given to him.

P.

Initending pf and ph. Compare also f.

pa y side, direction. — ɨrle pa that side. pele pa, ikirle pa, ikwele pa, this side. parpa forward, in front. 122.18, 252.10—12. hɨrlpa outside. s. o.v. hɨnpa one side, aside. hɨnpa (Log) mɨnu get to one side. ja hɨnnan hɨnpa mɨnɨw those who are for me, get to one side. 26.19 E. anɨnan hɨnpa ebɨnnan they settled the case. anɨnan hɨnpa mɨnɨnɨ the case was settled.

The Dative appears to be pɨr, pfer:

○○○ *hurutz ritsu par ofuzum ryumurulu dik ofisi* the arrow not having come out he that side stuck in his innards. 148.11. Cp. 86.14. *pfal pa* the blunt side, i.e. the back (*of a knife*). *hirum pa* the sharp side, i.e. the edge (*of a knife*).

(Cp. 1. *pafi* and *-.ap.ri*, also *-.ipal*).

parji -mig y season. — *harkia parji m.ssawar* when the cultivating season has come. 206.12.

(Cp. Sh. *parj. pal* half-month, 15 days. I have also the expression *ovurlu pal* summer season).

pardin, ,hardin, pl. *pardinkarutig* king. "Tm. Nom." *padin*. 74.22; Gen. *pardin*. 30.20, 42.1; Dat. *padinv*. 74.22; Abl. *padinlasun*. 30.22, 42.19; *padinla*. 76.8; *padinylar*. 76.7; Plur. 92.5, 96.2. Pro.

pargzas v. *pakiras*.

pfirk -ala n *fig* (fruit).

pfirk, -ilig, y fig tree. (Cp. Sh. *pfirk*, fig).

park N. *-rula* clean. Pro.

pakiras, parkiar, p'argzas, EOL. *p.ayas*. Clean (*of clothes etc.*); pure (*of water*); beautiful, fair, handsome; blank (*of paper*). — *hin kurl parkiras gawan* a very beautiful woman. 22.15. Cp. 160.5. *pakiras jawaru ilam* he was a handsome youth. 202.7. Cp. 284.2. *ok pakiras ,tirysitig ,mazini* they (the foot-bandages) will become nice and soft. 126.22. *gula dit kara p.ayas bila* this place is nice and clean. EOL. (With *p.ayas* cp. Khv. *p.ayas, p.aqa* clean). Pro.

pfarl ef.as, cp. *pfal ef.as* to throw (upon). — *p.ar.i: lakpinan pfarl efisi* he put a handkerchief over his head. 148.24. (Cp. 3. *pfal*).

pforlij paralysed. — *pforlij hai.i* he is paralysed. *pforlij ma.nai.i* he has become paralysed. Ar. Pra. *'forlij*.

palow, pl. *palowo* x two pieces of goat's hair cloth (*forma ber*) sewn together. (Cp. Pra. *palow*; Wkh. *palva*, Kho. *palak*, *palak* goat's hair cloth).

palwa.ra, *palw.ara*, *pahl.waara*, *pahlwara*, -*rig* km. champion, hero. 144.20 ff., 184.18 ff., 176.9. Pra.

pfaltao, *pf.altao*, -*mato* x bag.

1. *pfarw.ra*, *pharw.ra*, *farw.ra*, *parw.ra*; *phai-*, *fai-*, *pai-*. Neg. pref. *o-*. to grow (of human beings, animals, trees etc.), to swell.

   Fut. sg. 1. *poigaw*.

   Pres. sg. 3. m. *phai.i hai.i*; *y phai.i hile*.

   Pret. sg. 1. *parw.aw*.

   Perf. sg. 3. m. *pfarwai.i*,
   pl. 3. y *pf'arwiřa*.

   tum pfarwile the tree has grown.

   tsej pharwaw krilla.ra a newly-grown twig (on a pollarded tree).

   rus pwla.dwaw gwla pa.ówa he, growing from day to day. 110.17.

   ei pharwile my lip has swollen.

   ti pharwile his lip has swollen.

   -.ra pfarw.ra one's heart swells, i.e. to be distressed, vexed; to lack one's wind, suffocate, gasp. *ra pfai.ihi* I suffocate v.i.

   For Prov. 16 read:

   tsilw.ai.ilo (or, *tselwarilo*) *tam dalji*, *halluma marje ra farwai* the (inflated) skin (for swimming with) swims, the skin-bag on the wall suffocates (or, is vexed).

2. *pharw.ra*, *parw.ra*, *pai-* to trickle (past an obstruction). — *tsil pharwile* the water has trickled through (said when an irrigation channel has been blocked up, but a little water conti-

nuss to leak thro' and trickle down the channel). 000

*-pfawts pl. x cock's spur.

pfaw, phaw variants of 1. pfar-.

pfawtsin v. pfartsin.

pfirsi *-ufus, or *-chiwus, v.t. to hang (a person). H.

pfird[1] measure to exude (in small quantity). — ine dimolum dai pfird mati bilo, oil exudes (or, sweats) from the stone. 290.10.

pfird projecting, protruding: in sight, visible. — Ane sindzus hirl ne pfird bem (the end of) a beam was projecting out (from the wall). 174.8. Paqte phird manimi P. came out, came into sight. 132.5. gatte pfird ne bermimi putting out his head (from behind the stones) he looked. 148.15.

parpo -mig y wedge (as used for keeping on the head of a polo-stick, and for keeping open the partially-split log used as stocks). — ene bamar arigmig ordilum. Nordil ite parpomig dimain fat ormum They fixed (the culprits') hands in the log. Having fixed them there and withdrawing the wedges, they left them there. 66.17. gayatzmlo chamare parpo gordiljum "I'll drive an iron wedge into your head" (an expression of anger or abuse).

1. pati, no pl., y side; party, faction. — sindzhum itum (or, ite) pati the other side of the river, across the river. ho ite patia dai Hunzaur dumimi then he went up the other side (of the river) to Hunza. 276.12. da iljum pati gurimo dilar ilji gawts then gallop back to your own place on the side behind (you). 150.2.

[1] A [see corrigenda at addenda, category 116, p. 543-Analyst]

paṣi ṣaṣi *manaunum* they have divided up into parties. (-ṣ- QUR. Cp. pa: ṣu: *-ṣpaṣi*, but also Sk. *pakṣa-*). 000

2. *paṣi* share, portion. — *hoṛ paṣi hoṛkoṛ ṣi'ṣrṣ ṣhimi* he appropriated the larger share of the land for himself. 20.5. *kam paṣi* the smaller share.

3. *paṣi -ṣiṣ*, N. *pkaṣi -ṣ y*.

a. Cotton cloth, calico, Panj. *Lajjha*. — *pakṣ paṣu* cotton cloth. *ṣaṣi uṣṭi ṣaṣ paṣu paṣuṣ* three or four sts of cotton clothes. 204.10. *manṣṣaṣ paṣi* sized cotton cloth. 204.6. *paṣi ṣuṣ* shdow she was sewin; cotton cloth.

b. Woman's cotton shirt. — *kam pṣi.ṣm* a woman's shirt. 206.4. (Cp. Sh. *parsin*, cotton cloth).

*-*pfaṣi*, *-fṣṣi*, *-ṣuṣ* x hoof. — *ṣaṣṣṣ ipfaṣi* cloven-hoof. *ṣaṣṣṣ, ṣṣṣṣ ipfaṣi* two-, hind-, hoof. *ṣfaṣṣṣṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣṣṣ* ṣṣṣṣṣṣṣṣ him the hoofs too were of gold. 94.28. *ṣpfaṣṣṣṣṣṣṣ* 184.6, 184.5.

(In Sh. *pfaṣṣṣ*, or *pfaṣṣṣ'a*, *ṣṣṣṣṣṣ*, to kick; possibly connected with this?).

paṣṣṣṣ, paṣṣṣṣ pertaining to the side. — *ṣṣṣ kam paṣṣṣṣ ṣṣṣṣṣṣṣṣ

000 there are (several) grains of barley. *enko ga tsio pfalonga* three or seven grains. 328.10. *hari.s pfal* weka the barley having formed grain. 336.4. Cp. 144.1, 164.16.

(Cp. *pfal's*. Also Sh. *pfal*, fruit).

2. *pal, pal* senseless, unconscious, intoxicated (from eating s.t. good), H. *berkard, m.dikard*. — *pal ommo hoigom* I had become unconscious.

3. *pfal, pfarl, fal, phal* °-*alas* to throw. — *hirlo phal* oft throw it here. *ewo hiv Kinoro ritsfo pfal ne ewo harlar dolmini* Kinor, throwing the man over his shoulder, brought him to his home. 184.5. *ganafo Lalpiran pfarl ohimi* he threw a handkerchief over his head 145.24. *ewo phas talasumuto gafo fal ortuman* the people threw the fire torches on the top of him. 394.12.

(V. s.v. *pfarl*. Cp. Sh. *pfarl, farl, phari thorki* to throw).

4. *pfal* m.mare to mount (a horse etc.). — *kayorafo pfal* m.moimi he mounted (his) horse. 146.18. Cp. 158.22.

(Cp. Sh. *pfal, phal, berki* to mount).

palorni N., cp. *falorni* and *falorni*, so and so.

pfalogi syphilitic. — *pfalogi hoisi* he is syphilitic *pfalogi m.hoisi* he has become affected by syphilis.

(There seems to be some uncertainty as to the exact nature of the disease denoted, as it was also explained to me by the Ar. Pvs. *jogorni*, leper, and *haran*, leprosy.

The meaning "syphilis" is, however, corroborated by McK, GH and Leitner, and in Sh. I have also recorded *pfal ogi* with the meaning "syphilis"). Pvs. (*faragi*).

000 *ɣɣal'al wanare di atse* v.i. & t. to turn over and over, to roll over and over (of log etc.).

(Cp. Sh. *falal berki* v.i. to roll along).

ɣfal'o, phal'o, y pl., double pl. - ,, grain (collective). — *ɣfalo berzan* ɣyon give me a little grain. 138.29. Cp. 140.4. *ɣfalorig wazi'mi.e he?* (probably means) have there been large quantities of grain, or not?

With suffix *-ä*:

berki ɣfalorä derworto? what kind of grain do you want? *ja ɣfalorä gwi'wazam* I have given you the grain. 60.1, but here perhaps the *-ä* is for *ke* "also", or emphatic particle.

V. also *dipiɣyas* and *dimiɣyas* s. vv. Cp. 60.12, 342.7,12.

(Cp. 1. *ɣfal*, also Sh. *phorlo*, fruit).

ɣfälɣfal v. *pfaɣal*.

phalborig N. y pl. pottles. (*-borig* — *ka-o'ig?*).

pamir, pamer, *-ig* y "pamir", upland pasture. 152.8, 158.22.

ɣfamal, phamal x sg. and pl., d. pl. *-ato*, N. pl. *-rato* fruit. — *ɣfamal bi, ɣfamal bi.e. jivi ɣfamal* delicious fruit ("life's fruit"). *ka.i'vamo dwaro ɣfamal* this year's fruit.

(Cp. Sh. *ɣfamal*, fruit).

ɣfanfer black and white, piebald. — *ɣfanfer ya* black and white cow.

panir x cheese. — *panir bi* there is cheese. Pm.

ɣfan'ira, pl. *ɣfan'irdo*.

1. x chopping-board or block (for chopping up meat on).
2. h The man who cuts up the victims of witches (*bilaki*) and distributes their flesh.

ji bilaṣo pʃaṇiṇ hoiyam I was the witches' butcher and meat-distributer. 224.6. ○○○

3. The name of one of the demon-dancis of the Bijan Shongaker.

(In its first and second meanings this word corresponds to the Sh. *earfa*, the title given to a person who accompanies witches when they carry off a victim to feast on him, and on whom the victim is cut up. V. "The Supernatural in the Popular Belief of the Gilgit Region" J. R. A. S. July 1929, p. 531).

pʌnji y the open hand. — *hithawa ivinṭ pʌnji bila* at one place there is the print of his hand (on a stone). 289.3. Pwi.

pʌnji y enclosure wall round a grave. 206.16. — Cp. *mʌsev ôṭa gavi dʌdʌm bila* (Alidin Malik's) grave is enclosed round about (with a wall. 220.8. This was described as being a *pʌnji*.

(Cp. Kho. *pʌnji*, *pʌnji*, a heap of stones made as a memorial, a cairn).

pʃʌṇ, *phʌṇ*, *mʌsev* to push, press forward.

According to QUB this is an indecent expression denoting the imitation of the act of copulation by two women or children.

ôiṭʌṇ pʌniṇʌnṭa hikiwʌṭi pʃʌṇ mutiḍhow. Cp. *ôarpum pʃʌṇ* the name of a kind of bird that bobs up and down on the millet crop.

pʌṇkʌṭ small change (money). V. s.v. *d°-ʌṇṇʌṭʌm*. 2.

pʃʌpʌl, *phʌlpʃʌl ôtʌ* v.i. to wave, wag. — *lʌggin pʃʌpʌl ôtʌ* to wave a handkerchief. *hoke ôumʌl pʃʌpʌl ôti* the dog is wagging its tail.

(This is a reduplicated form of a *ɣfsl manare, sfas*, with the same meaning).

ɣfspar manare, & sfas v.i. and v.t. to turn round, revolve, spin round.

(A reduplication of 1. *ɣfar*. Cp. also Sh. *ɣfspar barshi* v.i. to spin round).

phaqia, ɣfaqia, ɣfaqra, pl. *ɣfaqishiq y.*

1. A split and stoned apricot which has not yet become dry.

   (wo ile phaqia burum ho hafar mai.*shila* when the apricot *phaqia* has dried it becomes *hafar*. QUB.

2. The sedimentary remains of dried apricots when they have been rubbed down in water to make *chamma*. — *hafariq chamos di.as* pure *chamum hafarar "phaqia" ne.thera*. QUB.

3. A depreciatory qualifying word used of apricots.

   (wo phaqia(.as) ofis? want you eat some apricots of sorts? QUB.

1. *ɣfar, fir* turning, revolving. — *ɣfar manare* v.i. to revolve, twist round. *gili farfar mai.i hum* the peg used to twist round and round. 196.1.

   ɣfar *-*sfas* v.t.

   a. To twist, turn over. — *fur ɣfar sfas* to twist two strands to make warp yarn. *sikhma ser ɣfar shmi* he twisted the silk thread. *je gafa fir na saqa ho lo* if (they) having turned me over, I am lying on my back. 218.9. Cp. 212.1.

   b. V.t. to change into, turn into.

   c. V.t. to change, exchange.

tale galt ɣfar ofam he used to change the turn of the water. 282.4. *ja ine lei burkai.i fir ola ho* I have exchanged land with him.

(Cp. Sh. *firarshi* v.t. to turn).

000 2. *gfor, ghor, for, gfor.* Adv. back. — *gfor* manore to come back, go back, return, retreat, turn back. *ekirlimon ɔ́ʃi ne ɔ́ŋ yakilɛ́ ne gfor manyore nonu gfor manumon. gfor nonon ʌ́ŋyor eyɔ́nɔ́vini.* (The king) saying "let us turn back towards the palace" they turned back. On their turning back, he put his horse to the gallop. 8.2. *gfor nonu gɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ŋye naka padɛ́ ewɔ́ɔ́wɔ́ɔ́ dɔ́nɔ́n* returning with ("taking") this report, they came to the King's son-in-law. 130.22.

gfor nonu may mean simply "back": *gfor nonu ninui* he went back. *gfor nonu divui* he came back.

gfor may be reinforced by *ɔ́ʃi*: *ɔ́ʃi gfor manore* to retire, draw back, retreat. Cp. 8.19, 12.14, 40.4, 54.9, 144.12. *gfor ᵊ-ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́* to make go back, repel. *dɔ́nɔ́n for ɔ́ɛ́ɛ́* to repel, drive back, the enemy. *wɔ́ɔ́ ʌ́ɔ́kɔ́n for ɔ́kɔ́rɔ́ ʌ́ɔ́* I have not rejected your commands (for you), I have not disobeyed your orders. 374.8.

There is an idiomatic use of *gfor* in which it refers to the return of a particular day or date on the completion of a cycle of time.

jwɔ́ɔ́ Bir'ɛ́ɛ́pat { *gfor* / *gfor Bir'ɛ́ɛ́pat* } *ginɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́rɔ́n ɔ́rɔ́ɔ́rɔ́n* they say they will celebrate the "ginani" next Thursday week.

jimɔ́ɔ́mɔ́ɔ́ gɔ́ɔ́ Bir'ɛ́ɛ́pat gfor this Thursday (which is tomorrow) week . . .

The sentence: — *kwɔ́ɔ́mɔ́ɔ́ gɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ gfor gɔ́ɔ́ dɔ́nɔ́n yɔ́ɔ́ʃɔ́ɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́* appears to mean: — reckon from today in the present year up to the

000 ratory of the same day a year hence, i.e. reckon from today wj to this day next year.

(B. *yfer* is only a special use of 1. *yfer*).

yfarstara N., *yfarstain*, pl. *-ttigo* a one of the four stones surrounding the fireplace in the middle of the floor.

(The ordinary word for these stones is *ttelin*, pl. *ttelyn*, but in the sg. there is perhaps a differentiation of meaning, *yfarstain* denoting the stone on the side towards the store-room, and *ttelin* that opposite it on the side towards the *lovvin* seat).

Arra gantanaale ttelin yfarstainate dal third stone on a lucky day they sprinkle oil on the *t* and on the *yf*.

302 *pavlem* Ha. & N. y 1. hair cut in fringe on forehead, 2. the hair worn loose and cut at the level of the neck, or shoulders. — *pavl.an maffnatte lev* her hair is bobbed (previous stage to growing it long and plaiting it).

(Cp. Kho. *pavlam*, *pavlam*, Sh. *pavlam* fringe). Fra.?

000 *pavda* pl. *pavlay*, *-mitig*? y curtain. Fra.

pavlempow shutterings. Fra.

1. *pavi*, *-ski*, *-mo*, pl. *-tig* bf. *-mate* km.

"*pavi*" is a type of supernatural female approximating to "*fairy*".

pavi hais "he is a pavi" may be said of a pretty boy.

The use of the pl. *pavimate* with reference to real women is said to be incorrect.

kin pavi.amen pass for a "pavi". 12.6.

je ina pavimate ardy amanaa I fell in love with that "pavi". 16.10.

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we *pariliyp ka* with those "*paris*". 10.17.

(Also in Sh. *pari* female "*pari*", Khn. *pari*). Pm

2. *pari* a exact meaning unknown.

It occurs only in the expression "*pari ni*" or "*ni pari*", which denotes a short period preceding sunset when the sun is one "*nirsa*" (leave-length) above the horizon, till it sets.

The *pari ni* is divisible into 3 *ziwaj*. One can say:

kik pariyn ni him, *ovin*, *ovki pari ni him*. *iw yfari ni ta.i hav ovanaw*, *tuiyp him* the sun not setting, the "*pari ni*" thus remained as it was (because the Wali had kept the sun from setting). 204.14. *ni pariyn dipwanaw* when a "*ni pari*" remains (to sunset). 300.11.

(Cp. perhaps Khn. *parsi* in: *i parsi waxt hayda ohri*, a short time, one hour, had passed).

3. *yfari* -*ondi* a pond, lake. — *onakch kan yfariyn ki* in the middle (of the garden) is a pond. 13.13. *iw yfaridi*, *yfaridi* in the pond. 12.17, 14.8,10. Cp. 16.18, 18.9, 292.15,24, 294.1.

(Cp. Sh. *kari* pond).

yfarit, pl. *yfari.ondi*, -*ondi* a duck,-water-fowl. — *yfaridi hapaw* duck's down.

(Cp. Sh. *hawaj*, duck).

pariknu confused, at a loss. Pm.

parivanum an affection of the bones (due to "*paris*", not to disease). Pm.

parpit v. *harpit*.

parkat edge of a plateau, or terrace. — *parkat malar du.ainawa* they came out into the field over the edge of the terrace. 248.10.

yfartain, *yfartain*, pl. *yfartainoti* a cap. — *hirinki yfartain* man's cap.

gudiski pfərtsin woman's cap. *torpo pfərtsin* woman's cap, as worn in Hunza; an old man's skull-cap. *gudiski matum pfərtsin* large loose black cap worn by Nagir women. *yafe čuk stum pfawtsin* (woman's) cap embroidered on the top. *əritsas pfərtsin* cap of invisibility. 28.21. *pfərtsin yaći čimi* he put on the cap. 32.3. Cp. 304.12.

porun y consideration, consequence. — *porun əpi* there is no harm. *bəsk porun əpi* it is of no consequence, it doesn't matter. 18.11. Prs.

porunwəli stas (*-astəl) to cherish, look after, provide for. 34.7, 384.2. Prs.

pfask, fask -itaq, -iq y.

1. Harrow. — *pfask dadal stas bila* it is necessary to harrow (the field).
2. Web (spider's). — *pfiyans pfask* cobweb.

(Cp. Kho. *phask*, a kind of harrow).

pasum. The exact meaning of this word is difficult to determine. It probably means, or is an expression denoting, sorrow, regret, disapproval.

It has been glossed as *dariy* and *afsus*.

It usually occurs in combination with *-masas and referring to the subject of that verb. The meaning of the combination appears to be variously: to protest, deprecate, deplore, hesitate, grudge.

but yənikšen bai, ja ai.i but daltaasn bo, pasum!-je hinar əiyurdam he is very ugly and my daughter is very beautiful. Fie, for shame! I won't give her to him. 160.22. *je uqla pasum amaiya ko* I deprecate (the marriage) on your account(?) 160.24. *je pasum, jaw yin əiyuso* I protest!

000 don't call me a thief.· *je pasoʷm amaiyam, guts bor oʷan* I protest! don't say this thing. 118.13. *je pasoʷm amanam* This is said to be said on the occasion of the death of a good man, and is explained as "*o ʷuʷ*". *pasoʷm imanumi ke* if he hesitates, grudges (to do so). 152.5. *mumupoi čoruk m'oroder pasoʷm imanumi* he grudged to cut off her nose (for her). 176.18. *uʷg ke guʷu ja xxmatulo maiyuʷ jimičig pasoʷm amamanum di.'uʷuman* you and your wife sacrificed (*lit.* extracted) the lives of your sons in my service without grudging, without repining. 44.23. *iʷu yuʷčo yuʷy pasoʷm imanumi* his father grudged to hand him over. 106.1.

(Cp. Sh. *pasoʷm thoʷrki*, to grudge *pasuʷoʷrki -tj*, to be stingy, grudgin of s.t.).

pfaṭ v. *faṭ*.

paitimaʷni, psemaʷni y regret, remorse. Prs.

1. *pfat, phat* v. *fat*. (*phat* N. and Gh. Kh. 382.7).

2. *pfaṭ*, oʷqo, *-iko;* N. *phat. -aʷonts*, blunt. — *pfaṭ* pa back of knife.

(In Sh. *fat* is used of the back of a knife).

1. *pf'ata, fata, -mots* x wooden dish, or bowl (bigger than *pfuʷ*), H. *bartan*. — *miriq boʷltas pfata* a bowl for washing the (*lit.* our) hands in. *han pfatanolo diram sčan* they make "*diram*" in a dish (*tabaq*). 308.1. *phatanolo diltor dusoʷ* bring buttermilk in a bowl. 328.9. Cp. 340.11.

2. *pfata, fata, -mots* x cantle (of saddle). — *tilianq pfata* cantle of saddle.

(Probably same word as 1. *pfata*.).

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000 3. *phaf'a* Hz. & N. *-mûts* x wooden receiver below hopper of mill.

(Probably same word as 1. *pfata*).

4. *pfata* y, y. *fata*, victory. Ar. Prs.

pfatasu·ndal x sg. & pl. plate, vessel (for food). (*su·ndal*, or *su·mdal*, is I think only an expletive).

pfaṭaŋ, faṭaŋ, phaṭaŋ open — *gusu guti phaṭaŋ bi* this hut is open (i.e. roofless). EOL. N. *kiŋ phaṭaŋ di·la* the door is open.

faṭaŋ ṭas to open (cupboard, box etc.), throw open, uncover; undo, or remove, a covering.

(*krtarp*) *pfaṭaŋ ṭimi* he opened (the book). 70.9, N. *kiŋ pfaṭaŋ ṭti* (throw?) open the door. *gulčin faṭaŋ ṭ* open your eye(s). *baṭeŋ faṭaŋ ṭčuman ke* when they remove the stones (from over the grave). 218.14. *yaʼrs ṭum i·ṭs diṭer nin faṭaŋ ṭimi* going to the place where he had buried (his son) he opened it up. 252.9. *pfertsin kaman pfaṭaŋ ṭimi* he removed, raised, his cap a little. 30.18. *ṭskilaṭsum kafan faṭaŋ natan* undoing, removing, the shroud from his face. 312.1. Cp. 204.5,7, 206.8.9.

faṭaŋ manaʼs occurs once in: *mərakaʼtsum faṭaŋ numa ničai.i* leaving the court (in displeasure) he goes off. 120.17.

Perhaps the sense is something like English "flinging out of the assembly".

pfaṭaŋ ṭas was also given as to some extent equivalent to *malak *-aras* to overturn.

(Cp. Sh. *pfaṭaŋ thoʼzki*, to knock down, upset; to open, uncover).

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pfʌtʌq crawling, crawler (of child). — *pfʌtʌq məi.i bai.i* (the child) is a crawler. (Cp. *pfiti·q pfʌtʌq*).

pfʌtʌqi percussion-cap. — *pfʌtaqi tobʌq* percussion-cap gun.

(Cp. Psht. *pʌta·xa*, Kho. *pʌta·xi*, *pʌtʌxi*, percussion-cap).

-ph'ʌfi, N. *-pha·ti*, v. *-fʌfi* forehead.

phʌfi·l -iq y Hz.; *-rão* x N. small hammer. — *kili phʌfi·lʌfʌ delimi* he hit the nail with a hammer.

(Cp. Sh. *fʌti·l* big(?) hammer).

phatk'a -mots x lump of certain quantity of butter. A divorcing husband gives one each to the Mir, the Wazir and the four tribal Muqaddams. V. s.v. *·tʌla·q*.

pʌfo -mots x a fold of cloth or rug, small piece of cloth or rug. — *šərma pʌfo* small piece of goat's hair carpet, (equivalent to 3. *bər*). *pfilʌme pʌfo* a small piece of woollen homespun. (H. *pʌffu?*).

paida (in existence). — *Xoda.e paida etai.i* God has created. *jot giyasʌn paida mʌnimi* a small child came into existence, made its appearance. 100.2. Cp. 200.7. Prs.

pai.i, pa.i y curds, coagulated milk, H. *dʌhi*. 340.11.

(Cp. Psht. *pa·i* milk; Wkh. *pai* curds; Shughni (Morgenstierne) *paĩ*, sour milk).

pai.iga horse-race, race-course. — *pai.iga dʌs, pai.iga drš* race-course (as at Jannbad and Pasu). *pai.iga·r čo ečʌm*, or, *wʌšečʌm* I shall race it (the horse). *pai.iga gučʌ·n* they race them (H. *dʌ·lte haĩ*).

(Cp. E. Turki, Sh., Kho. *pʌga*, horse-race).

paisa -mots x "paisa", farthing, money. H

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[See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

pfau stas to throw up, scatter (seed). — *bopfauuc pfau stas bo* the grain-seed (for the Mir) to scatter at the Bopfau ceremony. 212.22. *pfau manas* to be scattered, spilt. *pfertiŋ ke kanjiel pfau manitan* may the ashes and charcoal be scattered! 150.13.

(Cp. *bopfau*, and *pfau fau stas*. Sh. *pfau thorzki* to scatter (seed), sprinkle).

**-pauro -mots* x walking-stick, etc. Sh. *kunoli*.

(Probably a variant of **-pfayo*).

peyambor hm the Prophet (Muhammad). 298.5. Prs.

pencikal, *pinčkal* screwdriver.

(Cp. *pičkal*). Prs. H.

pferi -mots x whirlpool.

(Cp. Sh. *pferi*, *pfere*, whirlpool).

pewandi, QUB *piwani*, grafted. — *pewandi gulab* a cultivated (i.e. grafted) rose. Prs.

pfe stas (**-stast?*) to slander, defame, H. *badnami karna*.

(Cp. Sh. *pfe thorzki*.).

pfelts -iŋ y a small tree, in appearance resembling the "gindauwar", which bears small red berries that are sweet and edible. Sh. *gas'ondor*.

Sg. & pl. x, d.pl. *-ints*, the berries of the same.

pferei, *pfxrei*, *ferei* plot to murder, conspiracy, high treason.

It is said to be used only of plots against a royalty. It probably only applies where assassination is the end in view.

aiyu.e je (or, *jaw*) *asqanasor pfere.i stan* my sons have plotted, or conspired, to murder me. 260.17. *Basiŋ Gerior ferei stasor gušuginumau* they took counsel with a view to

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plotting against B. G. (plotting the assassination of). 276.8.

Cp. 344.14, also with the dative of the person aimed at.

(Cp. Sh. *pferc.i*, hostility, treachery).

pf'ɛrɔ, ferɔ, pl. *pferrutiŋ* hm one who plots to murder, traitor, conspirator.

(Cp. *pferci*. Also Sh. *pf'ɛrɔ*, opponent, hostile; Kho. *phɛrɔ*, insubordinate, conspirator(?), traitor(?)).

pf'ɛrutsiriŋ assassin stock, traitor stock (*pferɔ* + *tsiriŋ*).

peš N: *-miŋ* y blade of knife(?).

peš -iŋ y disc of metal applied to anything.

phɛrʒo -muts x pear (fruit).

phɛrʒo pl. *pɛ'ʒumiŋ* y pear-tree.

pf'ɛtiŋ y pl. ashes. — *tik pfɛtiŋ dɛlumʌn* they pelted him with earth and ashes. 284.23. Cp. 150.10,13, 154.2, 160.10, 314.4.

pfi scooping up and throwing (grain etc.) with the two hands together; miller's fee paid in flour. — *yai.iŋgu.inɔr sɔrmuts ki hičuli pfi giyʌs dʌstur bila* it is the custom to scoop up one measure of grain per bag for the miller. 334.3.

(Cp. *fi* which is the same word. Perhaps this word belongs to the Kho. series *phi*, *pfi*, *piu*, etc. shovel).

pi.ɑ'da footman, on foot. — *isken sis pi.ɑ'da jučʌn* three persons are coming along on foot. 36.8. Prs.

pi.ɑ'la, pi.ɑ'li -muts x cup (of every kind). Prs.

pi.ʌqmɔr QUB, *pi.ʌkhmɔr, pi.ʌxmɔr* (festival of bringing in the harvest to the threshing-floor, harvest-home.

Celebrations are held in the gardens and there used to be drunken dances of men and women.

000 *ginaɔni ni ɑltolɑnmo piɑkhmɔr ɕćaɔn* two days after the "ginaɔni" they bring in the crops (*or*, celebrate the *piɑkhmɔr*). 330.11.

(The word is said to be a corruption of *paiγɑmbɔr*).

piɕaɔri y heel-rope (of horse). H.

(A mere borrowing from H. not acknowledged by QUB).

piɕu N. mosquito. — *piɕu ćoruɔt ɑtimi* a mosquito bit him.

(Cp. Sh. *pʃiɕo*, mosquito).

pʃilɑm, *-ićiŋ*, N. *-iŋ* y "pattu" (i.e. woollen home-spun). — *pʃilɑmɑn bila* there is a piece of pattu. *pʃil'ɑmićiŋ gɑʃɑmoɔrɑs ΓɑtoɔsiŋGh.* the pattu-washer.

pilp'ili, *p'ilili*, *-miŋ* y.

1. A single splinter of wood used as a torch. *p'ilili en ɑti.*
2. Adj. a beloved only (child). *hin pilili ɑɔi baiɑi* he is my one and only son.

phɑlta v. *filta.*

phɑlɑdaɔr Hz. & N. *-iʃo* x matchlock (gun). (Ar. Pra.).

pʃimiŋ y pl. ripples.

1. *pʃin*, *phin*, IUB *fin*, pl. *pʃiyo* x fly. — *hɑγoɔr pʃin* horse-fly. *ɑlɑ hɑn phinɑn bi, dɑli* there is a fly there, kill it. EOL.
2. *pin* a measure for oil, IUB H. *tel naɔpne ka ɑk paimaɔna.*
3. *pin*, *-iŋ*, *-ɑŋ*, y pin. Eng.
4. *pin*, *pin*.

a. Adj. hard. — *pin mɑnaɔ* to become, be, hard. IUB. *pin maiɑibɑm* he remained hard, firm. H. *sɑxt hoɔrɑha tha.* IUB. N. pl. *pinɑiɔnts* x frozen snow which is hard like rock. *pin ićhiɔɑs*, *pin ɑtɑs* to harden, or temper, metal. *gɑŋi ɑlɑk ni dɑskɔrɑy*

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tshilolo pin ećan heating and hammering the axe-head they temper it in water. QUB. *hililam pin ićhi, ya ḍaŋ pin ićhi* give it a soft temper, or give it a hard temper. QUB.

b. Noun. y unity, close combination. — *pin bilomršo ęćokonik ban* they are closely united brothers. QUB. *u ure kərʌŋ burṭ pin ełan* they have made a close combination among themselves, they are of one mind, H. *mutʌfɪq*. QUB.

[Cp. Kho. *pin*, hard, strong, (of man, sunshine, clouds)].

1. *phinć, pfinć*, (N. *phinčṭ*) *-ko* x stick for playing a game with. — *bula pinć* polo-stick. *pfinće yan* the handle of a polo-stick. *pinćko uyaljam* I shall break the polo-sticks. *pinćane muriŋe xat mudelimi* he struck her on the hand with a polo-stick. 386.15. (Cp. Kho. *plinj, plints*).

2. *pinć, pić, -ko* x screw (nail). H. Prs.

pini -miŋ y human leg from knee to ankle, calf (of leg). H. *pɪnḍli*. — *pini.e tin* shin bone. *pini girkis* muscle of calf of leg. (Cp. Kho. *pin*).

**-phinršo*, **-pfiinršo*, **-finršo* x pl. human hair of the head, H. *bal*. This word is used regularly of a man's hair, but of a woman's only when it is cut shortish.

ipinršo a man's hair. *mupinršo* a girl's hair. *gupinršo uyulṭan!* may the hair of your head be burnt! (a woman's curse Cp. 358.2.

pirpa a minor functionary (of the cooly class) who collects charcoal for the Mir.

pir, -antiŋ, -ršo hm "Pir", spiritual leader, saint. Cp. 332.3. Prs.

1. *pfɪrʌn*, *pfɪrʌ·n*, pl. *pfɪrʌ'aiyo* x spider. — *pfɪrʌnɛ pfʌsk* spider's web. 000
2. *pfi·rʌn* small ball (of yarn). — *ẓu·ɛ ʌkhuṣumʌn pfi·rʌnʌn* a small ball of warp yarn this size.

pirč'ʌ·ʌo -muts x drumstick (for big drum).

pfiri·nč skewer, small scrap (of wood). — *γʌši·lɛ pfiri·nč kɛ api* there isn't a stick of firewood, there isn't even a scrap of wood. 126.3. *γʌši·lɛ pfiri·nč girkis dɛlʌɛ·r kuli kɛ api* there isn't even a stick to beat a mouse (rat) with (stock expression).

pf'irkʌnʌs, pl. *pfirkʌnʌšo* x boil (medical), EOL pimple.

pirkʌnʌs pirkai- to rock, to totter (as of a stone which one is trying to lever out of its position).

(Cp. *d*-ʌpirkʌnʌs*).

pfirko -muts x basin (used in houses of big people, formerly of wood, now of brass or iron).

pirpi zedoary, H. *jʌdwa·r* (*dʌwa·i ka na·m*). — *pirpi mʌna·s* to be scarce, rare, hard to obtain, H. *kʌmya·b hona, na·dɪr hona*.

piṣ̌ ɛtʌs to present to, set before. — *jʌt gusɛ Nɛ·r Bʌxšmulɛ* (*kʌrṭi*) *piṣ̌ ɛtumo* the old woman presented the basket to N. B. 382.16. Prs.

piṣ̌hʌlɛl tainted, a little high. — *čhʌp piṣ̌hʌlɛl mʌnila* the meat has become tainted. 251

Hunza people until March or April eat meat killed in December. The people of Hindi keep meat (breast and ribs) slightly cooked, all the year round, for the use of the Mir.

piṣ̌kʌš -iṇ y screwdriver. QUB. (Cp. *pɛrnčkʌš*). 000

pfiṭ v.s.v. *pfiṭo·i*.

piṭʌiyu = *biṭʌiyo*, pl. of *biṭʌn*. 378.14.

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000 *pfiṭi, phiṭi, -mots* x a kind of bread (in thick cakes for keeping or for journeys). — *duyusimo pfiṭi* "midday bread" (children's midday meal). *dirʌm pfitimotsik ev eti* make some "pfiti" cakes for him. 182.7. *usko čemʌliŋe pfiitimots lʌp 'etimi* be put three pieces of poisonous bread in his mouth. 132.19. *hʌn pfiti.ʌn* one piece of (pfiti) bread. 334.3. *pfiti dʌŋ evčai.i* he is baking bread. 126.22.

pfʌṭivk mʌnʌv to be annoyed, to be in a huff.

(Cp. Sh. *pfʌṭivk*, vexed, annoyed).

pfiṭivk pfoṭuvk 'etʌs to open and look at, to rummage about in, search through. — *ja 'aŋi.olo kəruvər pfiṭivk pfoṭuvk eti* hunt through my beard for lice. 282.9. *čhivni pfoṭuvk eči bi* the bird pecks and looks at things. QUB.

pfiṭiq pfʌtʌq mʌnʌv to creep, crawl (on all fours, of a baby). — *pfiṭivk pfʌtʌq noma gotsərʌs man'imi* he became able to crawl about on all fours. 242.20. (Cp. *pfʌtʌq*).

piṭivriŋ quick. — *piṭivriŋ mʌnʌ* be quick. *piṭivriŋ gavrtsimi* he ran quickly.

pfiṭ'oṭi hardship, severity, H. *taklif, saxti*. — *gəvr pfiṭoṭi dim*, or, *pfiṭ gumʌnəm* may you die! QUB.

(Cp. Sh. *pivto.i* difficulty, obstacle; *pivto*, tight, narrow).

pfivu fau etʌs to scatter grain. — *irivŋʌfʌ bo egimər pfivu fau etimi*. When they put the seed on his hand he scattered it. 244.1.

(Cp. *pfau etʌs*. Also Sh. *pi.'u pi.'u*, sprinkling).

piuc'ʌn pl. *piucai.iŋ* y graft. — *piucʌn dʌlʌs* to graft; *piucʌn dʌlum* grafted.

000 *piwʌnz tom* a grafted tree (as opposed to a natural one: "*jʌngʌls tom*").

(Cp. *pewʌndi*, and Sh. *pibʌ·n*). Prs. (*paiwʌnd*).

pə̄ -mots (x) milk-strainer (made of a circle — cylinder? — of poplar bark filled with straw). EOL. (N.? Not known to QUB).

*-*pfo·iŋ -čiŋ* y shoulder.

(Comparison suggests itself with Sh. *pyô·lo*, shoulder-blade, shoulder).

pho·kz niyʌs to pass over goal-stone (of polo ball). — *pho·kz nimi* (the polo ball) has gone out over the top of one of the goal-stones.

This does not count as a goal, and both parties try to hit it from behind the back-line.

pho·konʌs, pl. *pho·konʌšo* x blister, swelling preceding the appearance of leaves.

pfo·pos, pl. *pfo·pošiŋ* y broom, besom. — *pfo·posʌfz tʌm sti* sweep with the besom.

pfo·poł, pl. *pfo·pi.nts*, h bastard. — *pfopoštʌn d'esmʌnoma* thou hast given birth to a bastard. 268.8.

pošoro, pošo·ro, v. s.v. *čo·lo*, a mere expletive.

poł y pl. bran.

(Cp. perhaps Sh. *pfot*, Kho. *phoł*, *pfoł* etc, husk, rind, skin, (of grain, fruit, vegetables), bran, chaff).

pra·q completely. — *jil pra·q manimi* the sun has risen fully.

pra·q is said to be when the sun is two "*ni·zas*" (lance-lengths) up in the sky, given as 7 or 8 a.m. (in October in Gilgit).

pr'a·q duγwi mʌnimi it became nearly full? midday. 132.7.

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prik delʌs, N. *prig*, to leap, jump, buck. 132.22. — *prik* *-*ʌdilʌs* to make jump. *prik ed'iljume* making (his horse) bound, caracole. 122.21. N. *prig delʌs* to jump down, *or*, over. Q00

(Cp. Sh. *prik*, *prig*, *dorki* to jump).

pē pē pē puss, puss, puss! (summons to a cat).

pfu, *phu*, *-miŋ*, *mičiŋ*, *-iŋ* y fire. — *pfu bʌličila*, *bʌličilam* the fire is burning, was burning. V. 1. *bʌlaʷs*. *pfu thʌči*, *pfu tha bila* the fire will go out, has gone out. V. *thaiyʌs*. *pfu estačʌm* I shall put out the fire. *pfu esta* put out the fire. (V. *ʷsthayʌs*, for which read *ʷstayʌs*). *pfu etʌs* to make a fire; *pfu ne* making a fire. 126.22. *pfu espʌlʌs* to light a fire. *pfu* (or, *pfu.ʌn*) *lʌm etʌs* to light a fire. *pfu lʌm etai.i* he has lighted a fire. 126.10. Cp. 26.13, 128.3. 132.6. *haʷtse pfu tsimi* the house caught fire. V. *tsi.ʌs*. *guki pfuʷor gi* throw this (hair) in the fire. 22.10. Cp. 26.14. (*hori*) *pfyu.ʌn pfu.ʌle nesqul* toasting a little (barley) at the fire. 328.9, *pfu.ʌtse gorusum ne* heating them at the fire. 132.6. *pfu dusiʷla* "the fire has come out" (said of a fever patient who has reached the hot stage). 198.3, 306.17, 384.7—12.

pfu etʌs to blow, puff.

(Cp. Sh. *pfuʷ thoʷrki*, Kho. *phuʷ korik*, *phuʷik*, to blow).

pfudʌn y "fire-stone", "flint" (stone used with steel to produce fire is of three kinds, yellow, green and black).

pū.i N. *-čʌŋ* y moustache.

(Cp. Sh. *pūʷ*, *pfoŋ*, moustache).

phuʷk, *pfuʷk -ʌŋ* y particle, scrap, crumb (of wood, bread, salt etc.). — *ʏʌšiʷle*

phuʷk api there isn't a scrap of wood. *čama pfuʷkaŋ nok'aʷunin* picking up the fragments of the brooch. 164.19.

(Cp. Sh. *pfuk*, particle, etc., Kho. *pfuʷk*, very small, fine-grained).

pəxta firm, stable. — *ese pəxta* stout-hearted, valiant. Prs.

pfuʷl, fuʷl, -ants x small wooden cup, or, bowl (smaller than *pfʌta*). Cp. 138.9,15, 146.4, 286.3, 298.11.

-domoso pfuʷl the knee-cap.

polau N. x pilau (composed of cooked rice). Prs.

pfulčin -čiyo (x) a kind of grey bird (smaller than a thrush).

(Cp. *čhin*, bird).

pfolgo, fulγu, QUB *folγuʷy, -čiŋ* y feather. Prov. 6.

(Cp. Sh. *forgo, phorgo*, feather).

phulphul sg. and pl., d.pl. *-iuts*. x an unhusked grain, berry (of grape). — *hori.e, guʷs, pfulpful* an unhusked grain of barley, of wheat. N. *ga.iŋo phulphul* grape-berry.

(Cp. *pfupuʷl*. Also Kho. *pfolokʷ*, a single grain of anything, an individual, a bead).

pf'ulpfuliki.aŋ γenɪŋ extracted gold, gold in grains(?).

(Presumably the y pl. of an Adj. *pfulpfulikɪŋ*, granular, from *phulphul*, which is said not to exist in that form).

pf'ultiŋɪŋ, pl. *pfultiŋyents* (*-i.ents*) x bellows. Blacksmiths use two bellows, goldsmiths a single one. — *ine p'ultiŋyentsʌte šū· etimi* he blew with the bellows. 162.5. Cp. 166.3—6.

pun -oŋo good, virtuous, H. *niʷk*. — *punʌn bai.i* he is a good man.

punelote a ball of virtue, H. *niʷki ka gend*, "a title denoting excellence",

000 H. *nirki ki xtarb.* (Cp. *lofo*). *puneloto baiɪ* he is full of virtue.

pfurnər, phunər flower. In the flower names: *surjo pfurnər* and *mulphunər*. (Cp. Sh. *pfunər, phunər*, flower).

pfurnts, phurnts y dew. — *tutaŋmo pfurnts basičila* dew falls in the early morning, or, the early dew is falling(?).

In N. *phunts* was recorded as x pl. which agrees with its form, but is otherwise unlikely.

dofurs pfurnts very small particles, Prs, *rirza*. — *xa n ic.al d'ofurs pfurnts imanimi* falling down it (he?) was smashed into little bits. QUB.

pfurg dozing. — *irn's kir daŋ pfurg imaraŋ* the man had just gone to sleep. 282.11.

purpo -muts x hoopoe, Ar. *hudhud*.

Cp. Sh. *hupurpo*, Werch. *hupurpu*, hoopoe).

pfupurl in: *ye.iŋ pfupurl* grape (berry). (Cp. *phulphul*. The loss of the first final consonant is common in a reduplicated form).

purra, purro complete, entire, whole, perfect; completely etc. — *jim.ale gots durro purra atasər kuši3 sti* try to complete this job tomorrow. *purra iksər sərks stimi* he revealed himself completely. 30.20. *purro altow.altər kots manimi* the whole 40 days have passed. 52.11. Cp. 162.11, 202.1.

Cp. Sh. *purro*. I have also in. Sh. and Kho. the H. form *purra*).

pfurri a slight sprinkling. — *gyes pfurri manitsan* there is a very little snow on the ground.

Cp. Sh. *pfurri*, "a sprinkling of snow on the hills in the beginning of autumn".

000 *pfərk'a* morsel tasted by the cook (QUB the host) before food is eaten by the Mir. (The morsel is selected by the Mir. The custom is said to be still kept up as a form).

pərkum perfect. — *pərkum bai.i* he is perfect. (Cp. Sh. *pərko* || *pərro*).

p'ərme beforehand, before the time. — *pfər Birəspʌtər ginæni bilŋ; pərme ukh hərər gʌtəŋ ečən* the "ginani" is on Thursday week. They make clothes for themselves beforehand.

pfərtikŋ brave, valiant.

pfərn, phərn sg. & pl., d.pl. *-ints*. x reeds, rushes. — *pfərnə bul* Proper name: "Reed Spring". 292.12.

(Sh. *pfər n, phərn*, reeds).

pfər'nəkəs, pl. *pfərnəkəyʌnts* x article made of bark for holding wool when cleaning and spinning it.

241 *pfərəŋ -ilo* x a plot of ground prepared for cultivation. A field is divided into a number of long narrow smooth-surfaced plots separated by earth ridges. This is to facilitate irrigation and economise water. Above Chalt the ground is not left with furrows.

(Cp. Sh. *pfərrŋə, prəŋə*, field prepared in flat plots not furrows).

000 1. *-pf'usʌs, *-ph usʌs; *-pf'uš-, *-ph uš-, *-f'uš-.

2. *pusəs*. Pret. 1st. sg. *pusəm*, Impv. *pusə*, Ppa. *nup'us(in)*.

3. *pəsuyʌs, pəsuč-*. Pret. 1st. sg. *pəsuyʌm*. 3rd. sg. m. *pəsumi*, Impv. 2nd. sg. *pəsu*, pl. *pəsuin*, St.pc. *pəsum*.

4. *puš aiyʌs, pušʌč-*, Impv. *puša*.

To tie (a load, horse, man), to bind. *-*pfusʌs* is used when the obj. is h or x.

pusəs and *pəsuyʌs* are used when the obj. is y sg. or pl.

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pnšaiyʌs can be used only when the obj. is y pl. 000

Examples:

1. *gupfuršʌm*. I'll tie you up. *da yʌfi bʌnʌmi ifušan* then they tie (the infant) up with a band over the top (of the swaddling clothes). *kərištsi biki dəroγo γʌškʌfi ipfušan* they bind a willow shaft on to the spade (head) with osiers. *kəreimuts uph'ušʌm* I'll tie up the chairs. *hʌγor iphos* tie up the horse. *daiyo uph'os* tie up the stones. *sis opos* don't tie the people up.
2. *bʌlda pos'i* tie up the load. *bʌlda posʌ·m* I tied up the load.
3. *bʌlda posu* tie up the load. *ta.očiq posu·čʌm, posu·yʌm* I'll tie on, I tied on, the foot-wrappers. *esqaiyər sʌlah posumʌs*, they took counsel, i.e. concocted a plan, to slay him, 384.3.
4. *ɨrqa pos'a* tie up the grass (y pl.). *bʌldʌŋ pošʌčʌn* they tie up the loads (y pl.).

There is some doubt about the negative forms with y objects. I have recorded: — *bʌlda epos* (= *a* + *i* + *-*phos*) dont tie up the load. *taots ʌpos* (= *a* + *posi*) dont tie on the foot-wrapper.

With *epos* is to be compared *bʌlda i·pfusʌs* once recorded on an earlier occasion. (Cp. *-*ʌposʌs*).

pfu·volumpfʌt stʌs to turn everything upside down (in looking for something). — *Gərmʌhʌlmʌss pfu·volumpfʌt stimi. čʌma api* G. rummaged about, but the brooch was (*lit.* is) not there. 166.21.

pusi, pl. x *pu.ʌ·nts*, y *pu.ʌ·ŋ*.

a. Hollow, empty, vacant (space). *bʌlamis kʌni pusi bi* the almond

kernel is hollow. *hani pu.ants biv* the kernels are hollow. OOO

Used of open, vacant ground on which there are no trees etc., and of a lane through a crowd.

b. Soft (of ground, soil).

puṣ̌ diśan bila there is a soft place. *puscaŋ tikulo toṃ ḷu.a pfai.ibitsan* trees grow well in soft soil.

(Cp. Sh. *pfō·ṣ̌ko*, *pfu·ṣ̌ko*, and Kho. *phuṭki*, hollow, vacant).

puṣ̌ban -ongo y loop of thong thro' which the lace (thong) of local boot is passed and made tight.

(*puṣ̌* + *b.an*. Cp. Kho. *puṣ̌band*).

puṣ̌ori -muts x big lump of butter (variously described as weighing from 30 to 40 lbs., and from 40 to 60 lbs.). — *han puṣ̌'ori.an* one "*puṣ̌ori*". 280.5, 282.2, 338.11, 342.7.

(Said to be a Wkh. word).

puṣ̌oro -muts x cocoon. — *čhuṣ̌i.a puṣ̌ó·ro* silk-cocoon. 176.24.

puṣ̌t y generation. — *ṣarlti puṣ̌t* four generations. Prs.

puṣ̌umoro, *puṣ̌uŋoro*, pl. *puṣ̌uŋ·ovrṣ̌o* x cocoon. — *čhuṣ̌i.a puṣ̌umoro* silk-cocoon. (Cp. *puṣ̌oro*).

puṣ̌uqor a thin (covering?). — *tiṇ puṣ̌uqor* complete egg-shell. EOL.

puṣ̌ur ṣ̌ak N. y minced meat with vegetables. (Cp. Kho. *puṣ̌ur*, meat: *ṣ̌ar* vegetables).

pfut, *pfut*, *-ants*, *-'u.* *-ongo* x and hm. a kind of supernatural being, usually malevolent; demon, "div", "jinn", Sh. *deu*.

The word is, I think, properly x, but in the course of a story "pfuts" may tend to become humanized, and then grammatically to be treated as human beings.

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In the texts the plural form *pfut'u* prevails: *pfutants* occurs only once as an alternative. 26.14.

The title *borom pfut*, "the White Pfut", appears to be a rendering of the Persian *Div i Safid*, which appears at 10.11 and in later passages. "White" has here perhaps the same significance as it has in English "White Magic", i.e. beneficent magic. *pfut* appears definitely as an x noun in:

iru pfut 2.6, 4.16, 8.7. *han pfutan bim*. 174.19. *pfutu* (or, *pfutants*) *hazzr manimi.an* the pfuts appeared. 26.14. *uv pfut'uv utumi.a* the pfuts ate them up. 26.23. *pfut'u giraši bim* the pfuts were dancing. 234.3.

It appears as an hm noun in: *hinoman hayor numa hurutimi* turning into a horse he (the pfut) sat alone. 4.18. *pfut . . . avaq bam* the pfut was in love. 12.7, 18.8.

Similarly in: 28.6,7,13, 234.6,10,11, (in the last 3 instances the verb being in the h pl. form, *delumAn* etc.).

In many instances the category is not revealed: 2.5, 10.8—17, 12 6.10,14 etc. *pfut* is also of a very stout person. QUB. (Cp. H. *bhut*).

pfuṭ stas to open (the eye), to glance, to look at.

aldin pfuṭ stam I opened my eye.
gulčin pfuṭ e open your eye(s).
korlo pfuṭ e look here.
yafi pfut stimi he looked up. 24.4.
Pangena yakal pfut ayatom without looking in the direction of P. 120.6.
mene iskzlar pfut aiyeti don't look at anyone's face. 50.13.

(Cp. Sh. *pfut, pfut, thorki*, to open the eyes), look round, look at).

5. Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

OOO *pfuṛ* *-*manas* to fall in love with, take a fancy to. — *mentsa pfuṛ mamai.i bam ka ima ätawin* whomever you fall in love with, marry him. 120.1. *wazira ṛimotsa pfut nimaa* he falling in love with the Wazir's daughter. 66.4. Cp. 66.13.

In the two following it is not clear whether *pfut* *-*manas* means "to fall in love with", or is equivalent to *pfuṛ atas* "to look at". It will be noted that the verb is followed by a noun in the dative, or governed by the postposition *yakal*, as in the case of *pfuṛ atas*, and not by a noun with the suffix *-tsa*, as in the above examples of *pfuṛ* *-*manas*.

ti menan yakal pfuṛ mumanomo ka ima yakal bada bäläćubo (without looking at P.) she advanced towards anyone (someone) else to whom she took a fancy (or, at whom she chanced to look?). 120.7. *buriaar pfuṛ am ana baiyam* I had looked at a cat (or, become enamoured of a cat?). 158.14.

pfuṛa maltaä, pl. — *maltaraŋ* y "Div's butter", i.e. mushroom.

1. *pfutuk* y a superior kind of *ärbat* for upper class people. QUB. — *mamua pfutuk dusućam* they bring "*pfutuk*" made with milk. 338.5. Correct the translation there given.

(Said to be a Wkh. word corresponding to a Bu. word *mutuk*, *mot'uk*).

2. *pfuṛuk -ićiŋ* y pickings, trifles, little matters. — *pfuṛukićiŋ atiwa* don't bring up trifling matters.

pfutumiä, pl. *pfutumi.ants* x brand, piece of burning wood, or of half-burnt wood.

(Perhaps cp. Sh. *pfutʌʒo, pfotʌšo*, half-burnt wood). 000

pyuwʌn, pfyuwʌn Adj., Pron. and Adv. a little, a small quantity of. — *pyuwʌn xwrk ʌγʊn* give me a little "bhoosa" (broken straw). *biške pyuwʌn iγʊnimi* he gave him a little hair. 22.9. *hanjil pyuwʌn duʼduma?* will you bring a little charcoal? 162.12. *pyuwʌn bʌsk manimiʌ* a little (charcoal) has remained over. 164.6. *guke γenʌgtʊm pyuwʌn ʌγʊn* give me a little of this gold. 54.23. Cp. 140.1, 328.8,9.

(Cp. Puniali Sh. *phiwʌk, piʌrk*, a little. Sh. *-ʌk* = Bu. *-ʌn*).

Q.

(See also under X and Kh.)

qabil capable. Ar. Prs.

qaʼrda rule, order. — *ba qaʼrda* according to rule, as it ought, as usual. 378.4. Ar. Prs.

qaʼnun law, rule. Ar. Prs.

qaʼŋ donkey's bray. — *qaʼŋ jʌkʊn* the braying donkey. 202.4. *han jʌkuʼnʌn qaʼŋ ne paida manimi* a donkey braying made its appearance. 200.7.

(IUB *qaʼŋ*; H. *gadhe ka awaʼz*).

qaʼqaʼ ʌtʌs N. to caw (of a crow).

(Cp. Sh. *kʌʼ kʌʼ* th., to caw).

1 > *qaʼr* shawl-cloth, thin blanket. — *tʌ qʌš qaʼr dʌsmaiyʌm* I will make a hundred cubits of shawl-cloth. 176.24.

(Cp. Sh. *kʌʼr*, head-sheet).

qaʼšiŋir N., v. *xaʼšiŋʊr*. — *kwts qaʼšiŋʊr* up till now.

qaʼwa N. coffee. Ar. Prs.

qaʼzi -tiŋ hm "qazi", judge 80.11 ff., 86.11 ff. Ar. Prs.

qʌbʼʌl wʌšiʌs to surround, invest, — *taʼqs iγigaʼr tʌli qʌbʌl wʌšimʌn* they

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1 [see q'a'qarum, p. 298 a, category 116 - Analyst]

surrounded the fort (with a view to capturing it). 384.10. (Correct accordingly the translation there given). (Cp. Wkh. *qabal dig* to surround, besiege). 000

qabul etas to consent, agree, accept. — *ovai nomen ev buyat stoman, qabul ainistem . . . dwainai* they petitioned to him saying "don't go". Not accepting (their request) he went out. 292.15. Ar. Prs.

qabor -ão x grave, tomb. — *yuvs se qabur stoman* burying (the corpse) they made a tomb. 296.1. *qaberafum . . . yiki se* stealing (the lance) from (on) the grave, 296.5. Ar. Prs.

qabza, -mots x hilt of sword; pl. *qavzaq*, y hinge. (Cp. N. *kabza* x hilt of sword). Ar. Prs.

qači, pl. *qačeq*, y scissors. T. Prs.

qaḑaq manaw, khaḑaq m. to go lame, to limp (of human being). (QUB *kh.*).

qadim ancient, of long ago. — *qadim zamanatsum* from ancient times. 298.1. Ar. Prs.

qadimu of former times, of long ago. — *qadimu hir* a man of ancient times. Ar. Prs.

qafas, pl. *qafaso*, x cage. Ar.

qalam N. *-ão* x pen. — Hz. *qalam dalem ḑupe* a chogs with a design drawn and embroidered on it. Ar. Prs.

qalamdan x penrase, inkstand. (Ar.) Prs.

qali, pl. *qalents*, N. *qalisents*, x knotted pile-carpet. — *joṭ qali* small rug. (Cp. Sh. *qaḑin*, and in Kho. *qaḑin* woven pileless carpet). T. Prs.

qalg N. *-ents; xalg, xalk, -ents* Hz. x a kind of kite.

qalṭ'aṭo, ḳaltaṭo, pl. *qalṭ'aṭents* x waistcoat, short coat. — *ḳiḑum kuturiko*

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000 *q.ɪltać ʌmots nuyolin* a party of men wearing short coats. 188.2.

QUB *k-*. Cp. Khо. *kaltʌća*; Bashgali *k.ɪltʌća*, waistcoat).

q.ɪltor N. no pl. x small bridge (? bi- aqueduct).

(Cp. Sh. *k.ɪltur*, said to be obso lete, and Ha. *g.ɪltor*.

q.ɪm -ʌnts x.

1. Pit, hole in ground. — *hivsk: q.ɪm* the pit excavated beneath a loom in which the weaver puts his feet and legs, H. *k.ɪrga*. *tikulo q.ɪm.ɪn ʌtf.ɪn* making a hole in the ground. 378.1.
2. Metaph. grave, H. *q.ɪbr*. — *q.ɪmʌr gwʌc.ɪlì* may you fall into the grave, i.e. die! Cp. *dʌrqq.ɪm* ?).

q.ɪma v. *kk.ɪma*.

qæuć N. *-ig* y cave. (Not known to QUB).

1. *qh.ɪp* v. *x.ɪp*.
2. *q.ɪp -ʌnts* x large cloth-sack, Kashgari cotton sack holding 2 to 3 cwts. of grain. Prs. *juwal*. — *ʌsrma q.ɪp* ditto of goat's hair cloth. *k.ɪp.ɪn yuućai.i* he gives him a sack. 162.13.

q.ɪrum talkative, ill-mannered, refractory, self-willed, H. *b.ɪkʌr.ɪs*, *b.ɪdlʌ- mʌz*, *xudrai*.

1. *q.ɪqʌr* *-ʌm.ɪn.ɪs* to scrabble, scratch at with the nails, as a man trying to get a hold on a hillside, and a cat hanging on to a carpet when pulled away from it.

Reduplication of *q.ɪr*).

2. *q.ɪqʌr* *-ʌm.ɪn.ɪs*, *qaqʌr* *-ʌm.ɪn.ɪs* IUB to be stopped, come to an end, to be finished. H. *rukjʌna*. *b.ɪnd hʌna*, *x.ɪtm hʌna*. Not corroborated by QUB.
3. *q.ɪqʌr nʌma* very old and wrinkled of man, tree.

298 a

[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

000 *qʌr ɛtʌs* to scrape, scratch, shave.

ɛʌr mʌnʌ·s to slide. — *γʌmu.ʌfɛ qʌr mai.i bʌ·n* they are sliding on the ice.

qərʌ·r settledness, peacefulness. — *qərʌ·r ka hʌrʌ·timi* he abode peacefully. 32.14. Ar. Prs.

qərʌqɛʌqo IUB. also *qurʌnfwʌqo* QUB, a rice-pounder. H. *čʌ·wʌl kufne ka ʌ·la.*

qərʌfʌs v. *xərʌfʌs.*

qərqa·muts, pl. *qərqa·muźo*, N. *kərkamujo* x fowl, hen, cock. — *gus qərqa·muts* hen. *kir qərqa·muts* cock. *qərqa·mutse joʃis*, or, *isk* chicken. (Cp. 56.2, 386.5. (Cp. Sh. *kərka·muš*, hen).

qərts v. *xʌrts.*

q'ərum miserly, stingy, H. *bʌxil*, *kʌnjus.* (Cp. Wkh. *qa·run*, inhospitable). Ar. Prs.

qərwyo, pl. *qərwyrźo* x wading bird, heron. Kho. *mʌnḍa·γ.*

qʌsa·s y retaliation, revenge. — *qʌsa·s ɛtʌs* to take revenge. Ar. Prs.

qʌsai.i hm butcher. Ar. H.

qʌsd y intention, determination. — *qʌsd nɛtʌn* intentionally. 386.16. Ar. Prs.

qʌš sg. and pl. length from elbow to finger-tips, cubit, half-yard. — *ʌ·lto qʌš* = *1 qʌs* (yard). *bɛ·rum qʌš bi bila·?* how many cubits is it? *ʌ·ltər wa·lti qʌš latt'a* 24 cubits of calico. 310.5. Cp. 174.5.

Wrongly written *kʌš* in:

t.ʌlɛ kʌš ifʌγo his seven-cubit staff. 222.10.

qʌš ɛtʌs v. *khʌš ɛtʌs.*

qʌšdʌn, pl. *qʌšdaiyo*, x stone anvil.

-qʌt, *-ʌqʌt*, side of body, armpit.

(QUB disallowed forms from *-qʌt*, *-ʌqʌt* is, I think, only the correct form for *-ʌkʌt* q.v.).

qʌtʌl v. *gʌtʌl.*

qʌvz constipated. — *qʌvz amʌna ba* I am (have become) constipated. Ar. Prs.

qawʌš v. *khʌwʌš*.

qaid ɛtʌs (*-ʌtʌs?) to imprison, put in gaol. Ar. Prs.

qaidi -mots hm prisoner, gaol-bird. Ar. Prs.

qaidxa·na y prison, gaol. (Ar.) Prs.

qəi.i v. *kai.i*.

qaiy N. *-a·ints* x pebbles beside water-course, i.e. strand. (V. 2. *khʌy*).

qʌ.iy N. *-ents* x stirrup. (V. 1. *khʌy*).

qaizagir -ig y pl. horse's bit, watering-bridle.

(Cp. *qaiza* in Psht. & Kabuli Prs.).

qau call, cry, shout. — *qau manimi "Dərbɛ·šo, Dərbɛ·šo" nusɛn* there was a call, shout, "Dərbɛ·šo, Dərbɛ·šo". 180.4. *thʌmɛ qawər ɛrimi* the Tham sent a man to call them). 240.2. *qau ɛtʌs* to call out, shout, call to, summon. *sʌgʌm xa kiɛl nəma qau ɛtimi* bending down over the smoke-hole, he shouted out. 228.7. *hʌn qərqa·mɔtsʌmɛ qau nɛ se.ibim* a cock crowing said: . . . 386.5. *tsərər kau ɛtimi . . . xʌbər dʌgwin* he called out to the guard: "get news . . .". 38.4. Cp. 26.21. *ɛnər kawɛti* (i.e. *qau ɛti*) call him. *thʌmɛ mavr qau ɛčai.i* the Tham summons you. 240.6. *ɛnɛ miɛlji yɛtsum hiɛrər qau ɛčʌn* let us call the man we saw in our dreams. 284.14. *hin nokərʌnər qau nɛ dəyərusumi* calling (to) a servant he asked . . . 373.25.

(Cp. Kho. *qoyɛrk*, to call out, call to loudly).

qaum h.pl. clan, tribe. — *kin Sig Hʌmačartig qaumtsum bʌm* this S. was of the H. tribe. 266.19. Cp. 112.15. Ar. Prs.

qɛmʌt cost, price, rate; costly, dear. Ar. Prs.

qəqe ɛtʌs Hz. & N. to bleat (of a goat). 000

qərkʊs EOL pl. *qərki.ʌnts* —? — *aʿlto qərkʊs bo* she is pregnant ("two lives" = Sh. *doguni ḍim hin*). *aʿlto qərki.ʌnts baʿn* they are pregnant.

qiʿmišdoʿn, pl. *-doʿyo*, x a cast iron vessel with lid used for baking a special kind of bread, fire being placed above and below it. 252

(Perhaps corruption of Prs. *kumaʿj-daʿn*. QUB gave the initial as *x-*).

qiʿqiʿŋ ɛtʌs N. to neigh (of a horse). 000 (Cp. Hz. *hihiŋ*).

qiqɪt *-*ʌtʌs* to tickle s.o. (on body).

qɪsaʿs qɪsiʿč- v.i. to tear (of cloth). — *qɪsiʿči* it will tear; *qɪsiʿmi* it tore. *qɪsumʌn čuk ɛtʌs* to sew, mend, a torn thing.

(Given as the intrans. of *-*xiʿsʌs*).

1. *qɪsmʌt* y fate. Ar. Prs.
2. *qɪsmʌt* for *xɪdmʌt* q.v.

qɪsmʌtgaʿr v. *xɪsmʌtgaʿr*.

qɪsta v. *xɪsta*.

qɪsum kind, sort. — *beʿsʌn qɪsumɛ bi?* of what kind is it? Ar. Prs.

qɪš, QUB *xɪš*, gently. — *kərkaʿmutsɛ qɪš nɛ duʿnʌn kuli qyuʿ ɛči bi* if anyone catches a fowl gently it makes a noise. 56.2.

qi.uʿ v. *qyuʿ*.

qhiyɛ, etc. v. *qhüyɛ*.

qoʿ ɛtʌs N. to low (of a cow), Hz. to low (of a calf).

qoʿŋ ɛtʌs Hz. to low (of a cow).

ʊoʿqʼʊr N. *-iʿnts* x stones on a mountain side just about to fall.

(In Kho. *čoʿkul* is used of a stone falling or rolling down a hill-side).

qoroʿnč v. *xuroʿnč*.

qʼoʿš, *qʊš -iŋ* y inhabited house, quarters, lodgings. — *ʌkaʿbərtiŋ u.i u.imo qʼošiŋʌʿr ničaʿn* the chief men go off

000 to their respective quarters. 338.11. Cp. 340.20.

(Cp. Wkh., Kho. *qvš*, Sh. *kvš*, dwelling-place, lodging, quarters).

qu· ɯʌɔʌ·s v.i. to swing. 316.13.

qu·bili mʌnʌ·s v.i. to swing.

Women and children swing during the Nauroz celebrations.

qu·bili gʌ·ʒʌ said by the person on the ground as he pushes the other up on the swing.

The latter replies: *kʌtu go·tʌm*.

qvdrʌt, qvdərʌt y power. — *Xvdai.ɛ qvdrʌt* (by) the power of God, the act of God. 34.8. Ar. Prs.

qü.ɛkrǩ v. *qhüyɛkrǩ*.

qvlp, qulp, qvlf, -ʌnts, -išo x lock, padlock. — *kʌn bʌsi.ɛntsɛ qvlf ɯɛšvm bim* (or, *dɛlom bim*) there was a padlock fixed on (the door of) one garden. 16.11. *hiŋ tʌm nɛ qvlp ɯʌšimi, qvlpɛ čɛ.i i·tsɛ yænimi* shutting the door he put a lock on it (*or*, locked it). The key of the lock he took with him. 52.6. *i·mo iri·ŋɛ ka qvlf do·nimi* with his own hand he opened the lock. 52.15. Ar. Prs.

qvma concubine. (Cp. Kho. *qvmʼa* concubine).

qvŋqvro·čo ʼɛtʌs N. to crow (of cock). (Cp. Sh. *kvŋkvro·čo* cock).

qvra·n the Quran. — *qvra·nɛ šʌpi·k* feast held after reading the Quran, seven days after a death. 314.8. Ar.

qvrʌŋtɯʌŋo, v. *qərʌŋtʌŋo*.

qvrba·n sacrifice. — *gvŭʌtvm qvrba·n amʌnǩa* may I be a sacrifice for you! 62.19. Cp. 282.6. *qvrba·n ʌmʌnǩa*. 62.24. 166.18. *i·n uŋʌtvm qvrba·n imʌnvm!* may he be your sacrifice! Ar. Prs.

qu·rč y a kind of hard iron. (Cp. Shgn. *qʌ̄rč*, steel).

300 a

000 *qurum* -iŋ y cavity or cleft between boulders.

qurut, xurut sg. & pl. x, d.pl. *-ists* dried curds. — *Gu.iču.ε korutε daudau dosučan* the Wakhis bring them "*aš*" (broth) of "*qurut*". 338.9. *qurutε tsam'ikε ka . . . dosučan* they bring it with "*tsamik*" of "*qurut*". 342.5. Elsewhere "*xurut tsamik* (*bila*)" was recorded.

(Steingass gives Prs. *qurūt* = dried curds, and the word occurs in Wkh., Kho., Psht., Parāchi and Kābuli Persian). Turk. Prs.

qušεlAs, kušAlAs, qušεlj- to go wrong, be spoilt, become ruined, H. *bigAr-jama, bərbad hona, wairan hona.* — *gotε duro kušælimi* this affair has gone wrong. *itε mAzər kušεlila, api* the grave has become ruined, it no longer exists. 224.7.

(*q-* IUB & QUB. Cs. **-Aqušεlas.* Cp. Sh. *kuš'olo, kušelo* broken, damaged).

qots for *kots*, q.v., days. 102.5.

805 *qhüyε, qü.ε, qhiyε, khiε;* N. *qiyε* x (sg. and) pl. pebble(s), shingle, gravel. — *hAn qhüyεn* (or, *qhiεn*) *fAt εtimi* he put aside a pebble. 52.7. *gonts kε hAn qü.ε wAšimi* he also every day threw aside a pebble. 52.9. Cp. 52.10,14,19.

It is said that uneducated people put 365 pebbles in a basket and keep count of the days of the year by transferring one every day to another basket.

000 (The exact sounds of the word are difficult to determine. I originally wrote it: *khi.ε*, but I think there is a *-y-* which affects the preceding vowel and consonant.

300 b

According to QUB the correct representation is *khüyɛ*. 000

N. *kiyɛ* small shot is probably the same word. (Sh. *khai.i*, gravel, shingle, and N. Bu. *qaiy* are probably to be equated with Hz. Bu. 2. *khʌy*).

qhüyɛkrṣ̌, *qü.ɛkrṣ̌*, *khiɛkrṣ̌*; N. *qiyɛkiš* gravelly, shingly; "desert of stones and scrub". — *khiɛkrṣ̌ diš* shingly ground.

qyuɛ, *qiy'uɛ*, *qi.uɛ*, y outcry, scream, shouting. — *qyu čup me.i bila* (the hen's) outcry becomes silent. 56.2—4. *ər nəmuɛmʌn qi.uɛ ɛtəmo* in a fright she screamed out. 110.5. *qiyu pyu ɛti* raise an outcry. 256.11. Cp. 28.10, 30.19, 140.15. (Cp. Wkh. *qɛu*, *qüɛ*).

R.

raɛʌti = *rai* + *ʌtɛ* (?) — *iɛmo raɛʌti* of itself, spontaneously.

raɛçi h and x.

1. Guard, watchman. — *baɛdša hiɛŋtsɛ raɛçi bʌm* there was a guard on the King's gate. 36.21.
2. Guardian spirit. — *raɛçi heɛrči bi* the guardian spirit weeps.

The plural is commonly supplied by that of *raɛçʌkuɛin*.

(Cp. *rʌç*. Cp. also Sh. *raɛçhi* guard, watch).

r'aɛçʌkuɛin, *raɛçi-*, *raɛço-*, pl. *r'aɛçʌkuɛyo*, *r'aɛçiki.o* watchman, guard, protector; guardian (spirit). — *r'aɛçʌkuɛinɛ . . . iriŋtsɛ duɛnəmo* the guardian seized his arm. 42.6. *raɛçikuɛyɛfəm uyuɛmər senimi* he said to the head of the guards. 36.21. *mi inɛ r'aɛçiki.o baɛn* we are his guardians. 38.19. Cp. 40.13,21, 42.13.

301a

rahʌm, ravm, rʌhʌm y kindness, pity, compassion, mercy. — *rʌhʌm apivm* merciless, cruel *nivitsin rahʌm divmi* seeing him he felt compassion. 373.11. *evulo ravm dusuvmi* he brought pity into his heart, i.e. he felt pity. 368.8. *hʌmiš javtse ravm dusuvči* he is always kind to me. *javte* (or, *javtse*) *rahʌm eti* have pity on me. Ar. Prs.

rahʌmkrš, ravmkrš kind, merciful. — *ravmkršʌn bai.i* he is a kind person.

rahmdrl, rʌhmdrl kind-hearted, kindly, merciful. 34.12. (Ar.) Prs.

ravhʌt y ease, comfort, peace, H. *ʌsavrš*. — *buvt mivmər ravhʌt etai.i* he has made great comfort for us, i.e. he has made us very comfortable. 40.17. (Cp. *rʌhʌt*). Ar. Prs.

ravrʌp mʌnavs IUB to flutter, flap the wings. — *ravrʌp maibim* (the bird) was fluttering. H. (*pʌrinda*) *pʌr mavr rʌha tha.*

(Probably a reduplication of *rʌp*. Cp. perhaps Psht. *rʌp-evdəl*, to flutter etc.).

rʌč guarding, watching over. — *humavte Panču rʌč ne bʌm* P. was keeping watch over the ford. 112.23. *ja gute hin sʌm rʌč ne horu* stay and keep guard over my door and smoke-hole. 168.24. *birʌnč rʌč no bovm* she was guarding the mulberries, 244.12.

(Cp. *ravči*, and Sh. *ravčh th.*, to keep, guard, watch).

rah'ʌt N. *-ršo*, well, in good health. (Cp. *ravhʌt*). Ar. Prs.

rʌhmdrl, rahm v. *rahmdrl* and *rahʌm*.

rʌjavki, rʌjʌki y forced labour, compulsory communal labour, H. *bevgar*. — *rʌjavki.e sis* person(s) working on forced labour. *rʌjavki etʌšo sis* persons working on forced labour.

000 *gotsile rʌjaˑki oˑčʌm* he used to make them do forced labour on the canal. 276.8. *waˑlti giramər rʌjʌki.ər qau ɛti* call on the Four Tribes for communal labour. (Cp. Sh. *rʌjaˑki, r ʿai.ɾki*).

rʌk v. *rʌq*.

rʌx ɛtʌs N. to wish. (Probably a variant of *rʌq*).

262 *rʌxpiˑn, rʌqpiˑn*, pl. *-piˑyo*, x buttermilk (*diltər*) heated yields *bərwɛ* and *mʌntsil*, and *mʌntsil* dessicated yields *rʌxpiˑn*, a reddish substance which is made up into hard balls about 1½ inches in diameter. It is popular with women and is given to suckling mothers). Prs.

000 *rʌl* ready, prepared, on the 'qui vive', H. *tai.ar*. — *hoˑlguṣər rʌl baˑn* they are ready for a fight. *ɛtɛ diṣulo . . . rʌl numa hurwčʌmʌn* they remained sitting there on the 'qui vive'. 122.22. *rʌl mʌnɛ* be ready, prepare yourself. 174.16.

rʌm alliterative doublet. — *rʌm rʌt* quite smooth.

rʌmʌlči diviner, soothsayer, (used as synonym for *nujuˑm*). — *rʌmʌlčʿi.ɛlɛ niˑnin: "le.i nujuˑm, wŋɛ tsʌn . . ."* going to the diviner, (he said to him): "O diviner, you were right . . .". 102.8. Cp. 102.5. (Ar. T.). Prs.

rʌmɛˑš tamed (of hawk), trained. — *rʌmɛˑš mʌnaˑs* to be tamed. *rʌmɛˑš ɛtum baˑz* a tamed hawk.

(Cp. Sh. *rʌmoˑɾki*, to rear, accustom; Kho. *rʌm čhik*, to become accustomed, become without fear).

rʌnda -miŋ y plane. H. Prs.

rʌnjʌq small cowhorn powder-flask (used to hold priming-powder). — *rʌnjʌqolum miˑli.ɛŋ* priming-powder. (Cp. perhaps Prs. *rʌnjʌk*, priming-pan).

000 *rʌŋ* y colour, dye, paint. — *bɛsʌn rʌŋ bila?* what colour is it? *bɛ rʌŋɛ bɛ* what state are you in? *baftɛɛ rʌŋ deli.ʌs bila* the skin is to be dyed. *šɪkʌm rʌŋɛ hʌγurɛ* a horse of green-blue colour, i.e. a grey horse (cp. the use of the Prs. *sʌbz*). 6.10. Prs. *rʌŋči* hm dyer. (Prs.).

rʌŋ'e.irʌŋ variegated, of many colours. (Prs.).

rʌŋgriz hm dyer. Prs.

rʌq, rʌk, y desire, wish, appetite. IUB H. *čavhna.* — *uγɛ bɛsʌn rʌk bila?* what is your desire? *rʌk ɛtʌs* to express a wish, request. *ja tsil miyaγ rʌk dimi* desire came on me to drink water, i.e. I felt a desire to . . . *ja kuɛlto rʌk api* I have no appetite today. 30.2. *uɛlo haɛlər ni.ʌsər rʌk aiγ'ɛtimi* he did not wish, he refused, to go into the house. 374.5. *thʌmɛ mɛnər rʌk ɛtimi kɛ 'ogirʌšai.i* the Tham makes dance whomever he pleases. 318.5.

rʌq IUB, QUB and IYB. Cp. *rai.i* with which it appears to be largely, if not entirely synonymous. Cp. also Sh. *rʌk* desire, intention.

rʌš y light. — *sʌx rʌš* sunlight. *hʌl.ʌntɛɛ rʌš* moonlight. *gərix rʌš* lamplight. *thʌmɛ iɛkilər hʌn rʌšʌn lʌm mʌnimi* a light shone, flashed, into the Tham's face. 24.3. (Cp. Sh. *rʌš*).

rʌt, -ɪšo, -iŋ smooth, flat, level. — *bʌlkoγ rʌt* or, *rʌtiŋ bitsʌn* the planks are smooth. *mirzɪšo rʌtɪšo bi.ɛn* the tables are smooth. *rʌt gʌn* a smooth, level, road. *rʌt diš* a flat level place. *rʌm rʌt* quite smooth. (Cp. Sh. *rʌt*).

rʌwraγ v. s.v. *fʌct.*

302b

rʌwama mʌnavɛ to depart, set out, start off. Prs. 000

rai, rai.i y desire, wish; purpose, will, intention, inclination, IUB H. *xi.ɑvl.* — *uŋɛ bɛsʌn rai bila?* what is your wish? *ja tsilər* (or, *tsil miyaw*) *rai divmi* I felt a desire for water, I wanted to drink water. *kivnɛ hirɛ rai bilum wʌtɛŋ noʃɛ hurutiʃ* the man's desire was to abide eating the husks. 372.14. *bɛsʌn ʃičər rai bila?* do you feel inclined to eat anything? (said to a sick man). *uŋʌlər jučər ja rai api* I have no desire to come to you. 76.5. *bɛsʌn rai bila kɛ gučʌm* I'll give you whatever you please. 172.16. *bəriŋ sɛyər bɛ ja rai apiɛ?* what! have I no desire to talk? 364.5. *ɛsqʌnʌsər rai ɛlumʌn* they determined to kill him. (H. *qʌṣd*). 262.14. Cp. 162.6,26,26. *gwi rai.i nɛ* on your own initiative, of your own free will. 118.12. *tsil rai.olo mi bai.i* he drinks water as he feels inclined. 128.16. *gu.imu rai.ɛfɛ* according to your own taste. 78.14. *ivmo rai.ɛfɛ, ivmo rawʌti* of his own motion. 172.14; of itself, spontaneously. 240.13, 286.10. *gutɛr bɛsʌn rai bila?* what is your opinion, intention in regard to this? (H. *xiyavl*).

rai ɛtʌs 1. To express a desire, to request. — *mɛnənər*, or, *mɛnɛ ka rai ɛtʌs* to request s.o. (to do s.t.). *ja thʌmər rai ɛtʌm wʌzir ja apʌčər ju.ʌsər* (or, *dɛrʌsər*). I requested the Mir that the Wazir might come to me (or, to send the Wazir to me). *ja invər rai ɛtʌm kolə ju.ʌsər* I asked him to come here.

2. (Of a mare) to be seeking the male, to be on heat.

(Cp. *rʌq*. Also Kho. *rai.i.*)

rem'izil, remivzil, rimivzil, -šo, -xšo x stone-marten. — *rimivzilə bʌt* stone-marten skin. 000

-rik -ɪndəro hmf., gen. sg.f. *-rikmo.* A man's wife's brother, a man's sister's husband. A woman's husband's sister, a woman's brother's wife. The word is used as a term both of reference and of address. 601

The following additional meanings are variously described as rare, obsolete, and objectionable: — a man's wife's sister, a man's brother's wife, a man's father's brother's son's wife. A woman's husband's brother.

It will be remarked that the fully recognised meanings conform to the analogy of *-ʌçço* in that they denote relationships between persons of the same *sex.*

Any of the relationships in question may of course be expressed by descriptive combinations. Thus: —
o'smo mo'çço my wife's sister.
o'smo mu'los my wife's brother.
o'yərɛ ɛçço my husband's brother.
o'yərɛ yʌs my husband's sister.

Examples of *-rik.*
o'smo a'rik my brother-in-law on my wife's side, i.e. my wife's brother.
ayʌsmo a'rik (man speaking) my brother-in-law on my sister's side, i.e. my sister's husband.

In 364.8 *a'rikmo* is glossed as, "my brother's wife" (woman speaking).

rik mʌna's IUB to be absolutely ready (to start etc.). 000

'ril y copper. According to IUB the word can also mean "steel". — *if'ʌyo rils bi* his stick is of copper. 210.9.

(Cp. Sh. *halinjo ril*, brass).

303b

ooo *-riŋ -čiŋ, N. -čʌŋ y hand, — *uŋɜ guriŋ gʌlṣ!* may your hand be broken! ("as you have struck me with it"). A woman's curse. *hʌn uriŋʌn* a hand of someone (unknown). 210.6. *doyum iriŋɜ* (or, *iriŋum*) *iɜɜ pfultiṇiṣɜ hɔlɜ* out of the righthand bellows. 166.4. *iriŋčiŋʌṭɜ tik gimi* he filled in the earth with his hands. 84.5. *uriŋʌṭɜ* with their hands. 310.2. *imo iriŋɜ ka qɔlf domimi* he opened the lock with his own hand. 52.15. *muriŋɔlɔ tik nɔkʌn* taking earth in her hand. 26.2. Cp. 300.7.

*-uṭ *-riŋ feet and hands. 52.15, 118,8. 174.1. — *yutis iriŋɜṭɜ ba ečɔbo* she kisses his foot and hand. 138.3. *hin hinɜ iriŋčiŋ dumərumʌn* they sought each other's hands i.e. they kissed each other's hands. 90.10. *uriŋciŋ xərts nɜ* clapping their hands. 140.4.

*-riŋ mʌnɜs, *-riŋ juyʌs, *-riŋ bʌlɜs to come into someone's hands, possession: — *uŋɜ belʌṭɜ guriŋ manimi?* how did it come into your possession? *mʌgər iriŋ* (or, *iriŋər*) *ačučo bom* but she did not come into his possession. 12.8. *imo žʌmɜ iriŋ bʌlimi* his own bow fell into his hand, came into his possession. 170.21. Cp. 42.6, 86.15, 244.1; 304.17, 336,10, 373.18.

ririk mʌnɜs to be ready to strike, or run, to be on the point of striking (with fists ready). (Cp. *rik*).

rɪza contented, satisfied; consent. — *rɪza *-ʌtʌs* to satisfy, make agree, obtain consent of. *rɪza *-mʌnʌs* to be satisfied, contented, to agree. *amɪn hirʌnɜ imo yuɜ rɪza nɔmo* (if) any man, getting his wife to agree, gaining her consent. 40.14.

000 *rɪzɪa gumʌn* be satisfied, contented. 114.18. *uŋ rɪzɪa?* are you contented? are you agreeable? 302.18 ff. *Xuʷu tɛšər rɪzɪai* (= *rɪzɪa*) *imʌnimi* Kh. agreed to (taking of) oath. 250.9. *rɪzɪa g'animi* he obtained his consent. 194.11. Ar. Prs.

rɪzɪakuŋ y contentment, satisfaction.

rɪzɪai contentment, satisfaction, agreement. — *imo rɪzɪai.ɛ ka* of his own free will. 44.9. *iski heši hil'ɛstsum rɪzɪai.i doγərušai.i* three times he asks the youth for his agreement, i.e. asks if he agrees, or, is content. 304.2.

rom h pl. tribe, clan, community, H. *qaum, gurohʰ*. Cp. Bu. *giraʷm* — *Ali.abaʷdulo hikum rom baʷ* there is one clan in A. *waʷlti rom* (or, *giraʷm*) the Four Tribes (of Baltit). Cp. 258.1. n., 300.13. *aʷlto rom* two tribes. 272.12. *kuʷ ɪskikum rom baʷn* there are these three tribes. 272.14. *Puʷno rom Diraʷmiting ɪ bʌm* P. was of the D. tribe. 212.20.

Cp. Sh. *rom*; Wkh. *rom, ruʷm*. Also Kho. *rom*. herd of cattle, flock of birds.

roʷz -ɪšo x musk-deer. They occur in the Kerga Nullah near Gilgit.

Cp. Sh. *roʷs, roʷz*, Kho. *rau.uz*.

ru x healing of wound, joining of edges of cut. — *Aʷ ʌnʌstsum ru juʷčomɛ akoʷlɛr di bi* the healing (of the wound) proceeding from the top of my head has reached this point. 230.7.

(Cp. Sh. *rũʷ wai.oʷɪki*, to close, come together, of a wound. Wkh. *roʷ*.

ru ba ru opposite, facing each other. Prs.

ruʷh, ruʷ, pl. *ərwaʷh*. x soul, pl. spirits of the dead. — *ja adiʷmtsum ruʷ niʷn dinaʷrmo hiŋ gai.i bi* the soul going from my body has seized on my beloved's door. 362.6. Ar. Prs.

ruxsʌt y leave, permission to go, congé. — *thʌme ruxsʌt ʌčimər* (or, *ʌčiyʌs kiʔ*) *niyʌm* on the Mir's giving me leave, I went off. *thʌme ruxsʌt ayečičai.i* the Mir won't give me leave. *pfuʷt ruxsʌt mʌnimi* the DIv took his leave. 10.15. *Di.u Sʌfidtsum ruxsʌt bese at'umərča? ruxsʌt gučiči* why don't you ask the D. S. for leave (to go). He will give you leave. 20.12. *mu uʷŋər ruxsʌt eča ba* now I give you leave to go, I despatch you. 88.24. Ar. Prs.

run'i McK, GR leprosy.

(Cp. Sh. *run'i* & *ruʷno*. The word was not known to QUB and is probably N.).

ruʷŋ, *-ʌnts*, N. *ruŋ*, pl. *-aʷints* x grassland, grass from ditto, open grazing-ground on hills; N. open jungle with few trees' and good pasture. — *gəruʷkimo Hunzu.olo čhʌm diʷmər ruʷŋʌntsulum ruʷŋ dišaʷn* in spring when scarcity has arisen in Hunza they bring in grass from the hill pastures. QUB. *ruʷŋe liʷli.o* wild violet. V. 102.20, 180.3, 226.11.

(Cp. Sh. *ruŋ*. It is practically an equivalent for Bu. *tewr*.)

rupi.a x sg. and pl., also pl. *-muts*; N. *rupa.imuts*; rupee(s), money. — *hʌn rupi.ʌn* one rupee. *rupiʷa berumʌn bi.en?* how many rupees are there? *uʷer aʷlta aʷlta rupi.a uʷ* give them Rs. 2 each. *uʷnʌte ine berumʌn rupi.a bi.en?* how many rupees do you owe him? *uʷnʌle berumʌn rupi.a bi.en?* how many rupees have you? H.

rũʷrũʷ y buzzing; sound, rustling(?), of wind, H. *bhrnbhrnaʷhʌṭ*. — *ruʷruʷ mai.i bilum* there was a sound of wind.

(Cp. Sh. *rũʷ rũʷ*, buzzing, singing in the ears).

ruʷs y retribution, retaliation, evil return H. *badala, qɪṣaʷṣ*. — *ruʷs di.usas* to exact retribution. *æyafe ruʷs diusimi* he made me an evil return(?). 000

ruš x sg. & pl., d.pl. *-'ants*. Ovis Poli (the wild sheep of the Pamirs, of which a few are to be found on the Hunza side of the Kilik Pass). — *ruši wər* O. P. ram. *ruši bəlis* O. P. ewe. *ruši mamuši* O. P. lamb. (Cp. Wkb. *rvš, ruš*).

ruʷza y the Fast of Ramazan. — *ruʷza ganas* to keep the Fast. *muʷto ruʷza hiʷsa bila* it is the month of the Fast at present. *ruʷza ba?* are you fasting? Prs.

ruʷzi x daily food, subsistence. Prs.

S.

1. *sd*, pl. *samots*, x sun, daytime, day, pl. days. — *sa jil mani bi* the sun has risen. *sa buʷr mani bi* the sun has set. *sa jil manaʷs khen, su duʷsas ken* sunrise (time). *sa buʷr manaʷs khen* sunset (time). *sa iččaqər duʷsimi* a ray of sunlight has come out(?). *gusɪ saʷatsɪ oʷs* put this in the sun. Cp. 334.1. *saʷtsɪ horuʷtimi* he sat down in the sun. 164.13. *sa thalisa* "sun on the distant hills, vicinity in shade". *sa wali bi* the sun(light) has fallen (on the ground). *sa pəri.an dy'u..asumər* when the sun remains one stage, from sunset (i.e. one lance-length above the horizon). 294.12. V. s.v. 2. *pəri*. *sa uyoʷnɪ* all day. *sa saburɪ* all day ("till evening"?). *sa tap* day and night. 116.15. (*xat*) *sa dešqalti.a sa ju* if (the letter) arrives in daytime, come in the day-time (i.e. the same day). 94.1. *bai.imo sa khuʷt bi* the winter day is short.

000 2. *-sa v. *-samols.

3. sa, sʌ-, obl. samo, y month. V. hisa, month, one month. — hisʌn ya alt'osʌn one month or two. 342.6. altosa two months; miš'insa six months. kunčo satsom after 6 months. torma aslto sa twelve months. miš'in samo jučam I'll come in (after) 6 months. 56,13. Cp. 58.7. berum sanmo after some months.

(berum sa + ʌn + mo = berumʌn sa + mo).

saʿʌt y.

1. Hour. — hik saʿʌtʌnər in an hour. 22.12. torrimi saʿʌtʌnər asir near to 10 o'clock. 38.1. šu.a saʿʌtulo dimʌnimi he was born in a happy hour. 88.1.

In:

akoʿlı saʿʌt mʌnı wait here. 54.1, saʿʌt is perhaps for tsʌt. Ar. Prs.

2. Auspicious time. — axom saʿʌtər 'ebərai.i bai.i he makes the mullah look for an auspicious time. 326.5. Cp. 300.3.

saʿʌt, saʿt *-ʌtʌs to give precedence to, to cause to do a thing first, to make lead the way. — saʿʌt nuʿtʌn making him lead to way. 244.2. thʌmu.i besʌn uyoʿnər saʿt oʿčam the Tham makes them take precedence in everything. 348.2. Dirʌmiting saʿʌt ʌtʌs ʿrus . . . 'Altitər tsučai.i the leader of the D. carries it to Altit. 208.6.

saʿʌti yesterday. — saʿʌti kuʿlto yesterday today, i.e. nowadays, these days, at the present time. jimʌlı učam, saʿʌti juʿčam I shall go away tomorrow and come back yesterday. 142.26.

saʿb N. "Sahib", European gentleman, European officer. Ar. H.

000 *sa·brt* proved. — *sa·brt ɛtas* to prove (something). Ar. Prs.

sa·bon, pl. *saboryo* x soap. Ar. Prs.

sa·da plain, blank (of paper); simple, honest; simple-minded. — *sam sa·da* quite plain. *sa·da·n bai* he is a simple, honest fellow. Prs.

sa·f pure, clear; clearly. — *nokəra sa·f sa·f imo bayan ɛtimi* the servant told his story clearly. 320.1. Ar. Prs.

601 *-*saγun*, *-*sʌγun*, pl. *-*saγundəro*, *-*saγuyo*, N. *-*sʌγəryo* nephew, niece, child of brother or sister. — *le As'a·γun* O my nephew (my sister's son). 132.12,14,16. *mi ma mʌsaγundəro ba·n* we are your nephews (your sister's sons). 246.17. *usaγ'undəro* their sister's sons. 248.21.

(Originally applied only to sister's children. Brother's children were, and still frequently are called "son" and "daughter").

000 *sa·ju* third party, unprejudiced, disinterested (and so qualified to act as arbitrator), H. *xalis*. — *Diramitiŋ sa·ju numa . . . u·ər astʌm ɛtʌm* the D. being disinterested parties had settled the case for them. 258.4.

(Cp. Sh. *sʌji·no*, go-between, arbitrator; *sa·jo*, jointly-owned, also arbitrator?).

sa·ma·n y pl. kit, equipment, belongings. — *sa·ma·n ɛtimi* he made his preparations (to go out), got ready his kit, H. *tai.a·ri ki*. 94.11. Prs.

*-*samuts*, *-*s'ʌmuts* x pl. end of period of pregnancy, last month of pregnancy. — *hura·tumɛsum musamuts gontsiŋ hisa·b ɛtamo* she reckoned the days of her pregnancy from the time when she conceived. 108.7. *gu·ai.ʌs tai.a·r bom, mos'ʌmuts gi.a*

bim she was on the point of giving birth, the end of her pregnancy had set in. 242.9. QUB gave a sg. *-sa x. *as'a giʌmi* ‖ *as'amuts giyʌmi.e* the end of my pregnancy has started. 000

(Seems to be a specialised use of 1. *sa*, day).

sa.o, *sau.u* y pl. sand.

sa.okrj sandy.

saʌro strong and well-grown, sturdy, lusty, robust. — *saʌro ʃʌtiʌlo imʌnimi* (the child) became robust and strong 110.17. *aʌlto iʌski deningum s'aʌro.ʌn bʌm* after two or three years he was a lusty (child). 244.3.

(Cp. Sh. *saʌro*, fully-developed).

saʌs thousand. — *aʌlto saʌs* two thousand. *tsʌndi saʌs* five thousand. *saʌs rupiʌn* one thousand rupees. 304.8.

(Cp. Sh. *saʌs*).

saʌsʌfe (in the) evening, late afternoon (3—6 p.m.), H. *peʃin*. — *kuʌlto saʌsʌfe* this evening. *jimʌle saʌsʌfe ja khoʌl ʃʌpik bi* tomorrow evening my food is here, i.e. I am to feed here.

saʌsefumo, *saʌsafumo* pertaining to evening, in the evening. — *saʌsefumo ʃʌpiʌk* evening meal. *saʌsefumo bʌsaʌr doʌʃqʌltumʌn* in the evening they arrived at the halting place. 126.2. Cp. 126.20. *saʌsefumo bola dʌljʌr niʌcʌn* in the evening they go off to play polo. 330.8.

saʌspʌr x sg. & pl. sort of plant (with leaves like big "London pride", near Rama glacier), N. "flowering rhubarb".

(Cp Sh. *saʌspʌr*, "a plant good for wounds"; Kho. *sʌspru*, *saʌspruʌ*, "an aromatic herb").

saʌt v. *ʃaʌt*.

saʌt ʃ-ʌlʌs v, *ʃaʌt ʃ-ʌlʌs*.

307a

saṭi v. *savaṭi*.

saṭimo pertaining to yesterday. — *saṭimo ine čʌγa* his yesterday's speech, what he said yesterday. 126.6.

sayaṛi -mots x first light in the morning. QUB first rays of light before actual appearance of the sun. — *biśkɛ sayaṛitsɛ lʌm maibitsum* the hair was glittering in the early morning light. 134.10.

sʌbʌb -iŋ y cause, reason. — *bɛṛsʌn sʌbʌb bila?* what is the cause? *gutɛ sʌbʌbtsum* for this reason. *hɔṛʌltɛ sʌbʌbtsum je nɛṝ ayaṛmʌnʌm* I was unable to go because of the rain. Ar. Prs.

sʌbʌq y lesson, study. — *gutɛ sʌbʌq ʌčičuma?* will you teach me (to read) this (book)? 48.6. *Buzur Jʌmhuṛ sʌbʌqʌtə w'ṛśimo* she put B. J. to study. 68.21. *alimʌlɛ sʌbʌq γʌt'ʌnimi* he studied with the learned man. 68.21. Ar. Prs.

sʌbdʌn N., v. *sʌmdʌn*, anvil.

sʌbɛ jon your life. — *sʌbɛ jon bɔrkʌt* blessings on your life = Bu. *ji bɔrʌkʌt*. 340.21.

(A Wkh. expression. Wkh. *sʌvɛ* your, *jon* life). Wkh.

1. *sʌbuṛ*, *sʌbɔṛ*, *sabuṛ*, EOL and N. *sʌwuṛ*.

a. Last night, yesterday, nightfall. The word is probably *sa* + *buṛ*, sunset, specialised to refer to the preceding sunset or nightfall.

sʌbuṛ ge gyṛmi yesterday evening snow fell.

b. All day. — *s'ʌburɛ, sa sʌborɛ* all day. *sʌburɛ buṛ* the whole day, all day to sunset.

2. *sʌbɔṛ* y patience. — *sʌbɔṛ ɛtʌs bila* it is necessary to exercise patience. *sʌbɔṛ ɛtʌsʌn baiʌi* he is a patient

000 person. *xalʷ apówu(an) baší* he is (an) impatient (person). Ar. Pre.

3. *xalʷ* four. — *xalʷ ǰaší* four measures ("bowls") of grain, paid as a tax to the Mir of Hunza in Gujhal. 342.18. (Wkh. *ɣalʷ*). Wkh.

xalʷkǰ patient. (Pre.).

xalʷmo, x'alʷmo, xaɣʷmo.

a. Pertaining to last night, yesterday's. — *ǰardinar ke ise xalʷmo ǰapiltsum wɔrtsin* putting aside for the morning (some) of the last night's food. 342.5.

b. In the daytime, H. *drəko.*

xalʷt proof. — *xalʷt etas bila* it has to be proved. Ar. Pre.

xaṣo, y pl. *xaṣoŋ*, easy; easiness. — *khot beŋ xaṣo dir'owan bila* this is a very easy matter. 50.19. *xa'ua ke* with ease, easily. (Cp. Sh. *xaṣo*, easy).

xaɣam, xaɣam, N. pl. *-ǰíŋ y* smoke-hole in roof, skylight. — *ke xaɣam ze wali ham ise gurtas* the corpse he had thrown down through the smoke-hole of the house. 114.24. *xaɣ'am (xaɣam) ze* down through the smoke-hole. 140.6, 228.7.

(Cp. Sh. *xuyum*, smoke-hole. Cp. also Sh. *xam*).

343 *xakay -ko* x receptacle on roof for holding grain (constructed of stones or brick and roofed with sticks and mud); granary. — *xakaye xam* (or, *ixaf*) hole on top of granary (by which man can enter to clean it).

000 *xaɣowaf* (generosity); generous, liberal. — *xaɣowaf'an baší* he is generous. Ar. Pre.

xaṣti y hardship. 20.17. Pre.

xal -o x.

a. Thin, flat stone for grinding on; mill-stone. — *xal gow ǰaj dirwar*

000 when the grinding-stone's and rolling-pin's beard comes, i.e. when they grow beards. 142,26. *yuɛ.iq ɛal* mill-stone.

N. *yetiki ɛal*, *yuriki ɛal* upper and nether mill-stone.

b. Moulded shape of salt, cake of salt. — *tha ɛalo hap ... dul'an* they bring 100 moulds of salt as TRX. 274.10.

ɛ'ala y counsel. — *ɛala ɛtas* to take counsel, consult. *ɛal.ifi barn* they are in consultation. *yuɛmutsum ɛala doy'aruɛmi* he consulted his wife. 34.7. *ɛaqaiyor ɛala puɛuɛman* they took counsel, planned, to slay him. 384.3. *ɛala Nuw Baximutsum ganɛman* they consulted N. B. 384.3.

ɛalam, EOL pl. *-iciq*, y salam, salutation, greeting. — *ɛalam ɛtas* + *dat.* to say "*ɛalam ale.ikum*" to, greet, pay respects to. *yur ne je Šahrı Bamaɛ ɛalamar juɛa beiyam* formerly I used to come to pay my respects to Š. B. 18.17. *ivna hilana ɛalam ɛcai.i* the boy salāms (to A. W.) 64.22. Ar. Prs.

ɛalamat y welfare, health, safety. — *bedin ɛalamat* (form of address to King) Hail King! Save thee, O King! Long life to the King! 6.10. *uɛriam i- si.at ɛalam.at d'ɛuqurkai.i* he has recovered his lost son in health and safety. 374.3. Ar. Prs.

ɛalat, *ɛalat* y pl. moustache. — *yuɛile ɛalatage hiran* a man with a golden moustache. 180.9, 184.4. (Cp. Khe., Wkh. *ɛamlat*).

ɛaldan, pl. *ɛaldaiye*, x a special kind of stone used for millstones.

(*ɛal* + *dan* qqv.).

*-ɛ'algin.a, *-ɛ'algi- to affiance, betroth, a girl to a man, and vice versa.

308b

The word refers to the preliminary agreement concluded by the parents of the bride and bridegroom. 000
ja ai.i ɨnɛ ɨər musʼʌlgina ba I have affianced my daughter to his son. *inɛ ɛɨ ja ɛɨ.ər musʼʌlgina ba* I have affianced his son to my daughter. *hilɛər dʌsin musʌlgibaɨn* they betroth the girl to the lad. 298.12.

ʌlwaɨt y Muslim prayers. — *ʌlwaɨt sɛɨtmɛ* saying the prayers (at burial). 310.12. Ar.

1. *ʌm*, *-iččʌŋ*, *-iŋ* y skylight, smoke-hole in roof, H. *ruʼšandaɨn*. — *tʌʼdi.ɛ ʌmʌfər duʼsimi* he went up to the smoke-hole in the roof. 40.7. *ɨtɛ ʌm ɨʼdigaɨri maɨu ɛtimi* he mewed round the smoke-hole. 174.12. *ʌkaye ʌm* hole in the top of granary on roof. Cp. 112.17, 168.24. (Cp. *ʌɣʌm*).

2. *ʌm* very, quite. Only recorded in: *ʌm ʌŋ* very light, broad daylight. *ʌm ʌɨʼda* quite plain, simple.

ʌmʌwaɨr x samovar. Prs.

ʌmʌnd dun-coloured. Prs.

ʌmʌndər y sea. H.

ʌmʌrʌŋ y pl. wooden frame of smoke-hole. — *kok tʌərʌŋ kɛ ʌmʌrʌŋ* this (*lit.* these) doorframe and smoke-hole frame. 170.2.8. (Pl. of *ʌmʌriʒ*).

ʌmʌriʒ, pl. *ʌmʌrʌŋ*, y one of side pieces of frame of smoke-hole. (Cp. 1. *ʌm* and *ʌmʌrʌŋ*).

ʌmba y reflection, thought, H. *soʼč*, *xiyaʼl*. — *ʌmba ɛtʌs* to think, reflect. 6.6, *ʌmba ʌpiʼman bai.i* he is a person who doesn't reflect, i.e. hasty, feckless. *ikərʌŋɛ ʌmba ɣutɛ ɛtimi* he reflected to himself as follows . . . 228.6. (Cp. Sh. *ʌmba*, Balti *Kh* *ʌmba*, thought etc.).

309a

sʌmbul'a the zodiacal month Sumbula (the sign of Virgo). August—September. 336.1. Ar. Prs. ○○○

sʌmdʌn, sʌndʌn, pl. *sʌndaiyo* x anvil; sledge-hammer.

(Cp. N. Bu. *sʌbdʌn,* Sh. *sʌmdʌn*). Prs.

sʌmo v. 2. *sa.*

1. *-sʌn* pl. *-saiyo* x chin, *ṭhoḍḍi,* Sh. *čhom.*

2. *-sʌn,* pl. *-saiyo,* x spleen, H. *trlli, trḥa·l.*

sʌnḍa -mʊts x male buffalo.

(Cp. Sh. *sʌnda,* Kho. *sʌnḍ'a,* Punj. *sʌṇḍha·,* male buffalo. Bu. and Sh. also with *-ḍ-*?).

sʌnduq (*-ʊq*), *-ʊts, -išo* x box, chest. trunk, coffin. — *sʌndʊqtsʊm gʌtʊŋ a·r di.usin* get the clothes out of the box for me. 24.17,21. *sʌnd'ʊqɪšʊlo ya·rɪ o·tai.i* he has buried them in coffins. 344.7. Ar. Prs.

sʌnmo v. 2. *sa.*

sʌŋ, EOL pl. *-išo, ičʌŋ,* light; bright, IUB H. *ro·šʌn.* — *sʌm sʌŋ* very light, bright daylight. *sʌŋ mʌna·s* to shine, glitter, become light. *gon sʌŋ manimi* light of dawn has come, day has dawned. *čɪrʌq sʌŋ ɛti* light the lamp. (Cp. Sh. *sʌŋ,* light).

sʌŋg i mərmər marble. Said to be found at Gerelt near the river below Haiderabad in Hunza.

sʌŋkʊš y light, brightness; sunlight, sunshine; H. *ro·šʌni, ujha·la·pʊn.* — *sa sʌŋkʊš* sunlight, daylight. *hʌlʌntsə sʌŋkʊš* moonlight.

1. *sʌp -ʊts* x horse-shoe. — *hʌγʊrɪ sʌp ɛti* (or, *ɛpʊs,* or, *ɛdili*) shoe the horse. *sʌp ɛpʊsʌs sis* horse-shoer, farrier.

2. *sʌp -ʊts* x a kind of wild plant with white flowers, IUB the assafoetida plant, H. *hiŋ ki bu·ṭi.*

309b

000 (Cp. Sh. *sʌp* = Kho. *ra.u*, a plant "eaten like assafoetida in Gurez, Rattu, etc.").

sʌpər, sʌpfər, sʌphər -iŋ y journey. — *sʌpər ɛtʌs* to make a journey, to travel. *γʊsʌnʊm sʌpər* long journey. *nʌtʌnər sʌphər* journey to a distance, far journey. 356.1. Cp. 360.7. Ar. Prs

sʌpuyar man with a large family members of household. — *sʌpuyar bai.i* he is a man with a large family. *ʊɛ ha·lɛ sʌpuyar bar* in their house there are many family members. (Cp. Sh. *sʊpi.ar, sʌpi.ar*, family of many dependent non-working members).

1. *sər* y inundation, flood, accumulated water, water spread out over flooded ground, IUB H. *jhil, bʌnd pani*. — *ts.hil dufʌltila sər mʌnila* the water has burst out and there has been flood. *ʊɛ uyon moltʌnɛ sər ortimi* it made them all pour out a flood of blood. 172.9. *gʌmuʊnʊlo dɛ·l sər mai.i bilʊm* oil used to form a lake at the bottom. 272.3.

   (Cp. Sh. *sər* flood (as from overflowing river), standing water).

2. *sər -o* x hare, IUB H. *xərgoš*.
3. *sər -o* x thread, worsted, yarn, IUB. H. *dhaga*. — *čuk ɛtʌs sər* sewing thread. *jʊra·lɛ sər* worsted. *šɛ·i sər* woollen yarn. *gʊpʌsɛ sər* cotton yarn. *dʌγu·i sər* raw thread (i.e. not properly twisted). *sər pfər ɛtʌs* to twist thread. *sər dʌγʌnʊmʌn bi* the thread is thick.

sər ɛtʌs v. *tsər ɛtʌs* to tear.

sərə carrying loads by instalments — *sərə bʌldʌŋ ɛčai.i*. 162.24.
sərə bʌldʌŋ ortai.i. 162.25. He is making them carry the loads, *or*,

000 having them carried, by instalments first to one point and then on to another point, Prs. *dukrš*, *sɛkrš*.

(*ʊčai.i* . . . he makes (his men) carry them).

sərʌg v. *tsərʌg*.

sərʌt'ʊn the Zodiacal month of Saratān (the sign of the Crab), commencing 21st June. 326.1.

sərbər ɛtʌs to castrate (an ox). — *sərbər ɛtum* castrated.

sərdʊr leader, commander (of guards etc). — *rʊčikuyɛṭum sərdʊrər* to the Commander of the Guards. 36.22. *hʊlʌṭɛ sərdʊr no* making them commanders of the army. 344.3. Prs.

sərhʌd y frontier.

sərik -išo, (*-uyʌnts*), x bolt of door (a bar of wood with a crosspiece (*γʊn*) through which a peg (*inɛkʊs*) drops into it). — *sərik dʊgu.ʌs* (or, *ɛtʌs*) to close, fasten, bolt. *sərik dʊnʌs* to open, undo, bolt. *sərik nɛ guča bom* bolting (the door) she had gone to sleep, H. *kʊnda lʌgʊkʌr*. 40.7.

sərikʊs, pl. *sərikuyʌnts*, x bolt, or lock, of door. — *gʊsɛ sərikʊs sɪqa bi* this lock is open.

(Cp. Sh. *s'ərikʊs* door-bolt).

*-*sərk*, *-išo*, *-ʊts* x udder, H. *thʌn*, *širdʊn*. — *belisɛ*, *bu.ʊ isərk* sheep's, cow's, udder.

sərk x, section, division, of vegetable plot. *šɛni.ɛ sərk*.

sərkʊr the British Indian Government. 346.1, ff. Prs.

1. *sərkʊri* y tithe paid to the Imām (the Agha Khan). Prs.

2. *sərkʊri* pertaining to the British Indian Government. 240.15. Prs.

1. *-*sərkʌs*, *-*sərš-*, *-*sərkič-* to strike one thing on another, bring down

(sword) on, to smite with. — *sʌnduqʌʃe dʌn isərk* bring down a stone on the box (to break it open). 24.18. *dodoʷʌʃe čur isˈərkimi* he brought down the knife on his throat (i.e. proceeded to cut his throat). 42.3. Cp. 44.19. *iʷtɛ tiʷli.ɛʃe gʌŋi isərkumʌn* they chopped at the walnut tree with an axɜ. 200.5. *γʌtenč, gʌči, dərooγo, tər, isərkimi* he smote with a sword, withe, stick, whip. *tsəriše uʷlo haʷlər nʌlˈa utis isəršaʷn* they bring down, put down, their feet simultaneously inside the threshold in the house. 304.17.

N. *ušʌkičæŋ isərkʌs* to swim with overhand stroke.

N. *kinɛ hilɛsɛ yʌtɛsɛ xʌt isərkʌm* I smacked this boy on the head. Cp. 80.1, 150.8, 200.12,13, 204.12.

2. *-*sərkʌs*, *-*sərš*-, IUB *-*sərkič*-.

a. To leave, put down, let in, permit, IUB H. *čhoγdeʷna*. — *oʷdi isərkʌs, oʷdi usərkʌs bila* the "odi" milk is to be left, put down. 322.3. *uʷlo aiyˈʌsəršaʷna?* won't you let me in? 160.4. *uʷlo oʷsərk* don't let them in. *buˈaʷ isk iʷrumər mʌmu eʷsərši bi* its calf having died the cow doesn't yield (let go) milk. QUB.

b. To divorce (a women), H. *ṭʌlaʷq deʷna*. — *hiʷɛ yuʷɛ mosˈərkimi* the man divorced his wife.

sərkɛ.

1. Visible, H. *nʌzaʷra*. — *Šahzaʷda Bahraʷm puʷra iʷkər sərkɛ etimi* Š. B. made himself visible, showed himself, entirely. 30.21. *sərkɛ baiʷi* he is visible, he appears. *sərkɛ manumʌn* they became visible, showed themselves. 122.11.

2. Point of view, place of observation. — *sərkɛ bʌldi* a room made upon a roof from which a view is obtained. *hʌn dišʌnʊlo sərkɛtsɛ hʊrʊ·čʌmʌn* they sat down at a point of view (?) in a certain place. 260.5. *tʌ·ŋɛ s'ərke.ʊlo 'ɛŋərčʌ·n* they play music on the outer open roof of the palace. 328.4. 000

sərmʊts -iŋ y big bag of prepared skin (holds 80 lbs of grain and upwards). Sh. *jʌtai.i*, Sh.? *khʌlaḍu*. — *ʌ·lto iski sərmʊtsiŋ kʌni kɛ bʌterɪŋ* two or three bags of parched grain and dried apricots. 306.22. *sərmʊtsʊlo uti bʌ·n* they fill (the grain) into the bag. 332.6. Cp. 332.2 ff.

1. *sərp'a* y pl. robe of honour, H. *xillʌt*. — *sərpa . . . dʊsʊ·in* bring the robe of honour. 44.25.

2. *sərpa -mʊts* x a section of cultivated land. Prs. [1]

sərpo N., pl. *sərpʊmʊts* x horse-shoe. (Cp. Sh. *sa·rpo*, horse-shoe, and Hz. Bu. *sʌp*).

sʌsʌn a little, a small quantity. — *s'ʌsʌn dɛl* a little oil.

sʌsʌŋ -ɛčiŋ y buttressing wall. 278.5.

sʌt -ɛŋ y a piece of ground on which wool is cleaned, H. *jɪs zami·nmē pašm sʌ·f kʌrte haī*. — *ja bušʌi.i sʌt stʌ·n* they have made my land into a "sat", i.e. they have destroyed it, ruined it. QUB.

sʌfɛš stʌs to arrange, put in order, repair (house, table etc.), Prs. *ʌra·stʌn*.

sʌtrʌnj -išo x woven cotton carpet, H. *dʌrri*. (Cp. Punj. and Sh. *sʌtrʌnji*).

sʌwa·b y merit, good desert. 312.17. Ar. Prs.

sʌwa·l -iŋ y question. — *s.ʌwa·l stʌs* to ask a question. 232.2. Ar. Prs.

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[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

000 *ʃʌʒa* y punishment. — *inɛr itɛ gʌnɛ ʃʌʒa ičhi·ʌm* on that account I punished him. Prs.

sai.rt v. *sɛ·it.*

sail -iŋ y tour, walk, outing; inspection. — *gu·kɛ bʌʃɛŋɛ sail 'ɛti* make the round of these gardens. 10.13, *sailər du·simi* he went out for a walk. 10.17 *sailər itsu·ʌm* they had taken hin for a walk. 70.17. *sail ɛtʌʃ* to inspect. EOL. *sail* *-*ʌ'ʌʃ* to show v.t. EOL. Ar. Prs.

saurin v. s.v. *sorriŋ.*

sau.u v. *sa·o.*

601 *se, se.i, sɛ* form of address used by husband to his wife, and by women to each other. — *muyərɛ sɛnimi:* "*se jʌma·ʌt*" her husband said: "O wife". 34.9. *se.i Lʌŋa Bru·mo* O, L. B. (said by husband). 122.24. *le a.u,* [illegible] O father, O mother (said by daughter). 280.12. *sɛ mʌma* O mother (said by son). 264.11.

This use of the term by a (male?) child to his mother was said to be not good form.

The term is used by the supernatural *Širibərai BʌγərthʌM* to his hostess: "*se ma·ma*", 212.4, and by the saint *Ba·ba Ghwundi* to his unrelated young protegée: "*sɛ dʌsin*", 282.5. Such personages apparently do not feel themselves bound by the ordinary rules.

000 *se·rt, sai.rt, sai.rd, -ərɔ* hm Saiyid. — *tʌlo sɛ·itərɯ.ɛ mʌzʌxiŋ* seven Saiyids graves. 294.1. Ar. Prs.

1. *sɛ·r* "seer", 2 lbs. avoirdupois weight. — *hik sɛ·r* one seer. H.

2. *sɛ·r, sɛr,* y magic. — *da sɛ·r ja·du ɛčai.i* then he works enchantment and magic. 172.18. Cp. 174.2. Ar. (*sɛhr*).

000 *sel* -*miŋ* y needle, pin; sting of insect; N. centre pin of millstone. — *čuʷkɛ sel* needle for embroidery etc. *iʷl apim sel* eye-less needle i.e. pin. *Imperɛ sel* a wasp's sting.
iʷlɛ sel the needle. 160.16.

sʲenʌs, sʲe.i-, sey-, sai-, Impv. *sen*, Ppa. *nosen, nose*. This verb takes the negative prefix *o-*.

1. To say. — *tsʌnɛ sen* say truly, speak the truth. 58.30. *bɛ senʌs* to say "no", to refuse. 26.1, 370.8.

The words spoken may either precede or follow the part of *senʌs* on which they depend. When they follow it, the verb is frequently again repeated after them: "*yʌṭɛ čərolo korolo baʷn*" *senumʌn* "they are up in a cave in the cliff" they said. 248.14. *iʷnɛ dʌsinɛ senomo:* "*ja kuʷlto rʌk api, besɛ kɛ* . . . the girl said: "I have no appetite today because . . . 30.2. *Šahr i Baʷnu.ɛ senomo:* "*ja oyərʌn bai.i, iʷner bɛ seyʌm?*" *senomo* Š. B. said: "I have a husband: what am I to say to him?" she said. 24.12.

Special usages:

a. The Present 3rd. pl., *se.ibaʷn*, is constantly used in recounting history, stories etc., not told from the personal knowledge of the speaker: they say, it is said, people say, Fr. "on dit":
Awal Hunzo Baltitolo Tʌpki.ents abaʷd bʌm, se.ibaʷn originally the T. were established in Baltit in Hunza, they say: it is said that originally . . . 238.1.

It occurs constantly thus in the course of the same text.

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b. The Ppa., *nɔsen*, *nɔsɛ* having said, saying, is commonly used at the end of a quotation, especially where the quotation is introduced by a verb other than *sɛnʌs* or *-ʌsʌs*. *doγɔrɔsumi*: "*Šahr i Šaskine gʌn mene he.ibɔna?*" *nɔsen* he asked: "does anyone know the road to S. S.?" 4.3, 20.15, 28.5, 120.1. *padša sʌmba etimi besʌn γonikrš dɔrɔwʌn etɔmʌn nɔsɛ* the King thought to himself: "What evil action have we done?" 96.17.

nɔsen alone is also used in the sense of saying to oneself, thinking (to oneself).

čiše xa sokečʌm nɔsen, xʌ nɔmuɔl muyaɔlmuɔyo gʌli bim, se.ibɔn they say that, saying to herself: "I'll go down the ladder" she fell down (*lit.* she falling) and her ribs were broken. 184.7.

2. To say to (someone), to tell (someone). The person addressed is usually put in the dative.

imimɔr senimi: "*je . . . nečʌm*" he said to his mother: "I shall go . . ." 264.17. *Munolom Daɔdu.e yuɔsmɔr senimi* M. D. said to his wife . . . 182.7.

The suffix *-ʌle* may be used instead of the dative.

gute bɔr menʌle oɔsʌn don't tell this matter to anyone. 60.8. Cp. 118.20.

The locative in *-ulo* occurs twice: *menulo oɔsʌn* don't tell it to anyone. 118.17,21.

Perhaps it is a corruption of *menʌle* due to the following long *oɔ*. In the same passage we have the dative and *-ʌle* with *sɛnʌs*, and the equivalent *čʌγa etʌs*.

We find also: 000
mukarɛŋɛ senumo she said to herself. 204.13. Cp. 373.3.
To call, name, to call s.o. (dat.) s.t. (acc.).
Waxi baʷšaʈɛ kampiʷr mapɛr jat gusmur seibaʷn in the Wakhi language they call an old woman "*kampiʷr*". 286.16. *aqtaš Turki.uʷlo burum danər se.ibaʷn* in Turki they call a white stone "*aqtaš*". 290.1. Cp. 292.12.

In this case the infinitive form *senas* is used like a past participle: called, named, by name. *Bahraʷm senas baʷdša bam* there was a king called Bahram. 2.1. *hin Gəriʷb senasane iʷ Puʷno senasan . . . bam* there was a man called *Puʷno*, the son of a man called *Gəriʷb*. 208.8. Cp. 204.1, 214.1, 250.1.

4. To read. N. — *krtaʷp senas ulaʷya ba* I am able to read the book.

Forms.

The following are some references to recorded forms: —

Fut.	sg. 1.		*seʷyam*. 62.17, 368.3 etc.
		3. m.	*se.imi*. 120.10.
Pres.	sg. 1.		*seʷya ba*. 58.30, 82.21, 162.12.
		2.	*se.iba*. 26.9, 80.19, 162.21.
		3. m.	*se.ibai.i*. 98.1 et passim; f. *se.ibo*. 160.23 et passim.
		x	*se.ibi*. 96.18.
	pl. 1.		*seʷya baʷn*. 292.12.
		3.	*se.ibaʷn*. 292.2 et passim.

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000 Impf. pl. 3. *se.ibʌm.* 238.7.
Pret. sg. 1. *senʌm.* 16.12.
3. m. *senimi.* 106.15 et passim; f. *senʊmo* 176.28, 268.6 et passim.
pl. 3. h. *senumʌn.* 248.7 et passim.
3. x. *senimi.ɛ.* 12.17.
Perf. sg. 1. *sena ba* neg. 370.8; *senabʌtɛ* (*sena ba* + *ʌtɛ?*) when I have said, on my saying; 168.23.
3. m. *senai.i* 56.13, 58.1, 154.12.
Plup. sg. 3. m. *senʌm.* 68.19, 218.10.
Impv. sg. 2. *sen.* 26.9.
pl. 2. *senin.* 154.12.

-š forms; *senš* and *senč.*

ɛtɛ bər senč amˈʊmai.imo she will be unable to say this. 168.9. Cp. 368.4.

Pres. Pc. *se.imɛ.* 212.12, 248.6, 310.12, 332.5.
saimʌtɛ (*se.imɛ* + *ʌtɛ?*) while saying, in the act of saying. Nz.

Past Pc. Act. *nʊsɛn* and *nʊsɛ:* passim.

Static Pc. *senʊm.*
kinɛ senʊm itɛ tsʌn bila the thing said by him is true. 82.18. Cp. 80.24, 370.7,8.
senʊmɛ ka on his saying (this), when he said (this). 140.4.

Cases occur where *senʌm* may be a 2nd. sg. form of the Static Pc. Act.:
uˈʒɛ senʌm (or, *senʊm*) *jiwʌn nɛ* according to what you said.

Infin. *senas*.

000 *gutɛ senas pfuʷt deyɛlimi* the div heard this saying, speech. 176.7.

The dative: *senasər* is common: *gutɛ senasər Š. Bahraʷm buʷt xoš imanimi* On their saying this S. B. was greatly pleased. 30.6. Cp. 240.6, 262.16, 373.17.

senas called, named. V. section 3 above.

The *senas* in 368.5 and 368.11 is probably due to a confusion of idiom.

Negative forms:

Pres. sg. 1. *osaiya ba*. 118.20.

Perf. sg. 1. *osɛna ba*. 370.8.

Impv. sg. 2. *osan*. 60.7, 118.17.

sɛtambər September. 336.1. Eng.

si.aʷi y ink. — *farsi si.aʷi* Persian ink. *angrezi si.aʷi* European ink. Prs.

si.at good health. — *si.at salaʷmat* safe and sound. 374.3. Ar. Prs. (*ṣrḥḥat*).

sɪfat y merit, virtue, good qualities. — *uŋɛ sɪfat ɛčo* she will sing your praises. 168.10. *kiʷnɛ sɪfat maʷr ɛʷčam* I shall tell you this (infant's) virtues. 92.1. Ar. Prs.

sigareṭ N. *-ršo* x cigarette. Eng.

sɪkiʷm -iŋ, -ičiŋ, N. *-ičaŋ*, y silk (fabric). — *sɪkiʷmɛ* silken, silk (adj.).

(Cp. Sh. *s'ɪkim, sɪkiʷm*, Kho. *ɪskiʷm*).

[601] *silažin*, pl. *silažiyo*, hf female relation, related women-folk. — *mi silažin bo* she is a relation of ours. *mi silažiyo baʷn* (these women) are related to us.

1> *siʷm* x wire, spiral wire spring. — *sitaʷrɛ siʷm* guitar wire. *baṣɛ siʷm* wire cable (of bridge) Prs.

siʷnč, siʷnj, -ko x (roof) beam, rafter. Pers. *šartiʷr*. — *han siʷnčan hoʷl nɛ pfaʷš bim* the end of a rafter was sticking out. 174 8,9.

(Cp. perhaps Kho. *sanj* and *sanjiʷr*).

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1 [see supplement to corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p.545-Analyst]

sinda -miŋ y river. — *sinda hʊma* the river ford. 112.7. *sinda hʊma . . . ivte kivte mʌnumʌn* they crossed backwards and forwards over the ford in the river. 114.26. *kʌyulo sinda ivltse* on the strand at the edge of the river. 206.13. Cp. 176.1,7 000

sinḍ'ʌbʌl, QUB *sindʌw'ʌvl* hm agent who represents bride at wedding; ditto for bridegroom, H. *wʌkivl*. — *hir yʌkʌlʊm hin, dʌsin muyʌkʌlʊm hin jʌvmʌn sinḍ'ʌbʌl do.ičʌvn* they put up one relation on behalf of the bridegroom and one on behalf of the bride (as) agent(s). 302.16. 585

sivndiš, pl. *sivndʌvnts*, x goose.

sivnge (-*e*), *-tiŋ*, *-mʊts* x dragon, monster, wild animal, lion, Prs. *Ažduha*. Also applied to a fearless child. — *sivnge* *-*ʌs* "lion-hearted", very brave, dauntless. *A. K. pailwʌvn bʌm sivnge ʌvs bim* A. K. was a hero, he was lion-hearted. 110.23. (*bim* attracted into the category of *sivnge* or *ʌvs*). *hʌn siŋ'ʌvn duvsimi ivse ivk Gʌvn Sivnge* a monster (demon) came out, its name was G. S. 176.20. Cp. 176.11. 000

(The word occurs in the *Krsər* story and probably corresponds to Sengye in Dr. A. H. Francke's Ladakhi version of the tale, which he refers to the Sanskrit *simha*, lion. Cp. Tibetan *senge*, Balti *singe*, lion, brave).

sipa.i -tiŋ hm sepoy, Indian infantry soldier. Prs. H.

sɪq -vts, -ʌnts, N. *-ʌivnts* x arrow-head (N. blunt for use in games).

(Cp. *lim* with which in H. it is synonymous).

sɪq'a open. — *hinai uyʊvn sɪka bi'sʌm' ivka tʌm ʌti* the doors are all open,

shut them Nz. *hiŋ sɪka ɛtimi* he opened the door. 54.6, 64.5. *hʌn hiŋʌn sɪka manimi* a door opened. 180.8. OOO

1. *sɪr* y secret. — *gutɛ sɪr* this secret. 376.2, Ar. Prs.
2. *sir*, *sɪr* y. Recorded only in the expression *sirɛ ka* "possessing supernatural or magical powers" applied to a man.

   It was explained by H. *karamʌtwala*, *γaribana*.

   inɛ sirɛ ka bʌm he was with supernatural powers, i.e. he possessed supernatural powers. 204.2,11, 220.3. 292.5. *ar sɪr mʌn'ila* I have received supernatural aid, power. QUB.

   (Probably the same word as 2. *sɛr*).

sɪrf only. 384.7. Ar. Prs.

sɪrgan leading below, leading down, downwards.

sɪrka y vinegar. Prs.

sis h sg. and pl. person, man; people, folk. Usually plural; the singular being as a rule represented by *sisʌn*. The pl. has sometimes the *-ik* suffix: *sisik*. — *hir sis bʌmʌn uyon* all the male persons present. 240.2 ff. *itɛ wʌxtulo sis ʌr umʌnumʌn* at that time the people were afraid. 292.7. *itɛ mʌzər yər sisɛ iyeršʌm* formerly people used to see the grave. 224.7. *sis uyon uyumo hakičʌŋər . . . duumʌn* all the people returned (*lit.* came) to their houses. 202.2. *uɛ sisər osimi* he said to those people. 294.11. *hir sis birʌnčɛ ʌrʌkičiŋ d'iusin* the men folk extracting (*or*, bringing out) mulberry spirit. 330.3. *mʌtʌnom hin sisʌnɛ . . . Bozur Jʌmhur ɛsʌljʌm* from a distance a man was looking at B. J. 92.10. *hin sisʌnɛ itsu* the

000 tracks of a man. 6.3. *hin sisʌnɛ bʌp* a tax of one human being. 280.5. Cp. 74.26, 76.1. *menen kɛ sisʌn ʌpʌm* there was no one. 4.18. *iʷnɛ sisɛ iʷskil ja ɛʷitsiš xa* so long as I do not see that person's face. 4.18. *thʌmɛ ɛʷʊm sis* the man sent by the Mir. 240.5. *iʷnɛ sis nimi Buzʊr Jʌmhuʷr ɛpʌčʊr* the man went to B. J. 76.2. *uyuʷm sis bo* she is a woman of consideration, she is a personage. *hikʊm . . . sisik paida mɛ.imʌn* a party of people . . . will make their appearance. 188.3.

Cp. *hikʊm sis* a body of men. 240.3.

altʌn sisik. } two persons.
altʌn sis. 24.6. }

Cp. 206.9.

sisiʷnʊm clear (of water); slight, slender. — *sisiʷnʊm tsʰil* clear water. *sisiʷnʊm biɛnʊm gʊsʌn bo* she is a thin slender woman. QUB. (Cp. **-ʌsisiʷnʌs*, and Sh. *ʌrsiʷno waiɛi*, clear water).

ʌrtaʷr -iŋ y stringed musical instrument, guitar. 180.10. Prs.

**-sk -ʊmʊts* x young (of animals), young one. — *buʷš iʷsk* kitten. *qʊrqaʷmʊtsɛ iskʌn*, *iskʊmʊts* a chicken, chickens. *hiʷšmahiʷšɛ iʷsk* buffalo calf. *uʷfɛ iʷsk*, pl. *ufʌnts uʷskʊmʊts* young of camel. (*bɛlisɛ*) *aʷlta iʷskʊmʊts biʷɛ* there are two young ones (lambs). 64.16.

The word is not ordinarily used of the young of human beings, but from Nz. I recorded the forms: *ja ask*, *un gusk* and *mʊsk*(*ʊmʊts*) referring to human children. It is so used jokingly.

**-skiʷl -iŋ* y face. — *ma mʌskʰilʊlo rʌŋ api* there is no colour in your face(s). 90.11. *inɛ thʌmɛ iʷskilʊr hʌn rʌšʌn lʌm manimi* a light flashed in the

000 Tham's face. 24.3. *wa·lto iski·liŋ* four-faced, four-sided, square. *wa·lto iskiliŋʌn dʌn* a four-faced stone, said of a person who tries to please everyone, toadies to rajahs, etc.

(Cp. *-škil*, which is the N. form).

so·çi, sovçi N. *-mots* female.

(Cp. Sh. *sö·çi*, female).

sod'ʌgər -tiŋ, -išo; N. *soda·gər -išo* (hm) merchant, trader, shopkeeper.

(Sh. and Kho. both play phonetically with the Persian word: Sh. *so·dʌg'ər*, Kho. *saudʌg'a·r*). Prs.

sod'ʌger'i y trading, trade. — *sod'ʌgəri ɛtʌs* to trade, traffic. Prs.

*-*so·γot -iŋ*.

1. The side of the body under the arm; space inside the breast of choga; bosom, H. *bʌγʌl*.

   Principally recorded in the locative form: *-so·γoči* (= *-so·γot* + *tsi*, or *či*).

   gosɛ jʌkunɛ go·ko mɛnɛ ditsun uŋ gosoγotər (or, *gosoγoči*) *gowɛ·ši ba·n?* who has brought this donkey-foal and put it at your side? 118.15. *go·ko . . . isoγoči yænimi* he took the donkey-foal under his arm (inside his choga). 118.27. *čam'a musoγočim xa wʌli bi* the brooch has fallen down from her side inside her clothes. 168.5. Cp. 92.10, 168.3,4.

2. Pocket (probably because articles may be carried inside the breast of the choga, old fashioned in this sense).

so·kʌs, sokič-, Impv. *so·k*, to come down, descend; dismount. — *çištsum ya·rɛ so·kimi* he came down from the ladder. *çišɛ xa sokɛčʌm* I shall go down the ladder. 184.7. *hʌγortsum so·kimi* he

dismounted from the horse. 6.17. *hɔrəltə čutowan ... baḍaliʿkɔr sɔʿkimi* a drop of rain came down into the bowl. 108.5. Cp. 24.5, 108.16. (Cp. *dosoʿkas*). 000

sɔm IUB smoke-hole, Prs. *suraʿx i duʿdkaš*.

(Cp. Sh. *sɔmo*, smoke-hole. Cp. also Bu. *sam*. QUB did not admit this form).

sɔmo, pl. *sɔmamots, sɔmatiŋ*, h friend. 358.13. N. gives *sɔmo* hm, and *sɔmi -mots* hf. — *sɔmo-ʃɔγulo* pl. friends and acquaintance.

(Cp. Sh. *sɔmo*, friend, of which the feminine form would naturally be *sɔmi*).

sɔrpaṭ a kind of herb with hollow stalks. — *sɔrpaṭe pfstiŋ nasɔwaʿrɔr sčan* they use the ashes of s. as snuff. QUB. *sɔrpaṭ yaʿrum* etc. Prov. 17. Saying, "I shall get something from under the s.", you get rid of what is in your possession.

sɔriŋ, sauriŋ EOL y pl. rations. QUB gives: — *saurin* y pl. a tax of 2 chuqs of grain formerly imposed on the Nagaris to support the Mahraja[1] of Kashmir's force at Chaprot. *saurin nuʿγun čhaltulo ɔruṭɔman* giving the troops food supplies they posted them in Chalt.

sɔsan, pl. *sɔsaiyo*, x iris (plant).

(Cp. Kho. *sausan*). Prs. (*suʿsan*).

sɔzaʿk McK and GR gonorrhœa. Prs.

-sqa on (one's) back. — *asqa ba ki* if I am lying on my back. 218.9. *asqa mana ba* I have fallen back. *isqa guča baiʿi* he is lying (has lain) on his back. *iʿsqa walas* to fall on one's back.

subaš what is easy, propitious, favour-

[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

able; the opposite of *abał*. — *mavmər abałan subałan dis ki* . . . if any difficulty or facility comes on you . . . 284.10. Here *subałan* seems to be introduced only to make a jingle. (Sh. *sobał*). 000

suçemo honest, of good character. — *sućemo.an bai, γin apai* he is an honest man, he is not a thief.

(Sh. *suçemo*. Cp. Sh., Bu. *açemo*).

suvd v. *suvć*.

*-*suvi -mots* x umbilical cord, navel. — *isuvi čuruk ećan* they cut (the infant's) umbilical cord.

suvjo pure, sacred, holy, H. *pavk*. Only recorded in *suvjo pfuvnər* (-*iŋ*) primula.

(Sh. *suvjo* + *pfuvnər*, flower).

sukʼwin, pl. *sukʼwyo*, hmf kinsman, blood-relation (descended from a common ancestor), "near relation such as cousin etc. who inherits when there is no direct heir". — *khwf sukwin bai.i* he is a close relation. *xamaličiŋ sukwyo dotsen daŋ ećen* fetching (female) relations they make them bake bread. 300.4. Cp. 312.19, 314.7. 601

(Variant: *sukwin*. Cp. Sh. *sukwn*, near relation, not including relation by marriage.

Cp. also the Bu. *javn* which is more inclusive than *sukwin*)

solumə, solamʼə wrestling. — *solumə dumas* to wrestle. 106.8, 174.17, 198.9. *ećtaliki solamʼə dumuman* the two of them wrestled. 198.5. Cp. 218.5. 000

(Cp. Sh. *samalə, samla lamovki*, to wrestle).

sum female, (of all (domestic?) animals, but not of human beings. The term *gus* is however more commonly used).

sumən male (corresponding to *sum*, and usually replaced by *hir*). — *sʼumən*

000 *biva, som'ʌnʌn bi?* || *gusʌn biva, hirʌn bi?* (of, say, lambs) is it a female or a male? *somišu.ik bivena, somʌnik bivn?* Are they females or males?

somfʌlikṭ̌, somphʌlikṭ̌, pl. *-ki.sats.*

1. Very(?) young female (kid, lamb).
2. Derogatory term for effeminate man.

somphʌlikṭ̌ momoši female lamb.

ma mulkolo (harle) sompfʌlikṭ̌e pfʌl bali·la in your country (house) the seed of femininity has made its appearance, H. *mardagi ka turm paida hoyi.a hai*, i.e. the men are all effeminate, emasculate. QUB.

(This and *som* were originally recorded by me with *ts-*, but this was said by QUB to be wrong).

**-surmʌl -ṭšo* x tail. — *γeniše isurmʌl* its golden tail. 134.5, 136.4, 138.23. Cp. 186.8.

som sʌŋ (**-skin*) happy-faced, of smiling countenance. Prs. *xandaru.*

sop'ʌndor x sg. & pl. Syrian Rue. Prs. *sipand.* The plant is burnt for the sake of its smoke. V. *thormʌl.* (Cp. Sh. *ispandor*). —

Supʌl error for *sopʌl* q.v.

supot y sg. & pl., d.pl. *-iŋ*, horse-dung.

surnaiči, surnaiči, -mots hm piper, "dambu"-player.

(Cp. Paht. *surnači*, Kho. *surnači, surnaiči*). Prs.

surʌt -iŋ y appearance (of person), countenance, face, likeness. — *ivne sisi surʌt šu.a bila* this man's appearance is good, he is nice looking. *beški surʌtʌn bila?* what does it look like? *surʌt di.usʌs* to take a photograph (of a person). *ivnmu surʌtʌtʌ ašiq mʌnuṡʌm* he had fallen in love with the look of her,

or with her face(?). 14.7. *pipuw jakuw suwat bile* the infant has the appearance of a donkey, *or* a donkey's face. 102.7 ff. *ćuc yelinlo ćuc suwat yeićirlo* his likeness, *or* action, appears in the tank. 26[illegible].18. Cp. 2.8, 24.9, 30.18, 116.2, 196.9,18, 262.7, 264.2. *ćilo sur'at* khaki-coloured. EOL. *guh ankur burum sur'at bile* this flower is of a white colour. EOL. Ar. Pus.

suratćan N. pl. *-ćarye* pretty.

(Cp. Tibetan and Balti adj. suffix *-ćan*).

suwmanas, suwmanas, sumanā(y) to begin, commence work, be engaged on.

Takes the negative prefix *a-*.

'asuwman don't begin. *tale ćuwumo suwmaiyam* I shall begin after seven days, in a week. *wlo ćuc selanc ka sumai.i ćeli.i* inside he (the goldsmith) is engaged on, or beginning on (making) a needle. 160.14. *fat ćimi tesle, suc ka 'asuwmanimi* he left it as it was, and did not begin working on it. 166.9. (*ćhag dufaltimi*) *suc ka asuwman* (the gun has burst), don't touch it(?), don't meddle with it (?)

(Glossed: H. *mat ćhero*. *ćhuna* in H. = to irritate, trouble, play a musical instrument; in Punj. = to worry, vex, touch, start a subject of conversation).

suruy y mine (blasting). - *suruy mili.uy* blasting-powder. H.

sus, sus, susi slack, idle, unconscious. — *darg sus imanimi* he went unconscious for a little. 182.12. Cp. 20.20, 108.21. Pus.

**-suwsu*, pl. **-a'wuwgu*, x elbow.

sur', suwl y gain, profit, benefit, advantage.

— *swī bila, swī ma.ɹmi* there is, there will be, profit, advantage etc. Prs. ooo

swyas, swī-, Impv. *su* to bring, fetch, get (only of y objects). — *šarim čuq gwr hisir gwr swīčam* I'll bring you 10 measures of wheat every month. 60.17. *kwi hasan ne swīu haiyam?* how was I to bring (get) vegetables? 68.20.

Conditional: *swīčam* ite. 128.22.

Pret. sg. 1, *swyam*.

(*hilay*) *swmo mwimo harlw* she brought the book to her home. 46.3. *ɣum kuk* (y pl.) *belafs swmas?* how else did you get these things. 60.18. *kuk* (y pl.) *ɣeu su.'u?* why have you brought these things? 170.3. *imow su.ai* he has become angry, he is angry. *da hi ɣalil su* bring more wood. *giriz čap su* bring ibex meat. 104.8. *xaberiq swyas* news-bringer, spy, informer. Cp. 72.7,8, 206.6, 232.9.

(Corresponds in every way to *dasuyas* which occurs more frequently in the texts. *swyas* is not used in the negative).

š and š̄

šadi, šadi -mets x monkey. Prs.

šagird, -ero, -ako, h pupil. Prs.

šahin, pl. *šahiyo* x kind of black-eyed hawk. 356.6. Prs.

šam x evening (sunset to bedtime). — *šam ɣapik* evening meal. *šamum šam manimi* it has become evening twilight, (evening) dusk. *šam se* till evening. 302.10. *šqmaw* in the evening. 312.19. Prs.

šamal included. 380.11. Ar. Prs.

šammo pertaining to evening. — *šammo ɣapik* evening meal.

1. *ʃa.o ɪtʌs* (*-ʌtʌsɣ) v.t. to wash. — *gut gurin ʃa.o eti* wash your feet and hands. 174.2. *ut urin ʃawečɜr nimʌn* they went off to wash their feet and hands (a euphemism for: "for purposes of nature"). 118.8. 000
2. *ʃa.o* *-*ʌtʌs* to go mad, be mad. Given as a parallel to *-*tsi bʌɣʌltɪʌs* to go mad: *ʃa.o gotʌs, ʃa.o otʌs, ʃa.o eveči, ʃa.o ɪtimi. ʃavo gočila* you are mad.

The expression is transitive, with the sufferer as object. Cp. § 261. ii.

ʃapos, ʃapos, pl. *ʃaposo* x quilt, big mattress, H. *rizai*, Prs. *lihaf*. 308.5. (Cp. Sh. *ʃapos* quilt). Prs. (*ʃabpoš*).

ʃaɣ ɪtʌs (*-ʌtʌsɣ) to stroke, rub down, rub with the hand, wipe. — *hʌɣɜr ʃaɣ ɪtʌs* to stroke a horse. (Cp. 2. *ʃʌq*).

ʃaɣ ʃaɣ sound of rubbing, or, friction. — *ʃaɣ ʃaɣ diusʌs* to pull something out of a tight receptacle with a noise of friction. 138.24.

(Probably the same word as *ʃaɣ* and 2. *ʃʌq*. Cp. Sh. *ʃak thoiki* to pull a thing out where there is friction, e.g. a thread from under the lid of a box).

1. *ʃaɣ, ʃahr -iɣ* y city. 26.1, 96.20. Prs.
2. *ʃaɣ* y mercy, forgiveness; good, H. Ar. *raḥm*, Prs. *niki*. — *Siɣi imo yuɣɜr ʃaɣ aiyitai* Sing has shown no mercy to his sons. 264.20. *aɣ ʃaɣ i* have mercy on me. *goɣ ʃaɣ ɪtʌm* I forgave thee. *ʃaɣɜr khʌčaɣ* evil in return for good.
3. *ʃaɣ ɪtʌs* to roll out (dough). — *yuɣi xʌmʌli ʃar ni dawʌfi biʃʌmɜr ini ɪltʌlai bai.i* when his wife has rolled out the "khamali" dough and

000 put it on the griddle, he turns it. 306.8.

(For the series *ʃʌv, ʃʌr, ʃiv* vide BSOS VIII, p. 632).

šʌvuq N. -iŋ y noose. V. *šok.*

ʃʌwetʌs v. 1. *ʃʌ.o etʌs.*

šʌb'ʌq -*ičiŋ*, N. -*ičʌŋ*, y small plait, braid, of hair. — *šʌbʌkičʌŋ etuba* you have plaited your hair.

šʌb'ʌrʌn, š'ʌbʌrɪn, -*iŋ*, y polo-ground. — *šʌbərɪne gondər* the low wall round a polo-ground. *šʌb'ʌrinər dun* they coming to the polo-ground. 316.2,6,13. Cp. 386.17. (Cp. Sh. *šəwʌrɪn*).

šʌbʌš, šabaš bravo! (expression of applause or approval). — *thʌm iner šʌbʌš etimi* the Mir applauded him. *le.i Rumi hiv šʌbʌš mʌniʃ* O man of Rum, bravo to you! 44.16. *šʌbʌš av dimi, ov juči* I was applauded, they will be applauded. *padšahantiŋe šabaš juʌs ečʌm* I shall cause kings to applaud (you) (*lit.* I shall make come the applause of kings). 98.5. Prs.

šʌb'irkum confused, perturbed. — *šʌb'irkum dumʌn* they became confused, H. *šərgərdan hogave.* QUB. *šʌb'irkum ne deli* beat him well. QUB. *šʌb'irkum etʌs* to fight violently(?), furiously(?), H. *zorse lʌrna.* QUB.

ʃʌḍ'ʌq galled, chafed, bruised, worn away. — *uw'ʌldʌšo ʃʌdʌq mʌnimi.ʌn* their backs became galled (swollen and chafed). 276.7. *gotsilər tike pfon dein, ts.hil etumʌn ke pfon ʃʌḍʌq eči* when they have put up an earth bank for the water-channel, when they turn on the water it softens and wears it away. QUB. *mʌltʌš duyin ʃʌḍʌq mʌnimi* the butter melting has become soft and bruised. QUB

000 *hʌyʊre ixat ʂʌḍʌq eti bi* the horse has chafed its mouth. QUB.

ʿʌdər, ʂʌdur, -šo, išo, hm. servant, retainer, follower. — *ivmo šʌdərišʊr se.ibai.i* he says to his servants. 368.12. *šʌdəršu.ər* for the followers. 340.14. *tsilʊm šʌdəršo* (-u) minor retainers, servants. 336.4, 340.6. Hz. *ʂʌdərbʌvk*, N. *šʌdərbʌq* retainers (Cp. 8.6, 76.4,7, 336.2, 338.8. 340.4, 370.1,2).

(Cp. Sh. *ʂʌdər, ʂʌdʊr*; Kho. *ʂʌdər, ʂʌdʌvr*, pl. *ʂʌdərbʌk, -bʌvk*).

ʂʌdəri, ʂʌdəre.i service as a service. — *wʊnʂ gʊvimo šʌdəre.i eti* perform your duties as a servant. 76.4.

(Cp. Sh., Kho. *ʂʌdəri*).

ʂʌdʊvr x saltpetre, (Sal Ammoniac?). (Prs. *nʊvšʌvdʊr*?).

šʌfaxʌvna hospital, dispensary. 240.15. (Ar.) Prs.

šʌftʌl y pl. clover (as a crop). Prs.

šahzʌvda hm prince. 2.1. Prs.

1. *šʌk -ičʌŋ* y.

a. Arm, forearm.

makučim šʌk upper arm. *bʊvi.ɛ šʌk* shoulderblade. *gušʌk gʌlʂ* (or *gʌlʊm*) may your arm break! (a woman's curse). *dʊvyʊm ašʌk* my right arm. *išʌk gʌljivlʊm* his arm used to break. 220.5.

b. Upper part of leg of animal, thigh of animal.

wazire.ɪki šʌk (i.e. *išʌk*) *da šərbʌt nɪpišʌn* putting down a leg (of goat or sheep) and *šərbʌt* as the wazir's portion. 340.23.

(Cp. Sh. *šʌvko*, arm, upper arm).

2. *šʌk -miŋ* y doubt, suspicion, mistrust; objection. — *ja šʌk bila . . .* I suspect that . . . *inɛʂɛ ja šʌk bila* I suspect him, I have my doubts about him. *šʌk bila jimʌlɛ jʊvçi*

probably he will come tomorrow. *wʌɣe šʌk bila?* have you any objection? Ar. Prs. 000

3. *šək, šɪk* bad (in the sense of a "bad" thing to do), unlucky, improper.
(Cp. Wkh. *šək*, bad).

1. *ʃʌk* = *ʃok*, noose. — *ʃʌk ikhər wʌši.ʌs* = *bukulo ʃok ɛtʌs*, to put a noose on one's neck, i.e. to commit suicide. QUB.
2. *ʃək, ʃek* full, filled-up. — *sərmutsɛ ʃek nɛ pfʌlo bitsum* the bag was full of grain. *ʃʌpik niʃin ʃek amʌna ba* I have eaten bread till I am full. *oʃistsum æyæʃistsər ʃək ɑtimi* he has filled me up from foot to head (sc. with gifts of honour, *xɪllʌt*).

šʌkʌl y form, shape, appearance. — *bɛški šʌkʌlʌn bila?* of what sort of an appearance is it? *ɪmɛ šʌkʌlɛ čʌɣa ɛti* give a description of his appearance. 154.15. *gutɛ šʌkʌlɛ bʌndʌn* a person of this appearance. 154.22. Ar. Prs.

šʌkər y sg. and pl.
1. Sugar.
2. Term of endearment: sweet, dear. — *ɛa šʌkər ʌp'i* O dear granny! 228.15. *šʌkər mʌma* mother dear! 358.3. Prs.

šʌl, šæl, N. *-ʌɪnts*, shallow. — *kutɛ sɪnda gutumʌn dila, šʌlʌn dila?* is this river a deep one (or) is it a shallow one? i.e. is it deep or shallow?

šʌladʌdi -muts x a kind of food resembling *gərma* (green vegetables and bread cooked together), a big *gərma*, a depreciatory term for big bread; the maker of *šʌladʌdi* (?). — *šʌladʌdimuts ɛčubo* she is making *š-*.

šʌladʌni -muts, x = *šʌladʌdi* (?) hf a woman who makes *šʌladʌdi*. —

hoʷyolo gərmamots nokuʷn ʃuʷyʌs gos- 000
mər šʌladʌni moʷšaʷn they call a woman who puts *gərmamots* in cooked green vegetables and eats them "*šʌladʌni*". QUB.

šʌ'lda pl. *šʌlde.iŋ* y order, command, injunction, instructions, — *iner šʌlda sti* give him orders, instructions. *ja šʌldatsəm tuʷmʌn stiʷmi* he did a different thing from my orders, he acted contrary to my instructions. *uʷŋʌʃs menens šʌlda ns n'i goʷsʌsʌn apai.i* there is no one over you giving orders to say to you "go", there is no one to order you to go. 94.5.

(Cp. Sh. *šʌlda*).

šʌlhəray EOL *-rəo* pen for cattle.

(Cp, *hərʌy* and Kho. *šʌl*, *šaʷl*, cattle-hut, *-šʌl* also occurs as a suffix in place-names in Nagar and to a less extent in Hunza).

1. *šʌma -mots* x candle. Ar. Prs.
2. *šʌmia* y pl. tea leaves after tea has been made from them.

ʃʌmaʷγ, *ʃʌmaʷq -iciŋ* y piece of net-work 291
worn in front of eyes by veiled women. — *ʃʌmaʷγ bišaiyʌs* to put on ditto.

(Cp. Kho. *šʌmaʷγ*, *šʌmaʷx*).

šʌmaʷl north. — *šʌmaʷl yʌkʌl(ʌʃs)* north- 000
wards. Ar. Prs.

šʌmeʷy and *ʃʌmeʷy*, *-ʌnts*, *-ents* x four 492
wooden pins fixed in yoke of plough, one on each side of the necks of the two oxen to keep them in position.

With the suffix *-ʌn* the form used is *šʌmeʷyʌsʌn*, not *ʃʌmeʷuʌn*, one neck-pin.

šʌmeʷyents uyʌlʌs hər (or, *tundər*) "an ox that breaks the yoke-pins" (said of a headstrong refractory person who does not conform to the

492 wishes of his parent or family. Cp. Engl. "to kick over the traces").

(Cp. Sh. *ʃʌmiǯʌ* (pl.) with the same meaning, and Kho. *ʃʌmʌrɣʷnu*, the strap connecting ends of yoke-pins under neck of ox).

241 *ʃʌndi -miʒ* y cut crops lying on the ground. They are spread out to dry for a couple of days and then collected by women who gather them up in double armfuls (*bʌɣu*).

000 *ʃʌnt'er, ʃʌnfer, -ʃo* squinting, squint-eyed. — *ʃʌnfeɾʌn bai.i* he is a squint-eyed fellow.

1. *ʃʌʒ* awake, aware. — *ʃʌʒ baiyʌm* I was awake. Cp. 264.24. *be, je ʃʌʒ ba, ju* so, I am awake, come in. *je ʃʌʒ ʌmʌnʌm* I woke up. *ʃʌʒ imʌnimi* he woke up. 260.15. *sis ʃʌʒ umʌnumʌn* people became aware of it; came to know of it. *muʷ muʷmi ke ʃʌʒ aiyoʷtum* without informing her father and mother. 244.14. *ʃʌʒ gumʌn* wake up! look out! take care; EOL

(Cp. Sh. *ʃoʒ, ʃoʒ*, and *ʃ'ʌʒ*).

? *ʃʌʒ* care, heed, attention. — *ʃʌʒ ne, ʃʌʒ netʌn* carefully. *ʃʌʒ ne* (or, *netʌn*) *tsu* take it away carefully. *ʃʌʒ ne ous* keep it carefully, put it away safely. *gučər ečər ʃʌʒ eti, yaʷr ne bəreyər ʃʌʒ eti* beware of using your voice, beware of looking down, i.e. take care not to make a noise etc. 50.25. *teɾɾumʌn muʷto ʃʌʒ menə aiyeɾčum* nowadays people do not pay so much heed (to it). 220.9. *guk'ʌrər ʃʌʒ eti, mʌk'ʌrər ʃʌʒ etin* take care of yourself, take care of yourselves. EOL.

(This is probably the same word as 1. *ʃʌʒ*).

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000 (Cp. Kho. *ʃʌŋ*, care, precaution; Sh. *šoᵊŋ* care; *šoᵊŋ the*, *šʌŋ the*, carefully).

3. *-*šʌŋ* y pl. limbs, all the parts of the body. H. *joᵊr*, *ʌ'ʒʌᵊ*. — *mi.uʃ mišʌŋ* our feet and limbs, all the parts of our bodies. *gulčin gušʌŋər šʌŋ eti* take care of your eye and limbs, i.e. every part of yourself.

1. *ʃʌŋ -ʌnts* x an opening made in a wall to afford passage (closed with thorns), breach, gap. (Cp. Sh. *ʃoᵊŋ*, breach in a wall allowing passage through).

2. *ʃʌŋ* x boundary, borderline, QUB; direction, H. *ṭʌrʌf*, ŠY. — *Gilti ʃʌŋ* the Gilgit border. *Yasine ʃʌŋ* the boundary of the Yasin and Kuh districts. *Yasine šʌŋ yʌkal buʃ γəribtiŋ umʌnaᵊn* towards the Yasin border the people have become very poor. *Sərigole ʃʌŋ Hunzu.ər γərusum bi* the Sarikuli frontier is "straight" for Hunza, i.e. it is open and advantageous, a source of profit.

(Cp. Sh. *ʃoᵊŋ*, valley, valley leading to, direction of. The development of meaning is illusive, but it would seem that a valley comes to be regarded as a means of access to a place).

šʌŋʌl, *šʌŋaᵊl*, *-ičiŋ* y.

1. Chain, handcuffs, manacles. Only recorded in the plural form. Perhaps *šʌŋʌl* would be used of a single link. — *tʌ qʌš šʌŋʌličiŋ* a chain 100 cubits long. 174.5 ff. *šʌŋʌličiŋ deli* (or, *wʌši*) *baᵊn* they have put chains on them. *šʌŋʌličiŋolo baᵊn* they are in chains, they are manacled. *tsʌne ʌstʌme šʌŋʌličiŋ* the chains of true justice. 88.7.

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2. Carcase (skin and bones). Cp. Sh. *šʌŋaˑli* chain). 000

šʌpˈik x sg. and pl.; also pl. *-ots*, N. EOL *-ints*. bread, (general term) food, H. *roˑti*. — *tsoˑrdimo šʌpik, ṭuṭaŋmo šʌpik* early morning meal. *saˑsstomo šʌpik, saˑm(mo) šʌpik* evening meal. *guˑrɛ šʌpik* wheaten bread. 338.12. *šʌpik otsiyɛnʌs* food taken out one for journey etc., picnic food. 28.20. *gorʌˑnɛ šʌpik* bread made 7 days after a death. 314.8. *iˑsɛ šʌpik uyoˑn šiˑmi* he ate all the bread. 30.8. *gukorɛ šʌpik ɛti* make bread for yourself. 174.1. *šʌpik besʌnʌṭɛ dʌŋ ɛčʌˑn?* with what shall we bake bread? 126.5. Cp. 56.14, 234.5, 272.5, 314.5,16, 328.15—17, 368.2, 373.4, 392.10.

(Cp. Kho. Wkh. *šʌpiˑk*).

šʌq -ičʌŋ y.

1. Wicker-work, wicker, wicker tray. — *šʌq dɛli bai.i* he has made wicker-work.
2. N. framework of a raft consisting of a lattice or trellis of poles and sticks.

1. *šʌq* slippery; worn smooth, threadbare. — *šʌq mʌnaˑs* to slip, slide. *šʌq ɛtʌs* to make slip. *tili.ʌŋ šʌq mʌnimi* the saddle slipped. *miriˑŋtsom šʌq mai.i bi* it (e.g. fish) slips from our (i.e. one's) hands. *γʌmuˑʌṭɛ šʌq me.i ban* we used to slide on the ice. *dɔri.ɛ xa dɔluˑʌṭɛ šʌk numʌn* sliding down from the window by the rope. 38.7. *šoqa šʌq ni bi* the choga has become threadbare. *šʌq niˑm gʌṭu* worn, threadbare, cloth.

(Cp. Sh. GB. *šʌk boˑɔki*, to slip).

2. *šʌq ɛtʌs, šaˑq ɛ.* to comb. — *γoyʌŋ šʌq ɛtʌs* to comb the hair. *šaˑq ɛtʌs* to comb slowly. V. BSOS VIII, p. 633.

(Probably identical with *ʂa·q ɛtʌs* and 1. *ʂʌq*). ooo

3. *ʂʌq* quickly, quickly & secretly. QUB. — *kərdi ʂʌq di.u·simi* he quickly took off the shirt. QUB. (he slipped off the shirt?). *ʂʌq ne ts.hu·mi* he carried it off secretly and quickly. QUB. (he slipped away with it?)

In these *ʂʌq* might be referred to 1. *ʂʌq*. On the other hand QUB also gave: —

ʂʌq di.u·sinin senimi = H. *ga·hɪr kʌrke kʌha*, he said clearly(?), openly(?).

ʂʌg du·sum being come out clear(?).

There is also the passage: — *čəra·ti ne ʂʌk di.u·sin* (*ga·ršai.i*). 262.13, originally glossed, H. *joda ho·kʌr nɪkʌlkʌr*, "separating and clearing out", in connection with, or in place of which QUB seems to have suggested *ʂʌq du·sum*.

šər mʌna·s to be scattered (of grain), H. *da·na ka bʌkhe·rna*. (Cp. *šʌršər*?).

1. *ʂər -ko* x big branch, bough. — *a·lto jʌkər šərk'o bim* there was a forked branch, or, there were two branches, forming a fork. 214.8. Cp. 214.8,9. *gʌško . . . jomɛ šərko·tsɛ tʌk no·tʌn* tying ropes to the branches of apricot trees. 316.12.

2. *ʂər ɛtʌs* to swim keeping the hands under the water.

3. *ʂər ɛtʌs* to roll out dough. Cp. *ʂa·r ɛtʌs*.

šəra·y cold, stale, H. *ba·si, ṭhʌnḍa*.

(Cp. Sh. GB. *šʌra·vu* cold (of food). Sh. *šərai.i* is used of stale bread, or food of the day before, also in the sense of breakfast).

In Kho. there is *šʌro, ša·r*, cold.

šərʌn, pl. *šərai.iŋ*, y ruins, vestiges of buildings. — *ha·ɛ šər'ʌn* the ruins

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[see corrigenda et addenda, category 16, p. 544 - Analyst]

of the house. 286.17. *šərai.iŋʌʈom bʌr'ɐ·imʌn kɛ* when they looked from the ruins. 248.1.

šərbʌt y unsweetened "halwa" (a kind of food made of flour and butter). H. *nʌmkin ḥʌlwa*. — *gutɛ šərbʌt ʃɛ* eat this *šərbʌt*. EOL. *šərbʌt dɛtsirčaʼn* they cook *šərbʌt*. 300.5. Cp. 300.1,2, 338.11, 340.10, 342.4. (Cp. Sh. *šərbʌt*). Ar. Prs.?

šər'ɐs, šareɐs. Name of the sacrifice or festival devoted to Dadi at Hindi, — *šər'ɐs ɛtʌs* to celebrate the Sh. 196.5 ff.

šəri·k h rival, opponent. — *ja ka šəri·k bai.i* he is opposed to me, Ar. Prs.?

šərma -muts x goat's hair cloth, goat's hair rug, mat. — *šərma bər, šərma pʌʈo* a small hair-rug. *šərma trʌŋ* undergirth (of goat's hair webbing). *šərma yʌši.ʌs* to weave *šərma*. *šərmabuʼdo, -buʼdɪšo šərma*-weaver, carpet-weaver.

(With *buʼdo*, probably *buʼḍo*, cp. Sh. *tʌlbuʼḍo*, spider, said to be used in N. Bu. in the form of *tʌlʌbuḍo*. *Buʼḍo* is possibly connected with the Sh. *buʼyoʼrki* to weave. *tʌl-buʼḍo* = ceiling-weaver?).

jɛ šərmaʼr giyʌm I got into my rug, i.e. I got fever wrapped myself up. *sa išaʼr k[illegible] šərmaʼr* the sun (has gone) into the winter solstice and I into my rug, i.e. I have got fever.

(Cp. Sh. *šərmd*, pl. *šərmʌjɛ*).

šərmɪnda shamefaced. — *šərmɪnda amʌnʌm* I became ashamed, shy. Prs.

šəro v. *šur'o*.

šʌršər sound of grain pouring down 140.7.

(Cp. 1. *šər* and 1. *šʌšər*).

000 *šərʊm* y.

1. Shame, disgrace, bashfulness. — *ʊʷnɛ šərʊm apiʷʌ?* have you no shame? *gʊtɛ šərʊm ˈaškiltsʊm jaʷš atiš gˈomai.ima?* will you be able to remove this shame, disgrace, from my face? 98.2. *ya, šərʊm* hold your tongue, be ashamed of yourself. 170.18.
2. Ashamed. — *šərʊm akumai.i ba?* are you not ashamed? *šərʊm amʌnʌm* I became ashamed. *jɛ šərʊm, gʊtɛ jɛ bɛlʌtɛ tsuča ba* I am ashamed to. How am I going to take him (a thing like) this? 136.19. *šərʊm numʌn . . . čʌp ɛtʊmʌn* being ashamed . . . they concealed the fact. 192.6. Cp. 386.20. Prs.

šərʊmkɪš bashful, shy. — *kiʷnɛ hilɛʷs šərʊmkɪšʌn bai.i* this boy is a bashful (lad). (Prs.).

š-(y)ʌs* to eat. This verb occurs in three forms according to the nature of the object eaten: *ši(y)ʌs, šu(y)ʌs, šɛ(y)ʌs.* It is dealt with under the form *ši.ʌs.*

šʌsk, -ičʌŋ y a kind of willow tree which yields withes. — *šʌskɛ ɣʌšk* a "*šʌsk*" withe.

(Cp. Kho. *šʌsk*, willow, osiers).

šʌšˈa, liberal, generous.

šʌšˈakuš y liberality, generosity.

1. *šʌšər mʌnaʷs* to make a kind of sound, to rustle(?). — *hʊmʊl šʌšər nʊma dʌtʊʷmo xa gi.ʌčitsʌn* in autumn the dead leaves fall rustling down. QUB. (Cp. *šʌršər*).
2. *šʌšər* x pl. a kind of plant, wild oats, growing in cultivated ground. — *šʌšər dʊʷisʌs* to weed out the wild oats. Apropos of this it was

said that the people of Gujhal don't weed their fields. Some one once did weed his land and subsequently died. This proved an effective warning against the practice. 000

šʌt y power, strength, force. — *šʌt etʌsʌn bai.i* he is a violent person. *ine jut ine šʌt ne uyum ine wʌšimi* the small (lad) prevailing, or overpowering him, threw the big one. 106.8. *ja šʌt eta ba* I have conquered, I have had the best of it. 198.12. *šʌt ne nuʷdɪlin* using superior force and beating them. 296.1. (Cp. Sh. *šʌt*)

*-*šʌṭ -ʷmʌts* x penis. — *yʌtɪse xa gus. ʌš'ʌte nidilin* striking it (the bear) on the head with this penis of mine. 228.8.

In IYB's vernacular Ms. *išʌṭ, gušʌṭ* occur for *ifʌyo, gufʌyo* in 222.10,14. Whether *-*pfʌyo* represents a misstatement of facts, or is a recognised euphemism for *-*šʌṭ*, I do not know.

šʌtʌŋ, šʌtaʷŋ without reason, unjustly, H. *biʷwʌja, naʷhʌq*. QUB. Originally recorded without context in: — *šʌtʌŋ te oʷmʌn* don't be so unjust. *šʌtʌŋ te me.i bai.i* he is unjustly thus. *šʌtaʷŋ čʌlʌn etai.i* he has done an unjustifiable thing. QUB.

(*šʌtʌŋ* is probably a derivative of *šʌt*; *te* may be the adverb *tai, te.i* thus. *šʌtʌŋ* occurs in Sh. with the sense of "intentionally", "on purpose").

šʌt'ʌŋayo EOL violently.

(Cp. *šʌtʌŋ*. For the termination cp. Sh. *aʷšiŋaiyo* suddenly, unexpectedly).

šʌtili.aʷr strength, powerful.—*Hʌmačaʷtiŋ but šʌt'ili.aʷr bʌm* the H. were very powerful. 256.3.

(Sh. *šʌtilyaʷr* strength, abstract noun, with normal ending *-yaʷr*).

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šʌtiˑlo, pl. *šʌtiˑl-juko*, *-ʊtiŋ*; N. hm. *šʌtiˑlu* hf. *šʌtiˑli*, pl. *-mʊts*. powerful, strong. — *imɛ hilɛˑs šʌtiˑlowʌn dimˈʌnʌm* the boy had been born (a) strong (one). 104.25. Cp. 106.11, 110.17, 200.10. *uˑɛ šʌtiˑljuko ayoˑmai.-ibaˑn* those strong men are unable (to draw the bow). 170.17.

(Sh. *šʌtiˑlo*, strong. Cp. *šʌt* and *ʌšaˑto*.)

šˈʌtiŋɛ, *šʌtiŋə* with force, violently, loudly. — *šʌtiŋ idɛlimi* he struck him with force. *šʌtiŋ ičər ɛtimi* he shouted out loudly. *šʌtiŋə kaˑo* (i.e. *qau*) *nɛ sɛnumo* . . . calling out loudly, she said . . . 24.21. *lʊkʌn šʌtiŋɛ durˈo ɛti* work with a little vigour, put a little back into it. EOL.

(Cp. *šʌt*. *-iŋɛ* is perhaps the suffix *-ʌŋɛ*).

ʂʌtʊrgʌʂ, *ʂʌtˈuˑrgʌʂ* round (about); neighbourhood, vicinity. — *ha ʂʌtʊrgʌʂ* round the house. *ʂʌtʊrgʌʂ gʌnʌs* to surround, besiege. *ʂʌtʊrgʌʂ dᵊ-ʌšɛ.ʌs* to surround, hem in.

ʂʌtʊrgʌʂʊm neighbouring, surrounding. — *ʂʌtʊrgʌʂʊm haˑkičʌŋ* the neighbouring houses.

šʌwaˑrʌn IUB polo-ground.

(Sh. *šəwaˑrɪn*, polo-ground. Cp. Bu. *šʌbˈʌrɪn*).

šai.is, *šaˑis*, pl. *šai.išo* x blanket. Prov. 4.

šaitaˑn, pl. *šaitaˑyo*, devil, mischievous person, swindler. Ar. Prs.

šaitaˑni, *šetaˑni* y mischief, devilry. — *khimɛ šaitaˑni ɛtimi* he did a piece of mischief. Ar. Prs.

šaiyʌd perhaps. — *šaiyʌd juči* perhaps he will come. Prs.

(Does not occur in the texts. Cp. *hʌzaˑr*).

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ooo 1. *ʂau* sg. and pl. blow, stroke, slap in the face, H. *čoʃ*. — *hik ʂau ɛr ɛtʌm* I gave him a blow. *bʌbərum ʂau.ʌn ɛtimi* he gave him a smart slap in the face. *ja šau ayɛt'ʌm kɛ . . .* if I didn't strike him, i.e. if I fail to strike him. 150.5. *šau.u nɛ* striking (the polo ball). 158.11. *Alqʌšɛ guyər hik šau ɛt'ʌma, ʌlto šau ɛt'ʌma?* had A. struck your father one blow, or two blows? 82.22. *γʌtɛnčʌṭɛ ʂau ɛtimi* he struck a blow with the sword. *muč nɛ ʂau ɛtimi* he struck a blow with his fist.

(Cp. Sh. *šaũ, šõ', šoŋ*).

2. *ʂau* over-salted (of food).

še, šɛ, -miŋ y wool, Prs. *pʌšm*. — *šɛ.ɛ gʌtu* woollen cloth.

šɛ.i sər woollen yarn.

šɛ.(y)ʌs v. *ʂi.ʌs* to eat.

šɛnɪski v. *ʂeniski*.

šɛpʌlkɪš, pl. *šɛpʌlki.ʌnɛ* x sheep (male and female). (Cp. *šɛ* wool).

šɛr -ɪšo x tiger. Prs.

šetʌn, šetʌni v. *šaitʌn* etc.

šɛl, šɛl, -ʌnts, N. *-ʌints* x soft snow, avalanche-snow, Sh. *hinʌl*. — *šɛlɛ moɛ* an avalanche of melting snow. *hərulo šɛl bi* there is avalanche-snow in the nullah. EOL *šɛl gʌlimi, šɛl dimi* there has been a fall of avalanche snow. QUB. *šɛlɛ ts.hil* snow-water (water from melting snow). *šɛli* (i.e. *šɛlɛ*) *kɛ bulɛ tsil hərʌŋ bila* the snow-water and spring-water pertain jointly to . . . 350.5.

šem St. Pc. of *šeʌs*, v. s.v. *ʂi.ʌs*.

šɛn -ʌnts, N. *-ʌints* x bed of wooden planks formerly used by big people. (Cp. Chilāsi Sh. *šɛn*, bedstead).

šɛn h sg. and pl. Shīn.

šeni, šʌni -čiŋ y vegetable garden. —

000 *šʌniʌ khoṭkusər nimi* he went to a vegetable plot, *or* bed, 64.7. *šəniʌ khoṭkušo* vegetable plots. *šəni hoi bitsʌn* there are garden vegetables (greens).

(Cp. Sh. *šʌni*, *šəni*, garden plot, vegetable plot, flower-bed, also *šən?*.

šəniski, *šəniski* Shīnā, the language of the Shīns. — *γəriŋ šəniskulo ečəm* they sing songs in Shīnā. 302.3.

šəriʌt y the Shari'at, Islamic Law. — *šəriʌte dʌstuγʌte* according to the Shari'at practice. 310.6.

1. *ši -miŋ* y.

a. Fire container, fireplace, brazier, forge, trivet, H. *čulha*.

A *ši* may be made of mud or be a hole in the ground.

čomaγe šiʌn a trivet, an iron tripod placed over the fire. 308.3. *ʌsbaγbʌn šiʌr wʌšimi* he put a vessel in the forge. 162.5,6.

Cp. 356.5. (The cerebral *ṣ-* in the above passages is incorrect).

b. Name of a constellation.

2. *šiγ*, breath, snuffle. — *hərə ši yaγʌrs gəruγum bila* it is warm like the breath of an ox.

N. *šiγ elʌs* to breathe heavily.

šiy̆ʌs, *šuy̆ʌs* and *-šuγy̆ʌs*, *šeγy̆ʌs*; *šiç̆-*, *šuç̆-*, *šeč̆-*.

According to QUB the *š-* of *šeʌs* and derived forms is not cerebral.

1. To eat, eat up, devour.

Forms from the base *ši-* are used when the object eaten is x sg. and occasionally h sg.

Forms from the base *šu-* are used when the object is h sg. or pl. and x pl. (and sometimes x sg. when the object is a large animal).

Forms from the base *še-* are used when the object is y.

*-ʃuyʌs with the pn.pf. is regularly employed when the object is h and has been recorded with an x animal object. 000

In the negative, forms from ʃi.ʌs and ʃu.ʌs take the negative prefix a- + a Pn. Pf. even where in the affirmative there would be no Pn. Pf.

The forms from ʃe.ʌs take the negative prefix o- without any Pn. Pf.

In all cases the Pres. Base is syncopated to -ʃč- for ʃi.ʌs and ʃu.ʌs, and -ʃč- for ʃe.ʌs.

These points are illustrated in the following:

Obj. h sg. *guʃu·čʌm* I shall eat you up.

h pl. *but sis uʃu·mo* she devoured many people. 190.4.

x sg. (inanimate) *ʃʌpik ʃi·mi* he ate the bread.

x sg. (animate, large) *beɹpʌyʌn ya ʃibi*, or, *iʃu·mi* the bear has eaten, or, ate, a yak. 152.10.

x pl. (inanimate) (*e·somots*) *u·ŋs be ʃu·ma?* did you not eat the kidneys? 72.14.

y sg. *ivts ta.a·m u·ŋs ʃe·čər but rai di bilomaʔ* had you very much wanted to eat the food? 84,12.

y pl. *xu·kiʃu.s ʃeyʌs wʌteŋ* the husks eaten by the swine. 373.2.

Negative.

mi·wa (x sg.) *eʃ.* don't eat fruit.
ʃʌpik (x sg.) *e·ʃčomo* she doesn't eat bread.

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ba·lt (x pl.) *o·ṣo* don't eat apples. ooo
pṣiṭimots (x pl.) *o·ṣo* don't eat cakes of thick bread.
čhap (y sg.) *o·ši* don't eat meat.
γe·iẓ (y pl.) *o·ši* don't eat grapes.

2. To drink.
mamu ṣe·mi he drank the milk.
ṣe.as tsil drinking-water.
kaman niṣin (for *nuṣen*?) drinking a little (milk). 338.5.

3. To enjoy possession or use of, exercise rights over, come into possession of, secure. — *Čilindar·ni thamkuṣ ṣebam* the pipe-bearer had obtained possession of the Thamship. 20.4. Cp. 20.9,18, 238.9. *ja do·lat ṣoγaṣo wasiettiẓ γom wa.zirs* of mine who enjoy the use of (batten on) my wealth. 44.10,20. *i·ṭe buṣai.i 'o·ṭrmi* he did not take possession of, or occupy that land. 252.16. *lik ṣe.as* to take, receive, a bribe. Cp. 92.28, 98.12,14, 236.4-6.

4. To suffer, experience (cp. the use of H. *khavna*, and Prs. *xordan*). — *damijar ṣe·mi* he suffered trouble.

5. To slaughter (for the purpose of eating), to sacrifice(?). H. *ẓibaḥ karna*. — *Arba·be ha·le alta huy'es ṣučai.i* the master of the house slaughters two goats (for the entertainment of his guests). 338.10. *tsir nuyan Dadimar ṣučam* bringing goats they used to slaughter them in the name of Dadi (sacrifice them to D. and presumably eat them). 196.5. Cp. 300.5, 314.12, 336.7. Prov. 29.

6. To bite.
hurko, khi·nano, haγori, aṣumi the dog, a nea, the horse, bit me. EOL.

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Forms.

000 The following forms have been recorded:

Fut. sg. 1. *ʃičam* 60.9, 62.24, 194.8.
guʃwčam; *ʃečam*. 132.17, neg. Interrog. *oščama*. 380.6 (correct the form given in the text).
2. *aʃučama*. 18.7.
3. x *aʃwči*. 282.8.
miʃwči. 282.21.
pl. 1. *ʃičan*. 62.27.

Pres. sg. 1. *ʃeča ba*. 132.15.
2. *ʃiča*. 132.14, 182.16.
3. m. *ʃičai.i*. 124.8, 304.20, ...
ʃwčai.i. 338.10.
x *aʃwči bi*. 282.14.
pl. 3. *ʃičera*. 226.4, 304.20, 328.17.
x *ʃiči.an*. 366.11.
ʃeči.an. 373.1.
ʃwčara. 300.5.

Impf. sg. 3 f. *iʃwčo bom*. 190.2,3.
niʃwčo bom. 190.8.
pl. 3. *ʃiči.an*. 314.12.
ʃwči.an. 196.5.
ʃeči.an. 236.4.

Pret. sg. 1. *ʃiy.an*, *-ʃu.an*,
ʃey.an. 98.12.
2. *ʃirma*. 30.9.
ʃurma. 72.14.
3. m. *iʃirmi*. 132.14. f. *ʃirmo*.
ʃurmi.
f. *uʃurmo*. 200.3.
x. *aʃurmi*,
iʃurmi. 182.10.
.ʃu.i (*h*). 280.13.
m. and x *ʃerni*. 64.9,12, 92.29.
neg. m. *'oʃirni*. 282.16.

	pl. 3.	*ʃi.ʌn* (? short form); *ʃ'emʌn.* 236.6.
Perf.	sg. 2.	*ʃi ba.*
	3. m.	*ʃi bai.i;* *ʃe bai.i.* 20.10,18.
	x	*ʃi bi.* 68.2, 152.10.
Plup.	sg. 3. m.	*ʃe bʌm.* 20.4.
	pl. 3. x.	*ʃi bim.* 222.10.
Impv.	sg. 2.	*ʃi.* 52.1, 124.1, 152.15.
	pl. 2.	*ʃin(a).*
	neg.	*oʃu.in.* EOL.
-ʃ Form	sg.	*guʃuʃ,* pl. *guʃuʃʌn.* *gatsirrʒo guʃuʃ(ʌn)* may vultures devour you.
	neg.	*eʃiʃ.* (*a* + *i* + *ʃiʃ*). *ginaʷni eʃiʃ xa* so long as the "ginaʷni" is not eaten. 326.15.
Pres Part.		*ʃiĉume.* 32.15. *ʃeĉume.* 46.3.

Past Pc. Act.

With x sg. objects: *n'iʃin:* (The stress recorded in most cases on the first syllable doubtless indicates the presence of the pn.pf. *i-*). (*ʌpik*) *n'iʃin.* 130.3, 304.20, 330.9. (*hʌrʌn, bulorʌo, huyʌs*). 316.1, 336.9, 373.20.

niʃinin. 370.

With h objects:

sg. m. *niʃʌn.* 192.4, 200.2.

pl. m. *noʃʌn.* 190.3.

With y objects:

noʃin. 98.14.

noʃe. 104.18, 236.5.

kʌmʌn niʃin referring to *mʌmu* (y) at 338.5 appears to be wrong. *kʌmʌn* has apparently failed to acquire the y quality of *mʌmu.*

Static Pr.

Act. sg. 1. *ʃi.am(.an)*. 000

ʃi.aman jav korkat
may what-I-have-eaten
be my share. 212.14.

sg. 3. *ʃivn, gujvrn, ʃcrn*.
ʃapik ʃi-mor when they
have eaten bread. 202.4.
yaiqu gujvrn may the
crows eat you!
gurlig ʃcrn may your
innards be eaten!

Infin., Noun Agent, etc.

ʃi.ar. 34.3, 60.9, 62.23, 124.19, 172.21, 214.15, 216.12.
ʃu.ar. 182.8, 200.4.
ʃe.ar. 44.10,20, 64.10, 84.12, 172.22, 272.2.

Pres. base + *ar*.
ʃerar. 84.12,23.

ʃryʃom, & *ʃryʃom*, *-ʃo*, N. *ʃepʃom*, N. pl. *-ʃio* smooth (of paper, cloth); slippery, slimy, soft. — *ʃumo ʃu.an ʃryʃom* slippery like a fish.

ʃrka, v. 1. *ʃrqa*, grass.

ʃrka, v. 2. *ʃrqa* spell, magic.

ʃrkav v. *mirʃrkav*, and *ʃrkor*.

ʃrk'avi -mata x tower, fort. 102.1 ff. (Cp. Sh. *ʃrkavi*).

ʃrk'ayat y complaint, accusation. — *ʃrkayat ʃtar* to make a complaint. Ar. Pre.

ʃrk.am v. *ʃrqam*.

ʃrkor, *ʃtkor* hunting, (with hawks), hawking. — *bavo ʃrkorar nitku* let's go a-hawking. 4.10. *ʃrkoro dit* hunting-ground. 4.16. (ʃ- QUB). Pre.

1. *ʃrkork*, N. pl. *-ʃto*, yellow, pale, sallow. — *ʃuo vag ʃrkorli mazirla* he has become pale.
(Cp. Sh. *ʃtkork*, diarrhoea).

2. *ʃrkork* y brass, copper. — *ʃrrdom*

ʃtʃirk copper. *Sarum ʃtʃirk* nickel-plated metal. 000

(The same word as the preceding. Cp. Sh. *Ashiʃo rit* "yellow copper", i.e. brass).

ʃtʃ'ast y defeat. — *ʃtʃ'ast ʃtʃirʃ* to defeat someone. Pra.

ʃtʃnʃev y Saturday. — *Ashuʃto ʃtʃnʃev* bila today is Saturday. (Sh. *ʃtʃnʃev*).

ʃtʃi y summer (the months Saratko, Aual and Sumbula, approximately 22nd. June to 21st. September). — *ʃtʃi di bila* summer has come.

ʃ'ʃtʃimo pertaining to summer. — *ʃ'ʃtʃimo khra* the summer season. *ʃtʃimo ʃtʃ* the summer solstice.

ʃtʃuʃiʃu -mots x black hawk (smaller than the *kirki*).

(Cp. Khe. *ʃtʃiʃif* "a hunting bird about the size of a *kirda*", which seems to be a reduced form of *ʃtʃiʃu ʃi.ʃif*, which was also recorded).

ʃtʃuʃan (x) funnel of blacksmith's bellows. It is made of *ʃ.ʃarf* stone. The air from each of the two bellows is discharged into it by a pipe, and is directed by it on the fire. 325

A word *ʃtʃ* = tube, quill + *dʃan*, stone).

-ʃtʃar v. *zurʃtʃar*.

-ʃ'ʃpin, pl. *-ʃ'ʃpipe* x child's penis. 000

(For the use of a separate word for a child's penis cp. Sh. *ʃoil* and Wkh. *ʃul*).

ʃtʃirʃ -ʃg y lucerne (grown for fodder), Pra. *vziʃe*. (Cp. Sh. *ʃtʃirʃ*).

1. *ʃtʃu* y sg. and pl., d.pl. *ʃtʃuʃig*, grass. — *Ban ʃtʃurw ʃtʃ'ʃuʃive* me a blade of grass. *ʃtʃu ʃiʃkirʃa* a blade of grass has come up. *ʃtʃu ʃuw* a bundle of grass. *ʃurʃum ʃtʃu ʃiʃkan* there is dried grass, hay. *waziraw*

000 *ʃzqa ɨγwwas bitsu* grass has to be given to the Wazir. 342.9.

2. *ʃ'zqa* spell, charm, incantation, magic, sorcery. — *ʃzqa ɨtas* to make a spell, incantation. *ɨner ʃ'zqa burʃəriq ɨtimi* he practised magic on him.

ʃzq'açhin, pl. *ʃzqaçhiyo* x a kind of bird.

ʃzqərčin, pl. *ʃzqərčiyo*, h magician, sorcerer.

ʃiqakiʃ charming, delightful.

ʃzqam, ʃzkam, pl. x *-iło*, y *-iq*, green, blue; grey (of horse). — *jurt* (or, *jof*) *ʃzqam* (grass)green.

aiyal ʃzqam } (sky-)blue.
asmarn ʃzqam }

maley ʃzqamiq masərtas the fields have become green. *ʃzqam kir'al* *-*masas* to become exhausted and slack from eating the first green food of the season, and not continuing to get it. *ʃzkam kaywas* a grey horse. 4.17. *ʃikamiq kori* green vegetables, H. *ashz sey*. 62.28.

Cp. 154.20, 156.9,11, 284.15.

ʃzq'amaʃiq name of a custom formerly observed in Hunza on the appearance of the apricot blossom. (V. Text No. XXXVI). — *ɨsk'amatiq Hunzalo aiy'ečaw* they do not (now) observe (or, celebrate) the Sh. in Hunza. 320.7.

1. *ʃzq'ar* y shame, H. *šarm*. Prov. 31. (Cp. *-*ʃq.ar.is*).

2. *ʃzq'ar -ilo* x.

a. Wasp, hornet. — *ɨsil ʃzqar* "water wasp". *mel ʃzqar* "wine wasp", EOL "fruit wasp". *ʃzqare ad'ečimi* a wasp stung me. *ʃiqare sil* a wasp's sting. *ʃzqare gwiqaʃar gwriq ečili asmarn* they have said "Don't put your hand in a hornet's nest", i.e. don't have anything to do with so and so.

000 b. (Metaphor.). a quarrelsome person. (Cp. Sh. *ṡškar*).

ṭṭqiṡl -ṡšo fair-complexioned (with grey eyes), grey-eyed, Bu. syn. *buṡo*. Both terms are uncomplimentary. *buṡo* is "cat like" and *ṭṭqiṡl* "parrot-like". — *ṭṭkirṭṡo sisik paida me.imʌn* fair-complexioned people will make their appearance. 188.2.

širn y juice of fruit, H. *rʌs*. — *širn dušiṡla* juice comes out. Prs.?

**-širʌs*, **-širč-*, Impv. **-širi*, to carry off, take away s.t. from s.o. H. *čirnna*, *čirnlenn*.

The pn.pf. refers to the person from whom s.t. is taken.

The noun denoting that person is put in the abl. The idiom is therefore not strictly parallel either to the Eng. "to deprive s.o. of s.t." or to the Eng. "to confiscate s.t. from s.o.", unless the pn.pf. can be regarded as an ablative.

tavočiṇ ki ɪfʌɣo Punus ṡirimi Puno took away his foot-bandages and his stick (from him). 210.11. *Tolṡ sistsum . . . gutʌs uširčir dʌrusʌn* they came to take the corpse away from the people of Tol. 294.21. *gutʌs Tolkutsʌtsum uširusʌn* they (forcibly) carried off the corpse from the people of Tol. 294.22. *jatsum ayʌṡir(i)* don't take it away from me. *eširi* don't take it away from him. *eširi* don't take it away from them. *(ja jʌmʌrʌf) ʌtmʌṡiriṇ mutsuṭ xa* before he, taking (my wife) from you, carried her off. 154.5. N. *hiritsum (hiritsum?) nirtiri ditʌm; gosmotsum numurtiri ditʌm* I took it from the man, from the woman, by force (lit. taking it from him (her) I brought it).

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(Sometimes the final *-n* of a P.pc.a. does not appear in Nagiri),

Other forms recorded are:

Fut. 1st sg. *guširčʌm*, I shall take (it) from thee.

Pret. 1st sg. *iširʌm, muširʌm, uširʌm*, I took (it) from him, her, them.

širča N. tea with salt and butter.

širiḍʌko -mots x the (ceremonially) main wooden post, or, pillar supporting roof of house. — *širidʌku yarɛ morušam* they seat her at the foot of the main pillar. 304.19. *pfyuʼʌn hori širidʌqotsɛ tʌk ɛčam* they tie a little barley to the main pillar. 328.8.

(In this last sentence the word was explained as "holy pillar").

(Cp. *ḍʌko*. With this *širi* cp. that in the names of *Širi BʌdʌT* and *Širi Bərai.i BʌγərThʌm*. It is probably an honorific, and identical with Skr. *śrī*).

širijon, pl. *širijuʼyo*, x mushroom. — *gotsɛ širijuʼyo šuʼʌsər yʌški bi.ɛn* these mushrooms are fit to eat. *gotsɛ širijuʼyo oʼšu.in, ɛtsolo čɛmiliŋ bila* don't eat these mushrooms, there is poison in them.

(Cp. Sh. *širijon* = Kho. *qotsi* = "an edible thing found in the ground", truffle(?), mushroom?).

šɪrʼik, N. *-ots* x small cakes cooked in oil for the 'Id i Ramzān. Hz. Bu. *šiḷər*. (Cp. Sh. *šɪrik, šʼɪrɪka*).

širiširɪŋ with a sound of bells, tinkling. 14.2.

(Cp. Sh. *šərʌŋ šərʌŋ*, a chinking, jingling noise). Prs. (Ar.).

širqawa N. coffee with milk.

šɪru EOL *-mots* x very large cake of thick bread (for travelling). (For *šurʼo*?

šivak y lead (metal). (Lead is found in the Chupursan valley). 000

šiʼša -mots x glass, china ware, china cup. — *čutʌn tsil šiʼšaʼmolo* a little water in a cup. 304.2. Prs.

šišər small cakes cooked in oil eaten at the 'Id i Ramzān. N. Bu. *širʼik*.

šiʼti, pl. *šiʼtɛŋ* y. (N. x?), sitting dais in obsolescent type of Burushaski house, equivalent to *mʌn* in the modern type.

(Cp. Sh. *šīʼti*, dais round three sides of a room. Sitting-place in room).

-škil, N. v. *-skil*, face.

-šoŋʌn pl. *-šʼoŋoyo* x "any prominence near the genitals", and so applicable to the ilium.

(Cp. Sh.. McK. & GR., *šogneʼi āʼti*, the ilium).

šoʼk -iči̇ŋ y. N. *šaʼuq, -iŋ*. loop, noose, snare. — *šoʼk ɛtʌs* to make a loop(?). *buʼkolo šoʼk ɛtʌs* v.t. to strangle (*lit.* to put a noose on the neck). *šoʼk bišaiyʌs* to make a loop. *dašuʼnʌs šoʼk* a running loop. *ʌtušonʌs šoʼk* a fixed loop.

(Cp. 1. *šʌk*. Cp. Sh. *šaʼko*, Kho. *šaʼuʼk*, noose. loop).

šox N. y cattle-track. — *kutɛ šox gonekrš diʼla* this track is bad.

(Cp. Hz. 1. *šoq*).

šoʼlto -mots x new shoot. twig. — *toš phaʼnum šoʼltuʌn* a newly-grown shoot (of a pollarded tree).

(Cp. Sh. *šoʼulu*, twig. shoot).

šon, šoʼn, pl. h and x *-oʼŋoʼ -oʼmo* blind. — *mayoʼn šonoʼmo baʼna?* are you all blind? *šon *-nʌnʌs* to become blind. *trʌp son baiʌi* he is stone-blind. *šon kuroʼn*, pl. *šon koroʼyo*, *šonoʼŋo kronoʼŋo* blind (*koroʼn* is an

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expletive). *h'erčumʌʃe jɨ šon ʌmʌna* by continuous weeping I have become blind. 360.6.

šönmumuʷyo -mots x, N. *šümumuʷyu -mots* a kind of mouse (said to be blind, with a long nose and a smell).

N. small mouse, H. *čhʌčondər* musk-rat (but it is improbable that the animals denoted by the H. and Bu. are the same).

(*šon-* blind. Sh. has *šoqmumuʷyo* mouse, GB. gives it with *ʃ-*).

šoq -ots x big boil (medical), H. *daʷna;* McK., GR. abscess. — *šoq dufʌltʌs* to burst (of a boil).

A *šoq* is larger than a *šoʃo*.

1. *ʃoq -ʌnts* x a narrow sunk track down an earth-cliff. (Cp, N. *šox*).

2. *ʃoq -ʌnts, -ots* x sole of boot. *gʌpɨ ʃoqʌnts* hide soles. *gʌp šoq wʌši.ʌs* to put on a hide sole.

šoqum, šoqum, pl. x *-rʒo*, y *-iʒ* loose (of clothes, shoes), roomy, spacious, wide (of house, road etc.). — *šoqumiʒo šoqamots* loose chogas. Nz. *šoqumiʒ čʌpai.iʒ* loose "chapans". Nz. *gʌn, ha, šoʷqum bila* the road is wide, the house is spacious.

In this case the antithesis is *čhʌnum*. *šoʷqum mʌnaʷs* v.i. to become loose, stretch.

(Cp. Sh. *šoʷk*, slack of a tennis-net).

šoʷr y disturbance. 358.1. Pre.

šoʃo -mots x boil (medical); McK., GR. abscess. A *šoʃo* is smaller than a *ʃoq*. !

(Cp. Sh. McK., GR. *ʃuʃ*, abscess. Kho. *šoʃ*, boil, abscess).

*-ʃqʌrʌs *-ʃqʌrč-, Impv. *-ʃqʌr to be ashamed.

Pres. sg. 1. *aʃqʌrča ba.*

Pret. sg. 1. *aʃqʌrʌm.*

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! [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

000 Impv. sg. 2. *gʊʃqʌr.*
pl. 2. *mʌʃqʌrin.*
Infin. pn.pf. sg. 3. m. *ʃʃqʌrʌs.*
(Cp. *ʃʌqʼɔr*).

ʰu *-ʊmots* x drift-wood carried by a stream. — *sinda ʃuʊmots duʼʃi bi* the river has brought down drift-wood.

1. *ʃuʼ* rest, repose, ease. — *ʃu ʃtʌs* to rest (from time to time), to breathe out. *duŋ ʃu ʃtiʼn* rest for a little, take a little rest.
(Cp. Sh. *ʃu*, rest, etc.).

2. *ʃũʼ ʃtʌs*, to blow (with bellows). — *ɸfultuʊŋiants ʃuʼ ʃtʌs* to blow bellows. *ɔyi ɔr ʃu ʃcubɔm* his daughter was blowing (the forge bellows) for him. 160.17. Cp. 162.3 ff., 164.26 ff.

3. *ʃũʼ ʃtʌs* to smell (v.t.). — *nʌs ʃũʼ ʃtʌs* to smell a smell.
(Cp. Sh. *ʃũʼ thoʼzki* to smell).

ʃuʊ sg. and pl.

1. Adj.: good (in all senses), fine, nice, superior, excellent, well (in health), well-to-do.
ʃuʊ hʌɣʊrɔm a good horse. 6.13. *ʃuʊ gʌtʊŋ nupɔl* putting on good clothes. 316.4. *ja hins ʃuʌʊn dimʌnimiʌ?* has this (child) of mine been born a good one?, i.e. is he going to turn out a good man? 86.26. *ʃuʊ saʼʌtʊlo dimʌnimi* he was born in a good (auspicious) hour. 88.1. *ʃuʊ nʌs* a nice smell, sweet perfume. *ʃuʊ hʊmʌlkʊm ɕutsɔrʌs sinʌn deʼri* send me a good active (quick-moving) man. *thʌmi his ʃuʊ akʊbɔrʌnɔr hʊkɔm ʃtʊmɔr* when the Mir has given the order to a superior elder. 336.13. *ɕuki hɔrʌltiŋ ɕuɕiŋ ʃuʊ ʃtimi* these rains have made the wheat good, i.e. done good to the wheat. EOL.

wyoʷntsom šuʷa hʌγʊr jaʷr jo give me the best horse (of all). Cp. 112.3,8,14. *šuʷatsom ke šuʷ'a gʌtʊg* the best of clothes. 373.37. *šuʷa dokoʷma?* have you come well?, i.e. welcome! *thʌm, uʷʒ gʌšu gošpuʷrtʌro šuʷa baʷna?* Tham, are your daughters and sons well? EOL. *uʷn hʌ'le γenʌnte šuʷa baʷna?* are your consorts well? EOL.

In the following *šuʷa* is perhaps a noun.

IUB *šuʷa korki*, H. *neki ka toxm;*
QUB H. *nik 'ʌmʌli*, whose actions are good.
IUB *šuʷa gʌn*, H. *neki kʌ rʌsta* the way of righteousness, the path of virtue.

2. Adv.: well.
gote duʷro šuʷa ne stimi he did this job well, and perhaps in *šuʷa homalkom* and *šuʷa dokoʷma?* in the examples above. *šuʷa mi.aʷm* I shall drink well. 126.16.
buʷt šuʷa se.iba you say well. 36.1.

3. Interjection: good! yes! (expressing compliance),
gote čʌγa deγʌlin wʌzirʊr senimi, "Buʷt šuʷa ke je buʷt xoš ʌmʌnʌm" having heard this statement he said to the Wazir "Very good, I am much pleased" (the force of the *ke* is uncertain). 4.9. *rʌza goʷnʌn. Buʷt šuʷa . . . rʌza ʌmʌnʌm* Agree to this. Very good . . . I have agreed. 114.18. Cp. 122.19, 124.28. 136.16, 166.8 etc.

4. *šu.'aʷ ke* approximately about, almost, H. *taqribʌn, taxmiʷnʌn.* — *muʷto Šimlaʷ'ʊr šuʷ'a ke 10—15 kakičʌg mʌnisc* at the present day in Shimahāl there have come

ooo to be about 10—15 houses. 272.11. *Čur'ʌm mʊndaʷq imʌnimi. šuʷa kɛ pfitiʷk pfʌtʌq nʊmɔ gʊtsʊrʌs mʌnimi.* C. grew up. Creeping on all fours he could almost walk. 242.20. *adɛli bʌm, šuʷ'a kɛ jɛ jʌt amʌnʌm* he (had) struck me and I almost became an old woman. 230.6.

It is here glossed *'ʌnqʌriʷb.*

šuʷakuš y, goodness, kindness, virtue, H. *neʷki, bhʌlaʷi.* — *šuʷakuš nɛtʌn* doing good. Prov. 21. *uʷŋɛ buʷt šuʷakuš jaʷr bila* you are very good to me. EOL. *uʷŋɛ šuʷakuʂɛ gərurʊmkuš ja ʌsʊlo bila* gratitude is in my heart for your goodness, i.e. I am very grateful for your kindness. EOL.

šu.(y)ʌs, **-šu(y)ʌs*, v. *ši.ʌs.*

šu.ai.(i) probably only a modified form of *šuʷa* due to a following palatal sound; occurs in: — *šuʷai.i iʷčʊr* a fine voice. *šu.ai yɛtsʊm* we had seen him handsome. 122.15. *šu.'ai.ɛ dʊsu* good! bring it. 68.25.

In the last it probably stands for *šuʷa yɛ.*

šʊguʷli, N. *šʊγuʷli, -mʊts* hf. friend, (female). (Sh. *šʊguʷli*, female friend).

šʊguʷlo -tiŋ hm friend (m.). — *ja jiʷɛ šʊguʷlo* my bosom (*lit.* soul's) friend. *lɛ jiʷɛ šʊguʷlo* O beloved friend. 50.19. Cp. 48.11—56.7, *passim*, 370.9, 374.10.

(Sh. *šʊguʷlo*, male friend).

šuγum, šʊγʊn, pl. *šuγumyo*, x a sour, red kind of cherry (the fruit); pl. *-iŋ* y the tree.

šʊγʊri, N. *šʊγuʷri, šʊγori, -mʊts* x pear (a hard kind).

(Cp. Sh. *šʊgʊr'i* pear; Kho. *šuγʊri*, a kind of pear).

ʂuʷk stʌs to lap, sip. — *miriŋɛʂɛ ʂuʷk stʌs* to lap (water) scooping it up

000 with the hands. *ine šuʷk ečai.i* he laps it up (roasted barley grains put in buttermilk in a spoon). 328.11. (Cp. Sh. *šuʷk thoʷrki* to sip, suck up, eat up).

šokor thanks. — *but šokor elimi* he thanked much. *šokor eɪʌsʌn bai.i* he is grateful. *šokor ni horuʷšʌn* we shall abide giving thanks. 34.15. Ar. Prs.

šokorgozaʷr thankful; as a noun in: — *šokorgozaʷr eɪʌsʌn bai.i* he is grateful. (Ar.) Prs.

šokorkɛš thankful, grateful. (Ar.).

šokoro y Friday. 298.11. (Cp. Sh. *šokor*.

šokoru eɪʌs to give thanks. — *xodai.ər šokoru eɪomʌn* they gave thanks to God. 284.2. (Ar.).

šokuʷrom v. *šoquʷrom*.

1. *šuʷl, šul* y love, affection, sympathy, H. *moḥʌbbʌt*. — *uʷi hərʌŋ buʷt šuʷl bila* there is much love between them. *kiʷne hilesɛ ka buʷt šuʷl bila* he loves the boy much. *kiʷnə hilesə iʷne ka šuʷl buʷt bila* the boy has much affection for him. *maka šuʷl etai.i* he has sympathised with me. *moʷimu šuʷlʌte* out of love for her daughter. 66.22.

   Also adjectivally: — *iʷne ka šuʷl bai.i* he is fond of him. (Cp. Sh. *šuʷl*, love).

2. *šuʷl* y conversation. — *oʷltʌlik šuʷl eča bʌm* the two of them were conversing. *šuʷl bilom* there was conversation.

   (Probably the same as 1. *šuʷl*. In Sh. the expression *šuʷl sohbʌt* has been recorded).

3. *šuʷl* y pain (from cold). — *ariŋolo, oṭisolo šuʷl giʷmi* my hand, my foot is tingling (as after being very cold) *lit.* pain has entered my hand etc

000 4. *-šuˑl y labour-pains, travail. — *mušuˑl gi bila* her labour pains have come on. *mušul gičilum muˑi besʌn atʼimʌnimi* her labour continued, but no son was born (to her). 102.2. *ja oˑsmo tʌ kutsulo mušul gimi* my wife was in travail for 100 days(?) 102.5. Cp. 108.9 ff.

IUB gives only the form *ušuˑl*.

The following is from a Ms. of IYB: *gusmu mušultse hin gusʌn hurušubo. iˑnəmur mušultsuu gus se.ibaˑn* a woman attends at (*lit.* sits at) the woman's labour. She is called the labour-woman (i.e. midwife).

(This word is probably in origin the same as 3. *šuˑl*. Cp. Sh. *šuˑl* and pl. *šuˑlə*, labour pains).

šuˑlbʌlikrš kind, sympathetic.

šuˑli -muts x barrel (of gun), spout (of water-vessel). — *tobʌqə šuˑli* gun barrel. *jʌqər šuˑlimutsʌŋe tobʌq* a double-barrelled (shot) gun. *hʌn šuˑli.e ka tobʌq* a single-barrelled gun. *mʌšərbʼa šuˑlilo dɛljʌm* I will hit (with an arrow) the spout of the water-vessel. 260.10 ff.

(Cp. Sh. *šuˑlo*, muzzle (barrel?) of gun, spout of water-vessel).

šumogaˑr x a kind of black-eyed hawk. Prs. (*šunqaˑr*).

šuˑn -ʌnts x vine. — *ḍʌŋʌliski šuˑn* a particular kind of vine. 264.27.

šunuṭ -išo x lynx.

šuˑŋ, -ʌnts; N. *šuŋ, -aˑints* x a long narrow track, narrow lane (between houses); path, track; N. dry and narrow nullah; H. *gʌli, kuˑča*. 358.11. — *tsʌhilɛ, muˑsɛ, šuˑŋ* channel of water, of mud-flood. *huyʼɛsɛ šuˑŋ* goat track. *haˑ šuˑŋ* small open space before door of house.

334b

The word appears in the P. N. *Hərawšuŋ*. 248.3, 256.8. 000

šuŋ ɛtʌs, v. 3. *šũ· ɛtʌs*, v.t. to smell. (Cp. Sh. *ṣũ· thoɪki* v.t. to smell).

šɔq'a, N. *šu·q'a*, *-mɔts* x choga (a loose woollen cloak, the usual outer garment of the country). — *šɔqa yo·lʌs* to put on a choga. Cp. 378.4, 380.11. (Cp. Sh. Kho., *šɔqa* choga).

šɔqɔm v. *šo·qɔm*.

šɔquwɔm -ɪšo sour (as of vinegar, buttermilk), bitter. Cp. Prov. 5.

šuwa y pl. nitre. Prs.

šɔrɛ.a·r, šuraiya·r, šɔri.a·r.

1. Gladness, happiness, rejoicing. — *šuraiya·rɛ ka* with pleasure, gladly. *šɔrɛ.a·r 'ečʌn* let us make merry. 373.20. Cp. 370.10.
2. As Adj.: — *u·ŋɔr yʌški bi·m šɔri.a·r gɔmʌnʌs* it was right for thee to be merry, rejoice.

(Sh. *šɔri.a·r*, happiness, rejoicing. In Sh. *-ya·r*, *-a·r* is a suffix used in forming abstract nouns).

šɔri.ɛ·š, šuriy'ɛ·š.

1. Happiness, enjoyment, rejoicing. — *šuriy'ɛ·š ɛti* enjoy yourself, be happy. 122.25. *šɔri.ɛ·š ečen* let us make merry, let us rejoice. Cp. 368.17.
2. As Adj. — *šɔri.ɛš gumʌnʌs yʌški bim* it was right for you to rejoice. (Cp. *šɔrɛ.a·r*. Sh. has also *šɔri.ɛ·r*).

šɔr'o x sg. & pl., d.pl. *-mɔts* a large cake of bread (two feet in diameter and two inches thick, cooked in the embers of a fire). — *hʌn šɔr'o·wʌn nɛtʌn* making a *šɔro*. 332.2.

šɔru ɛtʌs to begin. — *u.i·tsɛ mʌna·sɔr šɔru ɛtɔmʌn* they began to separate (from each other). 110.22. Cp. 382.4. Ar. Prs.

335a

šəšo·likɪṣ̌ -ki.ʌnts hf a supernatural female who exists in the whirlwind and does injury to mortals. 776

She is explained as a H. *čorel* or Sh. *bʌl'a*.

čirpuphuṣ̌e šəšo·likɪṣ̌ the whirlwind witch. The word is also used as a term of abuse for an ugly, ill-dressed old woman. *šəšo·likɪṣ̌ ju.ʌn mʌnoma* you have become like a Sh.

šu·šu suffering from ague. — *je šu·šu amaiya ba* I am suffering from ague. 000

(Cp. Sh. *šəšu šal*, cold fever, ague. Kho. *šu·šu, šəšu*, ague).

šut̩ y a sour decoction made from apricots and used as vinegar, especially by Shins. Wakhis use *qəruṭ*. *šut̩* is put in *ḍauḍo*. [263]

(Cp. Kho. *šot*, sour as of unripe grapes).

š'utin pl. *šut'iyo* x the four big stones surrounding the hearth in a house. 304.18. (Cp. *pfərɛtsin*).

šoṭu·ko -mots x.

1. Bud.
2. Round button made of cloth.

(Cp. Sh. *šotu·ko*, with the same meanings).

šu·tər a kind of mushroom, or truffle(?), Punj. *gučči*, Sh. *šonu·tər*.

(Not known to QUB. GB gives Sh. *šut̩*, mushroom. I have *šu·ṭ* toadstool).

šyu šyu, šyu ši.u ɛtʌs to whistle.

(Cp. Sh. *šyu· thorki*; Kho. *šyu· korik*, to whistle).

T, TH, and Ṭ, ṬH

1. *tā, -mots* x leopard. — *ta ɔ.ṭ* leopard's skin. Cp. Prov. 13.
2. *tha* hundred, one hundred. — *hik, a·lto, iski, honti tha* 100, 200, 300, 900.

335 b

000 *tʌ kutsolo* for a hundred days. 100.5. *thʌ sʌlo* 100 moulds of salt. 274.10. *tsindi ta rupiɴ* 500 rupees. 304.9. *uɴ tha uyoɴ Kɪsɔrɪ* all those 100 men of the Kisar family. 110.21. Cp. 102.19, 164.1, 310.11. Nov. 13.

ta.aɴm y food. — *bɪ šuɴa ta.aɴm detsirčai.i* what good food he is cooking! 124.11. *gutɪ ta.aɴm uɴ̃ bɪsʌntsɔm ɛt'ʌm?* what had you made this food of? 138.21. Cp. 84.9 ff. Ar. Prs.

taɴbi.a obedient. Ar. Prs.

thaɴiko v. *thaɴnɔm*.

taɴj y crown. 88.4. Prs.

taɴki so that. — *taɴki . . . uɴ̃tsɔm mʌddʌt dɪɴmərčʌm* so that I may seek help from you. 22.7. Cp. 34.13. Prs.

taɴlim y instruction, education. — *taɴlim gʌnɔm bai.i* he is educated. *taɴlim ičim bai.i* he has been given instruction. *taɴlim ɛ.ikinɔm bai.i* he has been taught. Ar. Prs.

taɴlumots, daɴlamots x pl. swollen glands, mumps(?), septic throat(?) — *taɴlumots du bi.en* mumps have come (to s.o.), i.e. (s.o.) has caught mumps.

It is said that a skilled woman puts her finger in the patient's throat and presses out the matter. (This can hardly apply to mumps). The black off cooking pots is applied as a remedy.

1. *thaɴn* place, spot. — *hithaɴn* one place, a certain spot. *hithaɴnɪ hʌɣɔrɪ itsu bila* at one place there is the hoof-mark of (his) horse. 288.1 ff. Cp. 190.1. *hitaɴnər niɴči biɴm* (the bear) was going somewhere. 228.13. *bɪ.ɔrum thaɴnɪ al amičiɴ dɪlaɴ* they have put up flags in a number of places. QUB. V. s.v. *hitaɴ*.

(Cp. H. *thaɴ*?).

3369

000 2. *thaʷn*, pl. *thaʷyo* x piece, or roll, of cloth (muslin etc.). H.

3. (*men*) *taʷn*, pl. *taʷyo* x (old) clothes. — *men taʷnʌn yoʷl* put on a set of old clothes.

thaʷnum, pl. hxy *thaʷrko*, *thai.iko*; also hx *-išo*, y *-iŋ* high, elevated, lofty, tall. — *thaʷnum hiʷr* a tall man. *thai.iko*, or *thaʷnumišo hiʷri* tall men. *ćiṣko thaʷrko bi.en* the mountains are high. *tom thaʷrko bitsʌn* the trees are tall. *thaʷnum hʌyuts* a high mountain-pass. *uŋe taʷrif thaʷnum goʷčʌm* I will exalt your reputation for you. 98.5. Cp. 362.8. *thaʷiko joŋe šərkoʷtse tʌk noʷtʌn* tying (the ropes) to the boughs of tall apricot trees. 316.12. QUB also: *th'ai.ikəroʷik baʷn* they are tall people.

thaʷnumkuṣ y height.

tanʷus, pl. *tʌnʷušo*, mortar (of stone or wood, for pounding things in). — *dʌne tanus* stone mortar. *huʷnə tanus* wooden mortar.

(In association with this word *yʌṭkus* was given as "pestle").

thaʷŋ -ićiŋ y.

1. Royal residence, palace, Mir's fort, Bu. *theʷŋuṣ*. *thʌmo taʷŋ* the Mir's residence. Cp. 10.3, 24.13, 212.21, 222.3, 328.4.

2. Mir's kitchen, royal cookhouse, Kho. *rʌteʌni* (bakehouse). *ṣʌpik*, originally *šuroʷ etʌs thaʷŋ* the Mir's bakehouse, kitchen.

ṭhaʷŋ *-*ʌtʌs* v. *ṭhʌŋ* *-*ʌtʌs*.

ta.očiŋ y pl., sg. *ta.uts*, foot-wrappers, leg-bandages, strips of skin wound round feet and ankles, Sh. *ta.ots*. — *ja ta.očiŋ kuraʷti mʌniṭsʌn* my leg-bandages have become hard, stiff. 128.21. *(ta.očiŋ taiyʌsər oʷr moškil*

ǰučila they encounter difficulty in putting them on. 132.4. *ta.očiǰ . . . nultʿan* (Ppa. of 2. **-ltaiyas*) putting on foot-wrappers. 128.23, 130.10, 132.2, 212.9. Cp. 128.21 — 132.3 passim, 210.9 ff. (Cp. Sh. *ta.ote*). ooo

1. *taʿp* y arrangement, condition, H. *tərtib*. — *uŋə taʿpan šuʿa bila* your arrangement is a good one. 60.18. *durowi šu.a taʿp bila* it is a good arrangement of the work. QUB. *hayur šu.a taʿpolo bi* the horse is in good condition. QUB. *gor taʿp ečam* I'll punish you. QUB. *šu.a taʿpe hiran bai.i* he is a good type of man(?). QUB.

2. *taʿp* evil, bad (thing), H. *bura*. — *taʿpan dimanimi.a?* has he been born an evil thing? 86.27. *taʿpe bər bila, bər taʿpe bila* it is an evil saying, it's a bad business.

QUB gave the following: *taʿp* = *yaʿǰki* = unworthy, inferior. — *taʿpe hiran bai.i* he is a wrong kind of man, H. *namumkin, namunasib*. *taʿpe dərʿo ečai.i* he does bad work(?). *taʿpe taʿpe etimi* he did ill, he acted badly (?).

(It seems probable that 1. *taʿp* and 2. *taʿp* are the same word, 2. *taʿp* being perhaps differentiated by a lengthened vowel and low tone to denote inferiority or contempt. In the last example I marked the first *taʿpe* as having a high tone and the second as having a low tone, the meaning being perhaps "good and bad", implying predominantly bad. In regard to the principle involved v. BSOS Vol. VIII. 1936. p. 634).

taʿrif y fame, reputation, renown. — *ja taʿrif bart bila* I have a high

reputation(?). 118.18. *but tavrifa padša bam* he was a king of great renown (glossed: H. *mašhur*). 122.6. Cp. 98.5. Ar. Prs. 000

thavrk -iŋ, -ičiŋ y walled enclosure (constructed round shrine, or saint's grave). — *murto xa ina . . . oltirum diš Tolalo tavrk ni bila* up to the present the place he showed them in Tol is there, made into an enclosure (lit. they having enclosed?) 294.19.

thavtini, th'atini, cold, i.e. without clothes. — *akale čamina ki tavtini berum den dimiwasuman* we have remained here hungry and cold (unclad?) for some years. 34.10.

ta.u fufaŋ, ta.u ǵufaŋ, pitch dark.[1]

ta.uts v. *ta.očiŋ*.

t(h)ayas v. 1. *thaiyas*.

tavu fresh. Prs.

tavzi (*kurk*) greyhound. Prs.

tab'aŋ, tabaŋ, y pl. bridle and bit, H. *lagam*. — *tabaŋ sti* put a bridle on (the horse). *ixači tabaŋ evoman* they put a bridle in his mouth. 78.22. *ivao kayur γonzže tabaŋ tili.aŋ asbab uyum nerigin* putting a golden bridle, saddle and all equipment on his horse. 76.10.

tabib hm physician, doctor. Ar. Prs.

tačap overwhelmed, exterminated, finished off, H. *tabah, γark*; completely, entirely. — *tačap čup stimi* he went quite silent, he didn't say a word. *tačap bel nimi* he perished without heirs. *tačap bel evoman* they exterminated them. 240.8. *uyum wakir tačap stoman* they all finished themselves off, i.e. slew each other. 32.6.

(Cp. Sh. *tačapiγ-u*, massacre, extermination. Kho. *tačaγ*, vanished,

337 b

[1] [see Corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p 544 - Analyst]

000 *tapaćuk bik* to sink into water and disappear).

tɔʃak quite, wholly, completely, Bu. syn. *tačap*. — *yuʃɔruʃ tɔʃak* (substitute for *ʃɔraq* in the text) *bel ovuʃ* you have completely extirpated his fathers (i.e. his father and father's brothers). 242.15.

thaʃam manuʃ to go lame (of an animal). (Cp. Sh. *tɔʃam borzki*, to stumble).

tɔʃaq quite clear smooth ground, overflow of water.

tɔʃaq manuʃ, *tɔʃuʃ* m., v.i. to spill, overflow (on a small scale, e.g. of liquid in a vessel), to melt (and flow?). — *čaiʃ piʃuliʃlo tɔʃaq maiʃibila* the tea in the cup is spilling over the edge. QUB. *taiʃ aso taiʃpiʃlo tsʰil tɔʃaq manum juʃ'an* like water in a shallow vessel spilling over. QUB. (An expression applied to foolish people who talk much, or to a person with small means who would do great things). (Cp. *tɔʃau*).

tɔʃau manuʃ v.i. to spill over, overflow (of things on a big scale). — *sinda hol ne tɔʃau maiʃibila* the river is overflowing, spilling over, its banks QUB.

tɔʃau etʃ to scoop out, bail out. — *gotsilulum tsʰil hol ne tɔʃau ečʃ* they are bailing water out of the irrigation channel. QUB.

The reduplicated form *teʃatɔʃau* denotes repeated spilling over. *pʃoriʃ tsʰil teʃatɔʃau maiʃibila* means that the pond is brimful and that the water is swinging backwards and forwards and spilling over the edge. QUB.

(Cp. *tɔʃaq manuʃ*. The Sh. *tɔrauʃ*, which seems to be used of the over-

000 flowing of a river, or of water lapping at the edge of a river, is probably the same word).

thaγay, pl. *thagaçiŋ*, y pergola, framework supporting vines.

ʔaγar -ʒlo x big neck.

(Cp. Pra. and Wkh. *taγarv*).

taγay y wrought mud (for building); bog (?). H. *gava*, Pra. *gil*. — *buwa taγay* dry, i.e. stiff, mud. *ket taγ'ayan ke xa ap'al'ʔa* even this mud has not fallen-down. 170.9. Cp. 276.4, 334.6. (Cp. Sh. *tag'a*).

1. *ʃhak -ʒlo* swindler, cheat. — *ʃhakan baiʃ* he is a cheat. *kuv ʃhakʒlo bavn* these people are swindlers. (Cp. Sh. *ʃhag*). H.

2. *ʃak -anʃ* x strings for fastening front of choga, button.

(Cp. Sh. *ʃak*, Yasin Kho. *ʃak* button, strings for tying women's veil).

3. *ʃak* exact, equal. — *teq 40 kuts maniwi ke* when exactly (?) 40 days have passed. 80.17. *ʃak* *-*amanas* to equal, rival, vie with. *ʃak aiy'amanam* I was unable to compete; come level with. IYR H. *barabari ne karsaka*.

(Cp. Sh. *ʃak*, equal to, enough for, sufficient for. *ʃak waiorzki*, to be equal to, to be a match for).

ʃak *-*atas* to tie, fasten, tie up. — *ivuso jiqeçiŋ dumoryas ivuo ʃʒlo kiʃ tag ofisi* pulling out her sleeves he tied them in front of his own neck. 146.15. *kaγar ʃak ofi* tie up the horse, *itin ʃak ofin* tie them (the horses) up. Xa. Cp. 64.10, 310.10, 316.12, 355.16.

(Cp. 2. *ʃak* and Sh. *ʃak thorzki* to tie, fasten).

338 b

thʌk ɛtʌs, *tʌq ɛtʌs* to knock in (a peg), to knock s.t. 000

The first form and meaning were given verbally by IYB. The second form probably represents the same word. It occurs in:

(*iʼriŋ*) *tʌq ɛtumʌn* they gave his hand a knock. 242.18.

(Perhaps *thʌk*. Cp. H. *thʌkthʌk* and *thōʼkna*. Cp. Kho. *tʌk tʌk korik*, to knock at the door).

tʌkliʼf y trouble, worry. — *uŋ iʼnər bese tʌklif iɛhiɛa* why do you worry him? *tʌkliʼf aiyæɛhi* don't worry me. Ar. Prs.

tʌksiʼr y offence, fault. Ar. Prs.

tʌkurʼr N. barber. (Cp. Sh. *thʌkur*).

tʌxpa, QUB *tʌqpa* y news, information, H. *xʌbər*. — *nam tʌxpa gaiyʌm* I shall go and get news (whether the King will see you). 136.25. (Cp. Sh. *tʌkpa*, known, H. *maʼlum*. Balti *hrtʌxpa*, information). Tib. (*rtagspa*).

tʌxša EOL, *tʌqša* QUB, *-miŋ*, *-iŋ* y niche, recess (in wall).

(Cp. Sh. *tʌkša*). Prs. (*taqča*).

tʌxt y throne, howda, travelling-litter. — *ɛsmaʼntsum . . . han tʌxtʌnets Šahri Bano dumuʼtsumʌn* they brought Š. B. from the sky on a litter. 14.2. *tʌxt ɛ ramanʼn* travelling litter. 78.3. *Gilts tʌxtʌts hurutimi* he took his seat on the throne of Gilgit. 384.18. Cp. 92.5. *hastowʌts tʌxt nʼeribišen* putting the howda on the elephant. 76.20. Prs.

tʌxta puɛ (*nimaʼzi*) y praying-carpet, skin used as a mat for praying on, Prs. *jaʼi nimaʼz*, *mujalla*. Skin used as a bed-quilt. 288.2. Prs.

1. *tʌl* -*miŋ*, EOL -*iŋ*, *y*.

a. Ceiling, roof (from inside). — *mi haʼ tʌl bʌliʼla* our house has been

roofed. (Metaph.) *myafe tal halivin* sorrow, or misfortune has fallen on me. QUB. Perhaps also under this head come the expressions: —
. . . *tal halivin* I, you, etc., have become hungry, *chamisu gumanu*. . . .
tal dovivin = *gurî walî bî* (you) have become hungry (?). QUB.

b. Palate. *yafum tal* roof of mouth.

c. Eyelid (upper). *ordinu yafum tal* my eyelid. (Cp. Sh. *tal* ceiling, *tavlo* palate).

2. *tal* -iq, N. -miq, y birch tree.
3. *tal* -jo x pigeon. — *talo taljo* . . . *dumis* seven pigeons have come. 12.16. *taljirî dunyan* some pigeons have come. 148.6.
4. *tal* stagnant, standing, slow-flowing. — *tall tal manivin* the water has become spread out like a lake, or marsh (H. *jhil*). *sinda tal* the slack (water) of the river(?).
5. *tal* -eq y convolvulus, bindweed.

thal'a gently, slowly, quietly, softly. — *thala thala sti* do it gently.
thala gutikhoras to go along slowly.
thala ownas to speak low, whisper.
gorunimotum ammu tal'a doy arudai the mullah enquires of the bride quietly, in a low voice. 302.18.

talaq y divorce. — *talaq* *-*thi.as*, — *ifas*, — *d ifonas* to divorce s.o. *Pano yunnar talaq wuthivai* he divorced her.

The customs of divorce are stated to be as follows: When a man divorces his wife he presents her with five rupees, representing the old *dark paci* (v. s.v. *dark*). He has also to make payment to the authorities. He pays the Mir : *lari*, i.e. R. 12, but the Wazir and Tarkhans take turns in receiving it in place of the Mir.

586 The divorcing husband has further to provide six portions of butter, one for the Mir, one for the Wazir and one each for the Muqaddams of the "Four Tribes". One of the last is designated by the Mir "spurm" (senior) for a period of 2, 3, or 4 years. The Mir passes on his butter to this Muqaddam, and the Wazir bestows his on some friend. These portions of butter are called *phalka* q.v.

Women used to be able to divorce their husbands if they had no children within two years (presumably when this was owing to failure on the man's part).

They can still be given divorce by order of a tribal council (*jirga*), but the right is seldom granted.

Bewishi talaq, "Dom's divorce". This term is applied to the divorcing of a wife on account of bad conduct. In this case her dowry is not repaid to her and neither *tarh* nor *phalka* is given by the divorcing husband. He may on the other hand recover a fine from the wife's father. The Doms themselves had originally no divorce and did not pay taxation. The Mir has now introduced them to both these amenities of the higher civilisation. *Ar. Pra.*

000 *talorm, tal.ao -mate* shallow (*of* water, bowl etc.). — *tal.ao khapoo* shallow spoon. EOL.

1. *talov* search, seeking for. — *Shamaner talov chomas* they searched for a King. 366.2. Pra.
2. *talov, talai* effort, endeavour; haste; quickly, without delay. —
   talov oti make haste, hurry.
   talov ou ja come quickly, come at

000 once. N. *talrí jwin* come quickly. (So also in Kho.). Pra.?

talab y pay, salary. — *talab ov bila* he gets pay. Ar. Pra.

thalobey v. *dey*.

thalokate y.

1. Period of seven days. — *hik thalokate bila* it is a week.
2. The seven days following a death, after which certain observances are carried out. V. 314.7 ff.

thalokatum appears to be used as an ablative with temporal significance: *talokatum damas ke kotum kots drotum* after the seven-days they bring the master of the house also out of the house. 314.9.

(*thalo*, seven + *kots*, days q.v.).

tal'ymas, *talr(y)-*, Impv. *talra*, *-in*, Pra. *nell'alas*, to go round, to cross over (a pass); to return, to circle round (of bird, aeroplane).

The negative prefix is *ov-*, but it appears to be accompanied by an *-i-*. Thus I recorded the Pat. 3 sg. *ovltalaimi*, and the neg. Impv. *ovtalra*, but added an *-i-*, *ovltalra*, whether as an optional addition I cannot say.

Pret. 1. sg. *talramm*. — *kayatr(ow) talramas* to cross the pass. *khorlis ovltalaimi* he won't cross today. *kal-talramm mayor* the sphere of communal labour beyond Khaibar, lit. "across the bridge" (?) *talrí bi* it (the female goat or sheep) is seeking the male, appears to belong to this verb.

[illegible] talramas. 1. To go round, revolve round, appears to be used as an expression of well-wishing or honour. Cp. the Persian *dour i ourat gardam*; and the Kho. *yarum* I go round. The idea is probably: "I

circulate round you to ward off danger or harm". *tal'eyam ga kev* I am going to turn. Look out ozen! 246.15. 2. To go round, petition to, worry, pester. *ausva tal-ebs* you are worrying me. (Cp. *-italanas*). 000

tal'ono, pl. *tal'onomots*, x faggot. — *talanomots pha*, 394.9, *phaw talanomots*. 384.12, fire-faggots, burning faggots.

(Cp. Sh. *tal'ono*, *tal'ano*, *tal'ono*, faggot; *apuvo talono* burning faggots).

thale v. *thalo*.

th'ale.wlam, *thale.'wlam*, N. *thalalam*, seventh.

1. *t'ali*, *-mots*, *talents* x ascent or descent of a mountain. — *Trughal but thawam t'alion bi* the Trughal Pass is a very high ascent.

2. *tali*, *tale* occurs only as a postposition or adv. in a few expressions: — *ridipow tali* (*or*, *tale*) round about. 300.10, 394.9. Cp. § 84. *gone lapa holi tali daltas bi* this chogs is good on the outside. EOL. *wli tali daltas apaiti bi* it doesn't look good on the inside. EOL. *gow tali* below. EOL. *hawapo tali* between. (Cp. *talawas?*).

thali.o, N. *thale.o*, *-mots* x wicker-basket, N. open-mouthed basket.

(Cp. Sh. *thal'o*, GB *thaly'o*, basket. Khe. *thal'o*, basket).

thalirus -mots. x the first and last sunlight striking on the mountain tops. — *ano thalirus* "the sun on the distant hills, shade all round the speaker". *thalirus manimi* the sun has quite gone, but its light still appears on the mountain tops. *talirumots tam manimis* the sunset glows have gone off the mountains. EOL.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

1. *t'ʌliṣ*, pl. *t'ʌliʌaṇ*, y swaddling-clothes, the cloth in which an infant is wrapped. 854

The child is laid on the cloth with, in winter, a supply of dried cowdung to keep it warm and to absorb its urine. In the hot weather sand is substituted for cowdung.

The child is then rolled up in the cloth and the resulting bundle is tied round with a bandage, *taliṣe ʌan*, (H. *patti*).

The verb used to describe the process is *-ltaliʌas*, from which *taliṣ* is probably a derivative.

Čuram talṣolo ʌam Ch. was in swaddling-clothes. 242.17. (Cp. Sh. *taliṣ*).

2. *tal'iṣ -iṇ* y large spindle on to which spun yarn is wound from small spindle, and from which it is eventually wound off into balls. 000

joṭ ganṭaṭum thiṣtum tal'iṣʌṭs imaltorčum. Ho tal'iṣtum loṭo di.uljam they wind the spindleful of yarn from the small spindle on to the *taliṣ*, and then they wind it from the *tal'iṣ* into a ball.

thʌlo h x y; *thʌls* x seven, — *thʌlo hirri* seven men. *tʌlo gušiṇʌnts* 7 women. 180.10. Cp. 116.2, 192.10. *tʌlo tʌljo* 7 pigeons. 16.14. *thʌlo hakičʌṇ* 7 houses. *thʌlo ʌadʌṇ* 7 paces. 312.10. *thal'ʌsa* 7 months. *thalskuts* (v. s.v.) 7 days. *tʌls dʌm* 7 years. Cp. 210.3. *thʌls hʌṣi* 7 times. *thʌls kum* 7 pairs,sets. *thʌlo aččkum* "The Seven Brothers", the name of a constellation conceived as representing seven brothers on a journey, one of whom got left behind. (Cp. Wkh. *hʌb ʌ'rʌt*, the Great Bear. Skold). 821

341b

000 *talt'aq -ršo* h beggar, mendicant; poor, impoverished. — *uṇṇ baba taltaq 'etam* I have made your father a beggar, reduced him to penury. 142.6. *Puno taltak imanimi* Puno became impoverished. 212.18.

(Cp. Sh. *talt'ako*, "thin", poor(?), starved?).

taltaquṇyo, pl. *taltaquṇy-ršo, -omuts* poverty-stricken, destitute; hereditary poor-man. Used as a term of abuse and contempt.

1. *tham -o* hm ruler, sovereign, king, chief, "Mir". Used specially of the hereditary rulers of the states of Hunza and Nagir. It is not ordinarily substituted in stories of foreign origin for the Persian *padša*.

The term is being displaced by *Mir* which is used by outsiders and has been adopted by the Indian Government.

The pl. *thamo* is used as an inclusive term for all the members of the ruling family, and also, it would appear, as a respectful singular. *thamo uyon Safdar Xanı ka ni bam* all the members of the ruling family had gone off with S. Kh. 346.3.

It is probably singular in the following:

thamo uyonum čap ekman they kept it secret from the Tham. 192.6. *thamo ołpači . . . jučam* he used to come to the Tham. 208.10. *thamon bešan uyomor šel očon* the Tham makes them take precedence in everything. 348.2. *thamo amolor ni.as manimi ki* when the Tham has to go anywhere, 348.3. *thamo thaṇ* the Mir's (or, Mirs'?) palace, residence 212.21, 328.4.

000 Used as a title—name follows the personal name.

The word in normal use in the sg. and pl. occurs repeatedly in texts No.s 35, 37, 38, 40, 41.

The following are further references: 6.2, 24.1, 116.4, 240.2, 260.2, 266.20, 274.9, 278.6, 294.13, 300.11 ff., 314.14, 350.4.

(For the relationships of the word see: "A new Central Asian Language" by F. W. Thomas, J.R.A.S. April 1926, p. 313).

2. *ʃam*, Nz. *tam*, closed, shut. — *gute hiŋ ʃam bila* this door is shut *hiŋ ʃam e* (or, *eti*) close the door. *itse hiŋ ʃam ne* closing the door after him. 52.6.

(Cp. Sh. *tam* (GB *ʃam*) *thorki*, to shut).

3. *ʃam delas* v.i. to bathe, wash, swim, H. *ʈʊ:l k.*, *nahana*, *tairna* — *tam *-adilas* v.t. to wash, bathe. *sindulo* (or, *sindaʃe*) *tam delas* to swim in the river. *mu guse pforilo tam deljan* now let us bathe in this pond. 14.1. *gušiŋants uriŋciŋeʃe ʃar ne tam deljan* women swim reaching forwards with the hands under the water. QUB. N. *belis tam delas* to swim like a dog (*lit.* sheep). (This also I think refers to women's swimming). *tam edilumar* when they have washed (the corpse). 310.7. *ja Missi Baba tam medilam* I gave "Missy Baba" a bath. EOL. *tsilulo tham eti* dip it in the water. EOL.

(Cp. Sh. *tam dorki* v.i. to bathe, swim).

4. *ʃham etas*, (*manav*) to sweep, clean; to clear out, make a clean sweep of. — *isumalaʃe ʃham eti* sweep with

a (yak's) tail. *pforpusafa tham eti* sweep with a besom. *dukava tam ne* sweeping the shop. 166.16. *gan ev tham ever* in order to sweep the road for him. 358.16. *guv bifsuman . . . tham ne tsumi* clearing out all the wheat there was, he carried it off. 142.1. Cp. 172.19. *guv tifi.wdem tam manimi* the wheat was cleared out from the pit. 140.9. Cp. 140.14. (Cp. Sh. *tham thorki*, to sweep).

5. *tam—tam taf ihor* a smooth, perpendicular cliff (a clean, slippery, or smooth cliff).

6. *tam* a disease that attacks wheat. — *guve tam nibila, guve tam dwaila* the wheat has become affected by *tam*.

tama y greed, covetousness; greedy. — *tama gane* out of greed. *bud tama sisan* a very greedy person. EOL. Ar. Pra.

tamaku y sg. a single tobacco plant, y pl. tobacco. — *čilima tamaku* pipe-tobacco. *nasewa tamaku* snuff. *tamaku mow'on) bi* it is a tobacco plant, *ev*, contemptuously, a very small quantity of tobacco. *tamaku muwande (bi.e)* the stalks of the tobacco plant pounded. Pra.

tamam all, entire. — *ye furin, tamaman furin* now come, all of you come. 82.2. (Whether the *-an* is the Bu. suffix of "oneness", or the Ar. adverbial suffix, is not clear). Ar. Pra.

tamasa, pl. *tamasa.ing*, M. pl. *-ming*, y.
1. Amusement, game, play, diversion. *tamasa stas* to play, amuse, disport o.s. (of children or adults). *tamasa sčawa?* are they playing (games)? *fotimatse ka hoipa tamasa stasor nimi* he went out to play with the children. 364.8.

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2. Spectacle, display, public entertainment, "sports", a "show". — *mew tamaʿšan ači* he will provide us with a spectacle. 116.6. *guʿimo tšāṇum tamaʿšew boren* watch the spectacle from the top of your roof. 286.5. *gwe gupse ke tamaʿšar ayoʿkičiṇ ačan ṇučan* the women folk also dress up and come to the entertainment, "show". 330.2.

In the following it is either the genitive or used adjectivally: *tamaʿšu hayoren bi* it is a show horse, i.e. a wonderfully good horse. Ar. Prs.

tamaʿšakij forming a spectacle, worth looking at; ridiculous. 116.3. (Prs.).

tamanča -mots x pistol, revolver.

(Cp. Psht. *tamaʿnča*, Sh. *tamanča*, also given as Persian by Steingass).

am'anuakij arrogant, contemptuous of others, H. *mayrw*, *mast*. (Ar. Prs.).

tambuk, pl. *-ṇo*, *-uts*, N. *-ivats*, x popinjay, y the sport of shooting at the p. — *tambuk delas* to shoot at, or to hit, the popinjay. N. *tambuk diʿtsas* to engage in shooting at the popinjay.

(Here *diʿtsas* possibly refers to making one's horse gallop down the course, cp. *tayoru diʿtsas*).

(Cp. Sh. *tambuk*, Kho. *tambuk*, *tambuṇ*).

thamiʿni, last year. — *thamiʿni den* last year. *thamʿine khuʿin* last year and this year. *tamiʿni gow den ke* last year and the year before. 214.12.

thamiʿnimo pertaining to last year, last year's. — *thamiʿnimo den* last year. *tamʿinoupuum* from, since, last year. 314.14.

tamlam N. y pl. sheet lightning.

OOO *thʌmkuš* y "tham"-ship, kingship, sovereignty. — *M. M. N. Xanɪ thʌmkuše* during the thamship of M. M. N. Khan, in the reign of . . . 106.4. 116.17, 238.9, 346.8.

tʌmtʌm etʌs IYB to strike metal, to beat clothes (in washing them). (Not known to QUB. Cp. 3. *tʌn*).

tʌm'us, pl. *tʌm'ušiŋ*, y the hot weather days after the solstice, the dog days. — *tʌmus etʌs* (*bila*) (it is necessary in the dog days) to break up and soften ground.

The plural is said to be used where several fields are in question.

*-*th'ʌn*, pl. *-thaiyo*, x top, tip, point; vertex, centre line of top of head, parting line of hair. — *čhiše ithʌnulo, tomɪ ithʌnulo* on the top of the mountain, of the tree. *čhiše itʌnər nɪ·mo* she went to the top of the mountain. 108.11. *sɪ·le ithʌn* the point of a needle. *ithʌn dikʌrʌs*[1] to divide the hair down the middle of the head.

This is done with a small stick *ganč-efe* (*lit.* spindle).

gutʌn traq nuko gudeljʌm splitting you down the centre line of your head I shall hit, *or* kill you (the meaning is: I shall strike you on the top of your head and cleave you in two). 148.23. Cp. 230.6.

N. *i·t'ʌnulu* (i.e. *it'ʌnulum?*) first, opposed to *mu·šulu* last.

(Cp. also Bu. *-*thʌnʌs*).

1. *tʌn* bastard. — *tʌn dukumʌnum* you bastard born. *tʌn pforopuš*, bastard. (Cp. *tʌno*).

2. *tʌn* only recorded in: *tʌn lʌq* quite naked, stark naked.

(Probably Pis. *tʌn*, body. Cp. Sh. *tʌn nano* stark naked).

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[1] [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

000 3. *tʌn* the noise of beating, beating with a noise; smacking. Also reduplicated: — *tʌntʌn, tʌtʌn. tʌn ne delimi* he beat him (implying noise). *gʌtoŋ tʌn(tʌn) ečʌ·n* they thump, keep thumping, the clothes (in washing them). *indiliŋ tʌtʌn stimi* he kept thumping his breast. *gu.ʌ·s tʌtʌn ·ʌtʌs* to slap, smack, a child.

(Cp. Sh. *tʌn thʌ·rki* to beat, smack, (the breast)).

1. *tʌnʌ·s, tai(y)-*, Ppa. *nultʼʌn* v.t. to pound (y objects). — *gʌr hičokʌn thʌibʌ·n* they pound one "*čoq*" of wheat. 314.1.

Fut. sg. 1. *thaiyʌm.*

Pret. sg. 1. *thʌnʌ·m.* (Cp. *-*ltʌnʌs*).

2. *tʌnʌ·s*, pl. *tʌnʌ·šo* x a pounder, beater (used when washing clothes).

(Presumably the Noun Agent of 1. *tʌnʌ·s*).

1. *-*thʌnʌs*, pl. *-*thʌnʌšo*, x centre line of top of head, top of mountain. — *itʼʌnʌsʌ xa nivdxlin* striking him on the centre line of his head. 230.2. Cp. 230.6. *čhivʌ·ithʌnʌsʌr du·simi* he went up to the top of the mountain. (Cp. *-*thʌs*).

2. *thʌnʌs*, pl. *thʌnʌšo*, x wooden ladle (at water-cisterns for public use). — *γolkʌtum thʌnʌs* the cistern ladle.

tʌndu·r N. v. *tʌnu·r.*

tʌndʌrʌst, N. pl. -*išo*, healthy, in good health. — *tʌndʌrʌst bʌ·n* they are well. Prs.

tʌne·lo v. 2. *tʌno.*

tʌnxʌ y pay, salary. — *dʌwʌ·sumʌn tʌnxʌ* pay remaining over, i.e. arrears of pay. Ar. H.

1. *tʌno* lower end of an animals gut where dung collects before it is expelled. QUB. (= Punj. *ojhṛi* IUB).

2. *tʌno, tʌnɛ·lo*, pl. *tʌnɛ·lo-mots, -tiŋ*, 000
bastard, base-born. (Cp. 1. *tʌn*).

tʌnuɛ·r, -iŋ, -iʃiŋ, -miŋ; N. *tʌnduɛ·r -iŋ*,
y oven (hole in the ground). Prs.

1. *tʌŋ*.

a. Adj. hard up, in straits; vexed, annoyed. — *ʃi.ʌsər šʌpi·kɛ tʌŋ bʌm* he was hard up for food to eat. 34.3. *hʊru·tʌsər padša tʌŋ imai.i bai.i* on her sitting down the King becomes vexed. 120.16.

b. Noun y scarcity, shortage. — *Hunzolo tsilɛ but tʌŋ bilum* in Hunza there was great scarcity of water. 352.8. Prs.

2. *ʃhʌŋ* N. up to, as far as. Hz. to the furthest limit of, H. *ɑ·xɛr sɛrretʌk̩*. — *um ʌmolirɛ tʌŋ niču ba? kolerɛ tʌŋ* as far as where (= how far) are you going? as far as here, i.e. how far . . .? . . . so far. *Sərigul ʃhʌŋ naɛ·n daiyʌm* I went to the furthest point of S. and returned. QUB.

(Cp. Sh. *ʃhʌŋ*, up to, + dat.).

ʃhʌŋ *-*ʌtʌs*, *ʃhaɛ·ŋ* *-*ʌtʌs*, v.t. to push, shove. — *mɛnʌn ʃhʌŋ ɛtʌs* to push s.o. *gukər utsi tʌŋ eti* push yourself against them, i.e. jostle them. 256.6,10. *ʃhaɛ·ŋ* denotes slow, gentle action, and so is used of helpful pushing. *gʊltuɛ·rʌʃɛ yʌʃɛ gusɛ čʌrʌʃɛ taɛ·ŋ ɑ* with your horn push me up on to the top of this cliff. 132.20,22. Cp. 144.1. *hʊrɣo dʌl hʌɣʊr ʃhaɛ·ŋ ečomɛ di.uɛ·simi* pushing the horse up the slope he got it to the top. *ʃhʌŋ ɛtʌs* to push the earth to either side, the equivalent of harrowing, with a shovel.

(Cp. Sh. *ʃhʌŋ thoɛ·rki*; Kho. *ʃhʌŋ korik*, to push, shove).

tʌŋgi y dearth, scarcity. Prs.

1. *tʌp*, pl. *-oŋ*, EOL *-uŋ*, y leaflet, petal; leaf, page (of book). — *iski tʌp ʒɪrqa* 3-leaved grass, i.e. trefoil, clover. 777

Specimens with four or more leaflets are searched for, and those with 4 and 6 leaflets are considered "lucky".

(Perhaps the same word is to be seen in Sh. *tʌpi bʌt*, very thin stone, shale).

2. *thʌp -ičʌŋ* y night. — *thʌp uyom* all night. *sa thʌp* day and night. 116.15. *tʌpe*, *tʌpe.i* at night. 4.16, 94,1. *thʌpmo* at night. *ivte th'ʌpe.i* (or, *thʌpər*) that night. *trʌŋ thʌp*, *thʌpe trʌŋ* midnight. *kuʷlto nim thʌp* last night. *ev tʌp mʌnimi* it became night for him, i.e. night overtook him. 234.2. *tʌp bilom* it was night. 198.1. Cp. 358.7, 384.9. Prov 26. 000

(Cp. Chilāsi Sh. *tʌp*, dark).

ʈʌpʈʌp with a tapping sound. — *hərʌlt ʈʌpʈʌp mai.ibila* the rain is tapping down. *ʒu yaʷr ne ʈʌpʈʌp šel'iči.en* the apricots are falling tap, tap, tap.

(Cp. Sh, *tʌptʌp*, dropping, spitting of rain).

1. tʌq *-ʌtʌs.

V.t. to break into pieces, smash, cut up. — *sʌnduqʌʈe dʌn isərk tʌq ne gʌtom di.usin* smash down a stone on the box and breaking it up take out the clothes. 24.18. *gutʌs tʌq ne* cutting up the corpse into bits. 226.3. *čʌp taʷq* (i.e. *tʌq*) *netʌn* cutting up the meat. 338,14, 340,12, 384.23.

V.i. *tʌq mʌnʌʷs*, *tʌq *-mʌnʌs* to break in pieces, be smashed, crushed. — *ikərenʒ tʌq imʌnimi. ivse tʌq imʌnom čʌma* . . . (the brooch) broke in pieces of itself. The brooch that was broken in pieces. 164.18. *tʌq*

3456

mʌnumɪšo bi.en, tʌq mʌnumiŋ bitsa, refer to things broken up.

(Cp. Sh. *tʌk thoːrki* v.t., *tʌk boːrki* v.i., to break etc.).

2. *tʌq*, v. 3. *ʈʌk, ʈʌk* *-*ʌtʌs*, and *thʌk etʌs*.

tʌqʌbbʊr, tʌqʌbbʊri y arrogance swagger. — *tʌqʌbbʊr(i) etʌsʌn bai.i* he is arrogant, he puts on side. Ar. Prs.

tʌqsiːm *-*ʌtʌs* to divide, apportion. Ar.Prs.

1. *ʈər*.

a. Bit, fragment, half, small piece, IUB H. *ʈukəra, niːm, riːza*. — *dʌn ʈər mʌnimi* the stone was broken to bits. *yuːʈis ʈər mʌnimi* his leg was broken (in pieces?). Cp. *ʈərumʈər*.

b. Small field (smaller than *mʌl*) a piece of a field. — *mʌlə tər* half a field. EOL.

(Cp. Sh. *ʈər*, piece, half a chupatty; *ʈər thoːrki* to cut, cut in two, sever).

2. *tər* blow with open hand, cuff. — *tər eːti* give him a cuff.

3. *tər* quite, completely, very.

Only recorded in:

tər dʌɣʌnʊm(ʌn) bai.i he is a very robust man. *hʌɣʊr tər dʌɣʌnʊm(ʌn) bi* the horse is sturdy, fullbodied (?).

(Perhaps a variant of 5. *dər*. Cp. Sh. *tər buːro*, all light-coloured ?).

1. *tərəːzu -mots* x scales (for weighing). Unknown till recently, except for weighing gold. Prs.

2. *tərəːzu* the name of a constellation, Libra (?). Prs.

tərʌḍo, tərʌro lazy, idle, slack, feeble, H. *sust*. (Cp. Sh. *tərʌḍo*, slack and incompetent).

tərʌḍe.i y slackness, idleness.

(This would be the normal form in Sh. of the abstract noun corresponding to *tərʌḍo*).

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000 *tərʌm*, v. *thʌqʌm*.
1. *tərʌq*. 242.15. V. s.v. *təḍʌk*.
2. *tʌrʌq* Hz. & N. poor.
tʌrau, v. *tʌḍau*.
thər'enum, pl. *thər'eviko*, *thər'enumɪšo*, N. *tʌreyaʌko*, narrow. — *gʌn tʌr'enum bila* the road is narrow.
thər'es, pl. *thəresšo*, orphan (lacking both parents, or one). — *yuʌu* (i.e., *yuʌy*) *ʌpʌm thəres* fatherless boy. *muʌu ʌpʌm thəres dʌsin* fatherless girl. *iʌmi ʌpom thəres* motherless boy. *mumi ʌpom thəres dʌsin* motherless girl. *uʌŋ təres hilesʌ* you fatherless boy. 70.22.
(Cp. Sh. *thəresʌ*, parentless orphan).
ṭhər'iʌ, *-muts* x polo-ball.
Originally local, made of chenar wood, now of bamboo-root, imported from India.
theriʌtsʌ duʌn catch the polo-ball.
ʌmesulo tər'i yʌmi the polo-ball hit my tooth. 158.11.
(Cp. Sh. *ṭər'i*, GB *ṭhairī*).
415 *təriŋ -ičiŋ*, N. pl. *-ičʌŋ* y an animal's skin prepared for use as a bag for holding milk, butter etc.; also inflated, for rafts, or as a support for swimming. H. *mʌšk*. — *marče* (QUB *maročiʌ*) *təriŋ* a chillie, capsicum capsule.
(Cp. Sh. *təriʌŋi*, skin for holding milk).
000 *t'əriš*, *təreš*, pl. *t'əri.ʌŋ*, y gap, hole (large). — *tərišʌn bʌlimi* a (big) hole appeared. 54.5.
tərk -ičʌŋ. y byre, hut for animals, IUB *mʌweši rʌkhne ka mʌkaʌn*. — *bura tərk* cow byre. *huy'esə tərk* sheep and goat house. 108.23,25, 386.9.
tərk'aʌn, *tərkaʌʌn*, *tərk'ʌn*, pl. *tərk'aiyo* h a person who is not liable to have to carry loads. 342.7.

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tərkaŋ -ičiŋ y stable, H. *iṇṭabai*. — *itse tərkaŋolo tak ortin* tie them (the horses) up in the stable. *Aγtore tərkaŋər dumormo* she came to the horses' stable. 108.21. Cp. 118.2. *tərkaŋ*. 386.8. 000

tərkaj quiver, x (wooden), y (of leather). Prs. (*tirkaš*).

tərkoŋ, thərkoŋ, y sg. and pl.

1. Feathers of an arrow. — *humise tərkoŋtse čərkowe dunimi* the cliffs closed on (caught) the feathers of the arrow. 156.8.
2. Fin of fish. *čhumo tərkoŋ*.
3. Blades of mill-wheel. Also recorded for N. with this meaning (*tərkuŋ*).

(QUB gave *t-* and *th-* as alternatives, also *thərtoŋ*).

ṭhər manum outsider, interloper. A term of abuse used by original holders of land to immigrants. 264.1.

tərmuk -ičiŋ, N. *termuk -ičaŋ*, y stone-bow, pellet bow, H. *gulel*.

(QUB *t-*, IUB *ṭ-*. Cp. Sh. *thərmuk*).

tərə -muts x cowdung beetle.

tərumtər in pieces, in bits, H. *turkra turkra*. — *ise ašdər tərumtər stimi* he cut the monster in pieces. 282.17. *jame . . . t'ərumt'ər manij* may the bow break in pieces! 172.5. Cp. 172.8.

(Cp. 1. *tər*. *tərum tər* = piece from piece).

thas -miŋ y smoke. — *gatuŋ . . . tasaie stimi* he held the clothes to the smoke. 14.9. Cp. 16.20. Prov. 29.

tasbihamuts x pl. rosary. QUB gave also *tasbih*.

(Cp. *tašbiramuts*). Ar. Prs.

taskas, taskič-, Pret. sg. 1. *taskam*, Impv. *taske*, neg. *ortaski*.
*-taskas, *-taskič-*, Pret. sg. 1. *-taskam*.
Pn.pf. *i-*, *mu-*.

347a

1. To draw, pull, drag. — *itaskas* to drag (a man, rope, wood). *wutaskas* to drag a woman.

   The form without the Pu.pf. seems to be used in:

2. To draw (a bow). — *jams* (y) *taskuv bila* the bow is to be drawn. 168.20. *ṭams taskumas* ... *wuf'askin* (ppe). 170.5. (*ṭams*) *taskimi*. 170.16, 172.5. *jams ja taskumar* when I draw the bow. 172.5.

3. To smoke (tobacco, opium). — *afyun* (y) *taskuv* to smoke opium. *čilam* (x) *taskuv* to smoke a (tobacco-) pipe. EOL recorded N. *sigarit* (x) *taskuv* to smoke a cigarette. *tamoku* (y) *taskuv* to smoke tobacco.

tasma -*miq*, N. pl. -*q*, *y* strap. Pra.

tasuwir, *tasbir*, -*iq*, *y* picture, photograph. — *tasuwir dimas* to take a photograph. Ar. Pra.

taṭ *-*manas* to slip. — *taṭ okuman(ṭ)* don't slip. *gots dzi taṭ minanas bila* this is a place where we slip, i.e. this is a slippery place. (Cp. Sh. *taṭ berdi*).

1. *taṭ* -*miq* *y* slippery perpendicular cliff, smooth cliff.

   Also as an adj. smooth, slippery. — *taṭ čhor*, *tam taṭ čhor* a smooth perpendicular cliff (which is impassable).

2. *tḥaṭ* the *ṭ*- form of *tḥaiganas*, to go out (of doors). 91.6.

taṭ taṭ noise of rubbing. Given as the equivalent of *ṭarq ṭarq*.

taṭb'ismots, *taṭr'ismots*, *x* pl. prayer-beads, rosary.

(Cp. *tasbihamots*. From Ar. *tasbīḥ*).

'aṭpi -*mots* *x* a wooden vessel (large and shallow).

402 *ɦaṭakas*, pl. *-ḫuṡo* x a piece of wood suspended so that with one end resting on the revolving upper millstone it leans against the tray into which the grain falls from the hopper. The vibration produced by the millstone is communicated by it to the tray and causes the grain to flow slowly through into the hole in the revolving millstone.

000 *taf'ayer* v. *daf'ayer*.

taf'apal, *taf'aper* Ha. & N., *-rṡo* x bat (animal). — *taf'apal ju.'an hil'eas ḫoli* he is a thin, weak (*lit.* bat-like) youth. QUB. (Cp. Sh. *talhrpan*, bat).

ɦaṭaqas, pl. *ɦaṭaqado*, x a kind of bird, redstart(?).

524 *f'aṭaq manare* to play a game resembling draughts with small stones on a diagram scratched on the ground. It is much played by children, but, though gambling is not much practised in Hunza, it can no doubt be played for money and the meaning I was originally given was "to gamble". — *f'aṭaq maiilaw* they are gambling. *f'aṭaq manare sis* a gambler.

000 *taf'ar*, N. *ṭaf'ar -rṡo*, x tailless rat, which is found up in the summer grazing-grounds.

f'aṭas, pl. *f'aṭado*, x an article in an unfinished state, e.g. a roughly forged metal article, a garment cut out and basted, a roughly fashioned wooden article, e.g. a block of wood roughly shaped with an adze to be made into a bowl on the lathe. — *ḫawrṡ ṡe ṡama taṭas dimawimi* the rough form of the brooch came into existence of itself. 166.2,8. Cp. 166.9,19,22.

One can also say: — *male f'aṭas*,

000 *ha·ʃafas*, a field, a house unfinished, in the course of construction.

And of a small child beginning to talk: — *hoviŋ ʃafaſo otsiá* he is making attempts at words.

(Cp. Khо. *ʃkafas*, piece of wood for making a vessel, which has not yet been put on the lathe).

*-f'*atas* -iŋ *y* palm of the hand, H. *hatherli*. — *gof'atanig* the palms of thy hands.

1. *faw'a·* hard, severely. Bu. *ʃag*, H. *sazt*, — *ta ochiqtu faw·a· yawu mukan* hard frost having laid hold on the foot-wrappers, i.e. they having been frozen hard. 132.3. *ʃiʃ·ʃi faw'a· hurayi manai hi* the bread has become very hard.

The word is said by some to be also used of a person severely ill, but this was denied by QUB. (Cp. *ʃaw*).

2. *faw'a·* *y* a loud sharp noise, a crack, bang. — *pinf ke ʃiari hakanto yami ke faw'a· mai.ihila* when the polo-stick and the ball strike each other there is a crack. *ʃumaq nupali faw'a· manimi* the gun exploding there was a bang.

faw'a/awa (*atas*).

1. The report of a gun.
2. To answer back violently.

fawakal *y* faith, trust in God. — *fawakal ne hilami* putting his faith in God he fled. 102.22. Ar. Pwa. (*tawakkul*).

fawan, pl. *fawaniŋ*, *y* fine; fined. — *fawan atas* (*°-atas*) to fine s.o.

huy fawan imanai he has been heavily fined. Pwa. (*ḥawwa*).

fawid entrusting, committing, charging with. — *wazivi ilai fawid chimi* he committed the wazir-ship to him. 98.8. Ar. Pwa. (*tafwid*).

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tai, tei, te.i, te, Adv. and Adj.: thus, so, in such manner, as it is, like this; such, H. *waisa.* — *te aiyetin* don't do thus (to him). 158.19. *tei ḃwt ʂapa ke ami'wmaʂawo* so she was not unduly depressed. 58.15. *te.i ɣanikzi ḃam* so revolting (evil) was he. 116.9. *ḃesa te* (or, *tei*) *me.iba?* why are you like this? 144.23. Cp. 218.2. *wperqhe.e tai.i darow.an 'etera* the great do such things (*lit.* such a thing). 74.12. Cp. 80.3, 120.14.

thai.zko pl. of *tharuam.*

tail, teil, te.il, tel, pl. *-jeko.*

1. As it is, so, such, like this, H. *waisa, aisa.* — *tel bila* N. (*dila*) it is so. *tel fat e* leave it as it is. *fat etimi te.ale* he left it as it was. 166.9. *tel ṡeilaṭe* in this manner, thus. 142.9. *tel'jeko* such persons (as this). 170.19. *te.iljeko ike je ṡ'eteko* such (dreams) as those I (can) interpret. 74.14. Cp. 64.28, 66.19.
2. Most frequently the word occurs with the suffix *-aṭe.* — *tailaṭe, teilaṭe* etc. in this wise, in such wise in this manner, thus, etc. *tel'aṭe je juṡam* in this manner I shall come back. 106.21. Cp. 78.11, 94.2, 158.11,15, 262.4.

(*tai + l.* Cp. the *-l* in *akhel* and *bel-*).

tailaṡwa v. *trela.*

tainyw, tai.aw ready, near to, on the point of. — *tainyw ṡtas* to make ready. *badsa wor han hara tai.aw ṡ'tam* the King had made (people) prepare a house for them (or the *ṡ-* may re-enforce the *wor*). 36.12. *bardyw tai.aw im'ṡaimi* he approached near

to puberty. 244.5. *taiʌv mʌnʌv* takes the following verb in the simple Infinitive, the Infin. + *ər*, or the Present Base + *ər*. *ʌźdər durʌs taiʌv mʌnimi* the monster was on the point of coming forth. 282.11. Cp. 242.9, 328.31. *dʌγoucʌg oyon fʌš mʌnʌvər taiyʌv mʌnimi* the flour is all on the point of coming to an end i.e. is almost all used up. *dorqalčər taiʌv mʌnimi* he came near to reaching them, i.e. he nearly overtook them. 144.8. Cp. 388.5. *ma ke taiʌv mʌnin* do you also be ready. 4.14. Prs.

1. *thaiyʌs, thʌyʌs, thʌč-*, to go out (of fire, lamp). — *pfu thʌčila, thʌči* the fire is going out, will go out. *pfu čhʌγorum nunʌn thʌmi* the fire becoming cold went out. *phu tha bila* the fire has gone out. *phu thʌyʌs bila* the fire is about to go out. EOL. *filta taj ra* until the wick (i.e. lamp) goes out. 314.3.

(Cs. *estayʌs*).

2. *taiyʌs, thʌč-*,[1] Impv. *ta*.

a. To follow, pursue. The person pursued is expressed by *°-tsi*, or takes the suffix *-tsi*.

iri Šahri Bʌnomʌtsi taiyʌsər rai stimi he himself decided to follow up Sh. B. 26.26. *u itsi thʌmʌn* (or, *thʌ bʌn*) they followed him. 162.19. Cp. 164.1. *utsi tʌmi* he followed after them. 120.25, 144.8. Cp. 38.8. *itsi thʌčoms* pursuing him. 212.15, 262.18.

b. To take effect, be effective. *kintsu bʌsʌn ke thaiyʌs api* nothing has any effect on him, i.e. nothing can injure him. 110,10, 144.19. (Cp. 1. *°-ltaiyʌs*).

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1 [see corrigenda & addenda category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

000

3. *ŝaiyan*, fut., Impv. *ŝa*.

To put on, pull on (something on to one's feet or legs, e.g. socks, trousers). *jorob ŝaiyan*, *payalig ŝaiyan* to put on socks, trousers. *ŝaiyaer ov mulkri ŝutile* it comes difficult to them, i.e. they have difficulty in putting on (the leg bandages). 152.4.

Pat. sg. 1. *ŝatam*. Pret. sg. 1. *ŝaiyam*, 3. *ŝami*. (Cp. 2. **-ŝiŝiyat*). *pow in jon ŝiŝ* very hard. (Cp. *jowar?*). *ŝiyaw* a rare kind of yellow-eyed hawk.

(Pro. *ŝiyaw*, *ŝaiyaw* the white goshawk (Elliott Eng. Pers. Dict.).

ŝa i v. *ŝai*.

ŝel v. *ŝail*.

ŝele, *ŝeli*, *ŝel* there. — *ŝel ŝkeli* there and here, i.e. here and there. *ŝeli fal ŝli* leave it there. 48.9. Cp. 34.5, 42.12, 210.16, 222.3, 224.2, 262.3, 298.3.

Det. *ŝeler*, *ŝelaer* thither, there (with verbs of motion). — *ŝeler ŝiw*, *ŝelaer ŝiw* going thither. 4.16, 6.8, 108.23,24.

Abl. *ŝelaew*, *ŝelow* thence. 224,4. *ŝelaew ŝiwal* he went off from there. 6.7, 108.30. Cp. *ŝelaewu* 224.11. *ŝuz hir ŝelow ŝuw hirlir ŝuli ke* the man going out from there, when he comes to his home. 224.12. (Cp. *ŝeli*).

ŝew, *ŝer* *-ŝeig* f.

a. Summer grazing-ground up in the mountains, mountain pasture, H. *ŝerogerd*, *ŝerogow*. — *hoy'ew ŝerwiger ŝeul'ew* they take away the flocks to the (summer) grazing grounds. 222.1, 224.2,5.

b. Wild (of plants that grow uncultivated in pasture land). —

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[see corrigenda et addenda, colophon, 116, p. 544 — Analyst]

000 *hrr* ȳafu wild onion. Cp. 180.3, 218.8, 226.12.

hrmalk -ólg *y* a labiate plant, that grows chiefly in the reeving walls of fields. — (*hrr* + *malk*)[1].

hrum a certain number, acc. ∴ — *hrum gaalnigr Kinar drýjaldinni* in the course of some days Kinar arrived. 151.8. (Cp. *hrum* and *hrum*).

hrumar.

1. A certain quantity, so much. — *ekki hrumar mæti ðeg* one 'objection but nowadays people do not pay so much head to it. 220.8.

2. It occurs frequently in the form: — *hrumar* at this point (of time), upon this, thereupon. *einhrumar*. *Hrumar hirti Hyrna . . . galeg ljótaðr yfal* *einhrumar* they saw (no one). Thereupon S. S. left her clothes on the little. 14.8. Cp.14.3, 16.3,15, 30.17, 35.14, 42.18, 118.1, 130.8, 138.12, 190.8, 204.6, 212.10, 266.5, 338.4 etc.

(*hrum* + *mar*).

hr v. *hri*.

hræn, Abl. and Adj. form of *hrir* q.v., from there, belonging to there, of that place. — *hræn eru eiar* the people of the place. 143.5, 260.8.

hrœti *y* two weeks, fortnight. — *hrœtinn hálf* it is a fortnight. *eitt hrœti* a month.

**hrœgl*, -ólg *y* bride's plenishing, trousseau, jewelry (provided by her parents) — *hrœgum hálsi*, *einum mörkum* mortmal there was a book, he gave it to his daughter in her dowry. 48.8. Cp. 70.3, 248.22, 338.8.

hrœgl, pl. *hrœgvar*, (and *hrœgtig*?), *y* royal residence, palace. Cp. Ru.

ikerg. — (*hakki*) *ewe ingulinow hirb ɔ'ɔrdiam* (the king) used not to come out of his palace. 2.3. Cp. 30.11,13, 42.23, 173.21 ff., 178.2, 222.4. (Cp. Sh. *ikergi*).

ther dirty, soiled. — *tirkaje ter manile* it has become dirty with earth(?). *gele dil ther bile* this place is dirty. *wuje galeg ther manikan y-ur* clothes have got dirty.

ferl v. *ther'i*.

'ork N. *-ɔnda, -ig* dirty.

(Leitner gives this form, so did Na. who, however, stigmatised it as Sh. Cp. Sh. *ferli*, GB *ferzli*).

ferj -mig y oath. — *ferj ɔlar* to take oath. *ferj 'ɔrlar* to make a person take oath. *ewe ferj 'ɔrli* make him take oath. *Khimuje ferl ɔlar di bile* it has fallen on this man to take oath. *Lart Mawrimow ferl manij* let there be oath by L. and M., i.e. I swear by L. and M. 96.18. *Xewa tɔlɔr ranai imanimi* Kh. agreed to (taking) oath. 250.8. *Ikerl ferl kerl ɔrlu nɔlar* making many oaths and undertakings with them. 242.17. (Pre. *'akhl o pɔrwarw*). Cp. 250.8 ff.

ferli -mig y roof (external aspect). — *tirkajer ikerwow* she went up on to the roof 184.14. *ferlajow zu malimi* he fell down from the roof. Cp. 102.17, 174.10, 184.6, 228.6, 298.5. (Cp. Sh. *ferli*).

1. *ihi* simple, plain; empty, unoccupied; for no special reason, merely, gratis, for nothing. — *ihi tihag* a plain, i.e. smooth bore, gun ("*ɔ'ɔk kɔmɔrw*") *zwel nɔlar* H *ilywanam* expending (all he possessed) he had remained empty, i.e. he had nothing left. 272.11. *hanam ɔlu? ihi ha* what are you doing?

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I am free, I am just doing nothing. EOL. *thi hurwtu ha* I have been sitting idle. EOL. *ha dakowu? thi daipu ha* why have you come? I have come for no special reason, I have merely come. *thi jowi* he gave it to me gratis. *ti ahwčit.ow* I won't give it to you unconditionally. 104.9.

2. *thi*

a. Other, -else. — *da ti (pie) ha hawu* and there are also others (other people). 158.25.

It appears to be principally used in combination with Indef. Pron.s. *gofi ŋ̌ŋa ti monale ayoti* don't tell about this to anyone else. 118.18. *ti mowu dali hei i* someone else has killed it. 156.7. *ti hanan ayow, wŋ je ofu* don't give me anything else (but) marry me. 118.24.

b. Postposition: other than, apart from, besides, *and so:* except, but, without. — *khinofuw thi mon hawu?* are there others besides this man? *gwofuw thi hanan hi.o?* is there anything besides this? *Ano . . . haiaanfuw thi hanan opim* there was nothing but one sheep. 298.2. *halwofuw thi* without orders. *jofuw thi wŋ hinum.an ni* you go on alone without me. Cp. 2.9, 104.9, 272.2.

tiŋ̌ *tik* y pl. (also ag.) earth, ground; rust. — *tiŋ̌fu dalimi* he flung him on the ground. 174.17. *tiŋ̌fuw zawuŋ dubila* mist is rising from the ground. *tik gowow ..nimi* from beneath the ground he said . . . 252.5. *gofi tiŋ̌ gowi, tik ofimi* he threw in earth on the top and filled up (the pit). 56.21. *yahuŋ tiŋ̌u je hilu* earth has eaten the sword, i.e. the sword has

000 become rusted. *hare tik burj ther bitan* the (earth) floor of the house is very dirty. EOL. *tik biranj* "ground-mulberry", i.e. strawberry. *tike barpo* (*nanaw*) to become the share of the earth, i.e. to be wasted, thrown away, IUB *nark ki hrpo, ya'ne berbard hewa*. Cp. 26.2, 82.25, 84.5, 198.11, 220.2, 250.16 ff., 312.5.

tiko, tiku, -mate x.

1. Spot, mark. — *ilimate itagar tali berum tikumate . . . eare* they make white spots round hi eyes. 300.10. *ifatilo berum tiku l* there is a white mark (star o blaze) on its forehead. 186.7.
2. Piece, scrap, patch (of hide, leathe cloth). — *gape tiko* a piece of hid (ox-, camel- etc.). *gaf'ute tiko wadi.ar li* a patch is to be put on the cloth, the cloth is to be patched.

(Cp. Sh. *tiko*, spot, mark; H. *tikar* mark made on forehead).

thirl -mig y. — *termake thirl* piece of leather attached to strings of stone-bow in which stone is placed.

*tirl *-alas, tirle *-alas* to forget. V. s.v. **-alas*.

1. *tirli* N. *-mig y* "leather of pellet-bow". (Cp. Hz. Bu. *thirl*).
2. *tirli*, pl. *tilag*, N. *tirlimig, y* walnut tree. Cp. 200.1—6.
3. *tirli* x sg. and pl. walnut. — *tirli.e hare, tirli.e hal(ig)* walnut kernel. *tirli.e fatori* half of walnut shell. 136.16.

tili.eg, tili.ag, y pl., d. pl. *-tig* saddle. — *tili.eg ef* pommel of saddle. Cp. 78.15. *tili.eg ewli*, or *ewpi* put on the saddle. *tili.ag dirl ali* take off the saddle. Cp. 4.17, 6.11, 78.10,

000

78.19 ff., 188.2. (Several times recorded as *filiʌn*. Cp. Sh. *filʌn*).

fim tam noise of banging, beating. — *ɑtsi dʌm fim tam ɑdemʌn* laying hold of them they gave them a drubbing.

(Cp. Sh. *fhim fhurki*, to beat the breast with closed fist).

fin, fiw, -jo x bone. — *pimiʌ* fin the shin bone, *finjo nuqur* (°-*nurʌ*) smashing the bones (to extract the marrow). *ɑmiʌnin ɑte finjʌ'ɑulo berɑndɑmɑte mɑi'ɑmiʌ* there will be the rings on the bones of his fingers. 80.33. Cp. 70.21, 82.8 ff., 202.1, 234.9, 283.34.

(Occasionally recorded as *fiq* and the plural as *fiffjo*. Cp. °-*ffin*).

1. *fiq, fiq, -ɑnfr* x. –

a. Peak (of mountain), top (of hill); IUB summit, pointed thing, H. *foqi, nɑkdɑr fiq*. — *Bubolimɑtiqqir* (*Bubolimo fiq*) *fiq nɑmo* . . . shoving her up on to Bubuli's Peak (the name of a mountain peak). 144.1.

b. Stretched up, erected. — *ɑmmʌl ɑlji nɑ fiq ɑtimi* (the horse) erected, or stretched out, its tail behind. 156.10. *ferq gɑrɑ fiq ɑiqe* don't stretch up your neck too high (said to a proud or insolent person).

(Cp. perhaps Kho. *fhiq*, high place, steep slope).

2. *fiq* v. *figʌn*.

figʌn, pl. *fiqʌ'ɑiqi*, x.

1. Egg. — *figʌnʌn ɑtsiri* cook an egg. *ɑrilɑ figʌnʌ* two eggs. *figʌnʌlʌm burum ɑl* white of egg. *figʌnʌlʌm fiskwk ɑl* yolk of egg. *gɑrgɑrɑmʌ'ɑ figʌn ɑmdimi* the hen laid an egg.

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2. A lump of butter. — *maltaṣ tiqan* a lump of butter, being the quantity obtained from one skinful (*ferig*) of milk. 3 or 4 *tiqaiyo* make 1 *maltaṣ*. 000

(f IUB, Morg., Zar.; f QUR. The sg. form *tiqan* is certain, and it is further attested by the form of the plural, but it is not certain whether there is not also a subsidiary form *tiq*. Owing to the fact that the sg. is usually used for "an egg", "one egg", one assumes at first that the *-an* is the suffix of "oneness". It is possible that the native mind has been affected in the same way, cp. γα ‖ γαν. I originally recorded sg. *tiq*, and EOL has *tiqe wat* and *tiqe pulugur* egg-shell, and also *tiq* by itself. Biddulph has only *tiug* and Leitner gives *tiug* and *tipin*. The last is the ordinary Ng. form).

tighat IYB x a kind of medicine, tonic. — *tighat ci bai.i* he has taken "tighat". (Unknown to QUR).

thiq thaq *-*atas* to push, shove (a.o.), H. *dhakka*. — *tiq taq no bai no gawai* shoving them he threw them out (from under the boulder). 160.2. (Cp. *thaq* *-*atas*).

tiphik IYB 1. Quite full, brim full.

2. Well filled-out (of horse).

(Cp. Khe. *tip* full, and Ba. *hik* full).

thir round stone, pebble. — *thir ara mathiv ditaas hesan?* the stone going brings down a walnut, doesn't it?

This is a kind of proverb expressing perhaps the idea that starting with something worthless one acquires something of value.

thirtum -*ziq* x full bobbin, yarn wound on small hollow stick 5 or 6 inches long. — *gaso thirtum* bobbin of thick thread, i.e. wool yarn. *juro thirtum* bobbin of thin thread, i.e. warp yarn. *dozuqem thirtum ju.an manuma* "you have become like a tangled bobbin". 283

1. *fis*, *fiv*, pl. *titanta*, *titiryo* x excavated hole in ground, pit, grain-pit. — *ğfalow fis* grain-pit. *fis etimi* he made a pit, hole in the ground, 56.20. *titi.wlow* (or, *titanterlow*) from in the pits. 140.9. Cp. 12.16, 54.2—5, 140.2. (Cp. Sh. *fiv*). 000

2. *fiis* -*miq* y error, mistake, misdeed, fault; mistaken, wrong. — *girmimum fiis bile* what is written is wrong. *gute fiis ne girmimeri.i* he has written this wrongly. *fiis etas* to make a mistake, commit a fault, miss (a mark). *kin kuyeltertanu ka tis etuno* she misconducted herself with a shepherd. 262.4. Cp. 222.7. *kai.anor*, *.ennor*, *tis etimi* he missed the mark, the marbker. *fiis manu*, *fiis* °-*manas* to be in error, go wrong, go astray, go missing, be confused, or interchanged (of things). *eltalik kerengelo kan gute ti.* *animi* (or *umanumin*) between the two of them there was a mistake of one day (or, they went wrong in regard to one day). 52.13. *eltalike fiis manimi* the two of them missed (the mark). 282.1. *kuyes fiis mani li* the goat has gone missing. Cp. 234.1, *kuyes fiis manien* the goats went missing.

(Cp. Sh. *fiv*, GB *fiis*, error, misdeed).

tiqi'an -*iq* y earthquake. — *tiko tiqan* 1. Earthquake. 2. IUB a strenuous, valiant man, H. *mahnati bahadur*

000 *ə-dmi*. QUB originally of a strenuous cultivator or field-maker, also used of a person who frightens others.

(I also recorded the word as *tiłqan*, which seems to have had IUB's authority, but was emphatically denied by QUB).

1. *tiṣ*, pl. *-miq* & *tiyaq*, *y* wind, wind-storm, H. *hawa*, Prs. *bād*. — *tiṣ maiś bila* there is wind (storm). *tiṣ di bila* a wind (storm) has come up. *tiṣ dusila* a wind (storm) has sprung up. Cp. 122.12. *ṣayu tiṣolu du.alimi* the chikor flew down the wind. *tiṣte dreṣapalimi* the wind bore it away. *jatse tiṣan yawi* a wind struck me. 358.12.
2. *tiṣ -iq y* plough-share (Turki, of cast-iron, brought from Kashgar).

(Cp. Wkh. *tiṣ*, plough-share).

3. *thiṣ* drop, small quantity of liquid. — *tiṣen bul bilum* there was just a trace of a spring. 276.14. (*yutorpo-solo*) *čutan del til sčan* they pour a few drops of oil into the depression. 320.8.

tiṣṣi -miq y, (also *-mute* if object is x), span (tip of thumb to tip of little finger, both extended). — *kik tiṣṣi, ə-lto tiṣṣi* one span, two spans. (Cp. p. XXIII).

tiṣk -aq, N. pl. *-iłan*, *y* dagger. — *tiṣk bilum mundiłate ta'wkimi* the dagger there was he brought down on her breast, i.e. he had a dagger and plunged it in her breast. 198.6. *tiṣkak* (or, *tiṣkate*) *mudałam* I stabbed her with a dagger. 198.10. Cp. 198.10 ff., 218.4 ff.

tiṣti N. *y* plague.

fiṣte *-*ałan* to pursue after, chase. — *da wmi fiṣte m'čowan* then they pursued after their mother. 194.6.

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000 *thiyas, thi·ć-*, Impv. *thi*, Ppa. *nuth'in*, v.t. to pour, pour out (water, wine, tea etc.).

Fut. sg. 1. *thi·ćam* I shall pour.

ćai.i thi pour out the tea. (*arAq*) *ev ti bam* they had poured out (liquor) for him. 86.20. *awatAts tsil thiyam* I poured water on my body, i.e. I washed myself. Cp. 306.18. *tsil nuti·n Asku·rig gose.olo ors* pouring water into (the vessel) put the flowers in it. EOL. Cp. 220.2.

thiyon stas, N. *thi·yaû stas* to sneeze.

toba an expression of repentance. — *toba taksiv stam* I expressed repentance (for what I had done). Ar. Prs.

tob'Aq -ots x gun. — *tobAq bišaiyAs* to fire a gun. (V. note at end of *bišaiyAs* 2.). *čora tob'Aq, muk'a* (or *mukai.i*) *tob'Aq* a shot-gun. *kan šu·li.s ka tobAq* a single-barrelled gun. *a·lto jAqor tobAq* a double-barrelled gun. *tobAq šu·li* gun-barrel. *thi tobAq* smooth-bore, large-bore matchlock gun. *uruvi tobAq* rifled small bore matchlock. *tobAqzaki* (or, *tobAqAts*) *do·li bam* they had shot them (killed them) with guns. 344.5. *tobAqots i·se yakalAtor bilAman* they fired their guns at it. 134.12. Cp. 38.6, 42.15.

(Cp. Bu. *tomAq*, Sh. *tomak, tormak*, Kho. *tho·rk*, Psb. *topak*). Prs.?

torali v. *turuli*.

-thoγ'oyAq y pl.

1. Child's first hair up to 6 months of age. — *ithoγoyAq* (baby boy's), *muthoγoyAq* (baby girl's).
2. Hair very fine in texture. QUB.
3. The hair growing on the top of the head. QUB.

ithoγuyAq ne ićhoγorAq fat a shaving

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the hair on the top of his (the child's) head leave his fringe. QUB. 000

(From *thoʔ* new + γoyʌŋ hair?).

tohmʌt y accusation, blame. Ar. Prs.

ṭo·k complete, whole, entire, H. *pura*, *sa·lim*. — *ṭo·k api* it (bread, wood, field etc.) is not complete. *ṭo·kʌn* a whole (thing). IYB. *tok* undivided land. EOL.

1. *tōl -jo* x snake. — *mʌtsi gʌta·s tol* a snake that bites us, i.e. a biting snake.

2. *tōl -jo* x awl (cobbler's). — *čhumʌri tol* an iron awl. *čuk ʌtʌs tol* a sewing awl.

to·l ʌtʌs v.t. to weigh.

(Cp. Sh. *tolo·rki*, to weigh, measure, H. *tolna* to weigh).

to·le Nz. there. — *to·lev*, *to·lsr* thither. *to·lum* thence. *to·lum ins dʌ·l numa i·mo ynysle ui·mi* thence be arising went to his father. 368.7. (Cp. *tevle*).

to·li measure. — *gusu berumʌn to·li me.imi* what may be the measure of this? *to·li ʌtʌs* to measure. *to·li uyʌs* to issue to persons according to measure, or weight.

In time of scarcity the Mir may thus issue grain, on loan. (Cp. *to·l*).

1. *to·m* (sg. and pl.?), pl. -iŋ, -eŋ, Nz. -*i*, y tree. — *badʌmu to·mʌn bila*, *to·meŋ bitsa* it is an almond tree, they are almond trees. *to·mu ṭiṭim* the trunk of the tree EOL. *to·mulum tsil* sap of a tree.

(Cp. Sh. *tum*, *tom*, tree, which also may be used as a plural).

2. *to·m* y perspiration, sweat, (from illness or weakness), H. *pasina*, *'araq*.

th'omʌl the smoke of burning roe (*supandur*), or of *gulgul*. — *tomʌl mʌm'ʌle*

smoking rue and thin bread. 304.16. Cp. 338.19. 000

thom coriander (grown in vegetable plots for its seeds). P]. *dhaniya*, Sh. *naski*,

tomts night till dawn(?) (in connection with the Thumushèling fire).

tomtsatse giratas to dance at the Thumusheling fire. 306.18.

(Metaphor) *ure hihin nidzli tomtsatse dusoman* appears to mean: "they have come out for a fight openly with everyone's knowledge, as if they were turning out for the *tomts*". QUB.

1. *tomŋ pfeṭo* a kind of pear.

(Cp. Kho. *tomŋ* pear, Sh. *tomŋ* a kind of pear).

2. *tomŋ* convex. — *tomŋ čana* a convex brooch, big, heavy and very strong. 164.15. So QUB, and the translation of the text appears to be wrong. *tomŋ dau* a convex griddle. QUB.

(There is a Sh. word *tomŋ*, *tomŋi*, probably with *ṭ-*, which appears to have somewhat the same meaning).

tomp, *-uts*, *-iło*, x cannon, Prs. H.

tomp manare dripping (of water). — (Metaphor). *tomp maime γoriči* he bucks, chatters continuously. Also *tompo tomp*.

tompi N. *-muts* x woman's cap.

(Probably not H. *tompi* cap, hat. Cp. Bu. *tompo*, also *top etas*, to put on a cap).

topidaw (*tobaq*) *-iło* x percussion-cap (gun), nipple (gun).

(Pseudo-Prs., H. *tompi* cap + *daw*?).

tompo pfartsin Hunza woman's cap, old-man's skullcap. (Cp. *tompi*).

1. *tóq*, *-uts*, *-ants*, *-ai.rnts*(?) x land near cultivated areas maintained as pasturage by irrigation and divided into sections, (as opposed to natural

000 mountain grazing-grounds, *tevr*). — *toqər ts.huvin* take (the animals to graze) to the grazing-ground.

2. *tŏq* y mud where water has collected, H. *kivčʌr*.

(Cp. Sh. *tŏk*; Kho. *toq*, *tuq*, mud on road etc.).

3. *ṭoq -uts* x log. — *gʌlɛ ṭoq* a juniper log. *γʌšivlɛ ṭoq* a log of firewood.

toq'um, -uts, -išo, N. *tuqoum* x, "numda", felt put under horse's saddle, H. *nʌmda*, Prs. *'ʌrʌqgivr*.

(Cp. Sh. and Kho. *tuqum*, Wkh. *tuqoum* same meaning). Turki?

thor ɛtʌs to snort (of a horse).

tovɛmo tovɛma-, v. *tovumo* and *turma-*.

ṭovi, -muts, -miŋ, x and y.

1. Bit, piece, portion, small part, quarter (of flap of bread, field etc.). — *isken ɛčukoun baun, usko ṭovimuts otin* there are 3 brothers, make 3 portions for them. *ʌšdəri tovumuts* the fragments of the dragon. 284.1. *ṭovi -miŋ* quarter of a flap of bread. *wavlto ṭovimiŋ* four quarters.

2. *ṭovi -muts* x plug, cork, bung; stone with a hole in it used to regulate flow of irrigation water. — *tovi.ɛ tɛil Kərimabadər oɛʌs miraɛ bila* it is the custom to lay on to Karimabad the water of the *ṭovi* (a stone with a hole in it which allows a certain amount of water to pass through). 350.4. *hinɛ tovi* door-handle. EOL.

(Cp. Sh. GB *ṭovi*, cork, handle of door or drawer).

torima altovlum Nz. twelfth. (Cp. *turma-*).

t'orima h'ikulum Nz. eleventh.

t'orimivlum Nz. tenth.

1. *ṭovo*, pl. *ṭovumuts*, x log (used in

000 building etc., as distinguished from 3. *ṭoq*).

(Cp. Sh. *ṭoro*, big log, stump of tree).

2. *ṭoro* crooked, contracted and bent (as of fingers with cold).

(Cp. Sh. *toro*, crooked, bent).

toruum so much (as that). — *iuə pfuʼl tʼorum maʼl nʼiʼen humaʼr giʼmi* the div carrying so much (i.e. all that?) property entered the ford. 176.1. (Cp. *teruum*).

1. *toruman* Nz. as much as that, so much, that much H. *utna*. — *toruman ächi* give me that much. *berumaʌ dʌγoʼʌn unʌlɛ bitsa kɛ tʼorumʌn uyom jaʼr ʌγun* as much flour as you have give me so much, i.e. give me all you have.

(*toruum* + *ʌn*. Cp. *teruman*).

2. *toruman*, *toruumuʌn* a set of ten, a decade. (*toruumo* + *ʌn*).

toruumo h x y, *toʼrimi*, *toʼrim* z ten.

h. *toruumo hiri* ten men.

x. *toruumo ʼmiʌnts* his 10 fingers. 80.18.

y. *toruumo haʼkiĉʌŋ* 10 houses. 272.11.

z. *toʼrimi dɛn*, *heʼši* 10 years, ten times. Cp. 38.1, 226.10.

toʼrim sɑ 10 months.

toʼrim kuts 10 days.

toʼrim kutsʌnmo ju come after 10 days.

toʼrimi is also used in counting.

toʼruman, *toʼruumuʼʌn* a set of ten.

toʼruman mʌlʌʌʌŋ 10 pieces of butter. 314.13.

ṭoǰ, *thōǰ*, x pl. *thowants*, y pl. *thowaŋ*, *thuaŋ*.

1. Adj. new, fresh. — *thoǰ xʌbɛr bila?* is there fresh news? *toǰ gɔr nɛ* making a new marriage. 248.21. *thowants hʌγoriǰo biʌn*

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they are new horses. *duʷtsʌk thowaʷŋ bitsa* the things are new. *gatoŋ tu.aʷŋ ne.ibil* making him put on new clothes. 32.8. *Tu.aʷnts* the "New Settlements". 322.9.

2. Adv. newly, recently; anew, afresh. *thoḭ dimʌnum hilɛs* a newly-born boy. *bušai.i toš trʌŋ ečʌn* let us divide the land anew. 250.15.

tošʌk, tošʌk, -uts x mattress (small), cushion on saddle. Prs.

*-*to·to*, pl. *-*to·t-omiŋ, -imiŋ, -ʌmiŋ* y paw; small hand (of child or woman). — *mʌtum hukʌns itoʷto its ta.aʷmər dɛsku bimo?* had a black dog put down its paw in the food. 84.13. *wʌziʷr . . . itoʷtʌm'iŋʌṭs gutsorimi* the wazir proceeded on his paws, i.e. on all fours. 80.1. *mutoʷtulo dum hoʷle wʌšimi* seizing her by the hand he threw her out. 114.7.

t'otu blood-stained, covered with blood.

tra in: *traʷ ḍʌŋ*, very hard.

trʌn ɛtʌs to fire (a gun), shoot.

(Cp. 8h. *trʌn thoʷzki*, to fire (a gun)).

1. *trʌŋ* half, mid-; division, share; party. — *hik trʌŋ* a half. 114.17 ff. *trʌŋɛn* a half. *iski trʌŋ* three and a half. *trʌŋɛ trʌŋ, trʌŋtsum trʌŋ*, a quarter. EOL. *trʌŋ thʌp, thʌpɛ trʌŋ* midnight. *trʌŋ gʌn, gʌnɛ trʌŋ* halfway. *trʌŋ makuči* the dead centre, right in the middle. *hik, aʷlto, iski, tsindi trʌŋ* 1, 2, 3, 5 equal parts, or shares.

(x or y according to the nature of the object).

aʷlto trʌŋ double (share). *waʷlti trʌŋ* four pieces, four portions. *trʌŋulo, trʌŋulum* as one's share. *uyuʷtum jaʷ šu.n trʌŋulo ačiʷma* you have given me as my

share (what is) better than (what you have given to) all the others. 112.8,14. *jaʷr traŋolum ʌči bei.i* he has given me (this place) as my share. 112.18. *besan jaʷr traŋolo aʷr juʷči bi ki* whatever comes (i.e. falls) to me as my share. 372.3. *traŋ ʌtʌs, traŋ *-ʌtʌs* to divide, divide up among, apportion. *je ma bušaiʌ traŋ maʷčam* I shall apportion your land among you. 110.24. *ʌmo daulat uʷr traŋ ne* dividing up his property among them. 366.4. Cp. 54.19, 110.25, 114.11 ff., 148.14, 372.5. *traŋum traŋ mʌnumʌn* they were divided into parties. *Gilti sis aʷlto traŋ mʌnumʌn* the people of Gilgit divided into two parties. 386.1. (Cp. Sh. *traŋ*, half, etc.).

2. *traŋ, -ičʌŋ*, y girth (horse's) H. *tʌŋ*. — *šorma traŋ* girth made of goat's hair webbing. *barla traŋ* circingle of leather. (Cp. Kho. *traŋ*, girth).

traŋfʌ, -tiŋ, N. pl. *-mata*, hm. headman, of village. In most villages there are 2 or 3 trangfas. — *B'altite traŋfʌ* the Trangfa of Baltit. 318.2. [622]
(Cp. Sh. *traŋfʌ*, Balti *traŋpa*).

trap'ʌtʌs to slap, smack. — *guʌ' trap ʌiʌ* dont smack your son. QUB. *kʌyur trap ʌti* smack, touch up, the horse. QUB. *uw uriŋčiŋ trap ʌtumʌn* they clasped hands. (From the sound). QUB. !

trap ʌen stone-blind.

thraq -iŋ y open crack (in wood, wall etc.), cleft; Adj. split, etc. — *thraq nimi* it became cracked, it cracked. *thraq ʌtʌs* to split, cleave (lengthwise). 86.14. *ite bat aʷlto traq ʌtimi* he cleft the stone in two. 204.12. Cp. 206.1. *ʌtʌn traq na* splitting the top of my head (for me). 230.6.

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! [see corrigenda et addenda category 116. p. 544 - Analyst]

000 *frag* °-*m.mere* v.i. to split in two. 150.12,16. Cp. *frag* °-*atas* v.i. 148.23, 150.4,9, 226.9, 230.2.

(Cp. Sh. *frak fkwrki*, to split, tear in two. Kho. *frag*, crack, cleft, fissure).

frago -*mele* x grasshopper, locust.

frip kik quite full.

fkur atas to spit. 204.6.

(Cp. Sh. *fku fkwrki*, Kho. *fkwrik*, to spit).

fku.ery y pl. of *fkwj*.

fnhag v. *fnh.ag*.

554 *fkag'w* -*ilo* x.

837 1. He-goat (used for breeding from).

2. (Metaphor.) a man granted right to exercise his sexual powers without restriction throughout the State. It is said that this right used formerly to be accorded to notable warriors in Hausa and Nager. Cp. entry *hwi*.

(Cp. Sh. *fkeyer*, *fkeyer* uncastrated he-goat).

000 *fiyoli*, *fiyoli*, -*mele* x male lamb, male young sheep (castrated), — *kik*, *iski*, *denkee fiyoli* a T., 3- year-old male sheep. *Aalkwa.ee ga fiyoli.ee bi?* is it a female or male young sheep?, *mahem ree fiyoli.ee bi* the black ewe is a male lamb. 64.18,26. Cp. 66.16 ff.

fuk a division of the night; a dose, short sleep. — *kik fuk(ee) bilo* one *fuk* remains before dawn (about half an hour before first daylight). *fuk ariko*, *fuk iski*, *fuk wurili* 2, 3, 4 *fuk* before dawn. *gerse fuk* the *fuk* before dawn. *kik fuk ewaree hoigee* I had dozed for a little. QUB.

fkwk atas to peck (at). — *geyewaire hoy fkwk ari bi* the hen is pecking at

the millet-grain. (Cp. Khn. *fwi dik*; Sh. *fok fok fkwrki*; to peck).

fkwki shame, disgrace, H. *farm*. — *ja ko wuje fwki ja.ss dowwan.ije akel mai bi.m* they are behaving thus because of a thing which entails shame on you and me. 96.16.

(Cp. perhaps Sh. *fkwki*, spittle).

fokwro, pl. *fokwromete*, *fokwrzio*, section of dry pumpkin, section of poppy capsule; slice of gourd. — *mordakoje fokwro* (section of?) dry poppy-capsule.

fukir *-m.nnow to keep dozing and waking. — *fukir amai ime gow m.nimi* while I was going on dozing and waking dawn came.

fukwri v. *fpukwri*.

1. **fkwm**, pl. hz *-rio*, *y -iq* other, another. — *fkwm nian ko diwi, da kin ko diwi* another man came and then one more. *fkwmilo nia dwawn* other people have come. *fkwmilo podiqnib* other women. *fkwmilki dwm.an* others have come. *fkwmiq malog* other fields. *fkwm gruib jaria ja* come to me another day. *fwm g.nn.ane nawain* they going by another road. 122.2. *fum kwk bolajo swm.an?* otherwise, how else, did you bring this (grain)? 60.13. *fkwm.an* another one, something else, something different from. *fkwm.an diwi* another one has come. *ja daldertown fkwm.an ofiwi* he did something other than my order (i.e. he disobeyed my order). *khiertown fkwm.an ko jartai.i* another man than (besides) this one is coming.

2. **fwm**, *fom*, (*fkwm?*) why?, what else? — *amolo bai.i ko fwm ofwtoiqa?* wherever he is why doesn't he come? 30.17. *podkwm.alw fwm ja ofwtiamu?*

ʃuʔ'ам why won't (shouldn't) I come to a king? I will come. 74.20. 000

ʃum, however, can not be a truly interrogative particle; if it were, the verb would not also take the interrogative suffix *-a*. It appears to be an expression of affected surprise.

ʃum ʃtat to run the point of one's finger forwards over the surface of a drum so as to produce a noise.

ʃum'aŋ IUB, *ʃum'ak* N, *-ets* v. *tobaŋ*.

ʃumar, *ʃumar*, *-ag* y amulet, talisman, H. *ta'wiz*. — *zafarana ʃumir* a saffron amulet. Cp. 356.2. (Cp. Sh. *ʃum'ar*, amulet).

ʃumay sg. & pl., d.pl. *-ints* x Ho. & N. shell of nut or fruit-stone that contains the kernel. — *ʃilis ʃumay* walnut shell. *k'anis ʃumay* shell of stone of apricot etc.

(Cp. Sh. *ʃuma*, fruit-stone).

thumuloliŋ QUB, *thumiloliŋ* y sg. a fire-festival celebrated at the winter solstice if it falls on Tuesday, otherwise on the preceding Tuesday. In the early hours of morning a fire is made at a public place with burning faggots brought, nominally, from every house in the village. There is then dancing round it and certain songs are chanted. Proceedings terminate with the appearance of dawn. The ceremony is supposed to commemorate the burning of Shiri Badat the cannibal king of Gilgit, and his return to life. This legend was probably originally acquired from the Shina. The Tham takes part in the celebrations at Baltit which are more elaborated. 796

The three weeks or so of mid-winter are described as the Thumuloliŋ season.

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The barley of the preceding harvest is supposed to be first brought into use after the Thumsebeling. V. 334.7. 796

ayaro tsordimo . . . tumiteliqe yfe bidestere on the Tuesday morning they make the T. fire. 306.17. 000

tumfaq dark, darkness and dust. — *tumfaq maniele* it has become dark (owing to a storm).

(Cp. Khe. *tumfaq*, very dark; Sh. *tumfaq*, very dark?).

thumuk *-*afas* to create, present, make appear. — *gute kayor wuje nasiretaum Xodeyo tumuk etsiá* by your good fortune God has created (*or* made appear) this horse. 6.17. *tsoirò hirane hatse nikin ikor tumuk etimi* entering into the skin of a poor man he revealed (*or*, presented) himself. 294.22.

thumuk manere to meet, come upon, light upon; make one's appearance, turn up. — *jartse thumuk maniai* he met me (on the road). *hin jat gwean tumuk manimo* an old woman turned up (on his way), i.e. met him. 229.13. *tse nasimanto tumuk amanam* I have come upon the Treasury. 54.8. Here given as an alternative for *fat*. *hin . . . hiran tumuk numan* a man turning up. 282.23. *kayorate naljan . . . tumuk manimi* he appeared riding on a horse. 294.16. Cp. 282.2, 298.2. (Cp. Sh. *thumuk hoski*, to meet by chance).

tum, *tun* hard, taut. IUB. H. *aarf*.

(Cp. Khe. *tum* tight, (*of* string etc.), tight-full, of a box).

tund quarrelsome. — *tund hiran* a quarrelsome man. QUB. Pra.

tup -*ute* a roll of cloth (muslin etc.). (Cp. Khe. *tup*). Pra.

000 *ʊpuwi* x & y an inferior kind of apricot (tree).

ʊqo·m N., v. *ʊqum*.

1. *ʊur*, *-i.ʌŋ*, *-ʌŋ*, y horn. — *ʊurʌfe ɛ·ʊɛ ɕiʌfe ʊa·ŋ nɛ* pushing him up with his horn on to the mountain. 132.22. *γenile ʊurʌŋ* the golden horns. 136.5. IUB. *ʊr dʊ·ʊʌs* 1. to come up, grow (of horns); to become famous, H. *si·ŋ nɪkʌlna, nʌm hʌma. inɛ ʊr dusila* he has become noted (for good or bad). QUB. (Cp. *-ltur*).
2. *thʊr -ʌnts* x whip, whip-thong. — *thʊrɛ yʌn* whip-handle. *i·nɛ hʌγʊr ʊr delimi* he whipped up his horse. 146.17. *hʌγʊr ʊrʌk delimi* he gave the horse a cut with the whip. 146.15. Cp. 150.12, 276.14, 278.3. (Cp. Sh. *thʊr* whip).
3. *fhʊ·r* a little, "what one throws out of the hand at one time". — *pfʌlo ʊ·rʌŋ ʌγʊn* give me a little grain. 138.29. *i·tɛ kʊ·tʊʌr pfʌlo ʊ·rɛ* (read: *ʊ·r*) *ɛr ɛ·tʊmʌn* they put a little grain in the bag for him. 140.6. *dʌγʊ·ʌŋ fhʊ·rʌn* a little flour.

(Cp. Puniali Sh. *ʊ·r(ʌk)*, (*a*) little).
4. *ʊr mʌnʌɛ* to talk slander, run down s.o. — *uɛ uɛ hʊrʌŋ ʊr mai.imɛ ba·ɛ* they are talking evil (of s.o.) among themselves. QUB.

ʊrʌɛ, *ʊrʊɛ-* v.i. to rip. — *ʊʊqa . . . ʊrʊ·mi* (the seam of) the choga ripped. 378.4. St. Pc. *ʊrʊm* ripped.

(Possibly the same root is to be seen in Sh. *thʊrʊ·rki*, to open, undo).

ʊrʌq -iɛiŋ y a large kind of poplar of which the roots are injurious to neighbouring cultivation.

(Cp. Wkh. *ʊrγʊ·q*, *ʊγrʌq*). Turki.

ʊ·rʌrʌs, *ʊ·rʌnʌs*; pl. *ʊ·rʌrʌɛo* (and *-ʌlo*) x a kind of large black beetle.

DOO *fhwy'o* -q, -mig, *y* halter, headstall. (Cp. Sh. *fhwyo*, *fhwyo*, headstall).

fwyuf tasteless, insipid; slack.

fwk.i IUB pugnacious, quarrelsome person, H. *Leyonwrda*. (Quoted by QUB).

fwmo- tea, in the numbers 11 to 17. V. §§ 187 ff, also *fwvmo-*, *f'wimo-*, — *fwmo-hin* (h) *-h.an* (x *y*) *-hik* (x) 11. *fwmo-ollan* (h), *-olin(-ln)* (x) *-ollu* (*y* x) 12.

fwmo-tiken (h), *-ouko* (x *y*)*-tuki* (x) 13.

fwmo-mwlin (h x *y*), *-mwlin* (x) 14.

fwmo-th.kwulo (h x *y*), *-th.kwuli* (x) 15.

fwmo-mstiwulo (h x *y*), *-mstiwuli* (*y*) 16.

fwmo-th.nlo (h x *y*), *-th.nlo* (x) 17.

fwmo-ell'.wulo (h x *y*), *-ell'.wuli* (x) 18.

fwvmo-, (*fwmo-*) *-hwulo* (h x *y*), *-hwuli* (x) 19.

(The forms for 18 and for 14 (x) and 17 (x) are not authenticated).

fwmo-hik tha 1100.

fwmo ollo tha 1200.

fwmo hikolow 11th.

fwmo.yuki.wlow 13th.

fwmo th.kwuli wlow 15th.

fwmo ollo dow 12 years. 196.7.

fwmo ollo fwv 12 sho-goats. 194.8.

fwmo ollotwafwm from 12 (goats). 194.12.

fwmo fwmdowan mwig *sis* 15 superior persons. 338.3.

fwmo fwuli ing yf'alw.e 15 "*fwy*" of grain. 342.7.

f'wu, *f'wo*, pl. *f'wvmuls* x medium-sized pumpkin, N. gourd with a waist (smaller than *hwpuf*). 384.21 ff. In the H. version: "*k.nldu*".

(Cp. Sh. *fwu*, *fw'u*, small bowl, wooden vessel; *fofois fwy* — human skull?).

f'wum bugle. — *f'wum delimsn* they blew trumpets. (Cp. Kho. *f'wum* bugle).

ḅwa, pl. *ḅaḅ'aq* y grave, tomb, pl. graveyard. (Cp. *°-ḅaq*).

ḅakuvi, H. *ḅakuvi*, *-mata* a tipcat, the small piece of wood that is hit. — *ḅakuvi ḅolas* to play at tipcat. *ḅakuvi ne wadzwi* he threw him right over (in wrestling). QUB.

The stick with which the *ḅakuvi* is hit is called *yatwaj*.

ḅagwa, *ḅag'w -ile* s a round vessel made of willow or walnut wood with a lid. BKLS.

ḅaḅw, *ḅaḅwan* sufficient, H. *ḅaṅ̄*, QUB, some quantity of, H. *thiya ḅaḅ̄*, IUB. — *ḅaḅwan yf'ale* bilas there is a sufficient quantity of grain. *ḅa ḅaḅwan ḅarl dawimi* then a considerable spring (of water) came out. 2933. *ḅaḅw waat m.ṅaḅ̄ni* sufficient(?) time has passed. QUB.

(Cp. Sh. *ḅaḅw*, much, many, very).

ḅaḅq y pl. graveyard, cemetery. (Pl. of *ḅaw*).

ḅalp'of, *ḅalp'ff*, *-ofo*, *-ovo* forward, spoilt (of a child who wants everything and goes pushing in everywhere); IUB. mischievous, restless, H. *ḅaṅ̄v*, *-ṅḅale*.

(Cp. Sh. *ḅalp'ofo*, mischievous, rude; hasty in action).

ḅaḅorqle, *ḅaḅorqle*, very early morning, twilight. — *ta ḅawdimo ḅaḅorqle* early tomorrow morning. *jimale ḅaḅorqle ja ayaler ju* come to me early tomorrow morning. (Cp. *ḅaḅaq*).

ḅaḅorqmo, *ḅaḅorqmo* very early in the morning; pertaining to early morning (before dawn). — *ḅaḅorqmo yf'wuk ḅaṅ̄'ile* dew falls in the early morning. *ḅaḅorqmo ḅapik* early morning meal.

ḅarthale spitting seven times (a form of abuse). (*ḅar* + *thale*).

ſuſ'aŋ, ſuſ'aŋ, dark. — *ſu.w ſuſ'aŋ* pitch dark. *Arw ſuſ'aŋ mainui* the evening has grown dark. EOL. *ſuſ'aŋ mainwle* in the dark grave. 312.12.

(Perhaps a reduced form of *ſwuſ'aŋ*. Cp. Sh. *ſuſ'aŋ*. Also recorded in Kho.).

ſuſ'aŋlut y darkness. — *ywr ſuſ'aŋlut* the darkness of no-moon.

ſuſ'ok, -ots, s wooden "penny-whistle". (Cp. Sh. *ſuſ'ak*, flute, pipe).

ſuſ'u Hs., *ſuſ'w* N., *-mate* s a kind of small biscuit or cake. — Hs. *arwŋ*.

ſuſ'w ctat, ſuſ'w ctat, to knee.

(Used of the noise made by a fly, or flying beetle).

ſuſ'ww -ŋ y strap, band, of cloth.

Used as a depreciatory term with hide. (V. BBOE Vol. VIII. 1934. P. 629). — *gaga ſuſ'ww lokan* a piece of hide. QUB.

TS and TS.H.

ſas standing, erect. — *ſi ſurwle ŋgai ſas dawni* he set up 12 stones (one in front of another) in front of himself. 148.15.

ſa.kayura archery. — *matire ſaŋyura dil'ola*, 316.7, i.e. the waste ridge down the ground to shoot at the mark with bow and arrow.

dilai refers to the horse: he "brings" that is gallops it down.

ſa.kayur -ilo, -do, s bin for grain etc., large chest in which the flour for a year is kept; N. wooden chest with lid for storing grain. — *ſaŋyurŋum daywaŋ dawuter mutwrdulo* she takes her away to get flour from the bin. 306.3. Cp. 306.4, 332.10—334.8.

ſak -itaŋ y sluice, sluice-board. — *ſak ſatiŋ* ne removing the sluice-board. 304.5 N.

361 b

000 (Cp. Sh. ʃkoko, ʃkoiwo, ʃkoiwo-koof).

ʃkʌʃ -ʃuʃk, s heap. — *yʃʃkʌ.o ʃkʌʃ* a heap of grain (as formed when winnowing). *zurb ʃkʌʃ* a heap of broken straw. *ʃiko ʃkʌʃ* heap of earth. *ʃurʃ.o ʃkʌʃ* the name of a constellation(?) (lit. "the heap of barley").

ʃkʌʃʃ ʃkʌʃʃ quite straight.

ʃkʌʃʃ 398,14., error for *zʌʃʃ*.

ʃkʌʃ'ik, ʃurʃʃik, y sauce, relish (of pickles, walnuts etc.). — *gurʃb ʃkʌʃ'ik ʃkʌ dʌʃʃʌʃʃʌ* they bring along with it ʃkʌʃik of gurʃt. 342.5. Cp. *zurʃ-ʃurʃʃik*. Sz.

Used also to express a small quantity of a food, e.g. *ʃkʌʃʃ ʃurʃʃik*, "a small quantity of meat", denoting according to QUB "a little soup". *ʃurʃʃ ʃkʌʃʃikʌʃ*, a little ʃurʃʃ, i.e. enough for one ʃkʌʃik. QUB.

(Cp. Sh. ʃkʌʃʃik, recorded as a decoction of bitter almond kernels in water).

ʃkʌʃʃ, N. pl. -ʃʃʃik.

a. Straight, direct. — *ʃrʌʃʃ ʃkʌʃʃ ni, ʃkʌʃʃ.ʃrʌʃʃ ni* go there straight, direct. *ʃkʌʃʃ ʃkʌʃʃ* quite straight. *ʃkʌʃʃ yʌʃ* ne straight up.

b. True, right, correct; truth, right. — *.wʌʃ ʃkʌʃʃ ʌʃʃ* speak the truth, say truly. 104.1. Cp. 78.19, 78.10. *jʌ gʌʃʃ ʃkʌʃʃ bʌʃʃ* this that I say (lit. this of mine) is true. 164.2. *ʃkʌʃʃ ʃʌʃʃ* in very truth, sure enough. 218.13. *ʃʌʃ ʌʃʃʌʃʃʌ wʌʃ ʃkʌʃʃ, gʌʃʃ ʃʌʃʃ* O astrologer, you were right, she has been delivered. 102.8. *ʃkʌʃʃ!* true! (ironically), to be sure. 118.14,19. *gʌʃʃ jʌ ʃkʌʃʃ* (or, *ʃkʌʃ*) *bʌʃʃ* this is my right. *ʃʌʃʃ ʃʌʃʃʌ ʃkʌʃʃ ʌʃʃ* he

000 has no right. *ta.kana* truly; in truth, in fact, indeed, really. *ta.kana ne ka* you say truly. *ta.kana ana* speak truly, speak the truth. *ta.kana ka.a kayowa ki* in fact there is a fine horse. 6.12. *gele ikana yanzi bila?* is this really gold. 58.21.

-ta.kana, *-ta.kai(y)-*, Impv. *-ta.kan*, Fpa. *n-tkan*, to count, reckon, consider as, H. *gwana*, *kanwa kanan*. — *gaga nikanimi* he counted the pebbles. 52.22. *nathan* counting (the cows). 302.12. *gwaniq nikan* counting the days. 104.16. *wtakriyam* I shall count them (people, sheep, money). *je gu.ima daruakuyo ja.an ikan* count me as one of your hired servants. 368.6.

ta.kanf, *ta.kanf* every time (that something occurs), whenever. — *gu kim manam kanf ikil kankarf gadam* at the conclusion of each month I'll give you a sheep like this. 62.22. *daiyam ta.kanf kapik jodwa* every time that I come they give me food. QUB.

ta.nduwa y Monday. (Cp. Sh. *tanduwa*, Monday).

ta.kankaf y truth, reality. — *ta.kankafo matlab* the real purpose.

ta.kanan -iq y gap, interval, interstice (between planks in door etc.). — *ama ta.kanan* the space between my teeth.

ta.ap ekan to touch, put the fingers to. — *mirtto ta.ap ekan* to touch the table. *ta.ap ne dari ekma* putting her fingers to it she picked it up, i.e. she snatched it up. 168.5. *kele ta.ap nenkan* making him touch the seed (with his fingers). 344.2. *Thama ta'ap ne b'a ne . . . kerudai* the Tham touching

(the bowl with his fingers) and sawing (his fingers) . . . sits down. 340.1. Cp. 70.7.

(Cp. Sh. *ŋap tkwtki* to touch; Kho. *ŋapwtk*, to put the hand to, to touch, feel, with the hand).

*-tkÂapanat, *-tkÂapaŋ(y)-, to sew. When the obj. is *y* there is no Pa. Pf. — *gale tkÂapan* sew the cloth (x). *pali tkÂapaŋyam* I shall sew the cotton cloth (y). QUB. *ŋapanow pahŋ* sewn clothes, ready-made clothes. 98.12.

ŋapi -*mig y* tweezers. (Cp. Kho. *ŋapi*, *ŋarpi*, tweezers, tongs).

tkÂaŋ *-*ataa* to slander, speak ill of s.o. — *tkÂaŋ ortimi* he slandered me. QUB.

ŋaŋ ŋaŋ ataa v.t. to shake up and down. — *ile ŋalor ŋaŋa nolawa ŋaŋ ŋaŋ ataaw* . . . having put the house in the skin, on shaking it up and down . . . 324.9.

-*ŋaw* suffix "to" etc. (-*ne* + *w*. V. § 78, vi.).

1. *ŋaw*, sg. and pl., h sentry, watchman, watch, guard (collective). — *bollotaaw jow nawka ŋaw hawatanaw hakawa dawaw* ask permission from the king for me to sit on guard with you. 98.22. *ŋawow gaw ehimi* he called out to the guard. 98.4. *iwa ŋikawala ŋapaw ŋaw hawatawa* watchmen (*wa*-*pl*) used to sit in the tower at night. 198.3. (Cp. Sh. *ŋaw*, watch, guard).
2. *ŋaw ataa* v.t. to tear, tear off, split, cut open. — *jo pahŋ ŋaw ainti* don't tear my clothes. EOL. *kafan dangu nalan ŋaw ehini* measuring the shroud he tears it off. 310.4. *hawan ŋaw na* splitting a log. 98.14. *iwa bala ŋaw ata* cut open that sheep. 64.27.

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Cp. 88.8, 90.4. *ṭar manev* v.i. to tear. 000

(Cl. Sh. *ṭar-e ṭhorchi, ḥorchi* v.t. & v.i., (of cloth), to tear, to tear off, split).

3. *ṭa.ḥar manev* v.i. to drop, fall (of tears, rain), to be sprinkled. — *ma.ṭar.an ṭar rakiloṭar ṭar manaiwi* a tear of hers fell on his face. 262.12. *ḥar.ali ḥewe ḥa maiṭarar ṭar ma.ṭaro* (or, *ma.ṭar.ṭaro*) is she the rain that she should fall on all of you? 262.12. *ṭa.ḥar ofas* v.i. to sprinkle. *ṭa.ḥil ṭa.ḥar ofas* to sprinkle water.

(Cp. Sh. *ṭrṭo ṭar ḥoli*, "it has begun to rain". *Wai ṭar ṭa-e ṭhorchi* to sprinkle water).

ṭarpuryo, pl. *ṭarpuryo*, bus sentry, watchman. 42.18. (I. *ṭar* + *purin*).

ṭa.ḥarił, pl. *ṭa.ḥar.aṇ*, double pl. *ṭa.ḥar.aṇ.ṭiṇ*, *ṭa.ḥar.aṇiṇ*, *g*.

fig. One part of the door frame, door-post, threshold. — *yar... ṭa.ḥarił* door-sill, used as a term of contempt for a man of low class. *dawa ṭarełe wełe ḥarłar nal'a wełe ta'ṭrdow* coming to the house they (each) place their foot simultaneously inside the threshold. 304.17.

Pl. Door-frame (posts, lintel and sill). — *ḥok ṭar.aṇ . . . ḥewa ma'a?* why have you brought this door-frame? 170.2. *ḥiṇe ṭa.ḥar.aṇ* door-frame. *ḥow ṭa.ḥar.aṇ* door-frame of house. *...ni.a ṭa.ḥar.aṇ* door-frame of garden. Cp. 170.7,9, 386.9 (written *ṭar.aṇ*). Double pl. Door-frames.

(Cp. Khe. *ṭarwał*, door-frame, part of door-frame).

ṭaṭ standing; halted, waiting. — *ṭaṭ manev* to halt, wait. *ganolo ṭaṭ manewai* he has halted (i.e. is standing still) on the road. *ṭaṭ man'a*

000 halt, wait. 144.9, 146.28. *ɬaɬin* (?) = *ɬaɬ manin*. 144.17. *ɬaɬ manumen* they halted. 144.17. *ɬaɬ dizu ausram* I got tired standing up. EOL. N. *um ɬaɬ dakwimi* he made you stand up. *ɬaɬ ɬiɬu* (*-ɬiɬuf*) v.i. to stop. *ɬuɬ ḫuru ɬiɬu ɬudilelo ɬaɬ ɬimi* he stopped the boulder on the hillside. 294.7.

ɬaɬaq manœuvre to keep jibbing (of a horse), to keep retreating, withdrawing (of a man, from fear). QUB.

ɬaḫaɬaḫaq manœuvre to trot.

ɬaḫaiʿi, *ɬaḫiʿi* 1 the two weeks of moonlight, the new moon, II. *ḫaḫiʿi*, QUB. the moon up to its 15th day. — *ɬaḫaiʿi ḫian* the part of the month when there is moonlight.

1. *-ɬu* suffix "on", "upon" etc., v. § 78.

It is difficult to allocate the following: — *ɬuɬu ḫin ḫaḫiʿlo ḫiran ḫan* besides (him) there was also a strong man. 200.10. *ɬuɬu ɬiɬu* v.i. to separate. *Kiseʿe u ɬuɬu manumen ḫuru ɬiɬumen* the Kiseri clan began to separate out. 110.22.

In these there may be a word *-ɬuɬu separate, apart, or they may be based on *-ɬu. V. also *-ɬiɬ.

2. *-ɬu* enclitic particle with verbs giving the sense of "would (have)", "should (have)", "might". V. §§ 313, 351.

*-ɬiɬ Postposition, used only with the *Pu.pf.a.* V. § 74, after, on. — *maʿiʿi ɬiɬ ɬaurl ɬimi* he conferred the Wazirship on him. 98.8.

a. It occurs principally in dependence on the following verbs:
ḫaɬalkuɬ (relating to the subject),
duɬuɬ (occasionally),
gurɬaɬ, *galuɬ*, *ɬaɬuɬ*, 2. *ḫuiɬuɬ*, *ɬaɬuɬ* qq.v.

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000 *wtsi gavtsin* run ye after them. V. also s.v. 1. *tsi*.

b. Otherwise it is found in certain phrases with the suffix *-afu*, *-efu*. — *itsivafu ni.as* to track, follow up s.o. *hin ivu itsi.afu* one after another, in Indian file. *itsi.afu hilowan ho dimi* and a boy came after him. 64.6. Cp. 176.8.

c. *-ta'i'afu appears to be used as a noun denoting the ceremonial carried out at the death of anyone: funeral rites, obsequies. — *u.ivumur utsi.afu ataw dastur* the custom in regard to carrying out funeral observances for persons who have died. 210. title. Sg. *ivumur itsi.afu*. *motsivfu iskikotu ziruy espalomun* they lighted the 3-days' lamp as an observance of her death. 244.21.

The idea probably is "what follows after" a person, cp. the Sh. *gur fitu thorski* "to do before and after", i.e. to carry out the rites and ceremonies consequent on a man's death. Perhaps there is some analogy with the Latin "exequiae".

d. *itsi*, *i.itsi* separately. — *datumun ferter wyorski 'itsi dori'an* they grind the ration of flour for eating in autumn, separately. 334.7. (Cp. *itsir*, s.v. 1. *-ita*).

ta.hivr, *-ito* and *tsi.awito* young bull, steer. Also used as a term of abuse. — *hik, arito iski, uwito dankus ta.hivr* a 1-, 2-, 3-, 4-year old bull. *kirl atas ta.hivr* an ox employed for ploughing (from 3 or 4 years of age). *kirl atas mani hi* it has become fit to plough. *tsi.ara bulorio* bull-calf. 104.21.

According to QUB *ta.hivar* is used as a depreciatory term for a full-grown ox, *hor*.

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tsʌhi.ʌs, *tsʌhiyʌs*, *tsʌhirč-*, to go down, subside; to catch (of fire). ooo

Fut sg. 3 *tsʌhirči*. — *gu.imo dikolo tsʌhi* sit down in your place. QUB. *mʌrt tsʌhi bila* the earth-cliff has fallen down. QUB.

hʌ·fu pfu tsʌhimi fire caught the house, i.e. the house caught fire.

When people have dressed up in bright coloured clothes one may say metaphorically: *pfu tsʌhi bilo*.

(Cp. the trans. *-*ʌtsi.ʌs*).

*-*tsi·ʌts* v. *-*tsi* (3).

tsʌhigiv, N. -*ʌtu*, she-goat. — *burm tsʌhigiv* female mountain goat. (Cp. 1. *tsʌhiv*).

tsirk N., recorded only in: *hʌltsirk*. — *phori hʌltsirk mʌni biru* the polo-ball had gone out.

(Cp. Hz. *tirki* and Sh. *pori hʌltsirk birl(i)* the polo-ball went out, and Bu. *hʌla*, Sh. *hʌrlu*, goal).

tsʌhil -*uiŋ* y water. — *ima γrʌzi . . . tsil dʌmoriʌm* he used to make the queen fetch water. 20.5. *hilum sisik tsilʌu.ʌts wi hirʌŋ čʌl wumʌn* a few people quarrelling among themselves over a water-supply. 42.19. *tsilʌu wiγʌm* I shall drink a little water. 146.4. *bʌpʌyom tsʌhil* boiling water. *ieʌs tsil* drinking-water. 172.22. *tsʌhilʌŋ* *-*mʌnʌs* to fall into the water and be drowned, to be wasted. *amolo tsilʌŋ wumʌnemu.ʌ nozen* saying: "she will have fallen into the water somewhere and been drowned". 244.21.

(IYB Ms. has *alhʌfta amolo tsilo* (or, *tsil?*) *gʌwʌtsumu.ʌ*, *dolʌt wyom tsʌhilʌŋ stimi* he wasted all his possessions. *formulum tsʌhil* sap of tree. *γurlulo tsʌhil* water

in the belly, i.e. dropsy. McK., GR. 000
N. *ɛil ʃ'wyas yakal* up-stream.

ɛil gutsɛras yakal down-stream.

ʀɛkis ta.hil irrigation before ploughing. *yaʃ ta.hil ɛtas* to do the second watering (when crops are beginning to come up). *ta.hil yolas* (*yalas*) to turn irrigation water on (to a field etc.). *mal ta.hil yolas-bila* the field is to be watered. *malɛr* (*malolo*) *ta.hil yalas* to water a field. Cp. 262.5. *ʀaiɛr ta.hil bikoiyas* to turn water on to the garden. *ɛeiʃ yalt* turn of water (where a supply of irrigation water is shared by a number of persons). 262.4, 266.18.

For water-supply terms vide Text No. XLII passim.

Other references: 124.11 — 180.24 passim; 196.20 ff., 262.19,20, 264.2, 292,6 ff., 304.2, 368.11, 384.14.

ta.hilʔalγanas, -γanalo, s a soft blister caused by a burn.

ta.hilʔij y wet and slippery place.

ta.hilʔwum watery, thin (of soup etc.), dilute. Ar. Fm *ʀaqiq*.

1> *ta.hilum* y pl. -iq.

1. Fine (of powder), finely ground; small, minute, (of writing) etc. — *ta.hilum daγnas*, *ta.hilumiq daγnas* fine flour, H. *maida*. *Kitab ta.hilum γrmiwum bila* the book is written in small characters. QUB. *ta.hilum kitab γatanʃ cyiwmaiya la* I am unable to read a book in small type. QUB.
2. Inferior, minor. — *ɛeilum ʀaderis* the lesser retainers, minor servants. 256.4, 340.8.

*-*ɛaimo* from. V § 137. iii. — *gutsimo dumuriʃ la* if he demands them from you, if he asks you for them. 210.14.

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1 [See corrigenda & addenda, category III. p. 544 - Analyst]

000 Cp. 34.13, 58.25. *itsimo doγ'ərukəm* they enquire of him. 312.16. *itə'imo ʼu ʼbil čačaq moi bila* water is dripping from them (y pl.). 130.20. *motsimo* from her. 174.24. *utsimo γər* in front of them. 124.5, 14.23. **-tsimo jwyas* to have an emission of semen either in coition or in a wet dream. *itsimo dirni* he had an emission, or wet dream.

(Abl. formative from *-tsi).

ts.hindəv, *ts.hindi.as*, *ts.hindivč-* to lean on, lean against (s.t.). — *čakotas*, *bəčtas*, *ts.hindas* to lean against the pillar, the wall.

(The Pres. Base originally recorded, *ts.hindəvč-*, was denied by QUB).

ts.hind'or -*ikə* a bull (entire). — *ba.a tsindər moi bi* the cow is seeking the bull. *tsindər bar(a)* castrated ox(en).

ts.hrudi v. *ts.hundə*.

ts.hindi.alom, N. *tsindi'lom*, fifth. — *jə tsindi.alom əmənə ba.* I am the fifth Imam. 294.11.

1. *ts.hir* sg. and pl.; also pl. *-ərulə*, s. she-goat (full grown). *ts.hir bi.an* there are she-goats. *ban ts.hirə* (or, *tsirəan*) *dərən* a (goat's) kid. 270.9, 374.9. *hanumən girri tsirən bi* there is a female (ibex) by itself. 102.20. Cp. 108.12. *bərmə ts.hir* a female markhor. Cp. 102.21, 194.8 ff. 342.15. (Cp. N. *ts.hirgir*).

2. *ts.hir* line (of men etc.), H. *qatar*. — *ts.hirulə* in a line, in file. *əlto ts.hir mənə* get into two lines. *hani.ə ts.hir* a string of kernels, i.e. kernels strung on a thread, like a necklace. *ts.hirtə* in succession, in turn, one after another. 138.9, 170.5, 302.3, 318.5, 360.5. *bar gunə hiq*

000 *tsiv se yuʿdam* they used to give . . . each house in turn. 260.5.
(Cp. Sh. *tsiv*).

3. *tsʰir* time, occasion; set (of clothes). — *jav ariło* (*ireki*) *tsʰir jo, ayem* give me — a second, third, time. *dasinumor zaki wʿalti tsir pacis galog cówa* they furnish 3 or 4 sets of cotton clothes for the girl (bride). 304.10. (IYB Ms. *tsir*).

1. *-*tsʰiv* -*iq* y gut, entrails; pl. entrails, bowels, intestines, H. *antariam*, Sh. *ṭṭi*.
Usually in the plural.
gutsiwiq tsim may your entrails be devoured! (a woman's curse).

2. *-*tsʰir* -*iq* y breast (of sheep or goat). — *kaskarsis itsir thamor kalaṭb se dasuvicum* roasting the breast of a wether they bring it to the Mir. 338.15,16. *ayumor itsire kanik sćan* they prepare a dish of the breast (of the goat) for the "akhund". 314.5. (IYB Ms. *itsir*).

3. *-*tsʰiv* -*iq* y custom, habit, practice, H. *ʿadat, dastur*. — *itsʰiv bila* it is a custom. *ja atʰsiv bila* it is my habit. *ima itsʰiv bilem sisam baiś* he is a man of good habits. QUR. (IUB *-*tsir*).

· *tsʰirzi, tsʰiriṭ*, pl. *tsʰiraq, tsʰirang* y root. — *tsʰirzitum dipirtas*, or, *dimas* to pull up by the roots, eradicate (tree or person). *kayewis tsʰiriṭ* root of evil (term of abuse for a rascal), H. *fasad ka jar*. *wuṣ dainsane tsiriṭ dezipirier* in order to pull up the roots of your enemy. 94.16.

tsin, -*ewu*, -*eya*, km slave (bought or homeborn). (Cp. Balti *tsun*, slave).

tsʰor early, quick, soon, immediately; first. — *da tsʰor ja ayaćer ju* come

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to me again soon. *ts.hor dimanam hiles* first born boy. *ts.hor diyanum mewan* early ripened fruit. *ts.hor oti* make haste. *da tsor jućam* I'll come (back) again soon. 29.1. *ćor Torakutsan thame pirator de.ćtui.i* the Mir makes one of the Tarakuts dance first. 318.1. Cp. 74.2, 80.8, 318.7, 332.1. (IYB Ms. *tsor*).

ts.hormo[1A] pertaining to former times. H. *qadīm ka*. QUB.

ts.hordimo pertaining to early morning, early morning (when it is light; later than *ṭaṭyanko*). — *ts.hordimo khan* morning time. *ts.hordimo ḥapak* the early morning meal. *hor tsordimo* every morning early. 8.16. *aṭyoro tsordimo* on Tuesday morning. 306.17. Prov. 11. *ts.hordimo ṭilor* early morning at sunrise time.

ts.hordine, ts.hordiner, -or, morning, tomorrow morning, next morning. — *khuilo ts.hordine* this morning. *jimalo tsordine* tomorrow morning. 124.14. *tsordine* tomorrow morning. 124.22, 126.18, 130.4, next morning. 128.8. *tsordiner, -or* tomorrow morning. 128.17,22, 130.10,13, 286.7, next morning. 6.1, 124.27, 234.13, 284.9.

ts.howum early, former. — *tsowum zamawanolo* in early times, in former days. 190.1, 232.1, 274.1.

*-ts.ku, pl. -ę, *-ts.kowę, y track, footmark. — *gurpiso ćts.ku* his (its) footstep. *kayore ćtsu* the horse's hoofmark. 288.1. Cp. 6.3, 246.21,22.

ts.kuwa, pl. hx *-ćio*, y *-ię* heavy, slow; patient. — *ts.kuwaido kiwi, gulipnate* heavy, *or*, patient, men, women. *ts.kuwaię kalćowę* heavy planks. *ts.kuwaię kaldaę bitsan* there are

[1A] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 16, p. 504 - Analyst]

heavy loads. *hevɪnɪ.ɪn tɪ.hɪrɪ nɪsɪ.nɪ?* how heavy may it be?, what does it weigh? *tɪ.hɪrɪ mɪn'e* be patient. QUB. 000

tsum v. *mɪm*.

tsumʃɪlɪkɪt v. *mumʃɪlɪkɪt*.

tɪ.hundo hxy, *tɪ.hɪndi* z, five.

h *tɪ.hundo hɪvɪ, gudiqnɪ* five men, women.

x *tɪ.hundo hɪɣwɪtio, huqanɪ* five horses, chogas.

z *tɪ.hundo mɪleɣ* five fields.

z *tɪ.hɪndi lɪtɪ, den, hɪ·ʃi* five days, years, times.

tɪ.hɪndikɪm five sets, pairs.

mɪ·lto tsundowɪn diltɪɣriɣ 4 or 5 (bowls of) buttermilk. 324.1.

tɪzndi čuq pʃɪlɪn ɪapik bread (made from) 5 *čuq* of grain. 342.12.

tsup x and y (according to object), finger's breadth (measure). — *tsupɪn* (*bi, bila*) (it is) one finger's breadth. *ɪsko* (*ow, zɪki*) *tsup* three fingers' breadth. *wɪ·ltsup(ɪn)* four fingers' breadth (fingers separated laterally unless otherwise specified). *čɪtsin* (v. *dᵊ-ɪtsi.ɪn*) *wɪ·ltsup* four fingers' breadth (fingers together). *čɪčɪqɪr* (v. *dᵊ-ɪčɪqɪrɪn*) *wɪ·ltsup* four fingers' breadth (separated).

tsupunce N. cold in the head.

(Cp. Sh. *tsipɪn'ɪ·ʃ, tsuponowu*, GB *čhupuru*, cold in the head, having a cold in the head).

*-*tɪ.hɪwɪ.ɪn, tɪ.hɪnɪ.ɪn*; *-*tɪ.hɪwɪ'-, tɪ.hɪwɪ'-*, Fpa. *nᵊ-tsum, nɪtum*.

1. To take away (to), carry off, carry away, lead away.

The Fn.pf. is used only when the object is a human being.

For recorded past base parts v. § 289.

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With *h* object:

tazti [illegible] *ātwāw* you are going to take me away on a litter. *Čilimdarwa "gutwrčam"* [illegible] on C.'s saying "I will take you away (i.e. marry you). 26.11. *matan ītsu him, nitsen* (the horse) had carried him far away, having carried him away. 8.19. Cp. 8.8, 10.3, 22.17, 24.10, 24.14 ff. (Marry?), 30.2, 72.12, 78.23, 80.22, 108.19 ff., 154.5, 264.6.

With *x* object:

wor hayur trumsan, natsen they took away horses for them, having taken them away . . . 36.10. *hasto trurman B. Jambuwe higher* they led away the elephant to B. J.'s door. 76.21. *podin ačlor tuyas ivo hasto gerr dortani* the King has sent you the elephant that takes him out. 76.22. *ersmots uyurn gulpurar . . . tuvlorn* they take (away) the kidneys to the senior Guahpūr. 338.17. Cp. 68.12.

With *y* object: —

čumor uyorn . . . dukurnator tarmi he carried off all the iron to the shop. 172.20. *bardiow xaler tuvlorn* let us take news to the King. 6.7. *ja jamarals was tisrio bom* "my wife was carrying the smell (of meat)", referring apparently to the peculiar cravings of a pregnant woman. 104.7. Cp. 48.5, 54.18, 78.3.

2. *-*ta.hayas* v.t. to marry (used of either sex). — *khirus falarno ei natsurai* this man married the daughter of So and So. *gulp ivas hir itsurno* the woman married that man. Cp. 18.19, 24.14 ff., 30.14, 48.2, 118.24 ff.

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W.

000 *ue* O! Ho! An exclamation of invocation, to draw attention, express surprise, etc. — *ue ḫapuło* O friend! 52.8, *ue ayi* O grandmother! 235.4. *ue paryu ṣḫwr.an* Ho, may the crows eat them! 254.11, *ue* Ho there! 242.2, 322.2, 354.4. *ue* denoting surprise. 84.10.

It appears introducing lines of verse v. 355.1 ff.

It is perhaps the Persian *ue* "and" in: *Xołajyw mawa ue ayo* farewell mother and father! 212.12. In: *ue ḫawa ṣełam ełaz ine ḫołj.an* it was glossed as meaning H. *ḫełkel*, quite. 90.12.

uerła y undertaking, promise. — *ine uerła ełewołe ḫiw.aram* the one here under the agreement that had been made. 104.25. Cp. 106.2, 160.22, Ar. Fre.

*-*uerła.*, *uerła.*; *-*ełj-*, *-*uerłj-*, *uerłj-* to be lost, get lost, go astray.

This verb is used only with h and a subjects. When the subject is *y* it is replaced by the verb *ḫałwy.an*. The Pa.pf. is used both with h and a animate subjects, but not invariably with either.

ṣełer ḫawłiew ue ełewi uerłiwi after R. had taken A for a walk, wherever A went to he was lost, he disappeared. 70.18. *ie gwerłew* O you lost one, O you fugitive! 204.9. *ji ḫiwu ewi . . . uerła.an* this son of mine had got lost. 268.16. Cp. 270.16. 272.21. *uerła.an ie mawr* the parable of the lost son. 272. *ieuerła.*, *ieuerłj-*, to be lost (of an animal). *ue gwerła.jewa* you will get lost. *ewiuerełin* don't ye get lost.

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hayar, hiv, **warimi** the horse, mare. ○○○
got lost, **wawarimo** she got lost.
ji dawaya **warimi** my stick was lost.
wu dawayala **warimis** their sticks were lost. QUR.
(Tosna. 2. *-*ampalas*).

warikwa four sets, four pairs.

warikats(as) four days. 322.1,10.

warili *ailter* eighty. — **warili** *altwas ladwala* 80 reindeers. 216.2.

warili *ailter tawama*, — *tawimi* ninety.

warilikon, N. **walirikon**, fourth.

warili *tsag* four pieces, four portions. — *gwa gaji* **warili** *tsag ali* divide this cake of bread into four pieces. QUR. *kulala* **warili** *tsag* **wawimi** the land was divided in four. QUR.

warilo h. s. y. **warili**, **wari-** s. four. — **warilo** *hivi, hayawala, daiya, phalaya* four men, horses, stones, grains. **warili** *saw* 4000. **warili** *dan, hadi* four years, times. **warili** *giram* the four communities. 208.1. *dawala (hivi)* **warikwa** *dulua* bring four knives (men). EOL. **warikats** four days. **warilan** four months.

warilo *iskilig* v. *-*skirl*.

warilo *gawanda* four-cornered, square.

warilaap v. *faap*.

warg **waaara** to take long strides.

wa.o an exclamation. — **wa.o** *gawa* **wa** calling out (in distress). 212.12.
(Cp. Sh. **wawa** *shoshi*, to call out, call out to; **wa.o** *ili*., to cry out in pain).

wawas, (*-**wawas**), **wawi-**, Impv. **wawi**, neg. **'wiaw**, **awaq** to put s.t. over s.t. as a cover or lid (the reverse of the English: "to cover s.t. with s.t."). — **aandwaya** **wawi** put on, shut, the lid of the box. *yaja* **wawas** to place over. *gilipala* **wawas** *kal* the

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stone (that had been) put over the peg. 196.15. *hateŋ* (y) *eiwor* do not put flat stones over it. *daiyo* (x) *owor* do not put stones over it. *hateŋ wavóra* they place flat stones (over the mouth of the grave). 312.5. *wazorofs hateŋ ayuwor* (*ayuor*) putting stones over the grave. 220.1. Cp. 218.6. *daiyo wawor* putting stones over it.

(Note the presence of the Pn. Infixes *i-* and *w-* in the forms of the negative Impv. and the Ppa.).

wavża -ało h, heir. Ar. Pra.

wavzł, pl. *wavżi.aŋ*, *y* lid, cover. — *sandurya wavzł* the lid of the box. (Cp. *wawas*).

wavża v. *warża*.

wavj ełas, *wał* s., to chew; to distort by force, — *inałkiżigałs wavj ełał.i* he chews with his gums. (Cp. *-wał*).

wadiyas v. *wałł.as*.

ruw wawa ełas Hz. & N. to bark (of a dog). (Cp. Sh. *wać thezki*, *wawaŋ* Ih., to bark).

wawela ełas to make lamentation. 294.15. Ar. Pra.

wafać *manaw* to die, pass away. — *wafać maniui* he died. 294.17. Ar. Pra.

wakiel, *-ło*, *-ło* bus agent (at wedding). 302.17. Ar. Pra.

wast, *wagł*, *y* time. — *ite wastolo* at that time, in those days. *ite wastiwa* from that time on, thereafter. Cp. 60.27, 86.7, 142.9, 208.20, 346.7, 390.20. Ar. Pra.

-walas, *w'ałas*, (*walas*), *-walj-*, *w'ałj-*, Ppa. *w-wał*.

1. To fall. This verb is used only with h and x subjects. It is replaced by the verb 2. *halowa* when

000 the subject is y. The Pn.pf.s appear to be used optionally when the subject is h.

čvrafum xa (or, *khau*) *walimi* he fell down from the cliff. *khau* (*xa*) *walum ṭapik* bread that h . fallen down. Cp. 168.4. *bum uyafi nywal* the boulder falling on them. 160.7. *čifafum xa n'iwal* he having fallen down from the ladder. *xa nywuwl* she having fallen down. 184.7. *yawe walas* (of a child) to fall down, i.e. be born. 110.4. *umurikane walas* to fall on their faces. *čapa walai.i* he has fallen on his back.

2. To find oneself in, land in, turn up in, come down.

ji jeimo wafanar čiji awalam in a dream I landed up in my own country. 20.8. Cp. 20.2. *uyum hasivnar walimi* he found himself in, came upon(?), a big garden. 54.4. *uno belafi guriq walimi* how did it come into your possession (*lit.* hand). *nivonaq wali bi* a rainbow has come down, i.e. appeared. *hariar walanr* when he had come to his senses. 182.13. *čvrči niwal* coming to his senses. 368.1.

3. To become affected by a disease.

yfalanj walai.i he has become affected by syphilis. *askur awala be* I have caught smallpox. *askur cwalai.i* he has caught smallpox, (or, *askura awala ba, iwalai.i?*) *yaliu iwalai.i* he has fallen ill. QUB.

4. To lose (in a game) be beaten.

axir K. M. walimi in the end K. M. lost (at polo). 388.12.

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000 *bolaʿ awalam* I lost at polo. QUB.
N. *-*walas* to lose (a game).

5. To settle down.
iʿlɛ bɔ̃ai.olum hirɛnale walimi, 366.9, and *kin hurutas hirane teʿle niʿn walimi*, 372.12, represent the H. "*bāsnda ke hāʿ ja paya*", but may be a too literal rendering of the H. idiom.

*-*wʿaldas*, pl. *-*wʿaldaso*, x.
1. The back (anat.). 276.7.
ja awaldase tin my back-bone.
2. Body and hindquarters of an animal.
baskarale iwʿaldas a body of a wether less the fore-quarters.340.10.

walgi, *waʿlgi*, *-čig* y thin rope. — *kan ke kan kan walgi učiʿas miraʿs bila* it is the custom for each village to give one rope (for tying up horses or dogs). 342.20. Cp. 52.1.
Also used as a depreciative substitute for *gaik*.
Walgi lukan ačhi give me a bit of (thick) rope. QUB.

walʿiʿ -tiŋ, *-mots* hm holy man, saint. — *Xodaʿya walʿi bam* he was a holy man of God. 294.15. Ar. Prs.

wan IUB, N. pl. *-aʿints*, x pumpkin, gourd, H. *kaddu*, N. gourd without waist. According to QUB the equivalent of Hz. *hoʿwr*.
(Cp. Sh. *wan*, pumpkin, H. *kaddu*).

wan stas (to strike), violently and noisily, QUB. IUB. — *wan čome deluman*. QUB.

wʿano IUB ugly, shapeless, H. *beqaʿrat*. QUB like a pumpkin (*wan*). — *yi la wʿano* that's enough you lout!

waq separated, gaping, a little open. — (*kitaʿp*) *waq du asimi* (the book) remained a little open (as when shut with sat inside it). *čhiʿn ičhunjoj*

wʌq sči bi the bird opens its bill. QUB. *čərtsu iriŋčiŋs ités kités wʌq ns dun* spreading (his arms) out on either side and laying hold of the cliff with his hands. 146.7. *wʌq numa ovroj* dont sit with your legs apart.

(Cp. Sh. *wʌk thoɔrki*, to open out, separate, e.g. the legs).

wʌqo very talkative, chatterer, H. *bakwəɔsi*.

(Cp. Sh. *wʌk wʌk thoɔrki*, to talk, buck; Wkh. *wʌq-*, to talk, chatter).

wər -ʌnts x full-grown ram (entire), H. *sunuḍ*, *nər bhesru*. — *rusə wər* Ovis Poli ram.

(Cp. Wkh. *wər*, *wʌr*, and perhaps Kho. *werkalu* ram).

*-*w'ərə*, *-*wərə*, round, around. — *iru giili iw'ərə tsir durəumu kʌš* čʌ.*nu* bringing the goats round the peg they (then) used to slaughter them. 194.15. *ja ji, guw'ərə* my soul! I (go) round thee. 230.5. This is a term of honour or respect.

*-*wərə talesnʌs* to go round, pay honour to; to petition, to pester. V. s.v. *talesnʌs*.

(Cp. *owərʌs* and *bərʌs*, and v. § 241, note).

wərʌq, *-iŋ*, *-čiŋ*, y page, leaf (of book). Ar. Prs.

*-*w'ərʌs*, *-*w'ərč-*, Ppa. *n*-wər(in)* to become tired. — *aw'ərčʌm* I shall become tired. *guwərčuma* you will become tired. *lokan awərʌm*, *awərə ba* I became, have become, a little, tired. *hirʌs girni*, *iw'ərimi* one man poured it in, he became tired. 140.8. *uyon uwərʌn* they have all become tired. Ppa. *naw'ərin hurufʌm* becoming tired I sat down. *nukuwərin* you becoming tired. *niwərin* he be-

coming tired. *numuor tels kurutume* being tired she sat down there. 108.12,17. 000

(Trans. *-ASPURAS*, v.t. to tire s.o.).

wark -ānts n.

1. Fat on the big intestine (colon) of animals.
2. A kind of sausage consisting of the big intestine filled with flour, meat, etc.
3. *Werke ḷapik* a kind of food given to the Mir at the Thumushēling.

wārts, *warts*, right, in order, in proper condition; right side out; repaired, recovered, better; Sh. *warts*, *suberu*. — *ils gan warts bila* this road is in good order. EOL. *guse ḷapa warts bi* this chogn is right side out. EOL. *warts etum kursi* a mended chair. *wrgs guse kursi warts etas gumanḷ* (or, *guse . . . bi*) you ought to repair this chair. *yalirtsum warts* *-MANAS* to recover from illness. *warts imamaiya? warts umamaua?* has he got better? have they got better?, i.e. is he, are they better? *warts numartan* making her well, curing her. 184.9. *ji warts MAMAN wēčam* when I am better I shall go. *warts aparts čayamig aiy'eti* don't talk at random, confusedly.

(Cp. the corresponding negative: *aparts*, *apawts*. Cp. also Wkh. *warts*; Sh. *wawts*, *warts*, neg. *nawawts*; and Kho. *wawts*, *warts*).

wasiwasi, *wasuwa* Adj. & noun y insane, lunatic, imbecile; insanity, imbecility. Ar. Pres. — *wasuwa(i) čai.i, imai.ibai.i; bila* he acts as an imbecile, he is an imbecile; it is imbecility. QUB.

-wat *-ur* back-tooth, molar. V. s.v. *-AWAL*. (Cp. *wat etas*).

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000 *-wəli.as, *wusi.as, wəli.as (wəli.as) wəlč-, Impv. wəli, Ppa. n*-wəli, St. Pc. wəlim.

1. To throw, fling, cast. This verb is used only when the object is h or x, it is replaced by *brləiyas* when the object is y.
xaf wəli throw it down. *xaf iwəli* (*a* + *iwəli*) don't throw it down; don't drop it, don't knock him down. *wlo wəlimi* he threw him in (to the pit). 56.20. Cp. 84.5. *wəlhan wəli* throw it far away. *kəl čər wəlimi, ny'u.čin* he threw him down to slay him, having thrown him down. 42.3. *i·ne γiγə·s ixəltsum hə·lə wə·limi* he spewed out the infant from his mouth. 110.6. *gusi xa awə·li lə* if this (elephant) threw me down. 76.25. *n'awə·lin, n'awə·lin* having thrown me. 76.15,18. *sulama dusuman wuwəlimi, nuwuwəlin* they wrestled and he threw her, having thrown her. 198.5. Cp. 9. *γuγ ninin jut i·i ši·lo wəlčai.i* the father going throws his younger son on his neck, i.e. embraces him. 368.9. Cp. 373.12. *qərqa·mutsi tiγn wəlči bi, wəlimi* the hen lays, laid, an egg. *γəlamiγu.s awəli.an* the Pleiades have overcome, overthrown me. Cp. 112.17, 114.24.

2. To put, set, apply, fix.
kəγuwələ iljl wuwəlimi he put her behind him on the horse. 146.14. *bandixanəγ wəli bən* they have put him (thrown him) into prison. *γunə* (or, *γunulo*) *wəliman* they put (him) in the stocks. *kəγur žiγur nyu.ə·čin* put-

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000 ting the horse into his sleeve. 124.6. *je ko·le awʿašin* deposit, i.e. bury, me here. 294.18. *gunts ke han qū.e wašimi, wašča baiyam* each day he put down, used to put down, one pebble (to keep a record of the days). 52.9,20. *hiŋ ṭam ne qulp wašimi* closing the door he applied the lock, i.e. he locked it. 52.6. Cp. 56.24. *ṭamer kunts nyuwašin* placing an arrow in his bow. 260.11,14. *han yatrsan waši bam detsirčər* they had put on a head in order to cook it. 232.3. *gaf waši.as* to put on, i.e. to tie, a knot. *i·ts ganər kər gunts durbin waščam* every day he used to apply a telescope to that road. 36.5. (Cp. Engl. "cast one's eye on"). Cp. 310.8,10.

3. To hang, suspend, attach, affix. *gaškulo i·khər wašimi* he hanged himself on a rope (suicide). *gi·lulo wašim bi* it is hanging on a nail, peg. *golptas čeʿi wašim bim* the key was hanging on (or, attached, affixed to?) the lock. 54.6. *ti·li.ani ʿeʿər tur wešiman* they hung the whip on the saddle-bow (by the loop attached to its handle). 78.22. Cp. 78.26.

4. (Metaphorical) to put, set, someone on (to doing s.t.). *sabaqaṭi wešimo* she set him to study. 68.21. *A·ltitolo Š. ke H. bitan uwaščər olm.am* they had taken Sh. and H. to Altit to make them perform as "bitans". 186.1. *bitan muwaščarn* they put a (she-) "bitan" to dance, etc. 316.11. (Cp. *-awaši.as).

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*-wʌšhicig y pl. gums (anat.). IUB H. 000
wʌshyre.

1. wʌt, -ig. y bark of tree, peel, rind, husk. — *bisʌn wʌt ɛŋ ɛukiluɛ ɛeči.ɛn ki* whatever husks the swine eat. 372.14. *limbuɛ wʌt* lemon-peel. EOL. *tiŋɛ wʌt* EOL. *tiŋ'ʌnɛ wʌt* QUB. egg-shell. (Cp. Kho. *wʌt*).
2. *-wʌt -iŋ y body, person. — *-wʌtʌtɛ tsʌhil thiyʌs to pour water over one's body, i.e. to wash oneself (in private). Cp. 306.18. *guwʌtʌtɛ tsil tin, mawʌtʌtɛ tsil tin* wash yourself, wash yourselves. EOL. *kinɛ but khentsum iw'ʌtɛtɛ (mawʌtɛtɛ) tsil ɔ'tin bai (bo)* he (she) hasn't washed for a long time. EOL. *hər'iɛ pfʌl nuka hʌlɛ iw'ʌt wʌnimi ki* when the barley having come into grain has turned yellowish (like a fox's body). 326.4. (Cp. Sh. *wʌt*, body (with flesh), woody part of stem).
3. *wʌt -iŋ*. — *wʌt ɛtʌs* to plough (in order only to soften the ground). *wʌtɛŋ ɛtʌšo bitsʌn* (the fields) are to be ploughed.

wʌtʌn -iŋ y country, land. — *imo wʌtʌn* his own country. 20.2,8. *imo wʌtʌnolum ɛʌ sis* those men of his own country. 162.15. Cp. 356.6. Ar. Prs.

wʌzir -tiŋ hm Wazir, minister, councillor, Mir's chief adviser and executive officer. 2.10 ff., 44.10 ff., 322.5, 328.16, 338.17, 340.4, 342.9, etc. Ar. Prs.

wʌzirɛiki pertaining to the Wazir. 340.23. (Ar.).

wʌzirɛkoŋ y wazirship. 44.24. (Ar.).

wʌziri y wazirship. 344.9, 346.2. (Ar.) Prs.

wʌli ʌs v. *wʌli.ʌs*.

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5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

Y.

1. *ya* exclamation, O! — *ya zzri* O mother! 30.15. *ya pa·lša* O King! 42.19. Cp. 38.21, 86.13,21, 90.24. (Cp. Sh. *ya*). 000
2. *ya·* or. — *altʌn ya iskɛn yu* two or three of his sons. 44.8. *ya· . . . ya· . . .* either . . . or . . . *ya· kɛ o(ʔ) . . .* or not (no example recorded). Cp. 2.4, 128.12, 338.18, 342.6. Prs. H.
3. *ya*, pl. *yai.in ya·in* enough! stop! shut up! hold your tongue!; H. *bʌs, nʌhī; bʌs, čho·ro.* — *u·g ya, o·sʌn* you hold your tongue, don't speak. 68.9. *ya·in, yai.in lɛ!* enough, shut up. 158.2,6 ff. *yaiyɛ* = *ya yɛ*, enough now, (let him be). 158.21. *ya aiyɛti* enough! don't do it, i.e. stop (doing it). *ak'omai.ima, ya šərum* you won't be able to do it, don't (try), it will be a cause of shame. 170.17. (Glossed: H. *bʌs, šərm hai*).

   (Cp. Sh. *ya*, enough! H. *bʌs!*).
4. *ya* occurring in some passages of uncertain meaning:

   b'eya, jimʌlɛ gotsu·čʌm No, I'll certainly take you tomorrow. (Perhaps 3. *ya*). 170.13. *ya* (=*yɛ*) *hisa mʌnom tsʌnč ʌki·l bʌskʌretə gu·čʌm* now at the end of each month I'll give you a similar wether. 62.22. *ya aku·romaʔ* is it this much? is that all? 56.18. (H. *bʌs ɪtnaʔ ya* = 3. *ya*, QUB). *yʌnčər ničʌma ya·ʔ* shall I go to meet him or not? 94.13. (Perhaps *o·ničʌm* is to be supplied after *ya·*).

   ya·na· IUB, *ya na·* ŠY, —?, H. *bʌs na·, bʌs a.o.* (Probably 3. *ya*). Cp. QUB *yɛ y'ʌ na·ʔ* = H. *pʌs bʌs naʔ*

   akhu·romʌn gu·čʌm. yɛ y'ʌ na·ʔ I'll give you this much. That's enough isn't it? i.e. do you agree?

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000 5. *yâv*, pl. *yʌmots*, x bear (zool.). — *hʌn yaʷn* a bear. *yâʷ baf* bear-skin. *yaʷ iʷsk* bear cub. N. *yâʷ biśkɪ* bear's fur. Cp. 152.9—14, 228.1 ff.

yab'ʌ -mots x, IUB wild yak, H. *jʌngʌli xoŝgaʷ*; QUB any large wild monster — *hʌyuʷr dʌy noma yab'ʌ taiʷeni bi* th horse becoming fat has turned into a monster. QUB.

yaʷbolto the day before yesterday. (Appears to be the approved Hz. form for *yaʷrbulto* q.v.).

yaʷd y remembrance, memory. — *ja yaʷd bila* I remember. *gus muyʊr yaʷd dimi* he remembered the woman and her husband. 388.5. Prs.

yaʷdgaʷri y memento. Prs.

yaʷi v. *yʌyɪ*.

yaʷinki IUB, v. *yai.ingki*.

**-yaʷlmuʷn*, pl. **-y'aʷlmuʷyo* x rib. (anat.). — *uuyaʷlmuʷyo gʌli biʷn* her ribs had broken. 184.7. *hʌn yaʷlmuʷnʌn kʌm mʌnimi* one rib (of the goat) was missing. 234.7 ff.

-yaʷltʌs*, *yaʷltʌs*, **-yaʷlć-*, Impv. **-yaʷlt* neg. *eyʌlt*, *oyʌlt*, Pps. n-yʌlt(in)* v.t. to wash.

This verb is used where the object is h or x. It is replaced by *baʷlts* when the object is y. The Pn. P *i-* does not appear initially before *g*: *guyaʷlćʌm* I'll wash thee. *gʌtu yaʷ* wash the cloth. **-xʌŝiq yaʷltʌs* t wash the backside. *niʷyʌltin* having washed him (or, it).

**-yaʷnɪs*, pl. *yaʷnjoko*, *yaʷniko* equal to. — *hʊrɪ ki yaʷnɪs gʊruʷum mai bila* it is as warm as an ox's breath.

1. *yaʷr*, v. *yaʷrɪ*, down, below. — *yaʷr nɪ qau ɪtimi* he called down (wards). 40.8. *yaʷr nɪ bʊrɪyʊr kʌŋ ɪti* beware of looking down. 50.26. *tik yaʷr* (or,

000 *tiki yaʷrə*) *baiyʌm* I was under the ground. 16.16.

(Probably the basal form of which 1. *yaʷr* is the general oblique).

2. *yaʷr*, an occasional variant of *yər*, cp. 2. *yaʷri*. — *gom mʌnaʷs yaʷr yaʷr* just before dawn. 118.7.

Probably also in *yaʷrbolto*.

3. *yaʷr -ilo* h. friend, lover. 86.5,12. 360.3. Prs.

yaraʷn, pl. *yaraiyo*. *yaraʷntiŋ*, h friend. Prs.

*-*yaʷrʌnʌs* v. *-*yərʌnʌs*.

yaʷrbolto, N. *yerbu(l?)to* the day before yesterday.

(2. *yaʷr* + *bolto*. Cp. *hipolto*).

yaʷrčtliŋ the day before the day before yesterday.

(2. *yaʷr* + *čtliŋ* which possibly is to be compared with Sh. *čiʷriŋ*, the day after tomorrow, in which the *č-* is connected with *čə.i*, three).

1. *yaʷrə* Adv. and Postpos. below, beneath, under, down.

Dat. *yaʷrər* to below; Abl. *yaʷrəm* from below.

a. Adv. *uʷn yaʷrə ui* you go below. *yaʷrə yuʷtiŋ jutiŋ bitsʌn* below, his feet are small. 156.19. *yaʷrə Bul Mʌlulo meniko kər oʷyərčʌn* down below in the Spring Field some people are ploughing with oxen. 248.2. *tešʌfom yaʷrə wʌlimi* he fell down from (on) the roof. *yaʷrə osimi* he put (the things) down. 138.24. Cp. 260.5, 264.2,3. *yaʷrə *-ʌtʌs* to bury. *saʷʌti irai.i, kuʷlto yaʷrə ʌtʌs bila* (or, *mʌnif*), he (has) died yesterday, today he should be buried. *iʷi yaʷrə ʌtəm mʌlər niʷmʌn* they went to the field where he had buried his son. 252.3. Cp. 82.14, 112.16,19, 240.9,

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252.5. 292.17, 344.7 etc. *yaʻrɛ wʌlʌs* to be born (of a child). *mu yaʻrɛ wʌlum inɛ gyaʻs* the child that had just now been born. 110.4. *yaʻrum yʌfɛ* upside down. *uyoʻn yaʻrum yʌfɛ numa* everything turning upside down. 286.9. *yaʻrum diʻusʌsər* to get him out from below. 264.1.

b. Postp. *mirɛ yaʻrɛ* beneath, under, the table. *tirk yaʻrɛ* under the ground. **-riŋ yaʻrɛ* under one's hand, in one's possession, under one's control. *gurriŋ yaʻr oʻs* keep it in your possession. *menʌn yaʻrɛ giyʌs* to take refuge with (under?) s.o. *miriŋ yaʻrɛ eʻorutum sis* the persons placed under our hands, i.e. hostages. *eʻkʌtiŋ yaʻrɛ nidilin* putting it under his arm(pits.) 118.4. Cp. 110.9, 146.10. *iʻsɛ bun yaʻrər giyʻʌmʌn* they went in under the boulder. 160.1. *kərʌltiʻaʻrɛ dyuʻesimi* he remained under the rain. 160.3. *iʻsɛ Hʌnumʌn Muʻn yaʻrər nimi* he went in under that H. M. (mountain). 180.7. *Xʌmərɛ iʻ yaʻrɛ eʻtʌm tik yaʻrum senimi* Kh.'s son, whom he had buried, said from beneath the ground. 252.5.

2. **-yaʻrɛ, yaʻrɛ.*

a. Before, in front of, in the presence of Dat. **-yaʻrər;* Abl. **-yaʻrum.* *uʻŋ guyaʻrər wʌlimi* (the ibex) fell in front of you. 104.2 *uʻŋ guyaʻrɛ je bɛsʌn atʻaćʌna ba* I have not required anything in your presence, at your hands(?). 76.5. *taʻaʻmʌn guyaʻrɛ di biluma?* has some food come before you? 84.9. *uyoʻŋko uyaʻrɛ ki kʌnikots oʻsaʻn* they set dishes in front of the elders also. 340.13. Cp. 302.13. *paʻdša yaʻrum γiʻki nɛ joća?* stealing from (before) the king, do

you give to me?. 62.16. *šoguˑlo yaˑrom gukɛ ɣenʌg čʌp aiˑeˑčʌm* I shall not conceal this gold from (before) my friend. 54.9. Cp. 68.18,19, 192.6. *miyaˑrom nokawts* fleeing from before us. 262.23. Cp. 262.17, 264.19.

(2. *yaˑrɛ* might be, an oblique form of 2. *yaˑr*, itself a stressed form of *yər, yɛr*.

QUB, however, considers it identical with 1. *yaˑrɛ*).

3. *yaˑrɛ* besides, beyond this, further. — *yaˑrɛ beskɛ lɛˑl omʌnimi* nothing further became known. 198.6. *yaˑrɛ aˑlto rom . . . . . abaˑd mʌnuwaˑn* further, two tribes have settled down. 272.12. *yaˑrɛ bʌmʌn kuˑr* these who are in addition, i.e. these others. 172.7.

It occurs chiefly in conjunction with *uyom* "all" with the sense: "besides these all" i.e. "all the rest", "all the others".

yaˑrɛ ta uyomər maˑl umi he gave property to all the other hundred (brethren). 112.5. *yaˑrɛ uyom idiˑm čumʌr imʌnimi* all the rest of his body became iron. 110.10. Cp. 286.12, 328.5, 332.8, 336.6.

(This is probably to be identified with 2. *yaˑrɛ* and *yər* "in front", "ahead", and so "beyond".

It is probably only a coincidence that there is in Sh. a word *aɣɛ* which is somewhat similarly used).

yaˑri -mots x first light of morning. — *sa yaˑritsɛ lʌm mai bitsum* (the hair) was glittering in the early morning sunshine. 134.10.

*-yaˑriki, *-yaˑrɛki, -ɣ, -miɣ, -čiɣ, y under-bedding, bedding. — *uˑyaˑriki uˑyʌʃiki uyom taiˑaˑr oˑtʌm* he had prepared for them under-bedding and

OOO upper-bedding complete. 36.13. Cp. *uʸ'aʷɛ uʸʌtɛki*. 120.24. Cp. 118.5, 124.12,20.

yaʷokoʷɛ, pl. *yaʷokuʸʌnts*, x lower millstone.

1> *yaʷqɤ̄ʂ* a little in front, ahead. — *yaʷqɤ̄ʂ mʌn'ɛ* get a little in front. *yaʷqɤ̄ʂ bai.i* he is a little ahead.

1. *yaʷɤm* Adj. lower. — *yaʷɤm ɛ.ɤl* my lower lip. *yaʷɤm miʷqiʷmo miʷmɛ* our lower front-teeth. *yaʷɤm iʷmɛlç̄* his lower jaw. (Adj. from 1. *yaʷɛ*).

2. *yaʷɤm* Adj. (that) which is in front. QUB (that) which is below. Ar. H. *taḥt*. — *thʌm yaʷɤm čʌp* the meat that is in front of the Mir. 340.13. (Adj. from 2. *yaʷɛ*. Otherwise identical with 1. *yaʷɤm*).

yaʷya IUB an exclamation of anger. QUB reduplication of 3. *ya*. — *jaʷ naʷun yaʷya aʷtimi* giving to me he made me say *yaʷya*, i.e. he gave me so much that he forced me to say "stop, stop".

yʌçh'ɛni, Obl. *yʌçhɛnimo-*, hf the Yachini, a female demon.

The Yachini resided at the mouth of the Karga Nullah near Gilgit. *Gil'it yʌç'ɛnimulər nicər duʷsimi* he came out to go to the Gilgit Yachini. 222.6. Cp. 222.7 ff.

(Cp. Sh. *yʌçini*, Skr. *yakṣiṇī* female Yaksha).

yʌči on, upon; on the head. — *čhiḷɛ yʌči* up on the hill. *yʌči ɛtʌs* to put on (a cap). *pfərtsin yʌči ɛtimi* he put on the cap. 28.16,21, 32.3.

(Perhaps *yʌf*, or, *yʌs* + *-tsɛ*, *-tsi*).

yʌʸɛ, *yaʷʸi* rebellious, unruly, insubordinate, independent. Prs.

*-*yʌk* y dwelling, abiding; dwelling-place, lying-up (place) of game ani-

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1 [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

mals. IUB H. *wʌtʌn, thairne ka jʌga*; QUB *sokuʷnʌt, ɪstɪqaʷmʌt*. — *guyʌk ɪti* keep still, H. *qʌraʷ baiṭho*. QUB. *buʷmɪ, giri.ɪ, yʌkɪ* (or, *yʌk ɪtʌs*) *dɪs* a markhor's, ibex's, lying-up place.

*-*yʌkʌl* direction of, towards, the part of, side (in game).

*-*yʌkʌl*, *-*yʌkʌlər*, *-*yʌkʌlʌṭɪ*, *-*yʌkʌlʌṭər* with verbs of motion in the direction of towards, to. *guyʌkʌl bəreʷya bɑ* I am looking at you. 50.6. *taŋ yʌkʌlʌṭər pfər maiyʌn* let us go back towards the palace, let us return to the palace. 8.3. *yʌkʌl* 50.6,13,14, 90.1, 94.10, 120.6, 144,3, 146.17. *yʌkʌlər* 174.21; *yʌkʌlʌṭɪ* 154.22, 180.3. *yʌkʌlʌṭər* 22.11, 32.4, 36.3,7, 38.7, 134.12 etc. *-*yʌkʌltsʊm*, *-*yʌkʌlʌṭʊm*, *-*yʌkʌlʊm* from the direction of; on the part of, on behalf of. *ayʌkʌltsʊm uŋər guyʌm* I gave it to you from myself. *badšɑ yʌkʌltsʊm nuʷnin* they going from the king. 24.10. *uŋ jaʷr guyʌkʌltsʊm jai.ɪnʌn ʌči* give me a token from ourself. 22.7. *badšɑ yʌkʌlʌṭʊm* on he part of the king. 34.14. Cp. 302.11. *dʌsin muyʌkʌlʊm hin jaʷmʌn* a relation on the part of (i.e. to represent) the bride. 302.16.

[292] *yʌktai.i, yaxtai.i, -miŋ, -miči̇ŋ* y cotton slip worn by bridegroom over his dress. 300.6.

(So also in Sh. and Kho.). Prs. *yʌl*, *-*yʌl*, *-miŋ*, N. pl. *-miŋ*, *-miči̇ŋ* y shadow, shade; protection, favour, patronage. — *uŋɪ yʌlʊlo* in your shadow. *toʷmɪ yʌlʊlo horuṭ* sit in the shade of the tree. *dʌmʌn yʌltɪ* by the favour of one's master, by his blessing, IUB. H. *mʌhrbʌʷnise*. *dʌmʌnɪ yʌlʊlo* in the shade of, under

the protection of one's master. IUB. *uy'altsi* in the shade of, by the blessing of, by means of them. IUB. H. *sarya mī, barakatse, zari'ase.*

*-*yalas, yalas*, (*yal-*). *yalj-*, Impv. *yal*, neg. *eyal(in)*.

The Pn. Pf. *i-* does not appear initially before *y*.

1. V.t. to break, H. *torna*. — *tin(an) eyal* don't break the egg (x). *hin eyal* don't break the door (y). *pinčko uyaljam* I shall break the polo-sticks (x). *ḡamey yaljam* I shall break the bows (y).

2) To plunder, rob, loot, H. *luṭ k.*, *ɣarat k.*

3. *ts.hil yalas* to water, irrigate (land).

The term used for turning irrigation water on to a field. It possibly refers to making a breach in the bank of an irrigation channel, which is again stopped up with mud and stones.

mal ts.hil yalas bila the field is to be watered. *imo malolo tsil yaljam* he was turning on the water in his own field. 198.1. *gerumo tsil yalasi dastur* the customary practice in regard to distributing the water in springtime. 350.1. *malor ts.hil yalas* to irrigate the field. *korkior ts.hil yelam* they have watered (the land) for ploughing. *korkia tsil niyal Baltitor derčam* releasing the water for ploughing they send it on to B. 350.7. Cp. 262.5, 266.18, 350.7, 352.3—5.

(The corresponding intrans. verb is, *galas* v.i. to break).

y'alo, *yaluwo* without state or dignity, H. *bersaya, bi-šam o šaukat.—bayork y'alo!*

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yamal fairyland. — *yamale ʂoŋaʂe* on the way to fairyland. 000

yambu x "yambu". Chinese silver monetary unit, H. *čini aṣka čandi ka*.

yam eyam v. *yaiyas* 3.

yamkhitso(r), *yamikhetu(r)* IUB and SY. greedy, covetous, Ar. Prs. *ḥariṣ*. (Not known to QUB).

yamyor, N. *yamiyor*, *-iso* x handmill, quern. — *yamyor etas* to grind with quern. (Cp, Sh. *yor*, mill; *yamyor* handmill).

1. *yan*, *yen*, *-ants*, N. pl. *-aints*, *-eints* and *-oŋo*, x handle, grip, hilt, haft (of pick, hammer, polo stick, sword, dagger). — *ɣfinče yan* handle of polo-stick. *ɣatenče yan* grip of sword.

2. *yan -ants* x. — *ɣamus yan* the place where water flows out of a glacier.

1. *-*yanas*, *-*yenas*, (*-*yænas*), *-*yai(y)*-, Impv. *yan*, *yen*, neg. *eyan*, Ppa. *n**-*yan*

The Pn.pf. *i*- does not appear initially before *y*.

To take, take up, carry; get, obtain, procure.

This verb is used only when the object is h or x. It is replaced by the verb *ganas* when the object is y. *hayor goka yen* take the horse with you. *jamiye tobaq yan* borrow an outsider's gun. *gurriŋ yan* take it (x) in your hand. *krrayar yaiya ba* I am hiring . . . *aita huyesi yætomots ja gans barawtsum uyen* get two goats' heads for me from the bazar. Nz. *ʂoga yaiyam. eyan* I shall take the choga. Don't take it. *phiti eyan* EOL, *phiti eyan* N., don't take the bread. *ine wazir tham yanuman* they took the wazir

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ooo as king. 10.6. Cp. 386.2. *u·a guyaiyam* I'll take you up. *yatkurine belis yæmimi* the superintendent (gardener) took up the (dead) sheep. 64.21. *L. B. uyanumo* L. B. took them up. 174.22. *muyan* take her up. *je numuyen tarqər mutsurćam* taking her I shall carry her off to the palace. 24.13.

yanas occurs very frequently in the Ppa. form, usually followed by a verb of motion also frequently in the Ppa. form:
iru latəfər taiv nuyen nun Hindikutsi Dadimor ĵućam the people of Hindi taking goats and going to to that hillock used to sacrifice(?) them to Dadi. 196.4. *niyen, niyen* taking him, it. 10.3, 60.1, 208.6,9, 212.9,21, 226.28, 252.1,3, 268.5, 284.16, 286.11. *dorq numuyen* taking her up on his shoulders. 244.14. *nuyen* taking them. 30.3, 200.12, 248.21, 274.4, 316.12, 336.2, 348.6, 352.15.

2. *-*tsi yanas* to take with one, i.e. on one's person, as opposed to *-*aka yanas* (etc.) to take with one, in one's company, e.g. 336.2. — *u·ala łapik utsi yanas aylta pftimots bim* they had with them as food for the day two pieces of bread, 28.20, 30.1. *utsi yanas* (*łapik*) food that one takes with one on a journey etc., picnic food, "shepherd's bread". *ćeli itsu yæmimi* he took the key (away) with him. 52.7. *łapik, -tobaq, gutsi yen* take bread, take the gun, with you. But: *łayor gosha yan* (or, *ditsu*) take the horse with you.

3. *ramu yanas* (*ganas*) to freeze. — *ramu yæni bi* ice has seized, on, formed on . . .

000 The object frozen, on which the ice forms, apparently takes the suffix *-tsi*, but still if y requires the use of *ganas*. V. s.v. *ganas* 5.

4. *-*mi numuyen*. This expression is used absolutely as a severe term of abuse. It may, however, also be used in a friendly, affectionate way. — *ras imi numuyen* "taking its mother". 64.18. *wa gumi numuyen senimi ki* if he said: "O, taking thy mother" (a gloss on "*yun'ikti senimi ki*". 354.6).

*-*yanči*, *-*yenči*. Going to meet (a person of consequence on his arrival), formal reception (corresponding to the Persian *istiqbal*); going to meet, meeting (ordinary). — *-*yanči.ar* (or, *-*yenčar*) *niyas* to go to meet and receive a person arriving. *-*yanči.ar* (or, *-*yenčar*) *juyas* to come to meet etc. *but uyum hir dia, yenčar niči* a very great man has come, let us go to meet (and welcome) him. 90.6. Cp. 94.11 ff., 330.7,8. *G. M. M. yanči.ar nimi* G. M. M. went to meet him (ordinary sense). 170.2. Cp. 212.5. *aiyanči manimi* he met me (e.g., on the road). *guyenči manam* I met thee.

Probably connected with *-*yanas*, perhaps *yan + či* ← *yan + tsi*.

1> *yaqin* sure, certain. — *yaqin bila* it is certain. Ar. Prs.

yar, yer, yor ni.

1. Adv. (of place). In front, ahead, before, forwards, (opposed to *ilji*). — *yor mani* get in front. *yor ni* go in front. *je yor ni.am, in ilji di.a* I went on ahead, he came behind. *karu . . . yor ni gutsarči bim* lice were proceeding forwards

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1 [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

(or, before) from him. 116.8. *uv umiśiṇdo yər nimiło . . . ererdutsum . . . uyər* in front of those six sons-in-law who had gone on ahead. 124.4. *yər buʷlʌn bila* on in front there is a spring. 124.22. Cp. 122.4,20, 150.21, 212.15,22. 000

2. Adv. (of time). Formerly, previously, first. — *gus yər us mi deli bʌm* we had shot this ibex first (i.e., before you did). 104.2. *yər ins gus nokuʷčʌn hilesʌn dimʌnʌm* first the woman having been brought to bed a boy had been born. 104.21, *yər dimʌnum . . . ins* the one who had been born first. 110.19. *Hunzulo yər us dastur bilum* in Hunza formerly it was the custom. 354.1. Cp. 128.1, 282.22.

3. Adj. Preceding (a fixed point of time). — *tʌmini yər den ka* last year and the year before. 214.12.

   It seems that *yər den* may be used both for: last year, and for, the year ahead i.e. next year.

   V. § 413. According to QUB *miyərər* = next year.

4. *yər*, *-*yər* with postpositional force, accompanied by the ablative, or by a Pn.pf., (place) in front of, ahead of; (time) before. — *ʼadərdutsum yər sʌtʌn itsumi* it carried him off far ahead of his servants. 8.6. *otsimo yər zuʷk numʌn* pushing on in front of them. 124.5. *di.usiṇ estum yər aiyomʌnʌm* he had been unable to carry it (the water channel) beyond that (boulder). 352.13. *ererdutsum tum gʌnʌns uyər di.usimi* by another road he came

out ahead of them, the sons-in-law. 124.4. *aiyor ʌan borʌan bilu* on ahead of me there is a spring. 124.14. Cp. 126.19, 127 note. 000

So: *aiyor* 124.17, 194.11.
uyor 6.8, 124.5,7, 162.16,18,20, 200.12, 3:6.6.

ivas ʃuyastrum yor before his coming. *ivas ovilolum yor divai* he came before two days i.e. two days before. *gobiteum yor* before this, previously. *padiu intum yor gots xaber deyl* the king hearing this news before him. 40.4. *Tapki.ents ovesʌnastum yor ni* before the slaying of the Tapki.ents. 242.9.

(Cp. 2. *yav* and 2. *yavv*; also *urji yor*. Sh. *yor*, *yor*, adv. and postpos., before, in front of, first).

yorayor IUB, *yoraiyor* QUB, first of all. — *uyovatum yor'ayor divai* he came first of (them) all. QUB.

*-*yorʌnʌr*, *-*yorv-*, Impv. *-*yorʌn*.

1. To shear (sheep and goats). II. *bkry ʌakri ka bol karʃna*.
2. To fleece, oppress.

yor'ʌg sweating(?). After a horse has been worked hard it is believed to be injurious to it to let it feed or drink until it has cooled down and has staled. To induce this it is walked up and down, or kept standing, sometimes for hours, with its head tied up so that it cannot eat or drink. 231

The word refers to this practice. — *yorʌg ʃak ni qantor oli* tying (the horse up to let it cool-off(?) Keep it fasting. *ʌayor ovorʌi ni yorʌg ayoyal* so long as the horse has not staled don't break its fast for it. *ʌayor n'ovorʌnin yorʌg oyal* having 000

made the horse stale break its fast for it, i.e. feed it. *ʌʌyor yorʌq sin bi?* you have walked the horse up and down, haven't you?
yorʌqor ostʌhuyu bo I have made them take it away (i.e. I have sent it away) to walk it up and down.

(The above examples are all from QUB). (Cp. Kho. *yorʌq*). Ar. Pre. *'ʌrʌq*?

*-*g'ʌrʌs* *-*gorć-* v.t. to pasture, graze, H. *čarwna*. — *ʌʌyor yorʌs* to pasture a horse. *ivno malengolo kwkstio ug'ʌrʌor ovimi* he sent him to graze the pigs in his fields. 366.10, 372.13. *Iwkstiʌr ʌuyvu mori yirʌor m'ʌtsuć'ʌm* he had made his daughter take the goats to Irkish to graze them (there). 268.3, v.i. *-*ʌkʌr yʌvʌs* to graze. *ikʌr yorći bi* it is grazing. *ukʌr yorćiʌn* they are grazing. *sʌrʌti trʌlʌ ikʌr yorimi* yesterday it grazed there. *ukʌr yorimiʌ* they grazed.

1. *yorpu, yorfu, -tig*, N. pl. *-mʌlʌ*, his steward in charge of Mir's land, grass and water. 318.2. (Cp. Sh, *yorfu*, raja's steward in charge of land).

2. *yorpu* forwards, on in front. — *y'orpu uivu biraqimi* going forwards, he dug. 252.11. Cp. 122.18. *yorpu fu* come forward. (*yor* + *pu*).

yorpaći ! IUB in early times, in former times, H. *pahle zamanamē*. — *yorpaći ʌkki 'ʌpivu* it was not so in former times. QUB.

*-*yorum, yorum, yorum.*

1. Adj. (of place): front-, fore-; being in front of; next. — *yorum yuqig* its forelegs. *ʌly'orum ʌts bʌsʌwlo* at the halting place ahead of me. 124.23. *yorum ʌts bʌsʌwlo* at the

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000 halting place ahead, at the next stage. 124.15, 128.7.

2. Adj. (of time):

a. Former, preceding. — *γonikrš yərum ivte bətər nzkin* ʳ tering into that former evil skin (of his). 160.20. *yərum gusi* (*iʷsʳ*) *kʌγur jotʌn bim* that former horse was small. 76.23. *yərum zʌmaʷna* former times, ancient times. 192.1, 218.1, 250.1, 280.1. *yərum hisn* last(?) month, the preceding month.

b. Of former times, old-time, IUB. H. *qadimn*. — *yərum sis baʷn* they are old-time, experienced, men. *yərum bər bila* it is an old saying, proverb, an old affair. *yərum hivr, čʌγa, duʷro* a man, story, affair of former times.

c. Before one in the future, next. — *yərum hisa, dən* next(?) month, year. *miyərum dən* the year ahead of us, next year. (V. *yər*).

*-*yʌs* head. (Only recorded. With the suffix *-ʌte*). — *Šamtu Mirruʷ y'ʌsʌte lʌkpiʷʌn pfaʷl etimi* Sh. M. threw a handkerchief over his head. 148.24. *yʌsete tik nu* putting earth on his head. 26.4. (Cp. *yʌči*).

601 *-*yʌs*, gen. *-yʌsmo*, pl. *-*yʌstəro*, *-*yʌstəro* a man's sister, a man's wife's sister. — *wʌziʷr se.ibai.i: "aiyaʷ"* the Wazir says: "(O) my sister". 50.24. Cp. *aiyaʷ*. 56.26. *ja oyəre* (or, *jʌmaʷʌte*) *yʌs* my husband's sister. (*i*)*yʌsmo mu.i* his sister's son. (*i*)*yʌsmo mo.i* his sister's daughter. *Siʷŋ yʌstəro* (the man) Sing's sisters. 266.5. Cp. 272.6.

000 *yʌsoʷl, yʌsa.ul, -rʌo, -tiŋ*, hm man who distributes food at the Mir's darbar. QUB; head house-servant. EOL.

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(Cp. Kho. *yʌs'auwol*, a private official of the Mehtar's, sort of major domo, or A. D. C, who looks after guests). T. Prs. (*yʌsa'wol*). 000

yʌš̌s yuwrk "horse's grain" (a tax paid to the Mir of Hunza in Gujhal). 342.19. (Wkh. *yʌš̌*, horse; *yuwrk, yürk*, barley).

yʌši.ʌs, yʌšič-, to plait, weave. (Used chiefly with x objects). — γuyʌʒ *yʌši.ʌs* to plait the hair. *yʌšim tər* plaited whip-thong. *čərma yʌši.ʌs* to weave goat's hair carpet.

Fut. 1. *yʌšičʌm.*
Pres. sg. 3. m. *yʌšičai.i.*
Impf. *yʌšičʌm.*
Pret. 1. *yʌši.ʌm.*

(Cp. *gišaiyʌs*).

yʌš̌ki, N. pl. *-mots*, suitable, worthy, fitting, proper, incumbent. — *guts yʌš̌ki api* this it not fitting. *wŋtsɛ yʌš̌ki bila* it is proper for you, incumbent on you. *šiyʌstsɛ yʌš̌ki bi* it is fit to eat, edible. *gosɛ hʌγər je holjaiyʌstsɛ* (or, *holjaiyʌsɛ*) *yʌš̌ki ap'i* this horse is not suitable for me to ride (sc. it is too good). 6.15. *mu gots yʌš̌ki aiy'amʌna ba kɛ* . . . now I have not become worthy of this that . . ., i.e. I have become unworthy . . . 368.11. *uŋər yʌš̌ki bim minadar gumʌnʌs* it was right for thee to rejoice. *xoš̌ mimʌnʌs yʌš̌ki bilom* it was right that we should rejoice. 370.15. N. *je mu pʌla'ni diš̌ər ni.ʌsər yʌš̌ki dila* I ought to go there now. Cp. 373.8,16, 374.15.

(With lengthened first vowel this word conveys the opposite sense. "unworthy", etc. V. BSOS VIII, 1936, p. 634. Cp. Sh. *yʌš̌ki*, suitable, etc.).

yʌškin IUB inhabitant, v. *yeškuyu*. 000

yʌʃ.

1. Adv. — *yʌʃ ne* up, upwards. *yʌʃ hʌl delimi* he jumped up. *yuwse yʌt ne senomo* his wife said (speaking) upwards. 40.9. *yʌt ne ap'ərʌn* don't look upwards. 50.27. *yʌt ne thuv etimi* he spat upwards. 294.6. Cp. 174.9.
2. Adj. next, succeeding. — *yʌʃ gonts* next day. *yʌt gontse, yʌt guntsər* on the next day. 12.4,15. Cp. 16.7, 284.19, 298.8, 328.13. *yʌʃ gʌlči* (or, *gʌlčər*) *bešel dokoma ke* next time when you come. *yʌt den(ər)* the next year. 242.19.

   With reference to "next year", "the year after next", v. § 413. (Cp. *yʌʃe*).

yʌʃʌmorʌs, yʌʃʌmorč- to wash, full, prepare leather (by kneading, trampling), H. *mʌlna*.

(Used with x objects; the form *gʌʃʌmorʌs* is used when the object is y).

yʌʃʌmorom gʌp prepared hide.

šoqa yʌʃʌmorʌs to wash a choga.

yʌʃe, yeʃe.

1. Adv. up, above, on the top. — *yʌʃe ni* go up. *yʌʃe yʌkʌl* upwards. *besʌnʌʃe yʌʃe* up on something. *yʌte pfurt etimi* he looked up. 24.4. *gulturʌʃe yʌte guwse čʌrʌʃe tavŋ a* with your horn push me up on to this cliff. 132.20. *wlo wašimi yæti tivk givmi* he flung him in (to the pit) and threw in earth on top. 56.21, 82.25, 220.2. *yʌte čərolo hʌn korʌn bim* up in the cliff there was a cave. 244.16. *yʌʃe čuk etom pfʌrtsin* a cap embroidered on the top.

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Abl. *yʌṭrm* from above. — *bu·nʌn yʌtum di·mi* a boulder came down from above. 294.5. Cp. 52.2, 70.20, 184.6, 246.6, 248.18.

000

2. Adj. upper, further; later. — *šʌŋʌličiŋ yæti mʊš hʌn čʌma·n* a ring at the upper end of the chain. 174.6. Cp. 328.14. *yʌṭ tsil ṭʌs* to do the second, or later, irrigation of the season. *yʌṭ tsil xu* till the second watering. 350.2.

Perhaps Adj. = further, other; perhaps Adv. = further, again, in: — *yʌṭ hi·nər hukəm ṭimi* he gave orders to another one. 106.9.

(*yʌṭ* seems to be identifiable with the suffix *-ʌṭ*, on).

*-*yʌṭ*, *-*yʌṭə* on, upon (someone). — *ʌbʌl ayʌta di·mər* when trouble has come upon me. 22.7. *gu·yʌṭ* upon you. 22.9. *gʌli guyʌṭ de·rčʌm* I'll throw a blanket over you.

*-*yʌṭki*, *-*yʌṭiki*, *-miŋ* y pl. upper bedclothes. — *u·ya·riki*, *u·yʌtiki* their under and upper bedding. 36.13. *muy'a·ṭki*, *muy'ʌtki* her ditto. 118.5. *ya·riki*, *yʌtiki* his ditto. 124.12.

*-*yʌṭis*, *yeṭis*, *-*yæṭis*, *-*yaṭis*, pl. *-*yʌṭumuts*, x.

1. Head. — *i·nʌ yatisər bərenin* look at his head. 154.21. *guyʌṭis go·skərša ba* I am going to cut off your head for you. 56.5. *o·ltælikʌ uyætumuts no·oskərts* cutting off the heads of the two of them. 174.24. *hʌn yʌtisʌn* a head (of a goat or sheep). 232.3. *a·lta yatumuts huye·sʌ* two goats' heads. 340.14. *-*yeṭis lʌŋ ṭʌs* to nod the head (to indicate "come here", or agreement). Cp. 56.3,4, 156.15, 158.19, 228.8, 282.15, 388.11.

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000 2. Leader, ringleader. — *æçomai.ɛ ɛtʌšo uyʌṭiɛ* the chief, ringleader of the evil-doers.

yʌṭkom ɛtʌs to turn upside down, invert, (a cup etc.).

yʌṭkus, pl. *yʌṭkušo*, x pestle.

yʌṭku.in, pl. *yʌtkuyo*, hm person in charge of, controller, superintendent. Prs. *nɪgahbarn*. — *tsilɛ yʌṭku.in* person in charge of the irrigation water. *bʌsi(ɛ) yʌtku.in* (head-)gardener. 64.2 ff., 380.21. (*yʌṭ* + *ku.in*).

yʌṭokus, *yʌṭkus*, pl. *yætukuyʌnts*, x upper millstone.

yʌṭom, *yaṭom*, N. *yɛtom*, upper. — *yaṭom ʌrmɛ* my upper teeth. (Cp. *yʌṭɛ*).

*-*yʌṭom* on behalf of. — *guy'ʌtom qorbarn amʌnom* may I be a sacrifice on your behalf! 282.6. Cp. 62.19. (Cp. *-*yʌṭɛ*).

yai.in, *yarin*, pl, of 3. *ya*.

yai.iŋ, N. *yerŋ*, *-oto* x mill, water-mill. — *yai.iŋenulo γenʌŋ dorču borm* she was grinding gold in a water mill. 204.4. *yai.iŋ bʌs'imi* the mill came to a standstill. 204.6. *yai.iŋɛ ḍor* hopper of mill. 262.3, 266.15. *yai.iŋɛ hur* mill-race. 206.10. *yai.iŋ sʌl* a prepared mill-stone. Cp. 334.2.

yai.iŋg'uɪn, N. *yerŋgurin*, *-guryo*, hm miller. 334.1.

yai.iŋki y pl. cleaned grain (ready for grinding), H. *pirsne ke qarbɪl ṣarf hura darna*. — *di.us sa.ʌtsɛ yai.iŋki nɛtʌn . . . yai.iŋalɛ tsučarn* taking out the grain and making it ready for grinding they take it to the mill. 334.1.

*-*yaiyʌs*, *-*yʌč-*, *-*yeč-*.

1. To come into possession of, receive, obtain, find. H *mɪlna*.

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The Pn.pf. refers to the subject. OOO
ayʌčʌm, aiyɐ·čʌm I shall obtain. 66.18. *ayʌča bʌ* I obtain. *miyeča baɐn* we obtain it, i.e. it is obtainable. *uyetsɐm buɐt huɐši ayaiyʌm* I obtained, secured, much plunder from them. *ɐmiɐd api (ke) akole šʌpik gʌtu mi.ai.ʌsʌn* (v. §§ 313. A. & 405), there is no hope of our getting food and clothing here. 34.11. *aiyai.ečʌm* I shall not get it. *uy'ʌčaɐn* they obtain, receive. 373.4. *goɐltʌčər bɐsʌn aiyaiye.ʌm* I found nothing to put on (your feet). 156.20. *beɐrumʌn yʌči bi?* how much does it fetch? what is it worth? Cp. 370.4.

(Cp. *d*-yaiyʌs*).

2. To strike against, hit.

Object with suffix *-tsɐ* or *-ɐlo*. *ʌmeɐlo tər'i yʌmi* the polo ball hit my tooth (*or*, teeth). 158.11. *tsiɐrtsɐ diɐru yʌmi* the bullet hit the goat. 102.23. *mɐntsɐ čim'ili.ɐn ni.ɐn* (Ppa.) *u.iɐren kɐ* . . . if, a splinter hitting anyone (pl.), they should die . . . 172.3. Cp. 172.8. With *yaiyi kɐ* for *ni.ɐn*. 172.1. *uyoɐntsɐ yʌš!* may it strike them all! 172.6. *jatsɐ 'eɐi.ʌš* (*'eɐiyʌš*) may it not strike me! 172.6. *khʌtɐ yuɐtɐsɐlo huɐnts nin yʌmi* the arrow, going, hit the leg of the bed. 260.12. *mʌzɐrɐ bʌltsɐ yʌtɐs yɐči bi* (the corpse's) head strikes against the covering stones of the grave. 312.14.

2. a. In the following from Nz. the verb seems to be used with a passive force:

iɐsɐ eščiŋ yʌmi its back has been affected, it is sore-backed, H. *piṭh*

lʌggiya. *gvsɛ yuʃɪs yʌmi* this (horse's) foot is affected. 000

3. To fit into, (be able to) go into, get into. — *guyʌćuma?* can you get in (thro' a hole)? *itɛ gut uyonolo uyʌmʌn kərsimolɛ yenɪsɛ maimi.ɛ* there will be as many golden chairs as will fit into the whole tent. 88.6.

uyʌmʌn is probably the Static Pc. + *ʌn.*

o'lis hurćulo yʌmi, e'yʌmi my foot went, wouldn't go, into the boot. *yʌm e'yʌm* going in, not going in, i.e. going in with difficulty. *bu'kulo yʌm e'yʌm numa nimi* the food went down his throat with difficulty. 138.6. *dəri.ɛ ulo yʌm e'yʌm numa gimi* he forced himself in through the (small) window.

(Cp. *d*-yaiyʌs*).

yaiyɛ enough now! shut up now! 158.21. (3. *yʌ* + *yɛ*).

yɛ an exclamation: now, now then, well then, here! — *yɛ ni* now go! 102.5. *yɛ ako'lɛ alwʌtta* now here assuredly. 108.11. *yɛ mu . . . nʌma'n* well now . . . you going. 128.13. *yɛ joyʌs ba kɛ* . . . well, if you are going to give me (something). 118.23. "*yɛ ga, e.i*", *nusɛ ićimo* saying: "here take it, son", she gave it to him. 62.29. *yɛ go'n, ai.i* now come along, daughter. 122.2. Cp. 74.6,8, 284.13.

(Cp. Sh. *yɛ*, now!).

yɛlʌs v. *yʌlʌs.*

yɛn v. *yʌn.*

**-yɛ'nʌs, *-yɛ.i-,* Ppa. *n*-yɛn,* to recognise, know (a person). — *ja in yɛ'nʌm* I recognised him. Nz. *u'ɛ yɛ'nunʌn* (or, *lɛl ɛtumʌn*) they recognised him. 160.9. *ja au yɛ'numa bɛ?* did you

000 know my father or not? 80.17. *ja inɛ yeʸʌm* I shall know him. *inɛ jɛ ayeʸi bai.i* he knows me. *inɛ jɛ ayʌyʿai.i bai.i* he doesn't know me. *inɛ uʷŋ guye.i baiya beʔ* does he know you or not? *ja inɛ niyɛn* I recognising him. *ja uʷŋ nokuʷyɛn* I recognising you.

*-*yɛnči* v. *-*yʌnči*.

*-*yɛnɔm -iŋ* y a present given to bride's mother and also to bride's mother's brother(s). — *mumimo muyɛnɔm* her (the bride's) mother's present. *muʷŋgo uyɛnɔm* her (the bride's) uncles' presents. (Cp. *muyɛnɔm*).

yeʸŋ N. v. *yai.iŋ*.

591 *-*yeʸš*, *-*yeʸš* QUB unvarying condition, settled state, permanent residence, permanent dwelling-place, abode, H. *ek haʸlʌtmē rʌhna, thɪkaʸna.* — *hʌlʌntɛɛ yeʸš apʿi* there is no constant condition of the moon, i.e. it is not always the same.

gusmo muyeʸšɛ lel apʿi; hirɛ oltʿos lel apʿi nothing is known of any fixed state of a woman; nothing is known of the burial place of a man. (Proverb).

(This was how I understood QUB to interpret the saying, otherwise one would be inclined to take *muyeʸš* as meaning "permanent abode", in as much as a woman transfers from her father's to her husband's home and is of course liable to reverse the change on divorce, while on the death of her husband she lives as a rule with a son. Hence she has no permanent home. The force of the second phrase is also obscure).

inɛ hirɛ yeʸš apʿi that man has no permanent abode.

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yeškuɜyu h pl. QUB belonging to the country, indigenes, original inhabitants. *ye le, be mʌ ju'ʌn ɔr mʌnum thɔr mʌnum baɜna? mi yeškuɜyu baɜn* now you there, are we newcomers and interlopers like you? (No) we are people of the country.

(The sg. not recorded must be *yeškuɜn*, or more probably *yeškuɜin*, with which compare *yʌškiɜn* given by IUB, v.s.v. It seems certain that this word is identical with the name Yashkūn (in Chilās, I think, Yashkīn) applied throughout the Shīn territory to that principal element in the general population which is reckoned not to be Shīn by origin.

The term Yashkūn, in this case, would have the definite and appropriate meaning "original inhabitants", as opposed to the Shīn invaders or "interlopers". *Yeš* being probably a Burushaski word, the appelation must have come into being among the "original inhabitants" themselves, and have been adopted later by the Shīns, in whose mouths it has acquired a certain implication of inferiority resulting from their own view of themselves as successful invaders among an original population whom they had at least reduced to a subordinate position. Any definite memory of this has I think faded and the Shīns now merely regard themselves as a socially superior caste, but the original situation is commemorated in the word Yashkūn).

000 *yeṭʌl -šo* x Hz. & N. mountain-sheep, oorial. — *yeṭ'ʌle beliɜ* female oorial. *yeṭ'ʌle mʌmuši* oorial lamb.

*-*yeṭrs* v. *-*yʌṭrs*.

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*-*yɛtsʌs* v. *-*ɛtsʌs*. ooo

yo·l y a completed cycle of time (day, month or year) reckoned from any fixed point; a period of 12 months, complete year. — *hik yo·l di·mi* a year has passed. *yo·l ʌti bilum* a year had not passed. 344.11. *yo·ltsər hisa·b ɛti* reckon up to one year. 106.16. *iyo·ltsər* for a year. 176.21. *yo·ltsər* at the end of a year. 176.22. *yo·ltsum hʌn baye pfʌl . . . ɛr biša* at the end of (every) twelve months throw it one grain of millet. 144.1.

It commonly occurs in the combination:

yo·le gʌt a complete year, H. *sa·l bhar*. *yo·le gʌt γʌli·z amʌnʌm* I have been ill for a whole year. *yo·le gʌte gəntsiŋ nitsʌn* counting the days of a full year. 104.15. Cp. 58.11, 108.2. *gəte gəntse yo·ltsər ja aᵊpʌči.ər ju* come to me at this time tomorrow. QUB. *hisa yo·l* at the end of a month. QUB.

*-*yo·lʌs*, *-*yo·lj-*, Impv. *yo·l*, Ppa. *n*-*yo·l(in)*, to put on (choga, shirt, coat), don, wear.

(This verb is only used when the object is x. It is replaced by *bɛlʌs* when the object is y).

kərdi yo·lʌs to put on a shirt. *ləqəts uyo·ljə·n* they wear rags. *ləqa dəma·n yolai.i* he has put on rags and tatters. *mɛn ta·nʌn yo·l* put on an old suit of clothes (?). *jɛ šəqa yo·ljʌm* I shall put on a choga. *ja šəqa yo·lʌm* I put on a choga. *u·ŋ šəqa ayo·l* don't put on a choga. *qʌltač'ʌməts nuyo·lin* wearing short coats. 188.2. *i·sɛ gʌtu yo·ljəbo* she puts on that garment. 306.6. *yo·lʌsər gʌtu* clothing to put on. 34.3.

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Fut. sg. 3. *yo·lji.* ooo
Pres. sg. 3. m. (*i*)*yo·ljai.i.*
Pret. sg. 3. m. *yo·limi.*
(Cs. *-ʌ.olʌs, QUB *-ʌ.ulʌs).

yo·lekus, yo·lkus, aged one year, yearling. — *hin yo·l(e)kus hile·s* a yearling child. 380.18.

(Probably *yo·l* + *kus.* Cp. *denkus*).

1. *yŏm* proper for, fitting for, (given as equivalent of *yʌṣki*). — *i·tse yom bila* it is proper for him. (Cp. 2. *yo·m*).

2. *yo·m -ʌnts* x match, pair, duplicate. — *guse yo·mʌn etʌs mʌniṣ* it is to be made a match for, duplicate of, this, i.e. it is to be made according to this pattern. *guse yo·mʌn api* it does not match this, this is not a duplicate.

(Probably the same word as 1. *yom*).

1. *-*yo·n*, Adj. and Pron., all, all of, whole, whole of. V. § 178.

The forms are:

Pl. 1. (*mi*) *miyon, mi.on* we all, all of us.
2. (*ma*) *mayon, maiyon* you all, all of you.
3. (*u·s*) *uyon, oyon* they all, all of them.

The last form, *uyon*, is also used with singular nouns with the meaning: all the, the whole.

thʌp uyo·ns the whole night. Cp. 44.14.

*-*yon* follows the noun it refers to and bears the case suffixes.

Of the 1st and 2nd person forms there are only a few examples on record:

lel bai.i mi.o·nər he is known to all of us. 80.17. *mi.o·ns ha·kicaŋ(ʌṣe)* the houses of all of us, all our houses. 262.8. *ma mayon hensʌšu·ik ba·na xair ke?* you are all wise

men aren't you? 158.4. *maiyoᵊnɛ yɛᵊkʊmʌn* you will all see. 82.4,5.

OOO

2. *-*yoᵊn*, *yoᵊn*, over, above. — *hʌladʌn yoᵊn gaᵊrtsimi* (the polo ball) went over the goal-stone. *yoᵊn gaᵊ tsʌs* to jump over. (It is considered a bad thing to step or jump over another person). *guyoᵊn dʌl tʌljik duyʌn* some pigeons have come over thee, up above thee. 148.4. *ayoᵊn dʌl* over me, above me. *Biᵊʌldo yoᵊn di bʌm* he had come over the Biraldo (pass). 274.4.

*-*yoᵊq*, *-*yʊq*, *-ičiŋ*. y toilet, titivating (includes washing and cleaning oneself and dressing up). — *šuᵊa gʌtʊŋ nup'el uy'oqičiŋ ɛčan* putting on fine clothes they titivate themselves. 316.4. *tʌmašaᵊr uyoᵊqičiŋ nɛtʌn juᵊčan* getting themselves up smartly they come to the show. 330.3. *aiyoᵊq ɛtʌm* I got myself up in style. *inɛ sis hʌmɛš yuq ɛčai.i* that man always keeps himself very tidy (is very well turned out). EOL. *inɛ gus hʌmɛš muyoq ɛčʊbo* that woman ditto. EOL.

(Cp. Sh. *yʊk thoᵊrki* to swagger in new clothes etc.; Kho. *yʊq korik*).

yoqkɪš, EOL *yuqkɪš*, pl. *-ki.ʌnts*, dandified.

yoqiᵊto dandified, dandy. — *yoqiᵊtu.ʌn bai.i* he is a dandy. QUB.

yoᵊrʌs, *yɔrč-* to discharge, deflect, *or* let water escape, through a sluice. This is equivalent to cutting it off from its original destination. — *tsil yɔrčɔr niᵊmi* he went to deflect the water (by a sluice), i.e. to cut the water off from the mill. 204.5. *gotsilɛ ts.hil hɔrɛ xa yoᵊraᵊn* they have discharged the water of the irrigation channel down the nullah. QUB.

000 (Probably connected with *-ʌrʌs. Cp. d*-ʌrʌs in *ts.hil dewʌs*).

342 *yoʷrči, yɔʷrči* -ŋ y a narrow section of the floor space at the lower end of the living-room (of a "Wakhi" pattern house) which is sunk somewhat below the level of the rest of the floor. Persons entering the house pass from the door into this space, and before advancing further strangers salute the master of the house, who will be seated on the superior platform (*uyuʷm mʌn*) to the left of it. — *yoʷrčilo dʌldi.ʌn* standing in the lower end of the room. 340.2.

(Correct the translation given with the text accordingly).

000 *-*yuʷ*, pl. of 2. *-*i*, q.v. V. also *-*ʌk* *-*yu*, sons. 20.3, 34.2,13, 260.1,18, 250.2. *-*yugušʌnts*, pl. of *-*ʌ.i*, q.v. daughters. 116.3 ff., 180.12 ff.

1> *yuʷk* -*ʌnts* x bier (like a ladder), IUB bedstead or wooden frame (for removing dead body), H. *mʊrda leʲjaʷneka čaʷrpaʷi ya lakṛi*. — *yuʷkʌṭe itsuʷmʌn* they carried him off on a bier. Cp. 92.5.

(Cp. perhaps Sh. *yuʷrko*, a kind of bier).

yuʷlgrš, pl. *yuʷlgi.ʌŋ* y. (The form of *-*ulgrš* with the Pn. Pf. *-i*).

1. Nest (birds', wasps', bees'), burrow, hole, den. — *čhiʷne yuʷlgrš* the bird's nest. *hʌn čhinʌne ʊsko yuʷlgi.ʌŋ bitsʌn* one bird has three nests. (But: *ʊsko čhiyue uʷlgi.ʌŋ* the nests of three birds). "*šrqərɛ yuʷlgrš̌ər guʷriŋ ɛʷdrl'i*" *senaʷn* they have said: "Don't put your hand in a wasps' nest", i.e. beware of, have nothing to do with, So and So. *šrqərɛ yuʷlgrš* also an epithet applied to a very talkative

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1 [see corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

person. *hʌls, uʷrks, yuʷlgrǐ* fox's, wolf's, hole, *or*, den. *ainʌqs yuʷlgrǐ* marmot's burrow. *mʌčhi.s yuʷlgrǐ* bees' hive, and honey-comb. 000

2. Sheath (of sword, dagger); scabbard; case (of gun, eyeglasses etc.); cover (of book). — *ivmo γʌtenč maper hivri yuʷlgrǐtsom di.usimi* the old man drew his sword from the scabbard. 282.16. *ʌinʌkvtss yuʷlgrǐ* eyeglass-case.

(Probably connected with **-uʷl, uʷlo*).

yuʷmos v. **-umos*. — *phuʷs yuʷmos* flame of fire.

yuʷr -ʌnts x corner (reëntrant and salient), IUB H. *mʌkaʷn ka korna*. — *waʷlto yuʷrʌnts* four-corner(ed).

yuʷri-mots x top, peak, crest, of mountain. — *čhiš yuʷri; čhiško.s yuʷrimots*.

(According to QUB equivalent to 1. *buʷri* and referable to **-uʷri*, finger-nail).

yuʷγʌs Nz. v. *yuʷyʌs*.

yuʷginʌs, yuʷgi(y)-, v.t. to grind (by hand on a stone with a rolling-stone), to reduce to powder.

(This verb is used only with x objects, e.g. salt and kernels (to express oil). In these cases the work is done by women only. When the object is y, the verb *guʷginʌs* is used).

gose čayu yurgin grind this salt. EOL.

Fut. sg. 1. *yuʷgiyʌm*.

Pret. sg. 1. *yuʷginʌm*.

(The verb is really **-uʷginʌs*, which with the x sg. Pn. Pf. *i-* becomes *yuʷginʌs*, and with the x pl. Pn. Pf. *u-* becomes *uʷginʌs*. The Ppa.s are respectively *ni.uʷgin* and *nuʷgin*).

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[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analysis]

yərγa y ambling pace. — *gəsɛ hʌγərɛ šu.a yərγa bila* this horse has a good amble. 000

(Cp. Kho. *yərγa*, Sh. *yərga*). T. Prs.

yuʷγʌli -muts x padding of felt etc. under the side-piece of a saddle. (Cp. Shghn. *yurγdlā*). T. (*yōrγdn*).

yuʷče.ʌs x an animal fattened up and killed and eaten at the Thunusheling by each family that can afford it.

(Cp. *-*uʷče.ʌs*).

yuʷtəm a pair of. — *yuʷtəm buʷṭ* a pair of boots. *yuʷtəm huʷčo* a pair of pabboos.

(Cp. Sh. *yuʷto: ek yuʷto jərauʷp*, a pair of socks).

yuʷγər$^{1}_{\lambda}$ IUB, a man among men, valiant, H. *mʌrdō· ka mʌrd* (*bʌhaʷdur*).

yuʷyʌs, yuʷç-, v.i. to dry up, become dry.

This in only the form of a verb *-*uʷyʌs* with the Pn. Pf. *i-*. As tentatively suggested in § 232, there are four forms of Intrans. verb meaning "to become dry". These can now be definitely recorded as: —

*-*uʷyʌs*, *-*uʷç-* used with h and x subjects sg. or pl.

*-*uyai.ʌs*, *-*uyʌč-* used with h and x subjects pl. only.

buʷyʌs, *buʷç-* used with y subjects sg. or pl.

buyai.ʌs, *buyʌč-* used with y subjects pl. only.

It is to be noted that the *y* in *-*uyai.ʌs* and *buyai.ʌs* it not cerebral, nor is the *-č-* of their Pres. Bases.

Originally *-*uʷyʌs* (and its derived forms) was recorded as *-*uʷγʌs*, *-*uʷγʌs*, and from Nz. as *-*uʷγʌs*.

The following are some forms from *-*uʷyʌs* and *-*uyai.ʌs*: —

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$^{1}_{\lambda}$ [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

Fut. sg. 1. *ошçлт.*
2. *gиçoma.*
3. *уиçi.*
pl. 3. *иçoтлп.*
ˈиулçoтлп (← *-*иуai.лs*).
Pres. pl. 3. *иçaп*, neg. *ошçaп.*
Pret. sg. 1. *oиулт.*
2. *gиуoma.*
(*-*иулs*) (*-*иуai.лs*).
pl. 1. *иуиуитлп.* *miултлп.*
2. {*mo.иуитлп.* *moултлп.*
ma.иуитлп.
3. {*иуитлп.* *ˈиултлп.*
иитлп.
Perf. sg. 1. *aиуa ba* N.
pl. 3. x *иуa bi.eп.*
Ppa. sg. 1. *na.иу(in).*
2. *nukиу.*
3. mx *nуиу.*
pl. 1. *nimi.иулп.*
2. *nлmaиулп.*
3. *nуиулп.*
yиуom ʃлpik dry bread.
yиуom ʃuqa a dry choga.
иqi buk yиçi your throat will dry up, i.e. you will become thirsty.
ts.hile (or, *ts.hilor*) *buk yиуimi* became thirsty. 268.11. *и ki in иултлп* they and he together became dry. 160.8. (Cs. *-*лspi.лs*).

Z.

zaˈforaиn y pl. saffron, y sg. saffron colour. — *zaˈforaиne tumor* a saffron talisman. Ar. Prs.

zah damp, moist (of ground etc.). (Cp. Kho. *zah*). Prs.?

zaˈlim oppressor, tyrant; oppressive, cruel. — *zaˈlim(лn) bai.i* he is a tyrant. *hin zaˈlim thaиnлn . . . ʃлm* he was a tyrannical ruler. 276.1. Ar. Prs.

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zaʷq.

000 1. A little forward, in front. — *utsimo yer zaʷk numʌn* going forward in front of them, H. *baṛhkar.* 124.5. *ʿite birkiṭtum ʿite zaʷq kuʷnanʊr nitsun* taking him away forward into a corner on the far side of the treasury. 56.19. *thʌmɛ ka hiqtum hoʷle zaʷq dʌmʌn juʷčai.i* the host comes with the Mir forward (to the front) out of the door. 340.22.

2. *zaʷq ɛtʌs* to poke with the finger. — *epatulo zaʷq nɛ ṭapik jo ʿassimi* poking him in the side (secretly) with his finger (equivalent to nudging) he said to him "Give me bread". QUB. *inɛ yuʷfɛs ixoʷlji bi, zaʷq* (or, *zʌq*) *aiye* his leg is hurting, don't poke it.

3. Sign made to a person to sit down beside one.

4. Copulation from point of view of male. (Queried by QUB).

(*zaʷq* in 2. above is the diminutive of 1. *zʌq*).

zaʷra power, strength; swiftness. — *buʷden* (read *buʷdens*) *ʌkiʷl zaʷra api* a cat has not such power. 174.14. *hʌyʊr zaʷra ka gaʷrši bi* the horse gallops powerfully, swiftly. QUB. *čʿemslinɔ zaʷraʷlɛ* (= *zaʷra* + *ʌfɛ*) *dʌm čʿeʷtsimi* the poison by its potency made him gasp, winded him. 132.24. *tamʌkuɛ zaʷraʷfɛ tišā ʌʷtimi* the tobacco by its strength made me sneeze.

zaʷradaʷr, zaʷrdaʷr wrathful, fierce, H. *ɣoppa-wala*, 122.7. — *zaʷradaʷr hirʌn bai.i* he is an impetuous, hasty, awe-inspiring man. H. *tuṇd, tiz, haibatnak.* QUB.

zaʷt y class, (good) birth, (good) family, stock, breed. — *zate joʃ, zate uyuʷm* of low birth, of high birth. *šuʷa zaʷt bila* it is a good stock. *zaʷte sis* a person of good family. *šuʷa* (or, *buʃ*) *zaʷti* (= *zaʷteʃ*) *bai.i* he is very well born, of good birth. *ja zaʷt jin zaʷt bila* my breed, or nature, is that of the jinns. 384.6. Ar. Prs.

zaʷtdaʷr of good family.

zakhʿəra, zaxiʷra x stock of food, supplies. — *zaxiʷra buʃ bi* there is a large stock of supplies. *ya be ʃapike zakhʿəra stam* O what a stock of food I provided! (at the time of giving a feast). QUB. *imo .hale pfalove zakhʿəra stai.i* he has collected a big stock of grain in his house. QUB. Ar. Prs.

zaxum y wound. — *mošakaʃe han danane zaxum moʷtimi* he wounded her on the arm with a stone. 386.24. Prs.

zalzal manaʷ to shake, shake oneself. 8.7. Ar. Prs.

zamaʷna y times, period. — *yerum zamaʷna.olo* in former times. 2.1, 268.1, etc. *tsoʷrum zamaʷna.olo* in early times. 188.1, 274.1, etc. *yərum zamaʷna čaγa* a story of former times. 192.1, 234. Prs.

zamaʷnat y security. — *zamaʷnat ganas* to take security. Ar. Prs.

zamaŋ y pl. necklace. — *hoke eji gurimo zamaŋ tak netan* fastening your necklace on the dog's neck. 386.14.
(Correct *tsamaŋ* in the text).

zamiʷndaʷr, -rio, -tiŋ, hm cultivator, peasant. Prs.

zamzaq manaʷ, tsamtsaq m. to get up quickly, suddenly, H. *čustiʷse khara hoʷna, ek dam khara hoʷna.* IUB. to jump up and stand. QUB. —

girri juʌn zʌmzʌq mʌnimi he jumped up and stood, like an ibex. QUB. 000

zʌŋ y rust. — *γʌtenčtse* (*ʃobʌqutse*) *zʌŋ dunila* rust has seized on the sword (guns), i.e. the sword has rusted. Prs.

zʌŋzʌŋ shivering. — *zʌŋzʌŋ dʌtʌγər* fever with shivering, ague.

1. *zʌq etʌs* to poke with the finger, to shove, push, clap hand on, stamp on. — *hiŋ zʌq etimi* he pushed the door, to, or in. *yutiŋe zʌq etimi* he stamped down (the earth) with his feet. 56.21. (Cp. *zʌq* 2.).

2. *zʌq* IUB, EOL, y headache, H. Prs. *sərdərd*. — *ja kʌpʌlulo zʌq(ʌn) gi bila, giči* I have got, shall have, a headache. EOL. *gute zʌqer besʌn mili dʌltʌs meimi?* what medicine is good for this neuralgia? EOL.

According to QUB the word is used of a pain that passes off quickly. *thʌstse baiyʌm, gʌp'ʌlulo zʌq aγgi bi* I was in contact with the smoke and a pain entered my head for me, i.e. I was exposed (?) to the smoke and was attacked by a pain in the head. QUB.

(Cp. Sh. *ʃiʃe.i zʌk*, headache; Kho. *zʌq*, severe pain in the head).

zʌqʌn IUB a lot of, much, H. *bʌhutsa*.

1. *zər *-mʌnʌs* to start (from fear etc.), to make a sudden movement. — *zər imʌnimi* he started, he gave a start. IUB. *hʌγər zər imai.i bi* the horse starts. QUB.

2. *zər* gold. — *zər kimʌab* gold brocade. 88.5. Prs.

zərʌp, zərʌb etʌs IUB to pierce, stab, prick, H. *krsi čiz ka bʌdʌnmē čobhjana*.

zərər y harm, injury, damage. Ar. Prs.

000 *zerdeb* x windgall. — *zerdeb mani bi.* Prs. *zergar -ši* n. goldsmith. 160.13 ff. Prs.

zerwi, zerwy

1. Adv. of course, of necessity, certainly. — *šamas zerwy paiqen* we must take, appoint, a ruler. 286.2.
2. y difficulties, misfortune. H. *mepéhat.* — *ina pwy nivin er zerwi di bila* his father having died difficulties have come upon him. QUB. *zerwi lewas, am nizi?* = H. *mepéhat lei, mar hiu karqu?*, it is a case of misfortune. What (else) is he to do? QUB. Ar. Prs. (*zerwy*).

zerwli urgent. Ar. H. (*zerwvi*).

zerwwal, zerwčal x necessity; necessary. — *šamas zerwwal qeni* a ruler is not necessary. 286.2. *wqar zerwwal bilam ke* if you had need. 280.4. Ar. Prs.

zal wide open (of eyes). — *ilšewets zal bis ke* if his eyes are wide open. 264.24. Cp. 264.3.

(Cp. Sh. *zazal*, wide-open (of eyes), staring).

zamow -ši pilgrim (to Muslim shrine. In Nagir, used of pilgrims to the Shia shrines at Kerbala and Najaf). Ar. Prs.

zarag manow to trot, to jog. — *kayar zarag mani bi* the horse is jogging, (a bad pace). QUB.

(Cp. Sh. *zilag čwski*, to trot).

zarar manow, zerzer m. to shrug, wince, repeatedly. — *kalyane kayar zerzer mani bi* the galled horse shrugs (the affected part). QUB.

The word can be used of the local movement made in response to pain, the irritation of flies, etc.

(Reduplication of I. *zer*).

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000 *zail.*

1. Kind, sort, fashion, manner. — *be zaila bi?* what kind is it? *be zaila bisu?* what are they like? *kwe hanar . . . akil zaila bila* their skill is of this kind. 150.7. *be zailafi* somehow. *ismomiqum akil zailafi* tha muyu *dumanuman* in this manner 100 sons were born of her. 102.17. *tel zailafe . . . ifi bakainlo kurutaman* in such manner they abode in that country. 142.9. *akil zailafi sis ufurno* in this fashion she devoured people. 200.3. Cp. 172.23.

2. Consequential manner, sins. — *bua zail etas gusan bo* she puts on a lot of sins, H. *dimayi*, QUB. *buf zaila ha akutar* dont put on a lot of swank when you go about, H. *dabdabas*, *mayruvisi*, QUB. (Cp. Sh. *zeli* manner, *ano zeli* in this manner; thus. Kho. *bia zaila?* in what manner? how?).

ziard more. — *lokan ziard hask ford etimi* he drew (the bow) a little more (than the others). 170.8. *ziard* and *hask* here duplicate each other. Ar. Pra.

zama[1]*h* surety; *y* security. — *zama baili* he is surety. *wuy zama ji ba* I am your surety. QUB. *wuy zama jirli bila* your security is with me. QUB. Ar. Pra.

ziawat y place of pilgrimage, shrine. 286.19. Ar. Pra.

zal, zil resentment, malice, enmity; at enmity, inimical. — *gute zalafe . . . S. M. ayanemo* owing to resentment at this she murdered S. M. 288.14. *ja ha zil baili* he is inimical to me, QUB. N. *zal etas* to hate(?) Ar. Pra.

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[1] [see corrigenda of addenda category 16, p.544. Analyst]

zɪna y fornication, adultery, sexual commerce with a relation of prohibited degree, incest. — *o·ka zɪna stomʌn* they committed incest with them. 272.7. Cp. 374.12. Ar. Prs. 000

zɪnda alive, living. 388.7. Prs.

zɪndaga·ni y livelihood. Prs.

zɪnda·nxa·na y prison, jail. Prs.

zɪzi, zizi, Mother! Form of address used only in the families of Rajas and (in Nagir) Saiyids. Foster mothers, being of lower rank are called "*mama*". 601

The corresponding term for father is "*ba·ba*", "*bʌb'a*".

These terms are said to have come down from the time of Alexander the Great. 30.15, 238.6.

(*zɪzi* and *ba·ba* are in use in Sh. and Kho., and in Balti *zɪzi* and *bawa*).

zo·r. 000

1. Force, violence. — *zo·r stʌsʌn bai.i* he is a violent person (a doer of violence). *zo·r stimi*. he insisted. 264.21.
2. Powerful, strong; hard, difficult. — *kine bu·t zo·r bai.i* this fellow is very strong. 144.19. (*boyo*) *bu·t zo·rʌło bi.ʌn* (those "boyo") are very powerful. 250.10. *bu·t zo·r duro bila* it is a very difficult business. 50.24. Prs.

zora·wor powerful, mighty. — *bu·t zora·wor thʌmʌn bʌm* he was a very powerful ruler. 218.1. Prs.

zo·zʌx, do·zʌx, IUB & QUB *zo·zʌq*, y hell. (Cp. Sh. *zozʌk*). Prs. (*do·zʌx*).

zol searching. — *i·ki uyo·n zol nomo fʌł nomo i·mo ha·lər motsu·ʌm* having made her search all those (places) and having made her finish (the business) he had brought her to his own home. 108.27. *dɪźmiŋ uyo·n*

zvl nɛ daiyʌm I have come after searching every place. QUB. 000

zvləm, zvlum, y oppression, tyranny, injustice compulsion. — *zvlum ɛtʌs* to practise oppression, etc. *zvlum ɛtʌsʌn bai.i* he is a tyrant, oppressor. *zvləm nɛ dumutsu.in* bring her by force. 24.13. *guniki.eŋ* (y pl.) *zvləm ɛtimi* he perpetrated evil injustices. 92.29. Ar. Prs.

zvləmgaʷr, zvləmkrṣ, oppressive, tyrannical, cruel. (Ar.) Prs.

zupuʷr -rṣo x woodcock.

zvrzvr, zvzvr slight feeling of chill from fever, H. *boxaʷrse bʌdʌnmt̄ thoʷri sərdi ma'luʷm hoʷna*. IUB. shivering, shuddering. QUB. — *th'ʌtinɛ zvzvr imai.i bai.i* he is shivering with cold. QUB.

(Diminutive of *zʌzər, zərzər*).

Ž, Ž.

(See also *j* and *j*).

žaʷlimiŋ thin membrane on the outside of meat.

žaʷo shouting, outcry. — *žaʷo qyuʷ ɛčumɛ* making an outcry and shouting out. 284.23.

žaʷṣ v. *jaʷṣ*.

žʌčiʷl, jʌčiʷr sg. & pl., d.pl. *-ints, -rṣo* x thistle.

(Cp. Sh. *čʌčiʷr*, Kho. *čʌnčiʷr*).

žʌḍ'au mʌnaʷs IYB to remain thin and watery (of a thing when cooked).

žʌk v. 2. *jʌk*.

žʌkun v. *jʌkun*.

žʌliminŋ beard (of goat).

(Not known to QUB. Cp. however Sh. *jʌli*, (markhor's) beard,

žʌmɛ, jʌmɛ, pl. *žʌmeŋ, -ʌŋ, -iŋ*, y bow (archery). 411

Bows are now obsolete for game-

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411 shooting, but a few are kept in Hunza and Nagir for ceremonial occasions, when they are used for shooting with at marks from horseback. V. text No. 35. They are composite being made of a foundation of juniper wood covered with strips of ibex-horn and sinews.

000 *ǯʌmeʿʂɛ bɪšaiyʌs*, or, *čʌp ɛtʌs* to shoot with a bow. *ǯʌmeʿr hunts wʌši.ʌs* to put an arrow to the bow. *ǯʌmɛ tʌskaʿs* to draw a bow. V. s v. *tʌskaʿs*. 2. *ǯʌmɛ čhukus* bowstring. *u.iski.ɛ ǯʌmʌŋ bišʌmʌn* the three of them shot with their bows. 380.22. *ǯʌmeʿʂɛ . . . ɛsɛ g'iri dɛlimi* he hit the ibex with the arrow. 148.5. *ǯʌmeʿr hunts nyu.ɛšin ɪsɛ khʌtɛ yuʿtisər bišʌmi* putting an arrow to the bow he shot at the leg of the bed. 260.11. Cp. 148.16, 260.14. *Krsərɛ ǯʌmɛ . . . tʌskuʿmʌn* they drew Kiser's bow. 170.5. Cp. 152.13, 168.20, 170.11,15, 172.5.

It occurs with the suffix *-ʌk*, *-k*; the meaning being perhaps "a shot with a bow".

jʌmɛk ̆deli shoot (him) with the bow. 146.10. *jʌmɛkʌʂɛ . . ɪsɛ tʌlər bɪšʌmi* he shot with his bow at the pigeon. 148.7. Cp. 152.11 ff., 156.5, 170.20, 172.7.

ǯʌn *-*ʌtʌs* to bite (of a horse), to snap at. — *hʌγərɛ ǯʌn aʿtimi, goʿči* the horse bit me, it will bite thee. *ǯʌn oʿtʌs hʌγərɛn bi* it is a biting horse.

(Cp. Sh. *ǯʌn*, *jʌn*, *aʂoʿrki* (of an horse, dog) to bite).

ǯʌŋ -ičʌŋ y official post, post of headman of village, H. *'ahda, lʌmbərdaʿri* — *ǯʌŋ ʂeʿmi* he obtained, held, th·

000 post of headman. *thʌmɛ amin.ʌnər mɪhrbʌ·ni ɛtimi kɛ ʒʌŋ nčičai.i* if the Mir shows favour to anyone he gives him a headmanship.

ʒʌgguvin, pl. *ʒʌngu.yo*, hm official, headman of village.

ʒʌpa, pl. *-miŋ*, *ʒʌpʌŋ*, y bundle. — *hiles ʒʌpa ɛtubo* she has taken the child on her back wrapped up in a cloth. QUB.

ʒai.i·t, N. *dzai.i·t(?)* *-ərv*, x he-goat (2—4 years old, castrated).

ʒɛ·k v. *jɛ·k*.

ʒiga, *ʒɪgʹa*, *jigʹa* long, for a long time. — *bɛ jigʹa gor sʌphərɛn mʌnimi* what a long journey has fallen to your lot(?), for how long you have had to travel(?). 360.7. *duŋ ʒiga ɣʌlʌnimi* he read for a considerable time. 70.10. *ʒiga duŋ gəriŋ ečan* for a considerable time they sing songs. 302.5.

(Cp. Sh. *ʒi·go* long, *jiga*, for a long time. Skr. *dīrghá-*).

ʒigamu for a long time. — *ho jigamu i·mumur mʌmu čuʒ ečan* then for a long time they make (the child) suck its mother's milk. IYB. Ms.

ʒɪkʌn v. *jikʹʌn*.

ʒiki -mots x nit. — *ʒiki giya bi.ɛn* nits have fallen, i.e. made their appearance.

ʒiki·kri pl. *ʒiki·ki.ɛnts*, h nitty (term of contempt for very poor people). — *ma ha·le bɛ bi? ʒikiki.ɛnts* what is there in your house? Nitty people, paupers! *yɛ la ʒikʹikri! ʒʌltʌgər se.ibʌn* they say to a poor man "Now there nitty one"!

ʒin y line; in line. — *ʒin bila* there is a line. *ʒin bʌn* they are in a row. *ʒin noma hərurčai.in* sit down in a

line. *ʒin mʌnuwaʷn* they have formed up in line. 000

(Cp. Sh. *jinʷ*, line, row).

ʒiŋ'a -mʊts, x stone, *or* boulder, that rolls down a hillside, Kho. *čokul*. — *yʌʈʊm ʒiŋa di bi* a (rolling) stone has come down from above. *ʒiŋamʊts duʷbiʷen* stones have come down. *ʒiŋaʷtɛ kha ʒiŋa di bim* a stone had come down the stone-shoot. *isɛ ʒiŋa diʷm bun* the boulder that had come down as a rolling stone. 294.6.

ʒiŋ'ʌt, *ʒiŋaʷt* y stone-shoot, on hillside down which stones habitually roll. — *iʷtɛ ʒiŋʌt buʷt doʷrčilum* the stone-shoot was falling down very much, i.e. was very active. 294.4.

(Cp. Sh. *jiŋaʷt*).

ʒiʷŋɛ, *j'iŋɛ*, pl. *-čiŋ*, *-miŋ*, N. *-čʌŋ*. y sleeve. — *iʷmo hʌɣʊr iʷmo ʒiŋɛʷlo čʌp ɛtimi* he hid his horse in his

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sleeve, 122.12. *hʌγur žiŋɛ·r nyu.ɛ·ɛ̆in* putting his horse in his sleeve. 124.6. *i·nmo j'iŋɛčiŋ dumo·gus* pulling out her sleeves (for her). 146.14, cp. 16. 000

žo·li, -mots, x wicker sieve, *or*, strainer (for straining milk).

žo·mʌnʌč'o without warning, suddenly, Prs. *nagʌhan*. — *žo·mʌnʌč'o nɛ o·sqʌnumʌn* they slew them without warning. 240.7.

(Cp. morphologically Sh. *jo·mʌnuč'o*, dangerous, risky. Also Sh. *žo·*, difficult).

žo·niŋ, cp. *jo·niŋ*, y pl. abuse, H. *ga·li*. — *Hindi.ɛ sistsɛ žo·niŋ ɛtumʌn* they abused, reviled, the people of Hindi. 266.6.

1. *žu·* v. 4. *ju*.

2. *žu·*, for *ju* (Impv. of *ju·γʌs*), come thou. 94.2.

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WERCHIKWĀR—ENGLISH VOCABULARY.

000

a, ʌ and ə.

a-, *ʌ-* negative prefix with verbs. 412.1,6. Cp. *ai-*.

-a dative suffix (cp. *-γa*), used after consonants, and sometimes after vowels.

*-*ʌçə*, pl. *-*ʌçəkoʷn*, *-*ʌçəkoʷŋ* hmf. a man's brother, a woman's sister. — *ʌçə* my brother; *goʷçə* thy brother. 412,15, 414.5. *ɛčə* and *ɛʷrčə* his brother. 412.18. *moʷçə* her sister.

*-*ʌčəγən* v.s.v. *ɛčəγən*.

ʌdʌb respect. 406.12. Ar. Prs.

*-*ʌdil-* to affix, to put something on something. 2nd. sg. Impv. *eʷdil*. — *eʷmiša bʌroʷndu eʷdiliŋ* put ye a ring on his finger. 412.9.

(Cs. form of *dɛl-*, but the Pn.Pf. refers to the owner of the finger).

*-*ʌγain-*, *-*ʌγainč-* to appear to, to seem to. — *gulɛ žʌγa* (*goγa*) *šu.a goγaiinčəm duʷa?* does this place seem good to you? *eʷγai.rni* it appeared to him. 406.19.

*-*ʌγər-*, *-*ʌγərč-* to play a musical instrument, to play music. — *ɛʷγərčəm* playing of music. 412.13.

*-*ʌhəruʷt-*, *-*ʌhəruʷš-* to make sit down; to keep (a servant, horse etc.). — *eʷhəruʷt* make him sit down.

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000 Extended base, used only with plural objects: Past base *-*ʌhʊruʿča-*, Pres. base *-*ʌhʊručʌč-*.

*-*ʌ.i* pl. *-*yuʿgušiŋa*, *-*yuʿgrišints* hf daughter. — *ja ai.i* my daughter; *go, goʿi* thy daughter; *nɛ ɛ.i* his daughter; *aiyuʿgrišints* my daughters; *hɛn eyɛn* a daughter of his; Trs. Nom. *eye* his daughter. 404.2 ff.

ʌkhrš, *akheʿš* unfamiliar, strange, marvellous. 408.2.

akho here. Cp. *kho*. 406.16; 410.2.

akhuʿin today. Cp. Hz. Bu. *khuʿin* this year.

ʌkhʊlʊm from here. 402.14.

akhuʿrʊm how many? 412.19.

axer in the end, finally, at last. 400.12, 404.7. Ar. Prs.

albʌt assuredly, certainly, perhaps. 408.1,11,

*-*ʌlta-*, (*-*ʌltʌč-*) to put s.t. on s.o.'s feet.
2nd. sg. Impv. *ˈeʿlta*.
2nd. pl. Impv. *ˈeʿltaiʿiŋ*. 412.10.

altʌmbɛ z eight.

altʌn h two. 410.1.

altər twenty.

alto z two.

alto ʌltər forty.

aʿltʊlʊm like me, after my fashion. 402.15. (Cp. *ʊltu* and *-*ltʊlʊm*).

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*-ʌmʌn-, *-ʌmai- to be able. It takes the Pres. Base + *a* of the dependent verb. — *mɛnɛ bəriŋ moča aiyomʌnɛn ka* if any are unable to make her speak. 404.4. *bəriŋ moča ʌiyumʌnɛn* they were unable to make her speak. 404.5.

*-ʌmiš pl. -ʌmʌts x finger.
Sg. 1. *aʷmiš*. 2. *goʷmiš*. 3. m. *ɛʷmiš*. Pl. 1. *aʷmʌts*. Cp. 412.9.

amulu? where? Cp. *ana*.

ʌmuʷtok, *amutok* now. 412.1,11.

ana? ʌna? where? whither? — *ana tsɛrɛm ba?* where are you going to? *ana xaʷš?* up to where? how far?

ana somewhere. — *ana maimi* it will be somewhere; + *ka* + *neg.* nowhere; *ana ka paida aimaimi* it will not be procurable anywhere.

anum? from where? whence? — *anum tsurum ba?* where are you coming from?

ap- neg. of *ba* to be. V. § 527.

*-ʌpaiya to (motion to a person); with (a person); beside. — *apaiya* with me. 414.3; *ɛʷpaiya*, *ɛʷpai.a* to him. 410.13, 41[illegible].3.
(*-ʌpa = Dat. suffix *-a*).

apʲaʷstumʌn 3rd pl. h Past neg. of *ba*. 404.2.

apim 3rd sg. y Past neg. of *ba*. 406.22.

-ər Dat. suffix *gučʌčum kɛnər* at the lying-down time (i.e. at bedtime).
(A borrowing from Hz. Bu.?).

ərmaʷn y desire, craving. 410.8. Prs.

*-ʌs pl. *-mo* x heart. — *ɛʷs* his heart. 412.4. *ɛski*. 402.2.

*-ʌsgus, *-ʌskus, pl. *-ʌskušu bf mother-in-law. *goʷsgus* thy mother-in-law.

*-ʌskərts-, *-ʌskərč- to cut off. 404.4,6.

*-ʌski v. *ɛski*.

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000 *-ʌskir, pl. -išo hm father-in-law.
go·skir thy father-in-law.
as'umun, pl. ʌs'umuyo, asumi.u x star.
asu·r near.
*-ʌš -mo x neck.
*-ʌt-, *-ʌč- to make, do. — a·t make me. 412.2. gučʌm (for go·čʌm?) I shall make thee. 404.13. lip go·čumʌn they will fling you away. 402.15. (lip) go·ten they flung you away. 402.16.
a·t 2nd sg. Impv. of a + *-ʌt- make me. 412.2.
*-ʌ·t-, *-ʌ·č- to cause to do, cause to make. — bəriŋ moča aiyomʌnɛn kɛ if they should be unable to make her talk. 404.4. bəriŋ mo.ečʌm I will make her talk. 404.9. V. ɛt-.
atawʌsa, ʌtawʌsa 1st sg. Pret. neg. of d*-wʌs-. 412.1,6.
a·u 2nd sg. Impv, of a + *-u-.
ʌwa yes. 406.13.
*-ʌwɛl-, *-ʌwɛ·ð; *-ʌwɛlč- to put clothes on s.o. (Dat.). — go·γa šu·a gʌlʊŋ go·wɛlɛna? have they put good clothes on you? 408.3. Cp. 412.9.
(Cp. Hz. Bu. bɛlʌs to put on, Cs. *-ʌbilʌs).
awolʊm, a·ulʊm, a·uðʊm ill (seriously). 406.1 (bis).

ai.

ai-, ai.e-, ai.i-, aiy- neg. prefix, used with verbs.
ai.a·reki my under-bedding. 406.7. V. *-ya·riki.
ai.e.com bo 3rd sg. f. Pres. neg. of ɛt-. 404.12.
ai.e·gom bam 1st pl. Perf. neg. of guy-. 408.6.
ai.eta·stomo 3rd sg. f. Pret. neg. of ɛt-. 404.2.
ai·ɛfɪki my upper-bedding. 406.7. V. *-yæfɪki.

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000 *ai.ɐwɛšim baɐn* 1st pl. Perf. neg. of *wɛši.ʌs, wʌši.ʌs*. 406.16.

ai.eyuɐrčʊm tsɪq 3rd sg. x Conditional neg. of **-yuɐr-*. 402.5.

ai.i my daughter. 404.3. V. **-ʌ.i*.

ai.igʌli 3rd sg. y Pret. neg. of *ne-*. 410.4. V. *gʌl-*.

ai.itʌs neg. prefix *ai* + Noun Agt. *itʌs*, one-not-making. 408.13.

aiya my own. 410.13, 412.22. V. **-ya*.

aiyaum ba 2nd sg. Perf. neg., with 1st sg. Pn.Pf., of **-u-*. 412.22. (*ai* + *a* + *um* + *ba*) thou hast not given to me.

aiyʌš y heaven, sky. 410.13.

aiyɛ my son. 412.11. V. **-yɛ*.

aiyɛčʌm tsɪq 1st sg. Condit. neg. of *ɛt-*. 402.5.

aiyɛtʌm ba 1st sg. Perf. neg. of *ɛt-*. 412.21.

aiyɛti 3rd sg. hm Pret. neg. of *ɛt-*. 412.18.

aiyu aiyu bʌm 3rd pl. h Impf. neg. of **-u-*. 410.10.

au.

aulaɐd h pl. offspring, children. 404.1. Ar. Prs.

aušiŋ, aušin, pl. *aɐuša* h guest. 400.3.

au.ul my belly. 410.10. V. **-uɐl*.

e, ɛ.

ɛč- Pres. base of *ɛt-*, *ɛča* Pres. base + *a*.

ɛčʊɣʊn, ɛčʊɣon small, little; younger, youngest (son). 406.9, 408.3,11, 410.1,4.

(Cp. Hz. Bu. *ɛčukoɐn*. In W. the word appears to be really **-ʌčʊɣʊn*, as later enquiries gave *močʊɣʊn ayʌst* my younger sister. The pl. is supplied by *ɣeɐyu*).

ɛɐɣɔrčʊm playing-music. V. **-ʌɣɔr-*.

eɐɣai.ɪni. 406.19. V. s.v. **-ʌɣain-*.

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000 *eʿi*, *eye* his daughter 400.5, 404.2,11, 408.13.

eʿrčo (for *eʿçço*) his brother. 412.18. V. *-ʌçço.

eski into his heart, mind, remembrance. — *eski di.a* it came into his heart i.e. he remembered it. 402.2.

(*-ki* was explained as meaning "in", and is perhaps also seen in *saʿeetki*. The word, which is a form of *-ʌski, thus seems to be a locative of *-ʌs. Perhaps Hz. Bu. *-ʌski is to be similarly regarded).

espʌl̥u-, *espʌl̥uč-* to waste, lose. — *iʿʌ mʌl̥ espʌl̥u.i* he wasted his property. 410.5, 414.2.

(A form of *-ʌspʌl̥u-, Cp. Hz. Bu, 2. *-ʌspʌlʌs; and for the -u- the v.i. *bʌluʿyʌs* to become lost (with y subjects)).

eçi.aʿra = *-ʌs + *yaʿre*.

et-, *eč-* to do, to make. This verb is *i* + *-ʌt-*.

Its principal forms are given, as far as known, in §§ 529—535. The following occur in the present texts:

Present Base Forms:

Fut. sg. 1. *ečʌm*. 404.10,14.
pl. 1. *eʿčʌn*. 412.10.
Pres. sg. 1. *ečʌm ba*. 412.20.
Condit. sg. 1. *ečʌm tsrk*. 412.22.
3. hmx *ečum tsrq* 400.2,3. 406,8,10.

Verbal Noun of Action *ečum*. 414.4. Gen. 408.16.

Pres. Base + *a* (Dat. suffix) *eča* on my doing it 402.9; on his doing it. 402.2,11.

Past Base forms:

Pret. sg. 1. *eta*. 402.14, 2. *eta*. 402.15, 414.2, interrog. *eta?* 402.8.
3. hmx *etʌn*. 404.3.

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Perf.	sg. 3. hm.	*ɛtʊm bai.i.* 412.16.
Pluperf.	sg. 1.	*ɛtʌm bʌm.* 406.24.
Impf.	sg. 3. hm.	*ɛ·tɪɪt bʌm* (i.e. *ˈɛt ɛt bʌm*). 406.6,7.
Impv.	sg. 2.	*ɛt.* 402.11, 406.12.
		ɛti. 400.11, 402.15, 404.13.
	pl. 3.	*ɛ·tiŋ.* 412.10.
-š Form		*ɛtiš.* 412.12.
Noun Agent		*ɛtʌs.* 404.8, 406.21.
Ppa.		*nɛt.* 400.7,15, 402.6.
		nɛtɛ. 410.4.
		nɛti. 404.7.

Negative Forms:

Pres.	sg. 3. hf.	*ai.ɛ·čʊm bo.* 404.12.
Condit.	sg. 1.	*aiyečʌm tsɪrq.* 402.5.
Pret.	sg. 3. hm.	*aiyɛti.* 412.18.
	3. hf.	*ai.ɛta·stʊmo.* 412.21.
Noun Agent		*ai.itʌs.* 408.13.

i.

1. *i·a* his (own). 400.13,14, 402.6,10, 406.11 etc. V. *-*ya*.
2. *i·a* still(?), yet(?). — *mʌtʌn i·a bʌm* he was still a long way off. 412.3.
   (This form is corroborated by the vernacular Ms. Perhaps *mʌtʌni.a* is intended, the Locative of a hypothetical abstract noun *mʌthʌni*).

i·ʌγa to his son. 402.10. V. *-*yɛ*.

i·e (his) son (Trs. Nom.). V. *-*yɛ*. — *i·e sɛni* the son said. 406.6.

i·lja, i·lji back; after, from, since. 400.14, 412.3,20.

inɛ he, his, etc. 404.1,7. For *nɛ* q.v.

isk, is, pl. *i·smo* x young (of animal fowl etc.); h(?) child.

ˈiske h three. 404.15.

ˈiski, ˈiskɛ z three. — *iskikots xa·š* up to, till, 3 days.

ˈiski ʌltər sixty.

iṣ̣ut a kind of food (made with butter and meat). 000

Punj. *tərka*, Sh. *tʌpo*, Hz. Bu. *hoč*. 406.24.

ɪšavra sign, signal. 402.14.

1. *ɪṣ̣kərk*, pl. x *-išu*, y *-iṣ̣* yellow. (Cp. Sh. *ɪṣ̣kərk* diarrhoea).

2. *ɪṣ̣kərk*, *ṣ̣ɪkərk* y brass.

ɪṣ̣qam green, blue.

ɪrti that side, direction.

ɪzzat honour, respect. 406.6. Ar. Prs.

u.

*-u-, *-uč- to give (h and x objects). The pn.pf. refers to the indirect object.

Fut.	sg. 1.	*uvʌm* I shall give to them. 404.4.
Pret.	sg. 3. hf.	*uvi.o* she gave to him. 408.6.
	pl. 3. h.	*guyena?* have they given to thee? 406.20.
Perf.	sg. 2.	(*mene*) *uvm ba?* to whom hast thou given?
Impv.	sg. 2.	*avu* give to me. 410.3. *nevγa uv* give to him. *momoγa mu* give to her.

Negative Forms:

Pret.	sg. 2.	*ayavuya* thou didst not give to me.
Perf.	sg. 2.	*aiyaum ba* thou hast not given to me. 412.[illegible]
Impf.	pl. 3.	*aiyuv aiyuv bʌm* they used not to give to him. 410.10.

uve, uve 3rd. pl. hmf Demons. Pron. and Adj. they, those, — *uve hurri* those men; Gen. *uve uystis* their heads. 404.4; Dat. *uveγa* to them. [illegible], 410.3, 412.12.

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000

uʷi.o. 408.16. V. *-u-.

*-*uʷḷ*, pl. *-ło* x belly (of living beings); *au.uḷ* my belly. 410.10.

pl. *-čiŋ* y belly (of dead animal).

-uḷe, *-vḷe*, *-vḷo* Case-suffix, in, inside, into, to. 400.1,9,13, 404.1,9,15, 406.1, 410.5,6,8,11, 412.1,5. Peculiar uses are: *hɪkmʌtulo*. 408.8. *lai.ʌqulɛ*. 412.1,6 and *bərvḷɛ* 412.19.

uʷḷə, *uʷḷo*. Adv. in, inside. 412.18.

oltu manner, fashion, like. — *ja oltu* like me. *ga oltu* like thee.

(This form has not been corroborated or further investigated. One would expect *-*ltu* or *-*ltol*. Cp. *-*ltoḷom*, which might be *-*ltu* + *oḷom* or *-*ltoḷ* + *om*. In view of Hz. Bu. *-*ltor* perhaps *-*ltol* is the more probable).

-oḷom Case-suffix: from in. — *sʌnduqoḷom* from in the box, out of the box.

-om Abl. suffix: from. — *Hɪndustaʷnom* from India. 400.5. *hərʌŋgom* from among. 402.9. *sʌnduqom* from the box.

uŋ, *uʷŋ* thou (only used in Nom. and Acc.). 400.5,8, 402.15,16, 404.9, 412.21, 414.3.

*-*uʷs*, pl. *-*ušindəro* hf wife. — *ja a.uʷs*; *go guʷs*; *ne uʷs* my, thy, his, wife. *ne os bom* he had a wife. 400.5.

uʷšim reared, nurtured, "fatted" (calf). 412.10,16, 414.2.

uyom all, h pl. — *uyomeγa* for all of them. 400.6.

uyuʷ their sons. 404.5. V. *-ye*.

B.

ba, *b-* to be. For paradigm see § 527. References to special W. forms in the texts:

Past. sg. 3. hmxy *baʷlimi*. 400.1, 404.1, 406.18,19, 408.14.

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000

Past. sg.	hf	*bu.astumo.* 404.2.
pl. 3. h neg.		*apastumʌn.* 404.2.
Pres. sg. 3. y		*duva, duica?* 404.14, 408.1, 412.15.
Past. sg. 3. y		*dulom, duḫom.* 400.14, 402.5, 410.9.
3. y neg.		*apim.* 406.22.

ba, pl. *bai.iŋ* y millet, "chīna", = Hz. Bu. *bʌy*.

bʌç, pl. *-oŋ* y goat- and sheep-house.

badša, pl. *-tiŋ* hm king. — *badša yan* a prince. *badšatiŋ uyu* princes. Cp. 404.1 ff. Pra.

bargo x(?) share. 410.2.

bak stʌs to kiss. 412.5.

bʌl, pl. *-iŋ* y wall.

bʌlk, pl. *-oŋ* y plank.

bʌŋgəri very bright, clear. light. (Cp. *gəri*).

bər, pl. *-iŋ* y saying, speech, affair, piece of business. — *bəriŋ st-* to talk, converse. 404.2, 408.13; to conduct affairs(?). 400.2,3. *bəriŋ stʌs bulya* a talking monkey. Cp. 402.1, 404.7, 412.19.

bərç, -ʌnts x. (Later recorded as: *bʌlç*, pl. *bərçʌnz*), bridge. (Cp. Hz. Bu. *bʌl* and, for the *-r-*, *swço* s.v. *-ʌço*).

bardum, pl. xy *barzu* red.

baroundu ring (for finger). 412.9.
(Vernac Ms. *borroundo*).

bastimi. V. *ba*.

bʌl necessary to (do s.t.); (s.t.) is to be (done). — *bo kai.ʌn yaiyum bʌl dulom ka yani* whatever present was to be got, he got it.. . 400.14.

(*yaiyum* is the Pres. Base Pc. or Noun. of *yʌn-*).

(The word is probably the Kho. *bʌl* which is similarly used: *korriko bʌl* it is necessary to do it; it is to be done).

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000

baša, bæša, beša, bæše.
1. Interrog. when?
2. Indef. sometime.
bæše ła pači ła come to me sometime; (+ *ka*) + neg. never. — *baša . . . aiyułam ba* I have never done. 412.20. *jaŋa baša ka . . . aiyanu ba* thou hast never given me. 412.21.
3. Rel. when.
beša čik xarj ati when he had spent all. 410.6. Cp. 412.13,22.

baf, pl. -oŋ y skin.

bałan y country. 410.6,7.
(Vernac. Ma. *bathan*, Kho. *bathan*, Ar. *wałan*).

bazaw, bazar, pl. -iŋ y bazar, market, shop. 400.13. Pra.

bai.ał, pl. *bai.a*, later *baiyałaŋ*, y roof, ceiling.

bau.u wall (probably for *baf*).

beke female (of animal).

belis, pl. *belidu* x sheep. 406.21 ff.

beltum? how?

berum? berumaŋ? how much? how many?

berum.
1. A certain number of, some. 400.12. — *berum burt . mazduridu* how many! what a large number of, hired servants! 410.11.
2. + *ka* (following the verb) however much, whatever, all that. 400.2.3, 410.2.

bes ka + neg. nothing. — *bes ka api* there is nothing.

bes(?) no! — *ei sene ka "Bes" . . .* the daughter said "No . . .".
(Probably for *besa?* why?)

besa, besu? why? wherefore? 406.15,22, 408.5.

besmel, bismel slaying in the name of

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God for food. 412.10,16. Cp. 414.2. (Cp. Kho. *brauzl*, *brauzl korik*, to kill for food. Ar. (*bismillah*). 000

bɵda. V. *bale*.

biva sg. and pl. Also pl. *bivanz*, x cow.

bi.anum, *bi.anum*, pl. *bi.eyu* thin (of a rod, etc.).

bivu apparently an error for *bi.an*, 3rd pl. x of Pres. of *be*. 402.1.

bihai.i, pl. *-miciŋ* y sickness, illness, epidemic.

bilinde x six.

bo.

1. Interr. Pron. and Adj. what? — *bo bi? bo du.a?* what is it? (x y). *bo kai.an?* what present? 400.8 (bis). Cp. 406.6.
2. Indef. Pron. and Adj. some, something, anything. — *miya bo nasi.at eti* give us some counsel. *gula dure bo ko nat et* doing something (i.e., somehow or other) do this job. Cp. 404.8. Neg. not any, no. 406.16, 408.8.
3. General Rel. *ko* (following verb) whatever, all that. 400.13,14, 414.3.
4. In some way(?), somehow(?). 404.12,13.

bofo, pl. *bofa* x calf. 412.10,16, 414.12.

bota? for what? why? — *bota siya* (if) you say 'why?' (then this is the reason), i.e. because.

(This is conjectural, but the context requires 'because' and there is a parallel idiom in Shina: *ke thiya* to "if you said 'why?' = because". I assume that: *bota* : *botan* :: Hz. Bu. *besu* : *besan*).

botan.

1. Interrog. what? — *botan bi?* what is it (x)? *botana etum bo?* of

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what have they made it? *ma botʌn*
OOO *čum ʒʌn?* what are you doing?
2. Indef. Pron. anything.

bu, bum 3rd sg. hf Pres. and Past of *ba*
bu.astumo 3rd sg. hf Past of *ba*. 404.2
burlya x monkey. 408.14.
burr, pl. *-iʌŋ* y a hair. 408.14.
buri, pl. *-ŋ* y silver.
borum white.
burš, pl. *-i.ants, -ʌnz* x cat.
buf much, many, very much, very. 40..3,4, 404.5, 406.18, 408.2, 410.4,11.
(Vernac. Ms. *-f*).

Č and Čh.

čha.
1. sg. and pl.; d.pl. *čhai.iŋ* y a kind of millet, Punj. *kʌŋgʌni*, Kho. *grava*. — *čha duva* it is (a field of) millet.
2. x pl. millet grain. — *čha biven* there is millet grain.

čhʌγurum, čhʌγurum cold.
čhʌmens, čhʌmine hungry. 410.12.
čhʌnum narrow.
1. *čhor*, pl. *-ko* x mountain, cliff.
2. **-čhor*, pl. *-iŋ* y voice, sound.
čs Case suffix: on. — *sʌnduqčs* on the box.
čhen, pl. *čhiyu* x bird. 400.8.
či, -či suffix or postposition: in, at. — *fəlavni jʌγa či* at such and such a place. 406.3. *avltumʌlči ... qrsa duva* there is a story "in my ear".
Cp. *tsači* after; and perhaps *pʌči* to, (to the side of).
**-čhi-*, **-čhič-* to give.
The Pu.pf. refers to the indirect object. This verb is used, as in Hz. Bu. only when the object is y sg. — *uva čzka hai.ʌn* (y sg.) *uči; učiča sʌ toti.e nʌγa dovərusi* he gave a present

000

to them all; on his giving it the parrot enquired of him . . . 402.7. *miγε mili* give (it) to us.

čkši, čik, čay, all, all the, the whole. Recorded as h pl. and x sg. and *ji*. 400.5, 402.3,7, 404.6, 410.6.

(Versac. Ma. *čkši*. Cp. Khe. *čkši* all).

čhumεr, čhumir y iron.

D.

d°-, *d*°-*a*-. Past Base of *fa*- to come. Pret. sg. 1. *daiγε* I came etc.

(Cp. *fa*- and *fa.ker*-, and, for paradigm, V. § 539).

da then again. 406.9,20, 408.2,6, ~~~~.

d°-*a*(*y*)*el*-, *d*°-*a*(*y*)*eli*- to hear. Pret. sg. 3. hm *dεvli* he heard. 412.14.

dayanεm, pl. *dayaiγε* thick, stout, fat.

d°-*ayεrza*- to question, interrogate + acc. V. *dεγarin*-. — *pako εtso dεγεrzi* he questioned the cook. 408.21. *dεγεrzil ta.i* he began(?) questioning him. 412.14.

d°-*ayal*-, *d*°-*ayali*-; *d*°-*ayali*- (also written with -*ff*-) to become available to s.o.; to come into the possession of someone. This verb takes the place of the Eng. "to find", "get", "obtain", "receive". The verb agrees with the object found and the Pn.Infix. refers to the finder. The construction is parallel to that obtaining with the H. Intrans. vb. *milnεr*, e.g. *tumko ek rupiε milεgε* you will get a rupee.

εurlum ham, εmεtεk dεγali he was lost, now he has returned to me, i.e. I have recovered him. 412.12. *ŋawlεrust dεγali* he (the son) has returned to him (the father) in health. 412.17. *εurlum ham, εmεtεk dεγali*

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he was lost, now he has returned to us, i.e. we have recovered him. 414.8. *qalam* (x sg.) *dakoγaki.a? daraγali* Did you find the pen? I found it. *ux kawi dakoγaki.ma? ʌum daraγa-ki.ʌm* Did you find these men? Yes, I found them. *ʌuuf dwu ja daraγakkumʌu* I hope I shall find them. *u.s karja ʌuvk* (y pl.) *daraγakum kitʌn* I have obtained straw at their house. *ko ker* (y sg.) *ʌdraγa'ʌm dwu* we have found no answer, i.e. we could think of no answer, and so agreed. *ʌ* (*ʌaiγwrj* x sg.) *ja ʌf'aγakkum ki* I do not (i.e. cannot) find that bench. *ʌ ja ʌdraγakkum ki* I have not found it.

(Zerbin deals with this verb at some length (pp. 810—811), but his informant appears to have been at fault and to have given him incorrect forms, which have misled him into regarding it as a highly irregular Trans. Verb. Thus for the sing. of the Fut. tense he gives:

Sg. 1. *ʌs d-ʌ-γakí-ʌm.*
2. *ga* (*ʌm*) *da-ʌa-γakí-ʌm-ʌ.*
3. *m ʌ ʌ d-ʌ-γakí-im-i.*
f *mumu* (*ʌm*) *da-ma-γakí-ʌm-u.*

The first two of these forms are questionable. Unless there is an unexpressed object they would mean if anything, "I shall find me", "you will find you". On the other hand, for the plural he has:

Pl. 1. *mi da-ma-γakí-imi.*
2. *ma da-ma-γakí-im-i.*
3. *ʌ d-ʌ-γakí-im-i*

of which he says "morphological indicators of person are lacking". This is incorrect, the *-imi* indicates a 3rd sg. human or *y*, or a 3rd pl. *y*, subject.

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The forms to which I have taken exception above, and other similar ones, are probably to be ascribed to thoughtlessness or ignorance on the part of the informant. An alternative explanation would be that the verb is beginning to change its character and is in a state of instability, being sometimes treated as Intrans. and sometimes as Trans.

The verb in Hz. Bu. which corresponds to it semantically is *d*-ʌγurkʌs*, one of the few Trans. verbs in which the Pn. Infix refers to the subject (Cp. § 249.4). Did these verbs start as Intransitives and become converted into Transitives?

There is some uncertainty about the form of the Werch. Past Base. My forms would mostly indicate *d*-ʌγʌš-* except the 3rd pl. h *daʌγʌši.en*.

Zarubin has the very questionable form:

Plup. *sg.* 1. *d-a-γaš-iy-am baʌm*, and for the participial form in the remaining forms of the compound Past tenses he has:

d-ʌγʌšim* (less often *d*-ʌγʌšum*), which point to *d*-ʌγʌši-*.

d-ʌγʌši-*, *d*-ʌγʌšč-* would be parallel to *wʌši-*, *wʌšč-*).

dʌw, pl. *-je* x stone. V. also γoro.

dɔrʌxt, *drʌxt*, pl. *-iq* y tree. 400.10,15. Pm.

dɔrγʌnj famine. 410.6.

(Vernac. Ma. *dɔrʌγʌ-nj*, LSI *drʌγʌ-nj*. Cp. Kho. *drʌγʌ-nj*).

daš'en, pl. *gusi.ʌqgi.ʌ*, later: γeγu *guliq'ʌ*, hf. girl.

d-ʌsmʌi.in-*, *d*-ʌsmʌinč-* to (conceive and) carry young up to the point of parturition, to rear young. —

000 *du . . . belis yaʷr dɛsmai.ina* I reared the kid under a sheep. 406.23, ("they" in the translation is wrong).

This was the only form obtained. Later enquiries have now added the following examples:

ɛ biʷa boʃo dɛsmæ.inimi, ʌmuʷtok halkičimi that cow has conceived a calf and now will give birth to it. Fut. *dɛsmæin.čimi.*

nɛ thɔrʼɛs dʼɛsmæin rear that orphan.

(Cp. the Intrans. *dusmai.in-*. Perhaps to be referred to Hz. Bu. *dᵊ-ʌsmʌnʌs.*

dᵊ-ʌšqʌlt-. V. *dɛšqʌlt-*.

dawa, daʷwa, pl. *-miŋ* y claim, demand. 404.7. Ar. Prs.

dᵊ-ʌwʌkʌl-, dᵊ-ʌwʌkʌlč- to cause s.o. (to do s.t.), to constrain, to employ s.o. as an agent or instrument. The verb is used to produce the effect of Cs. Act. verbs.

menɛ ja ai.i dumoʷʌkʌl bɔriŋ ɛtʌn kɛ whoever (pl.) causes my daughter to talk. 404.3. *jɛ . . . mo dumoʷwʌkʌl bɔriŋ mo.ɛčʌm* I shall make her talk. 404.9.

The form in these examples is the Ppa. Later enquiries have thrown a little more light on the use of this verb in the following examples:

nɛ dɛʷwʌkʌl gutɛ dɔro ɛt turning him on to it, do this work, i.e. make him do this work. *nɛ gutɛ dɔroʷtɛ dɛʷwʌkʌlčʌm* I shall put him on to this job, i.e. I shall make him do it. *wɛ dʌla di.uʷšumtɛ dɔʷwʌkʌlɛmen* they put them on to making the watercourse, i.e. they made them make it.

daulat y property, possessions. 410.4 Ar. Prs.

402 a

000 *deuli* 3rd sg. hm Pret. of *d*-ʌ.el-*. 412.14.

deγəresivištai = *deγeres'iš tavi*. V. *d*-ʌγə-rxs-*. 412.14.

deḷ-, *deč-* to strike, hit.

2nd sg. Impv. *uŋ* ʌγʌ *jʌwaub deḷ* you answer me. 408.10.

d'eli 3rd sg. hm. Pret. 412.4.

d'eme-, *d'emeč-* to pour out, spill, waste. — *iva mʌl . . . demeyi* he wasted his property. 410.5.

(Vernac. Ms. variant for *evpʌḷu.i*. Cp. Hz. Bu. *devmiyʌs*).

len, pl. *-iŋ* y year. 400.12, 412.20.

deŋgiš, pl. *-o* leather bag, Sh. *kuto*.

desʌl- to appear to, 3rd sg. y Pret. *desʌli*, H. *ma'lum huva*. — *hʌn buran neγa ṣinj yanis desʌli* one hair appeared to him like a beam. 408.15.

(Probably a verb *d*-ʌsʌl-* which may be connected with Hz. Bu. **-ʌsʌlʌs* to look at).

d'ešqʌlt-, *d'ešqʌlč-* to arrive, come to (with 3rd sg. hm and x subject).

+ Dat. 400.12, 402.16, 410.2,12.

+ *-vḷe*, *-ḷe*. 402.6,13.

Fut. sg. 2. *dešqʌlčvma*. 402.16.

Pres. sg. 3. x *dešqʌlčum bi*. 410.2,12.

Pres. Base + *a dešqʌlča*. 402.13.

Pret. sg. 3. hmx *dešqʌlti*. 400.12,6,13.

Ppa. hm *dešqʌlt*.

(The verb is *d*-ʌšqʌlt-*, as in Hz.Bu.).

di Ppa. 3rd sg. hmx of *ṣo-*. 404.11, 410.11.

di.a, *diya* 3rd sg. Pret. hmxy of *ṣo-*. 400.3, 402.2, 404.7, 412.12,13, 414.1.

d'i.eša. V. *d*-yeša-*.

di.'ev-, *di.'evč-* to stand up. V. paradigm § 540.

Fut. sg. 1. *di.ečʌm*. 404.10.

Ppa. *dive*. 410.12. 412.3.

dikoṭum thin, lean. (As in Hz. Bu. 3rd

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sg. St. Pc. of *d*-kuṭ-*. The 3rd pl. form is *dukučʌm*). 000

dim bai.i 3rd sg. hm Perf. of *ṭo-*. 412.15.

dimˈɛɣʌši. V. *d*-ʌɣʌš-*. 414.6.

dim duɣa. Read: *dim duɣa*. 408.1. 3rd sg. y Perf. of *ṭc-*.

dits-, *diš-* to bring. In Hz. Bu. this verb is only used when the object is hm or x sg., but in W. it has been recorded with a y object. This, however, is to be regarded as incorrect. *hai.ʌn* (y) *dišʌm*, *dišuma*, *dits* I shall bring, thou wilt bring, bring thou a present. 400.6,8,9. With x sg. object: *boršo ditsə* bring the calf. 412.10.

(From later information it appears that *dits-*, *diš-* is only one form, as in Hz. Bu., of *d*-ts-*, *d*-š-*, which is properly used only with h and x objects. The form of the verb used with y objects in W. is *dutsu-*, *dutsuč-*).

doɣˈʌris- (*du-*), *doɣˈʌriš-* to question, enquire of, + Dat. Cp. *d*-ʌɣʌris-*. — *mʌčukus yˈɛɣa doɣʌrɪsi, goɣa šu.a pʌko guyˈɛna?* he enquired of the middle son: "Did they give you good food?". 406.20. Cp. 402.7, 404.10, 406.5,8,9.

doɣori midday.

dohor-, *dohorč-* to fall down (of cliff etc.). — *bau.u* (? *bʌl*) *dohori* the wall fell down.

(Cp. Hz. Bu. 2. *dorʌs* to fall down).

drʌxt. V. *dərʌxt*.

drust complete, entire. 400.13. Prs.

du kid. 406 23—24, 412.21.

duɣa 3rd sg. y Pres. of *ba*. 404.14, 408.1, 412.15.

duhʌnja-, *duhʌnjʌč-* to "run", gallop (of horse, donkey etc.).

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duḷʌs, pl. *duḷʌšo* boy. (Originally recorded as *du.ʌs*). 000

duḷum, *duḍum* 3rd sg. y Past of *ba*. 400.13,14, 402.5, 410.9, 414.5.

duʿlošu h pl. servants. 412.8.

(For *duḷʌšu*. V. s.v. *duḷʌs*).

domo(ʿw)ʌkʌl, V. *d*-ʌwʌkʌl*. 404.3.

doni.a, *donya* the world. 410.3, 414.1.

dorʿo, pl. *-iŋ* y work, business. 410.5, 414.1.

duʿs-, *duʿš-* to go out, come out. Pret. 3rd sg. hm *duʿsi*. 400.7.

duṣmai.rn- to be reared. Pret. 3rd x *duṣmai.ini* it was reared. 406.24.

(The Passive or Intrans. corresponding to *d*-ʌsmai.in-* q.v.).

duʿst, pl. *-išu* friend.

(Vernac. Ms. *duʿstišuŋga* (or *-ŋa*?). with my friends. 412.22). Prs.

dosuʿ-. Only the Impv. 2nd sg. once doubtfully recorded. — *ja gʌndi dosu* bring it (y?) for me.

(Cp. *dits-* which in W., unlike Hz. Bu. has been recorded with y objects. Later information: the correct verb to use in W. with y objects is *dotsu-*, *dotsuč-*).

duwʿa? V. *duʿa*. 412.15.

duwʌḷ-, *d*-wʌḷ-*; *duwʌḷč-* to fly. V. paradigm § 543. — *duʿwʿʌl*, *duwʌl* (the parrot) flying away. 402.12,16.

duʿyeša. V. *d*-yeš-*.

d-wʌs-* to remain. Pret. sg. 1. neg. *ʿataw*ʿʌsa. 412.1.6.

d-yeša-*, *d*-eša-*. — *sʌnduqom dʿi.eša* take it (grain etc. y pl,) out of the box. *gʌtonzišu duʿyeša* having taken out clothes. 412.8.

(From later information it now appears that this verb is a form of the verb *d*-us-*, *d*-yes-* (corresponding to the Hz. Bu. *d*-usʌs* and *d*-isʌs*)

403b

000 which may, and can only, be used when the object is plural, on the principle illustrated in regard to the Hz. Bu. Intrans. verbs in BSOS Vol. VIII. 1936, p. 628. The surmise in the footnote to the text, is therefore justified).

F.

fəlaʷni such and such a. 406.3. Ar. Prs.

G.

gʌl̥. Pret. Base of *ne-* to go. V. paradigm § 538.
Pret. sg. 2nd *gʌla.* 400.10, 405.9.
3rd hmxy *gʌli.* 400.10, 402.12, 404.11.
neg. y *ai.igʌli.* 410.4.
(I am now of opinion that the *-l-* is *l̥*, except when it is followed by *-i*).

gʌh -iŋ y road.

gʌndi on account of, by reason of, for the sake of, for. — *ja gʌndi eti* do it for me. 412.16, 414.2.

gəri light (not dark).

gəruʷm hot.

gʌʃu x sg. cloth; y pl. cotton trousers.

gʌʃ'unz x pl. clothes. — *gʌʃunzišu*, 412.8, appears to be a double plural.

gʌʃuŋ clothes, clothing. — *toš gʌʃuŋ* new clothes. 406.10. *gʌʃuŋ šu.a bim mʌgʌm te mʌkuči* the clothes were good, but in the middle of it . . . 408.3.
(*Bim* is x sg. and pl., *te* is y sg. The form has probably been borrowed from Hz. Bu.).

1. *gi, gič-* v.i. to enter.
2. *gi-, gič-* v.t. to throw down, put down (x sg. & y objects only).
Pret. pl. 3rd h *giʷen, gyiʷen.* 406.13,14. (Cp. *gu-*.).

404 a

000 *go* oblique form of 2nd sg. Pers. Pron. thy, thee.

Gen. *go ʌti* thy father. 406.12, 412.16. *go guyɛ* thy son. 412.1. Cp. 412.15,20. *go te sʌlam* that greeting of yours. 402.8. *go kimɛ guyɛ* this son of thine. 412.22. Cp. 414.5. *go gu.i.a bi* it is thine own. 414.4.

Dat. *goγa* for thee, to thee. 400.8, 402.14, 404.10, 406.20.

go·čomʌn. 402.15. V. *-*ʌt-*.

goγa. V. *go*.

go·tɛn. 402.11. V. *-*ʌt-*.

gowɛlɛna. Pret. pl. 3rd h interrog. of *-*ʌwɛl-*. 408.3.

gu·- in *gu·ya*, *gu·i.a* thy own. 412.2, 414.4. V. *-*ya*.

gu- to throw down, put down (x pl. objects). — *gum ba·n* we have put down (the bedding). 406.16. *hukku-ku·rešo besa gum ba·n?* why had you put thorns (in the clothes?), 408.5. *hukkuku·rišo ai.e·gum ba·n* we have not put thorns in (them). 408.6.

(Cp. *gi-*. In Hz. Bu. *guyʌs* is used only with h and x pl. objects. In the first of the above examples the object understood is *ya·rrki yæṭɪki*, which is y and with which *gi.ɛn* is used above. The rule is probably the same in W. as in Hz. Bu. and this breach of it is probably a slip).

gučʌčum lying down, going to bed. — *hər gučʌčum kenər* at every lying down time, always at bedtime. 406.7.

Pres. Base Pc. and Verbal Noun of *guča-*.

gukər thyself. V. *-*khər*.

gukɛ y pl. Demons. Adj. these. — *gukɛ ha·kičʌŋ* these houses.

gumaiyum. V. *-*mʌn-*.

4044b

000

gʊm bʌm, gum bʌm. V. *gu-.*

gʊnahgʌr guilty, sinful. 412.16. Prs.

gʊnčʌt, kʊnčʌt early morning, dawn. — *gʊnčʌte* in the morning, next morning. 406.12.

(Probably connected with the Hz. Bu. *gʊn* dawn).

gʊnts -iŋ day. 406.9.

gus, pl. *gušiŋ* (later recorded as *guš'iŋa*), hf woman.

gʊse x sg. Demons. Pron. and Adj. this one, this.

Pron. 402.5.

Adj. *gʊse dʌn*, this stone; *gʊse hʌγʊr* this horse.

gʊte y sg. Demons. Pron. and Adj. this one, this.

Pron. *gʊte bo maiyʊm duw'a?* what is this that is going on? 412.15. Cp. 412.1.

Adj, *gʊte ha* this house. Cp, 402.4. Sg. used for pl. (Cp. Hz. Bu. *gʊke*, W. *ke*): *gʊte beriŋ* this saying(s). 406.11.

gʊts.hər-, gʊts.hərč- to proceed.

Pres. sg. 1. *gʊts.hərčʌm ba.*
2. *gʊts.hərčʊm ba.*
3. h *gʊts.hərčʊm bai.i.*
pl. 1. *gʊts.hərčʌn bʌm.*
2. *gʊts.hərčʊm bʌm.*
3. h *gʊts.hərčʊm bʌm.*

Pret. sg. 1. *gʊts.hərə.*
pl. 3. *gʊts.h'ərі.* 400.12 (bis).

Pres. Base Verbal Noun *gʊts.hərčʊm.*

gʊtse x pl. Demons. Pron. and Adj. these ones, these.

Pron. *gʊtseγa* to these ones (i.e parrots). 402.3.

Adj. *gʊtse γoro*, these stones.
gʊtse hʌγʊra these horses.

guy'ena 3rd pl. h Pret. Interrog. of *-u-* 406.24.

405a

γ

·γa Dat. suffix used after vowels. Cp. -a. Occasionally the vowel is that of the General Oblique e.g. 000
nyoʷnɛγa to all. 400.6.
h'iŋaγa doγʌrisi be enquired of the door. 404.11.

γaʷnu, γaʷnun, pl. γaʷnuyo crow.

γaʷn-, γai(y)- to look, look at, inspect, see.
Pres. base + *a yaʷrzki γaiya hɛʷn sɛsʌn eʷri* he sent a man to look at the bedding. 406.17.
Pret. sg. 3. hm *γani*. 406.17.
Impv. sg. 2. *γaʷn*. 412.9.
pl. 2. *γaʷnin*. 408.7.
Ppa. *niʷγʌn*. 406.16
(*gʌtʊŋ*) *nuγaʷnin* looking at clothes 408.7.

γaʷnɛk alone.

γərʌš, γəraʷš a kind of pulse, Hz. Bu. γərʌš, Kho. *khəraʷš*, Sh. γəraʷš (probably all with -š).
1. x pl. the seed.
2. y with pl. γ'*ərahʌŋ*. the crop.
The plant is small and has a blue flower.

γərɛ postpos. with, in company with. — *inɛ γərɛ . . . buʷlya bim* with him was a monkey, 404.7.

γər, pl. -*iŋ* y song. — γəriŋ *ečum* singing. 412.14.

γaiya. V. γaʷn-.

γɛndɪš, γ'ɛndɛš, pl. γɛndəhaʷŋ.
1. y gold.
2. hf queen.

γeyo, γɛʷyu, pl. small, little, young.
(The sg. is supplied by *-ʌčʊγʊn).

γoʷl-; γolč-, γulč- v.i. to burn, be burnt. — *ɛʷs γoʷli* his heart burned, he was grieved. 412.4.

γoro x pl. stones. Cp. *dʌn*.

*-γoyʌŋ y pl. woman's hair.

405b

000 γundɪl -išo x dove.
(Later it was said that γundɪl was a sort of "pigeon"; "dove" being properly γuṭγundɪl, in which γuṭ = deaf. This perhaps explains Hz. Bu. γoγundɪl).

γus'ʌnum, pl. γus'aiyu.
1. Adj. long.
2. Noun x snake.

H.

ha, pl. *ha·kičʌŋ* y house. — *gute ha* this house. *haḷe*, *ha·la* in, at, to the house or home. 400.2, 402.6, 404.11.
(In W. *ha·ḷe* may perhaps be regarded as *ha* + *uḷe*, as the Hz. Bu. suffix *-ʌle* has not been recorded).

hʌγur pl. *hʌγura*, *hʌγurə*, *hʌγurek* x horse.

ha·jʌti y necessity, need, requirement. 400.13. Ar. Prs.

hʌlʌnts, *hʌlʌnz* x moon.

haldɛn, pl. *hʌldiu*, *hʌldyu* x he-goat, male ibex.

hʌḷe·s, *hɪḷ'ɛs*, pl. *duḷʌšu* hm youth, boy. 410.7,8,11, 412.4,14. (Cp. *duḷʌs*).

hʌmi·ša always, ever. 414.3. Prs.

hʌn x and y one. — *se hʌn* that one (parrot). 402.3. *hʌn burʌn* one hair. 400.1, 404.7, 406.18. (Cp. *hen*, *hek*).

hʌpa, *hapa* hpl. family, household. 400.14.

1. *hər*, pl. *-i.u*, *-yo* x castrated bull, ox.
2. *hər* every. 406.6,8. Prs.

hərʌŋ, *həræŋ* postpos. among. 402.3, 408.10, 410.1. — *šum duro həræŋ espʌḷu.i* he wasted it in evil works. 414.1. *hərʌŋgum* from among. 402.9.

hər'e y pl. barley. D. pl. *hər'eŋ* barley crops.

hʌwa·za sound, noise. 412.14. Prs.

hʌwel first, in the first place. 404.9. (So also in Kho.). Ar. Prs.

hʌza·r a thousand. Prs.

406a

000 *hai.ʌn*, pl. *haiyai.iŋ* y present, memento; mark, badge. — *tɛ hai.ʌn* that present. 400.9. Cp. 400.6 ff.

hairaʷn astounded, amazed. 408.9. Ar.Prs.

1. *hɛʷk* full. 410.10.

2. *hɛk* z one, once. Cp. *hɛn* a' ʌ *hʌn*.

hɛkai.i, pl. -ŋ y outer part of house, through which the dwelling part is reached. — *hɛkha* (*hɛqa* or *hɛʷqulo*) *dusi* he went out into the hall. 400.7.

(The Nom. form given was obtained later and it may be taken that its vocalic ending is approximately correct, which makes it difficult to explain the forms in the text).

hɛn h one. — *hɛnɛ haʷlɛ gʌli* he went to the house of a certain one. 410.7. Cp. 400.1, 406.7, 412.14.

(Cp. *hʌn* and 2. *hɛk*).

hɛpulṯu the day after tomorrow.

hɛsa, *hisa* sg. and pl. month. — *hɛk hɛsa* one month. (Cp. 1. *sa*).

hɪkmʌt device(?). 404.8. Ar. Prs.

hɪkulṯo one day. 400.8 ff.

-hiʷlikin-, *-hʲiliki-* to entreat, placate, do reverence to. 412.19.

Hɪndustaʷn India. 400.5 ff.

hiŋ, pl. *-ičʌŋ* y door. Dat. *hiŋə*. 404.10.

hʲiŋaγa. 404.11.

Loc. *hiŋulɛ*, *hiŋulo*. 404.9,11.

hir, *hiʷr*, pl. *huri*, *huʷri* hm man. 400.4,7. 410.8.

hisa. V. *hɛsa*. 400.12.

ho then. 406.18, 408.10,11, 412.5,12.

holə sheep (? Very doubtful. I believe there is a word *hoʷlo* = sheep's, goat's, or camel's, dung).

hoʷla, *hoʷlɛ* out, outside. 402.11, 412.18.

holṯʌš, *holṯʌš* barefoot.

huʷçɔ sg. and pl. x "pabbɔɔ", soft leather boot.

(Originally I got sg. *huʷč*, pl. *huʷču*).

406 b

hu.ˈeˑ-, *hu.ˈeč-* to run (of man, dog, cat). 000
V. paradigm § 541.

1. *huk*, *hʊk*, pl. *hukˈai.i*, *hʊka* x pl. dog.

2. *huˑk*, *xuˑk*, pl. *-išu* x pig. 410.8,9. Prs.

hʊkɔm y order, command. — *badša hʊkɔm ˈɛti* the king commanded. Ar. Prs.

hʊkkʊkuˑrišo x pl. three-pointed thorns, Kho. *koluxxo*. 408.4 ff. (*huk* dog + *kʊkurɛs* puppy).

**-huˑlus*, pl. *-tɔro*, **-huˑlʌstɔro* hm a woman's brother, husband's brother, *ahuˑlʊs* my brother, *go guhuˑlʊs* thy brother. *mo muhuˑlʊs* her brother, *wɛ uhuˑlʌstɔro* their brothers.

hʊmʌč, pl. *-iŋ* y scrap of cloth or wool wrapped round feet over sock for warmth, to make boot fit, or to protect sock. Kho. *ponoˑko*.

hʊmʌlkʊm light (not heavy); quick, quickly.

hʊn, pl. *-iŋ* y wood, firewood.

hʊpʊrpu, pl. *-mo* x hoopoe.

hʊruˑf-, *hʊruˑš-*, and Past Base *hʊruˑča-* (with pl. subjects only), to sit down, to sit. 400.15, 404.11. V. paradigm § 544.

Plup. *hʊrʊčʌm biˑɛm* (*biˑɛn?*) (the parrots) had sat, probably equivalent to Impf., were sitting.

huˑš senses. 410.11. Prs.

hʊši.aˑr intelligent, perceptive. 408.12,14. Prs.

hʊšyaˑri intelligence, perceptiveness. 408.1. Prs.

huti z nine.

**-huˑfɪs* sg. x pl. **-huˑfiŋ* y foot. — *ja ahuˑfɪs*, *go guhuˑfɪs*, *nɛ huˑfɪs*; *mi mihuˑfiŋ*, *wɛ uhuˑfiŋ*. *huˑtiša kau.ušʊmo eˑltai.iŋ* put ye shoes on his feet. 412.9.

(Vernac. Ms. *hʊfiˑšaˑ*, probably Dat. sg.).

407a

J.

jă, jæ, jɛ I, me; Nom. 404.8,9,13, 410,9,12. Acc. 404.12, 410.3,12. 000

jaʷ, ja, Gen. and Obl. of *ja, jɛ,* of me, my, me. — *ja tɛ hai.ʌn* that present of mine. 402.7, 404.13. *ja kaʷt* with me. 404.12. Cp. 400.10, 414.3.
Dat. *jaʷγa, jʌγʌ* to me, for me. 400.8,9, 410.2.3, 412.21.

jʌγa, pl. *jʌγʌŋ* y place. 406.3. (Cp. Kho. *žʌγa*).

jʌma ɛt- v.t. to collect. 410.4. Ar. Prs.

jʌndo, žʌndo alive, living. 412.11,12.

jəraʷp, jəraʷb, pl. *-ičiŋ* y sock.

jʌṭ, pl. *-u* old. — *jʌṭ hir* old man. *jʌṭ gus* old woman.

jʌwaʷb y answer. — *ja goʷγa jʌwaʷb ečʌm* I shall answer you. 404.10. *uʷŋ jʌγa jʌwaʷb dɛḷ* answer me (this). 408.10. Ar Prs.

jɛ I. V. *jă.* 406.2, 408.8,9. 410.9,12,

jimʌḷ, jimʌlə tomorrow.

ju.a, žu.a like, resembling. 406.13, 412.2.

juwaʷri y pl. Indian corn.

juwʌn like. Cp. *ju.a.* — *ja juwʌn* like me. *go juwʌn* like thee.

K.

1. *ka, kɛ* and, also. 400.2,3, 402.15,16, 408.11, 410.9,13, etc.
   (Vernac. Ms. *kaʷ* for 1. 2. 3. and 4. *kha* in the texts is probably wrong).
2. *ka* following a verb preceded by a General Relative. 400.13, 410.2, 414.4.
3. *ka* following a verb: when, if; when 400.7,10, 402.14,16. 406,17.
   if 402.5,15, 404.3.10.
   though (?). 406.21.
4. *ka, ke, kɛ, ki* corresponding to the Persian *ki* introducing a dependent clause, especially after a verb of "saying". 400.5, 402.8,14, 406.15,

4076

000

408.6 etc., for, because, seeing that . . . 406.19. Cp. *gutɛ gandi kʌ* . . . 412.16.

kʌč, pl. *-oŋ* y strand (of river), gravel, shingle, Kho. *šutur*.

kʌmrenʌn a small quantity (?) a little (?). — *kʌmrenʌn qɪsa* glossed "a little (amount of) story". 404.14.

-khər Reflexive Pron. -self. — *ʌkər* myself. 402.14. *gukər* thyself. 402.15. *ikəre* for himself. 400.13.

karo sg. and pl. male oorial. Also later given as: Ovis Poli.

kat, *-kat* Postpos. with. — *ja kat* with me. 404.12.

khʌt (?), *kʌt* down, downwards. 402.3,9.

khai.i, pl. *khai.ʌnz* x fort. Also recorded as *qai.i*.

kau.ušumo x pl. shoes. 412.9. Prs.

kɛ y pl. Demons. Adj. (and Pron. ?) those. — *kɛ hakičʌŋ* those houses.

kɛ V. 1. *ka* and 4. *ka*.

khɛn time. 406.7,8.

ki V. 4. *ka*.

khinɛ, *khɛnɛ* hm sg. Demons. Pron. and Adj. this, this (man). Cp. *khu.ɛ* and *khumo*. Pron. 406.18. Adj. 412.11.

khiti, *khitə* (to) this side, this direction.

kho here, hither.

khoš -išu x pod, "husks". 410.9.

kho(w)ɛrγa V. *khuɛ*. 406.11.

krɪsma small wild iris.

khu.ɛ h pl. Demons. Pron. and Adj. these, these (men), these (persons). — *khu.ɛ hurri* these men.

Dat. *ko(w)ɛrγa* to these people.

khul all, entire. 410.4. (Cp. Kho. *khul*). Ar. Prs. (*kul*).

khulɛ, *khudɛ* inside here. (*kho* + *ulɛ*).

kuluk -išo x hoof, Kho.

khumo hf sg. Demons. Pron. and Adj. this, this one.

408a

000 Pron. *ja kumo* this (daughter) of mine. 404.3.
Gen. *khumo·mo.*
Dat. *khumo·ɣa.*
Adj. *ja kumo ai.i* this daughter of mine. 404.3.

chuts y sg. Demons. Pron. (?) and Adj. this. 404.5,7.

kuts days. — *iski kuts* three days.

X.

xər, xair y smell, odour. 406.21, 408.1. Kho.

xərj st- to expend. 410.6. Ar. Prs.

xa·ṭ up to, until. — *ana xa·ṭ, amulu xa·ṭ?* up to where? *kho-le xa·ṭ* up to here. *iski kuts xa·ṭ* up to, until, three days. *ne ṭo·ṭ xa·ṭ* until he comes.

(*a*)*xaṭan-*, (*a*)*xati-*, Ppa. *nuxat, nuxa* (not) to say.

With the exception of the Ppa. this verb is used only in the negative (with the neg. particle *a-*).

There is also an alternative Pres. Base (*a*)*xać-*, which has only been recorded with pl. subjects.

nuxat having said (this). 406.4.

(Cp. Hz. Bu. *nuxa.* Is this the same word as Hz. Bu. *ɣaṭanas, ɣaṭai.i-* "to read", "recite", which does not occur in that form, nor with that meaning in W.?)

xismat service. 412.20. Ar. Prs.

xušan happy, merry. 414.4. Prs.

xušani happiness, rejoicing. 412.10,12.22. Prs.

L.

laha·z, lrha·z ill (not seriously), indisposed. Also used in Kho.

laman, pl. *lamai.iŋ* y front skirt of choga (cloak). (Cp. Psht. *laman,* Sh. *laban,* Prs. *da·man*).

408 b

lʌq naked.

laiʌq worthy; worthiness(?). — *gots laiʌqvlɛ atawʌse* I have not remained worthy (in worthiness?) that . . . 412.1,6. Ar. Pra. 000

(With reference to the footnote to this passage, it should be observed that the Kho. Loc. *laiʌq-a* occurs in the same passage of my Kho. translation of the "Prodigal Son". Elsewhere I have an example of the straightforward use of *laiʌq* as an adj.

Again, however, in a Chilasi Shina translation of the "Prodigal Son" I have: "*ʌnu laiʌk da fʌt neʌi bilos*" where *aa* is a postpos. meaning "to" and "in").

**-lći*, pl. *-mo* x eye. So later authority, but in the texts **-lćin*. V. 412 1,5.

le! O! 410.2.

lil et- to perceive, understand. 406.18.

lip **-ʌt-* to throw out, throw away. 402.11 ff.

(**-l'te-*(?). V. *te'y)ʌn* and *nʌlte*

**-ltvlʌm*, *tvlʌm*, pl. **ltvlju*, *tvlju* like, in the manner of. — *ja ʌltvlʌm* like me, after my fashion. 402.15. *go gultvlʌm*, *ne tvlʌm*, etc. *ma maltvlju bʌn* you are alike. *ʌse ʌltik u-hʌn-tvlju bʌn* they are of one likeness. *ne tvlʌm nʌma ʌvte duro akhi ʌta* imitating him I did this work, i.e. I did it in the same way as he does.

(Cp. *ʌltu*, and Hz. Bu. **-ltʌr*, **-ltʌro*, *mʌnʌ's* to imitate).

**-ltʌmʌl*, pl. *-iŋ* y ear. — *ja ʌltʌmʌl*, *go gultʌmʌl*, *ne tʌmʌl*, etc. *ja ʌltʌmʌlći* in my ear (i.e. in my head). 404.13.

409 a

M.

000

ma you (pl.).
Gen. **ma.** 406.5
Dat. **ma.ya.** 406.2. **maym** 406.6.

ma'ulus, ma'ulus the middle one (son). 406.7,20.

madal, madale upper part, above; by the upper way. — **mal madal** the upper edge of a field. **madale daiyam** I came along above, from above.
(The word also occurs in Hz. Bu.).

mavli.ava x **mare.** Pra.

magam, magam but. 406.14,22, 410.10, 412.21,22, 414.4.
(Cu. Kho. **magam**, Pra. **magar**).

mahtaj in want, destitute. 410.7. Ar. Pra.

makuči, makuj-u, -o in the middle of. — **te makuči** in the middle of it. 408.4. **ni gatuŋ makučo** in the middle of his clothes. 408.8.

1. **mal, mal,** pl. **-iŋ** y field. 410.8, 412.13.

2. **mal, mal, mal** property, live-stock. — **mal i dunya** worldly possessions. 414.1. Cp. 410.2,3,5.

malto the day after the day after to-morrow.

maltal, pl. **maltaraŋ** y butter. 406.24 f.

mamu, pl. **-čiŋ** y milk. 406.21 ff.

man-, maiy-, mai- to become, be:
Fut. sg. 3. **maimi** will be.
aimaimi will not be.
Pret. sg. 3. hmxy **mani.** 402.3,4,15, 406.15.
pl. 3. x **manan.** 402.3,9.
Pres. Base Verbal Noun. **maiyum** y. (Vernac. Ma. **maytm**).
gete bo maiyum dunu? what happening is this?
-ŋ Form: **manil tri.i** he began to be. 410.7.

4096

000 Pres. Base + Dat. Suffix: *maiʌyu* when it was thus, things being thus. 40.21.
se du ṭaiyr maiyuwu on the kid's becoming a goat. 406.24.

*-ʌʌn-, *-maiy- to become, be.
Pret. sg. 1. *ʌwʌnʌ*. 406.14, 412.1.
2. *gumʌnʌ*. 406.2.
The 3rd sg. hm is not distinguished from that of *mʌn-*, as the Pa.Pf. is not expressed.
Ppa. x sg. subject *nimʌ*. 402.12.
Pres. Base Verbal Noun or Participle 2nd sg. *gumaiyum*. 414.4.
Ṭir ʌlimum ʌwʌn — *ʌlimum ʌwʌn* thus were not able, V. *-ʌwʌn-.
mʌnʌm. Pret. pl. 3. x of *mʌn-*.
maḳul ʌt- to divert, entertain. —
uŋ bo ja maḳul ʌti . . . je uŋ bo maḳul gučam (= *gučam*) divert my mind in some way . . . I will entertain you in some way(?). 404.13.
maḳul ʌti was explained by Kho. *ma maḳul ko*, and H. *dil baijhavo*.
(Cp. Sh. *maḳwl bortki* to amuse oneself, converse(?), Kho. *maḳwl korik* to entertain, amuse). 'Ar. Pra. (*maḳwl*).
maḳwli, maḳkuli (*ʌt-*) business, affairs, entertainment(?). 400.2,3.
maṭhʌn distant, far. 410.4, 412.3.
mʌṭum black.
mazdur, pl. *-iṭu* hm hired-labourer. 410.11. Pra.
maiʌyu. V. *mʌn-*.
maiyuwu. V. *mʌn-*.
maiyum. V. *mʌn-*.
men sg. and pl.; also sg. *monʌn*, pl. *menik*.
1. Interrog. Pron, who?
men dim baiʌ? who has come?
men duwu bawʌ? who have come?
monʌn baiʌ? who is it?

410a

000 *menik bɐʷn?* who are they?
ʷv korag mɐn but nazuk . . . bɐm? who among them was most delicately nurtured? 408.10.
Gen. *gusɐ mɐnɐ bi?* whose is this?
Dat. *mɐnɔ ʷvm ba?* to whom have you given it?
Abl. *mɐntsvm yænvm ba?* from whom have you taken it?
mɐntsɐ bi? with (?) whom is it?
2. Indef. Pron. sg. and pl. any one, any persons.
mɐn bai.a? is there anyone?
mɐn bɐʷnɐ? are there any people? Cp. 404.4.
+ neg. no one, no persons.
mɐn kɐ apai.i there is
mɐn kɐ apɐʷn there are no persons. Cp. 410.10.

mí we. 406.16, 412.10.
Dat. *míya.* 400.6, 406.2.

mín-, mí(y)- to drink.
Pres. sg. 1. *míya* (*míyɐʷm*) *ba.*
Pret. sg. 1. *mína.* pl. *mínɐn.*
2. *mína.* *mínɐn.*
3. hm *míni.* h *mínɐ.*
Impv. sg. 2. *mína.*

mo she, her. V. § 510.
Acc. *mo.* 404.9.
Gen. *momu.* 408.16.

moča. Pres. Base + *a* of *mu* + **-ʌl-* q.v. 404.4,5.

mo.í —? 408.16.

**-mɔʷ *-mʌn-* to become angry (with Dat.). — *sesa mos mʌní* he became angry with the men. 406.15. Cp. 412.18.
(Also as in Hz. Bu. with the verbs *ço-* to come; *dutsu-* to bring; *d*-ʌts-* to cause to bring).

mukʌk x pl. broad beans. — *mukʌkɐ*

410b

ḃáḋlo bean poés (for Eng. "hooks"). 000
410.9. -íg y pl. bean crops.
(Cp. Ha. Bn. ḃuḃáḋ).
mulk country. 410.5.
nuaireáḋ fitting, proper. 414.4. Ar. Fra.
nuaḋ, pl. -anu x end.
mulaggaí (in) trouble, (in) discomfort. — mulaggaí ammuo I was uncomfortable. 406.14. Ar. Fra.
mugu her own(?). 408.18. V. *-gu.

N.

naṁ, pl. -íg y shade. 400.15.
1. ṅamu Fpa. 1st sg. of *-mau-. V., s.v. *-ḃiḋjom.
2. nanu Fpa. 2nd pl. of ní-, you going. 408.7.
nanní, pl. nanníuro bf mother, mother's sister. — ja nanní my mother. * gu nanní thy mother.
nanlaí advice, counsel. 406.2. Ar. Fra.
naṁiv (i.e. naṁivf) sight. — gu naṁivulo in thy sight. (Vernac. Ma. for gu gulíneulo). 412.1,5. Ar. Fra. (naṁar).
naṁuḋ, naṁuḋ delicate, sensitive, refined. 406.19, 408.11,12. Ar. Fra.
naṁuḋí y delicacy, sensitivity. 408.8. Ar. Fra.
1. ne hm sg. 3rd Pers. Pron., and Demons. Pron. and Adj. he, that. V. § 810.
Pron. Nom. 407.16,20,22 etc.
Gen. ne. 400.1,5, 404.2, 414.2 etc.
Dat. neyu. 400.7, 402.7, 406.19, 414.3 etc.
Adj. 400.6,7,11, 406.5, 408.1 etc.
2. ne pl. nerin, Impv. bf ne-, go, go ye ne- to go.
Pres. Base ta.ḃero- (ferro-, farro-).
Pret. Base gal- V. paradigm § 536
Impv. 2nd pl. nerin. 408.4.

Fpa. 3rd sg. hmx ni. 402.18, 406.17, 412.19. 000

2nd pl. h n.ccon. 406.7.

St. Fr. 3rd sg. x nem, n.vem. 402.14.

nef, nefe, nefi. Fpa. of ri- having done, having made. — nef. 400.7,18, 402.8. nefe, 410.4. (Vocmc. Ma. nef). nefi 404.7. *ja nef d.e.n* it is on my part. *ovyr nef d.e.n* it is on thy part. Fpa. *ar fer.f i m.en (ha) nef.*

ni Fpa. 3rd sg. hmx of ne-.

nim Fpa. of gam- (= Ha. Ba. n(g)am).

nivem, variant of nem, St. Fr. 3rd sg. x of ne-.

nivis, ni.ches, Fpa. of *-gafe- with y sg. and hm sg. object.

nir.en, Fpa. of yere-.

nimm, Fpa. with x sg. Fa.Pf. of *-m.em-.

nirji, Fpa. of ji- (with x sg. object).

nilem, Fpa. of *-lem- (with x sg. object).

nar. V. ngm.

nerymain, Fpa. of yere-.

nerhuf, Fpa. of herwf. 406.15.

nehervi, Fpa. of he.er-. 412.4.

nm.el, nem, Fpa. of n.lem-, having spoken, having said (thi). 406.4. (Cp. Ha. Ba. nemi).

nerfis, Fpa. taking oath. 406.22. Cp. ti(g)am.

nerenin, nerenl, Fpa. of ne-.

ngm, pl. ngmmo x hear.

ngm, (ner), pl. hay nerym big, great, elder, eldest. 406.6.12, 408.14, 412.18.

ngvr.el, Fpa. 3rd sg. x of *-m.el-, it having fallen.

Ng.

-ngm, -gt, Cave suffix: with. V, 412.22 note. The forms *jengm* with me, and *gengt* with thee, have since been recorded. (Probably the W. form of the Ha. Ba. suffix -agr, -agt).

411b

P, PF, PH.

000 *paśi* to (beside a person), to the presence of. — *ker paśi ʃu* come to me. Cp. 406.4,5.

pʃał-, phał- to divide, apportion. — *ira mal i dunia wuyo pʃałi* he divided up his property for them. 410.3.

(The word occurs in the LSI version of the "Prodigal Son". V. also Zarubin p. 353).

pago, paqo, -mo z bread, food, Khe. *ʃapók*. — *pako stas* a cook. 406.21. Cp. 406.20, 410.12.

(The forms *pako, phrike* given in the texts are incorrect).

paida man- to be found, to be procurable. Pra.

pʃaq, ʃaq, pl. *pʃaiiq* y lie, untruth. Ar. Pra. (*ʃaq*).

pałman penitent, repentant. 402.4. Pra.

pʃerpil a kind of millet. Khe. *grow*.

(Cp. Hz. Bu. *herpil*, Sh. *pʃerpil*, *pʃerpil*).

pʃu, phu, -iq y fire.

pura complete, entire. 400.13. H.

pur, pl. *purhaq* y woman's shirt.

(From a less reliable source the pl. *puʃiło* was obtained. In view of the *-ł*, the word is probably not the Pra. *purł, purł*).

Q.

qadrow ancient. 404.1. Ar. Pra.

qaw ał- to call out to. 400.7.

qisa y story. 404.14. Ar. Pra.

R.

rahi, rahi, rahi ał- to start off, set out for. 400.4,15. 402.6. 410.5. (Khe. *rahi kawil*).

rai ał- to wish, be willing. 412.18.

412a

∞ *-rek*, pl. *-ɪndɔro* hmf brother-in-law (wife's brother, man's sister's husband); sister-in-law (husband's sister, woman's brother's wife).

**-rɛ·n*, pl. **-rɛ.iŋ*, **-rɛ.iŋčiŋ* y hand.

S.

1. *sɑ̃* x sun. — *sɑ duvɛ́* the sun rose.
2. *sɑ*, pl. *-mo* (but perhaps this is an Abl. ending), month. — *altosa* two months. *iskiʼsa* three months. *waʼlɛ sa* four months, etc. *waʼlto samo* four months. (Cp. *hɛsa*).

sɑʼɑti, *sɑʼɑtik* yesterday.

sabab, *sabap* y reason, cause. — *tɛ sabɑb yate* for that reason. 406.14. Ar. Prs.

saxen by reason of, H. *wajhese*. — *gute bor čɔmɛ saxen* by reason of making this speech. 408.16.

1. *saxt* kind, sort. 408.6.

(Cp. Kho. *saxt*, manner, fashion; Badakhshi Pers. *sɔ·xt*). Prs. (*sɑʼxt*)?

2. *saxt* hard, severe. 410.6. Prs.

salaʼm y salaam, greeting. 400.11, 402.2,4. Ar. Prs,

sam *-ɑlko*, *-ɑnts* x smoke-hole in roof.

sanduq, *sandɔq* (*-ɛlu*) x box. — *sanduqulo*, *sanduqɛ́s*, *bi* it is in, on, the box. *sanduqulom*, *sanduqu·n*, *di.rɛla* take(?), or, having taken, it out of the box.

sap *-ɑ*, *-ɑnɛ* x horse-shoe.

(Zarubin gives "sápa" as meaning "horse's hoof", and I originally recorded thas as a questionable second meaning).

sapuk *-ɛlu* x horse's hoof. Kho.

sarɛthi afternoon, Prs. *pitiʼn*.

sauda y trade, merchandise. 400.4. Prs.

saudagor, *sɔudagor*, pl. *-ɛlu* hm trader, merchant. 400.1. Prs.

412 b

se, se x sg. Pers. and Demons. Pron. and Adj. it, that one, that. V. § 515. Pron. 400.3, 402.2,10. Dat. 402.14. Adj. 402.1,3,13, etc. 000

sen-, si(y)- to say; to read.
Fut. sg. 1. *s'iyʌm.* 410.13, 402.7.
2. *siya.* 412.11, 414.5.
Pres. Base + *a se.a.* 402.8,11.
Pret. sg. 3. hmx *seni.* 400.6,8,9, 402.8, 410.2, etc.
hf *seno.* 408.13.
pl. 3. h *senʌn.* 400.5, 406.1,16.
Ppa. *nuseniṇ.* 400.11.
nuseni. 404.14.
Noun Agent form as Ppa. *senʌs.* 402.10, 404.10.

s'endɛ -miṇ y river.
(Originally recorded as *sind*, pl. *-e.o*).

ses hm sg. and pl. person; people, persons, men. 406.15, 408.5. — *hen sesʌn*, also. *hen ses* a man, a person. 406.17.

siya, siyʌm. V. *sen-.*

sust, sust unconscious. 402.3.14,15. Prs.

Š, Š.

šahr, šaihr y city, country(?) 400.9, 402.13. Prs.

šʌlʌs blanket.
(I know of nothing to support this form, but it is quite clear in my Ms. and cannot be read as *šai.is*).

šaʼm evening. Prs.

1. *šər*, pl. *-ʌnz, -ʌnts* x branch, bough.
2. *šər*, pl. *-ʌnz, -ʌnts* x unroofed goat and sheep pen as constructed in the mountain grazing grounds).
(Cp. perhaps. Kho. etc. *šʌl* cattle-house).

šarɛ yʌt top of a hill. (*šar* = 1. *čhər*?).

šɛ-. V. *ši-.*

šenj -ko x roof-beam, rafter, Prs. *šahliʼr.* 406.14 ff. (Cp. Hz. Bu. *sinč*).

413a

ʃi-, ʃu-, še-; ʃič-, ʃuč-, šeč- to eat. ooo

As far as information goes these alternative forms are employed under the same conditions as in Hz. Bu.:

ʃi- with x sg. object.
ʃu- with x pl. object.
še- with y object.

The forms recorded are:

Fut. sg. 3. hm *ʃičimi.*
hf *ʃičumo.*
x — — *šečimi.*

Pres. sg. 3. hm *ʃičum bai.i.*
ʃučum bai. *šečum bai.*
hf *ʃičum bo.* —
x — *šečum bi.*
pl. 3. x *ʃučum bi.en.* —
410.9.

Pret. sg. 3. hm *ʃivi.* *ʃuvi.* *ševi.*
hf *ʃivo.* — *ševo.*

Impf. sg. 3. hm — — *še šebam.*
hf — — *še šebom.*
x — — *še šebim.*

Impv. sg. 2. *ʃe.* *ʃu.* *še.*

Ppa. (*ʃi-*) *nxʃi, nivʃi.* 412.10.
(*ʃu-*) *nxʃo.* (*še-*) *nuše.*

It is to be noted that I apparently intentionally recorded the *še-* forms with *š-* not *ʃ-*.

(This statement is interesting as it was written in 1930, long before I knew that in Hz. Bu. the *š-* of *ševas* is also not cerebral).

ʃxkərk brass. V. *xʃkərk.*

šolt -iŋ y.

1. Roof (external view), Kho. *istan.*
2. Eyelash.

(This word was originally recorded as *šoxt*).

šorqum, pl. x *-išu*, y *-iŋ* wide, broad, loose.

ʃu-. V. *ʃi-.*

šuva good; good! 400.6,11, 402.5, 406.20, 412.8.

413b

OOO *šum, šum* bad, evil. 410.5, 414.1. Kho. *švqa -mo* x "choga", cloak.

T, TH, T.

tha x hundred, hundred.

tah, pl, *-əmo* x leopard.

thʌle x seven.

tʌmʌŋ, tamʌŋ y pl. bridle.
(Cp. Hz. Bu. *tʌbʌŋ*).

-thʌn, pl. *-thaiyu* x front part of top of head. — *thʌn* point, top (of an object). 408.8.

tʌndurust in good health. 412.17. Prs.

tʌŋ constricted, distressed. 402.3,9. Prs.

thʌp y night.

t'ʌti, pl. *-štəro* hm father, 406.6, 410.2 ff.
(Cp. Kho. *tʌt*).

tauts, pl. *taučiŋ* y foot wrapper of strips of skin, "taoti".

tauza well, in good health. 412.16. Prs.

tai- (?) to begin, proceed to. Takes the dependent verb in the *-š* form.
Pret. sg. 3. hm. *tai*.
pl. 3. h *tai(y)en*. (Vernac Ma. *taven*).
mahtaj mʌniš tai.i he began to be in want. 410.7. *dəγeresiš tai* he proceeded to question. 412.14. *ne hilikiniš tai* he began to entreat him. 412.19. *xušani etiš tai'y)en* they began to make merry. 412.12.

tai.i, təi.i, tai.e thus. 402.8,10, 404.10,14.

təi.i.a, təi.iya in like manner. 402.16, 406.13. (*tai.i* + Dat. suffix *-a*).

te, te y sg. Demons. Pron. and Adj. that one, it, that. V. § 515.
Pron. 404.14. Adj. 402.1,2,8, 404.11, 408.8.

te other, else.
(Cp. Hz. Bu. 2. *thi*).

temen any other. 404.1. (*te* + *men*).

tešk -ʌŋ, -ai.iŋ y dagger, knife.

414a

000 *ʈeʈ'ɛ -šku* x rope.

te(y)ɛn they took oath.

Pret. pl. 3. h of (*-*l*)*te*-(?).

Cp. Ppa. *nu·lte*.

nɛ nɛs te(y)ɛn kʌ . . . his men took oath that . . . 408.6.

(Cp. Hz. Bu. *te·š* oath, which may be the *-š* form of the same verb).

thi-, *thi·č-* to pour. — *mʌmu bɛsɛ thim bʌm?* why had you poured (put) in milk? 406.22.

tili.ʌŋ, *tili ɛŋ* sg. and pl. y saddle.

to· there. 402.13, 410.5.

to·lɛ, *to·lə* there.

to·lʊm from there, thence. 402.6,13.

tom tree.

t'orum z ten.

thoš, pl. xy *thow'a·*, *tu(w)'a* new, fresh. 406.7,10.

toti, pl. *-mu* x parrot. 400.1 ff. pl. 402.1,2. H.

tu(w)'a y pl. of *thoš*.

thum, *thʊm* other than, contrary to. 412.20.

tu·mʌl. V. *-*ltumʌl*.

ʈuŋʈʌŋ very dark. —

tur -i.ʌŋ, *-i.ɛŋ* y horn.

Ts, Ts.h.

ts.hʌn-, *-ts.hʌi(y)-* to reckon, count, account, consider.

Pret. sg. 3. hm *tsʌni*. 408.2.

ts.hərə-, *ts.hɛrə-*, *ts.hɪrə*. Pres. Base of *nɛ-* to go. V. § 538.

Pres. Base + *a tsərə·γa*. 412.18.

Fut. sg. 1. *tsərə·m*. 410.13.

(Vernac. Ms. *ts.hɛrə·m*, *ts.hɛrə·γa*).

tsɛ x pl. Demons. Pron. and Adj. those ones, they, those. V. § 515.

Pron. 400.11, 402.2,3,8.

Adj. 402.1,2.

-tsɛ. Case suffix: on; with, in possession

414 b

of. — *na·lːsɛ horu·ti* he sat down in the shade. 400.15. 000

(Cp. Hz. Bu. *sa·ʌtsɛ* in the sun).

ja·tsɛ, gotsɛ, nɛtsɛ, momotsɛ, m'imitsɛ, mamʌtsɛ with me, in my possession, etc.

1. *tsɛči, tsɛči* after. — *ja aiyu·rum tsɛči* after my dying. 406.5.
2. **-tsɛči* behind.

tsɛk, tsɛk, tsɛq. Conditional etc. particle following verb. V. §§ 531, 547. Recorded 400.2,3, 405.2, 406.9,10. (*tsɛqɛ*). 412.22.

tshɛl -iŋ y water.

tsɛndɛ, ts'ɔndi z five.

tsɛgɪr sg. and pl. x she-goat.

ts.hor early. 400.1, 404.15.

tsuḷum, pl. x *-išo*, y *-iŋ* heavy.

(Cp. Hz. Bu. *tsu·m*).

-tsum. Abl. suffix. 400.10, 410.2.

ts.hur-, ts hor-. Pres. Base of *ẓo-* to come. V. § 539.

Pres. Base + *a tsura, tsura* on its coming. 402.2, on their coming. 406.12. *anum tsurum ba?* where are you coming from?

1. *tsu-, tsuč-* } to take away. Ppa.
2. **-tsu-*, **-tsuč-* } (with Pn.pf. *i-*?). *nitsu*. 402.11, 406.23.

W.

wʌγda, wa·γda, pl. *-iŋ* y condition, undertaking, pledge. 404.5. (*wʌγda* is the Kho. form for Ar. *wa'da*).

wʌxt y time, occasion. 402.6, 406.1,3. — *te wʌxt* at that time, then. Ar. Prs.

1. *wʌḷ* male.
2. **-wʌḷ-*, **-wʌlč-* to fall. Ppa. *nyu·ʌl*. 402.4,9. V. § 542.

wʌlt ʌltər, waltɛ altər eighty.

w'altɛ, wa·lt-, wʌlt- z four.

**-wa·lu-*, **-wa·ḷoč-* to become lost, be

lost. — *wa·lʊm bʌm* he was lost *or* had become lost. 412.11, 414.6. V also § 512. 000

wʌši-, *wɛši-*; *wʌšč-* to throw down, put down, put on.

Pret. pl. 2. and 3. hm *wʌši.ɛn*.406.14,15.

Pret. pl. 1. neg. *ai.ɛwɛšim bʌn*. 406.16.

(Recorded only with x sg. objects; with x pl. objects *gu-* appears to be used; with y sg. and pl. objects *gi-* and *biša-* have been recorded).

wʌz'ir hm Wazir, connsellor. 406.11.

wɛ, *wɛ* h pl. Pers. Pron. and Demons. Adj. and Pron. they, those ones, those. 406.15, 412.12. (Cp. *uɛ*).

Y.

*-*ya* own. Possessive Adj. denoting "own", or referring to subject of the sentence: *aiya* my own. 410.13, 412.22.

gu·ya, *gu·i.a* thy own, thine own. 412.2, 414.4. *i·a* his (own). 400.13,14, 402.6,10, 410.4. *muya* her (own). 408.16.

These forms correspond to the Hz. Bu. adjectives in *-imo*, in which *i* = self and *-mo* is an adj. ending.

yʌkʌl, *yɛkʊl*, *-*yʌkʌl* (in) the direction of, towards:

ja yʌkʌl, *ja ayʌkʌl* towards me.

go yʌkʌl towards thee. *Hunzɛ yʌkʌlə gʌla* I went off in the direction of Hunza. *ja yɛkʊltsʊm* from my direction, i.e. on my part, from me. 400.10.

yʌltʌr, *yʌltaʊr* by the lower way, from below. (Cp. *mʌdaʊl*).

yʌltaʊr, pl. *-ɛ* lower edge of field.

*-*yʌn-*, *-*yɛn-*; *-*yai(y)-* to take, get, purchase.

Pres. Base Verbal Noun *yaiyʊm*. 400.14.

Pret. sg. 3. hm *yɛni*. 400.13,14.

415 b

000 Perf. sg. 1. *yænʌm ba.*
Impv. sg. 2. *yʌn.*
Ppa. *niva.* 400.14.
With hf sg. obj. *nvmuya*; with x pl. obj. *nuya.*
(This verb is used with objects of all categories as there is no equivalent in W. of the Hz. Bu. *gʌn-ʌs'*.

yanis, pl. *y'anuka* equal to, like, H. *bərabər.* 408.15.

1. *yavr* friend, fellow. 400.10. Prs.
2. *yavr* Postpos. under, beneath. 400.15.

*-*yavr-*, *-*yavrč-* v.t. to graze, pasture. — *belišu uyavrča tshuyen* they took the sheep away to graze them.

yavrbulto the day before yesterday.

1. *yavre* Postpos. beneath, under. Cp. 2. *yavr.* 406.15,23.
Adv. down, below.
2. *-(y)avre beneath. — *ai.avre* beneath me. 406.14. *eši.avra* under his neck. 412.4.

*-*yavrɪki*, *-*yavreki* y pl.; d. pl. -ʒ under bedding. — *ai.avreki* my underbedding. 406.7. *guyavrɪki* thy underbedding. 406.13. *yʌvrɪki* his underbedding. 406.17.

y'ʌtʌl sg. and pl., also pl. *yʌtʌlɪšo*, female oorial.

yʌte, yete, yet Postpos. on, upon. 402.1, 404.5, 406.14, 408.13, 410.9.

*-*yætɪki* y pl.; d. pl. -ʒ upper-bedding. — *ai.etɪki* my upper-bedding. 406.7. *guyʌtɪki, go yætɪki* thy upper-bedding. 406.13.

yaiyum. V. *yʌn-.*

*-*ye*, *-*ye*, pl. *-*yu* hm son. — *aiye* my son. 412.11, 414.3. *guye* thy son. 414.1. *ye, ye, ive* his son. 400.5, 404.11, 406.6, 410.1 etc. *badša yen* a prince. 404.7.

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000 Dat. (*badīɜ nyu*) *yɛɣa* to the (king's elder) son. 406.12 etc. *yu* his sons. 410.1. *uyʲu* their sons. 404.5.

Forms otherwise recorded:

ja ayɛ.i; go guyɛ.i; nɛ eye; mi mi.e, pl. *mi miyu*.

*-*yɛk -iŋ* y name.

Sg. *aiyɛk* my name; *guyɛk* thy name; *nɛ yɛk* his name.

Pl. *mi.ɛkiŋ* our names; *ma.ɛkiŋ* your names; (*uɛ*) *uyɛkiŋ* their names.

yɛkul. V. *yʌkʌl*.

yɛni. V. *yʌn-*.

Yɛsin Yasin (name of district).

yɛʈ, yɛʈɛ. V. *yʌʃɛ*. 400.10, 404.5, 406.11.

*-*yʲɛʈis, -*yæʈis*, pl. *-*yæʈɪšo* x head. 404.4,6.

*-*yɛɪs-, -*its-; -*yɛš-, -*iš-* to see.

Ppa. *nivɛɪs, ni.ɛtsɛ*. 408.8, 412.4.

(The *-i-* in both forms is the Pn. Pf. 3rd sg. hmxy).

*-*yuhər, -tiŋ, -tin* hm husband. — *ja aiyuhər; go guyuhər; mo myuhər, muyuhər. uɛ uyuhər* sg. and pl. *uɛ uyuhərtiŋ* pl.

*-*yuɹ, -*yuɹč-* to die.

Pres. sg. 1. *aiyuɹčʌm ba*. 410.12.

Condit. sg. 3. x neg. *ai.ɛyuɹčum tsɪq*. 402.5.

Pres. Base + *a* sg. 3 x *yuɹča*. 402.4,10, 406.23.

Pret. sg. 3. x *yuɹi*. 402.4,9.

Plup. sg. 3. hm *yuɹum bʌm* he had died, or, St. Pc. he was dead. 412.11, 414.5.

St. Pc. sg. 1. *ja aiyuɹum* (-*ʌm*?) *tsɛči* after my having died. 406.3.

sg. 3. x *yuɹum*. — *se yuɹum toɹti* that dead parrot, that parrot that has died. 402.13.

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Z.

zʌmaʷna times. 400.1, 404.1. Ar. 000
Prs.
zʌmiʷn land, earth. Prs.
zail y sort, kind, manner. 406.11.

Ž.

ža. Variant of *ja*, of me, mine. 414.3.
(Vernac. Ms. *jaʷ*).
ǯʌkʲun, pl. *ǯʌkʲuyo* x donkey.

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ʒʌndo, V. *jʌndo*, alive, living.412.11, 414.5. 000

(Vernac. Ms. *j-*. V.s.v. Bu. *jiʷndo*

ʒiŋ'ε -čiŋ y sleeve.

ʒo- to come. Pres. Base *ts.hʊr-*, *ts.hur-*.

Past Base 1. *dᵉ-*, *dᵉ-ʌ-*.

2. *ʒo-*.

From the latter are formed:

1. Impv. *ʒo, ʒu*, pl. *ʒoʷiŋ*.
2. Impf. *ʒo ʒo bʌm*.
3. -*ʃ* Form *ʒoʷʃ*.

V. paradigm § 539.

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Aba Čuxtuŋ. 102.17.
Aba Dumbu, Ab'Adumbu. 102.2, 108.5, 144.6, 146.18 ff.
Aba Kituŋ, Aba Kituŋ. 102.13, 110.22 ff., 144.7.
Abdul MutAlib. 88.22 ff.
Abul Fani. 380.20.
Abul Fais. 380.20.
Aiš Maiyuri Tham v. *Aiyeršo M. T.*
Aγa Xan. The Āghā Khān, the spiritual head of the Maulāi (i. e. Isma'ili) sect, 314.14, 330.5.
Ali.abad. A large, scattered village in Hunza. 4 miles downstream from Bāltīt on the right bank of the river. 296.6, 238.11, 240.9 ff., 318.4, 352.11.
Ali.abadkuts. The people of Aliābād. 318.9, 350.2.
AlqAš. Wazir of King Kubād. 48.1 ff., 82.22.
Altit, Alti. A village in Hunza about a mile east of Bāltīt, on the right bank of the river. It has an old fort, now unoccupied, and is said to have been originally the capital of the country.
Altitum belonging to Āltīt. 322.9.
Kisar is said to have lived at one time in Āltīt. 142.22.
Altīt is the scene of celebrations connected with various festivals. 186.10, 208.6, 238.1, 318.3, 330.8.
Altitkuts, Altikuts. The people of Āltīt. 318.8, 330.8, 350.1.
Aman i Mulk. The "Great Mehtar" of Chitral, died in 1892. 344.12.
Angrez, Angriz. English, British.
Sarkar Angrez. The British, or British-Indian Government, British Authorities. 196.9, 344.18.
AqtAš. 290.1. (Turki: *Aq*, white; *tAš*, stone).
ArAb. Arab; Arab country. 88.23.
AsAdullah Big. A Wazir of Hunza, son of Pūno Wazīr. 344.2, 352.7 ff.
AštAne. Name of a man. 382.6.

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Ata.abad. A village in Hunza about 10 miles upstream from Bāltīt on the right bank of the river. 348.12.

Azer. Chitrāl(?).

Azer Jamšed v. *Hazir Jamšed*

Azuwarski (*baš*). The Chitrāli (language), i.e. Khowār.

Aiyešo Malik. 218.1 ff.

Aiyešo Maiyuri Tham, Aiyeš M. T., Aiš M. T. 238.8 ff., 236.7, v. entry *Boxa Tham* and Biddulph "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh" pp. 27—8.

I, *I.*

Ibrahim Paiγamber. The "Prophet" Abraham. 92.3.

Iram. Persia. 34.5 ff.

Irkši. A nullah between Bāltīt and the Haidarābād Nullah. 268.3.

Iršad, Iršad. A pass at the head of the Chupūrsan Valley connecting Hunza and Wakhān. 284.17, 344.13.

Iskander Azemo, Iskander Badša. Alexander the Great. He is supposed to have visited Hunza, and according to one story two Hunza personages, Dīram Tītang and Dīram Moghul are said to have been in his company.

The terms "*baba*" and "*zizi*" are said to date from his time. 208.3.

Islam. 92.6.

Iškašum. The district of Ishkāshim. 332.5,

Iškuk. A locality in the Chupūrsan Valley, a few miles below the shrine of Bābā Ghwundi. 280.3.

Captain C. J. Morris was given the name as "*Yashkuk*", v. JRGS Vol. LXXI, No. 6, June 1928.

U, Ū.

Ultar, Ūltar. The grazing ground inside the Bāltīt Nullah. Explained as *wl(o)* + *ter* "the inside grazing ground", in which case the expression, *Ultare ter.* 256.1 is tautological. *Ultare Bar* the Ūltar Nullah. 292.2. *ultarun* from Ūltar. 248.9, 256.8.

These grounds originally belonged to the Hamachātīng tribe of Ganish, but they were eventually dispossessed in favour of the Khūrukuts, Barātalīng and Dirāmitīng. Later they were appropriated by the Thams of Hunza. 226.1, 246.9,20, 256.1 ff., 350.3.

Ūsengots, Ūsemots, Ūsengumots, Hussengots. Name of the tribe who originally occupied Āltīt, but were destroyed by Shābōs. 236.2,8.

Some survivors are included in the Rōno caste.

According to one account they are reputed to have been left in Hunza, along with the Hamachātīng and the Tapkhients, by Alexander the Great "when on his way back from China". 238.2,10.

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Uyum Das. "The Big Plain", described as "an open space between Nagir and Ālti and near the latter". Perhaps the tongue of land in the bottom of the valley between the Hunza and Nagir rivers, just above their junction, is the place referred to. 204.11.

B.

Baba Iwundi. The name of a Muslim saint (in full: B. I. Merd Wali) and of the locality of his grave and shrine, near the head of the Chupūrsan Valley. For further particulars v. 284.10 and 286.19 ff.

Stone suitable for whetstones, and also lead ore and coloured earths are said to be found in the neighbourhood.

Balowki (baf). Balti (language). v. *Balo.*

(Cp. Sh. *Pale* Baltistan, *Pulerye* (adj). Balti).

Baltit, Baltit. The capital of Hunza, situated at the mouth of the Ūltare Bar on the cultivated terrace which extends 5 or 6 miles westwards to the Hasanābād Nullah. It is on the right bank of the Hunza River, roughly level with where it is joined by the Nagir River, but at some distance from the river and some hundreds of feet above it.

The dominating feature is the Mir's residence, a fort said to have been built five or six hundred years ago by people from Bāltistān. This stands on an elevation and the huts of the lesser inhabitants cluster below it.

The situation is a strong one, as behind it rise the mountains which are practically impassable, and on the East there is a perpendicular drop of some hundreds of feet to the bed of the Ūltar stream.

On the further (E.) side of the latter stream there is also a cultivated terrace, at the further end of which Ālti stands, but this terrace is at a considerably lower elevation than the site of Bāltit.

Abl. *Baltittum.* 208.5, 186.3, *Baltitum.* 212.21.

Adj. *Baltitum.* 258.1.

Loc. *Baltitule.* 250.1.

Hunze *Baltit.* Bāltit in Hunza. 276.12.

The Seed-Sowing festival. 208.1 ff.

Water Supply. 250—252.

Water Supply, increased by Saiyid Shāh Wali. 292.

Clans at Bāltit. 252.19, 238.1, 246.23, 270.5.

Celebration of Nauroz. 216—218, of Giuāni. 326 ff.

Baltitkots. The people of Bāltit. 318.7, 350.2.

Bayi Kotow. A clan settled in Shimshāl. 272.12.

Bawi Dan. A tract at Khalbar (in the Upper Hunza valley), lying to the South of the "Northern Gate". 232.2.

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Bartok. Name of a man. 88.13 ff.
Barti. Name of a man. 272.9, 274.8.
Barziw. Name of a man. 88.9.
Bast i Jamal. Name of a man. 48.1.
Basti Kutow. Name of a clan settled in Shimshāl. 272.3,14.
Balo. Bāltistān. 384.19. (Cp. *Balowki* and Sh. *Pale*).
Baloṭa. Bāltis, people of Bāltistān. 274.7.
Baltistan. Bāltistān. 274.1,6.
Bani Hatim. The family of the Prophet Muḥammad. 92.2.
Bape. A son of the Tham, Ghazan Khān. 344,11.
Bar'ataḷa. The territory of the Barātaling clan. 200.1.
Bar'ataling, Barataling. One of the "Four Clans of Bālti". Shadun Kapūri was a Barātaling woman married to a man of the Khūrukuts v. 258.3.
Kulio Laskir (200.9) was of this tribe.
At one time they shared the Ūltar grazing-grounds with the Khūrukuts and the Dirāmiting. 258.5.
Dances at marriage festivals. 302.9.
Barbar. Name of a place in Ūltar(?).
Cave. 226.7. Irrigation Channel. 250.3. 252.6.
Barda. Name of the Wazir of Shiri Badat. 394.4,19.
Basaṇ Gaizri. A former Tham of Nagir. 276.1 ff.
The name is also given as *Masaṇ*.
Batawa. Nullah and glacier which debouch from the West into the valley of the Hunza River just above Pasu.
B'eriło, sg. *Beriła*, an alien people, calling themselves *Dum'a*, who are settled in small numbers in Hunza and Nagir. They serve the community as blacksmiths and musicians. They have an Indo-Aryan language of their own, but also speak Burushaski fluently. [563]
B'eriḷa. The territory of the Bāriche. 250.11.
Bibi Anjir. Name of a woman. 364.10.
Bidiro Mal. The "Round Field", a field belonging to the village of Sumalyar. 196.9.
Bir'aldo Bar. A valley and glacier, formerly traversable, between Shimshāl and Bāltistān. For present conditions v. "Unknown Karakorum" by R. C. F. Schomberg. 1936.
Boro Tham. A king of Hulbaiyāl (Hunza). He is mentioned with Shāh Tham, Nōni Tham and Lali Tham as contemporaneous kings (or members of the ruling family?) of Hunza, expelled and supplanted by Kisar. 142.16.
Biddulph, in his genealogical table of the Nagir and Hunza royal families ("Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh", p. 135) begins with

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Neori thum.
|
Bookha thum.
|
Shet thum.
|
Lalli thum.
|
Maiyrao thum.
|
Meghlot. — Girkin.

The authorised version of the Hunza family at the present day is:
Shah Malik (descended from Azur Jamshēd).
|
Trakhan. — Chilis Khān. — Shah Tham. — Bukho Tham. — Lali Tham.

Girkin (Tham of Hunza). — Meghlot (Tham of Nagir).
|
Maiyāri. — Nūr Bēgum.
|
Ayusho.

551 *Boryo.* V. Vocab. s.v. *hwin.*
103 *Boryo Gal.* "The Bōyo Juniper Tree". 214.2.
Brunghaqurdowo. The name of a supernatural Golden Calf, birth of 104.22, hunting of 120.22, 124.2, 122.9 ff., death of 134.5. (In Sh. *dowo* = bull).
Burz Gan. "The Cow's Head", name of a track leading out of Ūtar above Bāltit. 248.1.
Burbali Gas. Princess Bābuli — a Princess of Halhaiyūl married by Kisar. 142.21 ff. Proposal that Kisar should marry her. 164.1.
Burbalimuting. Bābuli's Peak; name of a mountain peak in the form of an aiguille, close to Bāltit and to the N. W. of it. Pronounced:
Burbali Muting, but the *-mu-* is the fem. gen. suffix, not the Pa.pf. with *ting* peak. 142.28.
Budol's Kstow. Name of a 'dan in Gulmit. 272.18.
Bulidas. Name of a locality in Gojhāl near Gulmit. 298.9.
(Probably *bul* + *di* (= *ti*) + *das* the open ground at the spring).
Bultotsko. 1. Name of a man who stole gold from a *daqaldhas.* 204.1 ff.
2. (*Bultotsko*) name of a man who knew the language of birds and fetched Samalik to succeed Hazir Jamshēd as Tham of Gilgit. 256.4,6.
Bul Daw. A place near Gilgit. 282.21, 256.5,6.
Burl Mal. "Spring-Field", name of a piece of land near Bāltit. 248.12.
Bulwki. Name of a Hamachāting girl who married Dtram Chōram, the sole survivor of the Tapkhiāns, and so originated the Dishāting. 248.18 ff.

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Bulaki-yal kor, "Bulāki's-path Cave", where she rescued her family. 346.6. 103
Burlain. Name of a gorge up in the mountains above Haidarābād. 551
Burbshu from Bālūn. 270.1, 350.5.
Burushki. Name of a boy. 270.2.
Burmiḷṭan. Name of the twin-brother of Pragrhu (Kisar). 119.20, 144.16 ff.
Death of 150.21.
Buri Bun. Name of a place, the "Silver Boulder". 234.2.
Buri Kotor. Name of a clan in Gulmit. 272.15.
Burundu Bor. The "Ring Nullah", a tributary nullah on the left bank of the Hunza River a few miles above Bālūt.
Burug. One of the "Four Clans" of Bālūt. 268.1, 270.6, 302.8.
Burugāla. The territory of the Burug Clan.
Burum Mur(ṣi). The "White Mud-Flood" at Alīābād. 240.7,15.
Burum Pfut. The "White Div." 2.7 ff.
Burušaski, Burušaski, Burušaski. The language of the Burūshu of Hunza and Nagir. I have been unable to get confirmation in either Hunza or Nagir of the term "Bauriāki" used by Biddulph.
Burushaski is spoken in Nagir above Ghulmit. For its distribution in Hunza see Introduction Vol. I, p. XXXIV, where the facts given are mainly derived from the Census material of 1931. I was previously told (in 1924) that Burushaski was also spoken in Khaibar and Sost in Hirbar, and Rāmīnj in Chupūrsan.
Burušo, Burušo, Burušo, sg. *Burušin*. The people in Hunza and Nagir whose first language is Burushaski. They call themselves by this name. It is denied that the Burushaski-speaking people of Hunza and Nagir call themselves, or their language, "Yeshkun", as stated by Conway ("Climbing in the Himalayas", pp. 242—3) Classification of the Burūshu as "Yeshkun" by Biddulph (T. H. K. p. 38) is not supported by local practice, as indeed he admits. 101
At the present day the appelation *Yaśkun* appears to be used only in differentiating the two main elements of the Shina-speaking population of the Gilgit and neighbouring regions, viz. the *Šin* and the *Yaśkun*. See, however, the entries *yrd* and *Yrdkuyu* in the Vocabulary, from which it would appear that a more general use of the term could be justified.
The word *Burušo* may be compared with the first element of the words *Wirāgunu*, and *Wirāhunu* (*Wirāhunu*), the Khowar terms for Yasin and the Yasin dialect of Burushaski respectively. The Burushaski speakers of Yasin call themselves "Burūshu", and their language "Burushaski".
Sarat Chandra Das gives Tibetan "*Bru-śaṅ*" and "*Bru-śaṅ*" as "the name of a country N. W. of Tibet".
Cp. also Jāṭhka, "*Bru-ta*", "*Bru-ta*".
Burur Jambur. A corruption of the Persian name, Buzurjmihr. 55.2 ff.
Buzurjmihr. 56.18 v. preceding entry.

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Č and Čh.

103 *Čarrāmbi Kotor.* Name of a clan in Galmīt. 272.18.

551 *Čaça Har.* Name of a place near Ga' ıIt. 336.9.

Čhalt. Name of a village in the lower part of Nagir, situated in a considerable open tract of ground on the right bank of the river, where it turns to the south. 276.4.

Čaman Gul. Name of a place near Galmīt. 336.6.

Čangi H'irpal. Name of Pangchu's (alias, Kisar's) horse. 122.7, 124.3, 156.17, 162.16.

Čaprot. Name of a nullah and settlement in lower Nagir. The nullah debouches from the West into the main valley at Chhalt. It provides the water for Chhalt cultivation. 228.1. 227.12.

Čhal Gazi, Črhal Gazi x. The "Forty Yards", name of a Jinn or Dīv who lived at Khaibar. 222.1 ff.

The measurement perhaps refers to his stature, but in that case his seven cubit stick would be too short. Prs.

Čīn. China, Chinese territory. 344.21, 386.20.

Čitraw. Chitrāl. 344.15, 346.1.

Čoro Nur Ša. Nūr Shā, son of Chōro. 296.5.

Čupursan, Čupurran y. An open valley leading down from the Chilinji and Irshad Passes, and proceeding eastwards till it joins the valley of the Hunza River above Gircha. 280.1, 284.13 ff., 384.13.

Čuram. V. Dīram Chūram.

D.

Daiyor. Sh. *Dāiyor*, a place on the left bank at the junction of the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers, close to Gilgit. 380.21.

Dadi. Name of a Bilas who lived at Hīndi. 192.1 ff.

Daltar Manuko. A son of Sīng of Hīndi. 260.13 ff.

(In Sh. *manuko* = frog).

Dantsirle Bum. The "Sulphur-Boulder", at Murtazābād.

Darbeło. Son of Pfaqīr 'Ali. 180.2 ff.

Daltaman Xurdik. Fifth son of Dīram Chūram. 246.4.

Datu Sing. Name of the man who succeeded to Khamar's land. 252.18.

Datu Singuts, his descendants.

Dīqonī Pīr, Dekkan Pīr. The prophet Khizr. 328.7, 332.3.

Dismar. Local name of the mountain. Nanga Parbat. The form in Sh. is *Diamar.* 134.9.

Diramīšale, Dir'amīšale. The territory of the Dirāmitīng clan. 216.6.

619 *Diramitiṇ, Dir'amitiṇ.* Name of one of the "Four Clans" of Bāltīt, among whom they take precedence. They were said to number about 100 households (excluding the Tharakuts section?).

These four clans are individually exogamous, but intermarry with each other. Endogamy is said formerly to have entailed penalties and expulsion.

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619 Nowadays though rare, it does not appear to be penalised. The Four Clans are not now confined to Hūnzā, but also form part of some of the Thūkots settlements.

The Dirāmiting are the descendants of Diran Chīrwa, the sole survivor of the Thapkiūts (V. 346.33 and 350 ff.) and are spoken of as the "seed", i.e. descendants, of the original population of Hunza. 349.1.

They are said to have resided originally in Shīshpar, where they succeeded no doubt to the lands of the Thapkiūts, but to have also cultivated land in Hūnzā which is now their headquarters.

At the time of the quarrel between the Khīrokots and the Hamachāling they were still living in Shīshpar, but after acting as arbitrators they obtained rights in Ūtar. 358.4 ff.

Derbish, who had the adventure with Mīnaluw Dāīo (190.2), was a member of the Dirāmiting, who at that time also were resident in Shīshpar.

A member of the clan in later days was Karamu Derbish. 214.1.

The mention of the Dirāmiting at 239.3 appears to be anachronistic.

For the part played by the Dirāmiting at the *Sopīna* V. 269—72, at the annual celebration of marriages. 300.18, and 303.7, at the Ōdi. 322.

The Dirāmiting are not liable to do gold-washing. 349.1 ff.

103 *Dev Khan.* Name of a village adjoining Allāhād on the East.

551 *Dumrai.* A mountain in Nagir to the fourth of Ghulmit the "Rakapushi" of the map.

Dunya Mīra. Father-in-law of Khar's mother. 100.5 ff.

F.

Faiza. Son of Wazīr Amānullah Beg. 344.4.

G.

Gem Sīngu. A reincarnation of Shāmilīwa. 174.20.

Galdag Gaipa. The name of a "Pūri" or demon. 174.18.

(Cp. Tib. *rgyal-po*, king).

Gulmit. The principal village in Gujhāl, or Hūnza. It is situated on the right bank of the Hunza River about 20 miles above Hūnzā. The inhabitants are of Wakhi origin and talk Wakhi as their first language.

For the Gulmitum Rīwa, the clans of Gulmit, v. 371.

Ganā, Gawā, Gowā. One of the three original villages of Hunza, the other two being Hūtīt and Ālīn.

It is situated on a terrace below and to the south of Hūnzā, between it and the Hunza River. According to one account it was founded by Shīshkīn, a lame man of the Khīrāt. It was occupied by the Hamachāling before the time of Azar Jamshād. 298.1 ff., 299.2.

Gawāwa. Abl. and Adj. 346.30, 352.9.

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Baibustiki's grave at. 206.15.
Bilas at. 190.1 ff.
Diram Chiwan. 244.10 ff.
Trangh at. 318.2.
Twin Calves. 354.1 ff.
Water Supply. 332.10 ff.
Ashland's descendants. 291.7.

Ganilkin. The people of Ganish. 316.5, 310.1.

Ganinger. A locality in the mountain range which separates the Hunza and Nagir Rivers for some miles before their junction, and opposite Aliabád. 204.3, 206.8.

Gar'ell. A village close to the right bank of the Hunza River, below and level with Haidarabad. 204.2, 206.4. Marble is said to be found there.

Gar'ellow Hewy. The "Garelt Tribe", a name applied to certain water-birds, black with long beaks, that sit and fly in lines (cormorants?), said to have been originally human inhabitants of Garelt. 206.12.

Garib. A man of the Dirbuzling Clan. 199.5.

G'arwah'alwan, Gar Mahal Man. The name of a goldsmith and blacksmith. 102.19 ff. (Cp. perhaps Tib. *sgar* smith).

Gilit, Gilt. y Gilgit.

gelo Gilitimen. From this Gilgit (here). 204.1.
Gilitiwa Thamma. The Gilgit Thama. 240.7.
Gil'it Yatkoni. The Gilgit Yatkoni. 222.6.
Gil'ytar. To Gilgit. 222.11.
Gilt-ulo, -ar, -i, -ifar. 274.1, 276.9, 286.9,10, 292.10.
(Sh. *Gil'et, Gilt-*).

[175] *Gorlen.* The first Thum of Hunza after the political separation of Hunza and Nagar. His brother Maghlit similarly became the first Thum of Nagar. They are the immediate progenitors of the two existing Royal Families.

Shiddalph gives the parents of the brothers as Moiyoo Thum and a daughter of Trakhan, himself a descendant of Tahi Bodai's daughter and Azur Jamshid. In genealogical tables in my possession they are variously shown as the sons of Shá Thum and Lali Thum. The claims of the latter are at present favoured.

Cp. the entry under *Bazar Thum* above, Siddalph T. H. K. pp. 24, and 195, and the addendum to the notes on Text XLVII.

Gorlar. A man's name. 304.15.

Gu.roki. Adj. Wakhi. *gu.roki* (ber) the Wakhi language.

Gu'ts, pl. *Gu'rts.* Wakhi (man). 338.9.

Gur.al'i. Name of a locality and small village on the Nagar and Gilgit-Wazirat boundary, on the right bank of the Hunza River between Chalt and Nomal. Alt. *Gur.alim, Gur'alitum.* 276.5.

Guy o Bum. "Gúyo's Boulder" near Gonish, Gúyo being the name of a man. 196.16.

Γ.

103 *Γωτι Κωω.* The name of a clan settled in Shimshāl. 272.14.
551 *Γωωω.* The name of a man. 384.1.
Γωωωιγ. The name of a man.
γιλωωιγιγ γωωωωω Γωωωιγ, Gh. the paste-fuller.
γωωιγγωω ωωωωωωω Γωωω Γωωωιγ (you are) Gh. son of Γωωω, who work yourself to death for others, i.e. you are a self-sacrificing altruist.
Γωωω Κωω. 1. A former Thum of Hunza, father of the present Mir, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khān. He was murdered at the instigation of his eldest son, Safdar 'Ali, who succeeded him. 344.8,14.
2. The present Mir's eldest son and heir.
Γωωω Κωω. The name of a place. 368.9.
Γωωωγ. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river, between Nilt and Minapin. 294.22, 276.2.
Γωωωιωωω. The people of Ghulmit. 294.21.
Γωωω Κωω. The name of a man of the Ghulwāting. 300.10,13 note.
Γωωωιγ. A section of the Burdaj Clan, whose ancestor is said to have come from Punjāl, or, according to others, from Gōr. The living (1934) notables, Muhammad Rafi' and Zarparast belong to it. 200.10.
Γωωω, Γωωω. A place stated as being in Wakhān. 286.21.
(Perhaps Ghōrd in Shughnān is intended).
Γωωω. The name of a woman. 272.11.

H.

Hωωωω Βωωω. Name of a supernatural being. 260.10.
Hωωωω Jωωωωω, Αωωω Jωωωωω. Supplanter and successor of Shāh Rafat as King of Gilgit. An ancestor of the present Royal Families of Hunza, Nagar and Gilgit. 280.20.
Hωωωω. Abyssinia. 66.4.
Hωωωωω. Name of a place in Nagar, below the Phekar terrace and to the East of it. 294.4.
619 *Hωωωωωιγ.* 1. The name of one of three original tribes of Hunza (the other two being the *Γωωωω* and the *Γωωωωωω*) who, according to one tradition, were left behind by Alexander the Great when "on his return journey from China". They were established in Ganiish before the Azar Jamshēd Thums came to power. They were almost exterminated by Khōrum Thum. The survivors are now represented by the Ilūm caste of Gilgit.
They owned Ūtar until they quarrelled with, and were dispossessed by, the Khōrukuto. 268.2.
Cp. 268.19, 298.2, 244.12 *ff.*, 236.2,7, 302.10.

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2. Said to be the name given in Nagar and Yasin to the Rōno caste of Gilgit, who are represented in Chitrāl by the Zundra.

H'amati. An irrigation channel, carrying water from the Ūltar Nullah, which supplies Ganish. 352.10.

Hamza. Son of 'Abdu'l Mugalib. 88.22.

Hanisawi. The name of the Gilgit River. 382.20. V. Vocab. s.v. *Hanizawi.*

Hanuman Muro. The name of a mountain in Shishpar which has a high grassy spur. 180.2.

Perhaps *hanuman*, alone, isolated + *muro* stump.

Hararfuq. The name of a track, leading from Ganish and passing above Bāltit into the Ūltar Nullah. From a note it appears that it is to be taken as 2. *haray* + *fuq* = the "Track of the Tribe", i.e. of the Hamachāting. 248.2, 258.2.

Hor'ory, pl. *Hora'indoro*, and perhaps *Haraipo* (? Biddulph), a term applied to the original independent tribes of Hunza.

V. s.vv. *Hamachāting*, *Hararfuq*, and cp. *Gorellom Haray.*

Horti, Hortu. The water-course issuing from the Ultar Nullah, immediately to the East of Baltit. 352.8,12.

Hor'oli. A locality 3 or 4 miles West of Gilgit on the left bank of the Gilgit River. 378.1.

Horuq Galoq. The mountain side above Ashūr Dās in Nagar, to the West of Somaiyar. 198.3,8.

Hori Sig. A man of the Dirāmiting, son of Mōko, son of Pūno, son of Garib. He was an old man in 1922. 211.21.

Hassanabad. A village at the mouth of a nullah called after it, which debouches into the main Hunza valley on the north side about 6 miles West of Bāltit. It marches with Aliābād on the East. The nullah is now, except at the lower end, filled by a glacier, but it is said that it was formerly warmer and that there was no glacier. The Shishpar Nullah is a tributary of the Hassanābād Nullah. 239.3.

Hazrat Sulimanu. King Solomon, who according to Muslim authorities "inherited from David the gift of prophecy and knowledge". 384.7.

Haidarabad. A village about 2 miles West of Bāltit. 318.3, 346.10.

Haidarabadkato. The people of Haidarābād.

Haibaiyul. The name of a country. Said to be the old name of Hunza. Alexander the Great is said to have brought his force through it. Seized by Kisar. 142.17.

It is explained as composed of "*hai hai*" an exclamation used to urge cattle along, and "*yul*" road.

Cp. T. *yul*, road.

Herbar, Her Bor. The Hunza valley from Gulmit upwards, officially known as Gojhāl. 336.2, 342.6.

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Hindi, Hini. A village in Hunza on the right bank of the river opposite Minapin and about 14 miles below Bāltit. The inhabitants are Ṣhēn. 192.1 ff., 260.1 ff.

Hindikuts. The people of Hindi. 196.5.

Hinzal. A village about 7 miles West of Gilgit on the right bank of the river. 384.13.

Horyul. The name of a country visited by Kisar. 142.23. It occurs in this form in the Ladakhi version of the Keaar Saga, while "hor" alone is used as the name of a country in the Tibetan version given by Madame David-Neel "The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling" (1933).

(W. Tib. *hor* Turks, *yul* country).

Huche Mātu. "Dog's Milk", the name of a famous "biṭan" of Hunza. 186.1 ff., 202.3.

It was stated in 1924 that a descendant of his, named Barak, was then living in Miagār, and that there was another in Bāltit, but that under pressure from the religious authorities they had ceased to practise as "biṭans".

This was probably exceptional and temporary, as between 1920 and 1924 I twice saw public displays by "biṭans" in Bāltit, and in 1935 in Aliābād a female candidate for recognition as a qualified "biṭan" gave a public demonstration of her powers.

Humayun Bēg. An able and distinguished Wazir of Hunza, son of Wazir Asadullah Beg and half-brother of Wazir Muhammad Thara Beg. He became Wazir when Muḥammad Naẓim Khān was installed as Mir in 1892 and continued in this office till his death in 1916.

Three sons by his first wife were prominent in Hunza in 1924. The eldest, Shukurullah Beg had succeeded him as Wazir, but had not inherited his personality or force of character. The second, 'Ināyatullah Bēg (IUB), acted as schoolmaster and provided me with a considerable number of Burushaski words in writing. The third, Imām Yār Beg, was a Jemadar in the Gilgit Scouts and a noted polo-player. Most of the material in this book I owe to him (IYB).

Circumstances have now altered. Imām Yār Bēg was murdered in Gilgit in 1934, and Shukurullah Beg was, I believe, deprived of his Wazirship in the end of 1935.

The family belong to the Tharakuts section of the Dirāmiting. 196.8, 344.10.

Hunza Nagar. The States of Hunza and Nagar. 344.2, 380.10.

Hunza, Hunzu y. The State of Hunza. In a strict geographical sense it seems to apply to the tract on the right bank of the river between Āltit and Murtazābād. The form "Hunza" is not normally used by the people of the country.

Hunzo Baltitulo. At Bāltit in Hunza. 238.1.

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Hunzo nokan. Seizing Hunza. 196.9

Hunzuncor. To Hunza. 294.13.

Hunzolo. In Hunza. 186.2.

Cp. 192.8, 200.1, 208.1, 214.4, 238.1, 276.12, 292.4 ff., 298 (title), 316.3, 320.1, 342.1, 344.17, 352.6,9, 354.1.

Hunzukots. The people of Hunza. 272.1, 296.4,8.

Hunzumo. Of, belonging to, residing in, Hunza.

Hunzumo ba. I am of Hunza. Cp. 274.3.

Hunzumo huy'es. The Hunza flocks. 322.1.

Hunzamo thamo. The Thams of Hunza. 266.20.

Hunzulum. From, belonging to, Hunza.

Hupar. Hopar, a place in Nagar; about 3 miles up the valley from Nagar village.

Huparum. Belonging to Hopar. 380.15.

Hurukūsals v. *Xurukūsals.*

Hurukots v. *Xurukots.*

Huscnots v. *Ūscnots.*

J.

Jamas. Jamasnama. The names of a man and of a book. 48.2.

(Pra. Jāmāsp, Jāmāspnāmak).

Jandu Šrkarri. A tower at Hindi. 102.2.

Jandu was elsewhere given as the name of a man of Hindi.

Jaturākots. A Clan said by IYB to have come to Hunza from Astor. At the present time they form a section of the Burōng.

K.

Kaŋ Jakun v. *Qaŋ Jakun.*

Kaŋgar Malik. A son of Shiri Badat. 388.10.

Kašgar. Kashgār. 386.19.

Kampire Dior. The name of a place in Chupūrsan. 286.15.

(Wkh. *kampir* old woman + *dior* settlement, village).

Karanu Darbal. An old man (in 1924) of the Dirāmitīng. 214.1 ff.

Karagalimuts. An aqueduct that carries water from Bāltīt to Karīmābād over the track that leads down to Bāltīt. 190.3.

(V. Vocab. s.v. *karagali*).

Karimabad. Land belonging to the Mir of Hunza on the spur below Bāltīt, where he has summer quarters, gardens and guest-houses. 350.4.

Karga. A nullah that debouches into the Gilgit Valley from the South, about three miles West of the Gilgit Fort. 222.11.

Kašmir. Kashmir. 254.1.

Kašmiri. Kashmiri; *Kašmiri baŋ* the K. language.

Katiš Malčuro. The name of a woman. 160.17 ff., 176.15.

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Kilik. The name of a Pass (15,600 ft.) leading from Hunza to the Taghdumbāsh Pamīr. It lies to the West of the Mintaka Pass. 252.23.

Kirgɪz, Kɪrɣɪz, Qɪrɣɪz. The Qirghiz. 290.2,5.

Kirm'in. A place in the lower half of the Chupūrsan Valley. 344.13.

Krsər. The hero of Text No. IV. The "Kesar" of the Ladākhi "Kesar Saga", the "Gesar" of Madame David-Neel's "The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling" (English Translation. Rider and Co., London 1933), and the "Bogda Gesser Khān" of the Mongolian Version. (V. introductory note to the text).

See also the entry *Paɣču*, which is his alias when in his inferior form.

When in Hunza, Kisar lived at Āltīt. 134.4, 142.18 ff., 152.8—160.20 174.4—178.2, 182.18 ff.

Krsər's pl. The Kisar Clan, Kisar's uncles. 110.21, 112.15, 114.5,10.

Kubad. Name of a King (of Persia).

Kulikuts. A family group descended from Kuli, the father of Kulio Laskīr.

Kuli.'o Lask'ir. Laskīr, son of Kuli, a famous Hunza "biṭan" of the Barātaling Clan. 198.1, 200.9.

(*Kuli.o* ought probably to be *Kuli.oy*.

-oy appears to be a recognised patronymic suffix).

X.

Xan WAli. A place in the Misgār region. 252.22.

Xarəz. Khārazm. 56.12, 58.7.

Xarəzəm sodAgər. A trader of Kh. 56.12.27.

XAmər. The name of a man. 250.1 ff.

Xərum BAt. The "Split Stone", below the Mir's quarters at Karīmābād, overlooking Ganish. 210.5, 352.12.

XAyu Bul ŠAbərɪn. A polo-ground which once existed in Shīshpar.

Xaibər. A village in Herbar (Upper Hunza) on the right bank of the river between Pasu and Gīrcha. It is approached from N. and S. by narrow passages called "Gates". 222.1, 224.4 ff.

Xairullah. A son of Wazīr Asadullah Beg. 344.3.

Xɪsrau. A Tham of Hunza. 236.7. In one genealogical table a Khisrau is shown as the grandfather of Girkis and Mughlōt, but in the authorised pedigree the only Khisrau shown is a direct ancestor of the present Mir (Muḥammad Nazīm Khān) in the fourth ascending generation. This makes the destruction of the Hamachātling a matter of recent history.

Xrtavi. Chinese Turkistan, or the inhabitants thereof. 344.23. V. also s.v. Šiskin.

Xoda.abad. A village in Upper Hunza at the junction of the Chupūrsan Valley with the main valley. 342.21, 352.18.

Xuri.As Bun. The name of a boulder situated in the lands of the Khūrukuts which extend downwards from the Bāltīt pologround. 200.14.

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Xuro, X'oro. The ancestor of the Khūrukuts. 250.1 ff.

Xuro Pfəri. "Khūro's Pond", a piece of open ground somewhere near Dudōur Murku. 276.13.

Xurukušals. The territory of the Khūrukuts Clan.

Xurukuts. One of the "Four Clans" of Bāltīt, the descendants of Khūro. The headquarters of the clan are still at Bāltīt, though nowadays there are Khūrukuts in some of the Thuānts villages. 252.19, 258.3, 302.8, 352.15.

Xoš Beg. The name of a man. 274.3.

Xuwats, Quwats. A mountain above Āltīt and in Āltīt territory. 212.6.

In regard to the note on the passage, *Xuwats* appears to be the form of the name by which the place is always referred to.

L.

Lakar(A)t. Sir William Lockhart, afterwards Commander-in-Chief in India. 344.20.

Lat Manat. The two idols worshipped by pre-Islamic Arabs. Mentioned in the Qurān, Sura LIII. 19. 96.12.

LAli Tham. A king of Haihaiyūl. 142.16. V. s.v. *Boxa Tham.*

LAmay. A place or country, variously said to be Bāltistān or Tibet. 100.1, 144.5, 174.3.

Langabrumo. A princess of the country of the Kisare. 116.9 ff., 136.10 ff., 142.23, 164.14 ff., 174.11 ff., 176.16 ff.

LAto Hər. The name of a place described as a "trench". The second part is therefore probably 2. *hər* = ravine, nullah. 190.7.

Leli. Laila. 362.3.

Lingp'ikisər (also *Lingkp'ikisər*). An alternative form of the name of Kisar. 142.15, 156.12, 168.6, 174.14.

In the Ladākhi "Kesar Saga" gLing appears to mean "the earth", "the world" and then to be used of Kesar's country. Madame David-Neel now claims to have identified Ling (gLing), Gesar's kingdom, as "part of the land of Kham" Vide "The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling", p. 16.

(Cp. Tib. *gling* = "part of the globe", "division of lands" according to Sarat Chandra Das).

M.

1. *Mahmad Shā.* A man said to be a descendant of the "bīṭan" Shongukūr. 226.5.

2. *Māmad Shā.* The name of a man. 214.9.

Mamurtsa Mal. A field at Āltīt, where some parts of the "Bōpfan" ritual are carried out.

Madarin. The cities of Madīna and Mecca(?). 48.1, 98.9,14.

Mamu Hər. The "Milk Ravine", a locality on the farther side of the Ūltar Bar from Baltit, so called because of its white soil and foaming water. 276.12.

Mano Bay'ərtham. A man of the Dirāmiting Clan. 214.16.

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Masoṛ. A place in Nagar on the left bank of the river below Ghulmit and above Thōl. 276.3.

Matum Daskuts. The people of Matum Das, a Hunza settlement in Gilgit territory. It is situated on the left bank of the river nearly opposite Nōmal. The land is held on some terms from the Kashmir State. 318.10.

Maiyoṛn. A village in Lower Hunza on the right bank of the river, downstream from Hindi and opposite Nilt. The people are Ṣhèn, speaking Shinā. 318.9, 348.12.

Meṛi Doweṛni. The name of a "dangalaṭhas". 206.3.

Miṇtaka. A Pass (elev. 15,430 feet) leading over from Hunza to the Taghdumbāsh Pamir. It is situated to the East of the Kilik Pass. 252.23.

(The word means "A thousand Ibex". Turki *ming* = 1000 + *taka* = he-goat).

Miṣṛ. Egypt. Ar.

Miṣgaṛ. A village in Upper Hunza. The inhabitants are Burūsho. 252.22, 290.1, 318.9, 348.13, 344.1.

Miṣgaṛkuts, *Miṣgaṛi*. The people of Misgār. 290.6,7.

Moṛyol. The father of Diram Titam.

Moṛe Daṛ, *Moṛi D*. "The Plain of Words" or "the Plain of Discussion", a locality in Lower Hunza above Maiyōn and opposite Ghulmit, where the people of Maiyōn and Ghulmit used to meet to discuss measures for defending themselves against a common enemy. Now called Mortas. 276.11, 352.20.

(Sh. *moṛe* words, speech etc.).

Moḥammad Baqir. The personal name of Bāba Ghwundi. 286.23.

Muṛn. V. *Hanuman Muṛn*.

(Sir) *Muḥammad Naẓim Xaṛn*, (K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.). The present Mir of Hunza, son of Ghazan Khān Tham. 196.3,7, 346.6, 352.21.

Munkir. The angel who with Nakir examines the Muslim dead. 218.5, 312.11.

Muṛnolum Daṛdo. "The Grandfather, or Old Man in (*or*, of) the Mūn", i.e. of Hanuman Mūn, a mountain in Shishpar in which he resides. He married Kisar's grandmother, V. 180—184.

A laconic note equates "Tapkhiènts Dāda", "Bāba Adam" and "Mūnulum Dādo", which perhaps means that the last is regarded as the primal ancestor of the Tapkhiènts and of the human race.

Moṛk'uṛ. The name of an irrigation channel. 352.18. It perhaps refers to the same place as Ḍoḍōng Murku. 276.13.

Moṛkuṛi. A locality about 13 miles N. of Misgār, where the water-courses coming down from the Mīngtaka and Kilik Passes unite.

(In the text given as *Moṛkuṛi*). 352.18.

MoṛtAza.abaṛd. One of the *Thu.aṛnts* (q.v.) villages in Hunza, situated just below the junction of the Hasanābād stream with the main river. 352.18.

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Nafiʷ Xan. A half-brother of the present Mir of Hunza (Muḥammad Naṣīm Khān). 342.21.

Nagər, Nagɪr. The State of Nagar.

Nagɪrum belonging to N., Nagari. 276.2, 344.22, 354.8.

Nagɪr is, I believe, the usual pronunciation in that State.

Nagər is what I heard in Hunza.

Nakir, Nækir. The angel who with Munkir examines deceased Muslims in their graves. 218.5, 312.11.

Namay. (Earlier recorded as *Nomay*), the village "Nōmal", which is the first stage on the road from Gilgit to Hunza. It is in Gilgit territory and about 17 miles from Gilgit Headquarters.

Nazimabad. A village in Upper Hunza near the junction of the Chupūrsan and main Hunza valleys. Previously called "Shīshkē Das" and renamed after the present Mir. 342.21.

Nomi Tham. A king of Haihaiyūl (Hunza). 142.16.

V. entry s.v. *Boxaʷ Tham.*

Nurʷ Baxš. A daughter of Shīri Badat. 380.12 ff.

Nurro. A man of the Burōng. V. 346.8 note.

Nuširwan. The Persian King Nūshīrwān. 86.25, 92.28 ff.

P.

Paʷgču, Pangču. The hero of Text No. IV. The original name of Kisar, and applied to him again when in his inferior form. 110.19 ff., 162.1—172.14.

Pahavrdag Galpo. A king of Hōryūl. 144.4.

(Cp. Tib. *rgyal-po* = king).

Panja.i Šah. 288.3.

Pfaqir Ali. 180.1.

Pfasan Karaski. 104.14.

Paiγambər. The Prophet (Muḥammad). 90.17.

Pfɪkər, Pfɛkər, Phekər. A village in Nagar on a very high terrace on the left bank of the river about 6 miles upstream from Mīnapin and Hindi. 242.12.

Pfɛkərum of or belonging to Pfèkar. 242.7.

Pir Šaʷ Nasir i Xisrau. The historical character, Nāṣir i Khisrau (c. 1004—1088 A. D.), poet and writer on Ismailism. For the latest account of him and his works see "A Guide to Ismaili Literature", by W. Ivanow, R. A. S. 1933.

In Hunza he was spoken of as the introducer of Maulai-ism into Turkistan, and was described as "of Kohistan", and again as "of Lutkoh" (in Chitral).

He is said to have sanctioned the use of musical instruments (the "charda" and the "daf") as an aid to religion, and to have attracted converts by musical entertainments. 314.3.

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Pisan. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river a little below Mīnapin and nearly opposite Hindi. 262.1 ff.

Pisankots. The people of Pīsan. 266.12.

Ponzki Pforpfor. The name of Aba Dumbu's horse. 148.26 ff.

Ponal Maidan. A place near Gilgit(?). 384.20.

1. *Puno.* The father of Ghatōsing, q.v.
2. *Puno.* A man of the Dirāmitīng. 208.8 ff.
3. *Puno.* Wazir of Hunza in the time of Tham Shāh Silum Khān and father of Asadullah Bèg. 352.14.

Pforuu Bul. The "Reed Spring". 292.12.

Puyesse Šamšer Bek. Shamsher Beg, son of Puyēs. 232.11.

Q.

Qaŋ Jak'un. The "Braying Donkey". 202.4.

Qaračokor. The name of a place in the Kilik-Mingtaka region (?). 252.28.

Qibla. The Qibla. As a point of direction, it is treated as being roughly West of Hunza. 310.1.

Qirgiz v. *Kirgiz.*

Qoli.'o Laskir v. *Koli.'o Lask'ir.*

R.

Ramiŋj. A locality at the lower end of the Chupūrsan Valley. There is a tributary Nullah of the same name on the South side of the valley.

Raskam. A district (river and valley) lying to the East of Shīmshāl, beyond the main mountain range.

Right of occupation has been maintained by Hunza in spite of intermittent claims to ownership raised in recent times by the Chinese authorities in Kashgar.

V. "Unknown Karakoram" by R. C. F. Schomberg, 1936.

Rivle Ramal. The name of a cook. 382.5.

Rum. The country of Rūm, the Eastern Roman Empire, Turkey.

Adj. *Rumi.* 34.1 ff.

Ruzdor Kotor. Name of a clan in Galmīt. 272.18.

S.

Sadi. The Persian poet, Sa'di. 362.3.

Sahala Boin. A supernatural being. 250.9.

Sahib Xan. A Tham of Gilgit. 388.2 ff.

Safdar ('Ali) Xan. Tham of Hunza, son of Ghazan Khān. 344.14.

Saladar. Son of Alqash Wazīr. 66.5 ff.

Sariqul. The country of Sariqul lying to the North of Hunza.

("Sarikōl" is now generally regarded as the correct form of the name).

5:Lorimer L-3 (1920-4;1934-5)1935
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Sərkar Angrizi. The British (Indian) Government. 196.9.

Sai.id Ša Wali. A miracle-mongering saint. 292—296.

Siŋ. A man of the Hamachātīng, ruling in Hīndi. 260 ff.

Siŋ appears as the second element in some double names of men.

Cp. *Datu Siŋ, Həri Siŋ,* and probably *Γatəsiŋ.*

Soγurali. The name of a place near Ganish (?). 234.11.

Sumalik. Succeeded his father Hāzir Jamshèd as Tham of Gilgit. 386.10.

Sumaiyər. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river, opposite Ganish and Bāltīt. 294.3, 354.2.

Sumaiyərum ini that man of Sumaiyar.

Š.

Šabaz Xan. The second and last surviving son of the present Mir of Hunza (Muḥammad Naẓīm Khan) by his first royal wife. 342.21.

Ša Γazanfər. A Tham of Hunza, grandfather of the present Mir, Sir Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān. 274.3, 352.6.

Šahri Bano. Heroine of Text No. I. 12.7 ff.

Šahzada Behram. Hero of Text No. I. 2.1 ff.

Ša Rais. A King of Gilgit, killed and succeeded by Shīri Badat. 376.1 ff, 380.8.

Šari (Šahri) Šaskin. The name of a country or place. Said to be the equivalent of the Persian "shahr i sabz". 26.1 ff.

Ša S'ilam Xan, (Sulam, Salim). A Tham of Hunza, father of Shāh Ghazanfar. 240.12, 352.11.

(The various forms are, I believe, corruptions of Salīm).

Ša Tham. A King of Haihaiyūl (Hunza). 142.16.

V. s.v. *Boxar Tham.*

Šayar. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river, between Sumaiyar and Pfèkar, and opposite Aliābād. 294.3.

Šadun Kapuri. The name of a woman. 256.4 ff.

Šabos. I.e. Shāhbāz, a Tham of Hunza, of whom the present Mir (Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān) is a direct descendant in the sixth generation. This seems to give a comparatively recent date for the extermination of the Usènguts. 236.8.

Šamtu Miru. Wazir of the King of Haihaiyūl. 148.1 ff.

Šin. Shīn (people). Used of the Shinā-speaking people of Lower Hunza and Nagar.

Šiniski (bari). The Shinā language. 302.3.

Šigir. The place generally known as Shigar in Bāltistān. 274.6.

Širkaki.ants. The name of a place a little to the West of Bāltīt, near the foot of the mountains. 292.16.

Šim'al Bar. A garden in Bāltīt. 328.14.

Šimšal, Siŋšal. A large valley in the East of Hunza which is very difficult of access. Its drainage joins the Hunza River a little above Pasu. 272.10, 274.1 ff., 344.16.

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Since 1924 Shīmshāl has been visited by the Vissers (See "Among the Karakoram Glaciers in 1925" by Mrs. Visser-Hooft, Edw. Arnold, London 1926, and "Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Niederländischen Expeditionen in den Karakorum . . ." by Dr. Ph. C. Visser and Jenny Visser-Hooft, Vol. I Brockhaus, Leipzig 1935); by Captain C. J. Morris. (See JRGS June 1928); and by Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg ("Unknown Karakoram", Honkinson, London, 1936). 103 551

Širi Badat. A reputed early King of Gilgit, Hunza-Nagar etc. 378.5—384.15.

Širi Bərai.i Bayər Tham is said to be the Burushaski name of the same person. His cannibal habits, his vulnerability (to fire alone) and his destruction by Azur Jamshèd, are a favorite theme in Gilgit.

The Thumushèling fire is supposed to commemorate his death, as formerly did the Talèni festival in Gilgit. V. Biddulph T. H. K. p. 100.

Leitner gives an elaborate version of his history in "Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893" pp. 9 ff.

I have another record in Shinā.

Širi Bər'ai.i Bay'ər Tham. A supernatural young man. 210.11 ff.

In his title to Text No. XLVII Gh. Kh. gives the name as a synonym for Shīri Badat. In a Gilgit legend a certain "Bagar Tham" is said to have been the son of Kisar and the grandfather of Shīri Badat.

Leitner gives a word "barai" in both Burushaski and Shinā as meaning fairy. In Bu. he marks it as feminine.

Perhaps it is a variant of "*pəri*".

1. *Šiskin.* A lame man of the Khitai, who according to one account founded Ganish.
2. *Šiskin.* The name of a locality pertaining to Ganish. 206.15.

Šiske Das. The former name of the present Nazīmābād (q.v.). V. 342.21 note.

Šitpər Bər. A tributary nullah of the Hasanābād Nullah in Hunza. Originally occupied by the Tapkhiènts, who also cultivated land at Bāltīt. After their destruction (240.5 ff.), the Dirāmiting succeeded them in their possession and rights.

The climate of Shīshpar is said to have become colder, and there are now no permanent habitations in it, but the nullah is used as a summer grazing ground by the Dirāmiting who enjoy exclusive rights in it.

There was formerly a polo ground at a locality called *Xayu Bol Šabərin*, which is now the site of a grazing camp.

There is (or, more probably, was) a track leading over to the Irshad Pass, i.e. into the Upper Chupūrsan valley.

It is also said that two dogs once came over from Ishkōman into Shīshpar, but there is no practicable route at the present day.

The Woolly Flying Squirrel (v. 2. *bada*) is found in Shīshpar. 180.2, 182.1 ff., 238.5, 240.8.

Šoi Pəri. The name of a "pari" or fairy. 358.14.

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Šoṇ Gukur, Šun Gukur. "The Blind Puppy" (?), a famous Hunza "biṭan", of whom there are said to be descendants living at the present day. 186.1 ff., 188.1. 190.5, 192.8 ff., 202.3.

T.

Taγdumbaš. The Pamīr lying to the North of Hunza, beyond the Kilik and Mīnṇtaka Passes, in Chinese territory. 252.23.

[619]

Tapkhi.ents h.pl., *Tapkhi.entsan bai.i.* He is a member of the T. Tribe.

One of the three original tribes of Hunza (cp. *Ösrṇots* and *Hamačatiṇ*) who, according to one tradition, are the descendants of men left behind by Alexander the Great when returning from China. They occupied Shīshpar and also cultivated at Bāltīt.

For the story of their extinction and the origin of the Dirāmitīng from one posthumous male infant, V. 238 ff. and 236.

Thəra Beg. An elder half-brother of Wazīr Humāyūn Bèg, and Wazīr to Safdar 'Ali. 344.14 ff.

Thərakots. A section of the Dirāmitīng Clan, to which the family of Wazīr Humāyūn Bèg belongs, and of which the eponymous founder was one Thara. 302.6, 318.1, 330.1.

Tərtsi. Probably the name of a particular place in Wakhān, but it appears to be used to denote the country in general. 386.22. The H. version has: *Waxan ki sərḥadmē akar*).

Thol. A village in Nagar between Ghulmit and Nilt near the latter. 294.9 ff.

Tholkots. The people of Thōl. 294.22.

Traγbal. A pass giving access from the Kashmir valley to the valley of the Kishanganga, on the road to Gilgit. 254.1.

Traxanatiṇ. A dynasty whose headquarters were at Gilgit. The word is derived from Trakhan, the name of a descendant of Azur Jamshèd, who was one of his successors on the throne of Gilgit. 280.2. Cp. 388, addendum to notes. V. s.v. *Boxar Tham.*

Tsil Brš. A locality between Gilgit and Nōmal (v. *Namay*) about 7 miles from the latter. 222.9.

Thu.ants, Tho.ants, (h and x pl. of *thoṭ*, new).

The "new" settlements in Hunza proper, from Haidarābād to Murtazābād, both included, as opposed to the original settlements of Bāltīt, Ālṭīt and Ganish. They form a separate section for the levy of communal labour. (V. Vocabulary s.v. *maqso*). 322.9.

Turki. The Eastern Turki language. 290.3.

W.

Wače, Wača. A place in Sariqul. 344.4.

Waxan. The Afghan province of Wakhan. 286.20.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
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Waxi (*baγ*). Wakhi, the Wakhi language. Wakhi is spoken as the principal language in Galmit and most of the villages above it, except according to information received in 1924, Khaibar, Sost, Misgār and Rāminj. In 1934 the exceptions were given as Khudā.abād, Nazīmābād and Misgār. The discrepancy is probably due to there being some mixture in the population. Wakhi is also the language current in Shīmshāl. 286.15. 197

Y.

Yaγtaš. A stone at Misgār which is said to exude oil, and which is treated as a shrine. 290.4. 103

(Turki: *yaγ* = oil, *taš* = stone).

Yarkand. Yarkand. 386.21.

Yaćh'eni. V. Vocab. s.v.

Yal Butot. The name of a country. 104.14.

Yaqin. The name of an Akhōnd living in 1924 in Dirāmitīng territory. 214.12.

Yasin, *Yasin*. The district of Yasin in the N. W. of the Gilgit area. 208.3, 386.12 ff.

Z.

Zuŋatiŋ, *Zuŋnatiŋ*. A village, in Hunza proper(?). 320.1.

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INDEX OF ENGLISH WORDS

IN THE BURUSHASKI—ENGLISH VOCABULARY.

This is an Index not a Vocabulary. In every case the Burushaski word given must be looked up in the Burushaski Vocabulary.

A.

a, an *hin*, *han*, *hik*; -*an* §§ 187; 43.
abandon, to v.t. *-*asorkas*;(hope)*eskortas*.
abdomen n. *-*ul*.
abide, to v.i. *horuṭas*; *horočaiyas*.
abiding-place n. *-*yak*; fixed — *-*yul*.
able, to be v.i. *-*amanas*; N. *ulamas*.
about adv. *hu.'ske*; *andaman*.
about to, to be v.i. *manam*.
above prep. *dal*; *-*yom*.
absence v.s.v. *ap-*.
absent adj. *yerhamir*; v.s.v. *ap-*.
abstemious adj. *porhezgam*.
abundance n. *okši rakši*; *hivj*; v.s.v. *arsam*.
abundant adj. *arsam*.
abuse n. *maltivj*; *iomin*.
abuse, to v.t. *-*maltas*; *iomin* *st.*; *jomin jajomin* *st.*
Abyssinian adj. *habaši*.
accept, to v.t. *yerivas*; *qabul* *st.*
acceptable, accepted adj. *manzur*.
accidentally adv. *ahiyo*.
accomplished, to be v.i. *dastahinas*.
accomplishment n. *hunar*.
accord n. with one — *han ber* *ns.*
account n. *bayam*; *daya*; *hisab*.
account, to v.t. * *ayanas*.
accumulate, to v.t. *dewas*.

440a

000 accusation n. *ízkuyat*; *tokmat*.
accuse, to v.t. *čhíkinas*; *ízkuyat*.
ache, to v.i. **-uvlas*; **-uvlí-* n.
acquainted adj. *nakor*.
acquire, to v.t. *dremías*: v. "obtain".
across prep. *ódi*.
active adj. *čindo*; *kívum*.
Adam's apple n. *ǵorfos mazun*.
addicted adj. v.a.v. *ordat*.
addle, to v.t. **-asqanas*.
addled, to become v.i. *ranuv*; **-ranas*.
address, to v.t. *d*-ayarunas*.
adhere, to v.i. *uwafas*; *čas*.
adhesive adj. v.a.v. *uwafas*.
adieu! *sudoyuv!*
adult adj. *berly*.
advantage n. *swí*; *foizda*.
advice n. *kana.o*; to take — *kana.o ganas*.
advise, to v.t. *kana.o *-at*.
adze n. *manǵ*.
affair n. **-urud*; *ber*; *čayu*; *duro*.
affected by, to be v.i. *jam*; *jamkaf*; *ganǵas*; (by disease) **-walas*.
affection n. *ferl*; *gurumbaf*.
affiance, to v.t. (girl) **-a'alganas*.
affix, to v.t. **-adilas*; *delas*; **-wadilas* (h objects), *wadilas* (x objects), *ízkaiyas* (y objects).

440b

afraid, to be v.i. *ar* m.; *bré* m.
after prep. *ówji*; *-doi*; one — another *ta.hórtu*.
afternoon n. *ywe*; *pwíne*; late — *ewaja*.
afterwards adv. *ówji*; *ówjum*.
again adv. *da*.
age n. *dwúne*; *dwuig*; *ewar*.
aged adj. *asharé*; *jaf*; *gagar náwa*.
aged person n. *herwun dap* m. and f.
agent n. *dwuin*; *wakíl*; (of bride or groom) *sinf'ahal*.
agree, to v.i. *awa awaa*; *berší* m.; *ywíwaa*; *rina* m. *gaberí* st.; to make a.o. — *d'-awagaa*; *rina* *-at*.
agreement n. *hay*; *rwai*; *warda*; *shifay*.
ague n. *zagzag dalayar*; *lordu*.
ague, to have v.i. *hurdu* m.
ah! *ayho!*; *wa.o!*
ahead adj. *-gawun*.
— adv. *gar*, *gar na*; a little — *gawgaj*.
ailing adj. *yaliarja*.
aid n. *-mandu*; *wáfad*.
aim, to v.i. *nasar dawgaa*.
air n. *bij*.
"akhund" n. *ozwa*; *zalirja*.
alack! *hai hai!*
alarmed adj. *ówa*; *bré*.
alarming adj. *akivtaun*.
alas! *hai hai!*; *wa!*; *wa.o!*
alcohol n. *arag*.
alert adj. *val*.
alight, to v.i. *hasaw*; *bergaa*.
alike adj. *hahar*; *hanjwún*.
alive adj. *jíwda*; *zwda*.
all adj. *-gawa*; *wgwa*; *tamawa*; that is — *fagal*.
all of a sudden adv. *hik dam*; *hik nala*.
all right adv. *v.a.v.* *hal*.
all this pron. *akkawum*.
all together adv. *hik nala*.
alley n. *fag*.
allot, to v.t. *bergo* st.

000 allotment n. *magas*.
allow, to v.t. *fat* *-*at*.
allowance n. *-γωzhi*; *-γωωm*.
almond n. *hadam* x.
almond tree n. *hadam* y; *hadame* *tem*.
almost adv. *ha.'ωdu*.
alms n. *zedrí*.
alms-bread n. *berzhi*.
aloes n. *gulgul*.
alone adj. *ôilo*; *himωm.ωn* (h), *hωωm.ωn* (xy); *hinzir*; *humωrin*; v.a.v. *-ôim*.
along prep. *-hωn*.
along with prep. *ha*; *-aha*.
aloof adj. *ωωrôi*; *ôilo*.
also adv. *ha*; *ho*.
always adv. *hωωrda*; *medωm*.
am (I) *ha*, v. §§ 269, 270.
ambling adj. *γωrγa*.
ambush n. *hωtahωm*.
among prep. *hωωg*.
amulet n. *fωωr*.
amuse o.s., to v.i. *mahγωl m.*; *tωωrda ol*.
amusement n. *tωωrda*.
ancestral adj. — spirits *hωi.ôadωγ.ωs*.
ancient adj. *γωωm*; *qadim*.
and conj. *ho*; *ha*; *da*.
and also conj. *ho*.
and so conj. *thi*; *ho*.
and then conj. *ho*.
anew adv. *thif*.
anger n. **-mωr*; *hωm*.
anger, to v.i. **-mωr d*-ahωs*.
angle n. — of meeting of two planes *gaf*.
angry adj. **-mωrhzi*; v.a.v. **-mωr*.
angry, to become v.i. **-mωr (de)γωγ.ωs*.
animal n. *hωiωωm*; *ferωdωr*.
ankle n. **-ωfzω γωttig*.
annihilate, to v.t. *sat* **-ahωs*, v. "extirpate".
another pron. *hin ho* (h); *hωn ho* (x, y). adj. *thωm*.
announce, to v.t. *m.ωl.hωr ol*.
annoy, to v.t. **-mωr d*-ahωs*.

4416

000 annoyance n. *-mov.
annoyed adj. *bizov*; *xafe*; *lag*.
annoyed, to become v.i. *yfztirk* m.; *-mov (do)'xwy.as*.
answer n. *juxarb*.
answer, to v.t. *durmov.as*; *juxarb* *-*tki.as*; to force s.o. to. — *bark* *-*at*.
answer back, to v.i. (violently) *(xwq/ex.u* *et*.
ant n. *khos*.
anus n. *gik*; *N. git*; v.s.v. *-*xakig*.
anvil n. *xamdan*; *qaldan*.
anxiety n. *evkuf*; *zimov*; *jori.av*.
anxious adj. *bik*; *jorkos*.
anxious, to be v.i. *durmokoy.as*; *jori.av* *et*.
any pron., adj. *bexan*; *amin*, v. §§ 152 152, 168.
anyone pron. *man*, v. § 142.
anything pron. *bexan*, v. § 152.
anywhere adv. *amala*.
apart adv. *tilo*; *čwarji*.
apart from prep. *tki*.
aperient n. *jolarb*.
apparatus n. *dwatakig*.
apparent, to adj. *lrd*.
appear, to v.i. *yanov*; *gugui.as*; *dwanlo.as*; *fkumak* m.; *lrd* m.; *pride* m.; *-*mala.as* (h subjects), *wala.as* (x subjects), *halava* (y subjects).
to make s.t. — *fkumak* *et*.
appearance n. *takal*; *xuvat*.
appetite n. *vak*.
applaud, to v.t. *bikel* *et*.; *kahal* *et*.
apple n. *barli* (x).
apple-tree n. *barli* (y).
appliance n. *dwatak*.
apply, to v.t. *dalas*; *-*adilas*; *-*dilas*; *-*wali.as* (h), *wali.as* (x), *hekaiy.as* (y).
appoint, to v.t. *moqarrar* *et*.
apportion, to v.t. *frag* *-*at*.: *bayo* *et*.; *fagirm* *et*.
approve, to v.t. *damli* *-*at*.
approximately adv. *ba.ariz*; *andavan*.

000 apricot n. *ju* (x); unripe — *jorofi*; dried, whole — *gorli*; split, not dry *phaqiv*; split, dried *bafir*; special kind *topuri*.
apricot-tree n. *ju* (y); *đuđur*.
apricot vinegar n. *hurt*.
apricot water n. *čhamur*.
approach, to v.i. *jurya*.
aqueduct n. *đangalat*; wooden prop supporting — *karagađi*.
arbitrator n. *sarju*.
archery n. *tshayara*.
ardent adj. *baborum*.
argumentative adj. *đur đela*.
aristocrat n. *gulpur*; impoverished — *hunyiltorta*.
arm n. **-lak*; **-ltaltor*; body under — **-sorgut*.
armed forces n. *hol*.
armful n. (double) *bayu*.
armour n. *berlę*.
armpit n. **-akat*; **-qat*; (of animal) *yititi*.
arms n. *khi yatenę*; *tobak yatarg*; *asbarb*.
army n. *hol*.
around prep. **-wara*.
arrack n. *arag*.
arrange, to v.t. *safri st.*; *rutrzarm st.*
arrangement n. *tarp*; *bandobas*; *rutrzarm*.
arrears n. (of pay) *duwarsuman tanra*.
arrest, to v.t. *durnas*.
arrive, to v.i. *d*-asqaltas*; *jurya*.
arrogance n. *masti*; *taqabbori*.
arrogant adj. *mast*; *mastkrj*; *tam'arnakrj*; *taqabbor stas*.
arrow n. *hunts*.
arrow-feathers n. *torkorg*.
arrow-head n. *lim*; *srq*.
art (thou) *ba*. v. § 269.
artery n. *borra*.
article n. *durstak*; *asbarb*.
artifice n. *barzi*.
artisan n. *ustad*.

4426

as far as conj. . . . ma; *jhaq*; *antiqa*. 000
as if conj. *ja.an*.
as it is conj. *tail*.
as many . . . as *hewaman* . . . *ka*.
as much as *hewaman* . . . *ka*.
as soon as conj. *hetal* . . . *ka*.
as usual adv. *ka gaida*.
asafoetida n. *ang*.
ascent n. *hawa*; *t'ali*.
ascetic n. *hanry*.
ashamed, to be v.i. *°-amalna*; *°-jyawa*; *jam °-a*.; *hawa °-a*.
ashes n. *jyfdig*.
aside adv. *kanpa*; *lang*.
ask, to v.t. *d°-ryawa*; *daryawa*; *dawawa*; *sawal ti*; — *pachu hanjil ta kanlwala dawawa*.
asleep, to fall v.i. *°-jawa*.
ass n. *jakaw*.
assassin n. v.a.v. *gf'ava*.
assault, to v.t. *ki ti*.
assemble, to v.t. *gafi °-ti*.
assembled adj. *ilanjamal*; *gafi*.
assembly n. *garw*; *sawaka*; *magita*; *jaka*.
assist, to v.t. *d°-ashapa*.
assistant n. *hew*; *°-awaka*.
assume, to v.t. — form of . . . *hajar gipa*.
assuredly adv. *zair*.
asthma n. N. *dawlarini*.
astonished adj. *hawa*.
astrologer n. *sajawa*.
at prep. v. § 67 E.
at a loss adj. *pardaw*; *sa.ziaj*.
at all adv. (with neg.) *kha*; . . . *kali*.
at liberty adj. *jhaa*; *haj*; *sawal*; *zalaw*.
at present adv. *ma*; *marla*.
at random adv. *marla aparla*, v.a.v *marla*.
at the same time adv. *ka*; *wala*; *kak wala*.
attach, to v.t. *°-aalki.a* (a object), *aalki.a* (x object), *lebaiga* (y object).

443 m

attached, to be v.i. *d*-*awwiya*.
attack, to v.t. *dam dirkar*; (-ka) *gerkar*; *ka ka al.*; *ki al.*
attempt n. *kwiil*.
attention n. *mirin*.
attentively adv. *-aw ka*.
attractive adj. *ami*.
audience n. place of — *mayka*.
aunt n. (maternal) *-ni*; *mawmmu mayin*; *-mimu mayin*; (paternal) *nana*; *-nim*.
authority n. *ugwamij*; *kalam*; *tatiaw*.
autumn n. *daba*; *dabalaw*; — wheat *gerg'an*.
autumn(al) adj. *dabawa*.
avalanche n. — of mud *mara*.
avalanche snow n. *kwi*.
avalanche wind n. *jurk*.
avaricious adj. *mijkiij*; *jurkkawa*.
avenue n. v.n.v. *-ayam*.
awake adj. *ilag*.
awake, to v.t. *d*-*talar*; v.i. *d*-*atalar*.
aware adj. *ilag*.
aware, to become v.i. *kwi* m.
awl n. *marna*; *tal*.
axe n. *gagi*; bricklayer's — *gangfawi*.
azure adj. *aigal ligam*; *amara ligam*.

B.

baby n. *gigaw*; — boy *jaj kilaw*; — girl *jaj dawa*.
bachelor n. *mirjag*.
back n. *-mildar*; centre of — behind heart *-ullkap*; (of coat etc.) *ifiwa*; (of head) *-dhagarar*; (of knife) *g'al pa*; (of shoulders) *kalgiklig*; small of — *-ahlig*; on one's — *-aga*.
back adj. *ifiji*; *ifijaw*.
back adv. *ifiji*; *g'ar*.
back biter n. *tartikij*.
back bone n. *-mildaw tin*.
back side n. *-mahig*.
back-tooth n. *-ural -ma*.

4414 3 b

000 backwards adv. *ríji ne*; — and forwards *ríti

́ríti*.

bad adj. *ganikíf*; *sinwé*; — to do *ikú*.

bad, to go v.i. *nas ne*.

bad, to make s.t. go v.t. *°-ináyasa*.

bad-tempered adj. *kad majiro*, v.s.v. *ordat*

bag n. (small) *kotaw*; (large) *malía*. V. List of Bags.

bake, to v.t. *dag ol.*; (bread) *kapú ol.*; (bricks) *d°-zúsiras*.

bakehouse n. *wíuk*; *kapú rías* (kang.

bald adj. *kaja*.

baldhead n. *dumunpum*.

bale out, to v.t. *dumaiyas*.

ball n. *gíwu*; *gwíli*; (of yarn) *gíwas*; *kafa*; (of eye) *nuna*; pulo — *jkuri*.

Ballí n. (language) *kalwaki kaf*.

Ballí, of Ballistan, adj. *kalwaki*.

band n. (of people) *kikow*; (of cloth etc.) *kalaw*.

bandsman n. *kwíla*; *ontard*; v.s.v. *gwíwas*.

bang n. (noise) *fanur*.

bank n. (of river) *ól*.

barb n. (of arrow) *ikap*.

barber n. N. *fikur*.

bare adj. *ókíng*; *ríyíng*; *kag*; quite — *dum ríyíng* (of ground) *gíjíng*.

barefoot adj. *ríu*; *ikakíthu*.

bark n. (of tree) *wuf*; (of dog) *wuwu wuwu*.

bark, to v.i. *ganu ol.*; *wuwu wuwu ol.*

barley n. *kuri*; parched — *ikan'i*.

barrel n. (of gun) *furli*.

barren adj. (of animals and people) *marfeg*; (of land) *gíjíng*.

base adj. *nabíre*.

base-born adj. *awaría*; *kanu*; *kawría*. V. low-born.

bashful adj. *kwanikíf*.

bashfulness n. *kwan*.

basin n. *gíbíu*; (European) *ólimuki*.

basket n. *ikaruji*; *ikalía*, etc. v. List.

14 14 14 23

600 bastard n. *lerlo*; *yfrepuf*; *tan*; *tano*; *tanrlo*; *kerasnerda*.
basting n. (in sewing) *hok*.
bat (zool.) n. *tatapal*; *gerahelalas*.
bath n. ᵧᵤᵤᵈ; to give a.o. a — *tam* °-*ahilas*.
bathe, to v.i. *tam dolas* (or *of*).; ᵧᵤᵤᵈ *of*; v.t. *tam* °-*ahilas*.
battle n. *birga*; *herlpuf*; to do — *jag of*.
battle-cry n. *ha ha*.
"bazar" n. *berasw*.
be, to v.i. *ha*; *manaw*; °-*manas*, v. §§ 269, 270, 276—278.
beach n. *hkap*.
beacon-fire n. *yfu berauf* (s.v. *berauf*).
bead n. *mayen*; prayer — a *tallbramata*.
beak n. °-*thonjaf*.
beam n. (of light) *itapw*; (on top of wall of house) *thokas*; (of roof) *sirnf*; (timber) *hawn*; weaver's — *fal'ahn*, *fal'ahna*.
beans (broad) n. *bak'ah*.
bear (zool.) n. *yfr*.
bear-cub n. *yfr ewh*.
bear-skin n. *gu.e hof*.
bear, to v.t. (child) *d*°-*aman.as*; (young) *halkaw*; (fruit) *ewh dalt'alanas*.
beard n. °-*ni*; (of goat) *falimig*.
bear' n. *hatawa*.
beat, to v.t. °-*dolas*; *dolas*; *jam* °-*at*.; *tamtam of*.; *taw(tam) of*.; — time *dam* °-*at*.; — drum *dam dam of*.; — the breast °-*ahilta dim of*., and *dam of*.
beater n. (for washing clothes) *thanaw*.
beating n. (noise of) *dim*.
beautiful adj. *daltas*; *yakiras*; to make — °-*angaw.as*.
beauty n. *daltaiinf*; *naw*.
because conj. *hanin*.
because of prep. *wfa'lam*; *gaw*.
become, to v.i. *manaw*; °-*manas*.

bed n. garden — *khafiya*.
bed-head n. *°-ashi*.
bed-stead n. *khaf*; *gurk*; *ten*.
bed-time n. *gatkatpal*.
bedding n. upper — *°-gafiki*,
under — *°-gavilki*.
bee n. *ganju*.
beetle n. cowdung — *fero*; big. black — *ganju*; *tuwarse*.
befall, to v.i. *manare*.
before prep., adv. *yere*; *°-gere*; *yar*; *gar ne*.
beg, to v.i. *gadai ot.*; — from s.o. with importunity *lark °-at*.
beggar n. *hignilghe gatkherse*; *taltaq*; (woman) *biltarq*.
begin, to v.i. *dayurakinse*; *dwase*; *here ot.*; *ravmanse*; to make s.o. — *dayurase*.
begin to, to v.i. *manare*.
behalf of, on prep. *haya*; *°-gakaltaw*; *°-gafem*.
behaviour n. *fkal*.
behind prep., adv. *ilji*; *°-lji*; *iljikan*; from — *iljam*
being n. *hatan*; *biltan*, v. § 271.
belief n. *dak*; *harur*.
believe, to v.i. *harur °-a.*; *dak dasuyse*.
bell n. *dajuro*.
bellows n. *gfaltigil*; funnel of — *hingkan* to blow with — *far ot.*
belly n. *°-ari*.
belong to, to v.i. v.a.v. *manare*.
belongings n. *aramen*.
beloved n. *°-gurem*; *ji*; *dinaw*; (*of only child*) *gulpali*.
below prep. *gar*; *garlali*; *gere*; leading — *airgare*; from — *garem*; to — *garar*.
belt n. *°-ilfem*.
beneath prep. *gere*.
bend n. *marag*.

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bend, to v.i. *d'ovgyorav*; v.t. *dovgyorat*; *malovg ot.*; *mat ot.*; *nork* *-*at*. 000
bend over, to v.i. *d'ovgyorav*.
benefactor n. (to poor) *yarâtig wâr.as*.
benefit n. *nor*; *farrda*.
benevolent adj. *mavmarv*.
bent adj. *mat ctem*; *nork*.
bereft of, to be v.i. *ko m*.
berry n. (of grape) *phulphul*.
beside prep. *-*apati*; *-*apat*; from — *-*apatim*, v. §§ 78, 80.
besides adv. *thi*; *pavv*.
besiege, to v.t. *ilaborpaf garas*, or *d'*-*ale.as*.
besom n. *yforyas*.
bestow, to v.t. *mavmarvi ot.*
bet n. *kalimarv*.
betrothe, to v.t. (a girl) *-*a'alginas*.
better adj. (health) *dalitas*; *worts*.
between prep. *horag*.
bewildered adj. *abra*; *dagkas*; *harvv*.
beyond this adv. *pavv*.
"bhoosa" n. *zurk*.
bier n. *chij*; *yurk*; *gurtabas kayar*.
bieetings n. cords made from — *hirlary*.
big adj. *wyorv*; (grown up) *tool*.
bill n. (of bird) *-*chonjuf*.
bin n. *bujork*; *tskayar*.
bind, to v.t. *-*gf'was* (h and z objects), *ynaov*, *ynovyas* (y objects), to make s.o. — *-*ypnas*.
bindweed n. 1. *tal*.
birch n. 2. *tal*.
birch-bark n. *kali*.
bird n. *ghiw*; *kalas*. V. List of Birds.
birth, to give v.t. (human) *d'*-*aswas*; (animals) *kalkow*. V. high-born, low-born.
biscuit n. *furja*.
bit n. *tarark*; *jar*; *jovi*; horse's — *jangi*; *gulangir*; N. *gali*; — and bridle *kalag*.

4456

000

bitch n. *gus hok.*

bite, to v.t. *ṣk(y)as* 6.; *gafaw*; °-*dalas*; *čowuk* °-*at.*; *čowuṭ* °-*at.*; γ*afam* °-*at.*; (of horse) *ṭan* °-*at.*

bits n. in little — *čhe.imučhe.i*; v.a.v. 4. *čhot.*

bitter adj. γ*oγ.ay(om)*; *ṣoγuwum*; (poisonous) *čhamliq.*

black adj. *mafum.*

black and white adj. *pfandir.*

blacksmith n. *daq ṭas ustad* or *bewila.*

blade n. (of grass) *ṣṭpa*; (of knife) *čhu*; N. *ped*(?); (of mill-wheel) *torkoq.*

blame n. *nard*; *tohmat.*

blameworthy adj. *gunaqar.*

blank adj. (of paper) *pakiza*; *sayla.*

blanket n. *ḥai.ia*; *gali*; *qaw.*

blast, to v.t. *d*°-*ayfaltas.*

blasting powder n. *suruṣ mili.eq.*

bleat, to v.i. *qe qe at.*; N. *brā brā at.*

bless, to v.t. *du.ar at.*; God — you! *barakullah!*

blessed adj. *bebarak.*

blessing(s) n. *berkat.*

blind adj. *ḥon*; v.a.v. *ḥurow*; *ḥuṣo*; stone — *trap ḥon.*

blind, to become v.i. *ḥon* °-*as.*

blindman's buff n. *dayu dayu.*

blister n. *phorburas*; *ṭa.hilγalγuras.*

block n. chopping — *pfanir.*

block, to v.t. *d*°-*ab.as*; *d*°-*abkafas.*

blocked, to be v.i. *ditoiγas.*

blood n. *mollas*; *ruru*; to shed — *ruru at.*

blood and water n. *kanial.*

blood-price n. *ṭi.e badal.*

blood-relation n. °-*ṭiu.*

blood-stained n. *lečiču*; *čofu.*

blossom n. *ashuw*; to come into — *dazuras.*

blow n. *čof*; *ṭaw*; 2. *ṭur.*

blow, to v.i. *pfu at*; (of wind) *rūwā* m.; (with bellows) *ṭur at.*

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000 blow away, to v.t. *d°-awalas.*
blow out, to v.t. *estayas.*
blow up, to v.t. *d°-apfaltas.*
blue adj. (*aiyas*) *ʒiqam*; *diŋ*; (indigo) *nil.*
blue-eyed adj. *burto*; *ʒiq'*.
blunt adj. *pfaʃ.*
board n. *balk.*
boast, to v.i. *dafoγuras.*
boat n. *krští*; *nav.*
bobbin, full n. *thirtum.*
bodily adj. *jak.*
body n. *°-ʤim*; *°-γurmur*; *°-waf*; (of carcase less forequarters) *°-waldas*; — of people *hikum*; separate bodies of men *bayutiŋ*; parts of — *°-ʤaŋ.*
bodyguard n. *badigar.*
bog n. *taγay.*
bogey n. *bayaruʧo.*
boil n. *nage.i*; N. *mage.i*; *pfirkanas*; *ʒoq*; *ʒofo.*
boil, to v.i. *bapayas*; *biri juγas*; *biri ditsas*; v.t. *sapapayas*; *biri d°-atsas*: *marʃ et.*
boiling adj. *biri*; — water *bapayum ʒakil.*
bolt n. *darukus*; *kafakus*; *sorik*; *sorikus*; block of — γus; peg of — *inarkus.*
bolt, to v.t. *sorik et.*; *daγuras.*
bone n. *tin*; *°-ltin.*
book n. *kitap.*
boot(s) n. ("paboos") *kurto*; (native) *kowi*; (long do.) *mur'a*; (European) *burʃ.*
booty n. *kurti.*
border n. (boundary) 1. *ʤir*; 2. *ʒaŋ.*
boring adj. (of person) *mana apim.*
born, to be v.i. *d°-manas*; *γaγs walas.*
bosom n. *°-sorγul.*
bosom-friend n. *jis bagurlo.*
both adj., pron. *°-altik*; *°-altalik*; — sides of n.t. *ilbaʃ.*
bottom n. *gamum*; *°-nalin.*
bough n. *tir*; (of juniper) 3. *dir.*

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boulder n. *burn*; (small) *dan*; rolling — *ʃiqa*. 000

boundary n. 1. *ʃir*; *grši*; *ʃaq*.

bound, to v.i. *magmere dalas*.

bouquet n. *hafo*.

bow n. (archer's) *ʃame*; (pellet) *tormuk*.

bow-string n. *čhekur*.

bowels n. *°-yormor*; *°-ʃakhir*.

bowl n. *baʃalik*; *pfwl*; *pfata*; *takpi*; *gufur* etc. V. List of Vessels.

box n. (small) *ʃabi*; (large) *sanduq*.

boy n. *hilas*.

braid n. (of hair) *borno*; *ʃab'aq*.

brains n. *wato*.

bran n. *poʃ*.

branch n. *ʃamo*; *ʃar*; *galtar*; (of juniper) 2. *dir*.

brand n. (of burning wood) *pfotunij*.

brass n. (bowdon) *ʃrkork*.

brave adj. *dilewar*; *pfurtikrj*; *singa °-as*; *°-aso ʃaq*; *°-aso pexta*; *yurgor*.

brave! *aufrin!*, *bihel!*, *marhabba!*, *šabaš*.

bray n. *qerq*.

bray, to v.i. *qerq st.*

brazier n. *ši*.

breach n. (in wall) 1. *ʃaq*.

bread n. *ʃapik*; to make — *ʃapik st.* V. List of Kinds of Bread.

bread-oven n. *duldorq*.

bread-turner n. *mučwʃk*.

breadth n. *daldalumkut*.

break, to v.i. *galas*; (to pieces) *ʃaq m.*; *ʃuʃ m.*; v.t. *°-galas*; *°-asras*; (string) *ʃaʃ or ʃurʃ st.*; *korap st.*; *ʃaq st.*; to make s.o. *°-agalas*.

break up, to v.t. *°-faltas*; *d°-apfaltas*.

breakfast n. *ani*.

breast n. *°-adil*; (female) *°-mamut*; (meat) *°-ʃakhir*; to beat the — *°-adiltas ʃim st.*

breastwork n. *krč*.

breath n. *dam*; *hirʃ*; *mard*; 2. *ši*.

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breathe, to v.i. *dʌm dʊsuʷyʌs*; *hiʷǰ et.*; (hard) *hāʷ et.*; *ʃīʷ et.*, v.t. (a horse) *yərʌq et.* 000
breechloader n. *dʊmbʌlʌpʊr.*
breed n. *nʌsʌl*; *zaʷt.*
breeze n. *gʲuʷrgʊǰ.*
brethren n. (tribal) *sçʊkoʷn*, v.s.v. **-ʌçʊ.*
bribe n. *liʷk*; to take a — *liʷk leʷʌs.*
bribe, to v.t. *liʷk et.*; *liʷk *-čhiyʌs.*
brick n. *diʃçik*; burnt — *detsirʊm diʃçik.*
bride n. *hilaʷl dʌsin*; *gərʊʷni*; —'s outfit etc. **-thʊʷni.*
bridegroom n. *hilaʷl hiles*; *gərʊʷni*; *gərʊʷno.*
bride-payment n. *mahr.*
bride's or groom's representative n. *sinḑʲʌbʌl.*
bridesmaid n. *mokaʷtʊm dʌsin*, v.s.v. **-ʌkaʷtʊm.*
bridge n. *bʌǰ*; (small) N. *qʌltʊr*; rope — *gʌl.*
bridle n. (and bit) *tʌbʌŋ*; watering — *qaizagir.*
bridle, to v.t. *tʌbʌŋ et.*
brigand n. *huʷʃi etʌs.*
bright adj. *sʌŋ.*
brightness n. *sʌŋkʊǰ.*
brim-full adj. *bil*; *birbir*; *tiphik.*
bring, to v.t. *d*-tsʌs* (h and x objects), *(dʊ)suʷyʌs* (y objects), to cause s.o. — *d*-ʌtsʌs.*
bring out, to v.t. *d*-usʌs.*
bring together, to v.t. *d*-ʌsmʌyʌs.*
bring to light, to v.t. *d*-ʌgʊsʌs.*
brink n. *iʷl.*
broad adj. *dʌlilʌlʊm.*
brocade n. *kimxaʷb.*
broken to bits adj. *čhoʃ.*
bronchitis n. N. *dʌmkoʷtai.*
brooch n. *čʌma.*
broom n. *pfoʷpos.*
brother n. (man's) **-ʌçʊ*; (woman's) **-ʌles*; (wife's) **-rik*; elder — (in privileged circles) *kaʷka*; elder — voc. *kaʷko!*

4476

000 brother-in-law n. (man's) *-ʌçe; *-rik; (woman's) *-ulus.
brownish adj. gurro.
bruised adj. ṣuḍ'ʌq.
buck, to v.i. prik dilʌs; (chatter) top m.
buck up, to vi. hrmmat et.
bucket n. khʌti.
buckle n. čʌmi.
buckshot n. N. kirye.
buckstick n. bringkij; wʌqo.
buckwheat n. hʌru.
bud n. šufurko; ḍuçuro.
buffalo n. hirjnahirj; hirjmayûrj; male — sʌnda — calf hirjmahirje ivik.
bug n. pfarltso, (insect in general) γʌlγu.
bugle n. turum.
build, to v.t. la et.
bulb n. γʌšu.
bull n. hʌr; iwč(?); young — tshirʌr entire — tshind'ʌr.
bull-calf n. tshirʌr bufoje.
bullet n. ḍiru; hurats.
bullock n. hʌr.
bully, to v.t. jujuw *-at.
bunch n. (of grapes) čhu; (of flowers) bʌfo.
bundle n. ṣʌpa; (of grass etc.) buru; (small) bʌfo
bung n. forri.
burden n. bʌlda.
burial n. *-ltus
burial ground n. *-ltuwʌ diš; tolʌg.
burn, to v.i. bʌuru; γulʌru; v.a.v. jʌjʌm; v.t. *-ʌsqolʌ; jʌk et.; jʌu et.; gfu *-ʌtsi.ʌs.
burning adj. lʌm.
burnt adj. *-γulʌm, v.a.v. γulʌru.
burrow n. yurlgil.
burst, to v.i. dufaltʌs; v.t. d*-ʌgfaltʌs.
burst out, to v.i (of water etc.) dufaltʌs.
Burushaski n. (language) burušʌski; (term used by foreigners only) khʌjen'a.

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000 bury, to v.t. *yavre* •-*at*.
burying n. •-*ltus*.
bush n. *mevṣ*.
business n. •-*urus*; *bər*; *duro*; to do — *duro et*.
busy adj. *masγul*.
but prep. *thi*; conj. *ama*; *lekin*; *magər*.
butcher n. *qasai.i*.
butt n. (of gun) *kərçum*.
butt, to v.i. *dus dəli.as*; *dus dumas*.
butter n. *maltaṣ*; *maska*; lump of — *fiŋan*; *patka*; *pusovi*; package of — *maltaṣ*.
butterfly n. *hovlalas*.
buttermilk n. *diltər*.
buttock(s) n. *bubovq*; •-*xaŝiŋ*; *čhərban*.
button n. *tak*; *šufuko*.
buy, to v.t. *gaṣər yanas* (*ganas*); v.s.v. *duməras*, cp. *d*•-*tsas*.
buzz, to v.i. *fufu et*.
buzzing n. *rūrū*.
by prep. v. §§ 70.iii; 79, 80; — himself etc. *i*•, v.s.v. 1. •-*i* c.
by force adv. *zulm ns*.
by . . . self adv. (person) *hinoman*; (thing) *hanoman*. V.s.v. •-*dim*.
byre n. *fərk*.

C.

cabbage n. *gobi*.
cable, wire n. *sim*.
cackle, to v.i. *kukuk et*.
cage n. *qafas*.
cake n. (of bread) *šuro*; small do. *fufo*.
V. List of Foods.
calamity n. *bala*; *abaṣ*.
calf n. *bəṣoṣo*; *isk*; fatted — *yadam bəṣoṣo*; — of leg *pini*; cp. *bubovq*.
calico n. 3. *pati*.
call, to v.i. *çan et*; v.t. (by name) *sanas*; — s.o. s.t. •-*asas*.
Call to Prayer n. *bag*.

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called . . . adj. . . . *zenas*.
callosity n. *hundaris*.
calm, to v.t. *espasas*.
calumniator n. *bəriŋkiš*.
camel n. *uʷt*; male — *boʷγəra uʷt*; young of — *uʷts iʷsk*.
camp n. fortified — *baŋut*.
camphor n. *kaʷfuʷr*.
camping-ground n. *gučhaiyas dis*; (high) *hərayʷ*.
can v.i. (to be able) *-amanas*; N. *ulaʷnas*. V. § 298.
candle n. *šama*.
canine adj. — tooth *-was* *-mi*.
cannon n. *toʷp*.
cantle n. — of saddle *tili.aŋ iʷljum pfata*.
cantonment n. *baŋut*.
cap n. *pfərtsin*; (woman's) *toʷpi*; *toʷpo*; *pfərtsin*.
capable adj. *lai.iq*; *qaʷbil*.
caper n. (plant and seed) *čopori*.
capsule n. *ḍuḍuʷro*; (dry section of) *fukoʷro*.
capture, to v.t. *ganas*.
caracole, to v.i. *maqmeʷs delas*; *prik delas*; to cause — *prik -adilas*.
caraway seeds n. *haiyaʷu*.
carcase n. *čərak*; *šaŋal*.
card, to v.i. (wool) *čhaγaltas*.
care n. *hifaʷzat*; to take — of *šaŋ at.*; *d-aspasas*.
carefully adv. *hifaʷzate ka*; *šaŋ ne(tan)*.
careless adj. *be-pərwa*.
carelessness n. *be-pərwa.i*.
carpenter n. *čak etas ustaʷd*.
carpet n. *bər*; *pafo*; *gaʷlin*; knotted pile — *qali*; woven cotton — *satranj*.
carpet-weaver n. *šerma-buʷlo*.
carpeting n. *fərš*.
carried away, to be v.i. v.a.v. *gaʷrtsas*.
carrier n. *baldakuʷin*.
carrion n. *hərəʷmi manum gutas*.

449 a

carry, to v.t. *-*yʌnʌs* (h objects), *yʌnʌs* (x objects), *gʌnʌs* (y objects) — load *b:lda gʌnʌs*; — loads by instalments *sərə bʌldʌŋ* *et.*; to make s.o. — *-*ʌyʌnʌs*. ooo

carry away, to v.t. *-*ts.hu·yʌs*; *d*-*ʌspʌpʌlʌs*.

carry off, to v.t. *-*ts.hu·yʌs*; *d*-*usʌs*; *-*šivʌs*.

carry on, to v.t. *-*ʌgutsərʌs*.

cart n. *ærʌba*.

cartridge n. *kə·rtu·s*.

carve, to v.t. *-*ʌsqərʌnʌs*.

case n. (law) *ʌstʌm*; (container) *yu·lgɤ̃*.

cast, to v.t. *-*wʌši.ʌs* (h objects), *wʌši.ʌs* (x objects), *bršaiyʌs* (y objects), (an animal) *-*ʌ.ɤrvʃʌs*.

cast-iron n. *či.ʌn*.

castrate, to v.t. *axta* *et.*; *-*čhʌɣʌltʌs*; (ox) *serbər* *et.*

castrated adj. *axta*; *-*čhʌɣʌltum*; *sərbər* *stum*.

cat n. *bu·š*; tom- — *bʌmbu·la buš*.

cat-eyed adj. *bu·šo*.

catarrh n. *lʌm*.

catch, to v.i. *dikʌʃʌs*; v.t. *du·nʌs*; (disease) *-*wʌlʌs*.

catch fire, to v.i. v.s.v. *ts.hi.ʌs*.

caterpillar, hairy n. *biškakṣ̌ ɣʌlɣu*.

catgut n. *bərʌntəl*.

cattle n. (large) *-*iltʌṣ̌*; *hər bu.ʌ*; (small) *hugə·s*.

cattle-house n. *gir'a·m*.

cattle-pen n. *šʌlhərʌɣ*.

caught, to get v.i. *dikʌʃʌs*.

caul n. *-*ʌs dʌltum*.

cause n. *sʌbʌb*; (lawsuit) *ʌstʌm*.

cause, to v.t. — trouble to *-*ʌsi·vʌs*. V. Ca. verbs §§ 234—242, *-*ʌt.ʌs* and *stʌs* § 261.

cave n. *kə·r*; N. *çənč*.

cavity n. (between boulders) *çərum*.

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000 caw, to v.i. *qaʿqaʿ st.*
cease, to v.i. *basaʿs*; *hurufas.*
ceiling n. 1. *tal.*
celebrate, to v.t. (festival) *elas.*
cellar n. (for butter) *ǵər.*
cement n. *čuna.*
cemetery n. *tolaŋ.*
centipede n. *galtaʃ.*
central adj. *makučim.*
centre n. *makuči*; exact — *fraŋ makuči*; — line of head *-than(as).*
certain adj. *yaqin.*
certainly adv. *bevsa*; *albat*; *boraʿbor*; *bedak*; *zərwl.*
chafed adj. *ǵadʾaq.*
chain(s) n. *daŋaličiŋ.*
chair n. *kursi.*
chamber n. *učak.*
champion n. *palawan.*
chance n. *ztifaq*; (opportunity) *galt*; *waʿqa*; by — *aiwqo*; *ztifaqtsum.*
change n. (small money) *paŋkaʃ.*
change, to v.i. *badal m.*; v.t. *badal st.*; *pfər st.*
change into, to v.i. *-ilalanas*; v.t. *pfər st.*
changeable adj. *kanibers.*
changed adj. *badal.*
channel n. irrigation — *dala*; *gortsil*; *ǵir*; escape — *diriʿtal*; mill — *nar*; — crossing over another *ǵaŋalat.*
"chaplis" (sandals) n. *čapalisuts.*
character n. of good — *suǵrmo*; of bad — *aǵrmo.*
"charas" (hemp) n. (drug) *barŋ.*
charcoal n. *kanjil.*
charcoal-collector n. *pirpa.*
charge, to v.i. (of troops) *ka ka st.*; v.t. (an enemy) *dam ditas*; *-ias gartas.*
charge with, to v.t. *-ayanas*; *taluʿl st.*
charm n. *dam*; *ǵaya.*
charming adj. *ǵaqakaʃ.*

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000 chase, to v.t. *firts* *-*ał*.
chattels n. *mał*.
chatter, to v.i. *lavi lavi m.*; *forp* w.
chatterbox n. *boriŋkzj*; γałep.
chatterer n. *maq'o*.
cheap adj. *arzam*; *bos*.
cheapness n. *wzami*.
cheat n. *felkzj*; *makwči*; *makwkzj*; *ɸak*; *maraquiskzj*.
cheating n. *maraquis*.
cheek n. *-*moγzj*.
cheek, to give v.i. *bejaw st*.
cheese n. *panir*.
chenar tree n. *boč*.
cherish, to v.t. *-*wče.as*; *periawzj* *-*ał*.
cherry n. *gałkuw* x; *šuγum* x.
cherry-plum n. *g'undaru* x; — tree *gundaru* y.
cherry-tree n. *gałkuw* y; *šuγum* y.
chest n. *-*ndiv*; (box) *sandaq*; grain — *to.hayor*.
chew, to v.t. *čaq st.*; *waj st.*; (cud) *aso st*.
chewing n. *haq*. V. s.vv. *čokaq* and *haq*.
chicken n. N. *jorta*; *gerqamutse jofta*, or *iwk*.
chicken-pox n. *loryo*.
chief n. *tham*.
child n. (infant) *giγaw*; small — *jorta*, *jorto*; (crawler) *pfałaq*; (only) *palpali*; boy — *hilow*; girl — *dasin*; small child ren *jotpał*.
childhood n. *jotkał*.
childless adj. *morjoq*.
children n. daughter and son *-*ał* *-*i*; daughters and sons *-*ał* *-*gu*.
chill n. *dhayurum*; — from fever *zwiur*.
chillies n. *marwdv foriŋzčiŋ*.
chin n. *-*aan*.
chinaware n. *firda*.
chip n. *finirli*; (larger) *jutow*.
chirp, to n. *čiru čiru st*.

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chisel n. *gurk*.
"chogs" n. *ḍoṇa*; section of — *gali*.
choke, to v.i. *dikṭas*.
choose, to v.i. *dandi* °-*ai*.; *d*°-*aṇṭas*, and *ai*.
chopping board n. *ṇ'anin*.
cigarette n. *ṇyarej*.
circingle n. *traṇ*.
circle n. *hajiro gṛṭi*; *ogow*; (of gold and silver) *ckas*(?).
circle round, to v.i. *tal'ownas*.
circuit n. *morag*.
circular adj. *hajiro*.
circumcise, to v.i. *bowman*.
circumstances n. *hal*; *halai*; *ahwal*; *kasal*.
cistern n. *yulk*.
city n. *ḍaw*.
claim n. *dwk*; *hewnow*; to make a — against *dryarwas*.
clan n. *rwm*; *giraw*; *gwm*; (independent) *hewy*.
clap hands, to v.i. *ṇarla*.
clapper (for pounding rice) n. *karaki*.
clash, to v.i. *jurk*.
clasp n. *ḍamu*.
clasp, to v.i. — hands °-*rigtiṇ* *trap*.
class n. (birth) *sarl*; *nasal*.
clavicle n. *hailiin*; *garra*.
clean adj. *pork*; *pakiro*.
clean, to v.i. *jkam*; (wool) *dhryalias* (grain) *d*°-*ashias*.
clear adj. *arf*; (sky) *hwl*; *jaḍaw*; (water) *nirwam*.
clear away, to v.i. *lang* °-*ai*.
clear out, to v.i. *daṇa*; v.i. *jkam*.
clear up, to v.i. (of weather) *hwl* *nigas*; *jang*; v.i. *d*°-*aṇṭas*.
cleared up, to be v.i. *dryarṇas*.
clear-sky n. *hwl*.
cleave, to v.i. *tkrag*.
cleft n. (between boulders) *gorow*.

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clever adj. *aqikt*; *gunaxto*; *hoši.aw*.
cliff n. *ôkar*; earth- — *mavt*; crumbly — N. *hâkal*; smooth and precipitous — *tat ôkar*.
climb, to v.i. *dawas*.
cloak n. *ôape*; *čapan*. V. "chaga".
cloud n. *yos*.
close adj. *asiw*; (relation) *asiwam*; *khuf*; adv. *asiw*; — to s.o. °-*apati*; °-*apal*.
close, to v.t. *d*°-*ashiças*; *hen ot.*; *fam ot.*; (sluice etc.); *detsiças*; (eyes) °-*astaqapas*; (bolt) (*asiwê*) *dargu.as*.
close up, to v.t. *d*°-*m.ikas*; (y objects) *dumakas*.
closed adj. *lîf*; *fam*; *hen*; *hand*.
closed, to be v.i. *dukkaças*.
cloth n. *gafu*; woollen homespun — *yâl.am*; cotton — *khawa*; *latta*; *mazari*; *pati*; *durgutâkt*; goat's hair — *ôrma*; *palwa*; shawl — *qaw*; fine — *hen'am*.
clothes n. *gafuq*; S. *ôrm*; suit of — *kat*; *hinsiv*; to put on — °-*gwlas* (z obj.), *halas* (y objects).
clothing n. *gafu*.
cloud n. *hawaf*; *mawal*; — of dust *dôl'am*; *dumat*.
cloven hoof n. *jaqar ipfati*.
clover n. *iski čap ltqa*; (crop) *kaftal*.
club n. *ôamo*; *ôirgar*.
coagulate, to v.i. *dumanas*; v.t. *drumanas*.
coal n. live — *hawa*.
coarse adj. *jatawam*.
coat n. *kahavi*; *galtain*; long — *čapan*.
cobweb n. *yîtrau yfak*.
cock n. *hir* *qaqarmata*.
cocoon n. *pafawa*; *pafamawa*; (after removal of silk) *ôurtîa las*.
coffee n. *qawa*; — with milk *ôirqawa*.
coffin n. *xandaq*.
coin n. specific -s: *čilibi*; *dawaai*; *ôakal*; *rupia*; *pawla*.

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000

col n. (of mountain) *-.ał.
cold n. intense — *ḫerć*; — in head *ṭaṇuuse*; having do. *zertsuuoṭ*; adj. *ćkaγwrem*; (social) *ṭhertine*; (of food left over) *ṭirery*.
cold, to be, or become v.i. *d*-ćkaγwr.ee*; (y subjects) *dećkaγwr.ee*.
collapsed adj. *jaṭał*.
collar n. (of coat) *-.ał.
collar-bone n. *ḫaiźtin*; *garra*.
collect, to v.i. *gaṭi* m.; v.t. *dremi.ee*; *gaṭi* *-.ał.
collected adj. *gaṭi*.
collyrium n. *ḫuł*.
colocynth n. *jaźiw*; cp. *ḫaźił*.
colour n. *rag*; *sorr.ał*.
colour, to n. *rag dolee*.
colt n. *ḫiraγa*.
comb n. *ḫiwk*.
comb, to v.t. *ḫag ot*.
combination n. (amongst people) *pira*.
come, to v.i. *juγee*; (*niγee*).
come along! *gora(n)!*
come back, to v.i. *juγee*; *γfor*.
come down, to v.i. *orkee*; (of rainbow) *wał.ee*.
come into existence, to v.i. *-.ee*; *m.ooro*; *d*-.ooree*; *d*-.ee*; *dam.ee*.
come into possession of, to v.i. *v.ee*, *m.ooro*, *-rig*.
come on, to v.i. *ḫał* *-.ee*; (of pain) *γiγee*.
come out, to v.i. *dwee*; *dawał.ee*; *ḫar*.
come to an end, to v.i. *doγee*; *doγeułee*; *γaγor* *-.ee*.
come together, to v.i. *ḫire*; *ḫark*.
come true, to v.i. (lor) *gaźow*; to cause — *-.ałee*.
come up, to v.i. (of plants) *ḫiḫiγee*; *ḫwee*.

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000 come up with, to v.t. *d°-ałqałłas.*
coming and going n. *niyas . . . ĵuyas.*
comfort n. *oraw*; *hozwr*; *ałkkał*; *rołkał.*
command n. *'łokow*; *łałda.*
commander n. *ayoław.*
commence, to v.t. *daywzałkinas*; (work) *ĵawwanas.*
commit, to v.t. (entrust) *ławił ał.*; (bolt) *ĵhła ał.*
common adj. (ordinary) *aw*; *ałas*; the — herd *awaí*; in — *'łorwy.*
communicate, to v.t. *°-ałłkinas.*
community n. *rowa*; *giraw*; *gorw.*
compassion n. *jaił*; *rałkam.*
compensation n. to pay — *mow gamłas.*
compete, to v.t. *łak °-amanas.*
competent adj. *gawrała.*
competitor n. *łerr.*
complain against, to v.t. *ĵhłkinas.*
complaint n. *łzkoyał*; to make a — *łzkoyał ał.*; to make a — against s.o. *ĵhłkinas.*
complaisant, to be v.t. *łorłi m.*
complete adj. *łak*; *pawa.*
complete, to v.t. *awpłas*; *d°-łamanas*; *pawa ał.*
completed, to be v.t. *d°-manas*; *dumanas*; *°-manas.*
completely adv. *jam*; *łałap*; *prawy*; *tor*; *łołak*; *jak.* V. s.v. "quite".
completion n. point of — *gaĵ.*
comply, to v.t. *łorłi m.*
composition n. *ałłfoy.*
compress, to v.t. *d°-ałłi as.*
compulsion n. *ołam.*
conceal, to v.t. *°-ałłagayas.*
concealed adj. *ołp.*
conceit n. *°-awał.*
conceive, to v.t. (a desire) *°-ałłi dawałas.*
concluded, to be v.t. *doyawłas.*
concubine n. *gama.*

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condition n. *hal*; *hʌwal*; *ʌhwal*; *bʌp ta·p*; (stipulation) *kaf*; in poor — *d*-kufum*; *la·ša*. 000

condole, to v i. *khi·l m.*

conduct n. *fi.a·l.*

conduit n. *hu·r.*

confess, to v.t. *iqra·r et.*

confession n. *iqra·r.*

confidential servant n. *hiŋʌtsum mʌhʌrʌm.*

confined adj. *čhʌnum.*

confined, to be v.i. (of woman) *gučhaiyʌs.*

confused, confusedly adj., adv. *ʌčəra*; *ʌpʌrts*; *ḍʌŋhʌs*; *ḍomaḍom*; *pərišan*; *warts apa·rts*; *šʌb'irkum.*

congenial(?) adj. *ba·r.*

congratulate, to v.t. *mubarʌk et.*; *mubarʌkbadi et.*, or *-*čhi.ʌs.*

congratulations n. *bubarʌk(i)*; *mubarʌk(i)*; *mubarʌk badi.*

conquer, to v.i. *šʌt et.*; *fʌta et.*

conquest n. *fʌta.*

consciousness n. *čərči.*

consent, to v.i. *ʌwa senʌs*; *γəri·sʌs*; *qʌbul et.*

consent n. *rɪza*; to obtain — *rɪza* *-*ʌt.*

consequence n. *nʌtiγa*; it is of no — *pəriwa ʌ·pi.*

consider, to v.t. *-*ʌγʌnʌs*; *-*ts.hʌnʌs.*

consideration n. *pəriwa*; person of — *uyu·m sis.*

conspiracy n. *pfəreri*; *kʌčakon.*

conspirator n. *pfe·ro.*

conspire, to n. *pfereri et.*

constantly adv. *hʌmeša*; *mudam.*

constellation n. V. s.v. "star".

constipated adj. *qavz*; *čhʌnis*; v.s.v. *-*γumur.*

construct, to v.t. (water-channel) *d*-usʌs*; to cause to — *d*-ʌgusʌs.*

consult, to v.t. *gufuginʌs*; *sʌla doγʌrusʌs*, or *gʌnʌs*; — secretly *gurgur m.*

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contact n. to come into — with *ṭire m.*; *ṭarā m.*

contest n. (of story, dream etc.) *daya.*

contented adj. *rzzu*; to be — *rzzu m.*

contentedly adv. *gurrre ka.*

contentment n. *rzzuhej*; *rzzuī.*

contemporary n. *hev.*

continue, to v.i. *d°-m.ssa.*

contrariwise adv. *aparta.*

contrary n. on the — *halki.*

controller n. *yaḷbw.in.*

controversy n. *ṭrdu.*

convenient, to be v.i. *d°-mayu.*

conversation n. *ṭarī.*

convex adj. *ṭrrg.*

convince, to v.t. *°-ssulo °-ahthrigu.*, v.a.v. *°-ss.*

convolvulus n. f. *ṭal.*

cook n. *d'ahir.u*; *ssirī*; (chief) *yaldin*; *zerzarma.* V. a.v. *ḥaladṭaṭ.*

cook, to v.i. *dirī.ss* (h and z subjects), *dirre* (y subjects). v.t. *ḍaq ot.*; *d°-ahir.u.*

cook-house n. (Mtr's) *ṭkrg.*

cooked adj. *dziirum*; *dirī*; *d'irim*; *rzirm*; (? of fruit) *dgrui.*

cooking-pot n. (of stone) *ḥalrṭ*; *pardun*; (of metal) *tidin*; *ḍrk.*

cool down, to v.i. *ergu.ssa.*

coolie n. *ḥaldakwin.*

copper n. *rṭd*; (brown) *ṭikrk.*

copulate, to v.i. (with woman) *mrlu.s* (°-*ofas*).

copulation n. *zrd.*

copulatory adj. v.a.v. *ortki.*

cord n. *ḍolu*; *walpi.*

coriander n. *ikrm.*

cork n. *ṭirrī.*

corn n. v. maize, wheat, barley etc.

cornelian n. *ḥagiy.*

corner n. *gurr*; *ikurn*; — of eye (°-*ṭrinu i-ṭgal*).

453 b

800 [illegible] n. *gurjan*.
[illegible] adj. *lakan*.
[illegible] n. *gal*; *gewal*.
[illegible] n. *burj gale*; *gowa*; *gewal*.
[illegible] n. *gapar*; *kapar*; (cloth) *latha*; *pali*; — *yam gapar ser*; adj. *kapar*; *palia*.
[illegible] n. *ma*.
[illegible], to v.t. *ma* *-*alan*.
[illegible] n. *warjka*.
[illegible] n. *kawa*; *kale*; to take — *gebapinar*; *kale pawapar*; *gawar ka*; *kale al*.
[illegible], to v.t. *kawa* *-*al*.
[illegible] n. *warjv*.
[illegible], to v.t. *-*yawar*, *-*dakawar*.
[illegible] n. *awal*.
[illegible] n. *hatali*; *walk*; (petrol) *watan*
high — *ban*.
[illegible] n. *likan*; — *al daga ordal*.
[illegible] adj. *-*aw daq*; *dilawar*; *gherdik*; *yawar* (page 287, col. 2); *-*aw pasia*; *angar* *-*al*.
[illegible] p. in the [illegible] *ekji jerj*; *kawaq*; *al* — *bewar*.
[illegible] n. *warjka*.
[illegible] adj. [illegible].
[illegible] n. *alap*.
[illegible] n. *warat*; (of book) *gwigat*.
[illegible] adj. *pankiliar*(?).
[illegible] to become v.t. *kaw kaw*.
[illegible] n. *fawa*.
[illegible] n. *bara*; *young* — *ba.ajar*.
[illegible] adj. *ba.aw.abam*.
[illegible] n. *ar* *-*mawar*.
[illegible] adj. *ar* *-*mawar*; *-*aw ahrta*
*-*ar bidil*.
[illegible] n. *kayaig*; — beetle *jara*.
[illegible] n. *bara gap*.
[illegible] n. *wagan*.
[illegible] n. (as in china) *fal*; gaping —
ilraq; (noise) *dawaq*; 2. *fawar*.

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800

crack, to v.i. *ɛɛl ni.ɛɛ*; *thraŋ ni.ɛɛ*.
cradle n. *gɔ.ɛɛ*; *billighak*.
craftsman n. *ɛɛtɔrd*; *kɔrɔlk*.
craftsmanship n. *ɛɛtɔrdi*.
cramp-bill n. *kɔrɔkɔndɔl*.
crank together, to v.i. *ɔɔa dili.ɛɛ*; *ɔɔa dɔrɔ.ɛɛ*.
cranny n. *°-ɛɛki*.
crawl, to v.i. (of baby) *ɣiliŋ ɣɛɛlaŋ m*.
crawling n. *ɣɛɛlaŋ*.
cream n. *ɔrɔɔ*.
crease n. *krak*.
create, to v.i. *d°-ɛɛmɛ.ɛɛ*; *poida °-ɛl*; *jhumak ɛl*.
credence n. *kɔrɔɔr*; to give — *kɔrɔɔr m*.
creditor n. *wiŋgɔrin*.
creep, to v.i. (of baby) *ɣiliŋ ɣɛɛlaŋ m*.
crest (of hill) n. *ɔrɔl*; *ɔkɔrl*.
crevasse n. *kap*.
crime n. *kakɔrl*.
crippled adj. *ɔ.ɛɛw*; *ɔ.ɛɛw dhaŋɔw*; (in hand or foot) *khɔrlɔ*; *ɔɔlɔ — ɔɔkɔ ɔɔrɔ*.
crochet-hook n. *jɔrɔɔ khap*.
crooked adj. *ɔɔnɔr*; 2. *ɔɔrɔ*.
crooked, to be v.i. *dɔ.ɔɔnɔr.ɛɛ*.
crops n. *kɔrɔɔ*; *fanil*; cut and stacked — *dɔrlɔ*; cut and lying — *kɔnɔl*. V.a.v. *kɔrki*.

Vide also:

Barley, beans, buckwheat, clover, lucerne, maize, millet, peas, potatoes, rice, wheat.

cross, to v.i. *dɔrɔ.ɛɛ*; v.a.v. *ɔɔl*; v.i. (mountain pass) (. . . *ɔɔw*) *kɔlɔ.ɛɛ*.
cross over, to v.i. *ɛɛplaŋ m*.
cross-grained adj. *ɛɛpɔrlɔ*.
cross-timbers n. (of roof) *kɔndɔrɔɔ*.
crouch, to v.i. *jɔrɔ m*.
crow n. *ɔɔ*; *ɛɛ — ɔɔɔ wɔkɔm*.
crow, to v.i. N. *gɔŋgɔrɔlɔ ɛl*.

4544

crowbar n. *dangal*; *jakal*.
crowded adj. *dam dam'al*; *gali gali*.
crown n. *lej*.
crud adj. *kerakam*; *melim*; *nimgaw*; *mimakij*.
crumb n. *phuk*.
crumpled adj. *laj*; *lajkej*.
crunching n. *kerakarej*.
crush, to v.t. (in powder) *dagat* °-*al*.
crush down, to v.t. °-*jilan*.
crushed, to be v.i. *lag*.
cry, to v.i. (shout) *gam al*.; (weep) *kerak*.
crystal n. *kalel*.
cubit n. *gaj*.
cuckold n. *wikja*.
cuckoo n. *kupu*.
cud n. to chew the — *zawi*.
cudgel n. *dumu*.
cuff (a blow) n. S. *tir*.
cultivated adj. *kerki ahan*; *ahal*; — land *bujaki*; *ahil*.
cultivation n. *kerki*.
cultivator n. *zamindar*.
cup n. (wooden) *gilel*; *pilarla*; (china) *kiki*.
cupboard n. *imarpati*; H. *imarpati*; *almari*.
curdle, to v.i. *dumanat*.
curds n. *pati*; (sour) H. *kag*; *tika*; (from bleeding) *kiliry*; *dilal* — *gurel*.
cure n. *ilaj*.
cure, to v.t. *warla*°-*al*.; *ilaj al*.
curl n. *jarawa*; *marpal*.
current n. *kerigina*.
curse n. *lawal*.
curse, to v.t.-*lagwat al*.; *yemikij dam al*.
curtain n. *parda*.
cushion n. (on saddle) *tukak*. Ng "pillow".
custom n. °-*dukiv*; *kap*; *adat*; *dastur*; *mirwa*.
customary law n. *mirwa*.
cut n. *ta*.

4552a

cut, to v.t. °-*sakerkas*; *dirap* of.; *ferwk* of.; (tree below branches) °-*marapas*; (rasp) *hiwrkas*.
cut down, to v.t. (tree) °-*dolas*.
cut off, to v.t. (water) *gorras*; (means of subsistence) v.a.v. °-*ful*.
cut open, to v.t. *fiur* of.
cut up, to v.t. *fag* of.
cutter n. *berrada*.

D.

dagger n. *tirjk*; *nanjor*.
daily adv. *kor gonda*; *gondanno gonda*.
dain n. (of earth or stone) *mam*; *fiti*.
damage n. *laf*; *nanpaw*; *sirar*.
damage to v.t. °-*apulas*.
damaged, to become v.i. *gulas*.
dam up, to v.t. *d*°-*ab.as*; *detsigas*.
dammed up, to be v.i. *didsigas*.
damp adj. *kayam*; *jirawajo*; *nak*; *dirlam*.
damp, to be v.i. *dawagas*.
dance, to v.i. *girulas*; *naf* of.; to make s.o. — °-*agirulas*.
dancing-ground n. *jalag*.
[illegible] adj. *gorjkij*.
danger n. *hala*; *nalar*.
dangerous adj. *nalar*; — person *ajirno*.
dark adj. *fuf.ag*; *fum.ag*; pitch — *fa.n fuf.ag*.
darkness n. *fuf.aghol*; — and dust *fum.ag*.
darling adj. *ji*.
dash, to v.t. *tilayagas*.
daughter n. °-*a.i*; — and son °-*ah* °-*i*.
daughters n. °-*gagalanda*.
daughter-in-law n. °-*nakin*.
dauntless adj. *ningir* °-*as*.
dawn n. *gora*; *fuforgko*; time before — *gorna furk*.
dawn, to v.i. *gora*.
day n. *gonda*; a single — *k'ikelto*; all — *as ugorna*; as *sabora*; — and night as *thap*.

4556

00B day n. *dete*; 2 — *oltrepete*; *bel day* in past perfilig.
day after tomorrow adv. *hiyelli*. V. a.+v. *berlin*, *kirlin*, *warlin*.
day before yesterday adv. *perlelin*.
daylight n. *an ooglei*.
dead adj. *ovum*; — body *perjan*.
deaf adj. *vej*.
dear adj. *°-ejerow*; (voc.) *lakar*; (mostly *hey pa'e*; *gawa*; *gewal*.
death n. *tagpi*.
death n. *°-ovan*; *u.ovan*; 1. *der*; 2. *mere*, *merejan*.
debt n. *ur*.
debtor n. *ur ilhi.an*; *urjawin*.
decade n. *kowanan*.
deceive, to v.t. *mereqete dalan*.
deception n. *kerel*.
decide, to v.t. (a case) *°-ankerkan*; *fainale et.*; *d°-ankilan*.
decided, to be v.i. *ovi kirli an.*; *fainale an.*; *°-perkkar it*.
decision n. *anlaw*; *fainale*.
decline n. (of sun etc.) *yuva*.
decline, to v.i. (of sun etc.) *yuva an*.
declivity n. v. "descent".
decrease, to v.i. *dilkirwan*; v.t. *d°-ankirwan*.
dedicate, to v.t. *d°-ankirwan*.
deep adj. *yej'ow*.
defame, to v.t. *gifir et*.
defamed adj. *kalwow*.
defeat n. *kirkat*.
defeat, to v.t. *kirkat °-ilhi.an*; *fain °-et*.
defect n. *oil*.
deficient adj. *kam*.
define n. *yuj'a*.
define, to v.t. *d°-anmilan*.
defined, to be v.i. *dimilan*.
defect, to v.t. *dewgiwan*.
delay n. *ain*.
delay, to v.t. *°-ikkeranan*; v.t. *°-anlikeranan*.

4560

360 delayed adj. *lowy*.
deliberately adv. *ni.ai no*.
delight, to v.t. *mane d°-akan*.
delighted adj. *eiyat*.
delightful adj. *isyakot*.
deliver, to v.t. *fark ot*.
delivered, to be v.i. (of a woman) *gwhoiyan*; v.n.v. *d°-ammanan*.
demand, to v.t. *dermoran*; *dayaranan*.
demands n. *hayanaw*.
demon n. (female) *bilan*; (male) *hiv bilan*.
den n. *gwiyat*.
deny, to v.t. *dakk'aran*; *mankir m.*; *rakaw ot*.
depart, to v.i. *ni.an*; *daran*; *rasaman m.*
deplore, to v.t. *pamam m.*
deport, to v.t. *°-anpalan*.
deposed adj. *nafa*.
depression n. (in ground) *yaforpan*.
deprived of, to be v.i. *ko m.*
deserved, to v.i. *mekan*; to make — *d°-ammigan*; to make rain — *°-akartan*.
desirable a. *ankrd*.
desert n. *yaw*; *tali*; steep — *chagyu*.
desert n. *dan*; *bigalaw*; adj. *lag*.
desire n. *rak*; *rai*; *mankir*, *armaw*; *°-aki*; v.n.v. *°-an*; *°-himan*.
desire, to v.t. *rak ot*.; *rai ot*.; *armaw ot*.; *°-aki dwanlan*.
despairing adj. *nar unird*.
despatch, to v.t. *°-aran*; *°-anpalaran*; *°-ahwyan*; cp. *d°-akan* 2.
desperadest adj. *farkkawa*.
destitute adj. *akarto*; *taltagarpo*; *mankary*, *nar lawa*.
detain, to v.t. *°-anwifan*.
determination n. *gand*.
detonating fuse n. *milirge fitta*.
developed adj. (grown up) *mandary*.
device n. *slayi*.

4566

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devil n. *ḋeilem.*
devilry n. *ḋeilemi.*
devour, to v.t. v. "to eat".
dew n. *ɣfwnin.*
die, to v.i. *°-ewan*; *dwl m.*; *wafwt m.*
difficult adj. *ahal*; *ḋrem*; *ḋag*; N. *nawa*; *nw*; *mwlkil.*
difficulty n. *ahal*; *mwirhal.*
dig, to v.i. *hirapan*; to make a.n. — *°-ahirajan.*
dignity n. without state or — *g'alu.*
diluted adj. *ta.hafrwwm.*
dippet n. *ahapow*; *ilanan.*
direct adv. *ta.hau*; *wjhem.*
direction n. *°-galal*; *ahirg*; *pa*; *ḋag*; wrong — *aparis.*
dirge n. *herimig hwirp.*
dirty adj. *ihur*; N. *ilurk.*
dis- negative prefix, v.a.v. *a-*, *d-*.
disappear, to v.i. *ynilab m.*; *dwnafr.an.*
disappointed adj. *nar wmird.*
disapproval n. v.a.v. *ganrem.*
disc n. (of metal applied to a.t.) *pel*; (of gourd or silver as arrow-target) *gwri.*
disciple n. *mwrid.*
discontented (with), to be v.i. *halirwan.*
discourage, to v.t. *°-an °-aran.*
discourtesy n. *he.alapi.*
discussion n. *hercawe.*
disease n. *hi.ail*; *ynilwlaf*; v. List of Diseases.
disgrace n. *ihurhi*; *halnarwi*; *ḋrwm.*
disgrace, to v.t. *d°-awalian.*
disgraced adj. *he.rrwal.*
disgust n. *°-ayam.*
disgust, to v.t. *d°-awaljatigan.*
dish n. *ɣfalar*; *tadpi*; *dwstan*; v. List of Vessels.
dishonest adj. *adrwno*; (in trade) *law jaw.*
disinterested adj. *aerjo.*
disliked adj. *°-ayam.*

4572

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unwegai adj. *bé-imaru.*
disloyalty n. *ximak hawui.*
dismantle, to v.t. *ritiras.*
dismiss, to v.t. *d'-uaas.*
dismount, to v.i. *drag m.*; *arkas*; *dearkas.*
disobedient adj. *arun*; *hakim akanas*; to be — *hardi ormanas*; *hakim akanas.*
disobey, to v.t. *hakim akanas*; v.a.v. *farm.*
dispensary n. *lafizaruo.*
disperse, to v.i. *das m.*; v.t. *dayarafas.*
display n. *tamarda*; to make a — *yitiras.*
displeased adj. *asav*; *nafa.*
disport o.s, to v.i. *tamarda ef.*
dispute n. *hartaro*; *tal.*
disrespect n. *be adapi*; *be ziyat.*
disrespectful adj. *be adap.*
distance n. *mithanomlaf.*
distant adj. *yeanom*; *mathan(om)*. (of relatives) *mathanom.*
distasteful adj. *°-ayam.*
distort, to v.t. (by force) *mar ef.*
distressed adj. *nafa*; v.a.v. *afat.*
distressed, to be v.i. *°-as farnas.*
district n. *zlarga.*
disturbance n. *yowya*; *dar*; *janjari*; *fasard.*
ditch n. *nanlag.*
"div" n. *pfari.*
live, to v.i. *yartaro.*
liveries n. *tamarda.*
divide, to v.t. *frag ef.*; *lagaim ef.*; *d°-garas* (p. 134); (hair) *°-ilan digaras.*
dividing line n. *dir.*
divine, to v.i. *fari giyas.*
diviner n. *sujuru*; *ramali.*
divorce n. *talaq.*
divorce, to v.t. (a woman) *morras* (*°-aras*); *arkas*; *talaq °-ilias* or *ef.*, or *d'ilanas*; v.a.v. *patka.*
divot n. *hakor.*
do, to v.t. *°-ifas*; *ifas*; — a job *daro ef.*
do-er n. *ifas.*

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000 doctor n. *hakim*; *tabib*.
dog n. *hak*; male — *hir hak*; bitch *gus hak*; hairy — *jambolow*; wild — *gurjo*.
dog-days n. *tumas*.
doll n. *mincilia*.
domestic adj. *wlum*.
domesticated adj. *hwj*.
don, to v.t. *-gwlas* (x objects); *bwlas* (y objects).
done, to be (faciendum) *ełas*.
donkey n. *jakow*; braying — *gawg jakow*.
donkey-foal n. *gwku*.
don't . . . v.a.vv. *a-*, *ay-*, *aiye*, *aiye*, *a-*.
door n. *hig*.
door-frame n. *tahiraq*, v.a.v. *tahwij*.
door-handle n. *hiqs fovi*.
door-keeper n. *hiqstum maharam*.
door-post n. *tahwij*.
door-sill n. *gawum tahwij*.
double adj. *awlu jaqur*.
double up, to v.i. *dus alałas*.
doubt n. *łak*.
doubtless adv. *albat*; *be-łak*.
dough n. *hayundo*; *yushi*; leavened — *xsta*; lump of — *howia*; strips of — *łazda*; vessel for — *imakri*; vessel for fermenting — *hayundokri*.
doughy adj. *yushi*.
dove n. *yoyundil*.
down n. *hapuw*; adv. *xa*; 2. *xaf*; *yuw* (*xa*); *yuwa*.
down on prep. *xa*; *xaf*.
down through prep. *xa*.
down-country adv. from — *xafum*.
downhill adv. *yuwa*.
downwards adv. *xa*; *xha*; *xaf*; loading — *xrgura*.
dowry n. v.a.vv. *dwi* and *-thrgi*.
doze n. *fwi*.
doze, to v.i. *fuksir -m*.
dozing adj. *pfurq*.

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000 drag to v.t. (*-)taskow.
dragalong, to v.t. *dadal* cf.
dragon n. *ażdar*; *ażagar*; *hergru*.
dragonfly n. *frago*.
draught n. (liquid) *mirun*.
draw to v.t. (*-)taskow; *jaj* *-*ę* ..; (bow) *takow*; (a design) *-*zapewzas*.
draw back, to v.t. *gfer* m.
draw out, to v.t. *d*-*zaas*; *d*-*zpewzas*.
dread n. *awdaj*; *bródaj*.
dreadful adj. *amoko*; v.a.v. *bród*.
dress n. *-*alji*.
dress, to v.t. *-*alji gelzas*.
dress n. *gajeg*; (woman's head-sheet) *bigo*; *dova*; (woman's shirt) *gafu*; *gili*.
dressup, to v.t. *-*gerg* cf.
dried adj. *gugow* (x things); *bewa*, *bergzam* (y things). V. a.v. *gergzas*; — apricot *bjew*; — fruit ground like flour *bivg*.
dried up adj. *jowk*.
driftwood n. *fa*.
drink n. *mirun*.
drink to v.t. *mirow*; *fergzis*; (*tahil* fac) *gjow*; to make a.o. *-*zmirzas*.
drinking-water n. *mirow tahil*; *fergzas tahil*.
drip, to v.t. *fergz*.
dripping n. *thatkag*; *thathaj*.
drive, to v.t. *dak* *-*zl*.; (plough oxen) *-*wrkas*; — a.t. into a.t. else *ergzlas* (i.e. *-*zgalas*. Cf. cf *gajew*).
drive back, to v.t. *gfer* *-*zl*.
drive off, to v.t. *dam* cf.
drive out, to v.t. *d*-*zaas*.
drop n. *chaj*; *thid*.
drop, to v.t. *tahar* m.; v.t. *mahkas* (x objects); *hekrigas* (y objects).
drops n. *-*wdals tahil*.
drown to v.t. *-*yerkas*; v.i. *-*zaperkas*.
drowned, to be v.i. *tahilzgs* *-*m*.
drug n. *mirh*; (hemp) *berg*; (opium) *afgew*.

4586

drum n. (kettledrum) *dawmal*; (big) *dadag*; to run finger over surface of — *fuwa al*.

drummer n. v.a.v. *bewile*; *dawmalti*; *dadagli*; v.a.v. *swyrus*.

drumstick n. (for big drum) *pirl'awn*.

drunk adj. *mast*; to get — *-arfai.as*.

dry adj. *jork*; v.a.v. "dried", and see entries under *gwyas*, *bwyas* & *bugai.as*; (of weather) *jadow*.

dry, to, v.i. *gwyas* (h. x subjects), *bwyas*; *bwyoriyas* (y subjects); v.t. *swpi.as* (i.e. *-aspi.as*); *swyagas*.

dry leaves n. *hawal*.

dual adj. *jager*.

duck n. *yfwrij*.

duly adv. *hawdur*.

dumb adj. *layan*.

dun-coloured adj. *sawaud*.

dung n. *gwal*; *mayal*; (manure) *dilk*; cow — *dayrig*; horse — *mywf*; orbicular — *gwapus*; *hoyon*.

duplicate n. *gwaw*.

dusk n. *hawa hawa*.

dust n. *swrdi*; (in air) N. *gubaw*; (with darkness) *fawfag*; cloud of — *doldiwn*; *dawal*.

dye n. *rag*.

dye, to v.t. *-ashirias*; *rag dolas*.

dyed adj. *-ashirwn*.

dyer n. *ragli*; *raggriw*.

dysentery n. *mwrag*.

dwarf juniper n. *maihali gal*.

dwell, to v.i. *hawrfas*; to cause s.o. — *-ahawrfas*.

dwelling-house n. *gwal*.

dwelling-place n. *-gak*; permanent — *-gwd*.

E.

each adj. *hav hin* (h); *hav han* (x, y); *hin hin* (h); *han han* (x, y); *hr*; — other *hin hin* (h); *han han* (x, y).

eagle n. *german.*

ear n. **-lhum.al*; (external) *halamwfe*; (of corn) *čha.*

earlier-born adj. *gar d*-m.ooum.*

early adj., adv. *ta.how*; (former) *ta.howum.*

early morning adj. *ta.howdimo*; *tufagmo.*

early-ripened adj. *ta.how d*-γeoum.*

earring n. *gičhin*; *hafamow.*

earth n. *čik*; (white) *gef*; (very fine, white) *ghum'el*; (kind of) *morji*; (of fox) *γwigst.*

earth-cliff n. *mort*: v. also N. *bahal.*

earthquake n. *tinqan*; N. *buyal.*

earwig n. *galtal.*

ease n. *fur*; *oroum*; *rarhaf*; (facility) *xafo*; *asowi.*

easily adv. *xafus ka.*

easiness n. *xafo*; *asowi.*

east n. *jil.*

eastwards adv. N. *dal ne.*

easy adj. *xafo*; *sahal*; *asowi*; — account *dambahum.*

eat, to v.t. *hi.as* (*ha.as d ke.as*) — opium *afi.ura keryas*; to give s.o. s.t. — **-asivas.*

eclipse n. v.n.v. *eyunjoiyas*; *jandera.*

eclipsed, to be v.i. *eyunjoiyas.*

edge n. *čil*; *gud*; *mal*; (of knife) *hirwa pu*; (of terrace) *pertal*; both —s of s.t. *'ilhal.*

edging n. (round rim of anything) *b'erpinas.*

edible adj. *fiyatu galki.*

educate, to v.t. **-ashinas*; *tarlirwa *-ashi.as.*

educated adj. *tarlirwa ganum.*

education n. *tarlirwa.*

effective, to be v.i. *gafow.*

effort n. to make an — *janam'ar al.*

egg n. *fiqan*; (contents) *fiqana dal*; white of — *barum dal*; yolk *tahark dal.*

eggshell n. *fiqana wal*; *fiq'an's pelanow.*

Egypt n. *Misur.*

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Egyptian adj. *Mizore.*
eight num. *altambo* (h, z, y); *altambi* (z).
eighteen num. *forma altambo* (h, z, y) — *altambi* (z).
eighth ord. *altambolom.*
eighty num. *worlti-aviw.*
either . . . or conj. *kal* . . . *kal*; 2. *par* . . . *par.*
elapse, to v.i. *mazare.*
elder n. *ugwm*; *aslakarl*; *horum manom sie*; *akarbir*; adj. *ugwm*; *omoro ugwm.*
elderly adj. *mapar.*
elephant n. *kasle.*
elevated adj. *thrwam.*
elevation n. (in level place) *dorg.*
eleven num. *forma kin* (h); *forma kan* (z, y); *forma hik* (z).
eleventh ord. *forma* or *forima hikolom.*
else adv. *da*; *thi*; *thwm.*
emaciated adj. *d°-kafam.*
emaciated, to become v.i. *d°-kafas.*
embrace, to v.t. *kavu °-al.*; *karkano °-al*; *karkir wahi.as*; v.s.v. *°-al.*
embroider, to v.t. *ferk al.*
embroidered adj. *ferki*; *ferk ofom*; — horse-cloth *kipim.*
embroidery n. *ferk* — pattern *ciksa.*
emerge, to v.i. *dawas.*
employ, to v.t. *°-aberuy.as.*
empty adj. *ghas*; *thi*; *pari*; *awi*; *ravli.*
empty out, to v.t. *dewaiy.as.*
empty-handed adj. *liw.*
enamoured adj. *arizy.*
enamoured, to be v.i. *d°-asewrf.as.*
enchantment n. *dam*; *aew.*
enclose, to v.t. *d°-afo.as*; (animals) *°-khali.as.*
enclosure n. (for animals) *hawy*; (round grave) *panji*; (round shrine) *thawk.*
encourage, to v.t. *°-as d°-afas.*
encouragement n. *himwal.*
end n. *wal*; at the — *mokafo*; *awar*; in the — *arzv kew*; to the — *ewiw*

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000 to come to an — *d*-γaʀʌs (h, x subj.) *dεγʌnʌs* (y subj.); *qaqεr* m.; (finis) *fʌqʌt*.
end, to v.i. *dωʀʌs*.
endeavour n. *kωδίδ*; *hωnnʌt*.
endeavour, to v.i. *kωδίδ εt*.
enemy n. *ʌkʌr*; γωγqʌ́s; *dωnʌn*.
engaged on, to be v.i. *ωγγωnʌs*.
Englishman n. *fωrʌq*.
enjoin, to v.t. *kωnʌ.ο εt*.
enjoy, to v.t. *ʃεnʌs*, (v.a.v. *ʃi.ʌs*).
enjoy o.s., to v.i. *kωri.εʃ εt*.
enjoyment n. *kωrωr*.
enmity n. γωl; *gʌf*; *ʃίr*; *dωnʌnni*; v.a.v. *nωrd*.
enough! *hωl*; γωl; γωγωl; γωiγωl.
entrail(s) n. 1. *-ta.kίw*; 2. *jωr*.
enquire, to v.i. *dεγʌrωnʌs*.
enquire into, to v.t. *d*-*ωqʌfʌs*.
entangled, to be v.i. *ʌkωrqωγʌs*; to get — *dikʌfʌs*.
enter, to v.i. *γiγʌs*; to cause s.o. — *-ʌpiγʌs*.
entertain, to v.t. *ωdίrω εt*.
entertainment n. *ωnωrωdʌk*; public — *tʌmωrω*.
entire adj. *fωk*; *γωγω*; *tʌmωrω*; the — *ωγωr*; — ox *ta.kind'ωr*.
entirely adv. *fωtʌp*.
entreaty n. *ωzωr*.
entrust, to v.t. *tʌωrί εt*.
envelope n. *lifωrfω*.
envious adj. to make s.o. — *jωjωf -ʌt*.
enviously adv. to look at. — *jωjωf -ωn*.
envoy n. *dωrʌlʌ*.
epilepsy n. *ʌωirγi*.
equable adj. (of person) *hʌrωm*.
equal adj. 3. *fʌk*; *hʌlωr*; *-γωγʌs*.
equal, to v.t. 3. *fʌk -ʌm*.
equinox n. (vernal) *Nωωrω*.
equipment n. *dωrωhʌk*; *ʌshirδ*; *ωrωωrω*.
equivalent n. *hʌdʌl*.

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eradicate, to v.t. *d°-pirtsa*; *d°-apirtsa*. 000
erect adj. *daldi.em*; *tse*.
erect, to v.t. *d°-ŋ.ŋjas*; (hoof) *fiq ef*.
error n. *fhis*; *herkan*; *ɣalal*; to make an — *herkan nivsa*.
escape, to v.i. *d°-m.sas*; *dwsas*.
escape-channel n. *dirivdal*.
establish, to v.t. *haja ef*.
estrangement n. v.a.v. *gevtsas* 6.
Ethiopian adj. *hahadi*.
even adj. (not odd) *haber*; adv. . . . *ha*.
even now adv. *seseto ha*.
evening n. *asvasfo*; *farua*; in the — *asvafsmo*; adj. *asvafsmo*; *farumo*.
eventually adv. *avsev hev*.
ever adv. *hamela*.
every adj. *hev*; *ha*; — time that . . . *fa.hing*.
everyone pron. *hev hin* (h); *hev han* (c,y).
evidence n. *gevevi*.
evil n. *hayerkhef*; *fevp*; to talk — of s.o. *fsw* m.; *fahag* °-*af*.; adj. *yenikzf*; *hayerk*; *fevpa*.
evil-doer n. *hayerk*; *mfumeiii ofas*.
evil-doing n. *mfumeii*.
evil eye n. *yenikzj masar*.
evil-looking adj. *afafsm*; *hadhahal*.
evil-natured adj. *hayerk*; *hadmajova*.
evilness n. *yenikzfhef*.
evil works n. *hankinom*.
ewe n. *hvlis*; (not yet dam) *sersis*; — lamb *semfalikij semserdi*.
exact adj. *fak*; *haber*.
exact, to v.t. (retribution) *di sasa* (v.a.v. *rsve*).
exalt, to v.t. *fhavsem* °-*af*.
examine, to v.t. to cause s.o. to — °-*abavsasa*.
excellence n. *daltaahej*.
excellent adj. *fave*; *daltas*; (virtuous) *penalisfu*.
except prep. *fhi*.

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cover n. *b'ardi*; in — *kank*.
covenantly adv. *kiŋ*; *nikergat*.
exchange, to v.t. *rdi kirdi* et.; *yfor* °-*at*.; (permanently) *dromaŋsa*.
excited adj. *mast*.
excrement n. *yerat* v. "dung".
excuse n. *ezur*.
exercise n. *maŋ*.
exercise, to v.t. *maŋ* et.; (rights) *kiŋ'sa*.
exempt adj. (from carrying loads) *kekora*.
exert o.s., to v.t. *jaŋsa'ir* et.; °-*saporsa*.
exhaust, to v.t. °-*saporsa*; (supplies etc.) *yfat* et.
exhausted adj. *kidam*; *yfat*; *dergamoto*.
exhaustol, to be v.t. *d*°-*ronsa* (k, a subj.); *dergansa* (y).
exile, to v.t. °-*sapalsa*; *ben dado d*°-*sasa* or °-*at*.
existence n. to come into — *mosore*; °-*masasa*; *poido m*.; *d*°-*sorsa*; *d*°-*masasa*; *dumasasa*.
expand, to v.t. *dusorsa*.
expectant adj. (mother) *wuirlsore*.
expectation n. *dak*; *wuird*; *pamore*.
expedient n. *ilerj*, *dowa*.
expel, to v.t. °-*sapalsa*; *d*°-*sasa*; *ben dado d*°-*sasa* or °-*at*.
expend, to v.t. °-*sarisa*; *sari* et.; °-*sorsa*.
expenditure n. *sari*.
expenses n. *sari*.
expensive adj. *bari gale*; *gorow*.
experience, to v.t. *kiŋ'sa*.
experienced, to become v.i. *d'irisa*.
expert n. *kiŋkusin*.
explosive n. *milirg*.
expose, to v.t. *d*°-*sualtsa*.
extend, to v.t. *jirk* °-*at*.
extended adj. *jirk*.
extended, to be v.i. *d*°-*tergorsa*.
extending adj. *dechapor*.
exterminate, to v.t. *bri* °-*sorsa*; *sat* °-*at*.
exterminated adj. *tatap*.

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000 extinguish, to v.t. *rutagas*.
extra adj. *kaik*; *kaikerto*.
extract, to v.t. *čas ol.*; *d°-nas*; *d°-ajovel-nas*; to cause to — *d°-apnas*.
extraordinary adj. *ajap*; *akkerj*.
extravagant, to be v.i. *yilivnas*.
extremely adv. *kerj*; *akkerjal*.
exude, to v.i. *pfovel m.*
eyeing oil adj. *kalalito*.
eye n. °-*lilin*; (of needle) *il*; white of — *kowm nana*; corner of — *rilpal*; grey-eyed *kwdo*; white-eyed (of horse) *čapov*; to keep an — on °-*analas*; — and limbs °-*lilin* °-*ilag*.
eye-ball n. °-*lilin nana*.
eye-brows n. °-*lizwals*.
eye-glasses n. *ešinak*.
eye-lash n. °-*lpaw*.
eyeless adj. (of needle) *il apim*.
eyelet n. (leather loop used as —) *pavilas*.
eyelid n. °-*lilin lil*.

F.

face n. °-*alivi*; *savat*; (of hill) °-*nilivi*.
face downwards adv. °-*mardikas*.
facing adj. *čav*; *vu kavu*.
fact n. in — *kalki*.
faction n. *pali*.
fade, to v.i. *doiyas*; *kherp m.*; *sorp m.*
faggot n. *falrus*.
fail, to v.i. (to be unable) v.a.v. °-*amasas*.
faint, to v.i. *bikerd m.*; 2. *pal* °-*m.* v.a.v. *dam*.
faint-hearted adj. °-*as zhrdo*; °-*as bidil*.
fair adj. (beautiful) *daltas*; *pakiras*; *marig*; (in colouring) *kwdo*.
fair-complexioned adj. *kwdo*; *kepil*.
fairyland n. *gamal*.
faith n. *imaro*; *tawakal*; "the —" *dina*.
faithful adj. *imaradovi*; *imaro bilam*.
faithless adj. *bi imaro*.
falcon n. *gasaaf*.

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

000 falconer n. *mirərkuv*.

fall, to v.i. *-walas* (h subjects); *walas* (x subjects); *balava* (y subjects); *ts.hor* m.; (of dew) *hasava*; (of snow etc.); *juryas*; *giyaiy*; (be spilt) *dimiryas*; (with loud noise) *dim walas*, *dim balava*.

fall asleep, to v.i. *-ayenas*.

fall down, to v.i. *dovas*; *bran walas*; *digi.eyas*; (of earth cliff) *ts.hi.as*.

fall in love, to v.i. *ərəy -m.*; *yfurf -m.*; *dori* m.

false adj. v.a.v. *yalat*.

falsehood n. *-amus*.

fame n. *tarif*.

family n. *jamarat*; — and relatives *jam jamarat*; distinguished old — *zum dam*; *mirus*; (breed) *zat*; (woman's term) *ayomo*; possessing large — *aspuyuv*.

famine n. *čham*.

famous adj. *ič durum*; *hori*; *mathuv*.

fancy n. to take a — to *yfurf -m.*

far adj. *mathan*; as — as *fhay*.

far-off adj. *yuranum*.

farewell! *zadayav!*

farness n. *mathanumkuf*.

farrier n. *sap eposas sis*.

fart n. *fit*.

farter n. *fikuf*.

farthing n. *paisa*.

fashion n. *zeil*; in this — *akhiri zailafs*.

fashion, to v.t. *d*-asmanas*.

fast n. *rura*; to keep the — *rura ganas*.

fast, to v.i. *rura* m.

fasten, to v.t. *d'uguyas*; *fak -at.*; v. "to tie".

fastening n. (of chogs) *fak*.

fat n. *biv*; (on animal's colon) *uvrk*; adj. (of person) *davanum*; *day*.

fate n. *nasib*; *qismat*.

462 b

000

father n. *-uy; (in royal circles) *baba*;
— of many grown sons *balgurin*.
father-in-law n. *-askir*.
fatherless adj. *-uy apam*; *thar'ea*.
fatigue, to v.t. *-asporas*.
fatted adj. the — calf *yurdam bolo'o*.
fattened adj. *yurdam*. V. s.vv. *-urde.as* & *yurde.as*.
fault n. *fhis*; *aib*; *gunu*; *hubul*; *taksir* for no — *narhaq*; to seek excuse to find — *gajat et*.
favour n. *yal*.
favourable adj. *subas*.
favourite adj. *-ayerum*; *xul* (c.)
fear n. *bik*; *bikkul*; *arkul*; 2. *dar*.
fear, to v.i. *ar m.*; *bik m.*; *xauf et.*; *-as gurwyas*; to make s.o. — *ar*, *or*, *bik* *-at.*; *-as* *-agusuryas*.
fearsome adj. *amuko*; v.s.v. *bik*.
feasible adj. *efas*.
feast n. *manoj*, v.s.v. *manotiki*.
feather n. *pfulgo*; -s of arrow *tarkong*.
fee n. miller's — *pfi*.
feeble adj. *ashto*; *torado*; *kamqurwat*; *kamzor*.
fed up, to be v.i. *durjaiyas*.
feed, to v.t. *-asiwas*; (by mouthfuls) *lap* *-at*.
feet and hands n. *-uj* *-ring*.
fell, to v.t. *delas*; *malaq* *-avas*.
felt n. *khama*; (under saddle) *toqum*.
female n. N. *sotti*; very young — (of animals) *sumfalikti*; adj. *gus*; *sum*; *kalkan*.
ferment, to v.i. *bapayas*.
festival n. *dusabe*; *jalsa*; Specific:
Vernal Equinox *Nauroz*.
Barley Seed-Sowing *Borpjun*.
Harvest *Grnawi*.
Threshing *Pi aqmor*.
Winter Fire *Thumuselig*, v. also s.v. *tonta*.

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Apricot Blossom *Šɪqamaṭiṇ*. 000
Dadi at Hindi *Šɔrev*.
festival food n. *bano*; *kɛčí kɪčə·li*.
fetch, to v.t. *d*-tsas* (h and x objects); (*do*)*suyas* (y objects); to make s.o. — *d*-atsas*.
fetch out, to v.t. *d*-usas*.
fetlock n. 1. *kuv*.
fever n. *dalayɔr*; *gɔru·vɔmkuṭ*; v.s.vv. *tɔrma*, *zurzɔr*.
few pron. *hikum*.
fickle adj. *hanisa·vs*.
fie! *pasɔrm!*
field n. *mal*; 2. *guyɔs*; 1. *ɣɔr*; *khoṭkus*; *sɔrk*; slightly sloping — 2. *ḍiv*; irrigation plot in — *pfɔruṇ*.
fierce adj. *zawdav*.
fifteen num. *tɔrma ts.hondo* (h, x, y), — *ts.hɪndí* (z).
fifteenth num. *tɔrma ts.hɪndi.ulum*.
fifth num. *ts.hɪndi.ulum*.
fifty num. *a·ltowa·ltɔr tɔ·rɪmo*.
fig n. *pfa·k* x.
fig tree n. *pfa·k* y.
fight n. *čal*; *hɔ·lguṭ*; *birga*.
fight, to v.i. *hɔ·lguṭ níyas*; *birga*, *čal*, *hɔ·lguṭ* or *jaṇ ɪt*.
fighter n. *janja·lkṭ*.
fighting n. *jaṇ*; *juwɔr*.
figure of fun n. *bayaraṭo*.
file n. *muɔrmu*; in — *ts.hirulo*.
fill n. (of a pipe) *mi·m*.
fill, to v.t. *hik *-at*; *d*-aspivanas*; — s.t. into s.t. *ufinas*.
fill in, to v.t. *giyas*.
fill up, to v.i. *bilbinas*; v.t. *d*-asuljaiyas*.
filled up adj. *ṭak*.
filled full, to be v.i. *dibiranas*.
filly n. *gus biraɣo*.
filtered adj. *sisi·num* (v.s.v. **-asisi·nas*).
filthy adj. *jumojanas*.
fin n. *galgi*.

4636

600 final adj. *muɨum*; *muɨsʃum* (v.s.v. 1. *muɨ*).
finally adv. *muɨʌʃe*; v.s.v. *axer*.
find, to v.t. *d*-ʌγurkʌs*; **-yaiyʌs*; *d*-yaiyʌs*.
find o.s. in; to v.i. **-wʌlʌs*.
fine b. *jərpa*; *mʌyo*; *tʌwʌn*; adj. (excellent) *ɨuʷa*; *mariŋ*; *dʌltʌs*; (not thick) *bi.enum*; (of powder etc.) *ts.hi·lum*.
fine, to v.t. *jərpa *-ʌt.*; *tʌwʌn *-ʌt.*
fined, to be v.i. *tʌwʌn *-m.*
finely-ground adj. *ts.hi·lum*.
finger n. **-ʌmɨ̄*; little — *γel*; (in measurments) *tsup*; to put — to *tsʌp st*; to run — over drum *fuʷn st.*; with crippled -s *khoʃo*; space between —s v.s.v. *γərtsapiɨ*.
finger nail n. **-uʷri*.
finis n. *fʌqʌt*.
finish, to v.t. *fʌɨ̄ st.*
finish off, to v.t. *eʷpʌsʌs*; (exterminate) *tʌčʌp st.*
finished, to be v.i. *fʌɨ̄ m.*; 2. *qʌqər m.*; *d*-γʌnʌs*; *doγʌnʌs*.
fir tree n. *gʌši*; *kʌčul*.
fire n. *pfu*; beacon — *pfu bərenč*; to set — to *pfu *-ʌ̄ši.ʌs*.
fire, to v.i. (with bow or gun) *bɨšaiyʌs*; v.t. (gun) *trʌn st.*
fire-container n. *ši*.
fire-place n. *ši*; *dəldoŋ*; floor stones round — *šutin*; *phʌrətsiʷn*.
fire-shovel n. *aʷtʌšbel*.
fire-tongs n. *aʷtʌšgiʷr*.
fire-wood n. *γʌšiʷl*.
firm adj. *γaʷqotsi byʷn*.
firm, to be v.i. *lʌŋ oʷmʌnʌs*.
first num. *hikulum*; adv. *ts.hor*; *yər*; *yər ne*; *yərʌʷyər*; *iʷthʌnulum* (v.s.v. **-thʌn*); in the — place *ʌwʌʷl*.
first-born adj. *ts.hor dimʌnum*; *isʌʷmaʷnum*.

464a

000 first-fruits n. to eat — *ha ha st.*
fish n. *čhumo.*
fish-insect n. *čwuwo.*
fissure n. (in ice) *baṭ*; 2. *bay.*
fist n. *muṭ.*
fit, to v.t. *d*-mayas.*
fit into, to v.i. **-yaiyas.*
fitting adj. *yaṭki*; *yom*; *munawrb*; not — *ṭak.*
five num. *tsḫwdo* (h, x, y), *tsḫrndi* (z).
fix, to v.t. **-waṭi.as* (h objects), *waṭi.as* (x objects), *brṭaiyas* (y objects); *dslas*; **-adilas*: **-aqərafas*; *ctsaiyas*; *d*-astsayas*; (appoint) *muqarrər st.*
fixed adj. *atuṭwnas* (v.s.v. *duṭunnas*); (appointed) *muqarrər.*
fizzle, to v.i. *jajam st.*
flag n. *alam.*
flagstone n. *bat.*
flake (of snow) n. *dap.*
flame n. *yurmus.*
flank n. **-apat.*
flap, to v.i. (of wings) *rawap m.*
flash, to v.i. *lam m.*
flat adj. *rat.*
flavour n. *maza.*
flay, to v.t. **-fatəras*; *baṭ dal st.*
flea n. *khim.*
flee, to v.i. *gartsas*; to make s.o. — **-askərtsas.*
flesh n. *čhap*; *boborq.*
flex, to v.t. *nok *-at.*
flight n. to put to — **-askərtsas*; *ḍam *-at.*
fling, to v.t. **-waṭi.as* (h objects), *waṭi.as* (x objects), *brṭaiyas* (y objects).
fling away, to v.t. *lip st.*
fling o.s. down, to v.i. *kha gartsas.*
flint n. *pfudan.*
floating adj. *dalbat.*
flock n. *gala*; N. *dun.*
flood n. *sar*; mud — *mors*; v.s.v. *dufaltas.*

464 b

floor n. (earth) *ṭiʷk*. 000

flour n. *dʌγo.ʌŋ*; *dirʌm*; dusting — for dough *baṭiŋ*.

flourish, to v.i. *dultʌlanʌs*.

flow, to v.i. *gaʷtsʌs*; *gutsʌhərʌs*.

flow, over, to v.i. (of things spilt) *laj'eʷl m*.

flower n. *askuʷr*; *pfuʷnər*; Specific: *gulsuʷri, lili.o, sujo pfuʷnər, mərdakay, mel pfuʷnər, kuʷrpʌn*.

flower, to v.i. *doxərʌs*.

flutter, to v.i. *ruʷʌp m*.

fly n. *pfiʷn*.

fly, to v.i. *duwʌlʌs*; to make — *d*-awʌlʌs*.

flying squirrel n. *bada*; smaller — *kərgal'o*.

foal n. *birʌγo*; *boḍoʷko*; donkey — *goʷko*.

foam n. *γʌf*.

fodder n. (grain) *baspuʷr*; (dry leaves) *homul*; v. also *ṭiqa, xipirt, xuʷrk*.

foe n. *dušmʌn*.

fog n. *xuroʷnč*.

fold n. (for animals) *hərayy*; (of cloth etc.) *paṭo*.

fold up, to v.i. *dus'alʌṭʌs*; v.t. *d*-matsʌs* (x objects); *dumʌtsʌs* (y).

folk n. *sis(ik)*; old — *jʌf baʷrṭ*; young —, old and young *joṭpʌf*.

follow, to v.t. **-ltaiyʌs*; *taiyʌs*.

follow up, to v.t. *ḍak *-ʌt.*; **-tsi gaʷrtsʌs*; **-tsiʷṭs niyʌs*.

follower n. *ṭʌdər*; (disciple) *muriʷd*.

folly n. *naʷdaʷni*.

fond, to be v.i *d*-ʌ.uruṭʌs*; v.a.v. *ṭoʷl*.

food n. *ṭʌpik*; *xuraʷk*; *ruʷzi*; *ta.aʷm*; *utsiyenʌs*; cooked — *d'iʷrim ṭʌpik*: forbidden — *jərmʌf*; *hərannn*. V. List of Foods.

food-cadger n. *buʷiki muču.ṭk*.

foodless adj. *čhʌko*.

fool adj. *ʌhmʌq*; *be-ʌqəl*; *be-uquʷf*; *naʷdaʷn*; donkey) *jʌkun*; (calf) *boḍoʷḍo*; (owl) *huʷyo*.

465a

foolish adj. *be.ʌqəl*; *navlʌm*; — behaviour *javkɪli*. 000
foot n. **-ufis*; on — *gaʃʌl*; *pi.avda*.
foot-hole n. N. *kʌpirus*.
foot-man n. *pi.avda*.
foot-mark n. **-ts.hu*.
foot-pole n. *kʌʃʌl bavla*, v.s.v. *gaʃʌl*.
foot-step n. **-ts.hu*.
foot-wrappers n. *ta.očiŋ*.
for prep. *gʌne*; expressed by Dat. v. § 69; (of time) *xav*, *xavʃiŋər*.
for shame! *pʌsorm!*
for sake of prep. *gʌne*.
forbearing adj. *bʌsum*.
forbid, to v.t. *mʌna* **-ʌt*.
forbidden adj. *ʃir*; *mʌna*; (food) *hərʌvm*; *jərmʌʃ*.
force n. *šʌt*; *zovr*; in — v.s.v. *hovl*; with — *jʌp*; *šʌtiŋe*.
force, to v.t. — s.o. to . . . v. Causatives §§ 235—240.
forced labour n. *rʌjavki*.
forcibly adv. *zvləm ne*.
ford n. *huma*.
fore- adj. **-yərum*.
fore-arm n. **-šʌk*.
forehead n. **-fʌʃi*.
foreign adj. *hovlom*; *jamirp*.
foreigner n. *hovlom sis*.
fore-leg n. **-lt'ʌltər*.
fore-lock n. **-čhoqərʌŋ*.
forenoon n. *jil*.
forest n. *muvʃk*; *jʌŋgʌl*.
forge n. *ši*.
forget, to v.t. *tivl* **-ʌlʌs*.
forgive, to v.t. *šavr et.*; *bʌxʃiʃ et.*; *bʌxšɪnda et.*; *mu.avf et.*
forgiven adj. *mu.avf*.
forgiveness n. 2. *šavr*; *mu.avfi*; to seek — *mu.avfi* (or, *bʌxšɪnda*) *dumərʌs*.
fork n. *jʌqər*.
fork, to make s.t. v. ca. *d***-ʌčʌqʌrʌs*.

4656

000 forked adj. *jʌqər*.
form n. *kʌlib*; (likeness) *bʌʃ*; *šʌkʌl*.
form, to v.t. *duʷnʌs*.
former adj. *tsʌhoʷrum*; **-yərum*; of — times *tsʌhoʷrmo*; in — times *yarpʌči* (p. 380); *yərum zʌmaʷna.ɔlo*.
formerly adv. *yər*.
fornication n. *zɪrna*; to commit —*zɪrna ət*.
fort n. *khʌn*; *koʃ*; *šrkaʷri*; (Mir's) *thaʷŋ*; *thʷŋoʃ*.
fortnight n. *thʷnts*.
forthwith adv. *hik dʌm*.
fortunate adj. *šu.a bʌxt*; *neʷk bʌxt*.
fortune n. *bʌxt*; *nʌsiʷb*.
fortune-teller n. *najuʷm*.
forty num. *aʷlto waʷltər*.
forward adj. *yərpa*; *zaʷq*; (of child) *tolpoʃ*.
forwards adv. *yər*; *yər ne*; *yərpa*.
foster- adj. *uʷšʌm*; — mother *uʷšʌm mʌma*.
foster, to v.t. **-uʷšc.ʌs*.
foul-mouthed adj. *čhʌko*.
foul-smelling adj. (person) *gono*.
four num. *waʷlto* (h, x, y), *waʷlti* (z); *zʌbuʷr*; — days *waʷlkuts*; — days hence *čaʷlto*; — months *waʷlsa*; on all -s **-toʷtʌmiŋʌʃs*, v.s.v. **-toʷto*.
four- adj. *waʷl-*.
four-cornered adj. *waʷlto yuʷrʌnts*.
four-sided adj. *waʷlto iskiʷliŋ*.
fourteen num. *turma waʷlto* (h, x, y), *-waʷlti* (z).
fourth ord. *waʷltilum*.
four thousand num. *waʷlti saʷs*.
fowl n. *qərqaʷmots*.
fox n. *hʌl*; *loʷi*.
fox-skin n. *hʌls bʌʃ*.
fraction n. *bayo*.
fragment n. *čoruʷk*; *đuđuʷo*; *moš*; *ṭər*; *phuʷk*; *ṭoʷri*.
frame n. *aʷrʌn*; (of door) *tsʌhərʌŋ*; (of smokehole) *zʌmʌrʌŋ*, v.s.v. *zʌmʌriš*.

466 a

000 free adj. *hɛṭ*; *ɑ·zɑ·d*; (at leisure) *ɕhʌn*; to get — *du·sʌs*; to be — *di.ʌši.ʌs*.
freed adj. *xʌlɑ·s*.
freedom n. *ɑ·zɑ·di*.
free-will n. *ɪxti.ɑ·r*.
freeze, to v.i. *γʌmu yʌnʌs* or *gʌnʌs*; *dumʌnʌs*; v.s.v. *du·mʌs*.
fresh adj. *itsi·mo*; *thoḷ*; *tɑ·za*.
friction n. *ʃɑ·q ʃɑ·q*.
Friday n. *šokoro*.
friend n. *yɑ·r*; *so·mo*; *yɑ·rɑ·n*; (man) *šogu·lo*; (woman) *šogu·li*; to make -s *d*-mayʌs*.
friendly adj. *gəru·rum*.
friendship n. *du·sti*; v.s.v. *jusɑ·ni*.
fright n. *bi·m*; *bi·k*.
frighten, to v.t. *ar *-ʌt.*; **-ʌgusu·yʌs*; *bi·k* or *bi·m *-ʌt*.
fringe n. (of hair) **-čhorqorʌŋ*; *pərčʌm*.
frog n. *γərkon*; N. *gurqots*.
from prep. *-tsom*; *-om*; **-tsimo*; **-yʌkʌltsom*.
from above adv. *yʌṭum*.
from below adv. *yɑ·rum*.
from beside adv. **-ʌpʌčim*.
from down-country adv. *xʌṭu·m*.
front n. of cloak *bi·ts*; in front *yər ne*; *yərpa*; in — of **-ŋgi*; **-yər*; **-yɑ·re*; adj. **-ŋgimo*; **-yərum*.
frontier n. *mol*; *sərhʌd*; closed — *ḍir*.
frost n. *γʌmu*.
frostbitten, to be v.i. *jʌk m.*; v.s.v. *γulɑ·s*.
froth n. *γʌḷ*.
frown, to v.i. **-fʌṭi loṭ st*.
fruit n. *pfʌmol*. Specific: *ba.lt*, *čurgodər*, *ju*, *birʌnč*, *phrʌlo*, *gʌlkur*, *g'undʌru*.
fruitful, to become v.i. *dolt'ʌlanʌs*.
fry, to v.t. *xʌr st*.
frying pan n. *čhumɑ·re*.
fuel n. *γʌši·l*.
fugitive n. **-ɑɑ·lum*; *nokɑ·rts ni·m sis*.

466b

000

fulfilled, to be v.i. *dutsʌhʌnʌs*.
full adj. *hik*; *ʂɔk*; *bil*; *birbir*; (of moon) *ʂɔr mʌnum*; *ʂɔr biʂivo*; brim — *tiphik*; *triphik*; not quite — *khʌnʂ'ɔri*.
full, to v.t. *yʌʂʌmurʌs* (x objects); *gʌʂʌmorʌs* (y objects).
full, to be v.i. *dib'irʌnʌs*; (of food) *dwʌljʌiyʌs*.
fully adv. 3. *tɔr*; *prʌŋ*.
funeral-meats n. *jʌgai.i*.
funeral-rites n. *wʌlji yɔr'*; *-tsi.ʌʂs*.
funnel n. (of bellows) *tiŋdʌn*.
fur n. *biʂka*.
furrow n. *hʌlagorn*.
further adv. *bʌsk*; *da*; *yʌrr*; *yʌʂs*; adj. *i·tum*; the — side *i·tum pʌči*.
furthest adv. to the — limit of *ʂhʌŋ*.
fuse n. *filta*.
fuse-holder n. *γʌʂip*; *maka*.
future n. *j'imden*; in — *i·lji*; (*i·ljum*) *beltʌs*.

G.

gain n. *nʌpha*; *sur*.
galled adj. *bʌlγʌn*; *ʂʌdʌŋ*.
gallop, to v.i. *gʌrtʌs*; v.t. *-ʌskɔrtʌs*; *čho st*.
gallows n. *dʌr*.
gamble(?), to v.i. *tʌtʌq m*.
gambler(?) n. *tʌtʌq mʌnʌr*.
game n. *hʌwʌs*; *tʌmʌrʌ*. V. List of Games. (animal) 1. *giri*.
gaol n. *bʌndixʌrna*; *jel*; *qaidʌrna*; *zrndʌrxʌrna*.
gaol-bird n. *qaidi*.
gap n. *tsʌhʌnɔr*; *t'ɔriʂ*; (in wall) *ʂʌŋ*.
gaping adj. *wʌq*.
garden n. *b'ʌsi*.
garden, vegetable- n. *šeni*.
garden plot n. *khuʂkus*.
gardener n. *bʌsiku.in*; *bʌsi.ʌ yʌʂku.in*; *bʌγobʌn*.
gargle, to v.i. *γɔrγɔr st*.

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garment, a single n. *hinzir.*
gash n. (made by axe) *če.*
gasp, to v.i. *dʌm dɛlʌs*; *-ʌs pfʊ·ʀʌs.*
gate n. *hiŋ.*
gateway n. *himʌltɔr.*
gathering n. *jʌlsa.*
gear n. *duʊ·tsʌk.*
geld, to v.t. *ʌxta st.*
generation n. *pošt.*
generosity n. *ʃʌʃakuʃ.*
generous n. *ʃʌʃa*; *ʀʌxʊ·ʀʌt*; *γɛʊ·ʌtdʊ·r.*
gentian n. *kuʊ·rpʌn.*
gentleman n. (European) *sʊ·b.*
gently adv. *thʌla*; *qrʃ*; *molɛ·im.*
get, to v.t. *d*-ʌγʊ·rkʌs*; **-yʌiyʌs*; **-yʌnʌs* (h obj.); *yʌnʌs* (x obj.); *gʌnʌs* (y obj.); *d*-tsʌs* (h, x); *dʊsʊ·yʌs* (y); *sʊ·yʌs* (y); *d*-yʌiyʌs.*
get along! *gʊ·n(a)!*
get better, to v.i. *wɔrts *-m.*
get down, to v.i *drʌŋ m.*; *dʊsʊ·kʌs*; to make s.o. — *d*-ʌskuyʌs.*
get free, to v.i. *duʊ·ʀʌs.*
get into, to v.i. **-yʌiyʌs.*
get off, to v.i. *d*-u.ʌsʌs.*
get out, to v.i. *duʊ·sʌs.*
get up, to v.i. *dʌ·l m.*; *di.ɛyʌs*; *hɔrt m.*; *ʀʌmzʌq m.*
get well, to v.i. *d*-u.ʌsʌs*; *wɔrts m.*
giddiness n. *gʌ·r.*
gift n. *bʌxʃiʃ*; *mɛʊ·mʌ·ni*; (talent) *hunɔr*; — of honour *hun'ʌm.*
gilt adj. *kimi.a.*
girl n. *dʌsi·ʊ.*
girth n. 2. *trʌŋ*; N. *khʌsk.*
give, to v.t. **-uyʌs* (h, x obj.); **-či.ʌs* (y sg. obj.); **-γʊnʌs* (y pl. obj.); — a name *i·k ʊsʌs*; — credence *bʌ·wɔr *-m*; — gift *mɛʊ·mʌ·ni st.*
give away, to v.t. (humiliate) *d*-ʌvɛʌltʌs.*
give birth, to v.i. *gučhaiyʌs*; (of animal) *hʌlkʌ·s*; v.t. (to a child) *d*-ʌsmʌnʌs.*

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000 give out, to v.i. *mʌšhuʷr et.*
glacier n. *γʌmu*; outflow from — *γʌmu.e yʌn.*
glad adj. *xuš*; *xušwʌxt.*
gladly adv. *doke doke*; *xuši.e ka.*
gladness n, *šure.aʷr*; *šuri.eš.*
glance n. *pfuʷt*; *nʌzər.*
glance, to v.i. *pfuʷt et.*
glands n. swollen — *taʷlomots.*
glass n. *boluʷl*; (mirror) *ai.ina.*
glassware n. *širša.*
glitter, to v.i. *sʌŋ, lʌlʌm et.*; *lʌmjʌm et.*
glittering n. *lʌlʌm.*
glove n. *dʌsmoza.*
glow n. (on mountains) *thʌliʷsa.*
glow, to v.i. *di(y)ʷrʌyʌs.*
glue n. *dʌγo.*
glutton n. *lʌṭu*; *jin.*
gluttonous adj. *lʌṭu.*
gnawing n. *hʌŋ* (v.s.v. *haŋ*).
go, to v.i. *niyʌs*; (of snow) *duwʌšeʌs*; to cause s.o. — *-ʌrʌs*; *-ʌgutsərʌs.*
go ahead! *gom(a)!*
go astray, to v.i. *this m.*; *-waʷlʌs* (h. subj.); *wʌvlʌs* (x subj.); *bʌluʷyʌs* (y subj.).
go back, to v.i. *pfər m.*
go bad, to v.i. *-γʌsʌs*; *γʌsaʷs*; *nʌs m.*
go down, to v.i. *bʌsaʷs.*
go into, to v.i. *giyʌs.*
go lame, to v.i. *qʌḍʌŋ m.*
go off, to v.i. *duʷsʌs*; *duwʌšeʌs*; *dʌfa m.* V.s.v. *pfʌṭʌŋ m.*
go out, to v.i. *duʷsʌs*; *duwʌšeʌs*; (of ball at polo) *hʌltsiʷk m.*; *phoʷks niyʌs*; *čiʷki m.* or *niyʌs*; (of fire) *thʌiyʌs.*
go round, to v.i. *tʌleʷnʌs.*
go to sleep, to v.i. *-ʌyenʌs*; *dʌŋ dosuʷyʌs*; *gučhʌiyʌs.*
go wrong, to v.i. *gošelʌs.*
goal n. *hʌla.*

000 goat n. *huyrs*; he — *buvć*; *hʌldɛn*; *ʂai.ivt*; *thugər*; she — *ts.hivgivr*; *ɛlgit*.
goat- adj. *huyrskum*.
goat-house n. 2. *giravm*.
goat's hair n. (cloth) *šərma*. V.s.v. *palors*.
go-between n. *hərʌŋgoʂ*.
God n. *Xuda*; *dʌmʌn*; — bless you? *barʌkullah!* by the power of —! *Xudai.ɛ qudərʌt!*
goddess n. *xuda f*.
goitre n. 1. γ*uqu*.
goitrous adj. γ*uqukɪʂ*.
gold n. γ*ɛnɪʂ*; *zər*; (in grains). *pful-pfuliki.ʌŋ* γ*ɛnɪʂ*; to wash for gold *məru ɛt*.
goldsmith n. *zərgər*.
gold-washer n. *mərutɛ*; superintendent of —s *xuravbguvin*.
gold-washing n. *məru*.
gold-washing-tray n. *xuravpo*.
golden adj. γ*ɛnɪʂɛ*; *kimi.a*.
golden-coloured adj. *kimi.a*.
gonorrhoea n. *sozavk*; *hirivski bi.ai.i*.
good n. 2. *šavr*; *nivki*; *fai.ɛda*; adj. *šu.a*; *dʌltʌs*; *mariŋ*; (virtuous) *pun*; — name *-ivk*.
good-bye! *xudavyavr!*
good-day! v.s.vv. 3. *juv*; *sʌlavm*.
good-looking adj. *dʌltʌs*.
goodness n. *šuvakuʂ*.
goose n. *sivndiʂ*.
gorge n. 2. γ*uqu*.
gourd n. *buvpuʂ*; *ʂuru*; N. *wʌn*; slice of — *ʂokoro*.
government n. *hokumʌt*; (British Indian) *sərkavr*.
government(al) adj. (Br. Ind.) *sərkavri*.
governor n. *havkim*.
governorship n. *gʌvərnəri*.
gracious adj. *mɛvrmavn*.
graft, to v.i. *piwʌn dɛlʌs*.

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grafted adj. (of trees) *pewʌndi*; *piwʌn dɛlom*. 000

grain n. (single) *pfʌl*; (single, unhusked) *phulphul*; (fodder) *bʌspuʷr*: (ground for the year's flour) *dišʌki*; (for wedding) *mʌnoṭiki*; (cleaned) *yai.iŋki*; daily allowance of — *-γərrki*; yearly allowance of — γərbel.

grain-bin n. *ts.hʌγər*; (on roof) *sʌkʌy*.

grain-pit n. *ṭis*.

granary n. *sʌkʌy*.

grandfather n. *-ʌpi*; *daʷdo*; (of royal rank) *baʷpo*.

grandmother n. *-ʌpi*.

grandson n. *-ʌmis*.

granular adj. v. *pfulpfuliki.ʌŋ*.

grape(s) n. γeʷiŋ; (seedless) *kišmiš*; (kinds of —) *ḍʌŋʌliski*, *mərgon*; (single berry) γeʷiŋe *pfulpful*.

grapple, to v.t. *duʷnʌs*.

grasp, to v.t. *duʷnʌs*.

grass n. *ṣiqa*; *jot*; *ruʷŋ*; (left in ground after cutting) *jeʷl*.

grass-hopper n. *trʌqo*.

grass-land n. *goʷz*; *ruʷŋ*.

grateful adj. *henʌs*; *šokorkiṣ*; *šokor o šokorgozaʷr etʌs*; v. *gəruʷrumkoṣ*.

gratis adv. *thi*.

gratitude n. *gəruʷrumkoṣ*.

grave n. *mʌzər*; *qʌbor*; *qʌm*; *tuʷz*; walled enclosure round — *pʌnji*.

gravel n. *qhüye*.

gravelly adj. *qhüyekiṣ*.

graveyard n. *tuʷšʌŋ*; *-ltuʷs diš*; *mʌzərriŋe diš*.

graze, to v.i. *-khər yʌrʌs*; *duyərʌs*: v.t. *-yʌrʌs*.

grazing-ground n. *bon*; *teʷr*; *jeʷl*; *ruʷŋ*; *uyərʌs diš*.

great adj. *uyuʷm*.

greatly adv. *buʷṭ*.

greatness n. *uyuʷmkoṣ*.

469 a

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greed n. *nʌfə*; *tʌma*.
greedy adj. *nʌfəkrǰ*; *tʌma*; *yʌmkhitso*; *lafu*; v.s.v. *muçuǰk*.
green adj. *juʷt ǰrqʌm*; *diŋ*.
greens n. *ǰiqʌmiŋ ho.i.*
greet, to v.t. *juʷ st.*; *sʌlaʷm st.*
greeting n. *juʷ*; *sʌlaʷm*.
grey adj. (of horse) *ǰrqʌm*.
grey-beard n. *borum mʌnum sis*; *boruʷm dʌp*.
grey-eyed adj. *buʷšu*; *ǰrqiʷl*.
grey-hound n. *taʷzi* (*huʷk*).
greyish adj. *guʷro*.
griddle n. *dau.o*.
grief n. *jaʷk*; *jəri.aʷr*; *ərmaʷn*; *γʌm*; in — *jərkhuʷso*.
grieve, to v.i. *dərmušaʷyʌs*; *ərmaʷn st.*; *hiʷǰ st.*
grieved, to be v.i. *dərmušaʷyʌs*.
grind, to v.t. *dərʌs*; (by hand on stone) *yuʷginʌs* (x obj.), *guʷginʌs* (y obj.); (with quern) *yʌmyərʷr st.*
grinding-stone n. *guyoʷs*.
grip n. *yʌn*; *dʌsta*.
groan, to v.i. *aʷjho st.*
groin n. *γrtiʷti*.
groom n. *ʌštʌn*.
ground n. *tiʷk*; *birdi*; precipitous — *jəm*; open, level — *dərmʌn*; *maidaʷm*: clear, smooth — *təḍʌq*; v. also s.vv. *čiḍiʷŋ* & *ḍiḍiŋ*; — for cleaning wool *sʌt*; v. "land".
grow, to v.i. *diǰkiyʌs*; *pfaʷnʌs*.
growing up adj. *čust*.
grown up adj. *uyuʷm*; *čust*; *munḍaʷq*.
grub n. (insect) *γʌlγu*; *uʷpʌl*.
grudge n. *γul*; *gʌt*.
grudge, to v.i. *pʌsoʷm* *-m.*; *d*-ʌγʌnʌs*.
grudge-bearing adj. *gʌtkrǰ*.
gruel n. (kinds of) *mul*; *ḍauḍo*. V. List of Foods.

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000 guard n. *ravṭi*; *ravṭakuvin*; (sentry) *tavr*; on — *rakala*.
guard, to v.t. *rak el*.
guardian spirit n. *ravṭi*; *ravṭakuvin*.
guest n. *ogin*.
guide n. *gan hanom*; *kreṭkuvin*.
guiltless adj. *bi-guna*.
guilty adj. *gunagavr*.
guitar n. *artavr*; *čorda*.
gullet n. *asukrṭ*.
gulp, to v.t. *γiḍip el*.
gum n. (of trees) *bag*; (adhesive) *dagə*.
gums n. **-wakkičiŋ*.
gun n. *tobag*; *urwri*; *birik*; —s *tobag mobag*; matchlock — *philtadavr*; percussion — *ḍfatagi tobag*; report o — *biḍiŋ*; *ičhar*; *ṭawafau.u*.
gun-barrel n. *ṭuli*.
gun-carriage n. *ərabu*.
gun-fuse-holder n. *maṭa*; *γaṭip*.
gun-powder n. *milizŋ*; — bag *γuli*.
gun-priming-pan n. *iltumal*.
gun-stock n. *kunda*.
gunny bag n. *burri*.
gusset n. *hagoriṭap*.
gut(s) n. 1. **-tshir*; lower end of animal's — 1. *tano*.
gutter n. *hur*.

H.

habit n. 3. **-tshir*; *dastur*; *adat*.
habitation n. *abadi*.
haft n. *yan*.
hail n. *hivo*; N. *angir*.
hail! *jurna!*
hail, to v.i. *hivo giyaias*.
hair n. (individual) *bur*; (human) **-γuyaŋ*; **-phirnṭlo*; (baby's) **-thoγoyaŋ*; (pubic) **-mogki*; fringe of — **-čhoqoraŋ*; curl of — *jorumo*; (animals') *biṭki*.
hairy n. *biṭkekṭ*; very — *jambulus*.
half n. *traŋ*; *lap*; *por*; *khiruman*.

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000 half-baked adj. *ɣuski.*
half-full adj. *khanḍ'ori.*
half-load n. *traŋ balda.*
half-sour & half-sweet adj. *ḍaŋaraʼso.*
half-way adj., adv. *babor gan; gana traq.*
half-yard n. *qaṭ.*
hallo! *hɛ!*
halloo n. *laʼo.*
halo n. *agun.*
halt, to v.i. *tsaṭ m.*
halter n. *thorgo.*
halting-place n. *basa.*
"halwa" n. *haula.*
ham n. (flesh of thigh) *bubo.q.*
hamlet n. *giraʼm.*
hammer n. *bulqa*; (small) *phaṭiʼl.*
hammer, to v.t. *ḍak st.* (v.s.v. *daq*); *ḍakaḍak st.*; (a person) **-muʼruṭas.*
hammock-cradle n. *biliṇčik.*
hamstring n. *jauua borsa.*
hand n. **-riŋ*; (small) **-toʼto*; open — *panja*; closed — *muč.*
hand-clapping n. *xarts.*
hand-cuffs n. *šaŋaličiŋ.*
handful n. *sarmuʼk*; *muč(an).*
handkerchief n. *laqpiʼs.*
handle n. *yan*; *dasta*; door — *joʼri*; plough — *muʼči*; *muṭi.*
handmill n. *yamyorr.*
handsel, to v.t. *ha ha st.*
handsome adj. *daltas*; *pakiʼza.*
hang, to v.i. *d*-tsh'iginas*; v.t. *d'*-tsikinas*; **-waši.as* (h obj.), *waši.as* (x obj.), *bziaiyas* (y obj.); (execute) *pfdʼsi -al.*; *pfdʼsi *-čhi.as*; *daʼrṭa d*-uzas.*
hang about, to v.i. *durginas.*
hanging adj. *babal.*
happiness n. *alkkas*; *šori.ar*; *šori.rṭ.*
happy adj. *aiyas*; *xuš*; *xuhsazt*; *minadan*, *alkkas*; *šori.ar*; *šori.rṭ.*
happy, to become v.i. **-as duxaras.*
happy-faced adj. *sum saŋ (*-skiʼl).*

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hard adj. *ḍaŋ*; *ḍum*; *kuraʈi*; *pim*; *ʈaɯa*; *tum*; *zor*; *haŋəraʈ*; half — *čamərarʈo*; — in a bargain *lavo javo*; adv. *jap*.

hard-hearted adj. *čumaɯə*.

hard-to-obtain adj. *pirpi*.

hard up adj. *taŋ*.

harden (metal), to v.t. *pim ičhi.as*; *pim st.*

hardship n. *abal*; *pʃiṭoi*; *musibat*; *saxti*.

hare n. *ṣor*.

harm n. *aib*; *nuqsan*; *zərər*; *porca*.

harrow n. *pʃask*; N. *dali*.

harrow, to v.t. *pʃask dadal st.*

harvest (cut crops) n. *dərts*.

harvest time n. *bisərkas khen*.

haste n. *talaʈ*; to make — *humalkum m.*; *ts.hor st.*; *talaʈ st.*

hawk n. *baɯ*. Specific varieties, V. List of Hawks.

hawking n. *baɯz ʃtkər*; to go —, v.a.v. *baɯ*.

hay n. *buɣam ʃtqa*.

he pron. *ima*. V. § 120; he himself v. § 142.

he- adj. *hir*.

he-goat n. *buɯč*; *halden*; *thugər*; *ʃai.ist*.

head n. *-yaʃts*; *yas*; *kapal*; official — *yaʃku.in*; back of — *-čhaŋaras*; — of bed *-aski*; to lose one's — v.a.v. *ačəra*.

headache n. v.a.vv. *-ɯdas* & *kapal*; *lam*; *zaq*.

headman n. *traŋfa*; *uyum*; *ʃaŋgu.in*; *akabir*; *ərbab*; fifth — of Baltit clans *kəʃaṭas*.

headmanship n. *ʃaŋ*.

head-servant n. *yasol*.

headstall n. *thurga*.

headstrong adj. V.a.v. *ʃamay*.

healing n. *ru*.

health (good) n. *daltaskuʈ*; *rahat*; *salamat*; *si.at*.

healthy adj. *tandurust*.

heap n. *čop*; 1. *čhoṭ*; (mound) *ḍom*; (of grain) *tsʌhʌl*. 000
heap up, to v.t. *bʌli·* *-ʌl*.
heaped up adj. 2. *čhoṭ*.
hear, to v.t. *d*-ʌyelʌs*.
heart n. **-ʌs*; v.s.v. **-ʌsvlom*.
heart-burn n. *čʌm*; v.s.v. *γʌlγu*.
hearth-stone n. *ʒutin*.
heartily adv. **-ʌsi ka*.
heat n. *gəruvumkuj*; to be on — *rai st.* (2.); *hʌwʌs st.*; v.s.v. *di.ʌti.ʌs*.
heat, to v.t. (water etc.) *dəskərʌyʌs*; *gəruvum st.*; *maj st.*
heathen n. *boyo u.i·liki·nʌs*; *butpʌrʌst*.
heathen temple n. *bu·tsnʌma*.
heaven n. *aiyʌš*; (paradise) *bilʌršt*.
heavy adj. *tsʌhu·m*.
heed, to v.t. *šʌŋ st.*
heedless adj. *be-pəriea*.
heedlessness n. *be-pəriea.i*.
heel n. **-γʌm*.
heel-rope n. *piča·ri*.
heifer n. *bu.ʌṭər*.
height n. *tha·numkuj*.
heir n. *wa·rts*; (successor) *diṭolo hʌruṭʌs*; (presumptive) v.s.v. *sukuvin*.
heirless adj. v.s.v. *bə·l*.
hell n. *do·zʌx*; *zo·zʌx*.
help n. **-mʌntsa*; *himaγʌt*; *mʌdʌd*.
help, to v.t. **-mʌntsa m.*; *mʌdʌd *-čhiyʌs*.
helper n. **-mʌntsa*; *buvo*.
helpless adj. *nə·čə·rə*; *nə·rlaj*.
hem n. *bu·rʌn*.
hem, to v.t. *bu·rʌn st.*
hem in, to v.i. (*ʒʌtərgʌt*) *d*-ʌtsʌs*.
hemp (drug) n. *bə·ŋ*.
hen n. (*gus*) *qərqə·mots*.
hence adv. *akhə·btsum*; *khə·lom*; N. *kholemo*.
henceforth adv. v.s.v. *akhə·lz*.
henhouse n. *qərqə·motsʌ gopi*; *ḍukuvi*.

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her adj. pron. V. §§ 120, 143.
herd n. *dun*; *gʌla*.
herdsman n. *huyrltərts*; *gʌlabʌrn*.
here adv. *khʌrlʌ*; *akhʌrlʌ*; *akhʌlʌ*; N. *khʌle.i* — then . . . *yʌ*.
hereafter adv. *ivlji*.
hereupon conj. *akhurum*.
hereditament n. *mirʌs*.
hero n. *paḷuwʌn*.
heron n. *qərurye*.
herself pron. *mu.i*, v. §§ 144 & 142.
hesitate, to v.i. *pʌsʌrm m*.
hidden adj. *čʌp*.
hide n. *gʌp*; ox — *hərʌ gʌp*; raw — *dʌγurʌ gʌp*; prepared — *yʌṭʌmorum gʌp*.
hide, to v.i. *dʌγai.ʌs*; v.t. *•-ʌstʌqayʌs*, *čʌp •-ʌt*.
hide and seek n. *čyurčyur*.
hideous adj. *γunikṛṭ*; *akirtsum*; — creature *bʌγʌrʌrčo*.
hideousness n. *γunikṛṭkuṭ*.
high adj. *thʌrnum*; (putrid) *pirṣhʌlel*; (tainted) *nʌs mʌnum*.
high-born adj. *zʌrtʌ uyum*; *šuʌ zʌrt(i)*; *zʌrtdʌr*; (on both sides) *kʌrʌli*.
hill n. *čhiṭ*; small, rounded — *lʌṭ*.
hill-face n. *irndil*.
hillock n. *čhʌt* or *joṭ čhiṭ*; *lʌṭ*.
hilt n. *yʌn*; *dʌsta*; *qʌbza*.
him pron. V. § 120.
himself pron. *ir*. V. §§ 144 & 142.
hind- adj. *ivlji*; *ivljum*.
hinder, to v.t. *d•-ʌšiʌs*.
hind-leg n. *ivlji •-ltʌntʌ*; (above hock) *bʌtsin*.
hinge n. *qʌbza*.
hip n. *minʌltin*; *čhərbʌn*.
hire n. *krrʌrya*.
hire, to v.t. *krrʌryʌr gʌnʌs* or *yʌnʌs*.
his pron., adj. *irmo*. V. § 143.
hit, to v.t. *•-dəlʌs*; *dəlʌs*; *d•-ʌlʌs*; *yaiyʌs*.

080

hither adv. *khrlo*; N. *kolerv*.
hitherto adv. *dovem* ne.
hive n. *ywigzj*.
ho! *lo!* *ua!* *ya!*.
hoard, to v.t. *ḍaq* *et*.
hoarfrost n. N. *kafi*.
hock n. *čiji čulmoe* (*-*domus*).
hold, to v.t. — Nazros *nourve* *et*.; — your tongue! *ya!*
hold of, to lay v.t. *dwnas*; to make s.o. — *dwynas*.
hold up (step), to v.t. *d*-*askafas*.
hole n. *yemer*; *halhas*; *tvij*; (burrow) *ywigzj*; (for door-bolt peg) *yen*; (for butter) *ḍer*; small — *ḍuḍer*; (in ground) *jive*; *qam*; *yejerpes*; (for nose-peg) *naf*.
holiday n. *dusafa*.
hollow n. *daltanas*; *yejerpes*; adj. *pwj*.
holster n. *kabwl*.
holy adj. *swjo*.
holy man n. *wali*; *tumry*.
home n. *ka*.
home-spun n. (woollen) *pflam*.
hone n. *haldas*.
honest adj. *rufrmo*; *sevda*; *dizwatdaw*.
honey n. *mafki*.
honey-bee n. *mafkis ḍmaju*.
honey-comb n. *mafkis ywigzj*.
honour n. *zzal*; (sense of —) *yewal*; jealous of one's — *yewatdaw*.
hoof n. *-*pfati*; *kwvo*; cloven — *jaqir* *ipfati*.
hoof-mark n. *-*tsha*.
hook n. 1. *khay*.
hoop n. (of withies) *morda*.
hoopoe n. *purpo*; *hwkorpo*.
hope n. *dak*; *umid*.
hope, to v.i. V.a.v. *dak*; *umid* *et*.
hopeful adj. *umidaw*.
hopeless adj. *wumid*.
hopper (of mill) n. *ḍer*.

472 b

000

horn n. *-ilsw; tur.
hornet n. ɣqir.
hornless adj. baṭa.
horse n. hayur; small — bejorko; mare bayum; stallion čhorda.
horse-cloth n. gajeri; embroidered — kijiwm.
horse-dung n. sepot.
horse-fly n. hayure pṭin.
horse-food n. (grain) baspur.
horseman n. hayurkuwin.
horse-race n. pai.ign.
horse-shoe n. sap; N. sarpo.
horse-shoer n. sap cpesas sis.
horse-trappings n. hayure asbab.
hospital n. safaxana.
hospitality n. xenrudak.
host n. ha· daman.
hostility n. ḍir; dušmani.
hot adj. (of temperature) gurwrum; (of taste, temper) baberum.
hot, to become v.i. dē(y)wrasas.
hour n. sarat.
house n. ha; innermost part of — ulači.
household n. ha; jamarat.
hovel n. ḍaḍeri.
how? adv. be?; bečok?; beanafe?; belki?; belafe?; amalum?; hal bečok?; adv. (degree) bevuman?
how . . .! adv. be . . .!
how large? adv. bevur?.
how long? adv. bedal ma?.
how many? how much? adv. bevum? bevuman?
How old? adv. bevur?.
howdah n. tazi.
however . . . conj. belafe . . . ke.
huff n. to be in a — pṭṭṭiwk m.
hulle! arul; lavo!
human adj. bani.adame; v.a.v. wlom.
human being n. banda; bani.adam; adamzad.

473 a

humbugging adj. *hʷniŋ daltʌiko.* 000
humiliate, to v.t. *d°-awʌltʌs.*
hump n. *°-xundo.*
humped adj. *ḍoʂ*; *°-xundukṛ̣.*
hunchback n. *°-xundukṛ̣.*
hundred num. *tha.*
hunger n. *čhʌm.*
hungry adj. *čhʌmrʌs*; v.s.v. 1. *tal.*
hunt, to v.i. *dəru st.*; *dəruər ni.ʌs.*
hunt through, to v.t. *pfṭiʷk pfuṭuʷk st.*
hunter n. *dəruʷts.*
hunting n. *dəru*; (with hawks) *ṛ̣xkər.*
hunting-ground n. *ṛ̣xkərs dil.*
hurry n. *tʌlaʷš.*
hurry up, to v.i. *homʌlkum st.*; *ts.hor st.*; *tʌlaʷš st.*; *himmʌt st.*
hurt n. *aib.*
hurt, to v.t. *°-xoʷlʌs*; *°-xoʷlinʌs*; *°-xulʌs.*
husband n. *°-uyər*; *jamaʷʌt*; *hapkuʷin*; *hir.*
husk n. *wʌf.*
hustle, to v.i. *ḍus delʌi.ʌs*; *ḍus dumʌs.*
hut n. *čokuṭo*; *čokuṭi*; *ḍukuʷri*; *goṭi*; (pen) *bakur.*

I.

I pron. *js, ja.* V. §§ 117, 118.
I myself pron. *je.i.* V. § 142.
ibex n. *giʷri*; N. *kiʷl*; male — *giʷri halden*; female — *giʷri ts.hiʷr.*
ice n. γʌmu.
icicle n. γʌmuʌ čhu.
idea n. *xi.aʷl.*
identical adj. *hʌnjuʷko.*
idiot n. *°-tsi bʌγʌlte.ʌs* (*sis*).
idle adj. *tərʌḍo; sus.*
idleness n. *tərʌḍe.i.*
idolater n. *butparʌst.*
idol-house n. *buʷtxaʷna.*
if conj. . . . *ks*; . . . *kuli*; *ʌgər* . . . *ks*; *ʌxəna* . . . *ks.*
if not conj. *bs ks.*

473 b

ooo ignorant adj. *nʷdaʷn.*
ilium n. **-šoʏʊn.*
ill adj. *ʏʌlisʷ*; *juʷnojʌnʌs*; (chronically *ʏʌlisaʷto.*
ill-begotten adj. *hərʌʷmzaʷda.*
ill-favoured adj. *ʌkiʷrtsʊm*; *ʏʊnikrʃ*; *wʌno.*
ill-mannered adj. *qaʷqʌrʊm* (p. 298).
ill repute n. *bʌdnaʷmi.*
ill-tempered adj. *bʌʏərk.*
illegitimate adj. *pfoʷpʊʃ*; *leʷdo*; *hərʌʷmzaʷda.*
illness n. *biʌiʌi*; *ʏʌlisʷ*; *ʏʌlisʷzkʊʃ.*
imam n. *imaʷm.*
imbecile adj. *wʌsʊcaʷsi.*
imbecility n. *wʌsʊcaʷsi.*
imitate, to n. **-ltʊr m.*
immature adj. (person) *jʌčo jʊroʃi.*
immediately adv. *tsʌhor*; *hik dʌm.*
immobile adj. *ʏaʷqʊts.*
impassable adj. *jʊm.*
impatient adj. *sʌbʊr apiʷm*; *bi-sʌbʊr.*
impede, to v.t. *d*-ʌskʌʃʌs.*
impeded, to be v.i. *d*-khʌʃʌs*; (with y subj.) *dukhʌʃʌs*; (of breath) *dišaiyʌs.*
impertinence n. *beḍaʷr.*
impetuous adj. *jaʷhʌl.*
implement n. *duʷstsʌk.*
importune, to v.t. *baʷk m.*
impose, to v.t. — tax *bʌp oʷsʌs.*
impossible adj. *ayʷtʌs.*
impoverished adj. *tʌltʌq.*
imprecation n. *laʷnʌt.*
impression n. *nʌgša.*
imprison, to v.t. *qaid ʷt.*
improper adj. *šək.*
impure adj. *juʷnojʌnʌs*; *xʌbiʷs*; *naʷpaʷk*; to become — *dimilʌs*; to render — *d*-ʌsmilʌs.*
in prep. *-ʊlo.* V. § 76; adv. *uʷlo.*
in addition adv. *da.*
in company of prep. *ka.*
in direction of prep. **-yʌkʌl.*

in fact adv. *ts.hʌne*; *mʌgər*.
in front of prep. *-ŋgi*; 1. *yaʷrɛ*; 2. *-yaʷrɛ*; *zaʷq*; a little — *yaʷrqɪš*.
in here adv. *akuʷlo*.
in middle of adv. *makučɪ*.
in good order adv. *wərts*.
in pieces adv. *ṭərumṭər*.
in presence of prep. *-yaʷrɛ*; *yaʷrɛ*.
in sight adv. *pfaʷš*.
in single file adv. *ts.hirulo*.
in succession, in turn adv. *ts.hirtsɛ*.
in want adj. *muhtaʷj*.
inattentively adv. v.s.v. *dʌlbʌṭ*.
incantation n. *dʌm*; *ṣɪqa*.
inch n. *iʷnč*.
incisor n. *yərum -mɛ*.
inclination n. *rai*.
included adj. *šaʷmɪl*.
incompetent adj. v.s.v. *duro*.
inconspicuous adj. *aqɛn*.
inconvenience n. *dʌmjaʷr*.
increase, to v.i. (in girth, of a tree) *dufʌrɛskinʌs*.
incumbent (on) adj. *yʌški*.
indeed conj. *ts.hʌne*; *bʌlki*; *xair*.
independent adj. *aʷzaʷd*.
Indian corn n. *mʌkai.i*.
indifferent adj. v.s.v. *dʌlbʌṭ*.
indigenes n. *yʷškuʷyu*.
indigenous adj. *uʷlum*.
indigo n. *niʷl*.
inevitably adv. *zəruʷl*.
inexhaustible adj. v.s.vv. *d-ʌγʌnʌs*, *doγʌnʌs*.
infancy n. *juṭkuš*.
infant n. *giyaʷs*; *maʷsum*.
inferior n. v.s.v. *huyɛʷltərts*; adj. *kʌm*; *ts.hiʷlum*.
infidel n. *kaʷfir*; *hindu*.
influence n. (of supernatural being) *girgɪš*.
influenced by, to be v.i. *jʌmkʌč -m*.

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inform, to v.t. *-ʌikinʌs; levl *-ʌt.; xʌbər *-čhiyʌs; xʌbər et. 000
informant n. xʌbər *-čhiyʌs.
information n. tʌxpa; xʌbər.
informed adj. xʌbər.
informer n. xʌbəriŋ suryʌs; muxbir.
inhabitant n. hərurṭʌs; original —s yeškuryu.
inhabited adj. abad.
inheritance n. mirʌs.
inimical adj. gaṭkrš.
initiative n. on one's own — muravli(?).
injunction n. kaṭ; kʌnavo; šʌlda.
injured adj. v.s.v. aib.
injury n. nuqsan; zərər.
injustice n. bi-insafi; zulum.
ink n. si.ai.
inkpot n. dʌwat.
inkstand n. qʌlʌmdan.
innards n. *-ul.
innocent adj. bi-gunʌ; gunʌ apim.
innocently adj. gunʌ apimʌṭs.
inoculate, to v.t. huda *-ʌt.
inopportune adj. ʌkhen.
insane adj. wʌswasi; *-tsi bʌγʌltsʌs; diwana.
insanity n. wʌswasi.
insect n. γʌlγu; (wool-eating) čumuzo; (like centipede) hirimʌn. V. List of Insects.
insensible adj. bi-huš.
inside n. (human) *-ul; *-γumər; (of cloth etc.) istər; (on the — uli tʌli; from — ulum. adj. ulum; -ulum; adv. ul; ulo.
inside here adv. akulo.
inside out adv. ʌpʌrts; ʌpʌroṭo(?)
insignificant adj. lʌs; lʌlʌs; aqen.
insipid adj. mʌza apim; bi-mʌza.
insist, to v.i. zor et.
insolence n. beḍar.
inspect, to v.t. sail et.

475a

inspection n. *sail.*
instead of prep. *dišulo.*
instruct, to v.t. *-ʌ.ikinʌs; ta·lim* *-čhiyʌs.*
instruction n. *ta·lim.*
instructions n. *bər; kʌnaʷo; šʌlda.*
instrument n. *du·stsʌk.*
insubordinate adj. *yʌγi.*
intellect n. *ʌqəl.*
insubordination n. *mʌsti.*
intelligence n. *hu·š; fa·m; ʌqəl.*
intelligent adj. *fahmda·r; ʌqəlkrš; hənʌs; gune·rço; hu·škrš; jun.*
intend, to v.i. *rra.da et.; ni.ʌt et.*
intention n. *rai; qʌsd; ni.ʌt; rra·da.*
intentional(ly) adj., adv. *ne·sʌl; qʌsd netʌn; ʌsəli(?).*
interconrse (sexual) n. to have — with a woman *mo·tʌs* v.s.v. *-ʌtʌs.* 6.
interfere, to v.i. *hərʌŋ giyʌs;* v.s.v. *dʌxʌl.*
interloper n. *thər mʌnum.*
intermediary n. *hərʌŋuš.*
interment n. *-ltus.*
internal adj. *u·lum.*
interpretation n. *ma·ni.*
interrupt, to v.i. *hərʌŋ giyʌs.*
interstice, interval n. *ts.hʌnzər.*
intervene, to v.i. *hərʌŋ giyʌs.*
intervening adj. *hərʌŋulum.*
intestine n. *-ts.hi·r;* large — *jʌmbolos.*
intimate adj. *gəru·rum.*
intimidate, to v.t. *a·h -ʌt.*
intoxicated adj. *mʌst.*
intoxicated, to become v.i. *-ʌrčai.ʌs.*
intrigue, to v.i. *gʌjʌt et.*
invert, to v.t. *eγultʌrʌs; yʌtkum et.*
inverted adj. *ʌpʌrts; ʌpʌroto.*
invest, to v.t. (a fortress) *qʌbʌl wʌši.ʌs.*
V. also "to surround".
investigate, to v.t. *d-ʌsqʌtʌs.* 8.
invisible adj. *γai.rb.*
invisibility n. *o·itsʌs,* v.s.v. *-(y)ʌtsʌs.*

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invocation n. *du.a·*.
invoke, to v.t. *du.a· et.*
involved, to be v.i. *dəxo·quyʌs.*
inwards adv. *u·l ns*, v.s.v. *u·l.*
iris n. *sosʌn.*
iron n. *čhumav*; cast — *či.ʌn*; hard — *quvč*; adj. *čhumavs*; *čhumərpa.*
ironware n. *čhumərpa.*
irreligious adj. *hindu.*
irrigate, to v.t. *ts.hil yʌlʌs.*
irrigation channel n. *dʌla*; *go·tsil*; *ḍi*
is v.i. (hm) *bai*; (hf) *bo*; (x) *bi*; (y) *bila* v. §§ 269, 270.
is not v.i. (hm) *apai*; (hf) *apo*; (xy) *api.*
is it not? v.i. *bevsa?*
issue, to v.i. *duvʌs.*
it pron. (x) *i·se*; (y) *i·ts*, v. § 120.
itch n. *khikhrj.*
itch, to v.i. *d*-ʌγʌyʌs.*
its (own) pron. (x, y) *i·mo*, v. § 143.
itself pron. (x, y) *i·i*; *i·i·*, v. § 142; of — (*i·mo*) *ra·ʌti.*

J.

jail n. *bʌndixa·na*; *je·lxa·na*; *qaidxa·na*; to put in — *qaid et.*
jail-bird n. *qaidi.*
jaw, jaw-bone n. **-mɛlč.*
jerk away, to v.t. *jʌj et.*
jewel n. *juwaihir.*
jewelry n. *hərkun*; bride's — *hunʌm*; **-thɛ·ŋi.*
jib, to v.i. (of a horse or person) *tsʌtsʌq m.*
jinn n. *pfu·t*; *jɪn*; female — *ḍʌŋʌlʌṭhʌs.*
job n. *duro.*
join in, to v.i. *hərʌŋ giyʌs.*
join on, to v.t. **-ʌqərʌṭʌs.*
joined, to be v.i. *xərʌṭʌs.*
joined together adj. *livj.*
joint n. *khi·rts*; neck — *kʌnjha.*
jointly owned adv. *hərʌŋ.*

000 joke n. *mʌsxəra.*
joke with, to v.i. *hʌwʌs st.*
journey n. *sʌpər.*
journey, to v.i. *sʌpər st.*
joy n, *xuši.*
judge n. *qa·zi.*
judgement n. *ʌstʌm.*
juice (of fruit) n. *ši·ra.*
jump, to v.i. *prik delʌs*; *hʌl delʌs*; (long) *hʌl ga·rtsʌs*; to cause to — *prik* or *hʌl* *-*ʌdilʌs.*
jump down, to v.i. 2. *čup delʌs*; *čup ga·rtsʌs.*
jumper n. (tool) *jʌbʌl.*
jungle n. *tə·r*; *mu·ṣk*; *jʌŋgʌl*; open — *bon.*
juniper n. *gʌl*; dwarf — *mʌṭhʌli gʌl*; long, straight stem of — 3. *dir.*
jug n. *mʌkərba.*
just ad,. *a·dil*; adv. *čo·k.*
just as . . . conj. *belʌṭe . . . ke.*
just once adv. *hik ke.*
justice n. *a·dil*; *ʌstʌm*; *xnsa·f.*

K.

Kashmiri adj. *güyʌkum*
keep, to v.t. (store) *ḍʌŋ st.*; (hold) *o·sʌs*; (detain) *-*ʌ.ʌrvṭʌs*; — an eye on *-*ʌsʌlʌs*: *-*lčin st.*; — s.o. waiting *-*ʌskərʌnʌs.*
keep quiet, to v.i. *bʌsa·s.*
kernel n. *bʌl*; *hʌni*; walnut — *xwʌzur*; (after oil is expressed) *mina*; bitter apricot —s *γa·qʌyišo hʌni.*
kerosene n. *ti·ke del.*
kettle n. *krtli.*
kettledrum n. *ḍa·mʌl.*
key n. *čhe.i.*
khaki-coloured adj. *ti·ke surʌt.*
kick, to v.i. *dʌpizki delʌs.*
kid n. *du*; (male) *bu·ṭər*; (female) *hʌl-ka·s du*; *somfʌlikrj.*

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kidney n. *-ʌso; N. *juʷk*.
kill, to v.t. *-ʌsqanʌs; d*-ʌlʌs; *-delʌs; *jiʷtsum* *-ʌrʌs.
kind n. *čuq*; *qrum*; of this — *ʌkhíʷl*; of one's own — *baʷ*; of what —? *bečuq?*; *bəki?*; *beljuk?*; *belʌfum?* adj. *šuʷlbʌlikrj*; *mʷrmaʷn*: *rʌhʌmkrj*; *rʌhʌmdrl*.
kindle, to v.t. *-ʌspʌlʌs.
kindly adj. *rʌhʌmdrl*; adv. *mʷrmaʷni netʌn*.
kindness n. *šuʷakuj*; *rʌhʌm*.
king n. *thʌm*; *paʷdša*.
kingship n. *thʌmkuj*.
kinship (by marriage) n. *gul*.
kinsman n. *jaʷm*; (near) *sukuʷin*.
kiss n. *ba*; *baʷn*.
kiss, to v.t. *baʷn st.*
kit n. *duʷstsʌkičiŋ*; *ʌsbaʷb*; *saʷmaʷn*.
kitchen n. *thaʷŋ*.
kite n. (bird) N. *qʌlq*.
knead, to v.t. *dʷqulʌnʌs*; (leather etc.); *yʌfʌmʷrʌs* (x obj.), *gʌfʌmʷrʌs* (y obj.).
knee n. *-domus*; hind — (= hock) *iʷlji* *-domus*.
knee-cap n. *-domusʷ pfuʷl*.
kneel, to v.i. *-domučowʌfʌ horuʷfʌs*.
knife n. *čhʌʷ*; *borɪnda*.
knit, to v.t. *grišaiyʌs*.
knitting-needle n. *γai.rs*.
knock, to v.i. *čʌŋ čʌŋ st.*; *čuʷʌk čuʷʌk st.*; *čuʷʌŋ čuʷʌŋ st.*; *thʌk st.*
knock down, to v.t. *dʷqrʌs*.
knock in, to v.t. *thʌk st.*
knot n. *gʌf*.
knot, to v.i. *gʌf wʌhʌs*.
knotty adj. (of wood) *gʌfkrj*.
know, to v.t. *hʷrnʌs*; *lʷl* (person) *-yʷrnʌs*.
known adj. *lʷl*; *maʷluʷm*; not — v.s.v. *beyʌm*.
knuckle n. *gʌf*.

L.

labour n. *muḷaqʌt*; hired — *masduwi*; communal —, forced — *rajaki*; (travail) *-ʒuʷl*.

labourer n. *durowkuʷin*; (forced) *rajaki.e sis*.

labour-pains n. *-ʒuʷl*.

lace n. *bʌn*; *jikʌn*.

lad n. *hiles*.

ladder n. *čhiḷ*.

ladle n. *giyʌlt*; *khʌpon*; *thʌnʌs*.

ladle out, to v.t. *dʷmiyʌs*.

lady! *nʌna!*

lady-bird n. *khʌnimojuʷko*.

lair n. *yuʷlgɪḷ*; *yʌks diḷ*; *yʌk etʌs diḷ*.

lake n. *pfəri*.

lamb n. *mamuʷši*; *belise ivsk*; (female) *sumfʌlikɪḷ mumuʷši*.

lame n. *ɣʌyu*; *ɣʌyu čhʌŋgu*; *ɢʌḍʌŋ*; *təɾʌm*.

lame, to go v.i. *təɾʌm m.*; *thʌḍʌm m.*

lament, to v.i. *herʌs*.

lamentation n. *herimiŋ*; *wawela et*.

lammergeier n. *gʌtsʌhir*.

lamp n. *gəri*; *čɪrʌq*.

lamp-light n. *gəri.e rʌš*.

lance n. *niza*.

lancet n. *nʌstər*.

land n. inhabited, cultivated — *buḷai.i*; *ičit*; uninhabited — *dʌs*; irrigated grazing — *ʃoq*; — liable to crop-disease *ɣʌnkɪḷ buḷai.i*; — held as foster-fief *wčʌki*; section of cultivated — *sərpa*.

landlord n. *buḷai.e dʌmʌn*.

lane n. *ʃuʷŋ*.

language n. *barḷ*.

lantern n. *lʌlten*.

lap n. *-lʌmʌt*; in the — of *-lʌmʌči*.

lap, to v.i. *ʃuʷk et*.

lapis lazuli n. *diŋ*.

large adj. *uyum*.

larynx n. *ḍoʷḍo*.

4776

000 lass n. *dʌsi·n.*
last adj. *i·ljʊm*; *mʊšʊm*; *mʊšɛṭʊm*; *ni·m*; at — *a·xɛr.*
Last Day n. *axʌrʌt.*
last-born adj. *i·ljʊm* or *mʊšɛṭʊm d°-mʌnʊm.*
last night n. *sʌbur.*
last night's adj. *sʌbu·rmo.*
last year n. *thʌmi·ni*; *thʌmi·nimo dɛn.*
last year's adj. *thʌmi·nimo.*
late adj. *n°-kərʌn*; *la·q*; to make s.o. — *°-ʌskhərʌnʌs.*
late, to be v.i. *°-khərʌnʌs.*
lately adv. *čo·k.*
later adj. *yʌṭs*; in — times v.s.v. *bɛltsɛ*; some time — *i·lji ja·ṭ*; adv. *i·ljʊm*; (*i·lji*) *la·q.*
latest adj. *itsi·mo.*
latrine n. *jukʌŋ.*
laugh, to v.i. *γʌsa·s*; *d°-ʌγʌsʌs*; to make s.o. — *°-ʌγʌsʌs.*
laughter n. *γʌsi·ṭ.*
law n. *qa·nu·n*; customary — *mira·s*; Islamic — *šəri.ʌt.*
lawful adj. *hʌla·l.*
lawn n. *bʌsi.ɛ jut.*
lay, to v.t. *o·sʌs*; (eggs) *wʌši.ʌs.*
lay hold of, to v.t. *du·nʌs.*
lay-out, to v.t. *d°-ʌrʌs*; *jɛ·k °-ʌt.*
lay up, to v.t. *ḍʌŋ ɛt.*
lazy adj. *ʌrʌšo*; *tərʌḍo*; *imʌkrṭ*; *bʌγʊndokrṭ.*
lead n. (metal) *ši·sk.*
lead, to v.t. to make s.o. — the way *sa·ʌt °-ʌt.*
lead away, to v.t. *ts.hu·yʌs.*
leader n. *°-yʌṭrɛ*; *sərda·r.*
leading man n. *ʌka·bir*; *uyu·m.*
leaf n. *khüy*; *tʌp*; (of book) *tʌp*: *wərʌq.*
leaflet n. *tʌp.*
leak, to v.i. *γʌna·s.*
lean adj. *d°-kʊṭʊm.*

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∞∞ lean, to become v.i. *d*-kuṭʌs.*
lean against, lean on, to v.i. *ts.hindaʷs.*
lean over, to v.i. *ḍoŋɣuraʷs.*
leap, to v.i. *prik dɛlʌs*; *hʌl dɛlʌs*; *mʌqmɛʷs dɛlʌs*; to cause to — *prik *-ʌdilʌs* etc.
leap-frog n. *bʌbʌl.*
learn, to v.i. *hʌkinʌs.*
learned man n. *alim*; *hʌkim.*
leather n. *bʌṭ.*
leather-strap n. *bərpiʷt.*
leave n. *ɣuxsʌt.*
leave, to v.t **-sərkʌs*; *fʌt *-ʌt.*
left (hand) adj. *ɣayum*; *ɣʌg.*
left out, to be v.i. *d*-u.ɛsʌs.*
leg n. **-ltʌnts*; (lower) *piʷni*; quadruped's lower — **-uṭis*; do. upper — **-šʌk*; (foreleg) **-ltʌltər*; calf of — *bubuʷg.*
leg-wrappers n. *ta.očiŋ*, (sg. *ta.ʊts*).
legume n. *giltiʷr.*
leisure n. *dər*; *fʊrsʌt*; at — *ḉhʌn*; without — *ʌkuš.*
lemon n. *limbu* (v.s.v. 1. *wʌṭ*).
lemon-peel n. *limbu.ɛ wʌṭ.*
length n. N. *gusʌnʊmkuš.*
leopard n. *tā.*
leprosy n. *runi.*
less adj. *kʌm*; to grow — *dikhiʷrʌs.*
-less privative suffix, v.s.vv. *a-*, *ʌ-*.
lesser adj. *ts.hiʷlʊm.*
lesson n. *sʌbʌq.*
let, to v.t. *stʌs*; and causative verbs v. §§ 226; 234—241.
let be! *baṣ!*; *biliṣ!.*
let down, to v.t. *d*-ʌskuyʌs.*
let go, to v.t. *fʌt *-ʌt.*
let in, to v.t. **-sərkʌs.*
let off, to v.t. *kuʷri.ʌp ɛt.*
letter n. *xʌt*; *kaɣʌz.*
1> lion n. *siŋge.*
lion-hearted adj. *siŋge *-ʌs.*
lip n. **-iʷl.*

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1[see p. 527, category 116, for words omitted between "letter" and "lion" - Analyst]

liquefy, to v.i. *duʸyʌs; duʸyaiyʌs.*
listen, to v.i. *-ltumʌl et.*
litter n. (for travelling) *tʌxt.*
little (a) *lʊkʌn; lʌpʌn; kʌmʌn; pyuʷʌn; tsʌmiʸkʌn; sʌsʌn; ṭhuʷr;* (of liquid) *γiḍiŋ; čhuṭʌn;* (of time) *duʷŋ.*
live, to v.i. (reside) *hʊruʸṭʌs; hʊručaiyʌs.*
live-stock n. *-iltʌṇ.*
livelihood n. *guzaʸra; zɪndagaʸni.*
liver n. *-ʌkin.*
living adj. *jiʸndo; jiʸno; zɪnda.*
lizard n. *γərkʌs.*
load n. *bʌlda;* to take a — from s.o. *d*-mərʌs.*
load up, to v.i. (*bʌlda*) *-ʌyɛnʌs* or *-ʌdilʌs.*
local adj. *uʸlʊm.*
lock n. *čhe.i; dərukʊs; kəḍʌkʊs; qʊlp.*
lock, to v.t. *qʊlp wʌši.ʌs.*
locust n. *trʌqo.*
lodgings n. *qoʸš.*
lofty adj. *thaʸnʊm.*
log n. *huʸn; ṭoq;* (for building) *ṭoʸro.*
loins n. *-ʌṣčiŋ.*
long adj. *γʊsʌnʊm;* (time) *ṭiga.*
long, to v.i. *ərmaʸn st.; ərmaʸnʊlo m.*
long ago, of adj. *qʌdiʸm(ɛ).*
long for, to v.i. *-ʌski duwʌlʌs.*
longing n. *-ʌski; ərmaʸn.*
look n. *nʌxər.*
look, to v.i. *bərɛʸnʌs; khiʸl m.;* to cause s.o. — *-ʌbərʌnʌs.*
look at, to v.t. *-ʌsʌlʌs; pfuʸṭ st.;* — and desire *jojʊṭ -m.*
look after, to v.t. *pərwərɪš -ʌt.*
look for, to v.t. *odoʸri st.; bərɛʸnʌs.*
look here! *ga!*
look-out n. *bʌrenč.*
look out! (to oxen) *hərga hərga!*
look out, to v.i. *-lčin st.*
loom n. *hiʸsk.*

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loop n. *ṣo·k*; running — *dušunʌs ṣo·k*; fixed — *ʌtušunʌs ṣo·k*; — of thong on boot *pu·ṣbʌn*. ooo

loop-hole n. *bʌṣčər*.

loose adj. *bʌlgʌl*; *šoqʊm*; *hʌṭ*; (untied) *dušu·nʊm*.

loose, to become v.i. *šoqʊm m.*; *dušu·nʌs*.

loosen, to v.t. *d*-šʊnʌs*.

loot n. *hu·ṣi*.

loot, to v.t. **-yʌlʌs*; *hu·ṣi ʌt*.

lord n. *dʌmʌn*.

lose, to v.i. (at game) *giyaiyʌs*; **-wʌlʌs*; v.t. **-ʌspʌlʌs*; — one's head v.s.v. *ʌčəra*.

loss n. *lʌt*; *o·t*; at a — *ḍomaḍom*; *hera·n*.

lost, to get v.i. **-wa·lʌs* (h subjects), *wa·lʌs* (x subjects), *bʌlu·yʌs* (y subjects).

lot n. *hikʊm*.

lots n. *hi·ṣ*; *zʌqʌn*.

loudly adv. *šʌtiŋɛ*.

louse n. *khəru*.

lousy adj. *khəru·kɪṣ*.

love n. *šu·l*; (of lovers) *išq*; in — *a·šɪq*; to fall in — *pfu·ṭ *-m*.

lover n. *ya·r*; *mašu·q*; *dina·r*; *a·šɪq*.

low adj. *čhʌṭ*; (of birth) *jʊṭ*.

low, to v.i. *qoŋ ʌt*.

low-born adj. *jʊṭ*; *kʌŋgʌl*; *za·tɛ jʊṭ*; *tʌno*; *ʌmu·lo*; *a·mi*; (morganatic) *ʌrγʊn*.

lower adj. *ya·rʊm*; *xʌṭi*.

lower, to v.t. *d*-ʌskuyʌs*.

lower end n. *gʌmu·n*; *xʌṭi mʊš*.

lucerne n. *šipi·t*.

luck n. *bʌxt*; *nʌsi·b*.

lucky adj. *šu.a bʌxt*; *ne·k bʌxt*.

lukewarm adj. *bʊlbu·lo*; *bʊbu·lo*.

lumbago n. **-ṣčiŋʊlo mʌq*.

lump n. *gu·li*; — of hard earth *γʊs*; — of butter *pošo·ri*, *mʌltʌṣ*.

lunatic n., adj. *wʌsiwa·si*.

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lungs n. *-*xʊrpʌt*.
lurch together, to v.i. *juʷk m*.
lusty adj. *saʷro*.
lying about adj. *gəraʷri*.
lying down adj. *jeʷk*.
lynx n. *šʊnʊṭ*; *bʌγbe.aʷro*.

M.

machine n. *čərx*.
mad adj. *-*tsi bʌγʌltɛ.ʌs*; *diwaʷna*.
mad, to become v.i. *-*tsi bʌγʌltɛ.ʌs*; 2. *ṣa.o* *-*ʌt*.
made, to be v.i. *d*-*mʌnʌs*.
madman n. *-*tsi bʌγʌltɛ.ʌs sis*.
maggot n. *γʌlγu*.
magic n. *butəriŋ*; *jʌdu*; 2. *serʷ*; *ṣɪqa*. V. also 2. *sir*; adj. *γaibi*.
magician n. *ṣɪqaʷčin*; *jaʷdugər*; v.s.v. 2. *sir*.
magnanimity n. *himmʌt*.
magpie n. *γʌṣep*.
maintain, to v.t. *-*ʌ.ʊrʊṭʌs*.
maintained, to be v.i. *d*-*uše.ʌs*.
maize n. *mʌkai.i*.
make, to v.t. *stʌs*: *-*ʌtʌs*; *d*-*ʌsmʌnʌs*; — s.o. do s.t. v.s.v. *-*ʌtʌs* and causative verbs §§ 226; 234—241.
make haste, to v.i. *ts.hor et*.
make known, to v.i. *levl* *-*ʌt*.
make merry, to v.i. *xʊši et*.
maker n. — of fine speeches *hɛniŋ dʌltʌško*.
male adj. *hir*; N. *biru*; (of animals) *sʊmʌn*; *hir-*.
malice n. *γʊl*; *gʌṭ*; *zɪd*.
malicious adj. *čʊʷtikṛṣ*; *gʌṭkṛṣ*.
mallard n. (male) *diŋ maγʊn*; (female) *girgir*.
man n. (vir) *hir*; *hir sis*; (homo) *sis*(*ʌn*).
man's adj. *hiriʷski*.
manacles n. *šʌŋʌličiŋ*.
mane n. *-*ʌšpʊrʌŋ*.

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000 manger n. *mʌdʷr.*
manliness n. *hirkvṭ.*
manner n. *çvq*; *zail*; in this — *tai*; *tailʌṭe*; *dʌkhi·lʌṭe*; *ʌkhi·l zailʌṭe*; in what —? *belʌṭe?*; *belʌṭom?*.
manure n. *dilk.*
many adj., pron. *buṭ*; as — as this *akhuʷrum*; *akhuʷriki.*
many-coloured adj. *rʌŋe.irʌŋ.*
map n. *nʌxša.*
marble n. *zʌŋq i mərmər.*
march n. day's — *bʌsa.*
mare n. *bʌyom.*
mark n. *čʌpʌy*; *ṭi·ko*; *haiyʌn*; *nʌšaʷn*; (for arrow-shooting) 2. *gi·ri.*
market n. *ba·zaʷr.*
markhor n. *buʷm*; female — *buʷm ts.hi·r*; N. *buʷm ts.hi·gir.*
marmot n. *ai.inʌq.*
marriage n. *gər*; (wedding) *nika*; relationship by — *gul*; v. Text No. 33 and s.vv. *duʷk*; *gərʷni*; *girʌn*; *sindʌbʌl*; *yʌxtai.i.*
marriage garment n. v.s.vv. *yʌxtai.i.*
marriage grain n. *mʌnoṭiki.*
marriage service n. v.s.v. *xutba.*
marriage song n. *hajo·li.*
marriage tassel n. *gəre mujo·q.*
marriageable adj. *gərkus.*
marrow n. *bʌl.*
marry, to v.i. *gər et*; v.t. *-ts.huʷyʌs.*
mash n. (of rice, potatoes etc.) 2. *bʌt.*
massage, to v.t. *ḍʌm *-ʌt. maṭ *-ʌt.*
master n. *dʌmʌn.*
mat n. (of goat's hair) *šərma.*
match n. *gʌjeli*; *gʌṭʌṭo*; slow — *filta*; (pair) *yoʷm.*
match-box n. *gʌjeti ḍʌbi.*
matchlock n. *filtai.i tobʌq*; *piltʌdaʷr*; *uruʷsi.*
mate n. *naʷl.*
mate, to v.i. v.s.v. *gaʷt*

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maternal relatives adj. *-*ʌpkvts*; *-*mimo*.
matter n. *bər*; *čʌγa*; (fault) *aib*; small -s *pfvfu·k*; no — v.s.vv. *γʌm*, *pəriwa*.
mattress n. *šapovs*; *tošʌk*.
mature adj. *miaper*.
mature, to v.i. *d*-γvnʌs* (h, x subjects); *duγvnʌs* (y subjects); *diri.ʌs* (h. x); *dira·s* (y).
Maulai (sect) n., adj. *mvγəli*.
May n. *mai.i*.
meadow n. *gov.*
meal n. *ʃʌpik*.
meaning n. *ma·ni*.
means n. (of livelihood) *auqa·t*; (of remedy etc.) *ilaj*; by all — *bəra·bər*.
measles n. *lo·yumuts*.
measure n. *to·li*; (oil) *pi·n*; (liquid) *bʌli*; (grain) *čvq*; *γərbel*; *hiçuti*; *hvldo*; *hipəre*; *jʌti*; (finger's breadth) *tsup*; (fingers' span) *wa·ltsup*; (elbow to finger tips) *qʌʃ*.
measure, to v.t. *o·iyʌs*; *to·li si*.
measuring n. *dʌyu*.
meat n. *čhʌp*.
medicine n. *mi·li*; *tiŋbʌt*; v.s.vv. *baŋ*; *pirpi*; *gulgul*; *mʌn*; *nʌγe.i*; *ni·l*.
meet, to v.t. *-*yʌnči(.ər) m.*; *thumük m.*; *mvla·qa·t -*ʌt.*; to go — *-*yʌnči.ər niyʌs*; to come — *-*yʌnči.ər juyʌs*.
meeting n. *-*yʌnči*; *mvla·qa·t*; (assembly) *mʌjlis*.
meeting-point n *i·lgʌt*.
melon n. musk — *γo·n*; N. *ga·u·n*; water — *bu·wər*.
melt, to v.i. *duγʌs*; *du·γaiyʌs*; *tshil m.*; *duwʌši.ʌs*; v.t. *ev(ə)uyʌs*; *de·stuyʌs*; having — *ne·stsu·ni·n*.
melted adj. *e·stum*.
memento n. *haiyʌn*; *ya·dga·ri*.
membrane n. (above vagina) *duq*.
memory n. *ya·d*.

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mend, to v.t. *durust st.*; *ʌʃtʊ̈ st.*; *wərts st.*; (by sewing) *ʧuʷk st.* 000
mended adj. *wərts*; *wərts stum.*
mendicant n. *tʌltʌq.*
menfolk n. *hir sis.*
menses n. *čhuwərkhʌl.*
menstruate, to v.i. *gʌtuʷtso* *-*m.*
menstruation n. *gušiʷski gʌliʷs.*
menstruous adj. *gʌtuʷtso mumʌnum.*
merchant n. *sodʌgər.*
merciful adj. *rahʌmkrj*; *rahʌmdri.*
merciless adj. *rahʌm apiʷm.*
mercy n. *šʌvr*; *rahʌm*; to have — *šʌvr st.*
merely adv. *thi.*
meretricious adj. *liʷo lʌʷo.*
merit n. *ʌʌwʌʷb*; *ʌʃʌt.*
merry adj. to make — *xuši st.*; *šərʌʌr* or *šuriʌrj st.*
messenger n. *durʌts.*
mew, to v.i. *mʌʷn st.*
mica n. *γuni.*
mid- adj. *trʌŋ.*
midday n. *dʊγui*; after — 1. γuʷu; v.a.v. *praʷq*; adj. *dʊγuʷimo.*
middle n. *makuči*; in the — of *hərʌŋ*; adj. *hərʌŋulum*; *makuči*; *makučim.*
midnight n. *gonʌ babər*; *thʌpʌ trʌŋ.*
midwinter n. *thumušeliŋ*
mighty adj. *zorʌwər.*
mild adj. (of person) *bʌsum.*
milk n. *mʌnu*; coagulated — *paiʌ*; uncooked — *γiʧiŋ*; milk products: *maltʌj*; *diltər*; *qurʌt*; *rʌxpin*; *mʌntsil*; *burʌs*; v. List of Foods.
milk, to v.t. *ʧhau* *-*ʌt.*
milk-strainer n. *po.*
milk-vessel n. *čhurkʌs.*
Milky Way n. *čərk i fʌlʌk.*
mill n. *yuʌiŋ*; tapper of — *fhʌʃʌkus*; v.a.v. 2. *pfʌla.*
mill-dues n. *pfi.*
mill-hopper n. *ʧor.*

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000 mill-race n. *hur.*
mill stone n. *ʌsl*; upper — *yʌfokur*; lower — *yarokur*; axis of — *sel.*
mill-wheel n. *nəro.*
miller n. *yai.iŋgurin.*
millet n. *bʌy*; *ĉha.*
mince n. *nərim*; *ispʌkpa*; (meat with vegetables) N. *pušūr ĉʌk.*
minced adj. *nərin stum.*
mind n. *°-ʌs.*
mine n. (belonging) *sərun.*
mingle, to v.i. *jərmʌṣ̌* m.; v.t. *jərmʌṣ̌ sl.*
minister n. *wʌzir.*
minor adj. *tshirlum.*
mint n. *fīlʌl.*
minute adj. *ts hirlum.*
Mir n. *thʌm*; *mir.*
mirror n. *ai.ina.*
mis- adv. v.s.v. *γʌlʌt.*
mischief n. *æṣumai.i*; *fʌsard*; *ŝaitani.*
mischief-maker n. *lao jav.*
mischievous adj. *ʌṣ̌ermo*; — woman *ʌṣ̌ermi*; — person *ŝaitan*; (of child) *tsipoṭ.*
misconduct o.s., to v.i. *fhis sl.*
misdeed n. *fhis.*
miserable adj. *biĉara*; *γərirpis.*
miserly adj. *qorum.*
misfortune n. *ʌbʌl*; *bʌla*; *musirbʌl.*
miss, to v.t. (mark) *fhis sl.*
missing, to be v.i. *fhis m.*
mist n. *xurorṇṣ̌*; N. *korrom*; (from ground) N. *gubar.*
mistake n. *fhis*; *hərkʌn*; *γʌlʌt*; to make a — *hərkʌn nirʌs.*
mistaken adj. *fhis.*
mistrust n. 2. *ŝʌk.*
mix, to v.i. *jərmʌṣ̌ m.*; v.t. *jərmʌṣ̌ sl.*
mixed adj. *jərmʌṣ̌.*
moist adj. *hʌγum*; *ṣuk.*
moist, to be v.i. *durʌnʌs.*
moisture n. *hurṣ̌.*

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080 molar (tooth) n. *-wʌǰ *-mɪ.
Monday n. tsʌnduʷra.
money n. v.s.vv. rupi.a; paisa; ɖʌbʌl; du.aʷni; bʌʷi; xɔr; yʌmbu; small change paŋkʌʃ.
mongoose(?) n. noʷl.
monkey n. ǰaʷdi.
monster n. ʌǰdɔr; hɔrgɪn; siŋge; female — ɖʌŋʌlʌʃhʌs.
month n. sa; hisa; aʷlto thɛnts; specific: hʌmʌl; sɔrʌtaʷn; sʌmbola; dʌlo; hurt.
moon n. hʌlʌnts; waxing — ts.hai.i; no — ɣuʷa.
moonlight n. hʌlʌntsɪ ǰaŋkuǰ or rʌǰ; ts.hai.i.
more adj. bʌsk; da; ɪi.aʷd.
moreover adv. da.
morning n. ts.hordinɪ; jil; — twilight ʃuʃaʷŋkɪ; first — light sayaʷri; (dawn) goʷn; adj. ts.hoʷrdimo; early — ʃuʃaʷŋmo.
morning-star n. (goʷnɪ) lʌčhaʷr.
morsel n. lʌp; tasting — pfʊrka.
mortar n. tanos.
mosque n. mʌjit.
mosquito n. khiʷǰo; N. piʷču.
moth n. hoʷlʌlʌs.
mother n. *-mi; maʷma; (royal) ɪɪzi; —'s relatives *-ʌpkots.
mother's adj. *-mimo.
mother-in-law n. *-ʌskus.
motherless adj. *-mi ʌpʌm thɔrɪs.
motion n. to make s.o. have a — *-ʌɣʊraiyʌs.
mould n. aʷrʌn.
moult, to v.i. dʊmoʷqʌs.
moulted adj. dʊmoʷqʊm.
mound n. 2. ɖoʷm; ɖoʷŋ; mʌn.
mount, to v.t. holjaiyʌs; pʃʌl m.; — s.o. on a horse *-ʌ.uʷljaiyʌs.
mountain n. čhiǰ; rocky — čhɔr; — grazing-ground ter; bɔn.

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mountain ash n. *dindiş*.
mountain-pass n. *kayuk*.
mountain-sheep n. *yuṣal*.
mourn, to v.i. *mardam ol.*; *herimiş ol.*
mourning n. *herimiş*, *herimiş*; *berird*; *dhuurkhal*; *mardam*.
mouse n. *donnumuryu*.
moustache n. *salat*; K. *pu.i*.
mouth n. *-xal*.
mouthful n. *lap*.
mouthpiece n. (of musical pipe) *matala*; *ḍambu* (reed of pipe).
move, to v.i. *lag m.*; *nar -m.*; *not — hasaru*; v.t. *lag ol.*
much pron., adv. *berj*; *zagan*; this — *akhar-ram*; *akurikt*; *aturuman*; *dakhavum*; so — *berum(an)*, *berum(an)*; *berum(an)*; how —? *berumanf*; too — *hank*.
mucus n. (from nose) S. *-mul*.
mud n. *ḍag*; wrought — *layap*.
mud-fend n. *mara*.
muddy adj. *bufulorya*.
mulberry n. *biranf* x.
mulberry tree n. *biranf* y.
mule n. *nahiv*.
mullah n. *asaw*; *nalifa*.
mumps n. *farlamula*.
murder, to *zaw ol.*; *-zagaras*.
murderer n. *zurudav*; *zawi*.
muscle n. (general term) *chap*; *girkia*.
mushroom(s) n. *birijan*; *barber*; *yfurla maltal*.
music n. (tune) *harip*; *aberj*; slow dancing — *dawi*; to play — *eyyaras*; *ḍam ḍam ol.*; to make s.o. play — *-eyyaras*.
musical instrument n. v.a.v. *eyyaras*; specific: guitar *arlaw*; *rhanda*; pipe *gali*; (*surnai*); whistle *fulok*; big drum *ḍafag*; kettledrum *ḍawal*; tambourine *daf*.
musician n. *ostard*; *bewila*; v.a.v. *eyyaras*.

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musk n. 2. *čiki*; *nas*.
musk deer n. *rur*.
musk melon n. *yun*; N. *gawn*.
musk-scented adj. *čikis*.
muslin n. *malmal*.
must v.a.vv. *hoos*; *navar*. V. § 401.
mustard n. *ghrghor* (plant and oil).
mutton n. *hunokum čhap*.
muzzle n. *°-marpuj*.
my adj. *ja*; *mi*. V. §§ 118 & 143.
my own adj. *jrinus*. V. § 143.
myself pron. (emphatic) *ja jri*. V. § 142; (reflexive) *°-akhar*; *ajim*. V. § 144.

N.

nail n. *gili*; (finger or toe-) *°-uri*.
naked adj. *laler* (p. 246); *laq*; *thartinu*; stark — *lam laler*; *tan laq*.
name n. *°-ik*.
name, to v.t. *°-ik ovas*; *avnas*.
named adj. *avnas*.
nap n. (of cloth) *tlem*.
nape n. (of neck) *°-al*.
narrate, to v.t. *čayu si*.
narrative n. *čayu*; *bayum*.
narrow adj. *bi cnum*; *čhanum*; *thorenum*.
natural adj. (wild) *tere*; *jangale*; *rungu*.
nature n. *majur*; to relieve — *zatinjarb si*; for purposes of — v.a.v. *°-aj °-rig*.
navel n. *°-uri*.
near adv. *anir*; adj. *anirum*; — to doing s.t. *taiyar*; the — side *khiti*.
necessary adj. *ausje*; *dorkar*; *zaruwal*.
necessary to, to be v.i. *manar*. V. § 401.
necessity n. *harjat*; *zaruwal*; of — *navar*.
neck n. *°-al*; *bark*; back of — *kanjlo*.
necklace n. *zamag*; *mayun*.
need n. *harjat*; v.a.v. *zaruwal*.
need, to v.t. *d°-alanas*.
needle n. *sal*; eye of — *il*.
ne'er-do-weel n. *čorkapuru*.

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000 neigh. to v.i. *hihiŋ et.*; N. *qiʿqiʿŋ et.*
neighbour n. *hʌmʌl.*
neighbouring adj., neighbourhood n. *ʃʌturgʌʃ.*
neither ... nor conj. *be ... be*; *ne .. ne*; (both ... not) *-ʌltʌliʿk* + ŋ.g.
nephew n. *-ʌŋγʌn*; v.s.vv. *-ʌçe*; *-ulʌs.*
nest n. *yuʿlgʌʃ.*
net n. *jaʿl.*
nettles n. γʌšučiŋ (v.s.v. 2. γʌšu).
never adv. *brʌʃʌl* or *gaʿhe* + neg.; *bʌkʌl ke la.*
newly adj., adv. *thoʃ.*
new-born adj. *čoʿk dimʌnum*; *thoʃ dimʌnum.*
news n. *xʌbʌr*; *tʌxpa*; — bringer *xʌbʌriŋ suʿyʌs.*
New Year n. *nauroʿs.*
next adj. *iʿljum*; *-yʌrum*; *yʌl*; — world v.s.v. *axaʿrʌt.*
next morning adv. *tʌhʌrdinʌ.*
next time adv. *yʌl galči.*
nice adj. *dʌltʌs*; *šuʿa.*
niche n. *tʌxša.*
nickel n. *lʌrum ʃikʌrk.*
niece n. (brother's daughter) *-ʌ.i*; (sister's daughter) *-ʌŋγʌn*; v.s.vv. *-ʌçe*, *-ulʌs.*
night n. *thʌp*; division of — *ʃuʿk* all through — *gʌʿnʌirʌ.*
nightfall n. 1. *ʌʌbuʿr.*
nine num. *hunčo* (h, x, y); *hunti* (z).
nineteen num. *lʌrma hunčo*, — *hunti.*
ninth ord. *hunti.uʿlum.*
ninety num. *waʿlti aʿltʌr lʌrumo*, — *lʌrimi.*
nipple n. *-maʿmut*; *ʃuʃuʿro*; — gun *ʃopidaʿr.*
nit n. *ʃiki.*
nitty n. *ʃikikʌʃ.*
nitre n. *šuʿra.*

000 no neg. *be*; *bɐʷskɛ* + neg.; to any — *oʷɛnʌs*.
no one pron. *mɛn kɛ* + neg.
noble adj. (of birth on both sides) *kʌrʌli*.
nod, to v.i. (with sleep) *gudʊŋ* *-*m*.
noise n. *-*čhər*; *biḍiŋ*; *ʂaʷo*; — of beating etc. *ḍim*; *tʌn*; v. List of Onomatopoeic Words.
nolens volens adv. *naʷnaʷ*.
non-human adj. *ɣaibaʷna*.
none pron. (thing) *besʌn* + neg.; (person) *mɛn kɛ* + neg.
noose n. *ʂoʷk*; 1. *ʂʌk*.
north n. *šʌmaʷl*.
nose n. *-*muʷpuʂ*; septum of — 3. *nʌš*; *-*muʷpuʂɛ nʌš*.
nosegay n. *bʌʂo*.
nostril n. *-*mulʊr*.
not neg. *be*; *na*; v.s.vv. *a-*, *ʌ-*, *au-*, *oʷ-*, *be-*, *bi-*.
not at all, adv., neg. . . . *kuli*.
notch n. *čɛ*.
not cooked adj. *atiʷrʊm*.
not . . . even, adv., neg. . . . *kuli*.
not ripe adj. *atiʷɣʊnʊm*.
not to be v.i. *ap-*.
notable (person) n. *uyuʷm*.
nothing pron. *besʌn* or *bɐʷskɛ* + neg.
notorious adj. *-*iʷk duʷsʊm*; *mʌčhuʷ*.
novel adj. *ʌkhɛʷš*.
now adv. *mu*; *muʷto*; up to — *dərʊm xa*.
now then adv. *yɛ* . . .
nowadays adv. *saʷʌti khuʷlto*.
now and then adv. *bɐʷšʌl bɐʷšʌl*.
nowhere adv. *amʊlo* + *kɛ* + neg.
nullah n. 2. *bər*; 2. *hər*; *ʂuʷŋ*.
number n. a certain — of *bɐʷrʊm*; *bɐʷrʊmʌn*; *bɐʷru*; *khiʷrumʌn*; *tɐʷrʊm*.
numerous adj. *buʷʃ*.
nurture, to v.t. *-*uče.ʌs*.

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O.

O! *e.i!*; *wa!*; *ya!*; (addressing males) *le.i!*; (addressing females) *se!* 000

oath n. *tevẽ*; v.s.v. *buʷk*

obedient adj. *taʷbi.a.*

obedient, to be v.i. *bərči m.*

obey, to v.i. *bərči m.*; *hʊkəm gʌnʌs.*

object n. (abstract) *mʌtlʌb*; (concrete) *dʊʷstsʌk.*

obliterate, to v.t. **-ʌqušɛlʌs*; **-ʌspʌlʌs.*

obsequies n. *ʊʷlji yər*; **-tsi.ʌtɛ.*

obtain, to v.i. *d*-ʌγʊrkʌs*; **-yaiyʌs*; **-yʌnʌs* (h & x objects), *gʌnʌs* (y objects).

obtainable adj. v.s.vv. **-ʌγʊrkʌs*; *yaiyʌs.*

obtained, to be v.i. *došolʌs*; *juʷk m.*

occasion n. *heʷši*; *gʌlt*; *gʌlči*; *ḍʌmʌn*; *ts.hir.*

occasionally adv. *beʷšʌl beʷšʌl*; *hikʌn hikʌn.*

occiput n. *čhʌŋʌrʌs.*

occupied, to be v.i. (busy) *mašγʊʷl*; (inhabited) *abaʷd.*

occupy, to v.t. (land) *ši(y)ʌs.*

occupy o.s., v.i. *mašγʊʷl m.*

occur, to v.i. *mʌnaʷs.*

o'clock v.s.vv. *bʌja*; *saʷʌt*; *eʷγərʌs.*

October n. *ʌktoʷbər.*

odour n. *nʌs*; (evil) *dərga.*

of course adv. *beʷsa*; *xəruʷl.*

of . . . self adv. . . . *raʷʌti.*

offence n. *tʌksiʷr.*

offer, to v.t. *khiʷl ɛt.*

offering n. *nʌxər*; (sacrifice) *xeʷr*; (to God) *xʊdeʷi.*

officer n. *ṣaʷb*; *afsər.*

official n. village — *čərbʊ*; headman *trʌŋfa.*

offspring n. *aulaʷd.*

often adv. how —? *beʷrʊm heʷši?*

ogre n. *hiʷr bilʌs.*

ogress n. *bilʌs.*

oil n. *del.*
oil-bottle n. *delgus.*
oil-pressings n. *mina.*
ointment n. *mʌlyʌm.*
old adj. (living things) *ʌstakaʷl*; *jʌʈ*; *maper*; very — *qʌqər niʷm*; v.s.vv. *umər, den, denkus*; — and young *jʌʈbaʷrɪʃ*; *joʈpʌt*; — folk *jʌʈbaʷrɪʃ*; (inanimate things) *diγʌnum*; *mern*; (antique) *yərum.*
old, to become v.i. (inanimate things) *d*-γʌnʌs*; *doγʌnʌs.*
old age n. *jʌʈabero*; v.s.vv. *den, denkus.*
old man n. v.s.v. "old"; *daʷdo*; **-ʌpi*; *buruʷm dʌp.*
old-time adj. *yərum.*
omen n. *faʷl.*
on prep. *-ʌʈe*; **-yʌʈe*; *-tse*; **-tsi*; *yʌči.*
on account of prep. *gʌne.*
on one's back adv. **-sqa.*
on behalf of prep. **-yʌʈum*; **-yʌkʌltsum.*
on foot adv. *gʌʈʌl.*
on in front adv. *yər*; *yərpa.*
on the point of, to be v.i. *taiyaʷr m.*
once adv. *hik ḍʌm*; *hik ḍʌmʌn*; *hik gʌlči*; *hik ke.*
once upon a time adv. *yərum zʌmaʷna ulo*; *yarpʌči* (p. 380. I).
one num. *hin* (h); *hʌn* (x, y); *hik* (z); *-ʌn.* V. §§ 43, 188.
one after another adv. *ts.hirtse.*
one day adv. *hikulto.*
one-eyed adj. *hʌn iʷlčinʌŋe.*
one place adv. *hithaʷn.*
one-ply adj. *hinzir.*
one side adv. *hʌnpa.*
one time adv. *hik heʷši*; *hik ke.*
one year old adj. *yolekus.*
onion n. (plant) *γʌšu* y; (bulb) *γʌšu* x; wild — *tere γʌšu.*
only adv. *bʌγeʷri*; *fʌqʌt*; *sirf.*
oorial n. *yeʈʌl.*

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OOO open adj. *pfʌʈʌŋ*; *ɜrqa*; slightly — *wʌq*; wide — *zʌʈ* (of eyes).

open, to v.i. *d*-čaqʌrʌs*; *dʊlo·qiyʌs*; (of flower) *doxərʌs*; v.t. *do·nʌs*; *pfʌʈʌŋ st.*; v.s.v. *dečʌqər*; (eye) *pfuʈ st.*; — and look at *pfiʈi·k pfʊʈu·k st.*

opening n. **-xʌt*; (in wall) *ʂʌŋ*.

opinion n. *xi.a·l*.

opium n. *ʌfyu·n*.

opium-eater, opium-smoker n. *ʌfyu·ni*.

opponent n. *ker*; *šəri·k*.

opportunity n. *dər*; *mo·qa*.

opposed, to become v.i. (to s.o.) *duɣʌn-ḍərʌs*; *šəri·k m*.

opposite adj. *čar*; *ru ba ru*.

"opposite number" n. (in game) *na·l*.

oppress, to v.t. **-ʌtsi.ʌs*; *zvləm st.*; *jujur* **-ʌt*.

oppression n. *zvləm*.

oppressive, adj., oppressor n. *za·lim*; *zvləmgar*; *zvləmkrʂ*.

option n. *rxli.ar*.

or conj. *ya*; either . . . or *ya* . . . *ya*; *hʌl* . . . *hʌl*.

or not? *bɛʔ*; *xairʔ*; *naʔ*; *ya kɛ oʔ*; *niʔ*

orchard n. *bʌsi*; cp. *de·kʌrʌn*.

order n. (command) *šʌlda*; *hukəm*; *qa·rda*; in good — *wərts*; in — to . . . *gʌnɛ*.

ordinary adj. *ʌbʌs*; *ma·mu·li*.

originally adv. *ʌwa·l*.

ornaments n. (women's) *hərkun*.

orphan n. *thəres*.

osier-twig n. *gʌčhe*.

other adj., pron. *thi*; *thu·m*; *i·tom*; cp. *yʌʈɛ* 2.; (person) N. *je.ib*.

others pron. *men kɛ*; (remainder) *ba·qi*.

otherwise adv. *bɛ kɛ*; *thu·m*.

otter n. *u·ʂo*.

ought v.s.v. *yʌʂki* and § 401.

our (own) pron. *mi·mo* v. § 143.

ourselves pron. *mi·i* v. §§ 142, 144.

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000 out adv. *hoʳlɛ*; (of ball at polo) ciʳʷɛ, N. *tsiʳk*; *hʌltsiʳk*.
out of action adj. *fʌt* 2.
out of the way adv. *hʌnpa*.
outcry n. *qyuʳ*; *qyuʳ pyu*.
outfit n. (of clothes) *gʌli gʌʃu*.
outing n. *sail*.
outside adj. *hoʳlʊm*; (...person) *jʌmiʳp*; adv. *hoʳlɛ*; *hoʳlpa*; *hoʳlpʌči*; on the — *hoʳli tʌli*; to the — *hoʳl nɛ*; from the — *hoʳlʊm*.
outsider n. *hoʳlʊm sis*; *jʌmiʳp sis*; *thər mʌnʊm*.
outwards adv. *hoʳl nɛ*.
oven n. *dʊldoŋ*; (iron) *qiʳmišdoʳn*; *tʌnuʳr*.
over prep. *-ʌʃɛ*; adv. **-yoʳn*; to remain — *bʌsk m.*; *d*-uɛsʌs* 1.
overcome, to v.t. **-wʌši.ʌs*.
overflow n. *təḍʌq*.
overflow, to v.i. *dints.hiʳʌs*; *təḍau m.*; *təḍʌq m.*
overhanging rock n. *bʌlbʌl*; 2. *ḍiʳr*.
overlay, to v.t. *laʳš m.*.
overpower, to v.t. *šʌt* **-ʌt.*; *kuʳri.ʌp* **-ʌl.*
oversalted adj. *šau*.
overtake, to v.t. *d*-ʌšqʌltʌs* 5.
overthrow, to v.t. **-wʌši.ʌs*.
overturn, to v.t. *mʌlʌq* **-ʌrʌs*; *mʌlaʳq st.*; *pfʌtʌŋ st.*
overwhelm, to v.t. *yərk st.*
overwhelmed adj. *tʌčʌp*.
ovis poli n. *ruʳš*.
owe, to v.t. v.s.v. *uʳš*.
owl n. *huʳyo*.
own adj. **-imo* v. § 143; (not step-) *dʌmʌn*.
owner n. *dʌmʌn*.
ownerless adj. v.s.v. *bɛʳl*.
ox n. 1. *hər*; *ts.hiʳər*; (fit for plough *khiʳl stʌs ts.hiʳər*.
ox-hide n. *hərɛ gʌp*.
ox-like adj. *hərkʊm*.

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P.

paboos n. (native boots) *hu·čo.*
pace n. *bada.*
pacify, to v.t. *-asmilas.*
padlock n. *qulp.*
page n. *ṭap*; *wɔraq.*
pail n. *khaći.*
pain n. *ćam*; *jak*; *ḫul*; *maq*; *lam ćam*; (in head) *lam*; labour —s *-ḫul.*
pain, to v.t. impers. *-xolas*; *-xolinas.*
paint n. *rag*
pair n. 2. *yom*; *yu·tum*; *-kum* v. § 197; one of a — *nal.*
paired adj. (for polo) *nal.*
palace n. *tha·ŋ*; *tha·ŋuḫ*; *imawat.*
palate n. *yaṭum taĩ* (s.v. 1. *ṭal* b.).
pale n. *ṭrkɔrk.*
palm n. (of hand) *-ṭatas.*
Pamir n. *pamar.*
pannier n. (for dry leaves, straw etc.) *čur'a.*
pant, to v.i. *ha· st.*
pantry n. 2. *ḍap.*
paper n. *ka·γas.*
Paradise n. *bihišt.*
paralysed adj. *fat*; *pfa·lij*; *čo·ko ča·ko*; *γayu čhaŋgu*(?).
parch, to v.t. *a·spi.as*; *-asqulas*; (... grain) *duwaltalas.*
parched adj. *ja·k.*
parched corn n. *khani.*
pardon n. *baxṣiḫ*; *mu.a·f.*
pardon, to v.t. *baxṣiḫ -at.*; *mu.a·f -at.*
part n. v.s.v. "piece": *ṭovi*; *fatɔri*; (share) *-γɔrum*; on the — of *bayo*; *-yakaltsum.*
part, to v.t. (hair) *diqaras*
partaking n. *nasirpa.*
particle n. *phu·k*; very small —s *ḍoḫuri pfu·nts.*
parti-coloured adj. *γɔrey.*
partisan n. v.s.v. *hag.*

partnership n. in — *hərʌŋ*.
partridge n. ("chikor") *gəɣu*; (ram chikor) *bola*.
party n. *hikum*; 1. *pʌči*; *hʌq*.
pass n. *hʌɣuts*.
pass, to v.i. *gutshərʌs*; (of time) *niyʌs*.
pass away, to v.i. *wʌfat m*.
passed over, to be v.i. *d*-usʌsʌs*.
past adj. *nim*.
pasture n. *uyərʌs diš*; *gərz*; mountain — *tew*; upland — *pʌmerr*; irrigated — 1. *ṭoq*.
pasture, to v.i. **-yʌrʌs*.
patch n. *čhʌɣa*; *ṭiko*; (of metal) *paš*; (of crops) *čʌpay*.
patched adj. 1. *doma*.
path n. *gan*; 1. *ɣʌš*.
patience n. 2. *sʌbər*.
patient n. (ill) *ɣaliṛs*; adj. *sʌbərkṛṭ*; *sʌbər ṭʌs*; *tshum*.
patrol, to v.i. *kuw m*.
patronage n. *yʌl*; **-yʌl*.
"pattoo" n. (homespun) *pṛiʿlʌm*.
paw n. **-toto*.
pay n. *ṭʌlʌb*; *tanxa*.
pay, to v.t. **-yʌmi.ʌs* (x objects); *gʌmi.ʌs* (y); — heed *ʌŋ ṭ.*; — tribute *ʌp* **-čhi.ʌs*.
pea, a n. *gərken*, v. "peas".
peace n. *arʌm*; *ʌmʌn*; *rəshʌl*; *hʌzur*; (greeting) *asʌlam*; to make — *d*-mayʌs*.
peacefully adv. *qərʌm ka*.
peacefulness n. *qərʌm*.
peach n. *čuɣudər*.
peak n. *ṭiq*; *burri*; *yurri* (p. 387. 1).
pear n. *phəṛio* x; *ʌɣuri*; *ṭoq pṛəṛio*.
pear tree n. *phəṛio* y.
pearl n. *muk*.
peas n. (seeds and crop) *gərk*.
peasant n. *zʌmindʌr*.

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pebbles n. *qhüye*; *ʃhir*; (by river) N. *gorro*; N. *qaiy*.
peck at, to v.t. *ʃhwk st*.
peel n. *wʌʃ*.
peel, to v.t. **-fʌʃərʌs*.
peg n. *gili*; (of lock) *imrkus*; n. — *nʌš*.
peg down, to v.t. *gili *-dslʌš*.
pellet-bow n. *tərmuk*; leather of — *thil*; N. *tili*.
pelvis n. *minʌltin*.
pen n. (for writing) *qʌlʌm*; (fold) *bʌkur*; *giram*; *šʌlhərʌy*.
penalty n. *mʌyo*.
pen-case n. *qʌlʌmdorn*.
penetrate, to v.t. *gʌʃars*.
penis n. **-šʌʃ*; child's — **-šipin*.
penknife n. *čarqu*; N. *čʌqu*.
penny n. (fig.) *čilirki*.
people n. *sis(ik)*; — of . . . . . *-kuts*; common — *armi*; — of a country *kuyorč*.
pepper n. *marvč*.
per prep. *ks* 9.
perceive, to v.t. *d*-yaiyʌs*.
perch, to v.i. *boryʌs*.
perchance adv. *hʌzar*.
percussion-cap n. *pfʌtʌqi*; (— gun) *ʃopidar*.
perhaps adv. *hazar*; *šaiyʌd*.
perfect adj. 1. *jʌm*; *purrü*; *purkum*.
"peri" n. *pəri*; disease caused by —s *pərizʌxum*.
pergola n. *thʌgʌy*.
peril n. *bʌla*.
period n. *khrn*; *muddʌt*; *zamarna*; — of pregnancy **-samuts*.
permission n. *zjarzʌt*; *hukum*; *ruxsʌt*; to give — *hukəm *-chiʌs*.
permit, to v.t. **-sərkʌs*.
permitted adj. *hʌlard*.
perpendicular adj. *čorko*; (of cliff) 1. *tʌl*; *tʌmtʌš*.

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000 perplexed adj. *heraʌm.*
persecute, to v.t. *gʌjʌt* *-*ʌt.*
Persian adj. *faʌrsi.*
person n. *sis(ʌn)*; *bʌnda*; (body) *-*ḍim*; *-*wʌf.*
perspiration n. *hʌroʌɣo*; 2. *toʌm.*
persuade, to v.t. *-*ʌsmilʌs*; *berči* *-*ʌt.*
perturbed adj. *šʌbirkʌm.*
perverse adj. *ʌpʌrts*; *biʌmaʌni.*
pester, to v.t. *-*wəra tʌleʌnʌs.*
pestle n. *yʌfkʌs*; *ḍʌmo*; *ḍiʌnʌ*; N. *karʌki*; v.s.v. 1. *guyoʌs.*
petal n. *tʌp.*
petition n. *buyʌt*; *ərz.*
petition, to v.i. *buyʌt et.*
photograph n. *tʌswiʌr*; (portrait) *suʌrʌt.*
physician n. *tʌbiʌb.*
pick n. *čʌk.*
pick, to v.t. *čʌf et.*; *čuʌf* *-*ʌt.*; (flowers) *goʌyʌs.*
pick up, to v.t. *goʌyʌs.*
pick-axe n. *čʌk*; *giʌli*, N. *kiʌli*
pickings n. *pfofuʌk.*
picnic n. — food *utsiyenʌs.*
picture n. *nʌqša*; *tʌswiʌr.*
piebald adj. *ɣəreʌy*; *pfʌnḍtr*; *ʌblʌq.*
piece n. *čuruʌk*; 1. *muš*; 1. *fər*; *forri*; (of cloth) *pʌfo*; 3. *bər*; 2. *thaʌn*; (patch) *čhʌɣa*; *fiʌko*; in —s *čhe.imučhe.i*; *fərəmfər.*
pierce, to v.t. *gʌfʌs*; *žərʌp et.*
pig n. *xuʌk.*
pigeon n. 3. *tʌl.*
"pilau" n. *pulau.*
pile n. v. "heap", "stack"
pile up, to v.t. *bʌliʌ* *-*ʌt.*
piled up adj. *chof.*
pilgrim n. *zʌwaʌr.*
pilgrimage n. place of — *zi.aʌrʌt.*
pill n. *mili.e ḍiʌru.*
pillar n. *ḍʌko*; main — *šiʌriḍʌko*; single stone — *dʌščikin.*
pillow n. *-*ʌṣkrṣ*; *-*ʌṣki.*

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pimp n. *hərʌŋuš*.
pimple n. *pfirkʌnʌs*. 000
pin n. *sɛl*; *iɹl apiɹm sɛl*; 3. *piɹn*.
pincers adj. *ʌmbuɹr*.
pinch, to v.t. *čuruɹt* *-*ʌt*.; d*-*ʌtsi.ʌs*.
pine tree n. *gʌši*.
pipe n. *gʌbi*; (tobacco) *čilʌm*.
pipe-bearer n. *čɛlimdaɹn*.
piper n. *surənaiči*.
"pir" n. *piɹr*.
pistol n. *tʌmʌnča*.
pit n. *qʌm*; 1. *ṭis*.
pitch dark adj. *ṭa.u ṭuṭʌŋ*.
pitchfork n. *jʌqər*; (5-pronged) *hərʌnč*.
pitiless adj. *be-rʌhʌm*.
pity n. *jaɹk*; *rʌhʌm*.
placate, to v.t. *-*ʌsmilʌs*; *bərči* *-*ʌt*.
place n. *diš*; 1. *thaɹn*; n. what —? *amulo?* in the first — *ʌwaɹl*; in the second — *aɹltoɹulum*; in — of *baɹgo*; of that — *tɛlum*; a certain — *hithaɹn*; dwelling — *-*yʌk*; *-*yɛš*; lying up — of wild animals *-*yʌk*.
place, to v.t. *oɹsʌs*; *-*ʌgiyʌs*; *dɛlʌs*; *wʌši.ʌs* (h, x objects), *bišaiyʌs* (y); to cause s.o. — *-*ʌdilʌs*; *-*ʌwʌši.ʌs*; *-*ʌbišaiyʌs*.
place over, to v.t. *yʌṭɛ wʌɹrʌs*.
plague n. N. *tiɹti*.
plain n. *dʌs*; adj. *thi*; *saɹda*; 1. *xʌm*.
plait n. *boɹno*; *šʌbʌq*.
plait, to v.t. *gišaiyʌs*; *yʌši.ʌs*.
plan, to v.t. *sʌlʌh pusuɹyʌs*; v.s.v. *-*ʌs*.
plane n. *rʌnda*.
plane tree n. *buč*.
plank n. *bʌlk*.
plant n. v.s.v. *muɹn*. V. List of Plants.
plant, to v.t. *-*ʌgiyʌs*; *ɛɹgyʌs*; *ɛtsʌiyʌs*; *ɛwərkʌs*.
plaster n. *čuɹna*; white — *gɛč*, v.s.v. *maṭi*.
plaster, to v.t. *-*ltʌɣʌyʌs*.

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plate n. *pfʌta*; *pfʌtasuʷndʌl*. V. List of Vessels etc. 000

plateau n. edge of — *pərišʌṭ*.

platform n. (of earth) *mʌn*.

play n. *tʌmaʷša*.

play, to v.i. *tʌmaʷša et.*; *girʌṭʌs*; *hʌwʌs et*; v.t. (polo) *bula delʌs*; (music) *eʷɣərʌs*; to make s.o. — music *-ʌɣərʌs.

played-out adj. *durgʌswṭo*.

pleasant adj. *dʌltʌs*; (of flavour) *mʌzadaʷr*.

please, to v.t. *xuš et.*

pleased adj. *aiyʌš*; *xuš*; *minadaʷr*.

pleasing adj. *xuš*.

pleasure n. *xuši*; with great — *duke duke*; to give — *mʌza d*-ʌtsʌs*.

Pleiades n. *ɣʌṯʌmi.o.*

plenishing n. bride's — *-thiʷŋgi*.

plentiful adj. *bos*; *ʌrzaʷn*.

plenty n. *okši rʌkši*.

pliers n. *ʌmbuʷr*.

plot n. in field *pfurun*; garden — *khuṭkus*; vegetable — *sərk*; (conspiracy) *pferevi*; (ambush) *kʌçakoʷn*.

plot, to v.i. *pferevi et.*; *kʌçakoʷn et.*

plotter n. *pferro*.

plough n. *hərš*.

plough, to v.t. *hərki et.*; *khiʷl et.*; *thʌmus et.*; (preliminary) *wʌṭ et.*; (with oxen) *-ɣərkʌs*; to make s.o. — *-ʌɣərkʌs*.

plough-handle n. *muʷči*; *muṣṭi*.

plough-ox n. *khiʷl etʌs tsʌhiʷr*.

ploughing n. *hərki*.

ploughshare n. *bʌs*; *nʌwʌq*; 2. *tiš*.

pluck, to v.t. *čʌṭ et.*; *čuṭ et.*; (fowl) *-moʷɣʌs*; (flowers) *goʷyʌs*: — by the clothes *jiṭjʌš* *-ʌt*.

pluck out, to v.t. *čʌs et.*

plug n. *ṭowi*; (for hole in skin bag *bərginʌs*.

plunder n. *huʷši*.

plunder, to v.t. *huʷši et.*; *-yʌlʌs*.

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060 plundered, to be v.i. *huʷši m.*
plunge into, to v.i. *γʊrtsaʷs.*
pocket n. *čʌnda*; *-*soγʊt.*
pod n. *giltiʷr.*
point n. *-*thʌn*; at this — *teʷrʊmʌnər*; on the — of . . . *taiyaʷr*; v.s.v. *akhuʷrʊm.*
point out, to v.t. *išaʷra et.*
pointed thing n. *ṭiŋ.*
poison n. *čhɛmɪliŋ.*
poisonous adj. *čhɛmɪliŋ.*
poke, to v.t. *zaʷq et.*, *zʌq et.*
pole n. *bʌlʌŋ*; — of juniper 3. *dir.*
politeness n. *ʌdʌp.*
pollard, to v.t. *imʌrʌyʌs*; *-*muʷrʊṭʌs*; *-*muʷrʊṭinʌs*; *-*muʷruṭʌs.*
polo n. *bʊla.*
polo-ball n. *ṭhəri*; *bʊla.*
polo-ground n. *šʌbʌrin*; *šʌwaʷrʌn.*
polo-stick n. *phiʷṇ*; head of — *čhu.*
pomegranate n. *biči·l* x.
pomegranate-tree n. *biči·l* y.
pommel n. *-*ʌš.*
pond n. *pfəri*; *kʌŋ.*
pony n. *bʊḍoʷko.*
pool n. *kʌŋ.*
poor adj. *tʌltʌq*; *tʌltʌqwiyo*; 2. *tʌrʌq*; *γəriʷp*; *hinzir.*
poor fellow n. *γəriʷpis.*
poor-spirited adj. *-*ʌsə ʌšaʷto*; *-*ʌs bidil.*
popcorn n. *khʌni.*
popinjay n. *tʌmbʊk*; to shoot at — *tʌmbʊk dɛlʌs* or *ditsʌs.*
poplar n. (Lombardy) *jərpa*; (large kind) *tʊrʌq.*
poppy n. *mərdakay.*
populace n. *kuyoʷč.*
population n. } v.s.v. *abaʷd.*
populous adj. }
porch n. *bʌldi.*
porter n. *bʌldakwiṇ.*

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portion n. *bayo*; *bərkʌt*; *lʌp*; *ṭori*; equal — *trʌŋ*.
position n. (circumstances) *hawlʌt*.
possession n. to come into — of **-yaiyʌs*; *d*-ʌyərkʌs*; *ši.ʌs* 3.; v.s.v. **-riŋ*; in the — of s.o. *-ʌle*; **-ʌp/ i*; into one's — *ixʌči*.
possible adj. *etʌs*.
possibility n. *umiwd*.
post n. *ḍʌko*; main — of house *šiwriḍʌko*.
pot n. *ḍewk*; *čidiwn*; *bʌloṣ*; *bʌli*; *dwstsʌk*.
V. List of Vessels etc.
potato n. *awlu*.
pound, to v.t. **-ltʌnʌs* (x objects); *tʌnaws* (y); *lʌqbewš et*.
pounder n. *ḍʌmo*; *diŋər*; N. *karʌki*; (for rice) *qərʌŋtʌŋo*; (for washing clothes) *tʌnaws*.
pour, to v.t. *thiyʌs*; *utinʌs*.
pour down, to v.i. *gawrtsʌs*; to make (rain) — **-ʌskərtsʌs*; *d*-ʌskərtsʌs*.
pour into, to v.t. *giyʌs*.
pour out, to v.t. *dewmiyʌs*; *thiyʌs*.
pout, to v.i. *miwq et*.
poverty n. *ʌšʌtyawr*.
poverty-stricken adj. *tʌltʌquwyo*.
powder n. gun — *mili.eŋ*.
powder-flask n. *rʌnjʌq*; v.s.v. *γəti*.
power n. *luwm*; *šʌt*; *qudrʌt*.
powerful adj. *ḍowm*; *šʌtilo*; *šʌtiliwr*; *zawra*; *zowr*; *zorawər*.
powerless adj. *ʌšawto*.
powers (of action) n. *rxti.awr*.
practice n. (custom) 3. **-ts.hiwr*; *dʌstuwr*; *miraws*; (exercise) *mʌšq*.
practise, to v.i. *mʌšq et*.
praise, to v.t. **-ilikinʌs*; *d*-ʌpukərʌs*; — o.s. *dofoγərʌs*.
pray, to v.i. *du.aw et.*; *nimawz et.* or *γʌtʌnʌs*.
prayer n. *du.aw*; *ni.ʌt*; *nimawz*; call to — *bʌŋ*; — after funeral *čirawqnawma*.

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prayer-beads n. *tʌšbiʻamʊts*.
prayers n. *nɪrmaʻz*; *salwaʻt*.
praying carpet n. *jai.i nɪrmaʻz*; *tʌxta puʻs*.
precedence n. to give — to *saʻʌt* *-*ʌt*.
precipitous adj. *čoʻko*; *tʌš*; *tʌmtʌš*; — ground *jʊm*.
preceding adj. *yər*; **-yərʊm*.
prefer, to v.t. *dʌmši* *-*ʌt*; *xʊš et*.
pregnancy n. **-samʊts*.
pregnant adj. *hʊruṭʊm*; *mʌmu ɪtʊm*; *aʻlto qerkʊs*; *ʊmiʻdwaʻr*.
pregnant, to be v.i. *hʊruṭʌs*; *hʊručaiyʌs*; *mʌmu et*.
preparations n. *bʌndobʌs*.
prepare, to v.t. *etʌs*; (skin or hide) *yʌṭʌmʊrʌs* (x object), *gʌṭʌmʊrʌs* (y).
prepared adj. *rʌl*.
prepared, to be v.i. *riʻk m*.
presence n. in — of s.o. **-ʌpʌči*; *-ʌlɛ*, v. § 67; from the — of s.o. **-ʌpʌčim*.
present n. *inaʻm*; *bʌxṭiš*; *mɛʻrmaʻni*; (from husband to bride) *duʻk*; (to bride's mother) **-yɛnʊm*; adv. up to the — *dərʊm xa*; *muʻto xa*; adj. *haʻzir*.
present, to v.t. *khiʻl et*.; *piʻš et*.; *ṭhʊmʊk et*.
presently adv. v.s.vv. *ʌčo*; *duʻŋ*.
press down, to v.t. **-ʌtɛi.ʌs*; v.s.v. *jʌp*.
press for, to v.i. *baʻk m*.
press forward, to v.i. *phʌŋ m*.
presumptuous adj. *mʌst*.
pretext n. *bʌhaʻna*.
pretty adj. *dʌltʌs*; N. *surʌtčʌn*.
prevail, to v.i. *šʌt et*.
prevent, to v.t. *d*-ʌšɛ.ʌs*; *aʻh et*.; *d*-ʌskʌṭʌs*.
previously adv. *yər*; *yər nɛ*.
price n. *gʌš*; *geʻmʌt*.
prick, to v.t. *zərʌp et*.
pride n. *γeʻrʌt*; *mʌsti*.
priest n. *axoʻn*; *xʌliʻfa*.
priming-pan n. *iʻltʊmʌl*.

primula n. *suyo pfuᵛnər*.
prince n. *gəlpuᵛr*; *šahzaᵛda*.
princess n. *gas*.
prison n. *bandi-*, *jel-*, *qaid-*, *zrndaᵛn-xaᵛna*.
prisoner n. *qaidi*.
private adj. *xaᵛs*; in — *çhito*; — part of house *ulači*, v. also corrigendum.
privy n. *jukaŋ*.
privy parts n. (female) *°-γuᵛǰ*; 2. *dəŋ*.
probably adv. v.s.v. *gumaᵛn*.
proceed! *gom(a)!*
proceed, to v.i. *niyas*; *gulsˌhəras*; to cause s.o. — *°-açulsərasˌ*
proceed to, to v.i. *manaᵛs*.
proclaim, to v.t. *maš.huᵛr st*.
procurable adj. v.s.v. *d°-aγurkas*.
procure, to v.t. *d°-aγurkas*; *duᵛməras*; *°-yanas* (hx objects), *ganas* (y objects).
profit n. *suᵛt*; *napha*; *fai.rda*.
profitable adj. *napha*.
progeny n. *nasal*; *aulaᵛd*.
prohibit, to v.t. *oᵛsenas*; *mana °-at*.
prohibited adj. 1. *çir*; *mana*; (of food) *haraᵛm*.
projecting adj. *pfaᵛǰ*.
promise n. 1. *bər*; *kaᵛt*; *waᵛda*.
prone adj. *jek*; (on face) *°-muᵛškans*.
proof n. *sabuᵛt*.
prop up, to v.t. *d°-astsayas*.
proper adj. *yaǰki*; 1. *yom*; *lai.iq*; *asəli*; *munaᵛzib*; not — to do 3. *šek*.
property n. *doᵛlat*; (heritable) *miraᵛs*; (movable) *maᵛl*; *maᵛl haᵛl*.
prophet n. *peγambər*.
propitious adj. *subaš*.
propose to, to v.i. *zraᵛda st*.
prosperity n. *bərkat*.
prostrate adj. *jek*.
prostrated, to be v.i. (by grief) *dusalaṭas*.
protect, to v.t. *d°-aspasas*.
protection n. (°-)*yal*.
protector n. *raᵛçakuᵛin*.

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006 protruding adj. *pfavṣ*.
propitiate, to v.t. *°-i·likinʌs*.
prove, to v.t. *d°-ʌsqʌłʌs*; *sa·bʌt* or *sʌbu·t st*.
provide for, to v.t. *pəruəvʌ̄* *°-ʌt*.
provisions n. *zʌkhəra*; (for journey) *utsiyenʌs*.
prudent adj. *ʌqəlkʌṣ*.
puberty n. *bʌ·liγ(i)*; arrived at — *bʌ·lʌγ*; v.s.v. *denkus*; to arrive at — *d°-ʌł qʌltʌs*; *deniŋər juyʌs*.
pubic hair n. *°-muṣki*.
public adj. *a·m*.
pudendum muliebre n. 2. *duŋ*.
puff, to v.i. *pfu st*.
puffed up adj. *mʌstikʌṣ*.
pugnacious adj. *ḍus delʌs*; *torkʌṣ*.
pull, to v.t. (°-)*łʌskʌvs*; *ćʌł st*.; *ćuṣ* *°-ʌt*.; *jaṣ* *°-ʌt*.; (by clothes) *jitjʌł* *°-ʌt*.
pull along, to v.t. *dʌdʌl st*.
pull away, to v.t. *jʌł st*.
pull down, to v.t. *i·lturʌs*; *d°-ʌskuyʌs*; *devrʌs*.
pull in, to v.t. (belt) *d°-ʌtsi·ʌs*.
pull on, to v.t. (boots etc.) *ćə·m* *°-ʌt*.
pull out, to v.t. *d°-ʌsʌs*; *d°-ʌpirtsʌs*; *d°-ʌguvsʌs*; *čʌs st*.
pull to pieces, to v.t. *i·lturʌs*.
pull up, to v.t. *d°-pirtsʌs*; (horse) *d°-ʌtsi·ʌs*.
pulse n. (vein) *bərvs*; (crop) *giryir*; *γərʌł*.
pulverise, to v.t. *yu·γinʌs* (x objects), *gu·γinʌs* (y objects).
pumpkin n. *bu·poł*; *furu*; *wʌn*; *hərwər*; section of — *fukəro*.
punish, to v.t. *sʌzʌ* *°-čhi·ʌs*.
punishment n. *sʌzʌ*; *navi*; v.s.v. *kubə·l*.
pupil n. *ʌəγzrd*; — of eye *°-lčina gori*.
puppy n. *gokuərus*.
pure adj. *sə·f*; *pakirsa*; *suṣo*.
purgative n. *°-γu·mər* *°-ʌrʌs mili*; *julaḍ*.

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purpose n *raiś*; *niʌt*; *mʌtlʌb*.
purr, to v.i. *xur et.*
purse n. *boturu*.
pursue, to v.t. **-tsi taiyʌs*.
pursue after, to v.t. *firts *-ʌt*.
pus n. *jol*.
push, to v.t. *jhʌg *-ʌt*.; *zʌq et.*
push forward, to v.i. *pfʌg su*.
puss! puss! *pē pē pēi*
put, to v.t. *delʌs*; **-ʌgiyʌs*; **-wʌśiʌs* (h obj.), *wʌśiʌs* (x obj.), *biłaiyʌs* (y obj.) to cause s.o. — **-ʌdilʌs*; **-ʌwʌśiʌs*; **-ʌbiłaiyʌs*; — to flight **-ʌpkartʌs*; — to sleep **-ʌgučaiyʌs*; — in order *ʌsperē et.*; *worts et.*
put down, to v.t. *ovʌs*; *d*-ʌskuyʌs*.
put on, to v.t. (garment) *yorʌs* (x), *berʌs* (y); (head-gear) *yʌči et.*; (shoes etc.) **-ʌltaiyʌs*; *taiyʌs*; to cause s.o. to — **-ʌolʌs*, **-ʌbilʌs*, **-ʌltaiyʌs*; — lid *worʌs*; — (saddle) (*tili.ʌg*) *ovgiyʌs*, *evelʌs*.
put out, to v.t. (fire etc.) *evtayʌs*.
put out adj. *bizur*; v.s.v. **-wors*.
putrid adj. *ʌʌs manum*; v.s.v. 2. *yʌsur*.
putties n. N. *phʌltoćig*.

Q.

Qazi n. *qazi*.
quadruped n. *haiwori*; *biltaug* (?).
quail n. *yuru*.
quantity n a great — *burdi*; *tulʌrʌn*; *ćhoj*; *daldum*; a small — *pyurʌn*, v. "little"; a certain — *berumʌn*; *ierumʌn*.
quarrel n. *ćʌl*; *janjerl*; to make up a *d*-mayʌs*.
quarrel, to v.i. *ćʌl et.*; *ćʌl *-ʌs*.
quarrelling n. *ćʌl*; *jurur*.
quarrelsome adj. *bayirk*; *ćus dʌlʌs*; *janjerlkṛ*; *tusl*; *turkṛ*; — person *ṛṛgur*.

492 b

quarter n. *trʌŋs trʌŋ*; *trʌŋtsum trʌŋ*; *ʃoʷri*; three —s *iski baʷgo*. 000
quarters n. living — *qoʷš*.
queen n. 2. *γɛʷnɪ̣*.
quern n. *yʌmyɔʷr*.
question n. *sʌwa*; (affair) *čʌγa*.
question, to v.t. *d*-ʌγʌrʊsʌs*; *dɔγʌrʊsʌs*; — under pressure *baʷk *-ʌt*.
quick(ly) adv. *hʊmʌlkum*; *ta.hɔʷr*; *piṭiriŋ*; *ʃʌp*; *ʃʌq*; *ʌjoʷl ʌjoʷl*; *tʌlaʷl nɛ*; v.s.v. *čiṭoriz*.
quicksand n. *čaʷl*; 1. *huʷt*.
quiet n. *ʌmʌn*; to keep — *bʌsʌʷs*.
quietly adv. *thʌln*.
quilt n. *šapoʷs*.
quince n. *jaṭoʷr* x.
quince tree n. *jaṭoʷr* y.
quite adv. 3. *tɔr*; 2. *ʃɔr*; *tʌčʌp*; v.s.vv. *tʌʃʌk*; *čʌm*; *rʌm*; *sʌm*; *tsʌm*. V. "brimful", "pitch dark", "stone blind", "stark naked".
quiver n. *hʊmʌk*; *tɔrkʌṭ*.
Qur'an n. *qʊraʷn*; verses of — *aiya*.

R.

race n. *dʌwʌni*; horse — *pai.iga*.
race, to v.t. *gaʷrtsʌs*; *pai.iga giyʌs*; *pai.igaʷr čho *-ʌt*, or *čho wʌši.ʌs*.
race-course n. *pai.iga dʌs* or *dɪ̣*.
racer n. (of horse) *gaʷrtsʌs*.
raft n. *jaʷlo*; framework of — N. *šʌq*.
rafter n. *siṇẹ*.
rag n. *lʊq*; —s *bʊdʊl*.
rage n. *-mʊʷs*.
ragged clothes n. *lʊq*; 1. *dʊma*.
raid, to v.t. *huʷli st*.
rain n. *hɔraʷlī*; —s *hɔraʷltiŋ*.
rain, to v.i. (*hɔraʷlī*) *di.aʷrtsʌs*
rainbow n. *nirʊnʌŋ*; N. *bijoʷn*.
rainflood n. *hɔraʷlte moʷs*.
rainwater n. *hɔraʷlt ta.hil*.
raise, to v.t. *daʷl st*.

rainine n. *bupam* γαίίη.
raja n. *ilam*; *mir*; —'s wife 2. γανάξ;
—'s male relative *gadgav*; *mava*.
ram n. *hoskaraj*; N. *kavrlu*; (entire) *mar*.
Ramazan n. *ramas*.
"ram chikor" n. *bole*; young — *gakavas*.
ramrod n. γαίλα.
ready n. to become — *dilaklas*.
"ranee" n. 2. γανάξ.
rare, to be v.i. *pirpi*.
rascal n. *afrmas*.
rash n. smallpox — *aakar*.
rat n. *girkas*; tailless — *fafar*.
rather adv. *halki*.
ration(s) n. *-γαναλι*; *-γαναν*; *mavig*.
raven n. γαλαναλ.
ravine n. 2. *bar*; 2. *bar*.
raw adj. *atirum*; (hide) *dayari*.
ray n. *ilagar*.
razor n. *bakinf*.
reach, to v.t. *d-akgalias*; *jark*; to make s.t. — *jark -af*.
read, to v.t. γαλαναλ; *aman*; to cause s.o. — *-agalanas*.
ready adj. *ral*; *faigar*.
ready, to be v.i. *rirk*; *ririk*.
ready-made (of clothes) adj. *tahapinam*.
real adj. *asli*; (not step-) *damas*.
reality n. *tahanaf*.
really adv. *tahas*.
reap, to v.t. *bisrkas*.
reaping-time n. *bisrkas khan*.
rear n. *-fji*; at the — of *-fjikas*.
rear, to v.i. (of horse) γαίλα; v.t. *-ardas*.
rear- adj. *-fji*; *-fjim*.
reared, to be v.i. *dakas*.
reason n. *sahab*; for that — *-tatam*; without — *fafag*; for no — *fki*; by — of *wjelam*.
rebel n. *hakam akanas*.
rebellion n. *kafakar*.

493b

000 rebellious adj. *gayo*.
rebuke n. *nard*.
rebuke, to v.t. *nard* °-*al*.
receive, to v.t. *d*°-*ayurkas*; °-*geiyas*; (person) °-*gandiw niyas*.
recently adv. *dwé*.
reception n. °-*gandi*; v.a.v. *upanéimo*.
recess r. (in wall) *ŋanda*.
recite, to v.t. *yalanas*; — prayers *nemaru al*.
reckon, to v.t. °-*ayanas*; °-*ŋakanas*.
reckoning n. *kawé*.
reclaim n. *ghito kuruŋas*.
recognise, to v.t. *lel al*.; (person) °-*gwnas*.
recommend, to v.t. *ju.n al*.
reconcile, to v.t. *d*°-*aemaŋas*.
reconciled, to be v.i. *d*°-*mayas*.
record n. v.a.v. *keiyan*. 1.
recount, to v.t. *daya al*.
recover, to v.i. *d*°-*nanas*; *dwnas*; *dwnakanas*; *uorto* °-*m*.; v.t. *d*°-*ayurkas*.
recovered adj. *uorto*.
red adj. *lowdow*.
red ant n. *lowdow khon*.
redstart n. *ghaŋoŋas*.
reduce, to v.t. *d*°-*ashivas*.
reed n. *gabi*.
reefs n. *gforu*.
reel n. *mayun*.
reflect, to v.i. *aamba al*.
reflected, to be v.i. v.a.v. *halow*.
reflection n. v.a.v. *ewwal*; (thought) *fikw*; *aamba*.
refractory adj. *haqwal*; *gayarum* (p. 296); *orun*; v.a.v. *ŋamey*.
refuge n. to take — *dayoi.as*; . . . *yuvo giyas ev piyoi.as*.
refuse n. small — of grain 2. *yol*.
refuse, to v.t. *le ewas*; *dukkaras*.
regret n. *pathmawé*; v.a.v. *pamum*.
reign n. *thambéf*.
reinforce, to v.t. (troops) *d*°-*ashaŋas*.

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reins n. *-ʌččiŋ; (horse's) *jilau*.
reject, to v.t. *dukhʌrʌs*.
rejoice, to v.i. *minadʌr* *-m.; *ʃ.rɪ.ʌr* or *ʃuri.ʌrj ʌt*.
rejoicing adj. *minadʌr*; n. *ʃuri.ʌr*; *ʃuri.ʌrj*; *xuši*; day of — *duxʌšʌ*.
relation n. *jʌm*; blood — *sukuin*; *-ltin*; close — *khuj sukuin*; female — *silʌtin*; —s (woman's term) *ayamo*.
relations by marriage n. *gul*.
relaxed adj. *jʌfʌt*.
relay, to v.t. (loads) *sɪra baldʌŋ ʌt*.
release, to v.t. *fʌt* *-ʌt*.
released, to be v.i. *di.ʌši.ʌs*.
relieve, to v.t. — nature *ɪstinjʌb ʌt*.; v.s.v. *-uj *-riŋ*.
religion n. *dɪn*; *mʌshʌb*.
relish n. *tsʌmik*.
remain, to v.i. *d*-uɪsʌs*; *jʌp* *-m.; *hurujʌs*; *huručʌiyʌs* (pl. subj.).
remain behind, to, remain over, to v.i. *d*-u.esʌs*.
remainder n., remaining adj. *bʌŋi*.
remake, to v.t. *d*-ʌsmʌnʌs*.
remarkable adj. *ʌkhrj*.
remarks n. *čʌŋa*.
remedy n. *ilʌj*; *čʌŋa*; (medicine) *mirli*.
remember, to v.t. v.s.vv. *-ʌs; *yʌd*; — with longing *-ʌski *duxʌlʌs*.
remembrance n. *yʌd*.
remind, to v.t. *-ʌsʌfs *d*-ʌtsʌs*; v.s.vv. *-ʌs, *d*-ʌtsʌs*.
remorse n. *pʌšimʌni*; v.s.v. *pʌsorm*.
remove, to v.t. *dʌrl ʌt*.; *lʌŋ* *-ʌt*; — and stack (cut crops) *dumʌtsʌs*.
rend, to v.t. *-xirsʌs; *-ʌxɪrsʌs*.
renown n. *tʌrif*.
renowned adj. *hʌri*; *mʌš.hur*; *-ik *durʌm*.
repair, to v.t. *dorust ʌt*.; *wʌrts ʌt*.; *sʌjrš ʌt*.
repaired adj. *wʌrts*.

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repay, to v.t. *-*yami.as* (x obj.), *gami.as* (y).
repel, to v.t. *pfər* *-*at*.
repentance n. *toba*.
report n. 1. *bər*; (of gun) *biḍiŋ*; *iċhər*; *ṭawafau.u*.
reporter n. *xabəriŋ suryas*.
repose n. 1. *šuv*.
representation n. *buyat*.
reproof n. *navš*.
repudiate, to v.t. *d*[illegible]*.ras*.
repugnance n., repugnant adj. v.s.v. *-*ayam*.
reputation n. *-*ivk*; *tavrif*; bad — *badnavmi*.
request, to v.t. *duvməras*; *rak* or *rai.i st*.
require, to v.t. *d*-*aċanas*; v.s.v. *avravja*.
required adj. *awavje*; *dərkavr*.
rescue, to v.t. *d*-*aspasas*.
resembling adj. *ju.an*.
resentment n. *zrd*.
residence n. (royal) *thavŋ*; *thevŋoš*.
resident n. *hərutas*.
resin n. *baŋ*; *γibaŋ*.
resource n. *zlavj*; *čavra*.
resources n. *luvm*; *auqavt*; without — *dərmanla*.
respect n. *adap*; *zzzat*; *xavtir*.
resplendent, to be v.i. *lam jam m*.
respond to, to v.i. *duvməras*.
rest n. 1. *šuv*; *aravm*.
rest, to v.i. 1. *šuv st*.
restless adj. *be-qəravr*; (of child) *tvšpoṭ*; to be — *girgavr* *-*m*.
restrained by, to be v.i. *jamkaç m*.
restricted adj. *čhanvm*.
result n. *nativja*.
retaliation n. *mavr*; *qasavs*; *rvs*.
retainer n. *šadər*.
retire, to, retreat, to v.i. *javš m*.; *pfər m*.
retribution n. *rvs*.
return n. (of date or anniversary) 2. *pfər*; v.s.v. *yovl*.

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000

return, to v.i. *juγʌs*; *pfər* m.; *tʌlʌnʌs*.
reveal, to v.t. *d*-ʌgusʌs*.
revenge n. *bʌdʌla*; *mʌr*; *qʌsʌs*.
reverence, to do v.t. (to gods etc.) **-ilikinʌs*.
revetting wall n. (of field) *kurt*; (buttressing wall) *sʌsʌŋ*.
revile, to v.t. **-mʌltsʌs*; *žoniŋ st*.
revolution n. (of time) *durʌs*; v.s.v. *yol*.
revolve, to v.i. *pfʌpər* or 1. *pfər* m.; v.t. **-ʌltʌlʌnʌs*; *pfʌpər st*.
revolver n. *tʌmʌnča*.
revolving n. *pfər*.
reward n. *inʌm*; *mʌrmʌni*.
rheumatism n. 1. *jʌk*; *mʌq*; *lʌm čʌm* (?)
rhubarb n. *čʌl*; N. *sʌspər*.
rib n. **-yʌlmʌn*; short — **-khukurs*.
rice n. (grain) *brʌs*; (cooked) 2. *bʌt*; *polau*.
rice-pounder n. N. *kʌrʌki*; *qərʌŋfʌŋo*.
rich adj. *γʌmrs*; *dolʌtmʌn*.
riches n. *dorlʌt*.
ride, to v.i. *huljaiyʌs*.; v.t. *d*-tsʌs*.
rider n. *hʌγurkurin*.
ridiculous adj. *tʌmaršakrš*.
ridge n. *irrš*; N. *dær*.
right n. *hʌq*; *ts.hʌn*; *durk*; — of decision *rxti.ʌr*; to exercise —s over *šc.ʌs*; adj. *ts.hʌn*; *wərts*; *yʌški*; *munʌsrb*; cp. 1. *yom*; —hand adj. *doryum*; — time *morqa*.
right-side-out adj. *wərts*.
rind n. *wʌt*.
ring n. *čʌma*; *čoromdo*; *qikin*; (of withies) *murda*.
ring-leader n. **-yʌtrs*.
rip, to v.i. *turʌs*; v.t. **-lturʌs* (?).
ripe adj. *d*-γunum*; N. *degoni*.
ripen, to v.i. *d*-γunʌs* (x subjects), *duγunʌs* (y), *diri.ʌs* (x subjects), *dirʌs* (y).
ripped adj. *turum*.
ripples n. *pfimiŋ*.

4956

OOO ·ise, to v.i. *duʷʌs*; *di.eʷyʌs*; (of sun etc.) *jil m.*; (of flood) *bilbinʌs*.
rise up, to v.i. *daʷl m.*; *hərt m.* *di.eʷyʌs*.
rising n. (of sun etc.) *jil*.
rival n. *kerʷ*; *šəriʷk*.
rival, to v.t. *ṭʌk* *-*ʌm*.
river n. *sinda*; *dəri.a*; strand of — bed 2. *khʌy*.
road n. *gʌn*.
roast, to v.t. *-*ʌsqulʌs* 2.; *jʌjʌm* *-*ʌt.*; *kʌbaʷb* *-*ʌt*.
rob, to v.t. *huʷši* *-*ʌt.*; *-*yʌlʌs*.
robber n. *huʷši etʌs*; *γivn*.
robbery n. *γiʷki*.
robe n. *čʌpʌn*; — of honour 1. *sərpa*.
robust adj. *dʌγʌnum*; *dʌy*; *saʷro:*
rock n. *dʌn*; (boulder) *buʷn*; (cliff) *chər*; overhanging — *bʌlbʌl*; 2. *ḍiʷr*.
rock, to v.i. *pirkʌnʌs*.
rod n. *dəroʷγo*; *γai.rs*.
rogue n. *mʌkərči*.
roll n. — of cloth *thaʷn*; *tuʷp*.
roll, to v.i. *ḍiʷri m.*; v.t. *ḍiʷri et.*
roll out, to v.t. *šaʷr et.*; *šər et*.
roll over, to v.i. *pfʌlʌṭ m.*; v.t. *mʌlaʷq et.*; *pfʌlʌṭ et*.
roll up, to v.i. *dusʌlʌṭʌs*; *d*-mʌtsʌs* (x objects), *dumʌtsʌs* (y).
roller n. wooden — for polo ground) *ḍərö*.
rolling-pin n. *γai.rs*; (stone) *guyoʷs*.
rolling-stone n. (person) *biltsuŋ*.
roof n. (from outside) *teʷši*; (from inside) 1. *tʌl*.
roof, to v.t. *di.uʷlʌs*.
roof-beam n. *siʷnč*.
roofless n. *pfʌṭʌŋ*.
room n. *ha*; *učʌk*; (space) *diš*.
roomy adj. *šoqum*.
root n. *ts.hirrš*; *gʌmuʷn*.
root out, to v.t. *d*-pirtsʌs*.

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rope n. *gʌšk*; thin — *ḍulu*; *ʍʌlgi*; heel- — *pičʌri*.
rope-bridge n. 1 *gʌl*.
rosary n. *ṭʌšbiʌmuts*.
rose n. *γulʌb*.
rot, to v.i. *-γʌsʌs; γʌsʌs; v.t. *-ʌsqʌsʌs.
rotten adj. (of wood) *γul*.
rough(ly) adj., adv. *jʌčərum*; *ḍoŋqʌm*.
roughly-fashioned article (metal, wooden etc. to be completed later) *ṭʌṭʌs*.
round n. to make the — of *sail* *et.*; adj. *biḍiro*; *biḍiriko*; — ball of anything *gulʌli*; prep. *iḍigʌrtʌli*; *iḍigʌri*; *-ʍərʌ.
round about adv. *šʌturgʌt*; *iḍigʌri*; *iḍigʌrtʌli*.
rouse, to v.t. — from sleep *dʌŋtsum *-ʌrʌs*; *d*-ʌstsʌlʌs*.
rout, to v.t. *-ʌskərtsʌs*.
row n. *γauγʌ*; *jʌnjʌl*; *fʌsʌd*.
rowan (tree) n. *dindiš*.
royal adj. v.s.v. *gušpuʌre.iki*.
rub, to v.t. *xʌš* *et.*; *xʌš* *et.*; *šʌq* *et.*; (massage) *mʌš *-ʌt.*; (grain between hands) *ipfuʌpərʌs*; *ʌšpupurʌs*.
rub down, to v.t. *xʌš* *et.*; *šʌq* *et.*
rub on, to v.t. *ʌdilʌs* (cp. *-ʌdilʌs*); *-maltərʌs*, v. Supt. to Corrigenda.
rubbing n. (noise of) *tʌš tʌš*; *šʌq šʌq*.
ruby n. *lʌl*.
ruddy adj. *guʌro*.
rude adj. *be-ʌdʌb*.
rudeness n. *be-ʌdʌpi*.
rue (Syrian) n. *supʌndur*.
rug n. *joj qʌli*; *paṭo*; (of goat's hair) *šərma*; v.s.v. 3. *bər*.
ruin n. v.t. *-ʌqušʌlʌs*.
ruined adj. *xərʌb*; *qušʌlum*.
ruined, to become v.i. *qušʌlʌs*.
ruins n. *šərʌn*.
rule n. *bʌp*; *dʌsturʌ*; *qʌʌda*; *qʌʌnun*; (government) *hukumʌt*.

496 b

ruler n. *thʌm*; *ha·kim*.
rummage about, to v.i. *pfiti·k pfoṭu·k et.*; *pfu·volompfʌt et.*
run, to v.i. *ga·rtsʌs*.
run away, to v.i. *ḍo·m m.*; *ga·rtsʌs*.
run down, to v.i. *diγi·nʌs*; v.t. (speak ill of) *d*·ʌsayʌs*; 4. *ṭur m.*
run through, to v.i. (of grain) *digi.eyʌs*.
run-down adj. *bi·ha·l*.
runnel n. *hu·r*.
running adj. — loop *dəšunʌs ṭo·k*.
rupee n. *rupi.a*; *ḍʌbʌl*; half — *čili·ki*.
rush, to v.i. *ga·rtsʌs*; *ga·rčaiyʌs* (pl. subj.).
rush down, to v.i. *diγi·nʌs*.
rushes n. *pforu*.
rust n. *ti·k*; *zʌg*.
rust, to v.i. v.s.v. *dunʌs*.
rustle, to v.i. 1. *šʌšər m.*
rustling n. *rū· rū·*; 1. *šʌšər*; *šʌrəšər*.
rutting adj. v.s.vv. *gat*, *di.ʌši.ʌs*.

S.

sack n. *qʌp*; *ṭʌγər*; *bu·ra*; *bu·ri*; cp. *sərmots*.
sacred adj. *su·jo*.
sacrifice n. *xe·r*; *xodei*; *nʌzər*; *qurba·n*; (special) *šəres*; v.s.v. *duxau.ukuts*.
sacrifice, to v.t. v.s.v. *yu·ṣe.ʌs*.
sad adj. *jurkhu·so*; *xʌfa*; *γʌmgi·n*.
sad, to be v.i. *dərmosa·yʌs*.
saddle n. *tili.eŋ*; pommel of — *·ʌṣ̌*; side-piece of — *yu·rγʌli*; v.s.v. *galgi*.
saddle, to v.t. *·litulʌs*.
saddle-bag n. *tili.eŋə botu·n*.
saddle-felt n. *toqom*.
safe and sound adj. *si.ʌt sʌla·mʌt*.
safely adv. *hʌfa·zʌte ka*.
safety n. *hʌfa·zʌt*; *sʌla·mʌt*.
saffron n. *za·fəra·n*.
sahib n. *sa·b*.
said pc. having — *n*·..ən*; *nosen*; *nəxa*.

497a

saint n. *pir*; *wali*; *buzurg*.
sais n. *ałtan*.
saiyid n. *sevit*.
salaam n. *salam*; v.s.v. 3. *jur*.
salary n. *tanxa*; *talab*.
sale n. v.s.v. *gaf*.
saliva n. *bisqa*.
sallow n. *ṭrkark*.
salt n. rock — *baiyu* x; granular — *baiyu* y; 'loaf' of — *sal*.
salt-sweet adj. *gałbrum*.
salt-tax n. *baiyu.a bap*.
salpetre n. *ṭadur*.
salutation n. *jur*; *salam*.
salute, to v.t. 3. *jur ot*.
same n. the — *hanjuko*; all the same adv. *dorn ke* (v.s.v. *dunki*).
samovar n. *samawar*.
sample n. *namuna*.
sand n. *sa.o*.
sand-trap n. *sauwr kaŋ*.
sandy adj. *sa.okṭ*.
sandals n. *čapslimots*.
sap n. *tomulum ts.hil*.
sapling n. *ḍamo*.
sarcasm n. *čordo*(?).
sate, to v.t. *d°-asuljaiyas*.
sated, to be v.i. *duljaiyas*.
satin n. *adrlas*.
satisfaction n. *ram*; *rizakoṭ*; *rizai*.
satisfied adj. *riza*.
satisfy, to v.t. *d°-asuljaiyas*; *riza °-al*.; be satisfied (desire) *galas*.
saturated, to be v.i. *disaras*.
Saturday n. *šimšer*.
sauce n. *tsamik*.
sausage n. *work*.
save, to v.t. *d°-aspasas*; *xalus °-al*.
saved, to be v.i. *d°-n.esas*.
savour n. *mazu*.
savoury adj. *uyam*; *mazadar*.
saw n. *horiṭi*.

497b

saw, to v.t. *-xərʌs.
say, to v.t. ʌsʌs; *-ʌsʌs; γərʌw; ɛlʌs.
saying n. bər; ʌsʌs.
scab n. kokərə.
scabbard n. ywlgʒ.
scald, to v.t. jak *-ʌt.; mʌrʒ *-ʌt.
scald-headed adj. bʌʃə.
scales n. jakərɨ; čərʌrzu.
scanty-beard n. kusu.
scapegrace n. čərkogərə.
scapula n. burɨ.
scar n. čʌpʌʒ.
scarce, to be v.i. pirpi m.
scarcity n. kam; taŋ; taŋgɨ; v.s.v. ʌbʌs.
scarecrow n. γʌqali (cp. γʌkali); N. gʌkali; bʌγʌrʌrçə.
scatter, to v.i. dərm m.; v.t. giyʌs; jʌli.ʌs; pfau st.; pfirufau st.
scattered adj. gərʌrɨ.
scattered, to be v.i. pfau m.; dərm m.; (of grain) ɨər m.
school n. madrʌsa.
scent n. nʌs.
scissors n. qʌčɨ; N. dəgər.
scoop up, to v.t. v.s.v. pfi.
scorched adj. jak mʌnəm.
score n. (line) grʒɨ; (record) haiyʌn; (= 20) ʌrltər.
score, to v.t. (goal) hʌla st.; (keep record) haiyʌn st. or ərʌs.
scour, to v.t. xʌʒ xʌʒ st.
scowl, to v.t. *-ʌkil bʌbʌl st.
scrabble, to v.i. qʌqər *-m.
scrap n. phurk; (of cloth) čirirpo; fiərko (of leather) čhʌγə; (of wood) pfirirnč.
scrape, to, scratch, to v.t. qʌr st.; gʌjʌl st.; (with nails or claws) γʌʒʌm st.
scratch at, to v.i. 1. qʌqər *-m.
scratching n. qʌr.
scream n. qyur.
scream, to v.i. qyur st.
scree n. dʌʒər.

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000 screw n. *pinč*.
screwdriver n. *pončkal*; *pinikas*.
scrotum n. *ḍarmal*; v.s.v. *baṭ*.
scum n. 2. *γaš*.
sea n. *samandər*.
seal n. *mor*.
seam n. *burʌn*.
search, to v.i. *odorri st.*; *ʃal st.*; *talaṽ st.*
search for, to v.t. *odorri st.*
search through, to v.t. *pʃiṭirk pʃoʃurk st.*
season n. *khʌn*; *parṣi*.
seat, to v.t. *-ʌurʊʃʌs; *-ʌspʌsʌs; — o.s. *bʌsʌrs*.
second(ly) adj., adv. *altovulum*.
secret n. *čap*; 1. *sir*.
secretly adv. *ūyʌmo*; *notʌγʌn*; (v.s.v. *dʌγai.ʌs*); 3. *ṣaq*.
section n. *ʃatori*, (of population) *maqso*; *khʌn*; (tribal) *kutor*; (of grass land) *gṛṣi*.
secure, to v.t. *d*-ʌγurkʌs; *-yaiyʌs; (rights etc.) *ṣeryʌs*.
security n. *zʌmamʌl*.
see, to v.i. *khirl m.*; v.t. *yitsʌs*; *-(y)ʌtsʌs*.
seed n. *γuno*; (of cereals) *bo*; *bokʌl*; *bormo*.
"seed-scattering" n. *bopʃau*.
seedling n. *ṛipors*; (tree) *diṣṣo*; *mirṣ*.
seek, to v.t. *odorri st.*; *talaṽ st.* —
seem, to v.i. *γʌnʌrs*; — to see *-ʌγʌnʌs.
seer n. (weight) *ser*; (soothsayer) *bilʌn*.
seesaw n. N. *gərzʌŋgarirl*.
seize, to v.t. *durnʌs*; *-yʌnʌs (hx); *gʌnʌs* (y); (of pain) *giyʌs*; to make (people) — *dorgunʌs*.
select, to v.t. *d*-ʌsqʌlʌs; *dʌmši *-ʌl.*; *xuš st.*
selected, to be v.i. *doγarʌlʌs*.
self n. *-ḍim*; *ji*.
self pron. (emphatic) *-i*; *-ḍim*; (reflex.) *-khər* v. §§ 142, 144; of one — v.s.v. *muratti*.
self-coloured adj. *gurro*.

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self-controlled adj. *bʌsum*.
self-respect n. *γɛrʌt*.
self-respecting adj. *gɛrʌtdar*.
self-restrained adj. v.s.v. *hʌnisarɛ*.
self-willed adj. *hʌŋərʌʃ*; *qarqʌrum* (p. 298).
sell, to v.t. *gʌʃ ɛt*.
selvedge n. *ilmeʃ*.
semen n. *bo*; *sise γono*; to have an emission of — **-tsimo juyʌs*.
send, to v.t. (persons) **-ʌrʌs*; **-ʌtsuyʌs*; *d*-ʌrʌs*; (things) *dortsʌs*; v.s.v. *d*-ʌtsʌs*.
senior adj. *uyum*.
sense n. *hurš*; (intelligence) *ʌqəl*; to come to one's —s *hurəər wʌlʌs*; *čhərči wʌlʌs*.
senseless adj. *pʌl*; *bi-hurš*.
senses n. *čhərči*.
sensible adj. *ʌqəlkrʃ*.
sentry n. *tsər*; *tsərguin*; to patrol as — *kar m*.
separate adj. *ir*; *čəraʃi*; *čhito*.
separate, to v.i. *dorarʌʃʌs*; *čəraʃi* or *čhito* or *itse m*.; v.t. *čəraʃi* or *čhito *-ʌt*.; *itse ɛt*.; *d*-ʌčʌqʌrʌs*; (grain by hand) *ɛrəpupurʌs*.
separated adj. *čəraʃi*; *wʌq*.
separately adv. *ir*; *itsi* (v.s.vv. 1. *-tse* & **-tsi* d.).
sepoy n. *sipa.i*.
September n. *sɛtʌmbər*.
septum n. *nʌʃ*.
servant n. *durozkuin*; *ʃʌdər*; *norkər*; personal — *xɪsmʌtgar*; trusted — *mʌhʌrʌm*; Mir's head — *yʌsorl*; female — *kʌniz*.
service n. *ʃʌdəri*; *norkəri*; *xɪdmʌt*; (to God) *bʌndɛgi*; (advantage) *fai.ɪda*; in — of **-ʌkartum*.
serviceable, to be v.i. *doro *-čhi.ʌs*.
set n. *-kum* v. § 151; — of 10 *tɔrumʌn*; — of clothes *ts.hir*; *tam*.

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set, to v.i. (of sun etc.) *buʷr* m.; (of milk etc.) *dumʌnʌs*; v.t. *oʷsʌs*; *-*wʌši.ʌs* (h objects), *wʌši.ʌs* (x objects), *bɪšaiyʌs* (y objects); (milk) *dɛʷsmʌnʌs*.

set before, to v.t. *pivš* st.; 2. *yaʷɛ oʷsʌs*.

set down, to v.t. *d*-ʌskuyʌs*.

set loose, to v.t. *fʌt* *-ʌt*.

set on, to v.t. *hẽ* st.

set out, to v.i. *duwʌšɛ.ʌs*; *rʌwaʷna* m.

set up, to v.t. *d*-ʌ.iyʌs*; *bʌja* st.

setting n. (of sun etc.) *buʷr*.

settle, to v.i. *bʌsaʷs*; *hʊruʷʈʌs*; *hʊručaiyʌs* (pl. subj.); v.t. *-*ʌskɔrtsʌs*; *-*ʌ.ʊruʈʌs*; *ɛspʌsʌs*; (a case) *d*-ʌsqʌʈʌs*; *faisʌla* st.; *hʌnpa* st.

settle down, to v.i. *hʊruʷʈʌs*; *hʊručaiyʌs* (pl. subj.); *-*wʌlʌs*.

settled, to be v.i. *iʷti khiʷti* m.; (of land) *abaʷd* m.; (of case) *faisʌla* m.; *hʌnpa* m.; *gʌʷrtsʊm* or *ɛskɔrtsʊm* m.; *doγaʷʌʈʌs*.

settlement n. (of case) *ʌstʌm*; *faisʌla*.

seven num. *thʌlo* (hxy); *thʌlɛ* (z).

seventh ord. *thʌle.uʷlʊm*.

seventeen num. *tʊrma thʌlo*, *-thʌlɛ*.

seventy num. *iʷski aʷltɔr toʷrʊmo*.

several adj. *beʷrʊmʌn*.

severe(ly) adj., adv. *ḍʌŋ*; *ḍoʷm*; 1. *ʈʌwaʷ*.

severity n. *naʷi*; *pfiʈoʷi*.

sew, to v.t. *çuʷk* st.; *-*ts.hʌpʌnʌs*.

sewing n. *çuʷk*; — thread *çuʷk stʌs sɔr*.

sewn adj. *ts.hʌpʌnʊm*; *çuʷk stʊm*.

shade, shadow n. *yʌl*; *-*yʌl*.

shake, to v.i. *dʌdɔr* m.; *lʌŋ* m.; *lʌq* m.; *lɔrza* m.; *zʌlzʌl* m.; v.t. *lʌŋ* st.; (up and down) *tsʌq tsʌq* st.

shale n. *bʌt*; *duxɔrʌs dʌn*; *duwʌšɛ.ʌs dʌn*.

shallow adj. *tʌlaʷso*; N. *šʌl*.

shame n. *šɪqɔr*; *thuʷki*; *šɔrʊm*; to feel — *-*šqɔrʌs*; *-*ʌmʌlʌs*; for —! *pʌsoʷm!*

shame-faced adj. *šɔrmɪnda*.

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shape n. *kʌlib*; (likeness) *bʌṭ*; *šʌkʌl*; to take — *d*-mʌnʌs*; (with y subj.) *dumʌnʌs*.
shapeless adj. *wʌno*.
share n. *-*γərum*; *ba·go*; *he·ši*; 2. *pʌči*; *bərkʌt*; equal — *bʌbər*; *trʌŋ*; — of forced labour *mʌqso*..
share, to v.t. *ba·go ɛt.*; — equally *trʌŋ* or *bʌ·go ɛt.*
sharp adj. *hi·rum*; *bʌbərum*.
shave, to v.t. *qʌr ɛt.*
shawl-cloth n. *qa·r*.
she pron. *i·nɛ*, v. §§ 117, 120.
she- adj. *gus-*.
she-colt n. *gus birʌγo*.
she-goat n. *ts.hi·r*; N. *ts.hi·gir*.
she herself pron. *mumu·i*, v. § 142.
sheaf n. *bu·s*.
shear, to v.t. **-yərʌnʌs*.
shears n. *gəre.i*.
sheath n. *yu·lgrṣ̌*.
shed n. *guṭi*.
sheep n. *šeγpʌlkrṣ̌*; *huyɛ·s*; *hu.o·*; wild — *ru·š*; *yɛṭʌl*; (ewe) *be·lis*; (young) female) *me·nis*; (young castrated male) *tuγuli*; — sacrificed after a death *daxau.ukuts*. V. s.v. "ram".
sheep- n. *hu.o·kum*; *huyɛ·skum*.
sheepskin n. *hu.o·ɛ bʌṭ*; *me·nisɛ bʌṭ* *hu.o·kum bʌṭ*.
sheet n. *ča·dɪr*.
shelf n. *bʌlk*.
shelter n. *čo·kuṭo*; *čo·kuṭi*; (under rock) *ko·r*; *γərba·nts*.
shell n. (of nut or fruit stone) *tumʌy*; egg — *ṭiŋʌne· wʌṭ*.
shepherd n. *huyɛ·ltərts*.
shield n. *khi·*.
shift, to v.t. *lʌŋ ɛt.*
shin n. *pi·ni*.
Shīn n. *šɛ·n*.
Shinā n. *šɛniski*.

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000 shine, to v.i. *lʌm* or *lʌlʌm m.*; *sʌŋ m.*
shingle n. *qhüyɛ*; N. *gowo.*
shingly adj. *qhüyɛkrš.*
ship n. *jʌhawz*; *kršti*; *na.o.*
shirt n. (man's) *kuwdi*; (woman's) 3. *pʌči*; *gʌfu.*
shivering adj. *zʌŋzʌŋ.*
shoe n. *kʌfša*; horse — *sʌp.*
shoe, to v.t. (horse) *sʌp* *-*ʌt.*; *sʌp* *-*ʌdilʌs*; *sʌp ɛpusʌs.*
shoot n. *šolto*; (large) *ḍʌmo.*
shoot, to v.i. *bišʌiyʌs*; *trʌn ɛt.*; *čhʌp ɛt.*; v.t. *dɛlʌs*; *-*dɛlʌs*; *d*-ʌlʌs*; *dolʌs.*
shop n. *dukawn.*
shop-keeper n. *dukʌndaw*; *sodʌgər.*
shops n. *bawzaw.*
short adj. *khuwf*; (person) *čhʌf.*
shortage n. *kʌm*; *tʌŋ*; *tʌŋgi.*
shot n. *čhəra*; *gərk*; *muka*; N. *kiyɛ.*
shotgun n. *čhəra* or *muka tobʌq.*
should . . ., should have . . . *tsɛ*, v. § 351.
shoulder n. *-*pfowiŋ*; *-*ʌš*; (of horse) *-*ltʌltər*; on the —s *ḍowq.*
shoulder, to v.t. *ḍus dɛli.ʌs* or *duwnʌs.*
shoulder-blade n. *buwi.*
shout n. *lawo*; *qau*; *qyuw.*
shout, to v.i. *qau ɛt.*; *qyuw ɛt.*; (battle-cry) *ha ha ɛt.*
shouting n. *žawo*; *žawo qyuw.*
shove, to v.t. *ṭhʌŋ* *-*ʌt.*; *ṭhiŋṭhʌŋ* *-*ʌt.*; 1. *zʌq ɛt.*: *-*ʌrʌs*; — into *čawm* *-*ʌt.*
shovel n. *buwi*; *hərivš*; *belča.*
show n. *tʌmawša.*
show, to v.i. *ɣʌnaws*; *pfawš m.*; *duwʌšɛ.ʌs*; v.t. *-*ʌltiwʌs*; *pfawš* or *sail* *-*ʌt*; *khiwl ɛt.*
show off, to v.i. *ɣɪlliwʌs.*
show up, to v.t. *d*-ʌwʌltʌs.*
shower n. *hərawlt.*
showy adj. *liwo lawo.*
shrine n. *astawn*; *zi.awrʌt.*

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shroud n. *kʌfʌn*; *durguʿtsikrš*. 000
shut adj. *ṭʌm*; *bʌn*; (of eyes) v.s.v. **-ʌstʌqayʌs*.
shut, to v.t. *ṭʌm st.*; *bʌn st.*; (lid) *waʿrʌs*; (eyes) **-ʌstʌqayʌs*.
shut in, to v.t. *d*-ʌšs.ʌs*.
shut off, to v.t. (water) *yoʿrʌs*.
shut up, to v.t. (animals) **-khʌči.ʌs*.
shut up! *ya!*; *yaʿya!*; *yaiyɛ!*
shy adj. *šərumkrš*; *šərmɪnda*.
sick adj, *γʌliʿs*.
sickle n. *bisərš*.
sickness n. *γʌliʿzkoš*; *bi.ai.i*.
sickly adj. *γʌlisaṭo*.
side n. *pa*; *mus*; **-qʌt*; *pʌči*; (of person) **-ʌpʌt*; **-skiʿl*; (below arm) **-soγut* (in game) **-yʌkʌl*; both —s. of *ilbʌṭ*; wrong — *ʌpʌrts*; this — *khiʿti*; v.s.v. *pfər*.
side- adj. *pʌčimo*.
sieve n. *γərbel*; *čuq*.
sift, to v.t. *dʌldinʌs*; *d*-ʌsqʌṭʌs*.
sigh, to v.i. *hiš st.*; *hai hai st.*
sight n. *nʌzər*.
sign n. *išaʿra*; *dərʌk*; *haiyʌn*; *nɪšaʿn* (to be seated) *zaʿq*; (of Zodiac) *čurji*
sign, to v.i. *išaʿra st.*
signet ring n. *buromdo*.
silence n. *čup*; to keep — *čup m.* or *st.*; *bʌsaʿs*.
silence, to v.t. *čʌpčup* or *čup *-ʌt*.
silent adj. *čup*; *čʌpčup*.
silk n. (raw) *čhuʿši*; (fabric) *sɪkim*; adj. *sɪkimɛ*.
silk cocoon n. *čhuʿši.ɛ pəšoro*.
silkworm n. *čhuʿši.ɛ γʌlγu*.
silver n. *buriʿ*; adj. *buriʿɛ*.
similar adj. *ʌkiʿljuʿko*; *hʌnjuʿko*; *ju.ʌn*.
simple adj. *thi*; *hʌnḍʌm*; *hinzi*; *ʌʌm*; *saʿda*.
simultaneously adv. *nʌla*; *hɪk nʌla*.
sin n. *guna*; *hubaʿl*.

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since prep. *-tsum*; — when? *bešilmutsum?* 000
conj. *besiki*.
sinew n. (of neck or heel) *jauwa*.
sinful adj. *gunagaw*.
sing, to v.i. γər *st*.
single adj. *hinzir*; a — day *hikulto*.
sink, to v.i. *-γurtsʌs*; γurtsaʷs;
v.t. *-ʌsgurtsʌs*.
sip n. γiḍiŋ.
sip, to v.t. *ḫuʷk st*.
Sir (voc.) nʌzər; nʌna.
sister n. (man's) *-yʌs*; (woman's) *-ʌçə*;
mother's — *-mi*; *mimo moʷçə*;
father's *-ntsə*; husband's — *-rik*;
-ʌçə; elder — (in privileged circles)
kaʷki.
sister-in-law n. (man's) *-yʌs*; (woman's)
-rik; *-ʌçə*.
sit, to, sit down, to v.i. *hurutʌs*; *hurucaiyʌs* (pl. subj.); — still *bʌsaʷs*;
tsʰiʌs; to cause to — *-ʌ urutʌs*;
ʷspʌsʌs.
six num. *mʌšiʷndə* (h, x, y); *mʌšiʷndi* (z).
sixteen num. *turma mʌšiʷndə*, *-mʌšiʷndi*.
sixth ord. *mʌšiʷndilum*.
sixty num. *iʷski aʷltər*.
sized adj. (of cloth) *maiyadaʷr*.
sizzle, to v.i. *jʌjʌm st*.
skeleton n. *čərʌk*.
skewer n. *pfiriʷnč*.
skill n. *ustaʷdi*; *hunər*.
skilful adj. *hunərmʌn*; *ustaʷd*.
skilfully adv. *hunərʷ ka*.
skin n. *baḫ*; (for water) *mʌšk*; inflated
— N. *mʌyuʷḫ*; *təriŋ*.
skin, to v.t. *-fʌtərʌs*; *baḫ daʷl st*.
skin-float n. N. *mʌyuʷḫ*.
skirt n. *lʌmʌn*; (of choga) *-lʌmʌt*.
skull-cap n. *tupo pfʌrtsin*.
sky n. *aiyʌš*; *ʌsmaʷn*; cloudy — *burumç*.
sky-blue adj. *aiyʌš ḫiqʌm*; *ʌsmaʷn ḫiqʌm*.
skylight n. *ʌsgʌm*; *ʌsm*.

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ŏ00 slack adj. *bʌlgʌl*; *jʌfʌt*; (of person) *tɔrʌḍo*; *ʌrʌḍo*; *sus*; *bʌɣondo*; *bʌɣondokṛṭ*; *tɔrɣʊt*; (of water) *tʌl*.
slackly adv *khiŋ khʌŋ*.
slackness n. *tɔrʌḍe.i*.
slackster n. *bʌɣondokṛṭ*.
slander, to talk v.i. *ʃur m*.
slander, to v.t. *pfi* *-*ʌt*.; *tsʌʌq* *-*ʌt*.
slandered adj. *badnɔm*.
slanderer n. *bɔriŋkṛṭ*; *lɔvo jɔvo*; *čutlikṛṭ*.
slap n. *ʃɔu*.
slap, to v.t. *trʌp* *-*ʌt*.; *tʌtʌn* *-*ʌt*.; (v.s.v. 3. *tʌn*).
slaughter, to v.t. *khʌš* *-*ʌt*; *ʃuyʌs* (v.s.v. *ʃiʌs*. 5)
slave n. *tɔcn*; (female) *kʌniv*.
slay, to v.t. *-*ʌsqʌnʌs*; *-*dʌlʌs*; *khʌš* *-*ʌt*; *-*ʌxrʌs*.
slaying n. *khʌš*.
sledge-hammer n. *ʌmdʌn*.
sleep n. *dʌŋ*; unawaking — *dɔr*; short — *ʃuk*; to go to — *-*ʌyrnʌs*; *dʌŋ dɔsuryʌs*; to put to — *-*ʌgɔčʌiyʌs*; *dʌŋ d**-*ʌtsʌs*.
sleep, to v.i. (to lie sleeping) *gučhʌiyʌs*; v.s.v. *pfuŋ*.
sleeping-platform n. *mʌn*; *šin*.
sleeve n. *ʃiŋs*.
slender adj. *bi.nɔm*; *sisinɔm*.
slice n. *čhɔr*; (of gourd) *ʃokɔro*.
slice, to v.t. *čɔrʌp* *-*ʌt*.
slide, to v.i. *qʌr* or 1. *šʌq m*.
slight adj. *sisinɔm*.
slightly adv. *lokʌn*; *kʌm*.
slime n. *jʌɣʌʃu*.
slimy adj. *jɔɣʌjʌɣʌʃo šrɣiʃum*.
slip, to v.i. *ʃʌq* or *tʌʃ m*.; to cause — *ʃʌq* *-*ʌt*.
slippery adj. *tʌʃ*; *šrɣiʃum*; (of ice) *ʃʌq*; wet and — *tsʌhilɣṛṭ*.
slope n. — up *hurɣo*; — down *ɣuru*; *diračo*; face of — *-*ndil*.

000 sleping adj. (down) *diraćo.*
slow adj. *ts.hwm.*
slow-flowing adj. *tsl.*
slowly adv. *thala*; *mulęrm.*
sluice, sluice-board n. *tsak.*
smack, to v.t. *tatan* *-*at.*; *trap* *-*at.*
smacking n. *tan(tan)*; *tatan.*
small adj. *jęf.*
small of back n. *-*alčiŋ.*
smallpox n. *askwr.*
smart adj. *hirwm*; *haborum.*
smash, to v.i. *tag st.*
smashed, to be v.i. *tag m.*
smell n. *nas.*
smell, to v.i. v.a.v. *nas*; v.t. 1*-*gaiyas*; *ĝwŋ st.*; 2. *ĝū st.*
smile, to v.i. *mor m.*; *mōŋ mor st.*
smiling-faced adj. *sumsaŋ.*
smite, to v.i. *-*dalas*: *dalas*; — with *-*sorkas.*
smoke n. *thas*; — of burning rue *thomal*; cloud of — *dumaḷ.*
smoke, to v.i. *taskrw*; *minrw.*
smoke-hole n. *sagam*; *sam*; *sorm*; frame of — *samariḷ*; *samaraŋ.*
smooth adj. *rat*; (of ground) *ḍiḍiŋ*; *čiḍiŋ*; (of paper) *ka yirjum*; — and precipitous *taḷ*; quite — *ram rat.*
smut n. (grain disease) *matal.*
snake n. 1. *tol*; *yusanum.*
snap, to v.i. *čaḷ st.*; *ĝurḷ st.*; *korap st.*
snare n. *fork.*
snatch up, to v.i. *yalam st.*
sneeze, to v.i. *thiyum st.*
snipe n. *čirbit.*
snore, to v.i. *xur.* or *xor st.*
snoring n. *xor.*
snort, to v.i. *xor st.*; (of horse) *thor st.*
snot n. *-*mol.*
snow n. *gu*; *gya*; soft — *krl*; hard — *gim*; — and wind *moyaŋ.*
snow-drifts n. *gečiŋ.*

snowflakes n. *gye dapiq*. 000
snow storm n. *meyaq*.
snow-water n. *ḫele ṭ.hil*.
snuff n. ʜʌʀʌʀʌʀ; ʜʌʀʌʀʌʀʌ *tamarku*.
soaffe n. 2. *ṭṭ*.
so adv. *ʌkhiʿl*; *ʌkhiʿlʌṭe*; *dʌkhiʿl*; *ṭai*; *ṭail*; *ṭailʌṭe*.
so and so n. *ʃalama*.
so much adv. *bevum(ʌn)*; *tevum(ʌn)*; *ḫevum(ʌn)*.
so . . . that conj. *ṭaki*.
soak, to v.t. **-iʿlʌs*; to be —ed *diʿlʌs*.
soap n. *sabun*.
socks n. *jeraḃ*; felt — *bapeis*.
sod n. *hakor*.
sodomy n. to commit — *imiʿrʌs*.
soft adj. *ʌsu*; *hili-lum*; *kryiṭum*; ʏʌʀʏiʿt; (damp) *diʿlgin*; (of ground) *purf*; half — *ʟʌmorʌṭe*.
soften, to v.t. (by kneading) *yʌṭamorʌs* (x obj.), *gʌṭamorʌs* (y obj.).
softly adv. *thala*.
soiled adj. *ther*.
sole n. (of shoe) *bada*; v.s.v. *iski*; (of boot) 2. *ṭoq*; (of foot) *bada*.
solidify, to v.i. *d*-mʌnʌs*; *dumʌnʌs*.
soldier n. *sipai*.
solitary adj. *hinoman* (h); *hʌnoman* (x, y); ʏʌqali; (single-handed) *humuin*.
solstice n. *iʿla*; summer — *hinimo iʿla*; winter — *hai.imo iʿla*.
somehow adv. *amolo*; *be ṭailʌṭe*.
some adj., pron. *bevum(ʌn)*; *bevu*; *tevum*; *hevʌn*; *khiʿvumʌn*; by — way *ʌmiṭʌle*.
someone pron. *men*, v. § 148 ff.
something pron. *hevʌn*, v. § 152.
sometimes adv. *bekal bekal*; *hik...*
somewhat adv. *zali*.
somewhere adv. *amolo*; *ʌm*; *ʌmiʿle ʌm*.
son n. **-i*; daughter and — **-ʌk *-i*.
sons n. **-yu*.
son-in-law n. **-ʌrʌr*.

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son's wife n. *-xakin.
song n. γər; marriage — *kajoli*.
soon adv. *ta.kor*; *homalkum*; *duŋ ačo*.
soot n. *xalowaŋ*.
soothsay, to v.i. *fal giyas*.
soothsayer n. *bifan*; *najum*; *ramalči*.
sorcerer n. *bifan*; *ɬrqarčin*.
sorcery n. *ɬrqa*.
sore n. *gal*.
sore, to be v.i. **-xolas*; **-xolinas*; *ɬaɖaq m*.
sore-backed adj. *balγan*; **-waldas ɬaɖaq*.
sorrow n. *ərmarn*; γam; v.s.vv. *afsus*, *pasorm*, *jark*.
sorrow, to v.i. *ərmarn st*.
sorrowful adj. γamgin.
sort n. *čuq*; *qrsum*; *zail*; of what —? *bečuq?*; *beljuki.ents?*; *beiki?*; *be zaile?*; all sorts, every — *beskum*.
sort out to v.t. *d*-asqaṭas*.
soul n. *ji*; *rwh*.
sound n. **-čhər*; *biḍiŋ*; γaγam. V. List of Onomatopœic Words.
sound, to v.t. (drums) *ḍam ḍam st*.
soup n. *kai.i*; 2. *xam*; *jolurṭ*; N. *jüli*.
sour adj. *ɬuqurum*.
south n. *janub*.
sovereign n. *tham*.
sovereignty n. *thamkoɬ*.
sow, to v.t. *giyas*; *jali.as*; *hərki st*.; to cause s.o. — (seed) **-agiyas*.
space n. *diš*; *ta.hanzər*; — at lower end of room *yorči*; — of time *khern*; *peri sa*; *čarnčan*; *muddat*.
spacious adj. *šorqum*.
spade n. *bel*.
span n. *tiṭči*; v.s.v. *dečaqər*.
spare adj. (excessive) *bask*; *baskorčo*; — time *forsat*; 1. *dər*.
spare, to v.t. *kurri.ap st*.
spark n. *jərjər*; flying — *čiṭəriz*.
sparkling adj. *liro laro*.

000 sparrow-hawk n. *kirki*.
spatula n. — for turning, bread on griddle *mutwik*; — funeral bread *kwski mutwik*.
speak, to v.i. *yuruv*; *ann.as*; — in small cheeping voice *dywtiw* el.; v.t. (a language) *ctas*.
speak ill of, to v.t. *d*-anigyas*.
speaker n. *yuruv*.
spear n. *nizu*.
spectacle n. *tamasha*.
spectacles n. *ai.in.ak*.
spectacular adj. *tamashakaj*.
speech n. *hurj*; (saying) *lur*, *avnas*.
spell n. 2. *dam*; 2. *tiyu*.
spend, to v.t. **-a.uri.as*; *uri* el.; **-aras*.
spices n. *masala*.
spider n. *yfirvan*; thin-legged — *kaqka*; biting — *kurkan.as*.
spill, to v.i. *dimiyas*; *tufuu* m.; *tufaq* m.; v.t. 3. *dhaf* el.; *dremiyas*; *mati.as* (z obj.), *kituiyas* (y obj.).
spilt adj. 3. *dhaj*.
spilt, to be v.i. *yfru* m.
spin, to v.t. *diw* el.; *dewpin.as*; (top) *yfur* el.
spin round, to v.i. *yfapur* m.; v.t. *yfapur* el.
spindle n. *gand*; (for warp yarn) *jurkand*; (for goat's hair) *dwk*.
spinster n. *marjaq*.
spirit n. (drink) *arag*; (of dead) *rwk*; *hui indurrya.as*.
spiritual leader n. *piir*.
spit, to v.i. *ilur* el.
spite n. 1. *yul*; 2. *gal*.
spiteful adj. *galkaj*.
splash n. *yufam*.
spleen n. **-aan*.
splinter n. *timili*; *yfirvat*.
split adj. *thraq*.

5048

split, to v.i. *ḳuarras*; *tkraq nāyas* or **-m.*; v.t. **-arras*; *ḳar* or *tkraq st.*; *d*-qarras* (p. 134).
spoil, to v.t. **-aqukkas*.
spoilt adj. (of child) *ḳupuq*.
spoilt, to become v.i. *qalalas*.
spontaneously adv. *ē*; . . . *vorali*.
spool n. *mayun*.
spoon n. *ākapun*; *pipalt*; (with upright handle) *čuk ākapun*; *gwiruki ākapun*.
sport n. *darn*; *ṭākar*; *kawras*.
sports n. *tamarāk*.
spot n. 1. *tkarn*; *jirka*.
spotted n. *m.f. jamarsl*.
spout n. *furāl*.
spread, to v.i. (of a sore etc.) *daḳ'arralinas*; v.t. *d*-arras*.
spread out, to v.i. *d*-daqarras*; *dinkkirras*; v.t. *d*-atairras*.
spread over, to v.t. *kayi m.*
spring n. (season) *garu*; *garralas*; (of water) *kurl*; (of metal) *niwi*; adj. *garuma*.
spring up, to v.i. *kurl m.*; *dawaklas*; *čil m.*
sprinkle, to v.t. *tkkar st.*; *jalilas*; *dalas*.
sprinkled, to be v.i. *tkkar m.*
sprout to v.i. *ailikiqas*; *čil m.*
spur n. (of hill) *ivrāl*; (of rock) **-pkawala*.
sputtering n. 2. *jinjar*.
spy n. *ralaniq ewqas*; *kaniq adawi alas*.
squander, to v.t. **-arras*; **-aqualas*.
square adj. *warilla iskirliq*; *warilla gawramla*.
squat, to v.i. *jirq m.*
squeak, to v.i. (of mouse or rat) *čiw čiw st.*
squeeze, to v.t. *d*-ahilas*.
squint-eyed adj. *kanjar*.
stab, to v.t. *tijkak *-dalas*; *awqp st.*
stable n. *tawkaq*.
stable, to be v.i. *laq ownas*.
stabling n. v.n. *mahar*.

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stack n. *ṭakal*; (cut crops) *kuvṛ*.
stack, to v.t. (crops) *dumatsas*.
staff n. *°-ṣfaṛo*; *dovṛo*.
stage n. (of journey) *bana*.
stagnant adj. *tal*.
staircase, stairs n. *galiṛ*.
stake n. (in wager) *halimow*.
stale adj. *kovṛ*.
stale, to v.i. *kovṛi.as*
stalk n. *kiriyanas*.
stalks n. *khina*.
stallion n. *čhorda*.
stammerer n. *gakaṭi*.
stamp, to v.i. *ḍim* or *ḍimḍim* *el*.
stamp down, to v.t. *°-atsi.as*; *zag el*.
stand up, to v.i. *dal* m.; *di.ṛyas*; *dal di.ṛyas*; to make s.o. — *d°-aṛyas*.
standard n. *alam*.
standing adj. *daldi.em*; *ṭaḍ*; *ṭas*; (water) *ṭal*.
standstill n. to come to a — *hasav*; *horwṭas*; *ṭaḍ* m.
star n. *asi*; morning — *laṭhav*.
Constellations: *gurv ṭaṛa*, *kori.s ṭakal*, *čhalo ojokow*, *yaṭamia*, *levli o majawa*, *ṭwaṛa*, *ki*.
stark adv. — naked *lalow* (p. 246); *ṭas lag* (v.s.v. 1. *lag*).
start, to v.i. *zor °-m*.
start out, to v.i. *ramawa* m.
startle, to v.t. *ar °-al*.
startled adj. *atwa*; *ar*; *bek*.
starving adj. *čhalo*; *čhamrow*; (and tottering) *lagay pagay*.
state n. (condition) *kol*; *kolat*; *ahwal*; *kawal*; without — or dignity *gala*.
state, to v.t. *ovi m.*; *bugat el*.
statement n. *lor*; *čaya*; *baggra*; *ovi*; *bugat*.
stay, to v.i. *d°-u.atas*; *horwṭas*; *jap °-m.*; to make s.o. — *°-awṭas*; *jap °-al.*; v.t. (prop up) *d°-atsiyas*.

505a

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steadfast adj. *čhomavs.*
steady adj. γavqutsz *bun.*
steal, to v.t. γivki *st.*; γivki *ts.huyas.*
stealth n. by — *notaγan*, v.a.v. *ďaγai.as.*
steam n. *hak.*
steel n. *fulard*; *rivl*; N. *čhomav*; — for flint *čamax.*
steep adj. *čorko*; *huvgo*; very — *čam čorko.*
steer n. *ts.hivor.*
step n. *gapfivnas*; N. *kapivnas*; (pace) *bada*; —s (stairs) *galiŋ*; taking long —s *jiŋjaŋ.*
step- adj. *jamirp*; N. *du.ivčo.*
stepfather n. *nana*; *kavko.*
stepmother n. *iljum* *-*mi.*
sternum n. hollow below — *-*askhapun.*
steward n. *yərpa*; *fəraj.*
stick n. (walking) *-*pfaγo*; *-*pauuco*; *dəroγo*; (thick) *ďamo*; (fuel) γaštvl; (for tipcat) γatenč; polo- *phivnč*; drum — *pirčavno.*
stick, to v.i. *xərafas*; *čas* m.; v.t. *-*aqərafas.*
stick into, to v.t. *gafavs.*
sticky adj. *čaqəravfo.*
stiff adj. *ďaŋ*; *kuravfi.*
still adv. *dərum xa*; *muvto xa*; *muvto ka.*
sting n. *ssl.*
sting, to v.i. *čoruf* *-*al.*; *delas.*
stingy adj. *qərum*; *jorkhuvso.*
stink, to v.i. 2. *-*γasas*; γasavs
sinking adj. *nas.*
stint n. without — v.a.v. *d*-*aγanas.*
stint, to v.t. *d*-*aγanas.*
stipulation n. *kavf.*
stir, to v.i. *laŋ* m.; v.t. *gav* (*gav*) *st.*, *jərajərag st.*
stirrup n. 1. *khay.*
stirrup leather n. *khayz bərpivt.*
stitch n. long — *kok.*
stitch, to v.t. *buvan st.*; *kok delas.*

5056

000 stock n. *bɐl*; *nʌsʌl*; *zʌt*; — of gun *kʊnda*; large — of *čhoṭ*.
stockings n. *bapot*.
stocks n. *γʊn*.
stone n. *dʌn*; *γoro*; flat — *bʌt*; single, upright *dʌščikin*; boulder *bun*; small, round *ṭhir*; (for grinding on) *sʌl*; (for fireplace) *šutin*; *pfʌretsin*; flint *pfudʌn*; — for mill *sʌldʌn*; marble *sʌŋgi mərmər*; for cooking pots *bʌloṛš dʌn*; — rolling down *ṭiŋa*; about to roll down N. *qoqʊr*; loose scree *ḍʌḍər*; for plugging water channel *ṭorri*.
stone, to v.t. *dʌn* *-*ʌt*.
stone blind adj. *trʌp šon*.
stone lamp n. *bʌloṛš dʌnɐ čɪrʌq*.
stone-marten n. *remizɐl*.
stone-shoot n. (on hillside) *ṭiŋʌt*.
stony adj. *ḍʌḍərkɪṛš*.
stooping adj. *ḍuḍuŋ*.
stop! *ya!*; *yaya!*
stop, to v.i. *tsʌṭ m.*; (of bad weather) *jaŋ m.*; v.t. *d*-ʌšɐ.ʌs*; (a horse) *d*-ʌtsi.ʌs*.
stop up, to v.t. *d*-ʌskʌṭʌs*; (dam) *dɐtsaiyʌs*.
stopped, to be v.i. 2. *qʌqər *-m.*; *d*-khʌṭʌs* h, x subj.); *dukhʌṭʌs* (y subj.).
stopped up adj. *bʌnd*.
stopped up, to be v.i. *dišaiyʌs*.
store, to v.t. *ḍʌŋ ɐt.*; collect and — *dɐmi.ʌs*.
storehouse, storeroom n. *ulʌči*; 2. *ḍʌp*; (on roof) *mʌra*; (for butter) 1. *ḍər*.
story n. *minʌs*; *čʌγa*.
stout adj. *dʌγʌnʊm*; *dʌy*; *hurgʌs*; *kəragʌḍo*; very — person *pfut*.
stout-hearted adj. *-*ʌsɐ ḍʌŋ*; *-*ʌsɐ poxta*.
straight adj. *ts.hʌn*; *dʊts.hʌnʊm*; quite — *tsʌm ts.hʌn*; adv. *uṭkum*; *ts.hʌn*.
straight, to become v.i. *dʊts.hʌnʌs*.

506a

000 straighten, to v.t. *d*-ʌtsʌnʌs.
straight up adv. *tsʌhʌn yʌʃ nɛ.*
strain, to v.t. *dʌldinʌs*; (liquid) *-ʌsisinʌs.
strained adj. *ɛsisinʊm.*
strained tight adj. *jaʷʂ ɛtʊm.*
strainer n. *po*; *ʒoli.*
straits n. *ʌbʌš*; in — *tʌŋ.*
strand n. (of river) 2. *khʌy.*
strange adj. *ʌkhɛʂ*; *holʊm*; *ʌjoʷno*; *ʌjʌp.*
stranger n. *ʌkhɛʂ*; *holʊm sis.*
strangle, to v.t. *buʷkulo ʂoʷk* *-ʌt.*
strap n. *bərpiʷt*; *tutuʷr*; *tʌsma*; (surcingle) *baʷlatrʌŋ*; (of plough) *aʷškiʷltər.*
stratagem n. *mʌkər.*
straw n. *khina*; broken — *xuʷrk.*
strawberry n. *tiʷk birʌnč*; wild — *kərusʌl.*
stream n. (in nullah) *bərts.hil*; *hʊriginʌs.*
strength n. *šʌt*; *šʌtili.aʷr*; *lʊm.*
strenuous adj. (of worker) *tisqʌn.*
stretch out, to v.t. *jɛk* *-ʌt.*; *ʃiŋ ɛt.*
stretched out adj. *jɛk*
stretcher n. 2. *chiš*; *ʒuʷk.*
strew, to v.t. *d*-ntsirʌs.*
strewn about adj. *gərʌʷri*
stride, to v.i. *jiŋjaʷŋ m.*; *waʷŋ m.*
strike, to v.t. *d*-ʌlʌs*; *dɛlʌs*; *-dɛlʌs*; *-sərkʌs*; *gʌjʌt ɛt.*; *ʂau ɛt.*; *tʌm tʌm ɛt.*; *-muʷrʊʃʌs*; (flag) *d*ʌskuyʌs*; (match) *kʌč ɛt.*; — a blow *čoʃ* *-uʷyʌs*; *ʂau ɛt.*; (of clock) v.s.v. *ɛʷʒərʌs.*
strike against, to v.t. (*-)*yaiyʌs.*
strike up, to v.t. (song) *di.usʌs.*
string n. *ḍʊlu*; (of choga) *ʃʌk*; (of bow) *čhukus*; (of beads etc.) *tsʌhir.*
stroke n. *čoʃ*; *ʂau.*
stroke, to v.t. *xʌš xʌš ɛt.*; (horse) *ʂaʷq ɛt.*
stroll, to v.i. *kaʷr m.*
strong adj. *ḍʊm*; *šʌtiʷlo*; *kərʌgʌḍo*; *zʊʷr*; — and fit *saʷro.*
study n. *sʌbʌq.*

506 b

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study, to v.i. *sʌbʌq γʌtʌnʌs*.
stuff, to v.t. — s.t. into *-*ʌrʌs*; *čʌvm* *-*ʌt*.; *-*ʌtsi.ʌs*.
stumble, to v.i. *d*-*ʌpirkʌnʌs*; *təɣʌm m*.
stump n. *gʌmum*, *mum*.
stubble n. *mumʌnts*; *gʌmumyo*.
stupid adj. *hʌn ḍʌm*; *be-ʌqəl*; *be-oquf*; *hʌŋajʌŋa*.
stupidity n. *navaami*.
sturdy adj. *savro*.
stutterer n. *gʌkʌči*.
subjects n. *kuyoč*.
submerge, to v.t. *γərk st*.; *-*ʌsqortsʌs*.
subside, to v.i. *bʌsavs*; *ts.hivʌs*.
subsistence n. *guzavra*; *ruvzi*.
substitute n. *bavgo*; *bʌdʌl*.
succeeding adj. *yʌṭ*.
such adj. *tai*; *tail*; — as this *ʌkhivl*, pl. *ʌkhiviljuvko*.
such and such n. *fʌlavna*.
suck, to v.i. *čuvš st*.
suckle, to v.t. *čuvš* *-*ʌt*, or *-*ʌ.ʌtʌs*.
suckling n. *giyavs*.
suddenly adv. *ṣormʌnʌčo*; 1. *ḍʌp*.
suds n. *γʌš*.
suffer, to v.t. *ševʌs*, v.s.vv. 1. *jʌk*, & *-*xovlʌs* & cp. § 261. II.
sufficient adj. *bos*; *tušavr*.
suffocate, to v.i *-*ʌs pfavnʌs*; v.t. v.s.vv. *dʌm*; *muvš*.
sugar n. *šʌkər*; *mɪsəri*.
suicide n. to commit — v.s.vv. *šʌk*. *šork* & *-*khər esqʌnʌs* (v.s.v. *-*ʌsqʌnʌs*).
suit n. (of clothes) *kʌt*; *hinzir*; (at law) *ʌstʌm*.
suit, to v.t. *d*-*mʌyʌs*; to make s.t. — s.t. else *d*-*ʌsmʌyʌs*.
suitable adj. *yʌʌški*; *monavsrb*.
sulphur n. *dʌntsil*.
summer n. *šini*; *šinimo khevn*; hottest period of — *tʌmos*; adj. *šinimo*.
summit n. *ṭiŋ*; 1. *buvri*; *yuvri*; *-*thʌn*.

507a

sunlight n. *sʌŋkuʃ*; *sa.ɛ rʌš*; first or last — on mountains *thʌlivɛa*; cp. *sayaʷri*.
sunrise n. *jil*.
sunset n. *buʷr*.
sunshine n. *sa.ɛ rʌš*; *sa sʌŋkuʃ*; *sa*.
superficial adj. *dʌlbʌt*.
superfluous adj. *bʌsk*; *bʌskoʷčo*.
superintendent n. *yʌtkuʷin*.
superior adj. *mariŋ*; *šu.a*.
supernatural adj. *γəibi*; *γəibaʷna*; — effect v.s.vv. *girgiš*, *pəriʷzʌzum*, l. *tiʃ*.
V. List of Supernatural Beings.
supplication n. (to God) *du.aʷ*.
supplies n. *zʌkhəra*; free — *maʷri*; *olʌq*.
support, to v.t. d°-*ʌstsʌyʌs*.
supported, to be v.i. d°-*uši.ʌs*.
supposition n. *gəmaʷn*.
surcingle n. *baʷlatrʌŋ*.
sure adj. *yʌqiʷn*; — enough *ts.hʌn ki ts.hʌn*; for — *albʌt*.
surely adv. *albʌt*.
surety n. *zrma*.
surface n. *iskiʷl*; v.s.v. *iʷski*.
surround, to v.t. *iḍigartʌli* d°-*ʌši.ʌs*; *čʌtərgʌt gʌnʌs*; *ḍʌtərgʌt* d°-*ʌši.ʌs*; *qʌbʌl wʌši.ʌs*.
surrounding adj. *šʌtərgʌtəm*.
survive, to v.i. d°-*u.sʌs*; *jʌp* °-*m*.
suspect, to v.i. *šʌk m*.
suspend, to v.t. d°-*trikinʌs*; *baʷl st*.
suspended, to be v.i. d°-*ts.higinʌs*.
suspended adj. *bʌbʌl*.
suspense, in adv. *dʌlbʌt*.
suspension bridge n. (native) *gʌl*; (iron) *čəmʌrɛ gʌl*.
suspicion n. *γəmaʷn*; *šʌk*.
swaddle, to v.t. °-*ltāli.ʌs*
swaddling-band n. *tʌliʃɛ bʌn*
swaddling clothes n. *tʌliʃ*.
swallow n. *čiʷtərʌs*.
swallow, to v.t. *γiriʃ st*.

5076

DOO swarm round, to v.i. *durginas.*
swathe, to v.t. *-ltalias.*
swear, to v.i. *terj st.*
sweat n. *horoγo*; 2. *tom.*
sweep, to v.t. 4. *fham st.*
sweet adj. *uyam*; (endearment) *ŝakar.*
sweet-scented adj. *uyam nas.*
sweet-tongued adj. *hemig daltatko.*
swell, to v.i. *doqas*; *pfamas*; (of river etc.) *holjaiyas.*
swelling n. *doqom*; (of buds) *pforkunas.*
swelling up n. *hom.*
swift(ly) adj., adv. *homalkom.*
swim, to v.i. 3. *tam delas*; *ŝor st.*; N. *gorqots delas.*
swindle, to v.t. *murasqots -delas.*
swindler n. 1. *fhak*; *feikrj*; *makorćen*; *makorkrj*; *morasqotskrj*; *ŝaitam.*
swindling n. *morasqots.*
swine n. *zurk.*
swing n. N. *bilićn.*
swing, to v.i. *bahal*, *qu* or *qubili m.*
swing, to v.t. *bahal st.*; v. *katu.*
swinging n. *bili.*
swinging about adj. *lor.*
sword n. *γalernę.*
sympathetic adj. *burlbalikrj.*
sympathise, to v.i. *ŝurl st.*
sympathy n. *ŝurl.*
syphilis n. *pfalaqi.*
Syrian rue n. *sepandor.*

T.

table n. *mir.*
table-cloth n. *mirzpurj.*
tackle, to v.t. *durnas.*
tadpole n. *khutgiyalt*; N. *mayulo ŝero.*
tail n. *-surmal*; (of fat-tailed sheep) 2. *durma.*
tailor n. *dorzi.*
tainted adj. (of meat) *pirhalal.*

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000 take, to v.t. *-yanas (h, x obj.), ganas (y obj.); v.s.v. ga; to cause s.o. — *-ayanas; — a fancy to pfuč *-m.
take away, to v.t. *-ta.hurʏas; *-šiwas.
take care, to v.i. šaŋ st.
take off, to v.t. d*-usas; dal st.; to cause s.o. — d*-aguzas.
take out, to v.t. d*-usas.
take part, to v.i. jermaš m.
take place, to v.i. manav.
take up, to v.t. dal st.
take with (o.s.), to v.t. (person) *-akr yanas; (thing) *-tsi yanas(x), ganas(y).
tale n. minas; čaγa.
tale-bearer n. boriŋkrš.
talisman n. tumar.
talk, to v.i. γoraυs; čaγa st.; (secretly) γorγor m.
talkative adj. qaγarum (p. 298); wago.
tall adj. γusanum; tharnum.
tally n. haiyan; to keep a — haiyan ovas or st.
tally, to v.i. babor juryas; v.t. babor st.
tallying adj. babor.
talons n. čaŋ.
"talus" n. ďafor.
tamarisk n. hokor.
tambourine n. daf.
tame adj. herš; ramerš.
tamed adj. ramerš stum.
tangle, to v.i. doxuqas; duxorquyas; v.t. dəqəquryas.
tangled adj. doxuqum.
tank n. small open — 3. kor. Cp. γolk.
tap n. ďu.ak.
tap, to v.t. ďaqaďaŋ st.
tapping ťapťap.
tape n. ban.
taproot n. mulo.
target n. haiyan; (for arrow-shooting) giri.
tassel n. majoγ.

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taste n. *mʌza*.
taste, to v.t. v.s v. *pfurka*.
tasteless adj. *tərγuʃ*; *bimʌza*; *mʌza apim*.
tasting n. *nʌsirpa*.
tasty adj. *uyʌm*; *mʌzadaw*.
tatters n. *bodul*.
taunt n. *čordo*.
taunt, to v.t. *čordo* *-*čhiyʌs*.
taut adj. *jaṷ etom*; *tum*.
tax n. *bʌp*; *baj*; *mawul*; gold — *γʌn*; — on looms *hiskə fʌlʌki*; (in Hérbar) *ilbʌn*; — on horse's grain (in Gujhal) *yʌše yuwk*; (to Imam) *sərkawi*; — in kind *mawi*; (in Nagar) *sowiṅ*.
tea n. *čai*; (with salt and butter) *širča*.
tea-kettle n. *čajuṷ*.
tea-leaves n. 2. *šʌma*.
teach, to v.t. *-*ʌikinʌs*; *-*ʌdriʌs*.
tear n. (lacrima) *-*u*.
tear, to v.i. *qrsaʷs*; *tsər m...*; v.t. *-*xiʷsʌs*; *tsər et.*; — hair out *-*moʷqʌs*; — in pieces *-*xiʷsʌs*.
tear out, to v.t. *čʌs et.*
teat n. *-*mawmot*; *ḍuḍuʷro*.
telescope n. *duʷbin*.
tell, to v.t. *-*ʌsʌs*; *senʌs*; *xʌbər et.*; — lies *-*umošo ovtʌs* or *senʌs*.
temper n. (anger) *-*moʷs*; v.s.v. *ardʌt*.
temper, to v.t. (metal) *pin ičhiʌs*; *pin et.*
temperament n. *mrjaʷz*.
temple n. *burtxaʷna*.
ten num. *tərumo* (h, x, y), *towimi* (z); *tərma-*.
tender adj. *ʌsa*.
tendo Achillis n. *jauwa bərs*.
tent n. *got*.
tent peg n. *gili*.
tent-peg, to v.i. *nezabawzi et.*
tent-pegging n. *nezabawzi*.
tent-pole n. *ḍʌko*.
tenth ord. *torimilum*.
tepid adj. *bəburlo*.

000

terms n. to be on good — *d°-mayʌs*; on bad — *nasaʿs*.
terrace n. edge of — *pəršʌṭ*.
terrifying adj. *amuko*; v.s.v. *biʿk*.
territory n. *buṣai.i*; *mɔlk*.
testicle n. *čoʿyo*; *ḍaʿmʌl*.
testify, to v.i. *d°-ʌsqʌṭʌr*.
testimony n. *gɔwaʿi*.
testing-stick n. (for butter) *bərginʌs*.
"Tham" n. *thʌm*.
thamship n. *thʌmkoš*.
thank, to v.t. *šɔkɔr ɛt*.
thankful adj. *šɔkɔrkiš*.
thanks n. *šɔkɔr*; to give — (to God); *šɔkɔru ɛt*.; v.s.v. *juʿna*.
that adj., pron., hmf. *iʿnɛ*, x *iʿsɛ*, *ɛʿs*, y *iʿtɛ*, *ɛʿt*, v. §§ 139, 140.
the adj. v. §§ 139, 140.
theft n. γiʿki.
their own adj., pron. *uʿimo*, v. § 143.
themselves pron. (emphatic) *uʿi*, v. § 142, (reflexive) *uʿkhɔr*, v. § 144.
then adv. *da*; *ho*.
thence adv. *ɛʿlɔm*; *alɛmɔm*; *tɛlɔm*; *toʿlɔm*; *tɛʿlʌtsɔm*.
there adv. *ɛʿlɛ*; *teʿlɛ*; *toʿlɛ*.
thereafter adv. *iʿlji*; *itɛʿtsɔm iʿlji*; *ho*.
therefore conj. *iʿtɛʿtsɔm*; *iʿtɛ gʌnɛ*; *gɔtɛʿtsɔm*; *gɔtɛ gʌnɛ*.
thereupon conj. *teʿrumʌnɔr*.
these adj. pron. hmf. *khuʿɛ*; x *gɔtsɛ*; *khots*; y *gɔke*, *khok*, v. §§ 135, 136.
they pron. v.s.v. "those" & § 120.
thick adj. (of stick) *dʌγʌnɔm*; (of cloth etc.) *huʿrgʌs*; (of semi-liquid) *buʿm*.
thief n. γiʿn.
thigh n. *bʌtsin*; *bʌtsinɛ bubɔʿq*; (of quadruped) 1. *°-šʌk*.
thin adj. *bi.ɛnɔm*; *d°-kɔṭum*; (of person) *sisiʿnɔm*; (of horse) *laʿša*; (of paper) *giligiʿnɔm*; (of liquid) *tɛ.hɛlγuʿɔm*; *šʌḍau*.

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000 thin, to become v.i. *d*-kuṭʌs.*
thing n. *duˑtsʌk*; *ʌsbaˑb*; *čiˑz*; *duro.*
think, to v.i. *sʌmba et.*
think of, to v.t. (with affection) **-ʌski duwcʌlʌs.*
third ord. *iski.uˑlʊm*; N. *kiˑlʊm* two —s *alto baˑgo*; — party *saˑju.*
thirsty adj. *aˑuˑya*; v.s.v. *buˑk.*
thirteen num. *tʊrma usko* (h, x, y), *-iˑski* (z).
thirteenth ord. *tʊrma ɪski.uˑlʊm.*
this adj., pron. hmf. *khiˑnɛ*; x *gʊsɛ, khos* y *gʊtɛ, khot*, v. §§ 135, 136.
this much adv. *ʌkhʊrʊmʌn*; *akhuˑriki.*
this side adv. *khiˑtɛ* (*pa*).
this time adv. *gʊtɛ galči.*
thistle n. *jʌčiˑr.*
this year adv. *khu.iˑn*; —'s *khu.inmo.*
thither adv. *ɛlər*; *teˑlər*; *toˑlər*; *telʌtsər.*
thong n. *jikʌn*; *bʌn*; — loop on boot *puˑšbʌn.*
thorn n. *čhʌš*; — bush *čhʌš.*
thorns n. *čhʌˑŋ.*
those adj., pron. hmf. *uˑɛ*; x *iˑtsɛ, et*; y *iˑkɛ, ɛk*, v. §§ 139, 140.
thou pron. *uˑŋ*; N. *um*; to thee, for th *goˑr*, v. §§ 119, 122.
though conj. *ʌxəna . . . kɛ.*
thought n. *sʌmba*; *fɪkər*; *xi.aˑl.*
thoughtless adj. *be-pəriwa.*
thousand num. *saˑs.*
thrash, to v.t. *jujuˑr *-ʌt.*
thread n. *ḍulu*; (yarn) *sər*; tightly tw sted — *čhəru*; woof — *gʌs*; warp - *ju*; not yet twisted — *dʌɣuˑi sər.*
threadbare adj. 1. *ṣʌq niˑm.*
threat n. *biˑm.*
threaten, to v.t. *ʌr, biˑk* or *biˑm *-ʌt.*; *aˑh et.*
three num. *usko* (h, x, y), *iˑski* (z); — days *iskikuts*; — pairs *iskiˑkʌm.*
three-bladed, three-pronged adj. *ɪsk jʌqər.*

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000 thresh, to v.t. *bərav.*
threshing-floor n. *dərts.*
threshold n. *ts.hərič.*
through prep. right — *čha.*
thrice adv. *iski hesi*; *iski ḍʌmʌn.*
throat n. *buk*; (outside) *-ʌš; (windpipe) *ḍoḍo.*
throne n. *tʌxt.*
throng after, to v.i. 2. *gorgor m.*
thronging adv. *ḍʌm ḍumul.*
throw, to v.t. *pfʌl* *-ʌt.; *-wʌši.ʌs (h, x obj.), *bɪšaiyʌs* (y obj.); — in wrestling v.s.v. *ṭuskuri*; to cause s.o. — *-ʌwʌši.ʌs; *-ʌbɪšaiyʌs; *-ʌgiyʌs.
throw away, to v.t. *lip et.*
throw down, to v.t. *giyʌs.*
throw o.s. down, to v.i. *kha gartsʌs.*
throw on, to v.t. *pfal et.*
throw out, to v.t. *dermiyʌs.*
throw up, to v.t. *pfau et.*
thrust into, to v.t. *čam* *-ʌt.
thumb n. *lʌphut* *-ʌmɪš.
thump, to v.t. *ḍʌm* *-ʌt.; *tʌn(tʌn)* *-ʌt (v.s.v. 3. *tʌn*).
thunder n. *γʌrau*; N. *gɪdiγərʌm.*
thunderbolt n. *bərč.*
Thursday n. *birespʌt.*
thus adv. *ʌkhil(ʌṭe)*; *dʌkhil*; *tai*; *tailʌṭe*; *ʌkhil zailʌṭe*; — and — *ʌkhi ʌkhi.*
thy own adj. *gu.imo.*
thyself pron. (emphatic) 1. *gui*; (reflexive) *gukhər* v. §§ 142, 144.
tick n. (insect) *mundʌs.*
tickle, to v.t. *khikhrš* *-ʌt.; *qiqrt* *-ʌt.
tickling n. *khikhrš.*
tie, to v.t. (knot) (*gʌṭ*) *wʌši.ʌs.*
tie up, to *-*pfusʌs* (h, x obj.), *pusav*, *pusuryʌs* (y sg.), *pušaiyʌs* (y pl.); (fasten) *ṭʌk* *-ʌt.; to cause s.o. — *-ʌpusʌs.
tiger n. *bar.*

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tight adj. *čhʌnʊm*; — ly packed *čhʌnʊm*. 000
till conj. *xa·*; *xa·šiŋər*.
timber n. *hun*.
time n. *hə·ši*; *ḍʌmʌn*; *wʌxt*; (occasion) *ts.hir*; spare — *dər*; *fʊrsʌt*; (turn) *gʌlt*; *gʌlči*; right — *mo·qa*; space of — *khə·n*; of olden — *qʌdi·m*; a short — *du·ŋ*; a long — *ziqʌmu*; revolution of — *du·rʌs*; in his — *ʊmərʊlo*; v.s.v. *pʊrme*.
times n. *zʌma·ma*.
timid adj. *ʌr* *-*mʌnʌs*.
tinder n. *xʌp*.
tingle, to v.i. v.s.v. *šu·l*.
tinkling n. *širiširiŋ*.
tip n. *-*thʌn*; — of arrow *siq*; *lim*.
tipcat n. *ṭʊskuri*.
tire, to v i. *-*wərʌs*; v.t. *-*ʌspərʌs*.
tired out adj. *bidʌm*; n*-*wərin*.
tithe n. (to Imam) *sərka·ri*.
titivate o.s., to v.t. *-*yo·q et*.
to prep. *-*yʌkʌl*; — s.o. *-*ʌpʌči*; expressing dative *-ər*, *-r*. v. § 69.
to and fro adv. *iti khiti*.
to be sure adv. *xair*.
toast, to v.t. *duwʌltʌlʌs*.
tobacco n. *tʌma·ku*.
today adv. *khu·lto*.
today's adj. *khu·ltʊmo*.
toddle, to v.i. *bʌda bišaiyʌs*.
toe n. *-*ʌmiš*; (of boot etc.) *-*mu·pʊš*.
toe-nail n. *-*u·ri*.
together adv. *ka*; *nʌla*.
toil n. *mʊšʌqʌt*.
toilet n, to make an elegant — *-*yo·q et*.
token n. *haiyʌn*; *nišan*.
toll n. *ba·j*; *ma·sul*.
tomb n. *mʌzər*; *qʌbʊr*; *tus*.
tomorrow adv. *jimʌle*; N. *jimden*; — morning *ts.ho·rdine*; day after — *hi·pʊlto*; v.s.vv. *ka·lto*, *ki·lto*, *ma·lto*.
tongue n. *-*umʊs*.

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tonic n. *tiŋbʌt.*
too adv. *hiʂ*; (also) *kɛ.*
too much adv. *bʌsk.*
tools n. (collective) *gʌŋi maʷg*; specific, v. adze, awl, axe, chisel, crowbar, file, hammer, pincers, saw.
tooth n. **-mɛ.*
toothache n. v.s.v. **-mɛ.*
top n. **-thʌn*; (of mountain) *ʃiŋ*; *buʷri*; *yuʷri*; **-thʌnʌs*; on — of *yʌʃɛ*; to put one thing on — of another *bʌli *-ʌt*; adj. *dʌli.*
torch n. (single splinter) *pilpili.*
torchwood n. *hʌlẹ.*
torn adj. *qɪsum.*
torn clothes n. *budʊl.*
torrent n. bed of — *hər*; *muʷsɛ hər.*
totally adv. 2. *dər*; v. "quite".
totter, to v.i. *pirkʌnʌs.*
tour n. *sail*; to make a — of *sail ɛt.*
touch, to v.t. *tsʌp ɛt.*; *juʷk m.*
towards prep. **-yʌkʌl*; **-yʌkʌlʌʃɛ.*
tower n. *ʒrkaʷri.*
trace n. *dərʌk*; *haiyʌn.*
tracing n. *nʌgša.*
track n. *gʌr*; *ʃʌʂ*, *ʃuʷg*; (narrow, sunk) *ʂoq*, N. *šox*; precipitous — *jʊm*; (spoor) **-ts.hu.*
track, to v.t. **-tsi.ʃɛ niyʌs.*
trade n. *sodʌgəri.*
trade, to v.i. *sodʌgəri ɛt.*
trader n. *sodʌgər.*
traffic n. *niyʌs juyʌs.*
train, to v.t. **-ʌikinʌs*; **-ʌʊri.ʌs*; (hawk) *rʌmɛʂ ɛt.*
trained, to be v.i. (of hawk) *rʌmɛʂ m.*
traitor n. *pfɛʷro*; — stock *pfɛʷro ts.hirɪʂ.*
trample down, to v.t. **-ʌtsi ʌs.*
trample out, to v.t. (grain) *ʊʷcərʌs.*
trap n. *buča.*
travail n. **-ʃuʷl.*
travel, to v.i. *sʌpər ɛt.*

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000 traveller n. *mosafir*.
tray n. (wicker) *ɨaq*; (for gold-washing) *xuraṇo*.
treachery n. *nrmak hɨrami*.
treason n. *pferevi*.
treasure n. *hrrkɨ*; *xazina*.
treat, to v.t. (medically) *mili* *-*at*.
treaty n. *kaṭ*.
tremble, to v.i. *dadɨr m.*; *laq m.*
tree n. *tom*; young — *maṭ*; — thick with twigs *jambolos*. V. List of trees.
trefoil n. *iski tap ɨrqa*.
trembling n. 2. *dɨr*.
trench n. *xandaq*.
tribal adj. — brother *-*aṭo*; — daughter *-*a.i*.
tribe n. *rom*; *giram*; *hɨtow*; *qaum*; independent — *hɨrary*.
tribute n. *bap*.
trick n. *makɨr*; *bɨri*.
trick, to, v.t. *marqutɨ* *-*dalas*.
trickle, to v.i. (past an obstruction) 2. *pharnas*.
trifles n. *pfofurkiciq*.
trigger n. *maka*.
trim, to v.t. *čɨruk* *-*at*.
trimmer n. (fickle person) *hanisawi*.
triplets n. *rukikom*.
trivet n. *ši*.
troops n. *hɨvi*.
trophy n. *haiyan*.
trot, to v.i. *ṭahatahaq* or *zazaq m.*
trouble n. *abal*; *mɨlaqat*; *damjaw*; *takliṭ*.
trouble, to v.t. *damjaw* *-*asiwas*; *takliy* *-*chi as*; *janaiwɨr* *-*at*.
troubled adj. *azaw*.
troublesome adj. *abal*; v.a.v. *ṭaḷṭu*; — person *lamṭam bi.ai.i*.
trough n. *maduw*.
trousers n. *gupaltiq*.
trousers n. *-*thrqi*.

000 true adj. *tsʌhʌn.*
truffle n. *ʃuctor.*
trumpet n. *hərɣw*; *fərum*; to blow one's own — *dəfoɣərʌs.*
trunk n. (of tree) *gamurw*; *turmʌ iʃim*; (of elephant) *-muɣoj*; (box) *sandug.*
trust n. (in God) *tawʌkʌl.*
truth n. *tsʌhʌm*; *tsʌhʌnkəʃ*; in — *tsʌhʌm kə tsʌhʌn*; *tsʌhʌnə.*
try, to v.i. *kəʃil st.*
tube n. *gʌlə.*
Tuesday n. *ʌŋʌrə.*
tuft n. *mujoɣ.*
tumbler n. *gilʌrə.*
tumour n. *minor.*
tune n. *hərip*; ɣw; v.a.vv. *ɣrɣərʌs*; *-ʌɣrʌs.*
turban n. *bʌʃə.*
turn n. *galt*; *galəi*; in — *tsʌhirtəs*; *tsʌhir nə.*
turn back, to v.i. *ɣfor m.*; v.t. *-ʌltʌlʌnʌs.*
turn into, to v.i. *-ltʌlʌnʌs*; *mʌnərw*; *-mʌnʌs*; v.t. *ɣfor -ʌt.*
turn out, to v.t. *d'-wʌsʌs.*
turn o.s. out well, to v.i. *-ɣoɣ st.*
turn over, to v.t. *ɣfʌtɣ st.*; *ɣfor -ʌt.*; *-ʌltʌlʌnʌs.*
turn round, to v.i. *ɣfʌpor m*; v.t. *ɣfʌpor st.*
turn up, to v.i. *-wʌlʌs*; *ʃhumuk m.*
turn upside down, to v.i. (like fish in water) *hərzʌn m.*; v.t. *ɣɣəlturʌs*; *ɣfwuɣlumɣfʌt st.*; *yʌʃkum st.*
turnod, to become v.i. (of milk) *dirʌrə.*
turnip n. *mwlə.*
tweezers n. *tsʌpi.*
twelfth ord. *fərmʌ ʌlbirlum.*
twelve num. *fərmʌ ərlʌn* (h), *-ʌlts(-ts)* (x), *-ərlə* (y, z).
twelve hundred num. *fərmʌ ərlə tha.*
twelvemonth n. *ɣul.*

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twentieth ord. *ərtərəlum.*
twenty num. *ərtər.*
twice adv. *əltə ʤəməm.*
twig n. *ʃərtə; gəʃə.*
twilight n. *bərum ʃərə*; (morning) *gərə zəŋ*; very early morning — *fuʃərəgə.*
twine n. *ərtə.*
twist n. *mərəŋ.*
twist, to v.t. *mərəŋ* *-*əl.*; *ɣfər* *-*əl.*
twist round, to v.i. *ɣfər* m.
twitch, to v.t. *jitjəl* *-*əl.*
two num. *ərtən* (h), *ərtə, ərtərə* (x), *ərjə* (y, z), *ərtə* (z); — days *ərtəl*; the — *-*əltəlik.*
two-bladed adj. *jəqər ʃku.*
type n. of one — *hənzər.*
typhoid fever n. *gərumkuj.*
tyrannical adj. *zulumgər*; *zulumə.*
tyranny n. *zulum.*
tyrant n. *zərlim*; *zulum ʃləs.*

U.

udder n. *-*ərk.*
ugly adj. *əjtəm*; *yənikij*; *wəmp*; *hədləkəl*; *bəlwərəl*; N. *čəqrələ.*
umbilical cord n. *-*ərə.*
un- neg. prefix v.a.vv. *ə-, ə-.*
unable, to be, v.a.vv. *-*əmənə*; N. *ələrəs.*
unanimously adv. *kən bər ə.*
unbeliever n. *kəfər.*
unbelt, to v.t. *ərik dəwəs.*
unbound adj. *dəfərəm.*
uncastrated adj. — ox *ʃəhindər*; — horse *čərdə*; — ram *wər*; — he-goat *bərə*; *ʃhugər.*
uncled adj. *ʃkərtəs.*
uncle n. *wəmə*; *-*əpə*; father's bro. *-*əŋ*; mother's bro. *mərəmə mərləs.*
unclean adj. *mərpərk.*
uncomfortable adj. *bə-gərəv.*
unconscious adj. *bi-bərf*; *pəl*; *rəs.*
uncooked adj. *əliwən.*

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uncovered adj. *laq*; *pʃafaq*.
uncultivated adj. — land *das*.
under adv. *yaw*; *yawa*.
under-girth n. (of goat's hair) *ʃerma traq*.
understand, to v.t. *hewas*; v.a.v. °-*as*.
understanding n. *farm*; adj. *gunerṭo*.
undertaking n. (promise) *karf*; *wada*.
undivided adj. *ṭok*.
undo, to v.t. *d°-ʃewas*; *pʃafaq* *ot.*; *i-lizwas*.
undone, to become v.i. *dafawas*.
undulating adj. *dorggam*.
uneasiness n. *zimaw*.
unemployed adj. *ʃkan*.
unexpectedly adv. *hikan*.
unfasten, to v.t. *dowas*.
unfavoured adj. °-*ayam*.
unfinished adj. *daywi*; (of s.t. in course of construction) *ṭafas*.
unfortunate adj. *naw*; *abal*; *bazt yawikṭ*; *badbazt*; *kambazt*; *bitawa*.
ungrateful adj. *ankewas*.
unhappy adj. *yamgiw*.
unimpressive adj. *aqem*.
uninhabitable adj. *awafas*.
unintelligent adj. *akewas* (v.a.v. 2. *hewas*).
unity n. (amongst people) *piw*.
unjust adj. *rasarf apiw*; *bi-rasarf*; *ṭaṭaq*.
unjustly adv. *narkaq*; *ṭaṭaq*; to treat — °-*aṭaṭas*.
unkind adj. *be-rahem*.
unlawful adj. *narkaq*; — for food *hewaw*.
unlock, to v.t. (*qulp*) *dowas*.
unlucky adj. *naw*; *abal*; *badbazt*; *bazt yawikṭ*; — to do 2. *ṭok*.
unmarried adj. *gir aiyetem*; *marṭaq*; *bilarl*; *awlawno badari*.
unmasculine adj. (of man) *mangʃalikṭ*.
unnecessary adj. v.a.v. *darkaw*.
unoccupied adj. *ʃkan*; *thi*.
unprejudiced adj. *sayju*.
unprepared adj. (of hide etc.) *daywi*.

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000 unreasonable adj. *bi·-ma·ni.*
unrestrained, to be v.i. *di.ʌši.ʌs.*
unripe adj. *ati·γunum*; *jʌčo*; N. *audegoni*; *jʌčo.*
unroll, to v.t. *d*-ntsirʌs.*
unruliness n. *ja·hzli.*
unruly adj. *yʌγe*; *ja·hzl.*
unserviceable adj. v.s.v. *duro.*
untie, to v.t. *d*-šunʌs.*
untied adj. *dušu·num.*
until prep. *xa·*; *xa·ṭiŋor.*
untimely adj. *ʌkhen.*
untoward adj. *ʌbʌš.*
untrue adj. **-umos.*
untwisted adj. (of thread) *dʌγu·i.*
unwell adj. *γʌli·s.*
unwise adj. *aka·nʌs.*
up prep., adv. *yʌṭ*; *yʌṭe*; *dʌl*; *dal*; – to (a person) **-ʌpʌči*; (of space or time) *xa·*; *xa·ṭiŋor*; *ṭhaŋ.*
up till now adv. *mu·to xa·.*
uphill adv. *dʌl*; *hu·rgo.*
upon adv. **-yʌṭe*; *-ʌṭe*; *-ṭse*; *yʌči.*
upper adj. *dʌli*; *yʌṭum.*
upright adj. (of person) *di.a·nʌtdaw*; (of thing) *čok*: *čo·ko*; (boulder) *dʌščikin.*
uproar n. *γauγa.*
upside down adv. *ʌpʌro·ṭo*; *neγultur*; *ya·rum yʌṭe*; *yʌṭkum*; to turn — *yʌṭkum et.*
upwards adv. *yʌṭ ne*; *yʌṭe yʌkʌl.*
urgent adj. *zəru·li.*
urinate, to v.i. *hərai.ʌs*; *ratinja·b et.*
urine n. *hərʌṭ.*
use, to v.t. **-ʌdurəyʌs*; **-ʌ.əri.ʌs.*
use up, to v.t. *d*-ʌγʌnʌs*; *fʌṭ et.*
used up adj. *fʌṭ.*
used up, to be v.i. *d*-γʌnʌs* (h, x subj.); *dəγʌnʌs* (y); *fʌṭ m.*
useful adj. *duro *-čhi.ʌs.*
useless adj. v.s.v. *duro.*
usher n. *hiŋʌtum mʌhʌrʌm.*

514 a

000 [illegible] adj. *marwardi*.
[illegible] n. *dawtnal*.

V.

[illegible] adj. *pwt*.
vaccinate, to v.t. *hada* °-*al*
vaccinator n. *hada ates ual*.
vagabond n. *bem dada*.
vagina n. °-[illegible](?).
valiant adj. *dilawar*; *pfwtikaf*; *ningar* °-*as*; °-*ao dag*; °-*ao pusta*; [illegible] (p. 387); *tilo tingan*.
valley n. 2. *lar*; up the — *wl ao*.
valour n. *hirkat*.
value n. *gat*.
vanish, to v.i. [illegible] *ao*.
variegated adj. [illegible]; [illegible].
vegetables n. *hwi*; v.a.v. *lewgaw*; cooked — *aam*.
vegetable garden n. *hwi*.
vegetation n. *fopa*.
veil n. *halga*; *dwa*; openwork of — *lamary*.
vein n. *hawa*.
velvet n. *hamwal*.
vengeance n. *hdala*; *mov*.
vermilab n. *haldi*.
vermin n. (insect) [illegible]; (louse) *khaw*. V. List of Insects.
verse n. — of Qur'an *aiya*.
vertebra n. °-*waldaw khwto*.
vertex n. °-*dh.aa*.
very adv. *hwf*; 2. *tar*; *tsw*; *fow*; 3. *ghr*; *mkorgal*.
vessel n. *dawtnak*. V. List of Vessels.
vestiges n. (of civilizing) *[illegible]*.
vex, to v.t. *nafa* °-*al*; °-*mow d*°-*ahaw*.
vexed adj. *asow*; *hisow*; *nafa*; *tag*.
vexed, to be v.i. °-*as fowaa*.
vicinity n. *fatergal*.
victory n. *fala*.
vie, to v.i. 2. *fab* °-*awaaa*.

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view n. *ŋwlu.*
view, to v.t. *khi l* m.
village n. fortified — *khan.*
villain n. *ŋjrwa.*
vine n. *fwm.*
vinegar n. *ŋrrka*; spirit — *fwl.*
violence n. *ŋrr*; *mwl.*
violent adj. *kil ŋlan.*
violently adv. *kilaŋgo*; *kilŋi.*
violet n. *lilin.*
virgin adj. *kilwl.*
virtue n. *fwnlwl*; *ŋfat.*
virtuous adj. *pwn*; *pwnlwlŋ*; *di.ŋwnlilw.*
visible adj. *ŋfwl*; *ŋwlu.*
visible, to become v.i. *ŋnwrw*; *ŋfwl* or *ŋwlu* m.; *dwnlu.an.*
visit, to v.t. (to confide) *khwl* m.
visitor n. *ŋdrw.*
vixen n. (woman) *ŋjrwa.*
voice n. *-*dkw*; *ŋrkw.*
vomit, to v.i. *dkaŋ* *-*al.*
vomiting n. *dkaŋ.*
vow, to v.i. *ni.al al.*
volume n. *gatkhir*; *mlaw.*
valve n. 2. *daŋ*; *-*ŋwl.*

W.

wager n. *halimow.*
wager, to v.i. *halimow al.*
wagon n. *mwnlwrl.*
wag, to v.i. *ŋfapal* m.; v.t. *ŋfapal al.*
waist n. *-*ahlŋ.*
waistbelt, waistcloth n. *-*ahlow*; *ŋrlow*; leather — *-*ahlow karpir*; v.n. *jakwal.*
waistcoat n. *gatlath.*
waiststring n. *ŋnkl.*
wait! *ahi!*
wait, to v.i. *lkaŋ* m.
waiting adj. *ahi*; *lkaŋ*; to keep a.o. — *-*ahwanan.*
wake, to v.i. *d*-talan.*

000

waken, to v.t. *d*-astalas; daq *-aras.
walk n. asil.
walk, to v.i. gutshoras; gajal nisas; asil ef.
walker n. gutshoras (sis).
walking adj. gajal.
walking-stick n. *-gfaro; *-pawuo; dastyo.
wall n. hal; gorlw; revetting — hawf, buttressing — aasag; (round shrine or grave) panji; thawl.
walnut n. 2. ŝöli; compl... — in shell hawe; whole — N. hasorgo; outer shell of — tawag; half shell of — fatwi; kernel of — hal; hawe(?); N. ownaw.
walnut-tree n. 2. ŝöli; v.a.v. majkiw.
wanderer n. hem dada.
wane, to v.i. dikhivas.
want, in adj. dawanda; d*-awarawam.
want, to v.t. dawawas; v.a.v. awarja.
wanted adj. dawaw.
war n. jag.
warlike adj. jag stas.
warm adj. gawawa; hubwlo.
warm up, to v.i. dikjwaqas.
warp-yarn n. 4. ja.
wash, to v.i. tam dolas; yawl ef.; v.t. tam *-adilas; fa.o ef.; *-gorilas (h, s obj.); hwilas (y obj.); gajawawas (x); gajawawas (y); to cause s.o. — *-shalias; — for gold wawa ef.
wash o.s., to v.t. *-wotaja ichil thiyas.
washing n. (of person) yawl.
wasp n. 3. jagar.
waste land n. das.
wasted adj. hwbird.
watch n. (guard) 1. faw.
watch, to v.t. *-asalas; hawwas (dat.); *-lilas ef.
watch over, to v.t. raf ef.
watching n. hawaj.

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000 watchman n. *ruṣiṭ; ruṣṭakwin; čhorbu*; — (sentry) *tsor; tsorgwin*.

water n. *ta.hil*; (urine) *horaḷ*; drinking — *mi.ar* or *le.as ta.hil*; flood — *aor*; — flowing from irrigated field *hurta.hil*; — coming down a steep place *čhangu*.

water, to v.t. *ta.hil yalas; ta.hil bikaiyas*; — a second time *horwi st.; yaṣṭ ta.hil st.*

water-channel n. *dala*; (smaller) *gortil*; — of mill *nar*.

water-closet n. *jukaṇ*.

water conduit n. *haor; čaṇalat*; (large) *gallor*.

waterfall n. *gor*.

waterfowl n. (kind of —) *ṣforii; gorṭi; Gorchum horay*.

watering n. second — *yaṣṭ ta.hil; horwi*.

water-jug n. *ma.čorbu*.

water-melon n. *horwor*.

water-mill n. *gai.ṭa*.

water-skin n. *mašk*; N. *maški*.

water-shoot n. (from gutter) *gor*.

water-tank n. *ṭalk*.

watered adj. to be fully — *dia.ras*.

watery adj. *ta.hilṭuum; ṭaṣan*.

wattle-work n. *ṭaṇ*.

wave n. *oṭor; horigin.as*.

wave, to v.t. *ṣfap.al st.*

wave round, to v.t. *°-altalan.as*

wavy adj. (of hair) *loṭkṣ*.

wax n. *mum*.

way n. *gan*; the wrong — *aparto*; by some — *amitalu*; out of the — *ḷaṇ*.

wazir n. *wazir*; adj. *wazirviki*.

wazirship n. *wazirchoṭ; wazirvi*.

we pron. *mi*, v. §§ 117, 118 — two *mollalik*.

weak adj. *alarto; bi-ḥal; bi-lum; durgarwṭu; lagay pagay; hinzir; kamgwwal; kamor*.

516 a

000 weakness n. *ašatokoč*; *ašatyaw*.
wealth n. *dolat*.
wealthy adj. γamɪs; *dolatman*.
wean, to v.t. *mamu fat etas*.
weapons n. *tobak* γatanŋ; *khi* γatenč; *asbab*.
wear, to v.t. *yolas* (x obj.); *berlas* (y obj.).
wear out, to v.i. *d*-γanas*.
weasel n. *nol*(?).
weather n. to become clear — (*jaḍau*) *bot ni.as*.
weather-boarding n. *istsər*.
weave, to v.t. *yaši.as* (chiefly x obj.); *gišaiyas* (chiefly y obj.).
weaver n. *gišaškuin*; *hiskbuḍo*; *šərmabuḍo*; N. *buyerčo*.
web n. (spider's) *pfɪranɛ pfask*.
webbing n. *ban*.
wedding-present n. (to bride's mother) **-yenom*.
wedge n. *payo*.
Wednesday n. *bodo*.
weed, to v.t. *bilis st.*; *šašər duvisas*.
weeding n. *bilis*.
weeds n. (wild oats) *šašər*.
week n. *thalskots*; (8 days) *altaŋots*; two —s *thents*.
weep, to v.i. *hevas*.
weeping n. *hevč*; *luleč*.
weeping-willow n. *mojuw*.
weevil n. γalγu; 3. *kər*.
weigh, to v.t. *tol st*.
weight n. to carry — *gaṭaw* 3.
welcome! *xuš amadi!*
welcome, to v.t. (person) **-yanči.ər ni.as*, v.a.v. *uyančimo*.
weld, to v.t. (iron) *jau st*.
welfare n. *salamat*.
well n. γolk; 3. *kər*; adj. *šuwa*; *daltas*; **-dim šu.a*; N. *rahat*; adv. *daltas*; *šuwa*; interj. *ye . . .*
well-bred adj. *manokər*.

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000

well-disposed adj. *gɔruʷɔm*.
well-filled adj. *tiphik*.
well known adj. *iʷk duʷɔm*; *mʌšhuʷr*.
well-to-do adj. *šuʷa*.
well-wishing n. *gɔruʷɔmkoš*.
west n. *buʷr*; v.s.v. *xʌt*.
wet n. *hʌɣɔm*; — and slippery *ts.hilɣɪš*.
wet, to get v.i. *diʷlʌs*; *disiʷlʌs*.
wet, to v.t. *dᵉ-ʌsilʌs*.
wether n. *bʌskʌrɛt*.
wetness n. *huʷš*.
what? pron., adj. *beʔ*; *bɛsʌnʔ*; of — kind, in — manner? *belʌtɔmʔ*
what! *be* . . .!
what else? *tuʷmʔ*
whatever pron. *bɛsʌn* . . . *kɛ*; *bɛsʌn* . . . *koli*; in — way *belʌtɛ* . . . *kɛ*.
what sort of? adj. *bečokʔ*; *beljokʔ*; *be zailɛʔ*; *bɛškiʔ*; — a . . . ? *bɛški.enʔ*.
wheat n. (grain or crop) *guʷr*; parched — *khʌni*.
wheat-coloured adj. *guʷɔ*.
wheaten adj. *guʷɛ*.
wheel n. *čɔrx*.
when adv. . . . *kɛ*.
whence? adv. *amɔlɔmʔ*; N. *ʌmɔlimʔ*.
whenever conj. *bɛšʌl* . . . *kɛ* or *koli ts.hʌnč*.
where? adv. *ʌmʔ*; *amɔloʔ*; N. *ʌmɔliʔ*.
wherefore? adv. *bɛsʌnɔrʔ*; *amɔlɔmʔ*.
wherever conj. *amɔlo* (*ʌm*) . . . *kɛ*.
whetstone n. *bʌldʌn*.
whey n. *mʌnts.hil*.
which? pron. *amin* (h), *amis* (x), *amit* (y)? pl. *min* (h), *amits* (x), *amik* (y)? V. § 161..
whichever pron. *amin* . . . *kɛ* etc.
whinny, to v.i. *hihiŋ et*.
whip n. *thɔr*.
whip, to v.t. *thɔr delʌs*.
whip handle n. *thɔrɛ yʌn*.
whirl, to v.t. *dᵉ-ʌspʌpʌlʌs*.

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000

whirlpool n. *pfeɜri*.
whirlwind n. *čipəphuṣ*.
whisper n. *khuɜṣ*; *khukuɜṣ*.
whisper, to v.i. *khuɜṣ nɛ sɛnʌs*; *thʌla sɛnʌs*.
whistle n. *tuɜsk*.
whistle, to v.i. *ṣyu ṣyu st*.
white n. — of egg *bərəm dsl*; — of eye *bərəmt nʌna*; adj. *bəruɜm*
white earth n. *ḍumول*.
white-eyed adj. (of horses) *čɪqɪr*.
whither? adv. *ʌm?*; *amولo?*; N. *ʌmولirɛ?*.
who? pron. *amin?*; *mɛn?*; v. §§ 159, 160.
who rel. v. §§ 185, 460, 461.
whoever pron. *amin . . . kɛ*; *mɛn . . . kɛ*, v. § 186.
whole adj. *-yoɜn*; *ṭoɜk*; *puɜra*; the — of *uyoɜn*.
wholly adv. *tʌčʌp*; *təḍʌk*.
why? adv. *bɛs?*; *bɛsɛ?*; *bɛsʌnəɜr?*; *tuɜm?*; (indirect) *bɛɜsɛ . . . kɛ*.
wick n. *filta*.
wicked adj. *γənikɪṣ*.
wickerwork n. *šʌq*.
wide adj. *dʌldʌlom*; *šoɜqum*.
wide open adj. *zʌṭ*.
widow n. *geɜsgus gus*.
widowed adj. *geɜsgus*.
widower n. *geɜsgus hiɜr*.
width n. *dʌldʌlomkuṣ*; (of cloth) 3. *bər*.
wife n. *-us*; *jʌmaɜʌt*; voc. *jʌmaɜʌt!* co— *umʌgus*; mother's brother's — *-ntso*. V. s.v. *-rik*.
wild adj. *ruɜns*; *teɜr(ɛ)*; *jʌŋgʌlɛ*; *jʌŋgʌli* — oats *šʌšər*.
wilfulness n. *jaɜhɛli*.
will n. *rai*.
will, to v.t. *ni.ʌt st*.
willow tree n. *biɜk*; weeping — *mojuɜr*; (for withes) *šʌsk*.
willy nilly adv. *naɜnaɜ*.
win, to v.i. *duɜsʌs*; *duwʌšɛ.ʌs*.

517 b

000 wind n. *liṭ*; mild — *gurgul*; — off avalanche *jork*; breaking — *fiṭ*; to lose one's — *-as pfarnas*.
wind, to v.t. *di.wlas*. V. Supt. Corrigenda.
windgall n. *xordaṭ*.
window n. *dori*.
wind-pipe n. *dorjo*.
windstorm n. *tiṭ*.
wine n. *mel*.
wing n. *galgi*.
wink n. *dirp*.
wink, to v.i. *dirp et*.
winnow, to v.t. *erelas*; cp. (by hand) *rlpupuras*; *ipfurpras*.
winnowing-shovel n. *,buri*.
winter n. *bai.i*; adj. *bai.imo*.
wipe, to v.t. *γaṭarp et.*; *ṭarg et*.
wipe off, to v.t. *-aras*.
wipe out, to v.t. *-aqulilas*.
wire n. *sim*; (*čhumoro*) *γaṭk*.
wisdom n. *hensakuṭ*.
wise adj. *hensas*; *dorna*; *aqulkṭ*.
wish n. *rag*; *rai*.
wish, to v.t. *rag et*.
with prep. *ka*; *karṭ*; (apud) *-apači*; (cum) *-aka*; (instrument) *-aṭi*. V. § 70, iii; *-e* v. § 64, i; *-ka* v. § 85, iii; *-ek*, *-ak* v. § 47.
withdraw, to v.i. *i-ljí jarṭ m*.
withe n. *gačhe*; *γaṭk*.
wither, to v.i. (y subj.) *doltapi.as*.
withers n. *mindau*.
within adv. *wlo*.
without prep. *thi*; — cause *narhag*; — warning *ṭormanaṭo*.
witness n. *datehej*.
wizard n. *biṭan*.
woe interj. *hai hai!*
wolf n. *wrk*.
wolf-skin n. *wrki baṭ*.
woman n. *gus*; young — *dasin*; *čomuṭker*; — relation *silatin*.

5180

000 woman's adj. *gudjuki*.
womb n. *°-ul*; *°-γumar*; (animal's) *kalkiṭ*.
womenfolk n. *gua gigaw*; *jamaral*.
wonderful adj. *ajap*.
wood n. *kum*; (fuel) γ*aṭiṭ*; rotten — γ*el*; piece of burning — *pfutumiṭ*.
woodcock n. *zepaw*.
wood-pigeon n. N. *kweti* (p. 238).
wool n. *le*; fine — *bupaw*; (ditto of yak) γ*uruy*; strip of teased — *dap*.
wool-bearing adj. — animal *ku.a*; cp. *lirpalkiṭ*.
wool-holder n. *pfurwina*.
woollen adj. *lev*.
word n. 1. *kar*.
work n. *duro*; to put to — *°-aurilas*.
work, to v.i. *duro st.*; *duroyas*; — strenuously together (men & women) *kir kayar m.*
workman n. skilled — *ustad*; (labourer) *durowkwin*.
world n. *duniaṭ*.
worm n. γ*alγu*.
worn away adj. *ṭaṭaq*.
worn out, to be v.i. *d°-γanas*.
worn smooth adj. 1. *ṭaq*.
worried adj. *jorkas*.
worried, to be v.i. *durmaḍaγas*; *jori.aw st.*
worry n. *ahal*; *damjaw*; *takliṭ*.
worry, to v.i. *°-mors d°-ataas*; *°-mora talumas*; *damjaw °-al.*; *damjaw °-asiγas*; *takliṭ °-ṭki.as*; 2. *jam °-al.*
worship, to v.i. *°-ilikinas*.
worsted n. 2. *aw*.
worth seeing adj. *tamaṭinkiṭ*.
worthy adj. *yaṭki*; *tai.iq*.
would, would have, aux. . . . *ṭa*, v. § 351.
wound n. *gul*; *zarum*.
wound, to v.t. *gul °-al*.
wounded adj. *gul*.

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wounded, to be v.i. *gul* m. ooo
wrap up, to v.t. *d°-asalatas*; *d°-matasa*, (with *y* subj.) *dumatasa*
wrap up in, to v.t. *malaŋ* st.
wrathful adj. *°-mosikij*; *zowdaw*.
wrestle, to v.i. *solama dumas*.
wretch, n., wretched adj. *bidava*; *γoriр*; *γoripia*.
wring, to v.t. *maraŋ °-as*.
wrinkle n. *brak*.
wrinkle, to v.t. *loj* st.
wrist n. 3. *hivak*.
write, to v.t. *girminas*; to make s.o. — *°-akirminas*.
writhe, to v.i. *balan* m.
writing, a n. *xat*.
written adj. *girminom*.
wrong(ly) adj., adv. *fhis*; *γalat*; — side out *aparts*.
wrong, to v.t. *°-atsi.as*.
wrong, to go v.i. *qudelas*; *korkan ni.as*.

Y.

yak n. *berpay*; wild — *yuba*.
yard n. *gas*; *avito qaj*; half — *qaj*.
yarn n. *gas*; 3. *sor*; warp — 4. *ju*.
yawn, to v.i. *d°-amatalas*.
year n. *dus*; *yul*; this — *khwin*; this —'s *khwinmo*; last — *fhamini*; a whole — *yule gaj*.
yearling n. *yulakas*.

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000

yeast n. *bʌγəndo.*
yellow adj. *ɟɪkərk*; very — *čiṭɪkərk.*
yes adv. *ʌwa*; *ɓwa*; — of course *be.əsa.*
yes! yes! *a·o a·o!*
yesterday adv. *sa·ʌfi*; *ʌɓuʷ*; day before — *ya·bolto*; 2 days before — *yaʷčɪliŋ.*
yesterday's adj. *saʃimo*; *ʌɓuʷmo.*
yet adv. *dərum*; *dərum xaʷ*; *don ke* (v.s.v. *duʷnks*).
yoke n. — of oxen *nʌl.*
yoke, to v.t. *hərčum o·bɪšaiyʌs*; *khil st.*
yoke-bar n. *hərčum.*
yoke-pin n. *šʌmɪʷy.*
yolk n. — of egg *ɟɪkərk dɪl.*
you pron. *ma*, v. § 119.
young n. (of animal) *-sk (v. also s.v. *ɪsk*); *jorto.* V. kid, lamb, foal etc.; adj. *juwaʷn*; N. *čaʷkur.*
young folk n. *jorpʌf*; *jʌfbaʷiṭ.*
younger, youngest adj. *jof*; *ečukoʷn.*
your own adj. *ma.ɪʷmo*, v. § 143.
yourselves pron. (emphatic) *mai.i*, *ma mai.i*, v. § 142; (reflex.) *makhər*, v. § 144.
youth n. (juvenis) *hiles*; *juwaʷn*: N. *čaʷkur*; (juventus) *juwaʷni.*

Z.

zedoary n. *pirpi.*
zither n. v.s.v. *-ʌγərʌs.*
zodiac n. sign of the — *borji.*

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INDEX OF ENGLISH WORDS
IN THE WERCHIKWAR—ENGLISH VOCABULARY

A.

600 able, to be v.i. *-ʌmʌn-.
above adv. mʌdaˑl.
advice n. nʌsi.ʌt.
affix, to v.t. *-ʌdil-.
after adv. iˑlja; tsɛči.
afternoon adv. saˑsɛtki.
again adv. da.
alive adj. jʌndo.
all adj. *-yomˑ; čhɪk; khul; — of them uyomˑ.
alone adv. ɣaˑnɛk.
also adv. ka; kɛ.
always adv. hʌmiˑša.
among prep. hərʌŋ; from — hərʌŋgum.
ancient adj. qʌdiˑm.
and conj. ka; kɛ.
angry, to become v.i. *-moˑs *-mʌn-; *-moˑs dʊtsu-; to make s.o. — *-moˑs d*-ʌts-.
answer n. jʌwaˑb.
answer, to v.i. jʌwaˑb dɛl- or ɛt-.
any adj. h. mɛn.
anything pron. bo; botʌn.
appear, to v.i. *-ʌɣain-; desʌl-.
arrive, to v.i. dɛšqʌlt-.
assuredly adv. albʌt.
astounded adj. hairaˑn.

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000 at prep. *či*; *-či*.
at bedtime adv. *gučʌčum khenər*.
at last adv. *axer*.
aunt n. (mother's sister) *nʌni*.

B.

back adv. *ilja*.
bad adj. *šum*.
bag n. (leather) *dengrš*.
barefoot adv. *holtaš*.
barley n. *hərɛ*.
bazar n. *bazar*.
be, to v.i. *mʌn-*; **-mʌn-*, v. § 527.
beans n. *mukʌk*.
bear n. *nya*.
bear, to v.t. (young) *d*-ʌsmai.in-*.
because conj. *bota sirya*.
become, to v.i. *mʌn-*; **-mʌn-*.
bedding n. upper — **-yæṭrki*; under — **-yarriki*.
bedtime n. *gučʌčum khen*.
begin, to *tai-*(?).
behind prep. **-tseči*.
belly n. **-ul*.
below adv. *yarɛ*.
beneath adv. *yar*; *yarɛ*; **-yarɛ*.
beside prep. (person) **-ʌpaiya*.
big adj. *nyu*.

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∞O bird n. *čhɐn*.
black adj. *mʌtum*.
blanket n. *šʌlʌʀ*.
blue adj. *rɨ̆qʌm*.
boot n. soft leather — *huʷço*.
box n. *sʌnduʷq*.
boy n. *dul̲ʌs*; *hʌleʷs*.
branch n. *ʂər*.
brass n. *rɨ̆kərk*.
bread n. *pʌqo*.
bridge n. *bərč*.
bridle n. *tʌmʌŋ*.
bright n. very — *bʌŋgəri*.
bring, to v.t. *dits-* (h and x obj.); *dətsu-* (y obj., v.s.v. *dʊsuʷ-*).
brother n. man's — *-ʌço*; woman's — *-huʷlus*.
brother-in-law n. man's *-rɐk*; woman's — *-huʷlus*.
bull n. (castrated) *hər*.
burn, to v.i. *γoʷl-*.
business n. *bər*; *dʊro*; *mʌšquʷli*.
but conj. *mʌgʌm*.
butter n. *mʌltʌʂ*.

C.

calf n. *boʷʂo*.
call out, to v.i. *qau ɛt-*.
cat n. *buʷš*.
ceiling n. *bai.ʌʂ*.
certainly adv. *albʌt*.
children n. *aulaʷd*.
city n. *šahr*.
claim n. *dawa*.
cliff n. *čhər*.
cloak n. *šʊqa*.
cloth n. *gʌtu*.
clothes n. *gʌtʊnz*; *gʌtʊŋ*.
clothing n. *gʌtʊŋ*.
cold adj. *čhʌγərʊm*.
collect, to v.t. *jʌma ɛt-*.
come, to v.i. past base: **d-*; *d*-ʌ-*; *ʂo-*; pres. base: *ts.hʊr-*.

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000 come out, to v.i. *dus-*.
command n. *hukəm*.
complete adj. *drust*, *khul*; *pura*.
condition n. *ʂʌγda*.
constrain, to v.t. — s.o. to do s.t. *d*-ʌwʌkʌl-*.
constricted adj. *tʌŋ*.
cook n. *pʌqo stʌs*.
country n. *bʌtʌn*; *mulk*.
cow n. *biʂa*.
craving n. *ərmaʂn*.
crow n. *γaʂmu*.
cut off, to v.t. *-*ʌskərts-*.

D.

dark adj. *ṭuṇtʌŋ*.
daughter n. *-*ʌ.i*.
dawn n. *gunçʌṭ*.
day n. *gunts*; one — *hʌrkulto*; —s *kuts*.
delicacy n. *nazuki*.
delicate adj. *nazuk*.
desire n. *ərmaʂn*.
destitute adj. *mahtaʂj*.
device n. *hʌrkmʌt*.
die, to v.i. *-*yuʂ-*.
direction n. *yʌkʌl*; this — *khiʂti*; that — *iʂti*.
distressed adj. *tʌŋ*.
divide, to v.t. *pfʌk-*.
do, to v.t. *-*ʌt-*; *st-*; to cause s.o. — *-*ʌʂt-*.
dog n. *huk*.
donkey n. *ṭʌkun*.
door n. *hiŋ*.
dove n. *γuṭγundil*.
down(wards) adv. *kʌt*; *yaʂs*.
drink, v.t. *min-*.

E.

ear n. *-*ltumʌl*.
early adv. *tsʌhoʂ*; — morning *gunçʌṭ*.
eat, to v.t. *ṣi-* (x sg. obj.); *ṣu-* (x pl. obj.); *ṣe-* (y obj.).

52/6

000 eight num. z. *altambe*.
elder, eldest adj. *nyu*.
employ, to v.t. — s.o. to do s.t. *d*-awakal-*.
end n. *muj*; in the — *axer*.
enter, to v.i. *gi-*.
entertain, to v.t. *mâlqul st-*.
equal to adj. *yanis*.
evening n. *ḫam*.
every adj. *kor*.
expend, to v.t. *zorj st-*.
eye n. **-lči*.
eyelash n. *ḫolt*.

F.

fall, to v.i. **-wal-*.
fall down, to v.i. *dohor-*.
family n. *kapa*.
famine n. *dorγanj*.
far adj. *mathan*; how —? *asa zaψ?*
fat adj. *daγanom*.
father n. *tati*.
father-in-law n. **-askir*.
female adj. (of animal) *beke*.
field n. *maḷ*.
finally adv. *axer*.
find, to v.t. v.a.v. *d*-aγasi-*.
finger n. **-amiṭ*.
fire n. *pfu*.
firewood n. *hum*.
first(ly) adv. *kawel*.
five z *tamdi*.
fly, to v.i. *duwaḷ-*.
food n. *paqo*; a kind of — *isput* = Hz. Bu. *koḍ*.
foot n. **-hurṭa*; foot-wrapper *hrwli*.
for prep. — sake of *qandi*: dat. *-a*: *-ya*.
fort n. *khai.i*.
forty num. *alto altor*.
found, to be v.i. *paida man-*; v.a.v. *d*-aγasi-*.
four z *walṭe*.
friend n. *dust*; *yar*.

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000 from prep. *ʔija*; abl. *-ənu*.
full adj. *ʔak*.

G.

gallop, to v.i. *dukanja-*.
get, to v.t. v.a.v. *d*-ʂyʂal-*.
girl n. *dasun*.
give, to v.t. **-u-* (h and x obj.); **-chi-* (y sg. obj.).
go, to v.i. past base: *ni-*; pret. base: *gal-*; pres base: *ʔakra-*, v. § 588.
go out, to v.i. *dura-*.
goat n. m. *halden*; f. *ʔazgir*.
goat house n. *hat*.
gold n. *γundʂ*.
good adj. *ʔuru*.
grass, to v.t. **-γaw-*.
great adj. *ugu*.
green adj. *ʂiγam*.
greeting n. *salam*.
grieved, to be v.i. v.a.v. *γul-*.
guest n. *ʂuʂiq*.
guilty adj. *γunahgar*.

H.

hair n. (single) *ʔur*; woman's — (coll.) **-γuγaq*.
hand n. **-ʂuni*.
happiness n. *ʂuʂuni*.
happy adj. *ʂuʂun*.
hard adj. *aaaf*.
he pron. *ni*; *ina*.
head n. **-γuʂin*.
health, in good, adj. *ʂandarust*; *ʂaran*.
hear, to v.t. *d*-ʂyal-*.
heart n. **-ʂa*.
heaven n. *ʂiγaʂ*.
heavy adj. *ʂruʂam*.
her pron. acc. *ma*; gen. *manu*.
here adv. *ʂiko*; *ʂko*; from — *ʂkaʂam*.
him pron. acc. *ni*; dat. *niγa*.
his pron. *ni*; *ina*; — own *ʂu*.

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hither adv. *ikō*.
honour n. *izzat*.
hoof n. *kulwā*; (horse's) *zapak*.
hoopoe n. *kapwyu*.
horn *ter*.
horse n. *kayur*.
horse-shoe n. *zap*.
hot adj. *garum*.
house n. *ka*; outer part of — *bikni.i*.
household n. *kapa*.
how? adv. *bojtum?*
how many? adj. *bevum(an)i*.
how many! *bevum burj*; *akkurum*.
how much? adj. *bevum(an)?*
however much conj. *bevum . . . ka*.
hundred *ika*.
hungry adj. *ikamum*.
husband n. **-gukar*.

I.

I pron. *ja*.
ibex n. (male) *kuldru*.
if conj. . . . *ka*.
ill adj. *ausiam*; (mildly) *lalaru*.
illness n. *bikni.i*.
in prep. *-ajo*; *-di*; from — *-ajam*.
India n. *Hindustan*.
Indian corn n. *jaurawi*.
inside prep. *-ajo*; — here *ikarjo*.
intelligence n. *kuiyawi*.
intelligent adj. *kuli.aw*.
into prep. *-ale*.
iris n. small wild — *brzema*.
iron n. *ikamur*.

K.

keep, to v.t. (servant etc.) **-alarurj-*;
(with pl. obj.) **-alarurin-*.
kid n. *du*.
king n. *kuldu*.
kiss, to v.t. *kuk et-*.

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For words omitted between "letter" and "lion" see p. 527.

L.

labourer n. hired — *mazdur*.
lead n. *ramra*.
lean adj. *dikuṇu*.
leopard n. *tak*
lie n. *gfaṇ*.
light adj. (not heavy) *hamaṇkum*; (not dark) *gori*; *hangori*.
like adj. *alta*; *ju.a*; *juman*; *°-ltaṇu*; *gunia*.
little adj. *cirum*; pl. *tryo*.
long adj. *yamanum*.
look at, to v.t. *yaru-*.
loose adj. *ḍruṇu*.
lose, to v.t. *cyaṇu-*.
lost, to become v.i. *°-warlu-*.
lower, v.a.v. *yaltar*.
lying-down adj. *gaṇlum*.

M.

make, to v.t. *°-al-*; *ch-*; to cause s.o. — *°-ṇṭ-*.
male adj. *wal*.
man n. *kir*.
manner n. *alta*; in the — of *°-ltaṇu*; *roil*.
many adj. *ḍuṇ*.
mare n. *mardiyu*.
mark n. *kai.an*.
market n. *hazar*.
marvellous adj. *akkri*.
me pron. acc. *ju*; gen. *jar*; dat. *jarye*.
merchandise n. *sauda*.
midday n. *dryori*.
middle adj. *matalu*; in the — of *alikori*.
milk n. *mamu*.
millet n. *ko*; *cha*; *gfarpil*.
monkey n. *barlya*.
mouth n. *kan*; *an*.
moon n. *kalmfa*.
morning n. early — *gundi*.
mother n. *mani*.

523b

000 mother-in-law n. *-ugwa.
mountain n. *ther*.
much adv. *luq*.
my pron. *ja'*; — own *ajya*.

N.

naked adj. *laq*.
name n. *-yek*.
narrow adj. *thanum*.
near adv. *anuv*.
necessary adj. — to do . . . *haj*.
neck n. *-aj*.
need n. *harjati*.
new adj. *thol*.
night n. *thap*.
nine num. s *huti*.
no! *hwa!*(?).
no one pron. (person) *mwa ka* . . . (neg.).
not neg. predx with verbs *a-*; *e-*; *ai-*.
not to be v.i. *ap-*.
nothing pron. *hes ka* . . . (neg.).
now adv. *amartsk*.
nowhere adv. *ana ka* . . . (neg).

O.

O! *lo!*
oath n. v.n.v. *tayjem*.
occasion n. *wanf*.
offspring n. *ealard*.
old adj. (person) *jaq*.
on prep. *-ti*; *yaja*.
once adv. *hok*.
one num. h *hen*; xy *hem*; u *hok*.
orial n. m. *hawu*; f. *yatal*.
out adv. *horja*.
out of prep. *-ojem*.
other than *thum*.
outside adv. *horja*.
ovis poli n. m. *hawu*.
own adj. *-ya'*.
ox n. *hor*.

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P.

000 parrot n. *toti*.
pen n. (for sheep and goats) *ʒɔr*.
penitent adj. *peśman*.
people n. *ʂʂ*.
perhaps conj. *albʌt*.
person(s) n. *ʂʂ*; one — *ʂʂʌn*.
pig n. *ʂwk*.
pigeon n. *γɔndʒl*.
placate, to v.t. *-hɔlikin-*.
place n. *jʌγa*.
plank n. *bʌlk*.
play, to v.t. (music) *-ʌγɔr-*.
pod n. *khoʃ*.
point n. *thʌn*.
pour, to v.t. *thi-*; *deme-*.
present n. *hʌi.ʌn*.
prince n. *badša yɔn*.
proceed, to v.i. *gots.hɔr-*.
proper adj. *mɔnɔrib*.
property n. *daulʌt*; *mʌl*.
pulse n. kind of — *γɔrʌʃ*.
put on, to v.t. *-ʌdil-*; — s.t. on feet *-ʌlta-*; — (clothes) on s.o. *-ʌwɔl-*.

Q.

queen n. *γɔndʒʃ*.
question, to v.t. d*-*ʌγɔrʒs-*; *doγʌrʒs-*.
quick(ly) adj. adv. *hɔmʌlkum*.

R.

rafter n. *ʃɔnj*.
read, to v.t. *sin-*.
rear, to v.t. d*-*ʌsmai.in-*.
reared adj. *wɔʃim*.
reared, to be v.i. *dusmai.in-*.
reason n. *sʌbʌb*; by — of *gʌndi*; *sʌxɔn*.
reckon, to v.t. *ts.hʌn-*.
red adj. *bɔrdum*.
remain, to v.i. d*-*wʌs-*.
remember, to v.i. v.s.vv. *-ʌski*; *ɔski*.
respect n. *ʌdʌb*; *ʒzzʌt*.

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ring n. (for finger) *karvada*.
river n. *nadi*.
road n. *gam*.
roof n. *hol.al*; *ādi*.
run, to v.i. (of man, dog etc.) *ha.m-*;
(of horse etc.) *ch.anjo-*.

S.

saddle n. *tāl.ag*.
say, to v.i. *ann-*; *a.ta.m-*.
saying n. *ban*.
see, to v.i. *°-gulo-*; *yam-*.
seem to, to v.i. *°-ayaio-*.
-self pron. *ādro*. *°-ākar*.
woman n. *bari*.
servant n. *dal.ar*.
service n. *ādāma.al*.
set out for, to v.i. *vāki ab-*.
seven c. *thalo*.
shade n. *sarl*.
share n. *hayo*.
she pron. *ma*.
sheep n. *bāla*; v.a.v. *bala*.
sheep-house n. *ād*.
shingle n. *kal*.
shirt n. woman's — *parl*.
shoes n. *kow.ādowa*.
side n. this — *ākirti*; that — *ati*.
sight n. *nazir*.
sign(al) n. *zāwa*.
silver n. *bari*.
since adv. *ādja*.
sister n. woman's — *°-ajo*.
sister-in-law n. woman's — *°-vā*.
sit, to v.i. *karvaj-* (pl. obj.) *karvaio*-
to make s.o. — *°-akarvaj-* (pl. obj.)
°-akarvaio-.
six num. c *kāmdo*.
sixty num. *ākā ālāw*.
skin n. *kal*.
skirt n. front — of things *kam.an*.
sky n. *aipal*.

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OOO

sleeping n. — for food *hromul*.
sleeve n. *ziqr*.
small adj. sg. *cirym*: pl. *yrqo*.
smell n. *ger*.
smoke-hole n. *a.m*.
snake n. *yuk.ooma*.
sock n. *jowrp*; cloth wrapped over — *hem.ej*.
some adj. *hrrum*; *ho*.
sometimes adv. *hajo*.
something pron. *ho*.
somewhere adv. *ava*.
son n. **.qo*.
song n. *yer*.
sort n. *xarf*; *xail*.
sound n. **.chir*; *hawrqo*.
speak, to v.i. *xulum-*.
spill, to v.t. *dmu-*.
stand up, to v.i. *dk.e-*.
star n. *ooomum*.
stone n. *dum*; —s *yoro*.
story n. *gyaz*.
strand n. (of rope) *kaj*.
strange adj. *ukkaj*.
stripe, to v.t. *dij-*.
such and such adj. *fjirrui*.
sun n. *ao*.

T.

take, to v.t. **.q.an-*.
take away, to v.t. **.dm-*; *ilm-*.
take out, to v.t. (pl. obj.) *d*.qrdo-*.
talk, to v.i. *ilmig ot-*.
talking adj. *ilmig ot.m*.
tea *hrrum*.
that pron. b.sg., v. ao; y fo, v. § 515.
that conj. after verbs of 'saying' etc. . . . *ho*.
thee pron. sg. *ge*; dat. *geyo*.
them pron. acc. *ao*; dat. *aoyo*.
then adv. *fo ooarf*; *dlo*; *ho*.
there adv. *ter*; *terfo*; *ivem* — *terfem*.

those pron. h *ikuv*; s *gwiw*; y *gwin*.
they pron. *wv*; *wv*.
thick adj. *dzynnow*.
thin adj. *dikynow*; (of rod etc.) *bi.zzow*.
this pron. him *ikiw*; hf *ikuno*; s *gwu*; y *gwin*, *ikuh*.
*horn n. 3-pointed —s *hukkuhwiki*.
those pron. h *wv*; *wv*; y *ke*; s *tiu*; y *ke*.
thou pron. sg.
thousand *hazzv*.
three num. h. *tiki*; s *tiki*.
threw away, to v.t. *lip* *-*.st*.
threw down, to v.t. *gi-* (s sg. and y obj.); *gu-* (s pl. obj.); *wani-* (s obj.).
thy pron. *gi*; — own *gi gwi.n*.
thyself pron. reflex. *gukkir*.
time n. *ikiw*; *wanf*; —s *zzuwwa*.
to prep. (motion towards person) *-*.zzuiyu*; *pahi*; (motion into) *-ulu*; dat. suffix *-i*; *-yu*.
today adv. *akkwin*.
tomorrow adv. *jim.zl*; day after — *kapulu*; 3 days after — *wurilu*.
top n. *ikuv*; — of hill *kuv y.st*.
trade n. *wuulu*.
trader n. *wuulugur*.
tree n. *dir.zzf*; *kun*.
trouble n. *wuluggat*.
trousers n. cotton — *gaiw y pl*.
twenty num. *ellir*.
two num. h *ell.ze*; s *ella*.

U.

unmarried adj. *wuf*.
under prep. *gow*; *gowu*.
understand, to v.t. *lul st*-.
undertaking n. *wayda*.
unfamiliar adj. *akkat*.
until prep. *zurf*.
up to prep. *zurf*.
upper adj. (road etc.) *w.ukri*.
us pron. acc. *ui*; dat. *uiyu*.

V.

000 very adv. *huj*.
voice n. **-chur*.

W.

wall n. *hul*.
waste, to v.t. *ospajo-*; *demo-*.
water n. *hihul*.
waxie n. *wazir*.
we pron. *mi*.
what? pron. *hoi*; *hoi.an?*
whatever pron. *hewam* . . . *ha*; *ho*.
when rel. *hihe*.
when conj. . . . *ha*.
when? adv. *haha?*
whence? adv. *onem?*
where? adv. *omalu?*; *ona?*; up to —? *ona nayi?*; from —? *onem?*
white adj. *hewam*.
whither? adv. *ona?*
who? pron. sg. *mon?*; *mon.an?*; pl. *mon?*; *monik?*
whole adj. *drusi*; the — *ghik*.
why? adv. *hoa?*; *hoin?*
wide adj. *hogum*.
wife n. **-ava*.
wish, to v.t. *rui ai-*.
with prep. *hui*; **-hui*; (— person) **-apeiye*; in company — *yaw*; **-ayo*.
woman n. *gua*.
wood n. *hum*.
work n. *dara*.
world n. *dunia*.
worthy adj. *loi.aq*.

Y.

Yasin n. *Yasin*.
year n. *don*.
yellow adj. *ajkwi*.
yes adv. *aun*.
yesterday adv. *aradi*; day before - *gawhajin*.
you pron. *ma*; gen. *ma*; dat. *maya*.
young n. (of animal) *isi*.
younger, youngest adj. *ahyaw*; pl. *yaya*.

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Words omitted p. 478.

000

level adj. *rat*; 2. *ʃak*; *bابو*; — with *ʃaw*; to come — with 2. *ʃak* *-*am*.
lever n. *ʃanal*.
liar n. *boriqkij*; v.a.v. *-umos. 2. a.
liberal adj. *sanawat*; *ʃaʃa*.
liberality n. *ʃaʃakuʃ*.
liberty n. at — *ʃan*; *hij*; *xalaw*; *awad*.
lie, to v.i. *laʃ* *et*.
lid n. *wawtij*; to put — on *wawtas*.
lie n. *-umos.
1. lie, to v.i. *gutkaiyas*; *jrik* *m.*; (in lair) *-*yak* *et.*; to make s.o. — *-*agutaiyas*.
2. lie, to (mentiri) v.i. *-umolo *ortas*; *-umolo *srnas*.
life n. *ji*; — to come *jimdas*; *azawat*; for — *umar* *mo*; to come to — again *d*-*wowas*. V. *sale jow*.
lifeless adj. *bidam*.
life-time n. *umar*.
light n. *rat*; *saqkuʃ*; (lamp) *gori*; little

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— *pilpili*; first morning — *sayavi*; yavi; adj. (not heavy) *hamalkum*; (not dark) *saŋ*.

light, to v.i. *hasrv*; *boyas*; v.t. *-*aspalas*; *lam el.*; *saŋ el.*

light on, to v.i. *fal* *-*am*.

lightning n. *bovē*; sheet — *tamlam*; forked — N. *biṭṭeṭ*.

like adj. *ju.an*; — this *akhiel*; *dakhiel*; *lai*; *lail*.

like, to v.t. d*-*amwṭas*; *mil el.*; v.s.v. *-*as*.

likeness n. *mwal*; (semblance) *baṭ*.

limb n. *khivts*; *-*daŋ*; cp. *ołaŋ*.

limit n. 1. *mol*; *gṭṭi*.

limp, to v.i *qaḍaŋ*.

line n. *gṭṭi*; *fin*; 2. *takir*; (of meeting of two planes) *gwḍ*.

lining n. *ivdar*.

linseed n. *harman*.

lintel n. *pajam takrij*.

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5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5)1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

CLASSIFIED LISTS OF BURUSHASKI WORDS.

000

Many common or important words in Burushaski have no simple equivalents in English, under which they can be entered in an Index.

Such are the names of local implements, utensils and foods, which have no exact counterparts in our culture, and words connected with ceremonies, customs and beliefs peculiar to the people.

Again, there are the names of animals, birds, insects, plants etc. to which only a specialist could attach the correct scientific labels.

Words of some of these types are collected in the following lists, but as classified lists are often convenient I have supplemented them by adding names falling within the same categories, even when more or less specific meanings have been given to them in the Vocabulary.

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1. Plants.

haruhondzi.	*dzughur.*	*hurman.*	*sarapur,*	*Sirijum.*
hiwpur.	*ghlal.*	*jaćiv, cp. ćaćiv.*	*sap.*	*Sum.*
hurzur.	*gulgul.*	*kurpan.*	*sarpaj.*	*S. tal.*
ćharo.	*γaću.*	*naphinas.*	*sosan.*	*tamaću.*
ćhaj.	*γon.*	*lili.o.*	*supander.*	*tsvnadk.*
čapuri.	*γolarp.*	*mordakay.*	*ćaćur.*	*thum.*
čoγal.	*himan.*	*morpun.*	*ćipić.*	*ćaćid.*
ćaγaliski.	*hosur.*	*naski.*	*ćuder.*	

2. Trees.

hatil.	*dujur.*	*hormak.*	*majhali gal.*	*ćuγum.*
1. *hik.*	2. *gal.*	*hakur.*	*majur.*	*ćuγuri N.*
hirmaj.	*gali.*	1. *jurpa.*	*pfarć.*	2. *tal.*
haj.	*gaćhur.*	*japur.*	*pfelin.*	*tili.*
čuγudur.	*gindaruur.*	2. *ju.*	*phario.*	*turaj.*
dindrć.	*gundaru.*	*kaćul.*	*ćasi.*	

3. Birds.

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bola.	*gatshir.*	*yokuras.*	*manjaq.*	*qorayo.*
čili baŕbak	*ginjaraor čhin.*	*yuŕn.*	*mizun.*	*sindij.*
v. Corrigenda,	*girgir.*	*kuŕyo.*	*pforzj.*	*fzqujhin.*
III. CO. II.	*gorji.*	*kurporpo* N.	*pfulčin.*	3. *tal.*
dig mayon.	*ya.*	*kapo*	*purpo.*	*phafoqas.*
gayu.	*yenzjčhin.*	*kuŕ.*	*qalq.*	*sepur.*
gorvlium kiray.	*yoyomlzl.*	*kuŕči* N.		

Varieties of Hawk.

bar.	*barša čup.*	*gasanč.*	*šahin.*	*šemoqor.*
bahri.	*čorz.*	*kiki.*	*šontin.*	*šeyun.*
barša.	*čauli.*	*kiqhiki* N.		

4. Insects.

biškokzj yalgu.	*hamirlo.*	*kurkanas.*	*murndas.*	*pro.*
čumuno.	*hirirman.*	*khuru.*	*pfurltso.*	*{ turumas.*
čurnju.	*horlalas.*	*khirn.*	*pfirn.*	*{ tururas.*
gonhorlalas.	*khanimajurlo.*	*khirlo.*	*pfiran.*	*trago.*
hayore pfiru.	*kagha.*	*kum.*	*šeqsr.*	*šiki.*

5. Diseases.

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askur.	1. *jak.*	*loyomots.*	*pfalanj.*	*tarlomots.*
dalšyor.	*zurtsumol.*	*m.aq.*	*porizanum.*	*šiti* N.
damkurtai N.	*zus.*	*marang.*	*rumi.*	**.urlalo tahil.*
gorurmkuŕ.	2. *lam.*	*mirgi.*	*sozark.*	*tanpunas* N.
yortaikzja.	*lam čam.*	*narilo.*	*furlu.*	*sangzaq dalayor.*
yolčikzl.	*loyo.*			

(Of cattle) *girdu.* (Of grain) *matol.* 6. *tam.*

6. Food.

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a. Varieties of Bread and Cakes, etc.:

hayunda.	*garma.*	*kuči kzturti.*	*pfiji.*	*širik* N.
diram pfiji.	*giyal.*	*namali.*	*salodafi.*	*širu.*
doldengi.	*yomaldi.*	*nzula.*	*tapik.*	*šižor.*
2. *dumorgo*	*jagoi.*	*lanka.*	*šero.*	*tuyo.*
gengfiji.				

b. Milk and Milk Products:

baq N.	*dižor.*	*skaiqi.*	*mashu.*	*qorut.*
burur.	*yiqiq.*	*mamu.*	*pai.*	*varpin.*
čiku.	*kilory.*	*manthil.*		

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c. Miscellaneous other c'oods:

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bapuig.	*chap.*	*hori.*	*pulur lak* N.	*iu-t.*
bing.	*dawlo.*	*misuqili.*	*pfuqurk.*	*tkamik.*
burzki.	*kaula* N.	*mui.*	*lorbat.*	*utsiyonas.*
chamaru.	*hoj.*	*pulsu.*	*lirdu* N.	*urark.*

7. **Vessels, Utensils etc.**

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a. Bags and Sacks:

balilakri.	*girgin.*	*khawaj.*	*usak* N.	*aprmots.*
laturu.	*γoti.*	*xalto* N.	*mari.*	*taγar.*
γrγri.	*khal.ufa.*	*uzitu.*	*qap.*	*tbriq.*

b. Baskets.

chotkus.	*čur'a.*	*giran.*	*γuturl.*	*kharoji.*	*thali.o.*

c. Vessels and Containers:

bafalirk.	*čilamči.*	*kamik.*	*masorba.*	*qimatdoru.*
bayundokri.	*churkas.*	*imakri.*	*pfaka.*	*sakay.*
bali.	*dolgas.*	*iran(?).*	*pfatamundal.*	*talpi.*
balorj.	*dustsak.*	*jati.*	*pfurko.*	*tsapur.*
bira.	*gujurr.*	*khati.*	*pfurl.*	*tskaγur.*
bujuk.	*gurkun.*			

8. **Games.**

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bahal.	*čyur čyur.*	*gatal bala.*	*tatay.*	*tskaγura.*
bala.	*daγu daγu.*	*tambak.*	*yaskuvi.*	

9. **Supernatural Beings.**

776

bilas.	*dangalathas.*	*jasdara.*	*peri.*	*tsarlikri.*
boriu.	*hiv bilas.*	*jin.*	*pfuri.*	*yaskuvi.*

10. **Words relating to CEREMONIES, CUSTOMS etc. or Objects which have no English equivalent.**

000

bari.	*bupfau.*	*dani.*	*γorbel.*	**-mi nemuryu.*
barr.	*burzki.*	*dorman.*	*γoriagij,* (γallopij).	*otag.*
barzi.	*beruri.*	*durk.*		*ottiki.*
bak bik.	*čoruçan.*	*dazaw.shots.*	1. *γau.*	*palow.*
balgurin.	1. *changu.*	*gurlja.*	*ilkan.*	*pfaniu.*
bayinas.	*chas.*	*gnarui.*	*kurli.*	*phaqiu.*
berita, v. also page 421.	*čuraγaruna.*	*giranu nirus.*	*sur.*	*pharotsiu.*
	čokuji.	*giryri.*	*lajeri.*	*peri as.*
beriski.	*čup.*	*guj.*	*mahar.*	*pasuru.*
baral.	*dai dai.*	*γau.*	*mamqili.*	*pfi.*
bita N.	*damba.*	*γankri.*	*makala.*	*pi.aqmur.*

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000

pilpili	*izgamafiq.*	*f.af.ss.*	*fukoro.*	*wlaki.*
4. *pirn.*	*iutra.*	*-tharnqi.*	*turn al.*	*-yarl.*
pirpa.	*ta.ociq.*	*tinqhal.*	*thumoialiq.*	*yarkn-yu.*
prarq.	*thamas.*	*tornts.*	*thwthala.*	*-yarum.*
sara.	*tarkam.*	2. *tarri.*	*ulaci*, v. Corrigenda III. 52. II.	*yarag.*
tarra.	*thafakas.*	2. *thugar.*		

11. **Onomatopoeic and Imitative Words.**

a. Animal Sounds:

brd brd N.	*mara mara.*	*qar qar* N.	*qiqiq* N.	*quqqororco.*
hihiq.	*qarq.*	*qr qr.*	*qor*	*mara mara.*
kukuk N.				

b. Other Imitative words:

bran.	*dag dag.*	*yrrau.*	*xaf xaj.*	*farlar.*
chachag.	*dara dara.*	*hui hui.*	*lagay pagay.*	*falar.*
cacar.	*dira dira.*	*jajam.*	*lari lari.*	*tirilirig.*
carcar.	*dur dur.*	2. *jarjar.*	*liro liro.*	*tamtam.*
cira cira.	*du.ak du.ak.*	*jorajorag*	*pyu pyu.*	*tantan, talan*
cira cira.	*du.ag du.ag.*	*jij jaj.*	*rarrap.*	v.a.v. 3. *tan.*
chuthaf.	*gadiyar.sm* N.	*jujur.*	*rürür.*	*tapfap.*
dakafak.	*yaf.sm.*	*kurukuruf.*	*tarq tarq.*	

5. Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

WORDS COMMON TO BALTI AND BURUSHASKI.

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In the following table the first column contains Balti (Tibetan) words, taken from the Vocabulary in Read's "Balti Grammar" (RAS 1934), which are either identical with words current in Burushaski, or present sufficient resemblance in sound and meaning to suggest comparison with Bu. words. The question, which I leave to others to settle, is whether in each case the comparison is justified. It seems to me that the answers cannot be determined by any fixed rule of phonetic equivalents, for words may have been borrowed by either language from the other, directly or indirectly (e.g. by Bu. via Shina), at earlier or later dates, and it is further possible that in certain cases the forms borrowed may have been dialectal variants, and not those appearing here. A first essential, in any case, for the determination of doubtful equations is an adequate knowledge of Tibetan.

Where I have been able to trace etymological equivalents of the Balti words in Jæschke's Tibetan Dictionary, I quote them also.

In addition, I have given a few words from Jæschke of which the Balti equivalents are not available. A good many more lending themselves to comparison with Bu. could probably be discovered.

Arabic and Persian loan-words, of which a considerable number are shared by Balti and Bu., have in general been omitted. A few words of probably Indian origin have been included.

In a few instances I have quoted Bu. forms which will not be found in the present Vocabulary. These have been placed in brackets. Parallel forms in other neighbouring languages (Shina, Khowar and Wakhi) may be looked for at the end of the relative entries in the Vocabulary.

A certain amount of sharing of vocabulary between neighbouring languages is natural and has been demonstrated in the comparisons in the Vocabulary, but it is surprising to find words shared by the remote Balti and Khowar which are not recorded in any of the intervening languages, Bu., Wakhi and Shina. I have entered two such below: B. *chas chas* and *cheri*.

No attempt has been made to normalise Read's and Jæschke's systems of transliteration.

The following contractions are used by Jæschke:

Ld. = Ladak.
Prov. = provincial.
Pur. = Purig.
Sp. = Spiti.
W. = Western Tibet.

Balti.	English.	Jæschke.	Burushaski.
apo.	grandfather.	—	*-ʌpi.
api.	grandmother.	—	*-ʌpi.
—	—	'ar-gon Ld.	ʌrɣʊn.
azoq.	cake.	—	(ʊrzoq, small cake).
uchaq.	room.	„ü-čag "chimney W.(?)".	učak.
bab.	duty.	„bab Sp.	bʌp.
balti.	room boarded all round.	—	baldi.
baqbu.	brick.	pag-bu (Balti), pag-gu.	(Sh. bʌgbu, a very large sun-dried brick. Also I think in Bu.).
bawa.	father (honorific).	—	bab'a, bavba.
bgyu.	warp.	rgyu.	ɣu, ɣ. ju.
—	buckwheat.	bra-bo (Prov. brau, Pur. bro).	boru.
brangsa.	halting-place, inn.	bran-so.	(Sh. brʌgsa, lodging-place. Also I think in Bu.).
bras.	rice.	brus.	brʌs.
bul-chaq.	tepid.	—	bolburlo.
chadpa.	a fine.	č'ad-pa. punishment.	jorpa.
-chan.	adj. ending.	-čan.	-čan.
chan-chan.	bare, naked.	(? rjen-pa).	(Kho. čʌn, bare, naked Perhaps Bu. čhʌn, empty. V. infra s.v. chon.).
—	green shell of walnut.	čan-čil "?W.".	(čhʌn'jil).
chastan.	mat.	(Cp. stan?).	(jastʌn; Sh. and Kho. častʌn, grass-matting).
cheri.	bug.	ca-ri W.	(Kho. čer'i, čeri, bed-bug.).

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Balti.	English.	Jæschke.	Burushaski.
chikān.	embroidery.	—	*čikʌn.*
chon.	free.	(*cog-pa*, to have leisure. *c'og-pa*, to be permited, to be at liberty).	*čhʌn* empty; free, at liberty. Cp. Sh. *čon*, leisure.
—	now, forthwith, then.	*da.*	*đa.*
—	leaf, petal.	*dab-ma.*	1. *tʌp.*
—	tuft of wool as is used for spinning.	*bal-dab* (*bal* = wool).	*dʌp.*
—	quiet, calm.	*dal-ba* ‖ *dal-ba* (*c'u-dal* = still water).	4. *tʌl.*
darba.	to tremble, have fever.	*dar-ba*, to tremble, shiver.	2. *dər.* *dʌdər* (← *dər* + *dər*).
darbu.	fever.	—	—
darong.	up to now.	*da-ruṅ*, still, W. yet.	*dərum.*
garaz.	pea	—	*γərʌṣ.*
gat.	knot.	—	*gʌṭ.*
—	pumpkin, gourd.	*gon* W.	γoʷn, (*goʷn*, *gaʷuʷn*), cp.
—	melon.	*ga-gon.*	Sh. *goʷʌn*, muskmelon.
goni.	evil, wicked.	—	*γonikṣṭ* (probably = *γoni* + *kṣṭ*).
gberpa.	poplar.	*dbyar-pa* (Pur. *sbyar-pa*, elsewhere, *ɟar-pa*).	*jərpa*, cp. Dumāki, *bərpa.*
hasa.	soft.	—	*ʌsa.*
hal.	goal.	—	*hʌla.*
hiling.	noise, row.	—	(*hiling*).
hish.	breath.	—	1. *hiṣ.*
hush.	damp, moist.	—	*huṣ.*
hrtakhpa.	information.	*rtags*, *rtogspa*. Ld. *tags-pa.*	*tʌxpa.*
janda.	pocket.	*c'an-da* (v. Eng. Tib. Vocab. s.v. "pocket").	*čʌnda.*
kaka.	elder brother.	—	*kaʷka*, *kuʷko.*
kaṭ.	bed.	—	*kʌṭ.*
kupās.	cotton-wool.	—	*gup'ʌs*, cp. Wkh. *kup'ʌs*, E. Turki, *kebás*, cotton plant (Raquette), Kho. & Pra. *karbas*, Skr. *karpāsa-*.

Balti.	English.	Jæschke.	Burushaski.
khut khut.	short.	—	1. *khuṭ*, Wkh. *kuṭ*, *kuṭ*.
khsamba.	thought, idea, opinion.	*bsam-pa*.	*samba*.
laqphis.	handkerchief, napkin.	*lag-p'yis*.	*laqpis*.
payu.	salt.	*pa-yu* (Balti).	*baiyu*, Dumaki, *payo*.
phalu.	fruit, bead.	—	1. *pfal*.
phankhe.	advantage, benefit,	*p'an-pa*, use, benefit, profit.	(*pfaṇke*).
pharang.	syphilis.	*p'a-ran*.	*pfalaṇi*.
pinpa.	lower leg.	*byin-pa*, calf of leg.	*pini*.
polo.	ball.	*bo-lo*, Ld.	*bola*.
phu bya.	to blow.	—	*pfu stas*.
phut.	chaff.	—	*pot*.
qão bya.	to call, shout.	—	*qau stas*.
qar.	blanket.	—	*qar*.
rabat.	rubber.	—	(*rabat*).
rat, rad.	flat, level.	—	*rat*.
ruh.	good spirit.	—	*rush* (Ar., pl. *arwah*). The spirits of the dead, are considered good.
sang sang.	brightness, light: plain, clear.	*snan-ba*, to be bright, shine: light.	*saṇ*.
sikim.	silk.	—	*sikim*.
sing-ge.	lion; brave.	*seṅ-ge*.	*siṇge*.
snamdal.	moustache.	—	*salat*, cp. Kho. *samlat*, Wkh. *sam'lat*.
shang.	sense.	—	(*šaṇ*).
shang bya.	to be cautious.	—	
shaq shaq.	smooth.	—	1. *šaq*.
shoqa.	cloak, choga.	—	*šoqa*.
tawaq.	gun.	*tu-pag* W.	*tobaq*.
tek.	button.	—	*tak* *-*at*., 2. *tak*.
tik.	spot.	—	*tiko*.
trampa.	headman.	—	*tranfa*.
thuk bya.	to spit.	—	*thukti*, cp. *thur thala*.
thur.	whip.	—	2. *thur*.

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Balti.	English.	Jæschke.	Burushaski.
ʟsir.	line.	(Cp. *pag-t'sir*, W., a row or layer of bricks).	2. *ta.hir.*
tson.	captive, slave.	*btson.*	*tson.*
zizi.	mother.	—	*azzi.*

The names of the days of the week in Balti are merely variants of those in use in Shina and Burushaski, which are of Sanskritic origin.

Tibetan proper has a totally different series of its own, based on the names of the sun, the moon and five of the planets.

S: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burushо AV7

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

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Vol. I.

Page.	Line.				
VIII	4 f. b.	for	indentified	read	identified.
XXVIII	f. n. 2	»	γsεiq	»	γεiq.
	f. n. 4	»	is	»	are.
XLIX	f. n. 1,2	»	equated	»	equated.
	3	»	pasple	»	people.
LV	2 f. b.	»	af	»	of.
4	11 f. b.	»	futher	»	further.
14	4 f. b.	»	inanimate	»	inanimate.
17	6—5 f. b.	delete. V. Vocab. s. v. *gil'ʌβu.ro.*			
39	10—13	*ʌsu, ʌsj, chu* and *ɣfsl* are *y ʌsa* is z.			
39	15	*ʌsyutiq* was not confirmed. The pl. is given as *ʌsypeiq.*			
99	§ 78	to the examples given add: *ʌhʌsrowʌsuw dirumin* 198. 1.			
	13 f. b.	for	sence	read	sense.
110	f. n. 1. ii	»	-ɣm		-ɣm.
194	2 f. b.	QUB repudiated *ʌsindarć-* and gave *ʌkindirć-.*			
224	§ 256 8	the verb *dufo.ʌo* is passive, and the *du-* is invariable.			
225	19	for	becomr	read	become.
313	§ 344	with regard to *ni*, see also Vocab. s. v. *nir.*			
	§ 346	for	"inapplicabitity	read	inapplicability.
329	13	»	*dyu ʌsow*	»	*dyu.ʌsow.*
360	§ 406	I am now sceptical of the existence of any Subjunctive tense of this nature, and believe that the explanation of these forms is to be sought in the *-ʌo* form of the verb.			
374	7	for	nć	read	nć.
428	17	»	*gubiq*	»	*gul'iqs.*
441	6	»	*ʌo*	»	*fu.*
	2 f. b.	Add: In W. the *-ʌo* form is definitely not used as an Infinitive.			
445	8 f. b.	for	op	read	up.

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AVT Suzuki AVT

Page	Line				
000					
480	8 f. b.	for	*wdi*	read	*wdi.*
484	14 f. b.	"	*ofymu*	"	*ofymu.*
Plate 8		"	("Sakapo-ki")	"	("Sakapoki

Vol. II.

10	5 f. n.	V. Vocab. s.v. *bekaro.*
17	f. n. 19.2	for *(ne* read *rne.*
24	5	V. Vocab. s.v. *dukeso.*
30	f. n. 11	so far as my knowledge goes there is no such Subjunctive tense. Forms of this description are, I think, to be referred to the Infin. form in *-as.*
42	22	*dengalas,* v. Vocab. s.v. *d*-angalas* 3.
52	25	read: *anilar aitan or anil atan.*
62	22	*kasaf,* v. Vocab. s.v. *kkasaf.*
68	15	*ainaw,* v. Vocab. s.v. for revised translation.
	f. n. 17	regarding the negative forms of *dowyas,* v. Vol. I p. 454, note on 229, 2nd para. I was, however, subsequently informed that *dowyas* is in fact sometimes used with the negative prefix *o-.*
92	f. n. 2	
94	9	*lewat,* v. Vocab. s.v.
98	f. n. 4	a number of verbs in *d*-* appear with *do-* when the subject is *y.*
100	f. n.	to the literature quoted add the following item which appeared after this was in type: David Neil, Alexandra, "The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling", Rider and Co. London, 1935, and review of same by L. A. Waddell, JRAS 1935 p. 904.
103	9 f. b.	for *Ihes gnat* read *Ihamle ihes.*
104	17	" *pakaliw* " *pakalapw.*
106	16 f. n.	see further, Vocab. s.v. 2. *gfer* last 2 para.s.
138	24 f. n.	the second conjecture is correct, V. Vocab. s.v. *sowo.*
141	8 f. n.	*drdgaliw* is here transitive, "he was on the point of overtaking them". So also *drdgaliw* 204.10. V. Vocab. s.v. *d*-dgaliw* 5.
149	19 f. n.	the form he was overshadowed by QUB.
183	9 f. b.	for *Sue* read *Sur.*
190	11 f. n.	*dawarinai* is correct, v. Vocab. s.v. *dawaiw.*
198	1 f. n.	*Kaka* is not, I think, a genitive, but properly *Kaka-y,* to which the *-ny* is a paragogic suffix.
203	10 f. n.	*drdgaliw* is transitive. V. supra note on 144.8
210	6	for *jap* read *jap.* V. Vocab. s.v.
214	1 f. n.	*Kawaw D.,* probably *Kawawy D.,* D. son of Kawa. Cp. note on 199.1 above.
220	6 f. n.	*-aja is *a* in the *sg.* and *y* in the *pl.*
229	7	*kof* sense, for revised translation see Vocab. s.v. *kkof* sense.

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Page	Line	
219	1 f. n.	v. Vocab. s.v. *nir*.
229	11 f. n.	v. Vocab. s.v. *dryaṣṭa* and *d°-aṣṭa*.
240	3 f. n.	v. Vocab. s.v. *jatpat*.
	6	the Ms. has: *jmanigo hir ain*.
	12 f. n.	there is probably no connection between *gatail* and *takil*.
	17 f. n.	the basal meaning of *hrši* is more probably "ploughing".
242	15 f. n.	*tvag* is for *tafas*, "wholly", "completely".
246	15 f. n.	the expression is to be taken literally: "I am going to turn round", i.e. at the end of the furrow.
263	19 f. n.	v. Vocab. s.v. 2 *jag*.
276	8 f. n.	*drayman* and *drayminai*, are causatives. V. Vocab. s.vv. *d°-ayaṣa* 3. and *drayaṣa*.
308	17 f. n.	v. Vocab. s.v. *thamobhlig*. The marriage day is the Saturday preceding the Tuesday on which the Thamobhlig fire celebration takes place.
	20	*ertši*, v. Vocab. s.v.
320	1 f. n.	my original impression was that *Zmarlig* was said to be in Nagar, but in the Index of Proper Names, drawn up later, I have suggested that it is in Hunza. I must have had some reason for this which I have forgotten.
332	11	*hrum*, v. Vocab s.v.
350	1 f. n.	*drayan* is causative. V. Vocab. s.v. *drayaṣa*
	5	*manaṣ pfuṭrā*, v. Vocab. s.v. 1. *pfuṭrā* and correct the translation given on p. 329.
359	6 f. b.	for *bought* read *rather*.
360	20 f. n.	the conjectures given about *ronalil* are incorrect, v. Vocab. s.v.
	21	substitute a comma for the full-stop after *ronaṣ*.
361	9 f. b.	before "They give two . . . ." insert: "In addition".
366	3 f. n.	the Berber channel carries water from the Ulter Gorge. Tahala is a minor gorge situated to the West of the former.
368	18 f. n.	read *drakṣaṣ*, from *d°-ṣalṣaṣ* q.v.
	15 f. n.	v. Vocab. s.v. *-ḍan*.
	18 f. n.	for the functions of *d°-ayaṣa* v. Vocab. s.v.
386	7	yalow being intrans. the translation given can hardly be correct. The meaning is perhaps: "black night has come and the lovers' souls will burn", or, "he burnt up"
	9	*ba.ṣas*, v. Vocab. s.v. *brum*.
	10	for *maimi.ṣa nir* read, as suggested, *maimi.a nir*, and v. Vocab. s.v. *nir*.
390	8	*ḍaw*, v. Vocab. s.v.
394	Notes	delete "8" and "10" and insert 7. before *paligajar*, and 9. before *pa jiman*.

Page.	Line.	
000 364	13 f. n.	*hewaig daltaako*, v. Vocab. s.v. where QUB's explanation of the expression is now given.
376	5	*mun*. The word intended must have been *mwrj*, *mwrj* *-*m.n.n.e* denotes constipation (H. *qaly hewa*) accompanied by distention of the belly.
379	4	V. Vocab. s.vv. *dawsie* and *fewre*. For *dawsie* read *dewsie*. Amend the translation, omitting "In a little".
	12	For *ofotsma* read *ofotsma*.
398	6	» » » »
	21	» *khwrjajw* » *hwrjajw*.
	18 f. n.	*yeirkiee*. The meaning "yearling" was confirmed by QUB, v. Vocab.
382	5	*réde*. According to QUB *réi* may also mean "steel".
	10 f. n.	The word must be *nikalow* the pps. of *-*ikakowm*, "to wind s.t." on to s.t. (v. Infra p. 548).
	21 f. n.	Perhaps the translation is "a closed (or, unopened) pumpkin".
384	23 f. n.	*ammu*. The word is *amamu*, v. Vocab.
386	14 f. n.	*tsamag*. The word is *samag*, v. Vocab.
393	Prov. 16	*ghal marje*, v. Vocab. s.v. *ghal*.
		tsalmarij, or *tsilmarij*, is a goat-skin which is inflated and used as a support in swimming.
		hilgim = *hilkam* i.e. (hang up) on the wall. V. Corrigenda to Vol. III, p. 365.
		V. corrections in Vocab. s.v. 1. *gforum*. The H. represents another version in which *ee gforum* (of which the sense is perhaps "in jealous") is replaced by *daforuri ee tikkar deyaqorri*, "hunts, lands itself".
	Prov. 17	for *sapat* read *sepat* and v. Vocab. s.v.
394	Prov. 23	v. Vocab. s.v. *dokag*.
402	6	for *ronki* read *rahi*.
406	7	» *m.n.tinde* » *m.n.tinee*.
406	23	*dumni ino*, for revised translation see Worth. Vocab. s.v. *d*-amni.in-*.

Later information available before the Vocabulary went to press has enabled me to make in it certain corrections in the translations accompanying the texts. Attention may be drawn to the following passages of which amended translations will be found in the Vocabulary under the headings quoted.

Passage in Text.	Vocabulary Entry.
14.2	*hirikwrg*
88.14	*kew*
93.12	*kag*
110.19	*qfut*

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Passage in Text.	Vocabulary Entry.
164.15	2. *fərq*
228.7	1. *ākēt*
314.4	v. Corrigenda to Vol. III, under 89.11 *wlaṭi*.
340.2	*gərdi*
384.10	*qahal*

Vol. III.

Page.	Col.	Line	
9	II	10	for *mali.ss* read *mali.sm*.
		8 f. b.	read: *-*ugafas* and *ugafas*.
11	I	8 f. b.	add: V. n.v. *-*yurb.ss*.
	II		entry *-*ryun.ss*, the correct form is *-*yun.ss*.
17	I	4 f. b.	for *ammrin* read *ammrin*.
24	I	4	entry (*-*ufarm.ss*), delete this entry and see 1. *pfarm.ss*.
		18	after "breakfast" add: Cp. Sh. *ḥasi*, early breakfast of upper classes.
35	I		entry *-*mali.ss* line 4, substitute a comma for the fullstop after "pat".
38	I	4	for *ugafas*, etc. read *ugafas*, etc.
39	I		entry *ewhayas*, read *ewhayas* etc. Insert a bracket after *-l-*, and delete the bracket following *hayhawas*.
	II	11	for *-**ši.ss* read *-*ši.ss*.
45	II		entry *imuqudi*, add: The Ha. form is *imuqeṭi*.
46	I		entry *iwwitin.ss*, all the *t*'s in this article should be *ṭ*; line 3 from end for *muwuṭin.ss* read *-*muwuṭin.ss*.
	II		entry *iwan*, add: Cp. perhaps T. *airān* and E. Turki *iran*, buttermilk).
48	I	2d calc.	for *ski-lam*, *ski.wlam* read *iski-lam*, *iski.wlam*.
49	I	16	for - *ši* read *iši*.
52	II		entry *wlati*. The word denotes the storeroom of a house in which the year's supplies are kept. It is situated behind the back wall of the living room, and is entered by a door in the middle of that wall. Laterally it extends the full width of the house, but from front to rear it measures only about six feet. "*wl* + *ha*, inside room, + *ti*).
60	II		entry *ḥrbek*. This entry appears to be entirely wrong. "Bird" should probably have been read as "bird", and the combination *ṭiṭ ḥrbek* is to be identified with the word *ṭiṭḥrbek* recorded in Wkh. with the meaning of "hoopoe".

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Page.	Col.	Line.	
61	II	1	delete the meaning "punishment". For *ʌtʌs* read **-ʌtʌs*.
			Entries 1. *bʌ·lt* and 2. *bʌ·lt*, bring these into alignment with the ot' r key-words.
62	I	9 f. b.	for *dunʌte* read *dunʌte*.
	II	4	» sence » sense.
		10 f. b.	» *a-dutʃʌs* » *a-dutsʌs*.
		9 f. b.	» *dusuyʌs* » *dusuyʌs*.
63	II	7	» anspending » suspending.
64	I	10	for *bʌy* read 2. *bʌy*.
65	II		entry *bʌy'eŋ*, read *bʌy'eiŋ*.
67	I		» *bʌlʌŋ*, add: (Cp. Sh. *bʌluŋ*).
	II		» *bʌlçum*. As conjectured, *bʌltsum* was intended.
74	I		» *bʌyum*, for Sh. *bʌm* read Sh. *bʌm*.
77	II	21	for (? *tʌčʌp*) read (i.e. *tʌdʌk*).
80	II		entry *bidil*, read *bi-dil*.
81	II		» *bilirčʌ*, add: (Cp. Sh. *brlčʌ*).
86	I	8	for *brʌm* read *brʌm*.
87	I		entry *bul*, for *i-ʌŋ* read *-i.ʌŋ*.
	II	9	delete the comma after "Ladakhi".
89	II		entry *burʃo* 2., for *ʃrhil* read *ʃrqil*.
93	I		» *čʌma* l. 8, for "finewrought (?)" substitute "convex". V. entry 2. *foŋ*.
			last line, for *čʌmus* read *čhʌmus*.
	II		entry **-čʌŋʌrʌs*, read **-čhʌŋʌrʌs*.
94	I		» *čhʌp stʌs* l. 2., for *ʃʌmeʃʃ* read *ʃʌmeʃʃ*.
			last line, for scab read scar.
95	I		entry *čərbu* l. 2., after "official" insert a comma.
98	II	7	the Sh. nonn has been confirmed as *čhərč*.
99	II		entry *čili*. See corrigendum to entry *bʌ·bʌk*, 60.II above.
101	I		» *çuk*, for *čuk* read *çuk* throughout.
		2 f. b.	for 15 read 16.
	II	13	delete the accent in *čhumʌ'rišo*.
104	II		entry *ʃʌmʌl* at end, for Sh. *ʃʌmʌl* read Sh. *dʌmʌl*.
110	I		after entry 3. *ʃʌm* add: There appears to be another word *ʃʌm* occurring in *hik ʃʌm*, "once", and perhaps as the base of *ʃʌmʌn*. Cp. Sh. *ʃʌm*, time, occasion.
	II		entry *ʃʌmbu*. The word appears to apply in particular to the "reed" of a reed-pipe.
117	II		entry *d*-ʌstsʌlʌs*. Transfer this entry to precede *d*-ʌstsʌyʌs*.
121	I		» *d*-ʌwərʌnʌs*. Transfer this entry to follow *dʌw'ʌni*.
122	II		» *ʃeŋçuʌs*, after *ʃ*-ʌŋçuʌs* add: or *ʃ*-ʌ·ʌŋçuʌs*.
127	II		» *d*-ʌnʌs* 2. l. 2 after "exhausted" insert a comma.

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Page	Col.	Line.	
139	I	3 f. b.	*ocodim di.shimi* is probably to be read: *ocu (i)ñim di.shimi*. It has come on least now.
161	II	12	for *d°ivim* read *d°.vi.m*.
184	II		entry *d°-qaram*, add at end: Tra. of *daqaram*. Transfer this entry to p. 188 II and insert before the entry *drag mamra*.
185	I		• *dayanjam*, add at end: The Tra. of this verb is *d°-anjam*.
186	I		• *daw'ram*, add at end: The corresponding Tra. is *d°-qaram* (v. p. 184 II).
	II	6 f. b.	delete "1".
		3 f. b.	insert comma after "confound".
187	I	10 f. b.	for *dragam* read *dragam*.
		9 f. b.	entry *dragaram*. The form *dragaram* is to be postponed.
	II	2	delete "1".
148	II	7	• the bracket after "sens".
146	I		entry *dorsin* l. 2., delete "q.v."
149	II		• *dawrkam*, add at end: The Ca. is *d°-arkam*.
150	II		• *d°-ndr.m*, read *dehr.m*, *dehr°-*. For the last line substitute: (A *d-* form of *°-ndr.m* with neutral vowel).
158	II		entry *°faltam*. Add: *faltam*, *gfaltam*, without the Fa. IV., serve as an Intra. Vb., e.g. *ferang wapalt jawir mamini*, v.s.v. 2. *jawir*.
161	II		entry *garva*. Transfer this entry to follow *garvam*.
166	II		for entry *gaf'i* read *gf'i*.
172	II		transfer entry *gurk* to follow *gurkam*.
174	II		entry *gus* l. 2: for "female for . . ." read: female. For . . .
176	I		after entry *ياشيلها* insert new entry: *yalhgaid*, v.s.v. *yarhgaid*.
212	II		for entry *jari* read *jrj*.
216	II		• • 2. *jirmal* read 2. *jirmal*.
226	II	6	• *kawa* read *kawa*.
227	II	9 f. b.	• "(said to be a Bolti word)" substitute: (Cp. Tib. *khag-house*).
235	II	4 f. b.	for 22 read 21.
236	II	6	read *khajkalo* and *kalhaar* (= *khajkaar*).
		7	for 64.17 read 64.7.
240	II		to entry *nalîw* add: Cp. also E. T. *galîw*.
244	I		entry *zur*, add: (Cp. Sh. *mwaar* S. and Khe. *mwrak*, to moor; Wkh. *zur zur*, pouring: E. Turki (Raquette) slowly moving).
245	I		entry *zurvaf*, at end of note add: and Khe. *zwrg*, third mist.
246	II		entry *lal'rv*, transfer to p. 247. II to precede entry 1. *Lam*.
266	II	3	after "Cp." insert: Sh.
283	6	6	this *gfard* is probably the same word as *gfard* in the following entry and should have -*d*.

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Page.	Col.	Line.	
800	I	18	for *phalla* read *phallu*.
808	I		entry *g'ryarem*, transfer this entry to p. 807. I. to follow *geryer*.
809	II	16	for *lagbawa* read *ongbawa*.
811	II		entry 2. *ueyu*, transfer "Fra." to entry 1. *ueyu*.
817	I		to entry *mwiq* for *Makwaja* read *Makwaja*.
818	II	4 f. b.	delete the bracket following "breakfast".
826	II	19	for *ad* read *ad*.
832	I	7 f. b.	" *ag* " *ag*.
838	II	4 f. b.	" *ksyovi* " *ksyovi*.
836	II	9 f. b.	delete the comma after *ksyov*.
837	II		entry *ya.n yaiaq*, add: (Cp. *yaa*).
844	I		" **.dkan* I. 8, after *dakar* insert: (= *d'garan*, p. 194. II.
845	I	3	for 2. *tan* read 1. *tan*.
	II	6 f. b.	" *manare* " *manara*.
847	II	5 f. b.	" *ferg ferg* " *ferg ferg*.
849	II		entry 2. *ferjan*, for *ffan*- read *tan*-, *tan*-.
850	I	11	for "(Cp. *yaaa?*)" substitute: (Cp. *ya.n yaiaq* and *yaaa?*)
857	II		entry *trap ahan*, add: (Cp. Sh. *trap ih*.)
860	II	4 f. b.	for *ladula* read *ladula*.
862	II		entry *la.kurij* " *la.kurij*.
865	II		after entry *la.kilyawa* insert new entry: *ladu'ani*, *ladunvi*, pl. *ladunvi.ants*, *-ents* s. (Also recorded as *ermunij*).
			A male goat's skin which is inflated and used as a support in swimming.
			ladunvij (*ldilinaw la* the swimming-skin is inflated. *ladunvin tam daiji*, *ladlaw mwin ar farami* the swimming-skin swims, and the skin (hanging) on the wall is vexed (or, is jealous, or perhaps, enthusiastic) Prov. 16. V. s. p. 848.
867	I		entry *la.kurma*, transfer this entry to follow *la.kurvilma*.
870	II	6 f. b.	for *pamkla* read *pamykla*.
873	II	4 f. b.	" *gar* " *kar*.
876	II		after entry **.gandi* insert new entry: **.gandima*, v.a.t. *wgandima*.
880	I		entry *parpali*, transfer this entry to follow *parvalas* p. 879. I.
884	II	5	for *al* read *al*.
887	I		entry *parvi*, transfer this entry to follow *parvali*.
	II		entry *garyar*, transfer this entry to follow **.gagalants*, p. 886. II.
890	II		transfer entry *arma* to follow *ard*.
898	I	8 f. b.	for **.akarkma* read **.akarla*.
422			" entry *Lanh* " *Lana*.

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SUPPLEMENT to CORRIGENDA et ADDENDA Vol. III. 000

Add to the Vocabulary the following four words originally recorded with Pa. Pt.s, and accidentally omitted when these were sorted:

*-kkakwa, *-kkakwi-, also without the Pa. Pt.,

1. to wind a thing on st., wind up st.
   ekkwa wanigiw ekkakwa he she is winding silk on her head.
   eli'wa kwyanda ekkakwawa they are winding balls of silk.
   Tpn. *ekkakw* 882.16 f.n. V. corrigendum to yonage.
2. to crowd round, mob (with hostile intent).
   ekkjiw ugwa ehki kkakwawa they had all crowded round me with the intention of beating me.

*-wallawa, *-wallawi-, also without the Pa. Pt.

1. to wind st. on to st., v.a.n. 2 *labi*.
2. to rub on (medicine, oil etc.)
   mikinda wwallaw rub on medicaments.
   kil ewallaw (= + *wallawa*) don't rub on oil.

*-wildir -ln, -i.nda kin.

the term applied to joint fathers-in-law in relation to each other, and by them of and to each other; also used by a woman of her daughter's husband's father 601

kin kin.ana ugwa ivw dowdinni la ina hilaw gwy la da iwa daniwaw nwy kikinwildirda here when a man gets someone's daughter (as wife) for his son, the lad's father and the girl's father are *-wildir to each other.

kinu kinu wildir kwi, wildirda wwathow this man is this man's *-wildir, they are *-wildir-a.*

Anan la Ziwi wwildir.nda here A and B are *-wildir-a* (and speak of each other as *wildir*). (Cp. ceremonially 5b, *labi*.)

*-wilpua, pl. *-wilpada, -wdinda, -wdila* (and *-ywwdi?*) hf. the term applied to joint mothers-in-law, corresponding to the male term *-wildir.

ki kinu wwilpa.nda (*wildinda?*) here they are *-wilpua to each other.

Ka.a, wilpua! Very good, my *-wilpua! (Cp. ceremonially 5b, *labi*).

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[p.546 is blank]

S. Lowinner L-3 (1930-4, 1934-8) 1938
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For Burushaski-English vocabulary and English index to Burushaski words, see category 116, entire text.

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For Burushaski-English vocabulary and English index to Burushaski words, see category 116, entire text.

o: O'Leary E-4 (no date) 1965 AV7 Burusho AV7

Burusho Cultural Summary

by

Timothy J. O'Leary

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[title page]

Burusho Cultural Summary

Orientation

105 The Burusho are the inhabitants of Hunza and Nagir, two small Burushaski-speaking states in the northeasternmost part of West Pakistan. The area, in the center of the Karakoram Himalaya, consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of peaks and glaciers, a great number of the former being over 20,000 feet high. Where the Hunza River (an affluent of the Gilgit River which flows into the Indus from the north) has cut its way down from the Pamirs there remain a few shallow terraces which are cultivated by the natives of the regions, the Burusho. They speak an isolated language which as yet has not been traced to any major linguistic stock. Comparative population figures are as follows:

	1878	1921	1931
Hunza	6,000	12,117	13,241
Nagir	10,000	14,188	13,672
Totals	16,000	26,305	26,913

The population density in 1931 for Hunza was 3 per square mile, that for Nagir was 9 per square mile -- Nagir being a much smaller kingdom with more level ground. Since almost nothing has been written on the State of Nagir, most of the following refers to Hunza.

105 The original inhabitants of the kingdoms are said to be descended from three soldiers from the army of Alexander the Great. The rulers of the two states (called Thum or Mir) claim actual descent from Alexander, although their families came from Iran about six centuries ago. At any rate, the physical type is definitely Caucasoid and not Mongoloid, with fair complexions, heavy beard, eyes which are usually brown, but sometimes blue or grey.

Economy

Agriculture is the main occupation of nearly all the inhabitants. The major crops are wheat, barley, several kinds of millet, sweet and bitter buckwheat, potatoes (introduced by the British), and several kinds of pulses. Barley seems to have been the original cultigen since it is basic in all festival and ritual foods. Wheaten bread is much preferred, but barley remains the largest crop. Bitter buckwheat is detested, but a good deal of it is planted, since it is a very hardy plant and will resist cold that would kill other grain crops.

They are skilled farmers and have a good knowledge of crop rotation, soils, and climates. All fields are irrigated, the water being carried by kuhls or aqueducts which extend along the mountain faces, some of them for many miles. This is necessary since nearly all of the fields are high above the river level, and rainfall at the levels at

105 which they live (6,000 to 8,000 feet) is meager.

Seed is sown broadcast in the fields. Fields are ploughed with a wooden plough, and the wooden digging stick, shod with iron, is the other major field implement. The fields are manured patiently with aged animal and human manure -- not a scrap of either being wasted.

Their main food is bread, which is made in a large number of varieties, both leavened and unleavened and with the addition of various pounded fruits and grains. Whole milk is not an article of diet. Milk produced by the cattle, sheep, and goats is generally converted into butter (maltash), curds, and other products. Meat is taken perhaps two or three times a year at festive occasions.

The women have small vegetable plots in which they grow carrots, turnips, marrows, gourds, and a great variety of greens. They also have a few tobacco plants, although not much tobacco is smoked.

After grain and greens, the essential items of Hunza diet are the apricot, fresh and dried, and mulberries. A few apples, pears, and peaches are grown, but these are not particularly valued since they do not dry and preserve well. They also grow a few grapes, which are either eaten fresh or made into wine. Since the growing season is so short there usually is not enough time to make them into raisins.

Some herding is also done, principally for milk and wool. The most animals a family usually possesses is a flock of from 20 to 25

105 sheep, goats, and cows. Some of them are pastured during the summer at higher altitudes and are tended by herdsboys.

Each peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and independent, eating of the produce of its own fields and herds. There is always a period of extreme scarcity in the early springtime, since the production of all crops is low due to the poorness of the soil. The most that can usually be expected is a tenfold crop, with a sevenfold crop being more usual. They would rather starve than use the seed crop which is put away at the end of the harvest. As a result of all this, the diet is quite poor, especially lacking in proteins. However, the population of Hunza as a whole remains relatively free from disease, possibly due to the stringent cleanliness which custom forces on them.

Weaving is done by many families; the men spin the goat hair and the women spin the sheep wool. However, most clothing is made from cotton cloth which is imported. Clothes are kept until worn out, then picked apart and the thread used to make new cloth.

Social Organization

Hunza is a stratified society, with a hereditary ruler, the Tham or Mir, at the top. The "classes" generally are as follows:

1: The Thamo, i.e., the royal family with the Tham or Mir at the head;

2: The Uyŝngo or Akhbirting - the "Great," the superior officers of the state, but not of royal blood;

105 3: The Bär, Bäre,or Sîs - the cultivators, the bulk of the population;

4: The Shadarsho - the servants, who are exempt from menial labor;

5: The Baldakîyo or Îsîlgalasho - the load carriers;

6: The Bèrîcho - the musicians and blacksmiths.

The latter, the Berîcho, are a small community of ultimately Indian origin who were brought in to supply the blacksmith needs of the people. The Wakhi, an immigrant group, live in the higher areas of the kingdom and speak a different language and have a different culture. They are generally considered inferior to the Hunzukuts (inhabitants of Hunza).

Although the society is stratified, there is remarkably little servility in the population. In effect, there are two strata, the royal family and the rest of the people. There is no age stratification, but the elders generally enjoy higher prestige because of their greater experience. There is no great sex status differentiation. Although the Hunzukuts are Moslem, their sect, the Ismaili, does not force them to debase their women and accordingly they have a quite high status. The Nagar belong to a different, more orthodox sect and the situation is accordingly different there.

Social position is indicated more by the condition of clothing and house than by any outward difference in cut or pattern. The people are generally obedient and seldom defy authority unless there is a grave contravention of established custom.

Marriage

105 Although they are Moslems, they retain their old custom of exogamic marriages between the four main class. Although cross-cousin marriage is the preferred marriage in Islam, it is rarely practiced in Hunza since it savors of incest to them in comparison with the exogamic practice. They very rarely take marriage partners from outside their own Hunza society, although the Mir and his family sometimes exchange wives with the corresponding family in Nagir. Marriage with other groups is almost non-existent. Although polygamy is mentioned in one source, none of the other sources mention this practice, although it probably is permitted.

Child marriages do not take place, but it is very rare that a girl older than 16 or a boy older than 18 is unmarried. A bride price is paid, but it is not large for the poor. It depends on the special status and wealth of the individuals concerned. The Mir's family pays the highest bride price. Divorce is allowed if the wife proves to be incompetent in the management of family affairs, or if husband and wife prove to be incompatible. No stigma is attached to divorce, and widows, widowers, and divorced people commonly remarry.

Inheritance

The majority of peasant families are freeholders. The land passes from generation to generation without tax during life or duty after death.

105 The land is generally not in one piece but in small lots scattered over the area. A woman cannot inherit land. When the father dies, the land is fairly divided among the sons -- the land classified according to the various types of trees on the land, its arability, etc. Although women do not inherit, the men have the obligation to see that the women are successfully taken care of or married. If a wife dies, the husband may remarry again, but if he has had any sons by the first wife he must divide his land equally with these sons. Thus if he had two sons, he will get one-third of the land and only the latter will be passed on to any sons he might have by his second wife. The youngest son inherits the family house, the eldest son inherits the best land.

The Sexes

Man and wife cooperate in their work without embarrassement and no work is taboo for either sex. In work men and women have recognized roles but these roles seem to be regulated by physical capacity and convenience rather than by established custom. There is nothing rigid about these working roles. For instance, usually a woman or girl will drive a ploughing team, but sometimes a man or a boy will take a hand.

The women hold a position of freedom and respect rare in other Eastern societies. It is quite common for a wife to entertain male

105 visitors without her husband being present, and when he arrives he feels no resentment. The women move about freely, unveiled and unaccompanied. They live in extended families, with the son bringing home his wife to live in the father's house. The young couple sleep in the common living room until conception, then they move to the common sleeping platforms, one for the men and one for the women.

Clans

The Hunzukuts are divided into four major clans, which are centered in Baltit, and several minor clans scattered over other villages. These clans are not localized groups since members can be found in every village in Hunza. Exogamous marriage between the clans is the rule. The clans are all of equal status, but the Diramiting clan is considered first in prestige for historical reasons.

Settlements

The Burusho cling to their settlements along the eight or nine mile stretch of the Hunza River below Altit at an altitude of 6,000 to 8,000 feet. They live grouped in several villages along this stretch. The houses are almost indistinguishable from the rocks against which they are built wherever they can stick; since the area is so steep there is no chance for an orderly layout of the villages. The buildings are

105 constructed of mud and stone. In many of them, the pillars supporting the roof, the lintels, friezes, and wainscoting are carved from wood and ornamented. The Hunza dwelling is generally a fortress-like cube whose front door is screened from the hostile mountain air by a barn built onto the house. The door of the barn is strategically placed at right angles to the door of the house and some distance from it. The only ventilation is the central smokehole. The idea is to have a draughtfree house, which is quite necessary in a country so lacking in fuel for fire. In the main part of the house are two sleeping benches arranged along the sides, about 18 inches above the floor. One of these is for the men and the other for the women. The cooking areas are near the ends of the benches. Cooking vessels were originally generally of soapstone, but nowadays aluminum and iron pots and pans are being brought in. Gourds are used as jugs. Spoons and forks are carved from wood or imported.

Administration

The villages are communities which live within definite geographical limits. They were originally centered around the khans (fortified places) which were used for protection before the British entered the area during the 1890s. They have no police. The headmen have no authority generally except for their personal influence and that of the

105 of Pakistan. However, to enter the states it is still necessary to get the acquiescence of the Mirs. General access to the area is still blocked both by the Pakistan government and by the Mirs of Hunza and Nagir.

Religion

The people of Hunza are Mohammedans of the Ismaili (Mauli) sect. They are in no way fanatic. Restrictions, formalities, and ritual are reduced to a minimum. Religious freedom was declared in the state in 1892. There are no mullahs in Hunza, but rather khalifas (lay priests) who are the spiritual leaders or teachers. Religious observances do not play an evident part in Hunza life. The people of Nagir are members of the Shia sect of Islam and are much more strict and orthodox in their observance of the tenets of Islam. The Burusho became converted to Islam about three centuries ago. The people of Hunza became Ismaili heretics about five generations ago.

External Relations

The two states have not been on particularly good terms with each other, particularly since the conversion to Ismailism. In pre-British days, the people had a very bad reputation as warriors and brigands who raided the caravans in Central Asia. They made

105 Mir. There are two or three headmen in most villages. There are a couple of officials in each village who arrange supplies for travelers, and also government appointed men who for a small regular retainer do necessary jobs for the central government. The Mir may deport ill-doers from the country for definite periods.

Each village group is an administrative unit. The Tham (Mir) is represented in it by one to three men who direct his orders to the public. The population is divided into five districts each of which bears one share of rajaki (obligatory labor). These are Baltit, Genish, Altit, Hindi, and Towants.

There is a long series of "courts" for settling disputes. In the first, the heads of the two houses involved and the families have a council. The second is a council of community headmen. Then there is a council of the headmen of the four principal clans. The Mir is the ultimate authority in making legal decisions.

As noted earlier, the Burusho are divided into two states, Nagir and Hunza. A Mir is at the head of each state, but the Mir of Hunza seems to be the more important. Both states were autonomous as regards internal affairs and acknowledged the Maharaja of Kashmir. Since 1947, when Gilgit Agency, which includes these two states, broke from Kashmir, the states have acknowledged the supremacy

105 many slave raids, but usually sold them rather than bringing them back to their own country. Since the British rule in the 1890s they have moved away from their tight-packed villages under the protection of the forts. Warfare as such has become a thing of the past.

Kinship

Although data concerning kinship terminology are poor, the cousin terminology seems to be of the Hawaiian type, i.e., all cousins are either equated with siblings or called by terms clearly derivative from those for siblings. This is reflected in the marriage pattern in which, contrary to Islamic custom, cross-cousin marriage is not the preferred type and in fact is very rare.

Conclusion

Burusho culture as of this date seems to be fairly stable, although contact with the outside world is increasing. Many Hunzukuts work for brief periods in Pakistan and probably as a result mild epidemics of infectious disease which were rare are becoming more common. Contact with the outside world will probably remain fairly limited for some time to come, however, in view of the complicated international situation, since China (i.e. Tibet) is along one border and Kashmir is quite close.

6: O'Leary E-4 (no date) 1965 AV7 Burusho AV7

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116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

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John H. Tobe

HUNZA

Adventures in a LAND OF PARADISE

RODALE BOOKS, INC., *Emmaus, Penna.*

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CHAPTER 28

Old Baltit Fort

122 SOME TIME BEFORE 6 o'clock in the morning a tray containing a huge pot of tea, cups, sugar and biscuits was brought into our room and placed on a table between our beds. The servant quietly departed.

Friend Cecil[1] was feeling much better this morning and wanted to get up and about, but the doctor had ordered that he remain in bed.

So, sharp at 8 o'clock, after saying good morning and cheerio to Cecil, I trotted down the stairs. At the landing there was young Jahangir waiting for me. I had made a rendezvous with him for this time—the thought being that we should have breakfast together so as to give less trouble to the Mir or his household.

The doctor came up a moment later and said that he would go up and visit his patient and would meet us at the Mir's table.

Both the Mir and the Rani were expecting us and

1 [i.e. Cecil Brunton - Analyst]

after the usual greetings, he asked how Cec was doing. 122
"He seems to be quite a bit better today!"

"I'm awfully sorry he had to leave last night," said the Mir.

I didn't think he'd even noticed it—but he had.

"The doctor is up visiting him now," I told him. "He said he would join us in a few minutes."

"What does he usually have for breakfast?" the Mir asked me.

"Oatmeal, poached or soft boiled eggs, toast, jam and coffee would be wonderful if they are available."

"Not only is it available," said the Mir, "it is ready, for that is part of the breakfast we usually prepare for our guests. It will be taken up to him immediately."

A signal and a few words in Burushaski and Cecil's breakfast was well on its way up.

So we had breakfast in the dining room and chatted 124
and I sought to make every moment count by asking questions that were vital to me . . . that is, questions about Hunza.

I am quite sure that the Rani understood most of [191]
the things that we talked about. She could not have been shamming as she looked both interested and charming while the conversation went on.

"I have arranged for an interpreter to accompany 124
you on your trips and you can go wherever you like, 115
providing you can get through and the roads are open," 191
the Mir told us.

Shortly after, Sultan Ali appeared. He was the schoolmaster and also taught the Mir's children at home. He was to be our interpreter and guide. He was a slender, handsome young man. I'd judge his age as being in the early twenties. His command of English was very good. But I don't think his English was up to the standard spoken by the Mir, who spoke so fluently

124
115 that one would never believe that it was only a second-
191 ary language to him.

231 "You know," I said to the Mir, "one of the things
115 that I wanted to see when I came to Hunza was a yak. I understand from my readings that yaks are used in this part of the country and I have been looking everywhere as I walked along the road to Baltit, but I have as yet seen no sign of a yak!"

"That is not hard to explain," the Mir said. "The yaks are further up in the mountains. They cannot stand the heat and we keep them in the higher altitudes where they can be comfortable. If they are brought to the lower altitudes, they suffer. They like to be up around 11,000 feet or higher."

"Well, then how can I get up to see them?" I asked. "I don't mind if I have to walk for a day or two, but see them I must!"

"I'll do better than that," said the Mir. "I will phone and have two yaks brought down as quickly as possible. They will have to come from Passu which is about 38 miles from here. I will have action taken at once and see that the yaks are provided."

115 (Does that not indicate to you the kind of man and
124 host was the Mir of Hunza?)

I then took my leave of the Mir and the Rani and went out with Sultan Ali and Jahangir to look, see, pry and ask questions.

344 Our first jaunt was a good stiff climb to the old
644 palace located about two miles from the Mir's new palace. As the crow would fly I'm sure it would not have been more than ¾ of a mile. But in order to get up there one has to wend and weave and climb slowly.

I was now becoming quite accustomed to the altitude. Kerimabad is up about 8500 feet and I am sure

that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

121 and of course the kinds and varieties of foods that were used, I attached great importance to this phase of my trip and I was definitely determined that, come what might, this information I would have thoroughly and in detail.

124 No doubt it would have been an advantage had I been able to speak either Urdu, or better still Burushaski, so that I could frame my questions as I saw fit and have answers that would be direct and would not require translation. However, that was not possible. Still, I had no reason to believe that my interpreter would not be a forthright individual who would give me the answers that were relayed to him clearly and to the point.

Mind you, I was seeking no miracle or world panacea. I wanted to find out the simple truth!

Further, I wanted to walk from farm to farm . . . that is, just selecting one at random here and there. I wanted to view the farmer's activities, study his soil and examine it, ask a few questions and thus, I could gather the information that I wanted and which was so vital to me.

344 644 The old palace proved to be in a good state of preservation. I wondered, because of its good condition, why someone didn't live there. Many of the rooms were still furnished. There were even rugs and tapestries placed and hung in their original positions.

[126] When we climbed to the top of the castle—that is, to the roof where I snapped many photos—it seemed mighty high and overlooked everything around us. But [133] in the distance were mountains that were well over 20,000 feet—and that is no exaggeration, but more likely an understatement.

There was a railing around this upper balcony and from this balcony you could walk into other chambers.

These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. 344
It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an 644
elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

Back about 400 years ago one of the rulers of Hunza [173] [648]
married a daughter of the King of Baltistan who, as a gift to his daughter and her husband, dispatched 500 workmen from his country to Hunza to erect the Baltit Fort that we now know. The rulers of Hunza dwelt in that fort and made it their palace until recent times. The present Mir, too, when he took office after the [712]
death of his father, resided in this palace known as Baltit Fort.

The new palace, in which we were being wined, [122]
dined and entertained, had been completed recently and was taken possession of by the present Mir about 7 years ago. Actually though, the new palace was started by the Mir's grandfather back as far as 1925.

While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I un- [692] [643]
derstand, would be used, on completion, as his court, where the citizens of Hunza would come with their problems and where the Mir would preside in judgment.

However, this work in no way interfered with the [342]
normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

344 This massive old fortress, for that is what it was,
644 was actually one of the places that had withstood the
712 attacks of invaders for more than 400 years and re-
727 mained impregnable. It has only once been in enemy
[175] hands since the day it was built and that was in 1891, when, after the Battle of Nilt, it was occupied by the British. Records further indicate that the British added no glory to their occupation at the time because of their indiscriminate looting of the treasures found in the palace. But the Mir, whether because of his friendship for the British or because of his desire to tell the truth, claimed that it was not the British who looted it, but the Dogra troops who were under British command.

344 Here I would like to quote from E. F. Knight's
644 *Where Three Empires Meet:*

352 "This massive fortress, which has been for hundreds of years the secure stronghold of the robber kings, inviolate until this day, stands boldly out, set in the midst of a sublime landscape . . . Twigg, Boisragon and myself took up our quarters in the most comfortable chamber we could find, which we soon discovered to have been the apartment of the ladies belonging to the [643] Thum's harem. ("Thum" is Burushaski for ruler, sovereign, king, chief, "Mir". Used especially of the hereditary rulers of the states of Hunza and Nagir.) It was surrounded by a low, broad, wooden divan, on which our bedding was laid. Pillars of carved wood rose from the edge of the divan to the carved beams of the roof, blackened by the smoke of ages. . . . A fire was lit in the open fireplace at one end of the floor, the smoke escaping through a square hole in the roof. Save for the Oriental pattern of the wooden carvings it was just a hall, I imagine, as King Canute might have lived in. . . . We enjoyed a delicious night's rest after our late fatigues.

"We were up betimes on December 23rd, and proceeded to rummage all the nooks and corners of the deserted palace. We had heard that the treasures of many a pillaged caravan . . . were stored here, so the search was an exciting one. The tribesmen had been informed that, provided they gave up their arms, their property would be respected by us. . . But the possessions of the fugitive Thum were declared to be forfeited, so we set to work to collect together all the valuables that were to be found in the place, individual looting being of course forbidden. . . . We were informed that the Thum had made all his preparations for flight long before his defeat at Nilt, and . . . had carried off the bulk of his wealth with him across the Hindoo Koosh. . . . Still, they had not taken all, and we raked together a curious and miscellaneous collection of odds and ends scattered about and secreted away in the various chambers and cellars." 727 344 644

On two sides this mighty fortress (and it is a mighty fortress for that part of the world) is protected by abysses. 344 644

As the views of the mountains and the surrounding country from the balconies were unrivaled, I took many colored photographs and with each click of the shutter I hoped for the best. [126]

I noticed a marvelous old firing piece, gun or matchlock. I don't know how to describe these things as I am not very familiar with firearms. However, I found out that this was a genuine treasure and was almost as old as the fort itself. 411

It was a most unusual firing piece. By actual measurement it was 6 feet long, elegantly and extravagantly decorated with silver and gold, and bore the inscription "946 A.H."

What had evidently been an old calendar portray- 353

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353 ing an excellent likeness of Queen Victoria in full color hung on the old palace wall. It was still in good condition and told you to use "Mellins Food for Infants and Invalids." I suspect this picture calendar has been hanging there for some 60 years (it was dated 1899). Both the producer of the calendar and the food people could well be proud of the record.

123 One could easily spend a few days in and around the fort and probably write a volume about its history. But I'll leave that for someone else.

I made a careful round of all the rooms in the old palace and by that time Sultan Ali remarked that we'd best be retracing our steps to the Mir's because the Mir had asked him to bring me back in time for lunch, which was at 1.30. So we started our descent.

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CHAPTER 29

Hunzan Crafts and Skills

THE NEXT MORNING Jahangir came to our quarters just as I was ready to leave for breakfast. Cec again remained in bed on the doctor's advice.

The Mir was waiting for us in his bright, pleasant sun room when we entered and with him was another handsome, beaming man whom he introduced as his brother, Ayesh, who had just returned from a trip up country.

It is customary for the Mir's oldest brother to remain unmarried and act as an advisor, assistant, secretary or whatever else this position might be termed. He also acted as the Mir's emissary and was the engineer of the electric light outfit in operation at the palace.

We were then ushered into the dining room for breakfast. The Mir, Ayesh and the Rani seated themselves just to keep us company and of course add delight and conversation while we breakfasted.

124 "You understand," he said, "that the reason I do
[788] not have breakfast with you is due entirely to the fact that I must rise at 3:30 every morning to perform my religious duties . . . and 'tis then I have my morning meal."

"Thank you most sincerely for your explanation. It is most important to me so I may better understand the ways of your people and yourself."

Then the Mir went on, "I have received word that two yaks are being brought down from Passu and should arrive at Altit some time during the night and will be there tomorrow morning."

Then I said to the Mir, "Would it be all right if I walked to Altit and rode one of the yaks back here to your palace?"

"That's exactly what I had in mind for you," said the Mir.

"Well, seeing there are two yaks coming down, as you mentioned, and my friend Cec is confined to his quarters by the doctor, I'll take Jahangir along and he'll ride the other yak back."

"Fine, fine!" said the Mir.

124 Then the conversation continued and the Mir said,
115 "I have another brother and I certainly hope you will
644 have an opportunity to meet him. He is serving in the Pakistan army—as a captain. I expect him back within the next 3 or 4 days and you will enjoy meeting him, I know. He is a most likable and interesting man. I hope he gets here before you decide to leave."

"I'd be very happy to meet him and I, too, hope he arrives before we depart."

"We call him Salat," he said. "That means mous-
[302] tache in our language. He has one of those handlebar moustaches and he's a big man—bigger than either Ayesh or I. His proper name is Capt. Jamshed Khan."

Ayesh was a most jovial character. He had the most pleasant smiling happy countenance of any man I've ever met. He was always either laughing or smiling and every time I looked at him I had to smile as well. He was a handsome man but in contrast to the Mir, who had a good head of dark hair, Ayesh was balding, the same as I. 124 115 [644] 142]

It was most pleasant to see the splendid cordial relationship that existed between him and the Mir's entire family.

"How are you coming along with your quest for information?" asked the Mir.

"Exceptionally well, sir," I replied. "But there are also many questions that only you can answer and I'm hoping that you can spare a few minutes some time within the next few days in private so that I may gain this information."

"Any time you say," replied the Mir pleasantly. "I'm at your disposal. You mention the time and that will be it."

"You are indeed very kind to grant me this great favor and I appreciate it," I said.

So there and then we made an appointment for 5 o'clock the following day.

Every meal at the Mir's was a joy and a delight and both the Mir and the Rani were always present. I had already mentioned to him that this was a trouble and an imposition and too much to expect of him. But he said that it was the way he wanted it and that nothing was too good and no effort too great for his guests. Well, what can you do with a man like that? 122 574

Then he informed me concerning my friend's health. "The doctor has things under control now," he told me, "but he will remain here with me as my guest at the palace during your stay so there will be no worries 122 758

122 or cares in regard to Mr. Brunton's condition. The doc-
[758] tor will attend to his duties at Aliabad and look after the hospital there . . . but he only has one or two patients and he will be back and forth from the hospital to the palace. Therefore he will be in constant touch with your friend."

"No man could do more," I assured the Mir. "I don't know how we can ever thank you enough."

"Don't mention it," he said. "You have been very kind, too."

"Now is there anything that you would like me to get for you while you're here? I wish you would tell me because some things may take a few days to procure or prepare and I would like to have them ready for you."

[124] "I'll tell you what I would like and you tell me what you would like me to send you from Canada—and no holds barred." I said to him.

"Fair enough! We'll tell each other frankly what we want."

"Agreed," I joyfuly replied.

126 I always carry a notebook with me. It's a small folding affair made of leatherette or something, that has room for 3 or 4 ball point pens and a pad inside. I was making notes as well as marking down the things the Mir expressed interest in when I spoke of the conveniences available in America. I intended to send these to him anyway.

I had seen quite a few little items around Hunza that I would have liked to have . . . for instance, a Hunzan hat, a cane made in Hunza, a pair of Hunzan boots. The boots are most unusual, being something
291 like the mukluks used in the north by the Eskimos, ex-
237 cept that these are made in a simpler manner. They are somewhat like riding boots in shape except they are

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, 291
including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part 237
from cow or ibex hide.

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the 121
good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship.

All of the cloth used in making the garments the 286
people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven 291
on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They [437]
trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, 294
during the winter, the men of the households cut and 462
stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing.

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. 326
Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the 533
clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. 563
These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho.

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by [173]
the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak [197]
a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza.

These people dwell in a quaint village or a com- [621]
munity entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa-

326 tion of these unusual people stirred up an interest within
533 me, and I wanted to know more about them. I found
563 very little data could be obtained from any of the books I had been able to read on the subject.

[173] But after much discourse and questioning, I learned what I had begun to suspect . . . that the Bericho were actually gypsies who had come to India more than 2,000 years ago. From India, as good gypsies would do, they fanned out to spread themselves in small groups over the entire country . . . some ultimately settling in Baltistan, from whence a colony were sent off to Hunza.

Their place of abode is actually a village known as Berishal. It is a known fact that the people of Hunza depend entirely upon the Bericho for their iron-mongering and their tool-smithing and their music-making.

I was very happy to have unearthed this information so I can pass it along to my readers.

[871] These Berichos used to send their children out of
[167] Hunza to be educated and the Mir told me that he had to put a stop to this practice . . . not because he objected to the children of the Bericho being educated, but because the children did not return or remain with the trade of their parents. As the Mir's country needed artisans of this type, he had to put a stop to their sending their children elsewhere for education.

The Mir went on to tell me how important these Berichos were to the community. They fashioned farm
[414] implements as well as hardware like hinges, latches, razors and many other essential farm and household necessities that are fashioned from metal. Besides making the implements of peace, the blacksmith could also fashion a shotgun barrel.

[651] He further mentioned that each household in the community pays a small tithe as a contribution to-

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland. 326 533 563 [651]

The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil. 325

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh." 326 316 135

This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy. 306 301 [135]

Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work 322 177

322 that I have seen performed, I am not too sure that
[177] our wood workers could teach them any new tricks. The thing they're short of is suitable wood.

[415] One of the important functions of the wood turner is to fashion bowls which are made out of either mulberry, willow or apricot wood. The wood turner also
[352] makes charpoys, chests, jewel boxes, bowls and chairs and I believe he is capable of making anything that can be fashioned out of wood.

461 One definite thing impressed me about these various craftsmen and that was the fact that time was meaningless. Their craft was the important thing. Whatever had to be done had to be done right whether it required an hour or a day or a week.

461 There were many things that I would have liked to
126 purchase or arrange for but some of them would require days to produce and it was not my desire to hurry anybody. After seeing their pleasant way of life, I had no intention of disturbing it. Whatever was available that I wanted, I would take with me. Anything else could be sent on or else I would do without it.

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Hunza

CHAPTER 30

Who Are the Hunzans?

I HAVE HEARD the people of Hunza referred to as Hunzans, Hunzukuts, Hunzawals and Hunzas. They prefer to be called Hunzukuts. 101

However, in my writing I am referring to them as Hunzans. I do this strictly as a matter of simplification. I find it easy to say and easy to remember and I also believe it to be the most phonetical of all the terms given.

The Mir claims that the rulers of Hunza were and are direct descendants of Alexander the Great. I could find no proof to either confirm or refute this statement. But it is generally believed that not only the Mir, but the people of Hunza are descendants of Alexander or his soldiers. 643 173

It has been related by many writers that the Hunzans are not by appearance an Asian people. To that I will subscribe completely. They are definitely, in 144

144 countenance and color, not Indian but European.

If you took the first ten Hunzans that you met anywhere and put them in Europe, no one could doubt that they were Europeans. With the exception of a few clearly and unmistakably Chinese-appearing Hunzans, practically each one would pass as a European. It is understandable that a bit of Mongolian blood got mixed in because Hunza is right smack on the Chinese border.

181 The people of this country are unqualifiedly the
173 most energetic and industrious of all the people I came across in the East, which lends credence to the fact that they are of European origin.

173 Even before I went to Hunza I read carefully Ar-
643 rian's *Life of Alexander the Great*. After seeing Hunza
174 and being impressed by the conviction that the people of Hunza did appear to be Europeans, I came back and made a further search through the *Life of Alexander the Great*.

It is an historical fact that Alexander took unto himself a wife when he was on his Indian campaign. He married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes who was king of Bactria. Bactria is in the northern part of Afghanistan—right smack against the Hunzan border.

Alexander had a posthumous son with Roxana. His name was Alexander Aegus.

So the Mir's claim might have sound historical basis. The Hunzans claim to trace their history back about 2,000 years. Well, Alexander married Roxana back in 327 B. C. So you see, the story may have its point.

I'll further state that the Mir himself looked exactly like one would expect a Mediterranean European to look. He might feign a relationship or descendancy from Alexander the Great, but he couldn't feign that Macedonian appearance.

History also relates most pointedly that Alexander had difficulty with his troops at various points in India where they refused to go any further. Then in Taxila, which is not very far from Rawalpindi on the route to Hunza, he left the sick, disabled and older men. It wouldn't be difficult to imagine that some of the younger wounded men, when they got well, crossed the Himalayas through the Babusar Pass and then wandered up to Gilgit and Hunza or when they were in Bactria, it would have been quite an easy matter—in fact, it was just a matter of walking a few miles through the mountains—to reach the Hunza River. 173 174

It is not in my interest to strengthen the Mir's story or the tales that other writers have established about the relationship of Alexander or his men and the people of Hunza. I am merely citing the above from my actual observations and studies. You can accept it or waive it aside.

One would not have a comprehensive understanding of Hunza and the people of Hunza without a few facts about their comparatively early history. 175 643

One of the most colorful leaders that the people of Hunza have ever had was the present Mir's grandfather—Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E. (Knight Commander of the Indian Empire)—who was the Mir of Hunza from 1892 until 1938 when he died on July 23 at the age of 79, having ruled for a total of 46 years. 'Twas a long rule for any king in any country.

In 1934 when he was 75 years of age his wife gave birth to a son who was named Sahib Khan. In January, 1938 the British crown conferred the title of K.C.S.I. (Knight Commander of the Star of India) upon Sir Mohomed.

He was followed by his son, Ghazan Khan who ruled from 1938 to 1945—not quite 8 years. Ghazan Khan

175 643 was then succeeded by his son, the present ruler—Mohammed Jamal Khan who has been the ruler of Hunza since 1945.

175 643 669 Here is a quotation from the Mir's grandfather's book in which he tells about the blood-curdling exploits of his brother, Sfdar Ali, whom he succeeded:

"He thereupon had Taighoon, Nematulla and Misiab killed, Sakhawat Shah and Jahandar Shah rolled down a precipice below Ghulkin, their mother put to death and arranged for the murder of Salam Khan in Shimshal."

However, he spared the life of his brother, Nazim Khan and then he wrote to the Maharajah of Kashmir to announce his ascension to the throne in the following descriptive terms:

"By the will of Allah and a decree of fate, my late father and I recently fell out. I took the initiative and settled the matter, and have placed myself on the throne of my ancestors."

This bloodthirsty Mir virtually got away with mass murder and felt that he was cock of the walk and could afford to defy any power.

175 648 From my reading of the Mir's grandfather's autobiography, from studies made from the earlier books written about Hunza and from my observations and discussions on the spot, I have evolved a personal kind of understanding concerning the situation that prevails in Hunza today.

[771] The Mir of Hunza, as well as the other rulers of the principalities in that area, such as Nagir, Punial, Yasin, Baltistan and others, are all Mohammedan and, from what I can gather, they supported or were willing participants in the revolt which tied them together with the central government in Pakistan. This government, bear in mind, is strictly Mohammedan and partition

from India was on this religious basis. 175 648

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward. 175 648 439 [487]

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice. [262]

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.) 175 648 [177] [643] [423] [233]

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

175 before the Chinese government took control of that
648 region. (By that I mean, while it was still in the hands of what is known as the Turki.)

This quotation from the autobiography of Nazim Khan will serve to illustrate the point in question:

"Two years later Colonel Bruce came to Gilgit as temporary British Agent and he told me that the Government had decided that I might still pay my annual tribute to China. To this, however, I demurred as I pointed out to him that having relations with both was like sitting between two stools. He, however, retorted that if this was the case and one stool broke there was always the other to sit on and that no suspicion would attach to me as long as there were friendly relations between the British Government and the Emperor of China. He did make one stipulation, though, and that was that I should let the Political Agent in Gilgit see the letter that accompanied the toll, before it was despatched."

In turn, the Chinese sent a friendly troop of soldiers to Hunza every year with gifts for the Mir and rich, luxurious gifts they were!

175 Now this may sound very strange, almost ridiculous
648 but nevertheless, it is absolutely true. And the reason
487 is simple and easy to understand if you will but follow me. The road through Hunza was by far the shortest route to Gilgit, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Kabul and Persia as well as Srinagar in Kashmir and other parts of India. Elsewhere along the route the caravans could travel with immunity and safety but in Hunza even the largest caravan—yes, even one protected by gun bearers or soldiers—could easily come to grief. All that would be required would be a few men hidden away in the upper reaches on the slopes to begin dropping stones or to start a landslide at a given moment.

As that entire 200 miles from the Chinese border to Nomal is composed chiefly of this type of terrain, unless a caravan had a guarantee of safe conduct, they just couldn't get through. 175 648 [487]

The Mir was the ruler of Hunza and he held full and complete control over his tribesmen. So what could be more natural and understandable than an annual payment of tribute to the Mir for safe conduct? I know for a fact that right up until the time when the Chinese Communists took over the Singkiang District, the Mir still received a share of the cargo carried by the caravans traveling through Hunza. [643] [487]

Therefore it is my conclusion that the ways, the habits and the mode of life of the people of Hunza were patterned more after the Chinese than the Indians. Further, I suspect that they did a lot more trading with the caravans that came through regularly than they ever did at Gilgit. In one instance the caravans came to them and in the other case they had to go down to Gilgit . . . anywhere from 40 to 200 or so miles away, through the tough mountain roads. 175 648 439 [177]

It was in November 1947, when Pakistan seized part of Kashmir from India by an armed revolt. The circumstances that brought about this event are worth recording and I believe you will have greater understanding of the people of Hunza and Pakistan if you know the story. 175 648

The Pakistanis claim that the Province of Kashmir should belong to Pakistan because the Indian government had agreed to allow all the predominantly Moslem districts to secede and become a part of the newly formed country of Pakistan. Therefore, Kashmir which is more than 90 per cent Moslem should be a part of the Mohammedan nation. Eventually, when partition took place, Kashmir was not permitted out of the fold

175 of India but was held in abeyance by her, not belong-
648 ing to one or the other, yet under Indian control.

But in October of 1947, when the Maharajah of Kashmir who was Mohammedan suddenly decided to accede to the side of India because of pressure, threats or promises, word got down to Gilgit and there a few bold, Mohammedan officers and members of the Gilgit Scouts acted. They first approached two British officers who were still in the employ of the government . . . these officers obviously sympathized with their views.

Immediately these officers cut all communications by slicing the telegraph and telephone wires and placed the Governor of Gilgit, who was the Maharajah of Kashmir's representative, along with his few Hindu followers, under arrest.

The Indian government retaliated by bombing Gilgit. The P.A.'s house was hit by one of the bombs but only a small amount of damage was inflicted.

So since that day in November, 1947 the Gilgit area, including Hunza, Baltistan and other parts that were once part of the former Kashmir Province, is now part of Pakistan and forms the Gilgit Agency.

Considering the many casualties that occurred in other parts of Pakistan and India, the Gilgit episode is one that those in charge can be proud of because there were few if any casualties and the entire area seems to be happy under Pakistan authority.

648 Since 1947 the influence in Hunza has been mainly Pakistani. Whether the people of Hunza like it that way or not, I could not ascertain. I did not ask the Mir his opinion. To the best of my knowledge and belief, he is cooperating to the highest degree with the central government in Pakistan.

Actually, from the way the people of Hunza live,

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I cannot see what difference it would make to them whether they were a part of the British Empire, India or Pakistan, or if they were independent. They receive little or nothing from the outside world and contribute little or nothing in return. They are content to leave the world alone if the world will but leave them alone. The law of "live and let live" seems to be the "Golden Rule" in Hunza. If only more peoples and nations throughout the world would follow this simple principle! 648

Why have the people of this tiny principality so fascinated the world? That is a question that I have sought to answer. 114

I believe it was Mrs. Lorimer's book *Language Hunting in the Karakorams* that first brought Hunza to the attention of many parts of the world. Then, too, Robert McCarrison mentioned the health of these people in his research writings. Other writers followed. J. I. Rodale in *The Healthy Hunzas* did a lot to focus attention on the people of Hunza. Then G. T. Wrench, Barbara Mons, Frank and Jean Shore, John Clark, Lowell Thomas, Jr., Owen Williams, Ian Stephens, Peter Fleming, Irene V. Unruh, Ben Ruhe and Dr. Allen Banik.

Here I would like to devote a few lines to the work of the above mentioned authors.

I still believe that the most accurate and detailed information about Hunza was given by Mrs. Lorimer.

Barbara Mons in her book *High Road to Hunza* gives a splendid account of the people. The only serious thing I found wrong with it was that there wasn't enough . . . her book left me hungry, eager and yearning for more information about these delightful people. I rank her work as the most concise, informative, pleasurable book on Hunza.

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114 John Clark in his book *Hunza—The Lost Kingdom of the Himalayas* devoted himself chiefly to his wood carving project and left little or no time to say, examine or do anything about the important happenings in Hunza.

When Lowell Thomas, Jr., and his party were in Hunza, they were too busy with the excitement and work involved in filming the scenes for Cinerama to learn much about the country and its people.

In the *National Geographic* of January, 1960 appears the story by Tay and Lowell Thomas, Jr. Part of this story deals with their visit to Hunza. However, the *National Geographic* takes pains not to mention the date of the trip to Hunza, which was December, 1954.

Frankly, I never believed that a magazine of the repute or supposed repute of the *National Geographic* magazine would stoop to that level—to publish an article about 5 years old and allow its readers to assume that it was of recent vintage. I guess the *National Geographic* must have been hard up for an interesting Asiatic story, so it dug up that old one of the Thomases.

A very good book that dwells here and there on Hunza in passages and references is one by an Englishman by the name of Ian Stephens. His book is called *The Horned Moon*. It is well written and this man does know the people of India and Pakistan . . . having been a leading correspondent and executive of one of the English newspapers in that country for many years.

Irene V. Unruh was a German doctor who spent considerable time in Hunza. Her observations concerning the health of the people are most enlightening. She attributes their good health to their unsophisticated, simple way of life and also suggests that the glacial water they consume plays an important role.

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Owen Williams, who wrote *First Over the Roof of the World,* was one of the first Americans to see Hunza, although he spent very little time there. He just passed through. Hunza happened to be on the itinerary of the expedition of which he was a member. 114

Ben Ruhe, a young newspaperman from Allentown, Pennsylvania, spent some time in Hunza and Nagir and his account, published in his home town newspaper (and elsewhere) represents some of the best written and presented facts, tales and fables about the people of this part of the world that I have read anywhere and it's a pity that Mr. Ruhe didn't do a book. Perhaps there is still time.

And last, there is Dr. Allen Banik's book, *Hunza Land.* Dr. Banik was sponsored by Art Linkletter to go to Hunza and he found a great many obstacles blocking his path but eventually, when he did get into Hunza, he unfortunately spent but a short time there and his observations do not correspond very closely with my own. But I salute his inalienable right to differ! Dr. Banik, a genial pleasant man, ready and willing to help anyone, has been busy addressing meetings and making appearances throughout the United States and from the reports that I have read, he seems to be pleasing his audiences.

Peter Fleming's book *News from Tartary,* while it is to be regretted that he devotes a scant 15 pages to Hunza, is probably one of the best pieces of writing on the country, the scenery and the people that you will encounter—no matter where you search. Also, his findings are pinpointed. Peter Fleming had a keen eye, a sharp mind, an understanding far beyond his years when he wrote *News from Tartary.* The references, written 25 years ago, are as sharp and as clearly in focus as if written today. I compliment Mr. Fleming

114 on a remarkable piece of reporting!

A splendid bit of writing about Hunza appears in the book called *After You, Marco Polo* by Jean Shore. Mrs. Shore is a remarkable traveler, a wide-eyed, eager observer and a writer with a fine sense of humor. Although only 36 pages of her book are devoted to Hunza, they are "must" reading for anyone who wants to have a clear picture of the Mir, the Rani and the ways of life and the people. Oh, yes, and her description of the country is a delight.

114 Now I must deal with two books that deal princi-
164 pally with the health of the people of Hunza. They are written by G. T. Wrench in 1938 and J. I. Rodale in 1948. If the health of the Hunzans is a myth, then these two gentlemen helped spread or perpetuate the myth. However, here is evidence that should dispel any thought of fancy.

Sir Robert McCarrison, C.I.E., M.A., M.D., D. Sc., L.L.D., F.R.C.P., B.A.O., spent the years 1902-4 as regimental medical officer in Chitral and 1904-11 as the Gilgit Agency surgeon. In that important office he had a splendid opportunity to study the health of the inhabitants of that area. Hunza is a part of the Gilgit Agency.

Dr. McCarrison reports: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucus colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

This lends credence to the outlines and hypothesis

concerning the health of the Hunzans. I have found the observations made by both authors, J. I. Rodale and G. T. Wrench, to be both authentic and comparatively reliable when it is taken into consideration that their work was done in the early years when not much information was available from Hunzaland. They were pioneers in the field to show the people of the world that there was a simple, natural, organic way to health. 114 164

Can anyone doubt that Hunza is located in one of the most inaccessible parts of the entire universe? The fact that a people—a handsome, virile, intelligent, civilized people—could live in such an inaccessible part of the world and still be considered among the healthiest of all people on the face of the globe is intriguing, to say the least. 131 164

Perhaps the story of their health, longevity and energy so shocked our concepts that we had to look twice or read twice to make sure that the statements we were reading could be accepted. Probably because of our smugness—with the feeling of security because of our modern medicines, our miracle drugs, our hospitals, our research techniques, our lab equipment and such—it was incomprehensible to us that a people so remotely located without all of these tremendous benefits could even exist, let alone be considered to be the healthiest and longest living people in the world.

Was it our disdain of eastern methods and way of life that rattled our concepts? 164

Now it could be that the dreamers among us had our imagination fired like it has never been fired before . . . to think that a people living truly on the roof of the world without benefits of modern civilization could subsist or exist, let alone be healthy!

But as one investigates, he finds that Hunza is one of the few places in the entire world, where there is a [177]

164 people who retained their character, independence,
177 freedom and primitive way of life. It is my belief that they are not much further advanced today than they were more than 2,000 years ago. Fearing that you may think I mean this in a derogatory manner, I would hurry and add that their way of life 2,000 years ago obviously was as good in many ways, or better, than our way of life today. But that is a measure for individual acceptance.

131 They owe their strength, their health, their longevity, their happiness to that wall of mountains that surrounds them and keeps out all but the boldest and most venturesome of invaders or travelers. They are surrounded by the most massive, the hugest, the greatest accumulation of mountain grandeur and awesomeness to be found anywhere on the world's surface. With such impenetrable guardians, it is not too difficult to understand the reason for their comparative privacy.

From what I saw and gathered, I found that one would not have to go many miles from any given point in Hunza to reach a location where no human being's foot had ever trod before. Should you have the desire to do just that, you can find millions of acres that have not felt the imprint of man within a few miles from most any given spot in Hunza.

181 Living in comparative isolation has made these people courageous and fearless. They are not stooges of civilization and all its implications. There, in Hunza, a man's individuality is still a characteristic trait to which they cling.

177 Now comes the big question—one that hundreds of people have already asked me . . . people who have but a faint knowledge or have heard a bit of news about Hunza and have been interested and fascinated by the myths and fables circulated about her—can Hunza

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survive despite the encroachment of modern civilization? 177

I go on record as saying, "Yes, she can survive but it will take good leadership, and the present ruling Mir —my friend, Mohammed Jamal Khan—is capable of this leadership, provided he is not interfered with by the powers that surround him or emanate from Karachi!"

The first detrimental factor that is crawling into Hunza at the present time, and has been for some years, is salt. Already numerous cases of goiter have appeared which did not exist before when they used their native salt. 177 263 164

Travel in Hunza is restricted. In fact, at the present time no foreigner is allowed into the state without a permit and that includes Pakistanis as well. As far as I know, my friend Cec Brunton and I were the last foreigners to enter Hunza. With the political situation as it is today, I doubt if anyone else will be permitted to enter the country until the situation changes. 486 648 123

The fact that China is at the present time encroaching upon India is a rather significant factor. I really can't appraise its implications because the disputed area by any calculation seems to be of little or no value. There are millions of such acres available throughout Tibet and the Himalayan cordillera as well as in the Karakorums. Therefore it must be just for aggrandizement that China is moving. If that is her aim and desire, then Hunza would be right up her alley. 648

Yet it is my firm belief that China will not bother Hunza. I know the Afghans have looked with longing eyes on that part of Pakistan for some years, but they have neither the arms nor the men to successfully invade the area, although with arms from Russia and a little prodding, things could get hot in that area. How-

648 ever, such a move, in my humble opinion, would be most ill-advised because the Pakistan government has splendid leadership, a good army and a mighty impregnable position in Gilgit. Undoubtedly Gilgit is the most accessible point in that entire area and Gilgit which belongs to Pakistan, is most capably staffed, manned and led.

177 [164 167] Even as I write my tale, changes are occurring in Hunza. In a letter received from the doctor just before my book went to press, he told me that many diseases unknown in Hunza before are making their appearance—primarily because they are brought back by native Hunzans who go out to serve in the army or work in other parts of Pakistan and the area.

[161] The population of Hunza is as great now as its land can foster and sustain. There is no reason to believe that the birth rate in Hunza will decrease and that means that more and more of the people of Hunza will have to seek a livelihood elsewhere. But they will keep returning and bringing with them the benefits of civilization. That, in my opinion, will be the undoing of that little paradise on earth.

Being blessed with the earth's most fabulous mountain scenery may also be the cause of Hunza's undoing. I've noticed that exploration parties and mountain climbers have been congregating in that area more and more. British, Swiss, German, Italian and Austrian expeditions have been in or are planning to go into the Karakorums to scale those hundred peaks over 20,000 feet high.

The magnetism of unscaled impregnable mountain summits becomes overpowering to many men. Why bother with the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rockies or the Andes, when the Himalayas, the Karakorums and the Hindu Kush offer a much more taunting challenge?

And fortunately or unfortunately, little Hunza lies right in the center. 177

These expeditions often consist of 100 men or more. They bring with them huge supplies of western food and commodities. Besides, their pockets are usually bulging with foreign currency. I fear that these will combine to eventually destroy Hunza.

Sad as I am to think that this will happen, I am nevertheless happy that I was there to see it while it was still "Shangri-la."

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CHAPTER 31

Breakfast Chitchat

122 574 THE MIR was a most tolerant and understanding host. I can't say for sure whether or not all his guests were treated as well as I, but I have no reason to believe otherwise.

Sometimes I would get down to breakfast alone at 8 o'clock in the morning. On other occasions there was Jahangir, sometimes Cec and on some occasions the doctor and the Mir's uncle and a few other individuals. I usually tried to get down at 8 o'clock . . . yet, there were occasions when I got down at 6 o'clock, if I had some adventure or specific project in view.

353 792 I remember this specific breakfast because the first thing I said to the Mir after I was seated at the table was, "I would judge that you were very fond of the Aga Khan."

You see, it wasn't very hard for me to judge this fact because our apartment was hung with pictures

of the Aga Khan and his wife in various poses and stages of his life. I had given some study to these photographs and many of them were inscribed in the hand of the Aga Khan with endearing terms to his friend, Jamal. 353 792

Our quarters were in the guest house—actually adjoining the palace but on a higher level. This building had been erected by the Mir's grandfather back in 1925. It was a well-built, handsome structure, firmly ensconced on a high rocky ledge of granite. 122 344 644

You walked down the Mir's long staircase from the sun room, then you walked up half a dozen or more stone steps, forward a few feet and then you climbed up a circular, enclosed wooden staircase to the guest quarters. These consisted of a large, comfortable sitting room with many easy chairs and a fine writing desk, a large bedroom with two comfortable beds and further on was the bathroom. Then to the right of the lovely sitting room was a balcony—spacious and inviting. From it you could view Rakaposhi and all its splendor and gorgeous loveliness. [352]

The furniture all round was similar to that which you would find in the average better-class American homes. Photographs adorned the walls, among which were the photos of the old Aga Khan and his French wife. [352] [353] [792]

When I mentioned the Aga Khan to the Mir, he waxed eloquent and his face beamed and he said, "Not only was I fond of him—not only did I love him—but we were close intimate friends. He was the most generous of men and especially to the people of Hunza. I revere his memory! He was a wonderful person. We really miss him since his passing. His ancestors came from Persia to India in 1834. In 1934, one hundred years later, to celebrate the jubilee of the founding of 792 [871]

792 his ancestors' dynasty in India, he donated what is now
871 the Hunzan school system. The fact that the children of Hunza are given a good education, without any cost to them, is due entirely to the kindness and benevolence of that great man. He started and maintained the system and I trust that his son will continue in his father's footsteps."

That the school system of Hunza is working, I can attest.

792 From what I have been able to gather and learn, Hunza was one of the states of India that contributed to the coffers of the Aga Khan. There is some story, true or mythical, that each year all of his religious followers throughout the world gave him a gift of gold or platinum to the extent of his weight. Now I do know
[316] that some gold was mined in Hunza and probably that, too, was sent to the Aga Khan or added to the sum or weight sent from all of the countries and the millions of his followers to be his gift but, as far as I know, at the present time there is not much gold being mined in Hunza and nowhere did I see any sign of anything that could be used as a means of export to bring money into Hunza.

124 In the meantime I was enjoying my breakfast and between munching mouthfuls of food, I was asking the Mir some rather important questions.

651 "I read somewhere some time ago, that the revenues
681 you obtain from the fines you levy upon people in Hunza who commit misdemeanors or break rules or laws are added to the coffers of your own estate."

The Mir thought this was a great joke and laughed heartily.

"To begin with," he said, "laws are seldom broken by my people. They are good people and they live peaceably and do not commit serious offenses. During

the past year the total collected from fines imposed by me upon the citizens of Hunza totaled less than 200 rupees. You know that my people do not have much money. There is no way or means of earning money—except by the few. We do not require money in order to live in Hunza. Further, the full amount that was collected in this manner was used in the maintenance of the irrigation system."

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I waved my hand and said, "I only asked. I didn't think it was true, but I've read so many tales about Hunza in which ridiculous and fantastic statements are made without any justification or background."

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"A few years ago," I went on, "two of the most influential and widely circulated magazines in the United States published an article by a famed and capable couple of writers—man and wife. I know they visited Hunza on two occasions because I saw their names in your guest book. Now the story they told and which both of these magazines published stated that it was a custom in Hunza for the mother-in-law to go and live with a newly married couple and remain with them on their honeymoon to teach them the ways of life. You explained that this was the reason why Hunzan marriages were so successful and there was seldom, if ever, a divorce.

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"Before asking you to clarify this, I just want to tell you that I read this story and when I came to this specific part, I could hardly believe my eyes. But, as I have learned, there are many strange customs followed by different people throughout the world and of course, this could be absolutely true. But it certainly is strange and weird sounding to me anyway. So tell me, is that story true? Is it the custom of the people of Hunza to have the mother-in-law stay with the newly married couple during their honeymoon?"

114 "I said it as a joke," replied the Mir. "I had no
585 knowledge that it would be so widely publicized and written and taken as a fact. I did not mean to mislead the writers you mentioned."

"Then it is not true!"

"No," replied the Mir, "I meant it only as a joke!"

643 There was no doubt in my mind that the Mir had
115 a keen sense of humor. In fact, through all my talks
522 and discussions with the Mir which were frequent, there was seldom a time when he would pass by an opportunity for a bit of witticism or to laugh and have a bit of fun. He was just about as pleasant a man as could be found anywhere. He was not only a great ruler but he had a sense of humor. It was too bad that the writers referred to took him seriously. Maybe it was one of their bad days.

249 "Do you grow poppies here?" I asked the Mir bluntly and more or less out of the clear blue sky. I put this question to the Mir for a most definite reason.

On a few occasions I saw what I believed to be a field of flowers waving in the distance. But I wasn't sure. Invariably these patches of color were a mile or many miles away. I wondered what they were but I never could get close enough to see them. They were always sighted at great distance from where the road lay.

[123] You might ask why I didn't definitely, once and for all, set out across the field and find out. But remember, when you're in a more or less strange unusual territory, you just don't go off across the fields into someone else's private property.

All told, I doubt if I saw more than half a dozen of these patches of color during the full length of my travels. There might have been many more but I certainly didn't see them and I have an idea that if they

were there, they would have been noticed. 249

It is also possible that from a distance of one or two miles, one might confuse a field of alfalfa hay or barley or wheat and, with golden heads when ripe and the sun's rays striking them, what was grain might resemble flowers, but I think I am well enough versed in plant lore to be able to make the distinction.

I want my readers to bear in mind also that most of my traveling from Gilgit to Baltit was done on Nagir territory.

The reason these bits of color were most conspicuous was obviously because of the practically total absence of anything that resembled flowers—or a bit of brightness.

The Mir answered my question about the growing of poppies as follows, "Yes, some of our farmers are growing poppies but I am going to put a stop to it." 249 276 656

I waited for him to continue with keen interest.

"It appears," he went on, "that some of the people have begun to take to smoking opium . . . and fearing this insidious bad habit will take root, I'm going to ban the growing of this plant."

I did not mention it to him then or since, but somehow I had overheard (perhaps at one of the parties in Gilgit where a group of the roundabout notables had gathered) that opium had been drifting in from some locations and commanding fairly good prices. It also struck me that the Chinese border, being close at hand, might prove to be a very appropriate market for the produce that they would get from the poppy plants.

I did not ask if there were any restrictions against the producing of opium, apart from the fact that the Mir was going to ban it for protection of his people. I do not know whether anyone could prevent the Hunzans or the Nagirwals from growing these colorful plants.

249 plants. Of one thing I was sure and that was that they weren't growing them for the beauty of the flowers.

Now in my strolls and walks about Hunza, I didn't get very far above Altit. Who knows? Maybe a large quantity of poppies are grown further along the river. But actually I doubt it very much.

124 Breakfast was now completed. I was eating alone, of course, in this instance. The Mir and Rani were just keeping me company. I thanked the Rani for her kindness, bowed to her and took my leave with the Mir.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 32

We Meet and Ride the Yaks

I BELIEVE that every human being has a favorite animal. It is generally accepted that many people like dogs, others like cats, some prefer horses. At this moment I am thinking about other beasts—let us say, the more or less rare or strange beasts. Some people are thrilled at the sight of a lion or tiger and others, a giraffe.

When I was a youngster I was always fascinated by a buffalo. Probably it was because I had read many stories about the adventures and derring-do of Buffalo Bill. But for many years now the yak has somehow intrigued me. Somewhere along the line I had made up my mind that this was the most useful animal on the face of the earth. It is conceded that practically every animal has its uses and fills a place in the natural scheme of things. But to me, a yak embodied all of the wonderful features of the most useful and most

000 needed animals in the world.

231 It is clearly and distinctly established that Tibet, for example, could never exist and people could never live in that part of the world if it weren't for the yaks and yaks are native only to that part of the world —yes, wild ones, I mean. That's where they were originally found and tamed. They still roam wild on some of the higher inaccessible elevations and plateaus in that part of the globe.

No one will attempt to deny that our cow is a most useful and practically essential animal. It gives milk from which we make butter, cheese and cream. We use the carcass for meat and the hide for shoes, baseballs and many other articles but, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the cow as it is today actually couldn't look after herself in the northern latitudes and pasture food must be provided.

[492] Well, the yak does everything a cow does. Besides that, it is one of the finest beasts of burden. Then, too, it is the surest-footed animal to be found anywhere. It can, and often does, forage for its own food. It can live off practically nothing. It is suspected that it can find sustenance in a bit of grass or roots or even a bit of coarse, uninviting (to any other animal) herbage.

[492] [241] Like our cow, it takes to domestication readily. Both the Tibetans and the Hunzans use them to work their fields and flail their wheat, barley and other grains. 231 From the wool on its back, belly and head comes the 237 toughest of woven fabrics, from which is made the [283] sturdiest of clothes for the people and tents for their homes. Wherever you see rope in Hunza, you can be sure that it was made from braided or woven yak hair.

[291] [415] [501] The hide is used for most everything . . . boots and shoes, of course, and water containers and skin boats, which are the means and mode of transportation across and up and down the dangerous rivers

and up and down the dangerous rivers. Yes, even the yak bones and horns are never wasted. Picks are fashioned from them. They even find their way into the walls of the homes of the people of Hunza, for they are lighter than stones. 231 237 [342]

Still I haven't yet mentioned what is generally accepted as the yak's most important contribution to the lives of the people in the highest mountain ranges in the world . . . and that is from the little green herbage they get, they give a good quantity of rich milk, from which is made the famous yak butter. Then last and perhaps even most important, it is butchered for its good quality, health-sustaining meat. 231 262

Even the yak tails are useful . . . as brooms or dusters . . . and many are shipped to the Western world and used as Santa Claus beards. And they do make the best Santa Claus beards of all. I know—I have a couple! 231 237 412 439

Now after you have had a chance to read these qualifications, perhaps you, too, will share my admiration and appreciation of the world's most useful animal. 000

I was up bright and early the morning I was to go to meet the yaks. Yes, it was just 6 o'clock when I was walking down the enclosed staircase towards the Mir's palace—leaving Cecil asleep, as he still had to remain in bed as the doctor had advised.

I met Jahangir coming from the other guest house and he joined me. We had agreed the previous night to be up at 6 but I never expected that it would work out right on the beam, as it happened in this instance.

So down we went along the stone staircases from one garden level to another until we reached the Mir's palace and then we began to climb up the long wooden staircase again.

As usual, the Mir was there to welcome us, along

with the Rani and his brother and, after the usual sumptuous breakfast, Sultan Ali joined us and the three of us—Jahangir, Sultan Ali and I—took off to Altit. As we left the Mir said, "I'll be waiting here for you and you'll ride the yaks right into the palace yard."

"You'll find the yaks very easy and comfortable to ride," continued the Mir. "What's more—you won't notice the ascents and descents!"

"You're kidding!" I rejoined.

"No, I'm not," he said. "It's true . . . just wait and you'll see!"

It was approximately a 2 mile jaunt to Altit and the terrain was very much like the terrain we had encountered all the way up from Gilgit—washouts, rock slides, boulders strewn all over the place. This all made walking difficult, at least for me.

Now I don't want you to get the idea that when these landslides or rock slides occur they are just left where they fall, because that is the furthest thing from the truth. Immediately after these things happen, crews are put on to get things straightened away. But when you take into consideration that each speck of work is done manually and that they do not have even a wheelbarrow, you can then understand that the job is a difficult one and one that is back-breaking and requires much time.

The only implements I saw them use on the roads were a sort of pinch-bar or wedge and a sledge hammer. You see, they don't have dynamite and when a huge boulder lands smack in the middle or at the side of the road and can't be pushed off, the only other course to follow is to break it into small pieces. Those are the ways and means here of getting rid of huge boulders.

Let it also be clearly understood that the Hunza

workers are good workers. They are not to be compared with the ordinary workers found throughout Pakistan and India. They do a day's work somewhat comparable to that done in the West. They are neither slouchers nor slackers. 461

All along the route there were groups of men working here and there. At this time of the year there were not too many employed or working on the roads and this is understandable. Every man in Hunza and Nagir must provide for the winter. Remember, there is, broadly speaking, no money and the only means he has of providing is by the work done with his own two hands. 464 491

The dried apricots and other fruits that he may put away, the wheat or the barley or the buckwheat that he stores in his house, the few roots that he puts into his root cellar are his means of sustenance until next spring. So you can readily understand that there is no great surplus of Hunzans or Nagiriwals during the months of July and August to do work on the roads and I know that the Hunza Road is not maintained by the State of Pakistan. Therefore there would be little or no money forthcoming and those who did work would probably be donating their time. Or perhaps their work would be somewhat similar to a type of taxation, although I dislike using that word when referring to or talking about the people of Hunza! [251]

We were more than a sauntering hour reaching Altit. If you've got any ideas about easy walking in this land, you'd better forget them. 487

As is usual on the entire Hunza trail, with few exceptions, it was climbing or descending all the time. The few places where you were neither climbing nor going down, you were walking along the river bed. In midsummer when the glaciers are melting quickly you

487 often get a sudden heavy flow of water and these rivers get deeper and broader and flood the roads. But then later, when it gets a bit cooler or cloudy, the river recedes and the river bed is again used as a road.

The alternative for the river bed is to climb hundreds or thousands of feet up along a road cut in the rock of the mountain or where a ledge might have been formed. When it is impossible to walk along the river bed, and this occurs regularly, in some places you must climb a few thousand feet . . . that is the only way you can continue your journey.

No matter how difficult, how dangerous or treacherous a roadway may be, there are some people who must get across, who must make their journey at that time. It is true everywhere in the world.

Therefore, when traveling on such terrain, it is positively advisable to try to get there and do your traveling when the rivers are not in flood. You can see why the river bed is preferable.

361 Altit is the name of the town wherein is located the old Altit Fort which was built in the thirteenth century. I don't know whether or not the other members of the party will agree with me but I did think that Altit was an exceptionally clean, tidy and orderly town. It was one of the first villages in Hunza to be settled because the area consists of a wide level, arable stretch of land almost two miles wide from the mountain wall to the bank of the river and here the drop was sheer—straight down for a thousand feet or more.

Oh, yes, all Hunza villages are clean and orderly but somehow it struck me that Altit was better then most. [644] Perhaps the Mir knew this and that is why he had his picnic bungalow built there. I am convinced that Altit was the most attractive village I found in the entire country.

As we wound along the trail and through the streets of the village, I kept looking around to see if I could spot the bit of meadow or field where the yaks would be grazing. I felt certain that if they were being tethered or kept somewhere that there would be some sort of grazing ground for them and I found I was right because, shortly, we came upon a bit of meadow surrounded by shrubs and trees. And sure enough, there were the yaks and the herders. 231 311

The first thing I noticed about them was that they seemed to be snorting like wild bulls. They breathe rather heavily and exhale sharply through their nostrils. The altitude at Altit was probably about the same as that of Baltit—between 8,000 and 9,000 feet—and that was much too near the level of the sea to suit the yaks who wanted it at least 11,000 feet. Undoubtedly that was the reason they were snorting and appeared somewhat uncomfortable. 231 [361] [133]

I liked their rather shaggy, unkempt appearance. The woolly hair that grew around their head and on top of it, looked as though it had been curled. I didn't know whether that made them look ferocious or cute.

I took a keen liking to the strange looking beasts. But I'm not sure that they shared my feelings. At least, they didn't look as though they did.

I have read and been told that you can trust a yak implicitly on any trail. If it's safe and can be traversed, he'll make it. If there's any doubt, he'll be just as stubborn as any mule. Where the way or the road is extremely bad, he will refuse to go and only by brutal pounding and beating and dragging will he continue along the trail that he distrusts.

Through each yak's nose ran a rope—a good thick, heavy rope. This is used to guide or lead the yak, instead of a bridle and bit. [492]

231 The yak is just about the same general build and also somewhat the same in appearance as a buffalo. It is considered to be, by zoologists, a distant relative of the American buffalo. In fact, when I first saw a yak, I thought it was a buffalo and in my mind's eye, I compared it to the buffalos that I had seen in our Canadian zoos or parks. However, yaks do not have that hump around the neck, and they seemed a bit smaller. They are quite shaggy and look wild and ferocious, which belies their actual temperament.

We did find, and I had heard this before, that yaks are very independent—probably the most independent of all domesticated beasts. You just don't take liberties with a yak. You treat him fair and square or he doesn't cooperate—at least not very well.

231 492 I walked around them and examined their shape and form and was especially interested in their broad backs. "Ah," I thought to myself, "that's the kind of an animal I want to ride—where I can sit on a flat surface instead of the apex of a triangle." My posterior was still smarting from the few miles I had ridden astride my horse. Even with the protection of the blanket, his backbone seemed to cut through like a razor. Right there and then I just had to get up on a yak's back and have someone take a picture.

"This should make a good caption," I thought to myself, "Jack on back of yak!"

The yak snorted a few times before and during the time I was getting on his back. But a few words and a jerk on his nostrils by his owner and he remained more or less orderly, but eyed me suspiciously.

Their broad well-filled backs and the sight of their feet with the sort of second set of hooves, fingers or spavins along the forelock told me that what the Mir had said about a comfortable even ride was true.

Many long years ago I learned not to doubt people 231
but to accept what they say until proven incorrect . . . be patient and allow time to speak. I accepted what the Mir told me but I wondered just how that miracle could take place. Upon examining the yak's feet or hooves or whatever else you might call them, I learned how this wonder of wonders occurred and I'm going to describe it to you. It will be difficult and you'll have to follow me rather closely.

If you examined a yak's forelegs, about 8 inches up from the hoof on the inside are appendages that look like spavins or callouses. These obviously are auxiliary paws, cushions or hooves. Therefore, the yak could, when necessary, walk on these appendages. It can be best illustrated by having you put your fingers straight up resting on the table. Then by dropping your fingers flat and putting down your wrist, you immediately shorten your arm by at least 6 inches. The yak could walk on its hooves or on the spavins 8 inches up along the leg.

Jahangir had never ridden a yak either, so he got 124
aboard one and I shot him a few times—that is, with the camera. He was quite pleased with himself, too, because that was something he hadn't anticipated when he started the journey.

Sultan Ali, our guide, said to me after I dismounted, "These men made quite a sacrifice in bringing the yaks down here from Passu. It's about 38 miles, you know, and they lose at least 2 or 3 days from work on their farms."

I knew quite clearly what he meant and I said, "Well, what do you think would be fair recompense for their efforts?"

"Well, about 40 rupees each."

Jahangir was standing besides me while this discus-

124 sion was taking place and he said to Sultan Ali, "That's [1]
[434] much too much! Why most people in Hunza don't get that much in a year. I don't think you should ask Mr. Tobe to give them that much money."

Sultan Ali and Jahangir exchanged a few fairly warm words about this and the end result was that Sultan Ali compromised by saying that maybe 20 rupees each would be satisfactory. So I dug into my pocket-book and handed each of them two 10 rupee notes.

[1] [ie. 40 rupees - ANALYST]

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 33

The Mir's Summer Cottage

ALTIT FORT has quite a history. I believe it to be the most historic and most important edifice in all of Hunza. Records that have been handed down would indicate that the fort was about 700 years old and it was erected like a perch, right on a sharp bank of the Hunza River, on what was originally a sharp gigantic precipice. 344 644 712

It may be smaller and perhaps simpler in construction than the larger fort at Baltit, but I thought it was big enough after I walked all around it and went in and out of all its chambers. Then, too, it is much larger now than it was in those days because the present Mir had a new wing erected so that when he holds court and carries out the seed-sowing ceremony, there will be plenty of room for his family, guests and visitors. [643]

I gained the impression that it was a tight little fortress—well built from blocks of rock, expertly

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644 wedged together to form a formidable protection
712 against invaders of their day.

796 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the
241 Burushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festi-
643 val, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like to emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed
[789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

partake of the Mir's blessings. 000

In comparing the fort at Altit and the one at Baltit, 344
I gained the impression that the one at Altit had more 644
rooms . . . smaller ones they were, but there seemed 712
to be more of them. The old fort at Baltit was much larger and more impressive. Yet somehow I became more attached to the Altit Fort. I had the impression that it was almost impregnable.

Then I recalled the true story of the capture of the 712
fort by the British and, after appraising its isolation, 648
strength and precipitous banks and sides, I thought to myself, "Any group of men who had the courage to attempt to scale and capture any fort in Hunza deserved a lot more glory and loot than they would ever get in Hunza . . . and that is for certain!"

On one of the balconies stood a man with a bowl 124
of apricots and Sultan Ali said, "This man is the chowkidor, or guardian, of the fort and it is customary to give him a gift."

"Of what?" I asked.

"Oh, about 10 rupees," replied Sultan Ali.

Jahangir almost jumped a foot when he heard that and he said, "For what? He hasn't done anything and we haven't eaten any of his apricots."

"Well," Sultan Ali said, "it's just customary!"

"Customary or no," said Jahangir, "I think it's ridiculous!"

I turned to Sultan Ali and said, "Normally I'd be 124
glad to give him the tip that you suggest, but the truth 122
of the matter is my fund of Pakistan rupees is just about nonexistent. When we set out for Hunza from Pindi we calculated in advance approximately how many rupees we would need and then we added on 100 extra, and that's what we came with.

"From the stories that we read and from the infor-

124 mation that we could gather, we were under the im-
122 pression that no money was used in Hunza. Therefore we didn't calculate on spending any. So far we have parted with approximately 300 rupees and to place the matter squarely in front of you, we don't have enough money to buy our plane tickets back from Gilgit to Rawalpindi! I'm hoping we'll be able to get some money at the bank in Gilgit because I did notice that there's a bank there, so I'm afraid I'll have to pass up the 10 rupees that I'm supposed to give the chowkidor of the fort. But tell him I enjoyed my visit to the fort very much anyway!"

344 While we were wandering around on the open bal-
644 cony of the old fort, Sultan Ali pointed to a neat looking place down below, but not far distant, and said, "That is the Mir's picnic place, where he comes every Saturday evening with his family. He stays there Sunday and Monday, returning to the palace for his various duties Monday evening. This practice is followed during the summer months."

"Well," I replied, "that's a custom that's followed pretty well in the West and probably in most places around the world . . . where one tries to get away from the usual home conditions and seeks refuge in a cottage. We, generally speaking, call this our summer cottage. And you know what? Many folks and families travel hundreds of miles just for the weekend, just as long as they can get away from home and the sameness of living for a few days at a time!"

"I guess we've seen everything here at the old fort worth seeing. So let's go down and make for the Mir's picnic place," I said as I headed for the stairs.

It was a walk of but a few hundred yards and we were soon at the garden gate of the bungalow. Sultan Ali spoke in Burushaski to one of the chowkidors who

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

produced a key and opened the door. 344

Soon I was wandering through the well-appointed summer cottage. It was neat, tidy, clean and solidly built but of course it was not on par with the palace—nor would one expect it to be. After all, as mentioned, it was but a weekend spot and what we would call a summer cottage back home. Yet, of course, it was much nicer than the average summer cottage, but not as good as some of our elegant ones back home. 648

I was rather surprised and quite amused to note that the walls were covered rather widely with shiny lithographed pictures . . . yes, it was good printing or lithographing work. The pictures were obviously put out by the Chinese communist government and everywhere they showed workers and working girls with beaming faces, wearing good clothes and looking prosperous, but no one could doubt that these pictures were splendid specimens of communist propaganda. 353 648

One of the most effective pictures for propaganda purposes, I gathered, was one that showed the happy beaming faces of whites, yellows, blacks—all mixed and enjoying life together.

At first I thought that the Mir couldn't have known about these pictures hanging in his bungalow, but then I gathered that he must know about them. Evidently he doesn't fear them or worry about them. Perhaps he knows his people better than anyone else.

I do not have to go into a long discourse to prove to myself or to anyone else that the Mir does not have communistic leanings because communism would quickly and definitely stamp out any form of absolute rule like his Mirship. Yet I can also see the absolute necessity of the Mir keeping on friendly terms and not antagonizing either the Russian or the Chinese Communists. Then to make the situation even more hazard- 648

648 ous, the Russians have infiltrated Afghanistan. Therefore, Hunza is now completely hemmed in by what I would call the bamboo, the iron and the stone curtains.

I can't visualize where the Mir has too much to fear from Communist aggression. From what I have seen and learned, the Communists like their spots plush, soft and succulent. None of these conditions exist in Hunza!

The Communists like locations where they can eventually, if not immediately, take out more than they put in. That would never take place in Hunza. Then, too, people who have chosen to live on the north bank of the Hunza River would not be easily shackled [643] or enslaved. Admittedly, the Mir is an absolute monarch but there are no signs of that type of rule in evidence anywhere in Hunza. There's a parallel in England. While England has a queen, a monarch whom the people respect and revere, whom they would follow in life and in death, the monarch would never make demands on her people.

I do not believe there is a more democratic nation on the face of the globe than Great Britain . . . and that includes the United States or other republics. I believe the same situation holds true in Hunza.

Another point to be considered by possible invaders is . . . What would they gain besides possible armed conflicts with Pakistan and perhaps India?

[353] No, I would suggest that Hunza is comparatively safe from communist aggression and the Mir can afford to have the communist propaganda pictures on the walls of his summer bungalow in Altit as a gesture of friendship.

247 The yard or garden around the bungalow[3] was aglow
177 with flowers of every description and hue imaginable.

[3 [ie. of the Mir - ANALYST]

They were obviously of American or European origin . . . probably grown from seeds that someone had sent him. Plants like zinnias, snapdragons and asters were readily recognizable. 247 177

Then, I was very much surprised to see in front of the bungalow, of all things, a swimming pool . . . and the youth of the district were swimming and enjoying themselves to the fullest possible extent. They were shouting, laughing, splashing and cavorting about just as you would expect boys and girls to do in any swimming pool in America. They displayed the same reckless abandon, glee and happiness that our children do. 529 643 [644]

At this time I thought to myself that here was another mark of the Mir's bigness. He was allowing the children of the town to make full use of his personal family swimming pool. This was quite different from what most people expect of eastern potentates.

I'm not sure that this little incident impresses you but I assure you I was quite impressed by it. It added to my conviction that the people of Hunza were really free and democratic.

A little way off were our yaks and their guides. "Let's go," I said to Jahangir and Sultan Ali, making straight for the yaks. "The Mir and Cec will be waiting for us, so I guess we'd best be off." 000

I selected the larger of the two yaks because I'm quite a bit heavier, or almost twice as heavy as Jahangir. I was assisted on to the yak's back and the yak didn't seem to be too happy about it! For the first time since I'd been riding, which wasn't very long, I felt really comfortable. The well-padded broad back of the animal was delightful to sit on and, best of all, he had a western style saddle. I'm always afraid of falling off a horse with those English saddles because I've got nothing to hold on to except the reins and for my kind of 492

492 riding, I need more than that. Here I didn't have any reins but I could put my hands on the horn of the saddle. This was a case where I had the horn to hold onto and didn't need it. With those scrawny, skinny horses I could have used that appendage but I didn't have it.

This is also an excellent time to emphasize that a yak, whatever his sterling qualities, is by no means ever a speed demon . . . and that is for certain. He is built for comfort and security and my, oh, my, how important that is in the Karakorum or Himalayan terrain. The usual expected speed of a yak is approximately 9 miles per day which is somewhere around 1 mile per hour. However, I did not complain of the time that it took us to get from Altit to Baltit. I was having the time of my life and for once I wasn't the least bit afraid of falling off.

491 The road from Altit to Baltit actually is quite hilly —precipitous and steep in some places. But true to the Mir's prediction, I felt neither ascent nor descent because of the flexibility of the yak's legs.

Here I was 8,000 or 9,000 feet up in the firmament windingly wending my way around ledges and narrow trails while resting comfortably on the back of a yak. For the first time since leaving Gilgit I felt no fear or worry while riding. The beast on which I was sitting gave me a feeling of confidence.

The top of the final climb took us to the narrow opening of the valley. Here, if you turned right, the road led to the polo field and old Baltit Fort; if you turned left, to the Mir's courtyard.

115 I noticed what I thought to be a particularly unusual figure coming from the opposite direction, heading towards the pathway that led to the Mir's courtyard. He was in the company of another individual

whom I recognized as being a typical Hunzan. But the 115
old fellow who caught my attention did so because he was so strange looking. He was slightly stooped, short of stature, looked very old, had a firm yet halting walk and a beard of bright henna red and wore a long brown coat that touched his boots. It didn't require intuition or even a keen mind to recognize that this man was not ordinary in any sense of the word and I remarked to Sultan Ali that this was someone with whom I would like to converse—by means of an interpreter, or course.

We headed the yaks over so we'd be directly in front of the two as they passed by, and Sultan Ali spoke to them. Then he turned to me with a smile and said, "You are quite right, there *is* something most unusual [165] about this man. He says he's 105 years old today—it's [643] his birthday—and he's come to pay his respects to the Mir."

I allowed myself to slide down off the beast's back as I asked Sultan Ali to introduce me to the fine old fellow and we shook hands. He said, "Salaam aleikum!" and I, too, said, "Salaam aleikum!"

I was really very happy and felt privileged to meet a grand old man like this!

I appraised him from head to foot, scrutinized every part of him—up, down, to the right, to the left—and I smiled as best I knew so as not to offend the fine old fellow. He was indeed a patriarchal old man, but he still looked in mighty fine fettle; he'd come from a little farm a few miles away, on foot!

The old man's name was Dado and he lived in Hasanabad. He has one son, two grandsons, three granddaughters and fifteen great-grandchildren. Dado [165] has 10 close friends, all of whom are more than 95 years of age. Membership in that exalted group is hard to come by . . . a most restricted organization.

115 Now I didn't see his birth certificate and I might as
165 well tell you, right here and now, that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. I accept the figure of his age as he told me but remember, I was not there at the time of his birth!

344 When I was through with my spasm of inspection
644 and admiration, we began to parade up the long driveway that led into the Mir's garden. This area is flanked on the right by space that looks as though it were a parking lot, and maybe that's exactly what it is, but instead of cars, the guests or members of the family park—or should I say tether—their horses and yaks in this area. Maybe now they park their jeeps there.
[493] The Mir owns two of them, but one, I understand, was away in Pindi being repaired. (Or was it the shambles and horrible wreck of a jeep that I came across a week later, on the road back to Gilgit?)

126 Now I noticed that the Mir, Ayesh, the doctor and Cec were coming along the roadway to meet us, and soon we joined forces and were gathered in one group. I thought this was the ideal time to take some photographs and, luckily for us, they were the best photographs we took on the entire trip. Photography is something that has never interested me and I had never taken half a dozen pictures in my life. Before leaving
[122] home, I did try to learn a bit about photography, but I couldn't learn enough fast enough.

124 When the fun, excitement and fast-flowing humorous remarks had subsided, I said to the Mir, "If you've nothing more important to do or if you would care to give me a little more of your time, we could start that question and answer session that I arranged with you for this afternoon."

"I am at your service," he replied pleasantly and with alacrity.

So the Mir, the doctor and I proceeded up the stairs 124
to his famed reception sun room. He instructed one of his people, in his own language and soon we were comfortably seated with an assortment of cold drinks before us.

The Mir, the doctor and I then had a long session. I asked questions of the doctor just as readily as I did of the Mir and both answered with equal frankness. At no time did one look at the other to ascertain whether or not he should answer the question. Everything was done on a strict, clear-cut, frank basis.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 34

About the People of Hunza

164 THE CLAIMS made for the people of Hunza border on
165 the fantastic. It is claimed that there they live to be 140 and more years of age without trouble and that their mountain home is the genuine Shangri-la, where a man can live without worry or stress in perfect joy and happiness. The claim is also made that their men can sire children when they're 70, 80, 90 and even 100 years of age.

Yes, and another visitor to Hunza said that the women of 80 and 90 are as youthful and as beautiful as our own women of 30 and 40. Well, apart from the
[644] Rani who I truly believe was one of the most beautiful women I have ever been privileged to see, I didn't notice anything spectacular about the women of Hunza.

123 Let me be even more frank . . . I hardly saw any women at all. Over the many miles of Hunza territory that I walked, I seldom saw a woman. I saw a few girls

here and there and most of them snickered, giggled and hid or turned their backs so that I couldn't see their faces, just as the girls and women did in Nagir. I did notice and pass many women constantly in the fields, but not once did I think that they even compared with our own attractive women . . . let alone surpass them! 123

Nor do I want you to get the impression that I am prejudiced. To me, at least, a woman can be beautiful whether she be black, yellow, tanned or white. I believe myself to be the kind of a man who shows no prejudice, at least where women are concerned, if you know what I mean!

Here I also want to state that it could be I was somewhat at a disadvantage. In the Western world, when one meets or sees a woman, it is usually at her best or close to it. Here the situation was, I admit, drastically different. I either saw them in the fields or coming or going to and from the fields to their homes or doing household chores in their homes. None of these occupational hazards would give a woman a chance to show herself at her prettiest or to her own best advantage.

I did not inquire as to the Rani's age. I am generally fairly bold but I just wasn't bold enough to pose that question to the Mir or to the Rani herself, although I had ample opportunity to do so had I the courage. 644 165

She would compare favorably in every way with any woman in her twenties. If I did not know her position and I were asked to estimate her age, I would say 24 or 25 but remember, she is the wife of the Mir and has borne him 9 living children, one of whom is married and another of whom is engaged to be married to the Prince of Chitral. Their eldest daughter is married to Yaseen Durishahwar and they have two sons, which means that the Rani is a grandmother. But I still insist that she doesn't look a day over 25.

128 As I sat and pondered my experiences—things that I had actually seen and witnessed, people whom I had met and talked to—I wondered and asked myself, "Will I be the man who will destroy the myth or will I corroborate it?"

Then I did a little soul searching. When an individual does that, it means he is troubled . . . and I admit that that was exactly my predicament.

I have tried to ascertain the truth of everything I have recorded and related in this book. Most of the time I was fortunate enough to see and do these things for myself. However, some information I had to obtain by asking questions and probing, but in every case I believed the information sincere and honest. You will note that, at all times, I sought my information from the highest and best informed sources available—even at the danger of annoying my host. Friendship and decorum are important conventions but, with me anyway, the quest for knowledge knows no bounds.

There may be errors and omissions and even falsehoods in my story but if there are any, it is by sheer accident or by willful misrepresentation on the part of someone else. Inasmuch as I am concerned, every statement made in this book is true, to the best of my innermost belief and knowledge.

124 There were many instances, while gathering this in-
128 formation, where facts, stories and other data were related to me and I doubted their veracity. So right there and then I said so. In some instances, I told the people who were giving me information that what they said did not make sense, and either they must have misunderstood or there was something being lost or twisted in the translation. I recall at the moment three such specific instances with entirely different groups and in each case, upon studying and revamping the

question, the error was cleared up. 128

Remember, I do not claim to be a Sherlock Holmes 124
or smart enough to detect by scent or otherwise an untruth or misunderstanding, so they may crop up in various places in the book.

Long before I left home I had prepared a set of queries. Among them were things for me to investigate —places, customs and chores for me to see and do. And from all this I was to make my own values and estimates as to the validity of the claims made about Hunza and its people. I tried to cover every aspect of importance and interest and I believe that, with very few exceptions, I faithfully accomplished my mission.

In preparation for the trip I read every book I could 122
find or locate that involved Hunza and in each case 114
the author had done a credible job, but most of them had failed miserably to give sufficient information—at least, for me—because 'twas information that I wanted. I wanted to know more about the agriculture of Hunza, about the health of the people, about their methods, their means and their way of life. None of the authors gave much of that vital data.

Right from the first moment that I made plans to go 12
to Hunza I decided that, if I wrote a book, it would 114
contain the most complete, the most detailed and the most thorough study of the people of Hunza yet accomplished by any writer. This determination came upon me from the frustrations I felt when I read the available books on Hunza and was left with a feeling that only the surface of the subject had been scratched.

In my endeavors to fulfill this undertaking, I have spared neither time, effort, risk nor expense. I certainly don't want my readers to be left with the feeling that all about Hunza has not been told. I definitely realize that no one in a short few weeks or even months could

121 learn all there is to know about these most unusual
114 people. At least I wanted to learn the answers to the many questions that come into the average individual's mind.

Therefore, it is my hope that I have not failed in these positive respects.

If my narrative is not everything that you hoped and expected, I sincerely trust that I will make up in the details and information of an authentic nature that I give to you concerning these remarkable people.

142 The facial features of the people of Hunza are most striking. They are invariably finer featured than the people of the West—more angular, more clearly outlined and defined, without being harsh or bold. Their facial characteristics can best be described by the phrase "finely, delicately chiseled physiognomy" . . . like the intricate creations of a gifted sculptor.

Whether because of the rugged outdoor life they lead or because of the tanning or curing process of their smoke-filled homes during the winter, the texture of their skin is quite unusual. I think I can describe it best if I say that their faces looked as though they were made out of smooth chamois.

I was struck by the similarity of the features of the people of Hunza. In the West, everybody you meet or know doesn't look like anyone else that you know. In fact, if you do happen to come across someone who has the likeness or features similar to those of someone else you know, you're immediately struck by that resemblance, which illustrates my point. In the Western world, there is a wide divergence of facial features and characteristics. In Hunza that does not hold true.

A little thought will establish the reason for this
[143] situation. Intermarriage during the centuries must have been the order of the day because of the confining nature of their homeland.

nature of their homeland. 000

However, the Mir pointed out to me most clearly and emphatically that intermarriage among members of one tribe is absolutely forbidden. There are four tribes in the Baltit area and they can marry among these four tribes . . . Diramiting, Khorokoch, Borong, Barataling . . . but definitely not among their own tribe. 582 143 [101]

Lest this sounds like a difficult matter to hold in check, I want to explain that this is easier to control than may be imagined, for the simple reason that all marriages must be sanctioned and performed by the Mir. Therefore he positively knows who is marrying whom. [585]

However, even if this has been the rule for many hundreds of years, the total population of Hunza, even today, stands at something less than 25,000 souls and Lord Curzon in his memoirs states that in 1894, the total population of Hunza was only 6,000. Therefore, among so small a population, it is almost impossible for them to marry very far beyond a family relationship. (In 1934 it was estimated that the population had risen to 15,000.) 161 582 143

Let's put it in another way. If the people of Hunza have remained more or less a pure people for nigh on 1,000 years and the population today is only 25,000, there must have been fairly close intermarriages. Perhaps that would, as I mentioned, account for the similarity of features.

I want to stress, at this point, that I came to Hunza primarily to learn and study (1) about their health and longevity and (2) about their means and methods of agriculture. 121

Let's examine or re-examine a few of the more pertinent details of their unusual country. 000

Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River

131 Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River from Secunderabad to the Chinese border, a distance of somewhere around 200 miles, but no one has ever actually measured it. At the narrowest point it is less than half a mile wide. At its broadest, it is not quite [133] two miles. Usually the only piece of flat land in a village [134] is the polo field. Good, rich, deep soil as Westerners know it is absolutely unknown in Hunza.

311 Whenever a house is built here, they seldom ever use [361] a piece of fertile soil or soil of any kind. They usually erect it on rock or on a steep hillside where that piece of land could not have been used for agriculture anyway.

[241] Practically every bit of farm land is terraced. It can be said, it is actually cut out of the rocks of the mountainside which is the north bank of the Hunza River.

[134] Of the total length of 200 miles, only a small fraction is at all arable. Most of it is solid rock or terrain so steep that horticulture of any nature is impossible.

312 Rainfall is scanty. They cannot depend upon it at all [132] for crops. In order to get sufficient water, hand built and similarly maintained conduits bring water down [241] from glaciers. These conduits are carefully erected and trained to run alongside the villages where the water can be trapped to flow where desired and used to irrigate their lands, also for drinking and all other necessary purposes.

There are four main conduits in Hunza and they are as follows:

Murku—This is at the highest level of all the aqueducts and carries the most water.

Barbar—Supplies the Baltit-Altit area.

Dala—This is the longest—extends as far as Aliabad. Supplies Kerimabad.

Hamachi—The smallest which runs as far as the tiny village Ganesh, located on a cliff's edge.

Water rights are regulated by law and a man can use the water from the conduit that passes his land at certain definitely established periods. The flow or shut-off is controlled by placing a large stone or rock at the opening of the channel into the individual's waterway. It may sound a bit baffling to the average individual, but upon viewing it and examining it, it is easy to understand and, what's more important, it is simple and practical. 312 [423]

Nowhere did I see these waterways covered or encased in pipes—although they did in many places run under the roadway.

As their water supply is glacier-fed, there is never any danger of a supply failing . . . at least, not in the imminent future. However, in cloudy periods the flow slackens and an extended cloudy period causes a severe water shortage.

Lest you get the idea that these conduits or waterways are a simple matter, I want to assure you that they are a marvel of engineering. Further, when you consider that the first one was built about 1860 without any man made tools or iron or steel, you can then believe what a difficult and gigantic undertaking it was. It is a monument to their industry, intelligence and foresight. At least now, they have iron picks with which to dig, rather than having to use ibex horns. [412]

Here I want to mention very definitely that the same type of waterway exists on the other side of the river . . . that is, in Nagir territory.

They do not, in any sense of the word, have orchards as we know orchards in the West, because they don't have a piece of land large enough or flat enough to compare with what we know as an orchard. In the West orchard sites are usually selected with the premeditated view of providing excellent drainage. There- 245 311

245 fore, knolls or rolling lands are preferred and gravelly,
311 sandy or light loam soils are chosen.

There are neither rolling lands nor tilthy knolls in Hunza. Here they have to take what they can get and make the best of it. The precipitous bits of arable land are terraced to prevent erosion and the flat pieces, such as there are, create no drainage problem because there is no danger of too much rain.

You will seldom see more than a few dozen fruit trees in one group or area. They are scattered here, there and everywhere and are planted only where and when they can grow to best advantage.

I would also like to mention that fruit and walnut trees are found growing almost everywhere along the roads or trails in the populated area, so no bit of arable land, no matter where it is found, is wasted.

245 I do not know if there is any dispute as to who owns the crops but all the way from Gilgit to Altit I did not find a bit of ripe fruit on the trees—which means most clearly that somebody harvests the crops at just the right time or when the fruit is at or about proper maturity.

433 From some of the larders that I examined, I gathered
251 that they certainly wouldn't have any overabundance and I further felt that, by the time winter and early spring passed and before the new crops were ready to harvest, some bellies might have thinned out and some more might even be hungry.

There was no reason for me to disbelieve the Mir when he said Hunza was the "land of just enough" but I still felt that, by the look of things, there would be many occasions when that "just enough" might have to be stretched a little. I was convinced that they certainly did not have too much of any food commodity.

142 The only two stout men that I met on my entire

sojourn through the area were the Mir's two brothers. 142
The Mir himself, while not tall, is well-built and muscular, but shows no sign of fat.

The Hunzan fruit crops, from my careful observa- 245
tions, are as follows: apricots, Persian walnuts, mulberries, peaches, plums, pears and cherries. These were the sweet cherries. Nowhere did I see any sign of the sour or pie cherries.

Further, I noticed that all of the trees of this type that I saw were old. There were not many young trees, but that is understandable because they allow a tree to grow as long as it is able to bear fruit and they have little or no new space to plant young trees.

The walnut, the mulberry and the apricot trees grow to enormous size—far stronger, broader and heavier than they ever grow in America, although I have seen huge walnut trees and huge cherry trees in the Western world. Peach, pear, plum and apple are not grown nearly as much as the other kinds mentioned.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 35

The Hunzan Economy

243 FROM THE thrice-told tales of people who write about Hunza and its fertile fields, one might rightfully expect to see bountiful crops of grain bending in the breeze, but I did not expect to see great expanses of waving golden wheat fields in Hunza, so I was not disappointed. The flight from Pindi to Gilgit told me the story better than words. The harsh, flint rock mountains and meager valleys made agriculture a serious, unrelenting affair that taxed man's ingenuity and endurance.

In field crops the Hunzans grow wheat, which I found to be one of their most important foods. I saw more wheat than any other grain. Then there were [244] buckwheat, peas, broad beans, lucerne, millet, barley, rice, onions, potatoes, carrots, turnips and lettuce.

It is said that they can grow two crops a year and, while I did not actually see two crops produced, I noticed that the wheat was harvested in late July and

there would still be ample time to grow another crop 243
before the frost came. Therefore, that adds credence to the statement that they can grow two crops a year.

I gathered that buckwheat was their most important second crop and it was not hard to understand, because it thrives on the poorer and lighter soils, where other grains might not do as well. Further, it needs only about ten weeks to mature and it has the added advantage of flowering and setting its crops continuously, so that a fair harvest can be had at most any time.

Then, too, it is a crop that can stand the colder weather; that is, the chilly nights in early fall and spring that they are bound to have in these high mountain areas. In actuality, the buckwheat blooms continually and flowers, green seed and ripe seed can be found on the plants at one and the same time.

There is another good reason why the Hunzans grow a lot of buckwheat. It invariably leaves the soil in splendid physical condition and believe me, that is very, very important to the people of Hunza. In addition, [231]
this crop makes splendid food for their farm animals. It makes a fine green manure as well as a weed smother crop.

It must be remembered that buckwheat makes a dandy emergency crop if and when other earlier crops have failed. So it is not hard to understand why it would be one of the most important grain crops in Hunza.

They don't have bees in Hunza, I was sorry to learn, 262
and therefore there is no buckwheat honey. 231

The Hunzans are chiefly vegetarians—whether by [311]
choice or necessity is hard to establish, although I would say that they had little choice in the matter because they just don't have the area to waste on animals. They can't afford to get their food second-hand. While there 311

311 were a few valleys where a bit of pasture might have been established or used, they just couldn't afford to waste acres for pasture purposes.

234 I did not see any cheese—that is, cheese as we know
251 it—in Hunza, but I maintain that their stored butter is
262 cheese. I knew from what I had read and learned that they have a most unusual method of storing their butter, and one day the Mir sent one of his servants out to bring some in. In a few minutes the servant returned, carrying on a tray a huge bundle that looked like and was slightly larger than a football. He placed it in front of me and told me to go ahead and unwrap it, which I did. It was neatly and firmly wrapped in birchbark and when I removed layer after layer of wet, dripping bark, I at last came to the so-called butter. It was gleaming pure white. A knife was handed to me and I dug a little piece out of the side and tasted it. It was absolutely delicious. It had a fresh wholesome flavor. I thought it was cheese and that is what I really believe it is.

234 Their method of making this butter is as follows: Goat, sheep, cow or yak milk is used. Their method of churning butter is strictly Eastern. They do not use wooden or metal churns as they are found and known in the West. Usually goat skins are used. They are turned inside out so that the smooth, tanned side is outside. Then the ends of the hide are carefully sewn together. Openings are allowed to remain by means of the legs, and these are used for filling the skin with the milk to be churned and later to extract the butter. While the churning is taking place, the leg openings are firmly tied.

Then the milk-filled hide is joggled, weedled, spanked, turned and twisted over the knees and this is maintained continually until some sort of solidification takes place. Just as with us, impatience and inquisitive-

ness become master and the shaking is stopped, while a peek is taken by untying a leg opening to see if the process is beginning. 234

When at last butter is formed, it is squeezed out of the skin churn and then they make firm round balls out of it. It is wrapped in birchbark, placed underneath a water channel and left there for months, or years as the case may be. One record through which I poured related that this butter was sometimes kept for 100 years. I found no verification of this from the citizens of Hunza. Perhaps in this instance the butter was forgotten and was discovered many years later, but it is kept for years and is usually brought out for special celebrations and other occasions. 234 251 [262]

Now you will hear the word "ghee" referred to on every hand when talking about food. This is the selfsame butter but heated to the melting point and allowed to harden. By then it turns into a bright yellow color. It is used as a spread but also for cooking, baking, frying and such. Most Hunzans prefer "ghee" over the plain ordinary butter. The Mir told me that he and his household all preferred it to butter. 234 262

So therefore, besides the fruit, nuts, grain and vegetable crops, they have curd, ghee, butter (cheese) and milk. Those who do eat meat would be lucky if they could afford to have it more than two or three times a year, but I understand meat is available for most festive occasions. 262

While in all probabilities they dry other types of fruit, I did not see any other dried fruits but apricots. On my travels throughout the country I saw thousands of trees and probably millions of apricots but I did not see one go to waste. Everywhere I went apricots were drying. They had been split open, the stone removed and stored and the fruit left for the sun and air to cure and dry 251

251 them. Even apricots that were bruised, damaged or even starting to rot were put out to dry. No treatment of any kind was used . . . just simply nature at work.

245 [428] [423] An apricot tree is a most valuable asset in Hunza. It is a fact that an apricot tree is often willed to a daughter by parents and she can retain her rights to the tree and of course the crops that come from it for her lifetime.

In the Western world, the apricot is not considered a long-lived tree. In America, especially, it is considered not much longer lived than a peach or a plum and that means at the most, 25 or 30 years of life. When you take into consideration the truth that in Hunza apricot trees live to be well over 100 years, one wonders just where the difference comes in.

245 242 I really believe that I have the answer. In Hunza apricots are grown from seed. No matter where I looked or sought I could find no tree nursery in either Nagir or Hunza. (I did find a small government nursery in Gilgit.) Therefore I would assume that every Hunzan farmer grows his own trees from the planting of the apricot seeds. No doubt some Hunzan farmers are more adept at this task than others and they probably grow a few extra ones and maybe trade them for other things with their neighbors.

But, as explained, the trees here last many, many years and the orchard space or land to grow them on is very limited. Therefore, there would be little or no demand for nursery stock. I inquired wherever I went concerning grafting and I tried to establish whether or not they knew anything about the process and how much they knew, but I came up against a blank wall. I could gather no definite information. That they know how to graft and are acquainted with the process, I am sure but to what extent it is used, I could not establish.

Now the case in the Western world and specifically 245
in America is entirely different. Most of the apricots 242
in America are positively grafted or budded on either plum or peach rootstock. This tends to make the tree bear a crop much sooner than it would on its own roots. On a plum root the apricot tree will grow in damp soils that would not be tolerated by the apricot itself or by the apricot grown on a peach root. However, the fact that the apricot is budded on peach or plum definitely makes its life span about 30 years at the utmost.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, nowhere in America can you purchase apricot seedlings, nor are they listed by any of the wholesale nurseries or growers. This would clearly indicate that apricots are invariably grown on a foreign rootstock as mentioned above. Undoubtedly this has much to do with the longevity of the Hunzan apricot trees. In Europe apricot seedlings are available and used as the rootstock on which to graft and bud apricots, which is as it should be.

However, from my investigations, I did learn that more than 20 different kinds of apricots are known and grown in Hunza. This does prove that grafting or budding or both are known in Hunza. The fruit that I 245
did see and eat was by no means superior to that grown in the rest of the world. In fact, if anything, it was of inferior size and quality.

This may come as a shock to many people who believe that everything the people of Hunza do is superior to that done anywhere else in the world. Unfortunately, I must relate things as I found them.

In America, for example, a farmer would not hesitate to remove a tree or even an orchard that was producing undersized or inferior quality fruit, because he's depending on his fruit for marketing purposes. Remember, too, in America size and yield are the two most im-

245 portant qualities desired by all fruit growers. The reason is obvious . . . because the consuming public will readily buy the larger fruits. The quality is practically always judged by appearance, not by its flavor.

For the moment I am using exactly the same yardstick in Hunza and it is upon that fact that I am making my comparison. I have discovered the reason why all travelers to Hunza report the high succulent good flavor of the Hunzan apricot, and the explanation is simple. Invariably, when you eat an apricot in Hunza, it has been tree-ripened or you pick it directly from the tree and eat it and it is at its pinnacle of flavor and goodness, whereas in America, when you buy apricots, whether at a fruit stall or supermarket, that selfsame apricot might have been picked two weeks prior when it was green and ripened artificially or at least ripened away from its parent. Therefore, no comparison in flavor can be made.

Another valid reason for the popularity, or should I say necessity, of growing apricots in that mountainous region is because the apricot is one of the first trees to ripen its fruit. Apricots as a rule mature with cherries. However, the cherry requires a much shorter period from blossom to fruit and to make up this period, the apricot blooms very early. In fact, it is generally conceded to be the first of all tree fruits to show its flowers. A few warm sunny days in the early spring will bring out the apricot blossoms in their full charm and beauty.

It is seldom that they get through their blossoming period without frost of lighter or greater degree striking them, whether it be in Hunza or Niagara. But the apricot blooms, even though beautiful and tender of look, are really rugged and hardy, can take the cold weather and mature large crops of delicious fruit in spite of the chilly, frosty weather at blossoming time.

Among people—yes, even experienced old-time gardeners and orchardists—there are many who believe that pollination by bees is required in all cases to set a crop of fruit. For many types of fruit and plants, this holds true; pollination by bees or other insects is essential. But in the case of the apricot and many others, wind pollination is the means that nature employs, and actually it is safer and surer than pollination by insects. Rain is also an effective pollinator, contrary to many people's conception and belief. I believe I would be safe in stating that wind pollination is the means of fertilizing more plants than can be claimed for bees and other insects combined. 245

All Hunzans own their own land and house. They pay no rent or taxes. Each citizen does his share of road building, taking care of the water channels and maintenance. The Mir leases his land to various individuals, most of them young people who as yet own no land of their own, or those who have insufficient for their needs. They pay him by means of services rendered and shares of the crops. 423 651 [653] 427 643

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 36

2000 Years of Bread!

256 ONE OF THE THINGS that I did want to witness with my own eyes was the feeding and operation of a flour mill in Hunza. Apart from all of the other important and interesting data that I had hoped to gather while in this part of the world, the operation of the wheat mill was one that to me had great portent. I wanted to see the wheat actually going into the mill and coming out as flour.

000 Bread is said to be the staff of life. Well, whether it is or not remains a moot question. But to me at least, bread is important. I always have been a big bread eater.

121 Now it was only during the past few years that by
262 reading and learning I found out how useless or even harmful the pleasant white loaf that we know in America is and can be. Having a fair idea about the health record as it exists in America and knowing the kind of

bread we eat, I was greatly interested when I heard about the people of Hunza and then found out that they eat only bread that is made from whole grain. 121 262

Then, when the same books or facts brought to light that the people of Hunza knew few of the world's ills, my interest was aroused to almost a fever pitch. I wondered if there was any connection between the kind of bread that we ate and our health and the kind of bread they ate in Hunza and their health.

From my own observations I also learned that wheat was the most important crop in Hunza, with the exception of apricots. I have also tried to establish which was the first domesticated grain in the annals of human history and I have not been able to establish clearly whether it was wheat or millet. But wheat is more adaptable to the temperate zones, whereas millet leans more to the warmer climes and it is clearly established that wheat is preferred by the white races. 243 000

I soon learned that there was a flour mill that functioned regularly, located on the route that we took from the palace at Baltit to the old palace or old fort. So on one of my walks I made it a point to investigate thoroughly the location, the workings and the construction of this old mill. 256

On my way up when we stopped at Chalt I saw one of these mills in operation, but I did not actually see the grain being made into flour.

For a man who has spent most of his life in the country and on a farm, I feel embarrassed to admit that I had never seen a flour mill in operation before.

During the past quarter of a century, or even a longer period, milling has, generally speaking, come into the hands of large corporations and that is why, I assume, I got it into my head that milling was a complicated big-time operation that required a great investment

256 and the hiring of many employees. I've tried to analyze how I mentally reached these conclusions and eventually I saw the light. I knew that the grain had to be stored in huge elevators, then transported to the mill in carload quantities and from the railroad cars it was carried or blown into huge bins and then from there into hoppers that fed it into the rolling mill itself. Then the process of separating the bran, then the wheat germ and then the flour took place. The next process, I understood, was for the flour to be ground even more minutely and then bleached. After this had all been accomplished there were some government rules or regulations that compelled the mills to fortify or replace some of the important values that had been removed.

Now after you have read the above, can you blame me for getting the idea that milling was a costly and complicated process? Again, I must confess, even to the extent of being embarrassed, that I had to travel to Hunza to learn the truth about milling. Then perhaps I need not be ashamed of my ignorance because the problem of making bread from grains has been plaguing mankind for more than 6,000 years, during which time much blood has been shed, governments have been overthrown and billions of dollars in profits have been made. Yes, the whole story of human existence can be written and told in terms of man's staff of life—bread!

When we stop to realize that bread has been the mainstay of human diet for almost 6,000 years, we ought to bury our heads in shame to admit that our knowledge concerning this life-giving or life-destroying food is so meager and inadequate. Not one person in a thousand realizes, knows or understands, what is contained in the food upon which he leans heavily and of which he consumes large quantities, not only every

day but in most cases, at every meal. 256

It came as quite a surprise to me to learn that milling was one of the most simple operations that could be devised and that difficulties and complications only arose when we sought to deviate from the natural way of doing things.

So now at last I was there watching a Hunzan flour mill in action. In all probabilities the same milling process is followed in practically all countries of the world where flour is milled in a simple manner.

My first impression as I watched the flour pouring from between the revolving stones was, "How easy—how utterly simple! Why should anyone in the world be denied access to that vital health-giving food?" Any man can have his own pure whole wheat flour, from which he can have made his wholesome delicious whole wheat bread, by the simple means of putting a grain of wheat between two stones and rubbing the two stones together.

In this Hunzan flour mill, wheat is poured into a suspended hopper made of wood, but shaped like and about the same size as a grain sack and tapered to a narrow opening just above the millstones. Attached under the opening is a small trough, tilted slightly. This trough sits with its lower end over the hole in the stone. Then right there at the mouth of the trough a wooden stick is attached so that it will dangle at the mouth of the opening and as the mill rotates, this stick taps against the opening and causes the grain to drop out in regulated amounts. Thus, the flow of the wheat into the opening of the millstone is governed.

The millstone is rotated by direct drive from the water wheel. From the conduit up above, a stone is removed and the water is allowed to run down a spillway, which leads under the mill house and is made to [37.6]

256 splash against the water wheel or paddle. The force is
[376] sufficient to make the millstone revolve at a tremendous pace. The water can be quickly shut off by just putting the missing stone back in place, diverting the water flow down the conduit.

The millstones are enclosed by a tray or bin about 5 or 6 inches high. As the ground wheat or flour is forced out between the stones, it slowly fills the bin. Then it is scooped up into goatskin bags, usually by a woman who is looking after the mill. In this manner it
[262] is carried to the individual homes to be used in making the wholesome whole wheat Hunzan bread and chapatties.

There appeared to be no large scale or assembly line grinding. Each individual came in with a container of wheat to be ground.

[262] Barley and rye are also used for flour and occasionally, millet and buckwheat.

262 The earliest crop that can be ground into flour in Hunza is barley. After the long winter, food supplies
[243] are worn to the near starvation level and when the first
[527] barley is ready for harvest, people of Hunza have cause to celebrate and do so in their barley festival.

252 I soon learned why chapatties were used in prefer-
262 ence to bread, not only in Hunza but all over Pakistan and India. A chapatty requires only flour and water, a bit of mixing and then rolling out and laying on a piece of metal that is laid over a fire. In a few minutes it can be turned and then it is ready for eating. Even though bread might taste better, it certainly would require a lot more preparation. Simplicity is the keynote!

251 From what I saw, very little flour is stored and probably the people of Hunza have long ago learned their lesson, that wheat ground into flour does not have long keeping qualities.

There is more wheat grown in Hunza than any other 243
single grain crop. Therefore the wheat they use must [164]
be one of the vitally important contributors to the
health of these people.

If you will take time to study the habits or the peculiarities concerning the growing of wheat, you will quickly learn that wheat will not grow on poor or unbalanced soils. One of the first things that my father taught me many long years ago was that your best land must be used if you want to grow a good crop of wheat. Rye or barley, he told me, you can grow most anywhere, but wheat is fussy. If the nutrients aren't there in the soil, the wheat will not grow and your crop will be a failure. All through my travels in Nagir and Hunza I saw wheat and it looked good. It wasn't the same tall wheat that we grow in the Canadian West, but it was wheat and the yield was comparatively bountiful, which means that the Hunzan soil must contain the required nutrients—and to grow wheat, there are many.

Therefore there is a direct connection between the nutrient contents of the soil of Hunza and the wheat that it grows, the flour that they use, the bread that they eat and the health of these people.

Here and now I want to explain that I am not 243
making decisions for anyone. I am trying to lay down 134
the facts as I found them. As stated above, in order to grow good wheat or even to grow wheat at all, the soil must contain all of its required nutrients. It is obvious, therefore, that the soil has the required nutrients and as all of the Hunzan soil is shallow, these nutrients must be regularly reincorporated into the soil.

I have already related that everything that is taken 243
from the soil is returned to the soil by the natives.
Consequently we know that nothing is lost. Hunza does [439]
not export food. That I know, because there is barely

243 sufficient for their own needs. They often trade or
[438] barter with the Nagirwals for short items.

Therefore, is the ordinary means of field husbandry as practiced by the people of Hunza the answer? It must be at least part of the story, but how big a part, I am unable to say.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 37

Hunza Fat Factory

I SOMETIMES BELIEVE—in fact, it is a conviction of mine—that in America we waste or cast aside the most vital parts of many foods and we use as food the part that is of lower nutritive content.

In Hunza the kernels of the apricots are gathered and stored. Some of them are cracked and eaten out of hand. But the major portion is put away for future use and then turned into apricot oil.

Never, ever did I see one single apricot kernel wasted in Hunza. If you tasted the kernel of the apricot, you'd soon know why. It is every bit as delicious and fine flavored as the finest almond. In fact, the almond, peach and apricot are very closely related. I contend that the flavor of the apricot seed is every bit as good as that of the almond. The almond, however, gains its popularity and superiority because of its thinner shell, which means easier cracking.

251 It is clear that the Hunzans have long, long ago learned a secret that we in the Western world have only discovered recently . . . that the nut or kernel of a fruit or seed deteriorates rapidly and can be the cause of ill health if allowed to remain for any length of time outside its natural shell or covering and then consumed . . . for the Hunzans never crack the hard coat of the apricot stones until they want to use the kernels. From
000 my experience with seeds of varying kinds and types during the past 30 years—whether grain, vegetable, fruit, nut or other—I have learned that no living seed whatsoever should have its skin or shell broken or removed until it is actually going to be eaten, planted or put to some other use.

Within the walls of the seed or nut coat are contained some of nature's greatest miracle workers. Underneath that ingenious covering are found the required enzymes, the spark of life, that breaks dormancy and tells the seed when to start to grow . . . or that can hold that large, tiny or microscopic embryo in suspended animation for a few hours or a thousand years, until conditions amenable to the needs of that species are located. If and when the environmental factors are met, the seed coat immediately fulfills its function and growth begins.

Therefore, it is never advisable to remove the shell or the protective coat from any seed or grain—especially of those that are going to be eaten.

It has been recently disclosed by science that seeds whose outer coatings have been removed can be harmful if eaten by a human. In some instances, it is suspected that they can be of carcinogenic character. Is it not remarkable that these people, who have had little or no contact with what we know as civilization and learning, have for almost 2000 years known enough not to do things that we have learned about only recently?

I had never seen oil made or rendered from any fruit, 252
food or grain and I asked if I could be allowed to witness this process from the beginning. Arrangements were made and I went to visit a plain ordinary Hunzan house where the mistress was prepared and willing to demonstrate the making of apricot oil.

The lady and some of her children sat on the floor with a neat stack of apricot stones beside them. Then she and one of her youngsters took each individual stone and split it open with a rock. The meats were taken out and piled into a stone mortar. Then, when they had [412]
filled the mortar, the lady got her pestle and began to pound the kernels until they were made into a meal. Next, she rubbed it with her hands until it was worked into a paste. This she placed into an iron skillet, which was placed over a three-sided stone stove. Then she broke up some small chips of wood that she had ready, ignited them and moved the pan about over the heat until it began to warm up. She kept rubbing and kneading the meal with her hands in the skillet until it got quite warm—but not hot, for she used her hands for turning it in the pan.

Then, she lifted up the mass and put it into a round, [415]
solid, earthenware or stone receptacle about 12 inches in diameter, with the sides about two or two and a half inches high. She kneaded this with her fingers and knuckles firmly, much more firmly than one would in kneading dough for bread.

Then, a tablespoonful of water was poured over the meal and the massaging process was continued. It was explained to me that sometimes tea is used instead of water. If the pits are bitter pits from the wild fruit, plain water is used, but for sweet pits from the propagated apricots salt water is used.

The bitter pits are gathered from the trees that grow [222] [373]

252 wild in various parts of the area. The oil rendered from
[222] these kernels is probably used only for lighting, because
[373] it is poisonous. Due to their heavy content of prussic acid, a handful of them is considered deadly. In Ni-
[762] agara, if somebody wants to commit suicide, he jumps over Niagara Falls; in Hunza, they eat a batch of wild apricot kernels.

The kneading process is continued and the vessel is kept tilted so the oil runs down and forms a small pool. As the oil begins to form, the kneading becomes even more vigorous until every drop of oil possible is extracted. While the rendering of the oil may be hard on the knuckles, nothing could be simpler and the resulting product is probably the most healthful and finest fat product that human hands can produce.

[231] The pulp that remains after the oil[1] is extracted is
[302] fed to milk-giving goats, sheep or cows, and is often used as a concoction or shampoo in which the Hunzans wash their heads. The oil of course is used in cooking, baking, frying, for lighting—and even for the hair.

[461] The good woman who performed the oil extracting task for me did not seem to be the least bit overburdened or taxed from this sort of arduous work. It probably would have been a hard day's work for a Western woman.

I would like to stress at this point that the heating process was not a cooking process in any sense of the word. Just a slight warming was all that was needed.

251 The apricot oil is never rendered and stored in casks
252 or otherwise, like many other people do with their oils. They may make sufficient to last them a few days but not more. This is poured into an earthen vessel or a bottle, if available. When a further supply is required, the pits are cracked and they go through the entire process as outlined.

1 [ie - oil from apricot seeds - ANALYST]

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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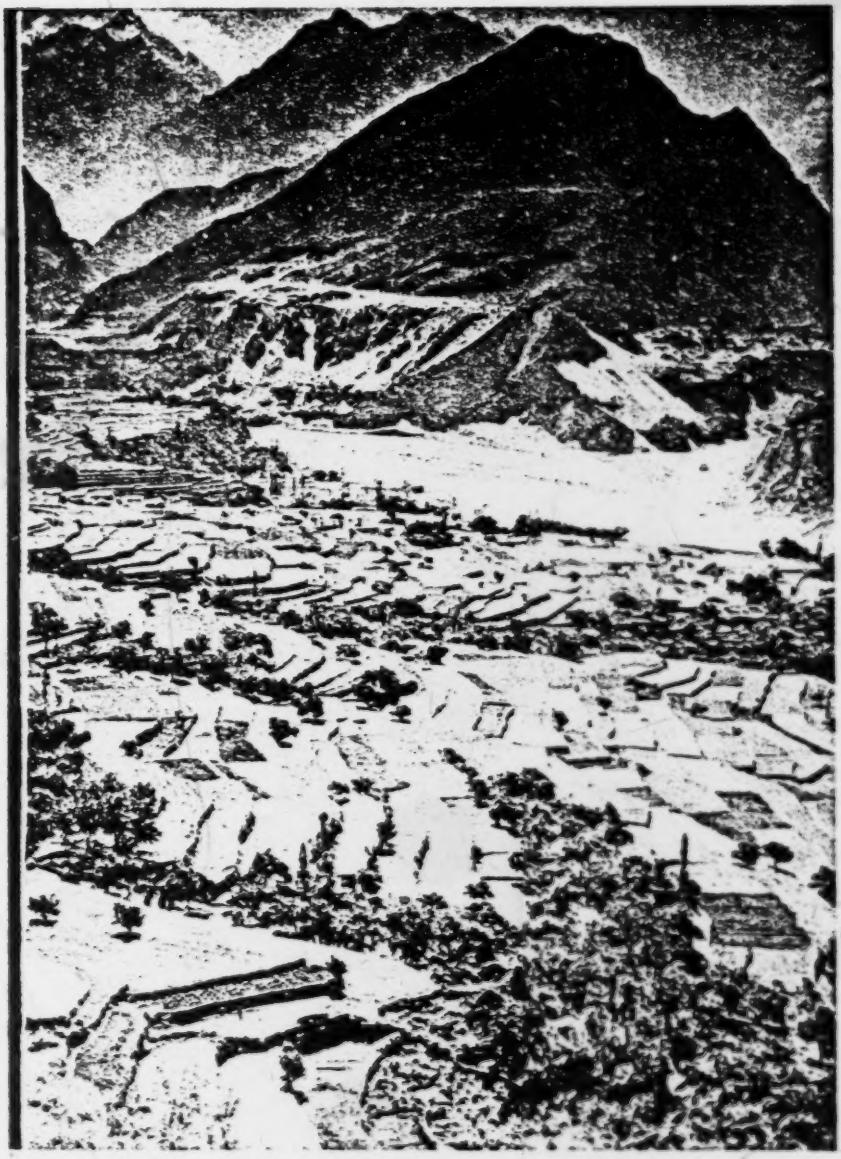

The largest area of land suitable for farming in Hunza—located near Baltit.

[facing p. 326-]
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7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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Human fields are small, and are worked with hand tools.

[p.326-B1]

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Whether or not apricot oil contains any special qualities I am unable to say. Perhaps someone will do some research on it in the near future and perhaps we will learn that apricot oil is another of the reasons why the Hunzans keep their health.

But for the moment, contrast the way the Hunzans get their oil and the way the people of the Western world get theirs. I know of no oil that is offered for general sale in America that is not treated or rendered by a harsh chemical solvent. Nor do I know of any oil sold or that is generally procurable on which a color extractor or bleach is not used. There is no reason why we cannot have apricot oil in the West, but if we did have it, I'm afraid any or most of its good, health-giving effects would be lost, if a solvent or a bleaching agent were employed.

Yes, I do know that there are vegetable oils offered on the market that have been prepared by the expeller method, but such oils are seldom seen, are quite expensive and only the keenly health-minded people who know what they want will pay the price and look for them.

Maybe sunflower seed oil, corn oil or olive oil are every bit as good as apricot oil, but the *process*—therein lies the secret of health or disease. The most satisfactory method of rendering oil from grains or nuts is the simple natural cold press process, after which it is filtered.

The accent during the past few years has been markedly towards the vegetable oils against animal oils. Researchers seem to have proven without any fear of contradiction, that the vegetable oils are much less harmful or actually beneficial to the human system, whereas the animal oils are suspected as being prime contributors in most cases to arteriosclerosis and ultimately, heart disease.

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Choosing sides for a polo match. Rakaposhi is in the background.

[Facing p. 327]

252 So now, almost every housewife is turning towards vegetable oils to prolong the life of her husband and give greater health to her family and herself. However, I suspect that the processing has rendered any benefits not only doubtful, but maybe has turned them into something that has a physically degenerative effect.

Again the people of Hunza seem to have won an easy victory over us in the matter of what oil to use by simply staying with nature, working with her and taking what she has to offer, rather than trying to beat her at her own game.

There is another aspect that I would like to point out at this time and that is that I believe, for the oil process, it would be better if stored stones or pits were used, rather than fresh ones. If fresh pits were used, there would be a much higher moisture content and therefore the oil would require much more working or kneading before it would be rendered.

I see no reason why apricot pits couldn't be stored for more than one year if kept in a comparatively cool, dry place. Thus, they would give their oil more readily, because only the water would be evaporated during the lapse of time.

A handful of apricot meats would be required to render about one ounce of oil.

CHAPTER 38

Crop Rotation--Harvesting

WHENEVER I TALKED to a farmer—and, of course, practically all people in Hunza are farmers—I asked what crops they grew and then asked how many years they had been growing wheat or potatoes or barley on a specific field. In every case the answer came back that some other crop different from the present one was raised there last year. I tracked this down carefully because I wanted to clearly establish whether or not they followed the rotating program in raising their food crops.

Even before setting foot in Hunza, I was certain that they could never have remained alive and in good health under such difficult conditions and with the limited available land, unless a rigid scheme of crop rotation was followed. Yet from what I actually saw on the scene, I reached the conclusion that this was easier said than done. It's all right to rotate crops where you have

242 lots of land and where, if necessary, you can allow some of it to lie fallow. But here they needed every bit of land they could get. It was actually a matter of life and death.

In a country where land is as scarce as it is in Hunza, there would be a very strong temptation against allowing land to lie fallow. I assure you that this technique is positively practiced. Then, too, there is a strong temptation to use a few pats of cow or yak dung for fuel during the cold winter nights. Yet, in most of Hunza, common sense and wisdom prevail and the excrement is used where it belongs—on the land.

I can see no hope that the land situation in Hunza will improve, but the very fact that it has continued to exist and flourish for over 1,000 years is ample proof that their way of life, their methods and means of agriculture, are right. It is only by practicing rigid, persevering methods of control and natural methods of agriculture that they have been able to survive.

With land so scarce one might be tempted to get away from crop rotation. But the people of Hunza are too wise to succumb to that type of thinking. They know that if crop rotation were not practiced rigorously, disease, sickness and death would soon follow. They know that no people anywhere in the world are "healthier than their soil."

History relates and offers proof of many civilizations who failed to follow the practices and principles of sound agriculture and to return to the land that which belonged to and came from the land. This practice invariably led to ruin and extermination. This selfsame horticultural technique is being practiced in many countries throughout the world today and the results will be the same—disastrous—as only time will prove.

No matter where I walked or went or rode in either

Hunza or Nagir, not once did I see a bit of organic material of any kind wasted or destroyed. The people made regular foraging trips to different parts of the country and always brought back for their land any grass or other organic material that was found and could be brought home. 242

They would walk many miles in search of grass or green growth of any kind. Regularly I saw men, women and boys carrying huge packs on their backs. It was a mass of green packed into a cloth and carried to their farm to be fed to the animals or distributed over the small fields. [452] [231]

Up until the present time chemical fertilizers have not invaded Hunza. Whether there is any connection between the splendid health of the Hunzans and the fact that they have never used commercial fertilizers, I am unable to state. But it is worth considering!

Remember, there are no forests, peat bogs or other sources of organic material like we have in most parts of Europe and America. Every bit of organic material that the Hunzan farmer uses or procures is got at the expense of hard work or difficult travel. So it is easy to see why they can afford to waste not one iota of this life-sustaining substance.

If you have ever traveled to Switzerland, you would probably be struck or amazed by the neat piles of manure that are built in front of most farm residences and there a man's prestige and intrinsic value are estimated by the size of his manure pile. Don't laugh—I'm not joking! I'm dead serious and I swear this is absolutely true! Wise, oh, very wise, are the Swiss!

In Hunza, unfortunately, manure piles are seldom if ever encountered because the manure is placed on their fields as soon as it is ready. I looked into countless animal stables but never once did I see a manure pile . . .

242 either there or anywhere else. Obviously it is placed directly on the fields or at least at definite short intervals.

Here the Hunzan system again showed some notable difference from the method practiced in the West. Practically all farmers in the West allow their manure to accumulate in piles or actually stack it in that manner. It is usually left there from one season to another at least and often longer. I've heard them refer to the older manure piles as well cured ones. I've always bemoaned this fact—yes, back as much as 20 years ago—because with every rain and with the snows in the winter, potent, rich, nutrient-ladened juices flowed off into the streams from my land and other lands. No one can deny that a fair part of the value of the manure is leached away forever.

In Hunza it is spread regularly on the land, between crops in the spring and summer. I distinctly saw many farms on which the manure had been distributed being plowed in. This is never done, to my knowledge, in the West. Therefore the Hunzan farmer does not lose any of his valuable, natural manures by leaching.

242 514 Because there is such a scarcity of organic materials, it is obvious that excrement must be used to the fullest extent. I looked, I gazed, I searched, I peered but nowhere did I see a sign of any human excrement being accumulated, saved or being used on the Hunzan farms. This mystified me.

In practically all parts of India and in some parts of Pakistan and perhaps in other Eastern countries, it is customary for the citizenry to stoop at the curb, right out in the middle of the street or sometimes beside a bush or planting of shrubs, and right there and then evacuate water or feces. No, this is not an exaggeration or a fairy tale, but the simple, unadulterated truth that is seldom told.

That people avoid discussing this unpleasant topic is understandable; yet, by doing so, you and others who have no opportunity of visiting these areas are often given an incorrect picture. Whereas, in Pakistan and India, this unpleasant business took place practically everywhere, it was with a genuine feeling of relief and thankfulness that I found in Hunza it is positively never practiced—at least, I never saw even a sign of any such thing taking place—but evidently human excrement is used there. It is buried and eventually finds its way to the fields. 242 514

It took quite a search to track down the ways and means and methods of using this night-soil. I know that it is used extensively in the East and for that matter, it is also used in Mexico and perhaps in other parts of the Western world. There is no reason why it shouldn't be used if proper methods of curing or mellowing are followed. After all is said and done, our septic tanks are only putting a natural principle to work, but the shame of it is that in most cases it is entirely wasted.

The most common method of using night-soil in Hunza was to place it in a deeply (as deep as the rocky terrain of Hunza would allow) dug pit, which was carefully kept covered, and eventually, a year or two later, it was distributed over the fields.

Harvesting a crop of grain in Hunza is very much unlike our Western methods. They do not cut their grain but each wheat plant, or other grain, is pulled out individually, root and all, by hand. Then it is laid in neat bundles on the ground. When the harvesting or grain pulling process is complete, the roots are separated from the stalks by being cut or chopped off in bundles. 243

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 39

Oh, Happy, Happy Day!

WHAT CONSTITUTES a Hunzan's day?

If anyone were to ask you to describe a normal, ordinary, usual American's day, you might be harder pressed than you think if you tried to outline it clearly and distinctly. And the reasons are manifold. Seldom, if ever, are two days identical.

For example, a city man may assume that the farmer's day is all cut and dried and fixed and that he follows a regular routine from the moment he arises until he goes to bed that night. If you were to ask a farmer about a city man's day, he would just casually assume that a definite pattern were followed from the time he arose, shaved, brushed his teeth, had his breakfast and caught the trolley or took the car to his business . . . then a period off for lunch and perhaps a coffee break . . . then he'd put in some more time till 5 o'clock came round and then back home he'd go again . . . have his

evening meal, watch TV and then to bed. 500

While this may all sound very good and very logical and fit into what we believe is a pattern, the average day is really unlike what I have described here for either the city dweller or the farmer. The truth of the matter is that, as I said at the start, no two days are entirely alike.

The day of the week plays an important role. The weather contributes its variation. Then we all know full well that not even a minute is predictable. So how could anyone expect to give a clear-cut résumé of what any person's day consists?

That is somewhat the way I felt when I set out to outline what a day would be like as lived by the average citizen of Hunza. The only thing that I can hope to set out is a pattern. It may have a few or even hundreds of variations but at least the general pattern will be clear. So here is what I believe to be the procedure of one day—an ordinary day—in the life of a Hunzan. 512

The people of Hunza are Mohammedans of the Ismaili sect. They are in no way fanatical. In fact, the Ismaili are probably the least religious of all Mohammedans. The call to prayer is at 3:30 in the morning. Only the more pious and devout attend the service at the mosque. 512 788 [771]

A good true religious Mohammedan prays 5 times a day and on each occasion the prayer will last up to one hour, but through my entire travels through both Nagir and Hunza I saw very few instances where they took time off to pray during the day except on religious holidays or festivals. But, as I mentioned, prayer starts at 3:30 A.M. and I didn't have occasion to see them in action. Those who are devout usually pray from 3:30 to 4:30 and then go have their breakfast and so to the fields.

512 The breakfast, most meager by our standards, con-
262 sists of a bowl of fresh or boiled apricots with chapatties.
264 This is sufficient to keep the family working in the fields or doing other household and farm chores until 10 o'clock.

Then lunch is served and it is made up of fresh or boiled vegetables, dried apricots and chapatties. The men get two chapatties for this meal, whereas the women and children are restricted to one chapatty. Then off again to their duties—invariably on the land.

The midday meal is usually taken between 1 and 2 o'clock and in the summer this would mean, during the hottest part of the day. For this meal dried apricots, rubbed with the hands in water to form a soup, constitute the main course. A bowl or cupful of this gruel is drunk. This is the procedure during the months when fresh apricots from the trees are not available. During the period from late spring until autumn, fresh apricots are always available and these are used instead of the dried ones.

The dinner hour usually reigns from 5 to 7 o'clock. For this meal more food than for the other meals is used and consumed. Vegetables, either or both boiled and raw, are eaten along with any one of the fruits like plums, peaches, pears, apples or apricots—then always chapatties.

If I haven't made it clear before, chapatties are the bread that is used almost exclusively throughout Pakistan and India. These are flat unleavened sheets of bread made from whole wheat—stone ground. They are the Indian "staff of life."

252 Cooking and preparation of meals as we know it in
262 the average home in America is definitely not part of the Hunzan way of life. Whereas in our way of life most foods are prepared by boiling, frying, baking,

roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked. 252 262

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness. 372 313

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, mid-season and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering. 245 262

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions. 262

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays. [556] [231]

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards. 565 423 556

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7

262 A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of work-
556 able land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep,
231 a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

273 Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from
245 Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

415 Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are
[912] not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

352 The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large
354 square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept
164 partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

439 At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza
437 and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

000 During the past few years a bit of money has come

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During the past few years a bit of money has come 436
into Hunza. At the time I was there, there were four 177
expeditions doing mountain and glacier climbing—as 464
well as investigations and research, not in Hunza, but in the vicinity. There were groups from Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland and Germany. In each and every case these expeditions would require bearers, guides, horses and pack animals. These would be recruited from among the Nagirwals and Hunzans and they would be paid in Pakistan rupees. I wish to emphasize that this has only taken place during the past few years. Prior to this period expeditions in this area were extremely rare.

While today money does make its appearance, it is 436
still comparatively scarce. The Mir believes that the 177
coming of money, modernization, and civilization as 643
we know it will only harm his people and he seeks to prevent this, if possible. It is my sincere and humble conviction that the Mir is honest and thinking of his people in his endeavors.

"There is no doubt that the people of Hunza know 461
and enjoy the true thrill of leisure." When I mentioned this to my staff, I was quickly brought to bay by one of my more astute employees who said, "How can that be when they are occupied from dawn till dusk?"

I was caught off balance and I had to reflect a moment and when I reflected, the picture was clear to me. Would a man who has never worked understand what is meant by a holiday? Would the average individual who spends his working days sitting at a desk checking figures, making phone calls and chatting with visitors, understand what leisure is? I contend that in order to know the true joy of leisure one must work and the harder one works, the greater is the enjoyment found in utter relaxation.

Can a man know leisure when after his day's work is

done and he turns on his television set, he is bombarded with commercials that seek to hypnotize his brain by making him believe he needs those products, when in reality he needs them like a hole in the head? Can a man know the meaning of true leisure when his head is throbbing with the bills he must meet on the morrow, the food he must buy and the clothing he must procure for his family, for which in many cases ready money is not available? Can a man who is harassed by and has pressing about him a hundred problems that must be reckoned with, find leisure or peace by escaping to the country for a weekend or by taking to drink?

Of course not! True relaxation and leisure are as far away from him as the moon!

Therefore, when I say that the people of Hunza know and enjoy the true thrill of leisure, I mean every word of it sincerely. While they rise at 3.30 or 4 o'clock in the morning, they go to bed between 7 and 8, and in the winter time even earlier, if there is no celebration or dancing in the village. They are without doubt the most industrious people that I have met—especially in the East. Laziness is positively foreign to Hunza!

Wherever I went I noticed that the Hunzans had ample time to talk and chat, and seldom did they appear to be in a hurry although whenever they walked, their walk was brisk—much more so than the average Western gait. In fact, this is one of their most recognizable and admired traits.

Lest anyone should get the impression that life in Hunza is dull, let me clearly emphasize that there is great fellowship between families and the selfsame group-gathering that we know of in our way of life is also practiced and followed by the people of Hunza. Further, religious gatherings are quite frequent and play an important role in the social life of the people.

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CHAPTER 40

Amusements

MUSIC IN HUNZA has been cultivated to a greater 533
degree than many or most other arts and crafts. It is entirely different from the European or Western style of music. Authorities claim that the music of Hunza can be likened to that of the medieval European music.

It is interesting to note that a people so remotely placed away in a small aerie in the mountains, are so fond of music and they have their own types and kinds of instruments which are played by masters at the art.

In Hunza music is not purely for entertainment It is the essential ritual at all social functions and when the Mir returns from his visits to Altit and other parts of the country, he is greeted by the band playing music specifically prepared and used for such gala functions. Of course at the beginning of every polo match the [526]
band plays and plays and plays and continues playing till the end of the match. At every festival music is an

533 important part of the proceedings.

533 They have their big feast day just before harvest
535 time and it takes place in the month of Ramadan. At
527 this festival, the musicians set things in motion by starting very early in the morning, and the entire band joins in the sound and the fury. This is followed by dancing and they dance continually, though the same tune is being played over and over and over again in utter monotony. The musicians sit on the floor and make music without pausing, while the dancing goes on in the same way. There are no intermissions or stops.

[643] At this feast the Mir sits on a raised platform in full
[292] regalia. He wears a hat made of Persian lamb, the type of hat you've seen policemen wear in the cold climates in the wintertime.

562 The men invariably dance with their faces turned
[535] towards the Mir. No, the women do not dance, strange to relate. They are merely onlookers. They take no part in any of the social functions or in sport or entertainment. Such Hunzan activities are marked by the distinct absence of women. The Mohammedan religion does not allow women to take part in the social life of the community. This, as far as I can ascertain, has no counterpart in any other religion on earth.

Further, women have no rights or privileges.

After learning of these restrictions by the Mohammedan faith, I felt that there would be no mass migration on the part of the women of the West to Hunza.

535 The harvest dance is very similar to what might be
292 termed a victory dance or a great celebration. The most colorful and interesting dances are the sword dances. The men wear gaily colored costumes that are really very attractive. Their costumes are densely figured and brocaded and the heavy Chinese silks are used as the material. The swords and shields are handmade.

The dancers follow the music and keep time with it. 535
The onlookers, in many cases, keep rhythm with their feet. The dancing and music go on until most of the spectators and the participants eventually leave.

One of their most useful instruments is known as a 534
sitar. It is a wooden stringed instrument very much like our mandolin. Then there is the rebab. It is a much larger stringed instrument and is evidently identical with the Indian's rebab. Then they have their wind instruments, too. The first is the surnai. It is a big clarinet with an unusual, remarkable intensity of sound. Another unusual instrument is the tutek which is but a simple small wooden flute. The third type of wind instrument is the gabi which is a very long transverse flute. Its special use is in plays or music that includes fairies and is used chiefly for the fairies' incantation. Its music is exceedingly sweet sounding and very high pitched. And last but not least are the many kinds of drums. They come in all sizes from tiny ones that can be worn around the neck by a young boy to the big bass boom-boom.

Like all oriental forms of music, the Hunzan band 533
seems to capture the true style so well known to the East . . . pleasing, high pitched sounds but with very little variation. After a little while all of the sounds seem the same and appear to be one repetition after another—most monotonous!

During the summer there is not much social life in 517
the evenings because the people are tired. They work hard all day. But in the winter there is regular dancing and meetings with friends.

I would gather that the people of Hunza don't need 526
sports too badly because life and living in Hunza compels the individual to be active. Thus, he doesn't have to indulge in sports to get exercise.

526 I do know, however, that tennis is played in Hunza
481 because the Mir has a tennis court in an area around the garden. I also know that swimming is practiced because I saw a swimming pool at the Mir's summer home at Altit.

It was July when I was in Hunza and not one single person did I see swimming in either the Gilgit or Hunza Rivers or, for that matter, in any of the nullahs or creeks we passed.

I will admit that we had our feet soaked in most of them—some deliberately when resting and others in crossing, chiefly on foot because I didn't trust my horse. He has four slender legs with any of which he can get into trouble. I have only two to watch and worry over and they are sturdy and stocky, of the "Pict" type.

133 It would take a mighty good man or boy to swim in
526 the nullahs in Hunza or the surrounding area: first, because the icy waters of the rivers or nullahs would freeze you to death in no time flat. The water, winter and summer, never gets much higher than the freezing point and I doubt if any human being or even these human polar bears could stand water like that. Besides, there are no clear calm patches that are without a devastating current.

From scrutinizing the area, I doubt very much if there are very many places along the entire reaches of the Hunza River that can be forded, even with mighty good animals, capable of swimming, at least during the spring and summer. I know of one well prepared expedition that tried to cross one of these rivers and came to grief.

526 Polo is the national game or sport of Hunza and of practically all the principalities in that area . . . and, brother, it is a wild and woolly game as played by these

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hardy, mountaineering people. 526

Some authorities would have us believe that polo as a game had its origin in Tibet, which you can readily see is only a short hop from Hunza. Actually it is right on the border of what was properly old Tibet, but which the Chinese prefer to call Sinkiang. It is also known as Chinese Turkestan. 526 177

The word polo is actually a Tibetan word describing or meaning "root of the willow tree," for it was from the dried stumps of the willow tree that polo balls were originally made. The willow wood, from my intimate knowledge of the tree and the wood, would give quite a bit of bounce if made into a ball and that is exactly what was required.

From the best sources that I am able to dig into and locate, it seems that the modern game of polo as we know it throughout the West, originated in Persia. From there it found its way into Turkey and then it was adopted in India, Tibet, China and Japan. In 1869 the British saw it played in the Turkestan-Hunza regions and began to play it in India, where it became the favorite sport of the British army officers. That was well over 100 years ago. In 1869 it was also introduced into England where it caught on very quickly. Then it made its entrance into the United States in 1876.

Here is a strange fact. While many of the characteristics of the game have changed, the selfsame old willow ball is still used and one of the men still gallops down the center of the polo field and strikes the ball off into play. In the Western world it is the umpire who does this. In Hunza, it's still the Mir or some other distinguished personality. [643]

If any of you have had the opportunity of seeing a polo game in action—that is, Western polo—you might even then get the impression that it is a rough, some-

526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo
[311] fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for
[367] sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall sur-
[417] rounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

they play from the time the game starts until it finishes. 526
I don't know who would be more tired . . . the musi- [533]
cians, the polo players or the excited, active, shouting spectators.

I paced off the field and counted 90 good paces [367]
long and 40 wide. This would make it approximately 270 x 120 feet. This is quite a bit smaller in size than the modern polo field which is 300 x 200 feet, and would tend to make the Hunzan sport more hazardous and nerve-racking.

Instead of goal posts they use two large white stones at either end.

The game was started into action by the Mir, in [643]
this case, who started off at the further end at a gallop. As he reached the center, he threw the ball high into the air and as it came down he clobbered it and the game—or the mad scramble—was on!

There are 6 players on each team and as the ball is pummeled from one place to another, the screams of the spectators and the players are more frenzied than those heard at a baseball game.

There are no rules—except that the team who scores 9 goals first is the winner, and the game doesn't stop until one of the teams has scored 9 goals. They don't have rest periods; they don't change horses or men; there are no penalties and no fouls. So you can just imagine the carryings-on.

If the ball is struck or bounces off the wall and is caught by one of the players, this permits him to ride through the goal posts and deposit the ball and score a goal . . . if the opposition will let him! Any means can be and usually are undertaken to prevent him from reaching the goal to which he is entitled to proceed. If they're bold enough and strong enough, they can even pull him from his mount.

526 They seldom ever score 9 goals in less than an hour and many times a game will last half a day. And [533] through all this gleeful yelling and shouting—everybody seems to scream like mad—the band is playing its martial tunes.

When a player scores a goal, he proceeds to pick up the ball and follow the same procedure as the Mir did when he started the action. He races madly down the field, screaming and yelling at the top of his lungs. With the scoring of every goal they change ends; that is, what was the first team's goal now becomes their opponent's goal.

[164] From Gilgit to Altit, whenever I saw someone who had a broken nose or some other definite sign of body injury, I would know even before inquiring, that it was gained in honor on the polo field.

[535] When at last one of the teams scored 9 goals and the game was finished, both teams took part in a dance. The winning team dances first and when they have completed their dance, the losing team do their stint. How they could have the strength and energy required to dance, after hours of unrelenting top-pitch physical activity is more than any Westerner can understand.

The horsemanship displayed at the polo matches beggars that seen at western rodeos. In fact, a Hunzan polo game makes the wildest of rodeos seem almost tame. When it comes to horsemanship, you'd have to go a long way to get anyone to beat these tough, hardy mountaineers.

[164] So furious was the game that I inquired if anyone was ever killed playing polo. The Mir replied that he had never heard of any fatalities from a polo game, but that on many occasions a player was incapacitated. I [743] felt that it would be a good idea if they could build their polo fields close to the hospital at Aliabad!

In discussing the Hunzan game of polo with some 526
friends, when they heard me mention the fact that the 311
best and largest piece of flat land was used for a polo field, they said, "Now, John, this is very contradictory. You claim they are intelligent people and every bit of arable land is needed and used for cultivation and now you tell me that the best piece of land and the largest level space is used for a polo field!"

My reply was, "What I've told you is absolutely true, but sometimes there are considerations involved which neither you nor I nor others in the Western world understand. For example, could we ever explain to the 000
people of Hunza why we rush, swish, hurry and risk our necks driving down the highways, actually risking life and limb—not only our own, but countless others—only to get to our destination . . . and there do nothing!

"Or there is another example that may be even better. A man in America strives all his life to achieve the means of acquiring a home with all modern conveniences and comforts, including every electrically operated appliance or gadget devised to save time and effort. Then when this victory is achieved, he tries to get enough money to buy a summer cottage way up north. There he parks his family for the summer. Then over every weekend he drives hundreds of miles to get there and when he gets there what has he got? Outdoor plumbing, no hot water, no garbage disposal, no electricity—using a lamp or even a candle for light and carrying every bucket of water in from the lake or the creek. You just try to explain that to a Hunzan. There is no more rhyme and reason in one than there is in the other. But who am I to judge?"

It is a positive fact that the men in Hunza do beat 593
their wives. I checked and double checked on this 683
rather important question. The Mir told me he knew

593 of only one case where a man excessively and unjustly
683 administered thrashings on his spouse. In all other instances the men are not punished or sent to prison for it. If a wife doesn't do as her husband commands, he beats her. If she were too generous in giving away her husband's property to her parents, he would also beat
837 her. If she is unfaithful to him and he catches her, he has a right to kill both her and her seducer.

This seems to have an excellent effect in maintaining a high standard of loyalty. I am not sure as to how
000 the people of the West will regard the people of Hunza for the light I have shed here, but whatever your judgment and opinion, I have laid the facts before you.

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CHAPTER 41

Cleanliness

ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS I have read and heard reports that the Hunzan homes are scrupulously clean. To that I will not subscribe. I just can't go along with any such assertion. 356 114

I peeked into, looked over at and viewed hundreds of the homes in Nagir on the trek and I also had a chance to see into many of the homes in Hunza and there isn't any question about it—the Hunzan homes are cleaner, tidier and have fewer odors (or none at all) than the others of this same area. But to say that they are scrupulously clean or that you could eat off the floor is, to my mode of thought, a gross exaggeration.

Obviously, the places the other writers saw were very clean and tidy. But, to me anyway, it is clear that the owners were notified in advance that they would have visitors.

Being curious and nosy by habit and turn of mind, I 356 123

managed to peer into a few of the places and noticed that they weren't as spic and span as some people say they are. In fact, we were taken through one home on a tour. We visited their downstairs apartment and then climbed the ladder to visit the upstairs one. I will admit and am in complete agreement with the other writers, that the place was scrupulously clean, swept and neat.

But—and this is important, so follow me—I had stuck my head and eyes into that selfsame home the day before, probably unknown to my guide, and had seen the condition that this same house was in then. While it was not filthy, nor could I even say dirty, it certainly was not in the same immaculate condition that it was in now, since this time the people were advised that we were coming.

So let it be said and accepted that the Hunzans are much cleaner than the Nagirwals and are generally, by and large, a clean, wholesome people, both in body and in home.

I have long ago accepted the clear-cut situation that hygiene and cleanliness are strictly matters of habit, custom and necessity and these factors vary from country to country. For example, the standard of cleanliness in Switzerland is quite different to that of neighboring France. And in Italy, especially in the southern part, it bears no resemblance to that practiced in either France or Switzerland. Then in England the standard changes again and when you get to America, well, there again it is so different that one would believe it was a different world.

Undoubtedly, the people of Hunza in their hygienic habits are far above those of India or Pakistan. I am here referring to the mass level, of course. Then, too, the Hunzan habits were far better than those in Italy.

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The house of the average Hunzan farmer was not quite as good as the average European house. In my opinion, Hunzan cleanliness is as good as is desirable when all matters are considered. 356

Cleanliness as we know it in the West is neither desirable nor is it a necessity in a country like Hunza. To begin with, they have more important duties to perform than doing a lot of unnecessary housekeeping. Usually in the West, the man earns the wherewithal to sustain the home and the woman looks after the cooking, housekeeping and the rearing of the children. In Hunza the father, the mother and the children, as soon as they are old enough to know what to do, take part in the work. You see, it is practically a full time job for the entire family during the spring and summer to procure sufficient food to last throughout the year. 356 462

Therefore it is neither desirable nor necessary for a Hunzan wife to have a lot of furniture and other things that would require work and attention in her home.

If you are trying to compare the cleanliness of the average American city or town person's home with that of the Hunzan homes, then you are miles and miles away from reality, because very, very few people of the world—especially those in the more or less underprivileged countries or in remote districts—live in homes that are in any way comparable to the average city home in America. 356

In the locality where I live, the Niagara District, the choicest locations along the lake front are selected for subdivision sites and beautiful spacious homes with fine grounds are created. That may be all well and good in America, where rich arable land is readily available, but in Hunza, remember, every bit of land that they own and use for growing their life-giving crops has to be torn from the rocks of the mountain- 361

361 sides. Few, if any, Hunza homes are ever built where the land can be tilled. Usually the site that is selected for a home is part of a rocky promontory or some other location where the land could not be used for crops. They just can't afford to use a piece of tillable soil for a homesite.

342 The houses or homes are usually built of stones or rocks. No cement or any other binding compound is used. Yet the homes seem sturdy enough to stand most anything. I also saw some that were built of clay.

342 231 The lower floor of the Hunzan house is usually divided into two sections. One section has either no roof over it or just a part roof or covering and there is an opening in the wall, but no door. This is where the animals are kept. The Hunzan pasture and forage supply doesn't allow for the larger beasts. The cattle of Hunza are the diminutive kind, bred and selected for their dwarfishness, so that they will require less feeding, but still yield an abundant udderful of rich milk. This applies to goats, sheep and cows. The partial covering over the courtyard is so that the animals will have some form of protection overhead.

342 Then beside this is the house proper, probably half again as large . . . maybe 12 or 14 feet square.

The Hunzan farmer steps from his home into the stable, so to speak. This, of course, would horrify the people of America but it is not to be regarded as a sort of calamity, as utter degradation, or as a matter of filth and ill health, because this system is practiced in most other parts of the world even at the present time.

231 775 The Hunzans, being Mohammedans, do not raise pigs. Therefore they don't have the conditions that pigs would create.

356 I'm sure that I visited many of these courtyards and

I don't think I was struck by any unpleasant or bad odors. No doubt you would assume that being a farmer, the excrement of animals wouldn't offend me and in saying that you'd be very, very right, but even with a city man's view, I don't think you would have found the Hunzan barnyards smelly or dirty. 356

The roof of the living quarters is just high enough so that a tall man can stand up in it without bumping his head. The Hunzan roofs usually have heavy timbers strung across—at least 3 inches thick and placed about 12 inches apart. They have to be that thick and heavy because on top of this is laid earth. Practically every home has an earthen roof. The floor, too, is of hard earth that has been pounded through years of use, until it is a good sound firm floor that can be readily swept and kept clean. 342

Apart from the Mir's palace, every other home that I visited in Hunza and in Nagir had earthen floors. Now naturally one wouldn't expect an earthen floor to be spic and span or shine and glisten the way a good hardwood floor can be made to shine and glisten. These earthen or clay floors can be made smooth and even be polished, and it is actually done.

Often the room is divided off to allow for a storage room, where the dried apricot stones and other fruits and vegetables are kept for winter use. [251]

In the center of the room a hole is dug and often stones are laid at the bottom. Here the fire is laid and this is how they keep warm during the winter and where they do their cooking. Above is a hole about 18 inches square to allow the smoke to escape. The people sleep on the floor within warming distance of the fire. Beds in the average Hunzan homes are unknown, but they have bed rolls or other cloth contraptions to make the floor softer. Some of the wealthier or well-to-do [354] 513 352 352

352 Hunzans have charpoys. Most homes have a chest, or two or three or more, in which they store and keep their belongings. The chests are used to sit on and perhaps eat off. The Hunzan home we visited had a table also.

513 286 Every Hunzan home has blankets for covering during the winter and these blankets are made of homespun wool which is carded, loomed and woven by the villagers. They are equal in weight and warmth to the best blankets that are made in the West. There is no danger of the blankets not being 100 per cent wool, because wool they can get from the sheep or yak's backs.

342 Practically every Hunzan home has an upstairs, too, and this is where the family lives during the summer. It is related that each spring on the 21st of March the family moves upstairs. When there are 4 or 5 members in the family the upstairs is usually divided into two sections or rooms, leaving an open balcony in the center.

342 512 The usual Hunzan home is a place to shelter the family against storms, rain, cold and snow. It is not used nearly as much for social intercourse as it is in the West. Therefore, they don't spend as much of their time in the homes. Practically all daylight hours during spring, summer and fall are spent in the fields.

164 Some authorities attribute the good health of the Hunzans to the fact that most of their time is spent out in the open air and sunlight. Could it be that we in the West spend too much of our time inside our comfortable homes and not sufficient outside in the glorious outdoors? This is something worthy of thought and study.

Considering the heights, the ledges, the precipices and steep inclines that are found throughout this country, it is remarkable that there are few cases of injury like broken or fractured limbs, serious accidents due to falling and such. But you must remember that from infancy, children are trained and learn how to

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stay aloft. Heights offer no terror for any Hunzan— 164
man, woman or child. I think if a Hunzan suffered injury because of a fall from a height, he would be ashamed and embarrassed, but let me admit that they do have falls and broken limbs, too. I found this out [752]
when I met Hunzans who were expert bone-setters.

I have to admit that generally speaking the Hunzans' 291
clothes are nondescript. However, I was strongly attracted to the Hunza hat which is best described as a rolled, sausage brimmed, soft white woolen covering. But it is really and truly an ingenious contraption. It is made of native homespun wool, white or creamy in color and mighty good wool, it is, in my opinion.

These hats are worn summer and winter by the boys and men. I tried them and found that they did keep out the summer heat. Wherever I met the boys and men of Hunza they always wore these hats. In the winter they can be rolled down to cover not only their ears but their faces and necks as well. I attest that it is a valuable and completely satisfactory headpiece. I thought they were quite attractive and enhanced the handsomest of the Hunzan men.

They have the choga which is a long flowing cloak worn by both men and women during the winter. This cloak is made of the same grey homespun wool and is never dyed but its creamy color is attractive and pleasing to the eye. Evidently this choga is quite [173]
similar to the toga worn by the ancient Romans. Who knows? Maybe some of Alexander's men or Alexander himself brought a toga with him from his homeland when he came to the East.

Apart from the attractive, useful, comfortable, Hunzan sausage-brimmed hat and choga, the best I can say for the rest of the clothes worn by the people of Hunza is that they are utilitarian.

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CHAPTER 42

Government

212 I DON'T KNOW whether to describe the mode of gov-
671 ernment of Hunza as being complex or simple. The
[197] language of the people of Hunza is Burushaski and this language is totally unwritten. Therefore, they have no written code of laws.

114 The first dictionary of the Burushaski language was written by Colonel David Lorimer in 1935 and at the present time Doctor Hermann Berger, a German language professor, a specialist in Sanskrit, is seeking to write another and perhaps a more thorough and complete dictionary of that language.

I recall in Chalt, while I was enjoying the company of Professor Berger, he showed me a set of books that was published in Norway in 1935. They were Colonel David Lorimer's dictionary of the Burushaski language.

In my estimation Dr. Berger's work should be a masterpiece, because never in my life have I seen any

human being take to a task so assiduously and with so 114
much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even if they are printed in German.

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it 104
is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last 197
syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I found every other source, with one exception besides myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better if I, too, used the "aski".

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains un- 671
written, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding.

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza 648
was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowledged sovereignty to India.

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly 643
has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I 175
know this power has never been used or abused by the [642]
present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office.

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
648 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

205 Pakisani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters hat I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

exception of the doctor or visitors. There was a letter 205
from my office awaiting me when I reached the Mir's palace. The Mir told me about it right after our first greeting. He was understanding enough to realize I would be happy to hear from home.

I guess many of the things about Hunza wouldn't 642
allow the country to come under the heading of a democracy, but from what I saw of life and living in Hunza, I assure you it is more of a democracy than any other democracy in existence today.

Hunza has no policemen, no soldiers, no bureau- 692
cracy, no customs officers or immigration officers. They 643
do have the Mir who is the ruler and true head of the [647]
state and the Mir appoints the Wazir who is his right [693]
hand man and acts as judge.

All major squabbles and disputes are handled by the Mir. He holds court regularly and makes the decisions and his word is law and cannot be challenged or contested by anyone. Minor cases are looked after and into and tried by the Wazir.

Hunza does not have a jail. There is no lockup 697
whatsoever. If and when a crime is committed, the 681
criminal or culprit is banished to a place called Shimshal. At Shimshal the criminal or guilty person is not confined or jailed. He just has to live in that rugged place, where living is grim. The altitude is somewhere [133]
around 12,000 or 13,000 feet, and eking an existence out of the land there is most difficult and precarious. Actually the form of punishment is a sort of ostracism.

Evidently the threat of being sentenced to live in 674
Shimshal is a great deterrent, because few crimes are committed. There have only been two instances in the last ten years where serious crimes have occurred. In [689]
one instance it was a youth who had posted indecent signs on trees and other places. He was hailed before

674
689 the Wazir and given a stern warning and that ended that!

682 Another case occurred about 10 years ago when the Wazir's son became involved with a young man and girl. In this case the boy and girl (for that is what they were, rather than young man and woman) were misbehaving in the area adjacent to the Wazir's home. An argument was started when they were asked to leave the premises. The young man became unruly, then offensive and he said many unkind and indecent things. The Wazir's son warned him to move on and behave himself, but the young man refused to listen and persisted in his actions. The Wazir's son went into his home, got a gun, and said to him, "Now move away from here or I'll shoot you!"

But still the young hoodlum refused to listen or be warned. So the Wazir's son shot him. At the trial he claimed that he did not know the gun was loaded and he just made the threat in an effort to frighten the lad and make him go about his business. The boy died and the Wazir's son was charged with murder, and for this he was banished to Shimshal for 10 years.

A short time later the dead boy's parents appeared before the Mir and begged him to remit the sentence to the Wazir's son, as they claimed they believed him and that he did not intend to shoot their son. Besides, their son had provoked the attack. After he had been in Shimshal for two years, the Mir had him brought back and as the matter stands at the present moment in Hunza, this lad is now the Wazir.

681 In the olden days, a form of punishment in Hunza that was administered on instructions from the Mir was to immerse the culprit in the cold waters of the Hunza River. A 15-minute immersion in these icy waters was tantamount to a death sentence.

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Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been two murders only in my country and all the people have been happy and prosperous. The Government of India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity. 674 [648]

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the world and get work in other places. . . . 167

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal. 692

"If it is considered that a death sentence is called for, the people are collected and if any one will speak up for the culprit, his sentence is remitted. Otherwise he is executed in the presence of the people. 695 681

"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, his house could be destroyed, his animals slaughtered and his trees felled without any trouble falling on the offenders and though that custom has fallen into desuetude, it is still considered right for a man to kill his wife's lover if he can catch them 'flagrante delicto'! 684 837

"Marriage is not allowed between near relations and whenever possible, people marry into a clan different from their own. Child marriage is discouraged and tribal customs have been moulded to conform to modern ideas since I became Mir. . . . 582 [177]

"In former years Shimshal was used as a place to 681

681 which people were exiled and as officers were continually asking me what sort of place it was, I determined to go there and see for myself. The track there
491 was very bad indeed and in two places there were goat hair bridges which were very unpleasant to cross. A ring of wood was used and the traveler was drawn from one bank to the other and if he wore a beard most of the hairs were dragged out on the way. . . .

643 "My father[1] had six wives, three of which were of the
595 ruling classes and three from the Zemindaris. All however, were married to him according to the law and so he left behind no bastards."

276 The Mir told me that of late some of the young boys
177 have taken to smoking cigarettes. This they have picked up and learned from the Hunzan men who have been serving in the Pakistani army. Cigarettes can be pur-
685 chased in the shop in Baltit and a few occasions of
276 petty theft have been encountered. In each case it
[443] seems that they stole in order to get money to buy cigarettes. These few petty crimes of course did not
[681] involve ostracism to Shimshal. It is expected that this condition will continue or even become aggravated as the youth of Hunza become more familiar and acquainted with smoking. Some of the men in Hunza smoke the "hookah" which we know as the water-pipe.

249 Some forms and varieties of tobacco have been tried
123 in Hunza. I promised to send the Mir seeds of the various types of tobacco that we grow in America, such as Virginia, Burley and Quesnel. Perhaps if they can learn to grow tobacco, it will enable the youth to get their hands on some tobacco and satisfy their craving for it without resorting to other ways and means. However, they would have to get paper from somewhere for none is made or improvised in Hunza.

674 It is obvious from what I have seen, that crime and

[1] [ie - the father of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan - ANALYST]

misdemeanors on the scale that we know them in the Western world are practically unknown in Hunza. That being the case, it behooves us to investigate and study family life in Hunza, for juvenile delinquency is becoming a very serious and ever broadening problem in America.

I saw samples of Hunzan justice. Its simplicity made me weep . . . when I recalled our procrastinating, shackled, unwieldy, judicial system. In the Western world civil cases take months and even years to be heard in court before a judge. In Hunza there are so few cases of wrongdoings, or even individual or family problems, that a hearing can be arranged almost immediately.

Petty squabbles or differences between husband and wife or even other disputes can be brought before the Wazir or before the Mir in private. When something more serious is at stake, the grieved party or parties bring their case to the "morning durbar," which is held regularly in the courtyard surrounded by the beautiful gardens at the entrance to the Mir's palace. At the time I was at Baltit many workmen were busily engaged in erecting a large stone enclosure or balcony where the "durbars" will be held, allowing more room for spectators and greater comfort for the council.

During the proceedings the Mir sits comfortably ensconced on a square-shaped wooden divan, luxuriantly smothered in rugs, fancy cushions and tapestries. There is none of the strict court procedure or dourness and frigidity known to our Western judiciary system. Here one feels that he is talking to a friend—a fellow citizen—or at least, an acquaintance.

Perhaps we have carried our ideas of justice, freedom and democracy a bit too far. In order that everyone may be afforded justice and fair treatment at the hands

of his fellow man and see that it is fairly and impartially carried out, we have made it too complicated. Is there any justifiable reason why it should take months or even years for a civil case to be heard in court? If there are not sufficient judges, I'm sure it would not be difficult to appoint or elect more of them. If there are not enough court rooms and court houses, I feel confident that, with American construction at its high peak of efficiency, it wouldn't take long to correct that.

Then why isn't it done? I don't know the answer. Do you? The Hunzan system of justice seems to be functioning in a most satisfactory manner. Anyone may petition the Mir and unless he is away, can get an almost immediate hearing. If the Mir is not available or if the problem is not a weighty one, then the Wazir can attend to it.

In truth, justice can be simple!

* * * * *

In order to get into Hunza you must obtain a permit from the Pakistani authorities in the capital, which is Karachi, but I understand the government is being moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi or a new site close to it. I still think it is more important to have the Mir's invitation, because even though you could get into Hunza, you would be practically helpless without the Mir's assistance and cooperation.

[124] Unless you brought a guide with you and one who could speak English and translate for you, you'd find the going very, very difficult in either Nagir or Hunza. Therefore I would suggest that if you contemplate a visit into this area, you obtain the Mir's invitation or permission first. Then go after the Pakistani government's permit.

648 131 Why the Pakistan government regards Hunza as a strategic region or area is not hard to understand if

you realize that Hunza's neighbors are Afghanistan, 648
China and India and slightly above a narrow corridor [131]
of Afghanistan there is Russia, just a scant few miles from the Hunzan border.

Therefore, any person who wanted to start trouble with either Russia or China could get into the Hunza area and it wouldn't take too much maneuvering to cause an international incident, especially if the Chinese or Russians were looking for an excuse. So I don't blame the Pakistani government for being cautious and realistic about those possibilities.

Just a few years ago an American scientist working 648
with funds raised by an organization started for that 177
purpose, known as the Central Asiatic Research Foundation, wanted to take a couple of the Hunzan boys to the United States and have them educated there and then brought back again to Hunza. At first the Mir flatly refused. Then after reconsidering the matter, and perhaps in consultation with others, he changed his mind and gave his permission. I did not inquire as to the exact rhyme and reason for the developments that took place, but eventually the Pakistani government decisively and definitely refused to allow the boys out of the country.

It appeared to me that the Mir felt that there was no reason why he should refuse when the foreign policy of his country was being looked after in Karachi. I am more than certain that the Mir's opinion was recorded in Karachi.

But John Clark, the writer of a book about Hunza, [114
and some American authorities were very annoyed at this and felt that the Mir was being unreasonable, ungenerous and to say the least, unkind in not allowing these boys to come to America.

I did not know then the true reasons behind the Mir's

refusal and what other intrigues were involved, and when I questioned him about this and he explained, I realized that he had acted wisely—and so will you.

"If I allowed those boys to go to America to be educated and then come back to Hunza in a few years, both the Chinese and Russians could say that I sent them to America to be brainwashed, filled with propaganda or trained in subversive capitalistic activities.

"Well, I'm not giving Russia or China any excuses. We are a peace-loving people, we get along with the Chinese and the Russians, we mind our own business and we intend to stay free of entanglements and embroilments, if humanly possible.

"They said that I had refused to let the boys go because I was afraid that when they came back they would teach the people the American way, and that would undermine my rule and to a degree that is true, because I think my people are the happiest and healthiest in the world, and that is more than any other nation can claim. So I would like to keep them that way, if possible.

"But I'm not afraid of my people becoming educated because we do everything within our limited powers to further their education now and have done so for some years."

This statement I found to be absolutely true. The Hunzans by and large are the best learned people of that or any other area in India or Pakistan. Please don't misunderstand. I don't mean that there are no better educated individuals in these two countries because that is not so. I mean that there are few places in Pakistan or India where all of the male citizens are afforded the opportunity of getting an education without cost. That is true in Hunza.

These schools that I saw seemed to be comparable

to the average little red school house in the West. The one in Baltit was quite a bit better and as good as any of our schools of 25 years ago . . . which I would say was mighty fine going for a far off place like Hunza. 871

Then I asked the Mir what had happened to John Clark's woodworking school and he told me, with calm deliberation, that he knew and felt that Mr. Clark was an earnest, honest man with the best of intentions. . . . "But, how could he," went on the Mir, "hope to improve the economy of our little country by means of a woodworking school and the training of our men in woodcraft when we do not have the required wood? We can't cut down our apricot trees, which are our very life, in order to get wood to use in making things that we could export to the United States!" 874 322 177 114

Then I recalled from Mr. Clark's book that he did have great difficulty in locating suitable lumber for his school.

From what I have read and learned on the scene about Clark's work, I know he was a man of high caliber and integrity and did a mighty good job with the boys, but for some strange reason there is an unusual silence about his work and his efforts. I could neither understand nor explain it. I'm still trying to get the true impression of the people concerning this matter.

At this point I want to emphasize that I am not seeking to pick a battle with anyone, but from my travels back and forth and around the Hunzan territory, it is fantastic to believe that there could ever be sufficient timber to make it worthwhile to run a woodworking school, especially to make woodcraft for export purposes.

Stonecraft, yes—for stones, even including some of the more precious and rare types, could without doubt be found in Hunza or at least in the mountains close

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by. And if they were taught to make useful jewels and do other types of work with rock, then they would have something, because the supply is absolutely unlimited.

I agree wholeheartedly with the Mir that the thought of making a worthwhile contribution to the people of Hunza by opening a woodcraft school is utter nonsense.

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CHAPTER 43

The Happy Hunzans

MY CHIEF OBJECTIVE in going to Hunza was to try, first, to find out if the people of Hunza were as healthy and as long lived as many writers and reports claim them to be. 121 164

Secondly, if they were the healthy specimens of mankind that the writers said, then I wanted to find out how this came about!

I don't claim to have any special perceptive powers, but the moment I arrived in Gilgit, I resolved that all of my faculties would be centered on observing the why's and wherefore's bearing on the health of these people.

I didn't have to be a very keen observer to realize quickly that in Gilgit the Hunzan aura of health did not hold. But remember, that was in Gilgit.

Gilgit reminded me very much of the typical frontier towns as we knew them in America, except Gilgit 361

361 didn't just spring up overnight. By the appearance of
[342] the stone and mud houses, as well as all other features about the city, it was obvious that the city had been there for a long, long time.

Gilgit is indeed a strange city. It is one of these places that is right in the middle of nowhere, but to that mountain-harnessed area, Gilgit is a mighty important, strategic spot. Somehow I had the feeling that if there was a place called the "crossroads of the East" Gilgit had the sole right to the appellation, for through Gilgit would pass caravans from China, as well as travelers from Russia, Afghanistan, Persia, India, Pakistan and yes, undoubtedly from all other parts of the Eastern world.

While I did see quite a bit of the city and the surrounding country, I regret today that I didn't dig a little deeper and get about even more. I think Gilgit has many interesting stories to tell . . . how could it be otherwise? And if I ever go back (and I intend to) I would like to be the one who brings these tales to light!

121 The Gilgitis, from a health standpoint or from ap-
[164] pearance in general, did not impress me one bit. The people were somewhat similar to what you would find or expect in Pakistan or India. However, the moment I crossed the bridge over the Gilgit River and got into the hills, I resolved to concentrate, coldly and with deliberate calculation, on every individual we met. So many confusing and contradicting statements had been made about the people of Hunza, that I was firmly resolved that if study and scrutinization and observation would do the trick, then I would find out the truth.

124 Akbar was keeping pace with Cecil most of the time, while Sherin was with me, and I questioned him closely about every person that we happened to meet or pass. I had no trouble—none whatsoever—in spotting a Hun-

zan. And it wasn't because I was smart. There obviously was a distinct difference and anyone could pick out a Hunzan from a Nagirwal or any of the other citizens thereabout. 124

Much has been said about the walking habits of the people of Hunza . . . the long distances, the climbs, their endurance and their sprightly gait. I have had little experience with their endurance, but of their gait I can speak with some degree of authority. They have the lightest, easiest walk or pace that I have seen anywhere in my life. They seem to glide or spring effortlessly. If any people on the face of the earth have learned to walk without wasting any energy, I believe the people of Hunza have learned that secret. That's the only way I can account for our guides, for example, being in exactly the same condition when they finished their day's travel as when they started. I fully realize that they are accustomed to doing this. On occasions at home I have walked 12 miles at one march—and enjoyed it—but I was tired and mighty glad to take a good rest when I reached my goal. 481 [147]

I cannot recall one occasion where I saw a Hunzan resting after a walk. I practically retraced every foot of my journey back and forth and also the side excursions, but I couldn't find one occasion on which the Hunzan men had to rest. They not only seemed, but actually were, totally imperturbable, nonchalant and at ease wherever they went. Their stride was livelier and lighter than anything I have ever seen. [147]

Furthermore they never slouched, whether walking, standing or sitting. No matter where you saw them, they held their heads erect and chests out. [516]

Now this is not an afterthought because I began my search and observations the moment I left Gilgit. They didn't walk—they seemed to float! I wish I knew their

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481 secret . . . but perhaps it isn't a secret! It's most likely inherent—they have it when they're born.

000 The closest thing to the Hunzan gait that I ever saw was in Agra where the famed Taj Mahal is located. There were a couple of hours unfilled in our time schedule, so we took a stroll through the city. What a city! (But that is another story.) My eyes were rolling like a man in a delirium to take in all of the scenes that were going on about me. When I heard what sounded like a song or a chant, I turned about trying to find the source of the merriment or music, and then I saw the source. I stood and waited and a troop of men passed by in front of me, single file and spread about 10 feet apart. Most of them wore but a loin cloth; the day was hot and sunny. On their shoulders they carried a wooden yoke, that stretched out on either side about a foot from their shoulders. From each end there hung a string and at the end of the string was a platter. The entire affair resembled a balance—the kind that justice is supposed to bear. On each of the platters stood a bottle with a fluid in it. The gait of these men was light, flowing and even; the men were all singing.

I stood and watched them file past me. There were about 70 of them. I looked about me, searching for someone who could explain these goings-on. A few inquiries led me to a native lady of the upper caste who spoke fluent English. She told me that these men had been to the Ganges 60 miles away and they were carrying holy water in the glass containers that were placed on the balanced platters. Their load could not be put down until they reached their destination. They had already gone 60 miles and some had a mile or two more to go and others had 10 miles and some even 50 more miles. They could transfer their load to some other willing helper, but it must not touch the ground.

These men were carrying water from the holy of holies—the Ganges. They were intoxicated—not with wine, but with their faith. They were excited with the mysticism of their god; they were inspired; they were in seventh heaven. Yes, the gait of these divinely influenced people was close to the pace followed by the people of Hunza. 000

If I had seen somewhere along in my travels a Hunzan who slouched, dragged himself or in some other way showed a sign of weakness or debility, I would say so, but no such Hunzan did I see. 481

I fully realize that I scoffed at my Hunzan bearer that the Mir sent along with me from Kerimabad to Nomal, especially when he wanted to take the horses back from Chalt and leave us because he said he had blisters on his feet, due to the exceptionally hard push we had made that day, but remember, he was 20 years older than I! His feet probably told his age but he certainly didn't look it.

If there are sick and infirm men in Hunza, they must be exceptionally well-hidden, because I didn't see or find any. 164

Then, too, writers and observers of the people of Hunza always mention and stress the fact that they are a happy pleasant people. To this I must also assent. I did not see a sad or disgruntled Hunzan. I do not mean to suggest that they ran about the streets giggling and laughing, but they were of cheery, amiable countenance. Here I am going beyond those with whom I walked and talked and ate; I am delving into the citizenry that I passed on the roads or streets, those whose farms and homes we visited and also those whom I observed in passing. 157

Let me here illustrate another point. For example, it is understandable that we here in America, or people 181

in other countries distant from Hunza, would attach an aura of mystery or superhumanness to the people of Hunza, but the truth of the matter is that even in Pakistan the belief or the tale concerning the superiority of the Hunzan people also exists. In Karachi, when I mentioned I was going to Hunza or seeking to go to Hunza, ears pricked up quickly. They were interested, they were intrigued, for they knew and had heard tales of the prowess of the Hunzans.

A few weeks before I left home I learned that there was a Pakistani boy employed in Niagara-on-the-Lake and I made an attempt to contact him. My wife just about that time met the Pakistani lad and his wife at a social function and she told him that I wanted to see him and talk to him about Pakistan and about the people of Hunza. Then, when he heard that I intended to go to Hunza, he excitedly informed my wife and stressed that she be sure to tell me not to go because the roads in the mountains were terribly dangerous, that one could penetrate into that country only at the greatest of risk and danger and that many people had set out for Hunza and never been heard of again.

When my wife brought this tale to me, I was perturbed. I was worried and my wife was even more concerned. If a native of Pakistan, and not an illiterate, I want to remind you (this man was a technician), held these people in such awe and fear, you can see that the myth about the people of Hunza is universal.

It is further claimed that the people of Hunza have endurance that is unsurpassed by any other people on earth. I believe it was Eric Shipton, the famous mountain explorer, who said that the Hunzans had more endurance than even the Sherpa guides that are found on the borders of Nepal and Tibet. These Sherpas have long been considered the people with the greatest en-

durance and stamina known anywhere, and if Shipton says that the Hunzans had more endurance and stamina than these people, no higher tribute can be given.

It is my humble opinion that too much has been written about the people of Hunza by people who have never been there and know little or nothing about the actual conditions that prevail in that country. Then, too, many visitors spent most of their time taking pictures, viewing the scenery and dining at the Mir's and didn't pay much attention or learn anything about the actual living conditions of the people.

The people of Hunza have not in the least benefited by the visitors that have reached Hunza, and if future visits are discouraged, I believe there would be good cause for it.

Most of the diseases known to civilization are unknown in Hunza. I do not ask you to take my word for it but that is my report from consulting the resident doctor in Hunza, as well as a German woman doctor who visited Hunza.

It is further true that the Mir's wife, the Rani of Hunza, had her appendix removed and she took a trip to Rawalpindi to have it done. But in the first place she does not live according to Hunza standards and besides, it was probably stylish to have an appendix operation. On the other hand, if a good surgeon were let loose in Hunza for a few weeks, there's no doubt about it, he'd have hundreds of appendixes removed before he could be stopped.

Another important point that I wish to make at this time is that I paid my own way to and from Hunza. I had no financial backing. Therefore I am not committed to aid anyone or any product or radio station or newspaper. I have no one to fear and no one to please. I can afford to tell the truth.

I do not intend to set the Hunzans down as a pattern or an example of how we should live because it just couldn't be done. However, unless you are stone deaf, blind and dumb, you can't help but realize that there is something drastically wrong with our way of life and living. That is why so many eyes and ears are being trained on Hunza. We hope, we pray that they have the answer.

There has been an awakening and it is growing throughout America. People are seeking health today more than they ever did in the history of mankind. But even with all the enlightenment available, they're still groping . . . they don't know where or how to find it, and the pity of it is that it is really so simple.

Too long already have we left our health and well being in the hands of doctors and surgeons and other types of healers, without going to the proper source—oneself and one's food. You forget that doctors, nurses, trained technicians and hospitals and other similar institutions are there to try to cure, not to prevent or advise. There is just no profit for anyone in propounding or teaching the simple, natural method that can keep everyone in good health. After all, a large share of our entire economy is now built around medicine, medical provisions and medical institutions. No one—not even the heads of our governments—would risk the shock that would be felt throughout the country if this gigantic, needless, useless structure were to be abandoned as it truly should be.

From what I have seen, from what I have heard and from what I have learned, I have reached this definite conclusion: no one single factor can be held up as the reason for the splendid health of the people of Hunza.

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 44

Health

For Me To Say that the Hunzans are the healthiest people of the world, which many authors and writers have claimed, would be sheer effrontery . . . mainly because I have not studied the health of all the peoples of the world, nor have I even met them. However, I do attest from what I have seen and observed, that the Hunzans are one of the healthiest people of the world.

To say that they are completely free from diseases or health problems is definitely not true. At the time when I visited Hunza there was a resident doctor located at Aliabad, where he was in charge of a 10-bed hospital. I conversed with him and questioned him daily during my stay and he answered my pressing questions with complete frankness and candor.

He is only a young man, a Pakistani, and his name is Dr. Mohammed Yusuf Khan, M.B., B.S. He is a handsome, capable, well educated doctor and is, in my

759 humble opinion, equal to the best medical men that we
115 can turn out of the European or American universities. Besides his medical degree, he also has a bachelor of science degree which most of our doctors do not have. So if anything, he is perhaps a little bit better learned than our average physician.

164 One of the first questions that I asked of the Mir of Hunza was, "Are there many known epileptics?"

The Mir thought for a moment and then shook his head and said, "No!"

So I turned to the doctor who was on my left and said, "Doctor, do you know of any epileptics in Hunza?"

At that instant the Mir got up and left the room . . . and I wondered about this.

There was a definite purpose behind my question concerning epilepsy. You see, it has always been my conviction—or at least for 25 years—that epilepsy is strictly nutritional. Of the few epileptics that I knew in my life all had peculiar eating habits . . . that is, they had their positive likes and dislikes . . . and from that day to this I have believed that epilepsy was basically nutritional.

"Yes," the doctor replied, "right at this present time I am treating three epileptic patients. One is from Nagir and two are from entirely different locations in Hunza. But the Nagir case is one of these dream cases —the kind that every doctor hopes he'll come across some day in his work."

"Yes," he went on, "this Nagir case performs every act described in the medical journals. He's a perfect textbook case. The sick man has every condition, symptom and manifestation of epilepsy known to medical science."

Statistics indicate that in America there is one epileptic to every 350 of the population. The population of

Nagir and Hunza would be somewhere around 50,000 164
people. That vould allow the people of these two principalities 140 epileptics, to be on par with America.

When I mentioned this to the doctor, he pooh-poohed the idea and aid, "I'm sure there wouldn't be a dozen epileptics on both sides of the river. In fact, with these three I think I have them all."

"What is the most prominent complaint that you find among the people?"

"Dysentery," he replied, without hesitation.

"Do you know the cause?" was my next question.

"I'm afraidI can't answer that question with any degree of authoity or proof, but I can tell you this . . . that it is seldom very serious and the condition usually clears up in afew days. I know of no deaths caused by it."

Now the Mir returned and I was relieved, for I felt 124
that I had ofended the fine man by asking the doctor if there were any epileptics in Hunza, when he had told me there wern't any.

So I turnel to the Mir and explained the situation to him, stating that in my eagerness to get the data I had asked the same question of the doctor and mentioned my fear of offending him.

He replied "I believe friendship is made of sterner stuff than that."

I was surprised and delighted by this statement.

Then he explained that he was called by one of his servants whohad signaled to him—concerning preparation for an event that was to take place that evening.

My next question to both the doctor and the Mir 164
was, "Is there anything in the line of health or disease that is developing in Hunza different from the old pattern? Things that didn't occur before, that are beginning to appear now?"

164 "Yes," said the doctor, "I am alarmed at the great increase in goiter cases in Hunza, especially among the younger people, where it is rampant. Also, cavities in the teeth of the people are being found regularly, whereas a few years ago tooth trouble in any form was practically unknown, judging from the information at my disposal!"

When he spoke to me he was genuinely distressed at the increased occurrence of both of these maladies.

"To what do you attribute the increase in these conditions, Doctor?" I asked.

He replied, "As yet I have been unable to lay my finger on anything specific concerning this."

I have been interested in Hunza for many years and
262 during this period I have devoured every available
263 piece of literature on these fascinating people. Thus, marshalling my mental forces, I said to him, "Have any major changes taken place in the diet or living habits of the people of Hunza?"

"Not that I am positively aware of," he said meditatingly.

"Where do the people of Hunza get their salt from?"
[439] I asked.

"It is usually flown in from Pindi to Gilgit and then carried up the trail to Baltit and other parts of Hunza."

I learned that it was also carried by jeep and pack animals from Rawalpindi across the Babusar Pass into Gilgit as well.

"How long has this been going on?"

This the good doctor could not answer. But the Mir
[439] was close by and he said it was longer than ten years now that the salt had been imported.

"Where did you get your salt from before?" I said to the Mir.

263 "Why," he replied, "the people of Hunza have been
317

mining salt from an area around Shimshal for many hundreds of years." 263 [317]

"Is there any difference between the salt that you import and that of Shimshal?"

"Much difference," said the Mir. "The salt that we import is pure white and very salty, whereas the salt mined in the Shimshal area was in its natural state and contained many impurities. The people prefer the imported salt because of its sharper saltier flavor."

"So it is true then," I said to the Mir, "that this aspect of modern civilization has crept into Hunza!" [177]

The Mir and the doctor looked at each other and then somewhat reluctantly nodded in agreement.

Speaking somewhat forcibly, I said to both of them, "It is obvious that the imported salt is pure sodium chloride, whereas the salt that is brought down from Shimshal is something that has never been analyzed and obviously contains many minerals, so-called impurities."

Obviously the people of Hunza in the past did not know, did not care or did not feel the need to purify their salt, because even to a layman like myself, it is clear and obvious that by making a brine, the pure salt could be extracted.

Whether by error or design, this has never been practiced in Hunza.

"Does it not seem possible," I said to the doctor, "that the salt that was formerly used by the people of Hunza was the means of keeping goiter and dental caries away or at bay?" 164

"I hadn't thought of it before," replied the doctor, "but I will admit that it sounds logical and undoubtedly it is true!"

The Mir further admitted that little or no salt was being mined in Shimshal at the present time. Therefore it would seem to be indicated that the importation of

164 salt is causing the present goiter and dental caries situations in Hunza today.

"How would you describe the health conditions of the people of Hunza?" I next asked the doctor.

[758] "Since my coming to Hunza a little less than a year ago, I have treated but a few patients a day and seldom are there more than one or two of the hospital beds utilized at one time. Apart from the greatly increasing incidence of goiter and dental caries, no other disease seems to have a firm hold in Hunza.

164 167 "Now that many of the boys and men of Hunza are leaving to go into the army in Pakistan, as well as seeking employment in other adjacent areas, diseases never known in Hunza before are making their appearance.

753 757 "Another unfortunate characteristic that I have to contend with is the fact that the people feel quite shy of coming to a doctor for advice and treatment, especially when it is concerned with the personal parts of the anatomy. Actually they are callously indifferent to medical science. The majority of them are, in fact, still living in the bygone age when diseases were supposed to be due to influences of evil spirits. So they depend to some degree and waste much of early precious time in useless superstitious pursuits of driving away the ghost."

164 These one or two patients that he treats daily have in most cases only minor ailments and, at that, a good share of these come from across the river and from the neighboring state of Nagir.

It occurred to me that there would probably be more illness during the winter. Many cases of eye troubles are treated during the winter, due, primarily, to the fact [354] that most Hunzan homes are smoke-filled, because of the floor center fires and only the hole in the roof to allow the smoke to escape. Visitors invariably find living indoors and the smoke intolerable, but the people of

Hunza are more or less used to it. However, it does cause trouble with the eyes of the natives. It also weakens the lungs of some of the older women, who probably spend most of their time indoors during the cold months of the year. 164

I questioned the doctor and the Mir concerning prenatal care, but from what they told me, I could find no provisions whatsoever made for prenatal care outside the individual home. 843

The death rate at childbirth, they told me, was next to zero, but the doctor also mentioned that a woman would not consider going to a doctor for gynecological reasons under any circumstances. She would rather die. 165 845 757

He also told me that before and after delivery of a child, Hunzan women do not know of any rest. The pregnant woman works harder and does more laborious jobs till the last day of the term, in the belief that hard and laborious work makes delivery easier and uneventful. 843 846

"But," he went on, "they are very careful in exerting themselves during the early days of conception. After delivery they are again up and doing again, only after a short rest."

It seems to be obvious that the method followed by the women of Hunza prior to childbirth "works" because both mother and child come out of it "uneventful." When events occur at such times, it usually means serious trouble. 843

He went on to tell me further that gallstones, renal calculus, coronary heart disease, hypertension, valvular lesions, myxoldeama thyrsotoxcasis, mental deficiencies, cancer, poliomyelitis, arthritis and diabetes are absolutely unknown in Hunza. 164

From what I have seen and gathered I am worried about the situation. They are now importing their sugar, 177 263 439

177 their salt and soon there will be a few more items added
263 and, as more of their people go out of the country to
439 earn a living and come back to visit or retire, more of civilization's curses will be brought back with them.

165 The doctor rather clearly indicated that infant mor-
114 tality was not as low as some writers would like us to believe. I repeat—he made this quite clear.

164 Now I'll let you decide how it ties in with the statements made by Sir Robert McCarrison: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucous colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people, the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

276 Smoking in general is not an addiction in Hunza. The water-pipe or hubble-bubble is used by some of the people, usually at gatherings or ceremonies. It is then passed around in a wide circle, each one taking a puff
[562] or two. The women are included, but only after all the men have finished.

Some of the citizens use snuff. It is tobacco mixed with the ash of a plant called "sopa," which is indigenous to that area. They take the tobacco and the sopa ash, put in a dash of water, stir it up and mix it into a paste. Then they place gobs of this paste under their lip, exactly the same as the snuff chewer does in the West, although this practice has been dying out in the Western world.

164 Just how much of the health of the people of Hunza
132 is due to the fact that they get a lot of sunlight? That is a most pertinent question and one that will take a lot

of study before an answer can be given. They do get more sunshine than the Nagirwals—of that there is no doubt. While in Nagir fields are definitely in better tilth, their land is deeper, they have broader and more fertile valleys and can grow more and better food, yet undoubtedly the people of Hunza are by far the handsomer, healthier, more industrious and more energetic. 132 164 [133]

For my part I wasn't completely sold on the principle that the people of Hunza did have much more sunlight than the people of Nagir and I debated the matter with a few individuals. But each of them maintained stoutly that they did and claimed that they had scientific proof that Hunza did get more sunlight.

The last man with whom I did battle on the subject was Dr. Hermann Berger of West Germany. From his investigations he said that he had reached the conclusion positively and unequivocally, that the northern slope of the mountains through which the Hunza River flowed did get more sunlight than the southern slope which was Nagir. 132 114

As I found considerable difficulty and doubt concerning the theory of the people of Hunza getting more sunlight than the people of Nagir, I decided to draw a little chart that would illustrate the situation as I eventually found it to be. After seeing the drawing I think it will prove to you that the principle is natural and reasonable. (*See Fig.* 1.) [A]

[A] [facing p. 390 – ANALYST]

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 45

Where Is Hunza?

131 AT FIRST I HAD TAKEN it for granted that everyone knew exactly where Hunza lay. Then after many folks had queried me about the location of this strange country, I found that Hunza was seldom listed on any map and not even mentioned in many encyclopedias and gazetteers. Therefore, it is only fair and right for me to tell you where Hunza is and, if you do know, I trust you will pardon my repeating the position, but I want to establish its area clearly.

At the extreme northerly tip of Pakistan, rubbing shoulders with Afghanistan on the west, China on the north and northeast is Hunza and just 14 miles beyond the narrow corridor of Afghanistan lies Soviet Russia. [133] The gateway between Hunza and China is the famed Mintaka Pass which is the original route followed by Marco Polo back so many hundred years ago. Hard-by is where the Hunza River has its source. This area along

the Hunza River is the principality called Hunza. 431

It is nestled in a most enchanting setting, surrounded by three of the world's greatest and tallest mountain systems. Another piece of knowledge that adds even greater interest and appeal is the meaning of the names of the three mountain systems: Hindu Kush means "killer of Hindus" because so many Hindus have lost their lives in crossing this range; Himalaya means "abode of snow", well-named when one considers their height and the vast masses of glaciers lying on the mountains' breasts; Karakorum means "the black rock" and one has to actually penetrate this system to realize how accurately those hard bare stone walls are named. The word Kush is pronounced with an "oo" sound. Himalayas is pronounced with the accent on the "al". The Karakorums are pronounced with the broad "a" accent for the first syllable and "oo" sound for the "um". This word can be spelled either "am" or "um". I prefer "um" because that is more in keeping with the sound as spoken by the people of that area. 133 [103] [104]

Hunza actually forms a part of what was the old Kashmir and on maps it is shown as part of Kashmir and Jammu.

During my travels through the area I was plagued with the questions . . .Where exactly are the Hindu Kush, the Karakorums, the Himalayas? Where among these ranges is Hunza? 'Tis simple, you say? That's what I said, too, until I began to investigate and ask questions. Then I found myself in a maze of confusion from which I found it difficult to extricate myself.

Surely one would believe that learned people, high school or university graduates both in America and abroad, would know a bit about the most important mountain systems in the world. But, no! Ask them yourself. See the ambiguous answers you get. Then you

131 will understand why "it plagued me thus."

133 Many writers who have visited the area, and many
[114] others who have not, refer to Hunza as being in the Himalayas. I am sorry to be forced to contradict these good people, but from my research—and I repeat, research—I have come to the conclusion that Hunza is definitely in the Karakorum system and not the Himalayas.

[114] If this error was made just occasionally by casual visitors or tourists, it could go unmentioned, but when men with science education and degrees make this mistake, it is somewhat unpardonable. There are very few maps or gazetteers that give this information accurately, and if you think I came by this information easily, I would suggest that you take down whatever maps you have available and do some research on the topic.

The eventual decision as to which are the Karakorums and which are the Himalayas came about when it was firmly laid down in one place that the northwest upper Indus separates the Karakorums from the Himalayas. The Karakorums seem to start about where the Hindu Kush ends in Kashmir. The exact spot, according to the best data that I could obtain, is 74 degrees east longitude and from there the Karakorums run approximately 300 miles southeast down to the main bend of the Shyok River. Even encyclopedias are not completely reliable in this instance, because one encyclopedia (in fact, Columbia is the one I'm talking about) lists Mountain K2 which is now known as Godwin Austen as the second tallest mountain peak in the world and places it both in the Karakorums and in the Himalayas. The Hindu Kush culminates at Tirach Mir —26,426 ft. high. Just about there the Karakorum range takes over and extends as specified above.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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The Hunzans are conceded to have superior health to their neighbors. Nagir land is more shaded by mountains. (*Figure 1.*)

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A water powered stone mill used by the Hunzans for making flour. (*Figure 2.*)

[facing p. 390]
[p. 390-A]

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)19o0 AV7 Burusho AV7
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[p. 390-B1]

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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Hunzan houses have no chimneys—just a hole in the roof for smoke to escape.

[p. 390-82]

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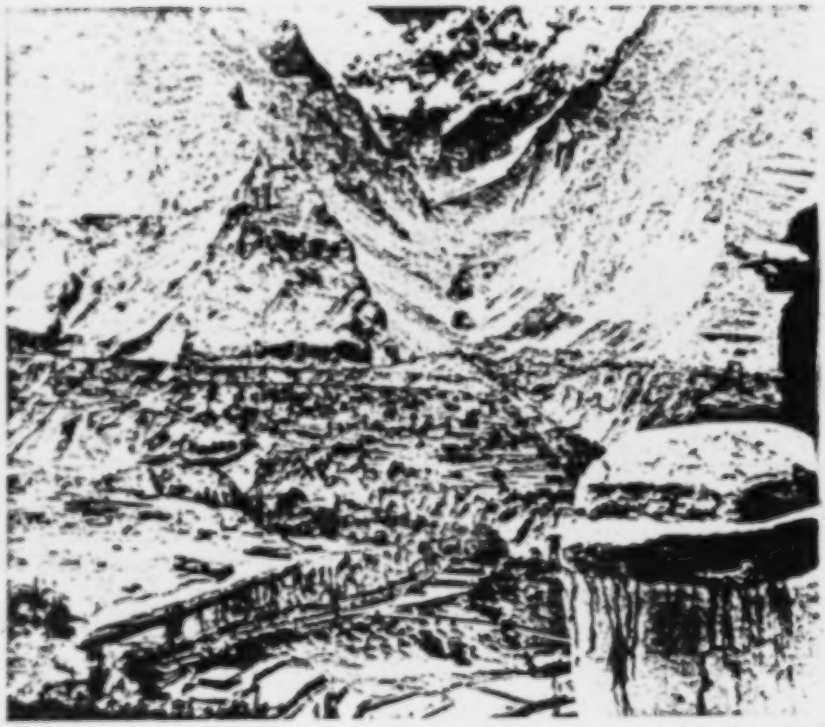

View from the Fort at Baltit.

[p. 390-C]

Part or all of the armies of Alexander the Great 131
wound their way through the Hindu Kush mountains. 133
Whether or not they ever found their way into the [173]
Karakorums, history does not designate, but I suspect
that they did, because the Hunzans are supposed to be
descendants of Alexander the Great or his soldiers and
Hunza is in the Karakorums.

The Himalayas in the encyclopedia are stated to lie
in India, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and China but
I know for certain the Himalayas extend into Pakistan
as well.

At this point I am not seeking to take issue with any [114]
gazetteer, encyclopedia or other volume of facts. I am
just pointing out the difficulty I encountered in getting
the information down to a semblance of order and
accuracy. Further, I have consulted with, written to
and requested details from many sources who should
know the facts, and in practically every case I came to a
dead end. It seems as though very few people in the
world know the exact location and extent of these three
mountain systems.

One man who did seem to know them and placed
them accurately was Eric Shipton and by the heavens,
he should know—he spent more time among these
mountains than any white man in history.

A curious thing about the people of Hunza . . . they 823
do not have names for the peaks in the area and there 103
are some mighty lofty peaks. Even the famed Raka-
poshi has no individual name in Hunza. It is just called
"Dumani," the same as every other high mountain or
mountain peak that they came across. Actually, "du-
mani" means "covered with a cloud."

I guess they're so accustomed to seeing these awe-
some peaks that they become impervious to them. So
what? Another hill! Every time I asked one of the

823 bearers the name of yon mountain, he pointed to it
103 and said, "Dumani!"

It was quite some time before I found out that it wasn't the same mountain we kept seeing from different views or angles. In fact, after the second day's travel and the only peak that we had passed was "Dumani," I began to get suspicious and thought that somebody was pulling my leg. As a matter of fact, I didn't find out that "Dumani" meant "covered with a cloud," "high peak" or "big mountain" until I came across Professor Berger in Baltit. He, being interested in the language of the people, put me straight on the "dumani" business.

What made matters even worse—or should I say, more difficult—was the fact that long after we had left the Hunza area, people kept telling me about the "Dobani" nullahs and the "Dobani" mountains. Sometimes they said "Dobani," other times they said "Dubani" and then they would also say "Dumani" and "Domani." I don't think they know themselves exactly
[133] what they mean. Of course when they said Dumani Nullah, it would mean the "river flowing from the glacier on the breast of the mountain" and when they pointed to a hill and said "Dumani," they meant it was a big hill.

133 In trying to relate the circumstances covering our travel and journey from Gilgit to Hunza one must maintain a sort of running encounter of the trail and the incidents surrounding it. Then, too, in other parts of the book I try to tell about the agriculture, the habits and health of the people of Hunza. Therefore little time remains for one to describe the charm, the beauty and whatever else may be said about the scenes one passes.

So will you bear with me while I try to describe as

graphically as possible one day's journey through these 133
mountains.

There is little beauty to be seen until one gets beyond Nomal. I felt that the enchantment of the mountain terrain did not begin until we reached Chalt. From there to Baltit was one bit of indescribable grandeur after another.

From broad undulating valleys and river beds you suddenly come to a place where the mountain walls seem to come together to form a gorge. Here the river churned and frothed in its azure murkiness. The dark rock walls in all their sharp angled beauty presented an awesome spectacle and gave one the feeling of being suddenly closed in. For thousands of feet upward, shelves, abutments, butts, curves and gradings swept on in seemingly never-ending succession. Not a tuft of grass or even a bit of green moss or lichen could be seen by the naked eye. 'Twas bare but still beautiful . . . unadorned, but bejewelled. Then above were the light and clouds . . . and beyond, the blue sky and occasionally the sun could be seen.

The road would climb, weave and wind. It would 133
broaden to 3, 4, or even 5 feet. Then 'twould narrow 487
down sometimes to a bare 14 inches where the outside shoulder of the road had collapsed or fallen away, leaving a ragged, rugged edge which one took good care to avoid.

In places where the trail all but disappeared the solid rock face of the mountain wall had been chipped away or incut to allow a body or a small animal to pass. One had to crane one's neck or stoop to prevent a whack on the head that could send you hurtling down thousands of feet.

Continually there were patches of scree or morain that might be a hundred feet or a mile or more in

133 length. Over this the horses clattered judiciously, plac-
487 ing one foot down firmly somewhere before they lifted another. 'Twas the only way they could maneuver through this pebble and rock dashed remains of a slide. Masses of mountains dimmed in the distance.

Now and then a nullah would leap into view and
[491] had to be crossed or forded. Yes, many of them, the more or less permanent ones, were covered by bridges . . . some sound, durable and strong and others, more or less makeshift, which one had to cross with prudence and yet alacrity.

133 Whenever a rafik hove into view, I unconsciously
487 would suck in my breath quickly and steel myself for
491 the mental ordeal to come. There I knew the trail was held up or was maintained by a few slabs of rock pressed into fissures on the rock surface of the cliff or even a built up wall of stones, laid carefully one on top of another without being cemented in any way. At other times there were rods of steel driven into the rock surface and upon this the boards or road was laid. How these supports held, heaven only knows and there they were, jutting out over emptiness or nothingness. Did they fall away? Was there any danger? Well, you can answer that question for yourself. If you were going to travel along the trail to Hunza, they had to be crossed and the fact that they were continually being erected was ample proof that they were continually falling away.

133 In many places the road ribbons to a narrow ledge
487 along a precarious outcropping of rock . . . courses that have been cut and built into the very face of the sheer and protruding cliffs, and many from a few hundred to many thousands of feet above the valley floor and often more than 15,000 feet above sea level. Landslides, washouts, rains of gigantic boulders, disintegra-

tion of rafiks have played havoc with travelers and 133
caravans on this route since the first enterprising man 487
inched his way across. Yet then and now bold, brave, fearless men were attracted and fascinated by the call to the serene loveliness, adventure and danger.

Then islands of greenery began to appear more fre- 133
quently. These were the terraced fields, the oases that 311
marked the villages. It was a pinpoint of light in a sea of darkness where rest, drink and food could be found, even if unappetizing and unabundant. These spots of green at sky-line-blue heights, among the millions of acres of barren rock and emptiness were pleasing both to the eye and soul and comforting, too, for the traveler.

Elsewhere, in the Hindu Kush or the Himalayas, could be found verdant valleys and hills and mountain-tops that were furry and treed. But in the harsh, bleak, black Karakorums, such heavenly blessings could seldom, if ever, be found. Even the terraced tiny green fields could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be compared to a tree-covered hillside or mountain. Yet, let it not be said or thought that these bleak, barren hills did not have their loveliness and charm. They possessed beauty! Yes, they did! Like a tiger, 'twas fierce, sharp and untamed, but nevertheless, true beauty!

In the distance, one could always watch as the hills 133
rolled, soared, dipped and then fell away to merge with 487
the blue of the horizon. I know at times, allowing my vision to soar and wander about the mountains in the distance, my fatigue and weariness were forgotten and I plodded on, unmindful of the trail. My mind soared from peak to peak—some cloud-haloed, others bold and sharply defined.

One was always meeting the Hunza River, either face to face or having it course along at your side. Then,

too, as you rose where the road led on high crests, you could see the river winding, twisting, bending in the distance and you knew that you would be there soon—in an hour or a few.

As you course your way along the trail, you see the snow and ice covered mountain ranges with their glorious majestic crests gleaming in slides of silvery softness. You follow a road, that was known for at least a thousand years as a snaking, curving road of exceptional beauty, mid towering heights, nameless peaks and grave hazards.

'Twas but a scant few decades ago—yes, even that short a time—that one or two successful caravan trading trips, winding their way from China to the Khyber Pass via Peshawar, Pindi, Gilgit and the Hunza and Nagir Valleys, could make a trader rich, if he could get through without mishap and avoid being robbed by brigands.

The camel caravans would be laden with silks, gaily colored cloth, clothing, tea, porcelain, earthenware, jewels, gold and silver, ivory, salt, sweetening, spices, trinkets and bottles, fancy slippers, foot coverings, vases, trays and fancily inscribed artware, bars of iron and steel, knives, cooking utensils..

On this caravan route, animals do not walk side by side, but one behind the other.

It is no wonder that the owners of the caravans were glad to pay tribute for safe conduct through these defiles and passes.

We met caravans but they were evidently coming from the Pamirs and heading towards Gilgit, Peshawar and Srinagar. They were good sized ones with many donkeys and camels. The altitude wasn't high enough for yaks.

They looked sort of nondescript to me. I thought

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they would be more interesting. But what can one expect from hard working travelers through a wicked terrain? They didn't look rich or impressive, but I was forced to admit that it did take courage and determination. 'Twas not meat for a weak man. 487 439

It occurred to me that a caravan would not be easy picking for a bandit or bandits. They'd best have superiority of numbers because men with weak stomachs or weak heads don't travel in caravans.

What is the lure that mountains hold for many men? I've learned that they can be as beautiful, as enchanting, as alluring and yes, even as demanding and possessive as any woman. I have never known a man who went to his death for a woman, but I have read and known of many who went to their death for a mountain . . . Nanga Parbat, especially. 000

They must exert a tremendous influence over man. And it is a fascination that never wears off. It's easy not to fall in love with them as long as you have never seen them and been among them but, if you are so unfortunate as to have made their acquaintance and mingled in their company, then you are lost. You will never be indifferent to their charms again. They'll permeate your heart and soul and penetrate reaches that you never knew you owned—and you own them no longer, for they are possessed by peaks and snows and summits and glaciers. You will never again know rest or settling down, for the glaciers' gleam has struck home and to it you will have to return!

[pp. 398-404 not processed]

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CHAPTER 47

Hunza Agriculture -- "Use and Return"

IN A COUNTRY like Hunza where land is so scarce and therefore precious, it behooves the man who tills the soil to get everything he can out of it and, what is even more important, to put back everything humanly possible so that he will be able to maintain it indefinitely, in a high state of health and fertility.

The people who farm that land realize full well that their health, their well-being and their very lives depend entirely upon the crops that are produced. In order to maintain the soil in good health and tilth, nothing can be wasted.

Where irrigation is used, the leaching of soil nutrients can and often does become a serious problem. For example, at Gilgit when I was visiting the P.A.'s garden, he informed me that he was having trouble growing certain crops, which were infested with insects. Now this is not in Hunza, but in Gilgit.

241 After close examination of the various factors, as well as the slope of the soil and the supply of water, I reached the conclusion that the trouble he was having was positively caused by the overflowing water—too often and too much. Whoever it was who was irrigating his garden allowed too much water to come down the trenches and when it overflowed, it took with it many of the water-soluble nutrients from the soil.

Therefore, wherever overflows or runoffs are allowed on terraced and irrigated soils, there will be a positive leaching of the nutrients, which will end in imbalance and cause crop difficulties and bring on insects and diseases.

In Hunza, each farmer applies his water personally and when sufficient water is put onto his fields and crops the flow is immediately stopped. In Gilgit, the P.A.'s gardener didn't worry if there was any runoff. In the first place, the land wasn't his own. Secondly, he had a large area to look after and probably couldn't give it as close attention as it required. But with the Hunza farmer it was entirely different. He had only a small amount of land ranging from ¾ of an acre to 5 acres, sometimes made up of 3 or 4 pieces—some as small as 1/10 of an acre each. Therefore he could afford to watch every inch of it with care, affection and understanding, and I'm sure the Hunzans learned long ago that the overflow could in subsequent years bring disease, crop failure and destruction.

As I walked among the farms in Hunza, I specifically looked for the overflowing of irrigated terraced lands, but I did not in one case see this happen . . . which led me to believe that the Hunzan farmers have learned that principle well.

Along the trail, whenever I came in sight of the irrigated patches that indicated the cultivated farm-

land of the area, I tried to figure out exactly what the 241
different crops were. In my travels throughout other parts of the world—for example, in Europe—I would be hard pressed to pick out the different crops that were being grown in the fields by their color, their height and the way they bent or leaned with the breezes that blew. But all along the trail leading to Baltit, on both the Nagir and Hunza sides, this problem was not as great, nor did it cause me as much difficulty for identification purposes, because the majority of crops growing was wheat.

I kept looking for rice paddies, because I definitely had the feeling that throughout this part of the world a lot of rice would be grown. And while I found a lot of rice being grown in Pakistan, Afghanistan and India, in Hunza and Nagir rice in the fields or paddies was distinctly conspicuous by its absence. I did find a field here and there, but they were definitely few and far between.

Students and those interested in organic agriculture have looked upon Hunza for many years now as the last stronghold of nature's way. Because of the importance attached by many people to conditions in Hunza, I tried to make my study as careful as possible. As yet there is no sign whatsoever of chemical fertilizers being used.

Because of the terraces built one upon the other, Hunza farming has been termed "staircase farming" and this staircase farming has some, if not many, advantages. First, it effects good drainage. Second, it gives a deeper penetration of air into the soil. This soil aeration is considered beneficial to soil microorganisms and it promotes rapid growth, and enables the bacteria and the roots of plants to derive much benefit from the elements contained in the air, which can be combined with those in the soil.

The glacial waters definitely do contain a variety of

241 minerals and by allowing these glacial streams to be spread over the soil, the nutrients are left in the soil as the water soaks into it.

The principle of returning to the land that which belongs to the land has been and is, at the present time, scrupulously followed. The only farm implement which [407] I could find on the Hunzan farms was the primitive [492] plow and invariably it was pulled by a bullock. The plowing is never deep and is practiced chiefly to sort of clean the field, cover the organic matter that has been spread upon it or left upon it and prepare the field for the next crop.

[464] All the work that has to be done is done by hand—with or without the assistance of domesticated farm animals. There is no substitute for manual labor and the men, women and even young children share in the farm work.

[137] From what I could observe, weeds were not a problem and the reasons are clear. There are few indigenous, native plants in the area. Practically all of the growing plants that I could spy were in cultivated areas. The maxim in Hunza evidently is if a place can grow weeds, then it should be cultivated and usually that principle is followed. This all adds up to the fact that there are few weed seeds distributed in the area and therefore they are not in the soil to spring up, whenever the farmer's back is turned.

[134] I want to stress once more that the mineral requirements of the fields of the Hunza farmer are met and replenished by the fine silt, ground by the glaciers from the rocky surfaces and carried down to the Hunza farmers by the conduits and spread on their land.

Our modern civilization attaches great importance to and stresses the value of flavor and appearance in

the commodities that they eat. If that is the criterion, 241
then I am forced to admit openly that the fruits, vegetables and cereal grains of Hunza do not compare with those of the West.

Contrary to what any writer, expert or visitor to [114]
Hunza has stated, in my opinion and belief, Hunzan fruit, vegetables and grains are not superior to those of the West. From the strict viewpoint of taste, size and appearance the American fruits, vegetables and grains are far better than those grown in Hunza. In this matter I must humbly yet fairly state, that the American standards and qualities in fruits make the similar varieties of fruits of other countries seem poor, puny and second rate by comparison.

Hunza need not feel too badly because of this as millions of dollars are spent annually in America by a hundred or more experimental farms of vast acreages, breeding fruits, nuts, vegetables, forage crops and grains. If some of these newer varieties of fruits or vegetables and grains were grown on Hunzan soils and under Hunzan conditions, I might have a different story to tell.

Let me cite an example. In America, in order to find
a better strain of strawberries, millions—and I repeat, millions—of seedlings have been planted. These plants have been carefully tended and watched. Then a selection of a mere handful from all of these for further testing was made. From these results a few new varieties which have shown an excellence of habit of growth, vitality, good foliage, ease of propagation, resistance to various diseases, flavor and color of fruit, good bearing qualities and other important factors were selected and disseminated throughout the country. No one in his right mind would expect tiny Hunza to follow such a procedure. In fact, only in the United

000 States would such an undertaking be possible.

It is difficult to make comparisons flavorwise because there are many varieties of each and every fruit and vegetable. We have all eaten peaches that were filled with juice and flavor and others that were flavorless and mealy. We have all eaten carrots that were sweet and crisp and we've also had them where they had no flavor and tasted like dried wood or were bitter. Two different kinds of carrots grown on the same soil can have an entirely different flavor. This could be applied to beets, peas or any other garden crop. The fault therein does not always lie in the soil, but in the inherent characteristics of the variety itself. Therefore the superiority of the flavor of the fruit in most cases lies in the variety, rather than in the soil in which they were grown. Sometimes time of harvest is a factor, too.

241 While I would very much like to say that the natural organically grown Hunzan fruits and vegetables and grains were much superior in flavor to those grown in the West where chemical fertilizers are used, I am afraid that I cannot honestly make that statement.

But I suggest that the thoroughly inbred organically minded individual take heart. If the people of Hunza had soil that even remotely resembled our best near virgin soils in tilth, humus content and expanse, along with the newer and better strains of fruits, vegetables and grains, I am sure they would have the best flavored, best tasting and best quality food crops in all creation.

I know for an absolute fact that there are many farmers—hundreds and probably thousands of them in both Canada and the United States—who do not use chemical fertilizers. Perhaps it is my good fortune to eat most of my grain, fruits and vegetables from such farms and in truth, I strive in every instance to procure organically grown fruits, vegetables and grain. Further,

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on my own farm we definitely and positively use neither 241
chemical fertilizers nor sprays.

You can understand in Hunza that tastewise there is no interference or problem from chemical fertilizers and sprays.

I believe that the myth about the flavor and succu- [114]
lence of the Hunzan apricots came about because visitors ate the apricots ripe and freshly picked from the trees, whereas at home the apricots they ate were picked from the trees days before, because they had to be shipped long distances, and therein lay the difference in flavor.

In January, 1959, I sent the Mir of Hunza good 123
sized packages of the different kinds of hardy wheat 241
that were created by the experimental farms of the 177
Dominion of Canada. It was special seed, tested for hardiness in the colder areas and of such quality that would produce a fine loaf of bread.

I also sent the best strains of carrots, cabbages, Brussels sprouts, lettuce, beets and other vegetables. But when I was dining with the Mir and asked him about the results with the seeds, he admitted that the only seed they had got planted that year was the lettuce, which was being enjoyed at the Mir's table. He said that he would try the rest of them the following year.

It is understandable that the Western world would have better varieties of fruits, vegetables and grains, because here we spend millions and millions of dollars on hybridizing, trials, selections and improving the various strains . . . so we should get some results from our efforts . . . and we do! Therefore, without question, the Hunzans could profit by using Western strains of grains, vegetables and fruits. This is one aspect of modern civilization that could help them greatly.

The apricots that I saw, tasted and ate were not the

123 huge fine quality products that I was told they were. I
241 admit here further that I was in Hunza in July and the
177 later, perhaps the better, varieties were not available or ripe yet. But upon questioning the various people, there was no information given to me that indicated the later maturing kinds were superior to the earlier ones.

So as in vegetables and grains, their fruit could be greatly improved by adopting some of the Western varieties. This could easily be done by having budwood sent to them and they in turn would graft this budwood onto their young stock.

I have made arrangements with the Mir of Hunza and the P.A. at Gilgit to supply them with this required grafting wood at the proper time, and it will be duly sent to them, so that in the future they may have some of the benefit of the West's hybridization and research program. I took along with me a few of the best budding knives that I could procure and I left two with the P.A. at Gilgit and the others with the Mir of Hunza and I explained their use.

245 In talking with the Mir about the planting of new varieties and improved strains, he claimed that his people did graft and seek new varieties and strains, but from the little time I had to inspect things, I did not see any young trees or any great number of grafts that would indicate this being a widely practiced policy. I found nothing resembling a nursery in Hunza or Nagir, but there was a small, unimpressive nursery run by the Pakistani government in Gilgit. Maybe this is the forerunner of bigger and better things to come.

241 There appears to be no central source of seed supply in Hunza. It seems that each farmer saves seeds for next year's crops or barters with his neighbor. In some [T-3] years, when, because of any one of many conditions

that may exist or be created in an agricultural community, no seed is available, the Mir has been known to procure supplies from neighboring states and supply his people with sufficient planting stock. 241 643

While through the entire East cow dung and yak dung are used for fuel, in Hunza this is positively not true. The Hunzans are too intelligent to use the mainstay of their lives for fuel. Once it is burned it is gone; but if it is put back into the land, it is there to produce crops for another year. They show their intelligence, if proof of their intelligence is needed, by this one sound principle of self-survival in their means of agriculture. 241 372

However, in the more northerly sections of Hunza, closer to the Chinese border, they do use yak dung for fires because of the almost total lack of wood or other types of fuel. They just have to keep themselves warm during the winter.

Here is a list of the vegetables grown in Hunza—potatoes, turnips, carrots, beans, peas, lettuce, pumpkins, tomatoes, melons, watermelons, radishes, onions, cabbage, spinach, cauliflower. 244

In fruits there are mulberries, apricots, apples, pears, peaches, grapes, walnuts, almonds, a few plums and some cherries. 245

Grapes are grown fairly extensively because they can plant them against most any wall, as long as they have a bit of soil in which to gain a foothold for their roots. From these grapes they make their Hunzan wine. [273]

They grow a few strawberries, but I could find no currants, gooseberries, raspberries—nor did they know what raspberries were.

The grains grown in Hunza, starting from the most important, are wheat, barley, rye, millet, buckwheat and a small quantity of rice. Some alfalfa is grown as a forage crop. 243 246

231
[263]

There are no bees in Hunza and, consequently, no honey unless it is imported. This will probably come as a surprise to most people. I suspected this even before I reached Hunza. That is why I went in search of bees and honey in Hunza. But search and peer as I did, no bees were to be found and upon questioning I found that, though they had even tried importing them, they didn't remain or they died off.

Obviously the Hunza terrain is too tough and arduous for bees. Bees, contrary to what most people believe, like it soft. Set out a field of clover or a good sized patch of asters or other good honey-makers and bees will flock to your land, but, where you have a scattered flower here and there, the bees either won't bother or won't be able to find them.

Probably from a purely economic reason the bee finds Hunza uninviting. He probably would have to fly too far and too high to get any supply of nectar or honey and I don't think he'd make as much food as would be required to supplant the energy that was being used up. So after taking the important factors into consideration, it is clear that it is unwise for bees to live in Hunza. Even if it were possible to get a couple of colonies of bees established, it would do the Hunzan farmer no good because if he took away part of their honey, they would starve to death. A bee in most instances, where at all possible, stores more honey than he will require. He plays it secure by allowing a margin of safety. But in Hunza he'd have a hard enough time getting sufficient honey to keep him through the winter—let alone having some for the Hunzan farmer! From this it would appear that bees are not as smart or diligent as we think they are—or are they? Can they be blamed for seeking more colorful flowerier pastures?

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CHAPTER 48

Religion and Customs

THE PEOPLE of Hunza are Mohammedan. From all reports that I have been able to gather and from their own voluntary statements, I assume that religion with them is something that they don't go overboard about. As a matter of fact, Hunza is one of the few countries in all the world where there has never been any religious strife, nor does even the faintest glimmer of it exist there today.

In other words, they can take their religion or leave it alone!

Just how important a part this plays in the economy of the people is hard to estimate, but one thing is sure —religion does not make the demands upon their time that it does with many other people. In the East, where religion can be a mania or almost a complete absorption or way of life for many people, this can be of vital consequence.

643 Here I will quote from *The Autobiography of Sir*
771 *Mohomed Nazim Khan,* K.C.I.E. (Mir of Hunza from
798 1892-1938 and grandfather of the present Mir):
[127] "The people of Hunza were originally idolators and they became Shias when intermarriage with the ruling family of Baltistan was arranged and later, when my great grandfather Shah Salam Khan was on the throne, most of the country became Maulai. In Ganesh and Hinni, there are still a few Shias and two Sunnis. When I became Mir I declared to the people that they could adopt what religion they would, which annoyed my advisers who said that a country with many religions was bound to fall. I said that religion had nothing to do with ruling and have proved myself right in that there has been no religious strife in the country since that time."

788 Maybe the Hunzan farmer mumbles his prayers while he is working, but he seemingly doesn't appear to stop from his efforts on behalf of his farm.

000 From my actual experiences in seeing and viewing religions throughout the world, I am of the opinion that, where religion demands too much of a man's time, his industry suffers and this affects his standard of living. It is a possibility that pious, religious people throughout the world will take exception to this but, nevertheless, I am stating this as my own opinion, based on my findings and observations, and that's all it is. If anyone wants to debate the point with me, I'd be happy to provide the time and the opportunity.

The Hunzans are not fanatics and therefore they can devote more time to their labors than those who spend their time praying and resting, because of religious holidays and observances.

852 Being Mohammedans, circumcision is practiced on
304 all male children. Normally this operation is performed

when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases. 852 304

The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery. 582 304

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West. 582 [584]

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails. 585 [671]

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare. 586

586 The Hunzan law says that in such cases a child must remain with the mother until it is at least 10 years of age. Of course the child can remain with the mother after that period, too, but the father does not have to pay for its keep after that. Divorce is granted to a man only on the grounds of adultery.

Under Hunzan law a woman cannot get a divorce due to any action on the part of her husband. How-
[643] ever, on some occasions where there has been extreme provocation or other clear logical reasons, and the woman brings her justifiable complaint for divorce before the Mir in person, and if the Mir believes her case merits divorce or separation from the man, he will ask or demand of the man that he divorce his wife.

If the wife decides or wants to leave her husband's bed and board of her own free will, the husband does not have to pay for her keep. She will not receive sustenance from him, but he does have to supply her with clothing twice a year.

587 In the event of the death of his wife, the husband is required to wait two months and seven days before he can remarry. However, with the woman, in the event of the death of her husband, she must wait three months and ten days before she can remarry.

586 683 The Mir gave me an example of a divorce case where a certain man had the insidious habit of beating his wife. It seemed he would administer a sound thrashing at the slightest, or even without provocation, until the girl's parents and friends began to fear for her life. In this instance the wife-beater was notified quite clearly and distinctly that it would be in the best interests of all concerned if he gave his wife a divorce.

586 I don't know in what light they regarded this, but now that they knew the man was an avowed wife-beater, if any other woman took the risk of marrying

him, she would at least know beforehand what she had to contend with. Then again, as the Mir performs all marriages, maybe he wouldn't allow this young man to take a second wife. I did not inquire any further into the details concerning this case, but I admit that I was somewhat surprised to think that a good healthy happy Hunzan would resort to one of civilization's favorite pastimes . . . wife-beating. 586

Wife-beating generally seems to be broadly practiced in Hunza. This struck me as being most strange for I could see little cause or likelihood of opportunities for misdemeanors on the part of the wife. 593 683

Upon taking the matter up with the Mir, he told me that most cases of wife-beating were brought about by nagging, and in Hunza that is sufficient justifiable cause for a man to administer a sound thrashing to his wife and she can't take him to the Mir's court about it, either. The next most frequent cause for wife-beating is over-generosity to her parents with her husband's possessions.

Wife-beating under such provocations as stated might meet with universal support and approval on the part of mankind. There may be principles and practices in Hunza that will not find widespread support in the West, but I'll bet on the basis of the two causes for wife-beating there will be broad, if not general, male approval. 000

By Hunza law a daughter cannot inherit property. The best that she can get in a property settlement is the use of the property for her lifetime. It then must revert to a male member of the father's family. There have been instances where a daughter has been willed an individual tree—in most cases, an apricot tree. This remains her property, or at least the crops do, for as long as the tree or she lives. 428 423

684 837 Morality in Hunza is of a high level, equal to that of the best records in the world. Sexual promiscuity on the part of either male or female is practically unknown. It is clear and established that they are clean thinking and clean living people. However, the Mir did tell me that on rare occasions there was trouble involving the eternal triangle.

644 853 608 The strangest custom that I found practiced in Hunza was that followed by the royal family . . . that is, the Mir's family . . . and it pertained to their children. As soon as a child is born to the royal family, it is given out to foster parents to be reared and brought up by these parents as their own. And there the royal child remains for an unspecified period of years. The child is brought to the palace on occasions and then returned to its foster home.

The exact purpose for this practice was hard to pin down. I felt that probably it was done to save the queen or Rani the difficulty of raising the child through its infancy. I also thought that perhaps this would allow the queen to have more children, and thus be sure to create a long line of descendants to follow in the ruler's footsteps or lineage. It was also suggested that this was a way or manner or means of strengthening the ties of the ruler with his people—a sort of democratic gesture.

The people to whom the child is given out for rearing are referred to as "milk parents" or "milk family." The tie that is thus established with these people is never broken. The individual members of the family are referred to as the milk-mother, the milk-father, the milk-brother and the milk-sister.

In every case, before the child is given out to its milk parents, their character, their habits and their way of life are carefully scrutinized so that the royal couple

know that the child will be given a fine upbringing. 644

It is to be expected that the milk parents will be given much consideration and favors from the Mir's household and family . . . and the Mir has and still does provide better than average homes or residences for these selected people. 853 608

In Hunza at the present time, the Mir has built a row or unit of bungalows for these milk parents and they are given food and necessities from the royal kitchen.

I have tried to find some connection of this practice with other nations or peoples. So far my search has been unsuccessful in this regard.

Death is not the serious thing with the people of Hunza that it is with most other peoples throughout the world. That does not mean that there is no sadness and mourning, but it does not take on the same scope and seriousness that it does in the West. This is primarily due to the religion and beliefs of the people. Being Mohammedans, they believe in predestination . . . "So Allah wills." 761

Seldom are graves of departed kinfolk visited—nor are flowers laid upon them. In fact, very little maintenance is ever carried out on graves. Visits to the graves or graveyards are definitely not encouraged. The dead are revered, but visiting the grave of the departed is not really the accepted thing in Hunza. 769 765

The dead are often commemorated by having roadside lean-tos or "baldies," as they call them, erected for them . . . where a man can stop and find a bit of shelter during a storm, or rest his pack or load. They also build "jhurks" or water holes to serve the same purpose. Women are seldom commemorated in this manner. The best that a woman can hope to get is a rock pile erected in her memory. 769 764 [484] [312]

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Nagir

CHAPTER 49

Hunza vs. Nagir

184 AFTER I'VE had some time to think over the experiences of my visit to Hunza, I've been asked by others and I've also asked myself, "Is there any reason for the evident superiority of the Hunzans over the neighboring peoples?"

So I took the case of the people of Nagir, for example, and made comparisons with them. I'm not even sure whether that is a fair or proper means of comparison.

It seems somewhat strange to me that while the virtues of the people of Hunza were being extolled, the bad features or unredeeming qualities of the people of Nagir were being brought to the fore. So I took pains [101] to search and investigate and I came up with the fact that the people of Hunza and Nagir are of identical stock and that it was people originally from Hunza who populated Nagir.

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Then wherein lies the difference? What happened through the years to create the obvious difference that everyone sees and feels the minute he comes into the territory? I am not an anthropologist, nor have I training in any scientific field. Therefore, I am quite unprepared to speak with any degree of authority, but I am told the difference is that the people of Nagir accepted or welcomed strangers and settlers from other parts of the area and thus, they became a polyglot group of mixed blood, habits, customs, religions and thought, whereas the Hunzan people, then and today, discourage outsiders from coming to live among them in their country. Then, too, I guess another important factor looms and that is that Hunza is not nearly as inviting from an economic viewpoint to a man coming from another part of the world to settle, whereas Nagir does offer many more advantages.

For me to assert that there are no mixed bloods in Hunza would be an untruth, because even in my travels about the towns and along the road, I saw distinct types that were not of the run-of-the-mill Hunzans. Some were distinctly Chinese and I am also reasonably sure that there is a fair amount of Afghan blood among the Hunzans, besides Russian—for, as you may recall, Russia is but a scant 14 miles away.

It is not my intention to try to build up a case for true-bloods as being the Hunzan heritage, for history clearly indicates that it is among the people of mixed bloods where the greatest advances are made in science, industry and the creative human arts.

In Hunza there are very few plains or expanses where farming on a large scale could be practiced. However in Nagir it is quite different. There were sections through which we passed that were wider than the eye could reach, covered with good soil that was carrying

184 a good crop of various kinds of grains, forage, vege-
241 table crops and fruits. In Hunza this just doesn't occur.
311 The terrain is steeper, more precipitous, more difficult and seldom if ever does a flat open area come within the limits of normal vision.

[133] Then, too, Nagir has many more nullahs formed by the melting glaciers. Rakaposhi is located in Nagir and surrounding it are many snowfields and glaciers which are used, trained and harnessed to irrigate their country.

Indubitably, the fates and nature have been much kinder to Nagir than they have to Hunza.

438 Let me also tell you frankly that on many occasions the people of Hunza purchase or barter various types of food from Nagir. I asked the ways and means that [437] were used in effecting these deals and found that in most cases money—earned by the Hunzans in service in the army, portering for expeditions and given to them as gifts—was the means.

184 One might gather from what I have said and even [628] from talking to various people or natives of the area, that the Nagirwals and the Hunzans are deadly enemies. But that is not true. The people of Hunza [186] think themselves much better than the people of Nagir. They do believe that they are handsomer, healthier, cleaner and are better husbandmen, but yet there does not appear to be any cases of conflict, physical or armed, between the two peoples.

123 I recall a little incident that may be of some interest. We rounded a spot—I guess it was 10 or so miles from Minapin—on the way up to Baltit and there we saw a decrepit, ragged looking Nagirwal. In his hands he [231] held a pair of chickens. They were the typical chickens of the area—full grown but the size that our chickens are when they're half grown. He waved them in front of us as though indicating they were for sale or could be

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had. We slowed down—we didn't actually stop—and 123
our guide asked the price, or got into some hassle-tassle about them anyway. The discussion took place in Burushaski.

There didn't seem to be too much palavering and our bearers took the two scraggy birds and stuffed them into their coats—one each, just as we would stuff something into our inside breast pocket. The chickens' heads stuck out, but they didn't seem to make any great attempt to get away. I didn't see any money change hands.

Then the old fellow disappeared behind a thicket for a moment; it was a group of willows and other shrubs or trees growing there. He came back with a butchered one and he tried to press it upon me. I didn't want it, but the man was so earnest in his desire to present it to me. I didn't know if he wanted money or not, but he didn't seem to care. He just wanted me to accept the chicken. I didn't want to offend him and as pleasantly as I could I kept shaking my head. But he did not heed my protestations and tried to force the chicken on me.

Then I got off my horse and when I did, I more or less subconsciously began to rub the muscles of my legs. He quickly dropped the chicken and kneeled down beside me and began to massage my legs for me. I tried to stop him and my bearers intimated to him that I didn't want anybody rubbing my legs, but he insisted. When at last I got him to desist, we began to walk on and he followed us for two or three miles, still trying to give me the chicken. So I asked Sherin if he wouldn't take the chicken or get one of the other boys to take it.

He was undoubtedly the friendliest coot I ever saw in my life. He was as dirty as the dirtiest pig and

123 smellier than limburger cheese. But so help me, dirt, stink and all, he was a likeable fellow. If only we could have ducked him in the water and got a scrubbing brush and some soap, I probably would have enjoyed his company.

Somewhere near the next village he left us. He was almost in tears at the thought of parting. I had a quarter rupee silver coin in my pocket and gave it to him. He didn't want it but he thanked me at least 200 times for it. I'm sure he would have given me his lousy old shirt if I would have accepted it. As it was, he waved us good-bye with tears in his eyes.

643 The Mir of Hunza and the Mir of Nagir are on
628 friendly terms, but I don't for a moment imagine that they are bosom companions. Yet the Mir of Hunza's wife, the Rani, is a Nagirwal. Her uncle is the present
[582] Mir of Nagir. In fact, through the centuries, while the people of both these states were at loggerheads with each other, the ruling class intermarried and were always on amicable terms . . . and so it continues.

I will quote here again from *The Autobiography of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E*: "From time to time we have tried to have relations with Nagir that were friendly but they have never lasted, although there have been marriages between the ruling families of both countries. My father and Zafar Khan, Mir of Nagir used occasionally to meet and I remember well the formality of these occasions. Each would come with a large number of followers and would halt on his side of the river. On one occasion Uzar Khan came over to Hunza and there was a great feasting; on another the Mir came and I and some other people from Hunza had to go over to the Nagir bank of the river and remain there as hostages until the Mir returned."

000 The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over the Nagirwals, but over others as well. The P.A. at Gilgit, in a discussion that I had with him, admitted that when the Hunzans moved down the valley to the Gilgit area, they showed their heritage by surpassing anyone else in the district when it came to working their lands and producing their crops. They worked harder, they worked longer, they worked better. They used their experience and intelligence to greater advantage, with the net result that they were soon buying more and better land. 157

So far only a few of the Hunzans have come down to Gilgit, but the native Gilgiti farmers are already showing their resentment. Obviously they find it difficult to compete with the Hunzans on an equal basis. [167]

I compared the Hunzans with the Scotch people and I think the comparison has many realistic qualities. Both peoples live in a more or less barren, hilly, rocky, rough country. Both peoples have learned the value of being frugal and thrifty. They waste naught and want naught. They are chiefly outdoorsmen. They are strongly nationalistic. Then, too, they are physically independent and have little or no fear of anyone. 181

When I was talking to the P.A. I called the Hunzans "the Scotsmen of the East" . . . and I trust the Scotsmen won't be offended. In fact, they should be flattered.

Where I think the people of Hunza gain most of their superiority is in leadership. From the little research and reading I have done on the subject, it appears that for many long years the Hunzans have had good capable leaders—really strong men who ruled their people with a firm hand. 643

In reading the autobiography of the Mir's grandfather, one quickly sees that he was not only a man of action but one of ability, foresight and reason.

Now I did not meet the Mir of Nagir. Although I [123]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

643 wrote to him and asked if I could come and visit him,
123 he did not reply to my letter. No, I'm not annoyed nor am I saying anything unfavorable about the Mir because he didn't answer my letter, but I would have liked to meet him so that I could speak more authoritatively about the many unfavorable statements made about him and his people.

However, I spoke to many people who knew the Mir of Nagir personally. I passed right by his official residence both on the way up and on the trail back. It was pointed out to me and I stopped and looked it over.

643 Whereas the Mir of Hunza is respected—not only in Nagir and Hunza and the entire surrounding country, but in most nations throughout the world—the Mir of Nagir is more or less unknown and does not even have any great amount of social intercourse with his own people.

Whenever I met a Hunzan on the road and spoke to him about the Mir of Hunza and the Mir of Nagir, he would hold himself erect and say through our interpreter something like this, "Our Mir is loved and respected by his people and everyone else. His name and fame have spread throughout the world. The Mir of Nagir, nobody knows of or likes him!" If this was said to me only once or twice, I would pay little or no attention, but a similar vein of thought and expression was portrayed on many occasions.

643 I think further that the Mir of Hunza has given a
186 high standard and caliber of leadership to his people. It was apparent wherever I went. He made his people believe and feel that they were good people, that they were equal to the best people of the world and that they were cleaner, stronger, healthier and more intelligent than others, and he was not telling them anything but the truth! The Hunzans hold their heads high.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Naqir

Therefore, it is my belief, one of the reasons for the Hunzan high standing throughout the world is due to the excellent quality of leadership that they have enjoyed for many years, and is being continued by the present Mir and his staff and family. 643

I don't want anyone to run off with the idea that everything I saw about the Hunzans impressed me or that I thought they were exceptional in every way, because that definitely is not true. I did then and I do today admire the people of Hunza for all the splendid qualities that make them outstanding people. Anyone who could live in the harsh, tough, back-breaking terrain of Hunza must be made of stern fiber. Yet they have their foibles and weaknesses as well. 123 114

You see there are no immigration rules or laws to stop them from going anywhere in that area . . . at least, there weren't until recently. They could have gone to China, India, Afghanistan, Russia, Pakistan or anywhere else where the pickings might have been easier. But their love of freedom and intelligence that told them they were better off than most people in the world, even though financially poorer, kept them on the mountain slopes that are the banks of the Hunza. 486

No book on Hunza would be complete to even a small degree, unless some mention was made of the fact that it was not always known as Hunza. In fact, back before the turn of the twentieth century, Hunza was known as Kanjut and the people as the Kanjuts. 101

From records that I have located, I learned that, when the rulers of Shignam came to Hunza, they called the valley Kanjut. That name remained until the time of the Girkis and they called the country Hunza, because all of the people were united like the arrows in a quiver. In the Burushaski language Hunza means "arrow."

CHAPTER 50

Flora and Fauna

123 My Visit to Hunza was not basically a botanical or horticultural visit, much as I would have enjoyed spending a few weeks hunting, searching, climbing, delving into crevices and peeking into and over the rocks, crannies, cliffs and river beds—yes, and fields and anywhere a bit of green could be seen.

The speed at which I traveled along the mountain roads was slow and tedious, but it was even slower because of my interest in horticultural specimens that I noticed here and there and which I stopped to examine. But my stops to examine the flora were not very frequent during the first few miles, due to the simple fact that there was not much flora to investigate, except the omnipresent Fog plant, which no terrain seemed to deter. Then of course, there was a great similarity in the flora and once I had seen a plant, I did not stop to investigate another of the same species.

137

However, I did stop often enough on plant examinations so that I was always a few miles behind my friend, Cec, who was not concerned with the flora. 123 137

I want you to understand that I did not do an exhaustive detailed study of the flora of the Hunza district. I am sure there are many, many more plants in the area than I have indicated or found. I just examined what I happened to pass and see. I definitely did not go out and search for specimens away from the beaten path.

You can take my word for it, the vegetation under any and all circumstances is definitely not spectacular. However, any of the plants that are found growing in this area most certainly should be hardy enough and virile enough to do well in most other parts of the arable world. 137

It is my belief that the flora of the Hunza Valley is neither varied nor numerous, apart from the fruit and nut trees which are in most cases not indigenous. The apricot, though, could be native to that part of the world . . . at least, that is what I gathered from my studies and observations.

Apricots were grown in the greatest number, followed by mulberry, walnuts, apples, plums, peaches and pears. Here and there I came upon a pomegranate tree. These, I am positive, are indigenous to the surrounding area, if not to Hunza. [245]

The trees that I passed most frequently on the roads and trails and in the towns were eucalyptus, willow, birch, poplar and the oriental plane, sometimes called sycamore and known in Hunza as the "chenar" tree. I believe these are all native to the vicinity.

I was disappointed, surprised and even shocked to find the area completely devoid of conifers or evergreen trees. I saw one pine tree in the P.A.'s garden in

137 Gilgit. With the eyes of an eagle I scanned the roadways, the byways, the mountain slopes, the rocks, the cliffs, the highlands, the lowlands, but nary a conifer did I spy.

One day when we got to see a different slope of Rakaposhi, I looked up and there about two-thirds of the way up on its higher reaches or slopes was a cluster of trees and they looked like and must have been conifers. But wait . . . Rakaposhi, according to the [133] records, is 25,550 feet high. Unless I'm as blind as a bat and cockeyed, to boot, that cluster of trees was at least two-thirds of the way up. I was standing at 9,000 or 10,000 feet. So two-thirds of the remaining 15,000 feet would be 10,000 feet. So 10,000 plus 10,000 makes 20,000. Am I trying to tell you that I saw trees growing at approximately 20,000 feet? The tree experts say it couldn't be. They would scoff, deride and ridicule my statement, for it is written and believed that the timberline is somewhere around 10,000 or 11,000 feet —or does that apply only in the North American scheme of things? Well, that might be in America, but I will swear and attest that it doesn't hold true in the Himalayas or the Karakorums. Could be that I may be erring by a couple of thousand feet or even three thousand but it would still mean that this copse or group of trees was at least 17,000 feet up. Yet I know, I feel, I am convinced that it must be 20,000 feet. I repeat this even at the risk of being called a lunatic. I've been called that before!

Other writers claim they saw pines on their travels in this district. I think they were just talking or trying to grasp something to describe in that bleak, bare area. I saw the one single pine tree I mentioned earlier in Gilgit . . . and it had been planted! Well, I'll have

to let you figure it out. I'm just telling you what I saw and what I think.

I admit that I would very much like to some day climb and find out exactly what those trees were, but Rakaposhi is one of the most difficult of all mountains on earth to climb. It took 23 attempts to conquer Rakaposhi. The first 22 attempts failed, but a British expedition succeeded in scaling her summit in 1958. One side is almost a sheer drop, so from that side I'll stay clear. Of course there wouldn't be anything growing there, anyway.

The ascent of Rakaposhi was accomplished by the British Pakistan Forces Himalayan Expedition, 1958. Captain Shah Khan, the Mir's uncle, was a member of the expedition. I quote from the account . . .

"Captain Shah Khan was a most important and useful member of the expedition. He personally selected our 6 Hunza porters, and being a Hunza man himself, in fact the uncle of the Mir, we hoped for great things from them. We were not in the least disappointed."

The expedition started May 12th from Gilgit and established a base camp on May 26 at 14,000 feet. It was on June 25th that two members of the expedition, Mike Banks and Tom Pattey, reached the summit, under terrible conditions of winds and drifts.

Varieties of shrubs in Hunza were more numerous. I saw a few wild roses just like any wild rose you see anywhere. The flower had a slight fragrance and was reddish-pink in color.

Then there was a plant that resembled barberry, except it had a blue berry instead of a red one. The berry was edible. I tried some and found the taste pleasing and sweet, but there was very little meat or pulp. It was practically all skin and seeds. It was much

137 more prickly than our barberry. In fact, it seemed to have 5 prickles for every one that ours have and they were longer and stronger and more painful.

I recognized a variety of honeysuckle, too.

Then, of course, there was the imperturable "chush." It was found growing everywhere. I understand that its orange colored berries, which vary greatly in size, from that of a grain of millet to that of a large pea, also are edible, although they weren't as sweet or as pleasant tasting as the blue barberry, as I call it.

Caragana seems to grow widely in the area. I saw caragana plants ranging in size from 10-12 feet to one that was barely 6 inches tall, replete with all the trimmings, including the ripened seed pods. I stood entranced and marveled at the sturdy little plant growing out of the bit of soil that had fallen on the surface of a rock. I was strongly tempted to take some seeds back with me but I was quite certain that if the seed were sown in our fertile soils, the plant would quickly lose its dwarfing habit and only because it was so tiny did it look so cute and appealing.

Tamarix grows broadly. In fact, it is the most widely seen plant, shrub or tree in the area. On a few occasions we stopped, rested and found a bit of shade and comfort under a tamarix thicket or bush.

Herbaceous plants were more common again. At varying places along the river bank could be found fairly extensive patches. There was "fog" to which I will refer a little later, and a most formidable looking thistle, that neither man nor beast nor insect could get close to without feeling the barbs. My guides and bearers all warned me to stay away from it. I wanted to get some of its seed and feel, handle and examine it. On a few occasions I was determined to investigate it thoroughly, but they actually pleaded with me to leave it alone. It contains poison, they told me, and it would

actually make me sick and my skin would break out in sores or a rash. 137 [824]

In truth, I wasn't much worried, but, on the other hand, prudence must be considered. I was a long way from home, with a medicine kit that consisted of a bit of bandage and some salve, and I was in no position to do battle with some unknown, dangerous and perhaps poisonous plant. So I heeded their entreaties and left that symmetrical, unusual, neat but murderous looking plant alone. [122]

The plants that I actually saw in flower along the trail or in the fields were very few. There was the wild rose, the fog, the inconspicuous flowers of chush and the fringed gentian and a few poppies. Remember, this was in July and very few plants, shrubs or trees are in flower at that period.

Yet, I must bear in mind that from Gilgit to beyond Altit the difference in maturity would run about two weeks. While I ate some of the last of the cherries at the Political Agent's table in Gilgit, when I got to Baltit I was eating the first of the cherries that the Mir had picked from his trees of exactly the same species and variety. In fact, I came upon many peculiarities caused by the altitude and the proximity to the river. In one place the fog plants, for example, were in flower and in other places along the route, they had already formed seed pods. Again, in other spots the seed pods had already burst.

This is not unusual, because if you examine the situation in the Niagara District, for example, at Queenston the cherries are in full blossom when in Niagara-on-the-Lake, along the lake, the buds haven't even swelled. There is a difference of 10 days to two weeks between Niagara-on-the-Lake and Queenston and the distance is a scant 7 miles.

The plant that impressed me most was the fog plant.

137 I've tried to locate it in my botanical encyclopedias but so far have met with failure. It appeared to be an annual but such a robust growing annual I have never known before in my life. (It could have been an herbaceous perennial—I'm not 100% certain. But I do know it started from the surface because there was no old wood or old stems on any of the thousands of plants that I saw and the hundreds that I examined closely.

If you know the winter creeper, or euonymus, then you can quickly understand what this fog plant looked like. It seemed to thrive in practically any location that would give succor to a living plant. In some places it was small and compact. In other locations it grew large and sprawling. It grew out of the rocks and hung down. It grew against the sides of the mountains and climbed up. It resembled, in many instances, a low growing shrub, but it was entirely void of wood. In other cases it grew erect and in still other places I found it sprawling around the ground in a wide area, making an excellent ground cover.

It is my estimate that I did not come across more than 30 different types of perennials or annual herbs. I am sure you will agree that it is understandable that the flora of this area would not be wide or tremendous.

133 Undoubtedly the valleys along the Nagir side were more lush, looked better and were larger than the cultivated areas along the Hunza side. One of the reasons for this condition is the fact that the Hunza side is more precipitous and the walls of the canyon or mountains are steeper and more sheer, leaving less opportunity for soil to accumulate, be cultivated and grow plants.

247 In the homes, from my observations, and I made careful study of this aspect, I did not see a sign of one

single house plant. This applies to the Nagir side as 247
well. Of course this is readily understandable when [354]
you realize that they have no glass or light. The only
light they would have in a Hunzan home would be the
bit that streaks in from the hole in the roof or through
the doorway. This lack of light would not be conducive
to growing plants indoors.

I recognized and found one lone dandelion plant and 137
believe me, when I found it, my heart was glad, gladder
than it would have been if I'd found a beautiful rose.
It has always been my belief and contention that
dandelions are found where'er plant life can survive
and this plant bore out (to a degree) my lifelong con-
tention. As long as a dandelion can be found, one need
not fear starvation. The greens of the dandelion, es- ooo
pecially when young and tender, make delicious salads
. . . but remember, be sure to get the young tender
shoots. The roots are roasted and ground, and they
make a beverage that some authorities say is as good
as coffee. The root can also be used the same as pars-
nips. Herbalists prescribe dandelion coffee for dys-
pepsia, gout and rheumatism and they claim, with
sincerity, that it possesses most beneficial properties for
such ailments. It is also recommended by the herbalists
for kidney and liver disorders and Potter says it is
perhaps one of the most generally prescribed remedies
. . . "It may be given in any form but its beneficial
action is best obtained when combined with other
agents." Now besides all the above virtues, its flowers
and milky stalks make delicious wine.

This one single lone dandelion—the only one I saw 137
on my trek—had caught a foothold in a crevice of a
rock and was growing on this steep wall. I felt like ooo
embracing it and pressing it to my heart. But if I had,

000 I would have crushed it, so I desisted. I'm sure I spent 10 minutes admiring, blessing and caressing that dear little dandelion.

So the next time you're in your garden or weeding your lawn and you go to raise your voice against the dandelions and perhaps take a weeding tool in your hands to play havoc with them and ruthlessly cleave them from your lawn and garden, think of Tobe pressing that lonely little dandelion plant to his heart . . . this poor, lone dandelion struggling against the harsh elements and millions of tons of hard rock on a little perch in the high Karakorums. There is Tobe speaking to that gold-headed flower and plant, as though it were a lifelong friend that he has met or encountered in an outlandish place—yes, there on the true roof of the world! Allow a drop of milk of human kindness to drip from your heart. After all, a dandelion has green leaves and a truly beautiful, soft, luxurious looking, golden flower!

* * * * *

136 I was almost tempted to leave out this part about the fauna in the Hunza area, primarily due to the fact that I didn't see much fauna. Not being a hunter, I didn't go after any animals and very few crossed my path. However, in describing the fauna of a country, I guess it is not absolutely essential that one see all of the specimens with his own eyes in order to describe them or tell about them.

000 I recalled that some years ago I took a trip through Alaska and the Yukon and, in a trek that encompassed well over 4,000 miles up and back, all I had to show for my perseverance was the sight of one moose. But that would not, as you well understand, indicate that there were no animals in the Yukon and Alaska area, because that area abounds with wildlife. So I'll have to let that yardstick stand for Hunza, too.

I didn't see any water buffalo in Hunza itself, but they are to be found in the Gilgit area and therefore I suspect they are to be found, if not in the principality of Hunza, at least in close proximity. Well, if you find water buffalo, then there is sure to be the Mana or Lali bird. It's a medium sized bird that is very much like our cow bird. He perches right on the back of the water buffalo and works away like a woodpecker, picking out the insects that infest the water buffalo's leathery hide. Thus, he prevents serious injury and disease from spreading from the hide into the flesh of the animal. 136

This is just another one of the myriad of intricacies that follow in the paths of Mother Nature—how she seeks to balance things for the benefit of all. Here the bird finds a way and means of obtaining food and nourishment and the buffalo keeps healthy and everybody is happy!

Ibex are part and parcel of the Hunza scene. So are the ovis poli or mountain sheep which are actually quite scarce, but are found if one goes high enough into the mountains. The Hunzans call the ibex "markhors." I learned that "markhor" means "eater of snakes," for the ibex, which are actually goats, are known to the people of Hunza for this habit. This also indicates that snakes are found in Hunza. As a matter of fact, every now and then one hears or comes across a snake on the trail. When this happens on a narrow trail high up on a ledge and your horse rears on his hind legs, pawing with his fore . . . 'tis not conducive to a long and boring life! [825]

The Mir of Hunza is quite a hunter. He enjoys shooting and is a true sportsman. My friend, the P.A. at Gilgit, is also an ardent sportsman. Between them, they told me that they had bagged, at one time or another, crows, vultures, golden eagles, geese and ducks, pheasants (two kinds), chicoris (which are their partridge), 224 [643] 136

136 pigeons and doves. They also vouch for the fact that sparrows, skylarks, nightingales, canaries, magpies, falcons and hawks were part of the common scene throughout the district.

The P.A. told me that on his hunting excursions he has on a few occasions come across both brown and black bears and I know there are also leopards, because the P.A. presented me with the hide of one of them, which now graces the living room of my son's home.

Inasmuch as small animals are concerned, I don't think you'd find too many. They like to go where food is more readily available than is the case in the sparsely vegetated Hunza area.

[134] I don't think burrowing animals would be common to the district, because one can't very readily burrow through rock, and that is what 99% of the Hunza terrain consists of.

231 Incidentally, the goats that are kept by the Hunzan farmers are not by any stretch of the imagination similar to the larger ibex that are found in the hills. The Hunza goat is a diminutive fellow that is bred for its dwarfness and ability to give lots of milk for its size.

223 224 Apart from the fall duck hunt when myriads are felled, and the occasional hunt with shikari to bring down the renowned ovis poli (Marco Polo sheep) from the 18,000 foot pinnacles, Hunza cannot be called a hunter's paradise.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 51

They Chose Years Ere Comfort

I WILL NOT go on record as stating that some Hunzans have sired children at the ripe old ages of 80, 90 or more, because I have no proof of such occurrences, although this information was relayed to me by some people of authority. 842

Yet, I would not disbelieve or laugh at that statement, because from my studies I have found that where the human body is fed natural proper food, the regenerating process in the body can be maintained for a long time. Yes, and all the faculties can be alert and keen well into a ripe old age. Most certainly the people of Hunza have lived and still live, in the main, according to the laws of nature.

I would, without hesitation, accept the fact that the people of Hunza are longer-lived than most people. Everything about their way of life seems to lend credence to the tales. I investigated, I asked questions and 165

165 I checked as thoroughly as possible and there are at least a dozen men in Hunza over 100 years old and no doubt a hundred over 90. Yet the oldest man that I met was 105 years old but by his appearance, his speech and his activity, he'll be around for a good many years.

No, I don't think anybody was trying to fool me about their ages. I can't see what they could gain by it. On the other hand, I don't think I'd be the easiest man in the world to fool. At least my friends don't think I would be. If and when you meet the Hunza people, you will find that you accept them as a fine, upstanding, honest race. Therefore I cannot see why they would necessarily lie about their ages. Of course [217] no vital statistics are kept in Hunza and therefore they cannot offer proof by means of birth certificates concerning their ages.

I met a few groups of men, all of whom claimed to be in their 70's and over, and they were a mighty healthy looking bunch of individuals. Most certainly the average group of people in any part of America at that age wouldn't remotely resemble that fine group of Hunzans.

164 I don't think that is hard to understand. People who have been denied luxuries and who have had to work all their lives and spend a lot of time in the open air doing manual labor should be healthy, especially when they have good natural foods.

[165] It is my sincere belief that the ages and the health of the people of Hunza have not been too greatly exaggerated.

It is possible that I have strange ideas, but I've always believed that physical work and exercise have a lot to do with a man's health. Well, in Hunza if exercise will make them happy and healthy, they should be the happiest and healthiest people in all the world. There

are, remember, no transportation facilities whatsoever, There 164 except the Mir's jeep which the citizens of Hunza don't [493] get a chance to use. There is no other wheeled vehicle in the entire country. Practically every step is a climb or a descent. So no one could really accuse me of exaggeration if I were bold enough to say that they're probably the most active and energetic people in creation. It could hardly be otherwise.

To illustrate another proof of their hardiness, all 147 along the trail we met people from Hunza walking barefoot—from young children to boys and young men and old men. While some wore shoes, most of them were [291] barefoot. They walked over sand, over gravel, over stones, over plain dirt roads without any misgivings.

I watched them with awe as they ran, walked and skipped over these exceedingly rough spots and I was convinced they must have exceptionally strong, sound. healthy feet and legs.

On a few occasions I watched the Hunzans digging [412] with a shovel. 'Tis done the ordinary natural way there —barefooted. That certainly proves, at least to me, that their feet are in wonderful condition. Most people in America can't dig worth a darn wearing heavy boots!

It is unqualifiedly a fact, in my humble opinion, that 164 the people of Hunza owe their splendid vital good health in part to these sound principles—their way of life, their food production and the way they prepare the fields for their crops—all accomplished in a natural normal way. Civilization may have many advantages—great discoveries have been made, machinery has been invented that does the work of many, many hands. In this modern machine age, a man need only work a couple of hours a day to supply himself with all the food, clothing and shelter that he can possibly use, but

164 obviously this type of living has taken its toll. Thousands, if not millions, of men are dying at 40 and 50, struck down by heart disease, diabetes and cancer. Well, isn't it strange that these diseases are unknown in Hunza?

000 *"For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"* MARK VIII: 36

Of what use is it if man has leisure, food, clothing, the best and most comfortable of homes, if he doesn't have the years of life in which to enjoy them? What good is it striving, straining, sweating when you are young so as to have a pleasant old age, when there just won't be any middle or old age?

I'm not suggesting that anyone give up the comforts to which they are accustomed, but I would suggest that modern living has caused a softening or a decadence in the very fibres of our bodies, which is showing the result in the deaths of many men in their prime —at 35, 45 and 55!

If you had the choice of dying at 50 or living in Hunza under their austere conditions to be 80 or 90, which would you choose? Think it over. I know . . . you'd choose the 50 years of soft, modern, debilitating life because you are led to believe that it is a good life. Methinks you'd be making a terrible mistake. Not many men in America are smart enough to live to be 80 or 90. In Hunza it happens whether you're smart or not, because you can't commit suicide by eating. If you want to die by your own hand, you've got to jump off a precipice.

'Tis true, the people of Hunza do not have any of the modern doubtful blessings to which I refer, but they do have, for you and all to see, health, strength, endurance, a smiling and pleasant countenance and many years of life free of disease and sickness.

I would very much like to have you ask of me now a question such as this one, "To what do you attribute the health and the long life of the people of Hunza?"

In reply I would just love to say, and allow my voice to ring both loud and clear, "Their natural way of living! The way they follow nature's path!"

While the above is absolutely true, it is not the whole story nor is it that simple. The path or road to health and long life is not an easy road. No, it is totally unlike the paved, graded, banked highways that we know in the West. It is exactly like the Hunza Road through the glittering peaks of the world's highest, most perilous mountains.

Good health and long life seldom, if ever, come to a man by sheer good fortune, luck or accident. My observations tell me that health and long life, like the price of freedom, are to be had only by eternal vigilance. One must continually watch how he lives, how he practices field husbandry, what he eats and how much he eats. It is absolutely true that the people of Hunza use no chemicals either on their farms or in their foods. To begin with, they do not have the wherewithall with which to buy them. Secondly, it is problematical as to whether or not they would take to them. But as I have related, they have taken to salt and some sugar, so the chances are they may take to other of civilization's titbits and ways, if they get the opportunity.

Yes, I feel that I have learned the secret of the excellent health and long life of the people of Hunza. I did not learn this by accident, either, but it gradually dawned upon me and came to light when I combined my actual observations on the scene, my close and insistent questioning of innumerable people, and last but not least, from actual scientific research in an ap-

164 proved laboratory by a qualified technician.

164 Their food is natural, simple, unsophisticated, with-
262 out any unnatural, inorganic, synthetic additives whatsoever. There is no fragmentation in the foods they eat. They do not separate any part of the wheat when they make flour, nor do they separate any part of the other grains when using them.

252 Due to necessity they do not cook foods too much, nor do they cook any food that can be eaten and enjoyed without cooking.

Food is a serious, all prevalent problem. The few trees that they have and that they can grow must be protected for food, shade and timber.

However, I must truthfully admit that the reason that the Hunzans do not cook their food is because of the scarcity and inaccessibility to supplies of fuel.

751 Vaccination is not practiced and, as far as I know,
744 is unknown in Hunza. Pasteurization in any form is neither practiced nor known. Chlorination is unheard of. Fluoridation is unheard of. No coloring whatsoever is added to any of their food, not even their butter.

263 Up until recent years the salt used by the people of
439 Hunza came from the Shimshal area, somewhere near where the Shimshal River and the Muztagh join together. This salt is unrefined and used just as it is mined from this mountain area. It obviously contains many natural so-called impurities.

493 The only wheeled vehicles—two jeeps, in fact—are owned and used by the Mir chiefly for bringing in supplies, when road conditions permit. Therefore one must walk for every chore. There is no motorized
377 equipment used in Hunza with the exception of the electric light plant in the Mir's palace. Apart from what
401 I have mentioned here, mechanization of any sort is unknown.

Both the irrigation water which they use on their fields and their drinking water come from the Ultar Glacier. Therefore, their entire water supply is glacial. 312

Their entire economy is dependent upon their agriculture and everything that is taken from the soil is religiously returned to the soil. Chemical fertilizers or chemical sprays of any type are unknown to the people. It may be possible that the Mir has used sprays in his palace grounds. He might have brought them with him from his visits abroad, but I saw none and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, none are used. I saw no insect infestation of any kind or type through my entire travels and investigations. In Gilgit I did see insect injury in a garden and it was apparent to me that the soil of Hunza was in balance and therefore it produced food that was balanced. Therefore, it is understandable, the people of Hunza are healthy! 241 [433]

The food of the people of Hunza is in the main, raw food. It is neither dissected nor desiccated, but is eaten in the whole. The only exception that I could find to this rule was in their milk. When they made butter, they drank the remains or the buttermilk. Of course, in due time, they ate the butter. 262

All children born in Hunza are breast fed for at least two years. Male children are often breast fed until they are 3 years old. 853

I do not intend to stress any one factor of the points mentioned above. I am submitting them to you for your consideration and study. 000

It is, however, my belief that their soil and location does not lend itself to mechanization and therefore their good health should continue. If they could mechanize, then they would not get the needed beneficial exercise which, as you can gather, is one of the important contributors to their good health and longevity. 241 164

842 The country cannot afford or support a greater population than exists there today. Therefore, they will have to practice birth control, which it is claimed they already do but with which I disagree, or they will have to send their youths out of the country, which, as a matter of fact, they are doing.

311 There is very little chance of finding or creating more arable land in the country. I believe they have practically every inch tilled now that is tillable. There is no land left in that part of the world that is yet to be broken.

000 Their land and their fruit trees are their whole life. Their health, pleasant dispositions and industry, which they possess to the highest degree, are their entire wealth.

578 Quarreling among children and adults seems to be something that doesn't exist in Hunza. I found close affection and love was the general, accepted pattern throughout the area. This is even more surprising when you realize that most of the houses in the villages are built practically one on top of the other.

181 It was clear to me that they knew no worries and
152 that they create no worries. There was absence of jealousy, greed, covetousness and hurry. Their outlook on life is most unpretentious. They are proud people and do not grovel before anyone and they do not pretend to be anything but what they really are.

433 Every Hunzan farmer is completely self-sufficient, even though he might trade for something that is in short supply or that he would like to possess. He grows wheat, barley, potatoes, millet, cabbage, beans, onions, lettuce and occasionally a bit of rice. In their orchards they have apricots, apples, pears, walnuts and mulberries. Every family has sheep and goats and sometimes a cow or an ox, and occasionally a yak. They till

their own land. They spin their own wool. Then they 433
weave it into cloth from which they cut and sew their [286]
clothes. However he can also buy or trade for woolen cloth or he can have his own wool woven for him.

They have little or no money. The few dollars that 436
he might get during the year would come from the 485
expeditions that congregate in the area and hire the Hunzans as porters. And they are unsurpassed at this difficult and arduous work.

A man has a right to inflict corporal punishment 593
upon his wife if she nags him. Perhaps that is why the men of Hunza have that cheerful look.

The children are never neglected because the parents
are always at home. Further, the children do their 857
share of the work in the fields and are taught to do so from early childhood. This also eliminates juvenile delinquency.

The people of Hunza have splendid dispositions. 157
They are genial, pleasant, smiling and cheerful. They 181
have deep respect for authority, profound love of the land, affection, compassion and understanding for their neighbors and they are most hospitable to strangers. They hold their heads high, their chests out and they
are strong, honest and hard-working. To me this showed ~~000~~
clearly and positively that people can live and that agriculture can exist and thrive without chemistry, chemical fertilizers, chemical sprays or synthetic medicines and drugs.

They enjoy happiness without modernization, long life without doctors, nurses and hospitals, democracy without bureaucracy, law and order without police and self-sufficiency without money. Part of the answer, if not most of it, is their loyalty to and their faith in their land, a pure case of unremitting agriculture and putting everything back into the soil which was taken

000 from it the organic method of land use.

262 From what I have seen, I have deduced the fact that the people of Hunza use less fat of any kind than most people found throughout the world. Some nations may lack animal fats, but make it up by fats found in [133] fish. The people of Hunza have very little animal fat and no fish, for there are few lakes in the area and the only fish that are found in the streams are those that were placed there, in an attempt to stock the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers and some of the nullahs.

They do get some fat from the butter that is made from the milk of the goats, sheep and a few cows and yaks. They also get a bit of fat from their walnuts and the kernels of the apricot seeds, neither of which can be considered to be high in fat content.

Lest you think that this lack of fat would have some effect on the people, let me stress that there are no more energetic people found in the world and they are continually active.

251 As soon as fall sets in and the harvest is completed, they carefully select and store and prepare their winter's larder. Then they divide and apportion all of their foods so they will last them throughout the winter.

262 An important addition to their winter diet is a gruel or a soup that they make from the various grains and this is eaten with their chapatties.

515 164 Dentifrices or toothpastes or powders of any kind are not used in Hunza. Yet the people have unusually fine teeth. False teeth, plates or dentures are unknown. So even at the expense of antagonizing the toothbrush and toothpaste people, it would appear that these implements and concoctions do not create good healthy teeth.

* * * * *

000 I have debated within myself whether or not I should

make my findings public and there were many reasons why I felt that I should keep my findings to myself, the first of these being the fear of ridicule. My findings are so radical and unusual that they will no doubt be hailed as fantastic. Next, in this modern day a college degree seems to imply that when you speak, you speak with authority, with knowledge and with proof. For myself, I do not accept that theory, but it is accepted by the public by and large. I hold no university degrees. I am an empiricist. Call it quackery if you like—I won't flinch. I believe that the knowledge and experience gained through thousands of years is not to be treated lightly, that it ought not be discarded as soon as some pseudo-scientific fact is heralded by paid-for publicity in newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

Therefore, when the whole mass of statements and events are simmered down, they amount to the following: I have no axe to grind; I have no commodity to sell; I have no demagogic theories to expound; I am not a vegetarian nor a communist nor a capitalist; I do not seek a following; I am not trying to found a new religion; I do believe in helping my fellow man wherever possible, not by forcing my views upon him, not by brainwashing, not by repetitive jingles, rhymes or slogans, but by the simple expedient of reason; I seek to tell you what I believe, what I have seen, what I have learned and observed. Just how you use that information is strictly your own affair.

I have performed not only my duty, but my purpose, and that is to inform and enlighten you. If you do not see fit to use or accept the illumination, that is strictly your affair and I'll neither condemn nor applaud you. It could be that you regard this so-called philosophy of mine as naive or oversophisticated. Then I will agree that you have a right to your own opinion.

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7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 53

Hunza Health Secrets

RIGHT HERE at the beginning of this very important chapter, I want to state emphatically that it is easier to remain healthy in Hunza than it is here in America.

I realize that this may sound paradoxical and that many people will question the truth and the validity of this statement. But I reiterate boldly and clearly that it is easier to remain healthy in Hunza than it is here in America.

I have been asked over and over and over again by people in all walks of life and by both sexes, "What is the secret of the health and longevity of the people of Hunza?"

"There is no secret!" I reply.

"Is there a secret or mysterious food they use in Hunza that brings about their good health and long life?"

"There is no secret manna, food or jelly that is used

000 in the process of creating health and long life in Hunza!"

Here I have summarized my conclusions, which I believe account for the superior health, the unbounded energy and the long life of the Hunzans. Call it a set of rules if you like. I prefer to believe that it is the common sense way of life adopted by an intelligent people.

262 (1) Their food consists chiefly of natural fruits, grains and vegetables. Meat is eaten only on festive and other rare occasions. While grains—that is, the whole grains—are stored, they are ground for use in baking and gruel, only as required.

241 (2) Their soil is maintained by natural cultural practices. That which is taken from the soil is returned to the soil—both vegetable and animal.

461 (3) Most of the people of Hunza, including women and children, work daily in the fields. There is no Sabbath or weekly rest day, although there are religious holidays and festive days. Therefore, they work seven days a week . . . and in most cases, from dawn until darkness falls. Therefore, practically all the inhabitants of Hunza do their share of physical work. There are few, if any, completely sedentary occupations in Hunza.

262 (4) Very little fat of any kind is consumed by the people. The fats that are used consist of ghee, butter, apricot oil and negligible quantities of animal fats.

[241] (5) Complete absence of foreign additives. Nothing whatsoever is added to either the soil or the food of the people or the animals.

263 (6) Natural, unrefined salt was used by the people up until a few years ago . . . and this was an important factor in maintaining their health.

241 (7) No sprays or spray materials of any kind are used on their crops, and no unnatural chemical fer-

tilizers are used on their lands. 241

(8) All children in Hunza are breast fed. There is no specific prenatal care, and the good health of the mother is passed on to the infant . . . and the breast feeding gets the child off to a good start. 853 843

(9) All fruits and vegetables that are dried for storing have been exposed to the sun and air. No foreign substances are added or treatments used. 251

(10) Native herbs are used extensively . . . both as seasoning and as food. 262

(11) Glacial waters are the only waters used both for drinking and irrigation purposes. These glacial waters definitely contain many valuable minerals and nutrients, as revealed by laboratory tests. 312 146

(12) Apricot kernel oil is the most important source of fat. It is used in cooking as well as for salads. No solvents or extreme heat is used to extract the apricot oil. 262

(13) Natural whole grains are used broadly. There is no fragmentization in Hunza. While they do bake a bread, their chief form of bread is an unleavened type which they call chapatties. They are composed of whole ground grain made into a dough and rolled very thin. Then they are heated or baked slightly.

(14) Hunzans are light eaters. Their diet is comparatively meager.

There is no doubt that, if any human being were to follow the health rules of the people of Hunza, he could regain or maintain health. There is no magic formula connected with this set of rules. They are simple and to the point. In fact, they are so simple that most people will doubt their value. To these people I would say, "All of the great things in life—the important things and things of value—are invariably simple!"

In Hunza the following established Western health 744

744 processes are unknown and unused: chlorination, pasteurization, hydrogenation, inoculation, fluoridation.

262 The single most important food, as used by the people of Hunza, consists of dried apricots and whole ground grain mixed together to form a toddy or a gruel. This is actually drunk cold and is enjoyed by all members of the family. It is usually partaken of during the late afternoon or early evening.

Their other important foods consist of the following: potatoes, garlic, beans, peas, carrots, tomatoes and some leafy vegetables. In fruits, they have mulberries, apples, walnuts and a few plums, pears and cherries. Grapes are used chiefly for making wine.

They grow a fairly broad selection of grains: millet, wheat, barley, rye, buckwheat and a little rice. Lucerne [231] or alfalfa is generally used for cattle fodder.

[245] The Persian Walnut is the chief nut grown in the area. Almonds are raised, and their cultivation is increasing. A fair quantity of apricot kernels are used.

Ghee is used for baking and as a spread on their chapatties or bread—the oven-baked loaf. Sour milk, buttermilk and curd are a regular part of the diet.

Meat does not form an important part of the Hunzan way of life.

Most foods are consumed raw. The lack of wood or other heating materials probably accounts for the paucity of cooked foods in their culinary art.

147 There are practically no cases of overweight among the people of Hunza. The importance of this factor cannot be overestimated.

000 The path to health is a simple, easy-to-follow road. It is the most natural way in the world to the people of Hunza. However, to follow a similar path in America would involve complications, difficulties and many frustrations.

I have personally given the matter much careful thought and consideration. My conclusion is that, in order to follow the Hunza principles of good health, one would have to own a small plot of land or a farm . . . or dwell in a part of the country where one would be close to a supply of natural foods.

But there just isn't the faintest doubt about it. It is the sure road to good health and long life.

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7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 55

Treasured Gifts

EITHER I AM most naive or I have an awful pile of unmitigated gall, because I kept harassing my fine and wonderful friend, the Mir, with continued questions. Luckily for me, the Mir is a most understanding man and he tolerated my questions. In fact, I sometimes believe he welcomed them. 115

I recall on this day we were chatting in his sun-living room and I said to him out of the clear blue sky, "Do you have any hermaphrodites in Hunza?" 838

A puzzled expression appeared on his face and he shook his head and said, "I don't know what you mean. I never heard the word before."

I smiled and said, "Don't let that make you feel too badly because most people, even native born English or Americans in many instances have never heard the word before either."

I started to grope for another word that would

838 describe what I meant, when I spied the doctor standing close by. So I called him and waved to him to come over, which he did. I then said to him, "Would you explain to the Mir the meaning of the word hermaphrodite."

Now, as I have told you, the doctor was a Pakistani but although young, he was learned, having both his science degree and his medical one. With a flicker of a smile on his lips, he translated the word to the Mir in Urdu.

A glow appeared on the Mir's face and suddenly he broke into a chuckle and then it went on to uproarious laughter. I stood by mystified. Even the good doctor wore an air of puzzlement.

I waited a minute or two for the Mir's laughter to die down and then I said to him, "Tell us the joke, too, so we can join in the laughter. After all, laughter is something that should be shared."

At this he broke out laughing again. So we waited calmly until he cooled down. Then I said, "Now take it easy and tell me just what the joke is."

Containing himself as best he could, he replied, "Why I've got one of those things you mentioned working for me right here in the palace."

Then we all began to laugh. When it was all over, he said, "Strange you would ask about a thing like that. Actually I know of one other one in Hunza. That makes a total of two."

"If you are interested," he went on to say, "the name for hermaphrodite in Burushaski is 'mukhanas' . . . but enough of this!"

* * * * *

123 After lunch the Mir said, "Come with me! I have something I'd like to show you."

He then led me into the room I've been referring to

as his trophy room. There, neatly laid on a long table, 123
was a beautiful ornate set of silverware, a three piece [415]
tea service. It was the most unusual and elaborate design I'd ever seen. I recognized it as the leaf of the chenar tree, which is similar to our maple. I do not profess to be a connoisseur or one who appreciates objects of art, but I did recognize this as being something especially fine and unusual.

He said, "This is from the Rani and I. I hope your wife will like it!"

He then presented me with a most unusual cane. It 123
is made out of some native Hunzan wood, white in 481
color—chenar I imagine. The handle is made very ingeniously, so that you have something to hold firmly in your hand, as well as a place to rest your thumb. Then the entire length of the cane and the handle were studded at regular intervals with what the Mir explained were pieces of ibex horns.

Ibex are found in the hills. They are a wild moun- 136
tain goat, usually found above the snow line. They are a good sized, hefty animal, standing between 3 and 3½ feet high at the shoulder. They're sturdy beasts as they well must be to live among the highest and most precipitous hills in all creation. For agility there is no animal that can match them. They are crowned with long ridged horns curved backwards, usually black in color. These tough, imperturbable mountain goats reminded me of the people of Hunza and I thought there was a great deal of similarity between them. They are, as far as I know, afraid of nothing.

I'm not a hunter—I didn't go after them. Some of the men said they could be found readily. Others said you had to go far up into the mountains in order to find them. But by the number of horns of the ibex I saw in Gilgit, Baltit and all along the route I traversed,

136 I was of the opinion that the ibex are quite plentiful, and if anyone went to Hunza with the idea of shooting game, he could without too much difficulty satisfy his bent.

[224] Then, too, the rare ovis poli, the true Marco Polo sheep, can also be found in this area. While they are by no means easy to locate, if you took the trouble to arrange for proper trackers or shikari, I'm quite certain that within one or two days' travel you would find and shoot ovis poli. If you're going to try to tackle the Marco Polo sheep, make sure you're a good mountain climber, because they are seldom found below 16,000 feet and usually a thousand or two thousand feet above that.

I asked the Mir where the big difference came in between the ibex and the ovis poli. It seems that the ovis poli are larger with a body as large as that of a donkey and the horns have three distinct sweeps. Of course the ibex is a goat and the ovis poli is a sheep.

080 He wanted to know if I was interested in shooting them. I said, "No, thanks. There are many other pleasures I prefer."

I can understand and appreciate the shooting of game for food or clothing but for sport . . . well, I've always felt that a man can prove his prowess without slaying useful, harmless beasts. Let it be said in fairness to the sportsman and hunter that in most cases he protects, disseminates and raises more than he shoots and therefore he pays for his sport. If it were not for the true sportsman (and I am saying that qualifiedly and reservedly—the *true* sportsman) many birds and beasts that exist today would have been exterminated by wanton killers, who also sometimes parade under the name of "sportsmen."

I will go along further and say that the sportsman

who climbs the lofty crags around Hunza to bring down 000
the Marco Polo sheep or ovis poli is entitled to his bag. But after all, who am I to deal so generously with the life of another animal?

Then the Mir had for me two Hunzan hats of the 123
type that the men wear and also two women's hats, the 291
latter brightly colored and very neatly embroidered. [531]
He also gave me a bolt of elegantly embroidered red silk, displaying a young man and woman, a bird of paradise and what was more appropriate, a yak. Then last but not least, laying beside the other items was a white hairy mass, which for the moment I did not recognize. It was a yak's tail.

Then he said, "There is a pair of typical native Hunzan shoes being made especially for you and they will be sent to you as soon as available. I'd like to send the shoes to you later, because I am waiting for some new hides which some of my men will bring down from high up in the mountains when they've had a chance to bring down some of the ovis poli. I want you to have the best."

"I guess I can wait for the shoes," I jested. "The ones I am wearing, plus another pair that I have in my knapsack, will carry me back along the Hunza trail, I think, but I certainly will be happy to have a pair of Hunzan shoes as another momento of my visit to your most enchanting country."

Then suddenly a thought occurred to me and I said 302
to the Mir, "I notice all of your men are clean-shaven . . . that is, except for the occasional one now and then who has a little beard around his chin. Therefore I know for certain that you must practice shaving in Hunza. Yet I have seen nowhere a sign of a razor. Further, I'm reasonably sure that this is one part of the world that King Gillette has not invaded with his

302 safety hair removing instruments. So please tell me what kind of an instrument the people of Hunza use to remove the hair from their face."

[326] "I'll be glad to show you!" . . . and with that, he displayed a homemade razor, one made by the smithy of the village. "Similar instruments are made by the smithys in the various other villages throughout Hun-
[795] za," he went on. "Our religion recommends that our faces be kept clean of hair."

"I will also have a razor made for you and sent along with the shoes."

123 "Thank you very much," I said to the Mir. "I am very grateful. I was really and truly hoping you'd say that, because that is another item that I would love to add to my collection."

I didn't know how to thank him for all these very lovely gifts, but I was somewhat concerned as to how I'd carry them all the way home. It was absolutely unthinkable to ship them individually or separately because I certainly wouldn't want any of them lost.

With the exception of the silver tea service, the other items were things that I had specifically wanted and had mentioned at one time or another. The Mir had keen ears and each and every item that I had mentioned was there as a gift for me.

To my friend, Cec Brunton, he also presented a Hunza hat and a cane of a little different type.

Not being a hunter it is understandable that I would not appreciate an ibex or a Marco Polo sheep head as a trophy, but most assuredly I would hang or display all of the items that the Mir was presenting to me most conspicuously in my home. And if perchance my wife wouldn't feel that some of them were sufficiently ornate or perhaps were unbecoming to her living room, then I would proudly hang them in my office. In fact, I felt

even here that I would be happy to wear that Hunzan hat on my strolls during the winter around my home town. The fact that some of the villagers might think me a bit queer wouldn't bother me one iota, because I haven't the faintest doubt they think I'm queer anyway. So a little added fuel won't make much difference. 123

I hate to admit this but truth will out, so I might as well confess. I actually coveted a Hunzan spinning apparatus and loom, but I didn't have the courage to ask the Mir for one of them. I thought perhaps this might be a little too much. I was bothered by the fact that perhaps they needed it worse than I and I would be depriving them of it if I took it back to Canada with me. But I did want one and I tried to think of a way or a means of purchasing or getting one without asking the Mir for it. Perhaps my readers can understand my predicament. Here was a man who was doing most everything that a human being could possibly do for another, for me. I would have gladly paid him for the spinning apparatus and loom, but I knew he wouldn't take any money and if I told him I wanted it, it might be an imposition—I knew he would get it for me. So after debating the matter with myself in my mind—which took probably 5 seconds but takes 5 minutes to tell—I decided to let the matter rest for the moment.

[pp. 472-479 not processed]

CHAPTER 57

So Long--But Not Good-Bye, I Hope

WHEN WE reached the dining room at the appointed hour practically the entire group of the previous evening was there. Both the Mir and the Rani were present, of course.

This was the customary breakfast and, as usual, I chose the Hunzan bread rather than the chapatties. Somehow I never could take a liking to the chapatties, but I did eat them in places where there was no alternative such as Hunzan bread. Their bread is truly one of the most delectable breads I have ever eaten anywhere. They must use yeast in making it because it is not flat like a chapatty. On the other hand, it is not high like our bread either. It is an oval shaped loaf about 3 inches thick in the center and about an inch thick at the edges. Yes, it is made out of stone ground, untreated, whole wheat flour. I can vouch for that because I saw the actual wheat being ground into flour.

Then there was ghee or yak butter to be used as a spread. Most of them at the table selected ghee. I chose the white yak butter. 262

Western types of raw vegetables on the table are conspicuous by their absence. I had all my meals at the palace and the only raw vegetable on the table at any time was lettuce and the lettuce, the Mir informed me, was from seed that I had sent him some months prior to my arrival.

So it is clear that vegetables like lettuce, celery, cucumbers, cabbage, carrots, radishes and such are not generally used in this part of the world as a fresh salad with meals. I do know they use onions and peppers. The onions that I saw were of the green type and I recall being presented with a bunch of them by a youngster who popped out of one of the houses on the trail. I gave him a small coin as a gift or reward. The child couldn't have been more than 3 or 4 years old and he shouted with glee and joy to his mother, holding the tiny coin aloft for everyone to see. He seemed happier at the gift of that coin than any youngster I can ever recall. I'm sure the big hundle of green onions was worth many times what I had given him! 123 436

I believe this illustrates just how scarce or unusual money is there!

This was a sad breakfast for me because now I was on the threshold of leaving and I wasn't too happy to go from this enchanted place. I walked slowly down the long staircase that led from the palace and the rest followed behind. 123

There in the yard was the jeep with the driver and a few servants waiting and watching. Our baggage was placed aboard.

I left a sum of 40 rupees with the Mir to divide among the many servants who had given so graciously

123 and generously of their services.

Then, with sincere good-byes, good wishes and promise of the Mir to come and visit us in America, where I promised him the use of my home for the duration of his stay, the jeep was off!

We were following the same trail that we had come up on, only this time Cec and I were in much better shape than when we arrived.

492 'Twas hardly more than 15 minutes before we pulled up at the end of the jeep road. The horses were waiting. Mine was a big black heavy fat pony and, I quickly observed, a stallion, to boot! He looked a little bit too bold for me but the Mir had assured me that he was as gentle as a kitten, strong as a bull, fast, sure-footed and intelligent. The horse Cec was to take looked very much like mine except he was brown. They were two mighty splendid pieces of horse or pony flesh. There was another horse in the group which we presumed was to be used as a pack animal.

291 I noticed when Jahangir got out of the jeep and was walking towards the horses and bearers that he limped somewhat. He was still wearing the pair of heavy, thick-soled and metal heeled army boots with which he had set out from Gilgit. Somehow this reminded me of the folly of trying to beat a man at his own game. The people of Hunza have been living with and under these conditions for 2,000 years or more and it is somewhat superfluous to say that they would have gathered by now the right kind of footwear to put on their feet. And here is what I found.

Practically all of the children wore no foot coverings. They went about barefoot. This I do not mean to infer as being the case only around their homes, but on the mountain crags and trails as well. Most of the boys and girls were barefoot, but there were some who wore

shoes and these were similar to the general type of 291
shoes that are worn in the West, except they didn't lace up in the front, but folded over and your toes stuck out. This type of shoe could be purchased in any of the shops throughout Pakistan and India and even the small town bazaars offered these shoes for sale. It was a sort of heavy-soled sandal, although the tops did have a little more leather and it wasn't quite as open as an ordinary sandal. These shoes are called "chaplis" and are best described by saying they are heavy-soled, sandal-type shoes worn chiefly by the people who live in or near the rugged mountain areas.

Another type of shoe that was worn (or should I say, foot covering) was the actual native type. They were made of soft leather. To me it felt very much [237]
like chamois or suede, but I know from questioning that it was made from ibex, sheep, cow or yak hide. The skins of any of these animals were used for making these shoes as well as other commodities. The soles, too, were soft but of a little heavier consistency than the uppers. They usually reached to about the knee and they were tied with a piece of string, usually around the ankle.

Occasionally I saw another type of foot covering and this was as old as time itself and consisted of rags wound around the soles of the feet and the ankles. I'm sure back before man learned to spin and weave, he used leaves and bark on the soles of his feet, as protection against the rough terrain and rain, snow and sleet.

I had already learned the reason for the open-toed affair. The fact that it allowed air to circulate around the foot is good enough reason in itself, but in the event of a pebble or a small stone becoming lodged in the boot, it could be shaken free without stopping and unlacing the boot and removing the stone. With the

291 open toes it could be just shaken out. These were the low or oxford-type footwear. Then the reason for the high tops on the other kind of shoes was clear. It meant that pebbles and stones and debris couldn't fall into them.

291 I learned, too, that in walking over trails of this type
122 one should always have on shoes that were sewn and in which no nails were used. On more occasions than I can attempt to recount, I stepped on a sharp rock and the nail in my soles or rubber heels went piercing through the soles of my feet. I had to stop on each occasion, unlace and remove my shoe, then get hold of a suitable rock and bang away until I bent the nail so it would no longer prick the sole or heel of my foot. So if you ever contemplate walking on roads or trails of this type, remember my warning, make sure that your shoes are sewn and have no nails in them.

122 The pack animal that was prepared for us was good enough to ride—much better than either of the animals that we had come up with. So Jahangir decided to use this mare as his mount and he sent his guide scurrying about to see if he could locate another pack animal.

At the P.A.'s in Gilgit, Jahangir had told me that he was taking off for Hunza alone. Now here as we were leaving Aliabad, I found that a guide turned up and it was apparent from the words that were spoken that this soldier had come up with him from Gilgit. The insignia on his shoulder clearly indicated that he was a soldier in the famed Gilgit Scouts.

I asked Jahangir how come he had a guide and he then informed me that the Scout Commander had flatly refused to allow him to set out alone for Baltit. Apart from anything else, in deference to Jahangir's parents with whom he was friendly, he would under no circumstances allow him to make the journey with-

out the services of a guide.

I can assure you that the Commander carefully selected the man, too. Although he looked like a boy, he was tall—about 6 feet 2 inches—lithe, alert, in fact, as smart and as capable a type of human being or soldier or both as 'twould be possible to find anywhere. Not that Jahangir needed it, but he certainly was in "high caliber" hands.

Bearing in mind that the two ponies we had were stallions, I began to wonder if we might not have some trouble on the trail, because Jahangir's mount was a mare. To you, this may not appear to be a genuine source of worry, because in the West the horses used for riding are practically always gelded and this eliminates any risk of difficulty. So you either ride a mare or a gelding.

I thought to myself, "What would happen if either one of our stallion ponies began to get ideas on some of these high tortuous, winding mountain trails?" I knew from my reading that it does happen.

A man can work himself up into quite a stew by thinking of such things, and by now I was greatly worried about what would happen if my black stallion did become rambunctious on the trail. So I made up my mind that I would give that mare as wide a berth as possible.

I buried my worries by getting busy and snapping a few pictures of the type of houses that we found here at Aliabad. They didn't differ very much from those we found elsewhere. They were not as well built and as clean as those we had found at Altit, but they were still quite neat and tidy by most other standards. Practically all the houses are built one on top of the other, as close together as the undulating region would allow, and it sure was obvious that a person couldn't

342 keep many secrets from his neighbors. From what I
361 saw, it was obvious that when a house was built in Hunza no attempt was made to level the ground but it was allowed to stand as nature made it and the house was erected according to the natural levels, dips, falls or heights.

As we wandered around the little Hunzan homes in this area, we had to climb up to get to this one, we had to drop down to examine that one and there were really no two on an identical level.

132 Then I remembered that the average annual rainfall in Hunza was 2 inches and to myself I thought, "Mighty good thing, because if it rained any more than that, what a quagmire this area would be!"

122 We heard the clatter of hooves and, looking up, we saw Jahangir's guide coming back and leading another horse. This meant we'd be ready to take off in a couple of minutes, so Cec and I worked our way towards the road.

Soon all of our belongings were firmly balanced on the horse's back and we were ready to start for the Hasanabad Bridge.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 58

Baltit to Chalt--A Long Hard Day

THE EXHILARATING morning mountain air and the expanse of blue sky, landscaped by undulating masses in the distance and sparkled with a wisp of cloud here and there, made the march seem like a living dream. How often since I have been home have I longed for a day to begin this way. 122 487

The climb into the mountains started the minute we crossed the bridge at Hasanabad. We were now taking the trail that had almost spelled disaster for me on the way in. Those twists, those turns, those climbs, those declines had just about worn my legs to stubs. Never, through all my years of work, had I ever known what the word "tired" meant until then!

As Friend Cec remarked a few days later when we discussed this part of the journey, "Never did I see you look so grim! If any man could be said to be dragging his rear, it was you when you reached the jeep!"

122 But now it was entirely different. I didn't regard the
487 snaky curves and loops with distrust and misgivings as I had the other day. In fact, then, I remember hating every turn I had to take. Now, with a good mount between my legs, I felt elated, happy, cheerful. Even though I started off riding, I knew that I wouldn't ride very far because I enjoy walking too much. But, still, it was mighty nice to know that you had a good horse in case you needed it.

From the start in the morning we knew it was to be a hard ride if we wanted to get to Chalt in one march. There was a full 32 miles to go. It was actually 36 miles but I figured the jeep had driven us 4 of them so that left 32.

[485] Neither Cec nor I discussed or mentioned it but I think we fully realized that, if we felt it was going to be too tough, we could stop off at Minapin which was but 15 miles away and would find the usual rest houses there. Yet, I couldn't see myself holing up at Minapin for the night. Why, we should be there shortly after noon, I figured, and I certainly had no intention of calling it quits then.

Besides, my recollections of Minapin weren't very appealing. It was the poorest looking and the dirtiest town of all we had passed through. We had stopped
[485] for a few minutes at the rest house on the way up and it had proved to be a disappointment. We couldn't get anything to eat there and the chowkidor expected a handsome donation because we stopped there and, I believe, had a glass of water.

Then, too, I knew that this was the stage for us to make time, as we'd have more protection from the sun because there were more trees in this area than there would be further down. Villages dotted the landscape
[361] as this was one of the more fertile districts and towns

and villages are invariably built where there are trees 122
of one kind or another. So it was our best bet to tackle 487
the sun while we had some protection against it. [361]

I remembered also that in this area there were lots [133]
of nullahs and that conduits were found everywhere, so we could refresh ourselves with good fresh cold water all along the route. Further down there were very few nullahs or any other means of getting water except by marching down to the river's edge and this, friend, could be an undertaking!

At this stage the elevations ranged around 7,000 to 133
10,000 feet. I didn't carry an altimeter with me but I was informed that in some places we climbed to 12,000 feet. It certainly felt like it by the rarity of the atmosphere and the way my chest and lungs were behaving.

All through this broad area the mountain scenery is idyllic. It just can't be beat or improved upon, no matter where in the world you go. When I came up this selfsame trail on the inward trek, I was in no mood to appreciate beauty or mountain grandeur and I knew that I hadn't taken in very much. But now, I was determined to feast my eyes, my heart and my soul on the most beautiful, the most varied, the most awe-inspiring mountain vastness that is known to exist.

I was happy—I was carefree—I felt so light that I thought the horse wouldn't even know he was carrying a passenger. In all probabilities I'd never come this way again and I wanted that beauty engraved on my memory.

Through the years I had spent many weeks and months in the Rockies, from Alaska right down to the Mexican Sierras, and I believed the Rockies to be the most impressive range of mountains I had ever known. When I saw the Alps and compared them, well, there

133 was no basis for comparison. The Alps were pretty hills!

But here again was something entirely different. We flew through and over the Himalayas from Rawalpindi till we neared Gilgit and from the moment we saw the Karakorums I was impressed with their appearance of hardness, massiveness—yes, and their coldness, too, but they certainly weren't very cold here on our way to Chalt where the metallic content of the rock absorbs every bit of heat and seems to hold it. Whereas the [139] Rockies are mainly grassed or timbered, the Karakorums are bare, naked and distinctly metallic looking.

Of course there are bare mountains in the rockies and there are treed and grassy ones in the Karakorums but it's the exception, in both cases, rather than the rule. Apart from a bit of grass or a few trees in an occasional valley, the mountains in general were bare rock. It is indeed a tribute to the courage, ingenuity and resourcefulness of the people of Hunza and other races who live in these rocky valleys, that they can manage to eke out an existence.

In the Rockies anything over 10,000 feet is rare and unusual. When you hit 12,000, 13,000 or 14,000 feet it is an event of major importance. But here in the Karakorums, when you are trudging along, everywhere the mountains are 14,000, 15,000 and 16,000 feet high. It seems that the ridges all around you are 12,000 to 14,000 feet, with something like Rakaposhi occasionally poking up at 25,550 feet. Even that is nothing of any spectacular mention, because within a few scant miles as the crow flies could be found ten peaks as high or higher and dozens or maybe hundreds somewhat smaller, but still much bigger and more impressive than most found in the Rockies and the Alps.

Just to illustrate my point I'll mention a few, starting at the Afghan border and working over to Singkiang

in China, and down a few miles to the Skardu district. 133
This area covers a circle within a 100 mile radius of Baltit, but look at the peaks that are found therein. These are just a few of the ones over 20,000 feet high that are found in that small area:

Haramosh	24,270	Saltoro Kangri .	25,400
Mukorum	23,050	unnamed	22,400
unnamed	25,868	Saser Kangri ...	25,170
Kampire Dior ..	23,434	unnamed	21,270
unnamed	21,200	unnamed	22,891
Kanjut Sar	25,460	Nanga Parbat ..	26,660
unnamed	23,440	unnamed	21,870
unnamed	25,540	unnamed	22,200
Godwin Austen		unnamed	22,120
(K-2)	28,250	Rakaposhi	25,550
Masherbrun ...	25,660	Bilchhar Dobani	20,126
Gasherbrum ...	26,470	unnamed	21,907
Teram Kangri .	24,489	unnamed	23,890

This list was taken from the actual military map of the area. Nowhere else could I find anything as detailed.

It is a positive fact that so far there are more than 60 summits over 22,000 feet recorded in the Karakorums alone—mostly unnamed and unconquered—and remember, the Karakorums extend only for 300 miles.

I'm not trying to impress you with a mass of figures, but I just wish to lend credence to the facts that will bear out my contention that this is the most spectacular outcropping of mountains and peaks in the entire world and that this point has the right and probably the only right, to be called the true "Roof of the World."

Maps refer to this territory as the Pamirs. I think they say Afghanistan Pamir, Russian Pamir, Chinese Pamir. The word "pamir" in Persian means "roof of the world." If the world has a roof, then without ques-

133 tion or doubt, this area holds that lofty title!

I know that Tibet is called the "Roof of the World" but it is my contention that this is not right. Lhasa is at an elevation of approximately 13,000 feet and is surrounded by peaks whose heights are not more than 18,000 feet, whereas Baltit, the capital of Hunza, is located at an elevation of 8500 feet and the mountains surrounding it go well above 25,000 feet. So I don't think anyone can argue or deny that this, the Hunza area, is the true "Roof of the World."

122 At the time I visited Hunza, maps of the Kashmir
133 and Jammu and Gilgit agencies were hard to come by and anyone holding them might be arrested and charged with being a spy by the military authorities in Pakistan or India, because that area is zealously guarded by both sides.

It was a major operation to get a map of that area showing the various territories, the peaks and the ranges and such, but with the aid of a good friend I managed to procure a very good one.

133 For anyone interested in mountains, glaciers, hidden valleys and such things as dreams are made of, this map makes fabulous reading and studying. Besides, you can daydream away pleasant, carefree, happy hours like mad, if so inclined. Try it! Your cares will float away like bubbles!

122 Profiting from the mistakes of the past, when we found a nice cool comfortable spot, we stopped to rest and munched on the sandwiches that were so kindly prepared by the Mir's staff for us to take along. They were put into a little tin box where they kept in good shape. I would have liked to eat more of the sandwiches but after I gave one to Cec and had one myself, I passed the rest along to the guides and bearers. (Jahangir carried his own provisions.)

Actually, I think this in many ways is a mistake. 122
Anything that you bring along for yourself on a trail like this should be kept for yourself and the reason is clear and obvious. On the trail both coming and going neither group of bearers or guides offered us as much as a nibble, whereas in every case anything that we had we passed along or shared with them.

The reason I contend this is wrong is simple. They are in their own territory. They know where food and water are available. I know, as I saw them procure it when they wanted it. In our case we were up against a stark, high, blank wall and had to ask for, drive for and pay for every morsel of food that we got on the trail.

If I were doing this selfsame job over again, I would plan my travels without worrying or consulting them one iota. Their opinions, their judgment and estimations are completely unreliable, when it comes to distance, time, height, depth, temperature—yes, and even dangers!

Now I'm not referring to the people in the category of the Mir or the P.A. or Jahangir. I am talking about the average citizen that one meets along the trails or in the towns or villages. While you are supplied with a 122
guide and bearer or bearers and you feel you can rely 485
upon them, they do not take into consideration that you are a stranger, a tenderfoot, and know little or nothing about the terrain and the place to which you are going.

I'm not trying to impress you with the fact that these people are ignorant because they are not ignorant. It is just that these things are beyond their ken and you must rely upon yourself and prepare accordingly. They have been ordered or hired to guide you to a certain defined place or to look after your horse and that is all they will do—nothing more!

122 This does not mean to imply that they are unreliable
485 or unfriendly, because undoubtedly if you remained with them for any great time, you would become friendly with them and perhaps a feeling of camaraderie or loyalty would spring up. This belief has been confirmed by my conversations with people who have traveled through similar territories over longer periods. But in cases like this, where you hire a man for a day or two and you can't talk his language or make yourself clearly understood to him, the chances of getting any great amount of service are rather remote . . . that is, beyond the call of regular duties. In fact, I have learned and found that they will do only what they have to do and even getting this done will often take reminding!

122 The collapse of my friend on the first day out of Gilgit would never have occurred had we taken charge of the situation ourselves and stopped and rested every few hours for a few minutes, like any individual with common sense should have done. But we relied upon our bearers and guide. We were tenderfeet and stupid ones, to boot!

We were now beginning to feel like veteran mountaineers. It's funny how quickly a man can learn if his life depends on it. We weren't going to make the same mistake that we made coming up. This time we had no guide—just bearers—although Jahangir's soldier could be taken as a guide. In fact, he was probably better than most guides.

However, we were confident enough about the situation to carry on without any guiding or leading. I'm not trying to give you the impression that we were smart guys. It was just that we found out that there was no cause for fear or anxiety and once you beat that feeling, then you can go on through most anything.

From what I have learned about mountaineering, I 122
find that this principle generally is true. When you know the natives and appraise and understand the country you are in, the rest is just a task. It may be a difficult one but a task that, with good management and a bit of luck, can be accomplished.

In this instance we had good horses—the best. Secondly, we knew and understood the regions through which we must travel. Then, we had prepared a bit of food. But on top of it all, we were masters of the situation and we were not depending on anyone else!

The worst part of the day was from about 10 A.M. until 2 P.M. After that the sun and heat slowly headed downwards.

It was about 1.30 when we went through Minapin. [485]
This is normally the first stopping place from Baltit. We'd been up and about and on the trail for almost 8 steady, heat-filled hours, but we never even considered the idea of staying there.

However, this was where the owner of the pack horse lived—the one that Jahangir's guide had managed to procure at Kerimabad—so we had to unload it. Jahangir dismounted and the luggage and all the trappings were carefully tied to fit around this horse that the Mir had sent along as a pack animal.

I took no part in the proceedings. Jahangir and his guide, as well as the two bearers, did the job and they did it right, unlike our first experience when we left Gilgit. We hadn't gone a mile along the Gilgit River when we began to have trouble, and hadn't we been at least half awake, we would have lost some of our belongings.

Here it was different. Whether it was due to the fact that we had Hunzan bearers, as compared to Gilgitis,

122 or the fact that Jahangir and his guide were on the job, I don't know, but the loading of the horse was done properly.

"Why don't you arrange for another pack animal?" I asked Jahangir.

"In the first place, I don't know if I can get one. Then it would take a lot of time, especially if we want to make Chalt before night."

"But how's your foot?"

"Oh, I think it'll be all right," he said, smiling. At the same time he flexed his toes by standing on them a couple of times to see how his sore, chafed heel was taking the jolt.

"I know little or nothing about the mountains and climbing but it would be foolish if we went on and you ran into difficulty, when, by waiting a few minutes or even an hour or two, we could save you pain and trouble."

"Oh, I'm confident everything will be all right," he replied.

"Anyway, I'm not riding very much. So that hefty pony is available any minute you want him."

"No, thanks. I'll get along without him. I feel fine."

Now I had the feeling that Jahangir was somewhat annoyed at the Mir because the Mir had neglected to send along a horse for him. However, I have no proof or knowledge of this because first of all, Jahangir hadn't asked for one and secondly, he had come to Hunza with a guide without horse or pack animal and therefore the Mir would not rightly suspect or know that he wanted one to go back with. So all this may be pure conjecture on my part, but that was the impression I got and that's what I'm telling you.

000 I had met Jahangir just as soon as we landed at the P.A.'s residence in Gilgit. I didn't know who he was

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7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 71

Misconceptions

121 THIS CHAPTER I find the hardest of all the chapters in
114 the book to write.

So many gross errors or misrepresentations concerning Hunza have been given widespread publicity that I felt it was high time these errors were corrected.

It is established that a writer or a speaker who makes statements must stand behind the statements that he makes. That is all well and good in such instances and cases where the truth can be readily verified by means of encyclopedias, dictionaries or other reliable sources of information.

197 Inasmuch as Hunza is concerned, this definitely is not possible. To begin with, the language, Burushaski, is spoken only by the people in Hunza, Nagir and in a small area thereabouts. Dr. Berger in his intimate studies and broad travels has come upon only one other spot on the earth's surface where a similar tongue is

spoken. The good professor espouses the theory that 197
the Burushaski language is genealogically related to
the language of the Basques, spoken only by a handful
of these people who live in the Pyrenees in southern
France and northern Spain. Therefore, it is difficult,
if not impossible, for any stranger or outsider to have
a good working knowledge of the language.

When you are given the name of a place or a thing 126
and wish to write it down, you have to do it entirely 192
by means of phonics. For example, I wanted to know
the name given to a part of the flour mill and after
much actual jawing, I wrote down the word "yine."
Later, in checking with another Hunzan who articu-
lated in deliberate, clearcut fashion for me, I got the
word "yang." Now repeat those two words over your-
self and see just how much similarity there really is
between them.

I sought the name of the word given to the galleries 126
—that is, the wooden galleries or it could be the stone 192
galleries that were built up along the ledges when the 491
road fell away. One of the writers had given the name
for these places as "rafiks," which I followed. But I
also had come across the word "paharis" when I was
in Hunza and they didn't seem to use or have heard
the word "rafik."

Then upon investigation, I find that the words
"rafik" and "paharis" are not the actual words used to
describe this bit of fancy roadwork. The meaning of
"rafik" is actually Arabic for a companion or comrade
and the meaning of "paharis" is Urdu for "people who
live in mountainous regions." From usage so far and
the best of searching, it appears that "rafik" is the
term used to describe the built up stone galleries that
shore up a "fallen away" gap of road. "Paharis" is the
term for the wooden platforms that are erected over

126 "nothing" where the ledge once led . . . a few well
192 appointed steel rods forced into fissures being the total
491 support. As yet I have failed to discover or learn the proper word describing these galleries.

114 I must admit that many or most of the errors or misconceptions concerning Hunza are due to the fact that insufficient time was spent by some of the writers who visited Hunza.

At first it was my wish to pass by this chapter on misconceptions because I did not feel that I should be involved in a hassle with other writers. But then I asked myself if I had any doubts as to whether or not I was right. And this made me feel that I definitely wanted to write the chapter on misconceptions.

It is not my intent or desire to be contradictory nor arbitrary. I am not seeking to pick a quarrel with anyone. But the facts and statements herein related are based on my seeing, hearing, research, questioning and investigating.

I have tried to make my book as accurate as humanly possible. And if and when errors are found, I trust they will be brought quite forcibly to my attention. I would like to believe that if I can dish it out, I can take it, too!

134 *Fertile valleys*—Some writers have referred to various valleys in Hunza as fertile valleys. By the standards to which we are accustomed, there is not one single fertile valley in all of Hunza. That the soil is productive and the valley green and beautiful, no one will deny. But at best the soil in Hunza is shallow and to be productive, it must be maintained assiduously. I repeat, in Hunza there are no such things as naturally fertile valleys as compared, for example, to parts of the Willamette Valley in Oregon.

131 *Hunza is scarcely* 60 *miles long*, says one writer. An-
133 other says it is 80 miles long and elsewhere I saw it

mentioned as being 100 miles long. 131

A few miles above the spot where the Hunza River meets the Gilgit is a village called Secunderabad. It is here that Hunza begins and if you follow the Hunza River up to its source beyond Misgar, almost on the Chinese border, where it springs from a glacier, you will find in following the contours of the river that the country is almost 200 miles long. I have carefully checked this figure with the best authorities—the Mir being one of them—and I found that the 200 mile figure was as close as it can possibly be measured. 133

They are Asians. Of course they are Asians because they dwell in Asia. But in appearance they are definitely unlike Asians. Without trying to sound dramatic or authoritative, the general appearance of the people of Hunza shows marked European characteristics. They are totally unlike the Indians, the Afghans or the Chinese. To me they looked like the Mediterranean peoples. At this stage I am not harping or relying on the fact that they claim to be descendants of Alexander the Great or some of his soldiers. 144

Primitive—Most writers refer to them as primitive people or say that their way of life is primitive. I will agree with the use of that term in describing the people of Hunza, if you will agree with me that the Christian world is primitive, because it too follows the teachings of the Bible which was written 3,000 or 4,000 years ago. It is agreed that the people of Hunza follow a primitive form of agriculture and use no chemical fertilizers or modern sprays and insecticides. But then, they don't need chemical insecticides and chemical fertilizers. They use no modern machinery on their small, hard won, shallow surfaced fields. Their conduits which guide the glacial waters to their fields are, I agree, primitive, but no better form is known anywhere. 105 105 241.

105 where. They use water to turn the mill that grinds
[376] their bread and that is primitive. But many thousands of people throughout the world would say that it is the right way. The adroitness and the ability of the Hunzan men would match that of any people in the Western world.

I cannot say that I found anything about them that was primitive. Further, they can choose the modern way of life if they so desire it. But the only people who seek it are those who are forced to leave Hunza because of the shortage of actual living room.

511 *Poverty stricken*—One writer referred to them as being poverty stricken. If the beast of the fields and forests and the birds of the air are poverty stricken, then I guess we would have to admit that the people of Hunza are poverty stricken as well. If you want to feel sorry for birds, because they have to seek shelter in their unheated nests high up in the trees, where the winds blow around them, and because they do not have oil heating for their nests or motors for their wings as a sign of poverty, then I will be forced to agree with you.

As long as the people of Hunza are free, have a bit of land to till and a house of their own that is not mortgaged or tax-ridden and are in good health and attain long life, I definitely cannot accede that they are poverty stricken.

142 *Fair complexioned*—Now and then some author refers to them as being fair complexioned. I did not see one fair complexioned person in all of Hunza. Perhaps
[144] the writers meant to say that they were Caucasians, which is true, as compared to Orientals or Negroes. They are not a fair people any more than the Spaniards, Italians or Greeks are fair complexioned peoples.

805 *Precise, exacting*—An occasional writer sought to

compliment them by mentioning among their qualities 805
the fact that they were precise and exacting. That statement is about as far-fetched as a statement can be.

In the cities of Asia and when dealing with government officials, one found them quite observant of time. An appointment for a certain hour was usually kept at that hour. However, in dealing with the people of [804]
Hunza I found that time and distance were meaningless. All rivers were nullahs, all mountains were doranis. Haste and speed caused consternation. They did not understand the necessity or need for it. I stress again however, that in the official capacity this did not necessarily apply.

Birth control—More than one writer, and some who 842
should have had more common sense, has referred to the extraordinary method of birth control as practiced by the people of Hunza. From my observations I would state clearly and to the point, that they don't know what birth control means and it is from my observations and conclusion definitely not practiced.

The average family in Hunza consists of 7 people [163]
which means that they have 5 living children. Many have more, some have less. If you can call that birth control by any stretch of the imagination, well, that's your privilege.

Even the most primitive of people know that as long as the child is sucking at the mammary glands the ovum somehow doesn't come down the fallopian tubes . . . nature's own method of survival, as common sense will indicate.

I know—I know—I know that some or many obstetricians and general practitioners say that it doesn't mean a thing, but they are just trying to prove that science is greater than empiricism. Sure, I know that conception can take place under the circumstances

842 mentioned above and so do women who have reached the menopause age become pregnant, but it doesn't happen every day.

Siring children at 90 *and* 100 *years of age*—The only conclusive proof or record that I could find concerning men well up in years siring children was that of the Mir's grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E. It is definitely recorded that he sired a son when he was in his 75th year.

Upon questioning and during discourse with the Mir, the resident doctor and the affected individuals themselves, it is clearly established that the siring of offspring at the age of 70 and upwards is quite common. Invariably it was revealed in these studies that the men had married younger women, their second or third wives. It is suggested that the answer lies somewhere close to this very important related fact.

165 [217] *Living to the age of* 140 *years.* The oldest man that I could find in Hunza was said to be 105 years old. I want to stress firmly that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. Therefore it is not easy to establish any definite age or date. I will, however, accept this old man's age as being correct and established beyond doubt. The fact that he was alive before the Mir's grandfather was born (who died when 79 years of age in 1938) is ample proof that the statement is correct and true.

There are many people in Hunza over 90 years of age, quite a few over 95 years of age and some over 100 years.

142 165 *Their women are beautiful when they are* 70 *and* 80 *years old.* This I will agree is a statement that depends entirely upon a man's appreciation or understanding of beauty. I have seen old women of 80 who I thought were beautiful in a frail, wrinkled, grandmotherly way.

I found the Rani to be the most beautiful woman in Hunza. I didn't dare ask her age, but I know she was married to the present Mir in 1934. Therefore she must be close to or in her 40's. She could undoubtedly pass with any woman in her early 20's. But there were few, if any, women in Hunza like her. 142

I further will grant that I, or anyone else for that matter, would have very little opportunity of seeing Hunzan women at what might be their best. To state my views candidly, I'd say the men definitely looked youthful, but the women looked to be older than their years.

Perfect health—I have never seen, as yet, a race of people that was as healthy as the people of Hunza. But to say that they were a race that enjoyed perfect health, I would consider a bit of an exaggeration, because the doctor does treat a few patients now and then and the hospital does harbor a few sick people. I must honestly admit that I did not see any sick people in Hunza, but there are quite a few who do not enjoy perfect health. 164

A pre-Bronze Age people—Here I suspect someone wanted to show his knowledge in archeology or anthropology, whichever it may be. (I am expressing *my* ignorance to begin with.) They are no more Bronze Age than was the writer who referred to them as such. This would take them back between 4,000 and 5,000 years which is utter and sheer "poppycock." He further stated that they were isolated for 2,000 years. If that is true, they were isolated because they wanted to remain that way. 174 [177]

It is a fact that there is a caravan trail right through Hunza. It is the shortest route from China to Persia and leads through Hunza, past Gilgit and across the Babusar Pass and then on westward or southwestward. 487 177

487 I am sure that a people who saw these caravans coming
177 and going could not be called isolated by any stretch of the imagination. They just like their little piece of paradise too well to leave it.

133 *Hunza empties into the Indus.* Two famed writers who should know better . . . or should I say, should have checked more closely . . . made the statement that the Hunza River flows into the Indus. Even a cursory glance at a map would show that the Hunza empties into the Gilgit and the Gilgit empties into the Indus.

585 *Mother-in-law taken along on honeymoon*—This bit of stupidity, or should I say absurdity, appeared in no less than two of the foremost publications in America.

Who ever heard of a honeymoon in Hunza? Not having a Niagara Falls, probably they'd go up and sit on top of Rakaposhi with the mother-in-law between them to cool their ardor.

When the Mir made this statement, he was joking, never believing for a moment that anyone would take such a broad joke as being factual.

481 *Hunzans walk* 60 *to* 100 *miles as though it were*
147 *nothing.* In fact, one author stated somewhere that the Hunzans could walk 60 miles easier than she could walk upstairs.

I will readily grant that I believe the Hunzan people are the world's best walkers and well they would have to be, because there just happens to be no other mode of locomotion. I'll even go further and say that all through my travels in that territory I did not once see a Hunzan man, or for that matter a Nagirwal, who appeared to be worn from the rugged walks and climbs. So it is clear that they have tremendous reserves of energy and stamina . . . but let's not go overboard!

486 *Anyone can visit Hunza.* Contrary to the assertion
114 made by one writer that anyone can get into Hunza, I

would like to mention that since 1950 here is a list of 486
all the people who were allowed into Hunza from the 114
outside world: Franc and Jean Shore, April, 1952; Lowell Thomas, Jr. in December, 1954; Benjamin Ruhe in July, 1956; Barbara Mons, May, 1956; Dr. Allen Banik, July, 1958; and John Tobe and Cecil Brunton in July, 1959.

I've a letter here from the Embassy of Pakistan, 486
Washington, D. C.:

"Dear Dr. Keller,

"Please refer to your letter of September 29, 1959, regarding your request to visit Hunza.

"The Government of Pakistan have regretted their inability to grant permission for your visit to this area. We would like to mention that we have received a number of similar requests from other individuals and we have not been able to comply with those requests.

"We have been informed by Dr. Francis Pottenger of Monrovia, California, that he and Dr. William Albrecht of the University of Missouri, also planned to accompany you on your proposed visit. We would appreciate it if you could kindly convey our regrets to Dr. Albrecht. We are writing to Dr. Pottenger ourselves.

"Yours sincerely,
A. Fatch, Second Secretary"

This should establish clearly, once and for all, whether or not it is easy to get into Hunza.

Court fines go to Mir's treasury. This statement was 652
made by one of the writers on Hunza and when brought to the Mir's attention by me, it was vigorously denied.

Any revenue obtained in this manner goes to the
state and helps maintain the canals and aqueduct sys- [312]
stems. Further, the total obtained from fines during a year would not exceed 200 rupees, about $40.00.

534 644 *The piano in the palace was brought by the Mir's grandfather.* This was stated in one of the books I read about Hunza.

The story from the Mir's own lips is, "The piano was brought to Gilgit via Bandipoor and Burzil Pass from Kashmir for the Political Agent who was British. It was installed in the Political Agent's house in Gilgit in 1895. In 1947 when the partition came, it was presented to me by the last British Political Agent, Colonel R. N. Bacon, along with the Union Jack which is unfurled in Gilgit. The piano was brought to Baltit on [482] the backs of 24 men."

164 *Disease is unknown in Hunza.* Oh, how I wish that were true! It was the fondest wish of my heart and soul when I left for Hunza that I could return and be able to attest the fact that disease is unknown in that country.

From definite assertions made by the doctor who was stationed at Aliabad in Hunza, it is true that such diseases as cancer, diabetes, heart disease and hypertension are absolutely unknown in Hunza. But there are other diseases, perhaps not as crucial but, nevertheless, maladies of a serious nature.

As more of civilization's luxuries become known and used in Hunza, it is assured that many more of the diseases of civilization, as yet unknown in Hunza, will make their way into that country.

165 *No infant mortality*—I am unable to speak for the past, but at the present day infant mortality is known in Hunza. As mentioned elsewhere in this book, statistics are unavailable as no records are kept. But the present doctor in Aliabad forcibly states that infant mortality is a force to be reckoned with in Hunza at the present time.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

Hunzan fruits taste better than those of other parts of the world. Most travelers who reach Hunza invariably state that the apricots and other fruits found there are much better flavored than those found in other parts of the world. I did not find this to be true. 245

Because they do not grow fruits for export or shipping, they can be tree-ripened. Therefore they have a better flavor than fruit that has to be picked in a green or unripened state. It is this fact that makes many people believe that Hunzan fruits taste better than the fruit they are accustomed to eating.

I happen to live in a part of the world where fruit is grown extensively and I must state categorically that Hunzan fruit does not taste any better than that grown on the farms adjacent to my home. Here, also, it must be admitted that most of the fruit I eat, especially during the fruit season, is also tree-ripened.

The people of Hunza are ignorant and uneducated. From my association with the people of Hunza, I must state boldly that they are neither ignorant nor uneducated. 871

There are schools of the same type as our grade schools in every large center in Hunza. It is admitted that only the male children are taught in these schools and there is no formal education offered to girls. This school system is entirely free and has been in existence for more than 25 years. It is emphasized that the native language of the people of Hunza is Burushaski and it is an unwritten language. However, they teach Urdu, Persian and other essential subjects. The intelligence and the abilities of the natives of Hunza rank with those found throughout the world.

The people are fierce and dangerous. There have been only 3 cases of murder recorded in Hunza in the 882

682 past 40 years. Never to my knowledge has a stranger
[609] or a visitor ever been harmed or injured.

175 In bygone days the Hunzans were considered good
648 fighting men and were feared by the Chinese, the Afghans and neighboring tribes. It is a fact that they have only been conquered or beaten once in their history and that was by a British force that defeated them at the Battle of Nilt. The British did not seek to conquer the country. It was at the time when the British were the rulers of India. They requested that the Mir of Hunza allow free passage of the mail to Kashgar in China. The Mir at that time, Safdar Ali, felt that he could count upon the aid of the Russians and the Chinese and challenged the British authority. Then the British force went into the field and it required deliberation and courage to assault the high fortress, but it was accomplished by the British and the
[643] Mir fled for his life. The British then appointed his brother as the ruler and departed peacefully. Apart from this, the British did not interfere in the affairs of the Hunzans.

123 *You lose face if you carry anything yourself or do any work.* In all my travels throughout the world, including Hunza, I always did my share of the carrying. I wasn't going to stand by and see one or two men burdened down with my belongings while I walked about empty handed. I will not allow it to be said that I lost face because of this.

I don't want it to be thought that I am better than anyone else nor will I allow them to think that they are better than I. Wherever there was work to be done or burdens to be borne, I always did my share and I intend to keep on doing it.

131 *Hunza in the Himalayas.* Some writers keep referring to Hunza, Gilgit and Rakaposhi as being in the

Himalayas. They call Hunza "The Lost Kingdom of the Himalayas," "Himalayan Valley" and "Himalayan Region" and make other erroneous references. 131

However, truth is truth, fact is fact, and Hunza, Nagir, Gilgit and Rakaposhi are all in the Karakorums and the Karakorums are a mountain system of their own and are not part or parcel of the Himalayas.

How these misconceptions came into existence, I am not prepared to state, but when dealing and conjecturing with a country as fascinating as Hunza, that lends enchantment to the heart and escape to the mind, one can understand errors mushrooming into life.

Whether or not I have exploded any myths concerning this fabulous country depends entirely upon what you have read or heard and your individual viewpoint. I returned from Hunza with the conviction that I had seen, visited and been among one of the most fabulous peoples on the face of the earth. 000

Perhaps I have shattered your illusions. If so, I am genuinely sorry because in this modern day and age, a man's soul needs some illusions and I would be the last man to deprive you of them. Yet, it was my purpose when I went to Hunza and then decided to write this book, to tell the truth and lay the facts before you as I found them. That is what I have done.

If I have failed you or brought your idols tumbling at your feet, I am sorry! Yet in spite of any shortcomings that have been exposed in my narrative, the little hidden kingdom of the Karakorums will always be "Shangri-la" to me.

CHAPTER 72

Reflections

I'D BEEN in Hunza for a few days, when it suddenly dawned upon me that there was something unusual about the demeanor, the countenance and the expression on the faces of people. I didn't allow it to particularly prey on my mind . . . yet that feeling remained with me during my entire stay and wanderings throughout that land.

I couldn't put my finger on it, but that intangible difference eluded me, though I was within reach of mentally snaring it on many occasions. Even after I reached home, one night when in a meditative mood, I went over this particular situation in my mind carefully . . . but I couldn't fathom the mystery. Still, I kept asking myself what there was about the people of Hunza that was so unlike the people of the West. Yes, and even unlike the people of the East . . . because there was that marked difference that distinguished

them from any other group of people that I have met or seen anywhere.

I discussed the situation with friends and acquaintances. I mentioned it to folks whose experience and intelligence I respected—thinking, hoping that they could give me a clue to the answer. But nothing came of it. I was still floundering and groping about in the dark.

'Twas a blizzardly night in March . . . I sat in my office at the nursery . . . writing. Suddenly the answer came to me . . . and it was so obvious, so apparent and so simple that I am ashamed I hadn't come up with the answer on the spot.

Perhaps you are more alert than I and you have already guessed the answer. And if you have, I compliment you. You have your ears and your eyes open . . . and you have benefited greatly from the written experiences of my travels in Hunza.

The big thing—the important thing—the simple thing that I discovered was the fact that the people of Hunza find joy and happiness in simply being alive. Living, in itself, is to them the grandest, the greatest and the most fascinating adventure in the world.

We in the Western world have 1,001 things to please us, to entertain and excite us, to thrill and enthrall us. The people of Hunza—they have their little cradle in the sun and that is all!

We must have cocktails and drinking parties to get ourselves into a mood. We must parade off to the theatre to get a laugh and relaxation. We go to a doctor or a priest for comfort and assurance.

The people of Hunza get their joy and pleasures out of the simple things in life—the natural, the commonplace, the ordinary. They are, from infancy to old age, continually attuned to nature. They are intelligent—

they look intelligent. Yet the happy carefree outlook of a child bespeaks their countenance.

We seek relief from our troubles and woes by entertainment, excitement, smoking and drinking.

Let us face the realities of life for what they are. Is it not a fact that our way—our modern way of living—has got out of hand and is now too much for us and we just can't cope with it? That is why we release our pent up furies and frustrations in drink and smoke. Is it not true that we have become a serious, troubled, dour race of people and that too many—yes, too many—responsibilities are oppressing our minds?

No people in the world's history have been so burdened with responsibilities as we in America. The world wars weren't ours, yet we had to become involved . . . and the world looks to us now to enforce or maintain world peace. And what a herculean task it is!

We have the burden of education—not only for ourselves, but for most of the world. Our people have become sick and disease ridden. We have to worry about the maintenance of elaborate homes, automobiles, appliances. We have to consider our vocations and our means and sources of food. We must be ever vigilant . . . there's both foreign encroachment and our own politicians to consider. We have to worry about mortgages, loans, financing, insurance, taxes, interest and the world's most expensive political setups.

We must not only be concerned about our wives and our children and ourselves, but we must share the responsibilities of our neighbors, our countrymen, and now, we have also included the rest of the world.

There no longer exists such a thing as individuality within us . . . for we are but one of almost 200,000,000 bees—all busy and buzzing in unison, creating a great institution. But who wants to be a bee in a hive or a

number in an institution?

Let's face it! Isn't it true that our responsibilities are becoming too big a burden for us? Aren't we trying or attempting to encompass a little too much? Aren't we reaching beyond our ken—beyond our abilities?

You see, the people of Hunza aren't burdened with all the things I've mentioned above, and therefore, it is easy to see why they enjoy just being alive and healthy.

It must be recognized that the people of Hunza lead, probably, what is the most simple life known to any people on the face of the globe. They are not trying to master the world, their own fates or that of their neighbors. They are busily occupied in looking after just themselves.

Selfish? I don't know. They certainly don't interfere with anyone else or ask anyone for anything. In Hunza a man's responsibilities consist of tilling a bit of soil to produce food for himself and the members of his household. The house is actually small—usual'y a two-roomed affair. He has to make provisions to store sufficient food for his winter needs—plus a mite for a neighbor who might run short. Then he may be called upon to contribute a day's work or two a year on the roads or toward maintaining the aqueducts. And that's it! From there on out, his time, his life and his liberty are his own. They even have it better than the red Indians in America . . . because the Hunzans have a permanent abode rather than a windy tent.

Do you think that mankind can improve on a setup like that?

It could be that some of our difficulties stem from the fact that we try to work against nature, whereas in Hunza, when nature pulls the switch and brings on winter or creates other conditions that bring activities

to a halt, the people are resigned to it for the time being. They have found that they can't stem the avalanches or the receding glaciers. So they work with them, instead of against them.

It would be sheer "humbug" on my part to tell you that the people of Hunza have no responsibilities and no worries or cares, because we all know that no human being can exist on the face of the earth without some. But the people of Hunza have learned not to burden themselves with any more than they can help . . . and they stay quite clear of entanglements.

Most of their cares consist of sowing their crops at the right time, harvesting them before the bad weather sets in, storing sufficient to last through the winter and procuring a bit of fuel.

They lack the continued harassments of our modern, up-to-date civilization. One big thing to bear in mind is that the people of Hunza do not have an expensive, elaborate, many tentacled political setup. Hunza has a government of the simplest form . . . and apart from being an emblem and a guide, it does not interfere with or does very little for the inhabitants of Hunza. No government does anything for any people that the people could not do better for themselves if properly organized . . . this holds true anywhere in the world.

Have we ever stopped to think just what a large proportion of our daily work goes for maintaining our government and for which we receive neither remuneration nor thanks? During World War II, I was astounded to learn that it took 30 men behind the lines to keep one man up front. I discredited it and refused to believe it . . . but subsequently, after tracking down the source of the report, I learned that it is true and that for every fighting man there must be 30 down the line to lend support.

Well, I had to accept the fact that there were 30 men for every fighting man . . . but no one will ever make me believe that it is necessary. Why this is, I don't know. But it seems that everybody wants to help to support a fighting man. Therefore, all and sundry latch onto the hero and do a lick here and there . . . and of course demand and receive good pay for it!

This kind of a setup, the people of Hunza do not have or subscribe to. Perhaps herein lies the distinction between paradise and the other place.

Now, let me get down to bedrock and examine and discuss the health of the people. When actually on the scene, one can easily get carried away. Therefore, it is wise to wait, and reach a decision after time has mellowed the experiences and observations. At present I am convinced that good health is a natural development of the way of life of the people of Hunza. And it will remain theirs as long as they follow the same simple life that they have followed for almost 2,000 years.

Should our modern civilization make inroads into Hunza's culture and should the Hunzans seek to derive the benefits and comforts we have in the West, they will have to pay the price as the attached tags will indicate.

If the people of Hunza want to buy into civilization, they will have to subscribe at the same rates as the others . . . by a breakdown in their health and a shortening of their long life.

It must be related that I am neither amazed nor astounded at the remarkable health of these fine people. To tell the truth, I'm not even surprised . . . because after I've had a chance to study the situation and observe it objectively, I ask, "Why shouldn't they be healthy, why shouldn't they be strong, why shouldn't

000 they have the powers of endurance that they possess? Heavens to Betsy, why not?"

They lead a life that nature intended and equipped man to lead. They eat the food that nature provided for man to use. They do the kind of work that nature expected a man to perform. In every case, they have cooperated and worked together with nature. Therefore, I cannot see where the results could be any different.

Good health and long life are the simple products of natural living—according to nature's laws.

Here and now, I refuse to become involved in a long harangue or bickering about the evils of modernization, of civilization, of chemicals, of fertilizers and any number of other questionable detriments. I am not seeking to curry favor with one group or to antagonize another. I am completely and whole-heartedly concerned with the why's and wherefore's of the health of a remarkable people.

I have earnestly sought to find a way and a means that I might contribute something of value to the people of Hunza—that might improve their health or aid in their longevity. I've had it drilled into me that with our knowledge, techniques and hygiene in hospitals, institutions, medical care and the healing arts, we are miles and miles ahead of any other people of the world.

After all, I've had this type of propaganda and knowledge pumped into me for almost 50 years—ever since I was a baby. And I believed it! But I learned, to my joy and surprise, that, when people live according to the laws of nature, the modern healing arts and their accoutrements and attributes are completely superfluous.

Would the big boons of modern civilization be of any

value to the people of Hunza? Let's examine them. 000

Let's start with pasteurization. Well, it would be very 744
difficult to pasteurize in Hunza. First of all, they don't have the means of providing the required heat. Besides, they don't suffer from any conditions which pasteurization would cure—if it does cure anything.

How about hospitalization? Well, they have a com- 743
paratively new, modern hospital in Aliabad, but the people don't use it very much. They distrust the hospital and they distrust the doctor, even though he is a fine capable fellow. Besides, I did not notice, particularly, any sick or ailing people sitting around, waiting for a hospital bed.

Then how about inoculations? To begin with, what 751
would you inoculate them against? They don't seem to 164
have many, if any, of our diseases. Then, too, there are no inoculations against cancer, diabetes, heart disease, arthritis and such, anyway. Oh, yes . . . besides, these diseases have never been known in Hunza . . . not even poliomyelitis.

The Mir has a huge medicine chest that was given 757
to him by the German expedition, which was stationed 177
across the river in Nagir. Yes, it did prove most useful 123
—for it helped a man get well. However, I must admit rather dejectedly that the man the medicine chest helped was my companion and not a citizen of Hunza.

They could use a dentist and right here you have 759
struck gold! However, it would be most difficult to get 164
a dentist to set up shop in Hunza, unless he were given room in the Mir's residence, for that's the only place where electric power is provided . . . unless the dentist didn't mind going back to the old days when the old foot pedal was used for power.

But let's be realistic about it! Wouldn't it be much [263]
better to give the people of Hunza back their old

759 164 .263 natural salt, which was mined at the confluence of the Mustagh and Shimshal Rivers? Then a dentist wouldn't be necessary. I trust you will pardon me if, here and there, as the situation demands, I become my own interrogator.

000 So after all is examined and said and done, how can the Western world help the people of Hunza?

If you asked me this question, I wouldn't want to answer it openly or boldly. But if you pressed me, reluctantly I'd say that the greatest contribution that the West can make to Hunza, or to their good health and longevity, is to stay away. Leave Hunza alone!

Somebody asked me if I would like to live in Hunza. In some respects, that is an unfair question.

It's like this. The climate of California is considered to be the most salubrious and pleasant in all of the United States. Well, why don't all the people of the United States move to California? Economic reasons? That might be a factor . . . but not a very important one. There are other considerations, too, I guess. But basically, everyone doesn't want to live in California—even if it has the most wonderful climate and they have sunshine all the time.

I'd love to go back to Hunza and spend a few more weeks there . . . and if I had been born in Hunza, I'm sure I'd never want to leave the place. But I doubt if, at my age, I'd be able to adjust myself to a change as drastic as the one I would have to meet in Hunza. After all, I am a product of Western civilization—whatever that is.

"Do you think conditions would be too difficult for you in Hunza?"

I believe a young, normal, healthy, strong individual of sound mind could adjust himself to the conditions of Hunza without too much trouble. I am not maintain-

ing, or even suggesting, that the people of Hunza are supermen. I consider them every bit as good as we are . . . but I do not admit they are better, except physically.

I am not a Hunzaphile . . . any more than I am an Anglophile or an Americaphile. I prefer to call myself a Homophile. I like all people and all human beings—except the dastardly ones.

"Would you change anything in Hunza if you could?"

I think I have outlined, in a chapter in the book, that I could not make one suggestion that would improve their life, their health and their way of living . . . except to give them back their old salt mine.

"Do you think if I had a serious or deadly disease, I could cure it by going to Hunza? I'm referring specifically to a disease that is unknown in Hunza."

You're asking and I'm going to answer. If you went to Hunza and could live as they live and eat the way they eat and work in the manner they work, then I certainly believe that you would partake of the health that they enjoy. But first you've got to be able to get into Hunza . . . which at this time is . . . impossible!

"If some people from Hunza came to live in America, would they still enjoy their bountiful health?"

I'm ready with an answer. If they adopted our methods of eating and drinking and working, they'd probably run into the same diseases and illnesses and what-not that we have. But if they followed the way of life and natural living that they did in Hunza, I think they'd remain as healthy as they were back home.

Again, I want to reiterate at this time that I didn't go to Hunza to prove or disprove anything. I went to Hunza to see, to observe and to learn.

"Have you learned anything from the people of Hunza that can benefit you? In other words, have you profited, inasmuch as your own health is concerned,

000 from what you saw in Hunza?"

I'm glad to have the opportunity of answering this question. I believe the lessons I have learned in Hunza have already removed years from my appearance. I am healthier, more active and of happier countenance. I possess boundless energy and seldom tire.

Since my return from Hunza, I have drastically decreased my intake of cooked foods. In their place I am consuming as much as possible (depending upon my ability to make the change) of natural, unprocessed, uncooked foods. Today I say that the only excuse for eating cooked foods is that they taste good or have a nicer flavor and are pleasant and appetizing. But I do not believe any food is nutritionally improved by cooking, baking, frying or roasting. Again I repeat, you may improve its palatability, its flavor, its taste and its succulence . . . but you have positively not improved it nutritionally.

I believe that I can live to be 100 years old if I care to live that long . . . and if the good Lord is willing . . . by following the lessons learned in Hunza.

"If you are convinced that there are so many benefits in following the ways of the people of Hunza to health, why don't you start a crusade?"

114 Well, let's be sensible. Mrs. Lorimer did a very nice delineation on the people of Hunza in her writings. McCarrison did a terrific piece of work in showing people how, by following the health habits of the people of Hunza, they could maintain or regain their health. So did Wrench and J. I. Rodale, Unruh and others. But only a small segment of the people of the world—even among those who have read the books—followed the principles. What makes you think they would follow my admonitions and advice, any more than they did

000 those capable illustrious ones who wrote before me? I

am not a do-gooder or a crusader! Compliment me if you wish, and say I am Socratic in my efforts!

I'm pleased to have the opportunity to present the situation before you. If you believe that I can be trusted and that I am telling you the truth, then you can also maintain or regain health and live to a ripe old age . . . by following the simple, natural laws that are part of the Hunzan way of life.

I, today, believe that the chief reason for the people of the West not adopting and taking up the Hunzan way of life is because it's too much trouble. Since my return from Hunza, my wife complains that she has a lot more work to do in the kitchen than ever before. For example, I used to love soups. So she'd take all the vegetables she could lay her hands on, including barley, rice and cabbage . . . and either cut or uncut, she'd throw them all into the big stewing kettle, put in some salt and pepper, a chunk of meat or a bone . . . and a few hours later we'd have a big kettle of soup—enough to eat for a couple of days. That's right!

Now she has to gather together (seldom does one shop have them all) at least a dozen kinds of vegetables . . . but better, 15 or 20 . . . slice them all up into small pieces or grate them as she often does, including potatoes, beets, turnips and spinach and incorporate them into my uncooked, raw salad. It takes her hours to do a really good job. But I demand uncooked foods . . . and salads are one of the answers.

Then to fruits . . . before she would put a can into the electric can opener, the top would come off and she'd dump the contents into a bowl and put it on the table . . . and there was fruit or fruit salad in one and a half minutes flat from can to platter. Now I demand at least 12 different kinds of unprocessed fruits in my fruit salad and she has to dice them up, slice them or cut

them and it must be made fresh all the time. She says if I want to eat like a monkey, I should go to the zoo or into the jungle. I, in turn, tell her that the monkeys in the jungle wouldn't have any human being in their midst if they could avoid it.

But there it is, folks. To live like the people of Hunza would require a great effort and many changes in our habits. Perhaps now you can actually see what I mean. I can just visualize my wife, or yours, rubbing dried apricots in water to form a gruel, along with a bit of oatmeal or ground wheat that has been soaked from the night before. Sure, it's probably one of the healthiest meals in the world—but who's going to prepare it in the prescribed fashion in this modern day and age? Not your wife or mine, you can bet your boots!

In thinking back, I felt that there in Hunza was one place on the earth's remote vastness where man is not always challenging and fashioning nature to his own selfish liking. It is here that nature teaches a profound, abject lesson to all mankind. By seas of tumbling peaks and towering summits, she reminds him of his insignificance, lest he should get visions of his own grandeur.

Here, nature has truly marshalled her forces and has them piled willy-nilly, miles high, in a heap, so as to stagger even man's unsurmountable, egotistical opinion of his own powers.

Lest it be thought that I am making outlandish claims for the people of Hunza, I want to keep the record straight and in order. I don't know how you feel about figures and statistics . . . but it has been my experience that they usually reflect only that which the quoter of the statistics wants them to reflect.

If I go to a lecture or read a treatise, I want to be told or enlightened concerning the pros and cons of the topic. I, for example, judge a man's honesty as much

by what he omits as by what he states. In this instance I 000
am somewhat on the spot. I don't want to fall prey to the errors and omissions which I have condemned in others. I did pointedly seek and ask details concerning 164
the ailments of the people of Hunza. I did seek to find out the diseases that are unknown in Hunza. I also wanted to learn the diseases that are most common and that generally affect the health of the people. And here is the picture.

They have trouble with their eyes. They suffer from stomach disorders—chiefly dysentery and worms. They are subject to skin infections, fevers, weak lungs, goiter and dental caries. Whether or not you wish to attach any great importance to the maladies I have outlined above, I feel that I should explain one or two of the contributing factors.

Remember, the Hunza homes do not have chimneys. [354]
Besides, they have so little fuel that they don't want to waste any of the heat . . . and the smoke is allowed to escape only through a hole in the roof. I don't know if this affects their lungs. It probably would. But I know that it does cause most of the eye ailments.

Concerning stomach disorders, it may be possible that the ingestion of continuous quantities of mineral laden glacial waters contribute to this condition . . . but I am unable to state categorically if this is true.

Goiter and caries of the teeth have become a leading health problem. But these conditions were comparatively unknown when they used their native salt.

All through my travels in that area I did not come across one sick native. But that need not have any great significance, because sick people probably stay out of sight, and therefore they wouldn't come within range of my vision or my wanderings.

I must emphasize here that every man that I saw in

164 Hunza appeared to be the picture of health and contentment.

000 Since my return from Hunza I have become noticeably health-conscious. And I have been appalled by the number of sick, ill and ailing people around me. It is becoming rare and unusual to meet a person who will boldly say that he is in perfect health at 35 or 40 years of age. And is there a large mature-membered family about, who doesn't have one of its members ill, dying or dead from one of our many dread diseases?

No, I resent any insinuation on the part of anyone to the effect that I am overdramatizing or accentuating the picture or situation. I believe that every community in America has had additions or new hospitals built, and even with all that, they are unable to take care of the applicants who desire to enter them as patients.

No wonder people are interested in the "Healthy Hunzans."

Taking all factors under close observation and consideration, I have reached the conclusion that ours is a condition of ill health and that the people of Hunza enjoy good health. Whether it is due to their way of life, as compared to our manner of living, depends entirely upon what you are willing to accept. It is my conviction that we can enjoy the same health that the people of Hunza enjoy if we will live according to the rules and laws of nature—right here in America!

 [pp. 639-646 not processed]

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
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Hunza

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Incorporating Nature Magazine

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Vol. LXXII OCTOBER 1963 No. 8

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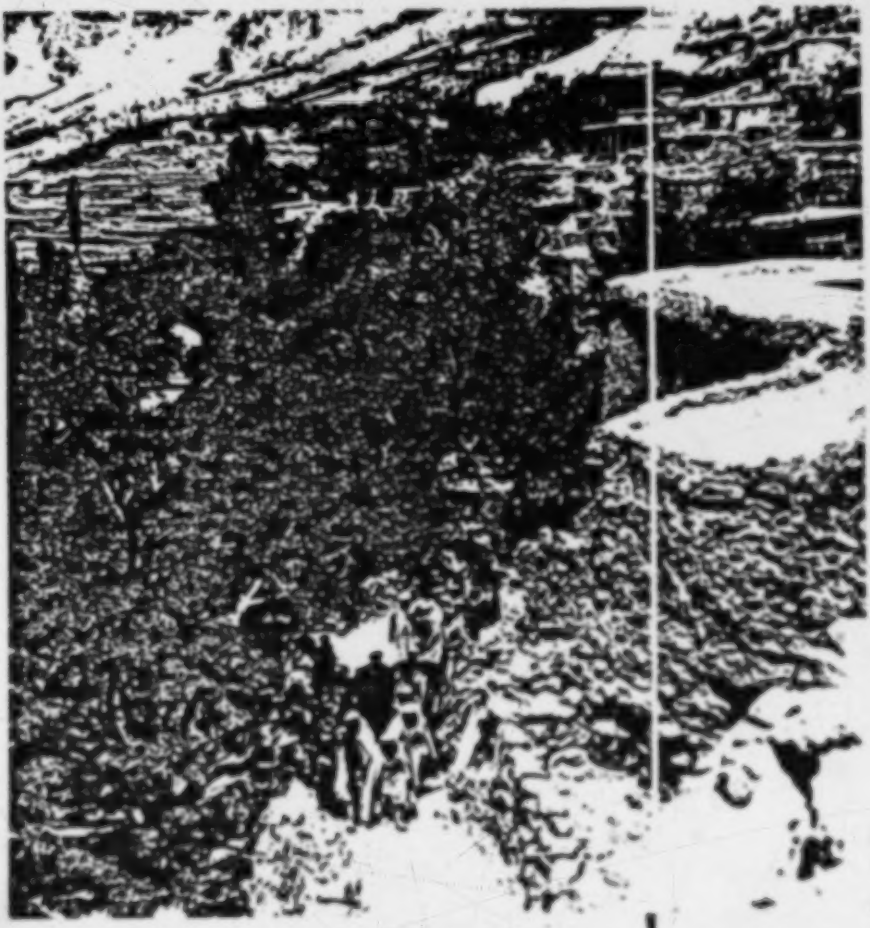

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[caption appears at the bottom of photograph on p. 39-A]

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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Hunza
[P.39-A]

Hunza in the Himalayas

Storied Shangri-La undergoes scrutiny

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TERRACED country, *left*, is ruled by the Mir, shown with village chiefs, above, at his palace at 8,000 feet altitude. Background peaks exceed 20,000 feet.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.39-B]

By JOHN CLARK

123 169 THE FOLLOWING IS AN ENTRY in my weathered notebook of a decade ago, written when, as an American living in the Himalayas in a run-down castle, I was operating an infirmary:

[526] "'Salaam aleikum, Hazoor! my trouble is very great,' said old Bohar. He raised his white-stubbled chin and pointed to the source of his pain.

"I looked and shuddered a little. Four oozing, open holes, each the diameter of a pencil, pierced his chin and jawbone. I asked him to open his mouth, and he complied, exposing a row of teeth worn absolutely flat. I ran my finger across his lower teeth; four were so loose that I was able to

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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Hunza

[P.39-C]

/23 pull them out with my fingers. Bohar
/169 gasped, then relaxed as the extraction permitted the abscesses at the roots to drain more freely."

/181 This was in Hunza, the small, moun-
/131 tainous, Central Asiatic kingdom
/121 bordering on China, Kashmir, and Afghanistan, about which there has been recurring publicity, characterizing the land as a Shangri-La peopled by men and women of extraordinary
/121 health and longevity. Since the beginning of man's role as a traveler, tales of far-off earthly paradises have been brought home to entertain the untraveled. No matter how many such El Dorados perish under examination, the next is inevitably welcomed into the lists with unblemished credulity.

[text continues on p. 40-B]

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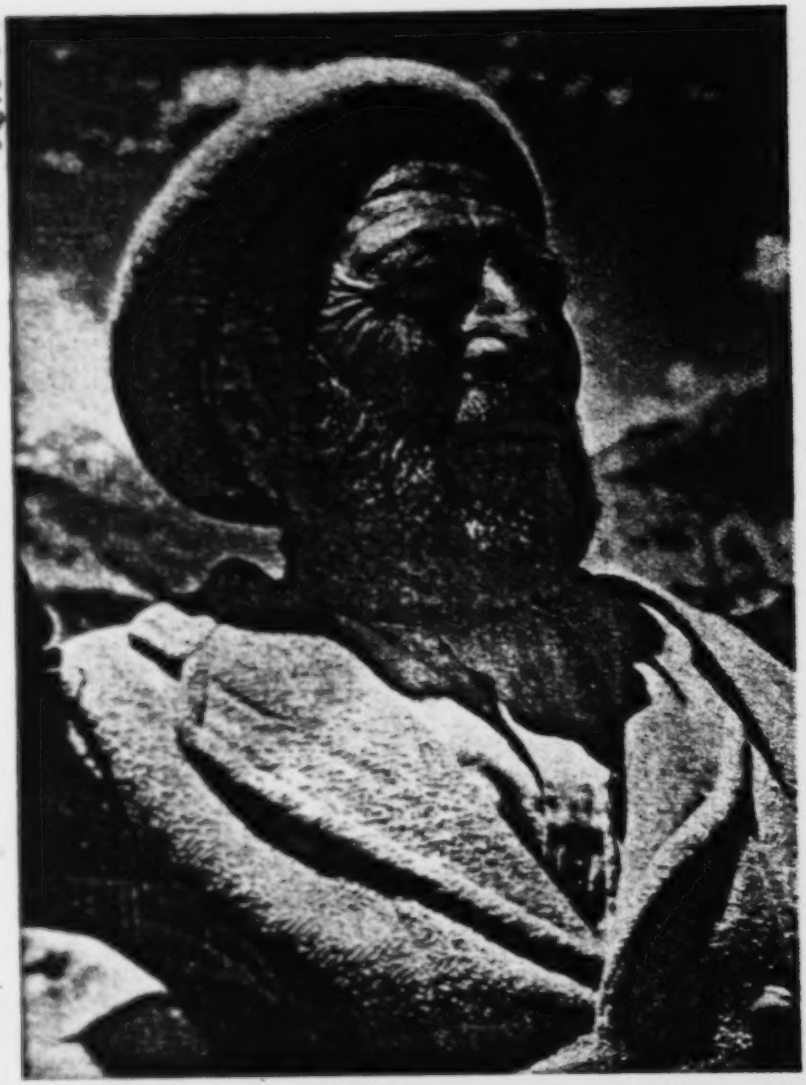

FABLED ELDERS of Hunza are products of rugged mountain life, scarcity, Moslem faith, and an autocratic tradition. If they exaggerate age, it is done to claim society's veneration.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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Hunza
[P 40-B]

121 In Hunza, say the romanticists, a race
[278] of Moslems—descended, according to their traditions, from the lost legions of Alexander the Great—exist in a Himalayan paradise, thrive on simple foods, live a life free of the corruptions of Western civilization, and reach ages of 120 to 140, the men still fathering children when more than 90 years of age. After being exposed to the realities of Hunza life, one feels more than a sense of irony when he comes upon these representations of a way of life that is among the bitterest in Asia. The "Healthy Hunzas," the "Democratic Court," and the "Land Where There Are No Poor" — almost all of this is born of too-hurried observation by Western tourists.

648 Politically, Hunza is a protectorate
284 of Pakistan, which controls its foreign

670 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
693 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[65] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
693 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
692 which consists of the Mir, his hereditary grand vizier, plus the Mir-appointed chiefs of all the villages within
[646] walking distance of the palace. However, since the loser usually pays a fine to the Mir's treasury, and the winner traditionally gives the court a present equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
693 (literally "Grandfather King") is spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

8.Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burushо AV7
[P 40-D] Hunza

796 gious sect to which all Hunzas belong:
693 the Mir of Hunza is administrator, but not religious deputy, for the Ismailians of the Central Asian District.

114 THE notes about Bohar and his teeth were made after I had worked with the Hunza people for almost three years during two prolonged stays in the small kingdom. I was introduced to this part of Asia as a reconnaissance engineer on General Stilwell's staff, and returned twice be-
114 tween 1943 and 1951. My primary
123 purpose as Director of the Central Asiatic Research Foundation was to discover what resources were available to the Hunzas, and to teach them to use these to their own best advantage. From the start of my second visit I operated a general dispensary with

[Text continues on p. 41-A]

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8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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[P. 41- A]

114 Western equipment. (Training in anat-
123 omy, some concentrated informal studies of Asian diseases, plus previous experience, made this possible for me. In addition, I ran three experimental gardens and founded a craft school, with the Mir's approval.)

164 Bohar had developed scurvy, after
146 which staphylococcus infected the
123 gums and abscessed the roots of his teeth; the abscesses had then eroded downward through the jawbone and out through the flesh and skin. After washing out the sores, I gave him vitamin C tablets to stop the scurvy, and vitamin D with calcium lactate to cure the rickets that were stiffening his knees. The old man was by no means
[152] atypical. My dispensary was always beset by lines of waiting patients, all with afflictions that belied popular beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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Hunza
[P. 41-B]

164 beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."
123 Altogether, I was able to treat 5,680
[243] medical cases—the country had no
other dispensary—during my stay in
164 Hunza. My daily group of patients did
not suffer from many of the diseases
[158] common to our civilization. There
were no true neurotics; no cases of
stomach ulcers, appendicitis, or gout;
only one case of cerebral hemorrhage,
[41] and but four cardiac cases. The few
[143] bad hearts had been damaged either
by malarial anemia or by overexertion at high altitudes, as was the case
with one man who had carried the
Mir's piano on his back up twenty
miles of mountain trail. On the other
hand, my Hunza patients did have
malaria. They also had at least two
kinds of intestinal worms, and to see
for the first time a man with *Ascaris*

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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[P.41-C]

164 worms impacted in his duodenum is appalling. The disease is more painful than the ulcers Hunzas do not have. Hunzas also suffer from trachoma, pneumonia, tuberculosis, a fatal type of dysentery, and violent staphylococcic infections of their eyes, teeth, and skin. I never observed cancer.

Total blindness, too, often afflicts the Hunzas and is caused by staphylococcus infections, cataracts, and pterygium. (More than five per cent of the population had trachoma.) I cannot forget the father who brought me his nine-year-old daughter with both her eyes horribly swollen from staphylococcus. They came the day after I had run out of antibiotics. The next shipment arrived by caravan two months later when the little girl was permanently blind.

[Text continues on p. 42-B]

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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[562] [584] MIR'S DAUGHTER, the Princess Nilofar, is spokesman for Hunza's women, who, despite public segregation and their low status, never are forced to marry against their will.

8-Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burumbo AV7
Hunza
[P.42-A]

FAMILY LIFE on Hunza's flat roofs bespeaks the country's dry climate and the cramped quarters that prevail inside a typical stone abode, forcing inhabitants to seek increased living space in the open. A meal is being prepared, *above*.

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125 One evening, I took a census of the
165 nine teen-age boys in my wood-carv-
[123] ing school. Of these, all from well-to-do households, how many had seen death in their immediate families?
165 Here was the roll:
551 Gohor Hayat: mother, three brothers, two sisters; Sherin Beg: one brother, one sister; Nur-ud-Din: mother, two brothers, two sisters; Md. Hamid: mother, one sister; Burhan Shah: one brother, one sister; Nasar Md.: mother, two brothers, one sister; Mullah Madut: two brothers; Suleiman: one brother; Ghulam Rasul: father. In a country fabled for the long lives of its inhabitants, these are depressingly typical Asian statistics.
165 Moreover, there is little reason to be-
576 lieve that any of the old men are really as old as is claimed.

"How old are you?" I once asked a venerable patient.

"Ninety, Hazoor!" he answered.

"How do you know you're ninety?"

"Well, Hazoor, my hair is white, and I know I'm very old, and ninety is very old, so I must be ninety."

[124] My teen-aged assistant, Gohor Hayat, broke in impatiently, "Why do you waste time asking such questions?
[217] You know there are no records, be-
[212] cause so few of my people can write!"

I had thought the old man might have a way of keeping count. "How old are you, Gohor Hayat?" I asked.

Gohor Hayat responded loftily, "I'm

[text continues on p. 43-C]

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963

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[P.42-C]

Hunza

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Craftsmen like this weaver are not numerous in Hunza; the demanding mountain economy requires the full-time effort of the society to raise food.

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
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Hunza

[P43-A]

SCENE MORE TYPICAL of neighboring Gilgit than of Hunza is this one showing boys at a community fountain. Until a short time ago, little if any pipe had been available in Hunza. Water, called "glacial milk," comes from ice sheets.

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8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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Hunza

[P.43-B]

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GRINDING of barley and wheat, above, is done by centuries-old technique.

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CHAPATTIES are the end product of the country's milling and baking.

165 seventeen." Two years before he had
856 told me he was thirteen.

165 Because the Hunzas, themselves,
[117] have no written records, I attempted to
[128] estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

165 THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered
145 firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age
[146] in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance, a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

262 "Purity" has been attributed to the
[214] Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad.
[272] Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter, round out the

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The
[273] grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

796 Tumushuling, the great winter cele-
585 bration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom, accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door, which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan
[43] from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do
[492] marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home, leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival.
[493] The Mir gives a small gift, usually a
[90] piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

515 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza
583 marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride.

[P44-A]

587 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the reported chief of the house, as the father is of the
[5A] farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it: men
[562] spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushaling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two; cold weather
[25] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it is virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[149] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
295 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
829 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their houses, as lamps of this type have done since the
829 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[278] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[762] ally a disappointed woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

[P44-B]

164 146 into the "fine, barrel chests" reported by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the fine, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 161 [10] The basic trouble rests not with the Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and hard-working, but with their country. There is no flat land in all of Hunza.

[36] [31] Villages and farms are built on alluvial cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

[67]

311 241 Hunza's slopes are so steep they must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-calked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 311 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders, gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a cool but exceedingly dry desert, practically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any traces of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

[33] [13]

134 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If
311 you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

241 HUNZAS are skillful at building a
134 limited fertility into their sterile
[237] material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain ozone to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrates, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 Even the most painstaking hydro-
241 ponic gardening cannot compensate
237 for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy.
[233] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefuly herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 Unfortunately, the human popula-
161 tion has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient
167 food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Sheena predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men
[64] join the Pakistan army. Others take
[164] work as servants, where their honesty,
[181] industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

[P.45]

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[662]

Consumption of wedding ceremonies is enjoyed exclusively by male participants and spectators. Segregation of the sexes prohibits women, including brides, from viewing ceremonies. On many public occasions, women hold a separate gathering.

Lorimer 7-8 (1920-4; 1934-8) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India. It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

* *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

[pp 1-4 contain no textual material]

NOTE

121 THIS is not a serious book. Comparative philologists hoping for news of Burushaski, anthropologists interested in the highly civilized though materially primitive life of the Burusho of Hunza, ethnologists curious as to their origin, the scientifically-minded of every sort, are once for all referred to the published and to the yet unpublished books and articles of my husband, Lieutenant-Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer, late of the Indian Army and the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, hereinafter referred to as David or DL.

121 114 I have been concerned merely to set down our personal day-to-day experiences—they do not merit the name of adventures—and our first impressions of the delightful people who for fourteen months in 1934–35 were our neighbours and our friends.

The journey to and from Hunza and the semi-camp life there had at an earlier period been the commonplace, all-in-the-day's-work life of ourselves for four years (1920–24), as of a long series of other Political Agents and their wives both before and after us. The only thing that lent a spice of adventure to this last tour was our delightful freedom from all official responsibility, and our age. Changes of climate and altitude, shortages of food and sleep, fatigues of travel, at which one smiles at forty present a graver challenge to fifty-five.

120 The triumph of our elderly excursion lies not alone in the sheaves carried home by DL, but in the fact that we both came back more than a little battered, it must be confessed, but still smiling; and treasuring memories which are worth incomparably more than the price exacted.

121 My excuse for writing so superficial—perhaps worthless—a book at all must be that it has made me happy to recall this silver honeymoon spent in the Karakoram and to pay a tribute to our hospitable and beloved Hunzukuts as they were in 1935, as they must have been for uncounted generations in the past, as they may be for generations yet to come, if the poverty

NOTE

/2/ and inaccessibility of their country happily keep them safely quarantined against "the sick fatigue, the languid doubt," the unrest and fear and hustle of our civilization.

For the map I am indebted to DL; the illustrations are my own.

E. O. LORIMER

UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB

April 1938

P. 6

1.6 1.8 England I settled down first to translating the texts and working out the vocabulary, and then to an intensive comparative study of every word and every grammatical form occurring in my material. On this basis I then prepared and annotated the Texts and drew up the Grammar and Vocabulary as they now stand. This took in all four and a half years, from January 1926 to June 1930.

I have dwelt at some length on my methods of work, because without such knowledge it is impossible for the reader to form any just estimate of the degree of authority to which the book can lay claim. For the same reason I have made a free use of question marks in the Vocabulary and elsewhere to indicate points in regard to which my information is uncertain. I hope I have stated nothing as a fact except on reasonably adequate grounds.

1.4 The whole edifice stands essentially on the foundation of Jemadar Imam Yar Beg's Burushaski, a foundation the general reliability of which I think no one in Hunza would dream of questioning. But this statement requires serious qualification: it is IYB's Burushaski as affected by the misheanings and misunderstandings of the recorder. That there are such I have not the slightest doubt. I am only surprised that the substance of the Texts has worked out so homogeneous and, as I have now some ground for believing, so correct.

A special word of warning should be given in regard to the Phonetics. I am myself no phonetician and made no constant systematic attempt to distinguish by all means at my command between different sounds which sooner or later I knew to exist, but could not myself certainly distinguish. This applies specially to the two parallel series of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates. Many cerebrals and aspirates may have escaped undetected; I can only say that where a sound is marked as cerebral or aspirate, it may safely be assumed to be such.

1.21 My general aim in the preparation of this work is now sufficiently evident; it is simply to give a perfectly objective view of what I was able to ascertain about the language. I have created a hypothesis

3c Lorimer L-S (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

only where it seemed necessary to attain brevity and clarity in the statement of facts. Such is my theory of the initial *-a- of many nouns and verbal bases, and the combination of it with the pronominal prefixes. Otherwise I have avoided speculation in realms outside my competence. I have raised no questions of the relationship between Burushaski and other languages and I have also intentionally omitted to point out many parallels in grammatical usage and idiom between Burushaski and the adjacent, though non-related, languages Shina and Khowar. In the Vocabulary on the other hand I have noted when the same word, or obviously a form of the same word, is in use in those languages. I have done this because I believe that many of these Shina and Khowar words have not before been recorded, and even when they have been, will not always be readily accessible to the reader.

As I have eschewed questions of relationship, so for still better reasons I have abstained from any attempt to propound linguistic theories of a more general nature. With less certain virtue I have also failed to supply any new grammatical terminology. Another terminology than that of my boyhood's reminiscences of Latin Grammar is certainly needed to describe the phenomena of Burushaski. I do not know that such exists, and I have thought it wise to leave this thorny matter to hardened experts and not to complicate the issues by amateur attempts which would only prove a stone of offence.

The principal work that remains to be done for Burushaski as I see it is:

1. To make a scientific determination of the phonetic system.
2. To clear up existing grammatical problems and to discover more.
3. To ascertain the relative frequency of various syntactical usages. Some which in my material occur rarely are probably in fact common enough.
4. To make a parallel study of Nagiri Burushaski and local variations in phonetics and vocabulary.

&Lorimer L-3 (1920-4;1934-5) 1935
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PREFACE.

The following Vocabularies are based on the material collected in 1923—24, to which reference has been made in the Introduction, Volume I (pp. lvi. ff.), and were completed in 1930—31. 122 128

Thanks to assistance received from the Leverhulme Research Fund, I was able to revisit Gilgit and Hunza in 1934—35, and I then collected a considerable amount of new material.

Of this practically nothing has been incorporated in the present work. The additions, in the way both of new entries and of the elaboration of the existing entries, would have been considerable, and their preparation would have entailed great delay in publication. As matters stand I have not yet worked out the new material[1], and this has saved me from much temptation. 128

The revision of the *Burushaski—English Vocabulary* as it already existed, was, however, one of the many items of a too ambitious programme, which I did carry out, if only in a hasty and perfunctory way.

For this work I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Qudratullah Beg (QUB), son of Subadar Muhabbatullah Beg, a literate and extremely intelligent young man, with a remarkable feeling for language and the refinements of phonetics. [115]

A thorough examination of the forms, meanings and uses of the words in even this very modest vocabulary would have been a major task requiring an almost infinite amount of time. I had therefore 128 121

[1] Attention may, however, be called to a note on certain features of Burushaski published in the BSOS Vol. VIII, 1936, pp. 627—636, which throws light on some grammatical and phonetic devices of the language.

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128 to restrict my aims to improving the phonetic representation of
121 the words, principally in regard to distinguishing cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates, and to clearing up doubts indicated by question marks in the original script, which chiefly related to noun-categories and to plural and pronominal-prefix forms, but also sometimes to meanings. Even these limited aims were not completedly realised; many forms and queries escaped notice or otherwise resisted determination.

128 One point resulting from this revision may be noted. The keyword as given in the Vocabulary, or the first form, where alternatives are offered, is the representation of the word, which from all information available I believe to be the correct one. Many words are misspelt, as regards cerebrals and aspirates, in the Grammar and Texts, which were in print before this revision was carried out. No attempt has been made to correct them in the quotations given in the Vocabulary. The reader is therefore asked to concentrate his mind on the keyword forms.

It will be observed that among the meanings given Arabic and Persian words frequently occur, to all which "H" (Hindustani) has been prefixed. This is for the sake of simplification and because explanations were usually given in Hindustani (or Urdu) in which these words are current.

Occasionally another Burushaski word is quoted under the description "Bu. Syn." (Burushaski Synonym). This is not to be taken as meaning that the one word exactly duplicates the other in meaning, but only that the second was used to explain the first.

This volume began to go to press while I was still in Hunza, and Professor Morgenstierne very generously undertook the unpleasant task of working my emendations into the earlier part of the script and revising the proofs of the first few sheets. This resulted in a very considerable saving of time.

I regret to have to append a lengthy list of corrections and additions. These are due in large part to the upsetting effect of growing knowledge and the alterations in the text which it entailed,

& Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935
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For the rest I can only hope that they may be attributed to physical limitations rather than to economy of endeavour on my part. I have made a vast number of corrections in the proofs, but unfortunately this is a case where anything short of complete achievement acquires no merit. 128

I have made no effort to turn this into a comparative philological dictionary, a task beyond my competence, but I have aimed at indicating obvious loan-words, for the benefit of those who may approach Burushaski with a mininum knowledge of other oriental languages 121 192

The bulk of these loan-words will be found to be Arabic-Persian, i.e. Arabic words current in Persian, most of which have probably been acquired, more or less indirectly, from the latter language. 192

The original source of dissemination of Persian in all this part of the world has undoubtedly been the language of the Tajik population of the plains of what is now known as Tajikistan in USSR territory. This Tajik Persian is now beginning to receive attention (Cp. W. Lentz, "Pamir Dialekte, I" Göttingen, 1933, Introd. pp. 31 ff. and H. Sköld, "Materalien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen", Lund 1936, Introd. pp. 8 ff.). Work has been done on it in recent years by Soviet scholars, but copies of their publications are not easy to obtain. [113]

What proportion of the Persian words recorded by me in Burushaski are familiar to all Burushaski speakers, I cannot definitely say. Illiterate and untravelled men and most of the women would not, I think use, or know, many Persian words for which there are adequate Burushaski equivalents. Against this, every child in Hunza seemed to know the word *tasvir* for "photograph". It was a very old man who, when he had lost or damaged his portrait, asked if he could have another copy of the *girmisum*, the "script".

Other non-adjacent languages which have been laid under contribution are Hindustani and Punjabi.

With Tibetan I have no direct acquaintance but I have noted a few words in Burushaski which can be found in the standard Tibetan dictionaries.

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AV7 Burushaski AV7

Preface

Apart from indicating undoubted loan-words, often to me of unknown origin, which are shared by Burushaski with one or more of the neighbouring languages, I have made no attempt to pronounce on the authenticity of those words which *primâ facie* appear to be true Burushaski. Sanskrit cognates have been suggested for some of them by Professor Morgenstierne. 192 121

One important question remains to which I can give no precise or certain answer: What proportion do the Burushaski words in this Vocabulary bear to the total word-stock of the language? When I returned to Hunza in 1934 one of my hopes was to record sufficient new words to make my collection fairly complete as regards words in daily use and known to everyone. I was well aware that the still popular belief that peoples living in primitive conditions must possess simple languages and employ small vocabularies had been abundantly disproved by facts, but I had not realised what a lengthy business it is to collect and adequately record even a few hundred words after the first couple of thousand in constant daily use have been noted. How many new words I actually recorded I have no idea, but I am certain that they will go only a short way towards making the vocabulary complete. I could always easily get new words, the difficulty was to find time to have them elucidated and to write them down. 192

Burushaski possesses a large number of nouns of a technical nature relating to all the ordinary occupations of life, which, given time, can be ascertained by observation and enquiry, but it also appears to be very rich in verbs, and these are not so easily and quickly discovered by any direct method.

The *Werchikwar—English Vocabulary* remains much as it was when it was originally compiled. In 1934—35 I made several efforts to bring Werchikwar-speakers to Hunza to work with me there, but failed to secure competent men. The principal result was disappointment and wasted time. Eventually I paid a visit to Yasin and found an old acquaintance, with whom I worked there and whom I brought back to Hunza and kept with me for a few 126

that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

121 and of course the kinds and varieties of foods that were used, I attached great importance to this phase of my trip and I was definitely determined that, come what might, this information I would have thoroughly and in detail.

124 No doubt it would have been an advantage had I been able to speak either Urdu, or better still Burushaski, so that I could frame my questions as I saw fit and have answers that would be direct and would not require translation. However, that was not possible. Still, I had no reason to believe that my interpreter would not be a forthright individual who would give me the answers that were relayed to him clearly and to the point.

Mind you, I was seeking no miracle or world panacea. I wanted to find out the simple truth!

Further, I wanted to walk from farm to farm . . . that is, just selecting one at random here and there. I wanted to view the farmer's activities, study his soil and examine it, ask a few questions and thus, I could gather the information that I wanted and which was so vital to me.

344 644 The old palace proved to be in a good state of preservation. I wondered, because of its good condition, why someone didn't live there. Many of the rooms were still furnished. There were even rugs and tapestries placed and hung in their original positions.

[126] When we climbed to the top of the castle—that is, to the roof where I snapped many photos—it seemed mighty high and overlooked everything around us. But [133] in the distance were mountains that were well over 20,000 feet—and that is no exaggeration, but more likely an understatement.

There was a railing around this upper balcony and from this balcony you could walk into other chambers.

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

question, the error was cleared up. 128

Remember, I do not claim to be a Sherlock Holmes 124
or smart enough to detect by scent or otherwise an untruth or misunderstanding, so they may crop up in various places in the book.

Long before I left home I had prepared a set of queries. Among them were things for me to investigate —places, customs and chores for me to see and do. And from all this I was to make my own values and estimates as to the validity of the claims made about Hunza and its people. I tried to cover every aspect of importance and interest and I believe that, with very few exceptions, I faithfully accomplished my mission.

In preparation for the trip I read every book I could 122
find or locate that involved Hunza and in each case 114
the author had done a credible job, but most of them had failed miserably to give sufficient information—at least, for me—because 'twas information that I wanted. I wanted to know more about the agriculture of Hunza, about the health of the people, about their methods, their means and their way of life. None of the authors gave much of that vital data.

Right from the first moment that I made plans to go 121
to Hunza I decided that, if I wrote a book, it would 114
contain the most complete, the most detailed and the most thorough study of the people of Hunza yet accomplished by any writer. This determination came upon me from the frustrations I felt when I read the available books on Hunza and was left with a feeling that only the surface of the subject had been scratched.

In my endeavors to fulfill this undertaking, I have spared neither time, effort, risk nor expense. I certainly don't want my readers to be left with the feeling that all about Hunza has not been told. I definitely realize that no one in a short few weeks or even months could

•121 learn all there is to know about these most unusual
114 people. At least I wanted to learn the answers to the many questions that come into the average individual's mind.

Therefore, it is my hope that I have not failed in these positive respects.

If my narrative is not everything that you hoped and expected, I sincerely trust that I will make up in the details and information of an authentic nature that I give to you concerning these remarkable people.

142 The facial features of the people of Hunza are most striking. They are invariably finer featured than the people of the West—more angular, more clearly outlined and defined, without being harsh or bold. Their facial characteristics can best be described by the phrase "finely, delicately chiseled physiognomy" . . . like the intricate creations of a gifted sculptor.

Whether because of the rugged outdoor life they lead or because of the tanning or curing process of their smoke-filled homes during the winter, the texture of their skin is quite unusual. I think I can describe it best if I say that their faces looked as though they were made out of smooth chamois.

I was struck by the similarity of the features of the people of Hunza. In the West, everybody you meet or know doesn't look like anyone else that you know. In fact, if you do happen to come across someone who has the likeness or features similar to those of someone else you know, you're immediately struck by that resemblance, which illustrates my point. In the Western world, there is a wide divergence of facial features and characteristics. In Hunza that does not hold true.

A little thought will establish the reason for this
[143] situation. Intermarriage during the centuries must have been the order of the day because of the confining nature of their homeland.

nature of their homeland.

However, the Mir pointed out to me most clearly and emphatically that intermarriage among members of one tribe is absolutely forbidden. There are four tribes in the Baltit area and they can marry among these four tribes . . . Diramiting, Khorokoch, Borong, Barataling . . . but definitely not among their own tribe.

Lest this sounds like a difficult matter to hold in check, I want to explain that this is easier to control than may be imagined, for the simple reason that all marriages must be sanctioned and performed by the Mir. Therefore he positively knows who is marrying whom.

However, even if this has been the rule for many hundreds of years, the total population of Hunza, even today, stands at something less than 25,000 souls and Lord Curzon in his memoirs states that in 1894, the total population of Hunza was only 6,000. Therefore, among so small a population, it is almost impossible for them to marry very far beyond a family relationship. (In 1934 it was estimated that the population had risen to 15,000.)

Let's put it in another way. If the people of Hunza have remained more or less a pure people for nigh on 1,000 years and the population today is only 25,000, there must have been fairly close intermarriages. Perhaps that would, as I mentioned, account for the similarity of features.

I want to stress, at this point, that I came to Hunza primarily to learn and study (1) about their health and longevity and (2) about their means and methods of agriculture.

Let's examine or re-examine a few of the more pertinent details of their unusual country.

Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River

CHAPTER 56

2000 Years of Bread!

256 One of the Things that I did want to witness with my own eyes was the feeding and operation of a flour mill in Hunza. Apart from all of the other important and interesting data that I had hoped to gather while in this part of the world, the operation of the wheat mill was one that to me had great portent. I wanted to see the wheat actually going into the mill and coming out as flour.

000 Bread is said to be the staff of life. Well, whether it is or not remains a moot question. But to me at least, bread is important. I always have been a big bread eater.

121 262 Now it was only during the past few years that by reading and learning I found out how useless or even harmful the pleasant white loaf that we know in America is and can be. Having a fair idea about the health record as it exists in America and knowing the kind of

bread we eat, I was greatly interested when I heard about the people of Hunza and then found out that they eat only bread that is made from whole grain.

Then, when the same books or facts brought to light that the people of Hunza knew few of the world's ills, my interest was aroused to almost a fever pitch. I wondered if there was any connection between the kind of bread that we ate and our health and the kind of bread they ate in Hunza and their health.

From my own observations I also learned that wheat was the most important crop in Hunza, with the exception of apricots. I have also tried to establish which was the first domesticated grain in the annals of human history and I have not been able to establish clearly whether it was wheat or millet. But wheat is more adaptable to the temperate zones, whereas millet leans more to the warmer climes and it is clearly established that wheat is preferred by the white races.

I soon learned that there was a flour mill that functioned regularly, located on the route that we took from the palace at Baltit to the old palace or old fort. So on one of my walks I made it a point to investigate thoroughly the location, the workings and the construction of this old mill.

On my way up when we stopped at Chalt I saw one of these mills in operation, but I did not actually see the grain being made into flour.

For a man who has spent most of his life in the country and on a farm, I feel embarrassed to admit that I had never seen a flour mill in operation before.

During the past quarter of a century, or even a longer period, milling has, generally speaking, come into the hands of large corporations and that is why, I assume, I got it into my head that milling was a complicated big-time operation that required a great investment

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 43

The Happy Hunzans

MY CHIEF OBJECTIVE in going to Hunza was to try, first, to find out if the people of Hunza were as healthy and as long lived as many writers and reports claim them to be. 121 164

Secondly, if they were the healthy specimens of mankind that the writers said, then I wanted to find out how this came about!

I don't claim to have any special perceptive powers, but the moment I arrived in Gilgit, I resolved that all of my faculties would be centered on observing the why's and wherefore's bearing on the health of these people.

I didn't have to be a very keen observer to realize quickly that in Gilgit the Hunzan aura of health did not hold. But remember, that was in Gilgit.

Gilgit reminded me very much of the typical frontier towns as we knew them in America, except Gilgit 361

361 didn't just spring up overnight. By the appearance of
[342] the stone and mud houses, as well as all other features about the city, it was obvious that the city had been there for a long, long time.

Gilgit is indeed a strange city. It is one of these places that is right in the middle of nowhere, but to that mountain-harnessed area, Gilgit is a mighty important, strategic spot. Somehow I had the feeling that if there was a place called the "crossroads of the East" Gilgit had the sole right to the appellation, for through Gilgit would pass caravans from China, as well as travelers from Russia, Afghanistan, Persia, India, Pakistan and yes, undoubtedly from all other parts of the Eastern world.

000 While I did see quite a bit of the city and the surrounding country, I regret today that I didn't dig a little deeper and get about even more. I think Gilgit has many interesting stories to tell . . . how could it be otherwise? And if I ever go back (and I intend to) I would like to be the one who brings these tales to light!

• 121 The Gilgitis, from a health standpoint or from ap-
[164] pearance in general, did not impress me one bit. The people were somewhat similar to what you would find or expect in Pakistan or India. However, the moment I crossed the bridge over the Gilgit River and got into the hills, I resolved to concentrate, coldly and with deliberate calculation, on every individual we met. So many confusing and contradicting statements had been made about the people of Hunza, that I was firmly resolved that if study and scrutinization and observation would do the trick, then I would find out the truth.

124 Akbar was keeping pace with Cecil most of the time, while Sherin was with me, and I questioned him closely about every person that we happened to meet or pass. I had no trouble—none whatsoever—in spotting a Hun-

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 71

Misconceptions

121 THIS CHAPTER I find the hardest of all the chapters in
114 the book to write.

So many gross errors or misrepresentations concerning Hunza have been given widespread publicity that I felt it was high time these errors were corrected.

It is established that a writer or a speaker who makes statements must stand behind the statements that he makes. That is all well and good in such instances and cases where the truth can be readily verified by means of encyclopedias, dictionaries or other reliable sources of information.

197 Inasmuch as Hunza is concerned, this definitely is not possible. To begin with, the language, Burushaski, is spoken only by the people in Hunza, Nagir and in a small area thereabouts. Dr. Berger in his intimate studies and broad travels has come upon only one other spot on the earth's surface where a similar tongue is

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.39-C]

123 pull them out with my fingers. Bohar
164 gasped, then relaxed as the extraction permitted the abscesses at the roots to drain more freely."

101 This was in Hunza, the small, moun-
131 tainous, Central Asiatic kingdom
121 bordering on China, Kashmir, and Afghanistan, about which there has been recurring publicity, characterizing the land as a Shangri-La peopled by men and women of extraordinary
121 health and longevity. Since the beginning of man's role as a traveler, tales of far-off earthly paradises have been brought home to entertain the untraveled. No matter how many such El Dorados perish under examination, the next is inevitably welcomed into the lists with unblemished credulity.

[text continues on p. 40-B]

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P 90-B]

•121 In Hunza, say the romanticists, a race
[279] of Moslems—descended, according to their traditions, from the lost legions of Alexander the Great—exist in a Himalayan paradise, thrive on simple foods, live a life free of the corruptions of Western civilization, and reach ages of 120 to 140, the men still fathering children when more than 90 years of age. After being exposed to the realities of Hunza life, one feels more than a sense of irony when he comes upon these representations of a way of life that is among the bitterest in Asia. The "Healthy Hunzas," the "Democratic Court," and the "Land Where There Are No Poor" — almost all of this is born of too-hurried observation by Western tourists.

648 Politically, Hunza is a protectorate
206 of Pakistan, which controls its foreign

Chapter 5

A DREAM COMES TRUE

122 THOUGH happily occupied with his other language work, David was pondering sadly on how much Burushaski there was yet to learn; how many questions of custom, beliefs, etc., he had not been able to pursue; how many knotty problems could only be resolved by a visit to Hunza and a study of peasant life on the spot. We toyed with the idea; it haunted us; it lured us. But a military pension in a post-War world, with a daughter still at school, could not by any arithmetical juggling be made to finance a private expedition to the Karakoram. Then luck took a hand. An elderly maiden aunt in Scotland, whose very existence David had almost forgotten, on whom we had no claim and from whom we had no "expectations," came to die, and left a small legacy. Prudence might suggest investing it, but what is the annual income from a couple of hundred pounds, which may at any moment be "converted" into even less? Common sense pointed out that this was not nearly enough for so long and expensive a journey and a lengthy stay. It wasn't. Then luck once more took a hand. One day we read in *The Times* of the new Leverhulme Research Fellowships for advanced workers, who lacked means or opportunity to complete a piece of research already begun. Not for some days did the idea dawn on us that perhaps David might come into the category of possible "fellows."

We pooh-poohed it to each other. The research would need to be on the line of pulverizing atoms, or curing cancer, or curving space, or liquefying air, or adding another span to already useless lives; it could hardly cover research into the speech and life of the Burusho of Hunza. Yet while laughing at the thought that our work could seriously engage the atten-

tion of the Leverhulme Trustees, DL decided to lay his 122
programme and his financial problems before them. We could hardly believe our eyes or ears when we found that he was one of the first seventeen fortunate workers to be awarded a fellowship for which there had been four hundred applicants. We wasted some sympathetic philosophizings on the 383, and then began to think. There was a lot to think of.

It would take time to make preliminary arrangements, and while these were going forward DL attended lectures on Anthropology at London University, since clearly the anthropological approach to our task would be the most helpful, though his interest was primarily linguistic. We were both reasonably widely read in the subject, but in Professor Malinowski's lectures and seminars at the London School of Economics he got encouragement and stimulus, as well as new and useful points of view, and made many valuable acquaintances. In the interval various negotiations were proceeding. Would the Government of India permit an ex-Political Officer to return and settle for a year or more unofficially in his successor's bailiwick? Would the present Political Agent have enough faith to raise no objection? Would the Mir of Hunza, firm friend though he had always been, welcome the proceeding? The suggestion was entirely unprecedented. Retired officials do not come back.

> Our sons inherit us, our looks are strange,
> And we should come like ghosts to trouble joy.

Obviously an indiscreet ex-Political Agent might raise all kinds of trouble. Could all these parties be convinced that DL's interests were wholly scientific? Could they believe that he would show tact and detachment enough to cause no disturbance in the happy but always delicate relations between the Mir and his people, the Political Agent and the Mir?

To everybody's credit—not least, perhaps, to the memories of goodwill and understanding that DL had left behind him—Government opposed no objection, while the Mir and the Political Agent, Major Gillan, offered a cordial welcome; but all this varied correspondence took time.

A DREAM COMES TRUE

122 We were grateful for what was ultimately accorded: permission to go at all; to use the Government rest-houses *en route*, subject, of course, to the prior claims of officers travelling on duty; to draw supplies on payment from depots of the Indian Army Service Corps (more familiarly known to us by its original name of the Supply and Transport Department); to bring in kit and equipment duty free. This was a very great deal.

I seem perhaps to be dwelling rather sordidly on money matters, but despite the generosity of the aunt and the Leverhulme, we were going to have to exercise the utmost economy at every step if we were to avoid bankruptcy. A minor deficit we might hope to make good by spartan retrenchment on our return—though our normal way of life left little room for more spartanism—but a major deficit would be a disaster. And the expenses ahead were impossible to estimate.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 5. To complete the vocabulary and to collect obsolete and obsolescent words. There are a multitude of general terms to be collected, while there is undoubtedly an immense field of "technical" terms, in the widest sense, to be covered.

In this last task the most fruitful line of approach will be by the way of anthropological interests and anthropological methods. Burushaski also appears to have a great facility in the metaphorical use of specific words, especially verbs. These uses can only be educed with time, patience and experience.

To these various subjects for enquiry, except the first, I now hope to be able to make some contribution.

114 Self-determination and luck have brought me again, after ten
●122 years, to the land of the Burusho, in the midst of whom, at Aliabad in Hunza EOL and I are now living. This luck I owe "first", as they would say here "to the grace of God", and then to the "kindness" of the Trustees of the Leverhulme Research Fellowship Fund, who have granted me substantial financial assistance. It is a short time spent again with Burushaski-speakers that has enabled me to say above that the Texts and Grammar appear to be generally sound beyond my dreams. This does not at all mean that they are impeccable.

How much can now be done will again be governed by the time factor — the harvest is ripe, but the labourers are few.

But this is anticipating.

000 Meanwhile in what concerns the present work there remains to me the pleasure of paying many debts of very genuine gratitude. To the Tham of Hunza, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E., I have paid my tribute in the Dedication. To him I owe much personal kindness and hospitality and also the services of IYB over a long period. The Burushaski of the Dedication, I may say, has been constrained with much expert advice to an unprecedented use.

Next I have to thank my active collaborators, to whom ultimately everything is due, Jemadar Imam Yar Beg, Inayat Ullah Beg,

5:Lorimer L-3 (1920-4;1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

PREFACE.

The following Vocabularies are based on the material collected in 1923—24, to which reference has been made in the Introduction, Volume I (pp. lvi. ff.), and were completed in 1930—31. 122 128

Thanks to assistance received from the Leverhulme Research Fund, I was able to revisit Gilgit and Hunza in 1934—35, and I then collected a considerable amount of new material.

Of this practically nothing has been incorporated in the present work. The additions, in the way both of new entries and of the elaboration of the existing entries, would have been considerable, and their preparation would have entailed great delay in publication. As matters stand I have not yet worked out the new material[1], and this has saved me from much temptation. 128

The revision of the *Burushaski—English Vocabulary* as it already existed, was, however, one of the many items of a too ambitious programme, which I did carry out, if only in a hasty and perfunctory way.

For this work I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Qudratullah Beg (QUB), son of Subadar Muhabbatullah Beg, a literate and extremely intelligent young man, with a remarkable feeling for language and the refinements of phonetics. [115]

A thorough examination of the forms, meanings and uses of the words in even this very modest vocabulary would have been a major task requiring an almost infinite amount of time. I had therefore 128 121

[1] Attention may, however, be called to a note on certain features of Burushaski, published in the BSOS Vol. VIII, 1936, pp. 627—636, which throws light on some grammatical and phonetic devices of the language.

CHAPTER 28

Old Baltit Fort

SOME TIME BEFORE 6 o'clock in the morning a tray containing a huge pot of tea, cups, sugar and biscuits was brought into our room and placed on a table between our beds. The servant quietly departed.

Friend Cecil[1] was feeling much better this morning and wanted to get up and about, but the doctor had ordered that he remain in bed.

So, sharp at 8 o'clock, after saying good morning and cheerio to Cecil, I trotted down the stairs. At the landing there was young Jahangir waiting for me. I had made a rendezvous with him for this time—the thought being that we should have breakfast together so as to give less trouble to the Mir or his household.

The doctor came up a moment later and said that he would go up and visit his patient and would meet us at the Mir's table.

Both the Mir and the Rani were expecting us and

1 [i.e. Cecil Brunton - Analyst].

after the usual greetings, he asked how Cec was doing. 122

"He seems to be quite a bit better today!"

"I'm awfully sorry he had to leave last night," said the Mir.

I didn't think he'd even noticed it—but he had.

"The doctor is up visiting him now," I told him. "He said he would join us in a few minutes."

"What does he usually have for breakfast?" the Mir asked me.

"Oatmeal, poached or soft boiled eggs, toast, jam and coffee would be wonderful if they are available."

"Not only is it available," said the Mir, "it is ready, for that is part of the breakfast we usually prepare for our guests. It will be taken up to him immediately."

A signal and a few words in Burushaski and Cecil's breakfast was well on its way up.

So we had breakfast in the dining room and chatted 124
and I sought to make every moment count by asking questions that were vital to me . . . that is, questions about Hunza.

I am quite sure that the Rani understood most of [191]
the things that we talked about. She could not have been shamming as she looked both interested and charming while the conversation went on.

"I have arranged for an interpreter to accompany 124
you on your trips and you can go wherever you like, 115
providing you can get through and the roads are open," 191
the Mir told us.

Shortly after, Sultan Ali appeared. He was the schoolmaster and also taught the Mir's children at home. He was to be our interpreter and guide. He was a slender, handsome young man. I'd judge his age as being in the early twenties. His command of English was very good. But I don't think his English was up to the standard spoken by the Mir, who spoke so fluently

These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. 344
It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an 644
elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

Back about 400 years ago one of the rulers of Hunza [173] married a daughter of the King of Baltistan who, as [648] a gift to his daughter and her husband, dispatched 500 workmen from his country to Hunza to erect the Baltit Fort that we now know. The rulers of Hunza dwelt in that fort and made it their palace until recent times. The present Mir, too, when he took office after the [712] death of his father, resided in this palace known as Baltit Fort.

The new palace, in which we were being wined, [122] dined and entertained, had been completed recently and was taken possession of by the present Mir about 7 years ago. Actually though, the new palace was started by the Mir's grandfather back as far as 1925.

While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I un- [692] derstand, would be used, on completion, as his court, [643] where the citizens of Hunza would come with their problems and where the Mir would preside in judgment.

However, this work in no way interfered with the [342] normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

Ayesh was a most jovial character. He had the most pleasant smiling happy countenance of any man I've ever met. He was always either laughing or smiling and every time I looked at him I had to smile as well. He was a handsome man but in contrast to the Mir, who had a good head of dark hair, Ayesh was balding, the same as I. 124 115 [644] 142]

It was most pleasant to see the splendid cordial relationship that existed between him and the Mir's entire family.

"How are you coming along with your quest for information?" asked the Mir.

"Exceptionally well, sir," I replied. "But there are also many questions that only you can answer and I'm hoping that you can spare a few minutes some time within the next few days in private so that I may gain this information."

"Any time you say," replied the Mir pleasantly. "I'm at your disposal. You mention the time and that will be it."

"You are indeed very kind to grant me this great favor and I appreciate it," I said.

So there and then we made an appointment for 5 o'clock the following day.

Every meal at the Mir's was a joy and a delight and both the Mir and the Rani were always present. I had already mentioned to him that this was a trouble and an imposition and too much to expect of him. But he said that it was the way he wanted it and that nothing was too good and no effort too great for his guests. Well, what can you do with a man like that? 122● 574

Then he informed me concerning my friend's health. "The doctor has things under control now," he told me, "but he will remain here with me as my guest at the palace during your stay so there will be no worries 122 758

122 or cares in regard to Mr. Brunton's condition. The doc-
[758] tor will attend to his duties at Aliabad and look after the hospital there . . . but he only has one or two patients and he will be back and forth from the hospital to the palace. Therefore he will be in constant touch with your friend."

"No man could do more," I assured the Mir. "I don't know how we can ever thank you enough."

"Don't mention it," he said. "You have been very kind, too."

"Now is there anything that you would like me to get for you while you're here? I wish you would tell me because some things may take a few days to procure or prepare and I would like to have them ready for you."

[124] "I'll tell you what I would like and you tell me what you would like me to send you from Canada—and no holds barred." I said to him.

"Fair enough! We'll tell each other frankly what we want."

"Agreed," I joyfuly replied.

126 I always carry a notebook with me. It's a small folding affair made of leatherette or something, that has room for 3 or 4 ball point pens and a pad inside. I was making notes as well as marking down the things the Mir expressed interest in when I spoke of the conveniences available in America. I intended to send these to him anyway.

I had seen quite a few little items around Hunza that I would have liked to have . . . for instance, a Hunzan hat, a cane made in Hunza, a pair of Hunzan boots. The boots are most unusual, being something
291 like the mukluks used in the north by the Eskimos, ex-
237 cept that these are made in a simpler manner. They are somewhat like riding boots in shape except they are

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 31

Breakfast Chitchat

122 574 THE MIR was a most tolerant and understanding host. I can't say for sure whether or not all his guests were treated as well as I, but I have no reason to believe otherwise.

Sometimes I would get down to breakfast alone at 8 o'clock in the morning. On other occasions there was Jahangir, sometimes Cec and on some occasions the doctor and the Mir's uncle and a few other individuals. I usually tried to get down at 8 o'clock . . . yet, there were occasions when I got down at 6 o'clock, if I had some adventure or specific project in view.

353 792 I remember this specific breakfast because the first thing I said to the Mir after I was seated at the table was, "I would judge that you were very fond of the Aga Khan."

You see, it wasn't very hard for me to judge this fact because our apartment was hung with pictures

of the Aga Khan and his wife in various poses and stages of his life. I had given some study to these photographs and many of them were inscribed in the hand of the Aga Khan with endearing terms to his friend, Jamal. 353 792

Our quarters were in the guest house—actually adjoining the palace but on a higher level. This building had been erected by the Mir's grandfather back in 1925. It was a well-built, handsome structure, firmly ensconced on a high rocky ledge of granite. 122 344 644

You walked down the Mir's long staircase from the sun room, then you walked up half a dozen or more stone steps, forward a few feet and then you climbed up a circular, enclosed wooden staircase to the guest quarters. These consisted of a large, comfortable sitting room with many easy chairs and a fine writing desk, a large bedroom with two comfortable beds and further on was the bathroom. Then to the right of the lovely sitting room was a balcony—spacious and inviting. From it you could view Rakaposhi and all its splendor and gorgeous loveliness. [352]

The furniture all round was similar to that which you would find in the average better-class American homes. Photographs adorned the walls, among which were the photos of the old Aga Khan and his French wife. [352] [353] [792]

When I mentioned the Aga Khan to the Mir, he waxed eloquent and his face beamed and he said, "Not only was I fond of him—not only did I love him—but we were close intimate friends. He was the most generous of men and especially to the people of Hunza. I revere his memory! He was a wonderful person. We really miss him since his passing. His ancestors came from Persia to India in 1834. In 1934, one hundred years later, to celebrate the jubilee of the founding of 792 [871]

partake of the Mir's blessings. 000

In comparing the fort at Altit and the one at Baltit, 344
I gained the impression that the one at Altit had more 644
rooms . . . smaller ones they were, but there seemed 712
to be more of them. The old fort at Baltit was much larger and more impressive. Yet somehow I became more attached to the Altit Fort. I had the impression that it was almost impregnable.

Then I recalled the true story of the capture of the 712
fort by the British and, after appraising its isolation, 648
strength and precipitous banks and sides, I thought to myself, "Any group of men who had the courage to attempt to scale and capture any fort in Hunza deserved a lot more glory and loot than they would ever get in Hunza . . . and that is for certain!"

On one of the balconies stood a man with a bowl 124
of apricots and Sultan Ali said, "This man is the chowkidor, or guardian, of the fort and it is customary to give him a gift."

"Of what?" I asked.

"Oh, about 10 rupees," replied Sultan Ali.

Jahangir almost jumped a foot when he heard that and he said, "For what? He hasn't done anything and we haven't eaten any of his apricots."

"Well," Sultan Ali said, "it's just customary!"

"Customary or no," said Jahangir, "I think it's ridiculous!"

I turned to Sultan Ali and said, "Normally I'd be 124
glad to give him the tip that you suggest, but the truth 122
of the matter is my fund of Pakistan rupees is just about nonexistent. When we set out for Hunza from Pindi we calculated in advance approximately how many rupees we would need and then we added on 100 extra, and that's what we came with.

"From the stories that we read and from the infor-

124 mation that we could gather, we were under the im-
122 pression that no money was used in Hunza. Therefore we didn't calculate on spending any. So far we have parted with approximately 300 rupees and to place the matter squarely in front of you, we don't have enough money to buy our plane tickets back from Gilgit to Rawalpindi! I'm hoping we'll be able to get some money at the bank in Gilgit because I did notice that there's a bank there, so I'm afraid I'll have to pass up the 10 rupees that I'm supposed to give the chowkidor of the fort. But tell him I enjoyed my visit to the fort very much anyway!"

344 While we were wandering around on the open bal-
644 cony of the old fort, Sultan Ali pointed to a neat looking place down below, but not far distant, and said, "That is the Mir's picnic place, where he comes every Saturday evening with his family. He stays there Sunday and Monday, returning to the palace for his various duties Monday evening. This practice is followed during the summer months."

"Well," I replied, "that's a custom that's followed pretty well in the West and probably in most places around the world . . . where one tries to get away from the usual home conditions and seeks refuge in a cottage. We, generally speaking, call this our summer cottage. And you know what? Many folks and families travel hundreds of miles just for the weekend, just as long as they can get away from home and the sameness of living for a few days at a time!"

"I guess we've seen everything here at the old fort worth seeing. So let's go down and make for the Mir's picnic place," I said as I headed for the stairs.

It was a walk of but a few hundred yards and we were soon at the garden gate of the bungalow. Sultan Ali spoke in Burushaski to one of the chowkidors who

115 Now I didn't see his birth certificate and I might as
165 well tell you, right here and now, that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. I accept the figure of his age as he told me but remember, I was not there at the time of his birth!

344 When I was through with my spasm of inspection
644 and admiration, we began to parade up the long driveway that led into the Mir's garden. This area is flanked on the right by space that looks as though it were a parking lot, and maybe that's exactly what it is, but instead of cars, the guests or members of the family park—or should I say tether—their horses and yaks in this area. Maybe now they park their jeeps there.
[493] The Mir owns two of them, but one, I understand, was away in Pindi being repaired. (Or was it the shambles and horrible wreck of a jeep that I came across a week later, on the road back to Gilgit?)

126 Now I noticed that the Mir, Ayesh, the doctor and Cec were coming along the roadway to meet us, and soon we joined forces and were gathered in one group. I thought this was the ideal time to take some photographs and, luckily for us, they were the best photographs we took on the entire trip. Photography is something that has never interested me and I had never taken half a dozen pictures in my life. Before leaving
[122] home, I did try to learn a bit about photography, but I couldn't learn enough fast enough.

124 When the fun, excitement and fast-flowing humorous remarks had subsided, I said to the Mir, "If you've nothing more important to do or if you would care to give me a little more of your time, we could start that question and answer session that I arranged with you for this afternoon."

"I am at your service," he replied pleasantly and with alacrity.

question, the error was cleared up. 128

Remember, I do not claim to be a Sherlock Holmes 124
or smart enough to detect by scent or otherwise an untruth or misunderstanding, so they may crop up in various places in the book.

Long before I left home I had prepared a set of queries. Among them were things for me to investigate —places, customs and chores for me to see and do. And from all this I was to make my own values and estimates as to the validity of the claims made about Hunza and its people. I tried to cover every aspect of importance and interest and I believe that, with very few exceptions, I faithfully accomplished my mission.

In preparation for the trip I read every book I could 122
find or locate that involved Hunza and in each case 114
the author had done a credible job, but most of them had failed miserably to give sufficient information—at least, for me—because 'twas information that I wanted. I wanted to know more about the agriculture of Hunza, about the health of the people, about their methods, their means and their way of life. None of the authors gave much of that vital data.

Right from the first moment that I made plans to go 121
to Hunza I decided that, if I wrote a book, it would 114
contain the most complete, the most detailed and the most thorough study of the people of Hunza yet accomplished by any writer. This determination came upon me from the frustrations I felt when I read the available books on Hunza and was left with a feeling that only the surface of the subject had been scratched.

In my endeavors to fulfill this undertaking, I have spared neither time, effort, risk nor expense. I certainly don't want my readers to be left with the feeling that all about Hunza has not been told. I definitely realize that no one in a short few weeks or even months could

000 of his fellow man and see that it is fairly and impartially carried out, we have made it too complicated. Is there any justifiable reason why it should take months or even years for a civil case to be heard in court? If there are not sufficient judges, I'm sure it would not be difficult to appoint or elect more of them. If there are not enough court rooms and court houses, I feel confident that, with American construction at its high peak of efficiency, it wouldn't take long to correct that.

692 643 Then why isn't it done? I don't know the answer. Do you? The Hunzan system of justice seems to be functioning in a most satisfactory manner. Anyone may petition the Mir and unless he is away, can get an almost immediate hearing. If the Mir is not available or if the problem is not a weighty one, then the Wazir can attend to it.

In truth, justice can be simple!

* * * * *

486 122 In order to get into Hunza you must obtain a permit from the Pakistani authorities in the capital, which is Karachi, but I understand the government is being moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi or a new site close to it. I still think it is more important to have the Mir's invitation, because even though you could get into Hunza, you would be practically helpless without the Mir's assistance and cooperation.

[124] Unless you brought a guide with you and one who could speak English and translate for you, you'd find the going very, very difficult in either Nagir or Hunza. Therefore I would suggest that if you contemplate a visit into this area, you obtain the Mir's invitation or permission first. Then go after the Pakistani government's permit.

648 131 Why the Pakistan government regards Hunza as a strategic region or area is not hard to understand if

durance and stamina known anywhere, and if Shipton says that the Hunzans had more endurance and stamina than these people, no higher tribute can be given. 114 [147]

It is my humble opinion that too much has been written about the people of Hunza by people who have never been there and know little or nothing about the actual conditions that prevail in that country. Then, too, many visitors spent most of their time taking pictures, viewing the scenery and dining at the Mir's and didn't pay much attention or learn anything about the actual living conditions of the people.

The people of Hunza have not in the least benefited by the visitors that have reached Hunza, and if future visits are discouraged, I believe there would be good cause for it. 177

Most of the diseases known to civilization are unknown in Hunza. I do not ask you to take my word for it but that is my report from consulting the resident doctor in Hunza, as well as a German woman doctor who visited Hunza. 164 [759]

It is further true that the Mir's wife, the Rani of Hunza, had her appendix removed and she took a trip to Rawalpindi to have it done. But in the first place she does not live according to Hunza standards and besides, it was probably stylish to have an appendix operation. On the other hand, if a good surgeon were let loose in Hunza for a few weeks, there's no doubt about it, he'd have hundreds of appendixes removed before he could be stopped.

Another important point that I wish to make at this time is that I paid my own way to and from Hunza. I had no financial backing. Therefore I am not committed to aid anyone or any product or radio station or newspaper. I have no one to fear and no one to please. I can afford to tell the truth. 122

actually make me sick and my skin would break out in sores or a rash. 137

In truth, I wasn't much worried, but, on the other hand, prudence must be considered. I was a long way from home, with a medicine kit that consisted of a bit of bandage and some salve, and I was in no position to do battle with some unknown, dangerous and perhaps poisonous plant. So I heeded their entreaties and left that symmetrical, unusual, neat but murderous looking plant alone. [824] [122]

The plants that I actually saw in flower along the trail or in the fields were very few. There was the wild rose, the fog, the inconspicuous flowers of chush and the fringed gentian and a few poppies. Remember, this was in July and very few plants, shrubs or trees are in flower at that period.

Yet, I must bear in mind that from Gilgit to beyond Altit the difference in maturity would run about two weeks. While I ate some of the last of the cherries at the Political Agent's table in Gilgit, when I got to Baltit I was eating the first of the cherries that the Mir had picked from his trees of exactly the same species and variety. In fact, I came upon many peculiarities caused by the altitude and the proximity to the river. In one place the fog plants, for example, were in flower and in other places along the route, they had already formed seed pods. Again, in other spots the seed pods had already burst.

This is not unusual, because if you examine the situation in the Niagara District, for example, at Queenston the cherries are in full blossom when in Niagara-on-the-Lake, along the lake, the buds haven't even swelled. There is a difference of 10 days to two weeks between Niagara-on-the-Lake and Queenston and the distance is a scant 7 miles.

The plant that impressed me most was the fog plant.

291 open toes it could be just shaken out. These were the low or oxford-type footwear. Then the reason for the high tops on the other kind of shoes was clear. It meant that pebbles and stones and debris couldn't fall into them.

291 I learned, too, that in walking over trails of this type
122 one should always have on shoes that were sewn and in which no nails were used. On more occasions than I can attempt to recount, I stepped on a sharp rock and the nail in my soles or rubber heels went piercing through the soles of my feet. I had to stop on each occasion, unlace and remove my shoe, then get hold of a suitable rock and bang away until I bent the nail so it would no longer prick the sole or heel of my foot. So if you ever contemplate walking on roads or trails of this type, remember my warning, make sure that your shoes are sewn and have no nails in them.

122 The pack animal that was prepared for us was good enough to ride—much better than either of the animals that we had come up with. So Jahangir decided to use this mare as his mount and he sent his guide scurrying about to see if he could locate another pack animal.

At the P.A.'s in Gilgit, Jahangir had told me that he was taking off for Hunza alone. Now here as we were leaving Aliabad, I found that a guide turned up and it was apparent from the words that were spoken that this soldier had come up with him from Gilgit. The insignia on his shoulder clearly indicated that he was a soldier in the famed Gilgit Scouts.

I asked Jahangir how come he had a guide and he then informed me that the Scout Commander had flatly refused to allow him to set out alone for Baltit. Apart from anything else, in deference to Jahangir's parents with whom he was friendly, he would under no circumstances allow him to make the journey with-

out the services of a guide. 122

I can assure you that the Commander carefully selected the man, too. Although he looked like a boy, he was tall—about 6 feet 2 inches—lithe, alert, in fact, as smart and as capable a type of human being or soldier or both as 'twould be possible to find anywhere. Not that Jahangir needed it, but he certainly was in "high caliber" hands.

Bearing in mind that the two ponies we had were 122
stallions, I began to wonder if we might not have some 492
trouble on the trail, because Jahangir's mount was a mare. To you, this may not appear to be a genuine source of worry, because in the West the horses used for riding are practically always gelded and this eliminates any risk of difficulty. So you either ride a mare or a gelding.

I thought to myself, "What would happen if either 122
one of our stallion ponies began to get ideas on some of these high tortuous, winding mountain trails?" I knew from my reading that it does happen.

A man can work himself up into quite a stew by thinking of such things, and by now I was greatly worried about what would happen if my black stallion did become rambunctious on the trail. So I made up my mind that I would give that mare as wide a berth as possible.

I buried my worries by getting busy and snapping 342
a few pictures of the type of houses that we found [126]
here at Aliabad. They didn't differ very much from those we found elsewhere. They were not as well built and as clean as those we had found at Altit, but they were still quite neat and tidy by most other standards. Practically all the houses are built one on top of the [361]
other, as close together as the undulating region would allow, and it sure was obvious that a person couldn't

342 keep many secrets from his neighbors. From what I
361 saw, it was obvious that when a house was built in Hunza no attempt was made to level the ground but it was allowed to stand as nature made it and the house was erected according to the natural levels, dips, falls or heights.

As we wandered around the little Hunzan homes in this area, we had to climb up to get to this one, we had to drop down to examine that one and there were really no two on an identical level.

132 Then I remembered that the average annual rainfall in Hunza was 2 inches and to myself I thought, "Mighty good thing, because if it rained any more than that, what a quagmire this area would be!"

122 We heard the clatter of hooves and, looking up, we saw Jahangir's guide coming back and leading another horse. This meant we'd be ready to take off in a couple of minutes, so Cec and I worked our way towards the road.

Soon all of our belongings were firmly balanced on the horse's back and we were ready to start for the Hasanabad Bridge.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 58

Baltit to Chalt--A Long Hard Day

THE EXHILARATING morning mountain air and the expanse of blue sky, landscaped by undulating masses in the distance and sparkled with a wisp of cloud here and there, made the march seem like a living dream. How often since I have been home have I longed for a day to begin this way. 122 487

The climb into the mountains started the minute we crossed the bridge at Hasanabad. We were now taking the trail that had almost spelled disaster for me on the way in. Those twists, those turns, those climbs, those declines had just about worn my legs to stubs. Never, through all my years of work, had I ever known what the word "tired" meant until then!

As Friend Cec remarked a few days later when we discussed this part of the journey, "Never did I see you look so grim! If any man could be said to be dragging his rear, it was you when you reached the jeep!"

122 487 But now it was entirely different. I didn't regard the snaky curves and loops with distrust and misgivings as I had the other day. In fact, then, I remember hating every turn I had to take. Now, with a good mount between my legs, I felt elated, happy, cheerful. Even though I started off riding, I knew that I wouldn't ride very far because I enjoy walking too much. But, still, it was mighty nice to know that you had a good horse in case you needed it.

From the start in the morning we knew it was to be a hard ride if we wanted to get to Chalt in one march. There was a full 32 miles to go. It was actually 36 miles but I figured the jeep had driven us 4 of them so that left 32.

[485] Neither Cec nor I discussed or mentioned it but I think we fully realized that, if we felt it was going to be too tough, we could stop off at Minapin which was but 15 miles away and would find the usual rest houses there. Yet, I couldn't see myself holing up at Minapin for the night. Why, we should be there shortly after noon, I figured, and I certainly had no intention of calling it quits then.

Besides, my recollections of Minapin weren't very appealing. It was the poorest looking and the dirtiest town of all we had passed through. We had stopped [485] for a few minutes at the rest house on the way up and it had proved to be a disappointment. We couldn't get anything to eat there and the chowkidor expected a handsome donation because we stopped there and, I believe, had a glass of water.

Then, too, I knew that this was the stage for us to make time, as we'd have more protection from the sun because there were more trees in this area than there would be further down. Villages dotted the landscape [36] as this was one of the more fertile districts and towns

and villages are invariably built where there are trees 122
of one kind or another. So it was our best bet to tackle 487
the sun while we had some protection against it. [361]

I remembered also that in this area there were lots [133]
of nullahs and that conduits were found everywhere, so we could refresh ourselves with good fresh cold water all along the route. Further down there were very few nullahs or any other means of getting water except by marching down to the river's edge and this, friend, could be an undertaking!

At this stage the elevations ranged around 7,000 to 133
10,000 feet. I didn't carry an altimeter with me but I was informed that in some places we climbed to 12,000 feet. It certainly felt like it by the rarity of the atmosphere and the way my chest and lungs were behaving.

All through this broad area the mountain scenery is idyllic. It just can't be beat or improved upon, no matter where in the world you go. When I came up this selfsame trail on the inward trek, I was in no mood to appreciate beauty or mountain grandeur and I knew that I hadn't taken in very much. But now, I was determined to feast my eyes, my heart and my soul on the most beautiful, the most varied, the most awe-inspiring mountain vastness that is known to exist.

I was happy—I was carefree—I felt so light that I thought the horse wouldn't even know he was carrying a passenger. In all probabilities I'd never come this way again and I wanted that beauty engraved on my memory.

Through the years I had spent many weeks and months in the Rockies, from Alaska right down to the Mexican Sierras, and I believed the Rockies to be the most impressive range of mountains I had ever known. When I saw the Alps and compared them, well, there

133 tion or doubt, this area holds that lofty title!

I know that Tibet is called the "Roof of the World" but it is my contention that this is not right. Lhasa is at an elevation of approximately 13,000 feet and is surrounded by peaks whose heights are not more than 18,000 feet, whereas Baltit, the capital of Hunza, is located at an elevation of 8500 feet and the mountains surrounding it go well above 25,000 feet. So I don't think anyone can argue or deny that this, the Hunza area, is the true "Roof of the World."

122 133 At the time I visited Hunza, maps of the Kashmir and Jammu and Gilgit agencies were hard to come by and anyone holding them might be arrested and charged with being a spy by the military authorities in Pakistan or India, because that area is zealously guarded by both sides.

It was a major operation to get a map of that area showing the various territories, the peaks and the ranges and such, but with the aid of a good friend I managed to procure a very good one.

133 For anyone interested in mountains, glaciers, hidden valleys and such things as dreams are made of, this map makes fabulous reading and studying. Besides, you can daydream away pleasant, carefree, happy hours like mad, if so inclined. Try it! Your cares will float away like bubbles!

122 Profiting from the mistakes of the past, when we found a nice cool comfortable spot, we stopped to rest and munched on the sandwiches that were so kindly prepared by the Mir's staff for us to take along. They were put into a little tin box where they kept in good shape. I would have liked to eat more of the sandwiches but after I gave one to Cec and had one myself, I passed the rest along to the guides and bearers. (Jahangir carried his own provisions.)

Actually, I think this in many ways is a mistake. 122
Anything that you bring along for yourself on a trail like this should be kept for yourself and the reason is clear and obvious. On the trail both coming and going neither group of bearers or guides offered us as much as a nibble, whereas in every case anything that we had we passed along or shared with them.

The reason I contend this is wrong is simple. They are in their own territory. They know where food and water are available. I know, as I saw them procure it when they wanted it. In our case we were up against a stark, high, blank wall and had to ask for, drive for and pay for every morsel of food that we got on the trail.

If I were doing this selfsame job over again, I would plan my travels without worrying or consulting them one iota. Their opinions, their judgment and estimations are completely unreliable, when it comes to distance, time, height, depth, temperature—yes, and even dangers!

Now I'm not referring to the people in the category of the Mir or the P.A. or Jahangir. I am talking about the average citizen that one meets along the trails or in the towns or villages. While you are supplied with a 122
guide and bearer or bearers and you feel you can rely 485
upon them, they do not take into consideration that you are a stranger, a tenderfoot, and know little or nothing about the terrain and the place to which you are going.

I'm not trying to impress you with the fact that these people are ignorant because they are not ignorant. It is just that these things are beyond their ken and you must rely upon yourself and prepare accordingly. They have been ordered or hired to guide you to a certain defined place or to look after your horse and that is all they will do—nothing more!

122 This does not mean to imply that they are unreliable
485 or unfriendly, because undoubtedly if you remained with them for any great time, you would become friendly with them and perhaps a feeling of camaraderie or loyalty would spring up. This belief has been confirmed by my conversations with people who have traveled through similar territories over longer periods. But in cases like this, where you hire a man for a day or two and you can't talk his language or make yourself clearly understood to him, the chances of getting any great amount of service are rather remote . . . that is, beyond the call of regular duties. In fact, I have learned and found that they will do only what they have to do and even getting this done will often take reminding!

122 The collapse of my friend on the first day out of Gilgit would never have occurred had we taken charge of the situation ourselves and stopped and rested every few hours for a few minutes, like any individual with common sense should have done. But we relied upon our bearers and guide. We were tenderfeet and stupid ones, to boot!

We were now beginning to feel like veteran mountaineers. It's funny how quickly a man can learn if his life depends on it. We weren't going to make the same mistake that we made coming up. This time we had no guide—just bearers—although Jahangir's soldier could be taken as a guide. In fact, he was probably better than most guides.

However, we were confident enough about the situation to carry on without any guiding or leading. I'm not trying to give you the impression that we were smart guys. It was just that we found out that there was no cause for fear or anxiety and once you beat that feeling, then you can go on through most anything.

From what I have learned about mountaineering, I 122
find that this principle generally is true. When you know the natives and appraise and understand the country you are in, the rest is just a task. It may be a difficult one but a task that, with good management and a bit of luck, can be accomplished.

In this instance we had good horses—the best. Secondly, we knew and understood the regions through which we must travel. Then, we had prepared a bit of food. But on top of it all, we were masters of the situation and we were not depending on anyone else!

The worst part of the day was from about 10 A.M. until 2 P.M. After that the sun and heat slowly headed downwards.

It was about 1.30 when we went through Minapin. [485]
This is normally the first stopping place from Baltit. We'd been up and about and on the trail for almost 8 steady, heat-filled hours, but we never even considered the idea of staying there.

However, this was where the owner of the pack horse lived—the one that Jahangir's guide had managed to procure at Kerimabad—so we had to unload it. Jahangir dismounted and the luggage and all the trappings were carefully tied to fit around this horse that the Mir had sent along as a pack animal.

I took no part in the proceedings. Jahangir and his guide, as well as the two bearers, did the job and they did it right, unlike our first experience when we left Gilgit. We hadn't gone a mile along the Gilgit River when we began to have trouble, and hadn't we been at least half awake, we would have lost some of our belongings.

Here it was different. Whether it was due to the fact that we had Hunzan bearers, as compared to Gilgitis,

122 or the fact that Jahangir and his guide were on the job, I don't know, but the loading of the horse was done properly.

"Why don't you arrange for another pack animal?" I asked Jahangir.

"In the first place, I don't know if I can get one. Then it would take a lot of time, especially if we want to make Chalt before night."

"But how's your foot?"

"Oh, I think it'll be all right," he said, smiling. At the same time he flexed his toes by standing on them a couple of times to see how his sore, chafed heel was taking the jolt.

"I know little or nothing about the mountains and climbing but it would be foolish if we went on and you ran into difficulty, when, by waiting a few minutes or even an hour or two, we could save you pain and trouble."

"Oh, I'm confident everything will be all right," he replied.

"Anyway, I'm not riding very much. So that hefty pony is available any minute you want him."

"No, thanks. I'll get along without him. I feel fine."

Now I had the feeling that Jahangir was somewhat annoyed at the Mir because the Mir had neglected to send along a horse for him. However, I have no proof or knowledge of this because first of all, Jahangir hadn't asked for one and secondly, he had come to Hunza with a guide without horse or pack animal and therefore the Mir would not rightly suspect or know that he wanted one to go back with. So all this may be pure conjecture on my part, but that was the impression I got and that's what I'm telling you.

I had met Jahangir just as soon as we landed at the P.A.'s residence in Gilgit. I didn't know who he was

 [pp. 497-609 not processed]

157 them in the fields and ask what they were at, and why, and what their various implements were called. They were quick to understand what we tried to say, and except when several of them talked at once we could usually make out most of their replies. They often started amusing arguments among themselves, not agreeing about certain words, just as at home you can set a discussion going in any company about "apple dumplings" or "pies."

243 I had a most entertaining half-hour my second afternoon.
123 Some women and little girls were beating a pile of green stuff on the threshing-floor just below, whacking it with a sort of wooden mallet. So I ran out (with pencil and notebook), greeted them, and sat down beside them on the nice dry ground and watched the whole performance. The crop was a small lentil or purple pea, and the heap was a pile of plants, stalks, roots, pods and all. They just beat and beat till all the pods had burst open, then piled pods and seeds into a big sieve and tossed it till most of the seeds were shaken out. Next they transferred it into a big flat tray and shook it to and fro till they could skim the pods off the top. Everyone was taking a hand, and after I had jotted down all the words I could conveniently collect, I took the various articles in turn and caused much amusement by saying carefully: "This is a sieve, I toss the lentils," "This is a tray, I shake it to and fro," etc. I felt rather like a star turn at a variety show, and brought down the house at the end with: "This is a little thorn bush, I sweep up the threshing-floor."

123 It is a sort of improved Berlitz method of teaching yourself. I found that when my Burushaski ran out I could still delight them by chattering on in English in a friendly way. They felt the goodwill, and they didn't know I was saying: "You're a nice-looking little minx, but you'll look better when you wash your face." I got most of their names written down, and then when they began to get ready to go home I had a romp with the small ones, who ran off squealing when I tried to catch them, just like English kiddies of the same age. I hadn't had such fun since our own youngster was small enough to romp with.

SETTLING IN

123 609 771 It was at once clear that there was not going to be any initial hostility or distrust to overcome, even amongst the women. This is rather remarkable when you think that not one of them has ever been more than five or six miles away from her home village, and that they have never seen a white woman at close quarters before. They are a fine, healthy, good-looking crowd, and always appear cheery and good-tempered. Undoubtedly the short-cut to the women's hearts was to make much of their youngsters. In a superstitious place this would be dangerous; they would be terrified of the Evil Eye; but we noted with thankfulness that these entirely non-Oriental people were as free from inhibiting superstitions as we ourselves. This promised to make our work immensely easier.

746 Hunza has, of course, no charitable societies, but everyone is related distantly or immediately to other families, and no one, however poor or orphaned, is allowed to starve.

123 It was sad to think that when this harvest thanksgiving came round again next year we should no longer be in Hunza. If we had been we should, I am certain, have been allowed to attend the all-night prayer. But, so soon after our arrival, to have suggested this might have been bad policy or doubtful taste even if we had had sufficient notice to sound the feeling of headmen and khalifas. We were in every detail most scrupulously careful to give rise to no anxieties by prematurely taking liberties, even such as would be gladly accorded. The slightest breath of resentment or suspicion roused in even one household might have spoiled all our future relations with our neighbours or given trouble to the Mir. It was wiser to forgo an occasional experience, however interesting and unique, than to take risks.

866 outrageous hat, must be a terrifying sight when it advances on you for the first time—but I learned cautiously to admire the babies from afar, though the father or mother always wanted to show them off. Only little Faqér, initiated so young, was always unafraid, and would stretch out his little hands and gurgle at me and let me take him in my arms or tickle him.

123 Soni, of the next house to Bibi Gimo's (I had to call it 866 No. 1A, because in my first notes I had confused the two households) had a little girl Afrots—quite the ugliest and brightest atom of three years old in Hunza. She had cried the first day on seeing me but immediately made friends, and ever after if I were sighted would run up to me and put out an abnormally grubby little paw and say "How do you do?" in imitation English fashion. On general principles we resisted all temptation to teach the children English ways or words or tales. This was almost my one lapse from grace, but Afrots was by general consent a special case, and her old grandfather, Aliko, was extraordinarily proud when he was witness to our meetings.

123 In the very first days of romping with the children of No. 1
535 and 1A on the threshing floor I had—stupidly—thought it might
562 be fun to teach Shamúli, Bano, and Afrots to dance. So I stood
273 up and started on a Highland schottische, and endeavoured, with little success, to coax them to join in. I was puzzled by something a little frigid in the air and soon gave up the attempt. When I climbed home for breakfast Dádo gravely and kindly said: "Excuse me, Mother, but Hunza women do not dance. It is thought unseemly." I thanked him for the warning; I wasn't sure whether the fear was that I should corrupt the girls or merely make an unseemly exhibition of myself. Either danger was to be avoided, so that began and ended my dancing lessons. Later Qudrat Ullah explained that in the olden days, when the Hunzukuts distilled a powerful *araq* from their mulberries, men and women used to dance together in drunken orgies that had untoward consequences. The Mir had long since forbidden the spirit, which provoked quarrels as well as dances, and "mixed dancing" fell under the same ban. This was the only man-made restriction on woman's freedom that I encountered in Hunza, and it did not seem to worry anyone.

231 to keep her strength up—and this in one of the poorest houses,
844 where they have had no bread nor butter for themselves for
262 weeks. *Doudo* is one of the nourishing dishes you make for a human mother, and the cat was such a pet that the kittens were considered as a birth in the family, one of the emergencies budgeted for. There is as little need in Hunza for an R.S.P.C.A.
231 as for an anti-litter crusade. Everyone is devoted to his animals,
562 and the children have pet names for eve mb and kid. You will often see a boy or girl carrying home tired animal slung over the neck like a fashionable lady's fur. Only people who have lived in the East can realize how amazing was this affectionate care for a pet; or how still more amazing this happy family life where father could come in and find his wife and daughters entertaining two strange men and be obviously delighted to see the guests. At least, if this sort of thing is possible elsewhere in the East, I have not heard of it.

231 When we passed next day we heard that a strange cat, which must be the only other one in Aliábád, for in general everyone is too poor to keep either cat or dog, had come in while the mother was mouse-hunting and had killed two of the kittens.
[115] Yaman, the only brother of our most beloved young friends, and most intelligent of informants, lifted a pathetic little white body with his toes from the field to show us. The children were half horrified and half amused at the kittens' fate.

137 There were a few wild flowers these June days amongst the scanty grass of the *toqs*: red bladder campion, stitchwort, and an occasional starved-looking forget-me-not. The children were much amused when we told them what the English call it, and that sentimentalists amongst us use it as a love-token. After that, one or another would run up to us offering a tiny blue flower and saying, "Don't forget me!" Some future linguist, language-hunting like ourselves, may be puzzled to hear of *je til ekel* growing in Hunza fields and rack his brains as to how
123 the idea came to the Karakoram. On principle we have tried to avoid poisoning the ground for future workers by importing European ideas, legends, or phrases, and in this connection the forget-me-not, the "one little pig" and Afrot's *How do you do?* are the only sins on my conscience.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

312 And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of
423 the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

562 Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the
884 East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

609 To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and
123 Mim sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

184 So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours
157 I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

000 We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Werčikwar). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasin district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasin is shown in the following table:

353 ing an excellent likeness of Queen Victoria in full color hung on the old palace wall. It was still in good condition and told you to use "Mellins Food for Infants and Invalids." I suspect this picture calendar has been hanging there for some 60 years (it was dated 1899). Both the producer of the calendar and the food people could well be proud of the record.

123 One could easily spend a few days in and around the fort and probably write a volume about its history. But I'll leave that for someone else.

I made a careful round of all the rooms in the old palace and by that time Sultan Ali remarked that we'd best be retracing our steps to the Mir's because the Mir had asked him to bring me back in time for lunch, which was at 1.30. So we started our descent.

survive despite the encroachment of modern civilization? 177

I go on record as saying, "Yes, she can survive but it will take good leadership, and the present ruling Mir —my friend, Mohammed Jamal Khan—is capable of this leadership, provided he is not interfered with by the powers that surround him or emanate from Karachi!"

The first detrimental factor that is crawling into Hunza at the present time, and has been for some years, is salt. Already numerous cases of goiter have appeared which did not exist before when they used their native salt. 177 263 164

Travel in Hunza is restricted. In fact, at the present time no foreigner is allowed into the state without a permit and that includes Pakistanis as well. As far as I know, my friend Cec Brunton and I were the last foreigners to enter Hunza. With the political situation as it is today, I doubt if anyone else will be permitted to enter the country until the situation changes. 486 648 123

The fact that China is at the present time encroaching upon India is a rather significant factor. I really can't appraise its implications because the disputed area by any calculation seems to be of little or no value. There are millions of such acres available throughout Tibet and the Himalayan cordillera as well as in the Karakorums. Therefore it must be just for aggrandizement that China is moving. If that is her aim and desire, then Hunza would be right up her alley. 648

Yet it is my firm belief that China will not bother Hunza. I know the Afghans have looked with longing eyes on that part of Pakistan for some years, but they have neither the arms nor the men to successfully invade the area, although with arms from Russia and a little prodding, things could get hot in that area. How-

114 "I said it as a joke," replied the Mir. "I had no
585 knowledge that it would be so widely publicized and written and taken as a fact. I did not mean to mislead the writers you mentioned."

"Then it is not true!"

"No," replied the Mir, "I meant it only as a joke!"

643 There was no doubt in my mind that the Mir had
115 a keen sense of humor. In fact, through all my talks
522 and discussions with the Mir which were frequent, there was seldom a time when he would pass by an opportunity for a bit of witticism or to laugh and have a bit of fun. He was just about as pleasant a man as could be found anywhere. He was not only a great ruler but he had a sense of humor. It was too bad that the writers referred to took him seriously. Maybe it was one of their bad days.

249 "Do you grow poppies here?" I asked the Mir bluntly and more or less out of the clear blue sky. I put this question to the Mir for a most definite reason.

On a few occasions I saw what I believed to be a field of flowers waving in the distance. But I wasn't sure. Invariably these patches of color were a mile or many miles away. I wondered what they were but I never could get close enough to see them. They were always sighted at great distance from where the road lay.

[123] You might ask why I didn't definitely, once and for all, set out across the field and find out. But remember, when you're in a more or less strange unusual territory, you just don't go off across the fields into someone else's private property.

All told, I doubt if I saw more than half a dozen of these patches of color during the full length of my travels. There might have been many more but I certainly didn't see them and I have an idea that if they

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 34

About the People of Hunza

164 THE CLAIMS made for the people of Hunza border on
165 the fantastic. It is claimed that there they live to be 140 and more years of age without trouble and that their mountain home is the genuine Shangri-la, where a man can live without worry or stress in perfect joy and happiness. The claim is also made that their men can sire children when they're 70, 80, 90 and even 100 years of age.

Yes, and another visitor to Hunza said that the women of 80 and 90 are as youthful and as beautiful as our own women of 30 and 40. Well, apart from the
[644] Rani who I truly believe was one of the most beautiful women I have ever been privileged to see, I didn't notice anything spectacular about the women of Hunza.

• 123 Let me be even more frank . . . I hardly saw any women at all. Over the many miles of Hunza territory that I walked, I seldom saw a woman. I saw a few girls

here and there and most of them snickered, giggled and hid or turned their backs so that I couldn't see their faces, just as the girls and women did in Nagir. I did notice and pass many women constantly in the fields, but not once did I think that they even compared with our own attractive women . . . let alone surpass them! 123

Nor do I want you to get the impression that I am prejudiced. To me, at least, a woman can be beautiful whether she be black, yellow, tanned or white. I believe myself to be the kind of a man who shows no prejudice, at least where women are concerned, if you know what I mean!

Here I also want to state that it could be I was somewhat at a disadvantage. In the Western world, when one meets or sees a woman, it is usually at her best or close to it. Here the situation was, I admit, drastically different. I either saw them in the fields or coming or going to and from the fields to their homes or doing household chores in their homes. None of these occupational hazards would give a woman a chance to show herself at her prettiest or to her own best advantage.

I did not inquire as to the Rani's age. I am generally fairly bold but I just wasn't bold enough to pose that question to the Mir or to the Rani herself, although I had ample opportunity to do so had I the courage. 644 165

She would compare favorably in every way with any woman in her twenties. If I did not know her position and I were asked to estimate her age, I would say 24 or 25 but remember, she is the wife of the Mir and has borne him 9 living children, one of whom is married and another of whom is engaged to be married to the Prince of Chitral. Their eldest daughter is married to Yaseen Durishahwar and they have two sons, which means that the Rani is a grandmother. But I still insist that she doesn't look a day over 25.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 41

Cleanliness

ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS I have read and heard reports that the Hunzan homes are scrupulously clean. To that I will not subscribe. I just can't go along with any such assertion. 356 114

I peeked into, looked over at and viewed hundreds of the homes in Nagir on the trek and I also had a chance to see into many of the homes in Hunza and there isn't any question about it—the Hunzan homes are cleaner, tidier and have fewer odors (or none at all) than the others of this same area. But to say that they are scrupulously clean or that you could eat off the floor is, to my mode of thought, a gross exaggeration.

Obviously, the places the other writers saw were very clean and tidy. But, to me anyway, it is clear that the owners were notified in advance that they would have visitors.

Being curious and nosy by habit and turn of mind, I 356 123

/123 managed to peer into a few of the places and noticed
356 that they weren't as spic and span as some people say they are. In fact, we were taken through one home on a tour. We visited their downstairs apartment and then climbed the ladder to visit the upstairs one. I will admit and am in complete agreement with the other writers, that the place was scrupulously clean, swept and neat.

But—and this is important, so follow me—I had stuck my head and eyes into that selfsame home the day before, probably unknown to my guide, and had seen the condition that this same house was in then. While it was not filthy, nor could I even say dirty, it certainly was not in the same immaculate condition that it was in now, since this time the people were advised that we were coming.

[515] So let it be said and accepted that the Hunzans are much cleaner than the Nagirwals and are generally, by and large, a clean, wholesome people, both in body and in home.

000 I have long ago accepted the clear-cut situation that hygiene and cleanliness are strictly matters of habit, custom and necessity and these factors vary from country to country. For example, the standard of cleanliness in Switzerland is quite different to that of neighboring France. And in Italy, especially in the southern part, it bears no resemblance to that practiced in either France or Switzerland. Then in England the standard changes again and when you get to America, well, there again it is so different that one would believe it was a different world.

356 Undoubtedly, the people of Hunza in their hygienic habits are far above those of India or Pakistan. I am here referring to the mass level, of course. Then, too, the Hunzan habits were far better than those in Italy.

681 which people were exiled and as officers were continually asking me what sort of place it was, I determined to go there and see for myself. The track there
491 was very bad indeed and in two places there were goat hair bridges which were very unpleasant to cross. A ring of wood was used and the traveler was drawn from one bank to the other and if he wore a beard most of the hairs were dragged out on the way. . . .

643 "My father[1] had six wives, three of which were of the
595 ruling classes and three from the Zemindaris. All however, were married to him according to the law and so he left behind no bastards."

276 The Mir told me that of late some of the young boys
177 have taken to smoking cigarettes. This they have picked up and learned from the Hunzan men who have been serving in the Pakistani army. Cigarettes can be pur-
685 chased in the shop in Baltit and a few occasions of
276 petty theft have been encountered. In each case it
[443] seems that they stole in order to get money to buy
[681] cigarettes. These few petty crimes of course did not involve ostracism to Shimshal. It is expected that this condition will continue or even become aggravated as the youth of Hunza become more familiar and acquainted with smoking. Some of the men in Hunza smoke the "hookah" which we know as the water-pipe.

249 Some forms and varieties of tobacco have been tried
123 in Hunza. I promised to send the Mir seeds of the various types of tobacco that we grow in America, such as Virginia, Burley and Quesnel. Perhaps if they can learn to grow tobacco, it will enable the youth to get their hands on some tobacco and satisfy their craving for it without resorting to other ways and means. However, they would have to get paper from somewhere for none is made or improvised in Hunza.

674 It is obvious from what I have seen, that crime and

1 [ie - the father of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan - ANALYST]

on my own farm we definitely and positively use neither 241
chemical fertilizers nor sprays.

You can understand in Hunza that tastewise there is no interference or problem from chemical fertilizers and sprays.

I believe that the myth about the flavor and succu- [114]
lence of the Hunzan apricots came about because visitors ate the apricots ripe and freshly picked from the trees, whereas at home the apricots they ate were picked from the trees days before, because they had to be shipped long distances, and therein lay the difference in flavor.

In January, 1959, I sent the Mir of Hunza good 123
sized packages of the different kinds of hardy wheat 241
that were created by the experimental farms of the 177
Dominion of Canada. It was special seed, tested for hardiness in the colder areas and of such quality that would produce a fine loaf of bread.

I also sent the best strains of carrots, cabbages, Brussels sprouts, lettuce, beets and other vegetables. But when I was dining with the Mir and asked him about the results with the seeds, he admitted that the only seed they had got planted that year was the lettuce, which was being enjoyed at the Mir's table. He said that he would try the rest of them the following year.

It is understandable that the Western world would have better varieties of fruits, vegetables and grains, because here we spend millions and millions of dollars on hybridizing, trials, selections and improving the various strains . . . so we should get some results from our efforts . . . and we do! Therefore, without question, the Hunzans could profit by using Western strains of grains, vegetables and fruits. This is one aspect of modern civilization that could help them greatly.

The apricots that I saw, tasted and ate were not the

123 huge fine quality products that I was told they were. I
241 admit here further that I was in Hunza in July and the
177 later, perhaps the better, varieties were not available or ripe yet. But upon questioning the various people, there was no information given to me that indicated the later maturing kinds were superior to the earlier ones.

So as in vegetables and grains, their fruit could be greatly improved by adopting some of the Western varieties. This could easily be done by having budwood sent to them and they in turn would graft this budwood onto their young stock.

I have made arrangements with the Mir of Hunza and the P.A. at Gilgit to supply them with this required grafting wood at the proper time, and it will be duly sent to them, so that in the future they may have some of the benefit of the West's hybridization and research program. I took along with me a few of the best budding knives that I could procure and I left two with the P.A. at Gilgit and the others with the Mir of Hunza and I explained their use.

245 In talking with the Mir about the planting of new varieties and improved strains, he claimed that his people did graft and seek new varieties and strains, but from the little time I had to inspect things, I did not see any young trees or any great number of grafts that would indicate this being a widely practiced policy. I found nothing resembling a nursery in Hunza or Nagir, but there was a small, unimpressive nursery run by the Pakistani government in Gilgit. Maybe this is the forerunner of bigger and better things to come.

241 There appears to be no central source of seed supply in Hunza. It seems that each farmer saves seeds for next year's crops or barters with his neighbor. In some
[643] years, when, because of any one of many conditions

184 a good crop of various kinds of grains, forage, vege-
241 table crops and fruits. In Hunza this just doesn't occur.
311 The terrain is steeper, more precipitous, more difficult and seldom if ever does a flat open area come within the limits of normal vision.

[133] Then, too, Nagir has many more nullahs formed by the melting glaciers. Rakaposhi is located in Nagir and surrounding it are many snowfields and glaciers which are used, trained and harnessed to irrigate their country.

Indubitably, the fates and nature have been much kinder to Nagir than they have to Hunza.

438 Let me also tell you frankly that on many occasions the people of Hunza purchase or barter various types of food from Nagir. I asked the ways and means that [437] were used in effecting these deals and found that in most cases money—earned by the Hunzans in service in the army, portering for expeditions and given to them as gifts—was the means.

184 One might gather from what I have said and even [628] from talking to various people or natives of the area, that the Nagirwals and the Hunzans are deadly enemies. But that is not true. The people of Hunza [186] think themselves much better than the people of Nagir. They do believe that they are handsomer, healthier, cleaner and are better husbandmen, but yet there does not appear to be any cases of conflict, physical or armed, between the two peoples.

123 I recall a little incident that may be of some interest. We rounded a spot—I guess it was 10 or so miles from Minapin—on the way up to Baltit and there we saw a decrepit, ragged looking Nagirwal. In his hands he [231] held a pair of chickens. They were the typical chickens of the area—full grown but the size that our chickens are when they're half grown. He waved them in front of us as though indicating they were for sale or could be

had. We slowed down—we didn't actually stop—and 123
our guide asked the price, or got into some hassle-tassle about them anyway. The discussion took place in Burushaski.

There didn't seem to be too much palavering and our bearers took the two scraggy birds and stuffed them into their coats—one each, just as we would stuff something into our inside breast pocket. The chickens' heads stuck out, but they didn't seem to make any great attempt to get away. I didn't see any money change hands.

Then the old fellow disappeared behind a thicket for a moment; it was a group of willows and other shrubs or trees growing there. He came back with a butchered one and he tried to press it upon me. I didn't want it, but the man was so earnest in his desire to present it to me. I didn't know if he wanted money or not, but he didn't seem to care. He just wanted me to accept the chicken. I didn't want to offend him and as pleasantly as I could I kept shaking my head. But he did not heed my protestations and tried to force the chicken on me.

Then I got off my horse and when I did, I more or less subconsciously began to rub the muscles of my legs. He quickly dropped the chicken and kneeled down beside me and began to massage my legs for me. I tried to stop him and my bearers intimated to him that I didn't want anybody rubbing my legs, but he insisted. When at last I got him to desist, we began to walk on and he followed us for two or three miles, still trying to give me the chicken. So I asked Sherin if he wouldn't take the chicken or get one of the other boys to take it.

He was undoubtedly the friendliest coot I ever saw in my life. He was as dirty as the dirtiest pig and

123 smellier than limburger cheese. But so help me, dirt, stink and all, he was a likeable fellow. If only we could have ducked him in the water and got a scrubbing brush and some soap, I probably would have enjoyed his company.

Somewhere near the next village he left us. He was almost in tears at the thought of parting. I had a quarter rupee silver coin in my pocket and gave it to him. He didn't want it but he thanked me at least 200 times for it. I'm sure he would have given me his lousy old shirt if I would have accepted it. As it was, he waved us good-bye with tears in his eyes.

643 The Mir of Hunza and the Mir of Nagir are on
628 friendly terms, but I don't for a moment imagine that they are bosom companions. Yet the Mir of Hunza's wife, the Rani, is a Nagirwal. Her uncle is the present
[582] Mir of Nagir. In fact, through the centuries, while the people of both these states were at loggerheads with each other, the ruling class intermarried and were always on amicable terms . . . and so it continues.

I will quote here again from *The Autobiography of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E*: "From time to time we have tried to have relations with Nagir that were friendly but they have never lasted, although there have been marriages between the ruling families of both countries. My father and Zafar Khan, Mir of Nagir used occasionally to meet and I remember well the formality of these occasions. Each would come with a large number of followers and would halt on his side of the river. On one occasion Uzar Khan came over to Hunza and there was a great feasting; on another the Mir came and I and some other people from Hunza had to go over to the Nagir bank of the river and remain there as hostages until the Mir returned."

000 The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over the Nagirwals, but over others as well. The P.A. at Gilgit, in a discussion that I had with him, admitted that when the Hunzans moved down the valley to the Gilgit area, they showed their heritage by surpassing anyone else in the district when it came to working their lands and producing their crops. They worked harder, they worked longer, they worked better. They used their experience and intelligence to greater advantage, with the net result that they were soon buying more and better land. 157

So far only a few of the Hunzans have come down to Gilgit, but the native Gilgiti farmers are already showing their resentment. Obviously they find it difficult to compete with the Hunzans on an equal basis. [167]

I compared the Hunzans with the Scotch people and I think the comparison has many realistic qualities. Both peoples live in a more or less barren, hilly, rocky, rough country. Both peoples have learned the value of being frugal and thrifty. They waste naught and want naught. They are chiefly outdoorsmen. They are strongly nationalistic. Then, too, they are physically independent and have little or no fear of anyone. 181

When I was talking to the P.A. I called the Hunzans "the Scotsmen of the East" . . . and I trust the Scotsmen won't be offended. In fact, they should be flattered.

Where I think the people of Hunza gain most of their superiority is in leadership. From the little research and reading I have done on the subject, it appears that for many long years the Hunzans have had good capable leaders—really strong men who ruled their people with a firm hand. 643

In reading the autobiography of the Mir's grandfather, one quickly sees that he was not only a man of action but one of ability, foresight and reason.

Now I did not meet the Mir of Nagir. Although I [123]

643 wrote to him and asked if I could come and visit him,
•123 he did not reply to my letter. No, I'm not annoyed nor am I saying anything unfavorable about the Mir because he didn't answer my letter, but I would have liked to meet him so that I could speak more authoritatively about the many unfavorable statements made about him and his people.

However, I spoke to many people who knew the Mir of Nagir personally. I passed right by his official residence both on the way up and on the trail back. It was pointed out to me and I stopped and looked it over.

643 Whereas the Mir of Hunza is respected—not only in Nagir and Hunza and the entire surrounding country, but in most nations throughout the world—the Mir of Nagir is more or less unknown and does not even have any great amount of social intercourse with his own people.

Whenever I met a Hunzan on the road and spoke to him about the Mir of Hunza and the Mir of Nagir, he would hold himself erect and say through our interpreter something like this, "Our Mir is loved and respected by his people and everyone else. His name and fame have spread throughout the world. The Mir of Nagir, nobody knows of or likes him!" If this was said to me only once or twice, I would pay little or no attention, but a similar vein of thought and expression was portrayed on many occasions.

643 I think further that the Mir of Hunza has given a
186 high standard and caliber of leadership to his people. It was apparent wherever I went. He made his people believe and feel that they were good people, that they were equal to the best people of the world and that they were cleaner, stronger, healthier and more intelligent than others, and he was not telling them anything but the truth! The Hunzans hold their heads high.

Therefore, it is my belief, one of the reasons for the Hunzan high standing throughout the world is due to the excellent quality of leadership that they have enjoyed for many years, and is being continued by the present Mir and his staff and family. 643

I don't want anyone to run off with the idea that everything I saw about the Hunzans impressed me or that I thought they were exceptional in every way, because that definitely is not true. I did then and I do today admire the people of Hunza for all the splendid qualities that make them outstanding people. Anyone who could live in the harsh, tough, back-breaking terrain of Hunza must be made of stern fiber. Yet they have their foibles and weaknesses as well. 123 114

You see there are no immigration rules or laws to stop them from going anywhere in that area . . . at least, there weren't until recently. They could have gone to China, India, Afghanistan, Russia, Pakistan or anywhere else where the pickings might have been easier. But their love of freedom and intelligence that told them they were better off than most people in the world, even though financially poorer, kept them on the mountain slopes that are the banks of the Hunza. 486

No book on Hunza would be complete to even a small degree, unless some mention was made of the fact that it was not always known as Hunza. In fact, back before the turn of the twentieth century, Hunza was known as Kanjut and the people as the Kanjuts. 101

From records that I have located, I learned that, when the rulers of Shignam came to Hunza, they called the valley Kanjut. That name remained until the time of the Girkis and they called the country Hunza, because all of the people were united like the arrows in a quiver. In the Burushaski language Hunza means "arrow."

CHAPTER 50

Flora and Fauna

123 My Visit to Hunza was not basically a botanical or horticultural visit, much as I would have enjoyed spending a few weeks hunting, searching, climbing, delving into crevices and peeking into and over the rocks, crannies, cliffs and river beds—yes, and fields and anywhere a bit of green could be seen.

The speed at which I traveled along the mountain roads was slow and tedious, but it was even slower because of my interest in horticultural specimens that I noticed here and there and which I stopped to examine. But my stops to examine the flora were not very frequent during the first few miles, due to the simple fact that there was not much flora to investigate, except the omnipresent Fog plant, which no terrain seemed to deter. Then of course, there was a great similarity in the flora and once I had seen a plant, I did not stop to investigate another of the same species.

137

However, I did stop often enough on plant examinations so that I was always a few miles behind my friend, Cec, who was not concerned with the flora. 123 137

I want you to understand that I did not do an exhaustive detailed study of the flora of the Hunza district. I am sure there are many, many more plants in the area than I have indicated or found. I just examined what I happened to pass and see. I definitely did not go out and search for specimens away from the beaten path.

You can take my word for it, the vegetation under any and all circumstances is definitely not spectacular. However, any of the plants that are found growing in this area most certainly should be hardy enough and virile enough to do well in most other parts of the arable world. 137

It is my belief that the flora of the Hunza Valley is neither varied nor numerous, apart from the fruit and nut trees which are in most cases not indigenous. The apricot, though, could be native to that part of the world . . . at least, that is what I gathered from my studies and observations.

Apricots were grown in the greatest number, followed by mulberry, walnuts, apples, plums, peaches and pears. Here and there I came upon a pomegranate tree. These, I am positive, are indigenous to the surrounding area, if not to Hunza. [245]

The trees that I passed most frequently on the roads and trails and in the towns were eucalyptus, willow, birch, poplar and the oriental plane, sometimes called sycamore and known in Hunza as the "chenar" tree. I believe these are all native to the vicinity.

I was disappointed, surprised and even shocked to find the area completely devoid of conifers or evergreen trees. I saw one pine tree in the P.A.'s garden in

838 describe what I meant, when I spied the doctor standing close by. So I called him and waved to him to come over, which he did. I then said to him, "Would you explain to the Mir the meaning of the word hermaphrodite."

Now, as I have told you, the doctor was a Pakistani but although young, he was learned, having both his science degree and his medical one. With a flicker of a smile on his lips, he translated the word to the Mir in Urdu.

A glow appeared on the Mir's face and suddenly he broke into a chuckle and then it went on to uproarious laughter. I stood by mystified. Even the good doctor wore an air of puzzlement.

I waited a minute or two for the Mir's laughter to die down and then I said to him, "Tell us the joke, too, so we can join in the laughter. After all, laughter is something that should be shared."

At this he broke out laughing again. So we waited calmly until he cooled down. Then I said, "Now take it easy and tell me just what the joke is."

Containing himself as best he could, he replied, "Why I've got one of those things you mentioned working for me right here in the palace."

Then we all began to laugh. When it was all over, he said, "Strange you would ask about a thing like that. Actually I know of one other one in Hunza. That makes a total of two."

"If you are interested," he went on to say, "the name for hermaphrodite in Burushaski is 'mukhanas' . . . but enough of this!"

* * * * *

123 After lunch the Mir said, "Come with me! I have something I'd like to show you."

He then led me into the room I've been referring to

as his trophy room. There, neatly laid on a long table, 123
was a beautiful ornate set of silverware, a three piece [415]
tea service. It was the most unusual and elaborate design I'd ever seen. I recognized it as the leaf of the chenar tree, which is similar to our maple. I do not profess to be a connoisseur or one who appreciates objects of art, but I did recognize this as being something especially fine and unusual.

He said, "This is from the Rani and I. I hope your wife will like it!"

He then presented me with a most unusual cane. It 123
is made out of some native Hunzan wood, white in 481
color—chenar I imagine. The handle is made very ingeniously, so that you have something to hold firmly in your hand, as well as a place to rest your thumb. Then the entire length of the cane and the handle were studded at regular intervals with what the Mir explained were pieces of ibex horns.

Ibex are found in the hills. They are a wild moun- 136
tain goat, usually found above the snow line. They are a good sized, hefty animal, standing between 3 and 3½ feet high at the shoulder. They're sturdy beasts as they well must be to live among the highest and most precipitous hills in all creation. For agility there is no animal that can match them. They are crowned with long ridged horns curved backwards, usually black in color. These tough, imperturbable mountain goats reminded me of the people of Hunza and I thought there was a great deal of similarity between them. They are, as far as I know, afraid of nothing.

I'm not a hunter—I didn't go after them. Some of the men said they could be found readily. Others said you had to go far up into the mountains in order to find them. But by the number of horns of the ibex I saw in Gilgit, Baltit and all along the route I traversed,

who climbs the lofty crags around Hunza to bring down 000
the Marco Polo sheep or ovis poli is entitled to his bag. But after all, who am I to deal so generously with the life of another animal?

Then the Mir had for me two Hunzan hats of the 123
type that the men wear and also two women's hats, the 291
latter brightly colored and very neatly embroidered. [531]
He also gave me a bolt of elegantly embroidered red silk, displaying a young man and woman, a bird of paradise and what was more appropriate, a yak. Then last but not least, laying beside the other items was a white hairy mass, which for the moment I did not recognize. It was a yak's tail.

Then he said, "There is a pair of typical native Hunzan shoes being made especially for you and they will be sent to you as soon as available. I'd like to send the shoes to you later, because I am waiting for some new hides which some of my men will bring down from high up in the mountains when they've had a chance to bring down some of the ovis poli. I want you to have the best."

"I guess I can wait for the shoes," I jested. "The ones I am wearing, plus another pair that I have in my knapsack, will carry me back along the Hunza trail, I think, but I certainly will be happy to have a pair of Hunzan shoes as another momento of my visit to your most enchanting country."

Then suddenly a thought occurred to me and I said 302
to the Mir, "I notice all of your men are clean-shaven . . . that is, except for the occasional one now and then who has a little beard around his chin. Therefore I know for certain that you must practice shaving in Hunza. Yet I have seen nowhere a sign of a razor. Further, I'm reasonably sure that this is one part of the world that King Gillette has not invaded with his

302 safety hair removing instruments. So please tell me what kind of an instrument the people of Hunza use to remove the hair from their face."

[326] "I'll be glad to show you!" . . . and with that, he displayed a homemade razor, one made by the smithy of the village. "Similar instruments are made by the smithys in the various other villages throughout Hun-
[795] za," he went on. "Our religion recommends that our faces be kept clean of hair."

"I will also have a razor made for you and sent along with the shoes."

123 "Thank you very much," I said to the Mir. "I am very grateful. I was really and truly hoping you'd say that, because that is another item that I would love to add to my collection."

I didn't know how to thank him for all these very lovely gifts, but I was somewhat concerned as to how I'd carry them all the way home. It was absolutely unthinkable to ship them individually or separately because I certainly wouldn't want any of them lost.

With the exception of the silver tea service, the other items were things that I had specifically wanted and had mentioned at one time or another. The Mir had keen ears and each and every item that I had mentioned was there as a gift for me.

To my friend, Cec Brunton, he also presented a Hunza hat and a cane of a little different type.

Not being a hunter it is understandable that I would not appreciate an ibex or a Marco Polo sheep head as a trophy, but most assuredly I would hang or display all of the items that the Mir was presenting to me most conspicuously in my home. And if perchance my wife wouldn't feel that some of them were sufficiently ornate or perhaps were unbecoming to her living room, then I would proudly hang them in my office. In fact, I felt

even here that I would be happy to wear that Hunzan hat on my strolls during the winter around my home town. The fact that some of the villagers might think me a bit queer wouldn't bother me one iota, because I haven't the faintest doubt they think I'm queer anyway. So a little added fuel won't make much difference. 123

I hate to admit this but truth will out, so I might as well confess. I actually coveted a Hunzan spinning apparatus and loom, but I didn't have the courage to ask the Mir for one of them. I thought perhaps this might be a little too much. I was bothered by the fact that perhaps they needed it worse than I and I would be depriving them of it if I took it back to Canada with me. But I did want one and I tried to think of a way or a means of purchasing or getting one without asking the Mir for it. Perhaps my readers can understand my predicament. Here was a man who was doing most everything that a human being could possibly do for another, for me. I would have gladly paid him for the spinning apparatus and loom, but I knew he wouldn't take any money and if I told him I wanted it, it might be an imposition—I knew he would get it for me. So after debating the matter with myself in my mind—which took probably 5 seconds but takes 5 minutes to tell—I decided to let the matter rest for the moment.

[pp. 472-479 not processed]

Then there was ghee or yak butter to be used as a spread. Most of them at the table selected ghee. I chose the white yak butter. 262

Western types of raw vegetables on the table are conspicuous by their absence. I had all my meals at the palace and the only raw vegetable on the table at any time was lettuce and the lettuce, the Mir informed me, was from seed that I had sent him some months prior to my arrival.

So it is clear that vegetables like lettuce, celery, cucumbers, cabbage, carrots, radishes and such are not generally used in this part of the world as a fresh salad with meals. I do know they use onions and peppers. The onions that I saw were of the green type and I recall being presented with a bunch of them by a youngster who popped out of one of the houses on the trail. I gave him a small coin as a gift or reward. The child couldn't have been more than 3 or 4 years old and he shouted with glee and joy to his mother, holding the tiny coin aloft for everyone to see. He seemed happier at the gift of that coin than any youngster I can ever recall. I'm sure the big hundle of green onions was worth many times what I had given him! 123 436

I believe this illustrates just how scarce or unusual money is there!

This was a sad breakfast for me because now I was on the threshold of leaving and I wasn't too happy to go from this enchanted place. I walked slowly down the long staircase that led from the palace and the rest followed behind. 123

There in the yard was the jeep with the driver and a few servants waiting and watching. Our baggage was placed aboard.

I left a sum of 40 rupees with the Mir to divide among the many servants who had given so graciously

123 and generously of their services.

Then, with sincere good-byes, good wishes and promise of the Mir to come and visit us in America, where I promised him the use of my home for the duration of his stay, the jeep was off!

We were following the same trail that we had come up on, only this time Cec and I were in much better shape than when we arrived.

492 'Twas hardly more than 15 minutes before we pulled up at the end of the jeep road. The horses were waiting. Mine was a big black heavy fat pony and, I quickly observed, a stallion, to boot! He looked a little bit too bold for me but the Mir had assured me that he was as gentle as a kitten, strong as a bull, fast, sure-footed and intelligent. The horse Cec was to take looked very much like mine except he was brown. They were two mighty splendid pieces of horse or pony flesh. There was another horse in the group which we presumed was to be used as a pack animal.

291 I noticed when Jahangir got out of the jeep and was walking towards the horses and bearers that he limped somewhat. He was still wearing the pair of heavy, thick-soled and metal heeled army boots with which he had set out from Gilgit. Somehow this reminded me of the folly of trying to beat a man at his own game. The people of Hunza have been living with and under these conditions for 2,000 years or more and it is somewhat superfluous to say that they would have gathered by now the right kind of footwear to put on their feet. And here is what I found.

Practically all of the children wore no foot coverings. They went about barefoot. This I do not mean to infer as being the case only around their homes, but on the mountain crags and trails as well. Most of the boys and girls were barefoot, but there were some who wore

682 past 40 years. Never to my knowledge has a stranger
[609] or a visitor ever been harmed or injured.

175 In bygone days the Hunzans were considered good
648 fighting men and were feared by the Chinese, the Afghans and neighboring tribes. It is a fact that they have only been conquered or beaten once in their history and that was by a British force that defeated them at the Battle of Nilt. The British did not seek to conquer the country. It was at the time when the British were the rulers of India. They requested that the Mir of Hunza allow free passage of the mail to Kashgar in China. The Mir at that time, Safdar Ali, felt that he could count upon the aid of the Russians and the Chinese and challenged the British authority. Then the British force went into the field and it required deliberation and courage to assault the high fortress, but it was accomplished by the British and the
[643] Mir fled for his life. The British then appointed his brother as the ruler and departed peacefully. Apart from this, the British did not interfere in the affairs of the Hunzans.

• 123 *You lose face if you carry anything yourself or do any work.* In all my travels throughout the world, including Hunza, I always did my share of the carrying. I wasn't going to stand by and see one or two men burdened down with my belongings while I walked about empty handed. I will not allow it to be said that I lost face because of this.

I don't want it to be thought that I am better than anyone else nor will I allow them to think that they are better than I. Wherever there was work to be done or burdens to be borne, I always did my share and I intend to keep on doing it.

131 *Hunza in the Himalayas.* Some writers keep referring to Hunza, Gilgit and Rakaposhi as being in the

value to the people of Hunza? Let's examine them. 000

Let's start with pasteurization. Well, it would be very 744
difficult to pasteurize in Hunza. First of all, they don't have the means of providing the required heat. Besides, they don't suffer from any conditions which pasteurization would cure—if it does cure anything.

How about hospitalization? Well, they have a com- 743
paratively new, modern hospital in Aliabad, but the people don't use it very much. They distrust the hospital and they distrust the doctor, even though he is a fine capable fellow. Besides, I did not notice, particularly, any sick or ailing people sitting around, waiting for a hospital bed.

Then how about inoculations? To begin with, what 751
would you inoculate them against? They don't seem to 164
have many, if any, of our diseases. Then, too, there are no inoculations against cancer, diabetes, heart disease, arthritis and such, anyway. Oh, yes . . . besides, these diseases have never been known in Hunza . . . not even poliomyelitis.

The Mir has a huge medicine chest that was given 757
to him by the German expedition, which was stationed 177
across the river in Nagir. Yes, it did prove most useful 123
—for it helped a man get well. However, I must admit rather dejectedly that the man the medicine chest helped was my companion and not a citizen of Hunza.

They could use a dentist and right here you have 759
struck gold! However, it would be most difficult to get 164
a dentist to set up shop in Hunza, unless he were given room in the Mir's residence, for that's the only place where electric power is provided . . . unless the dentist didn't mind going back to the old days when the old foot pedal was used for power.

But let's be realistic about it! Wouldn't it be much
better to give the people of Hunza back their old [263]

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 39-B]

By JOHN CLARK

123
164

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ENTRY in my weathered notebook of a decade ago, written when, as an American living in the Himalayas in a run-down castle, I was operating an infirmary:

[576] "'Salaam aleikum, Hazoor! my trouble is very great,' said old Bohar. He raised his white-stubbled chin and pointed to the source of his pain.

"I looked and shuddered a little. Four oozing, open holes, each the diameter of a pencil, pierced his chin and jawbone. I asked him to open his mouth, and he complied, exposing a row of teeth worn absolutely flat. I ran my finger across his lower teeth; four were so loose that I was able to

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.39-C]

123 pull them out with my fingers. Bohar
164 gasped. then relaxed as the extraction permitted the abscesses at the roots to drain more freely."

101 This was in Hunza, the small, moun-
131 tainous, Central Asiatic kingdom
121 bordering on China, Kashmir, and Afghanistan, about which there has been recurring publicity, characterizing the land as a Shangri-La peopled by men and women of extraordinary
121 health and longevity. Since the beginning of man's role as a traveler, tales of far-off earthly paradises have been brought home to entertain the untraveled. No matter how many such El Dorados perish under examination, the next is inevitably welcomed into the lists with unblemished credulity.

[text continues on p. 40-B]

798 gious sect to which all Hunzas belong;
643 the Mir of Hunza is administrator, but not religious deputy, for the Ismailians of the Central Asian District.

114 THE notes about Bohar and his teeth were made after I had worked with the Hunza people for almost three years during two prolonged stays in the small kingdom. I was introduced to this part of Asia as a reconnaissance engineer on General Stilwell's staff, and returned twice be-
114 tween 1948 and 1951. My primary
123 purpose as Director of the Central Asiatic Research Foundation was to discover what resources were available to the Hunzas, and to teach them to use these to their own best advantage. From the start of my second visit I operated a general dispensary with

[Text continues on p. 41-A]

[P. 41- A]

114 Western equipment. (Training in anat-
123 omy, some concentrated informal studies of Asian diseases, plus previous experience, made this possible for me. In addition, I ran three experimental gardens and founded a craft school, with the Mir's approval.)

164 Bohar had developed scurvy, after
146 which staphylococcus infected the
123 gums and abscessed the roots of his teeth; the abscesses had then eroded downward through the jawbone and out through the flesh and skin. After washing out the sores, I gave him vitamin C tablets to stop the scurvy, and vitamin D with calcium lactate to cure the rickets that were stiffening his knees. The old man was by no means
[752] atypical. My dispensary was always beset by lines of waiting patients, all with afflictions that belied popular beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 41-B]

164 beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."
●123 Altogether, I was able to treat 5,680
[243] medical cases—the country had no
other dispensary—during my stay in
164 Hunza. My daily group of patients did
not suffer from many of the diseases
[158] common to our civilization. There
were no true neurotics; no cases of
stomach ulcers, appendicitis, or gout;
only one case of cerebral hemorrhage,
[482] and but four cardiac cases. The few
[147] bad hearts had been damaged either
by malarial anemia or by overexertion at high altitudes, as was the case
with one man who had carried the
Mir's piano on his back up twenty
miles of mountain trail. On the other
hand, my Hunza patients did have
malaria. They also had at least two
kinds of intestinal worms, and to see
for the first time a man with *Ascaris*

[P.42-B]

125 One evening, I took a census of the
165 nine teen-age boys in my wood-carv-
[123] ing school. Of these, all from well-to-do households, how many had seen death in their immediate families?
165 Here was the roll:
551 Gohor Hayat: mother, three brothers, two sisters; Sherin Beg: one brother, one sister; Nur-ud-Din: mother, two brothers, two sisters; Md. Hamid: mother, one sister; Burhan Shah: one brother, one sister; Nasar Md.: mother, two brothers, one sister; Mullah Madut: two brothers; Suleiman: one brother; Ghulam Rasul: father. In a country fabled for the long lives of its inhabitants, these are depressingly typical Asian statistics.
165 Moreover, there is little reason to be-
576 lieve that any of the old men are really as old as is claimed.

"How old are you?" I once asked a venerable patient.

"Ninety, Hazoor!" he answered.

"How do you know you're ninety?"

"Well, Hazoor, my hair is white, and I know I'm very old, and ninety is very old, so I must be ninety."

[124] My teen-aged assistant, Gohor Hayat, broke in impatiently, "Why do you waste time asking such questions?
[217] You know there are no records, be-
[212] cause so few of my people can write!"

I had thought the old man might have a way of keeping count. "How old are you, Gohor Hayat?" I asked.

Gohor Hayat responded loftily, "I'm

[text continues on p. 43-C]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 14

FIRST WALKS ABROAD

THE very day after our arrival we went out for a stroll to take 487
stock of our immediate surroundings. Along the Dála, the little stream which ran in front of our house, there is a tiny footpath, just wide enough for one. On our right was the channel in its carefully made bed with a stone revetting wall above it holding up the field above; on our left a fine hedge of quickthorn to keep passing beasts from jumping into the field 4 or
5 feet below. We could hear a merry sound of drums and 527
pipes coming from somewhere downhill, and asked what was 624
on. It seemed that just before we arrived the first barley- 534
cutting had been celebrated with various ceremonies, which we could only hope to see in detail next year, and some of the jollification was still being kept up. Qudrat Ullah was with us,
and a "levy." I must explain the levies. In most villages 624
Government chooses, no doubt on the Mir's advice, one or 124
two of the most respected peasant-farmers who are not headmen or officials of the Mir himself, and pays them a small (very small) monthly wage so that they may be ready to do any little Government jobs that are wanted. There are three in Aliábád, which is relatively a large place with about two hundred scattered houses, and the Political Agent had kindly instructed them that one of their jobs was to be useful to us. I may as well at once introduce the two first: Kalbi is a fine upstanding man, rather darker in colour than the average; and Hurmat, a younger, very cheery fellow with dashing moustaches. They are both intelligent and extremely friendly and eager to help. We didn't see why they should waste time on us for nothing, so David at once agreed with them that he

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

624 would pay them a small retaining fee if they would take it in
● 124 turns to be "on duty" with him in their spare time. They would obviously be useful informants.

487 We had to walk along in single file. There is no "road" in
312 Hunza where two people can walk abreast, or along which you can ride, except the "Great North Road" running through from Kashmir to Kashgar, and even it is never more than 4 to 6 feet wide. The other tracks run mostly beside small water-channels to enable people to get from one sluice to another to juggle the water now off, now on. Even when you have a neat little track fairly horizontal (there are only three of these possible for ordinary walking) it is broken every few yards by a sluice which you must jump or step over carefully so as not to interfere with the water arrangements or, alternatively, break your leg. The sluices are the simplest things imaginable—just a gap in the side wall of the channel which can be closed with a couple of convenient, slab-like stones and plastered up with mud from the watercourse. Occasionally there is a little wooden shutter which can be raised or lowered in wooden slots at the side.

As we went along David asked the names of the various kinds of water-channels, fields, etc., that we saw (the *names* he already knew, but not at first hand which kind was which), and presently we had a train of bright-eyed boys in the fields on each side, full of amusement at this new game. One would cry: "This stone is a flint; this is a stink-stone," whereupon he would crack it and give it to us to notice the faint smell of sulphur it gave out. Another would run up: "Here's a poppy and a poppy-head"—so we were not going to lack for willing teachers.

After a little we turned down a narrow "lane," less like an English lane than anything else on earth. It plunged downhill pretty steeply, sometimes just a rocky slope, sometimes just one boulder below another making a very crude flight of steps varying from 18 inches to 3 feet or so. Beside the "path" ran the inevitable water-gutter in which you could walk, as it happened at the moment to be dry.

417 On each side, a bare 3 feet apart, were the usual walls of
333

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and 524
Banu, about six and four, who played with me and let me 177
tickle them with straws and play "One little pig went to market . . ." with their dusty little toes. This game proved such a success that I roughly translated it into "One little sheep went to drink. . . ." They would never have seen a pig, and if they had they *ought* to think it unclean, so I thought a lamb was safer. My first version gave one little lamb bread to eat, "bread" being a general word for "food." This caused great laughter: "Lambs wouldn't like bread, Mother dear." "Well, what do you think they'd like best?" "Oh, grass or leaves." "One little lamb had grass to eat and one little lamb had none." Thus amended, my little rhyme was approved, and other youngsters turned up to play "little lambs" till the game grew so popular that whenever I sat down on anyone's threshing-floor baby feet would be stretched out towards me: "One little lamb, Mother . . ." till I got quite tired of ". . . baa, baa, baa, all the way home," but it never palled on them. Centuries hence, when we shall have long been sleeping in the Garden of Rest at Golders Green, some anthropologist will come along and wonder what process of "diffusion" took "one little pig" to Hunza, or whether Hunza spontaneously generated the jingle for itself.

My pencil and little notebook were a great source of amuse- 124
ment, and the youngsters would crowd round: "Have you put 476
my name in? I'm Shamúli." "So you are; but whose Shamúli are you? I've got two Shamúlis already. Who's your Daddy? How many brothers have you got; how many sisters, are they bigger or smaller, what are *their* names? And which house is yours?" Thus gradually I got to know most of our immediate neighbours, but it was no easy matter to sort the families out, for groups would gather on each other's threshing-floors, and anyone whose own immediate work was done would join in to help the workers. I finally gave numbers of my own to all the nearest houses, and tried bit by bit to plot out the various relationships.

Meantime the threshing went steadily on, and I noticed that 243
the driver carried always a flat bowl shoulder high in her left 237
hand. "Now what's that for?" asked I. "Why, that's the dung-

2: Lorimer J-3 (1932-4; 1936-8) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

243 wheat—the usual "Ha! Ha! Ha!" encouraging them and the usual dung-dish unostentatiously circulating behind. It was an interesting, very typical scene, and not a hundred yards below
000 our house. I sent a message up to David (there is always a small candidate to act proudly as messenger) to tell him that he might care to bring his camera. In a few minutes he was picking his way cautiously down the breakneck track while a great cheer of welcome rang from the little crowd. They had all been genuinely concerned about his illness, and were delighted to see that he was better and able to come down and watch things himself. It was his first visit to one of the field working parties. He sat on a low wall in a tiny speck of shade, made friendly chat all round, and was a great social success.

601 While I pottered each morning in the fields, enjoying myself among the people, he was usually hard at work indoors with
● 124 Qudrat Ullah, taking notes of how the irrigation is managed and the system on which the water is distributed by clans and families, and working out genealogical trees. This latter is a weary affair but most useful, for it gives you insight into all their marriage alliances, how many children each family has, how many boys and how many girls, who is allowed to marry whom, and what the relationship terms are, both in the vocative between the various members of a family group, and in the third person when others are talking of them—a highly com-
601 plicated but most instructive subject. An elder brother will address the younger by one method, while the younger will use a more respectful term towards the elder; all the younger boys of a family will use to their *eldest* sister the same respectful form of address as to their eldest brother, though to the uninitiated it would seem to imply that she was a male. A man addresses his wife's father and mother in precisely the same terms and with the same respect as his own. A child's "uncle" is a mother's brother only; the father's brother is "Little Father" or "Big Father" according as the speaker's own father (about whom there is no ambiguity) is older or younger than the uncle concerned. The children of brothers who all share the one home speak of each other as brother and sister, unless there is need to be more explicit, in which case they will

Chapter 25

LEARNING AN UNKNOWN LANGUAGE

124 BEFORE we quit Hunza for our trip to Yasin, I may perhaps interpolate—for language lovers only—a few notes on the more technical side of our work.

People at home, whose idea of learning a new language—if they want to do anything so eccentric and unusual—is to buy grammar and dictionary, instal a set of Linguaphone records, attend classes, or hire a teacher, often ask how you can tackle the problem of learning an unwritten language where such aids do not exist and whose speakers are what the Germans call *analphabetisch*. It may be of interest to them to know how DL has usually set about it, though other pioneer language workers have doubtless evolved other methods.

You first select a few intelligent men who speak their language well and clearly, and work with them until you light on the one best suited to your purpose. You then annex him to the household at a fixed, generous salary, so that he will always be available when wanted, whether at home or on tour. I may mention incidentally that in our life the language hobby involved a considerable regular outlay in wages, pony hire, travelling expenses, etc., for such language retainers, of whom we often had two, three, or four in tow at once, and such a post with us was much coveted.

As long as he was an official, David had, of course, to fit this private amusement of his into the nooks and crannies left by his work, which naturally took unquestioned precedence, and was often so exacting as to leave no time at all save for meals and a minimum of essential exercise, so that these costly informants might be unused for days or weeks.

Having picked a suitable and congenial man—there is no

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

use trying to work if it can be avoided with a person you dislike—the game begins. In our regions it was usually possible to find a man with some smattering of Hindustani, Persian, or Pashtu, which helped to speed up the preliminary stages. You get him in, squat him on the floor, and by means of your medium language get hold of a few everyday words: 124 ●

father	mother	grandchild	good	bad
grass	tree	wheat	arm	leg, etc.

then the primary colours: *black*, *white*, *red*; the numerals, pronouns, and a few simple time-expressions.

Oddly, many non-European languages have only one word for *blue* and *green*, but you take refuge in *blue as the sky*, "*blue*" *as grass*. Again, oddly as it seems to us, many have ambiguous time-expressions that look indifferently before and after (like the French *tout à l'heure*) so that *yesterday* is the same as *tomorrow*, i.e. one day before or after to-day.

The next most urgent item is, of course, the verb. You choose the seemingly simplest verbal idea "to have" but immediately strike a snag. *I have a stick* seems straightforward enough to an English mind, but you extract only "the stick is with me," "the stick is beside me," "the stick is in my hand"; there is, in fact, no verb "to have." So you take *to go* and try to get the forms of the present tense: *I go*, *thou goest*. . . . Bearing in mind that your man has no idea of grammar, you will not be surprised or daunted by arriving at something of this sort: 124 193

I'm off	we're making a move
thou goest	you are clearing out
he's starting	they flee

You're an old hand and you guess at once that the verb is not bedevilled, but that you have got a clue to six verbs instead of one and to the future as well as to the present tense. Pursuing the past tense of a verb which lets its action be graphically illustrated you may extract something like:

Yesterday I smote	We had beaten
thou hast hit *or* banged	you thrashed
he struck	they whacked *or* belaboured

again with a merry assortment of different roots and a confusion of various shades of past-ness. All these various things you ultimately succeed in pigeon-holing.

According to the intelligence of your man—and many of these untutored folk are quite as intelligent as the average headmaster or Oxford don—and the amount of time you have to spare and the intricacy of the language (Burushaski being at least ten times as difficult as Shina or Khowar) your rate of progress will vary. In any case, you will find that, however bright and willing your informant, he is wholly unused to sustained concentration, and must immediately be released at the first sign of weariness or boredom. Also that you must spend many hours working through and sorting your notes and tabulating your results before the next interview, if this is to be profitable.

It was DL's practice to escape at the first possible moment from the thraldom of the intermediate language. First because translation from another tongue is always liable to distort and colour the speaker's own idiom, and secondly because both your and your informant's knowledge (especially his) of the second language is imperfect and often inaccurate, and the amount you actually have in common very limited. It is therefore at best an untrustworthy crutch.

You then bid him think over some short narrative—a fairy tale, an anecdote of real life (a wedding, a funeral, or a raid)—and be prepared to tell it to you very slowly. It is not the affair of a day to train him to speak at a pace you can carefully record, and at first if he has outstripped you and is asked to "say that again" he will repeat himself in totally different words till your text is an agglomeration of bewildering anacolutha.

Having got a first short text on to paper phonetically—without being at all clear of its meaning or the right division of words—and having deciphered of it what you can, you read it aloud to him next day, making corrections as required, and if *he* can understand it, you have made your first step forward. The more unsophisticated he is, the more enchanted he will be to hear his own words again verbatim, and you are half way to making a philologist of him; you have, at any rate, enlisted

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

an interested collaborator. But you yourself have not got one 126
word in ten, perhaps not one in fifty. You then work painstakingly through the text, getting a rough translation by means of the medium language, asking plural forms and other verbal tenses and acquiring in the process a mass of extra material in your notes.

As the days go on, your man becomes more and more helpful, he gets to know something of your grammatical wants and will now volunteer the plural forms, or stop his tale to interpolate: "he went, he goes, he will go, he has gone," or the like; or he will offer an equivalent expression, no longer as an anacoluthon, or digress to tell of some native custom, the details of some cooking process or some current superstition.

It is no easy task to keep your notes in such form as to be readily available for reference; it is still less easy to keep at command—in your head and on your tongue—all that you have already learned. Here, of course, the whole-time philologist has untold advantage over the busy man who can only snatch odd moments before or after a hard day's work, and sometimes after long blank intervals, for the pursuit of this most exacting of hobbies.

I never lost my admiration of the determination with which 124 ●
DL would give all his leisure to these exhausting séances. It might be half an hour before breakfast; it might be a pause between the reception of two official visitors; it might be a few minutes' interval while an important paper was being fetched from the office files, or a draft despatch typed for signature. Even on tour, when each day meant a mountain march of eighteen to twenty-five miles, in heat or cold, in rain or sun, over difficult and often dangerous country, plunging through banked-up sands by the river-bed, skirting precipitous cliffs along a rock-cut track eked out by the frailest of wooden bridges, or across the dreaded face of a stone shoot where the perpetual trickling of surface pebbles was an ominous reminder that any moment loose boulders might bombard the treacherous track; when each arrival at the rest-house of the day was the signal for visits of courtesy by some local headman or royalty, for the reception of petitioners and the sympathetic

8: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

124 hearing of complaints; no sooner had these matters and a cup of tea been disposed of, than out came pen, paper, and writing-board and one informant or another was on the floor beside the Sahib's chair. If we were passing through a district whose speech might be some variant of the "classical" Shina of Gilgit, some local man would be fetched in to throw light on the local patois and its divergence from what it was convenient to take as the norm. These extra séances by the road yielded, for instance, seven different methods—all instructive and all mutually illuminating—of conjugating the transitive verb in Shina.

Whether the locality had fresh local matter to offer or not, there was always some language-informant in our train, and in defiance of fatigue or headache, work could be and was pursued.

As knowledge accumulated, the word for word translation of texts was no longer necessary, and difficult passages were explained and commented on in the language itself, so that the last shred of possible misunderstanding and obscurity arising from the intermediate language was eliminated.

The problem constantly arose at every stage, whether with limited time at your disposal and limited endurance at the informant's, it was better to linger over a seemingly insoluble riddle or to pass on. DL found that in practice, though it went against all military principle to leave a fortress untaken in your rear, this sometimes fell of itself, if you ignored it and continued your campaign. In other words, that a tangle of to-day, which seemed only to grow worse as you wrangled with it, might unravel itself by some new turn of phrase acquired to-morrow, or a week hence—or a year.

Lest all this sound too easy, let me make it more vivid by an analogy. Suppose yourself shipwrecked on the coast of France, where the community are illiterate fishermen and peasants, and there are neither books nor schoolmasters. You get down to acquiring spoken French. There may be a couple of sailors among the foreshore folk who have, like yourself, a limited knowledge of Dutch. You set to work:

u(n)	deu(x)	troi(s)	quatre	
cinq	six	se(p)t	huit	neuf

Having got the simple numerals you proceed:

u	nenfant	une	femme
deu	zenfants	deu	femmes
troi	zenfants	troi	femmes
quat	trenfants	quatre	femmes
cin	kenfants	cin	femmes
sé	tenfants	sé	femmes
hui	tenfants	hui	femmes
neu	venfants	neu	femmes

It will take a little time to work out the true initials of the nouns and the finals of the numerals, to discover the secret of the vowel—the *h* mute you will never reach for it is an orthographic fiction—and to formulate the rules of liaison.

You will not at once discover when the adjective precedes and when it follows its noun, nor which inanimate objects will be considered masculine and which feminine—why, in fact, *un couteau* but *une fourchette*, *un sofa* but *une chaise*—what principles govern the use of *du* and *de*, *beaucoup de* but *bien des*.

And when you turn to verbs it will take perseverance to disentangle the four "regular" conjugations and the handsome varieties of the "irregular." The uses of *me* and *moi* may hold you up a bit, and the idiomatic vagaries of *en*, *y* and *que*. By the time you have entirely reduced to order, say, the verb *s'en aller* and can account to your own satisfaction for n'est-ce pas? jusqu'a ce qu'il ne vienne, a moins qu'il ne soit, si j'etais que de vous, vas-y, ne voilà-t-il pas? and have recorded verbatim all the folk-lore, local history, and gossip that you can track down, your hair may well be turning somewhat grey. Yet French is a language closely allied to our own, of familiar structure, full of cognate roots and basing on Latin which we know; the Frenchman's customs and modes of thought are akin to ours; his religion and morals are variants of our own. Try Burushaski.

I am conscious that in writing of all we heard and said I may have seemed to imply—though I trust not with the unblushing disingenuousness of some travel-writers—that conversation always flowed smoothly and easily. This was not wholly the case. The worst brick I heaved was when I saw a

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

124 relatively strange woman clearing up after a day's work and breezily accosted her: "*Jú nø*, sister, I see you are sweeping up the threshing floor with your little bastard." In extenuation I may remark that the words for "broom" and "bastard" differ only in ending in *s* and *sh* respectively, and that the *s*-one turns its *s* into *sh* in the plural. Any offence that might have been given was quenched in the delighted laughter of the people with me, but I was afraid to talk of brooms, whether singular or plural, for many a day.

Even at the end of fifteen months of strenuous practice in talking (and several years of preceding hard work), neither of us had acquired the skill or fluency in speaking that would have rewarded the same effort and goodwill expended on a language like Persian, German, or Shina. The most confirmed language-smatterer could not truthfully say that Burushaski is an easy language to "pick up." It may amuse the reader to know something of the snags that it holds for the unwary—and the wary, too.

193 Burushaski rejoices in four noun categories, roughly corresponding to "genders" in Greek or Latin, but not, as will be seen, based on sex-distinction. If, however, we think of the gender eccentricities of French and German we may indeed question whether grammatical gender in the European languages is really sex-linked as our terminology implies. Professor Meinhoff has other theories about its origin.

Be that as it may, Burushaski divides its nouns into names denoting human male and female—which is straightforward enough—but treats the names of all non-human, living animals as belonging to Class 3, cows and bulls, cocks and hens, mares and stallions alike, while including in the same class the names of a large number of inanimate concrete objects. Class 4 comprises the names of all abstract things—heat and cold, kindness and dreams—of all inanimate objects of indefinite shape and form (such as flour, water, cloud, and sand) besides a distressing number which might seem to belong equally well to Class 3 but just don't.

Amusing facts are that the same word in Class 3 denotes an *apple*, but in Class 4 an *apple tree*; in 3 the belly of a living

DIGRESSION TO YASIN

There was no advantage in my also trying to slog at Werchikwar as we were not staying long enough to turn it to account. So we had decided beforehand that I could best employ working hours in trying to work out the major differences between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski which are perhaps too nearly identical to be styled separate dialects, but yet naturally show some distinctive variations. To this end we had borrowed from the Mir of Nagir a morganatic brother-in-law of some education, Ali Ausat by name, a young man about the same age as Qudrat Ullah, and annexed him—at a salary, of course.

The two had travelled together in our train since Aliábád with instructions to talk together about everything under heaven, and make notes of all the points, however trifling, in which their speech differed. While DL toiled away with Muslim in one room of the spacious rest-house, I set up my writing table in another, and got the two young men in to help me to set on record whatever observations they had made. Each day I suggested one set of things for them to work out together before the morrow—household utensils and field implements, irrigation terms, the vocabulary of relationship, etc., etc., and we then ran through their comparative lists with ample digressions whenever any point of interest challenged attention. It proved a most amusing game, and their good-humoured wrangles over which of two forms of expression was the more classical Burushaski were a constant amusement to all three of us. I hope it will prove that we covered most of the vital points; it is for DL to work out the material in due course.

Superficially the main items that leaped to the eye (or ear) were: first, that the Nagir vocabulary has been far more deeply interpenetrated—or corrupted—by Shina than Hunza Burushaski, but that on the other hand Nagir has been more conservative in preserving full verbal forms and un-telescoped vowel sounds. Nagir preferring, as it were, "I shall" to "I'll," "he does not" to "he doesn't," "we will not" to "we won't," and the like. The differences, however, between the Hunza and Nagir speech proved (as we already knew) to be trifling compared with those between Hunza Burushaski and

after the usual greetings, he asked how Cec was doing. 122

"He seems to be quite a bit better today!"

"I'm awfully sorry he had to leave last night," said the Mir.

I didn't think he'd even noticed it—but he had.

"The doctor is up visiting him now," I told him. "He said he would join us in a few minutes."

"What does he usually have for breakfast?" the Mir asked me.

"Oatmeal, poached or soft boiled eggs, toast, jam and coffee would be wonderful if they are available."

"Not only is it available," said the Mir, "it is ready, for that is part of the breakfast we usually prepare for our guests. It will be taken up to him immediately."

A signal and a few words in Burushaski and Cecil's breakfast was well on its way up.

So we had breakfast in the dining room and chatted 124 and I sought to make every moment count by asking questions that were vital to me . . . that is, questions about Hunza.

I am quite sure that the Rani understood most of [191] the things that we talked about. She could not have been shamming as she looked both interested and charming while the conversation went on.

"I have arranged for an interpreter to accompany 124 you on your trips and you can go wherever you like, 115 providing you can get through and the roads are open," 191 the Mir told us.

Shortly after, Sultan Ali appeared. He was the schoolmaster and also taught the Mir's children at home. He was to be our interpreter and guide. He was a slender, handsome young man. I'd judge his age as being in the early twenties. His command of English was very good. But I don't think his English was up to the standard spoken by the Mir, who spoke so fluently

•124
115 that one would never believe that it was only a second-
191 ary language to him.

231 "You know," I said to the Mir, "one of the things
115 that I wanted to see when I came to Hunza was a yak. I understand from my readings that yaks are used in this part of the country and I have been looking everywhere as I walked along the road to Baltit, but I have as yet seen no sign of a yak!"

"That is not hard to explain," the Mir said. "The yaks are further up in the mountains. They cannot stand the heat and we keep them in the higher altitudes where they can be comfortable. If they are brought to the lower altitudes, they suffer. They like to be up around 11,000 feet or higher."

"Well, then how can I get up to see them?" I asked. "I don't mind if I have to walk for a day or two, but see them I must!"

"I'll do better than that," said the Mir. "I will phone and have two yaks brought down as quickly as possible. They will have to come from Passu which is about 38 miles from here. I will have action taken at once and see that the yaks are provided."

115 (Does that not indicate to you the kind of man and
124 host was the Mir of Hunza?)

I then took my leave of the Mir and the Rani and went out with Sultan Ali and Jahangir to look, see, pry and ask questions.

344 Our first jaunt was a good stiff climb to the old
644 palace located about two miles from the Mir's new palace. As the crow would fly I'm sure it would not have been more than ¾ of a mile. But in order to get up there one has to wend and weave and climb slowly.

I was now becoming quite accustomed to the altitude. Kerimabad is up about 8500 feet and I am sure

that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

121 and of course the kinds and varieties of foods that were used, I attached great importance to this phase of my trip and I was definitely determined that, come what might, this information I would have thoroughly and in detail.

124 No doubt it would have been an advantage had I been able to speak either Urdu, or better still Burushaski, so that I could frame my questions as I saw fit and have answers that would be direct and would not require translation. However, that was not possible. Still, I had no reason to believe that my interpreter would not be a forthright individual who would give me the answers that were relayed to him clearly and to the point.

Mind you, I was seeking no miracle or world panacea. I wanted to find out the simple truth!

Further, I wanted to walk from farm to farm . . . that is, just selecting one at random here and there. I wanted to view the farmer's activities, study his soil and examine it, ask a few questions and thus, I could gather the information that I wanted and which was so vital to me.

344 644 The old palace proved to be in a good state of preservation. I wondered, because of its good condition, why someone didn't live there. Many of the rooms were still furnished. There were even rugs and tapestries placed and hung in their original positions.

[126] When we climbed to the top of the castle—that is, to the roof where I snapped many photos—it seemed mighty high and overlooked everything around us. But [133] in the distance were mountains that were well over 20,000 feet—and that is no exaggeration, but more likely an understatement.

There was a railing around this upper balcony and from this balcony you could walk into other chambers.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 29

Hunzan Crafts and Skills

THE NEXT MORNING Jahangir came to our quarters just as I was ready to leave for breakfast. Cec again remained in bed on the doctor's advice.

The Mir was waiting for us in his bright, pleasant sun room when we entered and with him was another handsome, beaming man whom he introduced as his brother, Ayesh, who had just returned from a trip up country.

It is customary for the Mir's oldest brother to remain unmarried and act as an advisor, assistant, secretary or whatever else this position might be termed. He also acted as the Mir's emissary and was the engineer of the electric light outfit in operation at the palace.

We were then ushered into the dining room for breakfast. The Mir, Ayesh and the Rani seated themselves just to keep us company and of course add delight and conversation while we breakfasted.

•124 "You understand," he said, "that the reason I do
[788] not have breakfast with you is due entirely to the fact that I must rise at 3:30 every morning to perform my religious duties . . . and 'tis then I have my morning meal."

"Thank you most sincerely for your explanation. It is most important to me so I may better understand the ways of your people and yourself."

Then the Mir went on, "I have received word that two yaks are being brought down from Passu and should arrive at Altit some time during the night and will be there tomorrow morning."

Then I said to the Mir, "Would it be all right if I walked to Altit and rode one of the yaks back here to your palace?"

"That's exactly what I had in mind for you," said the Mir.

"Well, seeing there are two yaks coming down, as you mentioned, and my friend Cec is confined to his quarters by the doctor, I'll take Jahangir along and he'll ride the other yak back."

"Fine, fine!" said the Mir.

124 Then the conversation continued and the Mir said,
115 "I have another brother and I certainly hope you will
644 have an opportunity to meet him. He is serving in the Pakistan army—as a captain. I expect him back within the next 3 or 4 days and you will enjoy meeting him, I know. He is a most likable and interesting man. I hope he gets here before you decide to leave."

"I'd be very happy to meet him and I, too, hope he arrives before we depart."

"We call him Salat," he said. "That means mous-
[302] tache in our language. He has one of those handlebar moustaches and he's a big man—bigger than either Ayesh or I. His proper name is Capt. Jamshed Khan."

Ayesh was a most jovial character. He had the most pleasant smiling happy countenance of any man I've ever met. He was always either laughing or smiling and every time I looked at him I had to smile as well. He was a handsome man but in contrast to the Mir, who had a good head of dark hair, Ayesh was balding, the same as I. 124 115 [644] [142]

It was most pleasant to see the splendid cordial relationship that existed between him and the Mir's entire family.

"How are you coming along with your quest for information?" asked the Mir.

"Exceptionally well, sir," I replied. "But there are also many questions that only you can answer and I'm hoping that you can spare a few minutes some time within the next few days in private so that I may gain this information."

"Any time you say," replied the Mir pleasantly. "I'm at your disposal. You mention the time and that will be it."

"You are indeed very kind to grant me this great favor and I appreciate it," I said.

So there and then we made an appointment for 5 o'clock the following day.

Every meal at the Mir's was a joy and a delight and both the Mir and the Rani were always present. I had already mentioned to him that this was a trouble and an imposition and too much to expect of him. But he said that it was the way he wanted it and that nothing was too good and no effort too great for his guests. Well, what can you do with a man like that? 122 574

Then he informed me concerning my friend's health. "The doctor has things under control now," he told me, "but he will remain here with me as my guest at the palace during your stay so there will be no worries 122 758

122 or cares in regard to Mr. Brunton's condition. The doc-
[758] tor will attend to his duties at Aliabad and look after the hospital there . . . but he only has one or two patients and he will be back and forth from the hospital to the palace. Therefore he will be in constant touch with your friend."

"No man could do more," I assured the Mir. "I don't know how we can ever thank you enough."

"Don't mention it," he said. "You have been very kind, too."

"Now is there anything that you would like me to get for you while you're here? I wish you would tell me because some things may take a few days to procure or prepare and I would like to have them ready for you."

[124] "I'll tell you what I would like and you tell me what you would like me to send you from Canada—and no holds barred." I said to him.

"Fair enough! We'll tell each other frankly what we want."

"Agreed," I joyfuly replied.

126 I always carry a notebook with me. It's a small folding affair made of leatherette or something, that has room for 3 or 4 ball point pens and a pad inside. I was making notes as well as marking down the things the Mir expressed interest in when I spoke of the conveniences available in America. I intended to send these to him anyway.

I had seen quite a few little items around Hunza that I would have liked to have . . . for instance, a Hunzan hat, a cane made in Hunza, a pair of Hunzan boots. The boots are most unusual, being something
291 like the mukluks used in the north by the Eskimos, ex-
237 cept that these are made in a simpler manner. They are somewhat like riding boots in shape except they are

792 his ancestors' dynasty in India, he donated what is now
871 the Hunzan school system. The fact that the children of Hunza are given a good education, without any cost to them, is due entirely to the kindness and benevolence of that great man. He started and maintained the system and I trust that his son will continue in his father's footsteps."

That the school system of Hunza is working, I can attest.

792 From what I have been able to gather and learn, Hunza was one of the states of India that contributed to the coffers of the Aga Khan. There is some story, true or mythical, that each year all of his religious followers throughout the world gave him a gift of gold or platinum to the extent of his weight. Now I do know
[316] that some gold was mined in Hunza and probably that, too, was sent to the Aga Khan or added to the sum or weight sent from all of the countries and the millions of his followers to be his gift but, as far as I know, at the present time there is not much gold being mined in Hunza and nowhere did I see any sign of anything that could be used as a means of export to bring money into Hunza.

•124 In the meantime I was enjoying my breakfast and between munching mouthfuls of food, I was asking the Mir some rather important questions.

651 "I read somewhere some time ago, that the revenues
681 you obtain from the fines you levy upon people in Hunza who commit misdemeanors or break rules or laws are added to the coffers of your own estate."

The Mir thought this was a great joke and laughed heartily.

"To begin with," he said, "laws are seldom broken by my people. They are good people and they live peaceably and do not commit serious offenses. During

249 plants. Of one thing I was sure and that was that they weren't growing them for the beauty of the flowers.

Now in my strolls and walks about Hunza, I didn't get very far above Altit. Who knows? Maybe a large quantity of poppies are grown further along the river. But actually I doubt it very much.

124 Breakfast was now completed. I was eating alone, of course, in this instance. The Mir and Rani were just keeping me company. I thanked the Rani for her kindness, bowed to her and took my leave with the Mir.

Many long years ago I learned not to doubt people but to accept what they say until proven incorrect . . . be patient and allow time to speak. I accepted what the Mir told me but I wondered just how that miracle could take place. Upon examining the yak's feet or hooves or whatever else you might call them, I learned how this wonder of wonders occurred and I'm going to describe it to you. It will be difficult and you'll have to follow me rather closely. 231

If you examined a yak's forelegs, about 8 inches up from the hoof on the inside are appendages that look like spavins or callouses. These obviously are auxiliary paws, cushions or hooves. Therefore, the yak could, when necessary, walk on these appendages. It can be best illustrated by having you put your fingers straight up resting on the table. Then by dropping your fingers flat and putting down your wrist, you immediately shorten your arm by at least 6 inches. The yak could walk on its hooves or on the spavins 8 inches up along the leg.

Jahangir had never ridden a yak either, so he got aboard one and I shot him a few times—that is, with the camera. He was quite pleased with himself, too, because that was something he hadn't anticipated when he started the journey. 124

Sultan Ali, our guide, said to me after I dismounted, "These men made quite a sacrifice in bringing the yaks down here from Passu. It's about 38 miles, you know, and they lose at least 2 or 3 days from work on their farms."

I knew quite clearly what he meant and I said, "Well, what do you think would be fair recompense for their efforts?"

"Well, about 40 rupees each."

Jahangir was standing besides me while this discus-

124 [434] sion was taking place and he said to Sultan Ali, "That's ½ much too much! Why most people in Hunza don't get that much in a year. I don't think you should ask Mr. Tobe to give them that much money."

Sultan Ali and Jahangir exchanged a few fairly warm words about this and the end result was that Sultan Ali compromised by saying that maybe 20 rupees each would be satisfactory. So I dug into my pocket-book and handed each of them two 10 rupee notes.

½ [ie. 40 rupees - ANALYST]

partake of the Mir's blessings. 000

In comparing the fort at Altit and the one at Baltit, I gained the impression that the one at Altit had more rooms . . . smaller ones they were, but there seemed to be more of them. The old fort at Baltit was much larger and more impressive. Yet somehow I became more attached to the Altit Fort. I had the impression that it was almost impregnable. 344 644 712

Then I recalled the true story of the capture of the fort by the British and, after appraising its isolation, strength and precipitous banks and sides, I thought to myself, "Any group of men who had the courage to attempt to scale and capture any fort in Hunza deserved a lot more glory and loot than they would ever get in Hunza . . . and that is for certain!" 712 648

On one of the balconies stood a man with a bowl of apricots and Sultan Ali said, "This man is the chowkidor, or guardian, of the fort and it is customary to give him a gift." 124

"Of what?" I asked.

"Oh, about 10 rupees," replied Sultan Ali.

Jahangir almost jumped a foot when he heard that and he said, "For what? He hasn't done anything and we haven't eaten any of his apricots."

"Well," Sultan Ali said, "it's just customary!"

"Customary or no," said Jahangir, "I think it's ridiculous!"

I turned to Sultan Ali and said, "Normally I'd be glad to give him the tip that you suggest, but the truth of the matter is my fund of Pakistan rupees is just about nonexistent. When we set out for Hunza from Pindi we calculated in advance approximately how many rupees we would need and then we added on 100 extra, and that's what we came with. 124 122

"From the stories that we read and from the infor-

•124 mation that we could gather, we were under the im-
122 pression that no money was used in Hunza. Therefore we didn't calculate on spending any. So far we have parted with approximately 300 rupees and to place the matter squarely in front of you, we don't have enough money to buy our plane tickets back from Gilgit to Rawalpindi! I'm hoping we'll be able to get some money at the bank in Gilgit because I did notice that there's a bank there, so I'm afraid I'll have to pass up the 10 rupees that I'm supposed to give the chowkidor of the fort. But tell him I enjoyed my visit to the fort very much anyway!"

344 While we were wandering around on the open bal-
644 cony of the old fort, Sultan Ali pointed to a neat looking place down below, but not far distant, and said, "That is the Mir's picnic place, where he comes every Saturday evening with his family. He stays there Sunday and Monday, returning to the palace for his various duties Monday evening. This practice is followed during the summer months."

"Well," I replied, "that's a custom that's followed pretty well in the West and probably in most places around the world . . . where one tries to get away from the usual home conditions and seeks refuge in a cottage. We, generally speaking, call this our summer cottage. And you know what? Many folks and families travel hundreds of miles just for the weekend, just as long as they can get away from home and the sameness of living for a few days at a time!"

"I guess we've seen everything here at the old fort worth seeing. So let's go down and make for the Mir's picnic place," I said as I headed for the stairs.

It was a walk of but a few hundred yards and we were soon at the garden gate of the bungalow. Sultan Ali spoke in Burushaski to one of the chowkidors who

115 Now I didn't see his birth certificate and I might as
165 well tell you, right here and now, that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. I accept the figure of his age as he told me but remember, I was not there at the time of his birth!

344 When I was through with my spasm of inspection
644 and admiration, we began to parade up the long driveway that led into the Mir's garden. This area is flanked on the right by space that looks as though it were a parking lot, and maybe that's exactly what it is, but instead of cars, the guests or members of the family park—or should I say tether—their horses and yaks in this area. Maybe now they park their jeeps there.
[493] The Mir owns two of them, but one, I understand, was away in Pindi being repaired. (Or was it the shambles and horrible wreck of a jeep that I came across a week later, on the road back to Gilgit?)

126 Now I noticed that the Mir, Ayesh, the doctor and Cec were coming along the roadway to meet us, and soon we joined forces and were gathered in one group. I thought this was the ideal time to take some photographs and, luckily for us, they were the best photographs we took on the entire trip. Photography is something that has never interested me and I had never taken half a dozen pictures in my life. Before leaving
[122] home, I did try to learn a bit about photography, but I couldn't learn enough fast enough.

124 When the fun, excitement and fast-flowing humorous remarks had subsided, I said to the Mir, "If you've nothing more important to do or if you would care to give me a little more of your time, we could start that question and answer session that I arranged with you for this afternoon."

"I am at your service," he replied pleasantly and with alacrity.

So the Mir, the doctor and I proceeded up the stairs to his famed reception sun room. He instructed one of his people, in his own language and soon we were comfortably seated with an assortment of cold drinks before us. 124

The Mir, the doctor and I then had a long session. I asked questions of the doctor just as readily as I did of the Mir and both answered with equal frankness. At no time did one look at the other to ascertain whether or not he should answer the question. Everything was done on a strict, clear-cut, frank basis.

128 As I sat and pondered my experiences—things that I had actually seen and witnessed, people whom I had met and talked to—I wondered and asked myself, "Will I be the man who will destroy the myth or will I corroborate it?"

Then I did a little soul searching. When an individual does that, it means he is troubled . . . and I admit that that was exactly my predicament.

I have tried to ascertain the truth of everything I have recorded and related in this book. Most of the time I was fortunate enough to see and do these things for myself. However, some information I had to obtain by asking questions and probing, but in every case I believed the information sincere and honest. You will note that, at all times, I sought my information from the highest and best informed sources available—even at the danger of annoying my host. Friendship and decorum are important conventions but, with me anyway, the quest for knowledge knows no bounds.

There may be errors and omissions and even falsehoods in my story but if there are any, it is by sheer accident or by willful misrepresentation on the part of someone else. Inasmuch as I am concerned, every statement made in this book is true, to the best of my innermost belief and knowledge.

●124 128 There were many instances, while gathering this information, where facts, stories and other data were related to me and I doubted their veracity. So right there and then I said so. In some instances, I told the people who were giving me information that what they said did not make sense, and either they must have misunderstood or there was something being lost or twisted in the translation. I recall at the moment three such specific instances with entirely different groups and in each case, upon studying and revamping the

question, the error was cleared up. 128

Remember, I do not claim to be a Sherlock Holmes 124
or smart enough to detect by scent or otherwise an untruth or misunderstanding, so they may crop up in various places in the book.

Long before I left home I had prepared a set of queries. Among them were things for me to investigate —places, customs and chores for me to see and do. And from all this I was to make my own values and estimates as to the validity of the claims made about Hunza and its people. I tried to cover every aspect of importance and interest and I believe that, with very few exceptions, I faithfully accomplished my mission.

In preparation for the trip I read every book I could 122
find or locate that involved Hunza and in each case 114
the author had done a credible job, but most of them had failed miserably to give sufficient information—at least, for me—because 'twas information that I wanted. I wanted to know more about the agriculture of Hunza, about the health of the people, about their methods, their means and their way of life. None of the authors gave much of that vital data.

Right from the first moment that I made plans to go 12
to Hunza I decided that, if I wrote a book, it would 114
contain the most complete, the most detailed and the most thorough study of the people of Hunza yet accomplished by any writer. This determination came upon me from the frustrations I felt when I read the available books on Hunza and was left with a feeling that *only the surface of the subject had been scratched.*

In my endeavors to fulfill this undertaking, I have spared neither time, effort, risk nor expense. I certainly don't want my readers to be left with the feeling that all about Hunza has not been told. I definitely realize that no one in a short few weeks or even months could

of his fellow man and see that it is fairly and impartially carried out, we have made it too complicated. Is there any justifiable reason why it should take months or even years for a civil case to be heard in court? If there are not sufficient judges, I'm sure it would not be difficult to appoint or elect more of them. If there are not enough court rooms and court houses, I feel confident that, with American construction at its high peak of efficiency, it wouldn't take long to correct that.

Then why isn't it done? I don't know the answer. Do you? The Hunzan system of justice seems to be functioning in a most satisfactory manner. Anyone may petition the Mir and unless he is away, can get an almost immediate hearing. If the Mir is not available or if the problem is not a weighty one, then the Wazir can attend to it.

In truth, justice can be simple!

* * * * *

In order to get into Hunza you must obtain a permit from the Pakistani authorities in the capital, which is Karachi, but I understand the government is being moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi or a new site close to it. I still think it is more important to have the Mir's invitation, because even though you could get into Hunza, you would be practically helpless without the Mir's assistance and cooperation.

[124] Unless you brought a guide with you and one who could speak English and translate for you, you'd find the going very, very difficult in either Nagir or Hunza. Therefore I would suggest that if you contemplate a visit into this area, you obtain the Mir's invitation or permission first. Then go after the Pakistani government's permit.

Why the Pakistan government regards Hunza as a strategic region or area is not hard to understand if

361 didn't just spring up overnight. By the appearance of
[342] the stone and mud houses, as well as all other features about the city, it was obvious that the city had been there for a long, long time.

Gilgit is indeed a strange city. It is one of these places that is right in the middle of nowhere, but to that mountain-harnessed area, Gilgit is a mighty important, strategic spot. Somehow I had the feeling that if there was a place called the "crossroads of the East" Gilgit had the sole right to the appellation, for through Gilgit would pass caravans from China, as well as travelers from Russia, Afghanistan, Persia, India, Pakistan and yes, undoubtedly from all other parts of the Eastern world.

000 While I did see quite a bit of the city and the surrounding country, I regret today that I didn't dig a little deeper and get about even more. I think Gilgit has many interesting stories to tell . . . how could it be otherwise? And if I ever go back (and I intend to) I would like to be the one who brings these tales to light!

121 The Gilgitis, from a health standpoint or from ap-
[164] pearance in general, did not impress me one bit. The people were somewhat similar to what you would find or expect in Pakistan or India. However, the moment I crossed the bridge over the Gilgit River and got into the hills, I resolved to concentrate, coldly and with deliberate calculation, on every individual we met. So many confusing and contradicting statements had been made about the people of Hunza, that I was firmly resolved that if study and scrutinization and observation would do the trick, then I would find out the truth.

124 Akbar was keeping pace with Cecil most of the time, while Sherin was with me, and I questioned him closely about every person that we happened to meet or pass. I had no trouble—none whatsoever—in spotting a Hun-

zan. And it wasn't because I was smart. There obviously was a distinct difference and anyone could pick out a Hunzan from a Nagirwal or any of the other citizens thereabout. 124

Much has been said about the walking habits of the people of Hunza . . . the long distances, the climbs, their endurance and their sprightly gait. I have had little experience with their endurance, but of their gait I can speak with some degree of authority. They have the lightest, easiest walk or pace that I have seen anywhere in my life. They seem to glide or spring effortlessly. If any people on the face of the earth have learned to walk without wasting any energy, I believe the people of Hunza have learned that secret. That's the only way I can account for our guides, for example, being in exactly the same condition when they finished their day's travel as when they started. I fully realize that they are accustomed to doing this. On occasions at home I have walked 12 miles at one march—and enjoyed it—but I was tired and mighty glad to take a good rest when I reached my goal. 481 [147]

I cannot recall one occasion where I saw a Hunzan resting after a walk. I practically retraced every foot of my journey back and forth and also the side excursions, but I couldn't find one occasion on which the Hunzan men had to rest. They not only seemed, but actually were, totally imperturbable, nonchalant and at ease wherever they went. Their stride was livelier and lighter than anything I have ever seen. [147]

Furthermore they never slouched, whether walking, standing or sitting. No matter where you saw them, they held their heads erect and chests out. [516]

Now this is not an afterthought because I began my search and observations the moment I left Gilgit. They didn't walk—they seemed to float! I wish I knew their

Nagir and Hunza would be somewhere around 50,000 164
people. That would allow the people of these two principalities 140 epileptics, to be on par with America.

When I mentioned this to the doctor, he pooh-poohed the idea and said, "I'm sure there wouldn't be a dozen epileptics on both sides of the river. In fact, with these three I think I have them all."

"What is the most prominent complaint that you find among the people?"

"Dysentery," he replied, without hesitation.

"Do you know the cause?" was my next question.

"I'm afraid I can't answer that question with any degree of authority or proof, but I can tell you this . . . that it is seldom very serious and the condition usually clears up in a few days. I know of no deaths caused by it."

Now the Mir returned and I was relieved, for I felt 124
that I had offended the fine man by asking the doctor if there were any epileptics in Hunza, when he had told me there weren't any.

So I turned to the Mir and explained the situation to him, stating that in my eagerness to get the data I had asked the same question of the doctor and mentioned my fear of offending him.

He replied, "I believe friendship is made of sterner stuff than that."

I was surprised and delighted by this statement.

Then he explained that he was called by one of his servants who had signaled to him—concerning preparation for an event that was to take place that evening.

My next question to both the doctor and the Mir 164
was, "Is there anything in the line of health or disease that is developing in Hunza different from the old pattern? Things that didn't occur before, that are beginning to appear now?"

125 One evening, I took a census of the
165 nine teen-age boys in my wood-carv-
[123] ing school. Of these, all from well-to-do households, how many had seen death in their immediate families?
165 Here was the roll:
551 Gohor Hayat: mother, three brothers, two sisters; Sherin Beg: one brother, one sister; Nur-ud-Din: mother, two brothers, two sisters; Md. Hamid: mother, one sister; Burhan Shah: one brother, one sister; Nasar Md.: mother, two brothers, one sister; Mullah Madut: two brothers; Suleiman: one brother; Ghulam Rasul: father. In a country fabled for the long lives of its inhabitants, these are depressingly typical Asian statistics.
165 Moreover, there is little reason to be-
576 lieve that any of the old men are really as old as is claimed.

"How old are you?" I once asked a venerable patient.

"Ninety, Hazoor!" he answered.

"How do you know you're ninety?"

"Well, Hazoor, my hair is white, and I know I'm very old, and ninety is very old, so I must be ninety."

[124] My teen-aged assistant, Gohor Hayat, broke in impatiently, "Why do you waste time asking such questions?
[217] You know there are no records, be-
[212] cause so few of my people can write!"

I had thought the old man might have a way of keeping count. "How old are you, Gohor Hayat?" I asked.

Gohor Hayat responded loftily, "I'm

[text continues on p. 43-C]

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly 563
of totally distinct stock from the Burusho. Much more difficult is the question of the relation of the Burusho and the Shina-speakers. My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shèn of lower Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burusho of Hunza. They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to apparent mentality and sanitary ideals. A large proportion of the child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity of comparing the people of the Hunza Shèn villages of Hindi and Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burusho fellow-"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the 184
Burusho of Hunza and the Burusho of Nagir? That is a question 517
which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; 361
but it is the general impression among European visitors that there is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples. The Hunza Burusho are felt to be a happy and cheerful people, their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching sombreness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be 125
worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical 141
measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency. The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measurements were recorded uninstructedly according to an antiquated scheme of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only 141
measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are reasonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

125 One evening, I took a census of the
165 nine teen-age boys in my wood-carv-
[123] ing school. Of these, all from well-to-
do households, how many had seen
death in their immediate families?
165 Here was the roll:
651 Gohor Hayat: mother, three brothers, two sisters; Sherin Beg: one brother, one sister; Nur-ud-Din: mother, two brothers, two sisters; Md. Hamid: mother, one sister; Burhan Shah: one brother, one sister; Nasar Md.: mother, two brothers, one sister; Mullah Madut: two brothers; Suleiman: one brother; Ghulam Rasul: father. In a country fabled for the long lives of its inhabitants, these are depressingly typical Asian statistics.
165 Moreover, there is little reason to be-
576 lieve that any of the old men are really as old as is claimed.

"How old are you?" I once asked a venerable patient.

"Ninety, Hazoor!" he answered.

"How do you know you're ninety?"

"Well, Hazoor, my hair is white, and I know I'm very old, and ninety is very old, so I must be ninety."

[124] My teen-aged assistant, Gohor Hayat, broke in impatiently, "Why do you
[217] waste time asking such questions?
[212] You know there are no records, because so few of my people can write!"

I had thought the old man might have a way of keeping count. "How old are you, Gohor Hayat?" I asked.

Gohor Hayat responded loftily, "I'm

[text continues on p. 43-C]

elaborate the statement: "She is my sister, at least: the 601
daughter of my Little Father."

David sadly bemoaned the hideous "waste" of nine weeks 126
spent in illness and convalescence; but in fact he managed to put in a lot of most valuable spade work. Even in the periods of weakness between the fever attacks he got a good deal done—including the Introduction to his first volume of the Burushaski—and during his convalescence he worked steadily and increasingly long hours every day, though he was not able to move freely about the countryside. Qudrat Ullah proved extremely intelligent. David suggested a subject he would like to go into—the rotation of crops; the clans; marriage or funeral rites, etc., etc.—and Qudrat Ullah went home to ponder and collect fuller information than he himself could give offhand, from his entire family, including the elders. Then he wrote out the facts in Burushaski (using still the inadequate and unsatisfactory Arabic script) and came a day or two later to read his "essay." This David took down verbatim—thus getting at least all the relevant technical vocabulary, asked further details, and suggested further lines of enquiry, drawing by this means on a far larger range of informants than he could hope to get into touch with single-handed. As soon as he was able to get about he was able to discuss matters on the spot with a background of knowledge that made it easier for him to understand the less sophisticated speakers, and from their talk and his own observation to check and supplement the information Qudrat Ullah had supplied. This method worked 115
admirably. Nor was Qudrat Ullah his only sedentary informant: the levies and others took their turn in the study.

It proved immensely valuable to have the carefully dictated 000
manuscripts from Qudrat Ullah, with supplementary notes and comments. As soon as these had been worked through, I took them one by one and typed them out in triplicate, so that even if all our manuscript notebooks were to perish by fire or flood or avalanche—which heaven forfend!—we should still have *some* written record to supplement our memory. The two spare copies were posted home to the Bank in separate batches at longish intervals for safe custody till our return. In some ways

again with a merry assortment of different roots and a confusion of various shades of past-ness. All these various things you ultimately succeed in pigeon-holing.

According to the intelligence of your man—and many of these untutored folk are quite as intelligent as the average headmaster or Oxford don—and the amount of time you have to spare and the intricacy of the language (Burushaski being at least ten times as difficult as Shina or Khowar) your rate of progress will vary. In any case, you will find that, however bright and willing your informant, he is wholly unused to sustained concentration, and must immediately be released at the first sign of weariness or boredom. Also that you must spend many hours working through and sorting your notes and tabulating your results before the next interview, if this is to be profitable.

It was DL's practice to escape at the first possible moment from the thraldom of the intermediate language. First because translation from another tongue is always liable to distort and colour the speaker's own idiom, and secondly because both your and your informant's knowledge (especially his) of the second language is imperfect and often inaccurate, and the amount you actually have in common very limited. It is therefore at best an untrustworthy crutch.

You then bid him think over some short narrative—a fairy tale, an anecdote of real life (a wedding, a funeral, or a raid)—and be prepared to tell it to you very slowly. It is not the affair of a day to train him to speak at a pace you can carefully record, and at first if he has outstripped you and is asked to "say that again" he will repeat himself in totally different words till your text is an agglomeration of bewildering anacolutha.

Having got a first short text on to paper phonetically—*without being at all clear of its meaning or the right division* of words—and having deciphered of it what you can, you read it aloud to him next day, making corrections as required, and if *he* can understand it, you have made your first step forward. The more unsophisticated he is, the more enchanted he will be to hear his own words again verbatim, and you are half way to making a philologist of him; you have, at any rate, enlisted

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

an interested collaborator. But you yourself have not got one 126
word in ten, perhaps not one in fifty. You then work painstakingly through the text, getting a rough translation by means of the medium language, asking plural forms and other verbal tenses and acquiring in the process a mass of extra material in your notes.

As the days go on, your man becomes more and more helpful, he gets to know something of your grammatical wants and will now volunteer the plural forms, or stop his tale to interpolate: "he went, he goes, he will go, he has gone," or the like; or he will offer an equivalent expression, no longer as an anacoluthon, or digress to tell of some native custom, the details of some cooking process or some current superstition.

It is no easy task to keep your notes in such form as to be readily available for reference; it is still less easy to keep at command—in your head and on your tongue—all that you have already learned. Here, of course, the whole-time philologist has untold advantage over the busy man who can only snatch odd moments before or after a hard day's work, and sometimes after long blank intervals, for the pursuit of this most exacting of hobbies.

I never lost my admiration of the determination with which 124
DL would give all his leisure to these exhausting séances. It might be half an hour before breakfast; it might be a pause between the reception of two official visitors; it might be a few minutes' interval while an important paper was being fetched from the office files, or a draft despatch typed for signature. Even on tour, when each day meant a mountain march of eighteen to twenty-five miles, in heat or cold, in rain or sun, over difficult and often dangerous country, plunging through banked-up sands by the river-bed, skirting precipitous cliffs along a rock-cut track eked out by the frailest of wooden bridges, or across the dreaded face of a stone shoot where the perpetual trickling of surface pebbles was an ominous reminder that any moment loose boulders might bombard the treacherous track; when each arrival at the rest-house of the day was the signal for visits of courtesy by some local headman or royalty, for the reception of petitioners and the sympathetic

Chapter 28

FINALITIES

Our final weeks in Hunza were overcrowded with unavailing 132
attempts to fill all the lacunæ of over a year's work, and 133
working was not rendered easier by a temperature of 105 degrees in the shade, nor by the fact that we were both beginning to feel the strain of an intensive fifteen months at close on 8,000 feet (although we had not been consciously conscious of the altitude), and were undeniably somewhat played out.

We had to try to take all the photographs—moving or still—that had hitherto escaped us, develop and print the latter, and keep up to the end our practice of giving copies to the interested parties.

Two lines of enquiry in particular demanded attention. 126 ●
Until faith in the purely scientific and disinterested character of DL's intentions had been firmly established, he had refrained from any attempt to map in detail the inhabited country immediately about us, or to enquire too closely into the amount of land belonging to any given household. Such activities would inevitably have given rise to the fear that he had been sent to make a survey for Government as a prelude to land taxation. Now that such fears were unlikely to arise—and would not impede us greatly if they did—we toiled up and down the steep and rocky tracks, taking sights, pacing distances, measuring fields, and making calculations. A country harder to survey, even in the rough and ready fashion which alone was possible, it would be difficult to conceive. It was impossible to find even twenty yards of level ground in a straight line to make a base from which anything else was visible; pacing distance was almost otiose when spurs jutted and angles re-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

entered everywhere. There were no landmarks: every house was a rough replica of every other and not certainly identifiable from any distance, every poplar tree which from one point of vantage stood out in splendid isolation immediately fell into line with a dozen others when you walked a hundred yards. The whole habitable country was tilted at an angle of 45 or 50 degrees, and seamed with sunken rock-ravines; the river was perennially invisible in its gorge; tracks and water-courses were sunk between high walls, and not to be divined unless you were actually in them out of sight of everything: a heartbreaking, leg-exhausting task, the sketch map that DL coveted.

A second important task was an enquiry into matters of revenue and taxation. To have questioned the peasantry, except very casually and incidentally, would again have been to excite curiosity as to ulterior motives—the non-existence of which might well have seemed incredible—though we did manage to accumulate a good deal of information that was invaluable as corroborative material. The only way to get coherent information was to approach the Mir direct and beg permission to enlist the assistance of Prince Jamál Khán, now his grandfather's right hand in administrative matters, and then try to keep the boy's untrained attention from wandering off the point at issue.

All the while book-boxes had to be gradually packed and top-dressed with lighter material so as to make manageable loads, new boxes had to be conjured out of old to take the curious and unwieldy articles—from bows to winnowing forks—ultimately destined for some museum. The contents of each box had to be inventoried in detail, for Customs purposes as well as for our own reference, then strongly wired, then painted with name and numbers. Dido and the rest helped manfully over all such tasks as they could tackle, but much could be done only by DL or by myself.

Finally there was one blind spot of language which cried out for—and got—attention, the Dumáki spoken by the alien Béricho, that minute language-island within the larger language-island of Burushaski itself.

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My mode of procedure was as follows, and in all the circumstances it seems to have justified itself. For a few weeks I worked with Naser of Aliabad, head of my establishment of domestic servants, eliciting from him the principal inflectional forms of the language as well as the chief pronominal forms and the numerals. Naser, though illiterate, was a man with excellent brains and the instincts of a teacher and elucidator, and Hindustani provided a medium of intercourse. After this I secured the services of Imám Yár Bég, brother of the Wazir of Hunza and a Jemadar in the Gilgit Scouts, and began to take down texts to his dictation. Each day I wrote down as much as I had time to, making every effort to record the sounds phonetically as far as I was able to appreciate them, and to make sure of the division of the words. I did not make a point of fully following and understanding what I wrote. The same day, or the next working-day, I read out to him what I had written, corrected it as far as I could from every point of view and strove to arrive at the exact meaning of every word and sentence. I made notes of the translation and obtained the principal parts of verbs, the plural forms of nouns and so on, and recorded other words and phrases that were suggested by those of the text. 126 115

All this was very hurriedly done, but the results have in general proved satisfactory and the texts themselves seem to be readily intelligible to Burushaski-speakers when read aloud to them. They will often complete a sentence and continue the narrative, where it is short, in much the same words as the original, for though there are no professional story-tellers in Hunza, many of the local stories or accounts of customs appear to be told habitually in a customary, if not stereotyped form. [B37]

Imam Yar Beg was a man of first-rate intelligence, great energy and a forceful personality. His own tastes ran naturally to sport and the practical. He was an enthusiastic and skilled polo player and I fear linguistic enquiries must sometimes have bored him, but he stayed the course until at length he unfortunately fell ill a month or two before I left the country. In that month or two,

3: Lettner L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

115 of course, everything was going to have been checked and corrected
126 and much additional information was going to have been obtained — an impossible programme!

Simultaneously with the writing of the texts I ran through an
126 extensive list of common English words and obtained as far as possible their Burushaski equivalents by direct enquiry. This method helps to fill up unexpected hiatuses which will always be found in the vocabulary obtained from any moderate body of texts and casual information. It works well enough with nouns that are the names of material objects and with the simpler direct verbal conceptions. As a sole method, with an imperfectly-known common language as medium of communication, it would be quite unsatisfactory.

Also, in desperation, to make the most of the time available, I adopted a still less satisfactory expedient. I commissioned Imam Yar Beg's elder brother, 'Ināyatullah Bēg, to write out for me a list of all the Burushaski words and proverbs he could think of with explanations in Hindustani. He had some months in which to do this. I gave him for the purpose a large number of slips, each to be used for a single word, of which the vital inflected forms were also to be given. Unfortunately I was not able to convey my instructions by word of mouth and IUB devoted himself to a paper-economy campaign, writing as many words in pencil in a small hand on each slip as he could cram on to it. The result was almost illegible. I handed these slips over to Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin to re-write. He had an adequate knowledge of Burushaski and non-literate Burusho at hand to consult. With great industry he rewrote all the words on separate slips, adding in some cases Roman transliterations of his own. This did not suffice, however, to distinguish with any certainty a from ā, i from e and u from o, nor to exclude ambiguity in the case of some other sounds.

128 All this material, which contained much that was new to me, I was unable to examine till years later when in England and unable to obtain help. Another very difficult manuscript with which I

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

had to struggle unaided was that of text No. 47 which had been supplied to me in two not identical versions, Burushaski and Urdu, by Gushpūr Muhammad Ghani Khān, before I had begun to work at the language.[1] 128

In collecting linguistic material there is a choice of two attitudes one may adopt. The first is to try and clear up and master every difficulty as it occurs and ideally to make one's effective knowledge keep pace with the information that one writes down; the other is not to linger over difficulties which prove at all intractable, not to memorise and not to endeavour to learn to speak as one goes along, but to write down in the way of Texts etc. as much as possible in the time available, only making notes of the meaning and of usages as far as that is possible without undue delay. 126

The former method is of course the ideal one, but I doubt whether it is the wiser when time is limited. One may spend hours debating over an obscure phrase or construction without arriving at a full comprehension of it, while if the time is spent instead in recording more texts, there is a considerable chance that the word or phrase will turn up again in contexts which make its meaning or force plain. At least this has been my frequent experience. As regards trying to talk and memorising one's material as one goes along, where the language is as difficult as Burushaski, that is largely a question of the quickness and acquisitive power of the recorder. With no spare time or energy at my command such ambitions lay beyond my hopes.

I therefore resigned myself to the second method and devoted myself to collecting as much material as I could in the time — and the "time", it must be remembered, was what remained to me when my official work was done, and had to be divided between the three languages I was working at concurrently, Shina and Khowar as well as Burushaski. Then on retiring and returning to 126 128

[1] There is an error in the statement made in l. 2 of the note on p. 376 of the Texts: "1922" should be altered to "1922", or else the words "more than a year" should be cut out. I am not sure which.

126 England I settled down first to translating the texts and working
128 out the vocabulary, and then to an intensive comparative study of every word and every grammatical form occurring in my material. On this basis I then prepared and annotated the Texts and drew up the Grammar and Vocabulary as they now stand. This took in all four and a half years, from January 1926 to June 1930.

I have dwelt at some length on my methods of work, because without such knowledge it is impossible for the reader to form any just estimate of the degree of authority to which the book can lay claim. For the same reason I have made a free use of question marks in the Vocabulary and elsewhere to indicate points in regard to which my information is uncertain. I hope I have stated nothing as a fact except on reasonably adequate grounds.

114 The whole edifice stands essentially on the foundation of Jemadar Imam Yar Beg's Burushaski, a foundation the general reliability of which I think no one in Hunza would dream of questioning. But this statement requires serious qualification: it is IYB's Burushaski as affected by the mishearings and misunderstandings of the recorder. That there are such I have not the slightest doubt. I am only surprised that the substance of the Texts has worked out so homogeneous and, as I have now some ground for believing, so correct.

A special word of warning should be given in regard to the Phonetics. I am myself no phonetician and made no constant systematic attempt to distinguish by all means at my command between different sounds which sooner or later I know to exist, but could not myself certainly distinguish. This applies specially to the two parallel series of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates. Many cerebrals and aspirates may have escaped undetected; I can only say that where a sound is marked as cerebral or aspirate, it may safely be assumed to be such.

121 My general aim in the preparation of this work is now sufficiently evident; it is simply to give a perfectly objective view of what I was able to ascertain about the language. I have created a hypothesis

4: Lorimer L-S (1929-4; 1934-5) 1936 AVT Burnabe AVT

[P. iv contains no textual material - Analyst]

PREFATORY NOTE.

The following texts were collected by me in 1923—24 in the manner described in the Introduction. Nos 1—3, 5—45 and 46. B. were supplied by Jemadar Imam Yar Beg, son of the late Wazir Humayun Beg, a man of distinction to whom some reference will be found in Durand's "Making of a Frontier" and who later rendered valuable services in the Chitral Campaign of 1895. The eldest son, Shukr Ullah Beg, has been Wazir of Hunza since his father's death. Of some of these texts IYB wrote out versions in the Arabic script, which I possess. They do not always agree verbatim with the dictated versions. 126 115

On my return to Hunza, after ten years, in July 1934, I met Jemadar Imam Yar Beg briefly on two or three occasions and it was a great pleasure to renew our old cordial relations, and a happy prospect to look forward to their continuance. But this was not to be. On the evening of the 27th October Imam Yar Beg was shot in the Gilgit Bazar and died three hours later in hospital. This morning his body was carried past here on a bier, attended by the brothers and a throng of mourners. And in company with the local population, I could only pay a last tribute to an old friend as the cortège passed on its way to Baltit to the sound of a melancholy dirge and subdued lamentation. 115

He has disappeared in his prime a vivid personality from Hunza life. As I knew him in earlier days he was the embodiment of energy and zest for life. What his hand found to do — riding,

4: Lecitzer 1-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1936 AV7 Barnsho AV7

No. IV.

The Adventures of Kisar.

[101]

In Lanna there was a rich man. In the Spring season he was giving wheat to the people. A small child made its appearance in the wheat and he took it out. The rich man's daughter-in-law was with milk and he brought the child (home) and reared it (with her help). It grew up and they gave it the name of Dungpa Mru

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Laufer, Berthold. A review and criticism of Francke's "Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga." (as originally published in German). "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes." Vol. XV 1901 pp. 77—107.

Contains what amounts to a bibliography of previous literature relating to Kesar or Gesser Khan.

Poppe, N. "Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der mongolischen Version des Gesser Khan." "Asia Major" Vol. III. Fasc. I and III, Lipsius 1926.

The little I have to contribute on the subject will be found in "Folk-Lore," Vol. XLII, 1931 no. 3.

This text presents a good many difficulties, a considerable proportion of which are probably due to the circumstances in which it was recorded. 'Ali Madad of Balti, the old man who related the story, was only able to do so at a pace at which it was impossible to write it down.

He could not repeat himself, and when asked to do so was liable to lose the thread of the story. The services of my usual informant, Imam Yar Beg, had therefore to be requisitioned to catch such episode as it fell from Ali Madad's lips and retell it at a pace and in a form convenient for the recorder.

The process was not an easy one for any of the persons concerned and it undoubtedly resulted in some confusions and errors which were not all eliminated by subsequent revision.

1 dywan . . . . monday manual. — The meaning of this is clear, but it affords an example of the confusion just referred to.

No. XLVI. A.

Wa·lum i·ɛ masa·l.

(60) Da i·nɛ senimi kɛ:

Hin hiranɛ altan yu· bam. U·ctsum jot inɛ senimi yu·yur: "Lɛ aya, mi ctɛ dolattsum jaɛ bɛsan ba·go jučila kɛ jaɛ ači."

Yu·yɛ i·mo dolat u·ɛr traŋ nɛ učimi.

5 Da bu·t gumtsɛŋ heraŋulo o·nitsum (or, omanitsum) jot i·nɛ i·ɛ i·mo bɛsan uyo·n gati nɛtan bu·t matan bušai.cnɛr ni·mi. Da i·tɛ dištulo (or, bušai.ulo) γuniksi duro·ulo i·mo bɛsan biman faš ctimi. Bɛsan biman uyo·n fas ctumtsum i·lji i·tɛ bušai.ulo bu·t daŋ čam di·mi. Bu·t abaš ɛr di·mi. Inɛ ni·n i·tɛ bušai.ulum hiranalɛ walimi.

10 I·nɛ inɛ i·mo malɛŋulo ku·kiso uyarčar ɛ·rimi.

Inɛ ɛ·vulo ormaɛn bilum kɛ "I·tɛ ku·kiio bɛsan šiči.ɛn kɛ i·tsatsum ja o·l manis" nust. Inɛr mɛnɛ bɛsan kɛ ɛ·učam.

These two versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son were made from the text of the British and Foreign Bible Society's "Persian Urdu" translation of the New Testament (Luke XV, 11—32).

The first version, A, was produced by a committee of whom the leading spirit was Nazer of Aliabād, Hunza, and the secretary Sarfarāz, a literate Yashkun of Gilgit with a Nagari wife and an acquaintance with Burushaski. I eventually wrote it down to someone's dictation. Sarfarāz's vernacular Ms., which I possess, is a somewhat ambiguous document, as it is not very carefully written and he had not arrived at a fixed system of correlating the sounds of Burushaski with the symbols of the Arabic-Persian script. For instance he uses ڑ regularly to represent ts, but also on occasion to render č, j, š, or rather, as far as one can judge, the post-alveolar or cerebral forms of them č̣, j̣, and ṣ̌.

The second, or B version, was made some four months later by Jemadār Imām Yār Beg and was recorded with his own hand, but it is probable that he consulted the previous translators who were on the spot. The Ms. is fairly clear and consistent.

No. XLVI. A.

The Parable of the Lost Son.

And he said:

A man had two sons. The younger of them said to his father: "Father, give me the share of our property that comes to me."

The father divided up his property and gave it to them.

Then when not many days had passed, the younger son collected all his belongings and proceeded to a very distant country. In that country he exhausted all he possessed in evil conduct. When he had done so there came a very severe famine in the land and great adversity came upon him. He went and settled with a man of that country, and the man sent him into his fields to feed the swine.

He longed in his heart, saying: "Would that my belly might be (filled) with the things that the swine eat!" And no one gave him anything.

Both versions show traces of the influence of the Urdu original. The B version occasionally indulges in amplification and paraphrase.

In both, alterations were made during the process of dictation, and the vernacular Mss. and my transcriptions (especially in the case of the A version), are not identical.

Title. This in fact was supplied only with B. It is a translation of the Urdu rubric: *Khoye hoe beṭe ki tamṯil.*

1 *ke* — this particle, introducing the words of a speech or thought etc. occurs constantly in this text, probably owing to the influence of the Urdu *kih.*

5 *ewiḷnow* — v. § 497. b.

7 *yewikṯ dowoḷo* — Urdu *hadṯalaṇi* sd.

9 *walisi* — The Urdu is: *ek baṯrude ke hawa jayaya.*

10 *kwkrlo* — vernac. Ms. has *xwkrlo.*

Burušaski Proverbs.

136 Like the preceding text I received these in written form. They were originally recorded for me by 'Ina·yat Ōllah Beg and rewritten more legibly by M. Šaʿhza·da Yu·suf. I have used both versions. The comments are mostly condensed from Hindustani notes by 'Ina·yat Ōllah Beg which were not rewritten by Š.Y. Much more elucidation would be required for the proper understanding of these proverbs.

53/K 1. yam ctas hukar tin.

To the barking dog a bone

H. bhaunknewa·la kutteko haḍḍi.

P. dahan i sag ba luqma basta bah(?)

i. e. to a ruler who takes bribes, give bribes (otherwise you won't get off).

2. hukr tin čiyas asa·rur; ja·ri ctas do·m.

It is easy for a dog to eat a bone, i. e. eating bones is easy for a dog, but to digest (pass?) them is difficult.

i. e. a ruler may take bribes but it is difficult for his days to be completed(?)

3. Sinda kam a.i·ta (? or, ayuta?); pa·diha jut a.i·ta (or ayuta).

Don't regard the river as small; don't regard the king as young (immature).

H. dari·a·ko kam najar; aur pa·dishko čhota xi·al nakar.

i. e. If there is little water in the river it will almost certainly increase; if the king is young there is every prospect that he will grow older. Both things are likely to increase so don't despise them.

No. III.

The Prodigal Son. (Luke XV, 11 ff.)

Da· nɛ seni: Hɛn hi·tanɛ alt'an yu bam. U·ɛ hərəŋ ɛčuγon yɛ tatiγa seni, "Lɛ tati, maltsum be·rum ba·go ja·γa dəšqalčum bi ka jaγa a·u." Nɛ tati i·a mal i duni.a u·ɛγa pfaki.

Da bu·t mudda ai.igali ɛčuγon yɛ i·a kul daulat jama nɛtɛ matan mulkəmə r·ahi 'ɛti, to i·a maḷh šu·m duro.uḇlɛ 'ɛspaḷu.i (*or*, de·me·γi).

Da be·ša čiq xərj ɛti ho tɛ batanulɛ saxt dəryanj mani. Nɛ halɛ·ɛ mahta·j man'iš tai.i. Da· tɛ batanulɛ hɛnɛ ha·lɛ gali. Nɛ hi·rɛ nɛ halɛ·ɛ i·a maluḷɛ hu·kišu ya·rča 'e·ri. Nɛ halɛ·ɛ ərma·n duḷum, "Tɛɛ hu·kišu mukakɛ k'ošišu šučum bi.ɛn ka je· ka tɛɛ yɛtɛ an.ul he·k ɛčam." Magam mɛnɛ aiyu· aiyu· bam.

Da nɛ hiles hu·šuḷɛ di seni, "Ja tati be·rum bu·t mazdu·rišuγa but pha·ko dəšqalčum bi. Jɛ ak·o čamɛnɛ aiyu·rčam ba. Ja di·ɛ aiya tati ɛ·paiya tasra·m. Da nɛγa s'iyam, 'Lɛ tati, ja aiyaš kha

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This version of the "Prodigal Son" was made by Bahādur Amān Shāh of Yasin, and was written down and dictated to me by Mehtarjan Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin, whose vernacular transcript is in my possession.

pfaki — this word also occurs in the same passage in the LSI. version of the Prodigal Son, but has not been otherwise recorded.

The use of the dative with it suggests that the meaning is "allotted" or "assigned"

4 nɛtɛ — The vernacular Ms. has *nɛ̄*.

5 *de·me·γi* — is the vernac. Ms. reading.

7 *ma·nil tai.i* — this and the similar *de·γerwil tai.i* (l. 14 p. 412) are each in the vernacular Ms. and in my own Ms. written as one word. I similarly wrote *hēčikiwiltai* where the vernac. Ms. has *hēčikiwil tai*. On the other hand I have *čil ta(γ)ɛn* where the vernac. Ms. has *čilāren*. V. ll. 19 & 12 p. 412.

5.Lorimer L-3 (1920-4;1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

Preface

Apart from indicating undoubted loan-words, often to me of unknown origin, which are shared by Burushaski with one or more of the neighbouring languages, I have made no attempt to pronounce on the authenticity of those words which *primâ facie* appear to be true Burushaski. Sanskrit cognates have been suggested for some of them by Professor Morgenstierne. 192 121

One important question remains to which I can give no precise or certain answer: What proportion do the Burushaski words in this Vocabulary bear to the total word-stock of the language? When I returned to Hunza in 1934 one of my hopes was to record sufficient new words to make my collection fairly complete as regards words in daily use and known to everyone. I was well aware that the still popular belief that peoples living in primitive conditions must possess simple languages and employ small vocabularies had been abundantly disproved by facts, but I had not realised what a lengthy business it is to collect and adequately record even a few hundred words after the first couple of thousand in constant daily use have been noted. How many new words I actually recorded I have no idea, but I am certain that they will go only a short way towards making the vocabulary complete. I could always easily get new words, the difficulty was to find time to have them elucidated and to write them down. 192

Burushaski possesses a large number of nouns of a technical nature relating to all the ordinary occupations of life, which, given time, can be ascertained by observation and enquiry, but it also appears to be very rich in verbs, and these are not so easily and quickly discovered by any direct method.

The *Werchikwar—English Vocabulary* remains much as it was when it was originally compiled. In 1934—36 I made several efforts to bring Werchikwar-speakers to Hunza to work with me there, but failed to secure competent men. The principal result was disappointment and wasted time. Eventually I paid a visit to Yasin and found an old acquaintance, with whom I worked there and whom I brought back to Hunza and kept with me for a few 126

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5)1935
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126 weeks. Unfortunately I did not remember how full of uncertainties my Werchikwar Vocabulary was, and instead of revising it I spent all my time trying to obtain new material. From this, however, I have been able to fill in some details lacking in the original vocabulary.

128 The *English—Burushaski* and *English—Werchikwar Indexes*, prepared by my wife, are not to be taken as dictionaries, they merely give references to the occurrence of the English words in the preceding Vocabularies. These English words are not necessarily the exact equivalents of the vernacular words which follow them. These should therefore in every case be looked up.

EPILOGUE.

000 With this Preface to the last volume may be combined an epilogue to the whole work. The latter, concocted in the course of the years 1926—30 from material collected in 1923—24, passed on to the ordeal of printing, from which it now finally emerges. It has therefore been something of a preoccupation, almost continuously, for fifteen years, and has consumed a considerable amount of time and labour.

The expenditure of time and energy in routine work, or without definite objective, easily passes unnoticed and seldom arouses active regret. When there is, or ought to be, a definite result to show for it, we become critical, and we are specially apt to find the outcome of self-imposed, directed labour inadequate and unsatisfactory. We then realise that time passed is irrecoverable, and that energy expended is virtue that has gone out of us for ever.

The author of an imperfect work on Burushaski can therefore quote with humble fellow-feeling the sad case of Burzoë described by Ath Tha'ālibi in his "History of the Persian Kings."[1]

[1] Zotenberg, "Histoire des Rois de Perse", Paris, 1900, p. 630. The quotation is from the translation by Sir Denison Ross in the Foreword to Vol. V of the "Ocean of Story", edited by N. M. Penzer (privately printed by Charles Sawyer, London, 1924—28) p. vi. Typographical difficulties rule out the reproduction here of the original Arabic.

121 and of course the kinds and varieties of foods that were used, I attached great importance to this phase of my trip and I was definitely determined that, come what might, this information I would have thoroughly and in detail.

124 No doubt it would have been an advantage had I been able to speak either Urdu, or better still Burushaski, so that I could frame my questions as I saw fit and have answers that would be direct and would not require translation. However, that was not possible. Still, I had no reason to believe that my interpreter would not be a forthright individual who would give me the answers that were relayed to him clearly and to the point.

Mind you, I was seeking no miracle or world panacea. I wanted to find out the simple truth!

Further, I wanted to walk from farm to farm . . . that is, just selecting one at random here and there. I wanted to view the farmer's activities, study his soil and examine it, ask a few questions and thus, I could gather the information that I wanted and which was so vital to me.

344 644 The old palace proved to be in a good state of preservation. I wondered, because of its good condition, why someone didn't live there. Many of the rooms were still furnished. There were even rugs and tapestries placed and hung in their original positions.

[126] When we climbed to the top of the castle—that is, to the roof where I snapped many photos—it seemed mighty high and overlooked everything around us. But [133] in the distance were mountains that were well over 20,000 feet—and that is no exaggeration, but more likely an understatement.

There was a railing around this upper balcony and from this balcony you could walk into other chambers.

"We were up betimes on December 23rd, and proceeded to rummage all the nooks and corners of the deserted palace. We had heard that the treasures of many a pillaged caravan . . . were stored here, so the search was an exciting one. The tribesmen had been informed that, provided they gave up their arms, their property would be respected by us. . . But the possessions of the fugitive Thum were declared to be forfeited, so we set to work to collect together all the valuables that were to be found in the place, individual looting being of course forbidden. . . . We were informed that the Thum had made all his preparations for flight long before his defeat at Nilt, and . . . had carried off the bulk of his wealth with him across the Hindoo Koosh. . . . Still, they had not taken all, and we raked together a curious and miscellaneous collection of odds and ends scattered about and secreted away in the various chambers and cellars." 727 344 644

On two sides this mighty fortress (and it is a mighty fortress for that part of the world) is protected by abysses. 344 644

As the views of the mountains and the surrounding country from the balconies were unrivaled, I took many colored photographs and with each click of the shutter I hoped for the best. [26]

I noticed a marvelous old firing piece, gun or matchlock. I don't know how to describe these things as I am not very familiar with firearms. However, I found out that this was a genuine treasure and was almost as old as the fort itself. 411

It was a most unusual firing piece. By actual measurement it was 6 feet long, elegantly and extravagantly decorated with silver and gold, and bore the inscription "946 A.H."

What had evidently been an old calendar portray- 353

122 or cares in regard to Mr. Brunton's condition. The doc-
[758] tor will attend to his duties at Aliabad and look after the hospital there . . . but he only has one or two patients and he will be back and forth from the hospital to the palace. Therefore he will be in constant touch with your friend."

"No man could do more," I assured the Mir. "I don't know how we can ever thank you enough."

"Don't mention it," he said. "You have been very kind, too."

"Now is there anything that you would like me to get for you while you're here? I wish you would tell me because some things may take a few days to procure or prepare and I would like to have them ready for you."

[124] "I'll tell you what I would like and you tell me what you would like me to send you from Canada—and no holds barred." I said to him.

"Fair enough! We'll tell each other frankly what we want."

"Agreed," I joyfuly replied.

126 I always carry a notebook with me. It's a small folding affair made of leatherette or something, that has room for 3 or 4 ball point pens and a pad inside. I was making notes as well as marking down the things the Mir expressed interest in when I spoke of the conveniences available in America. I intended to send these to him anyway.

I had seen quite a few little items around Hunza that I would have liked to have . . . for instance, a Hunzan hat, a cane made in Hunza, a pair of Hunzan
291 boots. The boots are most unusual, being something
237 like the mukluks used in the north by the Eskimos, except that these are made in a simpler manner. They are somewhat like riding boots in shape except they are

322 that I have seen performed, I am not too sure that
[177] our wood workers could teach them any new tricks. The thing they're short of is suitable wood.

[415] One of the important functions of the wood turner is to fashion bowls which are made out of either mulberry, willow or apricot wood. The wood turner also
[352] makes charpoys, chests, jewel boxes, bowls and chairs and I believe he is capable of making anything that can be fashioned out of wood.

461 One definite thing impressed me about these various craftsmen and that was the fact that time was meaningless. Their craft was the important thing. Whatever had to be done had to be done right whether it required an hour or a day or a week.

461 There were many things that I would have liked to
126 purchase or arrange for but some of them would require days to produce and it was not my desire to hurry anybody. After seeing their pleasant way of life, I had no intention of disturbing it. Whatever was available that I wanted, I would take with me. Anything else could be sent on or else I would do without it.

115 Now I didn't see his birth certificate and I might as
165 well tell you, right here and now, that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. I accept the figure of his age as he told me but remember, I was not there at the time of his birth!

344 When I was through with my spasm of inspection
644 and admiration, we began to parade up the long driveway that led into the Mir's garden. This area is flanked on the right by space that looks as though it were a parking lot, and maybe that's exactly what it is, but instead of cars, the guests or members of the family park—or should I say tether—their horses and yaks in this area. Maybe now they park their jeeps there. [293] The Mir owns two of them, but one, I understand, was away in Pindi being repaired. (Or was it the shambles and horrible wreck of a jeep that I came across a week later, on the road back to Gilgit?)

126 Now I noticed that the Mir, Ayesh, the doctor and Cec were coming along the roadway to meet us, and soon we joined forces and were gathered in one group. I thought this was the ideal time to take some photographs and, luckily for us, they were the best photographs we took on the entire trip. Photography is something that has never interested me and I had never taken half a dozen pictures in my life. Before leaving [122] home, I did try to learn a bit about photography, but I couldn't learn enough fast enough.

124 When the fun, excitement and fast-flowing humorous remarks had subsided, I said to the Mir, "If you've nothing more important to do or if you would care to give me a little more of your time, we could start that question and answer session that I arranged with you for this afternoon."

"I am at your service," he replied pleasantly and with alacrity.

out the services of a guide. 122

I can assure you that the Commander carefully selected the man, too. Although he looked like a boy, he was tall—about 6 feet 2 inches—lithe, alert, in fact, as smart and as capable a type of human being or soldier or both as 'twould be possible to find anywhere. Not that Jahangir needed it, but he certainly was in "high caliber" hands.

Bearing in mind that the two ponies we had were 122
stallions, I began to wonder if we might not have some 492
trouble on the trail, because Jahangir's mount was a mare. To you, this may not appear to be a genuine source of worry, because in the West the horses used for riding are practically always gelded and this eliminates any risk of difficulty. So you either ride a mare or a gelding.

I thought to myself, "What would happen if either 122
one of our stallion ponies began to get ideas on some of these high tortuous, winding mountain trails?" I knew from my reading that it does happen.

A man can work himself up into quite a stew by thinking of such things, and by now I was greatly worried about what would happen if my black stallion did become rambunctious on the trail. So I made up my mind that I would give that mare as wide a berth as possible.

I buried my worries by getting busy and snapping 342
a few pictures of the type of houses that we found [126]
here at Aliabad. They didn't differ very much from those we found elsewhere. They were not as well built and as clean as those we had found at Altit, but they were still quite neat and tidy by most other standards. Practically all the houses are built one on top of the [36]
other, as close together as the undulating region would allow, and it sure was obvious that a person couldn't

spoken. The good professor espouses the theory that 197
the Burushaski language is genealogically related to
the language of the Basques, spoken only by a handful
of these people who live in the Pyrenees in southern
France and northern Spain. Therefore, it is difficult,
if not impossible, for any stranger or outsider to have
a good working knowledge of the language.

When you are given the name of a place or a thing 126
and wish to write it down, you have to do it entirely 192
by means of phonics. For example, I wanted to know
the name given to a part of the flour mill and after
much actual jawing, I wrote down the word "yine."
Later, in checking with another Hunzan who articu-
lated in deliberate, clearcut fashion for me, I got the
word "yang." Now repeat those two words over your-
self and see just how much similarity there really is
between them.

I sought the name of the word given to the galleries 126
—that is, the wooden galleries or it could be the stone 192
galleries that were built up along the ledges when the 491
road fell away. One of the writers had given the name
for these places as "rafiks," which I followed. But I
also had come across the word "paharis" when I was
in Hunza and they didn't seem to use or have heard
the word "rafik."

Then upon investigation, I find that the words
"rafik" and "paharis" are not the actual words used to
describe this bit of fancy roadwork. The meaning of
"rafik" is actually Arabic for a companion or comrade
and the meaning of "paharis" is Urdu for "people who
live in mountainous regions." From usage so far and
the best of searching, it appears that "rafik" is the
term used to describe the built up stone galleries that
shore up a "fallen away" gap of road. "Paharis" is the
term for the wooden platforms that are erected over

126 192 491 "nothing" where the ledge once led . . . a few well appointed steel rods forced into fissures being the total support. As yet I have failed to discover or learn the proper word describing these galleries.

114 I must admit that many or most of the errors or misconceptions concerning Hunza are due to the fact that insufficient time was spent by some of the writers who visited Hunza.

At first it was my wish to pass by this chapter on misconceptions because I did not feel that I should be involved in a hassle with other writers. But then I asked myself if I had any doubts as to whether or not I was right. And this made me feel that I definitely wanted to write the chapter on misconceptions.

It is not my intent or desire to be contradictory nor arbitrary. I am not seeking to pick a quarrel with anyone. But the facts and statements herein related are based on my seeing, hearing, research, questioning and investigating.

I have tried to make my book as accurate as humanly possible. And if and when errors are found, I trust they will be brought quite forcibly to my attention. I would like to believe that if I can dish it out, I can take it, too!

134 *Fertile valleys*—Some writers have referred to various valleys in Hunza as fertile valleys. By the standards to which we are accustomed, there is not one single fertile valley in all of Hunza. That the soil is productive and the valley green and beautiful, no one will deny. But at best the soil in Hunza is shallow and to be productive, it must be maintained assiduously. I repeat, in Hunza there are no such things as naturally fertile valleys as compared, for example, to parts of the Willamette Valley in Oregon.

131 133 *Hunza is scarcely 60 miles long*, says one writer. Another says it is 80 miles long and elsewhere I saw it

Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been two murders only in my country and all the people have been happy and prosperous. The Government of India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity. 674 [648]

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the world and get work in other places. . . . 167

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal. 692

"If it is considered that a death sentence is called for, the people are collected and if any one will speak up for the culprit, his sentence is remitted. Otherwise he is executed in the presence of the people. 695 681

"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, his house could be destroyed, his animals slaughtered and his trees felled without any trouble falling on the offenders and though that custom has fallen into desuetude, it is still considered right for a man to kill his wife's lover if he can catch them 'flagrante delicto'! 684 837

"Marriage is not allowed between near relations and whenever possible, people marry into a clan different from their own. Child marriage is discouraged and tribal customs have been moulded to conform to modern ideas since I became Mir. . . . 582 [177]

"In former years Shimshal was used as a place to 681

643 Here I will quote from *The Autobiography of Sir*
771 *Mohomed Nazim Khan*, K.C.I.E. (Mir of Hunza from
798 1892-1938 and grandfather of the present Mir):

[127] "The people of Hunza were originally idolators and they became Shias when intermarriage with the ruling family of Baltistan was arranged and later, when my great grandfather Shah Salam Khan was on the throne, most of the country became Maulai. In Ganesh and Hinni, there are still a few Shias and two Sunnis. When I became Mir I declared to the people that they could adopt what religion they would, which annoyed my advisers who said that a country with many religions was bound to fall. I said that religion had nothing to do with ruling and have proved myself right in that there has been no religious strife in the country since that time."

788 Maybe the Hunzan farmer mumbles his prayers while he is working, but he seemingly doesn't appear to stop from his efforts on behalf of his farm.

From my actual experiences in seeing and viewing religions throughout the world, I am of the opinion that, where religion demands too much of a man's time, his industry suffers and this affects his standard of living. It is a possibility that pious, religious people throughout the world will take exception to this but, nevertheless, I am stating this as my own opinion, based on my findings and observations, and that's all it is. If anyone wants to debate the point with me, I'd be happy to provide the time and the opportunity.

The Hunzans are not fanatics and therefore they can devote more time to their labors than those who spend their time praying and resting, because of religious holidays and observances.

852 Being Mohammedans, circumcision is practiced on
304 all male children. Normally this operation is performed

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 4

AT HOME

THE language material amassed in the four Gilgit years was by no means in such coherent form as to be immediately available for other scholars. The final process of reducing it to order was not less but more laborious than the original collection. In Burushaski alone DL had some hundreds of pages of foolscap type-written texts carefully correlated by reference numbers with the original notebooks from which they had been copied, and in addition eight fat quarto notebooks full of notes in small writing on every imaginable subject. His first task was to make a careful, literal translation of the texts, aided by his own manuscript notes made at the time of recording; the second to work through these and the notes of every sort, card-indexing every word as it occurred with all its inflected forms and the reference to each place of its occurrence. This being done, he was able to begin to work out the grammar. For the paragraphs about the noun, for instance, 1,800 cards had to be taken out, examined, sorted, the results analysed and tabulated till the four gender-like categories and the thirty-eight possible plural forms of Burushaski were reduced to order. The subtle and complicated Burushaski verb eventually revealed its secrets —or the bulk of them—only to an examination of hundreds of cards, each packed full of recorded forms. The commonest and most everyday verbs gave—as every dictionary maker will understand—incomparably more trouble than the rarer ones.

Then the texts had to be edited with the necessary explanatory notes and a key-translation to help the potential student, for whom a free translation in more polished English would be less useful. Finally, the Vocabulary, or Dictionary, had to be drawn up with examples of the uses of the words.

128 The Burushaski material which had been collected in the
[illegible] leisure of one short year, while DL was continuing work on Shina and Khowar, took four and a half years of steady desk work to prepare for press, and resulted in three stout volumes of 464, 418, and 545 large printed pages. The typing for the printer was, of course, nearly concurrent with the manuscript draft, and when this was completed the next question was to find a publisher.

The prospect looked none too bright, and we gloomily predicted that some German or Russian would anticipate David's work on Burushaski, when an unexpected letter came from Professor Georg Morgenstierne, himself a professional philologist and a pioneer worker amongst Central Asian languages, asking whether DL would care to submit his Burushaski work for consideration by the Norwegian Institutet for Sammenligende Kulturforskning (Institute for the Study of Comparative Human Culture) with a view to its possible publication by them at their expense. The offer was too generous to refuse. We felt sad, homesick as it were, that Oslo, not Oxford, should stand on the title-page; but if Norway with scientific endowments could face what unendowed English publishers could not, national pride had to give way before the practical consideration that if the work was to be of use to scholars it must first be printed, and if it were not speedily printed it might be anticipated. David therefore gratefully accepted for his Burushaski the honour of a place in the Institute's distinguished series of learned publications. We found later, to our surprise and pleasure, that the Institute having once undertaken a scientific book, undertake also that nothing shall prevent its reaching the right public, and are prepared to send copies to almost *any* person interested enough to want them—a generosity which no ordinary publishing firm could emulate. It will be remembered that when Hooker was bringing out his great *Flora Indica*, his publishers expressly stipulated that no copy was to be given free to anyone who could possibly require the book!

So the typescript went to Oslo in 1931 and work began on the proofs, the reading of which was even more laborious than

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burnsho AV7

we had anticipated. In spite of the most generous co-operation /23
of Professor Morgenstierne, many sheets had to be read seven or eight times, the first two volumes eventually appearing in 1935 with Messrs. Williams & Norgate as the English agents of the Institute; and the third, the Vocabulary, in 1938.

St Lorimer L-2 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

PREFACE.

The present work deals with a language which is spoken in some inaccessible mountain-valleys at the meeting-point of three great linguistic families, viz. the Indo-European (represented by Indo-Aryan Shina and Iranian Wakhi), the Tibeto-Burman (represented by the Balti dialect of Tibetan) and Turkish, but which is unconnected with any of them. 114 128

It belongs to a small and remote community, which has never played any rôle in history, nor contributed anything to the development of civilisation. Yet the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture has recognised the importance of assisting in saving from oblivion this relic of the past, of which, so far, only very summary descriptions have been given, and which in spite of, or perhaps just on account of, its apparent isolation may help to throw light upon the linguistic history of Asia.

The Institute has therefore undertaken to publish the first comprehensive account of Burushaski and the notes on the closely related Werchikwar dialect prepared by Lt. Col. Lorimer. During his term as a political officer in Gilgit, close to the Burushaski speaking country, the author contrived to collect very ample and reliable material relating to the language, and he has since successfully carried through the difficult task of classifying and arranging it, describing in detail the highly complicated grammatical system of Burushaski. He has earned our gratitude for

3c Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-6) 1938 AV7 Burushaski AV7

119 the painstaking energy with which, despite many difficulties, he
128 has prosecuted this pioneer undertaking.

The writer of these prefatory pages, who has had the privilege of discussing with the author a number of questions relating to Burushaski, can testify to the accuracy and care which has been bestowed upon the work.

In scientific importance Burushaski may be classed under several categories. Each of these presents its own special problems which will require separate and detailed study, and here it is only possible to draw attention to a few points selected more or less at random.

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99 In the first place Bu. is of interest to the student of general linguistics on account of the many peculiar features of its morphological structure. These have been described in detail in the Grammar, and I shall only mention here one or two which seem worthy of consideration.

The division of nouns, etc., into four classes[1] is, of course, one of the outstanding features of Bu. grammar. It is, no doubt, right in considering the first two categories (m. and f.) to be subdivisions of a common class denoting human beings (h.). The plural endings, the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, and the numerals are the same in m. and f. nouns, and it is only in 3 sg. of the prefixed pronouns and of the personal suffixes of the verb that the two classes differ. This is an interesting parallel to the Indo-European gender system, in which the distinction between m. and f. is supposed to be more recent and less fundamental than that which exists between m. and f. on the one hand and n. on the other.[2]

Of course, the Bu. x. and y. categories cannot be identified with the I. E. n. As a matter of fact, the x. class, which among other things comprises non-human animate beings and which may, with great reserve, be defined as denoting individually conceived objects,

[1] §§ 19 sqq.
[2] V. e.g. Meillet, BSL. (CX), 41, 7.

In Lorimer L-3 (1925-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushu AV7

115 of course, everything was going to have been checked and corrected
126 and much additional information was going to have been obtained — an impossible programme!

Simultaneously with the writing of the texts I ran through an
126 extensive list of common English words and obtained as far as possible their Burushaski equivalents by direct enquiry. This method helps to fill up unexpected lacunae which will always be found in the vocabulary obtained from any moderate body of texts and casual information. It works well enough with nouns that are the names of material objects and with the simpler direct verbal conceptions. As a sole method, with an imperfectly-known common language as medium of communication, it would be quite unsatisfactory.

Also, in desperation, to make the most of the time available, I adopted a still less satisfactory expedient. I commissioned Imam Yar Beg's elder brother, 'Inayatullah Beg, to write out for me a list of all the Burushaski words and proverbs he could think of with explanations in Hindustani. He had some months in which to do this. I gave him for the purpose a large number of slips, each to be used for a single word, of which the vital inflected forms were also to be given. Unfortunately I was not able to convey my instructions by word of mouth and IUB devoted himself to a paper-economy campaign, writing as many words in pencil in a small hand on each slip as he could cram on to it. The result was almost illegible. I handed those slips over to Shikhtda Yūsuf of Yasin to re-write. He had an adequate knowledge of Burushaski and non-literate Burushu at hand to consult. With great industry he rewrote all the words on separate slips, adding in some cases Roman transliterations of his own. This did not suffice, however, to distinguish with any certainty a from ā, i from e and u from o, nor to exclude ambiguity in the case of some other sounds.

●128 All this material, which contained much that was new to me, I was unable to examine till years later when in England and unable to obtain help. Another very difficult manuscript with which I

had to struggle unaided was that of text No. 47 which had been supplied to me in two not identical versions, Burushaski and Urdu, by Gulapir Muhammad Ghani Khan, before I had begun to work at the language.[1] 125

In collecting linguistic material there is a choice of two attitudes one may adopt. The first is to try and clear up and master every difficulty as it occurs and ideally to make one's effective knowledge keep pace with the information that one writes down; the other is not to linger over difficulties which prove at all intractable, not to memorise and not to endeavour to learn to speak as one goes along, but to write down in the way of Texts etc. as much as possible in the time available, only making notes of the meaning and of usages as far as that is possible without undue delay. 126

The former method is of course the ideal one, but I doubt whether it is the wiser when time is limited. One may spend hours debating over an obscure phrase or construction without arriving at a full comprehension of it, while if the time is spent instead in recording more texts, there is a considerable chance that the word or phrase will turn up again in contexts which make its meaning or force plain. At least this has been my frequent experience. As regards trying to talk and memorising one's material as one goes along, where the language is as difficult as Burushaski, that is largely a question of the quickness and acquisitive power of the regarder. With no spare time or energy at my command such ambitions lay beyond my hopes.

I therefore resigned myself to the second method and devoted myself to collecting as much material as I could in the time — and the "time", it must be remembered, was what remained to me when my official work was done, and had to be divided between the three languages I was working at concurrently, Shina and Khowar as well as Burushaski. Then on retiring and returning to 126 125

[1] There is an error in the statement made in l. 3 of the note on p. 376 of the Texts: "1933" should be altered to "1932", or else the words "more than a year" should be cut out. I am not sure which.

126 England I settled down first to translating the texts and working
●128 out the vocabulary, and then to an intensive comparative study of every word and every grammatical form occurring in my material. On this basis I then prepared and annotated the Texts and drew up the Grammar and Vocabulary as they now stand. This took in all four and a half years, from January 1926 to June 1930.

I have dwelt at some length on my methods of work, because without such knowledge it is impossible for the reader to form any just estimate of the degree of authority to which the book can lay claim. For the same reason I have made a free use of question marks in the Vocabulary and elsewhere to indicate points in regard to which my information is uncertain. I hope I have stated nothing as a fact except on reasonably adequate grounds.

114 The whole edifice stands essentially on the foundation of Jemadar Imam Yar Beg's Burushaski, a foundation the general reliability of which I think no one in Hunza would dream of questioning. But this statement requires serious qualification: it is IYB's Burushaski as affected by the mishearings and misunderstandings of the recorder. That there are such I have not the slightest doubt. I am only surprised that the substance of the Texts has worked out so homogeneous and, as I have now some ground for believing, so correct.

A special word of warning should be given in regard to the Phonetics. I am myself no phonetician and made no constant systematic attempt to distinguish by all means at my command between different sounds which sooner or later I knew to exist, but could not myself certainly distinguish. This applies specially to the two parallel series of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates. Many cerebrals and aspirates may have escaped undetected; I can only say that where a sound is marked as cerebral or aspirate, it may safely be assumed to be such.

121 My general aim in the preparation of this work is now sufficiently evident; it is simply to give a perfectly objective view of what I was able to ascertain about the language. I have created a hypothesis

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

Shahzada Yusuf and Nazar. Further I would very specially thank my friend, Khan Sahib Muhammad Masih Pál, in my time and still, Indian Assistant to the Political Agent, Gilgit, for many and various services extending over a number of years.

To Professor Georg Morgenstierne's inspiration and good offices this work owes its appearance in print, for he introduced and sponsored it to the Directors of the Norwegian Instituttet For Sammenlignende Kulturforskning who have honoured me by approving it and publishing it at the expense and under the aegis of the Institute. I should like here to express my sincere and cordial thanks to the Institute and its Directors. With great unselfishness Professor Morgenstierne has also spent no little valuable time and much patience on matters connected with proofs and printing. He promises to crown his kindness by contributing a Preface.

Finally my thanks are due, as always, to my Wife for steadfast encouragement, judicious but unvexatious criticism, and unstinted typing, each of which contributions is in its way equally essential to my continued functioning.

Aliabad, Hunza. *D. L. R. L.*
1st September 1934.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the lighting of lamps, between supper and bedtime, in recounting past events, and doubtless in confirming and explaining traditional behaviour and practices:

> šapi·k ši·mtsum gučaipal xa (I am told) gori·tas guri·bilumišo ya dapiṇ stašo huru·šam. Thamini tə·ndili gorəṇtas akə·birtiṇ huru·šam da šajara (= šajara = tə·ri·x) ečam.

"From eating food till lying-down time those who had lamps or those who were preparing wool for spinning used to sit "by the lamp." In former years the people of the upper class used to sit by their lamps and recount past events."

That these séances had an educative and moral intention is evident from the saying, ascribed by tradition to Big Ali of the Ghulwätting clan:

> Ghulwaṭiṇs Big Ali.s ber bila: "uyo·n ja gori·tsar dun ja·tsum siskuṭ (= insa·ni.at) haki·ba·n. Ja khu γuniki.ents ayu· γuniki.entas gorəṇtsar ničə·n."

"There is the saying of Big Ali of the Ghulwätting: 'All people have come to my lamp-side and have learnt from me human virtue. Only these evil sons of mine go to the lamp-sides of evil persons."

The few remarks I have to make about the provenance of the subject matter of the texts are embodied in the notes subjoined to each. Otherwise the notes are chiefly confined to grammatical queries and explanations. Paragraph numbers quoted in the notes refer to the Grammar. Obviously the texts, especially those relating to local traditions or customs, require much fuller annotation to reveal and explain their full content; but lack of knowledge, no less than lack of space, made it impossible for me to attempt such annotation.

I hope that my present investigations in Hunza may serve to throw light on many of such obscurities.

Aliabad, Hunza,
29th October 1934.

D. L. R. L.

[p.1 contains no textual material – Analyst]

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PREFACE.

The following Vocabularies are based on the material collected in 1923—24, to which reference has been made in the Introduction, Volume I (pp. lvi. ff.), and were completed in 1930—31. 122 128

Thanks to assistance received from the Leverhulme Research Fund, I was able to revisit Gilgit and Hunza in 1934—35, and I then collected a considerable amount of new material.

Of this practically nothing has been incorporated in the present work. The additions, in the way both of new entries and of the elaboration of the existing entries, would have been considerable, and their preparation would have entailed great delay in publication. As matters stand I have not yet worked out the new material[1], and this has saved me from much temptation. 128

The revision of the *Burushaski—English Vocabulary* as it already existed, was, however, one of the many items of a too ambitious programme, which I did carry out, if only in a hasty and perfunctory way.

For this work I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Qudratullah Beg (QUB), son of Subadar Muhabbatullah Beg, a literate and extremely intelligent young man, with a remarkable feeling for language and the refinements of phonetics. [115]

A thorough examination of the forms, meanings and uses of the words in even this very modest vocabulary would have been a major task requiring an almost infinite amount of time. I had therefore 128 121

[1] Attention may, however, be called to a note on certain features of Burushaski, published in the BSOS Vol. VIII, 1936, pp. 627—636, which throws light on some grammatical and phonetic devices of the language.

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128 to restrict my aims to improving the phonetic representation of
121 the words, principally in regard to distinguishing cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates, and to clearing up doubts indicated by question marks in the original script, which chiefly related to noun-categories and to plural and pronominal-prefix forms, but also sometimes to meanings. Even these limited aims were not completedly realised; many forms and queries escaped notice or otherwise resisted determination.

128 One point resulting from this revision may be noted. The keyword as given in the Vocabulary, or the first form, where alternatives are offered, is the representation of the word, which from all information available I believe to be the correct one. Many words are misspelt, as regards cerebrals and aspirates, in the Grammar and Texts, which were in print before this revision was carried out. No attempt has been made to correct them in the quotations given in the Vocabulary. The reader is therefore asked to concentrate his mind on the keyword forms.

It will be observed that among the meanings given Arabic and Persian words frequently occur, to all which "H" (Hindustani) has been prefixed. This is for the sake of simplification and because explanations were usually given in Hindustani (or Urdu) in which these words are current.

Occasionally another Burushaski word is quoted under the description "Bu. Syn." (Burushaski Synonym). This is not to be taken as meaning that the one word exactly duplicates the other in meaning, but only that the second was used to explain the first.

This volume began to go to press while I was still in Hunza, and Professor Morgenstierne very generously undertook the unpleasant task of working my emendations into the earlier part of the script and revising the proofs of the first few sheets. This resulted in a very considerable saving of time.

I regret to have to append a lengthy list of corrections and additions. These are due in large part to the upsetting effect of growing knowledge and the alterations in the text which it entailed,

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For the rest I can only hope that they may be attributed to physical limitations rather than to economy of endeavour on my part. I have made a vast number of corrections in the proofs, but unfortunately this is a case where anything short of complete achievement acquires no merit. 128

I have made no effort to turn this into a comparative philological dictionary, a task beyond my competence, but I have aimed at indicating obvious loan-words, for the benefit of those who may approach Burushaski with a minimum knowledge of other oriental languages 121 192

The bulk of these loan-words will be found to be Arabic-Persian, i.e. Arabic words current in Persian, most of which have probably been acquired, more or less indirectly, from the latter language. 192

The original source of dissemination of Persian in all this part of the world has undoubtedly been the language of the Tajik population of the plains of what is now known as Tajikistan in USSR territory. This Tajik Persian is now beginning to receive attention (Cp. W. Lentz, "Pamir Dialekte, I" Göttingen, 1933, Introd. pp. 31 ff. and H. Sköld, "Materalien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen", Lund 1936, Introd. pp. 8 ff.). Work has been done on it in recent years by Soviet scholars, but copies of their publications are not easy to obtain. [113]

What proportion of the Persian words recorded by me in Burushaski are familiar to all Burushaski speakers, I cannot definitely say. Illiterate and untravelled men and most of the women would not, I think use, or know, many Persian words for which there are adequate Burushaski equivalents. Against this, every child in Hunza seemed to know the word *tasvir* for "photograph". It was a very old man who, when he had lost or damaged his portrait, asked if he could have another copy of the *girwinum*, the "script".

Other non-adjacent languages which have been laid under contribution are Hindustani and Punjabi.

With Tibetan I have no direct acquaintance but I have noted a few words in Burushaski which can be found in the standard Tibetan dictionaries.

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126 weeks. Unfortunately I did not remember how full of uncertainties my Werchikwar Vocabulary was, and instead of revising it I spent all my time trying to obtain new material. From this, however, I have been able to fill in some details lacking in the original vocabulary.

128 The *English—Burushaski* and *English—Werchikwar Indexes*, prepared by my wife, are not to be taken as dictionaries, they merely give references to the occurrence of the English words in the preceding Vocabularies. These English words are not necessarily the exact equivalents of the vernacular words which follow them. These should therefore in every case be looked up.

EPILOGUE.

000 With this Preface to the last volume may be combined an epilogue to the whole work. The latter, concocted in the course of the years 1926—30 from material collected in 1923—24, passed on to the ordeal of printing, from which it now finally emerges. It has therefore been something of a preoccupation, almost continuously, for fifteen years, and has consumed a considerable amount of time and labour.

The expenditure of time and energy in routine work, or without definite objective, easily passes unnoticed and seldom arouses active regret. When there is, or ought to be, a definite result to show for it, we become critical, and we are specially apt to find the outcome of self-imposed, directed labour inadequate and unsatisfactory. We then realise that time passed is irrecoverable, and that energy expended is virtue that has gone out of us for ever.

The author of an imperfect work on Burushaski can therefore quote with humble fellow-feeling the sad case of Bursoë described by Ath Tha'ālibi in his "History of the Persian Kings."[1]

[1] Zotenberg, "Histoire des Rois de Perse", Paris, 1900, p. 690. The quotation is from the translation by Sir Denison Ross in the Foreword to Vol. V of the "Ocean of Story", edited by N. M. Penzer (privately printed by Charles Sawyer, London, 1924—28) p. vi. Typographical difficulties rule out the reproduction here of the original Arabic.

128 As I sat and pondered my experiences—things that I had actually seen and witnessed, people whom I had met and talked to—I wondered and asked myself, "Will I be the man who will destroy the myth or will I corroborate it?"

Then I did a little soul searching. When an individual does that, it means he is troubled . . . and I admit that that was exactly my predicament.

I have tried to ascertain the truth of everything I have recorded and related in this book. Most of the time I was fortunate enough to see and do these things for myself. However, some information I had to obtain by asking questions and probing, but in every case I believed the information sincere and honest. You will note that, at all times, I sought my information from the highest and best informed sources available—even at the danger of annoying my host. Friendship and decorum are important conventions but, with me anyway, the quest for knowledge knows no bounds.

There may be errors and omissions and even falsehoods in my story but if there are any, it is by sheer accident or by willful misrepresentation on the part of someone else. Inasmuch as I am concerned, every statement made in this book is true, to the best of my innermost belief and knowledge.

124 128 There were many instances, while gathering this information, where facts, stories and other data were related to me and I doubted their veracity. So right there and then I said so. In some instances, I told the people who were giving me information that what they said did not make sense, and either they must have misunderstood or there was something being lost or twisted in the translation. I recall at the moment three such specific instances with entirely different groups and in each case, upon studying and revamping the

question, the error was cleared up. 128

Remember, I do not claim to be a Sherlock Holmes or smart enough to detect by scent or otherwise an untruth or misunderstanding, so they may crop up in various places in the book. 124

Long before I left home I had prepared a set of queries. Among them were things for me to investigate —places, customs and chores for me to see and do. And from all this I was to make my own values and estimates as to the validity of the claims made about Hunza and its people. I tried to cover every aspect of importance and interest and I believe that, with very few exceptions, I faithfully accomplished my mission.

In preparation for the trip I read every book I could find or locate that involved Hunza and in each case the author had done a credible job, but most of them had failed miserably to give sufficient information—at least, for me—because 'twas information that I wanted. I wanted to know more about the agriculture of Hunza, about the health of the people, about their methods, their means and their way of life. None of the authors gave much of that vital data. 122 114

Right from the first moment that I made plans to go to Hunza I decided that, if I wrote a book, it would contain the most complete, the most detailed and the most thorough study of the people of Hunza yet accomplished by any writer. This determination came upon me from the frustrations I felt when I read the available books on Hunza and was left with a feeling that only the surface of the subject had been scratched. 121 114

In my endeavors to fulfill this undertaking, I have spared neither time, effort, risk nor expense. I certainly don't want my readers to be left with the feeling that all about Hunza has not been told. I definitely realize that no one in a short few weeks or even months could

8;Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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[P43-C]

seventeen." Two years before he had told me he was thirteen.

Because the Hunzas, themselves, have no written records, I attempted to estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance, a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

"Purity" has been attributed to the Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad. Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter, round out the

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India. It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

* *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

3t Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

INTRODUCTION

THE LAND and the PEOPLE.

Burushaski, the main subject of the present work, is spoken in the States of Hunza and Nagir, which give a name to that tangle of snow-crowned mountains, long-drawn glaciers and deep-cut river beds that form the western extremities of the Karakoram and Kailás ranges of the Geographers. In elevation and ruggedness the tract may compare with any other portion of the earth's surface. The ground covered by the twin States is roughly defined by the lines 74° 10′ and 75° 40′ of East longitude and 36° and 37° 10′ of North latitude. Of this area the bulk falls to Hunza. Hunza marches on the North with Afghan and Chinese territory, from which it is divided by an immense mountain barrier traversable only by a few very high passes — the Irshad (16,060 ft.), the Kilik (15,600), the Mintaka (15,430) and the Khunjerāb.

The southern drainage from this range quickly assembles a few miles below Misgār to form the Hunza river, which proceeds southwards through the Hèrber or Gujhāl valley, or rather gorge. On its way the river receives reinforcement by tributaries from either side — the principal being the Batūra and Pasu glaciers on the West and the Shimshāl valley on the East. About 15 miles East of Baltit, the capital of Hunza, the river changes to a general westerly course, and level with Baltit it receives on its left bank the waters of the Nagir river which represent the meltings of the

concerning the health of the Hunzans. I have found the observations made by both authors, J. I. Rodale and G. T. Wrench, to be both authentic and comparatively reliable when it is taken into consideration that their work was done in the early years when not much information was available from Hunzaland. They were pioneers in the field to show the people of the world that there was a simple, natural, organic way to health. 114 164

Can anyone doubt that Hunza is located in one of the most inaccessible parts of the entire universe? The fact that a people—a handsome, virile, intelligent, civilized people—could live in such an inaccessible part of the world and still be considered among the healthiest of all people on the face of the globe is intriguing, to say the least. 131 164

Perhaps the story of their health, longevity and energy so shocked our concepts that we had to look twice or read twice to make sure that the statements we were reading could be accepted. Probably because of our smugness—with the feeling of security because of our modern medicines, our miracle drugs, our hospitals, our research techniques, our lab equipment and such—it was incomprehensible to us that a people so remotely located without all of these tremendous benefits could even exist, let alone be considered to be the healthiest and longest living people in the world.

Was it our disdain of eastern methods and way of life that rattled our concepts? 164

Now it could be that the dreamers among us had our imagination fired like it has never been fired before . . . to think that a people living truly on the roof of the world without benefits of modern civilization could subsist or exist, let alone be healthy!

But as one investigates, he finds that Hunza is one of the few places in the entire world, where there is a [177]

164 people who retained their character, independence,
177 freedom and primitive way of life. It is my belief that they are not much further advanced today than they were more than 2,000 years ago. Fearing that you may think I mean this in a derogatory manner, I would hurry and add that their way of life 2,000 years ago obviously was as good in many ways, or better, than our way of life today. But that is a measure for individual acceptance.

131 They owe their strength, their health, their longevity, their happiness to that wall of mountains that surrounds them and keeps out all but the boldest and most venturesome of invaders or travelers. They are surrounded by the most massive, the hugest, the greatest accumulation of mountain grandeur and awesomeness to be found anywhere on the world's surface. With such impenetrable guardians, it is not too difficult to understand the reason for their comparative privacy.

From what I saw and gathered, I found that one would not have to go many miles from any given point in Hunza to reach a location where no human being's foot had ever trod before. Should you have the desire to do just that, you can find millions of acres that have not felt the imprint of man within a few miles from most any given spot in Hunza.

181 Living in comparative isolation has made these people courageous and fearless. They are not stooges of civilization and all its implications. There, in Hunza, a man's individuality is still a characteristic trait to which they cling.

177 Now comes the big question—one that hundreds of people have already asked me . . . people who have but a faint knowledge or have heard a bit of news about Hunza and have been interested and fascinated by the myths and fables circulated about her—can Hunza

•131 Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River from Secunderabad to the Chinese border, a distance of somewhere around 200 miles, but no one has ever actually measured it. At the narrowest point it is less than half a mile wide. At its broadest, it is not quite two miles. Usually the only piece of flat land in a village [133] [134] is the polo field. Good, rich, deep soil as Westerners know it is absolutely unknown in Hunza.

311 Whenever a house is built here, they seldom ever use [361] a piece of fertile soil or soil of any kind. They usually erect it on rock or on a steep hillside where that piece of land could not have been used for agriculture anyway.

[241] Practically every bit of farm land is terraced. It can be said, it is actually cut out of the rocks of the mountainside which is the north bank of the Hunza River.

[134] Of the total length of 200 miles, only a small fraction is at all arable. Most of it is solid rock or terrain so steep that horticulture of any nature is impossible.

312 Rainfall is scanty. They cannot depend upon it at all [132] for crops. In order to get sufficient water, hand built and similarly maintained conduits bring water down from glaciers. These conduits are carefully erected and [241] trained to run alongside the villages where the water can be trapped to flow where desired and used to irrigate their lands, also for drinking and all other necessary purposes.

There are four main conduits in Hunza and they are as follows:

Murku—This is at the highest level of all the aqueducts and carries the most water.

Barbar—Supplies the Baltit-Altit area.

Dala—This is the longest—extends as far as Aliabad. Supplies Kerimabad.

Hamachi—The smallest which runs as far as the tiny village Ganesh, located on a cliff's edge.

of his fellow man and see that it is fairly and impartially carried out, we have made it too complicated. Is there any justifiable reason why it should take months or even years for a civil case to be heard in court? If there are not sufficient judges, I'm sure it would not be difficult to appoint or elect more of them. If there are not enough court rooms and court houses, I feel confident that, with American construction at its high peak of efficiency, it wouldn't take long to correct that.

Then why isn't it done? I don't know the answer. Do you? The Hunzan system of justice seems to be functioning in a most satisfactory manner. Anyone may petition the Mir and unless he is away, can get an almost immediate hearing. If the Mir is not available or if the problem is not a weighty one, then the Wazir can attend to it.

In truth, justice can be simple!

* * * * *

In order to get into Hunza you must obtain a permit from the Pakistani authorities in the capital, which is Karachi, but I understand the government is being moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi or a new site close to it. I still think it is more important to have the Mir's invitation, because even though you could get into Hunza, you would be practically helpless without the Mir's assistance and cooperation.

Unless you brought a guide with you and one who could speak English and translate for you, you'd find the going very, very difficult in either Nagir or Hunza. Therefore I would suggest that if you contemplate a visit into this area, you obtain the Mir's invitation or permission first. Then go after the Pakistani government's permit.

Why the Pakistan government regards Hunza as a strategic region or area is not hard to understand if

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

you realize that Hunza's neighbors are Afghanistan, China and India and slightly above a narrow corridor of Afghanistan there is Russia, just a scant few miles from the Hunzan border. 648 [131]

Therefore, any person who wanted to start trouble with either Russia or China could get into the Hunza area and it wouldn't take too much maneuvering to cause an international incident, especially if the Chinese or Russians were looking for an excuse. So I don't blame the Pakistani government for being cautious and realistic about those possibilities.

Just a few years ago an American scientist working with funds raised by an organization started for that purpose, known as the Central Asiatic Research Foundation, wanted to take a couple of the Hunzan boys to the United States and have them educated there and then brought back again to Hunza. At first the Mir flatly refused. Then after reconsidering the matter, and perhaps in consultation with others, he changed his mind and gave his permission. I did not inquire as to the exact rhyme and reason for the developments that took place, but eventually the Pakistani government decisively and definitely refused to allow the boys out of the country. 648 177

It appeared to me that the Mir felt that there was no reason why he should refuse when the foreign policy of his country was being looked after in Karachi. I am more than certain that the Mir's opinion was recorded in Karachi.

But John Clark, the writer of a book about Hunza, and some American authorities were very annoyed at this and felt that the Mir was being unreasonable, ungenerous and to say the least, unkind in not allowing these boys to come to America. [114]

I did not know then the true reasons behind the Mir's

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CHAPTER 45

Where Is Hunza?

131 AT FIRST I HAD TAKEN it for granted that everyone knew exactly where Hunza lay. Then after many folks had queried me about the location of this strange country, I found that Hunza was seldom listed on any map and not even mentioned in many encyclopedias and gazetteers. Therefore, it is only fair and right for me to tell you where Hunza is and, if you do know, I trust you will pardon my repeating the position, but I want to establish its area clearly.

At the extreme northerly tip of Pakistan, rubbing shoulders with Afghanistan on the west, China on the north and northeast is Hunza and just 14 miles beyond the narrow corridor of Afghanistan lies Soviet Russia. [133] The gateway between Hunza and China is the famed Mintaka Pass which is the original route followed by Marco Polo back so many hundred years ago. Hard-by is where the Hunza River has its source. This area along

the Hunza River is the principality called Hunza. 131

It is nestled in a most enchanting setting, surrounded by three of the world's greatest and tallest mountain systems. Another piece of knowledge that adds even greater interest and appeal is the meaning of the names of the three mountain systems: Hindu Kush means "killer of Hindus" because so many Hindus have lost their lives in crossing this range; Himalaya means "abode of snow", well-named when one considers their height and the vast masses of glaciers lying on the mountains' breasts; Karakorum means "the black rock" and one has to actually penetrate this system to realize how accurately those hard bare stone walls are named. The word Kush is pronounced with an "oo" sound. Himalayas is pronounced with the accent on the "al". The Karakorums are pronounced with the broad "a" accent for the first syllable and "oo" sound for the "um". This word can be spelled either "am" or "um". I prefer "um" because that is more in keeping with the sound as spoken by the people of that area. 133 [103] [104]

Hunza actually forms a part of what was the old Kashmir and on maps it is shown as part of Kashmir and Jammu.

During my travels through the area I was plagued with the questions . . .Where exactly are the Hindu Kush, the Karakorums, the Himalayas? Where among these ranges is Hunza? 'Tis simple, you say? That's what I said, too, until I began to investigate and ask questions. Then I found myself in a maze of confusion from which I found it difficult to extricate myself.

Surely one would believe that learned people, high school or university graduates both in America and abroad, would know a bit about the most important mountain systems in the world. But, no! Ask them yourself. See the ambiguous answers you get. Then you

131 will understand why "it plagued me thus."

133 Many writers who have visited the area, and many [114] others who have not, refer to Hunza as being in the Himalayas. I am sorry to be forced to contradict these good people, but from my research—and I repeat, research—I have come to the conclusion that Hunza is definitely in the Karakorum system and not the Himalayas.

[114] If this error was made just occasionally by casual visitors or tourists, it could go unmentioned, but when men with science education and degrees make this mistake, it is somewhat unpardonable. There are very few maps or gazetteers that give this information accurately, and if you think I came by this information easily, I would suggest that you take down whatever maps you have available and do some research on the topic.

The eventual decision as to which are the Karakorums and which are the Himalayas came about when it was firmly laid down in one place that the northwest upper Indus separates the Karakorums from the Himalayas. The Karakorums seem to start about where the Hindu Kush ends in Kashmir. The exact spot, according to the best data that I could obtain, is 74 degrees east longitude and from there the Karakorums run approximately 300 miles southeast down to the main bend of the Shyok River. Even encyclopedias are not completely reliable in this instance, because one encyclopedia (in fact, Columbia is the one I'm talking about) lists Mountain K2 which is now known as Godwin Austen as the second tallest mountain peak in the world and places it both in the Karakorums and in the Himalayas. The Hindu Kush culminates at Tirach Mir —26,426 ft. high. Just about there the Karakorum range takes over and extends as specified above.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

Part or all of the armies of Alexander the Great wound their way through the Hindu Kush mountains. Whether or not they ever found their way into the Karakorums, history does not designate, but I suspect that they did, because the Hunzans are supposed to be descendants of Alexander the Great or his soldiers and Hunza is in the Karakorums. 131 133 [173]

The Himalayas in the encyclopedia are stated to lie in India, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and China but I know for certain the Himalayas extend into Pakistan as well.

At this point I am not seeking to take issue with any gazetteer, encyclopedia or other volume of facts. I am just pointing out the difficulty I encountered in getting the information down to a semblance of order and accuracy. Further, I have consulted with, written to and requested details from many sources who should know the facts, and in practically every case I came to a dead end. It seems as though very few people in the world know the exact location and extent of these three mountain systems. [114]

One man who did seem to know them and placed them accurately was Eric Shipton and by the heavens, he should know—he spent more time among these mountains than any white man in history.

A curious thing about the people of Hunza . . . they do not have names for the peaks in the area and there are some mighty lofty peaks. Even the famed Rakaposhi has no individual name in Hunza. It is just called "Dumani," the same as every other high mountain or mountain peak that they came across. Actually, "dumani" means "covered with a cloud." 823 103

I guess they're so accustomed to seeing these awesome peaks that they become impervious to them. So what? Another hill! Every time I asked one of the

126 "nothing" where the ledge once led . . . a few well
192 appointed steel rods forced into fissures being the total
491 support. As yet I have failed to discover or learn the proper word describing these galleries.

114 I must admit that many or most of the errors or misconceptions concerning Hunza are due to the fact that insufficient time was spent by some of the writers who visited Hunza.

At first it was my wish to pass by this chapter on misconceptions because I did not feel that I should be involved in a hassle with other writers. But then I asked myself if I had any doubts as to whether or not I was right. And this made me feel that I definitely wanted to write the chapter on misconceptions.

It is not my intent or desire to be contradictory nor arbitrary. I am not seeking to pick a quarrel with anyone. But the facts and statements herein related are based on my seeing, hearing, research, questioning and investigating.

I have tried to make my book as accurate as humanly possible. And if and when errors are found, I trust they will be brought quite forcibly to my attention. I would like to believe that if I can dish it out, I can take it, too!

134 *Fertile valleys*—Some writers have referred to various valleys in Hunza as fertile valleys. By the standards to which we are accustomed, there is not one single fertile valley in all of Hunza. That the soil is productive and the valley green and beautiful, no one will deny. But at best the soil in Hunza is shallow and to be productive, it must be maintained assiduously. I repeat, in Hunza there are no such things as naturally fertile valleys as compared, for example, to parts of the Willamette Valley in Oregon.

• 131 *Hunza is scarcely* 60 *miles long,* says one writer. An-
133 other says it is 80 miles long and elsewhere I saw it

mentioned as being 100 miles long. 131

A few miles above the spot where the Hunza River meets the Gilgit is a village called Secunderabad. It is here that Hunza begins and if you follow the Hunza River up to its source beyond Misgar, almost on the Chinese border, where it springs from a glacier, you will find in following the contours of the river that the country is almost 200 miles long. I have carefully checked this figure with the best authorities—the Mir being one of them—and I found that the 200 mile figure was as close as it can possibly be measured. 133

They are Asians. Of course they are Asians because they dwell in Asia. But in appearance they are definitely unlike Asians. Without trying to sound dramatic or authoritative, the general appearance of the people of Hunza shows marked European characteristics. They are totally unlike the Indians, the Afghans or the Chinese. To me they looked like the Mediterranean peoples. At this stage I am not harping or relying on the fact that they claim to be descendants of Alexander the Great or some of his soldiers. 144

Primitive—Most writers refer to them as primitive people or say that their way of life is primitive. I will agree with the use of that term in describing the people of Hunza, if you will agree with me that the Christian world is primitive, because it too follows the teachings of the Bible which was written 3,000 or 4,000 years ago. It is agreed that the people of Hunza follow a primitive form of agriculture and use no chemical fertilizers or modern sprays and insecticides. But then, they don't need chemical insecticides and chemical fertilizers. They use no modern machinery on their small, hard won, shallow surfaced fields. Their conduits which guide the glacial waters to their fields are, I agree, primitive, but no better form is known anywhere. 105 105 241.

682 past 40 years. Never to my knowledge has a stranger
[609] or a visitor ever been harmed or injured.

175 In bygone days the Hunzans were considered good
648 fighting men and were feared by the Chinese, the Afghans and neighboring tribes. It is a fact that they have only been conquered or beaten once in their history and that was by a British force that defeated them at the Battle of Nilt. The British did not seek to conquer the country. It was at the time when the British were the rulers of India. They requested that the Mir of Hunza allow free passage of the mail to Kashgar in China. The Mir at that time, Safdar Ali, felt that he could count upon the aid of the Russians and the Chinese and challenged the British authority. Then the British force went into the field and it required deliberation and courage to assault the high fortress, but it was accomplished by the British and the
[643] Mir fled for his life. The British then appointed his brother as the ruler and departed peacefully. Apart from this, the British did not interfere in the affairs of the Hunzans.

123 *You lose face if you carry anything yourself or do any work.* In all my travels throughout the world, including Hunza, I always did my share of the carrying. I wasn't going to stand by and see one or two men burdened down with my belongings while I walked about empty handed. I will not allow it to be said that I lost face because of this.

I don't want it to be thought that I am better than anyone else nor will I allow them to think that they are better than I. Wherever there was work to be done or burdens to be borne, I always did my share and I intend to keep on doing it.

131 *Hunza in the Himalayas.* Some writers keep referring to Hunza, Gilgit and Rakaposhi as being in the

Himalayas. They call Hunza "The Lost Kingdom of the Himalayas," "Himalayan Valley" and "Himalayan Region" and make other erroneous references. 131

However, truth is truth, fact is fact, and Hunza, Nagir, Gilgit and Rakaposhi are all in the Karakorums and the Karakorums are a mountain system of their own and are not part or parcel of the Himalayas.

How these misconceptions came into existence, I am not prepared to state, but when dealing and conjecturing with a country as fascinating as Hunza, that lends enchantment to the heart and escape to the mind, one can understand errors mushrooming into life.

Whether or not I have exploded any myths concerning this fabulous country depends entirely upon what you have read or heard and your individual viewpoint. I returned from Hunza with the conviction that I had seen, visited and been among one of the most fabulous peoples on the face of the earth.

Perhaps I have shattered your illusions. If so, I am genuinely sorry because in this modern day and age, a man's soul needs some illusions and I would be the last man to deprive you of them. Yet, it was my purpose when I went to Hunza and then decided to write this book, to tell the truth and lay the facts before you as I found them. That is what I have done.

If I have failed you or brought your idols tumbling at your feet, I am sorry! Yet in spite of any shortcomings that have been exposed in my narrative, the little hidden kingdom of the Karakorums will always be "Shangri-la" to me.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.39-C]

123 pull them out with my fingers. Bohar
164 gasped, then relaxed as the extraction permitted the abscesses at the roots to drain more freely."

101 This was in Hunza, the small, moun-
131 tainous, Central Asiatic kingdom
121 bordering on China, Kashmir, and Afghanistan, about which there has been recurring publicity, characterizing the land as a Shangri-La peopled by men and women of extraordinary
121 health and longevity. Since the beginning of man's role as a traveler, tales of far-off earthly paradises have been brought home to entertain the untraveled. No matter how many such El Dorados perish under examination, the next is inevitably welcomed into the lists with unblemished credulity.

[text continues on p. 40-B]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

DARDISTÂN—*continued.*

	Government.	Prevailing Race or Caste.	Religion.	Conditions as regards Slavery.
HUNZA ..	Ruled by Raja Ghazan Khân, son of Ghazanfar. (Raja's family, Ayeshia.)	Yashkun	All Molâi.	Here slaves are both kept and dealt in.
ISHKOMAN, or CHATARKUN	Belongs to Yâsin	Yashkun	Molâi.	
YÂSIN ..	Ruled by Raja Mîr Wali, son of Gaur Rahmân. (Raja's family, Bakhta.)	Yashkun	Molâi and Sunî, the former predominating; no Shia.	
CHITRÂL and MASTUJ.	Ruled by Raja Imân-ul-Mulk. (Raja's family, Katori.)	Yashkun	Sunî.	
GOLJÂL in BADAKHSHÂN	Dependent on the Mîr or Prince of Badakhshân (tributary to Kâbul).	Wâkhik*	Molâi.	
DÂREL ..	Republic	Shin and Yashkun	Sunî.	In these, captives of war are kept as slaves; slave-dealing is not practised.
TANGIR ..	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		
GOR	Republic	Shin and Yashkun	Sunî.	
THALICHA ..	Republic.			
CHILÂS ..	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		
KOLI	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		
PÂLUS ..	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		

The first five divisions I have already treated of as fully as I was able. We now come to the countries that surround Gilgit.

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Maharaja, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

The people of Nagar are called Khajanî.

Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Maharaja, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Raja sent an agent to Sirinagar to open friendly relations, who was well received; I do not know

* I have never met any of these people, but I believe them to be Dârda. Goije is another name by which they are called; that is the territorial name, while Wâkhik is the caste name.

131 **Hunza-Nagar.**—Two small chiefships lying to the extreme north-west of Kashmir, on the banks of the Hunza river. Towards the north they extend into the mountainous region which adjoins the junction of the Hindu Kush and Muztāgh ranges; in the south they border on Gilgit; on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yāsin by a range of mountains; while the Muztāgh range divides Nagar from Baltistān on the east. The inhabitants of both chiefships come from the same stock and speak the same language, but are not usually on good terms with each other. In Hunza the people are Maulais or Ismailis, followers of the Agā Khān, while in Nagar they are ordinarily Shiahs.

Lying between these States and Gilgit are Chaprot and Chalt fort with some attached villages, which were long a source of contention between the rival chiefs. In 1877 the ruler of Nagar, with the assistance of the Kashmir Darbār, successfully occupied the disputed tract; but in 1886 he was persuaded to withdraw his troops, which were replaced by a garrison from Kashmir. In the same year Ghazan Khān, the *Tham* or chief of Hunza, was murdered by his son Safdar Alī, who succeeded him and professed submission to the Mahārājā of Kashmir. The two chiefs combined in 1888, and ejected the Kashmir troops from Chaprot and Chalt, even threatening Gilgit, but both strongholds were reoccupied by the Kashmir forces after a few months.

A British Agency was re-established at Gilgit in 1889; and the chiefs agreed to respect the control of the Agent, to allow free passage through their territory, and to stop raiding on the Yārkand road and elsewhere, yearly subsidies being granted to them, besides the amount paid by the Kashmir State. These engagements were not respected; and in May, 1891, a combined force from Hunza and Nagar threatened Chalt, but dispersed on the arrival of reinforcements. Later in the year they refused to allow roads to be made to Chalt, extending to their own country, and it became necessary to dispatch troops against them. Nagar and Hunza were occupied, and the *Tham* of the former place submitted, while Safdar Alī, the *Tham* of Hunza, fled to Chinese Turkistān. The subsidies were withdrawn, and a Political officer and military force remained at Hunza till 1897; but in 1892 Muhammad Nāzim Khān was installed as *Tham* in place of his half-brother Safdar Alī, while the *Tham* of Nagar was reinstated. In 1895 subsidies were again granted by the Government of India and the Kashmir State, and in the same year both chiefs assisted in the relief of Chitrāl.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 643 that it was our policy to be on good terms with the natural leaders of the people of the country, and the Kashmir frontier officials had mismanaged their affairs so hopelessly, and were so distrusted, that I did not wish to have them as intermediaries. In the end Raja Bahadur Khan proved of the greatest service, and his tact and knowledge of the local conditions helped to avert what might have been a very serious disaster.

B 131 648 642 The position of the small States of Hunza and Nagar, which I was about to visit, is unique; as Biddulph says, "they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago." Shut in by a girdle of practically impassable mountains, they had maintained their independence for centuries, though both States apparently had at different times acknowledged the suzerainty of the rulers of Gilgit, and latterly had bound themselves to respect that of Kashmir, and to pay it tribute. B 648 The relations of Hunza to Kashmir, and through that State with the Government of India, were complicated by the fact that the Chief of Hunza also recognised the suzerainty of China, paid a nominal tribute to, and received presents in return from its ruler. B 186 The two States, which are divided only by a river which runs in a bed six hundred feet wide between cliffs three hundred feet high, are inhabited generally by people of the same stock, speaking the same language, professing the same form of the Mahomedan religion, and are ruled by princes sprung from the same family. Notwithstanding all this, or more correctly perhaps because of it, they have been

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

186 for centuries persistent rivals, always at war with each other, but always ready to unite against a common invader, even when that invader had been called in by the one State in order to assist it in coercing the other.

721 131 The State of Hunza was the most important of the two, from the fact that its possession of the passes leading to the Pamirs, and to the valley of the Yarkand river, gave it the opportunity, in the picturesque Persian phrase, of "striking the road," and looting the caravans on their way between [567] Turkestan and India. The rulers of Hunza availed [439] themselves of this commanding position freely; their name was a terror to the merchant and to the gentle Kirghiz, and their success was such that certain roads were entirely abandoned by traders; tracts of country north of the passes were completely depopulated, and Hunza was the centre of the slave trade, the place to which the merchants of Badakshan regularly came to 643 replenish their stocks. The rulers of Hunza were 721 rich compared to those of Nagar, and secure in the fastnesses of their mountains they snapped their fingers at China and Kashmir, and with fine impartiality plundered caravans to the north and kid- 241 napped slaves to the south. But brigands by profession as the people were, they appear to have acted always on the orders of their chief, and the admirable cultivation of their ground, the immense and persistent labour spent on their irrigation channels, and on the retaining walls of their terraced fields, 131 showed that they were worthy of better things. The country itself is some hundred miles in length: from Chalt to Hunza, a distance of about twenty-five miles

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burusho AV7

131 it lies entirely on the right bank of the Hunza river; above Hunza, as far as the passes of the Hindu-Kush, it embraces both banks. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hindu-Kush, which separates it from the Pamirs and the valley of the Yarkand river; to the west, by a range which separates it from the Karumbar or Ishkuman valley; and to the south, by
161 the Hunza river which divides it from Nagar. The total population probably amounts to some ten
563 thousand souls. The country is racially separated into two divisions, Gujhal and Kanjut. Gujhal begins at a village called Gulmit, eighteen miles above Hunza, stretches to the passes, and is inhabited by emigrants from Wakhan, who still speak the dialect of their original home. Kanjut or Hunza proper comprises the rest of the country, and is inhabited by a Dard race of the Yeshkun caste, speaking Burishki.

173 Hunza and Nagar were, according to tradition, ruled by the same chief till some centuries ago, when the ruler of the day divided the country between his two twin sons, who were deadly enemies. The Hunza ruler was murdered by one of his brother's adherents, and left an only daughter. This young lady fell in love with her cousin, the son of the ruler of Nagar, and the lovers met, necessarily by stealth, the prince swimming across the Hunza river every night. The result was a son, the founder of the present line, which is called Ayeshé, or heavenly; for, to conceal the mishap, the story in Hunza is that the father was a prince from Shignan, but that his name having been forgotten he was called Ayesho, or the "heaven-sent." The Hunza chief is styled Thum, as was his brother

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burush. AV7

people, who had practically the monopoly of the necessary birch. Our crossing into Hunza was therefore assured, and I received civil enough letters from the Thum repeating his invitations. His epistolary style was always quaint and high-flown, and on this occasion, when welcoming me, he compared my party to "camels without nose-ropes uncontrolled," meaning by this that we were free to wander at our pleasure in all directions. In a former letter he had, with reference to the difficulty of supplying our party, compared us to elephants. On a later occasion he incidentally remarked that he proposed to send my head on a charger as a present to the Government of India: but there was a good deal to come before that.

Crossing a mile above Chalt the rope bridge over the Hunza river, which seemed the longest and steepest we had yet crossed, though that over the Gilgit river had a span of three hundred and sixty feet, we found ourselves in Nagar territory, the first Europeans who had ever penetrated its mysterious wilds. The bridge was a new one, fortunately for us, for they are very unsafe when old, and should be renewed annually. This involves a good deal of labour, as nine cables of twisted birch twigs of the necessary length, in this case some four hundred and fifty feet, have to be prepared. The people therefore often put off the work and chance the bridge lasting, and I have seen bridges three and four years old in use. This is horribly dangerous; the birch twigs dry and perish, and the ropes break suddenly. As a rule they do not go all together, and I have seen a bridge in use con-

~~Sir~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV3 Afghanistan AV7~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

rocky ledges, sometimes letting oneself down nearly to the water's edge, then ascending 300 or 400 feet above the stream, holding on by corners of rock, working along rocky shelves 3 or 4 inches wide, and round projecting knobs and corners where no four-footed animal less agile than a wild goat could find a path. D 133

Immediately above the bend of the river is the district of Chaprot, consisting of the fort and village of that name and three other villages. This has always been a fruitful source of contention among the rulers of the three states of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, between which it is situated, principally on account of the fort, which, according to local ideas, is impregnable. It is situated in the angle formed by the junction of two streams, with high precipitous banks, and can therefore only be approached from one side. It has belonged in turns to all three states, but at present is garrisoned by Cashmere troops. Continuing up the valley to the eastward, at about 52 miles from Gilgit, the residences of the rulers of the two states of Hunza and Nager are reached, the river forming the boundary between the wild two. D 361 648 B 131 361

The view of the great Rakiposh Mountain from the north side is truly striking. From the water's edge it rises without a break for 19,000 feet to its topmost peak, which is over 25,000 feet above the sea-level. Its lofty sides, girdled with dark pine forest and seamed with glaciers and *mers-de-glace*, some of which reach nearly down to the water's edge, overlook numerous fertile settlements which are nourished by streams flowing from the great mountain. Above the forests extensive fields of snow sparkle and glitter in the summer sun, while, overtopping all, great points of granite, on whose steep sides the snow can scarce find a resting-place, give emphasis and unity to a scene not easily forgotten. B 133

Above Hunza the course of the river, which rises in the Hindoo Koosh, lies entirely in Hunza territory. The people of these two states, of whom so little is known, have been counted as mere robber tribes, who have brought themselves into notice by their depredations on the caravans between Yarkund and Leh. This is, however, scarcely a just estimation of them. They are of the same stock as the people of Yassin, Ponyal, and the majority of the people of Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys. So far from being mere robber tribes, they are settled agricultural communities, living under rulers who boast of their long unbroken descent from princes of native blood. Hemmed in by lofty mountains, they are B 721 B 144 B 173 186

3B Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUS-Afghanistan AU2~~
4 AV3 Dard
Durusho AV7

173 proud of the independence they have always maintained, and
186 they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago. The rulers are called *Thum*, and their families are descended from twin brothers, Moghlot and Gir-
174 kis, who lived about the end of the fifteenth century. General Cunningham makes the somewhat natural mistake of confounding Girkis with Kirghiz, and suggests that the former inhabitants of Hunza must have been Dards (?), who have since been displaced by the nomads of the Pamir. From this he goes on to argue that the rulers of Shigar must also be of Kirghiz blood; and following the same line of argument he states that the Astor district must once have belonged to the Tibetan race, because the ruling family are Makpons. He also mentions the Gilgitis as a race of Dardo-Tibetans, for which assumption there is no adequate foundation.[1]

643 I have been told by a Nepaulese gentleman that *Thum* is a Chinese title, meaning Governor, and that it is used in a reduplicated form *Thum Thum*, to signify a Governor General.[2] Its existence in these countries, where its origin has been completely lost sight of, is curious and must be extremely ancient.

The rulers of Nager, who are descended from the first-named of the two brothers, are called Moghloté, the present
161 Thum being Jaffer Zahid Khan. Though the smaller of the two states, Nager has the larger population, owing to the greater amount of cultivable ground which it contains.
134 The population is about 10,000 souls. The land where cultivable is extremely fertile and bears exceptionally heavy
135 crops, and the Nager streams are rich in gold. The country is especially famous for its apricots, which are dried and export-
439 ed to the Punjab in considerable quantities. Nearly opposite Hunza, the Myetsil River, a considerable stream, joins the
361 main river from the south-west. The fort of Nager and the Thum's house are on the southern side of this stream, about 3 miles from the junction, at an elevation of 8,000 feet
131 above the sea. Both sides of this valley belong to Nager, and it forms the eastern boundary of the state. At the head of it is the difficult and dangerous road over the Hispar Pass into the Shigar Valley, which is never used except in cases
000 of necessity. When Cashmere authority was temporarily

[1] Cunningham's *Ladakh*, pages 27, 38, 58, 295. 1

[2] It is perhaps a corruption of the word Tung, which appears in many titles. The Chinese Governor of Kashgharia is called Tsung Tung, and the officer who commands the troops is styled Tung-lung.

1 [See I: Cunningham, A J 4 West Tibetan file -- Analyst]

~~98:~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU2~~
4
AV3 Dard
Burush. AV7

When Cashmere authority was temporarily
expelled from Gilgit, between 1852 and 1860, communication 648
with Nager was maintained by this road. In the prosperous 186
times of the Shin rule, the Thums of Nager acknowledged the Ras of Gilgit as their feudal superiors, and tradition relates that the villages of Nilt, Gulmit, Toll, and Pussunt, which now belong to Nager, were given as dowries to different Thums who married daughters of the Trakhané. At the time of the Sikh occupation of Gilgit a very close connection existed between the rulers of the two states of Gilgit and Nager. Between Hunza and Nager a great rivalry, which has frequently resulted in open hostility, has always existed, but they are generally ready to combine against an external foe. Though possessing a common origin, the people of Nager are distinguished for timidity and incapacity for war, and no instance is recorded of their being victorious over their rivals of Hunza, at whose hands they have suffered many disastrous defeats. The people of Nager are Shiahs, [795]
and slavery does not exist among them. Since 1868 Nager has been tributary to Cashmere, to which it makes an annual payment of twenty-one tolas of gold and two baskets of apricots.

Between the two states the river flows between perpendicular banks, 300 feet high and 600 feet apart at the top. 131 ●
The banks can only be ascended in a few places, which are carefully guarded.

Hunza, which comprises a considerable extent of territory, has an agricultural population of about 6,000 souls. 133
North of the great range of peaks which bisects the [161]
principality from south-east to north-west the country opens out into rolling grass steppes, supporting a scattered pastoral population. Here the great wild sheep (*O. Poli*) roams in large herds. This tract is known as Little Goohjal, to distinguish it from Wakhan, which, south of the Hindoo Koosh, is known as Goohjal proper.

From the north-east the Shimshal stream, draining the valley of that name, brings down a great volume of water in summer, and effectually closes all access from the south, except to men on foot. The only direct route in summer to 487
the Shimshal Valley from the south, is by the high and difficult Moorkôn Pass, which is only open for two months in the year. From the head of the Shimshal Valley a road, only passable for men on foot, leads to Koolanooldi in the Yarkund Valley. It was by this road that attacks on the caravans were organised. Another route leads by a somewhat

ANTIQUITY

[643] ruled his country in the humanest and wisest of benevolent autocracies,
since the treaty of 1892 placed him on the throne of his murdered father
181 and parricide brother—to our humbler neighbours in Aliabad, the
609 village four miles below the capital which we made our headquarters
for fifteen months. As soon as the people grasped the purpose of our
[212] coming (which was not easy to explain to an illiterate people) they were
overjoyed that a 'Sahib' should trouble to learn their vernacular—
a thing which no white man or woman had done before—and take an
interest in their customs and hereditary lore. At first they would
hesitate: 'but you have wheels (=machines) in England, and can do
all these things better than we can'. Within a few days they were
vying with each other in explaining, demonstrating and bringing
ploughs, looms, winnowing forks, bows, stone cooking pots to the
resthouse where we were installed, that D.L. might measure them and
take 'studio portraits' of them, 'for you mustn't put anything in the
book about us that isn't exactly true'.

132 The entire life of the Hunzukuts is centred in water. The rain-
fall in the oasis level (7–9,000 feet), is negligible—we reckoned less
312 than 2 inches per annum; in default of any means of raising the
361 water, the river, flowing between its crumbly earthen cliffs, 500 or 1,000
feet below their fields is useless for irrigation; there are no springs or
wells; hence all water for all purposes must be trapped high up at the
snout of some side glacier and conveyed on galleried aqueducts across
yawning gorges and the faces of sheer cliffs. The main water channel,
the Dala, which supplies all the more recent villages of Hunza, 'the
new settlements' as they are called in contradistinction to the three
original villages—Baltit the capital, Altit and Ganesh—travels some
8 or 10 miles in its circuitous route from the Herber glacier in the
gorge behind Baltit, cradled between snow-peaks of 23,000 feet, before
it peters out in a semicircular sweep round Aliabad.

312 The Dala was dug some three or four generations ago (90–100
years) with wooden shovels and wooden picks tipped with ibex horn,
412 and represents an amazing feat of engineering skill for people without
any instruments of precision. The sluices that control the distribu-
816 tion of water—every teaspoonful of which is rigorously allotted—are
of the simplest; most often a slab of flattish stone plastered in with
mud, sometimes a wooden shutter sliding in a rude wooden frame,
sometimes when the water is being taken off to a lower level a circular
hole in a stone slab, closed at need with a mushroom-shaped stopper,
rough hewn from a solid tree trunk.

402 'machines' known in Hunza, and the mechanism of all three is so simple that parts can be replaced, repairs or adjustments effected, by any intelligent child—and we met no *un*intelligent Hunza child.

286 Anyone desirous of doing so can acquire a weaver's skill, and in our village of some 200 families there were seven or eight expert weavers. The loom-pit is a hole in the ground, 2 feet wide and deep and 2 feet 4 inches from back to front, with a stone bench at the back. Two horizontal poles balanced on stones a couple of feet above the ground at either side carry the heddles, etc. Here the weaver sets up his home-made loom of ingeniously simple construction worked by four treadles in the bottom of his pit. While he works, the owners of the wool sit by and wind his bobbins. A skilful weaver can make the nine yards of narrow homespun required for a man's cloak in a day and a half. The loom-pit occupies fully half the width of the 'street' and when being used forms the centre of a shifting group of cheerfully gossiping passers-by.

Goat's hair is woven on an even simpler upright frame, a forked piece of tree supplying the single shed required.

322 Turning is a rarer accomplishment than weaving, and our village boasted only one lathe-master. Like the loom the lathe is set up in a pit. The person desiring a bowl supplies the necessary rough-hewn block of wood (apricot or vine root preferred) and the motive power required to turn the horizontal bar, on to one end of which the wood is spiked. The turner crouches alongside with a selection of small curved chisels which he rests on an adjustable tripod to steady his hand (PLATE IV).

415 There is no room to tell of all the simple yet ingenious household utensils which the Hunzukuts conjure from the scanty resources
411 at their disposal: the spliced wooden bow faced with plates of ibex
322 horn and beautifully curved; the boys' catapult bow with double string of horse sinew, for scaring birds; the double-chambered wool-container made of rowan bark; the small vessel like an ash-tray which steadies the woman's rotating spindle and is moulded from the refuse of the apricot kernels left after the oil has been expressed. Not a
372 shred of anything is wasted in Hunza. What cannot be eaten or turned
132 to use—even the shell of the apricot kernel—is gratefully seized on as fuel for the pitifully small fire that cooks the bread and vegetables. Fires for mere heating are an undreamt of luxury. Hence the draught-proof house is essential, for at 7–8,000 feet, with snow mountains all round and a temperature of 19° Fahrenheit, the 'Great Cold' is

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

sufficiently severe. Happily winter is short, two or three months at most, and for the rest of the year day and night are spent mainly out of doors.

The social culture of the Burusho of Hunza is as high as their material culture is primitive. Three centuries of Islam—they are now Ismaili heretics, having been Shiahs until three or four generations ago—have not induced them to veil or despise their indomitable women, nor to abandon the wholesome tradition of exogamy between their different clans in favour of first-cousin marriage. They are freer from superstition and fanaticism than any people east or west of whom I have heard or read. Whatever be the esoteric teaching of the Ismailis of which Professor Ivanov might tell, it concerns the Hunza peasant as little as the homoousian controversy disturbs the mind of the British schoolboy. He goes his way in cheerful confidence that hard work, fair dealing, kindly affection and generosity must be as well pleasing to God the Merciful, the Compassionate, as ritual prayer or ceremonial fast, and his dreams are not broken by over-anxious fear of Hell or hope of Heaven.

The fastidiousness and personal cleanliness of the Hunza peasant are remarkable. Close packed amongst the crowd at festivals or sitting on the threshing floor amongst the workers, or entertained in their hospitable houses, we were never distressed by human exhalations or molested by parasites. The drinking water is guarded with scrupulous care from pollution by man or beast. Men and women cooperate without embarrassment or restraint and no work is taboo for either sex, though for obvious reasons the heavier jobs of wall-building, irrigation and ploughing fall more naturally to the man, and the care of infants to the woman. But as soon as the father is allowed to handle his child, he will carry the baby proudly and tenderly out for its first airings, while boys and girls alike play with and watch over the toddlers.

Again and again, in face of the high morality and unquenchable spirit of the Hunzukuts, we were ashamed to think of what in our vaunted civilization 'man has made of man'.

857 other up, chivvied their lambs and kids about by chucking stones skilfully to turn but not to hit them, and half a dozen noisy scamps would jump to and fro over the watercourse in competition.

361 Between us and the river bank were groups of poplars,
133 willows, and fruit trees with quaint cube-like stone houses dotted about in between, and right above this delightfully restful patch of green (which you could not properly appreciate if you had not had days and days of barren bleakness before you reached it), in the great triangular space between the barren mountains of Nagir and those of Hunza which rose around and behind us, there towered up the great mass of far the loveliest mountain on earth: RAKAPOSHI.

133 She is 25,550 feet high, and the top 10,000 feet which we saw from our window is a conical series of triangles, cliffs, precipices and peaks all covered in dazzling frozen snow—a never-ending joy to watch. At this time of year she was usually clear, escaping the skirts of the monsoon which are apt to catch on Nanga Parbat; and the clear sky behind changes from the palest blue at dawn to the brilliant burning blue of midday and then to delicate shades of pink, green, violet, and orange towards sunset. Ruskin could write volumes on the ever-changing shadows and colours that delighted us: I must leave them to the imagination. From our beds we could see Raka when we first woke and bid her good-night before we fell asleep. It is a wonderful thing when beauty such as this becomes part and parcel of your daily life.

132 It was still pretty hot in Hunza in July, in spite of our 7,600 feet. We had it up to 95° in the shade of the verandah outside, but were able to keep the study ten degrees cooler by closing doors and windows in the morning before the sun got up. Out in the sun the heat is all the fiercer for the altitude, a point stay-at-home travellers seldom realize. Another odd point is that in cloudless, dustless air like this, granted equal apparent brightness, photographic exposures need to be *longer* than lower down—at least this is David's experience.

157 The people round were from the first unbelievably friendly; we could run out quite informally at any moment and join

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

Above and below us as we rode the barley harvest was being 243
speedily gathered in; family groups were reaping, threshing, winnowing, while the more advanced were already hastily reploughing their land for various kinds of millet. Though the [132] ●
Hunza summer is short, the sun at these heights is hot, and with luck each hard-worked field will bear two crops a season. The barley field which is soonest clear will ripen a later crop of millet; the wheat field, ready a fortnight or three weeks later, will still be in time for one or other type of buckwheat. Barley must in olden days have been the standard crop, for all the sowing and harvest festivals centre round it. But the Hunzukuts[1] of to-day vastly prefers wheaten bread and sows as much wheat as he dares. Even the winter-sown wheat, however, ripens later than the spring barley, and since every ingenious device of agriculture only "just gives what life requires, but gives no more," he cannot afford to concentrate on wheat alone. Each year the peasant farmer makes his calcu- [242]
lations afresh; experience has taught him much about the rotation of crops, the different varieties of grain that each field —according to soil, water, and aspect—can most profitably bear, and his gamble with nature is a highly intelligent one. In the opener fields of Aliábád we reckoned that the proportion of wheat to barley was roughly two to one, nearer Báltít one to two.

If later in the year you point to a field and ask "What crop is that?" the answer will not be "Such and such a millet, or such and such a buckwheat," but the name of the growing crop with the additional information "On top of wheat" or "On top of barley," which will give you the difference of some weeks in the date of sowing and probably also indicate some subtle difference in the quality of the soil if you have learnt enough basic agriculture to interpret the facts aright.

Our narrow mountain track skirted the face of a magnificent 644
amphitheatre of storeyed cultivation, plunging every now and then into welcome belts of fruit trees, willows and poplars, crossing foaming mountain torrents in cracks of the hillside, none too easy to ford in July, though only rock-strewn gullies

[1] Hunzukuts is both singular and plural.

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

in the summer), or that with luck we might see a doctor in a 759
month or two. In our little home-town there are indignation meetings because we have to travel seven miles in a motor ambulance to reach our nearest hospital.

Another pleasant thing had been the presence of the Indian sub-assistant surgeon in charge of the local dispensary. True when you were sick you would echo George the What-ever-it-was: "Give the doctor my compliments and say I am too ill to see him," but he had a store of any simple drugs absent from our own medicine chest and he kindly acted as sanitary inspector and supervised the disposal of the kitchen refuse, etc., and directed the activities of the sweeper. This removed a source of possible anxiety.

Altogether things might have been a lot worse. It was per- 000
fectly maddening for David to have missed all these interesting weeks of the harvest; but he had seen something of it from his window, and from the verandah, and if he was pretty fit again by mid-September we still had an entire year's cycle ahead of us. And I had sat about a good deal in the fields (within sight of the house and within earshot of his whistle—though he never blew it), and made lots of friends and taken what notes I could with as much of my mind as was on the spot. It wasn't a lot, for I was often anxious and always rather underslept. But with luck we should fill in the missing bits next year.

The September weather was delightful; the "bitter" heat 132 ●
had gone, and it was like the best days of an early English summer, but with perfect dryness and the security we never have at home that to-morrow and the day after would equally be fine.

Before coming we had been afraid that further knowledge 114
might reveal all sorts of mistakes in the Grammar and the Texts (now finally in print and about to appear). We were immensely relieved to find as we worked that there was *nothing* incorrect. It seemed almost incredible. A few difficult points could be further cleared up, but there was nothing to retract. The Vocabulary proofs were beginning to come—and a hideous fag it was correcting them!—but this gave opportunity to eliminate a few question marks and occasionally to

Chapter 16

HOME LIFE AT No. 1

293 WHEN the women are working in the fields through the heat
[132] of the day—and it is very, very hot at 7,800 feet with a tem-
854 perature of 105° in the shade—they usually have a large square
482 of cotton cloth with them, which they sometimes throw over their heads for protection. This cloth turns in for all sorts of purposes; if you are carrying a small quantity of flour home from the mill you can wrap it up and tie it across from one shoulder to the other armpit and so keep both hands free. If the baby is too small to sit safely on your back or shoulders, you treat it in the same way. In fact, if you see a woman with this kind of bundle that appears to have two lumps in it you may safely guess that it's a baby.

342 I made great friends with the family who worked just below us (I have named them in my notebook Household No. 1), and I felt quite sad when their wheat harvest was over—it was so convenient just to run down and join them in sight of our own windows. They asked me, however: "Won't you come home and sit in our shade?" Of course I accepted with delight. It was just a few steps along the Dála and down one of the little lanes, half path, half watercourse. We came to a slightly taller, mud-plastered wall on the left with a wooden door in it. Through this I stepped in to a tiny courtyard with a shed on each side, one for straw and one for the lambs and kids. The
[333] house itself is just a rough cube of stones plastered with mud, and it has a flat roof with a smoke-hole in it above the central hearth. You go up by a ladder, and the roof makes a nice place for sitting out, watching the neighbours go by, spinning, and drying apricots. It has a second store-room built on a part of

capriciously from side to side between its beaches, was 500 or 600 feet sheer below, and the great crumbly earthen cliffs on each side were most ominous-looking precipices. There are no paths down them except where a side gorge comes in at intervals. At the spot where I struck the bank there had been a great fall of cliff not long before which had completely carried away a new aqueduct they were—rather too hopefully—trying to engineer across the face of it. If the aqueduct had been successful it would have coaxed some water from the Hasanábád glacier on to a jutting promontory, potentially fertile, but at the moment as bare as the palm of your hand. Six men went over and two of them were killed. Risks like this are all in the day's work in Hunza. People were still prospecting for a more hopeful alignment, but my amateur eyes could see no earthly possibility of getting anything to cling to the friable face of those terrifying cliffs. Meantime I stood well back from the edge! It was pathetic to see gardens and trees within two inches of the treacherous brink and to realize that the farmer on whose land I stood had lost a fertile field or two and half his orchard. I noted that I must go back some day when the light was right and see whether (without committing suicide) I could get a photograph right down the gorge with Raka, of course, rearing herself up in the background. When the light was good it was still very hot in the sun (88° in the shade on an October afternoon), and rocky scrambles over shadeless boulders with a climb of some hundreds of feet to get home were not exactly restful, and I'm not so young!

One autumn morning when I was on the prowl I found a man just about to turn on a small team of cows to thresh a pile of millet heads. He and his children were busy with this in the centre of the floor, while a neighbour and *his* family were beheading another variety at one side. Two or even three neighbours seem amicably to share one threshing floor so as not to waste valuable ground. So I squatted down as usual with my penknife and joined the beheading family and watched the threshing. Only three cows were in the team this time—the millet-heads make a very small heap in comparison with the

Chapter 23

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

132 No climate could be more delightful than the autumn and early winter of Hunza, from October till far on in December, and the Burusho make the most of these bracing, genial days, hurrying to get through every sort of outdoor job before the six or eight weeks of the "Great Cold."

245 Not by any means every household can spare water, manure, or space for a vineyard, but those who can value not only the fresh grapes which ripen later than all other fruits, but also the home-made wine which helps to brighten the cheerless [251] winter days. Unfortunately, by the time the grapes are ripe, the sun has already lost its heat and raisin-drying is impossible. At least this was the only plausible explanation we could get for the fact that the Hunzukuts who dry their mulberries and apricots do not make raisins.

The vines are trained over low pergolas only 3 or 4 feet high, less frequently allowed to climb up living trees. Since the Hunzukuts greatly value shady sitting places we wondered why they did not go in for loftier pergolas like those the Persians love. The explanation is cruelly simple—they cannot spare the extra length of poles.

There were not many vineyards in Aliábád, but we located two favourably situated ones and paid several visits to each. One was many hundred feet down, at Gulkhan, below the old fort. Though the vine leaves were still green, every bunch of 273 fruit had been already cut when we came down to see the wine-making. Under the roof of an open-faced shed were three "mangers," as it were, set side by side, the two end ones stacked high with ripe grapes. There must have been 3 or 4 cwt. at least in each. The centre one was only partially full.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

241 493 9 to 12 inches in diameter is impaled on one of the rungs to form the wheel. Axis and wheel rotate together in the two side holes of the frame, and to reduce the friction a tough ring of wicker work is placed between the wheel and the side of the ladder-frame. One of the usual shoulder baskets is then lashed between a pair of the rungs, and *voilà* . . . your apparatus is complete.

There were several batches of field-making enthusiasts whom we used to visit on our afternoon excursions—cold work it must have been with the snow lying to within a few feet of where they were working, but they did not seem to feel it, or perhaps the vision of future crops helped to keep them warm.

● 132 When once the Great Cold lays its icy hand on the country all outdoor human activity ceases as suddenly and completely as the sound of flowing water, and no one voluntarily stirs abroad. Occasionally you may see a woman, wrapped in the warmest *choga* available, dash with a gourd or bucket to the nearest drinking tank, break the thick crust of ice re-formed since yesterday and bring home the needed water. The steep, irregular stone steps were glassy with frozen water; it would have been easy to fall in and difficult to scramble out, but we heard of no casualties. Once again we noted that families prone to accident are weeded out by beneficent Mother Nature when her ways are not interfered with.

Once a day some man or boy drives out the beasts to the nearest open reservoir to drink, breaking the ice anew for them. As the water level sinks the ice crust cracks like pastry, the centre falls in, leaving stratum after stratum 6 or 8 inches thick adhering shelf-wise to the stone walls of the reservoir.

The winter was in many ways a disappointment to us. We had hoped for bright days and clear air and magnificent photographs. In fact, all the great mountains round were wrapped day after day in swathes of dark, snow-depositing cloud, and the floor of heaven, impenetrably grey, seemed suspended menacingly just a few inches above our heads. The immediate visible landscape was the dreariest it is possible to conceive; not an evergreen tree or bush, not a square inch of green grass to break the grim monotony of sepia-grey-khaki rocks, cliffs,

boulders, and gaunt tree-skeletons amidst which the cubes of 132
stone-and-mud houses were indistinguishable save for the thin spiral of blue smoke that rose from their flat roofs at feeding time.

We were able to work on indoors, for informants were glad enough to come and sit by our fire and tell all they knew about any question asked, but we sorely missed the cheering chance encounters, the casual wayside chats that normally brightened our walks.

Indoors during the Great Cold the family is merry and happy 512
enough. The recurrent tiny fire, whose ashes never quite grow 861
cold and which is stirred into life at baking time, reinforced 538
by human heat and not squandered by wanton draughts, keeps sufficient warmth alive for comfort, and the weeks of enforced leisure from outdoor work are thoroughly enjoyed. The women spin and sew and bake and tend the babies; the men mend and make their various implements; the children eagerly demand the right to help in every job for which they are ripe, while the old people come into their own and entertain the company by telling tales of every kind; not only nor even mainly tales of heroes and of kings, of raiding chiefs and bandit exploits from the good old days before the Serkár brought peace and security at the cost of adventure, nor folklore yarns borrowed from other times and climes—though they have good store of these; but the history of their country and its clans and anecdotes of every day. In this homely school the Hunza child learns all that it needs to know, the elements of ethics, morals, and religion, the accepted codes of decent behaviour, and all the accumulated wisdom of the land.

The Hunzukuts have no artistic gift of story-telling, and no 538
professional story-tellers; they have no oral literature to match the Sagas of the North or the Persian wealth of the Thousand and One Nights, but they can tell a straightforward story simply and well and with considerable humour, and the phrases in which their yarns are couched have become sanctified and semi-stereotyped by frequent repetition. Some of these DL had recorded in 1923–24, and they were already in print when we returned to Hunza ten years later. We were surprised and

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

and horseplay, of course, but with both humour and first-class mimicry. A lot of the witticisms were lost on us, being in the nature of "family jokes" only to be understood by the initiate, but they must have hit the mark, for they brought down the house. At one point one of the humped old men produced a mysterious black box from under his sheepskin and flung himself into a skilful caricature of DL taking photographs, pacing distances, peeping through view-finders, jotting things in notebooks, etc., etc. This was the star turn, and had been kept for the end. It was greeted with roars and howls of laughter, in which we joined till our sides ached.

After about half an hour, when everybody had been beaten and banged and rolled about enough to be tired out, we scattered home, surprised afresh at the magic in the air that made a show like this possible at 19° F. on a winter evening.

As we climbed home the great mountains of Nagir across the river were looking their best in the evening light with massed patches of fresh-fallen snow and Raka resplendent in a new silver satin coat. But in many ways the winter snows—on the rare occasions when you can see them at all—are disappointing. We had pictured the whole land above, say, 10,000 feet one mass of snow; but in fact most of the cliffs and slopes are far too steep to *hold* snow, however much may fall, and while you do get magnificent stretches of pure white these are spoiled artistically by intervening scars of black and brown, khaki or dull grey. The topmost peak of Raka herself is a sheer rock-face of some thousands of feet whose grey austerity renders it almost invisible above the eternal snows beneath.

We had now reached the month which the people call "Crazy January," with its sudden and erratic storms of wind, and when the wind chooses to roar down these gorges from the glaciers then, by Jove! you do feel a temperature of 19°. We personally were lucky, for our bunaglow was in a kind of sheltered pocket—a fact we regretted during the hot weather —and even when a wild wind was hurtling round it seemed just to miss our windows.

Our sponges had been frozen solid for weeks and our bathrooms were not places to linger in, but it was cosy near

132 the fire—less cosy at our working-tables near the light—and when mealtimes came we would carry in a couple of blazing logs from the study to thaw the air of the dining-room. Lucky as we were about fuel, we could not afford a continuous fire in a second room. But wood is gracious stuff, and a quick blaze just for meals was better than nothing.

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 24

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

AFTER weeks and weeks of dismal weather, which except for 132
absence of rain or damp was about as cheerful as Fleet Street in December, we woke on February 1st to a white world, a glorious clear sky and SUNSHINE, so we downed tools and went out with our cameras to enjoy life again. When it snows here —a very rare phenomenon at this level, 7,600 to 8,000 feet— it is a disappointing sight. There are no "flakes" at all. It is as if Someone were very half-heartedly shaking the finest castor sugar out of one of those inefficient sugar-casters that people exchange as wedding presents. Even when it had snowed all night there was only a tiny sprinkling on the ground, and long before it was light enough to take a photograph with a Christmas-card foreground the stuff had evaporated, leaving you with the dark, empty fields.

It was delightful to see the whole place full of people again as if by magic. The old folk out on their roofs "taking the sun," and the whole place a-twitter with kiddies of every size. The little ones had been invisible for three months, and even 291
the bigger ones rarely seen and in small numbers: partly because they really haven't enough clothes. They wear no under-things at all, and in the bitterest weather, though they may be huddled in a tattered *choga* or two, you see their bare chests peeping through their cotton shirts. Oddly, though they cuddle their *chogas* over their heads, they never dream of crossing them in front. If Papa happens to possess a padded coat from Yarqand or a skin coat with its own wool inside, the family is well off, and anyone who has to go out will take the

291 to have enough wool to spare for superfluities. The preciousness of boots accounts, I think, for a fact which puzzled us at
291 first: you never see children, sporting as they are in every
526 possible respect, sliding on the ice for fun. Boots are too valuable, and barefoot sliding would be a bit severe. Also, as David remarked, sliding and snowballing are games for such as can go home and change their clothes and get warm beside a nice big fire. These poor mites have at most one warm *choga* (and possibly a share of Father's on occasion) and a tiny fire at mealtimes only. Anyhow, they don't slide.

132 The bright weather of February 1st did not last, and though the cold was broken we reverted to gloomy grey weather and
796 the ceiling of snow-cloud overhead. We knew that a week or two would bring the great festival of the Bopfau, or Barley Seed-Sowing, and we feared that it was going to take place in semi-darkness. But everyone assured us: "Oh no, it will be bright for the Bopfau." The great week drew near and we had heard no word from the Mir confirming his earlier invitation to come and stay at Kerimabad (his garden and rest-house in
000 the park below the Fort at Báltít) for the occasion. We were beginning to fear that he had forgotten us and were wondering whether we could without offence remind him. Just as we were nearly in desperation and terribly afraid that we should wake some morning to be told that everything was over, a kind message came from him to say that he hoped we would come over on Wednesday afternoon. He himself would be away at Áltít, engaged with the preliminary ceremonies, but everything would be ready for us and we need only bring our own bedding. Now we knew that the GREAT DANCE was bound to take place on the Wednesday afternoon, and we feared that this meant that he did not specially want us at it—in which case, of course, there was nothing to be done.

We had a glorious ride over to Báltít on the Wednesday afternoon (of February 6th) in perfect weather, exactly as predicted. Various grandees had been told off to welcome us, a nice fire blazed in "our" beautifully furnished sitting-room, and the Mir's pet cook-for-European-guests, Mirza Hasan, was waiting with his best bedside manner to offer us tea. It was

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

supposed to be able to control rain and sun. It is said of the Mir's grandfather, Ghazan Khan, that he was so skilled in the art that he could cause rain to fall when wanted and ride unwetted through it! On the second afternoon, as we were riding home, the clouds and mists were darkening in again and robbed us of some superb photographs we had marked down for taking on the homeward way. Some cold days ensued—an unpleasant jar after we had begun to shed cardigans and blankets. Still . . . the Great Cold was definitely over, and the sound of flowing water was a delight to the ear after the ice-bound months. An even greater delight was the sight of people working in their fields again, and all our jolly children friends romping about. Some of the women and children living quite near we had not laid eyes on for months.

Everyone was frantically busy. When the women weren't actually carrying manure out to the fields in their baskets and dumping it at regular intervals or squatting down to spread out the heaps evenly over the surface, they were sitting in groups here and there spinning for dear life in the welcome daylight and chattering like magpies, exchanging the gossip of their homes after the long seclusion. When I came upon any little lot I hadn't seen before, they hailed me eagerly: "We *have* missed you!" they shouted. And I laughed and said: "But I have been there all the time and *I* have gone out every day; it is you who have been hiding in your houses, crouching over the fire!" "That's true," was the laconic answer, "it was winter." It was fun to be amongst them all again and find them as natural and friendly and as merry as ever, and so very much neater and cleaner than I should be if I had their work to do and only icy water to wash in.

By the third week in February we could with a microscope begin to detect the first shoots of the winter-sown wheat, and even imagine a slight flush of green on the bare white twigs of the poplars, though the leaf buds had not yet begun to swell perceptibly.

I passed Kanīza's house one day as they were all busy dumping manure and noticed a strange girl helping. I knew that the married sister in Bāltit had generously taken over Kanīza's

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

A month later, by the third week of March, we were well 132
into the Spring. The winter wheat formed a bright green carpet on the shelf-like fields, about three-quarters of our Aliábád ground being given over to it.

The barley which the men had sown after the Bopfau, just 243
the other day it seemed, was showing green over the most of the rest, and would presently outstrip the wheat and ripen first. The only brown fields left were those that were being prepared for vegetables and potatoes. No leaves were yet showing anywhere, but fat red apricot buds looked promising.

As autumn drew in we had begun to feel a little disappointed 241
in our Hunza friends whose marvellous field-walls we had always admired so much with not one single stone out of its place. There were breaches here and there, sometimes quite big ones, and paths were often blocked by a fall of stones, and no one seemed to bother. This puzzled us as out of character, but as soon as the last fear of frost was over, every spare moment was spent by men and boys restoring the countryside to its normal state of faultless tidiness. We now saw the reason of the apparent neglect. The frost and ice simply tear the walls to pieces, and to repair them during winter would be sheer folly. We might perhaps have divined this; but now at any rate we knew.

One early day in March we saw Khano on the mountain side 233
walking slowly and with circumspection. This was so strange a sight that we went over to investigate. "What are you carrying so carefully under your *chogo*?" "My first kid," he said, opening his cloak to display the tiny head with triumph. "That's the mother there. I'm expecting four to-morrow. I do hope they won't get born at night in the byre. I'd rather they came when I'm out with them alone." "How do you happen to have so many goats?" we asked. "Oh, I'm herding for the Yerpa now. He's no boys of his own, you see." How crazy it would be to call a lad like that "uneducated" because he doesn't happen to have learned to read or write! He is proudly able to act as accoucheur to his goats, which few of our youngsters at home would feel equal to. We enquired later of Dido and the rest what sort of wages Khano was able to earn, and their view was that he was probably not given

000 with. They are the greatest possible contrast to the alert, intelligent Burusho: possibly there is more than sugar in a diet of apricots!

132 Quite suddenly after the first lovely rush of water the
312 channels went silent again. Not that they were ice-bound, but it seems that the first warmth of the year melts all the recently fallen snow off the top, which gives you your first rush. After that comes a pause before the sun has gathered heat enough to melt the older, hardened snow and make an impression on the glaciers. This arrangement of Nature's suits the peasants well. The first rush waters their new planted barley and springing wheat; the pause gives them time to clear out all the silt and sand that is cluttering up their channels, and to repair the walls. They find the silt a useful top-dressing for their fields. All the menfolk worked hard to get their irrigation works into trim before the real water flow began. Meantime all the *pferis* near us were empty, and poor Sagi had to go a mile or more to draw water for baths and washing up, in addition to his usual pilgrimage for our drinking water. So we installed an assistant for him.

524 Among the enlivening sounds of these early Spring days was
534 the tootle-tootle of boys' whistles. At a certain moment when they consider the degree of sap flowing in the willows is right for their purpose, they cut themselves sections of various lengths. With great ingenuity they coax off the bark in great flute-like pipes and make an extraordinary variety of whistles with many notes. The deepest notes are achieved by inserting a finer pipe into a larger one, and thus providing a lining to the latter as it were. The same procedure that yields a whistle will also supply a squirt, a pop-gun, or a pea-shooter, and these various toys diversify the day.

262 Despite the pleasure which water, work, and sunlight bring, the season of Spring awakes no poet's raptures in the Hunza heart. "Starvation Springtime" would have given Keats an odd title for an Ode. Many weeks before the new barley was ripe for cutting every household round us had already run out of every sort of flour, many also out of potatoes and apricots.

original right-hand loops off on to the left fingers carefully 294
crossing each pair of threads as she does so. Widely drawing her two hands apart Apícho then drove the set of crossed threads down on to the edge of the cap, where Kaníza secured the twelve-fold plait with a large stitch. This was repeated *ad infinitum*, the braid only showing on the right side of the cap and the long ugly stitches on the wrong. The process looks rather like cat's-cradle. I had always wondered why, when they take such infinite trouble over the minute cross-stitch embroidery of their caps and the hand-plaited twelve-ply braid, they finished the cap off with these long stitches. I also wondered why it seemed impossible to detach the braid without its ravelling out. I now saw that braid-weaving and stitching were part of one elaborate process.

By July 1st the luckier folk were already cutting their 243
barley and clearing a field for their threshing floor without waiting for the formal harvest-initiation ceremonies of the Ginání, the date of which is naturally fixed by the Mir to suit Báltít, 1,500 feet higher, and consequently some days behind Aliábád. All our potatoes were by now in full flower and our wheat was turning "fox-colour."

On July 5th we rode over to Báltít for yet another of the 487
Hunza festivals, and ye Gods! it was hot on the road—90 de- [132]
grees in the shade—and we had to start at the very hottest time of day, about 2 p.m. The Mir gave us tea in his nice shady grass-grown apple orchard before we remounted and climbed up to the Fort. It is not easy to convey how steep the road is that in Báltít corresponds to the Mall. Your pony steps from one boulder to the next with a great lurch, his spine almost vertical, and for my part I could only just stick on by my usual technique of thrusting my stirrups back to the root of his tail 487
and firmly gripping his mane with my right hand. The road 361
runs between high stone walls and zigzags wildly. The little box-like stone houses of the capital are piled on top of each other in the craziest way—town-planning has to accommodate itself to the vagaries of a precipitous mountain side. They are indescribably picturesque, but you would not think them possible to live in, yet they provide a high degree of simple com-
fort.

Chapter 28

FINALITIES

OUR final weeks in Hunza were overcrowded with unavailing 132
attempts to fill all the lacunæ of over a year's work, and 133
working was not rendered easier by a temperature of 105 degrees in the shade, nor by the fact that we were both beginning to feel the strain of an intensive fifteen months at close on 8,000 feet (although we had not been consciously conscious of the altitude), and were undeniably somewhat played out.

We had to try to take all the photographs—moving or still—that had hitherto escaped us, develop and print the latter, and keep up to the end our practice of giving copies to the interested parties.

Two lines of enquiry in particular demanded attention. 126
Until faith in the purely scientific and disinterested character of DL's intentions had been firmly established, he had refrained from any attempt to map in detail the inhabited country immediately about us, or to enquire too closely into the amount of land belonging to any given household. Such activities would inevitably have given rise to the fear that he had been sent to make a survey for Government as a prelude to land taxation. Now that such fears were unlikely to arise—and would not impede us greatly if they did—we toiled up and down the steep and rocky tracks, taking sights, pacing distances, measuring fields, and making calculations. A country harder to survey, even in the rough and ready fashion which alone was possible, it would be difficult to conceive. It was impossible to find even twenty yards of level ground in a straight line to make a base from which anything else was visible; pacing distance was almost otiose when spurs jutted and angles re-

No. XXXVI.

Šɪkamatiŋɛ Čaγa.

000 Hunzulo joŋ doxʿərčumɛ Zuŋʿaʷtiŋɛ girʿamulər aakuʷriŋ diʷmor (*or*, diʷmi kɛ) han dastuʷran qadiʷmtsum bilum, iʷtɛ iʷk Šɪkamatiŋ se.ibaʷn.

Šɪkʿamatiŋər haʷkum jamaʷat udʿim kɛ han pfiʷti ečaʷn (*or*, ečam).
5 Pfiʷti makuči kaman γutoʷpus ečaʷn. Isɛ.ulo čutan dɛl tiš ečaʷn. Isɛ pfiʷti.ɛ iʷk Kɛči Kɪčaʷli se.ibaʷn.

Beʷruman dɛniŋ manʿi Šɪkamatiŋ Hunzulo aiyʿeʷčaʷn.

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1 *doxʿərčumɛ* — An instance of the rather rare use of the Absolute Pres. pc.

137 132 The opening of the blossom begins first in the lower and warmer parts of the valley and gradually extends up the valley and up the hill-sides as warmth increases with the advance of the season. On the hillside facing Nagir one may see the apricot trees at the higher levels still in full blossom when those at the lower levels have shed their flowers.

girʿamulər — i. e. when the trees on the boundary of the lands belonging to the *Zuŋʿaʷtiŋ* community came into blossom. All this part of Nagir is in full view of Baltit and the adjacent populous tract in Hunza which contains the villages of Ganeesh and Haiderabad, Aliabad and Hassanabad.

000 The custom is described as a Hunza custom. I do not know whether it does, or did, exist in Nagir.

131 Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River from Secunderabad to the Chinese border, a distance of somewhere around 200 miles, but no one has ever actually measured it. At the narrowest point it is less than half a mile wide. At its broadest, it is not quite two miles. Usually the only piece of flat land in a village is the polo field. Good, rich, deep soil as Westerners know it is absolutely unknown in Hunza.

[133] [134]

311 Whenever a house is built here, they seldom ever use a piece of fertile soil or soil of any kind. They usually erect it on rock or on a steep hillside where that piece of land could not have been used for agriculture anyway.

[361]

Practically every bit of farm land is terraced. It can be said, it is actually cut out of the rocks of the mountainside which is the north bank of the Hunza River.

[241]

Of the total length of 200 miles, only a small fraction is at all arable. Most of it is solid rock or terrain so steep that horticulture of any nature is impossible.

[134]

312 Rainfall is scanty. They cannot depend upon it at all for crops. In order to get sufficient water, hand built and similarly maintained conduits bring water down from glaciers. These conduits are carefully erected and trained to run alongside the villages where the water can be trapped to flow where desired and used to irrigate their lands, also for drinking and all other necessary purposes.

[132] [241]

There are four main conduits in Hunza and they are as follows:

Murku—This is at the highest level of all the aqueducts and carries the most water.

Barbar—Supplies the Baltit-Altit area.

Dala—This is the longest—extends as far as Aliabad. Supplies Kerimabad.

Hamachi—The smallest which runs as far as the tiny village Ganesh, located on a cliff's edge.

177 their salt and soon there will be a few more items added
263 and, as more of their people go out of the country to
439 earn a living and come back to visit or retire, more of civilization's curses will be brought back with them.

165 The doctor rather clearly indicated that infant mor-
.114 tality was not as low as some writers would like us to believe. I repeat—he made this quite clear.

164 Now I'll let you decide how it ties in with the statements made by Sir Robert McCarrison: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucous colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people, the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

276 Smoking in general is not an addiction in Hunza. The water-pipe or hubble-bubble is used by some of the people, usually at gatherings or ceremonies. It is then passed around in a wide circle, each one taking a puff
[562] or two. The women are included, but only after all the men have finished.

Some of the citizens use snuff. It is tobacco mixed with the ash of a plant called "sopa," which is indigenous to that area. They take the tobacco and the sopa ash, put in a dash of water, stir it up and mix it into a paste. Then they place gobs of this paste under their lip, exactly the same as the snuff chewer does in the West, although this practice has been dying out in the Western world.

164 Just how much of the health of the people of Hunza
132 is due to the fact that they get a lot of sunlight? That is a most pertinent question and one that will take a lot

of study before an answer can be given. They do get more sunshine than the Nagirwals—of that there is no doubt. While in Nagir fields are definitely in better tilth, their land is deeper, they have broader and more fertile valleys and can grow more and better food, yet undoubtedly the people of Hunza are by far the handsomer, healthier, more industrious and more energetic. 132 164 [133]

For my part I wasn't completely sold on the principle that the people of Hunza did have much more sunlight than the people of Nagir and I debated the matter with a few individuals. But each of them maintained stoutly that they did and claimed that they had scientific proof that Hunza did get more sunlight.

The last man with whom I did battle on the subject was Dr. Hermann Berger of West Germany. From his investigations he said that he had reached the conclusion positively and unequivocally, that the northern slope of the mountains through which the Hunza River flowed did get more sunlight than the southern slope which was Nagir. 132 114

As I found considerable difficulty and doubt concerning the theory of the people of Hunza getting more sunlight than the people of Nagir, I decided to draw a little chart that would illustrate the situation as I eventually found it to be. After seeing the drawing I think it will prove to you that the principle is natural and reasonable. (*See Fig.* 1.) 1

1 [facing p. 390 - ANALYST]

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

132
133

The Hunzans are conceded to have superior health to their neighbors. Nagir land is more shaded by mountains. (*Figure 1.*)

256

A water powered stone mill used by the Hunzans for making flour. (*Figure 2.*)

[facing p. 390]

[p. 390-A]

342 keep many secrets from his neighbors. From what I
361 saw, it was obvious that when a house was built in Hunza no attempt was made to level the ground but it was allowed to stand as nature made it and the house was erected according to the natural levels, dips, falls or heights.

As we wandered around the little Hunzan homes in this area, we had to climb up to get to this one, we had to drop down to examine that one and there were really no two on an identical level.

•132 Then I remembered that the average annual rainfall in Hunza was 2 inches and to myself I thought, "Mighty good thing, because if it rained any more than that, what a quagmire this area would be!"

122 We heard the clatter of hooves and, looking up, we saw Jahangir's guide coming back and leading another horse. This meant we'd be ready to take off in a couple of minutes, so Cec and I worked our way towards the road.

Soon all of our belongings were firmly balanced on the horse's back and we were ready to start for the Hasanabad Bridge.

164 into the "fine, barrel chests" reported
146 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the fine, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[18] hard-working, but with their country. There is no flat land in all of Hunza.
[36] Villages and farms are built on alluvial
[31] cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[67] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
241 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-calked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders, gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[32] cool but exceedingly dry desert, prac-
[13] tically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

181 829 ness of their uncomfortable houses leaves an indelible mark on the national character.

342 It must be remembered that a house in the [351] Hindu-Kush has no glass windows, no comfortable fire-place and chimney corner. The better-class houses are built round a courtyard, but the rooms rarely have windows, all light comes from the 354 open door or from a skylight. Immediately below 352 the skylight is a square open hearth, on which smoulders a fire; round this run raised platforms, on which are the beds and household paraphernalia; the smoke, before escaping through the roof, fills the whole room, blackens walls and pillars, and chokes the un- [132] fortunate inhabitants. If it is very cold, or raining and snowing heavily, the skylight is shut, the room is in pitchy darkness but for a sputtering torch, and the atmosphere horrible. It is no wonder that an existence under these circumstances should be rather depressing, and in Nagar the people get the full benefit of it, for there are several villages which during December and January only get twenty 461 minutes' sun a day; some, I believe, get none. The men having no agricultural work on hand, owing to the land being frost-bound, there is practically nothing for them to do during the winter months but to sit idly round their smouldering fires for about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.

133 487 Nagar has practically no outlet except down the river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there is only the bare possibility of reaching 487 Baltistan by the Hispar pass: there is a tradition that the road was once used, but it is very doubtful if

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

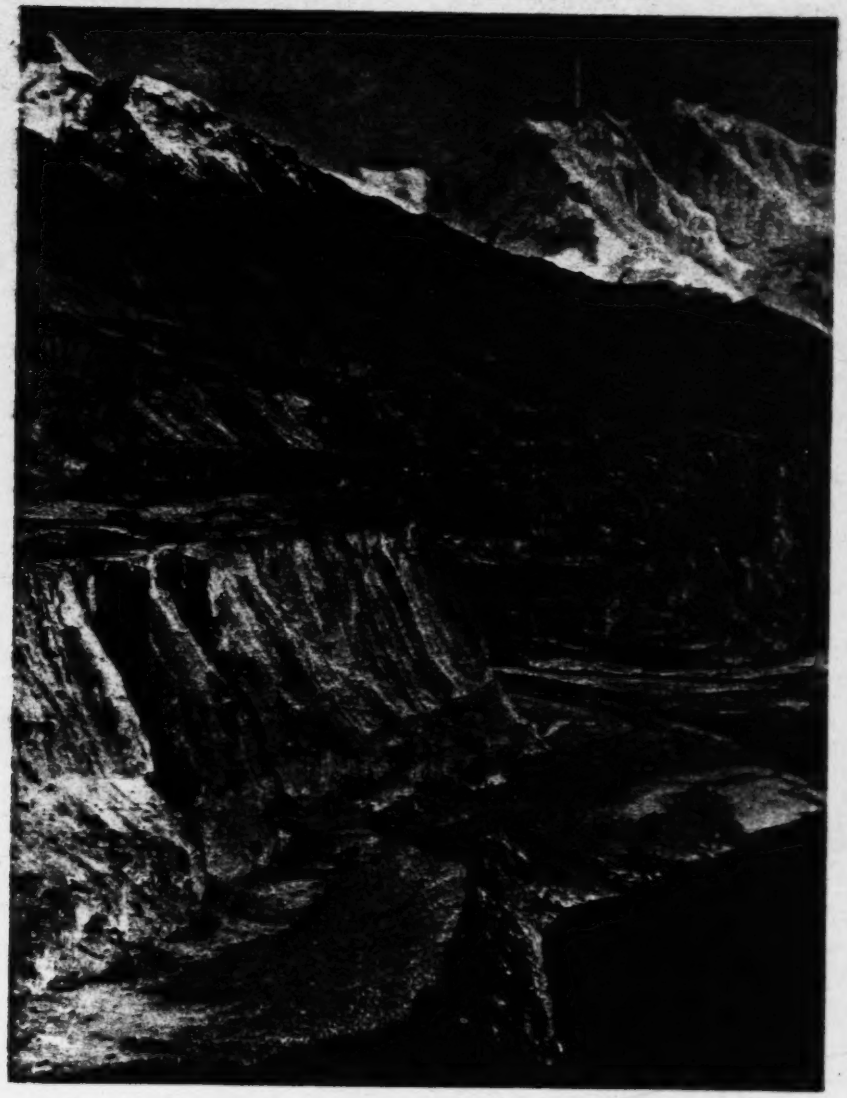
THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India. It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

* *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

133



Hunza River at Aliábád (winter). Middle distance, Hasanábád Nullah debouching from right. Background, Rakaposhi, 25,550 ft.

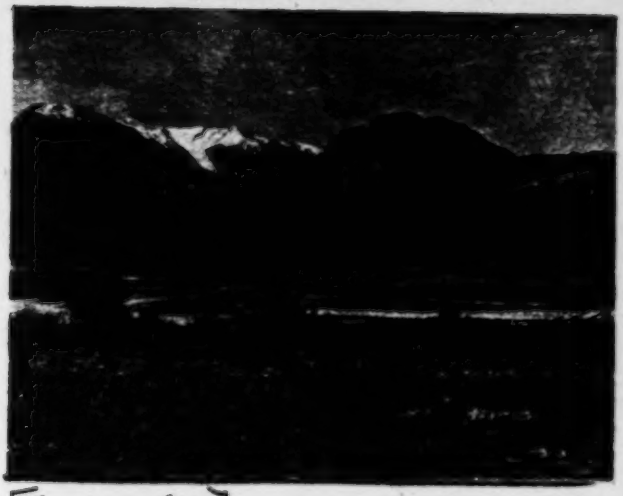
(See pp. 138–9)

[Facing Title Page]

133

1. Trout-fishing in Kargah Nullah near Gilgit

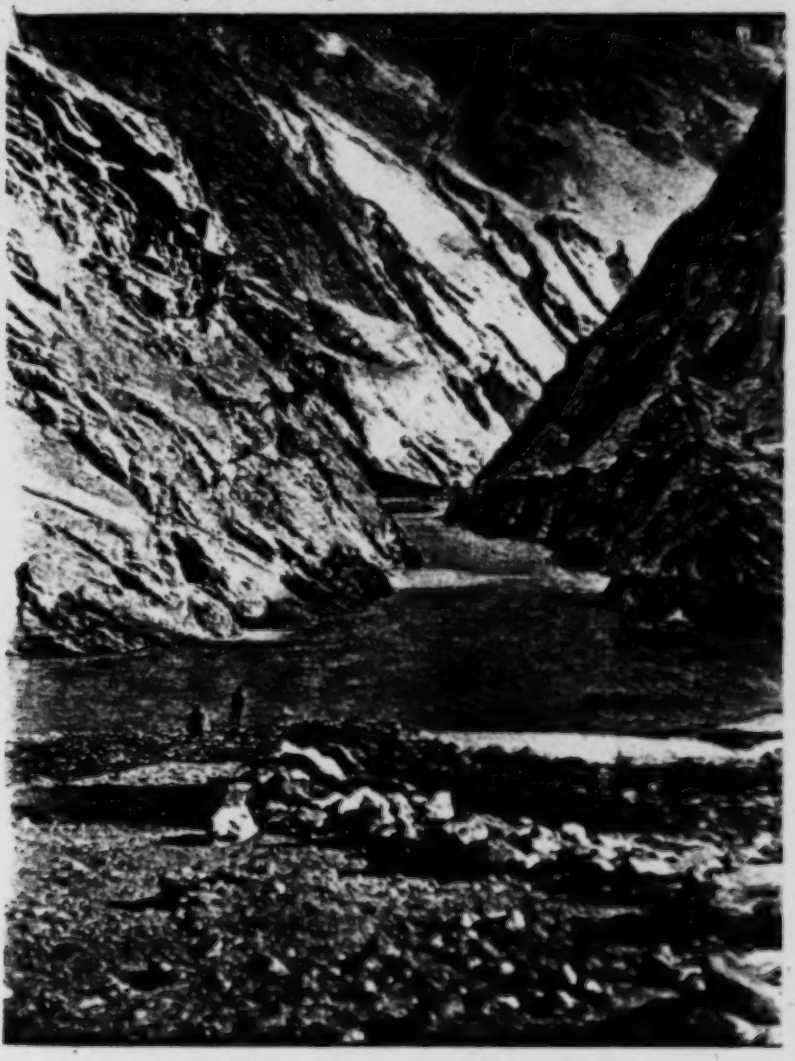
PLATE I



2. Looking up Gilgit River from maize field in Gilgit.

[Facing P. 20]

133



Looking up the Hunza River gorge, half a march from Aliábád. The road (see Plate V) runs round face of right-hand cliff. (See p. 67)

PLATE IV

[Facing P. 64]

TOWARDS GILGIT

133 361 Thus mounted, we rode sorrily to Chalt, a wind-swept open plateau at the meeting of three gorges. Here we were able to procure slightly better ponies, and thankfully paid off the two Gilgit toys. From the Chalt rest-house through lovely fields, round a bold spur, over a fine suspension bridge into the Hunza Nagir gorge, where a magnificent view of Rakaposhi greeted us and a terrific *peri* led us into the large Nagir settlement of Sikandarábád. This had grown out of recognition in the intervening years, a fine oasis that owes its development to the enterprise of the present Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikandar Khan, after whom it is appropriately called.

High above the rocky river-bed the alluvial fans on our side (we were now in Nagir on the left bank of the river) are dotted by the green oases of Nagir, watered by the inexhaustible glaciers of Rakaposhi. On the opposite, sun-scorched, south-facing, waterless Hunza cliffs there is not a blade of grass to be seen. We passed through occasional villages, separated by roads slung between heaven and earth, fearlessly grazing the face of nightmare precipices, saw again the chorten at Thol, reminder of ancient Buddhist days, rode over the Nilt gorge, famous in frontier history, and dismounted as always to pass on foot at Ghulmit the ultra-sacred shrine of Saiyyid Shah Wali, making the halt an opportunity for tea under a magnificent chenar. The villagers gathered round us, goitrous, friendly, not too intelligent, and grinned broadly at David's chaff about the mean way in which they had stolen the holy relics from their neighbours. He thus made his first public appearance as a Burushaski speaker, only to find after this mental and moral effort that though they understood Burushaski we were still in the Shina-speaking area. His change-over to Shina caused further merriment. Between Sikandarábád and Nilt we recognized a jolly little orchard with grass and apricot trees and running streams and enclosed by low stone walls. We had drunk tea there ten years ago, when we never hoped to see this country again except in dreams. We *had* to get down and drink tea in it once more, as a sort of thanksgiving. This time the trees were laden with golden fruit. On we rode to our next halting-place at the fertile oasis of Minapin.

Chapter 11

THE LAST LAP

Aliábád Rest House, Hunza
July 17, 1934

133 Minapin was delightfully cool—we had, of course, been
361 climbing steadily since Gilgit—and we were able to sleep indoors with comfort. After we had said "Start at five," we almost thought it was foolish and unnecessary to be quite so early—for a mere eleven miles. When Dádo came at quarter to four and we were drunk with sleep, we thought so more than ever. We remembered, however, that the road is vertical rather than horizontal most of the way, and once we were off we were thankful to have made an early start. You can't imagine anything quite like it. I wish I had kept the aneroid at hand to verify how high the various climbs were. (I always vowed to take it next time, only my pockets were already so full of filters and exposure notebooks, penknife, and bits of string, spare hairpins and what not.) So I am frankly only guessing, but I think I am minimizing rather than exaggerating, for with these stupendous mountains all round, cliffs look small that would create a sensation at Dover.

Like most human habitations in the Karakoram, Minapin is on a fertile shelf some hundreds of feet above the river. We plunged straight over the lip of a cliff and down a steeply-graduated slope from the Minapin fan to the "beach" of the river—700 or 800 feet. Since our last visit the treacherous cliffs had suffered many landslides. High above us we could see the shattered revetments of the road we used to ride, and
133 several of its predecessors. Our new track scrambled painfully through and over masses of new-fallen boulders, or through miles of loose soft sea-sand. For one short stretch the rocks

were all a dark sinister crimson and gave out a suffocating 133
smell of sulphurous gas. Our men urged us to "press the pace," for the friable, forbidding cliff face above looked as if it were not nearly done with shedding boulders. There is assuredly no myth more misleading than that of the "everlasting hills."

From river[1] level we could see the pin-scratch along the 487
cliffs on our right, some 600 or 800 feet above the river, and, often as we had ridden the road before, it seemed incredible that it could be possible to round it. The cliffs on our left bore similar scratches, representing the Hunza road between the two oases of Mayun and Hindi. Poor starved-looking little places they seem in contrast to the rich Nagir ones. We chaffed our Hunzukuts that obviously the Nagir road up the gorge was the better one since Government had chosen it for the regular route. They rose at once to the bait: the Hunza road was really the better and well kept up—which we could quite believe since the Mir always travels it himself, not to trespass on Nagir territory more than he can help—it had only one slight drawback: there were seventeen places between the two oases where "shoots" were apt to carry it away.

As we scrambled our way along through the riverside 252
boulders we noticed dozens of discarded millstones, some 324
broken, some apparently perfect. Not that people bring their old millstones here to cast away! The opposing cliffs at this point happen to provide the best type of stone for mills, and, oddly, those on the Hunza side make the better nether millstones and those on the Nagir side the better upper ones (or it may be *vice versa*. David will have it accurately noted). When you want a new millstone you travel your ten or twenty miles or more to these cliffs, choose what seems the most promising boulder for your purpose, and with a rough bit of iron hack and chip it into a circle of the radius and depth required. You then bowl it home your ten or twenty or more miles like a child's hoop, up ravines and across gorges to your mill. If it hasn't broken as you fashioned it, which it frequently does—this explains the number of discarded millstones that here strew the countryside—it may very likely break on the rude road home. If so, you just go back and carve yourself another

1 [The Hunza River — Analust]

THE LAST LAP

From here we saw the fine granite piers of the old Tishót 491
Bridge, the one we always used to cross by. It had stood for 133
thirty years, and then was wrecked one day by a hurricane; wind can be fierce and powerful in these gorges. But the fact that it *had* stood thirty years proved that the chosen site was a good one. There was firm rock (not the crumbly kind of everlasting hill) on both sides at a considerable height above the river, well out of reach of summer floods. The obvious thing would have been to replace the bridge and use again the unharmed granite piers; but some engineer decided otherwise, and we had to stay on the Nagir side and ride on to the new bridge. The cliffs on each side here rise anything from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, and the road round them is a little ledge a few feet wide, some 800 feet above the river-bed. When it is a ledge of firm rock all is well, but, as I have already said, the mountain sides are mainly crumbly masses of stones, boulders, and sand, and there often seems no good reason why the road should not just slide down to join the other debris (and so often it does, especially after rain). Sometimes even where there is a firm rock ledge it isn't wide enough for a laden pony. Then if the inhabitants can find a couple of firm rock spikes below they throw a tree trunk across and build up a loose wall of unmortared stones on that till they get it to road level. If there are no natural spikes, they bore holes in the rock, and drive in a few pegs to take their tree trunks.

This is the method they have to use to revet the faces of [312]
their fields and the sides of their aqueducts, which are often carried eight or twelve miles round the face of the most impossible-looking precipices, so they are experts in the art. Accidents happen often enough to the road-makers, but are almost unheard-of amongst road-users. The look of the road might make your hair stand on end, but it is far safer than our murderous motor roads at home.

At last we got off this gallery business and out on to another fan, and we saw the new bridge on our left, quite fairly near, but the cliffs were steep and high and crumbly and there was no direct way of reaching it, so we had to overshoot it by a mile or two before the road turned down. And such a road!

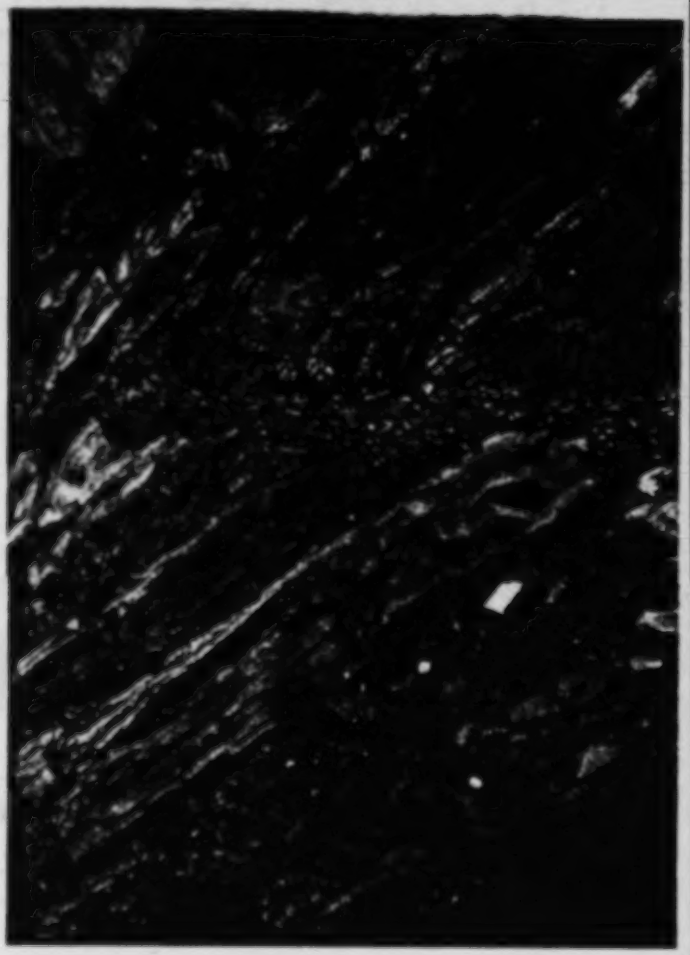
491 It was the steepest spiral you can conceive, about 2 feet wide
133 and just one welter of soft dust like flour or french polish. There seemed nothing on earth to keep the path in place except a tiny wall of stones that rested on the dust. Still it did stay. Of course you could not ride it, so we slithered down on foot, over ankles in flour-like dust, and opposite, across the river, we saw the famous hot springs of Murtazábád. They say you can cook a chicken in them or wash your clothes, but clothes or chicken smell ever after of sulphur. We saw only dark red splashes on the face of the cliff. Having got down some hundreds of feet or so of floury slide, we had to ride back to the wretched bridge through tiring sea-sand. The bridge was the usual handsome steel-cable suspension bridge, but only a few feet above the summer water level; I wonder will it last the thirty years of its predecessor? I doubt it. Having crossed it, we set foot on Hunza soil (July 16th). The ascent from the river to Murtazábád was steeper and higher than the spiral we had just come down, but a shade firmer and less dusty, and the zigzag was better graduated; but we rose 1,000 feet as steeply as it was humanly possible, and I again had to take refuge in my pony's mane.

000 The view was magnificent: the tiny bridge, the gorge, and Ráka—looking her very best. We never normally dismount in awkward places (which makes you ride many a time when you would feel happier on foot), for it gives trouble to the men behind, who for courtesy must dismount too and have to take charge of two loose horses. But it was the chance of a lifetime to register this view; you might ride the same stretch a hundred times and never again get the same lighting and the freedom from cloud. So I hopped off and had a shot. DL was too far ahead for me to ask him kindly to read his "wonder-working" exposure meter (one of these glorious electric cell things which we had gratefully bought from the Leverhulme grant); so I blazed away by guesswork, and remembering that the amateur always tends to under-expose, I gave it a 25th at F8. It should have been about a 200th! The result is not too bad, but the negative is as black as ink and it takes hours to print, and is, of course, not nearly so delicate in tone as

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

133

PLATE V



Cliff Road with three horsemen. (See p. 69)

[Facing p. 72]

857 other up, chivvied their lambs and kids about by chucking stones skilfully to turn but not to hit them, and half a dozen noisy scamps would jump to and fro over the watercourse in competition.

361 Between us and the river bank were groups of poplars,
133 willows, and fruit trees with quaint cube-like stone houses dotted about in between, and right above this delightfully restful patch of green (which you could not properly appreciate if you had not had days and days of barren bleakness before you reached it), in the great triangular space between the barren mountains of Nagir and those of Hunza which rose around and behind us, there towered up the great mass of far the loveliest mountain on earth: RAKAPOSHI.

133 She is 25,550 feet high, and the top 10,000 feet which we saw from our window is a conical series of triangles, cliffs, precipices and peaks all covered in dazzling frozen snow—a never-ending joy to watch. At this time of year she was usually clear, escaping the skirts of the monsoon which are apt to catch on Nanga Parbat; and the clear sky behind changes from the palest blue at dawn to the brilliant burning blue of midday and then to delicate shades of pink, green, violet, and orange towards sunset. Ruskin could write volumes on the ever-changing shadows and colours that delighted us: I must leave them to the imagination. From our beds we could see Raka when we first woke and bid her good-night before we fell asleep. It is a wonderful thing when beauty such as this becomes part and parcel of your daily life.

132 It was still pretty hot in Hunza in July, in spite of our 7,600 feet. We had it up to 95° in the shade of the verandah outside, but were able to keep the study ten degrees cooler by closing doors and windows in the morning before the sun got up. Out in the sun the heat is all the fiercer for the altitude, a point stay-at-home travellers seldom realize. Another odd point is that in cloudless, dustless air like this, granted equal apparent brightness, photographic exposures need to be *longer* than lower down—at least this is David's experience.

157 The people round were from the first unbelievably friendly; we could run out quite informally at any moment and join

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

Two other points[1] remained: heat and light. The Hunza [133] mountains face south, and in contrast to the north-facing Nagir 354 heights where pines are plentiful, are absolutely bare of trees. So fuel is a serious problem; each household has to manage on such wood as they can spare from their own gardens and orchards. If a tree has to be felled or pruned, or an old vine rooted up, they may be in relative luxury for a time, or if they have to cut down poplars for a house the trimmings will keep them going, but normally they must do with an occasional fallen branch or a few twigs. Even in the depth of winter no one can afford a fire merely to warm the house; they cook their bread and vegetables as economically as possible, and just sit round the ashes of the tiny fire till it is time to blow it into life again for the next meal. We feared we might therefore have to import wood from Nagir or even farther off, which would have been serious, for we needed a good deal for cooking, baths, etc., and would need more when it came to trying to heat the large and draughty sitting-room. We consulted our people about it, and presently one day they brought a charming man to see us. He had been dabbling in commerce and had contrived to contract a debt in Gilgit and was going to be forced to cut down some of his fruit trees to pay it. It would suit him far better to sell the lot to one buyer than to peddle it about amongst his fellow countrymen, who rarely had money to spend. So we easily made a bargain with him, and he delivered into one of the outhouses (with a rickety door which could be padlocked) a fine supply which with care lasted out our time for all purposes. What was more he was delighted to take notes in payment. We had brought up some ten and five rupee notes with us before we realized that only small silver would be any use. So that was that. I had no further trouble but the usual routine job of weighing out the day's wood.

In the old days in Gilgit, though oil was expensive, there was never any trouble in getting it. The S. and T. carried an ample supply both of the finer Snowflake and of the everyday kerosene. Remembering this, we had not brought any up with us from Kashmir. But the S. and T. was about to disappear, in consequence of various political developments which are not necessary to explain, and their supplies were almost done. We

1 [i.e., housekeeping problems -- Analyst]

Chapter 15

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

000 WHEN after three days we had got the house habitable, cupboards and bookshelves ordered, lamps burning, water and food routine running smoothly, and the first friendly contacts with our neighbours established, we asked leave to pay our first call on the Mir, the king of the country and our host.

Two horses were found for us—it was a welcome let-off that the nature of the country made it useless to keep our own horses—and we started early, while it was still cool, on the
491 four-mile ride to Báltít, his capital. The Great North Road from Kashmir to Central Asia is here some four to five feet wide; the only rideable road in the country. For the first couple of miles it runs fairly level between high field walls, just dipping 50 feet now and again to cross a stony gully, down which pour at times irresistible floods of mud and boulders; then it staggers almost perpendicularly up some hundreds of feet till it reaches the level of the Dála and runs along with the water channel (which is perhaps 4 feet wide and 2 feet deep) on its left and a steep drop on the right into the first fields below. High above us towered staircases of narrow fields and behind them great serrated snow peaks, the most interesting of which culminates in a 2,000-foot needle of sheer granite too steep ever to hold the snow.

133 773 This is Princess Búbuli's Peak, and the story goes that when the hero Kiser (the Gesar of Tibetan myth[1] and an

113 [1] For original Tibetan versions of his story, see Madame Alexandra David-Neel, *Gesar of Ling*; for the Burushaski version, see D. L. R. L., in *Folklore*, XLII, June 2, 1931.

incarnate deity) conquered Hai Hai Yúl (= Hunza) he took 133
to wife the Princess Búbuli. He had not been long in the 773
country till he saw in a dream Tibet invaded and his earlier queen carried into captivity, so he determined to return and deal with his enemies. Even in the Tibetan versions of the Gesar Saga it is difficult to avoid thinking him an ugly type of hero, a still more unpleasant manifestation of the divine, and the absolute limit in undesirable husbands. Princess Búbuli asked when she might look for his return: "I'll go to-morrow and return yesterday"; he said, "when donkeys grow horns, when millstones grow beards, when the river flows uphill, I shall come back." Lest she should get into trouble during this brief grass-widowhood he seated her on this granite spike with a 200-lb. bag of millet-seed and a cock: "Give him one grain a year, and when the grain is done, I shall return." And there the luckless princess sits, and you can hear her wailing in the winter storm.

The road commands a fine view of the junction of the 133
Nagir with the Hunza River, and the rugged, savage valley 491
which leads to the Nagir capital, tucked away out of sight amongst its sunless mountains near the great Hispar glacier. On our Hunza side the ground falls steeply with fertile bays of terraced fields and groves of apricots, all still in late July laden with their golden fruit. The road winds round various bluffs, following of course the contours of the mountain-side, and you can see several villages below, including Ganesh, clustered on the very edge of the river cliffs. High 644
above the field-terraces on our left we presently espied the 133
white front of the fortress-palace that has looked down over 312
the fields of Hunza for at least six hundred years—surely the most dominating seat of kings in the wide world. It is built on the cliff edge of a projecting promontory that falls perpendicularly—but from the road invisibly—behind it; and behind that again lies the mighty ravine of the Ulter Ber, up which, far out of sight, is the almost inaccessible glacier that supplies all the waters of Hunza, from Áltít (two miles beyond and some hundreds of feet below Báltít) to Aliábád, feeding five or six different aqueducts, including, of course, the Dála.

000 backs. They all thought it rather a thrill to come along and see me safe home and hang about for a salaam to David before they dashed off to some fresh amusement.

487 As soon as DL was better I began exploring further afield. At first I used to be a little shy of just barging down anv rocky track that seemed to end up in someone's back yard. But these tracks are all public ways, and just when you think you have reached a cul-de-sac and are about to plunge into a house, the path gives a sudden twist and leads you on.

576 No matter how far I strayed from home and my well-known families, the people came up to their garden walls or out on to their flat roofs—crowds of them sometimes—to shout a welcome and good wishes, and to ask where I was going to and what I was doing. This is the recognized Hunza greeting, not a fatuous, unanswered "How do you do?" countered by another. The answer is : "I'm going to fetch firewood from the orchard," or "I'm getting some green stuff for the cow," or "I've been taking the beasts to water," or "I'm off to get some grain ground at the mill," or "I've been spending the day with mother's people." No one "goes for a walk" to get exercise after a futile day of sitting still. So I was driven to reply that I had come "to see the country." "And a good idea, too," they would respond politely; "and do you like it?" Then I could truthfully say how beautiful it was, and how much I admired their walls, and what lovely air and water and fruit they have, but that most of all I liked the friendly people. Then they grinned with pleasure. When I sometimes risked a short cut and found myself at the top of a huge wall with no visible means of getting further, a kindly man or boy would leave his work to come and point out the almost invisible flight of projecting stones or pull down a side wall to let me out into a tiny lane, and always he would offer his hand to help me. I duly thanked him and perhaps added apologetically: "We haven't walls like yours in our country, and I'm not very good at climbing them." "No, and of course you've got shoes on," he would say sympathetically, "and you're not young."

133 Twice I found my way down to the very edge of the river bank. The river itself, grey and rock-tossed it looked, dashing

capriciously from side to side between its beaches, was 500 or 600 feet sheer below, and the great crumbly earthen cliffs on each side were most ominous-looking precipices. There are no paths down them except where a side gorge comes in at intervals. At the spot where I struck the bank there had been a great fall of cliff not long before which had completely carried away a new aqueduct they were—rather too hopefully—trying to engineer across the face of it. If the aqueduct had been successful it would have coaxed some water from the Hasanábád glacier on to a jutting promontory, potentially fertile, but at the moment as bare as the palm of your hand. Six men went over and two of them were killed. Risks like this are all in the day's work in Hunza. People were still prospecting for a more hopeful alignment, but my amateur eyes could see no earthly possibility of getting anything to cling to the friable face of those terrifying cliffs. Meantime I stood well back from the edge! It was pathetic to see gardens and trees within two inches of the treacherous brink and to realize that the farmer on whose land I stood had lost a fertile field or two and half his orchard. I noted that I must go back some day when the light was right and see whether (without committing suicide) I could get a photograph right down the gorge with Raka, of course, rearing herself up in the background. When the light was good it was still very hot in the sun (88° in the shade on an October afternoon), and rocky scrambles over shadeless boulders with a climb of some hundreds of feet to get home were not exactly restful, and I'm not so young!

One autumn morning when I was on the prowl I found a man just about to turn on a small team of cows to thresh a pile of millet heads. He and his children were busy with this in the centre of the floor, while a neighbour and *his* family were beheading another variety at one side. Two or even three neighbours seem amicably to share one threshing floor so as not to waste valuable ground. So I squatted down as usual with my penknife and joined the beheading family and watched the threshing. Only three cows were in the team this time—the millet-heads make a very small heap in comparison with the

a *choga* is being washed, a man's greater strength is called into 296
play—nine yards of wet homespun is no joke. He dips it likewise into cold water, lays it on a stone, and tramples it with his full weight. There is, of course, no fuel to spare for washing 372
clothes or persons in hot water.

From our very first days in Hunza the mills had been a [133]
source of interest, and we constantly passed them and peeped 256
in as we traced out all the water-channels on our walks. When [312]
the water was in flow (no stream, not even the Dála, was continuously in action in any one stretch) the mills were the centre of social gatherings. The miller and his family would be inside superintending operations, while the women with their babies and their work quietly awaited their turn. They had brought small sacks or bags of grain to be ground and would squat in and round the doorway happily gossiping. Occasionally a man would come along, bent double under a huge sack of 80 lb. or so.

We struck a particularly interesting group one day, where 000
the water was plunging steeply down the hillside and turning three mills in succession, one below the other. David was photographing the busy crowd at the door, and I climbed up a little to join two old women busily spinning among the rocks above. "Father won't want to take pictures of us," they said, in a matter-of-fact tone quite free from bitterness, "we are old and wrinkled." As well as my halting speech permitted, I assured them that older people were our best friends, that we liked faces wrinkled like our own, and that if they would allow it, "Father" would much like their photographs. So I scrambled down the hill again to explain to DL where his next duty lay. He came and engaged the old dames in chat, but it was no easy matter to get a photograph for they were shy and self-conscious beyond the ordinary. The picture turned out at least recognizable, but when it came to delivering their copies we found that their houses were "quite near" of course, but down 500 or 600 feet of highly precipitous gorge, rather more of a rock-climbing feat than we were prepared to tackle in the course of an afternoon's walk. Enquiry revealed, however, that old Pfírúz's son was married to Ustád Nadíro's daughter, so

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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Mir's Fort at Báltit, six hundred years old. Mountains in background 23,000 ft. concealing the great glacier that waters all the oases of central Hunza. (*See pp.* 105, 106)

PLATE XVIII

[Facing P. 245]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1. DL taking photo of Mir Muhammad Nazim Khan on the mountainside at Báltit.

PLATE XX

2. View of Áltit Gort from same spot, looking up Hunza River. (*See p.* 227)

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[Facing P. 272]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1. Rakapóshi in summer from Aliábád. Apricot trees in foreground. (See p. 80)

PLATE XXII

493

2. The sole type of wheeled vehicle in Hunza; a barrow used only in levelling fields.

(See p. 211)

[Facing P288]

Chapter 28

FINALITIES

OUR final weeks in Hunza were overcrowded with unavailing 132
attempts to fill all the lacunæ of over a year's work, and 133
working was not rendered easier by a temperature of 105 degrees in the shade, nor by the fact that we were both beginning to feel the strain of an intensive fifteen months at close on 8,000 feet (although we had not been consciously conscious of the altitude), and were undeniably somewhat played out.

We had to try to take all the photographs—moving or still—that had hitherto escaped us, develop and print the latter, and keep up to the end our practice of giving copies to the interested parties.

Two lines of enquiry in particular demanded attention. 126
Until faith in the purely scientific and disinterested character of DL's intentions had been firmly established, he had refrained from any attempt to map in detail the inhabited country immediately about us, or to enquire too closely into the amount of land belonging to any given household. Such activities would inevitably have given rise to the fear that he had been sent to make a survey for Government as a prelude to land taxation. Now that such fears were unlikely to arise—and would not impede us greatly if they did—we toiled up and down the steep and rocky tracks, taking sights, pacing distances, measuring fields, and making calculations. A country harder to survey, even in the rough and ready fashion which alone was possible, it would be difficult to conceive. It was impossible to find even twenty yards of level ground in a straight line to make a base from which anything else was visible; pacing distance was almost otiose when spurs jutted and angles re-

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

INTRODUCTION

THE LAND and the PEOPLE.

Burushaski, the main subject of the present work, is spoken in the States of Hunza and Nagir, which give a name to that tangle of snow-crowned mountains, long-drawn glaciers and deep-cut river beds that form the western extremities of the Karakoram and Kailās ranges of the Geographers. In elevation and ruggedness the tract may compare with any other portion of the earth's surface. The ground covered by the twin States is roughly defined by the lines 74° 10′ and 75° 40′ of East longitude and 36° and 37° 10′ of North latitude. Of this area the bulk falls to Hunza. Hunza marches on the North with Afghan and Chinese territory, from which it is divided by an immense mountain barrier traversable only by a few very high passes — the Irshad (16,060 ft.), the Kilik (15,600), the Mintaka (15,430) and the Khunjerāb.

The southern drainage from this range quickly assembles a few miles below Misgār to form the Hunza river, which proceeds southwards through the Hèrber or Gujhāl valley, or rather gorge. On its way the river receives reinforcement by tributaries from either side — the principal being the Batūra and Pasu glaciers on the West and the Shīmshāl valley on the East. About 15 miles East of Baltit, the capital of Hunza, the river changes to a general westerly course, and level with Baltit it receives on its left bank the waters of the Nagir river which represent the meltings of the

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

●133 Hispār, Barpu and other large glaciers. Henceforth until Chalt is reached, where it turns South, the river forms the boundary between Hunza on the North and Nagir on the South. Chalt itself and the Chaprōt valley which debouches into it belong to Nagir. Otherwise Nagir is confined, generally speaking, to the valley of the Hispar glacier and Nagir river and the northern slopes of the Kailas range, the crest of which forms the dividing line between it and Gilgit.

On the extreme East Hunza marches with the Oprang valley in Chinese territory and southwards with Baltistan, but the mountain range which separates these regions is scarcely surmountable (v. Text XXVIII). On the extreme West again, Hunza and Nagir territory terminates on a lofty range which runs roughly North and South and is only traversable with difficulty by a couple of passes, the Chillinji (17,000 ft.) and the Daintar (15,210). Beyond lies the sparsely-inhabited valley of Ishkoman, which again is bounded on its western side by a North and South range of mountains on the further side of which is situated the Wershigūm valley, known officially as the Yasīn 'Ilāqa. This Wershigum valley is the habitat of the Werchikwār language, a variant form of Burushaski, to which brief reference is made in this work.

133 487 From the West of Hunza to the East of Wershigum is as the crow flies a mere 20 or 30 miles, but the traveller will spend six days and cover some 115 miles in making his way from Chalt via Gilgit and Gupis to Yasin. Such is this country where cross-country travel is impossible and practicable routes can be found only by following the natural lines of least resistance, and that not without pain.

361 162 I have now placed our language on the map, approximately, but greater precision is required. In the first place we have to take account of the fact that the bulk of Hunza and the eastern portion of Nagir are uninhabited and uninhabitable. Permanent population exists only on the elevated terraces that skirt in places the sides of the river valleys.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Among the vast and savage mountains of the Western Karakoram, which are generally devoid of a blade of grass, and of which the surface by falls of cliff and boulders, the slipping of detritus, and the downpouring of mud-floods, is kept in a constantly raw and unstable state, nature has made it possible for a small population to maintain itself, in the sweat of its brow, by agriculture and the pasturing of small cattle. 133● 241 233

Terraces, apparently the remains of glacial deposits, supplemented it may be by downpourings from the mountain sides, have been left here and there along the sides of the valleys of the main rivers, at a height usually of some hundreds of feet above their stony beds. Where water for irrigation can be obtained from side-ravines these tracts can be cultivated. Without irrigation no cultivation is possible. There are no rain-watered cereal crops and water cannot be raised from the main river. The surface of these terraces is not flat, but slopes down at every kind of angle from the hillsides till the terraces end in abrupt earth-cliffs descending to the river beds. As the ground has to be irrigated it also has to be more or less levelled, otherwise all the soil would soon be washed away. This is accomplished by constructing terraced fields, the lower edges of which are supported by revetting walls built up of the rounded stones available in the diluvium. This revetting is highly skilled work, and is beautifully carried out, and maintained in perfect repair by the Hunzukuts. The Nagirkuts seem on the whole to be less strenuous workers and less tidy-minded cultivators. 312 241

There remains the task of constructing channels to bring water from where it is available, often miles away. These channels are designed with precision and executed with great resource and ingenuity, often being carried on revetted or galleried aqueducts across cliff faces. Having made your land and brought your water, it still remains to elaborate a system of distributing the water among the various communities or individuals entitled to a share of it. 312

Pressure of population in recent years has led to constant endeavours to devise means of providing water supplies for tracts of waterless but cultivable land. Where land and water have been 241

3: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4, 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

241 brought together, the following are the principal crops grown in Hunza and Nagir: wheat, barley, two or three kinds of millet, buckwheat, broad beans, peas and various pulses, lucerne (yielding two crops) for fodder. Maize and rice are not grown at these levels[1]. Lucerne is often grown on the sloping unterraced hillside where water is insufficient for crops. Fruit is also an important item of cultivation. The apricot is universal, and fresh and dry the fruit is a staple food. Besides its kernels are collected and eaten, or crushed for their oil. Apples, peaches, cherries, cherry-plums and grapes are also extensively grown, but do not appear to be dried, though apples and grapes are stored in straw for some months. Pears, pomegranates and walnuts are cultivated in places. The mulberry is eaten fresh and is also dried and preserved. Poplars and willows are grown for their timber, and in the lower tracts the chenar.

233 237 Agricultural crops and fruit would not however provide a complete subsistence. Goats, sheep and a small type of cow supply the necessary milk and fat products, particularly ghee, also hair for ropes and coarse cloth, wool for clothing, skins and hides for containing vessels, foot-wear and thongs. These cattle are kept in the villages during the cool and cold weather, when they are fed on such scanty natural grazing as is to be found, agricultural waste and dried leaves, and pay their way by providing milk and manure. During the hot months they are sent up in charge of herds to the few summer grazing-grounds (tēr, pl. tērming; ter, termin), which exist in the higher 234 parts of some of the nullahs. There their milk is collected and converted into forms in which it will keep: ghee, dried buttermilk etc.

361 133 [1] I.e. from about 7000′ upwards. Chhalt, the lowest village in the country, stands at 6560′. Māyūn and Hindi are probably about 7000′ and Aliābād about 7500′. Baltit is 8000′ and Nagir 7550′. Misgār, the highest place at which the Burusho have been induced to live, is 10,158′. It is said that the Burusho women refuse to go where the apricot will not ripen, and there are few Burusho settled above 8000′. In Chupūrsan and Shimshāl the Wakhis are found up to about 11,000′, which is probably the extreme limit at which barley will grow in this region. In recent years a little maize has been grown in Māyūn, Murtazābād and Ganish.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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The Road between Chalt and Nilt., End Plate 4
The Hunza River below. Looking Westwards.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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The road between Chalt and Nilt. End Plate 5
The Hunza River below. Looking Eastwards.

Sc Lorimer L-3 (1920-4, 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnsbo AV7

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Baltit from the South.
Tombs of the Wazir's family in the foreground. Below Baltit are apricot trees. Taken in April.

End Plate 6

●133

View from the left (south) bank of the Eagle River at the confluence with the Elmira one hundred [illegible]. In the left distance is the [illegible] Mining grab, on the right the Ulmer Sun Tablet is hidden.

End Plate 7

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Dumdai ("Bokapunki") 23,600 feet high from the North East.

End Plate 8

St Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-6) 1935 AV7 Barnsbo AV7

Altit from the W. from near Baltit.
In the foreground the Harakimo Har. Beyond terraced cultivation Altit and the Valley of the Hunza River.

End Plate 9

●133

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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Looking S. W. from the Nagir Polo Ground.
Terraced fields and apricot trees in blossom above.

End Plate 10

No. XXXII.

Sai.ɪd Ša Wali.ɛ Čaγa.

000 Tsorum zama·na.ulo hin Sai.ɪd Ša sɛnas hiran yu·smu ka Hunzu.ɛ U·ltərɛ Bərɛ ho·lɛ di bam, se.iba·n. Sis haira·n bam: "Ki·n amulum b'ɛlatɛ di bai.i kɛ, gan amulo ap'i·m" nusɛn. Ho Sai.ɪd Ša kɛ yu·s H'unzulo xuš nɛ huru·tuman se.iba·n.

5 Sai.ɪd Ša siri ka bam se.iba·n. Hikulto o·simi: "Le.i Hunzakuts, Baltitɛ tsil kam bila, han pfu·tanɛ tsil uyo·n mi bi. I·sɛ pfut jɛ ma·r di.ušam, ma dɛlin," o·simi. I·tɛ waxtulo sis ar umanuman, se.iba·n. Ar umanasər ho Sai.ɪd Ša tobaqatɛ bišami se.iba·n. Biš'ai.asər ho tuša·ran bul(ɛ tsil) du·sɪmi. Sai.ɪd Ša o·simi: "Axən'a

10 pfut ma dɛli bam kɛ bu·t tsil dušum tsɛ. Mu ja i·sɛ pfutɛ han i·me.ulo tobaqatɛ dɛli.aba. Ma·r hami·ša gutɛ bu·l du.a·aši," osam, se.iba·n. Mu·to kɛ bila. It'ɛr "Pfuru·ɛ Bul" seya ba·n.

Ho Sai.ɪd Ša be·rum kutsantsum bɛsanatɛ aza·r numa Hunzutsum ni.asər rak ɛtimi. Etasər gati numa "O·ni" nusɛn ɛ·r buyat ɛtuman,

15 se.iba·n. Qabu·l aiyɛtum Sai.ɪd Ša Hunzotsum yu·s numu·yɛn du·simi. Amma Sai.ɪd Ša Hunzulo han Šikaki.ants sɛnas dišan bila, bu·t xuš ɛt'am. I·mo γoyaŋ uγ'unimi se.iba·n, "Gukɛ tɛ·lɛ ya·rɛ ɛtin"

2–5 *amulum bɛlatɛ . . . kɛ* — the *kɛ* gives the sense of the English -ever: 'wherever has he come from and however has he come?'

3 *gan apim* — the *Ultərɛ Bər* is a 'cul de sac' surrounded, except at its exit through a narrow gorge, by 20,000 foot snow-capped mountains.

5 *Hunzakuts* — a variant, probably incorrect, of *Hunzukuts*.

8 *Ho Sai.ɪd Ša* — The meaning is probably that, as the people were afraid, *Sai.ɪd Ša* himself shot at the *De.u* when he had forced him to come out.

nūsɛn. "Bɛšal gutɛ dišulo talo Se·itəru.ɛ mazarin manimi kɛ Hunzo bu·t aba·d mai.imi," os'am, se.iba·n.

Ho Sai.ɪd Ša Sumaiyərər du·s xan nɛ di·mi se.iba·n. Šaya·r kɛ Hakuˈčər hərangulum i·tɛ ʒin'at bu·t do·rčilum. Sai.ɪd Ša ča·rər di·mər do·rimi se.iba·n. Han uyu·m bu·nan yatum dimi. Sai.ɪd Ša i·sɛ bu·n do.'a· nɛ yat nɛ thu· ɛtimi, se.iba·n. I·sɛ ʒiŋa di·m bun itɛ i·ndilulo tsat ɛtimi se.iba·n. Dərum xa· Sai.ɪd Ša du·a nɛtan tsat ɛtum bu·n i·tɛ indi·lulo bi.

Ho Sai.ɪd Ša kɛ yu·s Tho·lər du·man se.iba·n. I·tɛ diš u·ər xuš di·mi. Xuš n'uman huru·čam'an. Be·rum sanmo Sai.ɪd Ša γali·s imanimi. U·ɛ sisər o·simi: "Je e·rča ba. Ja·r kafan Hunzutsum nam'a·n, du·mərin, dusu·in," o·simi. Pəri.ɛn sa bim kafan Hunzu.ɛ Thamutsum du·mərčər do·rimi, se.iba·n. Hunzu·wər du·n, kafan nuk'a pfər numa To·lər niš xa i·sɛ pfəri sa te·i bu·r omanum təilatɛ bim se.iba·n. Sai.ɪd Ša Xuda·yɛ Wali bam, isɛ sa bu·r ay'ɛtum e.uru·tam se.iba·n. Kafan tsu·yasər (*or*, su·yasər) Sai.ɪd Ša Wali wafa·t manimi, se.iba·n.

To·lɛ sisər o·sam: "Jɛ ko·lə aw'ašin. Gutɛ diš ja xuš ɛtam," nusɛn diš o·ltiram. Mu·to xa i·nɛ xuš nɛ o·ltirum diš To·lulo ta·rk nɛ bila. Ho te·rumanər ʃulmitɛ sis šaŋ umanuman se.iba·n. To·lɛ sistsum Sai.ɪd Ša gut'as ušiˈrčər du·man, se.iba·n. Sai.ɪd Ša gutas ʃulmɪtkutsɛ To·lkutsatsum ušiˈruman se.iba·n. ʃulmɪtɛ sis bu·t bam, To·lɛ sis

[133] 4 *ʒinat* — for about three-quarters of a mile the track crosses the face of a steep slope consisting of broken stones, shale etc. which is crowned by cliffs from which stones big and small are constantly rolling down. These "stone-shoots" are a common feature in the Gilgit and Chitral area and one which adds to the excitement of travel.

This particular specimen between *Askurda·s* and *Pfəkər* in Nagir is a very fine one.

6 *i·sɛ bu·n* — is not wanted here.

do.a· nɛ — i. e. *du.a· nɛ*. As a magician S. Š. would employ 'a spell' or 'enchantment', but as a "holy man of God" he presumably had recourse to 'prayer'. So *du.a·* probably bears its orthodox meaning.

6—7 *ʒiŋa di·m bun* — "the boulder which had come as a rolling stone".

10 *berum sanmo* — cp. note p. 292 l. 13, and § 170.

13—14 *Hunzu·wər du·n . . . təilats bim* — Note the common difference of point of view as regards "going" and "coming" between Burushaski and English: "having

121 and of course the kinds and varieties of foods that were used, I attached great importance to this phase of my trip and I was definitely determined that, come what might, this information I would have thoroughly and in detail.

124 No doubt it would have been an advantage had I been able to speak either Urdu, or better still Burushaski, so that I could frame my questions as I saw fit and have answers that would be direct and would not require translation. However, that was not possible. Still, I had no reason to believe that my interpreter would not be a forthright individual who would give me the answers that were relayed to him clearly and to the point.

Mind you, I was seeking no miracle or world panacea. I wanted to find out the simple truth!

Further, I wanted to walk from farm to farm . . . that is, just selecting one at random here and there. I wanted to view the farmer's activities, study his soil and examine it, ask a few questions and thus, I could gather the information that I wanted and which was so vital to me.

344 644 The old palace proved to be in a good state of preservation. I wondered, because of its good condition, why someone didn't live there. Many of the rooms were still furnished. There were even rugs and tapestries placed and hung in their original positions.

[126] When we climbed to the top of the castle—that is, to the roof where I snapped many photos—it seemed mighty high and overlooked everything around us. But [133] in the distance were mountains that were well over 20,000 feet—and that is no exaggeration, but more likely an understatement.

There was a railing around this upper balcony and from this balcony you could walk into other chambers.

with the Rani and his brother and, after the usual sumptuous breakfast, Sultan Ali joined us and the three of us—Jahangir, Sultan Ali and I—took off to Altit. As we left the Mir said, "I'll be waiting here for you and you'll ride the yaks right into the palace yard."

"You'll find the yaks very easy and comfortable to ride," continued the Mir. "What's more—you won't notice the ascents and descents!"

"You're kidding!" I rejoined.

"No, I'm not," he said. "It's true . . . just wait and you'll see!"

133 487 491 It was approximately a 2 mile jaunt to Altit and the terrain was very much like the terrain we had encountered all the way up from Gilgit—washouts, rock slides, boulders strewn all over the place. This all made walking difficult, at least for me.

491 Now I don't want you to get the idea that when these landslides or rock slides occur they are just left where they fall, because that is the furthest thing from the truth. Immediately after these things happen, crews are put on to get things straightened away. But when you take into consideration that each speck of work is done manually and that they do not have even a wheelbarrow, you can then understand that the job is a difficult one and one that is back-breaking and requires much time.

The only implements I saw them use on the roads were a sort of pinch-bar or wedge and a sledge hammer. You see, they don't have dynamite and when a huge boulder lands smack in the middle or at the side of the road and can't be pushed off, the only other course to follow is to break it into small pieces. Those are the ways and means here of getting rid of huge boulders.

461 Let it also be clearly understood that the Hunza

As we wound along the trail and through the streets of the village, I kept looking around to see if I could spot the bit of meadow or field where the yaks would be grazing. I felt certain that if they were being tethered or kept somewhere that there would be some sort of grazing ground for them and I found I was right because, shortly, we came upon a bit of meadow surrounded by shrubs and trees. And sure enough, there were the yaks and the herders. 231 311

The first thing I noticed about them was that they seemed to be snorting like wild bulls. They breathe rather heavily and exhale sharply through their nostrils. The altitude at Altit was probably about the same as that of Baltit—between 8,000 and 9,000 feet—and that was much too near the level of the sea to suit the yaks who wanted it at least 11,000 feet. Undoubtedly that was the reason they were snorting and appeared somewhat uncomfortable. 231 [361] [133]

I liked their rather shaggy, unkempt appearance. The woolly hair that grew around their head and on top of it, looked as though it had been curled. I didn't know whether that made them look ferocious or cute.

I took a keen liking to the strange looking beasts. But I'm not sure that they shared my feelings. At least, they didn't look as though they did.

I have read and been told that you can trust a yak implicitly on any trail. If it's safe and can be traversed, he'll make it. If there's any doubt, he'll be just as stubborn as any mule. Where the way or the road is extremely bad, he will refuse to go and only by brutal pounding and beating and dragging will he continue along the trail that he distrusts.

Through each yak's nose ran a rope—a good thick, heavy rope. This is used to guide or lead the yak, instead of a bridle and bit. [492]

131 Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River from Secunderabad to the Chinese border, a distance of somewhere around 200 miles, but no one has ever actually measured it. At the narrowest point it is less than half a mile wide. At its broadest, it is not quite [133] [134] two miles. Usually the only piece of flat land in a village is the polo field. Good, rich, deep soil as Westerners know it is absolutely unknown in Hunza.

311 [361] Whenever a house is built here, they seldom ever use a piece of fertile soil or soil of any kind. They usually erect it on rock or on a steep hillside where that piece of land could not have been used for agriculture anyway.

[241] Practically every bit of farm land is terraced. It can be said, it is actually cut out of the rocks of the mountainside which is the north bank of the Hunza River.

[134] Of the total length of 200 miles, only a small fraction is at all arable. Most of it is solid rock or terrain so steep that horticulture of any nature is impossible.

312 [132] Rainfall is scanty. They cannot depend upon it at all for crops. In order to get sufficient water, hand built and similarly maintained conduits bring water down [241] from glaciers. These conduits are carefully erected and trained to run alongside the villages where the water can be trapped to flow where desired and used to irrigate their lands, also for drinking and all other necessary purposes.

There are four main conduits in Hunza and they are as follows:

Murku—This is at the highest level of all the aqueducts and carries the most water.

Barbar—Supplies the Baltit-Altit area.

Dala—This is the longest—extends as far as Aliabad. Supplies Kerimabad.

Hamachi—The smallest which runs as far as the tiny village Ganesh, located on a cliff's edge.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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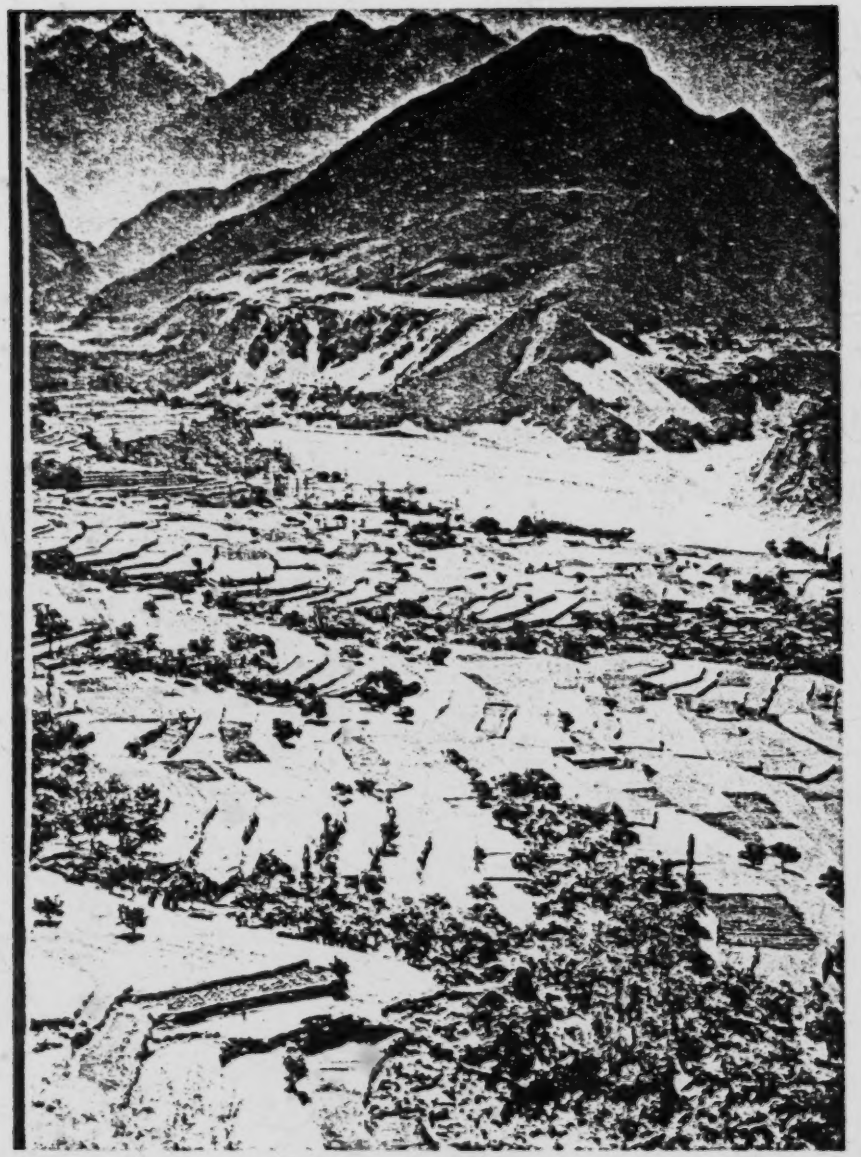

The largest area of land suitable for farming in Hunza—located near Baltit.

[facing p. 326-A]

526 I do know, however, that tennis is played in Hunza
481 because the Mir has a tennis court in an area around the garden. I also know that swimming is practiced because I saw a swimming pool at the Mir's summer home at Altit.

It was July when I was in Hunza and not one single person did I see swimming in either the Gilgit or Hunza Rivers or, for that matter, in any of the nullahs or creeks we passed.

I will admit that we had our feet soaked in most of them—some deliberately when resting and others in crossing, chiefly on foot because I didn't trust my horse. He has four slender legs with any of which he can get into trouble. I have only two to watch and worry over and they are sturdy and stocky, of the "Pict" type.

• 133 It would take a mighty good man or boy to swim in
526 the nullahs in Hunza or the surrounding area: first, because the icy waters of the rivers or nullahs would freeze you to death in no time flat. The water, winter and summer, never gets much higher than the freezing point and I doubt if any human being or even these human polar bears could stand water like that. Besides, there are no clear calm patches that are without a devastating current.

From scrutinizing the area, I doubt very much if there are very many places along the entire reaches of the Hunza River that can be forded, even with mighty good animals, capable of swimming, at least during the spring and summer. I know of one well prepared expedition that tried to cross one of these rivers and came to grief.

526 Polo is the national game or sport of Hunza and of practically all the principalities in that area . . . and, brother, it is a wild and woolly game as played by these

exception of the doctor or visitors. There was a letter 205
from my office awaiting me when I reached the Mir's palace. The Mir told me about it right after our first greeting. He was understanding enough to realize I would be happy to hear from home.

I guess many of the things about Hunza wouldn't 642
allow the country to come under the heading of a democracy, but from what I saw of life and living in Hunza, I assure you it is more of a democracy than any other democracy in existence today.

Hunza has no policemen, no soldiers, no bureau- 692
cracy, no customs officers or immigration officers. They 643
do have the Mir who is the ruler and true head of the [647]
state and the Mir appoints the Wazir who is his right [693]
hand man and acts as judge.

All major squabbles and disputes are handled by the Mir. He holds court regularly and makes the decisions and his word is law and cannot be challenged or contested by anyone. Minor cases are looked after and into and tried by the Wazir.

Hunza does not have a jail. There is no lockup 697
whatsoever. If and when a crime is committed, the 681
criminal or culprit is banished to a place called Shimshal. At Shimshal the criminal or guilty person is not confined or jailed. He just has to live in that rugged place, where living is grim. The altitude is somewhere [133]
around 12,000 or 13,000 feet, and eking an existence out of the land there is most difficult and precarious. Actually the form of punishment is a sort of ostracism.

Evidently the threat of being sentenced to live in 674
Shimshal is a great deterrent, because few crimes are committed. There have only been two instances in the last ten years where serious crimes have occurred. In [689]
one instance it was a youth who had posted indecent signs on trees and other places. He was hailed before

of study before an answer can be given. They do get more sunshine than the Nagirwals—of that there is no doubt. While in Nagir fields are definitely in better tilth, their land is deeper, they have broader and more fertile valleys and can grow more and better food, yet undoubtedly the people of Hunza are by far the handsomer, healthier, more industrious and more energetic. 132 164 [133]

For my part I wasn't completely sold on the principle that the people of Hunza did have much more sunlight than the people of Nagir and I debated the matter with a few individuals. But each of them maintained stoutly that they did and claimed that they had scientific proof that Hunza did get more sunlight.

The last man with whom I did battle on the subject was Dr. Hermann Berger of West Germany. From his investigations he said that he had reached the conclusion positively and unequivocally, that the northern slope of the mountains through which the Hunza River flowed did get more sunlight than the southern slope which was Nagir. 132 114

As I found considerable difficulty and doubt concerning the theory of the people of Hunza getting more sunlight than the people of Nagir, I decided to draw a little chart that would illustrate the situation as I eventually found it to be. After seeing the drawing I think it will prove to you that the principle is natural and reasonable. (*See Fig.* 1.) 1

1 [facing p. 390 - ANALYST]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 45

Where Is Hunza?

131 AT FIRST I HAD TAKEN it for granted that everyone knew exactly where Hunza lay. Then after many folks had queried me about the location of this strange country, I found that Hunza was seldom listed on any map and not even mentioned in many encyclopedias and gazetteers. Therefore, it is only fair and right for me to tell you where Hunza is and, if you do know, I trust you will pardon my repeating the position, but I want to establish its area clearly.

At the extreme northerly tip of Pakistan, rubbing shoulders with Afghanistan on the west, China on the north and northeast is Hunza and just 14 miles beyond the narrow corridor of Afghanistan lies Soviet Russia. [133] The gateway between Hunza and China is the famed Mintaka Pass which is the original route followed by Marco Polo back so many hundred years ago. Hard-by is where the Hunza River has its source. This area along

the Hunza River is the principality called Hunza. 131

It is nestled in a most enchanting setting, surrounded by three of the world's greatest and tallest mountain systems. Another piece of knowledge that adds even [103] greater interest and appeal is the meaning of the names of the three mountain systems: Hindu Kush means "killer of Hindus" because so many Hindus have lost their lives in crossing this range; Himalaya means "abode of snow", well-named when one considers their height and the vast masses of glaciers lying on the mountains' breasts; Karakorum means "the black rock" and one has to actually penetrate this system to realize how accurately those hard bare stone walls are named. The word Kush is pronounced with an "oo" sound. Himalayas is pronounced with the accent on the "al". The Karakorums are pronounced with the broad "a" accent for the first syllable and "oo" sound for the "um". This [104] word can be spelled either "am" or "um". I prefer "um" because that is more in keeping with the sound as spoken by the people of that area.

Hunza actually forms a part of what was the old Kashmir and on maps it is shown as part of Kashmir and Jammu.

During my travels through the area I was plagued with the questions . . .Where exactly are the Hindu Kush, the Karakorums, the Himalayas? Where among these ranges is Hunza? 'Tis simple, you say? That's what I said, too, until I began to investigate and ask questions. Then I found myself in a maze of confusion from which I found it difficult to extricate myself.

Surely one would believe that learned people, high school or university graduates both in America and abroad, would know a bit about the most important mountain systems in the world. But, no! Ask them yourself. See the ambiguous answers you get. Then you

131 will understand why "it plagued me thus."

133 Many writers who have visited the area, and many [114] others who have not, refer to Hunza as being in the Himalayas. I am sorry to be forced to contradict these good people, but from my research—and I repeat, research—I have come to the conclusion that Hunza is definitely in the Karakorum system and not the Himalayas.

[114] If this error was made just occasionally by casual visitors or tourists, it could go unmentioned, but when men with science education and degrees make this mistake, it is somewhat unpardonable. There are very few maps or gazetteers that give this information accurately, and if you think I came by this information easily, I would suggest that you take down whatever maps you have available and do some research on the topic.

The eventual decision as to which are the Karakorums and which are the Himalayas came about when it was firmly laid down in one place that the northwest upper Indus separates the Karakorums from the Himalayas. The Karakorums seem to start about where the Hindu Kush ends in Kashmir. The exact spot, according to the best data that I could obtain, is 74 degrees east longitude and from there the Karakorums run approximately 300 miles southeast down to the main bend of the Shyok River. Even encyclopedias are not completely reliable in this instance, because one encyclopedia (in fact, Columbia is the one I'm talking about) lists Mountain K2 which is now known as Godwin Austen as the second tallest mountain peak in the world and places it both in the Karakorums and in the Himalayas. The Hindu Kush culminates at Tirach Mir —26,426 ft. high. Just about there the Karakorum range takes over and extends as specified above.

7 Tobe C, T-3 (1959) 1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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The Hunzans are conceded to have superior health to their neighbors. Nagir land is more shaded by mountains. (*Figure 1.*)

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A water powered stone mill used by the Hunzans for making flour. (*Figure 2.*)

[facing p. 390]

[p. 390-A]

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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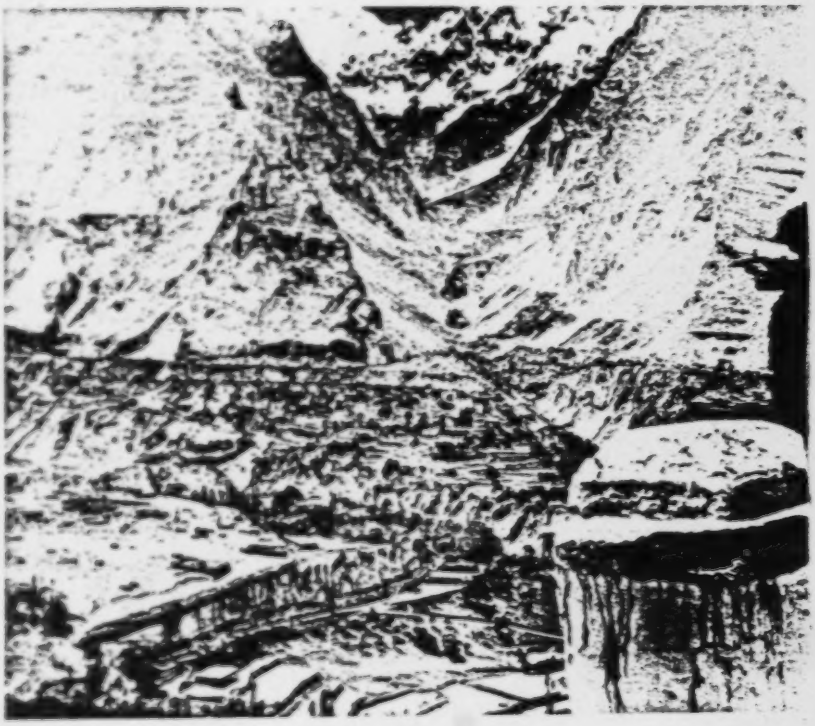

View from the Fort at Baltit.

[p.390-C]

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

Part or all of the armies of Alexander the Great wound their way through the Hindu Kush mountains. Whether or not they ever found their way into the Karakorums, history does not designate, but I suspect that they did, because the Hunzans are supposed to be descendants of Alexander the Great or his soldiers and Hunza is in the Karakorums. 131 133 [173]

The Himalayas in the encyclopedia are stated to lie in India, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and China but I know for certain the Himalayas extend into Pakistan as well.

At this point I am not seeking to take issue with any gazetteer, encyclopedia or other volume of facts. I am just pointing out the difficulty I encountered in getting the information down to a semblance of order and accuracy. Further, I have consulted with, written to and requested details from many sources who should know the facts, and in practically every case I came to a dead end. It seems as though very few people in the world know the exact location and extent of these three mountain systems. [114]

One man who did seem to know them and placed them accurately was Eric Shipton and by the heavens, he should know—he spent more time among these mountains than any white man in history.

A curious thing about the people of Hunza . . . they do not have names for the peaks in the area and there are some mighty lofty peaks. *Even the famed Rakaposhi* has no individual name in Hunza. It is just called "Dumani," the same as every other high mountain or mountain peak that they came across. Actually, "dumani" means "covered with a cloud." 823 103

I guess they're so accustomed to seeing these awesome peaks that they become impervious to them. So what? Another hill! Every time I asked one of the

823 bearers the name of yon mountain, he pointed to it
103 and said, "Dumani!"

It was quite some time before I found out that it wasn't the same mountain we kept seeing from different views or angles. In fact, after the second day's travel and the only peak that we had passed was "Dumani," I began to get suspicious and thought that somebody was pulling my leg. As a matter of fact, I didn't find out that "Dumani" meant "covered with a cloud," "high peak" or "big mountain" until I came across Professor Berger in Baltit. He, being interested in the language of the people, put me straight on the "dumani" business.

What made matters even worse—or should I say, more difficult—was the fact that long after we had left the Hunza area, people kept telling me about the "Dobani" nullahs and the "Dobani" mountains. Sometimes they said "Dobani," other times they said "Dubani" and then they would also say "Dumani" and "Domani." I don't think they know themselves exactly what they mean. Of course when they said Dumani
[133] Nullah, it would mean the "river flowing from the glacier on the breast of the mountain" and when they pointed to a hill and said "Dumani," they meant it was a big hill.

133 In trying to relate the circumstances covering our travel and journey from Gilgit to Hunza one must maintain a sort of running encounter of the trail and the incidents surrounding it. Then, too, in other parts of the book I try to tell about the agriculture, the habits and health of the people of Hunza. Therefore little time remains for one to describe the charm, the beauty and whatever else may be said about the scenes one passes.

So will you bear with me while I try to describe as

graphically as possible one day's journey through these mountains. 133

There is little beauty to be seen until one gets beyond Nomal. I felt that the enchantment of the mountain terrain did not begin until we reached Chalt. From there to Baltit was one bit of indescribable grandeur after another.

From broad undulating valleys and river beds you suddenly come to a place where the mountain walls seem to come together to form a gorge. Here the river churned and frothed in its azure murkiness. The dark rock walls in all their sharp angled beauty presented an awesome spectacle and gave one the feeling of being suddenly closed in. For thousands of feet upward, shelves, abutments, butts, curves and gradings swept on in seemingly never-ending succession. Not a tuft of grass or even a bit of green moss or lichen could be seen by the naked eye. 'Twas bare but still beautiful . . . unadorned, but bejewelled. Then above were the light and clouds . . . and beyond, the blue sky and occasionally the sun could be seen.

The road would climb, weave and wind. It would broaden to 3, 4, or even 5 feet. Then 'twould narrow down sometimes to a bare 14 inches where the outside shoulder of the road had collapsed or fallen away, leaving a ragged, rugged edge which one took good care to avoid. 133 487

In places where the trail all but disappeared the solid rock face of the mountain wall had been chipped away or incut to allow a body or a small animal to pass. One had to crane one's neck or stoop to prevent a whack on the head that could send you hurtling down thousands of feet.

Continually there were patches of scree or morain that might be a hundred feet or a mile or more in

133 487 length. Over this the horses clattered judiciously, placing one foot down firmly somewhere before they lifted another. 'Twas the only way they could maneuver through this pebble and rock dashed remains of a slide. Masses of mountains dimmed in the distance.

Now and then a nullah would leap into view and [491] had to be crossed or forded. Yes, many of them, the more or less permanent ones, were covered by bridges . . . some sound, durable and strong and others, more or less makeshift, which one had to cross with prudence and yet alacrity.

133 487 491 Whenever a rafik hove into view, I unconsciously would suck in my breath quickly and steel myself for the mental ordeal to come. There I knew the trail was held up or was maintained by a few slabs of rock pressed into fissures on the rock surface of the cliff or even a built up wall of stones, laid carefully one on top of another without being cemented in any way. At other times there were rods of steel driven into the rock surface and upon this the boards or road was laid. How these supports held, heaven only knows and there they were, jutting out over emptiness or nothingness. Did they fall away? Was there any danger? Well, you can answer that question for yourself. If you were going to travel along the trail to Hunza, they had to be crossed and the fact that they were continually being erected was ample proof that they were continually falling away.

133 487 In many places the road ribbons to a narrow ledge along a precarious outcropping of rock . . . courses that have been cut and built into the very face of the sheer and protruding cliffs, and many from a few hundred to many thousands of feet above the valley floor and often more than 15,000 feet above sea level. Landslides, washouts, rains of gigantic boulders, disintegra-

tion of rafiks have played havoc with travelers and 133
caravans on this route since the first enterprising man 487
inched his way across. Yet then and now bold, brave, fearless men were attracted and fascinated by the call to the serene loveliness, adventure and danger.

Then islands of greenery began to appear more fre- 133
quently. These were the terraced fields, the oases that 311
marked the villages. It was a pinpoint of light in a sea of darkness where rest, drink and food could be found, even if unappetizing and unabundant. These spots of green at sky-line-blue heights, among the millions of acres of barren rock and emptiness were pleasing both to the eye and soul and comforting, too, for the traveler.

Elsewhere, in the Hindu Kush or the Himalayas, could be found verdant valleys and hills and mountain-tops that were furry and treed. But in the harsh, bleak, black Karakorums, such heavenly blessings could seldom, if ever, be found. Even the terraced tiny green fields could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be compared to a tree-covered hillside or mountain. Yet, let it not be said or thought that these bleak, barren hills did not have their loveliness and charm. They possessed beauty! Yes, they did! Like a tiger, 'twas fierce, sharp and untamed, but nevertheless, true beauty!

In the distance, one could always watch as the hills 133
rolled, soared, dipped and then fell away to merge with 487
the blue of the horizon. I know at times, allowing my vision to soar and wander about the mountains in the distance, my fatigue and weariness were forgotten and I plodded on, unmindful of the trail. My mind soared from peak to peak—some cloud-haloed, others bold and sharply defined.

One was always meeting the Hunza River, either face to face or having it course along at your side. Then,

133 too, as you rose where the road led on high crests, you
487 could see the river winding, twisting, bending in the distance and you knew that you would be there soon—in an hour or a few.

As you course your way along the trail, you see the snow and ice covered mountain ranges with their glorious majestic crests gleaming in slides of silvery softness. You follow a road, that was known for at least a thousand years as a snaking, curving road of exceptional beauty, mid towering heights, nameless peaks and grave hazards.

487 'Twas but a scant few decades ago—yes, even that
439 short a time—that one or two successful caravan trading trips, winding their way from China to the Khyber Pass via Peshawar, Pindi, Gilgit and the Hunza and Nagir Valleys, could make a trader rich, if he could get through without mishap and avoid being robbed by brigands.

The camel caravans would be laden with silks, gaily colored cloth, clothing, tea, porcelain, earthenware, jewels, gold and silver, ivory, salt, sweetening, spices, trinkets and bottles, fancy slippers, foot coverings, vases, trays and fancily inscribed artware, bars of iron and steel, knives, cooking utensils..

On this caravan route, animals do not walk side by side, but one behind the other.

[648] It is no wonder that the owners of the caravans were glad to pay tribute for safe conduct through these defiles and passes.

We met caravans but they were evidently coming from the Pamirs and heading towards Gilgit, Peshawar and Srinagar. They were good sized ones with many donkeys and camels. The altitude wasn't high enough for yaks.

They looked sort of nondescript to me. I thought

184 a good crop of various kinds of grains, forage, vege-
241 table crops and fruits. In Hunza this just doesn't occur.
311 The terrain is steeper, more precipitous, more difficult and seldom if ever does a flat open area come within the limits of normal vision.

[133] Then, too, Nagir has many more nullahs formed by the melting glaciers. Rakaposhi is located in Nagir and surrounding it are many snowfields and glaciers which are used, trained and harnessed to irrigate their country.

Indubitably, the fates and nature have been much kinder to Nagir than they have to Hunza.

438 Let me also tell you frankly that on many occasions the people of Hunza purchase or barter various types of food from Nagir. I asked the ways and means that [437] were used in effecting these deals and found that in most cases money—earned by the Hunzans in service in the army, portering for expeditions and given to them as gifts—was the means.

184 One might gather from what I have said and even [628] from talking to various people or natives of the area, that the Nagirwals and the Hunzans are deadly enemies. But that is not true. The people of Hunza [186] think themselves much better than the people of Nagir. They do believe that they are handsomer, healthier, cleaner and are better husbandmen, but yet there does not appear to be any cases of conflict, physical or armed, between the two peoples.

123 I recall a little incident that may be of some interest. We rounded a spot—I guess it was 10 or so miles from Minapin—on the way up to Baltit and there we saw a decrepit, ragged looking Nagirwal. In his hands he [231] held a pair of chickens. They were the typical chickens of the area—full grown but the size that our chickens are when they're half grown. He waved them in front of us as though indicating they were for sale or could be

137 Gilgit. With the eyes of an eagle I scanned the roadways, the byways, the mountain slopes, the rocks, the cliffs, the highlands, the lowlands, but nary a conifer did I spy.

One day when we got to see a different slope of Rakaposhi, I looked up and there about two-thirds of the way up on its higher reaches or slopes was a cluster of trees and they looked like and must have been conifers. But wait . . . Rakaposhi, according to the [133] records, is 25,550 feet high. Unless I'm as blind as a bat and cockeyed, to boot, that cluster of trees was at least two-thirds of the way up. I was standing at 9,000 or 10,000 feet. So two-thirds of the remaining 15,000 feet would be 10,000 feet. So 10,000 plus 10,000 makes 20,000. Am I trying to tell you that I saw trees growing at approximately 20,000 feet? The tree experts say it couldn't be. They would scoff, deride and ridicule my statement, for it is written and believed that the timberline is somewhere around 10,000 or 11,000 feet —or does that apply only in the North American scheme of things? Well, that might be in America, but I will swear and attest that it doesn't hold true in the Himalayas or the Karakorums. Could be that I may be erring by a couple of thousand feet or even three thousand but it would still mean that this copse or group of trees was at least 17,000 feet up. Yet I know, I feel, I am convinced that it must be 20,000 feet. I repeat this even at the risk of being called a lunatic. I've been called that before!

Other writers claim they saw pines on their travels in this district. I think they were just talking or trying to grasp something to describe in that bleak, bare area. I saw the one single pine tree I mentioned earlier in Gilgit . . . and it had been planted! Well, I'll have

to let you figure it out. I'm just telling you what I saw 137
and what I think.

I admit that I wo ld very much like to some day [133]
climb and find out exactly what those trees were, but
Rakaposhi is one of the most difficult of all mountains
on earth to climb. It took 23 attempts to conquer 648
Rakaposhi. The first 22 attempts failed, but a British
expedition succeeded in scaling her summit in 1958.
One side is almost a sheer drop, so from that side I'll
stay clear. Of course there wouldn't be anything growing there, anyway.

The ascent of Rakaposhi was accomplished by the British Pakistan Forces Himalayan Expedition, 1958. Captain Shah Khan, the Mir's uncle, was a member of the expedition. I quote from the account . . .

"Captain Shah Khan was a most important and use- [485]
ful member of the expedition. He personally selected
our 6 Hunza porters, and being a Hunza man himself,
in fact the uncle of the Mir, we hoped for great things
from them. We were not in the least disappointed."

The expedition started May 12th from Gilgit and established a base camp on May 26 at 14,000 feet. It was on June 25th that two members of the expedition, Mike Banks and Tom Pattey, reached the summit, under terrible conditions of winds and drifts.

Varieties of shrubs in Hunza were more numerous. I 137
saw a few wild roses just like any wild rose you see
anywhere. The flower had a slight fragrance and was
reddish-pink in color.

Then there was a plant that resembled barberry, except it had a blue berry instead of a red one. The berry was edible. I tried some and found the taste pleasing and sweet, but there was very little meat or pulp. It was practically all skin and seeds. It was much

137 I've tried to locate it in my botanical encyclopedias but so far have met with failure. It appeared to be an annual but such a robust growing annual I have never known before in my life. (It could have been an herbaceous perennial—I'm not 100% certain. But I do know it started from the surface because there was no old wood or old stems on any of the thousands of plants that I saw and the hundreds that I examined closely.

If you know the winter creeper, or euonymus, then you can quickly understand what this fog plant looked like. It seemed to thrive in practically any location that would give succor to a living plant. In some places it was small and compact. In other locations it grew large and sprawling. It grew out of the rocks and hung down. It grew against the sides of the mountains and climbed up. It resembled, in many instances, a low growing shrub, but it was entirely void of wood. In other cases it grew erect and in still other places I found it sprawling around the ground in a wide area, making an excellent ground cover.

It is my estimate that I did not come across more than 30 different types of perennials or annual herbs. I am sure you will agree that it is understandable that the flora of this area would not be wide or tremendous.

133 Undoubtedly the valleys along the Nagir side were more lush, looked better and were larger than the cultivated areas along the Hunza side. One of the reasons for this condition is the fact that the Hunza side is more precipitous and the walls of the canyon or mountains are steeper and more sheer, leaving less opportunity for soil to accumulate, be cultivated and grow plants.

247 In the homes, from my observations, and I made careful study of this aspect, I did not see a sign of one

000 from it the organic method of land use.

262 From what I have seen, I have deduced the fact that the people of Hunza use less fat of any kind than most people found throughout the world. Some nations may lack animal fats, but make it up by fats found in [133] fish. The people of Hunza have very little animal fat and no fish, for there are few lakes in the area and the only fish that are found in the streams are those that were placed there, in an attempt to stock the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers and some of the nullahs.

They do get some fat from the butter that is made from the milk of the goats, sheep and a few cows and yaks. They also get a bit of fat from their walnuts and the kernels of the apricot seeds, neither of which can be considered to be high in fat content.

Lest you think that this lack of fat would have some effect on the people, let me stress that there are no more energetic people found in the world and they are continually active.

251 As soon as fall sets in and the harvest is completed, they carefully select and store and prepare their winter's larder. Then they divide and apportion all of their foods so they will last them throughout the winter.

262 An important addition to their winter diet is a gruel or a soup that they make from the various grains and this is eaten with their chapatties.

515 164 Dentifrices or toothpastes or powders of any kind are not used in Hunza. Yet the people have unusually fine teeth. False teeth, plates or dentures are unknown. So even at the expense of antagonizing the toothbrush and toothpaste people, it would appear that these implements and concoctions do not create good healthy teeth.

* * * * *

000 I have debated within myself whether or not I should

and villages are invariably built where there are trees 122
of one kind or another. So it was our best bet to tackle 487
the sun while we had some protection against it. [361]

I remembered also that in this area there were lots [133]
of nullahs and that conduits were found everywhere, so we could refresh ourselves with good fresh cold water all along the route. Further down there were very few nullahs or any other means of getting water except by marching down to the river's edge and this, friend, could be an undertaking!

At this stage the elevations ranged around 7,000 to 133
10,000 feet. I didn't carry an altimeter with me but I was informed that in some places we climbed to 12,000 feet. It certainly felt like it by the rarity of the atmosphere and the way my chest and lungs were behaving.

All through this broad area the mountain scenery is idyllic. It just can't be beat or improved upon, no matter where in the world you go. When I came up this selfsame trail on the inward trek, I was in no mood to appreciate beauty or mountain grandeur and I knew that I hadn't taken in very much. But now, I was determined to feast my eyes, my heart and my soul on the most beautiful, the most varied, the most awe-inspiring mountain vastness that is known to exist.

I was happy—I was carefree—I felt so light that I thought the horse wouldn't even know he was carrying a passenger. In all probabilities I'd never come this way again and I wanted that beauty engraved on my memory.

Through the years I had spent many weeks and months in the Rockies, from Alaska right down to the Mexican Sierras, and I believed the Rockies to be the most impressive range of mountains I had ever known. When I saw the Alps and compared them, well, there

133 was no basis for comparison. The Alps were pretty hills!

But here again was something entirely different. We flew through and over the Himalayas from Rawalpindi till we neared Gilgit and from the moment we saw the Karakorums I was impressed with their appearance of hardness, massiveness—yes, and their coldness, too, but they certainly weren't very cold here on our way to Chalt where the metallic content of the rock absorbs every bit of heat and seems to hold it. Whereas the [137] Rockies are mainly grassed or timbered, the Karakorums are bare, naked and distinctly metallic looking.

Of course there are bare mountains in the rockies and there are treed and grassy ones in the Karakorums but it's the exception, in both cases, rather than the rule. Apart from a bit of grass or a few trees in an occasional valley, the mountains in general were bare rock. It is indeed a tribute to the courage, ingenuity and resourcefulness of the people of Hunza and other races who live in these rocky valleys, that they can manage to eke out an existence.

In the Rockies anything over 10,000 feet is rare and unusual. When you hit 12,000, 13,000 or 14,000 feet it is an event of major importance. But here in the Karakorums, when you are trudging along, everywhere the mountains are 14,000, 15,000 and 16,000 feet high. It seems that the ridges all around you are 12,000 to 14,000 feet, with something like Rakaposhi occasionally poking up at 25,550 feet. Even that is nothing of any spectacular mention, because within a few scant miles as the crow flies could be found ten peaks as high or higher and dozens or maybe hundreds somewhat smaller, but still much bigger and more impressive than most found in the Rockies and the Alps.

Just to illustrate my point I'll mention a few, starting at the Afghan border and working over to Singkiang

in China, and down a few miles to the Skardu district. 133
This area covers a circle within a 100 mile radius of Baltit, but look at the peaks that are found therein. These are just a few of the ones over 20,000 feet high that are found in that small area:

Haramosh	24,270	Saltoro Kangri .	25,400
Mukorum	23,050	unnamed	22,400
unnamed	25,868	Saser Kangri ...	25,170
Kampire Dior ..	23,434	unnamed	21,270
unnamed	21,200	unnamed	22,891
Kanjut Sar	25,460	Nanga Parbat ..	26,660
unnamed	23,440	unnamed	21,870
unnamed	25,540	unnamed	22,200
Godwin Austen		unnamed	22,120
(K-2)	28,250	Rakaposhi	25,550
Masherbrun ...	25,660	Bilchhar Dobani	20,126
Gasherbrum ...	26,470	unnamed	21,907
Teram Kangri .	24,489	unnamed	23,890

This list was taken from the actual military map of the area. Nowhere else could I find anything as detailed.

It is a positive fact that so far there are more than 60 summits over 22,000 feet recorded in the Karakorums alone—mostly unnamed and unconquered—and remember, the Karakorums extend only for 300 miles.

I'm not trying to impress you with a mass of figures, but I just wish to lend credence to the facts that will bear out my contention that this is the most spectacular outcropping of mountains and peaks in the entire world and that this point has the right and probably the only right, to be called the true "Roof of the World."

Maps refer to this territory as the Pamirs. I think they say Afghanistan Pamir, Russian Pamir, Chinese Pamir. The word "pamir" in Persian means "roof of the world." If the world has a roof, then without ques-

133 tion or doubt, this area holds that lofty title!

I know that Tibet is called the "Roof of the World" but it is my contention that this is not right. Lhasa is at an elevation of approximately 13,000 feet and is surrounded by peaks whose heights are not more than 18,000 feet, whereas Baltit, the capital of Hunza, is located at an elevation of 8500 feet and the mountains surrounding it go well above 25,000 feet. So I don't think anyone can argue or deny that this, the Hunza area, is the true "Roof of the World."

122 133 At the time I visited Hunza, maps of the Kashmir and Jammu and Gilgit agencies were hard to come by and anyone holding them might be arrested and charged with being a spy by the military authorities in Pakistan or India, because that area is zealously guarded by both sides.

It was a major operation to get a map of that area showing the various territories, the peaks and the ranges and such, but with the aid of a good friend I managed to procure a very good one.

133 For anyone interested in mountains, glaciers, hidden valleys and such things as dreams are made of, this map makes fabulous reading and studying. Besides, you can daydream away pleasant, carefree, happy hours like mad, if so inclined. Try it! Your cares will float away like bubbles!

122 Profiting from the mistakes of the past, when we found a nice cool comfortable spot, we stopped to rest and munched on the sandwiches that were so kindly prepared by the Mir's staff for us to take along. They were put into a little tin box where they kept in good shape. I would have liked to eat more of the sandwiches but after I gave one to Cec and had one myself, I passed the rest along to the guides and bearers. (Jahangir carried his own provisions.)

126 "nothing" where the ledge once led . . . a few well
192 appointed steel rods forced into fissures being the total
491 support. As yet I have failed to discover or learn the proper word describing these galleries.

114 I must admit that many or most of the errors or misconceptions concerning Hunza are due to the fact that insufficient time was spent by some of the writers who visited Hunza.

At first it was my wish to pass by this chapter on misconceptions because I did not feel that I should be involved in a hassle with other writers. But then I asked myself if I had any doubts as to whether or not I was right. And this made me feel that I definitely wanted to write the chapter on misconceptions.

It is not my intent or desire to be contradictory nor arbitrary. I am not seeking to pick a quarrel with anyone. But the facts and statements herein related are based on my seeing, hearing, research, questioning and investigating.

I have tried to make my book as accurate as humanly possible. And if and when errors are found, I trust they will be brought quite forcibly to my attention. I would like to believe that if I can dish it out, I can take it, too!

134 *Fertile valleys*—Some writers have referred to various valleys in Hunza as fertile valleys. By the standards to which we are accustomed, there is not one single fertile valley in all of Hunza. That the soil is productive and the valley green and beautiful, no one will deny. But at best the soil in Hunza is shallow and to be productive, it must be maintained assiduously. I repeat, in Hunza there are no such things as naturally fertile valleys as compared, for example, to parts of the Willamette Valley in Oregon.

131 *Hunza is scarcely* 60 *miles long,* says one writer. An-
133 other says it is 80 miles long and elsewhere I saw it

mentioned as being 100 miles long. 131

A few miles above the spot where the Hunza River meets the Gilgit is a village called Secunderabad. It is here that Hunza begins and if you follow the Hunza River up to its source beyond Misgar, almost on the Chinese border, where it springs from a glacier, you will find in following the contours of the river that the country is almost 200 miles long. I have carefully checked this figure with the best authorities—the Mir being one of them—and I found that the 200 mile figure was as close as it can possibly be measured. 133

They are Asians. Of course they are Asians because they dwell in Asia. But in appearance they are definitely unlike Asians. Without trying to sound dramatic or authoritative, the general appearance of the people of Hunza shows marked European characteristics. They are totally unlike the Indians, the Afghans or the Chinese. To me they looked like the Mediterranean peoples. At this stage I am not harping or relying on the fact that they claim to be descendants of Alexander the Great or some of his soldiers. 144

Primitive—Most writers refer to them as primitive people or say that their way of life is primitive. I will agree with the use of that term in describing the people of Hunza, if you will agree with me that the Christian world is primitive, because it too follows the teachings of the Bible which was written 3,000 or 4,000 years ago. It is agreed that the people of Hunza follow a primitive form of agriculture and use no chemical fertilizers or modern sprays and insecticides. But then, they don't need chemical insecticides and chemical fertilizers. They use no modern machinery on their small, hard won, shallow surfaced fields. Their conduits which guide the glacial waters to their fields are, I agree, primitive, but no better form is known anywhere. 105 105 241

487 I am sure that a people who saw these caravans coming
177 and going could not be called isolated by any stretch of the imagination. They just like their little piece of paradise too well to leave it.

133 *Hunza empties into the Indus.* Two famed writers who should know better . . . or should I say, should have checked more closely . . . made the statement that the Hunza River flows into the Indus. Even a cursory glance at a map would show that the Huhza empties into the Gilgit and the Gilgit empties into the Indus.

585 *Mother-in-law taken along on honeymoon*—This bit of stupidity, or should I say absurdity, appeared in no less than two of the foremost publications in America.

Who ever heard of a honeymoon in Hunza? Not having a Niagara Falls, probably they'd go up and sit on top of Rakaposhi with the mother-in-law between them to cool their ardor.

When the Mir made this statement, he was joking, never believing for a moment that anyone would take such a broad joke as being factual.

481 *Hunzans walk 60 to 100 miles as though it were*
147 *nothing.* In fact, one author stated somewhere that the Hunzans could walk 60 miles easier than she could walk upstairs.

I will readily grant that I believe the Hunzan people are the world's best walkers and well they would have to be, because there just happens to be no other mode of locomotion. I'll even go further and say that all through my travels in that territory I did not once see a Hunzan man, or for that matter a Nagirwal, who appeared to be worn from the rugged walks and climbs. So it is clear that they have tremendous reserves of energy and stamina . . . but let's not go overboard!

486 *Anyone can visit Hunza.* Contrary to the assertion
114 made by one writer that anyone can get into Hunza, I

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[P 38]

[caption appears at the bottom of photograph on p. 39-A]

B.Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AVT Burnbo AVT
Hunza
[P.39-A]

Hunza in the Himalayas

Storied Shangri-La undergoes scrutiny

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TERRACED country, *left*, is ruled by the Mir, shown with village chiefs, above, at his palace at 8,000 feet altitude. Background peaks exceed 20,000 feet.

RCTask N-5 (1949-1951) 1953
AV7 Barnabo AV7
Hanna
[P.49-A]
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3J2
3J5
5J6

FAMILY LIFE on Hanna's flat roofs bespeaks the country's dry climate and the cramped quarters that prevail inside a typical stone abode, forcing inhabitants to seek increased living space in the open. A meal is being prepared, above.

169 into the "lion, barrel chests" reported
196 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the lion, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of bronchitis, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[19] hard-working, but with their country.
[36] There is no flat land in all of Hunza.
[37] Villages and farms are built on alluvial cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[62] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
24 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a concrete-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-caked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders, gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[35] cool but exceedingly dry desert, pra-
[36] ctically no plant food is formed. The
[37] scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the sponge sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

4c Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusha AV7

181 329 ness of their uncomfortable houses leaves an indelible mark on the national character.

342 It must be remembered that a house in the [351] Hindu-Kush has no glass windows, no comfortable fire-place and chimney corner. The better-class houses are built round a courtyard, but the rooms rarely have windows, all light comes from the 354 open door or from a skylight. Immediately below 352 the skylight is a square open hearth, on which smoulders a fire; round this run raised platforms, on which are the beds and household paraphernalia; the smoke, before escaping through the roof, fills the whole room, blackens walls and pillars, and chokes the un- 132 fortunate inhabitants. If it is very cold, or raining and snowing heavily, the skylight is shut, the room is in pitchy darkness but for a sputtering torch, and the atmosphere horrible. It is no wonder that an existence under these circumstances should be rather depressing, and in Nagar the people get the full benefit of it, for there are several villages which during December and January only get twenty 421 minutes' sun a day; some, I believe, get none. The men having no agricultural work on hand, owing to the land being frost-bound, there is practically nothing for them to do during the winter months but to sit idly round their smouldering fires for about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.

133 Nagar has practically no outlet except down the 417 river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there is only the bare possibility of reaching 417 Baltistan by the Hispar pass: there is a tradition that the road was once used, but it is very doubtful if

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

when he smiled, but with generally a boorish and sulky expression. He received us very cordially, and after we had breakfasted under a fine plane tree he came and discussed affairs. I could see that my main difficulty would be to persuade my new friends that we had come to Gilgit to stay. Biddulph's withdrawal had made them very chary of having anything to do with us. 644

I examined the country very carefully as we marched, and noted the difficulty of the great ravine behind Nilt, which three years later was to baffle for eighteen days the attack of our troops. On the whole the road was better than I expected, and it seemed to me, as I find noted in my diary, "that a decently-armed and led force should not have much difficulty in forcing its way in." My hosts were not averse to my sketching, and I had a road sketch and report made every day, but I did not like to make too much of it, and contented myself personally with noting the positions and the chances of attack they offered. The conclusion I eventually arrived at was that the Hunza-Nagar country presented the most appalling difficulties, and that, with well-armed men holding the country, an advance into it would be terribly costly. 133 487

The views of Rakapushi were very fine, though not so grand as I had hoped, for we were marching too close under it. Still, a mountain rising nineteen thousand feet above you, and over twenty-five thousand feet in height, must be fine when you get a glimpse of it. The next day's march was, however, far more striking; the road rose over gigantic moraine masses, crossing ravine after ravine

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

133 seven and eight hundred feet deep, each one filled
487 up by the end of a glacier, the main mass of which was out of sight. We passed through numerous
361 villages whose cultivation, carried far up the moun-
241 tain side, was of the richest. Each village was surrounded by fruit trees, and poplar, plane, and
[712] walnut trees abounded. Every village was either enclosed in a large square fort, with towers at each corner, or had a fort close to it.

133 The third day took us into Nagar. On leaving camp we crossed a great shingle slope, nearly a mile in length, at a point hundreds of feet above the river. Huge cliffs crowned the slope, and made this one of the most difficult pieces of road, from a military point of view, that we had yet passed. During our two last marches we saw conglomerate cliffs and rocks full of garnets, some very fine white sandstone, and in one place a cliff of clay, which was said to be full of
[361] gold. Nagar lies off the main valley, some three
[241] miles up another stream, and the last few miles into it the road ran almost without interruption through cultivation. The fruit trees were a sight to see, apricot trees bending under a burden of red gold fruit, their harvest just beginning, and every house roof, and any other available flat space, was covered with the fruit drying in the sun. As we turned our backs on the main valley the view was superb.
133 Behind us Rukapushi rose in gigantic precipices of
241 thousands of feet of snow and ice, while across the
361 river above Hunza towered another great mountain, its crest broken by sharp granite peaks on which no snow can rest. Its lower spurs are jagged and bare, and below them lay a large semi-circle, one mass of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

villages and of cultivation, the terraced fields carried 133
right down into the river bed. Hunza itself lies on 241
the right bank of a ravine ending in a dark glacier, 361
from whose melting ice is supplied the channel which waters the whole of the Hunza cultivation. The houses of the main village are clustered tier upon tier on a high spur crowned by the Thum's Castle. The arrangement at Nagar is precisely the same.

Our entry into Nagar was very similar to my last 644
year's entry into Chitral, only that the crowd was on a smaller scale, the courtiers not so numerous or so brilliantly arrayed. Still it was picturesque enough; before us rode a man bearing a scarlet and white banner; around us, wherever the road permitted, was the gay crowd in Bokhara silks or dirty woollen home-spun. The usual irregular salute was fired as we reached the polo ground, and the band made discordant music. Raja Jafr Khan could not receive me, being paralysed, so we moved without further ceremony into our camp by the polo ground, preceded by Raja Uzr Khan, who showed, by riding before us, a lack of breeding which scandalised the other Rajas, and which compared very unfavourably with the Mehtar of Chitral's courtesy.

Next morning I paid my state visit to Raja Jafr 644
Khan. The road runs up through the village to the 342
Thum's Castle, under a succession of easily defensible doorways, which would make an assault very difficult for bad troops or local enemies. The Palace stairs consisted of the trunk of a tree with notches cut in it, which led up through a square hole in the floor to the terraced rooms above. In this, as in every other house I ever entered in these wilds, the last two of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

133

ABOVE NAGAR, END OF THE GREAT GLACIER.

[facing p. 154]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

●133 We paid several visits to the great glacier which comes to within two or three miles of Nagar from the mountains to the south. It was at this time, late in August, very black and dirty, a mass of irregular columns and broken surfaces, with only one clean white piece, that just above the ice arch, through which the torrent forced its way out. I had no time to go further up the valley, though I should much have liked to have gone up another sixteen miles to see the Hispar glacier, that wonderful stream of ice, forty miles long from the crest of the pass to the foot of the glacier, which at one time must have reached Nagar itself.

The whole country about Nagar and Hunza is carved out by glacier action; gigantic moraines, the skeletons of dead and gone glaciers, meet you on all sides; above Nagar is a wild tangle of ground, where three huge glaciers fought for the mastery; above Hunza, lakebeds and moraines meet you at every turn. Conway's book and beautiful maps have lifted the veil which obscured one's knowledge of this great glacier land, but at the time I looked on it first there was but little information about it. There was the tradition that an easy road existed over the Hispar pass into Baltistan, to which the people attached sufficient importance to fortify certain positions during the late troubles with Kashmir, fearing an invasion from that side. But to me, as we gazed up the long swell of the glacier towards the well-named Golden Parri—a mass of mountain twenty miles to the south-east of Nagar which dominates the glacier streams below, and whose gigantic precipices take the most splendid colouring from the westering sun—it was a

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

133 land of silent mystery. Looking up from our vantage ground above the glacier, it was obvious that the ice rivers had receded, and, judging from the people's traditions at no distant date, leaving gigantic moraines to the south and in the direction of Hispar.

241 The road to this point from Nagar was very pretty, running entirely through cultivation and orchards, and occasionally under the walls of a village fort. The people were evidently very hard working, and the cultivation and labour expended on walling the fields
609 was most thorough. At some villages they used to bring us out presents of fruit, and at all they were civil and pleasant. They are a nice people, and independent. One old man was very indignant at the men with us for passing along the edge of his
651 field where there was no footpath. We came in one place on an amusing instance of the world-wide tendency to scamp Government work. We were crossing a field which I noticed was very badly gleaned, and I asked the reason. I was told it was one of the Thum's, and that, as the villagers had to cultivate and reap it for him, they did not take as much trouble as if it had been their own.

533 A boy came along with us one day, and played on a long pipe with a very sweet note. It was quite a pastoral. The last we saw of him he was wandering below us on a classic lawn, by the side of a stream which ran flecked with sunlight under the shadow of great walnut trees, playing his pipe, whose plaintive notes floated up to us, mingled with the murmur of
301 the water. His dard cap was ornamented with a garland of red and white flowers stuck into its folds.

000 I had to leave Nagar long before I had exhausted

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Ourusho AV7

I had to leave Nagar long before I had exhausted the objects of interest, and many places had perforce to be left unvisited. The morning we left we plunged down below the fort for several hundred feet to the rope bridge which spans the gorge of the Nagar stream. It was a nasty bridge, with very steep slopes, and I thought one of the servants had gone, for he stumbled badly; but he recovered himself, and merely dropped a bundle he was for some reason carrying, which went floating down amongst masses of ice which, broken from the glacier above, were dancing down the furious stream. There was a stiff climb up a couple of thousand feet to the crest of the ridge between the two streams, and an equally steep descent down to the Hunza river. The approach to the bridge, which springs from two great masses of rock on each side of the river, is villainous, over smooth rock and by pathways a few inches wide, kept bad for safety's sake. We were met by various deputations—one shortly after entering Hunza territory, a second at the bridge, a third on the Hunza bank, and I found it was arranged that we should camp directly we got to the top of the cliff above the river, and that we should make our state entry next day. Accustomed to these ceremonious delays from my experience of Chitral, I agreed.

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Next morning we started at about half-past seven in uniform, and rode up through the terraced cultivation to the polo ground. Here we were requested to halt, while our salute was being fired by the Wazir in person, he being the only man who could be trusted to fire the gun. It was a gun with a history, which had been cast by a refugee from Wakhan, all the brass household implements in the country having

Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

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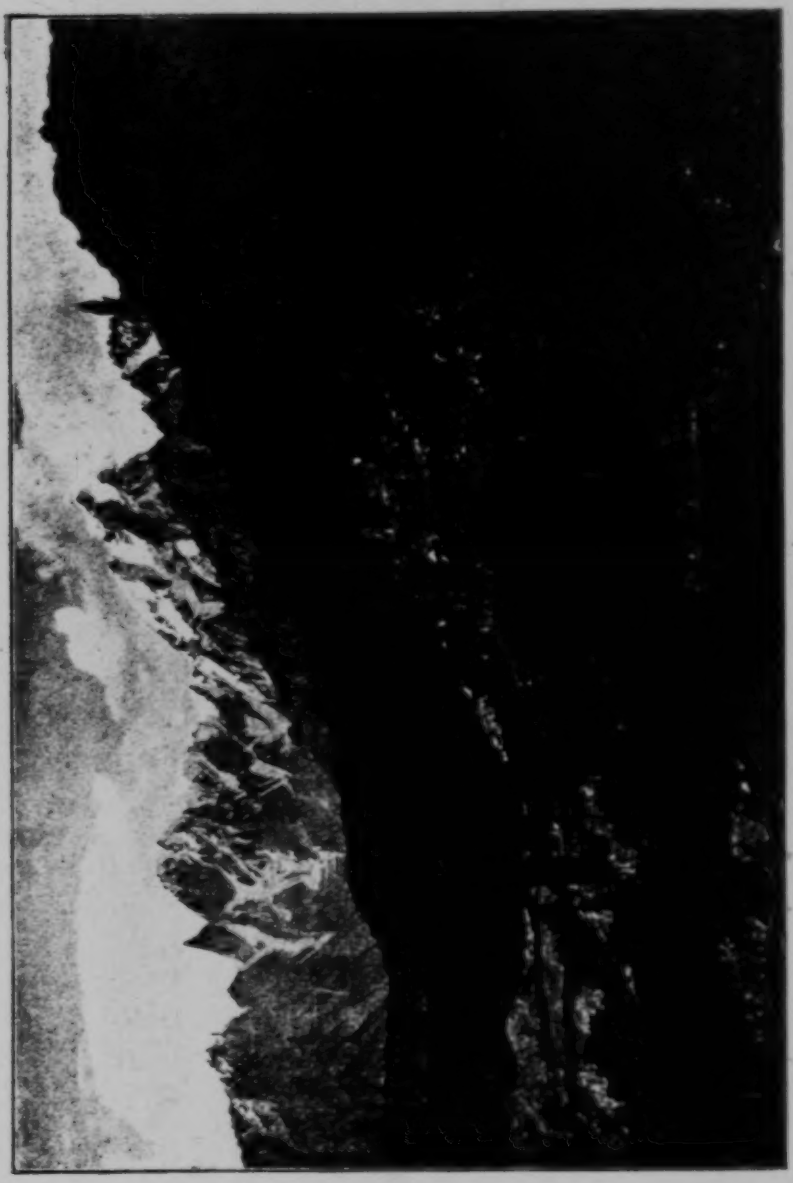

THE MOUNTAINS BEHIND HUNZA. FROM ABOVE NAGAR.

[facing p. 160

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burushaski

The latter is a hostage in Kashmir, to secure the good behaviour of his tribe, which is really infinitely superior in culture and piety to those around them. The father, who is over 90, writes in Persian to the following effect, after the usual compliments :—" The affairs of this place are by your fortune in a fair way, and I am in good health and constantly ask the same for you from the Throne which grants requests. Your kind favour with a drawing of the Mosque has reached me, and has given me much pleasure and satisfaction. The reason of the delay in its receipt and acknowledgment is due to the circumstance that, owing to disturbances (*fesád*) I have not sent agents to Kashmir this year. After the restoration of peace, I will send [a letter] with them. In the meanwhile, I have caught your hem [seek your protection] for my son Habibullah Khan, a beloved son, about whom I am anxious; the aforesaid son is a well-wisher to the illustrious English Government. —ZA'FAR KHAN." [The letter was apparently written in June last, when *The Times* reported a "rising," because the British Agent was at Chalt with 500 men.]

It seems to me that none but a farseeing man could, in the midst of a misunderstanding, if not a fight, with us, so write to one in the enemy's camp, unless he were a true man alike in war and peace, and a ruler whose good-will was worth acquiring. As for his son, I know him to be indeed well-disposed to our Government. He was very popular among our officers when I saw him in Kashmir, owing to his modesty, amiability, and unsurpassed excellence at Polo. In fact, my friendship with several of the chiefs since 1866 has aided our good relations with them; and it is a pity if they should be destroyed for want of a little "*savoir*," as also "*savoir faire*," on our part.

Between the States of Nagyr and Hunza there exists a perpetual feud. They are literally rivals, being separated by a swift-flowing river on which, at almost regulated distances, one Nagyr fort on one bank frowns at the Hunza fort on the other. The paths along the river sides

1: Leitner L-3 (1888-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
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133 are very steep, involving at times springing from one ledge of a rock to another, or dropping on to it from a height of six feet, when, if the footing is lost, the wild torrent sweeps
181 one away. Colonel Biddulph does not credit the Nagyris with bravery. History, however, does not bear out his statement; and the defeat inflicted on the Kashmir troops under Nathu Shah in 1848 is a lesson even for the arrogance of a civilized invader armed with the latest rifle.
[533] The Nagyris are certainly not without culture; in music they were proficient before the Muhammadan piety of the Shiah sect somewhat tabooed the art. At all events, they are different in character from the Hunzas with whom they share the same language, and their chiefs the same ancestry.
72 The Hunzas, in whom a remnant of the Huns may be
567 found, were great kidnappers; but under Kashmir influence they stopped raiding since 1869, till the confusion incidental to our interference revived their gone occupation. Indeed, it is asserted on good authority, that even our ally of Chitrál, who had somewhat abandoned the practice of selling his Shiah or Kalásha Kafir subjects into slavery, and who had so disposed of the miners for not working his ruby mines to profit, has now returned to the trade in men, "with the aid of our present of rifles and our moral support." Nor is Bokhara said to be behind Chitrál in the revival of the slave-trade from Darwáz, in spite of Russian influence; so that we have the remarkable instance of two great Powers both opposed to slavery and the slave-trade, having revived it in their approach to one another. Nor is a third Power, quite blameless in the matter; for when we worried Hunza, that robber-nest remembered its old allegiance to distant Kitái and arranged with the Chinese authorities at Yarkand to be informed of the departure of a caravan. Then, after intercepting it on the Kulanukli road, the Hunzas would take those they kidnapped from it back for sale to Yarkand!

000 As a matter of fact, we have now a scramble for the regions surrounding and extending into the Pamirs by

~~Mr Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 All Afghanistan MT~~
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AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

rocky ledges, sometimes letting oneself down nearly to the water's edge, then ascending 300 or 400 feet above the stream, holding on by corners of rock, working along rocky shelves 3 or 4 inches wide, and round projecting knobs and corners where no four-footed animal less agile than a wild goat could find a path. D 133

Immediately above the bend of the river is the district of Chaprot, consisting of the fort and village of that name and three other villages. This has always been a fruitful source of contention among the rulers of the three states of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, between which it is situated, principally on account of the fort, which, according to local ideas, is impregnable. It is situated in the angle formed by the junction of two streams, with high precipitous banks, and can therefore only be approached from one side. It has belonged in turns to all three states, but at present is garrisoned by Cashmere troops. Continuing up the valley to the eastward, at about 52 miles from Gilgit, the residences of the rulers of the two states of Hunza and Nager are reached, the river forming the boundary between the wild two. D 361 648 B 121 361

The view of the great Rakiposh Mountain from the north side is truly striking. From the water's edge it rises without a break for 19,000 feet to its topmost peak, which is over 25,000 feet above the sea-level. Its lofty sides, girdled with dark pine forest and seamed with glaciers and *mers-de-glace*, some of which reach nearly down to the water's edge, overlook numerous fertile settlements which are nourished by streams flowing from the great mountain. Above the forests extensive fields of snow sparkle and glitter in the summer sun, while, overtopping all, great points of granite, on whose steep sides the snow can scarce find a resting-place, give emphasis and unity to a scene not easily forgotten. B 133

Above Hunza the course of the river, which rises in the Hindoo Koosh, lies entirely in Hunza territory. The people of these two states, of whom so little is known, have been counted as mere robber tribes, who have brought themselves into notice by their depredations on the caravans between Yarkund and Leh. This is, however, scarcely a just estimation of them. They are of the same stock as the people of Yassin, Ponyal, and the majority of the people of Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys. So far from being mere robber tribes, they are settled agricultural communities, living under rulers who boast of their long unbroken descent from princes of native blood. Hemmed in by lofty mountains, they are B 721 B 144 B 173 186

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4 AV3 Dard

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When Cashmere authority was temporarily expelled from Gilgit, between 1852 and 1860, communication with Nager was maintained by this road. In the prosperous times of the Shin rule, the Thums of Nager acknowledged the Ras of Gilgit as their feudal superiors, and tradition relates that the villages of Nilt, Gulmit, Toll, and Pussunt, which now belong to Nager, were given as dowries to different Thums who married daughters of the Trakhané. At the time of the Sikh occupation of Gilgit a very close connection existed between the rulers of the two states of Gilgit and Nager. Between Hunza and Nager a great rivalry, which has frequently resulted in open hostility, has always existed, but they are generally ready to combine against an external foe. Though possessing a common origin, the people of Nager are distinguished for timidity and incapacity for war, and no instance is recorded of their being victorious over their rivals of Hunza, at whose hands they have suffered many disastrous defeats. The people of Nager are Shiahs, and slavery does not exist among them. Since 1868 Nager has been tributary to Cashmere, to which it makes an annual payment of twenty-one tolas of gold and two baskets of apricots. 648 186 [795]

Between the two states the river flows between perpendicular banks, 300 feet high and 600 feet apart at the top. The banks can only be ascended in a few places, which are carefully guarded. 131

Hunza, which comprises a considerable extent of territory, has an agricultural population of about 6,000 souls. North of the great range of peaks which bisects the principality from south-east to north-west the country opens out into rolling grass steppes, supporting a scattered pastoral population. Here the great wild sheep (*O. Poli*) roams in large herds. This tract is known as Little Goohjal, to distinguish it from Wakhan, which, south of the Hindoo Koosh, is known as Goohjal proper. 133 [161]

From the north-east the Shimshal stream, draining the valley of that name, brings down a great volume of water in summer, and effectually closes all access from the south, except to men on foot. The only direct route in summer to the Shimshal Valley from the south, is by the high and difficult Moorkôn Pass, which is only open for two months in the year. From the head of the Shimshal Valley a road, only passable for men on foot, leads to Koolanoolds in the Yarkund Valley. It was by this road that attacks on the caravans were organised. Another route leads by a somewhat 487

The Bibliotheca G-3 (1875-1878) 1880 ~~AUS Afghanistan AUS~~
4 AVJ Dard, Burusl. Av7

of "striking the road." The Nager people were never concerned in these raids. 721

With the former rulers of Gilgit the people of Hunza seem to have lived on tolerably good terms, rendering them a nominal allegiance in the days of their prosperity, but asserting their independence as the later Trakhane Ras grew weak. The Sikh and Dogra governors found their most troublesome enemies in Hunza, against which country they never gained a single success. Hunza raids against Gilgit villages were incessant, till in revenge an expedition was organised in 1848 by Nuthoo Shah, the first Sikh governor of Gilgit. Falling into an ambuscade, Nuthoo Shah and Karim Khan, the Ra of Gilgit, were both slain, and their army defeated with serious loss. In the beginning of 1865 a second attempt was made in alliance with the ruler of Nager, whose lukewarmness or treachery caused the expedition to fail. In the succeeding year a third attempt was made, but the Nager ruler's treachery was now evident, and while the Hunza force looked on from across the river, a skirmish took place between the *quondam* allies, in which the Dogra governor was badly wounded. The unexpected defection of their allies and the loss of their leader so disheartened the Dogras that the whole force took to flight, and reached Gilgit with the loss of only two men. Their artillery, which had been at first abandoned, was recovered by the presence of mind of one of the Dogra officers, who, with a few men, preserved the semblance of order in their retreat. The expedition having been undertaken without permission from Jummoo, the governor was recalled and his proceedings ignored. 648

In 1869 the raids from Hunza were at last put an end to by the present Thum consenting to yield allegiance and pay a yearly tribute of two horses, two hounds, and twenty ounces of gold-dust, which has since been paid regularly.

The elevation of Hunza is 8,400 feet. It may be described as an elongated crescent with the points towards the south, formed by the hills receding from the river. At each end is a strong torrent flowing from the glaciers on the peaks, which are just visible to the north. The cultivation extends about 7 miles in length by 1½ in depth. This is terraced down to the river, but in parts is broken and undulating. It is divided into eight districts,—Naraydass, Assanabad, Doorkun, Hyderabad, Aliabad, Ganish, Baltit, and Altit. Each district has its own fort. Baltit is the Thum's residence. The ground is thickly wooded, and the whole eastern end is 133 241 631 241

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
335 through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
322 duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and independent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully
291 terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the
415 cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very
415 scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also
233 the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

131 Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River from Secunderabad to the Chinese border, a distance of somewhere around 200 miles, but no one has ever actually measured it. At the narrowest point it is less than half a mile wide. At its broadest, it is not quite [133] two miles. Usually the only piece of flat land in a village [134] is the polo field. Good, rich, deep soil as Westerners know it is absolutely unknown in Hunza.

311 Whenever a house is built here, they seldom ever use [361] a piece of fertile soil or soil of any kind. They usually erect it on rock or on a steep hillside where that piece of land could not have been used for agriculture anyway.

[241] Practically every bit of farm land is terraced. It can be said, it is actually cut out of the rocks of the mountainside which is the north bank of the Hunza River.

[134] Of the total length of 200 miles, only a small fraction is at all arable. Most of it is solid rock or terrain so steep that horticulture of any nature is impossible.

312 Rainfall is scanty. They cannot depend upon it at all [132] for crops. In order to get sufficient water, hand built and similarly maintained conduits bring water down [241] from glaciers. These conduits are carefully erected and trained to run alongside the villages where the water can be trapped to flow where desired and used to irrigate their lands, also for drinking and all other necessary purposes.

There are four main conduits in Hunza and they are as follows:

Murku—This is at the highest level of all the aqueducts and carries the most water.

Barbar—Supplies the Baltit-Altit area.

Dala—This is the longest—extends as far as Aliabad. Supplies Kerimabad.

Hamachi—The smallest which runs as far as the tiny village Ganesh, located on a cliff's edge.

There is more wheat grown in Hunza than any other single grain crop. Therefore the wheat they use must be one of the vitally important contributors to the health of these people. 243 [164]

If you will take time to study the habits or the peculiarities concerning the growing of wheat, you will quickly learn that wheat will not grow on poor or unbalanced soils. One of the first things that my father taught me many long years ago was that your best land must be used if you want to grow a good crop of wheat. Rye or barley, he told me, you can grow most anywhere, but wheat is funny. If the nutrients aren't there in the soil, the wheat will not grow and your crop will be a failure. All through my travels in Nagir and Hunza I saw wheat and it looked good. It wasn't the same tall wheat that we grow in the Canadian West, but it was wheat and the yield was comparatively bountiful, which means that the Hunzan soil must contain the required nutrients—and to grow wheat, there are many.

Therefore there is a direct connection between the nutrient contents of the soil of Hunza and the wheat that it grows, the flour that they use, the bread that they eat and the health of these people.

Here and now I want to explain that I am not making decisions for anyone. I am trying to lay down the facts as I found them. As stated above, in order to grow good wheat or even to grow wheat at all, the soil must contain all of its required nutrients. It is obvious, therefore, that the soil has the required nutrients and as all of the Hunzan soil is shallow, these nutrients must be regularly reincorporated into the soil. 243 134

I have already related that everything that is taken from the soil is returned to the soil by the natives. Consequently we know that nothing is lost. Hunza does not export food. That I know, because there is barely 243 [439]

241 minerals and by allowing these glacial streams to be spread over the soil, the nutrients are left in the soil as the water soaks into it.

The principle of returning to the land that which belongs to the land has been and is, at the present time, scrupulously followed. The only farm implement which [407] I could find on the Hunzan farms was the primitive [492] plow and invariably it was pulled by a bullock. The plowing is never deep and is practiced chiefly to sort of clean the field, cover the organic matter that has been spread upon it or left upon it and prepare the field for the next crop.

[464] All the work that has to be done is done by hand—with or without the assistance of domesticated farm animals. There is no substitute for manual labor and the men, women and even young children share in the farm work.

[137] From what I could observe, weeds were not a problem and the reasons are clear. There are few indigenous, native plants in the area. Practically all of the growing plants that I could spy were in cultivated areas. The maxim in Hunza evidently is if a place can grow weeds, then it should be cultivated and usually that principle is followed. This all adds up to the fact that there are few weed seeds distributed in the area and therefore they are not in the soil to spring up, whenever the farmer's back is turned.

[134] I want to stress once more that the mineral requirements of the fields of the Hunza farmer are met and replenished by the fine silt, ground by the glaciers from the rocky surfaces and carried down to the Hunza farmers by the conduits and spread on their land.

Our modern civilization attaches great importance to and stresses the value of flavor and appearance in

136 pigeons and doves. They also vouch for the fact that sparrows, skylarks, nightingales, canaries, magpies, falcons and hawks were part of the common scene throughout the district.

The P.A. told me that on his hunting excursions he has on a few occasions come across both brown and black bears and I know there are also leopards, because the P.A. presented me with the hide of one of them, which now graces the living room of my son's home.

Inasmuch as small animals are concerned, I don't think you'd find too many. They like to go where food is more readily available than is the case in the sparsely vegetated Hunza area.

[134] I don't think burrowing animals would be common to the district, because one can't very readily burrow through rock, and that is what 99% of the Hunza terrain consists of.

231 Incidentally, the goats that are kept by the Hunzan farmers are not by any stretch of the imagination similar to the larger ibex that are found in the hills. The Hunza goat is a diminutive fellow that is bred for its dwarfness and ability to give lots of milk for its size.

223 224 Apart from the fall duck hunt when myriads are felled, and the occasional hunt with shikari to bring down the renowned ovis poli (Marco Polo sheep) from the 18,000 foot pinnacles, Hunza cannot be called a hunter's paradise.

126 "nothing" where the ledge once led . . . a few well
192 appointed steel rods forced into fissures being the total
441 support. As yet I have failed to discover or learn the proper word describing these galleries.

114 I must admit that many or most of the errors or misconceptions concerning Hunza are due to the fact that insufficient time was spent by some of the writers who visited Hunza.

At first it was my wish to pass by this chapter on misconceptions because I did not feel that I should be involved in a hassle with other writers. But then I asked myself if I had any doubts as to whether or not I was right. And this made me feel that I definitely wanted to write the chapter on misconceptions.

It is not my intent or desire to be contradictory nor arbitrary. I am not seeking to pick a quarrel with anyone. But the facts and statements herein related are based on my seeing, hearing, research, questioning and investigating.

I have tried to make my book as accurate as humanly possible. And if and when errors are found, I trust they will be brought quite forcibly to my attention. I would like to believe that if I can dish it out, I can take it, too!

134 *Fertile valleys*—Some writers have referred to various valleys in Hunza as fertile valleys. By the standards to which we are accustomed, there is not one single fertile valley in all of Hunza. That the soil is productive and the valley green and beautiful, no one will deny. But at best the soil in Hunza is shallow and to be productive, it must be maintained assiduously. I repeat, in Hunza there are no such things as naturally fertile valleys as compared, for example, to parts of the Willamette Valley in Oregon.

131 *Hunza is scarcely* 60 *miles long*, says one writer. An-
133 other says it is 80 miles long and elsewhere I saw it

[P44-8]

189 into the "lion, barrel chests" reported
196 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the lion, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[10] hard-working, but with their country. There is no flat land in all of Hunza.
[36] Villages and farms are built on alluvial
[2] cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[62] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
24 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-caked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the river water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is then not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders, gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[32] cold but exceedingly dry desert, pra-
[13] tically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

● 134 311 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If you irrigate new land, you must not for five years remove here also."

24 134 [33] HUNZAS are skilled at building a limited fertility into their sterile material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain snow to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants then have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrogen, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American farms. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 241 237 Even the most painstaking hydroponic gardening cannot compensate for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their extreme isolation makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy. [23] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefully herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 161 167 Unfortunately, the human population has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrants is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Shuwa predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men join the Pakistan army. Others take work as servants, where their honesty, industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

Sir Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUK Afghanistan AUK~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

173 proud of the independence they have always maintained, and
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4 [See I. Cunningham, A34 West Tibetan file -- Analyst]

than two cows. . . . You can work it out yourself. I'd like to give our litter louts a few years' training in Hunza.

Salt is a crying need in Hunza, and while down-country rock-salt can be obtained on payment from Gilgit, few families can afford to buy. Hence in the relatively idle days of early winter you will see parties of women and girls and boys scouring the mountain side high up, and tasting as they go, till they find a patch of ground that seems to have a trace of saltiness in it. They scoop up the full of their baskets and carry this earth home. When salt is wanted they mount a conical basket filled with the saline earth over some receiving vessel. By pouring water through, they get a discoloured fluid, containing heaven alone knows what (probably a minimum of sodium chloride), which they pour straight into the vegetable pot.

Another job which is kept for winter days is the making of new fields. It is all too true that the Hunzukuts have not enough water to serve their existing fields. But there are optimists who cannot resist the attraction of making a new field wherever they see a patch of ground that might with luck be irrigated in a good year. It's a serious business tackling a rocky bit of mountain side. You roughly plan your field and then start hacking out a great triangular gash at the upper side. It is full of stones and boulders which have to be removed; the smaller ones are set aside for the revetting walls; the larger ones are laboriously broken up with sledge-hammers (or blasted if you can get hold of a little gunpowder); the stony earth is carefully sifted into separate piles of varying degrees of fineness. Then the lower supporting wall is built to the level required, stones are thrown in for a foundation, next the coarser earth, and the surface is dressed with the finer. Field-making is the only occasion on which a barrow of any kind is of use. These barrows, of which in our whole time we only saw four, are the only wheeled vehicles known in Hunza. Whether the Hunzukuts invented them themselves or whether someone once saw a wheelbarrow in use elsewhere and imported the idea, who shall say? Anyhow, the Hunza wheelbarrow is a delightful affair. A sort of rude ladder with four or five rungs is made. A thick section of a tree trunk about

wards the maintenanceof the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to he traveling tinkers of Ireland.

The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in he blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually welded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil.

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chat and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh."

This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy.

Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

nearly as lax in their Mahomedanism as the people of Hunza. There is considerably more cultivation than in Hunza, the land is better watered, and the main slopes of the mountains enclosing the country face north, and are consequently covered with forest. The land has the full benefit of the summer sun, and the crops are splendid. The untold profusion of the apricots, and the quantity of gold which can be washed out of every stream, has gained the country amongst the Nagaris themselves the name of "the land of gold and apricots." The people, though of identically the same stock as those of Hunza, show marked differences. They are less warlike than their neighbours; they were never implicated in the raiding of caravans, owing principally perhaps to there being no outlet to the north or east leading to caravan tracks; they are, on the whole, better off, owing to the better agricultural conditions, and the possession of splendid grazing grounds; and last, but not least, slavery is unknown amongst them — that is, they would not brook their king selling them or their children, and the exile of the present ruler's eldest son is said to have been caused by his attempt to introduce the custom from Hunza. The men are not so bright and cheery as their Hunza cousins; they strike one as more sedate and morose, and their reputation for dash and gallantry is far lower. The reason they themselves assign for the difference, and the one generally accepted, is that in the winter, when the sun is in the south, the great mountains backing their valley shut out all the light and warmth, of which Hunza facing south enjoys the full benefit, and that the depressing effect of passing day after day in the cold and dark-

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1693? AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

little stones of any shape—the longest and oval ones being preferred—are used. There is one kind of stone especially which is much used for that purpose; it is called "Balósh Batt," which is found in Hanza, Nagyr, Skardo, and near the "Demídeldèn" hill already noticed, at a village called Pareshinghi near Astor. It is a very soft stone and large cooking utensils are cut out from it, whence the name, "Balósh" Kettle, "Batt" stone, "Balósh Batt." The stone is cut out with a chisel and hammer; the former is called "Gútt" in Astori and "Gukk" in Gilgiti;" the hammer "toá" and "Totshúng" and in Gilgiti "samdenn." The gunpowder is manufactured by the people themselves.*

The people also play at backgammon, [called in Astóri "Patshis," and "TAKK" in Gilgiti,] with dice [called in Astóri and also in Gilgiti "dall."]

Fighting with iron wristbands is confined to Chilasi women who bring them over their fists which they are said to use with effect.

The people are also fond of wrestling, of butting each other whilst hopping, etc.*

To play the Jew's harp is considered meritorious as King David played it. All other music good Mussulmans are bid to avoid.

The "Sitara" [the Eastern Guitar] used to be much played in Yassen, the people of which country as well as the people of Hunza and Nagyr excel in dancing, singing and playing. After them come the Gilgitis, then the Astoris, Chilasis, Baltis, etc. The people of Nagyr are a comparatively mild race. They carry on goldwashing which is constantly interrupted by kidnapping parties from

THE OPPOSITE PAGE.

* "Powder" is called "Jebuti" in Astóri and in Gilgiti "Bilen," and is, in both dialects, also the word used for medicinal powder. It is made of Sulphur, Saltpetre and coal. Sulphur = dantzil. Saltpetre = Shór in Astori, and Shorá in Gilgiti. Coal = Kári. The general proportion of the composition is, as my informant put it, after dividing the whole into six and a half parts to give 5 of Saltpetre, 1 of coal, and ½ of Sulphur. Some put less coal in, but it is generally believed that more than the above proportion of Sulphur would make the powder too explosive.

Sth Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AN3-Afghanistan-A171~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burusha AV7

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1 [See 1: Cunningham, A34 West Tibetan file -- Analyst]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 it, exactly over the main store-room below. There is no
parapet, only a tiny raised rim to direct the rain into a small
gutter-hole, on the rare occasions when there is rain; but it
has a fringe of cut thorn bushes arranged round the edge to
prevent an enterprising goat jumping across from the next-
351 door roof not many feet away. I didn't, however, go up on to
276 the roof, but on into a larger courtyard where there was a
pool in the corner at which their washing is done. They would
not dream of polluting the running water by washing them-
selves or their clothes in it as it flows by; they draw off what
they want for these purposes into a separate pond of their own.
351 Then under a large shady tree there was a raised stone plat-
513 form which acts as a "sofa" by day and as a double or treble
or quadruple bed by night—for, except in the depth of winter,
nobody sleeps indoors. There was another raised platform,
with a wall at the back and open in front and sides, roofed in
for another sleeping place. It had a railing along under the roof,
and over this were hung all sorts of padded quilts, homespun
• [136] blankets, sheepskins, etc.—the family bedding. All the bedding
is taken out and hung up every day, which helps to account
for the complete lack of vermin—which I confess came to us
as a happy surprise. In all our year in Hunza we saw only *one*
flea, and that, as David said, was emphatically our own!

245 Round the corner from these sleeping places I got into a
312 walled-in shady garden full of fruit trees—apples, mulberries,
peaches, apricots, and vines. It is incredible how luxurious
mere *shade* is at such a temperature. It wasn't remotely like a
garden in our sense. The earth was bare without one blade of
grass or green, and was all cut up into little beds round each
precious tree, with banks between them, so that the water
could be directed to each tree as desired, when it was No. 1's
514 turn to have water at all. In the far corner of the garden was
343 a neat little circular "open-air pulpit." We had seen these
pulpits dotted about, but—stupidly—did not at once guess
what they were for. Coming straight from Kashmir, where the
approach to each homestead is ankle deep in filth, or remem-
bering Arab habits in Iráq, we never expected that we should
find in Hunza a people as scrupulously decent as ourselves in

291 loan of it. In Kanizah's house (No. 3), though they are very, very poor, they are lucky enough to possess a woman's cloak of feather-wool. It looks extremely cosy and furry—though very old and greasy—with feathers sticking out all over it. When you can get enough down you spin the feathers in with the wool [36] before you weave it. You can only use the breast feathers of the wild duck for the purpose, and it must take a lot of wild duck, which are seasonal and rare, to yield enough for seven yards of feather cloth. This cloak of No. 3 is the only one we have seen. So we watch "the cloak" go out for walks—now on Zeníba, the cheery old mother, who is one of the few really ugly women here but who always wears a happy grin that would redeem any face, now on Apicho, the eldest unmarried daughter who seems to be always on the point of getting wed but always just failing for some reason to pull it off.

511 We eventually discovered the reason for No. 3's extreme and obvious poverty. Poor Zeníba had produced five girls, including a pair of twins, and only one boy, the second youngest child. Yaman (in full Ali Aman Shah) was one of our best boy friends, a bright, intelligent boy full of life and fun and knowledge, and good at all boys' games, but he was only ten or thereabouts, and not yet able to help his father in the heavier work of irrigating, wall building, ploughing, etc., and poor Ali Akbar looked worn and frail with six to provide for single-handed—not to mention the rare extravagance of the cat. Yaman manfully did all he could, and in addition when he could be spared from home trudged four mountain miles to Báltit to attend the school there with the Mir's grandsons and a few other ambitious boys. A great little fellow, with (as far as we could see) a hard enough life before him.

Yet No. 3 was one of the most cheerful and most hospitable houses round.

511 We supposed that Apicho's prospective bridegroom was as
585 poor as she, and when the two families came to tot up the
302 necessary wedding feasts they just couldn't face it. Certainly it had missed fire twice after we had heard that the date was fixed (you can in certain circumstances get from the Mir a special

2: Lorimer 7-8 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 26

DIGRESSION TO YASIN

We had intended to start on Friday, March 20th, but after a couple of hellish days packing, clearing up correspondence, developing, printing, washing photographs, and tidying the house so as to leave all in order for our absence, we found that we must postpone till Saturday. This apparently unimportant alteration in our plans caused evident jubilation amongst the servants. "Why are you all so pleased?" I asked Zaidu. "Well, you see, Mother, it is said not to be lucky to start downstream on a Friday; upstream is all right, but not down." I said that if they felt like that they should have told us and we should have gladly changed the day to oblige them. "What should you have done if we had insisted on starting on a Friday?" "Oh, we'd have managed all right. We'd have said good-bye and left our own houses and camped on Thursday night in your compound, and so we should not have had to *begin* the journey on Friday." Wonderful people! The few superstitions they half-heartedly indulge (which we suspect they have caught in this mild form from their superstition-ridden neighbours, the Shins) they are always prepared and able to outwit.

We got off at nine on March 21st in lovely weather, at once warm and cool. Quite a large crowd assembled to say good-bye and see us start, our friends shouting: "Come back soon. We shall miss you." As we rode through Murtazabad we saw the first occasional fruit blossoms and felt sad to be leaving Hunza behind in apricot time. Slight steam was rising from the sulphur springs by the river as we passed. Later, in Nagir, we saw the first wasps of the year and the first butter-

[134] flies—a copper-coloured fritillary and a tiny blue. The road was a very different proposition from what it had been as we 361 travelled up the previous July. From richly watered Minapin 487 we looked across the river to the Hunza village of Hindi with new eyes, for various fields were pointed out as belonging to one or another of our acquaintances. "Hindi is a fine place," they told us; adding without conscious irony: "There's hardly any water, but otherwise . . ." From the Nagir side the Hindi road looks pretty terrifying (as, of course, the Nagir road must also look from the Hunza side), but we were assured that it was really a better road; its only drawback is that there are fifty recognized spots on it subject to rock bombardments: a mere nothing amongst these ever-crumbling hills.

000 The onward journey was uneventful. At Sikandarabad and Chalt all the apricots were in full bloom—a glorious sight. After Chalt there was one part of the road completely buried under an avalanche which we had some difficulty in coaxing our horses over, we ourselves scrambling across on foot. A good deal of intermittent rain for a couple of days and a horrid ride in driving wind and sand on the last lap rather spoiled our ride to Gilgit. Just before we reached the Gilgit river we were staggered by a magnificent view of Nanga Parbat filling a whole triangular gap in the nearer mountains. Often as we had ridden this stretch before, we had never happened to see her like this.

In Gilgit (2,000 or 3,000 feet lower than Hunza) all the apricot blossom was already over, though a few peaches and apples were still in flower. We had a delightful (but from the work point of view wholly wasted) ten days in Gilgit. Nothing could have exceeded the kindness of Major and Mrs. Kirkbride, who put us up in the Agency House. It was odd to be quartered in the guest room of what had been for four years "our" house, and odder still, but delightful, to attend the Jalsa as guests and spectators instead of responsible hosts. The British officers as new friends and our old friends the Chiefs all treated us with the utmost kindness, and the ten-day holiday was extremely pleasant.

On April 4th we resumed our pilgrimage to Yasin. We imagined we had forgotten the road. Far from it: every detail

it to be ground. But "Starvation Springtime" was still ruling the land, and we noticed the children looking very thin and peaky, and a few with sores on their faces—hunger sores. We had often remarked on the complete absence of skin diseases amongst these cleanly folk, and the hunger sores rapidly disappeared with the coming of more food.

The opening of June saw weeding being very intensively carried out, not only for the sake of the growing crops, but for the weeds' own sake; those which were dubbed "crows' vegetables" were thrown to the sheep and goats, while sorrel and the like found their way into the family cooking-pot. Irrigation questions were now serious, for the crops must not be starved of water at the critical moment, and we used to meet bands of Aliábádkuts armed with shovels walking out the eight or more miles to the highest point of the Dála to guard and govern the controlling sluices. The potatoes were now beginning to flower and the mulberries to show signs of ripening, and the air was rent by shrill boy and girl noises designed to scare the birds off the mulberry trees. Every boy was armed with his catapult bow, made and strung of course by his own hands. I asked Yaman how many birds he had killed with his little stones: "Seventy-two, so far this season, Mother, but I'll get lots more." "What do you do with them?" "Oh, I take them home and put them in the pot, but there's not much meat on them." Our first impression of Hunza had been that, except for magpies, it was an entirely birdless land; this was a mistake. Migratory birds came in flocks at various seasons when any sort of likely food was going. Their various species I was not ornithologist enough to know; to me, as to A. J. Balfour, each was just "an average small bird," and the Hunza terminology was no great help to identification, for they were known as "mulberry birds," "barley birds," or the like, according to which crop they threatened. We now also for the first time saw shorn goats. Whereas the Hunza sheep are robbed of their wool just whenever wool is needed, so that you never see a really generous-looking ample fleece, the goats are shorn only once a year, in early summer. If you think of it, goat's hair would be too wiry to spin at all unless it were a decent length.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry tree silently munching unripe fallen fruit, but the most pathetic sight was groups of little girls crouched beside a water-channel scooping out sand and mud and forming it into various types of breads and cakes which they pretended to "bake like Mother." They knew nothing of modern psychology, and were unaware that we interpreted their poor little mud pies as wish-fulfilments.

Cuckoos and larks were now filling the air with welcome, strangely home-like sounds.

One day the news of the Quetta earthquake reached us by telephone and spread dismay in twenty homes which had sons in British service there. How to get news? Mercifully the suspense was not prolonged. Thanks to the humane arrangements which allowed survivors to telegraph free, a telegram was telephoned through from one of the Hunza men to say that he and all his compatriots had escaped, owing to the fact that they were all employed by officers of the Staff College. It would be blasphemy to suppose that those were all unrighteous on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, but we could hardly resist a suspicion that the God of Earthquakes shared something of our feeling for the folk of Hunza.

It was the very end of June before the Barley Harvest was in sight, but as the time approached nearer and nearer, by painfully slow degrees, we saw women and girls devoting all their spare time to making new caps for the jollifications of Ginání, and the men, who are not a whit less vain, were already sporting bright new shirts in anticipation. We came on Kaníza and Apícho putting the last touches on a cap made of some scraps of Tootal material which I had given to Kaníza to dress the new doll that Yaman had made for her. They were weaving the braid edging straight on to the cap, stitching it on as they wove. The method was interesting: six long coarse crimson threads are made fast by both ends to the edge of the double cap—outside, and slightly padded lining. The stitcher holds the cap inside out. The braider sits near and takes the six long loops of equal length, passing three over the fingers of the right and three over the fingers of the left hand; then she slips the left-hand loops on to the right-hand fingers, deftly lifts the

000 *badaŋ gutsʼsrumer* when they have preceeded seven paces. 312.8. (*jakun*) *tsundo badaŋ gimi* (the donkey) advanced, moved on, five paces. 200.14.

b. Sole (of foot or boot), pl. *badaŋ*, *kafta yarum bada* the (lower) sole of the shoe. (Cp. Eng. "tread" = "part of boot sole that rests on the ground").

136 2. *bada -muts* x the Woolly Flying Squirrel (Eupetaurus Cinereus).

It occurs in various localities in the Gilgit region and is said to be found in the Sisper nullah in Hunza. Its name in Shina is *čergi*.

See my letter in the "Journal of the Natural History Society of Bombay" of 1st. October 1924, and Editor's note in which it is stated that "so far it has only been recorded from Gilgit".

000 *badal* changed; (as noun) y substitute, equivalent. — *badal stas* v.t. to change. *ma raŋ badal manila* your colour has changed. 90.12. *badal mani bi* it has become, been, changed. *jis badal* (*bila*) blood-price, ransom. Ar. Prs.

badala revenge, vengeance. — *ja ine badala ganam* I took his revenge, i.e. I avenged him. *ja intsum badala stam* I took revenge on him. Prs. H.

baḍalik, (*baralik*), *-uts*, *-ṣio* (EOL), x small metal bowl (for drinking from). — *ita baḍalikulum tsil* the water (that is) in the bowl. 106.17 ff. *rilo baḍalik* copper bowl. (IYB and self *-ḍ-*, self also *-r-*, EOL *-ṛ-*. Cp. Sh. *baḍolik*).

badam, *bardam*, x almond; y, pl. *-iŋ*, *ičiŋ*, almond tree. — *badam bisen* there are almonds. *badame hanisen* (*bi*) an almond (kernel). *badame hani*

sča ba I am going to arrange your marriages, I am going to marry you off. 116.19. *ja gər ki wuṣ gər nala ečan* we shall celebrate my marriage and your marriage at the same time. 184.3. *M. D.ı ka (epi) gər stimi, ɨmo ki gər stimi* he married his grandmother to M. D. and also effected his own marriage. 184.9. *ja eiṣı gər bila* my son's marriage is (to come off). 10.10. *gəriṣ sepasuman* they finished off the marriages. Cp. 16.1. *gər aiy'stum bom* she was unmarried. 244.13. 000

For details of the Hunza marriage customs see Text No. 33. See also the entry s.v. *dusk*.

Add: A payment of a "*bari*", Rs. 12, is made to the Mir. The Mir and Wazir also receive payments of butter, and the four tribal muqaddams are each entitled to 1½ seers (3 lbs.) of butter. In practice they receive a half or a third of this. 585

(Cp. Sh. *gər* marriage).

gəravi scattered, strewn about, lying about. — *Aldəri tovomots f'ərilo gəravi stai.i* he has strewn the fragments of the dragon about in the pond. 284.1. *gəravi manistaa* they (y) have been scattered about, they are lying about. *wu gustalo gəravi no fat stoman* scattering their corpses about they left them there. 240.9. *gəravi jaqər* a pitchfork (for tossing threshed crops). 000

gər'e.i Hz. *-maičiṇ*, N. *-maičaṇ* y shears.

gəre.ltum hərav "the tribe of Gerelt" a name given to a kind of bird (presumably collectively). They are black with white on the head and have long necks, frequent river-sides 136

and sit and fly in lines — a kind of dipper or cormorant (?). 136

Regarding their reputed origin see 206.12.

gəreɣ (*gəreɣi*, *gəre.i*) piebald, variegated in colour. — *gəreɣi buʷn* a piebald cow. 186.4. 000

(V. γəreɣ, which is supported by QUB).

1. *γəri* pl. *gəreɣ* y lamp (with wick floating in oil), light. — *gəri 'espaljʷn, čxraɣ espaʌʌwlo* they light lamps ... when they light the lamps ... 314.2. *Buri Buʷnolo gəri me.ibilʊm* there was a light at B. B. 234.3. *gəri tiɣ numan thami* wind coming, the light went out. *gəri.i raɣ* lamp-light.

Probably *gəri* 1 and 2 are the same word.

2. *gəri* -ɣ y. — *-lčin gəri* pupil of the eye.

IUB *milčin gəri* = H. *ankh ki putli*.

gərib v. γəriɣ poor.

gərk pl., double pl. *-ints*, *-ants* x peas (seeds and growing crops). — *gərken* a single pea. *gərk bi.ʌn* there are peas. *gərko hərki etaʷn* they have sown peas. N. *gərk* small shot (buck-shot?).

gərkus -iso marriageable. — *gərkus dʌsin* a marriageable girl. *gərkus(iso) dʌsiwants, hilesio* marriageable girls, lads. *gərkus mʌnu bom* she had become marriageable. 268.2.

gərma -mots x a kind of bread (thinner than *pfiti*) cooked with vegetables.

gərmon x eagle, a large bird used for hawking, H. *'ugab, iskari parind*.

gʌrra[1] N., Mck. collar-bone, clavicle. (Cp. Sh. *gʌrai*, *gʌrra*, Kho. *gəravi*).

gəroni -mots hm and hf (gen. sg. f. *-mu*). Bride, bridegroom; sg. form as pl., party accompanying bride or bridegroom.

161 b

[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

3. Birds.

136

bola.	*gats.hir.*	*γokurʌs.*	*mʌnḍaγ.*	*qəruγo.*
čili barbak	*ginḍaγər čhin.*	*γuγn.*	*mixun.*	*sindiẓ.*
v. Corrigenda,	*girgir.*	*hurṇo.*	*pfərzẓ.*	*ɬxqaçhin.*
III. C0. II.	*gorṭi.*	*hurpopo* N.	*pfulčin.*	3. *tal.*
diẓ mayun.	*γa.*	*kʌpo.*	*purpo.*	*ɬhʌtaqʌs.*
gayu.	*γenzẓçhin.*	*kuγr.*	*qʌlq.*	*ṭapuγr.*
gəreltum kəray.	*γoγundzl.*	*kuγti* N.		

Varieties of Hawk.

barz.	*barša čurp.*	*gʌzanč.*	*šahiγn.*	*šomoqaγr.*
bahri.	*čərx.*	*kiγki.*	*šiγntiγu.*	*teγuγn.*
barša.	*čauli.*	*kiŋkiγki* N.		

4. Insects.

bišketẓ γʌlgu.	*hʌmiγšo.*	*kərkanʌs.*	*muγndʌs.*	*pəro.*
čumuγo.	*hiriγmʌn.*	*khəru.*	*pfʌltso.*	*tuγʌnʌs.*
ḍunḍu.	*hoγlʌlʌs.*	*khiγn.*	*pfin.*	*tuγʌrʌs.*
gonhoγlʌlʌs.	*khanimojuγko.*	*khiγšo.*	*pfzγʌn.*	*trʌqo.*
hʌγurs pfiγn.	*kaŋka.*	*kon.*	*ɬxqər.*	*ṭiki.*

5. Diseases.

164

ʌskuγr.	1. *jak.*	*loγomuts.*	*pfʌlʌŋi.*	*taγlumuts.*
dʌtʌγər.	*xurtsumoẓ.*	*mʌq.*	*pərizʌxum.*	*tiγti* N.
dʌmkoγtai N.	*xus.*	*mərʌq.*	*runi.*	*-uγlolo ts.hil.*
gəruγmkuẓ.	2. *lam.*	*mirgi.*	*sozʌγk.*	*tsuponos* N.
γurtsikzʌ.	*lam čam.*	*nʌziln.*	*šuγšu.*	*zʌŋzʌŋ dʌtʌγər.*
γoẓçikzẓ.	*loγo.*			

(Of cattle) *girča.* (Of grain) *matel.* 6. *tam.*

6. Food.

a. Varieties of Bread and Cakes, etc.:

262

bʌγundo.	*gərma.*	*kači krčaγli.*	*pfiγṭi.*	*širik* N.
diram pfiṭi.	*giγʌl.*	*xʌmʌli.*	*sʌladʌḍi.*	*širu.*
duldoŋgi.	*γumʌldi.*	*xrsta.*	*ɬʌpiγk.*	*ṭiṭər.*
2. *dumoγo*	*jʌgai.i.*	*lʌxša.*	*šuγo.*	*ṭuγṭo.*
genpfiγṭi.				

b. Milk and Milk Products:

bʌq N.	*diltər.*	*[illegible]*	*mʌska.*	*qəruγt.*
bəruγs.	*γiḍiŋ.*	*mʌmu.*	*pai.i.*	*rʌxpiγn.*
čika.	*kilʌγ.*	*mʌnts.hil.*		

000 I would have crushed it, so I desisted. I'm sure I spent 10 minutes admiring, blessing and caressing that dear little dandelion.

So the next time you're in your garden or weeding your lawn and you go to raise your voice against the dandelions and perhaps take a weeding tool in your hands to play havoc with them and ruthlessly cleave them from your lawn and garden, think of Tobe pressing that lonely little dandelion plant to his heart . . . this poor, lone dandelion struggling against the harsh elements and millions of tons of hard rock on a little perch in the high Karakorums. There is Tobe speaking to that gold-headed flower and plant, as though it were a lifelong friend that he has met or encountered in an outlandish place—yes, there on the true roof of the world! Allow a drop of milk of human kindness to drip from your heart. After all, a dandelion has green leaves and a truly beautiful, soft, luxurious looking, golden flower!

* * * * *

136 I was almost tempted to leave out this part about the fauna in the Hunza area, primarily due to the fact that I didn't see much fauna. Not being a hunter, I didn't go after any animals and very few crossed my path. However, in describing the fauna of a country, I guess it is not absolutely essential that one see all of the specimens with his own eyes in order to describe them or tell about them.

000 I recalled that some years ago I took a trip through Alaska and the Yukon and, in a trek that encompassed well over 4,000 miles up and back, all I had to show for my perseverance was the sight of one moose. But that would not, as you well understand, indicate that there were no animals in the Yukon and Alaska area, because that area abounds with wildlife. So I'll have to let that yardstick stand for Hunza, too.

I didn't see any water buffalo in Hunza itself, but they are to be found in the Gilgit area and therefore I suspect they are to be found, if not in the principality of Hunza, at least in close proximity. Well, if you find water buffalo, then there is sure to be the Mana or Lali bird. It's a medium sized bird that is very much like our cow bird. He perches right on the back of the water buffalo and works away like a woodpecker, picking out the insects that infest the water buffalo's leathery hide. Thus, he prevents serious injury and disease from spreading from the hide into the flesh of the animal. 136

This is just another one of the myriad of intricacies that follow in the paths of Mother Nature—how she seeks to balance things for the benefit of all. Here the bird finds a way and means of obtaining food and nourishment and the buffalo keeps healthy and everybody is happy!

Ibex are part and parcel of the Hunza scene. So are the ovis poli or mountain sheep which are actually quite scarce, but are found if one goes high enough into the mountains. The Hunzans call the ibex "markhors." I learned that "markhor" means "eater of snakes," for the ibex, which are actually goats, are known to the people of Hunza for this habit. This also indicates that snakes are found in Hunza. As a matter of fact, every now and then one hears or comes across a snake on the trail. When this happens on a narrow trail high up on a ledge and your horse rears on his hind legs, pawing with his fore . . . 'tis not conducive to a long and boring life! [825]

The Mir of Hunza is quite a hunter. He enjoys shooting and is a true sportsman. My friend, the P.A. at Gilgit, is also an ardent sportsman. Between them, they told me that they had bagged, at one time or another, crows, vultures, golden eagles, geese and ducks, pheasants (two kinds), chicoris (which are their partridge), 224 [643] 136

136 pigeons and doves. They also vouch for the fact that sparrows, skylarks, nightingales, canaries, magpies, falcons and hawks were part of the common scene throughout the district.

The P.A. told me that on his hunting excursions he has on a few occasions come across both brown and black bears and I know there are also leopards, because the P.A. presented me with the hide of one of them, which now graces the living room of my son's home.

Inasmuch as small animals are concerned, I don't think you'd find too many. They like to go where food is more readily available than is the case in the sparsely vegetated Hunza area.

[134] I don't think burrowing animals would be common to the district, because one can't very readily burrow through rock, and that is what 99% of the Hunza terrain consists of.

231 Incidentally, the goats that are kept by the Hunzan farmers are not by any stretch of the imagination similar to the larger ibex that are found in the hills. The Hunza goat is a diminutive fellow that is bred for its dwarfness and ability to give lots of milk for its size.

223 224 Apart from the fall duck hunt when myriads are felled, and the occasional hunt with shikari to bring down the renowned ovis poli (Marco Polo sheep) from the 18,000 foot pinnacles, Hunza cannot be called a hunter's paradise.

as his trophy room. There, neatly laid on a long table, 123
was a beautiful ornate set of silverware, a three piece [415]
tea service. It was the most unusual and elaborate design I'd ever seen. I recognized it as the leaf of the chenar tree, which is similar to our maple. I do not profess to be a connoisseur or one who appreciates objects of art, but I did recognize this as being something especially fine and unusual.

He said, "This is from the Rani and I. I hope your wife will like it!"

He then presented me with a most unusual cane. It 123
is made out of some native Hunzan wood, white in 481
color—chenar I imagine. The handle is made very ingeniously, so that you have something to hold firmly in your hand, as well as a place to rest your thumb. Then the entire length of the cane and the handle were studded at regular intervals with what the Mir explained were pieces of ibex horns.

Ibex are found in the hills. They are a wild moun- 136
tain goat, usually found above the snow line. They are a good sized, hefty animal, standing between 3 and 3½ feet high at the shoulder. They're sturdy beasts as they well must be to live among the highest and most precipitous hills in all creation. For agility there is no animal that can match them. They are crowned with long ridged horns curved backwards, usually black in color. These tough, imperturbable mountain goats reminded me of the people of Hunza and I thought there was a great deal of similarity between them. They are, as far as I know, afraid of nothing.

I'm not a hunter—I didn't go after them. Some of the men said they could be found readily. Others said you had to go far up into the mountains in order to find them. But by the number of horns of the ibex I saw in Gilgit, Baltit and all along the route I traversed,

136 I was of the opinion that the ibex are quite plentiful, and if anyone went to Hunza with the idea of shooting game, he could without too much difficulty satisfy his bent.

[224] Then, too, the rare ovis poli, the true Marco Polo sheep, can also be found in this area. While they are by no means easy to locate, if you took the trouble to arrange for proper trackers or shikari, I'm quite certain that within one or two days' travel you would find and shoot ovis poli. If you're going to try to tackle the Marco Polo sheep, make sure you're a good mountain climber, because they are seldom found below 16,000 feet and usually a thousand or two thousand feet above that.

I asked the Mir where the big difference came in between the ibex and the ovis poli. It seems that the ovis poli are larger with a body as large as that of a donkey and the horns have three distinct sweeps. Of course the ibex is a goat and the ovis poli is a sheep.

000 He wanted to know if I was interested in shooting them. I said, "No, thanks. There are many other pleasures I prefer."

I can understand and appreciate the shooting of game for food or clothing but for sport . . . well, I've always felt that a man can prove his prowess without slaying useful, harmless beasts. Let it be said in fairness to the sportsman and hunter that in most cases he protects, disseminates and raises more than he shoots and therefore he pays for his sport. If it were not for the true sportsman (and I am saying that qualifiedly and reservedly—the *true* sportsman) many birds and beasts that exist today would have been exterminated by wanton killers, who also sometimes parade under the name of "sportsmen."

I will go along further and say that the sportsman

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

487 difficult pass on to the Shimshal Pamir, from whence a road goes to Ujadbai in the Sirikol Valley. On this Pamir dwell
563 a number of Kirghiz, who pay tribute to the Thum of Hunza,
651 and here the wild yák (*P. grunniens*) and the kyang
[136] (*E. Hemionus*) find their most western limit. The Pamir appears to lie north-west and south-east. From its north side the Kara Kuchkar Pass leads to Raskum, once a flourishing settlement, situated on one of the many branches which form the south-western source of the Yarkund River.
[162] Considerably further to the north-east are the two small communities of Pakpooh and Shakshooh, situated on different tributary streams. Pakpooh is said to contain about 4,000 and Shakshooh about 5,000 souls, and they are situated respectively at an elevation of about 10,000 and 9,000 feet.
[142] Both pay tribute to the ruler of Hunza. These curious people, of whom very little is known, are of Aryan race, and
[197] are described as being of very fair and ruddy complexion. Their language is Chagatai Turki, but, like the Ghalchah tribes of Sirikol and the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh to the westward, many of them speak Persian also. Dr. Bellew,[1] who met some men of the tribe, speaks of them as being a tall, very fair, and handsome race, of a purely Aryan physiognomy, and describes them as poorly clad, carrying matchlocks, of timid and subdued demeanour, and very cautious of giving any information regarding themselves. He mentions that they spoke Turki to other people, but conversed among themselves in a totally different language. He says that they are Mussulmans of the Shiah sect, like the Wakhis and Badakhshis,—that is, Maulais.

Nearly due north of Hunza is the small mountain state of Sirikol. The rulers of the two states have ever maintained a close friendship in spite of the mountains which separate them. From Girtchah in Goohjal, Tashkurgan is reached in eight days. Horses can only travel by the Kilik route, which is longer than that by the Kirish Pass; but the road is excellent and open all the year to both horses and camels. For about two months in summer the road by Misgar is impracticable for horses on account of the depth of the stream that has to be forded. The route by Rishipjerab and Derdee is then used, but men on foot can travel by Misgar at all times. Good roads also lead to Lungar and Kabr-i-Bosai in Wakhan territory.

000 In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name of Kunjoot

[1] Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashghar.*

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
335 through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
322 duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and independent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully
291 terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now
415 considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

● 137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root
415 of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also
233 the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

and wide as possible; for bark strips are useful for many 314
things. Some of the flakes were 3 or 4 feet long and 8 or 9 415
inches wide. They would be kept to make large drum-like con- 313
tainers for storage purposes. While the men proceeded to deal with the next tree, the women and young people filled shoulder baskets with chips and twigs and branches and carried them home to store. "Lots of firewood for a long time to come," smiled Bibi Anjir to me gleefully as she limped away as fast and as surefooted as a girl, despite the stiff leg.

I helped, of course, with gathering up the firewood and the 000
bark, but I was never allowed to shoulder a basket. I would have done it gladly enough many a time, but what with silly shoes (which always provoked my companions' sympathy: "It would be so much easier for you to walk safely barefoot, Mother"; I wondered, seeing that my incompetent, soft feet had been for half a century encased in foolish footgear!) and unpractised muscles a cross-country scramble unladen required all my attention. In any case, however, they would never hear of my carrying anything—"the Great must not do that," they said, and as we were enjoying so many privileges of "the Great," we had to pay the recognized penalties.

When the trees were all prostrate, I measured the effective 342
poles that remained and found they ran from 50 to 60 feet: 137
the original trees must have stood 60 or 70 feet high. The Ustád had put the saplings in himself when he walled and planted the "garden" twenty years or so before. Good timber like this is a sound investment. Sixteen good poplars go to the making of a house; up to twenty may be needed if they are smaller. If people are definitely quitting an old house for a new they will dismantle the former for the sake of rafters and cupboards, and you will occasionally see the shell of an old house standing derelict. But the cases of house-building which we actually came across were the hiving-off of son or brother and required new wood. A man who has no trees of his own to cut must, of course, buy them from some neighbour, and this, with the carpentry, will be the major expense.

The Ustád had already levelled the ground for the new house 342
beside his own, and soon the trenches were dug for the foun-

all appeared to us to suggest Persian inspiration. I heard one lady say with regret for a golden past: "What is the world coming to? Why nowadays the very peasant girls embroider silken caps for themselves!"

True enough; now that a little money filters into almost every home the women can get hold of coloured silk from India or Kashgar, and it was a common sight to see girls and women open a tiny home-made bag that hung on their tunic, and take out a strip or circle of calico, a needle, and a bunch of silk, and continue work on a dainty cap. The threads of the cloth were carefully counted and the design traced out in black thread. The silks they used were unspun, clinging masses that I found impossible to handle, and how they manipulated them so skilfully with fingers roughened, you would have thought, by field work, I could not divine. For about 1s. 6d. they can buy enough silk to cover one cap with minute embroidery, and they blend their colours, red, blue, green, orange, purple, yellow, and black, with unerring taste. We laid in a store of their favourite shades so that on occasion we could make an acceptable gift to a bride preparing her trousseau.

After a first experience of trifling gifts of balls and combs we had decided that it would be a crime to spoil the simple, spontaneous kindness of the children or their parents by indiscriminate giving. So we restrained a longing to distribute even sweets and pins, and only made an occasional present on very special occasions or for very definite services rendered. On the other hand, we made a note of such things as would be useful and acceptable, and gathered a hoard of them for our ultimate visits of farewell.

Amongst the women's crafts I have already mentioned the neat little "ashtrays" they conjure from the residual mush of apricot kernels after they have extracted the oil. Washing is amongst them a simple matter. Having no fat, they can make no soap, but there is a plant, called *himan*, which they grow amongst their vegetables, the seeds of which when pounded yield a delightful soapy lather. This is used for special washings only. Every-day cotton clothes are simply rinsed in cold water, flung on a flat stone and beaten with a wooden mallet. When

the ruins, but the manuscripts threw no light on the matter. So far as they have yet been examined they appear to be comparatively commonplace copies of already well-known sacred writings of latish date. They are now lodged in the Srinagar Museum, which is permanently closed.

Our return to Gilgit coincided (somewhat unfortunately we ungraciously felt) with the Jubilee celebrations and perforce we spent another very pleasant (but time-wasting) holiday with our most hospitable friends the Kirkbrides. It was May 13th before we were able to disentangle ourselves from Gilgit and its seductions and set our faces once more towards Hunza. The very horses seemed to scent that they were heading home and gave us of their best. The weather was now very definitely warming up, and we marched early to avoid the greater heat. Nomal and Chalt provided us as usual with loathsome milk tasting of Tom Cat. This indescribably vile flavour is due to some wild herb that grows in these neighbourhoods at certain seasons. I am not botanist enough to know its name, and it is not a plant of which I covet seeds or slips. It is mercifully unknown in Hunza.

As we rode through the rich, well-watered string of Nagir villages we were escorted for part of the way by various Nagir princes sent by their father to show us courtesy. Green crops, shady walnut trees and masses of blue iris and wild rose made the road enchanting, its loveliness enhanced a thousandfold by the bleakness and barrenness of the great mountains. I confess I always covet these lovely villages for Hunza, the more so that the Nagirkuts are far more slack and slovenly in their cultivation than "our" people. All the irrigation water, coming straight from the melting glaciers of Rakaposhi, was now milky and unappetizing. The Nagir people, though not actively uncivil, never volunteer a greeting as you pass and never throw you a kindly smile even when they speak. We noticed, too—and how it shocked our loyal Hunza folk—that the Nagir princes also were allowed to ride past unsaluted and apparently unregarded. The Mir of Nagir had been pressing in invitations to us to visit him—as soon as he had convinced himself that no great harm seemed to be accruing to Hunza from our presence there.

countryside was a hive of industry. We missed the larger 233
animals and learnt that they had already been taken up to the 241
tér for the summer, while the tiny lambs and kids who were being carefully shepherded about to get what scanty grazing they could find without trespassing into the springing crops, demanded the unceasing vigilance of their small guardians.

The most noticeable new phenomenon was the constant /137
stream of people, men or women, stooping under huge bundles 233
of greenery till they looked in truth "like trees walking." We had come back to find the poplars well clothed and bushy (for poplars), giving an unwonted air of luxury to the landscape, but now they were being ruthlessly stripped to provide fodder for the animals, half starved throughout the winter on a diet of dry leaves. Poplar, willow, and *gindáwer* are all laid under contribution, but the new fodder has to be very carefully issued at first lest the poor beasts should perish of its unaccustomed succulence. I stood one day watching and photographing a minute human insect at the top of a 50 or 60 foot poplar skilfully stripping it of its spring glory and leaving only the tiniest green tuft at the top. A whole handsome row were about to be similarly shorn. In a moment of thoughtlessness I said to the peasant at my side: "They look so lovely, it does seem a pity. . . ." He turned on me almost fiercely: "What, Mother? Would you starve our beasts for the sake of a poplar tree? The leaves will come again next spring. There is no cure for a dead sheep." I stood rebuked.

No. 3 had been laying out a new vegetable plot. Apicho 244
showed me the various beds ready for beans, scarlet runners 233
(which here have yellow flowers), marrows, and greens, but confessed that manure was their great problem. They have only one cow, poor devils, and with the best will in the world one cow cannot produce enough.

The end of May is the season when new saplings of poplar, 245
willow, etc., are planted, and we occasionally met people 252
carrying off bundles of them to set in place. The mills were in action again, and such fortunate folk as had a little grain still left from their emergency store—not, after all, exhausted by weddings or funerals—were carrying pathetically small bags of
it to be ground.

to keep her strength up—and this in one of the poorest houses, where they have had no bread nor butter for themselves for weeks. *Daudo* is one of the nourishing dishes you make for a human mother, and the cat was such a pet that the kittens were considered as a birth in the family, one of the emergencies budgeted for. There is as little need in Hunza for an R.S.P.C.A. as for an anti-litter crusade. Everyone is devoted to his animals, and the children have pet names for every lamb and kid. You will often see a boy or girl carrying home a tired animal slung over the neck like a fashionable lady's fur. Only people who have lived in the East can realize how amazing was this affectionate care for a pet; or how still more amazing this happy family life where father could come in and find his wife and daughters entertaining two strange men and be obviously delighted to see the guests. At least, if this sort of thing is possible elsewhere in the East, I have not heard of it.

When we passed next day we heard that a strange cat, which must be the only other one in Aliábád, for in general everyone is too poor to keep either cat or dog, had come in while the mother was mouse-hunting and had killed two of the kittens. Yaman, the only brother of our most beloved young friends, and most intelligent of informants, lifted a pathetic little white body with his toes from the field to show us. The children were half horrified and half amused at the kittens' fate.

There were a few wild flowers these June days amongst the scanty grass of the *toqs*: red bladder campion, stitchwort, and an occasional starved-looking forget-me-not. The children were much amused when we told them what the English call it, and that sentimentalists amongst us use it as a love-token. After that, one or another would run up to us offering a tiny blue flower and saying, "Don't forget me!" Some future linguist, language-hunting like ourselves, may be puzzled to hear of *je til akol* growing in Hunza fields and rack his brains as to how the idea came to the Karakoram. On principle we have tried to avoid poisoning the ground for future workers by importing European ideas, legends, or phrases, and in this connection the forget-me-not, the "one little pig" and Afrot's *How do you do?* are the only sins on my conscience.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

all thriving. The field walls looked very jolly at this season, with wild flowers of the rock-garden type growing in the crannies between the stones and fostered by the seepage from the irrigated fields above. Amongst them was a wild mint and a wild thyme, the flavouring qualities of which are known and appreciated.

On June 12th we saw some people hungrily eyeing their barley and reckoning that it would be ripe for cutting in another fifteen days. It was said to be good this year in spite of an abnormally cold, late spring. Some rain showers that we had were welcomed though they temporarily cooled the air. But as clouds and rain continued, anxiety began to be felt lest the wheat should be late and delay too long the planting of the buckwheat-on-wheat. The barley is subject to a disease called *tam*, which stripes the leaves an ugly yellow and produces a milky liquid in the ears. Few plants were attacked this year. The disease called *matél* (rust?), which makes black ears, attacks only wheat and millet, and if the cold and rain persisted it might be expected to set in. We were doubly anxious that this year's crops should be good: unselfishly for the people's sake; selfishly lest a bad year should be attributed to the maleficent influence of two crazy people learning Burushaski—though indeed these highly rational people would be unlikely to indulge any such fantastic association of ideas.

We saw some people one day collecting the under-bark from red willow trees; they use it for dyeing the leather of their native boots and skilfully chip it out from the living tree without injuring the willow.

Now that the people were really within sight of food they frankly confessed to being desperately hungry, and the strain of unremitting work—weeding, ploughing, manuring, grafting, irrigating from dawn to dusk on empty tummies—was showing in drawn, thin faces, but appeared powerless to damp their spirits or fray their tempers. It was dreadful to look on and be helpless to feed the multitude with loaves or fishes, while we lived—sparingly enough by home standards but—riotously compared with these much more deserving neighbours. We saw one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry

1 [in June -- Analyst]

No. XXXVI.

Šikamatiqe Čaγa.

660 Hunzulo joγą doγ'ərčume Zuqa'tiqe gir'amular sakuərią di'mor (or, di'mi kr) han dastu'γan qadi'mtsum bilum, i'tr i'k Šikamatią se.ibə'n.

Šik'amatiqer ha'kum jamma'at ud'im kr han pū'ti ečə'n (or, ečam).
5 Pū'ti makuči kaman γuto'pus ečə'n. Isr.ulo čutan del tiš ečə'n. Isr pū'ti.e i'k Kači Kičə'li se.ibə'n.

Be'ruman demią man'i Šikamatią Hunzulo siγ'ərčə'n.

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1 doγ'ərčume — An instance of the rather rare use of the Absolute Pres. pt.

137 132 The opening of the blossom begins first in the lower and warmer parts of the valley and gradually extends up the valley and up the hill-sides as warmth increases with the advance of the season. On the hillside facing Nagir one may see the apricot trees at the higher levels still in full blossom when those at the lower levels have shed their flowers.

girumular — i. e. when the trees on the boundary of the lands belonging to the Zuqa'tią community came into blossom. All this part of Nagir is in full view of Baltit and the adjacent populous tract in Hunza which contains the villages of Ganeš and Haidarabad, Aliabad and Hassanabad.

660 The custom is described as a Hunza custom. I do not know whether it does, or did, exist in Nagir.

137 *haiyan, haiau* y pl. caraway seeds. — *watumiŋ haiyan* black caraways.

The plant occurs in the higher areas of the Gilgit region, e.g. below the Darkot Pass in Yasin.

(Cp. Sh. *haiyau.u*).

000 *haula* N. "halwa", a kind of food, sweetened with sugar, probably the equivalent of the Ha. *ḥarbat*. Ar. Pre.

heran, hairan astonished, perplexed, at a loss, bewildered. 29,6.6, 118.12. Ar. Pre.

herimiŋ, herimiŋ y pl. much weeping, lamenting. — *gutas apim herimiŋ ścan* they are lamenting in the absence of the corpse (i.e. for some one who has died away from home). *herimiŋ hərip bila* (for *bi?*) it is a dirge. *herimiŋ hərip ścan* (the band) are playing a dirge, or are playing badly, dismally, slowly.

he, hī, hai an exclamation: hallo! — *he tik* O ground! 252.4. *hī bihel gumanī* ho, bravo to you! 74.6. *hai ma hemaə naəər* O my wise sirs! 58.17. *-tsi hī etas* to attack, set on, assault. *hik nal'a itsi hī ne* all together attacking, setting on, him. 276.9.

(QUB. distinguishes *hai* = *ma*, and *hī* an exclamation inciting to attack).

1. *hemas, hei-*, neg. *akhei-*, Impv. *hen*, neg. *akhen*, Ppa. *nuh'en*, to know, understand.

The subject with all tenses usually appears in the General Oblique form. Pres. *uŋtsum ja but heya ba* I know much more than you. 56.1. Cp. 28.10. *ǫute uyon uŋi hei ba* you know all this. 86.26. Cp. 28.9. *une hei ba ǫute duro bilate etas bila ke?* do you know how this is to be done?

198 b

5; Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5)1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

CLASSIFIED LISTS OF BURUSHASKI WORDS.

000

Many common or important words in Burushaski have no simple equivalents in English, under which they can be entered in an Index.

Such are the names of local implements, utensils and foods, which have no exact counterparts in our culture, and words connected with ceremonies, customs and beliefs peculiar to the people.

Again, there are the names of animals, birds, insects, plants etc. to which only a specialist could attach the correct scientific labels.

Words of some of these types are collected in the following lists, but as classified lists are often convenient I have supplemented them by adding names falling within the same categories, even when more or less specific meanings have been given to them in the Vocabulary.

137

1. Plants.

baruhandil.	*ḍoŋhor.*	*hurman.*	*savepor.*	*širiyjun.*
birgaw.	*filal.*	*jačiw*, cp. *ačil.*	*sap.*	*šun.*
buwsor.	*golgol.*	*kuwpan.*	*sorpaṭ.*	*5. tal.*
čhaṭo.	*γašu.*	*xapkinas.*	*sosan.*	*tamaʼku.*
čhaṭ.	*γon.*	*liʼli.o.*	*supandor.*	*terenešk.*
čoperi.	*γolap.*	*mordakay.*	*šašor.*	*thom.*
čoṭal.	*himan.*	*morgun.*	*šipiʼt.*	*žačil.*
ḍaγaliski.	*horsor.*	*naski.*	*šuʼtor.*	

2. Trees.

baʼlt.	*ḍuḍuw.*	*hormok.*	*maṭhali gal.*	*šuγun.*
1. *bik.*	2. *gal.*	*hokor.*	*mojuw.*	*šuγori N.*
biranč.	*gaši.*	1. *jorpa.*	*pfaʼk.*	2. *tal.*
boč.	*gaškuw.*	*jaṭow.*	*pfelta.*	*tiʼli.*
čuʼgodor.	*ginḍawsor.*	2. *ju.*	*phaʼžo.*	*tuʼraq.*
dindiṭ.	*gondaru.*	*kačol.*	*šask.*	

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7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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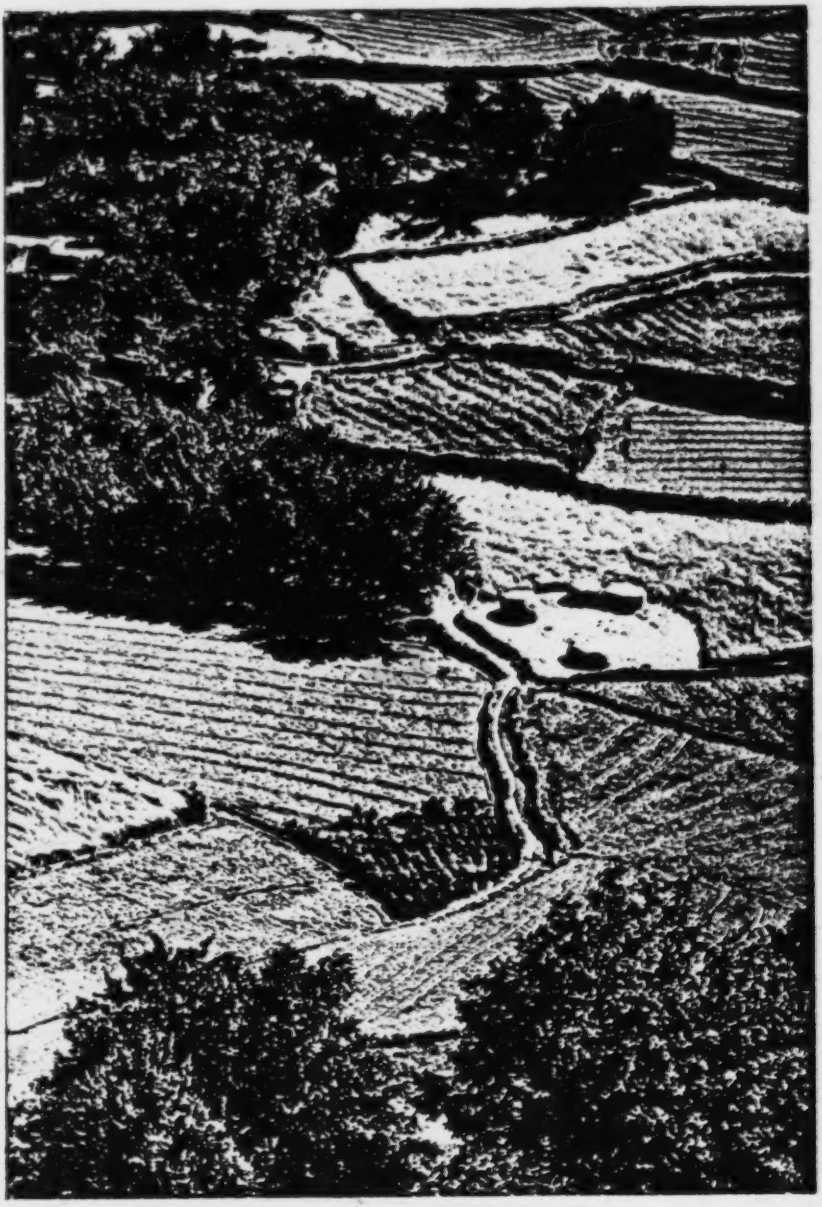

Hunzan fields are small, and are worked with hand tools.

[p. 326-B1]

7: Tobe C, T-3 (1959) 1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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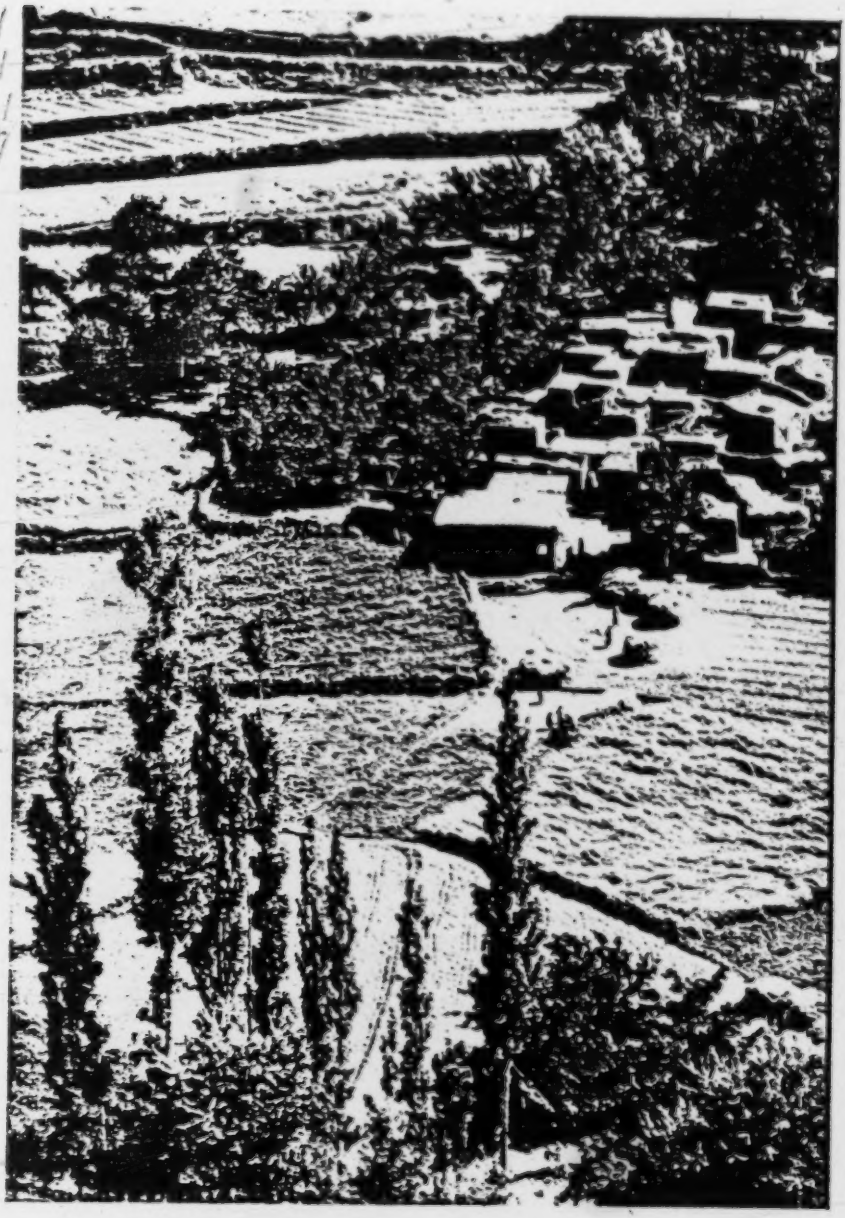

[p. 326-B2]

241 minerals and by allowing these glacial streams to be spread over the soil, the nutrients are left in the soil as the water soaks into it.

The principle of returning to the land that which belongs to the land has been and is, at the present time, scrupulously followed. The only farm implement which [407] I could find on the Hunzan farms was the primitive [492] plow and invariably it was pulled by a bullock. The plowing is never deep and is practiced chiefly to sort of clean the field, cover the organic matter that has been spread upon it or left upon it and prepare the field for the next crop.

[464] All the work that has to be done is done by hand—with or without the assistance of domesticated farm animals. There is no substitute for manual labor and the men, women and even young children share in the farm work.

[137] From what I could observe, weeds were not a problem and the reasons are clear. There are few indigenous, native plants in the area. Practically all of the growing plants that I could spy were in cultivated areas. The maxim in Hunza evidently is if a place can grow weeds, then it should be cultivated and usually that principle is followed. This all adds up to the fact that there are few weed seeds distributed in the area and therefore they are not in the soil to spring up, whenever the farmer's back is turned.

[134] I want to stress once more that the mineral requirements of the fields of the Hunza farmer are met and replenished by the fine silt, ground by the glaciers from the rocky surfaces and carried down to the Hunza farmers by the conduits and spread on their land.

Our modern civilization attaches great importance to and stresses the value of flavor and appearance in

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 50

Flora and Fauna

123 My Visit to Hunza was not basically a botanical or horticultural visit, much as I would have enjoyed spending a few weeks hunting, searching, climbing, delving into crevices and peeking into and over the rocks, crannies, cliffs and river beds—yes, and fields and anywhere a bit of green could be seen.

The speed at which I traveled along the mountain roads was slow and tedious, but it was even slower because of my interest in horticultural specimens that I noticed here and there and which I stopped to examine. But my stops to examine the flora were not very frequent during the first few miles, due to the simple fact that there was not much flora to investigate, except the omnipresent Fog plant, which no terrain seemed to deter. Then of course, there was a great similarity in the flora and once I had seen a plant, I did not stop to investigate another of the same species.

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However, I did stop often enough on plant examinations so that I was always a few miles behind my friend, Cec, who was not concerned with the flora. 123 137

I want you to understand that I did not do an exhaustive detailed study of the flora of the Hunza district. I am sure there are many, many more plants in the area than I have indicated or found. I just examined what I happened to pass and see. I definitely did not go out and search for specimens away from the beaten path.

You can take my word for it, the vegetation under any and all circumstances is definitely not spectacular. However, any of the plants that are found growing in this area most certainly should be hardy enough and virile enough to do well in most other parts of the arable world. 137

It is my belief that the flora of the Hunza Valley is neither varied nor numerous, apart from the fruit and nut trees which are in most cases not indigenous. The apricot, though, could be native to that part of the world . . . at least, that is what I gathered from my studies and observations.

Apricots were grown in the greatest number, followed by mulberry, walnuts, apples, plums, peaches and pears. Here and there I came upon a pomegranate tree. These, I am positive, are indigenous to the surrounding area, if not to Hunza. [245]

The trees that I passed most frequently on the roads and trails and in the towns were eucalyptus, willow, birch, poplar and the oriental plane, sometimes called sycamore and known in Hunza as the "chenar" tree. I believe these are all native to the vicinity.

I was disappointed, surprised and even shocked to find the area completely devoid of conifers or evergreen trees. I saw one pine tree in the P.A.'s garden in

137 Gilgit. With the eyes of an eagle I scanned the roadways, the byways, the mountain slopes, the rocks, the cliffs, the highlands, the lowlands, but nary a conifer did I spy.

One day when we got to see a different slope of Rakaposhi, I looked up and there about two-thirds of the way up on its higher reaches or slopes was a cluster of trees and they looked like and must have been conifers. But wait . . . Rakaposhi, according to the [133] records, is 25,550 feet high. Unless I'm as blind as a bat and cockeyed, to boot, that cluster of trees was at least two-thirds of the way up. I was standing at 9,000 or 10,000 feet. So two-thirds of the remaining 15,000 feet would be 10,000 feet. So 10,000 plus 10,000 makes 20,000. Am I trying to tell you that I saw trees growing at approximately 20,000 feet? The tree experts say it couldn't be. They would scoff, deride and ridicule my statement, for it is written and believed that the timberline is somewhere around 10,000 or 11,000 feet —or does that apply only in the North American scheme of things? Well, that might be in America, but I will swear and attest that it doesn't hold true in the Himalayas or the Karakorums. Could be that I may be erring by a couple of thousand feet or even three thousand but it would still mean that this copse or group of trees was at least 17,000 feet up. Yet I know, I feel, I am convinced that it must be 20,000 feet. I repeat this even at the risk of being called a lunatic. I've been called that before!

Other writers claim they saw pines on their travels in this district. I think they were just talking or trying to grasp something to describe in that bleak, bare area. I saw the one single pine tree I mentioned earlier in Gilgit . . . and it had been planted! Well, I'll have

to let you figure it out. I'm just telling you what I saw 137 ●
and what I think.

I admit that I wo ld very much like to some day [133]
climb and find out exactly what those trees were, but
Rakaposhi is one of the most difficult of all mountains
on earth to climb. It took 23 attempts to conquer 648
Rakaposhi. The first 22 attempts failed, but a British
expedition succeeded in scaling her summit in 1958.
One side is almost a sheer drop, so from that side I'll
stay clear. Of course there wouldn't be anything growing there, anyway.

The ascent of Rakaposhi was accomplished by the British Pakistan Forces Himalayan Expedition, 1958. Captain Shah Khan, the Mir's uncle, was a member of the expedition. I quote from the account . . .

"Captain Shah Khan was a most important and use- [485]
ful member of the expedition. He personally selected
our 6 Hunza porters, and being a Hunza man himself,
in fact the uncle of the Mir, we hoped for great things
from them. We were not in the least disappointed."

The expedition started May 12th from Gilgit and established a base camp on May 26 at 14,000 feet. It was on June 25th that two members of the expedition, Mike Banks and Tom Pattey, reached the summit, under terrible conditions of winds and drifts.

Varieties of shrubs in Hunza were more numerous. I 137
saw a few wild roses just like any wild rose you see
anywhere. The flower had a slight fragrance and was
reddish-pink in color.

Then there was a plant that resembled barberry, except it had a blue berry instead of a red one. The berry was edible. I tried some and found the taste pleasing and sweet, but there was very little meat or pulp. It was practically all skin and seeds. It was much

137 more prickly than our barberry. In fact, it seemed to have 5 prickles for every one that ours have and they were longer and stronger and more painful.

I recognized a variety of honeysuckle, too.

Then, of course, there was the imperturable "chush." It was found growing everywhere. I understand that its orange colored berries, which vary greatly in size, from that of a grain of millet to that of a large pea, also are edible, although they weren't as sweet or as pleasant tasting as the blue barberry, as I call it.

Caragana seems to grow widely in the area. I saw caragana plants ranging in size from 10-12 feet to one that was barely 6 inches tall, replete with all the trimmings, including the ripened seed pods. I stood entranced and marveled at the sturdy little plant growing out of the bit of soil that had fallen on the surface of a rock. I was strongly tempted to take some seeds back with me but I was quite certain that if the seed were sown in our fertile soils, the plant would quickly lose its dwarfing habit and only because it was so tiny did it look so cute and appealing.

Tamarix grows broadly. In fact, it is the most widely seen plant, shrub or tree in the area. On a few occasions we stopped, rested and found a bit of shade and comfort under a tamarix thicket or bush.

Herbaceous plants were more common again. At varying places along the river bank could be found fairly extensive patches. There was "fog" to which I will refer a little later, and a most formidable looking thistle, that neither man nor beast nor insect could get close to without feeling the barbs. My guides and bearers all warned me to stay away from it. I wanted to get some of its seed and feel, handle and examine it. On a few occasions I was determined to investigate it thoroughly, but they actually pleaded with me to leave it alone. It contains poison, they told me, and it would

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actually make me sick and my skin would break out in sores or a rash. 137

In truth, I wasn't much worried, but, on the other hand, prudence must be considered. I was a long way from home, with a medicine kit that consisted of a bit of bandage and some salve, and I was in no position to do battle with some unknown, dangerous and perhaps poisonous plant. So I heeded their entreaties and left that symmetrical, unusual, neat but murderous looking plant alone. [824] [122]

The plants that I actually saw in flower along the trail or in the fields were very few. There was the wild rose, the fog, the inconspicuous flowers of chush and the fringed gentian and a few poppies. Remember, this was in July and very few plants, shrubs or trees are in flower at that period.

Yet, I must bear in mind that from Gilgit to beyond Altit the difference in maturity would run about two weeks. While I ate some of the last of the cherries at the Political Agent's table in Gilgit, when I got to Baltit I was eating the first of the cherries that the Mir had picked from his trees of exactly the same species and variety. In fact, I came upon many peculiarities caused by the altitude and the proximity to the river. In one place the fog plants, for example, were in flower and in other places along the route, they had already formed seed pods. Again, in other spots the seed pods had already burst.

This is not unusual, because if you examine the situation in the Niagara District, for example, at Queenston the cherries are in full blossom when in Niagara-on-the-Lake, along the lake, the buds haven't even swelled. There is a difference of 10 days to two weeks between Niagara-on-the-Lake and Queenston and the distance is a scant 7 miles.

The plant that impressed me most was the fog plant.

137 I've tried to locate it in my botanical encyclopedias but so far have met with failure. It appeared to be an annual but such a robust growing annual I have never known before in my life. (It could have been an herbaceous perennial—I'm not 100% certain. But I do know it started from the surface because there was no old wood or old stems on any of the thousands of plants that I saw and the hundreds that I examined closely.

If you know the winter creeper, or euonymus, then you can quickly understand what this fog plant looked like. It seemed to thrive in practically any location that would give succor to a living plant. In some places it was small and compact. In other locations it grew large and sprawling. It grew out of the rocks and hung down. It grew against the sides of the mountains and climbed up. It resembled, in many instances, a low growing shrub, but it was entirely void of wood. In other cases it grew erect and in still other places I found it sprawling around the ground in a wide area, making an excellent ground cover.

It is my estimate that I did not come across more than 30 different types of perennials or annual herbs. I am sure you will agree that it is understandable that the flora of this area would not be wide or tremendous.

133 Undoubtedly the valleys along the Nagir side were more lush, looked better and were larger than the cultivated areas along the Hunza side. One of the reasons for this condition is the fact that the Hunza side is more precipitous and the walls of the canyon or mountains are steeper and more sheer, leaving less opportunity for soil to accumulate, be cultivated and grow plants.

247 In the homes, from my observations, and I made careful study of this aspect, I did not see a sign of one

single house plant. This applies to the Nagir side as 247
well. Of course this is readily understandable when
you realize that they have no glass or light. The only [354]
light they would have in a Hunzan home would be the
bit that streaks in from the hole in the roof or through
the doorway. This lack of light would not be conducive
to growing plants indoors.

I recognized and found one lone dandelion plant and 137
believe me, when I found it, my heart was glad, gladder
than it would have been if I'd found a beautiful rose.
It has always been my belief and contention that
dandelions are found where'er plant life can survive
and this plant bore out (to a degree) my lifelong con-
tention. As long as a dandelion can be found, one need
not fear starvation. The greens of the dandelion, es- 000
pecially when young and tender, make delicious salads
. . . but remember, be sure to get the young tender
shoots. The roots are roasted and ground, and they
make a beverage that some authorities say is as good
as coffee. The root can also be used the same as pars-
nips. Herbalists prescribe dandelion coffee for dys-
pepsia, gout and rheumatism and they claim, with
sincerity, that it possesses most beneficial properties for
such ailments. It is also recommended by the herbalists
for kidney and liver disorders and Potter says it is
perhaps one of the most generally prescribed remedies
. . . "It may be given in any form but its beneficial
action is best obtained when combined with other
agents." Now besides all the above virtues, its flowers
and milky stalks make delicious wine.

This one single lone dandelion—the only one I saw 137
on my trek—had caught a foothold in a crevice of a
rock and was growing on this steep wall. I felt like 000
embracing it and pressing it to my heart. But if I had,

133 was no basis for comparison. The Alps were pretty hills!

But here again was something entirely different. We flew through and over the Himalayas from Rawalpindi till we neared Gilgit and from the moment we saw the Karakorums I was impressed with their appearance of hardness, massiveness—yes, and their coldness, too, but they certainly weren't very cold here on our way to Chalt where the metallic content of the rock absorbs every bit of heat and seems to hold it. Whereas the [137] Rockies are mainly grassed or timbered, the Karakorums are bare, naked and distinctly metallic looking.

Of course there are bare mountains in the rockies and there are treed and grassy ones in the Karakorums but it's the exception, in both cases, rather than the rule. Apart from a bit of grass or a few trees in an occasional valley, the mountains in general were bare rock. It is indeed a tribute to the courage, ingenuity and resourcefulness of the people of Hunza and other races who live in these rocky valleys, that they can manage to eke out an existence.

In the Rockies anything over 10,000 feet is rare and unusual. When you hit 12,000, 13,000 or 14,000 feet it is an event of major importance. But here in the Karakorums, when you are trudging along, everywhere the mountains are 14,000, 15,000 and 16,000 feet high. It seems that the ridges all around you are 12,000 to 14,000 feet, with something like Rakaposhi occasionally poking up at 25,550 feet. Even that is nothing of any spectacular mention, because within a few scant miles as the crow flies could be found ten peaks as high or higher and dozens or maybe hundreds somewhat smaller, but still much bigger and more impressive than most found in the Rockies and the Alps.

Just to illustrate my point I'll mention a few, starting at the Afghan border and working over to Singkiang

164 into the "fine, barrel chests" reported
146 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the fine, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[18] hard-working, but with their country.
[36] There is no flat land in all of Hunza.
[311] Villages and farms are built on alluvial cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[167] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
241 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-calked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders, gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[132] cool but exceedingly dry desert, prac-
[137] tically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly 563
of totally distinct stock from the Burusho. Much more difficult is the question of the relation of the Burusho and the Shina-speakers. My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shèn of lower Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burusho of Hunza. They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to apparent mentality and sanitary ideals. A large proportion of the child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity of comparing the people of the Hunza Shèn villages of Hindi and Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burusho fellow-"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the 184
Burusho of Hunza and the Burusho of Nagir? That is a question 157
which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; 361
but it is the general impression among European visitors that there is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples. The Hunza Burusho are felt to be a happy and cheerful people, their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching sombreness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be 125
worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical 141
measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency. The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measurements were recorded uninstructedly according to an antiquated scheme of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only 141
measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are reasonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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District	Number of Subjects	Head Measurements in Centimetres			Cephalic Index	Height in Feet & Ins.
		Ant.-Posterior Diameter	Transverse Diameter	Frontal Minimum		
Hunza . .	138	19·135	14·833	10·423	76·834	5′ 6$\frac{8}{11}$″
Nagir . .	152	19·411	14·256	9·536	73·424	5′ 5½″
Yasin . .	78	19·035	14·788	10·413	77·714	5′ 6$\frac{1}{10}$″
Gilgit . .	40	19·362	14·493	10·075	74·931	5′ 4$\frac{15}{16}$″
Astor . .	43	19·005	14·494	10·197	76·306	5′ 3½″
Punial . .	65	19·165	14·611	10·342	76·286	5′ 5$\frac{13}{16}$″
Kuh-Ghizer	78	19·099	14·791	10·217	77·432	5′ 5$\frac{10}{11}$″

Without allowing too much importance to these figures, we may tentatively accept a considerable difference between the Hunza and Nagir subjects in cephalic index and its factors, in frontal minimum and in height. The Nagir type seems to approximate to the Gilgit type, while the Hunza type approaches to that of Yasin. These conclusions receive further support from a detailed examination of the figures. I have plotted the numbers under each figure of the anterior-posterior and transverse diameters of the head, and of the height, and very similar curves are yielded by the Hunza and Yasin records; and the same holds of the Nagir and Gilgit records.

141 My own visual impressions, however, for what they are worth,
184 would suggest that in physique and feature there is a perceptible
157 difference between the Burushaski-speakers of Hunza and the Werchikwar-speakers of Yasin. It is to be noted that both the Hunza and Nagir subjects are almost entirely Burusho; only a few individuals of those measured came from the Shina-speaking villages. This difference in the attitude to a very mild form of militarism may indicate an inherent difference of temperament. On the other hand it may be due to economic or other unsuspected causes.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV 7

V.—ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON DARDS AND KAFIRS IN DR. LEITNER'S SERVICE.

(*Measurements in Centimetres.*)

000

1. ABDUL GHAFÛR, KAFIR OF KAMÔZ, *about 24 or 25 years of age.*

Height, 168·5; hair, black; eyes, hazel; colour of face, ruddy; colour of body, very light brown; narrow forehead; high instep; big boned; length round the forehead, biggest circumference of head, 53·75; protruding and big ears; square face; long nose, slightly aquiline; good regular teeth; small beard; slight moustache and eyebrows; distance between eyebrows, ordinary; good chest; fine hand; well-made nails. Weight, 10 st. 2¾ lbs.

B
142
141

2. KHUDAYÁR, YASHKUN NÁGYRI; *age* 24.*

Height, 182; colour of body, light yellow brown; round the head, 52·5; teeth, good, regular; nose, very slightly aquiline; little growth on upper lip; none on cheeks; long, straight, coarse black hair; eyes, hazel; ears, not so protruding; better-proportioned forehead; small hand; good instep; foot bigger, in proportion, than hand (not so good as other's hand); 80 puls*. Weight, 9 st. 10 lbs.

3. IBRAHÎM, RÔNO, NAGYRI; *age* 34.

Height, 162·3; round the head, 56·5; eyes, dark brown; big hands and feet; instep, good; colour, brown; good muscular foot; strong arms; hair, black; plentiful growth on upper lip; nose, aquiline; broad nostrils; full lips. Weight, 10 st. 12 lbs. (No. 10 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

4. MATAVALLI, YASHKUN OF HUNZA; *age* 30.*

Height, 164·0; very hairy, including hands; round the head, 54·0; head, pyramidal pointed; sinister countenance; very big hands and feet; thin lips; great moustache, coarser hair; more flat-soled than rest. Weight, 9 st. 8½ lbs. (*Full details in "Comparative Table."*)

5. SULTAN ALI, YASHKUN OF NAGYR; *age* 35.

Height, 165·25; round the head, 53·75; square head; retroussé, small nose; small mouth; red beard, plentiful; black hair; brown eyes; very big hands and feet, also instep. Weight, 9 st. 12 lbs. (No. 11 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

6. KHUDÂDAD OF NAGYR; *age* 30.

Height, 163·3; round the head, 54·4; stupid expression; big chest; ordinary hands and feet; low forehead; rising head; very muscular; eyes, brown; complexion, brown; thickish nose; very narrow forehead; underhung jaw; lots of hair. Weight, 9 st. 12 lbs. (No. 3 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

7. HATÂMU OF NAGYR; *age* 16.

Height, 162·1; round the head, 54·4 (broad head); low Grecian forehead; small nose; eyes, dark brown; light brown complexion; small hands and feet; regular, white teeth. Weight, 7 st. 13 lbs. (No. 4 of above Drawing.)

8. GHULAM MUHAMMAD, SHÎN OF GILGIT; *age* 38.*

D
142
141

Height, 161·0; round the head, 54; beard, prematurely grey; lost second incisor; small hands and feet; fair instep; brown eyes and complexion; nose, straight; ears all right. Weight, 8 st. 5 lbs.

* See also "Comparative Table" at the end of this Appendix, and the "Anthropological Photograph" facing this page. Read also page 1 of Appendix IV. "The Races of the Hindukush," opposite to Drawing 1 of that Appendix, on which look for Nos. 1, 6, and 9.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-82) 1890? AV3 Dupl AV1
B.O.S.A. A.V.7
B
D
141
142

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ANTHI

(The first five and the last

	A MATAYALLA*
Date and place of observation	9-6-81: Simla
Age; sex; profession	32 yrs.; m.; peasant and warri
Caste, tribe, and tongue	Yashkun; Khajond; Burishi
Religion and birthplace	Shiah; (probably Multai) Hum
Thin, medium, or stout	medium
Weight†	9 st. 8½ lb.
Colours ‡: skin, exposed parts	53 (red brown)
" covered parts	21 (light red brown)
hair	48 (black)
beard	41 (black)
eyes	3 (light brown)
Hair: straight, wavy, curly, frizzled, or woolly	straight
Beard: thick (abundant), scanty, or none	thick, long and stiff
Skin: smooth, a little, or very hairy	very hairy
Shape of profile of nose (p. 111) No.	2 (nearly quite straight)
Lips: thick, medium, or thin	medium (arched)
" straight, or turned outwards	straight
Teeth: large, medium, or small	small
" incisors, straight (vertical), slanting, or very slanting	straight (incisors wide apart)
The set of teeth: very good, good, medium, bad, or very bad	good (but dirty)
Skull: Diameters: antero-posterior, maximum	195 millim.
" " initial	192 "
" transverse, maximum	144 "
" auriculo-vertical (b. m.)	116 "
Curves: inio-frontal	345 "
" horizontal	340 "
" transverse sub-auricular	320 "
facial angle (Camper)	81 "
From point of chin to edge of hair	185 "
" ophryon to alveolar point	95 "
Breadth between zygomata	139 "
Length of nose	48 "
Breadth of nose	31 "
From ophryon to root of nose	12 "
Width between inner angle of eyes	—
" " cheekbones	94 "
Height (standing)	164 centim.
" (sitting)	106 "
Greatest extension of arms	160 "
" " of span	90 "
Total length of foot	25 "
Length of ditto, ante-malleolar	20 "
Forehead	high; slightly receding
Frontal bone (bord sourcilier)	very marked
Intra-ocular distance	scarcely any
Eyebrows	bushy, crossing, forming but one line
Eyes	straight
Cheeks	little salient
Zygomatic arch	very salient
Chin	oval
Ears	medium, little salient (round, small
Mouth	—
Neck	strong
Torso	strong
Extremities	very small

* For additional measurements, see page 2. He is No. 6 of Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.

† I was obliged to get myself measured in order to encourage the Dards and Kafirs to allow themselves to be measured. Maxwell's 77½, mesocephalic Khubiyar's 78·7, mesocephalic Ghulam Mohammed may also be compared with Abdul Ghafur's, 77·5; Khudayar's, 80·3; Dardar's, 80·5; Maxwell's, 3 details regarding those of them, and gives the measurements of three other Dards (Ghulam, Abdullah, and the amplitude of the frontal [illegible] of the Dards's heirloom, on the drawing opposite to page 76 of the

‡ There were also measured the Kandai Kafir Abdulghafir, age 25 or 24, weighing 50 st. 2lb.; and

§ The numbers refer to the tables published by Broca, Topinard and Hamy.

[facing p. 198: a]

ROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE DARDS

are described by the French system; the sixth by the German system, put into millimetres and

141
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	B KHUDÁVÁR	C GHULAM MUHAMMAD.	D GHULÁM.
	... ... 2-6-81 : Sinla	... 2-6-81 : Sinla ...	... ——— Sinla ... ...
	... ... 21 yrs. ; m. ; student ...	40 yrs. ; m. ; agriculturist	... 18 yrs. ; m. ...
	Yashkun ; Khajund ; Burishki	... Shind	Shin (Kashmir subject)
	... ... Shish ; Nagyr	... Shish ; Gilgit ...	Sensi ; Gurukit near Astor
	... ... thin	... medium ...	... ...
	... ... 9 st. 10 lb.	... 8 st. 5 lb. ...	... ...
	... ... 54	... ... 58	... ... 52 ... ...
	... ... 47	... ... 58	... ... 53 ... ...
	... ... 42	... ... grey	... ... 48 ... ...
	... ... 43	... ... grey	... ... 48 ... ...
	... ... 3	... ... 3	... ... 1 ... ...
	... ... curly	... ... curly	... ... curly ... ...
	... ... scanty	... very thick ...	... ... thick ... ...
	... ... a little hairy	... a little hairy ...	... very hairy ...
	... ... 5	... ... 5	... ... 5 ... ...
	... ... medium	... medium ...	... ... thin ... ...
	... ... straight	... straight ...	... straight ... ...
	... ... medium	... large	... ... small ... ...
	... ... straight	... straight ...	... ... straight ... ...
	... ... very good	... ... good	... very good ...
	... ... 183	... ... 186	... ... 187 ... ...
	... ... 180	... ... 187	... ... 185 ... ...
	... ... 144	... ... 144	... ... 144 ... ...
	... ... 109	... ... 113	... ... 110 ... ...
	... ... 325	... ... 325	... ... 335 ... ...
	... ... 325	... ... 540	... ... 540 ... ...
	... ... 325	... ... 300	... ... 335 ... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ...	... ...	... ...
	... ... 180	... ... 180	... ... 159 ... ...
	... ... 131	... ... 184	... ... 185 ... ...
	... ... 180	... ... 174	... ... 167 ... ...
	... ... 16½	... ... 16	... ... 20 ... ...
	... ... 26	... ... 23	... ... 24½ ... ...
	... ... 21½	... ... 19	... ... 20 ... ...
	... high ; slightly retreating	medium ; straight	medium ; straight
	... ... well developed	much developed	... scarcely any ...
	... ... deep	... very deep ...	... not deep ...
	... ... very bushy	arched, bushy, crossed	arched, bushy, crossed
	... ... straight	... straight ...	... ... straight ... ...
	... ... little salient	... salient ...	... little salient ...
	... ... salient	... salient ...	... much developed ...
	... ... oval	... ... oval ...	... ... oval ... ...
	... ...	... medium ...	... ...
	... ...	... proportioned ...	... ... small ... ...
	... ... proportioned	... proportioned ...	well proportioned
	... ... square	... ... fine	... well made ...
	... ... fine		... medium ...

** Mir Abdullah is No. 7 of Drawing 1, and No. 2 of Drawing 2, of A
been to be subjected to a process so unintelligible to them. At the same time, their comparison with an European
d 22 in, mesocephalic (Gholam 7), the respectively dolichocephalic Abdullah 72·73 and dolichocephalic Mir Abdullah
g ; Rahim Ali's, 77·72 ; Khoshbut's and Hunter's, 74·4 ; and Gholam Muhammad's, 74 ; which give the circumf
f Mir Abdullah), so that in all, including Jemshid, the measurements of twelve Dards or Kafirs have been preserve
ent of this Volume.
the following Hagrals : Ibrahim Khan, 34 years old, 10 st. 10 lb. ; Sultan Ali, 35 years old, 9 st. 12 lb. ; and the be
† The following extra measurements were given :—Height to acromion sinister, 178 ; to acromion,

[Facing p. 198: b]

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

S IN DR. LEITNER'S SERVICE. Burushó AV7

entimetres respectively.)

141
142

E ABDULLAH.	F MIR ABDULLAH. **	G † DR. LEITNER.
2-6-81 : Simla	23-3-86 : Lahore	2-6-81 : Simla
yrs. ; m. ; agriculturist	30 yrs. ; m. ; Jurist	40 yrs.
hin ; (Kashmir subject)	Dard ; Gabriál	
mni ; Gurukót near Astor	Sunni	
medium	medium	stout
		14 st. 4 lb.
37	forehead & cheeks, reddish-brown	25 (very fair)
37	lips, pink ; covered parts, lighter	24 (very fair)
48	black	fair
48	red-brown	fair ; slightly red
1	*Iris : dark brown ; Sclr : white, bluish, injected*	14 (blue)
curly	black, short, curly	curly
very thick	straight ; woolly ; brown-reddish	abundant
very hairy	hairy on breast, little on arms	very hairy
5, very high nostrils	convex	5
medium	thin, arched	medium
little turned outward	thin, straight	thin, straight
small	small	medium
straight	straight	vertical
very bad	transparent, very white	medium
193	10[illegible]	201
183	186	200
140	141	163
114	119	126
345		340
520	530	600
320		330
81		73
177	191	193
75		94
132	136	133
52	59	54
39	35	33
20		16
38	34	35
108		103
152	166	171
124		126
165	165	182
19		19
23½	25½	27
19½		22
high ; straight	high ; breadth of forehead 107	high ; slightly receding
scarcely any	pronounced	very pronounced
not deep	deep ; distance 3·4	very small
rched, bushy, crossed	standing far apart, thin	arched
straight	straight	straight
little salient	very salient	salient
much developed	salient	not salient
oval	oval	square
medium flat	long ; height of ear 6·3	medium
thick	length of mouth 5·3	medium
strong	proportioned	strong
slim (svelte)	proportioned	vigorous
medium	small	medium ‖

ppendix IV. For additional measurements, see page 2.
may have some interest. His brachycephalic Cranial Index 81·44 may be compared with, 73·82, which give an average of 75·55. The European's circumference of head, 60 centimetres, rence of the heads of the eight Dards and Kafirs on the first page. This Table supplies further h. Those taken by Dr. Neill have been lost. Notice also the fine formation of the head and

Hatsana, 16 years old, and weighing 7 st. 13 lb.
142 ; to epicondyle, 106 ; styloid apophysis of the radius, 82 ; to the end of middle finger, 64.

[facing p. 198: c]

2:Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7
342
142
291

PLATE VII

Group on roof of No. 1 watching passers-by in street below. Small boy is carrying baby on his back of whom nothing is visible but tiny fists on brother's shoulders.

(See Chap. 16)

[Facing P. 88]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

592
142

1. Bibi Anjir (left) and a neighbour.

2. Hérul Nisa with baby niece (the first grandchild).

PLATE XIV: Household of No. 8 (See p. 129)

3. Ustád Nadiro and Hérul Nisa.

[Facing P. 160]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

142
291

1. "The Merry Widow" just about to be remarried; "And I'm in great demand, I can tell you," she said.

2. Washing a homespun cloak.

(*See p.* 175)

3. Brother and sister.

4. The "Cheshire Cat" of No. 4 with small sister.

PLATE XVI

[Facing P. 184]

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

● 142

1. Gohir Nimo of No. 9 reaping. (See p. 134)

PLATE XVII

592

2. Family group of No. 14. Aliko (seated in background) watches Sóni proudly rocking his first grandson. (See p. 161)

[Facing P.224]

2; Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

312
857

1. Children watching water-hole (centre) to close it with the mushroom-plug (right) at given signal from father. (See p. 94)

PLATE XXIII

142
212

2. Two small Hunza princesses with pet puppy. (See p. 246)

3. Khalifa Farághat teaching his son to read the Persian scriptures. (See p. 241)

[Facing P. 304]

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

291
142

, Nazar of Aliabad.

End Plate 1

Ayesh was a most jovial character. He had the most pleasant smiling happy countenance of any man I've ever met. He was always either laughing or smiling and every time I looked at him I had to smile as well. He was a handsome man but in contrast to the Mir, who had a good head of dark hair, Ayesh was balding, the same as I. 124 115 [644] 142

It was most pleasant to see the splendid cordial relationship that existed between him and the Mir's entire family.

"How are you coming along with your quest for information?" asked the Mir.

"Exceptionally well, sir," I replied. "But there are also many questions that only you can answer and I'm hoping that you can spare a few minutes some time within the next few days in private so that I may gain this information."

"Any time you say," replied the Mir pleasantly. "I'm at your disposal. You mention the time and that will be it."

"You are indeed very kind to grant me this great favor and I appreciate it," I said.

So there and then we made an appointment for 5 o'clock the following day.

Every meal at the Mir's was a joy and a delight and both the Mir and the Rani were always present. I had already mentioned to him that this was a trouble and an imposition and too much to expect of him. But he said that it was the way he wanted it and that nothing was too good and no effort too great for his guests. Well, what can you do with a man like that? 122 574

Then he informed me concerning my friend's health. "The doctor has things under control now," he told me, "but he will remain here with me as my guest at the palace during your stay so there will be no worries 122 758

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

121 learn all there is to know about these most unusual
114 people. At least I wanted to learn the answers to the many questions that come into the average individual's mind.

Therefore, it is my hope that I have not failed in these positive respects.

If my narrative is not everything that you hoped and expected, I sincerely trust that I will make up in the details and information of an authentic nature that I give to you concerning these remarkable people.

142 The facial features of the people of Hunza are most striking. They are invariably finer featured than the people of the West—more angular, more clearly outlined and defined, without being harsh or bold. Their facial characteristics can best be described by the phrase "finely, delicately chiseled physiognomy" . . . like the intricate creations of a gifted sculptor.

Whether because of the rugged outdoor life they lead or because of the tanning or curing process of their smoke-filled homes during the winter, the texture of their skin is quite unusual. I think I can describe it best if I say that their faces looked as though they were made out of smooth chamois.

I was struck by the similarity of the features of the people of Hunza. In the West, everybody you meet or know doesn't look like anyone else that you know. In fact, if you do happen to come across someone who has the likeness or features similar to those of someone else you know, you're immediately struck by that resemblance, which illustrates my point. In the Western world, there is a wide divergence of facial features and characteristics. In Hunza that does not hold true.

A little thought will establish the reason for this
[143] situation. Intermarriage during the centuries must have been the order of the day because of the confining nature of their homeland.

245 fore, knolls or rolling lands are preferred and gravelly,
311 sandy or light loam soils are chosen.

There are neither rolling lands nor tilthy knolls in Hunza. Here they have to take what they can get and make the best of it. The precipitous bits of arable land are terraced to prevent erosion and the flat pieces, such as there are, create no drainage problem because there is no danger of too much rain.

You will seldom see more than a few dozen fruit trees in one group or area. They are scattered here, there and everywhere and are planted only where and when they can grow to best advantage.

I would also like to mention that fruit and walnut trees are found growing almost everywhere along the roads or trails in the populated area, so no bit of arable land, no matter where it is found, is wasted.

245 I do not know if there is any dispute as to who owns the crops but all the way from Gilgit to Altit I did not find a bit of ripe fruit on the trees—which means most clearly that somebody harvests the crops at just the right time or when the fruit is at or about proper maturity.

433 From some of the larders that I examined, I gathered
251 that they certainly wouldn't have any overabundance and I further felt that, by the time winter and early spring passed and before the new crops were ready to harvest, some bellies might have thinned out and some more might even be hungry.

There was no reason for me to disbelieve the Mir when he said Hunza was the "land of just enough" but I still felt that, by the look of things, there would be many occasions when that "just enough" might have to be stretched a little. I was convinced that they certainly did not have too much of any food commodity.

•142 The only two stout men that I met on my entire

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

sojourn through the area were the Mir's two brothers. 142
The Mir himself, while not tall, is well-built and muscular, but shows no sign of fat.

The Hunzan fruit crops, from my careful observations, are as follows: apricots, Persian walnuts, mulberries, peaches, plums, pears and cherries. These were the sweet cherries. Nowhere did I see any sign of the sour or pie cherries. 245

Further, I noticed that all of the trees of this type that I saw were old. There were not many young trees, but that is understandable because they allow a tree to grow as long as it is able to bear fruit and they have little or no new space to plant young trees.

The walnut, the mulberry and the apricot trees grow to enormous size—far stronger, broader and heavier than they ever grow in America, although I have seen huge walnut trees and huge cherry trees in the Western world. Peach, pear, plum and apple are not grown nearly as much as the other kinds mentioned.

105 where. They use water to turn the mill that grinds
[376] their bread and that is primitive. But many thousands of people throughout the world would say that it is the right way. The adroitness and the ability of the Hunzan men would match that of any people in the Western world.

I cannot say that I found anything about them that was primitive. Further, they can choose the modern way of life if they so desire it. But the only people who seek it are those who are forced to leave Hunza because of the shortage of actual living room.

511 *Poverty stricken*—One writer referred to them as being poverty stricken. If the beast of the fields and forests and the birds of the air are poverty stricken, then I guess we would have to admit that the people of Hunza are poverty stricken as well. If you want to feel sorry for birds, because they have to seek shelter in their unheated nests high up in the trees, where the winds blow around them, and because they do not have oil heating for their nests or motors for their wings as a sign of poverty, then I will be forced to agree with you.

As long as the people of Hunza are free, have a bit of land to till and a house of their own that is not mortgaged or tax-ridden and are in good health and attain long life, I definitely cannot accede that they are poverty stricken.

● 142 *Fair complexioned*—Now and then some author refers to them as being fair complexioned. I did not see one fair complexioned person in all of Hunza. Perhaps
[144] the writers meant to say that they were Caucasians, which is true, as compared to Orientals or Negroes. They are not a fair people any more than the Spaniards, Italians or Greeks are fair complexioned peoples.

805 *Precise, exacting*—An occasional writer sought to

842 mentioned above and so do women who have reached the menopause age become pregnant, but it doesn't happen every day.

Siring children at 90 *and* 100 *years of age*—The only conclusive proof or record that I could find concerning men well up in years siring children was that of the Mir's grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E. It is definitely recorded that he sired a son when he was in his 75th year.

Upon questioning and during discourse with the Mir, the resident doctor and the affected individuals themselves, it is clearly established that the siring of offspring at the age of 70 and upwards is quite common. Invariably it was revealed in these studies that the men had married younger women, their second or third wives. It is suggested that the answer lies somewhere close to this very important related fact.

165 [217] *Living to the age of* 140 *years.* The oldest man that I could find in Hunza was said to be 105 years old. I want to stress firmly that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. Therefore it is not easy to establish any definite age or date. I will, however, accept this old man's age as being correct and established beyond doubt. The fact that he was alive before the Mir's grandfather was born (who died when 79 years of age in 1938) is ample proof that the statement is correct and true.

There are many people in Hunza over 90 years of age, quite a few over 95 years of age and some over 100 years.

142 165 *Their women are beautiful when they are* 70 *and* 80 *years old.* This I will agree is a statement that depends entirely upon a man's appreciation or understanding of beauty. I have seen old women of 80 who I thought were beautiful in a frail, wrinkled, grandmotherly way.

I found the Rani to be the most beautiful woman in Hunza. I didn't dare ask her age, but I know she was married to the present Mir in 1934. Therefore she must be close to or in her 40's. She could undoubtedly pass with any woman in her early 20's. But there were few, if any, women in Hunza like her. 142

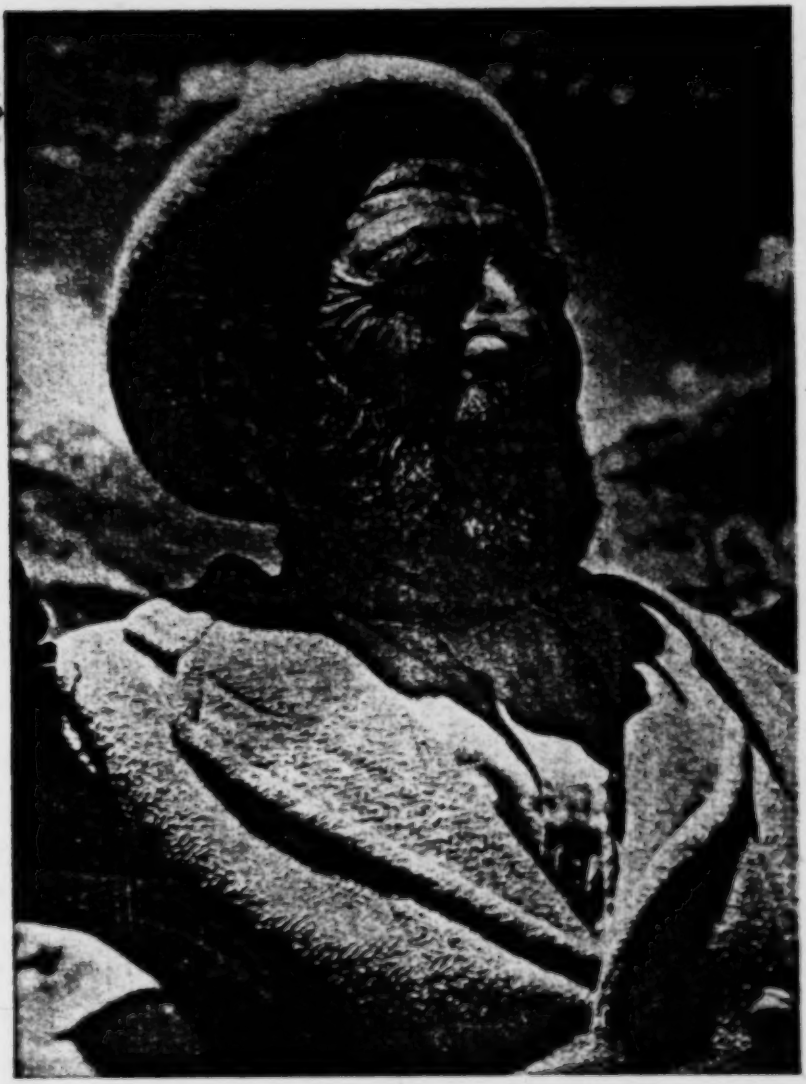
I further will grant that I, or anyone else for that matter, would have very little opportunity of seeing Hunzan women at what might be their best. To state my views candidly, I'd say the men definitely looked youthful, but the women looked to be older than their years.

Perfect health—I have never seen, as yet, a race of people that was as healthy as the people of Hunza. But to say that they were a race that enjoyed perfect health, I would consider a bit of an exaggeration, because the doctor does treat a few patients now and then and the hospital does harbor a few sick people. I must honestly admit that I did not see any sick people in Hunza, but there are quite a few who do not enjoy perfect health. 164

A pre-Bronze Age people—Here I suspect someone wanted to show his knowledge in archeology or anthropology, whichever it may be. (I am expressing *my* ignorance to begin with.) They are no more Bronze Age than was the writer who referred to them as such. This would take them back between 4,000 and 5,000 years which is utter and sheer "poppycock." He further stated that they were isolated for 2,000 years. If that is true, they were isolated because they wanted to remain that way. 174 [177]

It is a fact that there is a caravan trail right through Hunza. It is the shortest route from China to Persia and leads through Hunza, past Gilgit and across the Babusar Pass and then on westward or southwestward. 487 177

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 40-A]
142
291
302
779
888



FABLED ELDERS of Hunza are products of rugged mountain life, scarcity, Moslem faith, and an autocratic tradition. If they exaggerate age, it is done to claim society's veneration.

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.40-E]
142
291
302
562
262

Sculptures of the sexes in rigid frame early youth. Hunza's Maidens girls, right, are destined to live almost totally detached from the lives of men. Have two one chaperone.

8;Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.41-D]

644
142
291
302

[562] [584] MIR'S DAUGHTER, the Princess Nilofar, is spokesman for Hunza's women, who, despite public segregation and their low status, never are forced to marry against their will.

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P43-A]

●1/2
291
3/2
303

SCENE MORE TYPICAL of neighboring Gilgit than of Hunza is this one showing boys at a community fountain. Until a short time ago, little if any pipe had been available in Hunza. Water, called "glacial milk," comes from ice sheets.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.43-B]

256
291
516

GRINDING of barley and wheat, *above*, is done by centuries-old technique.

142
252
291
415
516

CHAPATTIES are the end product of the country's milling and baking.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7
143
291
142

RAJA UZR KHAN OF NAGAR.

[facing p. 142]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

142
291

A HUNZA MAN.

[facing p. 170]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7
291
142

RAJA GAURI THAM KHAN.

MURDERED BY HIS BROTHER RAJA UZR KHAN.

[facing p. 236]

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

000 B 197 B [779] B [142]

the opposite Hunza. The language of Nagyr and Hunza is the Non-Aryan Khajuná and no affinity between that language and any other has yet been traced. The Nagyris are mostly Shiahs. They are short and stout and fairer than the people of Hunza [the Kunjûtis] who are described* as "tall skeletons" and who are desperate robbers. The Nagyris understand Tibetan, Persian and Hindustani. Badakhshan merchants were the only ones who could travel with perfect safety through Yassen, Chitral and Hunza.

DANCES†

D 535 B [535]

Fall into two main divisions: "slow" or "Búti Harip" =Slow Instrument" and Quick "Danni Harip,"=Quick Instrument. The Yassen, Nagyr and Hunza people dance quickest; then come the Gilgitis; then the Astóris; then the Baltis, and slowest of all are the Ladakis.

When all join in the dance, cheer or sing with gesticulations, the dance or recitative is called "thapnatt" in Gilgiti, and "Burró" in Astóri.

When there is a solo dance it is called "nàtt" in Gilgiti, and "nott" in Astóri.

"Cheering" is called "Halamush" in Ghilgiti, and "Halamùsh" in Astóri. Clapping of hands is called "tza." Cries of "*Yú*, Yú dea; tza theá, Hiú Hiú dea; Halamush thea; shabâsh" accompany the performances.

There are several kinds of Dances. The PRASULKI NATE, is danced by ten or twelve people ranging themselves behind the bride as soon as she reaches the bridegroom's house. This custom is observed at Astor. In this dance men swing above sticks or whatever they may happen to hold in their hands.

The BURO' NATT is a dance performed on the Nao holiday, in which both men and women engage—the women forming a ring round the central group of dancers, which is composed of men. This dance is called THAPPNATT at

* By the people of Gilgit.

† A few remarks made under this head and that of music have been taken from Part II, pages 32 and 21, of my "Dardistan," in order to render the accounts more intelligible.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dan AV3
Burkha Av 7
D 142 B 142

A STUDENT FROM TANGIR.

A MAGYAR PEASANT.

A DAREYLI HERDSMAN.
[*notice fine head and ample forehead.*]

(*Already published.*)
A WELL-KNOWN HUNZA FIGHTER, BROUGHT TO ENGLAND BY DR. LEITNER IN 1887.

[facing p. 76]

Burusho A v 7

142
411
291

SPECIMENS OF THE HUNZAKUT RACE OF HUNZA (ON A SLOPE OF THE TAGHDUMBASH, OF HAKIN, AND OF TAGH).

MATAVALLI,
the first Hunza man who came to Europe.

SOME HUNZAKUT FROM TAGH
representing the Hunzakut Royal Families.

MUHAD ALI,
of Hunza.

[facing p. 113]

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burushaski 7

APPENDIX IV.

THE RACES AND LANGUAGES OF THE HINDU-KUSH.

By Dr. G. W. Leitner.

The accompanying illustration was autotyped some years ago from a photograph taken in 1881, and is now published for the first time. Following the numbers on each figure represented we come first to No. 1, the tall Khudayár, the son of an Akhun or Shiah priest of Nagyr, a country ruled by the old and wise Tham or Raja Zafar Ali Khan, whose two sons, Alidád Khan in 1866, and Habib ulla Khan in 1886, instructed me in the Khajuná language, which is spoken alike in gentle but brave Nagyr and in its hereditary rival country, the impious and savage Hunza "Huo-land," represented by figure 6, Matavalli, the ex-kidnapper whom I took to England, trained to some Muhammadan piety, and sent to Kerbalá a year ago. No. 2 was an excellent man, an Uzbek visitor from Koláb, one Najmuddin, a poet and theologian, who gave me an account of his country. Nos. 3 and 4 are pilgrims from Nagyr to the distant Shiah shrine in Syria of the martyrdom of Husain at Kerbelá; No. 5 is a Chitráli soldier, whilst No. 7 is a distinguished Arabic Scholar from Gabriál, from whom much of my information was derived regarding a peaceful and learned home, now, alas! threatened by European approach, which my travels in 1866 and 1872, and my sympathetic intercourse with the tribes of the Hindu Kush, have unfortunately facilitated. The Jalkóti, Darvyli, and others, who are referred to in the course of the present narrative, will either figure on other illustrations or must be "taken as read." No. 8 is the Sunni Moulvi Habibulla, a Tájik of Bukhara and a Hakim (physician). No. 9 is my old retainer, Ghulám Muhammad, a Shiah of Gilgit, a Shin Dard (highest caste), who was prevented by me from cutting down his mother, which he was attempting to do in order "to save her the pain of parting from him." 10. Ibrahim Khan, a Shiah, Rónu (highest official caste) of *Nagyr*, pilgrim to Kerbelá. 11. Sultan Ali Yashkun (2nd Shin caste) Shiah, of Nagyr, pilgrim to Kerbelá. The word "Yashkun" is, perhaps, connected with "Yuechi."

The languages spoken by these men are: Khajuná by the Hunza-Nagyr men; Arnyiá by the Chitráli; Turki by the Uzbek from Koláb; Shiná by the Gilgiti; Pakhtu and Shuthun, a dialect of Shiná, by the Gabriáli. The people of *Hunza* are dreaded robbers and kidnappers; they, together with the people of Nagyr, speak a language, Khajuná, which philologists have not yet been able to classify, but which I believe to be a remnant of a pre-historic language. They are great wine-drinkers and most licentious. They are nominally Muláis, a heresy within the Shiah schism from the orthodox Sunni Muhammadan faith, but they really only worship their Chief or Raja, commonly called "Thám." The present ruler's name is Mohammad Khan. They are at constant feud with the people of *Nagyr*, who have some civilization, and are *new* devoted Shiahs (whence the number of pilgrims, four, from one village). They are generally fair, and taller than the people of Hunza, who are described as dark skeletons. The Nagyris have fine embroideries, and are said to be accomplished musicians. Their forts confront those of Hunza on the other side of the same river. The people of *Badakhshán* used to deal largely in kidnapped slaves. A refugee, Shahzada Hasan, from the former royal line (which claims descent from Alexander the Great), who has been turned out by the Afghan faction, was then at Gilgit with a number of retainers on fine Badakhshi horses, awaiting the fortunes of war, or, perhaps, the support of the British. He was a younger brother of Jehandár Shah, who used to infest the Koláb road, after being turned out by a relative, Mahmúd Shah, with the help of the Amir of Kabul. *Koláb* is about eleven marches from *Faizabád*, the capital of Badakhshán. The Chitrá[illegible] from Shogót, the residence of Adam Khor (man-eater), brother of Aman-ul-Mulk, of Chitrál, who used to sell his Shiah subjects regularly into slavery and to kidnap Bashgali Kafirs. The man from *Gabriál* was attracted to Lahore by the fame of the Oriental College, Lahore, as were also several others in this group; and there can be no doubt that this institution may still serve as a nucleus for sending pioneers of our civilisation throughout Central Asia. Gabriál is a town in Kandiá, or Kiliá, which is a secluded Dard country, keeping itself aloof from tribal wars. *Gilgit* and its representative have been described in my "Dardistan," to which refer, published in parts between 1866 and 1877.

[Cf. catego[illegible] -- Analyst]

[197]
798
142
000
[175]

B 142 291
D 142 291
1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
Curzio AV7

ETHNOLOGICAL.

(See also Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

A Gabriáli Student and Two Messengers (a Chitráli and a Yasini), from a Brother of the late Mihtar Aman-ul-Mulk, Ruler of Chitrál.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL.

Gilgiti (Ghulám Muhammad). Naguri (Khudáyár). Hunza Man (Matavalli).

[192]

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

Burusho AV 7

V.—ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON DARDS AND KAFIRS IN DR. LEITNER'S SERVICE.

(*Measurements in Centimetres.*)

000

1. ABDUL GHAFÛR, KAFIR OF KAMÔZ, *about* 24 *or* 25 *years of age.*

Height, 168·5; hair, black; eyes, hazel; colour of face, ruddy; colour of body, very light brown; narrow forehead; high instep; big boned; length round the forehead, biggest circumference of head, 53·75; protruding and big ears; square face; long nose, slightly aquiline; good regular teeth; small beard; slight moustache and eyebrows; distance between eyebrows, ordinary; good chest; fine hand; well-made nails. Weight, 10 st. 2¾ lbs.

B

2. KHUDAYÁR, YASHKUN NÁGYRI; *age* 24.*

142

Height, 182; colour of body, light yellow brown; round the head, 52·5; teeth, good, regular; nose, very slightly aquiline; little growth on upper lip; none on cheeks; long, straight, coarse black hair; eyes, hazel; ears, not so protruding; better-proportioned forehead; small hand; good instep; foot bigger, in proportion, than hand (not so good as other's hand); 80 pulsⁿ. Weight, 9 st. 10 lbs.

141

3. IBRAHÎM, RÔNO, NAGYRI; *age* 34.

Height, 162·3; round the head, 56·5; eyes, dark brown; big hands and feet; instep, good; colour, brown; good muscular foot; strong arms; hair, black; plentiful growth on upper lip; nose, aquiline; broad nostrils; full lips. Weight, 10 st. 12 lbs. (No. 10 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

4. MATAVALLI, YASHKUN OF HUNZA; *age* 30.*

Height, 164·0; very hairy, including hands; round the head, 54·0; head, pyramidal pointed; sinister countenance; very big hands and feet; thin lips; great moustache, coarser hair; more flat-soled than rest. Weight, 9 st. 8½ lbs. (*Full details in "Comparative Table."*)

5. SULTAN ALI, YASHKUN OF NAGYR; *age* 35.

Height, 165·25; round the head, 53·75; square head; retroussé, small nose; small mouth; red beard, plentiful; black hair; brown eyes; very big hands and feet, also instep. Weight, 9 st. 12 lbs. (No. 11 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

6. KHUDÂDAD OF NAGYR; *age* 30.

Height, 163·3; round the head, 54·4; stupid expression; big chest; ordinary hands and feet; low forehead; rising head; very muscular; eyes, brown; complexion, brown; thickish nose; very narrow forehead; underhung jaw; lots of hair. Weight, 9 st. 12 lbs. (No. 3 on Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

7. HATÂMU OF NAGYR; *age* 16.

Height, 162·1; round the head, 54·4 (broad head); low Grecian forehead; small nose; eyes, dark brown; light brown complexion; small hands and feet; regular, white teeth. Weight, 7 st. 13 lbs. (No. 4 of above Drawing.)

D

8. GHULAM MUHAMMAD, SHÎN OF GILGIT; *age* 38.*

142

Height, 161·0; round the head, 54; beard, prematurely grey; lost second incisor; small hands and feet; fair instep; brown eyes and complexion; nose, straight; ears all right. Weight, 8 st. 5 lbs.

141

* See also "Comparative Table" at the end of this Appendix, and the "Anthropological Photograph" facing this page. Read also page 1 of Appendix IV. "The Races of the Hindukush," opposite to Drawing 1 of that Appendix, on which look for Nos. 1, 6, and 9.

1: Leitner L-3 {1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
B.M.S.o. AV7
B
D
141
142

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ANTHI

(*The first five and the last*

	A MATAVALLI.*
Date and place of observation	2-6-81 : Simla
Age; sex; profession	32 yrs.; m.; peasant and warri
Caste, tribe, and tongue	Yashkun; Khajuná; Burishl
Religion and birthplace	Shiah; (probably Mulái) Hun
Thin, medium, or stout	medium
Weight‡	9 st. 8½ lb.
Colours § — skin, exposed parts	53 (red brown)
Colours § — „ covered parts	21 (light red brown)
Colours § — hair	48 (black)
Colours § — beard	41 (black)
Colours § — eyes	3 (light brown)
Hair: straight, wavy, curly, frizzled, or woolly	straight
Beard: thick (abundant), scanty, or none	thick, long and stiff
Skin: smooth, a little, or very hairy	very hairy
Shape of profile of nose (p. 111) No.	2 (nearly quite straight)
Lips: thick, medium, or thin	medium (arched)
„ straight, or turned outwards	straight
Teeth: large, medium, or small	small
„ incisors, straight (vertical), slanting, or very slanting	straight (incisors wide apart)
The set of teeth: very good, good, medium, bad, or very bad	good (but dirty)
Skull — Diameters: antero-posterior, maximum	195 millim.
Skull — „ „ inial	192 „
Skull — „ transverse, maximum	144 „
Skull — „ auriculo-vertical (fr. m.)	116 „
Skull — Curves: inio-frontal	345 „
Skull — „ horizontal	540 „
Skull — „ transverse sub-auricular	330 „
Skull — facial angle (Camper)	81 „
From point of chin to edge of hair	185 „
„ ophryon to alveolar point	95 „
Breadth between zygomata	139 „
Length of nose	48 „
Breadth of nose	31 „
From ophryon to root of nose	12 „
Width between inner angle of eyes	—
„ cheekbones	94 „
Height (standing)	164 centim.
„ (sitting)	126 „
Greatest extension of arms	162 „
„ „ of span	20 „
Total length of foot	25 „
Length of ditto, ante-malleolar	20 „
Forehead	high; slightly receding
Frontal bone (bord sourcillier)	very marked
Intra-ocular distance	scarcely any
Eyebrows	bushy, crossing, forming but one lin
Eyes	straight
Cheeks	little salient
Zygomatic arch	very salient
Chin	oval
Ears	medium, little salient (round, small
Mouth	
Neck	strong
Torso	strong
Extremities	very small

* For additional measurements, see page 2. He is No. 6 of Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.

† I was obliged to get myself measured in order to encourage the Dards and Kafirs to allow themse
those of dolichocephalic Matavalli 73·84, mesocephalic Khudáyár 78·7, mesocephalic Ghulám Muhamma
may also be compared with Abdul Ghafúr's, 53·7·5; Khudayár's, 52·5; Ibrahim's, 56·5; Matavalli's, 5
details regarding three of them, and adds the measurements of three other Dards (Ghulám, Abdullah, an
the amplitude of the frontal region of the Darreyli herdsman, on the drawing opposite to page 76 of the t

‡ There were also weighed the Kamóei Kafir Abdulghaffir, age 23 or 24, weighing 30 st. 28lb; and

§ The numbers refer to the tables published by Broca, Topinard and Hamy.

[facing p. 198: a]

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV8 Dard AV3 Burushs AV7

B D 141 142

ROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE DARDS

are described by the French system; the sixth by the German system, put into millimetres and

B KHUDÁYÁR	C GHULAM MUHAMMAD.	D GHULÁM.
2-6-81 : Simla	2-6-81 : Simla	Simla
21 yrs.; m.; student	40 yrs.; m.; agriculturist	18 yrs.; m.
Yashkun; Khajuná; Burishki	Shiná	Shin (Kashmir subject)
Shiah; Nagyr	Shiah; Gilgit	Sunni; Gurukôt near Astor
thin	medium	
9 st. 10 lb.	8 st. 5 lb.	
54	38	52
47	38	53
42	grey	48
43	grey	48
3	2	1
curly	curly	curly
scanty	very thick	thick
a little hairy	a little hairy	very hairy
5	5	5
medium	medium	thin
straight	straight	straight
medium	large	small
straight	straight	straight
very good	good	very good
183	186	187
180	187	185
144	144	144
110	123	110
315	325	335
525	540	540
315	320	335
182	161	159
131	124	125
180	174	167
16½	16	20
26	25	24½
21½	19	20
high; slightly retreating	medium; straight	medium; straight
well developed	much developed	scarcely any
deep	very deep	not deep
very bushy	arched, bushy, crossed	arched, bushy, crossed
straight	straight	straight
little salient	salient	little salient
salient	salient	much developed
oval	oval	oval
	medium	small
proportioned	proportioned	well proportioned
square	proportioned	well made
fine	fine	medium

** Mir Abdullah is No. 7 of Drawing 1, and No. 2 of Drawing 2, of A
ives to be subjected to a process so unintelligible to them. At the same time, their comparison with an European
d 77·4, mesocephalic Ghulám 77, the exquisitely dolichocephalic Abdullah 72·53 and dolichocephalic Mir Abdullah
4; Sultan Ali's, 53·75; Khudádad's and Hatamu's, 54·4; and Ghulam Mahammad's, 54; which give the circumf
l Mir Abdullah), so that in all, including Jamshéd, the measurements of twelve Dards or Kafirs have been preserve
ext of this Volume.
the following Nagyris: Ibrahim Rôno, 34 years old, 10 st. 12 lb.; Sultán Ali, 35 years old, 9 st. 12 lb.; and the bo
The following extra measurements were given:—Height to auricular meatus, 158; to acromion,

[Facing p. 198: b]

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

B D 141 142

S IN DR. LEITNER'S SERVICE.

Burushô AV7

centimetres respectively.)

E ABDULLAH.	F MIR ABDULLAH. **	G † DR. LEITNER.
.. 2-6-81 : Simla ...	... 23-3-86 : Lahore ...	2-6-81 : Simla
) yrs. ; m. ; agriculturist	... 30 yrs. ; m. ; Jurist ...	... 40 yrs.
hin ; (Kashmir subject)	... Dard ; Gabriál ...	
nni ; Gurukôt near Astor	... ... Sunni	
.. ... medium	... .. medium	stout
.. ..	... ...	... 14 st. 4 lb.
.. ... 37	forehead & cheeks, reddish-brown	... 25 (very fair)
.. ... 37	lips, pink ; covered parts, lighter	... 24 (very fair)
.. ... 48	... ... black	... ... fair
.. ... 48	... ... red-brown	fair ; slightly red
.. ... 1	*iris:* dark brown ; *ball:* white, bluish, injected	... 14 (blue)
.. ... curly	... black, short, curly ...	... ... curly
.. very thick ...	straight ; woolly ; brown-reddish	... abundant
.. very hairy ...	hairy on breast, little on arms	... very hairy
5, very high nostrils	... ... convex	 5
.. medium ...	... ... thin, arched	... medium
little turned outward	... ... thin, straight	... thin, straight
.. ... small	... ... small	... medium
.. straight ...	... ... straight	... vertical
.. very bad ...	... transparent, very white ...	... medium
.. ... 193	... ... 191	 201
.. ... 183	... ... 186	 200
.. ... 140	... . 141	 163
.. ... 114	... ... 119	 126
.. ... 345	... ...	 340
.. ... 520	... ... 530	 600
.. ... 320	... ...	 330
.. ... 81	... ...	 73
.. ... 177	... ... 191	 193
.. ... 75	... ...	 94
.. ... 132	... ... 136	 133
.. ... 52	... ... 59	 54
.. ... 39	... . 35	 33
.. ... 20	... ...	 16
.. ... 38	... ... 34	 35
.. ... 108	... ...	 103
.. ... 152	... ... 166	 171
.. ... 124	... ...	 126
.. ... 165	... ... 165	 182
.. ... 19	... ...	 19
.. ... 23½	... ... 25·½	 27
.. ... 19½	... ...	 22
.. high ; straight ...	high ; breadth of forehead 107	high ; slightly receding
.. scarcely any ...	... ... pronounced	very pronounced
.. not deep ...	... deep ; distance 3·4 ...	... very small
rched, bushy, crossed	... standing far apart, thin ...	... arched
.. straight ...	... ... straight	... straight
.. little salient ...	... ... very salient	... ...salient
.. much developed ...	... ... salient	... not salient
.. ... oval	... ...oval	... square
.. medium flat ...	... long ; height of ear 6·3 ...	... medium
.. ... thick	... length of mouth 5·3 ...	... medium
.. ... strong	... ... proportioned	... strong
.. slim (svelte) ...	... ... proportioned	... vigorous
.. medium ...	... ... small	... medium ‖

ppendix IV. For additional measurements, see page 2.
may have some interest. His brachycephalic Cranial Index 81·44 may be compared with 73·82, which give an average of 75·55. The European's circumference of head, 60 centimetres, rence of the heads of the eight Dards and Kafirs on the first page. This Table supplies further l. Those taken by Dr. Neill have been lost. Notice also the fine formation of the head and

) Hatamu, 16 years old, and weighing 7 st. 13 lb.
142 ; to epicondyle, 106 ; styloid apophysis of the radius, 82 ; to the end of middle finger, 64.

[facing p. 198: c]

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

487 difficult pass on to the Shimshal Pamir, from whence a road goes to Ujadbai in the Sirikol Valley. On this Pamir dwell
563 a number of Kirghiz, who pay tribute to the Thum of Hunza,
651 and here the wild yák (*P. grunniens*) and the kyang
[136] (*E. Hemionus*) find their most western limit. The Pamir appears to lie north-west and south-east. From its north side the Kara Kuchkar Pass leads to Raskum, once a flourishing settlement, situated on one of the many branches which form the south-western source of the Yarkund River.
[162] Considerably further to the north-east are the two small communities of Pakpooh and Shakshooh, situated on different tributary streams. Pakpooh is said to contain about 4,000 and Shakshooh about 5,000 souls, and they are situated respectively at an elevation of about 10,000 and 9,000 feet.
[142] Both pay tribute to the ruler of Hunza. These curious people, of whom very little is known, are of Aryan race, and
[197] are described as being of very fair and ruddy complexion. Their language is Chagatai Turki, but, like the Ghalchah tribes of Sirikol and the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh to the westward, many of them speak Persian also. Dr. Bellew,[1] who met some men of the tribe, speaks of them as being a tall, very fair, and handsome race, of a purely Aryan physiognomy, and describes them as poorly clad, carrying matchlocks, of timid and subdued demeanour, and very cautious of giving any information regarding themselves. He mentions that they spoke Turki to other people, but conversed among themselves in a totally different language. He says that they are Mussulmans of the Shiah sect, like the Wakhis and Badakhshis,—that is, Maulais.

Nearly due north of Hunza is the small mountain state of Sirikol. The rulers of the two states have ever maintained a close friendship in spite of the mountains which separate them. From Girtchah in Goohjal, Tashkurgan is reached in eight days. Horses can only travel by the Kilik route, which is longer than that by the Kirish Pass; but the road is excellent and open all the year to both horses and camels. For about two months in summer the road by Misgar is impracticable for horses on account of the depth of the stream that has to be forded. The route by Rishipjerab and Derdee is then used, but men on foot can travel by Misgar at all times. Good roads also lead to Lungar and Kabr-i-Bosai in Wakhan territory.

000 In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name of Kunjoot

[1] Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashghar.*

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
41 AV3 Dard
Burushi AV7

241 covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

771 Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immo-
411 rality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

564 The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yeshkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known
142 as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Iskardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less
197 vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaski, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

576 Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi, the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the names of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gánish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother,
231 and their sons are called "*gushpoor*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

712 Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more
361 forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population takes refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

000 In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D 262 783 [174] by them, not a single fowl is to be seen. These peculiarities are strictly confined to the Shin caste, and, together with other customs which will come under notice presently, afford good grounds for supposing that they were a race of Hindoos who came from the south, and, pressing up the Indus Valley, established a Hindoo state in these remote regions under the crest of the Hindoo Koosh.

B 564 162 197 The next in order and the most numerous caste are the Yeshkuns, who form the entire population of Hunza, Nager, and Ponyal, and nearly all the population of Yassin, besides being numerically superior in Gilgit, Sai, Darel, and Astor. In Hunza and Nager they do not call themselves Yeshkun, but Boorish; and in Yassin, Woorshik and Boorisho. The language spoken, in slightly varying dialects, in these three states is known as Boorishki, Boorishaski, or Woorishki. The term "Khajoona," applied by the Gilgitis to the language as spoken in Nager, is never used in that country, and the old name also lingers in Yassin, which is still known as Woorshigoom. This language, of which an account is given in Appendix A, differs markedly from all languages in the neighbouring valleys. It has, I believe, been pronounced on good authority to belong to the Turanian family of languages.

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Considerable rivalry exists between Shins and Yeshkuns even in villages where they have lived side by side for generations. D 578 B 578

Living among them, in varying numbers, are Syuds, Krammins, Doms, Shotos, and Goojurs. All of these occupy an inferior position except the Syuds, who relate that they first settled in the country in the time of Tamerlane. They are treated with the highest respect, and receive in marriage daughters from the ruling families, but without reciprocity, for a Syud's daughter is given only to a Syud. There are none in Hunza, but elsewhere they are scattered through the country in small numbers. There is seldom more than one Syud's house in each village. D 564 B 564

The Krammins, who are millers and potters, are most numerous in Darel, and do not exist in Hunza or Nager. They do not intermarry with any other caste. Their name is probably derived from the Persian *kamin*, "mean," though Mr. Shaw, in his paper on "Stray Aryans in Thibet," suggests that the name is derived from *krum*, "work."

The Doms, who are musicians, blacksmiths, and leather-workers, are most numerous in Yassin, Nager, and Chilas, in which latter place they form a sixth of the population.

In Nager there is a caste called Shoto, which exists nowhere else; they work in leather, and rank below the Doms, who take daughters from them without giving in return.

Like the low caste of men of India, the men belonging to these inferior castes are of very dark complexion, coarse features, and inferior physique. Mr. Drew regards them as akin to the low castes of the Punjab, and accounts for their presence in these countries by suggesting that they are remnants of a pre-Aryan aboriginal race, who represent the earliest inhabitants of these valleys. I am more inclined to think that, like the Shins, they have come from the south to settle in these valleys. It is possible that they accompanied the Shins, or they may have followed them, gradually spreading under the protection of the Shin rule. Their status is only consistent with the existence of the Hindoo religion, which I believe to have been introduced by the Shins, and it is worthy of notice that they are not found in the upper part of the Chitral Valley. D 142 174 B 142 174

In Gilgit itself there are a great number of Cashmeris, or, as they are called, Kashiroos, whose forefathers settled in the place in the time of Ahmed Shah Abdali, about 1760 A.D. They now form the largest section of the population, and the shrewdness which forms so distinctive a part of the D 162

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV3 Afghanistan AV3~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

natives of other parts. Their constitutions also seem to want stamina, and they succumb easily to disease or change of climate. This want of physical energy and enterprise is most strongly marked in the Shin caste. They consider husbandry the only honourable employment for men, and so averse are they to labour, that the poorest of them employ Baltis in their agriculture, which is of a rude and slovenly kind. Numbers of Baltis come yearly into the Gilgit district to serve for hire; they receive 6 lbs. of grain for a day's labour. D 142 147 D 464

In disposition they are tractable, good-tempered, fond of rejoicing and merry-making, neither cruel nor quarrelsome, and they submit readily to constituted authority. The worst cruelties perpetrated in the wars between Yassin and Cashmere are distinctly attributable to the Ashimadek class of Yassin and Chitral, who compare unfavourably with the older tribes in this respect. In all the accounts of the Kunjooti depredations on caravans, and of wars in which the people of Hunza and Nager were concerned, there are no records of wanton cruelty or of the exercise of torture. The women are pleasing-looking when young, but are not particularly handsome. Exception must be made in favour of the Khos of the "Fakir Mushkin" class in Chitral, who show certain physical peculiarities not shared by the other Dard tribes. In person they are Indo-Aryans of a high type, not unlike the Shins of the Indus Valley about Koli, but more handsome, with oval faces and finely-cut features, which would compare favourably with the highest types of beauty in Europe. The most striking feature about them, and one which distinguishes them from all other Dard tribes, is their large and beautiful eyes, which remind one of English gypsies, with whom they share the reputation of being expert thieves. They have also unusually fine hair, of which they are very proud. The women of Chitral were formerly sought out for their beauty in the slave markets of Cabul, Peshawur, and Badakhshan. The fairest complexions are to be seen among the Boorish of Hunza and Yassin, where individuals may be found who would pass for Europeans. Among them red hair is not uncommon. B 181 D 181 D 142 B 142

In dress there is little variety. The loose woollen robe described by Mr. Drew is worn also in Sirikol, Wakhan, Zebak, Chitral, Yassin, Hunza, Nager, and the Yaghestan Valleys. Those who can afford it substitute in summer a cotton robe of the same cut, with quilted edges, worked round the neck D 291 B 291

121 learn all there is to know about these most unusual
114 people. At least I wanted to learn the answers to the many questions that come into the average individual's mind.

Therefore, it is my hope that I have not failed in these positive respects.

If my narrative is not everything that you hoped and expected, I sincerely trust that I will make up in the details and information of an authentic nature that I give to you concerning these remarkable people.

142 The facial features of the people of Hunza are most striking. They are invariably finer featured than the people of the West—more angular, more clearly outlined and defined, without being harsh or bold. Their facial characteristics can best be described by the phrase "finely, delicately chiseled physiognomy" . . . like the intricate creations of a gifted sculptor.

Whether because of the rugged outdoor life they lead or because of the tanning or curing process of their smoke-filled homes during the winter, the texture of their skin is quite unusual. I think I can describe it best if I say that their faces looked as though they were made out of smooth chamois.

I was struck by the similarity of the features of the people of Hunza. In the West, everybody you meet or know doesn't look like anyone else that you know. In fact, if you do happen to come across someone who has the likeness or features similar to those of someone else you know, you're immediately struck by that resemblance, which illustrates my point. In the Western world, there is a wide divergence of facial features and characteristics. In Hunza that does not hold true.

[143] A little thought will establish the reason for this situation. Intermarriage during the centuries must have been the order of the day because of the confining nature of their homeland.

nature of their homeland. 000

However, the Mir pointed out to me most clearly and emphatically that intermarriage among members of one tribe is absolutely forbidden. There are four tribes in the Baltit area and they can marry among these four tribes . . . Diramiting, Khorokoch, Borong, Barataling . . . but definitely not among their own tribe. 582 143 [101]

Lest this sounds like a difficult matter to hold in check, I want to explain that this is easier to control than may be imagined, for the simple reason that all marriages must be sanctioned and performed by the Mir. Therefore he positively knows who is marrying whom. [585]

However, even if this has been the rule for many hundreds of years, the total population of Hunza, even today, stands at something less than 25,000 souls and Lord Curzon in his memoirs states that in 1894, the total population of Hunza was only 6,000. Therefore, among so small a population, it is almost impossible for them to marry very far beyond a family relationship. (In 1934 it was estimated that the population had risen to 15,000.) 161 582 143

Let's put it in another way. If the people of Hunza have remained more or less a pure people for nigh on 1,000 years and the population today is only 25,000, there must have been fairly close intermarriages. Perhaps that would, as I mentioned, account for the similarity of features.

I want to stress, at this point, that I came to Hunza primarily to learn and study (1) about their health and longevity and (2) about their means and methods of agriculture. 121

Let's examine or re-examine a few of the more pertinent details of their unusual country. 000

Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

175 Some time in the days of our earliest Edwards, a princess of
361 Baltistán married the reigning prince of Hunza. For the last
712 hundred years or so the direct route to Baltistán has been completely blocked by advancing glaciers, but for centuries before, the two countries had been in communication with each other. Hunza consisted then of three small villages only: Áltít and Ganesh on the river cliffs, and Báltít high above. The princess's father sent with the bride an army of Balti masons, carpenters, and craftsmen, who built the two forts of Áltít and Báltít as part of the royal dowry, and to-day they still stand proudly on their cliffs, impregnable to assault,
[171] centres of ancient ceremonial. To this day, too, the Hunzukuts modestly attribute all their simple arts to Balti influence.

173 The original inhabitants of Hunza proper are said to be
643 descended from three soldiers of Alexander the Great, who were left behind sick, presumably plus their womenfolk, and thus while their comrades marched on became the founders of the three first villages in this inhospitable region. Like so many royal houses in Central Asia, the family that has ruled for more than six centuries in Hunza and Nagir likes to claim descent from Alexander himself. But while the Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikander (= Alexander) Khan still upholds this tradition, we noticed that the shrewder Mir of Hunza—who must have seen many a courteously-veiled smile greet this familiar genealogy—shied off the topic.

What seems probable is that the royal family is not in origin of the same stock as the people, and that it may well—as tradition asserts—have come from Persia at some prehistoric date. What is certain is that it can trace its authentic ancestry as far back as can the House of Windsor.

173 There may well be truth in the legend of the European
144 descent of the Hunza Burusho, for in temperament and looks our Hunza friends have nothing of the "Oriental" about them. Take from them the very lightly bronzed complexion, "the shadow'd livery of the burnished sun," to which at this altitude they are "neighbour and near bred," and you could transplant them without incongruity to the moors of Yorkshire or the Scottish lowlands.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 30

Who Are the Hunzans?

I HAVE HEARD the people of Hunza referred to as Hunzans, Hunzukuts, Hunzawals and Hunzas. They prefer to be called Hunzukuts. 101

However, in my writing I am referring to them as Hunzans. I do this strictly as a matter of simplification. I find it easy to say and easy to remember and I also believe it to be the most phonetical of all the terms given.

The Mir claims that the rulers of Hunza were and are direct descendants of Alexander the Great. I could find no proof to either confirm or refute this statement. But it is generally believed that not only the Mir, but the people of Hunza are descendants of Alexander or his soldiers. 643 173

It has been related by many writers that the Hunzans are not by appearance an Asian people. To that I will subscribe completely. They are definitely, in 144

144 countenance and color, not Indian but European.

If you took the first ten Hunzans that you met anywhere and put them in Europe, no one could doubt that they were Europeans. With the exception of a few clearly and unmistakably Chinese-appearing Hunzans, practically each one would pass as a European. It is understandable that a bit of Mongolian blood got mixed in because Hunza is right smack on the Chinese border.

181 173 The people of this country are unqualifiedly the most energetic and industrious of all the people I came across in the East, which lends credence to the fact that they are of European origin.

173 643 174 Even before I went to Hunza I read carefully Arrian's *Life of Alexander the Great*. After seeing Hunza and being impressed by the conviction that the people of Hunza did appear to be Europeans, I came back and made a further search through the *Life of Alexander the Great*.

It is an historical fact that Alexander took unto himself a wife when he was on his Indian campaign. He married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes who was king of Bactria. Bactria is in the northern part of Afghanistan—right smack against the Hunzan border.

Alexander had a posthumous son with Roxana. His name was Alexander Aegus.

So the Mir's claim might have sound historical basis. The Hunzans claim to trace their history back about 2,000 years. Well, Alexander married Roxana back in 327 B. C. So you see, the story may have its point.

I'll further state that the Mir himself looked exactly like one would expect a Mediterranean European to look. He might feign a relationship or descendancy from Alexander the Great, but he couldn't feign that Macedonian appearance.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

Then wherein lies the difference? What happened through the years to create the obvious difference that everyone sees and feels the minute he comes into the territory? I am not an anthropologist, nor have I training in any scientific field. Therefore, I am quite unprepared to speak with any degree of authority, but I am told the difference is that the people of Nagir accepted or welcomed strangers and settlers from other parts of the area and thus, they became a polyglot group of mixed blood, habits, customs, religions and thought, whereas the Hunzan people, then and today, discourage outsiders from coming to live among them in their country. Then, too, I guess another important factor looms and that is that Hunza is not nearly as inviting from an economic viewpoint to a man coming from another part of the world to settle, whereas Nagir does offer many more advantages.

For me to assert that there are no mixed bloods in Hunza would be an untruth, because even in my travels about the towns and along the road, I saw distinct types that were not of the run-of-the-mill Hunzans. Some were distinctly Chinese and I am also reasonably sure that there is a fair amount of Afghan blood among the Hunzans, besides Russian—for, as you may recall, Russia is but a scant 14 miles away.

It is not my intention to try to build up a case for true-bloods as being the Hunzan heritage, for history clearly indicates that it is among the people of mixed bloods where the greatest advances are made in science, industry and the creative human arts.

In Hunza there are very few plains or expanses where farming on a large scale could be practiced. However in Nagir it is quite different. There were sections through which we passed that were wider than the eye could reach, covered with good soil that was carrying

mentioned as being 100 miles long. 131

A few miles above the spot where the Hunza River 133
meets the Gilgit is a village called Secunderabad. It is here that Hunza begins and if you follow the Hunza River up to its source beyond Misgar, almost on the Chinese border, where it springs from a glacier, you will find in following the contours of the river that the country is almost 200 miles long. I have carefully checked this figure with the best authorities—the Mir being one of them—and I found that the 200 mile figure was as close as it can possibly be measured.

They are Asians. Of course they are Asians because 144
they dwell in Asia. But in appearance they are definitely unlike Asians. Without trying to sound dramatic or authoritative, the general appearance of the people of Hunza shows marked European characteristics. They are totally unlike the Indians, the Afghans or the Chinese. To me they looked like the Mediterranean peoples. At this stage I am not harping or relying on the fact that they claim to be descendants of Alexander the Great or some of his soldiers.

Primitive—Most writers refer to them as primitive 105
people or say that their way of life is primitive. I will agree with the use of that term in describing the people of Hunza, if you will agree with me that the Christian world is primitive, because it too follows the teachings of the Bible which was written 3,000 or 4,000 years ago. It is agreed that the people of Hunza follow a 105
primitive form of agriculture and use no chemical fer- 241.
tilizers or modern sprays and insecticides. But then, they don't need chemical insecticides and chemical fertilizers. They use no modern machinery on their small, hard won, shallow surfaced fields. Their conduits which guide the glacial waters to their fields are, I agree, primitive, but no better form is known anywhere.

105 where. They use water to turn the mill that grinds
[376] their bread and that is primitive. But many thousands of people throughout the world would say that it is the right way. The adroitness and the ability of the Hunzan men would match that of any people in the Western world.

I cannot say that I found anything about them that was primitive. Further, they can choose the modern way of life if they so desire it. But the only people who seek it are those who are forced to leave Hunza because of the shortage of actual living room.

511 *Poverty stricken*—One writer referred to them as being poverty stricken. If the beast of the fields and forests and the birds of the air are poverty stricken, then I guess we would have to admit that the people of Hunza are poverty stricken as well. If you want to feel sorry for birds, because they have to seek shelter in their unheated nests high up in the trees, where the winds blow around them, and because they do not have oil heating for their nests or motors for their wings as a sign of poverty, then I will be forced to agree with you.

As long as the people of Hunza are free, have a bit of land to till and a house of their own that is not mortgaged or tax-ridden and are in good health and attain long life, I definitely cannot accede that they are poverty stricken.

142 *Fair complexioned*—Now and then some author refers to them as being fair complexioned. I did not see one fair complexioned person in all of Hunza. Perhaps
[144] the writers meant to say that they were Caucasians, which is true, as compared to Orientals or Negroes. They are not a fair people any more than the Spaniards, Italians or Greeks are fair complexioned peoples.

805 *Precise, exacting*—An occasional writer sought to

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

795 nearly as lax in their Mahomedanism as the people of Hunza. There is considerably more cultivation
241 than in Hunza, the land is better watered, and the main slopes of the mountains enclosing the country face north, and are consequently covered with forest. The land has the full benefit of the summer sun, and
[135] the crops are splendid. The untold profusion of the apricots, and the quantity of gold which can be washed out of every stream, has gained the country amongst the Nagaris themselves the name of
144 "the land of gold and apricots." The people, though
721 of identically the same stock as those of Hunza, show
511 marked differences. They are less warlike than their
567 neighbours; they were never implicated in the raiding of caravans, owing principally perhaps to there being no outlet to the north or east leading to caravan tracks; they are, on the whole, better off, owing to the better agricultural conditions, and the possession of splendid grazing grounds; and last, but not least, slavery is unknown amongst them — that is, they would not brook their king selling them or their children, and the exile of the present ruler's eldest son is said to have been caused by his attempt to
181 introduce the custom from Hunza. The men are not
829 so bright and cheery as their Hunza cousins; they strike one as more sedate and morose, and their reputation for dash and gallantry is far lower. The reason they themselves assign for the difference, and the one generally accepted, is that in the winter, when the sun is in the south, the great mountains backing their valley shut out all the light and warmth, of which Hunza facing south enjoys the full benefit, and that the depressing effect of passing day after day in the cold and dark-

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AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

rocky ledges, sometimes letting oneself down nearly to the water's edge, then ascending 300 or 400 feet above the stream, holding on by corners of rock, working along rocky shelves 3 or 4 inches wide, and round projecting knobs and corners where no four-footed animal less agile than a wild goat could find a path. D 133

Immediately above the bend of the river is the district of Chaprot, consisting of the fort and village of that name and three other villages. This has always been a fruitful source of contention among the rulers of the three states of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, between which it is situated, principally on account of the fort, which, according to local ideas, is impregnable. It is situated in the angle formed by the junction of two streams, with high precipitous banks, and can therefore only be approached from one side. It has belonged in turns to all three states, but at present is garrisoned by Cashmere troops. Continuing up the valley to the eastward, at about 52 miles from Gilgit, the residences of the rulers of the two states of Hunza and Nager are reached, the river forming the boundary between the wild two. D 361 648 B 131 361

The view of the great Rakiposh Mountain from the north side is truly striking. From the water's edge it rises without a break for 19,000 feet to its topmost peak, which is over 25,000 feet above the sea-level. Its lofty sides, girdled with dark pine forest and seamed with glaciers and *mers-de-glace*, some of which reach nearly down to the water's edge, overlook numerous fertile settlements which are nourished by streams flowing from the great mountain. Above the forests extensive fields of snow sparkle and glitter in the summer sun, while, overtopping all, great points of granite, on whose steep sides the snow can scarce find a resting-place, give emphasis and unity to a scene not easily forgotten. B 133

Above Hunza the course of the river, which rises in the Hindoo Koosh, lies entirely in Hunza territory. The people of these two states, of whom so little is known, have been counted as mere robber tribes, who have brought themselves into notice by their depredations on the caravans between Yarkund and Leh. This is, however, scarcely a just estimation of them. They are of the same stock as the people of Yassin, Ponyal, and the majority of the people of Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys. So far from being mere robber tribes, they are settled agricultural communities, living under rulers who boast of their long unbroken descent from princes of native blood. Hemmed in by lofty mountains, they are B 721 B 144 B 173 186

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D 262 783 [174] by them, not a single fowl is to be seen. These peculiarities are strictly confined to the Shin caste, and, together with other customs which will come under notice presently, afford good grounds for supposing that they were a race of Hindoos who came from the south, and, pressing up the Indus Valley, established a Hindoo state in these remote regions under the crest of the Hindoo Koosh.

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by the Ghalchah tribes, that is, those belonging to the first group, appear to be sprung from ancient Persian (Zend), those of the third group show greater affinity with the Sanscrit. But Zend and Sanscrit being sister languages,[1] a relationship is shown to exist between the two groups. The Khowar language, as has already been mentioned, shows affinities with those of both groups, and will be found, I believe, to constitute an intermediate link between the two. D 197

The Yeshkuns, or Boorish, of Hunza, Nager, &c., must be classed separately from all the three groups, though they have now, perhaps, nearly as much Aryan as Turanian blood in their veins. B 144

Conjecture is permissible as to the events which brought these tribes into their present localities, although the actual facts must remain unknown. Some idea also may be formed as to the order in which these events happened, but anything approaching to exact chronology is utterly unattainable. B 174

It is generally agreed that Badakhshan and the upper part of the Oxus Valley was one of the earliest homes of the Aryan race. Their progress southwards was probably gradual, and at first more due to natural expansion than to any desire for conquest. As they came to occupy localities of greater fertility in a more genial climate, their number would naturally increase more rapidly. Warlike expeditions on a large scale would become possible, and each step in advance would be taken with greater confidence. In the tribes of the first, or Ghalchah, group may probably be recognised the descendants of those who remained settled in their original locality, and who, in latter times, were gradually driven up into the narrow valleys where they are now found. In some instances, as in the Ludkho Valley, they crossed the great range and settled ~~on the~~ south side of it at a comparatively recent date. 000

The tribes of the second and third groups I take to represent those who migrated southwards at the earliest period. Of these a certain number must have settled in the ground first occupied by the emigrants, leaving the more energetic to push on further south. In the Kho and the Siah-Posh, I would recognise the descendants of these first settlers who, after crossing the Hindoo Koosh and exterminating or driving before them the aboriginal inhabitants, remained in occupation of the hill country down to an elevation of about 2,500 D 174

[1] Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Vol. II, page 266.

165 seventeen." Two years before he had
856 told me he was thirteen.

165 Because the Hunzas, themselves,
[212] have no written records, I attempted to
[128] estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

165 THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered
145 firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age
[146] in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance, a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

262 "Purity" has been attributed to the
[114] Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad.
[272] Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter, round out the

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

tilizers are used on their lands. 241

(8) All children in Hunza are breast fed. There is no specific prenatal care, and the good health of the mother is passed on to the infant . . . and the breast feeding gets the child off to a good start. 853 843

(9) All fruits and vegetables that are dried for storing have been exposed to the sun and air. No foreign substances are added or treatments used. 251

(10) Native herbs are used extensively . . . both as seasoning and as food. 262

(11) Glacial waters are the only waters used both for drinking and irrigation purposes. These glacial waters definitely contain many valuable minerals and nutrients, as revealed by laboratory tests. 312 146

(12) Apricot kernel oil is the most important source of fat. It is used in cooking as well as for salads. No solvents or extreme heat is used to extract the apricot oil. 262

(13) Natural whole grains are used broadly. There is no fragmentization in Hunza. While they do bake a bread, their chief form of bread is an unleavened type which they call chapatties. They are composed of whole ground grain made into a dough and rolled very thin. Then they are heated or baked slightly.

(14) Hunzans are light eaters. Their diet is comparatively meager.

There is no doubt that, if any human being were to follow the health rules of the people of Hunza, he could regain or maintain health. There is no magic formula connected with this set of rules. They are simple and to the point. In fact, they are so simple that most people will doubt their value. To these people I would say, "All of the great things in life—the important things and things of value—are invariably simple!" 000

In Hunza the following established Western health 744

[P. 41- A]

114 Western equipment. (Training in anat-
123 omy, some concentrated informal studies of Asian diseases, plus previous experience, made this possible for me. In addition, I ran three experimental gardens and founded a craft school, with the Mir's approval.)

164 Bohar had developed scurvy, after
141 which staphylococcus infected the
123 gums and abscessed the roots of his teeth; the abscesses had then eroded downward through the jawbone and out through the flesh and skin. After washing out the sores, I gave him vitamin C tablets to stop the scurvy, and vitamin D with calcium lactate to cure the rickets that were stiffening his knees. The old man was by no means
[152] atypical. My dispensary was always beset by lines of waiting patients, all with afflictions that belied popular beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."

165 seventeen." Two years before he had
856 told me he was thirteen.

165 Because the Hunzas, themselves,
[212] have no written records, I attempted to
[128] estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

165 THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered
145 firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age
[146] in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance, a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

262 "Purity" has been attributed to the
[214] Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad.
[272] Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter, round out the

[P44-A]

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it: men
[562] spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families butcher a sheep or two; cold weather
[231] preserves the meat for the few days
[25] before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[762] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

164 into the "line, barrel chests" reported
146 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the line, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[19] hard-working, but with their country. There is no flat land in all of Hunza.
[36] Villages and farms are built on alluvial
[311] cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[167] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
241 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-caked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders,
[35] gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[19] cool but exceedingly dry desert, practically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

Lorimer T-2 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

262 care in rationing the year's supply (rationing begins the moment the first barley crop is harvested), scarcely a household we knew but was out of flour and out of potatoes weeks before the first barley was ripe, and was living solely on turnip tops, greens and edible weeds. 'Starvation Springtime' in Hunza evokes no poet's raptures, only a wailing of hungry babies who, as their mothers apologetically explain 'are too small to understand', and a tightening of the belt by those who do; but never a complaint. How these hardy people exist and work and smile—and keep on smiling—on a diet which no Minister of Health would consider even 50 per cent. adequate in quantity or 10 per cent. adequate in proteins, is a mystery, and must represent a miracle of
147 natural selection over centuries. There are no sick or ailing in
888 Hunza; men, women and children are wiry, tough and fit, and a fair
561 proportion live to a ripe and honoured age, busy to the last about such tasks as suit their waning strength and valued for their experienced counsel, for no devilish inventions—cinemas, wireless or machines—have created a gulf between the generations.

243 Harvesting processes are extremely simple. When barley or
476 wheat is ripe, the adults of the family turn out and pull up the shallow-rooted crop by hand, laying the swathes in neat rows to dry. Even when a sickle is used, it is used to pull with, not to cut. As soon as a suitable field is bare, it is flooded, and a circular (more rarely a rectangular) space is enclosed by a small mud wall four or five inches high. When the ground is soft but no longer wet, the whole family, down to the tiniest toddler, forms in line and marks time systematically over the surface to level it. After three floodings and tramplings the new threshing floor is as smooth and even as a hard tennis court. Two neighbouring houses sometimes share a threshing floor which becomes the focus of family activity till the last sheaf is gathered in. The cut crops are stacked conveniently near, and a small quantity of corn is spread on the centre of the floor. Then while Grandfather with his beautifully graceful five-pronged fork throws in more grain from time to time, the team of five cows, loosely lashed together by their muzzles, is driven round by man, woman, boy or girl in turns until the threshing
243 is complete (PLATE III). The person in attendance on the trampling
262 beasts has a switch in the right hand and in the left a wooden bowl as 'dung-dish' in which all excreta of either type are conscientiously collected, not only because the Hunza folk cannot afford to waste an ounce of manure but equally because they are too fastidious to tolerate the fouling of their food. Great was the contempt of our Hunza

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

889 One day when we were visiting a wine-press, far below the old fort and its graveyards, I made friends with a dear little boy of five who seemed exceptionally active and intelligent, even in a country where all children are peculiarly alive and bright. A beautiful old woman joined us, her handsome face framed by two becoming silver plaits. "Tawálut must be your grandson," I ventured. "'Deed then and he's not," she retorted, "he's my great-grandson. His father was my favourite grandson, and when the poor wife died at this baby's birth, I took and suckled him myself"—a feat with which not many of our great-grandmothers could compete. But of course if you marry at sixteen, you may with luck be a great-grandmother by fifty. Still, it was a good effort, and the boy was an excellent witness to her vitality.

[162] The Burusho population is not large, ten thousand or so at most, and the ramification of well-remembered pedigrees— the humblest can record his genealogy for an astounding number of generations back—brings it about that all families seem ultimately related to one another. It may be this racial purity, judiciously combined with avoidance of close in-breeding, that has produced a stock so markedly fit and healthy. Travelling up through Astor, Gilgit, and Nagir to Hunza, the strong contrast in physical fitness and general intelligence is apparent to the most casual observer; and anyone who knows the races of the Agency will engage a Hunza servant in preference to any other.

585 Marriages normally take place in winter when the people have leisure to give thought to new alliances. The solemn betrothal, presided over by a khalifa, is the effective part of the ceremony. It is usually performed in the bride's house in a semi-private gathering attended only by the members of the families concerned. We were most anxious to be allowed to see one, but by no means hopeful of securing the privilege, to which of course we had not the slightest claim. The servants promised to negotiate matters if possible, and at last Dádo brought us word one day that a girl-relation of Sagi's was about to be betrothed and her people were willing to invite us, but said: "We are poor folk, and our house is humble and we feel

zan. And it wasn't because I was smart. There obviously 124
was a distinct difference and anyone could pick out a Hunzan from a Nagirwal or any of the other citizens thereabout.

Much has been said about the walking habits of the 481
people of Hunza . . . the long distances, the climbs, [147]
their endurance and their sprightly gait. I have had little experience with their endurance, but of their gait I can speak with some degree of authority. They have the lightest, easiest walk or pace that I have seen anywhere in my life. They seem to glide or spring effortlessly. If any people on the face of the earth have learned to walk without wasting any energy, I believe the people of Hunza have learned that secret. That's the only way I can account for our guides, for example, being in exactly the same condition when they finished their day's travel as when they started. I fully realize that they are accustomed to doing this. On occasions at home I have walked 12 miles at one march—and enjoyed it—but I was tired and mighty glad to take a good rest when I reached my goal.

I cannot recall one occasion where I saw a Hunzan [147]
resting after a walk. I practically retraced every foot of my journey back and forth and also the side excursions, but I couldn't find one occasion on which the Hunzan men had to rest. They not only seemed, but actually were, totally imperturbable, nonchalant and at ease wherever they went. Their stride was livelier and lighter than anything I have ever seen.

Furthermore they never slouched, whether walking, [516]
standing or sitting. No matter where you saw them, they held their heads erect and chests out.

Now this is not an afterthought because I began my search and observations the moment I left Gilgit. They didn't walk—they seemed to float! I wish I knew their

181 in other countries distant from Hunza, would attach an aura of mystery or superhumanness to the people of Hunza, but the truth of the matter is that even in Pakistan the belief or the tale concerning the superiority of the Hunzan people also exists. In Karachi, when I mentioned I was going to Hunza or seeking to go to Hunza, ears pricked up quickly. They were interested, they were intrigued, for they knew and had heard tales of the prowess of the Hunzans.

A few weeks before I left home I learned that there was a Pakistani boy employed in Niagara-on-the-Lake and I made an attempt to contact him. My wife just about that time met the Pakistani lad and his wife at a social function and she told him that I wanted to see him and talk to him about Pakistan and about the people of Hunza. Then, when he heard that I intended to go to Hunza, he excitedly informed my wife and stressed that she be sure to tell me not to go because the roads in the mountains were terribly dangerous, that one could penetrate into that country only at the greatest of risk and danger and that many people had set out for Hunza and never been heard of again.

When my wife brought this tale to me, I was perturbed. I was worried and my wife was even more concerned. If a native of Pakistan, and not an illiterate, I want to remind you (this man was a technician), held these people in such awe and fear, you can see that the myth about the people of Hunza is universal.

114 147 It is further claimed that the people of Hunza have endurance that is unsurpassed by any other people on earth. I believe it was Eric Shipton, the famous mountain explorer, who said that the Hunzans had more endurance than even the Sherpa guides that are found on the borders of Nepal and Tibet. These Sherpas have long been considered the people with the greatest en-

durance and stamina known anywhere, and if Shipton 114
says that the Hunzans had more endurance and stamina [147]
than these people, no higher tribute can be given.

It is my humble opinion that too much has been written about the people of Hunza by people who have never been there and know little or nothing about the actual conditions that prevail in that country. Then, too, many visitors spent most of their time taking pictures, viewing the scenery and dining at the Mir's and didn't pay much attention or learn anything about the actual living conditions of the people.

The people of Hunza have not in the least benefited 177
by the visitors that have reached Hunza, and if future visits are discouraged, I believe there would be good cause for it.

Most of the diseases known to civilization are un- 164
known in Hunza. I do not ask you to take my word for [759]
it but that is my report from consulting the resident doctor in Hunza, as well as a German woman doctor who visited Hunza.

It is further true that the Mir's wife, the Rani of Hunza, had her appendix removed and she took a trip to Rawalpindi to have it done. But in the first place she does not live according to Hunza standards and besides, it was probably stylish to have an appendix operation. On the other hand, if a good surgeon were let loose in Hunza for a few weeks, there's no doubt about it, he'd have hundreds of appendixes removed before he could be stopped.

Another important point that I wish to make at this 122
time is that I paid my own way to and from Hunza. I had no financial backing. Therefore I am not committed to aid anyone or any product or radio station or newspaper. I have no one to fear and no one to please. I can afford to tell the truth.

are, remember, no transportation facilities whatsoever, There 164
except the Mir's jeep which the citizens of Hunza don't [493]
get a chance to use. There is no other wheeled vehicle in the entire country. Practically every step is a climb or a descent. So no one could really accuse me of exaggeration if I were bold enough to say that they're probably the most active and energetic people in creation. It could hardly be otherwise.

To illustrate another proof of their hardiness, all 147
along the trail we met people from Hunza walking barefoot—from young children to boys and young men and old men. While some wore shoes, most of them were [291]
barefoot. They walked over sand, over gravel, over stones, over plain dirt roads without any misgivings.

I watched them with awe as they ran, walked and skipped over these exceedingly rough spots and I was convinced they must have exceptionally strong, sound. healthy feet and legs.

On a few occasions I watched the Hunzans digging [412]
with a shovel. 'Tis done the ordinary natural way there —barefooted. That certainly proves, at least to me, that their feet are in wonderful condition. Most people in America can't dig worth a darn wearing heavy boots!

It is unqualifiedly a fact, in my humble opinion, that 164
the people of Hunza owe their splendid vital good health in part to these sound principles—their way of life, their food production and the way they prepare the fields for their crops—all accomplished in a natural normal way. Civilization may have many advantages—great discoveries have been made, machinery has been invented that does the work of many, many hands. In this modern machine age, a man need only work a couple of hours a day to supply himself with all the food, clothing and shelter that he can possibly use, but

744 processes are unknown and unused: chlorination, pasteurization, hydrogenation, inoculation, fluoridation.

262 The single most important food, as used by the people of Hunza, consists of dried apricots and whole ground grain mixed together to form a toddy or a gruel. This is actually drunk cold and is enjoyed by all members of the family. It is usually partaken of during the late afternoon or early evening.

Their other important foods consist of the following: potatoes, garlic, beans, peas, carrots, tomatoes and some leafy vegetables. In fruits, they have mulberries, apples, walnuts and a few plums, pears and cherries. Grapes are used chiefly for making wine.

They grow a fairly broad selection of grains: millet, wheat, barley, rye, buckwheat and a little rice. Lucerne [231] or alfalfa is generally used for cattle fodder.

[245] The Persian Walnut is the chief nut grown in the area. Almonds are raised, and their cultivation is increasing. A fair quantity of apricot kernels are used.

Ghee is used for baking and as a spread on their chapatties or bread—the oven-baked loaf. Sour milk, buttermilk and curd are a regular part of the diet.

Meat does not form an important part of the Hunzan way of life.

Most foods are consumed raw. The lack of wood or other heating materials probably accounts for the paucity of cooked foods in their culinary art.

147 There are practically no cases of overweight among the people of Hunza. The importance of this factor cannot be overestimated.

000 The path to health is a simple, easy-to-follow road. It is the most natural way in the world to the people of Hunza. However, to follow a similar path in America would involve complications, difficulties and many frustrations.

487 I am sure that a people who saw these caravans coming
177 and going could not be called isolated by any stretch of the imagination. They just like their little piece of paradise too well to leave it.

133 *Hunza empties into the Indus.* Two famed writers who should know better . . . or should I say, should have checked more closely . . . made the statement that the Hunza River flows into the Indus. Even a cursory glance at a map would show that the Hunza empties into the Gilgit and the Gilgit empties into the Indus.

585 *Mother-in-law taken along on honeymoon*—This bit of stupidity, or should I say absurdity, appeared in no less than two of the foremost publications in America.

Who ever heard of a honeymoon in Hunza? Not having a Niagara Falls, probably they'd go up and sit on top of Rakaposhi with the mother-in-law between them to cool their ardor.

When the Mir made this statement, he was joking, never believing for a moment that anyone would take such a broad joke as being factual.

481 *Hunzans walk* 60 *to* 100 *miles as though it were*
147 *nothing.* In fact, one author stated somewhere that the Hunzans could walk 60 miles easier than she could walk upstairs.

I will readily grant that I believe the Hunzan people are the world's best walkers and well they would have to be, because there just happens to be no other mode of locomotion. I'll even go further and say that all through my travels in that territory I did not once see a Hunzan man, or for that matter a Nagirwal, who appeared to be worn from the rugged walks and climbs. So it is clear that they have tremendous reserves of energy and stamina . . . but let's not go overboard!

486 *Anyone can visit Hunza.* Contrary to the assertion
114 made by one writer that anyone can get into Hunza, I

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 41-B]

164 beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."
123 Altogether, I was able to treat 5,680
[743] medical cases—the country had no
other dispensary—during my stay in
164 Hunza. My daily group of patients did
not suffer from many of the diseases
[158] common to our civilization. There
were no true neurotics; no cases of
stomach ulcers, appendicitis, or gout;
only one case of cerebral hemorrhage,
[482] and but four cardiac cases. The few
[143] bad hearts had been damaged either
by malarial anemia or by overexertion at high altitudes, as was the case with one man who had carried the Mir's piano on his back up twenty miles of mountain trail. On the other hand, my Hunza patients did have malaria. They also had at least two kinds of intestinal worms, and to see for the first time a man with *Ascaris*

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

we were able to leave the photo for her at No. 8. It was a constantly renewed pleasure to find how our photographs were welcomed and a constantly renewed surprise that these illiterate people, who had never seen a picture in their lives, were able at once to recognize and name the tiny reproductions of themselves. This was the one point in favour of my quarter-plate camera that it yielded larger prints than David's smaller ones. Only one woman in all our experience refused to take any interest in photographs, and that was, oddly enough, my special friend Bibi Gímo, of No. 1. "Take it away; I can't understand it," she would say to the others eagerly crowding round to see the latest of grandfather or baby Faqér. Quite possibly, unsuspected by herself, her eyesight was below par. But for the most part quite old people like the various grandfathers seemed as sharp-sighted as ever. On one occasion a man was studying a group of field-builders, the figures in which were very small, and he mis-identified himself: "Hullo, that's me all right, but *where* is my moustache?" He looked again more carefully, and found himself, moustache and all.

It was no negligible tax on our time to make spare prints for everyone, but we felt it was one small return we could make—without corrupting our friends—for the unstinted kindness we met on every hand.

We visited all the mills within range, studying them critically with future photographs in mind, for they were dark little hovels without smoke-holes, and lit only by the door and a small gap, representing one missing stone in the wall opposite, and we had to make elaborate calculations as to the aspect of doors and light-holes and sun and times of day to decide which offered the best hope of an interior photograph (we had unfortunately brought no flashlight apparatus with us).

When the water was not "on" we made an effort to master their complicatedly simple mechanism. The water is led from some height by a wooden shoot consisting of a hollowed-out log and falls on to the wings of a rude "wheel" below the floor. The central hub is a rough sphere or cylinder hacked out of a root or tree trunk in which the "wings," eight or ten of them, are obliquely set. The axis of this wheel passes up

000 all thriving. The field walls looked very jolly at this season,[1]
241 with wild flowers of the rock-garden type growing in the
137 crannies between the stones and fostered by the seepage from
263 the irrigated fields above. Amongst them was a wild mint and a wild thyme, the flavouring qualities of which are known and appreciated.

243 On June 12th we saw some people hungrily eyeing their barley and reckoning that it would be ripe for cutting in another fifteen days. It was said to be good this year in spite of an abnormally cold, late spring. Some rain showers that we had were welcomed though they temporarily cooled the air. But as clouds and rain continued, anxiety began to be felt lest the wheat should be late and delay too long the planting of the buckwheat-on-wheat. The barley is subject to a disease called *tam*, which stripes the leaves an ugly yellow and produces a milky liquid in the ears. Few plants were attacked this year. The disease called *matèl* (rust?), which makes black ears, attacks only wheat and millet, and if the cold and rain persisted it might be expected to set in. We were doubly anxious that this year's crops should be good: unselfishly for the people's sake; selfishly lest a bad year should be attributed to the maleficent influence of two crazy people learning Burushaski—though indeed these highly rational people would be unlikely to indulge any such fantastic association of ideas.

386 We saw some people one day collecting the under-bark
314 from red willow trees; they use it for dyeing the leather of their native boots and skilfully chip it out from the living tree without injuring the willow.

262 Now that the people were really within sight of food they
[152] frankly confessed to being desperately hungry, and the strain of unremitting work—weeding, ploughing, manuring, grafting, irrigating from dawn to dusk on empty tummies—was showing in drawn, thin faces, but appeared powerless to damp their spirits or fray their tempers. It was dreadful to look on and be helpless to feed the multitude with loaves or fishes, while we lived—sparingly enough by home standards but—riotously compared with these much more deserving neighbours. We saw one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry

1 [in June -- Analyst]

842 The country cannot afford or support a greater population than exists there today. Therefore, they will have to practice birth control, which it is claimed they already do but with which I disagree, or they will have to send their youths out of the country, which, as a matter of fact, they are doing.

311 There is very little chance of finding or creating more arable land in the country. I believe they have practically every inch tilled now that is tillable. There is no land left in that part of the world that is yet to be broken.

000 Their land and their fruit trees are their whole life. Their health, pleasant dispositions and industry, which they possess to the highest degree, are their entire wealth.

578 Quarreling among children and adults seems to be something that doesn't exist in Hunza. I found close affection and love was the general, accepted pattern throughout the area. This is even more surprising when you realize that most of the houses in the villages are built practically one on top of the other.

181 It was clear to me that they knew no worries and
152 that they create no worries. There was absence of jealousy, greed, covetousness and hurry. Their outlook on life is most unpretentious. They are proud people and do not grovel before anyone and they do not pretend to be anything but what they really are.

433 Every Hunzan farmer is completely self-sufficient, even though he might trade for something that is in short supply or that he would like to possess. He grows wheat, barley, potatoes, millet, cabbage, beans, onions, lettuce and occasionally a bit of rice. In their orchards they have apricots, apples, pears, walnuts and mulberries. Every family has sheep and goats and sometimes a cow or an ox, and occasionally a yak. They till

other up, chivvied their lambs and kids about by chucking stones skilfully to turn but not to hit them, and half a dozen noisy scamps would jump to and fro over the watercourse in competition.

Between us and the river bank were groups of poplars, willows, and fruit trees with quaint cube-like stone houses dotted about in between, and right above this delightfully restful patch of green (which you could not properly appreciate if you had not had days and days of barren bleakness before you reached it), in the great triangular space between the barren mountains of Nagir and those of Hunza which rose around and behind us, there towered up the great mass of far the loveliest mountain on earth: RAKAPOSHI.

She is 25,550 feet high, and the top 10,000 feet which we saw from our window is a conical series of triangles, cliffs, precipices and peaks all covered in dazzling frozen snow—a never-ending joy to watch. At this time of year she was usually clear, escaping the skirts of the monsoon which are apt to catch on Nanga Parbat; and the clear sky behind changes from the palest blue at dawn to the brilliant burning blue of midday and then to delicate shades of pink, green, violet, and orange towards sunset. Ruskin could write volumes on the ever-changing shadows and colours that delighted us: I must leave them to the imagination. From our beds we could see Raka when we first woke and bid her good-night before we fell asleep. It is a wonderful thing when beauty such as this becomes part and parcel of your daily life.

It was still pretty hot in Hunza in July, in spite of our 7,600 feet. We had it up to 95° in the shade of the verandah outside, but were able to keep the study ten degrees cooler by closing doors and windows in the morning before the sun got up. Out in the sun the heat is all the fiercer for the altitude, a point stay-at-home travellers seldom realize. Another odd point is that in cloudless, dustless air like this, granted equal apparent brightness, photographic exposures need to be *longer* than lower down—at least this is David's experience.

The people round were from the first unbelievably friendly; we could run out quite informally at any moment and join

157 them in the fields and ask what they were at, and why, and what their various implements were called. They were quick to understand what we tried to say, and except when several of them talked at once we could usually make out most of their replies. They often started amusing arguments among themselves, not agreeing about certain words, just as at home you can set a discussion going in any company about "apple dumplings" or "pies."

243 I had a most entertaining half-hour my second afternoon.
123 Some women and little girls were beating a pile of green stuff on the threshing-floor just below, whacking it with a sort of wooden mallet. So I ran out (with pencil and notebook), greeted them, and sat down beside them on the nice dry ground and watched the whole performance. The crop was a small lentil or purple pea, and the heap was a pile of plants, stalks, roots, pods and all. They just beat and beat till all the pods had burst open, then piled pods and seeds into a big sieve and tossed it till most of the seeds were shaken out. Next they transferred it into a big flat tray and shook it to and fro till they could skim the pods off the top. Everyone was taking a hand, and after I had jotted down all the words I could conveniently collect, I took the various articles in turn and caused much amusement by saying carefully: "This is a sieve, I toss the lentils," "This is a tray, I shake it to and fro," etc. I felt rather like a star turn at a variety show, and brought down the house at the end with: "This is a little thorn bush, I sweep up the threshing-floor."

123 It is a sort of improved Berlitz method of teaching yourself. I found that when my Burushaski ran out I could still delight them by chattering on in English in a friendly way. They felt the goodwill, and they didn't know I was saying: "You're a nice-looking little minx, but you'll look better when you wash your face." I got most of their names written down, and then when they began to get ready to go home I had a romp with the small ones, who ran off squealing when I tried to catch them, just like English kiddies of the same age. I hadn't had such fun since our own youngster was small enough to romp with.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

563 find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some in-
582 teresting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

616 Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously
562 reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no
291 such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly sym-
771 bolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are
346 called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski
576 *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour
● 157 looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are
157 black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

have attributed it to the north-facing mountains which though richer in grass and timber are sorely stinted of the sun. 157 ●

Whatever the difference is—racial, temperamental, religious, political, or climatic—it is too deep-seated to favour intermarriage. Only the royal houses, sprung from a common ancester—Alexander or another—frequently exchange princesses across the water. 582 643

Within Hunza the clans are all reckoned of equal status, but the clan of the Diramiting enjoys a considerable measure of prestige, and at communal ceremonies a Diramiting sets the pace or leads the dance. The story of their origin is interesting. There was once a clan of Tapkients who grew so bold and arrogant that their offences cried to heaven. They were reported to put bread to ignoble uses, they were known to address their mothers by the term *zizi*, which is the exclusive privilege of royal or saiyyid families, and they were haughty and stiff-necked towards their Mir. In vain the eldest royal son implored his father to "do something about it," and when the Mir refused to take suitable measures, the young prince impatiently laid his own schemes. A great gathering of all the clans was to be held on a nameless space of open desert where Aliábád now stands, and the Tapkients attended in full force. The prince plied them with strong *'araq*, and when they had well drunk fell upon them with his retainers and slew every man, boy, and male infant. He did not know that one of the Tapkients had allowed his wife to return to her own people for the birth of her first child. The posthumous infant was called Diram, and from him are sprung the Diramiting of to-day, who carry themselves without arrogance and do not call their mothers *zizi*. 614 173

Child marriages do not take place in Hunza, but a girl will rarely pass sixteen or a boy eighteen unwed. The parents seek out a house among some other clan—frequently a house with which marriage relationships already exist—where there is a potential mate of suitable age and standing, and negotiations proceed between the families. In theory the young folk are not consulted; but in practice, where children have romped and played and worked together there is no doubt that per- 584

In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly 563
of totally distinct stock from the Burushe. Much more difficult
is the question of the relation of the Burushe and the Shina-speakers.
My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shins of lower
Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burushe of Hunza.
They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to
apparent mentality and sanitary ideals. A large proportion of the
child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are ovetinous
in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity
of comparing the people of the Hunza Shins villages of Hindi and
Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burushe fellow-
"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the 184
Burushe of Hunza and the Burushe of Nagir? That is a question 577
which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; 241
but it is the general impression among European visitors that there
is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples.
The Hunza Burushe are felt to be a happy and cheerful people,
their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching
sullenness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to
the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in
winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part
attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be 125
worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical 141
measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency.
The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so
were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measurements were recorded uniformly according to an antiquated scheme of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only 141
measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are reasonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

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Dialects	Number of Subjects	Head Measurements in Centimetres			Cephalic Index	Height in Feet & Inc.
		Ant.-Posterior Diameter	Transverse Diameter	Frontal Minimum		
Hunza . .	138	19·135	14·933	10·423	78·034	5′ 6 1/11″
Nagir . .	152	19·411	14·256	9·586	73·424	5′ 5½″
Yasin . .	78	19·085	14·798	10·413	77·714	5′ 6 3/10″
Gilgit . .	40	19·302	14·493	10·075	74·931	5′ 4 11/12″
Astor . .	43	19·005	14·494	10·197	76·306	5′ 5½″
Punial . .	65	19·165	14·611	10·342	76·296	5′ 5 11/12″
Kuh-Ghizer	78	19·099	14·791	10·217	77·432	5′ 5 11/12″

Without allowing too much importance to these figures, we may tentatively accept a considerable difference between the Hunza and Nagir subjects in cephalic index and its factors, in frontal minimum and in height. The Nagir type seems to approximate to the Gilgit type, while the Hunza type approaches to that of Yasin. These conclusions receive further support from a detailed examination of the figures. I have plotted the numbers under each figure of the anterior-posterior and transverse diameters of the head, and of the height, and very similar curves are yielded by the Hunza and Yasin records, and the same holds of the Nagir and Gilgit records.

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184
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My own visual impressions, however, for what they are worth, would suggest that in physique and feature there is a perceptible difference between the Burushaski-speakers of Hunza and the Werchikwar-speakers of Yasin. It is to be noted that both the Hunza and Nagir subjects are almost entirely Burushu; only a few individuals of those measured came from the Shina-speaking villages. This difference in the attitude to a very mild form of militarism may indicate an inherent difference of temperament. On the other hand it may be due to economic or other unsuspected causes.

692 Fourthly: even after this an aggrieved party may carry his suit to the gate of Baltit Fort, where it is heard by the four Headmen of Baltit and the Kaḍako. Fifthly: if he has still failed to obtain satisfaction he can next submit his case to the Wazir. Sixthly: If the Wazir fails, where so may before him have failed, the case then goes to the final court — the Tham's Audience Assembly (Thamo marakai). Here it is heard and adjudicated on for the last time by the Tham, the Wazir, and the elders and officials of every khow in council, and a final irrevocable order is passed. It is said that in recent years the Tham has dispensed with the presence of the elders and officials and gives judgement himself. But I imagine this would not apply in a case of major gravity. All "courts" are held in public.

It is thus the policy in Hunza that only matters of serious importance should be referred to the Ruler and that he should be regarded as a final court of appeal. In this way his prestige and authority are not impaired by the constant decision of minor disputations or factious matters.

Character.

• 167 Of the character of the Burusho something has already been said in *obiter dicta* above. It may be summarily stated that the Hunzakuts are a cheerful, frank and straightforward people; intelligent, keen, and active, with a sense of fun and humour and a commendable spirit of tolerance. They are pleasant people to meet and work with. Among themselves they appear to be good-natured and forbearing, associating together in relaxation, and cooperating happily and amicably in work. They are fond of their children, but do not spoil them, and are considerate to the old or ailing.

000 For more than a month, while partially laid up, I have sat in the Rest House at Aliabad and from the verandah and through the windows seen the life of the place drift past me or concentrate in activity in the fields immediately in front. There is here no

312 And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of
423 the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

562 Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the
584 East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

609 To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and
123 Mim sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a romantic, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

184 So much for the Hunzukuts Burushо. Of their Nagir neighbours
157 I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

000 We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Wardikwar). That language is spoken only in the Werchigūm valley, known as the Yasin district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasin is shown in the following table:

These men were carrying water from the holy of holies—the Ganges. They were intoxicated—not with wine, but with their faith. They were excited with the mysticism of their god; they were inspired; they were in seventh heaven. Yes, the gait of these divinely influenced people was close to the pace followed by the people of Hunza. 000

If I had seen somewhere along in my travels a Hunzan who slouched, dragged himself or in some other way showed a sign of weakness or debility, I would say so, but no such Hunzan did I see. 481

I fully realize that I scoffed at my Hunzan bearer that the Mir sent along with me from Kerimabad to Nomal, especially when he wanted to take the horses back from Chalt and leave us because he said he had blisters on his feet, due to the exceptionally hard push we had made that day, but remember, he was 20 years older than I! His feet probably told his age but he certainly didn't look it.

If there are sick and infirm men in Hunza, they must be exceptionally well-hidden, because I didn't see or find any. 164

Then, too, writers and observers of the people of Hunza always mention and stress the fact that they are a happy pleasant people. To this I must also assent. I did not see a sad or disgruntled Hunzan. I do not mean to suggest that they ran about the streets giggling and laughing, but they were of cheery, amiable countenance. Here I am going beyond those with whom I walked and talked and ate; I am delving into the citizenry that I passed on the roads or streets, those whose farms and homes we visited and also those whom I observed in passing. 157

Let me here illustrate another point. For example, it is understandable that we here in America, or people 181

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over the Nagirwals, but over others as well. The P.A. at Gilgit, in a discussion that I had with him, admitted that when the Hunzans moved down the valley to the Gilgit area, they showed their heritage by surpassing anyone else in the district when it came to working their lands and producing their crops. They worked harder, they worked longer, they worked better. They used their experience and intelligence to greater advantage, with the net result that they were soon buying more and better land. 157

So far only a few of the Hunzans have come down to Gilgit, but the native Gilgiti farmers are already showing their resentment. Obviously they find it difficult to compete with the Hunzans on an equal basis. [167]

I compared the Hunzans with the Scotch people and I think the comparison has many realistic qualities. Both peoples live in a more or less barren, hilly, rocky, rough country. Both peoples have learned the value of being frugal and thrifty. They waste naught and want naught. They are chiefly outdoorsmen. They are strongly nationalistic. Then, too, they are physically independent and have little or no fear of anyone. 181

When I was talking to the P.A. I called the Hunzans "the Scotsmen of the East" . . . and I trust the Scotsmen won't be offended. In fact, they should be flattered.

Where I think the people of Hunza gain most of their superiority is in leadership. From the little research and reading I have done on the subject, it appears that for many long years the Hunzans have had good capable leaders—really strong men who ruled their people with a firm hand. 643

In reading the autobiography of the Mir's grandfather, one quickly sees that he was not only a man of action but one of ability, foresight and reason.

Now I did not meet the Mir of Nagir. Although I [123]

their own land. They spin their own wool. Then they 433
weave it into cloth from which they cut and sew their [286]
clothes. However he can also buy or trade for woolen cloth or he can have his own wool woven for him.

They have little or no money. The few dollars that 436
he might get during the year would come from the 485
expeditions that congregate in the area and hire the Hunzans as porters. And they are unsurpassed at this difficult and arduous work.

A man has a right to inflict corporal punishment 593
upon his wife if she nags him. Perhaps that is why the men of Hunza have that cheerful look.

The children are never neglected because the parents
are always at home. Further, the children do their 857
share of the work in the fields and are taught to do so from early childhood. This also eliminates juvenile delinquency.

The people of Hunza have splendid dispositions. 157
They are genial, pleasant, smiling and cheerful. They 181
have deep respect for authority, profound love of the land, affection, compassion and understanding for their neighbors and they are most hospitable to strangers. They hold their heads high, their chests out and they
are strong, honest and hard-working. To me this showed 000
clearly and positively that people can live and that agriculture can exist and thrive without chemistry, chemical fertilizers, chemical sprays or synthetic medicines and drugs.

They enjoy happiness without modernization, long life without doctors, nurses and hospitals, democracy without bureaucracy, law and order without police and self-sufficiency without money. Part of the answer, if not most of it, is their loyalty to and their faith in their land, a pure case of unremitting agriculture and putting everything back into the soil which was taken

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 41-B]

164 beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."
123 Altogether, I was able to treat 5,680
[243] medical cases—the country had no
other dispensary—during my stay in
164 Hunza. My daily group of patients did
not suffer from many of the diseases
[158] common to our civilization. There
were no true neurotics; no cases of
stomach ulcers, appendicitis, or gout;
only one case of cerebral hemorrhage,
[482] and but four cardiac cases. The few
[143] bad hearts had been damaged either
by malarial anemia or by overexertion at high altitudes, as was the case with one man who had carried the Mir's piano on his back up twenty miles of mountain trail. On the other hand, my Hunza patients did have malaria. They also had at least two kinds of intestinal worms, and to see for the first time a man with *Ascaris*

CCO boulder of rock-salt, filled two empty cigarette tins (very valuable these) with sugar, and then wondered how to get them surely conveyed to our friends of yesterday. For sugar and salt are indescribably precious, and an ordinary messenger might be tempted. I consulted Dádo. He fell on them with delight: "Oh, do let me take them. Mírbán is a clansman of mine, and a relation by marriage." That settled it, for you could trust Dádo with untold gold—or salt. An hour or two later he was back with radiant face and messages of thanks and blessing.

159 Our next experience with a house was when we found that our dear old neighbour, Ustád Nadíro, was planning one for the marriage of his son. The Ustád (master-craftsman) is a wonderful old man. He spent some years in Gilgit in his youth working in the "barrack-cháp" (= workshop) of the divisional engineer, and came back with a fine set of saws, planes, and chisels, so that he is one of the most famous of the carpenters and is frequently employed by the Mir to embellish his quarters in Báltít. He is, in fact, Carpenter to the King by royal letters patent. But he has not scorned to perfect himself also in the local crafts; he is a famous weaver and bootmaker as well. His wife, a sporting old lady of about my own age, with a game leg and toothless gums, indefatigable energy, a priceless sense of humour and an unfailing smile, is his worthy consort. We made friends with this delightful couple, who lived quite near on the water-channel above us, very early in our stay, and none of our neighbours were so thoughtful as they to call us to their house when anything interesting was going on. They had tragically lost their two elder sons, and the courage with which the two old folk carried on all the work which by now ought to have been shared by two sons and two daughters-in-law, awoke our constant admiration. One married daughter came over sometimes to lend a hand, but otherwise the pair at No. 8 had only Kamber, a lad of perhaps fourteen, and Hérul Nisa, a small girl of ten or so, to help them. With his varied crafts the Ustád must have accumulated some considerable wealth, and he had now betrothed his only surviving son to a girl a shade "above" them in rank,

157 belonging to a family in which Prince Ghazan Khán had been fostered, and who had thus acquired the extra land, etc., which is the recognized recompense for fostering royalty. We supposed that it was a desire to live up to this distinguished new connection (possibly it was a stipulation of the bride's people) that prompted his intention to set the young son, Kamber, up in a house of his own instead of bringing the new wife to share the parents' home.

342 Whatever lay behind this departure from custom, Nadíro sent his Hérul Nisa one day to tell me that he was setting out to "smite his poplars" if I would care to come. It was a *very* hot morning and I was deep in something else, but of course you'd never see anything if you weren't ready to take chances as they turn up. So I shouldered my camera and tripod, seized my long walking-stick (which is a great aid to climbing walls or leaping down them), on which I had made notches every foot to serve for measuring distances, and set off with Hérul Nisa. [423] "Where is father's poplar garden?" I asked. The Aliábád people have a bewildering way of possessing odd scraps of ground dotted about all over the place, just according as they have taken up one plot or another of the sometime royal land. "Oh, quite near," she said. Everything is "quite near" to these active people, who think less of a 500-foot climb than we think of running a hundred yards to the pillar-box at the corner. It was, in fact, a hot, vertical half-mile over the 342 roughest ground without even a track. Here on a rugged patch 313 of stony, steep-sloping ground, carefully walled in, I found the whole of No. 8 and several neighbours busily setting about the felling job. One man scrambled up and attached a rope near the top of the fated tree. Two or three laid hold of the rope and stood at some distance to pull in the right direction, while the old Ustád himself skilfully hacked a triangular bite out of the trunk near to the ground and then axed away. It was only a few minutes till the slender poplar crashed down. Then 314 Kamber and his friends hacked off the few remaining upper- 415 most branches—the lower ones had been cut long ago—and 313 the womenfolk and young people all clustered along the trunk to peel off the bark, taking care to get it off in strips as long

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

561 Hurmat was telling me about his home affairs one day: "Our
888 father and mother are fortunately still with us; they can't *do* very much nowadays, of course; but they are still able to give us orders, thank God." And he meant the "thank God." In the same way the uncanny skill of the old *rúli gus* in husbanding the year's supplies is fully appreciated, and her skill with wool and spindle still puts her daughters-in-law to shame.

888 Old Aliko of No. 1A was past all serious work, though he
● 159 kept up a plucky effort to preserve his youth by the constant dyeing of his fine white beard; but he was a renowned sower and could spread the seed more advantageously on the prepared
243] field than younger men. There is no reckless wastage of precious seed-grain in Hunza; it is never flung where thorns could spring up and choke it, nor by the wayside to be trodden by the feet of men. And the neighbours would call Aliko in to sow for them. A real centenarian is a family treasure. Old Aliko's father was still living at the old homestead in Dorkhan with the other brothers (Aliko had hived off to Aliábád), and we made a special journey by request to see him and take his photograph. He was seated on a roof commanding a magnificent view of a steep hillside on which the farmstead straggled downhill in several storeys, as Hunza houses often do where the ground is steep. He had put on his best silk robe to receive us, and as we climbed the ladder and popped up over the roof brink, he apologized that he could not rise to greet us. Mentally he was as bright as ever and not even slightly deaf, and while David was busy with the portraiture I sat beside him and heard how he had lived through the reigns of four Mirs and four Maharajahs of Kashmir (the Mir, it should not be forgotten, had already reigned forty-five years); how proud he was that his son, Sangi Khan, was one of the headmen of Dorkhan, and how he had three sons and twelve grandsons still living at home (not to mention daughters and their children elsewhere). Before we reached the tale of his great-grandchildren, the photography and our visit were drawing to a close. He counted himself at least a hundred, and was certainly well on in the nineties, but still seemed full of the joy of life.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

644 three doors are placed in the right angle turn of a
342 very narrow passage which only one man can use at a time, and the doorways are so low that a tall man has to bend almost double to pass through them. The object is to prevent a rush, and to make it impossible for a man to use his weapons as he passes through the last doorway. Similarly the ascent to the flat-topped roof of a man's house is jealously guarded, and he who considers himself in any danger never sleeps twice in the same part of his room, for the skylight gives an enemy a convenient point of vantage from which to shoot.

643 We found the Thum in a typical square room,
159 with an open skylight, and a sunk hearth in the floor, seated by a balconied window, from which there was an extensive view over his country. His beard was carefully dyed, and it was difficult to guess his age, but he was not an old man; drink and debauchery had reduced him to his present state, and paralysed him
644 from the waist down. We did not stop long, as the visit was merely one of ceremony, and the audience room was full of people, before whom business could not be discussed. Our uniforms were a source of much interest to our hosts, and of considerable discomfort to ourselves. Frock coats and spiked helmets, high boots and spurs, sword and sabretache, are not quite the thing for the grand staircases of the
[534] country. Later in the day Uzr Khan paid me a visit,
644 and we had to sit through an interminable dance pro-
535 gramme, which, as the orchestra consisted of six pairs of kettle-drums, six large drums beaten at both ends, and three pipes, was simply deafening. The dances were all very much the same—six or eight men

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

312 four and a half feet wide by one foot deep, which means a considerable flow of water. On this channel the cultivation of Hunza proper entirely depends; should it fail, starvation stares the people in the face. It is not surprising, therefore, that the greatest care should be expended on its preservation. [412] But what is wonderful is the excellence of the result arrived at. It must be remembered that the people have no proper tools, no crowbars and dynamite to assist them. A tiny pick of soft iron, which looks like a child's garden tool, shovels fashioned out of wood, and a few poles as levers, [333] are all that they have to work with. The use of mortar is unknown; all their walls are of dry masonry. Yet with all these disadvantages, with nothing but their eye as a guide to levels, they have carried this great irrigation channel for six miles, and turned an arid desert into a garden. For the most part it is true it runs along the side of a gently sloping mountain, but it also crosses many deep and perpendicular-sided ravines, and encounters masses of rock which have to be circumvented. It is a splendid work, and I admired it more every time I walked along it.

• 159 The Thum was too unwell with fever to return my visit, and his Wazir came in his stead. Robertson went up to see the Chief, and prescribed for him, with the result that the descendant of Alexander, as he considered and called himself, got into a state of abject terror, thought his last hour was come, and refused to take the second dose which was the natural sequence of the first. Robertson reported that he was a coward, that he had literally

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7
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funked himself into a state of great nervousness 159
and a sort of nettle-rash five minutes after he had taken his first dose, which should not have taken effect for an hour. This sounded bad, for a rank coward is a dangerous man to deal with.

The views from our little camp by the polo ground were superb, especially in the afternoons; the great sugar-loaf peak of Dirran, just opposite, seemed to float and melt in the pale blue sky, and Rakapushi was glorious, with great dashes of sunlight at his base, and bands of clouds resting high up, the great peaks standing out above.

And now came the important interviews at 648
which business had to be discussed. The first one was quite satisfactory. I found the Thum in a small open room or court leading into the private apartments, and we sat down to discuss business. It was obvious that the Wazir was the important [643]
man, but also that the Thum, cowardly, shifty, [59]
and with a ridiculous idea of his own importance, must be reckoned with very carefully. Everything passed off well, and the Government conditions were readily assented to, the most important one at the moment being the promise of a free passage to Younghusband, who was to come to Gilgit in November from the Pamirs. Wazir Dadu amused 721
us very much when the question of raiding was raised. He made no attempt at denying that this was the custom of the country, and explained it by saying that Hunza was a poor state, and that necessarily its people looted. The evident enjoyment 000
with which he referred to former exploits, and the expressive grin which accompanied his explanations,

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burushe AV7

000 were too much for me, and I had to join in the general laugh.

649 We parted good friends, but in the evening came
151 a letter from the Thum, asking for the same subsidy for his son as had been promised to Raja Uzr Khan of Nagar. As his son was about four years old and Uzr Khan thirty, I thought this was pretty cool. In the morning came rather an insolent verbal message to the effect that unless the boy's subsidy was granted, my surveyor would not be allowed to proceed to the north, where there was some surveying work to be done. This was in direct contravention of the agreement entered into, but I took no notice, as we were to pay our farewell visits that day. After breakfast, accordingly, we went up and had a long talk, which was quite satisfactory until the question of the boy's subsidy came up. It was useless to point out that Raja Uzr Khan's grant was taken out of his father's, that he was a grown man, with much weight in the country, and that the case of the small boy would doubtless be considered when he came of age, if his father was loyal to his engagements. The Thum got sulkier and sulkier, ruder and ruder, until the Wazir, who was evidently uneasy at the turn things were taking, brought the discussion to
000 a close with smooth and tactful words. We returned to camp fairly well satisfied, to find that we had been meant to march that day, but that with their usual fecklessness the Thum's people had not let us know. It would have saved me hours of anxiety had I but known this the day before.

After sending off the presents I had brought for

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Ovrusl. AV7

the Thum by the Raja of Astor and my head orderly, Zyarulla Khan, I sat down and began to write an official letter to India, giving the story of the progress of the negotiations. I had been writing some time, when I saw my orderly strolling towards the tent with a rifle in his hands. I caught his eye, and saw that something was wrong, and that he wanted to see me alone. I therefore dismissed my servant, who was wandering about the tent making preparations for the next day's march, and called Zyarulla in. I never shall forget his coolness that day; he was a well-tried Pathan, for whom danger brought no fears. Looking round to see that no one was within hearing, he walked to the door of my tent, and, laying the rifle on my table, quietly remarked: "Rifle bigr gya, aur Raja bhi bigr gya"—"the rifle has gone wrong, and so has the Raja." Picking up the rifle, a repeater, I set to work to put it right, and listened to the story of his interview with our truculent host. It did not sound pleasant. My envoys had found the Thum sulky about his son's pension, and, after some talk, during which the presents were duly spread before him, he had suddenly flown into a passion, thrown my things about the room, and refused to accept them. He had called for and shown a quantity of presents received from the Russians, and offered to produce the treaty he had made with them, even to show it to me, and generally had behaved like a disappointed and spoilt child. Finally, he had sent me a message that he withdrew all the promises that he had made.

The question I had to solve, and to solve pretty quickly, was whether this was a serious outbreak, or

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burusho AV7

000 a *volte-face* on the part of the Chief, who was probably now cursing those who had counselled him to violence, and in whose fickle and unstable mind the advantages of being well with us were now in the 159 ascendant. My reply to his letter was very much to the point, and the result was a complete climb-down on the part of the Thum, abject apologies and profuse protestations of loyalty to the engagements lately taken. I attached the proper value to his vows, but left the country feeling that, at all events for that year, there would be no further trouble, and that Younghusband's safe passage was assured.

643 We all liked what we saw of the Hunza people; they were cheery and pleasant and civil as we passed 661 through their villages. The leaders were scoundrels. Dadu and his son had fired the first shots at the old Thum, while the contemptible young parricide who succeeded cowered in a room below them. The moment the old man was dead Safdar Ali entered the fort, seized the wife of one of his father's chief adherents, and murdered his three younger brothers. Two were strangled and cut to pieces, the third was taken to the edge of the cliff, on which the fort stands, and hurled over. He was a mere boy, and only asked that he might be thrown into the water, not on to the rocks; his prayers were unheeded. Safdar Ali's description of the circumstances attending his accession was contained in a letter to Government which ran somewhat as follows: "By the will of God my father and I fell out; he died suddenly, and I have 000 ascended the throne." The old Thum, with all his villainy, had been a man, and I found traces, even during my short visit to Hunza, of deep discontent

648 ever, such a move, in my humble opinion, would be most ill-advised because the Pakistan government has splendid leadership, a good army and a mighty impregnable position in Gilgit. Undoubtedly Gilgit is the most accessible point in that entire area and Gilgit which belongs to Pakistan, is most capably staffed, manned and led.

177 Even as I write my tale, changes are occurring in [164] Hunza. In a letter received from the doctor just before [167] my book went to press, he told me that many diseases unknown in Hunza before are making their appearance—primarily because they are brought back by native Hunzans who go out to serve in the army or work in other parts of Pakistan and the area.

[161] The population of Hunza is as great now as its land can foster and sustain. There is no reason to believe that the birth rate in Hunza will decrease and that means that more and more of the people of Hunza will have to seek a livelihood elsewhere. But they will keep returning and bringing with them the benefits of civilization. That, in my opinion, will be the undoing of that little paradise on earth.

Being blessed with the earth's most fabulous mountain scenery may also be the cause of Hunza's undoing. I've noticed that exploration parties and mountain climbers have been congregating in that area more and more. British, Swiss, German, Italian and Austrian expeditions have been in or are planning to go into the Karakorums to scale those hundred peaks over 20,000 feet high.

The magnetism of unscaled impregnable mountain summits becomes overpowering to many men. Why bother with the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rockies or the Andes, when the Himalayas, the Karakorums and the Hindu Kush offer a much more taunting challenge?

nature of their homeland.

However, the Mir pointed out to me most clearly and emphatically that intermarriage among members of one tribe is absolutely forbidden. There are four tribes in the Baltit area and they can marry among these four tribes . . . Diramiting, Khorokoch, Borong, Barataling . . . but definitely not among their own tribe.

Lest this sounds like a difficult matter to hold in check, I want to explain that this is easier to control than may be imagined, for the simple reason that all marriages must be sanctioned and performed by the Mir. Therefore he positively knows who is marrying whom.

However, even if this has been the rule for many hundreds of years, the total population of Hunza, even today, stands at something less than 25,000 souls and Lord Curzon in his memoirs states that in 1894, the total population of Hunza was only 6,000. Therefore, among so small a population, it is almost impossible for them to marry very far beyond a family relationship. (In 1934 it was estimated that the population had risen to 15,000.)

Let's put it in another way. If the people of Hunza have remained more or less a pure people for nigh on 1,000 years and the population today is only 25,000, there must have been fairly close intermarriages. Perhaps that would, as I mentioned, account for the similarity of features.

I want to stress, at this point, that I came to Hunza primarily to learn and study (1) about their health and longevity and (2) about their means and methods of agriculture.

Let's examine or re-examine a few of the more pertinent details of their unusual country.

Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River

184 into the "low, barred cheeks" reported
196 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the low, barred cheeks revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notable except by sickness.) During my few winter, I developed a typical case of bronchitis, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[19] hard-working, but with their country.
There is no flat land to all of Hunza.
[36] Villages and farms are built on alluvial
[37] cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[67] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
24 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough to the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-caked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders,
[32] gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[133] cool but exceedingly dry desert, practically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

[illegible] proverbs that Hunzans have told me, "If you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

Hunzas are skillful at building a limited fertility into their sterile material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain sunlight to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants then have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plants, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrogen, phosphorus, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

Even the most painstaking hydroponic gardening cannot compensate for deficiencies in the food chemistry. However, their custom makes Hunza one of the few countries where an extensive economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy. Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefully herded into small corrals in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

Unfortunately, the human population has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrants is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they seem displace their less industrious Shawna predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men join the Pakistan army. Others take work as servants, where their honesty, industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

4; Durani G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burushe AV7

131 it lies entirely on the right bank of the Hunza river; above Hunza, as far as the passes of the Hindu-Kush, it embraces both banks. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hindu-Kush, which separates it from the Pamirs and the valley of the Yarkand river; to the west, by a range which separates it from the Karumbar or Ishkuman valley; and to the south, by the Hunza river which divides it from Nagar. The total population probably amounts to some ten thousand souls. The country is racially separated into two divisions, Gujhal and Kanjut. Gujhal begins at a village called Gulmit, eighteen miles above Hunza, stretches to the passes, and is inhabited by emigrants from Wakhan, who still speak the dialect of their original home. Kanjut or Hunza proper comprises the rest of the country, and is inhabited by a Dard race of the Yeshkun caste, speaking Burishki.

161

563

173 Hunza and Nagar were, according to tradition, ruled by the same chief till some centuries ago, when the ruler of the day divided the country between his two twin sons, who were deadly enemies. The Hunza ruler was murdered by one of his brother's adherents, and left an only daughter. This young lady fell in love with her cousin, the son of the ruler of Nagar, and the lovers met, necessarily by stealth, the prince swimming across the Hunza river every night. The result was a son, the founder of the present line, which is called Ayeshé, or heavenly; for, to conceal the mishap, the story in Hunza is that the father was a prince from Shignan, but that his name having been forgotten he was called Ayesho, or the "heaven-sent." The Hunza chief is styled Thum, as was his brother

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushu AV 7

The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the
241 finest stretch is just below the fort of the chief, and
311 extends for some six and a half miles in length with a width of from a mile to a mile and a half, the whole
[361] of the land being irrigated. This main stretch of arable land, which is studded with villages, lies at an altitude of eight thousand feet, and faces south, and the climate here is delightful. Further up the valley lie scattered patches of cultivation, getting poorer and poorer as the altitude increases. The mountains enclosing the valley are very precipitous even for the Hindu-Kush; wood and grazing for cattle are therefore unusually scarce, and the people suffer in conse-
291 quence. The clothing of the people is practically the same both in Hunza and Nagar as it is in Chitral, and has been described before, the only difference being that the men's stockings are not knitted in such elaborate patterns, and that, as a general rule, the woollen outer robe is, in Hunza especially, more often white than brown. All, except on State occasions when the higher ranks don the turban, wear the Dard head-dress. This is a long bag of brown woollen cloth rolled back on itself till it forms a cap, which is one fold thick on the top, with a border an inch or so thick round the head. It makes a light, warm, and delightfully comfortable head-dress, but is a very poor protection against severe sun.

101 Nagar, as most of the surrounding people and the inhabitants themselves generally call it, though they also pronounce the word Nagér, and the scientific, for some cause best known to themselves, insist on spell-
[161] ing it *Nagyr*, is a smaller State than Hunza. The
795 population is about the same,[2] and is composed of Yeshkuns, professing themselves Shiahs, but very

[1] [cf pp. 55, 75, 102, 114 - Analysis] [2] [ca 10,000 - Analysis]

D 161 The greatest increase in population has taken place in Kub which registers a percentage of 327 increase over the last Census while Chilas on the other hand shows +30 per cent. increase. The case of Nagar is no doubt alarming as instead of an increase it shows a decrease of 316 persons or a variation of B 161 −3·63 per cent. In the Ilaqadari divisions therefore Nagar forms the one single exception of decrease of population in the State in contrast with all other tehsils which register all-round increases. The causes of variation have been explained by the Political Agent Gilgit in the following words :—

"All districts show an increase except Nagar which shows a decrease of 316. The increases are doubtfully due to the healthy normal life of the past 10 years, peace and security having now then not balanced small epidemics of Influenza in 1919-1920. Nagar, however, is undoubtedly nearing the saturation point as regards population—space land now being very scarce. Moreover, the Influenza epidemic in 1919 took large toll as did an epidemic of Typhus in 1920."

K 161 **32. General.**—Having attempted to offer a detailed analysis of the growth of population in the different Administrative Divisions such as Provinces, Districts and Tehsils, and having also made detailed survey of the favourable conditions of the decade responsible for producing such happy demographic results occasion is now ripe for us to take stock of our position and to bring the scattered data and arguments to a focus to enable proper penetration into the more intricate problems of population about which a promise was held out by us in the opening portion of this discussion.

K [132] The causes of the highly favourable growth of population which is almost on par with the All India increase (The decennial increase in the State being 9·8 per cent. against 10·6 per cent. of India) have already been studied in detail in the paragraphs dealing with the "Conditions of decade" but it would be advantageous to briefly review them here so that the reader may have an opportunity to refresh his memory and be better equipped to appreciate the theme. Sufficient, timely and well distributed rainfall (except for certain bad years of scarcity in the Skardu and to some extent in Kathua district) bringing good harvests in its train effected a considerable improvement in the economic condition of the agriculturist and highly favoured the growth of population during the last ten years.

K [164] Exceptionally favourable conditions of public health in the decade which was characterised by the absence of severe epidemic of Influenza which during 1911-1921 inflicted greater mortality here than the Great World War. Although Plague in the Jammu Province, Cholera in Kashmir, mild Influenza and Typhus in the Frontiers did make occasional attacks but the prompt, vigorous and effective measures taken by the Medical authorities coupled with the co-operation of the people (who on account of the spread of education and accumulation of experience readily avail of the medical help and do a good deal to combat the disease) did not allow the epidemics to levy a high toll on the precious human life which consequently had a favourable occasion for rapid multiplication. K [312] Extension of irrigational facilities causing a considerable enlargement in the irrigated and irrigable area was further responsible for expansion of agricultural production. Improvement of communications especially the opening of the Banihal Cart Road, Jammu, Samba, Kathua, Akhnur and various other minor roads has imparted a good stimulus to trade resulting in increased prosperity of the people. K [471] Again the development of some of the industries and immediate possibilities of the growth of a larger number in the near future has besides providing employment to some people opened an era of hope for the youth of the country, who in the progressive permeation of the industrial atmosphere around him see a magnificent vision of effective industrialisation in which lies the solution of the unemployment problem. Above all the prevalence of peaceful and orderly conditions ensuring security of life and property was highly conducive to the growth of population during the decade 1921-1930. In this connection it may be noted that the communal clashes and the political agitation in the State which created so much stir throughout the country commenced in July 1931 i. e., after the close of the decade 1921-1930 which alone is under review in this report.

W. Tibetan: AJ1
D and AV3
Burusho AV7

of 45,702 square miles and a population of 192,138 persons it will at once appear that the Ladakh wheil though possessing the greatest area supports the smallest number of people. Its density is, one per square mile, the lowest figure in the whole State. Kargil and Skardu, however, with their respective densities of 9 and 13 present a better record the latter supporting 107,477 persons. All the three wheils of the districts show a plus variation ranging between 4 and 5 per cent, which bear a happy contrast to the all-round decrease registered by these tehsils at the 1921 Census. WT 161

Of the total area of the Ladakh district only ·28 per cent. is cultivable which in plain language means that out of the total area of 45,702 square miles only 129 square miles are cultivable. Again out of ·28 per cent. cultivable area, 91·7 per cent. is not cultivated and there are very little prospects of agricultural expansion in this district. WT 241

The normal rainfall is 0·7" only. The entire green cultivated area has to depend upon irrigation for growing crops. Rice, Bajra, maize are conspicuous by their absence, wheat only occupies an inferior position having under it 17·5 per cent. of the cultivable area, 47 per cent. being under other food-crops including pulses of which grown is the chief staple.

30. Gilgit District.—The district consists of only one tehsil (Gilgit) with an area of 3,119 square miles and a population of 31,832 persons which gives a resultant density of 10 persons to a square miles. The increase at the present Census comes to 11·13 per cent. which compares well with other districts. D 161

Name of District or Tehsil.	Population 1931.	Density.	Percentage of variation.		
			1921-1931.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.
Gilgit District ..	[illegible]	10	+ [illegible]	+ [illegible]	.....
1. Gilgit Tehsil	[illegible]	10	+ [illegible]	+ [illegible]	.....

Of the total area ·9 per cent. is cultivable out of which 81·6 is not cultivated, the balance still available for being brought under crops being about 18 per cent. The normal rainfall being very low *i.e.*, 4·77" the entire agriculture depends upon irrigation which has received good attention from the Government during the present decade as has already been shown under paragraphs dealing with irrigational improvements. To counteract Nature's frugality in the matter of rainfall human effort has shown itself at its best in providing irrigational facilities as is reflected by the fact that 99·9 per cent. of the green cultivated area is irrigated which conclusively proves that natural rainfall by itself would not help even an acre to produce crops. D 241

Here 23·6 per cent. of the area is under wheat, 9·7 per cent. under barley, 30·7 per cent. under other food-crops including pulses while 23·4 per cent. is taken up by miscellaneous crops. The supply for the military garrisons located at Gilgit is provided through a special "Supply and Transport Department".

31. Frontier Illaqas.—With an area of 14,680 square miles and a population of 64,544 persons the Frontier Illaqas show an increase of 3·82 per cent. over the last Census and the variation in each of the constituent units is shown by the marginal table. D 161 B 161

Name of District or Illaqa.	Population 1931.	Population 1921.	Density.	Percentage of variation.	
				1921-1931.	1911-1921.
1. Swat	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ [illegible]	+ [illegible]
2. Dir	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	− [illegible]	+ [illegible]
3. Chitral	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ [illegible]	+ [illegible]
4. Tirah	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ [illegible]	+ [illegible]
5. Bajaur	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ [illegible]	+ [illegible]
6. Khyber	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ [illegible]	+ [illegible]
7. Mohmand	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ [illegible]	+ [illegible]
8. Dir	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+ [illegible]	+ [illegible]

Mr. Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AKR-Afghanistan-ATT~~
4 AVJ Dard
Burushe AV7

173 proud of the independence they have always maintained, and
186 they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago. The rulers are called *Thum*, and their families are descended from twin brothers, Moghlot and Gir-
174 kis, who lived about the end of the fifteenth century. General Cunningham makes the somewhat natural mistake of confounding Girkis with Kirghiz, and suggests that the former inhabitants of Hunza must have been Dards (?), who have since been displaced by the nomads of the Pamir. From this he goes on to argue that the rulers of Shigar must also be of Kirghiz blood; and following the same line of argument he states that the Astor district must once have belonged to the Tibetan race, because the ruling family are Makpons. He also mentions the Gilgitis as a race of Dardo-Tibetans, for which assumption there is no adequate foundation.[1]

643 I have been told by a Nepaulese gentleman that *Thum* is a Chinese title, meaning Governor, and that it is used in a reduplicated form *Thum Thum*, to signify a Governor General.[2] Its existence in these countries, where its origin has been completely lost sight of, is curious and must be extremely ancient.

The rulers of Nager, who are descended from the first-named of the two brothers, are called Moghloté, the present
● 161 Thum being Jaffer Zahid Khan. Though the smaller of the two states, Nager has the larger population, owing to the greater amount of cultivable ground which it contains.
134 The population is about 10,000 souls. The land where cultivable is extremely fertile and bears exceptionably heavy
135 crops, and the Nager streams are rich in gold. The country is especially famous for its apricots, which are dried and export-
439 ed to the Punjab in considerable quantities. Nearly opposite Hunza, the Myetsil River, a considerable stream, joins the
361 main river from the south-west. The fort of Nager and the Thum's house are on the southern side of this stream, about 3 miles from the junction, at an elevation of 8,000 feet
131 above the sea. Both sides of this valley belong to Nager, and it forms the eastern boundary of the state. At the head of it is the difficult and dangerous road over the Hispar Pass into the Shigar Valley, which is never used except in cases
000 of necessity. When Cashmere authority was temporarily

[1] Cunningham's *Ladakh*, pages 27, 38, 58, 295.

[2] It is perhaps a corruption of the word Tung, which appears in many titles. The Chinese Governor of Kashgharia is called Tseng Tung, and the officer who commands the troops is styled Tung-lung.

[See I. Cunningham, AJ4 West Tibetan file -- Analyst]

99; Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AU3-Afghanistan AU7
4 AV3 Dard
Burush. AV7

When Cashmere authority was temporarily expelled from Gilgit, between 1852 and 1860, communication with Nager was maintained by this road. In the prosperous times of the Shin rule, the Thums of Nager acknowledged the Ras of Gilgit as their feudal superiors, and tradition relates that the villages of Nilt, Gulmit, Toll, and Pussunt, which now belong to Nager, were given as dowries to different Thums who married daughters of the Trakhané. At the time of the Sikh occupation of Gilgit a very close connection existed between the rulers of the two states of Gilgit and Nager. Between Hunza and Nager a great rivalry, which has frequently resulted in open hostility, has always existed, but they are generally ready to combine against an external foe. Though possessing a common origin, the people of Nager are distinguished for timidity and incapacity for war, and no instance is recorded of their being victorious over their rivals of Hunza, at whose hands they have suffered many disastrous defeats. The people of Nager are Shiahs, and slavery does not exist among them. Since 1868 Nager has been tributary to Cashmere, to which it makes an annual payment of twenty-one tolas of gold and two baskets of apricots. 648 186 [795]

Between the two states the river flows between perpendicular banks, 300 feet high and 600 feet apart at the top. The banks can only be ascended in a few places, which are carefully guarded. 131

Hunza, which comprises a considerable extent of territory, has an agricultural population of about 6,000 souls. North of the great range of peaks which bisects the principality from south-east to north-west the country opens out into rolling grass steppes, supporting a scattered pastoral population. Here the great wild sheep (*O. Poli*) roams in large herds. This tract is known as Little Goohjal, to distinguish it from Wakhan, which, south of the Hindoo Koosh, is known as Goohjal proper. 133 [161]

From the north-east the Shimshal stream, draining the valley of that name, brings down a great volume of water in summer, and effectually closes all access from the south, except to men on foot. The only direct route in summer to the Shimshal Valley from the south, is by the high and difficult Moorkôn Pass, which is only open for two months in the year. From the head of the Shimshal Valley a road, only passable for men on foot, leads to Koolanooldi in the Yarkund Valley. It was by this road that attacks on the caravans were organised. Another route leads by a somewhat 487

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

889 One day when we were visiting a wine-press, far below the old fort and its graveyards, I made friends with a dear little boy of five who seemed exceptionally active and intelligent, even in a country where all children are peculiarly alive and bright. A beautiful old woman joined us, her handsome face framed by two becoming silver plaits. "Tawálut must be your grandson," I ventured. "'Deed then and he's not," she retorted, "he's my great-grandson. His father was my favourite grandson, and when the poor wife died at this baby's birth, I took and suckled him myself"—a feat with which not many of our great-grandmothers could compete. But of course if you marry at sixteen, you may with luck be a great-grandmother by fifty. Still, it was a good effort, and the boy was an excellent witness to her vitality.

• [162] 147 The Burusho population is not large, ten thousand or so at most, and the ramification of well-remembered pedigrees—the humblest can record his genealogy for an astounding number of generations back—brings it about that all families seem ultimately related to one another. It may be this racial purity, judiciously combined with avoidance of close in-breeding, that has produced a stock so markedly fit and healthy. Travelling up through Astor, Gilgit, and Nagir to Hunza, the strong contrast in physical fitness and general intelligence is apparent to the most casual observer; and anyone who knows the races of the Agency will engage a Hunza servant in preference to any other.

585 Marriages normally take place in winter when the people have leisure to give thought to new alliances. The solemn betrothal, presided over by a khalifa, is the effective part of the ceremony. It is usually performed in the bride's house in a semi-private gathering attended only by the members of the families concerned. We were most anxious to be allowed to see one, but by no means hopeful of securing the privilege, to which of course we had not the slightest claim. The servants promised to negotiate matters if possible, and at last Dádo brought us word one day that a girl-relation of Sagi's was about to be betrothed and her people were willing to invite us, but said: "We are poor folk, and our house is humble and we feel

In Lorimer 1-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushe AV7

123 Hispár, Barpu and other large glaciers. Henceforth until Chalt is reached, where it turns South, the river forms the boundary between Hunza on the North and Nagir on the South. Chalt itself and the Chaprót valley which debouches into it belong to Nagir. Otherwise Nagir is confined, generally speaking, to the valley of the Hispar glacier and Nagir river and the northern slopes of the Kailas range, the crest of which forms the dividing line between it and Gilgit.

On the extreme East Hunza marches with the Oprang valley in Chinese territory and southwards with Baltistan, but the mountain range which separates these regions is scarcely surmountable (v. Text XXVIII). On the extreme West again, Hunza and Nagir territory terminates on a lofty range which runs roughly North and South and is only traversable with difficulty by a couple of passes, the Chillinji (17,000 ft.) and the Daintar (15,210). Beyond lies the sparsely-inhabited valley of Ishkoman, which again is bounded on its western side by a North and South range of mountains on the further side of which is situated the Wershigúm valley, known officially as the Yasin 'Ilaqa. This Wershigum valley is the habitat of the Werchikwár language, a variant form of Burushaski, to which brief reference is made in this work.

133 From the West of Hunza to the East of Wershigum is as the
487 crow flies a mere 20 or 30 miles, but the traveller will spend six days and cover some 115 miles in making his way from Chalt via Gilgit and Gupis to Yasin. Such is this country where cross-country travel is impossible and practicable routes can be found only by following the natural lines of least resistance, and that not without pain.

361 I have now placed our language on the map, approximately, but
162 greater precision is required. In the first place we have to take account of the fact that the bulk of Hunza and the eastern portion of Nagir are uninhabited and uninhabitable. Permanent population exists only on the elevated terraces that skirt in places the sides of the river valleys.

In the second place we have to note that the population of Hunza and Nagir is neither linguistically nor ethnologically homogeneous. Viewing the territories as a whole, Burushaski occupies only a limited central position. It is legitimate perhaps to see in this an indication that the country has been subject to more or less peaceful penetration from the periphery, but that it has never been overwhelmed by any flood of conquest or organised immigration. We may picture Burushaski as here standing at bay — a language which has once covered a much larger area and has gradually been driven in on its least assailable territory, or has been displaced and pushed back to a final refuge.

The country with its physical savageness and poverty could never have attracted the ambition or cupidity of any sane conqueror, and with easier routes available to the West there is little reason to believe that any serious invader has traversed or even penetrated it in force. Against this argument, however, are to be set the efforts of the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmir to penetrate and master the country in the nineteenth century. Their aim was doubtless to strengthen their position in Gilgit.

The relative strengths of the languages current in Hunza and Nagir are set out in the following tables, which are based on figures collected for the 1931 Census, and on the results of private enquiries as to the language spoken in each individual village.

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Burushaski	Shiná	Wakhi	
Hunza	9,938	1,184	2,411	13,533
Nagir	10,362	3,293	—	13,655
Total	20,300	4,477	2,411	27,188

To obtain the absolute total numbers of known Burushaski-speakers 513 must be added to the total of the first column on

3t Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

162 account of 512 Burushaski-speakers recorded in the 1931 Census as resident in the Gilgit Wazarat, and one as resident in North Kashmir. The total thus becomes 20,813[1].

The local distribution of these linguistic groups has now to be considered. On examination it will be found that they fall in the main within definite and unbroken geographical limits. In Hunza from the North southwards down the Herber valley, to and including Galmit the population are Wakhis, speaking Wakhi, with the exception of the inhabitants of Khudâabâd (population 97), Nazimâbâd (82) and Misgâr (174). Proceeding down, southwards and westwards, through Hunza, the rest of the population are Burushaski-speaking with the exception of the two villages, Hindi (977) and Mâyûn (207) whose primary language is Shinâ.

In Nagir there are no Wakhi-speakers, but the Burushaski-Shina dividing line falls at practically the same point as in Hunza, viz. at Minapin opposite Hindi. From and including Minapin down the valley, with the exception of Sikandarâbâd (406, a recent settlement) and Chalt (587), the people of Nagir are primarily Shina-speakers.

162 It is to be remarked, however, that these radical linguistic distinc-
191 tions are to a large extent masked, if not superficially deleted, by bilingualism. I believe that all Shina-speakers of both Hunza and Nagir readily understand and speak Burushaski. This is not so with the Wakhis, of whom only a few know the language of their neighbours. On the other hand the Wakhis have imposed their own language on the Burusho settled in Shimshal, and Wakhi elements are to be found in place-names in all the northern part of the country.

563 How far do these linguistic divisions represent also ethnic divisions? Are the Wakhi-speakers (Guwicho, sg. Gulta, Guwi-ĉo, Gu.i-ta), the Burushaski-speakers (Burûsho, sg. Burûshin, Buru-ĉo, Buru-ti-n) and the Shina-speakers (sg. and pl. Shên, Ŝen) to be regarded as racially distinct peoples?

[1] The figure 20,076 given in the Kashmir Census Report 1931, Vol. XXV p. 237, appears to be incorrect. It is still incorrect if the figures for Warchikwar are taken into account.

The Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~Afghanistan AGI~~
4 AV3 Dard
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487 difficult pass on to the Shimshal Pamir, from whence a road goes to Ujadbai in the Sirikol Valley. On this Pamir dwell
563 a number of Kirghiz, who pay tribute to the Thum of Hunza,
651 and here the wild yák (*P. grunniens*) and the kyang (*E. Hemionus*) find their most western limit. The Pamir
[136] appears to lie north-west and south-east. From its north side the Kara Kuchkar Pass leads to Raskum, once a flourishing settlement, situated on one of the many branches which form the south-western source of the Yarkund River.
[162] Considerably further to the north-east are the two small communities of Pakpooh and Shakshooh, situated on different tributary streams. Pakpooh is said to contain about 4,000 and Shakshooh about 5,000 souls, and they are situated respectively at an elevation of about 10,000 and 9,000 feet.
[142] Both pay tribute to the ruler of Hunza. These curious people, of whom very little is known, are of Aryan race, and
[197] are described as being of very fair and ruddy complexion. Their language is Chagatai Turki, but, like the Ghalchah tribes of Sirikol and the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh to the westward, many of them speak Persian also. Dr. Bellew,[1] who met some men of the tribe, speaks of them as being a tall, very fair, and handsome race, of a purely Aryan physiognomy, and describes them as poorly clad, carrying matchlocks, of timid and subdued demeanour, and very cautious of giving any information regarding themselves. He mentions that they spoke Turki to other people, but conversed among themselves in a totally different language. He says that they are Mussulmans of the Shiah sect, like the Wakhis and Badakhshis,—that is, Maulais.

Nearly due north of Hunza is the small mountain state of Sirikol. The rulers of the two states have ever maintained a close friendship in spite of the mountains which separate them. From Girtchah in Goohjal, Tashkurgan is reached in eight days. Horses can only travel by the Kilik route, which is longer than that by the Kirish Pass; but the road is excellent and open all the year to both horses and camels. For about two months in summer the road by Misgar is impracticable for horses on account of the depth of the stream that has to be forded. The route by Rishipjerab and Derdee is then used, but men on foot can travel by Misgar at all times. Good roads also lead to Lungar and Kabr-i-Bosai in Wakhan territory.

000 In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name of Kunjoot

[1] Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashghar.*

Lt Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AU3 Afghanistan XIII
4
Av3 Dard AV3
Burushi AV7

D 262 713 [174] by them, not a single fowl is to be seen. These peculiarities are strictly confined to the Shin caste, and, together with other customs which will come under notice presently, afford good grounds for supposing that they were a race of Hindoos who came from the south, and, pressing up the Indus Valley, established a Hindoo state in these remote regions under the crest of the Hindoo Koosh.

B 564 162 197 The next in order and the most numerous caste are the Yeshkuns, who form the entire population of Hunza, Nager, and Ponyal, and nearly all the population of Yassin, besides being numerically superior in Gilgit, Sai, Darel, and Astor. In Hunza and Nager they do not call themselves Yeshkun, but Boorish; and in Yassin, Woorshik and Boorisho. The language spoken, in slightly varying dialects, in these three states is known as Boorishki, Boorishaski, or Woorishki. The term "Khajoona," applied by the Gilgitis to the language as spoken in Nager, is never used in that country, and the old name also lingers in Yassin, which is still known as Woorshigoom. This language, of which an account is given in Appendix A, differs markedly from all languages in the neighbouring valleys. It has, I believe, been pronounced on good authority to belong to the Turanian family of languages.

D 564 162 197

B 144 142 In the colder climate of Hunza and Yassin, the people of this caste have ruddy complexions, and fair and even red hair is not uncommon. The Boorish of Nager show a somewhat different type. Many of them are short, thick-set men, with prominent cheek-bones, thick features, and thin beards. These characteristics, joined to their unwarlike nature, are probably due to an infusion of Tartar blood from Iskardo, gained during the time that Nager was subject to the Makpon ruler of Iskardo. If the Boorish are originally of Turanian origin, they have received at some time so large an infusion of Aryan blood as to have almost entirely swamped their original characteristics. Mr. Drew points out that the restrictions on their intermarriage with the Shins makes them the purer race of the two, and though these restrictions are not always closely observed, the Yeshkuns of Hunza and Nager would have little opportunity for profiting by their non-observance, so that their dash of Aryan blood must have been obtained before the appearance of the Shins. There does not appear to be any good foundation for Dr. Leitner's suggestion that the Yeshkuns are probably the product of intermarriage between the Shins and some aboriginal race. Considerable rivalry exists between the Shins and Yeshkuns,

D 144 142

000

854 round him, he looked extremely comfortable and well-protected. Next, a piece of wide cloth was threaded by its hem on a rod fastened along the side of the cradle, and passed several times over his tummy and under the wooden cot, being finally lashed to the ridge pole. If the cradle had then been knocked over or rolled down hill baby could neither fall out nor get bumped. Finally a thick blanket was thrown over like a tent, and he was safe from dust or smoke or flies—or fresh air. Mother gave a few gentle rocks and he settled into sleep.

854 The use of the cradle in Hunza is said to be relatively recent,
352 and the pattern of it, wherever it was introduced from, includes the prescription that it shall be made from a special sort of hard wood that grows wild on certain mountain spots and is supposed to possess magical properties. The ridge-pole forms a convenient carrying handle, and wherever you see a group of women working and chatting together, spinning in the shade or on the roof, beating out new-washed wool on a sandy patch beside a stream, pounding kernels, washing clothes, or busy on the threshing floor, you will usually see a cradle or two beside them. Truby King might disapprove of so much infant seclusion; but the flat roof offers a drop of 12 or 14 feet on to boulders, and even the living-room a gentle roll into the open
855 hearth, so that Hunza is no place for crawlers. By the time
593 baby is ripe for toddling, he is old enough to be entrusted to
857 the next-older children, who take him pick-a-back or on their shoulders, scaling walls and leaping streams with him as sure-footed as young goats, and as fearless. They carry him to some flat spot and guard him with the most scrupulous care and proudly watch over his first steps.

163 Babies in Hunza are spaced at intervals of three and four
866 years, so no mother is worn out with child-bearing or embarrassed in her daily work by ex-babies clinging to her skirts and jealous of the infant in her arms. Banu, for instance, was four, sturdy and ripe for independence, before Faqér came to claim the family's attention. Soon after his arrival we used to see her stalking about, proudly taking her first walks alone, and obviously savouring the new freedom from older supervision. One day she had passed twice or three times up and

down on the far side of our Dála. It had gently sloping banks 163 ●
where it passed our door, and was both narrow and shallow, 866
having been divided a mile or so away to give Aliábád the "Middle Channel" that ran 30 or 40 feet above our level and watered the fields between. She looked long at it and pondered. She wanted to come over, but had always before leaped the little stream on Naját's or Derwish's back. Presently she made her decision and her first jump and fell spread-eagled into 18 inches or so of water. She gave a cry, wholly of vexation, not at all of fright, and scrambled safely out. Someone ran up laughing, took off her little shift and spread it for her in the sun to dry. She played about cheerfully on a sunny patch of sand till it was ready, and later we saw her jumping triumphantly to and fro, again and yet again, as if she could never jump enough. By the time Faqér emerges from his cradle she will be leaping the Dála with him astride her back.

Our very first girl friend, Kaníza of No. 3, has a younger 865
sister, Gúlo, a sporting little imp, who had just cut her second teeth. One day she had a difference of opinion with her family, and we met her striding away from home. "Where are you off to?" "I'm annoyed," she said. "I'm going to mother's folk in Báltít," and off she set on a solitary four-mile mountain walk and a climb of hundreds of feet to her grandparents' home. No one tried to call her back or reason with her. She was wisely left to work off her waywardness her own way. She must have tramped home again the same day, for on the morrow we saw her happily busy with her own people again. After that our usual greeting to her was: "Hullo, Gúlo, off to Báltít?" "Not to-day!" she would say with a mischievous twinkle in her eye. Thus the Hunza youngsters learn independence.

The only drawback—from my point of view—about the shel- 866
tered life of the Hunza infants, was that when they were out for a walk in someone's arms, they were distinctly world-shy and were apt to set up a howl if I approached too near. The [526]
three-year olds were seldom frightened—though you must remember that a pale-faced woman with horrible blue eyes ("cat's eyes" they call them amongst themselves), and an

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the 585
smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. 585
In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's 586
mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will.

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people 591
take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all.

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she 843
quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their 833
sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and 513
not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A 853
husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears 842
to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to 163
exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of

842 married life; he has been married early and has no arrears of
163 sex-starvation to make up, and he lives a healthy, active, outdoor life with no unwholesomely suggestive literature or cinema shows to stir his blood to rebellion. This admirable convention automatically spaces Hunza infants at decent intervals without artificial birth-control.

837 Unfaithfulness on either side is extremely rare, and I venture to assert without fear of contradiction that in Hunza morals
[548] are higher than in any other country in the world. There is no
[164] prostitute in the country, and no venereal disease. We may, I think, fairly ascribe this to high principle and a strongly developed tradition of fine practice, but we need not overlook the fact that circumstances conspire to reinforce principle. DL and I used sometimes to amuse ourselves speculating on the possible ways in which a pair of errant lovers, if such existed, could gratify their guilty passion, and we decided that the way of transgressors would be exceptionally hard.

No man or woman could be absent from the usual sleeping place without immediate comment, and by day each person's duties and destinations and occupations are common knowledge. The countryside lies sloping and open to view, and every corner and cranny of it, even the desolate rocky mountain sides where large boulders or ravines or semi-caves might seem to offer privacy, is subject to invasion at any moment by a herd-child with his goats. One tale was told us of an intriguing pair. The woman lover went to the edge of the river cliff, left some identifiable articles on the brink, and staged an accident. She then hid herself with the mother's connivance in the locked store-room of her lover's house. No search was made for the body, for these mountain rivers reveal no secrets, but it was, of course, not long before her presence in her lover's house was discovered. The unusual case came up before the Mir, whose sane judgment was that the guilty pair had better be divorced from their lawful partners and married to each other. Public opinion would have none of it, and while discussion was proceeding the disgraced woman drowned herself in earnest. I don't remember what the man's fate was, but general odium would certainly compel him to seek voluntary exile.

compliment them by mentioning among their qualities 805
the fact that they were precise and exacting. That statement is about as far-fetched as a statement can be.

In the cities of Asia and when dealing with government officials, one found them quite observant of time. An appointment for a certain hour was usually kept at that hour. However, in dealing with the people of [804]
Hunza I found that time and distance were meaningless. All rivers were nullahs, all mountains were dorani. Haste and speed caused consternation. They did not understand the necessity or need for it. I stress again however, that in the official capacity this did not necessarily apply.

Birth control—More than one writer, and some who 842
should have had more common sense, has referred to the extraordinary method of birth control as practiced by the people of Hunza. From my observations I would state clearly and to the point, that they don't know what birth control means and it is from my observations and conclusion definitely not practiced.

The average family in Hunza consists of 7 people [163]
which means that they have 5 living children. Many have more, some have less. If you can call that birth control by any stretch of the imagination, well, that's your privilege.

Even the most primitive of people know that as long as the child is sucking at the mammary glands the ovum somehow doesn't come down the fallopian tubes . . . nature's own method of survival, as common sense will indicate.

I know—I know—I know that some or many obstetricians and general practitioners say that it doesn't mean a thing, but they are just trying to prove that science is greater than empiricism. Sure, I know that conception can take place under the circumstances

842 married life; he has been married early and has no arrears of
163 sex-starvation to make up, and he lives a healthy, active, outdoor life with no unwholesomely suggestive literature or cinema shows to stir his blood to rebellion. This admirable convention automatically spaces Hunza infants at decent intervals without artificial birth-control.

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No man or woman could be absent from the usual sleeping place without immediate comment, and by day each person's duties and destinations and occupations are common knowledge. The countryside lies sloping and open to view, and every corner and cranny of it, even the desolate rocky mountain sides where large boulders or ravines or semi-caves might seem to offer privacy, is subject to invasion at any moment by a herd-child with his goats. One tale was told us of an intriguing pair. The woman lover went to the edge of the river cliff, left some identifiable articles on the brink, and staged an accident. She then hid herself with the mother's connivance in the locked store-room of her lover's house. No search was made for the body, for these mountain rivers reveal no secrets, but it was, of course, not long before her presence in her lover's house was discovered. The unusual case came up before the Mir, whose sane judgment was that the guilty pair had better be divorced from their lawful partners and married to each other. Public opinion would have none of it, and while discussion was proceeding the disgraced woman drowned herself in earnest. I don't remember what the man's fate was, but general odium would certainly compel him to seek voluntary exile.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

it to be ground. But "Starvation Springtime" was still ruling the land, and we noticed the children looking very thin and peaky, and a few with sores on their faces—hunger sores. We had often remarked on the complete absence of skin diseases amongst these cleanly folk, and the hunger sores rapidly disappeared with the coming of more food.

The opening of June saw weeding being very intensively carried out, not only for the sake of the growing crops, but for the weeds' own sake; those which were dubbed "crows' vegetables" were thrown to the sheep and goats, while sorrel and the like found their way into the family cooking-pot. Irrigation questions were now serious, for the crops must not be starved of water at the critical moment, and we used to meet bands of Aliábádkuts armed with shovels walking out the eight or more miles to the highest point of the Dála to guard and govern the controlling sluices. The potatoes were now beginning to flower and the mulberries to show signs of ripening, and the air was rent by shrill boy and girl noises designed to scare the birds off the mulberry trees. Every boy was armed with his catapult bow, made and strung of course by his own hands. I asked Yaman how many birds he had killed with his little stones: "Seventy-two, so far this season, Mother, but I'll get lots more." "What do you do with them?" "Oh, I take them home and put them in the pot, but there's not much meat on them." Our first impression of Hunza had been that, except for magpies, it was an entirely birdless land; this was a mistake. Migratory birds came in flocks at various seasons when any sort of likely food was going. Their various species I was not ornithologist enough to know; to me, as to A. J. Balfour, each was just "an average small bird," and the Hunza terminology was no great help to identification, for they were known as "mulberry birds," "barley birds," or the like, according to which crop they threatened. We now also for the first time saw shorn goats. Whereas the Hunza sheep are robbed of their wool just whenever wool is needed, so that you never see a really generous-looking ample fleece, the goats are shorn only once a year, in early summer. If you think of it, goat's hair would be too wiry to spin at all unless it were a decent length.

3. Birds.

136

bola.	*gats.hir.*	*γokʊrʌs.*	*mandʌq.*	*qərʊγo.*
čili baʊbok	*ginḍʌʊeər čhin.*	*γʊn.*	*mixʊn.*	*sindiǰ.*
v. Corrigenda,	*girgir.*	*hʊγo.*	*pfərzǰ.*	*ʃzqʌčhin.*
III. C0. II.	*goṭi.*	*hʊpopo* N.	*pfʊlčin.*	2. *tʌl.*
diǵ maγʊn.	*γa.*	*kʌpo.*	*pʊpo.*	*ʃhʌfʌqʌs.*
gaγu.	*γenzǰčhin.*	*kʊr.*	*qʌlq.*	*zəpʊr.*
gərʊltʊm hʌrʌy.	*γoγʊndzl.*	*kʊʊti* N.		

Varieties of Hawk.

baʊr.	*barʌ čʊp.*	*gʌsanč.*	*šahin.*	*šʊmoqʌʊ.*
bahri.	*čərx.*	*kirki.*	*širntin.*	*teγʊn.*
barʌ.	*čʌuli.*	*kiǵhirki* N.		

4. Insects.

biškekrǰ γʌlgu.	*hʌmirʌo.*	*kərkʌnʌs.*	*mʊrndʌs.*	*pəro.*
čʊmʊrʌo.	*hirirʌn.*	*khərʊ.*	*pfʌrltʌo.*	{ *tʊrʌnʌs.*
čʊrndu.	*horlʌlʌs.*	*khirʌ.*	*pfin.*	{ *tʊrʌrʌs.*
gərnhərlʌlʌs.	*khʌnimujʊrko.*	*khirʌo.*	*pfʌrʌn.*	*trʌqo.*
hʌγʊrs pfin.	*kaǵka.*	*kon.*	*ʃzqər.*	*ʃiki.*

5. Diseases.

164

ʌskʊr.	1. *ǰʌk.*	*loγomʊts.*	*pfʌlʌǵi.*	*tʌrlʊmʊts.*
dʌfʌγər.	*zʊrtʊʊmoǰ.*	*mʌq.*	*pərizʌzʊm.*	*tirti* N.
damkortai N.	*xʊs.*	*mərʌq.*	*rʊni.*	*-ʊrlʊlo tʌhil.*
gərʊrmkʊǰ.	2. *lʌm.*	*mirgi.*	*sozark.*	*tʊponos* N.
γərtsikrʌ.	*lʌm čʌm.*	*nʌrilʌ.*	*šʊrʌu.*	*zʌǵzʌǵ dʌfʌγər.*
γəlčikrǰ.	*loγo.*			

(Of cattle) *girən.* (Of grain) *mʌtil.* 6. *tʌm.*

6. Food.

262

a. Varieties of Bread and Cakes, etc.:

bʌγʊndo.	*gərma.*	*kəči krčʌrli.*	*pfirʌi.*	*širik* N.
diʌm pfiṭi.	*giyʌl.*	*xʌmʌli.*	*sʌladʌǵi.*	*širu.*
doldoǵgi.	*γomʌldi.*	*xrʌta.*	*ʃʌpirk.*	*ʃiṭər.*
2. *dʌmoγo*	*ǰʌgʌi.i.*	*lʌxʌ.*	*šəro.*	*ʃʊγo.*
gənpfirʌi.				

b. Milk and Milk Products:

bʌq N.	*diltər.*	*[illegible]*	*mʌska.*	*qərʊrt.*
bərʊrʌ.	*γiǵiǵ.*	*mʌmu.*	*pʌi.i.*	*rʌxpin.*
čika.	*kilʌγ.*	*mʌntʌhil.*		

114 on a remarkable piece of reporting!

A splendid bit of writing about Hunza appears in the book called *After You, Marco Polo* by Jean Shore. Mrs. Shore is a remarkable traveler, a wide-eyed, eager observer and a writer with a fine sense of humor. Although only 36 pages of her book are devoted to Hunza, they are "must" reading for anyone who wants to have a clear picture of the Mir, the Rani and the ways of life and the people. Oh, yes, and her description of the country is a delight.

114 Now I must deal with two books that deal princi-
164 pally with the health of the people of Hunza. They are written by G. T. Wrench in 1938 and J. I. Rodale in 1948. If the health of the Hunzans is a myth, then these two gentlemen helped spread or perpetuate the myth. However, here is evidence that should dispel any thought of fancy.

Sir Robert McCarrison, C.I.E., M.A., M.D., D. Sc., L.L.D., F.R.C.P., B.A.O., spent the years 1902-4 as regimental medical officer in Chitral and 1904-11 as the Gilgit Agency surgeon. In that important office he had a splendid opportunity to study the health of the inhabitants of that area. Hunza is a part of the Gilgit Agency.

Dr. McCarrison reports: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucus colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

This lends credence to the outlines and hypothesis

concerning the health of the Hunzans. I have found the observations made by both authors, J. I. Rodale and G. T. Wrench, to be both authentic and comparatively reliable when it is taken into consideration that their work was done in the early years when not much information was available from Hunzaland. They were pioneers in the field to show the people of the world that there was a simple, natural, organic way to health. 114 164

Can anyone doubt that Hunza is located in one of the most inaccessible parts of the entire universe? The fact that a people—a handsome, virile, intelligent, civilized people—could live in such an inaccessible part of the world and still be considered among the healthiest of all people on the face of the globe is intriguing, to say the least. 131 164

Perhaps the story of their health, longevity and energy so shocked our concepts that we had to look twice or read twice to make sure that the statements we were reading could be accepted. Probably because of our smugness—with the feeling of security because of our modern medicines, our miracle drugs, our hospitals, our research techniques, our lab equipment and such—it was incomprehensible to us that a people so remotely located without all of these tremendous benefits could even exist, let alone be considered to be the healthiest and longest living people in the world.

Was it our disdain of eastern methods and way of life that rattled our concepts? 164

Now it could be that the dreamers among us had our imagination fired like it has never been fired before . . . to think that a people living truly on the roof of the world without benefits of modern civilization could subsist or exist, let alone be healthy!

But as one investigates, he finds that Hunza is one of the few places in the entire world, where there is a [177]

•164 177 people who retained their character, independence, freedom and primitive way of life. It is my belief that they are not much further advanced today than they were more than 2,000 years ago. Fearing that you may think I mean this in a derogatory manner, I would hurry and add that their way of life 2,000 years ago obviously was as good in many ways, or better, than our way of life today. But that is a measure for individual acceptance.

131 They owe their strength, their health, their longevity, their happiness to that wall of mountains that surrounds them and keeps out all but the boldest and most venturesome of invaders or travelers. They are surrounded by the most massive, the hugest, the greatest accumulation of mountain grandeur and awesomeness to be found anywhere on the world's surface. With such impenetrable guardians, it is not too difficult to understand the reason for their comparative privacy.

From what I saw and gathered, I found that one would not have to go many miles from any given point in Hunza to reach a location where no human being's foot had ever trod before. Should you have the desire to do just that, you can find millions of acres that have not felt the imprint of man within a few miles from most any given spot in Hunza.

181 Living in comparative isolation has made these people courageous and fearless. They are not stooges of civilization and all its implications. There, in Hunza, a man's individuality is still a characteristic trait to which they cling.

177 Now comes the big question—one that hundreds of people have already asked me . . . people who have but a faint knowledge or have heard a bit of news about Hunza and have been interested and fascinated by the myths and fables circulated about her—can Hunza

survive despite the encroachment of modern civilization? 177

I go on record as saying, "Yes, she can survive but it will take good leadership, and the present ruling Mir —my friend, Mohammed Jamal Khan—is capable of this leadership, provided he is not interfered with by the powers that surround him or emanate from Karachi!"

The first detrimental factor that is crawling into Hunza at the present time, and has been for some years, is salt. Already numerous cases of goiter have appeared which did not exist before when they used their native salt. 177 263 164

Travel in Hunza is restricted. In fact, at the present time no foreigner is allowed into the state without a permit and that includes Pakistanis as well. As far as I know, my friend Cec Brunton and I were the last foreigners to enter Hunza. With the political situation as it is today, I doubt if anyone else will be permitted to enter the country until the situation changes. 486 648 123

The fact that China is at the present time encroaching upon India is a rather significant factor. I really can't appraise its implications because the disputed area by any calculation seems to be of little or no value. There are millions of such acres available throughout Tibet and the Himalayan cordillera as well as in the Karakorums. Therefore it must be just for aggrandizement that China is moving. If that is her aim and desire, then Hunza would be right up her alley. 648

Yet it is my firm belief that China will not bother Hunza. I know the Afghans have looked with longing eyes on that part of Pakistan for some years, but they have neither the arms nor the men to successfully invade the area, although with arms from Russia and a little prodding, things could get hot in that area. How-

648 ever, such a move, in my humble opinion, would be most ill-advised because the Pakistan government has splendid leadership, a good army and a mighty impregnable position in Gilgit. Undoubtedly Gilgit is the most accessible point in that entire area and Gilgit which belongs to Pakistan, is most capably staffed, manned and led.

177 Even as I write my tale, changes are occurring in [164] Hunza. In a letter received from the doctor just before [167] my book went to press, he told me that many diseases unknown in Hunza before are making their appearance—primarily because they are brought back by native Hunzans who go out to serve in the army or work in other parts of Pakistan and the area.

[161] The population of Hunza is as great now as its land can foster and sustain. There is no reason to believe that the birth rate in Hunza will decrease and that means that more and more of the people of Hunza will have to seek a livelihood elsewhere. But they will keep returning and bringing with them the benefits of civilization. That, in my opinion, will be the undoing of that little paradise on earth.

Being blessed with the earth's most fabulous mountain scenery may also be the cause of Hunza's undoing. I've noticed that exploration parties and mountain climbers have been congregating in that area more and more. British, Swiss, German, Italian and Austrian expeditions have been in or are planning to go into the Karakorums to scale those hundred peaks over 20,000 feet high.

The magnetism of unscaled impregnable mountain summits becomes overpowering to many men. Why bother with the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rockies or the Andes, when the Himalayas, the Karakorums and the Hindu Kush offer a much more taunting challenge?

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CHAPTER 34

About the People of Hunza

•164 THE CLAIMS made for the people of Hunza border on
165 the fantastic. It is claimed that there they live to be 140 and more years of age without trouble and that their mountain home is the genuine Shangri-la, where a man can live without worry or stress in perfect joy and happiness. The claim is also made that their men can sire children when they're 70, 80, 90 and even 100 years of age.

Yes, and another visitor to Hunza said that the women of 80 and 90 are as youthful and as beautiful as our own women of 30 and 40. Well, apart from the [644] Rani who I truly believe was one of the most beautiful women I have ever been privileged to see, I didn't notice anything spectacular about the women of Hunza.

123 Let me be even more frank . . . I hardly saw any women at all. Over the many miles of Hunza territory that I walked, I seldom saw a woman. I saw a few girls

There is more wheat grown in Hunza than any other 243
single grain crop. Therefore the wheat they use must [164]
be one of the vitally important contributors to the health of these people.

If you will take time to study the habits or the peculiarities concerning the growing of wheat, you will quickly learn that wheat will not grow on poor or unbalanced soils. One of the first things that my father taught me many long years ago was that your best land must be used if you want to grow a good crop of wheat. Rye or barley, he told me, you can grow most anywhere, but wheat is fussy. If the nutrients aren't there in the soil, the wheat will not grow and your crop will be a failure. All through my travels in Nagir and Hunza I saw wheat and it looked good. It wasn't the same tall wheat that we grow in the Canadian West, but it was wheat and the yield was comparatively bountiful, which means that the Hunzan soil must contain the required nutrients—and to grow wheat, there are many.

Therefore there is a direct connection between the nutrient contents of the soil of Hunza and the wheat that it grows, the flour that they use, the bread that they eat and the health of these people.

Here and now I want to explain that I am not 243
making decisions for anyone. I am trying to lay down 134
the facts as I found them. As stated above, in order to grow good wheat or even to grow wheat at all, the soil must contain all of its required nutrients. It is obvious, therefore, that the soil has the required nutrients and as all of the Hunzan soil is shallow, these nutrients must be regularly reincorporated into the soil.

I have already related that everything that is taken 243
from the soil is returned to the soil by the natives. Consequently we know that nothing is lost. Hunza does [439]
not export food. That I know, because there is barely

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Whether or not apricot oil contains any special qualities I am unable to say. Perhaps someone will do some research on it in the near future and perhaps we will learn that apricot oil is another of the reasons why the Hunzans keep their health.

But for the moment, contrast the way the Hunzans get their oil and the way the people of the Western world get theirs. I know of no oil that is offered for general sale in America that is not treated or rendered by a harsh chemical solvent. Nor do I know of any oil sold or that is generally procurable on which a color extractor or bleach is not used. There is no reason why we cannot have apricot oil in the West, but if we did have it, I'm afraid any or most of its good, health-giving effects would be lost, if a solvent or a bleaching agent were employed.

Yes, I do know that there are vegetable oils offered on the market that have been prepared by the expeller method, but such oils are seldom seen, are quite expensive and only the keenly health-minded people who know what they want will pay the price and look for them.

Maybe sunflower seed oil, corn oil or olive oil are every bit as good as apricot oil, but the *process*—therein lies the secret of health or disease. The most satisfactory method of rendering oil from grains or nuts is the simple natural cold press process, after which it is filtered.

The accent during the past few years has been markedly towards the vegetable oils against animal oils. Researchers seem to have proven without any fear of contradiction, that the vegetable oils are much less harmful or actually beneficial to the human system, whereas the animal oils are suspected as being prime contributors in most cases to arteriosclerosis and ultimately, heart disease.

262 A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of work-
556 able land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep,
231 a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

273 Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from
245 Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

215 Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are
412] not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

352 The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large
354 square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept
• 162 partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

439 At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza
437 and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

222 During the past few years a bit of money has come

526 They seldom ever score 9 goals in less than an hour and many times a game will last half a day. And [533] through all this gleeful yelling and shouting—everybody seems to scream like mad—the band is playing its martial tunes.

When a player scores a goal, he proceeds to pick up the ball and follow the same procedure as the Mir did when he started the action. He races madly down the field, screaming and yelling at the top of his lungs. With the scoring of every goal they change ends; that is, what was the first team's goal now becomes their opponent's goal.

[164] From Gilgit to Altit, whenever I saw someone who had a broken nose or some other definite sign of body injury, I would know even before inquiring, that it was gained in honor on the polo field.

[535] When at last one of the teams scored 9 goals and the game was finished, both teams took part in a dance. The winning team dances first and when they have completed their dance, the losing team do their stint. How they could have the strength and energy required to dance, after hours of unrelenting top-pitch physical activity is more than any Westerner can understand.

The horsemanship displayed at the polo matches beggars that seen at western rodeos. In fact, a Hunzan polo game makes the wildest of rodeos seem almost tame. When it comes to horsemanship, you'd have to go a long way to get anyone to beat these tough, hardy mountaineers.

[164] So furious was the game that I inquired if anyone was ever killed playing polo. The Mir replied that he had never heard of any fatalities from a polo game, but that on many occasions a player was incapacitated. I [743] felt that it would be a good idea if they could build their polo fields close to the hospital at Aliabad!

352 Hunzans have charpoys. Most homes have a chest, or two or three or more, in which they store and keep their belongings. The chests are used to sit on and perhaps eat off. The Hunzan home we visited had a table also.

513 286 Every Hunzan home has blankets for covering during the winter and these blankets are made of homespun wool which is carded, loomed and woven by the villagers. They are equal in weight and warmth to the best blankets that are made in the West. There is no danger of the blankets not being 100 per cent wool, because wool they can get from the sheep or yak's backs.

342 Practically every Hunzan home has an upstairs, too, and this is where the family lives during the summer. It is related that each spring on the 21st of March the family moves upstairs. When there are 4 or 5 members in the family the upstairs is usually divided into two sections or rooms, leaving an open balcony in the center.

342 512 The usual Hunzan home is a place to shelter the family against storms, rain, cold and snow. It is not used nearly as much for social intercourse as it is in the West. Therefore, they don't spend as much of their time in the homes. Practically all daylight hours during spring, summer and fall are spent in the fields.

164 Some authorities attribute the good health of the Hunzans to the fact that most of their time is spent out in the open air and sunlight. Could it be that we in the West spend too much of our time inside our comfortable homes and not sufficient outside in the glorious outdoors? This is something worthy of thought and study.

Considering the heights, the ledges, the precipices and steep inclines that are found throughout this country, it is remarkable that there are few cases of injury like broken or fractured limbs, serious accidents due to falling and such. But you must remember that from infancy, children are trained and learn how to

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stay aloft. Heights offer no terror for any Hunzan— 164
man, woman or child. I think if a Hunzan suffered injury because of a fall from a height, he would be ashamed and embarrassed, but let me admit that they do have falls and broken limbs, too. I found this out [752]
when I met Hunzans who were expert bone-setters.

I have to admit that generally speaking the Hunzans' 291
clothes are nondescript. However, I was strongly attracted to the Hunza hat which is best described as a rolled, sausage brimmed, soft white woolen covering. But it is really and truly an ingenious contraption. It is made of native homespun wool, white or creamy in color and mighty good wool, it is, in my opinion.

These hats are worn summer and winter by the boys and men. I tried them and found that they did keep out the summer heat. Wherever I met the boys and men of Hunza they always wore these hats. In the winter they can be rolled down to cover not only their ears but their faces and necks as well. I attest that it is a valuable and completely satisfactory headpiece. I thought they were quite attractive and enhanced the handsomest of the Hunzan men.

They have the choga which is a long flowing cloak worn by both men and women during the winter. This cloak is made of the same grey homespun wool and is never dyed but its creamy color is attractive and pleasing to the eye. Evidently this choga is quite [173]
similar to the toga worn by the ancient Romans. Who knows? Maybe some of Alexander's men or Alexander himself brought a toga with him from his homeland when he came to the East.

Apart from the attractive, useful, comfortable, Hunzan sausage-brimmed hat and choga, the best I can say for the rest of the clothes worn by the people of Hunza is that they are utilitarian.

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CHAPTER 43

The Happy Hunzans

MY CHIEF OBJECTIVE in going to Hunza was to try, first, to find out if the people of Hunza were as healthy and as long lived as many writers and reports claim them to be. 121 164

Secondly, if they were the healthy specimens of mankind that the writers said, then I wanted to find out how this came about!

I don't claim to have any special perceptive powers, but the moment I arrived in Gilgit, I resolved that all of my faculties would be centered on observing the why's and wherefore's bearing on the health of these people.

I didn't have to be a very keen observer to realize quickly that in Gilgit the Hunzan aura of health did not hold. But remember, that was in Gilgit.

Gilgit reminded me very much of the typical frontier towns as we knew them in America, except Gilgit 361

361 didn't just spring up overnight. By the appearance of
[342] the stone and mud houses, as well as all other features about the city, it was obvious that the city had been there for a long, long time.

Gilgit is indeed a strange city. It is one of these places that is right in the middle of nowhere, but to that mountain-harnessed area, Gilgit is a mighty important, strategic spot. Somehow I had the feeling that if there was a place called the "crossroads of the East" Gilgit had the sole right to the appellation, for through Gilgit would pass caravans from China, as well as travelers from Russia, Afghanistan, Persia, India, Pakistan and yes, undoubtedly from all other parts of the Eastern world.

000 While I did see quite a bit of the city and the surrounding country, I regret today that I didn't dig a little deeper and get about even more. I think Gilgit has many interesting stories to tell . . . how could it be otherwise? And if I ever go back (and I intend to) I would like to be the one who brings these tales to light!

121 The Gilgitis, from a health standpoint or from ap-
[164] pearance in general, did not impress me one bit. The people were somewhat similar to what you would find or expect in Pakistan or India. However, the moment I crossed the bridge over the Gilgit River and got into the hills, I resolved to concentrate, coldly and with deliberate calculation, on every individual we met. So many confusing and contradicting statements had been made about the people of Hunza, that I was firmly resolved that if study and scrutinization and observation would do the trick, then I would find out the truth.

124 Akbar was keeping pace with Cecil most of the time, while Sherin was with me, and I questioned him closely about every person that we happened to meet or pass. I had no trouble—none whatsoever—in spotting a Hun-

These men were carrying water from the holy of holies—the Ganges. They were intoxicated—not with wine, but with their faith. They were excited with the mysticism of their god; they were inspired; they were in seventh heaven. Yes, the gait of these divinely influenced people was close to the pace followed by the people of Hunza. 000

If I had seen somewhere along in my travels a Hunzan who slouched, dragged himself or in some other way showed a sign of weakness or debility, I would say so, but no such Hunzan did I see. 481

I fully realize that I scoffed at my Hunzan bearer that the Mir sent along with me from Kerimabad to Nomal, especially when he wanted to take the horses back from Chalt and leave us because he said he had blisters on his feet, due to the exceptionally hard push we had made that day, but remember, he was 20 years older than I! His feet probably told his age but he certainly didn't look it.

If there are sick and infirm men in Hunza, they must be exceptionally well-hidden, because I didn't see or find any. 164

Then, too, writers and observers of the people of Hunza always mention and stress the fact that they are a happy pleasant people. To this I must also assent. I did not see a sad or disgruntled Hunzan. I do not mean to suggest that they ran about the streets giggling and laughing, but they were of cheery, amiable countenance. Here I am going beyond those with whom I walked and talked and ate; I am delving into the citizenry that I passed on the roads or streets, those whose farms and homes we visited and also those whom I observed in passing. 157

Let me here illustrate another point. For example, it is understandable that we here in America, or people 181

durance and stamina known anywhere, and if Shipton says that the Hunzans had more endurance and stamina than these people, no higher tribute can be given. 114 [147]

It is my humble opinion that too much has been written about the people of Hunza by people who have never been there and know little or nothing about the actual conditions that prevail in that country. Then, too, many visitors spent most of their time taking pictures, viewing the scenery and dining at the Mir's and didn't pay much attention or learn anything about the actual living conditions of the people.

The people of Hunza have not in the least benefited by the visitors that have reached Hunza, and if future visits are discouraged, I believe there would be good cause for it. 177

Most of the diseases known to civilization are unknown in Hunza. I do not ask you to take my word for it but that is my report from consulting the resident doctor in Hunza, as well as a German woman doctor who visited Hunza. 164 [759]

It is further true that the Mir's wife, the Rani of Hunza, had her appendix removed and she took a trip to Rawalpindi to have it done. But in the first place she does not live according to Hunza standards and besides, it was probably stylish to have an appendix operation. On the other hand, if a good surgeon were let loose in Hunza for a few weeks, there's no doubt about it, he'd have hundreds of appendixes removed before he could be stopped.

Another important point that I wish to make at this time is that I paid my own way to and from Hunza. I had no financial backing. Therefore I am not committed to aid anyone or any product or radio station or newspaper. I have no one to fear and no one to please. I can afford to tell the truth. 122

000 I do not intend to set the Hunzans down as a pattern or an example of how we should live because it just couldn't be done. However, unless you are stone deaf, blind and dumb, you can't help but realize that there is something drastically wrong with our way of life and living. That is why so many eyes and ears are being trained on Hunza. We hope, we pray that they have the answer.

There has been an awakening and it is growing throughout America. People are seeking health today more than they ever did in the history of mankind. But even with all the enlightenment available, they're still groping . . . they don't know where or how to find it, and the pity of it is that it is really so simple.

Too long already have we left our health and well being in the hands of doctors and surgeons and other types of healers, without going to the proper source—oneself and one's food. You forget that doctors, nurses, trained technicians and hospitals and other similar institutions are there to try to cure, not to prevent or advise. There is just no profit for anyone in propounding or teaching the simple, natural method that can keep everyone in good health. After all, a large share of our entire economy is now built around medicine, medical provisions and medical institutions. No one—not even the heads of our governments—would risk the shock that would be felt throughout the country if this gigantic, needless, useless structure were to be abandoned as it truly should be.

164 From what I have seen, from what I have heard and from what I have learned, I have reached this definite conclusion: no one single factor can be held up as the reason for the splendid health of the people of Hunza.

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CHAPTER 44

Health

For Me To Say that the Hunzans are the healthiest 164
people of the world, which many authors and writers 114
have claimed, would be sheer effrontery . . . mainly because I have not studied the health of all the peoples of the world, nor have I even met them. However, I do attest from what I have seen and observed, that the Hunzans are one of the healthiest people of the world.

To say that they are completely free from diseases or 759
health problems is definitely not true. At the time when 115
I visited Hunza there was a resident doctor located at [743]
Aliabad, where he was in charge of a 10-bed hospital. I conversed with him and questioned him daily during my stay and he answered my pressing questions with complete frankness and candor.

He is only a young man, a Pakistani, and his name is Dr. Mohammed Yusuf Khan, M.B., B.S. He is a handsome, capable, well educated doctor and is, in my

759 humble opinion, equal to the best medical men that we
115 can turn out of the European or American universities. Besides his medical degree, he also has a bachelor of science degree which most of our doctors do not have. So if anything, he is perhaps a little bit better learned than our average physician.

164 One of the first questions that I asked of the Mir of Hunza was, "Are there many known epileptics?"

The Mir thought for a moment and then shook his head and said, "No!"

So I turned to the doctor who was on my left and said, "Doctor, do you know of any epileptics in Hunza?"

At that instant the Mir got up and left the room . . . and I wondered about this.

There was a definite purpose behind my question concerning epilepsy. You see, it has always been my conviction—or at least for 25 years—that epilepsy is strictly nutritional. Of the few epileptics that I knew in my life all had peculiar eating habits . . . that is, they had their positive likes and dislikes . . . and from that day to this I have believed that epilepsy was basically nutritional.

"Yes," the doctor replied, "right at this present time I am treating three epileptic patients. One is from Nagir and two are from entirely different locations in Hunza. But the Nagir case is one of these dream cases —the kind that every doctor hopes he'll come across some day in his work."

"Yes," he went on, "this Nagir case performs every act described in the medical journals. He's a perfect textbook case. The sick man has every condition, symptom and manifestation of epilepsy known to medical science."

Statistics indicate that in America there is one epileptic to every 350 of the population. The population of

Nagir and Hunza would be somewhere around 50,000 164
people. That would allow the people of these two principalities 140 epileptics, to be on par with America.

When I mentioned this to the doctor, he pooh-poohed the idea and said, "I'm sure there wouldn't be a dozen epileptics on both sides of the river. In fact, with these three I think I have them all."

"What is the most prominent complaint that you find among the people?"

"Dysentery," he replied, without hesitation.

"Do you know the cause?" was my next question.

"I'm afraid I can't answer that question with any degree of authority or proof, but I can tell you this . . . that it is seldom very serious and the condition usually clears up in a few days. I know of no deaths caused by it."

Now the Mir returned and I was relieved, for I felt 124
that I had offended the fine man by asking the doctor if there were any epileptics in Hunza, when he had told me there weren't any.

So I turned to the Mir and explained the situation to him, stating that in my eagerness to get the data I had asked the same question of the doctor and mentioned my fear of offending him.

He replied, "I believe friendship is made of sterner stuff than that."

I was surprised and delighted by this statement.

Then he explained that he was called by one of his servants who had signaled to him—concerning preparation for an event that was to take place that evening.

My next question to both the doctor and the Mir 164
was, "Is there anything in the line of health or disease that is developing in Hunza different from the old pattern? Things that didn't occur before, that are beginning to appear now?"

164 "Yes," said the doctor, "I am alarmed at the great increase in goiter cases in Hunza, especially among the younger people, where it is rampant. Also, cavities in the teeth of the people are being found regularly, whereas a few years ago tooth trouble in any form was practically unknown, judging from the information at my disposal!"

When he spoke to me he was genuinely distressed at the increased occurrence of both of these maladies.

"To what do you attribute the increase in these conditions, Doctor?" I asked.

He replied, "As yet I have been unable to lay my finger on anything specific concerning this."

I have been interested in Hunza for many years and
262 during this period I have devoured every available
263 piece of literature on these fascinating people. Thus, marshalling my mental forces, I said to him, "Have any major changes taken place in the diet or living habits of the people of Hunza?"

"Not that I am positively aware of," he said meditatingly.

"Where do the people of Hunza get their salt from?"
[439] I asked.

"It is usually flown in from Pindi to Gilgit and then carried up the trail to Baltit and other parts of Hunza."

I learned that it was also carried by jeep and pack animals from Rawalpindi across the Babusar Pass into Gilgit as well.

"How long has this been going on?"

This the good doctor could not answer. But the Mir
[439] was close by and he said it was longer than ten years now that the salt had been imported.

"Where did you get your salt from before?" I said to the Mir.

"Why," he replied, "the people of Hunza have been

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mining salt from an area around Shimshal for many 263
hundreds of years." [317]

"Is there any difference between the salt that you import and that of Shimshal?"

"Much difference," said the Mir. "The salt that we import is pure white and very salty, whereas the salt mined in the Shimshal area was in its natural state and contained many impurities. The people prefer the imported salt because of its sharper saltier flavor."

"So it is true then," I said to the Mir, "that this aspect [177]
of modern civilization has crept into Hunza!"

The Mir and the doctor looked at each other and then somewhat reluctantly nodded in agreement.

Speaking somewhat forcibly, I said to both of them, "It is obvious that the imported salt is pure sodium chloride, whereas the salt that is brought down from Shimshal is something that has never been analyzed and obviously contains many minerals, so-called impurities."

Obviously the people of Hunza in the past did not know, did not care or did not feel the need to purify their salt, because even to a layman like myself, it is clear and obvious that by making a brine, the pure salt could be extracted.

Whether by error or design, this has never been practiced in Hunza.

"Does it not seem possible," I said to the doctor, 164
"that the salt that was formerly used by the people of Hunza was the means of keeping goiter and dental caries away or at bay?"

"I hadn't thought of it before," replied the doctor, "but I will admit that it sounds logical and undoubtedly it is true!"

The Mir further admitted that little or no salt was being mined in Shimshal at the present time. Therefore it would seem to be indicated that the importation of

164 salt is causing the present goiter and dental caries situations in Hunza today.

"How would you describe the health conditions of the people of Hunza?" I next asked the doctor.

[758] "Since my coming to Hunza a little less than a year ago, I have treated but a few patients a day and seldom are there more than one or two of the hospital beds utilized at one time. Apart from the greatly increasing incidence of goiter and dental caries, no other disease seems to have a firm hold in Hunza.

164 167 "Now that many of the boys and men of Hunza are leaving to go into the army in Pakistan, as well as seeking employment in other adjacent areas, diseases never known in Hunza before are making their appearance.

753 757 "Another unfortunate characteristic that I have to contend with is the fact that the people feel quite shy of coming to a doctor for advice and treatment, especially when it is concerned with the personal parts of the anatomy. Actually they are callously indifferent to medical science. The majority of them are, in fact, still living in the bygone age when diseases were supposed to be due to influences of evil spirits. So they depend to some degree and waste much of early precious time in useless superstitious pursuits of driving away the ghost."

164 These one or two patients that he treats daily have in most cases only minor ailments and, at that, a good share of these come from across the river and from the neighboring state of Nagir.

It occurred to me that there would probably be more illness during the winter. Many cases of eye troubles are treated during the winter, due, primarily, to the fact [354] that most Hunzan homes are smoke-filled, because of the floor center fires and only the hole in the roof to allow the smoke to escape. Visitors invariably find living indoors and the smoke intolerable, but the people of

Hunza are more or less used to it. However, it does 164
cause trouble with the eyes of the natives. It also weakens the lungs of some of the older women, who probably spend most of their time indoors during the cold months of the year.

I questioned the doctor and the Mir concerning pre- 843
natal care, but from what they told me, I could find no provisions whatsoever made for prenatal care outside the individual home.

The death rate at childbirth, they told me, was next 165
to zero, but the doctor also mentioned that a woman 845
would not consider going to a doctor for gynecological 757
reasons under any circumstances. She would rather die.
He also told me that before and after delivery of a 843
child, Hunzan women do not know of any rest. The 846
pregnant woman works harder and does more laborious jobs till the last day of the term, in the belief that hard and laborious work makes delivery easier and uneventful.

"But," he went on, "they are very careful in exerting themselves during the early days of conception. After delivery they are again up and doing again, only after a short rest."

It seems to be obvious that the method followed by 843
the women of Hunza prior to childbirth "works" because both mother and child come out of it "uneventful." When events occur at such times, it usually means serious trouble.

He went on to tell me further that gallstones, renal 164
calculus, coronary heart disease, hypertension, valvular lesions, myxoldeama thyrsotoxcasis, mental deficiencies, cancer, poliomyelitis, arthritis and diabetes are absolutely unknown in Hunza.

From what I have seen and gathered I am worried 177
about the situation. They are now importing their sugar, 263
439

177 their salt and soon there will be a few more items added
263 and, as more of their people go out of the country to
439 earn a living and come back to visit or retire, more of civilization's curses will be brought back with them.

165 The doctor rather clearly indicated that infant mor-
114 tality was not as low as some writers would like us to believe. I repeat—he made this quite clear.

164 Now I'll let you decide how it ties in with the statements made by Sir Robert McCarrison: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucous colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people, the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

276 Smoking in general is not an addiction in Hunza. The water-pipe or hubble-bubble is used by some of the people, usually at gatherings or ceremonies. It is then passed around in a wide circle, each one taking a puff or two. The women are included, but only after all the
[562] men have finished.

Some of the citizens use snuff. It is tobacco mixed with the ash of a plant called "sopa," which is indigenous to that area. They take the tobacco and the sopa ash, put in a dash of water, stir it up and mix it into a paste. Then they place gobs of this paste under their lip, exactly the same as the snuff chewer does in the West, although this practice has been dying out in the Western world.

164 Just how much of the health of the people of Hunza
132 is due to the fact that they get a lot of sunlight? That is a most pertinent question and one that will take a lot

of study before an answer can be given. They do get more sunshine than the Nagirwals—of that there is no doubt. While in Nagir fields are definitely in better tilth, their land is deeper, they have broader and more fertile valleys and can grow more and better food, yet undoubtedly the people of Hunza are by far the handsomer, healthier, more industrious and more energetic. 132 164 [133]

For my part I wasn't completely sold on the principle that the people of Hunza did have much more sunlight than the people of Nagir and I debated the matter with a few individuals. But each of them maintained stoutly that they did and claimed that they had scientific proof that Hunza did get more sunlight.

The last man with whom I did battle on the subject was Dr. Hermann Berger of West Germany. From his investigations he said that he had reached the conclusion positively and unequivocally, that the northern slope of the mountains through which the Hunza River flowed did get more sunlight than the southern slope which was Nagir. 132 114

As I found considerable difficulty and doubt concerning the theory of the people of Hunza getting more sunlight than the people of Nagir, I decided to draw a little chart that would illustrate the situation as I eventually found it to be. After seeing the drawing I think it will prove to you that the principle is natural and reasonable. (*See Fig.* 1.) 1

1 [facing p. 390 - ANALYST]

165 I checked as thoroughly as possible and there are at least a dozen men in Hunza over 100 years old and no doubt a hundred over 90. Yet the oldest man that I met was 105 years old but by his appearance, his speech and his activity, he'll be around for a good many years.

No, I don't think anybody was trying to fool me about their ages. I can't see what they could gain by it. On the other hand, I don't think I'd be the easiest man in the world to fool. At least my friends don't think I would be. If and when you meet the Hunza people, you will find that you accept them as a fine, upstanding, honest race. Therefore I cannot see why they would necessarily lie about their ages. Of course [217] no vital statistics are kept in Hunza and therefore they cannot offer proof by means of birth certificates concerning their ages.

I met a few groups of men, all of whom claimed to be in their 70's and over, and they were a mighty healthy looking bunch of individuals. Most certainly the average group of people in any part of America at that age wouldn't remotely resemble that fine group of Hunzans.

• 164 I don't think that is hard to understand. People who have been denied luxuries and who have had to work all their lives and spend a lot of time in the open air doing manual labor should be healthy, especially when they have good natural foods.

[165] It is my sincere belief that the ages and the health of the people of Hunza have not been too greatly exaggerated.

It is possible that I have strange ideas, but I've always believed that physical work and exercise have a lot to do with a man's health. Well, in Hunza if exercise will make them happy and healthy, they should be the happiest and healthiest people in all the world. There

are, remember, no transportation facilities whatsoever, There 164 [493] except the Mir's jeep which the citizens of Hunza don't get a chance to use. There is no other wheeled vehicle in the entire country. Practically every step is a climb or a descent. So no one could really accuse me of exaggeration if I were bold enough to say that they're probably the most active and energetic people in creation. It could hardly be otherwise.

To illustrate another proof of their hardiness, all 147 along the trail we met people from Hunza walking barefoot—from young children to boys and young men and old men. While some wore shoes, most of them were [291] barefoot. They walked over sand, over gravel, over stones, over plain dirt roads without any misgivings.

I watched them with awe as they ran, walked and skipped over these exceedingly rough spots and I was convinced they must have exceptionally strong, sound. healthy feet and legs.

On a few occasions I watched the Hunzans digging [412] with a shovel. 'Tis done the ordinary natural way there —barefooted. That certainly proves, at least to me, that their feet are in wonderful condition. Most people in America can't dig worth a darn wearing heavy boots!

It is unqualifiedly a fact, in my humble opinion, that 164 the people of Hunza owe their splendid vital good health in part to these sound principles—their way of life, their food production and the way they prepare the fields for their crops—all accomplished in a natural normal way. Civilization may have many advantages—great discoveries have been made, machinery has been invented that does the work of many, many hands. In this modern machine age, a man need only work a couple of hours a day to supply himself with all the food, clothing and shelter that he can possibly use, but

164 obviously this type of living has taken its toll. Thousands, if not millions, of men are dying at 40 and 50, struck down by heart disease, diabetes and cancer. Well, isn't it strange that these diseases are unknown in Hunza?

"For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" MARK VIII: 36

Of what use is it if man has leisure, food, clothing, the best and most comfortable of homes, if he doesn't have the years of life in which to enjoy them? What good is it striving, straining, sweating when you are young so as to have a pleasant old age, when there just won't be any middle or old age?

I'm not suggesting that anyone give up the comforts to which they are accustomed, but I would suggest that modern living has caused a softening or a decadence in the very fibres of our bodies, which is showing the result in the deaths of many men in their prime —at 35, 45 and 55!

If you had the choice of dying at 50 or living in Hunza under their austere conditions to be 80 or 90, which would you choose? Think it over. I know . . . you'd choose the 50 years of soft, modern, debilitating life because you are led to believe that it is a good life. Methinks you'd be making a terrible mistake. Not many men in America are smart enough to live to be 80 or 90. In Hunza it happens whether you're smart or not, because you can't commit suicide by eating. If you want to die by your own hand, you've got to jump off a precipice.

'Tis true, the people of Hunza do not have any of the modern doubtful blessings to which I refer, but they do have, for you and all to see, health, strength, endurance, a smiling and pleasant countenance and many years of life free of disease and sickness.

I would very much like to have you ask of me now a question such as this one, "To what do you attribute the health and the long life of the people of Hunza?"

In reply I would just love to say, and allow my voice to ring both loud and clear, "Their natural way of living! The way they follow nature's path!"

While the above is absolutely true, it is not the whole story nor is it that simple. The path or road to health and long life is not an easy road. No, it is totally unlike the paved, graded, banked highways that we know in the West. It is exactly like the Hunza Road through the glittering peaks of the world's highest, most perilous mountains.

Good health and long life seldom, if ever, come to a man by sheer good fortune, luck or accident. My observations tell me that health and long life, like the price of freedom, are to be had only by eternal vigilance. One must continually watch how he lives, how he practices field husbandry, what he eats and how much he eats. It is absolutely true that the people of Hunza use no chemicals either on their farms or in their foods. To begin with, they do not have the wherewithall with which to buy them. Secondly, it is problematical as to whether or not they would take to them. But as I have related, they have taken to salt and some sugar, so the chances are they may take to other of civilization's titbits and ways, if they get the opportunity.

Yes, I feel that I have learned the secret of the excellent health and long life of the people of Hunza. I did not learn this by accident, either, but it gradually dawned upon me and came to light when I combined my actual observations on the scene, my close and insistent questioning of innumerable people, and last but not least, from actual scientific research in an ap-

164 proved laboratory by a qualified technician.

164 Their food is natural, simple, unsophisticated, with-
262 out any unnatural, inorganic, synthetic additives whatsoever. There is no fragmentation in the foods they eat. They do not separate any part of the wheat when they make flour, nor do they separate any part of the other grains when using them.

252 Due to necessity they do not cook foods too much, nor do they cook any food that can be eaten and enjoyed without cooking.

Food is a serious, all prevalent problem. The few trees that they have and that they can grow must be protected for food, shade and timber.

However, I must truthfully admit that the reason that the Hunzans do not cook their food is because of the scarcity and inaccessibility to supplies of fuel.

751 Vaccination is not practiced and, as far as I know,
744 is unknown in Hunza. Pasteurization in any form is neither practiced nor known. Chlorination is unheard of. Fluoridation is unheard of. No coloring whatsoever is added to any of their food, not even their butter.

263 Up until recent years the salt used by the people of
439 Hunza came from the Shimshal area, somewhere near where the Shimshal River and the Muztagh join together. This salt is unrefined and used just as it is mined from this mountain area. It obviously contains many natural so-called impurities.

493 The only wheeled vehicles—two jeeps, in fact—are owned and used by the Mir chiefly for bringing in supplies, when road conditions permit. Therefore one must walk for every chore. There is no motorized
377 equipment used in Hunza with the exception of the electric light plant in the Mir's palace. Apart from what
401 I have mentioned here, mechanization of any sort is unknown.

Both the irrigation water which they use on their fields and their drinking water come from the Ultar Glacier. Therefore, their entire water supply is glacial. 312

Their entire economy is dependent upon their agriculture and everything that is taken from the soil is religiously returned to the soil. Chemical fertilizers or chemical sprays of any type are unknown to the people. It may be possible that the Mir has used sprays in his palace grounds. He might have brought them with him from his visits abroad, but I saw none and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, none are used. I saw no insect infestation of any kind or type through my entire travels and investigations. In Gilgit I did see insect injury in a garden and it was apparent to me that the soil of Hunza was in balance and therefore it produced food that was balanced. Therefore, it is understandable, the people of Hunza are healthy! 241 [433]

The food of the people of Hunza is in the main, raw food. It is neither dissected nor desiccated, but is eaten in the whole. The only exception that I could find to this rule was in their milk. When they made butter, they drank the remains or the buttermilk. Of course, in due time, they ate the butter. 262

All children born in Hunza are breast fed for at least two years. Male children are often breast fed until they are 3 years old. 853

I do not intend to stress any one factor of the points mentioned above. I am submitting them to you for your consideration and study. 000

It is, however, my belief that their soil and location does not lend itself to mechanization and therefore their good health should continue. If they could mechanize, then they would not get the needed beneficial exercise which, as you can gather, is one of the important contributors to their good health and longevity. 241 164

000 from it the organic method of land use.

262 From what I have seen, I have deduced the fact that the people of Hunza use less fat of any kind than most people found throughout the world. Some nations may lack animal fats, but make it up by fats found in [133] fish. The people of Hunza have very little animal fat and no fish, for there are few lakes in the area and the only fish that are found in the streams are those that were placed there, in an attempt to stock the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers and some of the nullahs.

They do get some fat from the butter that is made from the milk of the goats, sheep and a few cows and yaks. They also get a bit of fat from their walnuts and the kernels of the apricot seeds, neither of which can be considered to be high in fat content.

Lest you think that this lack of fat would have some effect on the people, let me stress that there are no more energetic people found in the world and they are continually active.

251 As soon as fall sets in and the harvest is completed, they carefully select and store and prepare their winter's larder. Then they divide and apportion all of their foods so they will last them throughout the winter.

262 An important addition to their winter diet is a gruel or a soup that they make from the various grains and this is eaten with their chapatties.

515 Dentifrices or toothpastes or powders of any kind
164 are not used in Hunza. Yet the people have unusually fine teeth. False teeth, plates or dentures are unknown. So even at the expense of antagonizing the toothbrush and toothpaste people, it would appear that these implements and concoctions do not create good healthy teeth.

* * * * *

000 I have debated within myself whether or not I should

I found the Rani to be the most beautiful woman in Hunza. I didn't dare ask her age, but I know she was married to the present Mir in 1934. Therefore she must be close to or in her 40's. She could undoubtedly pass with any woman in her early 20's. But there were few, if any, women in Hunza like her. 142

I further will grant that I, or anyone else for that matter, would have very little opportunity of seeing Hunzan women at what might be their best. To state my views candidly, I'd say the men definitely looked youthful, but the women looked to be older than their years.

Perfect health—I have never seen, as yet, a race of people that was as healthy as the people of Hunza. But to say that they were a race that enjoyed perfect health, I would consider a bit of an exaggeration, because the doctor does treat a few patients now and then and the hospital does harbor a few sick people. I must honestly admit that I did not see any sick people in Hunza, but there are quite a few who do not enjoy perfect health. 164

A pre-Bronze Age people—Here I suspect someone wanted to show his knowledge in archeology or anthropology, whichever it may be. (I am expressing my ignorance to begin with.) They are no more Bronze Age than was the writer who referred to them as such. This would take them back between 4,000 and 5,000 years which is utter and sheer "poppycock." He further stated that they were isolated for 2,000 years. If that is true, they were isolated because they wanted to remain that way. 174 [177]

It is a fact that there is a caravan trail right through Hunza. It is the shortest route from China to Persia and leads through Hunza, past Gilgit and across the Babusar Pass and then on westward or southwestward. 487 177

534 644 *The piano in the palace was brought by the Mir's grandfather.* This was stated in one of the books I read about Hunza.

The story from the Mir's own lips is, "The piano was brought to Gilgit via Bandipoor and Burzil Pass from Kashmir for the Political Agent who was British. It was installed in the Political Agent's house in Gilgit in 1895. In 1947 when the partition came, it was presented to me by the last British Political Agent, Colonel R. N. Bacon, along with the Union Jack which is unfurled in Gilgit. The piano was brought to Baltit on the backs of 24 men." [482]

164 *Disease is unknown in Hunza.* Oh, how I wish that were true! It was the fondest wish of my heart and soul when I left for Hunza that I could return and be able to attest the fact that disease is unknown in that country.

From definite assertions made by the doctor who was stationed at Aliabad in Hunza, it is true that such diseases as cancer, diabetes, heart disease and hypertension are absolutely unknown in Hunza. But there are other diseases, perhaps not as crucial but, nevertheless, maladies of a serious nature.

As more of civilization's luxuries become known and used in Hunza, it is assured that many more of the diseases of civilization, as yet unknown in Hunza, will make their way into that country.

165 *No infant mortality*—I am unable to speak for the past, but at the present day infant mortality is known in Hunza. As mentioned elsewhere in this book, statistics are unavailable as no records are kept. But the present doctor in Aliabad forcibly states that infant mortality is a force to be reckoned with in Hunza at the present time.

value to the people of Hunza? Let's examine them. 000

Let's start with pasteurization. Well, it would be very 744
difficult to pasteurize in Hunza. First of all, they don't have the means of providing the required heat. Besides, they don't suffer from any conditions which pasteurization would cure—if it does cure anything.

How about hospitalization? Well, they have a com- 743
paratively new, modern hospital in Aliabad, but the people don't use it very much. They distrust the hospital and they distrust the doctor, even though he is a fine capable fellow. Besides, I did not notice, particularly, any sick or ailing people sitting around, waiting for a hospital bed.

Then how about inoculations? To begin with, what 751
would you inoculate them against? They don't seem to 164
have many, if any, of our diseases. Then, too, there are no inoculations against cancer, diabetes, heart disease, arthritis and such, anyway. Oh, yes . . . besides, these diseases have never been known in Hunza . . . not even poliomyelitis.

The Mir has a huge medicine chest that was given 757
to him by the German expedition, which was stationed 177
across the river in Nagir. Yes, it did prove most useful 123
—for it helped a man get well. However, I must admit rather dejectedly that the man the medicine chest helped was my companion and not a citizen of Hunza.

They could use a dentist and right here you have 759
struck gold! However, it would be most difficult to get 164
a dentist to set up shop in Hunza, unless he were given room in the Mir's residence, for that's the only place where electric power is provided . . . unless the dentist didn't mind going back to the old days when the old foot pedal was used for power.

But let's be realistic about it! Wouldn't it be much [263]
better to give the people of Hunza back their old

759 natural salt, which was mined at the confluence of the
164 Mustagh and Shimshal Rivers? Then a dentist wouldn't
.263 be necessary. I trust you will pardon me if, here and there, as the situation demands, I become my own interrogator.

000 So after all is examined and said and done, how can the Western world help the people of Hunza?

If you asked me this question, I wouldn't want to answer it openly or boldly. But if you pressed me, reluctantly I'd say that the greatest contribution that the West can make to Hunza, or to their good health and longevity, is to stay away. Leave Hunza alone!

Somebody asked me if I would like to live in Hunza. In some respects, that is an unfair question.

It's like this. The climate of California is considered to be the most salubrious and pleasant in all of the United States. Well, why don't all the people of the United States move to California? Economic reasons? That might be a factor . . . but not a very important one. There are other considerations, too, I guess. But basically, everyone doesn't want to live in California—even if it has the most wonderful climate and they have sunshine all the time.

I'd love to go back to Hunza and spend a few more weeks there . . . and if I had been born in Hunza, I'm sure I'd never want to leave the place. But I doubt if, at my age, I'd be able to adjust myself to a change as drastic as the one I would have to meet in Hunza. After all, I am a product of Western civilization—whatever that is.

"Do you think conditions would be too difficult for you in Hunza?"

I believe a young, normal, healthy, strong individual of sound mind could adjust himself to the conditions of Hunza without too much trouble. I am not maintain-

by what he omits as by what he states. In this instance I am somewhat on the spot. I don't want to fall prey to the errors and omissions which I have condemned in others. I did pointedly seek and ask details concerning the ailments of the people of Hunza. I did seek to find out the diseases that are unknown in Hunza. I also wanted to learn the diseases that are most common and that generally affect the health of the people. And here is the picture.

They have trouble with their eyes. They suffer from stomach disorders—chiefly dysentery and worms. They are subject to skin infections, fevers, weak lungs, goiter and dental caries. Whether or not you wish to attach any great importance to the maladies I have outlined above, I feel that I should explain one or two of the contributing factors.

Remember, the Hunza homes do not have chimneys. Besides, they have so little fuel that they don't want to waste any of the heat . . . and the smoke is allowed to escape only through a hole in the roof. I don't know if this affects their lungs. It probably would. But I know that it does cause most of the eye ailments.

Concerning stomach disorders, it may be possible that the ingestion of continuous quantities of mineral laden glacial waters contribute to this condition . . . but I am unable to state categorically if this is true.

Goiter and caries of the teeth have become a leading health problem. But these conditions were comparatively unknown when they used their native salt.

All through my travels in that area I did not come across one sick native. But that need not have any great significance, because sick people probably stay out of sight, and therefore they wouldn't come within range of my vision or my wanderings.

I must emphasize here that every man that I saw in

164 Hunza appeared to be the picture of health and contentment.

Since my return from Hunza I have become noticeably health-conscious. And I have been appalled by the number of sick, ill and ailing people around me. It is becoming rare and unusual to meet a person who will boldly say that he is in perfect health at 35 or 40 years of age. And is there a large mature-membered family about, who doesn't have one of its members ill, dying or dead from one of our many dread diseases?

No, I resent any insinuation on the part of anyone to the effect that I am overdramatizing or accentuating the picture or situation. I believe that every community in America has had additions or new hospitals built, and even with all that, they are unable to take care of the applicants who desire to enter them as patients.

No wonder people are interested in the "Healthy Hunzans."

Taking all factors under close observation and consideration, I have reached the conclusion that ours is a condition of ill health and that the people of Hunza enjoy good health. Whether it is due to their way of life, as compared to our manner of living, depends entirely upon what you are willing to accept. It is my conviction that we can enjoy the same health that the people of Hunza enjoy if we will live according to the rules and laws of nature—right here in America!

 [pp. 639-646 not processed]

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.39-B]

By John Clark

123
164

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ENTRY in my weathered notebook of a decade ago, written when, as an American living in the Himalayas in a run-down castle, I was operating an infirmary:

[526]

"'Salaam aleikum, Hazoor! my trouble is very great,' said old Bohar. He raised his white-stubbled chin and pointed to the source of his pain.

"I looked and shuddered a little. Four oozing, open holes, each the diameter of a pencil, pierced his chin and jawbone. I asked him to open his mouth, and he complied, exposing a row of teeth worn absolutely flat. I ran my finger across his lower teeth; four were so loose that I was able to

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.39-C]

123 pull them out with my fingers. Bohar
164 gasped, then relaxed as the extraction permitted the abscesses at the roots to drain more freely."

101 This was in Hunza, the small, moun-
131 tainous, Central Asiatic kingdom
121 bordering on China, Kashmir, and Afghanistan, about which there has been recurring publicity, characterizing the land as a Shangri-La peopled by men and women of extraordinary
121 health and longevity. Since the beginning of man's role as a traveler, tales of far-off earthly paradises have been brought home to entertain the untraveled. No matter how many such El Dorados perish under examination, the next is inevitably welcomed into the lists with unblemished credulity.

[text continues on p. 40-B]

8;Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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Hunza

[P. 41- A]

114 Western equipment. (Training in anat-
123 omy, some concentrated informal studies of Asian diseases, plus previous experience, made this possible for me. In addition, I ran three experimental gardens and founded a craft school, with the Mir's approval.)

● 164 Bohar had developed scurvy, after
146 which staphylococcus infected the
123 gums and abscessed the roots of his teeth; the abscesses had then eroded downward through the jawbone and out through the flesh and skin. After washing out the sores, I gave him vitamin C tablets to stop the scurvy, and vitamin D with calcium lactate to cure the rickets that were stiffening his knees. The old man was by no means
[252] atypical. My dispensary was always beset by lines of waiting patients, all with afflictions that belied popular beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 41-B]

164 beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."
123 Altogether, I was able to treat 5,680
[743] medical cases—the country had no
other dispensary—during my stay in
164 Hunza. My daily group of patients did
not suffer from many of the diseases
[158] common to our civilization. There
were no true neurotics; no cases of
stomach ulcers, appendicitis, or gout;
only one case of cerebral hemorrhage,
[482] and but four cardiac cases. The few
[143] bad hearts had been damaged either
by malarial anemia or by overexertion at high altitudes, as was the case
with one man who had carried the
Mir's piano on his back up twenty
miles of mountain trail. On the other
hand, my Hunza patients did have
malaria. They also had at least two
kinds of intestinal worms, and to see
for the first time a man with *Ascaris*

[P.41-C]

164 worms impacted in his duodenum is appalling. The disease is more painful than the ulcers Hunzas do not have. Hunzas also suffer from trachoma, pneumonia, tuberculosis, a fatal type of dysentery, and violent staphylococcic infections of their eyes, teeth, and skin. I never observed cancer.

Total blindness, too, often afflicts the Hunzas and is caused by staphylococcus infections, cataracts, and pterygium. (More than five per cent of the population had trachoma.) I cannot forget the father who brought me his nine-year-old daughter with both her eyes horribly swollen from staphylococcus. They came the day after I had run out of antibiotics. The next shipment arrived by caravan two months later when the little girl was permanently blind.

[Text continues on p. 42-B]

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[591] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[796] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two: cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as
[762] bitters, to their wine, and occasionally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

●164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

164 into the "fine, barrel chests" reported
146 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the fine, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[18] hard-working, but with their country. There is no flat land in all of Hunza.
[36] Villages and farms are built on alluvial
[31] cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[67] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
24 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-calked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders,
[132] gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[13] cool but exceedingly dry desert, practically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushō AV7

000 had to set to at once. Not that I was the only one. Aylmer, though still suffering severely from his wounds, spent all his time designing bridges, and, as soon as he could crawl, passed his days on the river bank, superintending the preparations for throwing a wire-rope suspension bridge over the Gilgit river. The bridge he had built in the previous November was only a temporary one to serve while the river was low.

My first difficulty was food, and I had to send one regiment away at once eighty miles up the Indus valley to Skardu in Baltistan, where the state granaries were full. There was no danger in doing this now, for the sound of our success in Hunza and Nagar had reverberated through Chitral, and rolled down the Indus valley. No one felt in the least inclined to attack us at the moment.

The failure of the Kashmir transport arrangements during the previous autumn had been too marked to be overlooked, and I received orders from the Resident in Kashmir to submit a scheme to remedy the existing evils. I was pretty sick of submitting schemes, but I knew what was wanted and could point out the difficulties, which no one who had not visited Gilgit would ever believe in or realise. The result was that the whole commissariat arrangements for Gilgit were put into the hands of an officer of the Indian Commissariat Department, and that the difficulties properly grappled with were conquered.

164 An untoward event occurred in the spring of 1892. I had started vaccination in the Gilgit district with marked success, but the work had been put a stop to

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

by the campaign, and our supply of lymph had run out. More was sent for, but the first consignment was frozen crossing the passes and proved useless. Before the second lot arrived small-pox broke out, and most unfortunately one of the prisoners taken at Nilt contracted it. This was not discovered before the men were dismissed to their homes, and the disease went up with them. In a few weeks it was raging, and in Nagar alone two hundred and fifty people died of it. The danger was increased by the habit of inoculating which obtained in the country. 164

By the beginning of April I was sufficiently recovered to travel, and I started to visit Hunza and Nagar. Colin MacKenzie, now a Major for his conduct of affairs, accompanied me, and we visited Nilt with interest and fought the battles over again. The country was recovering, but showed traces of the war. Nilt and Mayun were in ruins, many villages along the road had been set fire to by Uzr Khan in his flight to spite us, and the people, sore and angry with him for the losses his folly had entailed on them, were civil but depressed. Small-pox was raging—almost every man, woman, and child you met showed signs of the disease. I received the old chief of Nagar at the village of Sumayar opposite Hunza, and had to sit for an hour hand in hand with him discussing the affairs of his country. He had been inoculated and had small-pox on him. It was not a pleasant experience, but I had been vaccinated shortly before, and it had to be gone through. 727 164

We had a very pleasant time in Hunza, where the people were delighted to have got rid of their 000

opportunity of utilizing. I should not, of course, have dreamt 000
of offering advice or help—the reckless courage with which some travellers ply their medical ignorance has always horrified me—but I thought that some knowledge of birth-rites at home might enable me to follow Hunza procedure with more intelligence. But if an Englishman's house is his castle, the fortress-like home of the Hunzukuts is no less inviolable, and in the event I could no more have proposed to a Hunza woman to let me attend her confinement for mere scientific curiosity than I could make the same proposal to an English friend.

Like women in many other parts of the East, the Hunza 844
woman bears her child in a crouching posture, which gives full 846
play to her muscles—admirably developed by varied exercise and unatrophied by chair-sitting—and speeds up the period of labour. An experienced woman, usually her own mother, acts as midwife, while her husband guards the threshold and her brother the smoke-hole to prevent the instrusion of evil man or evil spirit. Within a week, as has been related, she is ready to receive visitors, and within a fortnight she is out of doors again doing light work in the fields.

There are, of course, no vital statistics available for infant 165 •
or maternal mortality, but as far as my enquiries and observations extended, casualties are rare. This is not to be wondered at, since for countless generations Nature has here been at her beneficent work of weeding out inferior stocks, uninterrupted by soppy sentiment or misguided philanthropy. No C_3 girl baby can be reared in an incubator to die in childbirth or burden the community with D_4 offspring.

whom I recognized as being a typical Hunzan. But the 115
old fellow who caught my attention did so because he was so strange looking. He was slightly stooped, short of stature, looked very old, had a firm yet halting walk and a beard of bright henna red and wore a long brown coat that touched his boots. It didn't require intuition or even a keen mind to recognize that this man was not ordinary in any sense of the word and I remarked to Sultan Ali that this was someone with whom I would like to converse—by means of an interpreter, or course.

We headed the yaks over so we'd be directly in front of the two as they passed by, and Sultan Ali spoke to them. Then he turned to me with a smile and said, "You are quite right, there *is* something most unusual [165] about this man. He says he's 105 years old today—it's [643] his birthday—and he's come to pay his respects to the Mir."

I allowed myself to slide down off the beast's back as I asked Sultan Ali to introduce me to the fine old fellow and we shook hands. He said, "Salaam aleikum!" and I, too, said, "Salaam aleikum!"

I was really very happy and felt privileged to meet a grand old man like this!

I appraised him from head to foot, scrutinized every part of him—up, down, to the right, to the left—and I smiled as best I knew so as not to offend the fine old fellow. He was indeed a patriarchal old man, but he still looked in mighty fine fettle; he'd come from a little farm a few miles away, on foot!

The old man's name was Dado and he lived in Hasanabad. He has one son, two grandsons, three granddaughters and fifteen great-grandchildren. Dado [165] has 10 close friends, all of whom are more than 95 years of age. Membership in that exalted group is hard to come by . . . a most restricted organization.

115 Now I didn't see his birth certificate and I might as
165 well tell you, right here and now, that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. I accept the figure of his age as he told me but remember, I was not there at the time of his birth!

344 When I was through with my spasm of inspection
644 and admiration, we began to parade up the long driveway that led into the Mir's garden. This area is flanked on the right by space that looks as though it were a parking lot, and maybe that's exactly what it is, but instead of cars, the guests or members of the family park—or should I say tether—their horses and yaks in this area. Maybe now they park their jeeps there.
[493] The Mir owns two of them, but one, I understand, was away in Pindi being repaired. (Or was it the shambles and horrible wreck of a jeep that I came across a week later, on the road back to Gilgit?)

126 Now I noticed that the Mir, Ayesh, the doctor and Cec were coming along the roadway to meet us, and soon we joined forces and were gathered in one group. I thought this was the ideal time to take some photographs and, luckily for us, they were the best photographs we took on the entire trip. Photography is something that has never interested me and I had never taken half a dozen pictures in my life. Before leaving
[122] home, I did try to learn a bit about photography, but I couldn't learn enough fast enough.

124 When the fun, excitement and fast-flowing humorous remarks had subsided, I said to the Mir, "If you've nothing more important to do or if you would care to give me a little more of your time, we could start that question and answer session that I arranged with you for this afternoon."

"I am at your service," he replied pleasantly and with alacrity.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 34

About the People of Hunza

164 THE CLAIMS made for the people of Hunza border on
165 the fantastic. It is claimed that there they live to be 140 and more years of age without trouble and that their mountain home is the genuine Shangri-la, where a man can live without worry or stress in perfect joy and happiness. The claim is also made that their men can sire children when they're 70, 80, 90 and even 100 years of age.

Yes, and another visitor to Hunza said that the women of 80 and 90 are as youthful and as beautiful as our own women of 30 and 40. Well, apart from the
[644] Rani who I truly believe was one of the most beautiful women I have ever been privileged to see, I didn't notice anything spectacular about the women of Hunza.

123 Let me be even more frank . . . I hardly saw any women at all. Over the many miles of Hunza territory that I walked, I seldom saw a woman. I saw a few girls

here and there and most of them snickered, giggled and hid or turned their backs so that I couldn't see their faces, just as the girls and women did in Nagir. I did notice and pass many women constantly in the fields, but not once did I think that they even compared with our own attractive women . . . let alone surpass them! 123

Nor do I want you to get the impression that I am prejudiced. To me, at least, a woman can be beautiful whether she be black, yellow, tanned or white. I believe myself to be the kind of a man who shows no prejudice, at least where women are concerned, if you know what I mean!

Here I also want to state that it could be I was somewhat at a disadvantage. In the Western world, when one meets or sees a woman, it is usually at her best or close to it. Here the situation was, I admit, drastically different. I either saw them in the fields or coming or going to and from the fields to their homes or doing household chores in their homes. None of these occupational hazards would give a woman a chance to show herself at her prettiest or to her own best advantage.

I did not inquire as to the Rani's age. I am generally fairly bold but I just wasn't bold enough to pose that question to the Mir or to the Rani herself, although I had ample opportunity to do so had I the courage. 644 165

She would compare favorably in every way with any woman in her twenties. If I did not know her position and I were asked to estimate her age, I would say 24 or 25 but remember, she is the wife of the Mir and has borne him 9 living children, one of whom is married and another of whom is engaged to be married to the Prince of Chitral. Their eldest daughter is married to Yaseen Durishahwar and they have two sons, which means that the Rani is a grandmother. But I still insist that she doesn't look a day over 25.

Hunza are more or less used to it. However, it does 164
cause trouble with the eyes of the natives. It also weakens the lungs of some of the older women, who probably spend most of their time indoors during the cold months of the year.

I questioned the doctor and the Mir concerning pre- 843
natal care, but from what they told me, I could find no provisions whatsoever made for prenatal care outside the individual home.

The death rate at childbirth, they told me, was next 165
to zero, but the doctor also mentioned that a woman 845
would not consider going to a doctor for gynecological 757
reasons under any circumstances. She would rather die. He also told me that before and after delivery of a 843
child, Hunzan women do not know of any rest. The 846
pregnant woman works harder and does more laborious jobs till the last day of the term, in the belief that hard and laborious work makes delivery easier and uneventful.

"But," he went on, "they are very careful in exerting themselves during the early days of conception. After delivery they are again up and doing again, only after a short rest."

It seems to be obvious that the method followed by 843
the women of Hunza prior to childbirth "works" because both mother and child come out of it "uneventful." When events occur at such times, it usually means serious trouble.

He went on to tell me further that gallstones, renal 164
calculus, coronary heart disease, hypertension, valvular lesions, myxoldeama thyrsotoxcasis, mental deficiencies, cancer, poliomyelitis, arthritis and diabetes are absolutely unknown in Hunza.

From what I have seen and gathered I am worried 177
about the situation. They are now importing their sugar, 263
439

177 their salt and soon there will be a few more items added
263 and, as more of their people go out of the country to
439 earn a living and come back to visit or retire, more of civilization's curses will be brought back with them.

●165 The doctor rather clearly indicated that infant mor-
114 tality was not as low as some writers would like us to believe. I repeat—he made this quite clear.

164 Now I'll let you decide how it ties in with the statements made by Sir Robert McCarrison: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucous colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people, the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

276 Smoking in general is not an addiction in Hunza. The water-pipe or hubble-bubble is used by some of the people, usually at gatherings or ceremonies. It is then passed around in a wide circle, each one taking a puff
[562] or two. The women are included, but only after all the men have finished.

Some of the citizens use snuff. It is tobacco mixed with the ash of a plant called "sopa," which is indigenous to that area. They take the tobacco and the sopa ash, put in a dash of water, stir it up and mix it into a paste. Then they place gobs of this paste under their lip, exactly the same as the snuff chewer does in the West, although this practice has been dying out in the Western world.

164 Just how much of the health of the people of Hunza
132 is due to the fact that they get a lot of sunlight? That is a most pertinent question and one that will take a lot

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 51

They Chose Years Ere Comfort

I WILL NOT go on record as stating that some Hunzans have sired children at the ripe old ages of 80, 90 or more, because I have no proof of such occurrences, although this information was relayed to me by some people of authority. 842

Yet, I would not disbelieve or laugh at that statement, because from my studies I have found that where the human body is fed natural proper food, the regenerating process in the body can be maintained for a long time. Yes, and all the faculties can be alert and keen well into a ripe old age. Most certainly the people of Hunza have lived and still live, in the main, according to the laws of nature.

I would, without hesitation, accept the fact that the people of Hunza are longer-lived than most people. Everything about their way of life seems to lend credence to the tales. I investigated, I asked questions and 165

165 I checked as thoroughly as possible and there are at least a dozen men in Hunza over 100 years old and no doubt a hundred over 90. Yet the oldest man that I met was 105 years old but by his appearance, his speech and his activity, he'll be around for a good many years.

No, I don't think anybody was trying to fool me about their ages. I can't see what they could gain by it. On the other hand, I don't think I'd be the easiest man in the world to fool. At least my friends don't think I would be. If and when you meet the Hunza people, you will find that you accept them as a fine, upstanding, honest race. Therefore I cannot see why they would necessarily lie about their ages. Of course [217] no vital statistics are kept in Hunza and therefore they cannot offer proof by means of birth certificates concerning their ages.

I met a few groups of men, all of whom claimed to be in their 70's and over, and they were a mighty healthy looking bunch of individuals. Most certainly the average group of people in any part of America at that age wouldn't remotely resemble that fine group of Hunzans.

164 I don't think that is hard to understand. People who have been denied luxuries and who have had to work all their lives and spend a lot of time in the open air doing manual labor should be healthy, especially when they have good natural foods.

[165] It is my sincere belief that the ages and the health of the people of Hunza have not been too greatly exaggerated.

It is possible that I have strange ideas, but I've always believed that physical work and exercise have a lot to do with a man's health. Well, in Hunza if exercise will make them happy and healthy, they should be the happiest and healthiest people in all the world. There

842 mentioned above and so do women who have reached the menopause age become pregnant, but it doesn't happen every day.

Siring children at 90 *and* 100 *years of age*—The only conclusive proof or record that I could find concerning men well up in years siring children was that of the Mir's grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E. It is definitely recorded that he sired a son when he was in his 75th year.

Upon questioning and during discourse with the Mir, the resident doctor and the affected individuals themselves, it is clearly established that the siring of offspring at the age of 70 and upwards is quite common. Invariably it was revealed in these studies that the men had married younger women, their second or third wives. It is suggested that the answer lies somewhere close to this very important related fact.

165 [217] *Living to the age of* 140 *years.* The oldest man that I could find in Hunza was said to be 105 years old. I want to stress firmly that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. Therefore it is not easy to establish any definite age or date. I will, however, accept this old man's age as being correct and established beyond doubt. The fact that he was alive before the Mir's grandfather was born (who died when 79 years of age in 1938) is ample proof that the statement is correct and true.

There are many people in Hunza over 90 years of age, quite a few over 95 years of age and some over 100 years.

142 165 *Their women are beautiful when they are* 70 *and* 80 *years old.* This I will agree is a statement that depends entirely upon a man's appreciation or understanding of beauty. I have seen old women of 80 who I thought were beautiful in a frail, wrinkled, grandmotherly way.

534 644 *The piano in the palace was brought by the Mir's grandfather.* This was stated in one of the books I read about Hunza.

The story from the Mir's own lips is, "The piano was brought to Gilgit via Bandipoor and Burzil Pass from Kashmir for the Political Agent who was British. It was installed in the Political Agent's house in Gilgit in 1895. In 1947 when the partition came, it was presented to me by the last British Political Agent, Colonel R. N. Bacon, along with the Union Jack which is unfurled in Gilgit. The piano was brought to Baltit on the backs of 24 men." [482]

164 *Disease is unknown in Hunza.* Oh, how I wish that were true! It was the fondest wish of my heart and soul when I left for Hunza that I could return and be able to attest the fact that disease is unknown in that country.

From definite assertions made by the doctor who was stationed at Aliabad in Hunza, it is true that such diseases as cancer, diabetes, heart disease and hypertension are absolutely unknown in Hunza. But there are other diseases, perhaps not as crucial but, nevertheless, maladies of a serious nature.

As more of civilization's luxuries become known and used in Hunza, it is assured that many more of the diseases of civilization, as yet unknown in Hunza, will make their way into that country.

165 *No infant mortality*—I am unable to speak for the past, but at the present day infant mortality is known in Hunza. As mentioned elsewhere in this book, statistics are unavailable as no records are kept. But the present doctor in Aliabad forcibly states that infant mortality is a force to be reckoned with in Hunza at the present time.

125 One evening, I took a census of the
● 165 nine teen-age boys in my wood-carv-
[123] ing school. Of these, all from well-to-do households, how many had seen death in their immediate families?
165 Here was the roll:
651 Gohor Hayat: mother, three brothers, two sisters; Sherin Beg: one brother, one sister; Nur-ud-Din: mother, two brothers, two sisters; Md. Hamid: mother, one sister; Burhan Shah: one brother, one sister; Nasar Md.: mother, two brothers, one sister; Mullah Madut: two brothers; Suleiman: one brother; Ghulam Rasul: father. In a country fabled for the long lives of its inhabitants, these are depressingly typical Asian statistics.
165 Moreover, there is little reason to be-
576 lieve that any of the old men are really as old as is claimed.

"How old are you?" I once asked a venerable patient.

"Ninety, Hazoor!" he answered.

"How do you know you're ninety?"

"Well, Hazoor, my hair is white, and I know I'm very old, and ninety is very old, so I must be ninety."

[124] My teen-aged assistant, Gohor Hayat, broke in impatiently, "Why do you waste time asking such questions?
[217] You know there are no records, be-
[212] cause so few of my people can write!"

I had thought the old man might have a way of keeping count. "How old are you, Gohor Hayat?" I asked.

Gohor Hayat responded loftily, "I'm

[text continues on p. 43-C]

165 856 seventeen." Two years before he had told me he was thirteen.

165 [212] [128] Because the Hunzas, themselves, have no written records, I attempted to estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

165 145 THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age [146] in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance, a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

262 [214] "Purity" has been attributed to the Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad. [272] Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter, round out the

463 ment departments, act as postal runners or dispensary assistants, do part-time jobs as "levies," or enter the private employment of British officers. Travel where you will in the Agency, some enterprising Hunza man is there before you, as carpenter or washerman, as touring merchant or in Government employ. You may even meet an old Hunza taxi-driver in Bombay or a Hunza *chaprassi* in Lahore.

177 At first the Mir rather discouraged these farther-afield
167 adventures, and not unwisely. New ideas, new customs, new dress, imported from abroad might well upset the happy balance of the home civilization; but the increasing pressure of population—a dubious benefit the *Pax Britannica* is wont to bring—makes some outlet necessary for ambitious youth, and some supplement necessary for home support, and the Mir's policy has been modified accordingly. With rare exceptions the travellers' hearts remain in their Hunza highlands; they go for a few years and return with newly acquired skill, with a set of carpenter's tools it may be, with a smoothing-iron or a sewing machine, to resume work on the family farm and earn a little "on the side."

593 We heard that a new house was being built by a certain
342 Kalbi (not the Levy; one of another clan) and were invited to go down—some hundreds of feet—and see it in its half-finished state. "It must cost a lot to build a new house," we said. "How did you come to have money enough to spare?" "Well, you see, I have two sons away working—thank God." And, in fact, except in the few cases where the Hunza man goes over-far afield to Bombay or the Panjab, and needs his own earnings to support a down-country family, the Hunza son remits home every spare anna, knowing well that it will be spent on the home he himself will presently enjoy and share. When he comes back on leave he brings his mother an aluminium cooking-pot or basin to jostle the stone *balosh* and wooden bowl, or an iron bucket which incongruously companions the local gourd when his sisters go to draw the drinking water.

342 In theory there are any number of sizes and patterns of house which you can build in Hunza: the cow-pattern, the ant-pattern, and half a dozen more, but in actual fact there are

233 any wage in our sense of the term, but that he would certainly be getting one or two free meals a day, and thus sensibly reducing the rationing problems of his own home. Hunza sheep lamb twice a year, but the goats have kids once only, in the Spring. Khano's promotion to wage-earning status was a little sad for us, for we saw him much more rarely after that.

242 One fine morning early in March the apricot trees that line
245 the Dála just in front of our rest-house were suddenly invaded by the whole Dastagul family armed with long sticks, to the end of which a sharpened piece of curved iron had been attached. With infinite care they inspected every branch, and wherever they detected the nest of an insect they snipped down the twig on which it rested. These nests were small, cocoon-like things only about an inch long, with a nasty little grub inside. The nests clung very tight to their hospitable perch, and it was often necessary to cut quite a biggish spray in order to secure them; each was diligently collected and borne home to the fire. We were not qualified to identify the pest on which war was being waged, but it was reported to devour both leaves and fruit if not destroyed. All through the country every single apricot tree is scrupulously examined and cleared—there must be thousands. We certainly did not later see a single one that seemed to be suffering from insect attack.

563 About this time we made another addition to our re-
● 167 tainers—a dear old grey-bearded man with the jolliest bright
361 eyes and a merry, happy smile, but not a tooth in his head, was roped in to work at Wakhi. The Wakhis, as I have said, are immigrants into the north of Hunza from the Wakhan districts of Afghanistan. They have settled in various places above the level at which the Burusho themselves care to live. Hunza men will tell you that they cannot induce their womenfolk to live where the apricot will not ripen. I suspect, however, that the men are just as unwilling to forgo their trees and wheat and fruit, but Adam-like prefer to blame their mates. The higher villages of Hunza are therefore inhabited almost wholly by Wakhi-speakers. Being unaccustomed to wheat, apricots, or

trees of any kind, they do not miss them, and in compensation enjoy opener valleys and wider pastures.

Wakhi is an Iranian language, and, dearly as we both loved Burushaski, there is no denying that it was refreshing to revert to a tongue which has one form of plural instead of thirty-eight, and which cares no more about genders than English, less in fact, for it has only one word for "he" and "she." Charming old Farághat is a khalifa, or lay priest. He can read, and perhaps write a little Persian (a *very* little), but his mind is grammatically quite untrained, and one tense or case suits him for any purpose just as well as another. It is natural that at his age he is resistant to new ideas, but how resistant was almost incredible. After weeks of patient work he was no nearer appreciating the need for collecting the various tenses and participles than he was on the first day, so progress was slow. DL's patience amazed me. There would, of course, have been no use showing impatience, for it would have merely served to scatter such ideas as the nice old fellow had, and he was doing his best. There are some strange and wonderful consonant combinations in Wakhi, and Khalifa Farághat's lack of teeth did not make them any easier to diagnose: is it sh-kh-th, or th-kh-sh? It was clear that the hope of extracting any intelligible text of even the simplest form from Farághat was nil, and the Mir very kindly promised to fetch down from up-country a professional Wakhi story-teller to supplement. We awaited his arrival with eagerness. Picture our dismay when he proved to be an equally kindly, equally aged, equally toothless, equally futile old bird. Farághat had brought with him his youngest son, an extraordinarily handsome little fellow of nine or ten, so that the child might not miss his daily lessons, and as they sat about together pouring over a tattered, well-thumbed primer of some sort they made a touching picture.

It would be very unfair to generalize about Wakhi racial character from two such elderly men, but the impression these two left on us of kindly slow-wittedness confirmed DL's impressions of ten years earlier, when he had been travelling through their districts and had tried to get informants to work

326 tion of these unusual people stirred up an interest within
533 me, and I wanted to know more about them. I found
563 very little data could be obtained from any of the books I had been able to read on the subject.

[173] But after much discourse and questioning, I learned what I had begun to suspect . . . that the Bericho were actually gypsies who had come to India more than 2,000 years ago. From India, as good gypsies would do, they fanned out to spread themselves in small groups over the entire country . . . some ultimately settling in Baltistan, from whence a colony were sent off to Hunza.

Their place of abode is actually a village known as Berishal. It is a known fact that the people of Hunza depend entirely upon the Bericho for their iron-mongering and their tool-smithing and their music-making.

I was very happy to have unearthed this information so I can pass it along to my readers.

[871] These Berichos used to send their children out of Hunza to be educated and the Mir told me that he
[167] had to put a stop to this practice . . . not because he objected to the children of the Bericho being educated, but because the children did not return or remain with the trade of their parents. As the Mir's country needed artisans of this type, he had to put a stop to their sending their children elsewhere for education.

The Mir went on to tell me how important these Berichos were to the community. They fashioned farm
[414] implements as well as hardware like hinges, latches, razors and many other essential farm and household necessities that are fashioned from metal. Besides making the implements of peace, the blacksmith could also fashion a shotgun barrel.

[651] He further mentioned that each household in the community pays a small tithe as a contribution to-

648 ever, such a move, in my humble opinion, would be most ill-advised because the Pakistan government has splendid leadership, a good army and a mighty impregnable position in Gilgit. Undoubtedly Gilgit is the most accessible point in that entire area and Gilgit which belongs to Pakistan, is most capably staffed, manned and led.

177 Even as I write my tale, changes are occurring in [164] Hunza. In a letter received from the doctor just before [167] my book went to press, he told me that many diseases unknown in Hunza before are making their appearance—primarily because they are brought back by native Hunzans who go out to serve in the army or work in other parts of Pakistan and the area.

[161] The population of Hunza is as great now as its land can foster and sustain. There is no reason to believe that the birth rate in Hunza will decrease and that means that more and more of the people of Hunza will have to seek a livelihood elsewhere. But they will keep returning and bringing with them the benefits of civilization. That, in my opinion, will be the undoing of that little paradise on earth.

Being blessed with the earth's most fabulous mountain scenery may also be the cause of Hunza's undoing. I've noticed that exploration parties and mountain climbers have been congregating in that area more and more. British, Swiss, German, Italian and Austrian expeditions have been in or are planning to go into the Karakorums to scale those hundred peaks over 20,000 feet high.

The magnetism of unscaled impregnable mountain summits becomes overpowering to many men. Why bother with the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rockies or the Andes, when the Himalayas, the Karakorums and the Hindu Kush offer a much more taunting challenge?

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
●167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
648 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

205 Pakistani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters that I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been two murders only in my country and all the people have been happy and prosperous. The Government of India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity. 674 [648]

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the world and get work in other places. . . . 167

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal. 692

"If it is considered that a death sentence is called for, the people are collected and if any one will speak up for the culprit, his sentence is remitted. Otherwise he is executed in the presence of the people. 695 681

"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, his house could be destroyed, his animals slaughtered and his trees felled without any trouble falling on the offenders and though that custom has fallen into desuetude, it is still considered right for a man to kill his wife's lover if he can catch them 'flagrante delicto'! 684 837

"Marriage is not allowed between near relations and whenever possible, people marry into a clan different from their own. Child marriage is discouraged and tribal customs have been moulded to conform to modern ideas since I became Mir. . . . 582 [177]

"In former years Shimshal was used as a place to 681

164 salt is causing the present goiter and dental caries situations in Hunza today.

"How would you describe the health conditions of the people of Hunza?" I next asked the doctor.

[758] "Since my coming to Hunza a little less than a year ago, I have treated but a few patients a day and seldom are there more than one or two of the hospital beds utilized at one time. Apart from the greatly increasing incidence of goiter and dental caries, no other disease seems to have a firm hold in Hunza.

164 "Now that many of the boys and men of Hunza are leaving to go into the army in Pakistan, as well as seeking employment in other adjacent areas, diseases never known in Hunza before are making their appearance.

167

753 "Another unfortunate characteristic that I have to contend with is the fact that the people feel quite shy of coming to a doctor for advice and treatment, especially when it is concerned with the personal parts of the anatomy. Actually they are callously indifferent to medical science. The majority of them are, in fact, still living in the bygone age when diseases were supposed to be due to influences of evil spirits. So they depend to some degree and waste much of early precious time in useless superstitious pursuits of driving away the ghost."

757

164 These one or two patients that he treats daily have in most cases only minor ailments and, at that, a good share of these come from across the river and from the neighboring state of Nagir.

It occurred to me that there would probably be more illness during the winter. Many cases of eye troubles are treated during the winter, due, primarily, to the fact that most Hunzan homes are smoke-filled, because of the floor center fires and only the hole in the roof to allow the smoke to escape. Visitors invariably find living indoors and the smoke intolerable, but the people of

[354]

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

Then wherein lies the difference? What happened through the years to create the obvious difference that everyone sees and feels the minute he comes into the territory? I am not an anthropologist, nor have I training in any scientific field. Therefore, I am quite unprepared to speak with any degree of authority, but I am told the difference is that the people of Nagir accepted or welcomed strangers and settlers from other parts of the area and thus, they became a polyglot group of mixed blood, habits, customs, religions and thought, whereas the Hunzan people, then and today, discourage outsiders from coming to live among them in their country. Then, too, I guess another important factor looms and that is that Hunza is not nearly as inviting from an economic viewpoint to a man coming from another part of the world to settle, whereas Nagir does offer many more advantages.

For me to assert that there are no mixed bloods in Hunza would be an untruth, because even in my travels about the towns and along the road, I saw distinct types that were not of the run-of-the-mill Hunzans. Some were distinctly Chinese and I am also reasonably sure that there is a fair amount of Afghan blood among the Hunzans, besides Russian—for, as you may recall, Russia is but a scant 14 miles away.

It is not my intention to try to build up a case for true-bloods as being the Hunzan heritage, for history clearly indicates that it is among the people of mixed bloods where the greatest advances are made in science, industry and the creative human arts.

In Hunza there are very few plains or expanses where farming on a large scale could be practiced. However in Nagir it is quite different. There were sections through which we passed that were wider than the eye could reach, covered with good soil that was carrying

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho, AV7
Hunza
Nagir

The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over the Nagirwals, but over others as well. The P.A. at Gilgit, in a discussion that I had with him, admitted that when the Hunzans moved down the valley to the Gilgit area, they showed their heritage by surpassing anyone else in the district when it came to working their lands and producing their crops. They worked harder, they worked longer, they worked better. They used their experience and intelligence to greater advantage, with the net result that they were soon buying more and better land. 157

So far only a few of the Hunzans have come down to Gilgit, but the native Gilgiti farmers are already showing their resentment. Obviously they find it difficult to compete with the Hunzans on an equal basis. [167]

I compared the Hunzans with the Scotch people and I think the comparison has many realistic qualities. Both peoples live in a more or less barren, hilly, rocky, rough country. Both peoples have learned the value of being frugal and thrifty. They waste naught and want naught. They are chiefly outdoorsmen. They are strongly nationalistic. Then, too, they are physically independent and have little or no fear of anyone. 181

When I was talking to the P.A. I called the Hunzans "the Scotsmen of the East" . . . and I trust the Scotsmen won't be offended. In fact, they should be flattered.

Where I think the people of Hunza gain most of their superiority is in leadership. From the little research and reading I have done on the subject, it appears that for many long years the Hunzans have had good capable leaders—really strong men who ruled their people with a firm hand. 643

In reading the autobiography of the Mir's grandfather, one quickly sees that he was not only a man of action but one of ability, foresight and reason.

Now I did not meet the Mir of Nagir. Although I [123]

[P44-B]

164 into the "fine, barrel chests" reported
146 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the fine, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[19] hard-working, but with their country. There is no flat land in all of Hunza.
[36] Villages and farms are built on alluvial
[31] cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[67] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
241 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-calked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders,
[32] gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[13] cool but exceedingly dry desert, practically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

134 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If
311 you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

241 HUNZAS are skillful at building a
134 limited fertility into their sterile
[237] material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain ozone to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrates, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 Even the most painstaking hydro-
241 ponic gardening cannot compensate
237 for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy.
[233] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefuly herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 Unfortunately, the human popula-
161 tion has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient
● 167 food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Sheena predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men
[649] join the Pakistan army. Others take
464 work as servants, where their honesty,
[181] industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

342 The Hunza dwelling house is a fortress-like cube of stone and mud whose front door is screened from the hostile outer air by a barn,

102

342 the door of whi... is strategically placed at right angles to, and some
354 distance from, the main door. The only ventilation is the central
171 smoke-hole of highly elaborate construction, three wooden frames

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burushe AV7

[77] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only ' window ' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but
513 adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
354 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of
324 hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish
322 the usual ' jugs ', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Bericho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
342 for doors and cupboards: The true Hunza door consists of a set of

No. IV.

[100]

The Story of Kiser (alias Pangchu).

010

Lamaulo hin dolatman hiran bam. Ise hire gurumo waxtulo sieer gur oyuri bam. I-ke gurulo hin jot giyaaan paida manimi, Ji.uvimi. Dyusin ine giyare, ine yamis hire ixakinmutae mamu bilum, ditsen yuŝami ine jot giyare, ine nyuŝan (or, ni.uŝan), mundaŋ manimi. Manaser ine i-k Dunga Miru oxuman. Uyum imanimi

171

Kiser, the central figure of this tale, is no petty personage of merely local distinction, but a hero of renown throughout Northern Asia. Kesar provides the subject of a lengthy epic in Tibetan, and Gesser Khan's exploits are recorded in a Mongolian saga. His fame is further perpetuated in the unwritten folk tales of many Siberian and Mongolian peoples.

The tale of his deeds was found to be current in every village in Ladakh by A. H. Francke, who collected and published two of these oral Tibetan versions, with an argument for their significance as the relics of a primitive religion. It is from this tradition that the Burushaski version seems to derive.

The home of the Kesar legend remains undetermined, and this is not the place to examine either its character or its geographical extension.

It will suffice to provide clues to the literature on the subject in the following references:

Bergmann, Benjamin. "Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmükken in den Jahren 1802 und 1803." Hartmann, Riga. 1804. Vol. III pp. 228—284. "Sakdo Gämär Chan," Eine mongolische Religionsschrift in 2 Büchern.

Schmidt, I. J. "Die Taten Bogda Gesser Chan's." (Translated from the Mongolian). Petersburg and Leipzig 1839. Reprinted, Anziga Verlag E. G. M. B. H., Berlin 1923.

Francke, A. H. "The Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga." "Indian Antiquary." Vol. XXX, 1901 pp. 329—341. Vol. XXXI, 1902 pp. 32—40 and 147—157.

"A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga." "Bibliotheca Indica." (A. S. B.) 1905—1909. Fasciculi (New Series), Nos 1124, 1146, 1164 & 1213.

The article "Gling Chas" in Hasting's "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics," vol. VIII, pp. 75 ff.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. IV.

The Adventures of Kisar.

[101]

In Lama there was a rich man. In the Spring season he was giving wheat to the people. A small child made its appearance in the wheat and he took it out. The rich man's daughter-in-law was with milk and he brought the child (home) and reared it (with her help). It grew up and they gave it the name of Dungpa Miru

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Laufer, Berthold. A review and criticism of Franke's "Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga" (as originally published in German). "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes." Vol. XV 1901 pp. 77—107.

Contains what amounts to a bibliography of previous literature relating to Kesar or Gesser Khan.

Poppe, N. "Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der mongolischen Version des Gesser Khan." "Asia Major" Vol. III. Fasc. I and III, Lipsiae 1926.

The little I have to contribute on the subject will be found in "Folk-Lore," Vol. XLII, 1931 no. 2.

This text presents a good many difficulties, a considerable proportion of which are probably due to the circumstances in which it was recorded. 'Ali Madad of Baltit, the old man who related the story, was only able to do so at a pace at which it was impossible to write it down.

He could not repeat himself, and when asked to do so was liable to lose the thread of the story. The services of my usual informant, Imam Yar Beg, had therefore to be requisitioned to catch each episode as it fell from Ali Madad's lips and retell it at a pace and in a form convenient for the recorder.

The process was not an easy one for any of the persons concerned and it undoubtedly resulted in some confusions and errors which were not all eliminated by subsequent revision.

1 *dywin . . . . mondaq manini.* — The meaning of this is clear, but it affords an example of the confusion just referred to.

No. XXXIII.

Humsulo Gore Dastur.

000 Hire iyor gusan dumutraser rak etimi kr, amine eyen bo kr
ine ka gul manaser rai etimi kr, ine haler hin imo jaman ya
gorurum sisan horaṇuš e dumarčer eččai.i. Iner "horaṇuš" se.ibarn.
Ine horaṇuše ine hale nim adabe ka ottai.i: "Kurito je falame
5 ine hire iyor Xuda kr Peyamberr hukumate go.i dumarčer darai.i,
'ja aiyor gori jo' nusen." Ine hire ite guntculo horaṇuser e yuyaser
bor ečičai.i. "Ye be maimi bereyen," nusen, eččai.i.
Yat guntar kr horaṇuš ine haler ničai.i. Ho yuyaser bor ičičai.i.
Horaṇuš dal numa, "jati ditsu.in" nusen, dorstum iri dasin dayorwaṇe
10 mudeljai.i. Ho, "Falame guntar ger ečen, fulame guntar dan.u
walčen, da fulame šukuro pfurl hanik dišen" nusen, nukuškin
hilversar dasin(er) musal gi barn.

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gore dastur — *gor stan* was given as an alternative for *gore*, and *mirure* for *dastur*.

3 *gorurum sisan* — "a warm person", cp. the English, "a warm friend".

6 *ja aiyor* — Ms. *ja iyor*, doubtless owing to the running together of the *ja* and the pronoun prefix *a-*. There are other instances of *a* + *i* > *ai* as well as > *e*.

7 *bor* — seems here to be used in the sense of "promise", as in English "he gave his word".

9–10 *dayorwaṇe mudeljai.i* — a note adds that he sprinkles the flour on her head.

10–11 *dan.u walčen* — A sort of technical term also denoting a ritual act. I take it as meaning literally: to put the griddle on the fire.

585 171

The griddle also plays an important role in the Shina marriage ritual. The term used in Shina is *tava dorši*, 'placing the griddle (on the fire)'. It is rather surprising that the words used in the Burushaski account for "Marriage" "bridegrooms party" "bride" and "bridegroom", *ger*, *gorusi* and *gorum*, are Shina (or shared with Shina).

Mr Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~Afghanistan XIII~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushi AV7

D 771 174 778

fication. It plays a conspicuous part in the incantations of the Dainyals, and on a great man entering a Shin village a pan of burning Chili branches is waved before him. On certain occasions both men and women saturate themselves with the smoke, which is of a particularly pungent nature.

D 171 778 B 171 178

The custom of Chili worship does not appear to have penetrated to Hunza or Nager, nor is any trace of it to be found in the Oxus Valley, in Chitral, or among the tribes of the Swat Valley; but among the Siah-Posh it seems to exist in almost the same form as it did among the Shins. Chili wood, or Padam, is still taken down to the Punjab to be used in Hindoo ceremonials. According to Colonel Prejevalski, the same tree is also held sacred by the Mongols and Tangutans, who burn the branches for incense during prayer time. At Hemis Shukpa, within 20 miles of Leh, a few trees of great age exist, and are held in much veneration by the Tartars of the village, though the tree is not generally an object of Tartar respect.[1] It may be that the feeling of veneration was imbibed from the Shins, whose influence must have extended nearly to Leh. It is still usual in Gilgit to sprinkle goat's blood on a tree of any kind before cutting it down.

D 771 171 B 771 171

The religion of the whole country is now some form of Mahommedanism, and in the immense knot of mountains of which Yassin forms the centre, three different types of the same religion have met, and are now striving for the mastery. From the south, Soonnee Moollahs have carried their tenets up the different valleys with more or less success. From the eastward a current of Shiah doctrines has set in from Iskardo; and from the westward the curious Maulai, or Muglee,[2] tenets have found their way up the Oxus Valley. It is to be noticed that the subversion of Hindooism by Mahommedanism in the remoter valleys seems to have been extremely gradual, and to have been more owing to gradual conversion than to persecution.

D 771 173 B 771 173

The genealogical tables of the present ruling families of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, enable a fair idea to be formed of the date of the introduction of Islam into the country. Tradition records the death of the Gilgit Ra with the non-Mussulman name of Shiri Buddutt,[3] at the hands of a stranger bearing the Mussulman name of Azru, or Azor, from whom the present Ra of Gilgit, and the Thums of Hunza and Nager, trace

[1] Henderson's *Lahore to Yarkand*, page 51.
[2] The common uneducated pronunciation.
[3] The meaning of the name is perhaps "Given by Sri Buddha."—*Sri Buddha Datta*

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

648 The next few days were passed in private interviews and negotiations with Jafr Khan and his son.
642 The former I found very sensible and amenable, but Uzr Khan showed himself day by day more stupid and boorish. He was below the average of the chiefs I had met with in intelligence, and had none of their diplomatic skill. Still I got a good deal of information out of him as to the course of events during the preceding years, an insight into the politics of the country, and a knowledge of the men likely to be important. Here, as in Chitral, the danger of bloodshed and trouble from the enmity of the royal brothers was but too plain.

The only amusement I got out of the negotiations came from the request, put forward by the Chief, that his Wazirs should be granted some pension. I readily agreed, on the condition that the amounts should be deducted from his subsidy, and that of his son. I heard no more of this proposal. After we had had our final State interview, and had sent the old Chief his presents, I held an informal reception of all the Wazirs and head men, gave them presents and robes of honour, and left them fairly satisfied.

172 During our stay in Nagar we wandered about photographing, in search of anything of archæological importance. The most interesting thing I saw was a Buddhist chorten, and naturally my camera was not to be found at the moment. The building was in several tiers, stood some fifteen feet high, was circular, with a diameter of about six feet, and was finished off with a crown-shaped storey. I expected to pass that way again, and promised myself to photograph and measure it carefully, but I never saw it more.

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

175 Some time in the days of our earliest Edwards, a princess of
361 Baltistán married the reigning prince of Hunza. For the last
712 hundred years or so the direct route to Baltistán has been completely blocked by advancing glaciers, but for centuries before, the two countries had been in communication with each other. Hunza consisted then of three small villages only: Áltít and Ganesh on the river cliffs, and Báltít high above. The princess's father sent with the bride an army of Balti masons, carpenters, and craftsmen, who built the two forts of Áltít and Báltít as part of the royal dowry, and to-day they still stand proudly on their cliffs, impregnable to assault,
[177] centres of ancient ceremonial. To this day, too, the Hunzukuts modestly attribute all their simple arts to Balti influence.

● 173 The original inhabitants of Hunza proper are said to be
643 descended from three soldiers of Alexander the Great, who were left behind sick, presumably plus their womenfolk, and thus while their comrades marched on became the founders of the three first villages in this inhospitable region. Like so many royal houses in Central Asia, the family that has ruled for more than six centuries in Hunza and Nagir likes to claim descent from Alexander himself. But while the Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikander (= Alexander) Khan still upholds this tradition, we noticed that the shrewder Mir of Hunza—who must have seen many a courteously-veiled smile greet this familiar genealogy—shied off the topic.

What seems probable is that the royal family is not in origin of the same stock as the people, and that it may well—as tradition asserts—have come from Persia at some prehistoric date. What is certain is that it can trace its authentic ancestry as far back as can the House of Windsor.

173 There may well be truth in the legend of the European
144 descent of the Hunza Burusho, for in temperament and looks our Hunza friends have nothing of the "Oriental" about them. Take from them the very lightly bronzed complexion, "the shadow'd livery of the burnished sun," to which at this altitude they are "neighbour and near bred," and you could transplant them without incongruity to the moors of Yorkshire or the Scottish lowlands.

326 son, and is accounted a rare treasure; but for the most part
177 local Béricho make such simple iron goods as are wanted: the
412 slightly convex baking-griddle, the tripod, the simple shears,
563 the sickle blade, the iron tip which shoes the wooden plough-share, the unpretentious iron razor, the rough tongs, the horse-shoe, the spatula for turning bread. The Béricho form the only "caste" in Hunza in anything like the Indian sense.

● 173 The story goes that long ago—two hundred years or so,
563 perhaps—some prince of Hunza rendered a service to the ruler of Baltistan, and was duly asked to name his recompense. He coveted neither gold nor horses, but begged for a few families of artisans. These were presented to him and allotted land in Hunza where they settled and multiplied, supplying the Burusho with blacksmiths for such rare iron as they could obtain, and with musicians to enliven their feasts and games of polo. These strangers in the midst are treated with courtesy and kindness, but remain "foreigners" and social inferiors. The Burusho will not intermarry with them. A threat to a troublesome daughter is said to be: "If you don't behave, I'll marry you to a Bérits"; but we never heard the threat employed,
[651] still less a case of its being carried out. Each Burusho household pays a small yearly tax to the Béricho community, and in return the blacksmiths tour the villages once or twice a year and make or mend whatever is required. You will see a little crowd gathered in the corner of someone's garden and in the centre the blacksmith crouching beside his simple forge—a few stones ingeniously built up to contain his charcoal fire, with a neat, hollow tube of soapstone below it, into which the bellows play; a stone anvil sunk in the ground; these accessories are provided on the spot and the blacksmith's outfit consists of his hammer and his skill. The bellows is a double one; two goat-skin bags are fitted with a nozzle at one end; at the other, two wooden lips that open as you raise your hand and meet tightly in your fist as you press down. They are worked with the right and left hand alternately, and the peasant whose job is in hand is expected to do the blowing.

563 The Béricho preserve their own customs, and though the
197 menfolk all talk Burushaski, Dumáki is the language of their

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

have attributed it to the north-facing mountains which though richer in grass and timber are sorely stinted of the sun. 157

Whatever the difference is—racial, temperamental, religious, political, or climatic—it is too deep-seated to favour intermarriage. Only the royal houses, sprung from a common ancester—Alexander or another—frequently exchange princesses across the water. 582 643

Within Hunza the clans are all reckoned of equal status, but the clan of the Diramiting enjoys a considerable measure of prestige, and at communal ceremonies a Diramiting sets the pace or leads the dance. The story of their origin is interesting. There was once a clan of Tapkients who grew so bold and arrogant that their offences cried to heaven. They were reported to put bread to ignoble uses, they were known to address their mothers by the term *zizi*, which is the exclusive privilege of royal or saiyyid families, and they were haughty and stiff-necked towards their Mir. In vain the eldest royal son implored his father to "do something about it," and when the Mir refused to take suitable measures, the young prince impatiently laid his own schemes. A great gathering of all the clans was to be held on a nameless space of open desert where Aliábád now stands, and the Tapkients attended in full force. The prince plied them with strong *'araq*, and when they had well drunk fell upon them with his retainers and slew every man, boy, and male infant. He did not know that one of the Tapkients had allowed his wife to return to her own people for the birth of her first child. The posthumous infant was called Diram, and from him are sprung the Diramiting of to-day, who carry themselves without arrogance and do not call their mothers *zizi*. 614 173

Child marriages do not take place in Hunza, but a girl will rarely pass sixteen or a boy eighteen unwed. The parents seek out a house among some other clan—frequently a house with which marriage relationships already exist—where there is a potential mate of suitable age and standing, and negotiations proceed between the families. In theory the young folk are not consulted; but in practice, where children have romped and played and worked together there is no doubt that per- 584

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

115 hunting, polo — he did it with his might; manly, competent and fearless; a dynamic figure, not necessarily every man's friend. Since then he had visibly aged, but there was still about him something of the alert, dashing air of the born adventurer.

To return to the Texts: No. 4 was related by a then old man, 'Ali Madat of Baltit, who, I believe still survives, though perhaps no longer capable of repeating his effort of eleven years ago.[1] IYB's help was essential in recording this text.

Nazar of Aliabad supplied the version of the "Prodigal Son" given in No. 46 A. No. 47 was written out and sent to me by Gushpur Muhammad Ghani Khān, the son of the Mīr by a local, non-royal wife. He also was a man of vigour and ability who died quite young of some illness, four or five years ago.

The Proverbs were furnished to me in writing by 'Ināyat Ullāh Bèg, the second of the three sons of Wazir Humayun.

The Werchikwār Texts No.s 1 and 2 were obtained by me in Yasin from Hidāyat Shāh of Thui, and the translation of the "Prodigal Son" from Bahādur Amān Shāh of Yasin. In recording these I had the valuable help of Mēhtarzhau Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin.

538 One point of interest may be noted with regard to the Buru-
[565] shaski Texts, especially those containing local narrative. I have found, on reading out bits of them at random to several people here of the upper class, firstly that they appear readily to follow my rendering of the Burushaski, and secondly that they can habitually continue the statement at any point in almost the same
[195] words as the recorded text. This shows that, though there are no professional narrators in Hunza, with the possible, partial exception of Ali Madat, the ordinary people are in the habit of passing on tales and explanations of customs in a more or less
[173] stereotyped form of expression. This is probably the relic of a former custom of the upper classes of spending the evening after

[1] I have, since writing this, sought him out, and found him decrepit, but cheerful. Public opinion denies him any large measure of sympathy, as "he is not really old and has a number of sons who support him in comfort".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the lighting of lamps, between supper and bedtime, in recounting past events, and doubtless in confirming and explaining traditional behaviour and practices:

šapi·k ši·mtsum gučašpal xa (I am told) gəri·tsɛ gəri-bilumišo ya dapiŋ ɛtašo huru·šam. Thamini tɛ·ndili gərɛŋtsɛ aka·birtiŋ huru·šam da sajara (= šajara = ta·ri·x) ɛčam.

"From eating food till lying-down time those who had lamps or those who were preparing wool for spinning used to sit "by the lamp." In former years the people of the upper class used to sit by their lamps and recount past events."

That these séances had an educative and moral intention is evident from the saying, ascribed by tradition to Big Ali of the Ghulwāting clan:

Ghulwaṭiŋɛ Big Ali.ɛ bər bila: "uyo·n ja gəri·tsər du·n ja·tsum siskuš (= insa·ni.at) haki·ba·n. Ja khu γuniki.ents ayu· γuniki.entsɛ gərɛ·ŋtsər ničа·n."

"There is the saying of Big Ali of the Ghulwāting: 'All people have come to my lamp-side and have learnt from me human virtue. Only these evil sons of mine go to the lamp-sides of evil persons."

The few remarks I have to make about the provenance of the subject matter of the texts are embodied in the notes subjoined to each. Otherwise the notes are chiefly confined to grammatical queries and explanations. Paragraph numbers quoted in the notes refer to the Grammar. Obviously the texts, especially those relating to local traditions or customs, require much fuller annotation to reveal and explain their full content; but lack of knowledge, no less than lack of space, made it impossible for me to attempt such annotation.

I hope that my present investigations in Hunza may serve to throw light on many of such obscurities.

Aliabad, Hunza, *D. L. R. L.*
29th October 1934.

[p.1 contains no textual material – Analyst]

TRANSLATION. [3]

No. I.

Shāhzāda Bahrām, Shahri Bānu and the White Dēu.

In former times there was a King called Shāhzāda Bahrām. He was a very good man and he was very just. His subjects enjoyed great peace and comfort. As he never came out of his palace his Wazir looked after his land. A long time passed and the people (*or* his subjects) did not see him. 5391 173

One day a certain Dēu thought: "I'll have a look at King Shāhzāda Bahrām," and he came to his door (and asked permission to enter his service). The Dēu's name was the "White Dēu." For some years he continued in the King's service, but the King did not come out and so he did not see his face. He was greatly exercised in mind. At last he reflected and said to himself: "There is no other remedy than this — I will enter into the skin of the Wazir and go to him." 5391

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nvɛrn, nusen — p. pc. active of *semʌs* 'to say' constantly used to indicate the end of Oratio Recta.

ivne hiŋtɔr divmi — *hiŋ* + *tse* + *ɔr* 'on to the door', *divmi* 'he came' 3rd. sg. hm, x & y of *juyʌs* 'to come'. Literally "he came to his door", perhaps has some idiomatic implication of taking service with a master.

9 *atuvsimi* = *a* + *duvsimi* — 'he did not come out' from *duvsʌs*.

10 *emanomi* — So the MS. Doubtless for *imʌnomi*. Note the *-umi* ending. See § 314.1.

11 *Wazirv bater nɪkivn* — *nɪkivn* p.pc. active of *giyʌs v. i.* 'to plunge, precipitate oneself', "entering into the skin of the Wazir" i. e. 'assuming the form, appearance of the Wazir'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XIII.

The Story of Pūno and Shīri Berai Baghertham.

There is a custom in Hunza from ancient times. In the month of Dalv on the fifteenth (day of the month) they carry out the Bopfau. There is a large wooden bowl (which has come down) from olden days. There is also one like it in Yasin. They say that these bowls have been in existence from the time of Alexander the Great.

Now when the Bopfau has to be performed, the man who has precedence among the Dirāmiting takes the bowl and carries it from Bāltit to Āltit. Again, when the Bopfau has been completed, he takes it and brings it to Bāltit.

In former times there was one, Pūno by name, the son of Gerib, and he took the bowl and carried it to Āltit for the Bopfau. The meat and the bread which were left over after the Bopfau he used to bring back in the bowl to Bāltit to his own home. Then when he had drunk wine and become intoxicated he used to present himself to the Tham. Returning to his home he used to say to his family: "There are bread and meat in the bowl. Handsel them." When (however) his wife and sons uncovered the bowl and looked there was nothing in it. They said to Pūno: "You are out of your

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10 *thamo* — plural of respect.

11 *jamaʿatar* — here obviously includes the other members of his family besides his wife.

ʿaʿibam — being in the Imperf. implies that the following little drama was of yearly occurrence, though it is narrated in the Past Definite.

14 — Lorimer.

No. XXI.

The Three Original Tribes of Hunza.

539A
173

There were three tribes settled in Hunza — the Tapkients at Bältit; the Hamachätting at Ganèsh and the Usèngumuts at Ältit.

In those days there were no Thama. These (tribes?) collected the taxes, and dividing them amongst themselves, appropriated them.

The Thama arose in Hunza from among the descendants of Gitkis and took to themselves the sovereignty and the taxes.

(Later) Aèsh Malytrè Tham massacred the Tapkients, Khisrau massacred the Hamachätting, and Shabōs massacred the Usèngutts.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXII.

The Fate of the Tapkients and the Origin of the Diramiting.

Originally, they say, the Tapkients were settled at Bältit in Hunza, the Usènguts at Altit and the Hamachäting at Ganish. At that time there were few Diramiting living at Bältit. The nullah in behind Hasanäbäd was at that time very populous and warm. There was no glacier. Thence inwards as far as Shishper there was habitation, and the Tapkients lived there. Living there they became very arrogant. They used to call their fathers and mothers "Bäba" and "Zizi."

The Tapkients had fostered a gushpür called Aiyèsho Maiyüri Tham. Now on their displaying arrogance this Aiyèsho Maiyüri, who had become Tham of Hunza, took counsel with the Hamachäting and the Usènguts and the best men of Hunza, and decided to slaughter them. (The Tham) having arrived at this decision, selected men armed themselves and took up their lodging (secretly) in Aliäbäd.

The sense probably is "men having been chosen (for the job) took up their post in Aliabad". But for the p.pc. one would expect the form *doyuṣtan*. Perhaps there is an alternative Infin. *doyuṣtaṇan*. Cp. *hewetas* || *hewetäigas*.

The text gives as an alternative *dowṣal* p.pc. active of the corresponding transitive form from *d*-*asṣatas*. This would give: "A. M. T. having chosen men, they took up their post at Aliabad".

I at first took the meaning to be that the men were scattered about through Aliabad, but I now think that the separation is that of selection.

11 *hewetamas* — glossed "sat in secrecy", i. e. the whole scheme was kept secret.

On the pretence of (holding) a fête Maiyūri sent a man to the Tapkients to call and fetch them in. He instructed him: "Say: 'the Tham summons all the male persons there are,' and bring them here." Then secretly he despatched a party of men to Shishper with instructions to kill all the old people and pregnant women.

When the man sent by Maiyūri Tham came to the Tapkients and said: "The Tham summons you," all the able-bodied men mounted their horses and came along. When they arrived at the Būrum Mōs at Aliābād (Maiyūri Tham's men fell on them) without warning and slew them. They exterminated all the males (of the Tapkients). Nor did they bury their corpses, but strewed them over the Būrum Mōs at Aliābād and left them there.

(At that time Aliābād was not inhabited, but was waste land. Some years later, in the time of Shah Silum Khan, he brought a water channel from Bāltīt and made them occupy the place).

Then without warning it rained and a mud flood came down and overlaid the dead bodies of the Tapkients. And so up to the present day they call it "On the White Mud-Flood." (Būrum Mōsatè). (That is) the place beside the Government Fort up to the Dispensary they call "Būrum Mōsatè."

After that, they say, Maiyūri Tham lived in peace.

After the slaying of the Tapkients (when) they cultivated corn in Hunza, the corn came up with black ears. For some years they remained at a loss (what to do) and a great famine arose. Then

19 *gedell* — This word is x though the *-dell* is surely the word for 'water' which is y. The category of the compound is fixed without regard to the category of its components according to the nature of the actual thing denoted. A "water channel" is not necessarily of the same category as "water". V. § 28.

ówo ravāli (*rai* + *ali*) — 'of its own accord, spontaneously'. One must suppose it here to mean 'suddenly, unexpectedly, without warning'.

16 *Burum Mōsate* — One would expect the simple *Burum Mōs*.

17 *hirki(ciq) ctumas* — *hirki* appears in the first instance to mean a 'plough', *hirki ctas* 'to plough', but the meaning is extended to cover 'to plough and sow', 'to sow' and generally 'to cultivate'. *hirkiciq* is also probably used in the sense of 'crops'. *ke* is to be supplied after *ctumas*.

18 *mātele ḍu* — *mātel* is explained as "black grains", *ḍu* is an 'ear of corn'. The disease referred to is perhaps some kind of "smut".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

they made the Bītans dance and then the Bītans sang: "Ho! If you get from somewhere a descendant of the Tapkients and make him sow the seed, Hunza will be fruitful again. If not, year by year this smut will continue to appear." Thus, it is said, they sang.

On this the people said: "Perhaps somewhere there may be some descendant(s) of them," and making enquiry they sought for them. There was a childless wife, they say, of the Tapkients, she said to them: "There was a woman with child, a girl of Pfèker. Some days it would be before the slaying of the Tapkients, she had gone to her father's house. She was approaching child birth; her time had come. See whether perhaps a son may have been born to her."

When the woman had said this they sent men to Pfèker. When they got there the woman has been brought to bed and a boy had been born. She had given him the name of Dīram Chūram. They demanded him from his mother's people. The latter refused to give him to them. They said: "You will take away this grandson of ours too and will slay him. You have destroyed his father and uncles and you will murder him too." So saying they did not surrender him to them.

Eventually, having taken many oaths and given many undertakings to them, the Hunza men brought back Chūram, who was in swaddling bands, and along with him his mother. Having done so they put wheat seed into the child's hand, and gave it a knock (so that it was scattered). Then that year the disease of the grain

9 *mozamuts* — i. e. *mozamuts* v. *-amuts.

ṣi.a bim — apparently from *ṣiyuiʌs* not *ṣiyʌs*, probably 'her period of pregnancy had elapsed, come to an end'.

10 *mʌmuuṣiyu* — 3rd. sg. hm. perf. + -a.

11 *yutsovuʌ* — "his fathers". The paternal uncles reckon almost as fathers, or at any rate used to do so, cp. p. 284 l. 18.

trʌq — cannot well be *trʌq*, *trak* v. Vocab. Is it a mishearing for *tačʌp* (*tacʌp*?) cp. p. 240 l. 8.?

12 *ṣoyyrn* — p.pc. act. of *-ṣiyʌs* with simple trans. sense "putting, pouring". The pron. infix probably refers to the child. 'Putting seed on his hand for him . . .' v. § 345.

20 *ḥwu ḥv* — here glossed "so much so", "to the extent that". cp. p. 230 l. 6 note.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

became less. The following year Chîtram had grown up a little, to this extent that he began to go about creeping on all fours, and when they put the seed in his hand he (waved his hand about and) scattered it. Then making him touch the seed and lead the way, they sowed (their fields). After two or three years he was a sturdy child and sowed the seed himself. After that no more disease appeared.

(In course of time) Dtram Chîtram grew to be a youth on the verge of puberty. Upon this Alyesho Malyîri Tham issued orders saying: "Let Dtram Chîtram go free about every village like a he-goat. If he enters any one's house do not kill him." And he assembled the people and laid injunctions on them with the object of obtaining progeny of Chîtram from all of them.

One day Dtram Chîtram set out in the direction of Ganish. As he went along on his way (he came to) a place there is called Soghîtralt and there a very pretty girl was keeping watch over the mulberries. She was a daughter of the Hamachâting and was unmarried. Dtram Chîtram promptly fell in love with the girl, and without letting her father and mother know he took her up on his shoulders and carried her off to Bâltit. In Bâltit too he let no one know. "For," thought he, "the Hamachâting will hear of it;" and the Hamachâting were very malignant people. So, being afraid, he carried her off to a cave there was in the cliff above and settled her there. Her name was Bultîki.

Down below the Hamachâting kept looking for Bultîki. For some days they searched for her. They did not see her anywhere. Nowhere did they find her. Then they said: "She must have got drowned somewhere" and they lighted the three-day lamps for her.

Up above in the cave Chîtram and Bultîki dwelt in peace. After some years Bultîki became with child, and she was delivered and a son was born to her. They gave him the name of Dtram Daltas. Again after two years another son was born and they called him

4:Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushe AV7

Dtram Maltash. Again two years later another was born and they called him Dtram Haider Ali. Another was born and they called him Dtram Pftino, and yet another whom they called Dashaman Khurdik. So five sons were born to them. Until the five sons had been born Bulitki and her children remained up in the Bulitki Ghash cave.

The boys grew up into young men. Then (one year) the time for sowing the buckwheat came round and Chtiram and Bulitki said to their two eldest sons: "Sons, our relations' oxen are loose, grazing in Ulter. Go and bring them here." The sons went off to fetch the oxen. There were seven yoke of oxen in Ulter and they drove them along and brought them in. In their land there was a field called Bil Mal ("Spring Field.") They were ploughing it for the buckwheat sowing. Chtiram had not come (with them).

Now Bulitki had counselled her sons saying: "Our relations are a bad lot. Perhaps they will come and do you hurt. As you drive the oxen keep saying: 'May I be a sacrifice for the ox of my mother's father and his brothers, may I be a sacrifice for the hawks of my mother's brethren! I go round you, oxen!' Keep repeating these words as you plough. If they come and question you, say to them: 'We are your sister's sons. We are the sons of Bulitki. Our father is Dtram Chtiram.'" Thus did Bulitki counsel her sons.

Then they took away the oxen and were ploughing with them in the field. That day the Hamachitting too had sent their sons from Ganish to Ulter to fetch the oxen. When they got there the seven yoke of oxen were not to be seen. When they examined their tracks (they saw that) they went downwards. They came along, following the trail downhill. There were the tracks of the oxen outside (the sullah) on the Bita Gan ("Cow Road"). The

19 *tairyam gu kav* — glossed: Hindustani: *ho, abki kam phirta hail*, "Take, now I go round you, ox".

Gu is apparently taken as being the singular of *gulin* v. Yazuh. cp. also *kwgu* s. v. "Circulating round" contains some notion of respect, possibly of protection. The same idea is presented also in Khowar by *yawan*. "I go round" which is equivalent in sense to *tairyam*.

19 *khaw*, *nan* — probably the usual *khe*, *ne* with *a* from *ne*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

men too coming out by the Bita Gan, looked from the Sherai ing and saw that some people were ploughing with the oxen down below in the Bul Mal.

As soon as they saw them they rushed down full of anger. Coming to the Herkahting they listened and heard them saying: "May I be a sacrifice for the oxen of my mother's father and his brothers! May I be a sacrifice for the hawks of my mother's brethren!", as they ploughed. When they heard them saying this and doing honour to their oxen as they ploughed, they said: "Let some of us go and beat those people and smash them up." But one of them said: "No, brothers, wait a little. Let us first ask who they are who oppress us, the Hamachâting, by bringing our oxen from Ulter and then do us honour while ploughing with them."

When he had said this they came out over the edge into the field. On their appearing Chîtram's sons left the oxen and said to them: "Salâm, Uncles." The sons of the Hamachâting said: "Who are you? Why have you brought those oxen here?" "We are the sons of Bulîki," said Dtram Chîtram's sons, "and our father's name is Dtram Chîtram."

"Where are they?"

"They are in the cave up in the cliff."

"What are they doing there? Why don't they live (down) here?"

"From fear of you they have taken up their quarters there."

After this the Hamachâting went up (to the cave) and when they came to it both Bulîki and Chîtram were there. The Hamachâting were delighted and they took Chîtram and Bulîki and returning (home) they gave them the seven yoke of oxen.

Then taking Chîtram and Bulîki and their sisters's sons (with them) they proceeded to Ganish. And they celebrated a fresh marriage and arranged a dowry and gave Bulîki to Chîtram.

There are Diramating in Bâlît now, descended from that Chîtram.

That is all. Thus do they tell the story of Chîtram.

[Errata: should ... them, and then let us beat. cf. p419 -- Analyst.]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1933-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

Khūru agreed to this. At night Khamer taking one of his sons with him went and dug (a hole) in the field, and after giving him instructions he buried his son there and went home.

Then he took Khūru with him and they went to the field in which his son was buried. On arriving there they put their question (and Khamer said:) "O land, look and see whether I have got the larger share or Khūru." Khamer's son whom he had buried answered from below the ground: "No, Khūru has got too much." On this Khūru, being convinced, returned home. "For," said he, "the land said so too."

When Khūru had gone home, Khamer went off to the field to extract his son. He went to the place where he had been buried and opened it up. His son was not there. Then he called him by name, but he was not there. On ahead there came a call "Hallo!" He went forward and dug, but his son wasn't there. Again he called, and on ahead (the voice) called "Hallo!" Going on in this way it made him dig all through the field, but nowhere did he find his son.

After that he returned to his home. At home there were his six sons. Both they and Khamer, it is said, died and Khamer's land was left heirless. Khūru did not make use of it. It is said they brought in a man named Datu Sing and settled him on that land. In Hunza when it is necessary to go anywhere to fight, the descendants of Datu Sing carry the standard.

In Bālti there are at the present day the Khūrukuts descended from Khūru, and on Khamer's land there are the Datu Singkuts.

There is also the following story about Khamer's descendants. There is an animal called the marmot. There are none in Hunza, but they are found in Miagūr, above the Khān Wāli Fort, at Murkush.

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[28] *Miagūr* — the intention is probably: "In the Miagūr Valley, above the Khan Wali Fort, at Murkush".

[29] The Miqtaka and the Kilik are passes above Murkush, leading over to the Tagdumbash Pamir.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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and also at the Mintaka, the Kilik and the Qarčhukur in the Tagdumbāsh. Again they occur on the Kashmir passes as far as Trāgbal. Now they say that Khamer's son after being buried turned into the marmot.

From ancient times they tell the story thus.

No. XXIV.

The Khūrukuts and the Hamachātting.

In former times, they say, the Ulter grazing ground belonged to the Hamachātting. There was a road to Ulter up the Hertshting above Bāltīt. This road used to do much damage to the land, (but the owners) were afraid to say anything to the Hamachātting about it. The Hamachātting were very powerful.

There was a woman called Shadun Kapūri, a wife of the Khūrukuts, and one day they made her sit down on the Hertshting and said to her: "When the Hamachātting come from Ulter, jostle against them and then start shrieking out 'They have laid hands on me,' and we shall come (to your help)."

Presently the Hamachātting came down the Hertshting carrying long juniper poles. Shadun Kapūri was on the road and they said to her: "Get out of the way!" She didn't budge. The Hamachātting are quick-tempered and one of them gave her a shove. On this she raised an outcry, shrieking: "May the crows eat them! They have laid hands on me." From one side and the other men ran up and caught hold of the Hamachātting and banged them about.

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7 *oši ke* — v. § 356. 2.

8 *dirdu* — *dir* is described as a "long branch", but the juniper has no branches to speak of. It is the main stems that are meant. Such timber, up to four or five inches in diameter, was formerly used as rafters for roofs. Cp. p. 314 l. 8.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

After this the four communities of Bältit assembled and instituted 53N/73
a case with the Hamachätting, and by way of settlement they took the Ulter grazing from the Hamachätting as a fine on account of Shadun Kapûri. She was a daughter of the Berätaling and a wife of the Khûrukuts. The Diramating, as disinterested parties, had [6/2]
decided the case for them and the Hamachätting.

After that the Khûrukuts, the Diramiting and the Berätaling 283
in partnership settled their flocks in Ulter. Some years later the 53N/73
Thama took the Ulter grazing ground for themselves and up to the present it is in the Thama' possession.

No. XXV

Sing of Hindi and his son Daltas Mantiko.

They say that there was in Hindi a man called Sing. He had three sons. At that time there were no Thama ruling over Hindi. Sing exercised authority over the people of the place. There were few people settled there.

His sons were very fine fellows. One day they went off to the mountain to hunt. There they sat down at a place where there was a view. Down below in Hindi Sing was lying on a bed at his door; up above his sons said: "Look here, let us each perform (*or*, display) an act of skill. Down there our father is lying on the bed. Don't let us hit him." "I'll hit the leg of his bedstead," said the eldest. "I'll hit a leg of the bedstead" said the middle son. "I'll hit the spout of his water jug," said the youngest.

So saying, the eldest, putting an arrow to his bow, shot at the leg of the bed. The arrow hit it. The other son also shot and he also hit a leg of the bed. The youngest, whose name was Daltas Mantiko, putting an arrow to his bow, hit the spout of the jug.

On this Sing woke up. When he looked he saw two arrows sticking in the legs of the bed, and one sticking in the spout of the jug. "My sons," thought he, "have plotted to kill me." And he notified all his people there and pursued after his sons intending to kill them. Pursuing and coming up with them he seized two of

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[1] ganu sonumlan — The sons' combined statement, which is rather elliptical, ends with *ediljas* (line 8).

(or, i·ti) du·simi. Du·sin i·mo yuyɛ bušai.ɛr ɛ·pi hai.i yakalatɛr niči kɛ Si·ŋ guča bam, xorɛ ičɛr jučilum. Lel ɛtimi guča bai.i. Asi·rɛr ni·či kɛ ilčumuts zat bim, ni·nin 'eyɛnumatɛ Si·ŋ kaš ɛtimi. Kaš nɛ yatis tɛlɛ pfat nɛ daγ'ami.

5 Daγai.asɛr Si·ŋɛ yastɛsro da ha jama·at xabɛr um'anuman. Bareiman kɛ Si·ŋ menko kaš ɛta·n. Hindi.ɛ sistɛ jo·niŋ (or, šo·niŋ) ɛtuman. Etasɛr uyo·n hera·n umanuman: "Kin menɛ kaš ɛta·n?" nusɛn. Terumansɛr Si·ŋɛ Daltas Manu·ku.ɛ i· du·simi. Du·sin senimi: "Sɛ nanatsɛro (or, antsutsɛro), da·do ja kaš ɛta ba. Ja altan 10 au.utsɛro o·sqanam. Ja au.u Daltas Manu·ko ɛsqanas ya·rum nuka·rtsin Pisanɛr du·sam. Te·lɛ ja mama numu·tsun jɛ damana baiyam. Ja au.u Pisankutɛ ɛsqanuman. Jɛ mu·to da·n Si·ŋ ɛ·sqanam, bɛ·sɛ kɛ Si·ŋɛ na·haq i·mo yu· o·sqanam. I·tɛ ma·rulo ja ɛ·sqanam," o·simi.

Nosun Hindilo Si·ŋɛ dištulo n'urutin uyu·mkuš ne huru·timi.

15 Yɛr ɛ·pi.ɛ iski·čuk bay yai.iŋɛ do·rɛr nikin i·tɛ hisa·patɛ tailɛ galt traŋ o·tam. Kin Si·ŋɛ Daltas Manu·ku.ɛ i·ɛ ɛt fat nɛ sa hisab nɛ tailɛ galt traŋ o·timi. Mu·to xa·tiŋɛr i·nɛ i·tɛ hisa·batɛ sa traŋ nɛ tailɛ galt ya·lja·n.

Kinɛ Si·ŋ Hamača·tiŋɛ qaumtsum bam seiba·n. Ki·nɛ Si·ŋɛ Daltas 20 Manu·ku.ɛ i·i waxtulo Hunzamo Thamo Hindi.ɛr ho·l n'uyɛn du·nin Hindi ganaɛ·n. Da Si·ŋɛ Daltas Manu·ko.ɛ i· ɛsqana·n, seiba·n.

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2 *kaš ɛtimi* — *kaš* is used ordinarily of slaughtering animals and probably implies cutting the throat and cutting off the head, hence the statement that he left the head behind.

6 *šo·niŋ* — was originally preceded by *ulei* referring to the unknown murderers: 'they reviled them'.

13–19 *yɛr ɛ·pi.ɛ . . . yɛ·ljɛ·n* — cp. p. 262 l. 4. Again it seems impossible to give an exact translation and explanation of the water-system. The new system was based on the *ɛ*; and *ɛ* means 'sun', 'sunlight', 'daylight', 'day'. I have a note that it was "on the basis of days". The word *-ɛ* 'month' may be ruled out.

I am suspicious of the phrase *tailɛ galt yɛ·ljɛ·n*. The ordinary phrase is *tail yalɛ*. Perhaps *nɛ* should be supplied after *galt*.

20 *Hunzamo Thamo* — These Thams are said to have been a dynasty preceding the present one, which was initiated by Girkis, a great-great-grandson of Azur Jamshed.

This earlier dynasty is said to have been of Persian origin and to have died out.

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No. XXVII.

The Story of Raskam.

They say that in early times there were people of Hunza settled in Raskam. They called them the Bakhti Kutōr. Raskam was very prosperous. After kneading dough in the kneading-tray oil used to flow out at its lower end. Eventually in Raskam the people became extremely presumptuous. They say that a woman after making her boy stool finally wiped his buttocks with a piece of bread. And they say that, fearing not God, they made no distinction of daughter and sister, and sister and brother; they committed incest with them.

Then by God's command Raskam all at once boiled up and people and land were all submerged. Only a man called Bakhti, escaping, had come to Shīmshāl, they say. There have now come to be some ten or fifteen houses of the descendants of that Bakhti in Shimshāl.

In addition, two tribes, the Ghāzi Kutōr and the Bāqi Kutōr who came to Shimshāl from the Chaprōt direction, have become established there.

There are these three tribes in Shimshāl: the Bakhti Kutōr, the Ghāzi Kutōr, and the Bāqi Kutōr.

That is all there is to say.

The tribes of Galmit are Wakhi and are the following: the Burī Kutōr, the Rūsdōr Kutōr, the Chārshambi Kutōr and the Būdulē Kutōr.

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8 *шарарауін* — ppc. of *барауав*.

11 *ѣ а ѣ* — cp. p. 242 l. 20 note. Here glossed: "about".

14 *rakikum rom* — v. § 197.

17 *Galmitom rom* — The people of Galmit, and *Gujal* generally, are largely of Wakhi origin. The names of the four tribes are said to be the names of men, presumably the founders.

18 — Lorimer.

No. XXVIII.

The Raskam Salt Tribute.

In early times there was a road from Baltistān to Shimshāl by way of the Biraldo Nullah. They say that there still is.

A man of Hunza called Khush Bèg had come in the time of Shah Ghazanfer from Shigir over the Biraldo with a pair of small drums.

In very early times there were people settled in Raskam, and they say that they used to take a tribute of salt from them to Shigir in Baltistan over the Biraldo. The Baltis imposed the Raskam salt tax.

Then after the destruction of Raskam Bakhti had come from Raskam to Shimshāl. The Raskam salt tribute they (then) paid to the Thams of Hunza. Up to the present day they bring in as tribute from Shimshāl a hundred moulded blocks of salt in autumn and a hundred blocks in spring.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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The Story of Basèng Gairi.

In early times, they say, there was in the Nagir district a tyrannical Tham called Basèng Gairi. He practised great oppression on his people. He seized them to make them construct a water-channel to Masōt at the lower end of Ghulmit. Assembling all his subjects he commanded them, saying: "Bring wrought mud from Chalt and bring flat stones from Guwach."

For some years he thus put them to great trouble. They were unable to carry the channel through. Their backs became galled. Then they took counsel together how they might assassinate Basèng Gairi. He was making them do forced labour on the water-channel and all at once the men attacked him and rushed upon him with intent to stone him.

Basèng Gairi had his horse with him, and he mounted it and they say he made it leap from there to Mōri Dās. Then he escaped up that side of the river to Hunza. He proceeded to Bāltīt in Hunza and up the Mamu Her, and climbing up the Dōdōng Murkū he galloped his horse thence to the Khūro Pferi. Dismounting there he thrust his whip into a tiny spring there was, whereupon both he and his horse sank (into the ground).

The idea of 'murder, assassination' is probably always implicit and may predominate, so the passage is glossed: "they plotted to secretly-assassinate B. G".

9 *hiviki* — originally written *hivi ki*. It is probably *hivi* + *ik* (+ trans. nom. suff. *-e*, which is unnecessary) cp. § 44. 1.

11—12 *ivte paci* — 'the other side' sc. of the river or valley.

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From the hillside into which the horse had sunk, out of the horse's tail, issued a spring of water. They used to call the spring "Basèng Gairi's Spring." It is still there. Furthermore, from the whip which Basèng Gairi had thrust (into the ground) there at the spring, canes had sprung up. They are there now. Also the water-channel which Basèng Gairi had constructed and the revetments on the cliff at the lower end of Ghulmit are there to the present day.

Some say that Basèng Gairi was a Tham, some say he was a supernatural being.

That is all. They tell the story thus.

No. XXX.

The Story of Bābā Ghwundi.

They say that in former times Chupūrsan was very populous. The Gilgit Thams used to take tribute from it. The Thamship was in the hands of the Trakhanātīng.

In Ishkūk, they say, there were seven villages. There was a pond there, and in it there was a dragon. The people of the place — each household in turn — used every day to give the dragon as tribute in kind a bull yak, a lump of ghee and a human being. For a number of years they gave to it after this manner.

Then the turn for (furnishing) the supplies for the dragon, came to a certain man. In his house he had a wife and he had a daughter; with himself there were three of them. He said to his wife: "Look here, wife, today the turn for furnishing supplies has come to me. I am going. They have warned me for the dragon's supplies.', When he said this his wife burst into tears. Then she said to her husband: "O husband, don't you go. I will go. Don't you go." On this the daughter said to her mother and father: "O Father, O Mother, don't you go. I will go, because if the dragon devours me a son and a daughter will again be born to you. I will go. Get ready a set of clothes for me."

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8 *iri ke ka* — 'himself also along (with them)'.

12 *eriye* — "his daughter said to her father and mother".

13 *ʌjuri* — 3rd. sg. x of short form of pret. of *a* + *-ʃu.ʌs.*

mai.iryen da mairyen — i. e. my death won't signify: you will be able to have other children and the family will not become extinct. It is curious that she should limit their procreation to "a son and again a daughter".

[Errata: for daughgrher read daughter.
Cf. P.419, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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Then from the house of entertainment there is (sent) a dish on which they put as the Wazīr's portion, a leg (of mutton), and *sherbat* along with bread; and also there is a dish apiece for the Headman and the two Hunza Trangfas on which they put a leg. Then for the cooks there are the fat of the two goats and their necks and skins. And for the musicians there is from ancient times a wooden jar which it is the custom to give to them filled with the oil from the *sherbat*. From that evening's food they set something aside and in the morning, and they bring it with *qurūt tsamīk* from the host's house to the place of assembly. 539* 643 574 262

When the Tham stays thus for a month or two months in Herber every day the people who are exempt from carrying loads bring to the Tham's house two goats and a lump of ghee and bread, which they have made with 15 *chuqs* of grain, and *sherbat*. And every day the Tham gives green grass to the Elders for their horses. To the Wazīr grass is given from five houses and they give the Wazīr one *chuti* of grain (for his horse). For the horses each village gives (him?) a rope. 539* 643 574 431

When the hospitalities have come to an end they give a goat and bread (made) of five *chuqs* of grain. This is called *Otaq*. The custom of *Otaq* is as follows: One field has been given to each of them by the Thams and on that they have imposed the *Otaq* tax. Further the exempted man every year gives the Tham as *ilbas* four animals viz. one he-goat, one ram, one she-goat and one yearling kid. Followers of the second rank and load-carriers give every year three animals viz. one she-goat, one sheep and one yearling kid. These are the tax (imposed) on load-carriers. Further, each household gives the Tham four (measures of) grain, which they call *sabūr jèti* and each household gives a *hichuti* of barley, which is called *yashē yūrk*. It is the custom also for every village to give one rope each for as many dogs and horses as there may be. 539* 643 574 651

The Khudā.abād *ilbas* is (assigned) to Gushpur Nafīs, and the Nazīmābād *ilbas* to Shābāz Khān and the Mingūr *ilbas* is vested 539* 173 651

19 *yaśc yurk* — Wakhi for "horse's barley"; *yaś* 'horse' and *yūrk* 'barley'.

21 *Nazimabad* — the older name of this place was *Ṣūlīs Das*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

in the Gushpurs. During the Thamship of Ghazan Khān it was given to Wazīr Asadullah Bèg, because (the Tham) had sent his two sons in command of an army to Seriqōl. The name of the one was Khairullah and the name of the other Faizu. The Kirgiz had shot both at Wachē in Seriqōl, and they had brought them back and buried them in Misgār. It was the hot weather, and in autumn Wazīr Asadullah Bèg exhumed them and, bringing them to Bāltīt, he made a grave and buried them there in coffins. For that service Ghazan Khān had granted Wazīr Asadullah Bèg the Misgār tax as a permanent inheritance. After Asadullah Bèg's death Ghazan Khān had bestowed the Wazīrship on Humāyūn Bèg.

A year had not passed after Asadullah Bèg's death when Ghazan Khān, who had a son called Bapo, despatched Wazīr Humāyūn Bèg and a Bridal Party, with his son, by way of the Irshad to fetch a daughter of Amān-i-Mulk of Chitrāl (as wife) for the latter. After they had arrived at Kirmin, Tera Bèg conspired with Safdar Khān against Ghazan Khān and they murdered him. Then they banished Wazīr Humāyūn to Chitral, and bringing back the Gushpur, Ghazan Khān's son, they murdered him in Shīmshāl. Then Safdar Khān possessed himself of the Thamship of Hunza and Tera Bèg became Wazīr.

When five years had passed with Safdar Khān in possession of the sovereignty the army of the English Government advanced against Hunza. They say that an officer of the English Government, called Lockhart, had come to Tera Bèg and Safdar Khān. They had shown him great disrespect, and when he had said: "Give me right of way through Hunza to China" they had subjected him to great insults.

Hunza and Nagir, joined together and made war. But Safdar Khān and Tera Bèg found themselves unable to fight and fled away to Chinese territory.

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21 *SENAS ki* — 'when he said' an unusual expression instead of the normal. *SENASET.*

22 *ayoumanous* — lit. "were unable to" but the sense is more active: "they failed to In fact I believe they at once fled without making any pretence of fighting.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then Wazir Humāyūn Bēg returned from Chitral with the English authorities to Hunza, and the Government gave him the Wazirship. Indeed they gave him the powers of Governor. All members of the Ruling Family had gone off with Safdar Khān; there was none (left in Hunza). Tera Bēg too had gone off and his sons with him. The English Government also gave Humāyūn Bēg, Tera Bēg's land.

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Then Wazir Humāyūn Bēg represented to Government that Mīr Muhammad Nazīm Khān, who was at that time in Seriqol, should be made Tham. He sent a letter to him and brought him to the Government and the Government gave him the Thamship.

Then Mīr Muhammad Nazīm Khān gave once more to the Wazīr the Miagār tax, which was *Gushpuri*, and the *Gushpuri* lands of Haidarābād he also gave to him.

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sowing, they give it to the Haiderkhādkuts for the second watering; when the second watering is done they despatch the water for the Bāltit second watering. 539K 312 221

When the Haiderkhādkuts have used the water for seven days, the Bāltitkuts use it for fifteen days, then when the Haiderkhādkuts have used it for fifteen days the Bāltit people use it for a month. This custom has been in force from olden times.

The Berber water (supply) is famous in Hunza. Wazir Asadullah Bēg constructed the Berbēr water channel in the time of Shah Ghazanfer. So long as the Berber was not in existence there was great scarcity of water in Hunza. To get drinking water the women used to go to Herché and fetch it. Hunza was made habitable by the Bāltit water. 539K 312 173

The Hamachāting constructed the Hamachi water channel to Ganish and the Altitkuts took a channel off from the Ulter Nullah. Shāh Salim Khān had constructed a channel for Ali.ābād from Herché and bringing it along had stopped it at the Kherum Bat. He had been unable to carry it beyond that.

For some reason he had dismissed Wazir Pūno from the Wazirship. Pūno was living at his own home. One day, taking the Khurukuts with him he went by night and made them dig behind the Kherum Bat. Making them play on drums he got them to carry the channel through. Shāh Salim Khān, being pleased at this, gave him the Wazirship again.

Asadullah Bēg constructed the Murkū channel. He also made the Murtaza.ābād channel and the Khuda.ābād channel.

Wazir Asadullah Bēg had also laid out the trace of the Mīré Dās channel. Mīr Muhammad Nazim Khān carried it out on that trace.

18 *dwanimi* — I have taken here as being Causative, as it is glossed Hindustani (infra.) "*nikalwana*", but the verb seems ordinarily to be a simple transitive with the same meaning as *dīwana*.

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Bartik. Name of a man. 68.13 ff.

Barti. Name of a man. 272.9, 274.8.

Bandev. Name of a man. 68.9.

Bast i Jawari. Name of a man. 48.1.

Basti Kotor. Name of a clan settled in Shimshāl. 272.9,14.

Bato. Bāltistān. 384.19. (Cp. *Balowki* and Sh. *Pater*).

Batorā. Bālti, people of Bāltistān. 274.7.

Baltistan. Bāltistān. 274.1,6.

Bani Hašim. The family of the Prophet Muḥammad. 92.3.

Bapo. A son of the Tham, Ghazan Khān. 344.11.

Bar'ašalo. The territory of the Barātaling clan. 300.1.

Bar'atalig, Baratalig. One of the "Four Clans of Bālti". Shadan Kapūri was a Barātaling woman married to a man of the Khōrakuto v. 258.3.

Kulio Laskir (300.9) was of this tribe.

At one time they shared the Ūtar grazing-grounds with the Khōrakuto and the Dirāmiting. 258.3.

Dances at marriage festivals. 302.9.

Barbar. Name of a place in Ūtar(?).

Cave. 236.7. Irrigation Channel. 250.8, 262.6.

Barda. Name of the Wazir of Shiri Badat. 384.4,19.

Basaj Gaizri. A former Tham of Nagir. 276.1 ff.

The name is also given as *Mang*.

Batawa. Nullah and glacier which debouch from the West into the valley of the Hunza River just above Pasu.

B'avito, sg. *Bavito*, an alien people, calling themselves *Doma*'a, who are settled in small numbers in Hunza and Nagir. They serve the community as blacksmiths and musicians. They have an Indo-Aryan language of their own, but also speak Burushaski fluently. [563]

B'avitalo. The territory of the Bāvitho. 250.11.

Bibi Anjir. Name of a woman. 384.10.

Bidiro Mal. The "Round Field", a field belonging to the village of Sumalyar. 198.3.

Bir'ablo Bar. A valley and glacier, formerly traversable, between Shimshāl and Bāltistān. For present conditions v. "Unknown Karakoram" by R. C. F. Schomberg. 1936.

Bozar Tham. A king of Hulbalyūt (Hunza). He is mentioned with Shāh Tham, Nōni Thām and Lali Tham as contemporaneous kings (or members of the ruling family?) of Hunza, expelled and supplanted by Kisar. 142.16.

Biddulph, in his genealogical table of the Nagir and Hunza royal families ("Tribes of the Hindoo Kooch", p. 138) begins with

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Noori thum.
|
Bookha thum.
|
Shet thum.
|
Lalli thum.
|
Maiyroo thum.
|
Meghlot. — Girkin.

The authorised version of the Hunza family at the present day is:

Shah Malik (descended from Azur Jamshéd).
|
Trokhan. — Chilis Khán. — Shah Thum. — Bukho Thum. — Lali Thum.

Girkin (Thum of Hunza). — Meghlot (Thum of Nagir).
|
Maiyhri. — Nór Bégum.
|
Ayasha.

551 *Boyo.* V. Vocab. s.v. *bwin.*

103 *Boyo Gal.* "The Bóyo Juniper Tree". 214.2.

Brunghapardowar. The name of a supernatural Golden Calf, birth of 104.22, hunting of 120.22, 124.2, 122.9 ff., death of 124.8. (In Sh. *dowo* = bull).

Bure Gan. "The Cow's Road", name of a track leading out of Ûltar above Bálti. 249.1.

Burbuli Gan. Princess Bábuli — a Princess of Hathaiyéli married by Kisar. 142.21 ff. Proposal that Kisar should marry her. 194.1.

Burbulimuting. Bábuli's Peak; name of a mountain peak in the form of an aiguille, close to Laitfi and to the N. W. of it. Pronounced:

Burbuli Muting, but the *-mu-* is the fem. gen. suffix, not the Pu.pf. with *ting* peak. 142.29.

Budel's Kstow. Name of a thin in Gulmit. 272.18.

Bulchhas. Name of a locality in Gujhál near Gulmit. 288.8.

(Probably *bul* + *ši* (= *ši*) + *das* the open ground at the spring).

Bulcotcho. 1. Name of a man who stole gold from a *daqalghas.* 204.1 ff.

2. (*Bulcothoo*) name of a man who knew the language of birds and fetched Samalik to succeed Hazir Jamshéd as Thum of Gilgit. 286.4,6.

Bul Dara. A place near Gilgit. 282.21, 286.5,6.

Burl Mal. "Spring-Field", name of a piece of land near Bálti. 248.12.

Bulwéi. Name of a Ramochátting girl who married Diram Chéram, the sole survivor of the Tapkhóuts, and so originated the Dirkmitting. 246.18 ff.

S. Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
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Bulchutōko's grave at. 206.15.
Filas at. 190.1 ff.
Diram Chūram. 244.10 ff.
Trangfa of. 318.2.
Twin Calves. 354.1 ff.
Water Supply. 352.10 ff.
Ashtanē's descendants. 382.7.

Ganishots. The people of Ganish. 318.8, 350.1.

Gantsupor. A locality in the mountain range which separates the Hunza and Nagir Rivers for some miles before their junction, and opposite Atā.abād. 204.3, 206.6.

Gor'elt. A village close to the right bank of the Hunza River, below and level with Haidarābād. 204.2, 206.4. Marble is said to be found there.

Gor'eltum Horuy. The "Garelt Tribe", a name applied to certain water-birds, black with long beaks, that sit and fly in lines (cormorants?), said to have been originally human inhabitants of Garelt. 206.12.

Goriō. A man of the Dirāmiting Clan. 208.8.

G'ormak'almas, Gor Makal Mas. The name of a goldsmith and blacksmith. 162.12 ff. (Cp. perhaps Tib. *mgar* smith).

Gilit, Gilt- y Gilgit.
gots Gilt(ums. From this Gilgit (here). 204.1.
Giltum Thams. The Gilgit Thams. 280.1.
Gil'it Yaçh'ni. The Gilgit Yaçhini. 222.6.
Gil'itor. To Gilgit. 222.11.
Gilt-ele, -er, -e, -afer. 376.1, 278.8, 380.9,10, 382.10.
(Sh. *Gil'it, Gilt-*).

[173] *Girkis.* The first Tham of Hunza after the political separation of Hunza and Nagar. His brother Mughlōt similarly became the first Tham of Nagar. They are the immediate progenitors of the two existing Royal Families.

Biddulph gives the parents of the brothers as Maiyroo Tham and a daughter of Trakhan, himself a descendant of Shīri Badat's daughter and Azur Jamshēd.

In genealogical tables in my possession they are variously shown as the sons of Shā Tham and Lali Tham. The claims of the latter are at present favoured.

Cp. the entry under *Boro Tham* above, Biddulph T. H. K. pp. 24, and 130, and the addendum to the notes on Text XLVII.

Gohor. A man's name. 364.13.

Gu.iski. Adj. Wakhi. *gu.iski (bar)* the Wakhi language.

Gu'its, pl. *Gu'ito.* Wahki (man). 338.9.

Guwaç'i). Name of a locality and small village on the Nagar and Gilgit-Wazārat boundary, on the right bank of the Hunza River between Chhalt and Nomal. Abl. *Guw'açim, Guw'açitsum.* 276.5.

Guy o Bum. "Gūyo's Boulder" near Ganish, Gūyo being the name of a man. 190.10.

These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

Back about 400 years ago one of the rulers of Hunza married a daughter of the King of Baltistan who, as a gift to his daughter and her husband, dispatched 500 workmen from his country to Hunza to erect the Baltit Fort that we now know. The rulers of Hunza dwelt in that fort and made it their palace until recent times. The present Mir, too, when he took office after the death of his father, resided in this palace known as Baltit Fort.

The new palace, in which we were being wined, dined and entertained, had been completed recently and was taken possession of by the present Mir about 7 years ago. Actually though, the new palace was started by the Mir's grandfather back as far as 1925.

While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I understand, would be used, on completion, as his court where the citizens of Hunza would come with their problems and where the Mir would preside in judgment.

However, this work in no way interfered with the normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

326 tion of these unusual people stirred up an interest within
533 me, and I wanted to know more about them. I found
563 very little data could be obtained from any of the books I had been able to read on the subject.

[173] But after much discourse and questioning, I learned what I had begun to suspect . . . that the Bericho were actually gypsies who had come to India more than 2,000 years ago. From India, as good gypsies would do, they fanned out to spread themselves in small groups over the entire country . . . some ultimately settling in Baltistan, from whence a colony were sent off to Hunza.

Their place of abode is actually a village known as Berishal. It is a known fact that the people of Hunza depend entirely upon the Bericho for their ironmongering and their tool-smithing and their music-making.

I was very happy to have unearthed this information so I can pass it along to my readers.

[871] These Berichos used to send their children out of
[167] Hunza to be educated and the Mir told me that he had to put a stop to this practice . . . not because he objected to the children of the Bericho being educated, but because the children did not return or remain with the trade of their parents. As the Mir's country needed artisans of this type, he had to put a stop to their sending their children elsewhere for education.

The Mir went on to tell me how important these Berichos were to the community. They fashioned farm
[414] implements as well as hardware like hinges, latches, razors and many other essential farm and household necessities that are fashioned from metal. Besides making the implements of peace, the blacksmith could also fashion a shotgun barrel.

[651] He further mentioned that each household in the community pays a small tithe as a contribution to-

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 30

Who Are the Hunzans?

I HAVE HEARD the people of Hunza referred to as Hunzans, Hunzukuts, Hunzawals and Hunzas. They prefer to be called Hunzukuts. 101

However, in my writing I am referring to them as Hunzans. I do this strictly as a matter of simplification. I find it easy to say and easy to remember and I also believe it to be the most phonetical of all the terms given.

The Mir claims that the rulers of Hunza were and are direct descendants of Alexander the Great. I could find no proof to either confirm or refute this statement. But it is generally believed that not only the Mir, but the people of Hunza are descendants of Alexander or his soldiers. 643 173

It has been related by many writers that the Hunzans are not by appearance an Asian people. To that I will subscribe completely. They are definitely, in 144

144 countenance and color, not Indian but European.

If you took the first ten Hunzans that you met anywhere and put them in Europe, no one could doubt that they were Europeans. With the exception of a few clearly and unmistakably Chinese-appearing Hunzans, practically each one would pass as a European. It is understandable that a bit of Mongolian blood got mixed in because Hunza is right smack on the Chinese border.

181 The people of this country are unqualifiedly the
173 most energetic and industrious of all the people I came across in the East, which lends credence to the fact that they are of European origin.

173 Even before I went to Hunza I read carefully Ar-
643 rian's *Life of Alexander the Great*. After seeing Hunza
174 and being impressed by the conviction that the people of Hunza did appear to be Europeans, I came back and made a further search through the *Life of Alexander the Great*.

It is an historical fact that Alexander took unto himself a wife when he was on his Indian campaign. He married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes who was king of Bactria. Bactria is in the northern part of Afghanistan—right smack against the Hunzan border.

Alexander had a posthumous son with Roxana. His name was Alexander Aegus.

So the Mir's claim might have sound historical basis. The Hunzans claim to trace their history back about 2,000 years. Well, Alexander married Roxana back in 327 B. C. So you see, the story may have its point.

I'll further state that the Mir himself looked exactly like one would expect a Mediterranean European to look. He might feign a relationship or descendancy from Alexander the Great, but he couldn't feign that Macedonian appearance.

History also relates most pointedly that Alexander had difficulty with his troops at various points in India where they refused to go any further. Then in Taxila, which is not very far from Rawalpindi on the route to Hunza, he left the sick, disabled and older men. It wouldn't be difficult to imagine that some of the younger wounded men, when they got well, crossed the Himalayas through the Babusar Pass and then wandered up to Gilgit and Hunza or when they were in Bactria, it would have been quite an easy matter—in fact, it was just a matter of walking a few miles through the mountains—to reach the Hunza River. 173 174

It is not in my interest to strengthen the Mir's story or the tales that other writers have established about the relationship of Alexander or his men and the people of Hunza. I am merely citing the above from my actual observations and studies. You can accept it or waive it aside.

One would not have a comprehensive understanding of Hunza and the people of Hunza without a few facts about their comparatively early history. 175 143

One of the most colorful leaders that the people of Hunza have ever had was the present Mir's grandfather—Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E. (Knight Commander of the Indian Empire)—who was the Mir of Hunza from 1892 until 1938 when he died on July 23 at the age of 79, having ruled for a total of 46 years. 'Twas a long rule for any king in any country.

In 1934 when he was 75 years of age his wife gave birth to a son who was named Sahib Khan. In January, 1938 the British crown conferred the title of K.C.S.I. (Knight Commander of the Star of India) upon Sir Mohomed.

He was followed by his son, Ghazan Khan who ruled from 1938 to 1945—not quite 8 years. Ghazan Khan

344
644 wedged together to form a formidable protection
712 against invaders of their day.

796 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the
241 Búrushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festi-
643 val, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like to emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed
[789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

stay aloft. Heights offer no terror for any Hunzan— 16
man, woman or child. I think if a Hunzan suffered injury because of a fall from a height, he would be ashamed and embarrassed, but let me admit that they do have falls and broken limbs, too. I found this out [752] when I met Hunzans who were expert bone-setters.

I have to admit that generally speaking the Hunzans' 291
clothes are nondescript. However, I was strongly attracted to the Hunza hat which is best described as a rolled, sausage brimmed, soft white woolen covering. But it is really and truly an ingenious contraption. It is made of native homespun wool, white or creamy in color and mighty good wool, it is, in my opinion.

These hats are worn summer and winter by the boys and men. I tried them and found that they did keep out the summer heat. Wherever I met the boys and men of Hunza they always wore these hats. In the winter they can be rolled down to cover not only their ears but their faces and necks as well. I attest that it is a valuable and completely satisfactory headpiece. I thought they were quite attractive and enhanced the handsomest of the Hunzan men.

They have the choga which is a long flowing cloak worn by both men and women during the winter. This cloak is made of the same grey homespun wool and is never dyed but its creamy color is attractive and pleasing to the eye. Evidently this choga is quite [173] similar to the toga worn by the ancient Romans. Who knows? Maybe some of Alexander's men or Alexander himself brought a toga with him from his homeland when he came to the East.

Apart from the attractive, useful, comfortable, Hunzan sausage-brimmed hat and choga, the best I can say for the rest of the clothes worn by the people of Hunza is that they are utilitarian.

Part or all of the armies of Alexander the Great wound their way through the Hindu Kush mountains. Whether or not they ever found their way into the Karakorums, history does not designate, but I suspect that they did, because the Hunzans are supposed to be descendants of Alexander the Great or his soldiers and Hunza is in the Karakorums. 131 133 [173]

The Himalayas in the encyclopedia are stated to lie in India, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and China but I know for certain the Himalayas extend into Pakistan as well.

At this point I am not seeking to take issue with any gazetteer, encyclopedia or other volume of facts. I am just pointing out the difficulty I encountered in getting the information down to a semblance of order and accuracy. Further, I have consulted with, written to and requested details from many sources who should know the facts, and in practically every case I came to a dead end. It seems as though very few people in the world know the exact location and extent of these three mountain systems. [114]

One man who did seem to know them and placed them accurately was Eric Shipton and by the heavens, he should know—he spent more time among these mountains than any white man in history.

A curious thing about the people of Hunza . . . they do not have names for the peaks in the area and there are some mighty lofty peaks. Even the famed Rakaposhi has no individual name in Hunza. It is just called "Dumani," the same as every other high mountain or mountain peak that they came across. Actually, "dumani" means "covered with a cloud." 823 103

I guess they're so accustomed to seeing these awesome peaks that they become impervious to them. So what? Another hill! Every time I asked one of the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

131 it lies entirely on the right bank of the Hunza river; above Hunza, as far as the passes of the Hindu-Kush, it embraces both banks. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hindu-Kush, which separates it from the Pamirs and the valley of the Yarkand river; to the west, by a range which separates it from the Karumbar or Ishkuman valley; and to the south, by
161 the Hunza river which divides it from Nagar. The total population probably amounts to some ten
563 thousand souls. The country is racially separated into two divisions, Gujhal and Kanjut. Gujhal begins at a village called Gulmit, eighteen miles above Hunza, stretches to the passes, and is inhabited by emigrants from Wakhan, who still speak the dialect of their original home. Kanjut or Hunza proper comprises the rest of the country, and is inhabited by a Dard race of the Yeshkun caste, speaking Burishki.

173 Hunza and Nagar were, according to tradition, ruled by the same chief till some centuries ago, when the ruler of the day divided the country between his two twin sons, who were deadly enemies. The Hunza ruler was murdered by one of his brother's adherents, and left an only daughter. This young lady fell in love with her cousin, the son of the ruler of Nagar, and the lovers met, necessarily by stealth, the prince swimming across the Hunza river every night. The result was a son, the founder of the present line, which is called Ayeshé, or heavenly; for, to conceal the mishap, the story in Hunza is that the father was a prince from Shignan, but that his name having been forgotten he was called Ayesho, or the "heaven-sent." The Hunza chief is styled Thum, as was his brother

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

173 of Nagar, and the name is supposed to be the corruption of the Chinese word Tung, which forms part of many Chinese titles. The Thum was an absolute ruler, who killed or sold his subjects into slavery as it pleased him; but that the rule, though despotic, must have been tempered by common-sense is shown by the fact that the office of wazir, or minister, has gone down in unbroken succession from father to son for seven generations.

643 Safdar Ali, the Thum at the time of my visit, had murdered his father, Ghazan Khan, three years previously, and his character caused me some anxiety. He had, it is true, as had the Nagar chief, written to Government, and asked that a mission should be sent to him, but he bore an ill name for treachery, cruelty,
795 and weakness. In common with most of his subjects he belonged to the Maulai sect, the followers of which, though calling themselves Shiahs, were a bye-word on the frontier for their shameless violation of all the
[837] leading Mahomedan doctrines. The men drank wine freely; their morals were of the loosest; a man considered himself honoured if his wife attracted the Thum's attentions, and hospitality enjoined that he should offer her to his guest. Withal, they were
181 cheery, pleasant people to deal with, slight, wiry, and very active, first-rate mountaineers, and of untiring energy, a great contrast to the Shins of
721 Gilgit. With none of the bloodthirstiness of the Pathan they yet had a great reputation for bravery, and had more than once invaded and severely handled their Nagar neighbours, who were said never to have carried the war into their country.

000 The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 173

have already been given in my "history" of their "Wars with Kashmir.' Just as in Chilâs and Kandiá, the administration is in the hands of a Board of Elders. The Maharaja of Kashmir only obtains tribute from three villages in Chilaz, *viz.*, the villages of Chilás, Takk and Bundar.

B 173

V.—NAGYR,* [is tributary to Ahmad Shah of Little Tibet about the beginning of this century, but soon throws off this allegiance to Ahmad Shah under Alif Khan.] (?) ... ... Alif Khan. 1800 (?)

[See "Historical Legend of the Origin of Gilgit," pages 9 to 16. The Nagyr-Hunza Rajas or Thams similarly claim a divine origin and account for it through the two fairy-brothers who disappeared at Gilgit. See note on page 111.]

["Nagyr," which Col. Biddulph very properly writes "Nager" (like "Pamèr") is now spelt "Nagar," so as to confound it with the Indian "Nagar" for "town," from which it is quite different.]

Raja Za'far Khan Záhid (the present Raja of Nagyr).

Son (a hostage for his father's adhesion to Kashmir, whom I saw at Gilgit in 1866). The names of his maternal uncles are Shah Iskandar and Raja Kerim Khan (?) the elder brother. (The full genealogy of Hunza-Nagyr is given elsewhere.)

VI.—HUNZA ... ... Ghazanfar, died 1865.

Ghazan Khan, present ruler.† (1866)

VII.—BADAKHSHAN ... ... *Sultán Shah.*

000

- Rejeb Shah.
  - Ahmad Shah.
    - Rahmat Shah.
    - Shah Ibrahim Khan.
    - MAHMUD SHAH [1872] (present ruler of Badakhshan under Kabul) stayed a long time with his maternal uncle, the ruler of Kunduz, whence he has often been miscalled "a Sayad from Kunduz."
- Mirza Kalán.
  - NIZAM-UD-DIN (surnamed MIR SHAH).
    - Shajá-ul Mulk.
    - JEHANDAR SHAH, the former ruler, independent of Kabul (now (1872) a fugitive; infests the Kolab road).
    - Suleyman Shah.
    - Shahzada Hasan.
    - Abdulla Khan (by a concubine).
  - Yusuf Ali Khan.
  - Saad-ulla Khan.

Yusuf Ali Khan had seven sons: Mirza Kalán, surnamed Mir Jan; Hazrat Ján; Ismail Khan; Akbar Khan; Umr Khan, Sultan Shah; Abdurrahim Khan (by a concubine).

Saad-ulla Khan had two sons: Baba Khan and Mahmud Khan (by a concubine).

* Only so much has been mentioned of the Genealogies of the rulers of Nagyr, Hunza, and Dir, as belongs to this portion of my account of Dardistan.

† Full details of the son and successor of Ghazan Khan, Safdar Ali Khan, to the present vassal of the Kashmir (Anglo-Indian) Government, Muhammad Nizim Khan, the fugitive Safdar Ali Khan's half-brother, are given elsewhere.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
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D 173

to appoint Pahlivan as Governor of Yasin, who would be quite safe there. Daulat Shù was sent because he knew the roads and had often gone to Chitrál. He reached the place in seven days. Aman-ul-Mulk replied that he could not send Pahlivan, unless Isa Bahadur also agreed to MIR VALI and Wazir Rahmat. He gave Daulat Shu a parting present of a gun, sword and horse. Daulat Shù told Isa Bahadur of the result of his mission. Isa at once set off for Gilgit to consult with Zoraweru. He represented to him that unless Aman-ul-Mulk was allowed to have his way, he himself could not hold his own at Sher Kila. Zoraweru, upon this, gave him full permission to act as he liked, taking the responsibility on his own shoulders in the event of the Maharaja asking any questions, as the only means of securing some peace. Isa then again despatched Daulat Shù in all haste, who reached Chitrál in five days, with the message that Aman-ul-Mulk should do him the favour of sending the three men he had suggested. Aman-ul-Mulk entertained Daulat Shù for twenty days, during which time he assembled 2,000 young men and sent them to Yasin with Pahlivan, Mir Vali and Rahmat. He made those three take an oath on the Koran that they would never intrigue against each other, "for, if you do, you will fall an easy prey to Isa Bahadur." When they reached Yasin, they sent on Daulat Shù to Isa Bahadur. The first thing they did was to get the fugitive Yasinis back to their country which they ruled as in former days. Isa Bahadur was glad at this and gave eight tolahs of gold to the messenger.*

B 173

IV.—WAR WITH NAGYR AND HUNZA. [1864]

It is now nine years since these wars have taken place or two years after the conclusion of the war with Yasin. The Maharaja wrote to Zoraweru that after all what he wanted to conquer were the countries of Nagyr and Hunza, as there was no profit to be gained from Gilgit and Yaghistan, whence hitherto, he said, "we have only reaped stony districts and loss of men," [in reality, Gilgit aud Yasin are fertile, whilst Hunza is "stony"]. Zoraweru at once set out for Nômal, which is twelve kôs from Gilgit in the direction of Nagyr and sent Mehdin Khan of Bunair and Sultan Wazir of the Janheri descendants and Saif Ali, Commandant, with 8,000 infantry. Zoraweru himself remained at Nômal in order to facilitate communications and bring up help, if necessary. The army advanced next day to Chaprôt, Guyétsh and Hini, of which the latter is in Nagyr and the former in Hunza

* The Kholi people from whom the Sazini heard the account of the massacre were 100 merchants who had come to Gilgit, as is their custom, to sell goats, etc., and had there been arrested and taken along to Yasin by Isa Bahadur, in order to prevent their spreading the news of the impending attack. There were also eight men from Djajiál and five from Patan. The following were the Chiefs with the merchants: Kâhar, Kali, Dessa, Amr, Djá—Shins of Mahrein in Koli (four miles from Koli). Sabit Shah, Aman, Shudum Khan, Serdân, Guldân (Kamins); Hajetu, Lola, Shughlu Hákko, Einat, Puz, Khushir (Yashkunns); Ashmál, Gulu, Subhân Shah, Bilál, Mahoimu, Yadúla, Najb-ulla of Koli; Bolón Khan, anu Bula Shái, two Patan Sirdars—Wáli, Sirdar of Djajiál, a Shin, with seven Zemindars. I, adds my informant, have also heard it from Mulk Aman who was not present, but who sorrows deeply for the occurrence. (The atrocities related are fully confirmed by Mr. Hayward's account, quoted elsewhere, and by what I saw and heard myself in 1866. Mr. Hayward fixes 1861 as the date of the massacre.)

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
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and encamped between these places on a plain.* (?) Guyétsh and Chaprôt are on the frontier of Hunza. Its inhabitants speak the same language as the people of Hunza. Hini was on the other side of the army and is on the frontier of Nagyr. The Chief of Chaprôt is Shah Murad Wazir, whilst Sirdar Mamal Beg is at Hini and Phagoi, the Lumbardar, at Guyêtsh, whose son is Shukar Beg, a brave young man. The chief command of the invading troops was given to Sultan, who had previously sent a man, Uruz Ali, to the Hunza Raja, to announce his arrival. He told him to lie in ambush at Nilamutsh in order to destroy the troops under the other Kashmir Officers. "I will draw off, he said, half the army in the direction of the Valley." Uruz Ali was by origin a Hunza man who had settled at Gilgit. The Raja of Hunza acted on the advice thus sent. When Wazir Sultan came to Nilamutsh, he started with some youths towards Chaprôth Now Nilamutsh is a place so surrounded by inaccessible and high mountains that escape from an enemy who occupies them is impossible and even a great army is helpless. No one prevented or questioned the movements of Sultan, who advanced about one kôs out of Nilamutsh —Mabdin and Saif Ali now entered the place when they were at once assailed with stones and bullets on every side by invisible enemies and lost 400 young men in killed between forenoon and evening. Two Nagyris only were wounded, one being shot through the mouth who is still alive and the other receiving a bullet in his thigh from which he subsequently died at Nagyr. When the surprised Generals consulted at night on the events of the day, they inferred from the absence of Sultan and the fact that he had got safely through Nilamutsh, as well as from the unexpected presence of the enemy, that treachery had been at work. The reason of this conduct was that Sultan, although the bravest to fight on behalf of the Maharaja, had not been rewarded with land as Isa and Azmat had been, but had remained under the direct orders of Zoraweru, who had put him forward in the war in order to get him killed and who had poisoned the Maharaja's mind against him. "However," the Generals added, "at present we must think of getting out of this place; otherwise not a man will remain alive to tell the news at Nômal." They then decided, on the suggestion of Saif Ali, to send two Dareylis, Firôz and Kúweti, into the Hunza lines, as they might have influence with them, being also Yaghistanis, in order to secure the safe return of the Army. The task was reluctantly accepted by the Dareylis whose presence in the Sikh Army naturally compromised them. However, they went and swore on behalf of the Sikhs that if they were allowed to depart no future invasion should ever take place. Naudin, the Wazir of Nagyr and Ghazanfar of Hunza refused, on which the Dareylis requested that they might be shot and their bodies thrown in the valley, as a proof that they had done their best and failed in their mission. "We are Mussulmans and you should forgive us and as a natural consequence those whom we represent." The men now prepared for death, when Naudin

* There is a place called Nilamutsh—green mountain ridge—literally a mountain that has fallen off a still higher one. Chaprôt is three kôs above and Guyetsh two kôs below this place. Hini is on the other side of the river two and a half kos from Nilamutsh. Chaprôt has 150 houses; Guyêtsh 30 and Hini 80 houses.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
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173 interposed and got their request sanctioned, on the understanding that the Sikhs would at once return to Gilgit or else he would attack within an hour. The Kashmir Army, which had been re-joined by Sultan in the meanwhile, were only too glad to get away on these terms and returned to Nômal. Sultan gave out that he had gone ahead in order to clear the road in advance. However, Zoraweru was informed of the treachery, and, at once, put Sultan in chains and sent him to Jammu with a detailed letter under strict charge of Sirdars Baghdùr Shah and Ghulam Haidar and ten soldiers.

Zoraweru then took the army back to Gilgit. When the Maharaja read the letter, from which it appeared that no one except Sultan's *confidant*, Urùz Ali, who, the Gilgitis said, was always going backwards and forwards to Hunza, could have gone to inform the Hunza people of an attack, which must have been successful, had they not been forewarned, he condemned Sultan to imprisonment for life. I think that it was a got-up affair, for Zoraweru had often and in vain tried to take Hunza-Nagyr. As a proof of this I may mention that Hilli Shah of Hunza had come to Gilgit a few days before the expedition to buy merchandise. The Wazir sent for him, gave him money and took him into his confidence. Seven days after he asked Hilli Shah to assist him in an attack on Nilamutsh which he was contemplating a month hence. Hilli said that he and his brother Mirza Khan, an artilleryman famous for his bravery and influence, would guide the Sikh Army through Nilamutsh into Hunza. So they swore to abide by this plan and the Wazir dismissed him with a present of Rs. 40 and a Lungi. He also promised great rewards in the event of the success of the expedition. Hilli Shah told Mirza Khan, who was delighted. Uruz reached Hunza after Hilli Shah and told the Raja of it, who sent for Hilli Shah and enquired from him whether he had heard anything at Gilgit about the movements of the Sikhs or of an attack on Hunza. Hilli Shah said that he had not been to Gilgit and had heard nothing. However, the Raja noticed the Lungi which Hilli wore and which Uruz said had been given by Zoraweru. When he set out to surprise the Sikhs he sent for the brothers: Mirza Khan came at once, but Hilli Shah hid himself at Gakkar[illegible], five kôs above Hunza. When Ghazanfar returned from the war, he sent for Hilli Shah. The messenger found him returning from a hunting expedition and brought him to Ghazanfar who asked him, why he had not gone to the war against the infidels; "has the Lungi on your head bribed you?" and added "it is improper that you should live." He was accordingly cut into pieces (literally) before the eyes of Mirza Khan, his brother (who is still alive and braver than Hilli Shah and also a better artilleryman); as for Uruz Ali, he was put in prison for a fortnight by the order of the Maharaja, as soon as he came to Gilgit, although Zoraweru wanted him to share the fate of Sultan. At that time Kalashmir of Dareyl visited Gilgit and was well entertained by Zoraweru for twenty days, when he presented him with a shawl and Rs. 100 and gave cheap shawls to the Sirdars who came with Kalashmir. Zoraweru then asked them, as he had conquered the whole of Yaghistan, to collect tribute for the Maharaja. This was agreed to, but when Kalashmir returned to his country he did nothing. In the war that will ensue I was present all through.

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Note on the Genealogy of the divine Rajas of Nagyr (given to me by Raja Habibulla Khan of Nagyr in 1886).—At Doyur, near Gilgit, on the mountain-top, three fairy-brothers shot at a calf, which only the youngest (Azru) hit and was induced to eat, thereby losing his fairy-hood. The two others flew away and settled on another mountain, but the crowing of a cock betrayed them to the people of Gilgit who made one of them, Tura Khan, Raja of Gilgit; the other, Chalis Khan, becoming Raja of Nagyr. [This account is incorrect as *Azru* became Raja of Gilgit, because he had become man by eating meat (*incarnation*), but it is interesting as showing the desire of Nagyris to be connected with the Historical Legend of the origin of the neighbouring and more civilized Gilgit. Some say that Chalis Khan had no son, but that the Rajas of Nagyr are the descendants of the Makpon rulers of Little Tibet (from which the Makpon-i-Shang-rong—see page 107—takes its name). Others say that Alladad was a son of Chalis Khan; at all events, the founders of the Hunza-Nagyr Dynasty, Girkis-Mogholot, two brothers, whether descended from Mogholot or Chalis, are called Mogholoti. Girkis becoming the Tham of Hunza, and Mogholot that of Nagyr. As for Alladad, he was succeeded by Kamal, whom Rahim and Babar (or tiger) followed in turn. Babar's son was Ferdûs, and his son Alif Khan was the father of the present reigning Chief, Zafar Khan, whose progeny is very numerous]. [The above account, although very deficient and confused, supplements, as regards Hunza-Nagyr, the important "historical legend of the origin of Gilgit," which will be found on pages 9 to 16, and which chronicles the change in the Shîn rule in Dardistan. The mystery in the Hunza-Nagyr dynasty fitly entitles it to be called "ayeshó," or "heavenly." I can quite understand that the Chief of Hunza, unable to convince European disbelievers of his divine origin, should have claimed a descent from Alexander the Great, *faute de mieux*, since the more terrestrial chiefs of Badakhshan and other neighbouring countries claim to be descended from that conqueror. (See note on page 55 and page 69.)

Colonel Biddulph gives the following interesting version of the above story:

"The ruling family of Hunza is called Ayeshé (heavenly), from the following circumstance. The two States of Hunza and Nager were formerly one, ruled by a branch of the Shahreis, the ruling family of Gilgit, whose seat of government was Nager. Tradition relates that Mayroo Khan, apparently the first Mahommedan Thum of Nager, some two hundred years after the introduction of the religion of Islamin to Gilgit, married a daughter of Trakhan of Gilgit, who bore him twin sons, named Moghlot and Girkis. From the former the present ruling family of Nager is descended. The twins are said to have shown hostility to one another from their birth. Their father, seeing this, and unable to settle the question of succession, divided his State between them, giving to Girkis the north, and to Moghlot the south, bank of the river.

Age did not diminish their enmity, and Girkis, while out hunting, was one day killed by an adherent of Moghlot, a native of Haramosh, named Mogul Beg, who, under pretence of a quarrel with Moghlot, took service with Girkis, and persuading him to look up at some game on the cliff above him, drove an arrow into his throat. Girkis left only a daughter, who, according to the custom of the country, became Queen or Ganish of Hunza. Her first care was to avenge her father's death. The tradition relates that having sworn to tear the murderer's liver with her teeth, she carried out her vow to the letter. Left without a chaperon, she was not long without getting into a scrape, as young ladies in similar circumstances are apt to do. The young prince Kamal Khan of Nager, a younger son of Moghlot, crossed the river by night, serenaded her and won her heart. Night after night the lovers met, unknown to the rest of the world, till serious consequences ensued; and one fine day it was announced in Hunza that, though Providence had not yet provided the princess with a husband, it had seen fit to bless her with a son. Morals in Hunza are not of the strictest even now, so that few questions were asked, and the good people generally contented themselves with beating their drums, dancing, and the usual festivities proper on the occasion of the birth of the Prince Chilim Khan. Kamal Khan seems to have 'behaved badly' all through, as the above story is concealed in Hunza under the fiction that a prince of Shighnan became the husband of the princess, but that his name being forgotten he is known only as Ayeshó (Heaven-sent), from which the present ruling family of Hunza takes the name. The present Thum of Hunza is Ghazan Khan" (1886).

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rocky ledges, sometimes letting oneself down nearly to the water's edge, then ascending 300 or 400 feet above the stream, holding on by corners of rock, working along rocky shelves 3 or 4 inches wide, and round projecting knobs and corners where no four-footed animal less agile than a wild goat could find a path. D 133

Immediately above the bend of the river is the district of Chaprot, consisting of the fort and village of that name and three other villages. This has always been a fruitful source of contention among the rulers of the three states of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, between which it is situated, principally on account of the fort, which, according to local ideas, is impregnable. It is situated in the angle formed by the junction of two streams, with high precipitous banks, and can therefore only be approached from one side. It has belonged in turns to all three states, but at present is garrisoned by Cashmere troops. Continuing up the valley to the eastward, at about 52 miles from Gilgit, the residences of the rulers of the two states of Hunza and Nager are reached, the river forming the boundary between the wild two. D 361 648 B 121 361

The view of the great Rakiposh Mountain from the north side is truly striking. From the water's edge it rises without a break for 19,000 feet to its topmost peak, which is over 25,000 feet above the sea-level. Its lofty sides, girdled with dark pine forest and seamed with glaciers and *mers-de-glace*, some of which reach nearly down to the water's edge, overlook numerous fertile settlements which are nourished by streams flowing from the great mountain. Above the forests extensive fields of snow sparkle and glitter in the summer sun, while, overtopping all, great points of granite, on whose steep sides the snow can scarce find a resting-place, give emphasis and unity to a scene not easily forgotten. B 133

Above Hunza the course of the river, which rises in the Hindoo Koosh, lies entirely in Hunza territory. The people of these two states, of whom so little is known, have been counted as mere robber tribes, who have brought themselves into notice by their depredations on the caravans between Yarkund and Leh. This is, however, scarcely a just estimation of them. They are of the same stock as the people of Yassin, Ponyal, and the majority of the people of Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys. So far from being mere robber tribes, they are settled agricultural communities, living under rulers who boast of their long unbroken descent from princes of native blood. Hemmed in by lofty mountains, they are B 721 B 144 B 173 186

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173 proud of the independence they have always maintained, and
186 they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago. The rulers are called *Thum*, and their families are descended from twin brothers, Moghlot and Gir-
174 kis, who lived about the end of the fifteenth century. General Cunningham makes the somewhat natural mistake of confounding Girkis with Kirghiz, and suggests that the former inhabitants of Hunza must have been Dards (?), who have since been displaced by the nomads of the Pamir. From this he goes on to argue that the rulers of Shigar must also be of Kirghiz blood; and following the same line of argument he states that the Astor district must once have belonged to the Tibetan race, because the ruling family are Makpons. He also mentions the Gilgitis as a race of Dardo-Tibetans, for which assumption there is no adequate foundation.[1]

643 I have been told by a Nepaulese gentleman that *Thum* is a Chinese title, meaning Governor, and that it is used in a reduplicated form *Thum Thum*, to signify a Governor General.[2] Its existence in these countries, where its origin has been completely lost sight of, is curious and must be extremely ancient.

The rulers of Nager, who are descended from the first-named of the two brothers, are called Moghloté, the present
161 Thum being Jaffer Zahid Khan. Though the smaller of the two states, Nager has the larger population, owing to the greater amount of cultivable ground which it contains.
134 The population is about 10,000 souls. The land where cultivable is extremely fertile and bears exceptionally heavy
135 crops, and the Nager streams are rich in gold. The country is especially famous for its apricots, which are dried and export-
439 ed to the Punjab in considerable quantities. Nearly opposite Hunza, the Myetsil River, a considerable stream, joins the
361 main river from the south-west. The fort of Nager and the Thum's house are on the southern side of this stream, about 3 miles from the junction, at an elevation of 8,000 feet
131 above the sea. Both sides of this valley belong to Nager, and it forms the eastern boundary of the state. At the head of it is the difficult and dangerous road over the Hispar Pass into the Shigar Valley, which is never used except in cases
000 of necessity. When Cashmere authority was temporarily

[1] Cunningham's *Ladakh*, pages 27, 38, 58, 295-6.

[2] It is perhaps a corruption of the —ved Tsung, which appears in many titles. The Chinese Governor of Kashgaria is called Tsung Tung, and the officer who commands the troops is styled Tung-tung.

4 [See I. Cunningham, A34 West Tibetan file -- Analyst]

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In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name of Kunjoot 101
is given to Hunza, though this name is not in use among the inhabitants themselves, nor among any of the people dwelling south of the Hindoo Koosh. The name, according to the pronunciation of the inhabitants themselves, is more properly Hunzoo. In ancient times it was called Challaj Bultum, a name which has now fallen into disuse.

The ruling family of Hunza is called Ayeshé (heavenly), 173
from the following circumstance. The two states of Hunza and Nager were formerly one, ruled by a branch of the Shahreis, the ruling family of Gilgit, whose seat of government was Nager. Tradition relates that Mayroo Khan, apparently the first Mahommedan Thum of Nager some 200 years after the introduction of the religion of Islamin to Gilgit, married a daughter of Trakhan of Gilgit, who bore him twin sons named Moghlot and Girkis. From the former the present ruling family of Nager is descended. The twins are said to have shown hostility to one another from their birth. Their father, seeing this and unable to settle the question of succession, divided his state between them, giving to Girkis the north, and to Moghlot the south, bank of the river.

Age did not diminish their enmity, and Girkis, while out hunting, was one day killed by an adherent of Moghlot, a native of Haramosh, named Mogul Beg, who under pretence of a quarrel with Moghlot took service with Girkis, and persuading him to look up at some game on the cliff above him, drove an arrow into his throat. Girkis left only a daughter, who, according to the custom of the country, became Queen or Ganish of Hunza. Her first care was to avenge her father's death. The tradition relates that having sworn to tear the murderer's liver with her teeth, she carried out her vow to the letter. Left without a chaperon, she was not long without getting into a scrape, as young ladies in similar circumstances are apt to do. The young prince Kamal Khan of Nager, a younger son of Moghlot, crossed the river by night, serenaded her, and won her heart. Night after night the lovers met, unknown to the rest of the world, till serious consequences ensued; and one fine day it was announced in Hunza that, though Providence had not yet provided the princess with a husband, it had seen fit to bless her with a son. Morals in Hunza are not of the strictest even now, so that few questions were asked, and the good people generally contented themselves with beating their drums, dancing, and the usual festivities proper on the occasion of the birth of the prince Chiliss Khan. Kamal Khan seems to have

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173 "behaved badly" all through, as the above story is concealed in Hunza under the fiction that a prince of Shighnan became the husband of the princess, but that his name being forgotten he is known only as Ayesho (Heaven-sent), from which the present ruling family of Hunza takes the name. The present Thum of Hunza is Ghazan Khan.

The rivalry of the two brothers has been perpetuated till the present time, and has become almost an article of faith between the people, as well as the rulers, of the two states. 721 The people of Hunza have a greater reputation for bravery than those of Nager, but they are not warlike in the sense 648 that the Afghans may be said to be so.. Secure in the inaccessibility of their country, they have preyed upon all their neighbours without fear of retribution. At the time of the insurrection of the seven Khojas in Yarkund in 1847, Shah Ghazanfur Khan of Hunza rendered assistance to the Chinese in overcoming the rebellion. In recognition of this service a jagheer was granted to him close to Yarkund, and a brass tablet inscribed with a record of the friendship of Hunza towards Pekin, and its reward was placed on the gates of the city. A fixed subsidy was paid by the Chinese to the Thum of Hunza, who in return gave a nominal allegiance. Under these circumstances, the caravans between Yarkund and Leh were regularly plundered in the valley of the Yarkund River near Koolanooldi by the Hunza people, whilst the Chinese authorities winked at a proceeding which they were unable to prevent or punish. The raids were organised by the Thum, and looked upon as a right conferred by the proximity of the caravan route. His agents in Yarkund sent notice when a rich caravan was about to start, and a party was at once despatched by mountain paths known only to themselves, to lie in wait for it. Besides the plunder carried off, young men were generally seized and sold into slavery, which caused Hunza to become the chief place of resort for slave-merchants from Badakhshan. The last exploit of the kind, and the most successful recorded, took place in 1865, when no less than 50 camels and 500 ponies laden with merchandise were driven from Koolanooldi to Hunza by way of Ujadbai without opposition. Kunjooti eyes still glisten when they talk of that day, but the establishment of the firm rule of the Atalik in Kashghar put a stop to future proceedings of the kind. On the re-establishment of Chinese power in Kashghar in 1878, Ghazan Khan preferred a formal request to me that he might revive his ancient right

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In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence at some remote period of a Mongol invasion, but no clue exists to the approximate date. It is said to have taken place at a period before the separation of Hunza from Nager. In more recent times a prince of Nager is related to have visited Cashmere to seek assistance from Shah Jehan, which was granted, and the prince thereby enabled to expel his brother and make himself master of the country. Bernier mentions another prince from this neighbourhood, by name Bowali Khan, applying in a similar manner for assistance to Shah Jehan. This prince appears to have belonged to the family of the rulers of Iskardo or Shigar. B 173

During the rule of Ghazanfur Khan, the father of the present Thum of Hunza, Nager was temporarily forced to give allegiance to the Hunza ruler, who had secured the active alliance of Suleiman Shah, of the Khushwakté family.

Returning into the Gilgit Valley, 19 miles above Gilgit, the Ponyal District is reached. This stretches for some 22 miles up to the Yassin frontier. Of old an appanage of Gilgit, Ponyal became in later times a bone of contention between the rulers of Yassin and Gilgit, who each possessed it in turn for a time, till it finally came into the possession of Cashmere in 1860. Soomalik, whose name will be found in the genealogy of the Gilgit Ras, is said to have given Ponyal as a dowry with his daughter to a prince of Chitral. At a later date it became an independent republic for a time, till a certain Shôt, a native of Darel, made himself Thum of Ponyal, but was shortly afterwards slain by Shah Pershah, of the Khushwakté family of Yassin, who established his son Booroosh as ruler. The present Ra of Ponyal, Akbar Khan, is a descendant of Booroosh, his father having been re-established and confirmed in his possession by the Cashmere Government in return for services rendered in the wars which finally established the Dogra rule on the right bank of the Indus. Cashmere troops garrison Ponyal, and grave cases are under the jurisdiction of the Gilgit officials, but no revenue is paid either to Cashmere or to Akbar Khan, who receives in lieu a fixed subsidy from the Maharajah, in consideration of which he is bound to maintain a certain number of men to guard the frontier posts in time of peace, and to render military service in war. But for this arrangement, Cashmere would hardly have been able to make good its footing west of the Indus, and its success in this matter may be said to be entirely owing to the father of Akbar Khan. D 131 D 173 P 648

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D 771 174 778 fication. It plays a conspicuous part in the incantations of the Dainyals, and on a great man entering a Shin village a pan of burning Chili branches is waved before him. On certain occasions both men and women saturate themselves with the smoke, which is of a particularly pungent nature.

D 171 779 B 171 178 The custom of Chili worship does not appear to have penetrated to Hunza or Nager, nor is any trace of it to be found in the Oxus Valley, in Chitral, or among the tribes of the Swat Valley; but among the Siah-Posh it seems to exist in almost the same form as it did among the Shins. Chili wood, or Padam, is still taken down to the Punjab to be used in Hindoo ceremonials. According to Colonel Prejevalski, the same tree is also held sacred by the Mongols and Tangutans, who burn the branches for incense during prayer time. At Hemis Shukpa, within 20 miles of Leh, a few trees of great age exist, and are held in much veneration by the Tartars of the village, though the tree is not generally an object of Tartar respect.[1] It may be that the feeling of veneration was imbibed from the Shins, whose influence must have extended nearly to Leh. It is still usual in Gilgit to sprinkle goat's blood on a tree of any kind before cutting it down.

D 771 171 B 771 171 The religion of the whole country is now some form of Mahommedanism, and in the immense knot of mountains of which Yassin forms the centre, three different types of the same religion have met, and are now striving for the mastery. From the south, Soonnee Moollahs have carried their tenets up the different valleys with more or less success. From the eastward a current of Shiah doctrines has set in from Iskardo; and from the westward the curious Maulai, or Muglee,[2] tenets have found their way up the Oxus Valley. It is to be noticed that the subversion of Hindooism by Mahommedanism in the remoter valleys seems to have been extremely gradual, and to have been more owing to gradual conversion than to persecution.

D 771 173 B 771 173 The genealogical tables of the present ruling families of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, enable a fair idea to be formed of the date of the introduction of Islam into the country. Tradition records the death of the Gilgit Ra with the non-Mussulman name of Shiri Buddutt,[3] at the hands of a stranger bearing the Mussulman name of Azru, or Azor, from whom the present Ra of Gilgit, and the Thums of Hunza and Nager, trace

[1] Henderson's *Lahore to Yarkand*, page 51.
[2] The common uneducated pronunciation.
[3] The meaning of the name is perhaps "Given by Sri Buddha."—*Sri Buddha Datta*

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their descent. Allowing twenty-five years for each generation, this would place the first appearance of Mahommedanism in Gilgit at about the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century—a time when that faith had already spread over the more accessible parts of Central Asia. It is to be noted that this exactly corresponds with the time when Islam was first introduced into Cashmere, which, according to Ferishta, happened between A. D. 1315 and 1326. General Cunningham, by computing thirty years for each generation, and fifteen for the reign of each ruler, places the introduction of Mahommedanism into Khapolor about a century later.[1] According to one tradition Azor came from Iskardo, and in the genealogy of the Makpon princes, a Mahommedan adventurer is shown to have established himself in that place at exactly the same time, if the same computation be allowed for the duration of a generation.

It is not, however, probable that the usurper would have been in a position to attempt the forcible conversion of his new subjects; and it may be presumed that, for a long period, his descendants contented themselves with practising their own faith, with, no doubt, greatly relaxed stringency, without interfering with that of their subjects. It is not till eight generations of rulers later, which would represent a period of two centuries, that we meet with a Mussulman Thum in the neighbouring state of Nager. There was, probably, a fresh impulse given to Mahommedanism about the end of the sixteenth century, for it was at about that period that a Persian adventurer, the founder of the present ruling families of Chitral and Yassin, established himself in Kashkar. The names of those whose kingdom he usurped are lost, the only record being that they were of the Shahreis family, which is the name by which the Gilgit rulers previous to the time of Azor were known, and which was retained by the descendants of the usurper for four generations. The Emperor Baber, writing in the early part of the sixteenth century, speaks of Chitral as forming part of Kafiristan, "in the hill-country to the north-east lies Kafiristan, such as Kattor and Gebrek."[2] But on several occasions he distinguishes this Kafiristan from Kafiristan Pich (which is still a Kafir country), as if some difference existed between the two. It is probable, therefore, that though the faith of Islam was introduced into the country mentioned about the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was long confined to

[1] Cunningham's Ladakh.
[2] Erskine's Memoirs of Baber, page 140.

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[See L. Cunningham, A34 West Tibetans file -- Analyst]

a limited number of the inhabitants, and did not become general till the middle or end of the sixteenth century. Even then its acceptance was so irregular that it is not surprising that Hindooism has lingered on, and has only become extinct in the present day.

The tribes of the Indus Valley were exposed earlier to the fervid preaching of the Moollahs of Swat and Boneyr, and this has led to the adoption by them of the Soonnee tenets. The people of Chilas, who were always a less tractable race than their neighbours, make it their boast that, though travellers and traders are safe in their country, no Shiah ever escapes out of their hands. At Gor, also, a few miles above Chilas, the people are all Soonnees, but a looser type of Mahommedanism prevails, and prayers were till recently addressed to the god Taiban, whose horse is sculptured on the rock near the village.

In Gilgit the population is now three-fourths Soonnee and the rest Shiah, but at the commencement of the Sikh occupation, the greater proportion were Shiahs or Maulais, and it is related that any Soonnee falling into their hands was branded with a hot iron unless he consented to become a proselyte. Those who now still adhere to the Maulai tenets, are mostly old men, who keep the fact concealed as far as possible, and call themselves Shiahs. At Soomma, a secluded village in Yassin, the people, though professed Mussulmans, still make offerings to the god Shaitum. In several other places the names of local deities are still preserved, and objects, such as a peculiar-shaped rock near a village, are still regarded with veneration, and invoked in the registration of solemn covenants.

The influence of the Iskardo Princes introduced Shiah tenets into the north-eastern part of Dardistan, while the tenets of the Maulais have made their way from the Oxus Valley across the passes of the Hindoo Koosh. In Nager the entire population are Shiahs of the orthodox type, and so are two-thirds of the people of Baltistan; the rest belong to the Noor Buksh sect. In Hunza, till a few years ago, Shiah tenets found many followers; now the Meer and the whole population are Maulais.

The Shiahs in these countries lament the martyrdom of the sons of Ali twice a year; once at the usual time according to the Mahommedan calendar, and again in the month of August, the season at which they say the martyrdom actually occurred.

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Next in rank to the Pirs are Caliphas, whose duty consists in little more than the collection of offerings. The Pirs each correspond direct with Agha Khan.

The Maulais must not be confounded with the Maulavi sect of dancing Darweshes, with whom they have nothing in common. They assert that their sect was founded by the Imam Jaffer Ali Sadik (the just), a descendant of Ali, by the daughter of the Prophet, who died A.H. 148. Aboo Mahommed Hussain, however, writing in the *Zubdat-ool-akhbar*, says, that Mahommed, surnamed Mahdi, who claimed to be sixth in descent from the Imam Jaffer Ali Sadik, founded the sect, who were first known as Ismailyas,[1] in Egypt in the year A.H. 299. His followers recognised him as the twelfth Imam, and quoted a supposed saying of the Prophet Mahommed that every 300 years the sun would rise in the west, explaining that Mahommed Mahdi's preaching 300 years after the Hijra was a fulfilment of the prophecy. Aboo Yezid, a Moolla who questioned Mahommed Mahdi's descent from Jaffer Ali Sadik, on the plea that Ismail's only son had died childless, was proclaimed to be Dejjal (Antichrist). The conquest of Egypt by Sultan Sala-oo-deen Yusuf destroyed the temporal power of the sect in that country. They were, at that time, ruled by Azid, a descendant of Mahommed Mahdi. Meanwhile, the tenets of the sect had been brought to Persia by Hassan-i-Sabbah, an Arab of the tribe of Himyar in Yemen, who established himself later in Alamot, where his grandson, on the seventh day of the Ramazan, A.H. 555, publicly proclaimed that fasting and other observances of the Sharyat were no longer obligatory.

Colonel Yule, in his notes on the Travels of Marco Polo, has given an interesting account of the "old man of the mountain," whose representative he recognises in Agha Khan. On this supposition the Maulais of the Hindoo Koosh and Oxus Valley belong to the sect of assassins, and are an offshoot of the sect to which the Druses of the Lebanon belong. They call themselves Muglees, Maulais, or Mawallis indifferently. Mr. Drew suggests that the name is derived from Maula, an Arabic name for God. The appellation may equally claim to be a corruption of Muwahideen, the name by which the Druses still call themselves, or Mulahidah, from *Mulhed*, "an infidel," the name given to the sect in old times.

[1] So named from Ismail, son of Imam Jaffer.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE GILGIT PRINCES.

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THE history of the Gilgit rulers rests only on oral tradition and popular songs connected with the names of different princes. Did more trustworthy records exist, they would probably contain little of real interest. The genealogies of their respective families, which were supplied to me independently by the present representatives of the Trakhané, Mogh-loté, and Ayeshé families, correspond well with each other in the number of generations, and are probably correct, or very nearly so. In the *Historical Legend of Gilgit*, Dr. Leitner has given an account of the earliest occurrence in the tangible history of the country. Several versions of the legend are extant, but the historical outline in all is the same. Stripped of all supernatural additions, the facts related are, that Gilgit was the abode of a prince of the name of Shiri Buddutt, whose rule extended over Hunza, Nager, Darel, Chilas, Astor, Haramosh, Gurais, Yassin, and Chitral. Many of these places were no doubt governed by inferior princes who acknowledged allegiance to Gilgit. The people, suffering under the oppression of Shiri Buddutt, were induced by an adventurer of the name of Azor, who is represented as having come from the direction of Iskardo, and, according to some versions, as being the brother of the Iskardo ruler, to rise and put him to death. Having slain the tyrant, Azor espoused his daughter, established himself on his throne, and founded a line of Ras who bear Mahommedan names. In spite of the supernatural attributes now assigned to him, there can be no doubt that Shiri Buddutt was a real personage; the term Shiri is doubtless the title of respect still given to Hindoo princes.

Allowing 25 years to each generation, the usurpation by Azor must have occurred about the commencement of the 14th century, and there can be little doubt that it marks the extinction of the Shin princes, and the introduction of Mahommedanism into the valley. It is worthy of note that the genealogy of the Makpons of Iskardo[1] shows exactly the same number of

[1] See page 143.

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generations from their founder as that of the Trakhané. From this it may be inferred that the introduction of Islam into Baltistan and Gilgit was simultaneous, and in both cases owing to the same cause. General Cunningham, by allowing 30 years to a generation, places it a century earlier than the date I have mentioned.

Under the Shin rule Hunza and Nager appear to have been under one prince, whose capital was Nager. His allegiance was no doubt transferred to Shiri Buddutt's successor, but it is not till eight generations later, or about the beginning of the 16th century, that we find a Nager ruler with a Mahommedan name. This prince married a daughter of the Gilgit ruler, and became the father of the twins Moghlot and Girkis, the latter of whom founded the principality of Hunza.

Mirza Khan, the sixth in succession from Azor, is celebrated in song and story as the most warlike of the older Ras of Gilgit. He is said to have been poisoned by his own wife, in revenge for the death of her seven brothers who had opposed Mirza Khan in the field. From Trakhan, his successor, the present Ra's family, derive their name. This would seem to point to a break in the direct line of descent, were it not that in the genealogies of Iskardo, Chitral, Yassin, Hunza, and Nager we also find the present ruling families taking their names, not from the reputed founder of their line, but from some intermediate ancestor. Trakhan is said to have been a posthumous child of Mirza Khan, and it is related that he was set afloat in a box on the river by his mother. At Hudar he was rescued by a poor man who brought him up among his own children, and he was eventually acknowledged as the rightful Ra of Gilgit.

Soomalik, the son of Trakhan, who is sometimes also called Gilit Malika, is related to have been taken prisoner and carried into Badakhshan, where he remained, unable to escape, for several years. Many wonderful stories are told of his imprisonment and escape, in which a fabulous horse, Asp Tulfar,[1] plays a conspicuous part. He is said to have had three sisters, one of whom married Maiyroo Khan of Nager, the second married Feramorz, a prince of Yassin, and the third married a prince of Iskardo. There would, however, appear to be some confusion between this Soomalik and the Ra of the same name five generations later. The Gilgit and Nager genealogies agree so exactly as to the number of generations,

[1] "Asp Tulfar" is a very small horse, possessing extraordinary powers of endurance, supposed to be the offspring of a horse and mare, which have both reached maturity at one year old. It plays a conspicuous part in Uzbek tales.

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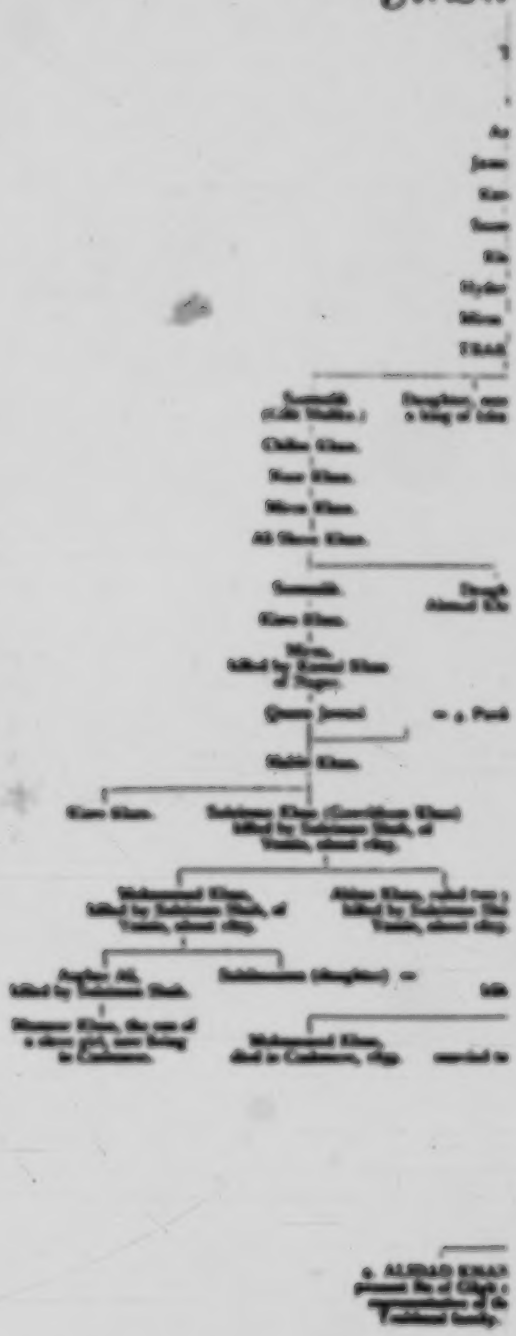

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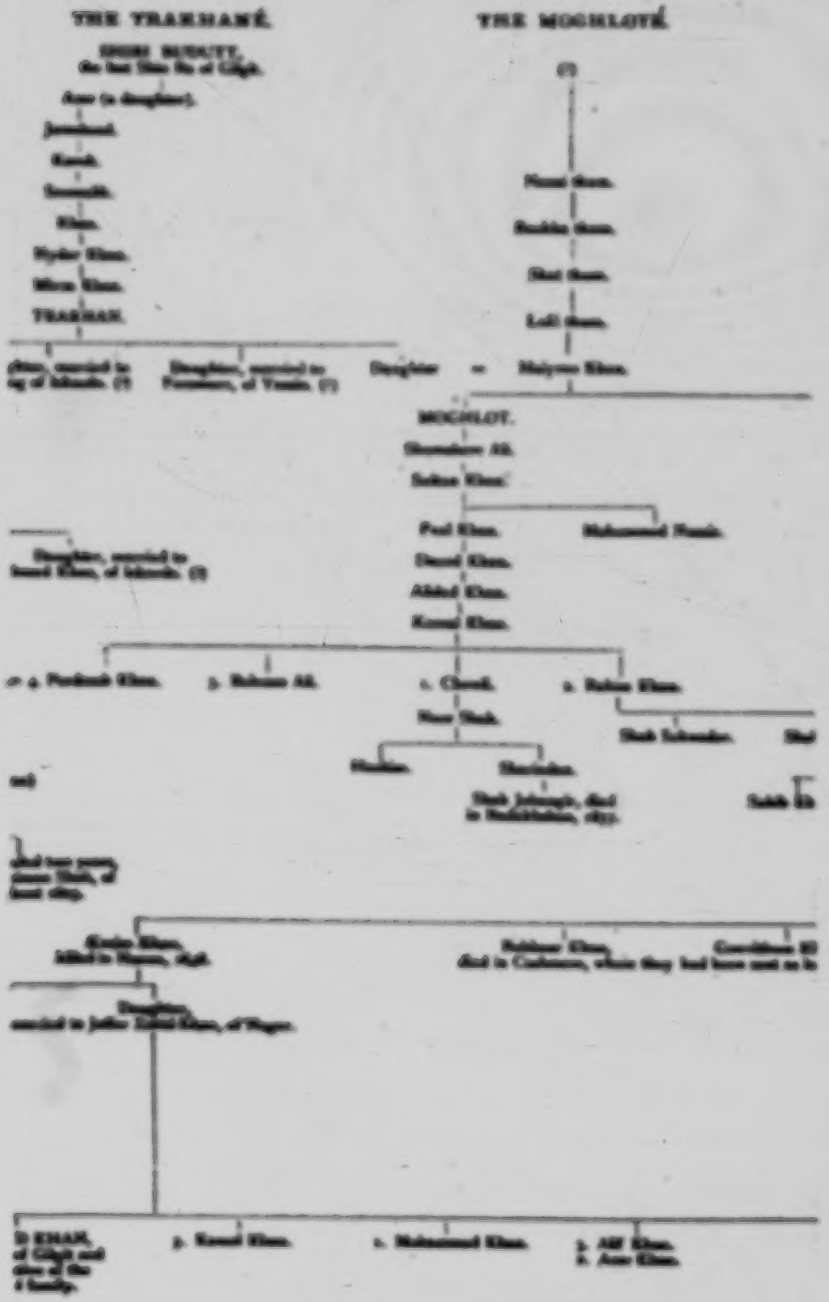

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GIT), THE MOGHLOTE (NAGER), AND AYESHE (HUNZA)

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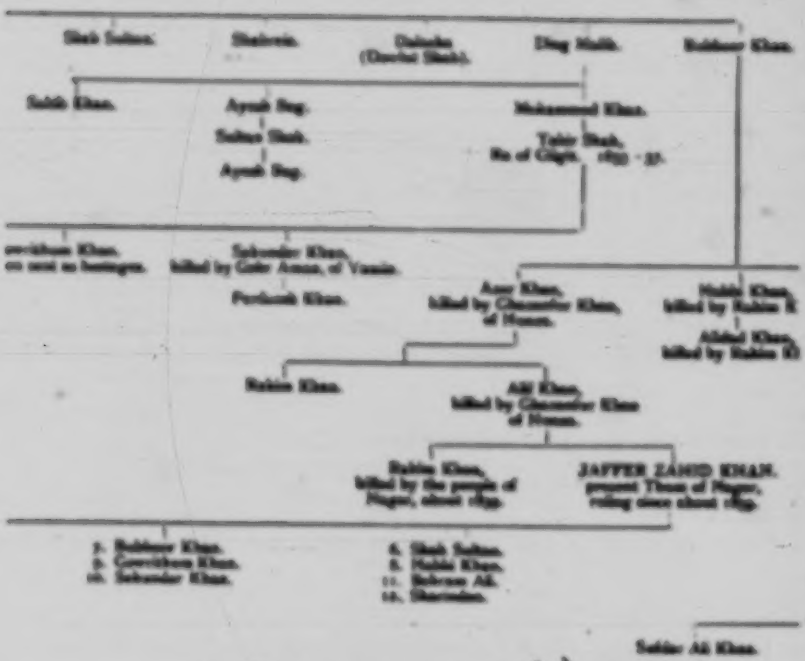

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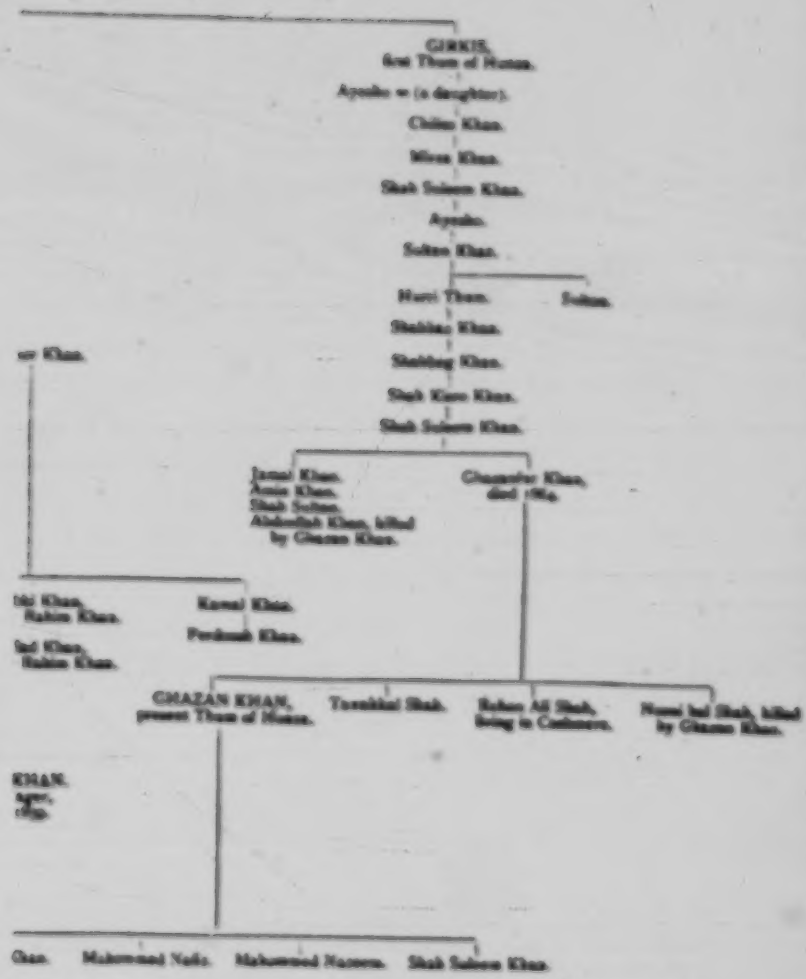

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as to leave no doubt that the sister of Soomalik who married Maiyroo Khan, was the sister of the first Ra of this name. But the same tradition also states most positively that the sister who married the Makpon prince of Iskardo was the mother of the three warlike brothers, Shere Shah, Ali Shah, and Shah Murad, who aided Soomalik in his wars against Yassin. Now, General Cunningham fixes the date of these brothers at about A.D. 1600, and this, compared with the number of generations accounted for in the various genealogies, shows that their mother must have been sister to the second Soomalik, the son of Ali Shere Khan. The Yassin prince who is said to have married Soomalik's second sister, cannot be identified in the Khushwaqté genealogy, but the name given is common in that family, which was not founded till after the time of the first Soomalik.

During the lifetime of the three Makpon brothers above mentioned, Gilgit was apparently tributary to them, or more especially to Ali Shah, the founder of the Rondu family.

Mirza, the grandson of the second Soomalik, and his daughter Jowari, are still favourite subjects for Gilgit songs. Under Mirza a successful raid was made on Gurais, which would appear, before that time, to have slipped from the grasp of the Gilgit Ras, and there are many indications that their power steadily decreased, in spite of temporary triumphs, from the day of the extinction of the Shin dynasty. While on a friendly visit to Nager, Mirza was treacherously slain by Kamal Khan, and as he left no sons, an attempt was apparently made to establish a prince of the Moghloté family in Gilgit. Jowari, who, having married an Iskardo ruler, had been left a widow and childless, consented to marry Perdoosh, of Nager, to whom she bore Habbi Khan. It is related that when Habbi Khan was twelve years old Perdoosh was publicly told that Jowari had only consented to marry him to secure the succession of the Trakhané, and that now the sooner he returned to Nager the better it would be for him—a hint which he was not slow to take. Jowari then abdicated in favour of her son, who in time became the father of Suleiman Khan, the last Ra of Gilgit who maintained anything approaching to the power of his predecessors. Suleiman Khan, who is better known under his assumed name of Gowrithum[1] Khan, is said to have ruled fifty-three years, and was in the end mur-

[1] The use of the name of Gowri, the wife of Mahadeo, shows how long the traces of Hindooism lingered after the first conversion to Islam, while the strength of the Bourish or Yeshkun element in the population is shown by the use of the title Thum.

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dered about A.D. 1803, by the Khushwakté Prince Suleiman Shah, who had sought refuge in Gilgit from the enmity of his own brother. A rumour of a threatened attack from Hunza had drawn away most of his attendants, and as the aged Ra sat in his garden he was slain, together with his Wuzeer, by the man to whom he had given protection.

From this time the prosperity of Gilgit seems to have rapidly declined, and it became the prey of rival families whose wars almost depopulated the valley, until the firm establishment of Dogra rule gave the country what may be hoped in time to become a fresh lease of prosperity. Suleiman Shah fled to Tangir after the murder without attempting to establish himself in Gowrithum Khan's seat, which was occupied by Mahommed Khan, the rightful heir. In 1804 Moolk Aman of the Khushwakté family died, and was succeeded in Yassin by his brother Kuwat Khan, who gave Ponyal, which seems to have come into the possession of the Yassin rulers about A.D. 1780, to his brother Shere Shah. Kuwat Khan had hardly taken possession when Mahommed Khan invaded Ponyal, but was repulsed. The two brothers following up their advantage too hastily were entrapped in some broken ground and killed. Mahommed Khan's triumph was of short duration. His victory had the effect of making his enemy, Suleiman Shah, ruler of Yassin. Suleiman Shah seems to have been a man of considerable ability, and in less than a year he had re-conquered the greater part of Ponyal. In the following year he invaded and took Gilgit and carried Mahommed Khan a prisoner to Yassin, leaving in Gilgit Abbas Khan, a younger son of Gowrithum Khan, who swore allegiance to him. Abbas Khan soon tried to renounce his allegiance, and in 1819 Suleiman Shah again invaded and took Gilgit and put to death both Mahommed Khan and Abbas Khan. Asghar Ali, the son of Mahommed Khan, fled to Nager, but Suleiman Shah's influence was sufficient to procure his being put to death, and the sole remaining representative of the Trakhané was an infant daughter of Mahommed Khan, through whom the line is now perpetuated. Suleiman Shah then formed the idea of incorporating Gilgit with Yassin, and made the former his chief place of residence. In 1827 Suleiman Shah, being engaged in an invasion of Chitral, placed Azad Khan of the Boorooshé family, in Drasun with a garrison of Gilgitis. Taking advantage of the opportunity, Azad Khan prevailed on the garrison to espouse his cause, abandoned his post, and hastened to Gilgit, where he was accepted by the people as their Ra. The

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people soon found that Azad Khan's rule was not less tyrannical than that of Suleiman Shah, and again sought a change of oppressors. The Trakhané family was virtually extinct, but the Moghloté family had been connected with it for so many generations that they were looked on as the natural heirs to the principality. Consequently, Tahir Shah, a younger son of the Moghloté, was induced to accept the Ra-ship of Gilgit, and on his arrival accompanied by a small force from Hunza, Azad Khan was at once seized and put to death in 1833.

After a short reign of between three and four years, Tahir Shah died and was succeeded by his younger son Sekunder Khan, in whose favour Karim Khan, who was a man of weak character, had been set aside. His rule was short and troubled. Immediately after Tahir Shah's death the Gurais maliks made an unexpected raid on Gilgit, and succeeded in gaining possession of the fort by surprise, with the exception of the inner redoubt. This held out long enough to allow of the people assembling to the Ra's assistance, and the invaders were slain to a man. Hardly had this danger been surmounted, when Gilgit was invaded by Gohr Aman, who had lately succeeded to the throne of Yassin. Sekunder Khan, being able to offer but a feeble resistance, contented himself by occupying a strong position which could only be assaulted on one side. After a blockade which lasted many months, he was taken prisoner and put to death in 1841. Karim Khan then sought refuge in Cashmere, while Gohr Aman established himself in Gilgit. Like many of the Khushwakté family, he seems to have possessed considerable energy and ability, but his blood-thirsty cruelty, which seemed to be directed especially against the people of Gilgit, threatened to depopulate the country. Whole villages were driven into slavery, and whole districts ruined, apparently to gratify his resentment. The misery inflicted by this man is almost beyond belief, and his name is still never mentioned without horror. A certain Syud in Badakhshan is still known by the nickname of *Syud Sud Burdai*, in consequence of his having accepted a present of a hundred Gilgiti slaves from Gohr Aman. Numbers of Gilgitis are still living in slavery in Badakhshan, Bokhara, Khokand, and other neighbouring countries. Every year stragglers of different ages find their way back, after slavery and wanderings of the greater part of a lifetime, from Yarkund, Samarcand, and other parts of Central Asia. It was, therefore, with much gratitude that the people welcomed a Sikh force, whose aid Karim Khan had secured, and which had been despatched

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by the Governor of Cashmere. They were at first repulsed, but advancing a second time they defeated Gohr Aman and installed Karim Khan as Ra of Gilgit under their protection in September 1842. Six years later Karim Khan was slain, together with the Sikh Governor, while invading Hunza. Eleven years later again his son Mahommed Khan dying childless, the nominal, as well as the actual, ownership of Glgit devolved on the Dogras, who had succeeded the Sikhis in Cashmere. Not wishing to leave Gilgit without a nominal Ra, the Cashmere Government summoned from Nager the present Ra, Alidad Khan, the infant son of the Nager ruler, who, through his mother, was still held to represent the Trakhané line, and installed him when only one year old. A son of Asghar Ali is still living in Cashmere, but, being born of a slave mother, he was held incapable of succeeding.

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Mr. Drew has given a succinct account of the events which led to the consolidation of the Hindoo power on the right bank of the Indus. Whatever the faults and shortcomings of Cashmere rule may be when judged by a European standard, it has undoubtedly conferred on this part of the country an amount of prosperity and security which could not have been attained under the Khushwakté family, in whose grasp it would otherwise have remained. Freedom from the liability to be sold as slaves alone outweighs the disadvantage of being ruled by men of a different faith. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, of the inhabitants of Gilgit over 40 years of age, nearly half have passed some portion of their lives in slavery. There is not a family of which one or more of their members have not been lost in this way. The stories of their wanderings told by many are full of interest, and many curious scenes occur on occasions of their return. On one occasion a young man arrived, who had been carried off when a child in arms. From his companions in slavery he had learned his name and that of his father, who received him with open arms; but, having been all the time at Seo, where the Shina language is not spoken, he could not converse with his father for several weeks except through an interpreter. On another occasion a "claimant" appeared from Badakhshan, avowing himself to be the brother of the Wuzeer, whose mother and brother had been sold into slavery thirty years before. His coming being notified beforehand, the fatted calf was killed, and great preparations made to receive him by his aged mother, who had herself been redeemed from slavery only two years before.

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In the second place we have to note that the population of Hunza and Nagir is neither linguistically nor ethnologically homogeneous. Viewing the territories as a whole, Burushaski occupies only a limited central position. It is legitimate perhaps to see in this an indication that the country has been subject to more or less peaceful penetration from the periphery, but that it has never been overwhelmed by any flood of conquest or organised immigration. We may picture Burushaski as here standing at bay — a language which has once covered a much larger area and has gradually been driven in on its least assailable territory, or has been displaced and pushed back to a final refuge. 82 174

The country with its physical savageness and poverty could never have attracted the ambition or cupidity of any sane conqueror, and with easier routes available to the West there is little reason to believe that any serious invader has traversed or even penetrated it in force. Against this argument, however, are to be set the efforts of the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmir to penetrate and master the country in the nineteenth century. Their aim was doubtless to strengthen their position in Gilgit. 177 721

The relative strengths of the languages current in Hunza and Nagir are set out in the following tables, which are based on figures collected for the 1931 Census, and on the results of private enquiries as to the language spoken in each individual village. 162

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Burushaski	Shina	Wakhi	
Hunza . . .	9,938	1,184	2,411	13,533
Nagir . . .	10,362	3,293	—	13,655
Total . . .	20,300	4,477	2,411	27,188

To obtain the absolute total numbers of known Burushaski-speakers 513 must be added to the total of the first column on

C — Lorimer: Grammar.

179 554 gəčhwyə h pl. QUB belonging to the country, indigenous, original inhabitants. *yo ši, ši ma ya.'an ir manam ṭhir manam hewa? mi gəčhwyə hewa* now you there, are we newcomers and interlopers like you? (No) we are people of the country.

(The sg. not recorded must be gəčhwə, or more probably gəčhwiə, with which compare gaṭhwə given by IUB, v.s.v. It seems certain that this word is identical with the name Yashkun (in Chilis, I think, Yashkin) applied throughout the Shin territory to that principal element in the general population which is reckoned not to be Shin by origin.

The term Yashkun, in this case, would have the definite and appropriate meaning "original inhabitants", as opposed to the Shin invaders or "interlopers". Yəč being probably a Burushaski word, the appellation must have come into being among the "original inhabitants" themselves, and have been adopted later by the Shins, in whose mouths it has acquired a certain implication of inferiority resulting from their own view of themselves as successful invaders among an original population whom they had at least reduced to a subordinate position. Any definite memory of this has I think faded and the Shins now merely regard themselves as a socially superior caste, but the original situation is commemorated in the word Yashkun).

080 gəṭal -do x Ha. & N. mountain-sheep, ovial. — gəṭ'ale *belie* female ovial. gəṭ'ale *mamuṭi* ovial lamb.

*-gəṭə v. *-gaṭə.

384 b

144 countenance and color, not Indian but European.

If you took the first ten Hunzans that you met anywhere and put them in Europe, no one could doubt that they were Europeans. With the exception of a few clearly and unmistakably Chinese-appearing Hunzans, practically each one would pass as a European. It is understandable that a bit of Mongolian blood got mixed in because Hunza is right smack on the Chinese border.

181 173 The people of this country are unqualifiedly the most energetic and industrious of all the people I came across in the East, which lends credence to the fact that they are of European origin.

173 643 174 Even before I went to Hunza I read carefully Arrian's *Life of Alexander the Great*. After seeing Hunza and being impressed by the conviction that the people of Hunza did appear to be Europeans, I came back and made a further search through the *Life of Alexander the Great*.

It is an historical fact that Alexander took unto himself a wife when he was on his Indian campaign. He married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes who was king of Bactria. Bactria is in the northern part of Afghanistan—right smack against the Hunzan border.

Alexander had a posthumous son with Roxana. His name was Alexander Aegus.

So the Mir's claim might have sound historical basis. The Hunzans claim to trace their history back about 2,000 years. Well, Alexander married Roxana back in 327 B. C. So you see, the story may have its point.

I'll further state that the Mir himself looked exactly like one would expect a Mediterranean European to look. He might feign a relationship or descendancy from Alexander the Great, but he couldn't feign that Macedonian appearance.

History also relates most pointedly that Alexander had difficulty with his troops at various points in India where they refused to go any further. Then in Taxila, which is not very far from Rawalpindi on the route to Hunza, he left the sick, disabled and older men. It wouldn't be difficult to imagine that some of the younger wounded men, when they got well, crossed the Himalayas through the Babusar Pass and then wandered up to Gilgit and Hunza or when they were in Bactria, it would have been quite an easy matter—in fact, it was just a matter of walking a few miles through the mountains—to reach the Hunza River. 173 174

It is not in my interest to strengthen the Mir's story or the tales that other writers have established about the relationship of Alexander or his men and the people of Hunza. I am merely citing the above from my actual observations and studies. You can accept it or waive it aside.

One would not have a comprehensive understanding of Hunza and the people of Hunza without a few facts about their comparatively early history. 175 643

One of the most colorful leaders that the people of Hunza have ever had was the present Mir's grandfather—Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E. (Knight Commander of the Indian Empire)—who was the Mir of Hunza from 1892 until 1938 when he died on July 23 at the age of 79, having ruled for a total of 46 years. 'Twas a long rule for any king in any country.

In 1934 when he was 75 years of age his wife gave birth to a son who was named Sahib Khan. In January, 1938 the British crown conferred the title of K.C.S.I. (Knight Commander of the Star of India) upon Sir Mohomed.

He was followed by his son, Ghazan Khan who ruled from 1938 to 1945—not quite 8 years. Ghazan Khan

I found the Rani to be the most beautiful woman in Hunza. I didn't dare ask her age, but I know she was married to the present Mir in 1934. Therefore she must be close to or in her 40's. She could undoubtedly pass with any woman in her early 20's. But there were few, if any, women in Hunza like her. 142

I further will grant that I, or anyone else for that matter, would have very little opportunity of seeing Hunzan women at what might be their best. To state my views candidly, I'd say the men definitely looked youthful, but the women looked to be older than their years.

Perfect health—I have never seen, as yet, a race of people that was as healthy as the people of Hunza. But to say that they were a race that enjoyed perfect health, I would consider a bit of an exaggeration, because the doctor does treat a few patients now and then and the hospital does harbor a few sick people. I must honestly admit that I did not see any sick people in Hunza, but there are quite a few who do not enjoy perfect health. 164

A pre-Bronze Age people—Here I suspect someone wanted to show his knowledge in archeology or anthropology, whichever it may be. (I am expressing *my* ignorance to begin with.) They are no more Bronze Age than was the writer who referred to them as such. This would take them back between 4,000 and 5,000 years which is utter and sheer "poppycock." He further stated that they were isolated for 2,000 years. If that is true, they were isolated because they wanted to remain that way. 174 [177]

It is a fact that there is a caravan trail right through Hunza. It is the shortest route from China to Persia and leads through Hunza, past Gilgit and across the Babusar Pass and then on westward or southwestward. 487 177

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173 proud of the independence they have always maintained, and
186 they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago. The rulers are called *Thum*, and their families are descended from twin brothers, Moghlot and Gir-
174 kis, who lived about the end of the fifteenth century. General Cunningham makes the somewhat natural mistake of confounding Girkis with Kirghiz, and suggests that the former inhabitants of Hunza must have been Dards (?), who have since been displaced by the nomads of the Pamir. From this he goes on to argue that the rulers of Shigar must also be of Kirghiz blood; and following the same line of argument he states that the Astor district must once have belonged to the Tibetan race, because the ruling family are Makpons. He also mentions the Gilgitis as a race of Dardo-Tibetans, for which assumption there is no adequate foundation.[1]

643 I have been told by a Nepaulese gentleman that *Thum* is a Chinese title, meaning Governor, and that it is used in a reduplicated form *Thum Thum*, to signify a Governor General.[2] Its existence in these countries, where its origin has been completely lost sight of, is curious and must be extremely ancient.

The rulers of Nager, who are descended from the first-named of the two brothers, are called Moghloté, the present
161 Thum being Jaffer Zahid Khan. Though the smaller of the two states, Nager has the larger population, owing to the greater amount of cultivable ground which it contains.
134 The population is about 10,000 souls. The land where cultivable is extremely fertile and bears exceptionably heavy
135 crops, and the Nager streams are rich in gold. The country is especially famous for its apricots, which are dried and export-
439 ed to the Punjab in considerable quantities. Nearly opposite Hunza, the Myetsil River, a considerable stream, joins the
361 main river from the south-west. The fort of Nager and the Thum's house are on the southern side of this stream, about 3 miles from the junction, at an elevation of 8,000 feet
131 above the sea. Both sides of this valley belong to Nager, and it forms the eastern boundary of the state. At the head of it is the difficult and dangerous road over the Hispar Pass into the Shigar Valley, which is never used except in cases
000 of necessity. When Cashmere authority was temporarily

[1] Cunningham's *Ladakh*, pages 27, 38, 58, 295.

[2] It is perhaps a corruption of the word Tung, which appears in many titles. The Chinese Governor of Kashgharia is called Tsung Tung, and the officer who commands the troops is styled Tung-lung.

[See I. Cunningham, AJ4 West Tibetan file -- Analyst]

~~181 Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 A91 Afghanistan XIII~~
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AV5 Dard AV3
Butistho AV7

Considerable rivalry exists between Shins and Yeshkuns even in villages where they have lived side by side for generations. D 578 B 578

Living among them, in varying numbers, are Syuds, Krammins, Doms, Shotos, and Goojurs. All of these occupy an inferior position except the Syuds, who relate that they first settled in the country in the time of Tamerlane. They are treated with the highest respect, and receive in marriage daughters from the ruling families, but without reciprocity, for a Syud's daughter is given only to a Syud. There are none in Hunza, but elsewhere they are scattered through the country in small numbers. There is seldom more than one Syud's house in each village. D 564 B 564

The Krammins, who are millers and potters, are most numerous in Darel, and do not exist in Hunza or Nager. They do not intermarry with any other caste. Their name is probably derived from the Persian *kamin*, "mean," though Mr. Shaw, in his paper on "Stray Aryans in Thibet," suggests that the name is derived from *krum*, "work."

The Doms, who are musicians, blacksmiths, and leather-workers, are most numerous in Yassin, Nager, and Chilas, in which latter place they form a sixth of the population.

In Nager there is a caste called Shoto, which exists nowhere else; they work in leather, and rank below the Doms, who take daughters from them without giving in return.

Like the low caste of men of India, the men belonging to these inferior castes are of very dark complexion, coarse features, and inferior physique. Mr. Drew regards them as akin to the low castes of the Punjab, and accounts for their presence in these countries by suggesting that they are remnants of a pre-Aryan aboriginal race, who represent the earliest inhabitants of these valleys. I am more inclined to think that, like the Shins, they have come from the south to settle in these valleys. It is possible that they accompanied the Shins, or they may have followed them, gradually spreading under the protection of the Shin rule. Their status is only consistent with the existence of the Hindoo religion, which I believe to have been introduced by the Shins, and it is worthy of notice that they are not found in the upper part of the Chitral Valley. D 142 174 B 142 174

In Gilgit itself there are a great number of Cashmeris, or, as they are called, Kashiroos, whose forefathers settled in the place in the time of Ahmed Shah Abdali, about 1760 A.D. They now form the largest section of the population, and the shrewdness which forms so distinctive a part of the D 162

~~12:~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU3 Afghanistan AU3~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Durushi AV7

D 197

by the Ghalchah tribes, that is, those belonging to the first group, appear to be sprung from ancient Persian (Zend), those of the third group show greater affinity with the Sanscrit. But Zend and Sanscrit being sister languages,[1] a relationship is shown to exist between the two groups. The Khowar language, as has already been mentioned, shows affinities with those of both groups, and will be found, I believe, to constitute an intermediate link between the two.

B 144

The Yeshkuns, or Boorish, of Hunza, Nager, &c., must be classed separately from all the three groups, though they have now, perhaps, nearly as much Aryan as Turanian blood in their veins.

B 174

Conjecture is permissible as to the events which brought these tribes into their present localities, although the actual facts must remain unknown. Some idea also may be formed as to the order in which these events happened, but anything approaching to exact chronology is utterly unattainable.

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It is generally agreed that Badakhshan and the upper part of the Oxus Valley was one of the earliest homes of the Aryan race. Their progress southwards was probably gradual, and at first more due to natural expansion than to any desire for conquest. As they came to occupy localities of greater fertility in a more genial climate, their number would naturally increase more rapidly. Warlike expeditions on a large scale would become possible, and each step in advance would be taken with greater confidence. In the tribes of the first, or Ghalchah, group may probably be recognised the descendants of those who remained settled in their original locality, and who, in latter times, were gradually driven up into the narrow valleys where they are now found. In some instances, as in the Ludkho Valley, they crossed the great range and settled ~~on the~~ south side of it at a comparatively recent date.

D 174

The tribes of the second and third groups I take to represent those who migrated southwards at the earliest period. Of these a certain number must have settled in the ground first occupied by the emigrants, leaving the more energetic to push on further south. In the Kho and the Siah-Posh, I would recognise the descendants of these first settlers who, after crossing the Hindoo Koosh and exterminating or driving before them the aboriginal inhabitants, remained in occupation of the hill country down to an elevation of about 2,500

[1] Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Vol. II. page 266.

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Burush. AV7

D 174

noted that the northward impulse appears to have been given to them under somewhat different conditions, and at a considerably earlier period than it was imparted to cognate tribes in other valleys. That their religion was a form of Hindooism, and not of Buddhism, I think there can be little doubt. The preservation of a caste system, and their feeling for the cow, which has procured them a distinctive name among their neighbours, point to this conclusion, while no tradition or reverence survives for the Buddhistic remains still to be found in their country. Leaving their home in Pukli they must have pressed up the Indus Valley, founding a number of small principalities, the most important of which were Gilgit and Baltistan, and extended almost as far as Leh. The rock-carved Hindoo idols still to be met with in Western Ladakh, some of which show the Brahminical thread, were no doubt their work. The conquerors naturally settled in the most fertile parts where the climate was least severe, forcing the original occupants to take refuge in the wilder, colder, and more mountainous districts, where some of them were perhaps enabled to preserve a semi-independence. As time elapsed, in the parts where both races continued to live side by side, the language of the conquerors would be imposed on the conquered. The strict caste habits of the Shins would, however, prevent a thorough blending of the two races, so that, long after their relative positions of conquerors and conquered were lost sight of, a rigid line of separation was maintained between them. Had the Shins come into the country by mere immigration, without conquest, they could hardly have imposed their language on, and assumed a position of superiority over, a people who out-numbered them.

B 174 D 174

Now, if things had happened as I have suggested, we should naturally search in the difficult fastnesses of Hunza for the original race in its greatest purity, and that is what is actually found. In Nager also, a country not quite so impregnable as Hunza, but sufficiently so to make it difficult of conquest, the population is entirely Boorish. At the villages of Myoon and Hini, or Hindi, in Hunza, a few Shins are found. Below Hini on both sides of the valley they form an increasing proportion of the population as Gilgit is approached. Below Myoon the Boorish language is not spoken. At Chaprot, however, there are plenty of Shins, and the nature of the ground is such that the possession of Chaprot secures the command of the upper valley. It is, therefore, allowable to suppose that much the same state of

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things existed in the days of the Shin rule as now, that is, that while Hunza was nominally obedient to Gilgit, there was little intercourse between the two states.

Turning westward to Yassin, we again find the Boorish, or Woorshik, forming the population of the upper valley in which the Boorish language is spoken. Here, again, the language boundary nearly corresponds with the present political boundary, and here again, as on the Hunza side, physical difficulties form a natural barrier between the upper and lower valley, though the Shins have extended along the main valley west of its junction with the Woorshigoom Valley. Below Gahkuch, and as far as the Indus, the Shins are found in increasing numbers, though still in the minority. The language, however, is Shina. As the table already given[1] has shown, the proportion of Yeshkuns to other races decreases steadily the further south one goes, and the Shins preponderate in the more fertile valleys till the Pathan population is reached, the single exception to this rule being the community of Palus. Now, how else, I would ask, except by this theory of conquest, is it possible to account for this wedge of a strange language driven in between countries like Yassin and Hunza divided from each other by lofty mountains, which stops short at the natural frontiers?

The next event must have been the movement of the Tartars from the eastward along the Indus Valley. The period of the establishment of their power in Iskardo is perhaps marked by the appearance of the name Ghotachoh in the Makpon genealogy. There was, no doubt, at the time a Yeshkun population living mixed with the Shins, and owing to the absence of caste prejudices, they would be the first to be absorbed by intermarriage with the conquerors. In the people of Dah-Hanu, we see the only remaining relics of the former Shin inhabitants of Baltistan, and here again the preservation of their languages and themselves as a separate community appears to be due to the isolation caused by the physical difficulties of the spot which they inhabit.

Mr. Shaw, describing the localities, says:—

"In a wild gorge, through which the narrow Indus rushes, and where the grand masses of granite seemingly piled in confusion on both banks scarcely leave room for the passage of the river, and conceal the mountains behind them, my camp was pitched. Close by, the Hanu ravine, which in its upper part expands into a wide inhabited valley, escapes through a rocky chasm into the Indus. My next day's march led through similar scenery, the path now rising up the side of

See page 35.

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D 174 B 174

the cliff, supported on frail-looking scaffoldings of tree trunks, resting on projecting rocks or on wooden trestles, now plunging precipitously down to the river side, where a stone could be thrown to strike the opposite cliff across the Indus. The village of Darchik, likewise, is cut off from the lower course of the valley by a vertical cliff, the escarpment of the plateau on which it stands. There are only two ways of approach—one high up and away from the river, is guarded by a fortified communal dwelling; the other, near the river, consists of a rugged narrow staircase, constructed in the face of the cliff and closed by a gateway at the top."

D 174

In each case it is apparent how much concern the physical conformation of the country has with the preservation of ethnological divisions.

The movement of the smaller tribes was no doubt due to the increasing pressure of the Afghans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, gradually pushing before them a less warlike people who lacked cohesion. The Gawaré of the Indus Valley, and the Gubbers of the Kooner Valley about Narisat, must be looked upon as separated branches of one tribe, and are, no doubt, the Gourœi of ancient geographers, whose former abode was in the Punjkorah Valley, if that river has been correctly identified with the Garæus of the ancients. Their name has certainly nothing to do with fire-worship, for in the Kooner Valley it is only used among themselves, and not by their neighbours of Chitral, who call them Narisatis. The Torwalik of the Swat Kohistan, and the Chiliss of the Indus Valley, apparently were also formerly one tribe, and according to the Chiliss tradition came from Boneyr.

The Kho would seem to have once spread over a much greater extent of country than they now occupy. Their name appears in the ancient Khophen (the Cabul River), the Choaspes (the Kooner River), the Choes (the combined Swat and Punjkorah Rivers), and in the name of the Comedæ mountains, which must have been those at the head of the Swat Valley. They were, no doubt, the Khasiras of the Vishnu Purana, and perhaps the Cosyri of Pliny; and in the name of And-Kho, 350 miles to the westward, we may perhaps see traces of them.

The number and diversity of the dialects spoken among the Siah Posh points to their having occupied a more extended area, from which they have been dislodged and driven into their present narrow limits, and the conversion of the surrounding tribes, first to Buddhism and later to Mahommedanism, has isolated them from their neighbours. But while their enmity with their Afghan neighbours to the west is deadly and

113, 175, 721 Burusho AV7

/For history of military campaigns in Hunza and Nagar from 1889-1893 see 4: Durand, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 226-292. /

113, 175

Burusho AV7

[For information pertaining to the history of Hunza and Nagar, 1842-1870, see 1: Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 435-450 passim.]

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

175 361 712 Some time in the days of our earliest Edwards, a princess of Baltistán married the reigning prince of Hunza. For the last hundred years or so the direct route to Baltistán has been completely blocked by advancing glaciers, but for centuries before, the two countries had been in communication with each other. Hunza consisted then of three small villages only: Áltít and Ganesh on the river cliffs, and Báltít high above. The princess's father sent with the bride an army of Balti masons, carpenters, and craftsmen, who built the two forts of Áltít and Báltít as part of the royal dowry, and to-day they still stand proudly on their cliffs, impregnable to assault, [177] centres of ancient ceremonial. To this day, too, the Hunzukuts modestly attribute all their simple arts to Balti influence.

173 643 The original inhabitants of Hunza proper are said to be descended from three soldiers of Alexander the Great, who were left behind sick, presumably plus their womenfolk, and thus while their comrades marched on became the founders of the three first villages in this inhospitable region. Like so many royal houses in Central Asia, the family that has ruled for more than six centuries in Hunza and Nagir likes to claim descent from Alexander himself. But while the Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikander (= Alexander) Khan still upholds this tradition, we noticed that the shrewder Mir of Hunza—who must have seen many a courteously-veiled smile greet this familiar genealogy—shied off the topic.

What seems probable is that the royal family is not in origin of the same stock as the people, and that it may well—as tradition asserts—have come from Persia at some prehistoric date. What is certain is that it can trace its authentic ancestry as far back as can the House of Windsor.

173 144 There may well be truth in the legend of the European descent of the Hunza Burusho, for in temperament and looks our Hunza friends have nothing of the "Oriental" about them. Take from them the very lightly bronzed complexion, "the shadow'd livery of the burnished sun," to which at this altitude they are "neighbour and near bred," and you could transplant them without incongruity to the moors of Yorkshire or the Scottish lowlands.

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 643
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws 648
a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

344 This massive old fortress, for that is what it was,
644 was actually one of the places that had withstood the
712 attacks of invaders for more than 400 years and re-
727 mained impregnable. It has only once been in enemy
[175] hands since the day it was built and that was in 1891,
when, after the Battle of Nilt, it was occupied by the British. Records further indicate that the British added no glory to their occupation at the time because of their indiscriminate looting of the treasures found in the palace. But the Mir, whether because of his friendship for the British or because of his desire to tell the truth, claimed that it was not the British who looted it, but the Dogra troops who were under British command.

344 Here I would like to quote from E. F. Knight's
644 *Where Three Empires Meet:*

352 "This massive fortress, which has been for hundreds of years the secure stronghold of the robber kings, inviolate until this day, stands boldly out, set in the midst of a sublime landscape . . . Twigg, Boisragon and myself took up our quarters in the most comfortable chamber we could find, which we soon discovered to have been the apartment of the ladies belonging to the [643] Thum's harem. ("Thum" is Burushaski for ruler, sovereign, king, chief, "Mir". Used especially of the hereditary rulers of the states of Hunza and Nagir.) It was surrounded by a low, broad, wooden divan, on which our bedding was laid. Pillars of carved wood rose from the edge of the divan to the carved beams of the roof, blackened by the smoke of ages. . . . A fire was lit in the open fireplace at one end of the floor, the smoke escaping through a square hole in the roof. Save for the Oriental pattern of the wooden carvings it was just a hall, I imagine, as King Canute might have lived in. . . . We enjoyed a delicious night's rest after our late fatigues.

History also relates most pointedly that Alexander had difficulty with his troops at various points in India where they refused to go any further. Then in Taxila, which is not very far from Rawalpindi on the route to Hunza, he left the sick, disabled and older men. It wouldn't be difficult to imagine that some of the younger wounded men, when they got well, crossed the Himalayas through the Babusar Pass and then wandered up to Gilgit and Hunza or when they were in Bactria, it would have been quite an easy matter—in fact, it was just a matter of walking a few miles through the mountains—to reach the Hunza River. 173 174

It is not in my interest to strengthen the Mir's story or the tales that other writers have established about the relationship of Alexander or his men and the people of Hunza. I am merely citing the above from my actual observations and studies. You can accept it or waive it aside.

One would not have a comprehensive understanding of Hunza and the people of Hunza without a few facts about their comparatively early history. 175 643

One of the most colorful leaders that the people of Hunza have ever had was the present Mir's grandfather—Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E. (Knight Commander of the Indian Empire)—who was the Mir of Hunza from 1892 until 1938 when he died on July 23 at the age of 79, having ruled for a total of 46 years. 'Twas a long rule for any king in any country.

In 1934 when he was 75 years of age his wife gave birth to a son who was named Sahib Khan. In January, 1938 the British crown conferred the title of K.C.S.I. (Knight Commander of the Star of India) upon Sir Mohomed.

He was followed by his son, Ghazan Khan who ruled from 1938 to 1945—not quite 8 years. Ghazan Khan

175 643 was then succeeded by his son, the present ruler—Mohammed Jamal Khan who has been the ruler of Hunza since 1945.

175 643 669 Here is a quotation from the Mir's grandfather's book in which he tells about the blood-curdling exploits of his brother, Sfdar Ali, whom he succeeded:

"He thereupon had Taighoon, Nematulla and Misiab killed, Sakhawat Shah and Jahandar Shah rolled down a precipice below Ghulkin, their mother put to death and arranged for the murder of Salam Khan in Shimshal."

However, he spared the life of his brother, Nazim Khan and then he wrote to the Maharajah of Kashmir to announce his ascension to the throne in the following descriptive terms:

"By the will of Allah and a decree of fate, my late father and I recently fell out. I took the initiative and settled the matter, and have placed myself on the throne of my ancestors."

This bloodthirsty Mir virtually got away with mass murder and felt that he was cock of the walk and could afford to defy any power.

175 648 From my reading of the Mir's grandfather's autobiography, from studies made from the earlier books written about Hunza and from my observations and discussions on the spot, I have evolved a personal kind of understanding concerning the situation that prevails in Hunza today.

[771] The Mir of Hunza, as well as the other rulers of the principalities in that area, such as Nagir, Punial, Yasin, Baltistan and others, are all Mohammedan and, from what I can gather, they supported or were willing participants in the revolt which tied them together with the central government in Pakistan. This government, bear in mind, is strictly Mohammedan and partition

from India was on this religious basis.

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward.

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice.

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.)

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

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175 648 before the Chinese government took control of that region. (By that I mean, while it was still in the hands of what is known as the Turki.)

This quotation from the autobiography of Nazim Khan will serve to illustrate the point in question:

"Two years later Colonel Bruce came to Gilgit as temporary British Agent and he told me that the Government had decided that I might still pay my annual tribute to China. To this, however, I demurred as I pointed out to him that having relations with both was like sitting between two stools. He, however, retorted that if this was the case and one stool broke there was always the other to sit on and that no suspicion would attach to me as long as there were friendly relations between the British Government and the Emperor of China. He did make one stipulation, though, and that was that I should let the Political Agent in Gilgit see the letter that accompanied the toll, before it was despatched."

In turn, the Chinese sent a friendly troop of soldiers to Hunza every year with gifts for the Mir and rich, luxurious gifts they were!

175 648 487 Now this may sound very strange, almost ridiculous but nevertheless, it is absolutely true. And the reason is simple and easy to understand if you will but follow me. The road through Hunza was by far the shortest route to Gilgit, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Kabul and Persia as well as Srinagar in Kashmir and other parts of India. Elsewhere along the route the caravans could travel with immunity and safety but in Hunza even the largest caravan—yes, even one protected by gun bearers or soldiers—could easily come to grief. All that would be required would be a few men hidden away in the upper reaches on the slopes to begin dropping stones or to start a landslide at a given moment.

As that entire 200 miles from the Chinese border to Nomal is composed chiefly of this type of terrain, unless a caravan had a guarantee of safe conduct, they just couldn't get through. 175 648 [487]

The Mir was the ruler of Hunza and he held full and complete control over his tribesmen. So what could be more natural and understandable than an annual payment of tribute to the Mir for safe conduct? I know for a fact that right up until the time when the Chinese Communists took over the Singkiang District, the Mir still received a share of the cargo carried by the caravans traveling through Hunza. [643] [487]

Therefore it is my conclusion that the ways, the habits and the mode of life of the people of Hunza were patterned more after the Chinese than the Indians. Further, I suspect that they did a lot more trading with the caravans that came through regularly than they ever did at Gilgit. In one instance the caravans came to them and in the other case they had to go down to Gilgit . . . anywhere from 40 to 200 or so miles away, through the tough mountain roads. 175 648 439 [177]

It was in November 1947, when Pakistan seized part of Kashmir from India by an armed revolt. The circumstances that brought about this event are worth recording and I believe you will have greater understanding of the people of Hunza and Pakistan if you know the story. 175 648

The Pakistanis claim that the Province of Kashmir should belong to Pakistan because the Indian government had agreed to allow all the predominantly Moslem districts to secede and become a part of the newly formed country of Pakistan. Therefore, Kashmir which is more than 90 per cent Moslem should be a part of the Mohammedan nation. Eventually, when partition took place, Kashmir was not permitted out of the fold

175 of India but was held in abeyance by her, not belong-
648 ing to one or the other, yet under Indian control.

But in October of 1947, when the Maharajah of Kashmir who was Mohammedan suddenly decided to accede to the side of India because of pressure, threats or promises, word got down to Gilgit and there a few bold, Mohammedan officers and members of the Gilgit Scouts acted. They first approached two British officers who were still in the employ of the government . . . these officers obviously sympathized with their views.

Immediately these officers cut all communications by slicing the telegraph and telephone wires and placed the Governor of Gilgit, who was the Maharajah of Kashmir's representative, along with his few Hindu followers, under arrest.

The Indian government retaliated by bombing Gilgit. The P.A.'s house was hit by one of the bombs but only a small amount of damage was inflicted.

So since that day in November, 1947 the Gilgit area, including Hunza, Baltistan and other parts that were once part of the former Kashmir Province, is now part of Pakistan and forms the Gilgit Agency.

Considering the many casualties that occurred in other parts of Pakistan and India, the Gilgit episode is one that those in charge can be proud of because there were few if any casualties and the entire area seems to be happy under Pakistan authority.

648 Since 1947 the influence in Hunza has been mainly Pakistani. Whether the people of Hunza like it that way or not, I could not ascertain. I did not ask the Mir his opinion. To the best of my knowledge and belief, he is cooperating to the highest degree with the central government in Pakistan.

Actually, from the way the people of Hunza live,

human being take to a task so assiduously and with so 114
much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even if they are printed in German.

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it 104
is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last 197
syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I found every other source, with one exception besides myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better if I, too, used the "aski".

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains un- 671
written, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding.

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza 648
was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowledged sovereignty to India.

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly 643
has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I 175
know this power has never been used or abused by the [642]
present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office.

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
648 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

205 Pakistani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters that I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

682 past 40 years. Never to my knowledge has a stranger
[609] or a visitor ever been harmed or injured.

175 In bygone days the Hunzans were considered good
648 fighting men and were feared by the Chinese, the Afghans and neighboring tribes. It is a fact that they have only been conquered or beaten once in their history and that was by a British force that defeated them at the Battle of Nilt. The British did not seek to conquer the country. It was at the time when the British were the rulers of India. They requested that the Mir of Hunza allow free passage of the mail to Kashgar in China. The Mir at that time, Safdar Ali, felt that he could count upon the aid of the Russians and the Chinese and challenged the British authority. Then the British force went into the field and it required deliberation and courage to assault the high fortress, but it was accomplished by the British and the
[643] Mir fled for his life. The British then appointed his brother as the ruler and departed peacefully. Apart from this, the British did not interfere in the affairs of the Hunzans.

123 *You lose face if you carry anything yourself or do any work.* In all my travels throughout the world, including Hunza, I always did my share of the carrying. I wasn't going to stand by and see one or two men burdened down with my belongings while I walked about empty handed. I will not allow it to be said that I lost face because of this.

I don't want it to be thought that I am better than anyone else nor will I allow them to think that they are better than I. Wherever there was work to be done or burdens to be borne, I always did my share and I intend to keep on doing it.

131 *Hunza in the Himalayas.* Some writers keep referring to Hunza, Gilgit and Rakaposhi as being in the

131 **Hunza-Nagar.**—Two small chiefships lying to the extreme north-west of Kashmīr, on the banks of the Hunza river. Towards the north they extend into the mountainous region which adjoins the junction of the Hindu Kush and Muztāgh ranges; in the south they border on Gilgit; on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yāsīn by a range of mountains; while the Muztāgh range divides Nagar from Baltistān on the
197 east. The inhabitants of both chiefships come from the same stock and speak the same language, but are not usually on good
795 terms with each other. In Hunza the people are Maulais or Ismailis, followers of the Agā Khān, while in Nagar they are ordinarily Shiahs.

175 Lying between these States and Gilgit are Chaprot and Chalt
642 fort with some attached villages, which were long a source of contention between the rival chiefs. In 1877 the ruler of Nagar, with the assistance of the Kashmīr Darbār, successfully occupied the disputed tract; but in 1886 he was persuaded to withdraw his troops, which were replaced by a garrison from Kashmīr. In the same year Ghazan Khān, the *Tham* or chief of Hunza, was murdered by his son Safdar Alī, who succeeded him and professed submission to the Mahārājā of Kashmīr. The two chiefs combined in 1888, and ejected the Kashmīr troops from Chaprot and Chalt, even threatening Gilgit, but both strongholds were reoccupied by the Kashmīr forces after a few months.

A British Agency was re-established at Gilgit in 1889; and the chiefs agreed to respect the control of the Agent, to allow free passage through their territory, and to stop raiding on the Yārkand road and elsewhere, yearly subsidies being granted to them, besides the amount paid by the Kashmīr State. These engagements were not respected; and in May, 1891, a combined force from Hunza and Nagar threatened Chalt, but dispersed on the arrival of reinforcements. Later in the year they refused to allow roads to be made to Chalt, extending to their own country, and it became necessary to dispatch troops against them. Nagar and Hunza were occupied, and the *Tham* of the former place submitted, while Safdar Alī, the *Tham* of Hunza, fled to Chinese Turkistān. The subsidies were withdrawn, and a Political officer and military force remained at Hunza till 1897; but in 1892 Muhammad Nāzim Khān was installed as *Tham* in place of his half-brother Safdar Alī, while the *Tham* of Nagar was reinstated. In 1895 subsidies were again granted by the Government of India and the Kashmīr State, and in the same year both chiefs assisted in the relief of Chitrāl.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir Burusho AV7 Kashmiri AV4

Zafar Zāhid Khān, *Tham* of Nagar, died in 1904 and was succeeded by his son Sikandar Khān. B 175

The chief of Hunza, who claims Roskam and the Taghdumbāsh Pāmir north of the Hindu Kush watershed, is permitted to exchange presents with the Chinese authorities in Kashgar, but these relations are under consideration. Both States are autonomous as regards internal affairs, and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mahārājā of Kashmīr, to whom they pay a tribute of nominal value. They furnish levies for the defence of the frontier, who receive pay from the Kashmīr State, and are armed with Snider carbines, presented by the Government of India. 642 [648]

Bāramūla.—Town in the State of Kashmīr, situated in 34° 13′ N. and 74° 23′ E. Population (1901), 5,866. Owing to its position as the river port of Kashmīr, this is a place of some importance; but in consequence of the opening of the cart-road from Bāramūla to Srīnagar, the boat traffic, on which the inhabitants chiefly depend, may in time decrease. It is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, which is crossed at the east end of the town by an excellent bridge. The inhabitants are for the most part traders or shopkeepers. Bāramūla is very liable to earthquakes, and in 1885 it was almost reduced to ruins. The name is derived from the ancient city Vārahmūla, which stood on the right bank of the river along which the old route down the Jhelum used to run. Opposite, on the bank where the present Bāramūla stands, was the town of Hushkapura, founded by king Huvishka, the Kushan ruler, who succeeded Kanishka. The site of the ancient Hushkapura is about two miles to the south-east of the modern Bāramūla. K 361 K [162] K [463] [731]

Islāmābād.—Town in the State of Kashmīr, situated in 33° 44′ N. and 75° 12′ E., about a mile from the right bank of the Jhelum, near the point where that river becomes navigable. Population (1901), 9,390. It lies under an elevated table-land, on the edge of which rises a conical hill, overlooking the town. From its foot flows a vigorous spring, the Anantnāg, a name applied to the town by Hindus. There are numerous other springs, one of which, the Maliknāg, is sulphurous, and its water is highly prized for garden cultivation. Many of the inhabitants are shawl-weavers, and a large number are engaged in agriculture. It is generally believed that Islāmābād was once a large and prosperous place, but now there are few signs of prosperity or growth. The sanitation has been much neglected, and this constitutes a danger to the health of the capital, Srīnagar. K [162] [463] [364]

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burushi AV7

000 by the British Parliament and public, if our present Liberal Administration cannot do so without pressure from without. We should conciliate Nizam-ul-Mulk before it is too late. He is connected with Umra Khan of Jandôl and with the influential Mullah Shahu of Bajaur through his maternal uncle, Kokhan Beg. He has also connections in Badakhshan, Hunza and Dír, as already stated. Indeed, we ought to have given him our support from the beginning. I doubt whether it would be desirable to subdivide Chitrál as stated in to-day's *Times*, letting Sher Afzul keep Chitrál proper, giving Yasin to "the Nizám" and letting Umra Khan retain what he has already seized of Southern Chitrál. As for Sher Afzul, I believe, that he is also "loyal."

175 648 As for Hunza, I am not at all certain that the fugitive, Safdar Ali Khan, really murdered his father. At all events when the deed was committed, I find that it was attributed to Muhammad Khan,* probably not the present

* "By the most recent account, Ghazan Khan, the son of Ghazanfar, has been killed by his own son, Muhammad Khan. Muhammad Khan's mother was the sister of Zafar Khan, the ruler of Nagyr. She was killed by her father-in-law, Ghazanfar, and thrown over a precipice from her house. Ghazan Khan treacherously killed his paternal uncle, Abdullah Khan, ruler of Gojál, who unsuspectingly met him. On ascending the throne, Ghazan Khan is also said to have poisoned his ailing full brother, Bukhtawar Shah, and another (by a different Sayad mother) Nanawal Shah. The fratricidal traditions of Hunza and of the Khush-waqtia family of Yasin have now been somewhat thrown into the shade by the parricide of Muhammad Khan. The father of Ghazan Khan, Ghazanfar, is said to have died from the effects of a suit of clothes, impregnated with small-pox, sent to him by his daughter, the full sister of Ghazan Khan, who was married to Mir Shah of Badakhshan, in order to accelerate her brother's accession to the throne. The father of Ghazanfar, Sullum, also poisoned his own father. This state of things is very different from the gentle rules and traditions of Nagyr, whose aged Chief, Zafar Khan, has nineteen sons, and who sent his rebellious eldest son, Muhammad Khan (whose mother was a full sister of Ghazan Khan of Hunza) to Ramsu in Kashmir territory, where he died. He was married to a daughter of his maternal uncle, and tried to sell some of his Nagyr subjects into slavery, against the traditions of that peaceful country, in consequence of which his father, Zafar Khan, expelled him." (See Part referring to the History and Customs of Hunza and Nagyr.) Yet it is this patriarchal, loyal and God-fearing Záfar Khan, whose letter to me I published last year, whom we accused of kidnapping and aggressiveness, so that we might take his country.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho AV 7

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648

Mir Muhammad Nazim who has acknowledged the suzerainty of England (through Kashmir) and of China. The latter power has always had something to say to Hunza, and the very title of its Chief "Tham" is of Chinese origin. The subsidy that China used to pay for keeping open the commercial road from Badakhshan and Wakhan through the Pamirs along Kunjût (Hunza) to Yarkand, was about £380 per annum, and this sum was divided between four States and ensured the immunity of the route from raids.* I doubt whether in future £380 a year on Hunza alone will enable us to keep it quiet, and I am sure that the lofty superciliousness with which Chinese officials discuss the Pamir question, as something that scarcely concerns them, is no evidence of that pertinacious power abandoning claims to a suzerainty in those regions which are historically founded, although their exercise has been more by an appeal to imagination of the glorious and invincible, if distant, "Khitái," than by actual interference.

Indeed, it is China alone that has a grievance—against Russia for the occupation of the Alichur Pamir—against Afghanistan for expelling her troops from Somatash (of subsequent Yanoff fame)—and against England for encroaching on her ancient feudatory of Hunza, whose services in suppressing the Khoja rebellion in 1847 are commemorated in a tablet on one of the gates of Yarkand.

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NOTE.—We add a reproduction of the photographs of the Mihtar and Badshah Nizam-ul-Mulk, sitting in Council with his uncle, Bahadur Khan, now at Gilgit, where he represented Afzul-ul-Mulk. On the Nizam's left is his foster-uncle, Maimun Shah, whilst behind him stand our Indian Agent, Wafadár Khan and a Chitráli office-holder, Wazir Khan, of corresponding rank. We also give the portrait of the Chitrál Court poet and musician, the celebrated Taighûn Shah, one of whose songs, with its notation, was published in our issue of the 1st of January, 1891. He is seated with the two flute-players who always precede the King of Chitrál when on a tour.

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* Of the £380, Shignán received £170, Sirikul £100, Wakkan £50, and Hunza £60 in Yambus (silver blocks of the value of £17).

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 175

service of his former friend, Mir Vali, who, however, soon flies the country in the direction of Badakhshan, then seeks refuge with the Akhund of Swat, and finally returns to Yasin, where he is reported to have been well received by Pahlwan. Whilst in Chitrál, he was seen by Major Montgomerie's Havildar and was on good terms with Amán-ul-Mulk, who is supposed, chiefly on the authority of a doubtful seal, to be the instigator of a murder which was not, apparently, to his interests and which did not enrich him or Mir Vali with any booty, excepting a gun and a few other trifles. Much of the property of Mr. Hayward was recovered by the Kashmir authorities, and a monument was erected by them to his memory at Gilgit, where there is already a shrine, which is referred to on pages 47 and 51.

1871.—Jehandár Shah, son of Mir Shah, who had again been turned out of the rule of Badakhshan in October 1869 by Mir Mahmud Shah with the help of the Afghan troops of Amir Sher Ali, finds an asylum in Chitrál with Amán-ul-Mulk (whose daughter had been married to his son) after having for some time shared the fortunes of his friend, the fugitive Abdurrahman Khan of Kabul. (Chitrál pays an annual tribute to the Chief of Badakhshan in slaves, which it raises either by kidnapping travellers or independent Kafirs or by enslaving some of its own Shiah and Kafir subjects—the ruler being of the Sunni persuasion.)

1872.—Late accounts are confused, but the influence of Amir Sher Ali seems to be pressing through Badakhshán on Chitrál and through Bajaur on Swat on the one hand and on the Kafir races on the other. The Maharaja of Kashmir on the one side and the Amir of Kabul on the other seem to endeavour to approach their frontiers at the expense of the intervening Dard and other tribes. Jehandár Shah infests the Kolab road and would be hailed by the people of Badakhshan as a deliverer from the oppressive rule of Mahmud Shah, as soon as the Kabul troops were to withdraw.

B 175

So far my "Dardistan," in which a detailed "History of the Wars with Kashmir" will be found. The events since 1872 need only to be indicated here in rough outline, and, unfortunately, confirm my worst anticipations as to the destruction of the independence of the Dardu tribes, of their legendary lore, and, above all, of the purity of their languages, including the prehistoric Khajuná or "Burishki" spoken in Hunza-Nagyr, and a part of Yasin. What are the admitted encroachments of our Ally, the Maharaja of Kashmir, have been utilized in our supposed interests, and we have stepped in to profit, as we foolishly think, by his sins, whilst he is tricked out of their reward. Falsely alleging that Hunza-Nagyr were rebellious vassals of Kashmir, when Hunza at all events was under Chinese protectorate, we have reduced their patriotic defenders to practical servitude, and, by to-day's *Times* (21st November, 1892), are starting, along with 250 rifles and two guns, some 100 men of a Hunza levy to Chitrál to put down a trouble which our ill-judged interference has created in another independent principality, where we have put aside the rightful heir, Nizám-ul-Mulk, for his

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
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175 younger brother, Afzul-ul-Mulk, on the pretext that the former was intriguing with the Russians. I believe this allegation to be absolutely false, for I know him to be most friendly to British interests. In 1886 he offered to send a thousand men from Warshigum over the passes to the relief of Colonel (now General Sir) W. Lockhart, then a temporary prisoner at Panjah Fort in Affghan hands. As Padishah of Turikoh, Nizám-ul-Mulk was, in his father's life-time, the *acknowledged* heir to the Chitrál throne, and he was made by his father Raja of Yasin in succession to Afzul, who had taken it in 1884 from Mir Amán, the maternal uncle of Pehliwán, who was ruler of Yasin in 1880, when Colonel Biddulph wrote his "Tribes of the Hindukush," and with whom the Khushwaqtia dynasty, as such, came to an end. This Pehliwan killed Mir Wali, the murderer of Hayward, but Pehliwan made the mistake of attacking Biddulph in 1880, and was ousted by Mir Amán. With Nizam-ul-Mulk, therefore, begins the rule over Yasin by the Kathoria Dynasty of Chitrál. He is now a fugitive at Gilgit; had he been intriguing with Russia he would certainly not have sought refuge from his brother in the British lion's mouth at Gilgit. All I can say is that in 1886 he did not even know the name of Russia, and that when he wrote to me in 1887 he referred to the advent of the French explorers Capus, Pepin and Bonvalot, as follows: "they call themselves sometimes French, and at other times Russians." In the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January, 1891, there is a paper from Raja Nizám-ul-Mulk on "the Legends of Chitrál." He is thus the first Central Asian prince whose literary effusion has appeared in the pages of a British, or indeed of any other, Review. His first letters, sent in the hollow of a twig, like his latter ones sent through British officers, all breathe a spirit of what might be called the sincerest loyalty to the Queen-Empress, were he not an absolutely independent ruler. There will be an evil day of reckoning when the "meddling and muddling," which has created the Russian Frankenstein, will be followed by the exasperation of princes and people, within and beyond our legitimate frontier. To revert to Hunza and Nagyr, Mr. F. Drew, an Assistant Master of Eton College, who was *in the service of the Maharaja of Kashmir*, wrote in 1877 in his "Northern Barrier of India"—which, alas! our practical annexation of Kashmir, and our interference with the Hindukush tribes are breaking down—as follows: "Hunza and Nagyr are two small INDEPENDENT RAJASHIPS. Nagyr has generally shown a desire to be on friendly terms with the Dogras at Gilgit, while Hunza has been a thorn in their side." There is not a word here of these States being tributaries of Kashmir, whilst Colonel Biddulph, who was our Resident at Gilgit, shows that the last Hunza raid was committed in 1867, and that slavery and kidnapping were unknown in inoffensive, if not "timid," Nagyr. My article in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January, 1892, shows that raiding and slavery had been recently revived in consequence of alike Russian and English advances, and that the fussiness and ambition of our officials have alone *indicated* and *paved* "the nearest way to India."

Woking, 21st November, 1892.

000 P.S.—In correcting this proof of a paper on the Fairy-land that adjoins "the Roof of the World," which our imprudence has drawn within the range of practical politics. I never anticipated that I should have to refer to my "rough sketch of the History of Dardistan" brought down to 1872 as a refutation of the history written to order by some of our leading journals which, to suit the policy of the moment, would make the Amir of Affghanistan responsible for Badakhshan, and yet blame him for interfering with Chitrál, as is hinted in a telegram in to-day's *Times*. I shall deal with this matter elsewhere. (See also Appendix II.)

Woking, 29th November, 1892.

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but
513 adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
354 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that
324 of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a
322 lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Béricho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
342 for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
335 through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
● 177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
322 duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and inde-
291 pendent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the
415 cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very
415 scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little
233 but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

ANTIQUITY

233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons
241 hopes to possess is a tiny flock of 20 to 25 sheep, goats and cows. In
237 these circumstances manure is more precious than gold, and the small
592 children who conduct a cow to pasture carry a shoulder basket in which every ounce of the day's output is scrupulously collected and brought home.

233 When the snow retreats on the upper mountains a few patches of green are left here and there, and the more athletic beasts are taken up by young men who live in shelters with their charges, collect the manure, convert the milk into butter and bring these home with the animals when the snows claim their own again. These patches of high pasture, several thousand feet above the villages, are all too few and can only be reached by serious feats of mountaineering. Through field-glasses we could see the grazing animals clinging—by their eyebrows as it seemed—to their precipitous 'summer pastures', but it was impossible to ride up even on a yak, and at our age impossible to climb on foot for a nearer view.

As soon as the trees put out their leaves in spring, each 'donkey tree' (*i.e.*, non-fruit-bearing) is stripped of every scrap of spare foliage to feed the half-starved beasts. This luxury diet has to be very carefully administered lest the animals should perish of its unaccustomed succulence.

243 The major crops grown by the Hunza people for their own use are wheat, barley, several kinds of millet, sweet and bitter buckwheat,
[177] nowadays also the highly-valued potato (introduced by the British in 1892) and small quantities of various pulses. Barley must have been the original staple crop, for all the traditional festivals, the Seed-sowing of early spring, the First Reaping of early summer and the Harvest
[242] Home, relate to barley alone. The peasant is wise about rotation of crops and the various types of wheat, millet, etc., which thrive best in given conditions. Wheaten bread is much preferred to any other, but barley remains the larger crop because spring-sown barley ripens three or four weeks before even the winter-sown wheat, and the vacant fields can be resown with millet; whereas after the wheat only buckwheat can hope to ripen before winter. Bitter buckwheat is frankly detested, but it is hardier than the sweet and can better withstand an attack of early frost, so a certain amount of it is always sown as an insurance.

So poor is the soil, so scanty the manure, that in the newer villages like Aliabad, the average return is only sevenfold and even the storeyed fields of Baltit, which have been tilled in the sweat of man and woman's brow for at least 600 years and probably for twice or thrice as long, yield

There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and 524
Banu, about six and four, who played with me and let me 177
tickle them with straws and play "One little pig went to market . . ." with their dusty little toes. This game proved such a success that I roughly translated it into "One little sheep went to drink. . . ." They would never have seen a pig, and if they had they *ought* to think it unclean, so I thought a lamb was safer. My first version gave one little lamb bread to eat, "bread" being a general word for "food." This caused great laughter: "Lambs wouldn't like bread, Mother dear." "Well, what do you think they'd like best?" "Oh, grass or leaves." "One little lamb had grass to eat and one little lamb had none." Thus amended, my little rhyme was approved, and other youngsters turned up to play "little lambs" till the game grew so popular that whenever I sat down on anyone's threshing-floor baby feet would be stretched out towards me: "One little lamb, Mother . . ." till I got quite tired of ". . . baa, baa, baa, all the way home," but it never palled on them. Centuries hence, when we shall have long been sleeping in the Garden of Rest at Golders Green, some anthropologist will come along and wonder what process of "diffusion" took "one little pig" to Hunza, or whether Hunza spontaneously generated the jingle for itself.

My pencil and little notebook were a great source of amuse- 124
ment, and the youngsters would crowd round: "Havé you put 476
my name in? I'm Shamúli." "So you are; but whose Shamúli are you? I've got two Shamúlis already. Who's your Daddy? How many brothers have you got; how many sisters, are they bigger or smaller, what are *their* names? And which house is yours?" Thus gradually I got to know most of our immediate neighbours, but it was no easy matter to sort the families out, for groups would gather on each other's threshing-floors, and anyone whose own immediate work was done would join in to help the workers. I finally gave numbers of my own to all the nearest houses, and tried bit by bit to plot out the various relationships.

Meantime the threshing went steadily on, and I noticed that 243
the driver carried always a flat bowl shoulder high in her left 237
hand. "Now what's that for?" asked I. "Why, that's the dung-

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

175 Some time in the days of our earliest Edwards, a princess of
361 Baltistán married the reigning prince of Hunza. For the last
712 hundred years or so the direct route to Baltistán has been completely blocked by advancing glaciers, but for centuries before, the two countries had been in communication with each other. Hunza consisted then of three small villages only: Áltít and Ganesh on the river cliffs, and Báltít high above. The princess's father sent with the bride an army of Balti masons, carpenters, and craftsmen, who built the two forts of Áltít and Báltít as part of the royal dowry, and to-day they still stand proudly on their cliffs, impregnable to assault,
[177] centres of ancient ceremonial. To this day, too, the Hunzukuts modestly attribute all their simple arts to Balti influence.

173 The original inhabitants of Hunza proper are said to be
643 descended from three soldiers of Alexander the Great, who were left behind sick, presumably plus their womenfolk, and thus while their comrades marched on became the founders of the three first villages in this inhospitable region. Like so many royal houses in Central Asia, the family that has ruled for more than six centuries in Hunza and Nagir likes to claim descent from Alexander himself. But while the Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikander (= Alexander) Khan still upholds this tradition, we noticed that the shrewder Mir of Hunza—who must have seen many a courteously-veiled smile greet this familiar genealogy—shied off the topic.

What seems probable is that the royal family is not in origin of the same stock as the people, and that it may well—as tradition asserts—have come from Persia at some prehistoric date. What is certain is that it can trace its authentic ancestry as far back as can the House of Windsor.

173 There may well be truth in the legend of the European
144 descent of the Hunza Burusho, for in temperament and looks our Hunza friends have nothing of the "Oriental" about them. Take from them the very lightly bronzed complexion, "the shadow'd livery of the burnished sun," to which at this altitude they are "neighbour and near bred," and you could transplant them without incongruity to the moors of Yorkshire or the Scottish lowlands.

463 ment departments, act as postal runners or dispensary assistants, do part-time jobs as "levies," or enter the private employment of British officers. Travel where you will in the Agency, some enterprising Hunza man is there before you, as carpenter or washerman, as touring merchant or in Government employ. You may even meet an old Hunza taxi-driver in Bombay or a Hunza *chaprassi* in Lahore.

• 177 At first the Mir rather discouraged these farther-afield
167 adventures, and not unwisely. New ideas, new customs, new dress, imported from abroad might well upset the happy balance of the home civilization; but the increasing pressure of population—a dubious benefit the *Pax Britannica* is wont to bring—makes some outlet necessary for ambitious youth, and some supplement necessary for home support, and the Mir's policy has been modified accordingly. With rare exceptions the travellers' hearts remain in their Hunza highlands; they go for a few years and return with newly acquired skill, with a set of carpenter's tools it may be, with a smoothing-iron or a sewing machine, to resume work on the family farm and earn a little "on the side."

593 We heard that a new house was being built by a certain
342 Kalbi (not the Levy; one of another clan) and were invited to go down—some hundreds of feet—and see it in its half-finished state. "It must cost a lot to build a new house," we said. "How did you come to have money enough to spare?" "Well, you see, I have two sons away working—thank God." And, in fact, except in the few cases where the Hunza man goes over-far afield to Bombay or the Panjab, and needs his own earnings to support a down-country family, the Hunza son remits home every spare anna, knowing well that it will be spent on the home he himself will presently enjoy and share. When he comes back on leave he brings his mother an aluminium cooking-pot or basin to jostle the stone *balosh* and wooden bowl, or an iron bucket which incongruously companions the local gourd when his sisters go to draw the drinking water.

342 In theory there are any number of sizes and patterns of house which you can build in Hunza: the cow-pattern, the ant-pattern, and half a dozen more, but in actual fact there are

000 the typing seemed waste of time that ought preferably to be spent out among the people themselves, but there is a limit to the amount of "field work" you can usefully put into one day, and it was invaluable for me to have to work carefully through the information David had assembled in the study while I was more frivolously employed outside.

243 I seem to have wandered from the harvest! There is not much more to mention. When the sweet buckwheat was ripe and the gay, sweet-smelling flowers succeeded in due course by small black seeds, when the plants are "covered with black flies" as they picturesquely put it, they are gathered to the threshing floor and beaten with sticks till the seeds fall off and the straw can be stooked to dry. The less romantic bitter buckwheat follows suit, and last of all the potatoes are dug just as at [77] home. The potato crop is much valued, and due credit is given to the British who introduced it: "We can't imagine how we used to manage without potatoes," they say.

After this the fields were bare again—for good. It almost brought tears to my eyes to see the jolly little threshing-floors, where I had spent so many happy hours, flooded with the rest of the fields and ploughed up for the winter. About half the fields round us were left fallow till the spring, the other half were hastily resown with winter wheat, whose early shoots were the first green to greet our eyes next year.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons
of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from
suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece,
no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows
supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the
man or woman who could not construct the one required
would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins
and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-
prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful
five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of
gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame
and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the
lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots.
When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at
any moment will shear another sheep while the women and
children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563

326 son, and is accounted a rare treasure; but for the most part
177 local Béricho make such simple iron goods as are wanted: the
412 slightly convex baking-griddle, the tripod, the simple shears,
563 the sickle blade, the iron tip which shoes the wooden plough-share, the unpretentious iron razor, the rough tongs, the horse-shoe, the spatula for turning bread. The Béricho form the only "caste" in Hunza in anything like the Indian sense.

173 The story goes that long ago—two hundred years or so,
563 perhaps—some prince of Hunza rendered a service to the ruler of Baltistan, and was duly asked to name his recompense. He coveted neither gold nor horses, but begged for a few families of artisans. These were presented to him and allotted land in Hunza where they settled and multiplied, supplying the Burusho with blacksmiths for such rare iron as they could obtain, and with musicians to enliven their feasts and games of polo. These strangers in the midst are treated with courtesy and kindness, but remain "foreigners" and social inferiors. The Burusho will not intermarry with them. A threat to a troublesome daughter is said to be: "If you don't behave, I'll marry you to a Bérits"; but we never heard the threat employed,
[651] still less a case of its being carried out. Each Burusho household pays a small yearly tax to the Béricho community, and in return the blacksmiths tour the villages once or twice a year and make or mend whatever is required. You will see a little crowd gathered in the corner of someone's garden and in the centre the blacksmith crouching beside his simple forge—a few stones ingeniously built up to contain his charcoal fire, with a neat, hollow tube of soapstone below it, into which the bellows play; a stone anvil sunk in the ground; these accessories are provided on the spot and the blacksmith's outfit consists of his hammer and his skill. The bellows is a double one; two goat-skin bags are fitted with a nozzle at one end; at the other, two wooden lips that open as you raise your hand and meet tightly in your fist as you press down. They are worked with the right and left hand alternately, and the peasant whose job is in hand is expected to do the blowing.

563 The Béricho preserve their own customs, and though the
197 menfolk all talk Burushaski, Dumáki is the language of their

And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots, and herbs from which they prepare simple medicines for their needs. Nowadays they are able to attend the Government dispensary in Aliábád, but its nostrums have not yet undermined their faith in their own home-made remedies. We very much wished that we had possessed some knowledge of medical botany and could have brought home records of their medicine; but like so many other branches of knowledge which we regretfully ignored, it would have been a specialist's job, and we had out hands full enough with our own work and all too little time at our disposal. 278 757

During the imprisonment of winter the women cut and stitch the winter cloaks, adorning each long seam with a double row of backstitching, which is not only seemly to the eye but serves to hold the raw edges in place. The stiff, shaped collar is decorated with varied designs, diamonds, triangles, and straight lines in the same backstitch. Happily few of them can yet afford to let Dirzi Nazir replace their time-honoured skill with the soulless, cotton stitchery of his sewing machine. We noted with grief that the beautifully hand-embroidered *chogas* with which the Mir presented us this time all had their seams Singer-sewn, and had thus lost (for us) much of their charm. 294 531 [172]

With prudent foresight the woman makes the *choga* six good inches too long for its destined wearer, and introduces a deep tuck above its lower edge. It will last at least three years and will shrink in successive washings. You can tell at a glance whether a man is wearing his best, or medium, or oldest *choga* by the depth—or absence—of the tuck. In former days embroidery was the monopoly of the few royal ladies who beguiled the tedium of their too-sheltered life by decorating *chogas* with bold designs in bright-coloured silks, or working raised patterns of gold and silver on velvet saddle-cloths, and above all in elaborating delicate designs in cross-stitch for the crown and border of their lovely little caps. Where we clumsily work cross-stitch with wool on canvas, they painstakingly cross-stitch the individual threads of calico with bright, gay silks. The patterns are infinitely varied—we possess dozens of specimens of this fine work, no two are alike—but

[The Burusho women -- Analysis]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

squatted at the base of a big tree, and the tribal brothers of each bridegroom led him to the dance. The Diramiting led off and the other clans followed in their recognized order of precedence. Each unhappy bridegroom was amazingly got up. Instead of his ordinary homespun cap he was coiffed with an exotic white or coloured turban with a tuft of feathers at one side held in place by a fancy brooch and a dangling string of beads looped on to it. A brightly coloured silk shirt floated out over a startlingly white pair of baggy cotton trousers and (if he could afford it) a loose silk robe replaced his normal homespun *choga*. He carried in his right hand an old-fashioned battle-axe tied with silken ribbons, and in this gaudy attire he looked as ill at ease as bridegrooms the world over.

The picturesqueness of the Hunza dancing, which is the mainstay of every form of merry-making, is nowadays much impaired by dancers who have acquired short-sleeved, would-be European shooting-jackets or tight trousers, or—worse still—have adopted tennis shoes or ammunition boots or some other form of horrible non-local footgear instead of the orthodox bare feet or soft leather boot. When carried out in the correct dress of the country Hunza dancing is amusing and interesting. Most of the footwork is merely a variant of a sort of polka-step—now short, now long, now in great leaps, now in fierce stamps, now on the toe, now on the flat foot. There is one characteristic step which would require a lot of practice: with one knee bent very deep, you rotate on that foot giving regular little taps on the ground with the other till the circle is complete; then you reverse and repeat in the opposite direction.

Each dancer dances independently, but the five or ten in the ring at any one moment all try to synchronize their steps in time to the music. The footwork, however, is but a small part of the dance; what is most admired is the action of the body and of the arms; these are waved and flung about and bent in a hundred different patterns. The long *choga* sleeves which dangle 6 or 8 inches below the hand give a most fantastic effect to these gestures.

When the second bridegroom's group came to dance they

DEGRESSION TO YASIN

We gained, one valu- 291
able piece of information: the Nagir women *do* wear trousers! 562
The trousers-for-women fashion in these parts is new: that is, [77]
it has been going only for the last four or five generations, introduced we were told from Chitral, and my Hunza women friends had assured me that the Nagir women were so backwoodsy that they had not yet adopted it—which I now know to be a libel. The little girls wear cotton caps and fringes like our Hunza ones, but the women cover all their hair in black woollen Salvation Army bonnet-like caps (a type of headgear of which I saw only one specimen surviving in Hunza). What the Nagir women and older girls look like I cannot say, for when they sight a man they crouch down with their backs turned and either pull a cloth over their faces or bury their heads in their arms. Give me the Maulai variety of Islam every time!

After I got back to Hunza and the women crowded round to ask "all about everything," I got a lot of fun by demonstrating—with only a mild amount of legitimate exaggeration—how the crouching and face-hiding ought to be done; but I cleared the Nagir women's character on the trouser question. Certainly half the charm of our delightful country is the freedom of the women and girls. They come up to the roadside or out on to the roof to greet DL just as naturally and frankly as to greet me. They are not brazen-faced or forward, just unafraid and perfectly unselfconscious.

They have one charming custom which I have not heard 576
of elsewhere, and which could only exist amongst free women. 562
When the Mir or any distinguished traveller (such as we!) is passing, the women and girls crowd on to their house tops and silently wave their hands. Not in a stiff Heil Hitler salute nor with our undisciplined exuberance, but with a quiet, graceful circular motion from the wrist, the two hands moving opposite ways outwards from the breast. It is the most gracious and dignified gesture of welcome and goodwill I have seen. We knew it from official days of old, when it might well have been merely a command performance; but it warmed our hearts when it greeted us as private individuals.

To revert to our homeward journey: After descending the 600

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

In the second place we have to note that the population of Hunza and Nagir is neither linguistically nor ethnologically homogeneous. Viewing the territories as a whole, Burushaski occupies only a limited central position. It is legitimate perhaps to see in this an indication that the country has been subject to more or less peaceful penetration from the periphery, but that it has never been overwhelmed by any flood of conquest or organised immigration. We may picture Burushaski as here standing at bay — a language which has once covered a much larger area and has gradually been driven in on its least assailable territory, or has been displaced and pushed back to a final refuge. 162 174

The country with its physical savageness and poverty could never have attracted the ambition or cupidity of any sane conqueror, and with easier routes available to the West there is little reason to believe that any serious invader has traversed or even penetrated it in force. Against this argument, however, are to be set the efforts of the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmir to penetrate and master the country in the nineteenth century. Their aim was doubtless to strengthen their position in Gilgit. 177 721

The relative strengths of the languages current in Hunza and Nagir are set out in the following tables, which are based on figures collected for the 1931 Census, and on the results of private enquiries as to the language spoken in each individual village. 162

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Burushaski	Shinā	Wakhi	
Hunza . . .	9,938	1,184	2,411	13,533
Nagir . . .	10,362	3,293	—	13,655
Total . . .	20,300	4,477	2,411	27,188

To obtain the absolute total numbers of known Burushaski-speakers 513 must be added to the total of the first column on

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Burushaski and Werchikwar[1] are to be regarded as two dialects of one language of which no other dialects exist. The Burushaski of Hunza and Nagir, it is true, differ to some extent: there are differences in vocabulary and minor variations in morphology, but, as far as I am in a position to judge, these are not sufficient to constitute them separate dialects. Local variations occur inside Hunza itself: thus the people of Aliabad say "etoi" *he has done*, where the Baltitkuts say "etai". At present we do not know the full range of difference between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski, nor the number and extent of local variants in either, nor how far these are strictly local or possibly connote some difference of social status. 197

Burushaski and Werchikwar have both been subjected to outside influences, some of which must be of ancient standing, some of recent origin, but a glance at the vocabularies will impress one with how little either has borrowed from other languages and how large an original stock of words each has preserved. This can best be judged from the pronouns and from the number and variety of verbal conceptions which are expressed by undoubtedly native verbs. Both dialects seem to have presented a very resistant front to foreign intrusion. Even in these latter days, though many Arabic and Persian words are generally known, and though their use is convenient and probably increasing, they are not essential to the expression of ordinary ideas and many are not used by the common people. 197 177

Of contiguous languages Burushaski has been in direct contact with Shina and with Wakhi. The Qirgiz used to raid into the north of Hunza and have left behind them at least two place names: Mintaka and Aqtash (v. Text No. XXXI), but that seems to be all. Some contact with Baltistan, doubtless a very slight one, is to be

[1] "Werchikwar" appears to be analysable into: Werch- or Wersh- + ik + wār, of which Werch- is to be equated with the Wersh- of Wershigum; -ik- with the Khowar -ik added to place-names to denote the people of a place (e. g. Laspūr, Lasprīk); -wār with Khowar -wār denoting "language", as in the word itself Khowār, "the language of the Kho". The probable connection of Wersh- and Burush- is obvious.

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●177 presumed from the possession of a pattern of door known as "Baloski hing" (baloˑski hiŋ), and a method of thorn-fencing "Baloski chash" (baloˑski čaš). See also Text No. XXVIII. I have even been
[829] told that the Burusho believe that they acquired the whole of their material culture from Baltistan. Though there is no territorial contact with Khowar, an occasional surprising common property in words suggests questions.

197 The Qirgiz and Balti languages may at once be dismissed as
193 sources of any perceptible influence on Burushaski, and, with infinitely greater opportunity, Wakhi seems to have been equally impotent to make any general impression on it. There remains Shina. Clearly there are borrowings from Shina to be found in the Burushaski vocabulary. Words with characteristic Shina prefixes and endings may be assumed to be Shina e. g. Bu. ʌ-baš, ʌ-čɛˑmo, su-čɛˑmo, ʌ-šato; adjectives ending in -aˑṭo, čamər-aˑṭo, γališ-aˑṭo; abstract nouns ending in -aˑr, -i.aˑr, and -eˑi such as: damijaˑr, šuri.aˑr, šuguleˑi etc. In Shina -o is a very common ending in nouns and the masculine singular of adjectives. Where such words are shared the probability lies that in Burushaski they are borrowings from Shina. Examples are: baˑgo, baskoˑčo, biḍiˑro. Sometimes the final -o is lacking in the Burushaski form. In such cases is the -o of Shina possibly an addition to a Burushaski word? Such are:

Bu.	γulk	Shn.	gulko	*covered water-tank*
	γuṭuˑm		guṭuˑmo	*deep*
	hisk		hɛˑsko	*loom*
	hukʌr		hukaˑro	*tamarisk*

Of undistinguished shared words it is for the Philologist to say whether they are of Indo-Aryan stock, and so presumably a contribution from Shina, or not. The same applies to similarities of a more radical character found in the sharing of syntactical practices and idiomatic usages, which seem to postulate direct translation from one language into the other. It is a fair hypothesis that such a process came into action at some time when the two languages were in intimate association, probably by intermarriage, after the

In Sh. mʌṭ lɛl han-ɪj *on its being known to me* i.e. *with my knowledge*, mʌt lɛl nuš-ɪj *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -ɪj (ʌjɛ = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -ʌṭɛ in ayɛtum-ʌṭɛ etc. in § 384, and the combination of the base han with a case suffix, with o·ni-tsum and asqan-ʌṭɛ in § 407. b. and c. 197 193

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of thoʼiki viz. *thɛ*, e.g. lo·ko thɛ *quickly*, mišto thɛ *well*, Bu. yər nɛ *forwards*, šu.a nɛ *well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *ki* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar. 192

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazārat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay. 177 [443]

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustani, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

No. VII.

Shon Gukūr's Prophecy.

539K

They say that in early times Shon Gukūr, the Bitan, had made 177 a prophecy. They say he had said as follows:

"After some years there will appear a handful of fair-complexioned men wearing short coats. They will do great justice and Hunza will become very prosperous. These fair folk will go where there are no roads. They will construct iron bridges. Moreover in the place of privies there will be stables. In the place of stables there will be privies." They say he said: "In those latter days the man who should hold his peace will speak, and the man who should speak will hold his peace."

That is all: the story is this much.

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178 The last two sentences indicate changes in customs and the social system. I do not understand the exact implication of the confusion between stables and privies; but γωνωs, I think, means a man who has a right to speak in public assemblies, i. e. a person of social standing, while ανqωγαs is the humbler individual who is not expected to air his opinions in the presence of his betters.

A note elsewhere says that Shon Gukur prophesied that Hunza would be conquered by people wearing "topees" (sun-helmets, hats) and good clothing.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XLVI. A.

The Parable of the Lost Son.

And he said:

A man had two sons. The younger of them said to his father: "Father, give me the share of our property that comes to me."

The father divided up his property and gave it to them.

Then when not many days had passed, the younger son collected all his belongings and proceeded to a very distant country. In that country he exhausted all he possessed in evil conduct. When he had done so there came a very severe famine in the land and great adversity came upon him. He went and settled with a man of that country, and the man sent him into his fields to feed the swine.

He longed in his heart, saying: "Would that my belly might be (filled) with the things that the swine eat!" And no one gave him anything.

Both versions show traces of the influence of the Urdu original. The B version occasionally indulges in amplification and paraphrase.

In both, alterations were made during the process of dictation, and the vernacular Mss. and my transcriptions (especially in the case of the A version), are not identical.

Title. This in fact was supplied only with B. It is a translation of the Urdu rubric: *Khorye have berje ki tamsil.*

1 *kr* — this particle, introducing the words of a speech or thought etc. occurs constantly in this text, probably owing to the influence of the Urdu *kiā*.

5 *ownitawn* — v. § 407. b.

7 *ywikrī dzovolo* — Urdu *badčalasi* mā.

9 *walāsi* — The Urdu is: *ek bakrade kr have jayaru.*

10 *kwkrīo* — vernac. Ms. has *zwkrīo*.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959) 1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland. 326 533 563 [651]

The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil. 325

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh." 326 316 135

This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy. 306 301 [135]

Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Báltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work 322 177

322 that I have seen performed, I am not too sure that
[177] our wood workers could teach them any new tricks. The thing they're short of is suitable wood.

[415] One of the important functions of the wood turner is to fashion bowls which are made out of either mulberry, willow or apricot wood. The wood turner also
[352] makes charpoys, chests, jewel boxes, bowls and chairs and I believe he is capable of making anything that can be fashioned out of wood.

461 One definite thing impressed me about these various craftsmen and that was the fact that time was meaningless. Their craft was the important thing. Whatever had to be done had to be done right whether it required an hour or a day or a week.

461 There were many things that I would have liked to
126 purchase or arrange for but some of them would require days to produce and it was not my desire to hurry anybody. After seeing their pleasant way of life, I had no intention of disturbing it. Whatever was available that I wanted, I would take with me. Anything else could be sent on or else I would do without it.

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from India was on this religious basis.

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward.

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[487]

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice.

[262]

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.)

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[177]

[643]
[423]
[233]

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

As that entire 200 miles from the Chinese border to Nomal is composed chiefly of this type of terrain, unless a caravan had a guarantee of safe conduct, they just couldn't get through. 175 648 [487]

The Mir was the ruler of Hunza and he held full and complete control over his tribesmen. So what could be more natural and understandable than an annual payment of tribute to the Mir for safe conduct? I know for a fact that right up until the time when the Chinese Communists took over the Singkiang District, the Mir still received a share of the cargo carried by the caravans traveling through Hunza. [643] [487]

Therefore it is my conclusion that the ways, the habits and the mode of life of the people of Hunza were patterned more after the Chinese than the Indians. Further, I suspect that they did a lot more trading with the caravans that came through regularly than they ever did at Gilgit. In one instance the caravans came to them and in the other case they had to go down to Gilgit . . . anywhere from 40 to 200 or so miles away, through the tough mountain roads. 175 648 439 [177]

It was in November 1947, when Pakistan seized part of Kashmir from India by an armed revolt. The circumstances that brought about this event are worth recording and I believe you will have greater understanding of the people of Hunza and Pakistan if you know the story. 175 648

The Pakistanis claim that the Province of Kashmir should belong to Pakistan because the Indian government had agreed to allow all the predominantly Moslem districts to secede and become a part of the newly formed country of Pakistan. Therefore, Kashmir which is more than 90 per cent Moslem should be a part of the Mohammedan nation. Eventually, when partition took place, Kashmir was not permitted out of the fold

concerning the health of the Hunzans. I have found the observations made by both authors, J. I. Rodale and G. T. Wrench, to be both authentic and comparatively reliable when it is taken into consideration that their work was done in the early years when not much information was available from Hunzaland. They were pioneers in the field to show the people of the world that there was a simple, natural, organic way to health. 114 164

Can anyone doubt that Hunza is located in one of the most inaccessible parts of the entire universe? The fact that a people—a handsome, virile, intelligent, civilized people—could live in such an inaccessible part of the world and still be considered among the healthiest of all people on the face of the globe is intriguing, to say the least. 131 164

Perhaps the story of their health, longevity and energy so shocked our concepts that we had to look twice or read twice to make sure that the statements we were reading could be accepted. Probably because of our smugness—with the feeling of security because of our modern medicines, our miracle drugs, our hospitals, our research techniques, our lab equipment and such—it was incomprehensible to us that a people so remotely located without all of these tremendous benefits could even exist, let alone be considered to be the healthiest and longest living people in the world.

Was it our disdain of eastern methods and way of life that rattled our concepts? 164

Now it could be that the dreamers among us had our imagination fired like it has never been fired before . . . to think that a people living truly on the roof of the world without benefits of modern civilization could subsist or exist, let alone be healthy!

But as one investigates, he finds that Hunza is one of the few places in the entire world, where there is a [177]

164 people who retained their character, independence,
177 freedom and primitive way of life. It is my belief that they are not much further advanced today than they were more than 2,000 years ago. Fearing that you may think I mean this in a derogatory manner, I would hurry and add that their way of life 2,000 years ago obviously was as good in many ways, or better, than our way of life today. But that is a measure for individual acceptance.

131 They owe their strength, their health, their longevity, their happiness to that wall of mountains that surrounds them and keeps out all but the boldest and most venturesome of invaders or travelers. They are surrounded by the most massive, the hugest, the greatest accumulation of mountain grandeur and awesomeness to be found anywhere on the world's surface. With such impenetrable guardians, it is not too difficult to understand the reason for their comparative privacy.

From what I saw and gathered, I found that one would not have to go many miles from any given point in Hunza to reach a location where no human being's foot had ever trod before. Should you have the desire to do just that, you can find millions of acres that have not felt the imprint of man within a few miles from most any given spot in Hunza.

181 Living in comparative isolation has made these people courageous and fearless. They are not stooges of civilization and all its implications. There, in Hunza, a man's individuality is still a characteristic trait to which they cling.

177 Now comes the big question—one that hundreds of people have already asked me . . . people who have but a faint knowledge or have heard a bit of news about Hunza and have been interested and fascinated by the myths and fables circulated about her—can Hunza

survive despite the encroachment of modern civilization? 177

I go on record as saying, "Yes, she can survive but it will take good leadership, and the present ruling Mir —my friend, Mohammed Jamal Khan—is capable of this leadership, provided he is not interfered with by the powers that surround him or emanate from Karachi!"

The first detrimental factor that is crawling into Hunza at the present time, and has been for some years, is salt. Already numerous cases of goiter have appeared which did not exist before when they used their native salt. 177 263 164

Travel in Hunza is restricted. In fact, at the present time no foreigner is allowed into the state without a permit and that includes Pakistanis as well. As far as I know, my friend Cec Brunton and I were the last foreigners to enter Hunza. With the political situation as it is today, I doubt if anyone else will be permitted to enter the country until the situation changes. 486 648 123

The fact that China is at the present time encroaching upon India is a rather significant factor. I really can't appraise its implications because the disputed area by any calculation seems to be of little or no value. There are millions of such acres available throughout Tibet and the Himalayan cordillera as well as in the Karakorums. Therefore it must be just for aggrandizement that China is moving. If that is her aim and desire, then Hunza would be right up her alley. 648

Yet it is my firm belief that China will not bother Hunza. I know the Afghans have looked with longing eyes on that part of Pakistan for some years, but they have neither the arms nor the men to successfully invade the area, although with arms from Russia and a little prodding, things could get hot in that area. How-

648 ever, such a move, in my humble opinion, would be most ill-advised because the Pakistan government has splendid leadership, a good army and a mighty impregnable position in Gilgit. Undoubtedly Gilgit is the most accessible point in that entire area and Gilgit which belongs to Pakistan, is most capably staffed, manned and led.

● 177 Even as I write my tale, changes are occurring in [164] Hunza. In a letter received from the doctor just before [167] my book went to press, he told me that many diseases unknown in Hunza before are making their appearance—primarily because they are brought back by native Hunzans who go out to serve in the army or work in other parts of Pakistan and the area.

[161] The population of Hunza is as great now as its land can foster and sustain. There is no reason to believe that the birth rate in Hunza will decrease and that means that more and more of the people of Hunza will have to seek a livelihood elsewhere. But they will keep returning and bringing with them the benefits of civilization. That, in my opinion, will be the undoing of that little paradise on earth.

Being blessed with the earth's most fabulous mountain scenery may also be the cause of Hunza's undoing. I've noticed that exploration parties and mountain climbers have been congregating in that area more and more. British, Swiss, German, Italian and Austrian expeditions have been in or are planning to go into the Karakorums to scale those hundred peaks over 20,000 feet high.

The magnetism of unscaled impregnable mountain summits becomes overpowering to many men. Why bother with the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rockies or the Andes, when the Himalayas, the Karakorums and the Hindu Kush offer a much more taunting challenge?

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177

And fortunately or unfortunately, little Hunza lies right in the center.

These expeditions often consist of 100 men or more. They bring with them huge supplies of western food and commodities. Besides, their pockets are usually bulging with foreign currency. I fear that these will combine to eventually destroy Hunza.

Sad as I am to think that this will happen, I am nevertheless happy that I was there to see it while it was still "Shangri-la."

648 ous, the Russians have infiltrated Afghanistan. Therefore, Hunza is now completely hemmed in by what I would call the bamboo, the iron and the stone curtains.

I can't visualize where the Mir has too much to fear from Communist aggression. From what I have seen and learned, the Communists like their spots plush, soft and succulent. None of these conditions exist in Hunza!

The Communists like locations where they can eventually, if not immediately, take out more than they put in. That would never take place in Hunza. Then, too, people who have chosen to live on the north bank of the Hunza River would not be easily shackled
[643] or enslaved. Admittedly, the Mir is an absolute monarch but there are no signs of that type of rule in evidence anywhere in Hunza. There's a parallel in England. While England has a queen, a monarch whom the people respect and revere, whom they would follow in life and in death, the monarch would never make demands on her people.

I do not believe there is a more democratic nation on the face of the globe than Great Britain . . . and that includes the United States or other republics. I believe the same situation holds true in Hunza.

Another point to be considered by possible invaders is . . . What would they gain besides possible armed conflicts with Pakistan and perhaps India?

[353] No, I would suggest that Hunza is comparatively safe from communist aggression and the Mir can afford to have the communist propaganda pictures on the walls of his summer bungalow in Altit as a gesture of friendship.

247 The yard or garden around the bungalow[1] was aglow
177 with flowers of every description and hue imaginable.

[1] [ie. of the Mir - ANALYST]

They were obviously of American or European origin . . . probably grown from seeds that someone had sent him. Plants like zinnias, snapdragons and asters were readily recognizable. 247 177

Then, I was very much surprised to see in front of the bungalow, of all things, a swimming pool . . . and the youth of the district were swimming and enjoying themselves to the fullest possible extent. They were shouting, laughing, splashing and cavorting about just as you would expect boys and girls to do in any swimming pool in America. They displayed the same reckless abandon, glee and happiness that our children do. 529 643 [644]

At this time I thought to myself that here was another mark of the Mir's bigness. He was allowing the children of the town to make full use of his personal family swimming pool. This was quite different from what most people expect of eastern potentates.

I'm not sure that this little incident impresses you but I assure you I was quite impressed by it. It added to my conviction that the people of Hunza were really free and democratic.

A little way off were our yaks and their guides. "Let's go," I said to Jahangir and Sultan Ali, making straight for the yaks. "The Mir and Cec will be waiting for us, so I guess we'd best be off." 000

I selected the larger of the two yaks because I'm quite a bit heavier, or almost twice as heavy as Jahangir. I was assisted on to the yak's back and the yak didn't seem to be too happy about it! For the first time since I'd been riding, which wasn't very long, I felt really comfortable. The well-padded broad back of the animal was delightful to sit on and, best of all, he had a western style saddle. I'm always afraid of falling off a horse with those English saddles because I've got nothing to hold on to except the reins and for my kind of 492

During the past few years a bit of money has come 436
into Hunza. At the time I was there, there were four 177
expeditions doing mountain and glacier climbing—as 464
well as investigations and research, not in Hunza, but in the vicinity. There were groups from Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland and Germany. In each and every case these expeditions would require bearers, guides, horses and pack animals. These would be recruited from among the Nagirwals and Hunzans and they would be paid in Pakistan rupees. I wish to emphasize that this has only taken place during the past few years. Prior to this period expeditions in this area were extremely rare.

While today money does make its appearance, it is 436
still comparatively scarce. The Mir believes that the 177
coming of money, modernization, and civilization as 643
we know it will only harm his people and he seeks to prevent this, if possible. It is my sincere and humble conviction that the Mir is honest and thinking of his people in his endeavors.

"There is no doubt that the people of Hunza know 461
and enjoy the true thrill of leisure." When I mentioned this to my staff, I was quickly brought to bay by one of my more astute employees who said, "How can that be when they are occupied from dawn till dusk?"

I was caught off balance and I had to reflect a moment and when I reflected, the picture was clear to me. Would a man who has never worked understand what is meant by a holiday? Would the average individual who spends his working days sitting at a desk checking figures, making phone calls and chatting with visitors, understand what leisure is? I contend that in order to know the true joy of leisure one must work and the harder one works, the greater is the enjoyment found in utter relaxation.

Can a man know leisure when after his day's work is

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hardy, mountaineering people. 526

Some authorities would have us believe that polo as a game had its origin in Tibet, which you can readily see is only a short hop from Hunza. Actually it is right on the border of what was properly old Tibet, but which the Chinese prefer to call Sinkiang. It is also known as Chinese Turkestan. 526 177

The word polo is actually a Tibetan word describing or meaning "root of the willow tree," for it was from the dried stumps of the willow tree that polo balls were originally made. The willow wood, from my intimate knowledge of the tree and the wood, would give quite a bit of bounce if made into a ball and that is exactly what was required.

From the best sources that I am able to dig into and locate, it seems that the modern game of polo as we know it throughout the West, originated in Persia. From there it found its way into Turkey and then it was adopted in India, Tibet, China and Japan. In 1869 the British saw it played in the Turkestan-Hunza regions and began to play it in India, where it became the favorite sport of the British army officers. That was well over 100 years ago. In 1869 it was also introduced into England where it caught on very quickly. Then it made its entrance into the United States in 1876.

Here is a strange fact. While many of the characteristics of the game have changed, the selfsame old willow ball is still used and one of the men still gallops down the center of the polo field and strikes the ball off into play. In the Western world it is the umpire who does this. In Hunza, it's still the Mir or some other distinguished personality. [643]

If any of you have had the opportunity of seeing a polo game in action—that is, Western polo—you might even then get the impression that it is a rough, some-

526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
• 177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo
[311] fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for
[367] sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall sur-
[417] rounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
648 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

205 Pakistani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters that I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

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Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been 674
two murders only in my country and all the people
have been happy and prosperous. The Government of [648]
India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity.

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the 167
world and get work in other places. . . .

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village 692
there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal.

"If it is considered that a death sentence is called 695
for, the people are collected and if any one will speak 681
up for the culprit, his sentence is remitted. Otherwise he is executed in the presence of the people.

"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, 684
his house could be destroyed, his animals slaughtered 837
and his trees felled without any trouble falling on the offenders and though that custom has fallen into desuetude, it is still considered right for a man to kill his wife's lover if he can catch them 'flagrante delicto'!

"Marriage is not allowed between near relations and 582
whenever possible, people marry into a clan different
from their own. Child marriage is discouraged and [177]
tribal customs have been moulded to conform to modern ideas since I became Mir. . . .

"In former years Shimshal was used as a place to 681

681 which people were exiled and as officers were continually asking me what sort of place it was, I determined to go there and see for myself. The track there
491 was very bad indeed and in two places there were goat hair bridges which were very unpleasant to cross. A ring of wood was used and the traveler was drawn from one bank to the other and if he wore a beard most of the hairs were dragged out on the way. . . .

643 "My father[1] had six wives, three of which were of the
595 ruling classes and three from the Zemindaris. All however, were married to him according to the law and so he left behind no bastards."

276 The Mir told me that of late some of the young boys
177 have taken to smoking cigarettes. This they have picked up and learned from the Hunzan men who have been serving in the Pakistani army. Cigarettes can be pur-
685 chased in the shop in Baltit and a few occasions of
276 petty theft have been encountered. In each case it
[443] seems that they stole in order to get money to buy
[681] cigarettes. These few petty crimes of course did not involve ostracism to Shimshal. It is expected that this condition will continue or even become aggravated as the youth of Hunza become more familiar and acquainted with smoking. Some of the men in Hunza smoke the "hookah" which we know as the water-pipe.

249 Some forms and varieties of tobacco have been tried
123 in Hunza. I promised to send the Mir seeds of the various types of tobacco that we grow in America, such as Virginia, Burley and Quesnel. Perhaps if they can learn to grow tobacco, it will enable the youth to get their hands on some tobacco and satisfy their craving for it without resorting to other ways and means. However, they would have to get paper from somewhere for none is made or improvised in Hunza.

674 It is obvious from what I have seen, that crime and

[1] [ie - the father of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan - ANALYST]

you realize that Hunza's neighbors are Afghanistan, 648
China and India and slightly above a narrow corridor [131]
of Afghanistan there is Russia, just a scant few miles from the Hunzan border.

Therefore, any person who wanted to start trouble with either Russia or China could get into the Hunza area and it wouldn't take too much maneuvering to cause an international incident, especially if the Chinese or Russians were looking for an excuse. So I don't blame the Pakistani government for being cautious and realistic about those possibilities.

Just a few years ago an American scientist working 648
with funds raised by an organization started for that 177
purpose, known as the Central Asiatic Research Foundation, wanted to take a couple of the Hunzan boys to the United States and have them educated there and then brought back again to Hunza. At first the Mir flatly refused. Then after reconsidering the matter, and perhaps in consultation with others, he changed his mind and gave his permission. I did not inquire as to the exact rhyme and reason for the developments that took place, but eventually the Pakistani government decisively and definitely refused to allow the boys out of the country.

It appeared to me that the Mir felt that there was no reason why he should refuse when the foreign policy of his country was being looked after in Karachi. I am more than certain that the Mir's opinion was recorded in Karachi.

But John Clark, the writer of a book about Hunza, [114]
and some American authorities were very annoyed at this and felt that the Mir was being unreasonable, ungenerous and to say the least, unkind in not allowing these boys to come to America.

I did not know then the true reasons behind the Mir's

648 refusal and what other intrigues were involved, and when I questioned him about this and he explained, I
177 realized that he had acted wisely—and so will you.

"If I allowed those boys to go to America to be educated and then come back to Hunza in a few years, both the Chinese and Russians could say that I sent them to America to be brainwashed, filled with propaganda or trained in subversive capitalistic activities.

"Well, I'm not giving Russia or China any excuses. We are a peace-loving people, we get along with the Chinese and the Russians, we mind our own business and we intend to stay free of entanglements and embroilments, if humanly possible.

"They said that I had refused to let the boys go because I was afraid that when they came back they would teach the people the American way, and that would undermine my rule and to a degree that is true, because I think my people are the happiest and healthiest in the world, and that is more than any other nation can claim. So I would like to keep them that way, if possible.

871 "But I'm not afraid of my people becoming educated because we do everything within our limited powers to further their education now and have done so for some years."

This statement I found to be absolutely true. The Hunzans by and large are the best learned people of that or any other area in India or Pakistan. Please don't misunderstand. I don't mean that there are no better educated individuals in these two countries because that is not so. I mean that there are few places in Pakistan or India where all of the male citizens are afforded the opportunity of getting an education without cost. That is true in Hunza.

These schools that I saw seemed to be comparable

to the average little red school house in the West. The one in Baltit was quite a bit better and as good as any of our schools of 25 years ago . . . which I would say was mighty fine going for a far off place like Hunza. 871

Then I asked the Mir what had happened to John Clark's woodworking school and he told me, with calm deliberation, that he knew and felt that Mr. Clark was an earnest, honest man with the best of intentions. . . . "But, how could he," went on the Mir, "hope to improve the economy of our little country by means of a woodworking school and the training of our men in woodcraft when we do not have the required wood? We can't cut down our apricot trees, which are our very life, in order to get wood to use in making things that we could export to the United States!" 874 322 177 114

Then I recalled from Mr. Clark's book that he did have great difficulty in locating suitable lumber for his school.

From what I have read and learned on the scene about Clark's work, I know he was a man of high caliber and integrity and did a mighty good job with the boys, but for some strange reason there is an unusual silence about his work and his efforts. I could neither understand nor explain it. I'm still trying to get the true impression of the people concerning this matter.

At this point I want to emphasize that I am not seeking to pick a battle with anyone, but from my travels back and forth and around the Hunzan territory, it is fantastic to believe that there could ever be sufficient timber to make it worthwhile to run a woodworking school, especially to make woodcraft for export purposes.

Stonecraft, yes—for stones, even including some of the more precious and rare types, could without doubt be found in Hunza or at least in the mountains close

874 by. And if they were taught to make useful jewels and
177 do other types of work with rock, then they would have
322 something, because the supply is absolutely unlimited.
114 I agree wholeheartedly with the Mir that the thought of making a worthwhile contribution to the people of Hunza by opening a woodcraft school is utter nonsense.

durance and stamina known anywhere, and if Shipton says that the Hunzans had more endurance and stamina than these people, no higher tribute can be given. 114 [147]

It is my humble opinion that too much has been written about the people of Hunza by people who have never been there and know little or nothing about the actual conditions that prevail in that country. Then, too, many visitors spent most of their time taking pictures, viewing the scenery and dining at the Mir's and didn't pay much attention or learn anything about the actual living conditions of the people.

The people of Hunza have not in the least benefited by the visitors that have reached Hunza, and if future visits are discouraged, I believe there would be good cause for it. 177

Most of the diseases known to civilization are unknown in Hunza. I do not ask you to take my word for it but that is my report from consulting the resident doctor in Hunza, as well as a German woman doctor who visited Hunza. 164 [759]

It is further true that the Mir's wife, the Rani of Hunza, had her appendix removed and she took a trip to Rawalpindi to have it done. But in the first place she does not live according to Hunza standards and besides, it was probably stylish to have an appendix operation. On the other hand, if a good surgeon were let loose in Hunza for a few weeks, there's no doubt about it, he'd have hundreds of appendixes removed before he could be stopped.

Another important point that I wish to make at this time is that I paid my own way to and from Hunza. I had no financial backing. Therefore I am not committed to aid anyone or any product or radio station or newspaper. I have no one to fear and no one to please. I can afford to tell the truth. 122

mining salt from an area around Shimshal for many 263
hundreds of years." [317]

"Is there any difference between the salt that you import and that of Shimshal?"

"Much difference," said the Mir. "The salt that we import is pure white and very salty, whereas the salt mined in the Shimshal area was in its natural state and contained many impurities. The people prefer the imported salt because of its sharper saltier flavor."

"So it is true then," I said to the Mir, "that this aspect [177] of modern civilization has crept into Hunza!"

The Mir and the doctor looked at each other and then somewhat reluctantly nodded in agreement.

Speaking somewhat forcibly, I said to both of them, "It is obvious that the imported salt is pure sodium chloride, whereas the salt that is brought down from Shimshal is something that has never been analyzed and obviously contains many minerals, so-called impurities."

Obviously the people of Hunza in the past did not know, did not care or did not feel the need to purify their salt, because even to a layman like myself, it is clear and obvious that by making a brine, the pure salt could be extracted.

Whether by error or design, this has never been practiced in Hunza.

"Does it not seem possible," I said to the doctor, 164
"that the salt that was formerly used by the people of Hunza was the means of keeping goiter and dental caries away or at bay?"

"I hadn't thought of it before," replied the doctor, "but I will admit that it sounds logical and undoubtedly it is true!"

The Mir further admitted that little or no salt was being mined in Shimshal at the present time. Therefore it would seem to be indicated that the importation of

Hunza are more or less used to it. However, it does cause trouble with the eyes of the natives. It also weakens the lungs of some of the older women, who probably spend most of their time indoors during the cold months of the year. 164

I questioned the doctor and the Mir concerning prenatal care, but from what they told me, I could find no provisions whatsoever made for prenatal care outside the individual home. 843

The death rate at childbirth, they told me, was next to zero, but the doctor also mentioned that a woman would not consider going to a doctor for gynecological reasons under any circumstances. She would rather die. 165 845 757

He also told me that before and after delivery of a child, Hunzan women do not know of any rest. The pregnant woman works harder and does more laborious jobs till the last day of the term, in the belief that hard and laborious work makes delivery easier and uneventful. 843 846

"But," he went on, "they are very careful in exerting themselves during the early days of conception. After delivery they are again up and doing again, only after a short rest."

It seems to be obvious that the method followed by the women of Hunza prior to childbirth "works" because both mother and child come out of it "uneventful." When events occur at such times, it usually means serious trouble. 843

He went on to tell me further that gallstones, renal calculus, coronary heart disease, hypertension, valvular lesions, myxoldeama thyrsotoxcasis, mental deficiencies, cancer, poliomyelitis, arthritis and diabetes are absolutely unknown in Hunza. 164

From what I have seen and gathered I am worried about the situation. They are now importing their sugar, 177 263 439

177 263 439 their salt and soon there will be a few more items added and, as more of their people go out of the country to earn a living and come back to visit or retire, more of civilization's curses will be brought back with them.

165 114 The doctor rather clearly indicated that infant mortality was not as low as some writers would like us to believe. I repeat—he made this quite clear.

164 Now I'll let you decide how it ties in with the statements made by Sir Robert McCarrison: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucous colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people, the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

276 Smoking in general is not an addiction in Hunza. The water-pipe or hubble-bubble is used by some of the people, usually at gatherings or ceremonies. It is then passed around in a wide circle, each one taking a puff [562] or two. The women are included, but only after all the men have finished.

Some of the citizens use snuff. It is tobacco mixed with the ash of a plant called "sopa," which is indigenous to that area. They take the tobacco and the sopa ash, put in a dash of water, stir it up and mix it into a paste. Then they place gobs of this paste under their lip, exactly the same as the snuff chewer does in the West, although this practice has been dying out in the Western world.

164 132 Just how much of the health of the people of Hunza is due to the fact that they get a lot of sunlight? That is a most pertinent question and one that will take a lot

on my own farm we definitely and positively use neither 241
chemical fertilizers nor sprays.

You can understand in Hunza that tastewise there is no interference or problem from chemical fertilizers and sprays.

I believe that the myth about the flavor and succu- [114]
lence of the Hunzan apricots came about because visitors ate the apricots ripe and freshly picked from the trees, whereas at home the apricots they ate were picked from the trees days before, because they had to be shipped long distances, and therein lay the difference in flavor.

In January, 1959, I sent the Mir of Hunza good 123
sized packages of the different kinds of hardy wheat 241
that were created by the experimental farms of the 177
Dominion of Canada. It was special seed, tested for hardiness in the colder areas and of such quality that would produce a fine loaf of bread.

I also sent the best strains of carrots, cabbages, Brussels sprouts, lettuce, beets and other vegetables. But when I was dining with the Mir and asked him about the results with the seeds, he admitted that the only seed they had got planted that year was the lettuce, which was being enjoyed at the Mir's table. He said that he would try the rest of them the following year.

It is understandable that the Western world would have better varieties of fruits, vegetables and grains, because here we spend millions and millions of dollars on hybridizing, trials, selections and improving the various strains . . . so we should get some results from our efforts . . . and we do! Therefore, without question, the Hunzans could profit by using Western strains of grains, vegetables and fruits. This is one aspect of modern civilization that could help them greatly.

The apricots that I saw, tasted and ate were not the

123 huge fine quality products that I was told they were. I
241 admit here further that I was in Hunza in July and the
177 later, perhaps the better, varieties were not available or ripe yet. But upon questioning the various people, there was no information given to me that indicated the later maturing kinds were superior to the earlier ones.

So as in vegetables and grains, their fruit could be greatly improved by adopting some of the Western varieties. This could easily be done by having budwood sent to them and they in turn would graft this budwood onto their young stock.

I have made arrangements with the Mir of Hunza and the P.A. at Gilgit to supply them with this required grafting wood at the proper time, and it will be duly sent to them, so that in the future they may have some of the benefit of the West's hybridization and research program. I took along with me a few of the best budding knives that I could procure and I left two with the P.A. at Gilgit and the others with the Mir of Hunza and I explained their use.

245 In talking with the Mir about the planting of new varieties and improved strains, he claimed that his people did graft and seek new varieties and strains, but from the little time I had to inspect things, I did not see any young trees or any great number of grafts that would indicate this being a widely practiced policy. I found nothing resembling a nursery in Hunza or Nagir, but there was a small, unimpressive nursery run by the Pakistani government in Gilgit. Maybe this is the forerunner of bigger and better things to come.

241 There appears to be no central source of seed supply in Hunza. It seems that each farmer saves seeds for next year's crops or barters with his neighbor. In some
[643] years, when, because of any one of many conditions

I found the Rani to be the most beautiful woman in Hunza. I didn't dare ask her age, but I know she was married to the present Mir in 1934. Therefore she must be close to or in her 40's. She could undoubtedly pass with any woman in her early 20's. But there were few, if any, women in Hunza like her. 142

I further will grant that I, or anyone else for that matter, would have very little opportunity of seeing Hunzan women at what might be their best. To state my views candidly, I'd say the men definitely looked youthful, but the women looked to be older than their years.

Perfect health—I have never seen, as yet, a race of people that was as healthy as the people of Hunza. But to say that they were a race that enjoyed perfect health, I would consider a bit of an exaggeration, because the doctor does treat a few patients now and then and the hospital does harbor a few sick people. I must honestly admit that I did not see any sick people in Hunza, but there are quite a few who do not enjoy perfect health. 164

A pre-Bronze Age people—Here I suspect someone wanted to show his knowledge in archeology or anthropology, whichever it may be. (I am expressing *my* ignorance to begin with.) They are no more Bronze Age than was the writer who referred to them as such. This would take them back between 4,000 and 5,000 years which is utter and sheer "poppycock." He further stated that they were isolated for 2,000 years. If that is true, they were isolated because they wanted to remain that way. 174 [177]

It is a fact that there is a caravan trail right through Hunza. It is the shortest route from China to Persia and leads through Hunza, past Gilgit and across the Babusar Pass and then on westward or southwestward. 487 177

487 I am sure that a people who saw these caravans coming
177 and going could not be called isolated by any stretch of the imagination. They just like their little piece of paradise too well to leave it.

133 *Hunza empties into the Indus.* Two famed writers who should know better . . . or should I say, should have checked more closely . . . made the statement that the Hunza River flows into the Indus. Even a cursory glance at a map would show that the Hunza empties into the Gilgit and the Gilgit empties into the Indus.

585 *Mother-in-law taken along on honeymoon*—This bit of stupidity, or should I say absurdity, appeared in no less than two of the foremost publications in America.

Who ever heard of a honeymoon in Hunza? Not having a Niagara Falls, probably they'd go up and sit on top of Rakaposhi with the mother-in-law between them to cool their ardor.

When the Mir made this statement, he was joking, never believing for a moment that anyone would take such a broad joke as being factual.

481 *Hunzans walk* 60 *to* 100 *miles as though it were*
147 *nothing.* In fact, one author stated somewhere that the Hunzans could walk 60 miles easier than she could walk upstairs.

I will readily grant that I believe the Hunzan people are the world's best walkers and well they would have to be, because there just happens to be no other mode of locomotion. I'll even go further and say that all through my travels in that territory I did not once see a Hunzan man, or for that matter a Nagirwal, who appeared to be worn from the rugged walks and climbs. So it is clear that they have tremendous reserves of energy and stamina . . . but let's not go overboard!

486 *Anyone can visit Hunza.* Contrary to the assertion
114 made by one writer that anyone can get into Hunza, I

value to the people of Hunza? Let's examine them. 000

Let's start with pasteurization. Well, it would be very 744
difficult to pasteurize in Hunza. First of all, they don't have the means of providing the required heat. Besides, they don't suffer from any conditions which pasteurization would cure—if it does cure anything.

How about hospitalization? Well, they have a com- 743
paratively new, modern hospital in Aliabad, but the people don't use it very much. They distrust the hospital and they distrust the doctor, even though he is a fine capable fellow. Besides, I did not notice, particularly, any sick or ailing people sitting around, waiting for a hospital bed.

Then how about inoculations? To begin with, what 751
would you inoculate them against? They don't seem to 164
have many, if any, of our diseases. Then, too, there are no inoculations against cancer, diabetes, heart disease, arthritis and such, anyway. Oh, yes . . . besides, these diseases have never been known in Hunza . . . not even poliomyelitis.

The Mir has a huge medicine chest that was given 757
to him by the German expedition, which was stationed 177
across the river in Nagir. Yes, it did prove most useful 123
—for it helped a man get well. However, I must admit rather dejectedly that the man the medicine chest helped was my companion and not a citizen of Hunza.

They could use a dentist and right here you have 759
struck gold! However, it would be most difficult to get 164
a dentist to set up shop in Hunza, unless he were given room in the Mir's residence, for that's the only place where electric power is provided . . . unless the dentist didn't mind going back to the old days when the old foot pedal was used for power.

But let's be realistic about it! Wouldn't it be much [263]
better to give the people of Hunza back their old

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

000 stimulus, but the course which we adopt of abstract generalisations, without analysing them and bringing them back to their concrete constituents, is almost a process of stultification.

197 Coming now to one of the most primitive, and certainly one of the remnants of pre-historic languages, that of Hunza, which I
177 had the opportunity of examining twenty-three years ago, while Gilgit was in a state of warfare, and where I had to learn the language, so to speak, with a pencil in one hand and a weapon in the other, and surrounded by people who were waiting for an opportunity to kill me, I found, that on reverting to it three years ago, the language had already undergone a process of assimilation to the surrounding dialects, owing to the advance of so-called civilisation, which in that case, and which in the case of most of these tribes, means the introduction of drunkenness and disease, in this instance of cholera, for we know what has been the condition of those countries which lie in the triangle between Cashmere, Kabul, and Badakhshan, and to which I first gave the name of Dardistan in 1866.

193 Now, what does this language show us? There the ordinary methods proved entirely at fault. If one pointed to an object, quite apart from the ordinary difficulties of misapprehension, the man appealed to, for instance, might say "your finger," if a finger were the thing of which he thought you wanted the name. If not satisfied with the name given in response, and you turned to somebody else, another name was obtained; and if you turned to a third person, you got a third name.

What was the reason for these differences? It was this, that the language had not emerged from the state in which it is impossible to have such a word as "head," as distinguished from "my head," or "thy head," or "his head"; for instance, *ak* is "my name," and *ik* is "his name." Take away the pronominal sign, and you are left with *k*, which means nothing. *Aus* is "my wife," and *gus* "thy wife." The *s* alone has no meaning, and, in some cases, it seemed impossible to arrive at putting anything down correctly; but so it is in the initial stage of a language. In the Hunza language under discussion, that stage is important to us as members of the Aryan group, as the dissociation of the pronoun, verb, adverb and conjunction from the act or substance only occurs when the language emerges beyond the stage when the

Mir Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afghanistan AUI-
4 AVJ Dard AVJ
Burusho AVJ

Isha literally means a mill-pond, but in this case it is not meant to represent a mark on the horizon, but to signify a receptacle, the place beyond which there is no going. The Kebla month is no doubt a name of modern introduction. In ancient times computation seems to have been by these seasons. The term "yôl" has now come to be used for the whole year, and the half year is called "yôl trang," but a man of forty when asked his age will often say that he is eighty "yôl-trang." According to Mr. Schuyler, the Kirghiz make the same computation. The half-month is called *toonts* (Boorish), and *putch* (Shina), and no smaller division of days is recognised, though in Shina there are but seven names of days, which closely resemble the Sanscrit days of the week thus—

D 805 B 805

Sunday	Adit	in *Sanscrit*	Aditya bar.
Monday	Tsundors	"	Sambar.
Tuesday	Ungaroo	"	Mangal bar.
Wednesday	Bodo	"	Budh bar.
Thursday	Bressput	"	Brihaspati bar.
Friday	Shooker	"	Suka bar.
Saturday	Shimshere	"	Sanischar bar.

These names are used in Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager, and were most probably introduced by the Shins, as they were in use long before the Sikh power was felt across the Indus. It would seem as if the Shins, while introducing the Hindoo days of the week, adopted in other respects the mode of computing time already existing in the country.

D B. [177]

In Chitral the calendar is computed by the solar year commencing with the winter solstice; but the months take their names from peculiarities of season or agricultural operations, not from local land marks. They are—

D 805

1. Toongshal (*long nights*).
2. Phutting (*Extreme cold*).
3. Aryan (*Wild ducks*).
4. Shadakh (*Black mark*, in allusion to the black appearance of the earth when the snow melts).
5. Boi (*Sparrows*).
6. Ronzuk (*Trembling*, in allusion to the waving appearance of the growing corn).
7. Yogh (*Full*).
8. Mooj (*Middle*, alluding to summer being half over)
9. Poiyanaso (*The end*).
10. Kolkomi (*Threshing*).
11. Kirman (*Sowing*).
12. Chunchoori (*Leaf falling*).

Mr. Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AVI Afghanistan AVI~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 787 791 leapfrog, and one of the women, taking a flying leap on to his shoulders, was carried out of the ring, the second Dainyal following in like fashion on another back being offered, and the meeting broke up. No attempt is made to direct the prophecy to any topic by hint or question, and the Dainyal is always free to give, as the communication of the fairy, whatever comes into her head. Considerable freedom of speech is gained in this way, and an unpopular ruler often gets a broad hint given him. Dainyals only exist now in Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager, the stricter Mahommedanism of the neighbouring valleys having disestablished them. Circumstances point to this mode of divination being of Shin introduction, the majority of Dainyals being of that caste. Stronger evidence is afforded by the fact that it is incumbent upon a Dainyal, of whatever caste, to refrain from cow's milk, like the most orthodox Shin.

B 787 791 D [177] B [177]

During the ceremony the witches attempt, occasionally, to rush out of the circle, but are thrust back by the spectators, the idea being that they are forced to prophecy against their will. Occasionally, too, they affect to become excited by the sight of certain persons, bright colours, dogs, &c., and rush at and try to tear them, but are repelled by the spectators, and so are forced to content themselves with hurling stones at the object of aversion.

According to Elphinstone's account of the Siah Posh Kaffirs, something of the same kind exists among them. He says: "They have also persons who can procure an inspiration of some superior being, by holding their heads over the smoke of a sacrifice; but these are held in no particular reverence." Moorcroft mentions mountain witches at Nadaun who were called *Dain*, and a form of divination called *Dewalla* is still practised in some parts of the Punjab.

D 674 681 Serious crimes, such as murder, are rare. In Wakhan murder is punished by a fine of six horses, six guns, and thirty woollen robes; should the murderer be unable to pay the fine, he is forced to give up a son or daughter as a slave to the family of the murdered person. Theft is punished by a fourfold restoration of the stolen property, and the thief is bound to a tree and beaten. Grave disturbances, in which deadly weapons are used, are punished by heavy fines, and an offender is not pardoned till he succeeds in bringing a live hare to the Meer, which at certain seasons is a matter of difficulty.

D 674 Though bloodshed is rare among the Dards as compared with the Afghans, brutal murders are sometimes committed

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-8) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

No. VII.

Shon Gukûr's Prophecy.

5391

They say that in early times Shon Gukûr, the Bitan, had made 177
a prophecy. They say he had said as follows:

"After some years there will appear a handful of fair-complexioned men wearing short coats. They will do great justice and Hunza will become very prosperous. These fair folk will go where there are no roads. They will construct iron bridges. Moreover in the place of privies there will be stables. In the place of stables there will be privies." They say he said: "In those latter days the man who should hold his peace will speak, and the man who should speak will hold his peace."

That is all: the story is this much.

The last two sentences indicate changes in customs and the social system. 178
I do not understand the exact implication of the confusion between stables and privies; but *yawa*, I think, means a man who has a right to speak in public assemblies, i. e. a person of social standing, while *ergwar* is the humbler individual who is not expected to air his opinions in the presence of his betters.

A note elsewhere says that Shon Gukur prophesied that Hunza would be conquered by people wearing "topees" (sun-helmets, hats) and good clothing.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

CHAPTER VII.

HABITS AND CUSTOMS.

D 178 771 NOTWITHSTANDING original tribal differences, the Shin rule in Gilgit and the surrounding valleys practically welded both conquerors and conquered into one people, distinguished only by caste divisions; and, though Mahommedanism has in some instances modified and in others abolished old customs, many of great interest still remain. Many of these, though originating in religious rites and beliefs, have now lost all connection with them in the minds of those who still practise them. It is difficult, almost impossible, now to distinguish between those which were introduced by the Shins, and those which were adopted by them from the original inhabitants; but fairly correct conjectures concerning the origin of some of them may be formed. Hunza is the B [72] country least affected by external influences, and in which the [70] laxest form of Mahommedanism now exists, but there is scarcely any custom or observance maintained there which has not its counterpart still existing, or which till lately existed in the neighbouring valleys. In Chitral and some of the valleys to the westward, many customs seem to have partly disappeared. This may, not improbably, be due to the inhabitants having been earlier converts to Islam, or more exposed to external influences. In the valleys to the southward, like Chilas and Darel, the want of a single ruler and the stricter tenets of Soonnee Mahommedanism have contributed to cause many old customs and festivals to fall into disuse. In spite, however, of local differences, enough remains to show that a strong bond of kinship exists between all the Dard and Ghalchah tribes.

D 142 147 In appearance the men are light, active figures, averaging from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 8 inches in height. Though well made, they are not, as a rule, remarkable for muscular development, presenting in this respect a marked contrast to the Tartar races. Notwithstanding their hardy, simple lives, they seem unequal to any prolonged physical effort. In travelling and shooting I have constantly found them knock up before

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV1 Afghanistan AV1~~
4
AV3. Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D 762 178 It is also a matter of accepted tradition in Gilgit, Gor, Hunza, and Nager, that suttee was formerly practised. The dead man, with his finest clothes and his weapons girded on him was placed on the pyre, and as the fire burnt up, the B 762 woman, arrayed in her jewellery and her richest clothes, leaped into the flames.

● 178 The burning of the dead ceased to be practised more D than sixty years ago. One or two old men have told me [764] that they could remember hearing it mentioned, as a not uncommon occurrence, in their youth, but none could recollect having witnessed any actual instance. So lately as in 1877, a very old man in Darel scandalised his neighbours by calling his sons to him on his death bed, and after having his arms and valuables brought to him, desiring to be burnt with them when dead. His wish, however, was not carried out. He and a man of Gor, who died twenty years ago, are known to have always refused to be circumcised, or to call themselves Mahommedans. They were probably the very last Hindoos in Dangaristan. Suttee was abolished earlier, and has certainly not been practised in Dangaristan for the last hundred years.

D It is to be remarked that none of these customs, which savour so strongly of modern Hindooism, are to be found, 771 either as now existing or as resting on former tradition, in 171 any of the valleys to which the Shin rule did not extend; nor is the term Dangarik applied in any cases except those mentioned. The difference between some types of Hindooism and Buddhism is not necessarily very great, but the existence of customs among them, not shared by their neighbours, the establishment of a caste system, the use of the title of Ra for their rulers, and the common suffix of *Sing* to their own names, with the frequent use of Sanscrit terms, show that considerable differences exist between the Shins and their neighbours of the Swat, Punjkorah, and Chitral Valleys, with whose language their own has so much in common.

D In spite of the more severe type of Mahommedanism 778 which prevails, and which gathers strength year by year, 782 idolatrous customs still survive. In every village in which Shins are in the majority, there is a large stone, which is still more or less the object of reverence. Each village has its own name for this stone, but an oath taken or an engagement made over it, is often held more binding than where the Koran is used. In several villages goats are still annually

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~All Afghanistan AV7~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushi AV7

D 771/174 778 fication. It plays a conspicuous part in the incantations of the Dainyals, and on a great man entering a Shin village a pan of burning Chili branches is waved before him. On certain occasions both men and women saturate themselves with the smoke, which is of a particularly pungent nature.

D 171 779 B 171 178 The custom of Chili worship does not appear to have penetrated to Hunza or Nager, nor is any trace of it to be found in the Oxus Valley, in Chitral, or among the tribes of the Swat Valley; but among the Siah-Posh it seems to exist in almost the same form as it did among the Shins. Chili wood, or Padam, is still taken down to the Punjab to be used in Hindoo ceremonials. According to Colonel Prejevalski, the same tree is also held sacred by the Mongols and Tangutans, who burn the branches for incense during prayer time. At Hemis Shukpa, within 20 miles of Leh, a few trees of great age exist, and are held in much veneration by the Tartars of the village, though the tree is not generally an object of Tartar respect.[1] It may be that the feeling of veneration was imbibed from the Shins, whose influence must have extended nearly to Leh. It is still usual in Gilgit to sprinkle goat's blood on a tree of any kind before cutting it down.

D 771 171 B 771 171 The religion of the whole country is now some form of Mahommedanism, and in the immense knot of mountains of which Yassin forms the centre, three different types of the same religion have met, and are now striving for the mastery. From the south, Soonnee Moollahs have carried their tenets up the different valleys with more or less success. From the eastward a current of Shiah doctrines has set in from Iskardo; and from the westward the curious Maulai, or Muglee,[2] tenets have found their way up the Oxus Valley. It is to be noticed that the subversion of Hindooism by Mahommedanism in the remoter valleys seems to have been extremely gradual, and to have been more owing to gradual conversion than to persecution.

D 771 173 B 771 173 The genealogical tables of the present ruling families of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, enable a fair idea to be formed of the date of the introduction of Islam into the country. Tradition records the death of the Gilgit Ra with the non-Mussulman name of Shiri Buddutt,[3] at the hands of a stranger bearing the Mussulman name of Azru, or Azor, from whom the present Ra of Gilgit, and the Thums of Hunza and Nager, trace

[1] Henderson's *Lahore to Yarkund*, page 51.
[2] The common uneducated pronunciation.
[3] The meaning of the name is perhaps "Given by Sri Buddha."—*Sri Buddha Datta*

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

101 THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India.
131 It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by
133 untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is
197 mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

114 When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he
121 made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

181 During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that
609 the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically
643 prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

113 * *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

[643] ruled his country in the humanest and wisest of benevolent autocracies,
since the treaty of 1892 placed him on the throne of his murdered father
●181 and parricide brother—to our humbler neighbours in Aliabad, the
609 village four miles below the capital which we made our headquarters
for fifteen months. As soon as the people grasped the purpose of our
[212] coming (which was not easy to explain to an illiterate people) they were
overjoyed that a 'Sahib' should trouble to learn their vernacular—
a thing which no white man or woman had done before—and take an
interest in their customs and hereditary lore. At first they would
hesitate: 'but you have wheels (=machines) in England, and can do
all these things better than we can'. Within a few days they were
vying with each other in explaining, demonstrating and bringing
ploughs, looms, winnowing forks, bows, stone cooking pots to the
resthouse where we were installed, that D.L. might measure them and
take 'studio portraits' of them, 'for you mustn't put anything in the
book about us that isn't exactly true'.

132 The entire life of the Hunzukuts is centred in water. The rain-
fall in the oasis level (7–9,000 feet), is negligible—we reckoned less
312 than 2 inches per annum; in default of any means of raising the
361 water, the river, flowing between its crumbly earthen cliffs, 500 or 1,000
feet below their fields is useless for irrigation; there are no springs or
wells; hence all water for all purposes must be trapped high up at the
snout of some side glacier and conveyed on galleried aqueducts across
yawning gorges and the faces of sheer cliffs. The main water channel,
the Dala, which supplies all the more recent villages of Hunza, 'the
new settlements' as they are called in contradistinction to the three
original villages—Baltit the capital, Altit and Ganesh—travels some
8 or 10 miles in its circuitous route from the Herber glacier in the
gorge behind Baltit, cradled between snow-peaks of 23,000 feet, before
it peters out in a semicircular sweep round Aliabad.

312 The Dala was dug some three or four generations ago (90–100
years) with wooden shovels and wooden picks tipped with ibex horn,
412 and represents an amazing feat of engineering skill for people without
any instruments of precision. The sluices that control the distribu-
816 tion of water—every teaspoonful of which is rigorously allotted—are
of the simplest; most often a slab of flattish stone plastered in with
mud, sometimes a wooden shutter sliding in a rude wooden frame,
sometimes when the water is being taken off to a lower level a circular
hole in a stone slab, closed at need with a mushroom-shaped stopper,
rough hewn from a solid tree trunk.

000 admire the view with a fine stretch of terraced fields below us, quaint little stone houses with groups of trees dotted here and there, and behind all, in every direction, the great mountains. On our way back there was a small boy, of perhaps thirteen, in the ex-lucerne field: "Who does this field belong to?" Just in the boastful way of small boys at home, he answered: "Oh, this is my field and that's my mulberry orchard you passed just now, and here's my house with the big mulberry tree over it, and this is my apricot tree and that is my father over there," pointing to our earlier friend who had moved some distance off. "I'm going home now," and he came along with us chattering away. "That's one of our lambs, and that's a kid." He passed his own door and walked all the way back with us. When we came to the bungalow David imitated his way of speaking: "And this is our house, and that's our chair in the verandah, and now we are going in to eat bread." The boy burst out laughing, evidently quite aware that we were chaffing him, waved his hand in farewell, and ran home at the double to tell his family all about it.

We had quite expected that the people would be friendly, but we had no idea they would be so spontaneously forthcoming and so quick to guess what we were driving at. Already by our second day we had made two sets of friends in the two nearest houses, and were sure of a welcome as we passed.

285 I asked Levy Kalbi next morning whether there was anyone who could make us a wastepaper basket. Within an hour or two he came along with an armful of willow twigs, squatted in the verandah: "If the Sahib will show what shape he would like, I'll make it now." So David made him a rough sketch, and in an hour or two he had finished a capacious basket that only needed to dry for a day or two in the sun. We asked what it should cost. He was almost hurt: "You shall not pay me for
NC it. I am already eating your salt. And a basket is nothing,
462 anyway." The day after he came along with a bunch of goat's hair under his arm which he was going to spin, and he thought we might like to watch. Oddly, the men spin the goat's hair
●181 and the women the wool. All these Hunza people are refresh-

ingly competent. There's nothing connected with their every- 181
day life that they cannot all do, and do well.

I saw a couple of pretty young women sitting together in a 283
little orchard spinning, as they watched a few sheep grazing on some odd blades of grass that grew between the trees. I scrambled over the wall and sat beside them to watch. They showed me what they were doing, and as we talked a fine old greybeard passed by driving a few goats and sheep downhill. "What are you doing there, Mother?" "Naját and Zaida are showing me how to spin." "But don't you *know*?" Half shamefaced, wholly amused, I tried to explain that unfortunately in our country most of the spinning was done with "wheels" (a general sort of word for machinery of any kind—a thing which, of course, they have never seen), and quite a lot of women besides myself did not know how to spin. He shook his head sadly as if to say, "What is the world coming to?" and stood a moment to watch us. Then sympathetically but firmly he said: "You'll never learn now, I'm afraid. You should have begun as a child; it takes a lot of practice. Good-bye." And as he went after his animals I saw him still gently shaking his head over my lost youth—which he could not regret more than I.

Wherever she is going, whether to the orchard to gather 283
twigs for firewood, or to the mill with a small sack of grain to 415
be ground, the woman carries under her arm a quaint little kidney-shaped receptacle for her well-washed wool. It is usually made of wild rowan bark. The menfolk when up at the summer pastures cut a strip of bark and bend the two ends towards the centre, forming two circular chambers. They then bury it for a year or two till it has taken the required shape. Then they lash on a thin wooden base and lash the two circular chambers together, and the wife's *pfurúkus* is ready for her. In one side she puts the clean wool which she teases by hand, removing any lumps or bits of straw, which she puts into the odd-shaped cavity between the two circles. She then coaxes bits of the cleaned lump into a neat ribbon of wool about 6 inches long and 1½ inches wide, and beats it well on her knee till it is perfectly flat and even and coheres together, and this little

771 sweeper; I heard only one muezzin sound the Call to Prayer—
788 and saw no one pay heed to it. He was chanting from a cliff in the Mir's garden, and the Mir gathers round him craftsmen of
778 every sort. There are a few shrines in the country reputed
796 holy—including two burial places of Moses within a few
788 hundred yards of each other on one mountain side—where a few rags on sticks flutter unconvincingly in the wind; and one, the shrine of Baba Ghundi in Chupursan, some seven days' march above Báltít, is the object of an occasional pilgrimage. On Tuesdays and Fridays there are said to be services in the House of Assembly, which has supplanted the older Shiah mosque, but I never observed one of our servants or neighbours absent himself from work to go to them.

771 Yet the people are by no means without faith. It is difficult
● 181 to know exactly what even church-going Christians of our own
775 country effectively believe—it is impossible to be sure what one effectively believes oneself—so I can offer only a tentative guess as to the average person's simple credo. The Hunzukuts hold, I think, a comforting, unquestioning faith in a good and kindly God, whose ways they cannot profess to understand. They meet bereavement with a murmur that "there is no remedy against the will of God"; they bury their loved ones with genuine sorrow, but without anxiety. They feel that "it is well with the child," and vaguely trust that some day, somewhere, somehow, they will meet again. They assume as axiomatic that God asks of them diligence and truth, fair-dealing and goodwill. They are hard-working and thrifty, tolerant to others; kind and affectionate in the home, gentle to children and the aged; generous beyond their means to the orphan; truthful and just; and they go about their daily work in the happy confidence that God is well pleased. If they din no perfunctory prayers into His ears, there are occasions when they heartily and humbly pray, as will presently be seen.

771 The Hunzukuts is no mystic, no poet, no artist. This life
181 claims his full attention if he is to live at all; philosophic speculation about "fixed fate, freewill, fore-knowledge absolute" does not line his brow or disturb his rest, nor does he "keep in duty through the toilsome day, because of praise

or blame that comes at night." I may be misinterpreting his 771
attitude of mind. These are not subjects you can thresh out as 181
easily as the wheat, and neither his vocabulary nor mine would have sufficed to tackle them. But this I can vouch for, that every face you see looks restfully content, breaks readily into a happy smile; that there are in Hunza no nervous gestures and no haunted eyes, and in normal life no irritable words. There is little amiss with a faith which spells happiness and high-principled living without debasing fear of Hell or over-conscious hope of Heaven.

When the final crops of every kind are safely in, the first 651
duty of the paterfamilias is to take stock of the year's yield. 262
So much is set aside for seed-grain, and not the direst shortage 792
will tempt him to violate the sanctity of this; so much is set aside for rent (if he is a tenant) or for the tax due on any craft he pursues—the miller pays a very small tax on his mill, the weaver on his loom-pit, the khalifa on his learning; and all pay (alas!) a sum as "Peter's pence" to their spiritual head, the Agha Khan. Next he calculates the "emergency reserve" that may be needed for hospitality or charity during the coming year; this also is scrupulously put aside unground. On the rest he and his family must live till next harvest, under the careful rationing of the senior housewife, the importance of whose rôle I have already stressed.

The period of comparative—well-earned and welcome—rest 796
that ensues, is inaugurated by a solemn watch-night service of prayer and thanksgiving in the House of Assembly. One of our main difficulties in the early days was to get due notice of such events beforehand. Our people were slow to realize that the normal routine of their affairs could really interest us. The first news we had of this Harvest Thanksgiving Service was one late evening in October when Dádo casually said as he bade us good-night: "I'm off now to the all-night prayer." In [799]
answer to our questions he told us that the Assembly Hall and the women's annex would be packed with the entire population, and that the khalifas in rotation would keep up all night a reading of the sacred Persian books and of the Qur'an. "And shall you be able to understand all that they read?" "Oh no,

144 countenance and color, not Indian but European.

If you took the first ten Hunzans that you met anywhere and put them in Europe, no one could doubt that they were Europeans. With the exception of a few clearly and unmistakably Chinese-appearing Hunzans, practically each one would pass as a European. It is understandable that a bit of Mongolian blood got mixed in because Hunza is right smack on the Chinese border.

● 181 173 The people of this country are unqualifiedly the most energetic and industrious of all the people I came across in the East, which lends credence to the fact that they are of European origin.

173 643 174 Even before I went to Hunza I read carefully Arrian's *Life of Alexander the Great*. After seeing Hunza and being impressed by the conviction that the people of Hunza did appear to be Europeans, I came back and made a further search through the *Life of Alexander the Great*.

It is an historical fact that Alexander took unto himself a wife when he was on his Indian campaign. He married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes who was king of Bactria. Bactria is in the northern part of Afghanistan—right smack against the Hunzan border.

Alexander had a posthumous son with Roxana. His name was Alexander Aegus.

So the Mir's claim might have sound historical basis. The Hunzans claim to trace their history back about 2,000 years. Well, Alexander married Roxana back in 327 B. C. So you see, the story may have its point.

I'll further state that the Mir himself looked exactly like one would expect a Mediterranean European to look. He might feign a relationship or descendancy from Alexander the Great, but he couldn't feign that Macedonian appearance.

164 people who retained their character, independence,
177 freedom and primitive way of life. It is my belief that they are not much further advanced today than they were more than 2,000 years ago. Fearing that you may think I mean this in a derogatory manner, I would hurry and add that their way of life 2,000 years ago obviously was as good in many ways, or better, than our way of life today. But that is a measure for individual acceptance.

131 They owe their strength, their health, their longevity, their happiness to that wall of mountains that surrounds them and keeps out all but the boldest and most venturesome of invaders or travelers. They are surrounded by the most massive, the hugest, the greatest accumulation of mountain grandeur and awesomeness to be found anywhere on the world's surface. With such impenetrable guardians, it is not too difficult to understand the reason for their comparative privacy.

From what I saw and gathered, I found that one would not have to go many miles from any given point in Hunza to reach a location where no human being's foot had ever trod before. Should you have the desire to do just that, you can find millions of acres that have not felt the imprint of man within a few miles from most any given spot in Hunza.

181 Living in comparative isolation has made these people courageous and fearless. They are not stooges of civilization and all its implications. There, in Hunza, a man's individuality is still a characteristic trait to which they cling.

177 Now comes the big question—one that hundreds of people have already asked me . . . people who have but a faint knowledge or have heard a bit of news about Hunza and have been interested and fascinated by the myths and fables circulated about her—can Hunza

These men were carrying water from the holy of holies—the Ganges. They were intoxicated—not with wine, but with their faith. They were excited with the mysticism of their god; they were inspired; they were in seventh heaven. Yes, the gait of these divinely influenced people was close to the pace followed by the people of Hunza. 000

If I had seen somewhere along in my travels a Hunzan who slouched, dragged himself or in some other way showed a sign of weakness or debility, I would say so, but no such Hunzan did I see. 481

I fully realize that I scoffed at my Hunzan bearer that the Mir sent along with me from Kerimabad to Nomal, especially when he wanted to take the horses back from Chalt and leave us because he said he had blisters on his feet, due to the exceptionally hard push we had made that day, but remember, he was 20 years older than I! His feet probably told his age but he certainly didn't look it.

If there are sick and infirm men in Hunza, they must be exceptionally well-hidden, because I didn't see or find any. 164

Then, too, writers and observers of the people of Hunza always mention and stress the fact that they are a happy pleasant people. To this I must also assent. I did not see a sad or disgruntled Hunzan. I do not mean to suggest that they ran about the streets giggling and laughing, but they were of cheery, amiable countenance. Here I am going beyond those with whom I walked and talked and ate; I am delving into the citizenry that I passed on the roads or streets, those whose farms and homes we visited and also those whom I observed in passing. 157

Let me here illustrate another point. For example, it is understandable that we here in America, or people 181

181 in other countries distant from Hunza, would attach an aura of mystery or superhumanness to the people of Hunza, but the truth of the matter is that even in Pakistan the belief or the tale concerning the superiority of the Hunzan people also exists. In Karachi, when I mentioned I was going to Hunza or seeking to go to Hunza, ears pricked up quickly. They were interested, they were intrigued, for they knew and had heard tales of the prowess of the Hunzans.

A few weeks before I left home I learned that there was a Pakistani boy employed in Niagara-on-the-Lake and I made an attempt to contact him. My wife just about that time met the Pakistani lad and his wife at a social function and she told him that I wanted to see him and talk to him about Pakistan and about the people of Hunza. Then, when he heard that I intended to go to Hunza, he excitedly informed my wife and stressed that she be sure to tell me not to go because the roads in the mountains were terribly dangerous, that one could penetrate into that country only at the greatest of risk and danger and that many people had set out for Hunza and never been heard of again.

When my wife brought this tale to me, I was perturbed. I was worried and my wife was even more concerned. If a native of Pakistan, and not an illiterate, I want to remind you (this man was a technician), held these people in such awe and fear, you can see that the myth about the people of Hunza is universal.

114 147 It is further claimed that the people of Hunza have endurance that is unsurpassed by any other people on earth. I believe it was Eric Shipton, the famous mountain explorer, who said that the Hunzans had more endurance than even the Sherpa guides that are found on the borders of Nepal and Tibet. These Sherpas have long been considered the people with the greatest en-

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over the Nagirwals, but over others as well. The P.A. at Gilgit, in a discussion that I had with him, admitted that when the Hunzans moved down the valley to the Gilgit area, they showed their heritage by surpassing anyone else in the district when it came to working their lands and producing their crops. They worked harder, they worked longer, they worked better. They used their experience and intelligence to greater advantage, with the net result that they were soon buying more and better land. 157

So far only a few of the Hunzans have come down to Gilgit, but the native Gilgiti farmers are already showing their resentment. Obviously they find it difficult to compete with the Hunzans on an equal basis. [167]

I compared the Hunzans with the Scotch people and I think the comparison has many realistic qualities. Both peoples live in a more or less barren, hilly, rocky, rough country. Both peoples have learned the value of being frugal and thrifty. They waste naught and want naught. They are chiefly outdoorsmen. They are strongly nationalistic. Then, too, they are physically independent and have little or no fear of anyone. 181

When I was talking to the P.A. I called the Hunzans "the Scotsmen of the East" . . . and I trust the Scotsmen won't be offended. In fact, they should be flattered.

Where I think the people of Hunza gain most of their superiority is in leadership. From the little research and reading I have done on the subject, it appears that for many long years the Hunzans have had good capable leaders—really strong men who ruled their people with a firm hand. 643

In reading the autobiography of the Mir's grandfather, one quickly sees that he was not only a man of action but one of ability, foresight and reason.

Now I did not meet the Mir of Nagir. Although I [123]

842 The country cannot afford or support a greater population than exists there today. Therefore, they will have to practice birth control, which it is claimed they already do but with which I disagree, or they will have to send their youths out of the country, which, as a matter of fact, they are doing.

311 There is very little chance of finding or creating more arable land in the country. I believe they have practically every inch tilled now that is tillable. There is no land left in that part of the world that is yet to be broken.

000 Their land and their fruit trees are their whole life. Their health, pleasant dispositions and industry, which they possess to the highest degree, are their entire wealth.

578 Quarreling among children and adults seems to be something that doesn't exist in Hunza. I found close affection and love was the general, accepted pattern throughout the area. This is even more surprising when you realize that most of the houses in the villages are built practically one on top of the other.

181 It was clear to me that they knew no worries and
152 that they create no worries. There was absence of jealousy, greed, covetousness and hurry. Their outlook on life is most unpretentious. They are proud people and do not grovel before anyone and they do not pretend to be anything but what they really are.

433 Every Hunzan farmer is completely self-sufficient, even though he might trade for something that is in short supply or that he would like to possess. He grows wheat, barley, potatoes, millet, cabbage, beans, onions, lettuce and occasionally a bit of rice. In their orchards they have apricots, apples, pears, walnuts and mulberries. Every family has sheep and goats and sometimes a cow or an ox, and occasionally a yak. They till

their own land. They spin their own wool. Then they 433
weave it into cloth from which they cut and sew their [286]
clothes. However he can also buy or trade for woolen cloth or he can have his own wool woven for him.

They have little or no money. The few dollars that 436
he might get during the year would come from the 485
expeditions that congregate in the area and hire the Hunzans as porters. And they are unsurpassed at this difficult and arduous work.

A man has a right to inflict corporal punishment 593
upon his wife if she nags him. Perhaps that is why the men of Hunza have that cheerful look.

The children are never neglected because the parents
are always at home. Further, the children do their 857
share of the work in the fields and are taught to do so from early childhood. This also eliminates juvenile delinquency.

The people of Hunza have splendid dispositions. 157
They are genial, pleasant, smiling and cheerful. They 181
have deep respect for authority, profound love of the land, affection, compassion and understanding for their neighbors and they are most hospitable to strangers. They hold their heads high, their chests out and they
are strong, honest and hard-working. To me this showed 000
clearly and positively that people can live and that agriculture can exist and thrive without chemistry, chemical fertilizers, chemical sprays or synthetic medicines and drugs.

They enjoy happiness without modernization, long life without doctors, nurses and hospitals, democracy without bureaucracy, law and order without police and self-sufficiency without money. Part of the answer, if not most of it, is their loyalty to and their faith in their land, a pure case of unremitting agriculture and putting everything back into the soil which was taken

them from any other group of people that I have met or seen anywhere.

I discussed the situation with friends and acquaintances. I mentioned it to folks whose experience and intelligence I respected—thinking, hoping that they could give me a clue to the answer. But nothing came of it. I was still floundering and groping about in the dark.

'Twas a blizzardly night in March . . . I sat in my office at the nursery . . . writing. Suddenly the answer came to me . . . and it was so obvious, so apparent and so simple that I am ashamed I hadn't come up with the answer on the spot.

Perhaps you are more alert than I and you have already guessed the answer. And if you have, I compliment you. You have your ears and your eyes open . . . and you have benefited greatly from the written experiences of my travels in Hunza.

The big thing—the important thing—the simple thing that I discovered was the fact that the people of Hunza find joy and happiness in simply being alive. Living, in itself, is to them the grandest, the greatest and the most fascinating adventure in the world.

We in the Western world have 1,001 things to please us, to entertain and excite us, to thrill and enthrall us. The people of Hunza—they have their little cradle in the sun and that is all!

We must have cocktails and drinking parties to get ourselves into a mood. We must parade off to the theatre to get a laugh and relaxation. We go to a doctor or a priest for comfort and assurance.

The people of Hunza get their joy and pleasures out of the simple things in life—the natural, the commonplace, the ordinary. They are, from infancy to old age, continually attuned to nature. They are intelligent—

/8/ they look intelligent. Yet the happy carefree outlook of a child bespeaks their countenance.

000 We seek relief from our troubles and woes by entertainment, excitement, smoking and drinking.

Let us face the realities of life for what they are. Is it not a fact that our way—our modern way of living—has got out of hand and is now too much for us and we just can't cope with it? That is why we release our pent up furies and frustrations in drink and smoke. Is it not true that we have become a serious, troubled, dour race of people and that too many—yes, too many—responsibilities are oppressing our minds?

No people in the world's history have been so burdened with responsibilities as we in America. The world wars weren't ours, yet we had to become involved . . . and the world looks to us now to enforce or maintain world peace. And what a herculean task it is!

We have the burden of education—not only for ourselves, but for most of the world. Our people have become sick and disease ridden. We have to worry about the maintenance of elaborate homes, automobiles, appliances. We have to consider our vocations and our means and sources of food. We must be ever vigilant . . . there's both foreign encroachment and our own politicians to consider. We have to worry about mortgages, loans, financing, insurance, taxes, interest and the world's most expensive political setups.

We must not only be concerned about our wives and our children and ourselves, but we must share the responsibilities of our neighbors, our countrymen, and now, we have also included the rest of the world.

There no longer exists such a thing as individuality within us . . . for we are but one of almost 200,000,000 bees—all busy and buzzing in unison, creating a great institution. But who wants to be a bee in a hive or a

number in an institution?

Let's face it! Isn't it true that our responsibilities are becoming too big a burden for us? Aren't we trying or attempting to encompass a little too much? Aren't we reaching beyond our ken—beyond our abilities?

You see, the people of Hunza aren't burdened with all the things I've mentioned above, and therefore, it is easy to see why they enjoy just being alive and healthy.

It must be recognized that the people of Hunza lead, probably, what is the most simple life known to any people on the face of the globe. They are not trying to master the world, their own fates or that of their neighbors. They are busily occupied in looking after just themselves.

Selfish? I don't know. They certainly don't interfere with anyone else or ask anyone for anything. In Hunza a man's responsibilities consist of tilling a bit of soil to produce food for himself and the members of his household. The house is actually small—usually a two-roomed affair. He has to make provisions to store sufficient food for his winter needs—plus a mite for a neighbor who might run short. Then he may be called upon to contribute a day's work or two a year on the roads or toward maintaining the aqueducts. And that's it! From there on out, his time, his life and his liberty are his own. They even have it better than the red Indians in America . . . because the Hunzans have a permanent abode rather than a windy tent.

Do you think that mankind can improve on a setup like that?

It could be that some of our difficulties stem from the fact that we try to work against nature, whereas in Hunza, when nature pulls the switch and brings on winter or creates other conditions that bring activities

to a halt, the people are resigned to it for the time being. They have found that they can't stem the avalanches or the receding glaciers. So they work with them, instead of against them.

It would be sheer "humbug" on my part to tell you that the people of Hunza have no responsibilities and no worries or cares, because we all know that no human being can exist on the face of the earth without some. But the people of Hunza have learned not to burden themselves with any more than they can help . . . and they stay quite clear of entanglements.

Most of their cares consist of sowing their crops at the right time, harvesting them before the bad weather sets in, storing sufficient to last through the winter and procuring a bit of fuel.

They lack the continued harassments of our modern, up-to-date civilization. One big thing to bear in mind is that the people of Hunza do not have an expensive, elaborate, many tentacled political setup. Hunza has a government of the simplest form . . . and apart from being an emblem and a guide, it does not interfere with or does very little for the inhabitants of Hunza. No government does anything for any people that the people could not do better for themselves if properly organized . . . this holds true anywhere in the world.

Have we ever stopped to think just what a large proportion of our daily work goes for maintaining our government and for which we receive neither remuneration nor thanks? During World War II, I was astounded to learn that it took 30 men behind the lines to keep one man up front. I discredited it and refused to believe it . . . but subsequently, after tracking down the source of the report, I learned that it is true and that for every fighting man there must be 30 down the line to lend support.

164 146 into the "fine, barrel chests" reported by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the fine, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 161 [10] The basic trouble rests not with the Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and hard-working, but with their country. There is no flat land in all of Hunza. [36] [311] Villages and farms are built on alluvial cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each [62] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 241 Hunza's slopes are so steep they must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-calked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 311 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders, [32] gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a [13] cool but exceedingly dry desert, practically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

134 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If
311 you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

241 HUNZAS are skillful at building a
134 limited fertility into their sterile
[237] material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain ozone to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrates, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 Even the most painstaking hydro-
241 ponic gardening cannot compensate
237 for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy.
[237] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefuly herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 Unfortunately, the human popula-
161 tion has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient
167 food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Sheena predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men
[640] join the Pakistan army. Others take
464 work as servants, where their honesty,
[181] industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

173 of Nagar, and the name is supposed to be the corruption of the Chinese word Tung, which forms part of many Chinese titles. The Thum was an absolute ruler, who killed or sold his subjects into slavery as it pleased him; but that the rule, though despotic, must have been tempered by common-sense is shown by the fact that the office of wazir, or minister, has gone down in unbroken succession from father to son for seven generations.

643 Safdar Ali, the Thum at the time of my visit, had murdered his father, Ghazan Khan, three years previously, and his character caused me some anxiety. He had, it is true, as had the Nagar chief, written to Government, and asked that a mission should be sent to him, but he bore an ill name for treachery, cruelty, 795 and weakness. In common with most of his subjects he belonged to the Maulai sect, the followers of which, though calling themselves Shiahs, were a bye-word on the frontier for their shameless violation of all the [837] leading Mahomedan doctrines. The men drank wine freely; their morals were of the loosest; a man considered himself honoured if his wife attracted the Thum's attentions, and hospitality enjoined that he should offer her to his guest. Withal, they were • 181 cheery, pleasant people to deal with, slight, wiry, and very active, first-rate mountaineers, and of untiring energy, a great contrast to the Shins of 721 Gilgit. With none of the bloodthirstiness of the Pathan they yet had a great reputation for bravery, and had more than once invaded and severely handled their Nagar neighbours, who were said never to have carried the war into their country.

000 The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

795 nearly as lax in their Mahomedanism as the people of Hunza. There is considerably more cultivation
241 than in Hunza, the land is better watered, and the main slopes of the mountains enclosing the country face north, and are consequently covered with forest. The land has the full benefit of the summer sun, and
[135] the crops are splendid. The untold profusion of the apricots, and the quantity of gold which can be washed out of every stream, has gained the country amongst the Nagaris themselves the name of
144 "the land of gold and apricots." The people, though
721 of identically the same stock as those of Hunza, show
511 marked differences. They are less warlike than their
567 neighbours; they were never implicated in the raiding of caravans, owing principally perhaps to there being no outlet to the north or east leading to caravan tracks; they are, on the whole, better off, owing to the better agricultural conditions, and the possession of splendid grazing grounds; and last, but not least, slavery is unknown amongst them — that is, they would not brook their king selling them or their children, and the exile of the present ruler's eldest son is said to have been caused by his attempt to
181 introduce the custom from Hunza. The men are not
829 so bright and cheery as their Hunza cousins; they strike one as more sedate and morose, and their reputation for dash and gallantry is far lower. The reason they themselves assign for the difference, and the one generally accepted, is that in the winter, when the sun is in the south, the great mountains backing their valley shut out all the light and warmth, of which Hunza facing south enjoys the full benefit, and that the depressing effect of passing day after day in the cold and dark-

4: Durand G-S (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

181 829 ness of their uncomfortable houses leaves an indelible mark on the national character.

342 It must be remembered that a house in the [351] Hindu-Kush has no glass windows, no comfortable fire-place and chimney corner. The better-class houses are built round a courtyard, but the rooms rarely have windows, all light comes from the 354 open door or from a skylight. Immediately below 352 the skylight is a square open hearth, on which smoulders a fire; round this run raised platforms, on which are the beds and household paraphernalia; the smoke, before escaping through the roof, fills the whole room, blackens walls and pillars, and chokes the un- [132] fortunate inhabitants. If it is very cold, or raining and snowing heavily, the skylight is shut, the room is in pitchy darkness but for a sputtering torch, and the atmosphere horrible. It is no wonder that an existence under these circumstances should be rather depressing, and in Nagar the people get the full benefit of it, for there are several villages which during December and January only get twenty 461 minutes' sun a day; some, I believe, get none. The men having no agricultural work on hand, owing to the land being frost-bound, there is practically nothing for them to do during the winter months but to sit idly round their smouldering fires for about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.

133 487 Nagar has practically no outlet except down the river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there is only the bare possibility of reaching 487 Baltistan by the Hispar pass: there is a tradition that the road was once used, but it is very doubtful if

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

the story is true. It needs a mountaineer properly 487
equipped to make use of this road, which runs over one of the greatest glacier masses of the world, as Sir Martin Conway shows in his book, "Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram Himalayas." Dependent [439]
therefore on Gilgit for their luxuries, such as weapons, 181
cotton cloth, salt, sugar, etc., most of them the produce of India, or on Hunza for the products of Turkestan and Central Asia, the Nagar people were more 726
easily squeezable than their neighbours across the water, and not so aggressively insolent in their dealings with Kashmir. They were as little to be trusted, however. It was one of their chiefs who many years ago called in the Kashmir arms to help him break his rival Thum, and who, once the Kashmiris were well within the country, fraternised with his enemy, and turned upon his late allies; and Nagar forces had played a prominent part in the disturbances of the past year. The want of dash on the part of the Nagar warriors was well marked on the former occasion; no badly-disciplined army, abandoned by its chiefs as were the Kashmir forces in the former case, should have been able to escape. Pathans would have wiped them out to a man, even Chitralis would have inflicted terrible loss, but the Nagar men allowed their enemies to get out of the country scathless, and even to save, owing to the gallantry of one officer, their small mountain guns carried by coolies. These were points which were worth considering and laying up for future guidance.

1: Leitner L-8 (1868-93) 18937 AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

133 are very steep, involving at times springing from one ledge of a rock to another, or dropping on to it from a height of six feet, when, if the footing is lost, the wild torrent sweeps
181 one away. Colonel Biddulph does not credit the Nagyris with bravery. History, however, does not bear out his statement; and the defeat inflicted on the Kashmir troops under Nathu Shah in 1848 is a lesson even for the arrogance of a civilized invader armed with the latest rifle.
[533] The Nagyris are certainly not without culture; in music they were proficient before the Muhammadan piety of the Shiah sect somewhat tabooed the art. At all events, they are different in character from the Hunzas with whom they share the same language, and their chiefs the same ancestry.
721 The Hunzas, in whom a remnant of the Huns may be
567 found, were great kidnappers; but under Kashmir influence they stopped raiding since 1869, till the confusion incidental to our interference revived their gone occupation. Indeed, it is asserted on good authority, that even our ally of Chitrál, who had somewhat abandoned the practice of selling his Shiah or Kalásha Kafir subjects into slavery, and who had so disposed of the miners for not working his ruby mines to profit, has now returned to the trade in men, "with the aid of our present of rifles and our moral support." Nor is Bokhara said to be behind Chitrál in the revival of the slave-trade from Darwáz, in spite of Russian influence; so that we have the remarkable instance of two great Powers both opposed to slavery and the slave-trade, having revived it in their approach to one another. Nor is a third Power, quite blameless in the matter; for when we worried Hunza, that robber-nest remembered its old allegiance to distant Kitái and arranged with the Chinese authorities at Yarkand to be informed of the departure of a caravan. Then, after intercepting it on the Kulanuldi road, the Hunzas would take those they kidnapped from it back for sale to Yarkand!

000 As a matter of fact, we have now a scramble for the regions surrounding and extending into the Pamirs by

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-68) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusha AV7

000 loss of their independence,—I venture to point out the impolicy and injustice of interfering with these principalities.

I have already referred to a letter from the venerable chief of Nagyr, in which he strongly commends to my care one of his sons, Raja Habibulla, as a well-wisher of the English Government. Indeed, he has absolutely done nothing to justify any attack on the integrity of his country; and before we invade it other means to secure peace should be tried. I have no doubt that I, for one, could induce him to comply with everything in reason, if reason, and not 721 an excuse for taking his country, is desired. Nagyr has 567 never joined Hunza in kidnapping expeditions, as is alleged in the above-quoted paragraph. Indeed, slavery is an abomination to the pious and peaceful agriculturist of that •181- interesting country. The Nagyris are musical and were fond [77] of dances, polo, ibex *battue*-hunting, archery and shooting from horseback, and other manly exercises; but the growing piety of the race has latterly proscribed music and dancing. The accompanying drawing of a Nagyri dance in the neighbouring Gilgit gives a good idea of similar performances at Nagyr.

787 The country is full of legendary lore, but less so than 791 Hunza, where Grimm's fairy tales appear to be translated into actual life. No war is undertaken except at the supposed command of an unseen fairy, whose drum is on such occasions sounded in the mountains. Ecstatic women, inhaling the smoke of a cedar-branch, announce the future, tell the past, and describe the state of things in neighbouring valleys. They are thus alike the prophets, the historians, and the journalists of the tribe. They probably now tell their indignant hearers how, under the pretext of shooting or of commerce, Europeans have visited their country, which they now threaten to destroy with strange and murderous weapons; but Hunza is "ayeshó," or "heaven-born," and the fairies, if not the inaccessible nature of the country, will continue to protect it.

000 The folly of invading Hunza and Nagyr is even greater

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3 Burusho AV7

D 173

ready to take a tin containing pork and could scarcely be restrained till "lawful" food was brought to them by my servants. Men were forced to go with the troops. One Hakim Ali Shah, a teacher at Amritsar, was compelled to serve as a physician, a post to which he had no other claim, except that his name happened to be "Hakim." I rescued him. A virulent fever was destroying the troops at Gilgit, who, even after the siege of the fort had been raised, were liable to be shot down by prowlers from the tribes within a few yards of the fort. I ordered the fort, etc., to be cleaned and, although myself in danger of life from my Kashmir friends, if not from the tribes, I insisted on my orders being obeyed, the assumption of an authoritative tone being often a traveller's only chance of safety among Asiatics. I distributed medicine among the troops and was afterwards told in Durbar by the Maharajah that some medicine which I had sent to Wazir Zoraweru, who was then on his Dureyl expedition, had saved his life.

D 177 [164] [771]

Since then, the Dards have made the acquaintance of diseases for which there was not even a name in 1866. I refer chiefly to cholera and syphilis, which Kashmiri and Indian troops have introduced. Simultaneously, the indigenous methods of treatment, which are full of lessons for the impartial learner, are dying out. Industrial handicrafts, historical superstitions or reminiscences, national feasts which existed in 1866 exist no longer, and what exists now will soon vanish before the monotony of orthodox Muhammadanism and the vulgarity of so-called European civilization. "*Und der Götter bunt Gewimmel, Hat sogleich das stille Haus geleert.*" The fairies and prophetesses of Dardistan are silent, the Tham of Hunza no longer brings down rain, the family axes are broken, the genealogists have been destroyed, and the sacred drum is heard no longer. The quaint computations of age, of months, seasons, years and half-years, and the strange observations of shadows thrown at various times are dying out or are already dead. Worse than all for enquiry into ancient human history, the languages which contain the words of "*what once was*," are being flooded by foreign dialects, and what may survive will no longer appeal to the national understanding. This result is most lamentable as regards Hunza, where the oldest human speech still showed elementary processes of development. I fear that my attempt to commit, for the first time, to writing, in an adapted *Persian* character, the Khajuná language, has only been followed in a document of honour which the venerable Chief of Nagyr sent me some years ago. Already do some European writers call him and his people "ignorant" when their own ignorance is alone deserving of censure. I deeply regret that the friendship of so many Dard Chiefs for me has made them unsuspicious of Europeans, and may have thus indirectly led to the loss of their independence, but I rejoice that for over twenty-five years I have not attracted the European adventurer to Dardistan by saying anything about Pliny's "*fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ*," except in Khajuná Ethnographical Dialogues in the "Hunza-Nagyr Handbook," which exploiters were not likely to read. Now others have published the fact, but not the accompanying risks.

D [805] D [197] 000 D 131 B 181 000

As Kandiá is learned, Nagyr pious, Chilás puritanical, and all true Dard tribes essentially peaceful and virtuously republican, so, no doubt, Hunza was the country of free love and of raiding, that had ceased in 1865, which we practically revived (see Appendix I.). I doubt, however, whether

~~12~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

natives of other parts. Their constitutions also seem to want stamina, and they succumb easily to disease or change of climate. This want of physical energy and enterprise is most strongly marked in the Shin caste. They consider husbandry the only honourable employment for men, and so averse are they to labour, that the poorest of them employ Baltis in their agriculture, which is of a rude and slovenly kind. Numbers of Baltis come yearly into the Gilgit district to serve for hire; they receive 6 lbs. of grain for a day's labour. D 142 147 D 464

In disposition they are tractable, good-tempered, fond of rejoicing and merry-making, neither cruel nor quarrelsome, and they submit readily to constituted authority. The worst cruelties perpetrated in the wars between Yassin and Cashmere are distinctly attributable to the Ashimadek class of Yassin and Chitral, who compare unfavourably with the older tribes in this respect. In all the accounts of the Kunjooti depredations on caravans, and of wars in which the people of Hunza and Nager were concerned, there are no records of wanton cruelty or of the exercise of torture. The women are pleasing-looking when young, but are not particularly handsome. Exception must be made in favour of the Khos of the "Fakir Mushkin" class in Chitral, who show certain physical peculiarities not shared by the other Dard tribes. In person they are Indo-Aryans of a high type, not unlike the Shins of the Indus Valley about Koli, but more handsome, with oval faces and finely-cut features, which would compare favourably with the highest types of beauty in Europe. The most striking feature about them, and one which distinguishes them from all other Dard tribes, is their large and beautiful eyes, which remind one of English gypsies, with whom they share the reputation of being expert thieves. They have also unusually fine hair, of which they are very proud. The women of Chitral were formerly sought out for their beauty in the slave markets of Cabul, Peshawur, and Badakhshan. The fairest complexions are to be seen among the Boorish of Hunza and Yassin, where individuals may be found who would pass for Europeans. Among them red hair is not uncommon. B 181 D 181 D 142 B 142

In dress there is little variety. The loose woollen robe described by Mr. Drew is worn also in Sirikol, Wakhan, Zebak, Chitral, Yassin, Hunza, Nager, and the Yaghestan Valleys. Those who can afford it substitute in summer a cotton robe of the same cut, with quilted edges, worked round the neck D 291 B 291

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly 563
of totally distinct stock from the Burusho. Much more difficult
is the question of the relation of the Burusho and the Shina-speakers.
My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shèn of lower
Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burusho of Hunza.
They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to
apparent mentality and sanitary ideals. A large proportion of the
child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous
in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity
of comparing the people of the Hunza Shèn villages of Hindi and
Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burusho fellow-
"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the 184
Burusho of Hunza and the Burusho of Nagir? That is a question 157
which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; 361
but it is the general impression among European visitors that there
is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples.
The Hunza Burusho are felt to be a happy and cheerful people,
their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching
sombreness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to
the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in
winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part
attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be 125
worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical 141
measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency.
The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so
were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measure-
ments were recorded uninstructedly according to an antiquated scheme
of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting
time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and
are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only 141
measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are rea-
sonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing
the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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District	Number of Subjects	Head Measurements in Centimetres			Cephalic Index	Height in Feet & Ins.
		Ant.-Posterior Diameter	Transverse Diameter	Frontal Minimum		
Hunza . .	138	19·135	14·833	10·423	76·834	5′ 6 $\frac{8}{11}$″
Nagir . .	152	19·411	14·256	9·536	73·424	5′ 5½″
Yasin . .	78	19·035	14·788	10·413	77·714	5′ 6 $\frac{1}{20}$″
Gilgit . .	40	19·362	14·493	10·075	74·931	5′ 4 $\frac{15}{16}$″
Astor . .	43	19·005	14·494	10·197	76·306	5′ 3½″
Punial . .	65	19·165	14·611	10·342	76·286	5′ 5 $\frac{13}{15}$″
Kuh-Ghizer	78	19·099	14·791	10·217	77·432	5′ 5 $\frac{10}{11}$″

Without allowing too much importance to these figures, we may tentatively accept a considerable difference between the Hunza and Nagir subjects in cephalic index and its factors, in frontal minimum and in height. The Nagir type seems to approximate to the Gilgit type, while the Hunza type approaches to that of Yasin. These conclusions receive further support from a detailed examination of the figures. I have plotted the numbers under each figure of the anterior-posterior and transverse diameters of the head, and of the height, and very similar curves are yielded by the Hunza and Yasin records; and the same holds of the Nagir and Gilgit records.

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184
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My own visual impressions, however, for what they are worth, would suggest that in physique and feature there is a perceptible difference between the Burushaski-speakers of Hunza and the Werchikwar-speakers of Yasin. It is to be noted that both the Hunza and Nagir subjects are almost entirely Burusho; only a few individuals of those measured came from the Shina-speaking villages. This difference in the attitude to a very mild form of militarism may indicate an inherent difference of temperament. On the other hand it may be due to economic or other unsuspected causes.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

312 And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of
423 the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

562 Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the
884 East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

609 To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and
123 Mīm sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

184 So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours
157 I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

000 We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Wərčikwar). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasin district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasin is shown in the following table:

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

CHAPTER 49

Hunza vs. Nagir

184 AFTER I've had some time to think over the experiences of my visit to Hunza, I've been asked by others and I've also asked myself, "Is there any reason for the evident superiority of the Hunzans over the neighboring peoples?"

So I took the case of the people of Nagir, for example, and made comparisons with them. I'm not even sure whether that is a fair or proper means of comparison.

It seems somewhat strange to me that while the virtues of the people of Hunza were being extolled, the bad features or unredeeming qualities of the people of Nagir were being brought to the fore. So I took pains [101] to search and investigate and I came up with the fact that the people of Hunza and Nagir are of identical stock and that it was people originally from Hunza who populated Nagir.

Then wherein lies the difference? What happened through the years to create the obvious difference that everyone sees and feels the minute he comes into the territory? I am not an anthropologist, nor have I training in any scientific field. Therefore, I am quite unprepared to speak with any degree of authority, but I am told the difference is that the people of Nagir accepted or welcomed strangers and settlers from other parts of the area and thus, they became a polyglot group of mixed blood, habits, customs, religions and thought, whereas the Hunzan people, then and today, discourage outsiders from coming to live among them in their country. Then, too, I guess another important factor looms and that is that Hunza is not nearly as inviting from an economic viewpoint to a man coming from another part of the world to settle, whereas Nagir does offer many more advantages. 184 167 [114]

For me to assert that there are no mixed bloods in Hunza would be an untruth, because even in my travels about the towns and along the road, I saw distinct types that were not of the run-of-the-mill Hunzans. Some were distinctly Chinese and I am also reasonably sure that there is a fair amount of Afghan blood among the Hunzans, besides Russian—for, as you may recall, Russia is but a scant 14 miles away. 144

It is not my intention to try to build up a case for true-bloods as being the Hunzan heritage, for history clearly indicates that it is among the people of mixed bloods where the greatest advances are made in science, industry and the creative human arts.

In Hunza there are very few plains or expanses where farming on a large scale could be practiced. However in Nagir it is quite different. There were sections through which we passed that were wider than the eye could reach, covered with good soil that was carrying 184 241 311

184 a good crop of various kinds of grains, forage, vege-
241 table crops and fruits. In Hunza this just doesn't occur.
311 The terrain is steeper, more precipitous, more difficult and seldom if ever does a flat open area come within the limits of normal vision.

[133] Then, too, Nagir has many more nullahs formed by the melting glaciers. Rakaposhi is located in Nagir and surrounding it are many snowfields and glaciers which are used, trained and harnessed to irrigate their country.

Indubitably, the fates and nature have been much kinder to Nagir than they have to Hunza.

438 Let me also tell you frankly that on many occasions the people of Hunza purchase or barter various types of food from Nagir. I asked the ways and means that [437] were used in effecting these deals and found that in most cases money—earned by the Hunzans in service in the army, portering for expeditions and given to them as gifts—was the means.

184 One might gather from what I have said and even [628] from talking to various people or natives of the area, that the Nagirwals and the Hunzans are deadly enemies. But that is not true. The people of Hunza [186] think themselves much better than the people of Nagir. They do believe that they are handsomer, healthier, cleaner and are better husbandmen, but yet there does not appear to be any cases of conflict, physical or armed, between the two peoples.

123 I recall a little incident that may be of some interest. We rounded a spot—I guess it was 10 or so miles from Minapin—on the way up to Baltit and there we saw a decrepit, ragged looking Nagirwal. In his hands he [231] held a pair of chickens. They were the typical chickens of the area—full grown but the size that our chickens are when they're half grown. He waved them in front of us as though indicating they were for sale or could be

186 A note of bitterness crept into the Hunza voices. Whereas
324 Hunza permits the Nagirkuts to cross the river and help
798 themselves free to Hunza stones, the Nagir people levy a tax
563 on all stones taken from their side. So our folk averred; but
578 very probably we should hear the tale reversed if we spoke to Nagir millers on the subject. For the Burusho of Hunza and Nagir, though they speak the same language, are of different race and mentality, and understand each other as little as the Saxon and the so-called Celt, and the rivalry of centuries divides them. At one point they both professed the Shiah faith, but since the Hunzukuts some four or five generations ago adopted the Ismaili (or "Maulai") heresy religious differences have added to their ever-wakeful mutual hostility.

000 Quitting these contentious subjects, we essayed some photographs by the water's edge and turned sharp to mount a side-gorge and reach the level of the cliff road above, by the steepest thing calling itself a path you ever saw. The new Minapin ponies were happily sturdier than the rocking-horses, and managed to climb almost vertically for 600 feet or so. A
342 brisk torrent, which is most of the time a waterfall, pours
361 down the gorge[1] the sides of which are lined with trees and grass, and the track runs right through a most picturesque little village called Tishót. The stone houses are almost indistinguishable from the rocks against which they are built, one here, one 20 feet above, just wherever they can be got to stick.
000 The ponies took the four-foot steps from boulder to boulder as if they had been taught circus riding up and down the Great Pyramid. I never professed to be a horsewoman, and I don't know the orthodox way of staying in the saddle when my pony's back is perpendicular, so I shamelessly wound my right hand in his flowing mane, pressed the stirrups back, and lurched triumphantly to the top. When we emerged on to the fan above we felt so virtuous after the climb that we halted to drink tea, though we had only done four miles and had not really deserved it. Our usual routine on these slow marches was to divide the day's ride into three: have thermos tea at one-third and lunch at two-thirds the distance, and thus let Shafi get well ahead to be preparing the evening meal.

1 [of the Hunza River -- Analyst]

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

Next appeared a lot of men bearing white and red pennants and one carrying the Hunza standard (rather a new invention this, I fancy). The standard is a large triangle of white with two pairs of horizontal red stripes, an open hand in red, and a bow and arrow in green: a handsome and effective national flag.

After the standards came the men of the Royal Family, including Hari Tam of three or four (but not the new baby), the younger members leading the way, and lastly Sir Muhammad Nazím Khán himself, mounted on his snow-white Badakhshani stallion. The horse wore a scarlet saddle-cloth heavily embroidered in gold, and from a broad gold collar round its neck there dangled a large "feather brush" of pure white yak's hair. The Mir, looking as always every inch a king, was robed in bright green velvet cloak with massive padded gold embroidery. He had on a fine silk turban of pale blue. All the people entitled to a place in the procession, from the Mir downwards, were wearing bunches of large-leafed maidenhair in their caps. Gathering this fern, which as far as we could learn grows only in one spot in Hunza near Altít, and collecting the willows for the "horses" provide exciting tasks for the boys for a day or two preceding the feast, while women of the Diramiting clan are busy baking the barley mill-stones and compounding the *chopan*.

Before the procession ultimately emerges many elaborate traditional ceremonies take place in the ancient rooms of the Fort, which is still used for these occasions though no longer inhabited. The detail and significance of these ceremonies (which we were not invited to witness) were fully investigated by DL and I shall not here anticipate his account of them.

The procession passed along the narrow track till it reached the Bopfau field, 6 feet or so above the path and supported by the usual revetting wall. The younger and more active scaled the wall, but for the Mir himself a ladder had been placed at an angle of 45 degrees, bridging the water-channel at the base of the wall, and I followed the royal lead up the ladder. The Mir then took his seat on a chair beneath which a carpet had been spread (chair and carpet being doubtless modern

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241 table crops and fruits. In Hunza this just doesn't occur.
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643 wrote to him and asked if I could come and visit him,
123 he did not reply to my letter. No, I'm not annoyed nor am I saying anything unfavorable about the Mir because he didn't answer my letter, but I would have liked to meet him so that I could speak more authoritatively about the many unfavorable statements made about him and his people.

However, I spoke to many people who knew the Mir of Nagir personally. I passed right by his official residence both on the way up and on the trail back. It was pointed out to me and I stopped and looked it over.

643 Whereas the Mir of Hunza is respected—not only in Nagir and Hunza and the entire surrounding country, but in most nations throughout the world—the Mir of Nagir is more or less unknown and does not even have any great amount of social intercourse with his own people.

Whenever I met a Hunzan on the road and spoke to him about the Mir of Hunza and the Mir of Nagir, he would hold himself erect and say through our interpreter something like this, "Our Mir is loved and respected by his people and everyone else. His name and fame have spread throughout the world. The Mir of Nagir, nobody knows of or likes him!" If this was said to me only once or twice, I would pay little or no attention, but a similar vein of thought and expression was portrayed on many occasions.

643 I think further that the Mir of Hunza has given a
186 high standard and caliber of leadership to his people. It was apparent wherever I went. He made his people believe and feel that they were good people, that they were equal to the best people of the world and that they were cleaner, stronger, healthier and more intelligent than others, and he was not telling them anything but the truth! The Hunzans hold their heads high.

D that it was our policy to be on good terms with the
643 natural leaders of the people of the country, and the Kashmir frontier officials had mismanaged their affairs so hopelessly, and were so distrusted, that I did not wish to have them as intermediaries. In the end Raja Bahadur Khan proved of the greatest service, and his tact and knowledge of the local conditions helped to avert what might have been a very serious disaster.

B The position of the small States of Hunza and
131 Nagar, which I was about to visit, is unique; as
648 Biddulph says, "they probably present the spectacle
642 of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago." Shut in by a girdle of practically impassable mountains, they had maintained their independence for centuries, though both States apparently had at different times acknowledged the suzerainty of the rulers of Gilgit, and latterly had bound themselves to respect that of Kashmir, and to pay it tribute.
B The relations of Hunza to Kashmir, and through that
649 State with the Government of India, were complicated by the fact that the Chief of Hunza also recognised the suzerainty of China, paid a nominal tribute to, and received presents in return from its ruler.
B The two States, which are divided only by a river
186 which runs in a bed six hundred feet wide between cliffs three hundred feet high, are inhabited generally by people of the same stock, speaking the same language, professing the same form of the Mahomedan religion, and are ruled by princes sprung from the same family. Notwithstanding all this, or more correctly perhaps because of it, they have been

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

for centuries persistent rivals, always at war with each other, but always ready to unite against a common invader, even when that invader had been called in by the one State in order to assist it in coercing the other.

The State of Hunza was the most important of the two, from the fact that its possession of the passes leading to the Pamirs, and to the valley of the Yarkand river, gave it the opportunity, in the picturesque Persian phrase, of "striking the road," and looting the caravans on their way between Turkestan and India. The rulers of Hunza availed themselves of this commanding position freely; their name was a terror to the merchant and to the gentle Kirghiz, and their success was such that certain roads were entirely abandoned by traders; tracts of country north of the passes were completely depopulated, and Hunza was the centre of the slave trade, the place to which the merchants of Badakshan regularly came to replenish their stocks. The rulers of Hunza were rich compared to those of Nagar, and secure in the fastnesses of their mountains they snapped their fingers at China and Kashmir, and with fine impartiality plundered caravans to the north and kidnapped slaves to the south. But brigands by profession as the people were, they appear to have acted always on the orders of their chief, and the admirable cultivation of their ground, the immense and persistent labour spent on their irrigation channels, and on the retaining walls of their terraced fields, showed that they were worthy of better things. The country itself is some hundred miles in length: from Chalt to Hunza, a distance of about twenty-five miles

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

CHAPTER V

VISIT TO HUNZA NAGAR

609 At Chalt I dismissed the Nagar men who had come to Gilgit to act as hostages during my absence, and sent them away well pleased. The Nagar people seemed to be really keen on my visiting their country, and the Hunza representative with me explained the rather doubtful tone of his master's letters by the fact that the Thum was suffering severely from fever. In addition to this, which might delay our interviews, the chief feared that the height of the river, which was in full flood, might make our journey difficult and dangerous. In the whole course of the river only two bridges existed, both of them twig rope suspension bridges, one at Chalt, the other exactly opposite Hunza, and there was no other means of crossing the river when in flood. There had been latterly some ill-feeling between the Hunza-Nagar Chiefs, and the upper bridge had not been repaired, neither side caring to take the trouble when it might become necessary to cut the bridge at a moment's notice. However, I heard that the relations were no longer strained, and that the bridge was now being renewed by the Nagar

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

The latter is a hostage in Kashmir, to secure the good behaviour of his tribe, which is really infinitely superior in culture and piety to those around them. The father, who is over 90, writes in Persian to the following effect, after the usual compliments :—" The affairs of this place are by your fortune in a fair way, and I am in good health and constantly ask the same for you from the Throne which grants requests. Your kind favour with a drawing of the Mosque has reached me, and has given me much pleasure and satisfaction. The reason of the delay in its receipt and acknowledgment is due to the circumstance that, owing to disturbances (*fesád*) I have not sent agents to Kashmir this year. After the restoration of peace, I will send [a letter] with them. In the meanwhile, I have caught your hem [seek your protection] for my son Habibullah Khan, a beloved son, about whom I am anxious; the aforesaid son is a well-wisher to the illustrious English Government. —ZA'FAR KHAN." [The letter was apparently written in June last, when *The Times* reported a "rising," because the British Agent was at Chalt with 500 men.]

It seems to me that none but a farseeing man could, in the midst of a misunderstanding, if not a fight, with us, so write to one in the enemy's camp, unless he were a true man alike in war and peace, and a ruler whose good-will was worth acquiring. As for his son, I know him to be indeed well-disposed to our Government. He was very popular among our officers when I saw him in Kashmir, owing to his modesty, amiability, and unsurpassed excellence at Polo. In fact, my friendship with several of the chiefs since 1866 has aided our good relations with them; and it is a pity if they should be destroyed for want of a little "*savoir*," as also "*savoir faire*," on our part.

Between the States of Nagyr and Hunza there exists a perpetual feud. They are literally rivals, being separated by a swift-flowing river on which, at almost regulated distances, one Nagyr fort on one bank frowns at the Hunza fort on the other. The paths along the river sides

~~10:~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1875) 1880 ~~AV3 Afghanistan AV7~~
4
AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

rocky ledges, sometimes letting oneself down nearly to the water's edge, then ascending 300 or 400 feet above the stream, holding on by corners of rock, working along rocky shelves 3 or 4 inches wide, and round projecting knobs and corners where no four-footed animal less agile than a wild goat could find a path. D 133

Immediately above the bend of the river is the district of Chaprot, consisting of the fort and village of that name and three other villages. This has always been a fruitful source of contention among the rulers of the three states of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, between which it is situated, principally on account of the fort, which, according to local ideas, is impregnable. It is situated in the angle formed by the junction of two streams, with high precipitous banks, and can therefore only be approached from one side. It has belonged in turns to all three states, but at present is garrisoned by Cashmere troops. Continuing up the valley to the eastward, at about 52 miles from Gilgit, the residences of the rulers of the two states of Hunza and Nager are reached, the river forming the boundary between the wild two. D 361 648 B 121 361

The view of the great Rakiposh Mountain from the north side is truly striking. From the water's edge it rises without a break for 19,000 feet to its topmost peak, which is over 25,000 feet above the sea-level. Its lofty sides, girdled with dark pine forest and seamed with glaciers and *mers-de-glace*, some of which reach nearly down to the water's edge, overlook numerous fertile settlements which are nourished by streams flowing from the great mountain. Above the forests extensive fields of snow sparkle and glitter in the summer sun, while, overtopping all, great points of granite, on whose steep sides the snow can scarce find a resting-place, give emphasis and unity to a scene not easily forgotten. B 133

Above Hunza the course of the river, which rises in the Hindoo Koosh, lies entirely in Hunza territory. The people of these two states, of whom so little is known, have been counted as mere robber tribes, who have brought themselves into notice by their depredations on the caravans between Yarkund and Leh. This is, however, scarcely a just estimation of them. They are of the same stock as the people of Yassin, Ponyal, and the majority of the people of Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys. So far from being mere robber tribes, they are settled agricultural communities, living under rulers who boast of their long unbroken descent from princes of native blood. Hemmed in by lofty mountains, they are B 721 B 144 B 173 186

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~Afghanistan A171~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

173 proud of the independence they have always maintained, and
186 they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago. The rulers are called *Thum*, and their families are descended from twin brothers, Moghlot and Gir-
174 kis, who lived about the end of the fifteenth century. General Cunningham makes the somewhat natural mistake of confounding Girkis with Kirghiz, and suggests that the former inhabitants of Hunza must have been Dards (?), who have since been displaced by the nomads of the Pamir. From this he goes on to argue that the rulers of Shigar must also be of Kirghiz blood; and following the same line of argument he states that the Astor district must once have belonged to the Tibetan race, because the ruling family are Makpons. He also mentions the Gilgitis as a race of Dardo-Tibetans, for which assumption there is no adequate foundation.[1]

643 I have been told by a Nepaulese gentleman that *Thum* is a Chinese title, meaning Governor, and that it is used in a reduplicated form *Thum Thum*, to signify a Governor General.[2] Its existence in these countries, where its origin has been completely lost sight of, is curious and must be extremely ancient.

The rulers of Nager, who are descended from the first-named of the two brothers, are called Moghloté, the present
161 Thum being Jaffer Zahid Khan. Though the smaller of the two states, Nager has the larger population, owing to the greater amount of cultivable ground which it contains.
134 The population is about 10,000 souls. The land where cultivable is extremely fertile and bears exceptionally heavy
135 crops, and the Nager streams are rich in gold. The country is especially famous for its apricots, which are dried and export-
439 ed to the Punjab in considerable quantities. Nearly opposite Hunza, the Myetsil River, a considerable stream, joins the
361 main river from the south-west. The fort of Nager and the Thum's house are on the southern side of this stream, about 3 miles from the junction, at an elevation of 8,000 feet
131 above the sea. Both sides of this valley belong to Nager, and it forms the eastern boundary of the state. At the head of it is the difficult and dangerous road over the Hispar Pass into the Shigar Valley, which is never used except in cases
000 of necessity. When Cashmere authority was temporarily

[1] Cunningham's *Ladakh*, pages 27, 38, 58, 295.

[2] It is perhaps a corruption of the word Tung, which appears in many titles. The Chinese Governor of Kashgharia is called Tsung Tung, and the officer who commands the troops is styled Tung-lung.

[See I. Cunningham, A34 West Tibetan file -- Analyst]

~~99:~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU3 Afghanistan AU7~~
4
AV3 Dard
Burush. AV7

When Cashmere authority was temporarily expelled from Gilgit, between 1852 and 1860, communication with Nager was maintained by this road. In the prosperous times of the Shin rule, the Thums of Nager acknowledged the Ras of Gilgit as their feudal superiors, and tradition relates that the villages of Nilt, Gulmit, Toll, and Pussunt, which now belong to Nager, were given as dowries to different Thums who married daughters of the Trakhané. At the time of the Sikh occupation of Gilgit a very close connection existed between the rulers of the two states of Gilgit and Nager. Between Hunza and Nager a great rivalry, which has frequently resulted in open hostility, has always existed, but they are generally ready to combine against an external foe. Though possessing a common origin, the people of Nager are distinguished for timidity and incapacity for war, and no instance is recorded of their being victorious over their rivals of Hunza, at whose hands they have suffered many disastrous defeats. The people of Nager are Shiahs, and slavery does not exist among them. Since 1868 Nager has been tributary to Cashmere, to which it makes an annual payment of twenty-one tolas of gold and two baskets of apricots. 648 186 [795]

Between the two states the river flows between perpendicular banks, 300 feet high and 600 feet apart at the top. The banks can only be ascended in a few places, which are carefully guarded. 131

Hunza, which comprises a considerable extent of territory, has an agricultural population of about 6,000 souls. North of the great range of peaks which bisects the principality from south-east to north-west the country opens out into rolling grass steppes, supporting a scattered pastoral population. Here the great wild sheep (*O. Poli*) roams in large herds. This tract is known as Little Goohjal, to distinguish it from Wakhan, which, south of the Hindoo Koosh, is known as Goohjal proper. 133 [161]

From the north-east the Shimshal stream, draining the valley of that name, brings down a great volume of water in summer, and effectually closes all access from the south, except to men on foot. The only direct route in summer to the Shimshal Valley from the south, is by the high and difficult Moorkôn Pass, which is only open for two months in the year. From the head of the Shimshal Valley a road, only passable for men on foot, leads to Koolanooldi in the Yarkund Valley. It was by this road that attacks on the caravans were organised. Another route leads by a somewhat 487

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushō AV7

162 account of 512 Burushaski-speakers recorded in the 1931 Census as resident in the Gilgit Wazarat, and one as resident in North Kashmir. The total thus becomes 20,813[1].

The local distribution of these linguistic groups has now to be considered. On examination it will be found that they fall in the main within definite and unbroken geographical limits. In Hunza from the North southwards down the Herber valley, to and including Galmit the population are Wakhis, speaking Wakhi, with the exception of the inhabitants of Khudāabād (population 97), Nazīmābād (82) and Misgār (174). Proceeding down, southwards and westwards, through Hunza, the rest of the population are Burushaski-speaking with the exception of the two villages, Hindi (977) and Māyūn (207) whose primary language is Shinā.

In Nagir there are no Wakhi-speakers, but the Burushaski-Shina dividing line falls at practically the same point as in Hunza, viz. at Mīnapin opposite Hindi. From and including Minapin down the valley, with the exception of Sikandarābād (406, a recent settlement) and Chalt (587), the people of Nagir are primarily Shina-speakers.

162 It is to be remarked, however, that these radical linguistic distinc-
•191 tions are to a large extent masked, if not superficially deleted, by bilingualism. I believe that all Shina-speakers of both Hunza and Nagir readily understand and speak Burushaski. This is not so with the Wakhis, of whom only a few know the language of their neighbours. On the other hand the Wakhis have imposed their own language on the Burusho settled in Shimshal, and Wakhi elements are to be found in place-names in all the northern part of the country.

563 How far do these linguistic divisions represent also ethnic divisions? Are the Wakhi-speakers (Guwicho, sg. Gults, Guwīčo, Gu.i·ts), the Burushaski-speakers (Burūsho, sg. Burūshin, Buru·šo, Buru·ši·n) and the Shina-speakers (sg. and pl. Shèn, Šc·n) to be regarded as racially distinct peoples?

[1] The figure 26,076 given in the Kashmir Census Report 1931, Vol. XXV p. 237, appears to be incorrect. It is still incorrect if the figures for Werchikwar are taken into account.

after the usual greetings, he asked how Cec was doing. 122

"He seems to be quite a bit better today!"

"I'm awfully sorry he had to leave last night," said the Mir.

I didn't think he'd even noticed it—but he had.

"The doctor is up visiting him now," I told him. "He said he would join us in a few minutes."

"What does he usually have for breakfast?" the Mir asked me.

"Oatmeal, poached or soft boiled eggs, toast, jam and coffee would be wonderful if they are available."

"Not only is it available," said the Mir, "it is ready, for that is part of the breakfast we usually prepare for our guests. It will be taken up to him immediately."

A signal and a few words in Burushaski and Cecil's breakfast was well on its way up.

So we had breakfast in the dining room and chatted 124
and I sought to make every moment count by asking questions that were vital to me . . . that is, questions about Hunza.

I am quite sure that the Rani understood most of [191]
the things that we talked about. She could not have been shamming as she looked both interested and charming while the conversation went on.

"I have arranged for an interpreter to accompany 124
you on your trips and you can go wherever you like, 115
providing you can get through and the roads are open," 191
the Mir told us.

Shortly after, Sultan Ali appeared. He was the schoolmaster and also taught the Mir's children at home. He was to be our interpreter and guide. He was a slender, handsome young man. I'd judge his age as being in the early twenties. His command of English was very good. But I don't think his English was up to the standard spoken by the Mir, who spoke so fluently

124
115 that one would never believe that it was only a second-
191 ary language to him.

231 "You know," I said to the Mir, "one of the things
115 that I wanted to see when I came to Hunza was a yak. I understand from my readings that yaks are used in this part of the country and I have been looking everywhere as I walked along the road to Baltit, but I have as yet seen no sign of a yak!"

"That is not hard to explain," the Mir said. "The yaks are further up in the mountains. They cannot stand the heat and we keep them in the higher altitudes where they can be comfortable. If they are brought to the lower altitudes, they suffer. They like to be up around 11,000 feet or higher."

"Well, then how can I get up to see them?" I asked. "I don't mind if I have to walk for a day or two, but see them I must!"

"I'll do better than that," said the Mir. "I will phone and have two yaks brought down as quickly as possible. They will have to come from Passu which is about 38 miles from here. I will have action taken at once and see that the yaks are provided."

115 (Does that not indicate to you the kind of man and
124 host was the Mir of Hunza?)

I then took my leave of the Mir and the Rani and went out with Sultan Ali and Jahangir to look, see, pry and ask questions.

344 Our first jaunt was a good stiff climb to the old
644 palace located about two miles from the Mir's new palace. As the crow would fly I'm sure it would not have been more than ¾ of a mile. But in order to get up there one has to wend and weave and climb slowly.

I was now becoming quite accustomed to the altitude. Kerimabad is up about 8500 feet and I am sure

homes, and the women know no other. The existence of 563
this interesting language-island, within the language-island of 197
Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn.

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there 463
are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliábád there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master.

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above 286
us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo 487
of No. 7 and Ustád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin.

One day I had been sitting with one of Afiato's daughters- 531
in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking 192
the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

[192] embroidering, and I had filled several pages of my notebook
531 when her attention was diverted by the cow she was minding. It had plunged down a 6-foot wall and was enjoying itself in a
000 neighbour's ripening crop. "Excuse me," said Gohir Nimo, "having smitten the cow I shall come back." She did, and we resumed the lesson. I took the needle and ventured on a few stitches. "Oh, you can sew like us!" she exclaimed with surprise. There were so many everyday things I could not do just like them that her surprise was justified. Soon I noticed her growing restive: "I haven't yet had my morning bread; I
286 expect you had yours before you came out. Good-bye." As she left me, chivvying her cow homewards, I looked round for new occupation, and saw old grandfather of No. 7 climbing cautiously down a field wall with a shapeless bundle under his arm. I worked my way across country to the empty field he had made for, to see what was toward and found to my delight that he was getting his loom into order. Moth had played some havoc with his heddle threads and a finicky job he had to replace them. When this was done he called a son or two to help him to lay out the warp. They set up and steadied the loom with stones, then drove a peg into the ground so many cubits off. One of the assistants made fast one end and then paid out the wool from a fat ball of doubled thread, slung it round the peg, and brought it back to grandfather, who attached it with an ingenious knot that defied my analysis, and off went another loop round the distant peg. When these preliminaries were over, for which the flat space of the open field was necessary, the old man assembled his loom again and climbed up the wall to set it up in his pit and get to work. Hunza homespun is of a most beautiful thick quality, as unlike as possible to the loose, semi-transparent cloth that hand-weavers at home achieve, a stuff that would not withstand the hard wear of Hunza fields for an instant. Two hundred and forty warp threads go to the width of 9 or 10 inches of cloth.

The tiny pit is almost square—2 feet by 2 feet 9 inches—and just 2 feet deep; the sides of it are revetted inside with small stones on the model of the field walls and edged at the top with a wooden kerb, fitted with holes into which pegs can be in-

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

"another child of my father and mother, of the same sex as I myself." A second word denotes a boy's sister; a third, a girl's brother. Just to prevent your feeling too sure of things, a boy will address a much older sister out of deference as "my brother." When chattering to my children friends I often provoked delighted chuckles by inadvertently saying the equivalent of: "is that little boy your sister?"

The same sort of differentiation is carried into several other relationships. It does not simplify the tracing out in haste of complicated family genealogies which was one of David's little tasks. My *cousin*, if our two fathers are brothers, is usually described as *my brother* or *my sister*, unless it is necessary to be more explicit; whereas a cousin not reared in the same house has a name to him- or herself. An *uncle* who is my father's brother is *big father*, *little father*, or *middle father* according to his relative age, while my mother's brother is an uncle.

One relationship word the Burusho have for which we might well devise an English equivalent. If young Mr. Smith marries young Miss Jones, what relationship exists between the parent Smiths and Joneses? (Amongst us, carefully dissembled hostility, of course.) Burushaski has a special and convenient term for what is amongst them this very real tie of friendship and alliance between the houses. If the Jones family are extra busy or short-handed, the Smiths will come along to lend a hand, or vice versa.

192 It is a common error of the uninitiate to take for granted that people of a primitive material culture will have a limited and easily mastered vocabulary. As all serious language-students know, the reverse is the case. Burushaski would no doubt be found to lack our large supply of terms—mostly non-English—to express philosophical ideas or aesthetic appreciation, though it would from its own rich resources be perfectly capable of creating them without borrowing at second-hand, if anyone could spare time from the urgencies of living to indulge in the futilities of philosophy or aesthetics; but it is rich beyond belief in verb-concepts and in concrete words denoting crops and buds and fruits at every stage of growth, implements of

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

every kind, fields of every shape, size, height, and aspect 192
Domestic animals are differentiated by separate words to the nth degree. A mere *sheep* scarcely exists. A convenient word, for which there is no English equivalent, means "one head of small cattle, whether sheep or goat"; after that you must be more specific and make it clear whether you wish to designate the female lamb not yet weaned, the ewe who has not yet lambed, the ewe who has been once to the *tér*, or the ewe who has been twice, the unweaned male lamb, the one-year old castrated ram, the entire ram who has not yet sired, and so on almost *ad infinitum*. And a queer fool you seem if you fail to distinguish animals so different. Similarly with all other stock, the goats having special extra titles according to whether their horns spread out or more conveniently turn in.

There is, of course, no general *basket*: the large, open-ribbed one that carries dry leaves or straw is a totally different object from the small round basket with a handle in which you take a few eggs or apricots, or again from the shoulder-basket that serves all the purposes of our wheelbarrow. These explicit words save all need for circumlocutions like soiled-linen basket, picnic basket, wastepaper basket of ou rclumsier analytic speech.

Every peg and hook and gadget that forms a component part of loom or lathe, mill or sluice, has its own appropriate technical name for which no other name will do. The haughty armchair ignoramus who discourses about the limited vocabulary of the agriculturist would probably be surprised if he worked a while on a farm, at the manifold resources of a whole stratum of the English language that lay outside his ken and confounded his reckoning.

The rich variety of nouns in Burushaski is nothing, however, to the wealth and flexibility of its verbs. The Burusho would seem to think primarily in verbs, the precise meaning of which is a more elusive thing to grasp. Our simple adjective *cold* is, for instance, represented in Burushaski by the past participle of a verb meaning *to cool off, to become cold*. A verb that one day you pin down to meaning "to turn off" the water from a field, staggers you the next by obviously meaning "to

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

turn on," till you discover that it "diverts the flow of water" whether in one direction or another.

All technical terms, be they verbs or nouns, are capable of vivid metaphorical application, humorous and pointed when you are sufficiently *au courant* to appreciate the intended allusion. Such metaphorical uses are improvised as required with an originality and freshness that an American might envy.

A tiresome person may be "a wasps' nest" or "a painful disease," an over-strenuous worker "an earthquake," an only child "one torch-splinter," a loutish person "a pumpkin," an inexperienced fellow "a green apricot," a short-handled spoon "a tadpole," and so forth.

Clocks and watches are, of course, unknown where work is simply from dawn to dusk, yet the complicated exchanges of water at midnight or 3 a.m. are faultlessly concerted. Our day appointments would be defined "when the sun is one lance-length above the hill" or "when the first shadow falls on such and such a spot." Dádo had had experience of European time in some earlier service, and was thrilled to possess the watch that DL gave him. He used to come to the study every evening to set it by our little clock. He always held it upside down, and in order to compare it with ours (which was naturally right side up) he went through the oddest neck contortions to get his head upside down. But the idea of time had enslaved him; he was more rigorously and unforgivingly punctual than any servant we ever had, and it was impossible to bear the reproach in his eyes if we waited to wind up a paragraph after dinner was on the table. When I was typing in the dining-room he would appear at the door and say politely but firmly: "I must come to lay the table in another three minutes, Mother." Sometimes, just to tease him, I would say, "Well, you can't, for I'm going to finish this, and it will take at least ten minutes." "Oh, Mother *dear*, then dinner will be late!"

Burushaski has no expressions for East and West or North and South except the learned words of Arabic; Hunza thought runs "up river" and "down river," "uphill and downhill." One day in describing a house I said: "You know So and So's,

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

it is on the Dála." "No, no, it is on the Middle Channel." 192
For a moment I was puzzled, for the house, in fact, sat exactly [823]
on the upper bank of the Dála, but of course watered its fields and drew its water from the channel *above*: the essential fact to a Hunza mind.

Though their technical vocabulary is so exact, the Hunzukuts are only human, and occasionally like ourselves take refuge in "thingumabob," "what you may call it," and "bandobast." They have coined an invaluable word which for fun I wrote "Alice." I found it was quite in order to say: "We are nearly out of charcoal, tell Zaidu to do Alice," viz., to make the necessary arrangements for getting more, or "the Alices are coming, tell everyone to get the Alices," which would mean that the So and So's are coming, tell everyone to get ready whatever is necessary. I hoped to import "Alice" into my home-speech as maid of all work, but here she awakens thoughts of Wonderland and the Looking Glass and proves a plant too delicate to rear in another atmosphere.

The weather in Hunza also provides some entertaining idioms. It is natural to say "the rain is falling," but the Hunzukuts not illogically also say "the sun is falling", where we would say shining, and where we put a thing *in* the sun to dry he puts it *on* the sun, that is, on the patch of warm sunshine.

In the main, Burushaski is innocent of the elaborate circumlocutions of ceremonial speech in which Persian, for instance, is so rich. The humblest peasant addresses his King as "thou," but one foreign courtesy-word has crept in. One day I excused myself to the party of women amongst whom I was sitting by saying: "I must now go home. My husband will be ready to eat bread." "She has said 'my husband,'" they chuckled. "Well, isn't the Colonel Sahib my husband? What should I have said?" "You yourself should say 'my spouse' (*jama'at*) though we might say 'her husband.'"

After this I was careful in talking to man or woman, however humble, to enquire after the *jama'at* and not crudely after the wife or husband, and found that this was more acceptable. I

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from the s. forms[1], and Bu. -ewen *elbow*, bu'a[2] *cow* may also be more original than W. -ewen, 'biw'. 193 197

In some cases a group of consonants seems to have been better preserved in W.: Cf. W. ayast *my sister*; yainši *underwell*; γendeš *gold*; nya *bear* with Bu. ayas, γišą, γyenit, ya. But notice W. hubo (L. huti) *wine*: Bu. 'hundo. Bu. γy- (acc. to my informant) may or may not be older than L.'s Bu. and W. γ-. For other details see below.

That biranč *mulberry*, W. branč derives from an older form *mranč < *mrač is proved by Khо. mrač, from which the Bu.-W. word is evidently borrowed.

But apart from such stray cases the reconstruction of older forms through internal comparison appears to have poor chances of success.

A great number of words are common to Bu. and Shina, and to some extent also to Khowar. When the vocabularies of Shina and the adjoining Indo-Aryan dialects have become better known, it may be possible to distinguish to some extent between words of Aryan and of Bu. origin, and this will be of importance for the history of the Indo-Aryan languages as well. Khowar, however, appears to contain a number of words which cannot at present be traced either to an Indian, Iranian or Bu. source. 192 197

Grierson has pointed out that the word for *iron* in the Dardic and Kafir dialects (Khо. čumur, etc.) is probably borrowed from Bu. čumar. This may very well be the case, but it is, of course, possible that the ultimate source of the word, which is probably connected also with Turkish timur, temir, may be some unknown language. Note, however, that Bu. has also an apparently genuine word for *gold* (γenit), and it is by no means impossible that the pre-Aryan population of the Hindu Kush region, of which the Burushо are the last relic, may have known the use of some metals.[3]

[1] V. above p. XX.

[2] Acc. to Lor. (3—4—1934) bu'a(r) is the gen. of 'bua, bua.

[3] It is a curious fact that Bu. girni- *to write* is genuine, and yet cannot be derived from any known Bu. word. The similarity to Arm. gir *writing*, Finn. kirja *book* must, however, be accidental, and it is improbable that a word with this meaning would go back to very remote antiquity.

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L.[1] mentions a few Shina words which are suspected of being borrowed from Bu. Very probably Bu. has exerted a very considerable influence on the vocabulary of Shina, but at present it is in many cases impossible to tell to which of the two languages a certain word originally belongs. Sakun, jakun *ear*, which is found only in Bu. and Shina, while derivatives of Skr. khara- and gardabha- are used in other Dardic dialects, has evidently been borrowed from Bu.[2] And Bu. γamo, γurmo[3] *ear* is certainly the source of Gilgit Shina gamoh, corresponding in meaning to *ear* in those Shina dialects which are further removed from the Bu. speaking territory.

Similarly the Bu. verb biaarkas *to cut ears* shows that Bu. biaarś, W. biaarś *sickle* is the source of Shina biaarś. It is also probable that some Shina words with initial γ- have been borrowed from the corresponding Bu. ones, and the same applies to a great many other Shina words of un-Aryan appearance.

On the other hand the number of Shina words in Bu. is certainly very great, as may be seen from the Voc., and W. contains some loan-words from Khowar.

Some of these loan-words in Bu. are of special interest because they are not found in modern Shina, at any rate not in the published material, or because they have preserved older sounds, or meanings.

Such words are e.g. Bu. aindu *river*; Sh. ain[4]; aiyat *sky*; Sh. agai < Skr. ākāśa-. Reg. Bu. γurpas, W. γurpas *coffin* v. above. — Bu. γiraan, γiraan *dam, village* is not found with this meaning in Shina[5]. Nagiri Bu. γaruum, W. γaruum *hot* (Munza Bu., with a curious reduplication, γaruruum?) seems also to have been taken over from Shina at a time when γuruum *perspiration* had preserved a more general meaning. Bu. ma'i *sheep-boy* has retained the -i-

[1] P. L.

[2] Cf. Grierson, LSI. VIII. 2.

[3] With the peculiar Bu. γ?, see below.

[4] But Sh. kaanuda *fingering* may be the source of Sh. kaanan, which has passed through the Sh. change of nd > n.

[5] But cf. Sh. γuruu *compass*, v. Voc. s.v. γiruu[5].

which would have been lost in a modern Sh. word, and also a very ancient meaning of the word.[1] Bu. tiṣṭi, (cf. Skr. diṣṭi-). W. tottik, tottik *spoon* may have been borrowed from an older form of Sh. dṛṭ, cf. Khe. diṭ. Bu. *-phoṛi(ṇ) *shoulder* cannot have been borrowed from modern Sh. pyōṛo or Khe. phōṛu, etc.

If Bu. bada *pace, step, sole (of foot or leaf)* is borrowed from a form corresponding to Skr. padā- *step, footprint foot*, etc.[2], as I think is likely, this would indicate a very early contact between Bu. and Indo-Aryan.[3]

Very curious is the relation between the initial consonants in Bu. pfori *pond*, pfuṛi *duck* and Sh. buṛi, baṛoṭ, especially as we do not know the origin of the words.

It is noteworthy that the phonetic system of Bu. agrees so closely with that of Shina and of the Indo-Aryan languages in general — that Bu. should e.g. distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated tenues, between cerebrals[4], dentals and palatals. Did Bu. originally possess aspirates and cerebrals, or did they come into the language through the influence of Indo-Aryan?[5] Bu. pf as a variant of ph is, of course, of Shina origin.

The morphological parallels between Bu. and Shina are also numerous and important.[6] Some of them exhibit traits not shared by Shina with the adjoining I. A. dialects, and it is quite conceivable that Bu., the ancient language of at least a large part of the Shina country, influenced the speech of the invaders; in other words that Shina developed on a Bu. substratum. But, of course, morphological influence may also have worked the other way. — Cf. also the possible trace of Khowar influence on W. forms mentioned by L. § 536.

[1] Cf. Skr. mṛga- *sharp, fierce*, but Shin. mūṣā, etc. 'skin-bag', Lith. maiśas *bag*

[2] Reg. b- for p cf. Bu. gri *pig* < Sh. kiṛi etc., see above.

[3] The similarity of Bu. -ākin, pl. -ākinig *liver* to Skr. yakṛ- *meat*, of course, be considered accidental.

[4] Including ṭ and ḍ, as in Shina.

[5] Cf. the secondary development of cerebrals in Tibetan, Wakhi, etc.

[6] V. p. LI.

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L. is quite right in maintaining that Wakhi, the Iranian neighbour of Bu. has not made 'any general impression on it'[1]. Some loan-words from Wakhi do, however, occur. L. in his Voc., has noted *war* *rum* and *rut* *Oris Poli* from Wakhi *warr*, *rut*. To these words may be added bari *scapula*, *shovel* < **pari*, from an older(?) form of Wakhi *pri* *wooden shovel*, and *sap* *horse-shoe* (cf. Kho. *sapuk* *hoof*) from Wakhi **sup* < Av *supa-*. As I shall try to show elsewhere Ir. *f* seems to have resulted in *p* in Wakhi I am also inclined to believe that the present base -*warč-* *to become tired* is borrowed from Wakhi *warač-* (< **ava-rič-*), and that the past base -*war* is a back-formation. Wakhi *watir*, *wuta* agrees with W. *wota* *self*, but it is doubtful whether this is a true Wakhi word. Bu. *urk*, *urk* *self* may come from Ishkashmi *urk*, or from a lost Wakhi form.

Several Bu. words seem to belong to some Iranian dialect which cannot be accurately determined.

Thus *mal* *wine* points to an Ir. dialect which, like Munji and Yidgha, has *l* for original *d* (cf. Av. *mabu-*), and the same is true of laman *skirt*, -lamat *lap*, *front*, (var: -lamat *skirt of chogu*). The varying forms render it improbable that what we have here is simply Pasht. laman, borrowed through Shina, which has lahan, with dissimilation.

On the other hand we find W. *veri* *smell*, which it is tempting to derive from Ir. **pōbi* < **bandya-*. Cf. Kho. *wor* < **pōb-*.

yoro *stone* may be of Ir. origin, and likewise W. *zork* *grass*. Bu. *zurk* *broken straw*, while W. *detk* *manure* is compared by Zarubin with Ishk. *wūḍi*. And finally we have *gulpur* *a prince*, a word common to Bu. and Shina, which one would like to derive from a middle Ir. dialect form of an ancient **wisya-putra-*.

I have not been able to detect any influence of Bu. on the Iranian dialects of Pamir.

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[1] It may be noted here that Bu. *bras* *rice* is probably of Tibetan origin *bras*.

These various subjects of general interest and activity postulate the existence of a large vocabulary relating to agricultural processes, implements and products; irrigation, fruit culture and the management of live stock and the treatment of their products. 192

Crafts.

Any people who are in the main self-supporting must have developed, and must command, a number of essential crafts. Here it is only possible to enumerate very briefly the principal crafts practised by the Burusho. They include: 463

Building: wall-building without mud; house building, stone-and-mud walls and mud-plastering.

Woodwork: supporting pillars, roofing timber, shaped and unshaped, door-frames, doors and windows. Agricultural implements: ploughs and various forms of wooden shovel and pitchfork; wooden bowls and spoons. Wearing and milling apparatus.

Spinning: hair and woollen thread and twisting into yarn and ropes.

Weaving: woollen home-spun for clothing; hair-cloth for bags and mats.

Basketwork of willow twigs: various forms of baskets and creels.

Preparing skins: for bags for grain etc. and for holding water, milk etc.; also thongs, foot-wrappers and boots.

Metal work: a little iron-work.

Sewing: clothes.

Milling: water-mills are used for grinding flour.

Salt-washing: a method of obtaining salt from saline earth by dissolving it out is sometimes practised.

Gold-washing: the river sand is washed to extract gold-dust. This is done for the Tham of Hunza at certain places, by the lower classes only. I do not know that it is practised privately.

Wine-making and distilling: the latter is now prohibited.

Imports.

The Burusho are dependent on the outside world for their supply of metals and in general for all metal manufactures, e.g. plough- 439

In Sh. mat lel han-tj *on sir being known to me* i.e. with my *knowledge*, mat lel nuŋ-tj *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -tj (ajɨ = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -ajɨ in ayetum-ajɨ etc. in § 384, and the combination of the base han with a case-suffix, with ovi-tum and aequn-ajɨ in § 407. b. and c. 197 193

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of thorki viz. *the*, e.g. lorko the *quickly*, mitto the *well*, Bu. *yer ne forwards*, *ina ne well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *ko* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar. 192

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazirat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay. 177 [443]

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustani, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

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192 177 574 A third point of contact is provided by the Schools attended by a very limited number of boys chiefly of the upper classes. Elementary instruction in reading and writing Hindustani in the Arabic script is obtainable in Baltit and Nagir. A small number of boys proceed to the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School in Gilgit, where they learn Urdu and Persian, and can make a beginning on English up to the VIIIth. Standard. A few of the sons of the *élite* now go for two or three years to the State College in Srinagar, where they can carry their studies to the point of passing the B. A. examination in English. But as yet there are no Burusho B. A.'s.

177 From all these encounters people return to their homes, temporarily or for good, bringing with them some degree of linguistic acquirement, and an enlarged, not necessarily improved, view of life. A few in recent times have brought with them some foreign accomplishment, tailoring, clothes-washing or, petty trading and shopkeeping.

177 192 One great source of extraneous culture remains to be mentioned: the Islamic Tradition, which carries with it many kinds of lore and knowledge not directly religious. What exactly it connotes in any given case would be a complicated subject of research, on which I have made no attempt to embark, but it is probable that what Ismailism has brought to Hunza does not exactly tally with what Shiahism has brought to Nagir. What comes in the way of doctrine, history, legend and language (Arabic terms) directly through mullahs and religious teachers, where they exist, and what is transmitted by the ordinary intercourse of Muslims of all nationalities and in all places? It is by the latter route presumably that folk tales such as Texts I, II and III have found their way into Hunza and Nagir. I think it may also be assumed that the bulk of Arabic words current in Burushaski have been acquired through the medium of Persian and Hindustani, or have filtered through Shina.

ccc The people of Yasin have had less numerous external contacts than those of Hunza and Nagir. They have also, I think, sent

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For the rest I can only hope that they may be attributed to physical limitations rather than to economy of endeavour on my part. I have made a vast number of corrections in the proofs, but unfortunately this is a case where anything short of complete achievement acquires no merit. 128

I have made no effort to turn this into a comparative philological dictionary, a task beyond my competence, but I have aimed at indicating obvious loan-words, for the benefit of those who may approach Burushaski with a minimum knowledge of other oriental languages 121 192

The bulk of these loan-words will be found to be Arabic-Persian, i.e. Arabic words current in Persian, most of which have probably been acquired, more or less indirectly, from the latter language. 192

The original source of dissemination of Persian in all this part of the world has undoubtedly been the language of the Tajik population of the plains of what is now known as Tajikistan in USSR territory. This Tajik Persian is now beginning to receive attention (Cp. W. Lentz, "Pamir Dialekte, I" Göttingen, 1933, Introd. pp. 31 ff. and H. Sköld, "Materalien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen", Lund 1936, Introd. pp. 8 ff.). Work has been done on it in recent years by Soviet scholars, but copies of their publications are not easy to obtain. [113]

What proportion of the Persian words recorded by me in Burushaski are familiar to all Burushaski speakers, I cannot definitely say. Illiterate and untravelled men and most of the women would not, I think use, or know, many Persian words for which there are adequate Burushaski equivalents. Against this, every child in Hunza seemed to know the word *tasvir* for "photograph". It was a very old man who, when he had lost or damaged his portrait, asked if he could have another copy of the *girmisum*, the "script".

Other non-adjacent languages which have been laid under contribution are Hindustani and Punjabi.

With Tibetan I have no direct acquaintance but I have noted a few words in Burushaski which can be found in the standard Tibetan dictionaries.

Burushaski—English Vocabulary

192 Burushaski and the dialect of Tibetan spoken in Baltistan possess some words in common, and comparison has now been facilitated by the Vocabulary printed in A. F. C. Read's "Balti Grammar" [113] (RAS 1934), which became available to me only after the greater part of this volume was in print. A separate note on the subject is now appended, v. pp. 532—536.

192 197 Turkish and Eastern Turki stand in much the same position as Tibetan. They have contributed words to Burushaski, but I have no personal experience of these languages, and have only indicated words that I happened to know or such as were readily traceable. The source of these borrowings has undoubtedly been the Eastern Turki spoken in Chinese Turkistan.[1]

On the other hand, coming to Burushaski's immedate neighbours, I have quoted all the parallels known to me in Shina, Khowar and Wakhi. Except where otherwise stated, these are furnished from my own collections.[2] This is a first step towards a comparison of the complete vocabularies of these languages — at present impossible owing to deficiency of material — which would yield some interesting results. We should learn for instance the extent to which the various vocabularies overlap, the nature and amount of borrowing by one language from another, and the area of survival or dispersion of Burushaski words, Burushaski being by hypothesis the original language of a much wider tract than it occupies at the present day.

I have made some attempt to illustrate the possibility of tracing the transference of grammatical devices and idiom within this group of languages in a paper which is due to appear in the "Transactions of the Philological Society" of 1937.

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[113] [1] An examination of G. Raquette's "English-Turki Dictionary", Lund, 1927, reveals a very large number of Ar. Pers. words. Of the genuine Turki words there recorded very few are to be found in Burushaski.

[2] In the Kho. words the cerebrals and aspirates are probably fairly correctly marked. In Shina words many have probably gone unnoted. I have therefore quoted any forms given by Grahame Bailey which differed from mine. In Wakhi I could get no assistance in phonetics from my informants. I recorded cerebral *ṭ, ḍ, ṇ* and occasionally *ṛ*, but no aspirates, which proves little.

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Preface

Apart from indicating undoubted loan-words, often to me of unknown origin, which are shared by Burushaski with one or more of the neighbouring languages, I have made no attempt to pronounce on the authenticity of those words which *primâ facie* appear to be true Burushaski. Sanskrit cognates have been suggested for some of them by Professor Morgenstierne. 192 121

One important question remains to which I can give no precise or certain answer: What proportion do the Burushaski words in this Vocabulary bear to the total word-stock of the language? When I returned to Hunza in 1934 one of my hopes was to record sufficient new words to make my collection fairly complete as regards words in daily use and known to everyone. I was well aware that the still popular belief that peoples living in primitive conditions must possess simple languages and employ small vocabularies had been abundantly disproved by facts, but I had not realised what a lengthy business it is to collect and adequately record even a few hundred words after the first couple of thousand in constant daily use have been noted. How many new words I actually recorded I have no idea, but I am certain that they will go only a short way towards making the vocabulary complete. I could always easily get new words, the difficulty was to find time to have them elucidated and to write them down. 192

Burushaski possesses a large number of nouns of a technical nature relating to all the ordinary occupations of life, which, given time, can be ascertained by observation and enquiry, but it also appears to be very rich in verbs, and these are not so easily and quickly discovered by any direct method.

The *Werchikwar—English Vocabulary* remains much as it was when it was originally compiled. In 1934—35 I made several efforts to bring Werchikwar-speakers to Hunza to work with me there, but failed to secure competent men. The principal result was disappointment and wasted time. Eventually I paid a visit to Yasin and found an old acquaintance, with whom I worked there and whom I brought back to Hunza and kept with me for a few 126

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For Burushaski-English vocabulary and English index to Burushaski words, see category 116, entire text.

spoken. The good professor espouses the theory that 197
the Burushaski language is genealogically related to
the language of the Basques, spoken only by a handful
of these people who live in the Pyrenees in southern
France and northern Spain. Therefore, it is difficult,
if not impossible, for any stranger or outsider to have
a good working knowledge of the language.

When you are given the name of a place or a thing 126
and wish to write it down, you have to do it entirely 192
by means of phonics. For example, I wanted to know
the name given to a part of the flour mill and after
much actual jawing, I wrote down the word "yine."
Later, in checking with another Hunzan who articu-
lated in deliberate, clearcut fashion for me, I got the
word "yang." Now repeat those two words over your-
self and see just how much similarity there really is
between them.

I sought the name of the word given to the galleries 126
—that is, the wooden galleries or it could be the stone 192
galleries that were built up along the ledges when the 491
road fell away. One of the writers had given the name
for these places as "rafiks," which I followed. But I
also had come across the word "paharis" when I was
in Hunza and they didn't seem to use or have heard
the word "rafik."

Then upon investigation, I find that the words
"rafik" and "paharis" are not the actual words used to
describe this bit of fancy roadwork. The meaning of
"rafik" is actually Arabic for a companion or comrade
and the meaning of "paharis" is Urdu for "people who
live in mountainous regions." From usage so far and
the best of searching, it appears that "rafik" is the
term used to describe the built up stone galleries that
shore up a "fallen away" gap of road. "Paharis" is the
term for the wooden platforms that are erected over

126 "nothing" where the ledge once led . . . a few well
192 appointed steel rods forced into fissures being the total
491 support. As yet I have failed to discover or learn the proper word describing these galleries.

114 I must admit that many or most of the errors or misconceptions concerning Hunza are due to the fact that insufficient time was spent by some of the writers who visited Hunza.

At first it was my wish to pass by this chapter on misconceptions because I did not feel that I should be involved in a hassle with other writers. But then I asked myself if I had any doubts as to whether or not I was right. And this made me feel that I definitely wanted to write the chapter on misconceptions.

It is not my intent or desire to be contradictory nor arbitrary. I am not seeking to pick a quarrel with anyone. But the facts and statements herein related are based on my seeing, hearing, research, questioning and investigating.

I have tried to make my book as accurate as humanly possible. And if and when errors are found, I trust they will be brought quite forcibly to my attention. I would like to believe that if I can dish it out, I can take it, too!

134 *Fertile valleys*—Some writers have referred to various valleys in Hunza as fertile valleys. By the standards to which we are accustomed, there is not one single fertile valley in all of Hunza. That the soil is productive and the valley green and beautiful, no one will deny. But at best the soil in Hunza is shallow and to be productive, it must be maintained assiduously. I repeat, in Hunza there are no such things as naturally fertile valleys as compared, for example, to parts of the Willamette Valley in Oregon.

131 *Hunza is scarcely* 60 *miles long*, says one writer. An-
133 other says it is 80 miles long and elsewhere I saw it

use trying to work if it can be avoided with a person you dislike—the game begins. In our regions it was usually possible to find a man with some smattering of Hindustani, Persian, or Pashtu, which helped to speed up the preliminary stages. You get him in, squat him on the floor, and by means of your medium language get hold of a few everyday words: 124

father	mother	grandchild	good	bad
grass	tree	wheat	arm	leg, etc.

then the primary colours: *black, white, red*; the numerals, pronouns, and a few simple time-expressions.

Oddly, many non-European languages have only one word for *blue* and *green*, but you take refuge in *blue as the sky*, "*blue*" *as grass*. Again, oddly as it seems to us, many have ambiguous time-expressions that look indifferently before and after (like the French *tout à l'heure*) so that *yesterday* is the same as *tomorrow*, i.e. one day before or after to-day.

The next most urgent item is, of course, the verb. You choose the seemingly simplest verbal idea "to have" but immediately strike a snag. *I have a stick* seems straightforward enough to an English mind, but you extract only "the stick is with me," "the stick is beside me," "the stick is in my hand"; there is, in fact, no verb "to have." So you take *to go* and try to get the forms of the present tense: *I go, thou goest*. . . . Bearing in mind that your man has no idea of grammar, you will not be surprised or daunted by arriving at something of this sort: 124 193

I'm off	we're making a move
thou goest	you are clearing out
he's starting	they flee

You're an old hand and you guess at once that the verb is not bedevilled, but that you have got a clue to six verbs instead of one and to the future as well as to the present tense. Pursuing the past tense of a verb which lets its action be graphically illustrated you may extract something like:

Yesterday I smote	We had beaten
thou hast hit *or* banged	you thrashed
he struck	they whacked *or* belaboured

again with a merry assortment of different roots and a confusion of various shades of past-ness. All these various things you ultimately succeed in pigeon-holing.

According to the intelligence of your man—and many of these untutored folk are quite as intelligent as the average headmaster or Oxford don—and the amount of time you have to spare and the intricacy of the language (Burushaski being at least ten times as difficult as Shina or Khowar) your rate of progress will vary. In any case, you will find that, however bright and willing your informant, he is wholly unused to sustained concentration, and must immediately be released at the first sign of weariness or boredom. Also that you must spend many hours working through and sorting your notes and tabulating your results before the next interview, if this is to be profitable.

It was DL's practice to escape at the first possible moment from the thraldom of the intermediate language. First because translation from another tongue is always liable to distort and colour the speaker's own idiom, and secondly because both your and your informant's knowledge (especially his) of the second language is imperfect and often inaccurate, and the amount you actually have in common very limited. It is therefore at best an untrustworthy crutch.

You then bid him think over some short narrative—a fairy tale, an anecdote of real life (a wedding, a funeral, or a raid)—and be prepared to tell it to you very slowly. It is not the affair of a day to train him to speak at a pace you can carefully record, and at first if he has outstripped you and is asked to "say that again" he will repeat himself in totally different words till your text is an agglomeration of bewildering anacolutha.

Having got a first short text on to paper phonetically—without being at all clear of its meaning or the right division of words—and having deciphered of it what you can, you read it aloud to him next day, making corrections as required, and if *he* can understand it, you have made your first step forward. The more unsophisticated he is, the more enchanted he will be to hear his own words again verbatim, and you are half way to making a philologist of him; you have, at any rate, enlisted

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124 relatively strange woman clearing up after a day's work and breezily accosted her: "*Jú* no, sister, I see you are sweeping up the threshing floor with your little bastard." In extenuation I may remark that the words for "broom" and "bastard" differ only in ending in *s* and *sh* respectively, and that the *s*-one turns its *s* into *sh* in the plural. Any offence that might have been given was quenched in the delighted laughter of the people with me, but I was afraid to talk of brooms, whether singular or plural, for many a day.

Even at the end of fifteen months of strenuous practice in talking (and several years of preceding hard work), neither of us had acquired the skill or fluency in speaking that would have rewarded the same effort and goodwill expended on a language like Persian, German, or Shina. The most confirmed language-smatterer could not truthfully say that Burushaski is an easy language to "pick up." It may amuse the reader to know something of the snags that it holds for the unwary—and the wary, too.

193 Burushaski rejoices in four noun categories, roughly corresponding to "genders" in Greek or Latin, but not, as will be seen, based on sex-distinction. If, however, we think of the gender eccentricities of French and German we may indeed question whether grammatical gender in the European languages is really sex-linked as our terminology implies. Professor Meinhoff has other theories about its origin.

Be that as it may, Burushaski divides its nouns into names denoting human male and female—which is straightforward enough—but treats the names of all non-human, living animals as belonging to Class 3, cows and bulls, cocks and hens, mares and stallions alike, while including in the same class the names of a large number of inanimate concrete objects. Class 4 comprises the names of all abstract things—heat and cold, kindness and dreams—of all inanimate objects of indefinite shape and form (such as flour, water, cloud, and sand) besides a distressing number which might seem to belong equally well to Class 3 but just don't.

Amusing facts are that the same word in Class 3 denotes an *apple*, but in Class 4 an *apple tree*; in 3 the belly of a living

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animal or person, in 4 of a dead one, and that while the singular *foot* belongs to 3 the plural *feet* belongs to 4—explain this last phenomenon who can. 193

These categories might matter little, but that adjectives have inflected forms that must agree, and that in certain forms the verbal endings, in others the verbal prefixes, vary according to the class of the subject, or it may be of the object. The word "is," for instance, may be: *bai*, *bo*, *bi*, or *bila*, according to whether the subject is Class 1, 2, 3, or 4.

As if this were not enough, some of the commonest actions of everyday life require to be expressed by a totally different verb according to the class to which the object belongs. There is no one imperative for "Give me!" It will be *jar jao*, *jar achi*, or *jar aghun* according to what is to be given. So with *bring* and *eat*.

Nor does this exhaust the vagaries of the noun. A large number of nouns denoting relationship, parts of the body, or any object intimately associated with its owner, do not exist at all in an independent form. The attitude of mind underlying this phenomenon is not illogical. A *mother*, a *hand*, a *set of bedclothes* cannot be conceived *in vacuo*; they must belong to somebody. A set of seven prefixes gives the clue to whose they are, and none of these "starred nouns" (as we called them for convenience) can be used without the appropriate prefix. There are therefore seven words for *mother*: mine or thine, his or hers, ours, yours or theirs. If all the prefixes conveniently ended in a consonant, or if none of the starred roots began with a vowel, the two component parts of the starred word could be simply juxtaposed. This is unfortunately not the case. All the prefixes end in a vowel, and when the hypothetical root-word has an initial *a-*, *i-*, or *u-* this blends with the vowel of the prefix to form a new combination, so that in practice you are confronted with four times seven possible pronominal prefixes for starred nouns.

Add to this the fact that there are thirty-eight possible endings for the plural, and you know most of the worst about the Burushaski noun.

It would be too much to hope that the verb would be any

193 simpler. Nor is it. The actual conjugation shows a gratifying regularity in the final inflections for tense and person. A proportion of intransitive verbs, however, demand a set of pronominal prefixes (the same possible twenty-eight as those required by the starred nouns) which vary according to the subject; some transitives require these prefixes to denote their direct object, others again to denote their indirect object.

A very large number of verbs or verbal participles, moreover, enjoy a separable prefix of their own after which the pronominal prefixes are infixed, not without suffering phonetic modification in the process. The sort of way this works out may be shown by one example: "Having gone" is represented by:

nán	(if it is I who have gone)
nukón	(thou)
nín	(he)
numón	(she)
nimén	(we)
namán	(you)
nún	(they)

The perfect tense of *to come*, "I have come, etc." is:

daiyaba
dukówa
díbai, díbi, díbila
dumóbó
dimébán
dawábán
duwán, dubien, díbitsen

paradigms displaying a logical symmetry but not to be commanded at a moment's notice. DL and I used to say that given a pencil and paper and twenty spare minutes we could say a great many things in Burushaski with commendable accuracy, but to keep a brisk dialogue going without blundering required more mental agility than perhaps we had any right to hope for in middle life.

Lest all this should seem too childishly simple: a transitive verb can be formed from almost any intransitive by a simple lengthening of the vowel in the first root syllable and the

193 prefixing of an *a*; a further lengthening of the vowel will convert the same transitive into a causative. If the three verbs are clearly said one after the other, the difference is easy to distinguish, but I know no form of conversation in which the speaker wants to perform this feat. When one verb is heard alone in the quick current of colloquial speech I defy the beginner to be always certain which vowel-length has been employed.

193 Another bewildering trick of Burushaski speech—the im-
194 portance of which I must confess we did not at once discern—is that almost any word may mean its exact opposite if pronounced with lengthened vowel and a different tone of voice. If you ask what sort of a horse a would-be seller has brought, the answer *yashkian* may mean either "a very suitable, satisfactory beast for you to ride," or alternatively "a miserable nag you could not be seen on." You need to know. It is best to go and look. *Caveat emptor*, anyhow! Similarly, if I asked Zaidu how much flour we had left in store and he replied *kaman*, this might be interpreted "a good deal, quite enough for the present," or "just a little," or "very, very little indeed."

This playing on vowel length, quality, and tone is carried to amazing lengths. The only kind of parallel I can think of in English is a child's use of *tiny* as less small than *teeny-weeny*, or the onomatopœic *squeak* denoting a thinner, less important sound than *squawk*. The Burusho can imply admiration, ridicule, contempt, degrees of size, importance, loudness, and what not by skilful sleights of vowel play. The only mild approach we can make to this in English is when by our intonation and expression we can say: "He's a fine fellow, ha is," and give it to be understood that the remark is ironical But *we* use this phonetic irony with extreme economy, whereas it is lavishly employed in Burushaski.

601 A particular snare into which I was apt to fall—though on paper I could have passed a stiff examination on the facts—lay in this: prefixes apart, Burushaski has no one word for *brother* or *sister*. If said by a boy, *acho* means "my brother"; if said by a girl "my sister." This form of the word means, in fact,

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114 128 the painstaking energy with which, despite many difficulties, he has prosecuted this pioneer undertaking.

The writer of these prefatory pages, who has had the privilege of discussing with the author a number of questions relating to Burushaski, can testify to the accuracy and care which has been bestowed upon the work.

In scientific importance Burushaski may be classed under several categories. Each of these presents its own special problems which will require separate and detailed study, and here it is only possible to draw attention to a few points selected more or less at random.

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193 In the first place Bu. is of interest to the student of general linguistics on account of the many peculiar features of its morphological structure. These have been described in detail in the Grammar, and I shall only mention here one or two which seem worthy of consideration.

The division of nouns, etc., into four classes[1] is, of course, one of the outstanding features of Bu. grammar. L. is, no doubt, right in considering the first two categories (m. and f.) to be subdivisions of a common class denoting human beings (h.). The plural endings, the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, and the numerals are the same in m. and f. nouns, and it is only in 3 sg. of the prefixed pronouns and of the personal suffixes of the verb that the two classes differ. This is an interesting parallel to the Indo-European gender system, in which the distinction between m. and f. is supposed to be more recent and less fundamental than that which exists between m. and f. on the one hand and n. on the other.[2]

Of course, the Bu. x. and y. categories cannot be indentified with the I. E. n. As a matter of fact, the x. class, which among other things comprises non-human animate beings and which may, with great reserve, be defined as denoting individually conceived objects,

[1] §§ 19 sqq.

[2] V. e.g. Meillet, BSL (CR), 31, 7.

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ranges in several particulars with the h. (m. and f.) group. Thus the pl. endings to a great extent agree with those of h.; the prefixed pronoun 3 pl. is *u-* in h. and x, but *i-* in y.; and we find yanas *to take* with h. and x. objects, but ganas with y. objects[1], and in Nagiri Bu. and Werchikwar the y. form of the 3 sg. of the verb *to be* is formed from a root *d-*, while h. and x. have the usual *b-*.[2] 193

This seems to show that y. stands apart from the three first categories.

A definition of the x. and y. categories is given by L. in § 25, note. In most cases x. nouns appear, as indicated above, to denote objects conceived as separate, individual units, while y. might, perhaps, be said to designate 'amorphous substances', including what we would call abstract ideas. Cases like bayundo x. '*bread*', but y. *dough*, and the fact that the names of coarser cereals (where each single grain is considered as a separate unit) are x., while finer grains are y., give a good idea of the underlying central conception. The distinction between ba'lt x. *apple* and ba'lt y. *apple-tree*, etc. indicates a conception of the fruit-bearing tree as a kind of non-individual, common substance of which the single fruits are made.[3] But in many cases the principle of distinction seems quite obscure, cf., besides the examples given on p. 24, e.g. i'ran x. *cream*.

Regarding the trace of still another category cf. § 187.

At any rate the detailed and well-considered account of the Burushaski nominal classes given in this book will be sure to prove valuable for our understanding of the complicated problems connected with the origin and nature of such classifications.

Another interesting feature of Bu. grammar is the constant use of possessive prefixes with most nouns denoting Parts of the Body., Relatives and "certain things which usually stand in close relation

[1] § 231. Cf. yalas trans. and galas intr. *to break*.

[2] V. §§ 496 and 527.

[3] Quite a different conception is found in Lat. malus f. *apple-tree*: malum n. *apple!* — Regarding Prof. Varma's theory about "x" v. p. 24.

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to some being".[1] This inability to consider certain objects without any relation to a possessor is shared by many languages.[2] Those of Melanesia, especially, present great similarities to Bu. in this respect.[3] But even in some Indo-Aryan dialects of the North-West, e.g. in Pashai, I have come across individuals who, when asked about the words denoting parts of the body or relatives, would preferably answer dandēm '*my* tooth', puθlem '*my* son', etc. This is certainly due to common psychological factors and not to the influence of a hypothetical Bu. substratum in Pashai.

According to Bleichsteiner[4] Leitner states in his Hunza and Nagyr Handbook that when he first heard Bu. of Nagir, every genuine Bu. noun had a pronominal prefix, but that the use of these possessives had decreased when he studied the language again 21 years later. In Leitner's 'The Languages and Races of Dardistan' embodying material collected during his first tour in 1866 and published in 1878[5], the use of the prefixes is, however, restricted to the names of parts of the body and of relatives, and the same principle prevails in Biddulph's material, which was collected in 1876.

Besides this, it is intrinsically improbable that the general use of the prefixes should have been given up in Nagir within such a short space of time, and that a parallel development should have taken place in Hunza and Yasin at a somewhat earlier date. Obviously the distinction between prefixed and nonprefixed nouns is, in its principle, very ancient and 'primitive'.

The details described in §§ 126—133 are very curious. Why, for example, is one word for "stick" used with a prefix, but another not? *Under-* and *upper-bedding* and *pillow* are conceived as belonging to a certain person, but this is not the case with articles of dress, etc.

[1] § 128.

[2] Cf. Havers Handbuch d. erklär. Syntax. p. 111.

[3] Cf. Lévy-Bruehl, La possession dans les langues mélanésiennes, MSL. 19, 6 sqq.

[4] P. 301 of the work quoted below, p. XIII f. n.

[5] Acc. to LSI, VIII, 1, p. 551. My copy of the book bears no date.

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Life can be spoken of in the abstract, but *death* only with reference to somebody. As regards the names of parts of the body those which like *blood*, *brain*, *skin* etc. denote a "substance" have no prefixes, nor are they used with recent loan-words such as muč *fist*, pini *leg*, but *shoulder-blade*[1], etc. *Bone* and *horn* may be considered either as substances or as parts of the body belonging to a certain person or animal. Consequently we find both tin *bone*, tur *horn* and -ltin, -ltuʿr (y!). 193

One very curious employment of the pronominal "prefix" is as an *infixed* object in the verb ši·as, etc. *to eat*[2] This may be the last remnant of a verbal system which has been given up in modern Bu.

Among other peculiarities of the nominal inflexion I shall only draw attention to the interesting "double plural"[3] and to the circumstance that the interrogative pronoun mɛn is a plural (probably originally irrespective of number), of which the sg. is mɛn-ʌn '*who-one?*' Note also complicated formations such as e·yɛnmur '*to a daughter of his*',[4] i-e. "i-ay-ɛn-mo-ər *his-daughter-one-f.-to*".

The temporal inflexion of the verbs is dominated by the existence of two temporal bases. From each base three tenses are formed:[5] From the Present Base present, imperfect and future, from the Past Base preterite, perfect and pluperfect. The resulting system agrees completely with that of Shina as expounded by L.,[6] and resembles to some extent the Latin one.

Of general interest are also the indiscriminate active and passive use of some verbal forms[7], the "Static Participle"[8], the addition

[1] But -phoi, L. -phoiŋ *shoulder*, which may have been borrowed at an earlier date.
[2] V. § 252.
[3] § 41 and Corrigenda, pp. 453—54.
[4] § 57.
[5] V. §§ 210 and 274.
[6] Cf. Lorimer, JRAS, 1927 pp. 739 sqq.
[7] V. § 346.
[8] §§ 329 sqq.

193 of the Pronominal Prefix to the Past Participle Active[1], and the use of finite verbal forms with case suffixes.[2]

601 One detail regarding the vocabulary deserves special notice. The word -ʌc̣o denotes both '*a man's brother*' and *a woman's sister*. The German translation would be *Geschwister von demselben Geschlecht*. A similar conception is found in the word -rik *wife's brother*, *husband's sister*, (*a woman's*[3]) *brother's wife*, (*a man's*) *sister's husband* (but not *wife's sister* or *husband's brother*). Apparently this word denotes *a brother- or sister-in-law belonging to the same sex as the person in relation to whom he or she is mentioned*. Note that *woman's brother* (-ulus) and *man's sister* (-yʌs) are denoted by separate words.

I have not met with this curious nomenclature in other languages, and I do not know to what kind of special structure of the family group it may originally have been due.

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197 If we turn to the important question of the genealogical relations between Bu. and other languages, we are faced by great, perhaps insurmountable difficulties, *inter alia* because we possess no ancient records of the language and have only the closely related Werchikwar dialect to compare it with.

One fact, however, seems quite certain and indisputable: Bu. is not related to any of the surrounding Indo-Iranian, Turkish or Tibetan languages.

If we exclude A. Hyde's claim that Bu.[4] has a Siberio-Nubian origin, the first attempt to determine the position of Bu. was made by Ph. L. Barbour[5] who suggested the possibility of a connection with the Muṇḍa languages (Santali etc.). In spite of the great anthropological difference between Burusho and Muṇḍas this hypo-

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[1] § 326.

[2] § 407.

[3] Cf. Texts, p. 384.8 where a-rikmo *my brother's wife* is said by a girl.

[4] Indian Antiquary, I, 258 (quoted LSI, VIII, 2, 551).

[5] JAOS, 1921, p. 60 sqq.

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tenuis by a media in loan-words. Thus Bu. ba
a *turban* < Shina paẓo; Bu. gu'pas, W. γu·pas (Leitner kupásya) *cotton* (*thread*) < Indo-Aryan, cf. Skr. karpāsa; Bu. gi·li *peg* < Shina ki·li, etc. Probably Bu.-W. initial surds have become voiced in certain, as yet unknown, circumstances.[1] This change has taken place late enough to affect even loan-words, and cannot go back to a common Bu.-Cauc. period. 194 197

Morphology. I. Nominal Classes. The Bu.-W. system of nominal classes is undoubtedly in general accordance with that of several N.E. Cauc. languages. I admit that I have always been impressed by the similarity in this respect between Bu. and Andi, which together with some other Daghestan languages has four classes: 1) m., 2) f., 3) animals and some dead objects, 4) all the rest.[2] 193 197

But we must not forget: a) That similar systems of classification appear in other languages as well. b) That it has not as yet been shown that the 4th class of Andi etc. is based upon the same conception as the Bu. y. class.[3] c) That other N.E. Cauc. languages have up to eight classes and that we are not in a position to assert that the four-class system in the original one. d) That the formation of the classes and their use differs, as admitted by Bl., considerably in Bu.-W. and Cauc. The similarity between the *t* in Bu. gu-tɛ *this* (y.) and the *t'* in Archin ya-t' *this* (4th class)[4], has very little significance in view of the great number of varying class-elements in Cauc. which differ altogether from those in Bu.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the existence of nominal class-systems in Bu. and Cauc. cannot be taken as more than an indication of the *possibility* of relationship.

II. The parallelism between the use of possessive prefixes in Bu.-W. and N.W. Cauc. is less striking than that mentioned

[1] Cf. also ki-ne h. *this*: gu-se x., gu-te y. — But note tiẓi *span* < diṣti- (v. below p. XXIII!)

[2] Cf. Bl., p. 299, Dirr., Einführ. in die kauk. Spr. p. 183.

[3] Жирков, Грамматика Даргинского языка does not give any information on this point.

[4] Including, *inter alia*, sexually immature animate beings — a conception unknown to Bu.

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above[1] between Bu. and Melanesian. Bl. mentions the 'remarkable identity between Bu. 3 sg. i- and Cherkhess ji-, Abkhas j-[2] but forgets to mention Ubykh gi- which points to a different origin of the Cherkh. and Abkh. forms.

III. The number of plural suffixes in Bu.-W. is very considerable[3]. It seems reasonable to assume that many of them have been converted to this use at a comparatively recent date, and the similarity which Bl. detects between Bu. -a, -i[4], -ik, -ko, -nts, etc. and Akhwakh -a, Chechen -i, Abkhaz -k'ua, -cwa[5] is not very impressive.

IV. Declension. The use of a special Agential case for the subject of a transitive verb is common in Cauc. In Bu. it is the rule when the verb is in a past-base tense, and it is found occasionally with present-base tenses.[6] The construction of the transitive verb varies, however, very much in the Cauc. languages[7] and in most cases it is passive in contradistinction to Bu. In Shina, where the construction is very similar to that of Bu., it may be due to the influence of a Bu. substratum, but this cannot be the case with Tibetan. Moreover, we must remember that a passive construction of the past tenses with the subject in the agential case is also used in most Indo-Iranian languages. I do not think, therefore, that the partial agreement between Bu. and Cauc. in this respect affords any strong indication of relationship.

The phonetic similarity between the Bu. agential ending -e and the -ē, -iē, -a, -o etc. of certain Cauc. languages may easily be accidental.

V. The Adjective. The expression of the comparative by the formular 'x is big *from* y' is common to very many languages besides Bu. and N. E. Cauc.

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[1] V. p. X.

[2] Bleichsteiner's j = our y.

[3] §§ 27 sqq.

[4] Only in hiri *men*.

[5] Only of rational beings.

[6] § 60.

[7] V. Dirr., pp. 62—76.

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I cannot perceive any striking similarity between the Bu.-W. type šika-m *grass-ish*, i.e. *green* and Mingrelian čil-am-i '*married* (*man*)' from čil-i *wife*. 193 197

VI. Numerals. The vigesimal system is used in Bu. and in most Cauc. languages, but also in a great number of other languages, e.g. in N. W. India, and it cannot be used to prove genealogical relationship. [802]

VII. Pronouns. Bl. compares the Bu. pronouns with Cauc. ones. Opening, at random, a grammar of the West African Ewe language, I cannot help thinking that one might make out as strong a case for comparing the pronouns of this language with Bu. Cf.:

	Bu.	Udic	Kürin.	Tsakhur	Awar	Ewe
I	jɛ[1]	zu	zun	zə	dun	nye
Thou	uᵊŋ, gu-[2]	un	wun	γu	mun	wo[2]
We	mi	yan	čun	:ši	nit:	miawo (Abure ame).
You	ma	wàn	k'uᵊn	šu	nuž	mía .(„ ama).
He, etc.	iᵊ (nɛ etc.)	šeno	am(a)	man(a)	doŋ	(y)e.
They	uᵊɛ	šonor	àbar	manbo	dol	wo.
Who?	amin	šu		ha-:šu-nä	amę ka.	

VIII. The Verb. Bl.'s comparison of the Bu. infinitive in -as, (which is a noun taking case suffixes) to the datival form in -as, -es of some Daghestan languages is not convincing.

Somewhat more striking is the accordance between Bu. n- which forms the Past Ptc. and Georgian na-, used in the same way. But we must remember, that the odds are greatly in favour of finding some elements resembling those of Bu. among the heterógenous mass of Cauc. languages, between whose different groups the relationship has yet to be established.

An objective conjugation is found both in Bu. and in S. Cauc. (Georgian). I know nothing about the history of the Georgian forms in question, but the addition of an element denoting the object is

[1] Which might easily be derived from a conjectural *nje. — I agree with Bl. that there is no reason to derive the Bu.-W. forms — with Zarubin — from Ir.

[2] Which might be derived from *(u)ǵu, cf. N. Chinese ǵ- > w-.

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common to so many languages that is does not prove any genealogical relationship.[1] In Bu., with its pronominal prefixes, the development of an objective conjugation is only to be expected.

The pl. forms of the Bu. pronominal prefixes are, of course, used to denote a plurality of objects. This has certainly nothing to do with the Abkhaz constructions of the type i-z-bl-ueit *I burn it* (: *it- I burn-ing*): i-z-bal-k'-ueit *I burn several things*, where *i-* is the pronominal prefix denoting the object.[2]

An interrogative particle -a, -e is found in most Indian and Ir. languages adjoining Bu. It might, of course, be considered to be of Bu. origin, but this is by no means certain, and the similarity to the -a, -ë of some Cauc. dialects may easily be accidental.

Vocabulary. Still more dangerous than the comparison between structural and inflexional elements in Bu. and one or other of the numerous Cauc. languages is the search for lexicological correspondences at the present state of our knowledge of Cauc. If we have to reject most of the comparisons proposed by Bl., it does not mean that they are all necessarily wrong. It is quite conceivable that one may at some future date be able to sift them, and that some of them may, after all, prove to be correct.

But at any rate it will be necessary to apply other methods than those borrowed by Bl. from Marr. The derivation of Bu. huk *dog* from *hoγor in order to compare Budukh ɦor, Awar hoj, Mingrelian ǰoγori, Sumerian ur, etc., and the association of this group of words with Bu. hal *fox* is only too typical of Bl.'s methods.

Bu. har *bull*, hare *barley*, herča *to weep*, huk *dog* are compared with Mingrelian ɦoǰi, k'eri, n-gara-gara and ǰoγori, and huk *dog*, huyës *herd of goats*, huʰäs *boy*, huṭes *foot* with Awar hoj, k'uj (*sheep*), 'oloqan (*young bull*) and ɦeṭe, without any attempt to establish any system of regular phonetic correspondences between Bu. and the Cauc. language in question.

[1] Cf. e.g. Pashai (Indo-Aryan) degg-ey-ām '*I see thee*', digg-im-ai *thou seest me*, etc.

[2] Note that the Abkhaz pron. prefix 3 pl. is r-, not k'-.

Moreover several obviously Indian or Iranian loan-words in Bu. are used to demonstrate the relationship with Cauc. 197 114

On the whole, most of Bl.'s comparisons are unsatisfactory and are based on a slight and illusive similarity of sound. Cases like Bu. girkis *rat:* Karata herḳwa, Awar hinĩu, Varkua qurka; Bu. tatas *palm of the hand:* Georg. t'ot'i *paw*[1]; Bu. čumu (Shina čimu) *fish:* Mingrelian čḫomu etc. are not sufficient evidence for us to build far-reaching conclusions on. Some kind of connection is perhaps possible between Bu. biči̇l *pomegranate:* Georg brec'onli[2]; Bu. tili *walnut:* Georg. t'ḫili; Bu. šoγori *a kind of pear:* Budukh čüγür, Tabass. šeḫer[3], but such words may easily wander from one language to another.

I do not think that Bl. has succeeded in proving the probability of a relationship between Bu. and Cauc., and I very much doubt whether it is possible to prove anything of that kind at present. But the whole problem will certainly deserve a renewed and methodical consideration when the Cauc. languages and the connection between their different groups have become better known. And if we ever succeed in connecting Bu. with some other group of languages, it will be of the greatest importance for our understanding of the early history of Western Asia.

Our chances of ever being able to reconstruct older forms of Bu. either by comparisons with W. or by means of internal evidence in Bu. itself are not very promising. 197 193

Only in very rare cases is it possible to employ the latter method. We have mentioned above[4] that initial mediae may go back to older tenues.

Another case where a reconstruction seems possible is that of the pl. suffix -o.[5] Before this suffix certain consonants are palata-

[1] "Cf. Bur. *-to-to *paw*". Lorimer 2—4—1935.

[2] Acc. to Bl. himself this comparison is 'zweifelhaft'.

[3] Taken from Erckert's not very reliable material.

[4] p. XV.

[5] §§ 26 sqq.

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lised, n into y, ts into č, s into š. This seems to indicate that the original form was *-yo, which may have been preserved in γaiyo, pl. of γa *crow*.

Somewhat more doubtful is the supposition of a formative *-y- in the present base of verbs on the evidence of the change of n > y, k and s > š, ts > č, t > č, š, l > lj[1] in Bu. and W. It this is the case, the regular pres. base in -ič- must be a secondary, analogical formation.

Regarding the change of ny > y cf. Bu. ya: W. nya *bear*. But in internal position we have also W. ny > y, e.g. in žakuyu *asses* from žakun.

It is tempting to suppose that a·ltan, a·lta *two* and a·ltambo *eight*, wa·lto *four* are somehow or other related. a·ltər *twenty* must evidently be connected with a·lta, but it is quite uncertain whether it ought to be analysed as alt + tər, cf. to·r-umo *ten*. The similar ending of tsundo *five* and miši·ndo *six* may be due to a secondary adaptation. The 'Ablaut' in hin h., hik z.: han x., y. *one*, and the 'Umlaut' in usko x., y.: i·ski z. *three*; tsundo h., x., y.: tsindı z. *five*; to·rumo: to·rimi *ten* are too isolated to render possible any explanation. Cf. also, however, ɛtimi *he made*, etc.: ɛtumo *she made*, possibly from *ɛtum-i, *ɛtum-mo.

As mentioned above, Nagir Bu. di·la *it is* (y.) di·lum it was (y.), W. du·wa, duɫum are more original forms than Hunza bila, bi·lum.

Nor does the comparison between Bu. and W. carry us much further. Some of the phonetic differences between the two dialects have been pointed out by L.[2] But it appears impossible to reduce them to any fixed rules, and in most cases we cannot guess which form is the more archaic one.

This is the case with Bu. miši·ndo, W. biši·ndo *five*, and with the words where a long vowel appears in W.

W. isko *three*, tshendo *five* have probably got their palatal vowel

[1] V. § 210.
[2] §§ 501 sqq.

from the z. forms[1], and Bu. -susun *elbow*, bu'a[h][2] *cow* may also be more original than W. -sesen, 'biza'. 193 197

In some cases a group of consonants seems to have been better preserved in W.: Cf. W. ayast *my sister;* yainši *watermill;* γendeš *gold;* nya *bear* with Bu. ayas, yäiṇ, gγeniš, ya. But notice W. hučo (L. huti) *nine:* Bu. 'hunčo. Bu. gγ- (acc. to my informant) may or may not be older than L.'s Bu. and W. γ-. For other details see below.

That biranč *mulberry*, W. branš derives from an older form *mranč < *mrač is proved by Kho. mrač, from which the Bu.-W. word is evidently borrowed.

But apart from such stray cases the reconstruction of older forms through internal comparison appears to have poor chances of success.

A great number of words are common to Bu. and Shina, and to some extent also to Khowar. When the vocabularies of Shina and the adjoining Indo-Aryan dialects have become better known, it may be possible to distinguish to some extent between words of Aryan and of Bu. origin, and this will be of importance for the history of the Indo-Aryan languages as well. Khowar, however, appears to contain a number of words which cannot at present be traced either to an Indian, Iranian or Bu. source. 192 197

Grierson has pointed out that the word for *iron* in the Dardic and Kafir dialects (Kho. čumur, etc.) is probably borrowed from Bu. čumar. This may very well be the case, but it is, of course, possible that the ultimate source of the word, which is probably connected also with Turkish timur, temir, may be some unknown language. Note, however, that Bu. has also an apparently genuine word for *gold* (γeniš), and it is by no means impossible that the pre-Aryan population of the Hindu Kush region, of which the Burusho are the last relic, may have known the use of some metals.[3]

[1] V. above p. XX.

[2] Acc. to Lor. (2—4—1935) bu'a(·) is the gen. of 'bua, bua.

[3] It is a curious fact that Bu. girmi- *to write* is genuine, and yet cannot be derived from any known Bu. word. The similarity to Arm. gir *writing*, Finn. kirja *book* must, however, be accidental, and it is improbable that a word with this meaning would go back to very remote antiquity.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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177 presumed from the possession of a pattern of door known as "Baloski hing" (baloʷski hiŋ), and a method of thorn-fencing "Baloski chash" (baloʷski čaš). See also Text No. XXVIII. I have even been
[829] told that the Burusho believe that they acquired the whole of their material culture from Baltistan. Though there is no territorial contact with Khowar, an occasional surprising common property in words suggests questions.

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●193 The Qirgiz and Balti languages may at once be dismissed as sources of any perceptible influence on Burushaski, and, with infinitely greater opportunity, Wakhi seems to have been equally impotent to make any general impression on it. There remains Shina. Clearly there are borrowings from Shina to be found in the Burushaski vocabulary. Words with characteristic Shina prefixes and endings may be assumed to be Shina e. g. Bu. ʌ-baš, ʌ-čɛʷmo, su-čɛʷmo, ʌ-šato; adjectives ending in -aʷto, čamor-aʷto, γališ-aʷto; abstract nouns ending in -aʷr, -iaʷr, and -eʷi such as: damijaʷr, šuriaʷr, šuguleʷi etc. In Shina -o is a very common ending in nouns and the masculine singular of adjectives. Where such words are shared the probability lies that in Burushaski they are borrowings from Shina. Examples are: baʷgo, baskoʷčo, bidiʷro. Sometimes the final -o is lacking in the Burushaski form. In such cases is the -o of Shina possibly an addition to a Burushaski word? Such are:

Bu.	γulk	Shn.	gulko	*covered water-tank*
	γuṭuʷm		guṭuʷmo	*deep*
	hisk		heʷsko	*loom*
	hukar		hukaʷro	*tamarisk*

Of undistinguished shared words it is for the Philologist to say whether they are of Indo-Aryan stock, and so presumably a contribution from Shina, or not. The same applies to similarities of a more radical character found in the sharing of syntactical practices and idiomatic usages, which seem to postulate direct translation from one language into the other. It is a fair hypothesis that such a process came into action at some time when the two languages were in intimate association, probably by intermarriage, after the

Shina-speaking stock had forced its way in among, or acquired domination over, an originally Burushaski-speaking population. To enumerate such similarities would require a treatise in itself, and in the Grammar I have purposely abstained from drawing comparisons with Shina, which would have taken up space and obscured the immediate issues. I may here just draw attention to a few points. V. § 43. There is much parallelism in the use of the Bu. suffix -ʌn and the Sh.- -ɛk, -k (ɛk = one), e. g. Sh. ɛk manu·ju'k *a man*; a·pu'k *a little*; with pronouns: ko·vk *what person?*, jɛk-ɛk *something*, kača·k-ɛk *a certain number of*, cp. Bu. berrum-ʌn; with numerals: dai bai-ɛk *ten or a dozen*, bi·ɛk *a score*. It is also used with the plural and so corresponds to the Bu. -ik. Employed with passive participles and verbal bases it replaces the indefinite by a definite sense. Thus: rai.ituk *the thing said* cp. Bu. ʌnuman; ā·thi hanuk *the bones there are*, cp. Bu. maltaj̆ bilumʌn *the ghee there was*.

Points of similarity can also be found in the use of the case suffixes: Sh. jɛk čokɪj *how?*, cp. Bu. belaṭɛ. Sh. -rj = ʌjɛ is semantically parallel to Bu. -aṭɛ. Sh. abl. -jo, parallel to Bu. -tsum used with meaning *after* (of time). Among the pronouns, Sh. ɛk ɛk is parallel with Bu. hin hin *one another* v. § 134. Sh. baiyɛ *both* and bu·to pl. bu·tɛ *all* generally follow the noun: jʌk bu·tɛ *all the people*, cp. Bu. *-altalik and *-yo·n, §§ 177—178.

There is a parallelism between the use of the Sh. ga, gɛ and the Bu. kɛ with the indefinite pronouns when the verb is in the negative e. g. Sh. jɛga nɪš, Bu. besʌn kɛ api *it is nothing*, v. §§ 148—154 and 333.

The higher numeral system of both languages is based on the score (20). In compound verbal expressions there is much parallelism in the use of the verbs *to come*, Sh. wai.o·ɪki Bu. ju·yʌs; *to bring*, Sh. waloɪki and aṭo·ɪki, Bu. d*-tʌʌs, dusu·yʌs, su·yʌs, v. §§ 261 ff. and 266, also in some other cases. These seem to be translations.

Parallelism of use can also be noted in some independent verbs e.g. Sh. nɪkhai.o·ɪki, Bu. du·ʌʌs, *to come out, go out, get out, escape;*

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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to cross (*a river*; etc.) *to climb up; to win* (*in a game*). Both languages use the interrogative suffix -a with verbs, and use it in the same way, v. § 340.

There seems to be some parallelism in the verb *to be able*, Sh. bo·ıki, which also means *to be, become*, and the Bu. °-AMANAS which is presumably related to MANA·S, v. § 298.6. Cp. also Kho. bik.

The Conditional particles Sh. tsık and Bu. tsɛ, Wer. tsık are largely similarly employed.

The extensive use of the past participle active and its employment as a connective are common to both languages. Sh. the *having said*, is used to close a quotation, exactly as the Bu. nusan, v. § 367. Cp. Kho. rɛ.

Sh. tho·ıki and Bu. ɛtas, both meaning primarily *to do*, are always used for *to speak* (*a language*), and the Sh. constantly, and the Bu. sometimes, for *to say*.

There are correspondences in the use of the Sh. passive and static participles and the Bu. static participle, cp. rai.ituk mentioned above, also the active use in Sh. rai.ito MANU·JO *a man who has read* i.e. *a literate man*, v. § 378. b. With §§ 379. b. and 460 cp. Sh. WATO o MANU·JO *the man who has come*.

The infinitive is used in Shina as in Burushaski with case suffixes, v. § 392. I. Curiously, the Sh. locative form in -ər in used in the same way as the Bu. dative form in -ər, as described in § 395 d. Is this a case of adoption? The same phenomenon is seen in the Sh. AČA·KƏR and the Bu. te·rumanər, both expressing in the same way, *at this point, thereupon, then*, v. § 409 1.

As in Bu. so in Sh. the same or approximately the same form functions as infinitive, inflectable verbal noun, noun-agent and gerundive(?): tho·ıki, tho·k, *to do, doing* (noun); tho·ıkəjo FATU *after doing* (*it*); tho·ıkət čak *ready to do it;* MAS do·ıki ASULUSUS *I was a giver, prepared to give;* MAS tho·kunus, tus tho·kuno, ro·s tho·kun *I am to, have to, must do, thou must do, he must do;* AŠPɛ ku·rɛ kərpa tho·kun *it is necessary to cut the horse's hoofs, its hoofs are to be cut;* AŠPIČ TILEN do·kun (do·ıki) *the saddle is to be put on the horse.*

In Sh. maṭ lɛl han-ɪj *on its being known to me* i.e. *with my knowledge*, mat lɛl nuš-ɪj *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -ɪj (ʌjɛ = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -ʌṭɛ in ayɛtum-ʌṭɛ etc. in § 384, and the combination of the base han with a case suffix, with o·ni-tsum and ʌsqan-ʌṭɛ in § 407. b. and c. 197 193

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of tho·ɪki viz. *the*, e.g. lo·ko thɛ *quickly*, mišto thɛ *well*, Bu. yər nɛ *forwards*, šu.a nɛ *well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *ks* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar. 192

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazārat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay. 177 [443]

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustani, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burushe AV 7

000 stimulus, but the course which we adopt of abstract generalisations, without analysing them and bringing them back to their concrete constituents, is almost a process of stultification.

197 Coming now to one of the most primitive, and certainly one of the remnants of pre-historic languages, that of Hunza, which I
177 had the opportunity of examining twenty-three years ago, while Gilgit was in a state of warfare, and where I had to learn the language, so to speak, with a pencil in one hand and a weapon in the other, and surrounded by people who were waiting for an opportunity to kill me, I found, that on reverting to it three years ago, the language had already undergone a process of assimilation to the surrounding dialects, owing to the advance of so-called civilisation, which in that case, and which in the case of most of these tribes, means the introduction of drunkenness and disease, in this instance of cholera, for we know what has been the condition of those countries which lie in the triangle between Cashmere, Kabul, and Badakhshan, and to which I first gave the name of Dardistan in 1866.

193 Now, what does this language show us? There the ordinary methods proved entirely at fault. If one pointed to an object, quite apart from the ordinary difficulties of misapprehension, the man appealed to, for instance, might say "your finger," if a finger were the thing of which he thought you wanted the name. If not satisfied with the name given in response, and you turned to somebody else, another name was obtained; and if you turned to a third person, you got a third name.

What was the reason for these differences? It was this, that the language had not emerged from the state in which it is impossible to have such a word as "head," as distinguished from "my head," or "thy head," or "his head"; for instance, *ak* is "my name," and *ik* is "his name." Take away the pronominal sign, and you are left with *k*, which means nothing. *Aus* is "my wife," and *gus* "thy wife." The *s* alone has no meaning, and, in some cases, it seemed impossible to arrive at putting anything down correctly; but so it is in the initial stage of a language. In the Hunza language under discussion, that stage is important to us as members of the Aryan group, as the dissociation of the pronoun, verb, adverb and conjunction from the act or substance only occurs when the language emerges beyond the stage when the

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 18937 AV3 Dard [redacted]
Burushe AV7

groping, as it were, of the human child between the *meum* and *tuum*, the first and second persons, approaches the clear perception of the outer world, the "*suum*," the third person. Now, during the twenty years referred to "his" (house), "his" (name), and "his" (head) are beginning to take the place of "house," "name," "head," generally, in not quite a decided manner, but still they are taking their place. When I subsequently talked to the Hunzas, and tried to find a reason for that "idiom," if one may use the term, it seemed very clear and convincing when they said, "How is it possible for 'a wife' to exist unless she is somebody's wife?" "You cannot say, for instance, if you dissociate the one from the other, 'her wife,' or 'his husband.' 'Head,' by itself, does not exist; it must be somebody's head." When, again, you dissociate the sound which stands for the action or substance from the pronoun, you come, in a certain group of words, to another range of thought connected with the primary family relation, and showing the existence of that particularly ancient form of endogamy, in which all the elder females are the mothers and all the elder men are the fathers of the tribe. For instance, take a word like "mother;" "m" would mean the female principle, "o" would be the self, and the *ther* would mean "the tribe;" in other words, "mother" would mean: "the female that bore me and that belongs to my tribe." Now, fanciful as this may appear to us, it is the simple fact as regards the Hunza language, which, when put the test of analysis, will throw an incredible light on the history of Aryan words. For instance, taking Sanskrit as a typical language, you will, I believe, find how the early relations grew, and you will get beyond the root into the parts of which the root is made up; each of which has a meaning, not in one or two instances, but in most. I am not going to read you the volume which I am preparing for the Indian Government, and which is only the first part of the analysis with regard to this language, and only a very small portion indeed of the material that I collected in 1866, 1872, and 1884 regarding that important part of the world, Dardistan, which is now being drawn within the range of practical Indian politics—a region situated between the Hindukush and Kaghan (lat. 37° N. and long. 73° E to lat. 35° N. and long. 74·3° E.) and comprising monarchies and republics, including a small

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Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afghanistan AUF
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

193 The grammar of the Shina[1] language may be taken as
197 fairly typical of that of the languages spoken by the broken tribes in the Indus, Swat, Kooner, and Punjkorah Valleys. Though differing slightly among themselves, these all grade into one another, and into Punjabi, and a closer examination will probably show that they have some affinity with Cashmeri. As in Punjabi and Hindustani, distinctions of gender are preserved in nouns and verbs, and the use of the cerebral *n* and the soft *j* is very common. In Shina, Torwalik, and Bushkarik[2] the passive voice is formed by the use of the auxiliary verb "to go," as in Punjabi and Hindustani.

The verbs of the two latter languages of the Swat Valley differ from those of Shina in having only one masculine and one feminine form in the singular, and a different single form for the plural, while the Gowro and Chiliss[3] differ in having the same form both in the singular and plural.

B The most singular and interesting language of all is the
● 193 Boorishki,[4] spoken in Hunza, Nager, and Yassin. It stands by itself and cannot be classed with any other Dard language.
197 The foundation of this language has been identified as of Turanian origin; but, as far as I am able to judge, it has little or no claim to be classed as a Toork language, and it has forms which are only found among the most primitive races. Besides this, it has at some period borrowed largely from some Aryan language, many of the gramatical forms of which it has adopted. While preserving distinctions of gender, both in verbs and nouns, it uses them in a totally different manner from any of the Dard languages. The use of the celebral *n* is rare, and the verbs have no passive voice, though in the active voice they have the same tenses as exist in Khowar, Shina, and other Dard languages.

D Under the convenient term of Dardistan have been includ-
101 ed the whole of the valleys lying between the Western Punjab
131 and the Hindoo Koosh, which are inhabited by a number
174 of tribes mostly of Aryan origin. The greater part of these tribes appear to have been gradually crowded up into the less accessible and desirable localities, by external pressure. The circumstances which have caused them to quit their former homes have not, apparently, been simultaneous, or even of the same nature in all cases.

D The name "Dard" is not acknowledged by any section of
101 the tribes to whom it has been so sweepingly applied. In a single instance, the term is applied by one tribe to some of

[1] Appendix B. [2] Appendices D & E. [3] Appendices F and C. [4] Appendix A.

114 add a new meaning without disturbing the main text. DL did not attempt to incorporate new material. It would be better not to tinker with the existing work but to wait till our work here was done and put new facts into shape for a supplementary volume.

The anthropological material would in any case be an entirely separate business.

194 One very tiresome task connected with the Vocabulary was to achieve what certainty was possible about aspirates and cerebrals. Neither David nor I had when young any scientific training in phonetics—the modern science of phonetics simply did not then exist—and perhaps our ears are not naturally acute. Anyhow, neither of us can distinguish these finer shades of sound with any certainty. Burushaski has, for instance, four different t's: a dental t and a cerebral t (= t and ṭ) and the same two sounds plus a light aspiration (= th and ṭh). It is practically convenient and scientifically lamentable that the English t holds an intermediate position between them. Our ordinary t does quite beautifully for conversational use. No doubt in all cases it sounds slightly "foreign" to a Hunza ear, but it seems to be perfectly acceptable. This, however, isn't good enough for accurate recording. Fortunately Qudrat Ullah was intelligent enough to detect the difference, and David has taught him to be on the *qui vive*; so they set to work through the whole Vocabulary to check every single spelling authoritatively. The scientist and phonetician will therefore be able to get the accurate spellings there and the more casual spellings of the Grammar and Texts will be good enough for the ordinary student.

If it was only the t's! But there are a dozen other sounds afflicted with cerebral and aspirate doubles. It was a long and weary business to register them all, but one at least which could only have been tackled on the spot. The ordinary speaker is of course unaware of these refinements of his own pronunciation. An odd point is that the aspiration is frequently dropped in Hunza speech in derived forms, whereas Nagir Burushaski is more logical in the matter; with them apparently "once an aspirate, always an aspirate" is the usual rule.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

194 Personally I felt at times impatient of the time that had to be "wasted" on these subtleties; but my better self acknowledges their importance—or potential importance—for comparative philology. I am, I fear, a curious mixture of a shameless philistine and a scholar *manquée*!

193 prefixing of an *a*; a further lengthening of the vowel will convert the same transitive into a causative. If the three verbs are clearly said one after the other, the difference is easy to distinguish, but I know no form of conversation in which the speaker wants to perform this feat. When one verb is heard alone in the quick current of colloquial speech I defy the beginner to be always certain which vowel-length has been employed.

193 Another bewildering trick of Burushaski speech—the im-
194 portance of which I must confess we did not at once discern—is that almost any word may mean its exact opposite if pronounced with lengthened vowel and a different tone of voice. If you ask what sort of a horse a would-be seller has brought, the answer *yashkian* may mean either "a very suitable, satisfactory beast for you to ride," or alternatively "a miserable nag you could not be seen on." You need to know. It is best to go and look. *Caveat emptor*, anyhow! Similarly, if I asked Zaidu how much flour we had left in store and he replied *kaman*, this might be interpreted "a good deal, quite enough for the present," or "just a little," or "very, very little indeed."

This playing on vowel length, quality, and tone is carried to amazing lengths. The only kind of parallel I can think of in English is a child's use of *tiny* as less small than *teeny-weeny*, or the onomatopœic *squeak* denoting a thinner, less important sound than *squawk*. The Burusho can imply admiration, ridicule, contempt, degrees of size, importance, loudness, and what not by skilful sleights of vowel play. The only mild approach we can make to this in English is when by our intonation and expression we can say: "He's a fine fellow, he is," and give it to be understood that the remark is ironical But *we* use this phonetic irony with extreme economy, whereas it is lavishly employed in Burushaski.

601 A particular snare into which I was apt to fall—though on paper I could have passed a stiff examination on the facts—lay in this: prefixes apart, Burushaski has no one word for *brother* or *sister*. If said by a boy, *acho* means "my brother"; if said by a girl "my sister." This form of the word means, in fact,

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

197 accepting Marr's views, deals with the subject in some detail and enumerates a long list of Bu.-Cauc. accordances.

The great number of Cauc. languages and their extreme variety may in one way be said to render his undertaking comparatively easy. On the other hand the same circumstances undoubtedly detract considerably from the value of the conclusions drawn from a comparison between Bu. and words and forms culled from the Cauc. languages in their modern form. Possessing only a most superficial knowledge of Cauc. languages I shall not endeavour to discuss all the points raised by Bleichsteiner, but it may be useful to consider a number of the most important ones in order to gain an impression of the tenability of his thesis. I shall try to give a fair selection of his arguments and not to leave out any of his best points.

It must be remembered that the Bu. and W. material which Bleichsteiner had at his disposal was far from exhaustive and not always correct.

I shall deal with Bleichsteiner's comparisons in the same order in which he presents them.

Phonology. The similarities between the phonetic systems of Bu. (including W.) and Cauc. mentioned by Bl. are very vague and of little interest. This does not, however, disprove relationship. Nobody could find out from the phonetic systems of Modern Irish and Bengali that these languages belong to the same family.

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There is, however, one apparent phonetic accordance between Bu. and certain N.E. Cauc. dialects. Acc. to L.[1] we find in Bu.-W. a curious change of 'initial voiced sounds to their voiceless counterparts when they become medial', e.g. W. buṭtu *day:* he-puṭtu *to-morrow.* Bl., p. 296, connects this change with that of a *final* media into a tenuis before a suffix, e.g. in Kürin rab *needle:* pl. rapini. I had also been struck by this parallel, but further consideration made me doubtful of its significance. In the first instance the Bu. change affects an *initial*, the Cauc. a *final* consonant. Then, as pointed out by L., Bu. often renders a foreign initial

[1] § 10.

tenuis by a media in loan-words. Thus Bu. ba
a *turban* < Shina paṣo; Bu. gu'pas, W. γu'pas (Leitner kupásya) *cotton* (*thread*) < Indo-Aryan, cf. Skr. karpāsa; Bu. gi·li *peg* < Shina ki·li, etc. Probably Bu.-W. initial surds have become voiced in certain, as yet unknown, circumstances.[1] This change has taken place late enough to affect even loan-words, and cannot go back to a common Bu.-Cauc. period. 194 197

Morphology. I. Nominal Classes. The Bu.-W. system of nominal classes is undoubtedly in general accordance with that of several N.E. Cauc. languages. I admit that I have always been impressed by the similarity in this respect between Bu. and Andi, which together with some other Daghestan languages has four classes: 1) m., 2) f., 3) animals and some dead objects, 4) all the rest.[2] 193 197

But we must not forget: a) That similar systems of classification appear in other languages as well. b) That it has not as yet been shown that the 4th class of Andi etc. is based upon the same conception as the Bu. y. class.[3] c) That other N.E. Cauc. languages have up to eight classes and that we are not in a position to assert that the four-class system in the original one. d) That the formation of the classes and their use differs, as admitted by Bl., considerably in Bu.-W. and Cauc. The similarity between the *t* in Bu. gu-tɛ *this* (y.) and the *t'* in Archin ya-t' *this* (4th class)[4], has very little significance in view of the great number of varying class-elements in Cauc. which differ altogether from those in Bu.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the existence of nominal class-systems in Bu. and Cauc. cannot be taken as more than an indication of the *possibility* of relationship.

II. The parallelism between the use of possessive prefixes in Bu.-W. and N.W. Cauc. is less striking than that mentioned

[1] Cf. also ki·ne h. *this*: gu-se x., gu-te y. — But note tiṣ̌i *spas* < diṣti- (v. below p. XXIII!)

[2] Cf. Bl., p. 299, Dirr., Einführ. in die kauk. Spr. p. 183.

[3] Жирков, Грамматика Даргинского языка does not give any information on this point.

[4] Including, *inter alia*, sexually immature animate beings — a conception unknown to Bu.

In §§ 1 sqq. L. explains his notation of Bu. and W. sounds; and he does not claim a perfection which is unattainable when making the first serious attempt to describe a new and strange language. 194 197

The difficulty does not consist merely in recording the sounds actually heard, but also in distinguishing between essential "phonological" differences and variations within the range of a single phoneme and in detecting the system of phonemes. This is specially hard in the case of the vowels. L. has done wisely in giving his impression of the sound-varieties heard in each case, and I shall not make a premature attempt to establish the phonological system of Bu. vowels.

To a certain extent it seems possible, however, with the abundant material and the descriptions of the sounds given by L., to distinguish the vowel phonemes from the variations due to the position in the word or to the individual speaker.

Thus *a*, ʌ and ə seem to be variants of the *a*- phoneme, ə appearing especially before *r* (e.g. fər, gər, hər). The vacillation between ʌ and *a·* e.g. in giʌm, gira·m *clan*, *village*, gupʌltiṇ, gupa·ltiṇ *trousers* and the rendering of Prs. ba·da·m *almond* by bʌdʌm would seem to indicate that they, too, are variants of the same phoneme. But on the other hand the difference is significant e.g. in ga·n *a crow* (=ga+ʌn): gʌn, gan *road;* gaʳ *giddiness:* gər *marriage;* ga·l *wound:* gʌl *juniper;* giʌ·n *dear:* giʌn *basket*, etc. It is possible that some speakers distinguish between an *a* and an *a·* phoneme, others not.

It is more doubtful whether *i* and *i·*, *u* and *u·* are to be classed as separate phonemes. Cf. e.g. hir, hiʳ *man*, hirum, hiʳum *active*, giʌm, giʳʌm, etc. *village*, gili, gi·li *peg*, hurgo, huʳgo *ascent*, ho·lguš, ho·lgu·š *battle*, gunts: gu·nts *day*, etc. Probably there is only one *i* and one *u* phoneme. The same applies to *e: e·* and *o: o·*.

Probably *e*(·) and ɛ(·) are also variants of the same phoneme, cf. γe·niš and γeʳniš *queen;* g(y)e, g(y)ɛ *snow;* heʳʌs, hɛʳʌs *to weep;* de·k, dɛ·k *cooking-pot*, te·lɛ, tɛ·lɛ *there*.

●194 197 Apparently ʊ and ɪ are unstressed variants of *u* and *i*, cf. e.g. gukɛ: guˈkɛ *these*. But in spite of cases like goˈn, gun *dawn o* and *u* must be considered to be separate phonemes. The same is undoubtedly true also of *ai* : *e* and *e* : *ə* although we find, exceptionally, (personal?) variations such as tail, təil, te.il, teˈl *such*, γai.iŋ, γe.iŋ *grapes*.

The vowel system of Bu. would thus appear to include the following phonemes; *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *o*. To these should probably be added *aˈ*, although quantity does not appear to be of phonemic significance in other parts of the system.

As regards the consonants L. is probably right in taking *ǵ*, γ, *q̇* to be variants of *g*, γ and *q* due to the proximity of *y*.[1] But the last mentioned sound is certainly a separate phoneme.

Regarding the cerebrals, aspirates, gγ and W. *ł* see below.

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114 194 [115] During my stay in Chitral in 1929 I had an opportunity to take down short lists of Bu. and W. words. My Bu. informant was a certain Abdullah[2] from Baltit. The other called his language Wəˈčikˈwaˈr and his native valley Wərčiguˈm = Yaˈsiˈn.[3]

I worked with each of them for a couple of hours only, and I am, of course, aware of the utter insufficiency of my observations. But both of my informants had a very good and clear articulation[4] and on the whole my notations agree unexpectedly well with those of L. and Zarubin (whose material I had not at hand). It may not be devoid of interest, therefore, to compare some of my words with those given by L. for the sake of checking and corroborating his perception of the sounds.

194 Many words are identical in L.'s and my notation of Bu. E.g. toˈrumo *ten*; maˈtum *black*; -ʂan *chin*; haˈγur *horse*; guš'puˈr *prince*; -ˈtatas *palm of the hand*. In some cases my notation of vowels differs slightly from L.'s. This may partly be due to individual latitude

[1] V. § 6. b.

[2] Brother of Ali Madat, cf. Texts, p. II.

[3] Acc. to Abdullah: Buršugum.

[4] I had less difficulty in recognizing their aspirates and cerebrals than those of some Dardic dialects which I had the opportunity of hearing for a much longer time.

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of pronunciation, but I have no doubt that his forms are on the whole the more correct ones. Thus I have ˈalto[1] (aˑlto)[2] *two;* ˈaltar[3] (aˑltər) *twenty;* ˈnanamuts (nanamuts) *eyeball;* -ltumal (-ltumal) *ear;*[4] har (hər) *bull;* ˈhari (həri) *barley;* gäri (gəri) *pupil of the eye;* -šak (-šak) *arm;* sar (sər) *hare;* pharič (pfəriš) *duck;* biˈsarš (bisərš) *sickle;* yän (yan, yen) *handle;* iski (iˑski) *three;* ˈbatsiˑn (batsin) *thigh;* miˈšindo (mišiˑndo) hxy *six;* urk (uˑrk) *wolf;* -ˈsusun (-suˑsun) *elbow;* -lčumuts (-lčumuts) *eyes:* ˈhunzɛ (huˑnzɛ) *arrows;* ˈusko (usko) *three;* ˈtsundo (tsundo) *five;* ˈhunčo (hunčo) *nine;*[5] -ˈmulturäŋ (-multuraŋ) *nostrils;* joṭumuts (joˑtumuts) *small boy;* hurˈgaško (huˑrgas) *thick;*[6] -lpureŋ (-lpuˑraŋ) *eyebrows;* šɛl (šɛˑl) *avalanche.*

As far as my material goes I heard cerebrals in all words where they are given by L.

Thus: -yäṭis (-yæṭis, etc.) *head;* -mupuš (muˑpuš) *nose;* oˑṭis (-uṭis) *my foot;* aṣ (-aṣ) *my neck;* ˈḍoḍo (ḍoˑḍo) *throat;* ˈamiš, ˈgumiš (-amiš) *my, thy finger;* muč (=) *fist;* tišči (=) *span;* čiš (čiš) *hill;* biˈrenč (biranč) *mulberry(-tree);* baš (=) *bridge;* manč (manč) *adze;* haˈriš (hər̥iˑš/š) *spade;* ṭiˑŋen (ṭiŋan) *egg;* malˈtaš (=) *clarified butter;* šaˈpik (=) *bread:* ši- (ši-) '*to eat*'; -eṭär (-aṭer) *to.*

Besides these I heard a cerebral in čhur (čur) *knife;* šiˈkerk (širkərk) *yellow, brass;* buˈšäi (bušai.i) *field;* pešo (peˑšo) *pear;* juˑuˑ (ju) *apricot;* buˈšoˑšo (bušoˑšo) *calf;* ˈačo, goˑčo (-ačo) *my, thy brother;* šiˈqam (šiqam) *blue;* ṭiˑli (tiˑli) *walnut.*[7]

My notation of aspirates agrees with L.'s in khan *castle;* aˈphoi (for -phoˑiŋ?) *my shoulder;* -phiˑnišo *hair;* tham *king;* phu (phu, pfu) *fire;* phəti (pfətiŋ) *ashes,* etc. But I heard aspirates also in thas (tas) *smoke* and thalo (talo)[8] *seven.*

On the other hand I have rarely noted čh, čh: čap (čhap) *meat;* ˈhumo (čhumo) *fish;* čar (čhər, čər) *high hill;* čuˈmar (č(h)umər, etc.) *iron.*[9] But note the loan-word čhur (čur) *knife.*

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[1] With a deep *a.*

[2] Lorimer's forms are throughout given between brackets.

[3] First *a* palatal, second *a* velar.

[4] E.g. ˈaltumal *my ear;* ˈmiltumal *our ear;* ˈgusmu ˈmultumal *the woman's ear;* ˈoltalik ine ˈhiˑre ˈiltumaliŋ *both of this man's ears.*

[5] All three with advanced *ŭ.*

[6] In: ˈine ˈhiˑre buṭ hᵒ γuˈyaŋ biˈčan '*this man has very thick hair.*

[7] But cf. W. teˈle below p. XXIX. — "I now support all the forms given by you except ṭili". Lor. 2—4—1935.

[8] But cf. LSI., Bu. *thalo,* W. thale. — "*thas thalo* are said to be correct". Lor. 2-4-1935.

[9] L. W. čər, čumaˑr. — "QUB admits that the difference between *č* and *čh* and *ç* and *çh* are slight, and in pronouncing on them his reactions are usually much slower than in the case of other aspirates. I can hear no difference as a rule" Lor. 2—4—1935.

●114 I heard, with L., *q* in qar'qa·muts *hen;* ši'qam *blue;* siq *iron arrow-head*, a·qat (-akat, -aqat?) *my armpit*, but not in to'bak (tobaq) *gun*. My a'qhat *my mouth* corresponds to L.'s xat. but in a letter L. states that a variation between *x* and *qh* appears in several words, e.g. in xam, qham, kham *cooked vegetable*.

Corresponding to L.'s γ, γ.[1] I distinctly heard a voiced velar affricate in my Bu. informant's pronunciation of ˢγa·mo *ice;* ˢγe·niš *gold;* ˢγa'i·ŋg *grape;* ˢγi'i·n *thief;* ˢγaṭenč *sword:* L. γamu, γeniš, γai.iŋ, γi·n (gi·n),[2] γa'tenč.

In words ending in a vowel I generally heard a faint final aspiration: gyeh *snow;* bu'ah *cow;* yaʰ *bear;* saʰ *sun;* ameʰ *my tooth;* ja'meʰ *bow* (L. gye, bu·a, ya, sa, -me, -žame). But after an initial *h* I heard ha *house* (= L.).

The peculiar sound *y*, described by L. § 6, b, I heard as a kind of fricative retroflex r, which I have noted ṙ: baṙ *millet;* aṙa *my father:* baṙ, -uṙ. But it was, of course, impossible to determine the exact nature of this sound in the time at my disposal.

I noted a slightly palatal *n*, ŋ in han *one;* khan *castle;* gan *road;* and also in gaŋ'i *axe;* a'ŋ'i (*-ŋi) *my beard*.[3]

In ba·lᵗ *apple;* ha'talᵗ (hərałt) *cloud* the final *t* was weakened, possibly implosive. I heard no *y* in 'do·um (do.yum) *right* and γa·vum (γauyum) *left*.[4]

The *g* in 'ču·gudar (ču·γudər) *peach* is probably due to a mistake on my part.[5]

In W., also, my notation of vowels in some cases differs slightly from that of L. or of Zarubin. E.g. yaṭes *head;* -as *heart;* sende *river;* γendeš *gold;* 'hare *barley*, har *bull;* ha'γo·r *horse;* huk *dog;* buš *cat;* gan *road;* bu'ru·m *white;* ma'tu·m *black;* 'ba'rdum *red;* ha'lants *moon;* čar *cliff:* L. -yeṭis, -as, sind, γendiš, hərε, hər, haγur, hu·k, bu·š, gan, burum, matum, bar'dum, ha'lants, čər; Z. 'yaṭes, as, sende, —, hare, har, haγur, huk, buš, gan, bu·rum, ma'tum, bardum, halandz, —.

I heard cerebrals in 'yaṭes *head;* -hu·ṭes (L. hu·ṭis, hu·tis) *foot;* 'a·meš (L. -amiš) *my finger;* ṭi'ŋän (Z. ṭin'gan) *egg;* 'ačo, (L. ačo,

[1] Cf. § 6 c.
[2] "γaeiŋ and sometimes 'γi·in". Lor. 2—4—1935.
[3] Acc. to Lor. (2—4—1935) *-ŋgi (v. Gramm. p. 136) is a slip.
[4] "When there is u's and o's about *y* tends to sound to me as a corresponding w". Lor. 2—4—35.
[5] "QUB. says the word is definitely only ču·gudər, but I think I have heard -γ- too. Lor. 2—4—1935.

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ačo, Z. 'aču) *my brother;* iš'kark (L. ʒikərk, ši-, Z. iš'kark) *yellow,* and besides in γendeš *gold* (v. above): -muṣṭ (Z. mušt) *fist;* 'teščik (Z. 'teštik) 'span'; pha·riš *duck;* branš *mulberry* (both with a cerebral in Bu.); u·rk (Z. urk) *wolf;* čirč (Bu. čiš) *ladder;* 'aṇi· (Z. ni·) *my beard;* haγoṣṭ (L. Bu. haγuts) *hill.* 194

'ašciṇ (Z. 'ašting) *waist;* barts (L. bərč, Z. barč) *bridge;* bisarč (Bu. bi'sarč) *sickle;* šičam ba (L. šičam ba, Z. ʒičam, cf. Bu. ʒič-) *I am eating;* is'qam (L. iskam, Z. iš'qam, Bu. ʒi'qam) *blue* are probably misheard or miswritten forms.

Aspirates occur in a'phenas (Z. 'penas) *my hair;* a'pho·γonas (Bu. phoi) *my shoulder;* khan *fort;* tham *king;* thame-'ye' *prince;* 'pha·riš *duck.* No aspiration was heard in 'ču·mu *fish;* čap (= Z.) *meat,* ču'mar (L. čuma·r, Z. ču'mar) *iron.*[1]

Corresponding to Bu. ᵉγ- I heard γ in γa'iṇ *grape;* γe·n (Z. γen) *thief;* 'γendeš (L. γendiš) *gold;* γa'tenš (Z. γ/ya'tenj) *sword;* γa'mu (= Z.) *ice.*

No final ʰ was noted in gye (Z. gyē·) *snow; sa* (= Z., L.) *sun;* a'me (Z. mä) *tooth;* nya (= L., Z.) *bear;* ha (= L. Z.) *house.* But deʰ *village* from Prs. and 'bi·a' (L. bi.a, Z. bi'ya) *cow* with glottal stop. This sound was also noted in ba' (L., Z. ba) *millet,* corresponding to Bur. ṛ.

Z.'s velar ł (ł) I have only noted in a'hi·ł (Z. hił) *my lip.* Not in hal (Z. ha·ł) *fox;* te'le (Z. tełä) *walnut;* 'ta·lo (L. talɛ, Z. ta·'łu) *seven;* a'u·l (L. au.u·l, Z. awul/ł) *my belly.* It is quite probable that Z.'s Russian ear was able to distinguish different kinds of *l* better than L.'s or mine. On the other hand he may have been led astray by the lack of a "neutral" *l* in his own language. Before a surd I heard a voiceless *l*[2] in aḷto (L. alto; Z. ał'tan) *two;* aḷ'tambo (L. al'tambe, Z. ał'tambu) *eight;* 'waḷto (L. walt, Z. 'wałto) '*four*'; ha'raḷt (Z. harałt) *cloud;* ba·ḷt (Z. bałt)' *apple;* -ḷtumal (L. -ltumal, Z. 'tumał) *ear;* -ḷči (L. -lčin, Z. lči) *eye.* Z., too, has ordinary l in ha'lants (L. ha'lants, Z. halandz) *moon;* tu·l (= Z.) *snake.*

q was noted in 'paqo (L. pako, pʰa·ko پقو, Z. 'paku) *bread;* is'qam *blue* (v. above), qar'qa·muš (Z. qa·r'qamuš) *hen.*

I have yut (but Bur. L., Sh. jut) *grass;* ya, ʒa, (L. ja, Z. ʒa) *I, my,* in ya 'yates *my head,* y/ʒa· bap *my father,* y/ʒa 'pako 'šičam ba *I am eating bread.*

[1] Cf. above p. XXVII.
[2] Cf. § 503.

●194 Note also my ˈayumus (Z. ˈyungus, but Bu. -umus) *tongue.*

A few of the words given above have not been noted before, or only by Z. In order to corroborate the forms heard only by *one* previous observer I give also the other words in my list which are not included in L.'s vocabulary:

-muš *nose;* -xat *mouth:* -sesen *elbow;* ˈaken *liver;* sau *sand;* guʳ *wheat;* ˈgirkis *mouse;* sar *hare;* aˈyast *my sister;* all identical with Z.'s forms. -šak (Z. šakˈ) *arm;* -ˈuʳru (Z. ˈuru) *nail;* ˈirič (iʳrič) *kidney;* bap (Z. baʳp) *father;* yainži (ˈyanji) *water-mill;* daˈγom (Z. daˈγum) *flour.*

Göteborg, 30th November 1934.

Georg Morgenstierne.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

In a letter from Hunza of 18th Nov. 1934 Colonel Lorimer gives some additional information about some Bu. sounds, from which I quote the following passages: "I have now heard from QUB and one or two others in Aliabad initial 1) ˢγ- (going also into > gʸ- > g-), medial -γ- seems to remain plain spirant. 2) ᵏx- (or ᵍx-?). This QUB always says is "xe", x-, but I tend to record it as kh-. Medially, to both our minds it changes into -q- (*-xəras, ixəras *to cut up*, but ppc. niqər; xəraṭas *to stick, adhere*, but cs. *-ʌqəratas).

Then there is ph-, pf-, f- which is an instance of the same phenomenon. I haven't noticed any tendency to *w-* > ᵇ*w*, and there are no dental spirants".

[Ad p. XII, l. 12. — But cf. e. g. Luganda; v. BSOS. VII, p. 917. — Corr. note].

Göteborg, 18th January 1935.

Georg Morgenstierne.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The alphabetical order followed in the Vocabulary is as follows: 194

Vowels: *a*, *ʌ* and *æ*, *ai*, *au*, *e* and *ɛ*, *i* and *ɪ*, *o* (including *ɔ* and *ɔ̃*), *u* and *ʊ* (and *ü*).

Consonants: *b*, *ć* (including *ćh*, *ḉ* and *ḉh*), *d* and *ḍ*, *f*, *g*, *γ*, *h*, *j* and *ǰ*, *k* and *kh*, *x*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *p* (including *ph* and *pf*), *q*, *r*, *s*, *š* and *ṣ*, *t* (including *th*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*), *ts* and *tsh*. *w*, *y*, *ẓ* and *ž*.

An attempt was made to distinguish and separate *a* from *ʌ*, and *e* from *ɛ*. This I came to see was a mistake, but only when it was too late to rectify it, except in the Werchikwar Vocabulary, and in the Burushaski Vocabulary in the case of initial *e* and *ɛ*, which have been combined.

In many cases the differences between these sounds are accidental, due merely to stress, which may vary, and to other undiagnosed causes, and these variable sounds cannot be relegated to one category. In this connection see Professor Morgenstierne's remarks in his Preface, p. XX.

The alteration of some of these variable sounds in the course of revision necessitated the transference of a number of words in the Vocabulary. A few have been overlooked and are now out of their alphabetical place, e.g. *lʌlɛr*. Attention has been drawn to these in the Corrigenda.

While vowels were over-differentiated, certain types of consonants which should have been distinguished, were treated as one. Cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates ought to have been kept separate, but I was originally too uncertain about many of the sounds to be able to give effect to this principle. Now, however, the initial keyword represents, in almost every case, the form of the word considered correct by QUB.

Internally, some effort was made to rearrange groups of otherwise similar words according to the presence or absence in them of cerebrals and aspirates (e.g. the entries *dʌm* and *ḍʌm*, *dər* and *ḍər*), but at the stage then reached practical considerations necessitated the abandonment of this procedure, with the

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● 194 result that series of entries such as *tham*, *fam*, *tam*, *fham*, have remained unadjusted.

The following remarks on a few of the vowel sounds supplement what is stated in § 3.

ɔ, representing the sound of English *awe* may some times be heard in a few words as a variant of *o*, e.g. *ɣɔrči*.

ȯ occurring medially in some monosyllables appeared to me to be a short and advanced *o*.

ü I now believe to be *u* pronounced with spread lips and the tongue somewhat retracted owing to the neighbourhood of *y*. The point of articulation is probably in advance of that of *u*.

take photographs of the picturesque, abandoned Shiah mosque. It has been superseded by the New Assembly Hall in cut granite with pointed roof—an amazing achievement for local architects and masons, and one of which they are justly proud, but a dreadful eyesore in these surroundings and as uninspiring to an artistic eye as a Methodist chapel in a London suburb. Unfortunately it jostles the picturesque old mosque (whose entrance flight of steps is a delightful notched tree-trunk and whose flat roof bristles with a parapet of ibex horns), so that you can only see the older building squint-eye up or down a 3-foot lane. We pushed on and found ourselves emerging on a bluff covered with handsome graves. The Hunzukuts are too necessarily frugal to bury their dead on any ground that can be cultivated, so their graves usually stand on some barren hump that rises above the reach of irrigation water. Ordinary graves are just covered by flat slabs of concrete-like beaten earth, but more important folk have picturesque erections of varied shape to mark their last resting place. In theory all should no doubt be oriented in relation to Mecca, but in fact the graves face in whichever direction the site makes most convenient. We skirted round God's acre, re-entering the unappetizing labyrinth of desolate lanes, and presently came on a debris-strewn patch of ground whose houses had been dismantled (probably for their timber), and had fallen in. Here old Ferrájo had made a lathe-pit outside a rather handsome wooden door with a carved lintel. This had once led to his family's "town house," but now they lived out in Jamu, a suburb, as it were, of Aliábád. In its day, the warren of buildings to which he proudly pointed had boasted fifty-two "smokes." (A smoke represents a hearth-fire, and a hearth represents a household. In enquiring of a hamlet how many families it shelters, the correct phrase is: "How many smokes have you here?")

We begged Ferrájo to let us see him at work. He had, however, no wood in hand at the moment; chunks of root or cross-sections of willow trunks are the raw material of his bowls. But he let us inspect his pit—very similar in size and shape to a loom-pit—with the treadles and a leather belt passing three

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192 turn on," till you discover that it "diverts the flow of water" whether in one direction or another.

195 All technical terms, be they verbs or nouns, are capable of vivid metaphorical application, humorous and pointed when you are sufficiently *au courant* to appreciate the intended allusion. Such metaphorical uses are improvised as required with an originality and freshness that an American might envy.

A tiresome person may be "a wasps' nest" or "a painful disease," an over-strenuous worker "an earthquake," an only child "one torch-splinter," a loutish person "a pumpkin," an inexperienced fellow "a green apricot," a short-handled spoon "a tadpole," and so forth.

905 Clocks and watches are, of course, unknown where work is simply from dawn to dusk, yet the complicated exchanges of water at midnight or 3 a.m. are faultlessly concerted. Our day appointments would be defined "when the sun is one lance-length above the hill" or "when the first shadow falls on such and such a spot." Dádo had had experience of European time in some earlier service, and was thrilled to possess the watch that DL gave him. He used to come to the study every evening to set it by our little clock. He always held it upside down, and in order to compare it with ours (which was naturally right side up) he went through the oddest neck contortions to get his head upside down. But the idea of time had enslaved him; he was more rigorously and unforgivingly punctual than any servant we ever had, and it was impossible to bear the reproach in his eyes if we waited to wind up a paragraph after dinner was on the table. When I was typing in the dining-room he would appear at the door and say politely but firmly: "I must come to lay the table in another three minutes, Mother." Sometimes, just to tease him, I would say, "Well, you can't, for I'm going to finish this, and it will take at least ten minutes." "Oh, Mother *dear*, then dinner will be late!"

192 Burushaski has no expressions for East and West or North
823 and South except the learned words of Arabic; Hunza thought runs "up river" and "down river," "uphill and downhill." One day in describing a house I said, "You know So and So's,

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it is on the Dála." "No, no, it is on the Middle Channel." 192
For a moment I was puzzled, for the house, in fact, sat exactly [823]
on the upper bank of the Dála, but of course watered its fields and drew its water from the channel *above*: the essential fact to a Hunza mind.

Though their technical vocabulary is so exact, the Hunzukuts are only human, and occasionally like ourselves take refuge in "thingumabob," "what you may call it," and "bandobast." They have coined an invaluable word which for fun I wrote "Alice." I found it was quite in order to say: "We are nearly out of charcoal, tell Zaidu to do Alice," viz., to make the necessary arrangements for getting more, or "the Alices are coming, tell everyone to get the Alices," which would mean that the So and So's are coming, tell everyone to get ready whatever is necessary. I hoped to import "Alice" into my home-speech as maid of all work, but here she awakens thoughts of Wonderland and the Looking Glass and proves a plant too delicate to rear in another atmosphere.

The weather in Hunza also provides some entertaining idioms. It is natural to say "the rain is falling," but the Hunzukuts not illogically also say "the sun is falling", where we would say shining, and where we put a thing *in* the sun to dry he puts it *on* the sun, that is, on the patch of warm sunshine.

In the main, Burushaski is innocent of the elaborate circumlocutions of ceremonial speech in which Persian, for instance, is so rich. The humblest peasant addresses his King as "thou," but one foreign courtesy-word has crept in. One day I excused myself to the party of women amongst whom I was sitting by saying: "I must now go home. My husband will be ready to eat bread." "She has said 'my husband,'" they chuckled. "Well, isn't the Colonel Sahib my husband? What should I have said?" "You yourself should say 'my spouse' (*jama'at*) though we might say 'her husband.'" 195

After this I was careful in talking to man or woman, however humble, to enquire after the *jama'at* and not crudely after the wife or husband, and found that this was more acceptable. I

195 noticed, too, that when I asked: "Are you well?" the return question would sometimes be couched in the ungrammatical form: "Are your name well?" but this was chiefly used by the children as more respectful. I was told it would be unsuitable for me at my age to use to anyone, even to the King. Otherwise in Hunza spades are spades.

114 DL's original vocabulary (vol. iii of the book already alluded to) comprises some 3,000–4,000 words. From our first day with the Hunzukuts to our last, we were recording new words without ceasing, or registering new meanings for words we thought we knew. Far from having "completed" a vocabulary of Hunza Burushaski after a hard year's work DL felt he was just beginning it. Ten years more could have been profitably spent on the task if we had had them to spend. At least no language enthusiast can complain that the field is bare; there are ample gleanings left for him or her. A rich harvest indeed awaits the reaper—but labourers to date are few.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

115 hunting, polo — he did it with his might; manly, competent and fearless; a dynamic figure, not necessarily every man's friend. Since then he had visibly aged, but there was still about him something of the alert, dashing air of the born adventurer.

To return to the Texts: No. 4 was related by a then old man, 'Ali Madat of Baltit, who, I believe still survives, though perhaps no longer capable of repeating his effort of eleven years ago.[1] IYB's help was essential in recording this text.

Nazar of Aliabad supplied the version of the "Prodigal Son" given in No. 46 A. No. 47 was written out and sent to me by Gushpur Muhammad Ghani Khān, the son of the Mīr by a local, non-royal wife. He also was a man of vigour and ability who died quite young of some illness, four or five years ago.

The Proverbs were furnished to me in writing by 'Ināyat Ullāh Bēg, the second of the three sons of Wazir Humayun.

The Werchikwār Texts No.s 1 and 2 were obtained by me in Yasin from Hidāyat Shāh of Thui, and the translation of the "Prodigal Son" from Bahādur Amān Shāh of Yasin. In recording these I had the valuable help of Mēhtarzhau Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin.

538 One point of interest may be noted with regard to the Bur-
[565] shaski Texts, especially those containing local narrative. I have found, on reading out bits of them at random to several people here of the upper class, firstly that they appear readily to follow my rendering of the Burushaski, and secondly that they can habitually continue the statement at any point in almost the same
[195] words as the recorded text. This shows that, though there are no professional narrators in Hunza, with the possible, partial exception of Ali Madat, the ordinary people are in the habit of passing on tales and explanations of customs in a more or less
[173] stereotyped form of expression. This is probably the relic of a former custom of the upper classes of spending the evening after

[1] I have, since writing this, sought him out, and found him decrepit, but cheerful. Public opinion denies him any large measure of sympathy, as "he is not really old and has a number of sons who support him in comfort".

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

people, who had practically the monopoly of the necessary birch. Our crossing into Hunza was therefore assured, and I received civil enough letters from the Thum repeating his invitations. His epistolary style was always quaint and high-flown, and on this occasion, when welcoming me, he compared my party to "camels without nose-ropes uncontrolled," meaning by this that we were free to wander at our pleasure in all directions. In a former letter he had, with reference to the difficulty of supplying our party, compared us to elephants. On a later occasion he incidentally remarked that he proposed to send my head on a charger as a present to the Government of India: but there was a good deal to come before that.

Crossing a mile above Chalt the rope bridge over the Hunza river, which seemed the longest and steepest we had yet crossed, though that over the Gilgit river had a span of three hundred and sixty feet, we found ourselves in Nagar territory, the first Europeans who had ever penetrated its mysterious wilds. The bridge was a new one, fortunately for us, for they are very unsafe when old, and should be renewed annually. This involves a good deal of labour, as nine cables of twisted birch twigs of the necessary length, in this case some four hundred and fifty feet, have to be prepared. The people therefore often put off the work and chance the bridge lasting, and I have seen bridges three and four years old in use. This is horribly dangerous; the birch twigs dry and perish, and the ropes break suddenly. As a rule they do not go all together, and I have seen a bridge in use con-

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

101 THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India.
131 It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled
and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by
133 untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is
197 mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the
northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast.
But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to
join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging
to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can
be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human
habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of
rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain
people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting
language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other
known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative
philologist.

114 When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he
made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study
121 of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a
three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the
last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after
his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a
considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking
it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs,
agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

181 During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that
609 the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the
likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically
643 prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All
classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

113 * *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

114 of their words had for a scholar recognizable kinship with Sanskrit or Avestan roots. They might, in fact, be styled relatively "easy."

114 Burushaski was another matter. Here was, it would seem, a
197 language entirely unrelated to its neighbours, or to any other known form of human speech, alive or dead. If, as Sir George Grierson conjectured, it was the survival of an aboriginal language spoken perhaps over the whole of northern India before the Sanskrit-speaking Aryan invaders pushed their way southwards across the mountain barriers into India (some two or three centuries before Christ?), it had been driven ever further and further up into the inaccessible mountain valleys of the Karakoram, where it is preserved almost pure among the sturdy peasants of Hunza, somewhat contaminated by Shina amongst their Nagir neighbours across the river, and subject to independent development across the ranges in Yasin, where the peasant people speak what they call Burushaski, though the Khowar-speaking upper classes dub it Werchikwar.[1]

The fact that the structure of Burushaski is utterly non-Indogermanic, non-Semitic, non-Turkish, non-Mongolian, non-anything-known, and that—with the exception of a few Persian-Arabic loan words which have filtered in with the coming of Islam—its vocabulary is entirely its own, awaking no echoes in the mind to aid the memory, makes it a difficult language to tackle. Though British officers have been regularly associated with Hunza and Nagir since 1891, and less regularly for some years before, the only one who had attempted to work on it was that fine old sportsman, Colonel Biddulph—who had published in 1880 twenty-two octavo pages of grammar, our of sentences and texts, and twenty pages of vocabulary. Leitner, of the Educational Department, published a *Hunza and Nagyr Handbook* in 1889, which contains a considerable amount of material in unsystematic form. Both

[1] In the language of Chitral, -wár means "speech" and -ík "the people of a country." Their own language Kho-war is the "speech of the Kho people" and Werch-ik-war "the speech of the Weresh (= Burush) people," the earlier, if not necessarily aboriginal, dwellers in Yasin, at the time of the Chitrali conquests.

114 these pioneers deserve the greatest credit for their work, and
197 had to wait for forty years to find a successor. They had worked chiefly on the Nagir form of Burushàski, and had not, of course, distinguished the Shina elements in it, and they had to work wholly through interpreters, which accounts for much misunderstanding and inaccuracy. David therefore thought it wiser to start from scratch, as in the case of Shina and Khowar. Here, again, with infinitely greater labour, he amassed texts, notes, and vocabulary.

000 When we eventually bade a sad farewell to Gilgit in 1924 to go "on leave, pending retirement," we were comforted by knowing that we need not relapse into bath-chairs in Cheltenham or Camberley to bewail the good old times, the decay of the British Empire and the shortcomings of the young, nor to shout "koi hai?" to an unresponsive world, but had enough material in manuscript and typescript to keep us happily employed for the rest of our joint lives.

114 Incidentally David had snatched fleeting opportunities to
563 collect also some Wakhi material, though not on the same
197 scale as the other three languages. Wakhi is spoken in the higher levels of Hunza by immigrants from the Afghan territory of Wakhan, who have established themselves at the non-apricot-growing heights—often 10,000 feet and more—which the Hunzukuts proper consider barely habitable. Wakhi is a language of Persian descent, and was of particular interest to DL who, during many years in Persia, had made himself an authority on several unrecorded dialects of Modern Colloquial Persian, and while in Chitral had done what work he could on the Persian dialects of Madaglasht and Badakhshan.

326 son, and is accounted a rare treasure; but for the most part
177 local Béricho make such simple iron goods as are wanted: the
412 slightly convex baking-griddle, the tripod, the simple shears,
563 the sickle blade, the iron tip which shoes the wooden plough-share, the unpretentious iron razor, the rough tongs, the horse-shoe, the spatula for turning bread. The Béricho form the only "caste" in Hunza in anything like the Indian sense.

173 The story goes that long ago—two hundred years or so,
563 perhaps—some prince of Hunza rendered a service to the ruler of Baltistan, and was duly asked to name his recompense. He coveted neither gold nor horses, but begged for a few families of artisans. These were presented to him and allotted land in Hunza where they settled and multiplied, supplying the Burusho with blacksmiths for such rare iron as they could obtain, and with musicians to enliven their feasts and games of polo. These strangers in the midst are treated with courtesy and kindness, but remain "foreigners" and social inferiors. The Burusho will not intermarry with them. A threat to a troublesome daughter is said to be: "If you don't behave, I'll marry you to a Bérits"; but we never heard the threat employed,
[651] still less a case of its being carried out. Each Burusho household pays a small yearly tax to the Béricho community, and in return the blacksmiths tour the villages once or twice a year and make or mend whatever is required. You will see a little crowd gathered in the corner of someone's garden and in the centre the blacksmith crouching beside his simple forge—a few stones ingeniously built up to contain his charcoal fire, with a neat, hollow tube of soapstone below it, into which the bellows play; a stone anvil sunk in the ground; these accessories are provided on the spot and the blacksmith's outfit consists of his hammer and his skill. The bellows is a double one; two goat-skin bags are fitted with a nozzle at one end; at the other, two wooden lips that open as you raise your hand and meet tightly in your fist as you press down. They are worked with the right and left hand alternately, and the peasant whose job is in hand is expected to do the blowing.

563 The Béricho preserve their own customs, and though the
● 197 menfolk all talk Burushaski, Dumáki is the language of their

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

homes, and the women know no other. The existence of 563
this interesting language-island, within the language-island of 197
Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn.

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there 463
are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliábád there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master.

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above 286
us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo 487
of No. 7 and Ustád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin.

One day I had been sitting with one of Afiato's daughters- 531
in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking 192
the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with

DIGRESSION TO YASIN

There was no advantage in my also trying to slog at Werchikwar as we were not staying long enough to turn it to account. So we had decided beforehand that I could best employ working hours in trying to work out the major differences between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski which are perhaps too nearly identical to be styled separate dialects, but yet naturally show some distinctive variations. To this end we had borrowed from the Mir of Nagir a morganatic brother-in-law of some education, Ali Ausat by name, a young man about the same age as Qudrat Ullah, and annexed him—at a salary, of course.

The two had travelled together in our train since Aliábád with instructions to talk together about everything under heaven, and make notes of all the points, however trifling, in which their speech differed. While DL toiled away with Muslim in one room of the spacious rest-house, I set up my writing table in another, and got the two young men in to help me to set on record whatever observations they had made. Each day I suggested one set of things for them to work out together before the morrow—household utensils and field implements, irrigation terms, the vocabulary of relationship, etc., etc., and we then ran through their comparative lists with ample digressions whenever any point of interest challenged attention. It proved a most amusing game, and their good-humoured wrangles over which of two forms of expression was the more classical Burushaski were a constant amusement to all three of us. I hope it will prove that we covered most of the vital points; it is for DL to work out the material in due course.

Superficially the main items that leaped to the eye (or ear) were: first, that the Nagir vocabulary has been far more deeply interpenetrated—or corrupted—by Shina than Hunza Burushaski, but that on the other hand Nagir has been more conservative in preserving full verbal forms and un-telescoped vowel sounds. Nagir preferring, as it were, "I shall" to "I'll," "he does not" to "he doesn't," "we will not" to "we won't," and the like. The differences, however, between the Hunza and Nagir speech proved (as we already knew) to be trifling compared with those between Hunza Burushaski and

197 Werchikwar, where the two forms constitute different and independent dialects. It was, however, extremely interesting to find that in some important points Werchikwar and Nagiri were closer than Werchikwar and Hunza Burushaski. Since there are no historical records of Burushaski a hundred or two hundred years ago—what would we not give for them!—these dialectal variations are doubly valuable to anyone attempting to understand the direction in which the language has developed and is developing.

After strenuous mornings at these tasks, we spent the afternoons exploring the country on foot or on pony back, and getting what contacts we could with the people. Just behind the bungalow we succeeded after some hunting in re-finding the boulder on which the carved initials "W.H. '70" form a humble memorial to the luckless Hayward who was murdered by his treacherous Yasin hosts. Newbolt's fine poem "He Fell Among Thieves" gives the poetical version of his death. The prose one seems to be that by the somewhat indiscreet display of gifts which he had with him (intended for bestowal on chieftains in Chitral whither he was bound) he excited the cupidity of the Yasini Chief, who could not bear to see these treasures carried beyond his borders. Human life was held of little account in these regions before the coming of the Pax Britannica, and the obvious thing was to murder the gift-laden guest and annex the spoil. Hayward's tent was therefore quietly surrounded. He realized his danger, and sat on his camp bed, revolver in hand, and loaded rifle by his side, determined to sell his life as dear as might be. But the plunderers had no mind to take unnecessary risks. They bided their time till he grew drowsy from fatigue, cut the tent-ropes, and murdered him at their convenience like a rat caught in a trap, without speechifyings on either side. A tragic, sorry tale.

Yasin houses tend to be grouped in fives and sixes within a walled enclosure. We halted to admire some carving on a wooden lintel, and the owner of the house, Arab Khan, forthwith invited us to come straight in and see some better carvings inside. This gave us a wonderful chance to see a Yasin interior just as it is in normal life. Cows, calves, hens, and

126 entered everywhere. There were no landmarks: every house was a rough replica of every other and not certainly identifiable from any distance, every poplar tree which from one point of vantage stood out in splendid isolation immediately fell into line with a dozen others when you walked a hundred yards. The whole habitable country was tilted at an angle of 45 or 50 degrees, and seamed with sunken rock-ravines; the river was perennially invisible in its gorge; tracks and water-courses were sunk between high walls, and not to be divined unless you were actually in them out of sight of everything: a heartbreaking, leg-exhausting task, the sketch map that DL coveted.

A second important task was an enquiry into matters of revenue and taxation. To have questioned the peasantry, except very casually and incidentally, would again have been to excite curiosity as to ulterior motives—the non-existence of which might well have seemed incredible—though we did manage to accumulate a good deal of information that was invaluable as corroborative material. The only way to get coherent information was to approach the Mir direct and beg permission to enlist the assistance of Prince Jamál Khán, now his grandfather's right hand in administrative matters, and then try to keep the boy's untrained attention from wandering off the point at issue.

000 All the while book-boxes had to be gradually packed and top-dressed with lighter material so as to make manageable loads, new boxes had to be conjured out of old to take the curious and unwieldy articles—from bows to winnowing forks—ultimately destined for some museum. The contents of each box had to be inventoried in detail, for Customs purposes as well as for our own reference, then strongly wired, then painted with name and numbers. Dádo and the rest helped manfully over all such tasks as they could tackle, but much could be done only by DL or by myself.

● 197 Finally there was one blind spot of language which cried
563 out for—and got—attention, the Dumáki spoken by the alien Béricho, that minute language-island within the larger language-island of Burushaski itself.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

193 of the Pronominal Prefix to the Past Participle Active[1], and the use of finite verbal forms with case suffixes.[2]

601 One detail regarding the vocabulary deserves special notice. The word -ACO denotes both '*a man's brother*' and *a woman's sister*. The German translation would be *Geschwister von demselben Geschlecht*. A similar conception is found in the word -rik *wife's brother*, *husband's sister*, (*a woman's*[3]) *brother's wife*, (*a man's*) *sister's husband* (but not *wife's sister* or *husband's brother*). Apparently this word denotes *a brother- or sister-in-law belonging to the same sex as the person in relation to whom he or she is mentioned*. Note that *woman's brother* (-ulus) and *man's sister* (-YAS) are denoted by separate words.

I have not met with this curious nomenclature in other languages, and I do not know to what kind of special structure of the family group it may originally have been due.

● 197 If we turn to the important question of the genealogical relations between Bu. and other languages, we are faced by great, perhaps insurmountable difficulties, *inter alia* because we possess no ancient records of the language and have only the closely related Werchikwar dialect to compare it with.

One fact, however, seems quite certain and indisputable: Bu. is not related to any of the surrounding Indo-Iranian, Turkish or Tibetan languages.

If we exclude A. Hyde's claim that Bu.[4] has a Siberio-Nubian origin, the first attempt to determine the position of Bu. was made by Ph. L. Barbour[5] who suggested the possibility of a connection with the Muṇḍa languages (Santali etc.). In spite of the great anthropological difference between Burusho and Muṇḍas this hypo-

[1] § 326.
[2] § 407.
[3] Cf. Texts, p. 364.8 where ɜrikmo *my brother's wife* is said by a girl.
[4] Indian Antiquary, I, 258 (quoted LSI, VIII, 2, 551).
[5] JAOS, 1921, p. 60 sqq.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

thesis is not *a priori* inadmissible, considering the fact that Muṇḍa influence has been traced in Tibeto-Burman dialects far towards the North-West. But the specific accordances between Bu. and Muṇḍa are so insignificant that Barbour himself concludes with a *non liquet*. 197

Trombetti's attempts to compare Bu. with Dravidian and Andamanese [1] are not accessible to me, but I have not been able to detect any similarities between Bu. and Dravidian.

It was only natural that attempts should be made to connect Bu. with the Caucasian languages, or more correctly, with one of the linguistic families belonging to Caucasia. There is nothing improbable in the idea that languages of a Caucasian type should have extended eastwards through Iran before the advent of the Aryans, and that a remnant of them should have been pushed up into the uppermost valleys of the Indus system. There can be no doubt that Bu. was formerly current over a larger territory than at present. But we must remember that in any case the connection between Bu. and Caucasian must have been cut off several thousand years ago, and that, consequently, we cannot expect the relationship, if there ever was one, to show very clearly.

Marr [2] has expressed his opinion that Bu. belongs to the "Japhetitic" group among which he includes the Caucasian languages also, but, as far as I am aware, he has not yet tried to prove this in detail, so I need not discuss his theories. Zarubin [3] simply accepts this thesis and claims a typological affinity between Bu., Dravidian, Muṇḍa and Abkhaz.

The most interesting, and I believe most recent attempt to compare Bu. and Caucasian has been made by R. Bleichsteiner [4] who,

[1] Le Origine della Lingua Basca p. 12, Elementa di Glottologia p. 63, quoted from Bleichsteiner (v. below) p. 292.

[2] Яфетический Кавказ, p. 36.

[3] Вершикское наречие Канджутского языка, p. 314.

[4] Die werschikisch-burischkische Sprache im Pamir-gebiet und ihre Stellung zu den Japhetitensprachen des Kaukasus, Wiener Beitr. z. Kulturgeschichte u. Linguistik, I, 289—331.

● 197 accepting Marr's views, deals with the subject in some detail and enumerates a long list of Bu.-Cauc. accordances.

The great number of Cauc. languages and their extreme variety may in one way be said to render his undertaking comparatively easy. On the other hand the same circumstances undoubtedly detract considerably from the value of the conclusions drawn from a comparison between Bu. and words and forms culled from the Cauc. languages in their modern form. Possessing only a most superficial knowledge of Cauc. languages I shall not endeavour to discuss all the points raised by Bleichsteiner, but it may be useful to consider a number of the most important ones in order to gain an impression of the tenability of his thesis. I shall try to give a fair selection of his arguments and not to leave out any of his best points.

It must be remembered that the Bu. and W. material which Bleichsteiner had at his disposal was far from exhaustive and not always correct.

I shall deal with Bleichsteiner's comparisons in the same order in which he presents them.

Phonology. The similarities between the phonetic systems of Bu. (including W.) and Cauc. mentioned by Bl. are very vague and of little interest. This does not, however, disprove relationship. Nobody could find out from the phonetic systems of Modern Irish and Bengali that these languages belong to the same family.

197
194

There is, however, one apparent phonetic accordance between Bu. and certain N.E. Cauc. dialects. Acc. to L.[1] we find in Bu.-W. a curious change of 'initial voiced sounds to their voiceless counterparts when they become medial', e.g. W. buᵗtu *day:* he-puᵗtu *to-morrow.* Bl., p. 296, connects this change with that of a *final* media into a tenuis before a suffix, e.g. in Kürin rab *needle:* pl. rapini. I had also been struck by this parallel, but further consideration made me doubtful of its significance. In the first instance the Bu. change affects an *initial*, the Cauc. a *final* consonant. Then, as pointed out by L., Bu. often renders a foreign initial

[1] § 10.

tenuis by a media in loan-words. Thus Bu. ba
a *turban* < Shina paṣo; Bu. gu'pas, W. γu'pas (Leitner kupásya) *cotton* (*thread*) < Indo-Aryan, cf. Skr. karpāsa; Bu. gi'li *peg* < Shina ki'li, etc. Probably Bu.-W. initial surds have become voiced in certain, as yet unknown, circumstances.[1] This change has taken place late enough to affect even loan-words, and cannot go back to a common Bu.-Cauc. period.

Morphology. I. Nominal Classes. The Bu.-W. system of nominal classes is undoubtedly in general accordance with that of several N.E. Cauc. languages. I admit that I have always been impressed by the similarity in this respect between Bu. and Andi, which together with some other Daghestan languages has four classes: 1) m., 2) f., 3) animals and some dead objects, 4) all the rest.[2]

But we must not forget: a) That similar systems of classification appear in other languages as well. b) That it has not as yet been shown that the 4th class of Andi etc. is based upon the same conception as the Bu. y. class.[3] c) That other N.E. Cauc. languages have up to eight classes and that we are not in a position to assert that the four-class system in the original one. d) That the formation of the classes and their use differs, as admitted by Bl., considerably in Bu.-W. and Cauc. The similarity between the *t* in Bu. gu-tɛ *this* (y.) and the *t'* in Archin ya-t' *this* (4th class)[4], has very little significance in view of the great number of varying class-elements in Cauc. which differ altogether from those in Bu.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the existence of nominal class-systems in Bu. and Cauc. cannot be taken as more than an indication of the *possibility* of relationship.

II. The parallelism between the use of possessive prefixes in Bu.-W. and N.W. Cauc. is less striking than that mentioned

[1] Cf. also ki'-nɛ h. *this*: gu-sɛ x., gu-tɛ y. — But note tiẓči *span* < diṣti- (v. below p. XXIII!)

[2] Cf. Bl., p. 299, Dirr., Einführ. in die kauk. Spr. p. 183.

[3] Жирков, Грамматика Даргинского языка does not give any information on this point.

[4] Including, *inter alia*, sexually immature animate beings — a conception unknown to Bu.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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above[1] between Bu. and Melanesian. Bl. mentions the 'remarkable identity between Bu. 3 sg. i- and Cherkhess ji-, Abkhas j-[2] but forgets to mention Ubykh gi- which points to a different origin of the Cherkh. and Abkh. forms.

III. The number of plural suffixes in Bu.-W. is very considerable[3]. It seems reasonable to assume that many of them have been converted to this use at a comparatively recent date, and the similarity which Bl. detects between Bu. -a, -i[4], -ik, -ko, -nts, etc. and Akhwakh -a, Chechen -i, Abkhaz -k'ua, -cwa[5] is not very impressive.

IV. Declension. The use of a special Agential case for the subject of a transitive verb is common in Cauc. In Bu. it is the rule when the verb is in a past-base tense, and it is found occasionally with present-base tenses.[6] The construction of the transitive verb varies, however, very much in the Cauc. languages[7] and in most cases it is passive in contradistinction to Bu. In Shina, where the construction is very similar to that of Bu., it may be due to the influence of a Bu. substratum, but this cannot be the case with Tibetan. Moreover, we must remember that a passive construction of the past tenses with the subject in the agential case is also used in most Indo-Iranian languages. I do not think, therefore, that the partial agreement between Bu. and Cauc. in this respect affords any strong indication of relationship.

The phonetic similarity between the Bu. agential ending -e and the -ē, -iē, -a, -o etc. of certain Cauc. languages may easily be accidental.

V. The Adjective. The expression of the comparative by the formular 'x is big *from* y' is common to very many languages besides Bu. and N. E. Cauc.

[1] V. p. X.
[2] Bleichsteiner's j = our y.
[3] §§ 27 sqq.
[4] Only in hiri *men*.
[5] Only of rational beings.
[6] § 60.
[7] V. Dirr., pp. 62—76.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

I cannot perceive any striking similarity between the Bu.-W. type šika-m *grass-ish*, i.e. *green* and Mingrelian čil-am-i '*married* (man)' from čil-i *wife*. 193 197 [802]

VI. Numerals. The vigesimal system is used in Bu. and in most Cauc. languages, but also in a great number of other languages, e.g. in N. W. India, and it cannot be used to prove genealogical relationship.

VII. Pronouns. Bl. compares the Bu. pronouns with Cauc. ones. Opening, at random, a grammar of the West African Ewe language, I cannot help thinking that one might make out as strong a case for comparing the pronouns of this language with Bu. Cf.:

	Bu.	Udic	Kürin.	Tsakhur	Awar	Ewe
I	jɛ[1]	zu	zun	zə	dun	nye
Thou	uŋ, gu-[2]	un	wun	γu	mun	wo[2]
We	mi	yan	čun	:ši	nit:	miawo (Abure ame).
You	ma	wàn	k'uŋ	šu	nuł	mía („ ama).
He, etc.	i- (nɛ etc.)	šeno	am(a)	man(a)	doŋ	(y)e.
They	uɛ	šonor	àbar	manbo	dol	wo.
Who?	amin	šu	ha-:šu-nä			ame ka.

VIII. The Verb. Bl.'s comparison of the Bu. infinitive in -as, (which is a noun taking case suffixes) to the datival form in -as, -es of some Daghestan languages is not convincing.

Somewhat more striking is the accordance between Bu. n- which forms the Past Ptc. and Georgian na-, used in the same way. But we must remember, that the odds are greatly in favour of finding some elements resembling those of Bu. among the heterogenous mass of Cauc. languages, between whose different groups the relationship has yet to be established.

An objective conjugation is found both in Bu. and in S. Cauc. (Georgian). I know nothing about the history of the Georgian forms in question, but the addition of an element denoting the object is

[1] Which might easily be derived from a conjectural *nji. — I agree with Bl. that there is no reason to derive the Bu.-W. forms — with Zarubin — from Ir.

[2] Which might be derived from *(u)gu, cf. N. Chinese g- > w-.

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common to so many languages that is does not prove any genealogical relationship.[1] In Bu., with its pronominal prefixes, the development of an objective conjugation is only to be expected.

The pl. forms of the Bu. pronominal prefixes are, of course, used to denote a plurality of objects. This has certainly nothing to do with the Abkhaz constructions of the type i-s-bl-neit *I burn it* (*: it- I burn-ing*): i-s-bal-k'-neit *I burn several things*, where *i-* is the pronominal prefix denoting the object.[2]

An interrogative particle -a, -e is found in most Indian and Ir. languages adjoining Bu. It might, of course, be considered to be of Bu. origin, but this is by no means certain, and the similarity to the -a, -ē of some Canc. dialects may easily be accidental.

Vocabulary. Still more dangerous than the comparison between structural and inflexional elements in Bu. and one or other of the numerous Canc. languages is the search for lexicological correspondences at the present state of our knowledge of Canc. If we have to reject most of the comparisons proposed by Bl., it does not mean that they are all necessarily wrong. It is quite conceivable that one may at some future date be able to sift them, and that some of them may, after all, prove to be correct.

But at any rate it will be necessary to apply other methods than those borrowed by Bl. from Marr. The derivation of Bu. huk *dog* from *hoγor in order to compare Budukh ɲor, Awar hoj, Mingrelian ɲoγori, Sumerian ur, etc., and the association of this group of words with Bu. hal *fox* is only too typical of Bl.'s methods.

Bu. har *bull*, hare *barley*, herča *to weep*, huk *dog* are compared with Mingrelian ɲoji, k'eri, n-gara-gara and ɲoγori, and huk *dog*, huyēs *herd of goats*, hu'ās *boy*, huṭes *foot* with Awar hoj, k'uj (*sheep*), 'oloqan (*young bull*) and ɲeṭe, without any attempt to establish any system of regular phonetic correspondences between Bu. and the Canc. language in question.

[1] Cf. e.g. Pashai (Indo-Aryan) degg-ey-ām '*I see thee*', digg-im-ai *thou seest me*, etc.

[2] Note that the Abkhaz pers. prefix 3 pl. is r-, not k'-.

Moreover several obviously Indian or Iranian loan-words in Bu. are used to demonstrate the relationship with Cauc. 197 114

On the whole, most of Bl.'s comparisons are unsatisfactory and are based on a slight and illusive similarity of sound. Cases like Bu. girkis *rat:* Karata herḳwa, Awar hinru, Varkua qurka; Bu. tatas *palm of the hand:* Georg. t'ot'i *paw*[1]; Bu. čumu (Shina činu) *fish:* Mingrelian čḫomu etc. are not sufficient evidence for us to build far-reaching conclusions on. Some kind of connection is perhaps possible between Bu. biči̇l *pomegranate:* Georg brec'ouli[2]; Bu. tili *walnut:* Georg. t'ḫili; Bu. šoγori *a kind of pear:* Budukh čüγür, Tabass. šeḫer[3], but such words may easily wander from one language to another.

I do not think that Bl. has succeeded in proving the probability of a relationship between Bu. and Cauc., and I very much doubt whether it is possible to prove anything of that kind at present. But the whole problem will certainly deserve a renewed and methodical consideration when the Cauc. languages and the connection between their different groups have become better known. And if we ever succeed in connecting Bu. with some other group of languages, it will be of the greatest importance for our understanding of the early history of Western Asia.

Our chances of ever being able to reconstruct older forms of Bu. either by comparisons with W. or by means of internal evidence in Bu. itself are not very promising. 197 195

Only in very rare cases is it possible to employ the latter method. We have mentioned above[4] that initial mediae may go back to older tenues.

Another case where a reconstruction seems possible is that of the pl. suffix -o.[5] Before this suffix certain consonants are palata-

[1] "Cf. Bur. *t'o't'o paw". Lorimer 2—4—1935.

[2] Acc. to Bl. himself this comparison is 'zweifelhaft'.

[3] Taken from Erckert's not very reliable material.

[4] p. XV.

[5] pp. 26 sqq.

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lised, n into y, ts into č, s into š. This seems to indicate that the original form was *-yo, which may have been preserved in γaiyo, pl. of γa *cross*.

Somewhat more doubtful is the supposition of a formative *-y- in the present base of verbs on the evidence of the change of n > y, k and s > š, ts > č, t > č, š, l > lj[1] in Bu. and W. It this is the case, the regular pres. base in -ič- must be a secondary, analogical formation.

Regarding the change of ny > y cf. Bu. ya: W. nya *bear*. But in internal position we have also W. ny > y, e.g. in šakuyu *asses* from šakun.

It is tempting to suppose that a·ltan, a·lta *two* and a·ltambo *eight*, wa·lto *four* are somehow or other related. a·ltar *twenty* must evidently be connected with a·lta, but it is quite uncertain whether it ought to be analysed as alt + tar, cf. to·r-umo *ten*. The similar ending of tsundo *five* and mıši·ndo *six* may be due to a secondary adaptation. The 'Ablaut' in hin h., hik z.: han x., y. *one*, and the 'Umlaut' in usko x., y.: i·ski z. *three*; tsundo h., x., y.: taindı z. *five;* to·rumo: to·rimi *ten* are too isolated to render possible any explanation. Cf. also, however, etimi *he made*, etc.: etumo *she made*, possibly from *etum-i, *etum-mo.

As mentioned above, Nagir Bu. di·la *it is* (y.) di·lum it was (y.), W. du·wa, dułum are more original forms than Hunza bila, bi·lum.

Nor does the comparison between Bu. and W. carry us much further. Some of the phonetic differences between the two dialects have been pointed out by L.[2] But it appears impossible to reduce them to any fixed rules, and in most cases we cannot guess which form is the more archaic one.

This is the case with Bu. mıši·ndo, W. bıši·ndo *five*, and with the words where a long vowel appears in W.

W. iako *three*, tahendo *five* have probably got their palatal vowel

[1] V. § 210.
[2] §§ 501 sqq.

from the ɪ. forms[1], and Bu. -susun *elbow*, bu'a[b][2] *cow* may also be more original than W. -sesen, 'bi·a'. 193 197

In some cases a group of consonants seems to have been better preserved in W.: Cf. W. ʒyast *my sister;* yainĭi *watermill;* γendeš *gold;* nya *bear* with Bu. ayas, yäin, gγeniš, ya. But notice W. hučo (L. huti) *wine:* Bu. 'hunčo. Bu. gγ- (acc. to my informant) may or may not be older than L.'s Bu. and W. γ-. For other details see below.

That biranč *mulberry*, W. branš derives from an older form *mranč < *mrač is proved by Kho. mrač, from which the Bu.-W. word is evidently borrowed.

But apart from such stray cases the reconstruction of older forms through internal comparison appears to have poor chances of success.

A great number of words are common to Bu. and Shina, and to some extent also to Khowar. When the vocabularies of Shina and the adjoining Indo-Aryan dialects have become better known, it may be possible to distinguish to some extent between words of Aryan and of Bu. origin, and this will be of importance for the history of the Indo-Aryan languages as well. Khowar, however, appears to contain a number of words which cannot at present be traced either to an Indian, Iranian or Bu. source. 192 197

Grierson has pointed out that the word for *iron* in the Dardic and Kafir dialects (Kho. čumur, etc.) is probably borrowed from Bu. čumar. This may very well be the case, but it is, of course, possible that the ultimate source of the word, which is probably connected also with Turkish timur, temir, may be some unknown language. Note, however, that Bu. has also an apparently genuine word for *gold* (γeniš), and it is by no means impossible that the pre-Aryan population of the Hindu Kush region, of which the Burusho are the last relic, may have known the use of some metals.[3]

[1] V. above p. XX.

[2] Acc. to Lor. (2—4—1935) bu'a(·) is the gen. of 'bua, bua.

[3] It is a curious fact that Bu. girmi- *to write* is genuine, and yet cannot be derived from any known Bu. word. The similarity to Arm. gir *writing*, Finn. kirja *book* must, however, be accidental, and it is improbable that a word with this meaning would go back to very remote antiquity.

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L.[1] mentions a few Shina words which are suspected of being borrowed from Bu. Very probably Bu. has exerted a very considerable influence on the vocabulary of Shina, but at present it is in many cases impossible to tell to which of the two languages a certain word originally belongs. **ɟakun**, jakun *ass*, which is found only in Bu. and Shina, while derivatives of Skr. khara- and gardabha- are used in other Dardic dialects, has evidently been borrowed from Bu.[2] And Bu. γamu, γyamo[3] *ice* is certainly the source of Gilgit Shina gamuk, corresponding in meaning to *snow* in those Shina dialects which are further removed from the Bu. speaking territory.

Similarly the Bu. verb biaurkas *to cut corn* shows that Bu. biaṛt, W. biaṛt *sickle* is the source of Shina biaṛt. It is also probable that some Shina words with initial γ- have been borrowed from the corresponding Bu. ones, and the same applies to a great many other Shina words of un-Aryan appearance.

On the other hand the number of Shina words in Bu. is certainly very great, as may be seen from the Voc., and W. contains some loan-words from Khowar.

Some of these loan-words in Bu. are of special interest because they are not found in modern Shina, at any rate not in the published material, or because they have preserved older sounds, or meanings.

Such words are e.g. Bu. sinda *river*: Sh. sin[4]; aiyai *sky*: Sh. agai < Skr. ākāśa-. Reg. Bu. γurpas, W. γuṛpas *cotton* v. above. — Bu. giram, giraṛm *close, village* is not found with this meaning in Shina[5]. Nagiri Bu. γaγurm, W. γaγrum *hot* (Hunza Bu., with a curious reduplication, γaγurrum!) seems also to have been taken over from Shina at a time when γirom *perspiration* had preserved a more general meaning. Bu. mcṛ *skin-bag* has retained the -ṛ-

[1] P. L.

[2] Cf. Grierson, LSI. VIII. 2.

[3] With the peculiar Bu. γ-, see below.

[4] But Bu. barundo *finger-ring* may be the source of Sh. baruna, which has passed through the Sh. change of nd > n.

[5] But cf. Sh. giroṛm *compass*, v. Voc. s.v. giraṛm[1].

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which would have been lost in a modern Sh. word, and also a very ancient meaning of the word.[1] Bu. tiṣṣi, (cf. Skr. diṣṭi-). W. teṣṣik, teṣṣik *eyes* may have been borrowed from an older form of Sh. dṛṣ, cf. Kho. diṣṭ. Bu. *-phori(a) *shoulder* cannot have been borrowed from modern Sh. pyō-lo or Kho. phi-u, etc.

If Bu. bada *pace, step, sole (of foot or hoof)* is borrowed from a form corresponding to Skr. padá- *step, footprint foot*, etc.[2], as I think is likely, this would indicate a very early contact between Bu. and Indo-Aryan.[3]

Very curious is the relation between the initial consonants in Bu. pfuri *pond*, pfuriś *duck* and Sh. buri, bavroś, especially as we do not know the origin of the words.

It is noteworthy that the phonetic system of Bu. agrees so closely with that of Shina and of the Indo-Aryan languages in general — that Bu. should e.g. distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated tenues, between cerebrals[4], dentals and palatals. Did Bu. originally possess aspirates and cerebrals, or did they come into the language through the influence of Indo-Aryan?[5] Bu. pf as a variant of ph is, of course, of Shina origin.

The morphological parallels between Bu. and Shina are also numerous and important.[6] Some of them exhibit traits not shared by Shina with the adjoining I.-A. dialects, and it is quite conceivable that Bu., the ancient language of at least a large part of the Shina country, influenced the speech of the invaders; in other words that Shina developed on a Bu. substratum. But, of çourse, morphological influence may also have worked the other way. — Cf. also the possible trace of Khowar influence on W. forms mentioned by L. § 536.

[1] Cf. Skr. meṣa- *sheep, fleece*, but Slav. mĕxŭ, etc. 'skin-bag', Lith. maiŠas *bag*

[2] Reg. b- for p cf. Bu. gil *pay* < Sh. kil etc., see above.

[3] The similarity of Bu. -akin, pl. -akimiq *liver* to Skr. yakṛ- must, of course, be considered accidental.

[4] Including *ṭ* and *ḍ*, as in Shina.

[5] Cf. the secondary development of cerebrals in Tibetan, Wakhi, etc.

[6] V. p. LI.

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L. is quite right in maintaining that Wakhi, the Iranian neighbour of Bu. has not made 'any general impression on it'[1]. Some loan-words from Wakhi do, however, occur. L. in his Voc., has noted war *ram* and ruš *Ovis Poli* from Wakhi waʀ, ruš. To these words may be added buʿi *scapula, shovel* < *puʿi, from an older(?) form of Wakhi peʿi *wooden shovel*, and sap *horse-shoe* (cf. Kho. sapuk *hoof*) from Wakhi **sap* < Av *safa-*. As I shall try to show elsewhere Ir. *f* seems to have resulted in *p* in Wakhi I am also inclined to believe that the present base -werč- *to become tired* is borrowed from Wakhi werč- (< *ava-rič-), and that the past base -war is a back-formation. Wakhi watsiʿ, wuʿts agrees with W. wets *calf*, but it is doubtful whether this is a true Wakhi word. Bu. uʿrk, urk *wolf* may come from Ishkashmi urk, or from a lost Wakhi form.

Several Bu. words seem to belong to some Iranian dialect which cannot be accurately determined.

Thus mal *wine* points to an Ir. dialect which, like Munji and Yidgha, has *l* for original *d* (cf. Av. maδu-), and the same is true of laman *skirt*, -lamat *lap, front*, (var: -laʿmat *skirt of choga*). The varying forms render it improbable that what we have here is simply Paht. laman, borrowed through Shina, which has laban, with dissimilation.

On the other hand we find W. veʿri *smell*, which it is tempting to derive from Ir. *βēδi < *baudya-. Cf. Kho. woʿr < *βōδ.

γoro *stone* may be of Ir. origin, and likewise W. xork *grass*, Bu. xurk *broken straw*, while W. detk *manure* is compared by Zarubin with Ishk. wūḍé. And finally we have guštuʿr *a prince*, a word common to Bu. and Shina, which one would like to derive from a middle Ir. dialect form of an ancient *wisya-puθra-.

I have not been able to detect any influence of Bu. on the Iranian dialects of Pamir.

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[1] It may be noted here that Bu. brsa *rice* is probably of Tibetan origin (bras).

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In §§ 1 sqq. L. explains his notation of Bu. and W. sounds; and he does not claim a perfection which is unattainable when making the first serious attempt to describe a new and strange language. 194 197

The difficulty does not consist merely in recording the sounds actually heard, but also in distinguishing between essential "phonological" differences and variations within the range of a single phoneme and in detecting the system of phonemes. This is specially hard in the case of the vowels. L. has done wisely in giving his impression of the sound-varieties heard in each case, and I shall not make a premature attempt to establish the phonological system of Bu. vowels.

To a certain extent it seems possible, however, with the abundant material and the descriptions of the sounds given by L., to distinguish the vowel phonemes from the variations due to the position in the word or to the individual speaker.

Thus *a*, ʌ and *ə* seem to be variants of the *a*- phoneme, *ə* appearing especially before *r* (e.g. fər, gər, hər). The vacillation between ʌ and *aʳ* e.g. in giram, giraʳm *clan, village*, gupaltiṇ, gupaʳltiṇ *trousers* and the rendering of Prs. baʳdaʳm *almond* by badam would seem to indicate that they, too, are variants of the same phoneme. But on the other hand the difference is significant e.g. in gaʳn *a crow* (=ga+ʌn): gʌn, gan *road;* gaʳr *giddiness:* gər *marriage;* gaʳl *wound:* gʌl *juniper;* giraʳn *dear:* giran *basket*, etc. It is possible that some speakers distinguish between an *a* and an *aʳ* phoneme, others not.

It is more doubtful whether *i* and *iʳ*, *u* and *uʳ* are to be classed as separate phonemes. Cf. e.g. hir, hiʳr *man*, hirum, hiʳrum *active*, giram, giʳram, etc. *village*, gili, giʳli *peg*, hurgo, huʳrgo *ascent*, hoʳlguš, hoʳlguʳš *battle*, gunta: guʳnta *day*, etc. Probably there is only one *i* and one *u* phoneme. The same applies to *e: eʳ* and *o: oʳ*.

Probably *e*(ʳ) and ɛ(ʳ) are also variants of the same phoneme, cf. γeʳniš and γɛʳniš *queen;* g(y)e, g(y)ɛ *snow;* heʳras, hɛras *to weep;* deʳk, dɛʳk *cooking-pot*, teʳlɛ, tɛʳlɛ *there*.

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●197 Apparently ʊ and ɪ are unstressed variants of *u* and *i*, cf. e.g. gukɛ: gu·kɛ *these*. But in spite of cases like go·n, gun *dawn* *o* and *u* must be considered to be separate phonemes. The same is undoubtedly true also of *ai* : *e* and *e* : *ə* although we find, exceptionally, (personal?) variations such as tail, təil, te.il, te·l *such*, γai.iŋ, γe.iŋ *grapes*.

The vowel system of Bu. would thus appear to include the following phonemes; *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *o*. To these should probably be added *a·*, although quantity does not appear to be of phonemic significance in other parts of the system.

As regards the consonants L. is probably right in taking *g*, γ, *q* to be variants of *g*, γ and *q* due to the proximity of *y*.[1] But the last mentioned sound is certainly a separate phoneme.

Regarding the cerebrals, aspirates, gγ and W. *ł* see below.

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114 During my stay in Chitral in 1929 I had an opportunity to
194 take down short lists of Bu. and W. words. My Bu. informant
[115] was a certain Abdullah[2] from Baltit. The other called his language Wə·čik·wa·r and his native valley Wərči·gu·m = Ya·si·n.[3]

I worked with each of them for a couple of hours only, and I am, of course, aware of the utter insufficiency of my observations. But both of my informants had a very good and clear articulation[4] and on the whole my notations agree unexpectedly well with those of L. and Zarubin (whose material I had not at hand). It may not be devoid of interest, therefore, to compare some of my words with those given by L. for the sake of checking and corroborating his perception of the sounds.

194 Many words are identical in L.'s and my notation of Bu. E.g. to·rumo *ten*; ma·tum *black*; -ʂan *chin*; ha·γur *horse*; guš·pu·r *prince*; -·tatas *palm of the hand*. In some cases my notation of vowels differs slightly from L.'s. This may partly be due to individual latitude

[1] V. § 6. b.

[2] Brother of Ali Madat, *cf.* Texts, p. II.

[3] Acc. to Abdullah: Buršugum.

[4] I had less difficulty in recognizing their aspirates and cerebrals than those of some Dardic dialects which I had the opportunity of hearing for a much longer time.

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Burushaski and Werchikwar[1] are to be regarded as two dialects of one language of which no other dialects exist. The Burushaski of Hunza and Nagir, it is true, differ to some extent: there are differences in vocabulary and minor variations in morphology, but, as far as I am in a position to judge, these are not sufficient to constitute them separate dialects. Local variations occur inside Hunza itself: thus the people of Aliabad say "etoi" *he has done*, whose the Baltitkuts say "etai". At present we do not know the full range of difference between Hunza and Nagir Burushaski, nor the number and extent of local variants in either, nor how far these are strictly local or possibly connote some difference of social status. 197

Burushaski and Werchikwar have both been subjected to outside influences, some of which must be of ancient standing, some of recent origin, but a glance at the vocabularies will impress one with how little either has borrowed from other languages and how large an original stock of words each has preserved. This can best be judged from the pronouns and from the number and variety of verbal conceptions which are expressed by undoubtedly native verbs. Both dialects seem to have presented a very resistant front to foreign intrusion. Even in these latter days, though many Arabic and Persian words are generally known, and though their use is convenient and probably increasing, they are not essential to the expression of ordinary ideas and many are not used by the common people. 197 177

Of contiguous languages Burushaski has been in direct contact with Shina and with Wakhi. The Qirgis used to raid into the north of Hunza and have left behind them at least two place names: Mintaka and Aqtash (v. Text No. XXXI), but that seems to be all. Some contact with Baltistan, doubtless a very slight one, is to be

[1] "Werchikwar" appears to be analysable into: Werch- or Wersh- + ik + wär, of which Werch- is to be equated with the Wersh- of Wershigum; -ik- with the Khowar -ik added to place-names to denote the people of a place (e. g. Laspür, Lasprik); -wär with Khowar -wär denoting "language", as in the word itself Khowär, "the language of the Kho". The probable connection of Wersh- and Burush- is obvious.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

177 177 presumed from the possession of a pattern of door known as "Baloski hing" (balo·ski hiṇ), and a method of thorn-fencing "Baloski chash" (balo·ski čaṣ). See also Text No. XXVIII. I have even been [829] told that the Burusho believe that they acquired the whole of their material culture from Baltistan. Though there is no territorial contact with Khowar, an occasional surprising common property in words suggests questions.

197 193 The Qirgiz and Balti languages may at once be dismissed as sources of any perceptible influence on Burushaski, and, with infinitely greater opportunity, Wakhi seems to have been equally impotent to make any general impression on it. There remains Shina. Clearly there are borrowings from Shina to be found in the Burushaski vocabulary. Words with characteristic Shina prefixes and endings may be assumed to be Shina e. g. Bu. ʌ-baš, ʌ-čɛ·mo, su-čɛ·mo, ʌ-šato; adjectives ending in -a·ṭo, čamor-a·ṭo, γališ-a·ṭo; abstract nouns ending in -a·r, -i.a·r, and -e·i such as: damija·r, šuri.a·r, šugule·i etc. In Shina -o is a very common ending in nouns and the masculine singular of adjectives. Where such words are shared the probability lies that in Burushaski they are borrowings from Shina. Examples are: ba·go, baako·čo, biḍi·ro. Sometimes the final -o is lacking in the Burushaski form. In such cases is the -o of Shina possibly an addition to a Burushaski word? Such are:

Bu.	γulk	Shn.	gulko	*covered water-tank*
	γuṭu·m		guṭu·mo	*deep*
	hisk		hɛ·sko	*loom*
	hukar		huka·ro	*tamarisk*

Of undistinguished shared words it is for the Philologist to say whether they are of Indo-Aryan stock, and so presumably a contribution from Shina, or not. The same applies to similarities of a more radical character found in the sharing of syntactical practices and idiomatic usages, which seem to postulate direct translation from one language into the other. It is a fair hypothesis that such a process came into action at some time when the two languages were in intimate association, probably by intermarriage, after the

Shina-speaking stock had forced its way in among, or acquired domination over, an originally Burushaski-speaking population. To enumerate such similarities would require a treatise in itself, and in the Grammar I have purposely abstained from drawing comparisons with Shina, which would have taken up space and obscured the immediate issues. I may here just draw attention to a few points. V. § 43. There is much parallelism in the use of the Bu. suffix -ʌn and the Sh.- -ɛk, -k (ɛk = one), e. g. Sh. ɛk mʌnu·ju'k *a man*; ʌ·pu'k *a little*; with pronouns: ko·uk *what person?*, jɛk-ɛk *something*, kʌča·k-ɛk *a certain number of*, cp. Bu. be·rum-ʌn; with numerals: dai bai-ɛk *ten or a dozen*, bi·ɛk *a score*. It is also used with the plural and so corresponds to the Bu. -ik. Employed with passive participles and verbal bases it replaces the indefinite by a definite sense. Thus: rai.ituk *the thing said* cp. Bu. sɛnumʌn; ä·thi hʌnuk *the bones there are*, cp. Bu. mʌltʌš biluman *the ghee there was*.

Points of similarity can also be found in the use of the case suffixes: Sh. jɛk čokɪj *how?*, cp. Bu. bɛlʌṭɛ. Sh. -ɪj = ʌjɛ is semantically parallel to Bu. -ʌṭɛ. Sh. abl. -jo, parallel to Bu. -tsum used with meaning *after* (of time). Among the pronouns, Sh. ɛk ɛk is parallel with Bu. hin hin *one another* v. § 134. Sh. baiyɛ *both* and bu·to pl. bu·tɛ *all* generally follow the noun: jʌk bu·tɛ *all the people*, cp. Bu. *-ʌltʌlik and *-yo·n, §§ 177—178.

There is a parallelism between the use of the Sh. ga, gɛ and the Bu. kɛ with the indefinite pronouns when the verb is in the negative e. g. Sh. jɛga niš, Bu. bɛsʌn kɛ api *it is nothing*, v. §§ 148—154 and 333.

The higher numeral system of both languages is based on the score (20). In compound verbal expressions there is much parallelism in the use of the verbs *to come*, Sh. wai.o·ɪki Bu. ju·yʌs; *to bring*, Sh. wʌlo·ɪki and ʌṭo·ɪki, Bu. d*-tsʌs, dusu·yʌs, su·yʌs, v. §§ 261 ff. and 266, also in some other cases. These seem to be translations.

Parallelism of use can also be noted in some independent verbs e.g. Sh. nɪkhai.o·ɪki, Bu. du·sʌs, *to come out, go out, get out, escape;*

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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to cross (*a river*; etc.) *to climb up; to win* (*in a game*). Both languages use the interrogative suffix -a with verbs, and use it in the same way, v. § 340.

There seems to be some parallelism in the verb *to be able*, Sh. boʻɪki, which also means *to be, become*, and the Bu. *-ʌmʌnʌs which is presumably related to mʌnaʻs, v. § 298.6. Cp. also Kho. bik.

The Conditional particles Sh. tsɪk and Bu. tsɛ, Wer. tsɪk are largely similarly employed.

The extensive use of the past participle active and its employment as a connective are common to both languages. Sh. the *having said*, is used to close a quotation, exactly as the Bu. nuʌsn, v. § 367. Cp. Kho. rɛ.

Sh. thoʻɪki and Bu. ɛtʌs, both meaning primarily *to do*, are always used for *to speak* (*a language*), and the Sh. constantly, and the Bu. sometimes, for *to say*.

There are correspondences in the use of the Sh. passive and static participles and the Bu. static participle, cp. rai.ituk mentioned above, also the active use in Sh. rai.ito mʌnuʻjo *a man who has read* i.e. *a literate man*, v. § 378. b. With §§ 379. b. and 460 cp. Sh. wʌto o mʌnuʻjo *the man who has come*.

The infinitive is used in Shina as in Burushaski with case suffixes, v. § 392. I. Curiously, the Sh. locative form in -ər in used in the same way as the Bu. dative form in -ər, as described in § 395 d. Is this a case of adoption? The same phenomenon is seen in the Sh. ʌčaʻkər and the Bu. teʻrumʌnər, both expressing in the same way, *at this point, thereupon, then*, v. § 409.1.

As in Bu. so in Sh. the same or approximately the same form functions as infinitive, inflectable verbal noun, noun-agent and gerundive(?): thoʻɪki, thoʻk, *to do, doing* (noun); thoʻɪkɛjo fʌtu *after doing* (*it*); thoʻɪkɛt čak *ready to do it;* mʌs doʻɪki ʌsulusus *I was a giver, prepared to give;* mʌs thoʻkunus, tus thoʻkuno, roʻs thoʻkun *I am to, have to, must do, thou must do, he must do;* ʌšpɛ kuʻrs kərpa thoʻkun *it is necessary to cut the horse's hoofs, its hoofs are to be cut;* ʌšpič tilɛn doʻkun (doʻɪki) *the saddle is to be put on the horse.*

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

In Sh. maṭ lɛl han-ɪj *on its being known to me* i.e. *with my knowledge*, mat lɛl nuš-ɪj *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -ɪj (ʌjɛ = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -ʌṭɛ in ayɛtum-ʌṭɛ etc. in § 384, and the combination of the base han with a case suffix, with o'ni-tsum and ʌsqʌn-ʌṭɛ in § 407. b. and c. 197 193

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of tho'ɪki viz. *the*, e.g. lo'ko thɛ *quickly*, mišto thɛ *well*, Bu. yər nɛ *forwards*, šu.a nɛ *well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *ks* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar. 192

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazārat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay. 177 [443]

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustani, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5)1935
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Burushaski—English Vocabulary

192 Burushaski and the dialect of Tibetan spoken in Baltistan possess some words in common, and comparison has now been facilitated by the Vocabulary printed in A. F. C. Read's "Balti Grammar" [113] (RAS 1934), which became available to me only after the greater part of this volume was in print. A separate note on the subject is now appended, v. pp. 532—536.

192 Turkish and Eastern Turki stand in much the same position as Tibetan. They have contributed words to Burushaski, but I have 197 no personal experience of these languages, and have only indicated words that I happened to know or such as were readily traceable. The source of these borrowings has undoubtedly been the Eastern Turki spoken in Chinese Turkistan.[1]

On the other hand, coming to Burushaski's immedate neighbours, I have quoted all the parallels known to me in Shina, Khowar and Wakhi. Except where otherwise stated, these are furnished from my own collections.[2] This is a first step towards a comparison of the complete vocabularies of these languages — at present impossible owing to deficiency of material — which would yield some interesting results. We should learn for instance the extent to which the various vocabularies overlap, the nature and amount of borrowing by one language from another, and the area of survival or dispersion of Burushaski words, Burushaski being by hypothesis the original language of a much wider tract than it occupies at the present day.

I have made some attempt to illustrate the possibility of tracing the transference of grammatical devices and idiom within this group of languages in a paper which is due to appear in the "Transactions of the Philological Society" of 1937.

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[113] [1] An examination of G. Raquette's "English-Turki Dictionary", Lund, 1927, reveals a very large number of Ar. Pers. words. Of the genuine Turki words there recorded very few are to be found in Burushaski.

[2] In the Kho. words the cerebrals and aspirates are probably fairly correctly marked. In Shina words many have probably gone unnoted. I have therefore quoted any forms given by Grahame Bailey which differed from mine. In Wakhi I could get no assistance in phonetics from my informants. I recorded cerebral ʈ̌, ɖ̌, ʂ̌ and occasionally ʈ, but no aspirates, which proves little.

& Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
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Waxi (*baɣ*). Wakhi, the Wakhi language. Wakhi is spoken as the principal language in Galmit and most of the villages above it, except, according to information received in 1924, Khaibar, Sost, Misgār and Rāminj. In 1934 the exceptions were given as Khudā-abād, Nazīmābād and Misgār. The discrepancy is probably due to there being some mixture in the population. Wakhi is also the language current in Shīmshāl. 286.15. 197

Y.

Yaγtaš. A stone at Misgār which is said to exude oil, and which is treated as a shrine. 290.4. 103
(Turki: *yaγ* = oil, *taš* = stone).
Yarkand. Yarkand. 386.21.
Yaçh'eni. V. Vocab. s.v.
Yal Botot. The name of a country. 104.14.
Yaqin. The name of an Akhōnd living in 1924 in Dirāmitīng territory. 214.12.
Yasin, *Yasin*. The district of Yasin in the N. W. of the Gilgit area. 208.3, 386.12 ff.

Z.

Zuŋatiŋ, *Zuŋnatiŋ*. A village, in Hunza proper(?). 320.1.

5:Lorimer L-3 (1920-4;1934-5)1935
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WORDS COMMON TO BALTI AND BURUSHASKI.

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In the following table the first column contains Balti (Tibetan) words, taken from the Vocabulary in Read's "Balti Grammar" (RAS 1934), which are either identical with words current in Burushaski, or present sufficient resemblance in sound and meaning to suggest comparison with Bu. words. The question, which I leave to others to settle, is whether in each case the comparison is justified. It seems to me that the answers cannot be determined by any fixed rule of phonetic equivalents, for words may have been borrowed by either language from the other, directly or indirectly (e.g. by Bu. *via* Shina), at earlier or later dates, and it is further possible that in certain cases the forms borrowed may have been dialectal variants, and not those appearing here. A first essential, in any case, for the determination of doubtful equations is an adequate knowledge of Tibetan.

Where I have been able to trace etymological equivalents of the Balti words in Jæschke's Tibetan Dictionary, I quote them also.

In addition, I have given a few words from Jæschke of which the Balti equivalents are not available. A good many more lending themselves to comparison with Bu. could probably be discovered.

Arabic and Persian loan-words, of which a considerable number are shared by Balti and Bu., have in general been omitted. A few words of probably Indian origin have been included.

In a few instances I have quoted Bu. forms which will not be found in the present Vocabulary. These have been placed in brackets. Parallel forms in other neighbouring languages (Shina, Khowar and Wakhi) may be looked for at the end of the relative entries in the Vocabulary.

A certain amount of sharing of vocabulary between neighbouring languages is natural and has been demonstrated in the comparisons in the Vocabulary, but it is surprising to find words shared by the remote Balti and Khowar which are not recorded in any of the intervening languages, Bu., Wakhi and Shina. I have entered two such below: B. *chan chan* and *cheri*.

No attempt has been made to normalise Read's and Jæschke's systems of transliteration. 197

The following contractions are used by Jæschke:

Ld. = Ladak.
Prov. = provincial.
Pur. = Purig.
Sp. = Spiti.
W. = Western Tibet.

Balti.	English.	Jæschke.	Burushaski.
apo.	grandfather.	—	*-ʌpi.
api.	grandmother.	—	*-ʌpi.
—	—	'ar-gon Ld.	ʌrγʌn.
azoq.	cake.	—	(ərzoq, small cake).
uchaq.	room.	‹ú-čag "chimney W.(?)".	učʌk.
bab.	duty.	ₒbab Sp.	bʌp.
balti.	room boarded all round.	—	bʌldi.
baqbu.	brick.	pag-bu (Balti), pag-gu.	(Sh. bʌgbu, a very large sun-dried brick. Also I think in Bu.).
bawa.	father (honorific).	—	bʌb'a, ba·ba.
bgyu.	warp.	rgyu.	ʒu, 4. ju.
—	buckwheat.	bra-bo (Prov. brau, Pur. bro).	bəru.
brangsa.	halting-place, inn.	bran-sa.	(Sh. brʌŋsa, lodging-place. Also I think in Bu.).
bras.	rice.	ₒbras.	brʌs.
bul-chaq.	tepid.	—	bulbu·lo.
chadpa.	a fine.	č'ad-pa, punishment.	jərpa.
-chan.	adj. ending.	-čan.	-čʌn.
chan-chan.	bare, naked.	(? rjen-pa).	(Kho. čʌn, bare, naked Perhaps Bu. čhʌn, empty. V. infra s.v. chon.).
—	green shell of walnut.	čan-čil "?W.".	(čhʌn'jil).
chastan.	mat.	(Cp. stan?).	(jʌstʌn; Sh. and Kho. čʌstʌn, grass-matting),
cheri.	bug.	ca-ri W.	(Kho. čer'i, ča·ri, bed-bug.).

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Balti.	English.	Jæschke.	Burushaski.
chikān.	embroidery.	—	*čikʌn.*
chon.	free.	(*čog-pa*, to have leisure. *č'og-pa*, to be permited, to be at liberty).	*čhʌn* empty; free, at liberty. Cp. Sh. *čon*, leisure.
—	now, forthwith, then.	*da.*	*ḍa.*
—	leaf, petal.	*₀dab-ma.*	1. *tʌp.*
—	tuft of wool as is used for spinning.	*bal-dab* (*bal* = wool).	*dʌp.*
—	quiet, calm.	*₀dal-ba* ‖ *dal-ba* (*c'u-₀dal* = still water).	4. *tʌl.*
darba.	to tremble, have fever.	*₀dar-ba*, to tremble, shiver.	2. *dər.* *dʌdər* (← *dər* + *dər*).
darbu.	fever.	—	—
darong.	up to now.	*da-ruṅ*, still, W. yet.	*dərum.*
garaz.	pea	—	*γərʌš.*
gat.	knot.	—	*gʌt.*
—	pumpkin, gourd.	*gon* W.	γom, (*gom*, *ga·um*), cp.
—	melon.	*ga-gon.*	Sh. *gorʌn*, muskmelon.
goni.	evil, wicked.	—	γunikrš (probably = γuni + krš).
gberpa.	poplar.	*dbyar-pa* (Pur. *sbyar-pa*, elsewhere, *yar-pa*).	*jərpa*, cp. Dumāki, *bərpa.*
hasa.	soft.	—	*ʌsa.*
hal.	goal.	—	*hʌla.*
hiling.	noise, row.	—	(*hiliŋ*).
hish.	breath.	—	1. *hiš.*
hush.	damp, moist.	—	*huš.*
hrtakhpa.	information.	*rtags*, *rtogspa*, Ld. *tags-pa.*	*tʌxpa.*
janda.	pocket.	*č'an-da* (v. Eng. Tib. Vocab. s.v. "pocket").	*čʌnda.*
kaka.	elder brother.	—	*ka·ka*, *ka·ko.*
kaṭ.	bed.	—	*khʌt.*
kupās.	cotton-wool.	—	*gup'ʌs*, cp. Wkh. *kup'ʌs*, E. Turki, *kebāz*, cotton plant (Raquette), Kho. & Prs. *kʌrbas*, Skr. *karpāsa-.*

Balti.	English.	Jæschke.	Burushaski.
khut khut.	short.	—	1. *khuf*, Wkh. *kwt*, *kuf*.
khsamba.	thought, idea, opinion.	*beam-pa*.	*samba*.
laqphis.	handkerchief, napkin.	*lag-p'yis*.	*laqpis*.
payu.	salt.	*pa-yu* (Balti).	*baiyu*, Dumaki, *payu*.
phalu.	fruit, bead.	—	1. *pʃal*.
phankhe.	advantage, benefit.	*p'an-pa*, use, benefit, profit.	(*pʃaŋke*).
phaṛang.	syphilis.	*p'a-ran*.	*pʃalaŋi*.
pinpa.	lower leg.	*byin-pa*, calf of leg.	*pini*.
polo.	ball.	*bo-lo*, Ld.	*bola*.
phu bya.	to blow.	—	*pʃu stas*.
phut.	chaff.	—	*pot*.
qão bya.	to call, shout.	—	*qau stas*.
qaṛr.	blanket.	—	*qaw*.
ṛabaṭ.	rubber.	—	(*rabat*).
rat, rad.	flat, level.	—	*rat*.
ruh.	good spirit.	—	*rush* (Ar., pl. *srwash*). The spirits of the dead, are considered good.
sang sang.	brightness, light; plain, clear.	*snan-ba*, to be bright, shine; light.	*saŋ*.
sikim,	silk.	—	*sikim*.
sing-ge.	lion; brave.	*sen-ge*,	*singe*.
snamdal.	moustache.	—	*salat*, cp. Kho. *samlat*, Wkh. *sam'lat*.
shang.	sense.	—	(*šaŋ*).
shang bya.	to be cautious.		
shaq shaq.	smooth.	—	1. *ʃaq*.
shoqa.	cloak, choga.	—	*šuqa*.
tawaq.	gun.	*tu-pag* W.	*tobaq*.
ṭek.	button.	—	*ʃak* *-at., 2. *ʃak*.
ṭik.	spot.	—	*ʃiko*.
trampa.	headman.	—	*traŋfa*.
thuk bya.	to spit.	—	*thuki*, cp. *thu' thale*.
thur.	whip.	—	2. *thur*.

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Balti.	English.	Jaschke.	Burushaski.
tsir.	line.	(Cp. *pap-t'sir*, W., a row or layer of bricks).	2. *ts.hir.*
tson.	captive, slave.	*bson.*	*tson.*
zizi.	mother.	—	*azzi.*

The names of the days of the week in Balti are merely variants of those in use in Shina and Burushaski, which are of Sanskritic origin.

Tibetan proper has a totally different series of its own, based on the names of the sun, the moon and five of the planets.

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 42

Government

212 I DON'T KNOW whether to describe the mode of gov-
671 ernment of Hunza as being complex or simple. The
[197] language of the people of Hunza is Burushaski and this language is totally unwritten. Therefore, they have no written code of laws.

114 The first dictionary of the Burushaski language was written by Colonel David Lorimer in 1935 and at the present time Doctor Hermann Berger, a German language professor, a specialist in Sanskrit, is seeking to write another and perhaps a more thorough and complete dictionary of that language.

I recall in Chalt, while I was enjoying the company of Professor Berger, he showed me a set of books that was published in Norway in 1935. They were Colonel David Lorimer's dictionary of the Burushaski language.

In my estimation Dr. Berger's work should be a masterpiece, because never in my life have I seen any

human being take to a task so assiduously and with so 114
much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even if they are printed in German.

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it 104
is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last 197
syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I found every other source, with one exception besides myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better if I, too, used the "aski".

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains un- 671
written, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding.

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza 648
was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowledged sovereignty to India.

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly 643
has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I 175
know this power has never been used or abused by the [642]
present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 71

Misconceptions

121 THIS CHAPTER I find the hardest of all the chapters in
114 the book to write.

So many gross errors or misrepresentations concerning Hunza have been given widespread publicity that I felt it was high time these errors were corrected.

170 It is established that a writer or a speaker who makes statements must stand behind the statements that he makes. That is all well and good in such instances and cases where the truth can be readily verified by means of encyclopedias, dictionaries or other reliable sources of information.

197 Inasmuch as Hunza is concerned, this definitely is not possible. To begin with, the language, Burushaski, is spoken only by the people in Hunza, Nagir and in a small area thereabouts. Dr. Berger in his intimate studies and broad travels has come upon only one other spot on the earth's surface where a similar tongue is

spoken. The good professor espouses the theory that 197
the Burushaski language is genealogically related to the language of the Basques, spoken only by a handful of these people who live in the Pyrenees in southern France and northern Spain. Therefore, it is difficult, if not impossible, for any stranger or outsider to have a good working knowledge of the language.

When you are given the name of a place or a thing 126
and wish to write it down, you have to do it entirely 192
by means of phonics. For example, I wanted to know the name given to a part of the flour mill and after much actual jawing, I wrote down the word "yine." Later, in checking with another Hunzan who articulated in deliberate, clearcut fashion for me, I got the word "yang." Now repeat those two words over yourself and see just how much similarity there really is between them.

I sought the name of the word given to the galleries 126
—that is, the wooden galleries or it could be the stone 192
galleries that were built up along the ledges when the 491
road fell away. One of the writers had given the name for these places as "rafiks," which I followed. But I also had come across the word "paharis" when I was in Hunza and they didn't seem to use or have heard the word "rafik."

Then upon investigation, I find that the words "rafik" and "paharis" are not the actual words used to describe this bit of fancy roadwork. The meaning of "rafik" is actually Arabic for a companion or comrade and the meaning of "paharis" is Urdu for "people who live in mountainous regions." From usage so far and the best of searching, it appears that "rafik" is the term used to describe the built up stone galleries that shore up a "fallen away" gap of road. "Paharis" is the term for the wooden platforms that are erected over

151 **Hunza-Nagar.**—Two small chiefships lying to the extreme north-west of Kashmir, on the banks of the Hunza river. Towards the north they extend into the mountainous region which adjoins the junction of the Hindu Kush and Murtāgh ranges; in the south they border on Gilgit; on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yāsin by a range of mountains; while the Murtāgh range divides Nagar from Baltistān on the 197 east. The inhabitants of both chiefships come from the same stock and speak the same language, but are not usually on good 795 terms with each other. In Hunza the people are Maulais or Ismailis, followers of the Agā Khān, while in Nagar they are ordinarily Shiahs.

175 Lying between these States and Gilgit are Chaprot and Chalt 642 fort with some attached villages, which were long a source of contention between the rival chiefs. In 1877 the ruler of Nagar, with the assistance of the Kashmir Darbār, successfully occupied the disputed tract; but in 1886 he was persuaded to withdraw his troops, which were replaced by a garrison from Kashmir. In the same year Ghazan Khān, the *Thaw* or chief of Hunza, was murdered by his son Safdar Ali, who succeeded him and professed submission to the Mahārājā of Kashmir. The two chiefs combined in 1888, and ejected the Kashmir troops from Chaprot and Chalt, even threatening Gilgit, but both strongholds were reoccupied by the Kashmir forces after a few months.

A British Agency was re-established at Gilgit in 1889; and the chiefs agreed to respect the control of the Agent, to allow free passage through their territory, and to stop raiding on the Yārkand road and elsewhere, yearly subsidies being granted to them, besides the amount paid by the Kashmir State. These engagements were not respected; and in May, 1891, a combined force from Hunza and Nagar threatened Chalt, but dispersed on the arrival of reinforcements. Later in the year they refused to allow roads to be made to Chalt, extending to their own country, and it became necessary to dispatch troops against them. Nagar and Hunza were occupied, and the *Thaw* of the former place submitted, while Safdar Ali, the *Thaw* of Hunza, fled to Chinese Turkistān. The subsidies were withdrawn, and a Political officer and military force remained at Hunza till 1897; but in 1892 Muhammad Nāzim Khān was installed as *Thaw* in place of his half-brother Safdar Ali, while the *Thaw* of Nagar was reinstated. In 1895 subsidies were again granted by the Government of India and the Kashmir State, and in the same year both chiefs assisted in the relief of Chitrāl.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3 Burushe AV7

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the opposite Hunza. The language of Nagyr and Hunza is the Non-Aryan Khajuná and no affinity between that language and any other has yet been traced. The Nagyris are mostly Shiahs. They are short and stout and fairer than the people of Hunza [the Kunjûtis] who are described* as "tall skeletons" and who are desperate robbers. The Nagyris understand Tibetan, Persian and Hindustani. Badakhshan merchants were the only ones who could travel with perfect safety through Yassen, Chitral and Hunza.

DANCES†

D 535 B [535]

Fall into two main divisions: "slow" or "Búti Harip" =Slow Instrument" and Quick "Danni Harip," =Quick Instrument. The Yassen, Nagyr and Hunza people dance quickest; then come the Gilgitis; then the Astóris; then the Baltis, and slowest of all are the Ladakis.

When all join in the dance, cheer or sing with gesticulations, the dance or recitative is called "thapnatt" in Gilgiti, and "Burró" in Astóri.

When there is a solo dance it is called "nàtt" in Gilgiti, and "nott" in Astóri.

"Cheering" is called "Halamush" in Ghilgiti, and "Halamùsh" in Astóri. Clapping of hands is called "tza." Cries of "Yú, Yú dea; tza theá, Hiú Hiú dea; Halamush thea; shabâsh" accompany the performances.

There are several kinds of Dances. The PRASULKI NATE, is danced by ten or twelve people ranging themselves behind the bride as soon as she reaches the bridegroom's house. This custom is observed at Astor. In this dance men swing above sticks or whatever they may happen to hold in their hands.

The BURO' NATT is a dance performed on the Nao holiday, in which both men and women engage—the women forming a ring round the central group of dancers, which is composed of men. This dance is called THAPPNATT at

* By the people of Gilgit.

† A few remarks made under this head and that of music have been taken from Part II, pages 32 and 21, of my "Dardistan," in order to render the accounts more intelligible.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
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APPENDIX IV.

THE RACES AND LANGUAGES OF THE HINDU-KUSH.

By Dr. G. W. Leitner.

The accompanying illustration was autotyped some years ago from a photograph taken in 1881, and is now published for the first time. Following the numbers on each figure represented we come first to No. 1, the tall Khudayár, the son of an Akhun or Shiah priest of Nagyr, a country ruled by the old and wise Tham or Raja Zafar Ali Khan, whose two sons, Alidád Khan in 1866, and Habib ulla Khan in 1886, instructed me in the Khajuná language, which is spoken alike in gentle but brave Nagyr and in its hereditary rival country, the impious and savage Hunza "Hun-land," represented by figure 6, Matavalli, the ex-kidnapper whom I took to England, trained to some Muhammadan piety, and sent to Kèrbalá a year ago. No. 2 was an excellent man, an Usbek visitor from Koláb, one Najmuddin, a poet and theologian, who gave me an account of his country. Nos. 3 and 4 are pilgrims from Nagyr to the distant Shiah shrine in Syria of the martyrdom of Hussain at Kerbelá; No. 5 is a Chitráli soldier, whilst No. 7 is a distinguished Arabic Scholar from Gabriál, from whom much of my information was derived regarding a peaceful and learned home, now, alas! threatened by European approach, which my travels in 1866 and 1872, and my sympathetic intercourse with the tribes of the Hindu Kush, have unfortunately facilitated. The Jalkóti, Darevli, and others, who are referred to in the course of the present narrative, will either figure on other illustrations or must be "taken as read." No. 8 is the Sunni Moulvi Habibulla, a Tájik of Bukhara and a Hakim (physician). No. 9 is my old retainer, Ghulám Muhammed, a Shiah of Gilgit, a Shin Dard (highest caste), who was prevented by me from cutting down his mother, which he was attempting to do in order "to save her the pain of parting from him." 10. Ibrahim Khan, a Shiah, Rôno (highest official caste) of *Nagyr*, pilgrim to Kerbelá. 11. Sultan Ali Yashkun (2nd Shin caste) Shiah, of Nagyr, pilgrim to Kerbelá. The word "Yashkun" is, perhaps, connected with "Yuechi."

The languages spoken by these men are: Khajuná by the Hunza-Nagyr men; Arnyiá by the Chitráli; Turki by the Usbek from Koláb; Shiná by the Gilgiti; Pakhtu and Shuthun, a dialect of Shiná, by the Gabriáli. The people of *Hunza* are dreaded robbers and kidnappers; they, together with the people of Nagyr, speak a language, Khajuná, which philologists have not yet been able to classify, but which I believe to be a remnant of a pre-historic language. They are great wine-drinkers and most licentious. They are nominally Muláis, a heresy within the Shiah schism from the orthodox Sunni Muhammadan faith, but they really only worship their Chief or Raja, commonly called "Thám." The present ruler's name is Mohammed Khan. They are at constant feud with the people of *Nagyr*, who have some civilization, and are now devoted Shiahs (whence the number of pilgrims, four, from one village). They are generally fair, and taller than the people of Hunza, who are described as dark skeletons. The Nagyris have fine embroideries, and are said to be accomplished musicians. Their forts confront those of Hunza on the other side of the same river. The people of *Badakhshán* used to deal largely in kidnapped slaves. A refugee, Shahzada Hasan, from the former royal line (which claims descent from Alexander the Great), who has been turned out by the Afghan faction, was then at Gilgit with a number of retainers on fine Badakhshi horses, awaiting the fortunes of war, or, perhaps, the support of the British. He was a younger brother of Jehandár Shah, who used to infest the Koláb road, after being turned out by a relative, Mahmúd Shah, with the help of the Amir of Kabul. *Afghán* is about eleven marches from *Faizabád*, the capital of Badakhshán. The Chitr[illegible] from Shogôt, the residence of Adam Khor (man-eater), brother of Aman-ul-Mulk, [illegible] Chitral, who used to sell his Shiah subjects regularly into slavery and to kidnap Bashgali Kafirs. The man from *Gabriál* was attracted to Lahore by the fame of the Oriental College, Lahore, as were also several others in this group; and there can be no doubt that this institution may still serve as a nucleus for sending pioneers of our civilization throughout Central Asia. Gabriál is a town in Kandiá, or Kiliá, which is a secluded Dard country, keeping itself aloof from tribal wars. *Gilgit* and its representative have been described in my "Dardistan," to which refer, published in parts between 1866 and 1877.

[cf. catego[illegible] Analyst]

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1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
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000 stimulus, but the course which we adopt of abstract generalisations, without analysing them and bringing them back to their concrete constituents, is almost a process of stultification.

197 177 Coming now to one of the most primitive, and certainly one of the remnants of pre-historic languages, that of Hunza, which I had the opportunity of examining twenty-three years ago, while Gilgit was in a state of warfare, and where I had to learn the language, so to speak, with a pencil in one hand and a weapon in the other, and surrounded by people who were waiting for an opportunity to kill me, I found, that on reverting to it three years ago, the language had already undergone a process of assimilation to the surrounding dialects, owing to the advance of so-called civilisation, which in that case, and which in the case of most of these tribes, means the introduction of drunkenness and disease, in this instance of cholera, for we know what has been the condition of those countries which lie in the triangle between Cashmere, Kabul, and Badakhshan, and to which I first gave the name of Dardistan in 1866.

193 Now, what does this language show us? There the ordinary methods proved entirely at fault. If one pointed to an object, quite apart from the ordinary difficulties of misapprehension, the man appealed to, for instance, might say "your finger," if a finger were the thing of which he thought you wanted the name. If not satisfied with the name given in response, and you turned to somebody else, another name was obtained; and if you turned to a third person, you got a third name.

What was the reason for these differences? It was this, that the language had not emerged from the state in which it is impossible to have such a word as "head," as distinguished from "my head," or "thy head," or "his head"; for instance, *ak* is "my name," and *ik* is "his name." Take away the pronominal sign, and you are left with *k*, which means nothing. *Aus* is "my wife," and *gus* "thy wife." The *s* alone has no meaning, and, in some cases, it seemed impossible to arrive at putting anything down correctly; but so it is in the initial stage of a language. In the Hunza language under discussion, that stage is important to us as members of the Aryan group, as the dissociation of the pronoun, verb, adverb and conjunction from the act or substance only occurs when the language emerges beyond the stage when the

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard [redacted]
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groping, as it were, of the human child between the *mum* and *tum*, the first and second persons, approaches the clear perception of the outer world, the "*sum*," the third person. Now, during the twenty years referred to "his" (house), "his" (name), and "his" (head) are beginning to take the place of "house," "name," "head," generally, in not quite a decided manner, but still they are taking their place. When I subsequently talked to the Hunzas, and tried to find a reason for that "idiom," if one may use the term, it seemed very clear and convincing when they said, "How is it possible for 'a wife' to exist unless she is somebody's wife?" "You cannot say, for instance, if you dissociate the one from the other, 'her wife,' or 'his husband.' 'Head,' by itself, does not exist; it must be somebody's head." When, again, you dissociate the sound which stands for the action or substance from the pronoun, you come, in a certain group of words, to another range of thought connected with the primary family relation, and showing the existence of that particularly ancient form of endogamy, in which all the elder females are the mothers and all the elder men are the fathers of the tribe. For instance, take a word like "mother;" "m" would mean the female principle, "o" would be the self, and the *ther* would mean "the tribe;" in other words, "mother" would mean: "the female that bore me and that belongs to my tribe." Now, fanciful as this may appear to us, it is the simple fact as regards the Hunza language, which, when put the test of analysis, will throw an incredible light on the history of Aryan words. For instance, taking Sanskrit as a typical language, you will, I believe, find how the early relations grew, and you will get beyond the root into the parts of which the root is made up; each of which has a meaning, not in one or two instances, but in most. I am not going to read you the volume which I am preparing for the Indian Government, and which is only the first part of the analysis with regard to this language, and only a very small portion indeed of the material that I collected in 1866, 1872, and 1884 regarding that important part of the world, Dardistan, which is now being drawn within the range of practical Indian politics—a region situated between the Hindukush and Kaghan (lat. 37° N. and long. 73° E to lat. 35° N. and long. 74·3° E.) and comprising monarchies and republics, including a small

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487 difficult pass on to the Shimshal Pamir, from whence a road goes to Ujadbai in the Sirikol Valley. On this Pamir dwell
563 a number of Kirghiz, who pay tribute to the Thum of Hunza,
651 and here the wild yák (*P. grunniens*) and the kyang
[136] (*E. Hemionus*) find their most western limit. The Pamir appears to lie north-west and south-east. From its north side the Kara Kuchkar Pass leads to Raskum, once a flourishing settlement, situated on one of the many branches which form the south-western source of the Yarkund River.
[162] Considerably further to the north-east are the two small communities of Pakpooh and Shakshooh, situated on different tributary streams. Pakpooh is said to contain about 4,000 and Shakshooh about 5,000 souls, and they are situated respectively at an elevation of about 10,000 and 9,000 feet.
[142] Both pay tribute to the ruler of Hunza. These curious people, of whom very little is known, are of Aryan race, and
[197] are described as being of very fair and ruddy complexion. Their language is Chagatai Turki, but, like the Ghalchah tribes of Sirikol and the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh to the westward, many of them speak Persian also. Dr. Bellew,[1] who met some men of the tribe, speaks of them as being a tall, very fair, and handsome race, of a purely Aryan physiognomy, and describes them as poorly clad, carrying matchlocks, of timid and subdued demeanour, and very cautious of giving any information regarding themselves. He mentions that they spoke Turki to other people, but conversed among themselves in a totally different language. He says that they are Mussulmans of the Shiah sect, like the Wakhis and Badakhshis,—that is, Maulais.

Nearly due north of Hunza is the small mountain state of Sirikol. The rulers of the two states have ever maintained a close friendship in spite of the mountains which separate them. From Girtchah in Goohjal, Tashkurgan is reached in eight days. Horses can only travel by the Kilik route, which is longer than that by the Kirish Pass; but the road is excellent and open all the year to both horses and camels. For about two months in summer the road by Misgar is impracticable for horses on account of the depth of the stream that has to be forded. The route by Rishipjerab and Derdee is then used, but men on foot can travel by Misgar at all times. Good roads also lead to Lungar and Kabr-i-Bosai in Wakhan territory.

000 In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name of Kunjoot

[1] Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashghar.*

~~Biddulph~~ G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

241 covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

771 Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immo-
411 rality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

564 The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yeshkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known
142 as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Iskardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less
197 vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaski, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

576 Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi, the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the names of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gánish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother,
231 and their sons are called "*gushpoor*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

712 Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more
361 forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population takes refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

000 In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

~~12: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AU1 Afghanistan XU1~~
4 Av3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 262 783 [174] by them, not a single fowl is to be seen. These peculiarities are strictly confined to the Shin caste, and, together with other customs which will come under notice presently, afford good grounds for supposing that they were a race of Hindoos who came from the south, and, pressing up the Indus Valley, established a Hindoo state in these remote regions under the crest of the Hindoo Koosh.

B 564 162 197 D 564 162 197 The next in order and the most numerous caste are the Yeshkuns, who form the entire population of Hunza, Nager, and Ponyal, and nearly all the population of Yassin, besides being numerically superior in Gilgit, Sai, Darel, and Astor. In Hunza and Nager they do not call themselves Yeshkun, but Boorish; and in Yassin, Woorshik and Boorisho. The language spoken, in slightly varying dialects, in these three states is known as Boorishki, Boorishaski, or Woorishki. The term "Khajoona," applied by the Gilgitis to the language as spoken in Nager, is never used in that country, and the old name also lingers in Yassin, which is still known as Woorshigoom. This language, of which an account is given in Appendix A, differs markedly from all languages in the neighbouring valleys. It has, I believe, been pronounced on good authority to belong to the Turanian family of languages.

B 144 142 D 144 142 In the colder climate of Hunza and Yassin, the people of this caste have ruddy complexions, and fair and even red hair is not uncommon. The Boorish of Nager show a somewhat different type. Many of them are short, thick-set men, with prominent cheek-bones, thick features, and thin beards. These characteristics, joined to their unwarlike nature, are probably due to an infusion of Tartar blood from Iskardo, gained during the time that Nager was subject to the Makpon ruler of Iskardo. If the Boorish are originally of Turanian origin, they have received at some time so large an infusion of Aryan blood as to have almost entirely swamped their original characteristics. Mr. Drew points out that the restrictions on their intermarriage with the Shins makes them the purer race of the two, and though these restrictions are not always closely observed, the Yeshkuns of Hunza and Nager would have little opportunity for profiting by their non-observance, so that their dash of Aryan blood must have been obtained before the appearance of the Shins. There does not appear to be any good foundation for Dr. Leitner's suggestion that the Yeshkuns are probably the product of intermarriage between the Shins and some aboriginal race. ooo Considerable rivalry exists between the Shins and Yeshkuns,

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
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Burusho AV7

193 The grammar of the Shina[1] language may be taken as
197 fairly typical of that of the languages spoken by the broken tribes in the Indus, Swat, Kooner, and Punjkorah Valleys. Though differing slightly among themselves, these all grade into one another, and into Punjabi, and a closer examination will probably show that they have some affinity with Cashmeri. As in Punjabi and Hindustani, distinctions of gender are preserved in nouns and verbs, and the use of the cerebral *n* and the soft *j* is very common. In Shina, Torwalik, and Bushkarik[2] the passive voice is formed by the use of the auxiliary verb "to go," as in Punjabi and Hindustani.

The verbs of the two latter languages of the Swat Valley differ from those of Shina in having only one masculine and one feminine form in the singular, and a different single form for the plural, while the Gowro and Chiliss[3] differ in having the same form both in the singular and plural.

B The most singular and interesting language of all is the
193 Boorishki,[4] spoken in Hunza, Nager, and Yassin. It stands by itself and cannot be classed with any other Dard language.
● 197 The foundation of this language has been identified as of Turanian origin; but, as far as I am able to judge, it has little or no claim to be classed as a Toork language, and it has forms which are only found among the most primitive races. Besides this, it has at some period borrowed largely from some Aryan language, many of the gramatical forms of which it has adopted. While preserving distinctions of gender, both in verbs and nouns, it uses them in a totally different manner from any of the Dard languages. The use of the celebral *n* is rare, and the verbs have no passive voice, though in the active voice they have the same tenses as exist in Khowar, Shina, and other Dard languages.

D Under the convenient term of Dardistan have been includ-
101 ed the whole of the valleys lying between the Western Punjab
131 and the Hindoo Koosh, which are inhabited by a number
174 of tribes mostly of Aryan origin. The greater part of these tribes appear to have been gradually crowded up into the less accessible and desirable localities, by external pressure. The circumstances which have caused them to quit their former homes have not, apparently, been simultaneous, or even of the same nature in all cases.

D The name "Dard" is not acknowledged by any section of
101 the tribes to whom it has been so sweepingly applied. In a single instance, the term is applied by one tribe to some of

[1] Appendix B. [2] Appendices D & E. [3] Appendices F and C. [4] Appendix A.

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce 643
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 648
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

000 *maltash*. We had had many native servants of many races and shades of colour in our time—including a French-speaking negro in Kerman long ago—whom we have grown fond of and who, I think, have been fond of us, but never anyone so entirely lovable as Dádo of Hunza.

262 While the summer lasted we were able to have as much fresh fruit, green vegetables, and potatoes as we could use, so that we were really very well off.

● 205 Several other problems that had threatened in advance to be serious solved themselves more easily than we had feared. The Political Agent's office in Gilgit has to send a post bag up to Hunza three times a week and they allowed our letters and parcels to come along in a separate bag to be dropped at Aliábád without payment of any extra postage. This was a great luxury, and we were amazed to find letters and newspapers coming through to us in exactly a calendar month from home. They could also send up in the mail-bag small quantities of white flour, sugar, raisins, rice, salt, matches, and cigarettes from the Gilgit bazaar—all unobtainable locally.

577 We needed money only to pay the wages and the daily milk, vegetables, etc. We had a strong suspicion that Shafi, for the few days he spent in charge of things, was gravely over-charging on the petty account, as well as making away with tea and sugar—having learnt, as I have said, more than his prayers in India. All the real Hunza men are so scrupulously straight that this distressed us. So we were doubly glad to have exchanged him for honest Zaidu.

431 At first all sorts of people kept bringing us gifts of fruit—apricots, pears, melons, peaches, apples, tomatoes (introduced like the potato by the British and much appreciated because they can be dried for winter use). This gift-business, however, is expensive for the recipient. If the Mir or any of the princes or any person of importance sent things, we must of course tip the people who brought them—not in proportion to the actual value of the articles, but to the dignity of the sender and ourselves. If a humbler person brought them we obviously must tip him also. As we could in season buy as much fruit and vegetables as we could use for about a half-

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
648 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

• 205 Pakistani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters that I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

exception of the doctor or visitors. There was a letter 205
from my office awaiting me when I reached the Mir's palace. The Mir told me about it right after our first greeting. He was understanding enough to realize I would be happy to hear from home.

I guess many of the things about Hunza wouldn't 642
allow the country to come under the heading of a democracy, but from what I saw of life and living in Hunza, I assure you it is more of a democracy than any other democracy in existence today.

Hunza has no policemen, no soldiers, no bureau- 692
cracy, no customs officers or immigration officers. They 643
do have the Mir who is the ruler and true head of the [647]
state and the Mir appoints the Wazir who is his right [693]
hand man and acts as judge.

All major squabbles and disputes are handled by the Mir. He holds court regularly and makes the decisions and his word is law and cannot be challenged or contested by anyone. Minor cases are looked after and into and tried by the Wazir.

Hunza does not have a jail. There is no lockup 697
whatsoever. If and when a crime is committed, the 681
criminal or culprit is banished to a place called Shimshal. At Shimshal the criminal or guilty person is not confined or jailed. He just has to live in that rugged place, where living is grim. The altitude is somewhere [133]
around 12,000 or 13,000 feet, and eking an existence out of the land there is most difficult and precarious. Actually the form of punishment is a sort of ostracism.

Evidently the threat of being sentenced to live in 674
Shimshal is a great deterrent, because few crimes are committed. There have only been two instances in the last ten years where serious crimes have occurred. In [689]
one instance it was a youth who had posted indecent signs on trees and other places. He was hailed before

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P 90-B]

121 In Hunza, say the romanticists, a race
[279] of Moslems—descended, according to their traditions, from the lost legions of Alexander the Great—exist in a Himalayan paradise, thrive on simple foods, live a life free of the corruptions of Western civilization, and reach ages of 120 to 140, the men still fathering children when more than 90 years of age. After being exposed to the realities of Hunza life, one feels more than a sense of irony when he comes upon these representations of a way of life that is among the bitterest in Asia. The "Healthy Hunzas," the "Democratic Court," and the "Land Where There Are No Poor" — almost all of this is born of too-hurried observation by Western tourists.

148 Politically, Hunza is a protectorate
● 206 of Pakistan, which controls its foreign

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
[P.40-C] Hunza

648 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
643 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[65] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
643 are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
692 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
[645] which consists of the Mir, his heredi-
tary grand vizier, plus the Mir-ap-
pointed chiefs of all the villages within
[681] walking distance of the palace. How-
ever, since the loser usually pays a fine
to the Mir's treasury, and the winner
traditionally gives the court a present
equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
643 (literally "Grandfather King") is
spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

ANTIQUITY

[643] ruled his country in the humanest and wisest of benevolent autocracies,
181 since the treaty of 1892 placed him on the throne of his murdered father
609 and parricide brother—to our humbler neighbours in Aliabad, the
[212] village four miles below the capital which we made our headquarters for fifteen months. As soon as the people grasped the purpose of our coming (which was not easy to explain to an illiterate people) they were overjoyed that a 'Sahib' should trouble to learn their vernacular—a thing which no white man or woman had done before—and take an interest in their customs and hereditary lore. At first they would hesitate: 'but you have wheels (=machines) in England, and can do all these things better than we can'. Within a few days they were vying with each other in explaining, demonstrating and bringing ploughs, looms, winnowing forks, bows, stone cooking pots to the resthouse where we were installed, that D.L. might measure them and take 'studio portraits' of them, 'for you mustn't put anything in the book about us that isn't exactly true'.

132 The entire life of the Hunzukuts is centred in water. The rain-
312 fall in the oasis level (7–9,000 feet), is negligible—we reckoned less
361 than 2 inches per annum; in default of any means of raising the water, the river, flowing between its crumbly earthen cliffs, 500 or 1,000 feet below their fields is useless for irrigation; there are no springs or wells; hence all water for all purposes must be trapped high up at the anout of some side glacier and conveyed on galleried aqueducts across yawning gorges and the faces of sheer cliffs. The main water channel, the Dala, which supplies all the more recent villages of Hunza, 'the new settlements' as they are called in contradistinction to the three original villages—Baltit the capital, Altit and Ganesh—travels some 8 or 10 miles in its circuitous route from the Herber glacier in the gorge behind Baltit, cradled between snow-peaks of 23,000 feet, before it peters out in a semicircular sweep round Aliabad.

312 The Dala was dug some three or four generations ago (90–100
412 years) with wooden shovels and wooden picks tipped with ibex horn,
816 and represents an amazing feat of engineering skill for people without any instruments of precision. The sluices that control the distribution of water—every teaspoonful of which is rigorously allotted—are of the simplest; most often a slab of flattish stone plastered in with mud, sometimes a wooden shutter sliding in a rude wooden frame, sometimes when the water is being taken off to a lower level a circular hole in a stone slab, closed at need with a mushroom-shaped stopper, rough hewn from a solid tree trunk.

spiritual head of the Ismailis. A few of the peasant farmers have learned to read—as some have learned to carpenter—and they have copied out such essential passages of their sacred Persian books as enable them to preside with due solemnity at a name-giving, a burial, or a betrothal. The Mir appoints a sufficient number of these modestly literate men to be khalifas, and lend a dignity to such ceremonies. When you need their services you send for one—as we send for the plumber when our pipes have burst. He performs his duty, shares with honour in the ensuing family feasting, accepts some small gift in kind according to the family's resources, and goes his way to resume his normal work in his own fields.

We knew Afiato of No. 6, for three months or more, as an obliging neighbour and father of a large batch of our child friends; we admired his skill in ploughing and threshing, and the hard work he had put into levelling an intractable patch of hill within a stone's throw of our house and converting it into a vegetable garden before we realized that he was a khalifa or lay-priest. There was nothing in dress or manner to distinguish him from his fellows; he offered no unsought advice and censored no one's morals but his own. If Hunza is, as I believe, the tidiest corner of God's earth, it is also the least priest-ridden, and the absence of fanaticism and superstition is as remarkable and refreshing as the absence of litter. There is an atmosphere of mental independence that makes the air of Hunza spiritually bracing.

What the pre-Islamic cults of Hunza were—and traces of them are slight though DL may have some conjectures to offer about them later—the Hunzukuts of to-day are extraordinarily enlightened.[1] Their folk-lore (very probably borrowed) may tell of apparitions and miracles, but they look for no marvels in their life of everyday, they see no ghosts and fear no Evil Eye. They indulge in no gymnastic prayers, they keep no Fast of Ramazan, they travel on no Hajj. I saw only one man turn Mecca-wards to pray, and that was our Kashmiri

[1] In astounding contrast to their magic- and witch-ridden Shin neighbours in Gilgit (V. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1919, *The Supernatural in the Folklore of the Gilgit Region*).

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

the twenty, whose great-grandchildren were present in the room, a fine old greybeard, active and handsome still despite his years, set out to tell us his memories of the siege of Chitral and Kelly's famous march to its relief, in which he himself had taken part. That was only four or five years after "the downfall of Hunza," as he phrased it, but numbers of Hunza men enlisted in the British relieving force. (Another neighbour of ours in No. 6 was also one of Kelly's volunteers.) He showed me the sword he had carried and the handsome muzzle-loader with its forked rest, both carefully greased and kept in good condition as befits heirlooms of the kind. He discoursed with a tinge of unconcealed regret on the olden days when men were men and fighting was toward, "though of course peace is best," he added with incomplete conviction in his voice. The others broke in with questions, and led him on to talk of this episode and that, rehearsed no doubt many a time before, and to cap the tale he proudly put his finger through his jaw and out under his ear tracing the path of a Chitrali bullet. This honourable wound he wore more proudly than his medal, though this also was displayed with pride.

While he talked away with ease and modesty even the little children listened with intelligent attention, and you could easily picture them in years to come telling their great-grandchildren: "My great-grandfather used to say . . ." Their tastes uncorrupted by the sensational gossip of the daily press and the melodramatic improbabilities of the screen, their memories not undermined by second-hand book learning, these humble Hunza folk are immensely better educated than the products of our costly schools; not one of them but can tell you all the details of his own lineage for eight or nine generations back on either side. Outside Debrettites, how many of us British folk can do as much?

A youngster who has a taste that way or who covets the position of a priest in the future, can easily learn to read and write a little Persian and Urdu at the feet of one of the local khalifas. Burushàski has no script and is never written; nor would it carry anywhere outside the Hunza and Yasin valleys if it were. If he is more ambitious of letters, he can foot the four

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

miles daily to Báltit, as Yaman and a couple of our other young 793
friends did, and attend the Government-supported school 784
with the sons and grandsons of the Mir and the Wazir. Promising children of the more well-to-do can attend a more advanced school at Gilgit, and the really studious may even make their way down to Srinagar.

Ninety-nine per cent of the population, however, happily 212
still remain illiterate, and have not fallen victims to com- 871
pulsory education. When the people would question me about conditions in England, they were horrified to learn of such things as rates and income-tax, but even more aghast at the tyranny that compels both boys and girls to spend the years from five to fourteen at school. "But that's the time when they ought to be *learning things*," they said.

When my pleasant evening "By the Lamp" was ended and I 000
had said good-bye, cautiously descended the ladder and mounted my waiting horse, I was shocked to see my host accompanying us carrying a tray of food. I had expressly stipulated that I would only accept his kind invitation on condition of not being laden with food gifts to take home. To my protests Kalbi said: "Yes, yes, Mother dear, it's all right. I'm not forgetting. I'm only taking up his supper to the sweeper."

With honourable simplicity the Hunzukuts abide by the 771
fundamentals of Islam as they understand them. They may not 788
be strong on ostentatious prayer and fasting, they rack their brains over no theological subtleties, but a Believer is a man and a brother, be he a Kashmiri, be he twenty times a sweeper. Here was a man of substance, a Levy, a grandfather, a much respected citizen in his small community, climbing a mile uphill to carry with his own hands a share of the evening's feast to his absentee guest. That the man was absent was no doubt a tactful concession to any caste-prejudice with which India might have infected me.

The boys lighten the monotony of the indoor weeks of the 857
Great Cold by occasionally dashing out for a hasty game of 526
foot polo or tipcat with their friends or keeping themselves warm with *mindak* matches. Such young men as are real dance

312
857

1. Children watching water-hole (centre) to close it with the mushroom-plug (right) at given signal from father. (See p. 94)

PLATE XXIII

142
212

2. Two small Hunza princesses with pet puppy. (See p. 148)

3. Khalifa Faraghat teaching his son to read the Persian scriptures. (See p. 141)

[Facing p. 304]

3z Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

THE LANGUAGE.

212 Having described in some measure the country where Burushaski is spoken and the people who speak it, I must now give some account of the language itself and of the influences to which it has, at least in recent times, been subjected.

[53] Burushaski[1] has no literature and is in fact an unwritten language. Obliging friends may have occasionally written Burushaski letters or texts in the Arabic script to humour enquiring foreigners such as Leitner or myself, but no convention has ever been arrived at to represent the sounds which are unknown to Arabic, Persian or Hindustani. When literate Burusho, and there are not many of them, have occasion to write, they do so in Persian for choice, or 217 in Hindustani. The student of Burushaski has thus no manuscripts, ancient or modern, to turn to for enlightenment. He must go direct to the linguistic fountain-head — the *sujet parlant*. As far as contemporaneous speech is concerned, this is rather a blessing than a loss, but a series of manuscripts or inscriptions going back through some hundreds of years would throw an invaluable light on the development of the language. Lacking them, we cannot divine its history, nor make any guess as to its primitive forms. Only the co-existence of Werchikwar enables us sometimes to deduce that a word or form which occurs in the one as an isolated or rare phenomenon is a survival of what was once perhaps common property, or else normal in some dialect.

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[1] I have never succeeded in getting anyone to recognise the word "Boorishki", the term applied to the language by Biddulph, and apparently accepted by Leitner, v. H. and H. Hdbk. p. 186 l. 2. Leitner also talks of the "Boorishki race". One cannot imagine that Biddulph and Leitner invented the term, so it would appear that it has gone out of use since their day. Possibly it may still flourish somewhere in Nagir. Leitner uses the term "Khajuna". This name is applied to Burushaski by outsiders and non-Burusho, as Leitner himself seems to admit (loc. cit.). I have heard the word used in Chalt, in opposition to Shina, by a man who was probably himself normally a Shina-speaker.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 42

Government

212 671 [197] I DON'T KNOW whether to describe the mode of government of Hunza as being complex or simple. The language of the people of Hunza is Burushaski and this language is totally unwritten. Therefore, they have no written code of laws.

114 The first dictionary of the Burushaski language was written by Colonel David Lorimer in 1935 and at the present time Doctor Hermann Berger, a German language professor, a specialist in Sanskrit, is seeking to write another and perhaps a more thorough and complete dictionary of that language.

I recall in Chalt, while I was enjoying the company of Professor Berger, he showed me a set of books that was published in Norway in 1935. They were Colonel David Lorimer's dictionary of the Burushaski language.

In my estimation Dr. Berger's work should be a masterpiece, because never in my life have I seen any

125 One evening, I took a census of the
165 nine teen-age boys in my wood-carv-
[123] ing school. Of these, all from well-to-do households, how many had seen death in their immediate families?
165 Here was the roll:
551 Gohor Hayat: mother, three brothers, two sisters; Sherin Beg: one brother, one sister; Nur-ud-Din: mother, two brothers, two sisters; Md. Hamid: mother, one sister; Burhan Shah: one brother, one sister; Nasar Md.: mother, two brothers, one sister; Mullah Madut: two brothers; Suleiman: one brother; Ghulam Rasul: father. In a country fabled for the long lives of its inhabitants, these are depressingly typical Asian statistics.
165 Moreover, there is little reason to be-
576 lieve that any of the old men are really as old as is claimed.

"How old are you?" I once asked a venerable patient.

"Ninety, Hazoor!" he answered.

"How do you know you're ninety?"

"Well, Hazoor, my hair is white, and I know I'm very old, and ninety is very old, so I must be ninety."

[124] My teen-aged assistant, Gohor Hayat, broke in impatiently, "Why do you waste time asking such questions?
[217] You know there are no records, be-
[212] cause so few of my people can write!"

I had thought the old man might have a way of keeping count. "How old are you, Gohor Hayat?" I asked.

Gohor Hayat responded loftily, "I'm

[text continues on p. 43-C]

Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

(8) The pan belongs to Khana, the Raja of Yasin, etc.

(9) The pan belongs to righteous Girkis (the ruler of Hunza).

(10) The pan belongs to Maryo the son of Machat (a celebrated person of the Rono family).

(11) The pan is placed on Neelo But etc. At the same time the women who are in an inner room recite the following song :—

D 585 539

B 585 539

Translation.

(1) A large coral grain belongs to Bair Gul.

I will never let another string this on a thread.

I will string it myself.

(2) A large coral grain belongs to Malik, the Chief of Gilgit.

I will never let another string this.

I will string it myself.

After the marriage ceremony the following song is sung at the house of the bride :—

Translation.

(1) Come out, O beloved of your mother, why are you delaying?

(2) Come out, O water sprite, why are you delaying?

(3) Come, O possessors of golden locks, why are you delaying?

(4) Come out, O mistress of charming eyes, why are you delaying?

(5) Come out, O owner of pearly teeth, why are you delaying?

On this she is brought out. She weeps bitterly at the separation from her relatives, and the assembly sings the following song :—

Translation.

(1) Do not weep, O flower-like girl, thy complexion will turn pale.

(2) Thou wilt go on a lofty hill, O girl, thy complexion will turn pale.

(3) Thou wilt (by weeping) burn your heat, thy complexion will turn pale.

Typical birth song ... Nil

Typical death song ... Nil

B 212

D 212

11. No written language possessed by the people.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushо AV7

we were able to leave the photo for her at No. 8. It was a constantly renewed pleasure to find how our photographs were welcomed and a constantly renewed surprise that these illiterate people, who had never seen a picture in their lives, were able at once to recognize and name the tiny reproductions of themselves. This was the one point in favour of my quarter-plate camera that it yielded larger prints than David's smaller ones. Only one woman in all our experience refused to take any interest in photographs, and that was, oddly enough, my special friend Bibi Gímo, of No. 1. "Take it away; I can't understand it," she would say to the others eagerly crowding round to see the latest of grandfather or baby Faqér. Quite possibly, unsuspected by herself, her eyesight was below par. But for the most part quite old people like the various grandfathers seemed as sharp-sighted as ever. On one occasion a man was studying a group of field-builders, the figures in which were very small, and he mis-identified himself: "Hullo, that's me all right, but *where* is my moustache?" He looked again more carefully, and found himself, moustache and all.

It was no negligible tax on our time to make spare prints for everyone, but we felt it was one small return we could make—without corrupting our friends—for the unstinted kindness we met on every hand.

We visited all the mills within range, studying them critically with future photographs in mind, for they were dark little hovels without smoke-holes, and lit only by the door and a small gap, representing one missing stone in the wall opposite, and we had to make elaborate calculations as to the aspect of doors and light-holes and sun and times of day to decide which offered the best hope of an interior photograph (we had unfortunately brought no flashlight apparatus with us).

When the water was not "on" we made an effort to master their complicatedly simple mechanism. The water is led from some height by a wooden shoot consisting of a hollowed-out log and falls on to the wings of a rude "wheel" below the floor. The central hub is a rough sphere or cylinder hacked out of a root or tree trunk in which the "wings," eight or ten of them, are obliquely set. The axis of this wheel passes up

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

THE LANGUAGE.

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165 I checked as thoroughly as possible and there are at least a dozen men in Hunza over 100 years old and no doubt a hundred over 90. Yet the oldest man that I met was 105 years old but by his appearance, his speech and his activity, he'll be around for a good many years.

No, I don't think anybody was trying to fool me about their ages. I can't see what they could gain by it. On the other hand, I don't think I'd be the easiest man in the world to fool. At least my friends don't think I would be. If and when you meet the Hunza people, you will find that you accept them as a fine, upstanding, honest race. Therefore I cannot see why they would necessarily lie about their ages. Of course [217] no vital statistics are kept in Hunza and therefore they cannot offer proof by means of birth certificates concerning their ages.

I met a few groups of men, all of whom claimed to be in their 70's and over, and they were a mighty healthy looking bunch of individuals. Most certainly the average group of people in any part of America at that age wouldn't remotely resemble that fine group of Hunzans.

164 I don't think that is hard to understand. People who have been denied luxuries and who have had to work all their lives and spend a lot of time in the open air doing manual labor should be healthy, especially when they have good natural foods.

[165] It is my sincere belief that the ages and the health of the people of Hunza have not been too greatly exaggerated.

It is possible that I have strange ideas, but I've always believed that physical work and exercise have a lot to do with a man's health. Well, in Hunza if exercise will make them happy and healthy, they should be the happiest and healthiest people in all the world. There

842 mentioned above and so do women who have reached the menopause age become pregnant, but it doesn't happen every day.

Siring children at 90 *and* 100 *years of age*.—The only conclusive proof or record that I could find concerning men well up in years siring children was that of the Mir's grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E. It is definitely recorded that he sired a son when he was in his 75th year.

Upon questioning and during discourse with the Mir, the resident doctor and the affected individuals themselves, it is clearly established that the siring of offspring at the age of 70 and upwards is quite common. Invariably it was revealed in these studies that the men had married younger women, their second or third wives. It is suggested that the answer lies somewhere close to this very important related fact.

165 [217] *Living to the age of* 140 *years*. The oldest man that I could find in Hunza was said to be 105 years old. I want to stress firmly that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. Therefore it is not easy to establish any definite age or date. I will, however, accept this old man's age as being correct and established beyond doubt. The fact that he was alive before the Mir's grandfather was born (who died when 79 years of age in 1938) is ample proof that the statement is correct and true.

There are many people in Hunza over 90 years of age, quite a few over 95 years of age and some over 100 years.

142 165 *Their women are beautiful when they are* 70 *and* 80 *years old*. This I will agree is a statement that depends entirely upon a man's appreciation or understanding of beauty. I have seen old women of 80 who I thought were beautiful in a frail, wrinkled, grandmotherly way.

125 One evening, I took a census of the
165 nine teen-age boys in my wood-carv-
[123] ing school. Of these, all from well-to-do households, how many had seen death in their immediate families?
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[text continues on p. 43-C]

165 seventeen." Two years before he had
856 told me he was thirteen.

165 Because the Hunzas, themselves,
[212] have no written records, I attempted to
[128] estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

165 THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered
145 firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age
[146] in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance, a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

262 "Purity" has been attributed to the
[214] Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad.
[272] Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter round out the

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnho AV7

butter milk and carry the butter and buttermilk away from the Wazir's house to the Tham. Then the Tham gives them some present and they return to their homes. After that the Dirkmiting take away their flocks to the grazing grounds.

If any people take their flocks to the grazing grounds before the Odi they fine them a ram.

5384
527
234

676
221

4: Lorimer L-S (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnbo AV7

53A
3/2
224

No. XLII.

The Distribution of the Spring Water Supply in the Bāltit Region.

The custom in regard to distributing the water in spring-time: The people of Ganish, of Altit and of Ali Abād, these three communities, have equal shares in the water of the Ulter Nullah from the (time of) ploughing till the second watering.

From the time that the Ulter water begins to flow the people of Bāltit stop a little of the Berber water It is the custom, from the beginning of Spring, to turn the water on to Kertmābād for the Tham, through the regulator.

The snow-water and the spring-water of Bālulo is shared by the people of Bāltit and of Haiderābād. First, at the commencement of the month of Hīt they release the water to the Haiderabadkuts for the barley sowing. Having released the water for the sowing, they (then) direct it to Bāltit. After supplying water for the Bāltit

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4 *ewaz* — The exact sense is here also doubtful, lit. 'to place' or perhaps 'to turn on to', but it can also mean 'to keep' which might give the sense 'to retain for Kertmabad'.

5 *-ḡuter . . . ḡewaz bila* — the force of *ḡewaz* must here be something like: "property common to both".

7 *ho ḡewhi.e ṭel* — i. e. when the Haiderabadkuts have had what they required the water is given to Bāltit.

The subject of *dewdew* can hardly be the Haiderabadkuts as Haiderabad is lower down on the course of the channel than Bāltit.

The difference in level is not sufficient to make a very appreciable difference in temperature, but there must be something in the situation which makes the agricultural season slightly earlier in Haiderabad than in Bāltit, otherwise Haiderabad, being the less important place, would not get the first turn of the water.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

sowing, they give it to the Haidershādkuts for the second watering; when the second watering is done they despatch the water for the Bāltit second watering. 539A 312 221

When the Haidershādkuts have used the water for seven days, the Bāltitkuts use it for fifteen days, then when the Haidershādkuts have used it for fifteen days the Bāltit people use it for a month. This custom has been in force from olden times.

The Berber water (supply) is famous in Hunza. Wazir Asadullah Bēg constructed the Berbēr water channel in the time of Shah Ghazanfer. So long as the Berber was not in existence there was great scarcity of water in Hunza. To get drinking water the women used to go to Herchē and fetch it. Hunza was made habitable by the Bāltit water. 539A 312 173

The Hamachāting constructed the Hamachi water channel to Ganish and the Altitkuts took a channel off from the Ulter Nullah. Shāh Salim Khān had constructed a channel for Alī.ābād from Herchē and bringing it along had stopped it at the Kherum Bat. He had been unable to carry it beyond that.

For some reason he had dismissed Wazir Pūno from the Wazirship. Pūno was living at his own home. One day, taking the Khurukuts with him he went by night and made them dig behind the Kherum Bat. Making them play on drums he got them to carry the channel through. Shāh Salim Khān, being pleased at this, gave him the Wazirship again.

Asadullah Bēg constructed the Murkū channel. He also made the Murtazā.ābād channel and the Khudā.ābād channel.

Wazir Asadullah Bēg had also laid out the trace of the Mōrē Dās channel. Mīr Muhammad Nazim Khān carried it out on that trace.

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10 *dewyesimi* — I have taken here as being Causative, as it is glossed Hindustani (infn.) "*nikalwawna*", but the verb seems ordinarily to be a simple transitive with the same meaning as *dīwaas*.

I had never seen oil made or rendered from any fruit, 252
food or grain and I asked if I could be allowed to witness this process from the beginning. Arrangements were made and I went to visit a plain ordinary Hunzan house where the mistress was prepared and willing to demonstrate the making of apricot oil.

The lady and some of her children sat on the floor with a neat stack of apricot stones beside them. Then she and one of her youngsters took each individual stone and split it open with a rock. The meats were taken out and piled into a stone mortar. Then, when they had [412]
filled the mortar, the lady got her pestle and began to pound the kernels until they were made into a meal. Next, she rubbed it with her hands until it was worked into a paste. This she placed into an iron skillet, which was placed over a three-sided stone stove. Then she broke up some small chips of wood that she had ready, ignited them and moved the pan about over the heat until it began to warm up. She kept rubbing and kneading the meal with her hands in the skillet until it got quite warm—but not hot, for she used her hands for turning it in the pan.

Then, she lifted up the mass and put it into a round, [415]
solid, earthenware or stone receptacle about 12 inches in diameter, with the sides about two or two and a half inches high. She kneaded this with her fingers and knuckles firmly, much more firmly than one would in kneading dough for bread.

Then, a tablespoonful of water was poured over the meal and the massaging process was continued. It was explained to me that sometimes tea is used instead of water. If the pits are bitter pits from the wild fruit, plain water is used, but for sweet pits from the propagated apricots salt water is used.

The bitter pits are gathered from the trees that grow [222] [373]

252 wild in various parts of the area. The oil rendered from
[222] these kernels is probably used only for lighting, because
[373] it is poisonous. Due to their heavy content of prussic
acid, a handful of them is considered deadly. In Ni-
[762] agara, if somebody wants to commit suicide, he jumps over Niagara Falls; in Hunza, they eat a batch of wild apricot kernels.

The kneading process is continued and the vessel is kept tilted so the oil runs down and forms a small pool. As the oil begins to form, the kneading becomes even more vigorous until every drop of oil possible is extracted. While the rendering of the oil may be hard on the knuckles, nothing could be simpler and the resulting product is probably the most healthful and finest fat product that human hands can produce.

[231] The pulp that remains after the oil is extracted is
[302] fed to milk-giving goats, sheep or cows, and is often used as a concoction or shampoo in which the Hunzans wash their heads. The oil of course is used in cooking, baking, frying, for lighting—and even for the hair.

[461] The good woman who performed the oil extracting task for me did not seem to be the least bit overburdened or taxed from this sort of arduous work. It probably would have been a hard day's work for a Western woman.

I would like to stress at this point that the heating process was not a cooking process in any sense of the word. Just a slight warming was all that was needed.

251 The apricot oil is never rendered and stored in casks
or otherwise, like many other people do with their oils.
252 They may make sufficient to last them a few days but not more. This is poured into an earthen vessel or a bottle, if available. When a further supply is required, the pits are cracked and they go through the entire process as outlined.

? [i.e. - oil from apricot seeds - ANALYST]

136 pigeons and doves. They also vouch for the fact that sparrows, skylarks, nightingales, canaries, magpies, falcons and hawks were part of the common scene throughout the district.

The P.A. told me that on his hunting excursions he has on a few occasions come across both brown and black bears and I know there are also leopards, because the P.A. presented me with the hide of one of them, which now graces the living room of my son's home.

Inasmuch as small animals are concerned, I don't think you'd find too many. They like to go where food is more readily available than is the case in the sparsely vegetated Hunza area.

[134] I don't think burrowing animals would be common to the district, because one can't very readily burrow through rock, and that is what 99% of the Hunza terrain consists of.

231 Incidentally, the goats that are kept by the Hunzan farmers are not by any stretch of the imagination similar to the larger ibex that are found in the hills. The Hunza goat is a diminutive fellow that is bred for its dwarfness and ability to give lots of milk for its size.

223 224 Apart from the fall duck hunt when myriads are felled, and the occasional hunt with shikari to bring down the renowned ovis poli (Marco Polo sheep) from the 18,000 foot pinnacles, Hunza cannot be called a hunter's paradise.

I didn't see any water buffalo in Hunza itself, but they are to be found in the Gilgit area and therefore I suspect they are to be found, if not in the principality of Hunza, at least in close proximity. Well, if you find water buffalo, then there is sure to be the Mana or Lali bird. It's a medium sized bird that is very much like our cow bird. He perches right on the back of the water buffalo and works away like a woodpecker, picking out the insects that infest the water buffalo's leathery hide. Thus, he prevents serious injury and disease from spreading from the hide into the flesh of the animal. 136

This is just another one of the myriad of intricacies that follow in the paths of Mother Nature—how she seeks to balance things for the benefit of all. Here the bird finds a way and means of obtaining food and nourishment and the buffalo keeps healthy and everybody is happy!

Ibex are part and parcel of the Hunza scene. So are the ovis poli or mountain sheep which are actually quite scarce, but are found if one goes high enough into the mountains. The Hunzans call the ibex "markhors." I learned that "markhor" means "eater of snakes," for the ibex, which are actually goats, are known to the people of Hunza for this habit. This also indicates that snakes are found in Hunza. As a matter of fact, every now and then one hears or comes across a snake on the trail. When this happens on a narrow trail high up on a ledge and your horse rears on his hind legs, pawing with his fore . . . 'tis not conducive to a long and boring life! [825]

The Mir of Hunza is quite a hunter. He enjoys shooting and is a true sportsman. My friend, the P.A. at Gilgit, is also an ardent sportsman. Between them, they told me that they had bagged, at one time or another, crows, vultures, golden eagles, geese and ducks, pheasants (two kinds), chicoris (which are their partridge), 224 [643] 136

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136 I was of the opinion that the ibex are quite plentiful, and if anyone went to Hunza with the idea of shooting game, he could without too much difficulty satisfy his bent.

[224] Then, too, the rare ovis poli, the true Marco Polo sheep, can also be found in this area. While they are by no means easy to locate, if you took the trouble to arrange for proper trackers or shikari, I'm quite certain that within one or two days' travel you would find and shoot ovis poli. If you're going to try to tackle the Marco Polo sheep, make sure you're a good mountain climber, because they are seldom found below 16,000 feet and usually a thousand or two thousand feet above that.

I asked the Mir where the big difference came in between the ibex and the ovis poli. It seems that the ovis poli are larger with a body as large as that of a donkey and the horns have three distinct sweeps. Of course the ibex is a goat and the ovis poli is a sheep.

He wanted to know if I was interested in shooting them. I said, "No, thanks. There are many other pleasures I prefer."

I can understand and appreciate the shooting of game for food or clothing but for sport . . . well, I've always felt that a man can prove his prowess without slaying useful, harmless beasts. Let it be said in fairness to the sportsman and hunter that in most cases he protects, disseminates and raises more than he shoots and therefore he pays for his sport. If it were not for the true sportsman (and I am saying that qualifiedly and reservedly—the *true* sportsman) many birds and beasts that exist today would have been exterminated by wanton killers, who also sometimes parade under the name of "sportsmen."

I will go along further and say that the sportsman

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Windy weather was knocking down unripe mulberries in 233
alarming quantities, which were incontinently guzzled by the 245
goats and sheep.

By June 9th ripe mulberries were reported from Ganesh and Hasanabad, some hundreds of feet below us, but we had to wait another three weeks for ours.

One afternoon we were out on the hillside and stopped to 524
watch a group of boys playing a complicated game of *bada bada* with a lot of small stones cast into twelve little holes in the ground. It was roughly equivalent to some of our games of marbles, and thinking of a large consignment of these which we had brought with us for future gifts we ruefully realized how useless marbles would be in a country where there are not six inches of smooth, level ground. As we sat trying to master 231
the rules of *bada bada* Gulo crept up alongside me and slipped her hand confidentially into mine, whispering "Our pussy cat has had a confinement," using for fun the same term as she would have applied to her mother, and not the word suitable for cats. "There are three kittens, and they opened their eyes yesterday; do come and see them!"

When the game was over we accordingly started crosswise downhill to No. 3. I halted at the door to make sure that Zénába was prepared to endorse the impulsive invitation. She was sitting crouched by the hearth boiling the greens for dinner and jumped up with delight to bring us in. We squatted down on a sleeping-bench, from the back of which the children produced a round fruit basket in which the cat was cosily curled up. She was evidently accustomed to seeing her babies tenderly handled, for she let us take them out without other comment than a loud purr. Dear little furry things they were, about the size of small mice, and Gulo bubbled over: "She made first the black one and then the white one and then the yellow one—and that was all." Meantime, in addition to Kaníza and Apícho, a strange young man had drifted in to see what was going on, and presently Father arrived and we all chatted together very gaily. Laughing somewhat apologetically, 231
Zénába confessed that she had drawn on the emergency reserve 841
to make some *daudo* (a sort of porridge with butter) for pussy 262

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

231 to keep her strength up—and this in one of the poorest houses,
844 where they have had no bread nor butter for themselves for
262 weeks. *Daudo* is one of the nourishing dishes you make for a human mother, and the cat was such a pet that the kittens were considered as a birth in the family, one of the emergencies budgeted for. There is as little need in Hunza for an R.S.P.C.A.
231 as for an anti-litter crusade. Everyone is devoted to his animals,
562 and the children have pet names for every lamb and kid. You will often see a boy or girl carrying home a tired animal slung over the neck like a fashionable lady's fur. Only people who have lived in the East can realize how amazing was this affectionate care for a pet; or how still more amazing this happy family life where father could come in and find his wife and daughters entertaining two strange men and be obviously delighted to see the guests. At least, if this sort of thing is possible elsewhere in the East, I have not heard of it.

231 When we passed next day we heard that a strange cat, which must be the only other one in Aliábád, for in general everyone is too poor to keep either cat or dog, had come in while the mother was mouse-hunting and had killed two of the kittens.
[115] Yaman, the only brother of our most beloved young friends, and most intelligent of informants, lifted a pathetic little white body with his toes from the field to show us. The children were half horrified and half amused at the kittens' fate.

137 There were a few wild flowers these June days amongst the scanty grass of the *toqs*: red bladder campion, stitchwort, and an occasional starved-looking forget-me-not. The children were much amused when we told them what the English call it, and that sentimentalists amongst us use it as a love-token. After that, one or another would run up to us offering a tiny blue flower and saying, "Don't forget me!" Some future linguist, language-hunting like ourselves, may be puzzled to hear of *je til akol* growing in Hunza fields and rack his brains as to how
123 the idea came to the Karakoram. On principle we have tried to avoid poisoning the ground for future workers by importing European ideas, legends, or phrases, and in this connection the forget-me-not the "one little pig" and Afrot's *How do you do?* are the only sins on my conscience.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XLIII.

The Birth of Twin Calves.

It was formerly the custom in Hunza that when anyone's cow calved and gave birth to twin calves he used to go to Ganish and shout out to Somaiyer: "Ho, uncle! Ho, uncle!" When he did so, a man on the other side would answer: "A.u." 539* 231

On this the first would say: "Ho, my cow has calved and given birth to twins!" Then if the Somaiyer man said: "Ho, may it be blessed to you!", they say that it used to turn out well for the Hunza man. On the other hand, if the Somaiyeri said something evil, then evil befell him.

Again, if any Nagir person's cow calved and gave birth to twins, he used to come and shout out from the edge of the cliff at Somaiyer: "Ho, my cow has calved and given birth to twins!"

Thus it was the custom for them formerly to shout when there was a closed boundary between (Hunza and Nagir).

That is all!

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11 *dir* — glossed "closed boundary", "hostility". This was when there was perpetual active hostility between Hunza and Nagir and there was not free passage from the one to the other.

I do not know whether *dir* which means a 'boundary' can really be used as a synonym for "hostility".

bilowalo — v. § 291.

out ahead of them, the sons-in-law. 124.4. *aiyər hʌn bʷlʌn bila* on ahead of me there is a spring. 124.14. Cp. 126.19, 127 note. 000

So: *miyər* 124.17, 194.11.
ʷyər 6.3, 124.5,7, 162.16,18,20, 300.13, 316.6.

iʷnɛ juyʌstɛum yər before his coming. *iʷnɛ aʷltulum yər diʷmi* he came before two days i.e. two days before. *gutɛtsum yər* before this, previously. *padša intsum yər gutɛ xʌbər deyɛl* the king hearing this news before him. 40.4. *Tʌpki.ents oʷsqʌnʌstsum yər nɛ* before the slaying of the Tapki.ents. 242.9.

(Cp. 2. *yaʷr* and 2. *yaʷrɛ;* also *ʷlji yər*. Sh. *yɛr, yər*, adv. and postpos., before, in front of, first).

yərʌʷyər IUB, *yəræiyər* QUB, first of all. — *uyoʷntsum yərˈæyər diʷmi* he came first of (them) all. QUB.

*-*yərʌnʌs*, *-*yərɛ-*, Impv. *-*yərʌn*.
1. To shear (sheep and goats), H. *bhɛʳ bʌkri ka baʷl kaʷfna*.
2. To fleece, oppress.

yərˈʌq sweating(?). After a horse has been worked hard it is believed to be injurious to it to let it feed or drink until it has cooled down and has staled. To induce this it is walked up and down, or kept standing, sometimes for hours, with its head tied up so that it cannot eat or drink. 231

The word refers to this practice. — *yərʌq tʌk nɛ qʌntər ɛti* tying (the horse up to let it cool off(?) Keep it fasting. *hʌʏər oʷwərʌj xa yərʌq ayɛʷyʌl* so long as the horse has not staled don't break its fast for it. *hʌʏər nˈɛʷwərʌnin yərʌq ɛʷyʌl* having 000

379 b

124
115 that one would never believe that it was only a second-
191 ary language to him.

231 "You know," I said to the Mir, "one of the things
115 that I wanted to see when I came to Hunza was a yak. I understand from my readings that yaks are used in this part of the country and I have been looking everywhere as I walked along the road to Baltit, but I have as yet seen no sign of a yak!"

"That is not hard to explain," the Mir said. "The yaks are further up in the mountains. They cannot stand the heat and we keep them in the higher altitudes where they can be comfortable. If they are brought to the lower altitudes, they suffer. They like to be up around 11,000 feet or higher."

"Well, then how can I get up to see them?" I asked. "I don't mind if I have to walk for a day or two, but see them I must!"

"I'll do better than that," said the Mir. "I will phone and have two yaks brought down as quickly as possible. They will have to come from Passu which is about 38 miles from here. I will have action taken at once and see that the yaks are provided."

115 (Does that not indicate to you the kind of man and
124 host was the Mir of Hunza?)

I then took my leave of the Mir and the Rani and went out with Sultan Ali and Jahangir to look, see, pry and ask questions.

344 Our first jaunt was a good stiff climb to the old
644 palace located about two miles from the Mir's new palace. As the crow would fly I'm sure it would not have been more than ¾ of a mile. But in order to get up there one has to wend and weave and climb slowly.

I was now becoming quite accustomed to the altitude. Kerimabad is up about 8500 feet and I am sure

000 needed animals in the world.

231 It is clearly and distinctly established that Tibet, for example, could never exist and people could never live in that part of the world if it weren't for the yaks and yaks are native only to that part of the world —yes, wild ones, I mean. That's where they were originally found and tamed. They still roam wild on some of the higher inaccessible elevations and plateaus in that part of the globe.

No one will attempt to deny that our cow is a most useful and practically essential animal. It gives milk from which we make butter, cheese and cream. We use the carcass for meat and the hide for shoes, baseballs and many other articles but, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the cow as it is today actually couldn't look after herself in the northern latitudes and pasture food must be provided.

[492] Well, the yak does everything a cow does. Besides that, it is one of the finest beasts of burden. Then, too, it is the surest-footed animal to be found anywhere. It can, and often does, forage for its own food. It can live off practically nothing. It is suspected that it can find sustenance in a bit of grass or roots or even a bit of coarse, uninviting (to any other animal) herbage.

[492] [241] Like our cow, it takes to domestication readily. Both the Tibetans and the Hunzans use them to work their fields and flail their wheat, barley and other grains.

231 237 [283] From the wool on its back, belly and head comes the toughest of woven fabrics, from which is made the sturdiest of clothes for the people and tents for their homes. Wherever you see rope in Hunza, you can be sure that it was made from braided or woven yak hair.

[291] [415] [501] The hide is used for most everything . . . boots and shoes, of course, and water containers and skin boats, which are the means and mode of transportation across and up and down the dangerous rivers

and up and down the dangerous rivers. Yes, even the yak bones and horns are never wasted. Picks are fashioned from them. They even find their way into the walls of the homes of the people of Hunza, for they are lighter than stones.

Still I haven't yet mentioned what is generally accepted as the yak's most important contribution to the lives of the people in the highest mountain ranges in the world . . . and that is from the little green herbage they get, they give a good quantity of rich milk, from which is made the famous yak butter. Then last and perhaps even most important, it is butchered for its good quality, health-sustaining meat.

Even the yak tails are useful . . . as brooms or dusters . . . and many are shipped to the Western world and used as Santa Claus beards. And they do make the best Santa Claus beards of all. I know—I have a couple!

Now after you have had a chance to read these qualifications, perhaps you, too, will share my admiration and appreciation of the world's most useful animal.

I was up bright and early the morning I was to go to meet the yaks. Yes, it was just 6 o'clock when I was walking down the enclosed staircase towards the Mir's palace—leaving Cecil asleep, as he still had to remain in bed as the doctor had advised.

I met Jahangir coming from the other guest house and he joined me. We had agreed the previous night to be up at 6 but I never expected that it would work out right on the beam, as it happened in this instance.

So down we went along the stone staircases from one garden level to another until we reached the Mir's palace and then we began to climb up the long wooden staircase again.

As usual, the Mir was there to welcome us, along

As we wound along the trail and through the streets of the village, I kept looking around to see if I could spot the bit of meadow or field where the yaks would be grazing. I felt certain that if they were being tethered or kept somewhere that there would be some sort of grazing ground for them and I found I was right because, shortly, we came upon a bit of meadow surrounded by shrubs and trees. And sure enough, there were the yaks and the herders. 231 311

The first thing I noticed about them was that they seemed to be snorting like wild bulls. They breathe rather heavily and exhale sharply through their nostrils. The altitude at Altit was probably about the same as that of Baltit—between 8,000 and 9,000 feet—and that was much too near the level of the sea to suit the yaks who wanted it at least 11,000 feet. Undoubtedly that was the reason they were snorting and appeared somewhat uncomfortable. 231 [361] [33]

I liked their rather shaggy, unkempt appearance. The woolly hair that grew around their head and on top of it, looked as though it had been curled. I didn't know whether that made them look ferocious or cute.

I took a keen liking to the strange looking beasts. But I'm not sure that they shared my feelings. At least, they didn't look as though they did.

I have read and been told that you can trust a yak implicitly on any trail. If it's safe and can be traversed, he'll make it. If there's any doubt, he'll be just as stubborn as any mule. Where the way or the road is extremely bad, he will refuse to go and only by brutal pounding and beating and dragging will he continue along the trail that he distrusts.

Through each yak's nose ran a rope—a good thick, heavy rope. This is used to guide or lead the yak, instead of a bridle and bit. [492]

231 The yak is just about the same general build and also somewhat the same in appearance as a buffalo. It is considered to be, by zoologists, a distant relative of the American buffalo. In fact, when I first saw a yak, I thought it was a buffalo and in my mind's eye, I compared it to the buffalos that I had seen in our Canadian zoos or parks. However, yaks do not have that hump around the neck, and they seemed a bit smaller. They are quite shaggy and look wild and ferocious, which belies their actual temperament.

We did find, and I had heard this before, that yaks are very independent—probably the most independent of all domesticated beasts. You just don't take liberties with a yak. You treat him fair and square or he doesn't cooperate—at least not very well.

231 492 I walked around them and examined their shape and form and was especially interested in their broad backs. "Ah," I thought to myself, "that's the kind of an animal I want to ride—where I can sit on a flat surface instead of the apex of a triangle." My posterior was still smarting from the few miles I had ridden astride my horse. Even with the protection of the blanket, his backbone seemed to cut through like a razor. Right there and then I just had to get up on a yak's back and have someone take a picture.

"This should make a good caption," I thought to myself, "Jack on back of yak!"

The yak snorted a few times before and during the time I was getting on his back. But a few words and a jerk on his nostrils by his owner and he remained more or less orderly, but eyed me suspiciously.

Their broad well-filled backs and the sight of their feet with the sort of second set of hooves, fingers or spavins along the forelock told me that what the Mir had said about a comfortable even ride was true.

Many long years ago I learned not to doubt people but to accept what they say until proven incorrect . . . be patient and allow time to speak. I accepted what the Mir told me but I wondered just how that miracle could take place. Upon examining the yak's feet or hooves or whatever else you might call them, I learned how this wonder of wonders occurred and I'm going to describe it to you. It will be difficult and you'll have to follow me rather closely. 231

If you examined a yak's forelegs, about 8 inches up from the hoof on the inside are appendages that look like spavins or callouses. These obviously are auxiliary paws, cushions or hooves. Therefore, the yak could, when necessary, walk on these appendages. It can be best illustrated by having you put your fingers straight up resting on the table. Then by dropping your fingers flat and putting down your wrist, you immediately shorten your arm by at least 6 inches. The yak could walk on its hooves or on the spavins 8 inches up along the leg.

Jahangir had never ridden a yak either, so he got aboard one and I shot him a few times—that is, with the camera. He was quite pleased with himself, too, because that was something he hadn't anticipated when he started the journey. 124

Sultan Ali, our guide, said to me after I dismounted, "These men made quite a sacrifice in bringing the yaks down here from Passu. It's about 38 miles, you know, and they lose at least 2 or 3 days from work on their farms."

I knew quite clearly what he meant and I said, "Well, what do you think would be fair recompense for their efforts?"

"Well, about 40 rupees each."

Jahangir was standing besides me while this discus-

there would still be ample time to grow another crop 243
before the frost came. Therefore, that adds credence to the statement that they can grow two crops a year.

I gathered that buckwheat was their most important second crop and it was not hard to understand, because it thrives on the poorer and lighter soils, where other grains might not do as well. Further, it needs only about ten weeks to mature and it has the added advantage of flowering and setting its crops continuously, so that a fair harvest can be had at most any time.

Then, too, it is a crop that can stand the colder weather; that is, the chilly nights in early fall and spring that they are bound to have in these high mountain areas. In actuality, the buckwheat blooms continually and flowers, green seed and ripe seed can be found on the plants at one and the same time.

There is another good reason why the Hunzans grow a lot of buckwheat. It invariably leaves the soil in splendid physical condition and believe me, that is very, very important to the people of Hunza. In addition, [231]
this crop makes splendid food for their farm animals. It makes a fine green manure as well as a weed smother crop.

It must be remembered that buckwheat makes a dandy emergency crop if and when other earlier crops have failed. So it is not hard to understand why it would be one of the most important grain crops in Hunza.

They don't have bees in Hunza, I was sorry to learn, 262
and therefore there is no buckwheat honey. 231

The Hunzans are chiefly vegetarians—whether by [311]
choice or necessity is hard to establish, although I would say that they had little choice in the matter because they just don't have the area to waste on animals. They can't afford to get their food second-hand. While there 311

252 wild in various parts of the area. The oil rendered from
[222] these kernels is probably used only for lighting, because
[373] it is poisonous. Due to their heavy content of prussic acid, a handful of them is considered deadly. In Ni-
[762] agara, if somebody wants to commit suicide, he jumps over Niagara Falls; in Hunza, they eat a batch of wild apricot kernels.

The kneading process is continued and the vessel is kept tilted so the oil runs down and forms a small pool. As the oil begins to form, the kneading becomes even more vigorous until every drop of oil possible is extracted. While the rendering of the oil may be hard on the knuckles, nothing could be simpler and the resulting product is probably the most healthful and finest fat product that human hands can produce.

[231] The pulp that remains after the oil[1] is extracted is
[302] fed to milk-giving goats, sheep or cows, and is often used as a concoction or shampoo in which the Hunzans wash their heads. The oil of course is used in cooking, baking, frying, for lighting—and even for the hair.

[461] The good woman who performed the oil extracting task for me did not seem to be the least bit overburdened or taxed from this sort of arduous work. It probably would have been a hard day's work for a Western woman.

I would like to stress at this point that the heating process was not a cooking process in any sense of the word. Just a slight warming was all that was needed.

251 The apricot oil is never rendered and stored in casks
or otherwise, like many other people do with their oils.
252 They may make sufficient to last them a few days but not more. This is poured into an earthen vessel or a bottle, if available. When a further supply is required, the pits are cracked and they go through the entire process as outlined.

1 [i.e. - oil from apricot seeds - ANALYST]

Hunza or Nagir, not once did I see a bit of organic material of any kind wasted or destroyed. The people made regular foraging trips to different parts of the country and always brought back for their land any grass or other organic material that was found and could be brought home. 242

They would walk many miles in search of grass or green growth of any kind. Regularly I saw men, women and boys carrying huge packs on their backs. It was a mass of green packed into a cloth and carried to their farm to be fed to the animals or distributed over the small fields. [482] [231]

Up until the present time chemical fertilizers have not invaded Hunza. Whether there is any connection between the splendid health of the Hunzans and the fact that they have never used commercial fertilizers, I am unable to state. But it is worth considering!

Remember, there are no forests, peat bogs or other sources of organic material like we have in most parts of Europe and America. Every bit of organic material that the Hunzan farmer uses or procures is got at the expense of hard work or difficult travel. So it is easy to see why they can afford to waste not one iota of this life-sustaining substance.

If you have ever traveled to Switzerland, you would probably be struck or amazed by the neat piles of manure that are built in front of most farm residences and there a man's prestige and intrinsic value are estimated by the size of his manure pile. Don't laugh—I'm not joking! I'm dead serious and I swear this is absolutely true! Wise, oh, very wise, are the Swiss!

In Hunza, unfortunately, manure piles are seldom if ever encountered because the manure is placed on their fields as soon as it is ready. I looked into countless animal stables but never once did I see a manure pile . . .

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked. 252 262

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness. 372 313

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, mid-season and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering. 245 262

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions. 262

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays. [556] [231]

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards. 565 423 556

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of workable land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep, a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre. Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

During the past few years a bit of money has come

361 sides. Few, if any, Hunza homes are ever built where the land can be tilled. Usually the site that is selected for a home is part of a rocky promontory or some other location where the land could not be used for crops. They just can't afford to use a piece of tillable soil for a homesite.

342 The houses or homes are usually built of stones or rocks. No cement or any other binding compound is used. Yet the homes seem sturdy enough to stand most anything. I also saw some that were built of clay.

342 231 The lower floor of the Hunzan house is usually divided into two sections. One section has either no roof over it or just a part roof or covering and there is an opening in the wall, but no door. This is where the animals are kept. The Hunzan pasture and forage supply doesn't allow for the larger beasts. The cattle of Hunza are the diminutive kind, bred and selected for their dwarfishness, so that they will require less feeding, but still yield an abundant udderful of rich milk. This applies to goats, sheep and cows. The partial covering over the courtyard is so that the animals will have some form of protection overhead.

342 Then beside this is the house proper, probably half again as large . . . maybe 12 or 14 feet square.

The Hunzan farmer steps from his home into the stable, so to speak. This, of course, would horrify the people of America but it is not to be regarded as a sort of calamity, as utter degradation, or as a matter of filth and ill health, because this system is practiced in most other parts of the world even at the present time.

231 745 The Hunzans, being Mohammedans, do not raise pigs. Therefore they don't have the conditions that pigs would create.

356 I'm sure that I visited many of these courtyards and

231
[263]

There are no bees in Hunza and, consequently, no honey unless it is imported. This will probably come as a surprise to most people. I suspected this even before I reached Hunza. That is why I went in search of bees and honey in Hunza. But search and peer as I did, no bees were to be found and upon questioning I found that, though they had even tried importing them, they didn't remain or they died off.

Obviously the Hunza terrain is too tough and arduous for bees. Bees, contrary to what most people believe, like it soft. Set out a field of clover or a good sized patch of asters or other good honey-makers and bees will flock to your land, but, where you have a scattered flower here and there, the bees either won't bother or won't be able to find them.

Probably from a purely economic reason the bee finds Hunza uninviting. He probably would have to fly too far and too high to get any supply of nectar or honey and I don't think he'd make as much food as would be required to supplant the energy that was being used up. So after taking the important factors into consideration, it is clear that it is unwise for bees to live in Hunza. Even if it were possible to get a couple of colonies of bees established, it would do the Hunzan farmer no good because if he took away part of their honey, they would starve to death. A bee in most instances, where at all possible, stores more honey than he will require. He plays it secure by allowing a margin of safety. But in Hunza he'd have a hard enough time getting sufficient honey to keep him through the winter—let alone having some for the Hunzan farmer! From this it would appear that bees are not as smart or diligent as we think they are—or are they? Can they be blamed for seeking more colorful flowerier pastures?

184 a good crop of various kinds of grains, forage, vege-
241 table crops and fruits. In Hunza this just doesn't occur.
311 The terrain is steeper, more precipitous, more difficult and seldom if ever does a flat open area come within the limits of normal vision.

[133] Then, too, Nagir has many more nullahs formed by the melting glaciers. Rakaposhi is located in Nagir and surrounding it are many snowfields and glaciers which are used, trained and harnessed to irrigate their country.

Indubitably, the fates and nature have been much kinder to Nagir than they have to Hunza.

438 Let me also tell you frankly that on many occasions the people of Hunza purchase or barter various types of food from Nagir. I asked the ways and means that [437] were used in effecting these deals and found that in most cases money—earned by the Hunzans in service in the army, portering for expeditions and given to them as gifts—was the means.

184 One might gather from what I have said and even [628] from talking to various people or natives of the area, that the Nagirwals and the Hunzans are deadly enemies. But that is not true. The people of Hunza [186] think themselves much better than the people of Nagir. They do believe that they are handsomer, healthier, cleaner and are better husbandmen, but yet there does not appear to be any cases of conflict, physical or armed, between the two peoples.

123 I recall a little incident that may be of some interest. We rounded a spot—I guess it was 10 or so miles from Minapin—on the way up to Baltit and there we saw a decrepit, ragged looking Nagirwal. In his hands he [231] held a pair of chickens. They were the typical chickens of the area—full grown but the size that our chickens are when they're half grown. He waved them in front of us as though indicating they were for sale or could be

136 pigeons and doves. They also vouch for the fact that sparrows, skylarks, nightingales, canaries, magpies, falcons and hawks were part of the common scene throughout the district.

The P.A. told me that on his hunting excursions he has on a few occasions come across both brown and black bears and I know there are also leopards, because the P.A. presented me with the hide of one of them, which now graces the living room of my son's home.

Inasmuch as small animals are concerned, I don't think you'd find too many. They like to go where food is more readily available than is the case in the sparsely vegetated Hunza area.

[134] I don't think burrowing animals would be common to the district, because one can't very readily burrow through rock, and that is what 99% of the Hunza terrain consists of.

231 Incidentally, the goats that are kept by the Hunzan farmers are not by any stretch of the imagination similar to the larger ibex that are found in the hills. The Hunza goat is a diminutive fellow that is bred for its dwarfness and ability to give lots of milk for its size.

223 224 Apart from the fall duck hunt when myriads are felled, and the occasional hunt with shikari to bring down the renowned ovis poli (Marco Polo sheep) from the 18,000 foot pinnacles, Hunza cannot be called a hunter's paradise.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

744 processes are unknown and unused: chlorination, pasteurization, hydrogenation, inoculation, fluoridation.

262 The single most important food, as used by the people of Hunza, consists of dried apricots and whole ground grain mixed together to form a toddy or a gruel. This is actually drunk cold and is enjoyed by all members of the family. It is usually partaken of during the late afternoon or early evening.

Their other important foods consist of the following: potatoes, garlic, beans, peas, carrots, tomatoes and some leafy vegetables. In fruits, they have mulberries, apples, walnuts and a few plums, pears and cherries. Grapes are used chiefly for making wine.

They grow a fairly broad selection of grains: millet, wheat, barley, rye, buckwheat and a little rice. Lucerne [231] or alfalfa is generally used for cattle fodder.

[245] The Persian Walnut is the chief nut grown in the area. Almonds are raised, and their cultivation is increasing. A fair quantity of apricot kernels are used.

Ghee is used for baking and as a spread on their chapatties or bread—the oven-baked loaf. Sour milk, buttermilk and curd are a regular part of the diet.

Meat does not form an important part of the Hunzan way of life.

Most foods are consumed raw. The lack of wood or other heating materials probably accounts for the paucity of cooked foods in their culinary art.

147 There are practically no cases of overweight among the people of Hunza. The importance of this factor cannot be overestimated.

000 The path to health is a simple, easy-to-follow road. It is the most natural way in the world to the people of Hunza. However, to follow a similar path in America would involve complications, difficulties and many frustrations.

[P44-A]

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it: men
[562] spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushaling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two; cold weather
[255] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it is virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[194] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the almond-like nuts. The women hand-
[412] grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
270 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[762] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. Av7

241 of bread or grain, but I was told that this was not
262 the case. What does happen here, and throughout the region of the Eastern Hindu-Kush, is that the fruit crops are so prolific that the people naturally
[231] live largely on them in summer. Even the animals take to a fruit diet, and you see donkeys, cows, and goats eating the fallen mulberries. The very dogs feed on them, and our fox-terriers took to the fruit *régime* most kindly, and became quite connoisseurs in the different kinds of mulberry, preferring the "Shahtut," the king mulberry, a large luscious purple fruit, to all others.

312 The great water channel referred to before deserves passing mention. Its head waters are some half a mile up the ravine, on the edge of which Hunza stands, a few hundred feet below the end of the glacier which feeds it. For the whole of this half mile the water channel is a monument of patient labour, and of the clever adaption of the rudest means to the most important end. It is carried across the face of a cliff, in some places of sheer rock, in others of hard conglomerate. Sometimes it runs along the top of a built-up wall thirty or forty feet high, at others through carefully excavated channels in the conglomerate which avoid the difficulties of a sharp corner by tunnelling through it. Where the face of the rock is perpendicular, and its foot washed by the torrent is unsuitable for the foundations of a retaining wall, the water flows through timber troughs, supported by wooden brackets adroitly fixed into the cliff. I did not measure the output, but, roughly, the channel must have at its widest a section of

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AU3-Afghanistan-AU3
4 AV2 Dard
Burushe AV7

covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immorality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yehkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Iskardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaki, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the name of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gánish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother, and their sons are called "*gushpoor*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population take refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

1: Lorimer T-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
through which two parallel rods are threaded; the hinge is a longer
335 piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold
and lintel; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort
322 of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old
home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and inde-
pendent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully
291 terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the
skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the
cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now
415 considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water
281 carried in skins; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and
stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are
woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very
scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root
415 of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown
primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for
baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying
apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and
dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little
but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also
233 the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-
246 irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such
weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human
consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty
provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not
one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble,
and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families
command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

ANTIQUITY

233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons
241 hopes to possess is a tiny flock of 20 to 25 sheep, goats and cows. In
237 these circumstances manure is more precious than gold, and the small
592 children who conduct a cow to pasture carry a shoulder basket in which every ounce of the day's output is scrupulously collected and brought home.

233 When the snow retreats on the upper mountains a few patches of green are left here and there, and the more athletic beasts are taken up by young men who live in shelters with their charges, collect the manure, convert the milk into butter and bring these home with the animals when the snows claim their own again. These patches of high pasture, several thousand feet above the villages, are all too few and can only be reached by serious feats of mountaineering. Through field-glasses we could see the grazing animals clinging—by their eyebrows as it seemed—to their precipitous 'summer pastures', but it was impossible to ride up even on a yak, and at our age impossible to climb on foot for a nearer view.

As soon as the trees put out their leaves in spring, each 'donkey tree' (*i.e.*, non-fruit-bearing) is stripped of every scrap of spare foliage to feed the half-starved beasts. This luxury diet has to be very carefully administered lest the animals should perish of its unaccustomed succulence.

243 The major crops grown by the Hunza people for their own use are wheat, barley, several kinds of millet, sweet and bitter buckwheat,
[177] nowadays also the highly-valued potato (introduced by the British in 1892) and small quantities of various pulses. Barley must have been the original staple crop, for all the traditional festivals, the Seed-sowing of early spring, the First Reaping of early summer and the Harvest
[242] Home, relate to barley alone. The peasant is wise about rotation of crops and the various types of wheat, millet, etc., which thrive best in given conditions. Wheaten bread is much preferred to any other, but barley remains the larger crop because spring-sown barley ripens three or four weeks before even the winter-sown wheat, and the vacant fields can be resown with millet; whereas after the wheat only buckwheat can hope to ripen before winter. Bitter buckwheat is frankly detested, but it is hardier than the sweet and can better withstand an attack of early frost, so a certain amount of it is always sown as an insurance.

So poor is the soil, so scanty the manure, that in the newer villages like Aliabad, the average return is only sevenfold and even the storeyed fields of Baltit, which have been tilled in the sweat of man and woman's brow for at least 600 years and probably for twice or thrice as long, yield

Chapter 19

HARVEST THANKSGIVING

THERE are a couple of minor items of the autumn harvest I 312
have omitted to mention. In Aliabad, the widest and most 233
gently sloping bay of the Hunza mountain side, there is for one short stretch of perhaps a mile a patch of ground above the level of possible fields before the steep cliff face begins. Through and above this run the third and fourth of our horizontal watercourses, offshoots from the Berber Channel that waters the higher levels of Baltit and derives also from the great glacier of the Ulter Ber, but takes off much higher up than the Dala. Sufficient water can occasionally be spared from these two channels (which in the main are needed to irrigate high-lying "gardens" of trees) to flood these rocky slopes, which then bring forth that rarest of Hunza products, natural grass. These *toqs*, as they are called, are divided into strips by loose stone walls and used as grazing grounds by whoever leases them. Two or even four families often combine to share 857
a *toq*, and on your walks you will find children of various sizes 526
in charge of a few animals; a small girl may be sitting gravely alone practising embroidery stitches on a strip of calico, a boy may be twisting the string of horse-gut for his catapult bow, a group may be romping together or playing a game like rounders with a home-spun cap for ball, or "horses" where half the players are mounted on the others' backs and the pairs charge each other to a fall, and any rider thrown becomes in turn a horse. When these livelier games begin to pall, a couple 524
will withdraw to the edge of the little channel and scratch a draught-board on a level patch of ground and play with pebbles white and grey as men. The board is formed of triangles whose

857 tarily empty field, playing team games of tipcat or chucking stones at a mark—they have dozens of admirable games, with rules strictly adhered to—the small ones sit about and look on or amuse themselves dabbling in water if there is any or making mud-pies. A group of youngsters were playing round me one day when a tiny girl unaccountably took fright and set up a terrified howl. A big boy stooped to comfort her: "There, there, don't cry, don't be afraid," he said soothingly, and wrapped his cloak round her to shut out whatever was the disturbing sight (I rather think it was I), and patted her reassuringly. "That will be your little sister?" said I. "No, no," was the answer, "I don't know really whose kid it is."

246 As autumn approaches and no further growth can be hoped
241 from the grass, these mountain meadows are painstakingly reaped, cut this time, with the blunt iron sickles—for the roots must be left for next year—and the tiny bunches of grass tied up. There will be a few longer, tougher stalks in each double handful, and these are doubled back over the shorter ones and the bundle tied twice, once at the base where it is fattest, and once near the top where the bent heads are caught. These bundles are then laid out in the sun—a benevolent accessory to harvest that never faileth—and gathered in to form part of the winter fodder. Then follows an incredible sight: every inch of the mountain side is painstakingly swept by the Nímos and Shamúlis, whose besoms are minute thorn bushes. Every pellet of sheep or goat, every half inch of stubbly grass above the root is garnered into the tiny shoulder baskets and added to the manure. When you have seen one strip of ground thus treated you might think the job was done; not a bit of it. A few days later Nímo and Shamúli are at it again and yet again, till not one speck of animal or vegetable matter remains. You can imagine that there is no need when walking round Hunza to "pick your steps" as in an English meadow.

233 Every individual leaf, from garden or orchard, from water-course or steep hill-garden, is similarly swept up and stored; these dry leaves are the staple winter food for the stalled beasts —no wonder the milk lacks cream-content and the sheep is bare of fat! No wonder that I shudder now to see our autumn

233 bonfires recklessly consuming grass-cuttings and leaves that would be worth gold in Nimo's home.

511 Burushaski is an amazingly rich language, but it has evolved no word for "litter-lout." Go where you will in lane or courtyard, over field or bare hillside, you will not see an eggshell or a fleck of wool or a nutshell lying about. Hunza must be, bar none, the cleanest and the tidiest spot on earth. If a child is lucky enough to be given a few apricot stones he will crack them on a rock, eat the kernels with gusto, and gather up the shells for mother's fire. Only in a couple of the narrow lanes of the deserted fort did we stumble on a cast-away rag or two. When a homespun cloak has served father for three years' hard work, it will descend to a son, or be handed on to an orphan relation; when it is torn and tattered past repair it is carefully plucked to pieces, washed, beaten, and re-spun to make a girl's cloak, for her work is less strenuous than the boy's, and the re-spun cloak is stout enough for her and quite as warm.

771 Whatever the theoretical tenets of the Maulai (Ismaili) dissenters may be—and of these Professor Ivanow can best speak—the simple Hunzukuts has evolved for himself quite the most practical and admirable modification of Islam that 562 I have ever seen or heard of. He does not veil his womenfolk nor banish them to separate quarters, but treats them as equal partners in field and home. His standard of morals is so high that when a young husband goes abroad, he trusts his young wife to the care of his father and brothers without misgiving. 582 We heard no case of such a trust being abused. He retains his 515 own custom of exogamic marriage between the clans and the normal first-cousin marriage of Islam (though recognized as religiously allowable and occasionally practised by the upper families) savours to the ordinary peasant of incest, and is in fact avoided, though not in principle taboo; he also, as we have noted, preserves his own fastidious and wholesome ideas about sanitation, and keeps his running water scrupulously 793 pure. No archbishops or bishops (whom he would term *pirs*), and no professional priests or *mullas* reside in his territories, for which no doubt he has to thank some tacit concordat between his wise ruler and His Highness the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis.

cumference, twisted them with his fingers till he had a small 286
nucleus of double thread. With a wooden peg he fastened this tiny ball so that it could not unroll, and started swinging it round his head, letting it touch the ground now and again to increase the spin. It travelled in wider and wider circles till the connecting thread became of unmanageable length and began to kink. Then he hauled it in and wound the beautifully twisted length of doubled thread on to the little ball and again pegged it down. Thus he continued till the original ball was exhausted.

Not long after, the Ustád's Hérul Nisa came to say that they were setting up a goats'-hair loom at their house if we would care to see it. We found that this time a large vertical frame standing on the roof of No. 8, lashed to the rafter of the balcony, and in course of being strung with just such a warp thread as Kalbi had shown us in the making. While Hunza sheep [233] are uniformly white, three kinds of goat are kept: white, brown, and black. Black hair is used for the warp, while the bobbins are wound with white and brown. The bobbins in this case are long, needle-like rods the full width of the cloth, 2 feet or so, with the hair wound round notches in each end. There are only two heddles, thrown backwards and forwards by a forked peg like a boy's catapult. Goats'-hair weaving is a slower job and heavier than wool-weaving, but the Ustád is master of it, too, and was again initiating two younger men. The different coloured hair allows of pattern-weaving, and they enjoy devising new stripes and squares of brown and white. A very heavy comb is needed to beat down the intractable material, and in order to prevent the cloth being drawn too tight by the cross threads, two "bows" of flexible wood were spiked across it to keep it flat and taut. These are inserted as near as possible to the working edge and moved up 352
as work progresses. The goats'-hair strips are used as rugs, or 415
doubled and sewn together to form sacks and saddle-bags.

One day we were exploring the half-ruined village of the 346
old fort, threading the narrow switchback alleys between 345
deserted houses—so narrow that in places you could only edge along sideways—looking for points of vantage from which to

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

The central compartment—not unlike a kitchen sink—had 273
a stone floor slightly sloping towards a hole in front which was fitted with a neat little spout of birchbark, below which a great iron cauldron stood. One of the young men of the family (having doubtless washed his feet) leapt into the sink, rested his hands on the sides of it, and tramped, tramped, tramped, with all his weight. It looked very like hard work. Another man crouched alongside the spout, holding a large-meshed basket which filtered the juice as it ran out into the cauldron. The skins thus trapped were thrown back for another trampling. As required, further supplies of grapes were taken from the side compartments and thrown into the wine-press. After seeing our fill of this process and taking what photographs were possible in the patchwork of light and shade, we climbed steeply uphill to a flattish spot where other even more interesting activities were afoot.

Under a big boulder a flat stone had been converted into a trough by little "concrete" walls made of sand mixed with fat. The slimy mush of skins, stalks, and stones left after yesterday's pressing had been brought up here. In the trough they laid a wicker ring 9 or 10 inches across and a couple of inches thick. Into this they dumped as much of the green stuff as it would hold; then they laid another ring on the top of the first and filled it till they had a pile a foot high or so. On top they now placed a flat slab of stone, and across it a stout pole for lever, which they wedged firmly under the boulder as a fulcrum. The pole projected like one half of a see-saw. On to it a man leapt, thus pressing down the stone slab on to the articulated basket, and out gushed the juice into a vessel below. Then the stone was lifted, the top ring of the ingenious basket thrown aside, and the squeezing process repeated till nothing was left but a wet round cake of skins, seeds, and stalks. This is then [233] put in the sun to dry, and is much valued as a cattle food. Our wine-friends told us that the wine made from this second pressing is counted superior to the first.

When the receiving vessels are full, the juice is transferred through a wooden funnel into a skin sack and set aside to ferment. It is not allowed to stand overlong, for October's

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

addressed to each of the four corners of the shed. To our 788
amazement we saw by the light of the flames that the shed was chock full of goats (we had imagined that they would have been cleared out for the ceremony) who seemed not in the least perturbed. Nadíro then came out again and lit a torch of juniper twigs at the fire and went in to wave it similarly into each of the four corners. Bibi Anjír then handed [262]
down a big wooden basin of *múl* which looked like a rather slushy brown pudding with pinkish trimming on top. This festive dish is made only on special occasions, such as a child's birth or the like. Before starting in to eat the *múl* or hand it round, the old man took his stand in the door of the byre and with great dignity and reverence lifted his eyes to heaven and recited the fumigating prayer. Bits of it ran something like this: "O Moses, Holy Prophet, grant that one hundred milking vessels may be required, and that our shears may be used on a hundred sheep! May kid follow after kid and lamb after lamb! May there be rams with curly horns and he-goats with short horns turned in! May milk flow in floods and may the butter pit be filled with butter!"

Happily DL had already got the prayer written down so [233]
we were able to follow it better than if we had been hearing it for the first time, and were even able to note that the Ustád got it a bit mixed in parts. We ascertained what was the point of the "short horns turned in." It is simply a question of packing. The byres are small and the beasts have all got to live crowded together in them throughout the winter, so that a princely he-goat with spreading horns is a disaster to his owner and a danger to his fellows.

Now came the moment when the family and friends would tuck into the *múl*, and we thanked our kind hosts most warmly for letting us see the little ceremony, and fled to the warmth of our own fire and our butterless tea. I was in terror lest we should be pressed to partake of the *múl* which is so special a dish that it was sure to be reeking of priceless *maltash*—of which we had no wish to rob them.

The next item on the Hunza communal programme is the 585
Great Wedding Day, which falls about mid-December on some 787
Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners.

up and up amongst the stones till they look like mites in a 857
cheese. What they find to eat is a mystery, for there is not one visible blade of grass and not one inch of thorn. But they "feed" there all day with the boys in the offing to see that they do not stray too far.

The Hunza sheep have prudently established the tradition 233
that they cannot climb so high without breaking their legs, so they stay farther down where there is a small amount of very scanty grass (a home sheep would not recognize it as such) and an occasional dead leaf to gorge on.

Khano pointed out the "lizards' apricots"; patches of 000
yellow, green, grey, and white lichen, which he says the lizards live on. He showed us the spoor of a fox and the tracks of his friends and a host of other interesting things. He's an amusing little play-actor. "Oh, I've got a thorn in my foot!" and he pretended to cry and limp helplessly about. Then with a laugh he clutched his foot, stooped to meet it, and whisked the thorn out with his teeth—a huge thing it was. Next he pulled a *mindak* out of some unexpected recess in his clothing and tried to teach us to play shuttlecock. The *mindak* is a most 524
attractive toy. You get a small flat central button of lead and somehow contrive to attach to it a horizontal frill of kids' hair, black or white preferred. You then throw it in the air and try to kick it up with your foot, counting how often you succeed before letting it fall to the ground. You may kick it with your instep in an amateurish way, but the stylish thing is to strike it with the sole of your bare foot. The boys are extraordinarily adept, but the art is one not easily acquired in leather-shod middle age. Our indifferent attempts reduced us all three to helpless laughter. We were much amused to note that just as with the girls stotting their balls, the reckoning started at three and your first successful stroke was counted "four." In return for this demonstration lesson I tried to teach Khano to do handstands and cart-wheels, but my attempts to demonstrate these arts were somewhat unconvincing.

On the way home we met Kamber (Ustád Nadíro's boy) 000
driving his herd of goats helter-skelter downhill. DL had

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

A month later, by the third week of March, we were well into the Spring. The winter wheat formed a bright green carpet on the shelf-like fields, about three-quarters of our Aliábád ground being given over to it. 132

The barley which the men had sown after the Bopfau, just the other day it seemed, was showing green over the most of the rest, and would presently outstrip the wheat and ripen first. The only brown fields left were those that were being prepared for vegetables and potatoes. No leaves were yet showing anywhere, but fat red apricot buds looked promising. 243

As autumn drew in we had begun to feel a little disappointed in our Hunza friends whose marvellous field-walls we had always admired so much with not one single stone out of its place. There were breaches here and there, sometimes quite big ones, and paths were often blocked by a fall of stones, and no one seemed to bother. This puzzled us as out of character, but as soon as the last fear of frost was over, every spare moment was spent by men and boys restoring the countryside to its normal state of faultless tidiness. We now saw the reason of the apparent neglect. The frost and ice simply tear the walls to pieces, and to repair them during winter would be sheer folly. We might perhaps have divined this; but now at any rate we knew. 241

One early day in March we saw Khano on the mountain side walking slowly and with circumspection. This was so strange a sight that we went over to investigate. "What are you carrying so carefully under your *choga*?" "My first kid," he said, opening his cloak to display the tiny head with triumph. "That's the mother there. I'm expecting four to-morrow. I do hope they won't get born at night in the byre. I'd rather they came when I'm out with them alone." "How do you happen to have so many goats?" we asked. "Oh, I'm herding for the Yerpa now. He's no boys of his own, you see." How crazy it would be to call a lad like that "uneducated" because he doesn't happen to have learned to read or write! He is proudly able to act as accoucheur to his goats, which few of our youngsters at home would feel equal to. We enquired later of Dádo and the rest what sort of wages Khano was able to earn, and their view was that he was probably not given 233

233 ary wage in our sense of the term, but that he would certainly be getting one or two free meals a day, and thus sensibly reducing the rationing problems of his own home. Hunza sheep lamb twice a year, but the goats have kids once only, in the Spring. Khano's promotion to wage-earning status was a little sad for us, for we saw him much more rarely after that.

242 One fine morning early in March the apricot trees that line
245 the Dála just in front of our rest-house were suddenly invaded by the whole Dastagul family armed with long sticks, to the end of which a sharpened piece of curved iron had been attached. With infinite care they inspected every branch, and wherever they detected the nest of an insect they snipped down the twig on which it rested. These nests were small, cocoon-like things only about an inch long, with a nasty little grub inside. The nests clung very tight to their hospitable perch, and it was often necessary to cut quite a biggish spray in order to secure them; each was diligently collected and borne home to the fire. We were not qualified to identify the pest on which war was being waged, but it was reported to devour both leaves and fruit if not destroyed. All through the country every single apricot tree is scrupulously examined and cleared—there must be thousands. We certainly did not later see a single one that seemed to be suffering from insect attack.

563 About this time we made another addition to our re-
167 tainers—a dear old grey-bearded man with the jolliest bright
361 eyes and a merry, happy smile, but not a tooth in his head, was roped in to work at Wakhi. The Wakhis, as I have said, are immigrants into the north of Hunza from the Wakhan districts of Afghanistan. They have settled in various places above the level at which the Burusho themselves care to live. Hunza men will tell you that they cannot induce their womenfolk to live where the apricot will not ripen. I suspect, however, that the men are just as unwilling to forgo their trees and wheat and fruit, but Adam-like prefer to blame their mates. The higher villages of Hunza are therefore inhabited almost wholly by Wakhi-speakers. Being unaccustomed to wheat, apricots, or

Chapter 27

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

000 THE first few days after our return we spent in picking up threads again, and very jolly it was to make the tour of the dear, familiar farmsteads and be shown the new kids and lambs, the new stone shed, etc., to comment on the progress each field was making—in some, little knobs were forming on the barley stalks, where presently the new ears would come, in some few, the ears were already taking shape—to see how far the new fields had progressed towards completion, and what jobs were now in hand. We were touched to find that it was not only our more immediate, better-known neighbours who seemed glad to see us, but even the more distant, rarely visited families flocked to the doors and came out to kiss our hands till the greetings became almost mónotonous: "We have missed you. You were long away. We are glad you are back. Are you well?" Old men tottered up to talk to us, young mothers brought new babies to be introduced; Baby Faqér laughed and crowed and "knew his grandmother" (he was a very bright and intelligent little chap for only five months), and little Afrots had not forgotten how to shake hands and say "How do you do?" performing these feats to the admiration of crowds from the three adjacent house-roofs and a large passing party in the lane.

233 Bare fields that had been lying fallow were being got ready
241 and dotted with manure dumps for the independent millets, sand was being dug from the silt traps to add to the beasts' bedding, whence it would duly reach the fields, and women were fetching baskets of earth from the "Mir's Stables" to add to the banked soil round their potatoes. The whole

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

countryside was a hive of industry. We missed the larger animals and learnt that they had already been taken up to the *tér* for the summer, while the tiny lambs and kids who were being carefully shepherded about to get what scanty grazing they could find without trespassing into the springing crops, demanded the unceasing vigilance of their small guardians.

The most noticeable new phenomenon was the constant stream of people, men or women, stooping under huge bundles of greenery till they looked in truth "like trees walking." We had come back to find the poplars well clothed and bushy (for poplars), giving an unwonted air of luxury to the landscape, but now they were being ruthlessly stripped to provide fodder for the animals, half starved throughout the winter on a diet of dry leaves. Poplar, willow, and *gindáwer* are all laid under contribution, but the new fodder has to be very carefully issued at first lest the poor beasts should perish of its unaccustomed succulence. I stood one day watching and photographing a minute human insect at the top of a 50 or 60 foot poplar skilfully stripping it of its spring glory and leaving only the tiniest green tuft at the top. A whole handsome row were about to be similarly shorn. In a moment of thoughtlessness I said to the peasant at my side: "They look so lovely, it does seem a pity. . . ." He turned on me almost fiercely: "What, Mother? Would you starve our beasts for the sake of a poplar tree? The leaves will come again next spring. There is no cure for a dead sheep." I stood rebuked.

No. 3 had been laying out a new vegetable plot. Apicho showed me the various beds ready for beans, scarlet runners (which here have yellow flowers), marrows, and greens, but confessed that manure was their great problem. They have only one cow, poor devils, and with the best will in the world one cow cannot produce enough.

The end of May is the season when new saplings of poplar, willow, etc., are planted, and we occasionally met people carrying off bundles of them to set in place. The mills were in action again, and such fortunate folk as had a little grain still left from their emergency store—not, after all, exhausted by weddings or funerals—were carrying pathetically small bags of it to be ground.

it to be ground. But "Starvation Springtime" was still ruling the land, and we noticed the children looking very thin and peaky, and a few with sores on their faces—hunger sores. We had often remarked on the complete absence of skin diseases amongst these cleanly folk, and the hunger sores rapidly disappeared with the coming of more food.

The opening of June saw weeding being very intensively carried out, not only for the sake of the growing crops, but for the weeds' own sake; those which were dubbed "crows' vegetables" were thrown to the sheep and goats, while sorrel and the like found their way into the family cooking-pot. Irrigation questions were now serious, for the crops must not be starved of water at the critical moment, and we used to meet bands of Aliábádkuts armed with shovels walking out the eight or more miles to the highest point of the Dála to guard and govern the controlling sluices. The potatoes were now beginning to flower and the mulberries to show signs of ripening, and the air was rent by shrill boy and girl noises designed to scare the birds off the mulberry trees. Every boy was armed with his catapult bow, made and strung of course by his own hands. I asked Yaman how many birds he had killed with his little stones: "Seventy-two, so far this season, Mother, but I'll get lots more." "What do you do with them?" "Oh, I take them home and put them in the pot, but there's not much meat on them." Our first impression of Hunza had been that, except for magpies, it was an entirely birdless land; this was a mistake. Migratory birds came in flocks at various seasons when any sort of likely food was going. Their various species I was not ornithologist enough to know; to me, as to A. J. Balfour, each was just "an average small bird," and the Hunza terminology was no great help to identification, for they were known as "mulberry birds," "barley birds," or the like, according to which crop they threatened. We now also for the first time saw shorn goats. Whereas the Hunza sheep are robbed of their wool just whenever wool is needed, so that you never see a really generous-looking ample fleece, the goats are shorn only once a year, in early summer. If you think of it, goat's hair would be too wiry to spin at all unless it were a decent length.

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Windy weather was knocking down unripe mulberries in 233
alarming quantities, which were incontinently guzzled by the 245
goats and sheep.

By June 9th ripe mulberries were reported from Ganesh and Hasanabad, some hundreds of feet below us, but we had to wait another three weeks for ours.

One afternoon we were out on the hillside and stopped to 524
watch a group of boys playing a complicated game of *bada bada* with a lot of small stones cast into twelve little holes in the ground. It was roughly equivalent to some of our games of marbles, and thinking of a large consignment of these which we had brought with us for future gifts we ruefully realized how useless marbles would be in a country where there are not six inches of smooth, level ground. As we sat trying to master 231
the rules of *bada bada* Gulo crept up alongside me and slipped her hand confidentially into mine, whispering "Our pussy cat has had a confinement," using for fun the same term as she would have applied to her mother, and not the word suitable for cats. "There are three kittens, and they opened their eyes yesterday; do come and see them!"

When the game was over we accordingly started crosswise downhill to No. 3. I halted at the door to make sure that Zénába was prepared to endorse the impulsive invitation. She was sitting crouched by the hearth boiling the greens for dinner and jumped up with delight to bring us in. We squatted down on a sleeping-bench, from the back of which the children produced a round fruit basket in which the cat was cosily curled up. She was evidently accustomed to seeing her babies tenderly handled, for she let us take them out without other comment than a loud purr. Dear little furry things they were, about the size of small mice, and Gulo bubbled over: "She made first the black one and then the white one and then the yellow one—and that was all." Meantime, in addition to Kaníza and Apícho, a strange young man had drifted in to see what was going on, and presently Father arrived and we all chatted together very gaily. Laughing somewhat apologetically, 231
Zénába confessed that she had drawn on the emergency reserve 844
to make some *daudo* (a sort of porridge with butter) for pussy 262

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Men left at home in the village were now making pilgrimages towards the *tér* to fetch down the manure that their brothers up on the mountain side with the animals have been scrupulously collecting. They usually arrange to meet half way, the village brother taking up any supplies the other may need and the brother of the *tér* bringing down not only manure but butter and *brús*, a kind of preparation of dried curd not unlike cream cheese. The lads up at the *tér* have rather a jolly time. They take up only their oldest clothes, for the life is rough and the work is hard. Anywhere that there is a scrap of suitable ground they plant a little barley, harnessing themselves to the plough so as not to put work on to the horses or oxen they may have with them, who are considered to have earned a holiday. Each day at dawn they loose their animals, but keep a careful eye on them, and sometimes have hair-raising adventures in rescuing a beast which has fallen down a cliff. There used to be considerable danger from wild animals, but nowadays there are few of these surviving. Any family that lacks a spare son to take the animals up entrusts them to the care of some other, after a rather touching little ceremony in which the beasts are solemnly committed to the care of their new master, who is at the same time given a certain amount of grain with him as part of his fee. Milking, making butter, collecting the manure, tending the barley (if any), cooking their own food, corralling the animals at night, etc., occupy the herds the greater part of the time, but they find leisure enough for various games and feats of skill.

Every now and again they decide to supplement their scanty rations—the village can spare little enough to send with them —by the sacrifice of a goat and a feast of meat. The donor of the beast plays for the evening the rôle of Mir, appoints another as his Wazir, and they play-act their several parts with gusto. It is frankly admitted that the animal sacrificed to make this holiday usually is one of those whose owner is not present. When eventually the boy returns, minus one of the animals for which he was trustee, he formally announces the regrettable "loss" to its owner. The nature of the catastrophe is fully understood but not crudely stated. A wise owner is

expected to reply: "It is God's will. Accidents will happen. After all, they are beasts of the mountain and the wild." He is reckoned a churlish fellow who institutes enquiries and demands compensation, though no one denies his right to it. The liberty to indulge in an occasional free feed is, we understood, sparingly taken and not abused.

With luck a she-goat will yield enough milk while up on the summer pastures to make two *maltash*, i.e. two birch bark parcels of butter for storage. If the goat is a trustee goat the herd is expected to hand one *maltash* to her owner and to keep the balance as his fee. Sheep's milk is poor in fat content and yields little butter, so it is usually devoted to making *brús* and *rakhpín*, a kind of hard, dried curd which has great lasting qualities and the appearance of a cake of soap.

The day that the herds return from the mountain with their charges is a festive one for the villages. Large parties go out to meet the returning absentees. Before finally leaving the *tér*, driven down by cold and the advancing autumn snows, the herds bake some special little cakes to bring back with them, and crowds of dancing, shouting boys and girls fall on their elder brothers demanding their share. Trust the Hunzukuts to stage a festival on the slightest provocation.

Our Ernest of the white horse reappeared unexpectedly from the *tér* in the middle of the season and walked over from Hasanabad to call on us and bring an offering of *brús* for DL and of wild mountain flowers for me. He had given his animals into a friend's charge, and taken a couple of days off because he was a member of the Hasanabad polo team and was wanted to play in an inter-village match. These matches rouse as much interest as Arsenal *versus* Chelsea, and a good player who is also the possessor of a good pony can ill be spared. I duly took a photo of him and The Cat, he no longer in the rôle of the humble *sais* but of the gentleman polo player. Stout fellow!

These early June days were the time for apricot and mulberry grafting. The cultivated fruit shoots are grafted on to wild trees. We watched the process, about which the Hunzukuts have little to learn. Each graft was given a double lashing of bark from mulberry root. We returned later and found them

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Among the vast and savage mountains of the Western Karakoram, which are generally devoid of a blade of grass, and of which the surface by falls of cliff and boulders, the slipping of detritus, and the downpouring of mud-floods, is kept in a constantly raw and unstable state, nature has made it possible for a small population to maintain itself, in the sweat of its brow, by agriculture and the pasturing of small cattle. 133 241 233

Terraces, apparently the remains of glacial deposits, supplemented it may be by downpourings from the mountain sides, have been left here and there along the sides of the valleys of the main rivers, at a height usually of some hundreds of feet above their stony beds. Where water for irrigation can be obtained from side-ravines these tracts can be cultivated. Without irrigation no cultivation is possible. There are no rain-watered cereal crops and water cannot be raised from the main river. The surface of these terraces is not flat, but slopes down at every kind of angle from the hillsides till the terraces end in abrupt earth-cliffs descending to the river beds. As the ground has to be irrigated it also has to be more or less levelled, otherwise all the soil would soon be washed away. This is accomplished by constructing terraced fields, the lower edges of which are supported by revetting walls built up of the rounded stones available in the diluvium. This revetting is highly skilled work, and is beautifully carried out, and maintained in perfect repair by the Hunzukuts. The Nagirkuts seem on the whole to be less strenuous workers and less tidy-minded cultivators. 312 241

There remains the task of constructing channels to bring water from where it is available, often miles away. These channels are designed with precision and executed with great resource and ingenuity, often being carried on revetted or galleried aqueducts across cliff faces. Having made your land and brought your water, it still remains to elaborate a system of distributing the water among the various communities or individuals entitled to a share of it. 312

Pressure of population in recent years has led to constant endeavours to devise means of providing water supplies for tracts of waterless but cultivable land. Where land and water have been 241

3: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

241 brought together, the following are the principal crops grown in Hunza and Nagir: wheat, barley, two or three kinds of millet, buckwheat, broad beans, peas and various pulses, lucerne (yielding two crops) for fodder. Maize and rice are not grown at these levels[1]. Lucerne is often grown on the sloping unterraced hillside where water is insufficient for crops. Fruit is also an important item of cultivation. The apricot is universal, and fresh and dry the fruit is a staple food. Besides its kernels are collected and eaten, or crushed for their oil. Apples, peaches, cherries, cherry-plums and grapes are also extensively grown, but do not appear to be dried, though apples and grapes are stored in straw for some months. Pears, pomegranates and walnuts are cultivated in places. The mulberry is eaten fresh and is also dried and preserved. Poplars and willows are grown for their timber, and in the lower tracts the chenar.

233 237 Agricultural crops and fruit would not however provide a complete subsistence. Goats, sheep and a small type of cow supply the necessary milk and fat products, particularly ghee, also hair for ropes and coarse cloth, wool for clothing, skins and hides for containing vessels, foot-wear and thongs. These cattle are kept in the villages during the cool and cold weather, when they are fed on such scanty natural grazing as is to be found, agricultural waste and dried leaves, and pay their way by providing milk and manure. During the hot months they are sent up in charge of herds to the few summer grazing-grounds (tēr, pl. tērming; ter, termin), which exist in the higher 234 parts of some of the nullahs. There their milk is collected and converted into forms in which it will keep: ghee, dried buttermilk etc.

361 133 [1] I.e. from about 7000′ upwards. Chhalt, the lowest village in the country, stands at 6560′. Māyūn and Hindi are probably about 7000′ and Alīābād about 7500′. Baltit is 8000′ and Nagir 7550′. Misgār, the highest place at which the Burusho have been induced to live, is 10.158′. It is said that the Burusho women refuse to go where the apricot will not ripen, and there are few Burusho settled above 8000′. In Chupūrsan and Shīmshāl the Wakhis are found up to about 11.000′, which is probably the extreme limit at which barley will grow in this region. In recent years a little maize has been grown in Māyūn, Murtazābād and Ganish.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

After this the four communities of Bāltit assembled and instituted a case with the Hamachāting, and by way of settlement they took the Ulter grazing from the Hamachāting as a fine on account of Shadun Kapūri. She was a daughter of the Berātaling and a wife of the Khūrukuts. The Diramating, as disinterested parties, had decided the case for them and the Hamachāting.

After that the Khūrukuts, the Diramiting and the Berātaling in partnership settled their flocks in Ulter. Some years later the Thams took the Ulter grazing ground for themselves and up to the present it is in the Thams' possession.

from India was on this religious basis. 175 648

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward. 175 648 439 [487]

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice. [262]

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.) 175 648 [177] [643] [423] [233]

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

134 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If
311 you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

241 HUNZAS are skillful at building a
134 limited fertility into their sterile
[237] material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain ozone to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrates, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 Even the most painstaking hydro-
241 ponic gardening cannot compensate
237 for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy.
[233] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefuly herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 Unfortunately, the human popula-
161 tion has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient
167 food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Sheena predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men
[649] join the Pakistan army. Others take
[464] work as servants, where their honesty,
[181] industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realise, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

a miserable ten—none of your 'some thirty, some sixty, some an hundredfold'—while lucerne only gives three crops. 243

The Hunzukuts' main food is bread, of which the housewife makes a large variety, from the leavened wheatened cake with butter for feast days, the unleavened flapjack of wheat, barley or blended flours for everyday, to the bitter buckwheat scones of leaner times. Milk is not an article of diet; the animals yield little at the best and none at all when their own offspring is weaned. Such milk as there is contains little fat content, which is not to be wondered at in view of the food on which the animals exist; it is converted into butter, curds and such preservable forms. Butter is stored in birch-bark wrappings beneath an adjacent water-channel and broached only on festive occasions or for the entertainment of a guest. Meat is tasted at most twice or three times a year, at festivals or on some day of domestic rejoicing, a wedding or a birth, and then it will be 'some tainted wether of the flock, meetest for death' who supplies the sacrifice. 262 234

The womenfolk tend small vegetable plots in the corner of a field or separate garden, where carrots, turnips, marrows, gourds and half a hundred kinds of humble 'greens' are grown, and a few plants whose leaves or seeds are esteemed for flavouring, along with a few tobacco plants for the men's pipes. After grain and greens, the essential item of Hunza diet is the apricot, fresh in the early summer and dried during the rest of the year; mulberries, fresh and dried, come next in importance, then a few apples, pears and peaches (these little valued because they will neither keep nor dry) and a few grapes for such relatively well-to-do houses as can afford space and water to grow them. Grapes ripen too late to be dried into raisins and the small quantity not consumed fresh is converted into light wine, brightening the winter days for those who have it, and drunk within a couple of months of manufacture. The apricot has yet further uses. Its kernel yields the oil which lights very modestly the winter nights. The Burusho woman is said to refuse, most wisely, to live above the level of the ripe apricot (say 9–10,000 feet). This is, I suspect only a base pretext of her husband's for refusing to live at these altitudes himself. Be that as it may, the upper villages of Hunza are almost exclusively inhabited by immigrants from Wakhan accustomed to a treeless existence and a diet of barley only. Grafting fruit trees is an art thoroughly understood. The above-mentioned fruits supply the only sugar which the Hunza people know. 244 262 245 [273] [354] 361 245

Despite all diligence in tilling the ungrateful soil, despite the utmost 262

252 yeast and cooked on a griddle, like small, thin pancakes. Zaidu made them as of course, since they are the normal local food, and we had a few fresh for every meal (they are horrid stale). Their great merit is that they can be eaten without butter or 262 jam. This was a great advantage, for butter was a problem. 234 The tinned butter we brought with us for the road all went bad—you could not blame it in that heat—and butter in our sense of the word is unknown in Hunza.

There was fortunately a little cow's milk to be had, but the cows get so little to eat that their milk has not much butter-content. A really good Hunza cow yields at most a quart of milk a day after she has fed her calf, and she only gives milk at all for a month or two after the calf is born. So [415] milk is no part of the regular local diet. The people normally milk into a gourd, which makes an excellent jug, but has the [372] drawback that there is no ready way of cleaning it. Where fuel is so scarce no one could boil water merely to scald milk-vessels, and the method is to hold the gourd over the smoke of the fire. This seems to be perfectly wholesome, but it gives a gruesome taste to the milk, already sufficiently tainted with memories of yesterday, last week, last year. So we would send one of our people with a clean aluminium bucket and get the cow milked straight into that. In this way we procured as much as we needed for tea and coffee and puddings, but of course not enough to make butter from, as we had been accustomed to do in Gilgit. Fresh butter proved to be an unattainable luxury. The local butter, which they call *maltash*, is much prized; there is so little of it that it is kept strictly for feast days and great occasions. Their chief chance of making it is from the goats' milk when the men have the animals up at the summer pastures. They make it day by day, a little at a time, and when they have collected about two pounds they shape it into a ball, wrap it in birch-bark, tie it up with strips torn from the roots of juniper, and then bring it home to [251] store. With luck one good she-goat will provide two balls of *maltash* per season. It is then stored in a tiny stone larder under the nearest water-channel to keep it damp and cool, and thence produced when wanted. Even when quite fresh it tastes very

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

"high" from the unwashed smoky gourds, and it gets more and more tasty the longer it is kept. The tastier it grows the more they value it, "nice and peppery" they say. But the taste for *maltash* must be acquired, and it was too late for us to acquire it.

When Dádo was going off for his few days' leave, his last words were: "I'll bring you back some nice fresh butter; I'll bring enough for a month; it shall be my gift, and you shall be my guests." He was only away two days, and he must have drained all the cows in the countryside and kept his womenfolk busy all the time, for he brought a glass bottle full of really lovely looking, clean butter—that was, alas! already thoroughly rancid. "I had new vessels, and I didn't let them use gourds, and I got it made your way," he boasted. It was really tragic. We had to eat a little for a day or two, not to hurt his feelings; but it nearly made us sick. The pantry stank of it, and the dining-room stank of it, and the stink was steadily creeping into the study! Then I had to break it to him that though his butter was beautifully clean and perfectly lovely, we ate so little at a time that it could not keep in this heat, and so he must please take it away and store it as *maltash* for his family. A few days later he brought just a couple of ounces, made as nearly European-wise as possible, and David was just able to eat it smothered under marmalade for a couple of days. We then pleaded for only an ounce or two now and again, and gave Dádo some salt to blend into it. I renounced my share of this luxury with pleasure (I really could not eat it), but David, who has had longer practice in non-faddiness, could manage a little and even preferred it to eternal dry bread.

Dádo would not hear of payment; but at last I persuaded him, since this exotic butter-making must give trouble to his people and deprive them of *maltash*, to allow me to pay him three rupees a month or so—"for the baby boy." He adored the little boy—a rather ugly mite of about eighteen months whom he brought from time to time to show us—and he ultimately accepted this compromise and solemnly took "Akíl Sháh's butter-money" with his own wages. No payment, however, could repay the goodwill and kind thought that he used to put into procuring butter for us before it had become

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expected to reply: "It is God's will. Accidents will happen. After all, they are beasts of the mountain and the wild." He is reckoned a churlish fellow who institutes enquiries and demands compensation, though no one denies his right to it. The liberty to indulge in an occasional free feed is, we understood, sparingly taken and not abused.

With luck a she-goat will yield enough milk while up on the summer pastures to make two *maltash*, i.e. two birch bark parcels of butter for storage. If the goat is a trustee goat the herd is expected to hand one *maltash* to her owner and to keep the balance as his fee. Sheep's milk is poor in fat content and yields little butter, so it is usually devoted to making *brús* and *rakhpin*, a kind of hard, dried curd which has great lasting qualities and the appearance of a cake of soap.

The day that the herds return from the mountain with their charges is a festive one for the villages. Large parties go out to meet the returning absentees. Before finally leaving the *tér*, driven down by cold and the advancing autumn snows, the herds bake some special little cakes to bring back with them, and crowds of dancing, shouting boys and girls fall on their elder brothers demanding their share. Trust the Hunzukuts to stage a festival on the slightest provocation.

Our Ernest of the white horse reappeared unexpectedly from the *tér* in the middle of the season and walked over from Hasanabad to call on us and bring an offering of *brús* for DL and of wild mountain flowers for me. He had given his animals into a friend's charge, and taken a couple of days off because he was a member of the Hasanabad polo team and was wanted to play in an inter-village match. These matches rouse as much interest as Arsenal *versus* Chelsea, and a good player who is also the possessor of a good pony can ill be spared. I duly took a photo of him and The Cat, he no longer in the rôle of the humble *sais* but of the gentleman polo player. Stout fellow!

These early June days were the time for apricot and mulberry grafting. The cultivated fruit shoots are grafted on to wild trees. We watched the process, about which the Hunzukuts have little to learn. Each graft was given a double lashing of bark from mulberry root. We returned later and found them all thriving.

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No. XXXVII.

The Odi Custom.

On the fifteenth of May they take away the Hunza flocks to the grazing grounds. When four days remain to the (time for) taking them away the Cherbu calls out: "Ho, tomorrow the Odi is to be kept. Do not milk your goats for yourselves!"

Then the Dirkmiting milk their goats and collect the milk and every day they bring two or three pumpkin-vessels (full) to the Wazir's house. They boil the milk and making a Dirkmiting herdsman carry it and some bread, in company with a brother or son of the Wazir they take it to get the Thum to handsel it. They take it to the Thum's house and get him to say "Bismillah" and taste it.

After that they bring the Odi milk of Ganiah, of Altit, and of the New Settlements to the Thum.

For four days the Dirkmiting milk their goats and collect the milk at the house of the Wazir and make four or five vessels of

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goats", but the sense and a gloss make it 'don't milk your goats for yourselves'.

The alternative given in the first note above is even more indefinite: 'let none of you milk goats!'

4 *ṭsire mamu gati ḍes ne* — This appears to be an attempt to telescope *ṭsir ḍes ne* and *mamu gati ne*. But possibly it means "milking their goats all together".

4 *ilite cuiw* — *ilite* appears to be *°-il + ite* 'on his lip', *cuiw* is the causative of *ilat* 'to make him put' v § 248.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

butter milk and carry the butter and buttermilk away from the Wazir's house to the Tham. Then the Tham gives them some present and they return to their homes. After that the Dirāmiting take away their flocks to the grazing grounds.

If any people take their flocks to the grazing grounds before the Odi they fine them a ram.

inɛ bɛr ɛčai.i kɛ . . . just have a look at P. (and see) what he is doing. 126.7. 000
uɛ ʌltʌn sis . . . *nuɛn bərɛribaɛn. Bərɛ.imʌn kɛ šuɛa ɛrpʌčər γʌšil bitsa* The two men go and look. When they look (they see that) he has excellent firewood with him. 126.9. *bərɛ.imi kɛ* is a stock phrase: "when he looks (he sees) something is happening . . ." i.e. "he looks and sees something is happening". *hik kɛ bʌrɛγʌn* let us have another look. 122.18. *iɛn yər nupərʌn . . . gutsərčai* he proceeds, looking straight ahead. 122.17, Cp. 14.4. *iɛŋi.uɛlo kərɛuɛr bər'ɛnɛmo* she looked in his beard for lice. 282.10. *yaɛrɛ ap'ərʌnɛm* not looking down. 52.2. Cs. -*ʌbərʌnʌs*.

bər'ɛnč watching, look out, H. *ɛntɛzaɛr*. — *bərɛnč nɛ baei*, he is keeping a look out. *pfu bər'ɛnč* (*ɛtʌs*) pl. *pfu bəraŋ* to kindle) an alarm fire, beacon fire. (From *bərɛnʌs*).

bər'ɛrs, *baɛr'ɛs*, Pl. *bər'ɛršo*, N. *bʌris*, Pl. *bʌrɛšo*, x artery, vein, pulse. — *bərɛrs buɛt hɛmʌlkum bi* his pulse is very quick. *ja jiɛ b'ərɛsər bər'ɛn* examine my life's artery, i.e. feel my pulse. 146.19.

b'ərginʌs, pl. *bərginʌšo* x.

1. Edging round rim of anything.
2. A small piece of wood, charcoal etc. used in repairing a hole in a "mashk"[1] The skin adjoining the hole is gathered together round the *bərginʌs* and is secured with ligatures above and below the latter. 415
3. A stick used when producing ghee to test whether the milk has become sufficiently solid. The stick is placed vertically in it, and if 234

71a

[1] [a skin bag for carrying water. — Analyst]

it stands up by itself the milk is ready for the next process. 234

ərinkrj IUB. 000

1. Chatter-box, buckstick, H. *bakwawi*.
2. Tale-bearer, calumniator, H. *suxan-čin*.
3. Liar, H. *duruγgu*. (Pl. of 1. *bər + krj*).

bərkat.

1. Blessing, blessings, prosperity. — *mar bərkat* blessings on you! 340.20. *gor bərkat manij* blessings be on you! 286.4.
2. Portion, share. — *dyuasuman uηər bərkat* (the food) that is left over be your portion. 212.14. Ar. Prs.

bərpit, -iη y leather strap. — *oijčəmə bərpit* leather waist-belt. *bərpitani taq gota baiyam* I had bound you (sc. your head) with a leather strap. 158.18. (Cp. Sh. *pfarpit*).

bərtsil, -iη a small stream in a nullah. — *furu.ulum dele bərtsilaη duwaβimi* streams of oil flowed from the pumpkin, H. *nale nale*. 384.24. (2. *bər + tsil?*).

bəru, baru, y pl., double pl. *bəroiη*. buckwheat. — *γaγay baru* bitter buckwheat. 132.15. (Cp. Sh. *bəra.o*).

baruh'andri -iη y cranesbill (plant).

bərzan manas v.i. to turn over (as of fish in water. H. *tarapna*.

bas, -oηo x ploughshare (wooden, for shallow ploughing). — *čumare bas* modern iron ploughshare. IUB. H. *halmē laga.i ka lakri, phal achini ya hizumi*.

bas, v. *bask*, extra, too much. 50.16.

b'asa pl. *basaη*, N. *basamiη*, y halting for night, halting-place, stage, day's march, H, *manzil*. — *bəruman basa bila?* how many days' march is it?

311 were a few valleys where a bit of pasture might have been established or used, they just couldn't afford to waste acres for pasture purposes.

234 251 262 I did not see any cheese—that is, cheese as we know it—in Hunza, but I maintain that their stored butter is cheese. I knew from what I had read and learned that they have a most unusual method of storing their butter, and one day the Mir sent one of his servants out to bring some in. In a few minutes the servant returned, carrying on a tray a huge bundle that looked like and was slightly larger than a football. He placed it in front of me and told me to go ahead and unwrap it, which I did. It was neatly and firmly wrapped in birchbark and when I removed layer after layer of wet, dripping bark, I at last came to the so-called butter. It was gleaming pure white. A knife was handed to me and I dug a little piece out of the side and tasted it. It was absolutely delicious. It had a fresh wholesome flavor. I thought it was cheese and that is what I really believe it is.

234 Their method of making this butter is as follows: Goat, sheep, cow or yak milk is used. Their method of churning butter is strictly Eastern. They do not use wooden or metal churns as they are found and known in the West. Usually goat skins are used. They are turned inside out so that the smooth, tanned side is outside. Then the ends of the hide are carefully sewn together. Openings are allowed to remain by means of the legs, and these are used for filling the skin with the milk to be churned and later to extract the butter. While the churning is taking place, the leg openings are firmly tied.

Then the milk-filled hide is joggled, weedled, spanked, turned and twisted over the knees and this is maintained continually until some sort of solidification takes place. Just as with us, impatience and inquisitive-

ness become master and the shaking is stopped, while a peek is taken by untying a leg opening to see if the process is beginning. 234

When at last butter is formed, it is squeezed out of the skin churn and then they make firm round balls out of it. It is wrapped in birchbark, placed underneath a water channel and left there for months, or years as the case may be. One record through which I poured related that this butter was sometimes kept for 100 years. I found no verification of this from the citizens of Hunza. Perhaps in this instance the butter was forgotten and was discovered many years later, but it is kept for years and is usually brought out for special celebrations and other occasions. 234 251 [262]

Now you will hear the word "ghee" referred to on every hand when talking about food. This is the selfsame butter but heated to the melting point and allowed to harden. By then it turns into a bright yellow color. It is used as a spread but also for cooking, baking, frying and such. Most Hunzans prefer "ghee" over the plain ordinary butter. The Mir told me that he and his household all preferred it to butter. 234 262

So therefore, besides the fruit, nuts, grain and vegetable crops, they have curd, ghee, butter (cheese) and milk. Those who do eat meat would be lucky if they could afford to have it more than two or three times a year, but I understand meat is available for most festive occasions. 262

While in all probabilities they dry other types of fruit, I did not see any other dried fruits but apricots. On my travels throughout the country I saw thousands of trees and probably millions of apricots but I did not see one go to waste. Everywhere I went apricots were drying. They had been split open, the stone removed and stored and the fruit left for the sun and air to cure and dry 251

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

312 It[1] was beautiful, soft, pure water which gave delightful baths,
271 but heavily silt-laden and supposed not to be fit to drink. We were luckily able to get half a dozen big petrol drums from Gilgit (left behind empty by the R.A.F.), and we stored it in these and let the silt settle. This water served us for washing and for photography.

312 About two miles away there was a spring of clear but hard water that issues from the foot of a cliff down near river level. This was recommended for drinking. So we took on a special man, Sagi by name, as water-carrier and general washer-up, to help in pantry and kitchen. He was a nephew of our old friend Nazar and a good fellow, though for some reason a little less cheery in appearance than our other men. Twice a day he would walk the two miles, climb down and up the 500 or more feet, and bring water for our tea, etc., and for making up the photographic solutions. We paid him the princely sum of about a pound a month, and he was delighted, while his brothers divided amongst them the extra work at home.

Considering the labour involved, it made us feel rather pigs to drink tea half a dozen times a day and expect a daily bath. When two of us were photographing hard and perpetually wanting to wash negatives and prints in eight or ten changes of water, my heart rather bled for Sagi. One day that had been particularly severe I said as he appeared with more and more water buckets at the door of the dark-room: "Poor man, I'm afraid our photographs give you a lot of extra work and trouble." His usually quiet face lit up with a peculiarly charming smile: "Nay, Mother dear, it is a pleasure, not a trouble. The work and trouble are yours."

262 The next thing in importance was food, and we found that
● 235 we could, without apparent hardship to the people, buy a
[624] daily hen. There are a couple of officials whose job it is to see about supplies for travellers, and they arranged to get the fowls now from one village and now from another, so that our demands might not press too heavily on anyone. The Hunza hen is an athletic bird. You may see her fly like a lumbering, over-weighted pigeon 15 or 20 feet across a gully, and so we were not surprised to find her wing muscles well-developed.

1 [The water in the Dála, the aqueduct--Analyst]

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

Still she provided us with hen-water soup, and we varied our 262
diet by having the wings for lunch and the legs for dinner, or 235
vice versa. When the cold weather came and the flocks had returned from the mountain grazing grounds, we were sometimes able to vary her with mutton—athletic mutton.

Shafi, the camp cook, had one major fault—he could not 000
cook for nuts. A minor one was that when anything went wrong he lost his head completely (as in the crossing of the Devil's Ford) and immediately did the wrongest thing that was possible. But he was willing, and no doubt did his best. Soon after we got in he went sick and we committed him to the care of the Compounder, who soon got him round. But we did not feel that we could face his food again. While he was ill, one Zaidu was announced who had come to pay his respects. Who was it but an old friend of Gilgit days who had been with us for four years as general underling! He had helped the cook and used often to cook for the nursery, so he was not without some elementary ideas. We offered to try him and he accepted with joy. His family could gladly manage the extra work at home, and hailed with pleasure the prospect of sharing his wages. We never thought of these jolly men as "servants" in any ordinary sense of the word. They were peasant proprietors in a tiny way, but though they had enough to eat and to wear, they were absolutely without cash, and were willing to do any honest work to get some. Zaidu looked much more flourishing and fitter than in Gilgit days. He was then rather young, and I suspect that the older servants put upon him a good deal, but now he had been living an independent life again and had got back his natural dignity and self-respect. His pleasure at the thought of working for us again was disarming. So we took him on, and though he was no chef he did us well. He was ingenious in devising new ways of cooking the half hen, and his scones were light and eatable, a pleasant change from Shafi's paper-weights. Moreover, he was willing to learn.

We were able to get white flour up from Gilgit for cakes 252
and biscuits, but we found that native bread-flaps made from the local stone-ground wholemeal wheat were more appetizing than white bread in any form. They are made without

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-8) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
335 through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
322 duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and inde-
291 pendent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the
415 cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very
415 scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little
233 but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons
241 hopes to possess is a tiny flock of 20 to 25 sheep, goats and cows. In these circumstances manure is more precious than gold, and the small
● 237 children who conduct a cow to pasture carry a shoulder basket in which
592 every ounce of the day's output is scrupulously collected and brought home.

233 When the snow retreats on the upper mountains a few patches of green are left here and there, and the more athletic beasts are taken up by young men who live in shelters with their charges, collect the manure, convert the milk into butter and bring these home with the animals when the snows claim their own again. These patches of high pasture, several thousand feet above the villages, are all too few and can only be reached by serious feats of mountaineering. Through field-glasses we could see the grazing animals clinging—by their eyebrows as it seemed—to their precipitous 'summer pastures', but it was impossible to ride up even on a yak, and at our age impossible to climb on foot for a nearer view.

As soon as the trees put out their leaves in spring, each 'donkey tree' (*i.e.*, non-fruit-bearing) is stripped of every scrap of spare foliage to feed the half-starved beasts. This luxury diet has to be very carefully administered lest the animals should perish of its unaccustomed succulence.

243 The major crops grown by the Hunza people for their own use are wheat, barley, several kinds of millet, sweet and bitter buckwheat,
[177] nowadays also the highly-valued potato (introduced by the British in 1892) and small quantities of various pulses. Barley must have been the original staple crop, for all the traditional festivals, the Seed-sowing of early spring, the First Reaping of early summer and the Harvest
[242] Home, relate to barley alone. The peasant is wise about rotation of crops and the various types of wheat, millet, etc., which thrive best in given conditions. Wheaten bread is much preferred to any other, but barley remains the larger crop because spring-sown barley ripens three or four weeks before even the winter-sown wheat, and the vacant fields can be resown with millet; whereas after the wheat only buckwheat can hope to ripen before winter. Bitter buckwheat is frankly detested, but it is hardier than the sweet and can better withstand an attack of early frost, so a certain amount of it is always sown as an insurance.

So poor is the soil, so scanty the manure, that in the newer villages like Aliabad, the average return is only sevenfold and even the storeyed fields of Baltit, which have been tilled in the sweat of man and woman's brow for at least 600 years and probably for twice or thrice as long, yield

There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and 524
Banu, about six and four, who played with me and let me 177
tickle them with straws and play "One little pig went to market . . ." with their dusty little toes. This game proved such a success that I roughly translated it into "One little sheep went to drink. . . ." They would never have seen a pig, and if they had they *ought* to think it unclean, so I thought a lamb was safer. My first version gave one little lamb bread to eat, "bread" being a general word for "food." This caused great laughter: "Lambs wouldn't like bread, Mother dear." "Well, what do you think they'd like best?" "Oh, grass or leaves." "One little lamb had grass to eat and one little lamb had none." Thus amended, my little rhyme was approved, and other youngsters turned up to play "little lambs" till the game grew so popular that whenever I sat down on anyone's threshing-floor baby feet would be stretched out towards me: "One little lamb, Mother . . ." till I got quite tired of ". . . baa, baa, baa, all the way home," but it never palled on them. Centuries hence, when we shall have long been sleeping in the Garden of Rest at Golders Green, some anthropologist will come along and wonder what process of "diffusion" took "one little pig" to Hunza, or whether Hunza spontaneously generated the jingle for itself.

My pencil and little notebook were a great source of amuse- 124
ment, and the youngsters would crowd round: "Have you put 476
my name in? I'm Shamúli." "So you are; but whose Shamúli are you? I've got two Shamúlis already. Who's your Daddy? How many brothers have you got; how many sisters, are they bigger or smaller, what are *their* names? And which house is yours?" Thus gradually I got to know most of our immediate neighbours, but it was no easy matter to sort the families out, for groups would gather on each other's threshing-floors, and anyone whose own immediate work was done would join in to help the workers. I finally gave numbers of my own to all the nearest houses, and tried bit by bit to plot out the various relationships.

Meantime the threshing went steadily on, and I noticed that 243
the driver carried always a flat bowl shoulder high in her left 237
hand. "Now what's that for?" asked I. "Why, that's the dung-

243 dish," and right enough the driver quickly anticipated her cows'
237 needs, and when her dish was full went off and emptied it on a little heap of manure. You thus keep your grain uncontaminated and salvage your manure—most priceless of products. If the driver lapses into a daydream a warning yell from the onlookers would call her attention back in time. I don't know whether the dung-dish is in use elsewhere, but it is at any rate one more symbol of Hunza fastidiousness. You *plough* with oxen, but you thresh with *cows*, whose slighter needs can
[412] also be forestalled. When all the wheat is thoroughly trampled the men take great wooden five-pronged forks, most gracefully shaped things (made, of course, at home), and towards evening when there comes a little breeze they toss the broken
243 wheat up into the air to winnow it. The broken straw is blown to one side while the heavier grain falls into a heap. Then they take wooden, home-made spades and toss the grain again to get rid of any remaining straw. These processes take many hours' hard work, and will not be completed in one day; but they have no rain to fear and can leave their stacks of straw and
[674] heaps of grain from one day till the next. They leave their threshing-floors unguarded when they go home at night; pilfering a neighbour's food is simply "not done."

When the winnowing is over the women take a big sieve, made of thin strips of leather criss-crossed over a round frame. This is coarse enough to let the grain through but to catch any scraps of straw. When this first sieving is over, they take a finer sieve (with, of course, a totally different name) which keeps the grain and lets the dust fall through. But even then they don't consider the job quite finished. The women turn the pile over with their hands, carefully picking out any sliver of straw that may have previously escaped. When at last it is ready, the grain is filled into large skin sacks, which will take up to 160 lb. or so, and the men carry these off to the storeroom while the broken straw is loaded into huge open-ribbed baskets that can also be carried only by a man. The straw is taken up on to the flat roof and poured down through a central hole into the straw shed.

880 There is no hard and fast rule about what is woman's work

524 apexes (apices? no, no!) are the "squares" and any man can move and take in any direction. It requires quite as much skill and provides quite as much fun as draughts played in our way. There are half a dozen other games of the sort, roughly variants of "marbles," all played with pebbles and governed by complicated rules which we only partially mastered.

857 We used to watch Nimo, of No. 7, a jolly, bright-eyed mite of eight or nine, pass our window every morning about half-past six, sturdily carrying an empty shoulder basket as she herded her two or three small cows off to the *toq*; sometimes she was taking charge of a small brother or sister as well. Just before nightfall, after a whole summer day on the mountain side, she would return, driving her animals and stooping
• 237 slightly under her load. One evening in the very early days I
857 stopped her to ask *whose* Nimo she was (their names duplicate
241 each other like our Joans, Anns, and Dorises), and "What have you got in your basket there?" With courteous surprise at being asked a question to which there could be only one answer: "Why, to-day's cow-dung." Sure enough I soon discovered that every little cowherd conscientiously gathers every scrap of the cow's daily output and brings it home to the manure store in the barn—there are no untidy outdoor middens to spoil the landscape or defile the air.

Another day we met Khano of No. 3, one of our first boy-friends, breathlessly chivvying a cow uphill to a spot where he had safely dumped his baby sister Guláb, in charge of his basket. "Hullo, did she run away from you?" "She did, the villain, but I've got her back, and look, Mother, I've lost nothing," he said, as he proudly displayed the contents of his looped-up cloak. He threw his treasure into the basket and resumed his attentions to Guláb, while the cow resigned herself to orthodox grazing. He was playing with the little girl, patiently coaxing her to totter a step or two and flop into his waiting arms, and throwing up little stones for her to catch.

857 The tenderness of the bigger children to the babies is a
[593] beautiful thing to watch. I never saw boy or girl out of temper with a baby brother, sister, or cousin, or resentful of having one in charge. When the bigger ones are busy in some momen-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 recently burnt a hole in one of his pockets and a cigarette mouthpiece was sticking out (this was the first I had heard of the catastrophe). "Shame, shame! Mother dear!" the boys shrieked with delight. "Why won't you mend it for him?" and the imp Khano officiously produced a needle from his woollen cap and offered it me with a bow worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh.

It was one of the most amusing of many delightful afternoons I remember with our boy companions, if not the entirely quiet and restful one we had set out to seek. Khano asked me to take a photograph of him. "But, my dear boy, I took a beauty of you the other day with your shoulder basket on your back." (His mother had been delighted with this.) "Yes, I know, but a basket is disgusting. I'd like one of just me." I could not resist the plea, and took a snapshot of him seated on a boulder, his merry, handsome face a-grin and a magnificent background of mighty mountains and eternal snow. Alas and alas! amidst our merriment I was careless and slightly shook the camera, and that photographic masterpiece was one of my most bitterly regretted duds. I took him many times again, but never hit off the "just him" that I missed that afternoon.

237 I have mentioned more than once the utter pricelessness of manure in Hunza. Every child out in charge of even only one cow or calf carries a shoulder basket on its back and scrupulously collects every ounce as it emerges. This keeps fields and lanes, courtyards and mountain sides as clean as a drawing-room floor (if only people would do this sort of thing at home!). As we were making our way home Khano spotted a few scraps that some careless herd had left behind, and hastily gathered them into the skirt of his *choga*. "Ah, ha," said I, "if you'd had your 'disgusting' basket with you, you would not have had to soil your *choga*." "That's no matter," he grinned as he carried his treasure trove along. Presently he saw a nice little hidey-hole under a rock and threw his find in there: "I'll come back and fetch it to-morrow."

If you have a decent cow she will yield you a basketful in two days, and it takes sixty baskets to manure a fair-sized field properly for the winter wheat. Very few people have more

than two cows. . . . You can work it out yourself. I'd like 237
to give our litter louts a few years' training in Hunza.

Salt is a crying need in Hunza, and while down-country rock- 135
salt can be obtained on payment from Gilgit, few families can 263
afford to buy. Hence in the relatively idle days of early winter you will see parties of women and girls and boys scouring the mountain side high up, and tasting as they go, till they find a patch of ground that seems to have a trace of saltiness in it. They scoop up the full of their baskets and carry this earth home. When salt is wanted they mount a conical basket filled with the saline earth over some receiving vessel. By pouring water through, they get a discoloured fluid, containing heaven alone knows what (probably a minimum of sodium chloride), which they pour straight into the vegetable pot.

Another job which is kept for winter days is the making of 241
new fields. It is all too true that the Hunzukuts have not enough water to serve their existing fields. But there are optimists who cannot resist the attraction of making a new field wherever they see a patch of ground that might with luck be irrigated in a good year. It's a serious business tackling a rocky bit of mountain side. You roughly plan your field and then start hacking out a great triangular gash at the upper side. It is full of stones and boulders which have to be removed; the smaller ones are set aside for the revetting walls; the larger ones are laboriously broken up with sledge-hammers (or blasted if you can get hold of a little gunpowder); the stony earth is carefully sifted into separate piles of varying degrees of fineness. Then the lower supporting wall is built to the level required, stones are thrown in for a foundation, next the coarser earth, and the surface is dressed with the finer. Field- 241
making is the only occasion on which a barrow of any kind is 493
of use. These barrows, of which in our whole time we only saw four, are the only wheeled vehicles known in Hunza. Whether the Hunzukuts invented them themselves or whether someone once saw a wheelbarrow in use elsewhere and imported the idea, who shall say? Anyhow, the Hunza wheelbarrow is a delightful affair. A sort of rude ladder with four or five rungs is made. A thick section of a tree trunk about

252 God, the Merciful, the Compassionate—then they let the blood drain out, washed the neck carefully, and got busy with the skinning. Kalbi is a clever, neat-fingered fellow, as indeed all Hunzukuts seem to be, and in ten minutes had coaxed the skin off whole (without slitting it down the tummy) as easily as you peel off a pair of silk stockings. There were only the 415 holes at the neck and at the four "elbows" and a little slit at the tail, so that with a stitch at the tail and four ties at the legs the skin would serve as a water bucket or a bag for flour.

252 He then hung up the carcase and cleaned it—a wonderfully unmessy business—while we noted down all the words for its various innards. It would have been much more instructive and enlightening if either of us had ever seen a sheep killed at home or had known the English words for all the curious things it has inside it. There was not, even round the kidneys, one ounce of fat.

465 As usual out here, you do not pay a person in cash for performing a service of this kind; there is some recognized per- • 237 quisite. In this case Kalbi considered that he would be handsomely remunerated if he might have the guts. We did not covet them ourselves, and gladly acquiesced. They are much [534] valued. They will give you strings for your zither (many people, including Kalbi, make beautiful zithers for themselves), and for your bow; they serve as thread to sew your long boots and your skin sack, and you put them to a hundred other uses. Others of our retainers laid claim to the wool, the skin, and various other items. Later Kalbi gave us a demonstration of skin-curing and -kneading.

291 The long native boots are extremely comfortable-looking, like long-legged moccasins, and their construction is an elabo- [281] rate art. Ibex skins are preferred, but ibex have nearly been killed off and other leather has to be substituted. The soles may be made of cow-hide. Boots are precious things, so however cold it is you take them off when you come to a very rough piece of ground or want to walk through water. At best the unlined boot is not over-warm, and really luxurious people wear woollen socks or stockings inside if they have them. The women can knit excellently well, but it is very rare for anyone

241 brought together, the following are the principal crops grown in Hunza and Nagir: wheat, barley, two or three kinds of millet, buckwheat, broad beans, peas and various pulses, lucerne (yielding two crops) for fodder. Maize and rice are not grown at these levels[1]. Lucerne is often grown on the sloping unterraced hillside where water is insufficient for crops. Fruit is also an important item of cultivation. The apricot is universal, and fresh and dry the fruit is a staple food. Besides its kernels are collected and eaten, or crushed for their oil. Apples, peaches, cherries, cherry-plums and grapes are also extensively grown, but do not appear to be dried, though apples and grapes are stored in straw for some months. Pears, pomegranates and walnuts are cultivated in places. The mulberry is eaten fresh and is also dried and preserved. Poplars and willows are grown for their timber, and in the lower tracts the chenar.

233 Agricultural crops and fruit would not however provide a com-
237 plete subsistence. Goats, sheep and a small type of cow supply the necessary milk and fat products, particularly ghee, also hair for ropes and coarse cloth, wool for clothing, skins and hides for containing vessels, foot-wear and thongs. These cattle are kept in the villages during the cool and cold weather, when they are fed on such scanty natural grazing as is to be found, agricultural waste and dried leaves, and pay their way by providing milk and manure. During the hot months they are sent up in charge of herds to the few summer grazing-grounds (tĕr, pl. tĕrming; terr, termiṇ), which exist in the higher
234 parts of some of the nullahs. There their milk is collected and converted into forms in which it will keep: ghee, dried buttermilk etc.

361 [1] I.e. from about 7000′ upwards. Chhalt, the lowest village in the country,
133 stands at 6560′. Māyūn and Hindi are probably about 7000′ and Alīābād about 7500′. Ralūit is 8000′ and Nagir 7550′. Misgār, the highest place at which the Burusho have been induced to live, is 10.158′. It is said that the Burusho women refuse to go where the apricot will not ripen, and there are few Burusho settled above 8000′. In Chuprūsan and Shimshāl the Wakhis are found up to about 11.000′, which is probably the extreme limit at which barley will grow in this region. In recent years a little maize has been grown in Māyūn, Murtazābād and Ganish.

bim, i·ser gi·mo. Giyaser Šon Gu·ker di·n i·se bu·nulo dam ne gili mud·elimi.

Hin Dal Kan yakalater ga·rteumo. Ele han bu·nan bim. I·ser gi·mo. Eler ni·nin dam ne gi·li mudelimi. Tall o·čume u· talo muyu·gušants bu·ndo bu·nd o.ulo gi·li ud·elimi.

Da u·ni ti·ta m otuman. Dunutsun Hindi kane čar sivlo, sivlum ia·teter dum u.isuman. Tele gi·li mod·elimi. Mod·elaser esumo: "Ja beran (ičam?" Šon Gukure mo·simi: "Turma a·lta tair guyam (or, gu·čam). I·tse multan mi·ne. Da her den gor du·sen. Turma a·lta tair ay o·nanuman ke talo ku·li gu·čan, ama u·nate gute bap o·sam, bešal mi ho·lgur amuler niman ke miyer mane. Ho turma a·ltatastum talo ne tair gu·čan."

Numo·sun i·se do·mulo čumere gi·li dam ne gi·li mod·elimi. Da i·ne gili modelumtsum her den turma a·lta ya talo tair nutsun tobak ga·tane nuka ha ha čume nun i·se gi·li iwere tair du·sune

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776 1 *i·ser gi·mo . . . gili mudelimi* — Such beings as bilases have the power of hastily entering into boulders and in the normal course could no doubt come out again, but if an iron peg is driven into the boulder and a suitable spell employed they can be kept shut up for at any rate a long period.

000 Dadi's eventual escape is said to have been predicted by Šon Gukur: *omelę yasumer Dadi dersi* 'when my jaw-bone has rotted Dadi will come out'. But the jaw-bone is a very durable article. Cp. also the tale of *Qurę Jahan*, p. 202 l. 1.

412 237 789 In this and other stories iron evidently retains its magical qualities, which is not surprising as it was comparatively rare and precious in Hunza till quite recently. A couple of generations ago the important Baltit 'Alabād irrigation channel was dug with ibex horns used as picks.

000 2 *gili mudelimi* — I don't think this is to be taken as meaning that the peg was visibly driven into her. She was imprisoned by simply driving the peg into the stone.

5 *bu·ndo bu·ndo.ulo* — the plural is surprising, but the meaning is obvious.

7 *dum u.isuman* — from *d*-ias* || *d*-esas* 'to take out extract'. Here glossed "made her climb" which suggests a point of contact with the intransitive *d·ias* cp. § 303.

mudelimi — from here on the prefix *mu-* replaces the previous *mu·*. As the text was recorded at one sitting there was probably an actual difference in pronunciation by the narrator, not merely a variation in my hearing. So we have **-adelas* being substituted for **-delas*. Cp. §§ 242—243.

8 *guyam* — "I have given you" the anticipatory Pret.

! [Errata: for du·ši read du·šo, cf p. 419, ugt. 116 — Analyst.]

122 or cares in regard to Mr. Brunton's condition. The doc-
[758] tor will attend to his duties at Aliabad and look after the hospital there . . . but he only has one or two patients and he will be back and forth from the hospital to the palace. Therefore he will be in constant touch with your friend."

"No man could do more," I assured the Mir. "I don't know how we can ever thank you enough."

"Don't mention it," he said. "You have been very kind, too."

"Now is there anything that you would like me to get for you while you're here? I wish you would tell me because some things may take a few days to procure or prepare and I would like to have them ready for you."

[124] "I'll tell you what I would like and you tell me what you would like me to send you from Canada—and no holds barred." I said to him.

"Fair enough! We'll tell each other frankly what we want."

"Agreed," I joyfuly replied.

126 I always carry a notebook with me. It's a small folding affair made of leatherette or something, that has room for 3 or 4 ball point pens and a pad inside. I was making notes as well as marking down the things the Mir expressed interest in when I spoke of the conveniences available in America. I intended to send these to him anyway.

I had seen quite a few little items around Hunza that I would have liked to have . . . for instance, a Hunzan hat, a cane made in Hunza, a pair of Hunzan boots. The boots are most unusual, being something
291 like the mukluks used in the north by the Eskimos, ex-
237 cept that these are made in a simpler manner. They are somewhat like riding boots in shape except they are

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

000 needed animals in the world.

231 It is clearly and distinctly established that Tibet, for example, could never exist and people could never live in that part of the world if it weren't for the yaks and yaks are native only to that part of the world —yes, wild ones, I mean. That's where they were originally found and tamed. They still roam wild on some of the higher inaccessible elevations and plateaus in that part of the globe.

No one will attempt to deny that our cow is a most useful and practically essential animal. It gives milk from which we make butter, cheese and cream. We use the carcass for meat and the hide for shoes, baseballs and many other articles but, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the cow as it is today actually couldn't look after herself in the northern latitudes and pasture food must be provided.

[492] Well, the yak does everything a cow does. Besides that, it is one of the finest beasts of burden. Then, too, it is the surest-footed animal to be found anywhere. It can, and often does, forage for its own food. It can live off practically nothing. It is suspected that it can find sustenance in a bit of grass or roots or even a bit of coarse, uninviting (to any other animal) herbage.

[492] [241] Like our cow, it takes to domestication readily. Both the Tibetans and the Hunzans use them to work their fields and flail their wheat, barley and other grains.

231 From the wool on its back, belly and head comes the
● 237 toughest of woven fabrics, from which is made the
[283] sturdiest of clothes for the people and tents for their homes. Wherever you see rope in Hunza, you can be sure that it was made from braided or woven yak hair.

[291] [415] [501] The hide is used for most everything . . . boots and shoes, of course, and water containers and skin boats, which are the means and mode of transportation across and up and down the dangerous rivers

and up and down the dangerous rivers. Yes, even the yak bones and horns are never wasted. Picks are fashioned from them. They even find their way into the walls of the homes of the people of Hunza, for they are lighter than stones.

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237
[342]

Still I haven't yet mentioned what is generally accepted as the yak's most important contribution to the lives of the people in the highest mountain ranges in the world . . . and that is from the little green herbage they get, they give a good quantity of rich milk, from which is made the famous yak butter. Then last and perhaps even most important, it is butchered for its good quality, health-sustaining meat.

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Even the yak tails are useful . . . as brooms or dusters . . . and many are shipped to the Western world and used as Santa Claus beards. And they do make the best Santa Claus beards of all. I know—I have a couple!

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Now after you have had a chance to read these qualifications, perhaps you, too, will share my admiration and appreciation of the world's most useful animal.

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I was up bright and early the morning I was to go to meet the yaks. Yes, it was just 6 o'clock when I was walking down the enclosed staircase towards the Mir's palace—leaving Cecil asleep, as he still had to remain in bed as the doctor had advised.

I met Jahangir coming from the other guest house and he joined me. We had agreed the previous night to be up at 6 but I never expected that it would work out right on the beam, as it happened in this instance.

So down we went along the stone staircases from one garden level to another until we reached the Mir's palace and then we began to climb up the long wooden staircase again.

As usual, the Mir was there to welcome us, along

shoes and these were similar to the general type of 291
shoes that are worn in the West, except they didn't lace up in the front, but folded over and your toes stuck out. This type of shoe could be purchased in any of the shops throughout Pakistan and India and even the small town bazaars offered these shoes for sale. It was a sort of heavy-soled sandal, although the tops did have a little more leather and it wasn't quite as open as an ordinary sandal. These shoes are called "chaplis" and are best described by saying they are heavy-soled, sandal-type shoes worn chiefly by the people who live in or near the rugged mountain areas.

Another type of shoe that was worn (or should I say, foot covering) was the actual native type. They were made of soft leather. To me it felt very much [237]
like chamois or suede, but I know from questioning that it was made from ibex, sheep, cow or yak hide. The skins of any of these animals were used for making these shoes as well as other commodities. The soles, too, were soft but of a little heavier consistency than the uppers. They usually reached to about the knee and they were tied with a piece of string, usually around the ankle.

Occasionally I saw another type of foot covering and this was as old as time itself and consisted of rags wound around the soles of the feet and the ankles. I'm sure back before man learned to spin and weave, he used leaves and bark on the soles of his feet, as protection against the rough terrain and rain, snow and sleet.

I had already learned the reason for the open-toed affair. The fact that it allowed air to circulate around the foot is good enough reason in itself, but in the event of a pebble or a small stone becoming lodged in the boot, it could be shaken free without stopping and unlacing the boot and removing the stone. With the

134 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If
311 you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

241 HUNZAS are skillful at building a
134 limited fertility into their sterile
[237] material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain ozone to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrates, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 Even the most painstaking hydro-
241 ponic gardening cannot compensate
237 for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy.
[233] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefuly herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 Unfortunately, the human popula-
161 tion has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient
167 food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Sheena predeces-
[648] sors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men join the Pakistan army. Others take
[464] work as servants, where their honesty,
[181] industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but
513 adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
354 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of
324 hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish
322 the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

● 241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Béricho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze
342 which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

PLATE J

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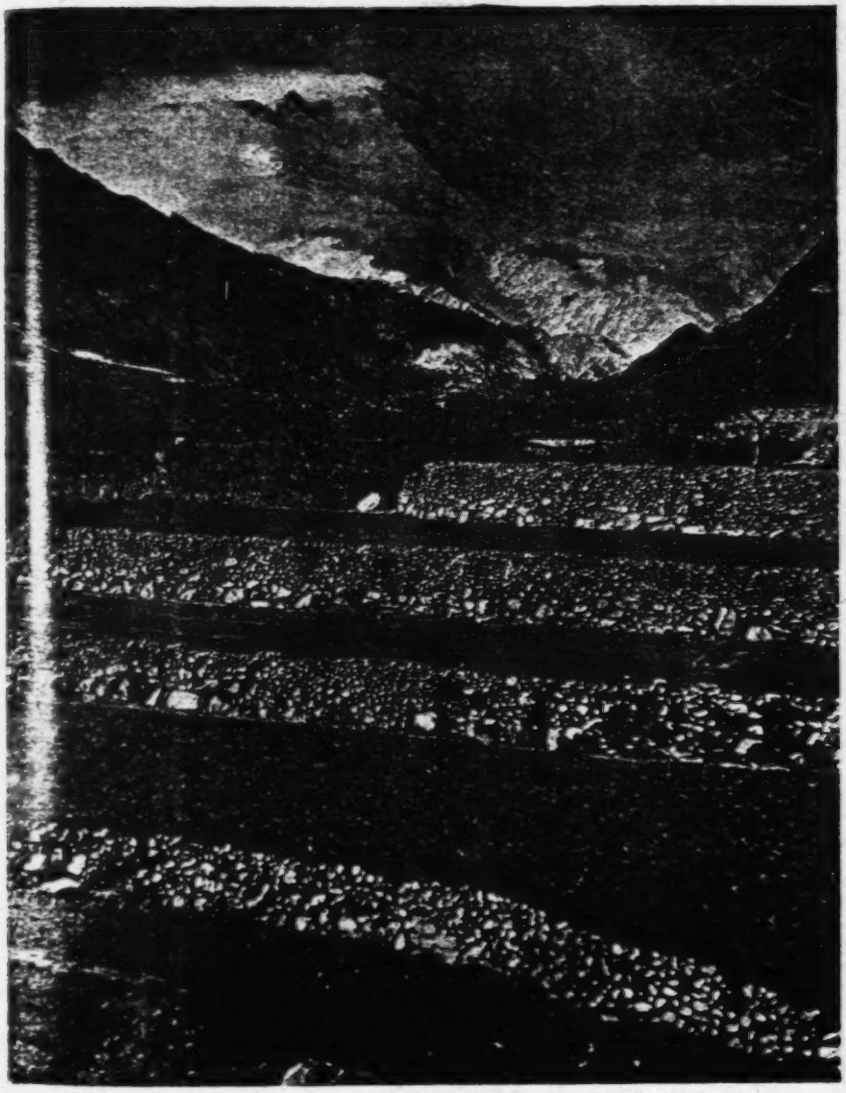

TERRACED FIELDS, HUNZA
pls. 1-IV, pl. E. O. Lorimer

facing p. 8

P. 8(A)

ANTIQUITY

233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons
241 hopes to possess is a tiny flock of 20 to 25 sheep, goats and cows. In
237 these circumstances manure is more precious than gold, and the small
592 children who conduct a cow to pasture carry a shoulder basket in which every ounce of the day's output is scrupulously collected and brought home.

233 When the snow retreats on the upper mountains a few patches of green are left here and there, and the more athletic beasts are taken up by young men who live in shelters with their charges, collect the manure, convert the milk into butter and bring these home with the animals when the snows claim their own again. These patches of high pasture, several thousand feet above the villages, are all too few and can only be reached by serious feats of mountaineering. Through field-glasses we could see the grazing animals clinging—by their eyebrows as it seemed—to their precipitous 'summer pastures', but it was impossible to ride up even on a yak, and at our age impossible to climb on foot for a nearer view.

As soon as the trees put out their leaves in spring, each 'donkey tree' (*i.e.*, non-fruit-bearing) is stripped of every scrap of spare foliage to feed the half-starved beasts. This luxury diet has to be very carefully administered lest the animals should perish of its unaccustomed succulence.

243 The major crops grown by the Hunza people for their own use are wheat, barley, several kinds of millet, sweet and bitter buckwheat,
[177] nowadays also the highly-valued potato (introduced by the British in 1892) and small quantities of various pulses. Barley must have been the original staple crop, for all the traditional festivals, the Seed-sowing of early spring, the First Reaping of early summer and the Harvest
[242] Home, relate to barley alone. The peasant is wise about rotation of crops and the various types of wheat, millet, etc., which thrive best in given conditions. Wheaten bread is much preferred to any other, but barley remains the larger crop because spring-sown barley ripens three or four weeks before even the winter-sown wheat, and the vacant fields can be resown with millet; whereas after the wheat only buckwheat can hope to ripen before winter. Bitter buckwheat is frankly detested, but it is hardier than the sweet and can better withstand an attack of early frost, so a certain amount of it is always sown as an insurance.

So poor is the soil, so scanty the manure, that in the newer villages like Aliabad, the average return is only sevenfold and even the storeyed fields of Baltit, which have been tilled in the sweat of man and woman's brow for at least 600 years and probably for twice or thrice as long, yield

it should have been. With heartfelt apologies to Dádo and Co., imperturbably good-tempered as they steadied the ponies on their hind legs on that criminal slope, I hurried to catch up the advance party. As we got higher and higher we began to meet fields and trees. Never were there such "fields." There would be a stone wall 15 or 20 feet high, beautifully built of loose stones packed most skilfully like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, so that though no mortar or mud is used to bind the walls they are nevertheless perfectly firm. On top of this a strip of ground not 3 feet wide and perhaps only 10 or 12 feet long, holding a tiny ditch for water and outside that a row of of poplar saplings and inside a strip of grass not as wide as a stair-carpet. There are staircases and staircases of "fields" like this with willows, apricots, poplars, grass, lucerne, and even barley or wheat. But they don't usually plant the two latter unless the field is at least the size of a hearthrug! Silly that in English we have only one word for "field." Burushaski, of course, has a dozen, to differentiate the various sizes and the steepness of the hillside on which they are and the height of the revetting walls.

There was water trickling carefully from one staircase to the next, not a drop being wasted, for it is a great deal more precious than gold. At last we got out on to a bleak, hot, sunny bluff, where we were met by two grandsons of the Mir, who apologized that their elder brother (the heir after his father) was not with them, but he was down in Gilgit training with his Hunza Scouts. I ought to have said sooner that we were met in Minapin by a son of the Mir of Nagir, a pleasant, gracious lad, whom we had known long ago as a small boy. He rode with us to the top of the Nagir cliff and there bade us good-bye, conveying polite messages of welcome from his father.

The two Hunza princes were very charming, the younger a little shy; it was, I fancy, his first serious grown-up appearance on one of these ceremonial meeting-parties. We dismounted to rest the animals after the long pull up, and sat for a few moments in some rather inadequate willow shade beside a tiny stream. The Mir had sent the kindest messages, and we

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1. Dumping manure.

(*See p.* 237)

2. Afiato ploughing.

(*See p.* 147)

PLATE X

3. Aliko sowing. Small boy interrupted in game of "foot-polo."

(*See p.* 184)

4. Party of women weeding.

(*See p.* 134)

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

[Facing p. 114]

524 apexes (apices? no, no!) are the "squares" and any man can move and take in any direction. It requires quite as much skill and provides quite as much fun as draughts played in our way. There are half a dozen other games of the sort, roughly variants of "marbles," all played with pebbles and governed by complicated rules which we only partially mastered.

857 We used to watch Nimo, of No. 7, a jolly, bright-eyed mite of eight or nine, pass our window every morning about half-past six, sturdily carrying an empty shoulder basket as she herded her two or three small cows off to the *toq*; sometimes she was taking charge of a small brother or sister as well. Just before nightfall, after a whole summer day on the mountain side, she would return, driving her animals and stooping 237 slightly under her load. One evening in the very early days I 857 stopped her to ask *whose* Nimo she was (their names duplicate 241 each other like our Joans, Anns, and Dorises), and "What have you got in your basket there?" With courteous surprise at being asked a question to which there could be only one answer: "Why, to-day's cow-dung." Sure enough I soon discovered that every little cowherd conscientiously gathers every scrap of the cow's daily output and brings it home to the manure store in the barn—there are no untidy outdoor middens to spoil the landscape or defile the air.

Another day we met Khano of No. 3, one of our first boy-friends, breathlessly chivvying a cow uphill to a spot where he had safely dumped his baby sister Guláb, in charge of his basket. "Hullo, did she run away from you?" "She did, the villain, but I've got her back, and look, Mother, I've lost nothing," he said, as he proudly displayed the contents of his looped-up cloak. He threw his treasure into the basket and resumed his attentions to Guláb, while the cow resigned herself to orthodox grazing. He was playing with the little girl, patiently coaxing her to totter a step or two and flop into his waiting arms, and throwing up little stones for her to catch.

857 The tenderness of the bigger children to the babies is a [593] beautiful thing to watch. I never saw boy or girl out of temper with a baby brother, sister, or cousin, or resentful of having one in charge. When the bigger ones are busy in some momen-

857 tarily empty field, playing team games of tipcat or chucking stones at a mark—they have dozens of admirable games, with rules strictly adhered to—the small ones sit about and look on or amuse themselves dabbling in water if there is any or making mud-pies. A group of youngsters were playing round me one day when a tiny girl unaccountably took fright and set up a terrified howl. A big boy stooped to comfort her: "There, there, don't cry, don't be afraid," he said soothingly, and wrapped his cloak round her to shut out whatever was the disturbing sight (I rather think it was I), and patted her reassuringly. "That will be your little sister?" said I. "No, no," was the answer, "I don't know really whose kid it is."

246 As autumn approaches and no further growth can be hoped
● 241 from the grass, these mountain meadows are painstakingly reaped, *cut* this time, with the blunt iron sickles—for the roots must be left for next year—and the tiny bunches of grass tied up. There will be a few longer, tougher stalks in each double handful, and these are doubled back over the shorter ones and the bundle tied twice, once at the base where it is fattest, and once near the top where the bent heads are caught. These bundles are then laid out in the sun—a benevolent accessory to harvest that never faileth—and gathered in to form part of the winter fodder. Then follows an incredible sight: every inch of the mountain side is painstakingly swept by the Nímos and Shamúlis, whose besoms are minute thorn bushes. Every pellet of sheep or goat, every half inch of stubbly grass above the root is garnered into the tiny shoulder baskets and added to the manure. When you have seen one strip of ground thus treated you might think the job was done; not a bit of it. A few days later Nímo and Shamúli are at it again and yet again, till not one speck of animal or vegetable matter remains. You can imagine that there is no need when walking round Hunza to "pick your steps" as in an English meadow.

233 Every individual leaf, from garden or orchard, from water-course or steep hill-garden, is similarly swept up and stored; these dry leaves are the staple winter food for the stalled beasts —no wonder the milk lacks cream-content and the sheep is bare of fat! No wonder that I shudder now to see our autumn

322 would lead us home. A happy man he looked, though he told us that his back ached nowadays at work with lathe or plough, as it never used to do, and perhaps we had English medicines that would meet the case. We could only offer the sad tidings that we too, when we walked or rode or worked, were subject to fatigue and aches undreamt of in younger days, and that even in England the doctors knew no medicines to defeat on-coming age. This, oddly, seemed to comfort him a lot: "We're all ageing together then," he said, and we all three laughed a vain defiance at the years, "and we old ones have more skill and experience than the others, haven't we?"

462 Apart from their never-ending spinning the women have
● 241 many valuable crafts, though they are less spectacular than the
252 men's. They all bake a large variety of bread and scones from their blent flour—not only grains being pressed into the service, but pounded mulberries, walnuts, peas and beans, and semi-wild berries—and when *maltash* is available they make cakes and pastries of a dozen kinds. The vegetable patches are in their care, and amongst their many greens, their gourds, cucumbers and marrows, they tend a lot of plants whose seeds or leaves or flowers are valued as flavourings, and grow a little flax and mustard to supplement their apricot oil. In spring their plots are lit with the large blossoms of many-coloured poppies, whose seeds are not wasted on opium but scattered into the vegetable pot. They also grow small quantities of maize as a vegetable, but they do not consider it profitable as a major
249 crop. The kinder-hearted find a corner for tobacco for the
534 men's pipes, which circulate of an evening in the shade when
563 the day's work is done and someone tinkles a zither or tootles on a flute. These instruments are home-made like everything else, and are often very beautifully finished; we were neither of us qualified to judge of the music the players conjured up. To our unskilled ears it sounded amateurish, but eminently cheerful and pleasing. Serious music of drum and pipe and
262 kettledrum is the monopoly of the Béricho. When the women weed their crops they sort out the dandelion, stitchwort, and sorrel for their own brews before throwing the residue to
the cow. And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots,

than two cows. . . . You can work it out yourself. I'd like 237
to give our litter louts a few years' training in Hunza.

Salt is a crying need in Hunza, and while down-country rock- 135
salt can be obtained on payment from Gilgit, few families can 263
afford to buy. Hence in the relatively idle days of early winter you will see parties of women and girls and boys scouring the mountain side high up, and tasting as they go, till they find a patch of ground that seems to have a trace of saltiness in it. They scoop up the full of their baskets and carry this earth home. When salt is wanted they mount a conical basket filled with the saline earth over some receiving vessel. By pouring water through, they get a discoloured fluid, containing heaven alone knows what (probably a minimum of sodium chloride), which they pour straight into the vegetable pot.

Another job which is kept for winter days is the making of 241 ●
new fields. It is all too true that the Hunzukuts have not enough water to serve their existing fields. But there are optimists who cannot resist the attraction of making a new field wherever they see a patch of ground that might with luck be irrigated in a good year. It's a serious business tackling a rocky bit of mountain side. You roughly plan your field and then start hacking out a great triangular gash at the upper side. It is full of stones and boulders which have to be removed; the smaller ones are set aside for the revetting walls; the larger ones are laboriously broken up with sledge-hammers (or blasted if you can get hold of a little gunpowder); the stony earth is carefully sifted into separate piles of varying degrees of fineness. Then the lower supporting wall is built to the level required, stones are thrown in for a foundation, next the coarser earth, and the surface is dressed with the finer. Field- 241
making is the only occasion on which a barrow of any kind is 493
of use. These barrows, of which in our whole time we only saw four, are the only wheeled vehicles known in Hunza. Whether the Hunzukuts invented them themselves or whether someone once saw a wheelbarrow in use elsewhere and imported the idea, who shall say? Anyhow, the Hunza wheelbarrow is a delightful affair. A sort of rude ladder with four or five rungs is made. A thick section of a tree trunk about

● 241 493 9 to 12 inches in diameter is impaled on one of the rungs to form the wheel. Axis and wheel rotate together in the two side holes of the frame, and to reduce the friction a tough ring of wicker work is placed between the wheel and the side of the ladder-frame. One of the usual shoulder baskets is then lashed between a pair of the rungs, and *voilà* . . . your apparatus is complete.

There were several batches of field-making enthusiasts whom we used to visit on our afternoon excursions—cold work it must have been with the snow lying to within a few feet of where they were working, but they did not seem to feel it, or perhaps the vision of future crops helped to keep them warm.

132 When once the Great Cold lays its icy hand on the country all outdoor human activity ceases as suddenly and completely as the sound of flowing water, and no one voluntarily stirs abroad. Occasionally you may see a woman, wrapped in the warmest *choga* available, dash with a gourd or bucket to the nearest drinking tank, break the thick crust of ice re-formed since yesterday and bring home the needed water. The steep, irregular stone steps were glassy with frozen water; it would have been easy to fall in and difficult to scramble out, but we heard of no casualties. Once again we noted that families prone to accident are weeded out by beneficent Mother Nature when her ways are not interfered with.

Once a day some man or boy drives out the beasts to the nearest open reservoir to drink, breaking the ice anew for them. As the water level sinks the ice crust cracks like pastry, the centre falls in, leaving stratum after stratum 6 or 8 inches thick adhering shelf-wise to the stone walls of the reservoir.

The winter was in many ways a disappointment to us. We had hoped for bright days and clear air and magnificent photographs. In fact, all the great mountains round were wrapped day after day in swathes of dark, snow-depositing cloud, and the floor of heaven, impenetrably grey, seemed suspended menacingly just a few inches above our heads. The immediate visible landscape was the dreariest it is possible to conceive; not an evergreen tree or bush, not a square inch of green grass to break the grim monotony of sepia-grey-khaki rocks, cliffs,

796 innovations). Chairs had been set for us also and the crowd formed a circle round. A large skin sack was then brought containing sections of a roasted ox. These were emptied out on to a skin tablecloth on the ground, while hundreds of thin bread pancakes were spread on another skin. The Master of the Ceremonies, a fine old man with a white beard dyed orange, took an adze and hacked the joints of meat into neat little chunks. A dish of bread and meat was brought to the Mir to handsel, and he duly tasted a little of each.

A piece of meat was then folded into several flaps of bread and the name of a village was called out. The little parcel was promptly passed back over the heads of the crowd to the authorized representative of that village who was present to receive it. A portion of the royal food was thus distributed to every village in Hunza. Bundles of new arrows and bundles of arrow heads wrapped in red handkerchiefs were then emptied at the Mir's feet. These he distributed to all the people about to take part in the archery.

796 The stage was now set for the essential part of the Bopfau
789 ceremony. The Mir and Royal Princes stood up and formed a semi-circle facing east, holding their joined hands out cup-wise in front of them. A small bag of seed-grain had been brought adorned at the mouth with a bunch of maidenhair. From this, grain was poured into their hands, and on top of the Mir's handful was placed a microscopic bag made from the skin of a sheep's heart and filled with gold dust. The officiating greybeard intoned a prayer of blessing, and at a given signal the Mir and Princes flung the grain back over their heads and the people crowded in to catch it in their hands. Those lucky enough to secure any, promptly rubbed it between their palms and ate it. He was doubly lucky who secured the bag of gold, but we heard that he was expected to distribute it in alms, so the concrete advantage was slight.

796 The grain-throwing was three times repeated, and we all
241 moved off to another part of the field, where a little heap of manure had been spread out. Two yoked oxen were now driven forward drawing an old-style plough (rather perfunctorily attached for it came adrift and had to be readjusted).

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

Then the Mir, still wearing his royal robes, ploughed three parallel furrows and formally initiated the Barley Sowing of the year. In theory no true Hunzukuts will sow his barley till this ceremony has been performed, but we were told that in fact anyone who is ready earlier and thinks the time is ripe has not the slightest hesitation in going ahead with the good work. Never was a people so admirably full of common sense!

The Bopfau field was now deserted for the polo-ground; the crowd helter-skeltered down the wall, bringing the stones down on their heels in clouds of dust: the one and only time when I saw Hunza folk knock even one stone from its place without halting to replace it. We descended by the ladder with greater dignity and proceeded to the raised dais reserved for "The Great" on such occasions. Directly opposite the Grand Stand at the farther side of the ground was a little pile of earth about 2 feet high, and piled as steep as it would stand, on the side of which was fixed a target of brittle wood covered with a thin plaque of beaten silver. The mark was about 2 inches by 2½, and much the shape of an egg in profile.

Before the archery began all the Mir's horses in fine trappings were galloped down the field—the band thumping and piping as they came. Then the archers rode by carrying their immense bows of spliced wood faced with plates of ibex horn and strung with plaited leather. There were about thirty of them, including Prince Shah Khan ("Little Lord Fauntleroy") on a small pony with a full-sized bow nearly as long as himself. From the far end of the ground they came hurtling along one by one, coaxing their horses into a steadier gallop as they neared the mark, then flinging down the reins and firing as they passed. Some arrows flew a bit wide, but by far the greater number buried themselves to the feathers in the little earthen mound. A few horses sheered off, not permitting their riders to take a shot, and one fine animal, seeing the mound stuck as full of arrows as it could hold, decided that the game was a steeplechase and cleared the mound in a magnificent leap, evoking much laughter. One man, a very William Tell, split the target through the very centre to thunderous applause.

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

A month later, by the third week of March, we were well 132
into the Spring. The winter wheat formed a bright green carpet on the shelf-like fields, about three-quarters of our Alitábád ground being given over to it.

The barley which the men had sown after the Bopfau, just 243
the other day it seemed, was showing green over the most of the rest, and would presently outstrip the wheat and ripen first. The only brown fields left were those that were being prepared for vegetables and potatoes. No leaves were yet showing anywhere, but fat red apricot buds looked promising.

As autumn drew in we had begun to feel a little disappointed 241
in our Hunza friends whose marvellous field-walls we had always admired so much with not one single stone out of its place. There were breaches here and there, sometimes quite big ones, and paths were often blocked by a fall of stones, and no one seemed to bother. This puzzled us as out of character, but as soon as the last fear of frost was over, every spare moment was spent by men and boys restoring the countryside to its normal state of faultless tidiness. We now saw the reason of the apparent neglect. The frost and ice simply tear the walls to pieces, and to repair them during winter would be sheer folly. We might perhaps have divined this; but now at any rate we knew.

One early day in March we saw Khano on the mountain side 233
walking slowly and with circumspection. This was so strange a sight that we went over to investigate. "What are you carrying so carefully under your *chogo*?" "My first kid," he said, opening his cloak to display the tiny head with triumph. "That's the mother there. I'm expecting four to-morrow. I do hope they won't get born at night in the byre. I'd rather they came when I'm out with them alone." "How do you happen to have so many goats?" we asked. "Oh, I'm herding for the Yerpa now. He's no boys of his own, you see." How crazy it would be to call a lad like that "uneducated" because he doesn't happen to have learned to read or write! He is proudly able to act as accoucheur to his goats, which few of our youngsters at home would feel equal to. We enquired later of Dádo and the rest what sort of wages Khano was able to earn, and their view was that he was probably not given

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 presence there. It was tantalizing to delay our return to headquarters; on the other hand, since in common courtesy the visit must some time be paid, we had promised to visit Nagir before returning to Aliábád, so we remained on the Nagir side of the river and proceeded to that gloomy, sunless capital.

At Minapin, the last stage before Hunza or Nagir, as the case might be, we were met by a laughing, bright-eyed boy, too genial to be a Nagir product: it was Haiyáto's son (one of three) who had come the fourteen miles to meet his father, explaining "I was heartsick for you and the horse, my father."

Ernest, Dádo, and Qudrat Ullah had never been in Nagir before, and were much amused at seeing Hunza from across the water. Everything *did* look odd, Aliábád beacon-tower very imposing above the empty, graveyard hill. Nagir is more 241 spacious and richer than I had remembered. The fields are all slightly sloping and the revetting walls not nearly so high or 242 so well-built as those of Hunza. The houses, like the Gilgit houses, are mainly built of sun-dried brick, and looked tidy and neat. Upper balconies are rare, and it seemed to me that the smoke-holes were much smaller and usually at one side of the roof, but the roofs appeared to have a parapet of a foot or so all round. The villages, so familiar in profile from the Hunza side, are much deeper than their appearance from the 487 distance would suggest. The path from Sumair onwards up the Nagir gorge was very narrow, crumbly, and in poor repair, but looking at the texture of the cliffs it was not easy to see how anything radical could be done to improve it unless the course of it were entirely altered and carried much higher up and over the top of various bluffs and crags: an expensive engineering feat. Presently we came to an ugly *zhingát* on a long stretch of steep, almost fluid rubbish-heap slope—a place well remembered in my nightmares—across which the track, such as it was, was a bare 18 inches wide, and not even level at that. It is a good quarter of a mile; we took it on foot at the double, and were thankful to reach comparative safety at the other side, and see our horses and men follow without mishap. There is no shame in funking these things; the natives like them as little as we, and are as frank about it. Familiarity with a

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

487 To revert to our homeward journey: After descending the Mir's famous new road on foot (it was so steep that our people voluntarily carried the loads down and loaded the animals below) we rode as far as the perilous *zhingát*, then dismounted and scooted across it in undignified but prudent haste. It was actively streaming pebbles, and at the safer spots where a bush or an apparently well-rooted boulder sheltered the track, we halted, looked, and waited to make sure that nothing larger was coming and then ran for it. A biggish stone or boulder takes three to four seconds after it is sighted to reach the track, and you must use your judgment and gamble on your chances. We felt a little anxious till we saw that all our people and kit were safely over too. Under a small new half-built mosque we halted in the shade to drink some thermos tea. The owner of the land, an intelligent man, courteously came up and offered to spread bedding for us to sit on; there were some children about but they were shy and churlish and unresponsive to our advances. The ride through the villages was pleasant; there are lovely big trees in Nagir (such as Hunza
241 cannot afford), and lashings of water. The fact that the Nagirkuts don't level their fields completely, but allow them to be on a fairly steep slope, seems to entail a much more elaborate system of ridging and much more trampling through the crops to direct the water. We wondered whether it really saved trouble after all.

487 Presently we came to the long Shayár *zhingát* just opposite Aliábád, though so many dusty miles away by road. We had had it under observation for many months from our windows, and knew that in fact boulder bombardments down it were rare, though very thorough and impressive when they did occur. Still, it is always a nasty business. Like the other one, it was trickling actively, but the surface of the track across it was wide and fair, so we rode at it as always before. We were about half-way across when Haiyáto looked up and saw puffs of dust above us indicating the marksmanship of falling stones. He shouted "Ride for your life, Sahib!" and stupidly got so excited as to frighten the horses, who, without any additional incentive, are always nervous and jumpy on these mountain shoots. I know few feelings more unpleasant than the trembling

Chapter 27

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

000 THE first few days after our return we spent in picking up threads again, and very jolly it was to make the tour of the dear, familiar farmsteads and be shown the new kids and lambs, the new stone shed, etc., to comment on the progress each field was making—in some, little knobs were forming on the barley stalks, where presently the new ears would come, in some few, the ears were already taking shape—to see how far the new fields had progressed towards completion, and what jobs were now in hand. We were touched to find that it was not only our more immediate, better-known neighbours who seemed glad to see us, but even the more distant, rarely visited families flocked to the doors and came out to kiss our hands till the greetings became almost monotonous: "We have missed you. You were long away. We are glad you are back. Are you well?" Old men tottered up to talk to us, young mothers brought new babies to be introduced; Baby Faqér laughed and crowed and "knew his grandmother" (he was a very bright and intelligent little chap for only five months), and little Afrots had not forgotten how to shake hands and say "How do you do?" performing these feats to the admiration of crowds from the three adjacent house-roofs and a large passing party in the lane.

233 Bare fields that had been lying fallow were being got ready
241 and dotted with manure dumps for the independent millets, sand was being dug from the silt traps to add to the beasts' bedding, whence it would duly reach the fields, and women were fetching baskets of earth from the "Mir's Stables" to add to the banked soil round their potatoes. The whole

countryside was a hive of industry. We missed the larger 233
animals and learnt that they had already been taken up to the 241
tér for the summer, while the tiny lambs and kids who were being carefully shepherded about to get what scanty grazing they could find without trespassing into the springing crops, demanded the unceasing vigilance of their small guardians.

The most noticeable new phenomenon was the constant /137
stream of people, men or women, stooping under huge bundles 233
of greenery till they looked in truth "like trees walking." We had come back to find the poplars well clothed and bushy (for poplars), giving an unwonted air of luxury to the landscape, but now they were being ruthlessly stripped to provide fodder for the animals, half starved throughout the winter on a diet of dry leaves. Poplar, willow, and *gindáwer* are all laid under contribution, but the new fodder has to be very carefully issued at first lest the poor beasts should perish of its unaccustomed succulence. I stood one day watching and photographing a minute human insect at the top of a 50 or 60 foot poplar skilfully stripping it of its spring glory and leaving only the tiniest green tuft at the top. A whole handsome row were about to be similarly shorn. In a moment of thoughtlessness I said to the peasant at my side: "They look so lovely, it does seem a pity. . . ." He turned on me almost fiercely: "What, Mother? Would you starve our beasts for the sake of a poplar tree? The leaves will come again next spring. There is no cure for a dead sheep." I stood rebuked.

No. 3 had been laying out a new vegetable plot. Apicho 244
showed me the various beds ready for beans, scarlet runners 233
(which here have yellow flowers), marrows, and greens, but confessed that manure was their great problem. They have only one cow, poor devils, and with the best will in the world one cow cannot produce enough.

The end of May is the season when new saplings of poplar, 245
willow, etc., are planted, and we occasionally met people 252
carrying off bundles of them to set in place. The mills were in action again, and such fortunate folk as had a little grain still left from their emergency store—not, after all, exhausted by weddings or funerals—were carrying pathetically small bags of
it to be ground.

it to be ground. But "Starvation Springtime" was still ruling the land, and we noticed the children looking very thin and peaky, and a few with sores on their faces—hunger sores. We had often remarked on the complete absence of skin diseases amongst these cleanly folk, and the hunger sores rapidly disappeared with the coming of more food.

The opening of June saw weeding being very intensively carried out, not only for the sake of the growing crops, but for the weeds' own sake; those which were dubbed "crows' vegetables" were thrown to the sheep and goats, while sorrel and the like found their way into the family cooking-pot. Irrigation questions were now serious, for the crops must not be starved of water at the critical moment, and we used to meet bands of Aliábádkuts armed with shovels walking out the eight or more miles to the highest point of the Dála to guard and govern the controlling sluices. The potatoes were now beginning to flower and the mulberries to show signs of ripening, and the air was rent by shrill boy and girl noises designed to scare the birds off the mulberry trees. Every boy was armed with his catapult bow, made and strung of course by his own hands. I asked Yaman how many birds he had killed with his little stones: "Seventy-two, so far this season, Mother, but I'll get lots more." "What do you do with them?" "Oh, I take them home and put them in the pot, but there's not much meat on them." Our first impression of Hunza had been that, except for magpies, it was an entirely birdless land; this was a mistake. Migratory birds came in flocks at various seasons when any sort of likely food was going. Their various species I was not ornithologist enough to know; to me, as to A. J. Balfour, each was just "an average small bird," and the Hunza terminology was no great help to identification, for they were known as "mulberry birds," "barley birds," or the like, according to which crop they threatened. We now also for the first time saw shorn goats. Whereas the Hunza sheep are robbed of their wool just whenever wool is needed, so that you never see a really generous-looking ample fleece, the goats are shorn only once a year, in early summer. If you think of it, goat's hair would be too wiry to spin at all unless it were a decent length.

all thriving. The field walls looked very jolly at this season, with wild flowers of the rock-garden type growing in the crannies between the stones and fostered by the seepage from the irrigated fields above. Amongst them was a wild mint and a wild thyme, the flavouring qualities of which are known and appreciated.

On June 12th we saw some people hungrily eyeing their barley and reckoning that it would be ripe for cutting in another fifteen days. It was said to be good this year in spite of an abnormally cold, late spring. Some rain showers that we had were welcomed though they temporarily cooled the air. But as clouds and rain continued, anxiety began to be felt lest the wheat should be late and delay too long the planting of the buckwheat-on-wheat. The barley is subject to a disease called *tam*, which stripes the leaves an ugly yellow and produces a milky liquid in the ears. Few plants were attacked this year. The disease called *matèl* (rust?), which makes black ears, attacks only wheat and millet, and if the cold and rain persisted it might be expected to set in. We were doubly anxious that this year's crops should be good: unselfishly for the people's sake; selfishly lest a bad year should be attributed to the maleficent influence of two crazy people learning Burushaski—though indeed these highly rational people would be unlikely to indulge any such fantastic association of ideas.

We saw some people one day collecting the under-bark from red willow trees; they use it for dyeing the leather of their native boots and skilfully chip it out from the living tree without injuring the willow.

Now that the people were really within sight of food they frankly confessed to being desperately hungry, and the strain of unremitting work—weeding, ploughing, manuring, grafting, irrigating from dawn to dusk on empty tummies—was showing in drawn, thin faces, but appeared powerless to damp their spirits or fray their tempers. It was dreadful to look on and be helpless to feed the multitude with loaves or fishes, while we lived—sparingly enough by home standards but—riotously compared with these much more deserving neighbours. We saw one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry

[in June -- Analyst]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

shout of "Here they come!" Far away, hundreds of feet below 643
us, we could just descry a pair of horsemen scrambling up the road I have described. It was two of the royal princes, one of them Lord Fauntleroy, each with an armful of ripe golden barley. Soon they disappeared into the bowels of the Fort below us and presently their heads popped up through the trap-door. Someone whisked the barley from their arms and disappeared with it to rub the ears and toast the grains. The Mir appeared from an inner door. He was wearing a loose gown of pale blue silk all embroidered in gold and a pale turban also touched with gold. He greeted his people like a king and went over to his seat, quietly kicked off his slippers, and neatly slithered himself on to the couch-like throne in photograph-defying shadow, and sat cross-legged—the perfect picture of an Oriental monarch whose authentic ancestors were ruling Hunza while our Black Prince was fighting in the fields of France. He graciously signed for us to come near, and I let my chair be brought under the verandah, but DL begged to be allowed to stay out in the balcony where he could move about more freely.

Then came a henchman with ewer and basin and the Mir 241
very sensibly spread a towel over his silken knees and velvet cloth while water was poured over his hands. Another minion then presented a priceless china bowl filled with sour milk, and the Mir taking a silver spoon lifted half a spoonful of the junket and held it out while the man sprinkled in three grains of toasted barley. This he ate—three times three grains in all—thus handselling the first fruits of the year's new harvest. Then the bowl was circulated to DL (with a fresh spoon) and then to me, and then in order of rank and precedence to the rest of the assembled company. It was a simple yet impressive little communion service. And throughout the country every family in like fashion ceremonially tastes the first grains of the new barley, and carries in the first-cut stalks solemnly to bind them round the *shiri dako*, the main pillar of the humble atrium, where they remain till in due course replaced a twelve-month later.

When the bowl and barley grains had made the rounds, in

was brought the largest wooden tray I ever saw, piled high with various foods: I noted a fresh cabbage, stacks of several kinds of bread, dishes of dried curds, mountains of rice with nuts and onions on top, and every sort of vegetable cooked in butter. The Mir sampled everything very sparingly, laughingly explaining that he must not tuck in now as he had to eat dinner with us presently. Then the royal tray was taken over and placed before the princes, while mountains of bread and meat were set in the centre of the balcony for everybody. The meat was hacked up as usual with an adze and the food quickly distributed and almost as quickly disposed of, no one going through the farce of having a delicate appetite. The beauty of this kind of feast is that there is no "clearing away," for in five minutes not one visible crumb was left.

Then all stood up and turned to the Mir with a bow and a curious gesture brushing down their beards or moustaches or whiskers with both hands (whether they had any such trimming on the face or not) and said in unison *mubárak manish!*—may it be blessed!—thereupon fading out one by one down the trap-door. When the road was clear we all climbed down too, and in the courtyard the Mir mounted his horse again for a sort of triumphal march home. He suggested our riding with him, but we explained that we should prefer to walk down if we might. He laughed and said: "So should I, but I must not!" The ascent of the Hunza Mall is all right, but riding down it is unattractive. We waited till he had plunged vertically out of sight and took our time to the descent on foot. There is a wonderful collection of old buildings, with balcony rooms propped on rudely carved pillars, a charming old, now disused mosque, also lavishly carved, and a wonderful old mill, all packed tight round the feet of the Fort for safety.

After we got back to the Mir's gardens we washed and changed, and dined with him in a roomy tent. The poor man had been having severe toothache for several days and no sleep at night, yet he manfully ate his way through dinner and kept the conversation going. Next morning we were awakened by a magnificent voice chanting the Call to Prayer before dawn. It was the only *muezzin* we ever heard in Hunza, but the Mir

takes a pride in having every sort of artisan and artist in his service. I peeped out through the muslin curtain of our tent, but I didn't notice any great rush of the population to pray. There was polo at 6 a.m., to which we did not turn out.

After breakfast there was a great feast in the large courtyard outside the garden at Kerimabad where the Mir sat daily to hold public court. The large open space was packed with feasters. The Mir was seated under a verandah on another throne (again in heavy shadow), and strings of people came with huge baskets on their backs, laden with food. We were seated on the vantage ground of a rocky shelf in a great boulder that commands the courtyard and at the same time forms the foundation of a splendidly sited guest-house bungalow of comparatively recent date. Yesterday's performance was repeated but without the ceremonial of the toasted barley grains. Yesterday the guests on the Fort balcony had been only "The Great," but to-day the feasters were a more representative and larger crowd. The eating did not take long, and we then adjourned to see the usual kind of dancing.

After that lunch we said good-bye and rode home: again at the very hottest time of a ninety-in-the-shade day. But we were thankful to have seen the Ginání ceremonial which was just over when we arrived the year before. We had now seen the Hunza year right through with all its festivals, and alas! packing and departure were beginning to loom large in our thoughts. We could not linger so long in Hunza as to risk having again to *walk* the Burzil—Fate and weather might not have been so kind the second time. DL had toiled with his two Wakhis through all the work he was likely to be able to extract from them, and we bade the dear old men an affectionate and thankful farewell. Khalifa Farághat was the proud possessor of a pair of "old age spectacles" we had procured for him from the Agency Surgeon in Gilgit, which he said gave his eyes a new lease of life.

We had brought the faithful Muslim back with us from Yasin, having obtained leave for him from the Rajah, and David had been spending all his leisure from Wakhi and Burushaski on rounding off his Werchikwar, but we

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Among the vast and savage mountains of the Western Karakoram, which are generally devoid of a blade of grass, and of which the surface by falls of cliff and boulders, the slipping of detritus, and the downpouring of mud-floods, is kept in a constantly raw and unstable state, nature has made it possible for a small population to maintain itself, in the sweat of its brow, by agriculture and the pasturing of small cattle. 133 241 233

Terraces, apparently the remains of glacial deposits, supplemented it may be by downpourings from the mountain sides, have been left here and there along the sides of the valleys of the main rivers, at a height usually of some hundreds of feet above their stony beds. Where water for irrigation can be obtained from side-ravines these tracts can be cultivated. Without irrigation no cultivation is possible. There are no rain-watered cereal crops and water cannot be raised from the main river. The surface of these terraces is not flat, but slopes down at every kind of angle from the hillsides till the terraces end in abrupt earth-cliffs descending to the river beds. As the ground has to be irrigated it also has to be more or less levelled, otherwise all the soil would soon be washed away. This is accomplished by constructing terraced fields, the lower edges of which are supported by revetting walls built up of the rounded stones available in the diluvium. This revetting is highly skilled work, and is beautifully carried out, and maintained in perfect repair by the Hunzukuts. The Nagirkuts seem on the whole to be less strenuous workers and less tidy-minded cultivators. 312 241

There remains the task of constructing channels to bring water from where it is available, often miles away. These channels are designed with precision and executed with great resource and ingenuity, often being carried on revetted or galleried aqueducts across cliff faces. Having made your land and brought your water, it still remains to elaborate a system of distributing the water among the various communities or individuals entitled to a share of it. 312

Pressure of population in recent years has led to constant endeavours to devise means of providing water supplies for tracts of waterless but cultivable land. Where land and water have been 241

3: Lorimer L-3 (1928-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

241 brought together, the following are the principal crops grown in Hunza and Nagir: wheat, barley, two or three kinds of millet, buckwheat, broad beans, peas and various pulses, lucerne (yielding two crops) for fodder. Maize and rice are not grown at these levels[1]. Lucerne is often grown on the sloping unterraced hillside where water is insufficient for crops. Fruit is also an important item of cultivation. The apricot is universal, and fresh and dry the fruit is a staple food. Besides its kernels are collected and eaten, or crushed for their oil. Apples, peaches, cherries, cherry-plums and grapes are also extensively grown, but do not appear to be dried, though apples and grapes are stored in straw for some months. Pears, pomegranates and walnuts are cultivated in places. The mulberry is eaten fresh and is also dried and preserved. Poplars and willows are grown for their timber, and in the lower tracts the chenar.

233 237 Agricultural crops and fruit would not however provide a complete subsistence. Goats, sheep and a small type of cow supply the necessary milk and fat products, particularly ghee, also hair for ropes and coarse cloth, wool for clothing, skins and hides for containing vessels, foot-wear and thongs. These cattle are kept in the villages during the cool and cold weather, when they are fed on such scanty natural grazing as is to be found, agricultural waste and dried leaves, and pay their way by providing milk and manure. During the hot months they are sent up in charge of herds to the few summer grazing-grounds (tĕr, pl. tĕrming; ter, termin), which exist in the higher 234 parts of some of the nullahs. There their milk is collected and converted into forms in which it will keep: ghee, dried buttermilk etc.

361 133 [1] I.e. from about 7000′ upwards, Chhalt, the lowest village in the country, stands at 6560′. Māyūn and Hindi are probably about 7000′ and Alābād about 7500′. Baltit is 8000′ and Nagir 7550′. Misgār, the highest place at which the Burusho have been induced to live, is 10.158′. It is said that the Burusho women refuse to go where the apricot will not ripen, and there are few Burusho settled above 8000′. In Chupūrsan and Shimshāl the Wakhis are found up to about 11.000′, which is probably the extreme limit at which barley will grow in this region. In recent years a little maize has been grown in Māyūn, Murtazābād and Ganish.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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Looking S. W. from the Nagir Polo Ground.
Terraced fields and apricot trees in blossom above.

End Plate 10

No. XXXVIII.

Gɪn'ani.ɛ Dast'ur.

Yərum zaman'atsum dastur bila Sərat'ane turmatsindi.ulo dɛn gəɪ'a·rum di·mi kɛ Gɪnani mai.i bi. dɛn čaγ'urum di·mi kɛ a·ltərulo Gɪnani ɛč'a·n.

Hər i.ɛ pfal nuka halɛ iw'at manimi kɛ ho Thamɛ wazir kɛ ak'abɪrtiŋɛ kɛ doγ'arušai, ax'on sa·'atər 'ebərɛbai.i: "Amit guntse Gɪnani 'ɛčan kɛ" nusɛn. Axone kɪta·pulo nup'ərɛn gunts muqarar ɛč'ai.i.

Ho Gɪn'ani.ər alta·ŋuts duw'a·sumər usta·dtiŋ dutsun Thame hiŋtse gɪnani.e hərip 'o·γərča·n (*or*, očan). T'orimi baja xa n'eγər ustatiŋ ničа·n.

Altul duw'a·sumər Čərbu.ɛ qau.n ɛčai: "Wa ful'ana guntse Gɪnani š'i.as bi. Matanum terminər nama·n bur'us ditsu.in," nusɛn. G'onšɛrɛ g'on manɪš xa usta·tiŋ hərip ɛč'an, bɛsɛ kɛ: "Gəribtiŋ b'a·man uy'o·n d'oyɛlin xuš umanšan" nusɛn.

Da Gɪna·ni 'e·šiš xa həri ipfupəras ap'i. Jotphat kɛ kana.o

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2 *Gɪnani* — It is held later in *Gujha·l*, the Upper Hunza valley. The term *Gɪnani* seems to apply originally to the small quantity of barley which is torn up and brought into the house, see line 8, page 328, and to the grain of it which is eaten, see line 11 page 328, and then generally to the festival associated with this sampling of the crops.

4 *pfal nuka* — *pfal ganas* seems to be the idiom for "coming into grain, developing grain".

halɛ iwat — appears to be literally "fox's body" (*-*wat*). It was explained that the term is used to describe corn when the ears have turned yellowish or reddish i. e. the colour of a fox's fur.

5 *ak'abirtiŋɛ kɛ doγarušai.i* — *kɛ* was here substituted for the original *ka* ('with').

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXXVIII.

The Gināni Custom.

539x
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It is the custom from ancient times that the Gināni be held on the fifteenth of Seratān if the year turns out hot, but if the year is cold they celebrate the Gināni on the twentieth.

When the barley has formed grain and the ears have turned yellow, the Tham, after consulting the Wazir and Elders, makes the Akhond look for a favourable time, saying: "Which day should we hold the Gināni?" The Akhond looks in his book and fixes a day.

Then when eight days remain to the Gināni they bring the musicians and make them play the Gināni tune at the Tham's door. The musicians play till ten o'clock and then go away.

When two days remain the Cherbu calls out: "Ho, on such and such a day the Gināni is to be eaten. Go to the distant grazing-grounds and fetch in the *burūs*. All night till daybreak the musicians play music so that all the poor people may hear and rejoice.

Then, until the eating of the Gināni, rubbing the barley between

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Perhaps the narrator had originally had some other verb in view, as *doγarvsas* is not elsewhere accompanied either by the general oblique or by the postposition *ku*.

12 *Grnani ṣi.as bi* — *bi* agreeing with *grnani* v. § 401.

13 *bese ke . . . nesen* — the grammar is rather confused. The meaning is: "in order that the poor people may be happy", but actually *bese ke* 'because' appears to introduce *nesen* "because they say (lit. 'saying') 'let the poor people be happy!'"

bewas — a chance variant for *bamas*.

15 *eṣiṣ xu* — negative *a* + *i* + °-*ṣiṣ*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the hands is not permitted; and they warn the small children, saying: "If you rub the barley the Tham will cut out your tongues for you," and frighten them. 539A 527 241

Then when it is time to bring in the Gināni, they play the Gināni tune in the morning on the balcony of the Tham's palace. First they go from the Tham's palace to bring in the Gināni. Then when they have brought the Tham's Gināni from the fields it is the custom next for all to go away and bring in their own.

They go the fields and say "Bismillah" and pray to the Dĕhkān Pīr and then they tear up a little barley by the roots and bring it home. Bringing it to the house they tie a little of the barley to the main pillar and a little they roast at the fire and rub it between their hands. Then they bring buttermilk in a bowl and three times in a spoon(ful of it) one of them puts 3 or 7 grains of the barley for the principal person of the house, and he laps it up. And in like manner all the people of the house in turn handsel the Gināni grain. [776]

Then the next day they hold the Gināni sports. In the morning they play polo at Bāltīt. After playing polo the Tham and the Elders come to the Tham's upper outside garden to make the people give a display. After they have arrived there they bring bread and *burūs* for the Tham from the houses of the Hunza Elders. The Tham sits down on a seat in the place of assembly and the Wazir and Elders sit down in their respective places and then they eat the bread. When they have eaten, the people assemble for an entertainment at the outside dancing-place, and the Tham and Elders come out and make them dance. First the Tham makes

then given to the senior person in the house who laps it up. This procedure is gone through three times. The word is more correctly *kapon*, but when the accent as here is on the first syllable the quality of the second vowel is not clear.

14 *basior* — called the *Šim'al Bar*γ.

15 *boruṣ* — here and in l. 9, p. 330 written *boruṣ̌*, owing no doubt to the influence of the *š* of *šapik*.

16 *ku* — for *ku*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-8) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

one of the Turakuts dance and then they make the *Trangfas* and Elders dance in turn. 539/1 527 241

The women and children deck themselves out to come to the display. And the men used to come, after they had produced mulberry spirits and drunk and become intoxicated. This year and last year by the order of the Agha Khan, (the Tham) has made them abstain from drinking wine and spirits. Then they dance till midday.

When midday has come the Tham leaves the place of assembly and (goes and) lies down. After lying down for a little he gets up and they go off to Altit in the evening to play polo. The people of Altit also bring bread and *burūs*, and when they have eaten they play polo and then go off to their homes.

Two days after holding the Gindni they celebrate the Piakmer. Then they cut the wheat and barley and prepare threshing floors and stack the harvest.

& Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burushо AV7

Kərəmo Dərbəd in Diramitiŋ territory, v. Text No. XIV.. 776 782

See my article in JRAS of July 1929, pp. 507—36. [113]

Saharla Bo·in ki Harlasa Bo·in names of two Bo·in's in whose names oaths were taken. 250.9. *itsir bo·yo se.ibəm* they called them "*bo·yo*". 214.5. *sirsi i·tsi u.i·liki bəm* people used to worship, or placate, them. 214.4. *bo·yo u.i·likinəs*, (pl. *u.i·likinəšo*), a bo·yo-worshipper, a heathen, (cp, *boi.indu·rgəs*).

bokal y pl. seed-grain (of cereals). — *guki bokali gur bitsəŋ* this is wheat seed-grain. 000

bo·mo y pl. seed (of corn). (The *-mo* is only an expletive, conveying at most a sense of multiplicity and indefiniteness). — *da bo·mo da u·lji yərər gur hərí n'o·wsin* putting aside wheat and barley for seed and funeral rites. 332.11.

bo·nis a round lump of dough (2 or 3 inches or more in diameter for making cake of bread from). — *kən bo·nisəni tha hə·lər daudo 'ečəm* I (can) make "daudo" for 100 troops with one lump of dough. 176.23.

bo·no, -mots x plait of hair rolled up and knotted into a ball at the end. 302

The Hunza women wear their hair in two such plaits one at each side of the head. Formerly the men also wore their hair long and dressed it in *bono's* or twisted in spirals.

A N. y pl. form "*bo·niŋ*" was recorded. (Cp. Sh. *bo·no*).

bopfau "seed-scattering". — *bopfau stəs* to perform the ceremony of initiating the seed-sowing in the Spring. V. Text No. XIII. 241

85a

From further very brief notes it appears that the field is first manured in preparation, and the ceremony consists in the Mir's throwing up some barley seed mixed with gold dust, after which he makes some display of ploughing the land. 241

The plough is then taken in succession by the Mir's son and by the Wazir. V. 208 and 212.22.

(*bo* + *pfau* q.v. Cp. Sh. *bipfau theɔrki*. The Turki equivalent is said to be "*ḋayan*").

enough, sufficient; plentiful, cheap. — *boa bi.en, bilaan, mai.imi, manimi.* (Cp. Sh. *boa*. Pra. *bast*)

boɔt y clear sky 1UB *asmaɔn ka pay hoɔna.* — *boɔt ni bila, nimi* it has cleared up, it cleared up. *boɔt bila* the sky is clear. *boɔt erimi* he made the sky clear up. 160.8.

boɔyas, boɔč- to alight (of birds), perch. — *mərt'ɛnafe ya kayolo sinda i·lita boɔči.e* (the birds) alight (perch?) on the earth-cliff or strand at the edge of the river. 206.14. 3rd sg. Pret. *boɔmi.*

boɔyo v. *boɔin.*

boi.indurgas, boɔindurgas, x pl. ancestral spirits, spirits (of the virtuous dead), H. *eruaɔh, borzurgaɔn, ruhaɔni.aɔt.* — *boi.indurgas rɛza umai.imi.e* the spirits will approve, be pleased. *boi.indurgas na-r'ɛza ay'oɔ* don't displease the spirits. (Cp. *boɔin* and *durgasufo*).

brāɔ brāɔ stas N. to bleat (of sheep). (Cp. Sh. *brāɔ theɔrki;* Kho. *braɔr*, bleating).

oɔrak, -ants x crease, wrinkle. — *ifati.e brakants* wrinkles on the forehead. (Cp. Sh. *brak*).

85b

000 *pfurk'a* morsel tasted by the cook (QUB the host) before food is eaten by the Mir. (The morsel is selected by the Mir. The custom is said to be still kept up as a form).

purkuu perfect. — *purkuu bii.i* he is perfect. (Cp. Sh. *purko* ‖ *puro*).

p'ormu beforehand, before the time. — *pfor Birospalor ginami bila; purmu ukk'horor g.ituq ešum* the "ginami" is on Thursday week. They make clothes for themselves beforehand.

pfortikr brave, valiant.

pforu, phoru sg. & pl., d.pl. *-ints* x reeds, rushes. — *pforuu bul* Proper name: "Reed Spring". 292.12.

(Sh. *pfor u. phoru*, reeds)

pfor u'kus, pl. *pforuukuy.ints* x article made of bark for holding wool when cleaning and spinning it.

241 *pforuq -ilo* x a plot of ground prepared for cultivation. A field is divided into a number of long narrow smooth-surfaced plots separated by earth ridges. This is to facilitate irrigation and economise water. Above Chalt the ground is not left with furrows.

(Cp. Sh. *pfortuj, pruqo*, field prepared in flat plots not furrows).

000 1. **-pf'us.is, *-ph us.is; *-pf'ni-, *-ph ni-, *-f'ni-.*

2. *puuru.* Pret. 1st. sg. *puuru*, Impv. *puu i*, Ppa. *nup'us.in*.

3. *puuru.is, puuré-*. Pret. 1st. sg. *puuru.iim*. 3rd. sg. m. *puuromi*, Impv. 2nd. sg. *puu*, pl. *puuria*, St.pc. *puurum*.

4. *pui niy.is, pui.ié-*, Impv. *puia*.

To tie (a load, horse, man), to bind. **-pfus.is* is used when the obj. is h or x.

puuru and *puuru.is* are used when the obj. is y sg. or pl.

492 wishes of his parent or family. Cp. Engl. "to kick over the traces").

(Cp. Sh. *ʒamiǯʒ* (pl.) with the same meaning, and Kho. *ʒamʌɣɣuṇu*, the strap connecting ends of yoke-pins under neck of ox).

● 241 *ʒandi -miq* y cut crops lying on the ground. They are spread out to dry for a couple of days and then collected by women who gather them up in double armfuls (*bʌɣu*).

000 *ʒanf'or, ʒanfew, -ṛko* squinting, squint-eyed. — *ʒanfewʌn bai.i* he is a squint-eyed fellow.

1. *ʒʌq* awake, aware. — *ʒʌq baiyʌm* I was awake. Cp. 264.24. *be, je ʒʌq ba, ju* no, I am awake, come in. *je ʒʌq ʌmʌnʌm* I woke up. *ʒʌq imʌnimi* he woke up. 260.15. *sis ʒʌq umʌnumʌn* people became aware of it; came to know of it. *mur mumi ke ʒʌq aiyoṭum* without informing her father and mother. 244.14. *ʒʌq gumʌn* wake up! look out! take care; EOL

(Cp. Sh. *ʒoq, ʒoq*, and *ʒ'ʌq*).

? *ʒʌq* care, heed, attention. — *ʒʌq ne, ʒʌq netʌn* carefully. *ʒʌq ne* (or, *netʌn*) *tsu* take it away carefully. *ʒʌq ne ov* keep it carefully, put it away safely. *guṭor ṭor ʒʌq ṭti, yar ne boreyor ʒʌq ṭti* beware of using your voice, beware of looking down, i.e. take care not to make a noise etc. 50.25. *teruman muṭo ʒʌq menɔ ṭiyeṭam* nowadays people do not pay so much heed (to it). 220.9. *guk'ʌrɔr ʒʌq ṭti, mʌk'ʌrɔr ʒʌq ṭtin* take care of yourself, take care of yourselves. EOL.

(This is probably the same word as 1. *ʒʌq*).

322 a

that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

000 needed animals in the world.

231 It is clearly and distinctly established that Tibet, for example, could never exist and people could never live in that part of the world if it weren't for the yaks and yaks are native only to that part of the world —yes, wild ones, I mean. That's where they were originally found and tamed. They still roam wild on some of the higher inaccessible elevations and plateaus in that part of the globe.

No one will attempt to deny that our cow is a most useful and practically essential animal. It gives milk from which we make butter, cheese and cream. We use the carcass for meat and the hide for shoes, baseballs and many other articles but, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the cow as it is today actually couldn't look after herself in the northern latitudes and pasture food must be provided.

[492] Well, the yak does everything a cow does. Besides that, it is one of the finest beasts of burden. Then, too, it is the surest-footed animal to be found anywhere. It can, and often does, forage for its own food. It can live off practically nothing. It is suspected that it can find sustenance in a bit of grass or roots or even a bit of coarse, uninviting (to any other animal) herbage.

[492] [241] Like our cow, it takes to domestication readily. Both the Tibetans and the Hunzans use them to work their fields and flail their wheat, barley and other grains. 231 From the wool on its back, belly and head comes the 237 toughest of woven fabrics, from which is made the [283] sturdiest of clothes for the people and tents for their homes. Wherever you see rope in Hunza, you can be sure that it was made from braided or woven yak hair.

[291] [415] [501] The hide is used for most everything . . . boots and shoes, of course, and water containers and skin boats, which are the means and mode of transportation across and up and down the dangerous rivers

344
644 wedged together to form a formidable protection
712 against invaders of their day.

796 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the
•241 Burushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festi-
643 val, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like to emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed
[789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

131 Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River from Secunderabad to the Chinese border, a distance of somewhere around 200 miles, but no one has ever actually measured it. At the narrowest point it is less than half a mile wide. At its broadest, it is not quite [133] two miles. Usually the only piece of flat land in a village [134] is the polo field. Good, rich, deep soil as Westerners know it is absolutely unknown in Hunza.

311 Whenever a house is built here, they seldom ever use [361] a piece of fertile soil or soil of any kind. They usually erect it on rock or on a steep hillside where that piece of land could not have been used for agriculture anyway.

[241] Practically every bit of farm land is terraced. It can be said, it is actually cut out of the rocks of the mountainside which is the north bank of the Hunza River.

[134] Of the total length of 200 miles, only a small fraction is at all arable. Most of it is solid rock or terrain so steep that horticulture of any nature is impossible.

312 Rainfall is scanty. They cannot depend upon it at all [132] for crops. In order to get sufficient water, hand built and similarly maintained conduits bring water down [241] from glaciers. These conduits are carefully erected and trained to run alongside the villages where the water can be trapped to flow where desired and used to irrigate their lands, also for drinking and all other necessary purposes.

There are four main conduits in Hunza and they are as follows:

Murku—This is at the highest level of all the aqueducts and carries the most water.

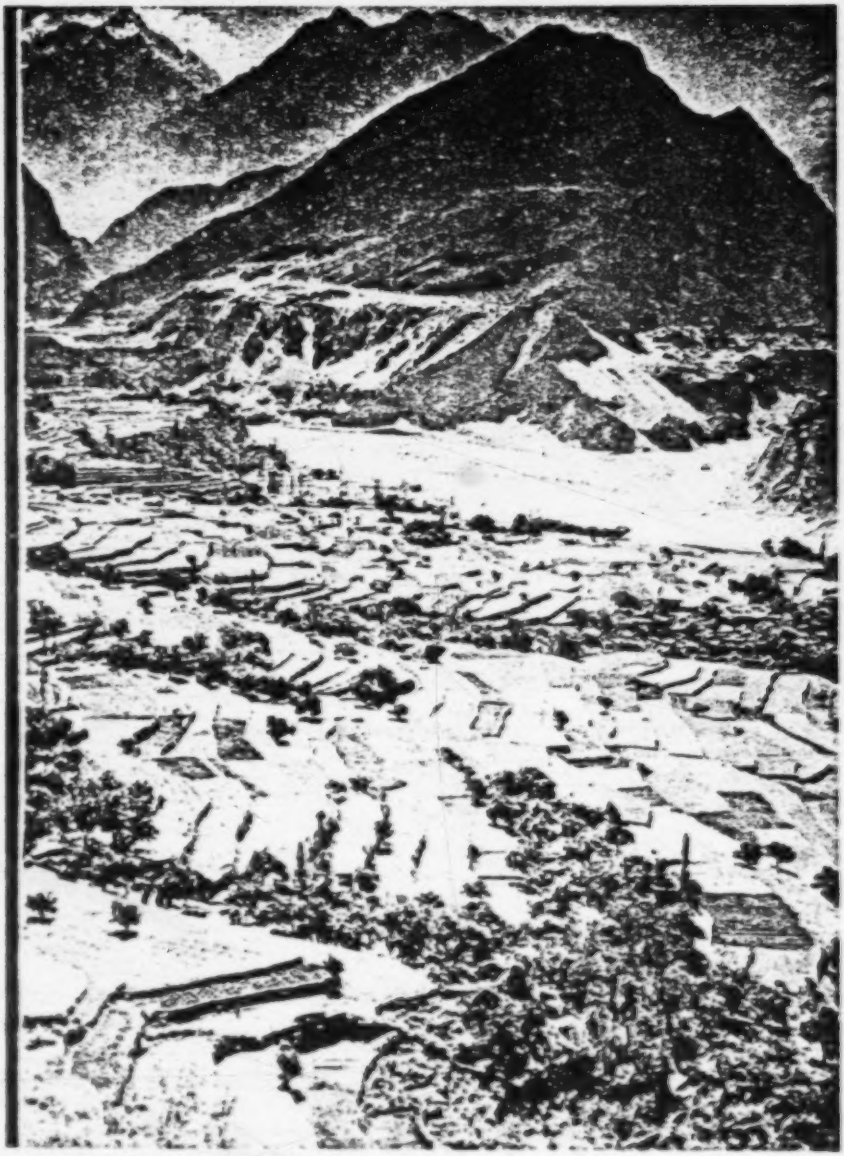
Barbar—Supplies the Baltit-Altit area.

Dala—This is the longest—extends as far as Aliabad. Supplies Kerimabad.

Hamachi—The smallest which runs as far as the tiny village Ganesh, located on a cliff's edge.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959) 1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

133
241
311



The largest area of land suitable for farming in Hunza—located near Baltit.

[facing p. 326-]
A

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

311
241
361
137

Hunzan fields are small, and are worked with hand tools.

[p.326-B1]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

311
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139

[p. 326-B2]

7:Tobe C., T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 47

Hunza Agriculture -- "Use and Return"

IN A COUNTRY like Hunza where land is so scarce and therefore precious, it behooves the man who tills the soil to get everything he can out of it and, what is even more important, to put back everything humanly possible so that he will be able to maintain it indefinitely, in a high state of health and fertility. 241

The people who farm that land realize full well that their health, their well-being and their very lives depend entirely upon the crops that are produced. In order to maintain the soil in good health and tilth, nothing can be wasted.

Where irrigation is used, the leaching of soil nutrients can and often does become a serious problem. For example, at Gilgit when I was visiting the P.A.'s garden, he informed me that he was having trouble growing certain crops, which were infested with insects. Now this is not in Hunza, but in Gilgit.

241 After close examination of the various factors, as well as the slope of the soil and the supply of water, I reached the conclusion that the trouble he was having was positively caused by the overflowing water—too often and too much. Whoever it was who was irrigating his garden allowed too much water to come down the trenches and when it overflowed, it took with it many of the water-soluble nutrients from the soil.

Therefore, wherever overflows or runoffs are allowed on terraced and irrigated soils, there will be a positive leaching of the nutrients, which will end in imbalance and cause crop difficulties and bring on insects and diseases.

In Hunza, each farmer applies his water personally and when sufficient water is put onto his fields and crops the flow is immediately stopped. In Gilgit, the P.A.'s gardener didn't worry if there was any runoff. In the first place, the land wasn't his own. Secondly, he had a large area to look after and probably couldn't give it as close attention as it required. But with the Hunza farmer it was entirely different. He had only a small amount of land ranging from ¾ of an acre to 5 acres, sometimes made up of 3 or 4 pieces—some as small as 1/10 of an acre each. Therefore he could afford to watch every inch of it with care, affection and understanding, and I'm sure the Hunzans learned long ago that the overflow could in subsequent years bring disease, crop failure and destruction.

As I walked among the farms in Hunza, I specifically looked for the overflowing of irrigated terraced lands, but I did not in one case see this happen . . . which led me to believe that the Hunzan farmers have learned that principle well.

Along the trail, whenever I came in sight of the irrigated patches that indicated the cultivated farm-

land of the area, I tried to figure out exactly what the different crops were. In my travels throughout other parts of the world—for example, in Europe—I would be hard pressed to pick out the different crops that were being grown in the fields by their color, their height and the way they bent or leaned with the breezes that blew. But all along the trail leading to Baltit, on both the Nagir and Hunza sides, this problem was not as great, nor did it cause me as much difficulty for identification purposes, because the majority of crops growing was wheat. 241

I kept looking for rice paddies, because I definitely had the feeling that throughout this part of the world a lot of rice would be grown. And while I found a lot of rice being grown in Pakistan, Afghanistan and India, in Hunza and Nagir rice in the fields or paddies was distinctly conspicuous by its absence. I did find a field here and there, but they were definitely few and far between.

Students and those interested in organic agriculture have looked upon Hunza for many years now as the last stronghold of nature's way. Because of the importance attached by many people to conditions in Hunza, I tried to make my study as careful as possible. As yet there is no sign whatsoever of chemical fertilizers being used.

Because of the terraces built one upon the other, Hunza farming has been termed "staircase farming" and this staircase farming has some, if not many, advantages. First, it effects good drainage. Second, it gives a deeper penetration of air into the soil. This soil aeration is considered beneficial to soil microorganisms and it promotes rapid growth, and enables the bacteria and the roots of plants to derive much benefit from the elements contained in the air, which can be combined with those in the soil.

The glacial waters definitely do contain a variety of

241 minerals and by allowing these glacial streams to be spread over the soil, the nutrients are left in the soil as the water soaks into it.

The principle of returning to the land that which belongs to the land has been and is, at the present time, scrupulously followed. The only farm implement which [407] I could find on the Hunzan farms was the primitive [492] plow and invariably it was pulled by a bullock. The plowing is never deep and is practiced chiefly to sort of clean the field, cover the organic matter that has been spread upon it or left upon it and prepare the field for the next crop.

[464] All the work that has to be done is done by hand—with or without the assistance of domesticated farm animals. There is no substitute for manual labor and the men, women and even young children share in the farm work.

[137] From what I could observe, weeds were not a problem and the reasons are clear. There are few indigenous, native plants in the area. Practically all of the growing plants that I could spy were in cultivated areas. The maxim in Hunza evidently is if a place can grow weeds, then it should be cultivated and usually that principle is followed. This all adds up to the fact that there are few weed seeds distributed in the area and therefore they are not in the soil to spring up, whenever the farmer's back is turned.

[134] I want to stress once more that the mineral requirements of the fields of the Hunza farmer are met and replenished by the fine silt, ground by the glaciers from the rocky surfaces and carried down to the Hunza farmers by the conduits and spread on their land.

Our modern civilization attaches great importance to and stresses the value of flavor and appearance in

the commodities that they eat. If that is the criterion, 241
then I am forced to admit openly that the fruits, vegetables and cereal grains of Hunza do not compare with those of the West.

Contrary to what any writer, expert or visitor to [114]
Hunza has stated, in my opinion and belief, Hunzan fruit, vegetables and grains are not superior to those of the West. From the strict viewpoint of taste, size and appearance the American fruits, vegetables and grains are far better than those grown in Hunza. In this matter I must humbly yet fairly state, that the American standards and qualities in fruits make the similar varieties of fruits of other countries seem poor, puny and second rate by comparison.

Hunza need not feel too badly because of this as millions of dollars are spent annually in America by a hundred or more experimental farms of vast acreages, breeding fruits, nuts, vegetables, forage crops and grains. If some of these newer varieties of fruits or vegetables and grains were grown on Hunzan soils and under Hunzan conditions, I might have a different story to tell.

Let me cite an example. In America, in order to find 000
a better strain of strawberries, millions—and I repeat, millions—of seedlings have been planted. These plants have been carefully tended and watched. Then a selection of a mere handful from all of these for further testing was made. From these results a few new varieties which have shown an excellence of habit of growth, vitality, good foliage, ease of propagation, resistance to various diseases, flavor and color of fruit, good bearing qualities and other important factors were selected and disseminated throughout the country. No one in his right mind would expect tiny Hunza to follow such a procedure. In fact, only in the United

States would such an undertaking be possible.

It is difficult to make comparisons flavorwise because there are many varieties of each and every fruit and vegetable. We have all eaten peaches that were filled with juice and flavor and others that were flavorless and mealy. We have all eaten carrots that were sweet and crisp and we've also had them where they had no flavor and tasted like dried wood or were bitter. Two different kinds of carrots grown on the same soil can have an entirely different flavor. This could be applied to beets, peas or any other garden crop. The fault therein does not always lie in the soil, but in the inherent characteristics of the variety itself. Therefore the superiority of the flavor of the fruit in most cases lies in the variety, rather than in the soil in which they were grown. Sometimes time of harvest is a factor, too.

While I would very much like to say that the natural organically grown Hunzan fruits and vegetables and grains were much superior in flavor to those grown in the West where chemical fertilizers are used, I am afraid that I cannot honestly make that statement.

But I suggest that the thoroughly inbred organically minded individual take heart. If the people of Hunza had soil that even remotely resembled our best near virgin soils in tilth, humus content and expanse, along with the newer and better strains of fruits, vegetables and grains, I am sure they would have the best flavored, best tasting and best quality food crops in all creation.

I know for an absolute fact that there are many farmers—hundreds and probably thousands of them in both Canada and the United States—who do not use chemical fertilizers. Perhaps it is my good fortune to eat most of my grain, fruits and vegetables from such farms and in truth, I strive in every instance to procure organically grown fruits, vegetables and grain. Further,

on my own farm we definitely and positively use neither 241
chemical fertilizers nor sprays.

You can understand in Hunza that tastewise there is no interference or problem from chemical fertilizers and sprays.

I believe that the myth about the flavor and succu- [114]
lence of the Hunzan apricots came about because visitors ate the apricots ripe and freshly picked from the trees, whereas at home the apricots they ate were picked from the trees days before, because they had to be shipped long distances, and therein lay the difference in flavor.

In January, 1959, I sent the Mir of Hunza good 123
sized packages of the different kinds of hardy wheat 241
that were created by the experimental farms of the 177
Dominion of Canada. It was special seed, tested for hardiness in the colder areas and of such quality that would produce a fine loaf of bread.

I also sent the best strains of carrots, cabbages, Brussels sprouts, lettuce, beets and other vegetables. But when I was dining with the Mir and asked him about the results with the seeds, he admitted that the only seed they had got planted that year was the lettuce, which was being enjoyed at the Mir's table. He said that he would try the rest of them the following year.

It is understandable that the Western world would have better varieties of fruits, vegetables and grains, because here we spend millions and millions of dollars on hybridizing, trials, selections and improving the various strains . . . so we should get some results from our efforts . . . and we do! Therefore, without question, the Hunzans could profit by using Western strains of grains, vegetables and fruits. This is one aspect of modern civilization that could help them greatly.

The apricots that I saw, tasted and ate were not the

123 huge fine quality products that I was told they were. I
241 admit here further that I was in Hunza in July and the
177 later, perhaps the better, varieties were not available or ripe yet. But upon questioning the various people, there was no information given to me that indicated the later maturing kinds were superior to the earlier ones.

So as in vegetables and grains, their fruit could be greatly improved by adopting some of the Western varieties. This could easily be done by having budwood sent to them and they in turn would graft this budwood onto their young stock.

I have made arrangements with the Mir of Hunza and the P.A. at Gilgit to supply them with this required grafting wood at the proper time, and it will be duly sent to them, so that in the future they may have some of the benefit of the West's hybridization and research program. I took along with me a few of the best budding knives that I could procure and I left two with the P.A. at Gilgit and the others with the Mir of Hunza and I explained their use.

245 In talking with the Mir about the planting of new varieties and improved strains, he claimed that his people did graft and seek new varieties and strains, but from the little time I had to inspect things, I did not see any young trees or any great number of grafts that would indicate this being a widely practiced policy. I found nothing resembling a nursery in Hunza or Nagir, but there was a small, unimpressive nursery run by the Pakistani government in Gilgit. Maybe this is the forerunner of bigger and better things to come.

241 There appears to be no central source of seed supply in Hunza. It seems that each farmer saves seeds for next year's crops or barters with his neighbor. In some
[643] years, when, because of any one of many conditions

that may exist or be created in an agricultural community, no seed is available, the Mir has been known to procure supplies from neighboring states and supply his people with sufficient planting stock. 241 643

While through the entire East cow dung and yak dung are used for fuel, in Hunza this is positively not true. The Hunzans are too intelligent to use the mainstay of their lives for fuel. Once it is burned it is gone; but if it is put back into the land, it is there to produce crops for another year. They show their intelligence, if proof of their intelligence is needed, by this one sound principle of self-survival in their means of agriculture. 241 372

However, in the more northerly sections of Hunza, closer to the Chinese border, they do use yak dung for fires because of the almost total lack of wood or other types of fuel. They just have to keep themselves warm during the winter.

Here is a list of the vegetables grown in Hunza—potatoes, turnips, carrots, beans, peas, lettuce, pumpkins, tomatoes, melons, watermelons, radishes, onions, cabbage, spinach, cauliflower. 244

In fruits there are mulberries, apricots, apples, pears, peaches, grapes, walnuts, almonds, a few plums and some cherries. 245

Grapes are grown fairly extensively because they can plant them against most any wall, as long as they have a bit of soil in which to gain a foothold for their roots. From these grapes they make their Hunzan wine. [273]

They grow a few strawberries, but I could find no currants, gooseberries, raspberries—nor did they know what raspberries were.

The grains grown in Hunza, starting from the most important, are wheat, barley, rye, millet, buckwheat and a small quantity of rice. Some alfalfa is grown as a forage crop. 243 246

Then wherein lies the difference? What happened through the years to create the obvious difference that everyone sees and feels the minute he comes into the territory? I am not an anthropologist, nor have I training in any scientific field. Therefore, I am quite unprepared to speak with any degree of authority, but I am told the difference is that the people of Nagir accepted or welcomed strangers and settlers from other parts of the area and thus, they became a polyglot group of mixed blood, habits, customs, religions and thought, whereas the Hunzan people, then and today, discourage outsiders from coming to live among them in their country. Then, too, I guess another important factor looms and that is that Hunza is not nearly as inviting from an economic viewpoint to a man coming from another part of the world to settle, whereas Nagir does offer many more advantages.

For me to assert that there are no mixed bloods in Hunza would be an untruth, because even in my travels about the towns and along the road, I saw distinct types that were not of the run-of-the-mill Hunzans. Some were distinctly Chinese and I am also reasonably sure that there is a fair amount of Afghan blood among the Hunzans, besides Russian—for, as you may recall, Russia is but a scant 14 miles away.

It is not my intention to try to build up a case for true-bloods as being the Hunzan heritage, for history clearly indicates that it is among the people of mixed bloods where the greatest advances are made in science, industry and the creative human arts.

In Hunza there are very few plains or expanses where farming on a large scale could be practiced. However in Nagir it is quite different. There were sections through which we passed that were wider than the eye could reach, covered with good soil that was carrying

184 a good crop of various kinds of grains, forage, vege-
•241 table crops and fruits. In Hunza this just doesn't occur.
311 The terrain is steeper, more precipitous, more difficult and seldom if ever does a flat open area come within the limits of normal vision.

[133] Then, too, Nagir has many more nullahs formed by the melting glaciers. Rakaposhi is located in Nagir and surrounding it are many snowfields and glaciers which are used, trained and harnessed to irrigate their country.

Indubitably, the fates and nature have been much kinder to Nagir than they have to Hunza.

438 Let me also tell you frankly that on many occasions the people of Hunza purchase or barter various types of food from Nagir. I asked the ways and means that [437] were used in effecting these deals and found that in most cases money—earned by the Hunzans in service in the army, portering for expeditions and given to them as gifts—was the means.

184 One might gather from what I have said and even [628] from talking to various people or natives of the area, that the Nagirwals and the Hunzans are deadly enemies. But that is not true. The people of Hunza [186] think themselves much better than the people of Nagir. They do believe that they are handsomer, healthier, cleaner and are better husbandmen, but yet there does not appear to be any cases of conflict, physical or armed, between the two peoples.

123 I recall a little incident that may be of some interest. We rounded a spot—I guess it was 10 or so miles from Minapin—on the way up to Baltit and there we saw a decrepit, ragged looking Nagirwal. In his hands he [231] held a pair of chickens. They were the typical chickens of the area—full grown but the size that our chickens are when they're half grown. He waved them in front of us as though indicating they were for sale or could be

Both the irrigation water which they use on their fields and their drinking water come from the Ultar Glacier. Therefore, their entire water supply is glacial. 312

Their entire economy is dependent upon their agriculture and everything that is taken from the soil is religiously returned to the soil. Chemical fertilizers or chemical sprays of any type are unknown to the people. It may be possible that the Mir has used sprays in his palace grounds. He might have brought them with him from his visits abroad, but I saw none and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, none are used. I saw no insect infestation of any kind or type through my entire travels and investigations. In Gilgit I did see insect injury in a garden and it was apparent to me that the soil of Hunza was in balance and therefore it produced food that was balanced. Therefore, it is understandable, the people of Hunza are healthy! 241 [433]

The food of the people of Hunza is in the main, raw food. It is neither dissected nor desiccated, but is eaten in the whole. The only exception that I could find to this rule was in their milk. When they made butter, they drank the remains or the buttermilk. Of course, in due time, they ate the butter. 262

All children born in Hunza are breast fed for at least two years. Male children are often breast fed until they are 3 years old. 853

I do not intend to stress any one factor of the points mentioned above. I am submitting them to you for your consideration and study. 000

It is, however, my belief that their soil and location does not lend itself to mechanization and therefore their good health should continue. If they could mechanize, then they would not get the needed beneficial exercise which, as you can gather, is one of the important contributors to their good health and longevity. 241 164

000 in the process of creating health and long life in Hunza!"

Here I have summarized my conclusions, which I believe account for the superior health, the unbounded energy and the long life of the Hunzans. Call it a set of rules if you like. I prefer to believe that it is the common sense way of life adopted by an intelligent people.

262 (1) Their food consists chiefly of natural fruits, grains and vegetables. Meat is eaten only on festive and other rare occasions. While grains—that is, the whole grains—are stored, they are ground for use in baking and gruel, only as required.

241 (2) Their soil is maintained by natural cultural practices. That which is taken from the soil is returned to the soil—both vegetable and animal.

461 (3) Most of the people of Hunza, including women and children, work daily in the fields. There is no Sabbath or weekly rest day, although there are religious holidays and festive days. Therefore, they work seven days a week . . . and in most cases, from dawn until darkness falls. Therefore, practically all the inhabitants of Hunza do their share of physical work. There are few, if any, completely sedentary occupations in Hunza.

262 (4) Very little fat of any kind is consumed by the people. The fats that are used consist of ghee, butter, apricot oil and negligible quantities of animal fats.

[241] (5) Complete absence of foreign additives. Nothing whatsoever is added to either the soil or the food of the people or the animals.

263 (6) Natural, unrefined salt was used by the people up until a few years ago . . . and this was an important factor in maintaining their health.

241 (7) No sprays or spray materials of any kind are used on their crops, and no unnatural chemical fer-

tilizers are used on their lands. 241

(8) All children in Hunza are breast fed. There is no 853
specific prenatal care, and the good health of the 843
mother is passed on to the infant . . . and the breast feeding gets the child off to a good start.

(9) All fruits and vegetables that are dried for stor- 251
ing have been exposed to the sun and air. No foreign substances are added or treatments used.

(10) Native herbs are used extensively . . . both as 262
seasoning and as food.

(11) Glacial waters are the only waters used both 312
for drinking and irrigation purposes. These glacial 146
waters definitely contain many valuable minerals and nutrients, as revealed by laboratory tests.

(12) Apricot kernel oil is the most important source 262
of fat. It is used in cooking as well as for salads. No solvents or extreme heat is used to extract the apricot oil.

(13) Natural whole grains are used broadly. There is no fragmentization in Hunza. While they do bake a bread, their chief form of bread is an unleavened type which they call chapatties. They are composed of whole ground grain made into a dough and rolled very thin. Then they are heated or baked slightly.

(14) Hunzans are light eaters. Their diet is comparatively meager.

There is no doubt that, if any human being were to 000
follow the health rules of the people of Hunza, he could regain or maintain health. There is no magic formula connected with this set of rules. They are simple and to the point. In fact, they are so simple that most people will doubt their value. To these people I would say, "All of the great things in life—the important things and things of value—are invariably simple!"

In Hunza the following established Western health 744

mentioned as being 100 miles long. 131

A few miles above the spot where the Hunza River meets the Gilgit is a village called Secunderabad. It is here that Hunza begins and if you follow the Hunza River up to its source beypnd Misgar, almost on the Chinese border, where it springs from a glacier, you will find in following the contours of the river that the country is almost 200 miles long. I have carefully checked this figure with the best authorities—the Mir being one of them—and I found that the 200 mile figure was as close as it can possibly be measured. 133

They are Asians. Of course they are Asians because they dwell in Asia. But in appearance they are definitely unlike Asians. Without trying to sound dramatic or authoritative, the general appearance of the people of Hunza shows marked European characteristics. They are totally unlike the Indians, the Afghans or the Chinese. To me they looked like the Mediterranean peoples. At this stage I am not harping or relying on the fact that they claim to be descendants of Alexander the Great or some of his soldiers. 144

Primitive—Most writers refer to them as primitive people or say that their way of life is primitive. I will agree with the use of that term in describing the people of Hunza, if you will agree with me that the Christian world is primitive, because it too follows the teachings of the Bible which was written 3,000 or 4,000 years ago. *It is agreed that the people of Hunza follow a* primitive form of agriculture and use no chemical fertilizers or modern sprays and insecticides. But then, they don't need chemical insecticides and chemical fertilizers. They use no modern machinery on their small, hard won, shallow surfaced fields. Their conduits which guide the glacial waters to their fields are, I agree, primitive, but no better form is known anywhere. 105 105 241

164 into the "fine, barrel chests" reported
146 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the fine, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[10] hard-working, but with their country.
[36] There is no flat land in all of Hunza.
[37] Villages and farms are built on alluvial cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[62] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
24 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-caked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders, gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[32] cool but exceedingly dry desert, pra-
[13] tically no plant food is forested. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

134 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If
311 you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

● 24 HUNZAS are skillful at building a
134 limited fertility into their sterile
[23] material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain snow to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrogen, phosphorus, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 Even the most painstaking hydro-
24 ponic gardening cannot compensate
237 for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy.
[23] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefully herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 Unfortunately, the human popula-
161 tion has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient
167 food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Shoona predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men
[64] join the Pakistan army. Others take
[64] work as servants, where their honesty,
[117] industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

186 for centuries persistent rivals, always at war with each other, but always ready to unite against a common invader, even when that invader had been called in by the one State in order to assist it in coercing the other.

721 The State of Hunza was the most important of
131 the two, from the fact that its possession of the passes leading to the Pamirs, and to the valley of the Yarkand river, gave it the opportunity, in the picturesque Persian phrase, of "striking the road," and looting the caravans on their way between [567] Turkestan and India. The rulers of Hunza availed themselves of this commanding position freely; their [439] name was a terror to the merchant and to the gentle Kirghiz, and their success was such that certain roads were entirely abandoned by traders; tracts of country north of the passes were completely depopulated, and Hunza was the centre of the slave trade, the place to which the merchants of Badakshan regularly came to 643 replenish their stocks. The rulers of Hunza were 721 rich compared to those of Nagar, and secure in the fastnesses of their mountains they snapped their fingers at China and Kashmir, and with fine impartiality plundered caravans to the north and kid-
• 241 napped slaves to the south. But brigands by profession as the people were, they appear to have acted always on the orders of their chief, and the admirable cultivation of their ground, the immense and persistent labour spent on their irrigation channels, and on the retaining walls of their terraced fields,
131 showed that they were worthy of better things. The country itself is some hundred miles in length: from Chalt to Hunza, a distance of about twenty-five miles

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The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the
241 finest stretch is just below the fort of the chief, and
311 extends for some six and a half miles in length with a width of from a mile to a mile and a half, the whole
[361] of the land being irrigated. This main stretch of arable land, which is studded with villages, lies at an altitude of eight thousand feet, and faces south, and the climate here is delightful. Further up the valley lie scattered patches of cultivation, getting poorer and poorer as the altitude increases. The mountains enclosing the valley are very precipitous even for the Hindu-Kush; wood and grazing for cattle are therefore unusually scarce, and the people suffer in conse-
291 quence. The clothing of the people is practically the same both in Hunza and Nagar as it is in Chitral, and has been described before, the only difference being that the men's stockings are not knitted in such elaborate patterns, and that, as a general rule, the woollen outer robe is, in Hunza especially, more often white than brown. All, except on State occasions when the higher ranks don the turban, wear the Dard head-dress. This is a long bag of brown woollen cloth rolled back on itself till it forms a cap, which is one fold thick on the top, with a border an inch or so thick round the head. It makes a light, warm, and delightfully comfortable head-dress, but is a very poor protection against severe sun.

101 Nagar, as most of the surrounding people and the inhabitants themselves generally call it, though they also pronounce the word Nagér, and the scientific, for some cause best known to themselves, insist on spell-
[161] ing it *Nagyr*, is a smaller State than Hunza. The
795 population is about the same, and is composed of Yeshkuns, professing themselves Shiahs, but very

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nearly as lax in their Mahomedanism as the people of Hunza. There is considerably more cultivation than in Hunza, the land is better watered, and the main slopes of the mountains enclosing the country face north, and are consequently covered with forest. The land has the full benefit of the summer sun, and the crops are splendid. The untold profusion of the apricots, and the quantity of gold which can be washed out of every stream, has gained the country amongst the Nagaris themselves the name of "the land of gold and apricots." The people, though of identically the same stock as those of Hunza, show marked differences. They are less warlike than their neighbours; they were never implicated in the raiding of caravans, owing principally perhaps to there being no outlet to the north or east leading to caravan tracks; they are, on the whole, better off, owing to the better agricultural conditions, and the possession of splendid grazing grounds; and last, but not least, slavery is unknown amongst them — that is, they would not brook their king selling them or their children, and the exile of the present ruler's eldest son is said to have been caused by his attempt to introduce the custom from Hunza. The men are not so bright and cheery as their Hunza cousins; they strike one as more sedate and morose, and their reputation for dash and gallantry is far lower. The reason they themselves assign for the difference, and the one generally accepted, is that in the winter, when the sun is in the south, the great mountains backing their valley shut out all the light and warmth, of which Hunza facing south enjoys the full benefit, and that the depressing effect of passing day after day in the cold and dark-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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133 seven and eight hundred feet deep, each one filled
487 up by the end of a glacier, the main mass of which was out of sight. We passed through numerous
361 villages whose cultivation, carried far up the moun-
241 tain side, was of the richest. Each village was surrounded by fruit trees, and poplar, plane, and
[712] walnut trees abounded. Every village was either enclosed in a large square fort, with towers at each corner, or had a fort close to it.

133 The third day took us into Nagar. On leaving camp we crossed a great shingle slope, nearly a mile in length, at a point hundreds of feet above the river. Huge cliffs crowned the slope, and made this one of the most difficult pieces of road, from a military point of view, that we had yet passed. During our two last marches we saw conglomerate cliffs and rocks full of garnets, some very fine white sandstone, and in one place a cliff of clay, which was said to be full of
[361] gold. Nagar lies off the main valley, some three
[241] miles up another stream, and the last few miles into it the road ran almost without interruption through cultivation. The fruit trees were a sight to see, apricot trees bending under a burden of red gold fruit, their harvest just beginning, and every house roof, and any other available flat space, was covered with the fruit drying in the sun. As we turned our backs on the main valley the view was superb.
133 Behind us Rukapushi rose in gigantic precipices of
241 thousands of feet of snow and ice, while across the
361 river above Hunza towered another great mountain, its crest broken by sharp granite peaks on which no snow can rest. Its lower spurs are jagged and bare, and below them lay a large semi-circle, one mass of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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villages and of cultivation, the terraced fields carried right down into the river bed. Hunza itself lies on the right bank of a ravine ending in a dark glacier, from whose melting ice is supplied the channel which waters the whole of the Hunza cultivation. The houses of the main village are clustered tier upon tier on a high spur crowned by the Thum's Castle. The arrangement at Nagar is precisely the same.

Our entry into Nagar was very similar to my last year's entry into Chitral, only that the crowd was on a smaller scale, the courtiers not so numerous or so brilliantly arrayed. Still it was picturesque enough; before us rode a man bearing a scarlet and white banner; around us, wherever the road permitted, was the gay crowd in Bokhara silks or dirty woollen homespun. The usual irregular salute was fired as we reached the polo ground, and the band made discordant music. Raja Jafr Khan could not receive me, being paralysed, so we moved without further ceremony into our camp by the polo ground, preceded by Raja Uzr Khan, who showed, by riding before us, a lack of breeding which scandalised the other Rajas, and which compared very unfavourably with the Mehtar of Chitral's courtesy.

Next morning I paid my state visit to Raja Jafr Khan. The road runs up through the village to the Thum's Castle, under a succession of easily defensible doorways, which would make an assault very difficult for bad troops or local enemies. The Palace stairs consisted of the trunk of a tree with notches cut in it, which led up through a square hole in the floor to the terraced rooms above. In this, as in every other house I ever entered in these wilds, the last two of

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133 land of silent mystery. Looking up from our vantage ground above the glacier, it was obvious that the ice rivers had receded, and, judging from the people's traditions at no distant date, leaving gigantic moraines to the south and in the direction of Hispar.

241 The road to this point from Nagar was very pretty, running entirely through cultivation and orchards, and occasionally under the walls of a village fort. The people were evidently very hard working, and the cultivation and labour expended on walling the fields 609 was most thorough. At some villages they used to bring us out presents of fruit, and at all they were civil and pleasant. They are a nice people, and independent. One old man was very indignant at the men with us for passing along the edge of his 651 field where there was no footpath. We came in one place on an amusing instance of the world-wide tendency to scamp Government work. We were crossing a field which I noticed was very badly gleaned, and I asked the reason. I was told it was one of the Thum's, and that, as the villagers had to cultivate and reap it for him, they did not take as much trouble as if it had been their own.

533 A boy came along with us one day, and played on a long pipe with a very sweet note. It was quite a pastoral. The last we saw of him he was wandering below us on a classic lawn, by the side of a stream which ran flecked with sunlight under the shadow of great walnut trees, playing his pipe, whose plaintive notes floated up to us, mingled with the murmur of 301 the water. His dard cap was ornamented with a garland of red and white flowers stuck into its folds.

000 I had to leave Nagar long before I had exhausted

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644 cluded that my men had been stopped without the Chief's knowledge, and that I would not stand being treated in this way for a moment. My message brought a full apology, but the incident showed the tendency to insolence on the Chief's part, for which I was prepared, and that it was necessary to prove to the young savage that we were not afraid of him, and should insist on being treated with proper distinction.

262 The Thum sent down during the day a dinner for the whole camp, among the ingredients for which was a half-bred yak. In the old days throughout these regions the chief guest had to cut off the beast's head, or, at all events, to strike the first blow with his sword. This part of the ceremony we dispensed with, but we ate the resulting beef, the first we had tasted since leaving India, for in Kashmir, and its outlying districts—Gilgit, Skardu, and Punyal—taking the life of the sacred cow is a deadly crime, which the Hindu rulers punished severely. There were still at this time unfortunate Mahomedans in prison at Srinagar, who had been confined for years, for keeping themselves and families alive during a famine by killing and eating cows.

311 In the afternoon we went for a walk and admired the cultivation, which is extraordinarily careful, the terraced fields falling in one continuous sheet to the river hundreds of feet below. Every inch of available ground is made use of, and we found many miniature fields a couple of feet wide and a dozen feet in length, telling of the pressure of the population, and the difficulty of the food supply. 241 I had heard a tradition that during the fruit season 262 the people were prohibited from eating any form

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241 of bread or grain, but I was told that this was not
262 the case. What does happen here, and throughout the region of the Eastern Hindu-Kush, is that the fruit crops are so prolific that the people naturally
[231] live largely on them in summer. Even the animals take to a fruit diet, and you see donkeys, cows, and goats eating the fallen mulberries. The very dogs feed on them, and our fox-terriers took to the fruit *régime* most kindly, and became quite connoisseurs in the different kinds of mulberry, preferring the "Shabtut," the king mulberry, a large luscious purple fruit, to all others.

312 The great water channel referred to before deserves passing mention. Its head waters are some half a mile up the ravine, on the edge of which Hunza stands, a few hundred feet below the end of the glacier which feeds it. For the whole of this half mile the water channel is a monument of patient labour, and of the clever adaption of the rudest means to the most important end. It is carried across the face of a cliff, in some places of sheer rock, in others of hard conglomerate. Sometimes it runs along the top of a built-up wall thirty or forty feet high, at others through carefully excavated channels in the conglomerate which avoid the difficulties of a sharp corner by tunnelling through it. Where the face of the rock is perpendicular, and its foot washed by the torrent is unsuitable for the foundations of a retaining wall, the water flows through timber troughs, supported by wooden brackets adroitly fixed into the cliff. I did not measure the output, but, roughly, the channel must have at its widest a section of

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of "striking the road." The Nager people were never concerned in these raids. 721

With the former rulers of Gilgit the people of Hunza seem to have lived on tolerably good terms, rendering them a nominal allegiance in the days of their prosperity, but asserting their independence as the later Trakhané Ras grew weak. The Sikh and Dogra governors found their most troublesome enemies in Hunza, against which country they never gained a single success. Hunza raids against Gilgit villages were incessant, till in revenge an expedition was organised in 1848 by Nuthoo Shah, the first Sikh governor of Gilgit. Falling into an ambuscade, Nuthoo Shah and Karim Khan, the Ra of Gilgit, were both slain, and their army defeated with serious loss. In the beginning of 1865 a second attempt was made in alliance with the ruler of Nager, whose lukewarmness or treachery caused the expedition to fail. In the succeeding year a third attempt was made, but the Nager ruler's treachery was now evident, and while the Hunza force looked on from across the river, a skirmish took place between the *quondam* allies, in which the Dogra governor was badly wounded. The unexpected defection of their allies and the loss of their leader so disheartened the Dogras that the whole force took to flight, and reached Gilgit with the loss of only two men. Their artillery, which had been at first abandoned, was recovered by the presence of mind of one of the Dogra officers, who, with a few men, preserved the semblance of order in their retreat. The expedition having been undertaken without permission from Jummoo, the governor was recalled and his proceedings ignored. 648

In 1869 the raids from Hunza were at last put an end to by the present Thum consenting to yield allegiance and pay a yearly tribute of two horses, two hounds, and twenty ounces of gold-dust, which has since been paid regularly.

The elevation of Hunza is 8,400 feet. It may be described as an elongated crescent with the points towards the south, formed by the hills receding from the river. At each end is a strong torrent flowing from the glaciers on the peaks, which are just visible to the north. The cultivation extends about 7 miles in length by 1½ in depth. This is terraced down to the river, but in parts is broken and undulating. It is divided into eight districts,—Naraydass, Assanabad, Doorkun, Hyderabad, Aliabad, Ganish, Baltit, and Altit. Each district has its own fort. Baltit is the Thum's residence. The ground is thickly wooded, and the whole eastern end is 133 241 631 241

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4 AV3 Dard
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241 covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

771 Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immo-
471 rality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

564 The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yeshkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known
142 as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Iskardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less
197 vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaski, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

576 Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi, the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the names of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gánish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother,
231 and their sons are called "*gushpoor*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

712 Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more
361 forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population takes refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

000 In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

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CHAPTER VIII.

FESTIVALS.

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IN spite of the general conversion of the tribes to Mahommedanism, ancient semi-religious festivals, mostly connected with agriculture, are still observed by them more or less in accordance with ancient customs. About Gilgit, where Mahommedan ways of thought have as yet only penetrated skin-deep, the festivals are still observed with little less ceremony than formerly, and are called "Shiné baradesi," or "Great days of the Shins," which would appear to show that they are mainly of Shin introduction. The dates of the festivals connected with ploughing, sowing, and reaping, differ slightly according to the proper seasons for those operations in different places.

D 241 B 241

The first festival is that of *Nôs*, at the time of the winter solstice in celebration of the beginning of the new year, which, according to ancient computation, commenced then. The name *Nôs* means "fattening," and alludes to the slaughtering of cattle which takes place. The first day is one of work, and is devoted in every household to dressing and storing the carcases of bullocks, sheep, and goats slaughtered a few days previously. This is done by drying them in a particular way, so that they remain fit for food for several months. This is necessary because the pastures have become covered with snow, and only sufficient fodder is stored to keep a few animals alive through the winter.[1] The next morning, two hours before day-light, the *Taleni*[2] celebration takes place. Bonfires are lighted, and everybody flocks to the Shawaran, torch in hand. The drums sound summoning all laggards, and as the first streaks of day-light appear, the torches are thrown in the direction of Gilgit, or in that place are scattered about at pleasure. Singing, dancing, and polo go on through the day, and are continued at intervals daily for a whole month.

[1] A similar process of storing meat is practised in Cabul.

[2] *Taleni* is the name given to a bundle of strips of wood bound together and used as a torch.

~~12~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUI Afghanistan AUI~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushio AV7

This festival is celebrated in Yassin, Ponyal, Gilgit, Hunza, Nager, Astor, and Gor. In Hunza and Nager the bonfire portion is called *Tùm shelling*, "tree-scattering," and in Astor, *Lomi*. It is said to commemorate the death of a ruler who once tyrannised over Gilgit; but there seems good reason for supposing that it is a relic of fire-worship. In Chitral the festival is celebrated under the name of *Dushti*, without the bonfires, as also in Chilas and Darel, where it is called *Daiko*. In the villages of the tract of valley between Ponyal and Ghizr, where the population is almost entirely Shin, no language but Shina is allowed to be spoken on the day of the Nôs festival, and a sort of demonstration is made against the neighbouring Kho and Woorshik communities. Each family makes a bonfire of cedar wood on its own land, and a cry is raised, "To-day let all our enemies in the upper country remain above, and those in the lower country remain below. Let those who wear the 'kori' (the leather boots worn by the Kho people) perish, and let all who wear the 'towti' (the leather leg-wrappings worn by the Shins) increase and prosper." Any man who speaks Khowar or Woorshiki in the village on that day is beaten and ill-treated.

The next festival is the *Bazono*, which celebrates the beginning of spring and the appearance of the first green shoots of corn. On the occasion of this festival the people assemble on the Shawaran, and a lean miserable sheep is brought. It must not be a good one. The Tarangfah sacrifices it, and the blood is sprinkled on everybody's polo stick. The Tarangfah on horseback trundles the head along the ground for a short distance with his stick. Doms then tie a rope to the horns and drag the head along the whole length of the ground, taking the carcase as their perquisite. Polo and dancing conclude the day. In Hunza and Nager the ceremony of the sheep sacrifice is performed at the same time as the *Thumer Bopow* mentioned further on.

Bazono literally means "leanness," referring to the miserable state of the cattle at the end of the winter. This festival is peculiar to Gilgit.

After the Bazono was a festival called Aiboi, which took place during the first week in March, but which is now no longer observed. This appears also to have been confined to Gilgit.

The evening before the festival a peculiar kind of plum-cake, called Jutchbut, was baked and eaten in every house. The gates of the fort were closed, and all probable absentees,

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 [redacted]
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

fairy's drum, and the carcase is given to the Dom musicians, whose perquisite it is. This ends the ceremony, and the day is wound up with archery, dancing, singing, and polo. The mark for the bowmen is a block of wood, with a small wedge of silver, given by the Ra, beaten into it, which becomes the prize of the most skilful marskman. D 241 782

On the second, or people's day, feasting and dancing go on almost the whole day. They visit one another's houses, being expected to eat something in each house. A few yards of ploughing are commenced as a matter of form by every land-holder, for without this a good crop could not be expected. D 241

In Hunza and Nager this festival[1] is called *Thumer Bopow*, or, "the Thum's sowing," and is celebrated in exactly the same way, but it does not take place till spring owing to the difference of climate. A somewhat similar festival takes place in Yassin and Chitral, where it is called *Binisik*, "seed-sowing;" but the ruler does not take part in it, the present ruling class in Yassin and Chitral having never identified themselves with their humbler subjects. In Yassin the festival is accompanied by a curious custom. The Tarangfah is mounted on a good horse and clad in a robe of honour given him by the Mihter. In this way he is conducted to the polo ground, where all seat themselves while the music strikes up and the Tarangfah gallops twice up and down the ground. Should any accident happen to him, such as either himself or his horse falling, it is regarded as a presage of misfortune to the whole community, and of speedy death to himself. In order to avert evil, he and his family observe the day as a solemn fast. B 241 D 241

In Wakhan no public ceremony takes place, but the first seed-sowing is a time of festivity in every household. A bowl of grain, half of which has been roasted, is carried out and scattered round the house. Then the goodman starts for his ploughing, but returning clambers up to his house-top and scatters seed through the central sky-hole which gives light and ventilation to the house. Then, proceeding to his field, he traces a circular furrow twice round it, scatters a little seed, and returns home, where he finds the door barred against him, and he is not admitted by the women till after much entreaty. The next morning he rises before daylight and drives an ass into the house, giving occasion for much fun and joking, after which the ass is sprinkled with flour and driven out again. 000

1 [illegible] Chilinge category 116 pp. 103-105 -- Analyst]

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AVT Burushe AVT

233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons
241 hopes to possess is a tiny flock of 20 to 25 sheep, goats and cows. In
237 these circumstances manure is more precious than gold, and the small
592 children who conduct a cow to pasture carry a shoulder basket in which every ounce of the day's output is scrupulously collected and brought home.

233 When the snow retreats on the upper mountains a few patches of green are left here and there, and the more athletic beasts are taken up by young men who live in shelters with their charges, collect the manure, convert the milk into butter and bring these home with the animals when the snows claim their own again. These patches of high pasture, several thousand feet above the villages, are all too few and can only be reached by serious feats of mountaineering. Through field-glasses we could see the grazing animals clinging—by their eyebrows as it seemed—to their precipitous 'summer pastures', but it was impossible to ride up even on a yak, and at our age impossible to climb on foot for a nearer view.

As soon as the trees put out their leaves in spring, each 'donkey tree' (*i.e.*, non-fruit-bearing) is stripped of every scrap of spare foliage to feed the half-starved beasts. This luxury diet has to be very carefully administered lest the animals should perish of its unaccustomed succulence.

243 The major crops grown by the Hunza people for their own use are
[177] wheat, barley, several kinds of millet, sweet and bitter buckwheat, nowadays also the highly-valued potato (introduced by the British in 1892) and small quantities of various pulses. Barley must have been the original staple crop, for all the traditional festivals, the Seed-sowing of early spring, the First Reaping of early summer and the Harvest
• [242] Home, relate to barley alone. The peasant is wise about rotation of crops and the various types of wheat, millet, etc., which thrive best in given conditions. Wheaten bread is much preferred to any other, but barley remains the larger crop because spring-sown barley ripens three or four weeks before even the winter-sown wheat, and the vacant fields can be resown with millet; whereas after the wheat only buckwheat can hope to ripen before winter. Bitter buckwheat is frankly detested, but it is hardier than the sweet and can better withstand an attack of early frost, so a certain amount of it is always sown as an insurance.

So poor is the soil, so scanty the manure, that in the newer villages like Aliabad, the average return is only sevenfold and even the stoneyed fields of Baltit, which have been tilled in the sweat of man and woman's brow for at least 600 years and probably for twice or thrice as long, yield

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

Above and below us as we rode the barley harvest was being speedily gathered in; family groups were reaping, threshing, winnowing, while the more advanced were already hastily reploughing their land for various kinds of millet. Though the Hunza summer is short, the sun at these heights is hot, and with luck each hard-worked field will bear two crops a season. The barley field which is soonest clear will ripen a later crop of millet; the wheat field, ready a fortnight or three weeks later, will still be in time for one or other type of buckwheat. Barley must in olden days have been the standard crop, for all the sowing and harvest festivals centre round it. But the Hunzukuts[1] of to-day vastly prefers wheaten bread and sows as much wheat as he dares. Even the winter-sown wheat, however, ripens later than the spring barley, and since every ingenious device of agriculture only "just gives what life requires, but gives no more," he cannot afford to concentrate on wheat alone. Each year the peasant farmer makes his calculations afresh; experience has taught him much about the rotation of crops, the different varieties of grain that each field —according to soil, water, and aspect—can most profitably bear, and his gamble with nature is a highly intelligent one. In the opener fields of Aliábád we reckoned that the proportion of wheat to barley was roughly two to one, nearer Báltít one to two.

If later in the year you point to a field and ask "What crop is that?" the answer will not be "Such and such a millet, or such and such a buckwheat," but the name of the growing crop with the additional information "On top of wheat" or "On top of barley," which will give you the difference of some weeks in the date of sowing and probably also indicate some subtle difference in the quality of the soil if you have learnt enough basic agriculture to interpret the facts aright.

Our narrow mountain track skirted the face of a magnificent amphitheatre of storeyed cultivation, plunging every now and then into welcome belts of fruit trees, willows and poplars, crossing foaming mountain torrents in cracks of the hillside, none too easy to ford in July, though only rock-strewn gullies

[1] Hunzukuts is both singular and plural.

233 any wage in our sense of the term, but that he would certainly be getting one or two free meals a day, and thus sensibly reducing the rationing problems of his own home. Hunza sheep lamb twice a year, but the goats have kids once only, in the Spring. Khano's promotion to wage-earning status was a little sad for us, for we saw him much more rarely after that.

● 242 One fine morning early in March the apricot trees that line
245 the Dála just in front of our rest-house were suddenly invaded by the whole Dastagul family armed with long sticks, to the end of which a sharpened piece of curved iron had been attached. With infinite care they inspected every branch, and wherever they detected the nest of an insect they snipped down the twig on which it rested. These nests were small, cocoon-like things only about an inch long, with a nasty little grub inside. The nests clung very tight to their hospitable perch, and it was often necessary to cut quite a biggish spray in order to secure them; each was diligently collected and borne home to the fire. We were not qualified to identify the pest on which war was being waged, but it was reported to devour both leaves and fruit if not destroyed. All through the country every single apricot tree is scrupulously examined and cleared—there must be thousands. We certainly did not later see a single one that seemed to be suffering from insect attack.

563 About this time we made another addition to our re-
167 tainers—a dear old grey-bearded man with the jolliest bright
361 eyes and a merry, happy smile, but not a tooth in his head, was roped in to work at Wakhi. The Wakhis, as I have said, are immigrants into the north of Hunza from the Wakhan districts of Afghanistan. They have settled in various places above the level at which the Burusho themselves care to live. Hunza men will tell you that they cannot induce their womenfolk to live where the apricot will not ripen. I suspect, however, that the men are just as unwilling to forgo their trees and wheat and fruit, but Adam-like prefer to blame their mates. The higher villages of Hunza are therefore inhabited almost wholly by Wakhi-speakers. Being unaccustomed to wheat, apricots, or

expected to reply: "It is God's will. Accidents will happen. After all, they are beasts of the mountain and the wild." He is reckoned a churlish fellow who institutes enquiries and demands compensation, though no one denies his right to it. The liberty to indulge in an occasional free feed is, we understood, sparingly taken and not abused.

With luck a she-goat will yield enough milk while up on the summer pastures to make two *maltash*, i.e. two birch bark parcels of butter for storage. If the goat is a trustee goat the herd is expected to hand one *maltash* to her owner and to keep the balance as his fee. Sheep's milk is poor in fat content and yields little butter, so it is usually devoted to making *brús* and *rakhpín*, a kind of hard, dried curd which has great lasting qualities and the appearance of a cake of soap.

The day that the herds return from the mountain with their charges is a festive one for the villages. Large parties go out to meet the returning absentees. Before finally leaving the *tér*, driven down by cold and the advancing autumn snows, the herds bake some special little cakes to bring back with them, and crowds of dancing, shouting boys and girls fall on their elder brothers demanding their share. Trust the Hunzukuts to stage a festival on the slightest provocation.

Our Ernest of the white horse reappeared unexpectedly from the *tér* in the middle of the season and walked over from Hasanabad to call on us and bring an offering of *brús* for DL and of wild mountain flowers for me. He had given his animals into a friend's charge, and taken a couple of days off because he was a member of the Hasanabad polo team and was wanted to play in an inter-village match. These matches rouse as much interest as Arsenal *versus* Chelsea, and a good player who is also the possessor of a good pony can ill be spared. I duly took a photo of him and The Cat, he no longer in the rôle of the humble *sais* but of the gentleman polo player. Stout fellow!

These early June days were the time for apricot and mulberry grafting. The cultivated fruit shoots are grafted on to wild trees. We watched the process, about which the Hunzukuts have little to learn. Each graft was given a double lashing of bark from mulberry root. We returned later and found them

251 them. Even apricots that were bruised, damaged or even starting to rot were put out to dry. No treatment of any kind was used . . . just simply nature at work.

245 [428] [423] An apricot tree is a most valuable asset in Hunza. It is a fact that an apricot tree is often willed to a daughter by parents and she can retain her rights to the tree and of course the crops that come from it for her lifetime.

In the Western world, the apricot is not considered a long-lived tree. In America, especially, it is considered not much longer lived than a peach or a plum and that means at the most, 25 or 30 years of life. When you take into consideration the truth that in Hunza apricot trees live to be well over 100 years, one wonders just where the difference comes in.

245 242 I really believe that I have the answer. In Hunza apricots are grown from seed. No matter where I looked or sought I could find no tree nursery in either Nagir or Hunza. (I did find a small government nursery in Gilgit.) Therefore I would assume that every Hunzan farmer grows his own trees from the planting of the apricot seeds. No doubt some Hunzan farmers are more adept at this task than others and they probably grow a few extra ones and maybe trade them for other things with their neighbors.

But, as explained, the trees here last many, many years and the orchard space or land to grow them on is very limited. Therefore, there would be little or no demand for nursery stock. I inquired wherever I went concerning grafting and I tried to establish whether or not they knew anything about the process and how much they knew, but I came up against a blank wall. I could gather no definite information. That they know how to graft and are acquainted with the process, I am sure but to what extent it is used, I could not establish.

Now the case in the Western world and specifically in America is entirely different. Most of the apricots in America are positively grafted or budded on either plum or peach rootstock. This tends to make the tree bear a crop much sooner than it would on its own roots. On a plum root the apricot tree will grow in damp soils that would not be tolerated by the apricot itself or by the apricot grown on a peach root. However, the fact that the apricot is budded on peach or plum definitely makes its life span about 30 years at the utmost. 245 242

To the best of my knowledge and belief, nowhere in America can you purchase apricot seedlings, nor are they listed by any of the wholesale nurseries or growers. This would clearly indicate that apricots are invariably grown on a foreign rootstock as mentioned above. Undoubtedly this has much to do with the longevity of the Hunzan apricot trees. In Europe apricot seedlings are available and used as the rootstock on which to graft and bud apricots, which is as it should be.

However, from my investigations, I did learn that more than 20 different kinds of apricots are known and grown in Hunza. This does prove that grafting or budding or both are known in Hunza. The fruit that I did see and eat was by no means superior to that grown in the rest of the world. In fact, if anything, it was of inferior size and quality. 245

This may come as a shock to many people who believe that everything the people of Hunza do is superior to that done anywhere else in the world. Unfortunately, I must relate things as I found them.

In America, for example, a farmer would not hesitate to remove a tree or even an orchard that was producing undersized or inferior quality fruit, because he's depending on his fruit for marketing purposes. Remember, too, in America size and yield are the two most im-

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 38

Crop Rotation--Harvesting

WHENEVER I TALKED to a farmer—and, of course, practically all people in Hunza are farmers—I asked what crops they grew and then asked how many years they had been growing wheat or potatoes or barley on a specific field. In every case the answer came back that some other crop different from the present one was raised there last year. I tracked this down carefully because I wanted to clearly establish whether or not they followed the rotating program in raising their food crops.

Even before setting foot in Hunza, I was certain that they could never have remained alive and in good health under such difficult conditions and with the limited available land, unless a rigid scheme of crop rotation was followed. Yet from what I actually saw on the scene, I reached the conclusion that this was easier said than done. It's all right to rotate crops where you have

242 lots of land and where, if necessary, you can allow some of it to lie fallow. But here they needed every bit of land they could get. It was actually a matter of life and death.

In a country where land is as scarce as it is in Hunza, there would be a very strong temptation against allowing land to lie fallow. I assure you that this technique is positively practiced. Then, too, there is a strong temptation to use a few pats of cow or yak dung for fuel during the cold winter nights, Yet, in most of Hunza, common sense and wisdom prevail and the excrement is used where it belongs—on the land.

I can see no hope that the land situation in Hunza will improve, but the very fact that it has continued to exist and flourish for over 1,000 years is ample proof that their way of life, their methods and means of agriculture, are right. It is only by practicing rigid, persevering methods of control and natural methods of agriculture that they have been able to survive.

With land so scarce one might be tempted to get away from crop rotation. But the people of Hunza are too wise to succumb to that type of thinking. They know that if crop rotation were not practiced rigorously, disease, sickness and death would soon follow. They know that no people anywhere in the world are "healthier than their soil."

History relates and offers proof of many civilizations who failed to follow the practices and principles of sound agriculture and to return to the land that which belonged to and came from the land. This practice invariably led to ruin and extermination. This selfsame horticultural technique is being practiced in many countries throughout the world today and the results will be the same—disastrous—as only time will prove.

No matter where I walked or went or rode in either

Hunza or Nagir, not once did I see a bit of organic material of any kind wasted or destroyed. The people made regular foraging trips to different parts of the country and always brought back for their land any grass or other organic material that was found and could be brought home. 242

They would walk many miles in search of grass or green growth of any kind. Regularly I saw men, women and boys carrying huge packs on their backs. It was a mass of green packed into a cloth and carried to their farm to be fed to the animals or distributed over the small fields. [482] [231]

Up until the present time chemical fertilizers have not invaded Hunza. Whether there is any connection between the splendid health of the Hunzans and the fact that they have never used commercial fertilizers, I am unable to state. But it is worth considering!

Remember, there are no forests, peat bogs or other sources of organic material like we have in most parts of Europe and America. Every bit of organic material that the Hunzan farmer uses or procures is got at the expense of hard work or difficult travel. So it is easy to see why they can afford to waste not one iota of this life-sustaining substance.

If you have ever traveled to Switzerland, you would probably be struck or amazed by the neat piles of manure that are built in front of most farm residences and there a man's prestige and intrinsic value are estimated by the size of his manure pile. Don't laugh—I'm not joking! I'm dead serious and I swear this is absolutely true! Wise, oh, very wise, are the Swiss!

In Hunza, unfortunately, manure piles are seldom if ever encountered because the manure is placed on their fields as soon as it is ready. I looked into countless animal stables but never once did I see a manure pile . . .

either there or anywhere else. Obviously it is placed directly on the fields or at least at definite short intervals.

Here the Hunzan system again showed some notable difference from the method practiced in the West. Practically all farmers in the West allow their manure to accumulate in piles or actually stack it in that manner. It is usually left there from one season to another at least and often longer. I've heard them refer to the older manure piles as well cured ones. I've always bemoaned this fact—yes, back as much as 20 years ago—because with every rain and with the snows in the winter, potent, rich, nutrient-ladened juices flowed off into the streams from my land and other lands. No one can deny that a fair part of the value of the manure is leached away forever.

In Hunza it is spread regularly on the land, between crops in the spring and summer. I distinctly saw many farms on which the manure had been distributed being plowed in. This is never done, to my knowledge, in the West. Therefore the Hunzan farmer does not lose any of his valuable, natural manures by leaching.

Because there is such a scarcity of organic materials, it is obvious that excrement must be used to the fullest extent. I looked, I gazed, I searched, I peered but nowhere did I see a sign of any human excrement being accumulated, saved or being used on the Hunzan farms. This mystified me.

In practically all parts of India and in some parts of Pakistan and perhaps in other Eastern countries, it is customary for the citizenry to stoop at the curb, right out in the middle of the street or sometimes beside a bush or planting of shrubs, and right there and then evacuate water or feces. No, this is not an exaggeration or a fairy tale, but the simple, unadulterated truth that is seldom told.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

That people avoid discussing this unpleasant topic is understandable; yet, by doing so, you and others who have no opportunity of visiting these areas are often given an incorrect picture. Whereas, in Pakistan and India, this unpleasant business took place practically everywhere, it was with a genuine feeling of relief and thankfulness that I found in Hunza it is positively never practiced—at least, I never saw even a sign of any such thing taking place—but evidently human excrement is used there. It is buried and eventually finds its way to the fields.

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It took quite a search to track down the ways and means and methods of using this night-soil. I know that it is used extensively in the East and for that matter, it is also used in Mexico and perhaps in other parts of the Western world. There is no reason why it shouldn't be used if proper methods of curing or mellowing are followed. After all is said and done, our septic tanks are only putting a natural principle to work, but the shame of it is that in most cases it is entirely wasted.

The most common method of using night-soil in Hunza was to place it in a deeply (as deep as the rocky terrain of Hunza would allow) dug pit, which was carefully kept covered, and eventually, a year or two later, it was distributed over the fields.

Harvesting a crop of grain in Hunza is very much unlike our Western methods. They do not cut their grain but each wheat plant, or other grain, is pulled out individually, root and all, by hand. Then it is laid in neat bundles on the ground. When the harvesting or grain pulling process is complete, the roots are separated from the stalks by being cut or chopped off in bundles.

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1f Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Sarnaho AV7

PLATE III

243

PREPARING THE THERMOSTAT, FLOOR, HUNZA (see p. 115)
(note the pressed tin in the man's hand)

P 8(c)

ANTIQUITY

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[242] Home, relate to barley alone. The peasant is wise about rotation of crops and the various types of wheat, millet, etc., which thrive best in given conditions. Wheaten bread is much preferred to any other, but barley remains the larger crop because spring-sown barley ripens three or four weeks before even the winter-sown wheat, and the vacant fields can be resown with millet; whereas after the wheat only buckwheat can hope to ripen before winter. Bitter buckwheat is frankly detested, but it is hardier than the sweet and can better withstand an attack of early frost, so a certain amount of it is always sown as an insurance.

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THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

a miserable ten—none of your 'some thirty, some sixty, some an hundredfold'—while lucerne only gives three crops. 243

The Hunzukuts' main food is bread, of which the housewife makes a large variety, from the leavened wheatened cake with butter for feast days, the unleavened flapjack of wheat, barley or blended flours for everyday, to the bitter buckwheat scones of leaner times. Milk is not an article of diet; the animals yield little at the best and none at all when their own offspring is weaned. Such milk as there is contains little fat content, which is not to be wondered at in view of the food on which the animals exist; it is converted into butter, curds and such preservable forms. Butter is stored in birch-bark wrappings beneath an adjacent water-channel and broached only on festive occasions or for the entertainment of a guest. Meat is tasted at most twice or three times a year, at festivals or on some day of domestic rejoicing, a wedding or a birth, and then it will be 'some tainted wether of the flock, meetest for death' who supplies the sacrifice. 262 234

The womenfolk tend small vegetable plots in the corner of a field or separate garden, where carrots, turnips, marrows, gourds and half a hundred kinds of humble 'greens' are grown, and a few plants whose leaves or seeds are esteemed for flavouring, along with a few tobacco plants for the men's pipes. After grain and greens, the essential item of Hunza diet is the apricot, fresh in the early summer and dried during the rest of the year; mulberries, fresh and dried, come next in importance, then a few apples, pears and peaches (these little valued because they will neither keep nor dry) and a few grapes for such relatively well-to-do houses as can afford space and water to grow them. Grapes ripen too late to be dried into raisins and the small quantity not consumed fresh is converted into light wine, brightening the winter days for those who have it, and drunk within a couple of months of manufacture. The apricot has yet further uses. Its kernel yields the oil which lights very modestly the winter nights. The Burusho woman is said to refuse, most wisely, to live above the level of the ripe apricot (say 9–10,000 feet). This is, I suspect only a base pretext of her husband's for refusing to live at these altitudes himself. Be that as it may, the upper villages of Hunza are almost exclusively inhabited by immigrants from Wakhan accustomed to a treeless existence and a diet of barley only. Grafting fruit trees is an art thoroughly understood. The above-mentioned fruits supply the only sugar which the Hunza people know. 244 262 245 [273] [354] 361 245

Despite all diligence in tilling the ungrateful soil, despite the utmost 262

262 care in rationing the year's supply (rationing begins the moment the first barley crop is harvested), scarcely a household we knew but was out of flour and out of potatoes weeks before the first barley was ripe, and was living solely on turnip tops, greens and edible weeds. 'Starvation Springtime' in Hunza evokes no poet's raptures, only a wailing of hungry babies who, as their mothers apologetically explain 'are too small to understand', and a tightening of the belt by those who do; but never a complaint. How these hardy people exist and work and smile—and keep on smiling—on a diet which no Minister of Health would consider even 50 per cent. adequate in quantity or 10 per cent. adequate in proteins, is a mystery, and must represent a miracle of
147 natural selection over centuries. There are no sick or ailing in
888 Hunza; men, women and children are wiry, tough and fit, and a fair
561 proportion live to a ripe and honoured age, busy to the last about such tasks as suit their waning strength and valued for their experienced counsel, for no devilish inventions—cinemas, wireless or machines—have created a gulf between the generations.

243 Harvesting processes are extremely simple. When barley or wheat is ripe, the adults of the family turn out and pull up the shallow-
476 rooted crop by hand, laying the swathes in neat rows to dry. Even when a sickle is used, it is used to pull with, not to cut. As soon as a suitable field is bare, it is flooded, and a circular (more rarely a rectangular) space is enclosed by a small mud wall four or five inches high. When the ground is soft but no longer wet, the whole family, down to the tiniest toddler, forms in line and marks time systematically over the surface to level it. After three floodings and tramplings the new threshing floor is as smooth and even as a hard tennis court. Two neighbouring houses sometimes share a threshing floor which becomes the focus of family activity till the last sheaf is gathered in. The cut crops are stacked conveniently near, and a small quantity of corn is spread on the centre of the floor. Then while Grandfather with his beautifully graceful five-pronged fork throws in more grain from time to time, the team of five cows, loosely lashed together by their muzzles, is driven round by man, woman, boy or girl in turns until the threshing
243 is complete (PLATE III). The person in attendance on the trampling
262 beasts has a switch in the right hand and in the left a wooden bowl as 'dung-dish' in which all excreta of either type are conscientiously collected, not only because the Hunza folk cannot afford to waste an ounce of manure but equally because they are too fastidious to tolerate the fouling of their food. Great was the contempt of our Hunza

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

companions who came down with us to Kashmir to observe peasants 243
ploughing with *oxen* (whose wants could be less completely met) and 262
without a dung dish !

When the corn is fully threshed, the winnowing begins in cooperation with a light breeze. Next the winnowed grain is passed 243
through a coarse sieve (barakbèsh) whose mesh is composed of thin leather thongs which retain any particles of straw, and it is finally 261
tossed in a finer sieve (gherbèl) which retains the grain and lets the dust through. The grain is then loaded into great skin-sacks and carried 251
off to store. The due amount required for seed-grain is set aside first, and not the utmost extremity of hunger would induce a Hunza peasant to encroach thereoff. Next, emergencies are budgeted for—births, weddings, dues such as rent (if any) and hospitality, which includes deaths in *other* homes, for relatives and friends would be disgraced if a bereaved family had themselves to bake during the first seven days of mourning. What then remains, represents the year's supply.

Ripe millet is treated by being beheaded, and the ears may then 248
be threshed by cows or beaten with poles according to quantity. The buckwheats are beaten only, even small children merrily cooperating half in fun, half in earnest to show their prowess.

Grain for current use is carried to the mill in sacks or bags of skin. [343]
The mill-house is a picturesque cube of stone and mud situated beside a convenient irrigation channel. It may possess one wheel or two. The wheel is a vertical oblong of tree trunk, fitted with 10 or 12 wooden wings ; the lower end of its axis is supported on a horizontal pole, the upper fitted into a central hole in the upper millstone. The water is led on to it by a steeply sloping hollowed log. The inside of the mill, lighted only from the door, is fitted with a cross rafter built into the walls on to which the hopper is ingeniously hung by a forked segment of tree. The hopper itself consists of a section of log, tapered and hollowed out. Attached by a string to the small tray below the aperture in the base of the hopper, is a loose clapper which is gently agitated by the rotation of the upper millstone on which it rests, this shakes the tray and encourages a steady flow of grain. The flour as ground is ejected into a hollow trough. Near by, a wooden pole, impaled on a horizontal wooden pin, projects up through the earthen floor. Each end of the pin rests on a 'Heath-Robinson' pile of stones and a simple adjustment of its height regulates the position of the lower millstone and thus the coarseness or fineness of the flour desired. The mill, 402
the loom and the comparatively new-fangled lathe are the only

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

SETTLING IN

Our chief lack at first was shelves and cupboards, but as soon as we had seen what was most needed and what could be accommodated David got busy with rulers and squared paper and drew up detailed specifications, which he sent to the Divisional Engineer's office in Gilgit. They were able to make us the skeletons and send them up in such form that we needed only to screw them together. I then nailed cloth over the back of the cupboards and hung curtains over the front so that we no longer needed to live in the misery of half-unpacked boxes.

The bow window of the study where we sat to smoke and take tea looked out on to a jolly little watercourse (about 2 feet wide) which chattered merrily along. On its farther bank is a row of apricot and mulberry trees which, if they break the view a bit, also provide some welcome shade. From the foot of the trees terraced fields fall away, down, down, down to the top of the great cliff—some 500 feet or so—that forms the right bank of the river. We looked right across the gorge (the river, of course, is entirely out of sight, and nothing would lead you to guess its existence if you hadn't just had to cross it) to stark, magnificently seamed mountains, with tiny fans of green here and there, which are other villages similar to Aliábád on the Nagir side.

The nearer side of our little stream was one of the main highways; and all the life of the place went on in full view of our window. People passed by all day, laden with green fodder for their beasts, or carrying baskets of ripe apricots to dry. The nearest field of lucerne had just been reaped, and then below it the barley field, and we watched them stack the barley and make a circular threshing floor on which to deal with it. They flooded a patch of the newly reaped field, built a little circular wall of mud about four inches high round it, then flooded it twice more, and then when it was nearly dry a whole family, from grandfather down to the small boys and girls, systematically tramped it down with their bare feet till the surface was as smooth and level as a hard tennis court.

Jolly youngsters of all sizes romped in the new-cut fields, snowballed each other with clods of dry earth, tripped each

157 them in the fields and ask what they were at, and why, and what their various implements were called. They were quick to understand what we tried to say, and except when several of them talked at once we could usually make out most of their replies. They often started amusing arguments among themselves, not agreeing about certain words, just as at home you can set a discussion going in any company about "apple dumplings" or "pies."

243 I had a most entertaining half-hour my second afternoon.
123 Some women and little girls were beating a pile of green stuff on the threshing-floor just below, whacking it with a sort of wooden mallet. So I ran out (with pencil and notebook), greeted them, and sat down beside them on the nice dry ground and watched the whole performance. The crop was a small lentil or purple pea, and the heap was a pile of plants, stalks, roots, pods and all. They just beat and beat till all the pods had burst open, then piled pods and seeds into a big sieve and tossed it till most of the seeds were shaken out. Next they transferred it into a big flat tray and shook it to and fro till they could skim the pods off the top. Everyone was taking a hand, and after I had jotted down all the words I could conveniently collect, I took the various articles in turn and caused much amusement by saying carefully: "This is a sieve, I toss the lentils," "This is a tray, I shake it to and fro," etc. I felt rather like a star turn at a variety show, and brought down the house at the end with: "This is a little thorn bush, I sweep up the threshing-floor."

123 It is a sort of improved Berlitz method of teaching yourself. I found that when my Burushaski ran out I could still delight them by chattering on in English in a friendly way. They felt the goodwill, and they didn't know I was saying: "You're a nice-looking little minx, but you'll look better when you wash your face." I got most of their names written down, and then when they began to get ready to go home I had a romp with the small ones, who ran off squealing when I tried to catch them, just like English kiddies of the same age. I hadn't had such fun since our own youngster was small enough to romp with.

283 strip is folded and placed in the second chamber. When she
415 has enough of these *dapping* prepared, she takes out her little spindle, also shaped at home, puts the point of it into a little dish like a small ash-tray, which prevents it from wandering about while she rotates it. Then with a *dap* of wool in her left hand and the spindle in her right, she conjures somehow a fine even thread on to the whirring spindle. So many *dapping* make a spindleful, so many spindlefuls make a ball, so many balls suffice for a winter cloak. Undoubtedly you must learn as a child. The shape of the *pfurúkus* makes it most convenient to carry; even if you have a child on your shoulders and a basket on your back, it sits under your arm and stays there of itself, one circular chamber projecting back and front. The little ash-tray is cleverly moulded by the women from the malleable mush left when they have squeezed every drop of oil from their apricot kernels. It dries in a day or two and serves for many a year.

243 There was a jolly family party who worked the fields just below our house. I used to wish the fields didn't slope down and down and we could then have watched them better from the windows. When we arrived they had just reaped two fields of wheat (which ripens a fortnight later than the barley) and piled the sheaves in two big stacks. Then they made their threshing-floor as earlier described. When the floor was dry they spread the entire circle 2 or 3 feet deep with cut wheat and got a team of five cows, tied their muzzles loosely together with a soft rope round each and then drove them round to
[462] tread out the grain. It is usually a woman or girl who drives the team, but sometimes a man or boy will take a hand. The outside beast has, of course, to make the biggest circle, while the centre one just buzzes round as nearly as possible in the same spot. As the driver gently touches them with her switch she keeps shouting "Hai, hai, hai!" to encourage them. When she gets tired one of the others comes on duty and she goes and sits down in the shade of the stack. As you can imagine, it is pretty hot in the noonday sun. I joined the women in the shade where they sat spinning away and keeping an eye on the toddlers. There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and

[See p 77, Cat: 116 of 243. -- Para 1/52]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushо AV7

There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and 524
Banu, about six and four, who played with me and let me 177
tickle them with straws and play "One little pig went to market . . ." with their dusty little toes. This game proved such a success that I roughly translated it into "One little sheep went to drink. . . ." They would never have seen a pig, and if they had they *ought* to think it unclean, so I thought a lamb was safer. My first version gave one little lamb bread to eat, "bread" being a general word for "food." This caused great laughter: "Lambs wouldn't like bread, Mother dear." "Well, what do you think they'd like best?" "Oh, grass or leaves." "One little lamb had grass to eat and one little lamb had none." Thus amended, my little rhyme was approved, and other youngsters turned up to play "little lambs" till the game grew so popular that whenever I sat down on anyone's threshing-floor baby feet would be stretched out towards me: "One little lamb, Mother . . ." till I got quite tired of ". . . baa, baa, baa, all the way home," but it never palled on them. Centuries hence, when we shall have long been sleeping in the Garden of Rest at Golders Green, some anthropologist will come along and wonder what process of "diffusion" took "one little pig" to Hunza, or whether Hunza spontaneously generated the jingle for itself.

My pencil and little notebook were a great source of amuse- 124
ment, and the youngsters would crowd round: "Have you put 476
my name in? I'm Shamúli." "So you are; but whose Shamúli are you? I've got two Shamúlis already. Who's your Daddy? How many brothers have you got; how many sisters, are they bigger or smaller, what are *their* names? And which house is yours?" Thus gradually I got to know most of our immediate neighbours, but it was no easy matter to sort the families out, for groups would gather on each other's threshing-floors, and anyone whose own immediate work was done would join in to help the workers. I finally gave numbers of my own to all the nearest houses, and tried bit by bit to plot out the various relationships.

Meantime the threshing went steadily on, and I noticed that 293
the driver carried always a flat bowl shoulder high in her left 237
hand. "Now what's that for?" asked I. "Why, that's the dung-

243 dish," and right enough the driver quickly anticipated her cows'
237 needs, and when her dish was full went off and emptied it on a little heap of manure. You thus keep your grain uncontaminated and salvage your manure—most priceless of products. If the driver lapses into a daydream a warning yell from the onlookers would call her attention back in time. I don't know whether the dung-dish is in use elsewhere, but it is at any rate one more symbol of Hunza fastidiousness. You *plough* with oxen, but you thresh with *cows*, whose slighter needs can
[412] also be forestalled. When all the wheat is thoroughly trampled the men take great wooden five-pronged forks, most gracefully shaped things (made, of course, at home), and towards evening when there comes a little breeze they toss the broken
243 wheat up into the air to winnow it. The broken straw is blown to one side while the heavier grain falls into a heap. Then they take wooden, home-made spades and toss the grain again to get rid of any remaining straw. These processes take many hours' hard work, and will not be completed in one day; but they have no rain to fear and can leave their stacks of straw and
[674] heaps of grain from one day till the next. They leave their threshing-floors unguarded when they go home at night; pilfering a neighbour's food is simply "not done."

When the winnowing is over the women take a big sieve, made of thin strips of leather criss-crossed over a round frame. This is coarse enough to let the grain through but to catch any scraps of straw. When this first sieving is over, they take a finer sieve (with, of course, a totally different name) which keeps the grain and lets the dust fall through. But even then they don't consider the job quite finished. The women turn the pile over with their hands, carefully picking out any sliver of straw that may have previously escaped. When at last it is ready, the grain is filled into large skin sacks, which will take up to 160 lb. or so,-and the men carry these off to the storeroom while the broken straw is loaded into huge open-ribbed baskets that can also be carried only by a man. The straw is taken up on to the flat roof and poured down through a central hole into the straw shed.

There is no hard and fast rule about what is woman's work

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

Above and below us as we rode the barley harvest was being 243 speedily gathered in; family groups were reaping, threshing, winnowing, while the more advanced were already hastily reploughing their land for various kinds of millet. Though the [132] Hunza summer is short, the sun at these heights is hot, and with luck each hard-worked field will bear two crops a season. The barley field which is soonest clear will ripen a later crop of millet; the wheat field, ready a fortnight or three weeks later, will still be in time for one or other type of buckwheat. Barley must in olden days have been the standard crop, for all the sowing and harvest festivals centre round it. But the Hunzukuts[1] of to-day vastly prefers wheaten bread and sows as much wheat as he dares. Even the winter-sown wheat, however, ripens later than the spring barley, and since every ingenious device of agriculture only "just gives what life requires, but gives no more," he cannot afford to concentrate on wheat alone. Each year the peasant farmer makes his calcu- [242] lations afresh; experience has taught him much about the rotation of crops, the different varieties of grain that each field —according to soil, water, and aspect—can most profitably bear, and his gamble with nature is a highly intelligent one. In the opener fields of Aliábád we reckoned that the proportion of wheat to barley was roughly two to one, nearer Báltít one to two.

If later in the year you point to a field and ask "What crop is that?" the answer will not be "Such and such a millet, or such and such a buckwheat," but the name of the growing crop with the additional information "On top of wheat" or "On top of barley," which will give you the difference of some weeks in the date of sowing and probably also indicate some subtle difference in the quality of the soil if you have learnt enough basic agriculture to interpret the facts aright.

Our narrow mountain track skirted the face of a magnificent 644 amphitheatre of storeyed cultivation, plunging every now and then into welcome belts of fruit trees, willows and poplars, crossing foaming mountain torrents in cracks of the hillside, none too easy to ford in July, though only rock-strewn gullies

[1] Hunzukuts is both singular and plural.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

243

PLATE IX

1. Threshing. (See p. 100)

2. Winnowing. Foreground, Afiato and Yaman. (See pp. 102, 147)

[Facing P. 112]

241
243

1. Damping manure.

(See p. 155)

2. Alluvial ploughing.

(See p. 143)

PLATE X

3. Allies meeting. Small boy accompanied by g u n n e r o f "Iron-pole."

(See p. 184)

4. Party of women weeding.

(See p. 144)

Facing p. 144

By Lawrence & Co (Photo), Simla—Sq 1920 A.V.P. Bombay A.V.P.

245

PLATE XI

Phases fields. Background, Rules in cloud. (See p. 111)

[Facing P. 118]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 18

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

SUMMER is a breathless time in the Hunza fields. No sooner 243 ●
does the ripening grain show a fine "fox-brown" than a line 516
of five or six men and women attack it in unison. They do 582
not "reap" in our sense of the word. They squat in that inimitably convenient way that the East has preserved for working—no backs bent with stooping, no knees worn out with kneeling—and grasp a full handful of the ripe stalks and pull up roots and all; first right, then left; clap the two together to shake off the all-too-valuable earth; lay the bundle behind them; shuffle on a pace and repeat. The fields are small and in an incredibly short space of time a golden field is prostrate and the ground carpeted with neatly aligned rows of swathes. It is beautiful to see a party at work: father and mother, daughters, sons, and wives; they space themselves and keep their line as exactly as soldiers on parade, yet each works individually, each at his own pace and in his own way—without haste and without pause. They possess rude iron sickles, but 412
when these are used at all they are not used to *cut*, but merely to pull against, if the crop is more than usually deep-rooted.

When the *shandiming* (cut crops) have lain a little and been 243
turned over once or twice they are tied into sheaves and 482
gathered into piles, some as big as a man can carry, others smaller to suit a boy—according to the "man-power" available. A double goat's hair rope is slipped round the waist of the pile and ingeniously knotted so as to leave two shoulder loops. The man or boy flings himself down backwards on to it, slips his arms through the loops and hitches the rope fast. Then some kindly bystander gives a touch to the load from behind,

243 and by a gymnastic miracle the bearer staggers to his feet,
482 almost invisible under his tossing burden, and sets off at a trot up a steep flight of rough stones, or a boulder track, or a rude wooden ladder laid against a high field wall, to the thresh-
243 ing-floor. Beside this, a stack is built by other workers as the loads come in. A core of several upright sheaves forms the centre; layers of other sheaves are laid symmetrically round these, heads to centre, roots out, till the stack is 5 or 6 feet high. The priceless grain is thus beyond the greed of passing goats, and if rain threatens a carpet flung on top suffices to keep the whole erection dry. The moment the *shandiming* are off the ground the children drive their tiny flocks, one minute cow, a couple of sheep and goats, on to the empty field, and the hungry beasts greedily snatch at every green blade of grass or weed they chance to sight. There is cruelly little. In the early days the crop is diligently and systematically weeded, and even after the grain has reached some height the field is invaded every few days by the women and children in the hopes that some further weeds may be detected and carried off for fodder. The two stages of weeding are quite distinct. I was much laughed at one day, when the second stage had set in, for asking a party of crouching women whether they were "weeding." "Oh, no," they said, "weeding time is long since over; we are just fetching some green stuff for the cow." Both weedings are done so thoroughly that the expectant beasts who invade the new-reaped field have quickly cleared the few remaining stalks.

857 When the fields are temporarily empty a great feeling of freedom pervades the land. The boys rejoice in the rare luxury of flat open spaces for foot polo, tip-cat, races, rounders, and a dozen other games; the weavers seize the chance to lay out their warp and the girls romp and play ball—"the fields are free" is joyfully remarked on every side. DL and I rejoiced no less in being able to walk side by side on the flat—an experience foregone these many months—and take short-cuts from one farmstead to another without the usual boulder-jumping scramble.

But the freedom of the fields is short-lived.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Buruho AV7

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

While one party is busy on the threshing floor, the empty 243
field is watered, ploughed, and sown again, and before the barley and wheat are well in store the bare fields are green again with the second crops, which seem to understand that they must grow at the double or be doomed.

There are two major kinds of millet grown: the one (called *hay*) has graceful feathery heads not unlike rice, but that the grain is smaller; the other (*che*) has a tight-packed ear, also with tiny grains like what we call "canary seed." There are many varieties of each. When we arrived in mid-July the barley had all been reaped, and we just saw the wheat come in, but we were happily in time to see the second crops sprout, ripen, and fall. There are also two kinds of buckwheat sown. The sweet buckwheat is a lovely plant with fine dark leaves (something the shape of lilac leaves) and a glorious head of pink feathery blossom; the bitter is a smaller plant with lighter yellower leaves and a minute, unimpressive yellow flower. Neither of the buckwheats is really *liked* as food, and 243
the bitter is definitely *disliked*, but *they are food*, and a skilful 262
housewife contrives to mix her flour so as to eke out the wheat and barley with a proportion of the buckwheats that is not too unappetizing and not inflict more "bitter buckwheat scones" on her family than she can help. The only reason that the bitter buckwheat is grown at all is that it can better stand the onset of winter, and, if the first crop is delayed, or if winter sets in untimely soon, it is a safer thing to gamble on.

When the terraced fields of Hunza are full again, with 243
waving *hay* and stately *che* and seas of pink blossom send their delicate perfume drifting over the mountain side; when the trim field walls are vertical rock-gardens with wild thyme and the like crowding their crevices; when the fruit trees are still in full leaf, each variety of apricot turning a different shade of gold and red and flame; and bunches of green and red grapes are ripening under the pergolas of vines, while over all the barren mountain sides glare down and the snow peaks tower into a sky of burning blue—there are no words to tell the country's loveliness.

By the beginning of October the proud millets are laid low.

243 They are treated differently from the two first crops. You do not throw the whole stalks with roots and ear on to the threshing-floor. You tie a bundle up with one of its own stalks, then cut the ears off and thresh them by themselves, stacking the straw separately. I would scramble up when the millet was being beheaded, sit down with the workers, take out my penknife and ask leave to help. It was the greatest fun. Of course I could not work nearly as fast as others, but in itself the work is light and it makes opportunity for easy conversation. When I first turned up at one or other of several threshing floors—there were a dozen or so within comparatively easy reach—there would be only a couple of women who always made me enthusiastically welcome, but in a few minutes the mad Englishwomen (as I presume I must have appeared) was spotted from afar and quite a crowd soon gathered round; most would come and join in; a few would just politely stare. I always found it far harder to talk when there were a lot. The youngsters all crowded in behind me, and the elder ones constituted an informal advisory committee, for "Mother" was curiously thick-headed and not always sure whether an odd-looking ear was diseased and ought to be thrown away or was merely a little unripe but quite good. I consulted them in doubtful cases till I got to know; then I found that the young monkeys were beginning to think it a joke to pull my leg by misadvising. Fortunately I had learnt the difference before this bright idea struck them, and so I could turn the tables—"a beautiful farmer you'll make if you don't know a bad ear when you see it," said I; "I'm sorry for your poor wife, but perhaps you'll never get one!" and the joker slunk back a pace amid the titters of his friends. At first all my offers to "help" were met by considerate remonstrances—"You'll spoil your hands; it would be a pity." But I laughed and said "They'll wash!" I have always loathed to see a woman with milk-white hands, massaged and creamed and manicured and obviously useless, and have taken a—probably perverse—pride in my own square, ugly, little-cared-for, useful paws. In what odd ways one's snobbishness will out! But I must confess that even the mildest field work tears your skin most uncommonly.

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

When the threshing floor is heaped with ears, some people turn cows on to trample them; some people prefer to beat the heap with sticks. It depends, I expect, how many cows you have without borrowing, or how many stout arms to wield the flail. It is rather fun to see a family beating, even the children hammering away with tiny poles. The Hunzukuts are kind to their kiddies and fond of them, but have happily no time to spoil them, and as the children have always something new and interesting to do they are very rarely troublesome. If they are, some grown-up will give them a mild smack on the head (the little cap prevents its hurting much) and all is well again. If a child is sick they carry it out with them to the fields (no one can be spared to stay at home to mind it) and chuck a cloth over it to keep the flies off, and let it lie there in peace till it feels better. The youngsters work just as long as they feel interested, then fade away and play for a bit, and join another group and work a while again. There seems to be no attempt to force them or even overtly to encourage them. Their own instinct is to copy the grown-ups or next-older brother. Yet the sense of responsibility wakes early; a five- or six-year-old is often in charge of the two-year-old toddler, rejoices in steadying him as he tries to walk or in mounting him on the shoulders to cross a water-channel or climb a wall. We used sometimes to feel a little anxious about the baby's fate, but its mother never did. I have never heard a Hunza mother shout "Don't do that, darling," or "Take care, you'll drop the baby," or "Don't go so near the edge, you'll fall." Hunza consists of "edges"—the house-roof, the field, the reservoir, the cliff—and no doubt Nature in the course of centuries has weeded out the stocks that lose their balance. Our occasional solicitude was the cause of much merriment; we could not always suppress a "Take care, you'll slip," and this became a standing joke amongst our smaller friends. If all other conversation failed a jesting cry from someone of "Take care, Mother, you'll fall" would set the ball rolling again. Jolly little scamps they are, and pleasant companions for a walk. I counted seven in front and three behind me one day, all between five and seven, with two or three babies mounted on the others'

capriciously from side to side between its beaches, was 500 or 600 feet sheer below, and the great crumbly earthen cliffs on each side were most ominous-looking precipices. There are no paths down them except where a side gorge comes in at intervals. At the spot where I struck the bank there had been a great fall of cliff not long before which had completely carried away a new aqueduct they were—rather too hopefully—trying to engineer across the face of it. If the aqueduct had been successful it would have coaxed some water from the Hasanábád glacier on to a jutting promontory, potentially fertile, but at the moment as bare as the palm of your hand. Six men went over and two of them were killed. Risks like this are all in the day's work in Hunza. People were still prospecting for a more hopeful alignment, but my amateur eyes could see no earthly possibility of getting anything to cling to the friable face of those terrifying cliffs. Meantime I stood well back from the edge! It was pathetic to see gardens and trees within two inches of the treacherous brink and to realize that the farmer on whose land I stood had lost a fertile field or two and half his orchard. I noted that I must go back some day when the light was right and see whether (without committing suicide) I could get a photograph right down the gorge with Raka, of course, rearing herself up in the background. When the light was good it was still very hot in the sun (88° in the shade on an October afternoon), and rocky scrambles over shadeless boulders with a climb of some hundreds of feet to get home were not exactly restful, and I'm not so young!

One autumn morning when I was on the prowl I found a man just about to turn on a small team of cows to thresh a pile of millet heads. He and his children were busy with this in the centre of the floor, while a neighbour and *his* family were beheading another variety at one side. Two or even three neighbours seem amicably to share one threshing floor so as not to waste valuable ground. So I squatted down as usual with my penknife and joined the beheading family and watched the threshing. Only three cows were in the team this time—the millet-heads make a very small heap in comparison with the

2: Lorimer T-3 (1922-4; 1924-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

243 wheat—the usual "Ha! Ha! Ha!" encouraging them and the usual dung-dish unostentatiously circulating behind. It was an interesting, very typical scene, and not a hundred yards below our house. I sent a message up to David (there is always a small candidate to act proudly as messenger) to tell him that he might care to bring his camera. In a few minutes he was picking his way cautiously down the breakneck track while a great cheer of welcome rang from the little crowd. They had all been genuinely concerned about his illness, and were delighted to see that he was better and able to come down and watch things himself. It was his first visit to one of the field working parties. He sat on a low wall in a tiny speck of shade, made friendly chat all round, and was a great social success.

While I pottered each morning in the fields, enjoying myself among the people, he was usually hard at work indoors with Qudrat Ullah, taking notes of how the irrigation is managed and the system on which the water is distributed by clans and families, and working out genealogical trees. This latter is a weary affair but most useful, for it gives you insight into all their marriage alliances, how many children each family has, how many boys and how many girls, who is allowed to marry whom, and what the relationship terms are, both in the vocative between the various members of a family group, and in the third person when others are talking of them—a highly complicated but most instructive subject. An elder brother will address the younger by one method, while the younger will use a more respectful term towards the elder; all the younger boys of a family will use to their *elder* sister the same respectful form of address as to their eldest brother, though to the uninitiated it would seem to imply that she was a male. A man addresses his wife's father and mother in precisely the same terms and with the same respect as his own. A child's "uncle" is a mother's brother only; the father's brother is "Little Father" or "Big Father" according as the speaker's own father (about whom there is no ambiguity) is older or younger than the uncle concerned. The children of brothers who all share the one home speak of each other as brother and sister, unless there is need to be more explicit, in which case they will

000 the typing seemed waste of time that ought preferably to be spent out among the people themselves, but there is a limit to the amount of "field work" you can usefully put into one day, and it was invaluable for me to have to work carefully through the information David had assembled in the study while I was more frivolously employed outside.

● 243 I seem to have wandered from the harvest! There is not much more to mention. When the sweet buckwheat was ripe and the gay, sweet-smelling flowers succeeded in due course by small black seeds, when the plants are "covered with black flies" as they picturesquely put it, they are gathered to the threshing floor and beaten with sticks till the seeds fall off and the straw can be stooked to dry. The less romantic bitter buckwheat follows suit, and last of all the potatoes are dug just as at [177] home. The potato crop is much valued, and due credit is given to the British who introduced it: "We can't imagine how we used to manage without potatoes," they say.

After this the fields were bare again—for good. It almost brought tears to my eyes to see the jolly little threshing-floors, where I had spent so many happy hours, flooded with the rest of the fields and ploughed up for the winter. About half the fields round us were left fallow till the spring, the other half were hastily resown with winter wheat, whose early shoots were the first green to greet our eyes next year.

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

561 Hurmat was telling me about his home affairs one day: "Our
888 father and mother are fortunately still with us; they can't *do* very much nowadays, of course; but they are still able to give us orders, thank God." And he meant the "thank God." In the same way the uncanny skill of the old *rúli gus* in husbanding the year's supplies is fully appreciated, and her skill with wool and spindle still puts her daughters-in-law to shame.

888 Old Aliko of No. 1A was past all serious work, though he
159 kept up a plucky effort to preserve his youth by the constant dyeing of his fine white beard; but he was a renowned sower and could spread the seed more advantageously on the prepared
243] field than younger men. There is no reckless wastage of precious seed-grain in Hunza; it is never flung where thorns could spring up and choke it, nor by the wayside to be trodden by the feet of men. And the neighbours would call Aliko in to sow for them. A real centenarian is a family treasure. Old Aliko's father was still living at the old homestead in Dorkhan with the other brothers (Aliko had hived off to Alíábád), and we made a special journey by request to see him and take his photograph. He was seated on a roof commanding a magnificent view of a steep hillside on which the farmstead straggled downhill in several storeys, as Hunza houses often do where the ground is steep. He had put on his best silk robe to receive us, and as we climbed the ladder and popped up over the roof brink, he apologized that he could not rise to greet us. Mentally he was as bright as ever and not even slightly deaf, and while David was busy with the portraiture I sat beside him and heard how he had lived through the reigns of four Mirs and four Maharajahs of Kashmir (the Mir, it should not be forgotten, had already reigned forty-five years); how proud he was that his son, Sangi Khan, was one of the headmen of Dorkhan, and how he had three sons and twelve grandsons still living at home (not to mention daughters and their children elsewhere). Before we reached the tale of his great-grandchildren, the photography and our visit were drawing to a close. He counted himself at least a hundred, and was certainly well on in the nineties, but still seemed full of the joy of life.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

supposed to be able to control rain and sun. It is said of the Mir's grandfather, Gharan Khan, that he was so skilled in the art that he could cause rain to fall when wanted and ride unwetted through it! On the second afternoon, as we were riding home, the clouds and mists were darkening in again and robbed us of some superb photographs we had marked down for taking on the homeward way. Some cold days ensued—an unpleasant jar after we had begun to shed cardigans and blankets. Still . . . the Great Cold was definitely over, and the sound of flowing water was a delight to the ear after the icebound months. An even greater delight was the sight of people working in their fields again, and all our jolly children friends romping about. Some of the women and children living quite near we had not laid eyes on for months.

Everyone was frantically busy. When the women weren't actually carrying manure out to the fields in their baskets and dumping it at regular intervals or squatting down to spread out the heaps evenly over the surface, they were sitting in groups here and there spinning for dear life in the welcome daylight and chattering like magpies, exchanging the gossip of their homes after the long seclusion. When I came upon any little lot I hadn't seen before, they hailed me eagerly: "We *have* missed you!" they shouted. And I laughed and said: "But I have been there all the time and *I* have gone out every day; it is you who have been hiding in your houses, crouching over the fire!" "That's true," was the laconic answer, "it was winter." It was fun to be amongst them all again and find them as natural and friendly and as merry as ever, and so very much neater and cleaner than I should be if I had their work to do and only icy water to wash in.

By the third week in February we could with a microscope begin to detect the first shoots of the winter-sown wheat, and even imagine a slight flush of green on the bare white twigs of the poplars, though the leaf buds had not yet begun to swell perceptibly.

I passed Kaníza's house one day as they were all busy dumping manure and noticed a strange girl helping. I knew that the married sister in Báltít had generously taken over Kaníza's

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

A month later, by the third week of March, we were well 132
into the Spring. The winter wheat formed a bright green carpet on the shelf-like fields, about three-quarters of our Alitábád ground being given over to it.

The barley which the men had sown after the Bopfau, just 243
the other day it seemed, was showing green over the most of the rest, and would presently outstrip the wheat and ripen first. The only brown fields left were those that were being prepared for vegetables and potatoes. No leaves were yet showing anywhere, but fat red apricot buds looked promising.

As autumn drew in we had begun to feel a little disappointed 241
in our Hunza friends whose marvellous field-walls we had always admired so much with not one single stone out of its place. There were breaches here and there, sometimes quite big ones, and paths were often blocked by a fall of stones, and no one seemed to bother. This puzzled us as out of character, but as soon as the last fear of frost was over, every spare moment was spent by men and boys restoring the countryside to its normal state of faultless tidiness. We now saw the reason of the apparent neglect. The frost and ice simply tear the walls to pieces, and to repair them during winter would be sheer folly. We might perhaps have divined this; but now at any rate we knew.

One early day in March we saw Khano on the mountain side 233
walking slowly and with circumspection. This was so strange a sight that we went over to investigate. "What are you carrying so carefully under your *chogo*?" "My first kid," he said, opening his cloak to display the tiny head with triumph. "That's the mother there. I'm expecting four to-morrow. I do hope they won't get born at night in the byre. I'd rather they came when I'm out with them alone." "How do you happen to have so many goats?" we asked. "Oh, I'm herding for the Yerpa now. He's no boys of his own, you see." How crazy it would be to call a lad like that "uneducated" because he doesn't happen to have learned to read or write! He is proudly able to act as accoucheur to his goats, which few of our youngsters at home would feel equal to. We enquired later of Dádo and the rest what sort of wages Khano was able to earn, and their view was that he was probably not given

all thriving. The field walls looked very jolly at this season, with wild flowers of the rock-garden type growing in the crannies between the stones and fostered by the seepage from the irrigated fields above. Amongst them was a wild mint and a wild thyme, the flavouring qualities of which are known and appreciated.

On June 12th we saw some people hungrily eyeing their barley and reckoning that it would be ripe for cutting in another fifteen days. It was said to be good this year in spite of an abnormally cold, late spring. Some rain showers that we had were welcomed though they temporarily cooled the air. But as clouds and rain continued, anxiety began to be felt lest the wheat should be late and delay too long the planting of the buckwheat-on-wheat. The barley is subject to a disease called *tam*, which stripes the leaves an ugly yellow and produces a milky liquid in the ears. Few plants were attacked this year. The disease called *mašl* (rust?), which makes black ears, attacks only wheat and millet, and if the cold and rain persisted it might be expected to set in. We were doubly anxious that this year's crops should be good: unselfishly for the people's sake; selfishly lest a bad year should be attributed to the maleficent influence of two crazy people learning Burushaski—though indeed these highly rational people would be unlikely to indulge any such fantastic association of ideas.

We saw some people one day collecting the under-bark from red willow trees; they use it for dyeing the leather of their native boots and skilfully chip it out from the living tree without injuring the willow.

Now that the people were really within sight of food they frankly confessed to being desperately hungry, and the strain of unremitting work—weeding, ploughing, manuring, grafting, irrigating from dawn to dusk on empty tummies—was showing in drawn, thin faces, but appeared powerless to damp their spirits or fray their tempers. It was dreadful to look on and be helpless to feed the multitude with loaves or fishes, while we lived—sparingly enough by home standards but—riotously compared with these much more deserving neighbours. We saw one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry

[in June -- Analyst]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushio AV7

original right-hand loops off on to the left fingers carefully 271
crossing each pair of threads as she does so. Widely drawing her two hands apart Apícho then drove the set of crossed threads down on to the edge of the cap, where Kanína secured the twelve-fold plait with a large stitch. This was repeated *ad infinitum*, the braid only showing on the right side of the cap and the long ugly stitches on the wrong. The process looks rather like cat's-cradle. I had always wondered why, when they take such infinite trouble over the minute cross-stitch embroidery of their caps and the hand-plaited twelve-ply braid, they finished the cap off with these long stitches. I also wondered why it seemed impossible to detach the braid without its ravelling out. I now saw that braid-weaving and stitching were part of one elaborate process.

By July 1st the luckier folk were already cutting their 243
barley and clearing a field for their threshing floor without waiting for the formal harvest-initiation ceremonies of the Ginání, the date of which is naturally fixed by the Mir to suit Báltit, 1,500 feet higher, and consequently some days behind Aliábád. All our potatoes were by now in full flower and our wheat was turning "fox-colour."

On July 5th we rode over to Báltit for yet another of the 487
Hunza festivals, and ye Gods! it was hot on the road—90 de- [132]
grees in the shade—and we had to start at the very hottest time of day, about 2 p.m. The Mir gave us tea in his nice shady grass-grown apple orchard before we remounted and climbed up to the Fort. It is not easy to convey how steep the road is that in Báltit corresponds to the Mall. Your pony steps from one boulder to the next with a great lurch, his spine almost vertical, and for my part I could only just stick on by my usual technique of thrusting my stirrups back to the root of his tail 487
and firmly gripping his mane with my right hand. The road 361
runs between high stone walls and zigzags wildly. The little box-like stone houses of the capital are piled on top of each other in the craziest way—town-planning has to accommodate itself to the vagaries of a precipitous mountain side. They are indescribably picturesque, but you would not think them possible to live in, yet they provide a high degree of simple comfort.

She had a bobbed shock of dusty brown hair, long untrimmed, a horizontally-striped jumper of navy and white, loosish navy knickers, and long boots. She made an unheralded descent on a group of Hunza women in a neighbouring field—they fled in terror from the apparition. Unfortunately there was no time for me to round them up and woo them back, for the two newspaper colleagues had to hasten back to Báltit to join in some festivities in honour of the Resident. We later had the pleasure of hearing them both lecture in London on their astounding journey, and it was hard to identify the beautiful lady in evening dress graciously displaying lantern slides to the Central Asian Society and humorously making light of the hardships and perils of those seven famous months, with the tomboy figure of the Karakoram who had left so vivid a memory behind in Aliábád.

By mid-August the last batches of drying apricots had been gathered in, withdrawing those bright pools of colour which had so gaily painted roofs and boulder surfaces. But the independently sown millets were tossing glorious golden heads (*cho*) far more challenging to the eye than wheat or barley, or graceful tassels of golden rain (*hay*) lovelier even than ripening rice; the millets-on-barley, later sown, were still a brilliant green, and the sweet buckwheat-on-wheat was bursting out into seas of beautiful, sweetly-smelling pink. We were glad not to have had to leave without seeing and scenting sweet buckwheat once again, while the yellow ill-smelling blossoms of the bitter buckwheat were too unobtrusive to spoil the delicate sheets of green amongst which they hid or taint the general air. It was going to be hard to tear ourselves away from Hunza in her summer glory.

All our last comings and goings amongst the farmsteads were clouded by "that go-ey feeling" which schoolchildren know so well, casting the shadow of the prison house over the last precious hours of holiday.

After my first ill-advised distribution of a few Woolworth balls amongst the toddlers we had firmly abstained from any form of gift-giving. Now the moment had come when self-discipline could be relaxed. We got up from Gilgit two pony-

No. XXXIX.

Harvesting.

In Hunza first they thresh the harvested barley. Having done so they collect (the grain) and make some thin bread and a cake of thick bread. Then they take big bags to the threshing floor and fill them (with the grain).

As they fill them they say thus: "I crave a blessing from the Diqōni Pir. In the name of God! O God! Fill my belly, O God! Fill me full, O God! Grant the blessing of Iahkāshum, O God!" Saying (these words) they fill the bag.

Two men do the filling. One man holds (up) the mouth of the bag and the other fills it. They make all the others hide themselves. Then the two men, when they have filled (the bags), call to the (concealed men) and bring them up, and the latter, coming up say: "You have brought prosperity!" And the filler replies: "(It is due to your) luck and fortune!"

Then they have some food and bring the bags to the house and empty them into the grain-bin. Subsequently they bring in the wheat harvest too, and then the buckwheat. And, setting aside wheat and barley for seed-grain and for funeral rites, they take

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11 *ferme* — not recorded elsewhere; it is perhaps for *hemo* a possible plural form of *he*. *wūji gaw* — exactly corresponds to Shina *gw fāfu* inverted. It is glossed Hindustani *aur pīche* which confirms the natural identification with the words *-ūji and gw but does not elucidate the sense in which they are used. Compare the term *-ūsi.ūs (Vocab. *-ūs) also meaning 'funeral rites' which also seem to contain the idea of 'after', 'following'.

The grain is distributed as alms, *zakūrū*, after a death.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the year's food supply out (of the bin) and they sift it in the sun. Then they put it into bags and take it away to the mill to be ground.

It is the custom to ladle out a *kichuti* (2 or 3 lbs. of grain) per bag for the miller, and they also make for him one piece of bread.

Then when they have ground it they bring it back and pour it into the bin and stamp it down with their feet, after which they seal the bin with mud and leave it.

They grind separately their daily rations for consumption during autumn, and then at the Tūmishèling they begin on the barley bin and in spring they begin on the wheat bin.

In Gilgit grain is kept in a *kotel* consisting of a wattle frame which is plastered over with mud. In Persia large clay vessels *xum* are used for similar purposes. The mouth is closed with a lid and the junction is sealed with mud.

7 *ḥeĉor* — if the idea in the mind is "flour"; *ḥiĉor*, if it is bread.

wɣ'ɣrzhí — v. Vocab. s. v. *-ɣrzhí.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 35

The Hunzan Economy

243 FROM THE thrice-told tales of people who write about Hunza and its fertile fields, one might rightfully expect to see bountiful crops of grain bending in the breeze, but I did not expect to see great expanses of waving golden wheat fields in Hunza, so I was not disappointed. The flight from Pindi to Gilgit told me the story better than words. The harsh, flint rock mountains and meager valleys made agriculture a serious, unrelenting affair that taxed man's ingenuity and endurance.

In field crops the Hunzans grow wheat, which I found to be one of their most important foods. I saw more wheat than any other grain. Then there were [244] buckwheat, peas, broad beans, lucerne, millet, barley, rice, onions, potatoes, carrots, turnips and lettuce.

It is said that they can grow two crops a year and, while I did not actually see two crops produced, I noticed that the wheat was harvested in late July and

there would still be ample time to grow another crop 243
before the frost came. Therefore, that adds credence to the statement that they can grow two crops a year.

I gathered that buckwheat was their most important second crop and it was not hard to understand, because it thrives on the poorer and lighter soils, where other grains might not do as well. Further, it needs only about ten weeks to mature and it has the added advantage of flowering and setting its crops continuously, so that a fair harvest can be had at most any time.

Then, too, it is a crop that can stand the colder weather; that is, the chilly nights in early fall and spring that they are bound to have in these high mountain areas. In actuality, the buckwheat blooms continually and flowers, green seed and ripe seed can be found on the plants at one and the same time.

There is another good reason why the Hunzans grow a lot of buckwheat. It invariably leaves the soil in splendid physical condition and believe me, that is very, very important to the people of Hunza. In addition, [231]
this crop makes splendid food for their farm animals. It makes a fine green manure as well as a weed smother crop.

It must be remembered that buckwheat makes a dandy emergency crop if and when other earlier crops have failed. So it is not hard to understand why it would be one of the most important grain crops in Hunza.

They don't have bees in Hunza, I was sorry to learn, 262
and therefore there is no buckwheat honey. 231

The Hunzans are chiefly vegetarians—whether by [311]
choice or necessity is hard to establish, although I would say that they had little choice in the matter because they just don't have the area to waste on animals. They can't afford to get their food second-hand. While there 311

bread we eat, I was greatly interested when I heard about the people of Hunza and then found out that they eat only bread that is made from whole grain.

Then, when the same books or facts brought to light that the people of Hunza knew few of the world's ills, my interest was aroused to almost a fever pitch. I wondered if there was any connection between the kind of bread that we ate and our health and the kind of bread they ate in Hunza and their health.

From my own observations I also learned that wheat was the most important crop in Hunza, with the exception of apricots. I have also tried to establish which was the first domesticated grain in the annals of human history and I have not been able to establish clearly whether it was wheat or millet. But wheat is more adaptable to the temperate zones, whereas millet leans more to the warmer climes and it is clearly established that wheat is preferred by the white races.

I soon learned that there was a flour mill that functioned regularly, located on the route that we took from the palace at Baltit to the old palace or old fort. So on one of my walks I made it a point to investigate thoroughly the location, the workings and the construction of this old mill.

On my way up when we stopped at Chalt I saw one of these mills in operation, but I did not actually see the grain being made into flour.

For a man who has spent most of his life in the country and on a farm, I feel embarrassed to admit that I had never seen a flour mill in operation before.

During the past quarter of a century, or even a longer period, milling has, generally speaking, come into the hands of large corporations and that is why, I assume, I got it into my head that milling was a complicated big-time operation that required a great investment

256 splash against the water wheel or paddle. The force is
[376] sufficient to make the millstone revolve at a tremendous pace. The water can be quickly shut off by just putting the missing stone back in place, diverting the water flow down the conduit.

The millstones are enclosed by a tray or bin about 5 or 6 inches high. As the ground wheat or flour is forced out between the stones, it slowly fills the bin. Then it is scooped up into goatskin bags, usually by a
[262] woman who is looking after the mill. In this manner it is carried to the individual homes to be used in making the wholesome whole wheat Hunzan bread and chapatties.

There appeared to be no large scale or assembly line grinding. Each individual came in with a container of wheat to be ground.

[262] Barley and rye are also used for flour and occasionally, millet and buckwheat.

262 The earliest crop that can be ground into flour in Hunza is barley. After the long winter, food supplies
[243] are worn to the near starvation level and when the first
[527] barley is ready for harvest, people of Hunza have cause to celebrate and do so in their barley festival.

252 I soon learned why chapatties were used in prefer-
262 ence to bread, not only in Hunza but all over Pakistan and India. A chapatty requires only flour and water, a bit of mixing and then rolling out and laying on a piece of metal that is laid over a fire. In a few minutes it can be turned and then it is ready for eating. Even though bread might taste better, it certainly would require a lot more preparation. Simplicity is the keynote!

251 From what I saw, very little flour is stored and probably the people of Hunza have long ago learned their lesson, that wheat ground into flour does not have long keeping qualities.

There is more wheat grown in Hunza than any other 243
single grain crop. Therefore the wheat they use must
be one of the vitally important contributors to the [164]
health of these people.

If you will take time to study the habits or the peculiarities concerning the growing of wheat, you will quickly learn that wheat will not grow on poor or unbalanced soils. One of the first things that my father taught me many long years ago was that your best land must be used if you want to grow a good crop of wheat. Rye or barley, he told me, you can grow most anywhere, but wheat is fussy. If the nutrients aren't there in the soil, the wheat will not grow and your crop will be a failure. All through my travels in Nagir and Hunza I saw wheat and it looked good. It wasn't the same tall wheat that we grow in the Canadian West, but it was wheat and the yield was comparatively bountiful, which means that the Hunzan soil must contain the required nutrients—and to grow wheat, there are many.

Therefore there is a direct connection between the nutrient contents of the soil of Hunza and the wheat that it grows, the flour that they use, the bread that they eat and the health of these people.

Here and now I want to explain that I am not 243
making decisions for anyone. I am trying to lay down 134
the facts as I found them. As stated above, in order to grow good wheat or even to grow wheat at all, the soil must contain all of its required nutrients. It is obvious, therefore, that the soil has the required nutrients and as all of the Hunzan soil is shallow, these nutrients must be regularly reincorporated into the soil.

I have already related that everything that is taken 243
from the soil is returned to the soil by the natives.
Consequently we know that nothing is lost. Hunza does [439]
not export food. That I know, because there is barely

243 [438] sufficient for their own needs. They often trade or barter with the Nagirwals for short items.

Therefore, is the ordinary means of field husbandry as practiced by the people of Hunza the answer? It must be at least part of the story, but how big a part, I am unable to say.

That people avoid discussing this unpleasant topic is understandable; yet, by doing so, you and others who have no opportunity of visiting these areas are often given an incorrect picture. Whereas, in Pakistan and India, this unpleasant business took place practically everywhere, it was with a genuine feeling of relief and thankfulness that I found in Hunza it is positively never practiced—at least, I never saw even a sign of any such thing taking place—but evidently human excrement is used there. It is buried and eventually finds its way to the fields.

It took quite a search to track down the ways and means and methods of using this night soil. I know that it is used extensively in the East and for that matter it is also used in Mexico and perhaps in other parts of the Western world. There is no reason why it shouldn't be used if proper methods of curing or mellowing are followed. After all is said and done, our septic tanks are only putting a natural principle to work, but the disaster of it is that in most cases it is entirely wasted.

The most common method of using night soil in Hunza was to place it in a deep(ish) (as deep as the rocky terrain of Hunza would allow) dug pit, which was carefully kept covered, and eventually, a year or two later, it was distributed over the fields.

Harvesting a crop of grain in Hunza is very much unlike our Western methods. They do not cut their grain, but each wheat plant, or other grain, is pulled out individually, root and all, by hand. Then it is laid in neat bundles on the ground. When the beginning of grain pulling process is complete, the grains are separated from the stalks by being cut or chopped off in bundles.

that may exist or be created in an agricultural community, no seed is available, the Mir has been known to procure supplies from neighboring states and supply his people with sufficient planting stock. 241 643

While through the entire East cow dung and yak dung are used for fuel, in Hunza this is positively not true. The Hunzans are too intelligent to use the mainstay of their lives for fuel. Once it is burned it is gone; but if it is put back into the land, it is there to produce crops for another year. They show their intelligence, if proof of their intelligence is needed, by this one sound principle of self-survival in their means of agriculture. 241 372

However, in the more northerly sections of Hunza, closer to the Chinese border, they do use yak dung for fires because of the almost total lack of wood or other types of fuel. They just have to keep themselves warm during the winter.

Here is a list of the vegetables grown in Hunza—potatoes, turnips, carrots, beans, peas, lettuce, pumpkins, tomatoes, melons, watermelons, radishes, onions, cabbage, spinach, cauliflower. 244

In fruits there are mulberries, apricots, apples, pears, peaches, grapes, walnuts, almonds, a few plums and some cherries. 245

Grapes are grown fairly extensively because they can plant them against most any wall, as long as they have a bit of soil in which to gain a foothold for their roots. From these grapes they make their Hunzan wine. [273]

They grow a few strawberries, but I could find no currants, gooseberries, raspberries—nor did they know what raspberries were.

The grains grown in Hunza, starting from the most important, are wheat, barley, rye, millet, buckwheat and a small quantity of rice. Some alfalfa is grown as a forage crop. 243 246

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

a miserable ten—none of your 'some thirty, some sixty, some an hundredfold'—while lucerne only gives three crops. 243

'The Hunzukuts' main food is bread, of which the housewife makes a large variety, from the leavened wheatened cake with butter for feast 262 days, the unleavened flapjack of wheat, barley or blended flours for 234 everyday, to the bitter buckwheat scones of leaner times. Milk is not an article of diet; the animals yield little at the best and none at all when their own offspring is weaned. Such milk as there is contains little fat content, which is not to be wondered at in view of the food on which the animals exist; it is converted into butter, curds and such preservable forms. Butter is stored in birch-bark wrappings beneath an adjacent water-channel and broached only on festive occasions or for the entertainment of a guest. Meat is tasted at most twice or three times a year, at festivals or on some day of domestic rejoicing, a wedding or a birth, and then it will be 'some tainted wether of the flock, meetest for death' who supplies the sacrifice.

The womenfolk tend small vegetable plots in the corner of a field 244 or separate garden, where carrots, turnips, marrows, gourds and half a hundred kinds of humble 'greens' are grown, and a few plants whose 262 leaves or seeds are esteemed for flavouring, along with a few tobacco 245 plants for the men's pipes. After grain and greens, the essential item of Hunza diet is the apricot, fresh in the early summer and dried during the rest of the year; mulberries, fresh and dried, come next in importance, then a few apples, pears and peaches (these little valued because they will neither keep nor dry) and a few grapes for such relatively well-to-do houses as can afford space and water to grow them. Grapes ripen too late to be dried into raisins and the small quantity [273] not consumed fresh is converted into light wine, brightening the winter days for those who have it, and drunk within a couple of months of [354] manufacture. The apricot has yet further uses. Its kernel yields the oil which lights very modestly the winter nights. The Burusho woman 361 is said to refuse, most wisely, to live above the level of the ripe apricot (say 9–10,000 feet). This is, I suspect only a base pretext of her 245 husband's for refusing to live at these altitudes himself. Be that as it may, the upper villages of Hunza are almost exclusively inhabited by immigrants from Wakhan accustomed to a treeless existence and a diet of barley only. Grafting fruit trees is an art thoroughly understood. The above-mentioned fruits supply the only sugar which the Hunza people know.

Despite all diligence in tilling the ungrateful soil, despite the utmost 262

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7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 35

The Hunzan Economy

243 FROM THE thrice-told tales of people who write about Hunza and its fertile fields, one might rightfully expect to see bountiful crops of grain bending in the breeze, but I did not expect to see great expanses of waving golden wheat fields in Hunza, so I was not disappointed. The flight from Pindi to Gilgit told me the story better than words. The harsh, flint rock mountains and meager valleys made agriculture a serious, unrelenting affair that taxed man's ingenuity and endurance.

In field crops the Hunzans grow wheat, which I found to be one of their most important foods. I saw more wheat than any other grain. Then there were [244] buckwheat, peas, broad beans, lucerne, millet, barley, rice, onions, potatoes, carrots, turnips and lettuce.

It is said that they can grow two crops a year and, while I did not actually see two crops produced, I noticed that the wheat was harvested in late July and

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2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 it, exactly over the main store-room below. There is no parapet, only a tiny raised rim to direct the rain into a small gutter-hole, on the rare occasions when there is rain; but it has a fringe of cut thorn bushes arranged round the edge to prevent an enterprising goat jumping across from the next-
351 door roof not many feet away. I didn't, however, go up on to
296 the roof, but on into a larger courtyard where there was a pool in the corner at which their washing is done. They would not dream of polluting the running water by washing themselves or their clothes in it as it flows by; they draw off what they want for these purposes into a separate pond of their own.
351 Then under a large shady tree there was a raised stone plat-
513 form which acts as a "sofa" by day and as a double or treble or quadruple bed by night—for, except in the depth of winter, nobody sleeps indoors. There was another raised platform, with a wall at the back and open in front and sides, roofed in for another sleeping place. It had a railing along under the roof, and over this were hung all sorts of padded quilts, homespun
[136] blankets, sheepskins, etc.—the family bedding. All the bedding is taken out and hung up every day, which helps to account for the complete lack of vermin—which I confess came to us as a happy surprise. In all our year in Hunza we saw only *one* flea, and that, as David said, was emphatically our own!

245 Round the corner from these sleeping places I got into a
312 walled-in shady garden full of fruit trees—apples, mulberries, peaches, apricots, and vines. It is incredible how luxurious mere *shade* is at such a temperature. It wasn't remotely like a garden in our sense. The earth was bare without one blade of grass or green, and was all cut up into little beds round each precious tree, with banks between them, so that the water could be directed to each tree as desired, when it was No. 1's
514 turn to have water at all. In the far corner of the garden was
343 a neat little circular "open-air pulpit." We had seen these pulpits dotted about, but—stupidly—did not at once guess what they were for. Coming straight from Kashmir, where the approach to each homestead is ankle deep in filth, or remembering Arab habits in Iráq, we never expected that we should find in Hunza a people as scrupulously decent as ourselves in

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

all appeared to us to suggest Persian inspiration. I heard one lady say with regret for a golden past: "What is the world coming to? Why nowadays the very peasant girls embroider silken caps for themselves!"

True enough; now that a little money filters into almost every home the women can get hold of coloured silk from India or Kashgar, and it was a common sight to see girls and women open a tiny home-made bag that hung on their tunic, and take out a strip or circle of calico, a needle, and a bunch of silk, and continue work on a dainty cap. The threads of the cloth were carefully counted and the design traced out in black thread. The silks they used were unspun, clinging masses that I found impossible to handle, and how they manipulated them so skilfully with fingers roughened, you would have thought, by field work, I could not divine. For about 1s. 6d. they can buy enough silk to cover one cap with minute embroidery, and they blend their colours, red, blue, green, orange, purple, yellow, and black, with unerring taste. We laid in a store of their favourite shades so that on occasion we could make an acceptable gift to a bride preparing her trousseau.

After a first experience of trifling gifts of balls and combs we had decided that it would be a crime to spoil the simple, spontaneous kindness of the children or their parents by indiscriminate giving. So we restrained a longing to distribute even sweets and pins, and only made an occasional present on very special occasions or for very definite services rendered. On the other hand, we made a note of such things as would be useful and acceptable, and gathered a hoard of them for our ultimate visits of farewell.

Amongst the women's crafts I have already mentioned the neat little "ashtrays" they conjure from the residual mush of apricot kernels after they have extracted the oil. Washing is amongst them a simple matter. Having no fat, they can make no soap, but there is a plant, called *himan*, which they grow amongst their vegetables, the seeds of which when pounded yield a delightful soapy lather. This is used for special washings only. Every-day cotton clothes are simply rinsed in cold water, flung on a flat stone and beaten with a wooden mallet. When

Chapter 23

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

132 No climate could be more delightful than the autumn and early winter of Hunza, from October till far on in December, and the Burusho make the most of these bracing, genial days, hurrying to get through every sort of outdoor job before the six or eight weeks of the "Great Cold."

245 Not by any means every household can spare water, manure, or space for a vineyard, but those who can value not only the fresh grapes which ripen later than all other fruits, but also the home-made wine which helps to brighten the cheerless [251] winter days. Unfortunately, by the time the grapes are ripe, the sun has already lost its heat and raisin-drying is impossible. At least this was the only plausible explanation we could get for the fact that the Hunzukuts who dry their mulberries and apricots do not make raisins.

The vines are trained over low pergolas only 3 or 4 feet high, less frequently allowed to climb up living trees. Since the Hunzukuts greatly value shady sitting places we wondered why they did not go in for loftier pergolas like those the Persians love. The explanation is cruelly simple—they cannot spare the extra length of poles.

There were not many vineyards in Aliábád, but we located two favourably situated ones and paid several visits to each. One was many hundred feet down, at Gulkhan, below the old fort. Though the vine leaves were still green, every bunch of 273 fruit had been already cut when we came down to see the wine-making. Under the roof of an open-faced shed were three "mangers," as it were, set side by side, the two end ones stacked high with ripe grapes. There must have been 3 or 4 cwt. at least in each. The centre one was only partially full.

233 any wage in our sense of the term, but that he would certainly be getting one or two free meals a day, and thus sensibly reducing the rationing problems of his own home. Hunza sheep lamb twice a year, but the goats have kids once only, in the Spring. Khano's promotion to wage-earning status was a little sad for us, for we saw him much more rarely after that.

242 One fine morning early in March the apricot trees that line
245 the Dála just in front of our rest-house were suddenly invaded by the whole Dastagul family armed with long sticks, to the end of which a sharpened piece of curved iron had been attached. With infinite care they inspected every branch, and wherever they detected the nest of an insect they snipped down the twig on which it rested. These nests were small, cocoon-like things only about an inch long, with a nasty little grub inside. The nests clung very tight to their hospitable perch, and it was often necessary to cut quite a biggish spray in order to secure them; each was diligently collected and borne home to the fire. We were not qualified to identify the pest on which war was being waged, but it was reported to devour both leaves and fruit if not destroyed. All through the country every single apricot tree is scrupulously examined and cleared—there must be thousands. We certainly did not later see a single one that seemed to be suffering from insect attack.

563 About this time we made another addition to our re-
167 tainers—a dear old grey-bearded man with the jolliest bright
361 eyes and a merry, happy smile, but not a tooth in his head, was roped in to work at Wakhi. The Wakhis, as I have said, are immigrants into the north of Hunza from the Wakhan districts of Afghanistan. They have settled in various places above the level at which the Burusho themselves care to live. Hunza men will tell you that they cannot induce their womenfolk to live where the apricot will not ripen. I suspect, however, that the men are just as unwilling to forgo their trees and wheat and fruit, but Adam-like prefer to blame their mates. The higher villages of Hunza are therefore inhabited almost wholly by Wakhi-speakers. Being unaccustomed to wheat, apricots, or

000 the generous givers. How petty a return was a small cash gift to the child who brought them!

245 At last, as March drew to its close, the apricot buds were reddening and swelling, and the most glorious season of the year from the scenic point of view was at hand. No one who has not seen Hunza, its fields carpeted with new green, its orchards clothed with blossom and the snow mountains towering behind, can form even a feeble picture of its loveliness. The sad thing was that we were going to have to forgo the sight.

006 The next door valley of Yasin is the home of the only extant dialect of Burushaski, and if our work on the language was to be at all complete we must go and spend some weeks there, making a study, however sketchy, of "Werchikwár." Many reasons made it advisable to devote April and May to the job, of which one was that we should thus pass through Gilgit while the annual Jalsa was on. Every year all the Chiefs and Governors of the Agency gather in Gilgit for a kind of Chiefs' Conference *cum* Ascot week, over which the Political Agent presides, and since Major Kirkbride had hospitably invited us, this would give DL an opportunity of meeting old friends of his official days whom he could not hope to visit in their own provinces.

When I say "next door valley" I refer to the geographical position of Yasin on the map. The great ranges that intervene between Hunza and the Yasin valleys are, however, impassable even for goats, and in order to reach Yasin—only some fifty miles distant as the crow flies, if any crows do fly over—we should be obliged to travel down the Hunza river to Gilgit (a four days' march at our modest pace) and five days' up the Gilgit river to our goal. With much reluctance we prepared to mobilize and bid Hunza a temporary farewell.

796 First, however, there were the celebrations of Nauroz to see, which, owing to the unexplained originalities of the Hunza calendar, fell some ten days before the correct date of the Spring Equinox. Again, as for the Bopfau, the Mir worked magic on the weather, and after several cloudy, gloomy days

countryside was a hive of industry. We missed the larger 233
animals and learnt that they had already been taken up to the 241
tér for the summer, while the tiny lambs and kids who were being carefully shepherded about to get what scanty grazing they could find without trespassing into the springing crops, demanded the unceasing vigilance of their small guardians.

The most noticeable new phenomenon was the constant 137
stream of people, men or women, stooping under huge bundles 233
of greenery till they looked in truth "like trees walking." We had come back to find the poplars well clothed and bushy (for poplars), giving an unwonted air of luxury to the landscape, but now they were being ruthlessly stripped to provide fodder for the animals, half starved throughout the winter on a diet of dry leaves. Poplar, willow, and *gindówer* are all laid under contribution, but the new fodder has to be very carefully issued at first lest the poor beasts should perish of its unaccustomed succulence. I stood one day watching and photographing a minute human insect at the top of a 50 or 60 foot poplar skilfully stripping it of its spring glory and leaving only the tiniest green tuft at the top. A whole handsome row were about to be similarly shorn. In a moment of thoughtlessness I said to the peasant at my side: "They look so lovely, it does seem a pity. . . ." He turned on me almost fiercely: "What, Mother? Would you starve our beasts for the sake of a poplar tree? The leaves will come again next spring. There is no cure for a dead sheep." I stood rebuked.

No. 3 had been laying out a new vegetable plot. Apicho 244
showed me the various beds ready for beans, scarlet runners 233
(which here have yellow flowers), marrows, and greens, but confessed that manure was their great problem. They have only one cow, poor devils, and with the best will in the world one cow cannot produce enough.

The end of May is the season when new saplings of poplar, 245
willow, etc., are planted, and we occasionally met people 252
carrying off bundles of them to set in place. The mills were in action again, and such fortunate folk as had a little grain still left from their emergency store—not, after all, exhausted by weddings or funerals—were carrying pathetically small bags of
it to be ground.

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Windy weather was knocking down unripe mulberries in 233
alarming quantities, which were incontinently guzzled by the 245
goats and sheep.

By June 9th ripe mulberries were reported from Ganesh and Hasanabad, some hundreds of feet below us, but we had to wait another three weeks for ours.

One afternoon we were out on the hillside and stopped to 524
watch a group of boys playing a complicated game of *bada bada* with a lot of small stones cast into twelve little holes in the ground. It was roughly equivalent to some of our games of marbles, and thinking of a large consignment of these which we had brought with us for future gifts we ruefully realized how useless marbles would be in a country where there are not six inches of smooth, level ground. As we sat trying to master 231
the rules of *bada bada* Gulo crept up alongside me and slipped her hand confidentially into mine, whispering "Our pussy cat has had a confinement," using for fun the same term as she would have applied to her mother, and not the word suitable for cats. "There are three kittens, and they opened their eyes yesterday; do come and see them!"

When the game was over we accordingly started crosswise downhill to No. 3. I halted at the door to make sure that Zénába was prepared to endorse the impulsive invitation. She was sitting crouched by the hearth boiling the greens for dinner and jumped up with delight to bring us in. We squatted down on a sleeping-bench, from the back of which the children produced a round fruit basket in which the cat was cosily curled up. She was evidently accustomed to seeing her babies tenderly handled, for she let us take them out without other comment than a loud purr. Dear little furry things they were, about the size of small mice, and Gulo bubbled over: "She made first the black one and then the white one and then the yellow one—and that was all." Meantime, in addition to Kaníza and Apícho, a strange young man had drifted in to see what was going on, and presently Father arrived and we all chatted together very gaily. Laughing somewhat apologetically, 231
Zénába confessed that she had drawn on the emergency reserve 844
to make some *daudo* (a sort of porridge with butter) for pussy 262

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Men left at home in the village were now making pilgrimages 233
towards the *tér* to fetch down the manure that their brothers 262
up on the mountain side with the animals have been scrupulously collecting. They usually arrange to meet half way, the village brother taking up any supplies the other may need and the brother of the *tér* bringing down not only manure but butter and *brús*, a kind of preparation of dried curd not unlike cream cheese. The lads up at the *tér* have rather a jolly time. They take up only their oldest clothes, for the life is rough and the work is hard. Anywhere that there is a scrap of suitable [245] ground they plant a little barley, harnessing themselves to the plough so as not to put work on to the horses or oxen they may have with them, who are considered to have earned a holiday. Each day at dawn they loose their animals, but keep 233
a careful eye on them, and sometimes have hair-raising adventures in rescuing a beast which has fallen down a cliff. There used to be considerable danger from wild animals, but nowadays there are few of these surviving. Any family that lacks a spare son to take the animals up entrusts them to the care of some other, after a rather touching little ceremony in which the beasts are solemnly committed to the care of their new master, who is at the same time given a certain amount of grain with him as part of his fee. Milking, making butter, collecting the manure, tending the barley (if any), cooking their own food, corralling the animals at night, etc., occupy the herds the greater part of the time, but they find leisure enough for various games and feats of skill.

Every now and again they decide to supplement their scanty 262
rations—the village can spare little enough to send with them 536
—by the sacrifice of a goat and a feast of meat. The donor of 233
the beast plays for the evening the rôle of Mir, appoints another as his Wazir, and they play-act their several parts with gusto. It is frankly admitted that the animal sacrificed to make this holiday usually is one of those whose owner is not present. When eventually the boy returns, minus one of the 233
animals for which he was trustee, he formally announces the 262
regrettable "loss" to its owner. The nature of the catastrophe is fully understood but not crudely stated. A wise owner is

133
245

1. Rakapóshi in summer from Aliábád. Apricot trees in foreground. (*See p.* 80)

PLATE XXII

493

2. The sole type of wheeled vehicle in Hunza; a barrow used only in levelling fields.

(*See p.* 211)

[Facing P.288]

Water rights are regulated by law and a man can use the water from the conduit that passes his land at certain definitely established periods. The flow or shut-off is controlled by placing a large stone or rock at the opening of the channel into the individual's waterway. It may sound a bit baffling to the average individual, but upon viewing it and examining it, it is easy to understand and, what's more important, it is simple and practical. 312 [423]

Nowhere did I see these waterways covered or encased in pipes—although they did in many places run under the roadway.

As their water supply is glacier-fed, there is never any danger of a supply failing . . . at least, not in the imminent future. However, in cloudy periods the flow slackens and an extended cloudy period causes a severe water shortage.

Lest you get the idea that these conduits or waterways are a simple matter, I want to assure you that they are a marvel of engineering. Further, when you consider that the first one was built about 1860 without any man made tools or iron or steel, you can then believe what a difficult and gigantic undertaking it was. It is a monument to their industry, intelligence and foresight. At least now, they have iron picks with which to dig, rather than having to use ibex horns. [412]

Here I want to mention very definitely that the same type of waterway exists on the other side of the river . . . that is, in Nagir territory.

They do not, in any sense of the word, have orchards as we know orchards in the West, because they don't have a piece of land large enough or flat enough to compare with what we know as an orchard. In the West orchard sites are usually selected with the premeditated view of providing excellent drainage. There- 245 311

245 fore, knolls or rolling lands are preferred and gravelly,
311 sandy or light loam soils are chosen.

There are neither rolling lands nor tilthy knolls in Hunza. Here they have to take what they can get and make the best of it. The precipitous bits of arable land are terraced to prevent erosion and the flat pieces, such as there are, create no drainage problem because there is no danger of too much rain.

You will seldom see more than a few dozen fruit trees in one group or area. They are scattered here, there and everywhere and are planted only where and when they can grow to best advantage.

I would also like to mention that fruit and walnut trees are found growing almost everywhere along the roads or trails in the populated area, so no bit of arable land, no matter where it is found, is wasted.

245 I do not know if there is any dispute as to who owns the crops but all the way from Gilgit to Altit I did not find a bit of ripe fruit on the trees—which means most clearly that somebody harvests the crops at just the right time or when the fruit is at or about proper maturity.

433 From some of the larders that I examined, I gathered
251 that they certainly wouldn't have any overabundance and I further felt that, by the time winter and early spring passed and before the new crops were ready to harvest, some bellies might have thinned out and some more might even be hungry.

There was no reason for me to disbelieve the Mir when he said Hunza was the "land of just enough" but I still felt that, by the look of things, there would be many occasions when that "just enough" might have to be stretched a little. I was convinced that they certainly did not have too much of any food commodity.

142 The only two stout men that I met on my entire

sojourn through the area were the Mir's two brothers. 142
The Mir himself, while not tall, is well-built and muscular, but shows no sign of fat.

The Hunzan fruit crops, from my careful observations, are as follows: apricots, Persian walnuts, mulberries, peaches, plums, pears and cherries. These were the sweet cherries. Nowhere did I see any sign of the sour or pie cherries. 245

Further, I noticed that all of the trees of this type that I saw were old. There were not many young trees, but that is understandable because they allow a tree to grow as long as it is able to bear fruit and they have little or no new space to plant young trees.

The walnut, the mulberry and the apricot trees grow to enormous size—far stronger, broader and heavier than they ever grow in America, although I have seen huge walnut trees and huge cherry trees in the Western world. Peach, pear, plum and apple are not grown nearly as much as the other kinds mentioned.

251 them. Even apricots that were bruised, damaged or even starting to rot were put out to dry. No treatment of any kind was used . . . just simply nature at work.

245 [428] [423] An apricot tree is a most valuable asset in Hunza. It is a fact that an apricot tree is often willed to a daughter by parents and she can retain her rights to the tree and of course the crops that come from it for her lifetime.

In the Western world, the apricot is not considered a long-lived tree. In America, especially, it is considered not much longer lived than a peach or a plum and that means at the most, 25 or 30 years of life. When you take into consideration the truth that in Hunza apricot trees live to be well over 100 years, one wonders just where the difference comes in.

245 242 I really believe that I have the answer. In Hunza apricots are grown from seed. No matter where I looked or sought I could find no tree nursery in either Nagir or Hunza. (I did find a small government nursery in Gilgit.) Therefore I would assume that every Hunzan farmer grows his own trees from the planting of the apricot seeds. No doubt some Hunzan farmers are more adept at this task than others and they probably grow a few extra ones and maybe trade them for other things with their neighbors.

But, as explained, the trees here last many, many years and the orchard space or land to grow them on is very limited. Therefore, there would be little or no demand for nursery stock. I inquired wherever I went concerning grafting and I tried to establish whether or not they knew anything about the process and how much they knew, but I came up against a blank wall. I could gather no definite information. That they know how to graft and are acquainted with the process, I am sure but to what extent it is used, I could not establish.

Now the case in the Western world and specifically in America is entirely different. Most of the apricots in America are positively grafted or budded on either plum or peach rootstock. This tends to make the tree bear a crop much sooner than it would on its own roots. On a plum root the apricot tree will grow in damp soils that would not be tolerated by the apricot itself or by the apricot grown on a peach root. However, the fact that the apricot is budded on peach or plum definitely makes its life span about 30 years at the utmost. 245 242

To the best of my knowledge and belief, nowhere in America can you purchase apricot seedlings, nor are they listed by any of the wholesale nurseries or growers. This would clearly indicate that apricots are invariably grown on a foreign rootstock as mentioned above. Undoubtedly this has much to do with the longevity of the Hunzan apricot trees. In Europe apricot seedlings are available and used as the rootstock on which to graft and bud apricots, which is as it should be.

However, from my investigations, I did learn that more than 20 different kinds of apricots are known and grown in Hunza. This does prove that grafting or budding or both are known in Hunza. The fruit that I did see and eat was by no means superior to that grown in the rest of the world. In fact, if anything, it was of inferior size and quality. 245

This may come as a shock to many people who believe that everything the people of Hunza do is superior to that done anywhere else in the world. Unfortunately, I must relate things as I found them.

In America, for example, a farmer would not hesitate to remove a tree or even an orchard that was producing undersized or inferior quality fruit, because he's depending on his fruit for marketing purposes. Remember, too, in America size and yield are the two most im-

245 portant qualities desired by all fruit growers. The reason is obvious . . . because the consuming public will readily buy the larger fruits. The quality is practically always judged by appearance, not by its flavor.

For the moment I am using exactly the same yardstick in Hunza and it is upon that fact that I am making my comparison. I have discovered the reason why all travelers to Hunza report the high succulent good flavor of the Hunzan apricot, and the explanation is simple. Invariably, when you eat an apricot in Hunza, it has been tree-ripened or you pick it directly from the tree and eat it and it is at its pinnacle of flavor and goodness, whereas in America, when you buy apricots, whether at a fruit stall or supermarket, that selfsame apricot might have been picked two weeks prior when it was green and ripened artificially or at least ripened away from its parent. Therefore, no comparison in flavor can be made.

Another valid reason for the popularity, or should I say necessity, of growing apricots in that mountainous region is because the apricot is one of the first trees to ripen its fruit. Apricots as a rule mature with cherries. However, the cherry requires a much shorter period from blossom to fruit and to make up this period, the apricot blooms very early. In fact, it is generally conceded to be the first of all tree fruits to show its flowers. A few warm sunny days in the early spring will bring out the apricot blossoms in their full charm and beauty.

It is seldom that they get through their blossoming period without frost of lighter or greater degree striking them, whether it be in Hunza or Niagara. But the apricot blooms, even though beautiful and tender of look, are really rugged and hardy, can take the cold weather and mature large crops of delicious fruit in spite of the chilly, frosty weather at blossoming time.

Among people—yes, even experienced old-time gardeners and orchardists—there are many who believe that pollination by bees is required in all cases to set a crop of fruit. For many types of fruit and plants, this holds true; pollination by bees or other insects is essential. But in the case of the apricot and many others, wind pollination is the means that nature employs, and actually it is safer and surer than pollination by insects. Rain is also an effective pollinator, contrary to many people's conception and belief. I believe I would be safe in stating that wind pollination is the means of fertilizing more plants than can be claimed for bees and other insects combined. 245

All Hunzans own their own land and house. They pay no rent or taxes. Each citizen does his share of road building, taking care of the water channels and maintenance. The Mir leases his land to various individuals, most of them young people who as yet own no land of their own, or those who have insufficient for their needs. They pay him by means of services rendered and shares of the crops. 423 651 [653] 427 643

roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked. 252 262

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness. 372 313

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, mid-season and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering. 245 262

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions. 262

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays. [556] [231]

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards. 565 423 556

262 A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of work-
556 able land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep,
231 a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

273 Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from
245 Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

415 Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are
[412] not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

352 The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large
354 square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept
164 partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

439 At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza
437 and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

220 During the past few years a bit of money has come

123 huge fine quality products that I was told they were. I
241 admit here further that I was in Hunza in July and the
177 later, perhaps the better, varieties were not available or ripe yet. But upon questioning the various people, there was no information given to me that indicated the later maturing kinds were superior to the earlier ones.

So as in vegetables and grains, their fruit could be greatly improved by adopting some of the Western varieties. This could easily be done by having budwood sent to them and they in turn would graft this budwood onto their young stock.

I have made arrangements with the Mir of Hunza and the P.A. at Gilgit to supply them with this required grafting wood at the proper time, and it will be duly sent to them, so that in the future they may have some of the benefit of the West's hybridization and research program. I took along with me a few of the best budding knives that I could procure and I left two with the P.A. at Gilgit and the others with the Mir of Hunza and I explained their use.

245 In talking with the Mir about the planting of new varieties and improved strains, he claimed that his people did graft and seek new varieties and strains, but from the little time I had to inspect things, I did not see any young trees or any great number of grafts that would indicate this being a widely practiced policy. I found nothing resembling a nursery in Hunza or Nagir, but there was a small, unimpressive nursery run by the Pakistani government in Gilgit. Maybe this is the forerunner of bigger and better things to come.

241 There appears to be no central source of seed supply in Hunza. It seems that each farmer saves seeds for next year's crops or barters with his neighbor. In some
[643] years, when, because of any one of many conditions

that may exist or be created in an agricultural community, no seed is available, the Mir has been known to procure supplies from neighboring states and supply his people with sufficient planting stock. 241 643

While through the entire East cow dung and yak dung are used for fuel, in Hunza this is positively not true. The Hunzans are too intelligent to use the mainstay of their lives for fuel. Once it is burned it is gone; but if it is put back into the land, it is there to produce crops for another year. They show their intelligence, if proof of their intelligence is needed, by this one sound principle of self-survival in their means of agriculture. 241 372

However, in the more northerly sections of Hunza, closer to the Chinese border, they do use yak dung for fires because of the almost total lack of wood or other types of fuel. They just have to keep themselves warm during the winter.

Here is a list of the vegetables grown in Hunza—potatoes, turnips, carrots, beans, peas, lettuce, pumpkins, tomatoes, melons, watermelons, radishes, onions, cabbage, spinach, cauliflower. 244

In fruits there are mulberries, apricots, apples, pears, peaches, grapes, walnuts, almonds, a few plums and some cherries. 245

Grapes are grown fairly extensively because they can plant them against most any wall, as long as they have a bit of soil in which to gain a foothold for their roots. From these grapes they make their Hunzan wine. [273]

They grow a few strawberries, but I could find no currants, gooseberries, raspberries—nor did they know what raspberries were.

The grains grown in Hunza, starting from the most important, are wheat, barley, rye, millet, buckwheat and a small quantity of rice. Some alfalfa is grown as a forage crop. 243 246

However, I did stop often enough on plant examinations so that I was always a few miles behind my friend, Cec, who was not concerned with the flora. 123 137

I want you to understand that I did not do an exhaustive detailed study of the flora of the Hunza district. I am sure there are many, many more plants in the area than I have indicated or found. I just examined what I happened to pass and see. I definitely did not go out and search for specimens away from the beaten path.

You can take my word for it, the vegetation under any and all circumstances is definitely not spectacular. However, any of the plants that are found growing in this area most certainly should be hardy enough and virile enough to do well in most other parts of the arable world. 137

It is my belief that the flora of the Hunza Valley is neither varied nor numerous, apart from the fruit and nut trees which are in most cases not indigenous. The apricot, though, could be native to that part of the world . . . at least, that is what I gathered from my studies and observations.

Apricots were grown in the greatest number, followed by mulberry, walnuts, apples, plums, peaches and pears. Here and there I came upon a pomegranate tree. These, I am positive, are indigenous to the surrounding area, if not to Hunza. [245]

The trees that I passed most frequently on the roads and trails and in the towns were eucalyptus, willow, birch, poplar and the oriental plane, sometimes called sycamore and known in Hunza as the "chenar" tree. I believe these are all native to the vicinity.

I was disappointed, surprised and even shocked to find the area completely devoid of conifers or evergreen trees. I saw one pine tree in the P.A.'s garden in

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

744 processes are unknown and unused: chlorination, pasteurization, hydrogenation, inoculation, fluoridation.

262 The single most important food, as used by the people of Hunza, consists of dried apricots and whole ground grain mixed together to form a toddy or a gruel. This is actually drunk cold and is enjoyed by all members of the family. It is usually partaken of during the late afternoon or early evening.

Their other important foods consist of the following: potatoes, garlic, beans, peas, carrots, tomatoes and some leafy vegetables. In fruits, they have mulberries, apples, walnuts and a few plums, pears and cherries. Grapes are used chiefly for making wine.

They grow a fairly broad selection of grains: millet, wheat, barley, rye, buckwheat and a little rice. Lucerne [231] or alfalfa is generally used for cattle fodder.

[245] The Persian Walnut is the chief nut grown in the area. Almonds are raised, and their cultivation is increasing. A fair quantity of apricot kernels are used.

Ghee is used for baking and as a spread on their chapatties or bread—the oven-baked loaf. Sour milk, buttermilk and curd are a regular part of the diet.

Meat does not form an important part of the Hunzan way of life.

Most foods are consumed raw. The lack of wood or other heating materials probably accounts for the paucity of cooked foods in their culinary art.

147 There are practically no cases of overweight among the people of Hunza. The importance of this factor cannot be overestimated.

000 The path to health is a simple, easy-to-follow road. It is the most natural way in the world to the people of Hunza. However, to follow a similar path in America would involve complications, difficulties and many frustrations.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

Hunzan fruits taste better than those of other parts of the world. Most travelers who reach Hunza invariably state that the apricots and other fruits found there are much better flavored than those found in other parts of the world. I did not find this to be true. 245

Because they do not grow fruits for export or shipping, they can be tree-ripened. Therefore they have a better flavor than fruit that has to be picked in a green or unripened state. It is this fact that makes many people believe that Hunzan fruits taste better than the fruit they are accustomed to eating.

I happen to live in a part of the world where fruit is grown extensively and I must state categorically that Hunzan fruit does not taste any better than that grown on the farms adjacent to my home. Here, also, it must be admitted that most of the fruit I eat, especially during the fruit season, is also tree-ripened.

The people of Hunza are ignorant and uneducated. From my association with the people of Hunza, I must state boldly that they are neither ignorant nor uneducated. 871

There are schools of the same type as our grade schools in every large center in Hunza. It is admitted that only the male children are taught in these schools and there is no formal education offered to girls. This school system is entirely free and has been in existence for more than 25 years. It is emphasized that the native language of the people of Hunza is Burushaski and it is an unwritten language. However. they teach Urdu, Persian and other essential subjects. The intelligence and the abilities of the natives of Hunza rank with those found throughout the world.

The people are fierce and dangerous. There have been only 3 cases of murder recorded in Hunza in the 682

[P44-A]

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[796] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two; cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
● 248 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apri-cot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as
[762] bitters, to their wine, and occasionally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
through which two parallel rods are threaded; the hinge is a longer
335 piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold
and lintel; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
duce more Europeanised doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort
322 of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old,
home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and inde-
pendent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully
291 terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the
skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the
415 cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now
considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water
carried in skins; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and
stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are
woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very
415 scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root
of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown
primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for
baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying
apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and
dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little
but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also
233 the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-
irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such
weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human
consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty
provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not
one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble,
and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families
command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

names of things, so she took up the good work: "That's our roof; that thing sticking out is a cross rafter," and "That's our ladder." Presently we came to the corner of her square, stone house, the wall of which rose straight from the water-channel, and there we found her father and a couple of small boys. We crossed a tiny two-trunk bridge to talk to them at the door, and papa was evidently much pleased that we had taken notice of the two small girls. Mother and an auntie[1] were sitting a little farther back under some fine mulberry trees splitting apricots, which they were going to spread presently on a big boulder or on the roof to dry. Everywhere we looked boulders and roofs were decorated with glorious golden-pink pools of drying apricots.

I slipped over to the women while David continued to chat to the master of the house. With luck the dried apricots would last them all through the winter, for this had been a good year. The apricot stones they were keeping carefully as they worked. Presently the children would crack them between stones and the kernels would be hoarded. Eaten with dried apricots they make a delicious almond-and-raisin dessert for feast days or offerings to guests, while a good proportion of them must be pounded by the women till the oil is squeezed out that will give their sole indoor light. If by good luck there is any oil to spare, it makes a prized unguent for the hair and most families contrive to have enough to sleek their plaits or fringes for great occasions. This cheery family bade us a friendly good-bye as we moved on, and a little farther along the channel, which was now making a curved sweep round, we saw a man standing in a reaped field below us. This crop had been lucerne, he said; he gets two crops of it off one field each season. David told him how they get seven or eight crops in Persia, but consider the first crop bad for the animals (for some reason which we never discovered). He was much interested, and said they did not notice any difference in the wholesomeness of their first and second crop: Hunza animals are not encouraged to be faddy. Presently we came to a fine, walled-in mulberry orchard on our left and climbed up into a sloping field where a slight crop of grass was growing between boulders. We sat down to

1 [of Kaniza, a Burushe child--Analyst]

857 tarily empty field, playing team games of tipcat or chucking stones at a mark—they have dozens of admirable games, with rules strictly adhered to—the small ones sit about and look on or amuse themselves dabbling in water if there is any or making mud-pies. A group of youngsters were playing round me one day when a tiny girl unaccountably took fright and set up a terrified howl. A big boy stooped to comfort her: "There, there, don't cry, don't be afraid," he said soothingly, and wrapped his cloak round her to shut out whatever was the disturbing sight (I rather think it was I), and patted her reassuringly. "That will be your little sister?" said I. "No, no," was the answer, "I don't know really whose kid it is."

246 As autumn approaches and no further growth can be hoped
241 from the grass, these mountain meadows are painstakingly reaped, *cut* this time, with the blunt iron sickles—for the roots must be left for next year—and the tiny bunches of grass tied up. There will be a few longer, tougher stalks in each double handful, and these are doubled back over the shorter ones and the bundle tied twice, once at the base where it is fattest, and once near the top where the bent heads are caught. These bundles are then laid out in the sun—a benevolent accessory to harvest that never faileth—and gathered in to form part of the winter fodder. Then follows an incredible sight: every inch of the mountain side is painstakingly swept by the Nímos and Shamúlis, whose besoms are minute thorn bushes. Every pellet of sheep or goat, every half inch of stubbly grass above the root is garnered into the tiny shoulder baskets and added to the manure. When you have seen one strip of ground thus treated you might think the job was done; not a bit of it. A few days later Nímo and Shamúli are at it again and yet again, till not one speck of animal or vegetable matter remains. You can imagine that there is no need when walking round Hunza to "pick your steps" as in an English meadow.

233 Every individual leaf, from garden or orchard, from watercourse or steep hill-garden, is similarly swept up and stored; these dry leaves are the staple winter food for the stalled beasts —no wonder the milk lacks cream-content and the sheep is bare of fat! No wonder that I shudder now to see our autumn

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648 ous, the Russians have infiltrated Afghanistan. Therefore, Hunza is now completely hemmed in by what I would call the bamboo, the iron and the stone curtains.

I can't visualize where the Mir has too much to fear from Communist aggression. From what I have seen and learned, the Communists like their spots plush, soft and succulent. None of these conditions exist in Hunza!

The Communists like locations where they can eventually, if not immediately, take out more than they put in. That would never take place in Hunza. Then, too, people who have chosen to live on the north bank of the Hunza River would not be easily shackled [643] or enslaved. Admittedly, the Mir is an absolute monarch but there are no signs of that type of rule in evidence anywhere in Hunza. There's a parallel in England. While England has a queen, a monarch whom the people respect and revere, whom they would follow in life and in death, the monarch would never make demands on her people.

I do not believe there is a more democratic nation on the face of the globe than Great Britain . . . and that includes the United States or other republics. I believe the same situation holds true in Hunza.

Another point to be considered by possible invaders is . . . What would they gain besides possible armed conflicts with Pakistan and perhaps India?

[353] No, I would suggest that Hunza is comparatively safe from communist aggression and the Mir can afford to have the communist propaganda pictures on the walls of his summer bungalow in Altit as a gesture of friendship.

• 247 The yard or garden around the bungalow[1] was aglow
177 with flowers of every description and hue imaginable.

1 [ie. of the Mir - ANALYST]

They were obviously of American or European origin . . . probably grown from seeds that someone had sent him. Plants like zinnias, snapdragons and asters were readily recognizable. 247 177

Then, I was very much surprised to see in front of the bungalow, of all things, a swimming pool . . . and the youth of the district were swimming and enjoying themselves to the fullest possible extent. They were shouting, laughing, splashing and cavorting about just as you would expect boys and girls to do in any swimming pool in America. They displayed the same reckless abandon, glee and happiness that our children do. 529 643 [644]

At this time I thought to myself that here was another mark of the Mir's bigness. He was allowing the children of the town to make full use of his personal family swimming pool. This was quite different from what most people expect of eastern potentates.

I'm not sure that this little incident impresses you but I assure you I was quite impressed by it. It added to my conviction that the people of Hunza were really free and democratic.

A little way off were our yaks and their guides. "Let's go," I said to Jahangir and Sultan Ali, making straight for the yaks. "The Mir and Cec will be waiting for us, so I guess we'd best be off." 000

I selected the larger of the two yaks because I'm quite a bit heavier, or almost twice as heavy as Jahangir. I was assisted on to the yak's back and the yak didn't seem to be too happy about it! For the first time since I'd been riding, which wasn't very long, I felt really comfortable. The well-padded broad back of the animal was delightful to sit on and, best of all, he had a western style saddle. I'm always afraid of falling off a horse with those English saddles because I've got nothing to hold on to except the reins and for my kind of 492

137 I've tried to locate it in my botanical encyclopedias but so far have met with failure. It appeared to be an annual but such a robust growing annual I have never known before in my life. (It could have been an herbaceous perennial—I'm not 100% certain. But I do know it started from the surface because there was no old wood or old stems on any of the thousands of plants that I saw and the hundreds that I examined closely.

If you know the winter creeper, or euonymus, then you can quickly understand what this fog plant looked like. It seemed to thrive in practically any location that would give succor to a living plant. In some places it was small and compact. In other locations it grew large and sprawling. It grew out of the rocks and hung down. It grew against the sides of the mountains and climbed up. It resembled, in many instances, a low growing shrub, but it was entirely void of wood. In other cases it grew erect and in still other places I found it sprawling around the ground in a wide area, making an excellent ground cover.

It is my estimate that I did not come across more than 30 different types of perennials or annual herbs. I am sure you will agree that it is understandable that the flora of this area would not be wide or tremendous.

133 Undoubtedly the valleys along the Nagir side were more lush, looked better and were larger than the cultivated areas along the Hunza side. One of the reasons for this condition is the fact that the Hunza side is more precipitous and the walls of the canyon or mountains are steeper and more sheer, leaving less opportunity for soil to accumulate, be cultivated and grow plants.

247 In the homes, from my observations, and I made careful study of this aspect, I did not see a sign of one

single house plant. This applies to the Nagir side as well. Of course this is readily understandable when you realize that they have no glass or light. The only light they would have in a Hunzan home would be the bit that streaks in from the hole in the roof or through the doorway. This lack of light would not be conducive to growing plants indoors. 247 [354]

I recognized and found one lone dandelion plant and believe me, when I found it, my heart was glad, gladder than it would have been if I'd found a beautiful rose. It has always been my belief and contention that dandelions are found where'er plant life can survive and this plant bore out (to a degree) my lifelong contention. As long as a dandelion can be found, one need not fear starvation. The greens of the dandelion, especially when young and tender, make delicious salads . . . but remember, be sure to get the young tender shoots. The roots are roasted and ground, and they make a beverage that some authorities say is as good as coffee. The root can also be used the same as parsnips. Herbalists prescribe dandelion coffee for dyspepsia, gout and rheumatism and they claim, with sincerity, that it possesses most beneficial properties for such ailments. It is also recommended by the herbalists for kidney and liver disorders and Potter says it is perhaps one of the most generally prescribed remedies . . . "It may be given in any form but its beneficial action is best obtained when combined with other agents." Now besides all the above virtues, its flowers and milky stalks make delicious wine. 137 000

This one single lone dandelion—the only one I saw on my trek—had caught a foothold in a crevice of a rock and was growing on this steep wall. I felt like embracing it and pressing it to my heart. But if I had, 137 000

would lead us home. A happy man he looked, though he told us that his back ached nowadays at work with lathe or plough, as it never used to do, and perhaps we had English medicines that would meet the case. We could only offer the sad tidings that we too, when we walked or rode or worked, were subject to fatigue and aches undreamt of in younger days, and that even in England the doctors knew no medicines to defeat on-coming age. This, oddly, seemed to comfort him a lot: "We're all ageing together then," he said, and we all three laughed a vain defiance at the years, "and we old ones have more skill and experience than the others, haven't we?"

Apart from their never-ending spinning the women have many valuable crafts, though they are less spectacular than the men's. They all bake a large variety of bread and scones from their blent flour—not only grains being pressed into the service, but pounded mulberries, walnuts, peas and beans, and semi-wild berries—and when *maltash* is available they make cakes and pastries of a dozen kinds. The vegetable patches are in their care, and amongst their many greens, their gourds, cucumbers and marrows, they tend a lot of plants whose seeds or leaves or flowers are valued as flavourings, and grow a little flax and mustard to supplement their apricot oil. In spring their plots are lit with the large blossoms of many-coloured poppies, whose seeds are not wasted on opium but scattered into the vegetable pot. They also grow small quantities of maize as a vegetable, but they do not consider it profitable as a major crop. The kinder-hearted find a corner for tobacco for the men's pipes, which circulate of an evening in the shade when the day's work is done and someone tinkles a zither or tootles on a flute. These instruments are home-made like everything else, and are often very beautifully finished; we were neither of us qualified to judge of the music the players conjured up. To our unskilled ears it sounded amateurish, but eminently cheerful and pleasing. Serious music of drum and pipe and kettledrum is the monopoly of the Béricho. When the women weed their crops they sort out the dandelion, stitchwort, and sorrel for their own brews before throwing the residue to the cow. And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots,

114 585 "I said it as a joke," replied the Mir. "I had no knowledge that it would be so widely publicized and written and taken as a fact. I did not mean to mislead the writers you mentioned."

"Then it is not true!"

"No," replied the Mir, "I meant it only as a joke!"

643 115 522 There was no doubt in my mind that the Mir had a keen sense of humor. In fact, through all my talks and discussions with the Mir which were frequent, there was seldom a time when he would pass by an opportunity for a bit of witticism or to laugh and have a bit of fun. He was just about as pleasant a man as could be found anywhere. He was not only a great ruler but he had a sense of humor. It was too bad that the writers referred to took him seriously. Maybe it was one of their bad days.

•249 "Do you grow poppies here?" I asked the Mir bluntly and more or less out of the clear blue sky. I put this question to the Mir for a most definite reason.

On a few occasions I saw what I believed to be a field of flowers waving in the distance. But I wasn't sure. Invariably these patches of color were a mile or many miles away. I wondered what they were but I never could get close enough to see them. They were always sighted at great distance from where the road lay.

[123] You might ask why I didn't definitely, once and for all, set out across the field and find out. But remember, when you're in a more or less strange unusual territory, you just don't go off across the fields into someone else's private property.

All told, I doubt if I saw more than half a dozen of these patches of color during the full length of my travels. There might have been many more but I certainly didn't see them and I have an idea that if they

were there, they would have been noticed. 249

It is also possible that from a distance of one or two miles, one might confuse a field of alfalfa hay or barley or wheat and, with golden heads when ripe and the sun's rays striking them, what was grain might resemble flowers, but I think I am well enough versed in plant lore to be able to make the distinction.

I want my readers to bear in mind also that most of my traveling from Gilgit to Baltit was done on Nagir territory.

The reason these bits of color were most conspicuous was obviously because of the practically total absence of anything that resembled flowers—or a bit of brightness.

The Mir answered my question about the growing of poppies as follows, "Yes, some of our farmers are growing poppies but I am going to put a stop to it." 249 276 656

I waited for him to continue with keen interest.

"It appears," he went on, "that some of the people have begun to take to smoking opium . . . and fearing this insidious bad habit will take root, I'm going to ban the growing of this plant."

I did not mention it to him then or since, but somehow I had overheard (perhaps at one of the parties in Gilgit where a group of the roundabout notables had gathered) that opium had been drifting in from some locations and commanding fairly good prices. It also struck me that the Chinese border, being close at hand, might prove to be a very appropriate market for the produce that they would get from the poppy plants.

I did not ask if there were any restrictions against the producing of opium, apart from the fact that the Mir was going to ban it for protection of his people. I do not know whether anyone could prevent the Hunzans or the Nagirwals from growing these colorful plants.

249 plants. Of one thing I was sure and that was that they weren't growing them for the beauty of the flowers.

Now in my strolls and walks about Hunza, I didn't get very far above Altit. Who knows? Maybe a large quantity of poppies are grown further along the river. But actually I doubt it very much.

124 Breakfast was now completed. I was eating alone, of course, in this instance. The Mir and Rani were just keeping me company. I thanked the Rani for her kindness, bowed to her and took my leave with the Mir.

681 which people were exiled and as officers were continually asking me what sort of place it was, I determined to go there and see for myself. The track there
491 was very bad indeed and in two places there were goat hair bridges which were very unpleasant to cross. A ring of wood was used and the traveler was drawn from one bank to the other and if he wore a beard most of the hairs were dragged out on the way. . . .

643 "My father[1] had six wives, three of which were of the
595 ruling classes and three from the Zemindaris. All however, were married to him according to the law and so he left behind no bastards."

276 The Mir told me that of late some of the young boys
177 have taken to smoking cigarettes. This they have picked up and learned from the Hunzan men who have been serving in the Pakistani army. Cigarettes can be pur-
685 chased in the shop in Baltit and a few occasions of
276 petty theft have been encountered. In each case it
[443] seems that they stole in order to get money to buy cigarettes. These few petty crimes of course did not
[681] involve ostracism to Shimshal. It is expected that this condition will continue or even become aggravated as the youth of Hunza become more familiar and acquainted with smoking. Some of the men in Hunza smoke the "hookah" which we know as the water-pipe.

• 249 Some forms and varieties of tobacco have been tried
123 in Hunza. I promised to send the Mir seeds of the various types of tobacco that we grow in America, such as Virginia, Burley and Quesnel. Perhaps if they can learn to grow tobacco, it will enable the youth to get their hands on some tobacco and satisfy their craving for it without resorting to other ways and means. However, they would have to get paper from somewhere for none is made or improvised in Hunza.

674 It is obvious from what I have seen, that crime and

[1] [ie - the father of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan - ANALYST]

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

companions who came down with us to Kashmir to observe peasants ploughing with *oxen* (whose wants could be less completely met) and without a dung dish! 243 262

When the corn is fully threshed, the winnowing begins in cooperation with a light breeze. Next the winnowed grain is passed through a coarse sieve (barakbèsh) whose mesh is composed of thin leather thongs which retain any particles of straw, and it is finally tossed in a finer sieve (gherbèl) which retains the grain and lets the dust through. The grain is then loaded into great skin-sacks and carried off to store. The due amount required for seed-grain is set aside first, and not the utmost extremity of hunger would induce a Hunza peasant to encroach thereoff. Next, emergencies are budgeted for—births, weddings, dues such as rent (if any) and hospitality, which includes deaths in *other* homes, for relatives and friends would be disgraced if a bereaved family had themselves to bake during the first seven days of mourning. What then remains, represents the year's supply. 243 261 251

Ripe millet is treated by being beheaded, and the ears may then be threshed by cows or beaten with poles according to quantity. The buckwheats are beaten only, even small children merrily cooperating half in fun, half in earnest to show their prowess. 248

Grain for current use is carried to the mill in sacks or bags of skin. The mill-house is a picturesque cube of stone and mud situated beside a convenient irrigation channel. It may possess one wheel or two. The wheel is a vertical oblong of tree trunk, fitted with 10 or 12 wooden wings; the lower end of its axis is supported on a horizontal pole, the upper fitted into a central hole in the upper millstone. The water is led on to it by a steeply sloping hollowed log. The inside of the mill, lighted only from the door, is fitted with a cross rafter built into the walls on to which the hopper is ingeniously hung by a forked segment of tree. The hopper itself consists of a section of log, tapered and hollowed out. Attached by a string to the small tray below the aperture in the base of the hopper, is a loose clapper which is gently agitated by the rotation of the upper millstone on which it rests, this shakes the tray and encourages a steady flow of grain. The flour as ground is ejected into a hollow trough. Near by, a wooden pole, impaled on a horizontal wooden pin, projects up through the earthen floor. Each end of the pin rests on a 'Heath-Robinson' pile of stones and a simple adjustment of its height regulates the position of the lower millstone and thus the coarseness or fineness of the flour desired. The mill, the loom and the comparatively new-fangled lathe are the only [543] 402

252 yeast and cooked on a griddle, like small, thin pancakes. Zaidu made them as of course, since they are the normal local food, and we had a few fresh for every meal (they are horrid stale). Their great merit is that they can be eaten without butter or 262 jam. This was a great advantage, for butter was a problem. 234 The tinned butter we brought with us for the road all went bad—you could not blame it in that heat—and butter in our sense of the word is unknown in Hunza.

There was fortunately a little cow's milk to be had, but the cows get so little to eat that their milk has not much butter-content. A really good Hunza cow yields at most a quart of milk a day after she has fed her calf, and she only gives milk at all for a month or two after the calf is born. So [415] milk is no part of the regular local diet. The people normally milk into a gourd, which makes an excellent jug, but has the [372] drawback that there is no ready way of cleaning it. Where fuel is so scarce no one could boil water merely to scald milk-vessels, and the method is to hold the gourd over the smoke of the fire. This seems to be perfectly wholesome, but it gives a gruesome taste to the milk, already sufficiently tainted with memories of yesterday, last week, last year. So we would send one of our people with a clean aluminium bucket and get the cow milked straight into that. In this way we procured as much as we needed for tea and coffee and puddings, but of course not enough to make butter from, as we had been accustomed to do in Gilgit. Fresh butter proved to be an unattainable luxury. The local butter, which they call *maltash*, is much prized; there is so little of it that it is kept strictly for feast days and great occasions. Their chief chance of making it is from the goats' milk when the men have the animals up at the summer pastures. They make it day by day, a little at a time, and when they have collected about two pounds they shape it into a ball, wrap it in birch-bark, tie it up with strips torn from the roots of juniper, and then bring it home to [251] store. With luck one good she-goat will provide two balls of *maltash* per season. It is then stored in a tiny stone larder under the nearest water-channel to keep it damp and cool, and thence produced when wanted. Even when quite fresh it tastes very

600 names of things, so she took up the good work: "That's our roof; that thing sticking out is a cross rafter," and "That's our ladder." Presently we came to the corner of her square, stone house, the wall of which rose straight from the water-channel, and there we found her father and a couple of small boys. We crossed a tiny two-trunk bridge to talk to them at the door, and papa was evidently much pleased that we had taken notice
● 251 of the two small girls. Mother and an auntie[1] were sitting a little farther back under some fine mulberry trees splitting apricots, which they were going to spread presently on a big boulder or on the roof to dry. Everywhere we looked boulders and roofs were decorated with glorious golden-pink pools of drying apricots.

252 I slipped over to the women while David continued to chat
354 to the master of the house. With luck the dried apricots would
302 last them all through the winter, for this had been a good year. The apricot stones they were keeping carefully as they worked. Presently the children would crack them between stones and the kernels would be hoarded. Eaten with dried apricots they make a delicious almond-and-raisin dessert for feast days or offerings to guests, while a good proportion of them must be pounded by the women till the oil is squeezed out that will give their sole indoor light. If by good luck there is any oil to spare, it makes a prized unguent for the hair and most families contrive to have enough to sleek their plaits or fringes for
246 great occasions. This cheery family bade us a friendly good-bye as we moved on, and a little farther along the channel, which was now making a curved sweep round, we saw a man standing in a reaped field below us. This crop had been lucerne, he said; he gets two crops of it off one field each season. David told him how they get seven or eight crops in Persia, but consider the first crop bad for the animals (for some reason which we never discovered). He was much interested, and said they did not notice any difference in the wholesomeness of their first and second crop: Hunza animals are not encouraged to be
000 faddy. Presently we came to a fine, walled-in mulberry orchard on our left and climbed up into a sloping field where a slight crop of grass was growing between boulders. We sat down to

1 [of Kaniza, a Burushe child--Analyst]

342 after a day or two the stone-and-mud walls have dried to the same appearance of timeless indestructibility as those of fifty or one hundred years ago. We passed first, as always, through a small byre, not yet inhabited by its cow; then at right angles through a dark, narrow passage 5 or 6 feet long, and then through the low hall-door into the house itself. Your main object in building a house at all is to be as warm and free from draughts as possible during the "Great Cold," and no one in his senses would let his hall-door open straight on to the wind-swept mountain side. Hence the byre ante-room, which not only defeats the direct outside air, but contributes something of animal warmth to the human warmth within.

291 When we emerged into the living-room (the *atrium*, as it
291 were), beautifully bright with light from the smoke-hole, we
352 were standing in a shallow trough below the floor level where the newcomer kicks off his muddy boots in winter. Most people at all well-to-do wear soft home-made boots up to their knees in winter-time. But skins are precious and, however cold the weather, they take their boots *off* to save them when they come to an extra rough bit of ground. This entrance place has in it the "musicians' bench," under which are stored the family basin and similar utensils and on which is piled a store of firewood.

342 The floor of the room is a small square of hard-beaten earth
[352] which in this gloriously dry climate remains admirably clean; and roughly in the centre of it is a shallow hole, edged with four stone kerbs, which is the hearth. Behind the hearth is a low bench sacred to the lady of the house, the presiding genius
343 of indoors. Beside it she sits to do or superintend the cooking
● 251 and behind her is a low wooden door opening into the store-
[414] room; the home-made wooden key of which hangs always on her person. The store-room runs the whole width and height of the house. It has need to be a roomy place, for here stand the skin sacks of grain, the heaped baskets of potatoes, apples, dried mulberries and apricots, the kernels, the wool, the stone wine-jars, the jars of apricot oil, the basket of savoury herbs—all the family's supplies for a twelvemonth, which it is her duty to guard and to apportion.

Chapter 23

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

132 No climate could be more delightful than the autumn and early winter of Hunza, from October till far on in December, and the Burusho make the most of these bracing, genial days, hurrying to get through every sort of outdoor job before the six or eight weeks of the "Great Cold."

245 Not by any means every household can spare water, manure, or space for a vineyard, but those who can value not only the fresh grapes which ripen later than all other fruits, but also the home-made wine which helps to brighten the cheerless [251] winter days. Unfortunately, by the time the grapes are ripe, the sun has already lost its heat and raisin-drying is impossible. At least this was the only plausible explanation we could get for the fact that the Hunzukuts who dry their mulberries and apricots do not make raisins.

The vines are trained over low pergolas only 3 or 4 feet high, less frequently allowed to climb up living trees. Since the Hunzukuts greatly value shady sitting places we wondered why they did not go in for loftier pergolas like those the Persians love. The explanation is cruelly simple—they cannot spare the extra length of poles.

There were not many vineyards in Aliábád, but we located two favourably situated ones and paid several visits to each. One was many hundred feet down, at Gulkhan, below the old fort. Though the vine leaves were still green, every bunch of 273 fruit had been already cut when we came down to see the wine-making. Under the roof of an open-faced shed were three "mangers," as it were, set side by side, the two end ones stacked high with ripe grapes. There must have been 3 or 4 cwt. at least in each. The centre one was only partially full.

No. XXXIX.

Harvesting.

In Hunza first they thresh the harvested barley. Having done 539% so they collect (the grain) and make some thin bread and a cake 243 of thick bread. Then they take big bags to the threshing floor and fill them (with the grain).

As they fill them they say thus: "I crave a blessing from the Diqōni Pīr. In the name of God! O God! Fill my belly, O God! Fill me full, O God! Grant the blessing of Ishkāshum, O God!" Saying (these words) they fill the bag.

Two men do the filling. One man holds (up) the mouth of the 539% bag and the other fills it. They make all the others hide them- 243 selves. Then the two men, when they have filled (the bags), call 251 to the (concealed men) and bring them up, and the latter, coming up say: "You have brought prosperity!" And the filler replies: "(It is due to your) luck and fortune!"

Then they have some food and bring the bags to the house and empty them into the grain-bin. Subsequently they bring in the wheat harvest too, and then the buckwheat. And, setting aside wheat and barley for seed-grain and for funeral rites, they take

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11 *bowe* — not recorded elsewhere; it is perhaps for *bowe* a possible plural form of *bo*. *wōji gowr* — exactly corresponds to Shina *gor fāba* inverted. It is glossed Hindustani *orgr pīche* which confirms the natural identification with the words *-ōji and *gor* but does not elucidate the sense in which they are used. Compare the term *-ōsi.ain (Vocab. *-ōsi) also meaning 'funeral rites' which also seem to contain the idea of 'after', 'following'.

The grain is distributed as alms, *mirwī*, after a death.

61b n'o·usin, diłaki d'i·us sa·atse yai.iŋki n'ɛtan, da sermutaiŋar nikin d'o·ɣasar yai.iŋale tauča·n.

Yai.iŋgu·inar sermuta kr hičuti pā giyas dastu·r bila. Han pāti.an ke er ečа·n.

5 Ho do·r dusu·n taaγurer nikri·n utiŋata 'utsičа·n. N'o·tais taaγurate taγay ne fat ečа·n.

Datumu (ečer (or, (ičer) uγ'urki 'i·tai dorčа·n. Ho Tumeskiliŋar heri.e taaγurtse u.i·itse ečа·n. Gur·umo gu·re taaγurtse u.i·itse ečа·n.

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1 yai.iŋki n'ɛtan — glossed "sifting", but literally: "making it millable, i. e. fit for grinding".

4 er ečа·n — in such cases it is not easy to decide whether ečа·n is to be taken literally 'they make', 'prepare' or in some specialised sense such as 'they allot', 'assign', 'present'.

6 taγay ne — the mash is made in some way to render the bin air-tight, whether by sealing the junction of the lid and body or plastering over the whole article must depend on the exact nature of the *taγar* of which I am not informed.

the year's food supply out (of the bin) and they sift it in the sun. Then they put it into bags and take it away to the mill to be ground.

It is the custom to ladle out a *hichuti* (2 or 3 lbs. of grain) per bag for the miller, and they also make for him one piece of bread.

Then when they have ground it they bring it back and pour it into the bin and stamp it down with their feet, after which they seal the bin with mud and leave it.

They grind separately their daily rations for consumption during autumn, and then at the Tūmishèling they begin on the barley bin and in spring they begin on the wheat bin.

In Gilgit grain is kept in a *hidsi* consisting of a wattle frame which is plastered over with mud. In Persia large clay vessels *zum* are used for similar purposes. The mouth is closed with a lid and the junction is sealed with mud.

7 *ʒiċor* — if the idea in the mind is "flour"; *ʒiċor*, if it is bread.

ɯ'ɔrzki — v. Vocab. s. v. *-ɣrzki.

1. *pfɪrʌn*, *pfɪrʌ·n*, pl. *pfɪr'aiyo* x spider. — *pfɪrʌnɛ pfʌsk* spider's web. 000
2. *pfi·rʌn* small ball (of yarn). — *ʒu·ɛ ʌkhu·rumʌn pfi·rʌnʌn* a small ball of warp yarn this size.

pirč'a·no -muts x drumstick (for big drum).

pfiri·nč skewer, small scrap (of wood). — *γʌši·lɛ pfiri·nč kɛ api* there isn't a stick of firewood, there isn't even a scrap of wood. 126.3. *γʌši·lɛ pfiri·nč girkis delʌsɔr kuli kɛ api* there isn't even a stick to beat a mouse (rat) with (stock expression).

pf'irkʌnʌs, pl. *pfirkʌnʌšo* x boil (medical), EOL pimple.

pirkʌnʌs pirkai- to rock, to totter (as of a stone which one is trying to lever out of its position).
(Cp. *d*-ʌpirkʌnʌs*).

pfirko -muts x basin (used in houses of big people, formerly of wood, now of brass or iron).

pirpi zedoary, H. *jʌdwar* (*dʌwai ka na·m*). — *pirpi mʌna·s* to be scarce, rare, hard to obtain, H. *kʌmya·b hona, na·dɪr hona*.

piš stʌs to present to, set before. — *jʌṭ gusɛ Nur Bʌxšmulɛ* (*kʌreṭi*) *piš stumo* the old woman presented the basket to N. B. 382.16. Prs.

piṣhʌlɛl tainted, a little high. — *čhʌp piṣhʌlɛl mʌnila* the meat has become tainted. 251 ●

Hunza people until March or April eat meat killed in December. The people of Hindi keep meat (breast and ribs) slightly cooked, all the year round, for the use of the Mir.

piškʌš -iṇ y screwdriver. QUB. (Cp. *pe·nčkʌš*). 000

pfiṭ v.s.v. *pfiṭo·i*.

piṭaiyu = *biṭaiyo*, pl. of *biṭʌn*. 378.14.

291 b

workers are good workers. They are not to be compared with the ordinary workers found throughout Pakistan and India. They do a day's work somewhat comparable to that done in the West. They are neither slouchers nor slackers. 461

All along the route there were groups of men working here and there. At this time of the year there were not too many employed or working on the roads and this is understandable. Every man in Hunza and Nagir must provide for the winter. Remember, there is, broadly speaking, no money and the only means he has of providing is by the work done with his own two hands. 464 491

The dried apricots and other fruits that he may put away, the wheat or the barley or the buckwheat that he stores in his house, the few roots that he puts into his root cellar are his means of sustenance until next spring. So you can readily understand that there is no great surplus of Hunzans or Nagiriwals during the months of July and August to do work on the roads and I know that the Hunza Road is not maintained by the State of Pakistan. Therefore there would be little or no money forthcoming and those who did work would probably be donating their time. Or perhaps their work would be somewhat similar to a type of taxation, although I dislike using that word when referring to or talking about the people of Hunza! [251]

We were more than a sauntering hour reaching Altit. If you've got any ideas about easy walking in this land, you'd better forget them. 487

As is usual on the entire Hunza trail, with few exceptions, it was climbing or descending all the time. The few places where you were neither climbing nor going down, you were walking along the river bed. In midsummer when the glaciers are melting quickly you

245 fore, knolls or rolling lands are preferred and gravelly,
311 sandy or light loam soils are chosen.

There are neither rolling lands nor tilthy knolls in Hunza. Here they have to take what they can get and make the best of it. The precipitous bits of arable land are terraced to prevent erosion and the flat pieces, such as there are, create no drainage problem because there is no danger of too much rain.

You will seldom see more than a few dozen fruit trees in one group or area. They are scattered here, there and everywhere and are planted only where and when they can grow to best advantage.

I would also like to mention that fruit and walnut trees are found growing almost everywhere along the roads or trails in the populated area, so no bit of arable land, no matter where it is found, is wasted.

245 I do not know if there is any dispute as to who owns the crops but all the way from Gilgit to Altit I did not find a bit of ripe fruit on the trees—which means most clearly that somebody harvests the crops at just the right time or when the fruit is at or about proper maturity.

433 From some of the larders that I examined, I gathered
251 that they certainly wouldn't have any overabundance and I further felt that, by the time winter and early spring passed and before the new crops were ready to harvest, some bellies might have thinned out and some more might even be hungry.

There was no reason for me to disbelieve the Mir when he said Hunza was the "land of just enough" but I still felt that, by the look of things, there would be many occasions when that "just enough" might have to be stretched a little. I was convinced that they certainly did not have too much of any food commodity.

142 The only two stout men that I met on my entire

311 were a few valleys where a bit of pasture might have been established or used, they just couldn't afford to waste acres for pasture purposes.

234 I did not see any cheese—that is, cheese as we know
•251 it—in Hunza, but I maintain that their stored butter is
262 cheese. I knew from what I had read and learned that they have a most unusual method of storing their butter, and one day the Mir sent one of his servants out to bring some in. In a few minutes the servant returned, carrying on a tray a huge bundle that looked like and was slightly larger than a football. He placed it in front of me and told me to go ahead and unwrap it, which I did. It was neatly and firmly wrapped in birchbark and when I removed layer after layer of wet, dripping bark, I at last came to the so-called butter. It was gleaming pure white. A knife was handed to me and I dug a little piece out of the side and tasted it. It was absolutely delicious. It had a fresh wholesome flavor. I thought it was cheese and that is what I really believe it is.

234 Their method of making this butter is as follows: Goat, sheep, cow or yak milk is used. Their method of churning butter is strictly Eastern. They do not use wooden or metal churns as they are found and known in the West. Usually goat skins are used. They are turned inside out so that the smooth, tanned side is outside. Then the ends of the hide are carefully sewn together. Openings are allowed to remain by means of the legs, and these are used for filling the skin with the milk to be churned and later to extract the butter. While the churning is taking place, the leg openings are firmly tied.

Then the milk-filled hide is joggled, weedled, spanked, turned and twisted over the knees and this is maintained continually until some sort of solidification takes place. Just as with us, impatience and inquisitive-

ness become master and the shaking is stopped, while a peek is taken by untying a leg opening to see if the process is beginning. 234

When at last butter is formed, it is squeezed out of the skin churn and then they make firm round balls out of it. It is wrapped in birchbark, placed underneath a water channel and left there for months, or years as the case may be. One record through which I poured related that this butter was sometimes kept for 100 years. I found no verification of this from the citizens of Hunza. Perhaps in this instance the butter was forgotten and was discovered many years later, but it is kept for years and is usually brought out for special celebrations and other occasions. 234 251 [262]

Now you will hear the word "ghee" referred to on every hand when talking about food. This is the selfsame butter but heated to the melting point and allowed to harden. By then it turns into a bright yellow color. It is used as a spread but also for cooking, baking, frying and such. Most Hunzans prefer "ghee" over the plain ordinary butter. The Mir told me that he and his household all preferred it to butter. 234 262

So therefore, besides the fruit, nuts, grain and vegetable crops, they have curd, ghee, butter (cheese) and milk. Those who do eat meat would be lucky if they could afford to have it more than two or three times a year, but I understand meat is available for most festive occasions. 262

While in all probabilities they dry other types of fruit, I did not see any other dried fruits but apricots. On my travels throughout the country I saw thousands of trees and probably millions of apricots but I did not see one go to waste. Everywhere I went apricots were drying. They had been split open, the stone removed and stored and the fruit left for the sun and air to cure and dry 251

•251 them. Even apricots that were bruised, damaged or even starting to rot were put out to dry. No treatment of any kind was used . . . just simply nature at work.

245 [428] [423] An apricot tree is a most valuable asset in Hunza. It is a fact that an apricot tree is often willed to a daughter by parents and she can retain her rights to the tree and of course the crops that come from it for her lifetime.

In the Western world, the apricot is not considered a long-lived tree. In America, especially, it is considered not much longer lived than a peach or a plum and that means at the most, 25 or 30 years of life. When you take into consideration the truth that in Hunza apricot trees live to be well over 100 years, one wonders just where the difference comes in.

245 242 I really believe that I have the answer. In Hunza apricots are grown from seed. No matter where I looked or sought I could find no tree nursery in either Nagir or Hunza. (I did find a small government nursery in Gilgit.) Therefore I would assume that every Hunzan farmer grows his own trees from the planting of the apricot seeds. No doubt some Hunzan farmers are more adept at this task than others and they probably grow a few extra ones and maybe trade them for other things with their neighbors.

But, as explained, the trees here last many, many years and the orchard space or land to grow them on is very limited. Therefore, there would be little or no demand for nursery stock. I inquired wherever I went concerning grafting and I tried to establish whether or not they knew anything about the process and how much they knew, but I came up against a blank wall. I could gather no definite information. That they know how to graft and are acquainted with the process, I am sure but to what extent it is used, I could not establish.

256 splash against the water wheel or paddle. The force is
[376] sufficient to make the millstone revolve at a tremendous pace. The water can be quickly shut off by just putting the missing stone back in place, diverting the water flow down the conduit.

The millstones are enclosed by a tray or bin about 5 or 6 inches high. As the ground wheat or flour is forced out between the stones, it slowly fills the bin. Then it is scooped up into goatskin bags, usually by a woman who is looking after the mill. In this manner it
[262] is carried to the individual homes to be used in making the wholesome whole wheat Hunzan bread and chapatties.

There appeared to be no large scale or assembly line grinding. Each individual came in with a container of wheat to be ground.

[262] Barley and rye are also used for flour and occasionally, millet and buckwheat.

262 The earliest crop that can be ground into flour in Hunza is barley. After the long winter, food supplies
[243] are worn to the near starvation level and when the first
[527] barley is ready for harvest, people of Hunza have cause to celebrate and do so in their barley festival.

252 I soon learned why chapatties were used in prefer-
262 ence to bread, not only in Hunza but all over Pakistan and India. A chapatty requires only flour and water, a bit of mixing and then rolling out and laying on a piece of metal that is laid over a fire. In a few minutes it can be turned and then it is ready for eating. Even though bread might taste better, it certainly would require a lot more preparation. Simplicity is the keynote!

251 From what I saw, very little flour is stored and probably the people of Hunza have long ago learned their lesson, that wheat ground into flour does not have long keeping qualities.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 37

Hunza Fat Factory

I SOMETIMES BELIEVE—in fact, it is a conviction of mine—that in America we waste or cast aside the most vital parts of many foods and we use as food the part that is of lower nutritive content.

In Hunza the kernels of the apricots are gathered and stored. Some of them are cracked and eaten out of hand. But the major portion is put away for future use and then turned into apricot oil.

Never, ever did I see one single apricot kernel wasted in Hunza. If you tasted the kernel of the apricot, you'd soon know why. It is every bit as delicious and fine flavored as the finest almond. In fact, the almond, peach and apricot are very closely related. I contend that the flavor of the apricot seed is every bit as good as that of the almond. The almond, however, gains its popularity and superiority because of its thinner shell, which means easier cracking.

251 It is clear that the Hunzans have long, long ago learned a secret that we in the Western world have only discovered recently . . . that the nut or kernel of a fruit or seed deteriorates rapidly and can be the cause of ill health if allowed to remain for any length of time outside its natural shell or covering and then consumed . . . for the Hunzans never crack the hard coat of the apricot stones until they want to use the kernels. From 000 my experience with seeds of varying kinds and types during the past 30 years—whether grain, vegetable, fruit, nut or other—I have learned that no living seed whatsoever should have its skin or shell broken or removed until it is actually going to be eaten, planted or put to some other use.

Within the walls of the seed or nut coat are contained some of nature's greatest miracle workers. Underneath that ingenious covering are found the required enzymes, the spark of life, that breaks dormancy and tells the seed when to start to grow . . . or that can hold that large, tiny or microscopic embryo in suspended animation for a few hours or a thousand years, until conditions amenable to the needs of that species are located. If and when the environmental factors are met, the seed coat immediately fulfills its function and growth begins.

Therefore, it is never advisable to remove the shell or the protective coat from any seed or grain—especially of those that are going to be eaten.

It has been recently disclosed by science that seeds whose outer coatings have been removed can be harmful if eaten by a human. In some instances, it is suspected that they can be of carcinogenic character. Is it not remarkable that these people, who have had little or no contact with what we know as civilization and learning, have for almost 2000 years known enough not to do things that we have learned about only recently?

252 wild in various parts of the area. The oil rendered from
[222] these kernels is probably used only for lighting, because
[373] it is poisonous. Due to their heavy content of prussic
acid, a handful of them is considered deadly. In Ni-
[762] agara, if somebody wants to commit suicide, he jumps
over Niagara Falls; in Hunza, they eat a batch of wild
apricot kernels.

The kneading process is continued and the vessel is kept tilted so the oil runs down and forms a small pool. As the oil begins to form, the kneading becomes even more vigorous until every drop of oil possible is extracted. While the rendering of the oil may be hard on the knuckles, nothing could be simpler and the resulting product is probably the most healthful and finest fat product that human hands can produce.

[231] The pulp that remains after the oil[1] is extracted is
[302] fed to milk-giving goats, sheep or cows, and is often used as a concoction or shampoo in which the Hunzans wash their heads. The oil of course is used in cooking, baking, frying, for lighting—and even for the hair.

[461] The good woman who performed the oil extracting task for me did not seem to be the least bit overburdened or taxed from this sort of arduous work. It probably would have been a hard day's work for a Western woman.

I would like to stress at this point that the heating process was not a cooking process in any sense of the word. Just a slight warming was all that was needed.

• 251 The apricot oil is never rendered and stored in casks
252 or otherwise, like many other people do with their oils. They may make sufficient to last them a few days but not more. This is poured into an earthen vessel or a bottle, if available. When a further supply is required, the pits are cracked and they go through the entire process as outlined.

1 [ie - oil from apricot seeds - ANALYST]

I don't think I was struck by any unpleasant or bad odors. No doubt you would assume that being a farmer, the excrement of animals wouldn't offend me and in saying that you'd be very, very right, but even with a city man's view, I don't think you would have found the Hunzan barnyards smelly or dirty. 356

The roof of the living quarters is just high enough so that a tall man can stand up in it without bumping his head. The Hunzan roofs usually have heavy timbers strung across—at least 3 inches thick and placed about 12 inches apart. They have to be that thick and heavy because on top of this is laid earth. Practically every home has an earthen roof. The floor, too, is of hard earth that has been pounded through years of use, until it is a good sound firm floor that can be readily swept and kept clean. 342

Apart from the Mir's palace, every other home that I visited in Hunza and in Nagir had earthen floors. Now naturally one wouldn't expect an earthen floor to be spic and span or shine and glisten the way a good hardwood floor can be made to shine and glisten. These earthen or clay floors can be made smooth and even be polished, and it is actually done.

Often the room is divided off to allow for a storage room, where the dried apricot stones and other fruits and vegetables are kept for winter use. [251]

In the center of the room a hole is dug and often stones are laid at the bottom. Here the fire is laid and this is how they keep warm during the winter and where they do their cooking. Above is a hole about 18 inches square to allow the smoke to escape. The people sleep on the floor within warming distance of the fire. Beds in the average Hunzan homes are unknown, but they have bed rolls or other cloth contraptions to make the floor softer. Some of the wealthier or well-to-do [354] 513 352 352

000 from it the organic method of land use.

262 From what I have seen, I have deduced the fact that the people of Hunza use less fat of any kind than most people found throughout the world. Some nations may lack animal fats, but make it up by fats found in [133] fish. The people of Hunza have very little animal fat and no fish, for there are few lakes in the area and the only fish that are found in the streams are those that were placed there, in an attempt to stock the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers and some of the nullahs.

They do get some fat from the butter that is made from the milk of the goats, sheep and a few cows and yaks. They also get a bit of fat from their walnuts and the kernels of the apricot seeds, neither of which can be considered to be high in fat content.

Lest you think that this lack of fat would have some effect on the people, let me stress that there are no more energetic people found in the world and they are continually active.

• 251 As soon as fall sets in and the harvest is completed, they carefully select and store and prepare their winter's larder. Then they divide and apportion all of their foods so they will last them throughout the winter.

262 An important addition to their winter diet is a gruel or a soup that they make from the various grains and this is eaten with their chapatties.

515 164 Dentifrices or toothpastes or powders of any kind are not used in Hunza. Yet the people have unusually fine teeth. False teeth, plates or dentures are unknown. So even at the expense of antagonizing the toothbrush and toothpaste people, it would appear that these implements and concoctions do not create good healthy teeth.

* * * * *

000 I have debated within myself whether or not I should

tilizers are used on their lands. 241

(8) All children in Hunza are breast fed. There is no 853
specific prenatal care, and the good health of the 843
mother is passed on to the infant . . . and the breast feeding gets the child off to a good start.

(9) All fruits and vegetables that are dried for stor- 251
ing have been exposed to the sun and air. No foreign substances are added or treatments used.

(10) Native herbs are used extensively . . . both as 262
seasoning and as food.

(11) Glacial waters are the only waters used both 312
for drinking and irrigation purposes. These glacial 146
waters definitely contain many valuable minerals and nutrients, as revealed by laboratory tests.

(12) Apricot kernel oil is the most important source 262
of fat. It is used in cooking as well as for salads. No solvents or extreme heat is used to extract the apricot oil.

(13) Natural whole grains are used broadly. There is no fragmentization in Hunza. While they do bake a bread, their chief form of bread is an unleavened type which they call chapatties. They are composed of whole ground grain made into a dough and rolled very thin. Then they are heated or baked slightly.

(14) Hunzans are light eaters. Their diet is comparatively meager.

There is no doubt that, if any human being were to 000
follow the health rules of the people of Hunza, he could regain or maintain health. There is no magic formula connected with this set of rules. They are simple and to the point. In fact, they are so simple that most people will doubt their value. To these people I would say, "All of the great things in life—the important things and things of value—are invariably simple!"

In Hunza the following established Western health 744

[P44-A]

587 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it; men
[562] spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclusively with other women. They hold
562 their dances on separate threshing
535 floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushaling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two; cold weather
[255] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it is virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this feasts of meat the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[194] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[278] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[262] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

were all a dark sinister crimson and gave out a suffocating 133
smell of sulphurous gas. Our men urged us to "press the pace," for the friable, forbidding cliff face above looked as if it were not nearly done with shedding boulders. There is assuredly no myth more misleading than that of the "everlasting hills."

From river[1] level we could see the pin-scratch along the 487
cliffs on our right, some 600 or 800 feet above the river, and, often as we had ridden the road before, it seemed incredible that it could be possible to round it. The cliffs on our left bore similar scratches, representing the Hunza road between the two oases of Mayun and Hindi. Poor starved-looking little places they seem in contrast to the rich Nagir ones. We chaffed our Hunzukuts that obviously the Nagir road up the gorge was the better one since Government had chosen it for the regular route. They rose at once to the bait: the Hunza road was really the better and well kept up—which we could quite believe since the Mir always travels it himself, not to trespass on Nagir territory more than he can help—it had only one slight drawback: there were seventeen places between the two oases where "shoots" were apt to carry it away.

As we scrambled our way along through the riverside 252
boulders we noticed dozens of discarded millstones, some 324
broken, some apparently perfect. Not that people bring their old millstones here to cast away! The opposing cliffs at this point happen to provide the best type of stone for mills, and, oddly, those on the Hunza side make the better nether millstones and those on the Nagir side the better upper ones (or it may be *vice versa*. David will have it accurately noted). When you want a new millstone you travel your ten or twenty miles or more to these cliffs, choose what seems the most promising boulder for your purpose, and with a rough bit of iron hack and chip it into a circle of the radius and depth required. You then bowl it home your ten or twenty or more miles like a child's hoop, up ravines and across gorges to your mill. If it hasn't broken as you fashioned it, which it frequently does—this explains the number of discarded millstones that here strew the countryside—it may very likely break on the rude road home. If so, you just go back and carve yourself another.

1 [The Hunza River—Aeglust]

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

Still she provided us with hen-water soup, and we varied our 262
diet by having the wings for lunch and the legs for dinner, or 235
vice versa. When the cold weather came and the flocks had returned from the mountain grazing grounds, we were sometimes able to vary her with mutton—athletic mutton.

Shafi, the camp cook, had one major fault—he could not 000
cook for nuts. A minor one was that when anything went wrong he lost his head completely (as in the crossing of the Devil's Ford) and immediately did the wrongest thing that was possible. But he was willing, and no doubt did his best. Soon after we got in he went sick and we committed him to the care of the Compounder, who soon got him round. But we did not feel that we could face his food again. While he was ill, one Zaidu was announced who had come to pay his respects. Who was it but an old friend of Gilgit days who had been with us for four years as general underling! He had helped the cook and used often to cook for the nursery, so he was not without some elementary ideas. We offered to try him and he accepted with joy. His family could gladly manage the extra work at home, and hailed with pleasure the prospect of sharing his wages. We never thought of these jolly men as "servants" in any ordinary sense of the word. They were peasant proprietors in a tiny way, but though they had enough to eat and to wear, they were absolutely without cash, and were willing to do any honest work to get some. Zaidu looked much more flourishing and fitter than in Gilgit days. He was then rather young, and I suspect that the older servants put upon him a good deal, but now he had been living an independent life again and had got back his natural dignity and self-respect. His pleasure at the thought of working for us again was disarming. So we took him on, and though he was no chef he did us well. He was ingenious in devising new ways of cooking the half hen, and his scones were light and eatable, a pleasant change from Shafi's paper-weights. Moreover, he was willing to learn.

We were able to get white flour up from Gilgit for cakes 252 ●
and biscuits, but we found that native bread-flaps made from the local stone-ground wholemeal wheat were more appetizing than white bread in any form. They are made without

252 yeast and cooked on a griddle, like small, thin pancakes. Zaidu made them as of course, since they are the normal local food, and we had a few fresh for every meal (they are horrid stale). Their great merit is that they can be eaten without butter or
262 jam. This was a great advantage, for butter was a problem.
234 The tinned butter we brought with us for the road all went bad—you could not blame it in that heat—and butter in our sense of the word is unknown in Hunza.

There was fortunately a little cow's milk to be had, but the cows get so little to eat that their milk has not much butter-content. A really good Hunza cow yields at most a quart of milk a day after she has fed her calf, and she only gives milk at all for a month or two after the calf is born. So
[415] milk is no part of the regular local diet. The people normally milk into a gourd, which makes an excellent jug, but has the
[372] drawback that there is no ready way of cleaning it. Where fuel is so scarce no one could boil water merely to scald milk-vessels, and the method is to hold the gourd over the smoke of the fire. This seems to be perfectly wholesome, but it gives a gruesome taste to the milk, already sufficiently tainted with memories of yesterday, last week, last year. So we would send one of our people with a clean aluminium bucket and get the cow milked straight into that. In this way we procured as much as we needed for tea and coffee and puddings, but of course not enough to make butter from, as we had been accustomed to do in Gilgit. Fresh butter proved to be an unattainable luxury. The local butter, which they call *maltash*, is much prized; there is so little of it that it is kept strictly for feast days and great occasions. Their chief chance of making it is from the goats' milk when the men have the animals up at the summer pastures. They make it day by day, a little at a time, and when they have collected about two pounds they shape it into a ball, wrap it in birch-bark, tie it up with strips torn from the roots of juniper, and then bring it home to
[251] store. With luck one good she-goat will provide two balls of *maltash* per season. It is then stored in a tiny stone larder under the nearest water-channel to keep it damp and cool, and thence produced when wanted. Even when quite fresh it tastes very

6.08 names of things, so she took up the good work: "That's our roof; that thing sticking out is a cross rafter," and "That's our ladder." Presently we came to the corner of her square, stone house, the wall of which rose straight from the water-channel, and there we found her father and a couple of small boys. We crossed a tiny two-trunk bridge to talk to them at the door, and papa was evidently much pleased that we had taken notice
251 of the two small girls. Mother and an auntie were sitting a little farther back under some fine mulberry trees splitting apricots, which they were going to spread presently on a big boulder or on the roof to dry. Everywhere we looked boulders and roofs were decorated with glorious golden-pink pools of drying apricots.

● 252 I slipped over to the women while David continued to chat
354 to the master of the house. With luck the dried apricots would
302 last them all through the winter, for this had been a good year. The apricot stones they were keeping carefully as they worked. Presently the children would crack them between stones and the kernels would be hoarded. Eaten with dried apricots they make a delicious almond-and-raisin dessert for feast days or offerings to guests, while a good proportion of them must be pounded by the women till the oil is squeezed out that will give their sole indoor light. If by good luck there is any oil to spare, it makes a prized unguent for the hair and most families contrive to have enough to sleek their plaits or fringes for
296 great occasions. This cheery family bade us a friendly good-bye as we moved on, and a little farther along the channel, which was now making a curved sweep round, we saw a man standing in a reaped field below us. This crop had been lucerne, he said; he gets two crops of it off one field each season. David told him how they get seven or eight crops in Persia, but consider the first crop bad for the animals (for some reason which we never discovered). He was much interested, and said they did not notice any difference in the wholesomeness of their first and second crop: Hunza animals are not encouraged to be
000 faddy. Presently we came to a fine, walled-in mulberry orchard on our left and climbed up into a sloping field where a slight crop of grass was growing between boulders. We sat down to

½ [of Kaniza, a Burushe child--Analyst]

514 matters of sanitation. The lower chamber of their little
343 pulpits is closed with one large slab, which makes them easy to clean; the upper is well supplied with nice clean sand, and has a small hole in the floor. The entrance opening to the upper part is narrow, and anyone inside is completely hidden; even so we never saw man, woman, or child disappear into one. The most prudish maiden aunt would never need to blush as she would in the streets of Paris or by the creeks of Basrah; and whatever Islám may recommend, the Hunzukuts does not dream of allowing his running water or his drinking tanks to be fouled by man or beast.

The pulpits must be regularly and frequently cleaned out, for, though they often stand beside the path, you never get a whiff from them to suggest their necessary purpose, yet I have never seen one being emptied; that also is a job they evidently prefer to do in the privacy of darkness.

● 252 A red felt carpet was quickly brought and spread for me, and soon the entire family was sitting round, making conversation. I went back another day soon after, also by invitation, and was allowed to watch Bibi Gímo cook the greens and bread for the mid-day meal. In the summer they cook in the open, in the garden or on the roof, which often has a roofed verandah or even a lightly enclosed upper room added on in front of the upper store-room. She had a little hearth of big stones to hold her tiny fire, and over it sat the big stone cooking pot of vegetables. In olden days the bread was cooked on hot stones, but nowadays everyone has a convex iron griddle which can rest either on the stones or on a tiny iron trivet. They have a neat, shallow wooden tray in which they knead their flour, adding a little water till it has become a flaky dough. Then they take the lid and on that roll out small lumps of the dough with the most ridiculous-looking toy rolling-pin hardly half an inch in diameter. They roll the dough into thin, thin pancakes, lift these with a wooden spatula on to the griddle, and turn them with a skilful twitch. Each takes only a second or so to cook, and is then twitched off on to a big
264 flat wicket platter till there is a sufficient pile. When mealtime comes the family gather round, squatting just anywhere that

322 would lead us home. A happy man he looked, though he told us that his back ached nowadays at work with lathe or plough, as it never used to do, and perhaps we had English medicines that would meet the case. We could only offer the sad tidings that we too, when we walked or rode or worked, were subject to fatigue and aches undreamt of in younger days, and that even in England the doctors knew no medicines to defeat on-coming age. This, oddly, seemed to comfort him a lot: "We're all ageing together then," he said, and we all three laughed a vain defiance at the years, "and we old ones have more skill and experience than the others, haven't we?"

462 Apart from their never-ending spinning the women have
241 many valuable crafts, though they are less spectacular than the
252 men's. They all bake a large variety of bread and scones from their blent flour—not only grains being pressed into the service, but pounded mulberries, walnuts, peas and beans, and semi-wild berries—and when *maltash* is available they make cakes and pastries of a dozen kinds. The vegetable patches are in their care, and amongst their many greens, their gourds, cucumbers and marrows, they tend a lot of plants whose seeds or leaves or flowers are valued as flavourings, and grow a little flax and mustard to supplement their apricot oil. In spring their plots are lit with the large blossoms of many-coloured poppies, whose seeds are not wasted on opium but scattered into the vegetable pot. They also grow small quantities of maize as a vegetable, but they do not consider it profitable as a major
249 crop. The kinder-hearted find a corner for tobacco for the
534 men's pipes, which circulate of an evening in the shade when
563 the day's work is done and someone tinkles a zither or tootles on a flute. These instruments are home-made like everything else, and are often very beautifully finished; we were neither of us qualified to judge of the music the players conjured up. To our unskilled ears it sounded amateurish, but eminently cheerful and pleasing. Serious music of drum and pipe and
262 kettledrum is the monopoly of the Béricho. When the women weed their crops they sort out the dandelion, stitchwort, and sorrel for their own brews before throwing the residue to
[illegible] the cow. And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots,

000 the doll and its owner from the crowd to get a decent photograph.

The snowfall, skimpy as it was, broke the Great Cold, and the milder weather made photographic work a good deal less painful: giving films and prints ten changes of water when there are large icebergs floating in your buckets and there is no means of heating the dark-room is not enticing. I basely sent some of my own off to Kashmir to be dealt with there, but nothing would induce DL to risk the perils of the road for his. It takes weeks and weeks to get them back so that my lazy method had its own drawbacks, and anyhow no D. and P. people, however good, give your photos the same affectionate attention as you do yourself.

The breaking of the cold while we still had a good hoard of firewood left, meant that we could now afford to be more luxurious and keep a fire going in the dining-room. This also meant that I had a room to click the typewriter in even when DL was working with an informant in the study, and that he could have another big table to spread out maps on.

A minor advantage of the cold weather was the possibility of hanging meat and so gaining respite from the daily hen, which as an article of diet is a thing you can get tired of. The sheep are lean and minute, but tender enough when sufficiently hung. Without being great meat-eaters, DL and I could polish off a leg of mutton in one sitting.

252 As we were slaying sheep for home consumption we thought it would be instructive to study the local methods of butchering, so Levy Kalbi, who was on the job, was instructed to call us before cutting up the next beast. I didn't specially crave to see the killing, but our folk evidently thought there was no good shirking any part of the rite, and when we went out there was the luckless animal with its legs tied and its neck nicely arranged on a stone.

They did the job neatly and humanely. I don't think the poor beast had an idea what was going to happen. He probably thought, if a sheep thinks at all, that he was merely going to be shorn. Anyhow, they sliced his throat expeditiously with a cry of "Bismillâh, ar Rahmán ar Rahím"—in the name of

252 God, the Merciful, the Compassionate—then they let the blood drain out, washed the neck carefully, and got busy with the skinning. Kalbi is a clever, neat-fingered fellow, as indeed all Hunzukuts seem to be, and in ten minutes had coaxed the skin off whole (without slitting it down the tummy) as easily as you peel off a pair of silk stockings. There were only the 415 holes at the neck and at the four "elbows" and a little slit at the tail, so that with a stitch at the tail and four ties at the legs the skin would serve as a water bucket or a bag for flour.

252 He then hung up the carcase and cleaned it—a wonderfully unmessy business—while we noted down all the words for its various innards. It would have been much more instructive and enlightening if either of us had ever seen a sheep killed at home or had known the English words for all the curious things it has inside it. There was not, even round the kidneys, one ounce of fat.

465 As usual out here, you do not pay a person in cash for performing a service of this kind; there is some recognized per-
237 quisite. In this case Kalbi considered that he would be handsomely remunerated if he might have the guts. We did not covet them ourselves, and gladly acquiesced. They are much
[534] valued. They will give you strings for your zither (many people, including Kalbi, make beautiful zithers for themselves), and for your bow; they serve as thread to sew your long boots and your skin sack, and you put them to a hundred other uses. Others of our retainers laid claim to the wool, the skin, and various other items. Later Kalbi gave us a demonstration of skin-curing and -kneading.

291 The long native boots are extremely comfortable-looking, like long-legged moccasins, and their construction is an elabo-
[281] rate art. Ibex skins are preferred, but ibex have nearly been killed off and other leather has to be substituted. The soles may be made of cow-hide. Boots are precious things, so however cold it is you take them off when you come to a very rough piece of ground or want to walk through water. At best the unlined boot is not over-warm, and really luxurious people wear woollen socks or stockings inside if they have them. The women can knit excellently well, but it is very rare for anyone

countryside was a hive of industry. We missed the larger 233
animals and learnt that they had already been taken up to the 241
tér for the summer, while the tiny lambs and kids who were being carefully shepherded about to get what scanty grazing they could find without trespassing into the springing crops, demanded the unceasing vigilance of their small guardians.

The most noticeable new phenomenon was the constant 137
stream of people, men or women, stooping under huge bundles 233
of greenery till they looked in truth "like trees walking." We had come back to find the poplars well clothed and bushy (for poplars), giving an unwonted air of luxury to the landscape, but now they were being ruthlessly stripped to provide fodder for the animals, half starved throughout the winter on a diet of dry leaves. Poplar, willow, and *gindáwer* are all laid under contribution, but the new fodder has to be very carefully issued at first lest the poor beasts should perish of its unaccustomed succulence. I stood one day watching and photographing a minute human insect at the top of a 50 or 60 foot poplar skilfully stripping it of its spring glory and leaving only the tiniest green tuft at the top. A whole handsome row were about to be similarly shorn. In a moment of thoughtlessness I said to the peasant at my side: "They look so lovely, it does seem a pity. . . ." He turned on me almost fiercely: "What, Mother? Would you starve our beasts for the sake of a poplar tree? The leaves will come again next spring. There is no cure for a dead sheep." I stood rebuked.

No. 3 had been laying out a new vegetable plot. Apicho 244
showed me the various beds ready for beans, scarlet runners 233
(which here have yellow flowers), marrows, and greens, but confessed that manure was their great problem. They have only one cow, poor devils, and with the best will in the world one cow cannot produce enough.

The end of May is the season when new saplings of poplar, 245
willow, etc., are planted, and we occasionally met people 252
carrying off bundles of them to set in place. The mills were in action again, and such fortunate folk as had a little grain still left from their emergency store—not, after all, exhausted by weddings or funerals—were carrying pathetically small bags of
it to be ground.

Ho gərər manotəki dorčaʼn. Xamali.ər iʼ, šərbatər iʼ, qıstaʼr iʼ. Aʼlto talečuqiŋ xamali.er, tsindi čuqan šərbatər, gul kε ečukoʼnər dorčai.i. Ho saʼatər nobarεn dʼau.u waščaʼn. Aʼltʼululo xamʼaličiŋ sukuʼyo dutsun daŋ oʼčaʼn. Hikulto qıstа očaʼn. Da čap dεtsirčaʼn.
5 Huyʼεs waʼlto tsundo šuʼčaʼn. Da šərbat dεtsirčaʼn.

Ho gəroʼni gatuŋ nʼεʼεtan, kurdi yaxtai.i nεʼbil, baš'a nʼεʼεtan, tišk neʼeyan, hik nika biluʼmanε gatuŋ ʼεʼəbiljai.i. Iriʼŋulo gampfuʼri ʼeʼəyaibaʼn. Hɔ roʼmε ečukoʼn haʼlər gati no haʼlε mεl oʼmi bai.i, šapik uʼčai.i. Ɔstaʼdiŋ dutsun γərin nʼεtan tamaša ečʼaʼn. Ho iʼlčumutsε
10 itigaʼri (*or*, itigaʼr tali) burʼum da niʼlε tikumuts gəroʼni ečaʼn.

Ho sa pari.εn dyʼuʼasumər Thamu.ε hukum bila gəroʼni baman uyoʼn itε guntsulo mərakaʼr duʼišaʼn. Qadiʼmtsum miraʼs bila uyoʼntsum uyər mərakʼaʼr Diramatiŋε gəroʼni uyər di.ušaʼn. Ho ilji iski

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1 *manoteki dorčaʼn* — These and the following supplies appear to be prepared by the Bridegroom's father. They are presumably those produced and consumed in the Bridegroom's house when the guests and the Bride and Groom have gone there after the conclusion of the actual marriage ceremony by the Akhund in the Bride's father's house. V. p. 304 l. 21.

i. — is probably the Corroborative Pronoun, "for the *xamali* itself" i. e. 'by itself, separately'.

2 *aʼlto talečoqiŋ* — a *čoq* or *čok* is said to be 12 seers i. e. 24 lbs. avoirdupois. So 2 × 7 × 24 = 336 lbs.

Otherwise, a *talečoq* is said to be = 2 maunds
= 160 lbs.
in which case 2 *talečoq* = 320 lbs.

gul — i. e. *gul* as in l. 2 p. 298 and also in a note. Here glossed as "Bride's party" consisting no doubt of her family connections, corresponding to *ečukoʼn* the Bridegroom's "tribal brethren, the members of his tribe related to him".

saʼatər nobarεn i. e. 'the mullahs look for a (favourable) time for making them'. The day or days for holding marriages are, however, fixed by the Tham.

4 *daŋ oʼčaʼn* — a note says that "baking is carried on in both houses".

5 *šuʼčaʼn* — is here probably used in its special sense of 'slaughtering (with a view to eating)'. It here explains what meat they cook. The number of goats depends on the means of the household.

6 *tišk neʼeyan* — The dagger is stuck in the waistbelt at the left side.

7 *hik nika biluʼmanε* — glossed as "a once-married woman who has had a child", but it must be a 'once-married man', having regard to *ʼeʼəbiljai.i*.

The phrase is interesting grammatically. The Bride, a note adds, is also dressed up and oil put on her hair, etc.

Then they grind the *manotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmiting bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gore majuk* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 γəriχ — the songs are in Shina.

10 *tikumots* — *nil-i* must be the genitive of *nil* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gorumi — originally written *gorumo*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gorumi* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gorumo*, 'bride grooms'.

12 *ite gonisolo* — cp. note to line 3. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *marakʼaw* — this is in front of the Fort at Bālti.

t(h)ayas. (A later authority gives *thaiyas* to go out, but *estaiyas* to put out). 000

estum IUB melted, cooked (?), H. *galarya hua, pakarya hua.* (Static Pc. Pass. of *estuyas*(?) Ca. of *duyas* v.i. to melt?).

estuyas(?) v. preceding.

eṭ̌umuśi, v. *-aṭ̌um.* 198.6.

'eṭ̌iṭ̌ = *a* + *i* + *ṭ̌iṭ̌*, negative -*i* form of *-*ṭ̌iṭ̌as* with Pn.pl. *i-*. V. s.v. *-ṭ̌i-as.*

eṭ̌pupuras, IUB *eṭ̌pupurč*, Pp.a. *neṭ̌pupur* to clean ears of corn with the hands, to separate, H. *baliṭ̌ko hathse saf karna, juda karna. jau ya gehū ke baliṭ̌ko hathse dawa alag karna,* i.e. to separate the grain from an ear of corn by rubbing it between the hands. (Cp. *iṭ̌pupuras*, but where does the *i* come from? It is clear in both IUB's and ŠY's Mss. and in a number of forms of the word and cannot therefore be a casual slip for *e*). 252

eṭ̌puraṇ v. *-aṭ̌puraṇ.* 000

et, eis y sg., pl. *ek* q.v. V. § 140. Demons. Adj. and Pron. that, that one, it. — *ikere et* γmrī *ke tsumi* he carried off that gold for himself too. 60.10. *mi eis dolattum* from that property of ours. 366.3. *et ke aso* tell me that too. 148.21. *et beričan?* what can we do with it (the book)? 48.9.

eias v. *-aias.*

1. To do, to make. The form of *-aias* with the Pn.pl. *i-* referring to a noun which is hm sg., x sg., or y sg. or pl.

The form is stable in some verbal compounds v. § 261.

39b

[1] [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 541 – Analyst]

000 *gov·r sčam* I shall give you a great reward. 72.9. *ja kuvr inavm uvčiam* I gave these people presents. 92.24. Cp. 378.7. Ar.

ivnč inch. Eng.

ivndil v. *-ndil* hill slope, face of hill. 294.8.

ivns, ins hmf., oblique m *ivns*, f *insmo-*; x *ivse*, y *ivte*. Pl. h *uve*, x *ivtse*, y *ivke*. Demons. Adj. and Pron., and Personal Pron. that, the; that one; he, she, it. V. § 120.

ivnkavr stas to deny. Ar.

ivnsavf y justice. — *ivnsavf api* it is not justice, there is no justice. *ivnsavf stas* to do justice. *ivnsavf stas sis* a doer of justice, a just man. *ivnsavf apivman bai.i* he is an unjust man. Ar.

ivntravm y arrangement. — *ivntravm stas* to arrange. *guts ivntravm natan* making, carrying out, this arrangement. 366.10. Ar.

-ings case suffix, v. *-angs*.

[251] *ipfuvparas*, Ppa. *n'ipupur*, to rub grain between the hands to get the husks off. — *kari ipfuvparuman ks* if you rub barley between your hands. 328.1 Ppa. *n'ipupur*. 328.9. (*-pfuvparas?* but probably always with *i-* as object is probably always y. Cp. *ešpuparas*).

iqravr confession. — *ins iqravr stimi*, "*ja yiki ba*" *nusen* he confessed 'I have committed theft'. Ar.

iravda y intention, purpose, design. — *iravda besan bila?* what is the intention? *iravda stimi* he intended, proposed to . . . Ar.

ivran, -rso x cream. — *ivran bi* there is cream. Cp. 340.12. (A liquid that is x and not y is a surprising phenomenon).[1]

46 b

[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p.541 - Analyst]

252 owərʌs, owərč-, Impv. owər. to make (oxen) extract the grain by walking round over the cut crops. — *bum owərčʌm* I'll make the cattle trample (out the grain) (u + *-ʌwərʌs, from *-wərʌ, to make go round?). V. § 236. a.

000 *ʸyom* variant of *uyum* great.

oyom variant of *uyom* q.v., from *-yom q.v., all.

u, ū.

(See also under o).

uʸ v. *uʸ*.

u- Pn.pf. 3rd. pl. h and x.

*-u, pl. *-umots, (x) tear. Forms: *ou, guʸ, yuʸ, muʸ; miyu, maʸu (mouʸ), uʸu.* — *uumots* their tears. *muʸuʸcʌn ine ivkiletər tsər manimi* one of her tears (a tear of hers) fell on his face. 282.12.

*-u v. *-uy father.

učʿʌk, učʿʌq, -čeiŋ y.

1. Chamber, small room (in Raja's palace etc.).
2. Small separate building for baking bread in (possessed by Mirs, Wazirs etc.).

Š. B. pfuʸte ite teŋvölo, han učʿʌqʌnvlo, bʌm S. B. was in a small chamber in the Div's palace. 10.8.

(T. *ojaʸq* hearth, fireplace; E. Turki *učʌq* fireplace, cooking-place).

uʸčo MA. tongs. (Sh. *ũʸčo*, tongs).

udovri v. *odovri*.

uʸe, uʸ h pl., sg. *ine*. Personal and Demons. Adj. and Pron.: those, the; those people; they. V. § 120. — *telum uʸe sise itsi* γʌsuʸmʌn the people (belonging to) there laughed at him. 140,5. *padša eʸərčuʸe. oʸumišo uʸe oʸpʌčər dumʌn* those (men)

000 mashed potatoes. (Cp. Sh., Kho. *bʌt*, cooked rice; Kahm. *bʌta*, boiled rice).

3. *bʌṭ*, *-oŋo* y skin (of sheep, goat, marten, tiger, leopard, bear, wolf, fox, man); leather (of ditto). — *aˑlíʃa huyesɛ bʌtˈoŋo bitsa* there are two goats' skins. 842.2. *bʌṭ daˑl ɛtʌs* to flay. *bʌṭɛ čʌγa* a leather patch (for "pabboos"). *bʌtulo pfɛtiŋ matsičʌmtsɛ* I would stuff ashes into your skin(s) i.e. I would stuff your skins with ashes, 154.2, cp. 150.10. *bʌṭɛ buˑla* a leather ball.

a. Skin (metaphorically, for) shape, form, likeness. — *wʌzirɛ bʌtər nɪkinˑ ničʌm* entering into the skin i.e. assuming the form, of the Wazir I shall go. 2.10. *yaˑ bʌtər nɪkin* entering into the skin of a bear. 152.9. *iˑmo bʌtulo mʌnimi* he returned to his own shape. 154.1.

This is a stock phrase in regard to magical transformations. Cp. 122.18, 124.6, etc. (Cp. parallel idiom in Sh. *čomər boˑrki*).

b. Scrotum (?). Given as the equivalent of this by G.R., but it seems improbable that it is sufficient in itself to carry this meaning.

bʌṭa, *-muts*, *-tiŋ* bald, scald-headed(-person), hornless.

bʌṭɛˑr (*eˑ*), *-iŋ* y dried apricot (split and stoned). 808.1. (IUB *-ṭ-*. Cp. perhaps Sh. *pfʌṭorˑ*).

●252 *bʌṭiŋ* dusting-flour, a powdering of flour sprinkled on the board on which dough is rolled out into chupatties, to keep the dough from sticking to it. — *γuski.ɛ ʂʌpik ɛtʌsulo bʌṭiŋ thiˑl ne ʂər ečʌm*: *γuski bʌlktɛs oˑqərʌṭʌsɛ gʌnɛ*, when making bread of dough they dust flour on the board and roll

252 it out: (this is) to prevent the dough sticking to the board. *ma hałe ʌkhuʷrʊmʌn bʌfiŋ ke ʌp'i*, in your house there isn't even this much dusting-flour.

000 *bʌfo*, pl. *bʌfʊmʊts*, x small bundle, bunch, nosegay, bouquet. — *ʌskuʷriŋe bʌfo* a bouquet of flowers. *bʌfʊmʊts ečʊr duʷnʊmo* she began to make nosegays. 382.11. *Nuʷ Bʌxčmʊr bʌfʊmʊts oča ba* I am making nosegays for N. B. 382.13. (Cp. Sh. *bʌfi* & *bʌfo*).

bʌtsin, *bʌtsiŋ*, pl. *bʌtsimiŋ* y thigh, hind-leg above hock (of quadrupeds), H. *ran*, *faŋ*.

1. *bʌy* y pl., double pl. *bʌčeŋ*, millet (a small-grained variety), Punj. *čima*, Panicum Miliaceum(?). — *hičʊti.en bʌy muγ'ʊnimi* he gave her a "*hičʊti*" of millet. 142.28. Cp. 164.16, 262,4. 266.15.

2. *bʌy bʌʷy -iŋ* y fissure in ice. — *γʌmu.e bʌy bila* there is a fissure in the ice. *γʌmu.e bʌʷy nimi* he fell into a crevasse (cp. *bʌč*).

bʌyʊm, *-iso* x mare. (Cp. Sh. *bʌm*). 1/A

bʌzi(?) ŠY بزي but IUB بازی — *baʷzi* q.v. (*bʌzi* is merely a miswriting by ŠY).

bai.i y winter. — *bai.i mʌniʷla* it has become winter, winter has come. *bai.i ya bila* winter has set in.

bai.i v. *ba.i*.

bai.idaʷr etʌs IYB, v. *bedar*, to give cheek to a superior.

bai.imo pertaining to winter. — *bai.imo keʷn* winter season (i.e. Dec., Jan., Feb.) *bai.imo iʷša* period following winter solstice, v. s.v. *iʷša*. *bai.imo sa kuʷt bi* the winter sun, daytime, is short.

bai.itin, pl. *bai.itiyo*. x collar-bone, cla-

74a

1/A [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

qeqe etas Hz. & N. to bleat (of a goat). 000

qerkus EOL pl. *qerki.ants* —? — *a·lto qerkus bo* she is pregnant ("two lives" = Sh. *doguni ḍim hin*). *a·lto qerki.ants ba·n* they are pregnant.

qi·mišdo·n, pl. *-do·yo*, x a cast iron vessel with lid used for baking a special kind of bread, fire being placed above and below it. 252 ●

(Perhaps corruption of Prs. *kumajdan*. QUB gave the initial as *x-*).

qi·gi·ŋ etas N. to neigh (of a horse). 000

(Cp. Hz. *hihiŋ*).

qiqit *-*atas* to tickle s.o. (on body).

qisa·s qisi·č- v.i. to tear (of cloth). — *qisi·či* it will tear; *qisi·mi* it tore. *qisuman čuk etas* to sew, mend, a torn thing.

(Given as the intrans. of *-*xi·sas*).

1. *qismat* y fate. Ar. Prs.

2. *qismat* for *xidmat* q.v.

qismatga·r v. *xismatga·r*.

qista v. *xista*.

qisum kind, sort. — *bi·san qisumi bi?* of what kind is it? Ar. Prs.

qiš, QUB *xiš*, gently. — *kərka·mulsi qiš ni duman kuli qyu· eči bi* if anyone catches a fowl gently it makes a noise. 56.2.

qi.u· v. *qyu·*.

qhiyi, etc. v. *qhūyi*.

qo· etas N. to low (of a cow), Hz. to low (of a calf).

qo·ŋ etas Hz. to low (of a cow).

qo·q'ur N. *-i·nts* x stones on a mountain side just about to fall.

(In Kho. *čo·kul* is used of a stone falling or rolling down a hill-side).

qoromč v. *xuromč*.

q'o·š, quš -iŋ y inhabited house, quarters, lodgings. — *aka·bərtiŋ u.i u.imo q'ošiŋər ničan* the chief men go off

256 splash against the water wheel or paddle. The force is
[376] sufficient to make the millstone revolve at a tremendous pace. The water can be quickly shut off by just putting the missing stone back in place, diverting the water flow down the conduit.

The millstones are enclosed by a tray or bin about 5 or 6 inches high. As the ground wheat or flour is forced out between the stones, it slowly fills the bin. Then it is scooped up into goatskin bags, usually by a woman who is looking after the mill. In this manner it
[262] is carried to the individual homes to be used in making the wholesome whole wheat Hunzan bread and chapatties.

There appeared to be no large scale or assembly line grinding. Each individual came in with a container of wheat to be ground.

[262] Barley and rye are also used for flour and occasionally, millet and buckwheat.

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[243] are worn to the near starvation level and when the first
[527] barley is ready for harvest, people of Hunza have cause to celebrate and do so in their barley festival.

• 252 I soon learned why chapatties were used in prefer-
262 ence to bread, not only in Hunza but all over Pakistan and India. A chapatty requires only flour and water, a bit of mixing and then rolling out and laying on a piece of metal that is laid over a fire. In a few minutes it can be turned and then it is ready for eating. Even though bread might taste better, it certainly would require a lot more preparation. Simplicity is the keynote!

251 From what I saw, very little flour is stored and probably the people of Hunza have long ago learned their lesson, that wheat ground into flour does not have long keeping qualities.

I had never seen oil made or rendered from any fruit, 252
food or grain and I asked if I could be allowed to witness this process from the beginning. Arrangements were made and I went to visit a plain ordinary Hunzan house where the mistress was prepared and willing to demonstrate the making of apricot oil.

The lady and some of her children sat on the floor with a neat stack of apricot stones beside them. Then she and one of her youngsters took each individual stone and split it open with a rock. The meats were taken out and piled into a stone mortar. Then, when they had [412] filled the mortar, the lady got her pestle and began to pound the kernels until they were made into a meal. Next, she rubbed it with her hands until it was worked into a paste. This she placed into an iron skillet, which was placed over a three-sided stone stove. Then she broke up some small chips of wood that she had ready, ignited them and moved the pan about over the heat until it began to warm up. She kept rubbing and kneading the meal with her hands in the skillet until it got quite warm—but not hot, for she used her hands for turning it in the pan.

Then, she lifted up the mass and put it into a round, [415] solid, earthenware or stone receptacle about 12 inches in diameter, with the sides about two or two and a half inches high. She kneaded this with her fingers and knuckles firmly, much more firmly than one would in kneading dough for bread.

Then, a tablespoonful of water was poured over the meal and the massaging process was continued. It was explained to me that sometimes tea is used instead of water. If the pits are bitter pits from the wild fruit, plain water is used, but for sweet pits from the propagated apricots salt water is used.

The bitter pits are gathered from the trees that grow [222] [373]

• 252 wild in various parts of the area. The oil rendered from [222] these kernels is probably used only for lighting, because [373] it is poisonous. Due to their heavy content of prussic acid, a handful of them is considered deadly. In Ni- [762] agara, if somebody wants to commit suicide, he jumps over Niagara Falls; in Hunza, they eat a batch of wild apricot kernels.

The kneading process is continued and the vessel is kept tilted so the oil runs down and forms a small pool. As the oil begins to form, the kneading becomes even more vigorous until every drop of oil possible is extracted. While the rendering of the oil may be hard on the knuckles, nothing could be simpler and the resulting product is probably the most healthful and finest fat product that human hands can produce.

[231] The pulp that remains after the oil[1] is extracted is [302] fed to milk-giving goats, sheep or cows, and is often used as a concoction or shampoo in which the Hunzans wash their heads. The oil of course is used in cooking, baking, frying, for lighting—and even for the hair.

[461] The good woman who performed the oil extracting task for me did not seem to be the least bit overburdened or taxed from this sort of arduous work. It probably would have been a hard day's work for a Western woman.

I would like to stress at this point that the heating process was not a cooking process in any sense of the word. Just a slight warming was all that was needed.

251 The apricot oil is never rendered and stored in casks or otherwise, like many other people do with their oils. 252 They may make sufficient to last them a few days but not more. This is poured into an earthen vessel or a bottle, if available. When a further supply is required, the pits are cracked and they go through the entire process as outlined.

1 [ie - oil from apricot seeds - ANALYST]

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Whether or not apricot oil contains any special qualities I am unable to say. Perhaps someone will do some research on it in the near future and perhaps we will learn that apricot oil is another of the reasons why the Hunzans keep their health.

But for the moment, contrast the way the Hunzans get their oil and the way the people of the Western world get theirs. I know of no oil that is offered for general sale in America that is not treated or rendered by a harsh chemical solvent. Nor do I know of any oil sold or that is generally procurable on which a color extractor or bleach is not used. There is no reason why we cannot have apricot oil in the West, but if we did have it, I'm afraid any or most of its good, health-giving effects would be lost, if a solvent or a bleaching agent were employed.

Yes, I do know that there are vegetable oils offered on the market that have been prepared by the expeller method, but such oils are seldom seen, are quite expensive and only the keenly health-minded people who know what they want will pay the price and look for them.

Maybe sunflower seed oil, corn oil or olive oil are every bit as good as apricot oil, but the *process*—therein lies the secret of health or disease. The most satisfactory method of rendering oil from grains or nuts is the simple natural cold-press process, after which it is filtered.

The accent during the past few years has been markedly towards the vegetable oils against animal oils. Researchers seem to have proven without any fear of contradiction, that the vegetable oils are much less harmful or actually beneficial to the human system, whereas the animal oils are suspected as being prime contributors in most cases to arteriosclerosis and ultimately, heart disease.

252 So now, almost every housewife is turning towards vegetable oils to prolong the life of her husband and give greater health to her family and herself. However, I suspect that the processing has rendered any benefits not only doubtful, but maybe has turned them into something that has a physically degenerative effect.

Again the people of Hunza seem to have won an easy victory over us in the matter of what oil to use by simply staying with nature, working with her and taking what she has to offer, rather than trying to beat her at her own game.

There is another aspect that I would like to point out at this time and that is that I believe, for the oil process, it would be better if stored stones or pits were used, rather than fresh ones. If fresh pits were used, there would be a much higher moisture content and therefore the oil would require much more working or kneading before it would be rendered.

I see no reason why apricot pits couldn't be stored for more than one year if kept in a comparatively cool, dry place. Thus, they would give their oil more readily, because only the water would be evaporated during the lapse of time.

A handful of apricot meats would be required to render about one ounce of oil.

512 The breakfast, most meager by our standards, con-
262 sists of a bowl of fresh or boiled apricots with chapatties.
264 This is sufficient to keep the family working in the fields or doing other household and farm chores until 10 o'clock.

Then lunch is served and it is made up of fresh or boiled vegetables, dried apricots and chapatties. The men get two chapatties for this meal, whereas the women and children are restricted to one chapatty. Then off again to their duties—invariably on the land.

The midday meal is usually taken between 1 and 2 o'clock and in the summer this would mean, during the hottest part of the day. For this meal dried apricots, rubbed with the hands in water to form a soup, constitute the main course. A bowl or cupful of this gruel is drunk. This is the procedure during the months when fresh apricots from the trees are not available. During the period from late spring until autumn, fresh apricots are always available and these are used instead of the dried ones.

The dinner hour usually reigns from 5 to 7 o'clock. For this meal more food than for the other meals is used and consumed. Vegetables, either or both boiled and raw, are eaten along with any one of the fruits like plums, peaches, pears, apples or apricots—then always chapatties.

If I haven't made it clear before, chapatties are the bread that is used almost exclusively throughout Pakistan and India. These are flat unleavened sheets of bread made from whole wheat—stone ground. They are the Indian "staff of life."

252 Cooking and preparation of meals as we know it in
262 the average home in America is definitely not part of the Hunzan way of life. Whereas in our way of life most foods are prepared by boiling, frying, baking,

roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked. 252 262

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness. 372 373

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, mid-season and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering. 245 262

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions. 262

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays. [556] [231]

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards. 565 423 556

164 proved laboratory by a qualified technician.

164 Their food is natural, simple, unsophisticated, with-
262 out any unnatural, inorganic, synthetic additives whatsoever. There is no fragmentation in the foods they eat. They do not separate any part of the wheat when they make flour, nor do they separate any part of the other grains when using them.

252 Due to necessity they do not cook foods too much, nor do they cook any food that can be eaten and enjoyed without cooking.

Food is a serious, all prevalent problem. The few trees that they have and that they can grow must be protected for food, shade and timber.

However, I must truthfully admit that the reason that the Hunzans do not cook their food is because of the scarcity and inaccessibility to supplies of fuel.

751 Vaccination is not practiced and, as far as I know,
744 is unknown in Hunza. Pasteurization in any form is neither practiced nor known. Chlorination is unheard of. Fluoridation is unheard of. No coloring whatsoever is added to any of their food, not even their butter.

263 Up until recent years the salt used by the people of
439 Hunza came from the Shimshal area, somewhere near where the Shimshal River and the Murtagh join together. This salt is unrefined and used just as it is mined from this mountain area. It obviously contains many natural so-called impurities.

493 The only wheeled vehicles—two jeeps, in fact—are owned and used by the Mir chiefly for bringing in supplies, when road conditions permit. Therefore one must walk for every chore. There is no motorized
377 equipment used in Hunza with the exception of the electric light plant in the Mir's palace. Apart from what
401 I have mentioned here, mechanization of any sort is unknown.

SCLAR N-5 (1948-1951) 1953
AV7 Berakho AV7
Home
[P.40-A]
183
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FAMILY LIFE on Hanne's flat roofs bespeaks the country's dry climate and the cramped quarters that prevail inside a typical stone abode, forcing inhabitants to seek increased living space in the open. A meal is being prepared, above.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.43-B]

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GRINDING of barley and wheat, *above*, is done by centuries-old technique.

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CHAPATTIES are the end product of the country's milling and baking.

a *choga* is being washed, a man's greater strength is called into play—nine yards of wet homespun is no joke. He dips it likewise into cold water, lays it on a stone, and tramples it with his full weight. There is, of course, no fuel to spare for washing clothes or persons in hot water.

From our very first days in Hunza the mills had been a source of interest, and we constantly passed them and peeped in as we traced out all the water-channels on our walks. When the water was in flow (no stream, not even the Dála, was continuously in action in any one stretch) the mills were the centre of social gatherings. The miller and his family would be inside superintending operations, while the women with their babies and their work quietly awaited their turn. They had brought small sacks or bags of grain to be ground and would squat in and round the doorway happily gossiping. Occasionally a man would come along, bent double under a huge sack of 80 lb. or so.

We struck a particularly interesting group one day, where the water was plunging steeply down the hillside and turning three mills in succession, one below the other. David was photographing the busy crowd at the door, and I climbed up a little to join two old women busily spinning among the rocks above. "Father won't want to take pictures of us," they said, in a matter-of-fact tone quite free from bitterness, "we are old and wrinkled." As well as my halting speech permitted, I assured them that older people were our best friends, that we liked faces wrinkled like our own, and that if they would allow it, "Father" would much like their photographs. So I scrambled down the hill again to explain to DL where his next duty lay. He came and engaged the old dames in chat, but it was no easy matter to get a photograph for they were shy and self-conscious beyond the ordinary. The picture turned out at least recognizable, but when it came to delivering their copies we found that their houses were "quite near" of course, but down 500 or 600 feet of highly precipitous gorge, rather more of a rock-climbing feat than we were prepared to tackle in the course of an afternoon's walk. Enquiry revealed, however, that old Pfirúz's son was married to Ustád Nadíro's daughter, so

we were able to leave the photo for her at No. 8. It was a constantly renewed pleasure to find how our photographs were welcomed and a constantly renewed surprise that these illiterate people, who had never seen a picture in their lives, were able at once to recognize and name the tiny reproductions of themselves. This was the one point in favour of my quarter-plate camera that it yielded larger prints than David's smaller ones. Only one woman in all our experience refused to take any interest in photographs, and that was, oddly enough, my special friend Bibi Gímo, of No. 1. "Take it away; I can't understand it," she would say to the others eagerly crowding round to see the latest of grandfather or baby Faqér. Quite possibly, unsuspected by herself, her eyesight was below par. But for the most part quite old people like the various grandfathers seemed as sharp-sighted as ever. On one occasion a man was studying a group of field-builders, the figures in which were very small, and he mis-identified himself: "Hullo, that's me all right, but *where* is my moustache?" He looked again more carefully, and found himself, moustache and all.

It was no negligible tax on our time to make spare prints for everyone, but we felt it was one small return we could make—without corrupting our friends—for the unstinted kindness we met on every hand.

We visited all the mills within range, studying them critically with future photographs in mind, for they were dark little hovels without smoke-holes, and lit only by the door and a small gap, representing one missing stone in the wall opposite, and we had to make elaborate calculations as to the aspect of doors and light-holes and sun and times of day to decide which offered the best hope of an interior photograph (we had unfortunately brought no flashlight apparatus with us).

When the water was not "on" we made an effort to master their complicatedly simple mechanism. The water is led from some height by a wooden shoot consisting of a hollowed-out log and falls on to the wings of a rude "wheel" below the floor. The central hub is a rough sphere or cylinder hacked out of a root or tree trunk in which the "wings," eight or ten of them, are obliquely set. The axis of this wheel passes up

256 through a central hole in the lower mill-stone and engages in an iron socket in the centre of the upper stone which it turns. The other end of the axis is shod with a pointed stone which revolves in a horizontal log. The lower mill-stone is firmly embedded in the floor of the mill, but an ingenious lever arrangement, which can be adjusted by wedges of convenient stones, enables you slightly to raise or lower the log below and thus to graduate the fineness of the flour. From side to side of the little hut runs a horizontal pole, whose ends are built into the walls, and from this the hopper is slung by two of the usual forked pegs. The hopper itself is most frequently a length of solid tree trunk shaped and hollowed out. Levy Kalbi's mill, in other respects highly suitable because better lit than most, was struck off our list of desirables because it had a horrible, carpentered hopper of planed planks—incongruously modern for our taste, though a source of natural pride to its owner. The narrow opening at the base of the hopper lets the grain trickle into a little sloping tray to which a wooden clapper is attached, ingeniously balanced by a thong so as to tap-tap on the revolving stone and gently shake the grain down to its fate. Another hollowed log acts as trough to receive the flour as it whirls out from between the stones. When the trough is full the flour is scooped up in double handfuls into its owner's bag. Beside the hopper lies a small wooden trowel of standard size, and the miller's fee for grinding the contents of an 80-lb. sack is one trowelful of flour. Another indispensable adjunct of the mill is a doubled piece of woolly sheepskin, which serves to sweep up any straying grain or flour.

Having calculated as best we might the most propitious lighting and a day when the Dála was not flowing we betook ourselves to our chosen Double Mill a mile or two away on the boundary between Aliábád and Dorkhan, where the Dála divides to give us our Middle Channel. There is a picturesque Mesopotamia here, with the mill-race and the mill-escape on one side and the divided stream on the other, and a fine grouping of trees above and below the Double Mill. We were armed with tripods and DL with his bigger camera, for at best ex-

256 posures would have to run into several minutes. For an hour and a half we crawled about the interior of the amusing little mill—the roof was not high enough for us to stand upright—trying points of view and focuses to suit, and then propping our tripods steady with stones for each lengthy exposure. Our faithful escort was immensely amused by our clumsy antics, recking nothing of our aching legs and backs, and we could overhear them answering questions of this sort from the occasional passers-by: "What are you hanging about here for? The mill's not working. There's no water to-day!" "Of course not; we're waiting for Father and Mother." "Where are they?" "Inside here." "What on earth are they doing?" "Taking photographs." "What *of*?" "Oh, the hoppers and the mill-stones." Shouts of laughter! Our eccentricities were a never-failing delight to the populace, and our retainers loved acting as showmen. When at last we crawled out, half crippled with stooping and covered with dust and flour, we were greeted by a large crowd, friendly and mystified, to whom we had to explain how much better we liked their mills than our own at home. This of course pleased them, and they perhaps had visions of our attaining fame—perchance even riches—by erecting Hunza water-mills on the Isis or the Cam.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 36

2000 Years of Bread!

256 ONE OF THE THINGS that I did want to witness with my own eyes was the feeding and operation of a flour mill in Hunza. Apart from all of the other important and interesting data that I had hoped to gather while in this part of the world, the operation of the wheat mill was one that to me had great portent. I wanted to see the wheat actually going into the mill and coming out as flour.

000 Bread is said to be the staff of life. Well, whether it is or not remains a moot question. But to me at least, bread is important. I always have been a big bread eater.

121 262 Now it was only during the past few years that by reading and learning I found out how useless or even harmful the pleasant white loaf that we know in America is and can be. Having a fair idea about the health record as it exists in America and knowing the kind of

bread we eat, I was greatly interested when I heard about the people of Hunza and then found out that they eat only bread that is made from whole grain. 121 262

Then, when the same books or facts brought to light that the people of Hunza knew few of the world's ills, my interest was aroused to almost a fever pitch. I wondered if there was any connection between the kind of bread that we ate and our health and the kind of bread they ate in Hunza and their health.

From my own observations I also learned that wheat was the most important crop in Hunza, with the exception of apricots. I have also tried to establish which was the first domesticated grain in the annals of human history and I have not been able to establish clearly whether it was wheat or millet. But wheat is more adaptable to the temperate zones, whereas millet leans more to the warmer climes and it is clearly established that wheat is preferred by the white races. 243 000

I soon learned that there was a flour mill that functioned regularly, located on the route that we took from the palace at Baltit to the old palace or old fort. So on one of my walks I made it a point to investigate thoroughly the location, the workings and the construction of this old mill. 256

On my way up when we stopped at Chalt I saw one of these mills in operation, but I did not actually see the grain being made into flour.

For a man who has spent most of his life in the country and on a farm, I feel embarrassed to admit that I had never seen a flour mill in operation before.

During the past quarter of a century, or even a longer period, milling has, generally speaking, come into the hands of large corporations and that is why, I assume, I got it into my head that milling was a complicated big-time operation that required a great investment

256 and the hiring of many employees. I've tried to analyze how I mentally reached these conclusions and eventually I saw the light. I knew that the grain had to be stored in huge elevators, then transported to the mill in carload quantities and from the railroad cars it was carried or blown into huge bins and then from there into hoppers that fed it into the rolling mill itself. Then the process of separating the bran, then the wheat germ and then the flour took place. The next process, I understood, was for the flour to be ground even more minutely and then bleached. After this had all been accomplished there were some government rules or regulations that compelled the mills to fortify or replace some of the important values that had been removed.

Now after you have read the above, can you blame me for getting the idea that milling was a costly and complicated process? Again, I must confess, even to the extent of being embarrassed, that I had to travel to Hunza to learn the truth about milling. Then perhaps I need not be ashamed of my ignorance because the problem of making bread from grains has been plaguing mankind for more than 6,000 years, during which time much blood has been shed, governments have been overthrown and billions of dollars in profits have been made. Yes, the whole story of human existence can be written and told in terms of man's staff of life—bread!

When we stop to realize that bread has been the mainstay of human diet for almost 6,000 years, we ought to bury our heads in shame to admit that our knowledge concerning this life-giving or life-destroying food is so meager and inadequate. Not one person in a thousand realizes, knows or understands, what is contained in the food upon which he leans heavily and of which he consumes large quantities, not only every

day but in most cases, at every meal. 256

It came as quite a surprise to me to learn that milling was one of the most simple operations that could be devised and that difficulties and complications only arose when we sought to deviate from the natural way of doing things.

So now at last I was there watching a Hunzan flour mill in action. In all probabilities the same milling process is followed in practically all countries of the world where flour is milled in a simple manner.

My first impression as I watched the flour pouring from between the revolving stones was, "How easy—how utterly simple! Why should anyone in the world be denied access to that vital health-giving food?" Any man can have his own pure whole wheat flour, from which he can have made his wholesome delicious whole wheat bread, by the simple means of putting a grain of wheat between two stones and rubbing the two stones together.

In this Hunzan flour mill, wheat is poured into a suspended hopper made of wood, but shaped like and about the same size as a grain sack and tapered to a narrow opening just above the millstones. Attached under the opening is a small trough, tilted slightly. This trough sits with its lower end over the hole in the stone. Then right there at the mouth of the trough a wooden stick is attached so that it will dangle at the mouth of the opening and as the mill rotates, this stick taps against the opening and causes the grain to drop out in regulated amounts. Thus, the flow of the wheat into the opening of the millstone is governed.

The millstone is rotated by direct drive from the water wheel. From the conduit up above, a stone is removed and the water is allowed to run down a spillway, which leads under the mill house and is made to [37.6]

• 256 splash against the water wheel or paddle. The force is
[376] sufficient to make the millstone revolve at a tremendous pace. The water can be quickly shut off by just putting the missing stone back in place, diverting the water flow down the conduit.

The millstones are enclosed by a tray or bin about 5 or 6 inches high. As the ground wheat or flour is forced out between the stones, it slowly fills the bin. Then it is scooped up into goatskin bags, usually by a woman who is looking after the mill. In this manner it
[262] is carried to the individual homes to be used in making the wholesome whole wheat Hunzan bread and chapatties.

There appeared to be no large scale or assembly line grinding. Each individual came in with a container of wheat to be ground.

[262] Barley and rye are also used for flour and occasionally, millet and buckwheat.

262 The earliest crop that can be ground into flour in Hunza is barley. After the long winter, food supplies
[243] are worn to the near starvation level and when the first
[527] barley is ready for harvest, people of Hunza have cause to celebrate and do so in their barley festival.

252 I soon learned why chapatties were used in prefer-
262 ence to bread, not only in Hunza but all over Pakistan and India. A chapatty requires only flour and water, a bit of mixing and then rolling out and laying on a piece of metal that is laid over a fire. In a few minutes it can be turned and then it is ready for eating. Even though bread might taste better, it certainly would require a lot more preparation. Simplicity is the keynote!

251 From what I saw, very little flour is stored and probably the people of Hunza have long ago learned their lesson, that wheat ground into flour does not have long keeping qualities.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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The Hunzans are conceded to have superior health to their neighbors. Nagir land is more shaded by mountains. (*Figure 1.*)

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A water powered stone mill used by the Hunzans for making flour. (*Figure 2.*)

[facing p. 390]

[p. 390-A]

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.43-B]

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GRINDING of barley and wheat, above, is done by centuries-old technique.

142
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CHAPATTIES are the end product of the country's milling and baking.

drink and have a rest. 134.17. *ɓaa* *ɔrɔmaka yɔrɔki yɔtɔki* *lɔaa ugɔrɔ* *ɛyɔtɔ* *ki* he has excellent comfortable under- and upper-bedding and everything. 134.11. (*ɛɔbɔ*) *ɓa'a ɔrɔmɔ* *ka ɔaqɔ'* burning the wood at his entire ease. 126.15. Pm. 000

ɔrɔa, ɔrɔa -ɛg *y.* a wooden frame on which a basket containing saline earth is placed, through which water is poured to extract the salt. — *ɗiɔkiki* *ɔrɔa* a mould for making bricks. (Cp. Ek. *ɛrɔa*, brick-mould). 258

ɔrɔ N., v. *ɔr*, to me. 000

ɔrɔkɔ *y.* fear, dread, anxiety. — *ja ɔrɔkɔ* *bilo* I am anxious. Cp. *ar*.

ɔr'ɔa pl. *ɔrɔyo* disobedient, refractory, Pm. *ɔrɔ'ɔrɔaɔrɔ* (*lɔrdɔr*). Said of a horse that won't go on, or a child that won't obey.

ɔaɔrɔ easy. — *ki* *lɔrɔ* *ɔaɔrɔ* *ɗɔrɔaɔ* *bila* this is a very easy matter. 50.30. *ugɔrɔ* *gɔlɔrɔa* *ɔaɔrɔ* *ɔɔ.ɗiɔlɔw* it was easy to traverse everything. 28.17. (*ɔaɔrɔ* perhaps for *ɔaɔrɔ* used as adjective). Pm.

ɔaɔrɔ easiness, ease. — *ɔaɔrɔ.ɔka* *ɔrɔ* it will be done with ease, easily. Pm.

ɔaɔlɔw *ɔɔ.ɗɔw*; see *ɔɔ.ɗɔw* *ɔaɔlɔw* Peace be with you; And with you be peace. 55.18. *Ar*.

ɔaɔrɔ sky — *ɔaɔrɔ* *ɗiɔw* sky-blue, azure. Pm.

ɔaɔrɔ n. shrine. — *Mɛgɔrɔlɔ ka ɔaɔrɔ* *ki* there is a shrine at Mɛgɔrɔ. 290.1. Pm.

ɔaɔy -ɛg in love with, enamoured of; lover. — *ɔ'ɔaɔ* *ɔɔ'ɔɔ* *ɔaɔy* *ɔ.ɔɔ.ɔɔ.ɔɔ* he had fallen in love with her face. 14.7. *ɓaa* *kɔyɔrɔa* *ki*. *lɔrɔ* *ɔaɔy* *ɔɔ.ɔɔɔɔ* there is (was) a fine horse. He fell greatly in love with it

1: Lorimer T-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

companions who came down with us to Kashmir to observe peasants 243
ploughing with *oxen* (whose wants could be less completely met) and 262
without a dung dish!

When the corn is fully threshed, the winnowing begins in cooperation with a light breeze. Next the winnowed grain is passed 243
through a coarse sieve (barakbèsh) whose mesh is composed of thin leather thongs which retain any particles of straw, and it is finally 261
tossed in a finer sieve (gherbèl) which retains the grain and lets the dust through. The grain is then loaded into great skin-sacks and carried 251
off to store. The due amount required for seed-grain is set aside first, and not the utmost extremity of hunger would induce a Hunza peasant to encroach thereon. Next, emergencies are budgeted for—births, weddings, dues such as rent (if any) and hospitality, which includes deaths in *other* homes, for relatives and friends would be disgraced if a bereaved family had themselves to bake during the first seven days of mourning. What then remains, represents the year's supply.

Ripe millet is treated by being beheaded, and the ears may then 248
be threshed by cows or beaten with poles according to quantity. The buckwheats are beaten only, even small children merrily cooperating half in fun, half in earnest to show their prowess.

Grain for current use is carried to the mill in sacks or bags of skin. [343]
The mill-house is a picturesque cube of stone and mud situated beside a convenient irrigation channel. It may possess one wheel or two. The wheel is a vertical oblong of tree trunk, fitted with 10 or 12 wooden wings; the lower end of its axis is supported on a horizontal pole, the upper fitted into a central hole in the upper millstone. The water is led on to it by a steeply sloping hollowed log. The inside of the mill, lighted only from the door, is fitted with a cross rafter built into the walls on to which the hopper is ingeniously hung by a forked segment of tree. The hopper itself consists of a section of log, tapered and hollowed out. Attached by a string to the small tray below the aperture in the base of the hopper, is a loose clapper which is gently agitated by the rotation of the upper millstone on which it rests, this shakes the tray and encourages a steady flow of grain. The flour as ground is ejected into a hollow trough. Near by, a wooden pole, impaled on a horizontal wooden pin, projects up through the earthen floor. Each end of the pin rests on a 'Heath-Robinson' pile of stones and a simple adjustment of its height regulates the position of the lower millstone and thus the coarseness or fineness of the flour desired. The mill, 402
the loom and the comparatively new-fangled lathe are the only

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

a miserable ten—none of your 'some thirty, some sixty, some an hundredfold'—while lucerne only gives three crops. 248

'The Hunzukuts' main food is bread, of which the housewife makes a large variety, from the leavened wheatened cake with butter for feast days, the unleavened flapjack of wheat, barley or blended flours for everyday, to the bitter buckwheat scones of leaner times. Milk is not an article of diet; the animals yield little at the best and none at all when their own offspring is weaned. Such milk as there is contains little fat content, which is not to be wondered at in view of the food on which the animals exist; it is converted into butter, curds and such preservable forms. Butter is stored in birch-bark wrappings beneath an adjacent water-channel and broached only on festive occasions or for the entertainment of a guest. Meat is tasted at most twice or three times a year, at festivals or on some day of domestic rejoicing, a wedding or a birth, and then it will be 'some tainted wether of the flock, meetest for death' who supplies the sacrifice. 262 234

The womenfolk tend small vegetable plots in the corner of a field or separate garden, where carrots, turnips, marrows, gourds and half a hundred kinds of humble 'greens' are grown, and a few plants whose leaves or seeds are esteemed for flavouring, along with a few tobacco plants for the men's pipes. After grain and greens, the essential item of Hunza diet is the apricot, fresh in the early summer and dried during the rest of the year; mulberries, fresh and dried, come next in importance, then a few apples, pears and peaches (these little valued because they will neither keep nor dry) and a few grapes for such relatively well-to-do houses as can afford space and water to grow them. Grapes ripen too late to be dried into raisins and the small quantity not consumed fresh is converted into light wine, brightening the winter days for those who have it, and drunk within a couple of months of manufacture. The apricot has yet further uses. Its kernel yields the oil which lights very modestly the winter nights. The Burusho woman is said to refuse, most wisely, to live above the level of the ripe apricot (say 9–10,000 feet). This is, I suspect only a base pretext of her husband's for refusing to live at these altitudes himself. Be that as it may, the upper villages of Hunza are almost exclusively inhabited by immigrants from Wakhan accustomed to a treeless existence and a diet of barley only. Grafting fruit trees is an art thoroughly understood. The above-mentioned fruits supply the only sugar which the Hunza people know. 244 262 245 [273] [354] 361 245

Despite all diligence in tilling the ungrateful soil, despite the utmost 262

In Lorimer T-3 (1920-6; 1934-5) 1938 AVT Burushe AVT

262 care in rationing the year's supply (rationing begins the moment the first barley crop is harvested), scarcely a household we knew but was out of flour and out of potatoes weeks before the first barley was ripe, and was living solely on turnip tops, greens and edible weeds. 'Starvation Springtime' in Hunza evokes no poet's raptures, only a wailing of hungry babies who, as their mothers apologetically explain 'are too small to understand', and a tightening of the belt by those who do; but never a complaint. How these hardy people exist and work and smile—and keep on smiling—on a diet which no Minister of Health would consider even 50 per cent. adequate in quantity or 10 per cent. adequate in proteins, is a mystery, and must represent a miracle of
147 natural selection over centuries. There are no sick or ailing in
838 Hunza; men, women and children are wiry, tough and fit, and a fair
561 proportion live to a ripe and honoured age, busy to the last about such tasks as suit their waning strength and valued for their experienced counsel, for no devilish inventions—cinemas, wireless or machines—have created a gulf between the generations.

243 Harvesting processes are extremely simple. When barley or
476 wheat is ripe, the adults of the family turn out and pull up the shallow-rooted crop by hand, laying the swathes in neat rows to dry. Even when a sickle is used, it is used to pull with, not to cut. As soon as a suitable field is bare, it is flooded, and a circular (more rarely a rectangular) space is enclosed by a small mud wall four or five inches high. When the ground is soft but no longer wet, the whole family, down to the tiniest toddler, forms in line and marks time systematically over the surface to level it. After three floodings and tramplings the new threshing floor is as smooth and even as a hard tennis court. Two neighbouring houses sometimes share a threshing floor which becomes the focus of family activity till the last sheaf is gathered in. The cut crops are stacked conveniently near, and a small quantity of corn is spread on the centre of the floor. Then while Grandfather with his beautifully graceful five-pronged fork throws in more grain from time to time, the team of five cows, loosely lashed together by their muzzles, is driven round by man, woman, boy or girl in turns until the threshing
243 is complete (PLATE III). The person in attendance on the trampling
262 beasts has a switch in the right hand and in the left a wooden bowl as 'dung-dish' in which all excreta of either type are conscientiously collected, not only because the Hunza folk cannot afford to waste an ounce of manure but equally because they are too fastidious to tolerate the fouling of their food. Great was the contempt of our Hunza

I: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

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HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

312 It[1] was beautiful, soft, pure water which gave delightful baths,
271 but heavily silt-laden and supposed not to be fit to drink. We were luckily able to get half a dozen big petrol drums from Gilgit (left behind empty by the R.A.F.), and we stored it in these and let the silt settle. This water served us for washing and for photography.

312 About two miles away there was a spring of clear but hard water that issues from the foot of a cliff down near river level. This was recommended for drinking. So we took on a special man, Sagi by name, as water-carrier and general washer-up, to help in pantry and kitchen. He was a nephew of our old friend Nazar and a good fellow, though for some reason a little less cheery in appearance than our other men. Twice a day he would walk the two miles, climb down and up the 500 or more feet, and bring water for our tea, etc., and for making up the photographic solutions. We paid him the princely sum of about a pound a month, and he was delighted, while his brothers divided amongst them the extra work at home.

Considering the labour involved, it made us feel rather pigs to drink tea half a dozen times a day and expect a daily bath. When two of us were photographing hard and perpetually wanting to wash negatives and prints in eight or ten changes of water, my heart rather bled for Sagi. One day that had been particularly severe I said as he appeared with more and more water buckets at the door of the dark-room: "Poor man, I'm afraid our photographs give you a lot of extra work and trouble." His usually quiet face lit up with a peculiarly charming smile: "Nay, Mother dear, it is a pleasure, not a trouble. The work and trouble are yours."

262 The next thing in importance was food, and we found that
235 we could, without apparent hardship to the people, buy a
[624] daily hen. There are a couple of officials whose job it is to see about supplies for travellers, and they arranged to get the fowls now from one village and now from another, so that our demands might not press too heavily on anyone. The Hunza hen is an athletic bird. You may see her fly like a lumbering, over-weighted pigeon 15 or 20 feet across a gully, and so we were not surprised to find her wing muscles well-developed.

[1] [The water in the Dala, the aqueduct--Analyst]

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

Still she provided us with hen-water soup, and we varied our 262
diet by having the wings for lunch and the legs for dinner, or 235
vice versa. When the cold weather came and the flocks had returned from the mountain grazing grounds, we were sometimes able to vary her with mutton—athletic mutton.

Shafi, the camp cook, had one major fault—he could not 000
cook for nuts. A minor one was that when anything went wrong he lost his head completely (as in the crossing of the Devil's Ford) and immediately did the wrongest thing that was possible. But he was willing, and no doubt did his best. Soon after we got in he went sick and we committed him to the care of the Compounder, who soon got him round. But we did not feel that we could face his food again. While he was ill, one Zaidu was announced who had come to pay his respects. Who was it but an old friend of Gilgit days who had been with us for four years as general underling! He had helped the cook and used often to cook for the nursery, so he was not without some elementary ideas. We offered to try him and he accepted with joy. His family could gladly manage the extra work at home, and hailed with pleasure the prospect of sharing his wages. We never thought of these jolly men as "servants" in any ordinary sense of the word. They were peasant proprietors in a tiny way, but though they had enough to eat and to wear, they were absolutely without cash, and were willing to do any honest work to get some. Zaidu looked much more flourishing and fitter than in Gilgit days. He was then rather young, and I suspect that the older servants put upon him a good deal, but now he had been living an independent life again and had got back his natural dignity and self-respect. His pleasure at the thought of working for us again was disarming. So we took him on, and though he was no chef he did us well. He was ingenious in devising new ways of cooking the half hen, and his scones were light and eatable, a pleasant change from Shafi's paper-weights. Moreover, he was willing to learn.

We were able to get white flour up from Gilgit for cakes 252
and biscuits, but we found that native bread-flaps made from the local stone-ground wholemeal wheat were more appetizing than white bread in any form. They are made without

252 yeast and cooked on a griddle, like small, thin pancakes. Zaidu made them as of course, since they are the normal local food, and we had a few fresh for every meal (they are horrid stale). Their great merit is that they can be eaten without butter or
262 jam. This was a great advantage, for butter was a problem.
234 The tinned butter we brought with us for the road all went bad—you could not blame it in that heat—and butter in our sense of the word is unknown in Hunza.

There was fortunately a little cow's milk to be had, but the cows get so little to eat that their milk has not much butter-content. A really good Hunza cow yields at most a quart of milk a day after she has fed her calf, and she only gives milk at all for a month or two after the calf is born. So
[415] milk is no part of the regular local diet. The people normally milk into a gourd, which makes an excellent jug, but has the
[372] drawback that there is no ready way of cleaning it. Where fuel is so scarce no one could boil water merely to scald milk-vessels, and the method is to hold the gourd over the smoke of the fire. This seems to be perfectly wholesome, but it gives a gruesome taste to the milk, already sufficiently tainted with memories of yesterday, last week, last year. So we would send one of our people with a clean aluminium bucket and get the cow milked straight into that. In this way we procured as much as we needed for tea and coffee and puddings, but of course not enough to make butter from, as we had been accustomed to do in Gilgit. Fresh butter proved to be an unattainable luxury. The local butter, which they call *maltash*, is much prized; there is so little of it that it is kept strictly for feast days and great occasions. Their chief chance of making it is from the goats' milk when the men have the animals up at the summer pastures. They make it day by day, a little at a time, and when they have collected about two pounds they shape it into a ball, wrap it in birch-bark, tie it up with strips torn from the roots of juniper, and then bring it home to
[251] store. With luck one good she-goat will provide two balls of *maltash* per season. It is then stored in a tiny stone larder under the nearest water-channel to keep it damp and cool, and thence produced when wanted. Even when quite fresh it tastes very

"high" from the unwashed smoky gourds, and it gets more and more tasty the longer it is kept. The tastier it grows the more they value it, "nice and peppery" they say. But the taste for *maltash* must be acquired, and it was too late for us to acquire it.

When Dádo was going off for his few days' leave, his last words were: "I'll bring you back some nice fresh butter; I'll bring enough for a month; it shall be my gift, and you shall be my guests." He was only away two days, and he must have drained all the cows in the countryside and kept his womenfolk busy all the time, for he brought a glass bottle full of really lovely looking, clean butter—that was, alas! already thoroughly rancid. "I had new vessels, and I didn't let them use gourds, and I got it made your way," he boasted. It was really tragic. We had to eat a little for a day or two, not to hurt his feelings; but it nearly made us sick. The pantry stank of it, and the dining-room stank of it, and the stink was steadily creeping into the study! Then I had to break it to him that though his butter was beautifully clean and perfectly lovely, we ate so little at a time that it could not keep in this heat, and so he must please take it away and store it as *maltash* for his family. A few days later he brought just a couple of ounces, made as nearly European-wise as possible, and David was just able to eat it smothered under marmalade for a couple of days. We then pleaded for only an ounce or two now and again, and gave Dádo some salt to blend into it. I renounced my share of this luxury with pleasure (I really could not eat it), but David, who has had longer practice in non-faddiness, could manage a little and even preferred it to eternal dry bread.

Dádo would not hear of payment; but at last I persuaded him, since this exotic butter-making must give trouble to his people and deprive them of *maltash*, to allow me to pay him three rupees a month or so—"for the baby boy." He adored the little boy—a rather ugly mite of about eighteen months whom he brought from time to time to show us—and he ultimately accepted this compromise and solemnly took "Akíl Sháh's butter-money" with his own wages. No payment, however, could repay the goodwill and kind thought that he used to put into procuring butter for us before it had become

000 *maltash*. We had had many native servants of many races and shades of colour in our time—including a French-speaking negro in Kerman long ago—whom we have grown fond of and who, I think, have been fond of us, but never anyone so entirely lovable as Dádo of Hunza.

262 While the summer lasted we were able to have as much fresh fruit, green vegetables, and potatoes as we could use, so that we were really very well off.

205 Several other problems that had threatened in advance to be serious solved themselves more easily than we had feared. The Political Agent's office in Gilgit has to send a post bag up to Hunza three times a week and they allowed our letters and parcels to come along in a separate bag to be dropped at Aliábád without payment of any extra postage. This was a great luxury, and we were amazed to find letters and newspapers coming through to us in exactly a calendar month from home. They could also send up in the mail-bag small quantities of white flour, sugar, raisins, rice, salt, matches, and cigarettes from the Gilgit bazaar—all unobtainable locally.

577 We needed money only to pay the wages and the daily milk, vegetables, etc. We had a strong suspicion that Shafi, for the few days he spent in charge of things, was gravely over-charging on the petty account, as well as making away with tea and sugar—having learnt, as I have said, more than his prayers in India. All the real Hunza men are so scrupulously straight that this distressed us. So we were doubly glad to have exchanged him for honest Zaidu.

431 At first all sorts of people kept bringing us gifts of fruit—apricots, pears, melons, peaches, apples, tomatoes (introduced like the potato by the British and much appreciated because they can be dried for winter use). This gift-business, however, is expensive for the recipient. If the Mir or any of the princes or any person of importance sent things, we must of course tip the people who brought them—not in proportion to the actual value of the articles, but to the dignity of the sender and ourselves. If a humbler person brought them we obviously must tip him also. As we could in season buy as much fruit and vegetables as we could use for about a half-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

is convenient. Each person has his own wooden bowl and 264
wooden spoon. They roll up their pancakes and dip them in [415]
their bowl of thick vegetable soup or take up the soup with
the spoon. The head woman of the house apportions a fair 262
share to each, and I fear there is rarely enough to allow of
second helpings.

The art of rationing the family all through the year is recognized as a difficult one; each able-bodied man is entitled to double a woman's ration, but the expectant or nursing mother gets a larger share than the other women; each child after weaning gets a certain ration according to its age.

If a *rúli gus* (housewife-in-chief) is over-generous with her 262
rationing during the post-harvest months of plenty the whole 586
family may starve before next year; so a "competent woman" is highly valued, and incompetence is a fair ground for divorce. No ill-will is felt or expressed, but back she goes to the father and mother who bred her.

The No. 1 Household consists of grandfather, a charming 592
old man, who proudly boasts that he built the house they live in and himself laid out the fruit garden; his two sons, who now do all the heavy work and who both are lucky enough to have small jobs connected with the hospital—this accounts for the family's relative well-to-do-ness; the elder son's wife is my friend Bibi Gímo, the *rúli gus*; the younger son's wife is a beautiful girl Naját, who became one of our best friends. In a community where all faces are happy and kindly, she has the happiest face I have ever seen, and a natural grace of bearing and manner that would adorn any station in any country. Naját so far has no children, but Bibi Gímo's married daughter was staying with her at the moment. There is also an adolescent daughter, Shukuru, who is already growing her hair, and will no doubt presently be married; two nice boys of perhaps thirteen and nine, and the two little girls I have mentioned already, Shamúli, say six, and Banu of three or four, and I imagined there would ere long be another child.

On my second visit, since they had all been so kind to me, 526
I took a tiny rubber ball for Banu. It was a great success. Not only she and Shamúli played with it, but the grown-ups

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

While one party is busy on the threshing floor, the empty 243
field is watered, ploughed, and sown again, and before the barley and wheat are well in store the bare fields are green again with the second crops, which seem to understand that they must grow at the double or be doomed.

There are two major kinds of millet grown: the one (called *bay*) has graceful feathery heads not unlike rice, but that the grain is smaller; the other (*cha*) has a tight-packed ear, also with tiny grains like what we call "canary seed." There are many varieties of each. When we arrived in mid-July the barley had all been reaped, and we just saw the wheat come in, but we were happily in time to see the second crops sprout, ripen, and fall. There are also two kinds of buckwheat sown. The sweet buckwheat is a lovely plant with fine dark leaves (something the shape of lilac leaves) and a glorious head of pink feathery blossom; the bitter is a smaller plant with lighter yellower leaves and a minute, unimpressive yellow flower. Neither of the buckwheats is really *liked* as food, and 243
the bitter is definitely *dis*liked, but *they are food*, and a skilful 262
housewife contrives to mix her flour so as to eke out the wheat and barley with a proportion of the buckwheats that is not too unappetizing and not inflict more "bitter buckwheat scones" on her family than she can help. The only reason that the bitter buckwheat is grown at all is that it can better stand the onset of winter, and, if the first crop is delayed, or if winter sets in untimely soon, it is a safer thing to gamble on.

When the terraced fields of Hunza are full again, with 243
waving *bay* and stately *cha* and seas of pink blossom send their delicate perfume drifting over the mountain side; when the trim field walls are vertical rock-gardens with wild thyme and the like crowding their crevices; when the fruit trees are still in full leaf, each variety of apricot turning a different shade of gold and red and flame; and bunches of green and red grapes are ripening under the pergolas of vines, while over all the barren mountain sides glare down and the snow peaks tower into a sky of burning blue—there are no words to tell the country's loveliness.

By the beginning of October the proud millets are laid low.

or blame that comes at night." I may be misinterpreting his 771
attitude of mind. These are not subjects you can thresh out as 181
easily as the wheat, and neither his vocabulary nor mine would have sufficed to tackle them. But this I can vouch for, that every face you see looks restfully content, breaks readily into a happy smile; that there are in Hunza no nervous gestures and no haunted eyes, and in normal life no irritable words. There is little amiss with a faith which spells happiness and high-principled living without debasing fear of Hell or over-conscious hope of Heaven.

When the final crops of every kind are safely in, the first 651
duty of the paterfamilias is to take stock of the year's yield. 262
So much is set aside for seed-grain, and not the direst shortage 792
will tempt him to violate the sanctity of this; so much is set aside for rent (if he is a tenant) or for the tax due on any craft he pursues—the miller pays a very small tax on his mill, the weaver on his loom-pit, the khalifa on his learning; and all pay (alas!) a sum as "Peter's pence" to their spiritual head, the Agha Khan. Next he calculates the "emergency reserve" that may be needed for hospitality or charity during the coming year; this also is scrupulously put aside unground. On the rest he and his family must live till next harvest, under the careful rationing of the senior housewife, the importance of whose rôle I have already stressed.

The period of comparative—well-earned and welcome—rest 796
that ensues, is inaugurated by a solemn watch-night service of prayer and thanksgiving in the House of Assembly. One of our main difficulties in the early days was to get due notice of such events beforehand. Our people were slow to realize that the normal routine of their affairs could really interest us. The first news we had of this Harvest Thanksgiving Service was one late evening in October when Dádo casually said as he bade us good-night: "I'm off now to the all-night prayer." In [779]
answer to our questions he told us that the Assembly Hall and the women's annex would be packed with the entire population, and that the khalifas in rotation would keep up all night a reading of the sacred Persian books and of the Qur'an. "And shall you be able to understand all that they read?" "Oh no,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1922-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 of course not; but we shall hear the names of God and the Imams, and we shall pray."

Further, it appeared that while the non-stop worship went on inside the Hall, a great communal feast would be prepared outside to be enjoyed at daybreak. We sent Dádo off with our good wishes; when he was gone I raided his pantry, assembled materials for early morning tea, and set the alarm-clock. Up we hopped before dawn and made our way, rather sleepy and unwashed, down to the open space "At the Gate" of the old fort, to see whether we could without offence look on at the morning feast. As we drew near I wondered whether it was altogether wise. If you think of the fanaticism of Pathans or Arabs towards Unbelievers . . . we were still new to the country and had not sounded the depths of Hunza tolerance. Already, however, we had considerable trust in it, and this trust was not misplaced. As we were seen coming round the corner, two headmen of the clans came out to greet us, and a chorus of spontaneous, evidently gratified greeting went up from the crowd. Every inch of the open space was packed with boys and men, while women and girls crowded in the background and round every corner, but the most of them had already hurried home to get their houses ready.

796 In the centre on a large carpet was a pile of cooked beasts
262 presented by the more well-to-do—two oxen, fifteen sheep, and goats. Round this six men were crouching with a log in front of each, disjointing limbs and chopping off chunks of meat and bone with an adze. Beside the carpet were ranged ten or a dozen immense iron cauldrons, quite 3 feet 6 inches across and 2 feet deep or more. Each of these was full to the very brim of a rich porridge that looked like soft dripping. There were two kinds: one called *sherbet* (but not remotely like the sherbet of Persia) was made of flour and butter well cooked and stirred; the other, of unground wheat similarly blent with butter, was called *harísa*. The humbler families according to their means had contributed these ingredients. Some of the great cooking-pots were still standing on
796 large iron tripods over the ashes of the night's fire. Most of the audience had wooden basins in their hands, a few had

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

322 would lead us home. A happy man he looked, though he told us that his back ached nowadays at work with lathe or plough, as it never used to do, and perhaps we had English medicines that would meet the case. We could only offer the sad tidings that we too, when we walked or rode or worked, were subject to fatigue and aches undreamt of in younger days, and that even in England the doctors knew no medicines to defeat on-coming age. This, oddly, seemed to comfort him a lot: "We're all ageing together then," he said, and we all three laughed a vain defiance at the years, "and we old ones have more skill and experience than the others, haven't we?"

462 Apart from their never-ending spinning the women have
241 many valuable crafts, though they are less spectacular than the
252 men's. They all bake a large variety of bread and scones from their blent flour—not only grains being pressed into the service, but pounded mulberries, walnuts, peas and beans, and semi-wild berries—and when *maltash* is available they make cakes and pastries of a dozen kinds. The vegetable patches are in their care, and amongst their many greens, their gourds, cucumbers and marrows, they tend a lot of plants whose seeds or leaves or flowers are valued as flavourings, and grow a little flax and mustard to supplement their apricot oil. In spring their plots are lit with the large blossoms of many-coloured poppies, whose seeds are not wasted on opium but scattered into the vegetable pot. They also grow small quantities of maize as a vegetable, but they do not consider it profitable as a major
249 crop. The kinder-hearted find a corner for tobacco for the
534 men's pipes, which circulate of an evening in the shade when
563 the day's work is done and someone tinkles a zither or tootles on a flute. These instruments are home-made like everything else, and are often very beautifully finished; we were neither of us qualified to judge of the music the players conjured up. To our unskilled ears it sounded amateurish, but eminently cheerful and pleasing. Serious music of drum and pipe and
● 262 kettledrum is the monopoly of the Béricho. When the women weed their crops they sort out the dandelion, stitchwort, and sorrel for their own brews before throwing the residue to
546 the cow. And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots,

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

Where a couple are definitely ill-matched, or the daughter-in-law fails to fit into the family scheme, the regrettable fact is faced, the two families meet to arrange a divorce, and each party is free to remarry and hope for better luck. Nothing, however, in our Hunza observations amazed us more than the amicable relations that normally prevailed among the women of a household. There would be a mother-in-law with three or four sons' wives, all perhaps with growing families about them, an adolescent girl or two, and the herd of youngsters. They work together from dawn to dusk without argument or recrimination, and apparently without anyone's attempting to shirk her fair share of the common tasks. 586 592

An expectant mother works on in house and field till the very last, but by common consent the heavier tasks are divided amongst the others, and an extra-nourishing ration is assigned to her both before and after the baby's birth. There is no sentimental pampering of the mother, but her immediate job is the baby, and she is expected naturally to concentrate on that. When a woman's monthly affliction overtakes her, she dresses in her oldest clothes and lies immobile by the fire till she is well again. The others make *daudo* for her, a porridge of flour well boiled in water, which is reputed very sustaining, and bring it to her, saying, "Sister, eat." After two days she is herself again, takes a bath, washes her clothes, and sweeps the house; but she is not banished as a pariah nor subject to any degrading superstitions nor to any taboo not imposed by nature. 843 262 844 841 [262]

Shyly one day my friend Zénába asked me was it true that white women were immune from monthly trouble. "We notice that English ladies seem to ride and camp at all times; we have never heard of one of you having to lie up." I explained our habits and conventions, and that we made it our pride to carry on outwardly unruffled. "But surely it can't be good for you?" "I don't believe it is; but there you are; it is our custom, and we should think it shame if the household noticed any difference in our behaviour. It sometimes makes us cross and fretful perhaps, and then our menfolk just think how unreasonable women are." She laughed heartily: "So that's how it is; we've always wondered; but I think our way is better."

addressed to each of the four corners of the shed. To our amazement we saw by the light of the flames that the shed was chock full of goats (we had imagined that they would have been cleared out for the ceremony) who seemed not in the least perturbed. Nadíro then came out again and lit a torch of juniper twigs at the fire and went in to wave it similarly into each of the four corners. Bibi Anjír then handed down a big wooden basin of *múl* which looked like a rather slushy brown pudding with pinkish trimming on top. This festive dish is made only on special occasions, such as a child's birth or the like. Before starting in to eat the *múl* or hand it round, the old man took his stand in the door of the byre and with great dignity and reverence lifted his eyes to heaven and recited the fumigating prayer. Bits of it ran something like this: "O Moses, Holy Prophet, grant that one hundred milking vessels may be required, and that our shears may be used on a hundred sheep! May kid follow after kid and lamb after lamb! May there be rams with curly horns and he-goats with short horns turned in! May milk flow in floods and may the butter pit be filled with butter!"

Happily DL had already got the prayer written down so we were able to follow it better than if we had been hearing it for the first time, and were even able to note that the Ustád got it a bit mixed in parts. We ascertained what was the point of the "short horns turned in." It is simply a question of packing. The byres are small and the beasts have all got to live crowded together in them throughout the winter, so that a princely he-goat with spreading horns is a disaster to his owner and a danger to his fellows.

Now came the moment when the family and friends would tuck into the *múl*, and we thanked our kind hosts most warmly for letting us see the little ceremony, and fled to the warmth of our own fire and our butterless tea. I was in terror lest we should be pressed to partake of the *múl* which is so special a dish that it was sure to be reeking of priceless *maltash*—of which we had no wish to rob them.

The next item on the Hunza communal programme is the Great Wedding Day, which falls about mid-December on some Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners.

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

I had expressed a wish to see what winter life "By the Lamp" was like, and one day Levy Kalbi brought an invitation from his womenfolk to join them some evening in their house. I was warmly welcomed into the living-room, where twenty people were at home and many guests besides myself had been invited. The guests included all our own household except the Kashmiri sweeper. I made my way over to the women's side of the house and murmured such compliments as I could improvise, on the skill and diligence with which they stitched and teazed and span. It was amazing. I could only hope that their zeal was perhaps a little extra on my account. Presently, when all had settled down after my incursion, a princely dish of potatoes cooked in *maltash* (producing a sort of Irish stew effect) was set on the floor in the centre and a wicker platter heaped with bread and another piled with grapes. Kalbi had most thoughtfully asked me to have my own dinner before coming, for he feared that I might not be able to enjoy their food (as *maltash* is an inevitable ingredient in any food set before a guest, this was both tactful and humane). Another large dish of grapes was set near me, and the children who clustered round shared them with me without reluctance.

Again I marvelled at the spaciousness and freedom gained by an absence of furniture. We must have been thirty or forty in that tiny-seeming room, yet there was no sense of crowding, and there was perfect ease of movement. And again I marvelled at the natural graciousness and instinctive good manners of these unsophisticated folk. My hosts and hostesses, who had never had a European in their house before, made me feel welcome and at home, and were evidently not conscious of the slightest embarrassment themselves. In a few minutes two or three prostrate sausage-rolls of bedding came to life, bright eyes peeped out and the respective mothers' exhortations, "Go to sleep again, darling!" were just as successful as their equivalents in similar circumstances at home.

Only a couple of the very senior men of the family shared the extra feast, but the guests were warmly pressed to fall to. Each folded a flap of bread round his potato and ate it neatly as from an egg-cup. Then Kalbi's old father, the patriarch of

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 and the party galloped hell for leather down the field, providing a fine spectacle for the pedestrian crowds.

As noon drew on we went along towards the pond and took our stand where DL thought his prospects of cine-photography were best. It was his first serious attempt to use his cine-camera, and everything seemed unpropitious. The only point of view from which it was possible to command the path of the procession faced straight into the eye of the sun while the path itself was in heavy shade. I posted myself as well as I could to try to shade his lens, and as a matter of fact the film has not turned out too badly. We were both so much preoccupied throughout the day with the unwonted problems of the cine, and the endeavour not to appear rude or ungrateful, that I realized too late that I had entirely forgotten to take ordinary snapshots of separate figures, etc., as I should normally have done. It is particularly disappointing for the chance was unique, and there would have been ample opportunity if I had not let my wits go wool-gathering.

Noontide came; music was heard inside the Fort, and out came the band in necessary single file carrying on their usual byplay with vigour and evident enjoyment. Next followed "The Great" (viz. headmen, officials, and the like) in single file on foot, but carrying "horses" in their hands. The horses were wands made of a few dark red willow twigs, bent over in a circle at the top not unlike one of the toys a bishop has to play with. A striking personage was a man bearing two huge loaves of barley bread on his back. They were about the size of millstones and looked about equally digestible. Next came [242] a sturdy fellow bearing shoulder high an ancient iron platter hung with chains, on which was piled a white cone called the *chopan*, crowned with a pear and a bunch of maidenhair. The *chopan* is concocted of several favourite Hunza foods, *maltesh*, of course, a mulberry preserve called *bing*, and other ingredients kneaded together and coated thick with flour. This dish was escorted by a man drowned from head to foot in flour, whose face was like an over-pierrotted pierrot; lastly came a man carrying a dish of burning incense.

Next appeared a lot of men bearing white and red pennants

twin sister. "Is that Kaníza's twin?" It was—twice as big and flourishing as our little Kaníza. By way of making conversation I asked the mother: "Isn't it strange that Anjír should be so much bigger than her twin?" "Not really strange," she said quite simply, "there is food in Báltit." Yet when my photographing was done they pressed me to come in. I made to squat just anywhere on the woman's platform, but they must needs find a rug for me to sit on. They were cooking lentils in a big stone pot on a tripod over a tiny fire, and they produced a dish of boiled potatoes and wanted to share it with me. I took a tiny taste for friendliness, but excused myself from eating more with the phrase I had found gave no offence, "I came, having just eaten." These people's hospitality just left me gasping. That dish of lentils and potatoes was probably the only serious meal of the day for five or six of them. And if I had so little, should I want to stuff any of it into over-fed foreigners? I trow not. We were not conscious of being exactly over-fed in Hunza, but by contrast with what our neighbours—much better folk than we—existed on. . . .

Another day I met on the narrow track a perfectly strange lad with a lump of dried apricots in his hand (rather like a lump of the all-glued-together dates you see in a grocer's shop) which he was eating as he walked along. We greeted each other "Jú na!" This is the old-time native greeting, still much more in use than the formal "Salam aleikum" of Islam, which the women scarcely use at all. When you do say "Salam aleikum," the correct Hunza reply is "Salam aleikum." At first, of course, we used to answer: "W'aleikum as salam!" as is usual amongst Muslims elsewhere; but it came to sound stilted and highbrow to our own ears, as I do not doubt it did to theirs. Immediately the boy held out his apricots for me to take some. I tugged a small one off the corner and popped it into my mouth, where it lasted me like chewing-gum for half an hour. These apricots are very good and most sustaining, far tastier than the dried apricots we buy at home, but for serious eating they need to be steeped overnight and then make a delicious dish.

A month later, by the third week of March, we were well

with. They are the greatest possible contrast to the alert, intelligent Burusho: possibly there is more than sugar in a diet of apricots!

Quite suddenly after the first lovely rush of water the channels went silent again. Not that they were ice-bound, but it seems that the first warmth of the year melts all the recently fallen snow off the top, which gives you your first rush. After that comes a pause before the sun has gathered heat enough to melt the older, hardened snow and make an impression on the glaciers. This arrangement of Nature's suits the peasants well. The first rush waters their new planted barley and springing wheat; the pause gives them time to clear out all the silt and sand that is cluttering up their channels, and to repair the walls. They find the silt a useful top-dressing for their fields. All the menfolk worked hard to get their irrigation works into trim before the real water flow began. Meantime all the *gfuris* near us were empty, and poor Sagi had to go a mile or more to draw water for baths and washing up, in addition to his usual pilgrimage for our drinking water. So we installed an assistant for him.

Among the enlivening sounds of these early Spring days was the tootle-tootle of boys' whistles. At a certain moment when they consider the degree of sap flowing in the willows is right for their purpose, they cut themselves sections of various lengths. With great ingenuity they coax off the bark in great flute-like pipes and make an extraordinary variety of whistles with many notes. The deepest notes are achieved by inserting a finer pipe into a larger one, and thus providing a lining to the latter as it were. The same procedure that yields a whistle will also supply a squirt, a pop-gun, or a pea-shooter, and these various toys diversify the day.

Despite the pleasure which water, work, and sunlight bring, the season of Spring awakes no poet's raptures in the Hunza heart. "Starvation Springtime" would have given Keats an odd title for an Ode. Many weeks before the new barley was ripe for cutting every household round us had already run out of every sort of flour, many also out of potatoes and apricots.

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

The most cautious rationing had not been able to spread last year's supplies over the whole twelve months. Perhaps not all, but certainly many families were surviving on such edible weeds as they took from amongst the barley, and such small greens and turnip tops as were available in the women's vegetable plots. I had heard the phrase "Starvation Springtime" without fully realizing its import. One day passing along near No. 6 I saw Afiato's wife out on the roof, and shouted up: "Jú na, Bibi, the days are bright again; may I come some day and make a picture of you making bread?" "Come and welcome, Mother, but bread I cannot make till the new harvest. We have had no flour left this many a day. Have you not noticed the little children crying? They are hungry, poor mites, and they are too small to understand." Now that my attention was called to it, I did notice that we occasionally heard a wailing of small children such as had not been before. The bigger children and the grown-ups made no complaint, just tightened their belts and went on working—and smiling.

I had taken a photograph one day of Dirzi Nazar's wife, carrying a basin of greens up on to her roof to cook. It was rather a jolly photograph with Raka rising just behind Jamáli's head. When it was printed I went along as usual to give her a copy. She was nowhere about, but Nazar was on the roof doing the best he could with a dish of green stuff. He came down politely in answer to my greeting. I handed over the photograph. He was pleased. "Come along here, girl, and see what you look like!" he called to her. For a moment or two they lingered over the picture; suddenly Nazar burst out into uncontrollable laughter of so infectious a quality that it was some time before I could find voice to ask what the joke was. "Excuse me, Mother dear, but it really is so funny to have a lovely picture of the mountains and your wife and your house —with no bread in it," and off he went again in delighted appreciation of the irony of the situation. A few weeks later the mulberries ripened to vary and supplement the scanty diet of green food, and Nazar sent along a platterful for us. I could hardly bear to accept them; yet to refuse would have wounded

it to be ground. But "Starvation Springtime" was still ruling the land, and we noticed the children looking very thin and peaky, and a few with sores on their faces—hunger sores. We had often remarked on the complete absence of skin diseases amongst these cleanly folk, and the hunger sores rapidly disappeared with the coming of more food.

The opening of June saw weeding being very intensively carried out, not only for the sake of the growing crops, but for the weeds' own sake; those which were dubbed "crows' vegetables" were thrown to the sheep and goats, while sorrel and the like found their way into the family cooking-pot. Irrigation questions were now serious, for the crops must not be starved of water at the critical moment, and we used to meet bands of Aliábádkuts armed with shovels walking out the eight or more miles to the highest point of the Dála to guard and govern the controlling sluices. The potatoes were now beginning to flower and the mulberries to show signs of ripening, and the air was rent by shrill boy and girl noises designed to scare the birds off the mulberry trees. Every boy was armed with his catapult bow, made and strung of course by his own hands. I asked Yaman how many birds he had killed with his little stones: "Seventy-two, so far this season, Mother, but I'll get lots more." "What do you do with them?" "Oh, I take them home and put them in the pot, but there's not much meat on them." Our first impression of Hunza had been that, except for magpies, it was an entirely birdless land; this was a mistake. Migratory birds came in flocks at various seasons when any sort of likely food was going. Their various species I was not ornithologist enough to know; to me, as to A. J. Balfour, each was just "an average small bird," and the Hunza terminology was no great help to identification, for they were known as "mulberry birds," "barley birds," or the like, according to which crop they threatened. We now also for the first time saw shorn goats. Whereas the Hunza sheep are robbed of their wool just whenever wool is needed, so that you never see a really generous-looking ample fleece, the goats are shorn only once a year, in early summer. If you think of it, goat's hair would be too wiry to spin at all unless it were a decent length.

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Windy weather was knocking down unripe mulberries in 233
alarming quantities, which were incontinently guzzled by the 245
goats and sheep.

By June 9th ripe mulberries were reported from Ganesh and Hasanabad, some hundreds of feet below us, but we had to wait another three weeks for ours.

One afternoon we were out on the hillside and stopped to 524
watch a group of boys playing a complicated game of *bada bada* with a lot of small stones cast into twelve little holes in the ground. It was roughly equivalent to some of our games of marbles, and thinking of a large consignment of these which we had brought with us for future gifts we ruefully realized how useless marbles would be in a country where there are not six inches of smooth, level ground. As we sat trying to master 231
the rules of *bada bada* Gulo crept up alongside me and slipped her hand confidentially into mine, whispering "Our pussy cat has had a confinement," using for fun the same term as she would have applied to her mother, and not the word suitable for cats. "There are three kittens, and they opened their eyes yesterday; do come and see them!"

When the game was over we accordingly started crosswise downhill to No. 3. I halted at the door to make sure that Zénába was prepared to endorse the impulsive invitation. She was sitting crouched by the hearth boiling the greens for dinner and jumped up with delight to bring us in. We squatted down on a sleeping-bench, from the back of which the children produced a round fruit basket in which the cat was cosily curled up. She was evidently accustomed to seeing her babies tenderly handled, for she let us take them out without other comment than a loud purr. Dear little furry things they were, about the size of small mice, and Gulo bubbled over: "She made first the black one and then the white one and then the yellow one—and that was all." Meantime, in addition to Kaníza and Apícho, a strange young man had drifted in to see what was going on, and presently Father arrived and we all chatted together very gaily. Laughing somewhat apologetically, 231
Zénába confessed that she had drawn on the emergency reserve 891
to make some *doudo* (a sort of porridge with butter) for pussy 262

231 to keep her strength up—and this in one of the poorest houses,
949 where they have had no bread nor butter for themselves for
262 weeks. *Doudo* is one of the nourishing dishes you make for a human mother, and the cat was such a pet that the kittens were considered as a birth in the family, one of the emergencies budgeted for. There is as little need in Hunza for an R.S.P.C.A.
231 as for an anti-litter crusade. Everyone is devoted to his animals,
562 and the children have pet names for ever[illegible]mb and kid. You will often see a boy or girl carrying home [illegible] tired animal slung over the neck like a fashionable lady's fur. Only people who have lived in the East can realize how amazing was this affectionate care for a pet; or how still more amazing this happy family life where father could come in and find his wife and daughters entertaining two strange men and be obviously delighted to see the guests. At least, if this sort of thing is possible elsewhere in the East, I have not heard of it.

231 When we passed next day we heard that a strange cat, which must be the only other one in Alisbéd, for in general everyone is too poor to keep either cat or dog, had come in while the mother was mouse-hunting and had killed two of the kittens.
[115] Yaman, the only brother of our most beloved young friends, and most intelligent of informants, lifted a pathetic little white body with his toes from the field to show us. The children were half horrified and half amused at the kittens' fate.

137 There were a few wild flowers these June days amongst the scanty grass of the *ugu*: red bladder campion, stitchwort, and an occasional starved-looking forget-me-not. The children were much amused when we told them what the English call it, and that sentimentalists amongst us use it as a love-token. After that, one or another would run up to us offering a tiny blue flower and saying, "Don't forget me!" Some future linguist, language-hunting like ourselves, may be puzzled to hear of *je ti ekel* growing in Hunza fields and rack his brains as to how
123 the idea came to the Karakoram. On principle we have tried to avoid poisoning the ground for future workers by importing European ideas, legends, or phrases, and in this connection the forget-me-not, the "one little pig" and Afrot's *How do you do?* are the only sins on my conscience.

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Men left at home in the village were now making pilgrimages towards the *tér* to fetch down the manure that their brothers up on the mountain side with the animals have been scrupulously collecting. They usually arrange to meet half way, the village brother taking up any supplies the other may need and the brother of the *tér* bringing down not only manure but butter and *brás*, a kind of preparation of dried curd not unlike cream cheese. The lads up at the *tér* have rather a jolly time. They take up only their oldest clothes, for the life is rough and the work is hard. Anywhere that there is a scrap of suitable ground they plant a little barley, harnessing themselves to the plough so as not to put work on to the horses or oxen they may have with them, who are considered to have earned a holiday. Each day at dawn they loose their animals, but keep a careful eye on them, and sometimes have hair-raising adventures in rescuing a beast which has fallen down a cliff. There used to be considerable danger from wild animals, but nowadays there are few of these surviving. Any family that lacks a spare son to take the animals up entrusts them to the care of some other, after a rather touching little ceremony in which the beasts are solemnly committed to the care of their new master, who is at the same time given a certain amount of grain with him as part of his fee. Milking, making butter, collecting the manure, tending the barley (if any), cooking their own food, corralling the animals at night, etc., occupy the herds the greater part of the time, but they find leisure enough for various games and feats of skill.

Every now and again they decide to supplement their scanty rations—the village can spare little enough to send with them—by the sacrifice of a goat and a feast of meat. The donor of the beast plays for the evening the rôle of Mir, appoints another as his Wazir, and they play-act their several parts with gusto. It is frankly admitted that the animal sacrificed to make this holiday usually is one of those whose owner is not present. When eventually the boy returns, minus one of the animals for which he was trustee, he formally announces the regrettable "loss" to its owner. The nature of the catastrophe is fully understood but not crudely stated. A wise owner is

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

expected to reply: "It is God's will. Accidents will happen. After all, they are beasts of the mountain and the wild." He is reckoned a churlish fellow who institutes enquiries and demands compensation, though no one denies his right to it. The liberty to indulge in an occasional free feed is, we understood, sparingly taken and not abused.

With luck a she-goat will yield enough milk while up on the summer pastures to make two *maltash*, i.e. two birch bark parcels of butter for storage. If the goat is a trustee goat the herd is expected to hand one *maltash* to her owner and to keep the balance as his fee. Sheep's milk is poor in fat content and yields little butter, so it is usually devoted to making *brús* and *rakhpin*, a kind of hard, dried curd which has great lasting qualities and the appearance of a cake of soap.

The day that the herds return from the mountain with their charges is a festive one for the villages. Large parties go out to meet the returning absentees. Before finally leaving the *sár*, driven down by cold and the advancing autumn snows, the herds bake some special little cakes to bring back with them, and crowds of dancing, shouting boys and girls fall on their elder brothers demanding their share. Trust the Hunzukuts to stage a festival on the slightest provocation.

Our Ernest of the white horse reappeared unexpectedly from the *sár* in the middle of the season and walked over from Hasanabad to call on us and bring an offering of *brús* for DL and of wild mountain flowers for me. He had given his animals into a friend's charge, and taken a couple of days off because he was a member of the Hasanabad polo team and was wanted to play in an inter-village match. These matches rouse as much interest as Arsenal *versus* Chelsea, and a good player who is also the possessor of a good pony can ill be spared. I duly took a photo of him and The Cat, he no longer in the rôle of the humble *sais* but of the gentleman polo player. Stout fellow!

These early June days were the time for apricot and mulberry grafting. The cultivated fruit shoots are grafted on to wild trees. We watched the process, about which the Hunzukuts have little to learn. Each graft was given a double lashing of bark from mulberry root. We returned later and found them

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

all thriving. The field walls looked very jolly at this season, with wild flowers of the rock-garden type growing in the crannies between the stones and fostered by the seepage from the irrigated fields above. Amongst them was a wild mint and a wild thyme, the flavouring qualities of which are known and appreciated.

On June 12th we saw some people hungrily eyeing their barley and reckoning that it would be ripe for cutting in another fifteen days. It was said to be good this year in spite of an abnormally cold, late spring. Some rain showers that we had were welcomed though they temporarily cooled the air. But as clouds and rain continued, anxiety began to be felt lest the wheat should be late and delay too long the planting of the buckwheat-on-wheat. The barley is subject to a disease called *tam*, which stripes the leaves an ugly yellow and produces a milky liquid in the ears. Few plants were attacked this year. The disease called *mazil* (rust?), which makes black ears, attacks only wheat and millet, and if the cold and rain persisted it might be expected to set in. We were doubly anxious that this year's crops should be good: unselfishly for the people's sake; selfishly lest a bad year should be attributed to the maleficent influence of two crazy people learning Burushaski—though indeed these highly rational people would be unlikely to indulge any such fantastic association of ideas.

We saw some people one day collecting the under-bark from red willow trees; they use it for dyeing the leather of their native boots and skilfully chip it out from the living tree without injuring the willow.

Now that the people were really within sight of food they frankly confessed to being desperately hungry, and the strain of unremitting work—weeding, ploughing, manuring, grafting, irrigating from dawn to dusk on empty tummies—was showing in drawn, thin faces, but appeared powerless to damp their spirits or fray their tempers. It was dreadful to look on and be helpless to feed the multitude with loaves or fishes, while we lived—sparingly enough by home standards but—riotously compared with these much more deserving neighbours. We saw one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry

[in June -- Analyst]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

tree silently munching unripe fallen fruit, but the most pathetic sight was groups of little girls crouched beside a water-channel scooping out sand and mud and forming it into various types of breads and cakes which they pretended to "bake like Mother." They knew nothing of modern psychology, and were unaware that we interpreted their poor little mud pies as wish-fulfilments.

Cuckoos and larks were now filling the air with welcome, strangely home-like sounds.

One day the news of the Quetta earthquake reached us by telephone and spread dismay in twenty homes which had sons in British service there. How to get news? Mercifully the suspense was not prolonged. Thanks to the humane arrangements which allowed survivors to telegraph free, a telegram was telephoned through from one of the Hunza men to say that he and all his compatriots had escaped, owing to the fact that they were all employed by officers of the Staff College. It would be blasphemy to suppose that those were all unrighteous on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, but we could hardly resist a suspicion that the God of Earthquakes shared something of our feeling for the folk of Hunza.

It was the very end of June before the Barley Harvest was in sight, but as the time approached nearer and nearer, by painfully slow degrees, we saw women and girls devoting all their spare time to making new caps for the jollifications of Ginini, and the men, who are not a whit less vain, were already sporting bright new shirts in anticipation. We came on Kaniza and Apicho putting the last touches on a cap made of some scraps of Tootal material which I had given to Kaniza to dress the new doll that Yaman had made for her. They were weaving the braid edging straight on to the cap, stitching it on as they wove. The method was interesting: six long coarse crimson threads are made fast by both ends to the edge of the double cap—outside, and slightly padded lining. The stitcher holds the cap inside out. The braider sits near and takes the six long loops of equal length, passing three over the fingers of the right and three over the fingers of the left hand; then she slips the left-hand loops on to the right-hand fingers, deftly lifts the

4: Lorimer 1-3 (1929-4; 1934-5)-1935 AV7 Burnho AV7

the door, they bring out a bowl of flour, and *ispandar* smoke, and 539A
a dish of ghee. The Tham touching these and kissing (his fingers) 643
enters the house and sits down on the large dais. The master of 574
the house and his brothers, standing in the centre part of the room, say: "You are welcome!" "God bless you!" replies the Tham.

Then he makes the Elders and followers sit down for a little at the door and he calls up the Wastr and then he calls up the Yerpa. Then they bring the Elders one by one into the house, and then they bring in the inferior followers, and they make them sit down in their appointed places. After this a personal servant brings water for the Tham to wash his hands, and when they have made the Tham wash his hands they make the Elders wash theirs.

Then they set food before the Tham. The Head Cook and the 262
assistant cooks prepare vegetable soup for the Tham and put the 539A
hindquarters of a sheep and *sherbat* with bread before him. Also 643
four cakes of thick bread, and curds in a bowl, and cream in a cup. 574
The Head Cook cuts up the meat for the Tham.

Then they place dishes of food before the leading men, and the meat that is in front of the Tham they dispense to the Elders and followers. There are also the two heads of the goats: one of these with some bread they give to the musicians; the other they give to the grooms. To the huntsmen they give the fat tail (of the sheep) which is in front of the Mir. They give two dishes (of food) to each party separately. To the Bodyguard they give five dishes.

Then to the Tham's womenfolk also they send bread and dishes of food and to the Gushpurs they send one dish each. The Gushpurs are not allowed to come to the host's house with the Tham and Elders. They send the food for them to their various lodgings.

When he has eaten the Tham comes out. He says: "Blessings 539A
on you!" and they reply: "On your life blessings!" The master 643
of the house comes out in front of the door with the Tham. 574
576

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28 *ka'dem ... kasili ki* — the sentence is grammatically obscure and probably faulty, *ka'dem* unless it is adjectival, seems to require a verb, such as "they carry away from ...".
wazirwhi — an alternative reading is: *wazirw kas ...*
sepikas — is the p.pc. active of *bikaipas* used absolutely.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1925-4; 1926-8) 1935 AV7 Burushe AV7

Then from the house of entertainment there is (sent) a dish on which they put as the Wazīr's portion, a leg (of mutton), and *sherbat* along with bread; and also there is a dish apiece for the Headman and the two Hunza Trangfas on which they put a leg. Then for the cooks there are the fat of the two goats and their necks and skins. And for the musicians there is from ancient times a wooden jar which it is the custom to give to them filled with the oil from the *sherbat*. From that evening's food they set something aside and in the morning, and they bring it with *gurūt* *fuwāī* from the host's house to the place of assembly. 539 643 574 262

When the Tham stays thus for a month or two months in Herber every day the people who are exempt from carrying loads bring to the Tham's house two goats and a lump of ghee and bread, which they have made with 15 *chaqe* of grain, and *sherbat*. And every day the Tham gives green grass to the Elders for their horses. To the Wazīr grass is given from five houses and they give the Wazīr one *chuti* of grain (for his horse). For the horses each village gives (him?) a rope. 539 643 574 431

When the hospitalities have come to an end they give a goat and bread (made) of five *chaqe* of grain. This is called *Otaq*. The custom of *Otaq* is as follows: One field has been given to each of them by the Thams and on that they have imposed the *Otaq* tax. Further the exempted man every year gives the Tham as illaw four animals viz. one he-goat, one ram, one she-goat and one yearling kid. Followers of the second rank and load-carriers give every year three animals viz. one she-goat, one sheep and one yearling kid. These are the tax (imposed) on load-carriers. Further, each household gives the Tham four (measures of) grain, which they call *sabir jiti* and each household gives a *kichuti* of barley, which is called *yashi yirk*. It is the custom also for every village to give one rope each for as many dogs and horses as there may be. 539 643 574 651

The Khuldābād illaw is (assigned) to Gushpur Nafīs, and the Nastmābād illaw to Shāhān Khān and the Mingār illaw is vested 539 173 651

19 *yash yirk* — Wakhi for "horse's barley": *yāl* 'horse' and *yirk* 'barley'.
21 *Nastmābād* — the other name of this place was *Ḍāhā Das*.

000 *gorwki) di bila, manila* spring has come. It has become spring. *dafu gorwu wazu ofawu* they wash for gold in autumn and spring. 348.6. *goru azai afurwafila* spring doesn't suit me.

●262 "People are slack in spring and sleep much. They extract apricot-water (*gorwki ĉamwo diwiowo*) and eat wheat bread if available. In winter they eat buck-wheat and barley bread". Vide also Text No. 39 end.

000 *gorwki* v. *goru*.

gorwkiro period following *Thurwudolig* (midwinter), when the days slightly lengthen and the air is warm like an ox's breath (*kwo bi gorwkiro gorwrow mwiki bila*).

gorwrow N. y pl. *-ig* hot. — *ne gorwrow mwi bi* the sun has become hot. (Cp. Ha. *gorwrow*, Werch. *gorwro*).

gorwrokod, gorwgiod McK. and GK typhoid fever. (Cp. Ha. *gorwrowkod*).

gorwrowo pertaining to spring (V. s.v. *goru*, but usually referring to earlier part of that period). — *gorwrowo kwa* spring season. *gorwrowo wazi'elo* in spring-time. 100.1.

Used independently:

gorwrowo in spring. 186.1, 274.10, 334.8, 350.1. *gorwrowfowo* from (the beginning of) spring. 350.4.

(Derived from *goru*).

gorwrowu pl. h and x *-ilo*.

1. Hot, warm. — *ifi kw ... bot ahord da gorwrowu hilowo* that nullah was (then) very populous and warm. 228.4. *pfu jwazu gorwrowu* as hot as fire. *hiri gorwrowu* very warm (of sun, or fever patient). (*Ba.ofig*) *pfwafafo gorwrowu ne* warming (the foot-bandages) at the fire. 132.6. Cp. 326.2.

162 b

000 So also in 384.10,11 it appears to have been an open pit or trench. (Cp. Sh. *golko*).

262 γυm'*aldi* alternate layers of thin bread (*xamali*) and curdled milk over which milk and oil are poured. 231.1. (Cp. Sh. *gulmand'e*, a dish made of sour milk, butter & thin bread).

000 *-γυmaν, *-γυmaν y bowels, (generally) the "inside", body, H. *wujud*. — *iγυmaν daq manila* his bowels have become hard, i.e. he is constipated. *iγυmaν ewas mili* medicine to make his bowels move, purgative. *dγυmaν hili-ium manila* my bowels have become soft (after aperient). *wlo maγumaνulma hol so qou manimi* a cry came out from her inside. 108.9. *hawda . . . iγumaνulo dik stimi* (i.e. *dikaftimi*) the arrow stuck in his innards. 146.12. *ovlis iskumots bis iγ'umaνulo* there are two young ones in its inside. 64.16.

γυm'ar, γυmaν -iq y hole (small, in strap etc.), H. *surwar*. — γυmaν *ofi* make a hole. *hahlo ovlis γυmaνvig hitsa . . . hau γυmaν mainilo* there are two (bullet) holes in the skin . . . there should be one hole. 102.25. *ja gatuqolu γυmaν aisti* don't make a hole in my clothes. EOL. Cp. 54.4.

1. γυa -anis x wooden block in mechanism of door-bolt which carries the drop peg (*iwrkas*).
2. γυa -anis x stocks. — γυaν (or, γυaolo) *wahimas* they put (him) in the stocks.

γaνa pl. γaγo x quail. (Cp. Sh. *gana*).

*-γυlas, v. *-dγυlas, to give.

γυa'i, pl. γυa'eq y mica, H. *abraq*.

γ'uaikis, γυa'ikis, (Nz. g-), pl. hx γυa'ikianis, y γυa'ikiaq bad, evil,

186a

mama ctas (past tenses) to be in an advanced stage of pregnancy; to be big with young (of animals). *mama ctem* pregnant. *jakumas mama ne* (or, *ctem*) *ŝim* there was a donkey which was big with young. 118.8. *gus ŝu'a mama ctem* (or, *ctí*) *ŝi* this cow is pregnant. 191.6. Cp. 64.26. 000

. The same idea is presented in regard to a woman in:
ŝrakimmata mama ŝilem there was milk on his daughter-in-law, i.e. she was with milk, approaching child-birth. 100.2.

Shins formerly considered milk impure. It is said that still chikarie going out to hunt will not take milk or beef because it will anger the *pari* ("fairies"). Cp. 296.2, 338.4. 262

1. *man* -*ants* x an earth platform, sleeping and sitting platforms in house, dais (on which the elite sit at public functions, polo-matches etc.); mound (over grave), H. *ŝalurba*. — *ŝim dawk jalage manafe hurudai* the Thum dismounting takes his place on the platform at the place of public meeting. 338.4. Cp. 340.2. Pl. *manants* 12.18. *matare man* the mound over a grave. 82.16. 000
2. *man* x "a hard thing found in a goat's inside and used as medicine"; IUS. antidote to poison, H. *man*, Pra. *zahr-mohra*.

mana, *manía* prohibited, forbidden. — *mana ctas* to prohibit him. *mana ctas* to prohibit them. *gub ŝaya mana ctas ŝile* this affair, talk, is to be forbidden. Ar. Pra.

3. **Birds.** 136

hola.	*gatshir.*	*yokerse.*	*mandzey.*	*qerenge.*
čili budak	*gindzewer ghin.*	*yere.*	*mizem.*	*sindiy.*
v. Carrigunda.	*girgir.*	*kerge.*	*gferet.*	*tsqu.ghin.*
III. CO. II.	*gerji.*	*kergerge N.*	*gfolein.*	*3. tal.*
dig mayen.	*ya.*	*kaje*	*gerge.*	*ghafogas.*
gaga.	*yenzighin.*	*ker.*	*qalq.*	*ngaer.*
gerdiem kerag.	*yeyendzi.*	*kerdi N.*		

Varieties of Hawk.

ker.	*kerda čerp.*	*gasand.*	*tskiu.*	*kemagerv.*
kaker.	*čerr.*	*kirki.*	*kwaiu.*	*kerera.*
kerda.	*čewli.*	*kighirki N.*		

4. **Insects.**

kiliskij yalga.	*kamirjo.*	*kerkerse.*	*merendse.*	*pere.*
čemerse.	*kirimsas.*	*kkere.*	*gfoline.*	*{ kerersas*
čerafu.	*kerlalas.*	*kkiu.*	*gfru.*	*{ kerersas*
gerakerlalas.	*kkanimajerlu.*	*kkirda.*	*gfrrsa.*	*trage.*
kayere gfru.	*kagler.*	*kem.*	*tagar.*	*fiki.*

5. **Diseases.** 164

salew.	1. *jak.*	*kergemeta.*	*gfalagi.*	*kerkemeta.*
dalayer.	*zertemmet.*	*mag.*	*gerizzem.*	*kiri N.*
damkerini N.	*ere.*	*merey.*	*rami.*	*°.erdale tahil.*
gerermkeß.	2. *lam.*	*mirgi.*	*mere.*	*kergemer N.*
yertaikeja.	*lam ham.*	*marile.*	*kerda.*	*nagnag dalayer.*
yeiyikel.	*kerge.*			

(Of cattle) *girdu.* (Of grain) *mahel.* 6. *lam.*

6. **Food.** 262

a. Varieties of Bread and Cakes, etc.:

kayenda.	*germe.*	*kali kenerli.*	*gfiyi.*	*kirik N.*
diram gfiyi.	*giyal.*	*mamali.*	*salindafi.*	*kiru.*
dalderyqi.	*yemalki.*	*azela.*	*fagirk.*	*fiiyer.*
2. *damerge*	*jagaki.*	*lanka.*	*kere.*	*yeiyu.*
gengfiyi.				

b. Milk and Milk Products:

kag N.	*diller.*	*[illegible].*	*mamka.*	*gerwi.*
kerere.	*yiflig.*	*mamu.*	*gaki.*	*razgiru.*
čika.	*kilery.*	*mamkahil.*		

529

e. Miscellaneous other c'oods:

262

kapwig.	chap.	kori.	pedur kak N.	kort.
kirg.	dawfo.	nimqiki.	pfuqwk.	tkamik.
kwski.	kwala N.	wwi.	tvbat.	otaiyonas.
chatawu.	kaf.	pulan.	kivda N.	wwk.

7. Vessels, Utensils etc.

415

a. Bags and Sacks:

kalkakt.	girgin.	kkawaj.	mati N.	awmata.
katawu.	yati.	ualia N.	mwf.	tayar.
gwgi.	kkalafu.	xeltu.	qap.	twig.

b. Baskets.

chaqkaw.	kw'a.	giran.	yatwl.	kkawqi.	tkalia.

c. Vessels and Containers:

kafalwk.	tilamti.	kamik.	mainrka.	qimatkawu.
kayandakay.	chwkas.	imakat.	pfaka.	sakay.
kali.	dalgas.	iman(?).	pfatamwdal.	tadpi.
kalwt.	dwatnak.	jati.	pfrku.	tagpur.
kiru.	gafaw.	kkati.	pfwl.	tkkayar.
kafuk.	gwkan.			

8. Games.

524

kakal	ayar ayar.	gatal kalu.	takay	tkkayawu.
kalu.	dayu dayu.	tamkak.	yakawi.	

9. Supernatural Beings.

776

kilas.	dagalapkas.	jandawu.	pari.	tadarlikay.
kwia.	kiv kilas.	jin.	pfwt.	yaqkami.

10. Words relating to CEREMONIES, CUSTOMS etc. or Objects which have no English equivalent.

000

kori.	kagfan.	dani.	yarkal.	*.ani mamaryu.
kav.	karaki.	darman.	yartagaj. (yaltapij).	ptag.
kawaj.	karwi.	dark.		ovtiki.
kak kirk.	ganajan.	dazaw.akata.	1. yan.	palow.
kalgwin.	1. chagpi.	perlja.	ivikan.	pfanirv.
kargimas.	chas.	gnawai.	karli.	phaqiw.
kerik, v. also page 421.	ciwagnawma.	giranu nivas.	saw.	pkarotaiw.
kwiaki.	cokaji.	giryaj.	kajwi.	pari as.
karal.	cap.	gwj.	makar.	pasawu.
kirta N.	dal dal.	yan.	manajiki.	pfl.
	dambu.	yankaj.	makala.	pi.aqmar.

530

000 *gotsilo rajarki ortam* be used to make them do forced labour on the canal. 276.8. *werlti giranar rajakiar qou ati* call on the Four Tribes for communal labour. (Cp. Sh. *rajarki*, r *ni.ski*).

r.al v. *r.ag*.

r.ar ołar N. to wish. (Probably a variant of *r.ag*).

● 262 *r.arpin*, *r.aqpin*, pl. *-piyo*, a buttermilk (*dilter*) heated yields *horwo* and *m.antail*, and *m.antail* desiccated yields *r.arpin*, a reddish substance which is made up into hard balls about 1½ inches in diameter. It is popular with women and is given to suckling mothers). Prs.

000 *r.al* ready, prepared, on the 'qui vive', H. *tai.av*. — *holqutar r.al* here they are ready for a fight. *ito dilolo . . . r.al nomo horwi.im.an* they remained sitting there on the 'qui vive'. 122.22. *r.al m.ano* be ready, prepare yourself. 174.16.

r.am alliterative doublet. — *r.am r.al* quite smooth.

r.am.alti diviner, soothsayer, (used as synonym for *najum*). — *r.am.alti i.sle niwin: "lei najum, ungi ha.an . . ."* going to the diviner, (he said to him): "O diviner, you were right . . .". 102.8. Cp. 102.5. (Ar. T.). Prs.

r.amed tamed (of hawk), trained. — *r.amed m.anan* to be tamed. *r.amed etum hen* a tamed hawk.

(Cp. Sh. *r.amorki*, to rear, accustom; Khe. *r.am dik*, to become accustomed, because without fear).

r.anda -mig y plane. H. Prs.

r.anjapu small cowhorn powder-flask (used to hold priming-powder). — *r.anjapum milisq* priming-powder. (Cp. perhaps Prs. *r.anjak*, priming-pan).

from India was on this religious basis.

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward.

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice.

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.)

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

and up and down the dangerous rivers. Yes, even the yak bones and horns are never wasted. Picks are fashioned from them. They even find their way into the walls of the homes of the people of Hunza, for they are lighter than stones.

Still I haven't yet mentioned what is generally accepted as the yak's most important contribution to the lives of the people in the highest mountain ranges in the world . . . and that is from the little green herbage they get, they give a good quantity of rich milk, from which is made the famous yak butter. Then last and perhaps even most important, it is butchered for its good quality, health-sustaining meat.

Even the yak tails are useful . . . as brooms or dusters . . . and many are shipped to the Western world and used as Santa Claus beards. And they do make the best Santa Claus beards of all. I know—I have a couple!

Now after you have had a chance to read these qualifications, perhaps you, too, will share my admiration and appreciation of the world's most useful animal.

I was up bright and early the morning I was to go to meet the yaks. Yes, it was just 6 o'clock when I was walking down the enclosed staircase towards the Mir's palace—leaving Cecil asleep, as he still had to remain in bed as the doctor had advised.

I met Jahangir coming from the other guest house and he joined me. We had agreed the previous night to be up at 6 but I never expected that it would work out right on the beam, as it happened in this instance.

So down we went along the stone staircases from one garden level to another until we reached the Mir's palace and then we began to climb up the long wooden staircase again.

As usual, the Mir was there to welcome us, along

there would still be ample time to grow another crop before the frost came. Therefore, that adds credence to the statement that they can grow two crops a year. 243

I gathered that buckwheat was their most important second crop and it was not hard to understand, because it thrives on the poorer and lighter soils, where other grains might not do as well. Further, it needs only about ten weeks to mature and it has the added advantage of flowering and setting its crops continuously, so that a fair harvest can be had at most any time.

Then, too, it is a crop that can stand the colder weather; that is, the chilly nights in early fall and spring that they are bound to have in these high mountain areas. In actuality, the buckwheat blooms continually and flowers, green seed and ripe seed can be found on the plants at one and the same time.

There is another good reason why the Hunzans grow a lot of buckwheat. It invariably leaves the soil in splendid physical condition and believe me, that is very, very important to the people of Hunza. In addition, this crop makes splendid food for their farm animals. It makes a fine green manure as well as a weed smother crop. [231]

It must be remembered that buckwheat makes a dandy emergency crop if and when other earlier crops have failed. So it is not hard to understand why it would be one of the most important grain crops in Hunza.

They don't have bees in Hunza, I was sorry to learn, and therefore there is no buckwheat honey. 262 231

The Hunzans are chiefly vegetarians—whether by choice or necessity is hard to establish, although I would say that they had little choice in the matter because they just don't have the area to waste on animals. They can't afford to get their food second-hand. While there [311] 311

311 were a few valleys where a bit of pasture might have been established or used, they just couldn't afford to waste acres for pasture purposes.

234 I did not see any cheese—that is, cheese as we know
251 it—in Hunza, but I maintain that their stored butter is
262 cheese. I knew from what I had read and learned that they have a most unusual method of storing their butter, and one day the Mir sent one of his servants out to bring some in. In a few minutes the servant returned, carrying on a tray a huge bundle that looked like and was slightly larger than a football. He placed it in front of me and told me to go ahead and unwrap it, which I did. It was neatly and firmly wrapped in birchbark and when I removed layer after layer of wet, dripping bark, I at last came to the so-called butter. It was gleaming pure white. A knife was handed to me and I dug a little piece out of the side and tasted it. It was absolutely delicious. It had a fresh wholesome flavor. I thought it was cheese and that is what I really believe it is.

234 Their method of making this butter is as follows: Goat, sheep, cow or yak milk is used. Their method of churning butter is strictly Eastern. They do not use wooden or metal churns as they are found and known in the West. Usually goat skins are used. They are turned inside out so that the smooth, tanned side is outside. Then the ends of the hide are carefully sewn together. Openings are allowed to remain by means of the legs, and these are used for filling the skin with the milk to be churned and later to extract the butter. While the churning is taking place, the leg openings are firmly tied.

Then the milk-filled hide is joggled, weedled, spanked, turned and twisted over the knees and this is maintained continually until some sort of solidification takes place. Just as with us, impatience and inquisitive-

ness become master and the shaking is stopped, while a peek is taken by untying a leg opening to see if the process is beginning. 234

When at last butter is formed, it is squeezed out of the skin churn and then they make firm round balls out of it. It is wrapped in birchbark, placed underneath a water channel and left there for months, or years as the case may be. One record through which I poured related that this butter was sometimes kept for 100 years. I found no verification of this from the citizens of Hunza. Perhaps in this instance the butter was forgotten and was discovered many years later, but it is kept for years and is usually brought out for special celebrations and other occasions. 234 251 [262]

Now you will hear the word "ghee" referred to on every hand when talking about food. This is the selfsame butter but heated to the melting point and allowed to harden. By then it turns into a bright yellow color. It is used as a spread but also for cooking, baking, frying and such. Most Hunzans prefer "ghee" over the plain ordinary butter. The Mir told me that he and his household all preferred it to butter. 234 262

So therefore, besides the fruit, nuts, grain and vegetable crops, they have curd, ghee, butter (cheese) and milk. Those who do eat meat would be lucky if they could afford to have it more than two or three times a year, but I understand meat is available for most festive occasions. 262

While in all probabilities they dry other types of fruit, I did not see any other dried fruits but apricots. On my travels throughout the country I saw thousands of trees and probably millions of apricots but I did not see one go to waste. Everywhere I went apricots were drying. They had been split open, the stone removed and stored and the fruit left for the sun and air to cure and dry 251

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 36

2000 Years of Bread!

256 ONE OF THE THINGS that I did want to witness with my own eyes was the feeding and operation of a flour mill in Hunza. Apart from all of the other important and interesting data that I had hoped to gather while in this part of the world, the operation of the wheat mill was one that to me had great portent. I wanted to see the wheat actually going into the mill and coming out as flour.

000 Bread is said to be the staff of life. Well, whether it is or not remains a moot question. But to me at least, bread is important. I always have been a big bread eater.

121 262 Now it was only during the past few years that by reading and learning I found out how useless or even harmful the pleasant white loaf that we know in America is and can be. Having a fair idea about the health record as it exists in America and knowing the kind of

bread we eat, I was greatly interested when I heard about the people of Hunza and then found out that they eat only bread that is made from whole grain.

Then, when the same books or facts brought to light that the people of Hunza knew few of the world's ills, my interest was aroused to almost a fever pitch. I wondered if there was any connection between the kind of bread that we ate and our health and the kind of bread they ate in Hunza and their health.

From my own observations I also learned that wheat was the most important crop in Hunza, with the exception of apricots. I have also tried to establish which was the first domesticated grain in the annals of human history and I have not been able to establish clearly whether it was wheat or millet. But wheat is more adaptable to the temperate zones, whereas millet leans more to the warmer climes and it is clearly established that wheat is preferred by the white races.

I soon learned that there was a flour mill that functioned regularly, located on the route that we took from the palace at Baltit to the old palace or old fort. So on one of my walks I made it a point to investigate thoroughly the location, the workings and the construction of this old mill.

On my way up when we stopped at Chalt I saw one of these mills in operation, but I did not actually see the grain being made into flour.

For a man who has spent most of his life in the country and on a farm, I feel embarrassed to admit that I had never seen a flour mill in operation before.

During the past quarter of a century, or even a longer period, milling has, generally speaking, come into the hands of large corporations and that is why, I assume, I got it into my head that milling was a complicated big-time operation that required a great investment

256 splash against the water wheel or paddle. The force is
[376] sufficient to make the millstone revolve at a tremendous pace. The water can be quickly shut off by just putting the missing stone back in place, diverting the water flow down the conduit.

The millstones are enclosed by a tray or bin about 5 or 6 inches high. As the ground wheat or flour is forced out between the stones, it slowly fills the bin. Then it is scooped up into goatskin bags, usually by a woman who is looking after the mill. In this manner it
[262] is carried to the individual homes to be used in making the wholesome whole wheat Hunzan bread and chapatties.

There appeared to be no large scale or assembly line grinding. Each individual came in with a container of wheat to be ground.

[262] Barley and rye are also used for flour and occasionally, millet and buckwheat.

262 The earliest crop that can be ground into flour in
[243] Hunza is barley. After the long winter, food supplies are worn to the near starvation level and when the first
[527] barley is ready for harvest, people of Hunza have cause to celebrate and do so in their barley festival.

252 I soon learned why chapatties were used in prefer-
262 ence to bread, not only in Hunza but all over Pakistan and India. A chapatty requires only flour and water, a bit of mixing and then rolling out and laying on a piece of metal that is laid over a fire. In a few minutes it can be turned and then it is ready for eating. Even though bread might taste better, it certainly would require a lot more preparation. Simplicity is the keynote!

251 From what I saw, very little flour is stored and probably the people of Hunza have long ago learned their lesson, that wheat ground into flour does not have long keeping qualities.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 37

Hunza Fat Factory

I SOMETIMES BELIEVE—in fact, it is a conviction of mine—that in America we waste or cast aside the most vital parts of many foods and we use as food the part that is of lower nutritive content.

In Hunza the kernels of the apricots are gathered and stored. Some of them are cracked and eaten out of hand. But the major portion is put away for future use and then turned into apricot oil.

Never, ever did I see one single apricot kernel wasted in Hunza. If you tasted the kernel of the apricot, you'd soon know why. It is every bit as delicious and fine flavored as the finest almond. In fact, the almond, peach and apricot are very closely related. I contend that the flavor of the apricot seed is every bit as good as that of the almond. The almond, however, gains its popularity and superiority because of its thinner shell, which means easier cracking.

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Whether or not apricot oil contains any special qualities I am unable to say. Perhaps someone will do some research on it in the near future and perhaps we will learn that apricot oil is another of the reasons why the Hunzans keep their health.

But for the moment, contrast the way the Hunzans get their oil and the way the people of the Western world get theirs. I know of no oil that is offered for general sale in America that is not treated or rendered by a harsh chemical solvent. Nor do I know of any oil sold or that is generally procurable on which a color extractor or bleach is not used. There is no reason why we cannot have apricot oil in the West, but if we did have it, I'm afraid any or most of its good, health-giving effects would be lost, if a solvent or a bleaching agent were employed.

Yes, I do know that there are vegetable oils offered on the market that have been prepared by the expeller method, but such oils are seldom seen, are quite expensive and only the keenly health-minded people who know what they want will pay the price and look for them.

Maybe sunflower seed oil, corn oil or olive oil are every bit as good as apricot oil, but the *process*—therein lies the secret of health or disease. The most satisfactory method of rendering oil from grains or nuts is the simple natural cold press process, after which it is filtered.

The accent during the past few years has been markedly towards the vegetable oils against animal oils. Researchers seem to have proven without any fear of contradiction, that the vegetable oils are much less harmful or actually beneficial to the human system, whereas the animal oils are suspected as being prime contributors in most cases to arteriosclerosis and ultimately, heart disease.

512 The breakfast, most meager by our standards, con-
262 sists of a bowl of fresh or boiled apricots with chapatties.
264 This is sufficient to keep the family working in the fields or doing other household and farm chores until 10 o'clock.

Then lunch is served and it is made up of fresh or boiled vegetables, dried apricots and chapatties. The men get two chapatties for this meal, whereas the women and children are restricted to one chapatty. Then off again to their duties—invariably on the land.

The midday meal is usually taken between 1 and 2 o'clock and in the summer this would mean, during the hottest part of the day. For this meal dried apricots, rubbed with the hands in water to form a soup, constitute the main course. A bowl or cupful of this gruel is drunk. This is the procedure during the months when fresh apricots from the trees are not available. During the period from late spring until autumn, fresh apricots are always available and these are used instead of the dried ones.

The dinner hour usually reigns from 5 to 7 o'clock. For this meal more food than for the other meals is used and consumed. Vegetables, either or both boiled and raw, are eaten along with any one of the fruits like plums, peaches, pears, apples or apricots—then always chapatties.

If I haven't made it clear before, chapatties are the bread that is used almost exclusively throughout Pakistan and India. These are flat unleavened sheets of bread made from whole wheat—stone ground. They are the Indian "staff of life."

252 Cooking and preparation of meals as we know it in
262 the average home in America is definitely not part of the Hunzan way of life. Whereas in our way of life most foods are prepared by boiling, frying, baking,

roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked. 252 262

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness. 372 313

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, mid-season and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering. 245 262

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions. 262

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays. [556] [231]

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards. 565 423 556

262 A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of work-
556 able land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep,
231 a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

273 Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from
245 Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

415 Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are
[412] not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

352 The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large
354 square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept
4 partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

439 At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza
437 and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

000 During the past few years a bit of money has come

164 "Yes," said the doctor, "I am alarmed at the great increase in goiter cases in Hunza, especially among the younger people, where it is rampant. Also, cavities in the teeth of the people are being found regularly, whereas a few years ago tooth trouble in any form was practically unknown, judging from the information at my disposal!"

When he spoke to me he was genuinely distressed at the increased occurrence of both of these maladies.

"To what do you attribute the increase in these conditions, Doctor?" I asked.

He replied, "As yet I have been unable to lay my finger on anything specific concerning this."

I have been interested in Hunza for many years and
• 262 during this period I have devoured every available
263 piece of literature on these fascinating people. Thus, marshalling my mental forces, I said to him, "Have any major changes taken place in the diet or living habits of the people of Hunza?"

"Not that I am positively aware of," he said meditatingly.

"Where do the people of Hunza get their salt from?"
[439] I asked.

"It is usually flown in from Pindi to Gilgit and then carried up the trail to Baltit and other parts of Hunza."

I learned that it was also carried by jeep and pack animals from Rawalpindi across the Babusar Pass into Gilgit as well.

"How long has this been going on?"

This the good doctor could not answer. But the Mir
[439] was close by and he said it was longer than ten years now that the salt had been imported.

"Where did you get your salt from before?" I said to the Mir.

263 "Why," he replied, "the people of Hunza have been
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164 proved laboratory by a qualified technician.

164 Their food is natural, simple, unsophisticated, with-
out any unnatural, inorganic, synthetic additives what-
262 soever. There is no fragmentation in the foods they eat. They do not separate any part of the wheat when they make flour, nor do they separate any part of the other grains when using them.

252 Due to necessity they do not cook foods too much, nor do they cook any food that can be eaten and enjoyed without cooking.

Food is a serious, all prevalent problem. The few trees that they have and that they can grow must be protected for food, shade and timber.

However, I must truthfully admit that the reason that the Hunzans do not cook their food is because of the scarcity and inaccessibility to supplies of fuel.

751 Vaccination is not practiced and, as far as I know,
is unknown in Hunza. Pasteurization in any form is
744 neither practiced nor known. Chlorination is unheard of. Fluoridation is unheard of. No coloring whatsoever is added to any of their food, not even their butter.

263 Up until recent years the salt used by the people of
439 Hunza came from the Shimshal area, somewhere near where the Shimshal River and the Muztagh join together. This salt is unrefined and used just as it is mined from this mountain area. It obviously contains many natural so-called impurities.

493 The only wheeled vehicles—two jeeps, in fact—are owned and used by the Mir chiefly for bringing in supplies, when road conditions permit. Therefore one must walk for every chore. There is no motorized
377 equipment used in Hunza with the exception of the electric light plant in the Mir's palace. Apart from what
401 I have mentioned here, mechanization of any sort is unknown.

Both the irrigation water which they use on their fields and their drinking water come from the Ultar Glacier. Therefore, their entire water supply is glacial. 312

Their entire economy is dependent upon their agriculture and everything that is taken from the soil is religiously returned to the soil. Chemical fertilizers or chemical sprays of any type are unknown to the people. It may be possible that the Mir has used sprays in his palace grounds. He might have brought them with him from his visits abroad, but I saw none and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, none are used. I saw no insect infestation of any kind or type through my entire travels and investigations. In Gilgit I did see insect injury in a garden and it was apparent to me that the soil of Hunza was in balance and therefore it produced food that was balanced. Therefore, it is understandable, the people of Hunza are healthy! 241 [433]

The food of the people of Hunza is in the main, raw food. It is neither dissected nor desiccated, but is eaten in the whole. The only exception that I could find to this rule was in their milk. When they made butter, they drank the remains or the buttermilk. Of course, in due time, they ate the butter. 262

All children born in Hunza are breast fed for at least two years. Male children are often breast fed until they are 3 years old. 853

I do not intend to stress any one factor of the points mentioned above. I am submitting them to you for your consideration and study. 000

It is, however, my belief that their soil and location does not lend itself to mechanization and therefore their good health should continue. If they could mechanize, then they would not get the needed beneficial exercise which, as you can gather, is one of the important contributors to their good health and longevity. 241 164

000 from it the organic method of land use.

262 From what I have seen, I have deduced the fact that the people of Hunza use less fat of any kind than most people found throughout the world. Some nations may lack animal fats, but make it up by fats found in [133] fish. The people of Hunza have very little animal fat and no fish, for there are few lakes in the area and the only fish that are found in the streams are those that were placed there, in an attempt to stock the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers and some of the nullahs.

They do get some fat from the butter that is made from the milk of the goats, sheep and a few cows and yaks. They also get a bit of fat from their walnuts and the kernels of the apricot seeds, neither of which can be considered to be high in fat content.

Lest you think that this lack of fat would have some effect on the people, let me stress that there are no more energetic people found in the world and they are continually active.

251 As soon as fall sets in and the harvest is completed, they carefully select and store and prepare their winter's larder. Then they divide and apportion all of their foods so they will last them throughout the winter.

262 An important addition to their winter diet is a gruel or a soup that they make from the various grains and this is eaten with their chapatties.

515 164 Dentifrices or toothpastes or powders of any kind are not used in Hunza. Yet the people have unusually fine teeth. False teeth, plates or dentures are unknown. So even at the expense of antagonizing the toothbrush and toothpaste people, it would appear that these implements and concoctions do not create good healthy teeth.

* * * * *

000 I have debated within myself whether or not I should

000 in the process of creating health and long life in Hunza!"

Here I have summarized my conclusions, which I believe account for the superior health, the unbounded energy and the long life of the Hunzans. Call it a set of rules if you like. I prefer to believe that it is the common sense way of life adopted by an intelligent people.

262 (1) Their food consists chiefly of natural fruits, grains and vegetables. Meat is eaten only on festive and other rare occasions. While grains—that is, the whole grains—are stored, they are ground for use in baking and gruel, only as required.

241 (2) Their soil is maintained by natural cultural practices. That which is taken from the soil is returned to the soil—both vegetable and animal.

461 (3) Most of the people of Hunza, including women and children, work daily in the fields. There is no Sabbath or weekly rest day, although there are religious holidays and festive days. Therefore, they work seven days a week . . . and in most cases, from dawn until darkness falls. Therefore, practically all the inhabitants of Hunza do their share of physical work. There are few, if any, completely sedentary occupations in Hunza.

262 (4) Very little fat of any kind is consumed by the people. The fats that are used consist of ghee, butter, apricot oil and negligible quantities of animal fats.

[241] (5) Complete absence of foreign additives. Nothing whatsoever is added to either the soil or the food of the people or the animals.

263 (6) Natural, unrefined salt was used by the people up until a few years ago . . . and this was an important factor in maintaining their health.

241 (7) No sprays or spray materials of any kind are used on their crops, and no unnatural chemical fer-

tilizers are used on their lands. 241

(8) All children in Hunza are breast fed. There is no specific prenatal care, and the good health of the mother is passed on to the infant . . . and the breast feeding gets the child off to a good start. 853 843

(9) All fruits and vegetables that are dried for storing have been exposed to the sun and air. No foreign substances are added or treatments used. 251

(10) Native herbs are used extensively . . . both as seasoning and as food. 262

(11) Glacial waters are the only waters used both for drinking and irrigation purposes. These glacial waters definitely contain many valuable minerals and nutrients, as revealed by laboratory tests. 312 146

(12) Apricot kernel oil is the most important source of fat. It is used in cooking as well as for salads. No solvents or extreme heat is used to extract the apricot oil. 262

(13) Natural whole grains are used broadly. There is no fragmentization in Hunza. While they do bake a bread, their chief form of bread is an unleavened type which they call chapatties. They are composed of whole ground grain made into a dough and rolled very thin. Then they are heated or baked slightly.

(14) Hunzans are light eaters. Their diet is comparatively meager.

There is no doubt that, if any human being were to follow the health rules of the people of Hunza, he could regain or maintain health. There is no magic formula connected with this set of rules. They are simple and to the point. In fact, they are so simple that most people will doubt their value. To these people I would say, "All of the great things in life—the important things and things of value—are invariably simple!" 000

In Hunza the following established Western health 744

744 processes are unknown and unused: chlorination, pasteurization, hydrogenation, inoculation, fluoridation.

262 The single most important food, as used by the people of Hunza, consists of dried apricots and whole ground grain mixed together to form a toddy or a gruel. This is actually drunk cold and is enjoyed by all members of the family. It is usually partaken of during the late afternoon or early evening.

Their other important foods consist of the following: potatoes, garlic, beans, peas, carrots, tomatoes and some leafy vegetables. In fruits, they have mulberries, apples, walnuts and a few plums, pears and cherries. Grapes are used chiefly for making wine.

They grow a fairly broad selection of grains: millet, wheat, barley, rye, buckwheat and a little rice. Lucerne [231] or alfalfa is generally used for cattle fodder.

[245] The Persian Walnut is the chief nut grown in the area. Almonds are raised, and their cultivation is increasing. A fair quantity of apricot kernels are used.

Ghee is used for baking and as a spread on their chapatties or bread—the oven-baked loaf. Sour milk, buttermilk and curd are a regular part of the diet.

Meat does not form an important part of the Hunzan way of life.

Most foods are consumed raw. The lack of wood or other heating materials probably accounts for the paucity of cooked foods in their culinary art.

147 There are practically no cases of overweight among the people of Hunza. The importance of this factor cannot be overestimated.

000 The path to health is a simple, easy-to-follow road. It is the most natural way in the world to the people of Hunza. However, to follow a similar path in America would involve complications, difficulties and many frustrations.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 57

So Long--But Not Good-Bye, I Hope

WHEN WE reached the dining room at the appointed hour practically the entire group of the previous evening was there. Both the Mir and the Rani were present, of course.

This was the customary breakfast and, as usual, I chose the Hunzan bread rather than the chapatties. Somehow I never could take a liking to the chapatties, but I did eat them in places where there was no alternative such as Hunzan bread. Their bread is truly one of the most delectable breads I have ever eaten anywhere. They must use yeast in making it because it is not flat like a chapatty. On the other hand, it is not high like our bread either. It is an oval shaped loaf about 3 inches thick in the center and about un inch thick at the edges. Yes, it is made out of stone ground, untreated, whole wheat flour. I can vouch for that because I saw the actual wheat being ground into flour.

Then there was ghee or yak butter to be used as a spread. Most of them at the table selected ghee. I chose the white yak butter. 262

Western types of raw vegetables on the table are conspicuous by their absence. I had all my meals at the palace and the only raw vegetable on the table at any time was lettuce and the lettuce, the Mir informed me, was from seed that I had sent him some months prior to my arrival.

So it is clear that vegetables like lettuce, celery, cucumbers, cabbage, carrots, radishes and such are not generally used in this part of the world as a fresh salad with meals. I do know they use onions and peppers. The onions that I saw were of the green type and I recall being presented with a bunch of them by a youngster who popped out of one of the houses on the trail. I gave him a small coin as a gift or reward. The child couldn't have been more than 3 or 4 years old and he shouted with glee and joy to his mother, holding the tiny coin aloft for everyone to see. He seemed happier at the gift of that coin than any youngster I can ever recall. I'm sure the big hundle of green onions was worth many times what I had given him! 123 436

I believe this illustrates just how scarce or unusual money is there!

This was a sad breakfast for me because now I was on the threshold of leaving and I wasn't too happy to go from this enchanted place. I walked slowly down the long staircase that led from the palace and the rest followed behind. 123

There in the yard was the jeep with the driver and a few servants waiting and watching. Our baggage was placed aboard.

I left a sum of 40 rupees with the Mir to divide among the many servants who had given so graciously

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963

AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.40-E]

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Seclusion of the sexes is rigid from early youth. Hunza's Muslim girls, right, are dressed to live almost totally dissociated from the lives of men. Here race not religion.

165 seventeen." Two years before he had
556 told me he was thirteen.

165 Because the Hunzas, themselves,
[212] have no written records, I attempted to
[128] estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

165 THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered
145 firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age
[146] in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance, a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

262 "Purity" has been attributed to the
[214] Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad.
[272] Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter, round out the

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The [273] grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

796 Tumushuling, the great winter cele-
585 bration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom, accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door, which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan [431] from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do [492] marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home, leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival. [643] The Mir gives a small gift, usually a [431] piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

585 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza
583 marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride.

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it: men
[562] spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families butcher a sheep or two: cold weather
[231] preserves the meat for the few days
[251] before it is all eaten—and it is virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vita-
245 min C, but the poorer families are un-
556 able to raise large crops. (The size of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[354] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apri-cot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[262] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

644 cluded that my men had been stopped without the Chief's knowledge, and that I would not stand being treated in this way for a moment. My message brought a full apology, but the incident showed the tendency to insolence on the Chief's part, for which I was prepared, and that it was necessary to prove to the young savage that we were not afraid of him, and should insist on being treated with proper distinction.

262 The Thum sent down during the day a dinner for the whole camp, among the ingredients for which was a half-bred yak. In the old days throughout these regions the chief guest had to cut off the beast's head, or, at all events, to strike the first blow with his sword. This part of the ceremony we dispensed with, but we ate the resulting beef, the first we had tasted since leaving India, for in Kashmir, and its outlying districts—Gilgit, Skardu, and Punyal—taking the life of the sacred cow is a deadly crime, which the Hindu rulers punished severely. There were still at this time unfortunate Mahomedans in prison at Srinagar, who had been confined for years, for keeping themselves and families alive during a famine by killing and eating cows.

311 In the afternoon we went for a walk and admired the cultivation, which is extraordinarily careful, the terraced fields falling in one continuous sheet to the river hundreds of feet below. Every inch of available ground is made use of, and we found many miniature fields a couple of feet wide and a dozen feet in length, telling of the pressure of the population, and the difficulty of the food supply. 241 I had heard a tradition that during the fruit season 262 the people were prohibited from eating any form

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

241 of bread or grain, but I was told that this was not
262 the case. What does happen here, and throughout the region of the Eastern Hindu-Kush, is that the fruit crops are so prolific that the people naturally
[231] live largely on them in summer. Even the animals take to a fruit diet, and you see donkeys, cows, and goats eating the fallen mulberries. The very dogs feed on them, and our fox-terriers took to the fruit *régime* most kindly, and became quite connoisseurs in the different kinds of mulberry, preferring the "Shabtut," the king mulberry, a large luscious purple fruit, to all others.

312 The great water channel referred to before deserves passing mention. Its head waters are some half a mile up the ravine, on the edge of which Hunza stands, a few hundred feet below the end of the glacier which feeds it. For the whole of this half mile the water channel is a monument of patient labour, and of the clever adaption of the rudest means to the most important end. It is carried across the face of a cliff, in some places of sheer rock, in others of hard conglomerate. Sometimes it runs along the top of a built-up wall thirty or forty feet high, at others through carefully excavated channels in the conglomerate which avoid the difficulties of a sharp corner by tunnelling through it. Where the face of the rock is perpendicular, and its foot washed by the torrent is unsuitable for the foundations of a retaining wall, the water flows through timber troughs, supported by wooden brackets adroitly fixed into the cliff. I did not measure the output, but, roughly, the channel must have at its widest a section of

~~Bo~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushi AV7
Balti AV2

D 795 539 Bo 795 539

Others go their own way
But I am faithful to you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

I, Suleem, the distracted in mind,
Have seized the skirts of your bounty,
Sahib-i-zeman.

D Bo 795 [262] D Bo [798]

Wine is drunk by the Maulais without concealment, and they do not strictly abstain from eating the flesh of animals not killed in the orthodox manner. Being absolved from the constraints of prayer and fasting, the practical religion of the uneducated consists of little more than obeying the commands of their Caliphas and Pirs, and making offerings freely through them to their spiritual chief. They are by no means intolerant, and, where permitted, live on good terms with Soonnees and Shiahs, with whom they intermarry without restraint. The only cases I have known of ill-feeling between the sects have been caused in the first instance by Soonnees from other places. From Shiahs they seldom meet with hostility, owing probably to the respect they show to Ali; though they do not celebrate the martyrdom of Hassan and Hoossain.

D 795 764 Bo 795 764

On the death of a Maulai the choicest articles of his portable property are set aside for the Imam-i-zeman. No food is cooked in the house, for from three to eight days, according to the rank of the deceased, and the family subsist on food cooked elsewhere. Food is also placed on trees and exposed places for birds to eat. On the evening of the appointed day a Calipha comes to the house, and food is cooked and offered to him. He eats a mouthful and places a piece of bread in the mouth of the dead man's heir, after which the rest of the family partake. The lamp is then lighted (from which the ceremony is called "Chiragh roshan"), and a six-stringed guitar called "gherba" being produced, singing is kept up for the whole night.

D Bo 795

I have sometimes shown the portrait of Agha Khan in Yule's Marco Palo to Maulais. They pass their fingers lightly over it and then touch their eyes and lips.

Bi 795 173

The Noor Buksh sect, which has been before referred to, is peculiar to Baltistan, where it numbers over twenty thousands followers, most of whom are to be found in Shigar and Khapolor. It is apparently an attempt to form a *viâ media* between Shiah and Soonnee doctrines. Mahommedanism is said to have been first introduced into Baltistan according to Soonnee tenets by Syud Ali Hamadani. Later, a certain

2r Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 22

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

THE Burusho population of Hunza is divided into four major 614
clans, centred in Báltíṭ, and several minor clans scattered over 621
other villages. Aliábád, being a "new settlement," contained 582
amongst its two hundred houses representatives of almost all the clans. Marriage outside the race is rare, but (as I have already said) exogamous marriage between the clans is the rule.

On the whole the Burusho cling to their settlements along 361
the eight or nine-mile stretch of river below Áltít (two or 563
three miles up-river of Báltít), at a height of 6,000 to 8,000 feet above sea-level. They are not eager to colonize higher-lying districts, for they say their womenfolk refuse to live where the apricot will not ripen. If this is so the women show [263] sound sense, for the dried apricot is one of their staple foods and almost their only source of sugar. The favourite winter breakfast is a hot porridge of these *batéring*. It thus happens that the higher river-stretches above Báltít are mainly settled (if at all) by Wakhi immigrants from Afghanistan. These are a quiet, peaceable folk, markedly less intelligent than the Burusho, loyal subjects of the Mir, well content with their good pasturages and crops of barley and not missing the wheat and the apricot to which they are unaccustomed. A few Burusho colonies are scattered among the Wakhi ones, but, though friendly relations exist, the two learn little of each other's language; and intermarriage, though it would not be taboo, is very rare.

Similarly a couple of the lower Hunza villages are in- 563
habited by Shins, of the same stock as the Gilgit people, but 582
again intermarriage is the exception. We had fully expected to

than two cows. . . . You can work it out yourself. I'd like 237
to give our litter louts a few years' training in Hunza.

Salt is a crying need in Hunza, and while down-country rock- 135
salt can be obtained on payment from Gilgit, few families can 263
afford to buy. Hence in the relatively idle days of early winter you will see parties of women and girls and boys scouring the mountain side high up, and tasting as they go, till they find a patch of ground that seems to have a trace of saltiness in it. They scoop up the full of their baskets and carry this earth home. When salt is wanted they mount a conical basket filled with the saline earth over some receiving vessel. By pouring water through, they get a discoloured fluid, containing heaven alone knows what (probably a minimum of sodium chloride), which they pour straight into the vegetable pot.

Another job which is kept for winter days is the making of 241
new fields. It is all too true that the Hunzukuts have not enough water to serve their existing fields. But there are optimists who cannot resist the attraction of making a new field wherever they see a patch of ground that might with luck be irrigated in a good year. It's a serious business tackling a rocky bit of mountain side. You roughly plan your field and then start hacking out a great triangular gash at the upper side. It is full of stones and boulders which have to be removed; the smaller ones are set aside for the revetting walls; the larger ones are laboriously broken up with sledge-hammers (or blasted if you can get hold of a little gunpowder); the stony earth is carefully sifted into separate piles of varying degrees of fineness. Then the lower supporting wall is built to the level required, stones are thrown in for a foundation, next the coarser earth, and the surface is dressed with the finer. Field- 241
making is the only occasion on which a barrow of any kind is 493
of use. These barrows, of which in our whole time we only saw four, are the only wheeled vehicles known in Hunza. Whether the Hunzukuts invented them themselves or whether someone once saw a wheelbarrow in use elsewhere and imported the idea, who shall say? Anyhow, the Hunza wheelbarrow is a delightful affair. A sort of rude ladder with four or five rungs is made. A thick section of a tree trunk about

all thriving. The field walls looked very jolly at this season, with wild flowers of the rock-garden type growing in the crannies between the stones and fostered by the seepage from the irrigated fields above. Amongst them was a wild mint and a wild thyme, the flavouring qualities of which are known and appreciated.

On June 12th we saw some people hungrily eyeing their barley and reckoning that it would be ripe for cutting in another fifteen days. It was said to be good this year in spite of an abnormally cold, late spring. Some rain showers that we had were welcomed though they temporarily cooled the air. But as clouds and rain continued, anxiety began to be felt lest the wheat should be late and delay too long the planting of the buckwheat-on-wheat. The barley is subject to a disease called *tam*, which stripes the leaves an ugly yellow and produces a milky liquid in the ears. Few plants were attacked this year. The disease called *matèl* (rust?), which makes black ears, attacks only wheat and millet, and if the cold and rain persisted it might be expected to set in. We were doubly anxious that this year's crops should be good: unselfishly for the people's sake; selfishly lest a bad year should be attributed to the maleficent influence of two crazy people learning Burushaski—though indeed these highly rational people would be unlikely to indulge any such fantastic association of ideas.

We saw some people one day collecting the under-bark from red willow trees; they use it for dyeing the leather of their native boots and skilfully chip it out from the living tree without injuring the willow.

Now that the people were really within sight of food they frankly confessed to being desperately hungry, and the strain of unremitting work—weeding, ploughing, manuring, grafting, irrigating from dawn to dusk on empty tummies—was showing in drawn, thin faces, but appeared powerless to damp their spirits or fray their tempers. It was dreadful to look on and be helpless to feed the multitude with loaves or fishes, while we lived—sparingly enough by home standards but—riotously compared with these much more deserving neighbours. We saw one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry

[in June -- Analyst]

šošolikṛ̥ -ki.ants hf a supernatural female who exists in the whirlwind and does injury to mortals. 776

She is explained as a H. *čorel* or Sh. *bal'a*.

čirpophuṣe šošolikṛ̥ the whirlwind witch. The word is also used as a term of abuse for an ugly, ill-dressed old woman. *šošolikṛ̥ ju.an manoma* you have become like a Sh.

šuršu suffering from ague. — *je šuršu amaiya ba* I am suffering from ague. 000

(Cp. Sh. *šošu šal*, cold fever, ague. Kho. *šuršu*, *šošu*, ague).

šut y a sour decoction made from apricots and used as vinegar, especially by Shins. Wakhis use *gorwt*. *šut* is put in *ḍauḍo*. [263]

(Cp. Kho. *šot*, sour as of unripe grapes).

š'utin pl. *šut'iyo* x the four big stones surrounding the hearth in a house. 304.18. (Cp. *pfərɛtsin*).

šotuko -mots x.

1. Bud.
2. Round button made of cloth.

(Cp. Sh. *šotuko*, with the same meanings).

šutur a kind of mushroom, or truffle(?), Punj. *gucchi*, Sh. *šunutur*.

(Not known to QUB. GB gives Sh. *šut*, mushroom. I have *šuot* toadstool).

šyu šyu, *šyu ši.u etas* to whistle.

(Cp. Sh. *šyu thoiki*; Kho. *šyu korik*, to whistle).

T, TH, and Ṭ, ṬH.

1. *tā*, *-mots* x leopard. — *ta b.ṭ* leopard's skin. Cp. Prov. 13.
2. *tha* hundred, one hundred. — *hik, alto, iski, honti tha* 100, 200, 300, 900.

335 b

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

survive despite the encroachment of modern civilization? 177

I go on record as saying, "Yes, she can survive but it will take good leadership, and the present ruling Mir —my friend, Mohammed Jamal Khan—is capable of this leadership, provided he is not interfered with by the powers that surround him or emanate from Karachi!"

The first detrimental factor that is crawling into Hunza at the present time, and has been for some years, is salt. Already numerous cases of goiter have appeared which did not exist before when they used their native salt. 177 263 164

Travel in Hunza is restricted. In fact, at the present time no foreigner is allowed into the state without a permit and that includes Pakistanis as well. As far as I know, my friend Cec Brunton and I were the last foreigners to enter Hunza. With the political situation as it is today, I doubt if anyone else will be permitted to enter the country until the situation changes. 486 648 123

The fact that China is at the present time encroaching upon India is a rather significant factor. I really can't appraise its implications because the disputed area by any calculation seems to be of little or no value. There are millions of such acres available throughout Tibet and the Himalayan cordillera as well as in the Karakorums. Therefore it must be just for aggrandizement that China is moving. If that is her aim and desire, then Hunza would be right up her alley. 648

Yet it is my firm belief that China will not bother Hunza. I know the Afghans have looked with longing eyes on that part of Pakistan for some years, but they have neither the arms nor the men to successfully invade the area, although with arms from Russia and a little prodding, things could get hot in that area. How-

164 "Yes," said the doctor, "I am alarmed at the great increase in goiter cases in Hunza, especially among the younger people, where it is rampant. Also, cavities in the teeth of the people are being found regularly, whereas a few years ago tooth trouble in any form was practically unknown, judging from the information at my disposal!"

When he spoke to me he was genuinely distressed at the increased occurrence of both of these maladies.

"To what do you attribute the increase in these conditions, Doctor?" I asked.

He replied, "As yet I have been unable to lay my finger on anything specific concerning this."

I have been interested in Hunza for many years and
262 during this period I have devoured every available
263 piece of literature on these fascinating people. Thus, marshalling my mental forces, I said to him, "Have any major changes taken place in the diet or living habits of the people of Hunza?"

"Not that I am positively aware of," he said meditatingly.

"Where do the people of Hunza get their salt from?"
[439] I asked.

"It is usually flown in from Pindi to Gilgit and then carried up the trail to Baltit and other parts of Hunza."

I learned that it was also carried by jeep and pack animals from Rawalpindi across the Babusar Pass into Gilgit as well.

"How long has this been going on?"

This the good doctor could not answer. But the Mir
[439] was close by and he said it was longer than ten years now that the salt had been imported.

"Where did you get your salt from before?" I said to the Mir.

"Why," he replied, "the people of Hunza have been

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mining salt from an area around Shimshal for many 263
hundreds of years." [317]

"Is there any difference between the salt that you import and that of Shimshal?"

"Much difference," said the Mir. "The salt that we import is pure white and very salty, whereas the salt mined in the Shimshal area was in its natural state and contained many impurities. The people prefer the imported salt because of its sharper saltier flavor."

"So it is true then," I said to the Mir, "that this aspect of modern civilization has crept into Hunza!" [177]

The Mir and the doctor looked at each other and then somewhat reluctantly nodded in agreement.

Speaking somewhat forcibly, I said to both of them, "It is obvious that the imported salt is pure sodium chloride, whereas the salt that is brought down from Shimshal is something that has never been analyzed and obviously contains many minerals, so-called impurities."

Obviously the people of Hunza in the past did not know, did not care or did not feel the need to purify their salt, because even to a layman like myself, it is clear and obvious that by making a brine, the pure salt could be extracted.

Whether by error or design, this has never been practiced in Hunza.

"Does it not seem possible," I said to the doctor, 164
"that the salt that was formerly used by the people of Hunza was the means of keeping goiter and dental caries away or at bay?"

"I hadn't thought of it before," replied the doctor, "but I will admit that it sounds logical and undoubtedly it is true!"

The Mir further admitted that little or no salt was being mined in Shimshal at the present time. Therefore it would seem to be indicated that the importation of

Hunza are more or less used to it. However, it does 164
cause trouble with the eyes of the natives. It also weakens the lungs of some of the older women, who probably spend most of their time indoors during the cold months of the year.

I questioned the doctor and the Mir concerning pre- 843
natal care, but from what they told me, I could find no provisions whatsoever made for prenatal care outside the individual home.

The death rate at childbirth, they told me, was next 165
to zero, but the doctor also mentioned that a woman 845
would not consider going to a doctor for gynecological 757
reasons under any circumstances. She would rather die. He also told me that before and after delivery of a 843
child, Hunzan women do not know of any rest. The 846
pregnant woman works harder and does more laborious jobs till the last day of the term, in the belief that hard and laborious work makes delivery easier and uneventful.

"But," he went on, "they are very careful in exerting themselves during the early days of conception. After delivery they are again up and doing again, only after a short rest."

It seems to be obvious that the method followed by 843
the women of Hunza prior to childbirth "works" because both mother and child come out of it "uneventful." When events occur at such times, it usually means serious trouble.

He went on to tell me further that gallstones, renal 164
calculus, coronary heart disease, hypertension, valvular lesions, myxoldeama thyrsotoxcasis, mental deficiencies, cancer, poliomyelitis, arthritis and diabetes are absolutely unknown in Hunza.

From what I have seen and gathered I am worried 177
about the situation. They are now importing their sugar, 263
439

177 their salt and soon there will be a few more items added
263 and, as more of their people go out of the country to
439 earn a living and come back to visit or retire, more of civilization's curses will be brought back with them.

165 The doctor rather clearly indicated that infant mor-
114 tality was not as low as some writers would like us to believe. I repeat—he made this quite clear.

164 Now I'll let you decide how it ties in with the statements made by Sir Robert McCarrison: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucous colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people, the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

276 Smoking in general is not an addiction in Hunza. The water-pipe or hubble-bubble is used by some of the people, usually at gatherings or ceremonies. It is then passed around in a wide circle, each one taking a puff
[562] or two. The women are included, but only after all the men have finished.

Some of the citizens use snuff. It is tobacco mixed with the ash of a plant called "sopa," which is indigenous to that area. They take the tobacco and the sopa ash, put in a dash of water, stir it up and mix it into a paste. Then they place gobs of this paste under their lip, exactly the same as the snuff chewer does in the West, although this practice has been dying out in the Western world.

164 Just how much of the health of the people of Hunza
132 is due to the fact that they get a lot of sunlight? That is a most pertinent question and one that will take a lot

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[263]

There are no bees in Hunza and, consequently, no honey unless it is imported. This will probably come as a surprise to most people. I suspected this even before I reached Hunza. That is why I went in search of bees and honey in Hunza. But search and peer as I did, no bees were to be found and upon questioning I found that, though they had even tried importing them, they didn't remain or they died off.

Obviously the Hunza terrain is too tough and arduous for bees. Bees, contrary to what most people believe, like it soft. Set out a field of clover or a good sized patch of asters or other good honey-makers and bees will flock to your land, but, where you have a scattered flower here and there, the bees either won't bother or won't be able to find them.

Probably from a purely economic reason the bee finds Hunza uninviting. He probably would have to fly too far and too high to get any supply of nectar or honey and I don't think he'd make as much food as would be required to supplant the energy that was being used up. So after taking the important factors into consideration, it is clear that it is unwise for bees to live in Hunza. Even if it were possible to get a couple of colonies of bees established, it would do the Hunzan farmer no good because if he took away part of their honey, they would starve to death. A bee in most instances, where at all possible, stores more honey than he will require. He plays it secure by allowing a margin of safety. But in Hunza he'd have a hard enough time getting sufficient honey to keep him through the winter—let alone having some for the Hunzan farmer! From this it would appear that bees are not as smart or diligent as we think they are—or are they? Can they be blamed for seeking more colorful flowerier pastures?

164 proved laboratory by a qualified technician.

164 Their food is natural, simple, unsophisticated, with-
262 out any unnatural, inorganic, synthetic additives whatsoever. There is no fragmentation in the foods they eat. They do not separate any part of the wheat when they make flour, nor do they separate any part of the other grains when using them.

252 Due to necessity they do not cook foods too much, nor do they cook any food that can be eaten and enjoyed without cooking.

Food is a serious, all prevalent problem. The few trees that they have and that they can grow must be protected for food, shade and timber.

However, I must truthfully admit that the reason that the Hunzans do not cook their food is because of the scarcity and inaccessibility to supplies of fuel.

751 Vaccination is not practiced and, as far as I know,
744 is unknown in Hunza. Pasteurization in any form is neither practiced nor known. Chlorination is unheard of. Fluoridation is unheard of. No coloring whatsoever is added to any of their food, not even their butter.

●263 Up until recent years the salt used by the people of
439 Hunza came from the Shimshal area, somewhere near where the Shimshal River and the Muztagh join together. This salt is unrefined and used just as it is mined from this mountain area. It obviously contains many natural so-called impurities.

493 The only wheeled vehicles—two jeeps, in fact—are owned and used by the Mir chiefly for bringing in supplies, when road conditions permit. Therefore one must walk for every chore. There is no motorized
377 equipment used in Hunza with the exception of the electric light plant in the Mir's palace. Apart from what
401 I have mentioned here, mechanization of any sort is unknown.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

000 in the process of creating health and long life in Hunza!"

Here I have summarized my conclusions, which I believe account for the superior health, the unbounded energy and the long life of the Hunzans. Call it a set of rules if you like. I prefer to believe that it is the common sense way of life adopted by an intelligent people.

262 (1) Their food consists chiefly of natural fruits, grains and vegetables. Meat is eaten only on festive and other rare occasions. While grains—that is, the whole grains—are stored, they are ground for use in baking and gruel, only as required.

241 (2) Their soil is maintained by natural cultural practices. That which is taken from the soil is returned to the soil—both vegetable and animal.

461 (3) Most of the people of Hunza, including women and children, work daily in the fields. There is no Sabbath or weekly rest day, although there are religious holidays and festive days. Therefore, they work seven days a week . . . and in most cases, from dawn until darkness falls. Therefore, practically all the inhabitants of Hunza do their share of physical work. There are few, if any, completely sedentary occupations in Hunza.

262 (4) Very little fat of any kind is consumed by the people. The fats that are used consist of ghee, butter, apricot oil and negligible quantities of animal fats.

[241] (5) Complete absence of foreign additives. Nothing whatsoever is added to either the soil or the food of the people or the animals.

263 (6) Natural, unrefined salt was used by the people up until a few years ago . . . and this was an important factor in maintaining their health.

241 (7) No sprays or spray materials of any kind are used on their crops, and no unnatural chemical fer-

value to the people of Hunza? Let's examine them. 000

Let's start with pasteurization. Well, it would be very 744
difficult to pasteurize in Hunza. First of all, they don't have the means of providing the required heat. Besides, they don't suffer from any conditions which pasteurization would cure—if it does cure anything.

How about hospitalization? Well, they have a com- 743
paratively new, modern hospital in Aliabad, but the people don't use it very much. They distrust the hospital and they distrust the doctor, even though he is a fine capable fellow. Besides, I did not notice, particularly, any sick or ailing people sitting around, waiting for a hospital bed.

Then how about inoculations? To begin with, what 751
would you inoculate them against? They don't seem to 164
have many, if any, of our diseases. Then, too, there are no inoculations against cancer, diabetes, heart disease, arthritis and such, anyway. Oh, yes . . . besides, these diseases have never been known in Hunza . . . not even poliomyelitis.

The Mir has a huge medicine chest that was given 757
to him by the German expedition, which was stationed 177
across the river in Nagir. Yes, it did prove most useful 123
—for it helped a man get well. However, I must admit rather dejectedly that the man the medicine chest helped was my companion and not a citizen of Hunza.

They could use a dentist and right here you have 759
struck gold! However, it would be most difficult to get 164
a dentist to set up shop in Hunza, unless he were given room in the Mir's residence, for that's the only place where electric power is provided . . . unless the dentist didn't mind going back to the old days when the old foot pedal was used for power.

But let's be realistic about it! Wouldn't it be much [263]
better to give the people of Hunza back their old

759 natural salt, which was mined at the confluence of the
164 Mustagh and Shimshal Rivers? Then a dentist wouldn't
● 263 be necessary. I trust you will pardon me if, here and there, as the situation demands, I become my own interrogator.

000 So after all is examined and said and done, how can the Western world help the people of Hunza?

If you asked me this question, I wouldn't want to answer it openly or boldly. But if you pressed me, reluctantly I'd say that the greatest contribution that the West can make to Hunza, or to their good health and longevity, is to stay away. Leave Hunza alone!

Somebody asked me if I would like to live in Hunza. In some respects, that is an unfair question.

It's like this. The climate of California is considered to be the most salubrious and pleasant in all of the United States. Well, why don't all the people of the United States move to California? Economic reasons? That might be a factor . . . but not a very important one. There are other considerations, too, I guess. But basically, everyone doesn't want to live in California—even if it has the most wonderful climate and they have sunshine all the time.

I'd love to go back to Hunza and spend a few more weeks there . . . and if I had been born in Hunza, I'm sure I'd never want to leave the place. But I doubt if, at my age, I'd be able to adjust myself to a change as drastic as the one I would have to meet in Hunza. After all, I am a product of Western civilization—whatever that is.

"Do you think conditions would be too difficult for you in Hunza?"

I believe a young, normal, healthy, strong individual of sound mind could adjust himself to the conditions of Hunza without too much trouble. I am not maintain-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1927-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

514 matters of sanitation. The lower chamber of their little
343 pulpits is closed with one large slab, which makes them easy to clean; the upper is well supplied with nice clean sand, and has a small hole in the floor. The entrance opening to the upper part is narrow, and anyone inside is completely hidden; even so we never saw man, woman, or child disappear into one. The most prudish maiden aunt would never need to blush as she would in the streets of Paris or by the creeks of Basrah; and whatever Islám may recommend, the Hunzukuts does not dream of allowing his running water or his drinking tanks to be fouled by man or beast.

The pulpits must be regularly and frequently cleaned out, for, though they often stand beside the path, you never get a whiff from them to suggest their necessary purpose, yet I have never seen one being emptied; that also is a job they evidently prefer to do in the privacy of darkness.

252 A red felt carpet was quickly brought and spread for me, and soon the entire family was sitting round, making conversation. I went back another day soon after, also by invitation, and was allowed to watch Bibi Gímo cook the greens and bread for the mid-day meal. In the summer they cook in the open, in the garden or on the roof, which often has a roofed verandah or even a lightly enclosed upper room added on in front of the upper store-room. She had a little hearth of big stones to hold her tiny fire, and over it sat the big stone cooking pot of vegetables. In olden days the bread was cooked on hot stones, but nowadays everyone has a convex iron griddle which can rest either on the stones or on a tiny iron trivet. They have a neat, shallow wooden tray in which they knead their flour, adding a little water till it has become a flaky dough. Then they take the lid and on that roll out small lumps of the dough with the most ridiculous-looking toy rolling-pin hardly half an inch in diameter. They roll the dough into thin, thin pancakes, lift these with a wooden spatula on to the griddle, and turn them with a skilful twitch. Each takes only a second or so to cook, and is then twitched off on to a big
• 264 flat wicket platter till there is a sufficient pile. When mealtime comes the family gather round, squatting just anywhere that

is convenient. Each person has his own wooden bowl and 264
wooden spoon. They roll up their pancakes and dip them in [415]
their bowl of thick vegetable soup or take up the soup with
the spoon. The head woman of the house apportions a fair 262
share to each, and I fear there is rarely enough to allow of
second helpings.

The art of rationing the family all through the year is recognized as a difficult one; each able-bodied man is entitled to double a woman's ration, but the expectant or nursing mother gets a larger share than the other women; each child after weaning gets a certain ration according to its age.

If a *rúli gus* (housewife-in-chief) is over-generous with her 262
rationing during the post-harvest months of plenty the whole 586
family may starve before next year; so a "competent woman" is highly valued, and incompetence is a fair ground for divorce. No ill-will is felt or expressed, but back she goes to the father and mother who bred her.

The No. 1 Household consists of grandfather, a charming 592
old man, who proudly boasts that he built the house they live in and himself laid out the fruit garden; his two sons, who now do all the heavy work and who both are lucky enough to have small jobs connected with the hospital—this accounts for the family's relative well-to-do-ness; the elder son's wife is my friend Bibi Gímo, the *rúli gus*; the younger son's wife is a beautiful girl Naját, who became one of our best friends. In a community where all faces are happy and kindly, she has the happiest face I have ever seen, and a natural grace of bearing and manner that would adorn any station in any country. Naját so far has no children, but Bibi Gímo's married daughter was staying with her at the moment. There is also an adolescent daughter, Shukuru, who is already growing her hair, and will no doubt presently be married; two nice boys of perhaps thirteen and nine, and the two little girls I have mentioned already, Shamúli, say six, and Banu of three or four, and I imagined there would ere long be another child.

On my second visit, since they had all been so kind to me, 526
I took a tiny rubber ball for Banu. It was a great success. Not only she and Shamúli played with it, but the grown-ups

512 The breakfast, most meager by our standards, con-
262 sists of a bowl of fresh or boiled apricots with chapatties.
264 This is sufficient to keep the family working in the fields or doing other household and farm chores until 10 o'clock.

Then lunch is served and it is made up of fresh or boiled vegetables, dried apricots and chapatties. The men get two chapatties for this meal, whereas the women and children are restricted to one chapatty. Then off again to their duties—invariably on the land.

The midday meal is usually taken between 1 and 2 o'clock and in the summer this would mean, during the hottest part of the day. For this meal dried apricots, rubbed with the hands in water to form a soup, constitute the main course. A bowl or cupful of this gruel is drunk. This is the procedure during the months when fresh apricots from the trees are not available. During the period from late spring until autumn, fresh apricots are always available and these are used instead of the dried ones.

The dinner hour usually reigns from 5 to 7 o'clock. For this meal more food than for the other meals is used and consumed. Vegetables, either or both boiled and raw, are eaten along with any one of the fruits like plums, peaches, pears, apples or apricots—then always chapatties.

If I haven't made it clear before, chapatties are the bread that is used almost exclusively throughout Pakistan and India. These are flat unleavened sheets of bread made from whole wheat—stone ground. They are the Indian "staff of life."

252 Cooking and preparation of meals as we know it in
262 the average home in America is definitely not part of the Hunzan way of life. Whereas in our way of life most foods are prepared by boiling, frying, baking,

sufficiently severe. Happily winter is short, two or three months at most, and for the rest of the year day and night are spent mainly out of doors. 372 132

The social culture of the Burusho of Hunza is as high as their material culture is primitive. Three centuries of Islam—they are now Ismaili heretics, having been Shiahs until three or four generations ago—have not induced them to veil or despise their indomitable women, nor to abandon the wholesome tradition of exogamy between their different clans in favour of first-cousin marriage. They are freer from superstition and fanaticism than any people east or west of whom I have heard or read. Whatever be the esoteric teaching of the Ismailis of which Professor Ivanov might tell, it concerns the Hunza peasant as little as the homoousian controversy disturbs the mind of the British schoolboy. He goes his way in cheerful confidence that hard work, fair dealing, kindly affection and generosity must be as well pleasing to God the Merciful, the Compassionate, as ritual prayer or ceremonial fast, and his dreams are not broken by over-anxious fear of Hell or hope of Heaven. 771 [582] 783

The fastidiousness and personal cleanliness of the Hunza peasant are remarkable. Close packed amongst the crowd at festivals or sitting on the threshing floor amongst the workers, or entertained in their hospitable houses, we were never distressed by human exhalations or molested by parasites. The drinking water is guarded with scrupulous care from pollution by man or beast. Men and women cooperate without embarrassment or restraint and no work is taboo for either sex, though for obvious reasons the heavier jobs of wall-building, irrigation and ploughing fall more naturally to the man, and the care of infants to the woman. But as soon as the father is allowed to handle his child, he will carry the baby proudly and tenderly out for its first airings, while boys and girls alike play with and watch over the toddlers. 515 271 462 593

Again and again, in face of the high morality and unquenchable spirit of the Hunzukuts, we were ashamed to think of what in our vaunted civilization 'man has made of man'. 000

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

312 It[1] was beautiful, soft, pure water which gave delightful baths,
● 271 but heavily silt-laden and supposed not to be fit to drink. We were luckily able to get half a dozen big petrol drums from Gilgit (left behind empty by the R.A.F.), and we stored it in these and let the silt settle. This water served us for washing and for photography.

312 About two miles away there was a spring of clear but hard water that issues from the foot of a cliff down near river level. This was recommended for drinking. So we took on a special man, Sagi by name, as water-carrier and general washer-up, to help in pantry and kitchen. He was a nephew of our old friend Nazar and a good fellow, though for some reason a little less cheery in appearance than our other men. Twice a day he would walk the two miles, climb down and up the 500 or more feet, and bring water for our tea, etc., and for making up the photographic solutions. We paid him the princely sum of about a pound a month, and he was delighted, while his brothers divided amongst them the extra work at home.

Considering the labour involved, it made us feel rather pigs to drink tea half a dozen times a day and expect a daily bath. When two of us were photographing hard and perpetually wanting to wash negatives and prints in eight or ten changes of water, my heart rather bled for Sagi. One day that had been particularly severe I said as he appeared with more and more water buckets at the door of the dark-room: "Poor man, I'm afraid our photographs give you a lot of extra work and trouble." His usually quiet face lit up with a peculiarly charming smile: "Nay, Mother dear, it is a pleasure, not a trouble. The work and trouble are yours."

262 The next thing in importance was food, and we found that
235 we could, without apparent hardship to the people, buy a
[624] daily hen. There are a couple of officials whose job it is to see about supplies for travellers, and they arranged to get the fowls now from one village and now from another, so that our demands might not press too heavily on anyone. The Hunza hen is an athletic bird. You may see her fly like a lumbering, over-weighted pigeon 15 or 20 feet across a gully, and so we were not surprised to find her wing muscles well-developed.

1 [The water in the Dála, the aqueduct--Analyst]

165 seventeen." Two years before he had
556 told me he was thirteen.

165 Because the Hunzas, themselves,
[217] have no written records, I attempted to
[128] estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

165 THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered
145 firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age
[146] in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance. a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

262 "Purity" has been attributed to the
[114] Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad.
[272] Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter. round out the

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

a miserable ten—none of your 'some thirty, some sixty, some an hundredfold'—while lucerne only gives three crops. 243

The Hunzukuts' main food is bread, of which the housewife makes a large variety, from the leavened wheatened cake with butter for feast days, the unleavened flapjack of wheat, barley or blended flours for everyday, to the bitter buckwheat scones of leaner times. Milk is not an article of diet; the animals yield little at the best and none at all when their own offspring is weaned. Such milk as there is contains little fat content, which is not to be wondered at in view of the food on which the animals exist; it is converted into butter, curds and such preservable forms. Butter is stored in birch-bark wrappings beneath an adjacent water-channel and broached only on festive occasions or for the entertainment of a guest. Meat is tasted at most twice or three times a year, at festivals or on some day of domestic rejoicing, a wedding or a birth, and then it will be 'some tainted wether of the flock, meetest for death' who supplies the sacrifice. 262 234

The womenfolk tend small vegetable plots in the corner of a field or separate garden, where carrots, turnips, marrows, gourds and half a hundred kinds of humble 'greens' are grown, and a few plants whose leaves or seeds are esteemed for flavouring, along with a few tobacco plants for the men's pipes. After grain and greens, the essential item of Hunza diet is the apricot, fresh in the early summer and dried during the rest of the year; mulberries, fresh and dried, come next in importance, then a few apples, pears and peaches (these little valued because they will neither keep nor dry) and a few grapes for such relatively well-to-do houses as can afford space and water to grow them. Grapes ripen too late to be dried into raisins and the small quantity not consumed fresh is converted into light wine, brightening the winter days for those who have it, and drunk within a couple of months of manufacture. The apricot has yet further uses. Its kernel yields the oil which lights very modestly the winter nights. The Burusho woman is said to refuse, most wisely, to live above the level of the ripe apricot (say 9–10,000 feet). This is, I suspect only a base pretext of her husband's for refusing to live at these altitudes himself. Be that as it may, the upper villages of Hunza are almost exclusively inhabited by immigrants from Wakhan accustomed to a treeless existence and a diet of barley only. Grafting fruit trees is an art thoroughly understood. The above-mentioned fruits supply the only sugar which the Hunza people know. 244 262 245 [273] [354] 361 245

Despite all diligence in tilling the ungrateful soil, despite the utmost 262

866 outrageous hat, must be a terrifying sight when it advances on you for the first time—but I learned cautiously to admire the babies from afar, though the father or mother always wanted to show them off. Only little Faqér, initiated so young, was always unafraid, and would stretch out his little hands and gurgle at me and let me take him in my arms or tickle him.

123 Soni, of the next house to Bibi Gímo's (I had to call it
866 No. 1A, because in my first notes I had confused the two households) had a little girl Afrots—quite the ugliest and brightest atom of three years old in Hunza. She had cried the first day on seeing me but immediately made friends, and ever after if I were sighted would run up to me and put out an abnormally grubby little paw and say "How do you do?" in imitation English fashion. On general principles we resisted all temptation to teach the children English ways or words or tales. This was almost my one lapse from grace, but Afrots was by general consent a special case, and her old grandfather, Aliko, was extraordinarily proud when he was witness to our meetings.

123 In the very first days of romping with the children of No. 1
535 and 1A on the threshing floor I had—stupidly—thought it might
562 be fun to teach Shamúli, Bano, and Afrots to dance. So I stood
273 up and started on a Highland schottische, and endeavoured, with little success, to coax them to join in. I was puzzled by something a little frigid in the air and soon gave up the attempt. When I climbed home for breakfast Dádo gravely and kindly said: "Excuse me, Mother, but Hunza women do not dance. It is thought unseemly." I thanked him for the warning; I wasn't sure whether the fear was that I should corrupt the girls or merely make an unseemly exhibition of myself. Either danger was to be avoided, so that began and ended my dancing lessons. Later Qudrat Ullah explained that in the olden days, when the Hunzukuts distilled a powerful *araq* from their mulberries, men and women used to dance together in drunken orgies that had untoward consequences. The Mir had long since forbidden the spirit, which provoked quarrels as well as dances, and "mixed dancing" fell under the same ban. This was the only man-made restriction on woman's freedom that I encountered in Hunza, and it did not seem to worry anyone.

Chapter 23

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

132 No climate could be more delightful than the autumn and early winter of Hunza, from October till far on in December, and the Burusho make the most of these bracing, genial days, hurrying to get through every sort of outdoor job before the six or eight weeks of the "Great Cold."

245 Not by any means every household can spare water, manure, or space for a vineyard, but those who can value not only the fresh grapes which ripen later than all other fruits, but also the home-made wine which helps to brighten the cheerless [251] winter days. Unfortunately, by the time the grapes are ripe, the sun has already lost its heat and raisin-drying is impossible. At least this was the only plausible explanation we could get for the fact that the Hunzukuts who dry their mulberries and apricots do not make raisins.

The vines are trained over low pergolas only 3 or 4 feet high, less frequently allowed to climb up living trees. Since the Hunzukuts greatly value shady sitting places we wondered why they did not go in for loftier pergolas like those the Persians love. The explanation is cruelly simple—they cannot spare the extra length of poles.

There were not many vineyards in Aliábád, but we located two favourably situated ones and paid several visits to each. One was many hundred feet down, at Gulkhan, below the old fort. Though the vine leaves were still green, every bunch of ● 273 fruit had been already cut when we came down to see the wine-making. Under the roof of an open-faced shed were three "mangers," as it were, set side by side, the two end ones stacked high with ripe grapes. There must have been 3 or 4 cwt. at least in each. The centre one was only partially full.

The central compartment—not unlike a kitchen sink—had 273 a stone floor slightly sloping towards a hole in front which was fitted with a neat little spout of birchbark, below which a great iron cauldron stood. One of the young men of the family (having doubtless washed his feet) leapt into the sink, rested his hands on the sides of it, and tramped, tramped, tramped, with all his weight. It looked very like hard work. Another man crouched alongside the spout, holding a large-meshed basket which filtered the juice as it ran out into the cauldron. The skins thus trapped were thrown back for another trampling. As required, further supplies of grapes were taken from the side compartments and thrown into the wine-press. After seeing our fill of this process and taking what photographs were possible in the patchwork of light and shade, we climbed steeply uphill to a flattish spot where other even more interesting activities were afoot.

Under a big boulder a flat stone had been converted into a trough by little "concrete" walls made of sand mixed with fat. The slimy mush of skins, stalks, and stones left after yesterday's pressing had been brought up here. In the trough they laid a wicker ring 9 or 10 inches across and a couple of inches thick. Into this they dumped as much of the green stuff as it would hold; then they laid another ring on the top of the first and filled it till they had a pile a foot high or so. On top they now placed a flat slab of stone, and across it a stout pole for lever, which they wedged firmly under the boulder as a fulcrum. The pole projected like one half of a see-saw. On to it a man leapt, thus pressing down the stone slab on to the articulated basket, and out gushed the juice into a vessel below. Then the stone was lifted, the top ring of the ingenious basket thrown aside, and the squeezing process repeated till nothing was left but a wet round cake of skins, seeds, and stalks. This is then [233] put in the sun to dry, and is much valued as a cattle food. Our wine-friends told us that the wine made from this second pressing is counted superior to the first.

When the receiving vessels are full, the juice is transferred through a wooden funnel into a skin sack and set aside to ferment. It is not allowed to stand overlong, for October's

273 brew will all be finished by the end of December, but a man is looked on as over-impetuous who does not keep it for at least a month. Old vintages are luxuries for wealthier lands. The Hunzukuts do not profess to be expert vintners or connoisseurs of wine. They consider it rather a gamble how the wine turns out: "Sometimes it is sweet and sometimes sour. Either is good to drink. But if we have enough manure and if the season has been hot enough fully to ripen the grapes, then the wine is sweet."

788 The wine and weaving having been disposed of and the winter-wheat sown, the year's serious work is over, and little remains but to fumigate the empty manure shed. We had come in from our walk one evening and were settling down to work after tea when I heard a modest little "Mother dear!" outside the window, and found Hérul Nisa had been sent down to tell us that Ustád Nadíro and Bibi Anjír were going to fumigate their byre in the good old style, if we would care to come. So we flung on our coats, seized a lantern, and scrambled up the particularly rocky track that led to No. 8. Bibi Anjír and her married daughter were watching proceedings from the roof of the byre which also forms the landing at the top of the ladder that leads to their verandah and summer living-room. The couple at No. 8 are old-fashioned and scrupulously keep up the ancient fumigating ceremony which many of their younger neighbours neglect.

The wall of their manure byre sticks out at right angles into the lane, and the door of it is sideways on. In the angle formed between it and the house, Nadíro had a little fire of dry sticks already burning. He took an iron ladle with a long handle and filled it full of precious apricot-kernel oil and heated it over the fire. There was a cold circular wind whizzing round which delayed the oil's getting warm and catching fire. We and a lot of interested neighbours pressed in round him as closely as we could to shelter the flame, which at last blazed up like the brandy in our tablespoons to light the Christmas pudding. Then the old man went into the byre and Hérul Nisa followed him with a bowl of cold water. He took a little of the water and flung it into the ladle four times, causing a lovely flare

to threaten s.o. *in ar stʌm* I frightened him. *fərav̆tsum, ər netʌn, (kok) dusuryʌm* putting him in fear I took these things from the treasurer. 60.14. 000

2. *ʌr* **-mʌnʌs* to be afraid (of), to fear. The object, when expressed, is put in the ablative: *ʌkil ər gumai.i bʌm ke* if you were so afraid. 282.21. *ʌr nʌmʌn at'aiya ba* I have not returned, fearing (i.e out of fear). 282.22. *je uŋtsum ar amaiya ba* I am afraid of you. 18.6. *Š. Bahram Di.u Sʌfi·dtsum ʌr nimʌn . . . mostʌqʌmi* fearing the Di.u Safid, Š. B. . . . hid her. 16.4.

The dative is found in: *epʌči.ər nivčər ər umai.ibʌm* they were afraid to go to it. 222.5. (Cp. Sh. *ər*).

ʌr **-mʌnʌs* as Adj. and Noun.

1. One who fears: cowardly, timid. — *ar imʌnʌs hirʌn bai.i* he is a timid man.
2. That which one fears; alarming, dangerous, dreadful, terrible (to look at). — *ʌr mimʌnʌs diš, gʌn* a place, road which we are afraid of, i.e. a dangerous place, road. *ʌr mimʌnʌsʌn bai.i* he is a dangerous man, or a man of alarming aspect. *ʌr mimʌnʌsʌn (hʌγər) bi* it is a dangerous horse.

ærʌba -muts x gun-carriage; a kind of crude wheel barrow, on which a basket is fixed, used for transporting earth. 493

ærʌn v. *avʌn*.

ʌrʌq -iŋ, -ičiŋ y alcohol, spirit, arrack. — *gindawərə ʌrʌq* spirit made from "Sinjid" (fruit of jujube tree). *birʌnčə ʌrʌq* mulberry spirit (used 273

273 to be made till recently in Hunza). *hir sise birʌnče ʌrʌkičiŋ di.uvin* the men, having produced mulberry spirit. 330.4. *padša mərʌkawlo ʌrʌq mi bʌm* the King was drinking spirits in the court. 86.19. *padša iriŋulo ʌrʌq bilum minimi* the King drank the arrack that was in his hand. 86.22. Ar.

601 *-*ʌrər -šo* hm son-in-law. — *le.i 'arər!* O (my) son-in-law! *evrerɪ ka buvt xuš mʌnimi* he became much pleased with his son-in-law. 39.2. *padša hukum etimi . . . uve evərəšu.ər* the King gave orders to those sons-in-law of his. 120.21.

000 *-*ʌrʌs*, *-*ʌrč-*, Impv. *-*ʌri*, Ppa. *n*-*ʌrin*.

1. To send (s.o.), despatch. The Pn. pf. refers to the direct object.
   ine je avrči he will send me.
   gowrčʌm I'll send you.
   evɪrčʌm, mo.ɪrčʌm I'll send him, her.
   mevrčumʌn they'll send us.
   mavrčʌm I'll send you (pl.).
   ovrčʌm I'll send them.
   nevɪrin having sent him.
   uve aiyowri don't send them!
   Imavm Yavr Beg Paikṣe evri send I. Y. B. to Paik. *da avltʌn ovrimi* again he sent two men. 24.8. *ivse . . . guvti.ər morumʌn* they sent her to the hut. 114.6.
2. It may be regarded as supplying the causative of *niyʌs* to go, i.e. to cause to go.
3. It is used, more or less metaphorically, in various idiomatic expressions: — *guse . . . xʌn ʌweši ke jivtsum avrči* if this (elephant) flings me down it will kill me (despatch me from life). 76.25. *uvne daulʌt ɣonikrš dorowiŋulo*

262 A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of work-
556 able land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep,
231 a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

● 273 Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from
245 Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

415 Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are
[412] not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

352 The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large
354 square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept
164 partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

439 At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza
437 and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

000 During the past few years a bit of money has come

that may exist or be created in an agricultural community, no seed is available, the Mir has been known to procure supplies from neighboring states and supply his people with sufficient planting stock. 241 643

While through the entire East cow dung and yak dung are used for fuel, in Hunza this is positively not true. The Hunzans are too intelligent to use the mainstay of their lives for fuel. Once it is burned it is gone; but if it is put back into the land, it is there to produce crops for another year. They show their intelligence, if proof of their intelligence is needed, by this one sound principle of self-survival in their means of agriculture. 241 372

However, in the more northerly sections of Hunza, closer to the Chinese border, they do use yak dung for fires because of the almost total lack of wood or other types of fuel. They just have to keep themselves warm during the winter.

Here is a list of the vegetables grown in Hunza—potatoes, turnips, carrots, beans, peas, lettuce, pumpkins, tomatoes, melons, watermelons, radishes, onions, cabbage, spinach, cauliflower. 244

In fruits there are mulberries, apricots, apples, pears, peaches, grapes, walnuts, almonds, a few plums and some cherries. 245

Grapes are grown fairly extensively because they can plant them against most any wall, as long as they have a bit of soil in which to gain a foothold for their roots. From these grapes they make their Hunzan wine. [273]

They grow a few strawberries, but I could find no currants, gooseberries, raspberries—nor did they know what raspberries were.

The grains grown in Hunza, starting from the most important, are wheat, barley, rye, millet, buckwheat and a small quantity of rice. Some alfalfa is grown as a forage crop. 243 246

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The [273] grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

796 585 Tumushuling, the great winter celebration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom, accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door, which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan [431] from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do [492] marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home, leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival. [643] The Mir gives a small gift, usually a [431] piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

585 583 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride,

[P44-A]

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it: men
[562] spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[796] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two: cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it is virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[148] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone and a flat rock to express the oil. Apri-
[359] cot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about four hours. Men add a few drops, as
[273] bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[762] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

4 AV3 Dard AV 3
Burushe AV 7

D 454 before he has had time to confide the secret of their hiding place to his son. The practice is entirely confined to the Shins, who have many legends of lost treasures which have fallen under the guardianship of demons.

D 234 251 556 In both Chilas and Darel, a practice exists of storing clarified butter in cellars for a great number of years. It turns deep red and keeps for more than a hundred years, when it is much prized. A tree is sometimes planted over the cellar to ensure its not being disturbed, and wealth is computed by the amount of butter stored up. On one occasion a deputation came to me from Darel to ask that some run-away slaves should be compelled to say where they had buried their master's butter, as they alone knew the secret.

D 273 B 273 Wine, which at one time was universally drunk, is also placed in flagged underground cellars to ripen in large earthen jars, but is never kept more than a year. In digging the foundations of my house at Gilgit, I came on one of these old cellars with two large jars in it, which had evidently been undisturbed for many years. The drinking of wine has much diminished under Islam, and where still practised is concealed as much as possible, except in Hunza and Ponyal, where public jollifications are not uncommon. The Maulai sect make no secret of the practice, and on my visit to Hunza, in 1876, a bottle of Scotch whiskey made Ghazan Khan so gloriously drunk that all Hunza spoke of it with admiration.

D 526 Polo-playing, of which so complete an account has been given by Mr. Drew, is the national game. Dardistan play, however, lacks the neatness of the Munnipoori game; but what is wanting in style is quite made up in enthusiasm, old men joining in the game as long as they are able to sit on a horse. Matches are generally played for some small stake, and the conquerors exact all the rights of victory by taunting their beaten opponents. In Chitral the game, which is called "ghal," is played somewhat differently from the way described by Mr. Drew. Aman-ool-mulk, the present ruler of Chitral, was said to be the best player in the country when a young man.

000 The game is quite unknown in Badakhshan, where "buzkushi," or "goat-snatching," is the favourite amusement. The following description of this game as played by the Kirghiz is given by Shaw,[1] under the name of "Ooghlak:—"

"The headless body of a goat is thrown on the ground, and every one tries to pick it up without leaving the saddle. The press is tremen-

[1] Shaw's High Tartary, Yarkand and Kashgar.

were there, they would have been noticed. 249

It is also possible that from a distance of one or two miles, one might confuse a field of alfalfa hay or barley or wheat and, with golden heads when ripe and the sun's rays striking them, what was grain might resemble flowers, but I think I am well enough versed in plant lore to be able to make the distinction.

I want my readers to bear in mind also that most of my traveling from Gilgit to Baltit was done on Nagir territory.

The reason these bits of color were most conspicuous was obviously because of the practically total absence of anything that resembled flowers—or a bit of brightness.

The Mir answered my question about the growing of poppies as follows, "Yes, some of our farmers are growing poppies but I am going to put a stop to it." 249 276 656

I waited for him to continue with keen interest.

"It appears," he went on, "that some of the people have begun to take to smoking opium . . . and fearing this insidious bad habit will take root, I'm going to ban the growing of this plant."

I did not mention it to him then or since, but somehow I had overheard (perhaps at one of the parties in Gilgit where a group of the roundabout notables had gathered) that opium had been drifting in from some locations and commanding fairly good prices. It also struck me that the Chinese border, being close at hand, might prove to be a very appropriate market for the produce that they would get from the poppy plants.

I did not ask if there were any restrictions against the producing of opium, apart from the fact that the Mir was going to ban it for protection of his people. I do not know whether anyone could prevent the Hunzans or the Nagirwals from growing these colorful plants.

681 which people were exiled and as officers were continually asking me what sort of place it was, I determined to go there and see for myself. The track there
491 was very bad indeed and in two places there were goat hair bridges which were very unpleasant to cross. A ring of wood was used and the traveler was drawn from one bank to the other and if he wore a beard most of the hairs were dragged out on the way. . . .

643 "My father[1] had six wives, three of which were of the
595 ruling classes and three from the Zemindaris. All however, were married to him according to the law and so he left behind no bastards."

•276 The Mir told me that of late some of the young boys
177 have taken to smoking cigarettes. This they have picked up and learned from the Hunzan men who have been serving in the Pakistani army. Cigarettes can be pur-
685 chased in the shop in Baltit and a few occasions of
276 petty theft have been encountered. In each case it
[443] seems that they stole in order to get money to buy cigarettes. These few petty crimes of course did not
[681] involve ostracism to Shimshal. It is expected that this condition will continue or even become aggravated as the youth of Hunza become more familiar and acquainted with smoking. Some of the men in Hunza smoke the "hookah" which we know as the water-pipe.

249 Some forms and varieties of tobacco have been tried
123 in Hunza. I promised to send the Mir seeds of the various types of tobacco that we grow in America, such as Virginia, Burley and Quesnel. Perhaps if they can learn to grow tobacco, it will enable the youth to get their hands on some tobacco and satisfy their craving for it without resorting to other ways and means. However, they would have to get paper from somewhere for none is made or improvised in Hunza.

674 It is obvious from what I have seen, that crime and

[1] [ie - the father of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan - ANALYST]

177 their salt and soon there will be a few more items added
263 and, as more of their people go out of the country to
439 earn a living and come back to visit or retire, more of civilization's curses will be brought back with them.

165 The doctor rather clearly indicated that infant mor-
114 tality was not as low as some writers would like us to believe. I repeat—he made this quite clear.

164 Now I'll let you decide how it ties in with the statements made by Sir Robert McCarrison: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucous colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people, the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

276 Smoking in general is not an addiction in Hunza. The water-pipe or hubble-bubble is used by some of the people, usually at gatherings or ceremonies. It is then passed around in a wide circle, each one taking a puff
[562] or two. The women are included, but only after all the men have finished.

Some of the citizens use snuff. It is tobacco mixed with the ash of a plant called "sopa," which is indigenous to that area. They take the tobacco and the sopa ash, put in a dash of water, stir it up and mix it into a paste. Then they place gobs of this paste under their lip, exactly the same as the snuff chewer does in the West, although this practice has been dying out in the Western world.

164 Just how much of the health of the people of Hunza
132 is due to the fact that they get a lot of sunlight? That is a most pertinent question and one that will take a lot

And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots, and herbs from which they prepare simple medicines for their needs. Nowadays they are able to attend the Government dispensary in Aliábád, but its nostrums have not yet undermined their faith in their own home-made remedies. We very much wished that we had possessed some knowledge of medical botany and could have brought home records of their medicine; but like so many other branches of knowledge which we regretfully ignored, it would have been a specialist's job, and we had out hands full enough with our own work and all too little time at our disposal. 278 757

During the imprisonment of winter the women cut and stitch the winter cloaks, adorning each long seam with a double row of backstitching, which is not only seemly to the eye but serves to hold the raw edges in place. The stiff, shaped collar is decorated with varied designs, diamonds, triangles, and straight lines in the same backstitch. Happily few of them can yet afford to let Dirzi Nazir replace their time-honoured skill with the soulless, cotton stitchery of his sewing machine. We noted with grief that the beautifully hand-embroidered *chogas* with which the Mir presented us this time all had their seams Singer-sewn, and had thus lost (for us) much of their charm. 294 531 [172]

With prudent foresight the woman makes the *choga* six good inches too long for its destined wearer, and introduces a deep tuck above its lower edge. It will last at least three years and will shrink in successive washings. You can tell at a glance whether a man is wearing his best, or medium, or oldest *choga* by the depth—or absence—of the tuck. In former days embroidery was the monopoly of the few royal ladies who beguiled the tedium of their too-sheltered life by decorating *chogas* with bold designs in bright-coloured silks, or working raised patterns of gold and silver on velvet saddle-cloths, and above all in elaborating delicate designs in cross-stitch for the crown and border of their lovely little caps. Where we clumsily work cross-stitch with wool on canvas, they painstakingly cross-stitch the individual threads of calico with bright, gay silks. The patterns are infinitely varied—we possess dozens of specimens of this fine work, no two are alike—but

[The Burusho women -- Analyst]

bʌn'o x meat and food given annually by the Mir of Hunza to the people on certain festivals: 574

1. At the Bopfau: one ox, one very small kid, one very small lamb.
2. At Nauroz: the flesh of an ox and bread brought from the Masjid near the Baltit polo-ground and distributed to the people of the "12 kanants" the name of each section being called out in turn. 318. — *bʌno dišʌm . . . tsor Baltit-kutsər učʌm* they bring the "bano" . . . first they give it to the people of Baltit. 318.7. (Cp. Sh. *bʌn'o* = *bʌ·go*, share).

1.. *bʌŋ* y resin, gum (of fruit trees), H. *gond*. — *bʌŋ du·šila* gum exudes. 278 ●

The resin of apricot and peach trees is eaten dissolved in water and is said to be strengthening. It is also used as adhesive gum. Others say apricot resin is a remedy for heartburn

2. *bʌŋ*, *bʌ·ŋ* the Call to Prayer 000

Axomdəru.ε mʌzʌrʌṭε bʌŋ qau the Mullahs call out the Call Prayer over the grave. 312.9. Prs

bʌŋut, *-iŋ* y fortified camp, cantonment; pl. separate bodies of men. — *imε bʌŋut dεlim padša* that King who has made entrenchments. 32.2. (Cp. Sh. *bʌŋut*, *bʌŋuts*, Kho. *bʌŋqut*, both meaning breastwork of stones, 'sangar').

bʌp, *-ičʌŋ* y.

1. Tribute (as paid by Mirs of Hunza and Nagir to Kashmir), tax. -- *bʌp iči.ʌs* to pay tribute to him. *iŋi.ε bʌp gai.rmi* he will take tribute of their beards. 92.20. *Giltum thʌmu.ε Čupursantsum bʌp su·čʌm* The Gilgit Thams used to collect tribute from Chupūrsan

badqɪsmat. (Perhaps Cp. Sh. *naʷs akbar*, the name of a star which is considered unlucky). Ar. Prs. (*nahas*). 000

naʷš y blame, reproof, rebuking. — *uʷe ine naʷš-etumʌn* they rebuked him. *tol ke noʷle naʷš ke maʷʌn bila* there is enmity to the death between the snake and the weasel.

naʷumiʷd hopeless, despairing, disappointed. Prs.

nʌfs, *nʌms* greed, greediness. — *nʌfs gʌne* by reason of greed. Ar. Prs.

nʌfskrš, *nʌvzkrš*, *nʌmskrš*, pl. *nʌfski.ʌnts*, *-ents* avaricious, greedy. — *nʌfskršʌn* a greedy person. *nʌfski.entsik* greedy people.

nʌge.i -mʌts x a hard and painful boil (medical), from the site of which hair does not grow again. (Cp. N. *mʌge.i*).

nʌʏe.i, *nʌʏe*, pl. *nʌʏ'eiŋ* y dung (human and animal's, general term). H. *ṭʌṭṭi*. — *bʌd'a nʌʏe* the excrement of the flying-squirrel which is credited with medicinal properties and ranks as "*muʷmi.aʷi*". 278 ●

nʌxša, cp. *nʌqša*, map. Ar. Prs. 000

nʌl yoke (of oxen). — *nʌl hər* yoke of oxen, yoke-fellow. *ṭʌle nʌl hər bim, bi.e* there were (are) seven yoke of oxen. 246.10. (Cp. Sh. *naʷl*, yoke of plough; pair, couple. Cp. also Bu. *naʷl*).

nʌl'a together, at the same time, simultaneously. — *nʌla bišʌmʌn* they fired together, fired a volley. *kuʷe u.iʷski nʌla dumʌnumʌn* these three were born at the same time. 88.16. Cp. 304.17. *hik nʌl'a* all at once, all of a sudden.

(Cp. Sh. *nʌl'a* together, at the same time, *ek nʌl'a* all together).

273 b

will take tax of the beards of all the champions. 92.20. 000

niˈʌs v. *niyʌs*.

niˌʌt, *niyʌt* y purpose, intention; willing, prayer. — *uˈŋɛ niˌʌt duˈtsʌnimi* your purpose has come straight, i.e. been fulfilled. 42.9. *niyʌt nɛ* willing it. 160.15. *niˈʌt ɛtimi* he vowed. 160.19. *γʊsʊluˌɛ niˌʌt nɛtʌn* saying the prayer for the washing of the dead. 310.6. (*niyʌt* is technically the "vow or declaration of the intention to perform prayers", Hughes, "Dictionary of Islam" s.v. *niyah*). Ar. Prs.

niˈɛn Ppa. of *-yʌnʌs* with 3rd. sg. m. & x object.

nihaˈyʌt excessively, extremely, very. 376.4. Ar. Prs.

nikˈa y solemnizing of the marriage contract, marrying, Ar. *nɪkaˈḥ*. — *ʌxʊmɛ hilɛˈs kɛ dasinmo nika ɛtʌsər* when the mullah has solemnized the marriage of the youth and the girl. 302.14. *dʌsinmu ka nikaˈh nɛ dʊmutsimi* celebrating his marriage with the girl he brought her, i.e. he married the girl and brought her in (to Gilgit). 380.11. *hik nika biluˈmʌnɛ gʌtʊŋ ˈɛɛbiljai* probably: a man of whom there has been one marriage (i.e. who has been once married), makes him put on his clothes. 300.7. Ar. Prs.

nik(h)ər for *niqər* q.v. 338.11.

niˈkbʌxt v. *neˈkbʌxt*.

niˈki, *neˈki* y (noun) good. — *jaˈtsʊm niˈki juˈʌs bila* good is going to come (to you) from me. 90.12. Cp. Prov. 41 & 42. Prs.

nikiˈn, *nɪkin*, Ppa. of *giyʌs*.

niˈl x indigo, indigo-blue. — *niˈl diˌuˈsʌs* to extract(?) indigo. *niˈlɛ tikʊmʊts* blue spots. 300.10. 278

Indigo is said to be injected with a needle as a cure for a swollen finger, and also to be given to a child or horse with a cough, to drink. Prs. 278

niᵛm St. Pc. of *niyʌs*.

nimaᵛz y prayers. — *nimaᵛz ɛtʌs* to say, or perform, the Muslim prayers. *nimaᵛz γʌtai bai* he is reciting, reading, the prayers. Cp. 310.13. Prs. 000

nɪrmʌk həraᵛmi y treachery, disloyalty. — *thʌmər nɪrmʌk həraᵛmi ɛtimi* he practised disloyalty towards the Tham. Prs. (+ Ar.).

nimʌn.

1. Ppa. of *-*mʌnʌs* with Pn. Infix *i-*.
2. 3rd. pl. Pret. of *niyʌs*.

niᵛmʌs N. *-iŋ* y story. Cp. Hz. *minʌs*.

nimɛᵛn Ppa. 1st. pl. of *niyʌs*. 248.6.

nʼiqər Ppa. of *-*xərʌs* with Pn. Pf. *i-*.

nʼironʌŋ, -išo, nironaᵛŋʊts x rainbow. — *nironʌŋ wʌli bi* a rainbow has appeared (*lit.* has fallen). *nironʌŋišo gi.a bi.ɛ* rainbows have appeared (*giyai.ʌs*) (*lit.* come down). 821

It is said that something comes down from the skies to drink. It drinks and goes up again, legs up and head down. It leaves a pot (*kʌtoᵛr*) behind.

nironʌŋ duᵛsi bi the rainbow has come out.

(Cp. Sh. *nərouᵛn* || *biči̇ᵛn*, rainbow).

nɪšaᵛn -iŋ y sign, token, mark, Bu. *haiyʌn*, — *iltaᵛnts hərʌŋʊlo hʌn nɪšaᵛnʌn bila* there is a mark between his eyebrows. 92.2. Cp. 136.1. Prs. 000

niyʌs, ni.ʌs, nič-, Impᵛ. *ni*, Ppa. *n*-n* (and *n*-ʌn*). St.pc. *niᵛm*

1. To go (in all aspects); go, depart from; go, proceed to; (absolute) go away, go off.

For forms see the paradigm § 284.

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families butcher a sheep or two: cold weather
[231] preserves the meat for the few days
[251] before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[149] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
248 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[354] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as
[262] bitters, to their wine, and occasionally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
335 through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
322 duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and independent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully
291 terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the
415 cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root
415 of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also
233 the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

2: Lorimer T-3 (1927-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 after a day or two the stone-and-mud walls have dried to the same appearance of timeless indestructibility as those of fifty or one hundred years ago. We passed first, as always, through a small byre, not yet inhabited by its cow; then at right angles through a dark, narrow passage 5 or 6 feet long, and then through the low hall-door into the house itself. Your main object in building a house at all is to be as warm and free from draughts as possible during the "Great Cold," and no one in his senses would let his hall-door open straight on to the wind-swept mountain side. Hence the byre ante-room, which not only defeats the direct outside air, but contributes something of animal warmth to the human warmth within.

291 When we emerged into the living-room (the *atrium*, as it
281 were), beautifully bright with light from the smoke-hole, we
352 were standing in a shallow trough below the floor level where the newcomer kicks off his muddy boots in winter. Most people at all well-to-do wear soft home-made boots up to their knees in winter-time. But skins are precious and, however cold the weather, they take their boots *off* to save them when they come to an extra rough bit of ground. This entrance place has in it the "musicians' bench," under which are stored the family basin and similar utensils and on which is piled a store of firewood.

342 The floor of the room is a small square of hard-beaten earth
[352] which in this gloriously dry climate remains admirably clean; and roughly in the centre of it is a shallow hole, edged with four stone kerbs, which is the hearth. Behind the hearth is a low bench sacred to the lady of the house, the presiding genius
343 of indoors. Beside it she sits to do or superintend the cooking
251 and behind her is a low wooden door opening into the store-
[414] room; the home-made wooden key of which hangs always on her person. The store-room runs the whole width and height of the house. It has need to be a roomy place, for here stand the skin sacks of grain, the heaped baskets of potatoes, apples, dried mulberries and apricots, the kernels, the wool, the stone wine-jars, the jars of apricot oil, the basket of savoury herbs—all the family's supplies for a twelvemonth, which it is her duty to guard and to apportion.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons
of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from
suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece,
no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows
supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the
man or woman who could not construct the one required
would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins
and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-
prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful
five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of
gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame
and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the
lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots.
When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at
any moment will shear another sheep while the women and
children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563

252 God, the Merciful, the Compassionate—then they let the blood drain out, washed the neck carefully, and got busy with the skinning. Kalbi is a clever, neat-fingered fellow, as indeed all Hunzukuts seem to be, and in ten minutes had coaxed the skin off whole (without slitting it down the tummy) as easily as you peel off a pair of silk stockings. There were only the
415 holes at the neck and at the four "elbows" and a little slit at the tail, so that with a stitch at the tail and four ties at the legs the skin would serve as a water bucket or a bag for flour.

252 He then hung up the carcase and cleaned it—a wonderfully unmessy business—while we noted down all the words for its various innards. It would have been much more instructive and enlightening if either of us had ever seen a sheep killed at home or had known the English words for all the curious things it has inside it. There was not, even round the kidneys, one ounce of fat.

465 As usual out here, you do not pay a person in cash for per-
237 forming a service of this kind; there is some recognized perquisite. In this case Kalbi considered that he would be handsomely remunerated if he might have the guts. We did not covet them ourselves, and gladly acquiesced. They are much
[534] valued. They will give you strings for your zither (many people, including Kalbi, make beautiful zithers for themselves), and for your bow; they serve as thread to sew your long boots and your skin sack, and you put them to a hundred other uses. Others of our retainers laid claim to the wool, the skin, and various other items. Later Kalbi gave us a demonstration of skin-curing and -kneading.

291 The long native boots are extremely comfortable-looking, like long-legged moccasins, and their construction is an elabo-
● [281] rate art. Ibex skins are preferred, but ibex have nearly been killed off and other leather has to be substituted. The soles may be made of cow-hide. Boots are precious things, so however cold it is you take them off when you come to a very rough piece of ground or want to walk through water. At best the unlined boot is not over-warm, and really luxurious people wear woollen socks or stockings inside if they have them. The women can knit excellently well, but it is very rare for anyone

ingly competent. There's nothing connected with their every- 181
day life that they cannot all do, and do well.

I saw a couple of pretty young women sitting together in a 283
little orchard spinning, as they watched a few sheep grazing on some odd blades of grass that grew between the trees. I scrambled over the wall and sat beside them to watch. They showed me what they were doing, and as we talked a fine old greybeard passed by driving a few goats and sheep downhill. "What are you doing there, Mother?" "Naját and Zaida are showing me how to spin." "But don't you *know*?" Half shamefaced, wholly amused, I tried to explain that unfortunately in our country most of the spinning was done with "wheels" (a general sort of word for machinery of any kind—a thing which, of course, they have never seen), and quite a lot of women besides myself did not know how to spin. He shook his head sadly as if to say, "What is the world coming to?" and stood a moment to watch us. Then sympathetically but firmly he said: "You'll never learn now, I'm afraid. You should have begun as a child; it takes a lot of practice. Goodbye." And as he went after his animals I saw him still gently shaking his head over my lost youth—which he could not regret more than I.

Wherever she is going, whether to the orchard to gather 283
twigs for firewood, or to the mill with a small sack of grain to 415
be ground, the woman carries under her arm a quaint little kidney-shaped receptacle for her well-washed wool. It is usually made of wild rowan bark. The menfolk when up at the summer pastures cut a strip of bark and bend the two ends towards the centre, forming two circular chambers. They then bury it for a year or two till it has taken the required shape. Then they lash on a thin wooden base and lash the two circular chambers together, and the wife's *pfurúkus* is ready for her. In one side she puts the clean wool which she teases by hand, removing any lumps or bits of straw, which she puts into the odd-shaped cavity between the two circles. She then coaxes bits of the cleaned lump into a neat ribbon of wool about 6 inches long and 1½ inches wide, and beats it well on her knee till it is perfectly flat and even and coheres together, and this little

283 strip is folded and placed in the second chamber. When she
415 has enough of these *dapping* prepared, she takes out her little spindle, also shaped at home, puts the point of it into a little dish like a small ash-tray, which prevents it from wandering about while she rotates it. Then with a *dap* of wool in her left hand and the spindle in her right, she conjures somehow a fine even thread on to the whirring spindle. So many *dapping* make a spindleful, so many spindlefuls make a ball, so many balls suffice for a winter cloak. Undoubtedly you must learn as a child. The shape of the *pfurúkus* makes it most convenient to carry; even if you have a child on your shoulders and a basket on your back, it sits under your arm and stays there of itself, one circular chamber projecting back and front. The little ash-tray is cleverly moulded by the women from the malleable mush left when they have squeezed every drop of oil from their apricot kernels. It dries in a day or two and serves for many a year.

243 There was a jolly family party who worked the fields just below our house. I used to wish the fields didn't slope down and down and we could then have watched them better from the windows. When we arrived they had just reaped two fields of wheat (which ripens a fortnight later than the barley) and piled the sheaves in two big stacks. Then they made their threshing-floor as earlier described.[1] When the floor was dry they spread the entire circle 2 or 3 feet deep with cut wheat and got a team of five cows, tied their muzzles loosely together with a soft rope round each and then drove them round to
[462] tread out the grain. It is usually a woman or girl who drives the team, but sometimes a man or boy will take a hand. The outside beast has, of course, to make the biggest circle, while the centre one just buzzes round as nearly as possible in the
[46] same spot. As the driver gently touches them with her switch she keeps shouting "Hai, hai, hai!" to encourage them. When she gets tired one of the others comes on duty and she goes and sits down in the shade of the stack. As you can imagine, it is pretty hot in the noonday sun. I joined the women in the shade where they sat spinning away and keeping an eye on
ooc the toddlers. There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and

[1] [See p. 77, cat. 116 or 243. -- Analyst]

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons
of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from
suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece,
no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows
supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the
man or woman who could not construct the one required
would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins
and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-
prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful
five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of
gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame
and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the
lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots.
When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at
any moment will shear another sheep while the women and
children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563

the lighting of lamps, between supper and bedtime, in recounting past events, and doubtless in confirming and explaining traditional behaviour and practices:

> šapi·k ši·mteum gučaḑpal xa (I am told) geri·tas geri·bilumišo ya dapiṇ ctašo huru·šam. Thamini tendili gerenṭes aka·birtiṇ huru·šam da šajara (= šajara = ta·ri·x) sčam.

"From eating food till lying-down time those who had lamps or those who were preparing wool for spinning used to sit "by the lamp." In former years the people of the upper class used to sit by their lamps and recount past events."

That these séances had an educative and moral intention is evident from the saying, ascribed by tradition to Big Ali of the Ghulwätting clan:

> Ghulwaṭiṇ Big Ali.s bar bila: "uyo·n ja geri·teer du·n ja·teum siskuṭ (= insa·ni.at) haki·ba·n. Ja khu γuniki.ents ayu· γuniki.entes gerenṭeer ničam."

"There is the saying of Big Ali of the Ghulwätting: 'All people have come to my lamp-side and have learnt from me human virtue. Only these evil sons of mine go to the lamp-sides of evil persons."

The few remarks I have to make about the provenance of the subject matter of the texts are embodied in the notes subjoined to each. Otherwise the notes are chiefly confined to grammatical queries and explanations. Paragraph numbers quoted in the notes refer to the Grammar. Obviously the texts, especially those relating to local traditions or customs, require much fuller annotation to reveal and explain their full content; but lack of knowledge, no less than lack of space, made it impossible for me to attempt such annotation.

I hope that my present investigations in Hunza may serve to throw light on many of such obscurities.

Aliabad, Hunza,
29th October 1934.

D. L. R. L.

[p.1 contains no textual material – Analyst]

thirtem -sio x full bobbin, yarn wound on small hollow stick 5 or 6 inches long. — *gaz thirtem* bobbin of thick thread, i.e. woof yarn. *juv thirtem* bobbin of thin thread, i.e. warp yarn. *dzrugem thirtem ju.an m.anuma* "you have become like a tangled bobbin". 283

1. *fis, fiv*, pl. *tifants, tifirye* x excavated hole in ground, pit, grain-pit. — *gfalov fis* grain-pit. *fis sfimi* he made a pit, hole in the ground. 84.20. *tifi.wlem* (or, *tifantwlem*) from in the pits. 140.9. Cp. 12.16, 84.2—5, 140.2. (Cp. Sh. *dfu*). 000

2. *fhis -mig* y error, mistake, misdeed, fault; mistaken, wrong. — *girsinoma fhis bila* what is written is wrong. *gufe fhis na girminoi.i* he has written this wrongly. *fhis sfas* to make a mistake, commit a fault, miss (a mark). *hin hugultrtsanu ka fis sfamo* she misconducted herself with a shepherd. 268.4. Cp. 222.7. *hai.anar, ...mar, fis sfimi* he missed the mark, the marksor. *fhis m.anava, fhis *-m.anas* to be in error, go wrong, go astray, go missing, be confused, or interchanged (of things). *ultalik hurupelo hun gusfe fis m.animi* (or *m.anumin*) between the two of them there was a mistake of one day (or, they went wrong in regard to one day). 83.13. *ultalike fhis manimi* the two of them missed (the mark). 282.1. *hugus fhis mani bi* the goat has gone missing. Cp. 234.1, *hugus fhis mani.an* the goats went missing.

(Cp. Sh. *fiv*, GB *fhis*, error, misdeed).

fiqr'an -ig y earthquake. — *fila fiqan* 1. Earthquake. 2. IUB a strenuous, valiant man, H. *mahmati bahadur*

000 needed animals in the world.

231 It is clearly and distinctly established that Tibet, for example, could never exist and people could never live in that part of the world if it weren't for the yaks and yaks are native only to that part of the world —yes, wild ones, I mean. That's where they were originally found and tamed. They still roam wild on some of the higher inaccessible elevations and plateaus in that part of the globe.

No one will attempt to deny that our cow is a most useful and practically essential animal. It gives milk from which we make butter, cheese and cream. We use the carcass for meat and the hide for shoes, baseballs and many other articles but, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the cow as it is today actually couldn't look after herself in the northern latitudes and pasture food must be provided.

[492] Well, the yak does everything a cow does. Besides that, it is one of the finest beasts of burden. Then, too, it is the surest-footed animal to be found anywhere. It can, and often does, forage for its own food. It can live off practically nothing. It is suspected that it can find sustenance in a bit of grass or roots or even a bit of coarse, uninviting (to any other animal) herbage.

[492] [241] Like our cow, it takes to domestication readily. Both the Tibetans and the Hunzans use them to work their fields and flail their wheat, barley and other grains.

231 237 [283] From the wool on its back, belly and head comes the toughest of woven fabrics, from which is made the sturdiest of clothes for the people and tents for their homes. Wherever you see rope in Hunza, you can be sure that it was made from braided or woven yak hair.

[291] [415] [501] The hide is used for most everything . . . boots and shoes, of course, and water containers and skin boats, which are the means and mode of transportation across and up and down the dangerous rivers

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

PLATE II

285

THE BASKET-MAKER HUNZA (see p. 9)

P. 8 (B)

000 admire the view with a fine stretch of terraced fields below us, quaint little stone houses with groups of trees dotted here and there, and behind all, in every direction, the great mountains. On our way back there was a small boy, of perhaps thirteen, in the ex-lucerne field: "Who does this field belong to?" Just in the boastful way of small boys at home, he answered: "Oh, this is my field and that's my mulberry orchard you passed just now, and here's my house with the big mulberry tree over it, and this is my apricot tree and that is my father over there," pointing to our earlier friend who had moved some distance off. "I'm going home now," and he came along with us chattering away. "That's one of our lambs, and that's a kid." He passed his own door and walked all the way back with us. When we came to the bungalow David imitated his way of speaking: "And this is our house, and that's our chair in the verandah, and now we are going in to eat bread." The boy burst out laughing, evidently quite aware that we were chaffing him, waved his hand in farewell, and ran home at the double to tell his family all about it.

We had quite expected that the people would be friendly, but we had no idea they would be so spontaneously forthcoming and so quick to guess what we were driving at. Already by our second day we had made two sets of friends in the two nearest houses, and were sure of a welcome as we passed.

● 285 I asked Levy Kalbi next morning whether there was anyone who could make us a wastepaper basket. Within an hour or two he came along with an armful of willow twigs, squatted in the verandah: "If the Sahib will show what shape he would like, I'll make it now." So David made him a rough sketch, and in an hour or two he had finished a capacious basket that only needed to dry for a day or two in the sun. We asked what it should cost. He was almost hurt: "You shall not pay me for
281 it. I am already eating your salt. And a basket is nothing,
462 anyway." The day after he came along with a bunch of goat's hair under his arm which he was going to spin, and he thought we might like to watch. Oddly, the men spin the goat's hair
181 and the women the wool. All these Hunza people are refresh-

402 'machines' known in Hunza, and the mechanism of all three is so simple that parts can be replaced, repairs or adjustments effected, by any intelligent child—and we met no *un*intelligent Hunza child.

286 Anyone desirous of doing so can acquire a weaver's skill, and in our village of some 200 families there were seven or eight expert weavers. The loom-pit is a hole in the ground, 2 feet wide and deep and 2 feet 4 inches from back to front, with a stone bench at the back. Two horizontal poles balanced on stones a couple of feet above the ground at either side carry the heddles, etc. Here the weaver sets up his home-made loom of ingeniously simple construction worked by four treadles in the bottom of his pit. While he works, the owners of the wool sit by and wind his bobbins. A skilful weaver can make the nine yards of narrow homespun required for a man's cloak in a day and a half. The loom-pit occupies fully half the width of the 'street' and when being used forms the centre of a shifting group of cheerfully gossiping passers-by.

Goat's hair is woven on an even simpler upright frame, a forked piece of tree supplying the single shed required.

322 Turning is a rarer accomplishment than weaving, and our village boasted only one lathe-master. Like the loom the lathe is set up in a pit. The person desiring a bowl supplies the necessary rough-hewn block of wood (apricot or vine root preferred) and the motive power required to turn the horizontal bar, on to one end of which the wood is spiked. The turner crouches alongside with a selection of small curved chisels which he rests on an adjustable tripod to steady his hand (PLATE IV).

415 There is no room to tell of all the simple yet ingenious household utensils which the Hunzukuts conjure from the scanty resources
411 at their disposal: the spliced wooden bow faced with plates of ibex
322 horn and beautifully curved; the boys' catapult bow with double string of horse sinew, for scaring birds; the double-chambered wool-container made of rowan bark; the small vessel like an ash-tray which steadies the woman's rotating spindle and is moulded from the refuse of the apricot kernels left after the oil has been expressed. Not a
372 shred of anything is wasted in Hunza. What cannot be eaten or turned
132 to use—even the shell of the apricot kernel—is gratefully seized on as fuel for the pitifully small fire that cooks the bread and vegetables. Fires for mere heating are an undreamt of luxury. Hence the draught-proof house is essential, for at 7–8,000 feet, with snow mountains all round and a temperature of 19° Fahrenheit, the 'Great Cold' is

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Chapter 21

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2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

homes, and the women know no other. The existence of 563
this interesting language-island, within the language-island of 197
Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn.

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there 463
are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliábád there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master.

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above 286 ●
us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo 487
of No. 7 and Ustád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin.

One day I had been sitting with one of Afiato's daughters- 531
in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking 192
the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with

[192] embroidering, and I had filled several pages of my notebook
531 when her attention was diverted by the cow she was minding. It had plunged down a 6-foot wall and was enjoying itself in a
000 neighbour's ripening crop. "Excuse me," said Gohir Nimo, "having smitten the cow I shall come back." She did, and we resumed the lesson. I took the needle and ventured on a few stitches. "Oh, you can sew like us!" she exclaimed with surprise. There were so many everyday things I could not do just like them that her surprise was justified. Soon I noticed her growing restive: "I haven't yet had my morning bread; I
286 expect you had yours before you came out. Good-bye." As she left me, chivvying her cow homewards, I looked round for new occupation, and saw old grandfather of No. 7 climbing cautiously down a field wall with a shapeless bundle under his arm. I worked my way across country to the empty field he had made for, to see what was toward and found to my delight that he was getting his loom into order. Moth had played some havoc with his heddle threads and a finicky job he had to replace them. When this was done he called a son or two to help him to lay out the warp. They set up and steadied the loom with stones, then drove a peg into the ground so many cubits off. One of the assistants made fast one end and then paid out the wool from a fat ball of doubled thread, slung it round the peg, and brought it back to grandfather, who attached it with an ingenious knot that defied my analysis, and off went another loop round the distant peg. When these preliminaries were over, for which the flat space of the open field was necessary, the old man assembled his loom again and climbed up the wall to set it up in his pit and get to work. Hunza homespun is of a most beautiful thick quality, as unlike as possible to the loose, semi-transparent cloth that hand-weavers at home achieve, a stuff that would not withstand the hard wear of Hunza fields for an instant. Two hundred and forty warp threads go to the width of 9 or 10 inches of cloth.

The tiny pit is almost square—2 feet by 2 feet 9 inches—and just 2 feet deep; the sides of it are revetted inside with small stones on the model of the field walls and edged at the top with a wooden kerb, fitted with holes into which pegs can be in-

serted as required. Outside, at the corners, stand four small stone piers, sometimes monoliths, sometimes just cairns of stones, and on these rest the two poles on which two pairs of heddles ride. Four treadles, threaded on a rod, are connected with the heddles by leather thongs. A stone shelf at the back of the pit accommodates the weaver, who hugs to his tummy the wooden bar on which the *pattoo* is rolled up as completed. There is no room in the cramped space of the twisting road to fling out the warp at length as had been done in the field. It is passed round a peg in the front of the pit and then carried in a loosely twisted rope to a second peg at the side within easy reach of the weaver's right hand, who can thus pay it out to himself as wanted.

As the weaver works, some of his family sit by and wind his bobbins, neat little hollow rods which revolve on the pin of his boat-like shuttle. There is an extraordinary fascination about the extreme simplicity and extreme efficiency of all the home-made gadgets of pegs and pins and thongs on which the working of the loom depends. Like lightning the old man works his feet and flings his shuttle to and fro, while with the heavy sliding comb he bangs each new cross thread into its place, as the thick cloth grows under his fingers in the characteristic herring-bone pattern. As the roll grows fatter, the bar is moved out to the next pair of pegs. Grandfather was delighted to hold forth about the details of his craft and explain the uses of his various contraptions, showing the ingenious loops in the vertical heddle-threads that lifted the warp threads in two's to produce the pattern. By his side stood a little rod fitted with a tiny hook. "What on earth is this for?" "Well, you see, sometimes the shuttle falls down into the pit. I have bored a hole in each side of it, and I can hook it up with this."

He would have welcomed photographs, but unfortunately his pitch was heavily and unevenly shaded by a tree in Afiato's garden opposite.

A few days later we were lucky enough to find Ustád Nadíro at work a few hundred yards farther along the road in full sunshine. Even then, in the narrow gangway it was difficult to get room to work a camera at a convenient distance. The

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

286 Ustád was wisely initiating two disciples into his art: one his son-in-law and one his next-door neighbour of No. 9. As he stood by, superintending and advising, he was busily twiddling a special spindle for doubling the single woollen thread ready for a new warp. Passers-by halted for a chat, children squatted
286 round watching and taking in all that was said. We learnt that
465 nine yards of *pattoo* go to the making of a man's cloak and seven to a woman's, and that a skilled weaver can complete a nine-yard piece in two full days' work; a real master in a day and a half. If neighbours enlist his services they supply the wool and also the attendant men, women, or children to wind his bobbins. They may likely have a loom-pit near their house, even if none of them weave themselves; in that case he will go and weave in theirs, otherwise they bring their wool to his. His chief fee for weaving is three ample meals a day while he works, and a gift in kind (or cash if they have any) equal to about tenpence of our money.

286 The autumn is a favourite time for weaving; the harvest work is nearly over, and the weather is still warm enough for sitting out of doors. On our afternoon walks at this season we saw many other weavers dotted about not only in Aliábád, but in the neighbouring hamlets between us and Báltít, and we found looms and pits in all cases substantially identical. In only one house was there an innovator who had set up his loom on the roof, and was seated on a raised bench instead of a sunk one. Nadíro kindly promised that when his season's work was over he would bring his whole apparatus down, let us measure it in detail, and take a studio portrait of it. David devoted every Sunday forenoon to taking quarter-plate photographs in an improvised studio with a proper stand camera, thus obtaining exact records of the various vessels and implements that were most characteristic of the country.

One day Levy Kalbi called us out to see him preparing goats'-hair warp. This was a most entertaining performance. He had a large ball of single goats'-hair thread, ingeniously wound so that one end could be drawn out from the centre of the ball (many knitters at home are familiar with this device). He then took the two ends, one from the centre and one from the cir-

cumference, twisted them with his fingers till he had a small 286
nucleus of double thread. With a wooden peg he fastened this tiny ball so that it could not unroll, and started swinging it round his head, letting it touch the ground now and again to increase the spin. It travelled in wider and wider circles till the connecting thread became of unmanageable length and began to kink. Then he hauled it in and wound the beautifully twisted length of doubled thread on to the little ball and again pegged it down. Thus he continued till the original ball was exhausted.

Not long after, the Ustád's Hérul Nisa came to say that they were setting up a goats'-hair loom at their house if we would care to see it. We found that this time a large vertical frame standing on the roof of No. 8, lashed to the rafter of the balcony, and in course of being strung with just such a warp thread as Kalbi had shown us in the making. While Hunza sheep [233]
are uniformly white, three kinds of goat are kept: white, brown, and black. Black hair is used for the warp, while the bobbins are wound with white and brown. The bobbins in this case are long, needle-like rods the full width of the cloth, 2 feet or so, with the hair wound round notches in each end. There are only two heddles, thrown backwards and forwards by a forked peg like a boy's catapult. Goats'-hair weaving is a slower job and heavier than wool-weaving, but the Ustád is master of it, too, and was again initiating two younger men. The different coloured hair allows of pattern-weaving, and they enjoy devising new stripes and squares of brown and white. A very heavy comb is needed to beat down the intractable material, and in order to prevent the cloth being drawn too tight by the cross threads, two "bows" of flexible wood were spiked across it to keep it flat and taut. These are inserted as near as possible to the working edge and moved up 352
as work progresses. The goats'-hair strips are used as rugs, or 415
doubled and sewn together to form sacks and saddle-bags.

One day we were exploring the half-ruined village of the 346
old fort, threading the narrow switchback alleys between 345
deserted houses—so narrow that in places you could only edge along sideways—looking for points of vantage from which to

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

352 Hunzans have charpoys. Most homes have a chest, or two or three or more, in which they store and keep their belongings. The chests are used to sit on and perhaps eat off. The Hunzan home we visited had a table also.

513 286 Every Hunzan home has blankets for covering during the winter and these blankets are made of homespun wool which is carded, loomed and woven by the villagers. They are equal in weight and warmth to the best blankets that are made in the West. There is no danger of the blankets not being 100 per cent wool, because wool they can get from the sheep or yak's backs.

342 Practically every Hunzan home has an upstairs, too, and this is where the family lives during the summer. It is related that each spring on the 21st of March the family moves upstairs. When there are 4 or 5 members in the family the upstairs is usually divided into two sections or rooms, leaving an open balcony in the center.

342 512 The usual Hunzan home is a place to shelter the family against storms, rain, cold and snow. It is not used nearly as much for social intercourse as it is in the West. Therefore, they don't spend as much of their time in the homes. Practically all daylight hours during spring, summer and fall are spent in the fields.

164 Some authorities attribute the good health of the Hunzans to the fact that most of their time is spent out in the open air and sunlight. Could it be that we in the West spend too much of our time inside our comfortable homes and not sufficient outside in the glorious outdoors? This is something worthy of thought and study.

Considering the heights, the ledges, the precipices and steep inclines that are found throughout this country, it is remarkable that there are few cases of injury like broken or fractured limbs, serious accidents due to falling and such. But you must remember that from infancy, children are trained and learn how to

their own land. They spin their own wool. Then they 433
weave it into cloth from which they cut and sew their [286]
clothes. However he can also buy or trade for woolen cloth or he can have his own wool woven for him.

They have little or no money. The few dollars that 436
he might get during the year would come from the 485
expeditions that congregate in the area and hire the Hunzans as porters. And they are unsurpassed at this difficult and arduous work.

A man has a right to inflict corporal punishment 593
upon his wife if she nags him. Perhaps that is why the men of Hunza have that cheerful look.

The children are never neglected because the parents are always at home. Further, the children do their 857
share of the work in the fields and are taught to do so from early childhood. This also eliminates juvenile delinquency.

The people of Hunza have splendid dispositions. 157
They are genial, pleasant, smiling and cheerful. They 181
have deep respect for authority, profound love of the land, affection, compassion and understanding for their neighbors and they are most hospitable to strangers. They hold their heads high, their chests out and they are strong, honest and hard-working. To me this showed 000
clearly and positively that people can live and that agriculture can exist and thrive without chemistry, chemical fertilizers, chemical sprays or synthetic medicines and drugs.

They enjoy happiness without modernization, long life without doctors, nurses and hospitals, democracy without bureaucracy, law and order without police and self-sufficiency without money. Part of the answer, if not most of it, is their loyalty to and their faith in their land, a pure case of unremitting agriculture and putting everything back into the soil which was taken

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.42-C]

286
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[463]
[433]

CRAFTSMEN like this weaver are not numerous in Hunza; the demanding mountain economy requires the full-time effort of the society to raise food.

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
335 through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
322 duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and independent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully
291 terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the
415 cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root
415 of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also
233 the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

2:Lorimer:T-3 (1920-4; 1934-8) 1930 AV7 Baroche AV7

342
142 SITE VII
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Group on roof of No. 1 watching passers-by in street below. Small boy is carrying baby on his back of whom nothing is visible but tiny feet on brother's shoulders.

(See Chap. 16)

[Facing P. 88]

342 after a day or two the stone-and-mud walls have dried to the same appearance of timeless indestructibility as those of fifty or one hundred years ago. We passed first, as always, through a small byre, not yet inhabited by its cow; then at right angles through a dark, narrow passage 5 or 6 feet long, and then through the low hall-door into the house itself. Your main object in building a house at all is to be as warm and free from draughts as possible during the "Great Cold," and no one in his senses would let his hall-door open straight on to the wind-swept mountain side. Hence the byre ante-room, which not only defeats the direct outside air, but contributes something of animal warmth to the human warmth within.

291 When we emerged into the living-room (the *atrium*, as it
291 were), beautifully bright with light from the smoke-hole, we
352 were standing in a shallow trough below the floor level where the newcomer kicks off his muddy boots in winter. Most people at all well-to-do wear soft home-made boots up to their knees in winter-time. But skins are precious and, however cold the weather, they take their boots *off* to save them when they come to an extra rough bit of ground. This entrance place has in it the "musicians' bench," under which are stored the family basin and similar utensils and on which is piled a store of firewood.

342 The floor of the room is a small square of hard-beaten earth
[352] which in this gloriously dry climate remains admirably clean; and roughly in the centre of it is a shallow hole, edged with four stone kerbs, which is the hearth. Behind the hearth is a low bench sacred to the lady of the house, the presiding genius
343 of indoors. Beside it she sits to do or superintend the cooking
251 and behind her is a low wooden door opening into the store-
[414] room; the home-made wooden key of which hangs always on her person. The store-room runs the whole width and height of the house. It has need to be a roomy place, for here stand the skin sacks of grain, the heaped baskets of potatoes, apples, dried mulberries and apricots, the kernels, the wool, the stone wine-jars, the jars of apricot oil, the basket of savoury herbs—all the family's supplies for a twelvemonth, which it is her duty to guard and to apportion.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1932-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

600 floor of No. 7 and found a large group of neighbours flailing buckwheat. They made me welcome, and I tried some photographs. "It was very kind of you to send Nimo for me," said I. "But we never sent for you." Then I repeated what the children had said, and we all laughed heartily—the young monkeys had fetched me out on their own account! A few moments later riders were seen approaching. I sped down to welcome them.

Nice folk they proved. The Swedes used to reach Kashgar through Russia in twenty-four days, but Russian travel being uncertain they had been forced to make the long detour via India and our Gilgit road—a matter of at least three months.

593 Some weeks after my last call on Bibi Gimo I was passing by her home again and was hailed by the children from the roof: "Do come in and see the baby!" I was always chary of too readily accepting such impulsive invitations. "Run down and ask mother if she would like to see me." In a moment Najat came out bearing an authorized welcome. It proved that I had come at a fortunate time, for Baby Faqér had just been lifted for a meal and was kicking and crowing in his mother's arms with wonderful vigour for so small an infant. She took
593 off the kerchief that bound his head—it was a large linen hand-
854 kerchief I had purloined from David's store for him, and I
751 gathered that its size and quality were prized—and ran her
291 hand lovingly through his fine crop of dark hair, keeping a watchful eye for possible inhabitants which she gladly failed to find. I was laughed at for admiring his head of hair so much. The kerchief had a funny little needlebook affair attached by bright-coloured threads which had a verse from the Qur'an stitched into it to serve as amulet. Most small children's caps are decorated with several of these gaily coloured, dangling charms, but I should guess that they are merely "the thing," and are not taken more seriously than a charm on a girl's bracelet at home or the mascot on her father's car. Grown-ups rarely display them, but Dádo used to sport a string of them underneath his waistcoat when we travelled.

593 I sat down for a chat while the ceremony proceeded, and I observed that baby-worship is as thorough in Hunza as amongst

291 858 Afrets, joining devoutly in the admiration of her baby brother, volunteered: "And now I put on my tunic right side out!" I looked up at Soni, mystified. She laughed and explained that the last-born of a family always wore its little shift inside out until the next baby came. She could not tell me *why*. It just was "done." If no further child is born, the youngest on reaching seven, is promoted to the right side of its clothes.

291 Up till six or seven the young children of both sexes wear no garment but the one cotton shift and cap (with a homespun cloak for the cold); after that they are outfitted with baggy trousers of but slightly different cut, the boys' held in at the ankle by a plain, straight band, the girls' by a more elaborate "cuff," something like our spats. There is no rigid rule about the kind of cotton cloth used—it depends, no doubt, primarily on what happens to be available when the family is able to buy—but the men and boys mainly affect plain striped shirtings and the women bright-patterned chintz. Since a whole "piece" will be bought at a time, if often happens that all the women and girls of one household will be dressed at the same time in the same stuff. You often see women in plain stripes, however, and more rarely some boy-Benjamin in an amazing chintz shirt.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

563 find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some in-
582 teresting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

616 Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously
562 reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no
• 291 such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly sym-
771 bolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are
346 called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski
576 *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour
157 looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are
157 black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1. "The Merry Widow" just about to be remarried: "And I'm in great demand, I can tell you," she said.

2. Washing a homespun cloak.

(*See p.* 175)

3. Brother and sister.

4. The "Cheshire Cat" of No. 4 with small sister.

PLATE XVI

[Facing P. 184]

Chapter 24

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

AFTER weeks and weeks of dismal weather, which except for 132
absence of rain or damp was about as cheerful as Fleet Street in December, we woke on February 1st to a white world, a glorious clear sky and SUNSHINE, so we downed tools and went out with our cameras to enjoy life again. When it snows here —a very rare phenomenon at this level, 7,600 to 8,000 feet— it is a disappointing sight. There are no "flakes" at all. It is as if Someone were very half-heartedly shaking the finest castor sugar out of one of those inefficient sugar-casters that people exchange as wedding presents. Even when it had snowed all night there was only a tiny sprinkling on the ground, and long before it was light enough to take a photograph with a Christmas-card foreground the stuff had evaporated, leaving you with the dark, empty fields.

It was delightful to see the whole place full of people again as if by magic. The old folk out on their roofs "taking the sun," and the whole place a-twitter with kiddies of every size. The little ones had been invisible for three months, and even 291
the bigger ones rarely seen and in small numbers: partly because they really haven't enough clothes. They wear no under-things at all, and in the bitterest weather, though they may be huddled in a tattered *choga* or two, you see their bare chests peeping through their cotton shirts. Oddly, though they cuddle their *chogas* over their heads, they never dream of crossing them in front. If Papa happens to possess a padded coat from Yarqand or a skin coat with its own wool inside, the family is well off, and anyone who has to go out will take the

291 loan of it. In Kanízah's house (No. 3), though they are very, very poor, they are lucky enough to possess a woman's cloak of feather-wool. It looks extremely cosy and furry—though very old and greasy—with feathers sticking out all over it. When you can get enough down you spin the feathers in with the wool [136] before you weave it. You can only use the breast feathers of the wild duck for the purpose, and it must take a lot of wild duck, which are seasonal and rare, to yield enough for seven yards of feather cloth. This cloak of No. 3 is the only one we have seen. So we watch "the cloak" go out for walks—now on Zenába, the cheery old mother, who is one of the few really ugly women here but who always wears a happy grin that would redeem any face, now on Apicho, the eldest unmarried daughter who seems to be always on the point of getting wed but always just failing for some reason to pull it off.

511 We eventually discovered the reason for No. 3's extreme and obvious poverty. Poor Zenába had produced five girls, including a pair of twins, and only one boy, the second youngest child. Yaman (in full Ali Aman Shah) was one of our best boy friends, a bright, intelligent boy full of life and fun and knowledge, and good at all boys' games, but he was only ten or thereabouts, and not yet able to help his father in the heavier work of irrigating, wall building, ploughing, etc., and poor Ali Akbar looked worn and frail with six to provide for single-handed—not to mention the rare extravagance of the cat. Yaman manfully did all he could, and in addition when he could be spared from home trudged four mountain miles to Báltít to attend the school there with the Mir's grandsons and a few other ambitious boys. A great little fellow, with (as far as we could see) a hard enough life before him.

Yet No. 3 was one of the most cheerful and most hospitable houses round.

511 We supposed that Apicho's prospective bridegroom was as
585 poor as she, and when the two families came to tot up the
302 necessary wedding feasts they just couldn't face it. Certainly it had missed fire twice after we had heard that the date was fixed (you can in certain circumstances get from the Mir a special

252 God, the Merciful, the Compassionate—then they let the blood drain out, washed the neck carefully, and got busy with the skinning. Kalbi is a clever, neat-fingered fellow, as indeed all Hunzukuts seem to be, and in ten minutes had coaxed the skin off whole (without slitting it down the tummy) as easily as you peel off a pair of silk stockings. There were only the 415 holes at the neck and at the four "elbows" and a little slit at the tail, so that with a stitch at the tail and four ties at the legs the skin would serve as a water bucket or a bag for flour.

252 He then hung up the carcase and cleaned it—a wonderfully unmessy business—while we noted down all the words for its various innards. It would have been much more instructive and enlightening if either of us had ever seen a sheep killed at home or had known the English words for all the curious things it has inside it. There was not, even round the kidneys, one ounce of fat.

465 As usual out here, you do not pay a person in cash for performing a service of this kind; there is some recognized per-237 quisite. In this case Kalbi considered that he would be handsomely remunerated if he might have the guts. We did not covet them ourselves, and gladly acquiesced. They are much [534] valued. They will give you strings for your zither (many people, including Kalbi, make beautiful zithers for themselves), and for your bow; they serve as thread to sew your long boots and your skin sack, and you put them to a hundred other uses. Others of our retainers laid claim to the wool, the skin, and various other items. Later Kalbi gave us a demonstration of skin-curing and -kneading.

291 The long native boots are extremely comfortable-looking, [281] like long-legged moccasins, and their construction is an elaborate art. Ibex skins are preferred, but ibex have nearly been killed off and other leather has to be substituted. The soles may be made of cow-hide. Boots are precious things, so however cold it is you take them off when you come to a very rough piece of ground or want to walk through water. At best the unlined boot is not over-warm, and really luxurious people wear woollen socks or stockings inside if they have them. The women can knit excellently well, but it is very rare for anyone

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

291 to have enough wool to spare for superfluities. The preciousness of boots accounts, I think, for a fact which puzzled us at
291 first: you never see children, sporting as they are in every
526 possible respect, sliding on the ice for fun. Boots are too valuable, and barefoot sliding would be a bit severe. Also, as David remarked, sliding and snowballing are games for such as can go home and change their clothes and get warm beside a nice big fire. These poor mites have at most one warm *choga* (and possibly a share of Father's on occasion) and a tiny fire at mealtimes only. Anyhow, they don't slide.

132 The bright weather of February 1st did not last, and though the cold was broken we reverted to gloomy grey weather and
796 the ceiling of snow-cloud overhead. We knew that a week or two would bring the great festival of the Bopfau, or Barley Seed-Sowing, and we feared that it was going to take place in semi-darkness. But everyone assured us: "Oh no, it will be bright for the Bopfau." The great week drew near and we had heard no word from the Mir confirming his earlier invitation to come and stay at Kerimabad (his garden and rest-house in
000 the park below the Fort at Báltít) for the occasion. We were beginning to fear that he had forgotten us and were wondering whether we could without offence remind him. Just as we were nearly in desperation and terribly afraid that we should wake some morning to be told that everything was over, a kind message came from him to say that he hoped we would come over on Wednesday afternoon. He himself would be away at Áltít, engaged with the preliminary ceremonies, but everything would be ready for us and we need only bring our own bedding. Now we knew that the GREAT DANCE was bound to take place on the Wednesday afternoon, and we feared that this meant that he did not specially want us at it—in which case, of course, there was nothing to be done.

We had a glorious ride over to Báltít on the Wednesday afternoon (of February 6th) in perfect weather, exactly as predicted. Various grandees had been told off to welcome us, a nice fire blazed in "our" beautifully furnished sitting-room, and the Mir's pet cook-for-European-guests, Mirza Hasan, was waiting with his best bedside manner to offer us tea. It was

DEGRESSION TO YASIN

We gained one valu- 291
able piece of information: the Nagir women *do* wear trousers! 562
The trousers-for-women fashion in these parts is new: that is, [77]
it has been going only for the last four or five generations, introduced we were told from Chitral, and my Hunza women friends had assured me that the Nagir women were so backwoodsy that they had not yet adopted it—which I now know to be a libel. The little girls wear cotton caps and fringes like our Hunza ones, but the women cover all their hair in black woollen Salvation Army bonnet-like caps (a type of headgear of which I saw only one specimen surviving in Hunza). What the Nagir women and older girls look like I cannot say, for when they sight a man they crouch down with their backs turned and either pull a cloth over their faces or bury their heads in their arms. Give me the Maulai variety of Islam every time!

After I got back to Hunza and the women crowded round to ask "all about everything," I got a lot of fun by demonstrating—with only a mild amount of legitimate exaggeration—how the crouching and face-hiding ought to be done; but I cleared the Nagir women's character on the trouser question. Certainly half the charm of our delightful country is the freedom of the women and girls. They come up to the roadside or out on to the roof to greet DL just as naturally and frankly as to greet me. They are not brazen-faced or forward, just unafraid and perfectly unselfconscious.

They have one charming custom which I have not heard 576
of elsewhere, and which could only exist amongst free women. 562
When the Mir or any distinguished traveller (such as we!) is passing, the women and girls crowd on to their house tops and silently wave their hands. Not in a stiff Heil Hitler salute nor with our undisciplined exuberance, but with a quiet, graceful circular motion from the wrist, the two hands moving opposite ways outwards from the breast. It is the most gracious and dignified gesture of welcome and goodwill I have seen. We knew it from official days of old, when it might well have been merely a command performance; but it warmed our hearts when it greeted us as private individuals.

To revert to our homeward journey: After descending the 600

000 "grandson"), and were able to ask after the other members of their families and the sore leg or hurt finger, and congratulate Shamúli on having grown two new front teeth and been promoted to trousers in our absence. I noticed that small boys and 291] girls who in their baby days are clad merely in a shift, don their first trousers with their second teeth.

Our miniature escort swarmed into the verandahs and all round the house, and the difficulty was to coax them to run home after we had many times said a pointed "Good-bye for the present." It was the greatest fun, and we would not have missed it for anything. The luck of arriving prematurely had forestalled any formal grown-up reception, and this was a much more delightful and spontaneous welcome home. And these are the people of whom a recent traveller writes that they are "quarrelsome and grasping and out only for what they can get from the traveller." There are various types of traveller. The only comfort is that people who read a superficial travel book forget ten minutes after they have laid it down whether the author was writing of Hunza or Honolulu. The same writer says that no one in these regions cares about clean drinking water but all drink from ponds that have been fouled by the animals watering, whereas as I have already recorded the Hunzukuts most scrupulously roof in their drinking tanks and approach them down steep steps to prevent any animals possibly getting near them. It is grievously unfair to libel in print a people who have no opportunity to protest and correct mis-statements of fact.

We found the bungalow just as we had left it, but without the two months' dust we had fully expected. After tea and a rest we quickly shunted chairs back to their accustomed places, I got out tablecloths and rehung curtains, and we had our cosy camp-home looking like itself before dinner.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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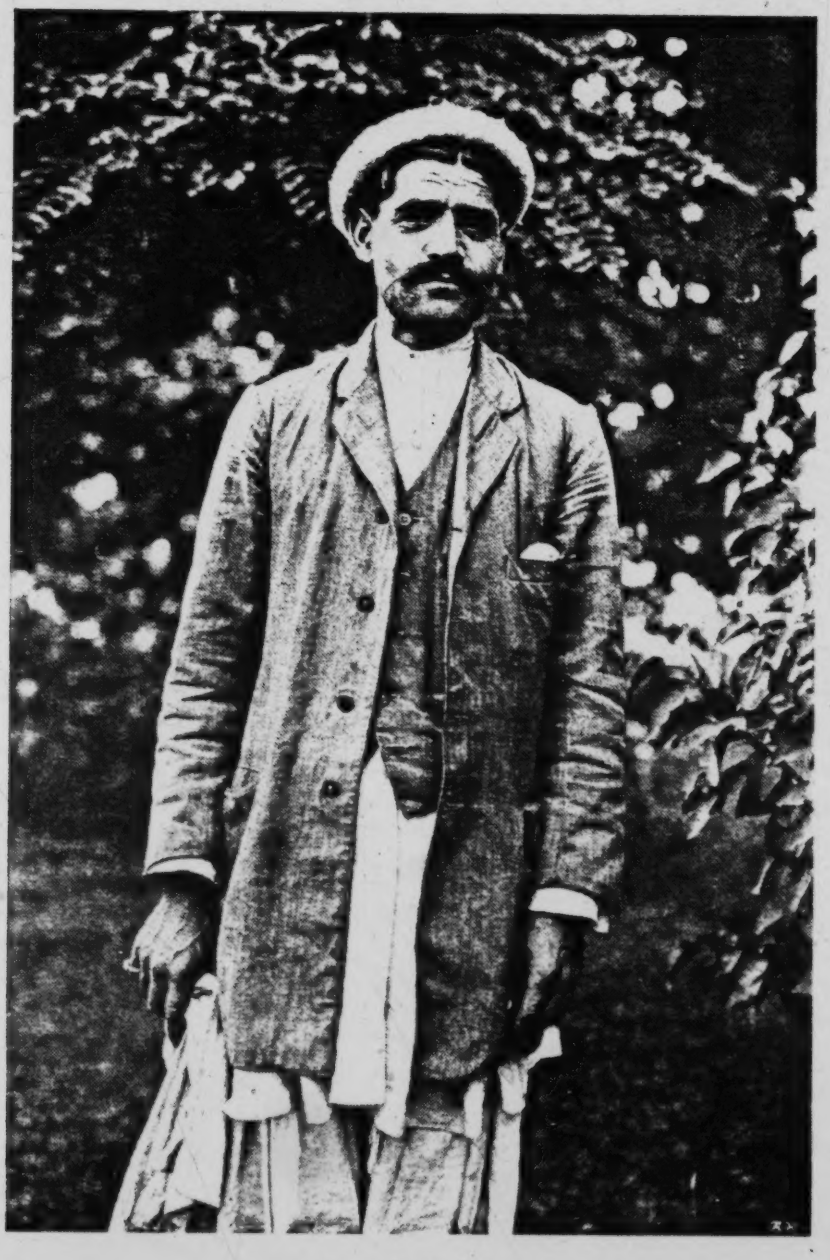

Nazar of Aliabad.

End Plate 1

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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Gushpur Shahzada Yûsuf of Yasin, informant in regard to Werchikwar.

Jemadar Imâm Yâr Beg, principal informant and communicator of the Texts.

End Plate 2

000 *muyenum -iŋ* y a present of cloth given to the bride's mother at a wedding (normally 6 yds. of cloth?) — *mumimo muyenum* her mother's wedding present.

Figuratively used in:
iʌkɛ šariŋ ja ai.imo mumimo muy'eniminŋulo muyunʌs ba kɛ ja ai.i gu·čam if you will give those cities to my daughter's mother as her bridal-present, I will give you my daughter (as wife). 96.21.

(The word is a form of *-yenum q.v.).

● 291 *muz'a*, N. *mu·za*, *-muts* x long boots (made in Kashgar of good leather).

(Cp. *dʌsmu·za* gloves. The word *mo·za* is similarly used in Badakhshani Persian for "long leather boots". In Kho. it denotes knitted woollen stocking-legs used like gaiters). Prs.

N and ŋ.

000 Finally, more rarely medially, *n* sometimes interchanges with *ŋ* and *m*.

1. *na·* IUB channel conveying water to mill, H. *ha·n*(?) *a·siya*. (Prs. *na·o?*).
2. *na* Exclamation of grief or sorrow. — *e·rča ba, na!* I am going to die, alas! 358.5.
3. *na·* not?, or not? (after a final verb). — *je kɛ ba·, n'a?* I am also, am I not?, is there not me too? 112.1. *tsil gaiyen na?* shall we take water or not? 124.28. (But perhaps only: *gaiyena*). *bʌnda čʌpɛ mʌza e·stse ommaimi na* there will not be the *taste of human flesh on it, will* there? i.e. it won't taste of human flesh, will it? 66.19. *jučuma n'a?* will you come or not? i.e. won't you come? 74.20. *jočuma na?* will you give him to me or not? 106.3.

272 b

hoɣolo gərmamots nokun ʃuɣʌs gos 000
mur ʃʌladʌni moʃʌn they call a woman who puts *gərmamots* in cooked green vegetables and eats them "*ʃʌlcdani*". QUB.

ʃʌ'lda pl. *ʃʌldeiŋ* y order, command, injunction, instructions, — *inar ʃʌlda eti* give him orders, instructions. *ja ʃʌldatsum tumʌn etimi* he did a different thing from my orders, he acted contrary to my instructions. *uɣʌfi mumens ʃʌlda ne n'i gowʌsʌn apai.i* there is no one over you giving orders to say to you "go", there is no one to order you to go. 94.5.

(Cp. Sh. *ʃʌlda*).

ʃʌlhərʌɣ EOL *-ʃio* pen for cattle.

(Cp, *hərʌɣ* and Kho. *ʃʌl*, *ʃʌl*, cattle-hut, *-ʃʌl* also occurs as a suffix in place-names in Nagar and to a less extent in Hunza).

1. *ʃʌma -mots* x candle. Ar. Prs.
2. *ʃʌma* y pl. tea leaves after tea has been made from them.

ʃʌmʌɣ, *ʃʌmʌɣ -iciŋ* y piece of net-work 291
worn in front of eyes by veiled women. — *ʃʌmʌɣ biʃʌiyʌs* to put on ditto.

(Cp. Kho. *ʃʌmʌɣ*, *ʃʌmʌx*).

ʃʌmʌl north. — *ʃʌmʌl yʌkʌl(ʌfs)* northwards. Ar. Prs. 000

ʃʌmeɣ and *ʃʌmeɣ*, *-ʌnts*, *-ents* x four 492
wooden pins fixed in yoke of plough, one on each side of the necks of the two oxen to keep them in position.

With the suffix *-ʌn* the form used is *ʃʌmeɣʌsʌn*, not *ʃʌmeɣʌn*, one neck-pin.

ʃʌmeɣents uɣʌlʌs hər (or, *ʃʌndər*) "an ox that breaks the yoke-pins" (said of a headstrong refractory person who does not conform to the

122 or cares in regard to Mr. Brunton's condition. The doc-
[758] tor will attend to his duties at Aliabad and look after the hospital there . . . but he only has one or two patients and he will be back and forth from the hospital to the palace. Therefore he will be in constant touch with your friend."

"No man could do more," I assured the Mir. "I don't know how we can ever thank you enough."

"Don't mention it," he said. "You have been very kind, too."

"Now is there anything that you would like me to get for you while you're here? I wish you would tell me because some things may take a few days to procure or prepare and I would like to have them ready for you."

[124] "I'll tell you what I would like and you tell me what you would like me to send you from Canada—and no holds barred." I said to him.

"Fair enough! We'll tell each other frankly what we want."

"Agreed," I joyfuly replied.

126 I always carry a notebook with me. It's a small folding affair made of leatherette or something, that has room for 3 or 4 ball point pens and a pad inside. I was making notes as well as marking down the things the Mir expressed interest in when I spoke of the conveniences available in America. I intended to send these to him anyway.

I had seen quite a few little items around Hunza that I would have liked to have . . . for instance, a Hunzan hat, a cane made in Hunza, a pair of Hunzan boots. The boots are most unusual, being something
•291 like the mukluks used in the north by the Eskimos, ex-
237 cept that these are made in a simpler manner. They are somewhat like riding boots in shape except they are

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

000 needed animals in the world.

231 It is clearly and distinctly established that Tibet, for example, could never exist and people could never live in that part of the world if it weren't for the yaks and yaks are native only to that part of the world —yes, wild ones, I mean. That's where they were originally found and tamed. They still roam wild on some of the higher inaccessible elevations and plateaus in that part of the globe.

No one will attempt to deny that our cow is a most useful and practically essential animal. It gives milk from which we make butter, cheese and cream. We use the carcass for meat and the hide for shoes, baseballs and many other articles but, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the cow as it is today actually couldn't look after herself in the northern latitudes and pasture food must be provided.

[492] Well, the yak does everything a cow does. Besides that, it is one of the finest beasts of burden. Then, too, it is the surest-footed animal to be found anywhere. It can, and often does, forage for its own food. It can live off practically nothing. It is suspected that it can find sustenance in a bit of grass or roots or even a bit of coarse, uninviting (to any other animal) herbage.

[492] [241] Like our cow, it takes to domestication readily. Both the Tibetans and the Hunzans use them to work their fields and flail their wheat, barley and other grains.

231 237 [283] From the wool on its back, belly and head comes the toughest of woven fabrics, from which is made the sturdiest of clothes for the people and tents for their homes. Wherever you see rope in Hunza, you can be sure that it was made from braided or woven yak hair.

[291] [415] [501] The hide is used for most everything . . . boots and shoes, of course, and water containers and skin boats, which are the means and mode of transportation across and up and down the dangerous rivers

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

526
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Choosing sides for a polo match. Rakaposhi is in the background.

[Facing p. 327]

526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo
[311] fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for
[367] sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall sur-
[417] rounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

stay aloft. Heights offer no terror for any Hunzan—man, woman or child. I think if a Hunzan suffered injury because of a fall from a height, he would be ashamed and embarrassed, but let me admit that they do have falls and broken limbs, too. I found this out when I met Hunzans who were expert bone-setters.

I have to admit that generally speaking the Hunzans' clothes are nondescript. However, I was strongly attracted to the Hunza hat which is best described as a rolled, sausage brimmed, soft white woolen covering. But it is really and truly an ingenious contraption. It is made of native homespun wool, white or creamy in color and mighty good wool, it is, in my opinion.

These hats are worn summer and winter by the boys and men. I tried them and found that they did keep out the summer heat. Wherever I met the boys and men of Hunza they always wore these hats. In the winter they can be rolled down to cover not only their ears but their faces and necks as well. I attest that it is a valuable and completely satisfactory headpiece. I thought they were quite attractive and enhanced the handsomest of the Hunzan men.

They have the choga which is a long flowing cloak worn by both men and women during the winter. This cloak is made of the same grey homespun wool and is never dyed but its creamy color is attractive and pleasing to the eye. Evidently this choga is quite similar to the toga worn by the ancient Romans. Who knows? Maybe some of Alexander's men or Alexander himself brought a toga with him from his homeland when he came to the East.

Apart from the attractive, useful, comfortable, Hunzan sausage-brimmed hat and choga, the best I can say for the rest of the clothes worn by the people of Hunza is that they are utilitarian.

are, remember, no transportation facilities whatsoever, There 164
except the Mir's jeep which the citizens of Hunza don't [493]
get a chance to use. There is no other wheeled vehicle in the entire country. Practically every step is a climb or a descent. So no one could really accuse me of exaggeration if I were bold enough to say that they're probably the most active and energetic people in creation. It could hardly be otherwise.

To illustrate another proof of their hardiness, all 147
along the trail we met people from Hunza walking barefoot—from young children to boys and young men and old men. While some wore shoes, most of them were [291]
barefoot. They walked over sand, over gravel, over stones, over plain dirt roads without any misgivings.

I watched them with awe as they ran, walked and skipped over these exceedingly rough spots and I was convinced they must have exceptionally strong, sound. healthy feet and legs.

On a few occasions I watched the Hunzans digging [412]
with a shovel. 'Tis done the ordinary natural way there —barefooted. That certainly proves, at least to me, that their feet are in wonderful condition. Most people in America can't dig worth a darn wearing heavy boots!

It is unqualifiedly a fact, in my humble opinion, that 164
the people of Hunza owe their splendid vital good health in part to these sound principles—their way of life, their food production and the way they prepare the fields for their crops—all accomplished in a natural normal way. Civilization may have many advantages—great discoveries have been made, machinery has been invented that does the work of many, many hands. In this modern machine age, a man need only work a couple of hours a day to supply himself with all the food, clothing and shelter that he can possibly use, but

who climbs the lofty crags around Hunza to bring down the Marco Polo sheep or ovis poli is entitled to his bag. But after all, who am I to deal so generously with the life of another animal?

Then the Mir had for me two Hunzan hats of the type that the men wear and also two women's hats, the latter brightly colored and very neatly embroidered. He also gave me a bolt of elegantly embroidered red silk, displaying a young man and woman, a bird of paradise and what was more appropriate, a yak. Then last but not least, laying beside the other items was a white hairy mass, which for the moment I did not recognize. It was a yak's tail.

Then he said, "There is a pair of typical native Hunzan shoes being made especially for you and they will be sent to you as soon as available. I'd like to send the shoes to you later, because I am waiting for some new hides which some of my men will bring down from high up in the mountains when they've had a chance to bring down some of the ovis poli. I want you to have the best."

"I guess I can wait for the shoes," I jested. "The ones I am wearing, plus another pair that I have in my knapsack, will carry me back along the Hunza trail, I think, but I certainly will be happy to have a pair of Hunzan shoes as another momento of my visit to your most enchanting country."

Then suddenly a thought occurred to me and I said to the Mir, "I notice all of your men are clean-shaven . . . that is, except for the occasional one now and then who has a little beard around his chin. Therefore I know for certain that you must practice shaving in Hunza. Yet I have seen nowhere a sign of a razor. Further, I'm reasonably sure that this is one part of the world that King Gillette has not invaded with his

123 and generously of their services.

Then, with sincere good-byes, good wishes and promise of the Mir to come and visit us in America, where I promised him the use of my home for the duration of his stay, the jeep was off!

We were following the same trail that we had come up on, only this time Cec and I were in much better shape than when we arrived.

492 'Twas hardly more than 15 minutes before we pulled up at the end of the jeep road. The horses were waiting. Mine was a big black heavy fat pony and, I quickly observed, a stallion, to boot! He looked a little bit too bold for me but the Mir had assured me that he was as gentle as a kitten, strong as a bull, fast, sure-footed and intelligent. The horse Cec was to take looked very much like mine except he was brown. They were two mighty splendid pieces of horse or pony flesh. There was another horse in the group which we presumed was to be used as a pack animal.

291 I noticed when Jahangir got out of the jeep and was walking towards the horses and bearers that he limped somewhat. He was still wearing the pair of heavy, thick-soled and metal heeled army boots with which he had set out from Gilgit. Somehow this reminded me of the folly of trying to beat a man at his own game. The people of Hunza have been living with and under these conditions for 2,000 years or more and it is somewhat superfluous to say that they would have gathered by now the right kind of footwear to put on their feet. And here is what I found.

Practically all of the children wore no foot coverings. They went about barefoot. This I do not mean to infer as being the case only around their homes, but on the mountain crags and trails as well. Most of the boys and girls were barefoot, but there were some who wore

shoes and these were similar to the general type of 291
shoes that are worn in the West, except they didn't lace up in the front, but folded over and your toes stuck out. This type of shoe could be purchased in any of the shops throughout Pakistan and India and even the small town bazaars offered these shoes for sale. It was a sort of heavy-soled sandal, although the tops did have a little more leather and it wasn't quite as open as an ordinary sandal. These shoes are called "chaplis" and are best described by saying they are heavy-soled, sandal-type shoes worn chiefly by the people who live in or near the rugged mountain areas.

Another type of shoe that was worn (or should I say, foot covering) was the actual native type. They were made of soft leather. To me it felt very much [237]
like chamois or suede, but I know from questioning that it was made from ibex, sheep, cow or yak hide. The skins of any of these animals were used for making these shoes as well as other commodities. The soles, too, were soft but of a little heavier consistency than the uppers. They usually reached to about the knee and they were tied with a piece of string, usually around the ankle.

Occasionally I saw another type of foot covering and this was as old as time itself and consisted of rags wound around the soles of the feet and the ankles. I'm sure back before man learned to spin and weave, he used leaves and bark on the soles of his feet, as protection against the rough terrain and rain, snow and sleet.

I had already learned the reason for the open-toed affair. The fact that it allowed air to circulate around the foot is good enough reason in itself, but in the event of a pebble or a small stone becoming lodged in the boot, it could be shaken free without stopping and unlacing the boot and removing the stone. With the

291 open toes it could be just shaken out. These were the low or oxford-type footwear. Then the reason for the high tops on the other kind of shoes was clear. It meant that pebbles and stones and debris couldn't fall into them.

•291 I learned, too, that in walking over trails of this type
122 one should always have on shoes that were sewn and in which no nails were used. On more occasions than I can attempt to recount, I stepped on a sharp rock and the nail in my soles or rubber heels went piercing through the soles of my feet. I had to stop on each occasion, unlace and remove my shoe, then get hold of a suitable rock and bang away until I bent the nail so it would no longer prick the sole or heel of my foot. So if you ever contemplate walking on roads or trails of this type, remember my warning, make sure that your shoes are sewn and have no nails in them.

122 The pack animal that was prepared for us was good enough to ride—much better than either of the animals that we had come up with. So Jahangir decided to use this mare as his mount and he sent his guide scurrying about to see if he could locate another pack animal.

At the P.A.'s in Gilgit, Jahangir had told me that he was taking off for Hunza alone. Now here as we were leaving Aliabad, I found that a guide turned up and it was apparent from the words that were spoken that this soldier had come up with him from Gilgit. The insignia on his shoulder clearly indicated that he was a soldier in the famed Gilgit Scouts.

I asked Jahangir how come he had a guide and he then informed me that the Scout Commander had flatly refused to allow him to set out alone for Baltit. Apart from anything else, in deference to Jahangir's parents with whom he was friendly, he would under no circumstances allow him to make the journey with-

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.39-A]

Hunza in the Himalayas

Storied Shangri-La undergoes scrutiny

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TERRACED country, *left*, is ruled by the Mir, shown with village chiefs, *above*, at his palace at 8,000 feet altitude. Background peaks exceed 20,000 feet.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
[P. 40-A]
Hunza

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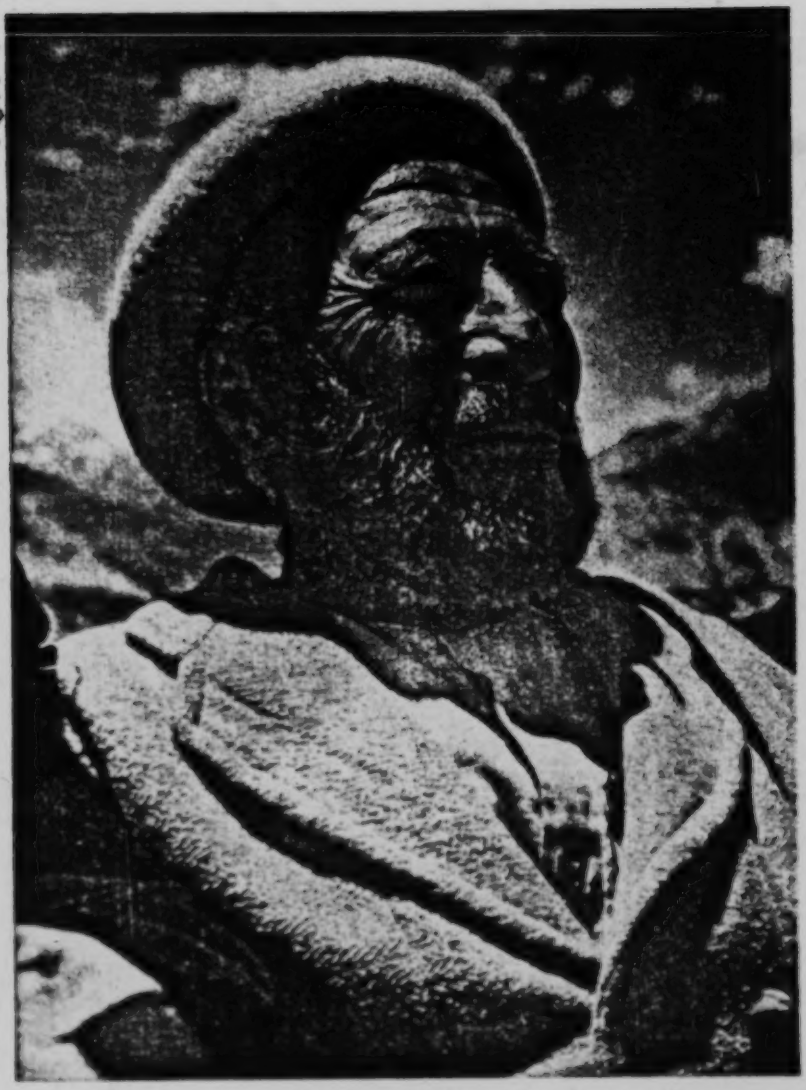

FABLED ELDERS of Hunza are products of rugged mountain life, scarcity, Moslem faith, and an autocratic tradition. If they exaggerate age, it is done to claim society's veneration.

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.40-E]
142
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262

SEGREGATION of the sexes is rigid from early youth. Hunza's Moslem girls, right, are destined to live almost totally disconnected from the lives of men. Here two can chaperition.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P. 41-D]

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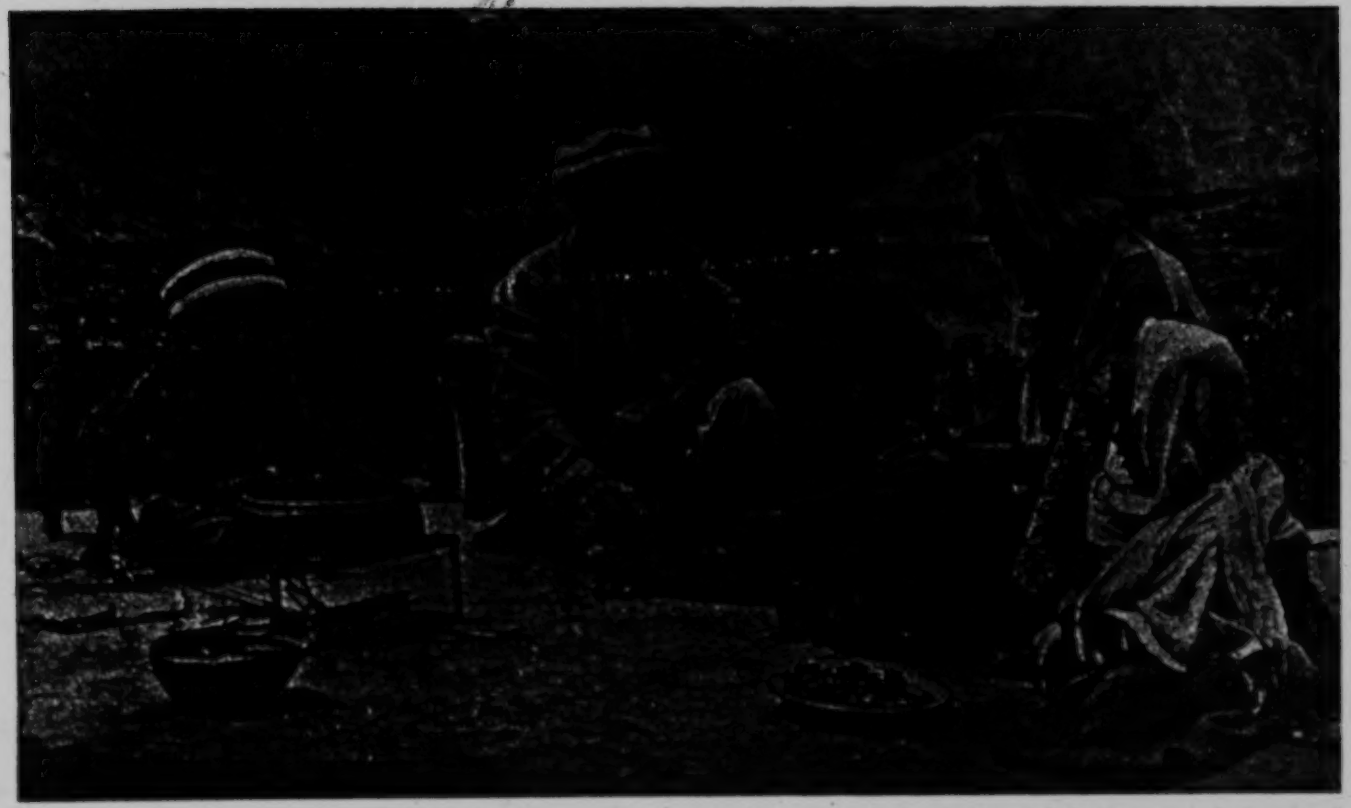
[562] [584] MIR'S DAUGHTER, the Princess Nilofar, is spokesman for Hunza's women, who, despite public segregation and their low status, never are forced to marry against their will.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.42-A]



FAMILY LIFE on Hunza's flat roofs bespeaks the country's dry climate and the cramped quarters that prevail inside a typical stone abode, forcing inhabitants to seek increased living space in the open. A meal is being prepared, *above*.

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8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.42-C]
286
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[463]
[433]
CRAFTSMEN like this weaver are not numerous in Hunza; the demanding mountain economy requires the full-time effort of the society to raise food.

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P43-A]

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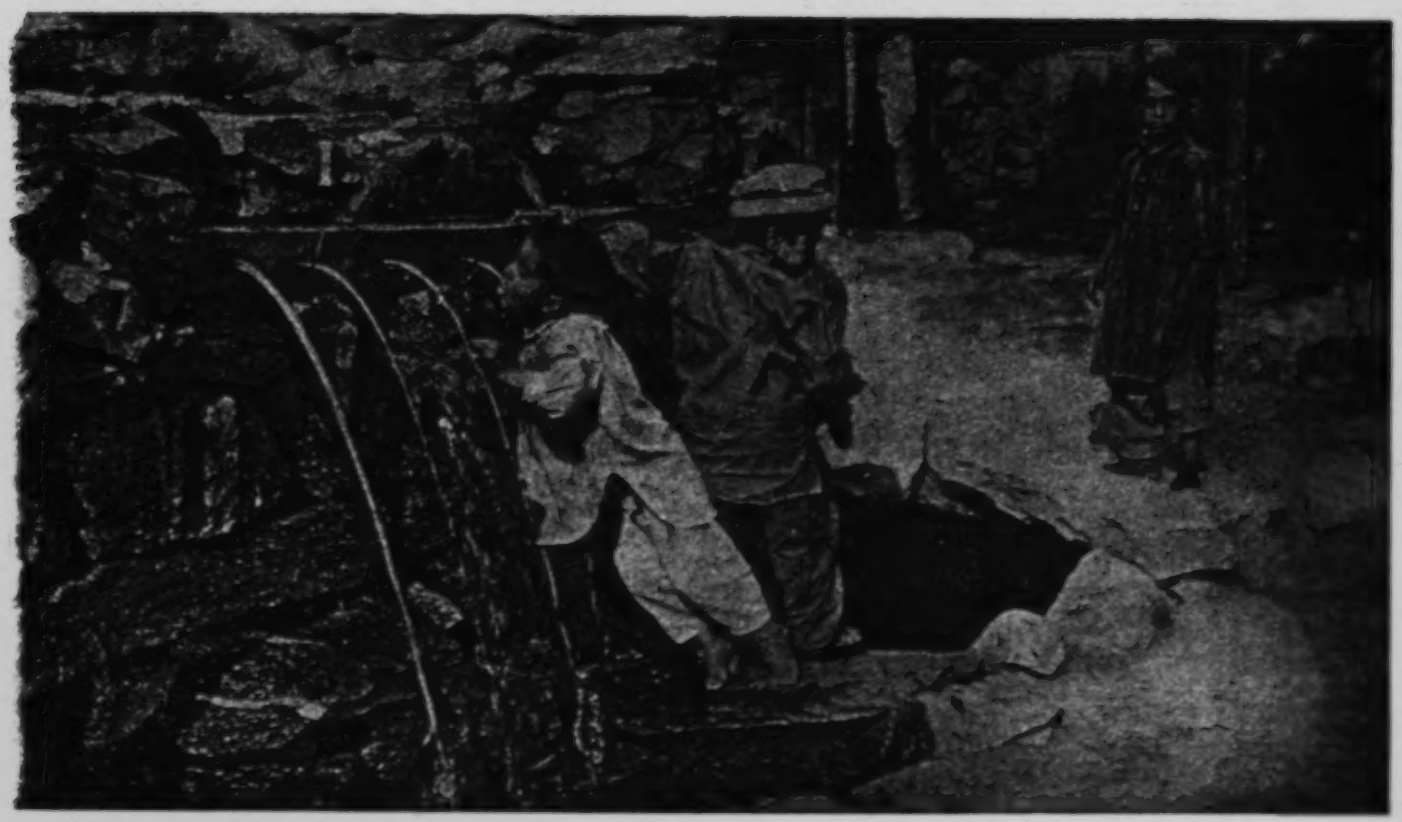

SCENE MORE TYPICAL of neighboring Gilgit than of Hunza is this one showing boys at a community fountain. Until a short time ago, little if any pipe had been available in Hunza. Water, called "glacial milk," comes from ice sheets.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
[P.43-B] Hunza

256
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GRINDING of barley and wheat, above, is done by centuries-old technique.

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CHAPATTIES are the end product of the country's milling and baking.

[P.45]

585
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[662]

Construction of wedding ceremony is carried exclusively by male participants and spectators. Segregation of the sexes prohibits women, including bride, from viewing ceremony. In some public ceremonies, women hold a separate gathering.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the finest stretch is just below the fort of the chief, and extends for some six and a half miles in length with a width of from a mile to a mile and a half, the whole of the land being irrigated. This main stretch of arable land, which is studded with villages, lies at an altitude of eight thousand feet, and faces south, and the climate here is delightful. Further up the valley lie scattered patches of cultivation, getting poorer and poorer as the altitude increases. The mountains enclosing the valley are very precipitous even for the Hindu-Kush; wood and grazing for cattle are therefore unusually scarce, and the people suffer in consequence. The clothing of the people is practically the same both in Hunza and Nagar as it is in Chitral, and has been described before, the only difference being that the men's stockings are not knitted in such elaborate patterns, and that, as a general rule, the woollen outer robe is, in Hunza especially, more often white than brown. All, except on State occasions when the higher ranks don the turban, wear the Dard head-dress. This is a long bag of brown woollen cloth rolled back on itself till it forms a cap, which is one fold thick on the top, with a border an inch or so thick round the head. It makes a light, warm, and delightfully comfortable head-dress, but is a very poor protection against severe sun.

Nagar, as most of the surrounding people and the inhabitants themselves generally call it, though they also pronounce the word Nagér, and the scientific, for some cause best known to themselves, insist on spelling it *Nagyr*, is a smaller State than Hunza. The population is about the same, and is composed of Yeshkuns, professing themselves Shiahs, but very

4a Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7
643
291
142

RAJA UER KHAN OF NAGAR.

[facing p. 142]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

142
291

A HUNZA MAN.

[facing p. 170]

4: Dunaid G-S (1880-98) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

291
142

RAJA GAURI TWAM KHAN.
MURDERED BY HIS BROTHER RAJA UZR KHAN.

[facing p. 236]

Boracho A47

142
411
291

[facing p. 113]

ETHNOLOGICAL.

(See also Drawing 1 of Appendix IV.)

A Gabrial Student and Two Messengers (a Chitrali and a Yashni), from a Brother of the late Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, Ruler of Chitral.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL.

Gilgiti (Ghulám Muhammad) — Nagyri (Khudáyár) — Hunza Man (Mayaysilli)

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~ASH Afghanistan ASH~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

natives of other parts. Their constitutions also seem to want stamina, and they succumb easily to disease or change of climate. This want of physical energy and enterprise is most strongly marked in the Shin caste. They consider husbandry the only honourable employment for men, and so averse are they to labour, that the poorest of them employ Baltis in their agriculture, which is of a rude and slovenly kind. Numbers of Baltis come yearly into the Gilgit district to serve for hire; they receive 6 lbs. of grain for a day's labour.

D 142 147 D 464

In disposition they are tractable, good-tempered, fond of rejoicing and merry-making, neither cruel nor quarrelsome, and they submit readily to constituted authority. The worst cruelties perpetrated in the wars between Yassin and Cashmere are distinctly attributable to the Ashimadek class of Yassin and Chitral, who compare unfavourably with the older tribes in this respect. In all the accounts of the Kunjooti depredations on caravans, and of wars in which the people of Hunza and Nager were concerned, there are no records of wanton cruelty or of the exercise of torture. The women are pleasing-looking when young, but are not particularly handsome. Exception must be made in favour of the Khos of the "Fakir Mushkin" class in Chitral, who show certain physical peculiarities not shared by the other Dard tribes. In person they are Indo-Aryans of a high type, not unlike the Shins of the Indus Valley about Koli, but more handsome, with oval faces and finely-cut features, which would compare favourably with the highest types of beauty in Europe. The most striking feature about them, and one which distinguishes them from all other Dard tribes, is their large and beautiful eyes, which remind one of English gypsies, with whom they share the reputation of being expert thieves. They have also unusually fine hair, of which they are very proud. The women of Chitral were formerly sought out for their beauty in the slave markets of Cabul, Peshawur, and Badakhshan. The fairest complexions are to be seen among the Boorish of Hunza and Yassin, where individuals may be found who would pass for Europeans. Among them red hair is not uncommon.

B 181 D 181 D 142 B 142

In dress there is little variety. The loose woollen robe described by Mr. Drew is worn also in Sirikol, Wakhan, Zebak, Chitral, Yassin, Hunza, Nager, and the Yaghestan Valleys. Those who can afford it substitute in summer a cotton robe of the same cut, with quilted edges, worked round the neck

D 291 B 291

Mr Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU3 Afghanistan AU3~~
H AV3 Dard AV3
Burusk AV7

B 291 and front with silk embroidery. When first put on, the sleeves, which are very full, are crimped in minute folds right up to the neck, giving the wearer a clerical appearance. In the D 291 Indus Valley about Shinkari, the men wear turbans and tight-fitting clothes, and retain the curious leather leg wrappings called "*Towti*," mentioned by Mr. Drew, which are peculiar to the Shina-speaking tribes, and the Torwal and Bushkar tribes of the Swat Kohistan. They are often called "towti-bads" or "towtching" in consequence, by their neighbours. In D 291 Chitral, boots of soft leather are worn. The women wear 301 wide trowsers, over which is a loose chemise of coarse-coloured cotton stuff, fastening in the middle at the throat, and coming down to the knees. The opening is held together by a circular buckle, from which hangs a curious triangular silver ornament called "Peshawez," that varies in size according to the circumstances of the wearer. Round the neck are generally one or two necklaces of amber and coloured beads. The wealthier wear necklaces of silver beads with oval silver medallions, and a piece of cornelian or turquoise set in them. In Chitral, Wakhan, and Sirikol the men wear very small scanty turbans. In Gilgit, Astor, and the greater part of Yaghestan the rolled woollen cap mentioned by Mr. Drew is commonly worn. The women also wear a loose woollen cap, generally of dark colour. In the Shin caste unmarried women are distinguished by a white cap, which is never worn by married Shin women. Both men and women wear numbers of charms, sewn in bright-coloured silk, and suspended from the cap or dress by small circular brass buckles. Some of the buckles are very tastefully worked. A curious kind of cloth D is sometimes woven out of bird's down. That of wild fowl and 286 of the great vulture (*G. Aimalayensis*) is most generally used. The down is twisted into coarse thread, which is then woven like ordinary cloth. Robes made of it are very warm, but always have a fluffy uncomfortable look, suggestive of dirt. They are only made in the houses of those in good circumstances. The pushm of the Ibex is also in great demand for warm clothing, but it never seems to lose its strong goaty smell.

D 302 The men when young shave the whole top of the head from the forehead to the nape of the neck; the hair on both sides is allowed to grow long, and is gathered into a single large curl on each side of the neck, and the beard is kept shorn. This fashion has also been adopted by the Baltis from the Dards. Young men of the better class only shave

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

585 very thin wheaten pancakes was brought and presented to them. The bridegroom broke a piece of bread and, before eating, ceremonially touched with it his lips and forehead. The gesture was not unlike that with which a devout Roman Catholic crosses himself before meat. The bride followed suit, and then [292] retired again to her corner now unscreened. She was dressed in red silk and wore a pair of red-dyed soft leather boots; a tinsel scarf shot with gold and orange had been flung over her cap.

The ceremony was now complete, so we said good-bye to our host and hostess, thanking them most warmly for having allowed strangers to come, and pressing into their hands a modest gift of silver for the young husband and a bundle of embroidery silks wrapped in silver paper for the bride. With all-round greetings and best wishes we then withdrew, winning a special smile from the bride, leaving the two families to get down unembarrassed to their feast.

The silken handkerchief which covers the ceremonial drinking-cup is one of the perquisites of the khalifa, and we heard that—having no use for it himself—he usually trades it off to the next clients who summon him for a betrothal, and so it goes the rounds.

It had for a time looked as if we should altogether fail to witness a betrothal, but the ice having now been broken, we were honoured by several further invitations. We accepted one other in which the bridegroom was a relative of Qudrat Ullah's. It more or less duplicated the first; the khalifa recited somewhat less well, and the whole proceedings seemed to us a trifle less well organized. When the milk-money discussion was proceeding Qudrat Ullah suddenly broke in: "Oh, cut the cackle, and get down to five rupees at once!" The suggestion was duly acted on amid much laughter. The fictitious figure first quoted is a compliment to the bride, and in Nagir it is the custom, we were told, to start at thousands of imaginary rupees. This second bride was unusually plain, poor girl—scarcely worth 7s. 6d. at prevailing rates, we thought.

David was pressed to take photographs, which he duly tried to do. It was no easy task in a smoke-darkened, crowded room,

585 Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners. The sensible plan prevails of having all weddings celebrated on the same day throughout the country. This avoids all cross-entertaining and much reduces expense. The hungriest guest cannot attend more than one big feed at a time. All betrothals have taken place quietly a few weeks earlier at each family's own convenience. The Wedding Day is only the jollification which sets the seal of publicity on the existing private contract.

All the morning feasting is in progress at the bridegroom's house, attended by the menfolk of both families and by twelve of the bridegroom's tribal brothers who act as his "best men." In the early afternoon the bridegrooms and their guests all repair to "The Gate" of their village where every spare space is already packed with spectators. The women and children are collected roughly at one side, the men and boys at the other, but there is no taboo about this, and no offence is given if one or another happens to stray into or wishes to pass through a crowd of the other sex, nor was it thought odd or unseemly that I usually sat beside DL amongst the men.

585 292 Before we arrived, the tops of walls, the branches of the nearest trees, and all the adjacent roofs were packed (till we feared the slight rafters were bound to give). Everybody had turned out in their best and brightest clothes, our little boy and girl friends almost unrecognizable, their jolly little fringes soaked in oil and plastered down into most unwonted and unbecoming tidiness. The women and girls were very gay with bright-coloured scarves flung over their prettiest caps; poor ones might have only a piece of chintz or muslin, but by far the greater number sported lengths of Bukhara silk in daring blendings of bright green, yellow, red, blue, or purple. The general effect was delightful, and the bunches of womenfolk on the roofs would have needed colour photography to do them justice. Not to be wholly outdone, the men had coloured cotton shirts of marvellous hues and gay silken embroidery trimming their woollen *choges*.

The Bérichó band, with big drum, pipe, and kettledrums,

squatted at the base of a big tree, and the tribal brothers of each bridegroom led him to the dance. The Diramiting led off and the other clans followed in their recognized order of precedence. Each unhappy bridegroom was amazingly got up. Instead of his ordinary homespun cap he was coiffed with an exotic white or coloured turban with a tuft of feathers at one side held in place by a fancy brooch and a dangling string of beads looped on to it. A brightly coloured silk shirt floated out over a startlingly white pair of baggy cotton trousers and (if he could afford it) a loose silk robe replaced his normal homespun *choga*. He carried in his right hand an old-fashioned battle-axe tied with silken ribbons, and in this gaudy attire he looked as ill at ease as bridegrooms the world over.

The picturesqueness of the Hunza dancing, which is the mainstay of every form of merry-making, is nowadays much impaired by dancers who have acquired short-sleeved, would-be European shooting-jackets or tight trousers, or—worse still—have adopted tennis shoes or ammunition boots or some other form of horrible non-local footgear instead of the orthodox bare feet or soft leather boot. When carried out in the correct dress of the country Hunza dancing is amusing and interesting. Most of the footwork is merely a variant of a sort of polka-step—now short, now long, now in great leaps, now in fierce stamps, now on the toe, now on the flat foot. There is one characteristic step which would require a lot of practice: with one knee bent very deep, you rotate on that foot giving regular little taps on the ground with the other till the circle is complete; then you reverse and repeat in the opposite direction.

Each dancer dances independently, but the five or ten in the ring at any one moment all try to synchronize their steps in time to the music. The footwork, however, is but a small part of the dance; what is most admired is the action of the body and of the arms; these are waved and flung about and bent in a hundred different patterns. The long *choga* sleeves which dangle 6 or 8 inches below the hand give a most fantastic effect to these gestures.

When the second bridegroom's group came to dance they

Next appeared a lot of men bearing white and red pennants and one carrying the Hunza standard (rather a new invention 796
this, I fancy). The standard is a large triangle of white with 186
two pairs of horizontal red stripes, an open hand in red, and a bow and arrow in green: a handsome and effective national flag

After the standards came the men of the Royal Family, 796
including Hari Tam of three or four (but not the new baby), 643
the younger members leading the way, and lastly Sir Muhammad 292
Nazim Khán himself, mounted on his snow-white Badakhshani stalion. The horse wore a scarlet saddle-cloth heavily embroidered in gold, and from a broad gold collar round its neck there dangled a large "feather brush" of pure white yak's hair. The Mir, looking as always every inch a king, was robed in bright green velvet cloak with massive padded gold embroidery. He had on a fine silk turban of pale blue. All the people entitled to a place in the procession, from the Mir downwards, were wearing bunches of large-leafed maidenhair in their caps. Gathering this fern, which as far as we could learn grows only in one spot in Hunza near Altit, and collecting the willows for the "horses" provide exciting tasks for the boys for a day or two preceding the feast, while women of the Diramiting clan are busy baking the barley mill-stones and compounding the *chopan*.

Before the procession ultimately emerges many elaborate traditional ceremonies take place in the ancient rooms of the Fort, which is still used for these occasions though no longer inhabited. The detail and significance of these ceremonies (which we were not invited to witness) were fully investigated by DL and I shall not here anticipate his account of them.

The procession passed along the narrow track till it reached the Bopfau field, 6 feet or so above the path and supported by the usual revetting wall. The younger and more active scaled the wall, but for the Mir himself a ladder had been placed at an angle of 45 degrees, bridging the water-channel at the base of the wall, and I followed the royal lead up the ladder. The Mir then took his seat on a chair beneath which a carpet had been spread (chair and carpet being doubtless modern

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Buruho AV7

Then they grind the *mamotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqa* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqa* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmiting bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gore mojok* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 *γaŕiq* — the songs are in Shina.

10 *ŝikomoŝ* — *nile* must be the genitive of *nil* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gorowi — originally written *gorowo*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gorowi* — in here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gorowo*, 'bridegrooms'.

12 *ile gonisolo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *sarak'ow* — this is in front of the Fort at Bilit.

in a low voice replies: "I am content." Three times he asks the Bride and three times he asks the Bridegroom whether they are content. Then, reciting the Khutba, he gives a little water in a cup first to the Bride who drinks a little, and what remains over he gives to the Bridegroom, who drinks it all down at a gulp. 539A 585

They perform the marriage in the house of the Bride's father. 583 For poor people in Hunza the bride-price is not large. It is twenty-four cubits of sized cotton cloth of which the price is five rupees. They fix the bride-price at five rupees. When the Thama marry among themselves the bride-price for them is very big. They fix (it at) a thousand rupees or five hundred rupees. 539A

Then they go out to the Bridegroom's house. They make three or four sets of cotton clothes for the girl. They call them "Tosh Gatu" (the New Clothing). They put a veil (over her head) and they put earrings in her ears and fix a tassel on her cap and then they bring her out of her father's house. As they bring her out they sing bridal songs in her honour and the girl weeps, and her father and mother weep. 584 292 539A

Then the girls, children and women collect and come (along with her) to the Bridegroom's house. When they have arrived at his door (his people) bring out *Tomal* (smoke of Syrian rue) and *Khomali* to them and the Bridegroom and Bride touch the hearth-stones (with their fingers) and kiss them, and taking each other by the hand they each simultaneously put a foot down inside the threshold in the house. The Bride, entering the house, first touches the hearth-stone with her fingers and kisses her fingers. Then they take the Bride and make her sit down at the upper end of the room at the foot of the main pillar of the house. They bring trays to the Bride's party and they eat food. When they have eaten they go off to their own houses. 584 539A

17 *tserile wlo* — both must step over the threshold at the same moment. The one who may chance to step over first will be inferior. The hinder one's star will be "buland" i. e. he or she will be dominant. A sly man may push his bride over first. 584

18 *Sufinale ilap ne . . .* — touching with the fingers and then kissing the fingers is a demonstration of respect. Here the Bride's thought is said to be: "God bless this house to me".

moddat y period, space of time. — *bur moddat nimi* a long time passed. 2.4. Ar. Pra. 000

moŋoli Maulai sect. (Cp. Sh. *moŋoli*, contemptuous term applied to the Maulais by the Shiahs, who say they themselves are Maulais).

muŋ'ulo d'ovo N., pl. — *dovumoto*, tadpole, (*dovo* is perhaps connected with the Kho. *ḍovi*, Sh. *ḍôvi*, *ḍovo*, ladle. Cp. the Hz. *khaṭgiyalt* tadpole, of which *giyalt* means ladle.

. Similarly the Yasin Kho. is *ai.i krpiwi*, "snake-spoon". The Sh. for tadpole is recorded as *manwkd'ola*, *manwko* being the word for frog, and *dola* probably for *ḍovo*).

'mokhaj in want, destitute. 372.10. Ar. Pra.

mo.i, *mo.i*; *mo.imo*, *mo.imo*, v. 1. *-i*, she herself. V, 16.19 note; her own 48.3. 68.1, 146.16.

majoŋ, *majoŋ*, *-iciŋ*, *-iŋ* y tassel (as of chogs), tuft of hair (at end of cow's tail). — *ḥaqa majoŋiciŋ* tapes with tassels attached to breast of chogs on either side, nominally for tying across chest. *gore majoŋ* an ornament worn at weddings by both bride and groom. It is suspended at the side of the cheek and consists of a string on which is strung a piece of mother of pearl and below it a pearl (?) or piece of coral, beneath which the string ends in a tassel. Cp. 304.12. *ite ivumale majoŋ bovum bila* the tassel of its (the calf's) tail is white. 156.8. 292

majuw -iŋ y weeping-willow tree. *ḥam majuwen bila* there is a weeping-willow tree. 12.18. *ciki majuw eyi ḥam* he had planted the musk weeping-willow. 18.9. 000

269 b

mals. IUB H. *watan*, *thairne ka jaga*; QUB *sukumat*, *retsqumat*. — *guyak ati* keep still, H. *qarar baiṭho*. QUB. *bume*, *girie*, *yake* (or, *yak etas*) *dri* a markhor's, ibex's, lying-up place.

*-*yakal* direction of, towards, the part of, side (in game).

*-*yakal*, *-*yakalor*, *-*yakalaṭe*, *-*yakalaṭor* with verbe of motion in the direction of towards, to. *guyakal horeyu ha* I am looking at you. 50.8. *ferq yakalaṭor pfor maiyum* let us go back towards the palace, let us return to the palace. 8.3. *yakal* 50.6,13,14, 90.1, 94.10, 120.6, 144,3, 146.17. *yakalor* 174.21; *yakalaṭe* 154.22, 180.3. *yakalaṭor* 22.11, 32.4, 38.3,7, 39.7, 134.12 etc. *-*yakaltum*, *-*yakalaṭum*, *-*yakalum* from the direction of; on the part of, on behalf of. *ayakaltum wuṭor guyam* I gave it to you from myself. *badiu yakaltum wurain* they going from the king. 24.10. *wuq jow guyakaltum koiman ati* give me a token from ourself. 22.7. *badiu yakalaṭum* on he part of the king. 34.14. Cp. 102.11. *dasin wuyakalum kin jowman* a relation on the part of (i.e. to represent) the bride. 302.16.

[292] *yaktai.i*, *yurtai.i*, *-miq*, *-miciq* y cotton slip worn by bridegroom over his dress. 300.6.

(So also in Sh. and Kho.). Pra. *yal*, *-*yal*, *-miq*, N. pl. *-miq*, *-miciq* y shadow, shade; protection, favour, patronage. — *wuṭ yalolo* in your shadow. *tomu yalolo hewuṭ* sit in the shade of the tree. *daman yaltu* by the favour of one's master, by his blessing, IUB. H. *mehrbanise*. *damane yalolo* in the shade of, under

344
644 wedged together to form a formidable protection
712 against invaders of their day.

796 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the
241 Burushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festi-
643 val, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like to emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed
[789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

533 important part of the proceedings.

533 They have their big feast day just before harvest
535 time and it takes place in the month of Ramadan. At
527 this festival, the musicians set things in motion by starting very early in the morning, and the entire band joins in the sound and the fury. This is followed by dancing and they dance continually, though the same tune is being played over and over and over again in utter monotony. The musicians sit on the floor and make music without pausing, while the dancing goes on in the same way. There are no intermissions or stops.

[643] At this feast the Mir sits on a raised platform in full
[292] regalia. He wears a hat made of Persian lamb, the type of hat you've seen policemen wear in the cold climates in the wintertime.

562 The men invariably dance with their faces turned
[535] towards the Mir. No, the women do not dance, strange to relate. They are merely onlookers. They take no part in any of the social functions or in sport or entertainment. Such Hunzan activities are marked by the distinct absence of women. The Mohammedan religion does not allow women to take part in the social life of the community. This, as far as I can ascertain, has no counterpart in any other religion on earth.

Further, women have no rights or privileges.

After learning of these restrictions by the Mohammedan faith, I felt that there would be no mass migration on the part of the women of the West to Hunza.

535 The harvest dance is very similar to what might be
292 termed a victory dance or a great celebration. The most colorful and interesting dances are the sword dances. The men wear gaily colored costumes that are really very attractive. Their costumes are densely figured and brocaded and the heavy Chinese silks are used as the material. The swords and shields are handmade.

B.Clark N-5 (1948-1961) 1963
AVT Burnaby AVT
Hunza
[P.39-A]

Hunza in the Himalayas

Storied Shangri-La undergoes scrutiny

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622
643
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TERRACED country, *left*, is ruled by the Mir, shown with village chiefs, above, at his palace at 8,000 foot altitude. Background peaks exceed 20,000 feet.

8: Clark N-5 (1948'-1951)1963

AV7 Burusho AV7

Hunza

[P.42-C]

288
291
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[463]
[433]

CRAFTSMEN like this weaver are not numerous in Hunza; the demanding mountain economy requires the full-time effort of the society to raise food.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

the wording of the letter, Humayum turned his 661
horse's head, and rode for his life. He reached the passes in safety, and going by Wakhan, entered Chitral, and claimed the hospitality of the Mehtar. This was gladly accorded him, for he was a valuable man in case of trouble with Hunza, and he remained in Chitral, an honoured guest, until his turn came later.

Once inside the fort we had only two sets of stairs 643
to ascend, and they were not so primitive as in Nagar, though they were equally defensible. We were received by the Thum at the top, and seated on an open platform overlooking the village and valley. Safdar Ali Khan was a delicate-looking young man of about twenty-two, with shifty Mongolian eyes, and a chestnut-coloured small peaked beard and moustache. The face was a delicate oval in shape, and weak in expression. He was looking decidedly ill, and considerably pulled down by fever.

The surroundings were richer than in Nagar. A 644
guard of fifteen men armed with breechloaders, English 292
and Russian, surrounded the Chief; the courtiers were better dressed, and good Central Asian carpets were spread on the ground. The Thum himself was handsomely dressed in silks, and wore a beautiful velvet belt of Chinese workmanship, with clasps and bosses of gold studded with torquoise and coral. We stayed 644
but a short time, paying a purely ceremonial visit. On my return to camp I found that the four men of my guard had been prevented from coming upstairs, and that an attempt had been made at stopping my orderlies also. I accordingly at once sent up to the Wazir, and protested against this, saying that I con-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-92) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7
292

MAHOMED NAZIM KHAN, CHIEF OF HUNZA.
WAZIR HUMAYUN, THE CHIEF MINISTER.

[facing p. 264]

Chapter 16

HOME LIFE AT No. 1

293 WHEN the women are working in the fields through the heat
[132] of the day—and it is very, very hot at 7,800 feet with a tem-
854 perature of 105° in the shade—they usually have a large square
482 of cotton cloth with them, which they sometimes throw over their heads for protection. This cloth turns in for all sorts of purposes; if you are carrying a small quantity of flour home from the mill you can wrap it up and tie it across from one shoulder to the other armpit and so keep both hands free. If the baby is too small to sit safely on your back or shoulders, you treat it in the same way. In fact, if you see a woman with this kind of bundle that appears to have two lumps in it you may safely guess that it's a baby.

342 I made great friends with the family who worked just below us (I have named them in my notebook Household No. 1), and I felt quite sad when their wheat harvest was over—it was so convenient just to run down and join them in sight of our own windows. They asked me, however: "Won't you come home and sit in our shade?" Of course I accepted with delight. It was just a few steps along the Dála and down one of the little lanes, half path, half watercourse. We came to a slightly taller, mud-plastered wall on the left with a wooden door in it. Through this I stepped in to a tiny courtyard with a shed on each side, one for straw and one for the lambs and kids. The
[333] house itself is just a rough cube of stones plastered with mud, and it has a flat roof with a smoke-hole in it above the central hearth. You go up by a ladder, and the roof makes a nice place for sitting out, watching the neighbours go by, spinning, and drying apricots. It has a second store-room built on a part of

squatted at the base of a big tree, and the tribal brothers of each bridegroom led him to the dance. The Diramiting led off and the other clans followed in their recognized order of precedence. Each unhappy bridegroom was amazingly got up. Instead of his ordinary homespun cap he was coiffed with an exotic white or coloured turban with a tuft of feathers at one side held in place by a fancy brooch and a dangling string of beads looped on to it. A brightly coloured silk shirt floated out over a startlingly white pair of baggy cotton trousers and (if he could afford it) a loose silk robe replaced his normal homespun *choga*. He carried in his right hand an old-fashioned battle-axe tied with silken ribbons, and in this gaudy attire he looked as ill at ease as bridegrooms the world over.

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And they[1] have a varied repertoire of berries, roots, and herbs from which they prepare simple medicines for their needs. Nowadays they are able to attend the Government dispensary in Aliábád, but its nostrums have not yet undermined their faith in their own home-made remedies. We very much wished that we had possessed some knowledge of medical botany and could have brought home records of their medicine; but like so many other branches of knowledge which we regretfully ignored, it would have been a specialist's job, and we had out hands full enough with our own work and all too little time at our disposal. 278 757

During the imprisonment of winter the women cut and stitch the winter cloaks, adorning each long seam with a double row of backstitching, which is not only seemly to the eye but serves to hold the raw edges in place. The stiff, shaped collar is decorated with varied designs, diamonds, triangles, and straight lines in the same backstitch. Happily few of them can yet afford to let Dirzi Nazir replace their time-honoured skill with the soulless, cotton stitchery of his sewing machine. We noted with grief that the beautifully hand-embroidered *chogas* with which the Mir presented us this time all had their seams Singer-sewn, and had thus lost (for us) much of their charm. 294 531 [177]

With prudent foresight the woman makes the *choga* six good inches too long for its destined wearer, and introduces a deep tuck above its lower edge. It will last at least three years and will shrink in successive washings. You can tell at a glance whether a man is wearing his best, or medium, or oldest *choga* by the depth—or absence—of the tuck. In former days embroidery was the monopoly of the few royal ladies who beguiled the tedium of their too-sheltered life by decorating *chogas* with bold designs in bright-coloured silks, or working raised patterns of gold and silver on velvet saddle-cloths, and above all in elaborating delicate designs in cross-stitch for the crown and border of their lovely little caps. Where we clumsily work cross-stitch with wool on canvas, they painstakingly cross-stitch the individual threads of calico with bright, gay silks. The patterns are infinitely varied—we possess dozens of specimens of this fine work, no two are alike—but

1 [the Burusho women -- Analyst]

all appeared to us to suggest Persian inspiration. I heard one lady say with regret for a golden past: "What is the world coming to? Why nowadays the very peasant girls embroider silken caps for themselves!"

True enough; now that a little money filters into almost every home the women can get hold of coloured silk from India or Kashgar, and it was a common sight to see girls and women open a tiny home-made bag that hung on their tunic, and take out a strip or circle of calico, a needle, and a bunch of silk, and continue work on a dainty cap. The threads of the cloth were carefully counted and the design traced out in black thread. The silks they used were unspun, clinging masses that I found impossible to handle, and how they manipulated them so skilfully with fingers roughened, you would have thought, by field work, I could not divine. For about 1s. 6d. they can buy enough silk to cover one cap with minute embroidery, and they blend their colours, red, blue, green, orange, purple, yellow, and black, with unerring taste. We laid in a store of their favourite shades so that on occasion we could make an acceptable gift to a bride preparing her trousseau.

After a first experience of trifling gifts of balls and combs we had decided that it would be a crime to spoil the simple, spontaneous kindness of the children or their parents by indiscriminate giving. So we restrained a longing to distribute even sweets and pins, and only made an occasional present on very special occasions or for very definite services rendered. On the other hand, we made a note of such things as would be useful and acceptable, and gathered a hoard of them for our ultimate visits of farewell.

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2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

262 one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry tree silently munching unripe fallen fruit, but the most pathetic
524 sight was groups of little girls crouched beside a water-channel scooping out sand and mud and forming it into various types of breads and cakes which they pretended to "bake like Mother." They knew nothing of modern psychology, and were unaware that we interpreted their poor little mud pies as wish-fulfilments.

136 Cuckoos and larks were now filling the air with welcome, strangely home-like sounds.

000 One day the news of the Quetta earthquake reached us by telephone and spread dismay in twenty homes which had sons in British service there. How to get news? Mercifully the suspense was not prolonged. Thanks to the humane arrangements which allowed survivors to telegraph free, a telegram was telephoned through from one of the Hunza men to say that he and all his compatriots had escaped, owing to the fact that they were all employed by officers of the Staff College. It would be blasphemy to suppose that those were all unrighteous on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, but we could hardly resist a suspicion that the God of Earthquakes shared something of our feeling for the folk of Hunza.

294 It was the very end of June before the Barley Harvest was in sight, but as the time approached nearer and nearer, by painfully slow degrees, we saw women and girls devoting all their spare time to making new caps for the jollifications of Ginání, and the men, who are not a whit less vain, were already sporting bright new shirts in anticipation. We came on Kaníza and Apícho putting the last touches on a cap made of some scraps of Tootal material which I had given to Kaníza to dress the new doll that Yaman had made for her. They were weaving the braid edging straight on to the cap, stitching it on as they wove. The method was interesting: six long coarse crimson threads are made fast by both ends to the edge of the double cap—outside, and slightly padded lining. The stitcher holds the cap inside out. The braider sits near and takes the six long loops of equal length, passing three over the fingers of the right and three over the fingers of the left hand; then she slips the left-hand loops on to the right-hand fingers, deftly lifts the

original right-hand loops off on to the left fingers carefully 294
crossing each pair of threads as she does so. Widely drawing her two hands apart Apícho then drove the set of crossed threads down on to the edge of the cap, where Kaníza secured the twelve-fold plait with a large stitch. This was repeated *ad infinitum*, the braid only showing on the right side of the cap and the long ugly stitches on the wrong. The process looks rather like cat's-cradle. I had always wondered why, when they take such infinite trouble over the minute cross-stitch embroidery of their caps and the hand-plaited twelve-ply braid, they finished the cap off with these long stitches. I also wondered why it seemed impossible to detach the braid without its ravelling out. I now saw that braid-weaving and stitching were part of one elaborate process.

By July 1st the luckier folk were already cutting their 243
barley and clearing a field for their threshing floor without waiting for the formal harvest-initiation ceremonies of the Ginání, the date of which is naturally fixed by the Mir to suit Báltít, 1,500 feet higher, and consequently some days behind Aliábád. All our potatoes were by now in full flower and our wheat was turning "fox-colour."

On July 5th we rode over to Báltít for yet another of the 487
Hunza festivals, and ye Gods! it was hot on the road—90 de- [132]
grees in the shade—and we had to start at the very hottest time of day, about 2 p.m. The Mir gave us tea in his nice shady grass-grown apple orchard before we remounted and climbed up to the Fort. It is not easy to convey how steep the road is that in Báltít corresponds to the Mall. Your pony steps from one boulder to the next with a great lurch, his spine almost vertical, and for my part I could only just stick on by my usual technique of thrusting my stirrups back to the root of his tail 487
and firmly gripping his mane with my right hand. The road 361
runs between high stone walls and zigzags wildly. The little box-like stone houses of the capital are piled on top of each other in the craziest way—town-planning has to accommodate itself to the vagaries of a precipitous mountain side. They are indescribably picturesque, but you would not think them possible to live in, yet they provide a high degree of simple com-
fort.

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

431 penny a day (even when Shafi was profiteering!), and as you can't well tip anyone, even the humblest, less than about sixpence (and if there are several big man's retainers it may run into many shillings), the getting of gifts is very costly! We were glad when the flow of gifts presently dried up a bit. There was always great rejoicing in our back quarters when *maltash* was presented, for as we could not possibly use it ourselves (not even for cooking) it was solemnly passed on (as soon as the donor was out of sight) to the servants to divide. I called them all up and handed it over publicly to ensure that all should get a fair share. They never seemed to quarrel about the division, but effected it on some well-understood principle of their own, so perhaps my precaution was unnecessary; but it's unfair to lead such generous-hearted people into temptation, and *maltash* is dearer to their hearts than much fine gold.

● 296 The only other major problem was the washing. I had quite expected that we might have to get the things washed in the house, and do with rough-dried sheets and towels, occasionally sending shirts and collars down to Gilgit. I do wish men could wear silk undies that only need a rinse. But we heard that there was in Báltít a "merchant" who had at one time been washerman to some British officer, so we made enquiries and asked him to come and see me. He didn't seem at all keen; he wasn't really a *dhobi*, he said, and he hadn't a "proper iron," and he could not starch or "get up" evening shirts. (I could not myself imagine David wilfully wearing "boiled shirts" in camp.) But we turned Qudrat Ullah on to have a talk with him as knowing all the local conditions and people, and so friend Baráto of Báltít agreed to take a small "wash" and see what he could do with it. To my delight he brought everything back clean and beautifully pressed with whatever "improper" iron he had. We had another chat, and if that was all I wanted done he was more than willing to do all our washing for 15s. a month—less than half my laundry bill at home, where we only send the larger things out! In theory he was going to earn his money. He was to carry the wash to the springs at Murtazábád, by the big river. You will remember it is a good five or six miles away, across the Hasanábád gorge and

296 down some 1,500 feet on the other side. He was to provide his own native Indian soap and heat his own iron somehow. In fact, however, I saw him unashamedly spreading out the things to dry on the grass behind the bungalow, having coaxed hot water out of Zaidu. And as Indian soap is made with ghee or some odious, smelly fat which we had no mind to breathe in off our sheets and pillows at night, I agreed to give him one cake of Sunlight soap per week (one of the few supplies I had prudently brought with me). Presently I found that he would much prefer to iron in the kitchen, "it would be so much better for the clothes than being carried to and fro to Báltít," and that he would take it kindly if I would supply the charcoal for his iron. You will deduce that Baráto, like Shafi, had learnt a thing or two in India besides his *dhobing*. However, from my point of view the bargain was a good one, and I was glad it should be a good one from his side too. I don't doubt that my "merchant" saved one bar of soap in four, or perhaps one in two, to stock his "shop" in Báltít; but our clothes were nicely washed and he had no competitor within sixty-four miles and deserved to profit by his own enterprise.

He was an entertaining fellow, the *dhobi*, with a humorous kink in his face, and a quaint, half-defiant, half-amusing way of talking that made his calls rather pleasant episodes. His air implied: "Of course you can't afford to lose me; there's no one else in Hunza you could get instead. On the other hand, of course, 15s. a month for your little scrap of work is money for jam, and I like coming over for a chat with your people, so it suits us to be friends."

565 There is something very winning about the complete lack
576 of servility in Hunza. The people are hospitable, courteous, and polite, and too self-respecting to omit the deference due to "The Great," but they own their soil and live their own lives and can look the whole world in the face. They serve you faithfully and ungrudgingly and more than earn what you pay, but they are servants of none. For which reason I wish we had some other word for these lovable peasants who worked for us.

000 Two other points remained: heat and light. The Hunza

342 it, exactly over the main store-room below. There is no parapet, only a tiny raised rim to direct the rain into a small gutter-hole, on the rare occasions when there is rain; but it has a fringe of cut thorn bushes arranged round the edge to prevent an enterprising goat jumping across from the next-
351 door roof not many feet away. I didn't, however, go up on to
296 the roof, but on into a larger courtyard where there was a pool in the corner at which their washing is done. They would not dream of polluting the running water by washing themselves or their clothes in it as it flows by; they draw off what they want for these purposes into a separate pond of their own.
351 Then under a large shady tree there was a raised stone plat-
513 form which acts as a "sofa" by day and as a double or treble or quadruple bed by night—for, except in the depth of winter, nobody sleeps indoors. There was another raised platform, with a wall at the back and open in front and sides, roofed in for another sleeping place. It had a railing along under the roof, and over this were hung all sorts of padded quilts, homespun
[136] blankets, sheepskins, etc.—the family bedding. All the bedding is taken out and hung up every day, which helps to account for the complete lack of vermin—which I confess came to us as a happy surprise. In all our year in Hunza we saw only *one* flea, and that, as David said, was emphatically our own!

245 Round the corner from these sleeping places I got into a
312 walled-in shady garden full of fruit trees—apples, mulberries, peaches, apricots, and vines. It is incredible how luxurious mere *shade* is at such a temperature. It wasn't remotely like a garden in our sense. The earth was bare without one blade of grass or green, and was all cut up into little beds round each precious tree, with banks between them, so that the water could be directed to each tree as desired, when it was No. 1's
514 turn to have water at all. In the far corner of the garden was
343 a neat little circular "open-air pulpit." We had seen these pulpits dotted about, but—stupidly—did not at once guess what they were for. Coming straight from Kashmir, where the approach to each homestead is ankle deep in filth, or remembering Arab habits in Iráq, we never expected that we should find in Hunza a people as scrupulously decent as ourselves in

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True enough; now that a little money filters into almost every home the women can get hold of coloured silk from India or Kashgar, and it was a common sight to see girls and women open a tiny home-made bag that hung on their tunic, and take out a strip or circle of calico, a needle, and a bunch of silk, and continue work on a dainty cap. The threads of the cloth were carefully counted and the design traced out in black thread. The silks they used were unspun, clinging masses that I found impossible to handle, and how they manipulated them so skilfully with fingers roughened, you would have thought, by field work, I could not divine. For about 1s. 6d. they can buy enough silk to cover one cap with minute embroidery, and they blend their colours, red, blue, green, orange, purple, yellow, and black, with unerring taste. We laid in a store of their favourite shades so that on occasion we could make an acceptable gift to a bride preparing her trousseau.

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a *choga* is being washed, a man's greater strength is called into play—nine yards of wet homespun is no joke. He dips it likewise into cold water, lays it on a stone, and tramples it with his full weight. There is, of course, no fuel to spare for washing clothes or persons in hot water.

From our very first days in Hunza the mills had been a source of interest, and we constantly passed them and peeped in as we traced out all the water-channels on our walks. When the water was in flow (no stream, not even the Dála, was continuously in action in any one stretch) the mills were the centre of social gatherings. The miller and his family would be inside superintending operations, while the women with their babies and their work quietly awaited their turn. They had brought small sacks or bags of grain to be ground and would squat in and round the doorway happily gossiping. Occasionally a man would come along, bent double under a huge sack of 80 lb. or so.

We struck a particularly interesting group one day, where the water was plunging steeply down the hillside and turning three mills in succession, one below the other. David was photographing the busy crowd at the door, and I climbed up a little to join two old women busily spinning among the rocks above. "Father won't want to take pictures of us," they said, in a matter-of-fact tone quite free from bitterness, "we are old and wrinkled." As well as my halting speech permitted, I assured them that older people were our best friends, that we liked faces wrinkled like our own, and that if they would allow it, "Father" would much like their photographs. So I scrambled down the hill again to explain to DL where his next duty lay. He came and engaged the old dames in chat, but it was no easy matter to get a photograph for they were shy and self-conscious beyond the ordinary. The picture turned out at least recognizable, but when it came to delivering their copies we found that their houses were "quite near" of course, but down 500 or 600 feet of highly precipitous gorge, rather more of a rock-climbing feat than we were prepared to tackle in the course of an afternoon's walk. Enquiry revealed, however, that old Pfírúz's son was married to Ustád Nadíro's daughter, so

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

licence to marry at irregular dates). Meantime no one seemed 511
unduly cast down, and Apicho continued to grow her hair so 585
as to be ready. Sometimes it stuck out all round her head in 302
about a hundred tiny plaits, on other days she had a wonderful, if somewhat shaggy, mane of frizzy hair about 5 inches long. She was a dear.

The small boys and girls have the centre of their heads 302
close shaven (a cleanly and sensible arrangement) with just a neat fringe left all round to show below their caps; married women wear, hanging down beside their faces, two plaits which are knotted up into two balls to be well out of the way. It is a most becoming style of hair-dressing. The plaits softly frame the face and the two balls dance merrily about. When a girl reaches thirteen or fourteen and marriage beings to loom ahead, she starts growing her hair in some variety of bob as a practical preparation for the state of matrimony.

We went off to one of the deep open reservoirs hoping in 296
the good light to get a photograph of the cattle being watered at the usual time. But, alas! the nice bright day must have modified their time-table, for not the ghost of a beast turned up. On the way we saw a pretty young woman whom we knew, doing some washing. She was squatting in the sun on a stone sofa beside a pool which was still covered with thick ice and dipping the clothes in through a hole she had broken for the purpose. She then laid the wet garment on the stone and whacked it with a thick wooden beater. Further on, Najat of No. 1 was washing some tattered pieces of felt, probably to pluck down for shoddy. She had flung them into shallow water and was vigorously trampling them while chunks of ice clattered round her ankles. A hardy folk the Hunzukuts.

As we came back we found a large group of women and 524
children on the main road, and one of the wee girls had a "doll." This consisted simply of one piece of stick with some rags hung round it and two cross sticks for arms which were jointed on and neatly attached to a piece of string so that they waved about when you pulled. They made it "dance" for us with much amusement and laughter, but we could not detach the doll and its owner from the crowd to get a decent photograph.

Boy: 28.19, 58.16, 62.1, 64.20,23, 66.6, 72.11, 102.11, 104.21, 106.3 etc.
Youth: 210.9.
Bridegroom: 298.12, 302.14, 304.1.

000

hiliˑlom soft (of leather, blanket etc.) — *ʌɣurmər hiliˑlom maniˑla* my bowels have become soft (after constipation and laxative).

himaˑyʌt y help. — *jaʷ lukʌn himaˑyʌt ʌči* give me a little help. EOL. Ar. Prs.

him'ʌltər -iŋ y gateway (of castle, fort). — *guystis himʌltərtsi dukortsiki.ʌm* I'll hang up your head (for you) on the gateway. 72.5. Cp. 88.7.

himʌn x sg. & pl. A kind of plant that springs up in the fields. It has black seeds which are used for washing clothes.

2%

hʌmmʌt, hiˑmʌt y endeavour, magnanimity. — *hʌmmʌt ʌti* hurry, make an effort, "buck up" (said to coolies etc. to stimulate them at work). Cp. Prov. 18. *jaʷ lukʌn hiˑmʌt ʌči* give me a little encouragement. Ar. Prs.

000

hin hmf. cp. *hʌn* x y, *hik* x.

1. Numeral adj. and pron. one (person), a. — *hin ɣəriˑb hirʌni bʌtər nikin* entering into the skin of a poor man. 284.21. *hin buˑt maper pfutʌn bai.i* there is a very old Div. 28.7. *hin jʌt gusʌnmo ha* the house of a very old woman. 286.1.

   Distributive: *hin hin oˑčumi* taking (*lit.* making) them one by one. 206.9. V. §§ 201, 203, 207.

   The accompanying noun may, or may not, bear the suffix *-ʌn*. V. § 43.2.

2. Indefinite pron. and adj.: — *hin* may be made definite by a quali-

Then they grind the *manotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmiting bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gore manjak* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 ɣɔriŋ — the songs are in Shina.

10 *ŝikumats* — *nīlɛ* must be the genitive of *nīl* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gorumi — originally written *gorumo*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gorumi* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gorumo*, 'bride' grooms'.

12 *ile gunisolo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *marak'aw* — this is in front of the Fort at Bālti.

bila a stabbing pain has come on. 000
ɑ·skʌpɑnɑlo čɑ·m heart-burn.
(Perhaps the same as *čɑ·m (·čʌs)*).

čʌm. — *čʌm čo·ko* very steep.

čhʌm y famine, hunger. — *ku.i·n(mo den) čʌm bila* this year there is famine, this is a famine year, H. *qaḥʌṭ-sa·l. i·ts bušai.ɑlo but dʌŋ čʌm di·mi* a very severe famine came into that country ("there arose a mighty famine in that land"). 366.8. *i·ts bušai.ɑlo dʌŋ čʌman bali·mi* a severe famine fell in that country. 372.9.

čʌm'a -mots x brooch (circular metal plaque with a large hole in the middle and a pin crossing it hinged at one side. A portion of the cloth is drawn through the hole and secured by running the pin through it), buckle, clasp, ring. — *mundiltse to·ŋ čʌma bim* on her breast there was a finewrought(?) brooch. 164.5. Cp. pp. 166 & 168. *šʌŋʌličiŋe yætimuš han čʌma·n ɑ·r d'esmʌn* make a ring for me at the end of the chain. 174.6, 9. (Cp. Sh. *čʌm'a*, GB *čhʌma*). 301 ●

čʌmʌx, čʌmʌq -uts, -i·nts, -ršo x. "steel" (used with flint to produce fire). (Cp. Sh. *čʌmʌk*, Khō. *čʌmʌx*; from T. *čʌqmʌq*). 000

čʌmərɑ·fo half-hard and half-soft (e.g. bad potatoes). (Cp. Sh. *čʌmərɑ·fo*).

čhʌmɪne, čhʌmini, čh'amine hungry, starving. — *je čʌmɪne ba* I am hungry. *u·s čʌmini u.i·rumʌn* they died of hunger. *je ako·le č'ʌmine ɑ·irča ba* I am dying here of hunger. Cp. 32.15, 34.10, 368.2, 373.5. (Cp. *čhʌm*).

čhʌmɪrs, y sg. dried apricots rubbed down in cold water. — *gəru·ki čʌmɪrs di.u·šʌn* in spring time they prepare apricot water. (Cp. Sh. *čʌmɪrs*).

93a

[See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland.

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[651]

The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil.

325

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh."

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This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy.

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[135]

Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work

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4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

133 land of silent mystery. Looking up from our vantage ground above the glacier, it was obvious that the ice rivers had receded, and, judging from the people's traditions at no distant date, leaving gigantic moraines to the south and in the direction of Hispar.

241 The road to this point from Nagar was very pretty, running entirely through cultivation and orchards, and occasionally under the walls of a village fort. The people were evidently very hard working, and the cultivation and labour expended on walling the fields 609 was most thorough. At some villages they used to bring us out presents of fruit, and at all they were civil and pleasant. They are a nice people, and independent. One old man was very indignant at the men with us for passing along the edge of his 651 field where there was no footpath. We came in one place on an amusing instance of the world-wide tendency to scamp Government work. We were crossing a field which I noticed was very badly gleaned, and I asked the reason. I was told it was one of the Thum's, and that, as the villagers had to cultivate and reap it for him, they did not take as much trouble as if it had been their own.

533 A boy came along with us one day, and played on a long pipe with a very sweet note. It was quite a pastoral. The last we saw of him he was wandering below us on a classic lawn, by the side of a stream which ran flecked with sunlight under the shadow of great walnut trees, playing his pipe, whose plaintive notes floated up to us, mingled with the murmur of 301 the water. His dard cap was ornamented with a garland of red and white flowers stuck into its folds.

000 I had to leave Nagar long before I had exhausted

600 names of things, so she took up the good work: "That's our roof; that thing sticking out is a cross rafter," and "That's our ladder." Presently we came to the corner of her square, stone house, the wall of which rose straight from the water-channel, and there we found her father and a couple of small boys. We crossed a tiny two-trunk bridge to talk to them at the door, and papa was evidently much pleased that we had taken notice
251 of the two small girls. Mother and an auntie[1] were sitting a little farther back under some fine mulberry trees splitting apricots, which they were going to spread presently on a big boulder or on the roof to dry. Everywhere we looked boulders and roofs were decorated with glorious golden-pink pools of drying apricots.

252 I slipped over to the women while David continued to chat
354 to the master of the house. With luck the dried apricots would
302 last them all through the winter, for this had been a good year. The apricot stones they were keeping carefully as they worked. Presently the children would crack them between stones and the kernels would be hoarded. Eaten with dried apricots they make a delicious almond-and-raisin dessert for feast days or offerings to guests, while a good proportion of them must be pounded by the women till the oil is squeezed out that will give their sole indoor light. If by good luck there is any oil to spare, it makes a prized unguent for the hair and most families contrive to have enough to sleek their plaits or fringes for
246 great occasions. This cheery family bade us a friendly good-bye as we moved on, and a little farther along the channel, which was now making a curved sweep round, we saw a man standing in a reaped field below us. This crop had been lucerne, he said; he gets two crops of it off one field each season. David told him how they get seven or eight crops in Persia, but consider the first crop bad for the animals (for some reason which we never discovered). He was much interested, and said they did not notice any difference in the wholesomeness of their first and second crop: Hunza animals are not encouraged to be
000 faddy. Presently we came to a fine, walled-in mulberry orchard on our left and climbed up into a sloping field where a slight crop of grass was growing between boulders. We sat down to

1 [of Kaniza, a Burusho child--Analyst]

526 "stotted" it far more skilfully than I. They say the women and girls play a lot of ball, and in autumn the women sweep a smooth place under a willow tree, choose teams, and play matches! They *are* a sporting, jolly crowd. It is no use at all merely to bounce the ball and hit it down again as I did; you must spin round on your own axis between each stroke if it is to count. I didn't find this at all easy to learn at my age, and my feeble attempts gave much amusement. They laugh so openly and heartily that there is no offence in their merriment at your expense; even so, they are sensitive lest you might feel hurt, and Naját hastened to console me: "But, you see, you can read and write, and none of us can do that." So they saved my face for me, if it needed saving.

302 I had also brought a small coloured comb and offered it to Bibi Gímo for the children's fringes. All the youngsters, boys and girls alike, have their heads shaven—which makes for cleanliness—with just a neat fringe showing all round under their little caps. Banu at once appropriated the comb and started on her front hair, to the amusement of the congregation—which by now included many neighbours. She is the dearest little devil, and not a bit more grubby than any English child would be who played barefoot in a garden which is mostly half wet.

000 Whichever way I turned on my walks everyone was full of friendliness and welcome, and boys and girls ran along with me telling me all about their animals and naming anything I wanted; but I was longing to have David's company again, and felt rather mean to have been stealing marches on him and making friends in advance. I determined, however, that even after he was well enough to come out for walks I should still go back sometimes to sit with my women friends by myself. It would take too long to tell you about the other families I met and the people I made friends with: there were literally dozens. I solemnly entered their names in my little book and tried to memorize them all and assign them as well as I could to the different houses, but for a long time they all looked rather alike to me and all their dresses are much the same so that it was easy to confuse those I saw less often. Happily this

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 20

HUNZA BABIES

EARLY one October morning I saw Naját going off to the mill 846
with a little sheepskin bag on her shoulder. She looked even more radiant than usual as she stopped to talk. After the usual interchanges: "Have you heard our news? Bibi Gímo's baby boy has been born!" This was splendid. No. 1 already possessed four girls, one married, Shukuru almost marriageable and already growing her hair as a preliminary, and our two special friends, Shamúli and Bano, and two boys, Derwish and Man Ali Shah; a third son was the wanted thing. Mother and baby were doing well, and the household was overjoyed. [302]

I took pains to ascertain how soon I might call to offer my congratulations—the eighth day was best. So I set Zaidu to bake biscuits with butter and treacle, which he was sure would be acceptable, and I borrowed Qudrat Ullah for half an hour to coach me in the correct phraseology. When the great day came I threaded my rough way down the lane and turned in at the hospitable door in the wall, through which I had several times entered their garden but never yet their house. Here I was greeted by the four youngest, all looking as pleased as if they had by themselves conjured the baby into being. They led me through the byre, past the cow, who also had a festive air on her bed of nice clean straw, and into the living-room. It was beautifully bright with sunshine pouring through the smokehole, and as neat and clean as a new pin. The chief sleeping bench had a red felt carpet on it and had been left empty for me. On the other dais, also gaily carpeted, Bibi Gímo sat in state beside the cradle. She was looking so fresh and young and tidy that I hardly knew her. Hitherto I had seen

per as to whether it would be in order to ask to see the baby, 846
who was entirely hidden by a doubled homespun blanket flung over the ridge-pole of his cradle. "Quite the right thing." I made my request and approached the cradle. They turned back the cloth for me, and there was a very handsome baby (for seven days old) in beautifully clean kit, very carefully [302] bolstered in, his eyes painted black all round, which gave his face a comical look of maturest wisdom. This black stuff is supposed to be "cooling" to the eyes, and is quite probably a disinfectant of some kind. I said what a fine baby he was, and how big for his age, and so forth, then wished them all the best of luck, repeated my congratulations, and turned to come away. But they called me back to receive two heaped dishes of grapes and apples. I protested as well as I could against robbing their store-room, especially at such a moment when hordes of hungry guests would come well-wishing—it is for similar occasions that the "emergency reserve" is set apart—but I protested in vain. Derwish and Man Ali Shah followed us up the hill bearing the fruit, and I could only resort to the contemptible expedient of small silver.

Anyone who knows life in the East will realize how in- 562
credible it seems that a woman should sit in state to receive visitors of both sexes while her menfolk look proudly on. No wonder the Hunza women have this happy fearlessness, this dignified gait, these courtly manners.

I was typing text next morning when I heard piping voices 000
in the verandah outside my window: "Mother, Mother, Mother, *dear*, do come at once; we are threshing buckwheat on our floor." I went out to find seven of my smallest friends, boys and girls from the Middle Channel above, led by Nímo, dancing with excitement and impatience: "Do come and take photographs! Father and mother say you are *please* to come." I wasn't very keen to go, for we were expecting some Swedish missionaries to lunch. They were passing through on their way to Kashgar—another month's march—and they might arrive at any moment. Still . . . I had asked all our neighbours to send for me when anything was going on, and if I showed reluctance such summonses might stop. I scrambled up to the

HUNZA BABIES

846 A couple of months after Bibi Gímo's, Soni's baby son was born—the first grandson of No. 1A—and his arrival was the cause of great rejoicing. I had heard nothing of it till I commented one day to Aliko, whose handsome white beard had suddenly turned orange, on the fact that I had not lately seen Afrots. "She's been staying over with her mother's people in Haiderabad," he said, "but she's coming back to-day." When I next saw her she raced up to me breathless: "How do you do (in English), I've got a baby brother, I've got a baby brother, I've got a BABY BROTHER!" The opportunity of an eighth-day formal visit had passed, so I clambered over a boulder or two into their orchard-garden and called up the [364] blank, unresponsive-looking wall of the house. Soni was busy in the store-room, and put her head out of the one tiny wooden window—the only "window" of a Hunza house is a square, shuttered, ventilation hole in the store-room—inviting me to join her on the roof. I climbed the primitive ladder with caution—a camera and other impedimenta always made me even less agile than need have been—and there she was spinning away and occasionally giving a rock to the cradle beside her. I utilized as many suitable phrases as I could remember without rehearsal, and was rewarded with a peep at a fine little fellow of a fortnight whom any mother might have been 846 proud to own. Soni was gaily dressed, and had dotted her face 302 all over with unsightly brown spots which I learned were 752 supposed to be "good for the complexion" after childbirth. The custom used, it seems, to be universal, but it must be dying out, for I saw only a few young mothers so decorated. Anywhere else one might suppose it a charm against the Evil Eye, but the Burusho of Hunza are so free from any taint of this baleful superstition—so hard-lived where it has once had root—that I think there must be some other explanation. We later found that among the Burushaski speakers of Yasin, all the younger women lived under a permanent coating of similar brown cosmetic, washed off only for feast days, in the belief that it protected their skin against the cold winds of their harsher climate.

000 Afrots, joining devoutly in the admiration of her baby

585 ashamed." We sent Sagi off with all the reassuring messages we could devise and a couple of bottles of our hoarded kerosene to help to light the feasting. The house lay near our own, down one steep lane and across some now open fields. We were met some yards outside the door and escorted in. The kind people had vacated one entire dais for us, which drove some of the younger folk on to the roof, and we could see bright eyes peeping in through the smoke-hole. The whole house was clean and swept and gay with rugs and carpets; the fire was bright, and over it capacious cooking-pots were [302] simmering. On the major dais, opposite us, four people only were in evidence: the khalifa, whose badge of office was a huge pair of spectacles; the bridegroom in a bright silk overdress, a new *choga*, and cap of spotless white homespun (his eyes were blackened and a row of tiny dots of black becomingly distributed on his cheek bones); the "best man" and an equivalent representative of the bride, probably a maternal uncle. Every available inch of other space was gradually filled with members of the two families who, as they arrived at the door, were ceremonially sprinkled on cap and left shoulder with flour. The bride's father was standing near the store-room door, the mother modestly just inside it. Probably but for our space-consuming presence—which filled us with some compunction—they would have been seated on the second dais.

After we had taken our places and had exchanged greetings and congratulations all round, the simple but impressive ceremony began. The khalifa, with his open manuscript, sat at the outer edge of the dais, the bridegroom squatting beside him on his left, while the two best men stood gravely facing them. A railing, hung with a silk curtain, screened the further section of the dais, where the bride was temporarily concealed, supported by her brothers and maternal uncles. The service was in Persian, with a strong admixture of Arabic, and was read—or repeated from memory—clearly and reverently in a pleasant sing-song recitative, which rose to a beautiful intoning when rehearsing the names of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Forgiver of Sins.

When the religious exercise was over, the khalifa reverted

291 loan of it. In Kanízah's house (No. 3), though they are very, very poor, they are lucky enough to possess a woman's cloak of feather-wool. It looks extremely cosy and furry—though very old and greasy—with feathers sticking out all over it. When you can get enough down you spin the feathers in with the wool [136] before you weave it. You can only use the breast feathers of the wild duck for the purpose, and it must take a lot of wild duck, which are seasonal and rare, to yield enough for seven yards of feather cloth. This cloak of No. 3 is the only one we have seen. So we watch "the cloak" go out for walks—now on Zenába, the cheery old mother, who is one of the few really ugly women here but who always wears a happy grin that would redeem any face, now on Apicho, the eldest unmarried daughter who seems to be always on the point of getting wed but always just failing for some reason to pull it off.

511 We eventually discovered the reason for No. 3's extreme and obvious poverty. Poor Zenába had produced five girls, including a pair of twins, and only one boy, the second youngest child. Yaman (in full Ali Aman Shah) was one of our best boy friends, a bright, intelligent boy full of life and fun and knowledge, and good at all boys' games, but he was only ten or thereabouts, and not yet able to help his father in the heavier work of irrigating, wall building, ploughing, etc., and poor Ali Akbar looked worn and frail with six to provide for single-handed—not to mention the rare extravagance of the cat. Yaman manfully did all he could, and in addition when he could be spared from home trudged four mountain miles to Báltít to attend the school there with the Mir's grandsons and a few other ambitious boys. A great little fellow, with (as far as we could see) a hard enough life before him.

Yet No. 3 was one of the most cheerful and most hospitable houses round.

511 We supposed that Apicho's prospective bridegroom was as
585 poor as she, and when the two families came to tot up the
302 necessary wedding feasts they just couldn't face it. Certainly it had missed fire twice after we had heard that the date was fixed (you can in certain circumstances get from the Mir a special

licence to marry at irregular dates). Meantime no one seemed 511
unduly cast down, and Apicho continued to grow her hair so 585
as to be ready. Sometimes it stuck out all round her head in 302
about a hundred tiny plaits, on other days she had a wonderful, if somewhat shaggy, mane of frizzy hair about 5 inches long. She was a dear.

The small boys and girls have the centre of their heads 302 ●
close shaven (a cleanly and sensible arrangement) with just a neat fringe left all round to show below their caps; married women wear, hanging down beside their faces, two plaits which are knotted up into two balls to be well out of the way. It is a most becoming style of hair-dressing. The plaits softly frame the face and the two balls dance merrily about. When a girl reaches thirteen or fourteen and marriage beings to loom ahead, she starts growing her hair in some variety of bob as a practical preparation for the state of matrimony.

We went off to one of the deep open reservoirs hoping in 296
the good light to get a photograph of the cattle being watered at the usual time. But, alas! the nice bright day must have modified their time-table, for not the ghost of a beast turned up. On the way we saw a pretty young woman whom we knew, doing some washing. She was squatting in the sun on a stone sofa beside a pool which was still covered with thick ice and dipping the clothes in through a hole she had broken for the purpose. She then laid the wet garment on the stone and whacked it with a thick wooden beater. Further on, Najat of No. 1 was washing some tattered pieces of felt, probably to pluck down for shoddy. She had flung them into shallow water and was vigorously trampling them while chunks of ice clattered round her ankles. A hardy folk the Hunzukuts.

As we came back we found a large group of women and 524
children on the main road, and one of the wee girls had a "doll." This consisted simply of one piece of stick with some rags hung round it and two cross sticks for arms which were jointed on and neatly attached to a piece of string so that they waved about when you pulled. They made it "dance" for us with much amusement and laughter, but we could not detach the doll and its owner from the crowd to get a decent photograph.

Then they grind the *manotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmitīng bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gəre mojok* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 γəriŋ — the songs are in Shina.

10 *tikumots* — *ni·le* must be the genitive of *ni·l* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gəromi — originally written *gəromo*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gəromi* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gəromo*, 'bridegrooms'.

12 *ite gumtsulo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *mərʌk'aw* — this is in front of the Fort at Bāltit.

Kəramo Dərbeʿ in Diramitiŋ territory, v. Text No. XIV.. 776 782

See my article in JRAS of July 1929, pp. 507—36. [113]

Sahaʿla Boʿin ke *Haʿlasa Boʿin* names of two Boʿin's in whose names oaths were taken. 250.9. *itsər boʿyo sc.ibam* they called them "*boʿyo*". 214.5. *siʿsə iʿtsə u.iʿliki bam* people used to worship, or placate, them. 214.4. *boʿyo u.iʿlikiʿnas*, (pl. *u.iʿlikiʿnaso*), a boʿyo-worshipper, a heathen, (cp, *boi.induʿrgas*).

bokal y pl. seed-grain (of cereals). — *guke bokale gur bitsaŋ* this is wheat seed-grain. 000

boʿmo y pl. seed (of corn). (The *-mo* is only an expletive, conveying at most a sense of multiplicity and indefiniteness). — *da boʿmo da uʿlji yərər gur hərí nʿowsin* putting aside wheat and barley for seed and funeral rites. 332.11.

boʿnis a round lump of dough (2 or 3 inches or more in diameter for making cake of bread from). — *han boʿnisane tha hoʿlər daudo 'sc.im* I (can) make "daudo" for 100 troops with one lump of dough. 176.28.

boʿno, -muts x plait of hair rolled up and knotted into a ball at the end. 302

The Hunza women wear their hair in two such plaits one at each side of the head. Formerly the men also wore their hair long and dressed it in *bono's* or twisted in spirals.

A N. y pl. form "*boʿniŋ*" was recorded. (Cp. Sh. *boʿno*).

bopfau "seed-scattering". — *bopfau itas* to perform the ceremony of initiating the seed-sowing in the Spring. V. Text No. XIII. 241

85a

duxˈərAs, duˈxərč-.

1. To open (of flowers), H. *khilna*. — *gosi šotuko duqərčər taiyərbim* this bud was on the point of opening. EOL. 000
2. To expand (of the heart), to become happy. IUB, H. *dil khuljəna, dil xuš honə*. — **-As duxˈArAs* to become happy. *is duxˈAri bim* his heart had become happy.
3. To split. — *duxərAs dAn* "splitting stone" i.e. shale (occurring in the Baltit Nullah).

(Identical with *dəxˈərAs*, q.v.).

duxAša -mig y festival day, day of rejoicing, H. *mela, xušika koi din*.

dəxau.ukuts x a sheep sacrificed on the third day after a person's death (the word appears to be only used in curses). — *dəxau.ukutsər) šiçən* they eat it for d. *dəxau.ukutsər gəmAnč* (or *gəmAnəm*) may you be used for d. (*or*, may you be for (?) the d.! (a curse).

(Cp. Sh. *dukhəni, duxəni* with similar sense and use).

dəxəqayAs, dəxəqəč- to be entangled, involved, H. *uljha jana*.

Impf. 3rd. sg. y *dəxəqəčiləm*.
Pret. 3rd. sg. *dəxəqəni*.
St.pc. *dəxəqəm*.

(Identical with *dəxəqAs* q.v.).

dul collyrium (black stuff painted on eyelids). A mineral found in the Hasanabad Nullah in Hunza. Used for small children to protect their eyes, and by amorous young men — *šauqin juwən*). — *dul *-AtAs* to apply collyrium to s.o. *oltərlik dostsAl dul no gatog no ulsumAn* waking up both (the children) and applying collyrium to them and dressing them 302 751 751

143a

000
302

head, of men, women and children). Children have all the top of the head shaved, a fringe being left on the forehead and round the sides and back.

When married a woman grows her hair long and wears it in 2 plaits, one on each side of the face. The ends of the plaits are rolled into 2 balls at the level of the chest.

Men used to wear their hair long, but now have it "bobbed", or cut, in European fashion or shave the head.

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The word is usually used without the pn.pf. Biddulph gives it with the prefix, and Leitner (p. 30) gives *muγuyʌŋ* for a woman's hair, but otherwise says that the prefix, which was in universal use 20 years earlier, had by then been dropped. His book is dated 1889.

I have recorded it only twice with the prefix:
iγuyʌŋ his hair. *muγuyʌŋ šʌk ečobo* she is combing her hair.
but: *γoyʌŋ šʌk eiʌs* to comb the hair. *γuyʌŋ čəruk eiʌs* to cut (a man's) hair. *γuyʌŋ čəγʌp eiʌs* to cut off (a woman's) hair (as punishment). *γuyʌŋ (qʌr) eiʌs* to shave the head. *ine thʌme γuyʌŋ ečʌm* he used to shave the Tham's hair. 376.3. *γusai.iko γoyʌŋ* (a woman's) long hair. *γuyʌŋ er eskərišʌm* I shall cut off my hair for him. 358.16. Cp. 292.17. (Cp. *-thoγoyʌŋ*).

H.

ha pl. *haˑkičʌŋ, hʌkičʌŋ* y house, home; room; household.

1. *Forms.*

Gen. and Gen. Obl.: *haˑ.—haˑ ḋʌmʌn* the master of the house, host. 340.2.

188 b

000 return of the same day a year hence, i.e. reckon from today up to this day next year.

(2. *pfər* is only a special use of 1. *pfər*).

pharətsin N., *pfərətsin*, pl. *-tsiyo* x one of the four stones surrounding the fireplace in the middle of the floor.

(The ordinary word for these stones is *šutin*, pl. *šutiyo*, but in the sg. there is perhaps a differentiation of meaning, *pfərətsin* denoting the stone on the side towards the store-room, and *šutin* that opposite it on the side towards the *beriço* MAN).

šura guntsANolo šutin pfər'ətsinAte del thiš ećam on a lucky day they sprinkle oil on the *š* and on the *pf*.

302 *p'ərćam* Hz. & N. y 1. hair cut in fringe on forehead, 2. the hair worn loose and cut at the level of the neck or shoulders. — *pərć'Am mufi'nžo biv* her hair is bobbed (previous stage to growing it long and plaiting it).

(Cp. Kho. *pərćam*, *parćam*, Sh. *pərćAm* fringe). Prs.?

000 *pərda* pl. *pərdAŋ*, (*-mićiŋ?*) y curtain. Prs.

pərhezgar abstemious. Prs.

1. *pəri*, obl. *-mu-*, pl. *-tiŋ* hf, *-muts* hm.

"*peri*" (a type of supernatural female approximating to "*fairy*").

pəri bai.i "he is a peri" may be said of a pretty boy.

The use of the pl. *pərimuts* with reference to real women is said to be incorrect.

hin pəri.enmu gans for a "peri". 12.6.

je ins pərimuts avžq amANAm I fell in love with that "peri". 16.18.

124 "You understand," he said, "that the reason I do
[788] not have breakfast with you is due entirely to the fact that I must rise at 3:30 every morning to perform my religious duties . . . and 'tis then I have my morning meal."

"Thank you most sincerely for your explanation. It is most important to me so I may better understand the ways of your people and yourself."

Then the Mir went on, "I have received word that two yaks are being brought down from Passu and should arrive at Altit some time during the night and will be there tomorrow morning."

Then I said to the Mir, "Would it be all right if I walked to Altit and rode one of the yaks back here to your palace?"

"That's exactly what I had in mind for you," said the Mir.

"Well, seeing there are two yaks coming down, as you mentioned, and my friend Cec is confined to his quarters by the doctor, I'll take Jahangir along and he'll ride the other yak back."

"Fine, fine!" said the Mir.

124 Then the conversation continued and the Mir said,
115 "I have another brother and I certainly hope you will
644 have an opportunity to meet him. He is serving in the Pakistan army—as a captain. I expect him back within the next 3 or 4 days and you will enjoy meeting him, I know. He is a most likable and interesting man. I hope he gets here before you decide to leave."

"I'd be very happy to meet him and I, too, hope he arrives before we depart."

"We call him Salat," he said. "That means mous-
[302] tache in our language. He has one of those handlebar moustaches and he's a big man—bigger than either Ayesh or I. His proper name is Capt. Jamshed Khan."

252 wild in various parts of the area. The oil rendered from
[272] these kernels is probably used only for lighting, because
[373] it is poisonous. Due to their heavy content of prussic
acid, a handful of them is considered deadly. In Ni-
[762] agara, if somebody wants to commit suicide, he jumps over Niagara Falls; in Hunza, they eat a batch of wild apricot kernels.

The kneading process is continued and the vessel is kept tilted so the oil runs down and forms a small pool. As the oil begins to form, the kneading becomes even more vigorous until every drop of oil possible is extracted. While the rendering of the oil may be hard on the knuckles, nothing could be simpler and the resulting product is probably the most healthful and finest fat product that human hands can produce.

[231] The pulp that remains after the oil[1] is extracted is
[302] fed to milk-giving goats, sheep or cows, and is often used as a concoction or shampoo in which the Hunzans wash their heads. The oil of course is used in cooking, baking, frying, for lighting—and even for the hair.

[461] The good woman who performed the oil extracting task for me did not seem to be the least bit overburdened or taxed from this sort of arduous work. It probably would have been a hard day's work for a Western woman.

I would like to stress at this point that the heating process was not a cooking process in any sense of the word. Just a slight warming was all that was needed.

251 The apricot oil is never rendered and stored in casks
252 or otherwise, like many other people do with their oils. They may make sufficient to last them a few days but not more. This is poured into an earthen vessel or a bottle, if available. When a further supply is required, the pits are cracked and they go through the entire process as outlined.

1 [ie - oil from apricot seeds - ANALYST]

who climbs the lofty crags around Hunza to bring down 000
the Marco Polo sheep or ovis poli is entitled to his bag. But after all, who am I to deal so generously with the life of another animal?

Then the Mir had for me two Hunzan hats of the 123
type that the men wear and also two women's hats, the 291
latter brightly colored and very neatly embroidered. [531]
He also gave me a bolt of elegantly embroidered red silk, displaylng a young man and woman, a bird of paradise and what was more appropriate, a yak. Then last but not least, laying beside the other items was a white hairy mass, which for the moment I did not recognize. It was a yak's tail.

Then he said, "There is a pair of typical native Hunzan shoes being made especially for you and they will be sent to you as soon as available. I'd like to send the shoes to you later, because I am waiting for some new hides which some of my men will bring down from high up in the mountains when they've had a chance to bring down some of the ovis poli. I want you to have the best."

"I guess I can wait for the shoes," I jested. "The ones I am wearing, plus another pair that I have in my knapsack, will carry me back along the Hunza trail, I think, but I certainly will be happy to have a pair of Hunzan shoes as another momento of my visit to your most enchanting country."

Then suddenly a thought occurred to me and I said 302
to the Mir, "I notice all of your men are clean-shaven . . . that is, except for the occasional one now and then who has a little beard around his chin. Therefore I know for certain that you must practice shaving in Hunza. Yet I have seen nowhere a sign of a razor. Further, I'm reasonably sure that this is one part of the world that King Gillette has not invaded with his

302 safety hair removing instruments. So please tell me what kind of an instrument the people of Hunza use to remove the hair from their face."

[326] "I'll be glad to show you!" . . . and with that, he displayed a homemade razor, one made by the smithy of the village. "Similar instruments are made by the smithys in the various other villages throughout Hun-

[795] za," he went on. "Our religion recommends that our faces be kept clean of hair."

"I will also have a razor made for you and sent along with the shoes."

123 "Thank you very much," I said to the Mir. "I am very grateful. I was really and truly hoping you'd say that, because that is another item that I would love to add to my collection."

I didn't know how to thank him for all these very lovely gifts, but I was somewhat concerned as to how I'd carry them all the way home. It was absolutely unthinkable to ship them individually or separately because I certainly wouldn't want any of them lost.

With the exception of the silver tea service, the other items were things that I had specifically wanted and had mentioned at one time or another. The Mir had keen ears and each and every item that I had mentioned was there as a gift for me.

To my friend, Cec Brunton, he also presented a Hunza hat and a cane of a little different type.

Not being a hunter it is understandable that I would not appreciate an ibex or a Marco Polo sheep head as a trophy, but most assuredly I would hang or display all of the items that the Mir was presenting to me most conspicuously in my home. And if perchance my wife wouldn't feel that some of them were sufficiently ornate or perhaps were unbecoming to her living room, then I would proudly hang them in my office. In fact, I felt

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 40-A]

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FABLED ELDERS of Hunza are products of rugged mountain life, scarcity, Moslem faith, and an autocratic tradition. If they exaggerate age, it is done to claim society's veneration.

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963

AV7 Burusho AV7

Hunza

[P.40-E]

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SEGREGATION of the sexes is rigid from early youth. Hunza's Moslem girls, right, are destined to live almost totally disassociated from the lives of men. Here two out chaperoned.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P. 41-D]

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[562] [584] MIR'S DAUGHTER, the Princess Nilofar, is spokesman for Hunza's women, who, despite public segregation and their low status, never are forced to marry against their will.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

643 Here I will quote from *The Autobiography of Sir*
771 *Mohomed Nazim Khan,* K.C.I.E. (Mir of Hunza from
798 1892-1938 and grandfather of the present Mir):
[127] "The people of Hunza were originally idolators and they became Shias when intermarriage with the ruling family of Baltistan was arranged and later, when my great grandfather Shah Salam Khan was on the throne, most of the country became Maulai. In Ganesh and Hinni, there are still a few Shias and two Sunnis. When I became Mir I declared to the people that they could adopt what religion they would, which annoyed my advisers who said that a country with many religions was bound to fall. I said that religion had nothing to do with ruling and have proved myself right in that there has been no religious strife in the country since that time."

788 Maybe the Hunzan farmer mumbles his prayers while he is working, but he seemingly doesn't appear to stop from his efforts on behalf of his farm.

000 From my actual experiences in seeing and viewing religions throughout the world, I am of the opinion that, where religion demands too much of a man's time, his industry suffers and this affects his standard of living. It is a possibility that pious, religious people throughout the world will take exception to this but, nevertheless, I am stating this as my own opinion, based on my findings and observations, and that's all it is. If anyone wants to debate the point with me, I'd be happy to provide the time and the opportunity.

The Hunzans are not fanatics and therefore they can devote more time to their labors than those who spend their time praying and resting, because of religious holidays and observances.

852 Being Mohammedans, circumcision is practiced on
304 all male children. Normally this operation is performed

when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases. 852 304

The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery. 582 304

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West. 582 [584]

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails. 585 [671]

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare. 586

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959) 1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland. 326 533 563 [651]

The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil. 325

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh." 326 316 135

This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy. 306 301 [135]

Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work 322 177

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

The old simpleton thereupon revealed to her that while he was 773
invulnerable to spear or arrow, axe or sword, his heart was 796
made of butter and he could be destroyed by fire.

The conspirators thereupon, working privily by night, dug a trench close under the walls of the King's fort and filled it with dry wood, and on a given night at a given signal every Gilgit household poured forth its menfolk armed with blazing torches which they flung into the trench with a great cry: "The enemy is upon you!" The butter-hearted tyrant ran forth and perished miserably in the circle of fierce heat, and the Prince and Princess reigned in his stead.

While Gilgit itself has long since ceased to celebrate its deliverance, the Tumushelling Bonfire in Hunza keeps aflame the memory of Shíri Badat and his heart of butter. In olden days it seems that every Hunza household let its fire die out and rekindled the hearth by a brand from the Tumushelling Fire, but this practice had lapsed before any of our informants could remember.

One winter day, after a gruelling forenoon of solid hard 423
note-taking, DL said: "I'm just about half dead. We must 311 ●
take a quiet walk this afternoon. We'll go up to the Mir's Stables; we can't meet anyone up there. I positively could not talk or listen any more."

The "Mir's Stables" bear no relation to a stable as we understand it. Above the line of terraced fields that sweep round the bay of Aliábád there are 200 or 300 feet of sloping mountain side, forming rude pasture grounds: the *toqs*. Above them rise the steep sand and rock slopes that flow down from the towering crags above. A little farther down the valley from us there is a kind of shelf above the *toqs*, a small roughly level plateau, scattered thick with huge boulders, which is called the "Mir's Stables." It isn't irrigated from any channel; it lies above the highest one, which in any case has petered completely out before it gets so far; but as it is fairly flat it catches any rain or snow there is, and it gets a certain amount of snow and rain drainage from the rocks above, and so in between the boulders and rocks there are patches of coarse, natural grass and thorn bushes. This bit of ground

423 belongs to the Mir, and once or twice a year he sends people to
● 311 cut the grass, such as it is, and bring it in for his horses. It was rather a favourite walk of ours when we felt inclined for an upward scramble, for there is a fine view from it over the whole of the Aliábád Bay and the smaller Bay of Jamu, before the ground falls sheer away into the great Hasanabad gorge with the glacier at the top that waters the village of Hasanabad, our next neighbour downstream. Moreover, it is one of the rare places where, once you have got there, you can walk a little on the level, dodging about between the boulders. We were about halfway up to the Stables when Khano overtook us, desperately out of breath: "I've parked my animals in that garden over there, and I'm coming with you," he said. The "garden" was a desert of stones and rocks, with a rough, loose-stone wall about it and a few miserable stunted trees. "But we know the way quite well, thanks." "Oh no, you don't, not half so well as I do," he retorted. (This, of course, was true enough.) "I'll come with you."

857 So along he came, chattering away nineteen to the dozen, and most entertaining he was. "Do you see the Red Rock?" "There are heaps of red rocks." "Yes, but there's only the one big red boulder, that's the Red Rock. There's a cave under it where we boys shelter when it rains, and on top there are cracks in the rock that hold rain water where we can drink." Right enough, the great boulder—50 or 60 feet high, I suppose—overhung a hollow (you could hardly call it a cave) and the youngsters had built themselves a rude wall and made a very cosy nest that would hold several dozen animals. We scrambled up on to the top and found as he had said that there were several deep cracks which would evidently make neat little drinking troughs when they weren't dry. Then Khano took us round in and out of the boulders and showed us all the boys' pet places. In one they had improved a natural stone sofa and built a sheltering wall and rigged up a fireplace with a few stones, and there they cook potatoes for themselves (when they can get any). They have a very merry life out all day on the hillside in every sort of weather instead of crouching indoors over lessons. The goats climb for miles and miles,

As we wound along the trail and through the streets of the village, I kept looking around to see if I could spot the bit of meadow or field where the yaks would be grazing. I felt certain that if they were being tethered or kept somewhere that there would be some sort of grazing ground for them and I found I was right because, shortly, we came upon a bit of meadow surrounded by shrubs and trees. And sure enough, there were the yaks and the herders. 231 311

The first thing I noticed about them was that they seemed to be snorting like wild bulls. They breathe rather heavily and exhale sharply through their nostrils. The altitude at Altit was probably about the same as that of Baltit—between 8,000 and 9,000 feet—and that was much too near the level of the sea to suit the yaks who wanted it at least 11,000 feet. Undoubtedly that was the reason they were snorting and appeared somewhat uncomfortable. 231 [361] [133]

I liked their rather shaggy, unkempt appearance. The woolly hair that grew around their head and on top of it, looked as though it had been curled. I didn't know whether that made them look ferocious or cute.

I took a keen liking to the strange looking beasts. But I'm not sure that they shared my feelings. At least, they didn't look as though they did.

I have read and been told that you can trust a yak implicitly on any trail. If it's safe and can be traversed, he'll make it. If there's any doubt, he'll be just as stubborn as any mule. Where the way or the road is extremely bad, he will refuse to go and only by brutal pounding and beating and dragging will he continue along the trail that he distrusts.

Through each yak's nose ran a rope—a good thick, heavy rope. This is used to guide or lead the yak, instead of a bridle and bit. [492]

131 Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River from Secunderabad to the Chinese border, a distance of somewhere around 200 miles, but no one has ever actually measured it. At the narrowest point it is less than half a mile wide. At its broadest, it is not quite [133] two miles. Usually the only piece of flat land in a village [134] is the polo field. Good, rich, deep soil as Westerners know it is absolutely unknown in Hunza.

311 Whenever a house is built here, they seldom ever use [361] a piece of fertile soil or soil of any kind. They usually erect it on rock or on a steep hillside where that piece of land could not have been used for agriculture anyway.

[241] Practically every bit of farm land is terraced. It can be said, it is actually cut out of the rocks of the mountainside which is the north bank of the Hunza River.

[134] Of the total length of 200 miles, only a small fraction is at all arable. Most of it is solid rock or terrain so steep that horticulture of any nature is impossible.

312 Rainfall is scanty. They cannot depend upon it at all [132] for crops. In order to get sufficient water, hand built and similarly maintained conduits bring water down [241] from glaciers. These conduits are carefully erected and trained to run alongside the villages where the water can be trapped to flow where desired and used to irrigate their lands, also for drinking and all other necessary purposes.

There are four main conduits in Hunza and they are as follows:

Murku—This is at the highest level of all the aqueducts and carries the most water.

Barbar—Supplies the Baltit-Altit area.

Dala—This is the longest—extends as far as Aliabad. Supplies Kerimabad.

Hamachi—The smallest which runs as far as the tiny village Ganesh, located on a cliff's edge.

Water rights are regulated by law and a man can use the water from the conduit that passes his land at certain definitely established periods. The flow or shut-off is controlled by placing a large stone or rock at the opening of the channel into the individual's waterway. It may sound a bit baffling to the average individual, but upon viewing it and examining it, it is easy to understand and, what's more important, it is simple and practical. 312 [423]

Nowhere did I see these waterways covered or encased in pipes—although they did in many places run under the roadway.

As their water supply is glacier-fed, there is never any danger of a supply failing . . . at least, not in the imminent future. However, in cloudy periods the flow slackens and an extended cloudy period causes a severe water shortage.

Lest you get the idea that these conduits or waterways are a simple matter, I want to assure you that they are a marvel of engineering. Further, when you consider that the first one was built about 1860 without any man made tools or iron or steel, you can then believe what a difficult and gigantic undertaking it was. It is a monument to their industry, intelligence and foresight. At least now, they have iron picks with which to dig, rather than having to use ibex horns. [412]

Here I want to mention very definitely that the same type of waterway exists on the other side of the river . . . that is, in Nagir territory.

They do not, in any sense of the word, have orchards as we know orchards in the West, because they don't have a piece of land large enough or flat enough to compare with what we know as an orchard. In the West orchard sites are usually selected with the premeditated view of providing excellent drainage. There- 245 311

245 fore, knolls or rolling lands are preferred and gravelly,
311 sandy or light loam soils are chosen.

There are neither rolling lands nor tilthy knolls in Hunza. Here they have to take what they can get and make the best of it. The precipitous bits of arable land are terraced to prevent erosion and the flat pieces, such as there are, create no drainage problem because there is no danger of too much rain.

You will seldom see more than a few dozen fruit trees in one group or area. They are scattered here, there and everywhere and are planted only where and when they can grow to best advantage.

I would also like to mention that fruit and walnut trees are found growing almost everywhere along the roads or trails in the populated area, so no bit of arable land, no matter where it is found, is wasted.

245 I do not know if there is any dispute as to who owns the crops but all the way from Gilgit to Altit I did not find a bit of ripe fruit on the trees—which means most clearly that somebody harvests the crops at just the right time or when the fruit is at or about proper maturity.

433 From some of the larders that I examined, I gathered
251 that they certainly wouldn't have any overabundance and I further felt that, by the time winter and early spring passed and before the new crops were ready to harvest, some bellies might have thinned out and some more might even be hungry.

There was no reason for me to disbelieve the Mir when he said Hunza was the "land of just enough" but I still felt that, by the look of things, there would be many occasions when that "just enough" might have to be stretched a little. I was convinced that they certainly did not have too much of any food commodity.

142 The only two stout men that I met on my entire

there would still be ample time to grow another crop 243
before the frost came. Therefore, that adds credence to the statement that they can grow two crops a year.

I gathered that buckwheat was their most important second crop and it was not hard to understand, because it thrives on the poorer and lighter soils, where other grains might not do as well. Further, it needs only about ten weeks to mature and it has the added advantage of flowering and setting its crops continuously, so that a fair harvest can be had at most any time.

Then, too, it is a crop that can stand the colder weather; that is, the chilly nights in early fall and spring that they are bound to have in these high mountain areas. In actuality, the buckwheat blooms continually and flowers, green seed and ripe seed can be found on the plants at one and the same time.

There is another good reason why the Hunzans grow a lot of buckwheat. It invariably leaves the soil in splendid physical condition and believe me, that is very, very important to the people of Hunza. In addition, [231]
this crop makes splendid food for their farm animals. It makes a fine green manure as well as a weed smother crop.

It must be remembered that buckwheat makes a dandy emergency crop if and when other earlier crops have failed. So it is not hard to understand why it would be one of the most important grain crops in Hunza.

They don't have bees in Hunza, I was sorry to learn, 262
and therefore there is no buckwheat honey. 231

The Hunzans are chiefly vegetarians—whether by [311]
choice or necessity is hard to establish, although I would say that they had little choice in the matter because they just don't have the area to waste on animals. They can't afford to get their food second-hand. While there 311

311 were a few valleys where a bit of pasture might have been established or used, they just couldn't afford to waste acres for pasture purposes.

234 I did not see any cheese—that is, cheese as we know it—in Hunza, but I maintain that their stored butter is 251 cheese. I knew from what I had read and learned that 262 they have a most unusual method of storing their butter, and one day the Mir sent one of his servants out to bring some in. In a few minutes the servant returned, carrying on a tray a huge bundle that looked like and was slightly larger than a football. He placed it in front of me and told me to go ahead and unwrap it, which I did. It was neatly and firmly wrapped in birchbark and when I removed layer after layer of wet, dripping bark, I at last came to the so-called butter. It was gleaming pure white. A knife was handed to me and I dug a little piece out of the side and tasted it. It was absolutely delicious. It had a fresh wholesome flavor. I thought it was cheese and that is what I really believe it is.

234 Their method of making this butter is as follows: Goat, sheep, cow or yak milk is used. Their method of churning butter is strictly Eastern. They do not use wooden or metal churns as they are found and known in the West. Usually goat skins are used. They are turned inside out so that the smooth, tanned side is outside. Then the ends of the hide are carefully sewn together. Openings are allowed to remain by means of the legs, and these are used for filling the skin with the milk to be churned and later to extract the butter. While the churning is taking place, the leg openings are firmly tied.

Then the milk-filled hide is joggled, weedled, spanked, turned and twisted over the knees and this is maintained continually until some sort of solidification takes place. Just as with us, impatience and inquisitive-

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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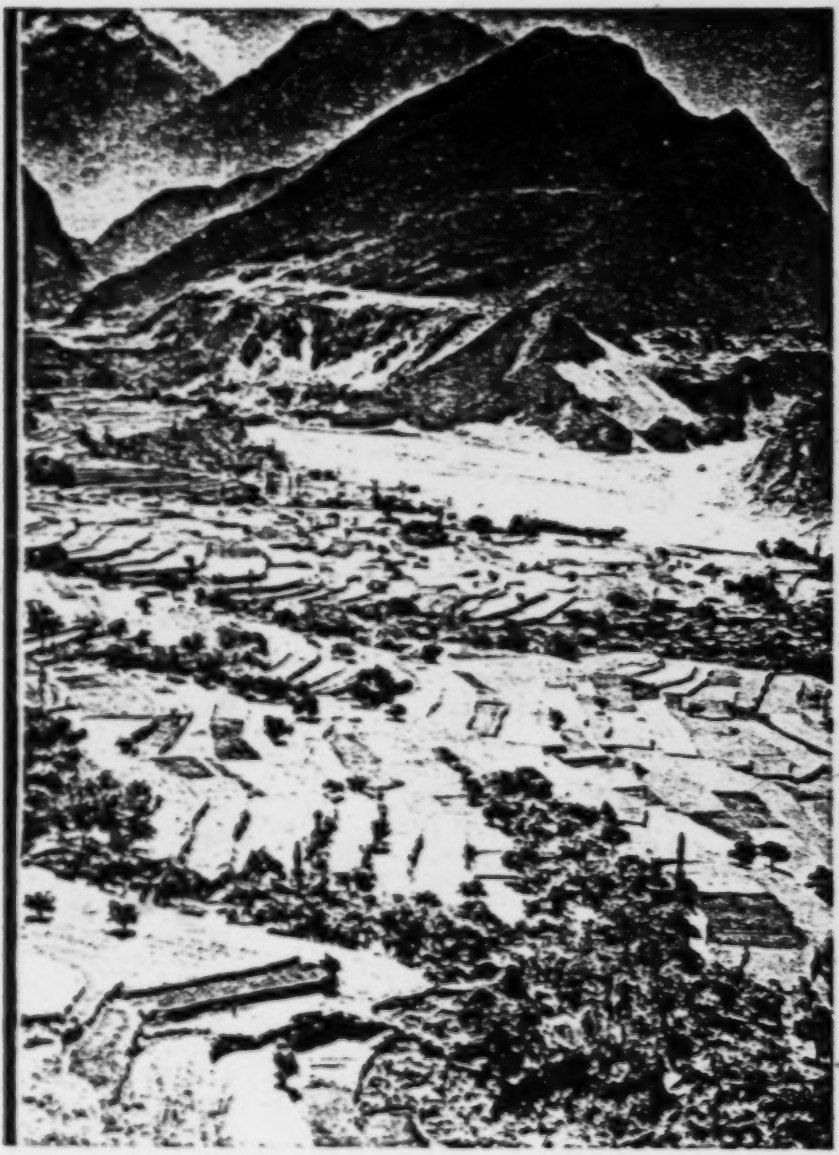

The largest area of land suitable for farming in Hunza—located near Baltit.

[facing p. 326-]
A

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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Hunzan fields are small, and are worked with hand tools.

[p.326-B1]

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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[p. 326-B2]

526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo
[311] fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for
[367] sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall sur-
[417] rounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

In discussing the Hunzan game of polo with some friends, when they heard me mention the fact that the best and largest piece of flat land was used for a polo field, they said, "Now, John, this is very contradictory. You claim they are intelligent people and every bit of arable land is needed and used for cultivation and now you tell me that the best piece of land and the largest level space is used for a polo field!" 526 311

My reply was, "What I've told you is absolutely true, but sometimes there are considerations involved which neither you nor I nor others in the Western world understand. For example, could we ever explain to the people of Hunza why we rush, swish, hurry and risk our necks driving down the highways, actually risking life and limb—not only our own, but countless others—only to get to our destination . . . and there do nothing! 000

"Or there is another example that may be even better. A man in America strives all his life to achieve the means of acquiring a home with all modern conveniences and comforts, including every electrically operated appliance or gadget devised to save time and effort. Then when this victory is achieved, he tries to get enough money to buy a summer cottage way up north. There he parks his family for the summer. Then over every weekend he drives hundreds of miles to get there and when he gets there what has he got? Outdoor plumbing, no hot water, no garbage disposal, no electricity—using a lamp or even a candle for light and carrying every bucket of water in from the lake or the creek. You just try to explain that to a Hunzan. There is no more rhyme and reason in one than there is in the other. But who am I to judge?"

It is a positive fact that the men in Hunza do beat their wives. I checked and double checked on this rather important question. The Mir told me he knew 593 683

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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[p. 390-B1]

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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Hunzan houses have no chimneys—just a hole in the roof for smoke to escape.

[p. 390-82]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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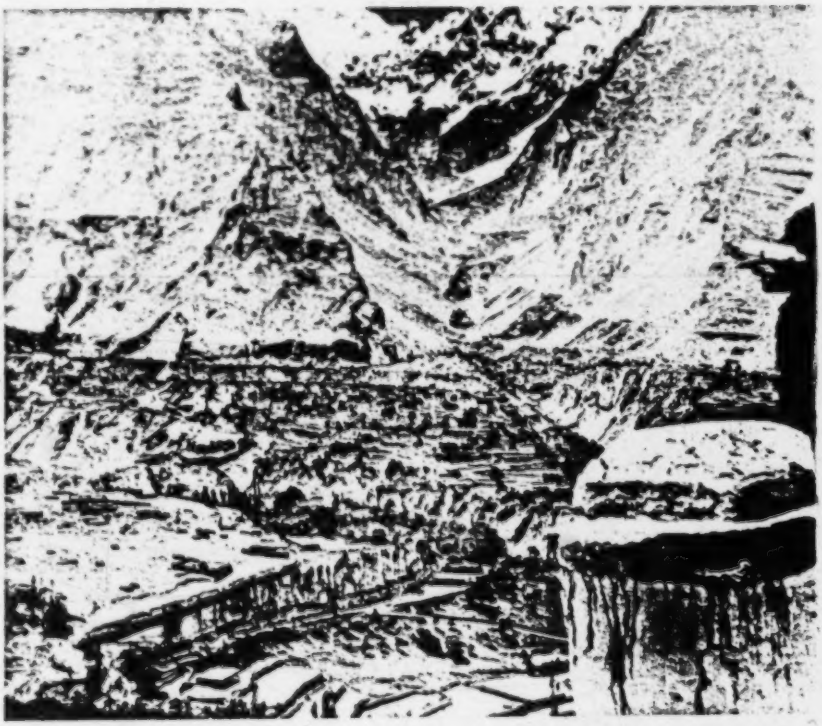

View from the Fort at Baltit.

[p.390-C]

tion of rafiks have played havoc with travelers and 133
caravans on this route since the first enterprising man 487
inched his way across. Yet then and now bold, brave, fearless men were attracted and fascinated by the call to the serene loveliness, adventure and danger.

Then islands of greenery began to appear more fre- 133
quently. These were the terraced fields, the oases that 311
marked the villages. It was a pinpoint of light in a sea of darkness where rest, drink and food could be found, even if unappetizing and unabundant. These spots of green at sky-line-blue heights, among the millions of acres of barren rock and emptiness were pleasing both to the eye and soul and comforting, too, for the traveler.

Elsewhere, in the Hindu Kush or the Himalayas, could be found verdant valleys and hills and mountain-tops that were furry and treed. But in the harsh, bleak, black Karakorums, such heavenly blessings could seldom, if ever, be found. Even the terraced tiny green fields could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be compared to a tree-covered hillside or mountain. Yet, let it not be said or thought that these bleak, barren hills did not have their loveliness and charm. They possessed beauty! Yes, they did! Like a tiger, 'twas fierce, sharp and untamed, but nevertheless, true beauty!

In the distance, one could always watch as the hills 133
rolled, soared, dipped and then fell away to merge with 487
the blue of the horizon. I know at times, allowing my vision to soar and wander about the mountains in the distance, my fatigue and weariness were forgotten and I plodded on, unmindful of the trail. My mind soared from peak to peak—some cloud-haloed, others bold and sharply defined.

One was always meeting the Hunza River, either face to face or having it course along at your side. Then,

Then wherein lies the difference? What happened through the years to create the obvious difference that everyone sees and feels the minute he comes into the territory? I am not an anthropologist, nor have I training in any scientific field. Therefore, I am quite unprepared to speak with any degree of authority, but I am told the difference is that the people of Nagir accepted or welcomed strangers and settlers from other parts of the area and thus, they became a polyglot group of mixed blood, habits, customs, religions and thought, whereas the Hunzan people, then and today, discourage outsiders from coming to live among them in their country. Then, too, I guess another important factor looms and that is that Hunza is not nearly as inviting from an economic viewpoint to a man coming from another part of the world to settle, whereas Nagir does offer many more advantages.

For me to assert that there are no mixed bloods in Hunza would be an untruth, because even in my travels about the towns and along the road, I saw distinct types that were not of the run-of-the-mill Hunzans. Some were distinctly Chinese and I am also reasonably sure that there is a fair amount of Afghan blood among the Hunzans, besides Russian—for, as you may recall, Russia is but a scant 14 miles away.

It is not my intention to try to build up a case for true-bloods as being the Hunzan heritage, for history clearly indicates that it is among the people of mixed bloods where the greatest advances are made in science, industry and the creative human arts.

In Hunza there are very few plains or expanses where farming on a large scale could be practiced. However in Nagir it is quite different. There were sections through which we passed that were wider than the eye could reach, covered with good soil that was carrying

184 a good crop of various kinds of grains, forage, vege-
241 table crops and fruits. In Hunza this just doesn't occur.
The terrain is steeper, more precipitous, more difficult
311 and seldom if ever does a flat open area come within
the limits of normal vision.

[133] Then, too, Nagir has many more nullahs formed by the melting glaciers. Rakaposhi is located in Nagir and surrounding it are many snowfields and glaciers which are used, trained and harnessed to irrigate their country.

Indubitably, the fates and nature have been much kinder to Nagir than they have to Hunza.

438 Let me also tell you frankly that on many occasions the people of Hunza purchase or barter various types of food from Nagir. I asked the ways and means that [437] were used in effecting these deals and found that in most cases money—earned by the Hunzans in service in the army, portering for expeditions and given to them as gifts—was the means.

184 One might gather from what I have said and even [628] from talking to various people or natives of the area, that the Nagirwals and the Hunzans are deadly enemies. But that is not true. The people of Hunza [186] think themselves much better than the people of Nagir. They do believe that they are handsomer, healthier, cleaner and are better husbandmen, but yet there does not appear to be any cases of conflict, physical or armed, between the two peoples.

123 I recall a little incident that may be of some interest. We rounded a spot—I guess it was 10 or so miles from Minapin—on the way up to Baltit and there we saw a decrepit, ragged looking Nagirwal. In his hands he [231] held a pair of chickens. They were the typical chickens of the area—full grown but the size that our chickens are when they're half grown. He waved them in front of us as though indicating they were for sale or could be

842 The country cannot afford or support a greater population than exists there today. Therefore, they will have to practice birth control, which it is claimed they already do but with which I disagree, or they will have to send their youths out of the country, which, as a matter of fact, they are doing.

311 There is very little chance of finding or creating more arable land in the country. I believe they have practically every inch tilled now that is tillable. There is no land left in that part of the world that is yet to be broken.

000 Their land and their fruit trees are their whole life. Their health, pleasant dispositions and industry, which they possess to the highest degree, are their entire wealth.

578 Quarreling among children and adults seems to be something that doesn't exist in Hunza. I found close affection and love was the general, accepted pattern throughout the area. This is even more surprising when you realize that most of the houses in the villages are built practically one on top of the other.

181 152 It was clear to me that they knew no worries and that they create no worries. There was absence of jealousy, greed, covetousness and hurry. Their outlook on life is most unpretentious. They are proud people and do not grovel before anyone and they do not pretend to be anything but what they really are.

433 Every Hunzan farmer is completely self-sufficient, even though he might trade for something that is in short supply or that he would like to possess. He grows wheat, barley, potatoes, millet, cabbage, beans, onions, lettuce and occasionally a bit of rice. In their orchards they have apricots, apples, pears, walnuts and mulberries. Every family has sheep and goats and sometimes a cow or an ox, and occasionally a yak. They till

164 into the "fine, barrel chests" reported
146 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the fine, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[18] hard-working, but with their country. There is no flat land in all of Hunza.
[36] Villages and farms are built on alluvial
[311] cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[67] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
241 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-calked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders,
[132] gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[133] cool but exceedingly dry desert, practically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

134 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If
311 you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

241 HUNZAS are skillful at building a
134 limited fertility into their sterile
[233] material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain ozone to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrates, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 Even the most painstaking hydro-
241 ponic gardening cannot compensate
237 for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy.
[233] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefuly herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 Unfortunately, the human popula-
161 tion has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient
167 food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Sheena predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men
[648] join the Pakistan army. Others take
[464] work as servants, where their honesty,
[181] industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

241 The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the finest stretch is just below the fort of the chief, and
311 extends for some six and a half miles in length with a width of from a mile to a mile and a half, the whole
[361] of the land being irrigated. This main stretch of arable land, which is studded with villages, lies at an altitude of eight thousand feet, and faces south, and the climate here is delightful. Further up the valley lie scattered patches of cultivation, getting poorer and poorer as the altitude increases. The mountains enclosing the valley are very precipitous even for the Hindu-Kush; wood and grazing for cattle are therefore unusually scarce, and the people suffer in conse-
291 quence. The clothing of the people is practically the same both in Hunza and Nagar as it is in Chitral, and has been described before,[1] the only difference being that the men's stockings are not knitted in such elaborate patterns, and that, as a general rule, the woollen outer robe is, in Hunza especially, more often white than brown. All, except on State occasions when the higher ranks don the turban, wear the Dard head-dress. This is a long bag of brown woollen cloth rolled back on itself till it forms a cap, which is one fold thick on the top, with a border an inch or so thick round the head. It makes a light, warm, and delightfully comfortable head-dress, but is a very poor protection against severe sun.

101 Nagar, as most of the surrounding people and the inhabitants themselves generally call it, though they also pronounce the word Nagér, and the scientific, for some cause best known to themselves, insist on spell-
[161] ing it *Nagyr*, is a smaller State than Hunza. The
795 population is about the same,[2] and is composed of Yeshkuns, professing themselves Shiahs, but very

[1] [CF pp 59, 72, 102, category 116 -- Analyst] [2] [ca. 10,000 -- Analyst]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

644 cluded that my men had been stopped without the Chief's knowledge, and that I would not stand being treated in this way for a moment. My message brought a full apology, but the incident showed the tendency to insolence on the Chief's part, for which I was prepared, and that it was necessary to prove to the young savage that we were not afraid of him, and should insist on being treated with proper distinction.

262 The Thum sent down during the day a dinner for the whole camp, among the ingredients for which was a half-bred yak. In the old days throughout these regions the chief guest had to cut off the beast's head, or, at all events, to strike the first blow with his sword. This part of the ceremony we dispensed with, but we ate the resulting beef, the first we had tasted since leaving India, for in Kashmir, and its outlying districts—Gilgit, Skardu, and Punyal—taking the life of the sacred cow is a deadly crime, which the Hindu rulers punished severely. There were still at this time unfortunate Mahomedans in prison at Srinagar, who had been confined for years, for keeping themselves and families alive during a famine by killing and eating cows.

311 In the afternoon we went for a walk and admired the cultivation, which is extraordinarily careful, the terraced fields falling in one continuous sheet to the river hundreds of feet below. Every inch of available ground is made use of, and we found many miniature fields a couple of feet wide and a dozen feet in length, telling of the pressure of the population, and the difficulty of the food supply.

241 I had heard a tradition that during the fruit season
262 the people were prohibited from eating any form

ANTIQUITY

[643] ruled his country in the humanest and wisest of benevolent autocracies,
since the treaty of 1892 placed him on the throne of his murdered father
181 and parricide brother—to our humbler neighbours in Aliabad, the
609 village four miles below the capital which we made our headquarters
for fifteen months. As soon as the people grasped the purpose of our
[212] coming (which was not easy to explain to an illiterate people) they were
overjoyed that a 'Sahib' should trouble to learn their vernacular—
a thing which no white man or woman had done before—and take an
interest in their customs and hereditary lore. At first they would
hesitate: 'but you have wheels (=machines) in England, and can do
all these things better than we can'. Within a few days they were
vying with each other in explaining, demonstrating and bringing
ploughs, looms, winnowing forks, bows, stone cooking pots to the
resthouse where we were installed, that D.L. might measure them and
take 'studio portraits' of them, 'for you mustn't put anything in the
book about us that isn't exactly true'.

132 The entire life of the Hunzukuts is centred in water. The rain-
fall in the oasis level (7–9,000 feet), is negligible—we reckoned less
● 312 than 2 inches per annum; in default of any means of raising the
361 water, the river, flowing between its crumbly earthen cliffs, 500 or 1,000
feet below their fields is useless for irrigation; there are no springs or
wells; hence all water for all purposes must be trapped high up at the
snout of some side glacier and conveyed on galleried aqueducts across
yawning gorges and the faces of sheer cliffs. The main water channel,
the Dala, which supplies all the more recent villages of Hunza, 'the
new settlements' as they are called in contradistinction to the three
original villages—Baltit the capital, Altit and Ganesh—travels some
8 or 10 miles in its circuitous route from the Herber glacier in the
gorge behind Baltit, cradled between snow-peaks of 23,000 feet, before
it peters out in a semicircular sweep round Aliabad.

312 The Dala was dug some three or four generations ago (90–100
years) with wooden shovels and wooden picks tipped with ibex horn,
412 and represents an amazing feat of engineering skill for people without
any instruments of precision. The sluices that control the distribu-
816 tion of water—every teaspoonful of which is rigorously allotted—are
of the simplest; most often a slab of flattish stone plastered in with
mud, sometimes a wooden shutter sliding in a rude wooden frame,
sometimes when the water is being taken off to a lower level a circular
hole in a stone slab, closed at need with a mushroom-shaped stopper,
rough hewn from a solid tree trunk.

THE LAST LAP

From here we saw the fine granite piers of the old Tishót 491
Bridge, the one we always used to cross by. It had stood for 133
thirty years, and then was wrecked one day by a hurricane; wind can be fierce and powerful in these gorges. But the fact that it *had* stood thirty years proved that the chosen site was a good one. There was firm rock (not the crumbly kind of everlasting hill) on both sides at a considerable height above the river, well out of reach of summer floods. The obvious thing would have been to replace the bridge and use again the unharmed granite piers; but some engineer decided otherwise, and we had to stay on the Nagir side and ride on to the new bridge. The cliffs on each side here rise anything from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, and the road round them is a little ledge a few feet wide, some 800 feet above the river-bed. When it is a ledge of firm rock all is well, but, as I have already said, the mountain sides are mainly crumbly masses of stones, boulders, and sand, and there often seems no good reason why the road should not just slide down to join the other debris (and so often it does, especially after rain). Sometimes even where there is a firm rock ledge it isn't wide enough for a laden pony. Then if the inhabitants can find a couple of firm rock spikes below they throw a tree trunk across and build up a loose wall of unmortared stones on that till they get it to road level. If there are no natural spikes, they bore holes in the rock, and drive in a few pegs to take their tree trunks.

This is the method they have to use to revet the faces of [3/2] ●
their fields and the sides of their aqueducts, which are often carried eight or twelve miles round the face of the most impossible-looking precipices, so they are experts in the art. Accidents happen often enough to the road-makers, but are almost unheard-of amongst road-users. The look of the road might make your hair stand on end, but it is far safer than our murderous motor roads at home.

At last we got off this gallery business and out on to another fan, and we saw the new bridge on our left, quite fairly near, but the cliffs were steep and high and crumbly and there was no direct way of reaching it, so we had to overshoot it by a mile or two before the road turned down. And such a road!

Chapter 13

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

BEFORE we could really settle down to the business of life 312
there were several practical problems to clear up. Water was 401
naturally the first item. The jolly little stream just in front of our rest-house did not run by any means all the time. It brings water from the great glacier behind Báltít; the actual aqueduct channel is some twelve miles long, and represents an amazing feat of engineering. It was made about three generations ago—before which the "New Settlements" of Aliábád and her outliers did not exist—when iron was still practically unknown in Hunza. The excavations and the galleries on which it is piloted so skilfully over gorges and along impossible cliff faces were all made with wooden shovels and picks tipped with ibex horn. The people had—and have—no instruments of precision, no [413] theodolites, nor levels. Against this they have some hereditary instinct that we lack, and an inherited or traditional common sense that enables them to adjust the necessary downward gradients exactly right. You never hear of anyone making a false shot in laying out a water channel, and you never hear of any "labour" difficulties. When a new work is undertaken for 312
the public good it is supervised by the Mir, or his Wazir acting 653
for him, and it is carried out by communal labour, of which 476
everyone recognizes the justice and necessity. The Dála, which will frequently recur in my story, is the main aqueduct that supplies Aliábád, but it has to feed other villages *en route*, and our stream, which was its last section, was therefore only in action at certain times. These are, however, known to everyone, and our people drew water enough when they could get it to carry on for the day or half-day when it would be cut off.

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

312 271 It[1] was beautiful, soft, pure water which gave delightful baths, but heavily silt-laden and supposed not to be fit to drink. We were luckily able to get half a dozen big petrol drums from Gilgit (left behind empty by the R.A.F.), and we stored it in these and let the silt settle. This water served us for washing and for photography.

312 About two miles away there was a spring of clear but hard water that issues from the foot of a cliff down near river level. This was recommended for drinking. So we took on a special man, Sagi by name, as water-carrier and general washer-up, to help in pantry and kitchen. He was a nephew of our old friend Nazar and a good fellow, though for some reason a little less cheery in appearance than our other men. Twice a day he would walk the two miles, climb down and up the 500 or more feet, and bring water for our tea, etc., and for making up the photographic solutions. We paid him the princely sum of about a pound a month, and he was delighted, while his brothers divided amongst them the extra work at home.

Considering the labour involved, it made us feel rather pigs to drink tea half a dozen times a day and expect a daily bath. When two of us were photographing hard and perpetually wanting to wash negatives and prints in eight or ten changes of water, my heart rather bled for Sagi. One day that had been particularly severe I said as he appeared with more and more water buckets at the door of the dark-room: "Poor man, I'm afraid our photographs give you a lot of extra work and trouble." His usually quiet face lit up with a peculiarly charming smile: "Nay, Mother dear, it is a pleasure, not a trouble. The work and trouble are yours."

262 235 [624] The next thing in importance was food, and we found that we could, without apparent hardship to the people, buy a daily hen. There are a couple of officials whose job it is to see about supplies for travellers, and they arranged to get the fowls now from one village and now from another, so that our demands might not press too heavily on anyone. The Hunza hen is an athletic bird. You may see her fly like a lumbering, over-weighted pigeon 15 or 20 feet across a gully, and so we were not surprised to find her wing muscles well-developed.

1 [The water in the Dala, the aqueduct--Analyst]

624 would pay them a small retaining fee if they would take it in
124 turns to be "on duty" with him in their spare time. They would obviously be useful informants.

487 We had to walk along in single file. There is no "road" in
312 Hunza where two people can walk abreast, or along which you can ride, except the "Great North Road" running through from Kashmir to Kashgar, and even it is never more than 4 to 6 feet wide. The other tracks run mostly beside small water-channels to enable people to get from one sluice to another to juggle the water now off, now on. Even when you have a neat little track fairly horizontal (there are only three of these possible for ordinary walking) it is broken every few yards by a sluice which you must jump or step over carefully so as not to interfere with the water arrangements or, alternatively, break your leg. The sluices are the simplest things imaginable—just a gap in the side wall of the channel which can be closed with a couple of convenient, slab-like stones and plastered up with mud from the watercourse. Occasionally there is a little wooden shutter which can be raised or lowered in wooden slots at the side.

As we went along David asked the names of the various kinds of water-channels, fields, etc., that we saw (the *names* he already knew, but not at first hand which kind was which), and presently we had a train of bright-eyed boys in the fields on each side, full of amusement at this new game. One would cry: "This stone is a flint; this is a stink-stone," whereupon he would crack it and give it to us to notice the faint smell of sulphur it gave out. Another would run up: "Here's a poppy and a poppy-head"—so we were not going to lack for willing teachers.

After a little we turned down a narrow "lane," less like an English lane than anything else on earth. It plunged downhill pretty steeply, sometimes just a rocky slope, sometimes just one boulder below another making a very crude flight of steps varying from 18 inches to 3 feet or so. Beside the "path" ran the inevitable water-gutter in which you could walk, as it happened at the moment to be dry.

417 On each side, a bare 3 feet apart, were the usual walls of
333

000 long, for fear we were in any way spoiling the fun. We took another route home, where a tiny 2-foot track at the base of a high wall led us past a fine reservoir of water and out on to the main road.

• 312 The whole countryside is dotted with these deep open-air reservoirs, their sides built of stone walls. They are drained from a hole at one side of the floor, and this can be plugged by a skilfully shaped wooden stopper mounted on a long slim poplar pole. It may happen that your turn for water comes at a moment when you don't immediately want to use it. In that case you store it till wanted and draw it off as required. When one of these *pferis* is full in summer time the men and boys use them as swimming pools. In winter everyone fills his *pferi* before the water ceases to flow, and this gives him a reserve of water for his animals and for washing purposes. The drinking water is carefully stored in smaller similar dugout pits which are scrupulously roofed over almost at ground level and approached down several rude steep steps, so that there is no fear of their being polluted by the animals. The Hunzukuts are most fastidious in their habits, and do not allow any of their water to be fouled.

000 Next evening David and I went out for another walk alone. We had no intention of being dogged by our retainers, however helpful, for we knew we could not hope to get into touch with the people themselves if any third parties were present. We pursued the Dála as before but without turning downhill. In the very first empty field (just reaped) there was a nice little girl about eight, whose name she told us was Kaníza—she will turn up again frequently, for she lives in one of the very nearest houses. She was carrying a small youngster on her back and wasn't in the very least shy. The small child was a girl and was her married sister's and had come over from Báltít to spend the day. The baby was two and would walk and talk, she said, and her house was just along there in front and she was going home. She came along behind us chattering away. These single-file paths are unsociable, and the fact that no one can ever walk beside you does not make it easier to talk Burushaski. Kaníza had evidently heard the boys yesterday telling us the

incarnate deity) conquered Hai Hai Yúl (= Hunza) he took 113
to wife the Princess Búbuli. He had not been long in the 773
country till he saw in a dream Tibet invaded and his earlier queen carried into captivity, so he determined to return and deal with his enemies. Even in the Tibetan versions of the Gesar Saga it is difficult to avoid thinking him an ugly type of hero, a still more unpleasant manifestation of the divine, and the absolute limit in undesirable husbands. Princess Búbuli asked when she might look for his return: "I'll go to-morrow and return yesterday"; he said, "when donkeys grow horns, when millstones grow beards, when the river flows uphill, I shall come back." Lest she should get into trouble during this brief grass-widowhood he seated her on this granite spike with a 200-lb. bag of millet-seed and a cock: "Give him one grain a year, and when the grain is done, I shall return." And there the luckless princess sits, and you can hear her wailing in the winter storm.

The road commands a fine view of the junction of the 133
Nagir with the Hunza River, and the rugged, savage valley 491
which leads to the Nagir capital, tucked away out of sight amongst its sunless mountains near the great Hispar glacier. On our Hunza side the ground falls steeply with fertile bays of terraced fields and groves of apricots, all still in late July laden with their golden fruit. The road winds round various bluffs, following of course the contours of the mountain-side, and you can see several villages below, including Ganesh, clustered on the very edge of the river cliffs. High 644
above the field-terraces on our left we presently espied the 133
white front of the fortress-palace that has looked down over 312
the fields of Hunza for at least six hundred years—surely the most dominating seat of kings in the wide world. It is built on the cliff edge of a projecting promontory that falls perpendicularly—but from the road invisibly—behind it; and behind that again lies the mighty ravine of the Ulter Ber, up which, far out of sight, is the almost inaccessible glacier that supplies all the waters of Hunza, from Áltit (two miles beyond and some hundreds of feet below Báltit) to Aliábád, feeding five or six different aqueducts, including, of course, the Dála.

342 it, exactly over the main store-room below. There is no parapet, only a tiny raised rim to direct the rain into a small gutter-hole, on the rare occasions when there is rain; but it has a fringe of cut thorn bushes arranged round the edge to prevent an enterprising goat jumping across from the next-
351 door roof not many feet away. I didn't, however, go up on to
296 the roof, but on into a larger courtyard where there was a pool in the corner at which their washing is done. They would not dream of polluting the running water by washing themselves or their clothes in it as it flows by; they draw off what they want for these purposes into a separate pond of their own.
351 Then under a large shady tree there was a raised stone plat-
513 form which acts as a "sofa" by day and as a double or treble or quadruple bed by night—for, except in the depth of winter, nobody sleeps indoors. There was another raised platform, with a wall at the back and open in front and sides, roofed in for another sleeping place. It had a railing along under the roof, and over this were hung all sorts of padded quilts, homespun
[136] blankets, sheepskins, etc.—the family bedding. All the bedding is taken out and hung up every day, which helps to account for the complete lack of vermin—which I confess came to us as a happy surprise. In all our year in Hunza we saw only *one* flea, and that, as David said, was emphatically our own!

245 Round the corner from these sleeping places I got into a
312 walled-in shady garden full of fruit trees—apples, mulberries, peaches, apricots, and vines. It is incredible how luxurious mere *shade* is at such a temperature. It wasn't remotely like a garden in our sense. The earth was bare without one blade of grass or green, and was all cut up into little beds round each precious tree, with banks between them, so that the water could be directed to each tree as desired, when it was No. 1's
514 turn to have water at all. In the far corner of the garden was
343 a neat little circular "open-air pulpit." We had seen these pulpits dotted about, but—stupidly—did not at once guess what they were for. Coming straight from Kashmir, where the approach to each homestead is ankle deep in filth, or remembering Arab habits in Iráq, we never expected that we should find in Hunza a people as scrupulously decent as ourselves in

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Buzuzho AV7

600

1. Street scene. Children carrying new-born lambs and kids in their arms to display them to us on our return from Yasin. (*See p.* 282)

PLATE XII

312
487

2. The Dila, typical road-cum-waterchannel, flanked by field wall. (*See pp.* 83, 93)

[Facing P. 128]

capriciously from side to side between its beaches, was 500 or 600 feet sheer below, and the great crumbly earthen cliffs on each side were most ominous-looking precipices. There are no paths down them except where a side gorge comes in at intervals. At the spot where I struck the bank there had been a great fall of cliff not long before which had completely carried away a new aqueduct they were—rather too hopefully—trying to engineer across the face of it. If the aqueduct had been successful it would have coaxed some water from the Hasanábád glacier on to a jutting promontory, potentially fertile, but at the moment as bare as the palm of your hand. Six men went over and two of them were killed. Risks like this are all in the day's work in Hunza. People were still prospecting for a more hopeful alignment, but my amateur eyes could see no earthly possibility of getting anything to cling to the friable face of those terrifying cliffs. Meantime I stood well back from the edge! It was pathetic to see gardens and trees within two inches of the treacherous brink and to realize that the farmer on whose land I stood had lost a fertile field or two and half his orchard. I noted that I must go back some day when the light was right and see whether (without committing suicide) I could get a photograph right down the gorge with Raka, of course, rearing herself up in the background. When the light was good it was still very hot in the sun (88° in the shade on an October afternoon), and rocky scrambles over shadeless boulders with a climb of some hundreds of feet to get home were not exactly restful, and I'm not so young!

One autumn morning when I was on the prowl I found a man just about to turn on a small team of cows to thresh a pile of millet heads. He and his children were busy with this in the centre of the floor, while a neighbour and *his* family were beheading another variety at one side. Two or even three neighbours seem amicably to share one threshing floor so as not to waste valuable ground. So I squatted down as usual with my penknife and joined the beheading family and watched the threshing. Only three cows were in the team this time—the millet-heads make a very small heap in comparison with the

Chapter 19

HARVEST THANKSGIVING

THERE are a couple of minor items of the autumn harvest I 312
have omitted to mention. In Aliabad, the widest and most 233
gently sloping bay of the Hunza mountain side, there is for one short stretch of perhaps a mile a patch of ground above the level of possible fields before the steep cliff face begins. Through and above this run the third and fourth of our horizontal watercourses, offshoots from the Berber Channel that waters the higher levels of Baltit and derives also from the great glacier of the Ulter Ber, but takes off much higher up than the Dala. Sufficient water can occasionally be spared from these two channels (which in the main are needed to irrigate high-lying "gardens" of trees) to flood these rocky slopes, which then bring forth that rarest of Hunza products, natural grass. These *toqs*, as they are called, are divided into strips by loose stone walls and used as grazing grounds by whoever leases them. Two or even four families often combine to share 857
a *toq*, and on your walks you will find children of various sizes 526
in charge of a few animals; a small girl may be sitting gravely alone practising embroidery stitches on a strip of calico, a boy may be twisting the string of horse-gut for his catapult bow, a group may be romping together or playing a game like rounders with a home-spun cap for ball, or "horses" where half the players are mounted on the others' backs and the pairs charge each other to a fall, and any rider thrown becomes in turn a horse. When these livelier games begin to pall, a couple 524
will withdraw to the edge of the little channel and scratch a draught-board on a level patch of ground and play with pebbles white and grey as men. The board is formed of triangles whose

a *choga* is being washed, a man's greater strength is called into play—nine yards of wet homespun is no joke. He dips it likewise into cold water, lays it on a stone, and tramples it with his full weight. There is, of course, no fuel to spare for washing clothes or persons in hot water.

From our very first days in Hunza the mills had been a source of interest, and we constantly passed them and peeped in as we traced out all the water-channels on our walks. When the water was in flow (no stream, not even the Dála, was continuously in action in any one stretch) the mills were the centre of social gatherings. The miller and his family would be inside superintending operations, while the women with their babies and their work quietly awaited their turn. They had brought small sacks or bags of grain to be ground and would squat in and round the doorway happily gossiping. Occasionally a man would come along, bent double under a huge sack of 80 lb. or so.

We struck a particularly interesting group one day, where the water was plunging steeply down the hillside and turning three mills in succession, one below the other. David was photographing the busy crowd at the door, and I climbed up a little to join two old women busily spinning among the rocks above. "Father won't want to take pictures of us," they said, in a matter-of-fact tone quite free from bitterness, "we are old and wrinkled." As well as my halting speech permitted, I assured them that older people were our best friends, that we liked faces wrinkled like our own, and that if they would allow it, "Father" would much like their photographs. So I scrambled down the hill again to explain to DL where his next duty lay. He came and engaged the old dames in chat, but it was no easy matter to get a photograph for they were shy and self-conscious beyond the ordinary. The picture turned out at least recognizable, but when it came to delivering their copies we found that their houses were "quite near" of course, but down 500 or 600 feet of highly precipitous gorge, rather more of a rock-climbing feat than we were prepared to tackle in the course of an afternoon's walk. Enquiry revealed, however, that old Pfírúz's son was married to Ustád Nadíro's daughter, so

000 with. They are the greatest possible contrast to the alert, intelligent Burusho: possibly there is more than sugar in a diet of apricots!

132 Quite suddenly after the first lovely rush of water the
312 channels went silent again. Not that they were ice-bound, but it seems that the first warmth of the year melts all the recently fallen snow off the top, which gives you your first rush. After that comes a pause before the sun has gathered heat enough to melt the older, hardened snow and make an impression on the glaciers. This arrangement of Nature's suits the peasants well.. The first rush waters their new planted barley and springing wheat; the pause gives them time to clear out all the silt and sand that is cluttering up their channels, and to repair the walls. They find the silt a useful top-dressing for their fields. All the menfolk worked hard to get their irrigation works into trim before the real water flow began. Meantime all the *pferis* near us were empty, and poor Sagi had to go a mile or more to draw water for baths and washing up, in addition to his usual pilgrimage for our drinking water. So we installed an assistant for him.

524 Among the enlivening sounds of these early Spring days was
534 the tootle-tootle of boys' whistles. At a certain moment when they consider the degree of sap flowing in the willows is right for their purpose, they cut themselves sections of various lengths. With great ingenuity they coax off the bark in great flute-like pipes and make an extraordinary variety of whistles with many notes. The deepest notes are achieved by inserting a finer pipe into a larger one, and thus providing a lining to the latter as it were. The same procedure that yields a whistle will also supply a squirt, a pop-gun, or a pea-shooter, and these various toys diversify the day.

262 Despite the pleasure which water, work, and sunlight bring, the season of Spring awakes no poet's raptures in the Hunza heart. "Starvation Springtime" would have given Keats an odd title for an Ode. Many weeks before the new barley was ripe for cutting every household round us had already run out of every sort of flour, many also out of potatoes and apricots.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 the ruins, but the manuscripts threw no light on the matter. So far as they have yet been examined they appear to be comparatively commonplace copies of already well-known sacred writings of latish date. They are now lodged in the Srinagar Museum, which is permanently closed.

Our return to Gilgit coincided (somewhat unfortunately we ungraciously felt) with the Jubilee celebrations and perforce we spent another very pleasant (but time-wasting) holiday with our most hospitable friends the Kirkbrides. It was May 13th before we were able to disentangle ourselves from Gilgit and its seductions and set our faces once more towards Hunza. The very horses seemed to scent that they were heading home and gave us of their best. The weather was now very 137 definitely warming up, and we marched early to avoid the greater heat. Nomal and Chalt provided us as usual with loathsome milk tasting of Tom Cat. This indescribably vile flavour is due to some wild herb that grows in these neighbourhoods at certain seasons. I am not botanist enough to know its name, and it is not a plant of which I covet seeds or slips. It is mercifully unknown in Hunza.

312 As we rode through the rich, well-watered string of Nagir villages we were escorted for part of the way by various Nagir princes sent by their father to show us courtesy. Green crops, shady walnut trees and masses of blue iris and wild rose made the road enchanting, its loveliness enhanced a thousandfold by the bleakness and barrenness of the great mountains. I confess I always covet these lovely villages for Hunza, the more so that the Nagirkuts are far more slack and slovenly in their cultivation than "our" people. All the irrigation water, coming straight from the melting glaciers of Rakaposhi, was now milky 576 and unappetizing. The Nagir people, though not actively un-643 civil, never volunteer a greeting as you pass and never throw you a kindly smile even when they speak. We noticed, too—and how it shocked our loyal Hunza folk—that the Nagir princes also were allowed to ride past unsaluted and apparently unregarded. The Mir of Nagir had been pressing in invitations to us to visit him—as soon as he had convinced himself that no great harm seemed to be accruing to Hunza from our

presence there.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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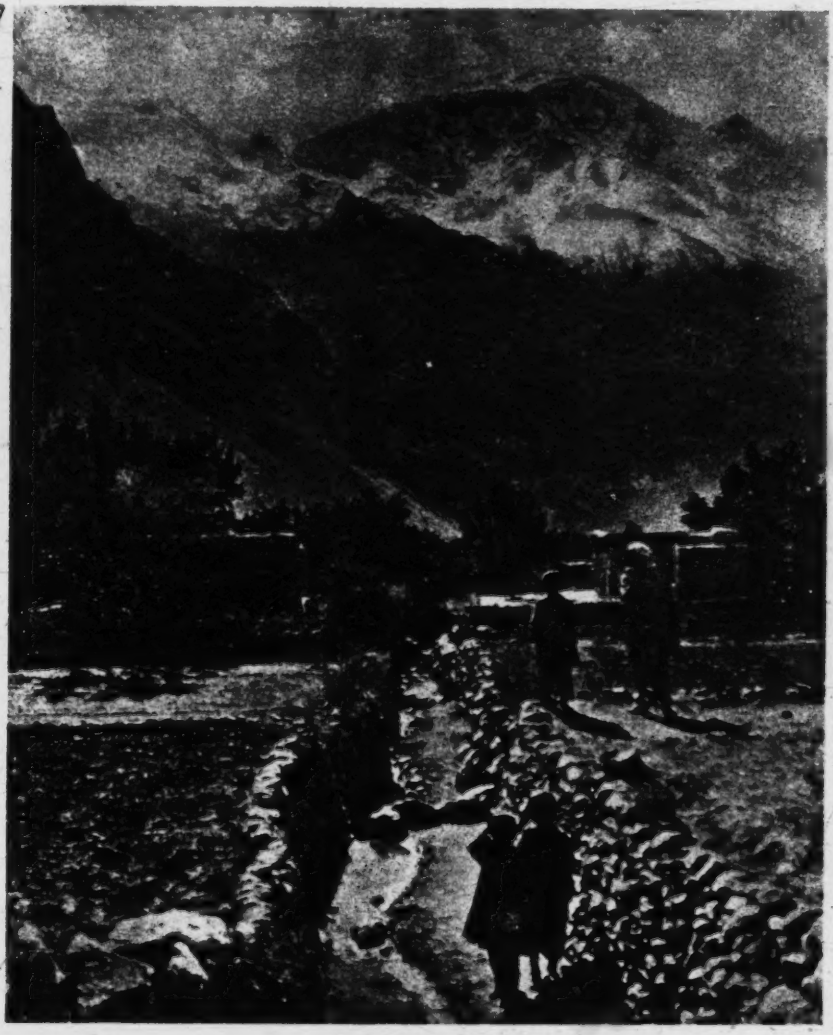

The road-cum-waterchannel on which our nearest neighbours lived.

(*See p.* 114)

PLATE XXI
[Facing P. 280]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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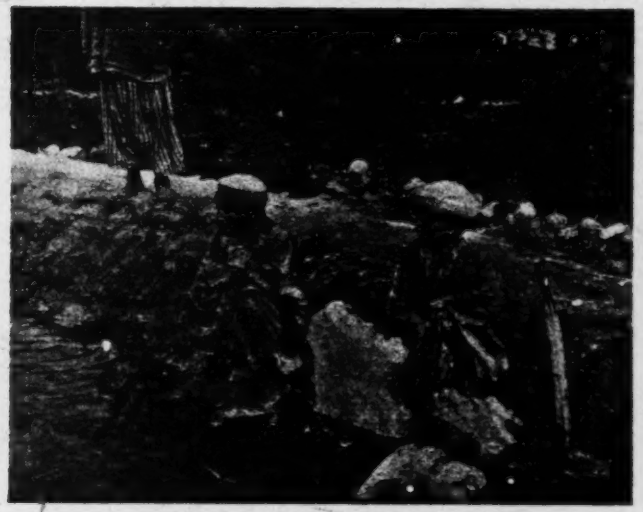

1. Children watching water-hole (centre) to close it with the mushroom-plug (right) at given signal from father. (*See p.* 94)

PLATE XXIII

142
212

2. Two small Hunza princesses with pet puppy. (*See p.* 246)

3. Khalifa Farághat teaching his son to read the Persian scriptures. (*See p.* 241)

[Facing P. 304]

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Among the vast and savage mountains of the Western Karakoram, which are generally devoid of a blade of grass, and of which the surface by falls of cliff and boulders, the slipping of detritus, and the downpouring of mud-floods, is kept in a constantly raw and unstable state, nature has made it possible for a small population to maintain itself, in the sweat of its brow, by agriculture and the pasturing of small cattle. 133 241 233

Terraces, apparently the remains of glacial deposits, supplemented it may be by downpourings from the mountain sides, have been left here and there along the sides of the valleys of the main rivers, at a height usually of some hundreds of feet above their stony beds. Where water for irrigation can be obtained from side-ravines these tracts can be cultivated. Without irrigation no cultivation is possible. There are no rain-watered cereal crops and water cannot be raised from the main river. The surface of these terraces is not flat, but slopes down at every kind of angle from the hillsides till the terraces end in abrupt earth-cliffs descending to the river beds. As the ground has to be irrigated it also has to be more or less levelled, otherwise all the soil would soon be washed away. This is accomplished by constructing terraced fields, the lower edges of which are supported by revetting walls built up of the rounded stones available in the diluvium. This revetting is highly skilled work, and is beautifully carried out, and maintained in perfect repair by the Hunzukuts. The Nagirkuts seem on the whole to be less strenuous workers and less tidy-minded cultivators. 312 241

There remains the task of constructing channels to bring water from where it is available, often miles away. These channels are designed with precision and executed with great resource and ingenuity, often being carried on revetted or galleried aqueducts across cliff faces. Having made your land and brought your water, it still remains to elaborate a system of distributing the water among the various communities or individuals entitled to a share of it. 312

Pressure of population in recent years has led to constant endeavours to devise means of providing water supplies for tracts of waterless but cultivable land. Where land and water have been 241

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

312 423 And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

562 884 Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

609 123 To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and Mīm sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

184 157 So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

000 We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Wərčikwar). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasīn district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasīn is shown in the following table:

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

which interlaced (over the middle of the stream). He crossed the vine to the other side. When he had crossed and gone towards his grandfather's house on his father's land, Sīng was lying down and there came the sound of his snoring. He knew that he was lying down. When he approached near, Sīng's eyes were open, and he went up to him and killed him as he slept. Having slaughtered him he left his head there and concealed himself. 539/x

Presently Sīng's sisters and the people of his house heard (of his death), and when they looked they found that someone had murdered him. They cursed the people of Hīndi. All marvelled saying: "Who has murdered him?" Thereupon the son of Daltas Manūko, son of Sīng, came out (from his hiding place): "O aunts," said he, "it is I who have slain grandfather. He had killed my father's two brothers, and my father, fleeing from death (at his hands) had escaped (*or*, crossed over) to Pisan. There he married my mother and I was born. The people of Pisan slew my father. I have now come and killed Sīng because he had without justification killed his sons. In revenge for that I have killed him."

Having said this, he settled down in the place of Sīng in Hīndi and abode there exercising lordship.

Formerly his grandfather had put three "chuk" of millet in the hopper of the mill and had fixed the distribution of the water (supply) for the people on that basis. Now the son of Daltas Manūko, son of Sīng, abandoned that system and allotted the water on a basis of days. Up to the present time they divide up the days and allot the water according to that system of his. 539/x 312

They say that this Sīng was of the Hamachātīng tribe. In the time of the son of Daltas Manūko, son of Sīng, the Thams of Hunza came with an army to Hīndi and took possession of it. It is said that they then slew the son of Daltas Manūko, son of Sīng. 539/x

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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312
221

No. XLII.

The Distribution of the Spring Water Supply in the Bāltīt Region.

The custom in regard to distributing the water in spring-time: The people of Ganish, of Altīt and of Ali.ābād, these three communities, have equal shares in the water of the Ulter Nullah from the (time of) ploughing till the second watering.

From the time that the Ulter water begins to flow the people of Bāltīt stop a little of the Berber water It is the custom, from the beginning of Spring, to turn the water on to Kerīmābād for the Tham, through the regulator.

The snow-water and the spring-water of Būlulo is shared by the people of Bāltīt and of Haiderābād. First, at the commencement of the month of Hūt they release the water to the Haiderabadkuts for the barley sowing. Having released the water for the sowing, they (then) direct it to Bāltīt. After supplying water for the Bāltīt

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4 *ovas* — The exact sense is here also doubtful, lit. 'to place' or perhaps 'to turn on to', but it can also mean 'to keep' which might give the sense 'to retain for Kerimabad'.

5 *-kutsor . . . heraŋ bila* — the force of *heraŋ* must here be something like: "property common to both".

7 *ho herki.e tsil* — i. e. when the Haiderabadkuts have had what they required the water is given to Baltit.

The subject of *dewčan* can hardly be the Haiderabadkuts as Haiderabad is lower down on the course of the channel than Baltit.

The difference in level is not sufficient to make a very appreciable difference in temperature, but there must be something in the situation which makes the agricultural season slightly earlier in Haiderabad than in Baltit, otherwise Haiderabad, being the less important place, would not get the first turn of the water.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

sowing, they give it to the Haiderābādkuts for the second watering; when the second watering is done they despatch the water for the Bāltīt second watering. 539A 312 221

When the Haiderābādkuts have used the water for seven days, the Bāltīkuts use it for fifteen days, then when the Haiderābādkuts have used it for fifteen days the Bāltīt people use it for a month. This custom has been in force from olden times.

The Berber water (supply) is famous in Hunza. Wazīr Asadullah Bèg constructed the Berbér water channel in the time of Shah Ghazanfer. So long as the Berber was not in existence there was great scarcity of water in Hunza. To get drinking water the women used to go to Herchē and fetch it. Hunza was made habitable by the Bāltīt water. 539A 312 173

The Hamachāting constructed the Hamachi water channel to Ganish and the Altītkuts took a channel off from the Ulter Nullah. Shāh Salim Khān had constructed a channel for Ali.ābād from Herchē and bringing it along had stopped it at the Kherum Bat. He had been unable to carry it beyond that.

For some reason he had dismissed Wazīr Pūno from the Wazīrship. Pūno was living at his own home. One day, taking the Khurukuts with him he went by night and made them dig behind the Kherum Bat. Making them play on drums he got them to carry the channel through. Shāh Salim Khān, being pleased at this, gave him the Wazīrship again.

Asadullah Bèg constructed the Murkū channel. He also made the Murtazā.abād channel and the Khudā.abād channel.

Wazīr Asadullah Bèg had also laid out the trace of the Mōrē Dās channel. Mīr Muhammad Nazīm Khān carried it out on that trace.

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16 *dowgosimi* — I have taken here as being Causative, as it is glossed Hindustani (infin.) "*nikalwana*", but the verb seems ordinarily to be a simple transitive with the same meaning as *diwas*.

burnt. *gunj γolunʃ* may your beard be burnt! (a curse). *gupinišo uγolʃʌn* may your hair be burnt! *hun iγ'olimi* the wood was burnt. *γol'ʌs gumʌnʃ* may you be burnt (a curse). *(i)γulum ʃʌpik jar ayau* don't give me burnt bread. *uγulumišo ʃʌpik* burnt bread (pl.). 000

2. To burn as the result of extreme cold, be frostbitten (?). — *aring γoluči, γolumi* my hand will be, was, frostbitten (described as becoming stiff and numb).

(Cs. *-ʌsqolʌs*).

γolčin, golčin, qolčin pl. *γolčiyo* hm. head-cook (of rajas etc. only), H. *xansaman*. 644

M. M. P. supplies the following note: '"Superintendent of the Kitchen of the Tham". There are two *γolčin*, one the superintendent who has charge of the flour for the kitchen and superintends the baking of bread by women; the other is a cook who cooks *sälan*'. (= meat and vegetable dishes?). 60.20 ff., 340.9,12.

(Cp. Sh. *qolčin*, land-steward (?). Kho. *γolčin*, official in charge of grain).

γolk -ʌnts x underground water-tank, cistern. — *γolk waši.ʌs* to construct a tank. *majur yare hʌn γolkʌn bim* under the weeping-willow was a tank, pond. 262.17 ff. 312

As far as I have seen there are no wells in Hunza-Nagir fed by subsurface springs. The *γolk* is a pit dug in the ground and filled periodically from an irrigation channel. It is roofed over a little above ground-level, one side being left open; but in this story the *γolk* cannot have been covered over.

1856

000 1. *hʊndɔr'ɛs, hʊnd'ɔriš* pl. *hʊnd'ɔrišo, -išo* x small cross timbers of roof.

(Cp. *hʊnʔ*. Also perhaps the latter part of Kho. *kʌnjʌr'ɛs* = *khʌnj* + *dʌrɛs*, piece of timber laid along top of wall of house).

2. *hʊnd'ʌriš*, pl. *hʊnd'ʌrišo*, x callosity (on hand or foot).

hʊnti, hʊnti, v. s.v. *hʊnčo*.

h'ʊnti.ʊ·lʊm, hʊnti.ulʊm, N. *hʊnti·lʊm*, ninth.

hʊnts, pl. *hʊnzɛ*, N. *hʊntsišo hʊntsaʊ·nts*, x arrow, H. *tiʊ*, (IUB, also bullet, H. *goli*). — *hʊntsʌts dʌlimi* he shot him with an arrow. 146.11. *gusɔ hʊnts čʌp sčʌm ki hʊntsʌtsɛ dʌnimi ki* . . . if I shoot this arrow and if it catches this arrow . . . 156.6. *hʊntsɛ tɔrkoŋ* the feathers of an arrow. 156.8. *žʌmeʊ hʊnts nyuwešin nʊtʌsk bišʌmi* fitting an arrow to his bow and drawing it he shot. 148.16. Cp. 152.13. *hʊnts d'ʊguʊsimi* he pulled out the arrow. 150.20, 154.9. Cp. 260.11 ff., Prov. 32.

hu.o·, (huyo·ʔ), wool-bearing animal, sheep. — *hu.oʊ bʌʃ* sheepskin.

hu.o·kʊm, (huyo·kʊmʔ), pertaining to wool-bearing animal. — *hu.o·kʊm bʌʃ, čhʌp* sheep's skin, flesh.

(hupʊrpoʔ) v. *hʊ·hɔ·po*.

• 312 *hʊʊ, -ʌnts*, N. *hʊʊ, -aʊ·nts*, x conduit for water, water-shoot (made of hollowed-out log or piece of wood).

Used also of aqueduct channel and mill-race (both made of hollowed log), gutter (for draining roof).

hɔ·ʊlts hʊʊ, or, *tšiʌ hʊʊ* runnel for draining rainwater off roof. *hi·šk hʊʊ* bottom piece of frame of comb of loom. *yai.iŋɛ hʊʊ xa gʊʊmo* she threw them down the mill-race. 206.10,

312

000

(Cp.? Sh. *kuṛ*, GB. *khur*, water-shoot made of hollowed log, wooden aqueduct).

kuṛgas, kurgas thick, stout (of cloth, leather), H. *moṭa ćiz*, Sh. *phaṭoro*. — *kuṛgas gap, baṭ* thick hide, leather. *pṭilam, paći, kuṛgas bila* the woollen homespun, the cotton cloth, is thick.

kuṛgo, kurgo -ŋ y ascent, slope up; uphill, H. *ćhaṛhai*. — *tsan yaṭ ne, buṭ kuṛgo bila* it is a very steep ascent straight up. *ḍaŋ* (or, *buṭ*) *kuṛgo bila* it is a stiff ascent. N. *ine kir kurgo nimi* the man went uphill.

kuṛiginas IUB stream, current, wave, H. *dṛiʌa ka dhaṛ, mauj*.

kuṛoṛo, N. *korogo*, y perspiration, sweat. — *kuṛoṛo di bila* sweat has come, i.e. I etc. have begun to sweat.

kuṛṭ, -*ants* x stack (of cut crops).

kuṛt -eŋ y revetting wall (of terraced field). (Cp. Sh. *kuṛ*).

kurtsʌil the water that flows off at the lower side of a field when it is irrigated. (= *kuṛt* + *tsʌil*? Cp. Sh. *kõ-tsol*, muddy water coming off irrigated field).

kuṛućaiyas to sit, sit down, abide, remain, settle down; become pregnant.

A parallel form to *kuṛuṭas* q.v., used only with plur. subjects. V. BSOS VIII, 1936, p. 628.

Forms recorded:

Pres. 3rd. pl. *kuṛućaćuṛ*. QUB.

Pret. 3rd. pl. *kuṛućaman*, -*aman*, also -*uman* (the vowel not being stressed is not very distinct). V. pp. 10, 18, 20, 22, 32, 36, 46, 90, 96, 122, 238, 294.

Perf. 3rd. pl. = Present. *ołtalik kuṛućaćuṛ* both are sitting. 30.13. *men kuṛućaćuṛ ke* whatever women are pregnant. 88.25. *kole bosir*

209a

the past year the total collected from fines imposed by me upon the citizens of Hunza totaled less than 200 rupees. You know that my people do not have much money. There is no way or means of earning money—except by the few. We do not require money in order to live in Hunza. Further, the full amount that was collected in this manner was used in the maintenance of the irrigation system."

I waved my hand and said, "I only asked. I didn't think it was true, but I've read so many tales about Hunza in which ridiculous and fantastic statements are made without any justification or background."

"A few years ago," I went on, "two of the most influential and widely circulated magazines in the United States published an article by a famed and capable couple of writers—man and wife. I know they visited Hunza on two occasions because I saw their names in your guest book. Now the story they told and which both of these magazines published stated that it was a custom in Hunza for the mother-in-law to go and live with a newly married couple and remain with them on their honeymoon to teach them the ways of life. You explained that this was the reason why Hunzan marriages were so successful and there was seldom, if ever, a divorce.

"Before asking you to clarify this, I just want to tell you that I read this story and when I came to this specific part, I could hardly believe my eyes. But, as I have learned, there are many strange customs followed by different people throughout the world and of course, this could be absolutely true. But it certainly is strange and weird sounding to me anyway. So tell me, is that story true? Is it the custom of the people of Hunza to have the mother-in-law stay with the newly married couple during their honeymoon?"

131 Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River from Secunderabad to the Chinese border, a distance of somewhere around 200 miles, but no one has ever actually measured it. At the narrowest point it is less than half a mile wide. At its broadest, it is not quite [133] two miles. Usually the only piece of flat land in a village [134] is the polo field. Good, rich, deep soil as Westerners know it is absolutely unknown in Hunza.

311 Whenever a house is built here, they seldom ever use [361] a piece of fertile soil or soil of any kind. They usually erect it on rock or on a steep hillside where that piece of land could not have been used for agriculture anyway.

[241] Practically every bit of farm land is terraced. It can be said, it is actually cut out of the rocks of the mountainside which is the north bank of the Hunza River.

[134] Of the total length of 200 miles, only a small fraction is at all arable. Most of it is solid rock or terrain so steep that horticulture of any nature is impossible.

312 Rainfall is scanty. They cannot depend upon it at all [132] for crops. In order to get sufficient water, hand built and similarly maintained conduits bring water down [241] from glaciers. These conduits are carefully erected and trained to run alongside the villages where the water can be trapped to flow where desired and used to irrigate their lands, also for drinking and all other necessary purposes.

There are four main conduits in Hunza and they are as follows:

Murku—This is at the highest level of all the aqueducts and carries the most water.

Barbar—Supplies the Baltit-Altit area.

Dala—This is the longest—extends as far as Aliabad. Supplies Kerimabad.

Hamachi—The smallest which runs as far as the tiny village Ganesh, located on a cliff's edge.

Water rights are regulated by law and a man can use the water from the conduit that passes his land at certain definitely established periods. The flow or shut-off is controlled by placing a large stone or rock at the opening of the channel into the individual's waterway. It may sound a bit baffling to the average individual, but upon viewing it and examining it, it is easy to understand and, what's more important, it is simple and practical. 312 [423]

Nowhere did I see these waterways covered or encased in pipes—although they did in many places run under the roadway.

As their water supply is glacier-fed, there is never any danger of a supply failing . . . at least, not in the imminent future. However, in cloudy periods the flow slackens and an extended cloudy period causes a severe water shortage.

Lest you get the idea that these conduits or waterways are a simple matter, I want to assure you that they are a marvel of engineering. Further, when you consider that the first one was built about 1860 without any man made tools or iron or steel, you can then believe what a difficult and gigantic undertaking it was. It is a monument to their industry, intelligence and foresight. At least now, they have iron picks with which to dig, rather than having to use ibex horns. [412]

Here I want to mention very definitely that the same type of waterway exists on the other side of the river . . . that is, in Nagir territory.

They do not, in any sense of the word, have orchards as we know orchards in the West, because they don't have a piece of land large enough or flat enough to compare with what we know as an orchard. In the West orchard sites are usually selected with the premeditated view of providing excellent drainage. There- 245 311

know that the child will be given a fine upbringing. 644

It is to be expected that the milk parents will be given much consideration and favors from the Mir's household and family . . . and the Mir has and still does provide better than average homes or residences for these selected people. 853 608

In Hunza at the present time, the Mir has built a row or unit of bungalows for these milk parents and they are given food and necessities from the royal kitchen.

I have tried to find some connection of this practice with other nations or peoples. So far my search has been unsuccessful in this regard.

Death is not the serious thing with the people of Hunza that it is with most other peoples throughout the world. That does not mean that there is no sadness and mourning, but it does not take on the same scope and seriousness that it does in the West. This is primarily due to the religion and beliefs of the people. Being Mohammedans, they believe in predestination . . . "So Allah wills." 761

Seldom are graves of departed kinfolk visited—nor are flowers laid upon them. In fact, very little maintenance is ever carried out on graves. Visits to the graves or graveyards are definitely not encouraged. The dead are revered, but visiting the grave of the departed is not really the accepted thing in Hunza. 769 765

The dead are often commemorated by having roadside lean-tos or "baldies," as they call them, erected for them . . . where a man can stop and find a bit of shelter during a storm, or rest his pack or load. They also build "jhurks" or water holes to serve the same purpose. Women are seldom commemorated in this manner. The best that a woman can hope to get is a rock pile erected in her memory. 769 764 [484] [312]

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

Both the irrigation water which they use on their fields and their drinking water come from the Ultar Glacier. Therefore, their entire water supply is glacial. 312

Their entire economy is dependent upon their agriculture and everything that is taken from the soil is religiously returned to the soil. Chemical fertilizers or chemical sprays of any type are unknown to the people. It may be possible that the Mir has used sprays in his palace grounds. He might have brought them with him from his visits abroad, but I saw none and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, none are used. I saw no insect infestation of any kind or type through my entire travels and investigations. In Gilgit I did see insect injury in a garden and it was apparent to me that the soil of Hunza was in balance and therefore it produced food that was balanced. Therefore, it is understandable, the people of Hunza are healthy! 241 [433]

The food of the people of Hunza is in the main, raw food. It is neither dissected nor desiccated, but is eaten in the whole. The only exception that I could find to this rule was in their milk. When they made butter, they drank the remains or the buttermilk. Of course, in due time, they ate the butter. 262

All children born in Hunza are breast fed for at least two years. Male children are often breast fed until they are 3 years old. 853

I do not intend to stress any one factor of the points mentioned above. I am submitting them to you for your consideration and study. 000

It is, however, my belief that their soil and location does not lend itself to mechanization and therefore their good health should continue. If they could mechanize, then they would not get the needed beneficial exercise which, as you can gather, is one of the important contributors to their good health and longevity. 241 164

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

tilizers are used on their lands. 241

(8) All children in Hunza are breast fed. There is no specific prenatal care, and the good health of the mother is passed on to the infant . . . and the breast feeding gets the child off to a good start. 853 843

(9) All fruits and vegetables that are dried for storing have been exposed to the sun and air. No foreign substances are added or treatments used. 251

(10) Native herbs are used extensively . . . both as seasoning and as food. 262

(11) Glacial waters are the only waters used both for drinking and irrigation purposes. These glacial waters definitely contain many valuable minerals and nutrients, as revealed by laboratory tests. 312 146

(12) Apricot kernel oil is the most important source of fat. It is used in cooking as well as for salads. No solvents or extreme heat is used to extract the apricot oil. 262

(13) Natural whole grains are used broadly. There is no fragmentization in Hunza. While they do bake a bread, their chief form of bread is an unleavened type which they call chapatties. They are composed of whole ground grain made into a dough and rolled very thin. Then they are heated or baked slightly.

(14) Hunzans are light eaters. Their diet is comparatively meager.

There is no doubt that, if any human being were to follow the health rules of the people of Hunza, he could regain or maintain health. There is no magic formula connected with this set of rules. They are simple and to the point. In fact, they are so simple that most people will doubt their value. To these people I would say, "All of the great things in life—the important things and things of value—are invariably simple!"

In Hunza the following established Western health 744

would like to mention that since 1950 here is a list of all the people who were allowed into Hunza from the outside world: Franc and Jean Shore, April, 1952; Lowell Thomas, Jr. in December, 1954; Benjamin Ruhe in July, 1956; Barbara Mons, May, 1956; Dr. Allen Banik, July, 1958; and John Tobe and Cecil Brunton in July, 1959. 486 114

I've a letter here from the Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D. C.: 486

"Dear Dr. Keller,

"Please refer to your letter of September 29, 1959, regarding your request to visit Hunza.

"The Government of Pakistan have regretted their inability to grant permission for your visit to this area. We would like to mention that we have received a number of similar requests from other individuals and we have not been able to comply with those requests.

"We have been informed by Dr. Francis Pottenger of Monrovia, California, that he and Dr. William Albrecht of the University of Missouri, also planned to accompany you on your proposed visit. We would appreciate it if you could kindly convey our regrets to Dr. Albrecht. We are writing to Dr. Pottenger ourselves.

"Yours sincerely,

A. Fatch, Second Secretary"

This should establish clearly, once and for all, whether or not it is easy to get into Hunza.

Court fines go to Mir's treasury. This statement was made by one of the writers on Hunza and when brought to the Mir's attention by me, it was vigorously denied. 652

Any revenue obtained in this manner goes to the state and helps maintain the canals and aqueduct systems. Further, the total obtained from fines during a year would not exceed 200 rupees, about $40.00. [312]

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P43-A]

SCENE MORE TYPICAL of neighboring Gilgit than of Hunza is this one showing boys at a community fountain. Until a short time ago, little if any pipe had been available in Hunza. Water, called "glacial milk," comes from ice sheets.

142
291
312
333

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

241 of bread or grain, but I was told that this was not
262 the case. What does happen here, and throughout the region of the Eastern Hindu-Kush, is that the fruit crops are so prolific that the people naturally
[231] live largely on them in summer. Even the animals take to a fruit diet, and you see donkeys, cows, and goats eating the fallen mulberries. The very dogs feed on them, and our fox-terriers took to the fruit *régime* most kindly, and became quite connoisseurs in the different kinds of mulberry, preferring the "Shahtut," the king mulberry, a large luscious purple fruit, to all others.

312 The great water channel referred to before deserves passing mention. Its head waters are some half a mile up the ravine, on the edge of which Hunza stands, a few hundred feet below the end of the glacier which feeds it. For the whole of this half mile the water channel is a monument of patient labour, and of the clever adaption of the rudest means to the most important end. It is carried across the face of a cliff, in some places of sheer rock, in others of hard conglomerate. Sometimes it runs along the top of a built-up wall thirty or forty feet high, at others through carefully excavated channels in the conglomerate which avoid the difficulties of a sharp corner by tunnelling through it. Where the face of the rock is perpendicular, and its foot washed by the torrent is unsuitable for the foundations of a retaining wall, the water flows through timber troughs, supported by wooden brackets adroitly fixed into the cliff. I did not measure the output, but, roughly, the channel must have at its widest a section of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Durusha AV7

312 four and a half feet wide by one foot deep, which means a considerable flow of water. On this channel the cultivation of Hunza proper entirely depends; should it fail, starvation stares the people in the face. It is not surprising, therefore, that the greatest care should be expended on its preservation. [412] But what is wonderful is the excellence of the result arrived at. It must be remembered that the people have no proper tools, no crowbars and dynamite to assist them. A tiny pick of soft iron, which looks like a child's garden tool, shovels fashioned out of wood, and a few poles as levers, [333] are all that they have to work with. The use of mortar is unknown; all their walls are of dry masonry. Yet with all these disadvantages, with nothing but their eye as a guide to levels, they have carried this great irrigation channel for six miles, and turned an arid desert into a garden. For the most part it is true it runs along the side of a gently sloping mountain, but it also crosses many deep and perpendicular-sided ravines, and encounters masses of rock which have to be circumvented. It is a splendid work, and I admired it more every time I walked along it.

159 The Thum was too unwell with fever to return my visit, and his Wazir came in his stead. Robertson went up to see the Chief, and prescribed for him, with the result that the descendant of Alexander, as he considered and called himself, got into a state of abject terror, thought his last hour was come, and refused to take the second dose which was the natural sequence of the first. Robertson reported that he was a coward, that he had literally

159 belonging to a family in which Prince Ghazan Khán had been fostered, and who had thus acquired the extra land, etc., which is the recognized recompense for fostering royalty. We supposed that it was a desire to live up to this distinguished new connection (possibly it was a stipulation of the bride's people) that prompted his intention to set the young son, Kamber, up in a house of his own instead of bringing the new wife to share the parents' home.

342 Whatever lay behind this departure from custom, Nadíro sent his Hérul Nisa one day to tell me that he was setting out to "smite his poplars" if I would care to come. It was a *very* hot morning and I was deep in something else, but of course you'd never see anything if you weren't ready to take chances as they turn up. So I shouldered my camera and tripod, seized my long walking-stick (which is a great aid to climbing walls or leaping down them), on which I had made notches every foot to serve for measuring distances, and set off with Hérul Nisa. [423] "Where is father's poplar garden?" I asked. The Aliábád people have a bewildering way of possessing odd scraps of ground dotted about all over the place, just according as they have taken up one plot or another of the sometime royal land. "Oh, quite near," she said. Everything is "quite near" to these active people, who think less of a 500-foot climb than we think of running a hundred yards to the pillar-box at the corner. It was, in fact, a hot, vertical half-mile over the 342 roughest ground without even a track. Here on a rugged patch 313 of stony, steep-sloping ground, carefully walled in, I found the whole of No. 8 and several neighbours busily setting about the felling job. One man scrambled up and attached a rope near the top of the fated tree. Two or three laid hold of the rope and stood at some distance to pull in the right direction, while the old Ustád himself skilfully hacked a triangular bite out of the trunk near to the ground and then axed away. It was only a few minutes till the slender poplar crashed down. Then 314 Kamber and his friends hacked off the few remaining upper- 415 most branches—the lower ones had been cut long ago—and 313 the womenfolk and young people all clustered along the trunk to peel off the bark, taking care to get it off in strips as long

and wide as possible; for bark strips are useful for many 314
things. Some of the flakes were 3 or 4 feet long and 8 or 9 415
inches wide. They would be kept to make large drum-like con- 313
tainers for storage purposes. While the men proceeded to deal with the next tree, the women and young people filled shoulder baskets with chips and twigs and branches and carried them home to store. "Lots of firewood for a long time to come," smiled Bibi Anjir to me gleefully as she limped away as fast and as surefooted as a girl, despite the stiff leg.

I helped, of course, with gathering up the firewood and the 000
bark, but I was never allowed to shoulder a basket. I would have done it gladly enough many a time, but what with silly shoes (which always provoked my companions' sympathy: "It would be so much easier for you to walk safely barefoot, Mother"; I wondered, seeing that my incompetent, soft feet had been for half a century encased in foolish footgear!) and unpractised muscles a cross-country scramble unladen required all my attention. In any case, however, they would never hear of my carrying anything—"the Great must not do that," they said, and as we were enjoying so many privileges of "the Great," we had to pay the recognized penalties.

When the trees were all prostrate, I measured the effective 342
poles that remained and found they ran from 50 to 60 feet: 137
the original trees must have stood 60 or 70 feet high. The Ustád had put the saplings in himself when he walled and planted the "garden" twenty years or so before. Good timber like this is a sound investment. Sixteen good poplars go to the making of a house; up to twenty may be needed if they are smaller. If people are definitely quitting an old house for a new they will dismantle the former for the sake of rafters and cupboards, and you will occasionally see the shell of an old house standing derelict. But the cases of house-building which we actually came across were the hiving-off of son or brother and required new wood. A man who has no trees of his own to cut must, of course, buy them from some neighbour, and this, with the carpentry, will be the major expense.

The Ustád had already levelled the ground for the new house 342
beside his own, and soon the trenches were dug for the foun-

roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked. 252 262

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness. 372 313

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, mid-season and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering. 245 262

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions. 262

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays. [556] [231]

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards. 565 423 556

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The Ustád had already levelled the ground for the new house beside his own, and soon the trenches were dug for the foun-

000 all thriving. The field walls looked very jolly at this season,[1]
241 with wild flowers of the rock-garden type growing in the
137 crannies between the stones and fostered by the seepage from
263 the irrigated fields above. Amongst them was a wild mint and a wild thyme, the flavouring qualities of which are known and appreciated.

243 On June 12th we saw some people hungrily eyeing their barley and reckoning that it would be ripe for cutting in another fifteen days. It was said to be good this year in spite of an abnormally cold, late spring. Some rain showers that we had were welcomed though they temporarily cooled the air. But as clouds and rain continued, anxiety began to be felt lest the wheat should be late and delay too long the planting of the buckwheat-on-wheat. The barley is subject to a disease called *tam*, which stripes the leaves an ugly yellow and produces a milky liquid in the ears. Few plants were attacked this year. The disease called *motèl* (rust?), which makes black ears, attacks only wheat and millet, and if the cold and rain persisted it might be expected to set in. We were doubly anxious that this year's crops should be good: unselfishly for the people's sake; selfishly lest a bad year should be attributed to the maleficent influence of two crazy people learning Burushaski—though indeed these highly rational people would be unlikely to indulge any such fantastic association of ideas.

386 We saw some people one day collecting the under-bark
314 from red willow trees; they use it for dyeing the leather of their native boots and skilfully chip it out from the living tree without injuring the willow.

262 Now that the people were really within sight of food they
[152] frankly confessed to being desperately hungry, and the strain of unremitting work—weeding, ploughing, manuring, grafting, irrigating from dawn to dusk on empty tummies—was showing in drawn, thin faces, but appeared powerless to damp their spirits or fray their tempers. It was dreadful to look on and be helpless to feed the multitude with loaves or fishes, while we lived—sparingly enough by home standards but—riotously compared with these much more deserving neighbours. We saw one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry

1 [in June -- Analyst]

314 čhayo, pl. čhayučiṣ, y. A kind of plant which produces hard-wood sticks or switches. Oil is got from it by heating and is applied hot to children (as a remedy?). H. *tabelkoi* (?) — *čayučiṣ dusaka bilsum* "čayo's" had come up. 278.4.

000 čhayuvum, N. y pl. -iṣ, cold. — *čayuvum amanam* I have become cold. *čayuvum abi yami* I have got a chill, I got chilled. *čayuvum gundan bila* it is a cold day. *kwi* (= *kulte*) *čayuvman* (*mai*) *bila* today is a cold (*day*). *čayuvum yami* cold (weather) has set in. *čayuvum ṭeil* cold water.

čak -iṣ, N. -*čag*, y pickaxe, pick, a one-sided pick. (Cp. Sh. *čak*).

čak stas ostrd, N. *čaks* ostrd, carpenter. (Cp. Sh. *čak*, a blow (?), *čak thorki*, to strike with an adze).

čak stas v. *čaq* (which is the correct form) to chew.

čakor (?) v. *čagor*.

čakro v. *čagro*.

čhako habitually foodless, starving; foul-mouthed.

čal, *čol*, *čul*, pl. *čaliṣ*, y, quarrel, dispute, wrangle, fight. — *dag čal bila* there is a severe quarrel. *hamalo čal apiko* if you have (*lit.* if there is) no quarrel with (your) neighbour. *čal stas*, *čal* °-*manas* to quarrel, dispute etc. *dag čal stam* they are quarrelling hard. *asmumalo halabu.ik čal ostis* some birds fought, quarrelled in the air. 96.4. *wi hoṛag čal umanuman* they quarrelled among themselves. *yuwa ki mujor čal numan* . . . the wife and husband quarrelling . . . 286.28. Cp. 30.10, 42.10.

čam, *čum* y pain (acute, stabbing). — *dag čam* severe, acute pain. *čam gi*

000 γɛnzʃ́ʃhin some kind of bird. [γɛnzʃ + ʃhin?].

γí.alt N. -zʃo x, v. giyalt ladle.

● 314 γíhaŋ y resin (of conifers and the 'sinjíd" tree).

Pine resin is used for burning, sinjíd resin is used by women for their hair.

γíhaŋ dwsila resin has exuded.

(The latter part of the word is haŋ q.v.).

000 γɛʃíŋ 1. Uncooked milk. 2. A small quantity of liquid. — γɛʃíŋ ɛti sip (a liquid).

γɛʃíŋ ɛtɛ to gulp down (water). — ɛtɛ (ɛsil) wyɛn γɛʃíŋ ɛtɛsi.i he gulps down all the water. 304.4.

γí·ki y theft, robbery. — ja γí·ki ɛta ha I have committed theft, stolen, robbed. Cp. 60.13. γí·ki mɛni ʃi a theft has taken place (probably: an x thing has been stolen). γí·ki fɛmɛn they stole (something). hɛnɛ ɛnɛ γí·ki ɛtisi, ja ɛnɛγ ɛtɛ gɛnɛ ɛzɛn ɛtki.ɛn because he committed theft, therefore I punished him. hɛzɛwɛn γíki ɛfɛmɛnɛ? have you looted a bazar? 60.11. gɛfɛ γí·ki this theft. 62.19. Cp. 62.16,18, 296.6.

(When I first recorded the word the γ seemed to me peculiar, cp. γí·n.

IYB also gave γɛi.zki, cp. Leitner "ghizen" thief).

γɛlitɛwɛz, (g-), γɛlitɛwɛ-, Impv. γɛlitɛw, neg. aqɛlitɛr, Ppa. nɛqɛlitɛr. To be extravagant in regard to dress and food, to do oneself well, to show off, make a display, Pers. nɛz kardɛn.

Fut. 1. sg. γɛlitɛrɛ̂m.

Pret. 1. sg. γɛlitɛwɛm.

3. sg. m. γɛlitɛrɛ̂si.i.

ʃi, mɛnɛ, γɛlitɛr eat and drink and

000 moon is waning. *halantsu sanqhuj* moonlight. *gusu halantsutsu* in this time of moon. EOL.

halę -eq, -iq y torchwood.

halden, *halden*, pl. *haldeyu*, x he-goat (full-grown, and in the case of domestic goats castrated). — *girri halden* a full-grown male ibex. 270.1.

314 *hali* pl. *haleq* y birch bark (used as wrapping material and formerly as paper), Sh. *jwj*. — *halisolo maltaj dumakava* they wrap up butter in birch-bark. *yerum khana haliyaję girmiham* in former times they used to write on birch-bark. EOL. *gutu haliyaję girmin* write on this birch-bark. EOL.

526 *halimoru* -iq and *halimoriq*, y wager, bet, stake. — *halimoru stali* to make a wager. *halimoru bula* polo for a wager; polo-match played in which the losers present the winners with a sheep, goat, etc. *halimoruse bula dalumau* they played polo for a stake. *halimoru oti baru* they have paid up the stake to them. (Cp. Sh. *halibru*).

000 1. *halkaru*, *halk'iti*, Ppm. *nah'alk(is)* to bear young, to give birth, (of mammalian animals).

Fut. 3rd. sg. *halkiti*.

Pres. 3rd. sg. *halkiti bi*.

Pret. 3rd. sg. *halkimi*.

girri amalo halk'itisu ke . . . where the ibex bear their young . . . 108.10. *belilo halkaru dibor atsu* take me to the bearing-place of the sheep i.e. where the sheep lamb. 108.24. Cp. 108.12,19,22,25. *manasu bera nuhalq arltu dromanimi ke* . . . if anyone's cow calving, gave birth to twins . . . 354.1. Cp. 66.21, 72.24. *kan halquru*

No. XLI.

Gold-Washing in Hunza.

From ancient times the Diramiting have not (been required) to wash for gold for the Thama, because they are the seed of the original inhabitants of Hunza, and the Thama give them precedence in everything.

When the Thama have to go anywhere it is the custom for the Diramiting to carry the Tham's bag of gold. The remaining three tribes they make carry the gold-washing tray. The three tribes, each taking, along with the Chief Gold-Washer, two assistants of their own tribe, proceed to the edge of the river and carry out the Autumn and Spring gold-washing for the Tham.

There is a tax of a *ben.i* of gold on each Chief Gold-Washer. Twelve rupees are (a *ben.i*). Every autumn and spring they either wash for gold or work for hire and bring in the tax.

Those (only) are gold-washers whose fathers and grandfathers have from of old been carriers of loads. They do not make people who have done superior service, wash for gold.

This gold-washing tax is in force from Maiyin up to Ata.abád. In Hèrber from Galmit to Miagár and the Chaplirwan there is no custom of gold-washing in force. They do not make the people (there) do it.

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but the sense is clear and is reinforced by a note: "gold-washing is only imposed on coolies, low-class people and retiners".

In Gilgit and Chilas gold-washing is carried on by a separate community, the *Sonimrd*, who are looked down on but are fairly prosperous. They are probably of foreign origin.

10 *pwy ení* — is equivalent to "accession".

11 *ápirwów* — the Genitive of **-ápim*, as also ápirwów in line 18.

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland.

The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil.

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh."

This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy.

Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work

792 his ancestors' dynasty in India, he donated what is now
871 the Hunzan school system. The fact that the children of Hunza are given a good education, without any cost to them, is due entirely to the kindness and benevolence of that great man. He started and maintained the system and I trust that his son will continue in his father's footsteps."

That the school system of Hunza is working, I can attest.

792 From what I have been able to gather and learn, Hunza was one of the states of India that contributed to the coffers of the Aga Khan. There is some story, true or mythical, that each year all of his religious followers throughout the world gave him a gift of gold or platinum to the extent of his weight. Now I do know
[316] that some gold was mined in Hunza and probably that, too, was sent to the Aga Khan or added to the sum or weight sent from all of the countries and the millions of his followers to be his gift but, as far as I know, at the present time there is not much gold being mined in Hunza and nowhere did I see any sign of anything that could be used as a means of export to bring money into Hunza.

124 In the meantime I was enjoying my breakfast and between munching mouthfuls of food, I was asking the Mir some rather important questions.

651 "I read somewhere some time ago, that the revenues
681 you obtain from the fines you levy upon people in Hunza who commit misdemeanors or break rules or laws are added to the coffers of your own estate."

The Mir thought this was a great joke and laughed heartily.

"To begin with," he said, "laws are seldom broken by my people. They are good people and they live peaceably and do not commit serious offenses. During

164 "Yes," said the doctor, "I am alarmed at the great increase in goiter cases in Hunza, especially among the younger people, where it is rampant. Also, cavities in the teeth of the people are being found regularly, whereas a few years ago tooth trouble in any form was practically unknown, judging from the information at my disposal!"

When he spoke to me he was genuinely distressed at the increased occurrence of both of these maladies.

"To what do you attribute the increase in these conditions, Doctor?" I asked.

He replied, "As yet I have been unable to lay my finger on anything specific concerning this."

I have been interested in Hunza for many years and
262 during this period I have devoured every available
263 piece of literature on these fascinating people. Thus, marshalling my mental forces, I said to him, "Have any major changes taken place in the diet or living habits of the people of Hunza?"

"Not that I am positively aware of," he said meditatingly.

"Where do the people of Hunza get their salt from?"
[439] I asked.

"It is usually flown in from Pindi to Gilgit and then carried up the trail to Baltit and other parts of Hunza."

I learned that it was also carried by jeep and pack animals from Rawalpindi across the Babusar Pass into Gilgit as well.

"How long has this been going on?"

This the good doctor could not answer. But the Mir
[439] was close by and he said it was longer than ten years now that the salt had been imported.

"Where did you get your salt from before?" I said to the Mir.

263 "Why," he replied, "the people of Hunza have been

mining salt from an area around Shimshal for many 263
hundreds of years." [317]

"Is there any difference between the salt that you import and that of Shimshal?"

"Much difference," said the Mir. "The salt that we import is pure white and very salty, whereas the salt mined in the Shimshal area was in its natural state and contained many impurities. The people prefer the imported salt because of its sharper saltier flavor."

"So it is true then," I said to the Mir, "that this aspect [177]
of modern civilization has crept into Hunza!"

The Mir and the doctor looked at each other and then somewhat reluctantly nodded in agreement.

Speaking somewhat forcibly, I said to both of them, "It is obvious that the imported salt is pure sodium chloride, whereas the salt that is brought down from Shimshal is something that has never been analyzed and obviously contains many minerals, so-called impurities."

Obviously the people of Hunza in the past did not know, did not care or did not feel the need to purify their salt, because even to a layman like myself, it is clear and obvious that by making a brine, the pure salt could be extracted.

Whether by error or design, this has never been practiced in Hunza.

"Does it not seem possible," I said to the doctor, 164
"that the salt that was formerly used by the people of Hunza was the means of keeping goiter and dental caries away or at bay?"

"I hadn't thought of it before," replied the doctor, "but I will admit that it sounds logical and undoubtedly it is true!"

The Mir further admitted that little or no salt was being mined in Shimshal at the present time. Therefore it would seem to be indicated that the importation of

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but
513 adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
354 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of
324 hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a
322 lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Bericho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
342 for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

PLATE IV

322
412

A PRIMITIVE LATHE. THE MAN FOR WHOM THE BOWL IS BEING MADE SITS IN A PIT AND SUPPLIES THE POWER WITH TWO TREADLES (see p. 14)

P. 8 (II)

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
335 through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
322 duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and independent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully
291 terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the
415 cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root
415 of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also
233 the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

ANTIQUITY

402 'machines' known in Hunza, and the mechanism of all three is so simple that parts can be replaced, repairs or adjustments effected, by any intelligent child—and we met no *un*intelligent Hunza child.

286 Anyone desirous of doing so can acquire a weaver's skill, and in our village of some 200 families there were seven or eight expert weavers. The loom-pit is a hole in the ground, 2 feet wide and deep and 2 feet 4 inches from back to front, with a stone bench at the back. Two horizontal poles balanced on stones a couple of feet above the ground at either side carry the heddles, etc. Here the weaver sets up his home-made loom of ingeniously simple construction worked by four treadles in the bottom of his pit. While he works, the owners of the wool sit by and wind his bobbins. A skilful weaver can make the nine yards of narrow homespun required for a man's cloak in a day and a half. The loom-pit occupies fully half the width of the 'street' and when being used forms the centre of a shifting group of cheerfully gossiping passers-by.

Goat's hair is woven on an even simpler upright frame, a forked piece of tree supplying the single shed required.

322 Turning is a rarer accomplishment than weaving, and our village boasted only one lathe-master. Like the loom the lathe is set up in a pit. The person desiring a bowl supplies the necessary rough-hewn block of wood (apricot or vine root preferred) and the motive power required to turn the horizontal bar, on to one end of which the wood is spiked. The turner crouches alongside with a selection of small curved chisels which he rests on an adjustable tripod to steady his hand (PLATE IV).

415 There is no room to tell of all the simple yet ingenious household
411 utensils which the Hunzukuts conjure from the scanty resources at their disposal: the spliced wooden bow faced with plates of ibex
322 horn and beautifully curved; the boys' catapult bow with double string of horse sinew, for scaring birds; the double-chambered wool-container made of rowan bark; the small vessel like an ash-tray which steadies the woman's rotating spindle and is moulded from the refuse of the apricot kernels left after the oil has been expressed. Not a
372 shred of anything is wasted in Hunza. What cannot be eaten or turned
132 to use—even the shell of the apricot kernel—is gratefully seized on as fuel for the pitifully small fire that cooks the bread and vegetables. Fires for mere heating are an undreamt of luxury. Hence the draught-proof house is essential, for at 7–8,000 feet, with snow mountains all round and a temperature of 19° Fahrenheit, the 'Great Cold' is

take photographs of the picturesque, abandoned Shiah mosque. It has been superseded by the New Assembly Hall in cut granite with pointed roof—an amazing achievement for local architects and masons, and one of which they are justly proud, but a dreadful eyesore in these surroundings and as uninspiring to an artistic eye as a Methodist chapel in a London suburb. Unfortunately it jostles the picturesque old mosque (whose entrance flight of steps is a delightful notched tree-trunk and whose flat roof bristles with a parapet of ibex horns), so that you can only see the older building squint-eye up or down a 3-foot lane. We pushed on and found ourselves emerging on a bluff covered with handsome graves. The Hunzukuts are too necessarily frugal to bury their dead on any ground that can be cultivated, so their graves usually stand on some barren hump that rises above the reach of irrigation water. Ordinary graves are just covered by flat slabs of concrete-like beaten earth, but more important folk have picturesque erections of varied shape to mark their last resting place. In theory all should no doubt be oriented in relation to Mecca, but in fact the graves face in whichever direction the site makes most convenient. We skirted round God's acre, re-entering the unappetizing labyrinth of desolate lanes, and presently came on a debris-strewn patch of ground whose houses had been dismantled (probably for their timber), and had fallen in. Here old Ferrájo had made a lathe-pit outside a rather handsome wooden door with a carved lintel. This had once led to his family's "town house," but now they lived out in Jamu, a suburb, as it were, of Aliábád. In its day, the warren of buildings to which he proudly pointed had boasted fifty-two "smokes." (A smoke represents a hearth-fire, and a hearth represents a household. In enquiring of a hamlet how many families it shelters, the correct phrase is: "How many smokes have you here?")

We begged Ferrájo to let us see him at work. He had, however, no wood in hand at the moment; chunks of root or cross-sections of willow trunks are the raw material of his bowls. But he let us inspect his pit—very similar in size and shape to a loom-pit—with the treadles and a leather belt passing three

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

times round a circular bar. The bar fits at one side into an iron socket, and at the other rests on the edge of the pit, held in place by one of the invaluable forked pegs that serve so many purposes in Hunza. The projecting end of the bar is furnished with three fierce iron spikes, which are driven into the lump of wood that is the future bowl. An ingenious wooden tripod stands beside the turner as he squats to work. It has one very long leg with deep notches, in one of which he rests his rude curved chisel to steady his hand. He had another pit at his country home in Jamu, and he promised he would let us know when he was working. We photographed him and his apparatus at the door of his ex-town house.

In due course we were invited to Jamu and welcomed with a broad grin that lit up his tanned and weather-beaten face. A large crowd was already gathered, some merely to watch, and some bringing lumps of wood and waiting their turn for his attention. He had a small bowl on the lathe, nearly finished. Its owner was seated in the pit, pedalling away for all he was worth, while Ferrájo gave a few final touches to his handiwork. The bowl was hollowed out as thin as fine cardboard, a few lines were added on the outside for ornament, and the bowl was gently levered off the three pegs on which it was impaled. Then with his adze—while we needlessly held our breath—Ferrájo boldly hacked off the rough base in which the pegs had held. A fraction of an inch miscalculated would have shattered the fragile thing. But eye and hand were as true as fearless, and in a moment he held it up for us to handle and admire. A rub with sand and a polish with oil would make it ready for use. While he had been at work an assistant or apprentice had been busy with an adze rough-hewing the next block into a solid hemisphere. It was then rudely but skilfully pounded on to the pegs with a big stone—Hunza has little need of hammers with so many stones of every size to hand—and we saw the new bowl carved out from first to last. When this was finished and we had taken as many photographs as we wished, the old man, with courteous hospitality, left his work to show us his house and fields and bring us out into the nearest lane—paved wholly with broken, wobbling boulders—that

322 would lead us home. A happy man he looked, though he told us that his back ached nowadays at work with lathe or plough, as it never used to do, and perhaps we had English medicines that would meet the case. We could only offer the sad tidings that we too, when we walked or rode or worked, were subject to fatigue and aches undreamt of in younger days, and that even in England the doctors knew no medicines to defeat on-coming age. This, oddly, seemed to comfort him a lot: "We're all ageing together then," he said, and we all three laughed a vain defiance at the years, "and we old ones have more skill and experience than the others, haven't we?"

462 Apart from their never-ending spinning the women have
241 many valuable crafts, though they are less spectacular than the
252 men's. They all bake a large variety of bread and scones from their blent flour—not only grains being pressed into the service, but pounded mulberries, walnuts, peas and beans, and semi-wild berries—and when *maltash* is available they make cakes and pastries of a dozen kinds. The vegetable patches are in their care, and amongst their many greens, their gourds, cucumbers and marrows, they tend a lot of plants whose seeds or leaves or flowers are valued as flavourings, and grow a little flax and mustard to supplement their apricot oil. In spring their plots are lit with the large blossoms of many-coloured poppies, whose seeds are not wasted on opium but scattered into the vegetable pot. They also grow small quantities of maize as a vegetable, but they do not consider it profitable as a major
249 crop. The kinder-hearted find a corner for tobacco for the
534 men's pipes, which circulate of an evening in the shade when
563 the day's work is done and someone tinkles a zither or tootles on a flute. These instruments are home-made like everything else, and are often very beautifully finished; we were neither of us qualified to judge of the music the players conjured up. To our unskilled ears it sounded amateurish, but eminently cheerful and pleasing. Serious music of drum and pipe and
262 kettledrum is the monopoly of the Béricho. When the women weed their crops they sort out the dandelion, stitchwort, and sorrel for their own brews before throwing the residue to
[illegible] the cow. And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots,

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland. 326 533 563 [651]

The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil. 325

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh." 326 316 135

This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy. 306 301 [135]

Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work 322 177

•322 that I have seen performed, I am not too sure that
[177] our wood workers could teach them any new tricks. The thing they're short of is suitable wood.

[415] One of the important functions of the wood turner is to fashion bowls which are made out of either mulberry, willow or apricot wood. The wood turner also
[352] makes charpoys, chests, jewel boxes, bowls and chairs and I believe he is capable of making anything that can be fashioned out of wood.

461 One definite thing impressed me about these various craftsmen and that was the fact that time was meaningless. Their craft was the important thing. Whatever had to be done had to be done right whether it required an hour or a day or a week.

461 There were many things that I would have liked to
126 purchase or arrange for but some of them would require days to produce and it was not my desire to hurry anybody. After seeing their pleasant way of life, I had no intention of disturbing it. Whatever was available that I wanted, I would take with me. Anything else could be sent on or else I would do without it.

to the average little red school house in the West. The one in Baltit was quite a bit better and as good as any of our schools of 25 years ago . . . which I would say was mighty fine going for a far off place like Hunza. 871

Then I asked the Mir what had happened to John Clark's woodworking school and he told me, with calm deliberation, that he knew and felt that Mr. Clark was an earnest, honest man with the best of intentions. . . . "But, how could he," went on the Mir, "hope to improve the economy of our little country by means of a woodworking school and the training of our men in woodcraft when we do not have the required wood? We can't cut down our apricot trees, which are our very life, in order to get wood to use in making things that we could export to the United States!" 874 322 177 114

Then I recalled from Mr. Clark's book that he did have great difficulty in locating suitable lumber for his school.

From what I have read and learned on the scene about Clark's work, I know he was a man of high caliber and integrity and did a mighty good job with the boys, but for some strange reason there is an unusual silence about his work and his efforts. I could neither understand nor explain it. I'm still trying to get the true impression of the people concerning this matter.

At this point I want to emphasize that I am not seeking to pick a battle with anyone, but from my travels back and forth and around the Hunzan territory, it is fantastic to believe that there could ever be sufficient timber to make it worthwhile to run a woodworking school, especially to make woodcraft for export purposes.

Stonecraft, yes—for stones, even including some of the more precious and rare types, could without doubt be found in Hunza or at least in the mountains close

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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874 by. And if they were taught to make useful jewels and
177 do other types of work with rock, then they would have
322 something, because the supply is absolutely unlimited.
114 I agree wholeheartedly with the Mir that the thought of making a worthwhile contribution to the people of Hunza by opening a woodcraft school is utter nonsense.

324

324 STONE INDUSTRY--methods of shaping stone (e.g., chipping, pecking, grinding), materials used; products not elsewhere described; special stone industries (e.g., carving of tombstones and monuments); specialized personnel and organization, etc. See also:

Work in gems 306
Quarrying 316
Masonry 333
Cement manufacture 339
Monuments 340
Tools 412
Moving of heavy weights 480

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

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342 which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

were all a dark sinister crimson and gave out a suffocating 133
smell of sulphurous gas. Our men urged us to "press the pace," for the friable, forbidding cliff face above looked as if it were not nearly done with shedding boulders. There is assuredly no myth more misleading than that of the "everlasting hills."

From river level we could see the pin-scratch along the 487
cliffs on our right, some 600 or 800 feet above the river, and, often as we had ridden the road before, it seemed incredible that it could be possible to round it. The cliffs on our left bore similar scratches, representing the Hunza road between the two oases of Mayun and Hindi. Poor starved-looking little places they seem in contrast to the rich Nagir ones. We chaffed our Hunzukuts that obviously the Nagir road up the gorge was the better one since Government had chosen it for the regular route. They rose at once to the bait: the Hunza road was really the better and well kept up—which we could quite believe since the Mir always travels it himself, not to trespass on Nagir territory more than he can help—it had only one slight drawback: there were seventeen places between the two oases where "shoots" were apt to carry it away.

As we scrambled our way along through the riverside 252
boulders we noticed dozens of discarded millstones, some 324
broken, some apparently perfect. Not that people bring their old millstones here to cast away! The opposing cliffs at this point happen to provide the best type of stone for mills, and, oddly, those on the Hunza side make the better nether millstones and those on the Nagir side the better upper ones (or it may be *vice versa*. David will have it accurately noted). When you want a new millstone you travel your ten or twenty miles or more to these cliffs, choose what seems the most promising boulder for your purpose, and with a rough bit of iron hack and chip it into a circle of the radius and depth required. You then bowl it home your ten or twenty or more miles like a child's hoop, up ravines and across gorges to your mill. If it hasn't broken as you fashioned it, which it frequently does—this explains the number of discarded millstones that here strew the countryside—it may very likely break on the rude road home. If so, you just go back and carve yourself another.

1 [The Hunza River—Analysis]

A note of bitterness crept into the Hunza voices. Whereas Hunza permits the Nagirkuts to cross the river and help themselves free to Hunza stones, the Nagir people levy a tax on all stones taken from their side. So our folk averred; but very probably we should hear the tale reversed if we spoke to Nagir millers on the subject. For the Burusho of Hunza and Nagir, though they speak the same language, are of different race and mentality, and understand each other as little as the Saxon and the so-called Celt, and the rivalry of centuries divides them. At one point they both professed the Shiah faith, but since the Hunzukuts some four or five generations ago adopted the Ismaili (or "Maulai") heresy religious differences have added to their ever-wakeful mutual hostility.

Quitting these contentious subjects, we essayed some photographs by the water's edge and turned sharp to mount a side-gorge and reach the level of the cliff road above, by the steepest thing calling itself a path you ever saw. The new Minapin ponies were happily sturdier than the rocking-horses, and managed to climb almost vertically for 600 feet or so. A brisk torrent, which is most of the time a waterfall, pours down the gorge[1] the sides of which are lined with trees and grass, and the track runs right through a most picturesque little village called Tishót. The stone houses are almost indistinguishable from the rocks against which they are built, one here, one 20 feet above, just wherever they can be got to stick. The ponies took the four-foot steps from boulder to boulder as if they had been taught circus riding up and down the Great Pyramid. I never professed to be a horsewoman, and I don't know the orthodox way of staying in the saddle when my pony's back is perpendicular, so I shamelessly wound my right hand in his flowing mane, pressed the stirrups back, and lurched triumphantly to the top. When we emerged on to the fan above we felt so virtuous after the climb that we halted to drink tea, though we had only done four miles and had not really deserved it. Our usual routine on these slow marches was to divide the day's ride into three: have thermos tea at one-third and lunch at two-thirds the distance, and thus let Shafi get well ahead to be preparing the evening meal.

[1] [of the Hunza River -- Analyst]

little stones of any shape—the longest and oval ones being preferred—are used. There is one kind of stone especially which is much used for that purpose; it is called "Balósh Batt," which is found in Hanza, N'agyr, Skardo, and near the "Demídeldèn" hill already noticed, at a village called Pareshinghi near Astor. It is a very soft stone and large cooking utensils are cut out from it, whence the name, "Balósh" Kettle, "Batt" stone, "Balósh Batt." The stone is cut out with a chisel and hammer; the former is called "Gitt" in Astori and "Gukk" in Gilgiti;" the hammer "toi" and "Totshdeg" and in Gilgiti "sam-denn." The gunpowder is manufactured by the people themselves.*

The people also play at backgammon, [called in Astóri "Patshis," and "Takk" in Gilgiti,] with dice [called in Astóri and also in Gilgiti "dall."]

Fighting with iron wristbands is confined to Chilasi women who bring them over their fists which they are said to use with effect.

The people are also fond of wrestling, of butting each other whilst hopping, etc.*

To play the Jew's harp is considered meritorious as King David played it. All other music good Mussulmans are bid to avoid.

The "Sitara" [the Eastern Guitar] used to be much played in Yassen, the people of which country as well as the people of Hunza and Nagyr excel in dancing, singing and playing. After them come the Gilgitis, then the Astoris, Chilasis, Baltis, etc. The people of Nagyr are a comparatively mild race. They carry on goldwashing which is constantly interrupted by kidnapping parties from

THE OPPOSITE HUNZA.

* "Powder" is called "Jehuti" in Astóri and in Gilgiti "Biles," and is, in both dialects, also the word used for medicinal powder. It is made of Sulphur, Saltpetre and coal. Sulphur = dantail. Saltpetre = Shde in Astori, and Shoni in Gilgiti. Coal = Kári. The general proportion of the composition is, as my informant put it, after dividing the whole into six and a half parts to give 5 of Saltpetre, 1 of coal, and ½ of Sulphur. Some put less coal in, but it is generally believed that more than the above proportion of Sulphur would make the powder too explosive.

ʃiʃerk copper. *ʃerum ʃiʃerk* nickel-plated metal. 000

(The same word as the preceding. Cp. Sh. *ʃaliʃo rivi* "yellow copper", i.e. brass).

ʃiʃ'ast y defeat. — *ʃiʃ'ast iʃhi'ar* to defeat someone. Pre.

ʃimdev y Saturday. — *ʃiʃwilo ʃimdev bila* today is Saturday. (Sh. *ʃrudev*).

ʃini y summer (the months Saratko, Asad and Sambula, approximately 22nd. June to 21st. September). — *ʃini di bila* summer has come.

ʃ'inimo pertaining to summer. — *ʃ'inimo ʃkero* the summer season. *ʃinimo* the the summer solstice.

ʃiruʃiro -mofe x black hawk (smaller than the *ʃirki*).

(Cp. Khe. *ʃinʃiʃ* "a hunting bird about the size of a *ʃirki*", which seems to be a reduced form of *ʃaliʃo ʃi.ʃ*, which was also recorded).

ʃiqdan (x) funnel of blacksmith's bellows. It is made of *ʃaliʃ* stone. The air from each of the two bellows is discharged into it by a pipe, and is directed by it on the fire. 325

A word *ʃiq* = tube, quill + *dan*, stone).

-ʃiqir v. *zurʃiqir*.

-ʃ'ipin, pl. *-ʃ'ipipo* x child's penis. 000

(For the use of a separate word for a child's penis cp. Sh. *ʃoil* and Wkh. *ʃal*).

ʃipiʃ' -iq y Incense (grown for fodder), Pre. *vziko*. (Cp. Sh. *ʃipiʃ*).

1. *ʃiqa* y sg. and pl., d.pl. *ʃiqaiq*, grass. — *ʃan ʃiqow ʃhiqive* me a blade of grass. *ʃiqa diʃkiʃa* a blade of grass has come up. *ʃiqa ʃuve* a bundle of grass. *ʃwyʃan ʃiqa ʃifran* there is dried grass, hay. *wazirer*

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland.

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The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil.

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Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh."

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This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy.

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Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work

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1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central stream. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet
513 long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
354 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of
324 hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a
322 lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Bericho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
342 for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons
of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from
suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece,
no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows
supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the
man or woman who could not construct the one required
would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins
and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-
prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful
five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of
gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame
and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the
lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots.
When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at
any moment will shear another sheep while the women and
children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326 ●
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563

son, and is accounted a rare treasure; but for the most part local Béricho make such simple iron goods as are wanted: the slightly convex baking-griddle, the tripod, the simple shears, the sickle blade, the iron tip which shoes the wooden ploughshare, the unpretentious iron razor, the rough tongs, the horseshoe, the spatula for turning bread. The Béricho form the only "caste" in Hunza in anything like the Indian sense.

The story goes that long ago—two hundred years or so, perhaps—some prince of Hunza rendered a service to the ruler of Baltistan, and was duly asked to name his recompense. He coveted neither gold nor horses, but begged for a few families of artisans. These were presented to him and allotted land in Hunza where they settled and multiplied, supplying the Burusho with blacksmiths for such rare iron as they could obtain, and with musicians to enliven their feasts and games of polo. These strangers in the midst are treated with courtesy and kindness, but remain "foreigners" and social inferiors. The Burusho will not intermarry with them. A threat to a troublesome daughter is said to be: "If you don't behave, I'll marry you to a Bérits"; but we never heard the threat employed, still less a case of its being carried out. Each Burusho household pays a small yearly tax to the Béricho community, and in return the blacksmiths tour the villages once or twice a year and make or mend whatever is required. You will see a little crowd gathered in the corner of someone's garden and in the centre the blacksmith crouching beside his simple forge—a few stones ingeniously built up to contain his charcoal fire, with a neat, hollow tube of soapstone below it, into which the bellows play; a stone anvil sunk in the ground; these accessories are provided on the spot and the blacksmith's outfit consists of his hammer and his skill. The bellows is a double one; two goatskin bags are fitted with a nozzle at one end; at the other, two wooden lips that open as you raise your hand and meet tightly in your fist as you press down. They are worked with the right and left hand alternately, and the peasant whose job is in hand is expected to do the blowing.

The Béricho preserve their own customs, and though the menfolk all talk Bitrushaski, Dumákî is the language of their

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "chogi." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza ong, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Dona, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

326 tion of these unusual people stirred up an interest within
533 me, and I wanted to know more about them. I found
563 very little data could be obtained from any of the books I had been able to read on the subject.

[173] But after much discourse and questioning, I learned what I had begun to suspect . . . that the Bericho were actually gypsies who had come to India more than 2,000 years ago. From India, as good gypsies would do, they fanned out to spread themselves in small groups over the entire country . . . some ultimately settling in Baltistan, from whence a colony were sent off to Hunza.

Their place of abode is actually a village known as Berishal. It is a known fact that the people of Hunza depend entirely upon the Bericho for their iron-mongering and their tool-smithing and their music-making.

I was very happy to have unearthed this information so I can pass it along to my readers.

[871] These Berichos used to send their children out of
[167] Hunza to be educated and the Mir told me that he had to put a stop to this practice . . . not because he objected to the children of the Bericho being educated, but because the children did not return or remain with the trade of their parents. As the Mir's country needed artisans of this type, he had to put a stop to their sending their children elsewhere for education.

The Mir went on to tell me how important these Berichos were to the community. They fashioned farm
[414] implements as well as hardware like hinges, latches, razors and many other essential farm and household necessities that are fashioned from metal. Besides making the implements of peace, the blacksmith could also fashion a shotgun barrel.

[651] He further mentioned that each household in the community pays a small tithe as a contribution to-

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland. 326 533 563 [651]

The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil. 325

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh." 326 316 135

This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy. 306 301 [135]

Yes, there was a wood-turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work 322 177

302 safety hair removing instruments. So please tell me what kind of an instrument the people of Hunza use to remove the hair from their face."

[326] "I'll be glad to show you!" . . . and with that, he displayed a homemade razor, one made by the smithy of the village. "Similar instruments are made by the smithys in the various other villages throughout Hun-
[795] za," he went on. "Our religion recommends that our faces be kept clean of hair."

"I will also have a razor made for you and sent along with the shoes."

123 "Thank you very much," I said to the Mir. "I am very grateful. I was really and truly hoping you'd say that, because that is another item that I would love to add to my collection."

I didn't know how to thank him for all these very lovely gifts, but I was somewhat concerned as to how I'd carry them all the way home. It was absolutely unthinkable to ship them individually or separately because I certainly wouldn't want any of them lost.

With the exception of the silver tea service, the other items were things that I had specifically wanted and had mentioned at one time or another. The Mir had keen ears and each and every item that I had mentioned was there as a gift for me.

To my friend, Cec Brunton, he also presented a Hunza hat and a cane of a little different type.

Not being a hunter it is understandable that I would not appreciate an ibex or a Marco Polo sheep head as a trophy, but most assuredly I would hang or display all of the items that the Mir was presenting to me most conspicuously in my home. And if perchance my wife wouldn't feel that some of them were sufficiently ornate or perhaps were unbecoming to her living room, then I would proudly hang them in my office. In fact, I felt

624 would pay them a small retaining fee if they would take it in
124 turns to be "on duty" with him in their spare time. They would obviously be useful informants.

487 We had to walk along in single file. There is no "road" in
312 Hunza where two people can walk abreast, or along which you can ride, except the "Great North Road" running through from Kashmir to Kashgar, and even it is never more than 4 to 6 feet wide. The other tracks run mostly beside small water-channels to enable people to get from one sluice to another to juggle the water now off, now on. Even when you have a neat little track fairly horizontal (there are only three of these possible for ordinary walking) it is broken every few yards by a sluice which you must jump or step over carefully so as not to interfere with the water arrangements or, alternatively, break your leg. The sluices are the simplest things imaginable—just a gap in the side wall of the channel which can be closed with a couple of convenient, slab-like stones and plastered up with mud from the watercourse. Occasionally there is a little wooden shutter which can be raised or lowered in wooden slots at the side.

As we went along David asked the names of the various kinds of water-channels, fields, etc., that we saw (the names he already knew, but not at first hand which kind was which), and presently we had a train of bright-eyed boys in the fields on each side, full of amusement at this new game. One would cry: "This stone is a flint; this is a stink-stone," whereupon he would crack it and give it to us to notice the faint smell of sulphur it gave out. Another would run up: "Here's a poppy and a poppy-head"—so we were not going to lack for willing teachers.

After a little we turned down a narrow "lane," less like an English lane than anything else on earth. It plunged downhill pretty steeply, sometimes just a rocky slope, sometimes just one boulder below another making a very crude flight of steps varying from 18 inches to 3 feet or so. Beside the "path" ran the inevitable water-gutter in which you could walk, as it happened at the moment to be dry.

417 On each side, a bare 3 feet apart, were the usual walls of
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loose stone. It is amazing how they get these walls to stand up, 6, 7, 10 feet high, without an ounce of mortar or mud. At the bottom they put huge stones like portmanteaux, then smaller ones like bandboxes, then others the size of quartern loaves, till as you get towards the top they have come down to the size of penny buns. Each is carefully chosen to fit as neatly as possible into the space left by the last, and wherever there is a gap left they choose a small stone that will just fit and wedge it in tight. The walls are really a beautiful sight. These side ones they build partly because they want a boundary to their field, but much more, I think, because if you didn't pile the stones somewhere there would be no field at all. There are no gates. Wood is scarce and very precious and, besides, at different seasons and for different purposes you might want the gate now in one place, now in another. So when you want to get in, you just pull down as much of the wall as necessary and build it up again when your work is done.

Presently we came to a large garden with handsome walnut trees, its long wall broken by a wooden door now open. Hurmat told us that this was the semi-royal domain, where the Mir's first wife and what the German royalties would call his morganatic family were settled. Festivities were going on inside, and we were assured that anyone might enter. Fortified by this we went in and were made welcome by two semi-royal grandsons, one a lad of seventeen or eighteen and one a jolly little boy of perhaps ten, who were sitting on a carpet spread on a raised piece of ground below some trees. Our hosts made us immediately at home, and a chair was fetched for me.

There was a little grass under the trees, and just inside the wall an open earthen space like a bit of a school playground. The band was sitting against the wall, while men and boys were dancing and a largish audience was clapping and hurrahing at intervals. Baskets and dishes of ripe apricots were lying about everywhere, and everyone helped himself as inclined. Fruit was brought for us and the merry-making went on as before. It was delightfully gay and informal and our young hosts did not allow us to feel out of things. We took care not to stay too

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 16

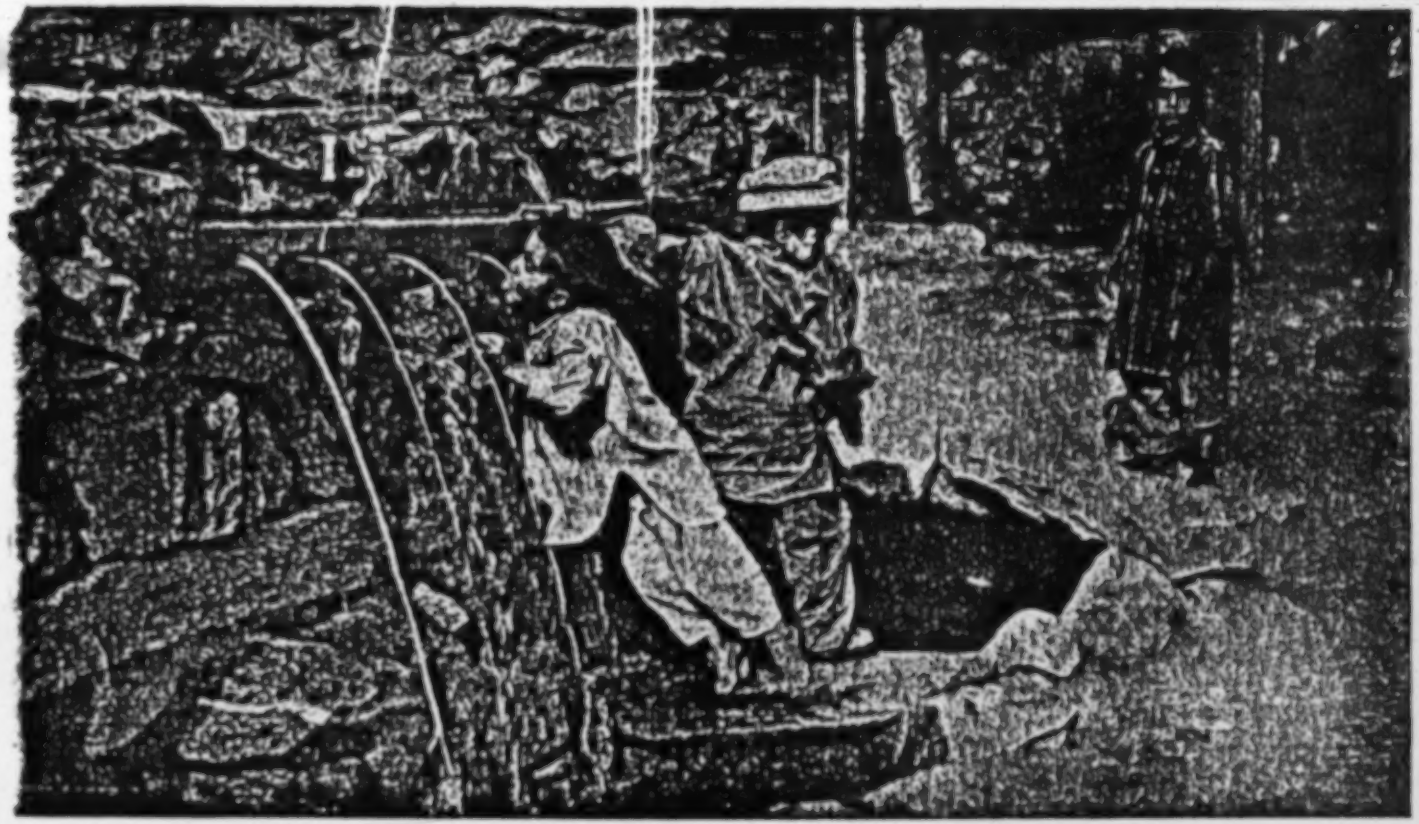
HOME LIFE AT No. 1

293 When the women are working in the fields through the heat
[132] of the day—and it is very, very hot at 7,800 feet with a tem-
854 perature of 105° in the shade—they usually have a large square
482 of cotton cloth with them, which they sometimes throw over
their heads for protection. This cloth turns in for all sorts of
purposes; if you are carrying a small quantity of flour home
from the mill you can wrap it up and tie it across from one
shoulder to the other armpit and so keep both hands free. If
the baby is too small to sit safely on your back or shoulders,
you treat it in the same way. In fact, if you see a woman with
this kind of bundle that appears to have two lumps in it you
may safely guess that it's a baby.

342 I made great friends with the family who worked just below
us (I have named them in my notebook Household No. 1), and
I felt quite sad when their wheat harvest was over—it was so
convenient just to run down and join them in sight of our own
windows. They asked me, however: "Won't you come home
and sit in our shade?" Of course I accepted with delight. It
was just a few steps along the Dála and down one of the little
lanes, half path, half watercourse. We came to a slightly taller,
mud-plastered wall on the left with a wooden door in it.
Through this I stepped in to a tiny courtyard with a shed on
each side, one for straw and one for the lambs and kids. The
[333] house itself is just a rough cube of stones plastered with mud,
and it has a flat roof with a smoke-hole in it above the central
hearth. You go up by a ladder, and the roof makes a nice place
for sitting out, watching the neighbours go by, spinning, and
drying apricots. It has a second store-room built on a part of

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P43-A]



SCENE MORE TYPICAL of neighboring Gilgit than of Hunza is this one showing boys at a community fountain. Until a short time ago, little if any pipe had been available in Hunza. Water, called "glacial milk," comes from ice sheets.

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4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

312 four and a half feet wide by one foot deep, which means a considerable flow of water. On this channel the cultivation of Hunza proper entirely depends; should it fail, starvation stares the people in the face. It is not surprising, therefore, that the greatest care should be expended on its preserva-
[412] tion. But what is wonderful is the excellence of the result arrived at. It must be remembered that the people have no proper tools, no crowbars and dynamite to assist them. A tiny pick of soft iron, which looks like a child's garden tool, shovels fashioned out of wood, and a few poles as levers,
[333] are all that they have to work with. The use of mortar is unknown; all their walls are of dry masonry. Yet with all these disadvantages, with nothing but their eye as a guide to levels, they have carried this great irrigation channel for six miles, and turned an arid desert into a garden. For the most part it is true it runs along the side of a gently sloping mountain, but it also crosses many deep and perpendicular-sided ravines, and encounters masses of rock which have to be circumvented. It is a splendid work, and I admired it more every time I walked along it.

159 The Thum was too unwell with fever to return my visit, and his Wazir came in his stead. Robertson went up to see the Chief, and prescribed for him, with the result that the descendant of Alexander, as he considered and called himself, got into a state of abject terror, thought his last hour was come, and refused to take the second dose which was the natural sequence of the first. Robertson reported that he was a coward, that he had literally

ANTIQUITY

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet
513 long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
354 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that
324 of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a
322 lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Béricho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
342 for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer
● 335 piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold
and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort
322 of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old,
home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and inde-
pendent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully
291 terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the
skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the
415 cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now
considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water
carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and
stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are
woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very
scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root
415 of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown
primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for
baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying
apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and
dried fruit.

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but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also
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command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
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3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

439 shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bëricho (sg. Bërits; b'e·ri·čo, b'e·ri·ts), corresponding to the Doms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also [335] within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

463 Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

531 I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

535 563 534 Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bëricho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitär is known.

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

342 The Hunza dwelling house is a fortress-like cube of stone and mud whose front door is screened from the hostile outer air by a barn,

102

342 the door of which is strategically placed at right angles to, and some
354 distance from, the main door. The only ventilation is the central
171 smoke-hole of highly elaborate construction, three wooden frames

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186 A note of bitterness crept into the Hunza voices. Whereas
324 Hunza permits the Nagirkuts to cross the river and help
798 themselves free to Hunza stones, the Nagir people levy a tax
563 on all stones taken from their side. So our folk averred; but
578 very probably we should hear the tale reversed if we spoke to Nagir millers on the subject. For the Burusho of Hunza and Nagir, though they speak the same language, are of different race and mentality, and understand each other as little as the Saxon and the so-called Celt, and the rivalry of centuries divides them. At one point they both professed the Shiah faith, but since the Hunzukuts some four or five generations ago adopted the Ismaili (or "Maulai") heresy religious differences have added to their ever-wakeful mutual hostility.

000 Quitting these contentious subjects, we essayed some photographs by the water's edge and turned sharp to mount a side-gorge and reach the level of the cliff road above, by the steepest thing calling itself a path you ever saw. The new Minapin ponies were happily sturdier than the rocking-horses, and managed to climb almost vertically for 600 feet or so. A
●342 brisk torrent, which is most of the time a waterfall, pours
361 down the gorge[1] the sides of which are lined with trees and grass, and the track runs right through a most picturesque little village called Tishót. The stone houses are almost indistinguishable from the rocks against which they are built, one here, one 20 feet above, just wherever they can be got to stick.
000 The ponies took the four-foot steps from boulder to boulder as if they had been taught circus riding up and down the Great Pyramid. I never professed to be a horsewoman, and I don't know the orthodox way of staying in the saddle when my pony's back is perpendicular, so I shamelessly wound my right hand in his flowing mane, pressed the stirrups back, and lurched triumphantly to the top. When we emerged on to the fan above we felt so virtuous after the climb that we halted to drink tea, though we had only done four miles and had not really deserved it. Our usual routine on these slow marches was to divide the day's ride into three: have thermos tea at one-third and lunch at two-thirds the distance, and thus let Shafi get well ahead to be preparing the evening meal.

1 [of the Hunza River -- Analyst]

Chapter 12

SETTLING IN

July 1934.

485 THIS Aliábád bungalow is a good deal bigger than the ordinary
342 rest-house, for it was enlarged to make room for a resident Assistant Political Agent (whose post after a year was found unnecessary), and then two further rooms were added on to accommodate on occasion the Political Agent himself (who never stays there). There is a good-sized dining-room, with pantry behind; a double bedroom with a bow window; two single bedrooms; three bathrooms of the primitive dak-bungalow variety of course (one of which we at once earmarked for a "dark-room"), and a really handsome sitting-room with another bow window; finally—an unexpected and welcome luxury—a store-room with plenty of good shelves where we could stack our modest supply of stores and all our spare stationery. At the back there are the usual kitchen, servants' quarters, "stables," and what not. Everything was most scrupulously clean when we arrived, and for this we had to thank the forethought of our good friend the Mir. It happened that our old "head-boy," Nazar (already mentioned), was up from Gilgit on leave at his home in Aliábád, and the Mir bade him take charge and get the house ready as he thought we should like it.

000 He gladly took over for a few days from Dádo, whom we sent off to see his people. The poor boy came back to find that his mother and his grandmother had died during his absence. This hit him hard, and when we stammered our sympathy he murmured: "It is God's will." We were glad to hear that he has a wife and baby boy to cheer him. To show how much we appreciated his devotion on the journey up—which had far

2:Lorimer:T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7
342
142 PLATE VII
291

Group on roof of No. 1 watching passers-by in street below. Small boy is carrying baby on his back of whom nothing is visible but tiny fists on brother's shoulders.

(See Chap. 16)

[Facing P. 88]

Chapter 16

HOME LIFE AT No. 1

293 WHEN the women are working in the fields through the heat
[132] of the day—and it is very, very hot at 7,800 feet with a tem-
854 perature of 105° in the shade—they usually have a large square
482 of cotton cloth with them, which they sometimes throw over their heads for protection. This cloth turns in for all sorts of purposes; if you are carrying a small quantity of flour home from the mill you can wrap it up and tie it across from one shoulder to the other armpit and so keep both hands free. If the baby is too small to sit safely on your back or shoulders, you treat it in the same way. In fact, if you see a woman with this kind of bundle that appears to have two lumps in it you may safely guess that it's a baby.

● 342 I made great friends with the family who worked just below us (I have named them in my notebook Household No. 1), and I felt quite sad when their wheat harvest was over—it was so convenient just to run down and join them in sight of our own windows. They asked me, however: "Won't you come home and sit in our shade?" Of course I accepted with delight. It was just a few steps along the Dála and down one of the little lanes, half path, half watercourse. We came to a slightly taller, mud-plastered wall on the left with a wooden door in it. Through this I stepped in to a tiny courtyard with a shed on each side, one for straw and one for the lambs and kids. The
[333] house itself is just a rough cube of stones plastered with mud, and it has a flat roof with a smoke-hole in it above the central hearth. You go up by a ladder, and the roof makes a nice place for sitting out, watching the neighbours go by, spinning, and drying apricots. It has a second store-room built on a part of

342 it, exactly over the main store-room below. There is no parapet, only a tiny raised rim to direct the rain into a small gutter-hole, on the rare occasions when there is rain; but it has a fringe of cut thorn bushes arranged round the edge to prevent an enterprising goat jumping across from the next-
351 door roof not many feet away. I didn't, however, go up on to
296 the roof, but on into a larger courtyard where there was a pool in the corner at which their washing is done. They would not dream of polluting the running water by washing themselves or their clothes in it as it flows by; they draw off what they want for these purposes into a separate pond of their own.
351 Then under a large shady tree there was a raised stone plat-
513 form which acts as a "sofa" by day and as a double or treble or quadruple bed by night—for, except in the depth of winter, nobody sleeps indoors. There was another raised platform, with a wall at the back and open in front and sides, roofed in for another sleeping place. It had a railing along under the roof, and over this were hung all sorts of padded quilts, homespun
[136] blankets, sheepskins, etc.—the family bedding. All the bedding is taken out and hung up every day, which helps to account for the complete lack of vermin—which I confess came to us as a happy surprise. In all our year in Hunza we saw only *one* flea, and that, as David said, was emphatically our own!

245 Round the corner from these sleeping places I got into a
312 walled-in shady garden full of fruit trees—apples, mulberries, peaches, apricots, and vines. It is incredible how luxurious mere *shade* is at such a temperature. It wasn't remotely like a garden in our sense. The earth was bare without one blade of grass or green, and was all cut up into little beds round each precious tree, with banks between them, so that the water could be directed to each tree as desired, when it was No. 1's
514 turn to have water at all. In the far corner of the garden was
343 a neat little circular "open-air pulpit." We had seen these pulpits dotted about, but—stupidly—did not at once guess what they were for. Coming straight from Kashmir, where the approach to each homestead is ankle deep in filth, or remembering Arab habits in Iráq, we never expected that we should find in Hunza a people as scrupulously decent as ourselves in

463 ment departments, act as postal runners or dispensary assistants, do part-time jobs as "levies," or enter the private employment of British officers. Travel where you will in the Agency, some enterprising Hunza man is there before you, as carpenter or washerman, as touring merchant or in Government employ. You may even meet an old Hunza taxi-driver in Bombay or a Hunza *chaprassi* in Lahore.

177 At first the Mir rather discouraged these farther-afield
167 adventures, and not unwisely. New ideas, new customs, new dress, imported from abroad might well upset the happy balance of the home civilization; but the increasing pressure of population—a dubious benefit the *Pax Britannica* is wont to bring—makes some outlet necessary for ambitious youth, and some supplement necessary for home support, and the Mir's policy has been modified accordingly. With rare exceptions the travellers' hearts remain in their Hunza highlands; they go for a few years and return with newly acquired skill, with a set of carpenter's tools it may be, with a smoothing-iron or a sewing machine, to resume work on the family farm and earn a little "on the side."

593 We heard that a new house was being built by a certain
342 Kalbi (not the Levy; one of another clan) and were invited to go down—some hundreds of feet—and see it in its half-finished state. "It must cost a lot to build a new house," we said. "How did you come to have money enough to spare?" "Well, you see, I have two sons away working—thank God." And, in fact, except in the few cases where the Hunza man goes over-far afield to Bombay or the Panjab, and needs his own earnings to support a down-country family, the Hunza son remits home every spare anna, knowing well that it will be spent on the home he himself will presently enjoy and share. When he comes back on leave he brings his mother an aluminium cooking-pot or basin to jostle the stone *balosh* and wooden bowl, or an iron bucket which incongruously companions the local gourd when his sisters go to draw the drinking water.

342 In theory there are any number of sizes and patterns of house which you can build in Hunza: the cow-pattern, the ant-pattern, and half a dozen more, but in actual fact there are

exactly two—the old Hunza pattern and the new so-called 342
Wakhi pattern. Most of the Áltít and Báltít houses are, for obvious reasons, of the older type—that designed no doubt by the three original Greeks!—most of the Aliábád houses are of the second, for Aliábád is a new place. Water was only coaxed on to it three or four generations ago; before which it was just barren mountain side with a light sprinkling of thorn jungle.

Having decided on the pattern and proportions of a new house, every peasant family is capable of tracing the foundations and rearing the walls and roof; neighbours will lend a hand, at this as at any other job, asking no fee but a meal when they are working and some return of help another day. In olden days the family, wielding the invaluable adze (when this succeeded the earlier ibex-horn), was competent to rough-hew its doors and cupboards, its posts and rafters. But in more recent years the "standard of living" has risen, and this shows distinctly in indoor architecture. If he can at all afford it, the house-builder will now call in a carpenter-neighbour to put finishing touches of superior excellence. The rough doors of the byres are still picturesquely home-made of adze-hewn poplar slices, threaded on two wooden cross rods and revolving on a spiked wooden post which turns in two rough sockets, but the house doors and cupboards are sawn and panelled, planed and hinged and fitted, to the increased comfort of the inhabitants—and the sorrow of the antiquarian. When we had reached Kalbi's house a cheery carpenter was hard at work sitting on the floor with shavings and sawdust round him, fashioning the elaborate, quadruple frame that forms the smoke-hole. We stayed a while and David wrote up notes about the various woods preferred, and dimensions of the various parts, and took photographs of the interior.

A little later one Mírbán offered to let us inspect his newly finished house before the family moved in. We rode a mile or so along the Báltít road, then turned up a steep, twisting, boulder-strewn lane till a new-fangled wooden door gave entrance to a short of irregular compound with three or four houses in it. The new one looked exactly like the others, for

342 after a day or two the stone-and-mud walls have dried to the same appearance of timeless indestructibility as those of fifty or one hundred years ago. We passed first, as always, through a small byre, not yet inhabited by its cow; then at right angles through a dark, narrow passage 5 or 6 feet long, and then through the low hall-door into the house itself. Your main object in building a house at all is to be as warm and free from draughts as possible during the "Great Cold," and no one in his senses would let his hall-door open straight on to the wind-swept mountain side. Hence the byre ante-room, which not only defeats the direct outside air, but contributes something of animal warmth to the human warmth within.

291 When we emerged into the living-room (the *atrium*, as it
281 were), beautifully bright with light from the smoke-hole, we
352 were standing in a shallow trough below the floor level where the newcomer kicks off his muddy boots in winter. Most people at all well-to-do wear soft home-made boots up to their knees in winter-time. But skins are precious and, however cold the weather, they take their boots *off* to save them when they come to an extra rough bit of ground. This entrance place has in it the "musicians' bench," under which are stored the family basin and similar utensils and on which is piled a store of firewood.

342 The floor of the room is a small square of hard-beaten earth
[352] which in this gloriously dry climate remains admirably clean; and roughly in the centre of it is a shallow hole, edged with four stone kerbs, which is the hearth. Behind the hearth is a low bench sacred to the lady of the house, the presiding genius
343 of indoors. Beside it she sits to do or superintend the cooking
251 and behind her is a low wooden door opening into the store-
[414] room; the home-made wooden key of which hangs always on her person. The store-room runs the whole width and height of the house. It has need to be a roomy place, for here stand the skin sacks of grain, the heaped baskets of potatoes, apples, dried mulberries and apricots, the kernels, the wool, the stone wine-jars, the jars of apricot oil, the basket of savoury herbs—all the family's supplies for a twelvemonth, which it is her duty to guard and to apportion.

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

As you enter, you turn your eyes left and with your free 342
right hand salute the master of the house and wish him peace. [576]
You will find him seated on a spacious dais raised well above 352
the earthen floor and comfortably carpeted with goats' hair rugs of his own weaving, or it may be with felt carpets from Kashgar. The left-hand wall of the dark passage through which you have entered screens the end of this recessed dais, and is lined with a capacious cupboard reaching to the ceiling. At the head of the dais is a gigantic wooden bin, divided into chambers each with its separate lid, in which the various kinds of flour are stored as they are ground for use: barley, wheat, millets, and buckwheats. The dais itself is 6 or 7 feet wide and 10 or 12 feet long, the men's sitting place by day and the major sleeping bench by night. Each person has his own set of 352
bedding—padded quilts or homespun blankets—in which he 513
rolls himself like a sausage. The sleepers lie crosswise on the bench, which is wide enough to let them stretch full length, and when neatly packed for the night eight or ten can be comfortably accommodated. On the opposite side of the room is 352
the minor bench, equally roomy, but an inch or two less raised, which is the women's sitting place by day, and at night the sleeping bench for women and children. It also has a built-up cupboard at the foot, and at the head, corresponding to the large flour bin, the housewife's spacious "yeast-cupboard" in which she keeps her kneading trough and rolling-pin, her cooking-pots and what not. Its door is at her left hand as she sits on her cross-bench, and the top of it serves as general shelf, table, and "dresser." A more admirable scheme of 342
architecture, better suited to the family's needs, would be 352
difficult to devise. The complete absence of windows gives a sense of security and cosiness; the complete absence of senseless "furniture" gives a delightful feeling of space and peace and leisure, and makes you want to go home and make a bonfire of your tables and chairs. How much more we have lost than gained by learning to sit on chairs and losing the pliability of joint that makes squatting natural. How much unnecessary domestic slavery goes to our "housework." Every 356
morning the Hunza women take the family rugs and bedding

157 belonging to a family in which Prince Ghazan Khán had been fostered, and who had thus acquired the extra land, etc., which is the recognized recompense for fostering royalty. We supposed that it was a desire to live up to this distinguished new connection (possibly it was a stipulation of the bride's people) that prompted his intention to set the young son, Kamber, up in a house of his own instead of bringing the new wife to share the parents' home.

● 342 Whatever lay behind this departure from custom, Nadíro sent his Hérul Nisa one day to tell me that he was setting out to "smite his poplars" if I would care to come. It was a *very* hot morning and I was deep in something else, but of course you'd never see anything if you weren't ready to take chances as they turn up. So I shouldered my camera and tripod, seized my long walking-stick (which is a great aid to climbing walls or leaping down them), on which I had made notches every foot to serve for measuring distances, and set off with Hérul Nisa. [423] "Where is father's poplar garden?" I asked. The Aliábád people have a bewildering way of possessing odd scraps of ground dotted about all over the place, just according as they have taken up one plot or another of the sometime royal land. "Oh, quite near," she said. Everything is "quite near" to these active people, who think less of a 500-foot climb than we think of running a hundred yards to the pillar-box at the corner. It was, in fact, a hot, vertical half-mile over the 342 roughest ground without even a track. Here on a rugged patch 313 of stony, steep-sloping ground, carefully walled in, I found the whole of No. 8 and several neighbours busily setting about the felling job. One man scrambled up and attached a rope near the top of the fated tree. Two or three laid hold of the rope and stood at some distance to pull in the right direction, while the old Ustád himself skilfully hacked a triangular bite out of the trunk near to the ground and then axed away. It was only a few minutes till the slender poplar crashed down. Then 314 Kamber and his friends hacked off the few remaining upper- 415 most branches—the lower ones had been cut long ago—and 313 the womenfolk and young people all clustered along the trunk to peel off the bark, taking care to get it off in strips as long

and wide as possible; for bark strips are useful for many 314
things. Some of the flakes were 3 or 4 feet long and 8 or 9 415
inches wide. They would be kept to make large drum-like con- 313
tainers for storage purposes. While the men proceeded to deal with the next tree, the women and young people filled shoulder baskets with chips and twigs and branches and carried them home to store. "Lots of firewood for a long time to come," smiled Bibi Anjir to me gleefully as she limped away as fast and as surefooted as a girl, despite the stiff leg.

I helped, of course, with gathering up the firewood and the 000
bark, but I was never allowed to shoulder a basket. I would have done it gladly enough many a time, but what with silly shoes (which always provoked my companions' sympathy: "It would be so much easier for you to walk safely barefoot, Mother"; I wondered, seeing that my incompetent, soft feet had been for half a century encased in foolish footgear!) and unpractised muscles a cross-country scramble unladen required all my attention. In any case, however, they would never hear of my carrying anything—"the Great must not do that," they said, and as we were enjoying so many privileges of "the Great," we had to pay the recognized penalties.

When the trees were all prostrate, I measured the effective 342
poles that remained and found they ran from 50 to 60 feet: 137
the original trees must have stood 60 or 70 feet high. The Ustád had put the saplings in himself when he walled and planted the "garden" twenty years or so before. Good timber like this is a sound investment. Sixteen good poplars go to the making of a house; up to twenty may be needed if they are smaller. If people are definitely quitting an old house for a new they will dismantle the former for the sake of rafters and cupboards, and you will occasionally see the shell of an old house standing derelict. But the cases of house-building which we actually came across were the hiving-off of son or brother and required new wood. A man who has no trees of his own to cut must, of course, buy them from some neighbour, and this, with the carpentry, will be the major expense.

The Ustád had already levelled the ground for the new house 342
beside his own, and soon the trenches were dug for the foun-

342 dations, and the walls erected, every stone for which old Nadíro totted down the mountain side on his own back.

531 We often said to each other : "These Hunza people are no artists; that's one reason perhaps why they are so sensible and so like ourselves." But when we looked at the millions and myriads of stones that held their fields, each one in its place, and all fitted as neatly as a jigsaw puzzle, when we examined the lovely curves and tapering points of their five-pronged winnowing forks and the lashings of gut or sinew that bound them, we agreed that they were artists after all—in their own medium.

531 For many months we saw Nadíro spending every spare
342 moment on the site, squaring and planing and trimming the posts and rafters, door-frames and cupboards that will be the pride of his posterity. He was lavishing great care on capitals, and ornamenting them and the lintels with fancy carvings. Except in the house of a special carpenter, carving is not indulged in in Hunza (a great contrast in this respect to Chitral, or even Yasin, where the Chitral tradition has penetrated). The few carved doors and windows that you see in the old forts and mosques at Áltít and Báltít probably date back to
[346] the Balti craftsmen who built them. There is a little old mosque in Aliábád attractively carved, but no one could tell us for certain whether some foreign craftsman had done the work or local men. The ordinary peasant house, at any rate, has none—Hunza peasant architecture is essentially "functional."

P. 132

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 presence there. It was tantalizing to delay our return to headquarters; on the other hand, since in common courtesy the visit must some time be paid, we had promised to visit Nagir before returning to Aliábád, so we remained on the Nagir side of the river and proceeded to that gloomy, sunless capital.

At Minapin, the last stage before Hunza or Nagir, as the case might be, we were met by a laughing, bright-eyed boy, too genial to be a Nagir product: it was Haiyáto's son (one of three) who had come the fourteen miles to meet his father, explaining "I was heartsick for you and the horse, my father."

Ernest, Dádo, and Qudrat Ullah had never been in Nagir before, and were much amused at seeing Hunza from across the water. Everything *did* look odd, Aliábád beacon-tower very imposing above the empty, graveyard hill. Nagir is more
241 spacious and richer than I had remembered. The fields are all slightly sloping and the revetting walls not nearly so high or
342 so well-built as those of Hunza. The houses, like the Gilgit houses, are mainly built of sun-dried brick, and looked tidy and neat. Upper balconies are rare, and it seemed to me that the smoke-holes were much smaller and usually at one side of the roof, but the roofs appeared to have a parapet of a foot or so all round. The villages, so familiar in profile from the Hunza side, are much deeper than their appearance from the
487 distance would suggest. The path from Sumair onwards up the Nagir gorge was very narrow, crumbly, and in poor repair, but looking at the texture of the cliffs it was not easy to see how anything radical could be done to improve it unless the course of it were entirely altered and carried much higher up and over the top of various bluffs and crags: an expensive engineering feat. Presently we came to an ugly *zhingát* on a long stretch of steep, almost fluid rubbish-heap slope—a place well remembered in my nightmares—across which the track, such as it was, was a bare 18 inches wide, and not even level at that. It is a good quarter of a mile; we took it on foot at the double, and were thankful to reach comparative safety at the other side, and see our horses and men follow without mishap. There is no shame in funking these things; the natives like them as little as we, and are as frank about it. Familiarity with a

No. XXIV.

The Khūrukuts and the Hamachāting.

In former times, they say, the Ulter grazing ground belonged to the Hamachāting. There was a road to Ulter up the Herāshūng above Bāltīt. This road used to do much damage to the land, (but the owners) were afraid to say anything to the Hamachāting about it. The Hamachāting were very powerful.

There was a woman called Shadun Kapūri, a wife of the Khūrukuts, and one day they made her sit down on the Herāshūng and said to her: "When the Hamachāting come from Ulter, jostle against them and then start shrieking out 'They have laid hands on me,' and we shall come (to your help)."

Presently the Hamachāting came down the Herāshūng carrying long juniper poles. Shadun Kapūri was on the road and they said to her: "Get out of the way!" She didn't budge. The Hamachāting are quick-tempered and one of them gave her a shove. On this she raised an outcry, shrieking: "May the crows eat them! They have laid hands on me." From one side and the other men ran up and caught hold of the Hamachāting and banged them about.

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7 *sti ks* — v. § 356. 2.

8 *dirbu* — *dir* is described as a "long branch", but the juniper has no branches to speak of. It is the main stems that are meant. Such timber, up to four or five inches in diameter, was formerly used as rafters for roofs. Cp. p. 214 l. 8.

000 view usually taken of the human abdomen, and that the y form denotes the belly as consisting of an assemblage of parts, intestines, stomach etc. — the aspect in which this portion of the body in animals is perhaps most earnestly regarded by people who do their own butcher work.

This theory seems to cover the single instance I have recorded in which the y form is used with reference to human beings — the woman's curse:

gu·liṇ ṣem (or *ṣerṣ*) may thy innards be devoured! an alternative, I believe, of identical meaning being: *gutsi·riṇ ṣem!* (*-*tsir* intestine etc.). (A later authority says that *-*uliṇ* is used of dead animals, *-*uliṣo* of living ones).

u·l, ul, (inside). — *u·l ne* inwards; + abl. to the inside of, on the inside of. *qau ečai.i u·l ne* he calls out to inside (the house). 164.6. *Xa·n Wali Škra·ritsum ul ne Murkuš* . . . inside (i.e. up the valley from) the X.W. tower, Murkush . . . 252.23. *Hasanaba·ditsum ul ne ite bər* the nullah on the inside of (i.e. behind and above) H. 238.3. *telatsum ul ne Šišpore xa* thence inwards (i.e. up the nullah) as far as Sisper. 238.5. (*u·l* cp. *u·lo; ne* Ppn. of *etas*, v. §§ 408.4, 416).

342 *'ulači* "clean place in the house for keeping flour in". — *'ulače.or d'emičan* they pour (the water) out in the "*ulači*". 314.4. (A later authority says the word denotes the innermost, private part of a house). 1

000 *ula·nas, ul'anas* N., *ula·-*, Impv. *ul'an*, to be able. — *je mu nrṣ ula·ya ba,*

52 b

1 [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 541-Analyst]

000 (Probably connected with *-ʌrʌs. Cp. d*-ʌrʌs in *ts.hil dewʌs*).

● 342 *yowči, yɔwči* -ŋ y a narrow section of the floor space at the lower end of the living-room (of a "Wakhi" pattern house) which is sunk somewhat below the level of the rest of the floor. Persons entering the house pass from the door into this space, and before advancing further strangers salute the master of the house, who will be seated on the superior platform (*uyum mʌn*) to the left of it. — *yowčilo dʌldi.ʌn* standing in the lower end of the room. 340.2.

(Correct the translation given with the text accordingly).

000 *-yu, pl. of 2. *-ĭ, q.v. V. also *-ʌk *-yu, sons. 20.3, 34.2,13, 260.1,18, 250.2.

*-yugušʌnts, pl. of *-ʌ.i, q.v. daughters. 116.3 ff., 180.12 ff.

1> *yuk* -ʌnts x bier (like a ladder), IUB bedstead or wooden frame (for removing dead body), H. *mərda leyaneka čarpai ya lakri*. — *yukʌts itsumʌn* they carried him off on a bier. Cp. 92.5.

(Cp. perhaps Sh. *yurko*, a kind of bier).

yulgrš, pl. *yulgi.ʌŋ* y. (The form of *-*ulgrš* with the Pn. Pf. -ĭ).

1. Nest (birds', wasps', bees'), burrow, hole, den. — *čhine yulgrš* the bird's nest. *hʌn čhinʌns osko yulgi.ʌŋ bitsʌn* one bird has three nests. (But: *osko čhiyus ulgi.ʌŋ* the nests of three birds). "*šrqəre yulgrš̆ər gurin ɛdrl'i*" *senam* they have said: "Don't put your hand in a wasps' nest", i.e. beware of, have nothing to do with, So and So. *šrqəre yulgrš* also an epithet applied to a very talkative

386 b

1 [see corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. 344
It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an 644
elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

Back about 400 years ago one of the rulers of Hunza [173] [648]
married a daughter of the King of Baltistan who, as a gift to his daughter and her husband, dispatched 500 workmen from his country to Hunza to erect the Baltit Fort that we now know. The rulers of Hunza dwelt in that fort and made it their palace until recent times. The present Mir, too, when he took office after the [712]
death of his father, resided in this palace known as Baltit Fort.

The new palace, in which we were being wined, [122]
dined and entertained, had been completed recently and was taken possession of by the present Mir about 7 years ago. Actually though, the new palace was started by the Mir's grandfather back as far as 1925.

While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I un- [692] [643]
derstand, would be used, on completion, as his court, where the citizens of Hunza would come with their problems and where the Mir would preside in judgment.

However, this work in no way interfered with the [342]
normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

and up and down the dangerous rivers. Yes, even the yak bones and horns are never wasted. Picks are fashioned from them. They even find their way into the walls of the homes of the people of Hunza, for they are lighter than stones. 231 237 [342]

Still I haven't yet mentioned what is generally accepted as the yak's most important contribution to the lives of the people in the highest mountain ranges in the world . . . and that is from the little green herbage they get, they give a good quantity of rich milk, from which is made the famous yak butter. Then last and perhaps even most important, it is butchered for its good quality, health-sustaining meat. 231 262

Even the yak tails are useful . . . as brooms or dusters . . . and many are shipped to the Western world and used as Santa Claus beards. And they do make the best Santa Claus beards of all. I know—I have a couple! 231 237 412 439

Now after you have had a chance to read these qualifications, perhaps you, too, will share my admiration and appreciation of the world's most useful animal. 000

I was up bright and early the morning I was to go to meet the yaks. Yes, it was just 6 o'clock when I was walking down the enclosed staircase towards the Mir's palace—leaving Cecil asleep, as he still had to remain in bed as the doctor had advised.

I met Jahangir coming from the other guest house and he joined me. We had agreed the previous night to be up at 6 but I never expected that it would work out right on the beam, as it happened in this instance.

So down we went along the stone staircases from one garden level to another until we reached the Mir's palace and then we began to climb up the long wooden staircase again.

As usual, the Mir was there to welcome us, along

361 sides. Few, if any, Hunza homes are ever built where the land can be tilled. Usually the site that is selected for a home is part of a rocky promontory or some other location where the land could not be used for crops. They just can't afford to use a piece of tillable soil for a homesite.

342 The houses or homes are usually built of stones or rocks. No cement or any other binding compound is used. Yet the homes seem sturdy enough to stand most anything. I also saw some that were built of clay.

342 231 The lower floor of the Hunzan house is usually divided into two sections. One section has either no roof over it or just a part roof or covering and there is an opening in the wall, but no door. This is where the animals are kept. The Hunzan pasture and forage supply doesn't allow for the larger beasts. The cattle of Hunza are the diminutive kind, bred and selected for their dwarfishness, so that they will require less feeding, but still yield an abundant udderful of rich milk. This applies to goats, sheep and cows. The partial covering over the courtyard is so that the animals will have some form of protection overhead.

342 Then beside this is the house proper, probably half again as large . . . maybe 12 or 14 feet square.

The Hunzan farmer steps from his home into the stable, so to speak. This, of course, would horrify the people of America but it is not to be regarded as a sort of calamity, as utter degradation, or as a matter of filth and ill health, because this system is practiced in most other parts of the world even at the present time.

231 795 The Hunzans, being Mohammedans, do not raise pigs. Therefore they don't have the conditions that pigs would create.

356 I'm sure that I visited many of these courtyards and

I don't think I was struck by any unpleasant or bad odors. No doubt you would assume that being a farmer, the excrement of animals wouldn't offend me and in saying that you'd be very, very right, but even with a city man's view, I don't think you would have found the Hunzan barnyards smelly or dirty. 356

The roof of the living quarters is just high enough so that a tall man can stand up in it without bumping his head. The Hunzan roofs usually have heavy timbers strung across—at least 3 inches thick and placed about 12 inches apart. They have to be that thick and heavy because on top of this is laid earth. Practically every home has an earthen roof. The floor, too, is of hard earth that has been pounded through years of use, until it is a good sound firm floor that can be readily swept and kept clean. 342

Apart from the Mir's palace, every other home that I visited in Hunza and in Nagir had earthen floors. Now naturally one wouldn't expect an earthen floor to be spic and span or shine and glisten the way a good hardwood floor can be made to shine and glisten. These earthen or clay floors can be made smooth and even be polished, and it is actually done.

Often the room is divided off to allow for a storage room, where the dried apricot stones and other fruits and vegetables are kept for winter use. [251]

In the center of the room a hole is dug and often stones are laid at the bottom. Here the fire is laid and this is how they keep warm during the winter and where they do their cooking. Above is a hole about 18 inches square to allow the smoke to escape. The people sleep on the floor within warming distance of the fire. Beds in the average Hunzan homes are unknown, but they have bed rolls or other cloth contraptions to make the floor softer. Some of the wealthier or well-to-do [354] 513 352 352

352 Hunzans have charpoys. Most homes have a chest, or two or three or more, in which they store and keep their belongings. The chests are used to sit on and perhaps eat off. The Hunzan home we visited had a table also.

513 286 Every Hunzan home has blankets for covering during the winter and these blankets are made of homespun wool which is carded, loomed and woven by the villagers. They are equal in weight and warmth to the best blankets that are made in the West. There is no danger of the blankets not being 100 per cent wool, because wool they can get from the sheep or yak's backs.

342 Practically every Hunzan home has an upstairs, too, and this is where the family lives during the summer. It is related that each spring on the 21st of March the family moves upstairs. When there are 4 or 5 members in the family the upstairs is usually divided into two sections or rooms, leaving an open balcony in the center.

342 512 The usual Hunzan home is a place to shelter the family against storms, rain, cold and snow. It is not used nearly as much for social intercourse as it is in the West. Therefore, they don't spend as much of their time in the homes. Practically all daylight hours during spring, summer and fall are spent in the fields.

164 Some authorities attribute the good health of the Hunzans to the fact that most of their time is spent out in the open air and sunlight. Could it be that we in the West spend too much of our time inside our comfortable homes and not sufficient outside in the glorious outdoors? This is something worthy of thought and study.

Considering the heights, the ledges, the precipices and steep inclines that are found throughout this country, it is remarkable that there are few cases of injury like broken or fractured limbs, serious accidents due to falling and such. But you must remember that from infancy, children are trained and learn how to

361 didn't just spring up overnight. By the appearance of
[342] the stone and mud houses, as well as all other features about the city, it was obvious that the city had been there for a long, long time.

Gilgit is indeed a strange city. It is one of these places that is right in the middle of nowhere, but to that mountain-harnessed area, Gilgit is a mighty important, strategic spot. Somehow I had the feeling that if there was a place called the "crossroads of the East" Gilgit had the sole right to the appellation, for through Gilgit would pass caravans from China, as well as travelers from Russia, Afghanistan, Persia, India, Pakistan and yes, undoubtedly from all other parts of the Eastern world.

000 While I did see quite a bit of the city and the surrounding country, I regret today that I didn't dig a little deeper and get about even more. I think Gilgit has many interesting stories to tell . . . how could it be otherwise? And if I ever go back (and I intend to) I would like to be the one who brings these tales to light!

121 The Gilgitis, from a health standpoint or from ap-
[164] pearance in general, did not impress me one bit. The people were somewhat similar to what you would find or expect in Pakistan or India. However, the moment I crossed the bridge over the Gilgit River and got into the hills, I resolved to concentrate, coldly and with deliberate calculation, on every individual we met. So many confusing and contradicting statements had been made about the people of Hunza, that I was firmly resolved that if study and scrutinization and observation would do the trick, then I would find out the truth.

124 Akbar was keeping pace with Cecil most of the time, while Sherin was with me, and I questioned him closely about every person that we happened to meet or pass. I had no trouble—none whatsoever—in spotting a Hun-

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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[p. 390-B1]

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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311

Hunzan houses have no chimneys—just a hole in the roof for smoke to escape.

[p. 390-B2]

out the services of a guide. 122

I can assure you that the Commander carefully selected the man, too. Although he looked like a boy, he was tall—about 6 feet 2 inches—lithe, alert, in fact, as smart and as capable a type of human being or soldier or both as 'twould be possible to find anywhere. Not that Jahangir needed it, but he certainly was in "high caliber" hands.

Bearing in mind that the two ponies we had were 122
stallions, I began to wonder if we might not have some 492
trouble on the trail, because Jahangir's mount was a mare. To you, this may not appear to be a genuine source of worry, because in the West the horses used for riding are practically always gelded and this eliminates any risk of difficulty. So you either ride a mare or a gelding.

I thought to myself, "What would happen if either 122
one of our stallion ponies began to get ideas on some of these high tortuous, winding mountain trails?" I knew from my reading that it does happen.

A man can work himself up into quite a stew by thinking of such things, and by now I was greatly worried about what would happen if my black stallion did become rambunctious on the trail. So I made up my mind that I would give that mare as wide a berth as possible.

I buried my worries by getting busy and snapping 342
a few pictures of the type of houses that we found [126]
here at Aliabad. They didn't differ very much from those we found elsewhere. They were not as well built and as clean as those we had found at Altit, but they were still quite neat and tidy by most other standards. Practically all the houses are built one on top of the [361]
other, as close together as the undulating region would allow, and it sure was obvious that a person couldn't

342 keep many secrets from his neighbors. From what I
361 saw, it was obvious that when a house was built in Hunza no attempt was made to level the ground but it was allowed to stand as nature made it and the house was erected according to the natural levels, dips, falls or heights.

As we wandered around the little Hunzan homes in this area, we had to climb up to get to this one, we had to drop down to examine that one and there were really no two on an identical level.

132 Then I remembered that the average annual rainfall in Hunza was 2 inches and to myself I thought, "Mighty good thing, because if it rained any more than that, what a quagmire this area would be!"

122 We heard the clatter of hooves and, looking up, we saw Jahangir's guide coming back and leading another horse. This meant we'd be ready to take off in a couple of minutes, so Cec and I worked our way towards the road.

Soon all of our belongings were firmly balanced on the horse's back and we were ready to start for the Hasanabad Bridge.

4i Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

181 829 ness of their uncomfortable houses leaves an indelible mark on the national character.

342 [351] It must be remembered that a house in the Hindu-Kush has no glass windows, no comfortable fire-place and chimney corner. The better-class houses are built round a courtyard, but the rooms rarely have windows, all light comes from the 354 open door or from a skylight. Immediately below 352 the skylight is a square open hearth, on which smoulders a fire; round this run raised platforms, on which are the beds and household paraphernalia; the smoke, before escaping through the roof, fills the whole room, blackens walls and pillars, and chokes the un- 132 fortunate inhabitants. If it is very cold, or raining and snowing heavily, the skylight is shut, the room is in pitchy darkness but for a sputtering torch, and the atmosphere horrible. It is no wonder that an existence under these circumstances should be rather depressing, and in Nagar the people get the full benefit of it, for there are several villages which during December and January only get twenty 461 minutes' sun a day; some, I believe, get none. The men having no agricultural work on hand, owing to the land being frost-bound, there is practically nothing for them to do during the winter months but to sit idly round their smouldering fires for about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.

133 487 Nagar has practically no outlet except down the river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there is only the bare possibility of reaching 487 Baltistan by the Hispar pass: there is a tradition that the road was once used, but it is very doubtful if

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

villages and of cultivation, the terraced fields carried 133
right down into the river bed. Hunza itself lies on 241
the right bank of a ravine ending in a dark glacier, 361
from whose melting ice is supplied the channel which waters the whole of the Hunza cultivation. The houses of the main village are clustered tier upon tier on a high spur crowned by the Thum's Castle. The arrangement at Nagar is precisely the same.

Our entry into Nagar was very similar to my last 644
year's entry into Chitral, only that the crowd was on a smaller scale, the courtiers not so numerous or so brilliantly arrayed. Still it was picturesque enough; before us rode a man bearing a scarlet and white banner; around us, wherever the road permitted, was the gay crowd in Bokhara silks or dirty woollen homespun. The usual irregular salute was fired as we reached the polo ground, and the band made discordant music. Raja Jafr Khan could not receive me, being paralysed, so we moved without further ceremony into our camp by the polo ground, preceded by Raja Uzr Khan, who showed, by riding before us, a lack of breeding which scandalised the other Rajas, and which compared very unfavourably with the Mehtar of Chitral's courtesy.

Next morning I paid my state visit to Raja Jafr 644
Khan. The road runs up through the village to the 342
Thum's Castle, under a succession of easily defensible doorways, which would make an assault very difficult for bad troops or local enemies. The Palace stairs consisted of the trunk of a tree with notches cut in it, which led up through a square hole in the floor to the terraced rooms above. In this, as in every other house I ever entered in these wilds, the last two of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV 7

644 three doors are placed in the right angle turn of a
342 very narrow passage which only one man can use at a time, and the doorways are so low that a tall man has to bend almost double to pass through them. The object is to prevent a rush, and to make it impossible for a man to use his weapons as he passes through the last doorway. Similarly the ascent to the flat-topped roof of a man's house is jealously guarded, and he who considers himself in any danger never sleeps twice in the same part of his room, for the skylight gives an enemy a convenient point of vantage from which to shoot.

643 We found the Thum in a typical square room,
159 with an open skylight, and a sunk hearth in the floor, seated by a balconied window, from which there was an extensive view over his country. His beard was carefully dyed, and it was difficult to guess his age, but he was not an old man; drink and debauchery had reduced him to his present state, and paralysed him
644 from the waist down. We did not stop long, as the visit was merely one of ceremony, and the audience room was full of people, before whom business could not be discussed. Our uniforms were a source of much interest to our hosts, and of considerable discomfort to ourselves. Frock coats and spiked helmets, high boots and spurs, sword and sabretache, are not quite the thing for the grand staircases of the
[534] country. Later in the day Uzr Khan paid me a visit,
644 and we had to sit through an interminable dance pro-
535 gramme, which, as the orchestra consisted of six pairs of kettle-drums, six large drums beaten at both ends, and three pipes, was simply deafening. The dances were all very much the same—six or eight men

I: Lorimer T43 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

companions who came down with us to Kashmir to observe peasants 243
ploughing with *oxen* (whose wants could be less completely met) and 262
without a dung dish !

When the corn is fully threshed, the winnowing begins in cooperation with a light breeze. Next the winnowed grain is passed 243
through a coarse sieve (barakbèsh) whose mesh is composed of thin leather thongs which retain any particles of straw, and it is finally 261
tossed in a finer sieve (gherbèl) which retains the grain and lets the dust 251
through. The grain is then loaded into great skin-sacks and carried off to store. The due amount required for seed-grain is set aside first, and not the utmost extremity of hunger would induce a Hunza peasant to encroach thereof. Next, emergencies are budgeted for—births, weddings, dues such as rent (if any) and hospitality, which includes deaths in *other* homes, for relatives and friends would be disgraced if a bereaved family had themselves to bake during the first seven days of mourning. What then remains, represents the year's supply.

Ripe millet is treated by being beheaded, and the ears may then 248
be threshed by cows or beaten with poles according to quantity. The buckwheats are beaten only, even small children merrily cooperating half in fun, half in earnest to show their prowess.

Grain for current use is carried to the mill in sacks or bags of skin. [343] ●
The mill-house is a picturesque cube of stone and mud situated beside a convenient irrigation channel. It may possess one wheel or two. The wheel is a vertical oblong of tree trunk, fitted with 10 or 12 wooden wings ; the lower end of its axis is supported on a horizontal pole, the upper fitted into a central hole in the upper millstone. The water is led on to it by a steeply sloping hollowed log. The inside of the mill, lighted only from the door, is fitted with a cross rafter built into the walls on to which the hopper is ingeniously hung by a forked segment of tree. The hopper itself consists of a section of log, tapered and hollowed out. Attached by a string to the small tray below the aperture in the base of the hopper, is a loose clapper which is gently agitated by the rotation of the upper millstone on which it rests, this shakes the tray and encourages a steady flow of grain. The flour as ground is ejected into a hollow trough. Near by, a wooden pole, impaled on a horizontal wooden pin, projects up through the earthen floor. Each end of the pin rests on a 'Heath-Robinson' pile of stones and a simple adjustment of its height regulates the position of the lower millstone and thus the coarseness or fineness of the flour desired. The mill, 402
the loom and the comparatively new-fangled lathe are the only

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 it, exactly over the main store-room below. There is no parapet, only a tiny raised rim to direct the rain into a small gutter-hole, on the rare occasions when there is rain; but it has a fringe of cut thorn bushes arranged round the edge to prevent an enterprising goat jumping across from the next-
351 door roof not many feet away. I didn't, however, go up on to
296 the roof, but on into a larger courtyard where there was a pool in the corner at which their washing is done. They would not dream of polluting the running water by washing themselves or their clothes in it as it flows by; they draw off what they want for these purposes into a separate pond of their own.
351 Then under a large shady tree there was a raised stone plat-
513 form which acts as a "sofa" by day and as a double or treble or quadruple bed by night—for, except in the depth of winter, nobody sleeps indoors. There was another raised platform, with a wall at the back and open in front and sides, roofed in for another sleeping place. It had a railing along under the roof, and over this were hung all sorts of padded quilts, homespun
[136] blankets, sheepskins, etc.—the family bedding. All the bedding is taken out and hung up every day, which helps to account for the complete lack of vermin—which I confess came to us as a happy surprise. In all our year in Hunza we saw only *one* flea, and that, as David said, was emphatically our own!

245 Round the corner from these sleeping places I got into a
312 walled-in shady garden full of fruit trees—apples, mulberries, peaches, apricots, and vines. It is incredible how luxurious mere *shade* is at such a temperature. It wasn't remotely like a garden in our sense. The earth was bare without one blade of grass or green, and was all cut up into little beds round each precious tree, with banks between them, so that the water could be directed to each tree as desired, when it was No. 1's
514 turn to have water at all. In the far corner of the garden was
343 a neat little circular "open-air pulpit." We had seen these pulpits dotted about, but—stupidly—did not at once guess what they were for. Coming straight from Kashmir, where the approach to each homestead is ankle deep in filth, or remembering Arab habits in Iráq, we never expected that we should find in Hunza a people as scrupulously decent as ourselves in

2: Lorimer T-3 (1927-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

514 matters of sanitation. The lower chamber of their little
343 pulpits is closed with one large slab, which makes them easy to clean; the upper is well supplied with nice clean sand, and has a small hole in the floor. The entrance opening to the upper part is narrow, and anyone inside is completely hidden; even so we never saw man, woman, or child disappear into one. The most prudish maiden aunt would never need to blush as she would in the streets of Paris or by the creeks of Basrah; and whatever Islám may recommend, the Hunzukuts does not dream of allowing his running water or his drinking tanks to be fouled by man or beast.

The pulpits must be regularly and frequently cleaned out, for, though they often stand beside the path, you never get a whiff from them to suggest their necessary purpose, yet I have never seen one being emptied; that also is a job they evidently prefer to do in the privacy of darkness.

252 A red felt carpet was quickly brought and spread for me, and soon the entire family was sitting round, making conversation. I went back another day soon after, also by invitation, and was allowed to watch Bibi Gímo cook the greens and bread for the mid-day meal. In the summer they cook in the open, in the garden or on the roof, which often has a roofed verandah or even a lightly enclosed upper room added on in front of the upper store-room. She had a little hearth of big stones to hold her tiny fire, and over it sat the big stone cooking pot of vegetables. In olden days the bread was cooked on hot stones, but nowadays everyone has a convex iron griddle which can rest either on the stones or on a tiny iron trivet. They have a neat, shallow wooden tray in which they knead their flour, adding a little water till it has become a flaky dough. Then they take the lid and on that roll out small lumps of the dough with the most ridiculous-looking toy rolling-pin hardly half an inch in diameter. They roll the dough into thin, thin pancakes, lift these with a wooden spatula on to the griddle, and turn them with a skilful twitch. Each takes only a second or so to cook, and is then twitched off on to a big
264 flat wicket platter till there is a sufficient pile. When mealtime comes the family gather round, squatting just anywhere that

342 after a day or two the stone-and-mud walls have dried to the same appearance of timeless indestructibility as those of fifty or one hundred years ago. We passed first, as always, through a small byre, not yet inhabited by its cow; then at right angles through a dark, narrow passage 5 or 6 feet long, and then through the low hall-door into the house itself. Your main object in building a house at all is to be as warm and free from draughts as possible during the "Great Cold," and no one in his senses would let his hall-door open straight on to the wind-swept mountain side. Hence the byre ante-room, which not only defeats the direct outside air, but contributes something of animal warmth to the human warmth within.

291 When we emerged into the living-room (the *atrium*, as it
281 were), beautifully bright with light from the smoke-hole, we
352 were standing in a shallow trough below the floor level where the newcomer kicks off his muddy boots in winter. Most people at all well-to-do wear soft home-made boots up to their knees in winter-time. But skins are precious and, however cold the weather, they take their boots *off* to save them when they come to an extra rough bit of ground. This entrance place has in it the "musicians' bench," under which are stored the family basin and similar utensils and on which is piled a store of firewood.

342 The floor of the room is a small square of hard-beaten earth
[352] which in this gloriously dry climate remains admirably clean; and roughly in the centre of it is a shallow hole, edged with four stone kerbs, which is the hearth. Behind the hearth is a low bench sacred to the lady of the house, the presiding genius
343 of indoors. Beside it she sits to do or superintend the cooking
251 and behind her is a low wooden door opening into the store-
[414] room; the home-made wooden key of which hangs always on her person. The store-room runs the whole width and height of the house. It has need to be a roomy place, for here stand the skin sacks of grain, the heaped baskets of potatoes, apples, dried mulberries and apricots, the kernels, the wool, the stone wine-jars, the jars of apricot oil, the basket of savoury herbs—all the family's supplies for a twelvemonth, which it is her duty to guard and to apportion.

000 *čo·k* recently, lately, just, H. *ʌbhi ʌbhi*. — *čo·k dimʌnum hiles* a boy who has just, very lately, been born.

čok(o) upright(?) in *čok(o) khʌpun* a kind of spoon also known as the *gu.i·ski khʌpun*, in which the handle ri s up at an angle from the side of the bowl. (Probably identical with *čo·ko*).

čo·ko perpendicular, upright, steep. — *gʌn čʌm čo·ko bila* the path is very steep. *bʌl čo·ko bila* the wall is perpendicular. (*č-* IYB. Cp. Sh. *čo·ko*, upright, vertical, *čo·k(u)*, straight; GB. *čoke.i* ascent. Kho. *čo·k-tu*, upwards, uphill, steep. Badakhshi Prs. *čuk*, upright, steep).

čo·ko čʌ·ko, quite crippled, paralysed, H. *lʌngra lu·lu*. — *i·n čo·ko čʌ·ko imʌnʌm* he had become paralysed. 214.9.

*-*čho·qurʌŋ* y pl. hair cut in a fringe on forehead, forelock. — *ičo·kurʌŋ* (a boy's) fringe. *mučo·kurʌŋ* (a girl's) fringe. *bušo·šo.ε ičo·kurʌŋ* the calf's forelock. 104.23. *hʌγure ičho·qurʌŋ* a horse's forelock.

343 789 *čokuṭi, -muts* x hut, shelter; hole dug beside the threshing-floor in which the grain used to be stored for three or four days. It was covered over with cloths etc. so that it might not be seen by people, for fear that it might be lessened by the evil eye.

000 *čokuṭo* hut, shelter.

*-*čhonjuš*, pl. *-*čhonji.ʌŋ*, y beak, bill. — *ičhonjuš, uchonji.ʌŋ*; N. *ičunjuš, učunjuyæŋ* its beak, their beaks. (Cp. H. *čōč*).

čop -uts x small heap (of cut corn, grain or flour); heap of earth on which the mark (*giri*) is fixed for shooting at with bow and arrow from horseback. 216.6.

čopuri, čopəri x caper-plant. — *čopəre ʌsku·riŋ* the flowers of the caper plant.

100 a

000 a bath and put on fresh clothes. 32.8. γosvlu.ɛ ni.ʌt nɛtʌn saying the prayer for the washing of the dead. 310.6. ivum inɛr . . . γosvl ɛčai.i he washes the deceased. 310.7. Ar. Prs.

*-γuvʂ pl. *-γuvrʌŋ y woman's privy parts, vulva, IUB. H. *fʌrj*, *šʌrmgavh i 'aurʌt*. Only recorded in the singular: muγuvʂ. 230.7. (McK. gives moγuvʂ = vagina).

γuʂçikrʂ QUB leprosy, H. *juxarmi*. — γuʂçikrʂə *bi.ai.i* leprosy. γuʂçkrʂə *ɛʌlai.i* he has contracted (*lit.* fallen into) leprosy.

γoʃ, N. *g-*, pl. hmf. *-oŋo*, *-ormo*, N. pl. *-arints* deaf. — γoʃ *nivnʌn atɛy'ɛljai.i* being deaf he doesn't hear.

415 γoli, pl. *gotents*, *gotimots* x soft leather bag (used for holding gunpowder for charging a gun). — γoti.olom *mili.ɛŋ* gunpowder from the bag, i.e. for charging a gun. (Cp.Sh. *kuti*, Kho. *goti*).

'oʃ'orpos pl. γoʃorpušo, γoʃorpoyʌnts x hole in ground (small in comparison with *tis*); hollow, depression. — *pfiti makuči kʌmʌn γotorpos ɛčam* they make a slight depression (with the thumb) in the middle of the cake of bread. 320.5.

343 γotul -išo, N. pl. *gotulɛšo*, x big wicker container (narrower at mouth than base), N. "basket for grain".

(Cp. Sh. *qoʃul* a cylindrical wattle-and-daub structure of above mentioned form (3 or 4 feet high and 2 or 3 feet in diameter at base) in which grain is stored on the roof of a house).

000 γoʃ'om, γoʃ'um, N. *g-*, *-išo* deep. — *pfərimots γoʃomišo bi.ɛn* the ponds are deep. (Cp. Sh. *goʃumo*, deep).

γuyʌŋ, γoyʌŋ, *-γuyʌŋ y pl., N. *guyʌŋ*, double pl. *-ičʌŋ*, human hair (of

000 person. *sʌbʷr apiʷm(ʌn) bai.i* he is (an) impatient (person). Ar. Prs.

3. *sʌbuʷr* four. — *sʌbuʷr jʌti* four measures ("bowls") of grain, paid as a tax to the Mir of Hunza in Gujhal. 342.18. (Wkh. *tsʌbuʷr*). Wkh.

sʌbʷrkɪš patient. (Prs.).

sʌbuʷmo, s'ʌbʷrmo, sʌwuʷrmo.

a. Pertaining to last night, yesterday's. — *tsordinər kɛ isɛ sʌbuʷrmo šʌpiktsum noʷɪsin* putting aside for the morning (some) of the last night's food. 342.5.

b. In the daytime, H. *drnko.*

sʌbu·t proof. — *sʌbu·t ɛtʌs bila* it has to be proved. Ar. Prs.

sʌçɔ, y pl. *sʌçɔŋ,* easy; easiness. — *khot buʷt sʌçɔ dər'oʷwʌn bila* this is a very easy matter. 50.19. *sʌču.ɛ ka* with ease, easily. (Cp. Sh. *sʌçɔ,* easy).

sʌgʌm, sʌγʌm, N. pl. *-ičiŋ* y smoke-hole in roof, skylight. — *ha sʌgʌm xa wʌši bʌm isɛ guʷtʌs* the corpse he had thrown down through the smoke-hole of the house. 114.24. *sʌγ'ʌm (sʌgʌm) xa* down through the smoke-hole. 140.6, 228.7.

(Cp. Sh. *sugoʷm,* smoke-hole. Cp. also Bu. *sʌm*).

● 343 *sʌkʌy -šo* x receptacle on roof for holding grain (constructed of stones or brick and roofed with sticks and mud); granary. — *sʌkʌyɛ sʌm* (or, *ixʌf*) hole on top of granary (by which man can enter to clean it).

000 *sʌxaʷwʌt* (generosity); generous, liberal. — *sʌxaʷwʌt(ʌn) bai.i* he is generous. Ar. Prs.

sʌxti y hardship. 20.17. Prs.

sʌl -o x.

a. Thin, flat stone for grinding on; mill-stone. — *sʌl goʷsɛ iŋi diʷmər*

124
115 that one would never believe that it was only a second-
191 ary language to him.

231 "You know," I said to the Mir, "one of the things
115 that I wanted to see when I came to Hunza was a yak. I understand from my readings that yaks are used in this part of the country and I have been looking everywhere as I walked along the road to Baltit, but I have as yet seen no sign of a yak!"

"That is not hard to explain," the Mir said. "The yaks are further up in the mountains. They cannot stand the heat and we keep them in the higher altitudes where they can be comfortable. If they are brought to the lower altitudes, they suffer. They like to be up around 11,000 feet or higher."

"Well, then how can I get up to see them?" I asked. "I don't mind if I have to walk for a day or two, but see them I must!"

"I'll do better than that," said the Mir. "I will phone and have two yaks brought down as quickly as possible. They will have to come from Passu which is about 38 miles from here. I will have action taken at once and see that the yaks are provided."

115 (Does that not indicate to you the kind of man and
124 host was the Mir of Hunza?)

I then took my leave of the Mir and the Rani and went out with Sultan Ali and Jahangir to look, see, pry and ask questions.

● 344 Our first jaunt was a good stiff climb to the old
644 palace located about two miles from the Mir's new palace. As the crow would fly I'm sure it would not have been more than ¾ of a mile. But in order to get up there one has to wend and weave and climb slowly.

I was now becoming quite accustomed to the altitude. Kerimabad is up about 8500 feet and I am sure

that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

121 and of course the kinds and varieties of foods that were used, I attached great importance to this phase of my trip and I was definitely determined that, come what might, this information I would have thoroughly and in detail.

124 No doubt it would have been an advantage had I been able to speak either Urdu, or better still Burushaski, so that I could frame my questions as I saw fit and have answers that would be direct and would not require translation. However, that was not possible. Still, I had no reason to believe that my interpreter would not be a forthright individual who would give me the answers that were relayed to him clearly and to the point.

Mind you, I was seeking no miracle or world panacea. I wanted to find out the simple truth!

Further, I wanted to walk from farm to farm . . . that is, just selecting one at random here and there. I wanted to view the farmer's activities, study his soil and examine it, ask a few questions and thus, I could gather the information that I wanted and which was so vital to me.

•344 644 The old palace proved to be in a good state of preservation. I wondered, because of its good condition, why someone didn't live there. Many of the rooms were still furnished. There were even rugs and tapestries placed and hung in their original positions.

[126] When we climbed to the top of the castle—that is, to the roof where I snapped many photos—it seemed mighty high and overlooked everything around us. But [133] in the distance were mountains that were well over 20,000 feet—and that is no exaggeration, but more likely an understatement.

There was a railing around this upper balcony and from this balcony you could walk into other chambers.

These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. 344
It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an 644
elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

Back about 400 years ago one of the rulers of Hunza [173] married a daughter of the King of Baltistan who, as [648] a gift to his daughter and her husband, dispatched 500 workmen from his country to Hunza to erect the Baltit Fort that we now know. The rulers of Hunza dwelt in that fort and made it their palace until recent times. The present Mir, too, when he took office after the [712] death of his father, resided in this palace known as Baltit Fort.

The new palace, in which we were being wined, [122] dined and entertained, had been completed recently and was taken possession of by the present Mir about 7 years ago. Actually though, the new palace was started by the Mir's grandfather back as far as 1925.

While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I un- [692] derstand, would be used, on completion, as his court, [643] where the citizens of Hunza would come with their problems and where the Mir would preside in judgment.

However, this work in no way interfered with the [342] normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

344 This massive old fortress, for that is what it was,
644 was actually one of the places that had withstood the
712 attacks of invaders for more than 400 years and re-
727 mained impregnable. It has only once been in enemy
[175] hands since the day it was built and that was in 1891, when, after the Battle of Nilt, it was occupied by the British. Records further indicate that the British added no glory to their occupation at the time because of their indiscriminate looting of the treasures found in the palace. But the Mir, whether because of his friendship for the British or because of his desire to tell the truth, claimed that it was not the British who looted it, but the Dogra troops who were under British command.

344 Here I would like to quote from E. F. Knight's
644 *Where Three Empires Meet:*

352 "This massive fortress, which has been for hundreds of years the secure stronghold of the robber kings, inviolate until this day, stands boldly out, set in the midst of a sublime landscape . . . Twigg, Boisragon and myself took up our quarters in the most comfortable chamber we could find, which we soon discovered to have been the apartment of the ladies belonging to the [643] Thum's harem. ("Thum" is Burushaski for ruler, sovereign, king, chief, "Mir". Used especially of the hereditary rulers of the states of Hunza and Nagir.) It was surrounded by a low, broad, wooden divan, on which our bedding was laid. Pillars of carved wood rose from the edge of the divan to the carved beams of the roof, blackened by the smoke of ages. . . . A fire was lit in the open fireplace at one end of the floor, the smoke escaping through a square hole in the roof. Save for the Oriental pattern of the wooden carvings it was just a hall, I imagine, as King Canute might have lived in. . . . We enjoyed a delicious night's rest after our late fatigues.

"We were up betimes on December 23rd, and proceeded to rummage all the nooks and corners of the deserted palace. We had heard that the treasures of many a pillaged caravan . . . were stored here, so the search was an exciting one. The tribesmen had been informed that, provided they gave up their arms, their property would be respected by us. . . But the possessions of the fugitive Thum were declared to be forfeited, so we set to work to collect together all the valuables that were to be found in the place, individual looting being of course forbidden. . . . We were informed that the Thum had made all his preparations for flight long before his defeat at Nilt, and . . . had carried off the bulk of his wealth with him across the Hindoo Koosh. . . . Still, they had not taken all, and we raked together a curious and miscellaneous collection of odds and ends scattered about and secreted away in the various chambers and cellars." 727 344 644

On two sides this mighty fortress (and it is a mighty fortress for that part of the world) is protected by abysses. 344 644

As the views of the mountains and the surrounding country from the balconies were unrivaled, I took many colored photographs and with each click of the shutter I hoped for the best. [126]

I noticed a marvelous old firing piece, gun or matchlock. I don't know how to describe these things as I am not very familiar with firearms. However, I found out that this was a genuine treasure and was almost as old as the fort itself. 411

It was a most unusual firing piece. By actual measurement it was 6 feet long, elegantly and extravagantly decorated with silver and gold, and bore the inscription "946 A.H."

What had evidently been an old calendar portray- 353

of the Aga Khan and his wife in various poses and stages of his life. I had given some study to these photographs and many of them were inscribed in the hand of the Aga Khan with endearing terms to his friend, Jamal. 353 792

Our quarters were in the guest house—actually adjoining the palace but on a higher level. This building had been erected by the Mir's grandfather back in 1925. It was a well-built, handsome structure, firmly ensconced on a high rocky ledge of granite. 122 344 644

You walked down the Mir's long staircase from the sun room, then you walked up half a dozen or more stone steps, forward a few feet and then you climbed up a circular, enclosed wooden staircase to the guest quarters. These consisted of a large, comfortable sitting room with many easy chairs and a fine writing desk, a large bedroom with two comfortable beds and further on was the bathroom. Then to the right of the lovely sitting room was a balcony—spacious and inviting. From it you could view Rakaposhi and all its splendor and gorgeous loveliness. [352]

The furniture all round was similar to that which you would find in the average better-class American homes. Photographs adorned the walls, among which were the photos of the old Aga Khan and his French wife. [352] [353] [792]

When I mentioned the Aga Khan to the Mir, he waxed eloquent and his face beamed and he said, "Not only was I fond of him—not only did I love him—but we were close intimate friends. He was the most generous of men and especially to the people of Hunza. I revere his memory! He was a wonderful person. We really miss him since his passing. His ancestors came from Persia to India in 1834. In 1934, one hundred years later, to celebrate the jubilee of the founding of 792 [871]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 33

The Mir's Summer Cottage

ALTIT FORT has quite a history. I believe it to be the most historic and most important edifice in all of Hunza. Records that have been handed down would indicate that the fort was about 700 years old and it was erected like a perch, right on a sharp bank of the Hunza River, on what was originally a sharp gigantic precipice. 344● 644 712

It may be smaller and perhaps simpler in construction than the larger fort at Baltit, but I thought it was big enough after I walked all around it and went in and out of all its chambers. Then, too, it is much larger now than it was in those days because the present Mir had a new wing erected so that when he holds court and carries out the seed-sowing ceremony, there will be plenty of room for his family, guests and visitors. [643]

I gained the impression that it was a tight little fortress—well built from blocks of rock, expertly

344
644 wedged together to form a formidable protection
712 against invaders of their day.

796 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the
241 Burushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festi-
643 val, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like to emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed
[789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

partake of the Mir's blessings. 000

In comparing the fort at Altit and the one at Baltit, I gained the impression that the one at Altit had more rooms . . . smaller ones they were, but there seemed to be more of them. The old fort at Baltit was much larger and more impressive. Yet somehow I became more attached to the Altit Fort. I had the impression that it was almost impregnable. 344 644 712

Then I recalled the true story of the capture of the fort by the British and, after appraising its isolation, strength and precipitous banks and sides, I thought to myself, "Any group of men who had the courage to attempt to scale and capture any fort in Hunza deserved a lot more glory and loot than they would ever get in Hunza . . . and that is for certain!" 712 648

On one of the balconies stood a man with a bowl of apricots and Sultan Ali said, "This man is the chowkidor, or guardian, of the fort and it is customary to give him a gift." 124

"Of what?" I asked.

"Oh, about 10 rupees," replied Sultan Ali.

Jahangir almost jumped a foot when he heard that and he said, "For what? He hasn't done anything and we haven't eaten any of his apricots."

"Well," Sultan Ali said, "it's just customary!"

"Customary or no," said Jahangir, "I think it's ridiculous!"

I turned to Sultan Ali and said, "Normally I'd be glad to give him the tip that you suggest, but the truth of the matter is my fund of Pakistan rupees is just about nonexistent. When we set out for Hunza from Pindi we calculated in advance approximately how many rupees we would need and then we added on 100 extra, and that's what we came with. 124 122

"From the stories that we read and from the infor-

124 mation that we could gather, we were under the im-
122 pression that no money was used in Hunza. Therefore we didn't calculate on spending any. So far we have parted with approximately 300 rupees and to place the matter squarely in front of you, we don't have enough money to buy our plane tickets back from Gilgit to Rawalpindi! I'm hoping we'll be able to get some money at the bank in Gilgit because I did notice that there's a bank there, so I'm afraid I'll have to pass up the 10 rupees that I'm supposed to give the chowkidor of the fort. But tell him I enjoyed my visit to the fort very much anyway!"

●344 While we were wandering around on the open bal-
644 cony of the old fort, Sultan Ali pointed to a neat looking place down below, but not far distant, and said, "That is the Mir's picnic place, where he comes every Saturday evening with his family. He stays there Sunday and Monday, returning to the palace for his various duties Monday evening. This practice is followed during the summer months."

"Well," I replied, "that's a custom that's followed pretty well in the West and probably in most places around the world . . . where one tries to get away from the usual home conditions and seeks refuge in a cottage. We, generally speaking, call this our summer cottage. And you know what? Many folks and families travel hundreds of miles just for the weekend, just as long as they can get away from home and the sameness of living for a few days at a time!"

"I guess we've seen everything here at the old fort worth seeing. So let's go down and make for the Mir's picnic place," I said as I headed for the stairs.

It was a walk of but a few hundred yards and we were soon at the garden gate of the bungalow. Sultan Ali spoke in Burushaski to one of the chowkidors who

produced a key and opened the door. 344

Soon I was wandering through the well-appointed 644
summer cottage. It was neat, tidy, clean and solidly built but of course it was not on par with the palace—nor would one expect it to be. After all, as mentioned, it was but a weekend spot and what we would call a summer cottage back home. Yet, of course, it was much nicer than the average summer cottage, but not as good as some of our elegant ones back home.

I was rather surprised and quite amused to note 353
that the walls were covered rather widely with shiny 648
lithographed pictures . . . yes, it was good printing or lithographing work. The pictures were obviously put out by the Chinese communist government and everywhere they showed workers and working girls with beaming faces, wearing good clothes and looking prosperous, but no one could doubt that these pictures were splendid specimens of communist propaganda.

One of the most effective pictures for propaganda purposes, I gathered, was one that showed the happy beaming faces of whites, yellows, blacks—all mixed and enjoying life together.

At first I thought that the Mir couldn't have known about these pictures hanging in his bungalow, but then I gathered that he must know about them. Evidently he doesn't fear them or worry about them. Perhaps he knows his people better than anyone else.

I do not have to go into a long discourse to prove to 648
myself or to anyone else that the Mir does not have communistic leanings because communism would quickly and definitely stamp out any form of absolute rule like his Mirship. Yet I can also see the absolute necessity of the Mir keeping on friendly terms and not antagonizing either the Russian or the Chinese Communists. Then to make the situation even more hazard-

115 Now I didn't see his birth certificate and I might as
165 well tell you, right here and now, that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. I accept the figure of his age as he told me but remember, I was not there at the time of his birth!

●344 When I was through with my spasm of inspection
644 and admiration, we began to parade up the long driveway that led into the Mir's garden. This area is flanked on the right by space that looks as though it were a parking lot, and maybe that's exactly what it is, but instead of cars, the guests or members of the family park—or should I say tether—their horses and yaks in this area. Maybe now they park their jeeps there.
[493] The Mir owns two of them, but one, I understand, was away in Pindi being repaired. (Or was it the shambles and horrible wreck of a jeep that I came across a week later, on the road back to Gilgit?)

126 Now I noticed that the Mir, Ayesh, the doctor and Cec were coming along the roadway to meet us, and soon we joined forces and were gathered in one group. I thought this was the ideal time to take some photographs and, luckily for us, they were the best photographs we took on the entire trip. Photography is something that has never interested me and I had never taken half a dozen pictures in my life. Before leaving
[122] home, I did try to learn a bit about photography, but I couldn't learn enough fast enough.

124 When the fun, excitement and fast-flowing humorous remarks had subsided, I said to the Mir, "If you've nothing more important to do or if you would care to give me a little more of your time, we could start that question and answer session that I arranged with you for this afternoon."

"I am at your service," he replied pleasantly and with alacrity.

misdemeanors on the scale that we know them in the Western world are practically unknown in Hunza. That being the case, it behooves us to investigate and study family life in Hunza, for juvenile delinquency is becoming a very serious and ever broadening problem in America. 674

I saw samples of Hunzan justice. Its simplicity made me weep . . . when I recalled our procrastinating, shackled, unwieldy, judicial system. In the Western world civil cases take months and even years to be heard in court before a judge. In Hunza there are so few cases of wrongdoings, or even individual or family problems, that a hearing can be arranged almost immediately. 692

Petty squabbles or differences between husband and wife or even other disputes can be brought before the Wazir or before the Mir in private. When something more serious is at stake, the grieved party or parties bring their case to the "morning durbar," which is held regularly in the courtyard surrounded by the beautiful gardens at the entrance to the Mir's palace. At the time I was at Baltit many workmen were busily engaged in erecting a large stone enclosure or balcony where the "durbars" will be held, allowing more room for spectators and greater comfort for the counsel. [344] [644]

During the proceedings the Mir sits comfortably ensconced on a square-shaped wooden divan, luxuriantly smothered in rugs, fancy cushions and tapestries. There is none of the strict court procedure or dourness and frigidity known to our Western judiciary system. Here one feels that he is talking to a friend—a fellow citizen—or at least, an acquaintance. [352] [643]

Perhaps we have carried our ideas of justice, freedom and democracy a bit too far. In order that everyone may be afforded justice and fair treatment at the hands

B.Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burushe AV7
Hunza
[P.39-A]

Hunza in the Himalayas

Storied Shangri-La undergoes scrutiny

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TERRACED country, *left*, is ruled by the Mir, shown with village chiefs, above, at his palace at 8,000 feet altitude. Background peaks exceed 20,000 feet.

cumference, twisted them with his fingers till he had a small 286
nucleus of double thread. With a wooden peg he fastened this tiny ball so that it could not unroll, and started swinging it round his head, letting it touch the ground now and again to increase the spin. It travelled in wider and wider circles till the connecting thread became of unmanageable length and began to kink. Then he hauled it in and wound the beautifully twisted length of doubled thread on to the little ball and again pegged it down. Thus he continued till the original ball was exhausted.

Not long after, the Ustád's Hérul Nisa came to say that they were setting up a goats'-hair loom at their house if we would care to see it. We found that this time a large vertical frame standing on the roof of No. 8, lashed to the rafter of the balcony, and in course of being strung with just such a warp thread as Kalbi had shown us in the making. While Hunza sheep [233]
are uniformly white, three kinds of goat are kept: white, brown, and black. Black hair is used for the warp, while the bobbins are wound with white and brown. The bobbins in this case are long, needle-like rods the full width of the cloth, 2 feet or so, with the hair wound round notches in each end. There are only two heddles, thrown backwards and forwards by a forked peg like a boy's catapult. Goats'-hair weaving is a slower job and heavier than wool-weaving, but the Ustád is master of it, too, and was again initiating two younger men. The different coloured hair allows of pattern-weaving, and they enjoy devising new stripes and squares of brown and white. A very heavy comb is needed to beat down the intractable material, and in order to prevent the cloth being drawn too tight by the cross threads, two "bows" of flexible wood were spiked across it to keep it flat and taut. These are inserted as near as possible to the working edge and moved up 352
as work progresses. The goats'-hair strips are used as rugs, or 415
doubled and sewn together to form sacks and saddle-bags.

One day we were exploring the half-ruined village of the 346
old fort, threading the narrow switchback alleys between 345
deserted houses—so narrow that in places you could only edge along sideways—looking for points of vantage from which to

take photographs of the picturesque, abandoned Shiah mosque. It has been superseded by the New Assembly Hall in cut granite with pointed roof—an amazing achievement for local architects and masons, and one of which they are justly proud, but a dreadful eyesore in these surroundings and as uninspiring to an artistic eye as a Methodist chapel in a London suburb. Unfortunately it jostles the picturesque old mosque (whose entrance flight of steps is a delightful notched tree-trunk and whose flat roof bristles with a parapet of ibex horns), so that you can only see the older building squint-eye up or down a 3-foot lane. We pushed on and found ourselves emerging on a bluff covered with handsome graves. The Hunzukuts are too necessarily frugal to bury their dead on any ground that can be cultivated, so their graves usually stand on some barren hump that rises above the reach of irrigation water. Ordinary graves are just covered by flat slabs of concrete-like beaten earth, but more important folk have picturesque erections of varied shape to mark their last resting place. In theory all should no doubt be oriented in relation to Mecca, but in fact the graves face in whichever direction the site makes most convenient. We skirted round God's acre, re-entering the unappetizing labyrinth of desolate lanes, and presently came on a debris-strewn patch of ground whose houses had been dismantled (probably for their timber), and had fallen in. Here old Ferrájo had made a lathe-pit outside a rather handsome wooden door with a carved lintel. This had once led to his family's "town house," but now they lived out in Jamu, a suburb, as it were, of Aliábád. In its day, the warren of buildings to which he proudly pointed had boasted fifty-two "smokes." (A smoke represents a hearth-fire, and a hearth represents a household. In enquiring of a hamlet how many families it shelters, the correct phrase is: "How many smokes have you here?")

We begged Ferrájo to let us see him at work. He had, however, no wood in hand at the moment; chunks of root or cross-sections of willow trunks are the raw material of his bowls. But he let us inspect his pit—very similar in size and shape to a loom-pit—with the treadles and a leather belt passing three

enquired after all the Royal Family and exchanged the usual compliments. Then I remarked hopefully: "Aliábád is quite near now, only four miles isn't it?" "Oh yes, only four miles." I noticed David quietly smiling. We rode about ten yards when I saw (what he remembered but I had quite forgotten) that the great torrent from the Hasanábád glacier cuts in here to join the Hunza River, and we had to go down some 500 or 600 feet to cross it and then up again to get out on to the Aliábád fan. It was exactly the same sort of business as crossing the main river all over again, except that the Hunza roads, however steep and difficult, are better designed and better kept than Nagir ones. Hasanábád village lies on both banks of the torrent, and climbs up the farther side to its own excellent polo-ground. The fields were being reaped, and I marvelled at the neat, tidy rows in which the cut barley was laid out. Everything the Hunzukuts do is beautifully done, and their methods are in the greatest contrast to the slovenliness of Nagir; you notice this everywhere, down to the tinest detail; it may be merely because water is scarcer and life harder that their fields are more scrupulously level, their walls more ingeniously perfect, their cut swathes more exactly aligned, but I incline to think that the cause lies deeper; in the difference of race and temperament already suggested.

Just beyond the wooden bridge which took us over the torrent, we were met by a good-looking elderly man whom we both remembered but could not immediately identify. He was almost in tears as he greeted us. I was puzzled to think why he was so moved. As soon, however, as he had paid full tribute of politeness to us, he bolted on and flung himself on Qudrat Ullah's neck. The whole cavalcade, about forty of us by this time, burst into sympathetic laughter, and poor Qudrat Ullah looked radiant but sheepish as he returned his father's embraces. Going up the steep hillside with so large a following was, as usual, not at all funny. You dare not stop to let your pony breathe without holding up the rest whose horses would be at some most inconvenient turn.

We got up at last, however, and found a fine deputation of all the Hasanábád elders drawn up to greet us on the polo-ground

346 outside the House of Assembly (the Maulai kind of meeting-house that has superseded the Shiah mosque). As we neared Aliábád, riding through rich, flat, large fields, and past walled orchards we heard the local band burst into the familiar "welcome music." Presently we came to an open steeply sloping space near the half-ruined Sarkari Fort, and here was a whole party from the capital (four miles away), including Prince Ghazan Khán, the eldest son, and heir of the Mir,[1] and father of the two young princes who had met us earlier. The band changed the time to the "arrival tune," and we all walked on together to this bungalow. We passed a smart set of new
758 little buildings which are the dispensary, built by the Mir.
743 There is a resident Assistant Surgeon here, an Indian with a certain amount of medical training, who is able to render first aid and keeps a stock of simple drugs.

000 We found chairs set out in the rest-house verandah, and while we and Ghazan Khán talked of old times and the latest Hunza news, the rest of our train grouped themselves on the steps, and all the small boys of Aliábád gathered under the trees along the neighbouring watercourse to see any fun that might be going: a jolly, cheery, intelligent crowd they looked, not a moron or cretin among them; again in a marked contrast to Nagir, where both abound. Presently a tray with teapot was brought, and we thankfully turned to the "doctor" (the aforementioned compounder) whose gift it was. Tea was what we were just dying for after the hot climb; but when I poured it out I found it was a tepid mixture of tea, milk, sugar—and cinnamon. David and Ghazan Khán dealt bravely with it; I unobtrusively hid my cup.

643 [1] He succeeded our good friend his father, Sir Muhammad Nazím Khán, in July 1938.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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PLATE VI

1. Old fort-village of Aliábád with beacon tower. Background, Rakapóshi. (*See p.* 123)

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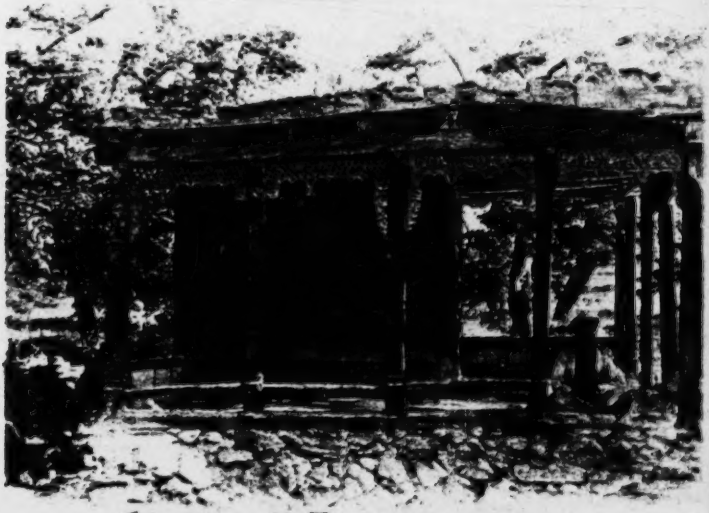
Old Mosque at Aliábád, with Hurmat seated in verandah. (*See p.* 132)



[Facing P. 80]

342 dations, and the walls erected, every stone for which old Nadíro totted down the mountain side on his own back.

531 We often said to each other: "These Hunza people are no artists; that's one reason perhaps why they are so sensible and so like ourselves." But when we looked at the millions and myriads of stones that held their fields, each one in its place, and all fitted as neatly as a jigsaw puzzle, when we examined the lovely curves and tapering points of their five-pronged winnowing forks and the lashings of gut or sinew that bound them, we agreed that they were artists after all—in their own medium.

531 For many months we saw Nadíro spending every spare
342 moment on the site, squaring and planing and trimming the posts and rafters, door-frames and cupboards that will be the pride of his posterity. He was lavishing great care on capitals, and ornamenting them and the lintels with fancy carvings. Except in the house of a special carpenter, carving is not indulged in in Hunza (a great contrast in this respect to Chitral, or even Yasin, where the Chitral tradition has penetrated). The few carved doors and windows that you see in the old forts and mosques at Áltít and Báltít probably date back to
[346] the Balti craftsmen who built them. There is a little old mosque in Aliábád attractively carved, but no one could tell us for certain whether some foreign craftsman had done the work or local men. The ordinary peasant house, at any rate, has none—Hunza peasant architecture is essentially "functional."

P. 132

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nucleus of double thread. With a wooden peg he fastened this tiny ball so that it could not unroll, and started swinging it round his head, letting it touch the ground now and again to increase the spin. It travelled in wider and wider circles till the connecting thread became of unmanageable length and began to kink. Then he hauled it in and wound the beautifully twisted length of doubled thread on to the little ball and again pegged it down. Thus he continued till the original ball was exhausted.

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2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some interesting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly symbolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

PLATE J

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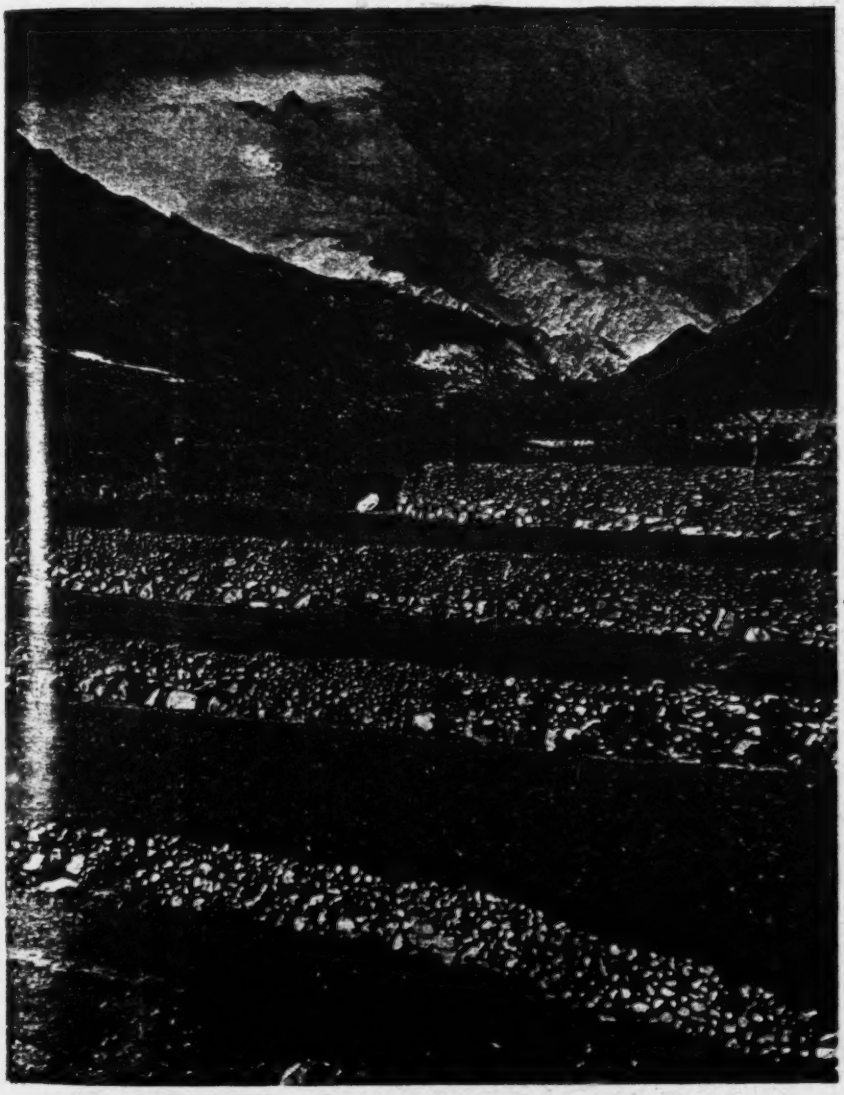

TERRACED FIELDS, HUNZA
pls. 1-IV, ph. E. O. Lorimer

facing p. 8

P. 8(A)

342 it, exactly over the main store-room below. There is no parapet, only a tiny raised rim to direct the rain into a small gutter-hole, on the rare occasions when there is rain; but it has a fringe of cut thorn bushes arranged round the edge to prevent an enterprising goat jumping across from the next-
• 351 door roof not many feet away. I didn't, however, go up on to
296 the roof, but on into a larger courtyard where there was a pool in the corner at which their washing is done. They would not dream of polluting the running water by washing themselves or their clothes in it as it flows by; they draw off what they want for these purposes into a separate pond of their own.
351 Then under a large shady tree there was a raised stone plat-
513 form which acts as a "sofa" by day and as a double or treble or quadruple bed by night—for, except in the depth of winter, nobody sleeps indoors. There was another raised platform, with a wall at the back and open in front and sides, roofed in for another sleeping place. It had a railing along under the roof, and over this were hung all sorts of padded quilts, homespun
[136] blankets, sheepskins, etc.—the family bedding. All the bedding is taken out and hung up every day, which helps to account for the complete lack of vermin—which I confess came to us as a happy surprise. In all our year in Hunza we saw only *one* flea, and that, as David said, was emphatically our own!

245 Round the corner from these sleeping places I got into a
312 walled-in shady garden full of fruit trees—apples, mulberries, peaches, apricots, and vines. It is incredible how luxurious mere *shade* is at such a temperature. It wasn't remotely like a garden in our sense. The earth was bare without one blade of grass or green, and was all cut up into little beds round each precious tree, with banks between them, so that the water could be directed to each tree as desired, when it was No. 1's
514 turn to have water at all. In the far corner of the garden was
343 a neat little circular "open-air pulpit." We had seen these pulpits dotted about, but—stupidly—did not at once guess what they were for. Coming straight from Kashmir, where the approach to each homestead is ankle deep in filth, or remembering Arab habits in Iráq, we never expected that we should find in Hunza a people as scrupulously decent as ourselves in

644 on our left and passed the field in which to-morrow the Bopfau
796 ceremonies were to take place. As we drew near, the various princes and princelings came out courteously to welcome us, the less important ones, of course, coming farthest, then the grandsons in reverse age-order, and lastly Ghazan Khán himself, the heir and "Prince of Wales." Just outside the Fort there is a fine pond outlined with poplars, the main "road" (say 4 feet wide) on the left of it. The hall-doors of the houses open straight on to this track, their front-door steps being tree trunks with notches cut in them in which the foot is planted sideways as you mount.

644 Prince Ghazan Khan led us through a narrow alley between
351 the town houses to where the Mir himself was standing to greet us. As always he made us feel more than welcome, and
796 took us to a nicely carpeted balcony where chairs stood ready. The balcony was only a few feet above the courtyard, and we had a perfect view. You must try to imagine a "courtyard," with no straight walls or edges, shut in by irregular tiers of houses piled on top of each other, mounting the rock to the towering Fort above, their flat roofs and roofed balconies all projecting higgledy-piggledy as the haphazard contours of the rock dictate. Every roof and point of vantage was packed with people till, as usual, you felt sure the beams were bound to crash. Everybody was in their gayest and brightest dress, and every single face just radiant. There never was a people anywhere with such a gift for looking happy as the Hunzukuts.

796 In the courtyard the musicians squatted at the base of the
535 walls: three pipers, three men with pairs of kettledrums, and three big drummers, all of them clowning and play-acting vigorously as they played. Dancing of the more or less ordinary type was going on, varied by the singing of songs—all unfor-
[533] tunately in Shina, not Burushaski. The Hunza people say they have no songs of their own. DL conscientiously recorded the words of these songs later, but as in the case of the Tumu-shelling chant it is doubtful whether after centuries of being mangled they will yield any intelligent meaning.

Presently the GREAT DANCE came ón. The most glorious

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

181 829 ness of their uncomfortable houses leaves an indelible mark on the national character.

342 It must be remembered that a house in the [351] Hindu-Kush has no glass windows, no comfortable fire-place and chimney corner. The better-class houses are built round a courtyard, but the rooms rarely have windows, all light comes from the 354 open door or from a skylight. Immediately below 352 the skylight is a square open hearth, on which smoulders a fire; round this run raised platforms, on which are the beds and household paraphernalia; the smoke, before escaping through the roof, fills the whole room, blackens walls and pillars, and chokes the un- [132] fortunate inhabitants. If it is very cold, or raining and snowing heavily, the skylight is shut, the room is in pitchy darkness but for a sputtering torch, and the atmosphere horrible. It is no wonder that an existence under these circumstances should be rather depressing, and in Nagar the people get the full benefit of it, for there are several villages which during December and January only get twenty 461 minutes' sun a day; some, I believe, get none. The men having no agricultural work on hand, owing to the land being frost-bound, there is practically nothing for them to do during the winter months but to sit idly round their smouldering fires for about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.

133 487 Nagar has practically no outlet except down the river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there is only the bare possibility of reaching 487 Baltistan by the Hispar pass: there is a tradition that the road was once used, but it is very doubtful if

ANTIQUITY

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but
513 adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet
354 long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor. The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of
324 hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish
322 the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Béricho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
342 for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

342 after a day or two the stone-and-mud walls have dried to the same appearance of timeless indestructibility as those of fifty or one hundred years ago. We passed first, as always, through a small byre, not yet inhabited by its cow; then at right angles through a dark, narrow passage 5 or 6 feet long, and then through the low hall-door into the house itself. Your main object in building a house at all is to be as warm and free from draughts as possible during the "Great Cold," and no one in his senses would let his hall-door open straight on to the wind-swept mountain side. Hence the byre ante-room, which not only defeats the direct outside air, but contributes something of animal warmth to the human warmth within.

291 When we emerged into the living-room (the *atrium*, as it
291 were), beautifully bright with light from the smoke-hole, we
352 were standing in a shallow trough below the floor level where the newcomer kicks off his muddy boots in winter. Most people at all well-to-do wear soft home-made boots up to their knees in winter-time. But skins are precious and, however cold the weather, they take their boots *off* to save them when they come to an extra rough bit of ground. This entrance place has in it the "musicians' bench," under which are stored the family basin and similar utensils and on which is piled a store of firewood.

342 The floor of the room is a small square of hard-beaten earth
[352] which in this gloriously dry climate remains admirably clean; and roughly in the centre of it is a shallow hole, edged with four stone kerbs, which is the hearth. Behind the hearth is a low bench sacred to the lady of the house, the presiding genius
343 of indoors. Beside it she sits to do or superintend the cooking
251 and behind her is a low wooden door opening into the store-
[414] room; the home-made wooden key of which hangs always on her person. The store-room runs the whole width and height of the house. It has need to be a roomy place, for here stand the skin sacks of grain, the heaped baskets of potatoes, apples, dried mulberries and apricots, the kernels, the wool, the stone wine-jars, the jars of apricot oil, the basket of savoury herbs—all the family's supplies for a twelvemonth, which it is her duty to guard and to apportion.

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

As you enter, you turn your eyes left and with your free 342
right hand salute the master of the house and wish him peace. [576]
You will find him seated on a spacious dais raised well above 352
the earthen floor and comfortably carpeted with goats' hair
rugs of his own weaving, or it may be with felt carpets from
Kashgar. The left-hand wall of the dark passage through which
you have entered screens the end of this recessed dais, and is
lined with a capacious cupboard reaching to the ceiling. At
the head of the dais is a gigantic wooden bin, divided into
chambers each with its separate lid, in which the various kinds
of flour are stored as they are ground for use: barley, wheat,
millets, and buckwheats. The dais itself is 6 or 7 feet wide
and 10 or 12 feet long, the men's sitting place by day and the
major sleeping bench by night. Each person has his own set of 352
bedding—padded quilts or homespun blankets—in which he 513
rolls himself like a sausage. The sleepers lie crosswise on the
bench, which is wide enough to let them stretch full length,
and when neatly packed for the night eight or ten can be com-
fortably accommodated. On the opposite side of the room is 352
the minor bench, equally roomy, but an inch or two less
raised, which is the women's sitting place by day, and at night
the sleeping bench for women and children. It also has a built-
up cupboard at the foot, and at the head, corresponding to the
large flour bin, the housewife's spacious "yeast-cupboard" in
which she keeps her kneading trough and rolling-pin, her
cooking-pots and what not. Its door is at her left hand as she
sits on her cross-bench, and the top of it serves as general
shelf, table, and "dresser." A more admirable scheme of 342
architecture, better suited to the family's needs, would be 352
difficult to devise. The complete absence of windows gives a
sense of security and cosiness; the complete absence of sense-
less "furniture" gives a delightful feeling of space and peace
and leisure, and makes you want to go home and make a
bonfire of your tables and chairs. How much more we have
lost than gained by learning to sit on chairs and losing the
pliability of joint that makes squatting natural. How much
unnecessary domestic slavery goes to our "housework." Every 356
morning the Hunza women take the family rugs and bedding

854 round him, he looked extremely comfortable and well-protected. Next, a piece of wide cloth was threaded by its hem on a rod fastened along the side of the cradle, and passed several times over his tummy and under the wooden cot, being finally lashed to the ridge pole. If the cradle had then been knocked over or rolled down hill baby could neither fall out nor get bumped. Finally a thick blanket was thrown over like a tent, and he was safe from dust or smoke or flies—or fresh air. Mother gave a few gentle rocks and he settled into sleep.

854 The use of the cradle in Hunza is said to be relatively recent, 352 and the pattern of it, wherever it was introduced from, includes the prescription that it shall be made from a special sort of hard wood that grows wild on certain mountain spots and is supposed to possess magical properties. The ridge-pole forms a convenient carrying handle, and wherever you see a group of women working and chatting together, spinning in the shade or on the roof, beating out new-washed wool on a sandy patch beside a stream, pounding kernels, washing clothes, or busy on the threshing floor, you will usually see a cradle or two beside them. Truby King might disapprove of so much infant seclusion; but the flat roof offers a drop of 12 or 14 feet on to boulders, and even the living-room a gentle roll into the open 855 hearth, so that Hunza is no place for crawlers. By the time 593 baby is ripe for toddling, he is old enough to be entrusted to 857 the next-older children, who take him pick-a-back or on their shoulders, scaling walls and leaping streams with him as sure-footed as young goats, and as fearless. They carry him to some flat spot and guard him with the most scrupulous care and proudly watch over his first steps.

163 Babies in Hunza are spaced at intervals of three and four 866 years, so no mother is worn out with child-bearing or embarrassed in her daily work by ex-babies clinging to her skirts and jealous of the infant in her arms. Banu, for instance, was four, sturdy and ripe for independence, before Faqér came to claim the family's attention. Soon after his arrival we used to see her stalking about, proudly taking her first walks alone, and obviously savouring the new freedom from older supervision. One day she had passed twice or three times up and

cumference, twisted them with his fingers till he had a small 286
nucleus of double thread. With a wooden peg he fastened this tiny ball so that it could not unroll, and started swinging it round his head, letting it touch the ground now and again to increase the spin. It travelled in wider and wider circles till the connecting thread became of unmanageable length and began to kink. Then he hauled it in and wound the beautifully twisted length of doubled thread on to the little ball and again pegged it down. Thus he continued till the original ball was exhausted.

Not long after, the Ustád's Hérul Nisa came to say that they were setting up a goats'-hair loom at their house if we would care to see it. We found that this time a large vertical frame standing on the roof of No. 8, lashed to the rafter of the balcony, and in course of being strung with just such a warp thread as Kalbi had shown us in the making. While Hunza sheep [233] are uniformly white, three kinds of goat are kept: white, brown, and black. Black hair is used for the warp, while the bobbins are wound with white and brown. The bobbins in this case are long, needle-like rods the full width of the cloth, 2 feet or so, with the hair wound round notches in each end. There are only two heddles, thrown backwards and forwards by a forked peg like a boy's catapult. Goats'-hair weaving is a slower job and heavier than wool-weaving, but the Ustád is master of it, too, and was again initiating two younger men. The different coloured hair allows of pattern-weaving, and they enjoy devising new stripes and squares of brown and white. A very heavy comb is needed to beat down the intractable material, and in order to prevent the cloth being drawn too tight by the cross threads, two "bows" of flexible wood were spiked across it to keep it flat and taut. These are inserted as near as possible to the working edge and moved up 352
as work progresses. The goats'-hair strips are used as rugs, or 415
doubled and sewn together to form sacks and saddle-bags.

One day we were exploring the half-ruined village of the 346
old fort, threading the narrow switchback alleys between 345
deserted houses—so narrow that in places you could only edge along sideways—looking for points of vantage from which to

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

I had expressed a wish to see what winter life "By the Lamp" was like, and one day Levy Kalbi brought an invitation from his womenfolk to join them some evening in their house. I was warmly welcomed into the living-room, where twenty people were at home and many guests besides myself had been invited. The guests included all our own household except the Kashmiri sweeper. I made my way over to the women's side of the house and murmured such compliments as I could improvise, on the skill and diligence with which they stitched and teazed and span. It was amazing. I could only hope that their zeal was perhaps a little extra on my account. Presently, when all had settled down after my incursion, a princely dish of potatoes cooked in *maltash* (producing a sort of Irish stew effect) was set on the floor in the centre and a wicker platter heaped with bread and another piled with grapes. Kalbi had most thoughtfully asked me to have my own dinner before coming, for he feared that I might not be able to enjoy their food (as *maltash* is an inevitable ingredient in any food set before a guest, this was both tactful and humane). Another large dish of grapes was set near me, and the children who clustered round shared them with me without reluctance.

Again I marvelled at the spaciousness and freedom gained by an absence of furniture. We must have been thirty or forty in that tiny-seeming room, yet there was no sense of crowding, and there was perfect ease of movement. And again I marvelled at the natural graciousness and instinctive good manners of these unsophisticated folk. My hosts and hostesses, who had never had a European in their house before, made me feel welcome and at home, and were evidently not conscious of the slightest embarrassment themselves. In a few minutes two or three prostrate sausage-rolls of bedding came to life, bright eyes peeped out and the respective mothers' exhortations, "Go to sleep again, darling!" were just as successful as their equivalents in similar circumstances at home.

Only a couple of the very senior men of the family shared the extra feast, but the guests were warmly pressed to fall to. Each folded a flap of bread round his potato and ate it neatly as from an egg-cup. Then Kalbi's old father, the patriarch of

344 This massive old fortress, for that is what it was,
644 was actually one of the places that had withstood the
712 attacks of invaders for more than 400 years and re-
727 mained impregnable. It has only once been in enemy
[175] hands since the day it was built and that was in 1891, when, after the Battle of Nilt, it was occupied by the British. Records further indicate that the British added no glory to their occupation at the time because of their indiscriminate looting of the treasures found in the palace. But the Mir, whether because of his friendship for the British or because of his desire to tell the truth, claimed that it was not the British who looted it, but the Dogra troops who were under British command.

344 Here I would like to quote from E. F. Knight's
644 *Where Three Empires Meet:*

"This massive fortress, which has been for hundreds
●352 of years the secure stronghold of the robber kings, inviolate until this day, stands boldly out, set in the midst of a sublime landscape . . . Twigg, Boisragon and myself took up our quarters in the most comfortable chamber we could find, which we soon discovered to have been the apartment of the ladies belonging to the
[643] Thum's harem. ("Thum" is Burushaski for ruler, sovereign, king, chief, "Mir". Used especially of the hereditary rulers of the states of Hunza and Nagir.) It was surrounded by a low, broad, wooden divan, on which our bedding was laid. Pillars of carved wood rose from the edge of the divan to the carved beams of the roof, blackened by the smoke of ages. . . . A fire was lit in the open fireplace at one end of the floor, the smoke escaping through a square hole in the roof. Save for the Oriental pattern of the wooden carvings it was just a hall, I imagine, as King Canute might have lived in. . . . We enjoyed a delicious night's rest after our late fatigues.

322 that I have seen performed, I am not too sure that
[177] our wood workers could teach them any new tricks. The thing they're short of is suitable wood.

[415] One of the important functions of the wood turner is to fashion bowls which are made out of either mulberry, willow or apricot wood. The wood turner also
[352] makes charpoys, chests, jewel boxes, bowls and chairs and I believe he is capable of making anything that can be fashioned out of wood.

461 One definite thing impressed me about these various craftsmen and that was the fact that time was meaningless. Their craft was the important thing. Whatever had to be done had to be done right whether it required an hour or a day or a week.

461 There were many things that I would have liked to
126 purchase or arrange for but some of them would require days to produce and it was not my desire to hurry anybody. After seeing their pleasant way of life, I had no intention of disturbing it. Whatever was available that I wanted, I would take with me. Anything else could be sent on or else I would do without it.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

of the Aga Khan and his wife in various poses and stages of his life. I had given some study to these photographs and many of them were inscribed in the hand of the Aga Khan with endearing terms to his friend, Jamal. 353 792

Our quarters were in the guest house—actually adjoining the palace but on a higher level. This building had been erected by the Mir's grandfather back in 1925. It was a well-built, handsome structure, firmly ensconced on a high rocky ledge of granite. 122 344 644

You walked down the Mir's long staircase from the sun room, then you walked up half a dozen or more stone steps, forward a few feet and then you climbed up a circular, enclosed wooden staircase to the guest quarters. These consisted of a large, comfortable sitting room with many easy chairs and a fine writing desk, a large bedroom with two comfortable beds and further on was the bathroom. Then to the right of the lovely sitting room was a balcony—spacious and inviting. From it you could view Rakaposhi and all its splendor and gorgeous loveliness. [352]

The furniture all round was similar to that which you would find in the average better-class American homes. Photographs adorned the walls, among which were the photos of the old Aga Khan and his French wife. [352] [353] [792]

When I mentioned the Aga Khan to the Mir, he waxed eloquent and his face beamed and he said, "Not only was I fond of him—not only did I love him—but we were close intimate friends. He was the most generous of men and especially to the people of Hunza. I revere his memory! He was a wonderful person. We really miss him since his passing. His ancestors came from Persia to India in 1834. In 1934, one hundred years later, to celebrate the jubilee of the founding of 792 [871]

262 A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of work-
556 able land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep,
231 a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

273 Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from
245 Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

415 Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are
412 not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

352 The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large
354 square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept
4 partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

439 At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza
437 and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

220 During the past few years a bit of money has come

I don't think I was struck by any unpleasant or bad 356
odors. No doubt you would assume that being a farmer, the excrement of animals wouldn't offend me and in saying that you'd be very, very right, but even with a city man's view, I don't think you would have found the Hunzan barnyards smelly or dirty.

The roof of the living quarters is just high enough 342
so that a tall man can stand up in it without bumping his head. The Hunzan roofs usually have heavy timbers strung across—at least 3 inches thick and placed about 12 inches apart. They have to be that thick and heavy because on top of this is laid earth. Practically every home has an earthen roof. The floor, too, is of hard earth that has been pounded through years of use, until it is a good sound firm floor that can be readily swept and kept clean.

Apart from the Mir's palace, every other home that I visited in Hunza and in Nagir had earthen floors. Now naturally one wouldn't expect an earthen floor to be spic and span or shine and glisten the way a good hardwood floor can be made to shine and glisten. These earthen or clay floors can be made smooth and even be polished, and it is actually done.

Often the room is divided off to allow for a storage [251]
room, where the dried apricot stones and other fruits and vegetables are kept for winter use.

In the center of the room a hole is dug and often [354]
stones are laid at the bottom. Here the fire is laid and this is how they keep warm during the winter and where they do their cooking. Above is a hole about 18 inches square to allow the smoke to escape. The people 513
sleep on the floor within warming distance of the fire. 352
Beds in the average Hunzan homes are unknown, but they have bed rolls or other cloth contraptions to make the floor softer. Some of the wealthier or well-to-do 352

352 Hunzans have charpoys. Most homes have a chest, or two or three or more, in which they store and keep their belongings. The chests are used to sit on and perhaps eat off. The Hunzan home we visited had a table also.

513 286 Every Hunzan home has blankets for covering during the winter and these blankets are made of homespun wool which is carded, loomed and woven by the villagers. They are equal in weight and warmth to the best blankets that are made in the West. There is no danger of the blankets not being 100 per cent wool, because wool they can get from the sheep or yak's backs.

342 Practically every Hunzan home has an upstairs, too, and this is where the family lives during the summer. It is related that each spring on the 21st of March the family moves upstairs. When there are 4 or 5 members in the family the upstairs is usually divided into two sections or rooms, leaving an open balcony in the center.

342 512 The usual Hunzan home is a place to shelter the family against storms, rain, cold and snow. It is not used nearly as much for social intercourse as it is in the West. Therefore, they don't spend as much of their time in the homes. Practically all daylight hours during spring, summer and fall are spent in the fields.

164 Some authorities attribute the good health of the Hunzans to the fact that most of their time is spent out in the open air and sunlight. Could it be that we in the West spend too much of our time inside our comfortable homes and not sufficient outside in the glorious outdoors? This is something worthy of thought and study.

Considering the heights, the ledges, the precipices and steep inclines that are found throughout this country, it is remarkable that there are few cases of injury like broken or fractured limbs, serious accidents due to falling and such. But you must remember that from infancy, children are trained and learn how to

misdemeanors on the scale that we know them in the Western world are practically unknown in Hunza. That being the case, it behooves us to investigate and study family life in Hunza, for juvenile delinquency is becoming a very serious and ever broadening problem in America. 674

I saw samples of Hunzan justice. Its simplicity made me weep . . . when I recalled our procrastinating, shackled, unwieldy, judicial system. In the Western world civil cases take months and even years to be heard in court before a judge. In Hunza there are so few cases of wrongdoings, or even individual or family problems, that a hearing can be arranged almost immediately. 692

Petty squabbles or differences between husband and wife or even other disputes can be brought before the Wazir or before the Mir in private. When something more serious is at stake, the grieved party or parties bring their case to the "morning durbar," which is held regularly in the courtyard surrounded by the beautiful gardens at the entrance to the Mir's palace. At the time I was at Baltit many workmen were busily engaged in erecting a large stone enclosure or balcony where the "durbars" will be held, allowing more room for spectators and greater comfort for the counsel. [344] [644]

During the proceedings the Mir sits comfortably ensconced on a square-shaped wooden divan, luxuriantly smothered in rugs, fancy cushions and tapestries. There is none of the strict court procedure or dourness and frigidity known to our Western judiciary system. Here one feels that he is talking to a friend—a fellow citizen—or at least, an acquaintance. [352] [643]

Perhaps we have carried our ideas of justice, freedom and democracy a bit too far. In order that everyone may be afforded justice and fair treatment at the hands

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

181 829 ness of their uncomfortable houses leaves an indelible mark on the national character.

342 It must be remembered that a house in the [351] Hindu-Kush has no glass windows, no comfortable fire-place and chimney corner. The better-class houses are built round a courtyard, but the rooms rarely have windows, all light comes from the 354 open door or from a skylight. Immediately below 352 the skylight is a square open hearth, on which smoulders a fire; round this run raised platforms, on which are the beds and household paraphernalia; the smoke, before escaping through the roof, fills the whole room, blackens walls and pillars, and chokes the un- [132] fortunate inhabitants. If it is very cold, or raining and snowing heavily, the skylight is shut, the room is in pitchy darkness but for a sputtering torch, and the atmosphere horrible. It is no wonder that an existence under these circumstances should be rather depressing, and in Nagar the people get the full benefit of it, for there are several villages which during December and January only get twenty 461 minutes' sun a day; some, I believe, get none. The men having no agricultural work on hand, owing to the land being frost-bound, there is practically nothing for them to do during the winter months but to sit idly round their smouldering fires for about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.

133 487 Nagar has practically no outlet except down the river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there is only the bare possibility of reaching 487 Baltistan by the Hispar pass: there is a tradition that the road was once used, but it is very doubtful if

"We were up betimes on December 23rd, and proceeded to rummage all the nooks and corners of the deserted palace. We had heard that the treasures of many a pillaged caravan . . . were stored here, so the search was an exciting one. The tribesmen had been informed that, provided they gave up their arms, their property would be respected by us. . . But the possessions of the fugitive Thum were declared to be forfeited, so we set to work to collect together all the valuables that were to be found in the place, individual looting being of course forbidden. . . . We were informed that the Thum had made all his preparations for flight long before his defeat at Nilt, and . . . had carried off the bulk of his wealth with him across the Hindoo Koosh. . . . Still, they had not taken all, and we raked together a curious and miscellaneous collection of odds and ends scattered about and secreted away in the various chambers and cellars." 727 344 644

On two sides this mighty fortress (and it is a mighty fortress for that part of the world) is protected by abysses. 344 644

As the views of the mountains and the surrounding country from the balconies were unrivaled, I took many colored photographs and with each click of the shutter I hoped for the best. [126]

I noticed a marvelous old firing piece, gun or matchlock. I don't know how to describe these things as I am not very familiar with firearms. However, I found out that this was a genuine treasure and was almost as old as the fort itself. 411

It was a most unusual firing piece. By actual measurement it was 6 feet long, elegantly and extravagantly decorated with silver and gold, and bore the inscription "946 A.H."

What had evidently been an old calendar portray- 353

353 ing an excellent likeness of Queen Victoria in full color hung on the old palace wall. It was still in good condition and told you to use "Mellins Food for Infants and Invalids." I suspect this picture calendar has been hanging there for some 60 years (it was dated 1899). Both the producer of the calendar and the food people could well be proud of the record.

123 One could easily spend a few days in and around the fort and probably write a volume about its history. But I'll leave that for someone else.

I made a careful round of all the rooms in the old palace and by that time Sultan Ali remarked that we'd best be retracing our steps to the Mir's because the Mir had asked him to bring me back in time for lunch, which was at 1.30. So we started our descent.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 31

Breakfast Chitchat

122 574 THE MIR was a most tolerant and understanding host. I can't say for sure whether or not all his guests were treated as well as I, but I have no reason to believe otherwise.

Sometimes I would get down to breakfast alone at 8 o'clock in the morning. On other occasions there was Jahangir, sometimes Cec and on some occasions the doctor and the Mir's uncle and a few other individuals. I usually tried to get down at 8 o'clock . . . yet, there were occasions when I got down at 6 o'clock, if I had some adventure or specific project in view.

353 792 I remember this specific breakfast because the first thing I said to the Mir after I was seated at the table was, "I would judge that you were very fond of the Aga Khan."

You see, it wasn't very hard for me to judge this fact because our apartment was hung with pictures

of the Aga Khan and his wife in various poses and stages of his life. I had given some study to these photographs and many of them were inscribed in the hand of the Aga Khan with endearing terms to his friend, Jamal. 353● 792

Our quarters were in the guest house—actually adjoining the palace but on a higher level. This building had been erected by the Mir's grandfather back in 1925. It was a well-built, handsome structure, firmly ensconced on a high rocky ledge of granite. 122 344 644

You walked down the Mir's long staircase from the sun room, then you walked up half a dozen or more stone steps, forward a few feet and then you climbed up a circular, enclosed wooden staircase to the guest quarters. These consisted of a large, comfortable sitting room with many easy chairs and a fine writing desk, a large bedroom with two comfortable beds and further on was the bathroom. Then to the right of the lovely sitting room was a balcony—spacious and inviting. From it you could view Rakaposhi and all its splendor and gorgeous loveliness. [352]

The furniture all round was similar to that which you would find in the average better-class American homes. Photographs adorned the walls, among which were the photos of the old Aga Khan and his French wife. [352] [353] [792]

When I mentioned the Aga Khan to the Mir, he waxed eloquent and his face beamed and he said, "Not only was I fond of him—not only did I love him—but we were close intimate friends. He was the most generous of men and especially to the people of Hunza. I revere his memory! He was a wonderful person. We really miss him since his passing. His ancestors came from Persia to India in 1884. In 1934, one hundred years later, to celebrate the jubilee of the founding of 792 [871]

produced a key and opened the door. 344 644

Soon I was wandering through the well-appointed summer cottage. It was neat, tidy, clean and solidly built but of course it was not on par with the palace—nor would one expect it to be. After all, as mentioned, it was but a weekend spot and what we would call a summer cottage back home. Yet, of course, it was much nicer than the average summer cottage, but not as good as some of our elegant ones back home.

I was rather surprised and quite amused to note that the walls were covered rather widely with shiny lithographed pictures . . . yes, it was good printing or lithographing work. The pictures were obviously put out by the Chinese communist government and everywhere they showed workers and working girls with beaming faces, wearing good clothes and looking prosperous, but no one could doubt that these pictures were splendid specimens of communist propaganda. 353 648

One of the most effective pictures for propaganda purposes, I gathered, was one that showed the happy beaming faces of whites, yellows, blacks—all mixed and enjoying life together.

At first I thought that the Mir couldn't have known about these pictures hanging in his bungalow, but then I gathered that he must know about them. Evidently he doesn't fear them or worry about them. Perhaps he knows his people better than anyone else.

I do not have to go into a long discourse to prove to myself or to anyone else that the Mir does not have communistic leanings because communism would quickly and definitely stamp out any form of absolute rule like his Mirship. Yet I can also see the absolute necessity of the Mir keeping on friendly terms and not antagonizing either the Russian or the Chinese Communists. Then to make the situation even more hazard- 648

648 ous, the Russians have infiltrated Afghanistan. Therefore, Hunza is now completely hemmed in by what I would call the bamboo, the iron and the stone curtains.

I can't visualize where the Mir has too much to fear from Communist aggression. From what I have seen and learned, the Communists like their spots plush, soft and succulent. None of these conditions exist in Hunza!

The Communists like locations where they can eventually, if not immediately, take out more than they put in. That would never take place in Hunza. Then, too, people who have chosen to live on the north bank of the Hunza River would not be easily shackled [643] or enslaved. Admittedly, the Mir is an absolute monarch but there are no signs of that type of rule in evidence anywhere in Hunza. There's a parallel in England. While England has a queen, a monarch whom the people respect and revere, whom they would follow in life and in death, the monarch would never make demands on her people.

I do not believe there is a more democratic nation on the face of the globe than Great Britain . . . and that includes the United States or other republics. I believe the same situation holds true in Hunza.

Another point to be considered by possible invaders is . . . What would they gain besides possible armed conflicts with Pakistan and perhaps India?

[353] No, I would suggest that Hunza is comparatively safe from communist aggression and the Mir can afford to have the communist propaganda pictures on the walls of his summer bungalow in Altit as a gesture of friendship.

247 The yard or garden around the bungalow[3] was aglow
177 with flowers of every description and hue imaginable.

[1] [ie. of the Mir - ANALYST]

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

342 The Hunza dwelling house is a fortress-like cube of stone and mud whose front door is screened from the hostile outer air by a barn,

102

342 the door of whic... is strategically placed at right angles to, and some distance from, the main door. The only ventilation is the central
354 smoke-hole of highly elaborate construction, three wooden frames
171

ANTIQUITY

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
354 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and
342 height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central
atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window,
the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but
513 adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet
354 long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts
and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench
is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies
the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleep-
ing benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head
and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of
the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes
the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply
of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of
324 hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that
of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish
322 the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a
177 lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The
delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in
size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels
and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We
ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even
introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a
563 lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
326 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Bericho,
lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and
dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears,
the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze
342 which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

a miserable ten—none of your 'some thirty, some sixty, some an hundredfold'—while lucerne only gives three crops. 248

'The Hunzukuts' main food is bread, of which the housewife makes a large variety, from the leavened wheatened cake with butter for feast days, the unleavened flapjack of wheat, barley or blended flours for everyday, to the bitter buckwheat scones of leaner times. Milk is not an article of diet; the animals yield little at the best and none at all when their own offspring is weaned. Such milk as there is contains little fat content, which is not to be wondered at in view of the food on which the animals exist; it is converted into butter, curds and such preservable forms. Butter is stored in birch-bark wrappings beneath an adjacent water-channel and broached only on festive occasions or for the entertainment of a guest. Meat is tasted at most twice or three times a year, at festivals or on some day of domestic rejoicing, a wedding or a birth, and then it will be 'some tainted wether of the flock, meetest for death' who supplies the sacrifice. 262 234

The womenfolk tend small vegetable plots in the corner of a field or separate garden, where carrots, turnips, marrows, gourds and half a hundred kinds of humble 'greens' are grown, and a few plants whose leaves or seeds are esteemed for flavouring, along with a few tobacco plants for the men's pipes. After grain and greens, the essential item of Hunza diet is the apricot, fresh in the early summer and dried during the rest of the year; mulberries, fresh and dried, come next in importance, then a few apples, pears and peaches (these little valued because they will neither keep nor dry) and a few grapes for such relatively well-to-do houses as can afford space and water to grow them. Grapes ripen too late to be dried into raisins and the small quantity not consumed fresh is converted into light wine, brightening the winter days for those who have it, and drunk within a couple of months of manufacture. The apricot has yet further uses. Its kernel yields the oil which lights very modestly the winter nights. The Burusho woman is said to refuse, most wisely, to live above the level of the ripe apricot (say 9–10,000 feet). This is, I suspect only a base pretext of her husband's for refusing to live at these altitudes himself. Be that as it may, the upper villages of Hunza are almost exclusively inhabited by immigrants from Wakhan accustomed to a treeless existence and a diet of barley only. Grafting fruit trees is an art thoroughly understood. The above-mentioned fruits supply the only sugar which the Hunza people know. 244 262 246 [273] [354] 361 245

Despite all diligence in tilling the ungrateful soil, despite the utmost 262

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

Two other points remained: heat and light. The Hunza [133] mountains face south, and in contrast to the north-facing Nagir 354 heights where pines are plentiful, are absolutely bare of trees. So fuel is a serious problem; each household has to manage on such wood as they can spare from their own gardens and orchards. If a tree has to be felled or pruned, or an old vine rooted up, they may be in relative luxury for a time, or if they have to cut down poplars for a house the trimmings will keep them going, but normally they must do with an occasional fallen branch or a few twigs. Even in the depth of winter no one can afford a fire merely to warm the house; they cook their bread and vegetables as economically as possible, and just sit round the ashes of the tiny fire till it is time to blow it into life again for the next meal. We feared we might therefore have to import wood from Nagir or even farther off, which would have been serious, for we needed a good deal for cooking, baths, etc., and would need more when it came to trying to heat the large and draughty sitting-room. We consulted our people about it, and presently one day they brought a charming man to see us. He had been dabbling in commerce and had contrived to contract a debt in Gilgit and was going to be forced to cut down some of his fruit trees to pay it. It would suit him far better to sell the lot to one buyer than to peddle it about amongst his fellow countrymen, who rarely had money to spend. So we easily made a bargain with him, and he delivered into one of the outhouses (with a rickety door which could be padlocked) a fine supply which with care lasted out our time for all purposes. What was more he was delighted to take notes in payment. We had brought up some ten and five rupee notes with us before we realized that only small silver would be any use. So that was that. I had no further trouble but the usual routine job of weighing out the day's wood.

In the old days in Gilgit, though oil was expensive, there was never any trouble in getting it. The S. and T. carried an ample supply both of the finer Snowflake and of the everyday kerosene. Remembering this, we had not brought any up with us from Kashmir. But the S. and T. was about to disappear, in consequence of various political developments which are not necessary to explain, and their supplies were almost done. We

1 [i.e. housekeeping problems -- Andy]

354 hastily earmarked all the Snowflake they could possibly spare; for our treasured Aladdin lamps would have been little use to us if we had had nothing to feed them on and they can't digest the coarser oil. Snowflake worked out at 4s. 6d. a gallon plus carriage from Gilgit! But it was one of the absolute essentials to work. We bought also as much of the ordinary kerosene, as we could, so as to have oil for hurricane lanterns for bedrooms and bathrooms. But all through the winter we had to ration ourselves to *one* Aladdin lamp. It was annoying to think that we could have brought as many extra pony-loads as necessary up with us if we had realized the need. It was by July too late to order from down-country; the passes would be closed before a consignment could get through.

000 names of things, so she took up the good work: "That's our roof; that thing sticking out is a cross rafter," and "That's our ladder." Presently we came to the corner of her square, stone house, the wall of which rose straight from the water-channel, and there we found her father and a couple of small boys. We crossed a tiny two-trunk bridge to talk to them at the door, and papa was evidently much pleased that we had taken notice
251 of the two small girls. Mother and an auntie[1] were sitting a little farther back under some fine mulberry trees splitting apricots, which they were going to spread presently on a big boulder or on the roof to dry. Everywhere we looked boulders and roofs were decorated with glorious golden-pink pools of drying apricots.

252 I slipped over to the women while David continued to chat
● 354 to the master of the house. With luck the dried apricots would
302 last them all through the winter, for this had been a good year. The apricot stones they were keeping carefully as they worked. Presently the children would crack them between stones and the kernels would be hoarded. Eaten with dried apricots they make a delicious almond-and-raisin dessert for feast days or offerings to guests, while a good proportion of them must be pounded by the women till the oil is squeezed out that will give their sole indoor light. If by good luck there is any oil to spare, it makes a prized unguent for the hair and most families contrive to have enough to sleek their plaits or fringes for
246 great occasions. This cheery family bade us a friendly good-bye as we moved on, and a little farther along the channel, which was now making a curved sweep round, we saw a man standing in a reaped field below us. This crop had been lucerne, he said; he gets two crops of it off one field each season. David told him how they get seven or eight crops in Persia, but consider the first crop bad for the animals (for some reason which we never discovered). He was much interested, and said they did not notice any difference in the wholesomeness of their first and second crop: Hunza animals are not encouraged to be
000 faddy. Presently we came to a fine, walled-in mulberry orchard on our left and climbed up into a sloping field where a slight crop of grass was growing between boulders. We sat down to

1 [of Kaniza, a Burusho child--Analyst]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

HUNZA BABIES

846 A couple of months after Bibi Gímo's, Soni's baby son was born—the first grandson of No. 1A—and his arrival was the cause of great rejoicing. I had heard nothing of it till I commented one day to Aliko, whose handsome white beard had suddenly turned orange, on the fact that I had not lately seen Afrots. "She's been staying over with her mother's people in Haiderabad," he said, "but she's coming back to-day." When I next saw her she raced up to me breathless: "How do you do (in English), I've got a baby brother, I've got a baby brother, I've got a BABY BROTHER!" The opportunity of an eighth-day formal visit had passed, so I clambered over a boulder or two into their orchard-garden and called up the [354] blank, unresponsive-looking wall of the house. Soni was busy in the store-room, and put her head out of the one tiny wooden window—the only "window" of a Hunza house is a square, shuttered, ventilation hole in the store-room—inviting me to join her on the roof. I climbed the primitive ladder with caution—a camera and other impedimenta always made me even less agile than need have been—and there she was spinning away and occasionally giving a rock to the cradle beside her. I utilized as many suitable phrases as I could remember without rehearsal, and was rewarded with a peep at a fine little fellow of a fortnight whom any mother might have been 846 proud to own. Soni was gaily dressed, and had dotted her face 302 all over with unsightly brown spots which I learned were 752 supposed to be "good for the complexion" after childbirth. The custom used, it seems, to be universal, but it must be dying out, for I saw only a few young mothers so decorated. Anywhere else one might suppose it a charm against the Evil Eye, but the Burusho of Hunza are so free from any taint of this baleful superstition—so hard-lived where it has once had root—that I think there must be some other explanation. We later found that among the Burushaski speakers of Yasin, all the younger women lived under a permanent coating of similar brown cosmetic, washed off only for feast days, in the belief that it protected their skin against the cold winds of their harsher climate.

000 Afrots, joining devoutly in the admiration of her baby

000 *čilamči* x basin (European). Prs. H.
čili — ? — *čili ba·buk'* a very small bead. EOL. (Cp. Sh. *čili*, juniper).

436 *čili·ki, čiliki, -mots* x obsolete coin (formerly worth 8 annas). — *ja·le čiliki.en api* I have no money, "I haven't a penny". (Cp. Punjabi *čilki*, "A kind of Nanak Shahi rupee . . . a kind of rupee worth ten annas current in the Jammu and Kashmir State". Bhai Maya Singh).

000 *čilimda·n* pipe-bearer to the King. 20.4, 26.7. Prs.

čimi·li, čimili, -miŋ, y chip, splinter. — *mentse čim'ili.eŋ yaiyi ke* . . . if the splinters strike anyone (or perhaps for *čimili'en* as in 172.3). 172.1.

čhin, pl. *čhi·yo*, N. *čenu*, x bird. — — *či.u do·las* to shoot (small) birds.

činta active. — *činta hirañ* an active man.

čipuphoš -iŋ y whirlwind.

čiq'ir -rão white-eyed (i.e. with whitish pupil, of horses only).

(Cp. Kho *čiγər, čiqər; čiγeri*, light-eyed, "if there is too much white beside the black of the eye that is called *čiγər*". ŠY. Wakhi, *čakir*, "light-coloured of eyes", Shaw).

čir stas to spin, — *gančats čir stas* to spin. (Cp. Sh. *čirčir th.*, to twirl spindle in the fingers).

čira·qna·ma. — *axome čira·qna·ma γatai bai.i* the mullah reads, recites the "*čira·qna·ma*" (a prayer (*du'a·*) used when three days have elapsed after a funeral). 314.2. Prs.

354 765 *čiraq, čir'ak, čira·q, čira·γ, -rão, -uts* x lamp, small stone container with floating wick. — *balo·ldans čiraq* stone lamp. *čumars čiraq* iron lamp, lantern. *čir'ak espalas* to light a

98 b

[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

lamp. Cp. 314.2. *čɪrʌk ɛstayʌs* to put out a lamp. *iskikots mʌnumər čɪrʌ·gɛ huy'ɛs kʌš ɛč'an* at the end of three days they slaughter the "goat (sheep) of the lamp". 312.20. *iskikotsɛ čɪrʌ·γ ɛspʌlumʌn* they lighted the "three days" lamp(s). 244.21. 354● 765

This refers to the lighting of lamps three days after a funeral, after which a mullah reads the Quran, or prayers, until the lamps are burnt out. After this the people have a feast consisting of 12 seers of pounded wheat with salt and butter added and mutton.

Before the sheep is killed its legs are washed and collyrium is put round its eyes. Prs.

čɪ·rbɪt -rɛ̄o a kind of plant(?). ○○○

čɪrbɪt -rɛ̄o x snipe.

čɪri·ŋ v. *čiḍiŋ*.

čɪri·po, -mots x scrap of cloth. — *čɪri·po ɛau* take a scrap of cloth, i.e. a sample. (Cp. Sh. *čir'ipi* shred of cloth, small rag).

čɪ·ro, -mots x top (child's toy). — *čɪ·ro pfər ɛtʌs* to spin a top.

čhiš, -ko x mountain, hill. — *čiṣko thʌ·rko bɪ·ɛn* the mountains are lofty. *čiseṭo du·simi* he climbed up the mountain. *čištsum yʌ·rɛ sokimi* he came down from, descended, the mountain. *čʌt čiš* a low hill. *jot čiš* a small hill. *čʌtoŋo, jo·trɛ̄o čiṣko* low, small hills, hillocks. 156.8, 176.12, 180.8, 212.8, 260.4. (Cp. Sh. *čhī·ṣ*, GB *čhī·ṣ*).

čhiš -ko x.

1. Ladder (including log with footnicheс cut in it). — *čiṣe xa sokɛčʌm* I'll go down the ladder. 184.7.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7

A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of workable land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep, a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

During the past few years a bit of money has come

I don't think I was struck by any unpleasant or bad odors. No doubt you would assume that being a farmer, the excrement of animals wouldn't offend me and in saying that you'd be very, very right, but even with a city man's view, I don't think you would have found the Hunzan barnyards smelly or dirty. 356

The roof of the living quarters is just high enough so that a tall man can stand up in it without bumping his head. The Hunzan roofs usually have heavy timbers strung across—at least 3 inches thick and placed about 12 inches apart. They have to be that thick and heavy because on top of this is laid earth. Practically every home has an earthen roof. The floor, too, is of hard earth that has been pounded through years of use, until it is a good sound firm floor that can be readily swept and kept clean. 342

Apart from the Mir's palace, every other home that I visited in Hunza and in Nagir had earthen floors. Now naturally one wouldn't expect an earthen floor to be spic and span or shine and glisten the way a good hardwood floor can be made to shine and glisten. These earthen or clay floors can be made smooth and even be polished, and it is actually done.

Often the room is divided off to allow for a storage room, where the dried apricot stones and other fruits and vegetables are kept for winter use. [251]

In the center of the room a hole is dug and often stones are laid at the bottom. Here the fire is laid and this is how they keep warm during the winter and where they do their cooking. Above is a hole about 18 inches square to allow the smoke to escape. The people sleep on the floor within warming distance of the fire. Beds in the average Hunzan homes are unknown, but they have bed rolls or other cloth contraptions to make the floor softer. Some of the wealthier or well-to-do [354] 513 352 352

164 salt is causing the present goiter and dental caries situations in Hunza today.

"How would you describe the health conditions of the people of Hunza?" I next asked the doctor.

[758] "Since my coming to Hunza a little less than a year ago, I have treated but a few patients a day and seldom are there more than one or two of the hospital beds utilized at one time. Apart from the greatly increasing incidence of goiter and dental caries, no other disease seems to have a firm hold in Hunza.

164 167 "Now that many of the boys and men of Hunza are leaving to go into the army in Pakistan, as well as seeking employment in other adjacent areas, diseases never known in Hunza before are making their appearance.

753 757 "Another unfortunate characteristic that I have to contend with is the fact that the people feel quite shy of coming to a doctor for advice and treatment, especially when it is concerned with the personal parts of the anatomy. Actually they are callously indifferent to medical science. The majority of them are, in fact, still living in the bygone age when diseases were supposed to be due to influences of evil spirits. So they depend to some degree and waste much of early precious time in useless superstitious pursuits of driving away the ghost."

164 These one or two patients that he treats daily have in most cases only minor ailments and, at that, a good share of these come from across the river and from the neighboring state of Nagir.

It occurred to me that there would probably be more illness during the winter. Many cases of eye troubles are treated during the winter, due, primarily, to the fact that most Hunzan homes are smoke-filled, because of [354] the floor center fires and only the hole in the roof to allow the smoke to escape. Visitors invariably find living indoors and the smoke intolerable, but the people of

single house plant. This applies to the Nagir side as 247
well. Of course this is readily understandable when
you realize that they have no glass or light. The only [354]
light they would have in a Hunzan home would be the
bit that streaks in from the hole in the roof or through
the doorway. This lack of light would not be conducive
to growing plants indoors.

I recognized and found one lone dandelion plant and 137
believe me, when I found it, my heart was glad, gladder
than it would have been if I'd found a beautiful rose.
It has always been my belief and contention that
dandelions are found where'er plant life can survive
and this plant bore out (to a degree) my lifelong con-
tention. As long as a dandelion can be found, one need
not fear starvation. The greens of the dandelion, es- 000
pecially when young and tender, make delicious salads
. . . but remember, be sure to get the young tender
shoots. The roots are roasted and ground, and they
make a beverage that some authorities say is as good
as coffee. The root can also be used the same as pars-
nips. Herbalists prescribe dandelion coffee for dys-
pepsia, gout and rheumatism and they claim, with
sincerity, that it possesses most beneficial properties for
such ailments. It is also recommended by the herbalists
for kidney and liver disorders and Potter says it is
perhaps one of the most generally prescribed remedies
. . . "It may be given in any form but its beneficial
action is best obtained when combined with other
agents." Now besides all the above virtues, its flowers
and milky stalks make delicious wine.

This one single lone dandelion—the only one I saw 137
on my trek—had caught a foothold in a crevice of a
rock and was growing on this steep wall. I felt like 000
embracing it and pressing it to my heart. But if I had,

by what he omits as by what he states. In this instance I 000
am somewhat on the spot. I don't want to fall prey to the errors and omissions which I have condemned in others. I did pointedly seek and ask details concerning 164
the ailments of the people of Hunza. I did seek to find out the diseases that are unknown in Hunza. I also wanted to learn the diseases that are most common and that generally affect the health of the people. And here is the picture.

They have trouble with their eyes. They suffer from stomach disorders—chiefly dysentery and worms. They are subject to skin infections, fevers, weak lungs, goiter and dental caries. Whether or not you wish to attach any great importance to the maladies I have outlined above, I feel that I should explain one or two of the contributing factors.

Remember, the Hunza homes do not have chimneys. [354]
Besides, they have so little fuel that they don't want to waste any of the heat . . . and the smoke is allowed to escape only through a hole in the roof. I don't know if this affects their lungs. It probably would. But I know that it does cause most of the eye ailments.

Concerning stomach disorders, it may be possible that the ingestion of continuous quantities of mineral laden glacial waters contribute to this condition . . . but I am unable to state categorically if this is true.

Goiter and caries of the teeth have become a leading health problem. But these conditions were comparatively unknown when they used their native salt.

All through my travels in that area I did not come across one sick native. But that need not have any great significance, because sick people probably stay out of sight, and therefore they wouldn't come within range of my vision or my wanderings.

I must emphasize here that every man that I saw in

[P.44-A]

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it: men
[562] spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[796] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two: cold weather preserves the meat for the few days
[251] before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
248 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[354] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[262] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

181 829 ness of their uncomfortable houses leaves an indelible mark on the national character.

342 [351] It must be remembered that a house in the Hindu-Kush has no glass windows, no comfortable fire-place and chimney corner. The better-class houses are built round a courtyard, but the rooms rarely have windows, all light comes from the 354 open door or from a skylight. Immediately below 352 the skylight is a square open hearth, on which smoulders a fire; round this run raised platforms, on which are the beds and household paraphernalia; the smoke, before escaping through the roof, fills the whole room, blackens walls and pillars, and chokes the un- [132] fortunate inhabitants. If it is very cold, or raining and snowing heavily, the skylight is shut, the room is in pitchy darkness but for a sputtering torch, and the atmosphere horrible. It is no wonder that an existence under these circumstances should be rather depressing, and in Nagar the people get the full benefit of it, for there are several villages which during December and January only get twenty 461 minutes' sun a day; some, I believe, get none. The men having no agricultural work on hand, owing to the land being frost-bound, there is practically nothing for them to do during the winter months but to sit idly round their smouldering fires for about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.

133 487 Nagar has practically no outlet except down the river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there is only the bare possibility of reaching 487 Baltistan by the Hispar pass: there is a tradition that the road was once used, but it is very doubtful if

cattle are not). *wiltaṭ ɑ·pi.ɑn* they have no cattle. 000

i·ltai.ɾg y pl. complete legs (of man or animal).— *kaγoro i·lji (γo·rum) i·ltai.ɾg ɑuzko biṭraɑ* the horse's hind- (fore-) legs are long. *i·ltai.ɾg thai.ṡko.ɑn bai.i* he is a long-legged fellow. (From **-ltants*, pl. **-ltai.ɾg* y).

**-i·ltɑ: ɑtɑs* v. **-i·l.*

i·ltumal v. **-ltumal.*

i·lturɑs, i·lturć- v.t. to pull down, dismantle, pull to pieces, undo. — *ha, hakićag, ilturćam, ilturam* I shall pull down, did pull down, the house, houses. (Later authority gives the verb as **-lturɑs*. Cp. also 2. *turum* and *turumi*).

iltur, ilturo manaw, v. **-ltur*, to imitate. — *Bulćutoko ilturo noma . . . niman . . .* imitating B. they went. 206.8.

imam Imām. 284.11. Ar.

iman y faith. — *iman biluman bai.i* he is a faithful fellow. Ar.

imandar faithful, loyal, trusty. — *imandaran bai.i* he is a faithful fellow. Ar. Pr.

imarayas IUB, *imaraṡ-* to cut, pollard. (Stated to be a variant of **-murrayas*; v. s.v. *im'writtinas*).

imarat palace. 136.23, 84.20. Ar.

imakṭ, pl. *imakt.ents*, x.

1. A vessel for dough, H. *ɑamirdɑra*.
2. A man who is lazy and doesn't move about ("travel").

imaqati N. *-mats* x cupboard. 1/A

imekus, im'ekus, i·mekus, pl. *i·mekuyants* x small peg which fits into a hole in the bolt (*sirik*) of a door and so secures it. Rung (of ladder). [355]

(Perhaps **-ms* tooth. For *-kus* cp. *yarokus* and *yaṡokus*? It may also be noted that the word for bolt in

456

1/A [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 541 — Analyst]

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

As you enter, you turn your eyes left and with your free 342
right hand salute the master of the house and wish him peace. [576]
You will find him seated on a spacious dais raised well above 352
the earthen floor and comfortably carpeted with goats' hair rugs of his own weaving, or it may be with felt carpets from Kashgar. The left-hand wall of the dark passage through which you have entered screens the end of this recessed dais, and is lined with a capacious cupboard reaching to the ceiling. At the head of the dais is a gigantic wooden bin, divided into chambers each with its separate lid, in which the various kinds of flour are stored as they are ground for use: barley, wheat, millets, and buckwheats. The dais itself is 6 or 7 feet wide and 10 or 12 feet long, the men's sitting place by day and the major sleeping bench by night. Each person has his own set of 352
bedding—padded quilts or homespun blankets—in which he 513
rolls himself like a sausage. The sleepers lie crosswise on the bench, which is wide enough to let them stretch full length, and when neatly packed for the night eight or ten can be comfortably accommodated. On the opposite side of the room is 352
the minor bench, equally roomy, but an inch or two less raised, which is the women's sitting place by day, and at night the sleeping bench for women and children. It also has a built-up cupboard at the foot, and at the head, corresponding to the large flour bin, the housewife's spacious "yeast-cupboard" in which she keeps her kneading trough and rolling-pin, her cooking-pots and what not. Its door is at her left hand as she sits on her cross-bench, and the top of it serves as general shelf, table, and "dresser." A more admirable scheme of 342
architecture, better suited to the family's needs, would be 352
difficult to devise. The complete absence of windows gives a sense of security and cosiness; the complete absence of senseless "furniture" gives a delightful feeling of space and peace and leisure, and makes you want to go home and make a bonfire of your tables and chairs. How much more we have lost than gained by learning to sit on chairs and losing the pliability of joint that makes squatting natural. How much
unnecessary domestic slavery goes to our "housework." Every 356
morning the Hunza women take the family rugs and bedding

356 and hang them in sun and air. Five minutes with a broom and the whole house is effectively cleaned!

576 The hospitality and goodwill of these people is beyond belief. We had never met or heard of the proud owner of this new house, yet he had spread his benches with rugs and carpets for us, had raised some glass bottles (incredibly precious things these) and filled them with flowers to do us honour. So we sat in comfort and asked innumerable questions, supplementing all we had learned from Kalbi's house and proudly showing off how much we knew. Qudrat Ullah and I worked the measuring tape and sang out various dimensions which David entered on the rough plan he had sketched. And as we worked we chatted about all sorts of things, and found our host most interesting, as indeed all people are who are close in touch with real life—the bore is a pernicious product of civilization. Before we went away they brought two huge dishes of peaches and lovely grapes and bunches of flowers for us to take home. We said all the nice things we could think of and wished the family happiness and long life in the new house and plenty of children to fill it, though to judge by the dozens of merry little faces crowding in the background and peering round the entrance, there was no shortage of these in
858 the neighbourhood. The Hunza children (as I have said more than once) are delightful: bright-eyed and eager, yet perfectly mannered. They never interrupt, they never bother you, they disappear like magic if bidden to go, but they love to see and
000 hear all that is going on. While the men were purposefully, gravely talking, I would keep one half my mind at leisure, smile and nod across at the womenfolk, wordlessly implying: "Yes, we know what men are, don't we, you and I?" I would wag a finger in greeting to one or another of the small boys and girls, and then find another catching my eye and demanding an equal attention; I would tickle an adjacent toddler, who responded with a judiciously muffled squeal, and the whole group of households were our friends.

When finally we said good-bye, we could not insult our host by offering money in return for his kindness and the fruit. So next day I plundered my store-room and took out a small

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 41

Cleanliness

ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS I have read and heard reports that the Hunzan homes are scrupulously clean. To that I will not subscribe. I just can't go along with any such assertion. 356 114

I peeked into, looked over at and viewed hundreds of the homes in Nagir on the trek and I also had a chance to see into many of the homes in Hunza and there isn't any question about it—the Hunzan homes are cleaner, tidier and have fewer odors (or none at all) than the others of this same area. But to say that they are scrupulously clean or that you could eat off the floor is, to my mode of thought, a gross exaggeration.

Obviously, the places the other writers saw were very clean and tidy. But, to me anyway, it is clear that the owners were notified in advance that they would have visitors.

Being curious and nosy by habit and turn of mind, I 356 123

managed to peer into a few of the places and noticed that they weren't as spic and span as some people say they are. In fact, we were taken through one home on a tour. We visited their downstairs apartment and then climbed the ladder to visit the upstairs one. I will admit and am in complete agreement with the other writers, that the place was scrupulously clean, swept and neat.

But—and this is important, so follow me—I had stuck my head and eyes into that selfsame home the day before, probably unknown to my guide, and had seen the condition that this same house was in then. While it was not filthy, nor could I even say dirty, it certainly was not in the same immaculate condition that it was in now, since this time the people were advised that we were coming.

So let it be said and accepted that the Hunzans are much cleaner than the Nagirwals and are generally, by and large, a clean, wholesome people, both in body and in home.

I have long ago accepted the clear-cut situation that hygiene and cleanliness are strictly matters of habit, custom and necessity and these factors vary from country to country. For example, the standard of cleanliness in Switzerland is quite different to that of neighboring France. And in Italy, especially in the southern part, it bears no resemblance to that practiced in either France or Switzerland. Then in England the standard changes again and when you get to America, well, there again it is so different that one would believe it was a different world.

Undoubtedly, the people of Hunza in their hygienic habits are far above those of India or Pakistan. I am here referring to the mass level, of course. Then, too, the Hunzan habits were far better than those in Italy.

The house of the average Hunzan farmer was not quite as good as the average European house. In my opinion, Hunzan cleanliness is as good as is desirable when all matters are considered. 356

Cleanliness as we know it in the West is neither desirable nor is it a necessity in a country like Hunza. To begin with, they have more important duties to perform than doing a lot of unnecessary housekeeping. Usually in the West, the man earns the wherewithal to sustain the home and the woman looks after the cooking, housekeeping and the rearing of the children. In Hunza the father, the mother and the children, as soon as they are old enough to know what to do, take part in the work. You see, it is practically a full time job for the entire family during the spring and summer to procure sufficient food to last throughout the year. 356 462

Therefore it is neither desirable nor necessary for a Hunzan wife to have a lot of furniture and other things that would require work and attention in her home.

If you are trying to compare the cleanliness of the average American city or town person's home with that of the Hunzan homes, then you are miles and miles away from reality, because very, very few people of the world—especially those in the more or less underprivileged countries or in remote districts—live in homes that are in any way comparable to the average city home in America. 356

In the locality where I live, the Niagara District, the choicest locations along the lake front are selected for subdivision sites and beautiful spacious homes with fine grounds are created. That may be all well and good in America, where rich arable land is readily available, but in Hunza, remember, every bit of land that they own and use for growing their life-giving crops has to be torn from the rocks of the mountain- 361

361 sides. Few, if any, Hunza homes are ever built where the land can be tilled. Usually the site that is selected for a home is part of a rocky promontory or some other location where the land could not be used for crops. They just can't afford to use a piece of tillable soil for a homesite.

342 The houses or homes are usually built of stones or rocks. No cement or any other binding compound is used. Yet the homes seem sturdy enough to stand most anything. I also saw some that were built of clay.

342 231 The lower floor of the Hunzan house is usually divided into two sections. One section has either no roof over it or just a part roof or covering and there is an opening in the wall, but no door. This is where the animals are kept. The Hunzan pasture and forage supply doesn't allow for the larger beasts. The cattle of Hunza are the diminutive kind, bred and selected for their dwarfishness, so that they will require less feeding, but still yield an abundant udderful of rich milk. This applies to goats, sheep and cows. The partial covering over the courtyard is so that the animals will have some form of protection overhead.

342 Then beside this is the house proper, probably half again as large . . . maybe 12 or 14 feet square.

The Hunzan farmer steps from his home into the stable, so to speak. This, of course, would horrify the people of America but it is not to be regarded as a sort of calamity, as utter degradation, or as a matter of filth and ill health, because this system is practiced in most other parts of the world even at the present time.

231 745 The Hunzans, being Mohammedans, do not raise pigs. Therefore they don't have the conditions that pigs would create.

356 I'm sure that I visited many of these courtyards and

I don't think I was struck by any unpleasant or bad odors. No doubt you would assume that being a farmer, the excrement of animals wouldn't offend me and in saying that you'd be very, very right, but even with a city man's view, I don't think you would have found the Hunzan barnyards smelly or dirty. 356

The roof of the living quarters is just high enough so that a tall man can stand up in it without bumping his head. The Hunzan roofs usually have heavy timbers strung across—at least 3 inches thick and placed about 12 inches apart. They have to be that thick and heavy because on top of this is laid earth. Practically every home has an earthen roof. The floor, too, is of hard earth that has been pounded through years of use, until it is a good sound firm floor that can be readily swept and kept clean. 342

Apart from the Mir's palace, every other home that I visited in Hunza and in Nagir had earthen floors. Now naturally one wouldn't expect an earthen floor to be spic and span or shine and glisten the way a good hardwood floor can be made to shine and glisten. These earthen or clay floors can be made smooth and even be polished, and it is actually done.

Often the room is divided off to allow for a storage room, where the dried apricot stones and other fruits and vegetables are kept for winter use. [251]

In the center of the room a hole is dug and often stones are laid at the bottom. Here the fire is laid and this is how they keep warm during the winter and where they do their cooking. Above is a hole about 18 inches square to allow the smoke to escape. The people sleep on the floor within warming distance of the fire. Beds in the average Hunzan homes are unknown, but they have bed rolls or other cloth contraptions to make the floor softer. Some of the wealthier or well-to-do [354] 513 352 352

ANTIQUITY

[643] ruled his country in the humanest and wisest of benevolent autocracies,
since the treaty of 1892 placed him on the throne of his murdered father
181 and parricide brother—to our humbler neighbours in Aliabad, the
village four miles below the capital which we made our headquarters
609 for fifteen months. As soon as the people grasped the purpose of our
[212] coming (which was not easy to explain to an illiterate people) they were
overjoyed that a 'Sahib' should trouble to learn their vernacular—
a thing which no white man or woman had done before—and take an
interest in their customs and hereditary lore. At first they would
hesitate: 'but you have wheels (=machines) in England, and can do
all these things better than we can'. Within a few days they were
vying with each other in explaining, demonstrating and bringing
ploughs, looms, winnowing forks, bows, stone cooking pots to the
resthouse where we were installed, that D.L. might measure them and
take 'studio portraits' of them, 'for you mustn't put anything in the
book about us that isn't exactly true'.

132 The entire life of the Hunzukuts is centred in water. The rain-
fall in the oasis level (7–9,000 feet), is negligible—we reckoned less
312 than 2 inches per annum; in default of any means of raising the
361 water, the river, flowing between its crumbly earthen cliffs, 500 or 1,000
feet below their fields is useless for irrigation; there are no springs or
wells; hence all water for all purposes must be trapped high up at the
snout of some side glacier and conveyed on galleried aqueducts across
yawning gorges and the faces of sheer cliffs. The main water channel,
the Dala, which supplies all the more recent villages of Hunza, 'the
new settlements' as they are called in contradistinction to the three
original villages—Baltit the capital, Altit and Ganesh—travels some
8 or 10 miles in its circuitous route from the Herber glacier in the
gorge behind Baltit, cradled between snow-peaks of 23,000 feet, before
it peters out in a semicircular sweep round Aliabad.

312 The Dala was dug some three or four generations ago (90–100
years) with wooden shovels and wooden picks tipped with ibex horn,
412 and represents an amazing feat of engineering skill for people without
any instruments of precision. The sluices that control the distribu-
816 tion of water—every teaspoonful of which is rigorously allotted—are
of the simplest; most often a slab of flattish stone plastered in with
mud, sometimes a wooden shutter sliding in a rude wooden frame,
sometimes when the water is being taken off to a lower level a circular
hole in a stone slab, closed at need with a mushroom-shaped stopper,
rough hewn from a solid tree trunk.

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

a miserable ten—none of your 'some thirty, some sixty, some an hundredfold'—while lucerne only gives three crops. 243

The Hunzukuts' main food is bread, of which the housewife makes a large variety, from the leavened wheatened cake with butter for feast days, the unleavened flapjack of wheat, barley or blended flours for everyday, to the bitter buckwheat scones of leaner times. Milk is not an article of diet; the animals yield little at the best and none at all when their own offspring is weaned. Such milk as there is contains little fat content, which is not to be wondered at in view of the food on which the animals exist; it is converted into butter, curds and such preservable forms. Butter is stored in birch-bark wrappings beneath an adjacent water-channel and broached only on festive occasions or for the entertainment of a guest. Meat is tasted at most twice or three times a year, at festivals or on some day of domestic rejoicing, a wedding or a birth, and then it will be 'some tainted wether of the flock, meetest for death' who supplies the sacrifice. 262 234

The womenfolk tend small vegetable plots in the corner of a field or separate garden, where carrots, turnips, marrows, gourds and half a hundred kinds of humble 'greens' are grown, and a few plants whose leaves or seeds are esteemed for flavouring, along with a few tobacco plants for the men's pipes. After grain and greens, the essential item of Hunza diet is the apricot, fresh in the early summer and dried during the rest of the year; mulberries, fresh and dried, come next in importance, then a few apples, pears and peaches (these little valued because they will neither keep nor dry) and a few grapes for such relatively well-to-do houses as can afford space and water to grow them. Grapes ripen too late to be dried into raisins and the small quantity not consumed fresh is converted into light wine, brightening the winter days for those who have it, and drunk within a couple of months of manufacture. The apricot has yet further uses. Its kernel yields the oil which lights very modestly the winter nights. The Burusho woman is said to refuse, most wisely, to live above the level of the ripe apricot (say 9–10,000 feet). This is, I suspect only a base pretext of her husband's for refusing to live at these altitudes himself. Be that as it may, the upper villages of Hunza are almost exclusively inhabited by immigrants from Wakhan accustomed to a treeless existence and a diet of barley only. Grafting fruit trees is an art thoroughly understood. The above-mentioned fruits supply the only sugar which the Hunza people know. 244 262 245 [273] [354] 361 245

Despite all diligence in tilling the ungrateful soil, despite the utmost 262

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

133 361 Thus mounted, we rode sorrily to Chalt, a wind-swept open plateau at the meeting of three gorges. Here we were able to procure slightly better ponies, and thankfully paid off the two Gilgit toys. From the Chalt rest-house through lovely fields, round a bold spur, over a fine suspension bridge into the Hunza Nagir gorge, where a magnificent view of Rakaposhi greeted us and a terrific *peri* led us into the large Nagir settlement of Sikandarábád. This had grown out of recognition in the intervening years, a fine oasis that owes its development to the enterprise of the present Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikandar Khan, after whom it is appropriately called.

High above the rocky river-bed the alluvial fans on our side (we were now in Nagir on the left bank of the river) are dotted by the green oases of Nagir, watered by the inexhaustible glaciers of Rakaposhi. On the opposite, sun-scorched, south-facing, waterless Hunza cliffs there is not a blade of grass to be seen. We passed through occasional villages, separated by roads slung between heaven and earth, fearlessly grazing the face of nightmare precipices, saw again the chorten at Thol, reminder of ancient Buddhist days, rode over the Nilt gorge, famous in frontier history, and dismounted as always to pass on foot at Ghulmit the ultra-sacred shrine of Saiyyid Shah Wali, making the halt an opportunity for tea under a magnificent chenar. The villagers gathered round us, goitrous, friendly, not too intelligent, and grinned broadly at David's chaff about the mean way in which they had stolen the holy relics from their neighbours. He thus made his first public appearance as a Burushaski speaker, only to find after this mental and moral effort that though they understood Burushaski we were still in the Shina-speaking area. His change-over to Shina caused further merriment. Between Sikandarábád and Nilt we recognized a jolly little orchard with grass and apricot trees and running streams and enclosed by low stone walls. We had drunk tea there ten years ago, when we never hoped to see this country again except in dreams. We *had* to get down and drink tea in it once more, as a sort of thanksgiving. This time the trees were laden with golden fruit. On we rode to our next halting-place at the fertile oasis of Minapin.

2

Chapter 11

THE LAST LAP

ALIÁBÁD REST HOUSE, HUNZA
July 17, 1934

133 MINAPIN was delightfully cool—we had, of course, been
361 climbing steadily since Gilgit—and we were able to sleep indoors with comfort. After we had said "Start at five," we almost thought it was foolish and unnecessary to be quite so early—for a mere eleven miles. When Dádo came at quarter to four and we were drunk with sleep, we thought so more than ever. We remembered, however, that the road is vertical rather than horizontal most of the way, and once we were off we were thankful to have made an early start. You can't imagine anything quite like it. I wish I had kept the aneroid at hand to verify how high the various climbs were. (I always vowed to take it next time, only my pockets were already so full of filters and exposure notebooks, penknife, and bits of string, spare hairpins and what not.) So I am frankly only guessing, but I think I am minimizing rather than exaggerating, for with these stupendous mountains all round, cliffs look small that would create a sensation at Dover.

Like most human habitations in the Karakoram, Minapin is on a fertile shelf some hundreds of feet above the river. We plunged straight over the lip of a cliff and down a steeply-graduated slope from the Minapin fan to the "beach" of the river—700 or 800 feet. Since our last visit the treacherous cliffs had suffered many landslides. High above us we could see the shattered revetments of the road we used to ride, and
133 several of its predecessors. Our new track scrambled painfully through and over masses of new-fallen boulders, or through miles of loose soft sea-sand. For one short stretch the rocks

186 A note of bitterness crept into the Hunza voices. Whereas
324 Hunza permits the Nagirkuts to cross the river and help
798 themselves free to Hunza stones, the Nagir people levy a tax
563 on all stones taken from their side. So our folk averred; but
578 very probably we should hear the tale reversed if we spoke to Nagir millers on the subject. For the Burusho of Hunza and Nagir, though they speak the same language, are of different race and mentality, and understand each other as little as the Saxon and the so-called Celt, and the rivalry of centuries divides them. At one point they both professed the Shiah faith, but since the Hunzukuts some four or five generations ago adopted the Ismaili (or "Maulai") heresy religious differences have added to their ever-wakeful mutual hostility.

000 Quitting these contentious subjects, we essayed some photographs by the water's edge and turned sharp to mount a side-gorge and reach the level of the cliff road above, by the steepest thing calling itself a path you ever saw. The new Minapin ponies were happily sturdier than the rocking-horses, and managed to climb almost vertically for 600 feet or so. A
342 brisk torrent, which is most of the time a waterfall, pours
● 361 down the gorge[1] the sides of which are lined with trees and grass, and the track runs right through a most picturesque little village called Tishót. The stone houses are almost indistinguishable from the rocks against which they are built, one here, one 20 feet above, just wherever they can be got to stick.
000 The ponies took the four-foot steps from boulder to boulder as if they had been taught circus riding up and down the Great Pyramid. I never professed to be a horsewoman, and I don't know the orthodox way of staying in the saddle when my pony's back is perpendicular, so I shamelessly wound my right hand in his flowing mane, pressed the stirrups back, and lurched triumphantly to the top. When we emerged on to the fan above we felt so virtuous after the climb that we halted to drink tea, though we had only done four miles and had not really deserved it. Our usual routine on these slow marches was to divide the day's ride into three: have thermos tea at one-third and lunch at two-thirds the distance, and thus let Shafi get well ahead to be preparing the evening meal.

1 [of the Hunza River -- Analyst]

enquired after all the Royal Family and exchanged the usual compliments. Then I remarked hopefully: "Aliábád is quite near now, only four miles isn't it?" "Oh yes, only four miles." I noticed David quietly smiling. We rode about ten yards when I saw (what he remembered but I had quite forgotten) that the great torrent from the Hasanábád glacier cuts in here to join the Hunza River, and we had to go down some 500 or 600 feet to cross it and then up again to get out on to the Aliábád fan. It was exactly the same sort of business as crossing the main river all over again, except that the Hunza roads, however steep and difficult, are better designed and better kept than Nagir ones. Hasanábád village lies on both banks of the torrent, and climbs up the farther side to its own excellent polo-ground. The fields were being reaped, and I marvelled at the neat, tidy rows in which the cut barley was laid out. Everything the Hunzukuts do is beautifully done, and their methods are in the greatest contrast to the slovenliness of Nagir; you notice this everywhere, down to the tinest detail; it may be merely because water is scarcer and life harder that their fields are more scrupulously level, their walls more ingeniously perfect, their cut swathes more exactly aligned, but I incline to think that the cause lies deeper; in the difference of race and temperament already suggested.

Just beyond the wooden bridge which took us over the torrent, we were met by a good-looking elderly man whom we both remembered but could not immediately identify. He was almost in tears as he greeted us. I was puzzled to think why he was so moved. As soon, however, as he had paid full tribute of politeness to us, he bolted on and flung himself on Qudrat Ullah's neck. The whole cavalcade, about forty of us by this time, burst into sympathetic laughter, and poor Qudrat Ullah looked radiant but sheepish as he returned his father's embraces. Going up the steep hillside with so large a following was, as usual, not at all funny. You dare not stop to let your pony breathe without holding up the rest whose horses would be at some most inconvenient turn.

We got up at last, however, and found a fine deputation of all the Hasanábád elders drawn up to greet us on the polo-ground

857 other up, chivvied their lambs and kids about by chucking stones skilfully to turn but not to hit them, and half a dozen noisy scamps would jump to and fro over the watercourse in competition.

361 Between us and the river bank were groups of poplars,
133 willows, and fruit trees with quaint cube-like stone houses dotted about in between, and right above this delightfully restful patch of green (which you could not properly appreciate if you had not had days and days of barren bleakness before you reached it), in the great triangular space between the barren mountains of Nagir and those of Hunza which rose around and behind us, there towered up the great mass of far the loveliest mountain on earth: RAKAPOSHI.

133 She is 25,550 feet high, and the top 10,000 feet which we saw from our window is a conical series of triangles, cliffs, precipices and peaks all covered in dazzling frozen snow—a never-ending joy to watch. At this time of year she was usually clear, escaping the skirts of the monsoon which are apt to catch on Nanga Parbat; and the clear sky behind changes from the palest blue at dawn to the brilliant burning blue of midday and then to delicate shades of pink, green, violet, and orange towards sunset. Ruskin could write volumes on the ever-changing shadows and colours that delighted us: I must leave them to the imagination. From our beds we could see Raka when we first woke and bid her good-night before we fell asleep. It is a wonderful thing when beauty such as this becomes part and parcel of your daily life.

132 It was still pretty hot in Hunza in July, in spite of our 7,600 feet. We had it up to 95° in the shade of the verandah outside, but were able to keep the study ten degrees cooler by closing doors and windows in the morning before the sun got up. Out in the sun the heat is all the fiercer for the altitude, a point stay-at-home travellers seldom realize. Another odd point is that in cloudless, dustless air like this, granted equal apparent brightness, photographic exposures need to be *longer* than lower down—at least this is David's experience.

157 The people round were from the first unbelievably friendly; we could run out quite informally at any moment and join

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

712
361

PLATE VI

1. Old fort-village of Aliábád with beacon tower. Background, Rakapóshi. (*See p.* 123)

346

Old Mosque at Aliábád, with Hurmat seated in verandah. (*See p.* 132)

[Facing P. 80]

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

175 Some time in the days of our earliest Edwards, a princess of
361 Baltistán married the reigning prince of Hunza. For the last
712 hundred years or so the direct route to Baltistán has been completely blocked by advancing glaciers, but for centuries before, the two countries had been in communication with each other. Hunza consisted then of three small villages only: Áltít and Ganesh on the river cliffs, and Báltít high above. The princess's father sent with the bride an army of Balti masons, carpenters, and craftsmen, who built the two forts of Áltít and Báltít as part of the royal dowry, and to-day they still stand proudly on their cliffs, impregnable to assault,
[177] centres of ancient ceremonial. To this day, too, the Hunzukuts modestly attribute all their simple arts to Balti influence.

173 The original inhabitants of Hunza proper are said to be
643 descended from three soldiers of Alexander the Great, who were left behind sick, presumably plus their womenfolk, and thus while their comrades marched on became the founders of the three first villages in this inhospitable region. Like so many royal houses in Central Asia, the family that has ruled for more than six centuries in Hunza and Nagir likes to claim descent from Alexander himself. But while the Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikander (= Alexander) Khan still upholds this tradition, we noticed that the shrewder Mir of Hunza—who must have seen many a courteously-veiled smile greet this familiar genealogy—shied off the topic.

What seems probable is that the royal family is not in origin of the same stock as the people, and that it may well—as tradition asserts—have come from Persia at some prehistoric date. What is certain is that it can trace its authentic ancestry as far back as can the House of Windsor.

173 There may well be truth in the legend of the European
144 descent of the Hunza Burusho, for in temperament and looks our Hunza friends have nothing of the "Oriental" about them. Take from them the very lightly bronzed complexion, "the shadow'd livery of the burnished sun," to which at this altitude they are "neighbour and near bred," and you could transplant them without incongruity to the moors of Yorkshire or the Scottish lowlands.

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce 643
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 648
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

346 take photographs of the picturesque, abandoned Shiah mosque.
345 It has been superseded by the New Assembly Hall in cut granite with pointed roof—an amazing achievement for local architects and masons, and one of which they are justly proud, but a dreadful eyesore in these surroundings and as uninspiring to an artistic eye as a Methodist chapel in a London suburb. Unfortunately it jostles the picturesque old mosque (whose entrance flight of steps is a delightful notched tree-trunk and whose flat roof bristles with a parapet of ibex horns), so that you can only see the older building squint-eye up or down
764 a 3-foot lane. We pushed on and found ourselves emerging on a bluff covered with handsome graves. The Hunzukuts are too necessarily frugal to bury their dead on any ground that can be cultivated, so their graves usually stand on some barren hump that rises above the reach of irrigation water. Ordinary graves are just covered by flat slabs of concrete-like beaten earth, but more important folk have picturesque erections of varied shape to mark their last resting place. In theory all should no doubt be oriented in relation to Mecca, but in fact the graves face in whichever direction the site makes most
322 convenient. We skirted round God's acre, re-entering the unappetizing labyrinth of desolate lanes, and presently came
●361 on a debris-strewn patch of ground whose houses had been dismantled (probably for their timber), and had fallen in. Here old Ferrájo had made a lathe-pit outside a rather handsome wooden door with a carved lintel. This had once led to his family's "town house," but now they lived out in Jamu, a suburb, as it were, of Aliábád. In its day, the warren of build-
[195] ings to which he proudly pointed had boasted fifty-two "smokes." (A smoke represents a hearth-fire, and a hearth represents a household. In enquiring of a hamlet how many families it shelters, the correct phrase is: "How many smokes have you here?")

322 We begged Ferrájo to let us see him at work. He had, however, no wood in hand at the moment; chunks of root or cross-sections of willow trunks are the raw material of his bowls. But he let us inspect his pit—very similar in size and shape to a loom-pit—with the treadles and a leather belt passing three

2r Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 22

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

THE Burusho population of Hunza is divided into four major clans, centred in Báltít, and several minor clans scattered over other villages. Aliábád, being a "new settlement," contained amongst its two hundred houses representatives of almost all the clans. Marriage outside the race is rare, but (as I have already said) exogamous marriage between the clans is the rule.

On the whole the Burusho cling to their settlements along the eight or nine-mile stretch of river below Áltít (two or three miles up-river of Báltít), at a height of 6,000 to 8,000 feet above sea-level. They are not eager to colonize higher-lying districts, for they say their womenfolk refuse to live where the apricot will not ripen. If this is so the women show sound sense, for the dried apricot is one of their staple foods and almost their only source of sugar. The favourite winter breakfast is a hot porridge of these *batéring*. It thus happens that the higher river-stretches above Báltít are mainly settled (if at all) by Wakhi immigrants from Afghanistan. These are a quiet, peaceable folk, markedly less intelligent than the Burusho, loyal subjects of the Mír, well content with their good pasturages and crops of barley and not missing the wheat and the apricot to which they are unaccustomed. A few Burusho colonies are scattered among the Wakhi ones, but, though friendly relations exist, the two learn little of each other's language; and intermarriage, though it would not be taboo, is very rare.

Similarly a couple of the lower Hunza villages are inhabited by Shins, of the same stock as the Gilgit people, but again intermarriage is the exception. We had fully expected to

233 any wage in our sense of the term, but that he would certainly be getting one or two free meals a day, and thus sensibly reducing the rationing problems of his own home. Hunza sheep lamb twice a year, but the goats have kids once only, in the Spring. Khano's promotion to wage-earning status was a little sad for us, for we saw him much more rarely after that.

242 One fine morning early in March the apricot trees that line
245 the Dála just in front of our rest-house were suddenly invaded by the whole Dastagul family armed with long sticks, to the end of which a sharpened piece of curved iron had been attached. With infinite care they inspected every branch, and wherever they detected the nest of an insect they snipped down the twig on which it rested. These nests were small, cocoon-like things only about an inch long, with a nasty little grub inside. The nests clung very tight to their hospitable perch, and it was often necessary to cut quite a biggish spray in order to secure them; each was diligently collected and borne home to the fire. We were not qualified to identify the pest on which war was being waged, but it was reported to devour both leaves and fruit if not destroyed. All through the country every single apricot tree is scrupulously examined and cleared—there must be thousands. We certainly did not later see a single one that seemed to be suffering from insect attack.

563 About this time we made another addition to our re-
167 tainers—a dear old grey-bearded man with the jolliest bright
361 eyes and a merry, happy smile, but not a tooth in his head, was roped in to work at Wakhi. The Wakhis, as I have said, are immigrants into the north of Hunza from the Wakhan districts of Afghanistan. They have settled in various places above the level at which the Burusho themselves care to live. Hunza men will tell you that they cannot induce their womenfolk to live where the apricot will not ripen. I suspect, however, that the men are just as unwilling to forgo their trees and wheat and fruit, but Adam-like prefer to blame their mates. The higher villages of Hunza are therefore inhabited almost wholly by Wakhi-speakers. Being unaccustomed to wheat, apricots, or

trees of any kind, they do not miss them, and in compensation enjoy opener valleys and wider pastures.

Wakhi is an Iranian language, and, dearly as we both loved Burushaski, there is no denying that it was refreshing to revert to a tongue which has one form of plural instead of thirty-eight, and which cares no more about genders than English, less in fact, for it has only one word for "he" and "she." Charming old Farághat is a khalifa, or lay priest. He can read, and perhaps write a little Persian (a *very* little), but his mind is grammatically quite untrained, and one tense or case suits him for any purpose just as well as another. It is natural that at his age he is resistant to new ideas, but how resistant was almost incredible. After weeks of patient work he was no nearer appreciating the need for collecting the various tenses and participles than he was on the first day, so progress was slow. DL's patience amazed me. There would, of course, have been no use showing impatience, for it would have merely served to scatter such ideas as the nice old fellow had, and he was doing his best. There are some strange and wonderful consonant combinations in Wakhi, and Khalifa Farághat's lack of teeth did not make them any easier to diagnose: is it sh-kh-th, or th-kh-sh? It was clear that the hope of extracting any intelligible text of even the simplest form from Farághat was nil, and the Mir very kindly promised to fetch down from up-country a professional Wakhi story-teller to supplement. We awaited his arrival with eagerness. Picture our dismay when he proved to be an equally kindly, equally aged, equally toothless, equally futile old bird. Farághat had brought with him his youngest son, an extraordinarily handsome little fellow of nine or ten, so that the child might not miss his daily lessons, and as they sat about together pouring over a tattered, well-thumbed primer of some sort they made a touching picture.

It would be very unfair to generalize about Wakhi racial character from two such elderly men, but the impression these two left on us of kindly slow-wittedness confirmed DL's impressions of ten years earlier, when he had been travelling through their districts and had tried to get informants to work

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

[136] flies—a copper-coloured fritillary and a tiny blue. The road was a very different proposition from what it had been as we travelled up the previous July. From richly watered Minapin we looked across the river to the Hunza village of Hindi with new eyes, for various fields were pointed out as belonging to one or another of our acquaintances. "Hindi is a fine place," they told us; adding without conscious irony: "There's hardly any water, but otherwise . . ." From the Nagir side the Hindi road looks pretty terrifying (as, of course, the Nagir road must also look from the Hunza side), but we were assured that it was really a better road; its only drawback is that there are fifty recognized spots on it subject to rock bombardments: a mere nothing amongst these ever-crumbling hills.

The onward journey was uneventful. At Sikandarabad and Chalt all the apricots were in full bloom—a glorious sight. After Chalt there was one part of the road completely buried under an avalanche which we had some difficulty in coaxing our horses over, we ourselves scrambling across on foot. A good deal of intermittent rain for a couple of days and a horrid ride in driving wind and sand on the last lap rather spoiled our ride to Gilgit. Just before we reached the Gilgit river we were staggered by a magnificent view of Nanga Parbat filling a whole triangular gap in the nearer mountains. Often as we had ridden this stretch before, we had never happened to see her like this.

In Gilgit (2,000 or 3,000 feet lower than Hunza) all the apricot blossom was already over, though a few peaches and apples were still in flower. We had a delightful (but from the work point of view wholly wasted) ten days in Gilgit. Nothing could have exceeded the kindness of Major and Mrs. Kirkbride, who put us up in the Agency House. It was odd to be quartered in the guest room of what had been for four years "our" house, and odder still, but delightful, to attend the Jalsa as guests and spectators instead of responsible hosts. The British officers as new friends and our old friends the Chiefs all treated us with the utmost kindness, and the ten-day holiday was extremely pleasant.

On April 4th we resumed our pilgrimage to Yasin. We imagined we had forgotten the road. Far from it: every detail

original right-hand loops off on to the left fingers carefully 294
crossing each pair of threads as she does so. Widely drawing her two hands apart Apícho then drove the set of crossed threads down on to the edge of the cap, where Kaníza secured the twelve-fold plait with a large stitch. This was repeated *ad infinitum*, the braid only showing on the right side of the cap and the long ugly stitches on the wrong. The process looks rather like cat's-cradle. I had always wondered why, when they take such infinite trouble over the minute cross-stitch embroidery of their caps and the hand-plaited twelve-ply braid, they finished the cap off with these long stitches. I also wondered why it seemed impossible to detach the braid without its ravelling out. I now saw that braid-weaving and stitching were part of one elaborate process.

By July 1st the luckier folk were already cutting their 243
barley and clearing a field for their threshing floor without waiting for the formal harvest-initiation ceremonies of the Ginání, the date of which is naturally fixed by the Mir to suit Báltít, 1,500 feet higher, and consequently some days behind Aliábád. All our potatoes were by now in full flower and our wheat was turning "fox-colour."

On July 5th we rode over to Báltít for yet another of the 487
Hunza festivals, and ye Gods! it was hot on the road—90 de- [132]
grees in the shade—and we had to start at the very hottest time of day, about 2 p.m. The Mir gave us tea in his nice shady grass-grown apple orchard before we remounted and climbed up to the Fort. It is not easy to convey how steep the road is that in Báltít corresponds to the Mall. Your pony steps from one boulder to the next with a great lurch, his spine almost vertical, and for my part I could only just stick on by my usual technique of thrusting my stirrups back to the root of his tail 487
and firmly gripping his mane with my right hand. The road 361
runs between high stone walls and zigzags wildly. The little box-like stone houses of the capital are piled on top of each other in the craziest way—town-planning has to accommodate itself to the vagaries of a precipitous mountain side. They are indescribably picturesque, but you would not think them possible to live in, yet they provide a high degree of simple com-
fort.

123 Hispár, Barpu and other large glaciers. Henceforth until Chalt is reached, where it turns South, the river forms the boundary between Hunza on the North and Nagir on the South. Chalt itself and the Chaprót valley which debouches into it belong to Nagir. Otherwise Nagir is confined, generally speaking, to the valley of the Hispar glacier and Nagir river and the northern slopes of the Kailas range, the crest of which forms the dividing line between it and Gilgit.

On the extreme East Hunza marches with the Oprang valley in Chinese territory and southwards with Baltistan, but the mountain range which separates these regions is scarcely surmountable (v. Text XXVIII). On the extreme West again, Hunza and Nagir territory terminates on a lofty range which runs roughly North and South and is only traversable with difficulty by a couple of passes, the Chillinji (17,000 ft.) and the Daintar (15,210). Beyond lies the sparsely-inhabited valley of Ishkoman, which again is bounded on its western side by a North and South range of mountains on the further side of which is situated the Wershigum valley, known officially as the Yasin 'Ilaqa. This Wershigum valley is the habitat of the Werchikwár language, a variant form of Burushaski, to which brief reference is made in this work.

133 487 From the West of Hunza to the East of Wershigum is as the crów flies a mere 20 or 30 miles, but the traveller will spend six days and cover some 115 miles in making his way from Chalt via Gilgit and Gupis to Yasin. Such is this country where cross-country travel is impossible and practicable routes can be found only by following the natural lines of least resistance, and that not without pain.

● 361 162 I have now placed our language on the map, approximately, but greater precision is required. In the first place we have to take account of the fact that the bulk of Hunza and the eastern portion of Nagir are uninhabited and uninhabitable. Permanent population exists only on the elevated terraces that skirt in places the sides of the river valleys.

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In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly 563
of totally distinct stock from the Burushe. Much more difficult
is the question of the relation of the Burushe and the Shina-speakers.
My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shin of lower
Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burushe of Hunza.
They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to
apparent mentality and military ideals. A large proportion of the
child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous
in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity
of comparing the people of the Hunza Shin villages of Hindi and
Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burushe fellow-
"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the 184
Burushe of Hunza and the Burushe of Nagir? That is a question 177
which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; 361
but it is the general impression among European visitors that there
is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples.
The Hunza Burushe are felt to be a happy and cheerful people,
their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching
sullenness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to
the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in
winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part
attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be 125
worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical 141
measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency.
The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so
were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measure-
ments were recorded unintentionally according to an antiquated scheme
of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting
time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and
are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only 141
measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are rea-
sonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing
the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

3t Lietner L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

241 brought together, the following are the principal crops grown in Hunza and Nagir: wheat, barley, two or three kinds of millet, buckwheat, broad beans, peas and various pulses, lucerne (yielding two crops) for fodder. Maize and rice are not grown at these levels[1]. Lucerne is often grown on the sloping unterraced hillside where water is insufficient for crops. Fruit is also an important item of cultivation. The apricot is universal, and fresh and dry the fruit is a staple food. Besides its kernels are collected and eaten, or crushed for their oil. Apples, peaches, cherries, cherry-plums and grapes are also extensively grown, but do not appear to be dried, though apples and grapes are stored in straw for some months. Pears, pomegranates and walnuts are cultivated in places. The mulberry is eaten fresh and is also dried and preserved. Poplars and willows are grown for their timber, and in the lower tracts the chenar.

233 Agricultural crops and fruit would not however provide a com-
237 plete subsistence. Goats, sheep and a small type of cow supply the necessary milk and fat products, particularly ghee, also hair for ropes and coarse cloth, wool for clothing, skins and hides for containing vessels, foot-wear and thongs. These cattle are kept in the villages during the cool and cold weather, when they are fed on such scanty natural grazing as is to be found, agricultural waste and dried leaves, and pay their way by providing milk and manure. During the hot months they are sent up in charge of herds to the few summer grazing-grounds (tér, pl. téring; terr, terring), which exist in the higher
234 parts of some of the nullahs. There their milk is collected and converted into forms in which it will keep: ghee, dried buttermilk etc.

● 361 [1] I.e. from about 7000′ upwards. Chhalt, the lowest village in the country, stands at 6580′. Mayón and Hindi are probably about 7000′ and Aliábád about
133 7600′. Baltit is 8000′ and Nagir 7550′. Minglu, the highest place at which the Burusho have been induced to live, is 10,150′. It is said that the Burusho women refuse to go where the apricot will not ripen, and there are few Burusho settled above 8000′. In Chopórsen and Shimshál the Wakhis are found up to about 11,000′, which is probably the extreme limit at which barley will grow in this region. In recent years a little maize has been grown in Mayón, Mortazahád and Ganích.

kaman kontsow in a little time. *kaman dzwo bila* there is a small piece of work. *kaman sis dumas* a few people come. Prs. 000

kham v. *xam*.

kamas v. *kam*.

khamo pl. *khamaq* y felt, "namda". — *kas kamow* a piece of felt. 308.5. (Cp. Sh. *gamu*, felt).

kambast unfortunate. Prs.

kam kas manow IUB to become covetous, H. *tamaʿ karna*. (QUB gave this as *xam xam*).

kamqwust weak, feeble. Prs. + Ar.

kamsow weak, feeble. Prs.

khan -*ants*, N. pl. -*ovuts*, x fort; fortified village, village community. 361

The population is now tending to abandon the concentrated villages for houses scattered about the cultivated lands singly or in groups of two or three which are called *pirumiotiq*. The *Khan* at Aliabad is nowadays occupied only partially for two or three months in winter.

kandum sinda yakalsfar gavtamo she fled from the fort towards the river. 192.15. *Ishkuhlo talo kanants bim* there were 7 villages in Ishkuh. 290.3. *tarma allo kanantar tragfatiq* the trangfas of the 12 villages, (e.g. Baltit, Ganesh, Altit, Haiderabad, Aliabad). 318.5. Cp. 240.5, 244.7, 294.2,4. (Said to be a Balti word). !A

khan, *xan*, v. *xan*. Only in: *khan* (*xan*) *na* downwards. 246.21. 000

Probably 2. *kha*, 2. *na* down + *na* adverb-formative, with anticipation of the *n*-).

-*kan*. Suffix meaning: direction of, side of, along. V. *ishkan* & *-lji*

kanaro y advice, counsel, instructions.

2276

!A [See Corrigenda et addenda, Category 116, p.543 - Analyst]

487 often get a sudden heavy flow of water and these rivers get deeper and broader and flood the roads. But then later, when it gets a bit cooler or cloudy, the river recedes and the river bed is again used as a road.

The alternative for the river bed is to climb hundreds or thousands of feet up along a road cut in the rock of the mountain or where a ledge might have been formed. When it is impossible to walk along the river bed, and this occurs regularly, in some places you must climb a few thousand feet . . . that is the only way you can continue your journey.

No matter how difficult, how dangerous or treacherous a roadway may be, there are some people who must get across, who must make their journey at that time. It is true everywhere in the world.

Therefore, when traveling on such terrain, it is positively advisable to try to get there and do your traveling when the rivers are not in flood. You can see why the river bed is preferable.

361 Altit is the name of the town wherein is located the old Altit Fort which was built in the thirteenth century. I don't know whether or not the other members of the party will agree with me but I did think that Altit was an exceptionally clean, tidy and orderly town. It was one of the first villages in Hunza to be settled because the area consists of a wide level, arable stretch of land almost two miles wide from the mountain wall to the bank of the river and here the drop was sheer—straight down for a thousand feet or more.

Oh, yes, all Hunza villages are clean and orderly but somehow it struck me that Altit was better then most. [644] Perhaps the Mir knew this and that is why he had his picnic bungalow built there. I am convinced that Altit was the most attractive village I found in the entire country.

As we wound along the trail and through the streets of the village, I kept looking around to see if I could spot the bit of meadow or field where the yaks would be grazing. I felt certain that if they were being tethered or kept somewhere that there would be some sort of grazing ground for them and I found I was right because, shortly, we came upon a bit of meadow surrounded by shrubs and trees. And sure enough, there were the yaks and the herders. 231 311

The first thing I noticed about them was that they seemed to be snorting like wild bulls. They breathe rather heavily and exhale sharply through their nostrils. The altitude at Altit was probably about the same as that of Baltit—between 8,000 and 9,000 feet—and that was much too near the level of the sea to suit the yaks who wanted it at least 11,000 feet. Undoubtedly that was the reason they were snorting and appeared somewhat uncomfortable. 231 [361] [33]

I liked their rather shaggy, unkempt appearance. The woolly hair that grew around their head and on top of it, looked as though it had been curled. I didn't know whether that made them look ferocious or cute.

I took a keen liking to the strange looking beasts. But I'm not sure that they shared my feelings. At least, they didn't look as though they did.

I have read and been told that you can trust a yak implicitly on any trail. If it's safe and can be traversed, he'll make it. If there's any doubt, he'll be just as stubborn as any mule. Where the way or the road is extremely bad, he will refuse to go and only by brutal pounding and beating and dragging will he continue along the trail that he distrusts.

Through each yak's nose ran a rope—a good thick, heavy rope. This is used to guide or lead the yak, instead of a bridle and bit. [492]

131 Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River from Secunderabad to the Chinese border, a distance of somewhere around 200 miles, but no one has ever actually measured it. At the narrowest point it is less than half a mile wide. At its broadest, it is not quite two miles. Usually the only piece of flat land in a village [133] [134] is the polo field. Good, rich, deep soil as Westerners know it is absolutely unknown in Hunza.

311 Whenever a house is built here, they seldom ever use [361] a piece of fertile soil or soil of any kind. They usually erect it on rock or on a steep hillside where that piece of land could not have been used for agriculture anyway.

[241] Practically every bit of farm land is terraced. It can be said, it is actually cut out of the rocks of the mountainside which is the north bank of the Hunza River.

[134] Of the total length of 200 miles, only a small fraction is at all arable. Most of it is solid rock or terrain so steep that horticulture of any nature is impossible.

312 Rainfall is scanty. They cannot depend upon it at all [132] for crops. In order to get sufficient water, hand built and similarly maintained conduits bring water down [241] from glaciers. These conduits are carefully erected and trained to run alongside the villages where the water can be trapped to flow where desired and used to irrigate their lands, also for drinking and all other necessary purposes.

There are four main conduits in Hunza and they are as follows:

Murku—This is at the highest level of all the aqueducts and carries the most water.

Barbar—Supplies the Baltit-Altit area.

Dala—This is the longest—extends as far as Aliabad. Supplies Kerimabad.

Hamachi—The smallest which runs as far as the tiny village Ganesh, located on a cliff's edge.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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Hunzan fields are small, and are worked with hand tools.

[p. 326-B1]

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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[p. 326-B2]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

The house of the average Hunzan farmer was not quite as good as the average European house. In my opinion, Hunzan cleanliness is as good as is desirable when all matters are considered. 356

Cleanliness as we know it in the West is neither desirable nor is it a necessity in a country like Hunza. To begin with, they have more important duties to perform than doing a lot of unnecessary housekeeping. Usually in the West, the man earns the wherewithal to sustain the home and the woman looks after the cooking, housekeeping and the rearing of the children. In Hunza the father, the mother and the children, as soon as they are old enough to know what to do, take part in the work. You see, it is practically a full time job for the entire family during the spring and summer to procure sufficient food to last throughout the year. 356 462

Therefore it is neither desirable nor necessary for a Hunzan wife to have a lot of furniture and other things that would require work and attention in her home.

If you are trying to compare the cleanliness of the average American city or town person's home with that of the Hunzan homes, then you are miles and miles away from reality, because very, very few people of the world—especially those in the more or less underprivileged countries or in remote districts—live in homes that are in any way comparable to the average city home in America. 356

In the locality where I live, the Niagara District, the choicest locations along the lake front are selected for subdivision sites and beautiful spacious homes with fine grounds are created. That may be all well and good in America, where rich arable land is readily available, but in Hunza, remember, every bit of land that they own and use for growing their life-giving crops has to be torn from the rocks of the mountain- 361

361 sides. Few, if any, Hunza homes are ever built where the land can be tilled. Usually the site that is selected for a home is part of a rocky promontory or some other location where the land could not be used for crops. They just can't afford to use a piece of tillable soil for a homesite.

342 The houses or homes are usually built of stones or rocks. No cement or any other binding compound is used. Yet the homes seem sturdy enough to stand most anything. I also saw some that were built of clay.

342 231 The lower floor of the Hunzan house is usually divided into two sections. One section has either no roof over it or just a part roof or covering and there is an opening in the wall, but no door. This is where the animals are kept. The Hunzan pasture and forage supply doesn't allow for the larger beasts. The cattle of Hunza are the diminutive kind, bred and selected for their dwarfishness, so that they will require less feeding, but still yield an abundant udderful of rich milk. This applies to goats, sheep and cows. The partial covering over the courtyard is so that the animals will have some form of protection overhead.

342 Then beside this is the house proper, probably half again as large . . . maybe 12 or 14 feet square.

The Hunzan farmer steps from his home into the stable, so to speak. This, of course, would horrify the people of America but it is not to be regarded as a sort of calamity, as utter degradation, or as a matter of filth and ill health, because this system is practiced in most other parts of the world even at the present time.

231 795 The Hunzans, being Mohammedans, do not raise pigs. Therefore they don't have the conditions that pigs would create.

356 I'm sure that I visited many of these courtyards and

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 43

The Happy Hunzans

MY CHIEF OBJECTIVE in going to Hunza was to try, first, to find out if the people of Hunza were as healthy and as long lived as many writers and reports claim them to be. 121 164

Secondly, if they were the healthy specimens of mankind that the writers said, then I wanted to find out how this came about!

I don't claim to have any special perceptive powers, but the moment I arrived in Gilgit, I resolved that all of my faculties would be centered on observing the why's and wherefore's bearing on the health of these people.

I didn't have to be a very keen observer to realize quickly that in Gilgit the Hunzan aura of health did not hold. But remember, that was in Gilgit.

Gilgit reminded me very much of the typical frontier towns as we knew them in America, except Gilgit 361

361 [342] didn't just spring up overnight. By the appearance of the stone and mud houses, as well as all other features about the city, it was obvious that the city had been there for a long, long time.

Gilgit is indeed a strange city. It is one of these places that is right in the middle of nowhere, but to that mountain-harnessed area, Gilgit is a mighty important, strategic spot. Somehow I had the feeling that if there was a place called the "crossroads of the East" Gilgit had the sole right to the appellation, for through Gilgit would pass caravans from China, as well as travelers from Russia, Afghanistan, Persia, India, Pakistan and yes, undoubtedly from all other parts of the Eastern world.

000 While I did see quite a bit of the city and the surrounding country, I regret today that I didn't dig a little deeper and get about even more. I think Gilgit has many interesting stories to tell . . . how could it be otherwise? And if I ever go back (and I intend to) I would like to be the one who brings these tales to light!

121 [164] The Gilgitis, from a health standpoint or from appearance in general, did not impress me one bit. The people were somewhat similar to what you would find or expect in Pakistan or India. However, the moment I crossed the bridge over the Gilgit River and got into the hills, I resolved to concentrate, coldly and with deliberate calculation, on every individual we met. So many confusing and contradicting statements had been made about the people of Hunza, that I was firmly resolved that if study and scrutinization and observation would do the trick, then I would find out the truth.

124 Akbar was keeping pace with Cecil most of the time, while Sherin was with me, and I questioned him closely about every person that we happened to meet or pass. I had no trouble—none whatsoever—in spotting a Hun-

7/Tobe/C.T-3 (1959)19o0 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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[p. 390-B1]

7:Tobe C. T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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Hunzan houses have no chimneys—just a hole in the roof for smoke to escape.

[p. 390-82]

out the services of a guide. 122

I can assure you that the Commander carefully selected the man, too. Although he looked like a boy, he was tall—about 6 feet 2 inches—lithe, alert, in fact, as smart and as capable a type of human being or soldier or both as 'twould be possible to find anywhere. Not that Jahangir needed it, but he certainly was in "high caliber" hands.

Bearing in mind that the two ponies we had were 122
stallions, I began to wonder if we might not have some 492
trouble on the trail, because Jahangir's mount was a mare. To you, this may not appear to be a genuine source of worry, because in the West the horses used for riding are practically always gelded and this eliminates any risk of difficulty. So you either ride a mare or a gelding.

I thought to myself, "What would happen if either 122
one of our stallion ponies began to get ideas on some of these high tortuous, winding mountain trails?" I knew from my reading that it does happen.

A man can work himself up into quite a stew by thinking of such things, and by now I was greatly worried about what would happen if my black stallion did become rambunctious on the trail. So I made up my mind that I would give that mare as wide a berth as possible.

I buried my worries by getting busy and snapping 342
a few pictures of the type of houses that we found [126]
here at Aliabad. They didn't differ very much from those we found elsewhere. They were not as well built and as clean as those we had found at Altit, but they were still quite neat and tidy by most other standards. Practically all the houses are built one on top of the [36]
other, as close together as the undulating region would allow, and it sure was obvious that a person couldn't

342 keep many secrets from his neighbors. From what I
361 saw, it was obvious that when a house was built in Hunza no attempt was made to level the ground but it was allowed to stand as nature made it and the house was erected according to the natural levels, dips, falls or heights.

As we wandered around the little Hunzan homes in this area, we had to climb up to get to this one, we had to drop down to examine that one and there were really no two on an identical level.

132 Then I remembered that the average annual rainfall in Hunza was 2 inches and to myself I thought, "Mighty good thing, because if it rained any more than that, what a quagmire this area would be!"

122 We heard the clatter of hooves and, looking up, we saw Jahangir's guide coming back and leading another horse. This meant we'd be ready to take off in a couple of minutes, so Cec and I worked our way towards the road.

Soon all of our belongings were firmly balanced on the horse's back and we were ready to start for the Hasanabad Bridge.

But now it was entirely different. I didn't regard the snaky curves and loops with distrust and misgivings as I had the other day. In fact, then, I remember hating every turn I had to take. Now, with a good mount between my legs, I felt elated, happy, cheerful. Even though I started off riding, I knew that I wouldn't ride very far because I enjoy walking too much. But, still, it was mighty nice to know that you had a good horse in case you needed it.

From the start in the morning we knew it was to be a hard ride if we wanted to get to Chalt in one march. There was a full 32 miles to go. It was actually 36 miles but I figured the jeep had driven us 4 of them so that left 32.

Neither Cee nor I discussed or mentioned it but I think we fully realized that, if we felt it was going to be too tough, we could stop off at Minapin which was but 15 miles away and would find the usual rest houses there. Yet, I couldn't see myself holing up at Minapin for the night. Why, we should be there shortly after noon, I figured, and I certainly had no intention of calling it quits then.

Besides, my recollections of Minapin weren't very appealing. It was the poorest looking and the dirtiest town of all we had passed through. We had stopped for a few minutes at the rest house on the way up and it had proved to be a disappointment. We couldn't get anything to eat there and the chowkidor expected a handsome donation because we stopped there and, I believe, had a glass of water.

Then, too, I knew that this was the stage for us to make time, as we'd have more protection from the sun because there were more trees in this area than there would be further down. Villages dotted the landscape as this was one of the more fertile districts and towns

and villages are invariably built where there are trees 122
of one kind or another. So it was our best bet to tackle 487
the sun while we had some protection against it. [361]

I remembered also that in this area there were lots [133]
of nullahs and that conduits were found everywhere, so we could refresh ourselves with good fresh cold water all along the route. Further down there were very few nullahs or any other means of getting water except by marching down to the river's edge and this, friend, could be an undertaking!

At this stage the elevations ranged around 7,000 to 133
10,000 feet. I didn't carry an altimeter with me but I was informed that in some places we climbed to 12,000 feet. It certainly felt like it by the rarity of the atmosphere and the way my chest and lungs were behaving.

All through this broad area the mountain scenery is idyllic. It just can't be beat or improved upon, no matter where in the world you go. When I came up this selfsame trail on the inward trek, I was in no mood to appreciate beauty or mountain grandeur and I knew that I hadn't taken in very much. But now, I was determined to feast my eyes, my heart and my soul on the most beautiful, the most varied, the most awe-inspiring mountain vastness that is known to exist.

I was happy—I was carefree—I felt so light that I thought the horse wouldn't even know he was carrying a passenger. In all probabilities I'd never come this way again and I wanted that beauty engraved on my memory.

Through the years I had spent many weeks and months in the Rockies, from Alaska right down to the Mexican Sierras, and I believed the Rockies to be the most impressive range of mountains I had ever known. When I saw the Alps and compared them, well, there

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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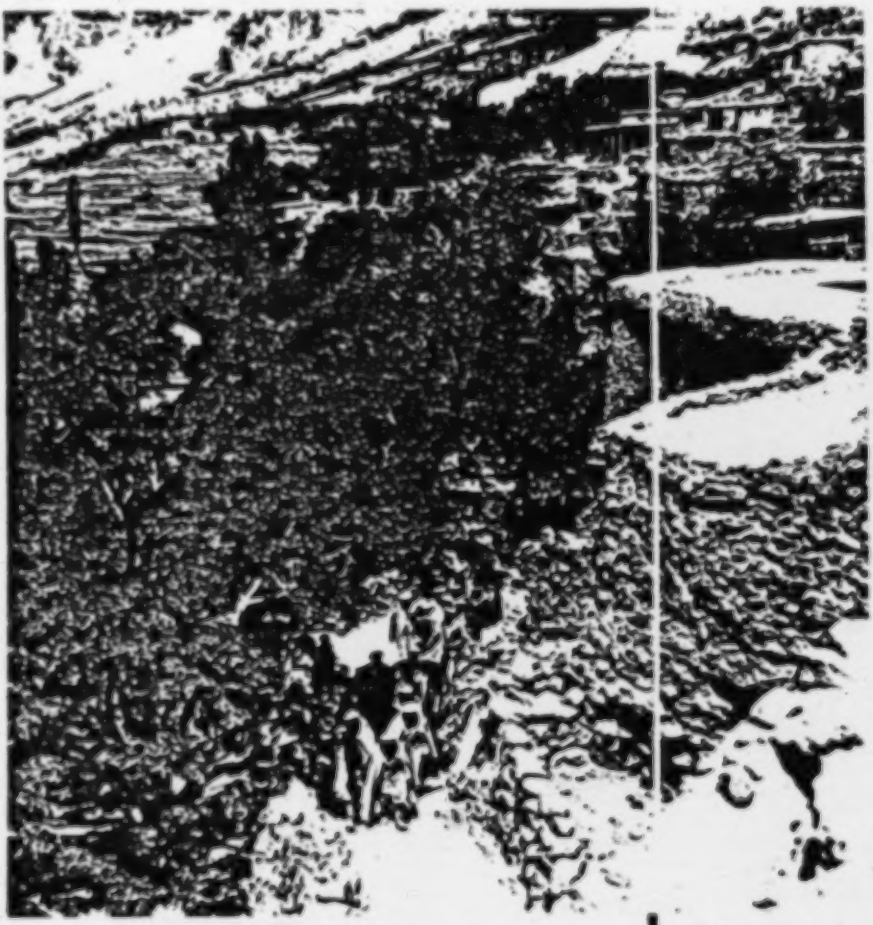

[P. 38]

[caption appears at the bottom of photograph on p. 39-A]

164 into the "fine, barrel chests" reported
146 by travelers. (I found that when they took off their shirts the fine, barrel chests revealed strong asymmetry, with ribs notably warped by rickets.) During my first winter, I developed a typical case of beriberi, even though my diet was more varied than theirs and was adequate in quantity.

133 The basic trouble rests not with the
161 Hunzas, who are neat, intelligent, and
[18] hard-working, but with their country. There is no flat land in all of Hunza.
[36] Villages and farms are built on alluvial
[31] cones—fan-shaped masses of gravel dumped by streams rushing from mountain glaciers down into the valleys—and the small cultivated areas simply are not extensive enough to support the constantly increasing population. (The Mir estimated the population of his country at 25,000 in 1951. According to one of the last of the British agents stationed in nearby Gilgit, Hunza's population was increasing at the rate of 30 per cent each
[67] decade. Rising emigration and the absence of written records obscure the reality, as one might imagine.)

311 Hunza's slopes are so steep they
241 must be terraced by the laborious construction of hand-built retaining walls of boulders. I measured one cultivated slope of 60 degrees—so steep that the retaining walls were twice as high as the miniature plots they supported. And sometimes Hunza farmers will even create arable soil on top of bare rock. After a crescent-shaped wall at the foot of any fairly gentle rock slope is built high enough so the top of the wall is level with the top of the slope, the wall is carefully chinked and mud-calked, then sandy water from the nearest irrigation ditch is admitted to make a small pond. When the sand settles out, the clear water is drained, and more sandy water is admitted. This process is repeated for about two years, until enough sand accumulates to allow cultivation.

134 Much of the "soil" of Hunza fields
311 is thus not really soil. Rather, it is a jumble of unweathered boulders,
[32] gravel, and sand. Since Hunza is a
[13] cool but exceedingly dry desert, practically no plant food is formed. The scant rain that falls soaks rapidly through the spongy sand, leaches out any trace of plant food that may be present, and carries it down to the river. Not even sagebrush will grow on the unirrigated areas, so most slopes are barren. Newly irrigated areas are

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

241 The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the
311 finest stretch is just below the fort of the chief, and extends for some six and a half miles in length with a width of from a mile to a mile and a half, the whole
[361] of the land being irrigated. This main stretch of arable land, which is studded with villages, lies at an altitude of eight thousand feet, and faces south, and the climate here is delightful. Further up the valley lie scattered patches of cultivation, getting poorer and poorer as the altitude increases. The mountains enclosing the valley are very precipitous even for the Hindu-Kush; wood and grazing for cattle are therefore unusually scarce, and the people suffer in conse-
291 quence. The clothing of the people is practically the same both in Hunza and Nagar as it is in Chitral, and has been described before,[1] the only difference being that the men's stockings are not knitted in such elaborate patterns, and that, as a general rule, the woollen outer robe is, in Hunza especially, more often white than brown. All, except on State occasions when the higher ranks don the turban, wear the Dard head-dress. This is a long bag of brown woollen cloth rolled back on itself till it forms a cap, which is one fold thick on the top, with a border an inch or so thick round the head. It makes a light, warm, and delightfully comfortable head-dress, but is a very poor protection against severe sun.

101 Nagar, as most of the surrounding people and the inhabitants themselves generally call it, though they also pronounce the word Nagér, and the scientific, for some cause best known to themselves, insist on spell-
[161] ing it *Nagyr*, is a smaller State than Hunza. The
795 population is about the same,[2] and is composed of Yeshkuns, professing themselves Shiahs, but very

[1] [Cf. pp. 59, 72, 102, category 116 -- Analyst] [2] [ca. 10,000 -- Analyst]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushi AV7

133 seven and eight hundred feet deep, each one filled
487 up by the end of a glacier, the main mass of which
361 was out of sight. We passed through numerous
241 villages whose cultivation, carried far up the mountain side, was of the richest. Each village was surrounded by fruit trees, and poplar, plane, and
[712] walnut trees abounded. Every village was either enclosed in a large square fort, with towers at each corner, or had a fort close to it.

133 The third day took us into Nagar. On leaving camp we crossed a great shingle slope, nearly a mile in length, at a point hundreds of feet above the river. Huge cliffs crowned the slope, and made this one of the most difficult pieces of road, from a military point of view, that we had yet passed. During our two last marches we saw conglomerate cliffs and rocks full of garnets, some very fine white sandstone, and in one place a cliff of clay, which was said to be full of
[361] gold. Nagar lies off the main valley, some three
[241] miles up another stream, and the last few miles into it the road ran almost without interruption through cultivation. The fruit trees were a sight to see, apricot trees bending under a burden of red gold fruit, their harvest just beginning, and every house roof, and any other available flat space, was covered with the fruit drying in the sun. As we turned our backs on the main valley the view was superb.
133 Behind us Rukapushi rose in gigantic precipices of
241 thousands of feet of snow and ice, while across the
361 river above Hunza towered another great mountain, its crest broken by sharp granite peaks on which no snow can rest. Its lower spurs are jagged and bare, and below them lay a large semi-circle, one mass of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

villages and of cultivation, the terraced fields carried right down into the river bed. Hunza itself lies on the right bank of a ravine ending in a dark glacier, from whose melting ice is supplied the channel which waters the whole of the Hunza cultivation. The houses of the main village are clustered tier upon tier on a high spur crowned by the Thum's Castle. The arrangement at Nagar is precisely the same.

Our entry into Nagar was very similar to my last year's entry into Chitral, only that the crowd was on a smaller scale, the courtiers not so numerous or so brilliantly arrayed. Still it was picturesque enough; before us rode a man bearing a scarlet and white banner; around us, wherever the road permitted, was the gay crowd in Bokhara silks or dirty woollen home-spun. The usual irregular salute was fired as we reached the polo ground, and the band made discordant music. Raja Jafr Khan could not receive me, being paralysed, so we moved without further ceremony into our camp by the polo ground, preceded by Raja Uzr Khan, who showed, by riding before us, a lack of breeding which scandalised the other Rajas, and which compared very unfavourably with the Mehtar of Chitral's courtesy.

Next morning I paid my state visit to Raja Jafr Khan. The road runs up through the village to the Thum's Castle, under a succession of easily defensible doorways, which would make an assault very difficult for bad troops or local enemies. The Palace stairs consisted of the trunk of a tree with notches cut in it, which led up through a square hole in the floor to the terraced rooms above. In this, as in every other house I ever entered in these wilds, the last two of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

644 been melted down to find metal for it. The Thum of the day was so pleased at possessing it that he at once killed the maker, lest he should go to Nagar and make one there. The Wazir had instructions from his King to go on firing till further orders, but after twenty-three guns we thought they had had enough, and I sent a request that they would stop and let us proceed. We were met at the gate of the fort by Wazir Dadu, rather a pleasant-looking man of about forty-five.

[361] The approach to the fort through the village was much the same as at Nagar, but the road was broader. 643 As we passed over the great water channel which fertilises the Hunza oasis, and which at its débouchere from the parent ravine runs through a low tunnel, an ominous whisper informed me that this was the scene of the old Thum's murder by his rascally son, assisted by his present Wazir, Dadu. The old man was fired at from the roof of a house as he rode in from hawking. The first discharge was not fatal, and the men with the Thum begged him to take refuge for a moment in the irrigation tunnel while they raised help, which, by all accounts, was within an ace of coming, but the old Chief refused, saying, "It was no use; he had lived long enough, and his day was 661 come." His Wazir, Humayum, Dadu's elder brother, was away in Gujhal at the time, and the new Chief sent him an urgent letter, stamped with his father's seal, calling him to return at once to Hunza. But though the letter had been prepared beforehand, was sealed before the warmth was out of the old Chief's body, and was despatched by a trusted messenger, the plot failed. Warned by some friend, or distrusting

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

000 with Safdar Ali, whose cruelty was unrelieved by any redeeming feature. When the end came, three years later, and he fled like the coward he was without striking a blow, the feelings of the people towards him were well shown; there was a general sigh of relief throughout the country. Daulat Shah may have missed him, for when I next visited Hunza I heard, with some pardonable satisfaction, that amongst the men carrying stones to build a block house, my orderlies had recognised our old friend.

487 The last marches out of Hunza were very severe, the road even for the Hindu-Kush was bad; it was perpetually crossing parris with frightful drops or very steep slopes into the river, and it was so narrow that the coolies carrying loads were in constant danger. Fortunately for us the cloudy weather continued, and on the last day we had some rain. The views in consequence were exquisite. All the colouring of the hills, the pale reds and browns and soft shades of green, which are merged by glaring sunlight into one uniform grey, now showed out. The view up the Chaprot valley was particularly fine, heavy clouds lay in a great bar across the mountains, dropping transparent veils of falling rain, through which range after range showed out with delicately softened outline. It was a delightful march, none the less so from my feeling that I had brought my party out of the country safely, and had been able to avoid any 361 serious trouble. We left Hunza territory at the 491 village of Budlas, crossing a heavy torrent by a new bridge, built on the site of the one where the 000 sad accident referred to above had taken place. I

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

and encamped between these places on a plain.* (?) Guyétsh and Chaprôt are on the frontier of Hunza. Its inhabitants speak the same language as the people of Hunza. Hini was on the other side of the army and is on the frontier of Nagyr. The Chief of Chaprôt is Shah Murad Wazir, whilst Sirdar Mamal Beg is at Hini and Phagoi, the Lumbardar, at Guyêtsh, whose son is Shukar Beg, a brave young man. The chief command of the invading troops was given to Sultan, who had previously sent a man, Uruz Ali, to the Hunza Raja, to announce his arrival. He told him to lie in ambush at Nilamutsh in order to destroy the troops under the other Kashmir Officers. "I will draw off, he said, half the army in the direction of the Valley." Uruz Ali was by origin a Hunza man who had settled at Gilgit. The Raja of Hunza acted on the advice thus sent. When Wazir Sultan came to Nilamutsh, he started with some youths towards Chaprôth Now Nilamutsh is a place so surrounded by inaccessible and high mountains that escape from an enemy who occupies them is impossible and even a great army is helpless. No one prevented or questioned the movements of Sultan, who advanced about one kôs out of Nilamutsh —Mahdin and Saif Ali now entered the place when they were at once assailed with stones and bullets on every side by invisible enemies and lost 400 young men in killed between forenoon and evening. Two Nagyris only were wounded, one being shot through the mouth who is still alive and the other receiving a bullet in his thigh from which he subsequently died at Nagyr. When the surprised Generals consulted at night on the events of the day, they inferred from the absence of Sultan and the fact that he had got safely through Nilamutsh, as well as from the unexpected presence of the enemy, that treachery had been at work. The reason of this conduct was that Sultan, although the bravest to fight on behalf of the Maharaja, had not been rewarded with land as Isa and Azmat had been, but had remained under the direct orders of Zoraweru, who had put him forward in the war in order to get him killed and who had poisoned the Maharaja's mind against him. "However," the Generals added, "at present we must think of getting out of this place; otherwise not a man will remain alive to tell the news at Nômal." They then decided, on the suggestion of Saif Ali, to send two Dareylis, Firôz and Kúweti, into the Hunza lines, as they might have influence with them, being also Yaghistanis, in order to secure the safe return of the Army. The task was reluctantly accepted by the Dareylis whose presence in the Sikh Army naturally compromised them. However, they went and swore on behalf of the Sikhs that if they were allowed to depart no future invasion should ever take place. Naudin, the Wazir of Nagyr and Ghazanfar of Hunza refused, on which the Dareylis requested that they might be shot and their bodies thrown in the valley, as a proof that they had done their best and failed in their mission. "We are Mussulmans and you should forgive us and as a natural consequence those whom we represent." The men now prepared for death, when Naudin

* There is a place called Nilamutsh—green mountain ridge—literally a mountain that has fallen off a still higher one. Chaprôt is three kôs above and Guyetsh two kôs below this place. Hini is on the other side of the river two and a half kos from Nilamutsh. Chaprôt has 150 houses; Guyêtsh 30 and Hini 80 houses.

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~~18~~ 4 Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV3 Afghanistan AV1~~
AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

rocky ledges, sometimes letting oneself down nearly to the water's edge, then ascending 300 or 400 feet above the stream, holding on by corners of rock, working along rocky shelves 3 or 4 inches wide, and round projecting knobs and corners where no four-footed animal less agile than a wild goat could find a path. D 133

Immediately above the bend of the river is the district of Chaprot, consisting of the fort and village of that name and three other villages. This has always been a fruitful source of contention among the rulers of the three states of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, between which it is situated, principally on account of the fort, which, according to local ideas, is impregnable. It is situated in the angle formed by the junction of two streams, with high precipitous banks, and can therefore only be approached from one side. It has belonged in turns to all three states, but at present is garrisoned by Cashmere troops. Continuing up the valley to the eastward, at about 52 miles from Gilgit, the residences of the rulers of the two states of Hunza and Nager are reached, the river forming the boundary between the wild two. D 361 648 B 131 361

The view of the great Rakiposh Mountain from the north side is truly striking. From the water's edge it rises without a break for 19,000 feet to its topmost peak, which is over 25,000 feet above the sea-level. Its lofty sides, girdled with dark pine forest and seamed with glaciers and *mers-de-glace*, some of which reach nearly down to the water's edge, overlook numerous fertile settlements which are nourished by streams flowing from the great mountain. Above the forests extensive fields of snow sparkle and glitter in the summer sun, while, overtopping all, great points of granite, on whose steep sides the snow can scarce find a resting-place, give emphasis and unity to a scene not easily forgotten. B 133

Above Hunza the course of the river, which rises in the Hindoo Koosh, lies entirely in Hunza territory. The people of these two states, of whom so little is known, have been counted as mere robber tribes, who have brought themselves into notice by their depredations on the caravans between Yarkund and Leh. This is, however, scarcely a just estimation of them. They are of the same stock as the people of Yassin, Ponyal, and the majority of the people of Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys. So far from being mere robber tribes, they are settled agricultural communities, living under rulers who boast of their long unbroken descent from princes of native blood. Hemmed in by lofty mountains, they are B 721 B 144 B 173 186

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV3 Afghanistan AV1~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

173 proud of the independence they have always maintained, and
186 they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago. The rulers are called *Thum*, and their families are descended from twin brothers, Moghlot and Gir-
174 kis, who lived about the end of the fifteenth century. General Cunningham makes the somewhat natural mistake of confounding Girkis with Kirghiz, and suggests that the former inhabitants of Hunza must have been Dards (?), who have since been displaced by the nomads of the Pamir. From this he goes on to argue that the rulers of Shigar must also be of Kirghiz blood; and following the same line of argument he states that the Astor district must once have belonged to the Tibetan race, because the ruling family are Makpons. He also mentions the Gilgitis as a race of Dardo-Tibetans, for which assumption there is no adequate foundation.[1]

643 I have been told by a Nepaulese gentleman that *Thum* is a Chinese title, meaning Governor, and that it is used in a reduplicated form *Thum Thum*, to signify a Governor General.[2] Its existence in these countries, where its origin has been completely lost sight of, is curious and must be extremely ancient.

The rulers of Nager, who are descended from the first-named of the two brothers, are called Moghloté, the present
161 Thum being Jaffer Zahid Khan. Though the smaller of the two states, Nager has the larger population, owing to the greater amount of cultivable ground which it contains.
134 The population is about 10,000 souls. The land where cultivable is extremely fertile and bears exceptionally heavy
135 crops, and the Nager streams are rich in gold. The country is especially famous for its apricots, which are dried and export-
439 ed to the Punjab in considerable quantities. Nearly opposite Hunza, the Myetsil River, a considerable stream, joins the
361 main river from the south-west. The fort of Nager and the Thum's house are on the southern side of this stream, about 3 miles from the junction, at an elevation of 8,000 feet
131 above the sea. Both sides of this valley belong to Nager, and it forms the eastern boundary of the state. At the head of it is the difficult and dangerous road over the Hispar Pass into the Shigar Valley, which is never used except in cases
000 of necessity. When Cashmere authority was temporarily

[1] Cunningham's *Ladakh*, pages 27, 38, 58, 295.

[2] It is perhaps a corruption of the word Tung, which appears in many titles. The Chinese Governor of Kashgharia is called Tsung Tung, and the officer who commands the troops is styled Tung-lung.

[See 1: Cunningham, AJ4 West Tibetan file -- Analyst]

~~12:~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4
AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

241 covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

771 Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immo-
411 rality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

564 The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yeshkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known
142 as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Iskardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less
197 vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaski, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

576 Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi, the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the names of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gánish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother,
231 and their sons are called "*gushpoor*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

712 Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more
361 forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population takes refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

000 In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.48-A]

FAMILY LIFE on Hunza's flat roofs bespeaks the country's dry climate and the cramped quarters that prevail inside a typical stone abode, forcing inhabitants to seek increased living space in the open. A meal is being prepared, *above*.

133
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526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo
[311] fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for
[367] sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall sur-
[417] rounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

they play from the time the game starts until it finishes. 526
I don't know who would be more tired . . . the musi- [533]
cians, the polo players or the excited, active, shouting spectators.

I paced off the field and counted 90 good paces [367]
long and 40 wide. This would make it approximately 270 x 120 feet. This is quite a bit smaller in size than the modern polo field which is 300 x 200 feet, and would tend to make the Hunzan sport more hazardous and nerve-racking.

Instead of goal posts they use two large white stones at either end.

The game was started into action by the Mir, in [643]
this case, who started off at the further end at a gallop. As he reached the center, he threw the ball high into the air and as it came down he clobbered it and the game—or the mad scramble—was on!

There are 6 players on each team and as the ball is pummeled from one place to another, the screams of the spectators and the players are more frenzied than those heard at a baseball game.

There are no rules—except that the team who scores 9 goals first is the winner, and the game doesn't stop until one of the teams has scored 9 goals. They don't have rest periods; they don't change horses or men; there are no penalties and no fouls. So you can just imagine the carryings-on.

If the ball is struck or bounces off the wall and is caught by one of the players, this permits him to ride through the goal posts and deposit the ball and score a goal . . . if the opposition will let him! Any means can be and usually are undertaken to prevent him from reaching the goal to which he is entitled to proceed. If they're bold enough and strong enough, they can even pull him from his mount.

4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 302 the top of the head for a space 2 inches broad in front, tapering to half an inch behind. Those who cannot boast of long locks, dress their hair into numerous small cork-screw ringlets all round the head.[1] On the approach of middle age the whole head is shaved, according to the orthodox Mahommedan fashion, and the beard is allowed to grow. In Chitral the effect of the long-flowing locks reaching to the waist is often extremely picturesque.

D 576 The mode of salutation between equals, on meeting after a prolonged absence, is graceful and pleasing. After clasping each other, first on one side then on the other, hands are joined, and each person in turn kisses the hand of the other. Superiors are greeted either by kissing the hand or touching the foot, both at meeting and parting. In Chitral, when the meeting is between two of unequal rank, the inferior kisses the hand of the superior, who in return kisses the former on the cheek. A similar practice is said to have existed among the ancient Persians.[2]

D 644 On the occasion of the visit of one chief to another, a rather curious ceremony called "Kobah" takes place. On arrival, the visitor is conducted to the Shawaran,[3] and the followers of both chiefs show their dexterity in firing at a mark set up on B 644 a tall pole, from horseback while galloping at speed. After this a bullock is led out before the guest, who draws his sword and does his best to cut its head off at a single blow, or deputes one of his followers to do so, and the carcase is given to his retinue. The custom exists in Shighnan, Badakhshan, Wakhan, Chitral, Yassin, Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager. In the latter place it is customary to slay the bullock with bow and arrow. Of late years the practice has become somewhat modified owing to the strict observance of Mahommedan customs, and it is more usual to give over the bullock alive to the guest, so that its throat may be cut in a more orthodox fashion; but occasionally a chief wishing to show off the strength of his arm and the temper of his blade, will adhere to the old custom.

B 575 582 587 Polygamy is of course practised, and the right of divorce is somewhat wantonly exercised. The marriage of very young children is not common, though occasionally practised. Girls are generally married between the ages of ten and four-

D 575 582 587 B D [367]

[1] Rawlinson mentions this as an ancient Persian fashion.—*Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. IV.

[2] Strabo Book XV., Chapter 3, Section 20.

[3] The Shawaran answers all the purposes of the village green in England, being used for all gatherings and games.

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

402 'machines' known in Hunza, and the mechanism of all three is so simple that parts can be replaced, repairs or adjustments effected, by any intelligent child—and we met no unintelligent Hunza child.

286 Anyone desirous of doing so can acquire a weaver's skill, and in our village of some 200 families there were seven or eight expert weavers. The loom-pit is a hole in the ground, 2 feet wide and deep and 2 feet 4 inches from back to front, with a stone bench at the back. Two horizontal poles balanced on stones a couple of feet above the ground at either side carry the heddles, etc. Here the weaver sets up his home-made loom of ingeniously simple construction worked by four treadles in the bottom of his pit. While he works, the owners of the wool sit by and wind his bobbins. A skilful weaver can make the nine yards of narrow homespun required for a man's cloak in a day and a half. The loom-pit occupies fully half the width of the 'street' and when being used forms the centre of a shifting group of cheerfully gossiping passers-by.

Goat's hair is woven on an even simpler upright frame, a forked piece of tree supplying the single shed required.

322 Turning is a rarer accomplishment than weaving, and our village boasted only one lathe-master. Like the loom the lathe is set up in a pit. The person desiring a bowl supplies the necessary rough-hewn block of wood (apricot or vine root preferred) and the motive power required to turn the horizontal bar, on to one end of which the wood is spiked. The turner crouches alongside with a selection of small curved chisels which he rests on an adjustable tripod to steady his hand (PLATE IV).

415 There is no room to tell of all the simple yet ingenious household utensils which the Hunzukuts conjure from the scanty resources
411 at their disposal: the spliced wooden bow faced with plates of ibex
322 horn and beautifully curved; the boys' catapult bow with double string of horse sinew, for scaring birds; the double-chambered wool-container made of rowan bark; the small vessel like an ash-tray which steadies the woman's rotating spindle and is moulded from the refuse of the apricot kernels left after the oil has been expressed. Not a
372 shred of anything is wasted in Hunza. What cannot be eaten or turned
132 to use—even the shell of the apricot kernel—is gratefully seized on as fuel for the pitifully small fire that cooks the bread and vegetables. Fires for mere heating are an undreamt of luxury. Hence the draught-proof house is essential, for at 7–8,000 feet, with snow mountains all round and a temperature of 19° Fahrenheit, the 'Great Cold' is

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

sufficiently severe. Happily winter is short, two or three months at most, and for the rest of the year day and night are spent mainly out of doors.

The social culture of the Burusho of Hunza is as high as their material culture is primitive. Three centuries of Islam—they are now Ismaili heretics, having been Shiahs until three or four generations ago—have not induced them to veil or despise their indomitable women, nor to abandon the wholesome tradition of exogamy between their different clans in favour of first-cousin marriage. They are freer from superstition and fanaticism than any people east or west of whom I have heard or read. Whatever be the esoteric teaching of the Ismailis of which Professor Ivanov might tell, it concerns the Hunza peasant as little as the homoousian controversy disturbs the mind of the British schoolboy. He goes his way in cheerful confidence that hard work, fair dealing, kindly affection and generosity must be as well pleasing to God the Merciful, the Compassionate, as ritual prayer or ceremonial fast, and his dreams are not broken by over-anxious fear of Hell or hope of Heaven.

The fastidiousness and personal cleanliness of the Hunza peasant are remarkable. Close packed amongst the crowd at festivals or sitting on the threshing floor amongst the workers, or entertained in their hospitable houses, we were never distressed by human exhalations or molested by parasites. The drinking water is guarded with scrupulous care from pollution by man or beast. Men and women cooperate without embarrassment or restraint and no work is taboo for either sex, though for obvious reasons the heavier jobs of wall-building, irrigation and ploughing fall more naturally to the man, and the care of infants to the woman. But as soon as the father is allowed to handle his child, he will carry the baby proudly and tenderly out for its first airings, while boys and girls alike play with and watch over the toddlers.

Again and again, in face of the high morality and unquenchable spirit of the Hunzukuts, we were ashamed to think of what in our vaunted civilization 'man has made of man'.

252 yeast and cooked on a griddle, like small, thin pancakes. Zaidu made them as of course, since they are the normal local food, and we had a few fresh for every meal (they are horrid stale). Their great merit is that they can be eaten without butter or 262 jam. This was a great advantage, for butter was a problem. 234 The tinned butter we brought with us for the road all went bad—you could not blame it in that heat—and butter in our sense of the word is unknown in Hunza.

There was fortunately a little cow's milk to be had, but the cows get so little to eat that their milk has not much butter-content. A really good Hunza cow yields at most a quart of milk a day after she has fed her calf, and she only gives milk at all for a month or two after the calf is born. So [415] milk is no part of the regular local diet. The people normally milk into a gourd, which makes an excellent jug, but has the • [372] drawback that there is no ready way of cleaning it. Where fuel is so scarce no one could boil water merely to scald milk-vessels, and the method is to hold the gourd over the smoke of the fire. This seems to be perfectly wholesome, but it gives a gruesome taste to the milk, already sufficiently tainted with memories of yesterday, last week, last year. So we would send one of our people with a clean aluminium bucket and get the cow milked straight into that. In this way we procured as much as we needed for tea and coffee and puddings, but of course not enough to make butter from, as we had been accustomed to do in Gilgit. Fresh butter proved to be an unattainable luxury. The local butter, which they call *maltash*, is much prized; there is so little of it that it is kept strictly for feast days and great occasions. Their chief chance of making it is from the goats' milk when the men have the animals up at the summer pastures. They make it day by day, a little at a time, and when they have collected about two pounds they shape it into a ball, wrap it in birch-bark, tie it up with strips torn from the roots of juniper, and then bring it home to [251] store. With luck one good she-goat will provide two balls of *maltash* per season. It is then stored in a tiny stone larder under the nearest water-channel to keep it damp and cool, and thence produced when wanted. Even when quite fresh it tastes very

a *choga* is being washed, a man's greater strength is called into 296
play—nine yards of wet homespun is no joke. He dips it likewise into cold water, lays it on a stone, and tramples it with his full weight. There is, of course, no fuel to spare for washing 372
clothes or persons in hot water.

From our very first days in Hunza the mills had been a [133]
source of interest, and we constantly passed them and peeped 256
in as we traced out all the water-channels on our walks. When [312]
the water was in flow (no stream, not even the Dála, was continuously in action in any one stretch) the mills were the centre of social gatherings. The miller and his family would be inside superintending operations, while the women with their babies and their work quietly awaited their turn. They had brought small sacks or bags of grain to be ground and would squat in and round the doorway happily gossiping. Occasionally a man would come along, bent double under a huge sack of 80 lb. or so.

We struck a particularly interesting group one day, where 000
the water was plunging steeply down the hillside and turning three mills in succession, one below the other. David was photographing the busy crowd at the door, and I climbed up a little to join two old women busily spinning among the rocks above. "Father won't want to take pictures of us," they said, in a matter-of-fact tone quite free from bitterness, "we are old and wrinkled." As well as my halting speech permitted, I assured them that older people were our best friends, that we liked faces wrinkled like our own, and that if they would allow it, "Father" would much like their photographs. So I scrambled down the hill again to explain to DL where his next duty lay. He came and engaged the old dames in chat, but it was no easy matter to get a photograph for they were shy and self-conscious beyond the ordinary. The picture turned out at least recognizable, but when it came to delivering their copies we found that their houses were "quite near" of course, but down 500 or 600 feet of highly precipitous gorge, rather more of a rock-climbing feat than we were prepared to tackle in the course of an afternoon's walk. Enquiry revealed, however, that old Pfírúz's son was married to Ustád Nadíro's daughter, so

796 hours by the loud drumming of a warning drum; then after an interval we should hear two outbursts and soon after, three, at which point we should set out. We could not ascertain how long the intervals would be between the summonses, but Dádo promised to waken us at the sound of the first. He was so fearful of oversleeping that he lay awake all night, and with characteristic zeal brought us morning tea two hours too soon. The third drumming was not, in fact, heard till about 5 a.m. It called us out into the inkiest night I ever saw, but it was windless and not unduly cold. Thick snow clouds over the whole sky hid every suspicion of a star, so that though the great mountains all round were white with snow to within a few feet of our level there was not even a glimmer from them.

All over the hillsides we could see tiny points of light converging on the rendezvous and hear the lively chatter of men [372] and boys from every homestead. Their torches were faggots of juniper held high on a long pole. From the polo-ground came the sound of music punctuated by unison cheers of Ha-Ha-Ha that echoed up the hill to hurry stragglers. By the time we got down there was already a goodly group of men thronging three deep round a princely bonfire, and each new party as it came flung in its torch over the heads of the crowd sending a shower of rocket sparks into the darkness of the night. Our arrival was greeted by a cheer and a lane was made for us to a stone sofa, where we speedily obliterated ourselves not to interfere with the progress of events, regretting only that our people had not thought to provide us with torches instead of the prosaic hurricane lamps which they doubtless thought more dignified.

796 The bonfire leapt, the band played, the jolly Ha-Ha-Ha
535 sounded at intervals, and still the velvet darkness was starred by points of oncoming light. As soon as a sufficient congregation had assembled, the band struck up in earnest and dancing began. In the flickering firelight the scene looked extraordinarily romantic. Prominent among the dancers were the bridegrooms of a few days ago, who thus made their re-entry into public life, clad happily once more in caps and woollen *chogas*. The dancers sprang and capered, their long sleeves

roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked. 252 262

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness. 372 313

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, mid-season and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering. 245 262

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions. 262

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays. [556] [231]

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards. 565 423 556

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

that may exist or be created in an agricultural community, no seed is available, the Mir has been known to procure supplies from neighboring states and supply his people with sufficient planting stock. 241 643

While through the entire East cow dung and yak dung are used for fuel, in Hunza this is positively not true. The Hunzans are too intelligent to use the mainstay of their lives for fuel. Once it is burned it is gone; but if it is put back into the land, it is there to produce crops for another year. They show their intelligence, if proof of their intelligence is needed, by this one sound principle of self-survival in their means of agriculture. 241 372

However, in the more northerly sections of Hunza, closer to the Chinese border, they do use yak dung for fires because of the almost total lack of wood or other types of fuel. They just have to keep themselves warm during the winter.

Here is a list of the vegetables grown in Hunza—potatoes, turnips, carrots, beans, peas, lettuce, pumpkins, tomatoes, melons, watermelons, radishes, onions, cabbage, spinach, cauliflower. 244

In fruits there are mulberries, apricots, apples, pears, peaches, grapes, walnuts, almonds, a few plums and some cherries. 245

Grapes are grown fairly extensively because they can plant them against most any wall, as long as they have a bit of soil in which to gain a foothold for their roots. From these grapes they make their Hunzan wine. [273]

They grow a few strawberries, but I could find no currants, gooseberries, raspberries—nor did they know what raspberries were.

The grains grown in Hunza, starting from the most important, are wheat, barley, rye, millet, buckwheat and a small quantity of rice. Some alfalfa is grown as a forage crop. 243 246

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[796] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two: cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[148] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apri-cot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[762] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 29

Hunzan Crafts and Skills

THE NEXT MORNING Jahangir came to our quarters just as I was ready to leave for breakfast. Cec again remained in bed on the doctor's advice.

The Mir was waiting for us in his bright, pleasant sun room when we entered and with him was another handsome, beaming man whom he introduced as his brother, Ayesh, who had just returned from a trip up country.

It is customary for the Mir's oldest brother to remain unmarried and act as an advisor, assistant, secretary or whatever else this position might be termed. He also acted as the Mir's emissary and was the engineer of the electric light outfit in operation at the palace.

We were then ushered into the dining room for breakfast. The Mir, Ayesh and the Rani seated themselves just to keep us company and of course add delight and conversation while we breakfasted.

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I had never seen oil made or rendered from any fruit, 252
food or grain and I asked if I could be allowed to witness this process from the beginning. Arrangements were made and I went to visit a plain ordinary Hunzan house where the mistress was prepared and willing to demonstrate the making of apricot oil.

The lady and some of her children sat on the floor with a neat stack of apricot stones beside them. Then she and one of her youngsters took each individual stone and split it open with a rock. The meats were taken out and piled into a stone mortar. Then, when they had [412]
filled the mortar, the lady got her pestle and began to pound the kernels until they were made into a meal. Next, she rubbed it with her hands until it was worked into a paste. This she placed into an iron skillet, which was placed over a three-sided stone stove. Then she broke up some small chips of wood that she had ready, ignited them and moved the pan about over the heat until it began to warm up. She kept rubbing and kneading the meal with her hands in the skillet until it got quite warm—but not hot, for she used her hands for turning it in the pan.

Then, she lifted up the mass and put it into a round, [415]
solid, earthenware or stone receptacle about 12 inches in diameter, with the sides about two or two and a half inches high. She kneaded this with her fingers and knuckles firmly, much more firmly than one would in kneading dough for bread.

Then, a tablespoonful of water was poured over the meal and the massaging process was continued. It was explained to me that sometimes tea is used instead of water. If the pits are bitter pits from the wild fruit, plain water is used, but for sweet pits from the propagated apricots salt water is used.

The bitter pits are gathered from the trees that grow [222] [373]

252 wild in various parts of the area. The oil rendered from
[222] these kernels is probably used only for lighting, because
[373] it is poisonous. Due to their heavy content of prussic
acid, a handful of them is considered deadly. In Ni-
[762] agara, if somebody wants to commit suicide, he jumps over Niagara Falls; in Hunza, they eat a batch of wild apricot kernels.

The kneading process is continued and the vessel is kept tilted so the oil runs down and forms a small pool. As the oil begins to form, the kneading becomes even more vigorous until every drop of oil possible is extracted. While the rendering of the oil may be hard on the knuckles, nothing could be simpler and the resulting product is probably the most healthful and finest fat product that human hands can produce.

[231] The pulp that remains after the oil[1] is extracted is
[302] fed to milk-giving goats, sheep or cows, and is often used as a concoction or shampoo in which the Hunzans wash their heads. The oil of course is used in cooking, baking, frying, for lighting—and even for the hair.

[461] The good woman who performed the oil extracting task for me did not seem to be the least bit overburdened or taxed from this sort of arduous work. It probably would have been a hard day's work for a Western woman.

I would like to stress at this point that the heating process was not a cooking process in any sense of the word. Just a slight warming was all that was needed.

251 The apricot oil is never rendered and stored in casks
252 or otherwise, like many other people do with their oils. They may make sufficient to last them a few days but not more. This is poured into an earthen vessel or a bottle, if available. When a further supply is required, the pits are cracked and they go through the entire process as outlined.

1 [ie - oil from apricot seeds - ANALYST]

day but in most cases, at every meal. 256

It came as quite a surprise to me to learn that milling was one of the most simple operations that could be devised and that difficulties and complications only arose when we sought to deviate from the natural way of doing things.

So now at last I was there watching a Hunzan flour mill in action. In all probabilities the same milling process is followed in practically all countries of the world where flour is milled in a simple manner.

My first impression as I watched the flour pouring from between the revolving stones was, "How easy—how utterly simple! Why should anyone in the world be denied access to that vital health-giving food?" Any man can have his own pure whole wheat flour, from which he can have made his wholesome delicious whole wheat bread, by the simple means of putting a grain of wheat between two stones and rubbing the two stones together.

In this Hunzan flour mill, wheat is poured into a suspended hopper made of wood, but shaped like and about the same size as a grain sack and tapered to a narrow opening just above the millstones. Attached under the opening is a small trough, tilted slightly. This trough sits with its lower end over the hole in the stone. Then right there at the mouth of the trough a wooden stick is attached so that it will dangle at the mouth of the opening and as the mill rotates, this stick taps against the opening and causes the grain to drop out in regulated amounts. Thus, the flow of the wheat into the opening of the millstone is governed.

The millstone is rotated by direct drive from the water wheel. From the conduit up above, a stone is removed and the water is allowed to run down a spillway, which leads under the mill house and is made to [37.6]

256 splash against the water wheel or paddle. The force is sufficient to make the millstone revolve at a tremendous [376] pace. The water can be quickly shut off by just putting the missing stone back in place, diverting the water flow down the conduit.

The millstones are enclosed by a tray or bin about 5 or 6 inches high. As the ground wheat or flour is forced out between the stones, it slowly fills the bin. Then it is scooped up into goatskin bags, usually by a woman who is looking after the mill. In this manner it [262] is carried to the individual homes to be used in making the wholesome whole wheat Hunzan bread and chapatties.

There appeared to be no large scale or assembly line grinding. Each individual came in with a container of wheat to be ground.

[262] Barley and rye are also used for flour and occasionally, millet and buckwheat.

262 The earliest crop that can be ground into flour in Hunza is barley. After the long winter, food supplies [243] are worn to the near starvation level and when the first [527] barley is ready for harvest, people of Hunza have cause to celebrate and do so in their barley festival.

252 I soon learned why chapatties were used in preference to bread, not only in Hunza but all over Pakistan 262 and India. A chapatty requires only flour and water, a bit of mixing and then rolling out and laying on a piece of metal that is laid over a fire. In a few minutes it can be turned and then it is ready for eating. Even though bread might taste better, it certainly would require a lot more preparation. Simplicity is the keynote!

251 From what I saw, very little flour is stored and probably the people of Hunza have long ago learned their lesson, that wheat ground into flour does not have long keeping qualities.

105 where. They use water to turn the mill that grinds
[376] their bread and that is primitive. But many thousands of people throughout the world would say that it is the right way. The adroitness and the ability of the Hunzan men would match that of any people in the Western world.

I cannot say that I found anything about them that was primitive. Further, they can choose the modern way of life if they so desire it. But the only people who seek it are those who are forced to leave Hunza because of the shortage of actual living room.

511 *Poverty stricken*—One writer referred to them as being poverty stricken. If the beast of the fields and forests and the birds of the air are poverty stricken, then I guess we would have to admit that the people of Hunza are poverty stricken as well. If you want to feel sorry for birds, because they have to seek shelter in their unheated nests high up in the trees, where the winds blow around them, and because they do not have oil heating for their nests or motors for their wings as a sign of poverty, then I will be forced to agree with you.

As long as the people of Hunza are free, have a bit of land to till and a house of their own that is not mortgaged or tax-ridden and are in good health and attain long life, I definitely cannot accede that they are poverty stricken.

142 *Fair complexioned*—Now and then some author refers to them as being fair complexioned. I did not see one fair complexioned person in all of Hunza. Perhaps
[144] the writers meant to say that they were Caucasians, which is true, as compared to Orientals or Negroes. They are not a fair people any more than the Spaniards, Italians or Greeks are fair complexioned peoples.

805 *Precise, exacting*—An occasional writer sought to

164 proved laboratory by a qualified technician.

164 Their food is natural, simple, unsophisticated, with-
262 out any unnatural, inorganic, synthetic additives whatsoever. There is no fragmentation in the foods they eat. They do not separate any part of the wheat when they make flour, nor do they separate any part of the other grains when using them.

252 Due to necessity they do not cook foods too much, nor do they cook any food that can be eaten and enjoyed without cooking.

Food is a serious, all prevalent problem. The few trees that they have and that they can grow must be protected for food, shade and timber.

However, I must truthfully admit that the reason that the Hunzans do not cook their food is because of the scarcity and inaccessibility to supplies of fuel.

751 Vaccination is not practiced and, as far as I know,
744 is unknown in Hunza. Pasteurization in any form is neither practiced nor known. Chlorination is unheard of. Fluoridation is unheard of. No coloring whatsoever is added to any of their food, not even their butter.

263 Up until recent years the salt used by the people of
439 Hunza came from the Shimshal area, somewhere near where the Shimshal River and the Muztagh join together. This salt is unrefined and used just as it is mined from this mountain area. It obviously contains many natural so-called impurities.

493 The only wheeled vehicles—two jeeps, in fact—are owned and used by the Mir chiefly for bringing in supplies, when road conditions permit. Therefore one must walk for every chore. There is no motorized
• 377 equipment used in Hunza with the exception of the electric light plant in the Mir's palace. Apart from what
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all thriving. The field walls looked very jolly at this season, with wild flowers of the rock-garden type growing in the crannies between the stones and fostered by the seepage from the irrigated fields above. Amongst them was a wild mint and a wild thyme, the flavouring qualities of which are known and appreciated.

On June 12th we saw some people hungrily eyeing their barley and reckoning that it would be ripe for cutting in another fifteen days. It was said to be good this year in spite of an abnormally cold, late spring. Some rain showers that we had were welcomed though they temporarily cooled the air. But as clouds and rain continued, anxiety began to be felt lest the wheat should be late and delay too long the planting of the buckwheat-on-wheat. The barley is subject to a disease called *tam*, which stripes the leaves an ugly yellow and produces a milky liquid in the ears. Few plants were attacked this year. The disease called *matèl* (rust?), which makes black ears, attacks only wheat and millet, and if the cold and rain persisted it might be expected to set in. We were doubly anxious that this year's crops should be good: unselfishly for the people's sake; selfishly lest a bad year should be attributed to the maleficent influence of two crazy people learning Burushaski—though indeed these highly rational people would be unlikely to indulge any such fantastic association of ideas.

We saw some people one day collecting the under-bark from red willow trees; they use it for dyeing the leather of their native boots and skilfully chip it out from the living tree without injuring the willow.

Now that the people were really within sight of food they frankly confessed to being desperately hungry, and the strain of unremitting work—weeding, ploughing, manuring, grafting, irrigating from dawn to dusk on empty tummies—was showing in drawn, thin faces, but appeared powerless to damp their spirits or fray their tempers. It was dreadful to look on and be helpless to feed the multitude with loaves or fishes, while we lived—sparingly enough by home standards but—riotously compared with these much more deserving neighbours. We saw one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry

[in June -- Analyst]

all appeared to us to suggest Persian inspiration. I heard one lady say with regret for a golden past: "What is the world coming to? Why nowadays the very peasant girls embroider silken caps for themselves!"

True enough; now that a little money filters into almost every home the women can get hold of coloured silk from India or Kashgar, and it was a common sight to see girls and women open a tiny home-made bag that hung on their tunic, and take out a strip or circle of calico, a needle, and a bunch of silk, and continue work on a dainty cap. The threads of the cloth were carefully counted and the design traced out in black thread. The silks they used were unspun, clinging masses that I found impossible to handle, and how they manipulated them so skilfully with fingers roughened, you would have thought, by field work, I could not divine. For about 1s. 6d. they can buy enough silk to cover one cap with minute embroidery, and they blend their colours, red, blue, green, orange, purple, yellow, and black, with unerring taste. We laid in a store of their favourite shades so that on occasion we could make an acceptable gift to a bride preparing her trousseau.

After a first experience of trifling gifts of balls and combs we had decided that it would be a crime to spoil the simple, spontaneous kindness of the children or their parents by indiscriminate giving. So we restrained a longing to distribute even sweets and pins, and only made an occasional present on very special occasions or for very definite services rendered. On the other hand, we made a note of such things as would be useful and acceptable, and gathered a hoard of them for our ultimate visits of farewell.

Amongst the women's crafts I have already mentioned the neat little "ashtrays" they conjure from the residual mush of apricot kernels after they have extracted the oil. Washing is amongst them a simple matter. Having no fat, they can make no soap, but there is a plant, called *himan*, which they grow amongst their vegetables, the seeds of which when pounded yield a delightful soapy lather. This is used for special washings only. Every-day cotton clothes are simply rinsed in cold water, flung on a flat stone and beaten with a wooden mallet. When

Chapter 13

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

BEFORE we could really settle down to the business of life 312
there were several practical problems to clear up. Water was 401
naturally the first item. The jolly little stream just in front of
our rest-house did not run by any means all the time. It brings
water from the great glacier behind Báltít; the actual aqueduct
channel is some twelve miles long, and represents an amazing
feat of engineering. It was made about three generations ago—
before which the "New Settlements" of Aliábád and her out-
liers did not exist—when iron was still practically unknown in
Hunza. The excavations and the galleries on which it is piloted
so skilfully over gorges and along impossible cliff faces were
all made with wooden shovels and picks tipped with ibex horn.
The people had—and have—no instruments of precision, no [413]
theodolites, nor levels. Against this they have some hereditary
instinct that we lack, and an inherited or traditional common
sense that enables them to adjust the necessary downward
gradients exactly right. You never hear of anyone making a
false shot in laying out a water channel, and you never hear of
any "labour" difficulties. When a new work is undertaken for 312
the public good it is supervised by the Mir, or his Wazir acting 653
for him, and it is carried out by communal labour, of which 476
everyone recognizes the justice and necessity. The Dála, which
will frequently recur in my story, is the main aqueduct that
supplies Aliábád, but it has to feed other villages *en route*, and
our stream, which was its last section, was therefore only in
action at certain times. These are, however, known to every-
one, and our people drew water enough when they could get
it to carry on for the day or half-day when it would be cut off.

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companions who came down with us to Kashmir to observe peasants 243
ploughing with *oxen* (whose wants could be less completely met) and 262
without a dung dish !

When the corn is fully threshed, the winnowing begins in cooperation with a light breeze. Next the winnowed grain is passed 243
through a coarse sieve (barakbèsh) whose mesh is composed of thin leather thongs which retain any particles of straw, and it is finally 261
tossed in a finer sieve (gherbèl) which retains the grain and lets the dust through. The grain is then loaded into great skin-sacks and carried 251
off to store. The due amount required for seed-grain is set aside first, and not the utmost extremity of hunger would induce a Hunza peasant to encroach thereon. Next, emergencies are budgeted for—births, weddings, dues such as rent (if any) and hospitality, which includes deaths in *other* homes, for relatives and friends would be disgraced if a bereaved family had themselves to bake during the first seven days of mourning. What then remains, represents the year's supply.

Ripe millet is treated by being beheaded, and the ears may then 243
be threshed by cows or beaten with poles according to quantity. The buckwheats are beaten only, even small children merrily cooperating half in fun, half in earnest to show their prowess.

Grain for current use is carried to the mill in sacks or bags of skin. [343]
The mill-house is a picturesque cube of stone and mud situated beside a convenient irrigation channel. It may possess one wheel or two. The wheel is a vertical oblong of tree trunk, fitted with 10 or 12 wooden wings ; the lower end of its axis is supported on a horizontal pole, the upper fitted into a central hole in the upper millstone. The water is led on to it by a steeply sloping hollowed log. The inside of the mill, lighted only from the door, is fitted with a cross rafter built into the walls on to which the hopper is ingeniously hung by a forked segment of tree. The hopper itself consists of a section of log, tapered and hollowed out. Attached by a string to the small tray below the aperture in the base of the hopper, is a loose clapper which is gently agitated by the rotation of the upper millstone on which it rests, this shakes the tray and encourages a steady flow of grain. The flour as ground is ejected into a hollow trough. Near by, a wooden pole, impaled on a horizontal wooden pin, projects up through the earthen floor. Each end of the pin rests on a 'Heath-Robinson' pile of stones and a simple adjustment of its height regulates the position of the lower millstone
and thus the coarseness or fineness of the flour desired. The mill, 402
the loom and the comparatively new-fangled lathe are the only

402 'machines' known in Hunza, and the mechanism of all three is so simple that parts can be replaced, repairs or adjustments effected, by any intelligent child—and we met no *un*intelligent Hunza child.

286 Anyone desirous of doing so can acquire a weaver's skill, and in our village of some 200 families there were seven or eight expert weavers. The loom-pit is a hole in the ground, 2 feet wide and deep and 2 feet 4 inches from back to front, with a stone bench at the back. Two horizontal poles balanced on stones a couple of feet above the ground at either side carry the heddles, etc. Here the weaver sets up his home-made loom of ingeniously simple construction worked by four treadles in the bottom of his pit. While he works, the owners of the wool sit by and wind his bobbins. A skilful weaver can make the nine yards of narrow homespun required for a man's cloak in a day and a half. The loom-pit occupies fully half the width of the 'street' and when being used forms the centre of a shifting group of cheerfully gossiping passers-by.

Goat's hair is woven on an even simpler upright frame, a forked piece of tree supplying the single shed required.

322 Turning is a rarer accomplishment than weaving, and our village boasted only one lathe-master. Like the loom the lathe is set up in a pit. The person desiring a bowl supplies the necessary rough-hewn block of wood (apricot or vine root preferred) and the motive power required to turn the horizontal bar, on to one end of which the wood is spiked. The turner crouches alongside with a selection of small curved chisels which he rests on an adjustable tripod to steady his hand (PLATE IV).

415 There is no room to tell of all the simple yet ingenious household utensils which the Hunzukuts conjure from the scanty resources
411 at their disposal: the spliced wooden bow faced with plates of ibex
322 horn and beautifully curved; the boys' catapult bow with double string of horse sinew, for scaring birds; the double-chambered wool-container made of rowan bark; the small vessel like an ash-tray which steadies the woman's rotating spindle and is moulded from the refuse of the apricot kernels left after the oil has been expressed. Not a
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132 to use—even the shell of the apricot kernel—is gratefully seized on as fuel for the pitifully small fire that cooks the bread and vegetables. Fires for mere heating are an undreamt of luxury. Hence the draught-proof house is essential, for at 7–8,000 feet, with snow mountains all round and a temperature of 19° Fahrenheit, the 'Great Cold' is

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons
of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from
suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece,
no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows
supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the
man or woman who could not construct the one required
would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins
and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-
prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful
five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of
gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame
and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the
lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots.
When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at
any moment will shear another sheep while the women and
children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563

402 *ṭhaṭakos*, pl. *-kušo* x a piece of wood suspended so that with one end resting on the revolving upper millstone it leans against the tray into which the grain falls from the hopper. The vibration produced by the millstone is communicated by it to the tray and causes the grain to flow slowly through into the hole in the revolving millstone.

000 *tʌtʼʌγər* v. *dʌtʼʌγər*.

tʌtʼʌpʌl, *tʌtʼʌpər* Hz. & N., *-ršo* x bat (animal). — *tʌtʼʌpʌl ju.ʼʌn hilʼɛsʌn bai.i* he is a thin, weak (*lit.* bat-like) youth. QUB. (Cp. Sh. *tʌltaˑpʌn*, bat).

ṭhaṭaqʌs, pl. *ṭhʌṭaqʌšo*, x a kind of bird, redstart(?).

524 *tʼʌtʌq mʌnaˑs* to play a game resembling draughts with small stones on a diagram scratched on the ground. It is much played by children, but, though gambling is not much practised in Hunza, it can no doubt be played for money and the meaning I was originally given was "to gamble". — *tʼʌtʌq mai.ibaˑn* they are gambling. *tʼʌtʌq mʌnaˑs sis* a gambler.

000 *ṭʌṭʼʌr*, N. *tætʼʌr -ršo*, x tailless rat, which is found up in the summer grazing-grounds.

ṭʼʌṭʌs, pl. *ṭʼʌṭʌšo*, x an article in an unfinished state, e.g. a roughly forged metal article, a garment cut out and basted, a roughly fashioned wooden article, e.g. a block of wood roughly shaped with an adze to be made into a bowl on the lathe. — *ikərengɛ ivɛs čʌma tʌtʌs dimʌnimi* the rough form of the brooch came into existence of itself. 166.2,5. Cp. 166.9,19,22.

One can also say: — *mʌls ṭʼʌṭʌs*,

348 a

ʌtiʼja y consequence, result. Ar. Prs. 000

nʌwʌq -ičiŋ y ploughshare (triangular iron sheath slipped over the end of the body of the plough). 407

1. *nʌzər, nʌzir.*

a. Sacrifice, offering, Ar. Prs. 000 *ʼʼrbaʼn, fidaʼyʌt.* The word appears to be Ar. *nazr.* It is used with a dependent genitive, and the sense is probably: "may I be a sacrifice for . . .", which may be expressed otherwise as "I do homage to . . ." *aimo nʌzər* (may I be) my daughter's sacrifice (an expression of endearment to a daughter). 160.24.

Similarly for a son; *e.i.i nʌzər. baʼpotsəruʼ.ε hərε nʌzir* respected oxen of our grandfather and grand-uncles! We do homage to the oxen of. etc. 246.15. *nʌzər baʼdša* (may I be your) sacrifice, King! 4.6.

In practice it comes to be used independently as a form of address for a superior, equivalent to "Sir" etc. Ar Prs. *ḥaẓʌrʌt, janaʼb, ḥuẓuʼr, lʌbbaik.*

b. Sir etc. — *hai, ma henʌsə nʌzər* alas! you wise sirs, (alas, may I be a sacrifice for you wise men). 158.17. *ʌwa nʌzir* yes sir! (the regular response of a servant to his master). Ar. Prs.

2. *nʌzər* y look, glance, sight, aim, H. *nʌẓʌr.* — *γunikrš nʌzərεfε boreʼnimi* he looked at him with an evil eye. 50.4. *jε aiyʌš kε da uʼŋε nʌzərulo gunagaʼr ʌmʌna ba* in the sight of heaven and of thee I have become sinful. 373.7. *hai.ʌnər nʌzər dusuʼai.i* he has taken aim at the mark. *iʼn nʌzərər giʼmi* he started aiming. 102.20. Ar. Prs.

241 minerals and by allowing these glacial streams to be spread over the soil, the nutrients are left in the soil as the water soaks into it.

The principle of returning to the land that which belongs to the land has been and is, at the present time, scrupulously followed. The only farm implement which [407] [492] I could find on the Hunzan farms was the primitive plow and invariably it was pulled by a bullock. The plowing is never deep and is practiced chiefly to sort of clean the field, cover the organic matter that has been spread upon it or left upon it and prepare the field for the next crop.

[464] All the work that has to be done is done by hand—with or without the assistance of domesticated farm animals. There is no substitute for manual labor and the men, women and even young children share in the farm work.

[137] From what I could observe, weeds were not a problem and the reasons are clear. There are few indigenous, native plants in the area. Practically all of the growing plants that I could spy were in cultivated areas. The maxim in Hunza evidently is if a place can grow weeds, then it should be cultivated and usually that principle is followed. This all adds up to the fact that there are few weed seeds distributed in the area and therefore they are not in the soil to spring up, whenever the farmer's back is turned.

[134] I want to stress once more that the mineral requirements of the fields of the Hunza farmer are met and replenished by the fine silt, ground by the glaciers from the rocky surfaces and carried down to the Hunza farmers by the conduits and spread on their land.

Our modern civilization attaches great importance to and stresses the value of flavor and appearance in

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000 it to be ground. But "Starvation Springtime" was still ruling
262 the land, and we noticed the children looking very thin and
262 peaky, and a few with sores on their faces—hunger sores. We
164 had often remarked on the complete absence of skin diseases amongst these cleanly folk, and the hunger sores rapidly disappeared with the coming of more food.

241 The opening of June saw weeding being very intensively carried out, not only for the sake of the growing crops, but for the weeds' own sake; those which were dubbed "crows' vegetables" were thrown to the sheep and goats, while sorrel and the like found their way into the family cooking-pot. Irrigation questions were now serious, for the crops must not be starved of water at the critical moment, and we used to meet bands of Aliábádkuts armed with shovels walking out the eight or more miles to the highest point of the Dála to guard and govern the controlling sluices. The potatoes were now beginning to flower and the mulberries to show signs of ripening, and the air was rent by shrill boy and girl noises designed to scare the birds off the mulberry trees. Every boy was armed with his catapult
[262] bow, made and strung of course by his own hands. I asked
[411] Yaman how many birds he had killed with his little stones: "Seventy-two, so far this season, Mother, but I'll get lots more." "What do you do with them?" "Oh, I take them home and put them in the pot, but there's not much meat on
136 them." Our first impression of Hunza had been that, except for magpies, it was an entirely birdless land; this was a mistake. Migratory birds came in flocks at various seasons when any sort of likely food was going. Their various species I was not ornithologist enough to know; to me, as to A. J. Balfour, each was just "an average small bird," and the Hunza terminology was no great help to identification, for they were known as "mulberry birds," "barley birds," or the like, according to
233 which crop they threatened. We now also for the first time saw shorn goats. Whereas the Hunza sheep are robbed of their wool just whenever wool is needed, so that you never see a really generous-looking ample fleece, the goats are shorn only once a year, in early summer. If you think of it, goat's hair would be too wiry to spin at all unless it were a decent length.

1 [At the end of May --Analyst]

zvl nɛ daiyʌm I have come after searching every place. QUB. 000

zvləm, zvlʊm, y oppression, tyranny, injustice compulsion. — *zvlʊm ɛtʌs* to practise oppression, etc. *zvlʊm ɛtʌsʌn bai.i* he is a tyrant, oppressor. *zvləm nɛ dʊmʊtsu.in* bring her by force. 24.13. *gʊniki.eŋ* (y pl.) *zvləm ɛtimi* he perpetrated evil injustices. 92.29. Ar. Prs.

zvləmgʌr, zvləmkrṣ, oppressive, tyrannical, cruel. (Ar.) Prs.

zʊpʊr -rṣo x woodcock.

zʊrzʊr, zʊzʊr slight feeling of chill from fever, H. *bʊxʌrse bʌdʌnmi thʊri sərdi ma'lʊm hʊna*. IUB. shivering, shuddering. QUB. — *th'ʌtinɛ zʊzʊr imai.i bai.i* he is shivering with cold. QUB.

(Diminutive of *zʌzər, zərzər*).

Ž, Ž.

(See also *j* and *j*).

žʌlimiŋ thin membrane on the outside of meat.

žʌo shouting, outcry. — *žʌo qyʊr ɛčʊmɛ* making an outcry and shouting out. 284.23.

žʌṣ v. *jʌṣ*.

žʌčil, jʌčir sg. & pl., d.pl. *-ints, -rṣo* x thistle.

(Cp. Sh. *čʌčir*, Kho. *čʌnčir*).

žʌḍ'au mʌnʌs IYB to remain thin and watery (of a thing when cooked).

žʌk v. 2. *jʌk*.

žʌkʊn v. *jʌkʊn*.

žʌlimiŋ beard (of goat).

(Not known to QUB. Cp. however Sh. *jʌli*, (markhor's) beard.

žʌmɛ, jʌmɛ, pl. *žʌmɛŋ, -ʌŋ, -iŋ*, y bow (archery). 411

Bows are now obsolete for game

391b

● 411 shooting, but a few are kept in Hunza and Nagir for ceremonial occasions, when they are used for shooting with at marks from horseback. V. text No. 35. They are composite being made of a foundation of juniper wood covered with strips of ibex-horn and sinews.

000 *ǯameʂṭe bržaiyas*, or, *čap ztas* to shoot with a bow. *ǯamer hunts wəši.as* to put an arrow to the bow. *ǯame taskarə* to draw a bow. V. s v. *taskarə*. 2. *ǯame čhukuə* bowstring. *.u.iski.e ǯamaŋ bišaman* the three of them shot with their bows. 380.22. *ǯameʂṭe . . . ese g'iri delimi* he hit the ibex with the arrow. 148.5. *ǯamer hunts nyu.skin ise khate yutisər bišami* putting an arrow to the bow he shot at the leg of the bed. 260.11. Cp. 148.16, 260.14. *Kisərə ǯame . . . taskurman* they drew Kiser's bow. 170.5. Cp. 152.13, 168.20, 170.11,15, 172.5.

It occurs with the suffix *-ak*, *-k*; the meaning being perhaps "a shot with a bow".

jamek ǯeli shoot (him) with the bow. 146.10. *jamekaṭe . . ise talər bišami* he shot with his bow at the pigeon. 148.7. Cp. 152.11 ff., 156.5, 170.20, 172.7.

ǯan *-*atas* to bite (of a horse), to snap at. — *hayərə ǯan artimi, gorči* the horse bit me, it will bite thee. *ǯan ortas hayərən bi* it is a biting horse.

(Cp. Sh. *ǯan*, *jan*, *aṭorki* (of an horse, dog) to bite).

ǯaŋ -ičaŋ y official post, post of headman of village, H. 'ohda, *lambərdari* — *ǯaŋ fermi* he obtained, held, th·

"We were up betimes on December 23rd, and proceeded to rummage all the nooks and corners of the deserted palace. We had heard that the treasures of many a pillaged caravan . . . were stored here, so the search was an exciting one. The tribesmen had been informed that, provided they gave up their arms, their property would be respected by us. . . But the possessions of the fugitive Thum were declared to be forfeited, so we set to work to collect together all the valuables that were to be found in the place, individual looting being of course forbidden. . . . We were informed that the Thum had made all his preparations for flight long before his defeat at Nilt, and . . . had carried off the bulk of his wealth with him across the Hindoo Koosh. . . . Still, they had not taken all, and we raked together a curious and miscellaneous collection of odds and ends scattered about and secreted away in the various chambers and cellars." 727 344 644

On two sides this mighty fortress (and it is a mighty fortress for that part of the world) is protected by abysses. 344 644

As the views of the mountains and the surrounding country from the balconies were unrivaled, I took many colored photographs and with each click of the shutter I hoped for the best. [126]

I noticed a marvelous old firing piece, gun or matchlock. I don't know how to describe these things as I am not very familiar with firearms. However, I found out that this was a genuine treasure and was almost as old as the fort itself. 411

It was a most unusual firing piece. By actual measurement it was 6 feet long, elegantly and extravagantly decorated with silver and gold, and bore the inscription "946 A.H."

What had evidently been an old calendar portray- 353

[P.45]

585
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411
714

[662]

Ceremonies of wedding ceremony is enjoyed exclusively by male participants and spectators. Segregation of the sexes prohibits women, including bride, from viewing ceremony. On many public occasions, women hold a separate gathering.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
Suracho AV7

little stones of any shape—the longest and oval ones being preferred—are used. There is one kind of stone especially which is much used for that purpose; it is called "Balósh Batt," which is found in Hanza, Nagyr, Skardo, and near the "Demídeldèn" hill already noticed, at a village called Pareshinghi near Astor. It is a very soft stone and large cooking utensils are cut out from it, whence the name, "Balósh" Kettle, "Batt" stone, "Balósh Batt." The stone is cut out with a chisel and hammer; the former is called "Gútt" in Astori and "Gukk" in Gilgiti;" the hammer "toá" and "Totshúng" and in Gilgiti "sam-denn." The gunpowder is manufactured by the people themselves.*

The people also play at backgammon, [called in Astóri "Patshis," and "TAKK" in Gilgiti,] with dice [called in Astóri and also in Gilgiti "dall."]

Fighting with iron wristbands is confined to Chilasi women who bring them over their fists which they are said to use with effect.

The people are also fond of wrestling, of butting each other whilst hopping, etc.*

To play the Jew's harp is considered meritorious as King David played it. All other music good Mussulmans are bid to avoid.

The "Sitara" [the Eastern Guitar] used to be much played in Yassen, the people of which country as well as the people of Hunza and Nagyr excel in dancing, singing and playing. After them come the Gilgitis, then the Astoris, Chilasis, Baltis, etc. The people of Nagyr are a comparatively mild race. They carry on goldwashing which is constantly interrupted by kidnapping parties from the opposite Hunza.

* "Powder" is called "Jebati" in Astóri and in Gilgiti "Bilen," and is, in both dialects, also the word used for medicinal powder. It is made of Sulphur, Saltpetre and coal. Sulphur = dantzil. Saltpetre = Shór in Astori, and Shorá in Gilgiti. Coal = Kári. The general proportion of the composition is, as my informant put it, after dividing the whole into six and a half parts to give 5 of Saltpetre, 1 of coal, and ½ of Sulphur. Some put less coal in, but it is generally believed that more than the above proportion of Sulphur would make the powder too explosive.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 526 Rustem Ali who, like a famous player of the same name at Mardo, was passionately fond of the game, and had been thrown from his horse. The place of meeting near Astor is called the Eedgah. The game is called TOPE in Astor, and the grounds for playing it are called SHAJARAN. At D [172] Gilgit the game is called BULLA, and the place SHAWARAN. The latter names are evidently of Tibetan origin.

B [526] The people are also very fond of target practice, shooting with bows, which they use dexterously but in which they D 224 do not excel the people of Nagyr and Hunza. Game is much stalked during the winter. At Astor any game shot on the three principal hills—*Tshhamô*, a high hill opposite the fort, *Demídeldên* and *Tshólokot*—belong to the Nawab of Astor—the sportsman receiving only the head, legs and a haunch—or to his representative, then the Tahsildar Munshi Rozi Khan. At Gilgit everybody claims what he may have shot, but it is customary for the Nawab to receive some share of it. Men are especially appointed to watch and track game, and when they discover their whereabouts notice is sent to the villages from which parties issue, accompanied by musicians, and surround the game. Early in the morning, when the "Lóhe" dawns, the musicians begin to play and a great noise is made which frightens the game into the several directions where the sportsmen are placed.

D 411 The guns are matchlocks and are called in Gilgiti "*turmàk*" and in Astór "tumák." At Gilgit they manufacture the guns themselves or receive them from Badakh- B 411 shan. The balls have only a slight coating of lead, the inside generally being a little stone. The people of Hunza and Nagyr invariably place their guns on little wooden pegs which are permanently fixed to the gun and are called "Dugazá." The guns are much lighter than those manufactured elsewhere, much shorter and carry much smaller bullets than the matchlock of the Maharajah's troops. They carry very much farther than any native Indian gun and are fired with almost unerring accuracy. For "small shot"

Boraska A47

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[facing p. 113]

Dr Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU3 Afghanistan AU3~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burushi AV7

241 covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

171 Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immo-
411 rality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

564 The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yeshkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known
142 as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Iskardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less
197 vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaski, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

576 Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi, the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the names of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gánish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother,
231 and their sons are called "*gushpoor*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

712 Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more
361 forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population takes refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

000 In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV3 Afghanistan AV3~~
AV3 Dard AV3
Galli AV2
Burusho AV7

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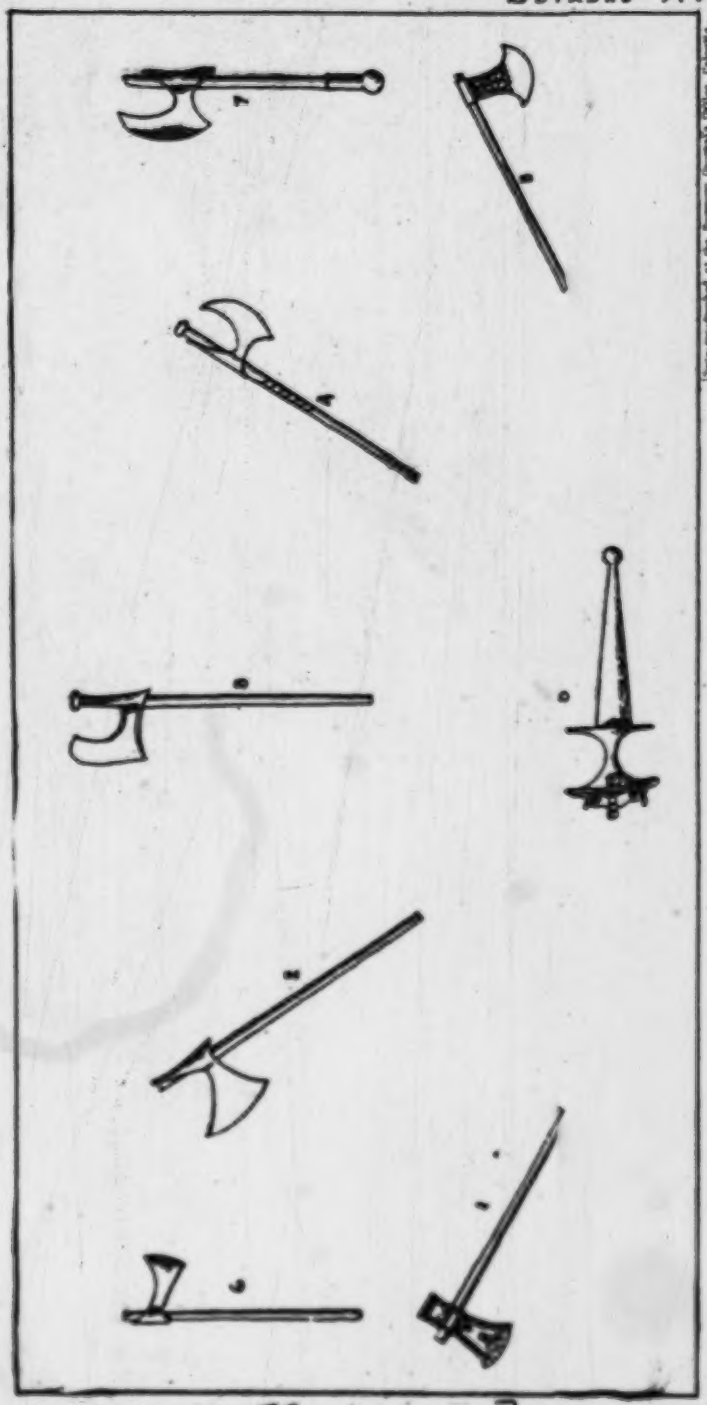

[Specimens displayed at the Museum (formerly Indian), Calcutta.]

1. BATTLE AXE OF BADAKSHAN, INLAID WITH SILVER.
2. HUNZA, NAGAR, AND GILGIT BATTLE AXE.
3. BALTISTAN BATTLE AXE.
4. CHITRAL BATTLE AXE
5. BATTLE AXE OF THE INDUS VALLEY BELOW BAZIN.
6. BATTLE AXE OF THE KALASH KAFFIRS.
7. BALTISTAN BATTLE AXE (KHURMANG).
8. DAGGER OF THE BASH-POSH KAFFIRS.

[facing p. 91]

ANTIQUITY

[643] ruled his country in the humanest and wisest of benevolent autocracies,
since the treaty of 1892 placed him on the throne of his murdered father
181 and parricide brother—to our humbler neighbours in Aliabad, the
609 village four miles below the capital which we made our headquarters
for fifteen months. As soon as the people grasped the purpose of our
[212] coming (which was not easy to explain to an illiterate people) they were
overjoyed that a 'Sahib' should trouble to learn their vernacular—
a thing which no white man or woman had done before—and take an
interest in their customs and hereditary lore. At first they would
hesitate: 'but you have wheels (=machines) in England, and can do
all these things better than we can'. Within a few days they were
vying with each other in explaining, demonstrating and bringing
ploughs, looms, winnowing forks, bows, stone cooking pots to the
resthouse where we were installed, that D.L. might measure them and
take 'studio portraits' of them, 'for you mustn't put anything in the
book about us that isn't exactly true'.

132 The entire life of the Hunzukuts is centred in water. The rain-
fall in the oasis level (7–9,000 feet), is negligible—we reckoned less
312 than 2 inches per annum; in default of any means of raising the
361 water, the river, flowing between its crumbly earthen cliffs, 500 or 1,000
feet below their fields is useless for irrigation; there are no springs or
wells; hence all water for all purposes must be trapped high up at the
snout of some side glacier and conveyed on galleried aqueducts across
yawning gorges and the faces of sheer cliffs. The main water channel,
the Dala, which supplies all the more recent villages of Hunza, 'the
new settlements' as they are called in contradistinction to the three
original villages—Baltit the capital, Altit and Ganesh—travels some
8 or 10 miles in its circuitous route from the Herber glacier in the
gorge behind Baltit, cradled between snow-peaks of 23,000 feet, before
it peters out in a semicircular sweep round Aliabad.

312 The Dala was dug some three or four generations ago (90–100
years) with wooden shovels and wooden picks tipped with ibex horn,
● 412 and represents an amazing feat of engineering skill for people without
any instruments of precision. The sluices that control the distribu-
816 tion of water—every teaspoonful of which is rigorously allotted—are
of the simplest; most often a slab of flattish stone plastered in with
mud, sometimes a wooden shutter sliding in a rude wooden frame,
sometimes when the water is being taken off to a lower level a circular
hole in a stone slab, closed at need with a mushroom-shaped stopper,
rough hewn from a solid tree trunk.

ANTIQUITY

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet
513 long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
354 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that
324 of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a
322 lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Béricho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
342 for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1936 AV7 Burnsho AV7

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PLATE IV

A PRIMITIVE LATHE: THE MAN FOR WHOM THE BOWL IS BEING MADE SITS IN A PIT AND SUPPLIES THE POWER WITH TWO TREADLES (see p. 14)

f. 8 (II)

243 dish," and right enough the driver quickly anticipated her cows'
237 needs, and when her dish was full went off and emptied it on a little heap of manure. You thus keep your grain uncontaminated and salvage your manure—most priceless of products. If the driver lapses into a daydream a warning yell from the onlookers would call her attention back in time. I don't know whether the dung-dish is in use elsewhere, but it is at any rate one more symbol of Hunza fastidiousness. You *plough* with oxen, but you thresh with *cows*, whose slighter needs can
● [412] also be forestalled. When all the wheat is thoroughly trampled the men take great wooden five-pronged forks, most gracefully shaped things (made, of course, at home), and towards evening when there comes a little breeze they toss the broken
243 wheat up into the air to winnow it. The broken straw is blown to one side while the heavier grain falls into a heap. Then they take wooden, home-made spades and toss the grain again to get rid of any remaining straw. These processes take many hours' hard work, and will not be completed in one day; but they have no rain to fear and can leave their stacks of straw and
[674] heaps of grain from one day till the next. They leave their threshing-floors unguarded when they go home at night; pilfering a neighbour's food is simply "not done."

When the winnowing is over the women take a big sieve, made of thin strips of leather criss-crossed over a round frame. This is coarse enough to let the grain through but to catch any scraps of straw. When this first sieving is over, they take a finer sieve (with, of course, a totally different name) which keeps the grain and lets the dust fall through. But even then they don't consider the job quite finished. The women turn the pile over with their hands, carefully picking out any sliver of straw that may have previously escaped. When at last it is ready, the grain is filled into large skin sacks, which will take up to 160 lb. or so, and the men carry these off to the storeroom while the broken straw is loaded into huge open-ribbed baskets that can also be carried only by a man. The straw is taken up on to the flat roof and poured down through a central hole into the straw shed.

000 There is no hard and fast rule about what is woman's work

Chapter 18

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

SUMMER is a breathless time in the Hunza fields. No sooner 243
does the ripening grain show a fine "fox-brown" than a line 516
of five or six men and women attack it in unison. They do 592
not "reap" in our sense of the word. They squat in that inimitably convenient way that the East has preserved for working—no backs bent with stooping, no knees worn out with kneeling—and grasp a full handful of the ripe stalks and pull up roots and all; first right, then left; clap the two together to shake off the all-too-valuable earth; lay the bundle behind them; shuffle on a pace and repeat. The fields are small and in an incredibly short space of time a golden field is prostrate and the ground carpeted with neatly aligned rows of swathes. It is beautiful to see a party at work: father and mother, daughters, sons, and wives; they space themselves and keep their line as exactly as soldiers on parade, yet each works individually, each at his own pace and in his own way—without haste and without pause. They possess rude iron sickles, but 412 ●
when these are used at all they are not used to *cut*, but merely to pull against, if the crop is more than usually deep-rooted.

When the *shandiming* (cut crops) have lain a little and been 243
turned over once or twice they are tied into sheaves and 482
gathered into piles, some as big as a man can carry, others smaller to suit a boy—according to the "man-power" available. A double goat's hair rope is slipped round the waist of the pile and ingeniously knotted so as to leave two shoulder loops. The man or boy flings himself down backwards on to it, slips his arms through the loops and hitches the rope fast. Then some kindly bystander gives a touch to the load from behind,

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons
of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from
suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece,
no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows
supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the
man or woman who could not construct the one required
would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins
and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-
prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful
five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of
gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame
and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the
lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots.
When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at
any moment will shear another sheep while the women and
children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563

326 son, and is accounted a rare treasure; but for the most part
177 local Béricho make such simple iron goods as are wanted: the
412 slightly convex baking-griddle, the tripod, the simple shears,
563 the sickle blade, the iron tip which shoes the wooden plough-share, the unpretentious iron razor, the rough tongs, the horse-shoe, the spatula for turning bread. The Béricho form the only "caste" in Hunza in anything like the Indian sense.

173 The story goes that long ago—two hundred years or so,
563 perhaps—some prince of Hunza rendered a service to the ruler of Baltistan, and was duly asked to name his recompense. He coveted neither gold nor horses, but begged for a few families of artisans. These were presented to him and allotted land in Hunza where they settled and multiplied, supplying the Burusho with blacksmiths for such rare iron as they could obtain, and with musicians to enliven their feasts and games of polo. These strangers in the midst are treated with courtesy and kindness, but remain "foreigners" and social inferiors. The Burusho will not intermarry with them. A threat to a troublesome daughter is said to be: "If you don't behave, I'll marry you to a Bérits"; but we never heard the threat employed,
[651] still less a case of its being carried out. Each Burusho household pays a small yearly tax to the Béricho community, and in return the blacksmiths tour the villages once or twice a year and make or mend whatever is required. You will see a little crowd gathered in the corner of someone's garden and in the centre the blacksmith crouching beside his simple forge—a few stones ingeniously built up to contain his charcoal fire, with a neat, hollow tube of soapstone below it, into which the bellows play; a stone anvil sunk in the ground; these accessories are provided on the spot and the blacksmith's outfit consists of his hammer and his skill. The bellows is a double one; two goat-skin bags are fitted with a nozzle at one end; at the other, two wooden lips that open as you raise your hand and meet tightly in your fist as you press down. They are worked with the right and left hand alternately, and the peasant whose job is in hand is expected to do the blowing.

563 The Béricho preserve their own customs, and though the
197 menfolk all talk Burushaski, Dumákí is the language of their

bim, iˈsɛr giˈmo. Giyasər Šon Guˈkər diˈn iˈsɛ buˈnulo dam nɛ gili mudˈɛlimi.

Hin Dal Kan yakalatər gaˈrtsumo. Elə han buˈnan bim. Iˈsɛr giˈmo. Elər niˈnin dam nɛ giˈli mudɛlimi. Tail oˈčumɛ uˈ talo muyuˈgušants buˈndo buˈnd o.ulo giˈli udɛlimi.

Da uˈmi tiˈts m otuman. Dumutsun Hindi kanɛ čaˈr ɛšulo, ɛšulum laˈtɛtər dum u.isuman. Tɛlɛ giˈli modɛlimi. Modˈɛlasər ɛsumo: "Jɛ bɛsan šičam?" Šon Gukuˈrɛ moˈsimi: "Turma aˈlta tsiˈr guyam (*or*, guˈčam). Iˈtsɛ multan miˈnɛ. Da hər dɛn goˈr du sɛn. Turma aˈlta tsiˈr ayoˈmanuman kɛ talo kuˈli guˈčan, ama uˈŋatɛ gutɛ bap oˈsam, bɛšal mi hoˈlguˈš amulər niman kɛ miyər manɛ. Ho turma aˈltatsatsum talo xa tsiˈr guˈčan."

Numoˈsun iˈsɛ doˈmulo čumərɛ giˈli dam nɛ giˈli modˈɛlimi. Da iˈnɛ gili modɛlumtsum hər dɛn turma aˈlta ya talo tsiˈr nutsun tobak gaˈtaŋ nuka ha ha ˈɛčumɛ nuˈn iˈsɛ giˈli iwˈərɛ tsiˈr duˈšumɛ

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1 *iˈsɛr giˈmo . . . gili mudɛlimi* — Such beings as bilases have the power of hastily entering into boulders and in the normal course could no doubt come out again, but if an iron peg is driven into the boulder and a suitable spell employed they can be kept shut up for at any rate a long period.

Dadi's eventual escape is said to have been predicted by Shon Gukur: *amɛlɛ* γ*asumər Dadi duˈši*, 'when my jaw-bone has rotted Dadi will come out'. But the jaw-bone is a very durable article. Cp. also the tale of *Qaŋ Jakun*, p. 202 l. 1.

In this and other stories iron evidently retains its magical qualities, which is not surprising as it was comparatively rare and precious in Hunza till quite recently. A couple of generations ago the important Baltit 'Ali.ābād irrigation channel was dug with ibex horns used as picks.

2 *giˈli mudɛlimi* — I don't think this is to be taken as meaning that the peg was visibly driven into her. She was imprisoned by simply driving the peg into the stone.

5 *buˈndo buˈndo.ulo* — the plural is surprising, but the meaning is obvious.

7 *dumu.isuman* — from *d*-isas* || *d*-usas* 'to take out extract'. Here glossed "made her climb" which suggests a point of contact with the intransitive *duˈsas* cp. § 303.

modɛlimi — from here on the prefix *mo-* replaces the previous *mu-*. As the text was recorded at one sitting there was probably an actual difference in pronunciation by the narrator, not merely a variation in my hearing. So we have **-adɛlas* being substituted for **-dɛlas*. Cp. §§ 242—243.

8 *guyam* — "I have given you" the anticipatory Pret.

! [Errata: for duˈši read duˈšo. Cf p. 419, cat. 116 -- Analyst.]

pasture grounds for flocks and their herdsmen. — *huyɨʷ nuyɨn hərayər divmi* taking his flocks with him he returned to the camping ground. 182.12. Cp. *Hərarʷšuŋ* = *Hərayə* + *šuŋ*, v. Index of Proper Names. ooo

(Cp. Sh. *hərari*, which will be found in the maps marking the site of camps in the summer pasture-grounds).

2. *hərayə*, *hərʌyə*, pl. *hʲərʌkindəro*, a free and independent tribe owing allegiance to no one. (There are none such nowadays). — *duwʌlʌšo jaʷnawərik umʌnimiɨ.ɛ, ɛtsɛ uʷik Gʌrɛltum Hərʌyə* (or, *Hərayə*) *bila* they turned into flying animals, their name is the Gʌrɛlt Tribe. 206.12,14. *Hunzulo Sʌfər Hərayə sɛnʌšo hikum roʷm kɛ qʌdiʷm zʌmaʷnulo abaʷd bʌm* a tribal community called Sʌfər Hərayə were established in Hunza in ancient times. *mʌšhuʷr qaum uʷikiçiŋ: Dirʌm Hərayə, Sʌfər Hərayə, Bərʌʷtʌlɛ Hərayə* . . . famous tribe names: the D. H., etc.

(From their meanings it is doubtful whether 1. *hərayə* and 2. *hərayə* are the same word. Cp. however *giraʷm*, village and tribe, community).

hərʌmzaʷda -mots bastard, of illegitimate birth; ill-begotten. A general term of abuse. 80.10, 112.25, 128.10, 174,23. (Ar.) Prs.

hərʌnç, pl. *hərʌŋ*, y pitchfork (five-pronged wooden fork for separating straw and grain). (Cp. Sh. *hʌroç*). [412] ●

hərʌŋ, *hərʌŋ*.

1. Among, between, in the midst of, in the course of, in the middle. Cp. § 82. — *sis uɨɛ hərʌŋ sɛ.ibaʷn* people are saying among themselves. *u uʷi hərʌŋ uʷkər ɛʷgʌnumʌn* they among themselves killed

and up and down the dangerous rivers. Yes, even the yak bones and horns are never wasted. Picks are fashioned from them. They even find their way into the walls of the homes of the people of Hunza, for they are lighter than stones. 231 237 [342]

Still I haven't yet mentioned what is generally accepted as the yak's most important contribution to the lives of the people in the highest mountain ranges in the world . . . and that is from the little green herbage they get, they give a good quantity of rich milk, from which is made the famous yak butter. Then last and perhaps even most important, it is butchered for its good quality, health-sustaining meat. 231 262

Even the yak tails are useful . . . as brooms or dusters . . . and many are shipped to the Western world and used as Santa Claus beards. And they do make the best Santa Claus beards of all. I know—I have a couple! 231 237 412 439

Now after you have had a chance to read these qualifications, perhaps you, too, will share my admiration and appreciation of the world's most useful animal. 000

I was up bright and early the morning I was to go to meet the yaks. Yes, it was just 6 o'clock when I was walking down the enclosed staircase towards the Mir's palace—leaving Cecil asleep, as he still had to remain in bed as the doctor had advised.

I met Jahangir coming from the other guest house and he joined me. We had agreed the previous night to be up at 6 but I never expected that it would work out right on the beam, as it happened in this instance.

So down we went along the stone staircases from one garden level to another until we reached the Mir's palace and then we began to climb up the long wooden staircase again.

As usual, the Mir was there to welcome us, along

Water rights are regulated by law and a man can use the water from the conduit that passes his land at certain definitely established periods. The flow or shut-off is controlled by placing a large stone or rock at the opening of the channel into the individual's waterway. It may sound a bit baffling to the average individual, but upon viewing it and examining it, it is easy to understand and, what's more important, it is simple and practical. 312 [423]

Nowhere did I see these waterways covered or encased in pipes—although they did in many places run under the roadway.

As their water supply is glacier-fed, there is never any danger of a supply failing . . . at least, not in the imminent future. However, in cloudy periods the flow slackens and an extended cloudy period causes a severe water shortage.

Lest you get the idea that these conduits or waterways are a simple matter, I want to assure you that they are a marvel of engineering. Further, when you consider that the first one was built about 1860 without any man made tools or iron or steel, you can then believe what a difficult and gigantic undertaking it was. It is a monument to their industry, intelligence and foresight. At least now, they have iron picks with which to dig, rather than having to use ibex horns. [412]

Here I want to mention very definitely that the same type of waterway exists on the other side of the river . . . that is, in Nagir territory.

They do not, in any sense of the word, have orchards as we know orchards in the West, because they don't have a piece of land large enough or flat enough to compare with what we know as an orchard. In the West orchard sites are usually selected with the premeditated view of providing excellent drainage. There- 245 311

I had never seen oil made or rendered from any fruit, 252
food or grain and I asked if I could be allowed to witness this process from the beginning. Arrangements were made and I went to visit a plain ordinary Hunzan house where the mistress was prepared and willing to demonstrate the making of apricot oil.

The lady and some of her children sat on the floor with a neat stack of apricot stones beside them. Then she and one of her youngsters took each individual stone and split it open with a rock. The meats were taken out and piled into a stone mortar. Then, when they had [412]
filled the mortar, the lady got her pestle and began to pound the kernels until they were made into a meal. Next, she rubbed it with her hands until it was worked into a paste. This she placed into an iron skillet, which was placed over a three-sided stone stove. Then she broke up some small chips of wood that she had ready, ignited them and moved the pan about over the heat until it began to warm up. She kept rubbing and kneading the meal with her hands in the skillet until it got quite warm—but not hot, for she used her hands for turning it in the pan.

Then, she lifted up the mass and put it into a round, [415]
solid, earthenware or stone receptacle about 12 inches in diameter, with the sides about two or two and a half inches high. She kneaded this with her fingers and knuckles firmly, much more firmly than one would in kneading dough for bread.

Then, a tablespoonful of water was poured over the meal and the massaging process was continued. It was explained to me that sometimes tea is used instead of water. If the pits are bitter pits from the wild fruit, plain water is used, but for sweet pits from the propagated apricots salt water is used.

The bitter pits are gathered from the trees that grow [222] [373]

262 A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of work-
556 able land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep,
231 a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

273 Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from
245 Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

415 Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are
[412] not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

352 The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large
354 square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept
4 partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

439 At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza
437 and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

022 During the past few years a bit of money has come

are, remember, no transportation facilities whatsoever, There 164
except the Mir's jeep which the citizens of Hunza don't [493]
get a chance to use. There is no other wheeled vehicle in the entire country. Practically every step is a climb or a descent. So no one could really accuse me of exaggeration if I were bold enough to say that they're probably the most active and energetic people in creation. It could hardly be otherwise.

To illustrate another proof of their hardiness, all 147
along the trail we met people from Hunza walking barefoot—from young children to boys and young men and old men. While some wore shoes, most of them were [291]
barefoot. They walked over sand, over gravel, over stones, over plain dirt roads without any misgivings.

I watched them with awe as they ran, walked and skipped over these exceedingly rough spots and I was convinced they must have exceptionally strong, sound. healthy feet and legs.

On a few occasions I watched the Hunzans digging [412]
with a shovel. 'Tis done the ordinary natural way there —barefooted. That certainly proves, at least to me, that their feet are in wonderful condition. Most people in America can't dig worth a darn wearing heavy boots!

It is unqualifiedly a fact, in my humble opinion, that 164
the people of Hunza owe their splendid vital good health in part to these sound principles—their way of life, their food production and the way they prepare the fields for their crops—all accomplished in a natural normal way. Civilization may have many advantages—great discoveries have been made, machinery has been invented that does the work of many, many hands. In this modern machine age, a man need only work a couple of hours a day to supply himself with all the food, clothing and shelter that he can possibly use, but

[P44-A]

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two: cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it is virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone and a flat rock to express the oil. Apri-
[359] cot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[262] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burushe AV7

312 four and a half feet wide by one foot deep, which means a considerable flow of water. On this channel the cultivation of Hunza proper entirely depends; should it fail, starvation stares the people in the face. It is not surprising, therefore, that the greatest care should be expended on its preservation. But what is wonderful is the excellence [412] of the result arrived at. It must be remembered that the people have no proper tools, no crowbars and dynamite to assist them. A tiny pick of soft iron, which looks like a child's garden tool, shovels fashioned out of wood, and a few poles as levers, [333] are all that they have to work with. The use of mortar is unknown; all their walls are of dry masonry. Yet with all these disadvantages, with nothing but their eye as a guide to levels, they have carried this great irrigation channel for six miles, and turned an arid desert into a garden. For the most part it is true it runs along the side of a gently sloping mountain, but it also crosses many deep and perpendicular-sided ravines, and encounters masses of rock which have to be circumvented. It is a splendid work, and I admired it more every time I walked along it.

159 The Thum was too unwell with fever to return my visit, and his Wazir came in his stead. Robertson went up to see the Chief, and prescribed for him, with the result that the descendant of Alexander, as he considered and called himself, got into a state of abject terror, thought his last hour was come, and refused to take the second dose which was the natural sequence of the first. Robertson reported that he was a coward, that he had literally

Chapter 13

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

BEFORE we could really settle down to the business of life 312
there were several practical problems to clear up. Water was 401
naturally the first item. The jolly little stream just in front of
our rest-house did not run by any means all the time. It brings
water from the great glacier behind Báltít; the actual aqueduct
channel is some twelve miles long, and represents an amazing
feat of engineering. It was made about three generations ago—
before which the "New Settlements" of Aliábád and her out-
liers did not exist—when iron was still practically unknown in
Hunza. The excavations and the galleries on which it is piloted
so skilfully over gorges and along impossible cliff faces were
all made with wooden shovels and picks tipped with ibex horn.
The people had—and have—no instruments of precision, no [413]
theodolites, nor levels. Against this they have some hereditary
instinct that we lack, and an inherited or traditional common
sense that enables them to adjust the necessary downward
gradients exactly right. You never hear of anyone making a
false shot in laying out a water channel, and you never hear of
any "labour" difficulties. When a new work is undertaken for 312
the public good it is supervised by the Mir, or his Wazir acting 653
for him, and it is carried out by communal labour, of which 476
everyone recognizes the justice and necessity. The Dála, which
will frequently recur in my story, is the main aqueduct that
supplies Aliábád, but it has to feed other villages *en route*, and
our stream, which was its last section, was therefore only in
action at certain times. These are, however, known to every-
one, and our people drew water enough when they could get
it to carry on for the day or half-day when it would be cut off.

342 after a day or two the stone-and-mud walls have dried to the same appearance of timeless indestructibility as those of fifty or one hundred years ago. We passed first, as always, through a small byre, not yet inhabited by its cow; then at right angles through a dark, narrow passage 5 or 6 feet long, and then through the low hall-door into the house itself. Your main object in building a house at all is to be as warm and free from draughts as possible during the "Great Cold," and no one in his senses would let his hall-door open straight on to the wind-swept mountain side. Hence the byre ante-room, which not only defeats the direct outside air, but contributes something of animal warmth to the human warmth within.

291 When we emerged into the living-room (the *atrium*, as it
281 were), beautifully bright with light from the smoke-hole, we
352 were standing in a shallow trough below the floor level where the newcomer kicks off his muddy boots in winter. Most people at all well-to-do wear soft home-made boots up to their knees in winter-time. But skins are precious and, however cold the weather, they take their boots *off* to save them when they come to an extra rough bit of ground. This entrance place has in it the "musicians' bench," under which are stored the family basin and similar utensils and on which is piled a store of firewood.

342 The floor of the room is a small square of hard-beaten earth
[352] which in this gloriously dry climate remains admirably clean; and roughly in the centre of it is a shallow hole, edged with four stone kerbs, which is the hearth. Behind the hearth is a low bench sacred to the lady of the house, the presiding genius
343 of indoors. Beside it she sits to do or superintend the cooking
251 and behind her is a low wooden door opening into the store-
[414] room; the home-made wooden key of which hangs always on her person. The store-room runs the whole width and height of the house. It has need to be a roomy place, for here stand the skin sacks of grain, the heaped baskets of potatoes, apples, dried mulberries and apricots, the kernels, the wool, the stone wine-jars, the jars of apricot oil, the basket of savoury herbs—all the family's supplies for a twelvemonth, which it is her duty to guard and to apportion.

326 tion of these unusual people stirred up an interest within
533 me, and I wanted to know more about them. I found
563 very little data could be obtained from any of the books I had been able to read on the subject.

[173] But after much discourse and questioning, I learned what I had begun to suspect . . . that the Bericho were actually gypsies who had come to India more than 2,000 years ago. From India, as good gypsies would do, they fanned out to spread themselves in small groups over the entire country . . . some ultimately settling in Baltistan, from whence a colony were sent off to Hunza.

Their place of abode is actually a village known as Berishal. It is a known fact that the people of Hunza depend entirely upon the Bericho for their iron-mongering and their tool-smithing and their music-making.

I was very happy to have unearthed this information so I can pass it along to my readers.

[871] These Berichos used to send their children out of
[167] Hunza to be educated and the Mir told me that he had to put a stop to this practice . . . not because he objected to the children of the Bericho being educated, but because the children did not return or remain with the trade of their parents. As the Mir's country needed artisans of this type, he had to put a stop to their sending their children elsewhere for education.

The Mir went on to tell me how important these Berichos were to the community. They fashioned farm
[414] implements as well as hardware like hinges, latches, razors and many other essential farm and household necessities that are fashioned from metal. Besides making the implements of peace, the blacksmith could also fashion a shotgun barrel.

[651] He further mentioned that each household in the community pays a small tithe as a contribution to-

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but
513 adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
354 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of
324 hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish
322 the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Béricho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
342 for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
335 through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
322 duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and inde-
291 pendent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now
415 considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very
415 scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little
233 but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

402 'machines' known in Hunza, and the mechanism of all three is so simple that parts can be replaced, repairs or adjustments effected, by any intelligent child—and we met no *un*intelligent Hunza child.

286 Anyone desirous of doing so can acquire a weaver's skill, and in our village of some 200 families there were seven or eight expert weavers. The loom-pit is a hole in the ground, 2 feet wide and deep and 2 feet 4 inches from back to front, with a stone bench at the back. Two horizontal poles balanced on stones a couple of feet above the ground at either side carry the heddles, etc. Here the weaver sets up his home-made loom of ingeniously simple construction worked by four treadles in the bottom of his pit. While he works, the owners of the wool sit by and wind his bobbins. A skilful weaver can make the nine yards of narrow homespun required for a man's cloak in a day and a half. The loom-pit occupies fully half the width of the 'street' and when being used forms the centre of a shifting group of cheerfully gossiping passers-by.

Goat's hair is woven on an even simpler upright frame, a forked piece of tree supplying the single shed required.

322 Turning is a rarer accomplishment than weaving, and our village boasted only one lathe-master. Like the loom the lathe is set up in a pit. The person desiring a bowl supplies the necessary rough-hewn block of wood (apricot or vine root preferred) and the motive power required to turn the horizontal bar, on to one end of which the wood is spiked. The turner crouches alongside with a selection of small curved chisels which he rests on an adjustable tripod to steady his hand (PLATE IV).

● 415 There is no room to tell of all the simple yet ingenious household utensils which the Hunzukuts conjure from the scanty resources
411 at their disposal: the spliced wooden bow faced with plates of ibex
322 horn and beautifully curved; the boys' catapult bow with double string of horse sinew, for scaring birds; the double-chambered wool-container made of rowan bark; the small vessel like an ash-tray which steadies the woman's rotating spindle and is moulded from the refuse of the apricot kernels left after the oil has been expressed. Not a
372 shred of anything is wasted in Hunza. What cannot be eaten or turned
132 to use—even the shell of the apricot kernel—is gratefully seized on as fuel for the pitifully small fire that cooks the bread and vegetables. Fires for mere heating are an undreamt of luxury. Hence the draught-proof house is essential, for at 7–8,000 feet, with snow mountains all round and a temperature of 19° Fahrenheit, the 'Great Cold' is

252 yeast and cooked on a griddle, like small, thin pancakes. Zaidu made them as of course, since they are the normal local food, and we had a few fresh for every meal (they are horrid stale). Their great merit is that they can be eaten without butter or 262 jam. This was a great advantage, for butter was a problem. 234 The tinned butter we brought with us for the road all went bad—you could not blame it in that heat—and butter in our sense of the word is unknown in Hunza.

There was fortunately a little cow's milk to be had, but the cows get so little to eat that their milk has not much butter-content. A really good Hunza cow yields at most a quart of milk a day after she has fed her calf, and she only gives milk at all for a month or two after the calf is born. So [415] milk is no part of the regular local diet. The people normally milk into a gourd, which makes an excellent jug, but has the [372] drawback that there is no ready way of cleaning it. Where fuel is so scarce no one could boil water merely to scald milk-vessels, and the method is to hold the gourd over the smoke of the fire. This seems to be perfectly wholesome, but it gives a gruesome taste to the milk, already sufficiently tainted with memories of yesterday, last week, last year. So we would send one of our people with a clean aluminium bucket and get the cow milked straight into that. In this way we procured as much as we needed for tea and coffee and puddings, but of course not enough to make butter from, as we had been accustomed to do in Gilgit. Fresh butter proved to be an unattainable luxury. The local butter, which they call *maltash*, is much prized; there is so little of it that it is kept strictly for feast days and great occasions. Their chief chance of making it is from the goats' milk when the men have the animals up at the summer pastures. They make it day by day, a little at a time, and when they have collected about two pounds they shape it into a ball, wrap it in birch-bark, tie it up with strips torn from the roots of juniper, and then bring it home to [251] store. With luck one good she-goat will provide two balls of *maltash* per season. It is then stored in a tiny stone larder under the nearest water-channel to keep it damp and cool, and thence produced when wanted. Even when quite fresh it tastes very

ingly competent. There's nothing connected with their every- 181
day life that they cannot all do, and do well.

I saw a couple of pretty young women sitting together in a 283
little orchard spinning, as they watched a few sheep grazing on some odd blades of grass that grew between the trees. I scrambled over the wall and sat beside them to watch. They showed me what they were doing, and as we talked a fine old greybeard passed by driving a few goats and sheep downhill. "What are you doing there, Mother?" "Naját and Zaida are showing me how to spin." "But don't you *know*?" Half shamefaced, wholly amused, I tried to explain that unfortunately in our country most of the spinning was done with "wheels" (a general sort of word for machinery of any kind—a thing which, of course, they have never seen), and quite a lot of women besides myself did not know how to spin. He shook his head sadly as if to say, "What is the world coming to?" and stood a moment to watch us. Then sympathetically but firmly he said: "You'll never learn now, I'm afraid. You should have begun as a child; it takes a lot of practice. Good-bye." And as he went after his animals I saw him still gently shaking his head over my lost youth—which he could not regret more than I.

Wherever she is going, whether to the orchard to gather 283
twigs for firewood, or to the mill with a small sack of grain to 415
be ground, the woman carries under her arm a quaint little kidney-shaped receptacle for her well-washed wool. It is usually made of wild rowan bark. The menfolk when up at the summer pastures cut a strip of bark and bend the two ends towards the centre, forming two circular chambers. They then bury it for a year or two till it has taken the required shape. Then they lash on a thin wooden base and lash the two circular chambers together, and the wife's *pfurúkus* is ready for her. In one side she puts the clean wool which she teases by hand, removing any lumps or bits of straw, which she puts into the odd-shaped cavity between the two circles. She then coaxes bits of the cleaned lump into a neat ribbon of wool about 6 inches long and 1½ inches wide, and beats it well on her knee till it is perfectly flat and even and coheres together, and this little

283 strip is folded and placed in the second chamber. When she
415 has enough of these *dapping* prepared, she takes out her little spindle, also shaped at home, puts the point of it into a little dish like a small ash-tray, which prevents it from wandering about while she rotates it. Then with a *dap* of wool in her left hand and the spindle in her right, she conjures somehow a fine even thread on to the whirring spindle. So many *dapping* make a spindleful, so many spindlefuls make a ball, so many balls suffice for a winter cloak. Undoubtedly you must learn as a child. The shape of the *pfurúkus* makes it most convenient to carry; even if you have a child on your shoulders and a basket on your back, it sits under your arm and stays there of itself, one circular chamber projecting back and front. The little ash-tray is cleverly moulded by the women from the malleable mush left when they have squeezed every drop of oil from their apricot kernels. It dries in a day or two and serves for many a year.

243 There was a jolly family party who worked the fields just below our house. I used to wish the fields didn't slope down and down and we could then have watched them better from the windows. When we arrived they had just reaped two fields of wheat (which ripens a fortnight later than the barley) and piled the sheaves in two big stacks. Then they made their threshing-floor as earlier described.[1] When the floor was dry they spread the entire circle 2 or 3 feet deep with cut wheat and got a team of five cows, tied their muzzles loosely together with a soft rope round each and then drove them round to
[462] tread out the grain. It is usually a woman or girl who drives the team, but sometimes a man or boy will take a hand. The outside beast has, of course, to make the biggest circle, while the centre one just buzzes round as nearly as possible in the
[461] same spot. As the driver gently touches them with her switch she keeps shouting "Hai, hai, hai!" to encourage them. When she gets tired one of the others comes on duty and she goes and sits down in the shade of the stack. As you can imagine, it is pretty hot in the noonday sun. I joined the women in the shade where they sat spinning away and keeping an eye on
000 the toddlers. There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and

[1] [See p 79, Cat. 116 or 243. -- Analyst]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

is convenient. Each person has his own wooden bowl and 264
wooden spoon. They roll up their pancakes and dip them in [415]
their bowl of thick vegetable soup or take up the soup with
the spoon. The head woman of the house apportions a fair 262
share to each, and I fear there is rarely enough to allow of
second helpings.

The art of rationing the family all through the year is recognized as a difficult one; each able-bodied man is entitled to double a woman's ration, but the expectant or nursing mother gets a larger share than the other women; each child after weaning gets a certain ration according to its age.

If a *rúli gus* (housewife-in-chief) is over-generous with her 262
rationing during the post-harvest months of plenty the whole 586
family may starve before next year; so a "competent woman" is highly valued, and incompetence is a fair ground for divorce. No ill-will is felt or expressed, but back she goes to the father and mother who bred her.

The No. 1 Household consists of grandfather, a charming 592
old man, who proudly boasts that he built the house they live in and himself laid out the fruit garden; his two sons, who now do all the heavy work and who both are lucky enough to have small jobs connected with the hospital—this accounts for the family's relative well-to-do-ness; the elder son's wife is my friend Bibi Gímo, the *rúli gus*; the younger son's wife is a beautiful girl Naját, who became one of our best friends. In a community where all faces are happy and kindly, she has the happiest face I have ever seen, and a natural grace of bearing and manner that would adorn any station in any country. Naját so far has no children, but Bibi Gímo's married daughter was staying with her at the moment. There is also an adolescent daughter, Shukuru, who is already growing her hair, and will no doubt presently be married; two nice boys of perhaps thirteen and nine, and the two little girls I have mentioned already, Shamúli, say six, and Banu of three or four, and I imagined there would ere long be another child.

On my second visit, since they had all been so kind to me, 526
I took a tiny rubber ball for Banu. It was a great success. Not only she and Shamúli played with it, but the grown-ups

159 belonging to a family in which Prince Ghazan Khán had been fostered, and who had thus acquired the extra land, etc., which is the recognized recompense for fostering royalty. We supposed that it was a desire to live up to this distinguished new connection (possibly it was a stipulation of the bride's people) that prompted his intention to set the young son, Kamber, up in a house of his own instead of bringing the new wife to share the parents' home.

342 Whatever lay behind this departure from custom, Nadíro sent his Hérul Nisa one day to tell me that he was setting out to "smite his poplars" if I would care to come. It was a *very* hot morning and I was deep in something else, but of course you'd never see anything if you weren't ready to take chances as they turn up. So I shouldered my camera and tripod, seized my long walking-stick (which is a great aid to climbing walls or leaping down them), on which I had made notches every foot to serve for measuring distances, and set off with Hérul Nisa.

[423] "Where is father's poplar garden?" I asked. The Aliábád people have a bewildering way of possessing odd scraps of ground dotted about all over the place, just according as they have taken up one plot or another of the sometime royal land. "Oh, quite near," she said. Everything is "quite near" to these active people, who think less of a 500-foot climb than we think of running a hundred yards to the pillar-box at the corner. It was, in fact, a hot, vertical half-mile over the

342 roughest ground without even a track. Here on a rugged patch

313 of stony, steep-sloping ground, carefully walled in, I found the whole of No. 8 and several neighbours busily setting about the felling job. One man scrambled up and attached a rope near the top of the fated tree. Two or three laid hold of the rope and stood at some distance to pull in the right direction, while the old Ustád himself skilfully hacked a triangular bite out of the trunk near to the ground and then axed away. It was only a few minutes till the slender poplar crashed down. Then

314 Kamber and his friends hacked off the few remaining upper-

● 415 most branches—the lower ones had been cut long ago—and

313 the womenfolk and young people all clustered along the trunk to peel off the bark, taking care to get it off in strips as long

and wide as possible; for bark strips are useful for many 314
things. Some of the flakes were 3 or 4 feet long and 8 or 9 415
inches wide. They would be kept to make large drum-like con- 313
tainers for storage purposes. While the men proceeded to deal with the next tree, the women and young people filled shoulder baskets with chips and twigs and branches and carried them home to store. "Lots of firewood for a long time to come," smiled Bibi Anjir to me gleefully as she limped away as fast and as surefooted as a girl, despite the stiff leg.

I helped, of course, with gathering up the firewood and the 000
bark, but I was never allowed to shoulder a basket. I would have done it gladly enough many a time, but what with silly shoes (which always provoked my companions' sympathy: "It would be so much easier for you to walk safely barefoot, Mother"; I wondered, seeing that my incompetent, soft feet had been for half a century encased in foolish footgear!) and unpractised muscles a cross-country scramble unladen required all my attention. In any case, however, they would never hear of my carrying anything—"the Great must not do that," they said, and as we were enjoying so many privileges of "the Great," we had to pay the recognized penalties.

When the trees were all prostrate, I measured the effective 342
poles that remained and found they ran from 50 to 60 feet: 137
the original trees must have stood 60 or 70 feet high. The Ustád had put the saplings in himself when he walled and planted the "garden" twenty years or so before. Good timber like this is a sound investment. Sixteen good poplars go to the making of a house; up to twenty may be needed if they are smaller. If people are definitely quitting an old house for a new they will dismantle the former for the sake of rafters and cupboards, and you will occasionally see the shell of an old house standing derelict. But the cases of house-building which we actually came across were the hiving-off of son or brother and required new wood. A man who has no trees of his own to cut must, of course, buy them from some neighbour, and this, with the carpentry, will be the major expense.

The Ustád had already levelled the ground for the new house 342
beside his own, and soon the trenches were dug for the foun-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece, no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the man or woman who could not construct the one required would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots. When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at any moment will shear another sheep while the women and children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563

cumference, twisted them with his fingers till he had a small 286
nucleus of double thread. With a wooden peg he fastened this tiny ball so that it could not unroll, and started swinging it round his head, letting it touch the ground now and again to increase the spin. It travelled in wider and wider circles till the connecting thread became of unmanageable length and began to kink. Then he hauled it in and wound the beautifully twisted length of doubled thread on to the little ball and again pegged it down. Thus he continued till the original ball was exhausted.

Not long after, the Ustád's Hérul Nisa came to say that they were setting up a goats'-hair loom at their house if we would care to see it. We found that this time a large vertical frame standing on the roof of No. 8, lashed to the rafter of the balcony, and in course of being strung with just such a warp thread as Kalbi had shown us in the making. While Hunza sheep [233] are uniformly white, three kinds of goat are kept: white, brown, and black. Black hair is used for the warp, while the bobbins are wound with white and brown. The bobbins in this case are long, needle-like rods the full width of the cloth, 2 feet or so, with the hair wound round notches in each end. There are only two heddles, thrown backwards and forwards by a forked peg like a boy's catapult. Goats'-hair weaving is a slower job and heavier than wool-weaving, but the Ustád is master of it, too, and was again initiating two younger men. The different coloured hair allows of pattern-weaving, and they enjoy devising new stripes and squares of brown and white. A very heavy comb is needed to beat down the intractable material, and in order to prevent the cloth being drawn too tight by the cross threads, two "bows" of flexible wood were spiked across it to keep it flat and taut. These are inserted as near as possible to the working edge and moved up 352
as work progresses. The goats'-hair strips are used as rugs, or 415
doubled and sewn together to form sacks and saddle-bags.

One day we were exploring the half-ruined village of the 346
old fort, threading the narrow switchback alleys between 345
deserted houses—so narrow that in places you could only edge along sideways—looking for points of vantage from which to

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

all appeared to us to suggest Persian inspiration. I heard one lady say with regret for a golden past: "What is the world coming to? Why nowadays the very peasant girls embroider silken caps for themselves!"

True enough; now that a little money filters into almost every home the women can get hold of coloured silk from India or Kashgar, and it was a common sight to see girls and women open a tiny home-made bag that hung on their tunic, and take out a strip or circle of calico, a needle, and a bunch of silk, and continue work on a dainty cap. The threads of the cloth were carefully counted and the design traced out in black thread. The silks they used were unspun, clinging masses that I found impossible to handle, and how they manipulated them so skilfully with fingers roughened, you would have thought, by field work, I could not divine. For about 1s. 6d. they can buy enough silk to cover one cap with minute embroidery, and they blend their colours, red, blue, green, orange, purple, yellow, and black, with unerring taste. We laid in a store of their favourite shades so that on occasion we could make an acceptable gift to a bride preparing her trousseau.

After a first experience of trifling gifts of balls and combs we had decided that it would be a crime to spoil the simple, spontaneous kindness of the children or their parents by indiscriminate giving. So we restrained a longing to distribute even sweets and pins, and only made an occasional present on very special occasions or for very definite services rendered. On the other hand, we made a note of such things as would be useful and acceptable, and gathered a hoard of them for our ultimate visits of farewell.

Amongst the women's crafts I have already mentioned the neat little "ashtrays" they conjure from the residual mush of apricot kernels after they have extracted the oil. Washing is amongst them a simple matter. Having no fat, they can make no soap, but there is a plant, called *himan*, which they grow amongst their vegetables, the seeds of which when pounded yield a delightful soapy lather. This is used for special washings only. Every-day cotton clothes are simply rinsed in cold water, flung on a flat stone and beaten with a wooden mallet. When

252 God, the Merciful, the Compassionate—then they let the blood drain out, washed the neck carefully, and got busy with the skinning. Kalbi is a clever, neat-fingered fellow, as indeed all Hunzukuts seem to be, and in ten minutes had coaxed the skin off whole (without slitting it down the tummy) as easily as you peel off a pair of silk stockings. There were only the 415 holes at the neck and at the four "elbows" and a little slit at the tail, so that with a stitch at the tail and four ties at the legs the skin would serve as a water bucket or a bag for flour.

252 He then hung up the carcase and cleaned it—a wonderfully unmessy business—while we noted down all the words for its various innards. It would have been much more instructive and enlightening if either of us had ever seen a sheep killed at home or had known the English words for all the curious things it has inside it. There was not, even round the kidneys, one ounce of fat.

465 As usual out here, you do not pay a person in cash for performing a service of this kind; there is some recognized perquisite. In this case Kalbi considered that he would be handsomely remunerated if he might have the guts. We did not covet them ourselves, and gladly acquiesced. They are much [534] valued. They will give you strings for your zither (many people, including Kalbi, make beautiful zithers for themselves), and for your bow; they serve as thread to sew your long boots and your skin sack, and you put them to a hundred other uses. Others of our retainers laid claim to the wool, the skin, and various other items. Later Kalbi gave us a demonstration of skin-curing and -kneading.

291 The long native boots are extremely comfortable-looking, like long-legged moccasins, and their construction is an elabo- [281] rate art. Ibex skins are preferred, but ibex have nearly been killed off and other leather has to be substituted. The soles may be made of cow-hide. Boots are precious things, so however cold it is you take them off when you come to a very rough piece of ground or want to walk through water. At best the unlined boot is not over-warm, and really luxurious people wear woollen socks or stockings inside if they have them. The women can knit excellently well, but it is very rare for anyone

ina bər ečai.i ka . . . just have a look at P. (and see) what he is doing. 126.7. *wa altan ais* . . . *nuan bəreibaən. Bəre.imʌn ka šwa ərpʌčər γʌšil bitsa* The two men go and look. When they look (they see that) he has excellent firewood with him. 126.9. *bəre.imi ka* is a stock phrase: "when he looks (he sees) something is happening . . ." i.e. "he looks and sees something is happening". *hik ka bareγʌn* let us have another look. 122.18. *in yər nupərʌn* . . . *gutsərčai* he proceeds, looking straight ahead. 122.17, Cp. 14.4. *iηi.wlo kəruər bər'nuamo* she looked in his beard for lice. 252.10. *yawa ap'ərʌnum* not looking down. 52.2. Cs. -*ʌbərʌnʌs*. 000

bər'enč watching, look out, H. *ruttzaw*. — *bərenč na baei*, he is keeping a look out. *pfu bər'enč* (*itʌs*) pl. *pfu bəraη* to kindle) an alarm fire, beacon fire. (From *bəreηʌs*).

bər'ea, *baw'ea*, Pl. *bər'eəo*, N. *bʌris*, Pl. *bʌrzəo*, x artery, vein, pulse. — *bərea burt humʌlkum bi* his pulse is very quick. *ja jiu b'ərəsər bər'en* examine my life's artery, i.e. feel my pulse. 146.19.

b'ərginʌs, pl. *bərginʌšo* x.

1. Edging round rim of anything.
2. A small piece of wood, charcoal etc. used in repairing a hole in a "mashk"[1] The skin adjoining the hole is gathered together round the *bərginʌs* and is secured with ligatures above and below the latter. 415
3. A stick used when producing ghee to test whether the milk has become sufficiently solid. The stick is placed vertically in it, and if 234

71a

[1] [a skin bag for carrying water. — Analyst]

polo-stick. V. 228.14, 230.8,9. (Cp. *d'-al.ss, drlas, drli.ss*).

dolgos pl. *dolg.ès, dolgoyants* oil-bottle (small pumpkin holding about 2 lbs. of oil, used for holding apricot-kernel oil, a woman's cosmetic). 208.2. (Cp. Sh. *tolgos*). 415

'*dromiy.ss, dromiyas*, (also *dromi.ss*) *dromiè*- Impr. *d'rmi*, Ppa. '*drmin* v.t. to spill, pour out, empty out, throw out (water, wine, oil, milk), to bale out, ladle out (water, grain). — *fiès gf'ètig tsiler nzhin ul.ès.er d'omitsn* putting the ashes of the wick into water they pour them (water and ashes) out in the "*ulàll*", 314.4. *tsil ugen yelkolem d'rmin.ss* they baled the water out of tank. 262.19. *tsil drmin gene ?alery ell* throwing out the water, wipe this (vessel). EOL. (Cs. of *dimiy.ss*. Also recorded as *drmiy.ss*. Apparently not connected with *drmi.ss*).

den, pl. *dmig, dmmig, y*.

Na. has *dmi* for the sg., and possibly also for the pl. He has also a genitive or adjectival form *dmmn, dmmn*. There is also an oblique form *dmmn*.

Year.

1. For "this year", "last year", "next year" etc., v. § 412. b.
2. With *Numerals* the singular form is often used instead of the plural. *The numerals are in the s forms.*
3. The uninflected form of the noun can denote either the period of a particular year or of a series of years:
   tsmisi ger den la bin last year and the year before that it was (still) there. 214.12. *bermn.ss dmig*

000 (this) evidence, i.e. I testify with conviction. Pre.

gwarlow St. Pr. 2nd. sg. of **warlas* you lost one! fugitive! (a term of contempt). H. *farari, lawarrig*(?). 264.11.

gwyas, gwyas v. 2. *gwyas*.

gwymo, gwymo variants of *gwimo* thy own. 44.17. 106.22.

gwynhow Kashmiri.

gwyal v. *gwyal*.

gwyalt -*ow* x ladle v. *gwyalt*.

415 1. *gwy'ow* pl. *gwy'owsenh* x grinding-stone (an oval stone with which things are ground by hand on another flat stone, *nal*). (Sometimes recorded as *gwe*).

000 2. *gwy'ow, gwy'ow*, pl. *gwedn, gwedn, gwyrdo* x small field (intermediate in size between *kleyhes* and *tw*).
(Also recorded as *gwe*).

gwovo livelihood, subsistence. Pre.

gyew v. *gyew*.

gyerigas v. *gyerigas*.

gyr, gyr v. *gr*, snow.

γ.

(See also under *g*).

Initial γ- was in some cases pronounced by Nx. as *g*- and is sometimes similarly represented in EOL's Nagir records. Regarding the pronunciation of initial γ- as *gy*- vide Gram. p. XXVIII l. 6 ff. and p. XXX Additional Note.

It is possible that a "retracted" γ corresponding to *g* occasionally occurs, e.g. in γίνα.

Initial γ- is changed to an unvoiced stop after the negative prefix *a*-, the *n*-prefix of the Ppa., and the causative *-*ha*-. I think that the resulting sound is <q>.

176b

000 a bath and put on fresh clothes. 32.5. γωωlu.s wi.ɑf wɑtɑn saying the prayer for the washing of the dead. 310.6. ívum iuɑr . . . γωωl ɑtɑ́i he washes the deceased. 310.7. Av. Fre.

*-γωγ pl. *-γωγɑg y woman's privy parts, vulva, IUB. H. *farj*, *karugarh i 'aurat*. Only recorded in the singular: wωγωγ. 330.7. (McK. gives ωωγωγ = vagina).

γωfɑ́kɑ́ QUB leprosy, H. *juzami*. — γωfɑ́kɑ́ɑ bi.ɑ́.i leprosy. γωfɑ́kɑ́ɑ w.ɑlɑ́.i he has contracted (*lit.* fallen into) leprosy.

γωf, N. *g-*, pl. hmf. *-ωγω*, *-ωωω*, N. pl. *-ωωωɑ* deaf. — γωf wωωωɑn ɑbɑy'ɑ́ljɑ́.i being deaf he doesn't hear.

415 γωti, pl. *gωfωnɑ*, *gωfωωωɑ* x soft leather bag (used for holding gunpowder for charging a gun). — γωfi.ɑlωωω wili.ɑg gunpowder from the bag, i.e. for charging a gun. (Cp. Sh. *kωti*, Khn. *gωti*).

-ωfωγωω pl. γωfωγωωɑ, γωfωγωγωωɑ x hole in ground (small in comparison with *tiw*); hollow, depression. — *gωti wωkωti kωωɑn* γωfωγωω ɑ'ωγω they make a slight depression (with the thumb) in the middle of the cake of bread. 330.5.

343 γωfωf *-ɑ́ɑ*, N. pl. *gωfωlɑ́ɑ*, x big wicker container (narrower at mouth than base), N. "basket for grain".

(Cp. Sh. *gωfωf* a cylindrical wattle-and-daub structure of above mentioned form (3 or 4 feet high and 2 or 3 feet in diameter at base) in which grain is stored on the roof of a house).

000 γωf'ωω, γωf'ωωω, N. *g-*, *-ɑ́ɑ* deep. — *gωωωωωɑ* γωωωωɑ́ɑ bi.ωω the ponds are deep. (Cp. Sh. *gωfωωω*, deep).

γωγɑg, γωγɑg, *-γωγɑg y pl., N. *gωγɑg*, double pl. *-ɑ́ɑg*, human hair (of

Ʌʌʌ ʌʌʌ IUB. simple and stupid, honest and simple, H. *sadā lorh*, *sidhā sadhā*. 000

Ʌʌʌ Ʌʌʌ, Ʌʌʌʌʌ, Ʌʌʌʌʌ x y; *hin hin* h.

1. One another, each other. V. § 134. 96.7, 154.13, 156.3.
2. Ʌʌʌ Ʌʌʌ one each. V. § 207.

(See also references under *hin*).

Ʌʌʌi sg. and pl., double pl. Ʌʌʌʌʌʌ, x kernel (of apricot, peach, cherry etc.), apricot kernel, H. *giri*. — *badāmo* Ʌʌʌi*ʌʌ bi* it is an almond kernel. *badāmo* Ʌʌʌi *biʌʌ* there are almond kernels. *ʌʌlo čukʌʌ* Ʌʌʌ'i *očʌʌ* they make (ready) 2 chuqs of apricot kernels. 308.1. (Cp. Sh. Ʌʌʌi).

Ʌʌʌik -ʌʌ x. 415 ● 531

1. Big wooden vessel for food (shallower than a bowl, and deeper than a dish or platter). — *maltāio* Ʌʌʌik a dish of butter. 340.1. Cp. 340 13–19, 342.1,2.

Regarding the old Sopʌʌn hanika at Baltit and Yasin see Text No. XIII, p. 208.

The former, said to date from the time of Alexander the Great(!), I have seen and handled. It is cut out of a single piece of chenar wood and is 29" in diameter. The upper surface presents a gentle uniform concave curve, and bears 3 sets of lines, each set consisting of 3 slightly incised lines. It is crossed by four copper bands which intersect at the centre and divide the circle into 8 equal sectors.

On the underside and towards the centre four protuberances of wood have been left to act as feet. Nearer the circumference 4 iron handles are attached to it by iron chains.

jati, jeti x. 000

1. Wooden dish or vessel covered with skin with the hair on it (the skin is sewn or tied on to the dish). Used for fetching flour in: 415
"*jati ditsu.in*" *nosen dowtsun i·i dasin daγowaŋ modeljai.i* saying "bring a *jati* (of flour)", and making them bring it, he himself sprinkles the girl with flour. 298.9, — *jati.ulo daγowaŋ dusun* fetching flour in a "jati". 306.7. *daγowaŋ jat'i·* a "jati" of flour, 338.19.
2. A measure of grain etc. (about 3 lbs.). — *altambi jeti* (8 *jati*) = 1 *γerbu·l* = 24 lbs. 804
The single *jati* is equivalent to the *hiçuṭi*, and the Sh. *hai.i.*
saburr jeti four "jati" (*saburr* being Wakhi for 4). 342.18.

jatpat. V. 240.3 and footnote. This form is denied by QUB. Substitute for it *jotpat.* 000

jatorr, jaturr.

1. Quince (x fruit, y tree). P. . .i.
2. Knot in shape of a quince at end of thong etc.
(Cp. Sh. *čatorr*, quince).

jawarr, v. *jowarr*, youth. Prs.

jai.i namaz prayer-mat, praying-carpet. Prs.

jau etas.

1. To hold a thing in the fire and burn it.
2. To weld two bits of iron together.
3. To join falsehood to truth.
(In this combination of meanings there is perhaps a rough analogy with the various uses of the English "*forge*".
The word was given by IYB with reference to the phrase:

000 *bilʊm* he had a golden horn on his head. 376.2. (Cp. Kho. *kʌpa·l* and *kʌpʌl;* Sh. *kʌpa·lo, kʌpʌlo*, head, skull; Skr. *kapāla* skull).

kʌpi·nes N. pl. *kʌpi·nešo* x step, foot-notch on log-ladder.

(The Hz. form is *gʌpfi·nʌs*, step of stair).

kʌpo, ka·po, -mʊts x cuckoo, v. s.v. *gʌkʌči*.

415 *kh'ʌpʊn*, pl. *kh'ʌpʊyo* x spoon, dipper, ladle. Originally all were of wood, but one may now say:

hu·nə k'ʌpʊn wooden spoon. *gu.i·ski kʌpʊn* a "Wakhi spoon", i.e. spoon with bowl set sideways. *čok kʌpʊn* upright spoon (the handle rises perpendicularly from the base of the bowl for three inches and then turns back horizontally). *kʌpʌnʊlo*. 328.10,11. (For *khʌpʊnʊlo*). (Cp. Sh. *khʌpa.i, kʌpe·i* wooden spoon; Kho. *krpi·ni*).

000 *-kh'ər*. Reflexive Pronoun. -self (oblique cases), v. § 144. — *ja jijeri ʌkhərər yʊn'ikzə sta·m* I myself did evil to myself. *ikhərər fai.rda-ʌhʌs* one who does good to himself, i.e. a selfish, self-seeking person. *ʊ·ʊ ʊ·i ʊ·khər sqʌnʊmʌn* they themselves killed themselves.

As the object of a transitive verb *-khər*, whatever its number or person, ranks as 3rd. sg. hm or x.

kərəgʌdi -mʊts x big wooden props supporting aqueduct, Bn. syn. *hu·nə dʌna·to*. — *Baltittʊm kərəgʌdimʊtsə xʌt hʌn . . . bʊ·ʊn di·mi* a cow came from Baltit down by (in fact, under) the aqueduct. 186.3.

kərəgʌdo strong, stout.

kʌr'ʌki N. "clapper that helps to pound rice".

228 b

000 *tərʌm*, v. *thʌqʌm*.
1. *tərʌq*. 242.15. V. s.v. *təḍʌk*.
2. *tʌrʌq* Hz. & N. poor.
tʌrau, v. *tʌḍau*.
thər'enum, pl. *thər'eiko*, *thər'enumɪšo*, N. *tʌreyaˑko*, narrow. — *gʌn ṭʌr'enum bila* the road is narrow.
thər'es, pl. *thəreˑšo*, orphan (lacking both parents, or one). — *yuˑu* (i.e., *yuˑy*) *ʌpʌm thəres* fatherless boy. *muˑu ʌpʌm thəres dʌsin* fatherless girl. *iˑmi ʌpom thəres* motherless boy. *mumi ʌpom thəres dʌsin* motherless girl. *uˑŋ təres hilesˑ* you fatherless boy. 70.22.
(Cp. Sh. *thəreˑs*, parentless orphan).
ṭhər'iˑ, *-mutʌ* x polo-ball.
Originally local, made of chenar wood, now of bamboo-root, imported from India.
theriˑtʌs duˑn catch the polo-ball.
ʌmeˑulo tər'i yʌmi the polo-ball hit my tooth. 158.11.
(Cp. Sh. *tər'i*, GB *ṭhairi*).

● 415 *təriŋ -ičiŋ*, N. pl. *-ičʌŋ* y an animal's skin prepared for use as a bag for holding milk, butter etc.; also inflated, for rafts, or as a support for swimming. H. *mʌšk*. — *marvčʌ* (QUB *marvčiˑs*) *təriŋ* n chillie, capsicum capsule.
(Cp. Sh. *təriˑŋi*, skin for holding milk).

000 *t'əriṣ*, *təreṣ*, pl. *t'əri.ʌŋ*, y gap, hole (large). — *tərišʌn bʌlimi* a (big) hole appeared. 54.5.
tərk -ičʌŋ. y byre, hut for animals, IUB *mʌweˑši rʌkhne ka mʌkaˑn*. — *buˑa tərk* cow byre. *huy'eˑsə tərk* sheep and goat house. 108.23,25, 386.9.
tərk'aˑn, *tərkaˑʌn*, *tərk'ʌn*, pl. *tərk'aiyə* h a person who is not liable to have to carry loads. 342.7.

346 b

c. Miscellaneous other Foods:

262

baṭeriŋ.	čhap.	hori.	pušür šak N.	šu·t.
biŋ.	ḍauḍo.	mʌnoṭiki.	pfuṭu·k.	tsʌmik.
bu·rki.	haula N.	mul.	šərbʌt.	otsiyenʌs.
čhʌnnes.	hoç.	pulan.	širča N.	wərk.

7. Vessels, Utensils etc.

a. Bags and Sacks:

415

baldakrš.	girgin.	khʌwʌš.	mʌšk N.	sərmots.
butu·n.	γoti.	xʌlta N.	meṣ.	tʌγər.
gerŋrš.	khʌl.ʌḍu.	xrlta.	qʌp.	təriŋ.

b. Baskets.

čhoṭkos.	čur'a.	giran.	γotu·l.	khʌreṭi.	thʌli.o.

c. Vessels and Containers:

bʌḍalik.	čilʌmči.	hanik.	mʌšərba.	qimrždo·n.
bʌγundokrš.	čhurkʌs.	imʌkrš.	pfʌta.	sʌkʌy.
bʌli.	dʌlgos.	isʌn(?).	pfʌtasu·ndʌl.	tʌšpi.
bʌloṣ.	du·stsʌk.	jʌti.	pfirko.	tospur.
bire.	goḍu·r.	khʌči.	pfu·l.	ts.hʌγu·r.
bodok.	gorkun.			

8. Games.

524

bʌbʌl.	čyu· čyu·.	gʌṭʌl bula.	tʌtʌq.	ts.hʌγəra.
bola.	dʌγu dʌγu.	tʌmbok.	toskuri.	

9. Supernatural Beings.

776

bilʌs.	ḍʌŋʌlʌṭhʌs.	jʌʌdora.	pəri.	šošorlikrš.
bovin.	hir bilʌs.	jin.	pfu·t.	yʌčhəni.

10. Words relating to CEREMONIES, CUSTOMS etc. or Objects which have no English equivalent.

000

ba·i.	bopfau.	dʌni.	γərbel.	*-mi numuryen.
ba·r.	bu·rki.	dərmʌn.	γərtsʌpiš,	otʌq.
bawrš.	boruri.	du·k.	(γʌltapiš).	ortiki.
bʌk bi·k.	çamçʌn.	doxau.okuts.	1. γon.	palo·s.
bʌlgu·in.	1. čhangü.	ga·ljo.	i·lbʌn.	pfʌni·s.
bərginʌs.	čhʌs.	grnʌmi.	ku·li.	phʌqi·s.
berits, v. also	črra·qna·mʌ.	giranʌ ni·ʌs.	xər.	phʌrətsi·n.
page 421.	čokuṭi.	girgrš.	laješ.	pəri sa.
beriski.	čop.	guç.	mahər.	pʌso·m.
brrʌl.	dʌl dʌl.	γʌn.	mʌnoṭiki.	pfi.
bi·ts N.	ḍʌmbu.	γʌnkrš.	mʌšʌla.	pi.ʌqmər.

530

322 that I have seen performed, I am not too sure that
[177] our wood workers could teach them any new tricks. The thing they're short of is suitable wood.

[415] One of the important functions of the wood turner is to fashion bowls which are made out of either mulberry, willow or apricot wood. The wood turner also
[352] makes charpoys, chests, jewel boxes, bowls and chairs and I believe he is capable of making anything that can be fashioned out of wood.

461 One definite thing impressed me about these various craftsmen and that was the fact that time was meaningless. Their craft was the important thing. Whatever had to be done had to be done right whether it required an hour or a day or a week.

461 There were many things that I would have liked to
126 purchase or arrange for but some of them would require days to produce and it was not my desire to hurry anybody. After seeing their pleasant way of life, I had no intention of disturbing it. Whatever was available that I wanted, I would take with me. Anything else could be sent on or else I would do without it.

000 needed animals in the world.

231 It is clearly and distinctly established that Tibet, for example, could never exist and people could never live in that part of the world if it weren't for the yaks and yaks are native only to that part of the world —yes, wild ones, I mean. That's where they were originally found and tamed. They still roam wild on some of the higher inaccessible elevations and plateaus in that part of the globe.

No one will attempt to deny that our cow is a most useful and practically essential animal. It gives milk from which we make butter, cheese and cream. We use the carcass for meat and the hide for shoes, baseballs and many other articles but, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the cow as it is today actually couldn't look after herself in the northern latitudes and pasture food must be provided.

[492] Well, the yak does everything a cow does. Besides that, it is one of the finest beasts of burden. Then, too, it is the surest-footed animal to be found anywhere. It can, and often does, forage for its own food. It can live off practically nothing. It is suspected that it can find sustenance in a bit of grass or roots or even a bit of coarse, uninviting (to any other animal) herbage.

[492] [241] Like our cow, it takes to domestication readily. Both the Tibetans and the Hunzans use them to work their fields and flail their wheat, barley and other grains.

231 237 [283] From the wool on its back, belly and head comes the toughest of woven fabrics, from which is made the sturdiest of clothes for the people and tents for their homes. Wherever you see rope in Hunza, you can be sure that it was made from braided or woven yak hair.

[291] [415] [501] The hide is used for most everything . . . boots and shoes, of course, and water containers and skin boats, which are the means and mode of transportation across and up and down the dangerous rivers

I had never seen oil made or rendered from any fruit, 252
food or grain and I asked if I could be allowed to witness this process from the beginning. Arrangements were made and I went to visit a plain ordinary Hunzan house where the mistress was prepared and willing to demonstrate the making of apricot oil.

The lady and some of her children sat on the floor with a neat stack of apricot stones beside them. Then she and one of her youngsters took each individual stone and split it open with a rock. The meats were taken out and piled into a stone mortar. Then, when they had [412]
filled the mortar, the lady got her pestle and began to pound the kernels until they were made into a meal. Next, she rubbed it with her hands until it was worked into a paste. This she placed into an iron skillet, which was placed over a three-sided stone stove. Then she broke up some small chips of wood that she had ready, ignited them and moved the pan about over the heat until it began to warm up. She kept rubbing and kneading the meal with her hands in the skillet until it got quite warm—but not hot, for she used her hands for turning it in the pan.

Then, she lifted up the mass and put it into a round, [415]
solid, earthenware or stone receptacle about 12 inches in diameter, with the sides about two or two and a half inches high. She kneaded this with her fingers and knuckles firmly, much more firmly than one would in kneading dough for bread.

Then, a tablespoonful of water was poured over the meal and the massaging process was continued. It was explained to me that sometimes tea is used instead of water. If the pits are bitter pits from the wild fruit, plain water is used, but for sweet pits from the propagated apricots salt water is used.

The bitter pits are gathered from the trees that grow [222]
[373]

262 A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of work-
556 able land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep,
231 a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

273 Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from
245 Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

415 Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are
[412] not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

352 The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large
354 square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept
4 partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

439 At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza
437 and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

000 During the past few years a bit of money has come

as his trophy room. There, neatly laid on a long table, 123
was a beautiful ornate set of silverware, a three piece [415]
tea service. It was the most unusual and elaborate design I'd ever seen. I recognized it as the leaf of the chenar tree, which is similar to our maple. I do not profess to be a connoisseur or one who appreciates objects of art, but I did recognize this as being something especially fine and unusual.

He said, "This is from the Rani and I. I hope your wife will like it!"

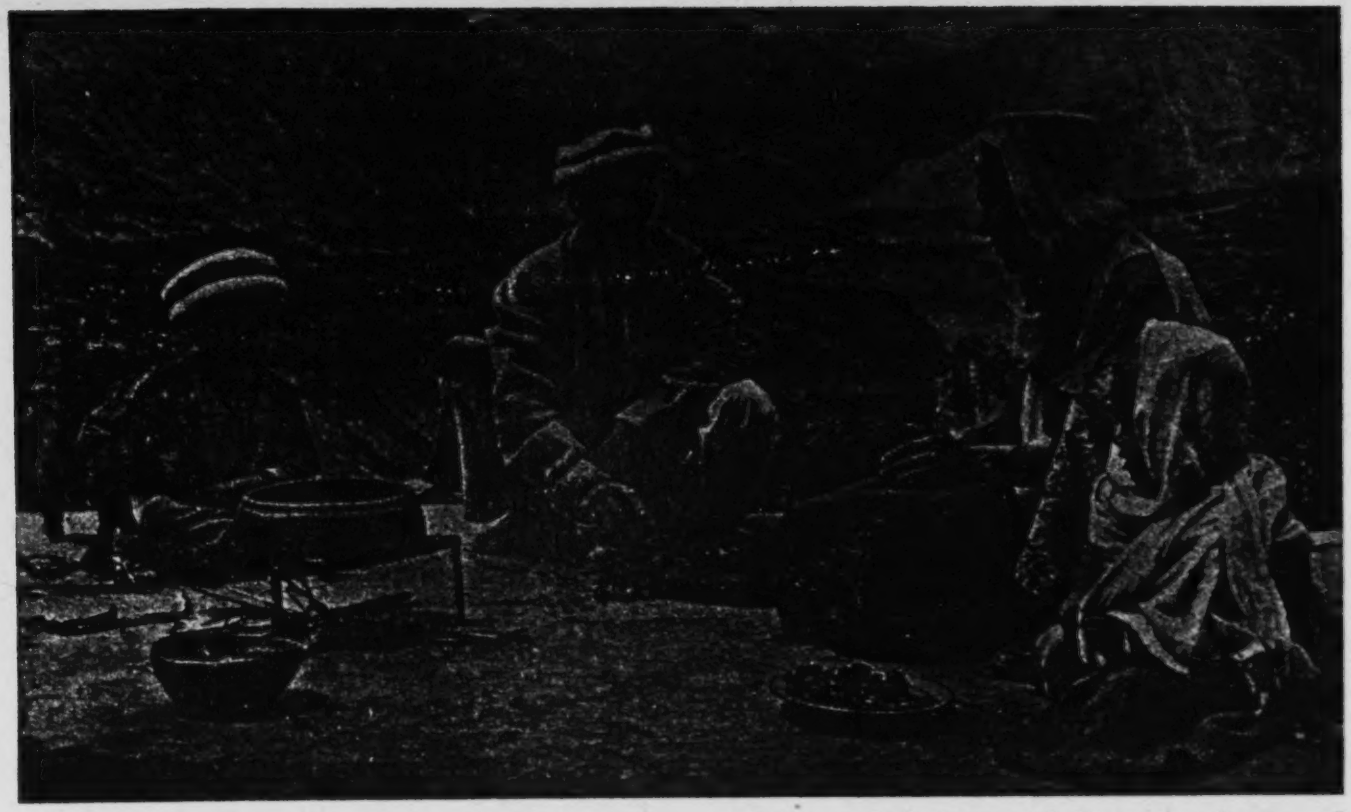
He then presented me with a most unusual cane. It 123
is made out of some native Hunzan wood, white in 481
color—chenar I imagine. The handle is made very ingeniously, so that you have something to hold firmly in your hand, as well as a place to rest your thumb. Then the entire length of the cane and the handle were studded at regular intervals with what the Mir explained were pieces of ibex horns.

Ibex are found in the hills. They are a wild moun- 136
tain goat, usually found above the snow line. They are a good sized, hefty animal, standing between 3 and 3½ feet high at the shoulder. They're sturdy beasts as they well must be to live among the highest and most precipitous hills in all creation. For agility there is no animal that can match them. They are crowned with long ridged horns curved backwards, usually black in color. These tough, imperturbable mountain goats reminded me of the people of Hunza and I thought there was a great deal of similarity between them. They are, as far as I know, afraid of nothing.

I'm not a hunter—I didn't go after them. Some of the men said they could be found readily. Others said you had to go far up into the mountains in order to find them. But by the number of horns of the ibex I saw in Gilgit, Baltit and all along the route I traversed,

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.42-A]



FAMILY LIFE on Hunza's flat roofs bespeaks the country's dry climate and the cramped quarters that prevail inside a typical stone abode, forcing inhabitants to seek increased living space in the open. A meal is being prepared, *above*.

133
252
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362
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576

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.43-B]

256
291
516

GRINDING of barley and wheat, *above*, is done by centuries-old technique.

142
252
291
415
516

CHAPATTIES are the end product of the country's milling and baking.

624 would pay them a small retaining fee if they would take it in
124 turns to be "on duty" with him in their spare time. They would obviously be useful informants.

487 We had to walk along in single file. There is no "road" in
312 Hunza where two people can walk abreast, or along which you can ride, except the "Great North Road" running through from Kashmir to Kashgar, and even it is never more than 4 to 6 feet wide. The other tracks run mostly beside small water-channels to enable people to get from one sluice to another to juggle the water now off, now on. Even when you have a neat little track fairly horizontal (there are only three of these possible for ordinary walking) it is broken every few yards by a sluice which you must jump or step over carefully so as not to interfere with the water arrangements or, alternatively, break your leg. The sluices are the simplest things imaginable—just a gap in the side wall of the channel which can be closed with a couple of convenient, slab-like stones and plastered up with mud from the watercourse. Occasionally there is a little wooden shutter which can be raised or lowered in wooden slots at the side.

As we went along David asked the names of the various kinds of water-channels, fields, etc., that we saw (the *names* he already knew, but not at first hand which kind was which), and presently we had a train of bright-eyed boys in the fields on each side, full of amusement at this new game. One would cry: "This stone is a flint; this is a stink-stone," whereupon he would crack it and give it to us to notice the faint smell of sulphur it gave out. Another would run up: "Here's a poppy and a poppy-head"—so we were not going to lack for willing teachers.

After a little we turned down a narrow "lane," less like an English lane than anything else on earth. It plunged downhill pretty steeply, sometimes just a rocky slope, sometimes just one boulder below another making a very crude flight of steps varying from 18 inches to 3 feet or so. Beside the "path" ran the inevitable water-gutter in which you could walk, as it happened at the moment to be dry.

417 On each side, a bare 3 feet apart, were the usual walls of
333

loose stone. It is amazing how they get these walls to stand 417
up, 6, 7, 10 feet high, without an ounce of mortar or mud. 333
At the bottom they put huge stones like portmanteaux, then smaller ones like bandboxes, then others the size of quartern loaves, till as you get towards the top they have come down to the size of penny buns. Each is carefully chosen to fit as neatly as possible into the space left by the last, and wherever there is a gap left they choose a small stone that will just fit and wedge it in tight. The walls are really a beautiful sight. These side ones they build partly because they want a boundary to their field, but much more, I think, because if you didn't pile the stones somewhere there would be no field at all. There are no gates. Wood is scarce and very precious and, besides, at different seasons and for different purposes you might want the gate now in one place, now in another. So when you want to get in, you just pull down as much of the wall as necessary and build it up again when your work is done.

Presently we came to a large garden with handsome walnut 644
trees, its long wall broken by a wooden door now open. Hurmat told us that this was the semi-royal domain, where the Mir's first wife and what the German royalties would call his morganatic family were settled. Festivities were going on inside, and we were assured that anyone might enter. Fortified by this we went in and were made welcome by two semi-royal grandsons, one a lad of seventeen or eighteen and one a jolly little boy of perhaps ten, who were sitting on a carpet spread on a raised piece of ground below some trees. Our hosts made us immediately at home, and a chair was fetched for me.

There was a little grass under the trees, and just inside the wall an open earthen space like a bit of a school playground. The band was sitting against the wall, while men and boys were dancing and a largish audience was clapping and hurrahing at intervals. Baskets and dishes of ripe apricots were lying about everywhere, and everyone helped himself as inclined. Fruit was brought for us and the merry-making went on as before. It was delightfully gay and informal and our young hosts did not allow us to feel out of things. We took care not to stay too 000

526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo
[311] fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in
[367] the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall sur-
[417] rounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

Chapter 17

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

● 423 By far the majority of the peasant families in Hunza are freeholders. The land passes from generation to generation without tax during life or duty after death. In olden days the Mirs owned a certain amount of land in every settlement, and the custom was to have this farmed by forced labour, spread, in theory, justly over the villagers. The Yerpa, or Steward, in charge of such royal demesnes, was obviously in the pleasant position of being able on the one side to cheat his royal master of a large proportion of the produce, and on the other to oppress and squeeze the luckless peasant-labourers. He extorted bribes in kind from anyone able thus to evade the communal work, and he could impose more than a fair share of the labour on anyone who incurred his dislike. When the present Mir (Sir Muhammad Nazim Khán)[1] was a boy he had seen this system at its ugly work under his father, Mir Ghazan Khan, and his elder brother, Mir Safdar Ali, and as he would tell you with a smile: "I knew just how much peculation and bribery went on—had I not acted as Yerpa myself!"

643 To secure the throne for himself, Safdar Ali, as may be
648 remembered, murdered his father and several brothers in traditional Karakoram style, and ultimately fell foul of the British Government of India by breaking promises and treaties and trying to play off the Chinese and Russian Governments against the Indian. After the brilliant little frontier campaign of 1891–92 he fled—unregretted—to Central Asia, leaving vacant the throne of his ancestors. The British had no wish to annex the country, but it was highly important for the security

[1] Now, alas! the late Mir.—E. O. L., 1958.

681 ment. A few years' exile in Shimshál is incomparably preferable to three years' penal servitude in Wormwood Scrubs, yet Hunza delinquents do not become recidivists.

643 Young Muhammad Narím Khán took up his job deter-
423 mined, in the light of his travels and experience, to alter much that had been traditional under his ancestors, and within three years of his accession he had completely abolished the Yerpa system of cultivating the royal lands. Such as lay immediately under his own eye he retained, but all the rest are leased out on easy terms to tenants. For the first years a tenant pays no rent at all for new ground that he brings under the plough; he has to get his fields carved out, his water-channels made, and the soil worked. After the land begins to bear he pays a small fixed rent in kind, and if at any point he finds the bargain unprofitable he is free to resign his holding. A large part of the "new settlements" of Aliábád, including all the district immediately round our house, was *kunikal* land (viz. royal land leased out), and there was no question that the system was working to everyone's satisfaction. The extra fields available had been eagerly taken up by families in the older settlements who were finding their freehold land too cramped, and many of our neighbours were sons who had hived off from the family freehold and whose relations were still living in Báltít, Haidarábád, or Dorkhan.

556 We once enquired, *à propos* of the meaning of the words
842 "rich" and "poor": "Now what would you people consider a rich man?" "One who had, say, a hundred animals." (The ordinary peasant household has twenty or so sheep, goats, and cows.) "And is there any rich man in Aliábád?" "Only one, the Yerpa." This struck us as highly significant; the one rich man still bore by courtesy his grandfather's title of "Steward"! He was no doubt still enjoying his grandfather's ill-gotten gains. Our Yerpa was, in fact, a genial, kindly man, reputed generous. He was not envied: "Poor chap, he has no sons; he has to hire herd-boys to mind his flocks, and labourers to work his fields." In Hunza a man's true wealth is in his sons; they work the farm with him; if there are several, some can go abroad and earn. Not that a woman or a woman's work is

157 belonging to a family in which Prince Ghazan Khán had been fostered, and who had thus acquired the extra land, etc., which is the recognized recompense for fostering royalty. We supposed that it was a desire to live up to this distinguished new connection (possibly it was a stipulation of the bride's people) that prompted his intention to set the young son, Kamber, up in a house of his own instead of bringing the new wife to share the parents' home.

342 Whatever lay behind this departure from custom, Nadiro sent his Hérul Nisa one day to tell me that he was setting out to "smite his poplars" if I would care to come. It was a *very* hot morning and I was deep in something else, but of course you'd never see anything if you weren't ready to take chances as they turn up. So I shouldered my camera and tripod, seized my long walking-stick (which is a great aid to climbing walls or leaping down them), on which I had made notches every foot to serve for measuring distances, and set off with Hérul Nisa. [343] "Where is father's poplar garden?" I asked. The Aliábád people have a bewildering way of possessing odd scraps of ground dotted about all over the place, just according as they have taken up one plot or another of the sometime royal land. "Oh, quite near," she said. Everything is "quite near" to these active people, who think less of a 500-foot climb than we think of running a hundred yards to the pillar-box at the corner. It was, in fact, a hot, vertical half-mile over the 342 roughest ground without even a track. Here on a rugged patch 313 of stony, steep-sloping ground, carefully walled in, I found the whole of No. 8 and several neighbours busily setting about the felling job. One man scrambled up and attached a rope near the top of the fated tree. Two or three laid hold of the rope and stood at some distance to pull in the right direction, while the old Ustád himself skilfully hacked a triangular bite out of the trunk near to the ground and then axed away. It was only a few minutes till the slender poplar crashed down. Then 314 Kamber and his friends hacked off the few remaining upper- 415 most branches—the lower ones had been cut long ago—and 313 the womenfolk and young people all clustered along the trunk to peel off the bark, taking care to get it off in strips as long

The old simpleton thereupon revealed to her that while he was 773
invulnerable to spear or arrow, axe or sword, his heart was 796
made of butter and he could be destroyed by fire.

The conspirators thereupon, working privily by night, dug a trench close under the walls of the King's fort and filled it with dry wood, and on a given night at a given signal every Gilgit household poured forth its menfolk armed with blazing torches which they flung into the trench with a great cry: "The enemy is upon you!" The butter-hearted tyrant ran forth and perished miserably in the circle of fierce heat, and the Prince and Princess reigned in his stead.

While Gilgit itself has long since ceased to celebrate its deliverance, the Tumushelling Bonfire in Hunza keeps aflame the memory of Shiri Badat and his heart of butter. In olden days it seems that every Hunza household let its fire die out and rekindled the hearth by a brand from the Tumushelling Fire, but this practice had lapsed before any of our informants could remember.

One winter day, after a gruelling forenoon of solid hard 423
note-taking, DL said: "I'm just about half dead. We must 311
take a quiet walk this afternoon. We'll go up to the Mir's Stables; we can't meet anyone up there. I positively could not talk or listen any more."

The "Mir's Stables" bear no relation to a stable as we understand it. Above the line of terraced fields that sweep round the bay of Aliábád there are 200 or 300 feet of sloping mountain side, forming rude pasture grounds: the *toqs*. Above them rise the steep sand and rock slopes that flow down from the towering crags above. A little farther down the valley from us there is a kind of shelf above the *toqs*, a small roughly level plateau, scattered thick with huge boulders, which is called the "Mir's Stables." It isn't irrigated from any channel; it lies above the highest one, which in any case has petered completely out before it gets so far; but as it is fairly flat it catches any rain or snow there is, and it gets a certain amount of snow and rain drainage from the rocks above, and so in between the boulders and rocks there are patches of coarse, natural grass and thorn bushes. This bit of ground

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

423 belongs to the Mir, and once or twice a year he sends people to
311 cut the grass, such as it is, and bring it in for his horses. It was rather a favourite walk of ours when we felt inclined for an upward scramble, for there is a fine view from it over the whole of the Aliábád Bay and the smaller Bay of Jamu, before the ground falls sheer away into the great Hasanabad gorge with the glacier at the top that waters the village of Hasanabad, our next neighbour downstream. Moreover, it is one of the rare places where, once you have got there, you can walk a little on the level, dodging about between the boulders. We were about halfway up to the Stables when Khano overtook us, desperately out of breath: "I've parked my animals in that garden over there, and I'm coming with you," he said. The "garden" was a desert of stones and rocks, with a rough, loose-stone wall about it and a few miserable stunted trees. "But we know the way quite well, thanks." "Oh no, you don't, not half so well as I do," he retorted. (This, of course, was true enough.) "I'll come with you."

857 So along he came, chattering away nineteen to the dozen, and most entertaining he was. "Do you see the Red Rock?" "There are heaps of red rocks." "Yes, but there's only the one big red boulder, that's the Red Rock. There's a cave under it where we boys shelter when it rains, and on top there are cracks in the rock that hold rain water where we can drink." Right enough, the great boulder—50 or 60 feet high, I suppose—overhung a hollow (you could hardly call it a cave) and the youngsters had built themselves a rude wall and made a very cosy nest that would hold several dozen animals. We scrambled up on to the top and found as he had said that there were several deep cracks which would evidently make neat little drinking troughs when they weren't dry. Then Khano took us round in and out of the boulders and showed us all the boys' pet places. In one they had improved a natural stone sofa and built a sheltering wall and rigged up a fireplace with a few stones, and there they cook potatoes for themselves (when they can get any). They have a very merry life out all day on the hillside in every sort of weather instead of crouching indoors over lessons. The goats climb for miles and miles,

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

312 And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of
423 the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

562 Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the
584 East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

609 To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and
123 Mim sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

184 So much for the Hunzakuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours
157 I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzakuts.

000 We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Werčikwar). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasin district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasin is shown in the following table:

601 for the Vocative, and frequently for the other cases.

000 *usko* x and *y*, cp. *iʷski* and *iʷsken*, v. §§ 187 and 206, three. With the Pn.pf., v. § 133. — *itsɛ uʷsko nuyen* taking those three things. 28.18.

uskuʷin IUB hm (kin), H. *bɔraʷdɔri*. V. *sukuʷin*.

ɔsquʷin N., EOL, v. *sukuʷin*.

ustaʷd, *ustaʷt*, pl. *ustaʷd(t)iŋ*, *ustaʷtiŋ* hm craftsman, skilled craftsman; musician. — *dʌq stʌs ustaʷd* blacksmith. *čʌk stʌs ustaʷd* carpenter. *buʷt ustaʷd ɓai.i* he is a very skilful craftsman. *Gɔrmʌhʌlmʌs juʷʌn ustaʷtʌn men kɔ apaʷn* there is (lit. are) no craftsman like G. M. M. 168.13. *ustaʷdiŋ duʷɔ . . . čʌmʌšʌ sčaʷn* bringing the musicians . . . they make an entertainment. 300.9. *da ɛrɔrešo ustaʷtiŋ altʌmbuʷʌn* then eight music-playing craftsmen, i.e. musicians, band. 336.5. Pra.

ustaʷdi craftsmanship, technical skill. — *ustaʷdiʷ ka stai.i* he has done it, made it, with skill. Pra.

uʷj *y* debt. — *ayeſe uʷj bila* debt is on me, i.e. I am in debt. *ayeſe uʷj diʷbila* debt has come on me, i.e. I have got into debt. *ja ſsundo rupi.a iʷneſe uʷj bila, jaʷr joyʌs ɓai.i* he owes me five rupees, he is to pay (them) to me. *iʷne ſsundo rupi.a jaʷſe uʷj bila, yuʷyʌs ɓa* I owe him 5 rupees, I have to pay him. *gʷuʷʌſe uʷj apiʷ ke . . .* if your father has no debts. Prov. 44. *uʷj ičiʷʌs* the debt-giver i.e. the debtor. (-*j* confirmed by IUB, cp. Sh. *uʷj*.)

● 423 *uʷʌki* term applied to land given to foster-parents, or relations, for service or cash-payment. No obligation in regard to forced labour attaches

423 to it. Something in the nature of a fief, explained by the H. *jagir*. — *beruman bušai.i 'wšaki ičimi* he gave him some "*ušaki*" land. 46.1. *wšaki γenaγ etum bušai* "*ušaki*" land acquired by purchase. (*-ša-* base of *-wše.as* + suffix *-ki f*)

601 *wšam -ršo* foster-. — *wšam aya* (or, *a.u*) my foster-father. 28.1. *wšam yu* his foster-father. 32.13. *wšam mama, ačo, ayas* my foster-mother, brother, sister. *ine wšam maper hir* that old man who had fostered (him). 26.24. *wšam mama guyaiyam* I will take you as my foster-mother. 362.10. *Laγa Brumo wšam mumimur se.ičo* L. B. says to her foster-mother. 122.1. *thame ivi (e..i) inar wšam yumi* the Tham gave out his son (daughter) to him to foster. (The exact force of *wšam* here is obscure).

I also recorded *wšam -ršo* as the equivalent of "mid-wife" and "nurse", but I do not imagine that it can bear these meanings except so far as the function in question may be performed by a foster-mother.

(Form of Static Pc. of *wše.as*).

000 *ušaγ* IUB limbs, parts of body, H. *jor*. (Later information: *-šaγ* y pl. occurs usually in the phrase *-lčin -šaγ* eye and limbs).

-wše.as (*-wšai.as*), *-wšič*, Impv. *-wša*, Ppa. *n-wšan* to rear, nurture, foster, cherish. Pn.pf. + *i*: *ovi-, gusi-, yusi-, —; myusi-, —, usi-. —.ine je ovami* he reared, or fostered me. *ine uγ gusami* he fostered you. *ine haγur yusami* he reared the horse. *ine haγurčo usami* he reared the horses. *Šakanda Bahram maperu yusa bam* the old man had fostered S. B. 22.17.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
2

from India was on this religious basis.

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward.

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice.

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.)

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

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Water rights are regulated by law and a man can use the water from the conduit that passes his land at certain definitely established periods. The flow or shut-off is controlled by placing a large stone or rock at the opening of the channel into the individual's waterway. It may sound a bit baffling to the average individual, but upon viewing it and examining it, it is easy to understand and, what's more important, it is simple and practical. 312 [423]

Nowhere did I see these waterways covered or encased in pipes—although they did in many places run under the roadway.

As their water supply is glacier-fed, there is never any danger of a supply failing . . . at least, not in the imminent future. However, in cloudy periods the flow slackens and an extended cloudy period causes a severe water shortage.

Lest you get the idea that these conduits or waterways are a simple matter, I want to assure you that they are a marvel of engineering. Further, when you consider that the first one was built about 1860 without any man made tools or iron or steel, you can then believe what a difficult and gigantic undertaking it was. It is a monument to their industry, intelligence and foresight. At least now, they have iron picks with which to dig, rather than having to use ibex horns. [412]

Here I want to mention very definitely that the same type of waterway exists on the other side of the river . . . that is, in Nagir territory.

They do not, in any sense of the word, have orchards as we know orchards in the West, because they don't have a piece of land large enough or flat enough to compare with what we know as an orchard. In the West orchard sites are usually selected with the premeditated view of providing excellent drainage. There- 245 311

251 them. Even apricots that were bruised, damaged or even starting to rot were put out to dry. No treatment of any kind was used . . . just simply nature at work.

245 [428] [423] An apricot tree is a most valuable asset in Hunza. It is a fact that an apricot tree is often willed to a daughter by parents and she can retain her rights to the tree and of course the crops that come from it for her lifetime.

In the Western world, the apricot is not considered a long-lived tree. In America, especially, it is considered not much longer lived than a peach or a plum and that means at the most, 25 or 30 years of life. When you take into consideration the truth that in Hunza apricot trees live to be well over 100 years, one wonders just where the difference comes in.

245 242 I really believe that I have the answer. In Hunza apricots are grown from seed. No matter where I looked or sought I could find no tree nursery in either Nagir or Hunza. (I did find a small government nursery in Gilgit.) Therefore I would assume that every Hunzan farmer grows his own trees from the planting of the apricot seeds. No doubt some Hunzan farmers are more adept at this task than others and they probably grow a few extra ones and maybe trade them for other things with their neighbors.

But, as explained, the trees here last many, many years and the orchard space or land to grow them on is very limited. Therefore, there would be little or no demand for nursery stock. I inquired wherever I went concerning grafting and I tried to establish whether or not they knew anything about the process and how much they knew, but I came up against a blank wall. I could gather no definite information. That they know how to graft and are acquainted with the process, I am sure but to what extent it is used, I could not establish.

Among people—yes, even experienced old-time gardeners and orchardists—there are many who believe that pollination by bees is required in all cases to set a crop of fruit. For many types of fruit and plants, this holds true; pollination by bees or other insects is essential. But in the case of the apricot and many others, wind pollination is the means that nature employs, and actually it is safer and surer than pollination by insects. Rain is also an effective pollinator, contrary to many people's conception and belief. I believe I would be safe in stating that wind pollination is the means of fertilizing more plants than can be claimed for bees and other insects combined. 245

All Hunzans own their own land and house. They pay no rent or taxes. Each citizen does his share of road building, taking care of the water channels and maintenance. The Mir leases his land to various individuals, most of them young people who as yet own no land of their own, or those who have insufficient for their needs. They pay him by means of services rendered and shares of the crops. 423 651 [653] 427 643

roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked. 252 262

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness. 372 313

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, mid-season and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering. 245 262

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions. 262

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays. [556] [231]

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards. 565 423 556

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7

him, she would at least know beforehand what she had to contend with. Then again, as the Mir performs all marriages, maybe he wouldn't allow this young man to take a second wife. I did not inquire any further into the details concerning this case, but I admit that I was somewhat surprised to think that a good healthy happy Hunzan would resort to one of civilization's favorite pastimes . . . wife-beating. 586

Wife-beating generally seems to be broadly practiced in Hunza. This struck me as being most strange for I could see little cause or likelihood of opportunities for misdemeanors on the part of the wife. 593 683

Upon taking the matter up with the Mir, he told me that most cases of wife-beating were brought about by nagging, and in Hunza that is sufficient justifiable cause for a man to administer a sound thrashing to his wife and she can't take him to the Mir's court about it, either. The next most frequent cause for wife-beating is over-generosity to her parents with her husband's possessions.

Wife-beating under such provocations as stated might meet with universal support and approval on the part of mankind. There may be principles and practices in Hunza that will not find widespread support in the West, but I'll bet on the basis of the two causes for wife-beating there will be broad, if not general, male approval. 000

By Hunza law a daughter cannot inherit property. The best that she can get in a property settlement is the use of the property for her lifetime. It then must revert to a male member of the father's family. There have been instances where a daughter has been willed an individual tree—in most cases, an apricot tree. This remains her property, or at least the crops do, for as long as the tree or she lives. 428 423

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584 sonal preferences carry weight. The business preliminaries include a small payment from the bridegroom's people in recognition of the fact that the bride's family have had the expense of rearing her and are about to lose her services, an interchange of gifts between the houses, and the provision
585 by the bride's father of an outfit for his daughter. In average peasant families a girl will bring to her new home three sets of every-day cotton clothes and caps, a winter cloak, a set of bedding, and for feast days an embroidered cap or two and a coloured scarf; possibly in addition an aluminium pot or iron bucket; details will vary in every individual case.

428 The laws of inheritance in Hunza show the same equitable
585 common sense as distinguishes the Burusho's other customs. A woman cannot inherit land, since only a man can tackle irrigation work, field making, and so forth. But if a girl is still unmarried when her father dies, it is her brothers' duty to see her adequately outfitted, dowried, and settled. Among the gifts that may accompany a girl are apricot trees; her father or brothers may settle on her the right to the fruit of one or more of the family trees. Our friends of No. 3, who were very straitened and possessed only mulberry trees, had fortunately the right to an apricot tree in Zénába's home garden. We saw Kaníza and her sisters coming home one day, all carrying shoulder-baskets piled high with golden apricots: "We've been to Baltít to gather the fruit of mother's tree," they told us, "and this isn't nearly all. There's shaking-down for two or three days more." When the father dies the family property is fairly divided between the sons, who either work it in common or if they prefer divide it up. Questions then arise as to how many poplars equal an apricot tree, or how many willow trees a wheat field, but the distribution rarely gives rise to quarrels, for the people are just-minded and at need will call in neighbours to adjudicate over knotty points.

428 One of their customs is particularly sane: if a father of
587 grown sons elects to marry again, he is free to do so, but in that case he must share the property as if he were himself a son; and a son by the second wife will only inherit a grandson's
587 share. If a woman is widowed young, she will in the natural

minov McK and GR tumour. (Not known to QUB). 000

miŋ closing the lips and projecting the lower one, in scoffing or preparatory to crying. — *iŋiŋ miŋ sfimi.*

miŋ moŋ sfas to smile.

mirav y. 428

a. Inheritance (land, vessels, gun etc., not living things), heritable inanimate property, hereditament, patrimony.

As regards inheritance, the youngest son inherits the family house, the eldest son inherits the best land. Guns, swords and such articles are divided up, but the father can allot them in his life-time.

A thing specially left to any one, not subject to reversionary rights, is "*miravi*".

denarb mirav the heritage (?) of the world. 260.2. 000

b. Family in which there has been long unbroken descent.

ji mirav bila, or, *je miravi ha* I am of a family of long unbroken descent.

c. Customary law, traditional custom, practice, habit, IUB II. *rasuŋ, rasm, qanun.*

qadimtum mirav bila it is the custom from ancient times. 300.12. *sfage mirav* the custom of "*sfag*". 342.13. *tham yander jurus mirav bila* it is the custom to go out (*lit.* come) to meet the Tham. 336.7. Cp. 342.20. Ar. Pra.

miravi v. *mirav* 1. and 2.

mirbaw, mirmaw; mirbawi, mirmawi. V. *mermaw* and *mermawi.*

mirgi McK and GR epilepsy. (H. *mirgi*).

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But, as explained, the trees here last many, many years and the orchard space or land to grow them on is very limited. Therefore, there would be little or no demand for nursery stock. I inquired wherever I went concerning grafting and I tried to establish whether or not they knew anything about the process and how much they knew, but I came up against a blank wall. I could gather no definite information. That they know how to graft and are acquainted with the process, I am sure but to what extent it is used, I could not establish.

him, she would at least know beforehand what she had to contend with. Then again, as the Mir performs all marriages, maybe he wouldn't allow this young man to take a second wife. I did not inquire any further into the details concerning this case, but I admit that I was somewhat surprised to think that a good healthy happy Hunzan would resort to one of civilization's favorite pastimes . . . wife-beating. 586

Wife-beating generally seems to be broadly practiced in Hunza. This struck me as being most strange for I could see little cause or likelihood of opportunities for misdemeanors on the part of the wife. 593 683

Upon taking the matter up with the Mir, he told me that most cases of wife-beating were brought about by nagging, and in Hunza that is sufficient justifiable cause for a man to administer a sound thrashing to his wife and she can't take him to the Mir's court about it, either. The next most frequent cause for wife-beating is over-generosity to her parents with her husband's possessions.

Wife-beating under such provocations as stated might meet with universal support and approval on the part of mankind. There may be principles and practices in Hunza that will not find widespread support in the West, but I'll bet on the basis of the two causes for wife-beating there will be broad, if not general, male approval. 000

By Hunza law a daughter cannot inherit property. The best that she can get in a property settlement is the use of the property for her lifetime. It then must revert to a male member of the father's family. There have been instances where a daughter has been willed an individual tree—in most cases, an apricot tree. This remains her property, or at least the crops do, for as long as the tree or she lives. 428 423

000 maktab. We had had many native servants of many races and shades of colour in our time—including a French-speaking negro in Kerman long ago—whom we have grown fond of and who, I think, have been fond of us, but never anyone so entirely lovable as Dido of Hunza.

262 While the summer lasted we were able to have as much fresh fruit, green vegetables, and potatoes as we could use, so that we were really very well off.

205 Several other problems that had threatened in advance to be serious solved themselves more easily than we had feared. The Political Agent's office in Gilgit has to send a post bag up to Hunza three times a week and they allowed our letters and parcels to come along in a separate bag to be dropped at Aliábád without payment of any extra postage. This was a great luxury, and we were amazed to find letters and newspapers coming through to us in exactly a calendar month from home. They could also send up in the mail-bag small quantities of white flour, sugar, raisins, rice, salt, matches, and cigarettes from the Gilgit bazaar—all unobtainable locally.

577 We needed money only to pay the wages and the daily milk, vegetables, etc. We had a strong suspicion that Shafi, for the few days he spent in charge of things, was gravely over-charging on the petty account, as well as making away with tea and sugar—having learnt, as I have said, more than his prayers in India. All the real Hunza men are so scrupulously straight that this distressed us. So we were doubly glad to have exchanged him for honest Zaidu.

431 At first all sorts of people kept bringing us gifts of fruit—apricots, pears, melons, peaches, apples, tomatoes (introduced like the potato by the British and much appreciated because they can be dried for winter use). This gift-business, however, is expensive for the recipient. If the Mir or any of the princes or any person of importance sent things, we must of course tip the people who brought them—not in proportion to the actual value of the articles, but to the dignity of the sender and ourselves. If a humbler person brought them we obviously must tip him also. As we could in season buy as much fruit and vegetables as we could use for about a half-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Buruśho AV7

431 penny a day (even when Shafi was profiteering!), and as you can't well tip anyone, even the humblest, less than about sixpence (and if there are several big man's retainers it may run into many shillings), the getting of gifts is very costly! We were glad when the flow of gifts presently dried up a bit. There was always great rejoicing in our back quarters when *maktsh* was presented, for as we could not possibly use it ourselves (not even for cooking) it was solemnly passed on (as soon as the donor was out of sight) to the servants to divide. I called them all up and handed it over publicly to ensure that all should get a fair share. They never seemed to quarrel about the division, but effected it on some well-understood principle of their own, so perhaps my precaution was unnecessary; but it's unfair to lead such generous-hearted people into temptation, and *maktsh* is dearer to their hearts than much fine gold.

296 The only other major problem was the washing. I had quite expected that we might have to get the things washed in the house, and do with rough-dried sheets and towels, occasionally sending shirts and collars down to Gilgit. I do wish men could wear silk undies that only need a rinse. But we heard that there was in Báltít a "merchant" who had at one time been washerman to some British officer, so we made enquiries and asked him to come and see me. He didn't seem at all keen; he wasn't really a *dhobi*, he said, and he hadn't a "proper iron," and he could not starch or "get up" evening shirts. (I could not myself imagine David wilfully wearing "boiled shirts" in camp.) But we turned Qudrat Ullah on to have a talk with him as knowing all the local conditions and people, and so friend Baráto of Báltít agreed to take a small "wash" and see what he could do with it. To my delight he brought everything back clean and beautifully pressed with whatever "improper" iron he had. We had another chat, and if that was all I wanted done he was more than willing to do all our washing for 15s. a month—less than half my laundry bill at home, where we only send the larger things out! In theory he was going to earn his money. He was to carry the wash to the springs at Murtazábád, by the big river. You will remember it is a good five or six miles away, across the Hasanábád gorge and

aluminium ones, a few had even iron buckets. Several people were busy serving, while the headmen acted as masters of the ceremonies. Every household—there are two hundred all told in Aliábád—was entitled to carry off one chunk of meat and one ladleful each of *sherbet* and *harisa* for each mouth at home.

As always in this happy place, the company was full of jokes, laughter, and good temper. There was no hustling, no jostling, no attempt by anyone to secure more than his due share. Any person who had lent one of the big cauldrons (they are costly vessels brought up from down country) was granted an extra "mouthful" as hire, and anyone who had lent a penknife for cutting up was given an extra chunk of meat impaled on it. The people who had lent the tripods were not entitled to anything extra; this apparent injustice was thus explained: "You are fond of your cooking-cauldron; you are fond of your penknife; but no one could possibly be fond of a tripod."

We moved about for some time among the crowd, greeting old acquaintances and making new ones, then the people insisted that we must sit down, cleared one of the stone sofas, dashed into the Assembly Hall and brought out a carpet and spread it for us, while one of the headmen came and sat by explaining the procedure of the festival and naming the various utensils. As the light grew David took a few photographs, but by that time most of the carcases had been hacked to bits and a large number of households, having got their share, had gone home to celebrate a sort of family Christmas dinner with it. Nor for the first time, still less for the last, I regretted my lack of enterprise in sticking to my old familiar quarter-plate camera with its lens working only to F.6.3. David with his 3.5's could get photographs in much weaker light than I.

They insisted on pressing on us a "share" for each of our servants. How can you assess, how hope to repay, the generosity of these hospitable people? Remember that hardly any house has more than *just enough* to eat for the year; yet they must share their feast with our relatively pampered retainers! We could only gratefully accept and as a poor return offer the headman some money for distribution as they thought best "to the orphans and the poor." Hunza has, of course, no charitable

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any un- 587
weaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *rúli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. 585
She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to 614
be "a daughter of the Burong," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gimo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of 607
fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will 431
ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltít, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltít when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza 561
is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific inno- 888
vations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AVT Burnsho AVT

Then from the house of entertainment there is (sent) a dish on which they put as the Wazir's portion, a leg (of mutton), and *sherbat* along with bread; and also there is a dish apiece for the Headman and the two Hunza Trangfas on which they put a leg. Then for the cooks there are the fat of the two goats and their necks and skins. And for the musicians there is from ancient times a wooden jar which it is the custom to give to them filled with the oil from the *sherbat*. From that evening's food they set something aside and in the morning, and they bring it with *gurit tsomik* from the host's house to the place of assembly.

When the Tham stays thus for a month or two months in Herber every day the people who are exempt from carrying loads bring to the Tham's house two goats and a lump of ghee and bread, which they have made with 15 *chaqs* of grain, and *sherbat*. And every day the Tham gives green grass to the Elders for their horses. To the Wazir grass is given from five houses and they give the Wazir one *chuti* of grain (for his horse). For the horses each village gives (him?) a rope.

When the hospitalities have come to an end they give a goat and bread (made) of five *chaqs* of grain. This is called *Otag*. The custom of *Otag* is as follows: One field has been given to each of them by the Thams and on that they have imposed the *Otag* tax. Further the exempted man every year gives the Tham as *ilhaw* four animals viz. one he-goat, one ram, one she-goat and one yearling kid. Followers of the second rank and load-carriers give every year three animals viz. one she-goat, one sheep and one yearling kid. These are the tax (imposed) on load-carriers. Further, each household gives the Tham four (measures of) grain, which they call *sabur jiti* and each household gives a *kichuti* of barley, which is called *gashi yurk*. It is the custom also for every village to give one rope each for as many dogs and horses as there may be.

The Khudâ-abâd *ilhaw* is (assigned) to Gushpur Nafis, and the Nazimâbâd *ilhaw* to Shâhâz Khan and the Misgâr *ilhaw* is vested

19 *gash yurk* — Wakhi for "horse's barley"; *gal* 'horse' and *yurk* 'barley'.
21 *Nazimabad* — the older name of this place was *Sikke Das*.

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The [273] grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

796 Tumushuling, the great winter cele-
585 bration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom, accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door, which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan [43] from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do [372] marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home, leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival. [643] The Mir gives a small gift, usually a [491] piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

585 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza
583 marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride,

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

following each other round and round in a circle— 644
sometimes with sword and shield and the usual 535
flourishes, sometimes with nothing in their hands, now posturing slowly, again flying round with long jumps and steps. In Nagar every one dances—the younger sons of the Thum, Wazirs, and the common herd, all take part. In the pre-Mahomedan days the [562] women also danced, and I should not be surprised if amongst themselves they did not even now join in, but, of course, not on a state occasion, or before strangers. Immediately after the dance came a couple [526] of hours of polo, still to the accompaniment of the band, which played just below our tents, and whose monotonous noise became maddening.

In the evening I dismissed the son of the Hunza 644
Wazir, who had come with letters from the Thum, 431
with my answer and a present. He was good enough to express himself quite satisfied personally, at which I was surprised, for he was wearing a coat of velvet covered with gold embroidery, worth at least five-and-twenty pounds, the outcome of Lockhart's lavish habits of largesse. It was a much more magnificent garment than any I had to give his master, and of much greater value than the present I could afford to give him. He informed me, however, that a scoundrel with him, to whom I had given some money and a choga, was going away hopeless, because I had not promised to renew to him a pension which his father had drawn from the Kashmir Durbar. They were difficult people to deal with in some ways, showed no sense of proportion in making their demands, and really, I believe, could not understand that there must be some limit to one's power of giving rewards.

245 fore, knolls or rolling lands are preferred and gravelly,
311 sandy or light loam soils are chosen.

There are neither rolling lands nor tilthy knolls in Hunza. Here they have to take what they can get and make the best of it. The precipitous bits of arable land are terraced to prevent erosion and the flat pieces, such as there are, create no drainage problem because there is no danger of too much rain.

You will seldom see more than a few dozen fruit trees in one group or area. They are scattered here, there and everywhere and are planted only where and when they can grow to best advantage.

I would also like to mention that fruit and walnut trees are found growing almost everywhere along the roads or trails in the populated area, so no bit of arable land, no matter where it is found, is wasted.

245 I do not know if there is any dispute as to who owns the crops but all the way from Gilgit to Altit I did not find a bit of ripe fruit on the trees—which means most clearly that somebody harvests the crops at just the right time or when the fruit is at or about proper maturity.

433 From some of the larders that I examined, I gathered
251 that they certainly wouldn't have any overabundance and I further felt that, by the time winter and early spring passed and before the new crops were ready to harvest, some bellies might have thinned out and some more might even be hungry.

There was no reason for me to disbelieve the Mir when he said Hunza was the "land of just enough" but I still felt that, by the look of things, there would be many occasions when that "just enough" might have to be stretched a little. I was convinced that they certainly did not have too much of any food commodity.

142 The only two stout men that I met on my entire

Both the irrigation water which they use on their fields and their drinking water come from the Ultar Glacier. Therefore, their entire water supply is glacial. 312

Their entire economy is dependent upon their agriculture and everything that is taken from the soil is religiously returned to the soil. Chemical fertilizers or chemical sprays of any type are unknown to the people. It may be possible that the Mir has used sprays in his palace grounds. He might have brought them with him from his visits abroad, but I saw none and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, none are used. I saw no insect infestation of any kind or type through my entire travels and investigations. In Gilgit I did see insect injury in a garden and it was apparent to me that the soil of Hunza was in balance and therefore it produced food that was balanced. Therefore, it is understandable, the people of Hunza are healthy! 241 [433]

The food of the people of Hunza is in the main, raw food. It is neither dissected nor desiccated, but is eaten in the whole. The only exception that I could find to this rule was in their milk. When they made butter, they drank the remains or the buttermilk. Of course, in due time, they ate the butter. 262

All children born in Hunza are breast fed for at least two years. Male children are often breast fed until they are 3 years old. 853

I do not intend to stress any one factor of the points mentioned above. I am submitting them to you for your consideration and study. 000

It is, however, my belief that their soil and location does not lend itself to mechanization and therefore their good health should continue. If they could mechanize, then they would not get the needed beneficial exercise which, as you can gather, is one of the important contributors to their good health and longevity. 241 164

842 The country cannot afford or support a greater population than exists there today. Therefore, they will have to practice birth control, which it is claimed they already do but with which I disagree, or they will have to send their youths out of the country, which, as a matter of fact, they are doing.

311 There is very little chance of finding or creating more arable land in the country. I believe they have practically every inch tilled now that is tillable. There is no land left in that part of the world that is yet to be broken.

880 Their land and their fruit trees are their whole life. Their health, pleasant dispositions and industry, which they possess to the highest degree, are their entire wealth.

578 Quarreling among children and adults seems to be something that doesn't exist in Hunza. I found close affection and love was the general, accepted pattern throughout the area. This is even more surprising when you realize that most of the houses in the villages are built practically one on top of the other.

181 It was clear to me that they knew no worries and
152 that they create no worries. There was absence of jealousy, greed, covetousness and hurry. Their outlook on life is most unpretentious. They are proud people and do not grovel before anyone and they do not pretend to be anything but what they really are.

433 Every Hunzan farmer is completely self-sufficient, even though he might trade for something that is in short supply or that he would like to possess. He grows wheat, barley, potatoes, millet, cabbage, beans, onions, lettuce and occasionally a bit of rice. In their orchards they have apricots, apples, pears, walnuts and mulberries. Every family has sheep and goats and sometimes a cow or an ox, and occasionally a yak. They till

their own land. They spin their own wool. Then they 433
weave it into cloth from which they cut and sew their [286]
clothes. However he can also buy or trade for woolen cloth or he can have his own wool woven for him.

They have little or no money. The few dollars that 436
he might get during the year would come from the 485
expeditions that congregate in the area and hire the Hunzans as porters. And they are unsurpassed at this difficult and arduous work.

A man has a right to inflict corporal punishment 593
upon his wife if she nags him. Perhaps that is why the men of Hunza have that cheerful look.

The children are never neglected because the parents
are always at home. Further, the children do their 857
share of the work in the fields and are taught to do so from early childhood. This also eliminates juvenile delinquency.

The people of Hunza have splendid dispositions. 157
They are genial, pleasant, smiling and cheerful. They 181
have deep respect for authority, profound love of the land, affection, compassion and understanding for their neighbors and they are most hospitable to strangers. They hold their heads high, their chests out and they
are strong, honest and hard-working. To me this showed 000
clearly and positively that people can live and that agriculture can exist and thrive without chemistry, chemical fertilizers, chemical sprays or synthetic medicines and drugs.

They enjoy happiness without modernization, long life without doctors, nurses and hospitals, democracy without bureaucracy, law and order without police and self-sufficiency without money. Part of the answer, if not most of it, is their loyalty to and their faith in their land, a pure case of unremitting agriculture and putting everything back into the soil which was taken

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.42-C]

286
291
292

[463]
[433]

CRAFTSMEN like this weaver are not numerous in Hunza; the demanding mountain economy requires the full-time effort of the society to raise food.

[P44-C]

134 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If
311 you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

241 HUNZAS are skilful at building a
134 limited fertility into their sterile
[237] material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain snow to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrates, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 Even the most painstaking hydro-
241 ponic gardening cannot compensate
237 for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy.
[233] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefully herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 Unfortunately, the human popula-
161 tion has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient
167 food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Shewna predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men
[649] join the Pakistan army. Others take
464 work as servants, where their honesty,
[181] industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

124 sion was taking place and he said to Sultan Ali, "That's[1] much too much! Why most people in Hunza don't get [434] that much in a year. I don't think you should ask Mr. Tobe to give them that much money."

Sultan Ali and Jahangir exchanged a few fairly warm words about this and the end result was that Sultan Ali compromised by saying that maybe 20 rupees each would be satisfactory. So I dug into my pocket-book and handed each of them two 10 rupee notes.

[1] [i.e. 40 rupees - ANALYST]

bevdiá, *pevdiá*, king. 2.1 (et passim). 000
V. § 50. Prs.

beyo, pl. *beyutíŋ* (e.g. of bread), *beyumíŋ* (of land), the pl. form *beyutíŋ* (cp. 82.16) is denied, y share, portion, fraction.

1. *ešto beyo ganimi* he took a double share. *jav besan beyo jutila* the share that falls (comes) to me.366.3. *jav beyo ha ati* give me (a) house for my share, or my share of house(?). 112.11. *beyo stas* to apportion, share (bread, land etc.) IUB. *tirki beyo manev* to become the share of the earth, i.e to be wasted, H. *mark ha bipa, yanu berbad, hona*. N. *alto beyo* two-thirds. *iski beyo* three quarters.
2. Substitute (for), in place of *zu amia beyo daiya ba* I have come as a substitute for my father and mother. 282.8, 42.1.
3. On the part of, on behalf of. *gurimo jana janavi ja beyo* (sis) *ju sti* salute your relations from me. EOL. (Cp. Sh. *beyo* share, *beyorzki* to divide, to apportion).

beyairi v. *beyerri*.

beyerig v. *beye*.

beyobam, *beybam* (hm) gardener. 64.8, 382.11. Prs.

bakri (x) a kind of black-eyed hawk. Prs.

bavi, *baiá* a sum, formerly of 12, now of 16 rupees. It is divided into 2 *zor*. — *hin zurabgu.inafs baiá yanzis bap bila. turma alta rupia maiá biam* there is a tax of a "bai" of gold on each Jemadar of Goldwashers. It amounts to 12 rupees. 348.7. (Cp. Sh. *bavi*, *baiá*, twelve). 436 651

bej (y) toll, tax. Prs.

61 a

000 *čilamči* x basin (European). Pra. H.

čili — ? — *čili bəbuk* a very small bead. EOL. (Cp. Sh. *čili*, juniper).

436 *čilıki, čıliki, -mots* x obsolete coin (formerly worth 8 annas). — *jaʌ̃s čıliki.m api* I have no money, "I haven't a penny". (Cp. Punjabi *čiki*, "A kind of Nanak Shahi rupee . . . a kind of rupee worth ten annas current in the Jammu and Kashmir State". Bhai Maya Singh).

000 *čili·mdan* pipe-bearer to the King. 20.4, 26.7. Pra.

čimıli, čimili, -miŋ, y chip, splinter. — *mentas čim'ili.eŋ yaiyi ks* . . . if the splinters strike anyone (or perhaps for *čimili'en* as in 172.3). 172.1.

čhin, pl. *čhiyo*, N. *čen*, x bird. — — *či.u dorlas* to shoot (small) birds.

činta active. — *činta hiraň* an active man.

čipuphoj -iŋ y whirlwind.

čıq'ır -rəo white-eyed (i.e. with whitish pupil, of horses only).

(Cp. Kho *čıγər, čıqər; čıγerí*, light-eyed, "if there is too much white beside the black of the eye that is called *čıγər*". ŠY. Wakhi, *čakır*, "light-coloured of eyes", Shaw).

čir stas to spin, — *gančats čir stas* to spin. (Cp. Sh. *čirčir th.*, to twirl spindle in the fingers).

čıraγnama. — *axona čıraγnama γatai bai.i* the mullah reads, recites the "*čıraγnama*" (a prayer (*du'a*) used when three days have elapsed after a funeral). 314.2. Pra.

354 765 *čıraq, čir'ak, čıraγ, čıraγ, -rəo, -ots* x lamp, small stone container with floating wick. — *balo·ldans čıraq* stone lamp. *čumare čıraq* iron lamp, lantern. *čır'ak ispalas* to light a

98 b

[See corrigenda et addenda category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

the past year the total collected from fines imposed by me upon the citizens of Hunza totaled less than 200 rupees. You know that my people do not have much money. There is no way or means of earning money—except by the few. We do not require money in order to live in Hunza. Further, the full amount that was collected in this manner was used in the maintenance of the irrigation system."

I waved my hand and said, "I only asked. I didn't think it was true, but I've read so many tales about Hunza in which ridiculous and fantastic statements are made without any justification or background."

"A few years ago," I went on, "two of the most influential and widely circulated magazines in the United States published an article by a famed and capable couple of writers—man and wife. I know they visited Hunza on two occasions because I saw their names in your guest book. Now the story they told and which both of these magazines published stated that it was a custom in Hunza for the mother-in-law to go and live with a newly married couple and remain with them on their honeymoon to teach them the ways of life. You explained that this was the reason why Hunzan marriages were so successful and there was seldom, if ever, a divorce.

"Before asking you to clarify this, I just want to tell you that I read this story and when I came to this specific part, I could hardly believe my eyes. But, as I have learned, there are many strange customs followed by different people throughout the world and of course, this could be absolutely true. But it certainly is strange and weird sounding to me anyway. So tell me, is that story true? Is it the custom of the people of Hunza to have the mother-in-law stay with the newly married couple during their honeymoon?"

During the past few years a bit of money has come 436
into Hunza. At the time I was there, there were four 177
expeditions doing mountain and glacier climbing—as 464
well as investigations and research, not in Hunza, but in the vicinity. There were groups from Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland and Germany. In each and every case these expeditions would require bearers, guides, horses and pack animals. These would be recruited from among the Nagirwals and Hunzans and they would be paid in Pakistan rupees. I wish to emphasize that this has only taken place during the past few years. Prior to this period expeditions in this area were extremely rare.

While today money does make its appearance, it is 436
still comparatively scarce. The Mir believes that the 177
coming of money, modernization, and civilization as 643
we know it will only harm his people and he seeks to prevent this, if possible. It is my sincere and humble conviction that the Mir is honest and thinking of his people in his endeavors.

"There is no doubt that the people of Hunza know 461
and enjoy the true thrill of leisure." When I mentioned this to my staff, I was quickly brought to bay by one of my more astute employees who said, "How can that be when they are occupied from dawn till dusk?"

I was caught off balance and I had to reflect a moment and when I reflected, the picture was clear to me. Would a man who has never worked understand what is meant by a holiday? Would the average individual who spends his working days sitting at a desk checking figures, making phone calls and chatting with visitors, understand what leisure is? I contend that in order to know the true joy of leisure one must work and the harder one works, the greater is the enjoyment found in utter relaxation.

Can a man know leisure when after his day's work is

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
648 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

205 Pakistani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters that I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

their own land. They spin their own wool. Then they 433
weave it into cloth from which they cut and sew their [286]
clothes. However he can also buy or trade for woolen cloth or he can have his own wool woven for him.

They have little or no money. The few dollars that 436
he might get during the year would come from the 485
expeditions that congregate in the area and hire the Hunzans as porters. And they are unsurpassed at this difficult and arduous work.

A man has a right to inflict corporal punishment 593
upon his wife if she nags him. Perhaps that is why the men of Hunza have that cheerful look.

The children are never neglected because the parents
are always at home. Further, the children do their 857
share of the work in the fields and are taught to do so from early childhood. This also eliminates juvenile delinquency.

The people of Hunza have splendid dispositions. 157
They are genial, pleasant, smiling and cheerful. They 181
have deep respect for authority, profound love of the land, affection, compassion and understanding for their neighbors and they are most hospitable to strangers. They hold their heads high, their chests out and they
are strong, honest and hard-working. To me this showed 000
clearly and positively that people can live and that agriculture can exist and thrive without chemistry, chemical fertilizers, chemical sprays or synthetic medicines and drugs.

They enjoy happiness without modernization, long life without doctors, nurses and hospitals, democracy without bureaucracy, law and order without police and self-sufficiency without money. Part of the answer, if not most of it, is their loyalty to and their faith in their land, a pure case of unremitting agriculture and putting everything back into the soil which was taken

Then there was ghee or yak butter to be used as a spread. Most of them at the table selected ghee. I chose the white yak butter. 262

Western types of raw vegetables on the table are conspicuous by their absence. I had all my meals at the palace and the only raw vegetable on the table at any time was lettuce and the lettuce, the Mir informed me, was from seed that I had sent him some months prior to my arrival.

So it is clear that vegetables like lettuce, celery, cucumbers, cabbage, carrots, radishes and such are not generally used in this part of the world as a fresh salad with meals. I do know they use onions and peppers. The onions that I saw were of the green type and I recall being presented with a bunch of them by a youngster who popped out of one of the houses on the trail. I gave him a small coin as a gift or reward. The child couldn't have been more than 3 or 4 years old and he shouted with glee and joy to his mother, holding the tiny coin aloft for everyone to see. He seemed happier at the gift of that coin than any youngster I can ever recall. I'm sure the big hundle of green onions was worth many times what I had given him! 123 436

I believe this illustrates just how scarce or unusual money is there!

This was a sad breakfast for me because now I was on the threshold of leaving and I wasn't too happy to go from this enchanted place. I walked slowly down the long staircase that led from the palace and the rest followed behind. 123

There in the yard was the jeep with the driver and a few servants waiting and watching. Our baggage was placed aboard.

I left a sum of 40 rupees with the Mir to divide among the many servants who had given so graciously

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of workable land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep, a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

During the past few years a bit of money has come

184 a good crop of various kinds of grains, forage, vege-
241 table crops and fruits. In Hunza this just doesn't occur.
The terrain is steeper, more precipitous, more difficult
311 and seldom if ever does a flat open area come within the limits of normal vision.

[133] Then, too, Nagir has many more nullahs formed by the melting glaciers. Rakaposhi is located in Nagir and surrounding it are many snowfields and glaciers which are used, trained and harnessed to irrigate their country.

Indubitably, the fates and nature have been much kinder to Nagir than they have to Hunza.

438 Let me also tell you frankly that on many occasions the people of Hunza purchase or barter various types of food from Nagir. I asked the ways and means that [437] were used in effecting these deals and found that in most cases money—earned by the Hunzans in service in the army, portering for expeditions and given to them as gifts—was the means.

184 One might gather from what I have said and even [628] from talking to various people or natives of the area, that the Nagirwals and the Hunzans are deadly enemies. But that is not true. The people of Hunza [186] think themselves much better than the people of Nagir. They do believe that they are handsomer, healthier, cleaner and are better husbandmen, but yet there does not appear to be any cases of conflict, physical or armed, between the two peoples.

123 I recall a little incident that may be of some interest. We rounded a spot—I guess it was 10 or so miles from Minapin—on the way up to Baltit and there we saw a decrepit, ragged looking Nagirwal. In his hands he [231] held a pair of chickens. They were the typical chickens of the area—full grown but the size that our chickens are when they're half grown. He waved them in front of us as though indicating they were for sale or could be

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all appeared to us to suggest Persian inspiration. I heard one lady say with regret for a golden past: "What is the world coming to? Why nowadays the very peasant girls embroider silken caps for themselves!"

True enough; now that a little money filters into almost every home the women can get hold of coloured silk from India or Kashgar, and it was a common sight to see girls and women open a tiny home-made bag that hung on their tunic, and take out a strip or circle of calico, a needle, and a bunch of silk, and continue work on a dainty cap. The threads of the cloth were carefully counted and the design traced out in black thread. The silks they used were unspun, clinging masses that I found impossible to handle, and how they manipulated them so skilfully with fingers roughened, you would have thought, by field work, I could not divine. For about 1s. 6d. they can buy enough silk to cover one cap with minute embroidery, and they blend their colours, red, blue, green, orange, purple, yellow, and black, with unerring taste. We laid in a store of their favourite shades so that on occasion we could make an acceptable gift to a bride preparing her trousseau.

After a first experience of trifling gifts of balls and combs we had decided that it would be a crime to spoil the simple, spontaneous kindness of the children or their parents by indiscriminate giving. So we restrained a longing to distribute even sweets and pins, and only made an occasional present on very special occasions or for very definite services rendered. On the other hand, we made a note of such things as would be useful and acceptable, and gathered a hoard of them for our ultimate visits of farewell.

Amongst the women's crafts I have already mentioned the neat little "ashtrays" they conjure from the residual mush of apricot kernels after they have extracted the oil. Washing is amongst them a simple matter. Having no fat, they can make no soap, but there is a plant, called *himan*, which they grow amongst their vegetables, the seeds of which when pounded yield a delightful soapy lather. This is used for special washings only. Every-day cotton clothes are simply rinsed in cold water, flung on a flat stone and beaten with a wooden mallet. When

These various subjects of general interest and activity postulate the existence of a large vocabulary relating to agricultural processes, implements and products; irrigation, fruit culture and the management of live stock and the treatment of their products. 192

Crafts.

Any people who are in the main self-supporting must have developed, and must command, a number of essential crafts. Here it is only possible to enumerate very briefly the principal crafts practised by the Burusho. They include: 463

Building: wall-building without mud; house building, stone-and-mud walls and mud-plastering.

Woodwork: supporting pillars, roofing timber, shaped and unshaped, door-frames, doors and windows. Agricultural implements: ploughs and various forms of wooden shovel and pitchfork; wooden bowls and spoons. Wearing and milling apparatus.

Spinning: hair and woollen thread and twisting into yarn and ropes.

Weaving: woollen home-spun for clothing; hair-cloth for bags and mats.

Basketwork of willow twigs: various forms of baskets and creels.

Preparing skins: for bags for grain etc. and for holding water, milk etc.; also thongs, foot-wrappers and boots.

Metal work: a little iron-work.

Sewing: clothes.

Milling: water-mills are used for grinding flour.

Salt-washing: a method of obtaining salt from saline earth by dissolving it out is sometimes practised.

Gold-washing: the river sand is washed to extract gold-dust. This is done for the Tham of Hunza at certain places, by the lower classes only. I do not know that it is practised privately.

Wine-making and distilling: the latter is now prohibited.

Imports.

The Burusho are dependent on the outside world for their supply of metals and in general for all metal manufactures, e.g. plough- 439

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AVT

439 shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bēricho (sg. Bērita; b'e·ri·čo, b'e·ri·ts), corresponding to the Doms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also [335] within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

463 Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

531 I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

535 563 534 Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bēricho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitār is known.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXVIII.

The Raskam Salt Tribute.

In early times there was a road from Baltistān to Shimshāl by way of the Biraldo Nullah. They say that there still is.

A man of Hunza called Khush Bèg had come in the time of Shah Ghazanfer from Shigir over the Biraldo with a pair of small drums.

In very early times there were people settled in Raskam, and they say that they used to take a tribute of salt from them to Shigir in Baltistan over the Biraldo. The Baltis imposed the Raskam salt tax.

Then after the destruction of Raskam Bakhti had come from Raskam to Shimshāl. The Raskam salt tribute they (then) paid to the Thams of Hunza. Up to the present day they bring in as tribute from Shimshāl a hundred moulded blocks of salt in autumn and a hundred blocks in spring.

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that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

from India was on this religious basis. 175 648

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward. 175 648 439 [487]

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice. [262]

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.) 175 648 [77] [643] [423] [233]

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

As that entire 200 miles from the Chinese border to Nomal is composed chiefly of this type of terrain, unless a caravan had a guarantee of safe conduct, they just couldn't get through. 175 648 [487]

The Mir was the ruler of Hunza and he held full and complete control over his tribesmen. So what could be more natural and understandable than an annual payment of tribute to the Mir for safe conduct? I know for a fact that right up until the time when the Chinese Communists took over the Singkiang District, the Mir still received a share of the cargo carried by the caravans traveling through Hunza. [643] [487]

Therefore it is my conclusion that the ways, the habits and the mode of life of the people of Hunza were patterned more after the Chinese than the Indians. Further, I suspect that they did a lot more trading with the caravans that came through regularly than they ever did at Gilgit. In one instance the caravans came to them and in the other case they had to go down to Gilgit . . . anywhere from 40 to 200 or so miles away, through the tough mountain roads. 175 648 439 [177]

It was in November 1947, when Pakistan seized part of Kashmir from India by an armed revolt. The circumstances that brought about this event are worth recording and I believe you will have greater understanding of the people of Hunza and Pakistan if you know the story. 175 648

The Pakistanis claim that the Province of Kashmir should belong to Pakistan because the Indian government had agreed to allow all the predominantly Moslem districts to secede and become a part of the newly formed country of Pakistan. Therefore, Kashmir which is more than 90 per cent Moslem should be a part of the Mohammedan nation. Eventually, when partition took place, Kashmir was not permitted out of the fold

and up and down the dangerous rivers. Yes, even the yak bones and horns are never wasted. Picks are fashioned from them. They even find their way into the walls of the homes of the people of Hunza, for they are lighter than stones. 231 237 [342]

Still I haven't yet mentioned what is generally accepted as the yak's most important contribution to the lives of the people in the highest mountain ranges in the world . . . and that is from the little green herbage they get, they give a good quantity of rich milk, from which is made the famous yak butter. Then last and perhaps even most important, it is butchered for its good quality, health-sustaining meat. 231 262

Even the yak tails are useful . . . as brooms or dusters . . . and many are shipped to the Western world and used as Santa Claus beards. And they do make the best Santa Claus beards of all. I know—I have a couple! 231 237 412 439

Now after you have had a chance to read these qualifications, perhaps you, too, will share my admiration and appreciation of the world's most useful animal. 000

I was up bright and early the morning I was to go to meet the yaks. Yes, it was just 6 o'clock when I was walking down the enclosed staircase towards the Mir's palace—leaving Cecil asleep, as he still had to remain in bed as the doctor had advised.

I met Jahangir coming from the other guest house and he joined me. We had agreed the previous night to be up at 6 but I never expected that it would work out right on the beam, as it happened in this instance.

So down we went along the stone staircases from one garden level to another until we reached the Mir's palace and then we began to climb up the long wooden staircase again.

As usual, the Mir was there to welcome us, along

There is more wheat grown in Hunza than any other 243
single grain crop. Therefore the wheat they use must [164]
be one of the vitally important contributors to the health of these people.

If you will take time to study the habits or the peculiarities concerning the growing of wheat, you will quickly learn that wheat will not grow on poor or unbalanced soils. One of the first things that my father taught me many long years ago was that your best land must be used if you want to grow a good crop of wheat. Rye or barley, he told me, you can grow most anywhere, but wheat is fussy. If the nutrients aren't there in the soil, the wheat will not grow and your crop will be a failure. All through my travels in Nagir and Hunza I saw wheat and it looked good. It wasn't the same tall wheat that we grow in the Canadian West, but it was wheat and the yield was comparatively bountiful, which means that the Hunzan soil must contain the required nutrients—and to grow wheat, there are many.

Therefore there is a direct connection between the nutrient contents of the soil of Hunza and the wheat that it grows, the flour that they use, the bread that they eat and the health of these people.

Here and now I want to explain that I am not 243
making decisions for anyone. I am trying to lay down 134
the facts as I found them. As stated above, in order to grow good wheat or even to grow wheat at all, the soil must contain all of its required nutrients. It is obvious, therefore, that the soil has the required nutrients and as all of the Hunzan soil is shallow, these nutrients must be regularly reincorporated into the soil.

I have already related that everything that is taken 243
from the soil is returned to the soil by the natives. Consequently we know that nothing is lost. Hunza does [439]
not export food. That I know, because there is barely

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556 able land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep,
231 a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

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164 "Yes," said the doctor, "I am alarmed at the great increase in goiter cases in Hunza, especially among the younger people, where it is rampant. Also, cavities in the teeth of the people are being found regularly, whereas a few years ago tooth trouble in any form was practically unknown, judging from the information at my disposal!"

When he spoke to me he was genuinely distressed at the increased occurrence of both of these maladies.

"To what do you attribute the increase in these conditions, Doctor?" I asked.

He replied, "As yet I have been unable to lay my finger on anything specific concerning this."

I have been interested in Hunza for many years and
262 during this period I have devoured every available
263 piece of literature on these fascinating people. Thus, marshalling my mental forces, I said to him, "Have any major changes taken place in the diet or living habits of the people of Hunza?"

"Not that I am positively aware of," he said meditatingly.

"Where do the people of Hunza get their salt from?"
[439] I asked.

"It is usually flown in from Pindi to Gilgit and then carried up the trail to Baltit and other parts of Hunza."

I learned that it was also carried by jeep and pack animals from Rawalpindi across the Babusar Pass into Gilgit as well.

"How long has this been going on?"

This the good doctor could not answer. But the Mir
[439] was close by and he said it was longer than ten years now that the salt had been imported.

"Where did you get your salt from before?" I said to the Mir.

"Why," he replied, "the people of Hunza have been

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Hunza are more or less used to it. However, it does 164
cause trouble with the eyes of the natives. It also weakens the lungs of some of the older women, who probably spend most of their time indoors during the cold months of the year.

I questioned the doctor and the Mir concerning pre- 843
natal care, but from what they told me, I could find no provisions whatsoever made for prenatal care outside the individual home.

The death rate at childbirth, they told me, was next 165
to zero, but the doctor also mentioned that a woman 845
would not consider going to a doctor for gynecological 757
reasons under any circumstances. She would rather die.
He also told me that before and after delivery of a 843
child, Hunzan women do not know of any rest. The 846
pregnant woman works harder and does more laborious jobs till the last day of the term, in the belief that hard and laborious work makes delivery easier and uneventful.

"But," he went on, "they are very careful in exerting themselves during the early days of conception. After delivery they are again up and doing again, only after a short rest."

It seems to be obvious that the method followed by 843
the women of Hunza prior to childbirth "works" because both mother and child come out of it "uneventful." When events occur at such times, it usually means serious trouble.

He went on to tell me further that gallstones, renal 164
calculus, coronary heart disease, hypertension, valvular lesions, myxoldeama thyrsotoxcasis, mental deficiencies, cancer, poliomyelitis, arthritis and diabetes are absolutely unknown in Hunza.

From what I have seen and gathered I am worried 177
about the situation. They are now importing their sugar, 263
439

177 their salt and soon there will be a few more items added
263 and, as more of their people go out of the country to
439 earn a living and come back to visit or retire, more of civilization's curses will be brought back with them.

165 The doctor rather clearly indicated that infant mor-
114 tality was not as low as some writers would like us to believe. I repeat—he made this quite clear.

164 Now I'll let you decide how it ties in with the statements made by Sir Robert McCarrison: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucous colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people, the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

276 Smoking in general is not an addiction in Hunza. The water-pipe or hubble-bubble is used by some of the people, usually at gatherings or ceremonies. It is then passed around in a wide circle, each one taking a puff
[562] or two. The women are included, but only after all the men have finished.

Some of the citizens use snuff. It is tobacco mixed with the ash of a plant called "sopa," which is indigenous to that area. They take the tobacco and the sopa ash, put in a dash of water, stir it up and mix it into a paste. Then they place gobs of this paste under their lip, exactly the same as the snuff chewer does in the West, although this practice has been dying out in the Western world.

164 Just how much of the health of the people of Hunza
132 is due to the fact that they get a lot of sunlight? That is a most pertinent question and one that will take a lot

133 too, as you rose where the road led on high crests, you
487 could see the river winding, twisting, bending in the distance and you knew that you would be there soon—in an hour or a few.

As you course your way along the trail, you see the snow and ice covered mountain ranges with their glorious majestic crests gleaming in slides of silvery softness. You follow a road, that was known for at least a thousand years as a snaking, curving road of exceptional beauty, mid towering heights, nameless peaks and grave hazards.

487 'Twas but a scant few decades ago—yes, even that
●439 short a time—that one or two successful caravan trading trips, winding their way from China to the Khyber Pass via Peshawar, Pindi, Gilgit and the Hunza and Nagir Valleys, could make a trader rich, if he could get through without mishap and avoid being robbed by brigands.

The camel caravans would be laden with silks, gaily colored cloth, clothing, tea, porcelain, earthenware, jewels, gold and silver, ivory, salt, sweetening, spices, trinkets and bottles, fancy slippers, foot coverings, vases, trays and fancily inscribed artware, bars of iron and steel, knives, cooking utensils..

On this caravan route, animals do not walk side by side, but one behind the other.

[648] It is no wonder that the owners of the caravans were glad to pay tribute for safe conduct through these defiles and passes.

We met caravans but they were evidently coming from the Pamirs and heading towards Gilgit, Peshawar and Srinagar. They were good sized ones with many donkeys and camels. The altitude wasn't high enough for yaks.

They looked sort of nondescript to me. I thought

they would be more interesting. But what can one expect from hard working travelers through a wicked terrain? They didn't look rich or impressive, but I was forced to admit that it did take courage and determination. 'Twas not meat for a weak man. 487 439

It occurred to me that a caravan would not be easy picking for a bandit or bandits. They'd best have superiority of numbers because men with weak stomachs or weak heads don't travel in caravans.

What is the lure that mountains hold for many men? I've learned that they can be as beautiful, as enchanting, as alluring and yes, even as demanding and possessive as any woman. I have never known a man who went to his death for a woman, but I have read and known of many who went to their death for a mountain . . . Nanga Parbat, especially. 000

They must exert a tremendous influence over man. And it is a fascination that never wears off. It's easy not to fall in love with them as long as you have never seen them and been among them but, if you are so unfortunate as to have made their acquaintance and mingled in their company, then you are lost. You will never be indifferent to their charms again. They'll permeate your heart and soul and penetrate reaches that you never knew you owned—and you own them no longer, for they are possessed by peaks and snows and summits and glaciers. You will never again know rest or settling down, for the glaciers' gleam has struck home and to it you will have to return!

[pp. 398-404 not processed]

164 proved laboratory by a qualified technician.

164 Their food is natural, simple, unsophisticated, with-
262 out any unnatural, inorganic, synthetic additives whatsoever. There is no fragmentation in the foods they eat. They do not separate any part of the wheat when they make flour, nor do they separate any part of the other grains when using them.

252 Due to necessity they do not cook foods too much, nor do they cook any food that can be eaten and enjoyed without cooking.

Food is a serious, all prevalent problem. The few trees that they have and that they can grow must be protected for food, shade and timber.

However, I must truthfully admit that the reason that the Hunzans do not cook their food is because of the scarcity and inaccessibility to supplies of fuel.

751 Vaccination is not practiced and, as far as I know,
744 is unknown in Hunza. Pasteurization in any form is neither practiced nor known. Chlorination is unheard of. Fluoridation is unheard of. No coloring whatsoever is added to any of their food, not even their butter.

263 Up until recent years the salt used by the people of
439 Hunza came from the Shimshal area, somewhere near where the Shimshal River and the Muztagh join together. This salt is unrefined and used just as it is mined from this mountain area. It obviously contains many natural so-called impurities.

493 The only wheeled vehicles—two jeeps, in fact—are owned and used by the Mir chiefly for bringing in supplies, when road conditions permit. Therefore one must walk for every chore. There is no motorized
377 equipment used in Hunza with the exception of the electric light plant in the Mir's palace. Apart from what
401 I have mentioned here, mechanization of any sort is unknown.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D this rather ungrateful at the time, till I found that,
662 with the Governor's connivance, Wazir Ghulam Haidar had previously seized his best house and lands. It was double-dealing of this kind which had brought on the troubles for the Durbar, a mixture of weakness and bullying, fear and swagger, which had half-frightened and half-exasperated the tribesmen into attack. There was also a Helen in the case.

K A fortnight at Gilgit put me in full possession of
721 the leading facts bearing on the existing difficulties, which may be summarised as follows:—Hunza was extremely difficult of attack, and practically could have but little pressure brought to bear on it, having
B exits to the north on to the Pamirs. It could get
●[439] all its luxuries from Kashgar and Yarkand, and had
[648] some connection with China; an Amban being at the time I was in Gilgit, or shortly before, in Hunza, to enquire as to the cause of the trouble. He was plundered and practically sent naked away, but that is another story. Nagar being a *cul-de-sac*, and depending for its salt and other luxuries on Gilgit, could be squeezed, and was, moreover, supposed to be easier of access. The Durbar, while jealous of its military reputation, and ostensibly making great preparations for war, really wished to avoid fighting, and was anxious to arrive at peace by any means in its power. The Committee at Gilgit fully recognised the difficulties of supply and carriage, and
K were also most anxious to come to some *modus*
721 *vivendi*. The Hunza-Nagar people were sick of the
B game, and wanted to make peace, so that the men
721 might look after the crops instead of spending the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

186 for centuries persistent rivals, always at war with each other, but always ready to unite against a common invader, even when that invader had been called in by the one State in order to assist it in coercing the other.

721 131 The State of Hunza was the most important of the two, from the fact that its possession of the passes leading to the Pamirs, and to the valley of the Yarkand river, gave it the opportunity, in the picturesque Persian phrase, of "striking the road," and looting the caravans on their way between [567] Turkestan and India. The rulers of Hunza availed themselves of this commanding position freely; their [439] name was a terror to the merchant and to the gentle Kirghiz, and their success was such that certain roads were entirely abandoned by traders; tracts of country north of the passes were completely depopulated, and Hunza was the centre of the slave trade, the place to which the merchants of Badakshan regularly came to 643 replenish their stocks. The rulers of Hunza were 721 rich compared to those of Nagar, and secure in the fastnesses of their mountains they snapped their fingers at China and Kashmir, and with fine impartiality plundered caravans to the north and kid-241 napped slaves to the south. But brigands by profession as the people were, they appear to have acted always on the orders of their chief, and the admirable cultivation of their ground, the immense and persistent labour spent on their irrigation channels, and on the retaining walls of their terraced fields, 131 showed that they were worthy of better things. The country itself is some hundred miles in length: from Chalt to Hunza, a distance of about twenty-five miles

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

the story is true. It needs a mountaineer properly 487
equipped to make use of this road, which runs over one of the greatest glacier masses of the world, as Sir Martin Conway shows in his book, "Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram Himalayas." Dependent [439] ●
therefore on Gilgit for their luxuries, such as weapons, 181
cotton cloth, salt, sugar, etc., most of them the pro- 726
duce of India, or on Hunza for the products of Turkestan and Central Asia, the Nagar people were more easily squeezable than their neighbours across the water, and not so aggressively insolent in their dealings with Kashmir. They were as little to be trusted, however. It was one of their chiefs who many years ago called in the Kashmir arms to help him break his rival Thum, and who, once the Kashmiris were well within the country, fraternised with his enemy, and turned upon his late allies; and Nagar forces had played a prominent part in the disturbances of the past year. The want of dash on the part of the Nagar warriors was well marked on the former occasion; no badly-disciplined army, abandoned by its chiefs as were the Kashmir forces in the former case, should have been able to escape. Pathans would have wiped them out to a man, even Chitralis would have inflicted terrible loss, but the Nagar men allowed their enemies to get out of the country scathless, and even to save, owing to the gallantry of one officer, their small mountain guns carried by coolies. These were points which were worth considering and laying up for future guidance.

~~22~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4
AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

173 proud of the independence they have always maintained, and
186 they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago. The rulers are called *Thum*, and their families are descended from twin brothers, Moghlot and Gir-
174 kis, who lived about the end of the fifteenth century. General Cunningham makes the somewhat natural mistake of confounding Girkis with Kirghiz, and suggests that the former inhabitants of Hunza must have been Dards (?), who have since been displaced by the nomads of the Pamir. From this he goes on to argue that the rulers of Shigar must also be of Kirghiz blood; and following the same line of argument he states that the Astor district must once have belonged to the Tibetan race, because the ruling family are Makpons. He also mentions the Gilgitis as a race of Dardo-Tibetans, for which assumption there is no adequate foundation.[1]

643 I have been told by a Nepaulese gentleman that *Thum* is a Chinese title, meaning Governor, and that it is used in a reduplicated form *Thum Thum*, to signify a Governor General.[2] Its existence in these countries, where its origin has been completely lost sight of, is curious and must be extremely ancient.

The rulers of Nager, who are descended from the first-named of the two brothers, are called Moghloté, the present
161 Thum being Jaffer Zahid Khan. Though the smaller of the two states, Nager has the larger population, owing to the greater amount of cultivable ground which it contains.
134 The population is about 10,000 souls. The land where cultivable is extremely fertile and bears exceptionally heavy
135 crops, and the Nager streams are rich in gold. The country is especially famous for its apricots, which are dried and export-
● 439 ed to the Punjab in considerable quantities. Nearly opposite Hunza, the Myetsil River, a considerable stream, joins the
361 main river from the south-west. The fort of Nager and the Thum's house are on the southern side of this stream, about 3 miles from the junction, at an elevation of 8,000 feet
131 above the sea. Both sides of this valley belong to Nager, and it forms the eastern boundary of the state. At the head of it is the difficult and dangerous road over the Hispar Pass into the Shigar Valley, which is never used except in cases
000 of necessity. When Cashmere authority was temporarily

[1] Cunningham's *Ladakh*, pages 27, 38, 58, 295. 1

[2] It is perhaps a corruption of the word Tung, which appears in many titles. The Chinese Governor of Kashgharia is called Tsung Tung, and the officer who commands the troops is styled Tung-lung.

1 [See I. Cunningham, AJ4 West Tibetan File -- Analyst]

In Sh. mʌṭ lɛl hʌn-ɪj *on its being known to me* i.e. *with my knowledge*, mʌt lɛl nuš-ɪj *without my knowledge*, the use of the suffix -ɪj (ʌjɛ = *on*) may be compared with that of Bu. -ʌṭɛ in ayɛtum-ʌṭɛ etc. in § 384, and the combination of the base hʌn with a case suffix, with oʷni-tsum and ʌsqʌn-ʌṭɛ in § 407. b. and c. 197 193

The use of the past participle active of the verb *to do* in Bu. to form adverbial expressions is to be compared with the similar Sh. use of the ppc. of thoʷiki viz. *the*, e.g. loʷko thɛ *quickly*, mišto thɛ *well*, Bu. yər nɛ *forwards*, šu.a nɛ *well*, v. § 416. But while the Sh. adverbs so formed are usually Adverbs of Manner, those of Burushaski are mainly Adverbs of Place.

There is also much parallelism in the use of the Sh. particle *to* and the Bu. particle *ks* with temporal clauses and the protases of conditional sentences.

Some correspondences of a like nature can also be traced in Khowar. 192

Burushaski has also been in contact with certain foreign languages which geographically do not lie adjacent to it. These are Panjabi and Dogri, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. One main point of contact has been provided by the Gilgit bazar, the marketing centre of Hunza and Nagir, where the shops are manned by a mixed crew of Panjabis, Kashmiris and local people, and are frequented by the Dogras of the garrison of Kashmir State Troops and the servants of local officials. Local people are also employed by various public departments, such as the Public Works Department, the Posts and Telegraphs and the Indian Army Service Corps, whose officials talk Hindustani. There are always a considerable number of Burusho resident in the Gilgit Wazārat, and small numbers are to be found in Srinagar and down country, even in Bombay. 177 [443]

Contact again is provided by the corps of Gilgit Scouts. Hunza and Nagir both provide two companies of 80 men each, who come up to Gilgit for training for a month (recently increased to two months) each year. Here they are trained by one or two British Officers, whose medium of communication is Hindustani, and they must thus pick up a certain limited Hindustani vocabulary.

that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

681 which people were exiled and as officers were continually asking me what sort of place it was, I determined to go there and see for myself. The track there
491 was very bad indeed and in two places there were goat hair bridges which were very unpleasant to cross. A ring of wood was used and the traveler was drawn from one bank to the other and if he wore a beard most of the hairs were dragged out on the way. . . .

643 "My father[1] had six wives, three of which were of the
595 ruling classes and three from the Zemindaris. All however, were married to him according to the law and so he left behind no bastards."

276 The Mir told me that of late some of the young boys
177 have taken to smoking cigarettes. This they have picked up and learned from the Hunzan men who have been serving in the Pakistani army. Cigarettes can be pur-
685 chased in the shop in Baltit and a few occasions of
276 petty theft have been encountered. In each case it
[443] seems that they stole in order to get money to buy cigarettes. These few petty crimes of course did not
[681] involve ostracism to Shimshal. It is expected that this condition will continue or even become aggravated as the youth of Hunza become more familiar and acquainted with smoking. Some of the men in Hunza smoke the "hookah" which we know as the water-pipe.

249 Some forms and varieties of tobacco have been tried
123 in Hunza. I promised to send the Mir seeds of the various types of tobacco that we grow in America, such as Virginia, Burley and Quesnel. Perhaps if they can learn to grow tobacco, it will enable the youth to get their hands on some tobacco and satisfy their craving for it without resorting to other ways and means. However, they would have to get paper from somewhere for none is made or improvised in Hunza.

674 It is obvious from what I have seen, that crime and

1 [ie - the father of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan - ANALYST]

000 enquired after all the Royal Family and exchanged the usual compliments. Then I remarked hopefully: "Aliábád is quite near now, only four miles isn't it?" "Oh yes, only four miles." I noticed David quietly smiling. We rode about ten yards when I saw (what he remembered but I had quite forgotten) that the great torrent from the Hasanábád glacier cuts in here to join the Hunza River, and we had to go down some 500 or 600 feet to cross it and then up again to get out
491 on to the Aliábád fan. It was exactly the same sort of business
361 as crossing the main river all over again, except that the Hunza roads, however steep and difficult, are better designed and better kept than Nagir ones. Hasanábád village lies on both banks of the torrent, and climbs up the farther side to its own
461 excellent polo-ground. The fields were being reaped, and I marvelled at the neat, tidy rows in which the cut barley was laid out. Everything the Hunzukuts do is beautifully done, and their methods are in the greatest contrast to the slovenliness of Nagir; you notice this everywhere, down to the tinest detail; it may be merely because water is scarcer and life harder that their fields are more scrupulously level, their walls more ingeniously perfect, their cut swathes more exactly aligned, but I incline to think that the cause lies deeper; in the difference of race and temperament already suggested.

000 Just beyond the wooden bridge which took us over the torrent, we were met by a good-looking elderly man whom we both remembered but could not immediately identify. He was almost in tears as he greeted us. I was puzzled to think why he was so moved. As soon, however, as he had paid full tribute of politeness to us, he bolted on and flung himself on Qudrat Ullah's neck. The whole cavalcade, about forty of us by this time, burst into sympathetic laughter, and poor Qudrat Ullah looked radiant but sheepish as he returned his father's embraces. Going up the steep hillside with so large a following was, as usual, not at all funny. You dare not stop to let your pony breathe without holding up the rest whose horses would be at some most inconvenient turn.

346 We got up at last, however, and found a fine deputation of all the Hasanábád elders drawn up to greet us on the polo-ground

283 strip is folded and placed in the second chamber. When she
415 has enough of these *dapping* prepared, she takes out her little spindle, also shaped at home, puts the point of it into a little dish like a small ash-tray, which prevents it from wandering about while she rotates it. Then with a *dap* of wool in her left hand and the spindle in her right, she conjures somehow a fine even thread on to the whirring spindle. So many *dapping* make a spindleful, so many spindlefuls make a ball, so many balls suffice for a winter cloak. Undoubtedly you must learn as a child. The shape of the *pfurúkus* makes it most convenient to carry; even if you have a child on your shoulders and a basket on your back, it sits under your arm and stays there of itself, one circular chamber projecting back and front. The little ash-tray is cleverly moulded by the women from the malleable mush left when they have squeezed every drop of oil from their apricot kernels. It dries in a day or two and serves for many a year.

243 There was a jolly family party who worked the fields just below our house. I used to wish the fields didn't slope down and down and we could then have watched them better from the windows. When we arrived they had just reaped two fields of wheat (which ripens a fortnight later than the barley) and piled the sheaves in two big stacks. Then they made their threshing-floor as earlier described.[1] When the floor was dry they spread the entire circle 2 or 3 feet deep with cut wheat and got a team of five cows, tied their muzzles loosely together with a soft rope round each and then drove them round to
[462] tread out the grain. It is usually a woman or girl who drives the team, but sometimes a man or boy will take a hand. The outside beast has, of course, to make the biggest circle, while the centre one just buzzes round as nearly as possible in the
[461] same spot. As the driver gently touches them with her switch she keeps shouting "Hai, hai, hai!" to encourage them. When she gets tired one of the others comes on duty and she goes and sits down in the shade of the stack. As you can imagine, it is pretty hot in the noonday sun. I joined the women in the shade where they sat spinning away and keeping an eye on
000 the toddlers. There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and

[1] [See p. 79, Cat. 116 or 243. — Analyst]

3z Lortimer L-3 (1925-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnbo AV7

garden, no fence, to interpose a barrier. The much-frequented 000
public way, following the further edge of an irrigation channel, passes within a dozen yards and beyond lie the fields of lucerne, wheat, buckwheat and pot-herbs descending gently in graded terraces. But the ground is beaten hard right up to the verandah edge, and the more adventurous take full advantage of the right of way when they can do so without intrusiveness. So here, almost within touch, pass men, women and children on their various occasions, none without a salute or a smile, or at least a shy recognition. Fifty yards off toil a joint family party, successively reaping, stacking, threshing and winnowing the wheat and pulse crops and carrying off the spoils.

Work goes on harmoniously, without idleness and without hurry. [461] ●
Normally division of labour obtains, men and women have their 462
recognised rôles, but the division seems regulated purely by physical 578
capacity and convenience. There is nothing rigid about it and in general each sex will freely assume the work of the other if occasion makes it desirable. In this household there are only two men, one able-bodied on whom the heaviest work falls, and one aged who can only do light jobs and rest, intermittently. There are several women and they relieve each other at the heavier work seemingly from a sense of what is the game and without prompting. There is no apparent shirking, there is no quarrelling, disputing or shouting. I have not seen or heard a quarrel yet, except a minor affair between two small boys. Voices are only raised when information has to be conveyed to a distance.

Children roam about in groups of boys and girls, or mixed family 857
parties, playing along the water-channel, chattering and laughing or retrieving the last over-looked apricots by knocking them down with stones or climbing and shaking the trees. Everyone shares without question in the harvest. Children help spasmodically in the elders' tasks; it is not obligatory. There are always one or two rounding up an errant and centrifugal flock of lambs and kids, or a single agile and enterprising cow.

322 that I have seen performed, I am not too sure that
[177] our wood workers could teach them any new tricks. The thing they're short of is suitable wood.

[415] One of the important functions of the wood turner is to fashion bowls which are made out of either mulberry, willow or apricot wood. The wood turner also
[352] makes charpoys, chests, jewel boxes, bowls and chairs and I believe he is capable of making anything that can be fashioned out of wood.

•461 One definite thing impressed me about these various craftsmen and that was the fact that time was meaningless. Their craft was the important thing. Whatever had to be done had to be done right whether it required an hour or a day or a week.

461 There were many things that I would have liked to
126 purchase or arrange for but some of them would require days to produce and it was not my desire to hurry anybody. After seeing their pleasant way of life, I had no intention of disturbing it. Whatever was available that I wanted, I would take with me. Anything else could be sent on or else I would do without it.

with the Rani and his brother and, after the usual sumptuous breakfast, Sultan Ali joined us and the three of us—Jahangir, Sultan Ali and I—took off to Altit. As we left the Mir said, "I'll be waiting here for you and you'll ride the yaks right into the palace yard."

"You'll find the yaks very easy and comfortable to ride," continued the Mir. "What's more—you won't notice the ascents and descents!"

"You're kidding!" I rejoined.

"No, I'm not," he said. "It's true . . . just wait and you'll see!"

It was approximately a 2 mile jaunt to Altit and the terrain was very much like the terrain we had encountered all the way up from Gilgit—washouts, rock slides, boulders strewn all over the place. This all made walking difficult, at least for me.

Now I don't want you to get the idea that when these landslides or rock slides occur they are just left where they fall, because that is the furthest thing from the truth. Immediately after these things happen, crews are put on to get things straightened away. But when you take into consideration that each speck of work is done manually and that they do not have even a wheelbarrow, you can then understand that the job is a difficult one and one that is back-breaking and requires much time.

The only implements I saw them use on the roads were a sort of pinch-bar or wedge and a sledge hammer. You see, they don't have dynamite and when a huge boulder lands smack in the middle or at the side of the road and can't be pushed off, the only other course to follow is to break it into small pieces. Those are the ways and means here of getting rid of huge boulders.

Let it also be clearly understood that the Hunza

workers are good workers. They are not to be compared with the ordinary workers found throughout Pakistan and India. They do a day's work somewhat comparable to that done in the West. They are neither slouchers nor slackers. 461

All along the route there were groups of men working here and there. At this time of the year there were not too many employed or working on the roads and this is understandable. Every man in Hunza and Nagir must provide for the winter. Remember, there is, broadly speaking, no money and the only means he has of providing is by the work done with his own two hands. 464 491

The dried apricots and other fruits that he may put away, the wheat or the barley or the buckwheat that he stores in his house, the few roots that he puts into his root cellar are his means of sustenance until next spring. So you can readily understand that there is no great surplus of Hunzans or Nagiriwals during the months of July and August to do work on the roads and I know that the Hunza Road is not maintained by the State of Pakistan. Therefore there would be little or no money forthcoming and those who did work would probably be donating their time. Or perhaps their work would be somewhat similar to a type of taxation, although I dislike using that word when referring to or talking about the people of Hunza! [251]

We were more than a sauntering hour reaching Altit. If you've got any ideas about easy walking in this land, you'd better forget them. 487

As is usual on the entire Hunza trail, with few exceptions, it was climbing or descending all the time. The few places where you were neither climbing nor going down, you were walking along the river bed. In midsummer when the glaciers are melting quickly you

252 wild in various parts of the area. The oil rendered from
[222] these kernels is probably used only for lighting, because
[373] it is poisonous. Due to their heavy content of prussic acid, a handful of them is considered deadly. In Ni-
[762] agara, if somebody wants to commit suicide, he jumps over Niagara Falls; in Hunza, they eat a batch of wild apricot kernels.

The kneading process is continued and the vessel is kept tilted so the oil runs down and forms a small pool. As the oil begins to form, the kneading becomes even more vigorous until every drop of oil possible is extracted. While the rendering of the oil may be hard on the knuckles, nothing could be simpler and the resulting product is probably the most healthful and finest fat product that human hands can produce.

[231] The pulp that remains after the oil[1] is extracted is
[302] fed to milk-giving goats, sheep or cows, and is often used as a concoction or shampoo in which the Hunzans wash their heads. The oil of course is used in cooking, baking, frying, for lighting—and even for the hair.

[461] The good woman who performed the oil extracting task for me did not seem to be the least bit overburdened or taxed from this sort of arduous work. It probably would have been a hard day's work for a Western woman.

I would like to stress at this point that the heating process was not a cooking process in any sense of the word. Just a slight warming was all that was needed.

251 The apricot oil is never rendered and stored in casks
252 or otherwise, like many other people do with their oils. They may make sufficient to last them a few days but not more. This is poured into an earthen vessel or a bottle, if available. When a further supply is required, the pits are cracked and they go through the entire process as outlined.

1 [i.e - oil from apricot seeds - ANALYST]

During the past few years a bit of money has come 436
into Hunza. At the time I was there, there were four 177
expeditions doing mountain and glacier climbing—as 464
well as investigations and research, not in Hunza, but in the vicinity. There were groups from Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland and Germany. In each and every case these expeditions would require bearers, guides, horses and pack animals. These would be recruited from among the Nagirwals and Hunzans and they would be paid in Pakistan rupees. I wish to emphasize that this has only taken place during the past few years. Prior to this period expeditions in this area were extremely rare.

While today money does make its appearance, it is 436
still comparatively scarce. The Mir believes that the 177
coming of money, modernization, and civilization as 643
we know it will only harm his people and he seeks to prevent this, if possible. It is my sincere and humble conviction that the Mir is honest and thinking of his people in his endeavors.

"There is no doubt that the people of Hunza know 461
and enjoy the true thrill of leisure." When I mentioned this to my staff, I was quickly brought to bay by one of my more astute employees who said, "How can that be when they are occupied from dawn till dusk?"

I was caught off balance and I had to reflect a moment and when I reflected, the picture was clear to me. Would a man who has never worked understand what is meant by a holiday? Would the average individual who spends his working days sitting at a desk checking figures, making phone calls and chatting with visitors, understand what leisure is? I contend that in order to know the true joy of leisure one must work and the harder one works, the greater is the enjoyment found in utter relaxation.

Can a man know leisure when after his day's work is

461 done and he turns on his television set, he is bombarded with commercials that seek to hypnotize his brain by making him believe he needs those products, when in reality he needs them like a hole in the head? Can a man know the meaning of true leisure when his head is throbbing with the bills he must meet on the morrow, the food he must buy and the clothing he must procure for his family, for which in many cases ready money is not available? Can a man who is harassed by and has pressing about him a hundred problems that must be reckoned with, find leisure or peace by escaping to the country for a weekend or by taking to drink?

Of course not! True relaxation and leisure are as far away from him as the moon!

Therefore, when I say that the people of Hunza know and enjoy the true thrill of leisure, I mean every word of it sincerely. While they rise at 3.30 or 4 o'clock [512] in the morning, they go to bed between 7 and 8, and in the winter time even earlier, if there is no celebration or dancing in the village. They are without doubt the most industrious people that I have met—especially in the East. Laziness is positively foreign to Hunza!

[481] Wherever I went I noticed that the Hunzans had ample time to talk and chat, and seldom did they appear to be in a hurry although whenever they walked, their walk was brisk—much more so than the average Western gait. In fact, this is one of their most recognizable and admired traits.

571 Lest anyone should get the impression that life in Hunza is dull, let me clearly emphasize that there is great fellowship between families and the selfsame group-gathering that we know of in our way of life is also practiced and followed by the people of Hunza. [796] Further, religious gatherings are quite frequent and play an important role in the social life of the people.

000 in the process of creating health and long life in Hunza!"

Here I have summarized my conclusions, which I believe account for the superior health, the unbounded energy and the long life of the Hunzans. Call it a set of rules if you like. I prefer to believe that it is the common sense way of life adopted by an intelligent people.

262 (1) Their food consists chiefly of natural fruits, grains and vegetables. Meat is eaten only on festive and other rare occasions. While grains—that is, the whole grains—are stored, they are ground for use in baking and gruel, only as required.

241 (2) Their soil is maintained by natural cultural practices. That which is taken from the soil is returned to the soil—both vegetable and animal.

461 (3) Most of the people of Hunza, including women and children, work daily in the fields. There is no Sabbath or weekly rest day, although there are religious holidays and festive days. Therefore, they work seven days a week . . . and in most cases, from dawn until darkness falls. Therefore, practically all the inhabitants of Hunza do their share of physical work. There are few, if any, completely sedentary occupations in Hunza.

262 (4) Very little fat of any kind is consumed by the people. The fats that are used consist of ghee, butter, apricot oil and negligible quantities of animal fats.

[241] (5) Complete absence of foreign additives. Nothing whatsoever is added to either the soil or the food of the people or the animals.

263 (6) Natural, unrefined salt was used by the people up until a few years ago . . . and this was an important factor in maintaining their health.

241 (7) No sprays or spray materials of any kind are used on their crops, and no unnatural chemical fer-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

181 829 ness of their uncomfortable houses leaves an indelible mark on the national character.

342 It must be remembered that a house in the [351] Hindu-Kush has no glass windows, no comfortable fire-place and chimney corner. The better-class houses are built round a courtyard, but the rooms rarely have windows, all light comes from the 354 open door or from a skylight. Immediately below 352 the skylight is a square open hearth, on which smoulders a fire; round this run raised platforms, on which are the beds and household paraphernalia; the smoke, before escaping through the roof, fills the whole room, blackens walls and pillars, and chokes the un- [132] fortunate inhabitants. If it is very cold, or raining and snowing heavily, the skylight is shut, the room is in pitchy darkness but for a sputtering torch, and the atmosphere horrible. It is no wonder that an existence under these circumstances should be rather depressing, and in Nagar the people get the full benefit of it, for there are several villages which during December and January only get twenty 461 minutes' sun a day; some, I believe, get none. The men having no agricultural work on hand, owing to the land being frost-bound, there is practically nothing for them to do during the winter months but to sit idly round their smouldering fires for about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.

133 487 Nagar has practically no outlet except down the river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there is only the bare possibility of reaching 487 Baltistan by the Hispar pass: there is a tradition that the road was once used, but it is very doubtful if

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

sufficiently severe. Happily winter is short, two or three months at most, and for the rest of the year day and night are spent mainly out of doors.

The social culture of the Burusho of Hunza is as high as their material culture is primitive. Three centuries of Islam—they are now Ismaili heretics, having been Shiahs until three or four generations ago—have not induced them to veil or despise their indomitable women, nor to abandon the wholesome tradition of exogamy between their different clans in favour of first-cousin marriage. They are freer from superstition and fanaticism than any people east or west of whom I have heard or read. Whatever be the esoteric teaching of the Ismailis of which Professor Ivanov might tell, it concerns the Hunza peasant as little as the homoousian controversy disturbs the mind of the British schoolboy. He goes his way in cheerful confidence that hard work, fair dealing, kindly affection and generosity must be as well pleasing to God the Merciful, the Compassionate, as ritual prayer or ceremonial fast, and his dreams are not broken by over-anxious fear of Hell or hope of Heaven.

The fastidiousness and personal cleanliness of the Hunza peasant are remarkable. Close packed amongst the crowd at festivals or sitting on the threshing floor amongst the workers, or entertained in their hospitable houses, we were never distressed by human exhalations or molested by parasites. The drinking water is guarded with scrupulous care from pollution by man or beast. Men and women, cooperate without embarrassment or restraint and no work is taboo for either sex, though for obvious reasons the heavier jobs of wall-building, irrigation and ploughing fall more naturally to the man, and the care of infants to the woman. But as soon as the father is allowed to handle his child, he will carry the baby proudly and tenderly out for its first airings, while boys and girls alike play with and watch over the toddlers.

Again and again, in face of the high morality and unquenchable spirit of the Hunzukuts, we were ashamed to think of what in our vaunted civilization 'man has made of man'.

000 admire the view with a fine stretch of terraced fields below us, quaint little stone houses with groups of trees dotted here and there, and behind all, in every direction, the great mountains. On our way back there was a small boy, of perhaps thirteen, in the ex-lucerne field: "Who does this field belong to?" Just in the boastful way of small boys at home, he answered: "Oh, this is my field and that's my mulberry orchard you passed just now, and here's my house with the big mulberry tree over it, and this is my apricot tree and that is my father over there," pointing to our earlier friend who had moved some distance off. "I'm going home now," and he came along with us chattering away. "That's one of our lambs, and that's a kid." He passed his own door and walked all the way back with us. When we came to the bungalow David imitated his way of speaking: "And this is our house, and that's our chair in the verandah, and now we are going in to eat bread." The boy burst out laughing, evidently quite aware that we were chaffing him, waved his hand in farewell, and ran home at the double to tell his family all about it.

We had quite expected that the people would be friendly, but we had no idea they would be so spontaneously forthcoming and so quick to guess what we were driving at. Already by our second day we had made two sets of friends in the two nearest houses, and were sure of a welcome as we passed.

285 I asked Levy Kalbi next morning whether there was anyone who could make us a wastepaper basket. Within an hour or two he came along with an armful of willow twigs, squatted in the verandah: "If the Sahib will show what shape he would like, I'll make it now." So David made him a rough sketch, and in an hour or two he had finished a capacious basket that only needed to dry for a day or two in the sun. We asked what it should cost. He was almost hurt: "You shall not pay me for
NL it. I am already eating your salt. And a basket is nothing,
462 anyway." The day after he came along with a bunch of goat's hair under his arm which he was going to spin, and he thought we might like to watch. Oddly, the men spin the goat's hair
181 and the women the wool. All these Hunza people are refresh-

283 strip is folded and placed in the second chamber. When she
415 has enough of these *dapping* prepared, she takes out her little spindle, also shaped at home, puts the point of it into a little dish like a small ash-tray, which prevents it from wandering about while she rotates it. Then with a *dap* of wool in her left hand and the spindle in her right, she conjures somehow a fine even thread on to the whirring spindle. So many *dapping* make a spindleful, so many spindlefuls make a ball, so many balls suffice for a winter cloak. Undoubtedly you must learn as a child. The shape of the *pfurúkus* makes it most convenient to carry; even if you have a child on your shoulders and a basket on your back, it sits under your arm and stays there of itself, one circular chamber projecting back and front. The little ash-tray is cleverly moulded by the women from the malleable mush left when they have squeezed every drop of oil from their apricot kernels. It dries in a day or two and serves for many a year.

243 There was a jolly family party who worked the fields just below our house. I used to wish the fields didn't slope down and down and we could then have watched them better from the windows. When we arrived they had just reaped two fields of wheat (which ripens a fortnight later than the barley) and piled the sheaves in two big stacks. Then they made their threshing-floor as earlier described.[1] When the floor was dry they spread the entire circle 2 or 3 feet deep with cut wheat and got a team of five cows, tied their muzzles loosely together with a soft rope round each and then drove them round to
● [462] tread out the grain. It is usually a woman or girl who drives the team, but sometimes a man or boy will take a hand. The outside beast has, of course, to make the biggest circle, while the centre one just buzzes round as nearly as possible in the
[46] same spot. As the driver gently touches them with her switch she keeps shouting "Hai, hai, hai!" to encourage them. When she gets tired one of the others comes on duty and she goes and sits down in the shade of the stack. As you can imagine, it is pretty hot in the noonday sun. I joined the women in the shade where they sat spinning away and keeping an eye on
ooc the toddlers. There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and

1 [See p. 79, Cat. 116 or 243. — Ana/ysf]

FIRST WALKS ABROAD

There is no hard and fast rule about what is women's work and what is man's except that, for obvious reasons, the extra-heavy loads are handled by the men; but a man will gladly take a turn at driving the threshing team or carrying the baby, and a woman will readily do a spell with the winnowing fork or shovel. No job is taboo for anyone able to tackle it, and the result is the pleasantest possible family co-operation. The great thing is to get this particular work polished off as soon as possible for there are other urgent things waiting to be done. 462

322 would lead us home. A happy man he looked, though he told us that his back ached nowadays at work with lathe or plough, as it never used to do, and perhaps we had English medicines that would meet the case. We could only offer the sad tidings that we too, when we walked or rode or worked, were subject to fatigue and aches undreamt of in younger days, and that even in England the doctors knew no medicines to defeat on-coming age. This, oddly, seemed to comfort him a lot: "We're all ageing together then," he said, and we all three laughed a vain defiance at the years, "and we old ones have more skill and experience than the others, haven't we?"

462 Apart from their never-ending spinning the women have
241 many valuable crafts, though they are less spectacular than the
252 men's. They all bake a large variety of bread and scones from their blent flour—not only grains being pressed into the service, but pounded mulberries, walnuts, peas and beans, and semi-wild berries—and when *maltash* is available they make cakes and pastries of a dozen kinds. The vegetable patches are in their care, and amongst their many greens, their gourds, cucumbers and marrows, they tend a lot of plants whose seeds or leaves or flowers are valued as flavourings, and grow a little flax and mustard to supplement their apricot oil. In spring their plots are lit with the large blossoms of many-coloured poppies, whose seeds are not wasted on opium but scattered into the vegetable pot. They also grow small quantities of maize as a vegetable, but they do not consider it profitable as a major
249 crop. The kinder-hearted find a corner for tobacco for the
534 men's pipes, which circulate of an evening in the shade when
563 the day's work is done and someone tinkles a zither or tootles on a flute. These instruments are home-made like everything else, and are often very beautifully finished; we were neither of us qualified to judge of the music the players conjured up. To our unskilled ears it sounded amateurish, but eminently cheerful and pleasing. Serious music of drum and pipe and
262 kettledrum is the monopoly of the Béricho. When the women weed their crops they sort out the dandelion, stitchwort, and sorrel for their own brews before throwing the residue to
000 the cow. And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots,

garden, no fence, to interpose a barrier. The much-frequented 000
public way, following the further edge of an irrigation channel, passes within a dozen yards and beyond lie the fields of lucerne, wheat, buckwheat and pot-herbs descending gently in graded terraces. But the ground is beaten hard right up to the verandah edge, and the more adventurous take full advantage of the right of way when they can do so without intrusiveness. So here, almost within touch, pass men, women and children on their various occasions, none without a salute or a smile, or at least a shy recognition. Fifty yards off toil a joint family party, successively reaping, stacking, threshing and winnowing the wheat and pulse crops and carrying off the spoils.

Work goes on harmoniously, without idleness and without hurry. [461]
Normally division of labour obtains, men and women have their 462 ●
recognised rôles, but the division seems regulated purely by physical 578
capacity and convenience. There is nothing rigid about it and in general each sex will freely assume the work of the other if occasion makes it desirable. In this household there are only two men, one able-bodied on whom the heaviest work falls, and one aged who can only do light jobs and rest, intermittently. There are several women and they relieve each other at the heavier work seemingly from a sense of what is the game and without prompting. There is no apparent shirking, there is no quarrelling, disputing or shouting. I have not seen or heard a quarrel yet, except a minor affair between two small boys, Voices are only raised when information has to be conveyed to a distance.

Children roam about in groups of boys and girls, or mixed family 857
parties, playing along the water-channel, chattering and laughing or retrieving the last over-looked apricots by knocking them down with stones or climbing and shaking the trees. Everyone shares without question in the harvest. Children help spasmodically in the elders' tasks; it is not obligatory. There are always one or two rounding up an errant and centrifugal flock of lambs and kids, or a single agile and enterprising cow.

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

The house of the average Hunzan farmer was not quite as good as the average European house. In my opinion, Hunzan cleanliness is as good as is desirable when all matters are considered. 356

Cleanliness as we know it in the West is neither desirable nor is it a necessity in a country like Hunza. To begin with, they have more important duties to perform than doing a lot of unnecessary housekeeping. Usually in the West, the man earns the wherewithal to sustain the home and the woman looks after the cooking, housekeeping and the rearing of the children. In Hunza the father, the mother and the children, as soon as they are old enough to know what to do, take part in the work. You see, it is practically a full time job for the entire family during the spring and summer to procure sufficient food to last throughout the year. 356 462

Therefore it is neither desirable nor necessary for a Hunzan wife to have a lot of furniture and other things that would require work and attention in her home.

If you are trying to compare the cleanliness of the average American city or town person's home with that of the Hunzan homes, then you are miles and miles away from reality, because very, very few people of the world—especially those in the more or less underprivileged countries or in remote districts—live in homes that are in any way comparable to the average city home in America. 356

In the locality where I live, the Niagara District, the choicest locations along the lake front are selected for subdivision sites and beautiful spacious homes with fine grounds are created. That may be all well and good in America, where rich arable land is readily available, but in Hunza, remember, every bit of land that they own and use for growing their life-giving crops has to be torn from the rocks of the mountain- 361

342 these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes
335 through which two parallel rods are threaded ; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel ; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock.
177 Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the
●463 P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can pro-
322 duce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

592 Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and inde-
291 pendent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun
177 and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the
415 cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps,
237 plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen
281 salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins ; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

137 In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very
415 scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

[134] The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little
233 but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke
246 out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder.
233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce 643
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 648
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

463 ment departments, act as postal runners or dispensary assistants, do part-time jobs as "levies," or enter the private employment of British officers. Travel where you will in the Agency, some enterprising Hunza man is there before you, as carpenter or washerman, as touring merchant or in Government employ. You may even meet an old Hunza taxi-driver in Bombay or a Hunza *chaprasi* in Lahore.

177 At first the Mir rather discouraged these farther-afield
167 adventures, and not unwisely. New ideas, new customs, new dress, imported from abroad might well upset the happy balance of the home civilization; but the increasing pressure of population—a dubious benefit the *Pax Britannica* is wont to bring—makes some outlet necessary for ambitious youth, and some supplement necessary for home support, and the Mir's policy has been modified accordingly. With rare exceptions the travellers' hearts remain in their Hunza highlands; they go for a few years and return with newly acquired skill, with a set of carpenter's tools it may be, with a smoothing-iron or a sewing machine, to resume work on the family farm and earn a little "on the side."

593 We heard that a new house was being built by a certain
342 Kalbi (not the Levy; one of another clan) and were invited to go down—some hundreds of feet—and see it in its half-finished state. "It must cost a lot to build a new house," we said. "How did you come to have money enough to spare?" "Well, you see, I have two sons away working—thank God." And, in fact, except in the few cases where the Hunza man goes over-far afield to Bombay or the Panjab, and needs his own earnings to support a down-country family, the Hunza son remits home every spare anna, knowing well that it will be spent on the home he himself will presently enjoy and share. When he comes back on leave he brings his mother an aluminium cooking-pot or basin to jostle the stone *balesh* and wooden bowl, or an iron bucket which incongruously companions the local gourd when his sisters go to draw the drinking water.

342 In theory there are any number of sizes and patterns of house which you can build in Hunza: the cow-pattern, the ant-pattern, and half a dozen more, but in actual fact there are

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

One of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece, no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the man or woman who could not construct the one required would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots. When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at any moment will shear another sheep while the women and children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

homes, and the women know no other. The existence of 563
this interesting language-island, within the language-island of 197
Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn.

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there 463
are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliábád there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master.

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above 286
us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo 487
of No. 7 and Ustád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin.

One day I had been sitting with one of Afiato's daughters- 531
in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking 192
the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with

Schimmer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1936 AV7 Burusho AV7

These various subjects of general interest and activity postulate the existence of a large vocabulary relating to agricultural processes, implements and products; irrigation, fruit culture and the management of live stock and the treatment of their products. 192

Crafts.

Any people who are in the main self-supporting must have developed, and must command, a number of essential crafts. Here it is only possible to enumerate very briefly the principal crafts practised by the Burusho. They include: 463

Building: wall-building without mud; house building, stone-and-mud walls and mud-plastering.

Woodwork: supporting pillars, roofing timber, shaped and unshaped, door-frames, doors and windows. Agricultural implements: ploughs and various forms of wooden shovel and pitchfork; wooden bowls and spoons. Wearing and milling apparatus.

Spinning: hair and woollen thread and twisting into yarn and ropes.

Weaving: woollen home-spun for clothing; hair-cloth for bags and mats.

Basketwork of willow twigs: various forms of baskets and creels.

Preparing skins: for bags for grain etc. and for holding water, milk etc.; also thongs, foot-wrappers and boots.

Metal work: a little iron-work.

Sewing: clothes.

Milling: water-mills are used for grinding flour.

Salt-washing: a method of obtaining salt from saline earth by dissolving it out is sometimes practised.

Gold-washing: the river sand is washed to extract gold-dust. This is done for the Tham of Hunza at certain places, by the lower classes only. I do not know that it is practised privately.

Wine-making and distilling: the latter is now prohibited.

Imports.

The Burusho are dependent on the outside world for their supply of metals and in general for all metal manufactures, e.g. plough- 439

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho A77

439 shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bēricho (sg. Bērits; b'e·ri·čo, b'e·ri·ts), corresponding to the Ḍoms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also [335] within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

● 463 Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

531 I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

535 563 534 Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bēricho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitār is known.

9: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

621 limits and were originally it seems centred round the *khas* (khan, fortress or strong-place). The general security of later times has led to the scattering of habitations seen in more recent settlements like Aliabad. Inside these village-units, such as Baltit, Altit, Ganish, Haidarabad etc. there survive the names of tribal or class divisions. How far these divisions play any significant part in the communal life of the present day is a subject that remains for investigation.

565 463 Society is recognised as divided into the following general classes:

1. Thamo: the Royal Family, including:
   i. the Karèli, the royally-born on both sides.
   ii. the Arghundaro, of commoner origin on the female side, but in Hunza children of wedlock.
2. Uyōngko or Akābirting — "The Great" — those who enjoy, or have the right to occupy, superior offices in the State, e.g. the posts of Wazir, Trangfa, Yarpa and Farāj.

   These two classes do not work with their hands.
3. Bār, Bārè Sīs, — These cultivate their land and work with their own hands, but, if personally worthy, are eligible for appointment to posts by the Tham. They are not required to carry loads or perform any inferior class of work.
4. Shadarsho — a large class who get their title ("servants") from their eligibility for employment by the Tham as couriers to convey notice of his movements, carry messages etc. They are exempted from menial labour. This class is increasing by recruitment from the next below.
5. Baldakūyo or Tsilgalasho — these are liable to have to carry loads for the Tham and Uyongko, and to wash for gold. They are exempt from the payment of taxes. The Tsilgalasho are Baldakuyo who are in the employment of Uyongko families and then do not carry loads, but on quitting such employment they revert to the status and obligations of the Baldakuyo. The numbers of this class are declining. Their ascent into the ranks of the Shadarsho is now controlled by the Tham; formerly it was in the hands of the Wazir and Trangfa.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

6. Bērīcho — now of two classes: 565

i. ēgherasho bērīcho — musicians who provide music on all public occasions. 463

ii. ḍak ètasho bērīcho — blacksmiths.[1]

The functions of the Bericho are undergoing a process of extension. They now fetch firewood for the Tham and thorns for protecting enclosures. They also do plastering work for him. A few serve as sweepers. Their status is said to be rising. The Burusho will now eat food prepared by them, which they would not formerly do.

In both Hunza and Nagir the supreme power resides in an autocracy exercised by the Tham, or Mīr. The two royal families derive from a common source and are inter-related by subsequent marriages. This joint royal family claims to have come from Baltistan and to have been established in Hunza and Nagir for the last six hundred years. 643

Each village group is an administrative unit and the Tham is represented in it by one to three Uyōngko (Uyūmko) or Trangfāting (sg.s uyūm = *great*, trangfa). Under their direction these officials have Cherbuting (sg. cherbu, čərbu) who transmit orders to the public. Where the Tham owns land he has a steward, or personal representative, called a Yarpa, who again has subordinates under him to supervise the division of the water-supply. 631

For the settlement of cases and disputes of all kinds there is in Hunza a long progressive series of "courts", if one may use the term. First the case is dealt with by the heads of the two houses and the two families in conclave. Failing settlement it is referred to the Headman of the community (girāmè uyūm; girame uyuᵛm). Thirdly: again failing settlement, it is referred to the Headmen of the Four Clans (wālto girāmichīngè uyōngko; waᵛlto giraᵛmičiŋe uyoᵛŋko) who proceed to the "gate" of the *khan* and adjudicate on it. 692

[1] The following are the phonetic renderings of the Burushaski words in the above paragraphs: 1. Thamo; kareli; aryᵗᵛndero; 2. uyoᵛŋko or uyuᵛmko; akaᵛbirtiŋ; waziv; traŋfa; yərpa; faraᵛj; 3. bavre sis; 4. ṣadəršo; 5. baldakuᵛyo; tsilgalašo; 6. berričo; eryərašo; ḍak etašo.

that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

8: Clark N-5 (1948-1951)1963

AV7 Burusho AV7

Hunza

[P.42-C]

286
291
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[463]
[433]

Craftsmen like this weaver are not numerous in Hunza; the demanding mountain economy requires the full-time effort of the society to raise food.

workers are good workers. They are not to be compared with the ordinary workers found throughout Pakistan and India. They do a day's work somewhat comparable to that done in the West. They are neither slouchers nor slackers. 461

All along the route there were groups of men working here and there. At this time of the year there were not too many employed or working on the roads and this is understandable. Every man in Hunza and Nagir must provide for the winter. Remember, there is, broadly speaking, no money and the only means he has of providing is by the work done with his own two hands. 464 491

The dried apricots and other fruits that he may put away, the wheat or the barley or the buckwheat that he stores in his house, the few roots that he puts into his root cellar are his means of sustenance until next spring. So you can readily understand that there is no great surplus of Hunzans or Nagiriwals during the months of July and August to do work on the roads and I know that the Hunza Road is not maintained by the State of Pakistan. Therefore there would be little or no money forthcoming and those who did work would probably be donating their time. Or perhaps their work would be somewhat similar to a type of taxation, although I dislike using that word when referring to or talking about the people of Hunza! [251]

We were more than a sauntering hour reaching Altit. If you've got any ideas about easy walking in this land, you'd better forget them. 487

As is usual on the entire Hunza trail, with few exceptions, it was climbing or descending all the time. The few places where you were neither climbing nor going down, you were walking along the river bed. In midsummer when the glaciers are melting quickly you

During the past few years a bit of money has come 436
into Hunza. At the time I was there, there were four 177
expeditions doing mountain and glacier climbing—as 464
well as investigations and research, not in Hunza, but in the vicinity. There were groups from Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland and Germany. In each and every case these expeditions would require bearers, guides, horses and pack animals. These would be recruited from among the Nagirwals and Hunzans and they would be paid in Pakistan rupees. I wish to emphasize that this has only taken place during the past few years. Prior to this period expeditions in this area were extremely rare.

While today money does make its appearance, it is 436
still comparatively scarce. The Mir believes that the 177
coming of money, modernization, and civilization as 643
we know it will only harm his people and he seeks to prevent this, if possible. It is my sincere and humble conviction that the Mir is honest and thinking of his people in his endeavors.

"There is no doubt that the people of Hunza know 461
and enjoy the true thrill of leisure." When I mentioned this to my staff, I was quickly brought to bay by one of my more astute employees who said, "How can that be when they are occupied from dawn till dusk?"

I was caught off balance and I had to reflect a moment and when I reflected, the picture was clear to me. Would a man who has never worked understand what is meant by a holiday? Would the average individual who spends his working days sitting at a desk checking figures, making phone calls and chatting with visitors, understand what leisure is? I contend that in order to know the true joy of leisure one must work and the harder one works, the greater is the enjoyment found in utter relaxation.

Can a man know leisure when after his day's work is

241 minerals and by allowing these glacial streams to be spread over the soil, the nutrients are left in the soil as the water soaks into it.

The principle of returning to the land that which belongs to the land has been and is, at the present time, scrupulously followed. The only farm implement which [407] I could find on the Hunzan farms was the primitive [492] plow and invariably it was pulled by a bullock. The plowing is never deep and is practiced chiefly to sort of clean the field, cover the organic matter that has been spread upon it or left upon it and prepare the field for the next crop.

[464] All the work that has to be done is done by hand—with or without the assistance of domesticated farm animals. There is no substitute for manual labor and the men, women and even young children share in the farm work.

[137] From what I could observe, weeds were not a problem and the reasons are clear. There are few indigenous, native plants in the area. Practically all of the growing plants that I could spy were in cultivated areas. The maxim in Hunza evidently is if a place can grow weeds, then it should be cultivated and usually that principle is followed. This all adds up to the fact that there are few weed seeds distributed in the area and therefore they are not in the soil to spring up, whenever the farmer's back is turned.

[134] I want to stress once more that the mineral requirements of the fields of the Hunza farmer are met and replenished by the fine silt, ground by the glaciers from the rocky surfaces and carried down to the Hunza farmers by the conduits and spread on their land.

Our modern civilization attaches great importance to and stresses the value of flavor and appearance in

134 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If
311 you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

241 HUNZAS are skillful at building a
134 limited fertility into their sterile
[237] material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain ozone to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrates, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 Even the most painstaking hydro-
241 ponic gardening cannot compensate
237 for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy.
[233] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefuly herded into small cotes in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 Unfortunately, the human popula-
161 tion has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient
167 food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Sheena predeces-
[648] sors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men
[464] join the Pakistan army. Others take work as servants, where their honesty,
[181] industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

286 Ustád was wisely initiating two disciples into his art: one his son-in-law and one his next-door neighbour of No. 9. As he stood by, superintending and advising, he was busily twiddling a special spindle for doubling the single woollen thread ready for a new warp. Passers-by halted for a chat, children squatted
286 round watching and taking in all that was said. We learnt that
465 nine yards of *pattoo* go to the making of a man's cloak and seven to a woman's, and that a skilled weaver can complete a nine-yard piece in two full days' work; a real master in a day and a half. If neighbours enlist his services they supply the wool and also the attendant men, women, or children to wind his bobbins. They may likely have a loom-pit near their house, even if none of them weave themselves; in that case he will go and weave in theirs, otherwise they bring their wool to his. His chief fee for weaving is three ample meals a day while he works, and a gift in kind (or cash if they have any) equal to about tenpence of our money.

286 The autumn is a favourite time for weaving; the harvest work is nearly over, and the weather is still warm enough for sitting out of doors. On our afternoon walks at this season we saw many other weavers dotted about not only in Aliábád, but in the neighbouring hamlets between us and Báltít, and we found looms and pits in all cases substantially identical. In only one house was there an innovator who had set up his loom on the roof, and was seated on a raised bench instead of a sunk one. Nadíro kindly promised that when his season's work was over he would bring his whole apparatus down, let us measure it in detail, and take a studio portrait of it. David devoted every Sunday forenoon to taking quarter-plate photographs in an improvised studio with a proper stand camera, thus obtaining exact records of the various vessels and implements that were most characteristic of the country.

One day Levy Kalbi called us out to see him preparing goats'-hair warp. This was a most entertaining performance. He had a large ball of single goats'-hair thread, ingeniously wound so that one end could be drawn out from the centre of the ball (many knitters at home are familiar with this device). He then took the two ends, one from the centre and one from the cir-

252 God, the Merciful, the Compassionate—then they let the blood drain out, washed the neck carefully, and got busy with the skinning. Kalbi is a clever, neat-fingered fellow, as indeed all Hunzukuts seem to be, and in ten minutes had coaxed the skin off whole (without slitting it down the tummy) as easily as you peel off a pair of silk stockings. There were only the
415 holes at the neck and at the four "elbows" and a little slit at the tail, so that with a stitch at the tail and four ties at the legs the skin would serve as a water bucket or a bag for flour.

252 He then hung up the carcase and cleaned it—a wonderfully unmessy business—while we noted down all the words for its various innards. It would have been much more instructive and enlightening if either of us had ever seen a sheep killed at home or had known the English words for all the curious things it has inside it. There was not, even round the kidneys, one ounce of fat.

465 As usual out here, you do not pay a person in cash for per-
237 forming a service of this kind; there is some recognized perquisite. In this case Kalbi considered that he would be handsomely remunerated if he might have the guts. We did not covet them ourselves, and gladly acquiesced. They are much
[534] valued. They will give you strings for your zither (many people, including Kalbi, make beautiful zithers for themselves), and for your bow; they serve as thread to sew your long boots and your skin sack, and you put them to a hundred other uses. Others of our retainers laid claim to the wool, the skin, and various other items. Later Kalbi gave us a demonstration of skin-curing and -kneading.

291 The long native boots are extremely comfortable-looking,
[281] like long-legged moccasins, and their construction is an elaborate art. Ibex skins are preferred, but ibex have nearly been killed off and other leather has to be substituted. The soles may be made of cow-hide. Boots are precious things, so however cold it is you take them off when you come to a very rough piece of ground or want to walk through water. At best the unlined boot is not over-warm, and really luxurious people wear woollen socks or stockings inside if they have them. The women can knit excellently well, but it is very rare for anyone

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

expected to reply: "It is God's will. Accidents will happen. After all, they are beasts of the mountain and the wild." He is reckoned a churlish fellow who institutes enquiries and demands compensation, though no one denies his right to it. The liberty to indulge in an occasional free feed is, we understood, sparingly taken and not abused.

With luck a she-goat will yield enough milk while up on the summer pastures to make two *maltash*, i.e. two birch bark parcels of butter for storage. If the goat is a trustee goat the herd is expected to hand one *maltash* to her owner and to keep the balance as his fee. Sheep's milk is poor in fat content and yields little butter, so it is usually devoted to making *brús* and *rakhpín*, a kind of hard, dried curd which has great lasting qualities and the appearance of a cake of soap.

The day that the herds return from the mountain with their charges is a festive one for the villages. Large parties go out to meet the returning absentees. Before finally leaving the *tér*, driven down by cold and the advancing autumn snows, the herds bake some special little cakes to bring back with them, and crowds of dancing, shouting boys and girls fall on their elder brothers demanding their share. Trust the Hunzukuts to stage a festival on the slightest provocation.

Our Ernest of the white horse reappeared unexpectedly from the *tér* in the middle of the season and walked over from Hasanabad to call on us and bring an offering of *brús* for DL and of wild mountain flowers for me. He had given his animals into a friend's charge, and taken a couple of days off because he was a member of the Hasanabad polo team and was wanted to play in an inter-village match. These matches rouse as much interest as Arsenal *versus* Chelsea, and a good player who is also the possessor of a good pony can ill be spared. I duly took a photo of him and The Cat, he no longer in the rôle of the humble *sais* but of the gentleman polo player. Stout fellow!

These early June days were the time for apricot and mulberry grafting. The cultivated fruit shoots are grafted on to wild trees. We watched the process, about which the Hunzukuts have little to learn. Each graft was given a double lashing of bark from mulberry root. We returned later and found them

262 care in rationing the year's supply (rationing begins the moment the first barley crop is harvested), scarcely a household we knew but was out of flour and out of potatoes weeks before the first barley was ripe, and was living solely on turnip tops, greens and edible weeds. 'Starvation Springtime' in Hunza evokes no poet's raptures, only a wailing of hungry babies who, as their mothers apologetically explain 'are too small to understand', and a tightening of the belt by those who do; but never a complaint. How these hardy people exist and work and smile—and keep on smiling—on a diet which no Minister of Health would consider even 50 per cent. adequate in quantity or 10 per cent. adequate in proteins, is a mystery, and must represent a miracle of
147 natural selection over centuries. There are no sick or ailing in Hunza; men, women and children are wiry, tough and fit, and a fair
888 proportion live to a ripe and honoured age, busy to the last about
561 such tasks as suit their waning strength and valued for their experienced counsel, for no devilish inventions—cinemas, wireless or machines—have created a gulf between the generations.

243 Harvesting processes are extremely simple. When barley or wheat is ripe, the adults of the family turn out and pull up the shallow-
476 rooted crop by hand, laying the swathes in neat rows to dry. Even when a sickle is used, it is used to pull with, not to cut. As soon as a suitable field is bare, it is flooded, and a circular (more rarely a rectangular) space is enclosed by a small mud wall four or five inches high. When the ground is soft but no longer wet, the whole family, down to the tiniest toddler, forms in line and marks time systematically over the surface to level it. After three floodings and tramplings the new threshing floor is as smooth and even as a hard tennis court. Two neighbouring houses sometimes share a threshing floor which becomes the focus of family activity till the last sheaf is gathered in. The cut crops are stacked conveniently near, and a small quantity of corn is spread on the centre of the floor. Then while Grandfather with his beautifully graceful five-pronged fork throws in more grain from time to time, the team of five cows, loosely lashed together by their muzzles, is driven round by man, woman, boy or girl in turns until the threshing
243 is complete (PLATE III). The person in attendance on the trampling
262 beasts has a switch in the right hand and in the left a wooden bowl as 'dung-dish' in which all excreta of either type are conscientiously collected, not only because the Hunza folk cannot afford to waste an ounce of manure but equally because they are too fastidious to tolerate the fouling of their food. Great was the contempt of our Hunza

Chapter 13

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

BEFORE we could really settle down to the business of life 312
there were several practical problems to clear up. Water was 401
naturally the first item. The jolly little stream just in front of our rest-house did not run by any means all the time. It brings water from the great glacier behind Báltít; the actual aqueduct channel is some twelve miles long, and represents an amazing feat of engineering. It was made about three generations ago—before which the "New Settlements" of Aliábád and her outliers did not exist—when iron was still practically unknown in Hunza. The excavations and the galleries on which it is piloted so skilfully over gorges and along impossible cliff faces were all made with wooden shovels and picks tipped with ibex horn. The people had—and have—no instruments of precision, no [413] theodolites, nor levels. Against this they have some hereditary instinct that we lack, and an inherited or traditional common sense that enables them to adjust the necessary downward gradients exactly right. You never hear of anyone making a false shot in laying out a water channel, and you never hear of any "labour" difficulties. When a new work is undertaken for 312
the public good it is supervised by the Mir, or his Wazir acting 653
for him, and it is carried out by communal labour, of which 476
everyone recognizes the justice and necessity. The Dála, which will frequently recur in my story, is the main aqueduct that supplies Aliábád, but it has to feed other villages *en route*, and our stream, which was its last section, was therefore only in action at certain times. These are, however, known to everyone, and our people drew water enough when they could get it to carry on for the day or half-day when it would be cut off.

FIRST WALKS ABROAD

There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and 524
Banu, about six and four, who played with me and let me 177
tickle them with straws and play "One little pig went to market . . ." with their dusty little toes. This game proved such a success that I roughly translated it into "One little sheep went to drink. . . ." They would never have seen a pig, and if they had they *ought* to think it unclean, so I thought a lamb was safer. My first version gave one little lamb bread to eat, "bread" being a general word for "food." This caused great laughter: "Lambs wouldn't like bread, Mother dear." "Well, what do you think they'd like best?" "Oh, grass or leaves." "One little lamb had grass to eat and one little lamb had none." Thus amended, my little rhyme was approved, and other youngsters turned up to play "little lambs" till the game grew so popular that whenever I sat down on anyone's threshing-floor baby feet would be stretched out towards me: "One little lamb, Mother . . ." till I got quite tired of ". . . baa, baa, baa, all the way home," but it never palled on them. Centuries hence, when we shall have long been sleeping in the Garden of Rest at Golders Green, some anthropologist will come along and wonder what process of "diffusion" took "one little pig" to Hunza, or whether Hunza spontaneously generated the jingle for itself.

My pencil and little notebook were a great source of amuse- 124
ment, and the youngsters would crowd round: "Have you put 476
my name in? I'm Shamúli." "So you are; but whose Shamúli are you? I've got two Shamúlis already. Who's your Daddy? How many brothers have you got; how many sisters, are they bigger or smaller, what are *their* names? And which house is yours?" Thus gradually I got to know most of our immediate neighbours, but it was no easy matter to sort the families out, for groups would gather on each other's threshing-floors, and anyone whose own immediate work was done would join in to help the workers. I finally gave numbers of my own to all the nearest houses, and tried bit by bit to plot out the various relationships.

Meantime the threshing went steadily on, and I noticed that 293
the driver carried always a flat bowl shoulder high in her left 237
hand. "Now what's that for?" asked I. "Why, that's the dung-

Cp. 54.8, 64.5. *hinai ayun ziku bitan* all the doors are open. N. *av hiq dow* open the door for me. 40.8. Cp. 12.5. 64.4. *hiq tam e* (or, *ali*) shut the door. *hiq tam ne qulp walimi* shutting the door he locked it. 62.6. *hir gewis hiq teir ne yurtam* they used to give him daily (such and such supplies) each house in turn. 280.5.

000

hóo n pl. hail. — *hóo piyuiʌ* to hail. *hóo piyawiʌ* hail fell.

hipore a measure of grain. A quarter of a *hiduq* and so about 5 or 6 lbs.

hirpulto day after tomorrow. (V. *hikulto* and note).

hir, *hiv* ʌ, N. pl. *hirikʌnts*, hm. man (as opposed to woman, Latin "vir"); male (of animals birds etc.). — *hur wyum hirʌn drunaiʌ* he has sent a very great man. 90.2. *hiri ʌ gulinʌnts* men and women. 902.9,10, 316.2. *hir nis hʌwʌn wyun* all the males, all the male population. 240,2,6,8. *ordʌn hiri ryuder durumʌn wu wiʌhow: "lʌi hir"* . . . two men came up to him, "O man", they say . . . 104.1. *ja oiparyulʌnts hir'iw uts ha* I am going to give my daughters to men (i.e. husbands). 106.18. *hiwiki* (*hirik + ei? hiri ki?*) *dan ʌtʌnir iriti gewiʌmʌn* the men chased after him in order to stone him. 276.9. *hir hul* male dog.

(The N. pl. *hirikʌnts* is probably *hir + ik + ants*).

hir hʌyur manure to work strenuously all together. IUII. H. *mard wu 'wurʌt mirkʌr hurw kʌrwʌ*. — *Hunzukuts kʌnimo ha ʔu he darts ke hirw hirki mʌlʌ ke mʌlʌ durwur hir hʌyur mʌihow* the people of Hunza in

476

summer all join in working together whether at the apricots, or the threshing floor or the buckwheat cultivation. QUB. 476

hir'iganas, ir'i-ganas pl. *hir'igganão* x. 000
1. Soft fleshy stalk of such plants as broad bean, potato, melon, pumpkin, etc.
2. Stalk of a fruit.

h'iriman pl. *hirin'aiyo* x an insect resembling a centipede.

hiriski pertaining to men, man's. — *hiriski yforisin* a man's cap. *hiriski gupaltiq* men's trousers. *hiriski bi.ai.i* gonorrhoea.

hirkuf y manliness, valour, H. *mardanagi*.

hirum, hir'um, pl. h and x *-rão*, y *-iq*, smart, active, sharp, H. *tez*. — *he hirum hilesan bai.i* what a sharp lad he is. *hirum pa* sharp side, i.e. edge (of knife).

hisa -miq y a single month, month. — *gulu hisa* this month. Nz. *han hisa* one month. Nz. *han hisamu* in a month. Nz. *hik hisa* one month. *han hisa kha* up to a month. Nz. *hisa manum tshanq* at the end of every month. 62.22. *gulu hisar gusu baskarif gurcam* I'll give you this wether for this month. 62,26. Cp. 60.7, 62.21,26, 342.6.

(*hisa* appears to be *hi*, or *hik*, one + *sa* month. Two or more months are expressed by *sa* q.v.).

hisab, hisap y account, reckoning. — *gulu gunsutsum wq he hisap ehi, je he hisab ecam* from this day you keep a reckoning (of the days) and I too shall keep one. 52.5. *altousaltsu hula manimi, wqs hisab mani bila be? . . . je hisab haher manimi* 40 days have passed. Has your reckoning

461 done and he turns on his television set, he is bombarded with commercials that seek to hypnotize his brain by making him believe he needs those products, when in reality he needs them like a hole in the head? Can a man know the meaning of true leisure when his head is throbbing with the bills he must meet on the morrow, the food he must buy and the clothing he must procure for his family, for which in many cases ready money is not available? Can a man who is harassed by and has pressing about him a hundred problems that must be reckoned with, find leisure or peace by escaping to the country for a weekend or by taking to drink?

Of course not! True relaxation and leisure are as far away from him as the moon!

Therefore, when I say that the people of Hunza know and enjoy the true thrill of leisure, I mean every word of it sincerely. While they rise at 3.30 or 4 o'clock [512] in the morning, they go to bed between 7 and 8, and in the winter time even earlier, if there is no celebration or dancing in the village. They are without doubt the most industrious people that I have met—especially in the East. Laziness is positively foreign to Hunza!

[481] Wherever I went I noticed that the Hunzans had ample time to talk and chat, and seldom did they appear to be in a hurry although whenever they walked, their walk was brisk—much more so than the average Western gait. In fact, this is one of their most recognizable and admired traits.

571 Lest anyone should get the impression that life in Hunza is dull, let me clearly emphasize that there is great fellowship between families and the selfsame group-gathering that we know of in our way of life is also practiced and followed by the people of Hunza. [796] Further, religious gatherings are quite frequent and play an important role in the social life of the people.

526 I do know, however, that tennis is played in Hunza
481 because the Mir has a tennis court in an area around the garden. I also know that swimming is practiced because I saw a swimming pool at the Mir's summer home at Altit.

It was July when I was in Hunza and not one single person did I see swimming in either the Gilgit or Hunza Rivers or, for that matter, in any of the nullahs or creeks we passed.

I will admit that we had our feet soaked in most of them—some deliberately when resting and others in crossing, chiefly on foot because I didn't trust my horse. He has four slender legs with any of which he can get into trouble. I have only two to watch and worry over and they are sturdy and stocky, of the "Pict" type.

133 It would take a mighty good man or boy to swim in
526 the nullahs in Hunza or the surrounding area: first, because the icy waters of the rivers or nullahs would freeze you to death in no time flat. The water, winter and summer, never gets much higher than the freezing point and I doubt if any human being or even these human polar bears could stand water like that. Besides, there are no clear calm patches that are without a devastating current.

From scrutinizing the area, I doubt very much if there are very many places along the entire reaches of the Hunza River that can be forded, even with mighty good animals, capable of swimming, at least during the spring and summer. I know of one well prepared expedition that tried to cross one of these rivers and came to grief.

526 Polo is the national game or sport of Hunza and of practically all the principalities in that area . . . and, brother, it is a wild and woolly game as played by these

zan. And it wasn't because I was smart. There obviously 124
was a distinct difference and anyone could pick out a Hunzan from a Nagirwal or any of the other citizens thereabout.

Much has been said about the walking habits of the 481
people of Hunza . . . the long distances, the climbs, [147]
their endurance and their sprightly gait. I have had little experience with their endurance, but of their gait I can speak with some degree of authority. They have the lightest, easiest walk or pace that I have seen anywhere in my life. They seem to glide or spring effortlessly. If any people on the face of the earth have learned to walk without wasting any energy, I believe the people of Hunza have learned that secret. That's the only way I can account for our guides, for example, being in exactly the same condition when they finished their day's travel as when they started. I fully realize that they are accustomed to doing this. On occasions at home I have walked 12 miles at one march—and enjoyed it—but I was tired and mighty glad to take a good rest when I reached my goal.

I cannot recall one occasion where I saw a Hunzan [147]
resting after a walk. I practically retraced every foot of my journey back and forth and also the side excursions, but I couldn't find one occasion on which the Hunzan men had to rest. They not only seemed, but actually were, totally imperturbable, nonchalant and at ease wherever they went. Their stride was livelier and lighter than anything I have ever seen.

Furthermore they never slouched, whether walking, [516]
standing or sitting. No matter where you saw them, they held their heads erect and chests out.

Now this is not an afterthought because I began my search and observations the moment I left Gilgit. They didn't walk—they seemed to float! I wish I knew their

481 secret . . . but perhaps it isn't a secret! It's most likely inherent—they have it when they're born.

000 The closest thing to the Hunzan gait that I ever saw was in Agra where the famed Taj Mahal is located. There were a couple of hours unfilled in our time schedule, so we took a stroll through the city. What a city! (But that is another story.) My eyes were rolling like a man in a delirium to take in all of the scenes that were going on about me. When I heard what sounded like a song or a chant, I turned about trying to find the source of the merriment or music, and then I saw the source. I stood and waited and a troop of men passed by in front of me, single file and spread about 10 feet apart. Most of them wore but a loin cloth; the day was hot and sunny. On their shoulders they carried a wooden yoke, that stretched out on either side about a foot from their shoulders. From each end there hung a string and at the end of the string was a platter. The entire affair resembled a balance—the kind that justice is supposed to bear. On each of the platters stood a bottle with a fluid in it. The gait of these men was light, flowing and even; the men were all singing.

I stood and watched them file past me. There were about 70 of them. I looked about me, searching for someone who could explain these goings-on. A few inquiries led me to a native lady of the upper caste who spoke fluent English. She told me that these men had been to the Ganges 60 miles away and they were carrying holy water in the glass containers that were placed on the balanced platters. Their load could not be put down until they reached their destination. They had already gone 60 miles and some had a mile or two more to go and others had 10 miles and some even 50 more miles. They could transfer their load to some other willing helper, but it must not touch the ground.

These men were carrying water from the holy of holies—the Ganges. They were intoxicated—not with wine, but with their faith. They were excited with the mysticism of their god; they were inspired; they were in seventh heaven. Yes, the gait of these divinely influenced people was close to the pace followed by the people of Hunza.

If I had seen somewhere along in my travels a Hunzan who slouched, dragged himself or in some other way showed a sign of weakness or debility, I would say so, but no such Hunzan did I see.

I fully realize that I scoffed at my Hunzan bearer that the Mir sent along with me from Kerimabad to Nomal, especially when he wanted to take the horses back from Chalt and leave us because he said he had blisters on his feet, due to the exceptionally hard push we had made that day, but remember, he was 20 years older than I! His feet probably told his age but he certainly didn't look it.

If there are sick and infirm men in Hunza, they must be exceptionally well-hidden, because I didn't see or find any.

Then, too, writers and observers of the people of Hunza always mention and stress the fact that they are a happy pleasant people. To this I must also assent. I did not see a sad or disgruntled Hunzan. I do not mean to suggest that they ran about the streets giggling and laughing, but they were of cheery, amiable countenance. Here I am going beyond those with whom I walked and talked and ate; I am delving into the citizenry that I passed on the roads or streets, those whose farms and homes we visited and also those whom I observed in passing.

Let me here illustrate another point. For example, it is understandable that we here in America, or people

as his trophy room. There, neatly laid on a long table, 123
was a beautiful ornate set of silverware, a three piece [415]
tea service. It was the most unusual and elaborate design I'd ever seen. I recognized it as the leaf of the chenar tree, which is similar to our maple. I do not profess to be a connoisseur or one who appreciates objects of art, but I did recognize this as being something especially fine and unusual.

He said, "This is from the Rani and I. I hope your wife will like it!"

He then presented me with a most unusual cane. It 123
is made out of some native Hunzan wood, white in 481
color—chenar I imagine. The handle is made very ingeniously, so that you have something to hold firmly in your hand, as well as a place to rest your thumb. Then the entire length of the cane and the handle were studded at regular intervals with what the Mir explained were pieces of ibex horns.

Ibex are found in the hills. They are a wild moun- 136
tain goat, usually found above the snow line. They are a good sized, hefty animal, standing between 3 and 3½ feet high at the shoulder. They're sturdy beasts as they well must be to live among the highest and most precipitous hills in all creation. For agility there is no animal that can match them. They are crowned with long ridged horns curved backwards, usually black in color. These tough, imperturbable mountain goats reminded me of the people of Hunza and I thought there was a great deal of similarity between them. They are, as far as I know, afraid of nothing.

I'm not a hunter—I didn't go after them. Some of the men said they could be found readily. Others said you had to go far up into the mountains in order to find them. But by the number of horns of the ibex I saw in Gilgit, Baltit and all along the route I traversed,

487 I am sure that a people who saw these caravans coming
177 and going could not be called isolated by any stretch of the imagination. They just like their little piece of paradise too well to leave it.

133 *Hunza empties into the Indus.* Two famed writers who should know better . . . or should I say, should have checked more closely . . . made the statement that the Hunza River flows into the Indus. Even a cursory glance at a map would show that the Hunza empties into the Gilgit and the Gilgit empties into the Indus.

585 *Mother-in-law taken along on honeymoon*—This bit of stupidity, or should I say absurdity, appeared in no less than two of the foremost publications in America.

Who ever heard of a honeymoon in Hunza? Not having a Niagara Falls, probably they'd go up and sit on top of Rakaposhi with the mother-in-law between them to cool their ardor.

When the Mir made this statement, he was joking, never believing for a moment that anyone would take such a broad joke as being factual.

481 *Hunzans walk* 60 *to* 100 *miles as though it were*
147 *nothing.* In fact, one author stated somewhere that the Hunzans could walk 60 miles easier than she could walk upstairs.

I will readily grant that I believe the Hunzan people are the world's best walkers and well they would have to be, because there just happens to be no other mode of locomotion. I'll even go further and say that all through my travels in that territory I did not once see a Hunzan man, or for that matter a Nagirwal, who appeared to be worn from the rugged walks and climbs. So it is clear that they have tremendous reserves of energy and stamina . . . but let's not go overboard!

486 *Anyone can visit Hunza.* Contrary to the assertion
114 made by one writer that anyone can get into Hunza, I

Chapter 16

HOME LIFE AT No. 1

293 WHEN the women are working in the fields through the heat
[132] of the day—and it is very, very hot at 7,800 feet with a tem-
854 perature of 105° in the shade—they usually have a large square
● 482 of cotton cloth with them, which they sometimes throw over their heads for protection. This cloth turns in for all sorts of purposes; if you are carrying a small quantity of flour home from the mill you can wrap it up and tie it across from one shoulder to the other armpit and so keep both hands free. If the baby is too small to sit safely on your back or shoulders, you treat it in the same way. In fact, if you see a woman with this kind of bundle that appears to have two lumps in it you may safely guess that it's a baby.

342 I made great friends with the family who worked just below us (I have named them in my notebook Household No. 1), and I felt quite sad when their wheat harvest was over—it was so convenient just to run down and join them in sight of our own windows. They asked me, however: "Won't you come home and sit in our shade?" Of course I accepted with delight. It was just a few steps along the Dála and down one of the little lanes, half path, half watercourse. We came to a slightly taller, mud-plastered wall on the left with a wooden door in it. Through this I stepped in to a tiny courtyard with a shed on each side, one for straw and one for the lambs and kids. The
[333] house itself is just a rough cube of stones plastered with mud, and it has a flat roof with a smoke-hole in it above the central hearth. You go up by a ladder, and the roof makes a nice place for sitting out, watching the neighbours go by, spinning, and drying apricots. It has a second store-room built on a part of

Chapter 18

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

SUMMER is a breathless time in the Hunza fields. No sooner 243
does the ripening grain show a fine "fox-brown" than a line 516
of five or six men and women attack it in unison. They do 592
not "reap" in our sense of the word. They squat in that inimitably convenient way that the East has preserved for working—no backs bent with stooping, no knees worn out with kneeling—and grasp a full handful of the ripe stalks and pull up roots and all; first right, then left; clap the two together to shake off the all-too-valuable earth; lay the bundle behind them; shuffle on a pace and repeat. The fields are small and in an incredibly short space of time a golden field is prostrate and the ground carpeted with neatly aligned rows of swathes. It is beautiful to see a party at work: father and mother, daughters, sons, and wives; they space themselves and keep their line as exactly as soldiers on parade, yet each works individually, each at his own pace and in his own way—without haste and without pause. They possess rude iron sickles, but 412
when these are used at all they are not used to *cut*, but merely to pull against, if the crop is more than usually deep-rooted.

When the *shandiming* (cut crops) have lain a little and been 243
turned over once or twice they are tied into sheaves and 482 ●
gathered into piles, some as big as a man can carry, others smaller to suit a boy—according to the "man-power" available. A double goat's hair rope is slipped round the waist of the pile and ingeniously knotted so as to leave two shoulder loops. The man or boy flings himself down backwards on to it, slips his arms through the loops and hitches the rope fast. Then some kindly bystander gives a touch to the load from behind,

243 and by a gymnastic miracle the bearer staggers to his feet,
● 482 almost invisible under his tossing burden, and sets off at a trot up a steep flight of rough stones, or a boulder track, or a rude wooden ladder laid against a high field wall, to the thresh-
243 ing-floor. Beside this, a stack is built by other workers as the loads come in. A core of several upright sheaves forms the centre; layers of other sheaves are laid symmetrically round these, heads to centre, roots out, till the stack is 5 or 6 feet high. The priceless grain is thus beyond the greed of passing goats, and if rain threatens a carpet flung on top suffices to keep the whole erection dry. The moment the *shandiming* are off the ground the children drive their tiny flocks, one minute cow, a couple of sheep and goats, on to the empty field, and the hungry beasts greedily snatch at every green blade of grass or weed they chance to sight. There is cruelly little. In the early days the crop is diligently and systematically weeded, and even after the grain has reached some height the field is invaded every few days by the women and children in the hopes that some further weeds may be detected and carried off for fodder. The two stages of weeding are quite distinct. I was much laughed at one day, when the second stage had set in, for asking a party of crouching women whether they were "weeding." "Oh, no," they said, "weeding time is long since over; we are just fetching some green stuff for the cow." Both weedings are done so thoroughly that the expectant beasts who invade the new-reaped field have quickly cleared the few remaining stalks.

857 When the fields are temporarily empty a great feeling of freedom pervades the land. The boys rejoice in the rare luxury of flat open spaces for foot polo, tip-cat, races, rounders, and a dozen other games; the weavers seize the chance to lay out their warp and the girls romp and play ball—"the fields are free" is joyfully remarked on every side. DL and I rejoiced no less in being able to walk side by side on the flat—an experience foregone these many months—and take short-cuts from one farmstead to another without the usual boulder-jumping scramble.

But the freedom of the fields is short-lived.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

854
482

1. Little girl barely five taking baby brother of two for a ride. Madat, the elder boy, watches the experiment with some anxiety. (*See p.* 137)

2. Fetching firewood in a shoulder basket. (*See p.* 131)

PLATE XV

857

3. Gúlo and friends working mud into "cakes like those Mother makes." A wish-fulfilment of Starvation Springtime. (*See p.* 299)

[Facing P. 176]

242

Hunza or Nagir, not once did I see a bit of organic material of any kind wasted or destroyed. The people made regular foraging trips to different parts of the country and always brought back for their land any grass or other organic material that was found and could be brought home.

[482]

[231]

They would walk many miles in search of grass or green growth of any kind. Regularly I saw men, women and boys carrying huge packs on their backs. It was a mass of green packed into a cloth and carried to their farm to be fed to the animals or distributed over the small fields.

Up until the present time chemical fertilizers have not invaded Hunza. Whether there is any connection between the splendid health of the Hunzans and the fact that they have never used commercial fertilizers, I am unable to state. But it is worth considering!

Remember, there are no forests, peat bogs or other sources of organic material like we have in most parts of Europe and America. Every bit of organic material that the Hunzan farmer uses or procures is got at the expense of hard work or difficult travel. So it is easy to see why they can afford to waste not one iota of this life-sustaining substance.

If you have ever traveled to Switzerland, you would probably be struck or amazed by the neat piles of manure that are built in front of most farm residences and there a man's prestige and intrinsic value are estimated by the size of his manure pile. Don't laugh—I'm not joking! I'm dead serious and I swear this is absolutely true! Wise, oh, very wise, are the Swiss!

In Hunza, unfortunately, manure piles are seldom if ever encountered because the manure is placed on their fields as soon as it is ready. I looked into countless animal stables but never once did I see a manure pile . . .

534 644 *The piano in the palace was brought by the Mir's grandfather.* This was stated in one of the books I read about Hunza.

The story from the Mir's own lips is, "The piano was brought to Gilgit via Bandipoor and Burzil Pass from Kashmir for the Political Agent who was British. It was installed in the Political Agent's house in Gilgit in 1895. In 1947 when the partition came, it was presented to me by the last British Political Agent, Colonel R. N. Bacon, along with the Union Jack which is unfurled in Gilgit. The piano was brought to Baltit on the backs of 24 men." [482]

164 *Disease is unknown in Hunza.* Oh, how I wish that were true! It was the fondest wish of my heart and soul when I left for Hunza that I could return and be able to attest the fact that disease is unknown in that country.

From definite assertions made by the doctor who was stationed at Aliabad in Hunza, it is true that such diseases as cancer, diabetes, heart disease and hypertension are absolutely unknown in Hunza. But there are other diseases, perhaps not as crucial but, nevertheless, maladies of a serious nature.

As more of civilization's luxuries become known and used in Hunza, it is assured that many more of the diseases of civilization, as yet unknown in Hunza, will make their way into that country.

165 *No infant mortality*—I am unable to speak for the past, but at the present day infant mortality is known in Hunza. As mentioned elsewhere in this book, statistics are unavailable as no records are kept. But the present doctor in Aliabad forcibly states that infant mortality is a force to be reckoned with in Hunza at the present time.

know that the child will be given a fine upbringing. 644

It is to be expected that the milk parents will be given much consideration and favors from the Mir's household and family . . . and the Mir has and still does provide better than average homes or residences for these selected people. 853 608

In Hunza at the present time, the Mir has built a row or unit of bungalows for these milk parents and they are given food and necessities from the royal kitchen.

I have tried to find some connection of this practice with other nations or peoples. So far my search has been unsuccessful in this regard.

Death is not the serious thing with the people of Hunza that it is with most other peoples throughout the world. That does not mean that there is no sadness and mourning, but it does not take on the same scope and seriousness that it does in the West. This is primarily due to the religion and beliefs of the people. Being Mohammedans, they believe in predestination . . . "So Allah wills." 761

Seldom are graves of departed kinfolk visited—nor are flowers laid upon them. In fact, very little maintenance is ever carried out on graves. Visits to the graves or graveyards are definitely not encouraged. The dead are revered, but visiting the grave of the departed is not really the accepted thing in Hunza. 769 765

The dead are often commemorated by having roadside lean-tos or "baldies," as they call them, erected for them . . . where a man can stop and find a bit of shelter during a storm, or rest his pack or load. They also build "jhurks" or water holes to serve the same purpose. Women are seldom commemorated in this manner. The best that a woman can hope to get is a rock pile erected in her memory. 769 764 [484] [312]

Chapter 12

SETTLING IN

July 1934.

485 342 THE Aliábád bungalow is a good deal bigger than the ordinary rest-house, for it was enlarged to make room for a resident Assistant Political Agent (whose post after a year was found unnecessary), and then two further rooms were added on to accommodate on occasion the Political Agent himself (who never stays there). There is a good-sized dining-room, with pantry behind; a double bedroom with a bow window; two single bedrooms; three bathrooms of the primitive dak-bungalow variety of course (one of which we at once earmarked for a "dark-room"), and a really handsome sitting-room with another bow window; finally—an unexpected and welcome luxury—a store-room with plenty of good shelves where we could stack our modest supply of stores and all our spare stationery. At the back there are the usual kitchen, servants' quarters, "stables," and what not. Everything was most scrupulously clean when we arrived, and for this we had to thank the forethought of our good friend the Mir. It happened that our old "head-boy," Nazar (already mentioned), was up from Gilgit on leave at his home in Aliábád, and the Mir bade him take charge and get the house ready as he thought we should like it.

000 He gladly took over for a few days from Dádo, whom we sent off to see his people. The poor boy came back to find that his mother and his grandmother had died during his absence. This hit him hard, and when we stammered our sympathy he murmured: "It is God's will." We were glad to hear that he has a wife and baby boy to cheer him. To show how much we appreciated his devotion on the journey up—which had far

to let you figure it out. I'm just telling you what I saw 137
and what I think.

I admit that I would very much like to some day [133]
climb and find out exactly what those trees were, but
Rakaposhi is one of the most difficult of all mountains
on earth to climb. It took 23 attempts to conquer 141
Rakaposhi. The first 22 attempts failed, but a British
expedition succeeded in scaling her summit in 1958.
One side is almost a sheer drop, so from that side I'll
stay clear. Of course there wouldn't be anything growing there, anyway.

The ascent of Rakaposhi was accomplished by the British Pakistan Forces Himalayan Expedition, 1958. Captain Shah Khan, the Mir's uncle, was a member of the expedition. I quote from the account . . .

"Captain Shah Khan was a most important and use- [145]
ful member of the expedition. He personally selected
our 6 Hunza porters, and being a Hunza man himself,
in fact the uncle of the Mir, we hoped for great things
from them. We were not in the least disappointed."

The expedition started May 12th from Gilgit and established a base camp on May 26 at 14,000 feet. It was on June 25th that two members of the expedition, Mike Banks and Tom Pattey, reached the summit, under terrible conditions of winds and drifts.

Varieties of shrubs in Hunza were more numerous. I 137
saw a few wild roses just like any wild rose you see
anywhere. The flower had a slight fragrance and was reddish-pink in color.

Then there was a plant that resembled barberry, except it had a blue berry instead of a red one. The berry was edible. I tried some and found the taste pleasing and sweet, but there was very little meat or pulp. It was practically all skin and seeds. It was much

their own land. They spin their own wool. Then they 433
weave it into cloth from which they cut and sew their [286]
clothes. However he can also buy or trade for woolen cloth or he can have his own wool woven for him.

They have little or no money. The few dollars that 436
he might get during the year would come from the 485
expeditions that congregate in the area and hire the Hunzans as porters. And they are unsurpassed at this difficult and arduous work.

A man has a right to inflict corporal punishment 593
upon his wife if she nags him. Perhaps that is why the men of Hunza have that cheerful look.

The children are never neglected because the parents
are always at home. Further, the children do their 857
share of the work in the fields and are taught to do so from early childhood. This also eliminates juvenile delinquency.

The people of Hunza have splendid dispositions. 157
They are genial, pleasant, smiling and cheerful. They 181
have deep respect for authority, profound love of the land, affection, compassion and understanding for their neighbors and they are most hospitable to strangers. They hold their heads high, their chests out and they
are strong, honest and hard-working. To me this showed 000
clearly and positively that people can live and that agriculture can exist and thrive without chemistry, chemical fertilizers, chemical sprays or synthetic medicines and drugs.

They enjoy happiness without modernization, long life without doctors, nurses and hospitals, democracy without bureaucracy, law and order without police and self-sufficiency without money. Part of the answer, if not most of it, is their loyalty to and their faith in their land, a pure case of unremitting agriculture and putting everything back into the soil which was taken

122 But now it was entirely different. I didn't regard the
437 snaky curves and loops with distrust and misgivings as I had the other day. In fact, then, I remember hating every turn I had to take. Now, with a good mount between my legs, I felt elated, happy, cheerful. Even though I started off riding, I knew that I wouldn't ride very far because I enjoy walking too much. But, still, it was mighty nice to know that you had a good horse in case you needed it.

From the start in the morning we knew it was to be a hard ride if we wanted to get to Chalt in one march. There was a full 32 miles to go. It was actually 36 miles but I figured the jeep had driven us 4 of them so that left 32.

[435] Neither Cec nor I discussed or mentioned it but I think we fully realized that, if we felt it was going to be too tough, we could stop off at Minapin which was but 15 miles away and would find the usual rest houses there. Yet, I couldn't see myself holing up at Minapin for the night. Why, we should be there shortly after noon, I figured, and I certainly had no intention of calling it quits then.

Besides, my recollections of Minapin weren't very appealing. It was the poorest looking and the dirtiest town of all we had passed through. We had stopped
[485] for a few minutes at the rest house on the way up and it had proved to be a disappointment. We couldn't get anything to eat there and the chowkidor expected a handsome donation because we stopped there and, I believe, had a glass of water.

Then, too, I knew that this was the stage for us to make time, as we'd have more protection from the sun because there were more trees in this area than there would be further down. Villages dotted the landscape
[361] as this was one of the more fertile districts and towns

Actually, I think this in many ways is a mistake. 122
Anything that you bring along for yourself on a trail like this should be kept for yourself and the reason is clear and obvious. On the trail both coming and going neither group of bearers or guides offered us as much as a nibble, whereas in every case anything that we had we passed along or shared with them.

The reason I contend this is wrong is simple. They are in their own territory. They know where food and water are available. I know, as I saw them procure it when they wanted it. In our case we were up against a stark, high, blank wall and had to ask for, drive for and pay for every morsel of food that we got on the trail.

If I were doing this selfsame job over again, I would plan my travels without worrying or consulting them one iota. Their opinions, their judgment and estimations are completely unreliable, when it comes to distance, time, height, depth, temperature—yes, and even dangers!

Now I'm not referring to the people in the category of the Mir or the P.A. or Jahangir. I am talking about the average citizen that one meets along the trails or in the towns or villages. While you are supplied with a 122
guide and bearer or bearers and you feel you can rely 485
upon them, they do not take into consideration that you are a stranger, a tenderfoot, and know little or nothing about the terrain and the place to which you are going.

I'm not trying to impress you with the fact that these people are ignorant because they are not ignorant. It is just that these things are beyond their ken and you must rely upon yourself and prepare accordingly. They have been ordered or hired to guide you to a certain defined place or to look after your horse and that is all they will do—nothing more!

122 This does not mean to imply that they are unreliable
485 or unfriendly, because undoubtedly if you remained with them for any great time, you would become friendly with them and perhaps a feeling of camaraderie or loyalty would spring up. This belief has been confirmed by my conversations with people who have traveled through similar territories over longer periods. But in cases like this, where you hire a man for a day or two and you can't talk his language or make yourself clearly understood to him, the chances of getting any great amount of service are rather remote . . . that is, beyond the call of regular duties. In fact, I have learned and found that they will do only what they have to do and even getting this done will often take reminding!

122 The collapse of my friend on the first day out of Gilgit would never have occurred had we taken charge of the situation ourselves and stopped and rested every few hours for a few minutes, like any individual with common sense should have done. But we relied upon our bearers and guide. We were tenderfeet and stupid ones, to boot!

We were now beginning to feel like veteran mountaineers. It's funny how quickly a man can learn if his life depends on it. We weren't going to make the same mistake that we made coming up. This time we had no guide—just bearers—although Jahangir's soldier could be taken as a guide. In fact, he was probably better than most guides.

However, we were confident enough about the situation to carry on without any guiding or leading. I'm not trying to give you the impression that we were smart guys. It was just that we found out that there was no cause for fear or anxiety and once you beat that feeling, then you can go on through most anything.

From what I have learned about mountaineering, I 122
find that this principle generally is true. When you know the natives and appraise and understand the country you are in, the rest is just a task. It may be a difficult one but a task that, with good management and a bit of luck, can be accomplished.

In this instance we had good horses—the best. Secondly, we knew and understood the regions through which we must travel. Then, we had prepared a bit of food. But on top of it all, we were masters of the situation and we were not depending on anyone else!

The worst part of the day was from about 10 A.M. until 2 P.M. After that the sun and heat slowly headed downwards.

It was about 1.30 when we went through Minapin. [485]
This is normally the first stopping place from Baltit. We'd been up and about and on the trail for almost 8 steady, heat-filled hours, but we never even considered the idea of staying there.

However, this was where the owner of the pack horse lived—the one that Jahangir's guide had managed to procure at Kerimabad—so we had to unload it. Jahangir dismounted and the luggage and all the trappings were carefully tied to fit around this horse that the Mir had sent along as a pack animal.

I took no part in the proceedings. Jahangir and his guide, as well as the two bearers, did the job and they did it right, unlike our first experience when we left Gilgit. We hadn't gone a mile along the Gilgit River when we began to have trouble, and hadn't we been at least half awake, we would have lost some of our belongings.

Here it was different. Whether it was due to the fact that we had Hunzan bearers, as compared to Gilgitis,

survive despite the encroachment of modern civilization? 177

I go on record as saying, "Yes, she can survive but it will take good leadership, and the present ruling Mir —my friend, Mohammed Jamal Khan—is capable of this leadership, provided he is not interfered with by the powers that surround him or emanate from Karachi!"

The first detrimental factor that is crawling into Hunza at the present time, and has been for some years, is salt. Already numerous cases of goiter have appeared which did not exist before when they used their native salt. 177 263 164

Travel in Hunza is restricted. In fact, at the present time no foreigner is allowed into the state without a permit and that includes Pakistanis as well. As far as I know, my friend Cec Brunton and I were the last foreigners to enter Hunza. With the political situation as it is today, I doubt if anyone else will be permitted to enter the country until the situation changes. 486 648 123

The fact that China is at the present time encroaching upon India is a rather significant factor. I really can't appraise its implications because the disputed area by any calculation seems to be of little or no value. There are millions of such acres available throughout Tibet and the Himalayan cordillera as well as in the Karakorums. Therefore it must be just for aggrandizement that China is moving. If that is her aim and desire, then Hunza would be right up her alley. 648

Yet it is my firm belief that China will not bother Hunza. I know the Afghans have looked with longing eyes on that part of Pakistan for some years, but they have neither the arms nor the men to successfully invade the area, although with arms from Russia and a little prodding, things could get hot in that area. How-

of his fellow man and see that it is fairly and impartially carried out, we have made it too complicated. Is there any justifiable reason why it should take months or even years for a civil case to be heard in court? If there are not sufficient judges, I'm sure it would not be difficult to appoint or elect more of them. If there are not enough court rooms and court houses, I feel confident that, with American construction at its high peak of efficiency, it wouldn't take long to correct that.

Then why isn't it done? I don't know the answer. Do you? The Hunzan system of justice seems to be functioning in a most satisfactory manner. Anyone may petition the Mir and unless he is away, can get an almost immediate hearing. If the Mir is not available or if the problem is not a weighty one, then the Wazir can attend to it.

In truth, justice can be simple!

* * * * *

In order to get into Hunza you must obtain a permit from the Pakistani authorities in the capital, which is Karachi, but I understand the government is being moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi or a new site close to it. I still think it is more important to have the Mir's invitation, because even though you could get into Hunza, you would be practically helpless without the Mir's assistance and cooperation.

Unless you brought a guide with you and one who could speak English and translate for you, you'd find the going very, very difficult in either Nagir or Hunza. Therefore I would suggest that if you contemplate a visit into this area, you obtain the Mir's invitation or permission first. Then go after the Pakistani government's permit.

Why the Pakistan government regards Hunza as a strategic region or area is not hard to understand if

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

Therefore, it is my belief, one of the reasons for the Hunzan high standing throughout the world is due to the excellent quality of leadership that they have enjoyed for many years, and is being continued by the present Mir and his staff and family. 643

I don't want anyone to run off with the idea that everything I saw about the Hunzans impressed me or that I thought they were exceptional in every way, because that definitely is not true. I did then and I do today admire the people of Hunza for all the splendid qualities that make them outstanding people. Anyone who could live in the harsh, tough, back-breaking terrain of Hunza must be made of stern fiber. Yet they have their foibles and weaknesses as well. 123 114

You see there are no immigration rules or laws to stop them from going anywhere in that area . . . at least, there weren't until recently. They could have gone to China, India, Afghanistan, Russia, Pakistan or anywhere else where the pickings might have been easier. But their love of freedom and intelligence that told them they were better off than most people in the world, even though financially poorer, kept them on the mountain slopes that are the banks of the Hunza. 486

No book on Hunza would be complete to even a small degree, unless some mention was made of the fact that it was not always known as Hunza. In fact, back before the turn of the twentieth century, Hunza was known as Kanjut and the people as the Kanjuts. 101

From records that I have located, I learned that, when the rulers of Shignam came to Hunza, they called the valley Kanjut. That name remained until the time of the Girkis and they called the country Hunza, because all of the people were united like the arrows in a quiver. In the Burushaski language Hunza means "arrow."

487 I am sure that a people who saw these caravans coming
177 and going could not be called isolated by any stretch of the imagination. They just like their little piece of paradise too well to leave it.

133 *Hunza empties into the Indus.* Two famed writers who should know better . . . or should I say, should have checked more closely . . . made the statement that the Hunza River flows into the Indus. Even a cursory glance at a map would show that the Hunza empties into the Gilgit and the Gilgit empties into the Indus.

585 *Mother-in-law taken along on honeymoon*—This bit of stupidity, or should I say absurdity, appeared in no less than two of the foremost publications in America.

Who ever heard of a honeymoon in Hunza? Not having a Niagara Falls, probably they'd go up and sit on top of Rakaposhi with the mother-in-law between them to cool their ardor.

When the Mir made this statement, he was joking, never believing for a moment that anyone would take such a broad joke as being factual.

481 *Hunzans walk* 60 *to* 100 *miles as though it were*
147 *nothing.* In fact, one author stated somewhere that the Hunzans could walk 60 miles easier than she could walk upstairs.

I will readily grant that I believe the Hunzan people are the world's best walkers and well they would have to be, because there just happens to be no other mode of locomotion. I'll even go further and say that all through my travels in that territory I did not once see a Hunzan man, or for that matter a Nagirwal, who appeared to be worn from the rugged walks and climbs. So it is clear that they have tremendous reserves of energy and stamina . . . but let's not go overboard!

•486 *Anyone can visit Hunza.* Contrary to the assertion
114 made by one writer that anyone can get into Hunza, I

would like to mention that since 1950 here is a list of 486
all the people who were allowed into Hunza from the 114
outside world: Franc and Jean Shore, April, 1952; Lowell Thomas, Jr. in December, 1954; Benjamin Ruhe in July, 1956; Barbara Mons, May, 1956; Dr. Allen Banik, July, 1958; and John Tobe and Cecil Brunton in July, 1959.

I've a letter here from the Embassy of Pakistan, 486
Washington, D. C.:

"Dear Dr. Keller,

"Please refer to your letter of September 29, 1959, regarding your request to visit Hunza.

"The Government of Pakistan have regretted their inability to grant permission for your visit to this area. We would like to mention that we have received a number of similar requests from other individuals and we have not been able to comply with those requests.

"We have been informed by Dr. Francis Pottenger of Monrovia, California, that he and Dr. William Albrecht of the University of Missouri, also planned to accompany you on your proposed visit. We would appreciate it if you could kindly convey our regrets to Dr. Albrecht. We are writing to Dr. Pottenger ourselves.

"Yours sincerely,

A. Fatch, Second Secretary"

This should establish clearly, once and for all, whether or not it is easy to get into Hunza.

Court fines go to Mir's treasury. This statement was 652
made by one of the writers on Hunza and when brought to the Mir's attention by me, it was vigorously denied.

Any revenue obtained in this manner goes to the
state and helps maintain the canals and aqueduct sys- [312]
stems. Further, the total obtained from fines during a year would not exceed 200 rupees, about $40.00.

were all a dark sinister crimson and gave out a suffocating 133
smell of sulphurous gas. Our men urged us to "press the pace," for the friable, forbidding cliff face above looked as if it were not nearly done with shedding boulders. There is assuredly no myth more misleading than that of the "everlasting hills."

From river[1] level we could see the pin-scratch along the 487
cliffs on our right, some 600 or 800 feet above the river, and, often as we had ridden the road before, it seemed incredible that it could be possible to round it. The cliffs on our left bore similar scratches, representing the Hunza road between the two oases of Mayun and Hindi. Poor starved-looking little places they seem in contrast to the rich Nagir ones. We chaffed our Hunzukuts that obviously the Nagir road up the gorge was the better one since Government had chosen it for the regular route. They rose at once to the bait: the Hunza road was really the better and well kept up—which we could quite believe since the Mir always travels it himself, not to trespass on Nagir territory more than he can help—it had only one slight drawback: there were seventeen places between the two oases where "shoots" were apt to carry it away.

As we scrambled our way along through the riverside 252
boulders we noticed dozens of discarded millstones, some 324
broken, some apparently perfect. Not that people bring their old millstones here to cast away! The opposing cliffs at this point happen to provide the best type of stone for mills, and, oddly, those on the Hunza side make the better nether millstones and those on the Nagir side the better upper ones (or it may be *vice versa*. David will have it accurately noted). When you want a new millstone you travel your ten or twenty miles or more to these cliffs, choose what seems the most promising boulder for your purpose, and with a rough bit of iron hack and chip it into a circle of the radius and depth required. You then bowl it home your ten or twenty or more miles like a child's hoop, up ravines and across gorges to your mill. If it hasn't broken as you fashioned it, which it frequently does—this explains the number of discarded millstones that here strew the countryside—it may very likely break on the rude road home. If so, you just go back and carve yourself another.

1 [The Hunza River — Analust]

SETTLING IN

Our chief lack at first was shelves and cupboards, but as soon as we had seen what was most needed and what could be accommodated David got busy with rulers and squared paper and drew up detailed specifications, which he sent to the Divisional Engineer's office in Gilgit. They were able to make us the skeletons and send them up in such form that we needed only to screw them together. I then nailed cloth over the back of the cupboards and hung curtains over the front so that we no longer needed to live in the misery of half-unpacked boxes. 000

The bow window of the study where we sat to smoke and take tea looked out on to a jolly little watercourse (about 2 feet wide) which chattered merrily along. On its farther bank is a row of apricot and mulberry trees which, if they break the view a bit, also provide some welcome shade. From the foot of the trees terraced fields fall away, down, down, down to the top of the great cliff—some 500 feet or so—that forms the right bank of the river. We looked right across the gorge (the river, of course, is entirely out of sight, and nothing would lead you to guess its existence if you hadn't just had to cross it) to stark, magnificently seamed mountains, with tiny fans of green here and there, which are other villages similar to Aliábád on the Nagir side.

The nearer side of our little stream was one of the main highways; and all the life of the place went on in full view of our window. People passed by all day, laden with green fodder for their beasts, or carrying baskets of ripe apricots to dry. The nearest field of lucerne had just been reaped, and then below it the barley field, and we watched them stack the barley and make a circular threshing floor on which to deal with it. They flooded a patch of the newly reaped field, built a little circular wall of mud about four inches high round it, then flooded it twice more, and then when it was nearly dry a whole family, from grandfather down to the small boys and girls, systematically tramped it down with their bare feet till the surface was as smooth and level as a hard tennis court. 487 243

Jolly youngsters of all sizes romped in the new-cut fields, snowballed each other with clods of dry earth, tripped each 857

Chapter 14

FIRST WALKS ABROAD

THE very day after our arrival we went out for a stroll to take stock of our immediate surroundings. Along the Dála, the little stream which ran in front of our house, there is a tiny footpath, just wide enough for one. On our right was the channel in its carefully made bed with a stone revetting wall above it holding up the field above; on our left a fine hedge of quickthorn to keep passing beasts from jumping into the field 4 or 5 feet below. We could hear a merry sound of drums and pipes coming from somewhere downhill, and asked what was on. It seemed that just before we arrived the first barley-cutting had been celebrated with various ceremonies, which we could only hope to see in detail next year, and some of the jollification was still being kept up. Qudrat Ullah was with us, and a "levy." I must explain the levies. In most villages Government chooses, no doubt on the Mir's advice, one or two of the most respected peasant-farmers who are not headmen or officials of the Mir himself, and pays them a small (very small) monthly wage so that they may be ready to do any little Government jobs that are wanted. There are three in Aliábád, which is relatively a large place with about two hundred scattered houses, and the Political Agent had kindly instructed them that one of their jobs was to be useful to us. I may as well at once introduce the two first: Kalbi is a fine upstanding man, rather darker in colour than the average; and Hurmat, a younger, very cheery fellow with dashing moustaches. They are both intelligent and extremely friendly and eager to help. We didn't see why they should waste time on us for nothing, so David at once agreed with them that he

624 would pay them a small retaining fee if they would take it in
124 turns to be "on duty" with him in their spare time. They would obviously be useful informants.

487 We had to walk along in single file. There is no "road" in
312 Hunza where two people can walk abreast, or along which you can ride, except the "Great North Road" running through from Kashmir to Kashgar, and even it is never more than 4 to 6 feet wide. The other tracks run mostly beside small water-channels to enable people to get from one sluice to another to juggle the water now off, now on. Even when you have a neat little track fairly horizontal (there are only three of these possible for ordinary walking) it is broken every few yards by a sluice which you must jump or step over carefully so as not to interfere with the water arrangements or, alternatively, break your leg. The sluices are the simplest things imaginable—just a gap in the side wall of the channel which can be closed with a couple of convenient, slab-like stones and plastered up with mud from the watercourse. Occasionally there is a little wooden shutter which can be raised or lowered in wooden slots at the side.

As we went along David asked the names of the various kinds of water-channels, fields, etc., that we saw (the *names* he already knew, but not at first hand which kind was which), and presently we had a train of bright-eyed boys in the fields on each side, full of amusement at this new game. One would cry: "This stone is a flint; this is a stink-stone," whereupon he would crack it and give it to us to notice the faint smell of sulphur it gave out. Another would run up: "Here's a poppy and a poppy-head"—so we were not going to lack for willing teachers.

After a little we turned down a narrow "lane," less like an English lane than anything else on earth. It plunged downhill pretty steeply, sometimes just a rocky slope, sometimes just one boulder below another making a very crude flight of steps varying from 18 inches to 3 feet or so. Beside the "path" ran the inevitable water-gutter in which you could walk, as it happened at the moment to be dry.

417 On each side, a bare 3 feet apart, were the usual walls of
323

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Buzuho AV7

400

1. Street scene. Children carrying new-born lambs and kids in their arms to display them to us on our return from Yazin. (See p. 181)

PLATE XII

312
48?

2. The Dida, typical road-cum-watercourse, flanked by field wall. (See pp. 83, 91)

[Facing P.128]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 backs. They all thought it rather a thrill to come along and see me safe home and hang about for a salaam to David before they dashed off to some fresh amusement.

487 As soon as DL was better I began exploring further afield. At first I used to be a little shy of just barging down any rocky track that seemed to end up in someone's back yard. But these tracks are all public ways, and just when you think you have reached a cul-de-sac and are about to plunge into a house, the path gives a sudden twist and leads you on.

576 No matter how far I strayed from home and my well-known families, the people came up to their garden walls or out on to their flat roofs—crowds of them sometimes—to shout a welcome and good wishes, and to ask where I was going to and what I was doing. This is the recognized Hunza greeting, not a fatuous, unanswered "How do you do?" countered by another. The answer is : "I'm going to fetch firewood from the orchard," or "I'm getting some green stuff for the cow," or "I've been taking the beasts to water," or "I'm off to get some grain ground at the mill," or "I've been spending the day with mother's people." No one "goes for a walk" to get exercise after a futile day of sitting still. So I was driven to reply that I had come "to see the country." "And a good idea, too," they would respond politely; "and do you like it?" Then I could truthfully say how beautiful it was, and how much I admired their walls, and what lovely air and water and fruit they have, but that most of all I liked the friendly people. Then they grinned with pleasure. When I sometimes risked a short cut and found myself at the top of a huge wall with no visible means of getting further, a kindly man or boy would leave his work to come and point out the almost invisible flight of projecting stones or pull down a side wall to let me out into a tiny lane, and always he would offer his hand to help me. I duly thanked him and perhaps added apologetically: "We haven't walls like yours in our country, and I'm not very good at climbing them." "No, and of course you've got shoes on," he would say sympathetically, "and you're not young."

133 Twice I found my way down to the very edge of the river bank. The river itself, grey and rock-tossed it looked, dashing

homes, and the women know no other. The existence of 563
this interesting language-island, within the language-island of 197
Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn.

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there 463
are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliábád there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master.

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above 286
us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo 487
of No. 7 and Ustád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin.

One day I had been sitting with one of Afiato's daughters- 531
in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking 192
the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

flies—a copper-coloured fritillary and a tiny blue. The road was a very different proposition from what it had been as we travelled up the previous July. From richly watered Minapin we looked across the river to the Hunza village of Hindi with new eyes, for various fields were pointed out as belonging to one or another of our acquaintances. "Hindi is a fine place," they told us; adding without conscious irony: "There's hardly any water, but otherwise . . ." From the Nagir side the Hindi road looks pretty terrifying (as, of course, the Nagir road must also look from the Hunza side), but we were assured that it was really a better road; its only drawback is that there are fifty recognized spots on it subject to rock bombardments: a mere nothing amongst these ever-crumbling hills.

The onward journey was uneventful. At Sikandarabad and Chalt all the apricots were in full bloom—a glorious sight. After Chalt there was one part of the road completely buried under an avalanche which we had some difficulty in coaxing our horses over, we ourselves scrambling across on foot. A good deal of intermittent rain for a couple of days and a horrid ride in driving wind and sand on the last lap rather spoiled our ride to Gilgit. Just before we reached the Gilgit river we were staggered by a magnificent view of Nanga Parbat filling a whole triangular gap in the nearer mountains. Often as we had ridden this stretch before, we had never happened to see her like this.

In Gilgit (2,000 or 3,000 feet lower than Hunza) all the apricot blossom was already over, though a few peaches and apples were still in flower. We had a delightful (but from the work point of view wholly wasted) ten days in Gilgit. Nothing could have exceeded the kindness of Major and Mrs. Kirkbride, who put us up in the Agency House. It was odd to be quartered in the guest room of what had been for four years "our" house, and odder still, but delightful, to attend the Jalsa as guests and spectators instead of responsible hosts. The British officers as new friends and our old friends the Chiefs all treated us with the utmost kindness, and the ten-day holiday was extremely pleasant.

On April 4th we resumed our pilgrimage to Yasin. We imagined we had forgotten the road. Far from it: every detail

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

340 presence there. It was tantalizing to delay our return to headquarters; on the other hand, since in common courtesy the visit must some time be paid, we had promised to visit Nagir before returning to Aliábád, so we remained on the Nagir side of the river and proceeded to that gloomy, sunless capital.

At Minapin, the last stage before Hunza or Nagir, as the case might be, we were met by a laughing, bright-eyed boy, too genial to be a Nagir product: it was Haiyáto's son (one of three) who had come the fourteen miles to meet his father, explaining "I was heartsick for you and the horse, my father."

Ernest, Dádo, and Qudrat Ullah had never been in Nagir before, and were much amused at seeing Hunza from across the water. Everything *did* look odd, Aliábád beacon-tower very imposing above the empty, graveyard hill. Nagir is more
341 spacious and richer than I had remembered. The fields are all slightly sloping and the revetting walls not nearly so high or
342 so well-built as those of Hunza. The houses, like the Gilgit houses, are mainly built of sun-dried brick, and looked tidy and neat. Upper balconies are rare, and it seemed to me that the smoke-holes were much smaller and usually at one side of the roof, but the roofs appeared to have a parapet of a foot or so all round. The villages, so familiar in profile from the Hunza side, are much deeper than their appearance from the
343 distance would suggest. The path from Sumair onwards up the Nagir gorge was very narrow, crumbly, and in poor repair, but looking at the texture of the cliffs it was not easy to see how anything radical could be done to improve it unless the course of it were entirely altered and carried much higher up and over the top of various bluffs and crags: an expensive engineering feat. Presently we came to an ugly *zhingit* on a long stretch of steep, almost fluid rubbish-heap slope—a place well remembered in my nightmares—across which the track, such as it was, was a bare 18 inches wide, and not even level at that. It is a good quarter of a mile; we took it on foot at the double, and were thankful to reach comparative safety at the other side, and see our horses and men follow without mishap. There is no shame in funking these things; the natives like them as little as we, and are as frank about it. Familiarity with a

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

zhingit breeds caution, not contempt. As we rode in we saw Ali Ausat at the nicely carved door of his house, rather grubby but pleased to see us, passed the miserable apology for a hospital which contrasts ill with the well-built one at Aliábád, though the two Mirs got the same grant from Government for the purpose of building them, and on past a fine, large, shallow pond. On our right was a steep green slope with jolly poplars and a lot of grass, and then we reached the polo-ground. Here the Mir came himself to meet us from the shelter of a roofed summer-house where he had been waiting. Another mile of almost perpendicular zigzag, which the ponies could only just manage, brought us to the familiar old polo-ground (now disused for play), with its lovely double line of poplars. This peculiarly steep and horrible approach is new, and the Mir is very proud of it. From the top there is a magnificent view with the pond below looking like a lake and the Mir's palace picturesquely perched on a steep hill-face with fine windows looking out not at any view but straight into the terraced hillside opposite. Mir Sikandar Khan looked shrunken and frail compared with ten years ago, but very brisk, and was apparently able to ride up his new road without a qualm.

He himself received us most hospitably and kindly, but his people serve him ill. Immediately on our arrival a shindy broke out with talk of grass- and fodder-shortage, though grass and fodder are plentiful in Nagir, and we found the rest-house dirty and unswept, bathroom and utensils uncared for, and a general atmosphere of grudging incompetence pervading it.

We dined with the Mir that evening and duly entertained him in return, while I paid a visit to the ladies and met the numerous little princes and princesses. The Queen of Nagir, a fine, handsome woman, not a day older than when I had last seen her eleven years ago, is a sister of Khan Sahib Mir Baz Khan of Yasin, and I was able to bring her first-hand news of her brother and his family, in which it is fair to say she did not seem over-interested. But she is a gracious motherly woman, and very intelligent—she even followed my Burushaski (Hunza variety) with ease. The brightest moments of my call were

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

487 To revert to our homeward journey: After descending the Mir's famous new road on foot (it was so steep that our people voluntarily carried the loads down and loaded the animals below) we rode as far as the perilous *zhingát*, then dismounted and scooted across it in undignified but prudent haste. It was actively streaming pebbles, and at the safer spots where a bush or an apparently well-rooted boulder sheltered the track, we halted, looked, and waited to make sure that nothing larger was coming and then ran for it. A biggish stone or boulder takes three to four seconds after it is sighted to reach the track, and you must use your judgment and gamble on your chances. We felt a little anxious till we saw that all our people and kit were safely over too. Under a small new half-built mosque we halted in the shade to drink some thermos tea. The owner of the land, an intelligent man, courteously came up and offered to spread bedding for us to sit on; there were some children about but they were shy and churlish and unresponsive to our advances. The ride through the villages was pleasant; there are lovely big trees in Nagir (such as Hunza
241 cannot afford), and lashings of water. The fact that the Nagirkuts don't level their fields completely, but allow them to be on a fairly steep slope, seems to entail a much more elaborate system of ridging and much more trampling through the crops to direct the water. We wondered whether it really saved trouble after all.

487 Presently we came to the long Shayár *zhingát* just opposite Aliábád, though so many dusty miles away by road. We had had it under observation for many months from our windows, and knew that in fact boulder bombardments down it were rare, though very thorough and impressive when they did occur. Still, it is always a nasty business. Like the other one, it was trickling actively, but the surface of the track across it was wide and fair, so we rode at it as always before. We were about half-way across when Haiyáto looked up and saw puffs of dust above us indicating the marksmanship of falling stones. He shouted "Ride for your life, Sahib!" and stupidly got so excited as to frighten the horses, who, without any additional incentive, are always nervous and jumpy on these mountain shoots. I know few feelings more unpleasant than the trembling

between your knees of a frightened horse. We put the animals 487 into a quick trot—anything faster only invites stumbling—and got happily across without accident, though some quite nasty rocks were falling at intervals. All the rest got over safely too. We were not sorry when this bit of the road, was behind us. These two Nagir *zhingáts* are to my mind the ugliest bits of road in the Agency. They don't look nearly as sensational as the many *peris*—which can, of course, be dangerous enough at times—but a firm shelf, however high and narrow, is preferable to a shifting surface.

Somewhere below us under the cliffs on the Nagir side of 644 the river gorge, but out of sight of the road, is the Hakúchar 529 spring, where Hunza and Nagir royal ladies occasionally go into camp together for a few days. It was pleasant to think that the young princesses, married across the water into the related family of the hereditary foe, are able to meet their own womenfolk in privacy from time to time. When such a party is arranged five large tents are pitched there for them.

It was very hot slithering down the powdery spiral descent 000 to river level, riding along the sea-beach to the bridge and then mounting the long Hunza zigzag to Murtazábád, but once there we came again into the welcome shade of apricots and *gindáwer* (jujube trees, I think). I very much wished that some of our own family could have been with us to see our arrival "home." Never in the days when DL was Political Agent and was popularly believed to have money and offices in his gift did we get such a reception. Though we were forty-eight hours ahead of our programme, the news that we were coming had got all round the countryside. Our easily identifiable little procession had, of course, been seen crawling for hours along the Nagir mountain side. Four miles out from Aliábád, on the hither side of the great Hasanabad Nullah, the advance guard met us: two small boys of six or seven had pattered out on their bare feet to be the first to welcome us. A few hundred yards farther on another little pair; next the three levies, who were, of course, to a small extent in our pay (they got the princely sum of nine rupees a month every third month when they came "on duty"!), and then at the bridge at the bottom

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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The road-cum-waterchannel on which our nearest neighbours lived.

(See p. 114)

PLATE XXI

Facing p. 280

original right-hand loops off on to the left fingers carefully 294
crossing each pair of threads as she does so. Widely drawing her two hands apart Apícho then drove the set of crossed threads down on to the edge of the cap, where Kaníza secured the twelve-fold plait with a large stitch. This was repeated *ad infinitum*, the braid only showing on the right side of the cap and the long ugly stitches on the wrong. The process looks rather like cat's-cradle. I had always wondered why, when they take such infinite trouble over the minute cross-stitch embroidery of their caps and the hand-plaited twelve-ply braid, they finished the cap off with these long stitches. I also wondered why it seemed impossible to detach the braid without its ravelling out. I now saw that braid-weaving and stitching were part of one elaborate process.

By July 1st the luckier folk were already cutting their 243
barley and clearing a field for their threshing floor without waiting for the formal harvest-initiation ceremonies of the Gináni, the date of which is naturally fixed by the Mir to suit Báltít, 1,500 feet higher, and consequently some days behind Aliábád. All our potatoes were by now in full flower and our wheat was turning "fox-colour."

On July 5th we rode over to Báltít for yet another of the 487
Hunza festivals, and ye Gods! it was hot on the road—90 de- [132]
grees in the shade—and we had to start at the very hottest time of day, about 2 p.m. The Mir gave us tea in his nice shady grass-grown apple orchard before we remounted and climbed up to the Fort. It is not easy to convey how steep the road is that in Báltít corresponds to the Mall. Your pony steps from one boulder to the next with a great lurch, his spine almost vertical, and for my part I could only just stick on by my usual technique of thrusting my stirrups back to the root of his tail 487
and firmly gripping his mane with my right hand. The road 361
runs between high stone walls and zigzags wildly. The little box-like stone houses of the capital are piled on top of each other in the craziest way—town-planning has to accommodate itself to the vagaries of a precipitous mountain side. They are indescribably picturesque, but you would not think them possible to live in, yet they provide a high degree of simple comfort.

487 fort. When you reach the courtyard the Fort towers above you like Bush House. Up the semi-spiral ramp outside and the two flights of ladder-like stairs, and out you come on to the great reception balcony with its incomparable view. The country looks its very best in July, every field green or golden with its crops and every fruit tree in full luxuriant leaf, apricots turning golden but not yet ripe.

600 There was a crowd of fifty or sixty on the balcony, and we chatted to the princes and others while DL endeavoured to find some spot from which he could command with his cine-camera the steep approach almost vertically below us up which the Harvest procession would presently be coming, without himself toppling over to certain death. The little parapet—not calculated for the convenience of camera men—just caught his shins in such a way as to encourage a fatal plunge. It is needless to mention that the sinking sun stared straight into his lens. The sun blazed relentlessly on the white mud floor of the balcony, the resultant glare alternating with inky shadows, while the table and chairs which had been hospitably provided for our convenience intruded with infernal incongruity into every foreground. If you escaped sudden death over the parapet to rocks 1,000 feet below, you might meet a less spectacular but equally fatal end by an unpremeditated dive down the trap-door. Photography in Hunza is fraught with danger and difficulty.

643 The Mir meantime had disappeared inside to robe himself before taking his seat on the throne under the carved verandah, where he would be well-nigh invisible to the camera lens. The cloth spread on the throne was the loveliest imaginable: a thick, bright sapphire-blue velvet with a border of apricot colour, or rather that delicate, yellowy, salmony pink which upholsterers call "apricot," though never was an apricot that shade. The whole border as well as a great medallion in the centre was embroidered in real gold, padded quarter of an inch thick: a barbarically lovely thing, bought, the Mir said, for Lord Curzon's visit twenty or thirty years ago, and as untarnished still as only real gold can be.

At last, when we were nearly grilled to death, we heard a

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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The road between Chalt and Nilt. End Plate 5
The Hunza River below. Looking Eastwards.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

123 Hispār, Barpu and other large glaciers. Henceforth until Chalt is reached, where it turns South, the river forms the boundary between Hunza on the North and Nagir on the South. Chalt itself and the Chaprōt valley which debouches into it belong to Nagir. Otherwise Nagir is confined, generally speaking, to the valley of the Hispar glacier and Nagir river and the northern slopes of the Kailas range, the crest of which forms the dividing line between it and Gilgit.

On the extreme East Hunza marches with the Oprang valley in Chinese territory and southwards with Baltistan, but the mountain range which separates these regions is scarcely surmountable (v. Text XXVIII). On the extreme West again, Hunza and Nagir territory terminates on a lofty range which runs roughly North and South and is only traversable with difficulty by a couple of passes, the Chillinji (17,000 ft.) and the Daintar (15,210). Beyond lies the sparsely-inhabited valley of Ishkoman, which again is bounded on its western side by a North and South range of mountains on the further side of which is situated the Wershigūm valley, known officially as the Yasin 'Ilāqa. This Wershigum valley is the habitat of the Werchikwār language, a variant form of Burushaski, to which brief reference is made in this work.

133 487 From the West of Hunza to the East of Wershigum is as the crow flies a mere 20 or 30 miles, but the traveller will spend six days and cover some 115 miles in making his way from Chalt via Gilgit and Gupis to Yasin. Such is this country where cross-country travel is impossible and practicable routes can be found only by following the natural lines of least resistance, and that not without pain.

361 162 I have now placed our language on the map, approximately, but greater precision is required. In the first place we have to take account of the fact that the bulk of Hunza and the eastern portion of Nagir are uninhabited and uninhabitable. Permanent population exists only on the elevated terraces that skirt in places the sides of the river valleys.

from India was on this religious basis.

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward.

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice.

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.)

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

175 before the Chinese government took control of that
648 region. (By that I mean, while it was still in the hands of what is known as the Turki.)

This quotation from the autobiography of Nazim Khan will serve to illustrate the point in question:

"Two years later Colonel Bruce came to Gilgit as temporary British Agent and he told me that the Government had decided that I might still pay my annual tribute to China. To this, however, I demurred as I pointed out to him that having relations with both was like sitting between two stools. He, however, retorted that if this was the case and one stool broke there was always the other to sit on and that no suspicion would attach to me as long as there were friendly relations between the British Government and the Emperor of China. He did make one stipulation, though, and that was that I should let the Political Agent in Gilgit see the letter that accompanied the toll, before it was despatched."

In turn, the Chinese sent a friendly troop of soldiers to Hunza every year with gifts for the Mir and rich, luxurious gifts they were!

175 Now this may sound very strange, almost ridiculous
648 but nevertheless, it is absolutely true. And the reason
487 is simple and easy to understand if you will but follow me. The road through Hunza was by far the shortest route to Gilgit, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Kabul and Persia as well as Srinagar in Kashmir and other parts of India. Elsewhere along the route the caravans could travel with immunity and safety but in Hunza even the largest caravan—yes, even one protected by gun bearers or soldiers—could easily come to grief. All that would be required would be a few men hidden away in the upper reaches on the slopes to begin dropping stones or to start a landslide at a given moment.

As that entire 200 miles from the Chinese border to Nomal is composed chiefly of this type of terrain, unless a caravan had a guarantee of safe conduct, they just couldn't get through. 175 648 [487]

The Mir was the ruler of Hunza and he held full and complete control over his tribesmen. So what could be more natural and understandable than an annual payment of tribute to the Mir for safe conduct? I know for a fact that right up until the time when the Chinese Communists took over the Singkiang District, the Mir still received a share of the cargo carried by the caravans traveling through Hunza. [643] [487]

Therefore it is my conclusion that the ways, the habits and the mode of life of the people of Hunza were patterned more after the Chinese than the Indians. Further, I suspect that they did a lot more trading with the caravans that came through regularly than they ever did at Gilgit. In one instance the caravans came to them and in the other case they had to go down to Gilgit . . . anywhere from 40 to 200 or so miles away, through the tough mountain roads. 175 648 439 [177]

It was in November 1947, when Pakistan seized part of Kashmir from India by an armed revolt. The circumstances that brought about this event are worth recording and I believe you will have greater understanding of the people of Hunza and Pakistan if you know the story. 175 648

The Pakistanis claim that the Province of Kashmir should belong to Pakistan because the Indian government had agreed to allow all the predominantly Moslem districts to secede and become a part of the newly formed country of Pakistan. Therefore, Kashmir which is more than 90 per cent Moslem should be a part of the Mohammedan nation. Eventually, when partition took place, Kashmir was not permitted out of the fold

000 with the Rani and his brother and, after the usual sumptuous breakfast, Sultan Ali joined us and the three of us—Jahangir, Sultan Ali and I—took off to Altit. As we left the Mir said, "I'll be waiting here for you and you'll ride the yaks right into the palace yard."

"You'll find the yaks very easy and comfortable to ride," continued the Mir. "What's more—you won't notice the ascents and descents!"

"You're kidding!" I rejoined.

"No, I'm not," he said. "It's true . . . just wait and you'll see!"

133 It was approximately a 2 mile jaunt to Altit and the
487 terrain was very much like the terrain we had en-
491 countered all the way up from Gilgit—washouts, rock slides, boulders strewn all over the place. This all made walking difficult, at least for me.

491 Now I don't want you to get the idea that when these landslides or rock slides occur they are just left where they fall, because that is the furthest thing from the truth. Immediately after these things happen, crews are put on to get things straightened away. But when you take into consideration that each speck of work is done manually and that they do not have even a wheelbarrow, you can then understand that the job is a difficult one and one that is back-breaking and requires much time.

The only implements I saw them use on the roads were a sort of pinch-bar or wedge and a sledge hammer. You see, they don't have dynamite and when a huge boulder lands smack in the middle or at the side of the road and can't be pushed off, the only other course to follow is to break it into small pieces. Those are the ways and means here of getting rid of huge boulders.

461 Let it also be clearly understood that the Hunza

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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workers are good workers. They are not to be compared with the ordinary workers found throughout Pakistan and India. They do a day's work somewhat comparable to that done in the West. They are neither slouchers nor slackers. 461

All along the route there were groups of men working here and there. At this time of the year there were not too many employed or working on the roads and this is understandable. Every man in Hunza and Nagir must provide for the winter. Remember, there is, broadly speaking, no money and the only means he has of providing is by the work done with his own two hands. 464 491

The dried apricots and other fruits that he may put away, the wheat or the barley or the buckwheat that he stores in his house, the few roots that he puts into his root cellar are his means of sustenance until next spring. So you can readily understand that there is no great surplus of Hunzans or Nagiriwals during the months of July and August to do work on the roads and I know that the Hunza Road is not maintained by the State of Pakistan. Therefore there would be little or no money forthcoming and those who did work would probably be donating their time. Or perhaps their work would be somewhat similar to a type of taxation, although I dislike using that word when referring to or talking about the people of Hunza! [251]

We were more than a sauntering hour reaching Altit. If you've got any ideas about easy walking in this land, you'd better forget them. 487

As is usual on the entire Hunza trail, with few exceptions, it was climbing or descending all the time. The few places where you were neither climbing nor going down, you were walking along the river bed. In midsummer when the glaciers are melting quickly you

487 often get a sudden heavy flow of water and these rivers get deeper and broader and flood the roads. But then later, when it gets a bit cooler or cloudy, the river recedes and the river bed is again used as a road.

The alternative for the river bed is to climb hundreds or thousands of feet up along a road cut in the rock of the mountain or where a ledge might have been formed. When it is impossible to walk along the river bed, and this occurs regularly, in some places you must climb a few thousand feet . . . that is the only way you can continue your journey.

No matter how difficult, how dangerous or treacherous a roadway may be, there are some people who must get across, who must make their journey at that time. It is true everywhere in the world.

Therefore, when traveling on such terrain, it is positively advisable to try to get there and do your traveling when the rivers are not in flood. You can see why the river bed is preferable.

361 Altit is the name of the town wherein is located the old Altit Fort which was built in the thirteenth century. I don't know whether or not the other members of the party will agree with me but I did think that Altit was an exceptionally clean, tidy and orderly town. It was one of the first villages in Hunza to be settled because the area consists of a wide level, arable stretch of land almost two miles wide from the mountain wall to the bank of the river and here the drop was sheer—straight down for a thousand feet or more.

Oh, yes, all Hunza villages are clean and orderly but somehow it struck me that Altit was better then most. [644] Perhaps the Mir knew this and that is why he had his picnic bungalow built there. I am convinced that Altit was the most attractive village I found in the entire country.

graphically as possible one day's journey through these 133
mountains.

There is little beauty to be seen until one gets beyond Nomal. I felt that the enchantment of the mountain terrain did not begin until we reached Chalt. From there to Baltit was one bit of indescribable grandeur after another.

From broad undulating valleys and river beds you suddenly come to a place where the mountain walls seem to come together to form a gorge. Here the river churned and frothed in its azure murkiness. The dark rock walls in all their sharp angled beauty presented an awesome spectacle and gave one the feeling of being suddenly closed in. For thousands of feet upward, shelves, abutments, butts, curves and gradings swept on in seemingly never-ending succession. Not a tuft of grass or even a bit of green moss or lichen could be seen by the naked eye. 'Twas bare but still beautiful . . . unadorned, but bejewelled. Then above were the light and clouds . . . and beyond, the blue sky and occasionally the sun could be seen.

The road would climb, weave and wind. It would 133
broaden to 3, 4, or even 5 feet. Then 'twould narrow 487
down sometimes to a bare 14 inches where the outside shoulder of the road had collapsed or fallen away, leaving a ragged, rugged edge which one took good care to avoid.

In places where the trail all but disappeared the solid rock face of the mountain wall had been chipped away or incut to allow a body or a small animal to pass. One had to crane one's neck or stoop to prevent a whack on the head that could send you hurtling down thousands of feet.

Continually there were patches of scree or morain that might be a hundred feet or a mile or more in

133 length. Over this the horses clattered judiciously, plac-
487 ing one foot down firmly somewhere before they lifted another. 'Twas the only way they could maneuver through this pebble and rock dashed remains of a slide. Masses of mountains dimmed in the distance.

Now and then a nullah would leap into view and
[491] had to be crossed or forded. Yes, many of them, the more or less permanent ones, were covered by bridges . . . some sound, durable and strong and others, more or less makeshift, which one had to cross with prudence and yet alacrity.

133 Whenever a rafik hove into view, I unconsciously
487 would suck in my breath quickly and steel myself for
491 the mental ordeal to come. There I knew the trail was held up or was maintained by a few slabs of rock pressed into fissures on the rock surface of the cliff or even a built up wall of stones, laid carefully one on top of another without being cemented in any way. At other times there were rods of steel driven into the rock surface and upon this the boards or road was laid. How these supports held, heaven only knows and there they were, jutting out over emptiness or nothingness. Did they fall away? Was there any danger? Well, you can answer that question for yourself. If you were going to travel along the trail to Hunza, they had to be crossed and the fact that they were continually being erected was ample proof that they were continually falling away.

133 In many places the road ribbons to a narrow ledge
487 along a precarious outcropping of rock . . . courses that have been cut and built into the very face of the sheer and protruding cliffs, and many from a few hundred to many thousands of feet above the valley floor and often more than 15,000 feet above sea level. Landslides, washouts, rains of gigantic boulders, disintegra-

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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tion of rafiks have played havoc with travelers and caravans on this route since the first enterprising man inched his way across. Yet then and now bold, brave, fearless men were attracted and fascinated by the call to the serene loveliness, adventure and danger. 133 487

Then islands of greenery began to appear more frequently. These were the terraced fields, the oases that marked the villages. It was a pinpoint of light in a sea of darkness where rest, drink and food could be found, even if unappetizing and unabundant. These spots of green at sky-line-blue heights, among the millions of acres of barren rock and emptiness were pleasing both to the eye and soul and comforting, too, for the traveler. 133 311

Elsewhere, in the Hindu Kush or the Himalayas, could be found verdant valleys and hills and mountaintops that were furry and treed. But in the harsh, bleak, black Karakorums, such heavenly blessings could seldom, if ever, be found. Even the terraced tiny green fields could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be compared to a tree-covered hillside or mountain. Yet, let it not be said or thought that these bleak, barren hills did not have their loveliness and charm. They possessed beauty! Yes, they did! Like a tiger, 'twas fierce, sharp and untamed, but nevertheless, true beauty!

In the distance, one could always watch as the hills rolled, soared, dipped and then fell away to merge with the blue of the horizon. I know at times, allowing my vision to soar and wander about the mountains in the distance, my fatigue and weariness were forgotten and I plodded on, unmindful of the trail. My mind soared from peak to peak—some cloud-haloed, others bold and sharply defined. 133 487

One was always meeting the Hunza River, either face to face or having it course along at your side. Then,

133 too, as you rose where the road led on high crests, you
487 could see the river winding, twisting, bending in the distance and you knew that you would be there soon—in an hour or a few.

As you course your way along the trail, you see the snow and ice covered mountain ranges with their glorious majestic crests gleaming in slides of silvery softness. You follow a road, that was known for at least a thousand years as a snaking, curving road of exceptional beauty, mid towering heights, nameless peaks and grave hazards.

487 'Twas but a scant few decades ago—yes, even that
439 short a time—that one or two successful caravan trading trips, winding their way from China to the Khyber Pass via Peshawar, Pindi, Gilgit and the Hunza and Nagir Valleys, could make a trader rich, if he could get through without mishap and avoid being robbed by brigands.

The camel caravans would be laden with silks, gaily colored cloth, clothing, tea, porcelain, earthenware, jewels, gold and silver, ivory, salt, sweetening, spices, trinkets and bottles, fancy slippers, foot coverings, vases, trays and fancily inscribed artware, bars of iron and steel, knives, cooking utensils.

On this caravan route, animals do not walk side by side, but one behind the other.

[648] It is no wonder that the owners of the caravans were glad to pay tribute for safe conduct through these defiles and passes.

We met caravans but they were evidently coming from the Pamirs and heading towards Gilgit, Peshawar and Srinagar. They were good sized ones with many donkeys and camels. The altitude wasn't high enough for yaks.

They looked sort of nondescript to me. I thought

they would be more interesting. But what can one expect from hard working travelers through a wicked terrain? They didn't look rich or impressive, but I was forced to admit that it did take courage and determination. 'Twas not meat for a weak man. 487 439

It occurred to me that a caravan would not be easy picking for a bandit or bandits. They'd best have superiority of numbers because men with weak stomachs or weak heads don't travel in caravans.

What is the lure that mountains hold for many men? I've learned that they can be as beautiful, as enchanting, as alluring and yes, even as demanding and possessive as any woman. I have never known a man who went to his death for a woman, but I have read and known of many who went to their death for a mountain . . . Nanga Parbat, especially. 000

They must exert a tremendous influence over man. And it is a fascination that never wears off. It's easy not to fall in love with them as long as you have never seen them and been among them but, if you are so unfortunate as to have made their acquaintance and mingled in their company, then you are lost. You will never be indifferent to their charms again. They'll permeate your heart and soul and penetrate reaches that you never knew you owned—and you own them no longer, for they are possessed by peaks and snows and summits and glaciers. You will never again know rest or settling down, for the glaciers' gleam has struck home and to it you will have to return!

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CHAPTER 58

Baltit to Chalt--A Long Hard Day

THE EXHILARATING morning mountain air and the expanse of blue sky, landscaped by undulating masses in the distance and sparkled with a wisp of cloud here and there, made the march seem like a living dream. How often since I have been home have I longed for a day to begin this way. 122 487

The climb into the mountains started the minute we crossed the bridge at Hasanabad. We were now taking the trail that had almost spelled disaster for me on the way in. Those twists, those turns, those climbs, those declines had just about worn my legs to stubs. Never, through all my years of work, had I ever known what the word "tired" meant until then!

As Friend Cec remarked a few days later when we discussed this part of the journey, "Never did I see you look so grim! If any man could be said to be dragging his rear, it was you when you reached the jeep!"

But now it was entirely different. I didn't regard the snaky curves and loops with distrust and misgivings as I had the other day. In fact, then, I remember hating every turn I had to take. Now, with a good mount between my legs, I felt elated, happy, cheerful. Even though I started off riding, I knew that I wouldn't ride very far because I enjoy walking too much. But, still, it was mighty nice to know that you had a good horse in case you needed it.

From the start in the morning we knew it was to be a hard ride if we wanted to get to Chalt in one march. There was a full 32 miles to go. It was actually 36 miles but I figured the jeep had driven us 4 of them so that left 32.

Neither Cee nor I discussed or mentioned it but I think we fully realized that, if we felt it was going to be too tough, we could stop off at Minapin which was but 15 miles away and would find the usual rest houses there. Yet, I couldn't see myself holing up at Minapin for the night. Why, we should be there shortly after noon, I figured, and I certainly had no intention of calling it quits then.

Besides, my recollections of Minapin weren't very appealing. It was the poorest looking and the dirtiest town of all we had passed through. We had stopped for a few minutes at the rest house on the way up and it had proved to be a disappointment. We couldn't get anything to eat there and the chowkidor expected a handsome donation because we stopped there and, I believe, had a glass of water.

Then, too, I knew that this was the stage for us to make time, as we'd have more protection from the sun because there were more trees in this area than there would be further down. Villages dotted the landscape as this was one of the more fertile districts and towns

and villages are invariably built where there are trees of one kind or another. So it was our best bet to tackle the sun while we had some protection against it.

I remembered also that in this area there were lots of nullahs and that conduits were found everywhere, so we could refresh ourselves with good fresh cold water all along the route. Further down there were very few nullahs or any other means of getting water except by marching down to the river's edge and this, friend, could be an undertaking!

At this stage the elevations ranged around 7,000 to 10,000 feet. I didn't carry an altimeter with me but I was informed that in some places we climbed to 12,000 feet. It certainly felt like it by the rarity of the atmosphere and the way my chest and lungs were behaving.

All through this broad area the mountain scenery is idyllic. It just can't be beat or improved upon, no matter where in the world you go. When I came up this selfsame trail on the inward trek, I was in no mood to appreciate beauty or mountain grandeur and I knew that I hadn't taken in very much. But now, I was determined to feast my eyes, my heart and my soul on the most beautiful, the most varied, the most awe-inspiring mountain vastness that is known to exist.

I was happy—I was carefree—I felt so light that I thought the horse wouldn't even know he was carrying a passenger. In all probabilities I'd never come this way again and I wanted that beauty engraved on my memory.

Through the years I had spent many weeks and months in the Rockies, from Alaska right down to the Mexican Sierras, and I believed the Rockies to be the most impressive range of mountains I had ever known. When I saw the Alps and compared them, well, there

I found the Rani to be the most beautiful woman in Hunza. I didn't dare ask her age, but I know she was married to the present Mir in 1934. Therefore she must be close to or in her 40's. She could undoubtedly pass with any woman in her early 20's. Buf there were few, if any, women in Hunza like her. 142

I further will grant that I, or anyone else for that matter, would have very little opportunity of seeing Hunzan women at what might be their best. To state my views candidly, I'd say the men definitely looked youthful, but the women looked to be older than their years.

Perfect health—I have never seen, as yet, a race of people that was as healthy as the people of Hunza. But to say that they were a race that enjoyed perfect health, I would consider a bit of an exaggeration, because the doctor does treat a few patients now and then and the hospital does harbor a few sick people. I must honestly admit that I did not see any sick people in Hunza, but there are quite a few who do not enjoy perfect health. 164

A pre-Bronze Age people—Here I suspect someone wanted to show his knowledge in archeology or anthropology, whichever it may be. (I am expressing my ignorance to begin with.) They are no more Bronze Age than was the writer who referred to them as such. This would take them back between 4,000 and 5,000 years which is utter and sheer "poppycock." He further stated that they were isolated for 2,000 years. If that is true, they were isolated because they wanted to remain that way. 174 [177]

It is a fact that there is a caravan trail right through Hunza. It is the shortest route from China to Persia and leads through Hunza, past Gilgit and across the Babusar Pass and then on westward or southwestward. 487 177

487 I am sure that a people who saw these caravans coming
177 and going could not be called isolated by any stretch of the imagination. They just like their little piece of paradise too well to leave it.

133 *Hunza empties into the Indus.* Two famed writers who should know better . . . or should I say, should have checked more closely . . . made the statement that the Hunza River flows into the Indus. Even a cursory glance at a map would show that the Hunza empties into the Gilgit and the Gilgit empties into the Indus.

585 *Mother-in-law taken along on honeymoon*—This bit of stupidity, or should I say absurdity, appeared in no less than two of the foremost publications in America.

Who ever heard of a honeymoon in Hunza? Not having a Niagara Falls, probably they'd go up and sit on top of Rakaposhi with the mother-in-law between them to cool their ardor.

When the Mir made this statement, he was joking, never believing for a moment that anyone would take such a broad joke as being factual.

481 *Hunzans walk 60 to 100 miles as though it were*
147 *nothing.* In fact, one author stated somewhere that the Hunzans could walk 60 miles easier than she could walk upstairs.

I will readily grant that I believe the Hunzan people are the world's best walkers and well they would have to be, because there just happens to be no other mode of locomotion. I'll even go further and say that all through my travels in that territory I did not once see a Hunzan man, or for that matter a Nagirwal, who appeared to be worn from the rugged walks and climbs. So it is clear that they have tremendous reserves of energy and stamina . . . but let's not go overboard!

486 *Anyone can visit Hunza.* Contrary to the assertion
114 made by one writer that anyone can get into Hunza, I

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[P. 38]

[caption appears at the bottom of photograph on p. 38-A]

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burushо AV7
Hunza
[P. 41-B]

164 beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."
123 Altogether, I was able to treat 5,680
[749] medical cases—the country had no
other dispensary—during my stay in
164 Hunza. My daily group of patients did
not suffer from many of the diseases
[158] common to our civilization. There
were no true neurotics; no cases of
stomach ulcers, appendicitis, or gout;
only one case of cerebral hemorrhage,
[412] and but four cardiac cases. The few
[149] bad hearts had been damaged either
by malarial anemia or by overexertion at high altitudes, as was the case with one man who had carried the Mir's piano on his back up twenty miles of mountain trail. On the other hand, my Hunza patients did have malaria. They also had at least two kinds of intestinal worms, and to see for the first time a man with *Ascaris*

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

181 829 ness of their uncomfortable houses leaves an indelible mark on the national character.

342 It must be remembered that a house in the [351] Hindu-Kush has no glass windows, no comfortable fire-place and chimney corner. The better-class houses are built round a courtyard, but the rooms rarely have windows, all light comes from the 354 open door or from a skylight. Immediately below 352 the skylight is a square open hearth, on which smoulders a fire; round this run raised platforms, on which are the beds and household paraphernalia; the smoke, before escaping through the roof, fills the whole room, blackens walls and pillars, and chokes the un- [132] fortunate inhabitants. If it is very cold, or raining and snowing heavily, the skylight is shut, the room is in pitchy darkness but for a sputtering torch, and the atmosphere horrible. It is no wonder that an existence under these circumstances should be rather depressing, and in Nagar the people get the full benefit of it, for there are several villages which during December and January only get twenty 461 minutes' sun a day; some, I believe, get none. The men having no agricultural work on hand, owing to the land being frost-bound, there is practically nothing for them to do during the winter months but to sit idly round their smouldering fires for about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.

133 487 Nagar has practically no outlet except down the river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there is only the bare possibility of reaching 487 Baltistan by the Hispar pass: there is a tradition that the road was once used, but it is very doubtful if

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

the story is true. It needs a mountaineer properly equipped to make use of this road, which runs over one of the greatest glacier masses of the world, as Sir Martin Conway shows in his book, "Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram Himalayas." Dependent therefore on Gilgit for their luxuries, such as weapons, cotton cloth, salt, sugar, etc., most of them the produce of India, or on Hunza for the products of Turkestan and Central Asia, the Nagar people were more easily squeezable than their neighbours across the water, and not so aggressively insolent in their dealings with Kashmir. They were as little to be trusted, however. It was one of their chiefs who many years ago called in the Kashmir arms to help him break his rival Thum, and who, once the Kashmiris were well within the country, fraternised with his enemy, and turned upon his late allies; and Nagar forces had played a prominent part in the disturbances of the past year. The want of dash on the part of the Nagar warriors was well marked on the former occasion; no badly-disciplined army, abandoned by its chiefs as were the Kashmir forces in the former case, should have been able to escape. Pathans would have wiped them out to a man, even Chitralis would have inflicted terrible loss, but the Nagar men allowed their enemies to get out of the country scathless, and even to save, owing to the gallantry of one officer, their small mountain guns carried by coolies. These were points which were worth considering and laying up for future guidance.

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4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho Av 7

491 sisting only of the foot rope and one side rope, and have crossed them when the connecting ropes were broken and useless, but I never did so willingly, for we had a terrible lesson. A native officer and half a dozen men had been sent on from Gilgit ahead of us to try the bridges, and to arrange for necessary repairs. Coming to one bridge they tried it carefully, going over one at a time, and examining the anchorage and ropes. Thinking all was sound they foolishly returned in a body, crossing, of course, one behind the other. As the leading man got well up the slope towards the timber anchorage, followed by five others, the ropes drew or broke, and the whole party were dashed into the water. Two men, entangled in the ropes, were washed ashore on the bank they had started from, for the anchorages on the far side fortunately held, and the ropes swung across the stream and ashore, but the other unfortunates, caught in the awful torrent, were swept away and instantly drowned. Only one body was recovered, and that forty miles down stream.

457 The road shortly after crossing the river rose twelve hundred feet to cross the end of a spur from Rakapushi, and, descending again, ran generally at a level of six or eight hundred feet above the river — which one could hear roaring through its deep-cut bed below—across uncultivated wastes, and in and out of numerous deep ravines till the cultiva-
644 tion of Nilt was reached. Here Uzr Khan, the eldest living son, and the heir-apparent of the ruling chief. Jafr Khan, met us. He was rather a fine-looking fellow, with a pleasant enough face

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burusho AV7

when he smiled, but with generally a boorish and 644
sulky expression. He received us very cordially, and after we had breakfasted under a fine plane tree he came and discussed affairs. I could see that my main difficulty would be to persuade my new friends that we had come to Gilgit to stay. Biddulph's withdrawal had made them very chary of having anything to do with us.

I examined the country very carefully as we 133
marched, and noted the difficulty of the great ravine 487
behind Nilt, which three years later was to baffle for eighteen days the attack of our troops. On the whole the road was better than I expected, and it seemed to me, as I find noted in my diary, "that a decently-armed and led force should not have much difficulty in forcing its way in." My hosts were not averse to my sketching, and I had a road sketch and report made every day, but I did not like to make too much of it, and contented myself personally with noting the positions and the chances of attack they offered. The conclusion I eventually arrived at was that the Hunza-Nagar country presented the most appalling difficulties, and that, with well-armed men holding the country, an advance into it would be terribly costly.

The views of Rakapushi were very fine, though not so grand as I had hoped, for we were marching too close under it. Still, a mountain rising nineteen thousand feet above you, and over twenty-five thousand feet in height, must be fine when you get a glimpse of it. The next day's march was, however, far more striking; the road rose over gigantic moraine masses, crossing ravine after ravine

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

133 seven and eight hundred feet deep, each one filled
487 up by the end of a glacier, the main mass of which
was out of sight. We passed through numerous
361 villages whose cultivation, carried far up the moun-
241 tain side, was of the richest. Each village was
surrounded by fruit trees, and poplar, plane, and
[712] walnut trees abounded. Every village was either
enclosed in a large square fort, with towers at
each corner, or had a fort close to it.

133 The third day took us into Nagar. On leaving
camp we crossed a great shingle slope, nearly a mile
in length, at a point hundreds of feet above the river.
Huge cliffs crowned the slope, and made this one of
the most difficult pieces of road, from a military point
of view, that we had yet passed. During our two
last marches we saw conglomerate cliffs and rocks full
of garnets, some very fine white sandstone, and in
one place a cliff of clay, which was said to be full of
[361] gold. Nagar lies off the main valley, some three
[241] miles up another stream, and the last few miles into
it the road ran almost without interruption through
cultivation. The fruit trees were a sight to see,
apricot trees bending under a burden of red gold
fruit, their harvest just beginning, and every house
roof, and any other available flat space, was covered
with the fruit drying in the sun. As we turned our
backs on the main valley the view was superb.
133 Behind us Rukapushi rose in gigantic precipices of
241 thousands of feet of snow and ice, while across the
361 river above Hunza towered another great mountain,
its crest broken by sharp granite peaks on which no
snow can rest. Its lower spurs are jagged and bare,
and below them lay a large semi-circle, one mass of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

with Safdar Ali, whose cruelty was unrelieved by any redeeming feature. When the end came, three years later, and he fled like the coward he was without striking a blow, the feelings of the people towards him were well shown; there was a general sigh of relief throughout the country. Daulat Shah may have missed him, for when I next visited Hunza I heard, with some pardonable satisfaction, that amongst the men carrying stones to build a block house, my orderlies had recognised our old friend.

The last marches out of Hunza were very severe, the road even for the Hindu-Kush was bad; it was perpetually crossing parris with frightful drops or very steep slopes into the river, and it was so narrow that the coolies carrying loads were in constant danger. Fortunately for us the cloudy weather continued, and on the last day we had some rain. The views in consequence were exquisite. All the colouring of the hills, the pale reds and browns and soft shades of green, which are merged by glaring sunlight into one uniform grey, now showed out. The view up the Chaprot valley was particularly fine, heavy clouds lay in a great bar across the mountains, dropping transparent veils of falling rain, through which range after range showed out with delicately softened outline. It was a delightful march, none the less so from my feeling that I had brought my party out of the country safely, and had been able to avoid any serious trouble. We left Hunza territory at the village of Budlas, crossing a heavy torrent by a new bridge, built on the site of the one where the sad accident referred to above had taken place. I

~~30~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU3 Afghanistan AU2~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burush. AV7

When Cashmere authority was temporarily expelled from Gilgit, between 1852 and 1860, communication with Nager was maintained by this road. In the prosperous times of the Shin rule, the Thums of Nager acknowledged the Ras of Gilgit as their feudal superiors, and tradition relates that the villages of Nilt, Gulmit, Toll, and Pussunt, which now belong to Nager, were given as dowries to different Thums who married daughters of the Trakhané. At the time of the Sikh occupation of Gilgit a very close connection existed between the rulers of the two states of Gilgit and Nager. Between Hunza and Nager a great rivalry, which has frequently resulted in open hostility, has always existed, but they are generally ready to combine against an external foe. Though possessing a common origin, the people of Nager are distinguished for timidity and incapacity for war, and no instance is recorded of their being victorious over their rivals of Hunza, at whose hands they have suffered many disastrous defeats. The people of Nager are Shiahs, and slavery does not exist among them. Since 1868 Nager has been tributary to Cashmere, to which it makes an annual payment of twenty-one tolas of gold and two baskets of apricots. 648 186 [795]

Between the two states the river flows between perpendicular banks, 300 feet high and 600 feet apart at the top. The banks can only be ascended in a few places, which are carefully guarded. 131

Hunza, which comprises a considerable extent of territory, has an agricultural population of about 6,000 souls. North of the great range of peaks which bisects the principality from south-east to north-west the country opens out into rolling grass steppes, supporting a scattered pastoral population. Here the great wild sheep (*O. Poli*) roams in large herds. This tract is known as Little Goohjal, to distinguish it from Wakhan, which, south of the Hindoo Koosh, is known as Goohjal proper. 133 [161]

From the north-east the Shimshal stream, draining the valley of that name, brings down a great volume of water in summer, and effectually closes all access from the south, except to men on foot. The only direct route in summer to the Shimshal Valley from the south, is by the high and difficult Moorkôn Pass, which is only open for two months in the year. From the head of the Shimshal Valley a road, only passable for men on foot, leads to Koolanooldi in the Yarkund Valley. It was by this road that attacks on the caravans were organised. Another route leads by a somewhat 487

~~22 Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

487 difficult pass on to the Shimshal Pamir, from whence a road goes to Ujadbai in the Sirikol Valley. On this Pamir dwell
563 a number of Kirghiz, who pay tribute to the Thum of Hunza,
651 and here the wild yák (*P. grunniens*) and the kyang
[136] (*E. Hemionus*) find their most western limit. The Pamir appears to lie north-west and south-east. From its north side the Kara Kuchkar Pass leads to Raskum, once a flourishing settlement, situated on one of the many branches which form the south-western source of the Yarkund River.
[142] Considerably further to the north-east are the two small communities of Pakpooh and Shakshooh, situated on different tributary streams. Pakpooh is said to contain about 4,000 and Shakshooh about 5,000 souls, and they are situated respectively at an elevation of about 10,000 and 9,000 feet.
[142] Both pay tribute to the ruler of Hunza. These curious people, of whom very little is known, are of Aryan race, and
[197] are described as being of very fair and ruddy complexion. Their language is Chagatai Turki, but, like the Ghalchah tribes of Sirikol and the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh to the westward, many of them speak Persian also. Dr. Bellew,[1] who met some men of the tribe, speaks of them as being a tall, very fair, and handsome race, of a purely Aryan physiognomy, and describes them as poorly clad, carrying matchlocks, of timid and subdued demeanour, and very cautious of giving any information regarding themselves. He mentions that they spoke Turki to other people, but conversed among themselves in a totally different language. He says that they are Mussulmans of the Shiah sect, like the Wakhis and Badakhshis,—that is, Maulais.

Nearly due north of Hunza is the small mountain state of Sirikol. The rulers of the two states have ever maintained a close friendship in spite of the mountains which separate them. From Girtchah in Goohjal, Tashkurgan is reached in eight days. Horses can only travel by the Kilik route, which is longer than that by the Kirish Pass; but the road is excellent and open all the year to both horses and camels. For about two months in summer the road by Misgar is impracticable for horses on account of the depth of the stream that has to be forded. The route by Rishipjerab and Derdee is then used, but men on foot can travel by Misgar at all times. Good roads also lead to Lungar and Kabr-i-Bosai in Wakhan territory.

000 In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name of Kunjoot

[1] Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashghar.*

THE LAST LAP

From here we saw the fine granite piers of the old Tishót 491
Bridge, the one we always used to cross by. It had stood for 133
thirty years, and then was wrecked one day by a hurricane; wind can be fierce and powerful in these gorges. But the fact that it *had* stood thirty years proved that the chosen site was a good one. There was firm rock (not the crumbly kind of everlasting hill) on both sides at a considerable height above the river, well out of reach of summer floods. The obvious thing would have been to replace the bridge and use again the unharmed granite piers; but some engineer decided otherwise, and we had to stay on the Nagir side and ride on to the new bridge. The cliffs on each side here rise anything from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, and the road round them is a little ledge a few feet wide, some 800 feet above the river-bed. When it is a ledge of firm rock all is well, but, as I have already said, the mountain sides are mainly crumbly masses of stones, boulders, and sand, and there often seems no good reason why the road should not just slide down to join the other debris (and so often it does, especially after rain). Sometimes even where there is a firm rock ledge it isn't wide enough for a laden pony. Then if the inhabitants can find a couple of firm rock spikes below they throw a tree trunk across and build up a loose wall of unmortared stones on that till they get it to road level. If there are no natural spikes, they bore holes in the rock, and drive in a few pegs to take their tree trunks.

This is the method they have to use to revet the faces of [3/2]
their fields and the sides of their aqueducts, which are often carried eight or twelve miles round the face of the most impossible-looking precipices, so they are experts in the art. Accidents happen often enough to the road-makers, but are almost unheard-of amongst road-users. The look of the road might make your hair stand on end, but it is far safer than our murderous motor roads at home.

At last we got off this gallery business and out on to another fan, and we saw the new bridge on our left, quite fairly near, but the cliffs were steep and high and crumbly and there was no direct way of reaching it, so we had to overshoot it by a mile or two before the road turned down. And such a road!

491 It was the steepest spiral you can conceive, about 2 feet wide
133 and just one welter of soft dust like flour or french polish. There seemed nothing on earth to keep the path in place except a tiny wall of stones that rested on the dust. Still it did stay. Of course you could not ride it, so we slithered down on foot, over ankles in flour-like dust, and opposite, across the river, we saw the famous hot springs of Murtazábád. They say you can cook a chicken in them or wash your clothes, but clothes or chicken smell ever after of sulphur. We saw only dark red splashes on the face of the cliff. Having got down some hundreds of feet or so of floury slide, we had to ride back to the wretched bridge through tiring sea-sand. The bridge was the usual handsome steel-cable suspension bridge, but only a few feet above the summer water level; I wonder will it last the thirty years of its predecessor? I doubt it. Having crossed it, we set foot on Hunza soil (July 16th). The ascent from the river to Murtazábád was steeper and higher than the spiral we had just come down, but a shade firmer and less dusty, and the zigzag was better graduated; but we rose 1,000 feet as steeply as it was humanly possible, and I again had to take refuge in my pony's mane.

000 The view was magnificent: the tiny bridge, the gorge, and Ráka—looking her very best. We never normally dismount in awkward places (which makes you ride many a time when you would feel happier on foot), for it gives trouble to the men behind, who for courtesy must dismount too and have to take charge of two loose horses. But it was the chance of a lifetime to register this view; you might ride the same stretch a hundred times and never again get the same lighting and the freedom from cloud. So I hopped off and had a shot. DL was too far ahead for me to ask him kindly to read his "wonder-working" exposure meter (one of these glorious electric cell things which we had gratefully bought from the Leverhulme grant); so I blazed away by guesswork, and remembering that the amateur always tends to under-expose, I gave it a 25th at F8. It should have been about a 200th! The result is not too bad, but the negative is as black as ink and it takes hours to print, and is, of course, not nearly so delicate in tone as

enquired after all the Royal Family and exchanged the usual compliments. Then I remarked hopefully: "Aliábád is quite near now, only four miles isn't it?" "Oh yes, only four miles." I noticed David quietly smiling. We rode about ten yards when I saw (what he remembered but I had quite forgotten) that the great torrent from the Hasanábád glacier cuts in here to join the Hunza River, and we had to go down some 500 or 600 feet to cross it and then up again to get out on to the Aliábád fan. It was exactly the same sort of business as crossing the main river all over again, except that the Hunza roads, however steep and difficult, are better designed and better kept than Nagir ones. Hasanábád village lies on both banks of the torrent, and climbs up the farther side to its own excellent polo-ground. The fields were being reaped, and I marvelled at the neat, tidy rows in which the cut barley was laid out. Everything the Hunzukuts do is beautifully done, and their methods are in the greatest contrast to the slovenliness of Nagir; you notice this everywhere, down to the tinest detail; it may be merely because water is scarcer and life harder that their fields are more scrupulously level, their walls more ingeniously perfect, their cut swathes more exactly aligned, but I incline to think that the cause lies deeper; in the difference of race and temperament already suggested.

Just beyond the wooden bridge which took us over the torrent, we were met by a good-looking elderly man whom we both remembered but could not immediately identify. He was almost in tears as he greeted us. I was puzzled to think why he was so moved. As soon, however, as he had paid full tribute of politeness to us, he bolted on and flung himself on Qudrat Ullah's neck. The whole cavalcade, about forty of us by this time, burst into sympathetic laughter, and poor Qudrat Ullah looked radiant but sheepish as he returned his father's embraces. Going up the steep hillside with so large a following was, as usual, not at all funny. You dare not stop to let your pony breathe without holding up the rest whose horses would be at some most inconvenient turn.

We got up at last, however, and found a fine deputation of all the Hasanábád elders drawn up to greet us on the polo-ground

Chapter 15

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

WHEN after three days we had got the house habitable, cupboards and bookshelves ordered, lamps burning, water and food routine running smoothly, and the first friendly contacts with our neighbours established, we asked leave to pay our first call on the Mir, the king of the country and our host.

Two horses were found for us—it was a welcome let-off that the nature of the country made it useless to keep our own horses—and we started early, while it was still cool, on the four-mile ride to Báltít, his capital. The Great North Road from Kashmir to Central Asia is here some four to five feet wide; the only rideable road in the country. For the first couple of miles it runs fairly level between high field walls, just dipping 50 feet now and again to cross a stony gully, down which pour at times irresistible floods of mud and boulders; then it staggers almost perpendicularly up some hundreds of feet till it reaches the level of the Dála and runs along with the water channel (which is perhaps 4 feet wide and 2 feet deep) on its left and a steep drop on the right into the first fields below. High above us towered staircases of narrow fields and behind them great serrated snow peaks, the most interesting of which culminates in a 2,000-foot needle of sheer granite too steep ever to hold the snow.

This is Princess Búbuli's Peak, and the story goes that when the hero Kiser (the Gesar of Tibetan myth[1] and an

[1] For original Tibetan versions of his story, see Madame Alexandra David-Neel, *Gesar of Ling*; for the Burushaski version, see D. L. R. L., in *Folklore*, XLII, June 2, 1931.

incarnate deity) conquered Hai Hai Yúl (= Hunza) he took 113
to wife the Princess Búbuli. He had not been long in the 773
country till he saw in a dream Tibet invaded and his earlier queen carried into captivity, so he determined to return and deal with his enemies. Even in the Tibetan versions of the Gesar Saga it is difficult to avoid thinking him an ugly type of hero, a still more unpleasant manifestation of the divine, and the absolute limit in undesirable husbands. Princess Búbuli asked when she might look for his return: "I'll go to-morrow and return yesterday"; he said, "when donkeys grow horns, when millstones grow beards, when the river flows uphill, I shall come back." Lest she should get into trouble during this brief grass-widowhood he seated her on this granite spike with a 200-lb. bag of millet-seed and a cock: "Give him one grain a year, and when the grain is done, I shall return." And there the luckless princess sits, and you can hear her wailing in the winter storm.

The road commands a fine view of the junction of the 133
Nagir with the Hunza River, and the rugged, savage valley 491
which leads to the Nagir capital, tucked away out of sight amongst its sunless mountains near the great Hispar glacier. On our Hunza side the ground falls steeply with fertile bays of terraced fields and groves of apricots, all still in late July laden with their golden fruit. The road winds round various bluffs, following of course the contours of the mountain-side, and you can see several villages below, including Ganesh, clustered on the very edge of the river cliffs. High 644
above the field-terraces on our left we presently espied the 133
white front of the fortress-palace that has looked down over 312
the fields of Hunza for at least six hundred years—surely the most dominating seat of kings in the wide world. It is built on the cliff edge of a projecting promontory that falls perpendicularly—but from the road invisibly—behind it; and behind that again lies the mighty ravine of the Ulter Ber, up which, far out of sight, is the almost inaccessible glacier that supplies all the waters of Hunza, from Áltít (two miles beyond and some hundreds of feet below Báltít) to Aliábád, feeding five or six different aqueducts, including, of course, the Dála.

000 2. To pull off, cut off. — *mumuγoł gaʒał moʳ* cut off, pluck off, her nose for her. 152.5,7. Cp. 176.18 where *čoruk* is given as an alternative and *gaʒał* is written with *g-*.

3. With *-tsi* to intrigue against; seek excuse to find one at fault, persecute. — *i·tsi gaʒał ełam* I intrigued against him. *thams atsi gaʒał ečai.i* the Mir is seeking excuse to find me at fault.

gaʒeri N. *-mots* x horse-cloth, "jhul". (Cp. Sh. *gaʒeri*, Kho. *gaʒari*).

gaʒati, gaʒati N. *-mots* x Cp. *gaǰaʒo*, match (lucifer). — *gaʒeti kač* (=*khāǰ?*) *ełas* to strike a match. *gaʒati dabi* match-box.

(The *g* is marked as peculiar. Cp. Sh. *kač'aʒi*, GB *kačaʒi*).

gakači, gakači -mots, -ło h stutterer, stammerer. — *gakačiło, gakačimotsik baʷ* they are (a lot of) stammerers. *gak'ači kaʷpo* term of contempt for a stutterer (explained as "a kind of bird that stutters", which seems an unfair description of the cuckoo — *kaʷpo* — whatever its vocal demerits). (Cp. Sh. *kakaʷčo*, Kho. *kaʷkači*).

● 491 1. *gal -eŋ, -joŋ*(?) y "rope-bridge", suspension bridge (made of cables of twisted birch twigs, of which the ends are anchored on each side of the river under heaps of stones). Punj. (Kaṅgra) *jhula*.

In the following *galjon* (i.e. *galjoŋ?*) must be a plural form of this word. *čomare g'aljon g'ičumian* they will construct iron bridges. 188.5. (Cp. Sh. *gal*, country bridge).

000 2. *gal -joŋ, -joŋ* y juniper tree. 214.2.ff. — *gal dir* v. sv. *dir*. 256.8.

158 a

with the Rani and his brother and, after the usual sumptuous breakfast, Sultan Ali joined us and the three of us—Jahangir, Sultan Ali and I—took off to Altit. As we left the Mir said, "I'll be waiting here for you and you'll ride the yaks right into the palace yard."

"You'll find the yaks very easy and comfortable to ride," continued the Mir. "What's more—you won't notice the ascents and descents!"

"You're kidding!" I rejoined.

"No, I'm not," he said. "It's true . . . just wait and you'll see!"

It was approximately a 2 mile jaunt to Altit and the terrain was very much like the terrain we had encountered all the way up from Gilgit—washouts, rock slides, boulders strewn all over the place. This all made walking difficult, at least for me.

Now I don't want you to get the idea that when these landslides or rock slides occur they are just left where they fall, because that is the furthest thing from the truth. Immediately after these things happen, crews are put on to get things straightened away. But when you take into consideration that each speck of work is done manually and that they do not have even a wheelbarrow, you can then understand that the job is a difficult one and one that is back-breaking and requires much time.

The only implements I saw them use on the roads were a sort of pinch-bar or wedge and a sledge hammer. You see, they don't have dynamite and when a huge boulder lands smack in the middle or at the side of the road and can't be pushed off, the only other course to follow is to break it into small pieces. Those are the ways and means here of getting rid of huge boulders.

Let it also be clearly understood that the Hunza

workers are good workers. They are not to be compared with the ordinary workers found throughout Pakistan and India. They do a day's work somewhat comparable to that done in the West. They are neither slouchers nor slackers. 461

All along the route there were groups of men working here and there. At this time of the year there were not too many employed or working on the roads and this is understandable. Every man in Hunza and Nagir must provide for the winter. Remember, there is, broadly speaking, no money and the only means he has of providing is by the work done with his own two hands. 464 491

The dried apricots and other fruits that he may put away, the wheat or the barley or the buckwheat that he stores in his house, the few roots that he puts into his root cellar are his means of sustenance until next spring. So you can readily understand that there is no great surplus of Hunzans or Nagiriwals during the months of July and August to do work on the roads and I know that the Hunza Road is not maintained by the State of Pakistan. Therefore there would be little or no money forthcoming and those who did work would probably be donating their time. Or perhaps their work would be somewhat similar to a type of taxation, although I dislike using that word when referring to or talking about the people of Hunza! [251]

We were more than a sauntering hour reaching Altit. If you've got any ideas about easy walking in this land, you'd better forget them. 487

As is usual on the entire Hunza trail, with few exceptions, it was climbing or descending all the time. The few places where you were neither climbing nor going down, you were walking along the river bed. In midsummer when the glaciers are melting quickly you

492 riding, I need more than that. Here I didn't have any reins but I could put my hands on the horn of the saddle. This was a case where I had the horn to hold onto and didn't need it. With those scrawny, skinny horses I could have used that appendage but I didn't have it.

This is also an excellent time to emphasize that a yak, whatever his sterling qualities, is by no means ever a speed demon . . . and that is for certain. He is built for comfort and security and my, oh, my, how important that is in the Karakorum or Himalayan terrain. The usual expected speed of a yak is approximately 9 miles per day which is somewhere around 1 mile per hour. However, I did not complain of the time that it took us to get from Altit to Baltit. I was having the time of my life and for once I wasn't the least bit afraid of falling off.

491 The road from Altit to Baltit actually is quite hilly —precipitous and steep in some places. But true to the Mir's prediction, I felt neither ascent nor descent because of the flexibility of the yak's legs.

Here I was 8,000 or 9,000 feet up in the firmament windingly wending my way around ledges and narrow trails while resting comfortably on the back of a yak. For the first time since leaving Gilgit I felt no fear or worry while riding. The beast on which I was sitting gave me a feeling of confidence.

The top of the final climb took us to the narrow opening of the valley. Here, if you turned right, the road led to the polo field and old Baltit Fort; if you turned left, to the Mir's courtyard.

115 I noticed what I thought to be a particularly unusual figure coming from the opposite direction, heading towards the pathway that led to the Mir's courtyard. He was in the company of another individual

681 which people were exiled and as officers were continually asking me what sort of place it was, I determined to go there and see for myself. The track there
491 was very bad indeed and in two places there were goat hair bridges which were very unpleasant to cross. A ring of wood was used and the traveler was drawn from one bank to the other and if he wore a beard most of the hairs were dragged out on the way. . . .

643 "My father[1] had six wives, three of which were of the
595 ruling classes and three from the Zemindaris. All however, were married to him according to the law and so he left behind no bastards."

276 The Mir told me that of late some of the young boys
177 have taken to smoking cigarettes. This they have picked up and learned from the Hunzan men who have been serving in the Pakistani army. Cigarettes can be pur-
685 chased in the shop in Baltit and a few occasions of
276 petty theft have been encountered. In each case it
[443] seems that they stole in order to get money to buy cigarettes. These few petty crimes of course did not
[681] involve ostracism to Shimshal. It is expected that this condition will continue or even become aggravated as the youth of Hunza become more familiar and acquainted with smoking. Some of the men in Hunza smoke the "hookah" which we know as the water-pipe.

249 Some forms and varieties of tobacco have been tried
123 in Hunza. I promised to send the Mir seeds of the various types of tobacco that we grow in America, such as Virginia, Burley and Quesnel. Perhaps if they can learn to grow tobacco, it will enable the youth to get their hands on some tobacco and satisfy their craving for it without resorting to other ways and means. However, they would have to get paper from somewhere for none is made or improvised in Hunza.

674 It is obvious from what I have seen, that crime and

1 [ie - the father of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan - ANALYST]

133 length. Over this the horses clattered judiciously, plac-
487 ing one foot down firmly somewhere before they lifted another. 'Twas the only way they could maneuver through this pebble and rock dashed remains of a slide. Masses of mountains dimmed in the distance.

Now and then a nullah would leap into view and
[491] had to be crossed or forded. Yes, many of them, the more or less permanent ones, were covered by bridges . . . some sound, durable and strong and others, more or less makeshift, which one had to cross with prudence and yet alacrity.

133 Whenever a rafik hove into view, I unconsciously
487 would suck in my breath quickly and steel myself for
491 the mental ordeal to come. There I knew the trail was held up or was maintained by a few slabs of rock pressed into fissures on the rock surface of the cliff or even a built up wall of stones, laid carefully one on top of another without being cemented in any way. At other times there were rods of steel driven into the rock surface and upon this the boards or road was laid. How these supports held, heaven only knows and there they were, jutting out over emptiness or nothingness. Did they fall away? Was there any danger? Well, you can answer that question for yourself. If you were going to travel along the trail to Hunza, they had to be crossed and the fact that they were continually being erected was ample proof that they were continually falling away.

133 In many places the road ribbons to a narrow ledge
487 along a precarious outcropping of rock . . . courses that have been cut and built into the very face of the sheer and protruding cliffs, and many from a few hundred to many thousands of feet above the valley floor and often more than 15,000 feet above sea level. Landslides, washouts, rains of gigantic boulders, disintegra-

spoken. The good professor espouses the theory that 197
the Burushaski language is genealogically related to
the language of the Basques, spoken only by a handful
of these people who live in the Pyrenees in southern
France and northern Spain. Therefore, it is difficult,
if not impossible, for any stranger or outsider to have
a good working knowledge of the language.

When you are given the name of a place or a thing 126
and wish to write it down, you have to do it entirely 192
by means of phonics. For example, I wanted to know
the name given to a part of the flour mill and after
much actual jawing, I wrote down the word "yine."
Later, in checking with another Hunzan who articu-
lated in deliberate, clearcut fashion for me, I got the
word "yang." Now repeat those two words over your-
self and see just how much similarity there really is
between them.

I sought the name of the word given to the galleries 126
—that is, the wooden galleries or it could be the stone 192
galleries that were built up along the ledges when the 491
road fell away. One of the writers had given the name
for these places as "rafiks," which I followed. But I
also had come across the word "paharis" when I was
in Hunza and they didn't seem to use or have heard
the word "rafik."

Then upon investigation, I find that the words
"rafik" and "paharis" are not the actual words used to
describe this bit of fancy roadwork. The meaning of
"rafik" is actually Arabic for a companion or comrade
and the meaning of "paharis" is Urdu for "people who
live in mountainous regions." From usage so far and
the best of searching, it appears that "rafik" is the
term used to describe the built up stone galleries that
shore up a "fallen away" gap of road. "Paharis" is the
term for the wooden platforms that are erected over

126 "nothing" where the ledge once led . . . a few well
192 appointed steel rods forced into fissures being the total
491 support. As yet I have failed to discover or learn the proper word describing these galleries.

114 I must admit that many or most of the errors or misconceptions concerning Hunza are due to the fact that insufficient time was spent by some of the writers who visited Hunza.

At first it was my wish to pass by this chapter on misconceptions because I did not feel that I should be involved in a hassle with other writers. But then I asked myself if I had any doubts as to whether or not I was right. And this made me feel that I definitely wanted to write the chapter on misconceptions.

It is not my intent or desire to be contradictory nor arbitrary. I am not seeking to pick a quarrel with anyone. But the facts and statements herein related are based on my seeing, hearing, research, questioning and investigating.

I have tried to make my book as accurate as humanly possible. And if and when errors are found, I trust they will be brought quite forcibly to my attention. I would like to believe that if I can dish it out, I can take it, too!

134 *Fertile valleys*—Some writers have referred to various valleys in Hunza as fertile valleys. By the standards to which we are accustomed, there is not one single fertile valley in all of Hunza. That the soil is productive and the valley green and beautiful, no one will deny. But at best the soil in Hunza is shallow and to be productive, it must be maintained assiduously. I repeat, in Hunza there are no such things as naturally fertile valleys as compared, for example, to parts of the Willamette Valley in Oregon.

131 *Hunza is scarcely* 60 *miles long,* says one writer. An-
133 other says it is 80 miles long and elsewhere I saw it

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

CHAPTER V

VISIT TO HUNZA NAGAR

609. At Chalt I dismissed the Nagar men who had come to Gilgit to act as hostages during my absence, and sent them away well pleased. The Nagar people seemed to be really keen on my visiting their country, and the Hunza representative with me explained the rather doubtful tone of his master's letters by the fact that the Thum was suffering severely from fever. In addition to this, which might delay our interviews, the chief feared that the height of the river, which was in full flood, might make our journey difficult and dangerous. In the whole course of the river only two bridges existed, both of them twig rope suspension bridges, one at Chalt, the other exactly opposite Hunza, and there was no other means of crossing the river when in flood. There had been latterly some ill-feeling between the Hunza-Nagar Chiefs, and the upper bridge had not been repaired, neither side caring to take the trouble when it might become necessary to cut the bridge at a moment's notice. However, I heard that the relations were no longer strained, and that the bridge was now being renewed by the Nagar

491 [186]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

people, who had practically the monopoly of the 491 ●
necessary birch. Our crossing into Hunza was
therefore assured, and I received civil enough letters 609
from the Thum repeating his invitations. His [195]
epistolary style was always quaint and high-flown, and on this occasion, when welcoming me, he compared my party to "camels without nose-ropes uncontrolled," meaning by this that we were free to wander at our pleasure in all directions. In a former letter he had, with reference to the difficulty of supplying our party, compared us to elephants. On a later occasion he incidentally remarked that he proposed to send my head on a charger as a present to the Government of India: but there was a good deal to come before that.

Crossing a mile above Chalt the rope bridge over 491
the Hunza river, which seemed the longest and [131]
steepest we had yet crossed, though that over the Gilgit river had a span of three hundred and sixty feet, we found ourselves in Nagar territory, the first Europeans who had ever penetrated its mysterious wilds. The bridge was a new one, fortunately for us, for they are very unsafe when old, and should be renewed annually. This involves a good deal of labour, as nine cables of twisted birch twigs of the necessary length, in this case some four hundred and fifty feet, have to be prepared. The people therefore often put off the work and chance the bridge lasting, and I have seen bridges three and four years old in use. This is horribly dangerous; the birch twigs dry and perish, and the ropes break suddenly. As a rule they do not go all together, and I have seen a bridge in use con-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

491 sisting only of the foot rope and one side rope, and have crossed them when the connecting ropes were broken and useless, but I never did so willingly, for we had a terrible lesson. A native officer and half a dozen men had been sent on from Gilgit ahead of us to try the bridges, and to arrange for necessary repairs. Coming to one bridge they tried it carefully, going over one at a time, and examining the anchorage and ropes. Thinking all was sound they foolishly returned in a body, crossing, of course, one behind the other. As the leading man got well up the slope towards the timber anchorage, followed by five others, the ropes drew or broke, and the whole party were dashed into the water. Two men, entangled in the ropes, were washed ashore on the bank they had started from, for the anchorages on the far side fortunately held, and the ropes swung across the stream and ashore, but the other unfortunates, caught in the awful torrent, were swept away and instantly drowned. Only one body was recovered, and that forty miles down stream.

487 The road shortly after crossing the river rose twelve hundred feet to cross the end of a spur from Rakapushi, and, descending again, ran generally at a level of six or eight hundred feet above the river — which one could hear roaring through its deep-cut bed below—across uncultivated wastes, and in and out of numerous deep ravines till the cultiva-
644 tion of Nilt was reached. Here Uzr Khan, the eldest living son, and the heir-apparent of the ruling chief, Jafr Khan, met us. He was rather a fine-looking fellow, with a pleasant enough face

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Ourusho AV7

I had to leave Nagar long before I had exhausted the objects of interest, and many places had perforce to be left unvisited. The morning we left we plunged down below the fort for several hundred feet to the rope bridge which spans the gorge of the Nagar stream. It was a nasty bridge, with very steep slopes, and I thought one of the servants had gone, for he stumbled badly; but he recovered himself, and merely dropped a bundle he was for some reason carrying, which went floating down amongst masses of ice which, broken from the glacier above, were dancing down the furious stream. There was a stiff climb up a couple of thousand feet to the crest of the ridge between the two streams, and an equally steep descent down to the Hunza river. The approach to the bridge, which springs from two great masses of rock on each side of the river, is villainous, over smooth rock and by pathways a few inches wide, kept bad for safety's sake. We were met by various deputations—one shortly after entering Hunza territory, a second at the bridge, a third on the Hunza bank, and I found it was arranged that we should camp directly we got to the top of the cliff above the river, and that we should make our state entry next day. Accustomed to these ceremonious delays from my experience of Chitral, I agreed.

491 133 644

Next morning we started at about half-past seven in uniform, and rode up through the terraced cultivation to the polo ground. Here we were requested to halt, while our salute was being fired by the Wazir in person, he being the only man who could be trusted to fire the gun. It was a gun with a history, which had been cast by a refugee from Wakhan, all the brass household implements in the country having

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

000 with Safdar Ali, whose cruelty was unrelieved by any redeeming feature. When the end came, three years later, and he fled like the coward he was without striking a blow, the feelings of the people towards him were well shown; there was a general sigh of relief throughout the country. Daulat Shah may have missed him, for when I next visited Hunza I heard, with some pardonable satisfaction, that amongst the men carrying stones to build a block house, my orderlies had recognised our old friend.

487 The last marches out of Hunza were very severe, the road even for the Hindu-Kush was bad; it was perpetually crossing parris with frightful drops or very steep slopes into the river, and it was so narrow that the coolies carrying loads were in constant danger. Fortunately for us the cloudy weather continued, and on the last day we had some rain. The views in consequence were exquisite. All the colouring of the hills, the pale reds and browns and soft shades of green, which are merged by glaring sunlight into one uniform grey, now showed out. The view up the Chaprot valley was particularly fine, heavy clouds lay in a great bar across the mountains, dropping transparent veils of falling rain, through which range after range showed out with delicately softened outline. It was a delightful march, none the less so from my feeling that I had brought my party out of the country safely, and had been able to avoid any
361 serious trouble. We left Hunza territory at the
491 village of Budlas, crossing a heavy torrent by a new bridge, built on the site of the one where the
000 sad accident referred to above had taken place. I

horyolo gərmamots nokun ɟuryas gos 000
mor ʃaladani mo·ʃan they call a woman who puts *gərmamots* in cooked green vegetables and eats them "*ʃaladani*". QUB.

ʃa'·da pl. *ʃalde.iŋ* y order, command, injunction, instructions, — *iner ʃalda eti* give him orders, instructions. *ja ʃaldatsum turman etimi* he did a different thing from my orders, he acted contrary to my instructions. *uŋafe manene ʃalda ne n'i gorasan apai.i* there is no one over you giving orders to say to you "go", there is no one to order you to go. 94.5.

(Cp. Sh. *ʃalda*).

ʃalhəray EOL *-ʃio* pen for cattle.

(Cp, *həray* and Kho. *ʃal*, *ʃa·l*, cattle-hut, *-ʃal* also occurs as a suffix in place-names in Nagar and to a less extent in Hunza).

1. *ʃama -mots* x candle. Ar. Prs.
2. *ʃama* y pl. tea leaves after tea has been made from them.

ʃamaγ, *ʃamaγ -iciŋ* y piece of net-work 291
worn in front of eyes by veiled women. — *ʃamaγ biʃaiyas* to put on ditto.

(Cp. Kho. *ʃamaγ*, *ʃamaγ*).

ʃama·l north. — *ʃama·l yakal(afe)* north- 000
wards. Ar. Prs.

ʃamεγ and *ʃamεγ*, *-ants*, *-ents* x four 492●
wooden pins fixed in yoke of plough, one on each side of the necks of the two oxen to keep them in position.

With the suffix *-an* the form used is *ʃamεγasan*, not *ʃamεγuan*, one neck-pin.

ʃamεγents uyalas hər (or, *ʃiʃadər*) "an ox that breaks the yoke-pins" (said of a headstrong refractory person who does not conform to the

492 wishes of his parent or family. Cp. Engl. "to kick over the traces").

(Cp. Sh. *ʒamiṣ̌ʒ* (pl.) with the same meaning, and Kho. *ʒamarγuṣu*, the strap connecting ends of yoke-pins under neck of ox).

241 *ʒandi -miq* y cut crops lying on the ground. They are spread out to dry for a couple of days and then collected by women who gather them up in double armfuls (*bayu*).

ʒanṭ'er, ʒanṭer, -ṭio squinting, squint-eyed. — *ʒanṭeran bai.i* he is a squint-eyed fellow.

1. *ʒaq* awake, aware. — *ʒaq baiyam* I was awake. Cp. 264.24. *be, je ʒaq ba, ju* no, I am awake, come in. *je ʒaq amaram* I woke up. *ʒaq imanimi* he woke up. 260.15. *siz ʒaq umanuman* people became aware of it; came to know of it. *muʿ muʿmi ke ʒaq aiyoʿtom* without informing her father and mother. 244.14. *ʒaq guman* wake up! look out! take care; EOL

(Cp. Sh. *ʒoq, ʒoq*, and *ʒ'aq*).

? *ʒaq* care, heed, attention. — *ʒaq ne, ʒaq netan* carefully. *ʒaq ne* (or, *netan*) *ṭen* take it away carefully. *ʒaq ne ore* keep it carefully, put it away safely. *goćer ećer ʒaq eti, yaʿr ne boreyer ʒaq eti* beware of using your voice, beware of looking down, i.e. take care not to make a noise etc. 50.25. *teruman muʿto ʒaq mene aiyećam* nowadays people do not pay so much heed (to it). 220.9. *guk'arer ʒaq eti, mak'arer ʒaq etin* take care of yourself, take care of yourselves. EOL.

(This is probably the same word as 1. *ʒaq*).

000 needed animals in the world.

231 It is clearly and distinctly established that Tibet, for example, could never exist and people could never live in that part of the world if it weren't for the yaks and yaks are native only to that part of the world —yes, wild ones, I mean. That's where they were originally found and tamed. They still roam wild on some of the higher inaccessible elevations and plateaus in that part of the globe.

No one will attempt to deny that our cow is a most useful and practically essential animal. It gives milk from which we make butter, cheese and cream. We use the carcass for meat and the hide for shoes, baseballs and many other articles but, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the cow as it is today actually couldn't look after herself in the northern latitudes and pasture food must be provided.

[492] Well, the yak does everything a cow does. Besides that, it is one of the finest beasts of burden. Then, too, it is the surest-footed animal to be found anywhere. It can, and often does, forage for its own food. It can live off practically nothing. It is suspected that it can find sustenance in a bit of grass or roots or even a bit of coarse, uninviting (to any other animal) herbage.

[492] [241] Like our cow, it takes to domestication readily. Both the Tibetans and the Hunzans use them to work their fields and flail their wheat, barley and other grains.

231 237 [283] From the wool on its back, belly and head comes the toughest of woven fabrics, from which is made the sturdiest of clothes for the people and tents for their homes. Wherever you see rope in Hunza, you can be sure that it was made from braided or woven yak hair.

[291] [415] [501] The hide is used for most everything . . . boots and shoes, of course, and water containers and skin boats, which are the means and mode of transportation across and up and down the dangerous rivers.

As we wound along the trail and through the streets of the village, I kept looking around to see if I could spot the bit of meadow or field where the yaks would be grazing. I felt certain that if they were being tethered or kept somewhere that there would be some sort of grazing ground for them and I found I was right because, shortly, we came upon a bit of meadow surrounded by shrubs and trees. And sure enough, there were the yaks and the herders. 231 311

The first thing I noticed about them was that they seemed to be snorting like wild bulls. They breathe rather heavily and exhale sharply through their nostrils. The altitude at Altit was probably about the same as that of Baltit—between 8,000 and 9,000 feet—and that was much too near the level of the sea to suit the yaks who wanted it at least 11,000 feet. Undoubtedly that was the reason they were snorting and appeared somewhat uncomfortable. 231 [361 133]

I liked their rather shaggy, unkempt appearance. The woolly hair that grew around their head and on top of it, looked as though it had been curled. I didn't know whether that made them look ferocious or cute.

I took a keen liking to the strange looking beasts. But I'm not sure that they shared my feelings. At least, they didn't look as though they did.

I have read and been told that you can trust a yak implicitly on any trail. If it's safe and can be traversed, he'll make it. If there's any doubt, he'll be just as stubborn as any mule. Where the way or the road is extremely bad, he will refuse to go and only by brutal pounding and beating and dragging will he continue along the trail that he distrusts.

Through each yak's nose ran a rope—a good thick, heavy rope. This is used to guide or lead the yak, instead of a bridle and bit. [492]

231 The yak is just about the same general build and also somewhat the same in appearance as a buffalo. It is considered to be, by zoologists, a distant relative of the American buffalo. In fact, when I first saw a yak, I thought it was a buffalo and in my mind's eye, I compared it to the buffalos that I had seen in our Canadian zoos or parks. However, yaks do not have that hump around the neck, and they seemed a bit smaller. They are quite shaggy and look wild and ferocious, which belies their actual temperament.

We did find, and I had heard this before, that yaks are very independent—probably the most independent of all domesticated beasts. You just don't take liberties with a yak. You treat him fair and square or he doesn't cooperate—at least not very well.

231 492 I walked around them and examined their shape and form and was especially interested in their broad backs. "Ah," I thought to myself, "that's the kind of an animal I want to ride—where I can sit on a flat surface instead of the apex of a triangle." My posterior was still smarting from the few miles I had ridden astride my horse. Even with the protection of the blanket, his backbone seemed to cut through like a razor. Right there and then I just had to get up on a yak's back and have someone take a picture.

"This should make a good caption," I thought to myself, "Jack on back of yak!"

The yak snorted a few times before and during the time I was getting on his back. But a few words and a jerk on his nostrils by his owner and he remained more or less orderly, but eyed me suspiciously.

Their broad well-filled backs and the sight of their feet with the sort of second set of hooves, fingers or spavins along the forelock told me that what the Mir had said about a comfortable even ride was true.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

They were obviously of American or European origin . . . probably grown from seeds that someone had sent him. Plants like zinnias, snapdragons and asters were readily recognizable. 247 177

Then, I was very much surprised to see in front of the bungalow, of all things, a swimming pool . . . and the youth of the district were swimming and enjoying themselves to the fullest possible extent. They were shouting, laughing, splashing and cavorting about just as you would expect boys and girls to do in any swimming pool in America. They displayed the same reckless abandon, glee and happiness that our children do. 529 643 [644]

At this time I thought to myself that here was another mark of the Mir's bigness. He was allowing the children of the town to make full use of his personal family swimming pool. This was quite different from what most people expect of eastern potentates.

I'm not sure that this little incident impresses you but I assure you I was quite impressed by it. It added to my conviction that the people of Hunza were really free and democratic.

A little way off were our yaks and their guides. "Let's go," I said to Jahangir and Sultan Ali, making straight for the yaks. "The Mir and Cec will be waiting for us, so I guess we'd best be off." 000

I selected the larger of the two yaks because I'm quite a bit heavier, or almost twice as heavy as Jahangir. I was assisted on to the yak's back and the yak didn't seem to be too happy about it! For the first time since I'd been riding, which wasn't very long, I felt really comfortable. The well-padded broad back of the animal was delightful to sit on and, best of all, he had a western style saddle. I'm always afraid of falling off a horse with those English saddles because I've got nothing to hold on to except the reins and for my kind of 492

492 riding, I need more than that. Here I didn't have any reins but I could put my hands on the horn of the saddle. This was a case where I had the horn to hold onto and didn't need it. With those scrawny, skinny horses I could have used that appendage but I didn't have it.

This is also an excellent time to emphasize that a yak, whatever his sterling qualities, is by no means ever a speed demon . . . and that is for certain. He is built for comfort and security and my, oh, my, how important that is in the Karakorum or Himalayan terrain. The usual expected speed of a yak is approximately 9 miles per day which is somewhere around 1 mile per hour. However, I did not complain of the time that it took us to get from Altit to Baltit. I was having the time of my life and for once I wasn't the least bit afraid of falling off.

491 The road from Altit to Baltit actually is quite hilly —precipitous and steep in some places. But true to the Mir's prediction, I felt neither ascent nor descent because of the flexibility of the yak's legs.

Here I was 8,000 or 9,000 feet up in the firmament windingly wending my way around ledges and narrow trails while resting comfortably on the back of a yak. For the first time since leaving Gilgit I felt no fear or worry while riding. The beast on which I was sitting gave me a feeling of confidence.

The top of the final climb took us to the narrow opening of the valley. Here, if you turned right, the road led to the polo field and old Baltit Fort; if you turned left, to the Mir's courtyard.

115 I noticed what I thought to be a particularly unusual figure coming from the opposite direction, heading towards the pathway that led to the Mir's courtyard. He was in the company of another individual

241 minerals and by allowing these glacial streams to be spread over the soil, the nutrients are left in the soil as the water soaks into it.

The principle of returning to the land that which belongs to the land has been and is, at the present time, scrupulously followed. The only farm implement which [407] I could find on the Hunzan farms was the primitive [492] plow and invariably it was pulled by a bullock. The plowing is never deep and is practiced chiefly to sort of clean the field, cover the organic matter that has been spread upon it or left upon it and prepare the field for the next crop.

[464] All the work that has to be done is done by hand—with or without the assistance of domesticated farm animals. There is no substitute for manual labor and the men, women and even young children share in the farm work.

[137] From what I could observe, weeds were not a problem and the reasons are clear. There are few indigenous, native plants in the area. Practically all of the growing plants that I could spy were in cultivated areas. The maxim in Hunza evidently is if a place can grow weeds, then it should be cultivated and usually that principle is followed. This all adds up to the fact that there are few weed seeds distributed in the area and therefore they are not in the soil to spring up, whenever the farmer's back is turned.

[134] I want to stress once more that the mineral requirements of the fields of the Hunza farmer are met and replenished by the fine silt, ground by the glaciers from the rocky surfaces and carried down to the Hunza farmers by the conduits and spread on their land.

Our modern civilization attaches great importance to and stresses the value of flavor and appearance in

123 and generously of their services.

Then, with sincere good-byes, good wishes and promise of the Mir to come and visit us in America, where I promised him the use of my home for the duration of his stay, the jeep was off!

We were following the same trail that we had come up on, only this time Cec and I were in much better shape than when we arrived.

492 'Twas hardly more than 15 minutes before we pulled up at the end of the jeep road. The horses were waiting. Mine was a big black heavy fat pony and, I quickly observed, a stallion, to boot! He looked a little bit too bold for me but the Mir had assured me that he was as gentle as a kitten, strong as a bull, fast, sure-footed and intelligent. The horse Cec was to take looked very much like mine except he was brown. They were two mighty splendid pieces of horse or pony flesh. There was another horse in the group which we presumed was to be used as a pack animal.

291 I noticed when Jahangir got out of the jeep and was walking towards the horses and bearers that he limped somewhat. He was still wearing the pair of heavy, thick-soled and metal heeled army boots with which he had set out from Gilgit. Somehow this reminded me of the folly of trying to beat a man at his own game. The people of Hunza have been living with and under these conditions for 2,000 years or more and it is somewhat superfluous to say that they would have gathered by now the right kind of footwear to put on their feet. And here is what I found.

Practically all of the children wore no foot coverings. They went about barefoot. This I do not mean to infer as being the case only around their homes, but on the mountain crags and trails as well. Most of the boys and girls were barefoot, but there were some who wore

out the services of a guide. 122

I can assure you that the Commander carefully selected the man, too. Although he looked like a boy, he was tall—about 6 feet 2 inches—lithe, alert, in fact, as smart and as capable a type of human being or soldier or both as 'twould be possible to find anywhere. Not that Jahangir needed it, but he certainly was in "high caliber" hands.

Bearing in mind that the two ponies we had were 122
stallions, I began to wonder if we might not have some 492
trouble on the trail, because Jahangir's mount was a mare. To you, this may not appear to be a genuine source of worry, because in the West the horses used for riding are practically always gelded and this eliminates any risk of difficulty. So you either ride a mare or a gelding.

I thought to myself, "What would happen if either 122
one of our stallion ponies began to get ideas on some of these high tortuous, winding mountain trails?" I knew from my reading that it does happen.

A man can work himself up into quite a stew by thinking of such things, and by now I was greatly worried about what would happen if my black stallion did become rambunctious on the trail. So I made up my mind that I would give that mare as wide a berth as possible.

I buried my worries by getting busy and snapping 342
a few pictures of the type of houses that we found [126]
here at Aliabad. They didn't differ very much from those we found elsewhere. They were not as well built and as clean as those we had found at Altit, but they were still quite neat and tidy by most other standards. Practically all the houses are built one on top of the [361]
other, as close together as the undulating region would allow, and it sure was obvious that a person couldn't

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The
[273] grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

796 Tumushuling, the great winter cele-
585 bration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom, accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door, which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan
[431] from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do
[492] marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home, leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival.
[643] The Mir gives a small gift, usually a
[431] piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

585 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza
583 marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride.

than two cows. . . . You can work it out yourself. I'd like 237
to give our litter louts a few years' training in Hunza.

Salt is a crying need in Hunza, and while down-country rock- 135
salt can be obtained on payment from Gilgit, few families can 263
afford to buy. Hence in the relatively idle days of early winter you will see parties of women and girls and boys scouring the mountain side high up, and tasting as they go, till they find a patch of ground that seems to have a trace of saltiness in it. They scoop up the full of their baskets and carry this earth home. When salt is wanted they mount a conical basket filled with the saline earth over some receiving vessel. By pouring water through, they get a discoloured fluid, containing heaven alone knows what (probably a minimum of sodium chloride), which they pour straight into the vegetable pot.

Another job which is kept for winter days is the making of 241
new fields. It is all too true that the Hunzukuts have not enough water to serve their existing fields. But there are optimists who cannot resist the attraction of making a new field wherever they see a patch of ground that might with luck be irrigated in a good year. It's a serious business tackling a rocky bit of mountain side. You roughly plan your field and then start hacking out a great triangular gash at the upper side. It is full of stones and boulders which have to be removed; the smaller ones are set aside for the revetting walls; the larger ones are laboriously broken up with sledge-hammers (or blasted if you can get hold of a little gunpowder); the stony earth is carefully sifted into separate piles of varying degrees of fineness. Then the lower supporting wall is built to the level required, stones are thrown in for a foundation, next the coarser earth, and the surface is dressed with the finer. Field- 241
making is the only occasion on which a barrow of any kind is 493
of use. These barrows, of which in our whole time we only saw four, are the only wheeled vehicles known in Hunza. Whether the Hunzukuts invented them themselves or whether someone once saw a wheelbarrow in use elsewhere and imported the idea, who shall say? Anyhow, the Hunza wheelbarrow is a delightful affair. A sort of rude ladder with four or five rungs is made. A thick section of a tree trunk about

241 493 9 to 12 inches in diameter is impaled on one of the rungs to form the wheel. Axis and wheel rotate together in the two side holes of the frame, and to reduce the friction a tough ring of wicker work is placed between the wheel and the side of the ladder-frame. One of the usual shoulder baskets is then lashed between a pair of the rungs, and *voilà* . . . your apparatus is complete.

There were several batches of field-making enthusiasts whom we used to visit on our afternoon excursions—cold work it must have been with the snow lying to within a few feet of where they were working, but they did not seem to feel it, or perhaps the vision of future crops helped to keep them warm.

132 When once the Great Cold lays its icy hand on the country all outdoor human activity ceases as suddenly and completely as the sound of flowing water, and no one voluntarily stirs abroad. Occasionally you may see a woman, wrapped in the warmest *choga* available, dash with a gourd or bucket to the nearest drinking tank, break the thick crust of ice re-formed since yesterday and bring home the needed water. The steep, irregular stone steps were glassy with frozen water; it would have been easy to fall in and difficult to scramble out, but we heard of no casualties. Once again we noted that families prone to accident are weeded out by beneficent Mother Nature when her ways are not interfered with.

Once a day some man or boy drives out the beasts to the nearest open reservoir to drink, breaking the ice anew for them. As the water level sinks the ice crust cracks like pastry, the centre falls in, leaving stratum after stratum 6 or 8 inches thick adhering shelf-wise to the stone walls of the reservoir.

The winter was in many ways a disappointment to us. We had hoped for bright days and clear air and magnificent photographs. In fact, all the great mountains round were wrapped day after day in swathes of dark, snow-depositing cloud, and the floor of heaven, impenetrably grey, seemed suspended menacingly just a few inches above our heads. The immediate visible landscape was the dreariest it is possible to conceive; not an evergreen tree or bush, not a square inch of green grass to break the grim monotony of sepia-grey-khaki rocks, cliffs,

133
245

1. Rakapóshi in summer from Aliábád. Apricot trees in foreground. (See p. 80)

PLATE XXII

493

2. The sole type of wheeled vehicle in Hunza; a barrow used only in levelling fields.

(See p. 211)

[Facing P288]

to threaten a.o. *in ar stʌm* I frightened him. *fərav̓tsum, ər netʌn, (kok) dusuwʌm* putting him in fear I took these things from the treasurer. 60.14. 000

2. *ʌr* *-*mʌnʌs* to be afraid (of), to fear.

The object, when expressed, is put in the ablative:

Akiv̓l ər gumai.i bʌm ke if you were so afraid. 282.21. *ʌr nʌmʌn at'aiya ba* I have not returned, fearing (i.e out of fear). 282.22. *je uŋtsum ar amaiya ba* I am afraid of you. 18.6. *Š. Bahrav̓m Di.u Safi̓dtsum ʌr nimʌn . . . mostʌqʌmi* fearing the Di.u Safid, Š. B. . . . hid her. 16.4.

The dative is found in:

epʌči.ər niv̓čər ər umai.ibʌm they were afraid to go to it. 222.5. (Cp. Sh. *ər*).

ʌr *-*mʌnʌs* as Adj. and Noun.

1. One who fears: cowardly, timid. — *ar imʌnʌs hirʌn bai.i* he is a timid man.
2. That which one fears; alarming, dangerous, dreadful, terrible (to look at). — *ʌr mimʌnʌs diš, gʌn* a place, road which we are afraid of, i.e. a dangerous place, road. *ʌr mimʌnʌsʌn bai.i* he is a dangerous man, or a man of alarming aspect. *ʌr mimʌnʌsʌn (hʌγər) bi* it is a dangerous horse.

ærʌba -mvts x gun-carriage; a kind of crude wheel barrow, on which a basket is fixed, used for transporting earth. 493

ærʌn v. *av̓rʌn*.

ʌrʌq -iŋ, -ičiŋ y alcohol, spirit, arrack. — *gindawərə ʌrʌq* spirit made from "Sinjid" (fruit of jujube tree). *birʌnčə ʌrʌq* mulberry spirit (used 273

115 Now I didn't see his birth certificate and I might as
165 well tell you, right here and now, that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. I accept the figure of his age as he told me but remember, I was not there at the time of his birth!

344 When I was through with my spasm of inspection
644 and admiration, we began to parade up the long driveway that led into the Mir's garden. This area is flanked on the right by space that looks as though it were a parking lot, and maybe that's exactly what it is, but instead of cars, the guests or members of the family park—or should I say tether—their horses and yaks in this area. Maybe now they park their jeeps there.
[493] The Mir owns two of them, but one, I understand, was away in Pindi being repaired. (Or was it the shambles and horrible wreck of a jeep that I came across a week later, on the road back to Gilgit?)

126 Now I noticed that the Mir, Ayesh, the doctor and Cec were coming along the roadway to meet us, and soon we joined forces and were gathered in one group. I thought this was the ideal time to take some photographs and, luckily for us, they were the best photographs we took on the entire trip. Photography is something that has never interested me and I had never taken half a dozen pictures in my life. Before leaving
[122] home, I did try to learn a bit about photography, but I couldn't learn enough fast enough.

124 When the fun, excitement and fast-flowing humorous remarks had subsided, I said to the Mir, "If you've nothing more important to do or if you would care to give me a little more of your time, we could start that question and answer session that I arranged with you for this afternoon."

"I am at your service," he replied pleasantly and with alacrity.

are, remember, no transportation facilities whatsoever, There 164 except the Mir's jeep which the citizens of Hunza don't [493] get a chance to use. There is no other wheeled vehicle in the entire country. Practically every step is a climb or a descent. So no one could really accuse me of exaggeration if I were bold enough to say that they're probably the most active and energetic people in creation. It could hardly be otherwise.

To illustrate another proof of their hardiness, all 147 along the trail we met people from Hunza walking barefoot—from young children to boys and young men and old men. While some wore shoes, most of them were [291] barefoot. They walked over sand, over gravel, over stones, over plain dirt roads without any misgivings.

I watched them with awe as they ran, walked and skipped over these exceedingly rough spots and I was convinced they must have exceptionally strong, sound. healthy feet and legs.

On a few occasions I watched the Hunzans digging [412] with a shovel. 'Tis done the ordinary natural way there —barefooted. That certainly proves, at least to me, that their feet are in wonderful condition. Most people in America can't dig worth a darn wearing heavy boots!

It is unqualifiedly a fact, in my humble opinion, that 164 the people of Hunza owe their splendid vital good health in part to these sound principles—their way of life, their food production and the way they prepare the fields for their crops—all accomplished in a natural normal way. Civilization may have many advantages—great discoveries have been made, machinery has been invented that does the work of many, many hands. In this modern machine age, a man need only work a couple of hours a day to supply himself with all the food, clothing and shelter that he can possibly use, but

164 proved laboratory by a qualified technician.

164 Their food is natural, simple, unsophisticated, with-
262 out any unnatural, inorganic, synthetic additives whatsoever. There is no fragmentation in the foods they eat. They do not separate any part of the wheat when they make flour, nor do they separate any part of the other grains when using them.

252 Due to necessity they do not cook foods too much, nor do they cook any food that can be eaten and enjoyed without cooking.

Food is a serious, all prevalent problem. The few trees that they have and that they can grow must be protected for food, shade and timber.

However, I must truthfully admit that the reason that the Hunzans do not cook their food is because of the scarcity and inaccessibility to supplies of fuel.

751 Vaccination is not practiced and, as far as I know,
744 is unknown in Hunza. Pasteurization in any form is neither practiced nor known. Chlorination is unheard of. Fluoridation is unheard of. No coloring whatsoever is added to any of their food, not even their butter.

263 Up until recent years the salt used by the people of
439 Hunza came from the Shimshal area, somewhere near where the Shimshal River and the Muztagh join together. This salt is unrefined and used just as it is mined from this mountain area. It obviously contains many natural so-called impurities.

493 The only wheeled vehicles—two jeeps, in fact—are owned and used by the Mir chiefly for bringing in supplies, when road conditions permit. Therefore one must walk for every chore. There is no motorized
377 equipment used in Hunza with the exception of the electric light plant in the Mir's palace. Apart from what
401 I have mentioned here, mechanization of any sort is unknown.

needed animals in the world.

It is clearly and distinctly established that Tibet, for example, could never exist and people could never live in that part of the world if it weren't for the yaks and yaks are native only to that part of the world —yes, wild ones, I mean. That's where they were originally found and tamed. They still roam wild on some of the higher inaccessible elevations and plateaus in that part of the globe.

No one will attempt to deny that our cow is a most useful and practically essential animal. It gives milk from which we make butter, cheese and cream. We use the carcass for meat and the hide for shoes, baseballs and many other articles but, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the cow as it is today actually couldn't look after herself in the northern latitudes and pasture food must be provided.

Well, the yak does everything a cow does. Besides that, it is one of the finest beasts of burden. Then, too, it is the surest-footed animal to be found anywhere. It can, and often does, forage for its own food. It can live off practically nothing. It is suspected that it can find sustenance in a bit of grass or roots or even a bit of coarse, uninviting (to any other animal) herbage.

Like our cow, it takes to domestication readily. Both the Tibetans and the Hunzans use them to work their fields and flail their wheat, barley and other grains. From the wool on its back, belly and head comes the toughest of woven fabrics, from which is made the sturdiest of clothes for the people and tents for their homes. Wherever you see rope in Hunza, you can be sure that it was made from braided or woven yak hair. The hide is used for most everything . . . boots and shoes, of course, and water containers and skin boats, which are the means and mode of transportation across and up and down the dangerous rivers

223 bonfires recklessly consuming grass-cuttings and leaves that would be worth gold in Nímo's home.

511 Burushaski is an amazingly rich language, but it has evolved no word for "litter-lout." Go where you will in lane or courtyard, over field or bare hillside, you will not see an eggshell or a fleck of wool or a nutshell lying about. Hunza must be, bar none, the cleanest and the tidiest spot on earth. If a child is lucky enough to be given a few apricot stones he will crack them on a rock, eat the kernels with gusto, and gather up the shells for mother's fire. Only in a couple of the narrow lanes of the deserted fort did we stumble on a cast-away rag or two. When a homespun cloak has served father for three years' hard work, it will descend to a son, or be handed on to an orphan relation; when it is torn and tattered past repair it is carefully plucked to pieces, washed, beaten, and re-spun to make a girl's cloak, for her work is less strenuous than the boy's, and the re-spun cloak is stout enough for her and quite as warm.

771 Whatever the theoretical tenets of the Maulai (Ismaili) dissenters may be—and of these Professor Ivanow can best speak—the simple Hunzukuts has evolved for himself quite the most practical and admirable modification of Islam that 562 I have ever seen or heard of. He does not veil his womenfolk nor banish them to separate quarters, but treats them as equal partners in field and home. His standard of morals is so high that when a young husband goes abroad, he trusts his young wife to the care of his father and brothers without misgiving. 582 We heard no case of such a trust being abused. He retains his 515 own custom of exogamic marriage between the clans and the normal first-cousin marriage of Islam (though recognized as religiously allowable and occasionally practised by the upper families) savours to the ordinary peasant of incest, and is in fact avoided, though not in principle taboo; he also, as we have noted, preserves his own fastidious and wholesome ideas about sanitation, and keeps his running water scrupulously 793 pure. No archbishops or bishops (whom he would term *pirs*), and no professional priests or *mullas* reside in his territories, for which no doubt he has to thank some tacit concordat between his wise ruler and His Highness the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis.

291 loan of it. In Kanizah's house (No. 3), though they are very, very poor, they are lucky enough to possess a woman's cloak of feather-wool. It looks extremely cosy and furry—though very old and greasy—with feathers sticking out all over it. When you can get enough down you spin the feathers in with the wool [136] before you weave it. You can only use the breast feathers of the wild duck for the purpose, and it must take a lot of wild duck, which are seasonal and rare, to yield enough for seven yards of feather cloth. This cloak of No. 3 is the only one we have seen. So we watch "the cloak" go out for walks—now on Zenába, the cheery old mother, who is one of the few really ugly women here but who always wears a happy grin that would redeem any face, now on Apicho, the eldest unmarried daughter who seems to be always on the point of getting wed but always just failing for some reason to pull it off.

511 We eventually discovered the reason for No. 3's extreme and obvious poverty. Poor Zenába had produced five girls, including a pair of twins, and only one boy, the second youngest child. Yaman (in full Ali Aman Shah) was one of our best boy friends, a bright, intelligent boy full of life and fun and knowledge, and good at all boys' games, but he was only ten or thereabouts, and not yet able to help his father in the heavier work of irrigating, wall building, ploughing, etc., and poor Ali Akbar looked worn and frail with six to provide for single-handed—not to mention the rare extravagance of the cat. Yaman manfully did all he could, and in addition when he could be spared from home trudged four mountain miles to Báltit to attend the school there with the Mir's grandsons and a few other ambitious boys. A great little fellow, with (as far as we could see) a hard enough life before him.

Yet No. 3 was one of the most cheerful and most hospitable houses round.

511 We supposed that Apicho's prospective bridegroom was as
585 poor as she, and when the two families came to tot up the
302 necessary wedding feasts they just couldn't face it. Certainly it had missed fire twice after we had heard that the date was fixed (you can in certain circumstances get from the Mir a special

licence to marry at irregular dates). Meantime no one seemed 511 ●
unduly cast down, and Apicho continued to grow her hair so 585
as to be ready. Sometimes it stuck out all round her head in 302
about a hundred tiny plaits, on other days she had a wonderful, if somewhat shaggy, mane of frizzy hair about 5 inches long. She was a dear.

The small boys and girls have the centre of their heads 302
close shaven (a cleanly and sensible arrangement) with just a neat fringe left all round to show below their caps; married women wear, hanging down beside their faces, two plaits which are knotted up into two balls to be well out of the way. It is a most becoming style of hair-dressing. The plaits softly frame the face and the two balls dance merrily about. When a girl reaches thirteen or fourteen and marriage beings to loom ahead, she starts growing her hair in some variety of bob as a practical preparation for the state of matrimony.

We went off to one of the deep open reservoirs hoping in 296
the good light to get a photograph of the cattle being watered at the usual time. But, alas! the nice bright day must have modified their time-table, for not the ghost of a beast turned up. On the way we saw a pretty young woman whom we knew, doing some washing. She was squatting in the sun on a stone sofa beside a pool which was still covered with thick ice and dipping the clothes in through a hole she had broken for the purpose. She then laid the wet garment on the stone and whacked it with a thick wooden beater. Further on, Najat of No. 1 was washing some tattered pieces of felt, probably to pluck down for shoddy. She had flung them into shallow water and was vigorously trampling them while chunks of ice clattered round her ankles. A hardy folk the Hunzukuts.

As we came back we found a large group of women and 524
children on the main road, and one of the wee girls had a "doll." This consisted simply of one piece of stick with some rags hung round it and two cross sticks for arms which were jointed on and neatly attached to a piece of string so that they waved about when you pulled. They made it "dance" for us with much amusement and laughter, but we could not detach the doll and its owner from the crowd to get a decent photograph.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

zhingát breeds caution, not contempt. As we rode in we saw 487
Ali Ausat at the nicely carved door of his house, rather grubby
but pleased to see us, passed the miserable apology for a [743]
hospital which contrasts ill with the well-built one at Aliábád,
though the two Mirs got the same grant from Government
for the purpose of building them, and on past a fine, large,
shallow pond. On our right was a steep green slope with jolly
poplars and a lot of grass, and then we reached the polo-
ground. Here the Mir came himself to meet us from the
shelter of a roofed summer-house where he had been waiting.
Another mile of almost perpendicular zigzag, which the ponies
could only just manage, brought us to the familiar old polo-
ground (now disused for play), with its lovely double line of
poplars. This peculiarly steep and horrible approach is new,
and the Mir is very proud of it. From the top there is a mag- 644
nificent view with the pond below looking like a lake and the 643
Mir's palace picturesquely perched on a steep hill-face with
fine windows looking out not at any view but straight into
the terraced hillside opposite. Mir Sikandar Khan looked
shrunken and frail compared with ten years ago, but very brisk,
and was apparently able to ride up his new road without a
qualm.

He himself received us most hospitably and kindly, but his [511]
people serve him ill. Immediately on our arrival a shindy broke
out with talk of grass- and fodder-shortage, though grass and
fodder are plentiful in Nagir, and we found the rest-house
dirty and unswept, bathroom and utensils uncared for, and a
general atmosphere of grudging incompetence pervading it.

We dined with the Mir that evening and duly entertained 643
him in return, while I paid a visit to the ladies and met the
numerous little princes and princesses. The Queen of Nagir,
a fine, handsome woman, not a day older than when I had last
seen her eleven years ago, is a sister of Khan Sahib Mir Baz
Khan of Yasin, and I was able to bring her first-hand news of
her brother and his family, in which it is fair to say she did not
seem over-interested. But she is a gracious motherly woman,
and very intelligent—she even followed my Burushaski (Hunza
variety) with ease. The brightest moments of my call were

105 where. They use water to turn the mill that grinds
[376] their bread and that is primitive. But many thousands of people throughout the world would say that it is the right way. The adroitness and the ability of the Hunzan men would match that of any people in the Western world.

I cannot say that I found anything about them that was primitive. Further, they can choose the modern way of life if they so desire it. But the only people who seek it are those who are forced to leave Hunza because of the shortage of actual living room.

• 511 *Poverty stricken*—One writer referred to them as being poverty stricken. If the beast of the fields and forests and the birds of the air are poverty stricken, then I guess we would have to admit that the people of Hunza are poverty stricken as well. If you want to feel sorry for birds, because they have to seek shelter in their unheated nests high up in the trees, where the winds blow around them, and because they do not have oil heating for their nests or motors for their wings as a sign of poverty, then I will be forced to agree with you.

As long as the people of Hunza are free, have a bit of land to till and a house of their own that is not mortgaged or tax-ridden and are in good health and attain long life, I definitely cannot accede that they are poverty stricken.

142 *Fair complexioned*—Now and then some author refers to them as being fair complexioned. I did not see one fair complexioned person in all of Hunza. Perhaps
[144] the writers meant to say that they were Caucasians, which is true, as compared to Orientals or Negroes. They are not a fair people any more than the Spaniards, Italians or Greeks are fair complexioned peoples.

805 *Precise, exacting*—An occasional writer sought to

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

795 nearly as lax in their Mahomedanism as the people of Hunza. There is considerably more cultivation
241 than in Hunza, the land is better watered, and the main slopes of the mountains enclosing the country face north, and are consequently covered with forest. The land has the full benefit of the summer sun, and
[135] the crops are splendid. The untold profusion of the apricots, and the quantity of gold which can be washed out of every stream, has gained the country amongst the Nagaris themselves the name of
144 "the land of gold and apricots." The people, though
721 of identically the same stock as those of Hunza, show
511 marked differences. They are less warlike than their
567 neighbours; they were never implicated in the raiding of caravans, owing principally perhaps to there being no outlet to the north or east leading to caravan tracks; they are, on the whole, better off, owing to the better agricultural conditions, and the possession of splendid grazing grounds; and last, but not least, slavery is unknown amongst them — that is, they would not brook their king selling them or their children, and the exile of the present ruler's eldest son is said to have been caused by his attempt to
181 introduce the custom from Hunza. The men are not
829 so bright and cheery as their Hunza cousins; they strike one as more sedate and morose, and their reputation for dash and gallantry is far lower. The reason they themselves assign for the difference, and the one generally accepted, is that in the winter, when the sun is in the south, the great mountains backing their valley shut out all the light and warmth, of which Hunza facing south enjoys the full benefit, and that the depressing effect of passing day after day in the cold and dark-

boulders, and gaunt tree-skeletons amidst which the cubes of 132
stone-and-mud houses were indistinguishable save for the thin spiral of blue smoke that rose from their flat roofs at feeding time.

We were able to work on indoors, for informants were glad enough to come and sit by our fire and tell all they knew about any question asked, but we sorely missed the cheering chance encounters, the casual wayside chats that normally brightened our walks.

Indoors during the Great Cold the family is merry and happy 512
enough. The recurrent tiny fire, whose ashes never quite grow 861
cold and which is stirred into life at baking time, reinforced 538
by human heat and not squandered by wanton draughts, keeps sufficient warmth alive for comfort, and the weeks of enforced leisure from outdoor work are thoroughly enjoyed. The women spin and sew and bake and tend the babies; the men mend and make their various implements; the children eagerly demand the right to help in every job for which they are ripe, while the old people come into their own and entertain the company by telling tales of every kind; not only nor even mainly tales of heroes and of kings, of raiding chiefs and bandit exploits from the good old days before the Serkár brought peace and security at the cost of adventure, nor folklore yarns borrowed from other times and climes—though they have good store of these; but the history of their country and its clans and anecdotes of every day. In this homely school the Hunza child learns all that it needs to know, the elements of ethics, morals, and religion, the accepted codes of decent behaviour, and all the accumulated wisdom of the land.

The Hunzukuts have no artistic gift of story-telling, and no 538
professional story-tellers; they have no oral literature to match the Sagas of the North or the Persian wealth of the Thousand and One Nights, but they can tell a straightforward story simply and well and with considerable humour, and the phrases in which their yarns are couched have become sanctified and semi-stereotyped by frequent repetition. Some of these DL had recorded in 1923–24, and they were already in print when we returned to Hunza ten years later. We were surprised and

evening meal, watch TV and then to bed.

While this may all sound very good and very logical and fit into what we believe is a pattern, the average day is really unlike what I have described here for either the city dweller or the farmer. The truth of the matter is that, as I said at the start, no two days are entirely alike.

The day of the week plays an important role. The weather contributes its variation. Then we all know full well that not even a minute is predictable. So how could anyone expect to give a clear-cut résumé of what any person's day consists?

That is somewhat the way I felt when I set out to outline what a day would be like as lived by the average citizen of Hunza. The only thing that I can hope to set out is a pattern. It may have a few or even hundreds of variations but at least the general pattern will be clear. So here is what I believe to be the procedure of one day—an ordinary day—in the life of a Hunzan.

The people of Hunza are Mohammedans of the Ismaili sect. They are in no way fanatical. In fact, the Ismaili are probably the least religious of all Mohammedans. The call to prayer is at 3:30 in the morning. Only the more pious and devout attend the service at the mosque.

A good true religious Mohammedan prays 5 times a day and on each occasion the prayer will last up to one hour, but through my entire travels through both Nagir and Hunza I saw very few instances where they took time off to pray during the day except on religious holidays or festivals. But, as I mentioned, prayer starts at 3:30 A.M. and I didn't have occasion to see them in action. Those who are devout usually pray from 3:30 to 4:30 and then go have their breakfast and so to the fields.

512 262 264 The breakfast, most meager by our standards, consists of a bowl of fresh or boiled apricots with chapatties. This is sufficient to keep the family working in the fields or doing other household and farm chores until 10 o'clock.

Then lunch is served and it is made up of fresh or boiled vegetables, dried apricots and chapatties. The men get two chapatties for this meal, whereas the women and children are restricted to one chapatty. Then off again to their duties—invariably on the land.

The midday meal is usually taken between 1 and 2 o'clock and in the summer this would mean, during the hottest part of the day. For this meal dried apricots, rubbed with the hands in water to form a soup, constitute the main course. A bowl or cupful of this gruel is drunk. This is the procedure during the months when fresh apricots from the trees are not available. During the period from late spring until autumn, fresh apricots are always available and these are used instead of the dried ones.

The dinner hour usually reigns from 5 to 7 o'clock. For this meal more food than for the other meals is used and consumed. Vegetables, either or both boiled and raw, are eaten along with any one of the fruits like plums, peaches, pears, apples or apricots—then always chapatties.

If I haven't made it clear before, chapatties are the bread that is used almost exclusively throughout Pakistan and India. These are flat unleavened sheets of bread made from whole wheat—stone ground. They are the Indian "staff of life."

252 262 Cooking and preparation of meals as we know it in the average home in America is definitely not part of the Hunzan way of life. Whereas in our way of life most foods are prepared by boiling, frying, baking,

461 done and he turns on his television set, he is bombarded with commercials that seek to hypnotize his brain by making him believe he needs those products, when in reality he needs them like a hole in the head? Can a man know the meaning of true leisure when his head is throbbing with the bills he must meet on the morrow, the food he must buy and the clothing he must procure for his family, for which in many cases ready money is not available? Can a man who is harassed by and has pressing about him a hundred problems that must be reckoned with, find leisure or peace by escaping to the country for a weekend or by taking to drink?

Of course not! True relaxation and leisure are as far away from him as the moon!

Therefore, when I say that the people of Hunza know and enjoy the true thrill of leisure, I mean every word of it sincerely. While they rise at 3.30 or 4 o'clock [512] in the morning, they go to bed between 7 and 8, and in the winter time even earlier, if there is no celebration or dancing in the village. They are without doubt the most industrious people that I have met—especially in the East. Laziness is positively foreign to Hunza!

[481] Wherever I went I noticed that the Hunzans had ample time to talk and chat, and seldom did they appear to be in a hurry although whenever they walked, their walk was brisk—much more so than the average Western gait. In fact, this is one of their most recognizable and admired traits.

571 Lest anyone should get the impression that life in Hunza is dull, let me clearly emphasize that there is great fellowship between families and the selfsame group-gathering that we know of in our way of life is also practiced and followed by the people of Hunza. [796] Further, religious gatherings are quite frequent and play an important role in the social life of the people.

352 Hunzans have charpoys. Most homes have a chest, or two or three or more, in which they store and keep their belongings. The chests are used to sit on and perhaps eat off. The Hunzan home we visited had a table also.

513 286 Every Hunzan home has blankets for covering during the winter and these blankets are made of homespun wool which is carded, loomed and woven by the villagers. They are equal in weight and warmth to the best blankets that are made in the West. There is no danger of the blankets not being 100 per cent wool, because wool they can get from the sheep or yak's backs.

342 Practically every Hunzan home has an upstairs, too, and this is where the family lives during the summer. It is related that each spring on the 21st of March the family moves upstairs. When there are 4 or 5 members in the family the upstairs is usually divided into two sections or rooms, leaving an open balcony in the center.

342 512 The usual Hunzan home is a place to shelter the family against storms, rain, cold and snow. It is not used nearly as much for social intercourse as it is in the West. Therefore, they don't spend as much of their time in the homes. Practically all daylight hours during spring, summer and fall are spent in the fields.

164 Some authorities attribute the good health of the Hunzans to the fact that most of their time is spent out in the open air and sunlight. Could it be that we in the West spend too much of our time inside our comfortable homes and not sufficient outside in the glorious outdoors? This is something worthy of thought and study.

Considering the heights, the ledges, the precipices and steep inclines that are found throughout this country, it is remarkable that there are few cases of injury like broken or fractured limbs, serious accidents due to falling and such. But you must remember that from infancy, children are trained and learn how to

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

[17] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet
513 long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
354 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that
324 of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a
322 lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
563 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Béricho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
342 for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

342 it, exactly over the main store-room below. There is no parapet, only a tiny raised rim to direct the rain into a small gutter-hole, on the rare occasions when there is rain; but it has a fringe of cut thorn bushes arranged round the edge to prevent an enterprising goat jumping across from the next-
351 door roof not many feet away. I didn't, however, go up on to
296 the roof, but on into a larger courtyard where there was a pool in the corner at which their washing is done. They would not dream of polluting the running water by washing themselves or their clothes in it as it flows by; they draw off what they want for these purposes into a separate pond of their own.
351 Then under a large shady tree there was a raised stone plat-
● 513 form which acts as a "sofa" by day and as a double or treble or quadruple bed by night—for, except in the depth of winter, nobody sleeps indoors. There was another raised platform, with a wall at the back and open in front and sides, roofed in for another sleeping place. It had a railing along under the roof, and over this were hung all sorts of padded quilts, homespun
[136] blankets, sheepskins, etc.—the family bedding. All the bedding is taken out and hung up every day, which helps to account for the complete lack of vermin—which I confess came to us as a happy surprise. In all our year in Hunza we saw only *one* flea, and that, as David said, was emphatically our own!

245 Round the corner from these sleeping places I got into a
312 walled-in shady garden full of fruit trees—apples, mulberries, peaches, apricots, and vines. It is incredible how luxurious mere *shade* is at such a temperature. It wasn't remotely like a garden in our sense. The earth was bare without one blade of grass or green, and was all cut up into little beds round each precious tree, with banks between them, so that the water could be directed to each tree as desired, when it was No. 1's
514 turn to have water at all. In the far corner of the garden was
343 a neat little circular "open-air pulpit." We had seen these pulpits dotted about, but—stupidly—did not at once guess what they were for. Coming straight from Kashmir, where the approach to each homestead is ankle deep in filth, or remembering Arab habits in Iráq, we never expected that we should find in Hunza a people as scrupulously decent as ourselves in

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

As you enter, you turn your eyes left and with your free 342
right hand salute the master of the house and wish him peace. [576]
You will find him seated on a spacious dais raised well above 352
the earthen floor and comfortably carpeted with goats' hair
rugs of his own weaving, or it may be with felt carpets from
Kashgar. The left-hand wall of the dark passage through which
you have entered screens the end of this recessed dais, and is
lined with a capacious cupboard reaching to the ceiling. At
the head of the dais is a gigantic wooden bin, divided into
chambers each with its separate lid, in which the various kinds
of flour are stored as they are ground for use: barley, wheat,
millets, and buckwheats. The dais itself is 6 or 7 feet wide
and 10 or 12 feet long, the men's sitting place by day and the
major sleeping bench by night. Each person has his own set of 352
bedding—padded quilts or homespun blankets—in which he 513
rolls himself like a sausage. The sleepers lie crosswise on the
bench, which is wide enough to let them stretch full length,
and when neatly packed for the night eight or ten can be com-
fortably accommodated. On the opposite side of the room is 352
the minor bench, equally roomy, but an inch or two less
raised, which is the women's sitting place by day, and at night
the sleeping bench for women and children. It also has a built-
up cupboard at the foot, and at the head, corresponding to the
large flour bin, the housewife's spacious "yeast-cupboard" in
which she keeps her kneading trough and rolling-pin, her
cooking-pots and what not. Its door is at her left hand as she
sits on her cross-bench, and the top of it serves as general
shelf, table, and "dresser." A more admirable scheme of 342
architecture, better suited to the family's needs, would be 352
difficult to devise. The complete absence of windows gives a
sense of security and cosiness; the complete absence of sense-
less "furniture" gives a delightful feeling of space and peace
and leisure, and makes you want to go home and make a
bonfire of your tables and chairs. How much more we have
lost than gained by learning to sit on chairs and losing the
pliability of joint that makes squatting natural. How much
unnecessary domestic slavery goes to our "housework." Every 356
morning the Hunza women take the family rugs and bedding

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the 585
smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. 585
In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's 586
mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will.

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people 591
take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all.

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she 843
quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their 833
sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and 513
not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A 853
husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears 842
to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to 163
exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of

I don't think I was struck by any unpleasant or bad odors. No doubt you would assume that being a farmer, the excrement of animals wouldn't offend me and in saying that you'd be very, very right, but even with a city man's view, I don't think you would have found the Hunzan barnyards smelly or dirty. 356

The roof of the living quarters is just high enough so that a tall man can stand up in it without bumping his head. The Hunzan roofs usually have heavy timbers strung across—at least 3 inches thick and placed about 12 inches apart. They have to be that thick and heavy because on top of this is laid earth. Practically every home has an earthen roof. The floor, too, is of hard earth that has been pounded through years of use, until it is a good sound firm floor that can be readily swept and kept clean. 342

Apart from the Mir's palace, every other home that I visited in Hunza and in Nagir had earthen floors. Now naturally one wouldn't expect an earthen floor to be spic and span or shine and glisten the way a good hardwood floor can be made to shine and glisten. These earthen or clay floors can be made smooth and even be polished, and it is actually done.

Often the room is divided off to allow for a storage room, where the dried apricot stones and other fruits and vegetables are kept for winter use. [251]

In the center of the room a hole is dug and often stones are laid at the bottom. Here the fire is laid and this is how they keep warm during the winter and where they do their cooking. Above is a hole about 18 inches square to allow the smoke to escape. The people sleep on the floor within warming distance of the fire. Beds in the average Hunzan homes are unknown, but they have bed rolls or other cloth contraptions to make the floor softer. Some of the wealthier or well-to-do [354] 513 352 352

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514 matters of sanitation. The lower chamber of their little
343 pulpits is closed with one large slab, which makes them easy to clean; the upper is well supplied with nice clean sand, and has a small hole in the floor. The entrance opening to the upper part is narrow, and anyone inside is completely hidden; even so we never saw man, woman, or child disappear into one. The most prudish maiden aunt would never need to blush as she would in the streets of Paris or by the creeks of Basrah; and whatever Islám may recommend, the Hunzukuts does not dream of allowing his running water or his drinking tanks to be fouled by man or beast.

The pulpits must be regularly and frequently cleaned out, for, though they often stand beside the path, you never get a whiff from them to suggest their necessary purpose, yet I have never seen one being emptied; that also is a job they evidently prefer to do in the privacy of darkness.

252 A red felt carpet was quickly brought and spread for me, and soon the entire family was sitting round, making conversation. I went back another day soon after, also by invitation, and was allowed to watch Bibi Gímo cook the greens and bread for the mid-day meal. In the summer they cook in the open, in the garden or on the roof, which often has a roofed verandah or even a lightly enclosed upper room added on in front of the upper store-room. She had a little hearth of big stones to hold her tiny fire, and over it sat the big stone cooking pot of vegetables. In olden days the bread was cooked on hot stones, but nowadays everyone has a convex iron griddle which can rest either on the stones or on a tiny iron trivet. They have a neat, shallow wooden tray in which they knead their flour, adding a little water till it has become a flaky dough. Then they take the lid and on that roll out small lumps of the dough with the most ridiculous-looking toy rolling-pin hardly half an inch in diameter. They roll the dough into thin, thin pancakes, lift these with a wooden spatula on to the griddle, and turn them with a skilful twitch. Each takes only a second or so to cook, and is then twitched off on to a big
264 flat wicket platter till there is a sufficient pile. When mealtime comes the family gather round, squatting just anywhere that

242 either there or anywhere else. Obviously it is placed directly on the fields or at least at definite short intervals.

Here the Hunzan system again showed some notable difference from the method practiced in the West. Practically all farmers in the West allow their manure to accumulate in piles or actually stack it in that manner. It is usually left there from one season to another at least and often longer. I've heard them refer to the older manure piles as well cured ones. I've always bemoaned this fact—yes, back as much as 20 years ago—because with every rain and with the snows in the winter, potent, rich, nutrient-ladened juices flowed off into the streams from my land and other lands. No one can deny that a fair part of the value of the manure is leached away forever.

In Hunza it is spread regularly on the land, between crops in the spring and summer. I distinctly saw many farms on which the manure had been distributed being plowed in. This is never done, to my knowledge, in the West. Therefore the Hunzan farmer does not lose any of his valuable, natural manures by leaching.

242 514 Because there is such a scarcity of organic materials, it is obvious that excrement must be used to the fullest extent. I looked, I gazed, I searched, I peered but nowhere did I see a sign of any human excrement being accumulated, saved or being used on the Hunzan farms. This mystified me.

In practically all parts of India and in some parts of Pakistan and perhaps in other Eastern countries, it is customary for the citizenry to stoop at the curb, right out in the middle of the street or sometimes beside a bush or planting of shrubs, and right there and then evacuate water or feces. No, this is not an exaggeration or a fairy tale, but the simple, unadulterated truth that is seldom told.

That people avoid discussing this unpleasant topic is understandable; yet, by doing so, you and others who have no opportunity of visiting these areas are often given an incorrect picture. Whereas, in Pakistan and India, this unpleasant business took place practically everywhere, it was with a genuine feeling of relief and thankfulness that I found in Hunza it is positively never practiced—at least, I never saw even a sign of any such thing taking place—but evidently human excrement is used there. It is buried and eventually finds its way to the fields. 242 514

It took quite a search to track down the ways and means and methods of using this night-soil. I know that it is used extensively in the East and for that matter, it is also used in Mexico and perhaps in other parts of the Western world. There is no reason why it shouldn't be used if proper methods of curing or mellowing are followed. After all is said and done, our septic tanks are only putting a natural principle to work, but the shame of it is that in most cases it is entirely wasted.

The most common method of using night-soil in Hunza was to place it in a deeply (as deep as the rocky terrain of Hunza would allow) dug pit, which was carefully kept covered, and eventually, a year or two later, it was distributed over the fields.

Harvesting a crop of grain in Hunza is very much unlike our Western methods. They do not cut their grain but each wheat plant, or other grain, is pulled out individually, root and all, by hand. Then it is laid in neat bundles on the ground. When the harvesting or grain pulling process is complete, the roots are separated from the stalks by being cut or chopped off in bundles. 243

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

sufficiently severe. Happily winter is short, two or three months at most, and for the rest of the year day and night are spent mainly out of doors. 372 132

The social culture of the Burusho of Hunza is as high as their material culture is primitive. Three centuries of Islam—they are now Ismaili heretics, having been Shiahs until three or four generations ago—have not induced them to veil or despise their indomitable women, nor to abandon the wholesome tradition of exogamy between their different clans in favour of first-cousin marriage. They are freer from superstition and fanaticism than any people east or west of whom I have heard or read. Whatever be the esoteric teaching of the Ismailis of which Professor Ivanov might tell, it concerns the Hunza peasant as little as the homoousian controversy disturbs the mind of the British schoolboy. He goes his way in cheerful confidence that hard work, fair dealing, kindly affection and generosity must be as well pleasing to God the Merciful, the Compassionate, as ritual prayer or ceremonial fast, and his dreams are not broken by over-anxious fear of Hell or hope of Heaven. 771 [582] 783

The fastidiousness and personal cleanliness of the Hunza peasant are remarkable. Close packed amongst the crowd at festivals or sitting on the threshing floor amongst the workers, or entertained in their hospitable houses, we were never distressed by human exhalations or molested by parasites. The drinking water is guarded with scrupulous care from pollution by man or beast. Men and women cooperate without embarrassment or restraint and no work is taboo for either sex, though for obvious reasons the heavier jobs of wall-building, irrigation and ploughing fall more naturally to the man, and the care of infants to the woman. But as soon as the father is allowed to handle his child, he will carry the baby proudly and tenderly out for its first airings, while boys and girls alike play with and watch over the toddlers. 516 271 462 593

Again and again, in face of the high morality and unquenchable spirit of the Hunzukuts, we were ashamed to think of what in our vaunted civilization 'man has made of man'. 000

223 bonfires recklessly consuming grass-cuttings and leaves that would be worth gold in Nímo's home.

511 Burushaski is an amazingly rich language, but it has evolved no word for "litter-lout." Go where you will in lane or courtyard, over field or bare hillside, you will not see an eggshell or a fleck of wool or a nutshell lying about. Hunza must be, bar none, the cleanest and the tidiest spot on earth. If a child is lucky enough to be given a few apricot stones he will crack them on a rock, eat the kernels with gusto, and gather up the shells for mother's fire. Only in a couple of the narrow lanes of the deserted fort did we stumble on a cast-away rag or two. When a homespun cloak has served father for three years' hard work, it will descend to a son, or be handed on to an orphan relation; when it is torn and tattered past repair it is carefully plucked to pieces, washed, beaten, and re-spun to make a girl's cloak, for her work is less strenuous than the boy's, and the re-spun cloak is stout enough for her and quite as warm.

771 Whatever the theoretical tenets of the Maulai (Ismaili) dissenters may be—and of these Professor Ivanow can best speak—the simple Hunzukuts has evolved for himself quite the most practical and admirable modification of Islam that 562 I have ever seen or heard of. He does not veil his womenfolk nor banish them to separate quarters, but treats them as equal partners in field and home. His standard of morals is so high that when a young husband goes abroad, he trusts his young wife to the care of his father and brothers without misgiving. 582 We heard no case of such a trust being abused. He retains his 515 own custom of exogamic marriage between the clans and the normal first-cousin marriage of Islam (though recognized as religiously allowable and occasionally practised by the upper families) savours to the ordinary peasant of incest, and is in fact avoided, though not in principle taboo; he also, as we have noted, preserves his own fastidious and wholesome ideas about sanitation, and keeps his running water scrupulously 793 pure. No archbishops or bishops (whom he would term *pirs*), and no professional priests or *mullas* reside in his territories, for which no doubt he has to thank some tacit concordat between his wise ruler and His Highness the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis.

123 managed to peer into a few of the places and noticed
356 that they weren't as spic and span as some people say they are. In fact, we were taken through one home on a tour. We visited their downstairs apartment and then climbed the ladder to visit the upstairs one. I will admit and am in complete agreement with the other writers, that the place was scrupulously clean, swept and neat.

But—and this is important, so follow me—I had stuck my head and eyes into that selfsame home the day before, probably unknown to my guide, and had seen the condition that this same house was in then. While it was not filthy, nor could I even say dirty, it certainly was not in the same immaculate condition that it was in now, since this time the people were advised that we were coming.

[515] So let it be said and accepted that the Hunzans are much cleaner than the Nagirwals and are generally, by and large, a clean, wholesome people, both in body and in home.

000 I have long ago accepted the clear-cut situation that hygiene and cleanliness are strictly matters of habit, custom and necessity and these factors vary from country to country. For example, the standard of cleanliness in Switzerland is quite different to that of neighboring France. And in Italy, especially in the southern part, it bears no resemblance to that practiced in either France or Switzerland. Then in England the standard changes again and when you get to America, well, there again it is so different that one would believe it was a different world.

356 Undoubtedly, the people of Hunza in their hygienic habits are far above those of India or Pakistan. I am here referring to the mass level, of course. Then, too, the Hunzan habits were far better than those in Italy.

000 from it the organic method of land use.

262 From what I have seen, I have deduced the fact that the people of Hunza use less fat of any kind than most people found throughout the world. Some nations may lack animal fats, but make it up by fats found in [133] fish. The people of Hunza have very little animal fat and no fish, for there are few lakes in the area and the only fish that are found in the streams are those that were placed there, in an attempt to stock the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers and some of the nullahs.

They do get some fat from the butter that is made from the milk of the goats, sheep and a few cows and yaks. They also get a bit of fat from their walnuts and the kernels of the apricot seeds, neither of which can be considered to be high in fat content.

Lest you think that this lack of fat would have some effect on the people, let me stress that there are no more energetic people found in the world and they are continually active.

251 As soon as fall sets in and the harvest is completed, they carefully select and store and prepare their winter's larder. Then they divide and apportion all of their foods so they will last them throughout the winter.

262 An important addition to their winter diet is a gruel or a soup that they make from the various grains and this is eaten with their chapatties.

•515 164 Dentifrices or toothpastes or powders of any kind are not used in Hunza. Yet the people have unusually fine teeth. False teeth, plates or dentures are unknown. So even at the expense of antagonizing the toothbrush and toothpaste people, it would appear that these implements and concoctions do not create good healthy teeth.

* * * * *

000 I have debated within myself whether or not I should

Chapter 18

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

SUMMER is a breathless time in the Hunza fields. No sooner 243
does the ripening grain show a fine "fox-brown" than a line 516 ●
of five or six men and women attack it in unison. They do 592
not "reap" in our sense of the word. They squat in that inimitably convenient way that the East has preserved for working—no backs bent with stooping, no knees worn out with kneeling—and grasp a full handful of the ripe stalks and pull up roots and all; first right, then left; clap the two together to shake off the all-too-valuable earth; lay the bundle behind them; shuffle on a pace and repeat. The fields are small and in an incredibly short space of time a golden field is prostrate and the ground carpeted with neatly aligned rows of swathes. It is beautiful to see a party at work: father and mother, daughters, sons, and wives; they space themselves and keep their line as exactly as soldiers on parade, yet each works individually, each at his own pace and in his own way—without haste and without pause. They possess rude iron sickles, but 412
when these are used at all they are not used to *cut*, but merely to pull against, if the crop is more than usually deep-rooted.

When the *shandiming* (cut crops) have lain a little and been 243
turned over once or twice they are tied into sheaves and 482
gathered into piles, some as big as a man can carry, others smaller to suit a boy—according to the "man-power" available. A double goat's hair rope is slipped round the waist of the pile and ingeniously knotted so as to leave two shoulder loops. The man or boy flings himself down backwards on to it, slips his arms through the loops and hitches the rope fast. Then some kindly bystander gives a touch to the load from behind,

zan. And it wasn't because I was smart. There obviously was a distinct difference and anyone could pick out a Hunzan from a Nagirwal or any of the other citizens thereabout. 124

Much has been said about the walking habits of the people of Hunza . . . the long distances, the climbs, their endurance and their sprightly gait. I have had little experience with their endurance, but of their gait I can speak with some degree of authority. They have the lightest, easiest walk or pace that I have seen anywhere in my life. They seem to glide or spring effortlessly. If any people on the face of the earth have learned to walk without wasting any energy, I believe the people of Hunza have learned that secret. That's the only way I can account for our guides, for example, being in exactly the same condition when they finished their day's travel as when they started. I fully realize that they are accustomed to doing this. On occasions at home I have walked 12 miles at one march—and enjoyed it—but I was tired and mighty glad to take a good rest when I reached my goal. 481 [147]

I cannot recall one occasion where I saw a Hunzan resting after a walk. I practically retraced every foot of my journey back and forth and also the side excursions, but I couldn't find one occasion on which the Hunzan men had to rest. They not only seemed, but actually were, totally imperturbable, nonchalant and at ease wherever they went. Their stride was livelier and lighter than anything I have ever seen. [147]

Furthermore they never slouched, whether walking, standing or sitting. No matter where you saw them, they held their heads erect and chests out. [516]

Now this is not an afterthought because I began my search and observations the moment I left Gilgit. They didn't walk—they seemed to float! I wish I knew their

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.42-A]

FAMILY LIFE on Hunza's flat roofs bespeaks the country's dry climate and the cramped quarters that prevail inside a typical stone abode, forcing inhabitants to seek increased living space in the open. A meal is being prepared, *above*.

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8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.43-B]

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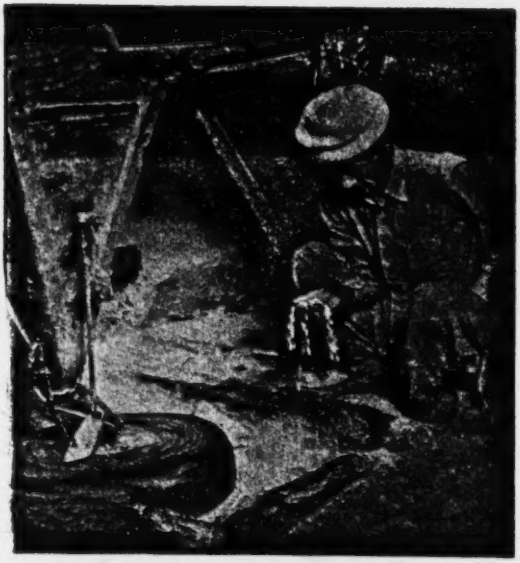

GRINDING of barley and wheat, *above*, is done by centuries-old technique.

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CHAPATTIES are the end product of the country's milling and baking.

The dancers follow the music and keep time with it. 535
The onlookers, in many cases, keep rhythm with their feet. The dancing and music go on until most of the spectators and the participants eventually leave.

One of their most useful instruments is known as a 534
sitar. It is a wooden stringed instrument very much like our mandolin. Then there is the rebab. It is a much larger stringed instrument and is evidently identical with the Indian's rebab. Then they have their wind instruments, too. The first is the surnai. It is a big clarinet with an unusual, remarkable intensity of sound. Another unusual instrument is the tutek which is but a simple small wooden flute. The third type of wind instrument is the gabi which is a very long transverse flute. Its special use is in plays or music that includes fairies and is used chiefly for the fairies' incantation. Its music is exceedingly sweet sounding and very high pitched. And last but not least are the many kinds of drums. They come in all sizes from tiny ones that can be worn around the neck by a young boy to the big bass boom-boom.

Like all oriental forms of music, the Hunzan band 533
seems to capture the true style so well known to the East . . . pleasing, high pitched sounds but with very little variation. After a little while all of the sounds seem the same and appear to be one repetition after another—most monotonous!

During the summer there is not much social life in 517
the evenings because the people are tired. They work hard all day. But in the winter there is regular dancing and meetings with friends.

I would gather that the people of Hunza don't need 526
sports too badly because life and living in Hunza compels the individual to be active. Thus, he doesn't have to indulge in sports to get exercise.

114 585 "I said it as a joke," replied the Mir. "I had no knowledge that it would be so widely publicized and written and taken as a fact. I did not mean to mislead the writers you mentioned."

"Then it is not true!"

"No," replied the Mir, "I meant it only as a joke!"

643 115 522 There was no doubt in my mind that the Mir had a keen sense of humor. In fact, through all my talks and discussions with the Mir which were frequent, there was seldom a time when he would pass by an opportunity for a bit of witticism or to laugh and have a bit of fun. He was just about as pleasant a man as could be found anywhere. He was not only a great ruler but he had a sense of humor. It was too bad that the writers referred to took him seriously. Maybe it was one of their bad days.

249 "Do you grow poppies here?" I asked the Mir bluntly and more or less out of the clear blue sky. I put this question to the Mir for a most definite reason.

On a few occasions I saw what I believed to be a field of flowers waving in the distance. But I wasn't sure. Invariably these patches of color were a mile or many miles away. I wondered what they were but I never could get close enough to see them. They were always sighted at great distance from where the road lay.

[123] You might ask why I didn't definitely, once and for all, set out across the field and find out. But remember, when you're in a more or less strange unusual territory, you just don't go off across the fields into someone else's private property.

All told, I doubt if I saw more than half a dozen of these patches of color during the full length of my travels. There might have been many more but I certainly didn't see them and I have an idea that if they

There were two dear little girls, Shamúli and 524
Banu, about six and four, who played with me and let me 177
tickle them with straws and play "One little pig went to market . . ." with their dusty little toes. This game proved such a success that I roughly translated it into "One little sheep went to drink. . . ." They would never have seen a pig, and if they had they *ought* to think it unclean, so I thought a lamb was safer. My first version gave one little lamb bread to eat, "bread" being a general word for "food." This caused great laughter: "Lambs wouldn't like bread, Mother dear." "Well, what do you think they'd like best?" "Oh, grass or leaves." "One little lamb had grass to eat and one little lamb had none." Thus amended, my little rhyme was approved, and other youngsters turned up to play "little lambs" till the game grew so popular that whenever I sat down on anyone's threshing-floor baby feet would be stretched out towards me: "One little lamb, Mother . . ." till I got quite tired of ". . . baa, baa, baa, all the way home," but it never palled on them. Centuries hence, when we shall have long been sleeping in the Garden of Rest at Golders Green, some anthropologist will come along and wonder what process of "diffusion" took "one little pig" to Hunza, or whether Hunza spontaneously generated the jingle for itself.

My pencil and little notebook were a great source of amuse- 124
ment, and the youngsters would crowd round: "Have you put 476
my name in? I'm Shamúli." "So you are; but whose Shamúli are you? I've got two Shamúlis already. Who's your Daddy? How many brothers have you got; how many sisters, are they bigger or smaller, what are *their* names? And which house is yours?" Thus gradually I got to know most of our immediate neighbours, but it was no easy matter to sort the families out, for groups would gather on each other's threshing-floors, and anyone whose own immediate work was done would join in to help the workers. I finally gave numbers of my own to all the nearest houses, and tried bit by bit to plot out the various relationships.

Meantime the threshing went steadily on, and I noticed that 243
the driver carried always a flat bowl shoulder high in her left 237
hand. "Now what's that for?" asked I. "Why, that's the dung-

Chapter 19

HARVEST THANKSGIVING

THERE are a couple of minor items of the autumn harvest I have omitted to mention. In Aliabad, the widest and most gently sloping bay of the Hunza mountain side, there is for one short stretch of perhaps a mile a patch of ground above the level of possible fields before the steep cliff face begins. Through and above this run the third and fourth of our horizontal watercourses, offshoots from the Berber Channel that waters the higher levels of Baltit and derives also from the great glacier of the Ulter Ber, but takes off much higher up than the Dala. Sufficient water can occasionally be spared from these two channels (which in the main are needed to irrigate high-lying "gardens" of trees) to flood these rocky slopes, which then bring forth that rarest of Hunza products, natural grass. These *toqs*, as they are called, are divided into strips by loose stone walls and used as grazing grounds by whoever leases them. Two or even four families often combine to share a *toq*, and on your walks you will find children of various sizes in charge of a few animals; a small girl may be sitting gravely alone practising embroidery stitches on a strip of calico, a boy may be twisting the string of horse-gut for his catapult bow, a group may be romping together or playing a game like rounders with a home-spun cap for ball, or "horses" where half the players are mounted on the others' backs and the pairs charge each other to a fall, and any rider thrown becomes in turn a horse. When these livelier games begin to pall, a couple will withdraw to the edge of the little channel and scratch a draught-board on a level patch of ground and play with pebbles white and grey as men. The board is formed of triangles whose

524 apexes (apices? no, no!) are the "squares" and any man can move and take in any direction. It requires quite as much skill and provides quite as much fun as draughts played in our way. There are half a dozen other games of the sort, roughly variants of "marbles," all played with pebbles and governed by complicated rules which we only partially mastered.

857 We used to watch Nimo, of No. 7, a jolly, bright-eyed mite of eight or nine, pass our window every morning about half-past six, sturdily carrying an empty shoulder basket as she herded her two or three small cows off to the *toq*; sometimes she was taking charge of a small brother or sister as well. Just before nightfall, after a whole summer day on the mountain side, she would return, driving her animals and stooping 237 slightly under her load. One evening in the very early days I 857 stopped her to ask *whose* Nimo she was (their names duplicate 241 each other like our Joans, Anns, and Dorises), and "What have you got in your basket there?" With courteous surprise at being asked a question to which there could be only one answer: "Why, to-day's cow-dung." Sure enough I soon discovered that every little cowherd conscientiously gathers every scrap of the cow's daily output and brings it home to the manure store in the barn—there are no untidy outdoor middens to spoil the landscape or defile the air.

Another day we met Khano of No. 3, one of our first boy-friends, breathlessly chivvying a cow uphill to a spot where he had safely dumped his baby sister Guláb, in charge of his basket. "Hullo, did she run away from you?" "She did, the villain, but I've got her back, and look, Mother, I've lost nothing," he said, as he proudly displayed the contents of his looped-up cloak. He threw his treasure into the basket and resumed his attentions to Guláb, while the cow resigned herself to orthodox grazing. He was playing with the little girl, patiently coaxing her to totter a step or two and flop into his waiting arms, and throwing up little stones for her to catch.

857 The tenderness of the bigger children to the babies is a [593] beautiful thing to watch. I never saw boy or girl out of temper with a baby brother, sister, or cousin, or resentful of having one in charge. When the bigger ones are busy in some momen-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

up and up amongst the stones till they look like mites in a cheese. What they find to eat is a mystery, for there is not one visible blade of grass and not one inch of thorn. But they "feed" there all day with the boys in the offing to see that they do not stray too far.

The Hunza sheep have prudently established the tradition that they cannot climb so high without breaking their legs, so they stay farther down where there is a small amount of very scanty grass (a home sheep would not recognize it as such) and an occasional dead leaf to gorge on.

Khano pointed out the "lizards' apricots"; patches of yellow, green, grey, and white lichen, which he says the lizards live on. He showed us the spoor of a fox and the tracks of his friends and a host of other interesting things. He's an amusing little play-actor. "Oh, I've got a thorn in my foot!" and he pretended to cry and limp helplessly about. Then with a laugh he clutched his foot, stooped to meet it, and whisked the thorn out with his teeth—a huge thing it was. Next he pulled a *mindak* out of some unexpected recess in his clothing and tried to teach us to play shuttlecock. The *mindak* is a most attractive toy. You get a small flat central button of lead and somehow contrive to attach to it a horizontal frill of kids' hair, black or white preferred. You then throw it in the air and try to kick it up with your foot, counting how often you succeed before letting it fall to the ground. You may kick it with your instep in an amateurish way, but the stylish thing is to strike it with the sole of your bare foot. The boys are extraordinarily adept, but the art is one not easily acquired in leather-shod middle age. Our indifferent attempts reduced us all three to helpless laughter. We were much amused to note that just as with the girls stotting their balls, the reckoning started at three and your first successful stroke was counted "four." In return for this demonstration lesson I tried to teach Khano to do handstands and cart-wheels, but my attempts to demonstrate these arts were somewhat unconvincing.

On the way home we met Kamber (Ustád Nadíro's boy) driving his herd of goats helter-skelter downhill. DL had

licence to marry at irregular dates). Meantime no one seemed 511
unduly cast down, and Apicho continued to grow her hair so 585
as to be ready. Sometimes it stuck out all round her head in 302
about a hundred tiny plaits, on other days she had a wonderful, if somewhat shaggy, mane of frizzy hair about 5 inches long. She was a dear.

The small boys and girls have the centre of their heads 302
close shaven (a cleanly and sensible arrangement) with just a neat fringe left all round to show below their caps; married women wear, hanging down beside their faces, two plaits which are knotted up into two balls to be well out of the way. It is a most becoming style of hair-dressing. The plaits softly frame the face and the two balls dance merrily about. When a girl reaches thirteen or fourteen and marriage beings to loom ahead, she starts growing her hair in some variety of bob as a practical preparation for the state of matrimony.

We went off to one of the deep open reservoirs hoping in 296
the good light to get a photograph of the cattle being watered at the usual time. But, alas! the nice bright day must have modified their time-table, for not the ghost of a beast turned up. On the way we saw a pretty young woman whom we knew, doing some washing. She was squatting in the sun on a stone sofa beside a pool which was still covered with thick ice and dipping the clothes in through a hole she had broken for the purpose. She then laid the wet garment on the stone and whacked it with a thick wooden beater. Further on, Najat of No. 1 was washing some tattered pieces of felt, probably to pluck down for shoddy. She had flung them into shallow water and was vigorously trampling them while chunks of ice clattered round her ankles. A hardy folk the Hunzukuts.

As we came back we found a large group of women and 524
children on the main road, and one of the wee girls had a "doll." This consisted simply of one piece of stick with some rags hung round it and two cross sticks for arms which were jointed on and neatly attached to a piece of string so that they waved about when you pulled. They made it "dance" for us with much amusement and laughter, but we could not detach the doll and its owner from the crowd to get a decent photograph.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

with. They are the greatest possible contrast to the alert, intelligent Burusho: possibly there is more than sugar in a diet of apricots!

Quite suddenly after the first lovely rush of water the channels went silent again. Not that they were ice-bound, but it seems that the first warmth of the year melts all the recently fallen snow off the top, which gives you your first rush. After that comes a pause before the sun has gathered heat enough to melt the older, hardened snow and make an impression on the glaciers. This arrangement of Nature's suits the peasants well. The first rush waters their new planted barley and springing wheat; the pause gives them time to clear out all the silt and sand that is cluttering up their channels, and to repair the walls. They find the silt a useful top-dressing for their fields. All the menfolk worked hard to get their irrigation works into trim before the real water flow began. Meantime all the *gferis* near us were empty, and poor Sagi had to go a mile or more to draw water for baths and washing up, in addition to his usual pilgrimage for our drinking water. So we installed an assistant for him.

Among the enlivening sounds of these early Spring days was the tootle-tootle of boys' whistles. At a certain moment when they consider the degree of sap flowing in the willows is right for their purpose, they cut themselves sections of various lengths. With great ingenuity they coax off the bark in great flute-like pipes and make an extraordinary variety of whistles with many notes. The deepest notes are achieved by inserting a finer pipe into a larger one, and thus providing a lining to the latter as it were. The same procedure that yields a whistle will also supply a squirt, a pop-gun, or a pea-shooter, and these various toys diversify the day.

Despite the pleasure which water, work, and sunlight bring, the season of Spring awakes no poet's raptures in the Hunza heart. "Starvation Springtime" would have given Keats an odd title for an Ode. Many weeks before the new barley was ripe for cutting every household round us had already run out of every sort of flour, many also out of potatoes and apricots.

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Windy weather was knocking down unripe mulberries in 233
alarming quantities, which were incontinently guzzled by the 245
goats and sheep.

By June 9th ripe mulberries were reported from Ganesh and Hasanabad, some hundreds of feet below us, but we had to wait another three weeks for ours.

One afternoon we were out on the hillside and stopped to 524
watch a group of boys playing a complicated game of *bada bada* with a lot of small stones cast into twelve little holes in the ground. It was roughly equivalent to some of our games of marbles, and thinking of a large consignment of these which we had brought with us for future gifts we ruefully realized how useless marbles would be in a country where there are not six inches of smooth, level ground. As we sat trying to master 231
the rules of *bada bada* Gulo crept up alongside me and slipped her hand confidentially into mine, whispering "Our pussy cat has had a confinement," using for fun the same term as she would have applied to her mother, and not the word suitable for cats. "There are three kittens, and they opened their eyes yesterday; do come and see them!"

When the game was over we accordingly started crosswise downhill to No. 3. I halted at the door to make sure that Zénába was prepared to endorse the impulsive invitation. She was sitting crouched by the hearth boiling the greens for dinner and jumped up with delight to bring us in. We squatted down on a sleeping-bench, from the back of which the children produced a round fruit basket in which the cat was cosily curled up. She was evidently accustomed to seeing her babies tenderly handled, for she let us take them out without other comment than a loud purr. Dear little furry things they were, about the size of small mice, and Gulo bubbled over: "She made first the black one and then the white one and then the yellow one—and that was all." Meantime, in addition to Kaníza and Apícho, a strange young man had drifted in to see what was going on, and presently Father arrived and we all chatted together very gaily. Laughing somewhat apologetically, 231
Zénába confessed that she had drawn on the emergency reserve 844
to make some *daudo* (a sort of porridge with butter) for pussy 262

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

262 one day a group of men sitting pensively under a mulberry tree silently munching unripe fallen fruit, but the most pathetic
524 sight was groups of little girls crouched beside a water-channel scooping out sand and mud and forming it into various types of breads and cakes which they pretended to "bake like Mother." They knew nothing of modern psychology, and were unaware that we interpreted their poor little mud pies as wish-fulfilments.

136 Cuckoos and larks were now filling the air with welcome, strangely home-like sounds.

000 One day the news of the Quetta earthquake reached us by telephone and spread dismay in twenty homes which had sons in British service there. How to get news? Mercifully the suspense was not prolonged. Thanks to the humane arrangements which allowed survivors to telegraph free, a telegram was telephoned through from one of the Hunza men to say that he and all his compatriots had escaped, owing to the fact that they were all employed by officers of the Staff College. It would be blasphemy to suppose that those were all unrighteous on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, but we could hardly resist a suspicion that the God of Earthquakes shared something of our feeling for the folk of Hunza.

294 It was the very end of June before the Barley Harvest was in sight, but as the time approached nearer and nearer, by painfully slow degrees, we saw women and girls devoting all their spare time to making new caps for the jollifications of Ginini, and the men, who are not a whit less vain, were already sporting bright new shirts in anticipation. We came on Kaníza and Apícho putting the last touches on a cap made of some scraps of Tootal material which I had given to Kaníza to dress the new doll that Yaman had made for her. They were weaving the braid edging straight on to the cap, stitching it on as they wove. The method was interesting: six long coarse crimson threads are made fast by both ends to the edge of the double cap—outside, and slightly padded lining. The stitcher holds the cap inside out. The braider sits near and takes the six long loops of equal length, passing three over the fingers of the right and three over the fingers of the left hand; then she slips the left-hand loops on to the right-hand fingers, deftly lifts the

ŋwŋŋw a game (12 a side; hide in the dark and put hand on a stone). 524●

D and D.

d- becomes *-d* when preceded by the negative prefix *a-*, or by the causative prefix **-aa*. 000

d-* denotes *d-* followed by the simple forms of the pronoun prefixes: *gu- i-* etc.

d-a-* denotes *d-* followed by the altered forms of the pronoun prefixes: *go- e-* etc.

Vide §§ 267, 302 & 308.

da This particle is one of the hardest-worked words in the language. It has many shades of meaning which pass into each other, and in any given case the precise meaning is often difficult to determine.

The following scheme of meanings is offered only as a rough guide:

1. Again. — *ŋwe da ŋdo dawo stimi* he did that thing again. *yaf gwaŋe S. B. da aniler dawimi* the next day Sh. B. again went out for a stroll. 12.4. *da ŋwo farda ju* come to me again soon. 24.8, 24.18, 28.10, 38.21, 40.8, 43.4, 102.11,22, 108.18,35, 148.11.
2. Then, and then. — *gula gfwor ji, da ju hazzr maigawa* throw this (hair) in the fire, and then I shall appear. 22.10. *awimi . . . . Da makramor hakem stimi . . . .* he said ". . . . ." and then he gave orders to his servant . . 44.35. *hik (gunta) hae(k) hawtowaz ka, da gu.fwda* if you remain one day more (than 40), then you will die. 50.16. Cp. 8.17, 10.6, 20.17, 26.18, 32.8, 44.19, 118.14, 140.8, 302.4.

402 *phaṭakas*, pl. *-ḳuło* x a piece of wood suspended so that with one end resting on the revolving upper millstone it leans against the tray into which the grain falls from the hopper. The vibration produced by the millstone is communicated by it to the tray and causes the grain to flow slowly through into the hole in the revolving millstone.

000 *taf'ayor* v. *daf'ayor*.

taf'apal, *taf'apor* Hz. & N., *-ṭło* x bat (animal). — *taf'apal ju.'an hil'ean beli* he is a thin, weak (*lit.* bat-like) youth. QUE. (Cp. Sh. *talkrpan*, bat).

phaṭaqas, pl. *phaṭaqaḍo*, x a kind of bird, redstart(?).

● 524 *f'aṭaq manow* to play a game resembling draughts with small stones on a diagram scratched on the ground. It is much played by children, but, though gambling is not much practised in Hunza, it can no doubt be played for money and the meaning I was originally given was "to gamble". — *f'aṭaq maiishaw* they are gambling. *f'aṭaq manow sis* a gambler.

000 *faf'ar*, N. *taf'ar -ṭło*, x tailless rat, which is found up in the summer grazing-grounds.

f'aṭas, pl. *f'aṭaḍo*, x an article in an unfinished state, e.g. a roughly forged metal article, a garment cut out and basted, a roughly fashioned wooden article, e.g. a block of wood roughly shaped with an adze to be made into a bowl on the lathe. — *ḳoreqy ivo čawa faṭas dimanimi* the rough form of the brooch came into existence of itself. 166.2,5. Cp. 166.9,19,22.

One can also say: — *mała f'aṭas*,

c. Miscellaneous other goods:

262

haṣṭrig.	*chap.*	*kori.*	*pulür ṣak* N.	*ṣurt.*
bórg.	*ḍawṣo.*	*nizanṣiki.*	*ṣfuṣuk.*	*tsamik.*
bawski.	*kowla* N.	*nuṣ.*	*ṣirbat.*	*utsiyunas.*
chastuw.	*hoṣ.*	*pulun.*	*ṣirta* N.	*work.*

7. Vessels, Utensils etc.

415

a. Bags and Sacks:

halidakṣ.	*girgin.*	*khamaṣ.*	*mask* N.	*sormata.*
laturu.	*yoti.*	*salta* N.	*maṣ.*	*tayar.*
gergṣ.	*khalṣfu.*	*sztu.*	*ṣap.*	*tsrig.*

b. Baskets.

cheṣkus.	*čur'a.*	*giran.*	*yotwl.*	*khavṣi.*	*thali.o.*

c. Vessels and Containers:

hafalik.	*čilamči.*	*kawik.*	*maisrba.*	*qirmzkdra.*
hayundakṣ.	*chorkas.*	*imakṣ.*	*ṣfata.*	*sakap.*
hali.	*dalpa.*	*iran(?).*	*ṣfatawudai.*	*takpi.*
halwṣ.	*durukak.*	*jati.*	*ṣfrrko.*	*tsapur.*
bire.	*gufuw.*	*khati.*	*ṣfwl.*	*tskayur.*
boṣok.	*gurkaw.*			

8. Games.

524

bakal.	*čyur čyur.*	*gatal bala.*	*tatag.*	*tskayura.*
bala.	*dayu dayu.*	*tambak.*	*yakowi.*	

9. Supernatural Beings.

776

bilas.	*daṣalṣkas.*	*jandara.*	*pori.*	*šuberikṣ.*
bovin.	*hiv bilas.*	*jin.*	*ṣfwt.*	*yaṣkoni.*

10. Words relating to CEREMONIES, CUSTOMS etc. or Objects which have no English equivalent.

000

bari.	*bagfan.*	*dani.*	*yurbal.*	**-mi nemeryu.*
bav.	*berki.*	*dorman.*	*yurtaṣpiṣ.*	*otag.*
bawṣi.	*berwi.*	*durk.*	(*yalitapiṣ*).	*ottki.*
bak bik.	*ṣawṣan.*	*dusuwakots.*	1. *yun.*	*palova.*
balgurin.	1. *chaggi.*	*perlṣo.*	*ishan.*	*ṣfanivu.*
bergimas.	*chas.*	*prawni.*	*kurki.*	*phaṣiv.*
berila, v. also page 421.	*čravṣnawna.*	*piranu nirus.*	*saw.*	*pharotsin.*
berinki.	*čokṣi.*	*piryṣ.*	*lajri.*	*pori sa.*
bral.	*čop.*	*ṣuṣ.*	*makor.*	*pasowu.*
bita N.	*dal dal.*	*yan.*	*manṣfiki.*	*ṣfi.*
	ḍambu.	*yankṣ.*	*makala.*	*pi.aguur.*

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

is convenient. Each person has his own wooden bowl and 264
wooden spoon. They roll up their pancakes and dip them in [415]
their bowl of thick vegetable soup or take up the soup with
the spoon. The head woman of the house apportions a fair 262
share to each, and I fear there is rarely enough to allow of
second helpings.

The art of rationing the family all through the year is recognized as a difficult one; each able-bodied man is entitled to double a woman's ration, but the expectant or nursing mother gets a larger share than the other women; each child after weaning gets a certain ration according to its age.

If a *rúli gus* (housewife-in-chief) is over-generous with her 262
rationing during the post-harvest months of plenty the whole 586
family may starve before next year; so a "competent woman" is highly valued, and incompetence is a fair ground for divorce. No ill-will is felt or expressed, but back she goes to the father and mother who bred her.

The No. 1 Household consists of grandfather, a charming 592
old man, who proudly boasts that he built the house they live in and himself laid out the fruit garden; his two sons, who now do all the heavy work and who both are lucky enough to have small jobs connected with the hospital—this accounts for the family's relative well-to-do-ness; the elder son's wife is my friend Bibi Gímo, the *rúli gus*; the younger son's wife is a beautiful girl Naját, who became one of our best friends. In a community where all faces are happy and kindly, she has the happiest face I have ever seen, and a natural grace of bearing and manner that would adorn any station in any country. Naját so far has no children, but Bibi Gímo's married daughter was staying with her at the moment. There is also an adolescent daughter, Shukuru, who is already growing her hair, and will no doubt presently be married; two nice boys of perhaps thirteen and nine, and the two little girls I have mentioned already, Shamúli, say six, and Banu of three or four, and I imagined there would ere long be another child.

On my second visit, since they had all been so kind to me, 526
I took a tiny rubber ball for Banu. It was a great success. Not only she and Shamúli played with it, but the grown-ups

● 526 "stotted" it far more skilfully than I. They say the women and girls play a lot of ball, and in autumn the women sweep a smooth place under a willow tree, choose teams, and play matches! They *are* a sporting, jolly crowd. It is no use at all merely to bounce the ball and hit it down again as I did; you must spin round on your own axis between each stroke if it is to count. I didn't find this at all easy to learn at my age, and my feeble attempts gave much amusement. They laugh so openly and heartily that there is no offence in their merriment at your expense; even so, they are sensitive lest you might feel hurt, and Naját hastened to console me: "But, you see, you can read and write, and none of us can do that." So they saved my face for me, if it needed saving.

302 I had also brought a small coloured comb and offered it to Bibi Gímo for the children's fringes. All the youngsters, boys and girls alike, have their heads shaven—which makes for cleanliness—with just a neat fringe showing all round under their little caps. Banu at once appropriated the comb and started on her front hair, to the amusement of the congregation—which by now included many neighbours. She is the dearest little devil, and not a bit more grubby than any English child would be who played barefoot in a garden which is mostly half wet.

000 Whichever way I turned on my walks everyone was full of friendliness and welcome, and boys and girls ran along with me telling me all about their animals and naming anything I wanted; but I was longing to have David's company again, and felt rather mean to have been stealing marches on him and making friends in advance. I determined, however, that even after he was well enough to come out for walks I should still go back sometimes to sit with my women friends by myself. It would take too long to tell you about the other families I met and the people I made friends with: there were literally dozens. I solemnly entered their names in my little book and tried to memorize them all and assign them as well as I could to the different houses, but for a long time they all looked rather alike to me and all their dresses are much the same so that it was easy to confuse those I saw less often. Happily this

Chapter 19

HARVEST THANKSGIVING

THERE are a couple of minor items of the autumn harvest I 312
have omitted to mention. In Aliabád, the widest and most 233
gently sloping bay of the Hunza mountain side, there is for
one short stretch of perhaps a mile a patch of ground above
the level of possible fields before the steep cliff face begins.
Through and above this run the third and fourth of our hori-
zontal watercourses, offshoots from the Berber Channel that
waters the higher levels of Báltit and derives also from the
great glacier of the Ulter Ber, but takes off much higher up
than the Dála. Sufficient water can occasionally be spared from
these two channels (which in the main are needed to irrigate
high-lying "gardens" of trees) to flood these rocky slopes,
which then bring forth that rarest of Hunza products, natural
grass. These *toqs*, as they are called, are divided into strips by
loose stone walls and used as grazing grounds by whoever
leases them. Two or even four families often combine to share 857
a *toq*, and on your walks you will find children of various sizes 526
in charge of a few animals; a small girl may be sitting gravely
alone practising embroidery stitches on a strip of calico, a
boy may be twisting the string of horse-gut for his catapult
bow, a group may be romping together or playing a game like
rounders with a home-spun cap for ball, or "horses" where
half the players are mounted on the others' backs and the pairs
charge each other to a fall, and any rider thrown becomes in
turn a horse. When these livelier games begin to pall, a couple 524
will withdraw to the edge of the little channel and scratch a
draught-board on a level patch of ground and play with pebbles
white and grey as men. The board is formed of triangles whose

miles daily to Báltít, as Yaman and a couple of our other young 793
friends did, and attend the Government-supported school 784
with the sons and grandsons of the Mir and the Wazir. Promising children of the more well-to-do can attend a more advanced school at Gilgit, and the really studious may even make their way down to Srinagar.

Ninety-nine per cent of the population, however, happily 212
still remain illiterate, and have not fallen victims to com- 871
pulsory education. When the people would question me about conditions in England, they were horrified to learn of such things as rates and income-tax, but even more aghast at the tyranny that compels both boys and girls to spend the years from five to fourteen at school. "But that's the time when they ought to be *learning things*," they said.

When my pleasant evening "By the Lamp" was ended and I 000
had said good-bye, cautiously descended the ladder and mounted my waiting horse, I was shocked to see my host accompanying us carrying a tray of food. I had expressly stipulated that I would only accept his kind invitation on condition of not being laden with food gifts to take home. To my protests Kalbi said: "Yes, yes, Mother dear, it's all right. I'm not forgetting. I'm only taking up his supper to the sweeper."

With honourable simplicity the Hunzukuts abide by the 771
fundamentals of Islam as they understand them. They may not 788
be strong on ostentatious prayer and fasting, they rack their brains over no theological subtleties, but a Believer is a man and a brother, be he a Kashmiri, be he twenty times a sweeper. Here was a man of substance, a Levy, a grandfather, a much respected citizen in his small community, climbing a mile uphill to carry with his own hands a share of the evening's feast to his absentee guest. That the man was absent was no doubt a tactful concession to any caste-prejudice with which India might have infected me.

The boys lighten the monotony of the indoor weeks of the 857
Great Cold by occasionally dashing out for a hasty game of 526
foot polo or tipcat with their friends or keeping themselves warm with *mindak* matches. Such young men as are real dance

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

526 enthusiasts may dance every afternoon at The Gate, but they
857 do not draw a large circle of spectators.

On one of the rare bright days that we were blessed with,
541 word was sent us that a special show was being got up for that
536 evening if we would care to come. We reached "The Gate" just before dusk and found a stone sofa duly carpeted for us. As the evening grew darker, the crowd became larger and the general feeling of infectious excitement increased, till at last the organizers of the show went round the crowd using their long sleeves as conductors' batons to mark time for the magnificent Ha-Ha-Ha and the unison clapping they so much enjoy which now announced the arrival of the performers. A lot of young men had got themselves up in various disguises, pairs of them stooping under a blanket with a horse's head fixed in front, pranced about most realistically under two boy-riders. Two other pairs were got up as markhor with real horns in front, while a fantastic huntsman with an aged muzzle-loading matchlock stalked them with exaggerated caution. Five or six were dressed up as women with silken veils to hide their moustaches. The best of all were two bent old men with flowing white beards; they were dressed in sheepskins with huge humps on their backs, and tottered very effectively on stout sticks. They contrived to look very aged and very frail. Then they got up a sham quarrel about the wife of one whom the other was supposed to have stolen. Thereupon they laid about each other with their cudgels—very carefully smiting only each other's well-padded humps—and did amazing leaps with their staves as jumping poles, the one lighting on the other's back and rolling him in the dust. This excellent horseplay was wildly applauded.

There were two absurd little boys with tiny besoms who made admirable clowns. They fussed about, sweeping the ground just in front of the dancers and choking everyone with dust, getting kicked out of the way and looking innocently pained at being so misunderstood. When anyone was knocked down in the rough and tumble they would officiously dash up to brush him down and get cuffed for their pains.

Altogether it was an extremely clever rag, mostly nonsense

291 to have enough wool to spare for superfluities. The preciousness of boots accounts, I think, for a fact which puzzled us at
291 first: you never see children, sporting as they are in every
● 526 possible respect, sliding on the ice for fun. Boots are too valuable, and barefoot sliding would be a bit severe. Also, as David remarked, sliding and snowballing are games for such as can go home and change their clothes and get warm beside a nice big fire. These poor mites have at most one warm *choga* (and possibly a share of Father's on occasion) and a tiny fire at mealtimes only. Anyhow, they don't slide.

132 The bright weather of February 1st did not last, and though the cold was broken we reverted to gloomy grey weather and
796 the ceiling of snow-cloud overhead. We knew that a week or two would bring the great festival of the Bopfau, or Barley Seed-Sowing, and we feared that it was going to take place in semi-darkness. But everyone assured us: "Oh no, it will be bright for the Bopfau." The great week drew near and we had heard no word from the Mir confirming his earlier invitation to come and stay at Kerimabad (his garden and rest-house in
000 the park below the Fort at Báltít) for the occasion. We were beginning to fear that he had forgotten us and were wondering whether we could without offence remind him. Just as we were nearly in desperation and terribly afraid that we should wake some morning to be told that everything was over, a kind message came from him to say that he hoped we would come over on Wednesday afternoon. He himself would be away at Áltít, engaged with the preliminary ceremonies, but everything would be ready for us and we need only bring our own bedding. Now we knew that the GREAT DANCE was bound to take place on the Wednesday afternoon, and we feared that this meant that he did not specially want us at it—in which case, of course, there was nothing to be done.

We had a glorious ride over to Báltít on the Wednesday afternoon (of February 6th) in perfect weather, exactly as predicted. Various grandees had been told off to welcome us, a nice fire blazed in "our" beautifully furnished sitting-room, and the Mir's pet cook-for-European-guests, Mirza Hasan, was waiting with his best bedside manner to offer us tea. It was

then about three-thirty. We were gratefully drinking tea and 000
thinking that after all if we were not to see the dance, there were compensations in a quiet afternoon, when Mirza Hasan came in with a most courtly grin to say that if we had finished we ought to mount at once as the Mir had sent word that all was ready and they were waiting our arrival to begin.

So we gulped the rest of our tea, leaped into the saddle again, and set off for Áltít, only a mile and a half away. As someone else has already remarked, however, mere miles in this sort of country are a misleading form of reckoning, since they all stand on their hind legs. Kerimabad and Báltít Fort are perched on the brink of a great cliff about 600 and 1,000 feet respectively above the Altít level. The ground on which they stand appears to be the ancient outpouring of the mighty ravine behind, whose glacier provides all the water for the central part of Hunza. The ground that forms the Báltít spur is not honest rock but finely powdered crumbly earth well strewn with boulders, and the zig-zag road that leads down it is not the kind of thing you would choose for a brisk canter. We scrambled down it with such reasonable caution as haste permitted, forded the torrent at the bottom—very small, of course, at this season—and made towards Áltít Fort. A fine stretch of open and (relatively) level ground lies on the landward side of the Fort, which in its turn is perched on a mighty rock cliff that falls a sheer 500 feet or more into the Hunza river, presenting a most inhospitable face to the Nagir enemy across the water. This open stretch of country explains the fact that Áltít was inhabited long before Báltít, and still remains the ceremonial centre for old-time festivals.

A lovely long polo-ground—the biggest in the Agency, 526 ●
except perhaps the one at Gilgit itself—flanked on both sides by a row of poplars and, of course, by low stone walls (you can no more have a polo-ground in these regions without walls than you could have a billiard table without cushions), leads towards the Fort. Even from the landward side the Fort rises up most impressively from the great rock on which it is built, and the village huddles round it close and tight. We skirted 644
the polo-ground by a narrow path with high field walls rising 796

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

Then the Mir, still wearing his royal robes, ploughed three parallel furrows and formally initiated the Barley Sowing of the year. In theory no true Hunzukuts will sow his barley till this ceremony has been performed, but we were told that in fact anyone who is ready earlier and thinks the time is ripe has not the slightest hesitation in going ahead with the good work. Never was a people so admirably full of common sense! 796 241

The Bopfau field was now deserted for the polo-ground; the crowd helter-skeltered down the wall, bringing the stones down on their heels in clouds of dust: the one and only time when I saw Hunza folk knock even one stone from its place without halting to replace it. We descended by the ladder with greater dignity and proceeded to the raised dais reserved for "The Great" on such occasions. Directly opposite the Grand Stand at the farther side of the ground was a little pile of earth about 2 feet high, and piled as steep as it would stand, on the side of which was fixed a target of brittle wood covered with a thin plaque of beaten silver. The mark was about 2 inches by 2½, and much the shape of an egg in profile. 796 526

Before the archery began all the Mir's horses in fine trappings were galloped down the field—the band thumping and piping as they came. Then the archers rode by carrying their immense bows of spliced wood faced with plates of ibex horn and strung with plaited leather. There were about thirty of them, including Prince Shah Khan ("Little Lord Fauntleroy") on a small pony with a full-sized bow nearly as long as himself. From the far end of the ground they came hurtling along one by one, coaxing their horses into a steadier gallop as they neared the mark, then flinging down the reins and firing as they passed. Some arrows flew a bit wide, but by far the greater number buried themselves to the feathers in the little earthen mound. A few horses sheered off, not permitting their riders to take a shot, and one fine animal, seeing the mound stuck as full of arrows as it could hold, decided that the game was a steeplechase and cleared the mound in a magnificent leap, evoking much laughter. One man, a very William Tell, split the target through the very centre to thunderous applause.

796 Lord Fauntleroy came along riding full gallop as if born in the saddle and got his arrow well into the mound of earth, to 526 his father's justifiable delight: "the boy is only learning," he modestly explained.

There were three courses of archery, at each of which the mark was won. The archer who strikes the target is entitled to pocket it for his reward, but on the two last occasions it was only grazed; I suppose that William Tell was debarred from further competition. If the targets had not been hit they would have fallen as perquisites to the bandsmen. After the archery there was going to be polo, but the Mir thoughtfully suggested that this was a thing of which we had seen enough for life, and perhaps we should like to ride home before the crush. It was by now two o'clock, and we had had nothing to eat since a very early breakfast, so we gratefully made our adieux. DL was fairly weary: there are few things more exhausting than wielding a 16 mm. cine-camera in adverse circumstances at eye-level.

000 We scrambled up the crumbling cliffs to Kerimabad again and found that the invaluable Mirza Hasan was awaiting us with a welcome spread of tea and cakes. He had observed us zigzagging up the hill. You can't, of course, easily arrive anywhere in Hunza unobserved if you come by the one and only road. Dádo got busy packing up our kit, and we made ready to start back on the road to Aliábád. Before we left, the Mir himself returned, and we were able to thank him once again, and congratulate him on his royal weather. He was delighted that we had taken the whole affair so seriously and done our best to put its main features on record; as far as he can grasp what DL's work is all about, he feels proud and happy that Hunza customs are considered of so much interest and importance. He said he thought he remembered one British officer having attended the Bopfau many, many years ago, but he could not recall the name, and we have not been able to trace any record left by this predecessor. It would be extremely interesting to have an earlier account of it all.

The two glorious days of Bopfau weather were almost a miracle: a very suitable miracle fór a Chief traditionally

expected to reply: "It is God's will. Accidents will happen. After all, they are beasts of the mountain and the wild." He is reckoned a churlish fellow who institutes enquiries and demands compensation, though no one denies his right to it. The liberty to indulge in an occasional free feed is, we understood, sparingly taken and not abused.

With luck a she-goat will yield enough milk while up on the summer pastures to make two *maltash*, i.e. two birch bark parcels of butter for storage. If the goat is a trustee goat the herd is expected to hand one *maltash* to her owner and to keep the balance as his fee. Sheep's milk is poor in fat content and yields little butter, so it is usually devoted to making *brús* and *rakhpin*, a kind of hard, dried curd which has great lasting qualities and the appearance of a cake of soap.

The day that the herds return from the mountain with their charges is a festive one for the villages. Large parties go out to meet the returning absentees. Before finally leaving the *tér*, driven down by cold and the advancing autumn snows, the herds bake some special little cakes to bring back with them, and crowds of dancing, shouting boys and girls fall on their elder brothers demanding their share. Trust the Hunzukuts to stage a festival on the slightest provocation.

Our Ernest of the white horse reappeared unexpectedly from the *tér* in the middle of the season and walked over from Hasanabad to call on us and bring an offering of *brús* for DL and of wild mountain flowers for me. He had given his animals into a friend's charge, and taken a couple of days off because he was a member of the Hasanabad polo team and was wanted to play in an inter-village match. These matches rouse as much interest as Arsenal *versus* Chelsea, and a good player who is also the possessor of a good pony can ill be spared. I duly took a photo of him and The Cat, he no longer in the rôle of the humble *sais* but of the gentleman polo player. Stout fellow!

These early June days were the time for apricot and mulberry grafting. The cultivated fruit shoots are grafted on to wild trees. We watched the process, about which the Hunzukuts have little to learn. Each graft was given a double lashing of bark from mulberry root. We returned later and found them all thriving.

3t Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging. 526

Religion.

By religion the Burusho of Hunza are Muhammadans of the Isma'ili or, as they term it, Maulâi sect, to which, however, they were converted from Shia-ism only three generations ago. 779

With the Maulais, restrictions, formalities and ritual are reduced to a minimum. The masjids of the former Shia days have been abandoned, and have been replaced in recent years by "jamâ'atkhânas". There are no mullahs of the ordinary type. Instead there are khalifa (pl. khalifâting; xali-fa, xali-fa-tin), who are more servants of the public — being called in chiefly to perform the necessary ritual at marriages and funerals — than its spiritual leaders or teachers. Spiritual authority rests with the Pîr, in this case 'Abdul Ma'ni, son of the late Shahzada Lais of Chitral. He himself now lives in Zêbâk. He replaced the honoured Pîr Jalâli Shah, latterly resident in Ishkoman, who died in February 1931. Two of the latter's daughters were taken in succession as his principal wife by the present Tham of Hunza, which affords an indication of the Pîr's status in the country. 795 793

Religious observances and prescriptions do not play any very evident part in the life of the Burusho of Hunza, but this does not appear to have any prejudicial effect on their character or conduct. They seem to have firmly planted in them the root of morality and the social and domestic virtues. The Maulais pay tribute to the Agha Khan, the head of the sect. The Burusho of Nagir are Shiahs (pl. Shiâting; ši.a-tin), a more rigorous and formal school, but they do not indulge in a fanatical interpretation of the duties and implications of religion. They mildly contemn the "mog[illegible]" (Maulais) as misguided heretics and imperfect Muslims. 788 795 798

Social and Administrative Organisation.

The life of the people is based on the family, and then on the village or community groups which live within definite geographical 621

000 *giri.ɛn* an ibex. *giri bi.ɛna?* are there any ibex? *giri halden* big male. *giri tsir* female. *giri žai.rt* male 2 or 3 years old. *giri du* kid. *hʌnumʌn giri tsirʌn bi* there is a single female ibex. 102.20. *giri.ɛ čʌp* ibex meat. 104.7. *giri amolo hʌlk'iči.ɛn kɛ* where the ibex bear their young. 108.10. Cp. 108.12, 270.1.

●526 2. *g'iri -mots* x plaque about 2" × 1½", fixed on a small heap of earth and fired at with bows and arrows from horseback. It is made of dry pumpkin-shell, or, on state occasions of wood covered with silver foil. — *g'iri.ɛ čop nɛ de.ičɛn* making the mound for the mark, they set it up. 316.6. *amɛnɛ g'iri delimi kɛ* whoever hits the mark. 316.8.

000 *g'irkɛs* N. *girkits*, pl. *g'irkičo* x.

1. Small species of rat (intermediate in size between the European rat and mouse). — (*γʌliɛ pfiriɛnč*) *girkis dɛlʌsɔr kuli kɛ api* there isn't a scrap of stick even to beat a rat with. Cp. 160.6.
2. Muscle (biceps and calf of leg). — *pini girkɛs* muscle of calf of leg. Cp. Latin mus: musculum.

(The plural *-čo* suggests that the N. form *girkits* is the original form of the singular).

girm'inʌs, *girm'i-*, Impv. *girm'in*, neg. *ʌk'ɛrmin*, Ppa. *nɛk'irmin*, to write.
Fut. 1st. sg. *gɛrmiyʌm*.
Pres. 1st. sg. *girmiya ba*.
Pret. 1st. sg. *ja girminʌm*.
girminimi "hikulto mʌnimi" nɔsɛ he wrote: "One day has passed". 52.8.
ja girmina ba. Gots girminɔmɔr uŋ bɔrɛn I have written it down. You look at this written statement. 52.21.

168 a

000 moon is waning. *halanto ayqhof* moonlight. *gono halantoter* in this time of moon. EOL.

halí -eq, -iq *y* torchwood.

halóm, halóm, pl. *halóryo*, *s* he-goat (full-grown, and in the case of domestic goats castrated). — *gívi halóm* a full-grown male ibex. 270.1.

314 *halí* pl. *halęq y* birch-bark (used as wrapping material and formerly as paper), Sh. *jurj*. — *halí-ele maltaí dumakova* they wrap up better in birch-bark. *yerum ilhova halíyaje girmilhom* in former times they used to write on birch-bark. EOL. *gulo halíyaje girwin* write on this birch-bark. EOL.

●526 *halímow* -iq and *halímoriq*, *y* wager, bet, stake. — *halímow olaí* to make a wager. *halímowu halo* polo for a wager; polo-match played in which the losers present the winners with a sheep, goat, etc. *halímowuw halo dolumuo* they played polo for a stake. *halímowu oti ówu* they have paid up the stake to them. (Cp. Sh. *halilowu*).

000 1. *halówu*, *halówi*, Pgm. *wah'alk(o)* to bear young, to give birth, (of mammalian animals).

Fut. 3rd. sg. *halówi*.

Pres. 3rd. sg. *halówi ki*.

Past. 3rd. sg. *halówui*.

givi omolo halówuo ko . . . where the ibex bear their young . . . 108.10. *bellito halówu diier ówu* take me to the bearing-place of the sheep i.e. where the sheep lamb. 108.24. Cp. 108.12,19,22,25. *mumu: bwa wahalq eríta dumanimi ko* . . . If anyone's cow calving, gave birth to twins . . . 354.1. Cp. 66.21. 72.24. *Aun halqewu*

7. Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

526
291

Choosing sides for a polo match. Rakaposhi is in the background.

[facing p. 327]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 40

Amusements

MUSIC IN HUNZA has been cultivated to a greater degree than many or most other arts and crafts. It is entirely different from the European or Western style of music. Authorities claim that the music of Hunza can be likened to that of the medieval European music. 533

It is interesting to note that a people so remotely placed away in a small aerie in the mountains, are so fond of music and they have their own types and kinds of instruments which are played by masters at the art.

In Hunza music is not purely for entertainment It is the essential ritual at all social functions and when the Mir returns from his visits to Altit and other parts of the country, he is greeted by the band playing music specifically prepared and used for such gala functions. Of course at the beginning of every polo match the band plays and plays and plays and continues playing till the end of the match. At every festival music is an [526]

The dancers follow the music and keep time with it. 535
The onlookers, in many cases, keep rhythm with their feet. The dancing and music go on until most of the spectators and the participants eventually leave.

One of their most useful instruments is known as a 534
sitar. It is a wooden stringed instrument very much like our mandolin. Then there is the rebab. It is a much larger stringed instrument and is evidently identical with the Indian's rebab. Then they have their wind instruments, too. The first is the surnai. It is a big clarinet with an unusual, remarkable intensity of sound. Another unusual instrument is the tutek which is but a simple small wooden flute. The third type of wind instrument is the gabi which is a very long transverse flute. Its special use is in plays or music that includes fairies and is used chiefly for the fairies' incantation. Its music is exceedingly sweet sounding and very high pitched. And last but not least are the many kinds of drums. They come in all sizes from tiny ones that can be worn around the neck by a young boy to the big bass boom-boom.

Like all oriental forms of music, the Hunzan band 533
seems to capture the true style so well known to the East . . . pleasing, high pitched sounds but with very little variation. After a little while all of the sounds seem the same and appear to be one repetition after another—most monotonous!

During the summer there is not much social life in 517
the evenings because the people are tired. They work hard all day. But in the winter there is regular dancing and meetings with friends.

I would gather that the people of Hunza don't need 526
sports too badly because life and living in Hunza compels the individual to be active. Thus, he doesn't have to indulge in sports to get exercise.

526 481 I do know, however, that tennis is played in Hunza because the Mir has a tennis court in an area around the garden. I also know that swimming is practiced because I saw a swimming pool at the Mir's summer home at Altit.

It was July when I was in Hunza and not one single person did I see swimming in either the Gilgit or Hunza Rivers or, for that matter, in any of the nullahs or creeks we passed.

I will admit that we had our feet soaked in most of them—some deliberately when resting and others in crossing, chiefly on foot because I didn't trust my horse. He has four slender legs with any of which he can get into trouble. I have only two to watch and worry over and they are sturdy and stocky, of the "Pict" type.

133 526 It would take a mighty good man or boy to swim in the nullahs in Hunza or the surrounding area: first, because the icy waters of the rivers or nullahs would freeze you to death in no time flat. The water, winter and summer, never gets much higher than the freezing point and I doubt if any human being or even these human polar bears could stand water like that. Besides, there are no clear calm patches that are without a devastating current.

From scrutinizing the area, I doubt very much if there are very many places along the entire reaches of the Hunza River that can be forded, even with mighty good animals, capable of swimming, at least during the spring and summer. I know of one well prepared expedition that tried to cross one of these rivers and came to grief.

526 Polo is the national game or sport of Hunza and of practically all the principalities in that area . . . and, brother, it is a wild and woolly game as played by these

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

hardy, mountaineering people. 526

Some authorities would have us believe that polo as a game had its origin in Tibet, which you can readily see is only a short hop from Hunza. Actually it is right on the border of what was properly old Tibet, but which the Chinese prefer to call Sinkiang. It is also known as Chinese Turkestan. 526 177

The word polo is actually a Tibetan word describing or meaning "root of the willow tree," for it was from the dried stumps of the willow tree that polo balls were originally made. The willow wood, from my intimate knowledge of the tree and the wood, would give quite a bit of bounce if made into a ball and that is exactly what was required.

From the best sources that I am able to dig into and locate, it seems that the modern game of polo as we know it throughout the West, originated in Persia. From there it found its way into Turkey and then it was adopted in India, Tibet, China and Japan. In 1869 the British saw it played in the Turkestan-Hunza regions and began to play it in India, where it became the favorite sport of the British army officers. That was well over 100 years ago. In 1869 it was also introduced into England where it caught on very quickly. Then it made its entrance into the United States in 1876.

Here is a strange fact. While many of the characteristics of the game have changed, the selfsame old willow ball is still used and one of the men still gallops down the center of the polo field and strikes the ball off into play. In the Western world it is the umpire who does this. In Hunza, it's still the Mir or some other distinguished personality. [643]

If any of you have had the opportunity of seeing a polo game in action—that is, Western polo—you might even then get the impression that it is a rough, some-

526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo
[311] fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for
[367] sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall sur-
[417] rounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

they play from the time the game starts until it finishes. 526
I don't know who would be more tired . . . the musi- [533]
cians, the polo players or the excited, active, shouting spectators.

I paced off the field and counted 90 good paces [367]
long and 40 wide. This would make it approximately 270 x 120 feet. This is quite a bit smaller in size than the modern polo field which is 300 x 200 feet, and would tend to make the Hunzan sport more hazardous and nerve-racking.

Instead of goal posts they use two large white stones at either end.

The game was started into action by the Mir, in [643]
this case, who started off at the further end at a gallop. As he reached the center, he threw the ball high into the air and as it came down he clobbered it and the game—or the mad scramble—was on!

There are 6 players on each team and as the ball is pummeled from one place to another, the screams of the spectators and the players are more frenzied than those heard at a baseball game.

There are no rules—except that the team who scores 9 goals first is the winner, and the game doesn't stop until one of the teams has scored 9 goals. They don't have rest periods; they don't change horses or men; there are no penalties and no fouls. So you can just imagine the carryings-on.

If the ball is struck or bounces off the wall and is caught by one of the players, this permits him to ride through the goal posts and deposit the ball and score a goal . . . if the opposition will let him! Any means can be and usually are undertaken to prevent him from reaching the goal to which he is entitled to proceed. If they're bold enough and strong enough, they can even pull him from his mount.

•526 They seldom ever score 9 goals in less than an hour and many times a game will last half a day. And [533] through all this gleeful yelling and shouting—everybody seems to scream like mad—the band is playing its martial tunes.

When a player scores a goal, he proceeds to pick up the ball and follow the same procedure as the Mir did when he started the action. He races madly down the field, screaming and yelling at the top of his lungs. With the scoring of every goal they change ends; that is, what was the first team's goal now becomes their opponent's goal.

[164] From Gilgit to Altit, whenever I saw someone who had a broken nose or some other definite sign of body injury, I would know even before inquiring, that it was gained in honor on the polo field.

[535] When at last one of the teams scored 9 goals and the game was finished, both teams took part in a dance. The winning team dances first and when they have completed their dance, the losing team do their stint. How they could have the strength and energy required to dance, after hours of unrelenting top-pitch physical activity is more than any Westerner can understand.

The horsemanship displayed at the polo matches beggars that seen at western rodeos. In fact, a Hunzan polo game makes the wildest of rodeos seem almost tame. When it comes to horsemanship, you'd have to go a long way to get anyone to beat these tough, hardy mountaineers.

[164] So furious was the game that I inquired if anyone was ever killed playing polo. The Mir replied that he had never heard of any fatalities from a polo game, but that on many occasions a player was incapacitated. I [743] felt that it would be a good idea if they could build their polo fields close to the hospital at Aliabad!

In discussing the Hunzan game of polo with some friends, when they heard me mention the fact that the best and largest piece of flat land was used for a polo field, they said, "Now, John, this is very contradictory. You claim they are intelligent people and every bit of arable land is needed and used for cultivation and now you tell me that the best piece of land and the largest level space is used for a polo field!" 526 311

My reply was, "What I've told you is absolutely true, but sometimes there are considerations involved which neither you nor I nor others in the Western world understand. For example, could we ever explain to the people of Hunza why we rush, swish, hurry and risk our necks driving down the highways, actually risking life and limb—not only our own, but countless others—only to get to our destination . . . and there do nothing! 000

"Or there is another example that may be even better. A man in America strives all his life to achieve the means of acquiring a home with all modern conveniences and comforts, including every electrically operated appliance or gadget devised to save time and effort. Then when this victory is achieved, he tries to get enough money to buy a summer cottage way up north. There he parks his family for the summer. Then over every weekend he drives hundreds of miles to get there and when he gets there what has he got? Outdoor plumbing, no hot water, no garbage disposal, no electricity—using a lamp or even a candle for light and carrying every bucket of water in from the lake or the creek. You just try to explain that to a Hunzan. There is no more rhyme and reason in one than there is in the other. But who am I to judge?"

It is a positive fact that the men in Hunza do beat their wives. I checked and double checked on this rather important question. The Mir told me he knew 593 683

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

following each other round and round in a circle— 644
sometimes with sword and shield and the usual 535
flourishes, sometimes with nothing in their hands, now posturing slowly, again flying round with long jumps and steps. In Nagar every one dances—the younger sons of the Thum, Wazirs, and the common herd, all take part. In the pre-Mahomedan days the [562] women also danced, and I should not be surprised if amongst themselves they did not even now join in, but, of course, not on a state occasion, or before strangers. Immediately after the dance came a couple [526] of hours of polo, still to the accompaniment of the band, which played just below our tents, and whose monotonous noise became maddening.

In the evening I dismissed the son of the Hunza 644
Wazir, who had come with letters from the Thum, 431
with my answer and a present. He was good enough to express himself quite satisfied personally, at which I was surprised, for he was wearing a coat of velvet covered with gold embroidery, worth at least five-and-twenty pounds, the outcome of Lockhart's lavish habits of largesse. It was a much more magnificent garment than any I had to give his master, and of much greater value than the present I could afford to give him. He informed me, however, that a scoundrel with him, to whom I had given some money and a choga, was going away hopeless, because I had not promised to renew to him a pension which his father had drawn from the Kashmir Durbar. They were difficult people to deal with in some ways, showed no sense of proportion in making their demands, and really, I believe, could not understand that there must be some limit to one's power of giving rewards.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 526 Rustem Ali who, like a famous player of the same name at Mardo, was passionately fond of the game, and had been thrown from his horse. The place of meeting near Astor is called the Eedgah. The game is called TOPE in Astor, and the grounds for playing it are called SHAJARAN. At D [177] Gilgit the game is called BULLA, and the place SHAWARAN. The latter names are evidently of Tibetan origin.

B [526] The people are also very fond of target practice, shooting with bows, which they use dexterously but in which they D 224 do not excel the people of Nagyr and Hunza. Game is much stalked during the winter. At Astor any game shot on the three principal hills—*Tshhamô*, a high hill opposite the fort, *Demídeldèn* and *Tshólokot*—belong to the Nawab of Astor—the sportsman receiving only the head, legs and a haunch—or to his representative, then the Tahsildar Munshi Rozi Khan. At Gilgit everybody claims what he may have shot, but it is customary for the Nawab to receive some share of it. Men are especially appointed to watch and track game, and when they discover their whereabouts notice is sent to the villages from which parties issue, accompanied by musicians, and surround the game. Early in the morning, when the "Lóhe" dawns, the musicians begin to play and a great noise is made which frightens the game into the several directions where the sportsmen are placed.

D 411 The guns are matchlocks and are called in Gilgiti "*turmàk*" and in Astór "tumák." At Gilgit they manufacture the guns themselves or receive them from Badakh- B 411 shan. The balls have only a slight coating of lead, the inside generally being a little stone. The people of Hunza and Nagyr invariably place their guns on little wooden pegs which are permanently fixed to the gun and are called "Dugazá." The guns are much lighter than those manufactured elsewhere, much shorter and carry much smaller bullets than the matchlock of the Maharajah's troops. They carry very much farther than any native Indian gun and are fired with almost unerring accuracy. For "small shot"

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-68) 1893? AV3 Dard
Kurush AV7

I. POLO IN HUNZA-NAGYR.

526

ALTHOUGH our first practical knowledge of "Polo" was derived from the Manipuri game as played at Calcutta, it is not Manipur, but Hunza and Nagyr, that maintain the original rules of the ancient "Chaughán-bazi," so famous in Persian history. The account given by J. Moray Brown for the "Badminton Library" of the introduction of Polo into England (Longmans, Green & Co., 1891), seems to me to be at variance with the facts within my knowledge, for it was introduced into England in 1867, not 1869, by one who had played the Tibetan game as brought to Lahore by me in 1866, after a tour in Middle and Little Tibet. Since then it has become acclimatized not only in England, but also in Europe. The Tibet game, however, does not reach the perfection of the Nagyr game, although it seems to be superior to that of Manipur. Nor is Polo the only game in Hunza-Nagyr. "Shooting whilst galloping" at a gourd filled with ashes over a wooden scaffold rivals the wonderful performances of "archery on horseback," in which the people of Hunza and Nagyr (not "Nagar," or the common Hindi word for "town," as the telegram has it) are so proficient. Nor are European accompaniments wanting to these Central Asian games; for prizes are awarded, people bet freely in Hunza as they do here, they drink as freely, listen to music, and witness the dancing of lady charmers, the Dayál, who, in Hunza, are supposed to be sorceresses, without whom great festivities lose their main attraction. The people are such keen sportsmen that it is not uncommon for the Tham, or ruler, to confiscate the house of the unskilful hunter who has allowed a Markhôr (Ibex) that he might have shot to escape him. Indeed, this even happens when a number of Markhôrs are shut up in an enclosure, "*tsá*," as a preserve for hunting. The following literally translated dialogue regarding Polo and its rules tells an attentive reader more "between the lines" than pages of instructions:—

POLÓ=Bolá.—The Raja has ordered many people: To-morrow Polo I will play. To the musicians give notice they will play.

Hast thou given notice, O (thou)?

Yes, I have given notice, O Nazúr; let me be thy offering (sacrifice).

Well, we will come out, that otherwise it will become (too) hot.

The Raja has gone out for Polo; go ye, O (ye); the riders will start.

Now divided will be, O ye! (2) goals nine nine (games) we will do (play). Tola-half (=4 Rupees) a big sheep bet we will do.

Now bet we have made. To the Raja the *ball* give, O ye, *striking* (whilst galloping) he will take.

O ye, efforts (search) make, young men, to a man disgrace is death; you your own *party* abandon not; The Raja has taken the *ball to strike;* play up, O ye musicians!

Now descend (from your horses) O ye; Tham has come out (victorious); now again the day after to-morrow, he (from fatigue) *recovering Polô* we will strike (play).

Rules:—The musical instruments of Polo; the ground for the game; the riders; the goals; 9, 9 games let be (nine games won); the riders nine one side; nine one (the other) side; when this has become (the case) the drum (Tsagàr) they will strike.

First the Tham takes the ball (out into the Maidan to strike whilst galloping at full speed).

The Tham's *side* upper part will take.

The rest will strike from the lower part (of the ground).

Those above the goal when becoming will take to the lower part.

Those below the goal when becoming to above taking the ball will send it flying.

Thus being (or becoming) whose goal when becoming, the ball will be sent flying and the musicians will play.

Whose nine goals when has become, they issue (victorious).

Chapter 14

FIRST WALKS ABROAD

THE very day after our arrival we went out for a stroll to take 487
stock of our immediate surroundings. Along the Dála, the little stream which ran in front of our house, there is a tiny footpath, just wide enough for one. On our right was the channel in its carefully made bed with a stone revetting wall above it holding up the field above; on our left a fine hedge of quickthorn to keep passing beasts from jumping into the field 4 or
5 feet below. We could hear a merry sound of drums and 527
pipes coming from somewhere downhill, and asked what was 624
on. It seemed that just before we arrived the first barley- [534]
cutting had been celebrated with various ceremonies, which we could only hope to see in detail next year, and some of the jollification was still being kept up. Qudrat Ullah was with us, and a "levy." I must explain the levies. In most villages 624
Government chooses, no doubt on the Mir's advice, one or 124
two of the most respected peasant-farmers who are not headmen or officials of the Mir himself, and pays them a small (very small) monthly wage so that they may be ready to do any little Government jobs that are wanted. There are three in Aliábád, which is relatively a large place with about two hundred scattered houses, and the Political Agent had kindly instructed them that one of their jobs was to be useful to us. I may as well at once introduce the two first: Kalbi is a fine upstanding man, rather darker in colour than the average; and Hurmat, a younger, very cheery fellow with dashing moustaches. They are both intelligent and extremely friendly and eager to help. We didn't see why they should waste time on us for nothing, so David at once agreed with them that he

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

expected to reply: "It is God's will. Accidents will happen. After all, they are beasts of the mountain and the wild." He is reckoned a churlish fellow who institutes enquiries and demands compensation, though no one denies his right to it. The liberty to indulge in an occasional free feed is, we understood, sparingly taken and not abused.

With luck a she-goat will yield enough milk while up on the summer pastures to make two *maltash*, i.e. two birch bark parcels of butter for storage. If the goat is a trustee goat the herd is expected to hand one *maltash* to her owner and to keep the balance as his fee. Sheep's milk is poor in fat content and yields little butter, so it is usually devoted to making *brús* and *rakhpin*, a kind of hard, dried curd which has great lasting qualities and the appearance of a cake of soap.

The day that the herds return from the mountain with their charges is a festive one for the villages. Large parties go out to meet the returning absentees. Before finally leaving the *tér*, driven down by cold and the advancing autumn snows, the herds bake some special little cakes to bring back with them, and crowds of dancing, shouting boys and girls fall on their elder brothers demanding their share. Trust the Hunzukuts to stage a festival on the slightest provocation.

Our Ernest of the white horse reappeared unexpectedly from the *tér* in the middle of the season and walked over from Hasanabad to call on us and bring an offering of *brús* for DL and of wild mountain flowers for me. He had given his animals into a friend's charge, and taken a couple of days off because he was a member of the Hasanabad polo team and was wanted to play in an inter-village match. These matches rouse as much interest as Arsenal *versus* Chelsea, and a good player who is also the possessor of a good pony can ill be spared. I duly took a photo of him and The Cat, he no longer in the rôle of the humble *sais* but of the gentleman polo player. Stout fellow!

These early June days were the time for apricot and mulberry grafting. The cultivated fruit shoots are grafted on to wild trees. We watched the process, about which the Hunzukuts have little to learn. Each graft was given a double lashing of bark from mulberry root. We returned later and found them

4: Lorimer L-3 (1925-4, 1926-8) 1925 AV7 Burushe AV7

No. XXXV

About Naurōs.

They hold Naurōs on the third of Hamal. The Tham slaughters an ox and prepares food and brings it out to the polo-ground. He gets them to make three marks of silver (for an archery contest).

The Tham and the notables and all the men and women of Hunza who go to see shows put on their best clothes and smarten themselves up. The Tham provides Naurōs clothes for the Wazīr and some of the elders.

Then they come to the polo ground and make a heap of earth for the mark and set it up. First of all the Wazīr gallops down (and shoots his arrow at the mark). Then the Gushpurs do so, then the elders. If anyone hits the mark (the Tham) gives it to him; on which they kiss the Tham's hand. If the horsemen in three shots are unable to hit the marks then it is the custom to give them to the bandsmen.

They also do tent-pegging and play polo. And they put on a female Bitan (to perform). And the women and girls take ropes and go to the gardens and tie them to the boughs of tall apricot trees and swing. And the people dance on the polo ground.

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9 *dolj* — originally written *delj*.

11 *sazaberi* — It is said that till the British came in 1892 it was the practice, while carrying the lance under the right armpit, to take the peg on the near side of the horse; which must have been an exciting performance.

mazaldrw — glossed H. *ḍerā kar*; alternative *marpirdan*.

12 *qur* — this diversion is said to have been originally taught by Fatima.

Teer Turakutaan Thame hukum ne giraŝur dveĉai.i. In nikĉrat baŝ'ummar B'altite Traŋfa giraŝ'ai.i. Da Yarpa giraŝai.i. Da Ganeše Traŋfa giraŝai.i, da Altite Traŋfa giraŝai.i, da Haidarabadx Traŋfa giraŝai.i, da Aliabadx Traŋfa giraŝai.i. Ho akĉilatx turma alta kanantse Traŋfatiŋ uy'on tairtse 'ogiraŝa'n. Da Thame mmar rak ctimi kx 'ogiraŝai.i.

Ho tamaŝa faŝ mam'ummar han'o diĉ'an. Teer Baltitkutaar uĉ'an, Ganiĉkutaar uĉ'an, yate Altitkutaar uĉ'an, Haidarabadkutaar uĉ'an, Aliabadkutaar uĉ'an. Tairtse hano uĉah Magartaum Maly'un xa, balke Mátum Daakutaar kx uĉ'an.

Han'o ummar Tham kx uyoqko hakiĉaqar niĉan.

Naurose ite guntaulo uy'one h'akiĉaqulo bukak d'otairĉa'n.

Faqat. Akilatx qadimtaum mirawa bila.

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7 hano diĉan — Note: "It is brought from the Masjid near the end of the pole ground or above it". I don't know if two masjids are here referred to. There is one on the hill side just above the pole ground and somewhat to the West of the middle of it.

Each of the twelve mottoes is called up by name in turn and its share is handed over to it.

12 bukak — Bears have been associated with the spirits of the dead in the beliefs of some peoples, e. g. the Ainu.

[27] In Hunza on this occasion necklaces of beans are made and put on the children. Children not so provided try to snatch the necklaces of the more fortunate.

[Errata: for giraŝai read gir.aŝai, cf. p. 419 cat. 116 -- Analyst]

[i.e. the day of Nauroz 23 -- Analyst]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-8) 1936 AV7 Burushо AV7

First the Thum gives the word and makes one of the Turakuts stand up to dance. When he has danced and sat down again the Trangfa of Bâltît dances. Then the Yerpa dances; then the Trangfa of Ganêsh; then the Trangfa of Âltît; then the Trangfa of Haidarâbâd, and then the Trangfa of Alîâbâd. In this manner they make the Trangfas of all the twelve villages dance, one after another. And then the Thum makes whomever he pleases dance.

Then when the show is over they bring the Bano. They give it first to the people of Bâltît; then to the people of Ganesh; next to those of Âltît, and to those of Haidarâbâd and to those of Alîâbâd. They give the Bano to them in succession (one lot after another) from Miagêr down to Maiyîn, and they give it even to the people of Matum Dêa.

When they have distributed the Bano the Mir and notables go off to their houses.

On the day of Nauroz they cook beans in all the houses.

That is all. From ancient times such is the custom.

No. XXXVI.

The Shikamating.

539* 527 In Hunza when the apricot trees are coming into blossom and the blossom has come (up the valley) to the village of Zongštin there was from of old a custom which they call the Shikamating.

For the Shikamating the people of (each) house make a *pŷšti* (a thick cake of bread) for each person. In the middle of the *pŷšti* they make a slight depression and into it they pour a few drops of oil. They call the *pŷšti* "Kèchi Kichāli."

For some years now they have not kept the Shikamating in Hunza.

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4 ofam — "they used to make" — the custom being now obsolete.

5 yotrpee — the hollow is made by pressure with the thumb.

čulan dil — *čul* and *til* both seem to mean much the same thing 'a drop', 'a very small quantity of liquid'. With *ofan* each seems to be used in the sense of 'to pour a few drops'.

7 mano'i — Brd. pl. *y* of the short form of the pret. of *manare*.

aiy'ročuo — It was stated that the custom was abandoned in 1932 on an economic or futile expenditure, "*fayel mere*".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1924-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

No. XXXVII.

The Odi Custom.

On the fifteenth of May they take away the Hunza flocks to the grazing grounds. When four days remain to the (time for) taking them away the Cherbu calls out: "Ho, tomorrow the Odi is to be kept. Do not milk your goats for yourselves!"

Then the Dirāmiting milk their goats and collect the milk and every day they bring two or three pumpkin-vessels (full) to the Wazir's house. They boil the milk and making a Dirāmiting herdsman carry it and some bread, in company with a brother or son of the Wazir they take it to get the Tham to handsel it. They take it to the Tham's house and get him to say "Bismillah" and taste it.

After that they bring the Odi milk of Ganish, of Altīt, and of the New Settlements to the Tham.

For four days the Dirāmiting milk their goats and collect the milk at the house of the Wazir and make four or five vessels of

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goats", but the sense and a gloss make it 'don't milk your goats for yourselves'.

The alternative given in the first note above is even more indefinite: 'let some of you milk goats!'

4 *ṭsire mamu gati ṭsu ne* — This appears to be an attempt to telescope *ṭsir ṭsu ne* and *mamu gati ne*. But possibly it means "milking their goats all together".

5–6 *ilite evčir* — *ilite* appears to be *-il + ṭse* 'on his lip', *evčir* is the causative of *ate* 'to make him put' v § 240.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1936 AV7 Bursaki AV7

better milk and carry the butter and buttermilk away from the Wazir's house to the Tham. Then the Tham gives them some present and they return to their homes. After that the Dirtmilling take away their flocks to the grazing grounds. 5384 527 234

If any people take their flocks to the grazing grounds before the Odi they fine them a ram. 626 E1

No. XXXVIII.

Gmranie Dastur.

(ff) Yurum zamanatum dastur bila Seratune termatsindi.ulo den gustrum divni ke Gmani mai.i bi. den dayurum divni ke aitarulo Gmani ešwn.

Harie pfal ruka hale iwat manimi ke ho Thame wazir ke
5 akubertiye ke doyarušai, axun savater vhorebai.i: "Amit gunte Gmani ušan ke" nomen. Axune kriayulo zupurun gunle muqarar ešwi.i.

Ho Gmani.er altaqute duwawunar ustadtiq dutum Thame hiqtee gmani.e harip uyarešwn (ar, ešwn). Torimi haje za uyar ustatiq
10 nišwn.

Altni duwawunar Čurbu.e qan.n ešai: "Wa fulana gunter Gmani fi.ae bi. Matatum termiqar namaru burus ditan.in," nomen. Gunšare gun manti za ustatiq harip ešun, bene ke: "Gartbtiq bwman uyun duyelin zuš umanšan" nomen.

15 Da Gmarni wšiš za hari ipfuparae api. Jotphat ke kana.e

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7 Gmarni — It is held later in Gajkuć, the Upper Hunza valley. The term Gmarni seems to apply originally to the small quantity of barley which is torn up and brought into the house, see line 8, page 298, and to the grain of it which is eaten, see line 11 page 298, and then generally to the festival connected with this sampling of the crops.

§ 60 c *pfal* ruka — *pfal* *gmar* seems to be the idiom for "coming into grain, developing grain".

hale iwat — appears to be literally "fox's body" (*-wat). It was explained that the term is used to describe ears when the ears have turned yellowish or reddish i. e. the colour of a fox's fur.

8 *akubertiye ke doyarušai* — *ke* was here substituted for the original *ka* ('with').

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnho AV7

No. XXXVIII.

The Ginâni Custom.

It is the custom from ancient times that the Ginâni be held on the fifteenth of Seraitin if the year turns out hot, but if the year is cold they celebrate the Ginâni on the twentieth.

When the barley has formed grain and the ears have turned yellow, the Tham, after consulting the Wazir and Elders, makes the Akhond look for a favourable time, saying: "Which day should we hold the Ginâni?" The Akhond looks in his book and fixes a day.

Then when eight days remain to the Ginâni they bring the musicians and make them play the Ginâni tune at the Tham's door. The musicians play till ten o'clock and then go away.

When two days remain the Chobu calls out: "Ho, on such and such a day the Ginâni is to be eaten. Go to the distant grazing-grounds and fetch in the *kurie*. All night till daybreak the musicians play music so that all the poor people may hear and rejoice.

Then, until the eating of the Ginâni, rubbing the barley between

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Perhaps the narrator had originally had some other verb in view, as *dryarmas* is not elsewhere accompanied either by the general ablaqu or by the postposition *ka*.

13 *Gramâ Ñ.ar ki* — *ki* agreeing with *gramâ* v. § 491.

13 *kas ka . . . numa* — the grammar is rather confused. The meaning is: "in order that the poor people may be happy", but actually *kas ka* 'because' appears to introduce *numa* "because they say (lit. 'saying') 'let the poor people be happy!'"

kawam — a dialect variant for *kamam*.

15 *cyâ ma* — negative *a + i + ª-M*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

the hands is not permitted; and they warn the small children, saying: "If you rub the barley the Tham will cut out your tongues for you," and frighten them. 534K 527 241

Then when it is time to bring in the Ginâni, they play the Ginâni tune in the morning on the balcony of the Tham's palace. First they go from the Tham's palace to bring in the Ginâni. Then when they have brought the Tham's Ginâni from the fields it is the custom next for all to go away and bring in their own.

They go the fields and say "Bismillah" and pray to the Dêhkân Pîr and then they tear up a little barley by the roots and bring it home. Bringing it to the house they tie a little of the barley to the main pillar and a little they roast at the fire and rub it between their hands. Then they bring buttermilk in a bowl and three times in a spoon(ful of it) one of them puts 3 or 7 grains of the barley for the principal person of the house, and he laps it up. And in like manner all the people of the house in turn handsel the Ginâni grain. [776]

Then the next day they hold the Ginâni sports. In the morning they play polo at Bâltit. After playing polo the Tham and the Elders come to the Tham's upper outside garden to make the people give a display. After they have arrived there they bring bread and *ḕarsa* for the Tham from the houses of the Hunza Elders. The Tham sits down on a seat in the place of assembly and the Wazir and Elders sit down in their respective places and then they eat the bread. When they have eaten, the people assemble for an entertainment at the outside dancing-place, and the Tham and Elders come out and make them dance. First the Tham makes

then given to the senior person in the house who laps it up. This procedure is gone through three times. The word is more correctly *ḕapsa*, but when the accent as here is on the first syllable the quality of the second vowel is not clear.

14 *ḕapsa* — called the *Jamâl Bîrî*.

15 *ḕarsa* — here and in I. 9, p. 330 written *ḕarsâ*, owing no doubt to the influence of the *â* of *ḕapsâ*.

16 *ḕa* — for *ḕe*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1933-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

one of the Terakuts dance and then they make the *Trang/as* and Elders dance in turn. 539 527

The women and children dock themselves out to come to the display. And the men used to come, after they had produced mulberry spirits and drunk and become intoxicated. This year and last year by the order of the Agha Khan, (the Tham) has made them abstain from drinking wine and spirits. Then they dance till midday. 241

When midday has come the Tham leaves the place of assembly and (goes and) lies down. After lying down for a little he gets up and they go off to Altit in the evening to play polo. The people of Altit also bring bread and *barsis*, and when they have eaten they play polo and then go off to their homes.

Two days after holding the Ginâni they celebrate the Piakmer. Then they cut the wheat and barley and prepare threshing floors and stack the harvest.

000 donkey, female donkey. *jakuu gorio* donkey foal. 118.4—120.10. *jakuuuu* wamu ne (or, *ehm*) *hin* there was a donkey big with young. 118.8. wu(r) *ozrah jakun awanfal* may I become your donkey (beast of burden?) in the next world. 54.20,26. *ro jakuu ri Qurq Jakun bilom* the donkey's name was Q. J. 202.4. *jakun ha?* are you an ass?. EOL. Cp. 102.7, 142.26. (Cp. Sh. *ḷakun, jakun*).

jali.ss, jalit- to scatter. — *bo jali.ss* to sow seed (corn). (Cp. Sh. *jalorski* to scatter, sprinkle, sow).

527 *jalee y* assembly, gathering, festival. 288.9.

(Probably from the official annual gathering of the Chiefs and their principal followers, which takes place in March at the Headquarters of the Political Agency, in Gilgit, and which is known as the Jalsa). Ar.

000 1. *jam* completely, perfect. QUR H. *lakul.* — *jam jindagar hai.i* he is a real magician. IYB.

2. *jam* *-*ahu* to beat (a tree, with a long stick to knock down fruit) to worry (a person). — *ta jam oti* beat down the apricots. *ata jam oiyoti* don't worry people.

3. *jam* *-*mamu* to feel shame, be affected by s.t. — *jam ewadhai.i* he is unashamed, unaffected.

(This and the preceding are possibly the same, the radical meaning being "to shake". Cp. Sh. *jam jam ḍhorski*, to shake a thing and turn it round).

601 *jamorat* sg. and pl. *hmf.*

1. Spouse, wife, husband.

a. Wife. In the vocative it takes the special form of address: *a. ro jamorat* O wife! 34.9, 40.8.

214 b

256 splash against the water wheel or paddle. The force is
[376] sufficient to make the millstone revolve at a tremendous pace. The water can be quickly shut off by just putting the missing stone back in place, diverting the water flow down the conduit.

The millstones are enclosed by a tray or bin about 5 or 6 inches high. As the ground wheat or flour is forced out between the stones, it slowly fills the bin. Then it is scooped up into goatskin bags, usually by a woman who is looking after the mill. In this manner it
[262] is carried to the individual homes to be used in making the wholesome whole wheat Hunzan bread and chapatties.

There appeared to be no large scale or assembly line grinding. Each individual came in with a container of wheat to be ground.

[262] Barley and rye are also used for flour and occasionally, millet and buckwheat.

262 The earliest crop that can be ground into flour in
[243] Hunza is barley. After the long winter, food supplies are worn to the near starvation level and when the first
[527] barley is ready for harvest, people of Hunza have cause to celebrate and do so in their barley festival.

252 I soon learned why chapatties were used in prefer-
262 ence to bread, not only in Hunza but all over Pakistan and India. A chapatty requires only flour and water, a bit of mixing and then rolling out and laying on a piece of metal that is laid over a fire. In a few minutes it can be turned and then it is ready for eating. Even though bread might taste better, it certainly would require a lot more preparation. Simplicity is the keynote!

251 From what I saw, very little flour is stored and probably the people of Hunza have long ago learned their lesson, that wheat ground into flour does not have long keeping qualities.

533 important part of the proceedings.

533 They have their big feast day just before harvest
535 time and it takes place in the month of Ramadan. At
this festival, the musicians set things in motion by
527 starting very early in the morning, and the entire band joins in the sound and the fury. This is followed by dancing and they dance continually, though the same tune is being played over and over and over again in utter monotony. The musicians sit on the floor and make music without pausing, while the dancing goes on in the same way. There are no intermissions or stops.

[643] At this feast the Mir sits on a raised platform in full
[292] regalia. He wears a hat made of Persian lamb, the type of hat you've seen policemen wear in the cold climates in the wintertime.

562 The men invariably dance with their faces turned
[535] towards the Mir. No, the women do not dance, strange to relate. They are merely onlookers. They take no part in any of the social functions or in sport or entertainment. Such Hunzan activities are marked by the distinct absence of women. The Mohammedan religion does not allow women to take part in the social life of the community. This, as far as I can ascertain, has no counterpart in any other religion on earth.

Further, women have no rights or privileges.

After learning of these restrictions by the Mohammedan faith, I felt that there would be no mass migration on the part of the women of the West to Hunza.

535 The harvest dance is very similar to what might be
termed a victory dance or a great celebration. The most
292 colorful and interesting dances are the sword dances. The men wear gaily colored costumes that are really very attractive. Their costumes are densely figured and brocaded and the heavy Chinese silks are used as the material. The swords and shields are handmade.

between your knees of a frightened horse. We put the animals 487
into a quick trot—anything faster only invites stumbling—and got happily across without accident, though some quite nasty rocks were falling at intervals. All the rest got over safely too. We were not sorry when this bit of the road, was behind us. These two Nagir *zhingáts* are to my mind the ugliest bits of road in the Agency. They don't look nearly as sensational as the many *peris*—which can, of course, be dangerous enough at times—but a firm shelf, however high and narrow, is preferable to a shifting surface.

Somewhere below us under the cliffs on the Nagir side of 644
the river gorge, but out of sight of the road, is the Hakúchar 529
spring, where Hunza and Nagir royal ladies occasionally go into camp together for a few days. It was pleasant to think that the young princesses, married across the water into the related family of the hereditary foe, are able to meet their own womenfolk in privacy from time to time. When such a party is arranged five large tents are pitched there for them.

It was very hot slithering down the powdery spiral descent 000
to river level, riding along the sea-beach to the bridge and then mounting the long Hunza zigzag to Murtazábád, but once there we came again into the welcome shade of apricots and *gindáwer* (jujube trees, I think). I very much wished that rome of our own family could have been with us to see our arrival "home." Never in the days when DL was Political Agent and was popularly believed to have money and offices in his gift did we get such a reception. Though we were forty-eight hours ahead of our programme, the news that we were coming had got all round the countryside. Our easily identifiable little procession had, of course, been seen crawling for hours along the Nagir mountain side. Four miles out from Aliábád, on the hither side of the great Hasanabad Nullah, the advance guard met us: two small boys of six or seven had pattered out on their bare feet to be the first to welcome us. A few hundred yards farther on another little pair; next the three levies, who were, of course, to a small extent in our pay (they got the princely sum of nine rupees a month every third month when they came "on duty"!), and then at the bridge at the bottom.

They were obviously of American or European origin . . . probably grown from seeds that someone had sent him. Plants like zinnias, snapdragons and asters were readily recognizable. 247 177

Then, I was very much surprised to see in front of the bungalow, of all things, a swimming pool . . . and the youth of the district were swimming and enjoying themselves to the fullest possible extent. They were shouting, laughing, splashing and cavorting about just as you would expect boys and girls to do in any swimming pool in America. They displayed the same reckless abandon, glee and happiness that our children do. 529 643 [644]

At this time I thought to myself that here was another mark of the Mir's bigness. He was allowing the children of the town to make full use of his personal family swimming pool. This was quite different from what most people expect of eastern potentates.

I'm not sure that this little incident impresses you but I assure you I was quite impressed by it. It added to my conviction that the people of Hunza were really free and democratic.

A little way off were our yaks and their guides. "Let's go," I said to Jahangir and Sultan Ali, making straight for the yaks. "The Mir and Cec will be waiting for us, so I guess we'd best be off." 000

I selected the larger of the two yaks because I'm quite a bit heavier, or almost twice as heavy as Jahangir. I was assisted on to the yak's back and the yak didn't seem to be too happy about it! For the first time since I'd been riding, which wasn't very long, I felt really comfortable. The well-padded broad back of the animal was delightful to sit on and, best of all, he had a western style saddle. I'm always afraid of falling off a horse with those English saddles because I've got nothing to hold on to except the reins and for my kind of 492

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342 dations, and the walls erected, every stone for which old Nadíro totted down the mountain side on his own back.

● 531 We often said to each other : "These Hunza people are no artists; that's one reason perhaps why they are so sensible and so like ourselves." But when we looked at the millions and myriads of stones that held their fields, each one in its place, and all fitted as neatly as a jigsaw puzzle, when we examined the lovely curves and tapering points of their five-pronged winnowing forks and the lashings of gut or sinew that bound them, we agreed that they were artists after all—in their own medium.

531 For many months we saw Nadíro spending every spare
342 moment on the site, squaring and planing and trimming the posts and rafters, door-frames and cupboards that will be the pride of his posterity. He was lavishing great care on capitals, and ornamenting them and the lintels with fancy carvings. Except in the house of a special carpenter, carving is not indulged in in Hunza (a great contrast in this respect to Chitral, or even Yasin, where the Chitral tradition has penetrated). The few carved doors and windows that you see in the old forts and mosques at Áltít and Báltít probably date back to
[346] the Balti craftsmen who built them. There is a little old mosque in Aliábád attractively carved, but no one could tell us for certain whether some foreign craftsman had done the work or local men. The ordinary peasant house, at any rate, has none—Hunza peasant architecture is essentially "functional."

P. 132

homes, and the women know no other. The existence of 563
this interesting language-island, within the language-island of 197
Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn.

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there 463
are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliábád there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master.

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above 286
us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo 487
of No. 7 and Ustád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin.

One day I had been sitting with one of Afiato's daughters- 531
in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking 192
the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

[192] embroidering, and I had filled several pages of my notebook
531 when her attention was diverted by the cow she was minding. It had plunged down a 6-foot wall and was enjoying itself in a
000 neighbour's ripening crop. "Excuse me," said Gohir Nimo, "having smitten the cow I shall come back." She did, and we resumed the lesson. I took the needle and ventured on a few stitches. "Oh, you can sew like us!" she exclaimed with surprise. There were so many everyday things I could not do just like them that her surprise was justified. Soon I noticed her growing restive: "I haven't yet had my morning bread; I
286 expect you had yours before you came out. Good-bye." As she left me, chivvying her cow homewards, I looked round for new occupation, and saw old grandfather of No. 7 climbing cautiously down a field wall with a shapeless bundle under his arm. I worked my way across country to the empty field he had made for, to see what was toward and found to my delight that he was getting his loom into order. Moth had played some havoc with his heddle threads and a finicky job he had to replace them. When this was done he called a son or two to help him to lay out the warp. They set up and steadied the loom with stones, then drove a peg into the ground so many cubits off. One of the assistants made fast one end and then paid out the wool from a fat ball of doubled thread, slung it round the peg, and brought it back to grandfather, who attached it with an ingenious knot that defied my analysis, and off went another loop round the distant peg. When these preliminaries were over, for which the flat space of the open field was necessary, the old man assembled his loom again and climbed up the wall to set it up in his pit and get to work. Hunza homespun is of a most beautiful thick quality, as unlike as possible to the loose, semi-transparent cloth that hand-weavers at home achieve, a stuff that would not withstand the hard wear of Hunza fields for an instant. Two hundred and forty warp threads go to the width of 9 or 10 inches of cloth.

The tiny pit is almost square—2 feet by 2 feet 9 inches—and just 2 feet deep; the sides of it are revetted inside with small stones on the model of the field walls and edged at the top with a wooden kerb, fitted with holes into which pegs can be in-

And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots and herbs from which they prepare simple medicines for their needs. Nowadays they are able to attend the Government dispensary in Aliábád, but its nostrums have not yet undermined their faith in their own home-made remedies. We very much wished that we had possessed some knowledge of medical botany and could have brought home records of their medicine; but like so many other branches of knowledge which we regretfully ignored, it would have been a specialist's job, and we had out hands full enough with our own work and all too little time at our disposal. 278 757

During the imprisonment of winter the women cut and stitch the winter cloaks, adorning each long seam with a double row of backstitching, which is not only seemly to the eye but serves to hold the raw edges in place. The stiff, shaped collar is decorated with varied designs, diamonds, triangles, and straight lines in the same backstitch. Happily few of them can yet afford to let Dirzi Nazir replace their time-honoured skill with the soulless, cotton stitchery of his sewing machine. We noted with grief that the beautifully hand-embroidered *chogas* with which the Mir presented us this time all had their seams Singer-sewn, and had thus lost (for us) much of their charm. 294 531 [172]

With prudent foresight the woman makes the *choga* six good inches too long for its destined wearer, and introduces a deep tuck above its lower edge. It will last at least three years and will shrink in successive washings. You can tell at a glance whether a man is wearing his best, or medium, or oldest *choga* by the depth—or absence—of the tuck. In former days embroidery was the monopoly of the few royal ladies who beguiled the tedium of their too-sheltered life by decorating *chogas* with bold designs in bright-coloured silks, or working raised patterns of gold and silver on velvet saddle-cloths, and above all in elaborating delicate designs in cross-stitch for the crown and border of their lovely little caps. Where we clumsily work cross-stitch with wool on canvas, they painstakingly cross-stitch the individual threads of calico with bright, gay silks. The patterns are infinitely varied—we possess dozens of specimens of this fine work, no two are alike—but

[The Burusho women .. Analyst]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

all appeared to us to suggest Persian inspiration. I heard one lady say with regret for a golden past: "What is the world coming to? Why nowadays the very peasant girls embroider silken caps for themselves!"

True enough; now that a little money filters into almost every home the women can get hold of coloured silk from India or Kashgar, and it was a common sight to see girls and women open a tiny home-made bag that hung on their tunic, and take out a strip or circle of calico, a needle, and a bunch of silk, and continue work on a dainty cap. The threads of the cloth were carefully counted and the design traced out in black thread. The silks they used were unpun, clinging masses that I found impossible to handle, and how they manipulated them so skilfully with fingers roughened, you would have thought, by field work, I could not divine. For about 1s. 6d. they can buy enough silk to cover one cap with minute embroidery, and they blend their colours, red, blue, green, orange, purple, yellow, and black, with unerring taste. We laid in a store of their favourite shades so that on occasion we could make an acceptable gift to a bride preparing her trousseau.

After a first experience of trifling gifts of balls and combs we had decided that it would be a crime to spoil the simple, spontaneous kindness of the children or their parents by indiscriminate giving. So we restrained a longing to distribute even sweets and pins, and only made an occasional present on very special occasions or for very definite services rendered. On the other hand, we made a note of such things as would be useful and acceptable, and gathered a hoard of them for our ultimate visits of farewell.

Amongst the women's crafts I have already mentioned the neat little "ashtrays" they conjure from the residual mush of apricot kernels after they have extracted the oil. Washing is amongst them a simple matter. Having no fat, they can make no soap, but there is a plant, called *himan*, which they grow amongst their vegetables, the seeds of which when pounded yield a delightful soapy lather. This is used for special washings only. Every-day cotton clothes are simply rinsed in cold water, flung on a flat stone and beaten with a wooden mallet. When

439 shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bericho (sg. Berits; brwi-to, brwi-tal), corresponding to the Doms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also [D35] within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

443 Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

● 531 I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant trifling, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

535 533 534 Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bericho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitár is known.

Ḳon ḑon IUB. simple and stupid, honest and simple, H. *sirda lrḑ, sirdke sirdke.*

Ḳon Ḳon, Ḳonon, Ḳonovo x y; *hin hin* h.

1. One another, each other. V. § 134. 96.7, 154.13, 156.2.
2. Ḳon Ḳon one each. V. § 207.

(See also references under *hin*).

Ḳoṡi sg. and pl., double pl. *Ḳonoṡa*, x kernel (of apricot, peach, cherry etc.), apricot kernel. H. *giri*. — *Ḳoḑono Ḳonion ḑi* it is an almond kernel. *Ḳoḑono Ḳoṡi ḑiono* there are almond kernels. *ardir ẓokon Ḳon'i oiono* they make (ready) 2 chops of apricot kernels. 308.1. (Cp. Sh. Ḳoṡi).

Ḳonik -oto x.

1. Big wooden vessel for food (shallower than a bowl, and deeper than a dish or platter). — *maltale Ḳonik* a dish of butter. 340.1. Cp. 340.13—19, 342.1,2.

Regarding the old Sepfan konika at Baltit and Yasin see Text No. XIII, p. 208.

The former, said to date from the time of Alexander the Great(?), I have seen and handled. It is cut out of a single piece of cheaper wood and is 29" in diameter. The upper surface presents a gentle uniform concave curve, and bears 3 sets of lines, each set consisting of 3 slightly incised lines. It is crossed by four copper bands which intersect at the centre and divide the circle into 8 equal sectors.

On the underside and towards the centre four protuberances of wood have been left to act as feet. Nearer the circumference 4 iron handles are attached to it by iron chains.

who climbs the lofty crags around Hunza to bring down 099
the Marco Polo sheep or ovis poli is entitled to his bag. But after all, who am I to deal so generously with the life of another animal?

Then the Mir had for me two Hunzan hats of the 123
type that the men wear and also two women's hats, the 291
latter brightly colored and very neatly embroidered. [531]
He also gave me a bolt of elegantly embroidered red silk, displaying a young man and woman, a bird of paradise and what was more appropriate, a yak. Then last but not least, laying beside the other items was a white hairy mass, which for the moment I did not recognize. It was a yak's tail.

Then he said, "There is a pair of typical native Hunzan shoes being made especially for you and they will be sent to you as soon as available. I'd like to send the shoes to you later, because I am waiting for some new hides which some of my men will bring down from high up in the mountains when they've had a chance to bring down some of the ovis poli. I want you to have the best."

"I guess I can wait for the shoes," I jested. "The ones I am wearing, plus another pair that I have in my knapsack, will carry me back along the Hunza trail, I think, but I certainly will be happy to have a pair of Hunzan shoes as another momento of my visit to your most enchanting country."

Then suddenly a thought occurred to me and I said 302
to the Mir, "I notice all of your men are clean-shaven . . . that is, except for the occasional one now and then who has a little beard around his chin. Therefore I know for certain that you must practice shaving in Hunza. Yet I have seen nowhere a sign of a razor. Further, I'm reasonably sure that this is one part of the world that King Gillette has not invaded with his

on our left and passed the field in which to-morrow the Bopfau ceremonies were to take place. As we drew near, the various princes and princelings came out courteously to welcome us, the less important ones, of course, coming farthest, then the grandsons in reverse age-order, and lastly Ghazan Khán himself, the heir and "Prince of Wales." Just outside the Fort there is a fine pond outlined with poplars, the main "road" (say 4 feet wide) on the left of it. The hall-doors of the houses open straight on to this track, their front-door steps being tree trunks with notches cut in them in which the foot is planted sideways as you mount.

Prince Ghazan Khan led us through a narrow alley between the town houses to where the Mir himself was standing to greet us. As always he made us feel more than welcome, and took us to a nicely carpeted balcony where chairs stood ready. The balcony was only a few feet above the courtyard, and we had a perfect view. You must try to imagine a "courtyard," with no straight walls or edges, shut in by irregular tiers of houses piled on top of each other, mounting the rock to the towering Fort above, their flat roofs and roofed balconies all projecting higgledy-piggledy as the haphazard contours of the rock dictate. Every roof and point of vantage was packed with people till, as usual, you felt sure the beams were bound to crash. Everybody was in their gayest and brightest dress, and every single face just radiant. There never was a people anywhere with such a gift for looking happy as the Hunzukuts.

In the courtyard the musicians squatted at the base of the walls: three pipers, three men with pairs of kettledrums, and three big drummers, all of them clowning and play-acting vigorously as they played. Dancing of the more or less ordinary type was going on, varied by the singing of songs—all unfortunately in Shina, not Burushaski. The Hunza people say they have no songs of their own. DL conscientiously recorded the words of these songs later, but as in the case of the Tumushelling chant it is doubtful whether after centuries of being mangled they will yield any intelligent meaning.

Presently the GREAT DANCE came ón. The most glorious

4: Lorimer L-3 (1933-4, 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Barnhart AV7

No. XX.

The Man Who Supped with the Pfûts.

5394

A Story of Former Times.

One day a goat belonging to a man got lost. (As he went on) looking and looking for it night came down on him. He was returning to his home without having seen it and as he came along there was a light in the Bûri Bûn and there were Pfûts dancing. He also went in, they say, and mixed with them, and danced, and then sat down among them.

After dancing, the Pfûts brought food for a wedding party and at the end when they had eaten they brought a skin. Then they demanded from all the bones of their shares of the meat, and collected them. There was one rib short. That rib the man, to whom they had given it as his share, had hidden from them. Then they made a rib of wood and threw the bones into the skin, and on shaking it up the goat came to life. When the man looked he saw that it was his own goat. The Pfûts drove it out and then they went off as a wedding party to the house of the Sughûralo Pfût.

When the man, having departed thence, came to his home that goat of his was there at the door. On the morrow, when he slaughtered it, one rib was missing and in its place was a wooden rib.

Besides this, the man had brought a dance tune from the Pfûts [533] house. They still call that tune the "Pfût's Tune" and they play it even at the present day.

4a Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-6) 1935 AV7 Burnsho AV7

Then they grind the *mawtikī* (flour) for the wedding — for the *Ākhwali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qiota* separately. He grinds two *tallchaqe* (= 336 lbs.) for the *Ākhwali* and five *chaqe* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *Ākhwali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qiota*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmitīng bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gov majok* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 *yirig* — the songs are in Shina.

10 *ñkwaste* — *ñ/ñ* must be the genitive of *ñ/ñ* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gowai — originally written *gowa*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gowai* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gowa*, 'bridegroom'.

12 *ño gwalaolo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *marak'ow* — this is in front of the Fort at Bálti.

4: Lortimer 1-3 (1933-4; 1934-5) 1936 AV7 Buruaho AV7

Then afterwards the (grooms of the) other three tribes come out. Then the Tham also comes out to the place of assembly, and all the bridegrooms of all the four tribes come out on to the dancing place and, forming a circle, sing songs about all the former Thams in order. They sing the songs in Shina.

One party start a song and the second party take it up from them. So doing they sing songs for a longer or shorter time. When they have finished singing in succession the songs of the Thams they then play the (slow time tune) *Bapo.ì Dusi* and a man of the Terakuts tribe dances before them, and the Diramiting bridegrooms dance with him. When they have danced for a little they salàm to the Tham and sit down. Then the Hurukuts (bridegrooms) dance, and then the Burtog, and then the Bertsaling.

In this way they amuse themselves till evening. Then when evening comes the bridal parties — on the Bridegroom's part twelve or six men — go off each to the house of their respective brides. When the party enters the house they count them and slaughter a kid and the party go inside the house and sit down and sing songs for a little. Then they set food before them and, when they have eaten, the Akhond recites the Khutba in order to effect the marriage of the youth and the girl.

Then they make a relation stand up on the part of the Bridegroom, and they make a relation stand up on the part of the Bride as their representatives. They call them *wakìle*. The Akhond when he has recited the Khutba and fixed the bride-price first asks the Bride in a low voice: "Are you content with this man?" and she

10 *gurusi* — here glossed: "*H. bewtaurle*, groom's party; each lot go to their bride's house".

11 *gurusi hilve* — i. e. the Bridegroom. Similarly one may say *gurusi dasin* for the Bride. *Iwrus altan* — a note says that the Bridegroom's party consists of 6 or 12 persons, and the Bride's of 12.

12 *sutkan* — 'counting them up to six, or twelve'. For the larger number perhaps the allowance of kid is increased.

17 *sag'atan* — past participle of γ*atanan* here, and often, written *sak'atan*; but I have generalised *g* for the unvoiced equivalent of γ.

18 *gurusilaem* — *gurusi* is here used for "Bridegroom".

dotman hankar ek kanpko tanka thoryas). 000

dani -*mots* s slow-time music (for dancing to). 533

Said to have been brought from Chitral by Wazir Asadullah Beg, grandfather of Wazir Shukrullah Beg and Jemadar Imam Yar Beg.

Kapro dani, or *thama dani* a tune played when the Mir should be going to sleep at his midday siesta, also when the Wazirs dance. 102.6.

Kapo refers to the Mir's grandfather. It is also played at marriages. The *dawnal*, *daday* and *sawnai* are all employed. (Cp. Sh. *dhani*, Kho. *dawai*).

dantsil y sulphur. — *dantsilo* here a boulder so called near Murtaza.abad in Hunza. There are sulphurous springs there, the water of which is hot enough to cook meat, eggs, etc. and in which the local people wash their clothes. (Cp. Sh. *dantsal*, sulphur). 000

daŋ y sleep. H. *nind*, *neb*. — *ja daŋ jadirin* my sleep is coming, i.e. I am becoming sleepy. I am sleepy. *Lapo daŋ ottimi* at night I did not get to sleep. *daŋinum dittimi* he woke up from sleep. 30.5. *daŋ dasuryas* "to bring sleep", i.e. to go to sleep. *ja dasy daŋ dasuryas* I shall sleep for a little. *jadin ottai tasw daŋ dasurjas* (or, *daŋtas ulias*) he does magic that they may go early to sleep. 118.1. N. *daŋ d*ᵃ*-ohas* to put s.o. to sleep. (*d*ᵃ*-ohas*, Ca. of *dasuryas*). *daŋ* ᵃ*-araras*, or *daŋtasw d*ᵃ*-astralas* to cause to wake (ᵃ*-araras* being in effect the Ca. of *niyas* to go. Cp. the 6th. example above). *Lapo Brumoma daŋ marrimi*

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

326 tion of these unusual people stirred up an interest within
533 me, and I wanted to know more about them. I found
563 very little data could be obtained from any of the books I had been able to read on the subject.

[173] But after much discourse and questioning, I learned what I had begun to suspect . . . that the Bericho were actually gypsies who had come to India more than 2,000 years ago. From India, as good gypsies would do, they fanned out to spread themselves in small groups over the entire country . . . some ultimately settling in Baltistan, from whence a colony were sent off to Hunza.

Their place of abode is actually a village known as Berishal. It is a known fact that the people of Hunza depend entirely upon the Bericho for their iron-mongering and their tool-smithing and their music-making.

I was very happy to have unearthed this information so I can pass it along to my readers.

[871] These Berichos used to send their children out of
[167] Hunza to be educated and the Mir told me that he had to put a stop to this practice . . . not because he objected to the children of the Bericho being educated, but because the children did not return or remain with the trade of their parents. As the Mir's country needed artisans of this type, he had to put a stop to their sending their children elsewhere for education.

The Mir went on to tell me how important these Berichos were to the community. They fashioned farm
[414] implements as well as hardware like hinges, latches, razors and many other essential farm and household necessities that are fashioned from metal. Besides making the implements of peace, the blacksmith could also fashion a shotgun barrel.

[651] He further mentioned that each household in the community pays a small tithe as a contribution to-

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland. 326 533 563 [651]

The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil. 325

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh." 326 316 135

This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy. 306 301 [135]

Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work 322 177

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 40

Amusements

MUSIC IN HUNZA has been cultivated to a greater degree than many or most other arts and crafts. It is entirely different from the European or Western style of music. Authorities claim that the music of Hunza can be likened to that of the medieval European music. 533

It is interesting to note that a people so remotely placed away in a small aerie in the mountains, are so fond of music and they have their own types and kinds of instruments which are played by masters at the art.

In Hunza music is not purely for entertainment It is the essential ritual at all social functions and when the Mir returns from his visits to Altit and other parts of the country, he is greeted by the band playing music specifically prepared and used for such gala functions. Of course at the beginning of every polo match the band plays and plays and plays and continues playing till the end of the match. At every festival music is an [526]

533 important part of the proceedings.

533 They have their big feast day just before harvest
535 time and it takes place in the month of Ramadan. At
527 this festival, the musicians set things in motion by starting very early in the morning, and the entire band joins in the sound and the fury. This is followed by dancing and they dance continually, though the same tune is being played over and over and over again in utter monotony. The musicians sit on the floor and make music without pausing, while the dancing goes on in the same way. There are no intermissions or stops.

[643] At this feast the Mir sits on a raised platform in full
[292] regalia. He wears a hat made of Persian lamb, the type of hat you've seen policemen wear in the cold climates in the wintertime.

562 The men invariably dance with their faces turned
[535] towards the Mir. No, the women do not dance, strange to relate. They are merely onlookers. They take no part in any of the social functions or in sport or entertainment. Such Hunzan activities are marked by the distinct absence of women. The Mohammedan religion does not allow women to take part in the social life of the community. This, as far as I can ascertain, has no counterpart in any other religion on earth.

Further, women have no rights or privileges.

After learning of these restrictions by the Mohammedan faith, I felt that there would be no mass migration on the part of the women of the West to Hunza.

535 The harvest dance is very similar to what might be
292 termed a victory dance or a great celebration. The most colorful and interesting dances are the sword dances. The men wear gaily colored costumes that are really very attractive. Their costumes are densely figured and brocaded and the heavy Chinese silks are used as the material. The swords and shields are handmade.

The dancers follow the music and keep time with it. 535
The onlookers, in many cases, keep rhythm with their feet. The dancing and music go on until most of the spectators and the participants eventually leave.

One of their most useful instruments is known as a 534
sitar. It is a wooden stringed instrument very much like our mandolin. Then there is the rebab. It is a much larger stringed instrument and is evidently identical with the Indian's rebab. Then they have their wind instruments, too. The first is the surnai. It is a big clarinet with an unusual, remarkable intensity of sound. Another unusual instrument is the tutek which is but a simple small wooden flute. The third type of wind instrument is the gabi which is a very long transverse flute. Its special use is in plays or music that includes fairies and is used chiefly for the fairies' incantation. Its music is exceedingly sweet sounding and very high pitched. And last but not least are the many kinds of drums. They come in all sizes from tiny ones that can be worn around the neck by a young boy to the big bass boom-boom.

Like all oriental forms of music, the Hunzan band 533
seems to capture the true style so well known to the East . . . pleasing, high pitched sounds but with very little variation. After a little while all of the sounds seem the same and appear to be one repetition after another—most monotonous!

During the summer there is not much social life in 517
the evenings because the people are tired. They work hard all day. But in the winter there is regular dancing and meetings with friends.

I would gather that the people of Hunza don't need 526
sports too badly because life and living in Hunza compels the individual to be active. Thus, he doesn't have to indulge in sports to get exercise.

526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in
[311] the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for
[367] sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall sur-
[417] rounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

they play from the time the game starts until it finishes. 526
I don't know who would be more tired . . . the musi- [533]
cians, the polo players or the excited, active, shouting spectators.

I paced off the field and counted 90 good paces [367]
long and 40 wide. This would make it approximately 270 x 120 feet. This is quite a bit smaller in size than the modern polo field which is 300 x 200 feet, and would tend to make the Hunzan sport more hazardous and nerve-racking.

Instead of goal posts they use two large white stones at either end.

The game was started into action by the Mir, in [643]
this case, who started off at the further end at a gallop. As he reached the center, he threw the ball high into the air and as it came down he clobbered it and the game—or the mad scramble—was on!

There are 6 players on each team and as the ball is pummeled from one place to another, the screams of the spectators and the players are more frenzied than those heard at a baseball game.

There are no rules—except that the team who scores 9 goals first is the winner, and the game doesn't stop until one of the teams has scored 9 goals. They don't have rest periods; they don't change horses or men; there are no penalties and no fouls. So you can just imagine the carryings-on.

If the ball is struck or bounces off the wall and is caught by one of the players, this permits him to ride through the goal posts and deposit the ball and score a goal . . . if the opposition will let him! Any means can be and usually are undertaken to prevent him from reaching the goal to which he is entitled to proceed. If they're bold enough and strong enough, they can even pull him from his mount.

526 They seldom ever score 9 goals in less than an hour and many times a game will last half a day. And [533] through all this gleeful yelling and shouting—everybody seems to scream like mad—the band is playing its martial tunes.

When a player scores a goal, he proceeds to pick up the ball and follow the same procedure as the Mir did when he started the action. He races madly down the field, screaming and yelling at the top of his lungs. With the scoring of every goal they change ends; that is, what was the first team's goal now becomes their opponent's goal.

[164] From Gilgit to Altit, whenever I saw someone who had a broken nose or some other definite sign of body injury, I would know even before inquiring, that it was gained in honor on the polo field.

[535] When at last one of the teams scored 9 goals and the game was finished, both teams took part in a dance. The winning team dances first and when they have completed their dance, the losing team do their stint. How they could have the strength and energy required to dance, after hours of unrelenting top-pitch physical activity is more than any Westerner can understand.

The horsemanship displayed at the polo matches beggars that seen at western rodeos. In fact, a Hunzan polo game makes the wildest of rodeos seem almost tame. When it comes to horsemanship, you'd have to go a long way to get anyone to beat these tough, hardy mountaineers.

[164] So furious was the game that I inquired if anyone was ever killed playing polo. The Mir replied that he had never heard of any fatalities from a polo game, but that on many occasions a player was incapacitated. I [743] felt that it would be a good idea if they could build their polo fields close to the hospital at Aliabad!

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusha AV7

133 land of silent mystery. Looking up from our vantage ground above the glacier, it was obvious that the ice rivers had receded, and, judging from the people's traditions at no distant date, leaving gigantic moraines to the south and in the direction of Hispar.

241 The road to this point from Nagar was very pretty, running entirely through cultivation and orchards, and occasionally under the walls of a village fort. The people were evidently very hard working, and the cultivation and labour expended on walling the fields 609 was most thorough. At some villages they used to bring us out presents of fruit, and at all they were civil and pleasant. They are a nice people, and independent. One old man was very indignant at the men with us for passing along the edge of his 651 field where there was no footpath. We came in one place on an amusing instance of the world-wide tendency to scamp Government work. We were crossing a field which I noticed was very badly gleaned, and I asked the reason. I was told it was one of the Thum's, and that, as the villagers had to cultivate and reap it for him, they did not take as much trouble as if it had been their own.

533 A boy came along with us one day, and played on a long pipe with a very sweet note. It was quite a pastoral. The last we saw of him he was wandering below us on a classic lawn, by the side of a stream which ran flecked with sunlight under the shadow of great walnut trees, playing his pipe, whose plaintive notes floated up to us, mingled with the murmur of 301 the water. His dard cap was ornamented with a garland of red and white flowers stuck into its folds.

000 I had to leave Nagar long before I had exhausted

are very steep, involving at times springing from one ledge of a rock to another, or dropping on to it from a height of six feet, when, if the footing is lost, the wild torrent sweeps one away. Colonel Biddulph does not credit the Nagyris with bravery. History, however, does not bear out his statement; and the defeat inflicted on the Kashmir troops under Nathu Shah in 1848 is a lesson even for the arrogance of a civilized invader armed with the latest rifle. The Nagyris are certainly not without culture; in music they were proficient before the Muhammadan piety of the Shiah sect somewhat tabooed the art. At all events, they are different in character from the Hunzas with whom they share the same language, and their chiefs the same ancestry. The Hunzas, in whom a remnant of the Huns may be found, were great kidnappers; but under Kashmir influence they stopped raiding since 1869, till the confusion incidental to our interference revived their gone occupation. Indeed, it is asserted on good authority, that even our ally of Chitrál, who had somewhat abandoned the practice of selling his Shiah or Kalásha Kafir subjects into slavery, and who had so disposed of the miners for not working his ruby mines to profit, has now returned to the trade in men, "with the aid of our present of rifles and our moral support." Nor is Bokhara said to be behind Chitrál in the revival of the slave-trade from Darwáz, in spite of Russian influence; so that we have the remarkable instance of two great Powers both opposed to slavery and the slave-trade, having revived it in their approach to one another. Nor is a third Power, quite blameless in the matter; for when we worried Hunza, that robber-nest remembered its old allegiance to distant Kitái and arranged with the Chinese authorities at Yarkand to be informed of the departure of a caravan. Then, after intercepting it on the Kulanuldi road, the Hunzas would take those they kidnapped from it back for sale to Yarkand!

As a matter of fact, we have now a scramble for the regions surrounding and extending into the Pamirs by

Rudolph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880
4
A+3 Dard A+3
Burushe A+7

D 535 B 535

Indian nautch. In Hunza a very spirited sword-dance is performed. Sometimes two or three dancers enter the circle together, one acting as leader to the others. At weddings ten or twelve join in, each holding sword or battle-axe in hand. The public dancing of women, mixed with men, is now only practised in Hunza. In Bushkar dances of women take place on feast days, but men are not allowed to be present. In Chitral and Yassin the Ashimadek class affect to despise dancing, and seldom join in it, but the rulers of those countries keep dancing-boys for their amusement. In Yassin, on one occasion, I witnessed some of their performances by torch-light, which made a very picturesque scene.

D 534 B 534 D 533 B 533

The music consists of a double-headed drum beaten with sticks, two or three pairs of small metal kettle-drums, and two or three clarionets made of apricot wood. Special airs are reserved for the ruler and different officials. The musicians are Doms, and every man of any consideration has his own band, which attends him whenever he moves. Every village also has its band. The singing is of a less pleasing nature, but it is interesting, as being one of the methods by which old historical traditions are preserved. In Gilgit singing by individuals is not common, the usual practice being to form large chorus parties, which chaunt the deeds of former kings. Generally the singers form into two parties, each of ten or a dozen, and sing alternate verses. The end of the verse is emphasized by a simultaneous step or bound forward, or sideways, which causes jostling and somewhat mars the effect.

Considerable difference exists in the nature of the songs of the different countries. In Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager, the songs are, with few exceptions, of a warlike nature, and celebrate the achievements of different princes. In Hunza and Nager, where the language spoken is Boorishki, the songs are in Shina, as the native language does not readily lend itself to poetry. Shina songs are harsh, and the words

4th Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~Afghanistan~~ KUT
9 A43 Dard A43
Burushe A47

present a few striking images which want connection, and which are often repeated with wearisome iteration. The Khowar songs are mostly of an amatory nature, seldom treating of warlike subjects, and give evidence of a more cultivated taste than those in Shina, while the musical nature of the language and the better rhythm of the verse entitle them to the first place in Dard poetry. Generally two performers stand a little distance apart and sing in strophe and antistrophe to each other; a chorus stand by who do not repeat the words, but give emphasis to the periods by a loud *Ah Ha* and by stamping.

D 533
B 533

The following examples will give a good idea of the different styles:—

D 539
B 539

SHINA.

I.

Loh wkto, Soori Gowrithum, loh wkto,
Bütigá birdi loh wkto, dinyá sung tarégo.
Loh wkto, ákjo Maliko, loh wkto,
Bütigá birdi loh wkto, dinyá sung tarégo.
Nó loh wkto, Soori Hobbi Khan, loh wkto,
Bütigá birdi loh wkto, dinyá sung tarégo.
Tai rúni sigá bidik té allah in Sargin goomtchard
Loh wkto, ákjo Maliko, loh wkto.
Tai rúni sigá bidik té allah in Sargin goomtchard.

Translation.

Dawn has come, Soori Gowrithum, dawn has come.
To the whole earth dawn has come, the world is lighted up.
Dawn has come, grandson of Maliko, dawn has come.
To the whole earth dawn has come, the world is lighted up.
Again dawn has come, Soori Hobbi Khan, dawn has come.
To the whole earth dawn has come, the world is lighted up.
Thy mother, too, in her wisdom cherished us in Sargin.
Dawn has come, grandson of Maliko, dawn has come.
Thy mother, too, in her wisdom cherished us in Sargin.

II.

The forest serpent, Soori Mahommed Khan.
The forest serpent rouses himself.
Beyond Sharot he will brandish his sabre.
The forest serpent of the race of Maliko.
The forest serpent rouses himself.
Beyond Sharot he will brandish his sabre.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushó AV7

Chapter 14

FIRST WALKS ABROAD

THE very day after our arrival we went out for a stroll to take 487
stock of our immediate surroundings. Along the Dála, the little stream which ran in front of our house, there is a tiny footpath, just wide enough for one. On our right was the channel in its carefully made bed with a stone revetting wall above it holding up the field above; on our left a fine hedge of quickthorn to keep passing beasts from jumping into the field 4 or
5 feet below. We could hear a merry sound of drums and 527
pipes coming from somewhere downhill, and asked what was 624
on. It seemed that just before we arrived the first barley- [534]
cutting had been celebrated with various ceremonies, which we could only hope to see in detail next year, and some of the jollification was still being kept up. Qudrat Ullah was with us, and a "levy." I must explain the levies. In most villages 624
Government chooses, no doubt on the Mir's advice, one or 124
two of the most respected peasant-farmers who are not headmen or officials of the Mir himself, and pays them a small (very small) monthly wage so that they may be ready to do any little Government jobs that are wanted. There are three in Aliábád, which is relatively a large place with about two hundred scattered houses, and the Political Agent had kindly instructed them that one of their jobs was to be useful to us. I may as well at once introduce the two first: Kalbi is a fine upstanding man, rather darker in colour than the average; and Hurmat, a younger, very cheery fellow with dashing moustaches. They are both intelligent and extremely friendly and eager to help. We didn't see why they should waste time on us for nothing, so David at once agreed with them that he

322 would lead us home. A happy man he looked, though he told us that his back ached nowadays at work with lathe or plough, as it never used to do, and perhaps we had English medicines that would meet the case. We could only offer the sad tidings that we too, when we walked or rode or worked, were subject to fatigue and aches undreamt of in younger days, and that even in England the doctors knew no medicines to defeat on-coming age. This, oddly, seemed to comfort him a lot: "We're all ageing together then," he said, and we all three laughed a vain defiance at the years, "and we old ones have more skill and experience than the others, haven't we?"

462 Apart from their never-ending spinning the women have
241 many valuable crafts, though they are less spectacular than the
252 men's. They all bake a large variety of bread and scones from their blent flour—not only grains being pressed into the service, but pounded mulberries, walnuts, peas and beans, and semi-wild berries—and when *maltash* is available they make cakes and pastries of a dozen kinds. The vegetable patches are in their care, and amongst their many greens, their gourds, cucumbers and marrows, they tend a lot of plants whose seeds or leaves or flowers are valued as flavourings, and grow a little flax and mustard to supplement their apricot oil. In spring their plots are lit with the large blossoms of many-coloured poppies, whose seeds are not wasted on opium but scattered into the vegetable pot. They also grow small quantities of maize as a vegetable, but they do not consider it profitable as a major
299 crop. The kinder-hearted find a corner for tobacco for the
● 534 men's pipes, which circulate of an evening in the shade when
563 the day's work is done and someone tinkles a zither or tootles on a flute. These instruments are home-made like everything else, and are often very beautifully finished; we were neither of us qualified to judge of the music the players conjured up. To our unskilled ears it sounded amateurish, but eminently cheerful and pleasing. Serious music of drum and pipe and
262 kettledrum is the monopoly of the Béricho. When the women weed their crops they sort out the dandelion, stitchwort, and sorrel for their own brews before throwing the residue to
040 the cow. And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots,

252 God, the Merciful, the Compassionate—then they let the blood drain out, washed the neck carefully, and got busy with the skinning. Kalbi is a clever, neat-fingered fellow, as indeed all Hunzukuts seem to be, and in ten minutes had coaxed the skin off whole (without slitting it down the tummy) as easily as you peel off a pair of silk stockings. There were only the
415 holes at the neck and at the four "elbows" and a little slit at the tail, so that with a stitch at the tail and four ties at the legs the skin would serve as a water bucket or a bag for flour.

252 He then hung up the carcase and cleaned it—a wonderfully unmessy business—while we noted down all the words for its various innards. It would have been much more instructive and enlightening if either of us had ever seen a sheep killed at home or had known the English words for all the curious things it has inside it. There was not, even round the kidneys, one ounce of fat.

465 As usual out here, you do not pay a person in cash for performing a service of this kind; there is some recognized per-
237 quisite. In this case Kalbi considered that he would be handsomely remunerated if he might have the guts. We did not covet them ourselves, and gladly acquiesced. They are much
• [534] valued. They will give you strings for your zither (many people, including Kalbi, make beautiful zithers for themselves), and for your bow; they serve as thread to sew your long boots and your skin sack, and you put them to a hundred other uses. Others of our retainers laid claim to the wool, the skin, and various other items. Later Kalbi gave us a demonstration of skin-curing and -kneading.

291 The long native boots are extremely comfortable-looking, like long-legged moccasins, and their construction is an elabo-
[281] rate art. Ibex skins are preferred, but ibex have nearly been killed off and other leather has to be substituted. The soles may be made of cow-hide. Boots are precious things, so however cold it is you take them off when you come to a very rough piece of ground or want to walk through water. At best the unlined boot is not over-warm, and really luxurious people wear woollen socks or stockings inside if they have them. The women can knit excellently well, but it is very rare for anyone

000 with. They are the greatest possible contrast to the alert, intelligent Burusho: possibly there is more than sugar in a diet of apricots!

132 Quite suddenly after the first lovely rush of water the
312 channels went silent again. Not that they were ice-bound, but it seems that the first warmth of the year melts all the recently fallen snow off the top, which gives you your first rush. After that comes a pause before the sun has gathered heat enough to melt the older, hardened snow and make an impression on the glaciers. This arrangement of Nature's suits the peasants well. The first rush waters their new planted barley and springing wheat; the pause gives them time to clear out all the silt and sand that is cluttering up their channels, and to repair the walls. They find the silt a useful top-dressing for their fields. All the menfolk worked hard to get their irrigation works into trim before the real water flow began. Meantime all the *pferis* near us were empty, and poor Sagi had to go a mile or more to draw water for baths and washing up, in addition to his usual pilgrimage for our drinking water. So we installed an assistant for him.

524 Among the enlivening sounds of these early Spring days was
534 the tootle-tootle of boys' whistles. At a certain moment when they consider the degree of sap flowing in the willows is right for their purpose, they cut themselves sections of various lengths. With great ingenuity they coax off the bark in great flute-like pipes and make an extraordinary variety of whistles with many notes. The deepest notes are achieved by inserting a finer pipe into a larger one, and thus providing a lining to the latter as it were. The same procedure that yields a whistle will also supply a squirt, a pop-gun, or a pea-shooter, and these various toys diversify the day.

262 Despite the pleasure which water, work, and sunlight bring, the season of Spring awakes no poet's raptures in the Hunza heart. "Starvation Springtime" would have given Keats an odd title for an Ode. Many weeks before the new barley was ripe for cutting every household round us had already run out of every sort of flour, many also out of potatoes and apricots.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

439 shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bëricho (sg. Bërits; b'e-ri-čo, b'e-ri-ts), corresponding to the Doms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also [335] within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

463 Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

531 I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

535 563 534 Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bëricho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitär is known.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

ro·m dawasačaˈn. Ho Tham kɛ mərakaˈr duˈšai.i. Walti girame gəroˈni uyoˈn jatˈaqər duwašačaˈn. Duwˈašan tsir numan qadiˈmɛ (*or*, yərum) Thamutsum tsirtɛɛ gərin ɛčaˈn. Ґərin Šeniskulo ɛčaˈn.

Hikumɛ γər diˈušaˈn da hikumɛ duˈmərčaˈn. Teˈi ɛčumɛ jɪgˈa du·n γərin ɛčaˈn. Thamuˈɛ γərin tsirtɛɛ ɛˈčumɛ faš manˈumər ho Bapoˈɛ Dani eˈγərčaˈn. ˈEˈγərumər Tərakutsan uyər numa girašai.i. Ho Diramatinɛ gəroˈnomuts inˈɛ ka giraš'aˈn. Duˈn nikiˈrat Thamər ju nˈɛtan huruˈšaˈn. Da (gəroˈniˈɛ ka) Hurukuts girašaˈn, da Bərorn girašaˈn, da Bərataliη girašˈaˈn.

Taiˈi maiˈimɛ šaˈm xa tamˈaša ɛčaˈn. Ho šaˈm manuˈmər gərˈoˈni uˈi uˈimo gərə haˈlər gəroˈni hilɛˈs yakalatum turma altan ya mɪšiˈndo, ničaˈn. Ho haˈlər gəroˈni giˈmər nutsan han butˈəran kaš ɛčaˈn. Uˈlo haˈlər nuˈn gəroˈni nˈuručan dun γərin ˈɛčaˈn. Ho šapik uyaˈrɛ oˈšaˈn. Šapik šiˈmər axoˈnɛ (*or*, xaliˈfa) hilɛˈs kɛ dasˈinmo nika ɛtasər xutba γatai.i bai.i.

Da hir yakalum hin, dasin muyakalum hin jaˈman sinḍˈabal doˈičaˈn. Uˈˈɛr "wakil" kɛ seˈibaˈn. Xutba nuqˈatan maˈr (*or*, mahr) neˈskərts tsoˈr gəroˈnimutsum axoˈnɛ talˈa doγˈarušai.i: "Kinɛ hirər uˈn rɪzˈa?" nusɛn. Tala, "Jɛ rɪza," seˈibo. Da gəroˈnitsum doγarušai.i. Iˈnɛ

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2 *tsir numan* — glossed "forming a circle with the tribespeople round about", but *tsir* actually only means a 'line', or 'row'

3 *Šeniskulo* — 'in the Shina language'. When songs are required on ceremonial occasions recourse always seems to be had to Shina.

Bitans also, I think, use Shina. There is very little Burushaski verse; at any rate I was able to get hold of very little.

4 *dumərčaˈn* — glossed "take from them", "take up and repeat song". For a few other examples of this special use of *dumərɑs* v. Vocab. s. v. *dᵊ-mərɑs* The first party are the *Diramitiη* and *Bərɑtaliη*; the second The *Hurukuts* and the *Bərorη*. The second party repeat what the first party have sung.

5 γərin . . . *ɛčume faš manumər* — *ɛčume* can scarcely be dependent on *faš manumər*. There is a grammatical break: 'Going on singing songs' — 'when that is finished they play . . . '.

6 *Bapoɛ Dani* — v. Vocab. s. v. *dani*. For this big drums, kettle drums and pipes are all played. For the preceding singing only the two kinds of drums accompany.

8 *(gəroni.ɛ ka)* — this was a later insertion in the text and I do not know what it means.

Bərorη — i. e. *Bərorη*.

[more: Singing and dancing mentioned on p. 303 .. Analyst]

000 *čhərči* (to one's) senses. — *da ime čərči niwʌl senimi* then, falling into his senses, i.e. coming to himself. 368.1.

(The other version of the Prodigal Son has *hurər dim*. 378.8).

(Perhaps *čər + tsi*, cp. *a + čər + a* perturbed. But rather cp. Sh. *čərč-* 1/1 meaning "consciousness, senses", only recorded in oblique forms: *čərčər*, *čərčit*, *čərčejo*).

1. *čhərda*, *-muts* x stallion. — *čhərda hayurzšo* stallions. (Cp. Sh. *čhərda*, stallion).

●534 2. *čhərda*, pl. *-miŋ*, *čərdʌŋ*, y a stringed musical instrument, sort of guitar. Formerly used in *Maulai* "*jʌmait xana*" (places of worship) along with *daf* (tambourines).

Pir Sah Nasir i Xusrau of Kohistan and Lutkoh in Chitral, allowed the use of these instruments in order to attract possible converts by musical entertainments.

000 *čərk i fʌlʌk* the "Milky Way". (Cp. Kho. *čaw fʌlʌk*). Prs.

1. *čərx -ičʌŋ* y wheel, machine. Prs.
2. *čərx* x a kind of black-eyed hawk. Prs.

čhəru tightly-twisted thread.

čəruk v. *čəruk*.

čhʌs IYB circle, *or* plaque, of gold or silver for Treasury (not confirmed).

čʌs etʌs to pull out, pluck out, tear out. — *dʌn čʌs etimi* he pulled out the stone. *yusʌn čʌs etimi* he pulled out a clod. 54.4.

čʌs mʌnais, to come out, disperse. — *tom čʌs mʌnimi*, the tree came away from its roots. *tʌmʌšatsum sis čʌs mʌnumʌn*, the people got up and dispersed from the entertainment.

Also used of a tooth. [Cp. Sh. *čhʌs thoiki* to tear out (hair),

95b

1/1 [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

The dancers follow the music and keep time with it. 535
The onlookers, in many cases, keep rhythm with their feet. The dancing and music go on until most of the spectators and the participants eventually leave.

One of their most useful instruments is known as a 534
sitar. It is a wooden stringed instrument very much like our mandolin. Then there is the rebab. It is a much larger stringed instrument and is evidently identical with the Indian's rebab. Then they have their wind instruments, too. The first is the surnai. It is a big clarinet with an unusual, remarkable intensity of sound. Another unusual instrument is the tutek which is but a simple small wooden flute. The third type of wind instrument is the gabi which is a very long transverse flute. Its special use is in plays or music that includes fairies and is used chiefly for the fairies' incantation. Its music is exceedingly sweet sounding and very high pitched. And last but not least are the many kinds of drums. They come in all sizes from tiny ones that can be worn around the neck by a young boy to the big bass boom-boom.

Like all oriental forms of music, the Hunzan band 533
seems to capture the true style so well known to the East . . . pleasing, high pitched sounds but with very little variation. After a little while all of the sounds seem the same and appear to be one repetition after another—most monotonous!

During the summer there is not much social life in 517
the evenings because the people are tired. They work hard all day. But in the winter there is regular dancing and meetings with friends.

I would gather that the people of Hunza don't need 526
sports too badly because life and living in Hunza compels the individual to be active. Thus, he doesn't have to indulge in sports to get exercise.

534 644 *The piano in the palace was brought by the Mir's grandfather.* This was stated in one of the books I read about Hunza.

The story from the Mir's own lips is, "The piano was brought to Gilgit via Bandipoor and Burzil Pass from Kashmir for the Political Agent who was British. It was installed in the Political Agent's house in Gilgit in 1895. In 1947 when the partition came, it was presented to me by the last British Political Agent, Colonel R. N. Bacon, along with the Union Jack which is unfurled in Gilgit. The piano was brought to Baltit on [482] the backs of 24 men."

164 *Disease is unknown in Hunza.* Oh, how I wish that were true! It was the fondest wish of my heart and soul when I left for Hunza that I could return and be able to attest the fact that disease is unknown in that country.

From definite assertions made by the doctor who was stationed at Aliabad in Hunza, it is true that such diseases as cancer, diabetes, heart disease and hypertension are absolutely unknown in Hunza. But there are other diseases, perhaps not as crucial but, nevertheless, maladies of a serious nature.

As more of civilization's luxuries become known and used in Hunza, it is assured that many more of the diseases of civilization, as yet unknown in Hunza, will make their way into that country.

165 *No infant mortality*—I am unable to speak for the past, but at the present day infant mortality is known in Hunza. As mentioned elsewhere in this book, statistics are unavailable as no records are kept. But the present doctor in Aliabad forcibly states that infant mortality is a force to be reckoned with in Hunza at the present time.

4: Durand ,G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

644 three doors are placed in the right angle turn of a
342 very narrow passage which only one man can use at a time, and the doorways are so low that a tall man has to bend almost double to pass through them. The object is to prevent a rush, and to make it impossible for a man to use his weapons as he passes through the last doorway. Similarly the ascent to the flat-topped roof of a man's house is jealously guarded, and he who considers himself in any danger never sleeps twice in the same part of his room, for the skylight gives an enemy a convenient point of vantage from which to shoot.

643 We found the Thum in a typical square room,
159 with an open skylight, and a sunk hearth in the floor, seated by a balconied window, from which there was an extensive view over his country. His beard was carefully dyed, and it was difficult to guess his age, but he was not an old man; drink and debauchery had reduced him to his present state, and paralysed him
644 from the waist down. We did not stop long, as the visit was merely one of ceremony, and the audience room was full of people, before whom business could not be discussed. Our uniforms were a source of much interest to our hosts, and of considerable discomfort to ourselves. Frock coats and spiked helmets, high boots and spurs, sword and sabretache, are not quite the thing for the grand staircases of the
[534] country. Later in the day Uzr Khan paid me a visit,
644 and we had to sit through an interminable dance pro-
535 gramme, which, as the orchestra consisted of six pairs of kettle-drums, six large drums beaten at both ends, and three pipes, was simply deafening. The dances were all very much the same—six or eight men

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D 535 B 535

Indian nautch. In Hunza a very spirited sword-dance is performed. Sometimes two or three dancers enter the circle together, one acting as leader to the others. At weddings ten or twelve join in, each holding sword or battle-axe in hand. The public dancing of women, mixed with men, is now only practised in Hunza. In Bushkar dances of women take place on feast days, but men are not allowed to be present. In Chitral and Yassin the Ashimadek class affect to despise dancing, and seldom join in it, but the rulers of those countries keep dancing-boys for their amusement. In Yassin, on one occasion, I witnessed some of their performances by torch-light, which made a very picturesque scene.

D 534 B 534 D 533 B 533

The music consists of a double-headed drum beaten with sticks, two or three pairs of small metal kettle-drums, and two or three clarionets made of apricot wood. Special airs are reserved for the ruler and different officials. The musicians are Doms, and every man of any consideration has his own band, which attends him whenever he moves. Every village also has its band. The singing is of a less pleasing nature, but it is interesting, as being one of the methods by which old historical traditions are preserved. In Gilgit singing by individuals is not common, the usual practice being to form large chorus parties, which chaunt the deeds of former kings. Generally the singers form into two parties, each of ten or a dozen, and sing alternate verses. The end of the verse is emphasized by a simultaneous step or bound forward, or sideways, which causes jostling and somewhat mars the effect.

Considerable difference exists in the nature of the songs of the different countries. In Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager, the songs are, with few exceptions, of a warlike nature, and celebrate the achievements of different princes. In Hunza and Nager, where the language spoken is Boorishki, the songs are in Shina, as the native language does not readily lend itself to poetry. Shina songs are harsh, and the words

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

outrageous hat, must be a terrifying sight when it advances on you for the first time—but I learned cautiously to admire the babies from afar, though the father or mother always wanted to show them off. Only little Faqér, initiated so young, was always unafraid, and would stretch out his little hands and gurgle at me and let me take him in my arms or tickle him.

Soni, of the next house to Bibi Gímo's (I had to call it No. 1A, because in my first notes I had confused the two households) had a little girl Afrots—quite the ugliest and brightest atom of three years old in Hunza. She had cried the first day on seeing me but immediately made friends, and ever after if I were sighted would run up to me and put out an abnormally grubby little paw and say "How do you do?" in imitation English fashion. On general principles we resisted all temptation to teach the children English ways or words or tales. This was almost my one lapse from grace, but Afrots was by general consent a special case, and her old grandfather, Aliko, was extraordinarily proud when he was witness to our meetings.

In the very first days of romping with the children of No. 1 and 1A on the threshing floor I had—stupidly—thought it might be fun to teach Shamúli, Bano, and Afrots to dance. So I stood up and started on a Highland schottische, and endeavoured, with little success, to coax them to join in. I was puzzled by something a little frigid in the air and soon gave up the attempt. When I climbed home for breakfast Dádo gravely and kindly said: "Excuse me, Mother, but Hunza women do not dance. It is thought unseemly." I thanked him for the warning; I wasn't sure whether the fear was that I should corrupt the girls or merely make an unseemly exhibition of myself. Either danger was to be avoided, so that began and ended my dancing lessons. Later Qudrat Ullah explained that in the olden days, when the Hunzukuts distilled a powerful *araq* from their mulberries, men and women used to dance together in drunken orgies that had untoward consequences. The Mir had long since forbidden the spirit, which provoked quarrels as well as dances, and "mixed dancing" fell under the same ban. This was the only man-made restriction on woman's freedom that I encountered in Hunza, and it did not seem to worry anyone.

squatted at the base of a big tree, and the tribal brothers of each bridegroom led him to the dance. The Diramiting led off and the other clans followed in their recognized order of precedence. Each unhappy bridegroom was amazingly got up. Instead of his ordinary homespun cap he was coiffed with an exotic white or coloured turban with a tuft of feathers at one side held in place by a fancy brooch and a dangling string of beads looped on to it. A brightly coloured silk shirt floated out over a startlingly white pair of baggy cotton trousers and (if he could afford it) a loose silk robe replaced his normal homespun *choga*. He carried in his right hand an old-fashioned battle-axe tied with silken ribbons, and in this gaudy attire he looked as ill at ease as bridegrooms the world over.

The picturesqueness of the Hunza dancing, which is the mainstay of every form of merry-making, is nowadays much impaired by dancers who have acquired short-sleeved, would-be European shooting-jackets or tight trousers, or—worse still—have adopted tennis shoes or ammunition boots or some other form of horrible non-local footgear instead of the orthodox bare feet or soft leather boot. When carried out in the correct dress of the country Hunza dancing is amusing and interesting. Most of the footwork is merely a variant of a sort of polka-step—now short, now long, now in great leaps, now in fierce stamps, now on the toe, now on the flat foot. There is one characteristic step which would require a lot of practice: with one knee bent very deep, you rotate on that foot giving regular little taps on the ground with the other till the circle is complete; then you reverse and repeat in the opposite direction.

Each dancer dances independently, but the five or ten in the ring at any one moment all try to synchronize their steps in time to the music. The footwork, however, is but a small part of the dance; what is most admired is the action of the body and of the arms; these are waved and flung about and bent in a hundred different patterns. The long *choga* sleeves which dangle 6 or 8 inches below the hand give a most fantastic effect to these gestures.

When the second bridegroom's group came to dance they

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535 585 [643] were joined by a young princeling (a morganatic grandson of the Mir's) and a small friend of his, both in lovely silken gowns. They were a picturesque wee pair. The younger was about six, and his fond mother had got him up as a bridegroom, complete to the blackened eyes and fantastic dots on the cheek bones. The two boys polkaed round, stamping their bare feet and waving their tiny arms in perfect imitation of the grown-ups, and whenever they were in danger of being danced down, some kind hand would gently shove them to a safer place in the centre, where they went on gyrating. It was a jolly scene. Whenever there was room other small boys would join in, each normally venturing to do so only when his own clansmen were dancing. Once or twice some little dare-devil would intrude into the wrong group, and another small boy would try to punch his head. At once good-humoured bystanders would collar the pair and dump them out of mischief at some distance from each other.

All the spectators were very merry in their orderly way, and there were bursts of applause at frequent intervals. No small share of the fun was contributed by the bandsmen, who varied the time and pace and worked the dancers up to a fine climax. The big drummer of Aliábád is an old humorist called Húko. He waves his body and his arms about as he lustily attacks his drum and chaffs the dancers: "Go it, man! Leap, can't you, leap! Do you call that *dancing*? What are your legs for? Let your body swing, man! Get a move on there! Wave your arms, can't you? Oh, come alive!" etc., etc. The kettle-drummer flaunts his two sticks and wags his head, but being a younger and less privileged person than Húko does not venture on any verbal chaff. The poor piper who has mouth and hands glued to his funny-looking instrument that is half flute half trumpet just flings his body about and looks volumes. All three are so very much alive and on the spot that they imply that nothing else in life is quite such fun as playing while other men dance and marry. Their special efforts on such occasions are rewarded by extra gifts of bread, flour, and butter.

After about an hour and a half we came away, but for long after we could still hear the dance-music going on.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 hours by the loud drumming of a warning drum; then after an interval we should hear two outbursts and soon after, three, at which point we should set out. We could not ascertain how long the intervals would be between the summonses, but Dádo promised to waken us at the sound of the first. He was so fearful of oversleeping that he lay awake all night, and with characteristic zeal brought us morning tea two hours too soon. The third drumming was not, in fact, heard till about 5 a.m. It called us out into the inkiest night I ever saw, but it was windless and not unduly cold. Thick snow clouds over the whole sky hid every suspicion of a star, so that though the great mountains all round were white with snow to within a few feet of our level there was not even a glimmer from them.

All over the hillsides we could see tiny points of light converging on the rendezvous and hear the lively chatter of men [372] and boys from every homestead. Their torches were faggots of juniper held high on a long pole. From the polo-ground came the sound of music punctuated by unison cheers of Ha-Ha-Ha that echoed up the hill to hurry stragglers. By the time we got down there was already a goodly group of men thronging three deep round a princely bonfire, and each new party as it came flung in its torch over the heads of the crowd sending a shower of rocket sparks into the darkness of the night. Our arrival was greeted by a cheer and a lane was made for us to a stone sofa, where we speedily obliterated ourselves not to interfere with the progress of events, regretting only that our people had not thought to provide us with torches instead of the prosaic hurricane lamps which they doubtless thought more dignified.

796 The bonfire leapt, the band played, the jolly Ha-Ha-Ha
535 sounded at intervals, and still the velvet darkness was starred by points of oncoming light. As soon as a sufficient congregation had assembled, the band struck up in earnest and dancing began. In the flickering firelight the scene looked extraordinarily romantic. Prominent among the dancers were the bridegrooms of a few days ago, who thus made their re-entry into public life, clad happily once more in caps and woollen *chogas*. The dancers sprang and capered, their long sleeves

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2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

dangling fantastically as they waved their arms; now you saw 796
them in inky silhouette, now full-lit by the flames; and behind 535
the serried rows of eager laughing faces was nothing but the impenetrable blackness of the starless night.

After a short spell of ordinary dancing, more spirited and vigorous in the darkness than by day, swords and shields were brought and two men stepped into the ring. They threw their arms up into the air with sword and shield, leaped several times as high as they could with both feet together, and then staged a splendid duel: the one pursuing, the other fleeing, now this way, now that, and all the time the great curved swords flashed in the firelight and cut the air. When one fighter overtook the other, sometimes by a daring leap across the fire, they slashed and hacked till you felt sure that at any moment an ear or nose would go. When one pair was exhausted, they would suddenly fling up their weaponed arms again, turn sharply about, and bang their backs together in the oddest gesture imaginable, then lay down sword and shield and merge into the crowd as another pair stepped forward. Now and again the crowd would call by name on some favourite champions, who came forth with modest reluctance to take the challenge.

The variety of their poses and feints and gestures was astonishing; each couple improvised at will but kept in perfect time to the music. It was the best display of sword dancing I have ever seen, and the duels were more real than any I have witnessed on a stage at home: just as safe and incomparably more convincing. All the while the crowd shouted and cheered and bandied jests about, the band banged indefatigably, and every now and then in would whizz yet another blazing torch with its attendant shower of sparks.

We watched the ever-changing pageant for a couple of hours 796
without the slightest boredom. Still there was not the faintest streak of dawn, and the pessimists were whispering anxiously: "Great Scott, we must have started too soon, the wood will never last out!" And in truth the apparently inexhaustible mound of firewood was waning fast. At last the eastern sky above the mighty mountain rampart of the Nagir side showed faintly pale. With a cry of delight willing hands flung on all

644 on our left and passed the field in which to-morrow the Bopfau
796 ceremonies were to take place. As we drew near, the various princes and princelings came out courteously to welcome us, the less important ones, of course, coming farthest, then the grandsons in reverse age-order, and lastly Ghazan Khán himself, the heir and "Prince of Wales." Just outside the Fort there is a fine pond outlined with poplars, the main "road" (say 4 feet wide) on the left of it. The hall-doors of the houses open straight on to this track, their front-door steps being tree trunks with notches cut in them in which the foot is planted sideways as you mount.

644 Prince Ghazan Khan led us through a narrow alley between
351 the town houses to where the Mir himself was standing to greet us. As always he made us feel more than welcome, and
796 took us to a nicely carpeted balcony where chairs stood ready. The balcony was only a few feet above the courtyard, and we had a perfect view. You must try to imagine a "courtyard," with no straight walls or edges, shut in by irregular tiers of houses piled on top of each other, mounting the rock to the towering Fort above, their flat roofs and roofed balconies all projecting higgledy-piggledy as the haphazard contours of the rock dictate. Every roof and point of vantage was packed with people till, as usual, you felt sure the beams were bound to crash. Everybody was in their gayest and brightest dress, and every single face just radiant. There never was a people anywhere with such a gift for looking happy as the Hunzukuts.

796 In the courtyard the musicians squatted at the base of the
535 walls: three pipers, three men with pairs of kettledrums, and three big drummers, all of them clowning and play-acting vigorously as they played. Dancing of the more or less ordinary type was going on, varied by the singing of songs—all unfor-
[533] tunately in Shina, not Burushaski. The Hunza people say they have no songs of their own. DL conscientiously recorded the words of these songs later, but as in the case of the Tumushelling chant it is doubtful whether after centuries of being mangled they will yield any intelligent meaning.

Presently the GREAT DANCE came ón. The most glorious

piece of dancing either of us has seen. Oh, for a Philip Thornton to record the music and interpret the movements! It consisted of twelve acts with twelve separate tunes, through all of which, however, the same *time* was preserved (the only thing about a tune which I am competent to recognize!). The light was too weak for my 6.3 lens, so I had to leave all thought of photography to David, and in compensation I concentrated as best I could on memorizing the various figures of the dance. It wasn't possible to make courteous conversation to our hospitable hosts and at the same time overtly take notes, and when I set myself to write down the detail immediately on our return to Kerimabad I found to my disgust that I could reconstruct only ten out of the twelve acts.

The eight pairs of dancers, all old or middle-aged men, dressed in gay shirts, homespun *chogas*, and long soft native boots, each clutched a bright strip of barbaric-looking Bukhara silk thrown behind his shoulders (over the right and under the left arm), a foot or so of the silk dangling out beyond his hands. The figures of the dance were very varied; some of the most interesting and striking were these: The dancers formed a circle, doing a dignified slow polka on their flat feet three times round, then faced inwards and danced towards the centre with their arms stiffly stretched out in front. When they had nearly met they all flung their arms suddenly over the heads with a well-synchronized shout of Ha-Ha-Ha! Then all bent slowly forward and dabbled the ends of their scarves on the ground as if dipping them in water.

Again they all circulated, waving their arms and scarf-tails gracefully, then sat down on the ground with legs stiffly out in front pointing to the centre. Then they leaned forward and again dabbled the scarf-ends on the ground beyond their toes. Then they leaned back almost to the point of losing their balance and flung their arms up with the same shout. Next they leaned slowly back till they lay flat on the ground and rolling from side to side they gently flogged the shoulder of first one and then the other neighbour with their silken scarves.

Throughout a couple of other figures the dancers crouched

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 on their hunkers and waved their arms and leapt frog-like
535 along.

A very quaint and effective act consisted of the dancers turning back to back in pairs, each leaning heavily against his partner, and dancing with all his weight on his heels. They danced round the circle three times like this (it must be particularly difficult for the ones who have to dance backwards). All were raising and flourishing their arms alternately and making great byplay with the outward-facing dancer of the other pair. The semi-final act had no small resemblance to our Sir Roger de Coverley. The circle halted facing inwards and the two leaders of the teams of eight signalled across and danced to meet each other, overshooting and passing back to back. As they passed, they halted a second, leaned heavily back against each other's shoulders and raised first one hand, then the other with their waving scarves, and each then flourished off to take the other's place. When all eight pairs had similarly changed places the dance was at an end.

The team work was admirable throughout. There was not at any point the slightest hitch, such as invariably wrecks amateur lancers or quadrilles at home. I could not extract from my adjacent prince any information as to the length of time they had spent rehearsing; he implied that they just "remembered" from one year to the next; but such faultless co-operation must have followed very strenuous rehearsal both of dancers and musicians.

Seeing so many of the dancers very elderly, I asked the Mir was there no fear that the skill and knowledge of the dance would die out. He assured me that every year a couple of younger men are drafted into the team so that the tradition may not be lost. The dance, in very much its present form, has been performed uninterruptedly for six hundred or seven hundred years, and probably immeasurably longer.

789 It seems likely that it originated in some imitative-magic
796 rites designed to benefit the crops: dabbling the ground may
535 be preparing it for seed: the cry with high-flung arms may be intended to encourage the growing ears to tower to heaven: the crouching springs may imitate the springing of the shoots:

the flogging may portray the threshing and the back to back scene with waving arms might well represent the winnowing. None of the present-day Hunzukuts attach the slightest magical value to these things, and it is hard to believe that they themselves at any period ever did so, for a less superstitious people can never have existed. But they love dancing and music and *tamashas*, they love any pretext for holiday-making and dressing up, and they may well have borrowed the Bopfau Dance, minus its magic implications, from some people amongst whom the magic was still believed to be potent. 796 535 789

The wise Mir fully realized the psychological value of periodic festivals, and though the keeping up of all the ancient ceremonial often imposed a good deal of hard work and fatigue on himself, he devoted thought and care to preserving the old traditions and preventing the ceremonial's being curtailed or scamped.

When the dance was ended the performers turned and all saluted the Mir; then one by one they came forward and took his left foot in their two hands and stooped over it with the gesture of kissing and then faded out backwards. 796

The next item on the programme, the Seed Sowing itself, was scheduled for noon on the following day (Thursday, February 7th). We determined to ride down to Altít bright and early, partly to avoid crowds in narrow tracks, and partly hoping for photographs in the new-found daylight. We overshot the Fort and scrambled out on to the edge of the river cliff—not without some risk to our necks—in attempts to get good pictures of Áltít Fort in profile.

There is a nice little old mosque not far from the Fort where chairs had most thoughtfully been placed in case we should like to rest a while before the show began. We presently installed ourselves here to watch the crowds pouring in from miles and miles away; people on foot streamed across the countryside, all very gay and merry, and as much interested in us as we in them. When a group of horsemen arrived, men of consequence from distant villages, they did not ride straight in, but halted at the end of the polo-ground till they were observed from the Fort; then the band struck up a wild tune

Sir Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho

439 shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bēricho (sg. Bērita; b'e·ri·čo, b'e·ri·ta), corresponding to the Ḍoms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also [335] within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

463 Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

531 I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

535 563 534 Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bēricho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitār is known.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then afterwards the (grooms of the) other three tribes come out. Then the Tham also comes out to the place of assembly, and all the bridegrooms of all the four tribes come out on to the dancing place and, forming a circle, sing songs about all the former Thams in order. They sing the songs in Shina.

One party start a song and the second party take it up from them. So doing they sing songs for a longer or shorter time. When they have finished singing in succession the songs of the Thams they then play the (slow time tune) *Bapo.è Dani* and a man of the Terakuts tribe dances before them, and the Diramiting bridegrooms dance with him. When they have danced for a little they salām to the Tham and sit down. Then the Hurukuts (bridegrooms) dance, and then the Burōng, and then the Berātalīng.

In this way they amuse themselves till evening. Then when evening comes the bridal parties — on the Bridegroom's part twelve or six men — go off each to the house of their respective brides. When the party enters the house they count them and slaughter a kid and the party go inside the house and sit down and sing songs for a little. Then they set food before them and, when they have eaten, the Akhond recites the Khutba in order to effect the marriage of the youth and the girl.

Then they make a relation stand up on the part of the Bridegroom, and they make a relation stand up on the part of the Bride as their representatives. They call them *wakīls*. The Akhond when he has recited the Khutba and fixed the bride-price first asks the Bride in a low voice: "Are you content with this man?" and she

10 *gəroni* — here glossed: "*H. bərawaale*, groom's party; each lot go to their bride's house".

11 *gəroni hilɐs* — i. e. the Bridegroom. Similarly one may say *gəroni dʌsin* for the Bride. *tərma altʌn* — a note says that the Bridegroom's party consists of 6 or 12 persons, and the Bride's of 12.

12 *nutsʌn* — 'counting them up to six, or twelve'. For the larger number perhaps the allowance of kid is increased.

17 *nəq'ʌtʌn* — past participle of *γʌtʌnʌs* here, and often, written *nək'ʌtʌn*; but I have generalised *q* for the unvoiced equivalent of γ.

18 *gəronilsum* — *gəroni* is here used for "Bridegroom".

533 important part of the proceedings.

533 They have their big feast day just before harvest
535 time and it takes place in the month of Ramadan. At
527 this festival, the musicians set things in motion by starting very early in the morning, and the entire band joins in the sound and the fury. This is followed by dancing and they dance continually, though the same tune is being played over and over and over again in utter monotony. The musicians sit on the floor and make music without pausing, while the dancing goes on in the same way. There are no intermissions or stops.

[643] At this feast the Mir sits on a raised platform in full
[292] regalia. He wears a hat made of Persian lamb, the type of hat you've seen policemen wear in the cold climates in the wintertime.

562 The men invariably dance with their faces turned
[535] towards the Mir. No, the women do not dance, strange to relate. They are merely onlookers. They take no part in any of the social functions or in sport or entertainment. Such Hunzan activities are marked by the distinct absence of women. The Mohammedan religion does not allow women to take part in the social life of the community. This, as far as I can ascertain, has no counterpart in any other religion on earth.

Further, women have no rights or privileges.

After learning of these restrictions by the Mohammedan faith, I felt that there would be no mass migration on the part of the women of the West to Hunza.

535 The harvest dance is very similar to what might be
292 termed a victory dance or a great celebration. The most colorful and interesting dances are the sword dances. The men wear gaily colored costumes that are really very attractive. Their costumes are densely figured and brocaded and the heavy Chinese silks are used as the material. The swords and shields are handmade.

The dancers follow the music and keep time with it. 535
The onlookers, in many cases, keep rhythm with their feet. The dancing and music go on until most of the spectators and the participants eventually leave.

One of their most useful instruments is known as a 534
sitar. It is a wooden stringed instrument very much like our mandolin. Then there is the rebab. It is a much larger stringed instrument and is evidently identical with the Indian's rebab. Then they have their wind instruments, too. The first is the surnai. It is a big clarinet with an unusual, remarkable intensity of sound. Another unusual instrument is the tutek which is but a simple small wooden flute. The third type of wind instrument is the gabi which is a very long transverse flute. Its special use is in plays or music that includes fairies and is used chiefly for the fairies' incantation. Its music is exceedingly sweet sounding and very high pitched. And last but not least are the many kinds of drums. They come in all sizes from tiny ones that can be worn around the neck by a young boy to the big bass boom-boom.

Like all oriental forms of music, the Hunzan band 533
seems to capture the true style so well known to the East . . . pleasing, high pitched sounds but with very little variation. After a little while all of the sounds seem the same and appear to be one repetition after another—most monotonous!

During the summer there is not much social life in 517
the evenings because the people are tired. They work hard all day. But in the winter there is regular dancing and meetings with friends.

I would gather that the people of Hunza don't need 526
sports too badly because life and living in Hunza compels the individual to be active. Thus, he doesn't have to indulge in sports to get exercise.

526 They seldom ever score 9 goals in less than an hour and many times a game will last half a day. And [533] through all this gleeful yelling and shouting—everybody seems to scream like mad—the band is playing its martial tunes.

When a player scores a goal, he proceeds to pick up the ball and follow the same procedure as the Mir did when he started the action. He races madly down the field, screaming and yelling at the top of his lungs. With the scoring of every goal they change ends; that is, what was the first team's goal now becomes their opponent's goal.

[164] From Gilgit to Altit, whenever I saw someone who had a broken nose or some other definite sign of body injury, I would know even before inquiring, that it was gained in honor on the polo field.

[535] When at last one of the teams scored 9 goals and the game was finished, both teams took part in a dance. The winning team dances first and when they have completed their dance, the losing team do their stint. How they could have the strength and energy required to dance, after hours of unrelenting top-pitch physical activity is more than any Westerner can understand.

The horsemanship displayed at the polo matches beggars that seen at western rodeos. In fact, a Hunzan polo game makes the wildest of rodeos seem almost tame. When it comes to horsemanship, you'd have to go a long way to get anyone to beat these tough, hardy mountaineers.

[164] So furious was the game that I inquired if anyone was ever killed playing polo. The Mir replied that he had never heard of any fatalities from a polo game, but that on many occasions a player was incapacitated. I [743] felt that it would be a good idea if they could build their polo fields close to the hospital at Aliabad!

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two: cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
248 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[354] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[262] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

644 three doors are placed in the right angle turn of a
342 very narrow passage which only one man can use at a time, and the doorways are so low that a tall man has to bend almost double to pass through them. The object is to prevent a rush, and to make it impossible for a man to use his weapons as he passes through the last doorway. Similarly the ascent to the flat-topped roof of a man's house is jealously guarded, and he who considers himself in any danger never sleeps twice in the same part of his room, for the skylight gives an enemy a convenient point of vantage from which to shoot.

643 We found the Thum in a typical square room,
159 with an open skylight, and a sunk hearth in the floor, seated by a balconied window, from which there was an extensive view over his country. His beard was carefully dyed, and it was difficult to guess his age, but he was not an old man; drink and debauchery had reduced him to his present state, and paralysed him
644 from the waist down. We did not stop long, as the visit was merely one of ceremony, and the audience room was full of people, before whom business could not be discussed. Our uniforms were a source of much interest to our hosts, and of considerable discomfort to ourselves. Frock coats and spiked helmets, high boots and spurs, sword and sabretache, are not quite the thing for the grand staircases of the
[534] country. Later in the day Uzr Khan paid me a visit,
644 and we had to sit through an interminable dance pro-
535 gramme, which, as the orchestra consisted of six pairs of kettle-drums, six large drums beaten at both ends, and three pipes, was simply deafening. The dances were all very much the same—six or eight men

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

following each other round and round in a circle— 644
sometimes with sword and shield and the usual 535
flourishes, sometimes with nothing in their hands, now posturing slowly, again flying round with long jumps and steps. In Nagar every one dances—the younger sons of the Thum, Wazirs, and the common herd, all take part. In the pre-Mahomedan days the [562] women also danced, and I should not be surprised if amongst themselves they did not even now join in, but, of course, not on a state occasion, or before strangers. Immediately after the dance came a couple [526] of hours of polo, still to the accompaniment of the band, which played just below our tents, and whose monotonous noise became maddening.

In the evening I dismissed the son of the Hunza 644
Wazir, who had come with letters from the Thum, 431
with my answer and a present. He was good enough to express himself quite satisfied personally, at which I was surprised, for he was wearing a coat of velvet covered with gold embroidery, worth at least five-and-twenty pounds, the outcome of Lockhart's lavish habits of largesse. It was a much more magnificent garment than any I had to give his master, and of much greater value than the present I could afford to give him. He informed me, however, that a scoundrel with him, to whom I had given some money and a choga, was going away hopeless, because I had not promised to renew to him a pension which his father had drawn from the Kashmir Durbar. They were difficult people to deal with in some ways, showed no sense of proportion in making their demands, and really, I believe, could not understand that there must be some limit to one's power of giving rewards.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

080 B 197 B [779] B [142]

the opposite Hunza. The language of Nagyr and Hunza is the Non-Aryan Khajuná and no affinity between that language and any other has yet been traced. The Nagyris are mostly Shiahs. They are short and stout and fairer than the people of Hunza [the Kunjûtis] who are described* as "tall skeletons" and who are desperate robbers. The Nagyris understand Tibetan, Persian and Hindustani. Badakhshan merchants were the only ones who could travel with perfect safety through Yassen, Chitral and Hunza.

DANCES†

D 535 B [535]

Fall into two main divisions: "slow" or "Búti Harip" =Slow Instrument" and Quick "Danni Harip,"=Quick Instrument. The Yassen, Nagyr and Hunza people dance quickest; then come the Gilgitis; then the Astóris; then the Baltis, and slowest of all are the Ladakis.

When all join in the dance, cheer or sing with gesticulations, the dance or recitative is called "thapnatt" in Gilgiti, and "Burró" in Astóri.

When there is a solo dance it is called "nàtt" in Gilgiti, and "nott" in Astóri.

"Cheering" is called "Halamush" in Ghilgiti, and "Halamùsh" in Astóri. Clapping of hands is called "tza." Cries of "*Yú*, Yú dea; tza theá, Hiú Hiú dea; Halamush thea; shabâsh" accompany the performances.

There are several kinds of Dances. The PRASULKI NATE, is danced by ten or twelve people ranging themselves behind the bride as soon as she reaches the bridegroom's house. This custom is observed at Astor. In this dance men swing above sticks or whatever they may happen to hold in their hands.

The BURO' NATT is a dance performed on the Nao holiday, in which both men and women engage—the women forming a ring round the central group of dancers, which is composed of men. This dance is called THAPPNATT at

* By the people of Gilgit.

† A few remarks made under this head and that of music have been taken from Part II, pages 32 and 21, of my "Dardistan," in order to render the accounts more intelligible.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D 535 B 535

Indian nautch. In Hunza a very spirited sword-dance is performed. Sometimes two or three dancers enter the circle together, one acting as leader to the others. At weddings ten or twelve join in, each holding sword or battle-axe in hand. The public dancing of women, mixed with men, is now only practised in Hunza. In Bushkar dances of women take place on feast days, but men are not allowed to be present. In Chitral and Yassin the Ashimadek class affect to despise dancing, and seldom join in it, but the rulers of those countries keep dancing-boys for their amusement. In Yassin, on one occasion, I witnessed some of their performances by torch-light, which made a very picturesque scene.

D 534 B 534 D 533 B 533

The music consists of a double-headed drum beaten with sticks, two or three pairs of small metal kettle-drums, and two or three clarionets made of apricot wood. Special airs are reserved for the ruler and different officials. The musicians are Doms, and every man of any consideration has his own band, which attends him whenever he moves. Every village also has its band. The singing is of a less pleasing nature, but it is interesting, as being one of the methods by which old historical traditions are preserved. In Gilgit singing by individuals is not common, the usual practice being to form large chorus parties, which chaunt the deeds of former kings. Generally the singers form into two parties, each of ten or a dozen, and sing alternate verses. The end of the verse is emphasized by a simultaneous step or bound forward, or sideways, which causes jostling and somewhat mars the effect.

Considerable difference exists in the nature of the songs of the different countries. In Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager, the songs are, with few exceptions, of a warlike nature, and celebrate the achievements of different princes. In Hunza and Nager, where the language spoken is Boorishki, the songs are in Shina, as the native language does not readily lend itself to poetry. Shina songs are harsh, and the words

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

526 enthusiasts may dance every afternoon at The Gate, but they
857 do not draw a large circle of spectators.

On one of the rare bright days that we were blessed with,
541 word was sent us that a special show was being got up for that
536 evening if we would care to come. We reached "The Gate" just before dusk and found a stone sofa duly carpeted for us. As the evening grew darker, the crowd became larger and the general feeling of infectious excitement increased, till at last the organizers of the show went round the crowd using their long sleeves as conductors' batons to mark time for the magnificent Ha-Ha-Ha and the unison clapping they so much enjoy which now announced the arrival of the performers. A lot of young men had got themselves up in various disguises, pairs of them stooping under a blanket with a horse's head fixed in front, pranced about most realistically under two boy-riders. Two other pairs were got up as markhor with real horns in front, while a fantastic huntsman with an aged muzzle-loading matchlock stalked them with exaggerated caution. Five or six were dressed up as women with silken veils to hide their moustaches. The best of all were two bent old men with flowing white beards; they were dressed in sheepskins with huge humps on their backs, and tottered very effectively on stout sticks. They contrived to look very aged and very frail. Then they got up a sham quarrel about the wife of one whom the other was supposed to have stolen. Thereupon they laid about each other with their cudgels—very carefully smiting only each other's well-padded humps—and did amazing leaps with their staves as jumping poles, the one lighting on the other's back and rolling him in the dust. This excellent horseplay was wildly applauded.

There were two absurd little boys with tiny besoms who made admirable clowns. They fussed about, sweeping the ground just in front of the dancers and choking everyone with dust, getting kicked out of the way and looking innocently pained at being so misunderstood. When anyone was knocked down in the rough and tumble they would officiously dash up to brush him down and get cuffed for their pains.

Altogether it was an extremely clever rag, mostly nonsense

and horseplay, of course, but with both humour and first-class 541
mimicry. A lot of the witticisms were lost on us, being in the 536
nature of "family jokes" only to be understood by the initiate, but they must have hit the mark, for they brought down the house. At one point one of the humped old men produced a mysterious black box from under his sheepskin and flung himself into a skilful caricature of DL taking photographs, pacing distances, peeping through view-finders, jotting things in notebooks, etc., etc. This was the star turn, and had been kept for the end. It was greeted with roars and howls of laughter, in which we joined till our sides ached.

After about half an hour, when everybody had been beaten and banged and rolled about enough to be tired out, we scattered home, surprised afresh at the magic in the air that made a show like this possible at 19° F. on a winter evening.

As we climbed home the great mountains of Nagir across the 132
river were looking their best in the evening light with massed patches of fresh-fallen snow and Raka resplendent in a new silver satin coat. But in many ways the winter snows—on the rare occasions when you can see them at all—are disappointing. We had pictured the whole land above, say, 10,000 feet one mass of snow; but in fact most of the cliffs and slopes are far too steep to *hold* snow, however much may fall, and while you do get magnificent stretches of pure white these are spoiled artistically by intervening scars of black and brown, khaki or dull grey. The topmost peak of Raka herself is a sheer rock-face of some thousands of feet whose grey austerity renders it almost invisible above the eternal snows beneath.

We had now reached the month which the people call "Crazy January," with its sudden and erratic storms of wind, and when the wind chooses to roar down these gorges from the glaciers then, by Jove! you do feel a temperature of 19°. We personally were lucky, for our bunaglow was in a kind of sheltered pocket—a fact we regretted during the hot weather —and even when a wild wind was hurtling round it seemed just to miss our windows.

Our sponges had been frozen solid for weeks and our bathrooms were not places to linger in, but it was cosy near

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Men left at home in the village were now making pilgrimages 233
towards the *tér* to fetch down the manure that their brothers 262
up on the mountain side with the animals have been scrupulously collecting. They usually arrange to meet half way, the village brother taking up any supplies the other may need and the brother of the *tér* bringing down not only manure but butter and *brús*, a kind of preparation of dried curd not unlike cream cheese. The lads up at the *tér* have rather a jolly time. They take up only their oldest clothes, for the life is rough and the work is hard. Anywhere that there is a scrap of suitable [245]
ground they plant a little barley, harnessing themselves to the plough so as not to put work on to the horses or oxen they may have with them, who are considered to have earned a holiday. Each day at dawn they loose their animals, but keep 233
a careful eye on them, and sometimes have hair-raising adventures in rescuing a beast which has fallen down a cliff. There used to be considerable danger from wild animals, but nowadays there are few of these surviving. Any family that lacks a spare son to take the animals up entrusts them to the care of some other, after a rather touching little ceremony in which the beasts are solemnly committed to the care of their new master, who is at the same time given a certain amount of grain with him as part of his fee. Milking, making butter, collecting the manure, tending the barley (if any), cooking their own food, corralling the animals at night, etc., occupy the herds the greater part of the time, but they find leisure enough for various games and feats of skill.

Every now and again they decide to supplement their scanty 262
rations—the village can spare little enough to send with them 536
—by the sacrifice of a goat and a feast of meat. The donor of 233
the beast plays for the evening the rôle of Mir, appoints another as his Wazir, and they play-act their several parts with gusto. It is frankly admitted that the animal sacrificed to make this holiday usually is one of those whose owner is not present. When eventually the boy returns, minus one of the 233
animals for which he was trustee, he formally announces the 262
regrettable "loss" to its owner. The nature of the catastrophe is fully understood but not crudely stated. A wise owner is

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

My mode of procedure was as follows, and in all the circumstances it seems to have justified itself. For a few weeks I worked with Nazer of Aliabad, head of my establishment of domestic servants, eliciting from him the principal inflectional forms of the language as well as the chief pronominal forms and the numerals. Nazer, though illiterate, was a man with excellent brains and the instincts of a teacher and elucidator, and Hindustani provided a medium of intercourse. After this I secured the services of Imām Yār Bèg, brother of the Wazir of Hunza and a Jemadar in the Gilgit Scouts, and began to take down texts to his dictation. Each day I wrote down as much as I had time to, making every effort to record the sounds phonetically as far as I was able to appreciate them, and to make sure of the division of the words. I did not make a point of fully following and understanding what I wrote. The same day, or the next working-day, I read out to him what I had written, corrected it as far as I could from every point of view and strove to arrive at the exact meaning of every word and sentence. I made notes of the translation and obtained the principal parts of verbs, the plural forms of nouns and so on, and recorded other words and phrases that were suggested by those of the text. 126 115

All this was very hurriedly done, but the results have in general proved satisfactory and the texts themselves seem to be readily intelligible to Burushaski-speakers when read aloud to them. They will often complete a sentence and continue the narrative, where it is short, in much the same words as the original, for though there are no professional story-tellers in Hunza, many of the local stories or accounts of customs appear to be told habitually in a customary, if not stereotyped form. [537]

Imam Yar Beg was a man of first-rate intelligence, great energy and a forceful personality. His own tastes ran naturally to sport and the practical. He was an enthusiastic and skilled polo player and I fear linguistic enquiries must sometimes have bored him, but he stayed the course until at length he unfortunately fell ill a month or two before I left the country. In that month or two,

boulders, and gaunt tree-skeletons amidst which the cubes of 132
stone-and-mud houses were indistinguishable save for the thin spiral of blue smoke that rose from their flat roofs at feeding time.

We were able to work on indoors, for informants were glad enough to come and sit by our fire and tell all they knew about any question asked, but we sorely missed the cheering chance encounters, the casual wayside chats that normally brightened our walks.

Indoors during the Great Cold the family is merry and happy 512
enough. The recurrent tiny fire, whose ashes never quite grow 861
cold and which is stirred into life at baking time, reinforced 538
by human heat and not squandered by wanton draughts, keeps sufficient warmth alive for comfort, and the weeks of enforced leisure from outdoor work are thoroughly enjoyed. The women spin and sew and bake and tend the babies; the men mend and make their various implements; the children eagerly demand the right to help in every job for which they are ripe, while the old people come into their own and entertain the company by telling tales of every kind; not only nor even mainly tales of heroes and of kings, of raiding chiefs and bandit exploits from the good old days before the Serkár brought peace and security at the cost of adventure, nor folklore yarns borrowed from other times and climes—though they have good store of these; but the history of their country and its clans and anecdotes of every day. In this homely school the Hunza child learns all that it needs to know, the elements of ethics, morals, and religion, the accepted codes of decent behaviour, and all the accumulated wisdom of the land.

The Hunzukuts have no artistic gift of story-telling, and no 538
professional story-tellers; they have no oral literature to match the Sagas of the North or the Persian wealth of the Thousand and One Nights, but they can tell a straightforward story simply and well and with considerable humour, and the phrases in which their yarns are couched have become sanctified and semi-stereotyped by frequent repetition. Some of these DL had recorded in 1923–24, and they were already in print when we returned to Hunza ten years later. We were surprised and

538 delighted to find that if he read a paragraph aloud from his massive Volume II, it was not only understood by the hearer but would be continued verbatim to the end.

539 Many of the anecdotes of daily life are amusing and delightful; a few are tragic. DL has made a large and representative collection of them. I shall only summarize a couple here which particularly took my fancy. A certain Alipo (let us call him) had married Nuri, whose home was several miles away. As wives not seldom do, she had gone home to spend the day at her parents' house, and her mother baked a rich cake with butter, walnuts, and what not for the girl to take back with her to her husband's home. Now though she had undoubtedly been hospitably fed by her own people, Nuri on the homeward way could not resist taking the cake out from under her arm and eyeing it covetously, and from looking she advanced to tasting, and from tasting to eating, till quite half of the cake was gone. On arriving, she presented what was left of it to her mother-in-law with suitable expressions of goodwill. Her husband, jealous of his wife's reputation, looked at it in dismay. "What hungry person did you meet on the way?" he tactfully enquired. "I met no one." "Who, then, has been eating at the cake?" "Nobody. My Mother baked only half a cake." Next morning Alipo restored Nuri to her family for keeps, saying: "She is not only a greedy-guts but a liar; and not only a liar but a fool as well."

There is a sadder story of a young wife: Nimo's job was to shut the kids and lambs into a byre at some distance from the house before coming home at night. One evening she had left the task over long and was afraid of reproof if she were late returning. "They will come to no harm," she thought, "if I leave them out for once." By bad luck, however, there was a fox or wolf about, and when she returned to round up her charges next morning she found only their torn and scattered corpses. In grief and remorse she fled home to her own people. No undue reproach was levelled at her, but there was no disguising the gravity of the catastrophe. She brooded over the calamity her carelessness had caused, and one day her father found her dead in the byre, where she had hanged herself.

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

I had expressed a wish to see what winter life "By the Lamp" was like, and one day Levy Kalbi brought an invitation from his womenfolk to join them some evening in their house. I was warmly welcomed into the living-room, where twenty people were at home and many guests besides myself had been invited. The guests included all our own household except the Kashmiri sweeper. I made my way over to the women's side of the house and murmured such compliments as I could improvise, on the skill and diligence with which they stitched and teazed and span. It was amazing. I could only hope that their zeal was perhaps a little extra on my account. Presently, when all had settled down after my incursion, a princely dish of potatoes cooked in *maltash* (producing a sort of Irish stew effect) was set on the floor in the centre and a wicker platter heaped with bread and another piled with grapes. Kalbi had most thoughtfully asked me to have my own dinner before coming, for he feared that I might not be able to enjoy their food (as *maltash* is an inevitable ingredient in any food set before a guest, this was both tactful and humane). Another large dish of grapes was set near me, and the children who clustered round shared them with me without reluctance. 574 [262]

Again I marvelled at the spaciousness and freedom gained by an absence of furniture. We must have been thirty or forty in that tiny-seeming room, yet there was no sense of crowding, and there was perfect ease of movement. And again I marvelled at the natural graciousness and instinctive good manners of these unsophisticated folk. My hosts and hostesses, who had never had a European in their house before, made me feel welcome and at home, and were evidently not conscious of the slightest embarrassment themselves. In a few minutes two or three prostrate sausage-rolls of bedding came to life, bright eyes peeped out and the respective mothers' exhortations, "Go to sleep again, darling!" were just as successful as their equivalents in similar circumstances at home. [352]

Only a couple of the very senior men of the family shared the extra feast, but the guests were warmly pressed to fall to. Each folded a flap of bread round his potato and ate it neatly as from an egg-cup. Then Kalbi's old father, the patriarch of 574 538

574 the twenty, whose great-grandchildren were present in the
538 room, a fine old greybeard, active and handsome still despite his years, set out to tell us his memories of the siege of Chitral and Kelly's famous march to its relief, in which he himself had taken part. That was only four or five years after "the downfall of Hunza," as he phrased it, but numbers of Hunza men enlisted in the British relieving force. (Another neighbour of ours in No. 6 was also one of Kelly's volunteers.) He showed me the sword he had carried and the handsome muzzle-loader with its forked rest, both carefully greased and kept in good condition as befits heirlooms of the kind. He discoursed with a tinge of unconcealed regret on the olden days when men were men and fighting was toward, "though of course peace is best," he added with incomplete conviction in his voice. The others broke in with questions, and led him on to talk of this episode and that, rehearsed no doubt many a time before, and to cap the tale he proudly put his finger through his jaw and out under his ear tracing the path of a Chitrali bullet. This honourable wound he wore more proudly than his medal, though this also was displayed with pride.

While he talked away with ease and modesty even the little children listened with intelligent attention, and you could easily picture them in years to come telling their great-grandchildren: "My great-grandfather used to say . . ." Their tastes uncorrupted by the sensational gossip of the daily press and the melodramatic improbabilities of the screen, their memories not undermined by second-hand book learning, these humble Hunza folk are immensely better educated than the products of our costly schools; not one of them but can tell you all the details of his own lineage for eight or nine generations back on either side. Outside Debrettites, how many of us British folk can do as much?

793 A youngster who has a taste that way or who covets the
874 position of a priest in the future, can easily learn to read and write a little Persian and Urdu at the feet of one of the local
[212] khalifas. Burushaski has no script and is never written; nor would it carry anywhere outside the Hunza and Yasin valleys if it were. If he is more ambitious of letters, he can foot the four

3c Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

THE LANGUAGE.

212 Having described in some measure the country where Burushaski is spoken and the people who speak it, I must now give some account of the language itself and of the influences to which it has, at least in recent times, been subjected.

[538] Burushaski[1] has no literature and is in fact an unwritten language. Obliging friends may have occasionally written Burushaski letters or texts in the Arabic script to humour enquiring foreigners such as Leitner or myself, but no convention has ever been arrived at to represent the sounds which are unknown to Arabic, Persian or Hindustani. When literate Burusho, and there are not many of them, have occasion to write, they do so in Persian for choice, or
217 in Hindustani. The student of Burushaski has thus no manuscripts, ancient or modern, to turn to for enlightenment. He must go direct to the linguistic fountain-head — the *sujet parlant*. As far as contemporaneous speech is concerned, this is rather a blessing than a loss, but a series of manuscripts or inscriptions going back through some hundreds of years would throw an invaluable light on the development of the language. Lacking them, we cannot divine its history, nor make any guess as to its primitive forms. Only the co-existence of Werchikwar enables us sometimes to deduce that a word or form which occurs in the one as an isolated or rare phenomenon is a survival of what was once perhaps common property, or else normal in some dialect.

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[1] I have never succeeded in getting anyone to recognise the word "Boorishki", the term applied to the language by Biddulph, and apparently accepted by Leitner, v. H. and N. Hdbk. p. 195 l. 2. Leitner also talks of the "Boorishki race". One cannot imagine that Biddulph and Leitner invented the term, so it would appear that it has gone out of use since their day. Possibly it may still flourish somewhere in Nagir. Leitner uses the term "Khajuna". This name is applied to Burushaski by outsiders and non-Burusho, as Leitner himself seems to admit (loc. cit.). I have heard the word used in Chalt, in opposition to Shina, by a man who was probably himself normally a Shina-speaker.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

115 hunting, polo — he did it with his might; manly, competent and fearless; a dynamic figure, not necessarily every man's friend. Since then he had visibly aged, but there was still about him something of the alert, dashing air of the born adventurer.

To return to the Texts: No. 4 was related by a then old man, 'Ali Madat of Baltit, who, I believe still survives, though perhaps no longer capable of repeating his effort of eleven years ago.[1] IYB's help was essential in recording this text.

Nazar of Aliabad supplied the version of the "Prodigal Son" given in No. 46 A. No. 47 was written out and sent to me by Gushpur Muhammad Ghani Khān, the son of the Mīr by a local, non-royal wife. He also was a man of vigour and ability who died quite young of some illness, four or five years ago.

The Proverbs were furnished to me in writing by 'Ināyat Ullāh Beg, the second of the three sons of Wazir Humayun.

The Werchikwār Texts No.s 1 and 2 were obtained by me in Yasin from Hidāyat Shāh of Thui, and the translation of the "Prodigal Son" from Bahādur Amān Shāh of Yasin. In recording these I had the valuable help of Mēhtarzhau Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin.

538 One point of interest may be noted with regard to the Buru-
[565] shaski Texts, especially those containing local narrative. I have found, on reading out bits of them at random to several people here of the upper class, firstly that they appear readily to follow my rendering of the Burushaski, and secondly that they can habitually continue the statement at any point in almost the same
[195] words as the recorded text. This shows that, though there are no professional narrators in Hunza, with the possible, partial exception of Ali Madat, the ordinary people are in the habit of passing on tales and explanations of customs in a more or less
[173] stereotyped form of expression. This is probably the relic of a former custom of the upper classes of spending the evening after

[1] I have, since writing this, sought him out, and found him decrepit, but cheerful. Public opinion denies him any large measure of sympathy, as "he is not really old and has a number of sons who support him in comfort".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the lighting of lamps, between supper and bedtime, in recounting past events, and doubtless in confirming and explaining traditional behaviour and practices: 538 [173]

šapi·k ši·mtsum gučašpal xa (I am told) gəri·tsɛ gəri-bilumišo ya dapiŋ ɛtašo huru·šan. Thamini tɛ·ndili gərɛŋtsɛ akə·birtiŋ huru·šam da sajara (= šajara = ta·ri·x) ɛčam.

"From eating food till lying-down time those who had lamps or those who were preparing wool for spinning used to sit "by the lamp." In former years the people of the upper class used to sit by their lamps and recount past events." [283]

That these séances had an educative and moral intention is evident from the saying, ascribed by tradition to Big Ali of the Ghulwāting clan: 861

Ghulwaṭiŋɛ Big Ali.ɛ bər bila: "uyo·n ja gəri·tsər du·n ja·tsum siskuš (= msa·ni.at) haki·ba·n. Ja khu γuniki.ɛnts ayu· γuniki.ɛntsɛ gərɛ·ŋtsər ničan."

"There is the saying of Big Ali of the Ghulwāting: 'All people have come to my lamp-side and have learnt from me human virtue. Only these evil sons of mine go to the lamp-sides of evil persons."

The few remarks I have to make about the provenance of the subject matter of the texts are embodied in the notes subjoined to each. Otherwise the notes are chiefly confined to grammatical queries and explanations. Paragraph numbers quoted in the notes refer to the Grammar. Obviously the texts, especially those relating to local traditions or customs, require much fuller annotation to reveal and explain their full content; but lack of knowledge, no less than lack of space, made it impossible for me to attempt such annotation. 128

I hope that my present investigations in Hunza may serve to throw light on many of such obscurities.

Aliabad, Hunza, *D. L. R. L.*
29th October 1934.

[p.1 contains no textual material – Analyst]

No. XLIV.

Hunzu.ɛ γər (*or*, γərin).

000

Vir loquitur. Wa matanər saphər jaʷr manimi, milʿi.
Tuʷmʿarin jɛ til naʷl daiyam, adiʷmɛ (*or*, adiʷmər)
buʷiki manuʷm.

Puella loq. Wa "buʷiki" se.imɛ guʷkər bɛsɛ imalča?
Miʷ kin naʷdaʷn oʷyər iʷrum. Ši.ulo goʷsquli na!
Wa watanulo šahiʷn maniʷ kɛ gaʷyu.ər bɛsan araʷm?

538

The two texts No.s 44 and 45 were all the response received to my demands for Burushaski poetry or verse.

It is commonly alleged that there are no poems or songs in Burushaski, the songs sung on special occasions being in Shina, but Leitner has clearly shown that this is not literally true by publishing five songs in his "Hunza and Nagyr Handbook", to which I now add these two.

At the same time versification is not I believe a really indigenous, or at any rate popular, art in Hunza. No one who had lived among the Chitralis or the Bakhtiari Persians would be likely to report that *they* had no popular poetry. Where there is tradition of verse-making the fact is, in my experience, plain enough.

In Hunza I have heard of no traces of epic or ballad poetry. The few songs recorded deal with love, which I think is normally a later development. These and others which may be presumed to exist, are probably due to the efforts of individual adventurers, inspired by foreign examples.

My two specimens seem to me to show some poetic feeling, but if they are supposed to be in verse it must be the free-est of *vers libres*.

Of these two texts I can give only an imperfect rendering. I made enquiries and notes at the time that I took them down, but I intended to return to them later and with greater knowledge. Lack of time in the end forbade this and points remain obscure which might have been cleared up.

Verse, however, is always difficult to deal with. The language often contains archaic or elliptical expressions of which the people themselves do not know the

XLIV.

A Hunza Song.

5394

Vir loq. A distant journey has fallen to my lot,
O thou my healer,
I have come forgetting my amulets,
May they be funeral alms for me!

Puella loq. Why dost thou outrage thyself,
Saying "funeral alms?"
May this foolish husband of mine die!
He has burnt thee up in the forge, alas!
When a hawk has appeared in the country
What peace is there for the partridges?
If there be friendship between me and thee

---

exact meaning; and poetic expressions are not easily to be paraphrased in an imperfectly known foreign language, the less easily perhaps if they have been reduced to conventional *clichés*. 538

A further possible obstacle to comprehension is that lines may have been forgotten and have dropped out or been altered. These losses are particularly liable to occur where there are no rhymes and no fixed metrical form.

γər — the alternative of the plural γərig suggests that the meaning is something like "verses" or "lines", but it seems more probable that the word is connected with γərav 'to speak' and denotes something that is recited. 000

1 ʂoɢ — seems to have no very special meaning. It represents perhaps an effort to command attention.

5 miʷ *kin* — written in the Ms. as one word appears to be really *mi kiʷn*, the *mi* being used for *ja* as in other cases with names of relations, v. Vocab. s. v.

iʷrum — the static pc. form with optative force is very common in these two texts.

ɴa — was said to be an exclamation denoting sorrow.

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
648 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

205 Pakistani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters that I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

538 delighted to find that if he read a paragraph aloud from his massive Volume II, it was not only understood by the hearer but would be continued verbatim to the end.

539 Many of the anecdotes of daily life are amusing and delightful; a few are tragic. DL has made a large and representative collection of them. I shall only summarize a couple here which particularly took my fancy. A certain Alipo (let us call him) had married Nuri, whose home was several miles away. As wives not seldom do, she had gone home to spend the day at her parents' house, and her mother baked a rich cake with butter, walnuts, and what not for the girl to take back with her to her husband's home. Now though she had undoubtedly been hospitably fed by her own people, Nuri on the homeward way could not resist taking the cake out from under her arm and eyeing it covetously, and from looking she advanced to tasting, and from tasting to eating, till quite half of the cake was gone. On arriving, she presented what was left of it to her mother-in-law with suitable expressions of goodwill. Her husband, jealous of his wife's reputation, looked at it in dismay. "What hungry person did you meet on the way?" he tactfully enquired. "I met no one." "Who, then, has been eating at the cake?" "Nobody. My Mother baked only half a cake." Next morning Alipo restored Nuri to her family for keeps, saying: "She is not only a greedy-guts but a liar; and not only a liar but a fool as well."

There is a sadder story of a young wife: Nimo's job was to shut the kids and lambs into a byre at some distance from the house before coming home at night. One evening she had left the task over long and was afraid of reproof if she were late returning. "They will come to no harm," she thought, "if I leave them out for once." By bad luck, however, there was a fox or wolf about, and when she returned to round up her charges next morning she found only their torn and scattered corpses. In grief and remorse she fled home to her own people. No undue reproach was levelled at her, but there was no disguising the gravity of the catastrophe. She brooded over the calamity her carelessness had caused, and one day her father found her dead in the byre, where she had hanged herself.

4: Lorimer AV7 Burusho AV7

539

[For native texts and translations, see complete source, category 116.]

D 105 Marraiges are arranged for auspicious days and hours which are ascertained on each occasion from the village priest.

B 105 *Temporary unions* are allowed by Shias only.

Free access is not allowed before marriage generally.

No caste prohibits remarriages of widows. Moral laxity prevails to a certain extent.

8. *Death.*—The head of the dead points North but the face is turned to the West towards Mecca, the religious centre of Muslims. When a death occurs food is not cooked in that house for three days and cooked food is sent by relatives for that period. On the third, seventh and fortieth day alms are given to avert calamities, also on the first anniversary after the death.

Indigenous drugs are used for medicines and almost every one knows the medicinal properties of certain local plants and use them when required.

9. *Amusements.*—Swimming, polo playing, racing, wrestling, tug of war, arcery, dancing, singing, etc., are some of the amusements indulged in; women do not participate in the sport undertaken by men. They hold their own separate congregation on occasions of rejoicings such as Id and indulge in singing and dancing away from the eyes of the men.

Festival occasions.—Id-ul-Fittar, Id Haj, Id Ghadir and Nauroz are the chief occasions on which rejoicings are made by dancing, singing, polo playing, running and wrestling etc. Dancing is held in a circle to the beat of drum.

D 585 539 10. Before a number of the village people after sunset on the night before the marriage the following song is sung at the bridegroom's house in the following manners:—

B 585 539 A large iron pan is placed in the middle of the assembly and a man of the Katchate or Babuse family rushes forth with some ghee, atta, and seeds of wild rue or leaves of chili, and, putting these things into the pan burns a little fire under it till the contents begin to smoke. To fumigate all the air in the room he holds the pan by its brim and lifting his hands above his head, commences to dance to the accompaniment of the band, while the people appland and sing a song of which the following is a translation:—

(1) The pan belongs to Bair Gul.

I will never let any one place this pan on the hearth.

I will place it there myself.

(2) The pan belongs to Malik, the Chief of Gilgit.

I will never let any other place this pan on the hearth.

I will place it there myself.

(3) The pan is worthy of belonging to kings, etc.

(4) The pan is worth being kept by a family, etc.

(5) The pan belongs to Shah Mir, the Chief of Kashmir, etc.

(6) The pan belongs to Maqpun, the Chief of Skardu, etc.

(7) The pan belongs to Mughlot, the Chief of Nagar, etc.

Dard AV3
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(8) The pan belongs to Khana, the Raja of Yasin, etc.

(9) The pan belongs to righteous Girkis (the ruler of Hunza).

(10) The pan belongs to Maryo the son of Machat (a celebrated person of the Rono family).

(11) The pan is placed on Neelo But etc. At the same time the women who are in an inner room recite the following song :—

D 585 539

B 585 539

Translation.

(1) A large coral grain belongs to Bair Gul.

I will never let another string this on a thread.

I will string it myself.

(2) A large coral grain belongs to Malik, the Chief of Gilgit.

I will never let another string this.

I will string it myself.

After the marriage cermony the following song is sung at the house of the bride :—

Translation.

(1) Come out, O beloved of your mother, why are you delaying?

(2) Come out, O water sprite, why are you delaying?

(3) Come, O possessers of golden locks, why are you delaying?

(4) Come out, O mistress of charming eyes, why are you delaying?

(5) Come out, O owner of pearly teeth, why are you delaying?

On this she is brought out. She weeps bitterly at the separation from her relatives, and the assembly sings the following song :—

Translation.

(1) Do not weep, O flower-like girl, thy complexion will turn pale.

(2) Thou wilt go on a lofty hill, O girl, thy complexion will turn pale.

(3) Thou wilt (by weeping) burn your heat, thy complexion will turn pale.

Typical birth song ... Nil

Typical death song ... Nil

B 212
D 212

11. No written language possessed by the people.

~~12~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

present a few striking images which want connection, and which are often repeated with wearisome iteration. The Khowar songs are mostly of an amatory nature, seldom treating of warlike subjects, and give evidence of a more cultivated taste than those in Shina, while the musical nature of the language and the better rhythm of the verse entitle them to the first place in Dard poetry. Generally two performers stand a little distance apart and sing in strophe and antistrophe to each other: a chorus stand by who do not repeat the words, but give emphasis to the periods by a loud *Ah Ha* and by stamping.

D 533
B 533

The following examples will give a good idea of the different styles:—

D 539
B 539

SHINA.

I.

Loh wâto, Soori Gowrithum, loh wâto,
Bùtîgá birdi loh wâto, dùnya sung tarêgo.
Loh wâto, sâjo Malika, loh wâto,
Bùtîgá birdi loh wâto, dùnyá sung tarêgo.
Nê loh wâto, Soori Habbi Khan, loh wâto,
Bùtîgá birdi loh wâto, dùnyá sung tarêgo.
Tai zùzi sîgá bùdik té allah in Sargin goomêchorê
Loh wâto, sâjo Malika, loh wâto.
Tai zùzi sîgá bùdik té allah in Sargin goomêchorê.

Translation.

Dawn has come, Soori Gowrithum, dawn has come.
To the whole earth dawn has come, the world is lighted up.
Dawn has come, grandson of Malika, dawn has come.
To the whole earth dawn has come, the world is lighted up.
Again dawn has come, Soori Habbi Khan, dawn has come.
To the whole earth dawn has come, the world is lighted up.
Thy mother, too, in her wisdom cherished us in Sargin.
Dawn has come, grandson of Malika, dawn has come.
Thy mother, too, in her wisdom cherished us in Sargin.

II.

The forest serpent, Soori Mahommed Khan.
The forest serpent rouses himself.
Beyond Sharot he will brandish his sabre.
The forest serpent of the race of Malika.
The forest serpent rouses himself.
Beyond Sharot he will brandish his sabre.

~~1st~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 795 B 795

changed yearly in accordance with instructions from their spiritual head.

The following is a favourite poem recited in praise of the Imam-i-zeman :—

D 795 539 B 795 539

HELP! OH ALI.

Oh amulet of life, thou glory, Sahib-i-zeman,
Speak thy praise incessantly,
Sahib-i-zeman.

Sultan of both worlds from east to west,
All kings are beggars compared to you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

The sun of heaven shines by your beauty,
Sun and moon by your light,
Sahib-i-zeman.

When shall peace be from evil and strife of Dejjal,
Except it be your pleasure,
Sahib-i-zeman.

I hope that my heart may be lighted up
One day under the dust of your feet,
Sahib-i-zeman.

There will be a day with my last breath,
I shall speak your praises,
Sahib-i-zeman.

It is time that the sound of your trumpet
Be heard through the world,
Sahib-i-zeman.

From Kaf to Kaf take the whole world
In your world-conquering hand,
Sahib-i-zeman.

The time is come for the faithful to gird
Their loins and follow you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

Jesus will come down from the fourth heaven
To imitate you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

Nobody will worship or pay respect to God
Without worshipping also you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

~~Bi~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushi AV7
Balti AV2

D 795 539 Bo 795 539

Others go their own way
But I am faithful to you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

I, Suleem, the distracted in mind,
Have seized the skirts of your bounty,
Sahib-i-zeman.

D Bo 795 [262] D Bo [798]

Wine is drunk by the Maulais without concealment, and they do not strictly abstain from eating the flesh of animals not killed in the orthodox manner. Being absolved from the constraints of prayer and fasting, the practical religion of the uneducated consists of little more than obeying the commands of their Caliphas and Pirs, and making offerings freely through them to their spiritual chief. They are by no means intolerant, and, where permitted, live on good terms with Soonnees and Shiahs, with whom they intermarry without restraint. The only cases I have known of ill-feeling between the sects have been caused in the first instance by Soonnees from other places. From Shiahs they seldom meet with hostility, owing probably to the respect they show to Ali; though they do not celebrate the martyrdom of Hassan and Hoossain.

D 795 764 Bo 795 764

On the death of a Maulai the choicest articles of his portable property are set aside for the Imam-i-zeman. No food is cooked in the house, for from three to eight days, according to the rank of the deceased, and the family subsist on food cooked elsewhere. Food is also placed on trees and exposed places for birds to eat. On the evening of the appointed day a Calipha comes to the house, and food is cooked and offered to him. He eats a mouthful and places a piece of bread in the mouth of the dead man's heir, after which the rest of the family partake. The lamp is then lighted (from which the ceremony is called "Chiragh roshan"), and a six-stringed guitar called "gherba" being produced, singing is kept up for the whole night.

D Bo 795

I have sometimes shown the portrait of Agha Khan in Yule's Marco Palo to Maulais. They pass their fingers lightly over it and then touch their eyes and lips.

Bi 795 173

The Noor Buksh sect, which has been before referred to, is peculiar to Baltistan, where it numbers over twenty thousands followers, most of whom are to be found in Shigar and Khapolor. It is apparently an attempt to form a *vid media* between Shiah and Soonnee doctrines. Mahommedanism is said to have been first introduced into Baltistan according to Soonnee tenets by Syud Ali Hamadani. Later, a certain

526 enthusiasts may dance every afternoon at The Gate, but they
857 do not draw a large circle of spectators.

On one of the rare bright days that we were blessed with,
● 541 word was sent us that a special show was being got up for that
536 evening if we would care to come. We reached "The Gate" just before dusk and found a stone sofa duly carpeted for us. As the evening grew darker, the crowd became larger and the general feeling of infectious excitement increased, till at last the organizers of the show went round the crowd using their long sleeves as conductors' batons to mark time for the magnificent Ha-Ha-Ha and the unison clapping they so much enjoy which now announced the arrival of the performers. A lot of young men had got themselves up in various disguises, pairs of them stooping under a blanket with a horse's head fixed in front, pranced about most realistically under two boy-riders. Two other pairs were got up as markhor with real horns in front, while a fantastic huntsman with an aged muzzle-loading matchlock stalked them with exaggerated caution. Five or six were dressed up as women with silken veils to hide their moustaches. The best of all were two bent old men with flowing white beards; they were dressed in sheepskins with huge humps on their backs, and tottered very effectively on stout sticks. They contrived to look very aged and very frail. Then they got up a sham quarrel about the wife of one whom the other was supposed to have stolen. Thereupon they laid about each other with their cudgels—very carefully smiting only each other's well-padded humps—and did amazing leaps with their staves as jumping poles, the one lighting on the other's back and rolling him in the dust. This excellent horseplay was wildly applauded.

There were two absurd little boys with tiny besoms who made admirable clowns. They fussed about, sweeping the ground just in front of the dancers and choking everyone with dust, getting kicked out of the way and looking innocently pained at being so misunderstood. When anyone was knocked down in the rough and tumble they would officiously dash up to brush him down and get cuffed for their pains.

Altogether it was an extremely clever rag, mostly nonsense

and horseplay, of course, but with both humour and first-class 541
mimicry. A lot of the witticisms were lost on us, being in the 536
nature of "family jokes" only to be understood by the initiate, but they must have hit the mark, for they brought down the house. At one point one of the humped old men produced a mysterious black box from under his sheepskin and flung himself into a skilful caricature of DL taking photographs, pacing distances, peeping through view-finders, jotting things in notebooks, etc., etc. This was the star turn, and had been kept for the end. It was greeted with roars and howls of laughter, in which we joined till our sides ached.

After about half an hour, when everybody had been beaten and banged and rolled about enough to be tired out, we scattered home, surprised afresh at the magic in the air that made a show like this possible at 19° F. on a winter evening.

As we climbed home the great mountains of Nagir across the 132
river were looking their best in the evening light with massed patches of fresh-fallen snow and Raka resplendent in a new silver satin coat. But in many ways the winter snows—on the rare occasions when you can see them at all—are disappointing. We had pictured the whole land above, say, 10,000 feet one mass of snow; but in fact most of the cliffs and slopes are far too steep to *hold* snow, however much may fall, and while you do get magnificent stretches of pure white these are spoiled artistically by intervening scars of black and brown, khaki or dull grey. The topmost peak of Raka herself is a sheer rock-face of some thousands of feet whose grey austerity renders it almost invisible above the eternal snows beneath.

We had now reached the month which the people call "Crazy January," with its sudden and erratic storms of wind, and when the wind chooses to roar down these gorges from the glaciers then, by Jove! you do feel a temperature of 19°. We personally were lucky, for our bunaglow was in a kind of sheltered pocket—a fact we regretted during the hot weather —and even when a wild wind was hurtling round it seemed just to miss our windows.

Our sponges had been frozen solid for weeks and our bathrooms were not places to linger in, but it was cosy near

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

842 married life; he has been married early and has no arrears of
163 sex-starvation to make up, and he lives a healthy, active, outdoor life with no unwholesomely suggestive literature or cinema shows to stir his blood to rebellion. This admirable convention automatically spaces Hunza infants at decent intervals without artificial birth-control.

837 Unfaithfulness on either side is extremely rare, and I venture to assert without fear of contradiction that in Hunza morals
[548] are higher than in any other country in the world. There is no
[164] prostitute in the country, and no venereal disease. We may, I think, fairly ascribe this to high principle and a strongly developed tradition of fine practice, but we need not overlook the fact that circumstances conspire to reinforce principle. DL and I used sometimes to amuse ourselves speculating on the possible ways in which a pair of errant lovers, if such existed, could gratify their guilty passion, and we decided that the way of transgressors would be exceptionally hard.

No man or woman could be absent from the usual sleeping place without immediate comment, and by day each person's duties and destinations and occupations are common knowledge. The countryside lies sloping and open to view, and every corner and cranny of it, even the desolate rocky mountain sides where large boulders or ravines or semi-caves might seem to offer privacy, is subject to invasion at any moment by a herd-child with his goats. One tale was told us of an intriguing pair. The woman lover went to the edge of the river cliff, left some identifiable articles on the brink, and staged an accident. She then hid herself with the mother's connivance in the locked store-room of her lover's house. No search was made for the body, for these mountain rivers reveal no secrets, but it was, of course, not long before her presence in her lover's house was discovered. The unusual case came up before the Mir, whose sane judgment was that the guilty pair had better be divorced from their lawful partners and married to each other. Public opinion would have none of it, and while discussion was proceeding the disgraced woman drowned herself in earnest. I don't remember what the man's fate was, but general odium would certainly compel him to seek voluntary exile.

S. Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5)1935
AV7 Burushu AV7

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Abu Kitug, *Abu Kitug*. 102.13, 110.22 ff., 144.7.
Abdul Metalib. 88.22 ff.
Abul Fazl. 380.20.
Abul Faiz. 380.20.
Aga Maiyurs Than v. *Aiyrdo M. T.*
Aga Xan. The Āghā Khān, the spiritual head of the Maulāi (i. e. Isma'ili) sect, 314.14, 380.5.
Allabad. A large, scattered village in Hunza. 4 miles downstream from Ālitit on the right bank of the river. 296.6, 298.11, 240.9 ff., 318.4, 362.11.
Allabadlets. The people of Allābād. 318.9, 350.2.
Algak. Wazir of King Kubad. 48.1 ff., 82.22.
Alit, *Alti*. A village in Hunza about a mile east of Ālitit, on the right bank of the river. It has an old fort, now unoccupied, and is said to have been originally the capital of the country.
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Amara i Malk. The "Great Mehtar" of Chitral, died in 1892. 344.12.
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Aptal. 290.1. (Turki: *ap*, white; *tal*, stone).
Arab. Arab; Arab country. 98.23.
Asadullah Beg. A Wazir of Hunza, son of Pīlao Wazir. 344.2, 362.7 ff.
Altaxe. Name of a man. 383.6.

S: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

103
551

Ata-abad. A village in Hunza about 10 miles upstream from Bāltit on the right bank of the river. 248.12.

Azer. Chitrāl (?).

Azer Jamšed v. *Hazrr Jamšed*

Azuuowrshi (*hav*). The Chitrāli (language), i.e. Khowār.

Aiyūlo Malik. 218.1 ff.

Aiyūlo Maiyuri Tham, *Aiyūl M. T.*, *Aāl M. T.* 238.8 ff., 236.7, v. entry *Bozar Tham* and Biddulph "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh" pp. 37—8.

I, *I*.

Ibrahim Paiyamber. The "Prophet" Abraham. 92.3.

Iran. Persia. 34.5 ff.

Iskāti. A nullah between Bāltit and the Haidarābād Nullah. 268.3.

Irtad, *Irtād*. A pass at the head of the Chupūrsan Valley connecting Hunza and Wakhān. 284.17. 344.13.

Iskandar Azamo, *Iskandar Badlā*. Alexander the Great. He is supposed to have visited Hunza, and according to one story two Hunza personages, Dīram Titang and Dīram Moghul are said to have been in his company.

The terms "*barba*" and "*sizi*" are said to date from his time. 208.3.

Islam. 92.6.

Iškašam. The district of Ishkāshim. 332.5,

Iskuk. A locality in the Chupūrsan Valley, a few miles below the shrine of Bābā Ghwundi. 260.8.

Captain C. J. Morris was given the name as "*Yaskkuk*", v. JRGS Vol. LXXI, No. 6, June 1926.

U, Ū.

Ultar, *Ūltar*. The grazing ground inside the Bāltit Nullah. Explained as *ul(o)* + *tar* "the inside grazing ground", in which case the expression, *Ultara tar*. 256.1 is tautological. *Ultara Bar* the Ūltar Nullah. 292.2. *ultarow* from Ūltar. 248.9, 256.8.

These grounds originally belonged to the Hamachāting tribe of Ganish, but they were eventually dispossessed in favour of the Khūrukuta, Barātaling and Dirāmiting. Later they were appropriated by the Thams of Hunza. 226.1, 246.9,20, 256.1 ff., 350.3.

Usrgata, *Usrmata*, *Usrgunuta*, *Hosrgata*. Name of the tribe who originally occupied Ālitit, but were destroyed by Shāhōs. 236.2,8.

Some survivors are included in the Hōno caste.

According to one account they are reputed to have been left in Hunza, along with the Hamachāting and the Tapkhiuta, by Alexander the Great "when on his way back from China". 238.2,10.

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Uyum Das. "The Big Plain", described as "an open space between Nagir and Āltīt and near the latter". Perhaps the tongue of land in the bottom of the valley between the Hunza and Nagir rivers, just above their junction, is the place referred to. 204.11.

B.

Baba Ґwundi. The name of a Muslim saint (in full: B. Ґ. Mord Wali) and of the locality of his grave and shrine, near the head of the Chupūrsan Valley. For further particulars v. 284.10 and 286.19 ff.

Stone suitable for whetstones, and also lead ore and coloured earths are said to be found in the neighbourhood.

Baloski (baf). Balti (language). v. *Balo.*

(Cp. Sh. *Pāla* Baltistan, *Paloyo* (adj). Balti).

Baltit, Baltit. The capital of Hunza, situated at the mouth of the Ūltarè Bar on the cultivated terrace which extends 5 or 6 miles westwards to the Hasanābād Nullah. It is on the right bank of the Hunza River, roughly level with where it is joined by the Nagir River, but at some distance from the river and some hundreds of feet above it.

The dominating feature is the Mir's residence, a fort said to have been built five or six hundred years ago by people from Bāltistān. This stands on an elevation and the huts of the lesser inhabitants cluster below it.

The situation is a strong one, as behind it rise the mountains which are practically impassable, and on the East there is a perpendicular drop of some hundreds of feet to the bed of the Ūltar stream.

On the further (E.) side of the latter stream there is also a cultivated terrace, at the further end of which Āltīt stands, but this terrace is at a considerably lower elevation than the site of Bāltīt.

Abl. *Baltittum.* 208.5, 186.3, *Baltitum.* 212.21.

Adj. *Baltitum.* 258.1.

Loc. *Baltitulo.* 250.1.

Hunzo *Baltit.* Bāltīt in Hunza. 276.12.

The Seed-Sowing festival. 208.1 ff.

Water Supply. 350—352.

Water Supply, increased by Saiyid Shāh Wali. 292.

Clans at Bāltīt. 252.19, 238.1, 248.28, 270.5.

Celebration of Naurōz. 316—318, of Gināni. 326 ff.

Baltitkuts. The people of Bāltīt. 318.7, 350.3.

Baqi Kutor. A clan settled in Shīmshāl. 272.12.

Bavr Dan. A tract at Khaibar (in the Upper Hunza valley), lying to the South of the "Northern Gate". 222.2.

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Baxtek. Name of a man. 88.13 ff.
Baxti. Name of a man. 272.9, 274.8.
Baxiar. Name of a man. 88.9.
Baxt i Jamal. Name of a man. 48.1.
Baxti Kutor. Name of a clan settled in Shimshāl. 272.2,14.
Balo. Bāltistān. 384.19. (Cp. *Baloski* and Sh. *Paler*).
Balots. Bāltis, people of Bāltistān. 274.7.
Baltistan. Bāltistān. 274.1,6.
Bani Hašim. The family of the Prophet Muḥammad. 92.2.
Bapo. A son of the Tham, Ghazan Khān. 344.11.
Bər'ałałe. The territory of the Barātalīng clan. 200.1.
Bər'ałałiŋ, Bəratałiŋ. One of the "Four Clans of Bāltit". Shadun Kapūri was a Barātalīng woman married to a man of the Khūrukuts v. 258.3.
Kulio Laskir (200.9) was of this tribe.
At one time they shared the Ūltar grazing-grounds with the Khūrukuts and the Dirāmitīng. 258.5.
Dances at marriage festivals. 302.9.
Bərbər. Name of a place in Ūltar(?).
Cave. 226.7. Irrigation Channel. 350.3. 352.6.
Bərča. Name of the Wazir of Shīri Badat. 384.4,19.
Basəŋ Gaiari. A former Tham of Nagir. 276.1 ff.
The name is also given as *Masəŋ*.
Batura. Nullah and glacier which debouch from the West into the valley of the Hunza River just above Pasu.
B'eriče, sg. *Berits*, an alien people, calling themselves *Ḍum'a*, who are settled in small numbers in Hunza and Nagir. They serve the community as blacksmiths and musicians. They have an Indo-Aryan language of their own, but also speak Burushaski fluently. [563]
B'eriłałe. The territory of the Bēricho. 250.11.
Bibi Anjir. Name of a woman. 364.10.
Bidiro Mal. The "Round Field", a field belonging to the village of Sumaiyar. 198.9.
Bir'ałdo Bər. A valley and glacier, formerly traversable, between Shimshāl and Bāltistān. For present conditions v. "Unknown Karakoram" by R. C. F. Schomberg. 1936.
Boxar Tham. A king of Haihaiyūl (Hunza). He is mentioned with Shāh Tham, Nōni Tham and Lali Tham as contemporaneous kings (or members of the ruling family?) of Hunza, expelled and supplanted by Kisar. 142.16.
Biddulph, in his genealogical table of the Nagir and Hunza royal families ("Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh", p. 135) begins with

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Noori thum.
|
Bookha thum.
|
Shat thum.
|
Lalli thum.
|
Maiyroo thum.
|
Meghlot. Girkis.

The authorised version of the Hunza family at the present day is:

Shah Malik (descended from Azur Jamshèd).

Trakhan. Chilis Khān. Shah Tham. Bukho Tham. Lali Tham.

Girkis (Tham of Hunza). Mughlōt (Tham of Nagir).

Maiyūri. Nūr Bēgum.

Ayasho.

551 *Boryo.* V. Vocab. s.v. *bovin.*

103 *Boryo Gal.* "The Bōyo Juniper Tree". 214.2.

Brunkaperdono. The name of a supernatural Golden Calf, birth of 104.22, hunting of 120.22, 124.2, 132.9 ff., death of 134.5. (In Sh. *dono* = bull).

Bura Gan. "The Cow's Road", name of a track leading out of Ūltar above Bāltīt. 246.1.

Burbuli Gas. Princess Būbuli — a Princess of Haihaiyūl married by Kisar. 142.21 ff. Proposal that Kisar should marry her. 184.1.

Burbulimutin. Būbuli's Peak; name of a mountain peak in the form of an aiguille, close to Bāltīt and to the N. W. of it. Pronounced:

Burbuli Mutin, but the *-mu-* is the fem. gen. suffix, not the Pn.pf. with *tin* peak. 142.28.

Budol's Kotor. Name of a clan in Galmīt. 272.18.

Bulčidas. Name of a locality in Gujbāl near Galmīt. 386.8.

(Probably *bul* + *či* (= *tsi*) + *das* the open ground at the spring).

Bulčutorko. 1. Name of a man who stole gold from a *ḍaŋalathas.* 204.1 ff.

2. (*Bulčathoko*) name of a man who knew the language of birds and fetched Sumalik to succeed Hazir Jamshèd as Tham of Gilgit. 386.4,6.

Bul Das. A place near Gilgit. 382.21, 386.5,6.

Bul Mal. "Spring-Field", name of a piece of land near Bāltīt. 246.12.

Bulwki. Name of a Hamachātīng girl who married Dīram Chūram, the sole survivor of the Tapkhiènta, and so originated the Dirāmitīng. 248.18 ff.

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Bulaki-ɣal ker, "Bulāki's-path Cave", where she reared her family. 246.6. 103
Burlolo. Name of a gorge up in the mountains above Haidarābād. 551
Burbulum from Bālulo. 270.1, 350.5.
Burubadi. Name of a boy. 270.3.
Burulifkan. Name of the twin-brother of Pangchu (Kisar). 119.20, 144.16 ff.
Death of 150.21.
Buri Bum. Name of a place, the "Silver Boulder". 234.2.
Burir Kstor. Name of a clan in Galmit. 272.18.
Burundo Bor. The "Ring Nullah", a tributary nullah on the left bank of the Hunza River a few miles above Bāltit.
Burong. One of the "Four Clans" of Bāltit. 268.1, 270.6, 302.8.
Burongāla. The territory of the Burōng Clan.
Burum Mos(ala). The "White Mud-Flood" at Alitbād. 240.7,15.
Burum Pfut. The "White Div." 2.7 ff.
Burušaski, Burušaski, Burušaski. The language of the Burūsho of Hunza and Nagir. I have been unable to get confirmation in either Hunza or Nagir of the term "Boorishki" used by Biddulph.

Burushaski is spoken in Nagir above Ghulmit. For its distribution in Hunza see Introduction Vol. I, p. XXXIV, where the facts given are mainly derived from the Census material of 1931. I was previously told (in 1924) that Burushaski was also spoken in Khaibar and Sost in Herbar, and Rāminj in Chupūrsan.

Burušo, Burušo, Burušo, sg. *Burušin*. The people in Hunza and Nagir whose first language is Burushaski. They call themselves by this name. It is denied that the Burushaski-speaking people of Hunza and Nagir call themselves, or their language, "Yeshkun", as stated by Conway ("Climbing in the Himalayas", pp. 242—3) Classification of the Burūsho as "Yeshkun" by Biddulph (T. H. K. p. 38) is not supported by local practice, as indeed he admits. 101

At the present day the appelation *Yaškun* appears to be used only in differentiating the two main elements of the Shina-speaking population of the Gilgit and neighbouring regions, viz. the *Šin* and the *Yaškun*. See, however, the entries *yrš* and *Yrškuyu* in the Vocabulary, from which it would appear that a more general use of the term could be justified.

The word *Burušo* may be compared with the first element of the words *Wəršaguru*, and *Wəršikcaw* (*Wərčikcaw*), the Khowar terms for Yasin and the Yasin dialect of Burushaski respectively. The Burushaski speakers of Yasin call themselves "Burūsho", and their language "Burushaski".

Sarat Chandra Das gives Tibetan "*Bru-tsha*" and "*Bru-sha*" as "the name of a country N. W. of Tibet".

Cp. also Jäschke, "*Bru-ta*", "*Bru-sa*".

Bozur Jamhur. A corruption of the Persian name, Buzurjmihr. 58.2 ff.
Bozurjmihor. 56.16 v. preceding entry.

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Č and Čh.

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Čarišambi Kotor. Name of a clan in Galmīt. 272.18.

Čaça Hər. Name of a place near Galmīt. 336.9.

Čhalt. Name of a village in the lower part of Nagir, situated in a considerable open tract of ground on the right bank of the river, where it turns to the south. 276.4.

Čaman Gol. Name of a place near Galmīt. 336.6.

Čangi H'irpal. Name of Pangchu's (alias, Kisar's) horse. 122.7, 124.3, 156.17, 162.16.

Čaprot. Name of a nullah and settlement in lower Nagir. The nullah debouches from the West into the main valley at Chhalt. It provides the water for Chhalt cultivation. 228.1. 227.12.

Čhal Gazi x. The "Forty Yards", name of a Jinn or Dīv who lived at Khaibar. 222.1 ff.

The measurement perhaps refers to his stature, but in that case his seven cubit stick would be too short. Prs.

Čin. China, Chinese territory. 344.21, 386.20.

Čitrar. Chitrāl. 344.15, 346.1.

Čoro Nur Ša. Nūr Shā, son of Chōro. 296.5.

Čupursan, Čupursan y. An open valley leading down from the Chilinji and Irshad Passes, and proceeding eastwards till it joins the valley of the Hunza River above Gīrcha. 280.1, 284.13 ff., 384.13.

Čuram. V. Dīram Chūram.

D.

Dāyor. Sh. *Dāiyor*, a place on the left bank at the junction of the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers, close to Gilgit. 380.21.

Dadi. Name of a Bilas who lived at Hīndi. 192.1 ff.

Daltas Manuko. A son of Sīng of Hīndi. 260.13 ff.

(In Sh. *manuko* = frog).

Dantsile Bum. The "Sulphur-Boulder", at Murtazābād.

Dərbəšo. Son of Pfaqīr 'Ali. 180.2 ff.

Dašaman Xordik. Fifth son of Dīram Chūram. 246.4.

Datu Siṅ. Name of the man who succeeded to Khamar's land. 252.16.

Datu Siṅkuts, his descendants.

Dīqoni Pir, Dehkan Pir. The prophet Khiẓr. 328.7, 332.3.

Di.emor. Local name of the mountain, Nanga Parbat. The form in Sh. is *Di.amər*. 134.9.

Diramišale, Dir'amišale. The territory of the Dirāmitīng clan. 216.6.

619 *Diramitiṅ, Dir'amitiṅ.* Name of one of the "Four Clans" of Bāltit, among whom they take precedence. They were said to number about 100 households (excluding the Tharakuts section?).

These four clans are individually exogamous, but intermarry with each other. Endogamy is said formerly to have entailed penalties and expulsion.

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619 Nowadays though rare, it does not appear to be penalised. The Four Clans are not now confined to Bāltīt, but also form part of some of the Thuānts settlements.

The Dirāmiting are the descendants of Diram Chūram, the sole survivor of the Thapkiānts (V. 248.33 and 238 ff.) and are spoken of as the "seed", i.e. descendants, of the original population of Hunza. 348.1.

They are said to have resided originally in Shīshpar, where they succeeded no doubt to the lands of the Thapkiānts, but to have also cultivated land in Bāltīt which is now their headquarters.

At the time of the quarrel between the Khūrukuts and the Hamachāting they were still living in Shīshpar, but after acting as arbitrators they obtained rights in Ūltar. 258.4 ff.

Darbèsh, who had the adventure with Mūnulum Dādo (180.2), was a member of the Dirāmiting, who at that time also were resident in Shīshpar.

A member of the clan in later days was Karamo Darbèsh. 214.1.

The mention of the Dirāmiting at 238.2 appears to be anachronistic.

For the part played by the Dirāmiting at the Bopfau V. 208—72, at the annual celebration of marriages. 300.13, and 302.7, at the Ōdi. 322.

The Dirāmiting are not liable to do gold-washing. 348.1 ff.

103 *Ḍor Khan.* Name of a village adjoining Alīābād on the East.

551 *Dumani.* A mountain in Nagir to the South of Ghulmit the "Rakaposhi" of the maps.

Duŋpa Mīru. Father-in-law of Kisar's mother. 100.5 ff.

F.

Fairu. Son of Wazīr Asadullah Bèg. 344.4.

G.

Gam Siŋge. A re-incarnation of Būmlīftan. 176.20.

GAldAŋ GAlpo. The name of a "Pfūt" or demon. 174.19.
(Cp. Tib. *rgyal-po*, king).

GAlmit. The principal village in Gujhāl, or Hèrbar. It is situated on the right bank of the Hunza River about 20 miles above Bāltīt. The inhabitants are of Wakhi origin and talk Wakhi as their first language.

For the Galmītum Rōm, the clans of Galmīt, v. 272.

GAnīl, GAneī, Ganiī. One of the three original villages of Hunza, the other two being Bāltīt and Āltīt.

It is situated on a terrace below and to the south of Bāltīt, between it and the Hunza River. According to one account it was founded by Shīshkīn, a lame man of the Khitāi. It was occupied by the Hamachāting before the time of Azur Jamshed. 236.1 ff., 238.2.

GAnīum. Abl. and Adj. 246.20, 322.9.

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Bulchutōko's grave at. 206.15.
Bilas at. 190.1 ff.
Diram Chūram. 244.10 ff.
Trangfa of. 318.2.
Twin Calves. 354.1 ff.
Water Supply. 352.10 ff.
Ashtanē's descendants. 382.7.

Ganilkuts. The people of Ganish. 318.8, 350.1.

Gantsupər. A locality in the mountain range which separates the Hunza and Nagir Rivers for some miles before their junction, and opposite Atā.abād. 204.3, 206.6.

Gər'elt. A village close to the right bank of the Hunza River, below and level with Haidarābād. 204.2, 206.4. Marble is said to be found there.

Gər'eltom Hərəy. The "Garelt Tribe", a name applied to certain water-birds, black with long beaks, that sit and fly in lines (cormorants?), said to have been originally human inhabitants of Garelt. 206.12.

Gərib. A man of the Dirāmiting Clan. 208.8.

G'ərmAh'Almas, Gər MAhal MAs. The name of a goldsmith and blacksmith. 162.12 ff. (Cp. perhaps Tib. *mgar* smith).

Gilit, Gilt- y Gilgit.

gəte Gilt(t)əmi. From this Gilgit (here). 204.1.
Gilttom Thamu.s. The Gilgit Thams. 280.1.
Gil'it YAčh'eni. The Gilgit Yachini. 222.6.
Gil'itsər. To Gilgit. 222.11.
Gilt-olo, -ər, -e, -Afər. 376.1, 278.8, 380.9,10, 382.10. (Sh. *Gil'it, Gilt-*).

[173] *Girkis.* The first Tham of Hunza after the political separation of Hunza and Nagar. His brother Mughlōt similarly became the first Tham of Nagar. They are the immediate progenitors of the two existing Royal Families.

Biddulph gives the parents of the brothers as Maiyroo Tham and a daughter of Trakhan, himself a descendant of Shīri Badat's daughter and Azur Jamshēd. In genealogical tables in my possession they are variously shown as the sons of Shā Tham and Lali Tham. The claims of the latter are at present favoured.

Cp. the entry under *Boxar Tham* above, Biddulph T. H. K. pp. 24, and 135, and the addendum to the notes on Text XLVII.

Gohər. A man's name. 364.13.

Gu.iski. Adj. Wakhi. *gu.iski (baʾ)* the Wakhi language.

Gu'its, pl. *Gu'itco.* Wakhi (man). 338.9.

GuwAč(i). Name of a locality and small village on the Nagar and Gilgit-Wazārat boundary, on the right bank of the Hunza River between Chhalt and Nomal. Abl. *Guw'Ačim, Guw'Ačitsum.* 276.5.

Guyo Bun. "Gūyo's Boulder" near Ganish, Gūyo being the name of a man. 190.10.

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Γ.

103 *Γavzi Kutor*. The name of a clan settled in Shimshāl. 272.14.

551 *Γaduva*. The name of a man. 384.1.

Γatosiŋ. The name of a man.

pfilamičiŋ gatamuras Γatosiŋ, Gh. the pattu-fuller.

jamiep(ſas dukuγanas Puno Γatosiŋ (you are) Gh. son of Puno, who work yourself to death for others, i.e. you are a self-sacrificing altruist.

Γazan Xan. 1. A former Tham of Hunza, father of the present Mir, Sir Muḥammad Nazim Khān. He was murdered at the instigation of his eldest son, Safdar 'Ali, who succeeded him. 344.8,14.

2. The present Mir's eldest son and heir.

Γaſam Sar. The name of a place. 388.9.

Γulmit. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river, between Nilt and Minapin. 294.22, 276.3.

Γulmitkuts. The people of Ghulmit. 294.21.

Γulwa Kano. The name of a man of the Ghulwāting. 200.10,13 note.

Γulwatiŋ. A section of the Burīng Clan, whose ancestor is said to have come from Puniāl, or, according to others, from Gōr. The living (1924) notables, Muhammad Rafi' and Zarparast belong to it. 200.10.

Γund, Γwund. A place stated as being in Wakhān. 286.21.

Perhaps Ghūnd in Shughnin is intended).

Γuno. The name of a woman. 232.11.

H.

Havlasa Borin. Name of a supernatural being. 250.10.

Havzir Jamšed, Azur Jamšed. Supplanter and successor of Shīri Badat as King of Gilgit. An ancestor of the present Royal Families of Hunza, Nagar and Gilgit. 380.20.

Habaš. Abyssinia. 66.4.

Hakwčar. Name of a place in Nagar, below the Phekar terrace and to the East of it. 294.4.

619 *Hamatatiŋ*. 1. The name of one of three original tribes of Hunza (the other two being the *Usenuts* and the *Tapkhiants*) who, according to one tradition, were left behind by Alexander the Great when "on his return journey from China". They were established in Ganish before the Azur Jamshed Thams came to power. They were almost exterminated by Khisrau Tham. The survivors are now represented by the Rōno caste of Gilgit.

They owned Ūltar until they quarrelled with, and were dispossessed by, the Khūrukuts. 258.2.

Cp. 265.19, 238.2, 244.12 ff., 236.2,7, 352.10.

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2. Said to be the name given in Nagar and Yasin to the Rōno caste of Gilgit, who are represented in Chitrāl by the Zundra.

H'amaći. An irrigation channel, carrying water from the Ūltar Nullah, which supplies Ganish. 352.10.

Hamza. Son of 'Abdu'l Muṭṭalib. 88.22.

Hanisawi. The name of the Gilgit River. 382.20. V. Vocab. s.v. *Hanizavr.*

Hanuman Mum. The name of a mountain in Shishpar which has a high grassy spur. 180.3.

Perhaps *hanuman*, alone, isolated + *mum* stump.

Hərayšuŋ. The name of a track, leading from Ganish and passing above Bāltīt into the Ūltar Nullah. From a note it appears that it is to be taken as 2. *hərayy* + *šuŋ* = the "Track of the Tribe", i.e. of the Hamachāting. 248.3, 256.2.

Hər'ayy, pl. *Hərak'indəro*, and perhaps *Həraiyo* (? Biddulph), a term applied to the original independent tribes of Hunza.

V. s.vv. *Hamačatiŋ*, *Hərayšuŋ*, and cp. *Gərellum Hərayy.*

Hərći, Hərće. The water-course issuing from the Ultar Nullah, immediately to the East of Bāltīt. 352.8,12.

Hər'eli. A locality 3 or 4 miles West of Gilgit on the left bank of the Gilgit River. 378.1.

Hərəŋ Gašeŋ. The mountain side above Askūr Dās in Nagar, to the West of Sumaiyar. 198.3,8.

Həri Siŋ. A man of the Dirāmitīng, son of Mūko, son of Pūno, son of Garīb. He was an old man in 1923. 211.21.

Hasanabad. A village at the mouth of a nullah called after it, which debouches into the main Hunza valley on the north side about 6 miles West of Bāltīt. It marches with Aliābād on the East. The nullah is now, except at the lower end, filled by a glacier, but it is said that it was formerly warmer and that there was no glacier. The Shishpar Nullah is a tributary of the Hasanābād Nullah. 238.3.

Hazarat Sulimam. King Solomon, who according to Muslim authorities "inherited from David the gift of prophecy and knowledge". 384.7.

Haidərabad. A village about 2 miles West of Bāltīt. 318.3, 346.10.

Haidərabadkuts. The people of Haidarābād.

Haihaiyul. The name of a country. Said to be the old name of Hunza. Alexander the Great is said to have brought his force through it. Seized by Kisar. 142.17.

It is explained as composed of "*hai hai*" an exclamation used to urge cattle along, and "*yul*" road.

Cp. T. *yol*, road.

Herbər, Her Bər. The Hunza valley from Galmīt upwards, officially known as Gujhāl. 336.2, 342.6.

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Hindi, Hini. A village in Hunza on the right bank of the river opposite Mīnapin and about 14 miles below Bāltīt. The inhabitants are Ṣhèn. 192.1 ff., 260.1 ff.

Hindikuts. The people of Hīndi. 196.5.

Hinzal. A village about 7 miles West of Gilgit on the right bank of the river. 384.13.

Horyul. The name of a country visited by Kisar. 142.23. It occurs in this form in the Ladakhi version of the Kesar Saga, while "hor" alone is used as the name of a country in the Tibetan version given by Madame David-Neel "The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling" (1933).

(W. Tib. *hor* Turks, *yul* country).

Huks Manu. "Dog's Milk", the name of a famous "bīṭan" of Hunza. 186.1 ff., 202.3.

It was stated in 1924 that a descendant of his, named Barak, was then living in Misgār, and that there was another in Bāltīt, but that under pressure from the religious authorities they had ceased to practise as "bīṭans".

This was probably exceptional and temporary, as between 1920 and 1924 I twice saw public displays by "bīṭans" in Bāltīt, and in 1935 in Aliābād a female candidate for recognition as a qualified "bīṭan" gave a public demonstration of her powers.

Humayun Big. An able and distinguished Wazir of Hunza, son of Wazīr Asadullah Bèg and half-brother of Wazīr Muhammad Thara Bèg. He became Wazir when Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān was installed as Mir in 1892 and continued in this office till his death in 1916.

Three sons by his first wife were prominent in Hunza in 1924. The eldest, Shukurullah Bèg had succeeded him as Wazir, but had not inherited his personality or force of character. The second, 'Ināyatullah Bèg (IUB), acted as schoolmaster and provided me with a considerable number of Burushaski words in writing. The third, Imām Yār Bèg, was a Jemadar in the Gilgit Scouts and a noted polo-player. Most of the material in this book I owe to him (IYB).

Circumstances have now altered. Imām Yār Bèg was murdered in Gilgit in 1934, and Shukurullah Bèg was, I believe, deprived of his Wazirship in the end of 1935.

The family belong to the Tharakuts section of the Dirāmitīng. 196.8, 344.10.

Hunza Nagar. The States of Hunza and Nagar. 344.2, 380.10.

Hunzo, Hunzu y. The State of Hunza. In a strict geographical sense it seems to apply to the tract on the right bank of the river between Āltīt and Murtazābād. The form "Hunza" is not normally used by the people of the country.

Hunzo Baltitolo. At Bāltīt in Hunza. 238.1.

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Hunzo nukan. Seizing Hunza. 196.9

Hunzuncər. To Hunza. 294.13.

Hunzulo. In Hunza. 186.2.

Cp. 192.8, 200.1, 208.1, 214.4, 238.1, 276.12, 292.4 ff., 298 (title), 316.3, 320.1, 342.1, 344.17, 352.6,9, 354.1.

Hunzukuts. The people of Hunza. 272.1, 296.4,8.

Hunzumo. Of, belonging to, residing in, Hunza.

Hunzumo ba. I am of Hunza. Cp. 274.3.

Hunzumo huy'ers. The Hunza flocks. 322.1.

Hunzamo thamo. The Thams of Hunza. 266.20.

Hunzulum. From, belonging to, Hunza.

Hupər. Hopar, a place in Nagar; about 3 miles up the valley from Nagar village.

Hupərum. Belonging to Hopar. 380.15.

Hurukušale v. *Xurukušale.*

Hurukuts v. *Xurukuts.*

Huserguts v. *Ōserguts.*

J.

Jamas. Jamasnama. The names of a man and of a book. 48.2.

(Prs. Jāmāsp, Jāmāspnāmak).

Jandu Šikari. A tower at Hindi. 192.2.

Jandu was elsewhere given as the name of a man of Hindi.

Jaturikuts. A Clan said by IYB to have come to Hunza from Astor. At the present time they form a section of the Burōng.

K.

Kang Jakun v. *Qang Jakun.*

Kangər Malik. A son of Shīri Badat. 388.10.

Kašgər. Kashgār. 386.19.

Kampire Di.or. The name of a place in Chupūrsan. 286.15.

(Wkh. *kampir* old woman + *di.or* settlement, village).

Kəramo Dərbeš. An old man (in 1924) of the Dirāmitīng. 214.1 ff.

Karəgadimuts. An aqueduct that carries water from Bāltīt to Karīmābād over the track that leads down to Āltīt. 186.3.

(V. Vocab. s.v. *karəgadi*).

Kərimabad. Land belonging to the Mir of Hunza on the spur below Bāltīt, where he has summer quarters, gardens and guest-houses. 350.4.

Kərga. A nullah that debouches into the Gilgit Valley from the South, about three miles West of the Gilgit Fort. 222.11.

Kašmir. Kashmir. 254.1.

Kašmiri. Kashmiri; *Kašmiri bang* the K. language.

Katiš Malčuco. The name of a woman. 160.17 ff., 176.15.

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Kilik. The name of a Pass (15,600 ft.) leading from Hunza to the Taghdumbāsh Pamīr. It lies to the West of the Mintaka Pass. 252.23.

Kirgɪz, Kɪrɣɪz, Qɪrɣɪz. The Qirghiz. 290.2,5.

Kirm'in. A place in the lower half of the Chupūrsan Valley. 344.13.

Kɪsər. The hero of Text No. IV. The "Kesar" of the Ladākhi "Kesar Saga", the "Gesar" of Madame David-Neel's "The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling" (English Translation. Rider and Co., London 1933), and the "Bogda Gesser Khān" of the Mongolian Version. (V. introductory note to the text).

See also the entry *Paɣču*, which is his alias when in his inferior form.

When in Hunza, Kisar lived at Āltīt. 134.4, 142.18 ff., 152.8—160.20 174.4—178.2, 182.18 ff.

Kɪsər's pl. The Kisar Clan, Kisar's uncles. 110.21, 112.15, 114.5,10.

Kubad. Name of a King (of Persia).

Kulikuts. A family group descended from Kuli, the father of Kulio Laskīr.

Kuli.'o Lask'ir. Laskīr, son of Kuli, a famous Hunza "biṭan" of the Barātaling Clan. 198.1, 200.9.

(*Kuli.o* ought probably to be *Kuli.oy*.

-oy appears to be a recognised patronymic suffix).

X.

Xan Wali. A place in the Misgār region. 252.22.

Xarɪz. Khārazm. 56.12, 58.7.

Xarəzəm sodʌgər. A trader of Kh. 56.12.27.

Xʌmər. The name of a man. 250.1 ff.

Xərum Bʌt. The "Split Stone", below the Mir's quarters at Karīmābād, overlooking Ganish. 210.5, 352.12.

Xʌyu Bul Šʌbərɪn. A polo-ground which once existed in Shīshpar.

Xaibər. A village in Herbar (Upper Hunza) on the right bank of the river between Pasu and Gīrcha. It is approached from N. and S. by narrow passages called "Gates". 222.1, 224.4 ff.

Xairullah. A son of Wazīr Asadullah Beg. 344.3.

Xɪsrau. A Tham of Hunza. 236.7. In one genealogical table a Khisrau is shown as the grandfather of Girkis and Mughlōt, but in the authorised pedigree the only Khisrau shown is a direct ancestor of the present Mir (Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān) in the fourth ascending generation. This makes the destruction of the Hamachātling a matter of recent history.

Xrtavi. Chinese Turkistan, or the inhabitants thereof. 344.23. V. also s.v. Šiskin.

Xuda.abad. A village in Upper Hunza at the junction of the Chupūrsan Valley with the main valley. 342.21, 352.18.

Xuvri.ʌs Bun. The name of a boulder situated in the lands of the Khūrukuts which extend downwards from the Bāltīt pologround. 200.14.

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Xuro, X'oro. The ancestor of the Khūrukuts. 250.1 ff.

Xuro Pfəri. "Khūro's Pond", a piece of open ground somewhere near Dudōnr Murku. 276.13.

Xurukušalt. The territory of the Khūrukuts Clan.

Xurukuts. One of the "Four Clans" of Bāltīt, the descendants of Khūro. The headquarters of the clan are still at Bāltīt, though nowadays there are Khūrukuts in some of the Thuānts villages. 252.19, 258.3, 302.8, 352.15.

Xuš Bəg. The name of a man. 274.3.

Xuwatt, Quwatt. A mountain above Āltīt and in Āltīt territory. 212.6.

In regard to the note on the passage, *Xuwatt* appears to be the form of the name by which the place is always referred to.

L.

Laʼkar(a)t. Sir William Lockhart, afterwards Commander-in-Chief in India. 344.20.

Lat Manat. The two idols worshipped by pre-Islamic Arabs. Mentioned in the Qurān, Sura LIII. 19. 96.12.

Lali Tham. A king of Haihaiyūl. 142.16. V. s.v. *Boxa' Tham.*

Lamey. A place or country, variously said to be Bāltistān or Tibet. 100.1, 144.5, 174.3.

Laŋabrumo. A princess of the country of the Kisare. 116.9 ff., 136.10 ff., 142.23, 164.14 ff., 174.11 ff., 176.16 ff.

Lato Hər. The name of a place described as a "trench". The second part is therefore probably 2. *hər* = ravine, nullah. 190.7.

Levli. Laila. 362.3.

Liŋp'ikisər (also *Liŋkp'ikisər*). An alternative form of the name of Kisar. 142.15, 156.12, 168.6, 174.14.

In the Ladākhi "Kesar Saga" gLing appears to mean "the earth"; "the world" and then to be used of Kesar's country. Madame David-Neel now claims to have identified Ling (gLing), Gesar's kingdom, as "part of the land of Kham" Vide "The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling", p. 16.

(Cp. Tib. *gling* = "part of the globe", "division of lands" according to Sarat Chandra Das).

M.

1. *Mahmad Shā.* A man said to be a descendant of the "bitan" Shongukūr. 226.5.
2. *Māmad Shā.* The name of a man. 214.9.

Mamutsa Mal. A field at Āltīt, where some parts of the "Bōpfan" ritual are carried out.

Madarin. The cities of Madīna and Mecca(?). 48.1, 98.9,14.

Mamu Hər. The "Milk Ravine", a locality on the farther side of the Ūltar Bar from Baltit, so-called because of its white soil and foaming water. 276.12.

Mano Bay'ərtham. A man of the Dirāmiting Clan. 214.16.

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Masod. A place in Nagar on the left bank of the river below Ghulmit and above Thōl. 276.3. 103 551

Matum Daskuts. The people of Matum Das, a Hunza settlement in Gilgit territory. It is situated on the left bank of the river nearly opposite Nōmal. The land is held on some terms from the Kashmir State. 318.10.

Maiyon. A village in Lower Hunza on the right bank of the river, downstream from Hindi and opposite Nilt. The people are Ṣhèn, speaking Shinā. 318.9, 348.12.

Meri Dwoeni. The name of a "dangalaṭhas". 206.3.

Miṇtaka. A Pass (elev. 15,430 feet) leading over from Hunza to the Taghdumbāsh Pamir. It is situated to the East of the Kilik Pass. 252.23.

(The word means "A thousand Ibex". Turki *ming* = 1000 + *taka* = he-goat).

Mrsor. Egypt. Ar.

Mrsgaw. A village in Upper Hunza. The inhabitants are Burūsho. 252.22, 290.1, 318.9, 348.13, 344.1.

Mrsgawrkuts, *Mrsgawri*. The people of Misgār. 290.6,7.

Moryol. The father of Diram Tītam.

Morre Daw, *Mori D*. "The Plain of Words" or "the Plain of Discussion", a locality in Lower Hunza above Maiyōn and opposite Ghulmit, where the people of Maiyōn and Ghulmit used to meet to discuss measures for defending themselves against a common enemy. Now called Mortas. 276.11, 252.20.

(Sh. *morre* words, speech etc.).

Muḥammad Baqir. The personal name of Bāba Ghwundi. 286.23.

Mun. V. *Hanuman Mun*.

(Sir) *Muḥammad Nagīm Xan*, (K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.). The present Mir of Hunza, son of Ghazan Khān Tham. 196.3,7, 346.6, 352.21.

Munkir. The angel who with Nakir examines the Muslim dead. 218.5, 312.11.

Munolum Dado. "The Grandfather, or Old Man in (*or*, of) the Mūn", i.e. of Hanuman Mūn, a mountain in Shīshpar in which he resides. He married Kisar's grandmother, V. 180—184.

A laconic note equates "Tapkhiènts Dāda", "Bāba Adam" and "Mūnulum Dādo", which perhaps means that the last is regarded as the primal ancestor of the Tapkhiènts and of the human race.

Murk'u. The name of an irrigation channel. 352.18. It perhaps refers to the same place as Ḍoḍōng Murku. 276.13.

Morkuli. A locality about 13 miles N. of Misgār, where the water-courses coming down from the Mīngtaka and Kilik Passes unite.

(In the text given as *Morkuś*). 352.18.

Mortaza.abad. One of the *Thu.ants* (q.v.) villages in Hunza, situated just below the junction of the Hasanābād stream with the main river. 352.18.

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Nafīs Xan. A half-brother of the present Mir of Hunza (Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān). 342.21.

Nagər, Nagīr. The State of Nagar.

Nagīrum belonging to N., Nagari. 276.2, 344.22, 354.8.

Nagīr is, I believe, the usual pronunciation in that State.

Nagər is what I heard in Hunza.

Nakir, Nakir. The angel who with Munkir examines deceased Muslims in their graves. 218.5, 312.11.

Namay. (Earlier recorded as *Nomay*), the village "Nōmal", which is the first stage on the road from Gilgit to Hunza. It is in Gilgit territory and about 17 miles from Gilgit Headquarters.

Nazimabad. A village in Upper Hunza near the junction of the Chupūrsan and main Hunza valleys. Previously called "Shishkē Das" and renamed after the present Mir. 342.21.

Noni Tham. A king of Haibaiyūl (Hunza). 142.16.

V. entry s.v. *Boxar Tham.*

Nur Baxš. A daughter of Shīri Badat. 380.12 ff.

Nuro. A man of the Burōng. V. 346.8 note.

Nūširwan. The Persian King Nūshīrwān. 86.25, 92.28 ff.

P.

Pangču, Pañču. The hero of Text No. IV. The original name of Kisar, and applied to him again when in his inferior form. 110.19 ff., 162.1—172.14.

Pahardaṅ Galpo. A king of Hōryūl. 144.4.

(Cp. Tib. *rgyal-po* = king).

Panja-i Šah. 288.3.

Pfaqir Ali. 180.1.

Pfasan Karaski. 104.14.

Paiyambər. The Prophet (Muḥammad). 90.17.

Pfikər, Pfekər, Phekər. A village in Nagar on a very high terrace on the left bank of the river about 6 miles upstream from Minapin and Hindi. 242.12.

Pfekərum of or belonging to *Pfekər.* 242.7.

Pir Šah Nasir i Xusrau. The historical character, Nāṣir i Khusrau (c. 1004—1088 A. D.), poet and writer on Ismailism. For the latest account of him and his works see "A Guide to Ismaili Literature", by W. Ivanow, R. A. S. 1933.

In Hunza he was spoken of as the introducer of Maulai-ism into Turkistan, and was described as "of Kohistan", and again as "of Letkoh" (in Chitral).

He is said to have sanctioned the use of musical instruments (the "charda" and the "daf") as an aid to religion, and to have attracted converts by musical entertainments. 314.2.

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Pisan. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river a little below Minapin and nearly opposite Hindi. 262.1 ff.

Pisankots. The people of Pisan. 266.12.

Ponzki Pforpfor. The name of Aba Dumbu's horse. 148.26 ff.

Ponal Maidan. A place near Gilgit (?). 384.20.

1. *Puno.* The father of Ghatōsing, q.v.

2. *Puno.* A man of the Dirāmiting. 208.8 ff.

3. *Puno.* Wazir of Hunza in the time of Tham Shāh Silum Khān and father of Asadullah Bēg. 352.14.

Pforuw Bul. The "Reed Spring". 292.12.

Puyesi Šamšer Bek. Shamsher Beg, son of Puyēs. 223.11.

Q.

Qarŋ Jak'un. The "Braying Donkey". 202.4.

Qaračukur. The name of a place in the Killik-Mingtaka region (?). 352.23.

Qibla. The Qibla. As a point of direction, it is treated as being roughly West of Hunza. 310.1.

Qirγiz v. *Kirgiz.*

Qoli.'o Laskir v. *Koli.'o Lask'ir.*

R.

Ramrnj. A locality at the lower end of the Chupūrsan Valley. There is a tributary Nullah of the same name on the South side of the valley.

Raskam. A district (river and valley) lying to the East of Shimshāl, beyond the main mountain range.

Right of occupation has been maintained by Hunza in spite of intermittent claims to ownership raised in recent times by the Chinese authorities in Kashgar.

V. "Unknown Karakoram" by R. C. F. Schomberg, 1936.

Rile Ramal. The name of a cook. 352.5.

Rum. The country of Rūm, the Eastern Roman Empire, Turkey.

Adj. *Rumi.* 34.1 ff.

Rurdow Kutow. Name of a clan in Galmit. 272.18.

S.

Sadi. The Persian poet, Sa'di. 362.3.

Sakala Bein. A supernatural being. 250.9.

Sakib Xan. A Tham of Gilgit. 388.2 ff.

Safdar ('Ali) Xan. Tham of Hunza, son of Ghazan Khān. 344.14.

Saladaw. Son of Alqash Wazir. 66.5 ff.

Sariqol. The country of Sariqol lying to the North of Hunza.

("Sarikōl" is now generally regarded as the correct form of the name).

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Sarkar Angrēzī. The British (Indian) Government. 196.9.

Saiid Ša Wali. A miracle-mongering saint. 193—196.

Šiq. A man of the Hamachātīng, ruling in Hindī. 260 ff.

Šiq appears as the second element in some double names of men.

Cp. *Dafu Šiq, Nīrī Šiq,* and probably *Tatrošiq.*

Šuyuwale. The name of a place near Ganiah(?). 294.11.

Šumalik. Succeeded his father Hāzir Jamshēd as Tham of Gilgit. 386.10.

Šumaiyar. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river, opposite Ganiah and Bālti. 294.2, 294.2.

Šumaiyarum ino that man of Šumaiyar.

Š.

Šahrū Xan. The second and last surviving son of the present Mir of Hunza (Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān) by his first royal wife. 342.21.

Ša Ṭafar. A Tham of Hunza, grandfather of the present Mir Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān. 274.3, 352.6.

Šahrī Bano. Heroine of Text No. I. 12.7 ff.

Šahsarda Behrum. Hero of Text No. I. 2.1 ff.

Ša Raiš. A King of Gilgit, killed and succeeded by Shiri Badat. 376.1 ff, 380.8.

Šavī (Šahrī) Šaskin. The name of a country or place. Said to be the equivalent of the Persian "shahr i sabz". 26.1 ff.

Ša S'ilom Xan, (Šolom, Šalim). A Tham of Hunza, father of Shāh Ghazanfar. 240.12, 352.11.

(The various forms are, I believe, corruptions of Šalīm).

Ša Tham. A King of Haihaiyūl (Hunza). 142.16.

V. s.v. *Borū Tham.*

Šayaw. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river, between Šumaiyar and Pīskar, and opposite Alīšhād. 294.3.

Šadon Kapwīrī. The name of a woman. 256.4 ff.

Šahrū. I.e. Shāhbāz, a Tham of Hunza, of whom the present Mir (Muḥammad Naẓīm Khān) is a direct descendant in the sixth generation. This seems to give a comparatively recent date for the extermination of the Usengute. 236.8.

Šamtu Mīrū. Wazīr of the King of Haihaiyūl. 148.1 ff.

Šīn. Shīn (people). Used of the Shinā-speaking people of Lower Hunza and Nagar.

Šināki (bar). The Shinā language. 302.3.

Šigar. The place generally known as Shigar in Bāltistān. 274.6.

Šīkalīants. The name of a place a little to the West of Bālti, near the foot of the mountains. 292.16.

Šim'al Bar. A garden in Bālti. 328.14.

Šimlarī, Šiglarī. A large valley in the East of Hunza which is very difficult of access. Its drainage joins the Hunza River a little above Pasu. 272.10, 274.1 ff., 344.16.

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Since 1924 Shīmshāl has been visited by the Vissers (See "Among the Karakoram Glaciers in 1925" by Mrs. Visser-Hooft, Edw. Arnold, London 1926, and "Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Niederländischen Expeditionen in den Karakorum . . ." by Dr. Ph. C. Visser and Jenny Visser-Hooft, Vol. I Brockhaus, Leipzig 1935); by Captain C. J. Morris. (See JRGS June 1928); and by Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg ("Unknown Karakoram", Hopkinson, London, 1936).

Širi Badat. A reputed early King of Gilgit, Hunza-Nagar etc. 378.5—384.15.

Širi Bor'ai.i Bayr Tham is said to be the Burushaski name of the same person. His cannibal habits, his vulnerability (to fire alone) and his destruction by Azur Jamshād, are a favorite theme in Gilgit.

The Thumushēling fire is supposed to commemorate his death, as formerly did the Taleni festival in Gilgit. V. Biddulph T. H. K. p. 100.

Leitner gives an elaborate version of his history in "Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893" pp. 9 ff.

I have another record in Shinā.

Širi Bor'ai.i Bayr Tham. A supernatural young man. 210.11 ff.

In his title to Text No. XLVII Gh. Kh. gives the name as a synonym for Shīri Badat. In a Gilgit legend a certain "Bagar Thum" is said to have been the son of Kisar and the grandfather of Shīri Badat.

Leitner gives a word "barai" in both Burushaski and Shinā as meaning fairy. In Bu. he marks it as feminine.

Perhaps it is a variant of "*pari*".

1. *Šiskin.* A lame man of the Khitai, who according to one account founded Ganish.
2. *Šiskin.* The name of a locality pertaining to Ganish. 206.15.

Šitke Das. The former name of the present Nazīmābād (q.v.). V. 342.21 note.

Šitpor Bor. A tributary nullah of the Hasanābād Nullah in Hunza. Originally occupied by the Tapkhients, who also cultivated land at Bāltīt. After their destruction (240.5 ff.), the Dirāmiting succeeded them in their possession and rights.

The climate of Shīshpar is said to have become colder, and there are now no permanent habitations in it, but the nullah is used as a summer grazing ground by the Dirāmiting who enjoy exclusive rights in it.

There was formerly a polo ground at a locality called *Xayu Bol Šaborin*, which is now the site of a grazing camp.

There is (or, more probably, was) a track leading over to the Irshad Pass, i.e. into the Upper Chuprāsan valley.

It is also said that two dogs once came over from Ishkōman into Shīshpar, but there is no practicable route at the present day.

The Woolly Flying Squirrel (v. 2. *bada*) is found in Shīshpar. 180.2, 182.1 ff., 238.5, 246.3.

Širi Pari. The name of a "pari" or fairy. 356.14.

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Shuq Gukur, Ṣun Gukur. "The Blind Puppy" (?), a famous Hunza "bijan", of whom there are said to be descendants living at the present day. 186.1 ff., 188.1. 190.8, 192.8 ff., 203.8.

T.

Taylumbrā. The Pamir lying to the North of Hunza, beyond the Kilik and Mingtaka Passes, in Chinese territory. 242.28.

[619]

Tapkhimuts h.pl., *Tapkhimuts hoi.* He is a member of the T. Tribe.

One of the three original tribes of Hunza (cp. Gurgūt and *Hamaṣrūtig*) who, according to one tradition, are the descendants of men left behind by Alexander the Great when returning from China. They occupied Shikapur and also cultivated at Ṣāṣīl.

For the story of their extinction and the origin of the Dirmaiting from one posthumous male infant, V. 239 ff. and 298.

Thaw Bog. An elder half-brother of Wazīr Humāyūn Beg, and Wazīr to Sultān 'Alī. 244.14 ff.

Thawlaḍā. A section of the Dirmaiting Clan, to which the family of Wazīr Humāyūn Beg belongs, and of which the eponymous founder was one Thaw. 202.6, 218.1, 290.1.

Tirthi. Probably the name of a particular place in Wakhān, but it appears to be used to denote the country in general. 256.22. (The H. version has: *Wanawn ki sarḥadd ṣakar*).

Thol. A village in Nagar between Ghulmit and Nilt near the latter. 294.8 ff.

Tholikots. The people of Thōl. 294.22.

Tworbal. A pass giving access from the Kashmir valley to the valley of the Kishanganga, on the road to Gilgit. 254.1.

Trangmorig. A dynasty whose headquarters were at Gilgit. The word is derived from Trakhan, the name of a descendant of Azar Jamshid, who was one of his successors on the throne of Gilgit. 280.2. Cp. 286, addendum to notes. V. s.v. *Bunar Thum.*

Tsil Bit. A locality between Gilgit and Nāṣal (v. *Nawag*) about 7 miles from the latter. 222.9.

Thumrals, Thumrals, (h and x pl. of *thrū*, new).

The "new" settlements in Hunza proper, from Haidarkhāl to Murtazkhāl, both included, as opposed to the original settlements of Ṣāṣīl, Ālīt and Gaṣīh.

They form a separate section for the levy of communal labour. (V. Vocabulary s.v. *magar*). 222.9.

Turki. The Eastern Turki language. 290.2.

W.

Wate, Wate. A place in Sariqol. 244.4.

Wanawn. The Afghan province of Wakhān. 256.20.

125 One evening, I took a census of the
165 nine teen-age boys in my wood-carv-
[123] ing school. Of these, all from well-to-
do households, how many had seen
death in their immediate families?
165 Here was the roll:
581 Gohor Hayat: mother, three broth-
ers, two sisters; Sherin Beg: one
brother, one sister; Nur-ud-Din:
mother, two brothers, two sisters; Md.
Hamid: mother, one sister; Burhan
Shah: one brother, one sister; Nasar
Md.: mother, two brothers, one sister;
Mullah Madut: two brothers; Sulei-
man: one brother: Ghulam Rasul:
father. In a country fabled for the long
lives of its inhabitants, these are de-
pressingly typical Asian statistics.
165 Moreover, there is little reason to be-
576 lieve that any of the old men are really
as old as is claimed.

"How old are you?" I once asked a venerable patient.

"Ninety, Hazoor!" he answered.

"How do you know you're ninety?"

"Well, Hazoor, my hair is white, and I know I'm very old, and ninety is very old, so I must be ninety."

[124] My teen-aged assistant, Gohor Hayat, broke in impatiently, "Why do you waste time asking such questions?
[217] You know there are no records, be-
[212] cause so few of my people can write!"

I had thought the old man might have a way of keeping count. "How old are you, Gohor Hayat?" I asked.

Gohor Hayat responded loftily, "I'm

[text continues on p. 42-C]

No. XIII.

Ši·ri Bər ai.i Bayərth'amε čaγa.

000

Hunzulo qadi·m zama·natsum dastu·r bila, Dalu.ε hisalo (turma tsindi.ulo) bopfau εča·n. Han uyu·m hanikan qadi·mtsum bi, i·sε juwanan han Yasinulo kε bi. Seiba·n Iskandər Azəmo (*or*, Badša) waxttsum gutsε haneku·ts bi.εn.

5 Ho bešal bopfau εtas manimi kε i·sε hanik-Ba·ltittsum Diramiti·nε sa·at εtas inε ni·εn 'Altitər tsučai.i. Da bopfau εtumər i·nε ni·an Baltitər dišai.i.

Hin Gəri·b senasanε i· Pu·no senasan yərum zama·na.ulo bam. Da i·nε hanik ni·εn bopfau.ər tsumi Altitər. Bopfau nε dyu.asuman

10 čap kε šapik Baltitər i·mo ha·lər hanikulo diš'am. Da i·i· thamo o·pači mεl numin nεršan juč'am. Ha·lər di·n jama·atər se.ibam: "Hanikulo šapi·k kε čap bila, ha· ha· ε·tin," o·simi. Yu·s kε yu·ε hanik pfataŋ nε bəre·iman kε be·skə ap'i. Pu·nuwər ε·suman:

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5 *bopfau εtas manimi kε . . .* — v. § 401 d.

6 *sa·at εtas i·nε* — the basal meaning of *sa·at εtas* seems to be 'to be the first to do a thing'.

554

In the present case the idea is that the function should be performed by a suitable member of the most original tribe in the country. The Diramiting claim to be the most ancient and the senior tribe in Hunza, and Puno's family was considered the most deserving of the appointment.

tsučai.i — he carries the bowl on his head.

9 *bopfau nε* — "having done the Bopfau" i. e. 'after the Bopfau is over'.

dyu.asuman — Static pc. + *an* of *d*ᵉ-*u.εsas* v. § 304. This form is x sg. agreeing with *šapik*. The y form which would be required by *čap* would be *duwa·suman*.

10 *diš.am* — is also appropriate to *šapik* x sg.

This meat and bread are given by the Mir and are called *bano* v. Vocab. s.v.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Khūru agreed to this. At night Khamer taking one of his sons with him went and dug (a hole) in the field, and after giving him instructions he buried his son there and went home. 5 1/4

Then he took Khūru with him and they went to the field in which his son was buried. On arriving there they put their question (and Khamer said:) "O land, look and see whether I have got the larger share or Khūru." Khamer's son whom he had buried answered from below the ground: "No, Khūru has got too much." On this Khūru, being convinced, returned home. "For," said he, "the land said so too."

When Khūru had gone home, Khamer went off to the field to extract his son. He went to the place where he had been buried and opened it up. His son was not there. Then he called him by name, but he was not there. On ahead there came a call "Hallo!" He went forward and dug, but his son wasn't there. Again he called, and on ahead (the voice) called "Hallo!" Going on in this way it made him dig all through the field, but nowhere did he find his son.

After that he returned to his home. At home there were his six sons. Both they and Khamer, it is said, died and Khamer's land was left heirless. Khūru did not make use of it. It is said they brought in a man named Datu Sīng and settled him on that land. In Hunza when it is necessary to go anywhere to fight, the [557] descendants of Datu Sīng carry the standard.

In Bāltīt there are at the present day the Khūrukuts descended from Khūru, and on Khamer's land there are the Datu Sīngkuts.

There is also the following story about Khamer's descendants. 5 1/4 There is an animal called the marmot. There are none in Hunza, 825 but they are found in Misgār, above the Khān Wāli Fort, at Murkush. 173

22 *Misgar* — the intention is probably: "In the Misgar Valley, above the Khan Wali Fort, at Murkush".

23 The Miŋtaka and the Kilik are passes above Murkush, leading over to the Tagdumbash Pamir.

baʿzaʿr -iŋ y collection of shops, "bazar", market. — *baʿzaʿren bila* there is a bazar. *baʿzaʿrefər ni* go to the bazar. 58.16, 60.11, 19, 66.16, 72.19. Prs. 000

baʿzi IUB trick, deception, H. *makkaʿri*. Cp. *bʌzi*, Prs.

baʿzxaʿs claim, demands; disputing, discussion. — *jaka bɛsʌn baʿzxaʿs oʿmʌnẽ* there must be no disputing(?) with me. 58.28. *je ke uʿŋ baʿzxaʿs bɛsʌn oʿmʌnẽ* there must be no claims (disputing?) between thee and me. 62.9. Prs.

bʌbʿa, baʿba father.

This term is used properly only in Royal Families (according to a Nagiri informant in the families also af Saiyids). For commoners to use it among themselves implies arrogance and insolence which demand punishment. Compare the history of the Tapkients, p. 288. 601 554

The corresponding term for mother is "*zizi*".

These words are said to have come down from the time of Alexander the Great who was accompanied by Diram Titaŋ and Diram Moghul. *uʿ uʿmi.ər "zizi, baʿba" se.ibʌm* they used to address their father(s) and mother(s) as "*zizi baʿba*". 288.6.

Muʿnulum Daʿdo apparently claimed equality with rajas: 000
ine senamo "mi bʌbʿa gor qau ečai.i" she said to him: "my father summons you". 180.6. And Shahzada B. addressing the "White Deu" said: *šu.a bʌbʿa uʿŋe baba daʿrai* your father (the King) has sent me. 30.14. *uʿŋe bʌbaʿr . . . gute haiyen tsu* take this token to (the King) your father.

000 *trʌq* *-*mʌnaʷs* v.i. to split in two. 150.12,15. Cp. *trʌq* *-*ʌtʌs* v.t. 148.23, 150.4,9, 228.9, 230.2.

(Cp. Sh. *trʌk thoʷrki*, to split, tear in two. Kho. *trʌq*, crack, cleft, fissure).

trʌqo -mʊts x grasshopper, locust.

trɪp hik quite full.

thuʷ etʌs to spit. 294.6.

(Cp. Sh. *thu thoʷrki*, Kho. *thuʷik*, to spit).

thu.aʷŋ y pl. of *thoʷ̣*.

tʊbʌq v. *tobʌq*.

thugʰər -iʒo x.

● 554 837

1. He-goat (used for breeding from).
2. (Metaphor.) a man granted right to exercise his sexual powers without restriction throughout the State. It is said that this right used formerly to be accorded to notable warriors in Hunza and Nager. Cp. entry *buʷč*.

(Cp. Sh. *thoʷgər*, *thogor* uncastrated he-goat).

000 *tʰʊɣuli*, *toɣəli*, *-mʊts* x male lamb, male young sheep (castrated), — *hik*, *iski*, *denkʊs tuɣuli* a 1-, 3- year-old male sheep. *hʌlkaʷsʌn ya toɣəli.en bi?* is it a female or male young sheep? *mʌtʊm iʷsɛ tʊɣuli.en bi* the black one is a male lamb. 64.18,26. Cp. 66.16 ff.

ṭuʷk a division of the night; a doze, short sleep. — *hik ṭuʷk(ʌn) bila* one *ṭuk* remains before dawn (about half an hour before first daylight). *ṭuʷk aʷlto*. *ṭuʷk iski*, *ṭuʷk waʷlti* 2, 3, 4 *ṭuʷk* before dawn. *goʷnɛ ṭuʷk* the *ṭuʷk* before dawn. *hik ṭuʷk amʌna baiyʌm* I had dozed for a little. QUB.

ṭhuʷk etʌs to peck (at). — *qərqaʷmʊtsɛ bʌy ṭhuʷk ɛči bi* the hen is pecking at

174 554 *yɛškuʷyu* h pl. QUB belonging to the country, indigenes, original inhabitants. *yɛ lɛ, be mʌ ju.ˈʌn ɔr mʌnum ṭhɔr mʌnum baʷna? mi yɛškuʷyu baʷn* now you there, are we newcomers and interlopers like you? (No) we are people of the country.

(The sg. not recorded must be *yɛškuʷn*, or more probably *yɛškuʷin*, with which compare *yʌškiʷn* given by IUB, v.s.v. It seems certain that this word is identical with the name Yashkūn (in Chilās, I think, Yashkīn) applied throughout the Shīn territory to that principal element in the general population which is reckoned not to be Shīn by origin.

The term Yashkūn, in this case, would have the definite and appropriate meaning "original inhabitants", as opposed to the Shīn invaders or "interlopers". *Yɛš* being probably a Burushaski word, the appelation must have come into being among the "original inhabitants" themselves, and have been adopted later by the Shīns, in whose mouths it has acquired a certain implication of inferiority resulting from their own view of themselves as successful invaders among an original population whom they had at least reduced to a subordinate position. Any definite memory of this has I think faded and the Shīns now merely regard themselves as a socially superior caste, but the original situation is commemorated in the word Yashkūn).

000 *yɛṭʌl -šo* x Hz. & N. mountain-sheep, oorial. — *yɛṭˈʌlɛ belis* female oorial. *yɛṭˈʌlɛ mʌmuši* oorial lamb.

*-*yɛṭɪs* v. *-*yʌṭɪs*.

384 b

681 ment. A few years' exile in Shimshál is incomparably preferable to three years' penal servitude in Wormwood Scrubs, yet Hunza delinquents do not become recidivists.

643 Young Muhammad Nazím Khán took up his job deter-
423 mined, in the light of his travels and experience, to alter much that had been traditional under his ancestors, and within three years of his accession he had completely abolished the Yerpa system of cultivating the royal lands. Such as lay immediately under his own eye he retained, but all the rest are leased out on easy terms to tenants. For the first years a tenant pays no rent at all for new ground that he brings under the plough; he has to get his fields carved out, his water-channels made, and the soil worked. After the land begins to bear he pays a small fixed rent in kind, and if at any point he finds the bargain unprofitable he is free to resign his holding. A large part of the "new settlements" of Aliábád, including all the district immediately round our house, was *kutúkal* land (viz. royal land leased out), and there was no question that the system was working to everyone's satisfaction. The extra fields available had been eagerly taken up by families in the older settlements who were finding their freehold land too cramped, and many of our neighbours were sons who had hived off from the family freehold and whose relations were still living in Báltít, Haidarábád, or Dorkhan.

●556 We once enquired, *à propos* of the meaning of the words
842 "rich" and "poor": "Now what would you people consider a rich man?" "One who had, say, a hundred animals." (The ordinary peasant household has twenty or so sheep, goats, and cows.) "And is there any rich man in Aliábád?" "Only one, the Yerpa." This struck us as highly significant; the one rich man still bore by courtesy his grandfather's title of "Steward"! He was no doubt still enjoying his grandfather's ill-gotten gains. Our Yerpa was, in fact, a genial, kindly man, reputed generous. He was not envied: "Poor chap, he has no sons; he has to hire herd-boys to mind his flocks, and labourers to work his fields." In Hunza a man's true wealth is in his sons; they work the farm with him; if there are several, some can go abroad and earn. Not that a woman or a woman's work is

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce 643
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 648
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked. 252 262

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness. 372 313

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, mid-season and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering. 245 262

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions. 262

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays. [556] [231]

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards. 565 423 556

262 A farmer who owned and worked 10 acres of work-
556 able land might be able to afford to slaughter a sheep,
231 a goat or a bullock once a year. Yet this luxury could not be dreamed of by the farmer with but one acre.

273 Also, while winter lasts, a glass of wine made from
245 Hunzan grapes is enjoyed occasionally . . . but chiefly by the male head of the household.

415 Knives, forks and spoons as are used in the West are
412 not seen in the average Hunzan home and even earthenware plates are rare. But cups and earthenware bowls are to be found in most homes. Wooden bowls fashioned out of walnut by the wood-turner of the village are also used in many homes.

352 The rooms are quite bare in most homes. Furniture is a luxury and a rarity. In the homes there are found usually a chest, a chair or a couch and a table. Shelves to hold dishes are seen in most every home. Occasionally, a dresser or cabinet can be found. The floor in an average Hunzan home is an earthen one with a large
354 square hole in the center for the fire. Then, of course, there is a large square hole in the roof to allow the smoke to leave and to allow light to enter, for there are no glass windows. This is fully open in the summer but during the colder winter days the hole is kept
6.4 partly or almost closed. This is the chief contributor to the eye troubles which affect many people in Hunza, as mentioned elsewhere in this book.

439 At one time little or no money ever entered Hunza
437 and the meager trade that they did do with passing caravans was by means of barter. The caravans coming through from China would bring cooking utensils, cloth, silk, tea and other commodities. For these, the people of Hunza would trade some of their crops or would work as coolies, porters or bearers.

000 During the past few years a bit of money has come

[P44-A]

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two: cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[354] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[262] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

262 care in rationing the year's supply (rationing begins the moment the first barley crop is harvested), scarcely a household we knew but was out of flour and out of potatoes weeks before the first barley was ripe, and was living solely on turnip tops, greens and edible weeds. 'Starvation Springtime' in Hunza evokes no poet's raptures, only a wailing of hungry babies who, as their mothers apologetically explain 'are too small to understand', and a tightening of the belt by those who do; but never a complaint. How these hardy people exist and work and smile—and keep on smiling—on a diet which no Minister of Health would consider even 50 per cent. adequate in quantity or 10 per cent. adequate in proteins, is a mystery, and must represent a miracle of
147 natural selection over centuries. There are no sick or ailing in Hunza; men, women and children are wiry, tough and fit, and a fair
888 proportion live to a ripe and honoured age, busy to the last about
561 such tasks as suit their waning strength and valued for their experienced counsel, for no devilish inventions—cinemas, wireless or machines—have created a gulf between the generations.

243 Harvesting processes are extremely simple. When barley or wheat is ripe, the adults of the family turn out and pull up the shallow-
476 rooted crop by hand, laying the swathes in neat rows to dry. Even when a sickle is used, it is used to pull with, not to cut. As soon as a suitable field is bare, it is flooded, and a circular (more rarely a rectangular) space is enclosed by a small mud wall four or five inches high. When the ground is soft but no longer wet, the whole family, down to the tiniest toddler, forms in line and marks time systematically over the surface to level it. After three floodings and tramplings the new threshing floor is as smooth and even as a hard tennis court. Two neighbouring houses sometimes share a threshing floor which becomes the focus of family activity till the last sheaf is gathered in. The cut crops are stacked conveniently near, and a small quantity of corn is spread on the centre of the floor. Then while Grandfather with his beautifully graceful five-pronged fork throws in more grain from time to time, the team of five cows, loosely lashed together by their muzzles, is driven round by man, woman, boy or girl in turns until the threshing
243 is complete (PLATE III). The person in attendance on the trampling beasts has a switch in the right hand and in the left a wooden bowl
262 as 'dung-dish' in which all excreta of either type are conscientiously collected, not only because the Hunza folk cannot afford to waste an ounce of manure but equally because they are too fastidious to tolerate the fouling of their food. Great was the contempt of our Hunza

2

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any un- 587
weaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *rúli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. 585
She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to 614
be "a daughter of the Burónq," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gímo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of 607
fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will 431
ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltít, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltít when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza 561 ●
is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific inno- 888
vations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

561 Hurmat was telling me about his home affairs one day: "Our
888 father and mother are fortunately still with us; they can't *do* very much nowadays, of course; but they are still able to give us orders, thank God." And he meant the "thank God." In the same way the uncanny skill of the old *núli gus* in husbanding the year's supplies is fully appreciated, and her skill with wool and spindle still puts her daughters-in-law to shame.

888 Old Aliko of No. 1A was past all serious work, though he
159 kept up a plucky effort to preserve his youth by the constant dyeing of his fine white beard; but he was a renowned sower and could spread the seed more advantageously on the prepared
243] field than younger men. There is no reckless wastage of precious seed-grain in Hunza; it is never flung where thorns could spring up and choke it, nor by the wayside to be trodden by the feet of men. And the neighbours would call Aliko in to sow for them. A real centenarian is a family treasure. Old Aliko's father was still living at the old homestead in Dorkhan with the other brothers (Aliko had hived off to Aliábád), and we made a special journey by request to see him and take his photograph. He was seated on a roof commanding a magnificent view of a steep hillside on which the farmstead straggled downhill in several storeys, as Hunza houses often do where the ground is steep. He had put on his best silk robe to receive us, and as we climbed the ladder and popped up over the roof brink, he apologized that he could not rise to greet us. Mentally he was as bright as ever and not even slightly deaf, and while David was busy with the portraiture I sat beside him and heard how he had lived through the reigns of four Mirs and four Maharajahs of Kashmir (the Mir, it should not be forgotten, had already reigned forty-five years); how proud he was that his son, Sangi Khan, was one of the headmen of Dorkhan, and how he had three sons and twelve grandsons still living at home (not to mention daughters and their children elsewhere). Before we reached the tale of his great-grandchildren, the photography and our visit were drawing to a close. He counted himself at least a hundred, and was certainly well on in the nineties, but still seemed full of the joy of life.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1932-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

223 bonfires recklessly consuming grass-cuttings and leaves that would be worth gold in Nimo's home.

511 Burushaski is an amazingly rich language, but it has evolved no word for "litter-lout." Go where you will in lane or courtyard, over field or bare hillside, you will not see an eggshell or a fleck of wool or a nutshell lying about. Hunza must be, bar none, the cleanest and the tidiest spot on earth. If a child is lucky enough to be given a few apricot stones he will crack them on a rock, eat the kernels with gusto, and gather up the shells for mother's fire. Only in a couple of the narrow lanes of the deserted fort did we stumble on a cast-away rag or two. When a homespun cloak has served father for three years' hard work, it will descend to a son, or be handed on to an orphan relation; when it is torn and tattered past repair it is carefully plucked to pieces, washed, beaten, and re-spun to make a girl's cloak, for her work is less strenuous than the boy's, and the re-spun cloak is stout enough for her and quite as warm.

771 Whatever the theoretical tenets of the Maulai (Ismaili) dissenters may be—and of these Professor Ivanow can best speak—the simple Hunzukuts has evolved for himself quite the most practical and admirable modification of Islam that
562 I have ever seen or heard of. He does not veil his womenfolk nor banish them to separate quarters, but treats them as equal partners in field and home. His standard of morals is so high that when a young husband goes abroad, he trusts his young wife to the care of his father and brothers without misgiving.
582 We heard no case of such a trust being abused. He retains his
515 own custom of exogamic marriage between the clans and the normal first-cousin marriage of Islam (though recognized as religiously allowable and occasionally practised by the upper families) savours to the ordinary peasant of incest, and is in fact avoided, though not in principle taboo; he also, as we have noted, preserves his own fastidious and wholesome ideas about sanitation, and keeps his running water scrupulously
793 pure. No archbishops or bishops (whom he would term *pirs*), and no professional priests or *mullas* reside in his territories, for which no doubt he has to thank some tacit concordat between his wise ruler and His Highness the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

per as to whether it would be in order to ask to see the baby, 846
who was entirely hidden by a doubled homespun blanket flung over the ridge-pole of his cradle. "Quite the right thing." I made my request and approached the cradle. They turned back the cloth for me, and there was a very handsome baby (for seven days old) in beautifully clean kit, very carefully [302] bolstered in, his eyes painted black all round, which gave his face a comical look of maturest wisdom. This black stuff is supposed to be "cooling" to the eyes, and is quite probably a disinfectant of some kind. I said what a fine baby he was, and how big for his age, and so forth, then wished them all the best of luck, repeated my congratulations, and turned to come away. But they called me back to receive two heaped dishes of grapes and apples. I protested as well as I could against robbing their store-room, especially at such a moment when hordes of hungry guests would come well-wishing—it is for similar occasions that the "emergency reserve" is set apart—but I protested in vain. Derwish and Man Ali Shah followed us up the hill bearing the fruit, and I could only resort to the contemptible expedient of small silver.

Anyone who knows life in the East will realize how in- 562 ●
credible it seems that a woman should sit in state to receive visitors of both sexes while her menfolk look proudly on. No wonder the Hunza women have this happy fearlessness, this dignified gait, these courtly manners.

I was typing text next morning when I heard piping voices 000
in the verandah outside my window: "Mother, Mother, Mother, *dear*, do come at once; we are threshing buckwheat on our floor." I went out to find seven of my smallest friends, boys and girls from the Middle Channel above, led by Nímo, dancing with excitement and impatience: "Do come and take photographs! Father and mother say you are *please* to come." I wasn't very keen to go, for we were expecting some Swedish missionaries to lunch. They were passing through on their way to Kashgar—another month's march—and they might arrive at any moment. Still . . . I had asked all our neighbours to send for me when anything was going on, and if I showed reluctance such summonses might stop. I scrambled up to the

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushe AV7

ourselves. Naját and Shukuru and all the children were gathered round, but the men were out at work and the house was (relatively) empty. So while the mother fed the child I learned all I could about orthodox baby management. Until the baby cuts his first tooth his mother will not take him to any house where there is another infant. Possibly it is felt that with one tooth he will be armed for self-defence against his contemporary; possibly the rival mothers might be tempted into tactless comparisons. Up till this point, too, no male of the house may handle him. An amusing little ceremony heralds the cutting of this all-important tooth. Some elderly man—usually the grandfather—"well skilled with children," takes the baby in his arms and out into the open. After that his father and brothers are free to play with him and carry him about.

Until the child is two or thereabouts he lives the life of a recluse, strapped into his cradle night and day except at meal-times, or when taken out for an airing in grown-up arms.

When the moment came for replacing Faqér in his cradle, Naját and Shukuru bestirred themselves and fetched some dry, finely powdered earth which they gently warmed over the ashes of the fire. Bibo Gimo produced a large square of strong cloth, sweet and clean but dark with use, and spread it on the dais, lying the baby down on it with a tiny cushion under his head. Then plenty of the earth—it proved to be pounded sun-dried cow-dung, as clean and inoffensive to handle as the fibre in which we plant our bulbs—was packed round him above and below, and he was carefully parcelled up, arms, legs, and feet, into the stout cloth, bandaged into it with a long binder, and laid in the cradle. When he is "changed" the last lot of packing is thrown on to the fields for their enrichment—and that's that. Very cleanly and ingenious it all is and vastly preferable to the eternal washing of "nappies," which, indeed, would be a grim task with insufficiency of cloths, cold water, and no soap.

The bottom of the cradle was full of nice clean straw with a padded mattress on top, and by the time baby's cushion was adjusted and a red quilt laid up to his chin and well tucked in

866 outrageous hat, must be a terrifying sight when it advances on you for the first time—but I learned cautiously to admire the babies from afar, though the father or mother always wanted to show them off. Only little Faqér, initiated so young, was always unafraid, and would stretch out his little hands and gurgle at me and let me take him in my arms or tickle him.

123 866 Soni, of the next house to Bibi Gimo's (I had to call it No. 1A, because in my first notes I had confused the two households) had a little girl Afrots—quite the ugliest and brightest atom of three years old in Hunza. She had cried the first day on seeing me but immediately made friends, and ever after if I were sighted would run up to me and put out an abnormally grubby little paw and say "How do you do?" in imitation English fashion. On general principles we resisted all temptation to teach the children English ways or words or tales. This was almost my one lapse from grace, but Afrots was by general consent a special case, and her old grandfather, Aliko, was extraordinarily proud when he was witness to our meetings.

123 535 542 273 In the very first days of romping with the children of No. 1 and 1A on the threshing floor I had—stupidly—thought it might be fun to teach Shamuli, Bano, and Afrots to dance. So I stood up and started on a Highland schottische, and endeavoured, with little success, to coax them to join in. I was puzzled by something a little frigid in the air and soon gave up the attempt. When I climbed home for breakfast Dido gravely and kindly said: "Excuse me, Mother, but Hunza women do not dance. It is thought unseemly." I thanked him for the warning; I wasn't sure whether the fear was that I should corrupt the girls or merely make an unseemly exhibition of myself. Either danger was to be avoided, so that began and ended my dancing lessons. Later Qudrat Ullah explained that in the olden days, when the Hunzukuts distilled a powerful *araq* from their mulberries, men and women used to dance together in drunken orgies that had untoward consequences. The Mir had long since forbidden the spirit, which provoked quarrels as well as dances, and "mixed dancing" fell under the same ban. This was the only man-made restriction on woman's freedom that I encountered in Hunza, and it did not seem to worry anyone.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

563 find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some in-
582 teresting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

616 Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously
562 reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no
291 such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly sym-
771 bolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are
346 called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski
576 *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour
157 looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are
151 black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

DEGRESSION TO YASIN

We gained one valu- 291
able piece of information: the Nagir women *do* wear trousers! 562
The trousers-for-women fashion in these parts is new: that is, [77]
it has been going only for the last four or five generations, introduced we were told from Chitral, and my Hunza women friends had assured me that the Nagir women were so backwoodsy that they had not yet adopted it—which I now know to be a libel. The little girls wear cotton caps and fringes like our Hunza ones, but the women cover all their hair in black woollen Salvation Army bonnet-like caps (a type of headgear of which I saw only one specimen surviving in Hunza). What the Nagir women and older girls look like I cannot say, for when they sight a man they crouch down with their backs turned and either pull a cloth over their faces or bury their heads in their arms. Give me the Maulai variety of Islam every time!

After I got back to Hunza and the women crowded round to ask "all about everything," I got a lot of fun by demonstrating—with only a mild amount of legitimate exaggeration—how the crouching and face-hiding ought to be done; but I cleared the Nagir women's character on the trouser question. Certainly half the charm of our delightful country is the freedom of the women and girls. They come up to the roadside or out on to the roof to greet DL just as naturally and frankly as to greet me. They are not brazen-faced or forward, just unafraid and perfectly unselfconscious.

They have one charming custom which I have not heard 573
of elsewhere, and which could only exist amongst free women. 562
When the Mir or any distinguished traveller (such as we!) is passing, the women and girls crowd on to their house tops and silently wave their hands. Not in a stiff Heil Hitler salute nor with our undisciplined exuberance, but with a quiet, graceful circular motion from the wrist, the two hands moving opposite ways outwards from the breast. It is the most gracious and dignified gesture of welcome and goodwill I have seen. We knew it from official days of old, when it might well have been merely a command performance; but it warmed our hearts when it greeted us as private individuals.

To revert to our homeward journey: After descending the 600

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

to keep her strength up—and this in one of the poorest houses, where they have had no bread nor butter for themselves for weeks. *Daudo* is one of the nourishing dishes you make for a human mother, and the cat was such a pet that the kittens were considered as a birth in the family, one of the emergencies budgeted for. There is as little need in Hunza for an R.S.P.C.A. as for an anti-litter crusade. Everyone is devoted to his animals, and the children have pet names for every lamb and kid. You will often see a boy or girl carrying home a tired animal slung over the neck like a fashionable lady's fur. Only people who have lived in the East can realize how amazing was this affectionate care for a pet; or how still more amazing this happy family life where father could come in and find his wife and daughters entertaining two strange men and be obviously delighted to see the guests. At least, if this sort of thing is possible elsewhere in the East, I have not heard of it.

When we passed next day we heard that a strange cat, which must be the only other one in Aliábád, for in general everyone is too poor to keep either cat or dog, had come in while the mother was mouse-hunting and had killed two of the kittens. Yaman, the only brother of our most beloved young friends, and most intelligent of informants, lifted a pathetic little white body with his toes from the field to show us. The children were half horrified and half amused at the kittens' fate.

There were a few wild flowers these June days amongst the scanty grass of the *toqs*: red bladder campion, stitchwort, and an occasional starved-looking forget-me-not. The children were much amused when we told them what the English call it, and that sentimentalists amongst us use it as a love-token. After that, one or another would run up to us offering a tiny blue flower and saying, "Don't forget me!" Some future linguist, language-hunting like ourselves, may be puzzled to hear of *je til akol* growing in Hunza fields and rack his brains as to how the idea came to the Karakoram. On principle we have tried to avoid poisoning the ground for future workers by importing European ideas, legends, or phrases, and in this connection the forget-me-not, the "one little pig" and Afrot's *How do you do?* are the only sins on my conscience.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

312 And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of
423 the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

562 Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the
884 East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

609 To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and
123 Mīm sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

184 So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours
157 I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

000 We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Wərčikwar). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasin district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasin is shown in the following table:

533 important part of the proceedings.

533 They have their big feast day just before harvest
535 time and it takes place in the month of Ramadan. At
527 this festival, the musicians set things in motion by starting very early in the morning, and the entire band joins in the sound and the fury. This is followed by dancing and they dance continually, though the same tune is being played over and over and over again in utter monotony. The musicians sit on the floor and make music without pausing, while the dancing goes on in the same way. There are no intermissions or stops.

[643] At this feast the Mir sits on a raised platform in full
[292] regalia. He wears a hat made of Persian lamb, the type of hat you've seen policemen wear in the cold climates in the wintertime.

● 562 The men invariably dance with their faces turned
[535] towards the Mir. No, the women do not dance, strange to relate. They are merely onlookers. They take no part in any of the social functions or in sport or entertainment. Such Hunzan activities are marked by the distinct absence of women. The Mohammedan religion does not allow women to take part in the social life of the community. This, as far as I can ascertain, has no counterpart in any other religion on earth.

Further, women have no rights or privileges.

After learning of these restrictions by the Mohammedan faith, I felt that there would be no mass migration on the part of the women of the West to Hunza.

535 The harvest dance is very similar to what might be
292 termed a victory dance or a great celebration. The most colorful and interesting dances are the sword dances. The men wear gaily colored costumes that are really very attractive. Their costumes are densely figured and brocaded and the heavy Chinese silks are used as the material. The swords and shields are handmade.

526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo
[311] fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for
[367] sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall sur-
[417] rounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

177 their salt and soon there will be a few more items added
263 and, as more of their people go out of the country to
439 earn a living and come back to visit or retire, more of civilization's curses will be brought back with them.

165 The doctor rather clearly indicated that infant mor-
114 tality was not as low as some writers would like us to believe. I repeat—he made this quite clear.

164 Now I'll let you decide how it ties in with the statements made by Sir Robert McCarrison: "During the period of my association with these people I never saw a case of asthenic dyspepsia, of gastric or duodenal ulcer, of appendicitis, of mucous colitis, of cancer. . . . Among these people, the abdomen oversensitive to nerve impressions, to fatigue, anxiety, or cold was unknown. Indeed their buoyant abdominal health has, since my return to the West, provided a remarkable contrast with the dyspeptic and colonic lamentations of our highly civilized communities."

276 Smoking in general is not an addiction in Hunza. The water-pipe or hubble-bubble is used by some of the people, usually at gatherings or ceremonies. It is then passed around in a wide circle, each one taking a puff
[562] or two. The women are included, but only after all the men have finished.

Some of the citizens use snuff. It is tobacco mixed with the ash of a plant called "sopa," which is indigenous to that area. They take the tobacco and the sopa ash, put in a dash of water, stir it up and mix it into a paste. Then they place gobs of this paste under their lip, exactly the same as the snuff chewer does in the West, although this practice has been dying out in the Western world.

164 Just how much of the health of the people of Hunza
132 is due to the fact that they get a lot of sunlight? That is a most pertinent question and one that will take a lot

8: Clark N-S (1948-1951)1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.40-E]
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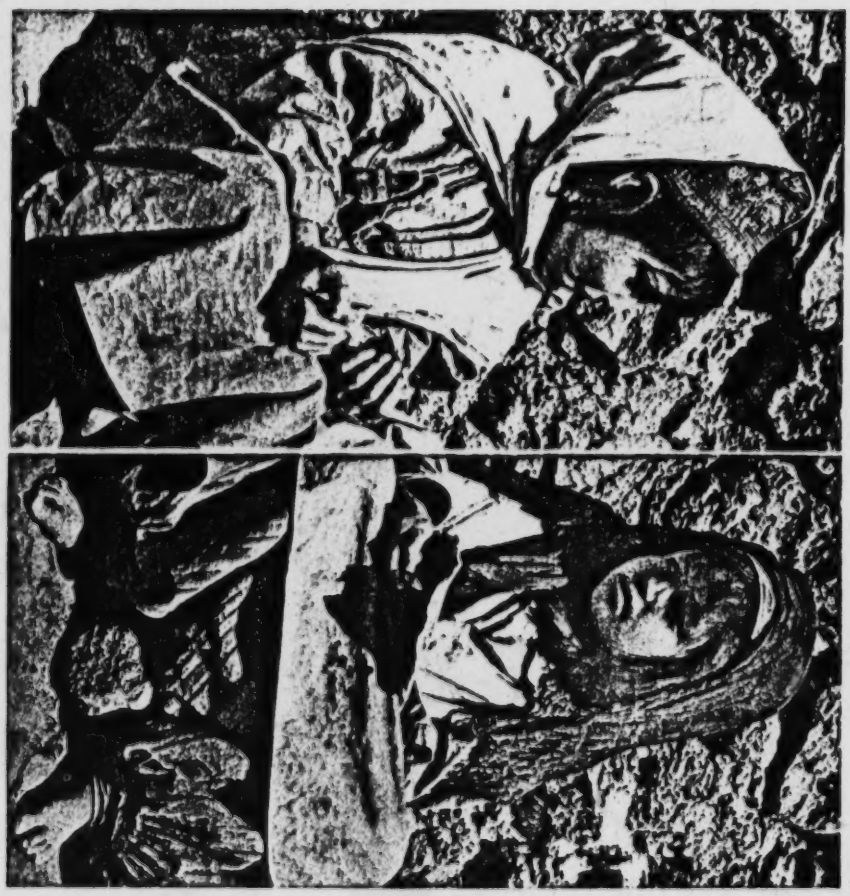
SEGREGATION of the sexes is rigid from early youth. Hunza's Moslem girls, right, are destined to live almost totally dissociated from the lives of men. Here two eat chapattis.



8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 41-D]
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[562] [584] MIR'S DAUGHTER, the Princess Nilofar, is spokesman for Hunza's women, who, despite public segregation and their low status, never are forced to marry against their will.

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it: men
[562] spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two: cold weather preserves the meat for the few days
[251] before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[354] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[762] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

[P.45]

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[662]

Celebration of wedding ceremony is enjoyed exclusively by male participants and spectators. Segregation of the sexes prohibits women, including bride, from viewing ceremony. On many public occasions, women hold a separate gathering.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

following each other round and round in a circle— 644
sometimes with sword and shield and the usual 535
flourishes, sometimes with nothing in their hands, now posturing slowly, again flying round with long jumps and steps. In Nagar every one dances—the younger sons of the Thum, Wazirs, and the common herd, all take part. In the pre-Mahomedan days the [562] women also danced, and I should not be surprised if amongst themselves they did not even now join in, but, of course, not on a state occasion, or before strangers. Immediately after the dance came a couple [526] of hours of polo, still to the accompaniment of the band, which played just below our tents, and whose monotonous noise became maddening.

In the evening I dismissed the son of the Hunza 644
Wazir, who had come with letters from the Thum, 431
with my answer and a present. He was good enough to express himself quite satisfied personally, at which I was surprised, for he was wearing a coat of velvet covered with gold embroidery, worth at least five-and-twenty pounds, the outcome of Lockhart's lavish habits of largesse. It was a much more magnificent garment than any I had to give his master, and of much greater value than the present I could afford to give him. He informed me, however, that a scoundrel with him, to whom I had given some money and a choga, was going away hopeless, because I had not promised to renew to him a pension which his father had drawn from the Kashmir Durbar. They were difficult people to deal with in some ways, showed no sense of proportion in making their demands, and really, I believe, could not understand that there must be some limit to one's power of giving rewards.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

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teen. Wives are regarded as the absolute property of the husband and his heirs. On a man's death his brother can claim to marry all his widows, and no widow can marry again without the consent of her husband's brothers. Frequently, if a man leaves several widows as well as several brothers, the latter apportion the former among themselves. So strictly is the rule observed that, should there be only one surviving brother and he an infant, the widow cannot remarry elsewhere till he is old enough to say whether he will marry her or not; On the other hand, it is considered disgraceful to refuse to marry a brother's widow, so that it is not uncommon for a boy of ten years old to marry a woman more than twice his age. So absolute is the custom, that a woman cannot refuse to marry her deceased husband's brother, and her own parents have no voice in the matter. This often leads to two sisters being wives to the same man simultaneously, though the practice is forbidden by Mahommedan law. In Chitral, marriage with a husband's brother, though common, is not compulsory on the woman. Among the Afghans of Dir, if a widow should refuse to marry her husband's brother, he has the power of selling her, as she is regarded in the light of family property, which has been purchased and paid for. Among the Shin caste the marriage of first cousins or other relations within that degree (such as uncle and niece) is strictly prohibited, though allowed by Mahommedan law. In Torwal and Bushkar the marriage of first cousins is allowed, but marriages such as of uncle and niece or niece's daughter are forbidden.

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In none of the Dard languages are there terms distinctive of polygamous relationship. All wives are of equal rank, priority of marriage not conferring any claim. In the Shina and Boorishki languages, uncles on the father's side are styled "great father" or "little father," according to their age in comparison with that of the speaker's father; but there is a distinct term for an uncle on the mother's side. In the same way the term "aunt" is only applied to those on the father's side, the mother's sisters being all styled "mother." There is no specific term either for nephew and niece, who are styled "son" and "daughter." In the same way cousins are styled "brother" or "sister." This would seem to point to the former existence of communal marriage, such as still exists in some parts of India. In the Khowar language the term "uncle" is applied to the brothers of both father and mother without distinction; but aunts on the mother's side are styled "mother,"

~~Mr~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~All Afghanistan Afr~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

which would point to polygamy, and not to communal marriage, as an ancient institution in the Chitral Valley. In the Bushkarik language the terms point towards polyandry.

Cases of infidelity are extremely common, and the men show none of the jealousy of their wives usual in older Mahommedan communities. In cases of adultery the injured husband has the right to slay the guilty couple when he finds them together; but should he slay one and not the other, he is held guilty of murder. This practice is followed in Sirikol and Wakhan as well as south of the Hindoo Koosh. It is said that the Afghans of Swat, Dir, and Asmar take no notice of a wife's infidelity if, when it comes to their knowledge, they are able to disguise the knowledge from others; but should they learn it through a third person, a bloody vengeance is inflicted. In cases where conclusive proof is wanting, and which are brought for settlement before the ruler or Wuzeer, guarantee is taken for the future by the accused placing his lips to the woman's breast. She thenceforth is regarded as his foster-mother, and no other relations but those of mother and son can exist between them. So sacred is the tie thus established esteemed, that it has never been known to be broken, and the most jealous husband ceases to suspect even though a confession of previous guilt may have been made. In such a case a sheep and a toloo of gold are placed at the feet of the husband by the offender, who humbly sues for forgiveness.

It would appear that morals were more lax formerly than they are now. In Hunza, where the community approaches most nearly to its pre-Mahommedan state, infidelity is not regarded as an offence, and custom requires that a man shall place his wife at his guest's disposal, as in Hazara. The *droit de seigneur* was exercised by the fathers of the present ruler, and though the custom has been allowed to fall into disuse, it is evident from the accounts given of weekly orgies held by Ghazan Khan that the right is only held in abeyance and not formally renounced. In Nager things are but slightly better, and a man considers himself highly honoured if his wife attracts the attention of the Thum. Islam has not yet brought about the seclusion of the women, who mix freely with the men on all occasions Young men and maidens of different families eat and converse together without restraint, and great liberty is allowed to young women, with frequent evil results. Infanticide arising from illicit connections is common, and is not considered a crime.

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ANTIQUITY

[97] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window, the only 'window' known in Hunza except in the houses of the Mir
352 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but
513 adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet
354 long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor. The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleeping benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruses, etc., are of
324 hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish
322 the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
177 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a
563 lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Bericho,
326 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears, the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze
342 which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a sex of

114 these pioneers deserve the greatest credit for their work, and
197 had to wait for forty years to find a successor. They had worked chiefly on the Nagir form of Burushiski, and had not, of course, distinguished the Shina elements in it, and they had to work wholly through interpreters, which accounts for much misunderstanding and inaccuracy. David therefore thought it wiser to start from scratch, as in the case of Shina and Khowar. Here, again, with infinitely greater labour, he amassed texts, notes, and vocabulary.

000 When we eventually bade a sad farewell to Gilgit in 1924 to go "on leave, pending retirement," we were comforted by knowing that we need not relapse into bath-chairs in Cheltenham or Camberley to bewail the good old times, the decay of the British Empire and the shortcomings of the young, nor to shout "koi hai?" to an unresponsive world, but had enough material in manuscript and typescript to keep us happily employed for the rest of our joint lives.

114 Incidentally David had snatched fleeting opportunities to
● 563 collect also some Wakhi material, though not on the same
197 scale as the other three languages. Wakhi is spoken in the higher levels of Hunza by immigrants from the Afghan territory of Wakhan, who have established themselves at the non-apricot-growing heights—often 10,000 feet and more—which the Hunzukuts proper consider barely habitable. Wakhi is a language of Persian descent, and was of particular interest to DL who, during many years in Persia, had made himself an authority on several unrecorded dialects of Modern Colloquial Persian, and while in Chitral had done what work he could on the Persian dialects of Madaglasht and Badakhshan.

2: Lorimer T-2 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

186 A note of bitterness crept into the Hunza voices. Whereas
324 Hunza permits the Nagirkuts to cross the river and help
798 themselves free to Hunza stones, the Nagir people levy a tax
563 on all stones taken from their side. So our folk averred; but
578 very probably we should hear the tale reversed if we spoke to Nagir millers on the subject. For the Burusho of Hunza and Nagir, though they speak the same language, are of different race and mentality, and understand each other as little as the Saxon and the so-called Celt, and the rivalry of centuries divides them. At one point they both professed the Shiah faith, but since the Hunzukuts some four or five generations ago adopted the Ismaili (or "Maulai") heresy religious differences have added to their ever-wakeful mutual hostility.

000 Quitting these contentious subjects, we essayed some photographs by the water's edge and turned sharp to mount a side-gorge and reach the level of the cliff road above, by the steepest thing calling itself a path you ever saw. The new Minapin ponies were happily sturdier than the rocking-horses, and managed to climb almost vertically for 600 feet or so. A
342 brisk torrent, which is most of the time a waterfall, pours
361 down the gorge[1] the sides of which are lined with trees and grass, and the track runs right through a most picturesque little village called Tishót. The stone houses are almost indistinguishable from the rocks against which they are built, one here, one 20 feet above, just wherever they can be got to stick.
000 The ponies took the four-foot steps from boulder to boulder as if they had been taught circus riding up and down the Great Pyramid. I never professed to be a horsewoman, and I don't know the orthodox way of staying in the saddle when my pony's back is perpendicular, so I shamelessly wound my right hand in his flowing mane, pressed the stirrups back, and lurched triumphantly to the top. When we emerged on to the fan above we felt so virtuous after the climb that we halted to drink tea, though we had only done four miles and had not really deserved it. Our usual routine on these slow marches was to divide the day's ride into three: have thermos tea at one-third and lunch at two-thirds the distance, and thus let Shafi get well ahead to be preparing the evening meal.

[1] [of the Hunza River -- Analyst]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons
of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from
suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece,
no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows
supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the
man or woman who could not construct the one required
would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins
and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-
prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful
five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of
gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame
and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the
lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots.
When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at
any moment will shear another sheep while the women and
children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-6) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

326 son, and is accounted a rare treasure; but for the most part
177 local Béricho make such simple iron goods as are wanted: the
412 slightly convex baking-griddle, the tripod, the simple shears,
563 the sickle blade, the iron tip which shoes the wooden plough-share, the unpretentious iron razor, the rough tongs, the horse-shoe, the spatula for turning bread. The Béricho form the only "caste" in Hunza in anything like the Indian sense.

173 The story goes that long ago—two hundred years or so,
563 perhaps—some prince of Hunza rendered a service to the ruler of Baltistan, and was duly asked to name his recompense. He coveted neither gold nor horses, but begged for a few families of artisans. These were presented to him and allotted land in Hunza where they settled and multiplied, supplying the Burusho with blacksmiths for such rare iron as they could obtain, and with musicians to enliven their feasts and games of polo. These strangers in the midst are treated with courtesy and kindness, but remain "foreigners" and social inferiors. The Burusho will not intermarry with them. A threat to a troublesome daughter is said to be: "If you don't behave, I'll marry you to a Bérits"; but we never heard the threat employed,
[651] still less a case of its being carried out. Each Burusho household pays a small yearly tax to the Béricho community, and in return the blacksmiths tour the villages once or twice a year and make or mend whatever is required. You will see a little crowd gathered in the corner of someone's garden and in the centre the blacksmith crouching beside his simple forge—a few stones ingeniously built up to contain his charcoal fire, with a neat, hollow tube of soapstone below it, into which the bellows play; a stone anvil sunk in the ground; these accessories are provided on the spot and the blacksmith's outfit consists of his hammer and his skill. The bellows is a double one; two goat-skin bags are fitted with a nozzle at one end; at the other, two wooden lips that open as you raise your hand and meet tightly in your fist as you press down. They are worked with the right and left hand alternately, and the peasant whose job is in hand is expected to do the blowing.

565 The Béricho preserve their own customs, and though the
197 menfolk all talk Burushaski, Domáki is the language of their

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

homes, and the women know no other. The existence of 563
this interesting language-island, within the language-island of 197
Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn.

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there 463
are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliábád there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master.

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above 286
us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo 487
of No. 7 and Ustád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin.

One day I had been sitting with one of Afato's daughters- 531
in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking 192
the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with

322 would lead us home. A happy man he looked, though he told us that his back ached nowadays at work with lathe or plough, as it never used to do, and perhaps we had English medicines that would meet the case. We could only offer the sad tidings that we too, when we walked or rode or worked, were subject to fatigue and aches undreamt of in younger days, and that even in England the doctors knew no medicines to defeat on-coming age. This, oddly, seemed to comfort him a lot: "We're all ageing together then," he said, and we all three laughed a vain defiance at the years, "and we old ones have more skill and experience than the others, haven't we?"

462 Apart from their never-ending spinning the women have
241 many valuable crafts, though they are less spectacular than the
252 men's. They all bake a large variety of bread and scones from their blent flour—not only grains being pressed into the service, but pounded mulberries, walnuts, peas and beans, and semi-wild berries—and when *maltash* is available they make cakes and pastries of a dozen kinds. The vegetable patches are in their care, and amongst their many greens, their gourds, cucumbers and marrows, they tend a lot of plants whose seeds or leaves or flowers are valued as flavourings, and grow a little flax and mustard to supplement their apricot oil. In spring their plots are lit with the large blossoms of many-coloured poppies, whose seeds are not wasted on opium but scattered into the vegetable pot. They also grow small quantities of maize as a vegetable, but they do not consider it profitable as a major
299 crop. The kinder-hearted find a corner for tobacco for the
534 men's pipes, which circulate of an evening in the shade when
● 563 the day's work is done and someone tinkles a zither or tootles on a flute. These instruments are home-made like everything else, and are often very beautifully finished; we were neither of us qualified to judge of the music the players conjured up. To our unskilled ears it sounded amateurish, but eminently cheerful and pleasing. Serious music of drum and pipe and
262 kettledrum is the monopoly of the Béricho. When the women weed their crops they sort out the dandelion, stitchwort, and sorrel for their own brews before throwing the residue to
566 the cow. And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots,

2r Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 22

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

THE Burusho population of Hunza is divided into four major clans, centred in Báltít, and several minor clans scattered over other villages. Aliábád, being a "new settlement," contained amongst its two hundred houses representatives of almost all the clans. Marriage outside the race is rare, but (as I have already said) exogamous marriage between the clans is the rule.

On the whole the Burusho cling to their settlements along the eight or nine-mile stretch of river below Áltít (two or three miles up-river of Báltít), at a height of 6,000 to 8,000 feet above sea-level. They are not eager to colonize higher-lying districts, for they say their womenfolk refuse to live where the apricot will not ripen. If this is so the women show sound sense, for the dried apricot is one of their staple foods and almost their only source of sugar. The favourite winter breakfast is a hot porridge of these *batéring*. It thus happens that the higher river-stretches above Báltít are mainly settled (if at all) by Wakhi immigrants from Afghanistan. These are a quiet, peaceable folk, markedly less intelligent than the Burusho, loyal subjects of the Mir, well content with their good pasturages and crops of barley and not missing the wheat and the apricot to which they are unaccustomed. A few Burusho colonies are scattered among the Wakhi ones, but, though friendly relations exist, the two learn little of each other's language; and intermarriage, though it would not be taboo, is very rare.

Similarly a couple of the lower Hunza villages are inhabited by Shins, of the same stock as the Gilgit people, but again intermarriage is the exception. We had fully expected to

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some interesting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly symbolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

233 any wage in our sense of the term, but that he would certainly be getting one or two free meals a day, and thus sensibly reducing the rationing problems of his own home. Hunza sheep lamb twice a year, but the goats have kids once only, in the Spring. Khano's promotion to wage-earning status was a little sad for us, for we saw him much more rarely after that.

242 One fine morning early in March the apricot trees that line
245 the Dála just in front of our rest-house were suddenly invaded by the whole Dastagul family armed with long sticks, to the end of which a sharpened piece of curved iron had been attached. With infinite care they inspected every branch, and wherever they detected the nest of an insect they snipped down the twig on which it rested. These nests were small, cocoon-like things only about an inch long, with a nasty little grub inside. The nests clung very tight to their hospitable perch, and it was often necessary to cut quite a biggish spray in order to secure them; each was diligently collected and borne home to the fire. We were not qualified to identify the pest on which war was being waged, but it was reported to devour both leaves and fruit if not destroyed. All through the country every single apricot tree is scrupulously examined and cleared—there must be thousands. We certainly did not later see a single one that seemed to be suffering from insect attack.

563 About this time we made another addition to our re-
167 tainers—a dear old grey-bearded man with the jolliest bright
361 eyes and a merry, happy smile, but not a tooth in his head, was roped in to work at Wakhi. The Wakhis, as I have said, are immigrants into the north of Hunza from the Wakhan districts of Afghanistan. They have settled in various places above the level at which the Burusho themselves care to live. Hunza men will tell you that they cannot induce their womenfolk to live where the apricot will not ripen. I suspect, however, that the men are just as unwilling to forgo their trees and wheat and fruit, but Adam-like prefer to blame their mates. The higher villages of Hunza are therefore inhabited almost wholly by Wakhi-speakers. Being unaccustomed to wheat, apricots, or

trees of any kind, they do not miss them, and in compensation enjoy opener valleys and wider pastures.

Wakhi is an Iranian language, and, dearly as we both loved Burushaski, there is no denying that it was refreshing to revert to a tongue which has one form of plural instead of thirty-eight, and which cares no more about genders than English, less in fact, for it has only one word for "he" and "she." Charming old Farághat is a khalifa, or lay priest. He can read, and perhaps write a little Persian (a *very* little), but his mind is grammatically quite untrained, and one tense or case suits him for any purpose just as well as another. It is natural that at his age he is resistant to new ideas, but how resistant was almost incredible. After weeks of patient work he was no nearer appreciating the need for collecting the various tenses and participles than he was on the first day, so progress was slow. DL's patience amazed me. There would, of course, have been no use showing impatience, for it would have merely served to scatter such ideas as the nice old fellow had, and he was doing his best. There are some strange and wonderful consonant combinations in Wakhi, and Khalifa Farághat's lack of teeth did not make them any easier to diagnose: is it sh-kh-th, or th-kh-sh? It was clear that the hope of extracting any intelligible text of even the simplest form from Farághat was nil, and the Mir very kindly promised to fetch down from up-country a professional Wakhi story-teller to supplement. We awaited his arrival with eagerness. Picture our dismay when he proved to be an equally kindly, equally aged, equally toothless, equally futile old bird. Farághat had brought with him his youngest son, an extraordinarily handsome little fellow of nine or ten, so that the child might not miss his daily lessons, and as they sat about together pouring over a tattered, well-thumbed primer of some sort they made a touching picture.

It would be very unfair to generalize about Wakhi racial character from two such elderly men, but the impression these two left on us of kindly slow-wittedness confirmed DL's impressions of ten years earlier, when he had been travelling through their districts and had tried to get informants to work

126 entered everywhere. There were no landmarks: every house was a rough replica of every other and not certainly identifiable from any distance, every poplar tree which from one point of vantage stood out in splendid isolation immediately fell into line with a dozen others when you walked a hundred yards. The whole habitable country was tilted at an angle of 45 or 50 degrees, and seamed with sunken rock-ravines; the river was perennially invisible in its gorge; tracks and water-courses were sunk between high walls, and not to be divined unless you were actually in them out of sight of everything: a heartbreaking, leg-exhausting task, the sketch map that DL coveted.

A second important task was an enquiry into matters of revenue and taxation. To have questioned the peasantry, except very casually and incidentally, would again have been to excite curiosity as to ulterior motives—the non-existence of which might well have seemed incredible—though we did manage to accumulate a good deal of information that was invaluable as corroborative material. The only way to get coherent information was to approach the Mir direct and beg permission to enlist the assistance of Prince Jamál Khán, now his grandfather's right hand in administrative matters, and then try to keep the boy's untrained attention from wandering off the point at issue.

000 All the while book-boxes had to be gradually packed and top-dressed with lighter material so as to make manageable loads, new boxes had to be conjured out of old to take the curious and unwieldy articles—from bows to winnowing forks—ultimately destined for some museum. The contents of each box had to be inventoried in detail, for Customs purposes as well as for our own reference, then strongly wired, then painted with name and numbers. Dádo and the rest helped manfully over all such tasks as they could tackle, but much could be done only by DL or by myself.

197 Finally there was one blind spot of language which cried
563 out for—and got—attention, the Dumáki spoken by the alien Béricho, that minute language-island within the larger language-island of Burushaski itself.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

162 account of 512 Burushaski-speakers recorded in the 1931 Census as resident in the Gilgit Wazarat, and one as resident in North Kashmir. The total thus becomes 20,813[1].

The local distribution of these linguistic groups has now to be considered. On examination it will be found that they fall in the main within definite and unbroken geographical limits. In Hunza from the North southwards down the Herber valley, to and including Galmit the population are Wakhis, speaking Wakhi, with the exception of the inhabitants of Khudāabād (population 97), Nazīmābād (82) and Misgār (174). Proceeding down, southwards and westwards, through Hunza, the rest of the population are Burushaski-speaking with the exception of the two villages, Hindi (977) and Māyūn (207) whose primary language is Shinā.

In Nagir there are no Wakhi-speakers, but the Burushaski-Shina dividing line falls at practically the same point as in Hunza, viz. at Mīnapin opposite Hindi. From and including Minapin down the valley, with the exception of Sikandarābād (406, a recent settlement) and Chalt (587), the people of Nagir are primarily Shina-speakers.

162 It is to be remarked, however, that these radical linguistic distinc-
191 tions are to a large extent masked, if not superficially deleted, by bilingualism. I believe that all Shina-speakers of both Hunza and Nagir readily understand and speak Burushaski. This is not so with the Wakhis, of whom only a few know the language of their neighbours. On the other hand the Wakhis have imposed their own language on the Burusho settled in Shimshal, and Wakhi elements are to be found in place-names in all the northern part of the country.

563 How far do these linguistic divisions represent also ethnic divisions? Are the Wakhi-speakers (Guwicho, sg. Guits, Guwi·čo, Gu.i·ts), the Burushaski-speakers (Burūsho, sg. Burūshin, Buru·šo, Buru·ši·n) and the Shina-speakers (sg. and pl. Shèn, Šɛ·n) to be regarded as racially distinct peoples?

[1] The figure 26,076 given in the Kashmir Census Report 1931, Vol. XXV p. 237, appears to be incorrect. It is still incorrect if the figures for Werchikwar are taken into account.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly 563
of totally distinct stock from the Burusho. Much more difficult
is the question of the relation of the Burusho and the Shina-speakers.
My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shèn of lower
Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burusho of Hunza.
They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to
apparent mentality and sanitary ideals. A large proportion of the
child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous
in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity
of comparing the people of the Hunza Shèn villages of Hindi and
Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burusho fellow-
"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the 184
Burusho of Hunza and the Burusho of Nagir? That is a question 557
which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; 361
but it is the general impression among European visitors that there
is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples.
The Hunza Burusho are felt to be a happy and cheerful people,
their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching
sombreness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to
the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in
winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part
attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be 125
worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical 141
measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency.
The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so
were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measure-
ments were recorded uninstructedly according to an antiquated scheme
of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting
time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and
are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only 141
measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are rea-
sonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing
the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

439 shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bëricho (sg. Bërits; b'e·ri·čo, b'e·ri·ts), corresponding to the Ḍoms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also [335] within the sphere of the Bericho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

463 Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

531 I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

535 563 534 Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bëricho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitār is known.

5; Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

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Baxtek. Name of a man. 88.13 ff.
Baxti. Name of a man. 272.9, 274.8.
Baxtiaw. Name of a man. 88.9.
Baxt i Jamal. Name of a man. 48.1.
Baxti Kutow. Name of a clan settled in Shimshāl. 272.2,14.
Balo. Bāltistān. 384.19. (Cp. *Baloski* and Sh. *Pale*).
Balots. Bāltis, people of Bāltistān. 274.7.
Baltistan. Bāltistān. 274.1,6.
Bani Hašim. The family of the Prophet Muḥammad. 92.2.
Bapo. A son of the Tham, Ghazan Khān. 344.11.
Bər'ataale. The territory of the Barātaling clan. 200.1.
Bər'ataling, Bərataling. One of the "Four Clans of Bāltit". Shadun Kapūri was a Barātaling woman married to a man of the Khūrukuts v. 258.3.
Kulio Laskir (200.9) was of this tribe.
At one time they shared the Ūltar grazing-grounds with the Khūrukuts and the Dirāmiting. 258.5.
Dances at marriage festivals. 302.9.
Bərbər. Name of a place in Ūltar(?).
Cave. 226.7. Irrigation Channel. 350.3. 352.6.
Bərčə. Name of the Wazir of Shiri Badat. 384.4,19.
Basəŋ Gaizri. A former Tham of Nagir. 276.1 ff.
The name is also given as *Masəŋ*.
Batawa. Nullah and glacier which debouch from the West into the valley of the Hunza River just above Pasu.
B'ericə, sg. *Berits*, an alien people, calling themselves *Dum'a*, who are settled in small numbers in Hunza and Nagir. They serve the community as blacksmiths and musicians. They have an Indo-Aryan language of their own, but also speak Burushaski fluently. [563]
B'eritale. The territory of the Bēricho. 250.11.
Bibi Anjir. Name of a woman. 364.10.
Bidivo Mal. The "Round Field", a field belonging to the village of Sumaiyar. 198.9.
Bir'aldo Bər. A valley and glacier, formerly traversable, between Shimshāl and Bāltistān. For present conditions v. "Unknown Karakoram" by R. C. F. Schomberg. 1936.
Bozu Tham. A king of Haihaiyāl (Hunza). He is mentioned with Shāh Tham, Nōni Tham and Lali Tham as contemporaneous kings (or members of the ruling family?) of Hunza, expelled and supplanted by Kisar. 142.16.
Biddulph, in his genealogical table of the Nagir and Hunza royal families ("Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh", p. 138) begins with

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made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

326 tion of these unusual people stirred up an interest within
533 me, and I wanted to know more about them. I found
563 very little data could be obtained from any of the books I had been able to read on the subject.

[173] But after much discourse and questioning, I learned what I had begun to suspect . . . that the Bericho were actually gypsies who had come to India more than 2,000 years ago. From India, as good gypsies would do, they fanned out to spread themselves in small groups over the entire country . . . some ultimately settling in Baltistan, from whence a colony were sent off to Hunza.

Their place of abode is actually a village known as Berishal. It is a known fact that the people of Hunza depend entirely upon the Bericho for their iron-mongering and their tool-smithing and their music-making.

I was very happy to have unearthed this information so I can pass it along to my readers.

[871] These Berichos used to send their children out of
[167] Hunza to be educated and the Mir told me that he had to put a stop to this practice . . . not because he objected to the children of the Bericho being educated, but because the children did not return or remain with the trade of their parents. As the Mir's country needed artisans of this type, he had to put a stop to their sending their children elsewhere for education.

The Mir went on to tell me how important these Berichos were to the community. They fashioned farm
[414] implements as well as hardware like hinges, latches, razors and many other essential farm and household necessities that are fashioned from metal. Besides making the implements of peace, the blacksmith could also fashion a shotgun barrel.

[651] He further mentioned that each household in the community pays a small tithe as a contribution to-

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland.

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The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil.

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Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh."

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This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy.

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Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work

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4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burushe AV7

131 it lies entirely on the right bank of the Hunza river; above Hunza, as far as the passes of the Hindu-Kush, it embraces both banks. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hindu-Kush, which separates it from the Pamirs and the valley of the Yarkand river; to the west, by a range which separates it from the Karumbar or Ishkuman valley; and to the south, by
161 the Hunza river which divides it from Nagar. The total population probably amounts to some ten
• 563 thousand souls. The country is racially separated into two divisions, Gujhal and Kanjut. Gujhal begins at a village called Gulmit, eighteen miles above Hunza, stretches to the passes, and is inhabited by emigrants from Wakhan, who still speak the dialect of their original home. Kanjut or Hunza proper comprises the rest of the country, and is inhabited by a Dard race of the Yeshkun caste, speaking Burishki.

173 Hunza and Nagar were, according to tradition, ruled by the same chief till some centuries ago, when the ruler of the day divided the country between his two twin sons, who were deadly enemies. The Hunza ruler was murdered by one of his brother's adherents, and left an only daughter. This young lady fell in love with her cousin, the son of the ruler of Nagar, and the lovers met, necessarily by stealth, the prince swimming across the Hunza river every night. The result was a son, the founder of the present line, which is called Ayeshé, or heavenly; for, to conceal the mishap, the story in Hunza is that the father was a prince from Shignan, but that his name having been forgotten he was called Ayesho, or the "heaven-sent." The Hunza chief is styled Thum, as was his brother

Sir Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1883 ~~Afghanistan~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burushs AV7

487 difficult pass on to the Shimshal Pamir, from whence a road goes to Ujadbai in the Sirikol Valley. On this Pamir dwell
563 a number of Kirghiz, who pay tribute to the Thum of Hunza,
651 and here the wild yák (*P. grunniens*) and the kyang
[136] (*E. Hemionus*) find their most western limit. The Pamir appears to lie north-west and south-east. From its north side the Kara Kuchkar Pass leads to Raskum, once a flourishing settlement, situated on one of the many branches which form the south-western source of the Yarkund River.
[162] Considerably further to the north-east are the two small communities of Pakpooh and Shakshooh, situated on different tributary streams. Pakpooh is said to contain about 4,000 and Shakshooh about 5,000 souls, and they are situated respectively at an elevation of about 10,000 and 9,000 feet.
[192] Both pay tribute to the ruler of Hunza. These curious people, of whom very little is known, are of Aryan race, and
[197] are described as being of very fair and ruddy complexion. Their language is Chagatai Turki, but, like the Ghalchah tribes of Sirikol and the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh to the westward, many of them speak Persian also. Dr. Bellew,[1] who met some men of the tribe, speaks of them as being a tall, very fair, and handsome race, of a purely Aryan physiognomy, and describes them as poorly clad, carrying matchlocks, of timid and subdued demeanour, and very cautious of giving any information regarding themselves. He mentions that they spoke Turki to other people, but conversed among themselves in a totally different language. He says that they are Mussulmans of the Shiah sect, like the Wakhis and Badakhshis,—that is, Maulais.

Nearly due north of Hunza is the small mountain state of Sirikol. The rulers of the two states have ever maintained a close friendship in spite of the mountains which separate them. From Girtchah in Goohjal, Tashkurgan is reached in eight days. Horses can only travel by the Kilik route, which is longer than that by the Kirish Pass; but the road is excellent and open all the year to both horses and camels. For about two months in summer the road by Misgar is impracticable for horses on account of the depth of the stream that has to be forded. The route by Rishipjerab and Derdee is then used, but men on foot can travel by Misgar at all times. Good roads also lead to Lungar and Kabr-i-Bosai in Wakhan territory.

000 In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name of Kunjoot

[1] Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashghar*.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV2
Burusho AV7

CHAPTER XX.

DÁRDISTÁN: COUNTRIES AROUND GILGIT.

FRAGMENTS of information got from hearsay of countries that are inaccessible to one, when they can be verified by comparison, are not without value. I will therefore put down a few notes, which, as far as they go, are likely to be correct, on those parts of Dárdistán which cannot at present be reached by Europeans.

But first I will show, in a tabular form, the several divisions of Dárdistán which have in any way come within my notice, including those which have already been treated of. These divisions are in some cases separate valleys, in other cases parts of the same valley. The Table includes a statement of their form of government, of the races or castes that inhabit them, and of the sect or religion prevailing, as well as the practice that may hold as regards slavery.

DÁRDISTÁN.

	Government.	Prevailing Race or Caste.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
GILGIT ..	Governed directly by the Maharaja's officers.	A few Ronú; more Shin; most Yashkun.	Half Sunî, half Shia.	In these neither is there now, nor was there of old, either slavery or slave-trade.
SÁ		Shin and Yashkun	Mostly Sunî; a few Shia.	
HARANOSH		Shin and Yashkun	Shia.	
HASORA ..		Shin and Yashkun	Sunî.	
PUNIÁL ..	Ruled by Raja Tah Hágder, in dependence on the Maharaja. (Raja's caste or family is called Burshe.)	Yashkun	Mostly; and a few Sunî.	
NAGAR ..	Ruled by Raja Zafar. (Raja's family, Moghulate.)	Yashkun	All Shia.	

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

DARDISTAN—*continued.*

	Government.	Prevailing Races or Castes.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
HUNZA ..	Ruled by Raja Ghazan Khán, son of Ghazanfar. (Raja's family, Ayashia.)	Yashkun	All Molái.	Here slaves are both kept and dealt in.
ISHKOMAN, or CHATARKUN	Belongs to Yásin	Yashkun	Molái.	
YÁSIN ..	Ruled by Raja Mir Wali, son of Gaur Rahmát. (Raja's family, Bakhta.)	Yashkun	Molái and Sunî, the former predominating; no Shia.	
CHITRÁL and MASTUJ.	Ruled by Raja Imád-ul-Mulk. (Raja's family, Katori.)	Yashkun	Sunî.	
GOIJÁL in BADAKHSHÁN	Dependent on the Mir or Prince of Badakhshán (tributary to Kábul).	Wákhik *	Molái.	
DÁRÉL ..	Republic	Shin and Yashkun	Sunî.	In these, captives of war are kept as slaves; slave-dealing is not practised.
TANGIR ..	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		
GOR	Republic	Shin and Yashkun	Sunî.	
THALICHA ..	Republic.			
CHILÁS ..	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		
KOLI	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		
PÁLUS ..	Republic	Shin and Yashkun		

The first five divisions I have already treated of as fully as I was able. We now come to the countries that surround Gilgit.

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Maharaja, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

The people of Nagar are called Khajanî.

Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Maharaja, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Raja sent an agent to Sirinagar to open friendly relations, who was well received; I do not know

* I have never met any of these people, but I believe them to be Dárda. Goije is another name by which they are called; that is the territorial name, while Wákhik is the caste name.

district. The Dumns are found in all districts of the Jammu Province, the highest number being in the Jammu district. The Gaddi predominates in the Jammu district. The Jolahas are confined to Reasi districts. The Meghs are most numerous in the Jammu and Udhampur districts. The Batals are generally found in Udhampur and Reasi districts. The Wazal which is only another name for Chuhra are found in Srinagar district only where also they represent immigrants. K 564

231. Variation in the Strength of Certain Castes.—Subsidiary Table I contains figures of population of certain depressed castes for the last four Censuses and though the population includes non-Hindu members of the castes as well, they are so few that the main results are not affected. The Barwalas show a decline of 32·4 per cent. during 1921-1931. They decreased in the previous decade 1911-1921 also by 25·6 per cent. Their community is thus losing in numbers. The Chamars show an increase of 5·4 per cent. which is far below the general increase in the entire population of the State during the decade 1921-1931. The Dumns reveal an increase of 12·1 which shows that the community is progressing satisfactorily. The Meghs who form the important caste have gone down in strength by 11·2 per cent. Compared to their population in 1921 the Barwalas register an increase of 108·1, the Chamars a negligible one of 11·4 per cent., the Dumns show an unhappy decrease of 37 per cent. and the Meghs an increase of 17·6 per cent.; the decrease in some of these castes is due to the reclamation of some of their members by Arya Somaj and their consequent return under the new name 'Arya'. K 161 564

234. Criminal Tribes.—Pernas and Sansis are the only tribes treated as criminal in the State and the ban has recently been removed from the Bakarwals as a temporary measure subject to their good behaviour in future. The number of Pernas and Sansis in the State is only insignificant as the former number 42 and the latter 134 only. Pernas constitute a floating community who generally live by dancing and singing and have loose morals, while Sansis are adepts in house-breaking. K 162 563

235. Primitive Tribes.—Shins and Yashkuns are the only two castes considered to be primitive though the Political Agent, Gilgit is inclined to class all the castes inhabiting the Agency under this head. The Shins are said to have descended from Hindus and do not drink cow's milk to the present day. These castes are mainly devoted to agriculture and have begun to come in contact with the outside world which is bringing about a change in their mode of living. Some aspects of their life as depicted by the Political Agent, Gilgit (in response to the questionnaire issued), where the tribes live a life more of their own than in the Gilgit district administered by the State, are given below and will be found of interest :— D 564

PART "A".

1. The tribes are not divided into different exogamous groups.

2. The people in the Agency are divided into various groups, details of which are given below :— B [564]

(a) *Roman.*—The most honoured caste exist in small numbers in Nagar, Gilgit and Punial, and become more numerous as one travels Westwards towards Yasin and Chitral.

They have two theories as to their origin :—one that they are descended from Sumalik, a former ruler in Mastuj ; the other that they are of Arab blood and descendants of Mohammed Hanifa, son of Ali who was son-in-law of the Prophet.

(b) *Shina.*—The next most senior division are of Hindu origin and established themselves by conquest from the South. They consider themselves the aristocracy of the country, although they can show nothing to substantiate their claims. They are now Mohammedans but perverted relics of Hinduism are still shown by their aversion from anything which is connected with cows or fowls.

XVI Kashmir
Dard A+3
Gurezhe A+7

B
[564]
D
564

(b) *Yashkun*—The most numerous of the lot—come next in importance and form almost the entire population of Hunza, Nagar and Punial; they also outnumber all other classes in the rest of the Agency. They are of Turanian origin but intermarriage with people of Tartar and Aryan descent has obliterated most of their original characteristics.

(d) *Sanjida*—Who are thinly scattered through the Agency, declare that they first settled in the country when Tamerlane was king. They are greatly respected by all classes and receive the daughters of the ruling families in marriage. The daughter of a Sayyid usually can marry only in the same class. Commonly, however, they are married by kings and ruling chiefs, and also, in this district, by Akhoons and Mullahs.

B
[564]

(e) *Kammas, Doms and Shatos*—They are of an inferior caste. The Kammas who do not exist in Hunza and Nagar are millers and potters and are most numerous in Darel and Chilas. The Doms who are musicians, blacksmiths and cobblers, are found mostly in Yasin, Nagar and Chilas. The Shatos are leather workers and exist only in Nagar.

(f) *Kashmiris*—Form the largest section of the population in Gilgit proper. They settled in the time of Ahmad Shah (about 1760) and are mostly weavers, goldsmiths and carpenters.

(g) *Gujjars*—Nomadic cattle owners form a fleeting population chiefly in the highlands separating Gilgit from the unadministered territory of Tangir and Darel.

D
105

3. A chief comes from the aristocrat class and usually marries only one wife from that class the children of the union being recognised as heirs, to the exclusion of children by a wife of an inferior class.

B
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4. The organisation is autocratic in theory, in practice any important point is settled by a jirga of headmen.

5. The origin of the tribes in the Gilgit Agency is conjectural. There would appear to have been three main movements—an incursion from the North as the inhabitants of Badakshan gradually expanded over the Hindu Kush; an invasion of the Shins from the South and the conquest by the Tartars from the East. There is also evidence that Tibet ruled in this part of the country for many generations.

Owing to the inaccessibility of the country, Hunza and Nagar seem to have been less affected by these movements than the rest of the Agency, and among the people living in the more isolated parts of these provinces, traces of Turanian descent can still be seen.

6. Most of the inhabitants are cultivators and all three types of cultivation are to be observed, depending entirely on the conformation of the ground. In hilly country terraced fields, often riveted with stones, are the rule; where the country is open and flat ordinary plots are made.

Irrigation is carried out almost universally by water kahls, some of which extend along the precipitous faces of the mountains for many miles. Where possible small canals are hewn out of the rock; where the hill is too steep the water is conducted through hollowed tree trunks which are propped by wooden supports.

7. There are no megalithic monuments in the Agency.

Two Buddhist Stupas exist; one on the hillside about three miles east of Gilgit; the other on the road to Nagar, between Chalt and Minapin. These

Mr Biddulph C-3 (1879-1881) 1880 AGG-Afghanistan-AGG

covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immorality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yeshkun by the Shina, but amongst themselves known as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Iskardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaski, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi, the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the names of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gâuish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother, and their sons are called "*gushpur*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population takes refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

The Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 A63-Afghanistan-A65
42: A13 Dard A13
Burushaski AV7

CHAPTER III.

CASTES—ADMINISTRATION.

D 564 B 564

DR. LEITNER and Mr. Drew have already shown that the people of Gilgit and some of the adjacent valleys are divided into castes, which are governed by strict laws as to intermarriage. The distribution of the different castes, as shown roughly in the following table, may help to give some clue to their different origins :—

Table showing Distribution of Castes.

	Nagar, Zandki or Hunzaya.	Shin.	Doomiah or Yashkun.	Kharmin, Dom, Shum, and Ustad.	Remarks.
Koli	None	24½ per cent.	4 per cent.	14 per cent.	Exclusive of Nurcchas, but including under the head of Shins, Chilas, Gabars, Mahrons, and Bunerwalas.
Palas		30 "	40 "	10 "	
Pattan and Sun		30 "	None	10 "	
Darbeyr and Kandia		30 "	20 per cent.	30 "	
Hunzaguk, Sauin		2 "	2 "	22 "	Exclusive of Pathans and Gujars.
Yasgir		2 "	2 "	12 "	
Darel		2 "	2 "	12 "	
Chilas		2 "	2 "	34 "	
Ro		2 "	2 "	3 "	
Ruber		2 "	2 "	12 "	
Rabor		2 "	2 "	3 "	
Sai		22 "	22 "	4 "	Exclusive of Cashmeris and recent immigrants.
Gilgit	6 per cent.				
Nagar	5 "	10 "	10 "	12 "	
Hunza	None	5 "	10 "	12 "	
Punial	2 per cent.	30 "	25 "	12 "	
Wazirdiguzan	A few families.	None	Greater part of the population.	A few families.	Exclusive of the ruling class.
Main valley above Punial to Chashi	None	22 per cent.	30 per cent.	13 per cent.	
Chitral Valley	300 families	None	None	200 families	Exclusive of the regular population of Chitral.

At the risk of going over some ground that has already been traversed, a few remarks concerning them may not be out of place.

The most honoured caste is that of the Ronos, who rank next to the ruling family in every country in which they

are found. The Wuzeers are generally, though not always, chosen from among the Rono families. They exist in small numbers in Nager, Gilgit, and Ponyal, gradually increasing in numbers as one travels westward through Yassin, Mastooch, and Chitral, in which places there are said to be altogether over 300 families. In Nager and Yassin they call themselves Hara and Haraiyo,[1] and in Chitral Zundra, but they claim to be all of the same stock. Some exist in Wakhan and Sirikol, where they are called Khaibar-khatar; and in Shighnan, where they are called Gaibalik-khatar. Wherever they exist they are held in great respect. They have two principal traditions concerning their origin, both of which may contain a germ of truth. One is that they are descended from three brothers, Zoon, Rono, and Harai, the sons of a certain Soomalik who ruled in Mastooch before the establishment of the Shahreis line. The other is that they are of Arab blood, and descended from Mahommed Hanifa, the son of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. Their small numbers, general distribution, and the universal estimation in which they are held, are evidence in favour of the first assertion, and it is possible that they may be descended from Arabs who settled in the upper part of the Chitral Valley at the time of the Arab conquest of Badakhshan, at the end of the seventh century. A claim to Arab descent is, however, very common among many sections of the inhabitants of these valleys, but it seems to rest on no real foundation. According to another version they came originally from Rajauri, near Poonch, and are descended from three brothers, Sirung, Sooroong, and Kunger Pûtool.

In appearance they are generally taller than the other inhabitants of the country, with rather high cheek bones, oval faces not thickly bearded, and fairly developed features. Some of them resemble in feature high-class Rajpoots. The esteem in which they are held is proved by the fact that they are able to give their daughters in marriage to the ruling families, and children born of such marriages are qualified to succeed to all the honours of the father's family, and intermarry with other ruling families. They also give daughters in marriage to Syuds, of whom there are a few scattered about the country, but not to the inferior castes. They, however, take daughters in marriage from both Shins and Yeshkuns. Children born of these unions rank as Ronos, and, if daughters, can, as above stated, intermarry with ruling families. The Zundré of Chitral do not refuse their daughters to the Afghans of Dir. Excep-

[Members of the Rono caste — Analyst]

[1] This name recalls the Haroyu of the Zendavesta.

[illegible] G-3 (1875-1878) 1880 [illegible]
4 Avs Dard Avs
Gurezhi Avs

by them, not a single fowl is to be seen. These peculiarities are strictly confined to the Shin caste, and, together with other customs which will come under notice presently, afford good grounds for supposing that they were a race of Hindoos who came from the south, and, pressing up the Indus Valley, established a Hindoo state in these remote regions under the crest of the Hindoo Koosh.

The next in order and the most numerous caste are the Yeshkuns, who form the entire population of Hunza, Nager, and Ponyal, and nearly all the population of Yassin, besides being numerically superior in Gilgit, Sai, Darel, and Astor. In Hunza and Nager they do not call themselves Yeshkun, but Boorish; and in Yassin, Woorshik and Boorisho. The language spoken, in slightly varying dialects, in these three states is known as Boorishki, Boorishaski, or Woorishki. The term "Khajoona," applied by the Gilgitis to the language as spoken in Nager, is never used in that country, and the old name also lingers in Yassin, which is still known as Woorshigoom. This language, of which an account is given in Appendix A, differs markedly from all languages in the neighbouring valleys. It has, I believe, been pronounced on good authority to belong to the Turanian family of languages.

In the colder climate of Hunza and Yassin, the people of this caste have ruddy complexions, and fair and even red hair is not uncommon. The Boorish of Nager show a somewhat different type. Many of them are short, thick-set men, with prominent cheek-bones, thick features, and thin beards. These characteristics, joined to their unwarlike nature, are probably due to an infusion of Tartar blood from Iskardo, gained during the time that Nager was subject to the Makpon ruler of Iskardo. If the Boorish are originally of Turanian origin, they have received at some time so large an infusion of Aryan blood as to have almost entirely swamped their original characteristics. Mr. Drew points out that the restrictions on their intermarriage with the Shins makes them the purer race of the two, and though these restrictions are not always closely observed, the Yeshkuns of Hunza and Nager would have little opportunity for profiting by their non-observance, so that their dash of Aryan blood must have been obtained before the appearance of the Shins. There does not appear to be any good foundation for Dr. Leitner's suggestion that the Yeshkuns are probably the product of intermarriage between the Shins and some aboriginal race. Considerable rivalry exists between the Shins and Yeshkuns,

Considerable rivalry exists between Shins and Yeshkuns even in villages where they have lived side by side for generations. D 578 B 578

Living among them, in varying numbers, are Syuds, Krammins, Doms, Shotos, and Goojurs. All of these occupy an inferior position except the Syuds, who relate that they first settled in the country in the time of Tamerlane. They are treated with the highest respect, and receive in marriage daughters from the ruling families, but without reciprocity, for a Syud's daughter is given only to a Syud. There are none in Hunza, but elsewhere they are scattered through the country in small numbers. There is seldom more than one Syud's house in each village. D 564 B 564

The Krammins, who are millers and potters, are most numerous in Darel, and do not exist in Hunza or Nager. They do not intermarry with any other caste. Their name is probably derived from the Persian *kamin*, "mean," though Mr. Shaw, in his paper on "Stray Aryans in Thibet," suggests that the name is derived from *kram*, "work."

The Doms, who are musicians, blacksmiths, and leather-workers, are most numerous in Yassin, Nager, and Chilas, in which latter place they form a sixth of the population.

In Nager there is a caste called Shoto, which exists nowhere else; they work in leather, and rank below the Doms, who take daughters from them without giving in return.

Like the low caste of men of India, the men belonging to these inferior castes are of very dark complexion, coarse features, and inferior physique. Mr. Drew regards them as akin to the low castes of the Punjab, and accounts for their presence in these countries by suggesting that they are remnants of a pre-Aryan aboriginal race, who represent the earliest inhabitants of these valleys. I am more inclined to think that, like the Shins, they have come from the south to settle in these valleys. It is possible that they accompanied the Shins, or they may have followed them, gradually spreading under the protection of the Shin rule. Their status is only consistent with the existence of the Hindoo religion, which I believe to have been introduced by the Shins, and it is worthy of notice that they are not found in the upper part of the Chitral Valley. D 142 174 B 142 174

In Gilgit itself there are a great number of Cashmeris, or, as they are called, Kashiroos, whose forefathers settled in the place in the time of Ahmed Shah Abdali, about 1760 A.D. They now form the largest section of the population, and the shrewdness which forms so distinctive a part of the D 162

296 down some 1,500 feet on the other side. He was to provide his own native Indian soap and heat his own iron somehow. In fact, however, I saw him unashamedly spreading out the things to dry on the grass behind the bungalow, having coaxed hot water out of Zaidu. And as Indian soap is made with ghee or some odious, smelly fat which we had no mind to breathe in off our sheets and pillows at night, I agreed to give him one cake of Sunlight soap per week (one of the few supplies I had prudently brought with me). Presently I found that he would much prefer to iron in the kitchen, "it would be so much better for the clothes than being carried to and fro to Bíltit," and that he would take it kindly if I would supply the charcoal for his iron. You will deduce that Barato, like Shafi, had learnt a thing or two in India besides his *dhobing*. However, from my point of view the bargain was a good one, and I was glad it should be a good one from his side too. I don't doubt that my "merchant" saved one bar of soap in four, or perhaps one in two, to stock his "shop" in Bíltit; but our clothes were nicely washed and he had no competitor within sixty-four miles and deserved to profit by his own enterprise.

He was an entertaining fellow, the *dhobi*, with a humorous kink in his face, and a quaint, half-defiant, half-amusing way of talking that made his calls rather pleasant episodes. His air implied: "Of course you can't afford to lose me; there's no one else in Hunza you could get instead. On the other hand, of course, 15s. a month for your little scrap of work is money for jam, and I like coming over for a chat with your people, so it suits us to be friends."

565 There is something very winning about the complete lack
576 of servility in Hunza. The people are hospitable, courteous, and polite, and too self-respecting to omit the deference due to "The Great," but they own their soil and live their own lives and can look the whole world in the face. They serve you faithfully and ungrudgingly and more than earn what you pay, but they are servants of none. For which reason I wish we had some other word for these lovable peasants who worked for us.

000 Two other points remained: heat and light. The Hunza

St Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

621 limits and were originally it seems centred round the khan (khan, fortress or strong-place). The general security of later times has led to the scattering of habitations seen in more recent settlements like Aliabad. Inside these village-units, such as Baltit, Altit, Ganish, Haidarabad etc. there survive the names of tribal or class divisions. How far these divisions play any significant part in the communal life of the present day is a subject that remains for investigation.

565 463 Society is recognised as divided into the following general classes:

1. Thamo: the Royal Family, including:
   i. the Karili, the royally-born on both sides.
   ii. the Arghundaro, of commoner origin on the female side, but in Hunza children of wedlock.
2. Uyõngko or Akhirting — "The Great" — those who enjoy, or have the right to occupy, superior offices in the State, e.g. the posts of Wazir, Trangfa, Yarpa and Farij.

   These two classes do not work with their hands.
3. Bär, Bäré Sta, — These cultivate their land and work with their own hands, but, if personally worthy, are eligible for appointment to posts by the Tham. They are not required to carry loads or perform any inferior class of work.
4. Shadarsho — a large class who get their title ("servants") from their eligibility for employment by the Tham as couriers to convey notice of his movements, carry messages etc. They are exempted from menial labour. This class is increasing by recruitment from the next below.
5. Baldakõyo or Tsilgalasho — these are liable to have to carry loads for the Tham and Uyongko, and to wash for gold. They are exempt from the payment of taxes. The Tsilgalasho are Baldakuyo who are in the employment of Uyongko families and then do not carry loads, but on quitting such employment they revert to the status and obligations of the Baldakuyo. The numbers of this class are declining. Their ascent into the ranks of the Shadarsho is now controlled by the Tham; formerly it was in the hands of the Wazir and Trangfa.

6. Bërtcho — now of two classes: 565
   i. ǫghersaho bërtcho — musicians who provide music on all public occasions. 463
   ii. ḍak ètaaho bërtcho — blacksmiths.[1]

The functions of the Bertcho are undergoing a process of extension. They now fetch firewood for the Tham and thorns for protecting enclosures. They also do plastering work for him. A few serve as sweepers. Their status is said to be rising. The Burusho will now eat food prepared by them, which they would not formerly do.

In both Hunza and Nagir the supreme power resides in an autocracy exercised by the Tham, or Mir. The two royal families derive from a common source and are inter-related by subsequent marriages. This joint royal family claims to have come from Baltistan and to have been established in Hunza and Nagir for the last six hundred years. 643

Each village group is an administrative unit and the Tham is represented in it by one to three Uyōngko (Uyūmko) or Trangfāting (sg. uyūm = *great*, trangfa). Under their direction these officials have Cherbuting (sg. cherbu, ḍerbu) who transmit orders to the public. Where the Tham owns land he has a steward, or personal representative, called a Yarpa, who again has subordinates under him to supervise the division of the water-supply. 631

For the settlement of cases and disputes of all kinds there is in Hunza a long progressive series of "courts", if one may use the term. First the case is dealt with by the heads of the two houses and the two families in conclave. Failing settlement it is referred to the Headman of the community (girtamé uyūm; giramc uyu-m). Thirdly: again failing settlement, it is referred to the Headmen of the Four Clans (wālto girāmichingé uyōngko; wa-lto gira-mitting uyo-ṇko) who proceed to the "gate" of the ḍhum and adjudicate on it. 692

[1] The following are the phonetic renderings of the Burushaski words in the above paragraphs: 1. Thamo; kaverdi; ery'mdeno; 2. uyongko or uyumko; cherbiting; wazir; trangfa; yarpa; tamej; 3. hawe ste; 4. ḍademo; 5. beldaskuyo; tsilgelaño; 6. berciño; eryeraño; ḍak etaño.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

115 hunting, polo — he did it with his might; manly, competent and fearless; a dynamic figure, not necessarily every man's friend. Since then he had visibly aged, but there was still about him something of the alert, dashing air of the born adventurer.

To return to the Texts: No. 4 was related by a then old man, 'Ali Madat of Baltit, who, I believe still survives, though perhaps no longer capable of repeating his effort of eleven years ago.[1] IYB's help was essential in recording this text.

Nazar of Aliabad supplied the version of the "Prodigal Son" given in No. 46 A. No. 47 was written out and sent to me by Gushpur Muhammad Ghani Khân, the son of the Mîr by a local, non-royal wife. He also was a man of vigour and ability who died quite young of some illness, four or five years ago.

The Proverbs were furnished to me in writing by 'Inâyat Ullah Bêg, the second of the three sons of Wazir Humayun.

The Werchikwâr Texts No.s 1 and 2 were obtained by me in Yasin from Hidâyat Shâh of Thui, and the translation of the "Prodigal Son" from Bahâdur Amân Shâh of Yasin. In recording those I had the valuable help of Mêhtarzhau Shâhzâda Yûsuf of Yasin.

538 One point of interest may be noted with regard to the Buru-
[565] shaski Texts, especially those containing local narrative. I have found, on reading out bits of them at random to several people here of the upper class, firstly that they appear readily to follow my rendering of the Burushaski, and secondly that they can habitually continue the statement at any point in almost the same
[195] words as the recorded text. This shows that, though there are no professional narrators in Hunza, with the possible, partial exception of Ali Madat, the ordinary people are in the habit of passing on tales and explanations of customs in a more or less
[175] stereotyped form of expression. This is probably the relic of a former custom of the upper classes of spending the evening after

[1] I have, since writing this, sought him out, and found him decrepit, but cheerful. Public opinion denies him any large measure of sympathy, as "he is not really old and has a number of sons who support him in comfort".

that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked. 252 262

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness. 372 313

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, mid-season and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering. 245 262

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions. 262

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays. [556] [231]

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards. 565 423 556

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AV2
Burushe AV7

CHAPTER XX.

DÁRDISTÁN: COUNTRIES AROUND GILGIT.

FRAGMENTS of information got from hearsay of countries that are inaccessible to one, when they can be verified by comparison, are not without value. I will therefore put down a few notes, which, as far as they go, are likely to be correct, on those parts of Dárdistán which cannot at present be reached by Europeans.

But first I will show, in a tabular form, the several divisions of Dárdistán which have in any way come within my notice, including those which have already been treated of. These divisions are in some cases separate valleys, in other cases parts of the same valley. The Table includes a statement of their form of government, of the races or castes that inhabit them, and of the sect or religion prevailing, as well as the practice that may hold as regards slavery.

DÁRDISTÁN.

	Government.	Prevailing Race or Caste.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
GILGIT ..	Governed directly by the Maharaja's officers.	A few Ront; more Shin; most Yashkun.	Half Sunni, half Shia.	In these neither is there now, nor was there of old, either slavery or slave-trade.
SE		Shin and Yashkun	Mostly Sunni; a few Shia.	
HARANOSH		Shin and Yashkun	Shia.	
HASORA ..		Shin and Yashkun	Sunni.	
PUNIAL ..	Ruled by Raja Ta-lisgder, in dependence on the Maharaja. (Raja's caste or family is called Burshe.)	Yashkun	Mostly; and a few Sunni.	
NAGAR ..	Ruled by Raja Zafar. (Raja's family, Moguleta.)	Yashkun	All Shia.	

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AVS
Burusho AV7

Dinswris—continued.

	Government.	Prevailing Sects or Clans.	Religion.	Conditions as regards Slavery.
Hunza ..	Ruled by Raja Ghazan Khan, son of Ghazanfar. (Raja's family, Ayashin.)	Tashkun	All Mohd.	
Ishkuman, or Chatarkun	Belongs to Thoin	Tashkun	Mohd.	
Yasin ..	Ruled by Raja Mir Wali, son of Gaur Rahmat. (Raja's family, Bakhin.)	Tashkun	Mohd and Sunl, the former predominating in Shin.	Here slaves are both kept and dealt in.
Darel and Tangir.	Ruled by Raja Inaka-ul-Mulk. (Raja's family, Kohet.)	Tashkun	Sunl.	
Gojal, in Badakshan	Dependent on the Mir or Prince of Badakhshan (tributary to Kabul).	Wakhik*	Mohd.	
Dinsi ..	Republic	Shin and Tashkun	Sunl.	In these, captives of war are kept as slaves; slave-dealing is not permitted.
Tangir ..	Republic	Shin and Tashkun		
Gor	Republic	Shin and Tashkun	Sunl.	
Thalichu ..	Republic.			
Cunjut ..	Republic	Shin and Tashkun		
Koli	Republic	Shin and Tashkun		
Pilor ..	Republic	Shin and Tashkun		

The first five divisions I have already treated of as fully as I was able. We now come to the countries that surround Gilgit.

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Maharaja, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

The people of Nagar are called Khajant.

Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Maharaja, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Raja sent an agent to Sirinagar to open friendly relations, who was well received; I do not know

* I have never met any of these people, but I believe them to be Dards. Gojje is another name by which they are called; that is the territorial name, while Wakhik is the caste name.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AVS
Burusho AV7

each is free to pursue its own without severing the federal bond. Thus I have heard that some villages have joined with one power—have agreed to pay tribute—while others of the same valley have done the same to the rival power. But there must be some limit to this. They could not, of course, actively join on opposite sides. D 623

My knowledge of the working of these institutions is very incomplete; on the whole I incline to think that with the republics there is less of wars of ambition than with those valleys that are governed by an hereditary ruler, less of bloodshed on a large scale, such as is brought about by or for the dispossession of dynasties. But I do not think that the internal state is so secure and quiet as under a Raja; in the republics personal independence and liberty of action are so much the rule, that no one interferes to prevent even violence. D 642 626

In the Table given at p. 456, the last column shows the custom of the various states with respect to slavery. There are three categories. The first includes Gilgit, Astor, Nagar, &c.; in these places not only is slavery unknown now that some of them are under the rule of the Maharaja of Kashmir, but, according to my information, it was not the custom before. D 567

Another category includes the Republics; in these, slaves when captured in a foray are kept as servants, as we saw was the case in Chilás with those they brought away from Astor; but they are not used as a commodity to be bought and sold.

Thirdly, in the Rajaships of Hunza, Yásin, and Chitrál, slaves are openly bought and sold; the Rajas themselves are the chief dealers—that is to say, they are sellers—while merchants, generally from Badakhshán, are the buyers. The greater expense of sustaining these governments, as compared with the republics, has probably been the cause of the Rajas entering on this trade, in which they will sell, in default of others, their own subjects even. Many are the people, and of races various—Dárd and Dográ, Panjábí and Pathán—whom the fortune of war has allowed to fall into the hands of one or other of these rulers, and who, having been bartered by their avaricious captor, are passing their lives as exiles and slaves in Badakhshán or in Turkistán. B 567

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

186 for centuries persistent rivals, always at war with each other, but always ready to unite against a common invader, even when that invader had been called in by the one State in order to assist it in coercing the other.

721 The State of Hunza was the most important of
131 the two, from the fact that its possession of the passes leading to the Pamirs, and to the valley of the Yarkand river, gave it the opportunity, in the picturesque Persian phrase, of "striking the road," and looting the caravans on their way between [567] Turkestan and India. The rulers of Hunza availed themselves of this commanding position freely; their [439] name was a terror to the merchant and to the gentle Kirghiz, and their success was such that certain roads were entirely abandoned by traders; tracts of country north of the passes were completely depopulated, and Hunza was the centre of the slave trade, the place to which the merchants of Badakshan regularly came to 643 replenish their stocks. The rulers of Hunza were 721 rich compared to those of Nagar, and secure in the fastnesses of their mountains they snapped their fingers at China and Kashmir, and with fine impartiality plundered caravans to the north and kid-
241 napped slaves to the south. But brigands by profession as the people were, they appear to have acted always on the orders of their chief, and the admirable cultivation of their ground, the immense and persistent labour spent on their irrigation channels, and on the retaining walls of their terraced fields,
131 showed that they were worthy of better things. The country itself is some hundred miles in length: from Chalt to Hunza, a distance of about twenty-five miles

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

795 nearly as lax in their Mahomedanism as the people
of Hunza. There is considerably more cultivation
241 than in Hunza, the land is better watered, and the
main slopes of the mountains enclosing the country
face north, and are consequently covered with forest.
The land has the full benefit of the summer sun, and
[135] the crops are splendid. The untold profusion of
the apricots, and the quantity of gold which can
be washed out of every stream, has gained the
country amongst the Nagaris themselves the name of
144 "the land of gold and apricots." The people, though
721 of identically the same stock as those of Hunza, show
511 marked differences. They are less warlike than their
567 neighbours; they were never implicated in the raid-
ing of caravans, owing principally perhaps to there
being no outlet to the north or east leading to caravan
tracks; they are, on the whole, better off, owing to
the better agricultural conditions, and the possession
of splendid grazing grounds; and last, but not least,
slavery is unknown amongst them — that is, they
would not brook their king selling them or their
children, and the exile of the present ruler's eldest
son is said to have been caused by his attempt to
181 introduce the custom from Hunza. The men are not
829 so bright and cheery as their Hunza cousins; they
strike one as more sedate and morose, and their repu-
tation for dash and gallantry is far lower. The reason
they themselves assign for the difference, and the one
generally accepted, is that in the winter, when the sun
is in the south, the great mountains backing their val-
ley shut out all the light and warmth, of which Hunza
facing south enjoys the full benefit, and that the depres-
sing effect of passing day after day in the cold and dark-

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 18937 AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

133 are very steep, involving at times springing from one ledge of a rock to another, or dropping on to it from a height of six feet, when, if the footing is lost, the wild torrent sweeps
181 one away. Colonel Biddulph does not credit the Nagyris with bravery. History, however, does not bear out his statement; and the defeat inflicted on the Kashmir troops under Nathu Shah in 1848 is a lesson even for the arrogance of a civilized invader armed with the latest rifle.
[533] The Nagyris are certainly not without culture; in music they were proficient before the Muhammadan piety of the Shiah sect somewhat tabooed the art. At all events, they are different in character from the Hunzas with whom they share the same language, and their chiefs the same ancestry.
721 The Hunzas, in whom a remnant of the Huns may be
567 found, were great kidnappers; but under Kashmir influence they stopped raiding since 1869, till the confusion incidental to our interference revived their gone occupation. Indeed, it is asserted on good authority, that even our ally of Chitrál, who had somewhat abandoned the practice of selling his Shiah or Kalásha Kafir subjects into slavery, and who had so disposed of the miners for not working his ruby mines to profit, has now returned to the trade in men, "with the aid of our present of rifles and our moral support." Nor is Bokhara said to be behind Chitrál in the revival of the slave-trade from Darwáz, in spite of Russian influence; so that we have the remarkable instance of two great Powers both opposed to slavery and the slave-trade, having revived it in their approach to one another. Nor is a third Power, quite blameless in the matter; for when we worried Hunza, that robber-nest remembered its old allegiance to distant Kitái and arranged with the Chinese authorities at Yarkand to be informed of the departure of a caravan. Then, after intercepting it on the Kulanuldi road, the Hunzas would take those they kidnapped from it back for sale to Yarkand!

000 As a matter of fact, we have now a scramble for the regions surrounding and extending into the Pamirs by

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

000 loss of their independence,—I venture to point out the impolicy and injustice of interfering with these principalities.

I have already referred to a letter from the venerable chief of Nagyr, in which he strongly commends to my care one of his sons, Raja Habibulla, as a well-wisher of the English Government. Indeed, he has absolutely done nothing to justify any attack on the integrity of his country; and before we invade it other means to secure peace should be tried. I have no doubt that I, for one, could induce him to comply with everything in reason, if reason, and not
721 an excuse for taking his country, is desired. Nagyr has
567 never joined Hunza in kidnapping expeditions, as is alleged in the above-quoted paragraph. Indeed, slavery is an abomination to the pious and peaceful agriculturist of that
181 interesting country. The Nagyris are musical and were fond
[771] of dances, polo, ibex *battue*-hunting, archery and shooting from horseback, and other manly exercises; but the growing piety of the race has latterly proscribed music and dancing. The accompanying drawing of a Nagyri dance in the neighbouring Gilgit gives a good idea of similar performances at Nagyr.

787 The country is full of legendary lore, but less so than
791 Hunza, where Grimm's fairy tales appear to be translated into actual life. No war is undertaken except at the supposed command of an unseen fairy, whose drum is on such occasions sounded in the mountains. Ecstatic women, inhaling the smoke of a cedar-branch, announce the future, tell the past, and describe the state of things in neighbouring valleys. They are thus alike the prophets, the historians, and the journalists of the tribe. They probably now tell their indignant hearers how, under the pretext of shooting or of commerce, Europeans have visited their country, which they now threaten to destroy with strange and murderous weapons; but Hunza is "ayeshó," or "heaven-born," and the fairies, if not the inaccessible nature of the country, will continue to protect it.

000 The folly of invading Hunza and Nagyr is even greater

461 done and he turns on his television set, he is bombarded with commercials that seek to hypnotize his brain by making him believe he needs those products, when in reality he needs them like a hole in the head? Can a man know the meaning of true leisure when his head is throbbing with the bills he must meet on the morrow, the food he must buy and the clothing he must procure for his family, for which in many cases ready money is not available? Can a man who is harassed by and has pressing about him a hundred problems that must be reckoned with, find leisure or peace by escaping to the country for a weekend or by taking to drink?

Of course not! True relaxation and leisure are as far away from him as the moon!

Therefore, when I say that the people of Hunza know and enjoy the true thrill of leisure, I mean every [512] word of it sincerely. While they rise at 3.30 or 4 o'clock in the morning, they go to bed between 7 and 8, and in the winter time even earlier, if there is no celebration or dancing in the village. They are without doubt the most industrious people that I have met—especially in the East. Laziness is positively foreign to Hunza!

[481] Wherever I went I noticed that the Hunzans had ample time to talk and chat, and seldom did they appear to be in a hurry although whenever they walked, their walk was brisk—much more so than the average Western gait. In fact, this is one of their most recognizable and admired traits.

571 Lest anyone should get the impression that life in Hunza is dull, let me clearly emphasize that there is great fellowship between families and the selfsame group-gathering that we know of in our way of life is also practiced and followed by the people of Hunza. [796] Further, religious gatherings are quite frequent and play an important role in the social life of the people.

No. III.

[49]

Buzur Jamhūr and Alqash Wazīr.

Kubād was King of Madāin and Alqash was wazīr. Alqash had 539*
a friend, Bakht-i-Jamāl. Bakht-i-Jamāl had married the daughter of Jamas Hakīm. There was a book called the Jamasnāma. Jamas gave it to his daughter as her dowry. She brought it to her home for Bakht-i-Jamāl to see. He could understand nothing of it. He was unable to read the book. There was a great scholar and Bakht-i-Jamāl took the book to him (and said:) "O sage, I am unable (to read) this book. Will you instruct me in it?" "Bring it here," said the learned man, and Jamas gave it to him. The man of learning looked at it. He too was unable (to read it), to him too it was unintelligible. "O Bakht-i-Jamāl," said he: "I also can make nothing of it." "Well," said Bakht-i-Jamāl, as it is unintelligible, leave it there. What are we to do with it? I too cannot understand it?"

Alqash Wazīr and Bakht-i-Jamāl were bosom friends (lit. 'soul's 539*
friends'). Alqash Wazīr, before going to salām to the King, used 572
to go and salām to his friend. Then, having looked on his friend's

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4 *ᵉᴍᴀnimi* — *ᵉᵛ ᴀtimi* is given as an alternative.

8 *aiyᵉmai.i bai* — 'he is not able' (sc. 'to read it'). This absolute use of *ᵉ-ᴀᴍᴀᴍᴀs* is common.

açučila = *a* + *jučila*, — 'it does not come

9 *beᵛičᴀn?* = *be ečᴀn?*

11 *ᵉnin* — 'he not going'.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

face, he used to go and salām to the King." So dear were they to each other. They were devoted to each other. 539* 572

One day Alqash Wazīr came to salām to Bakht-i-Jamāl. Salaming him he looked at him, he looked at him with an unfavourable eye. "O friend," said Bakht-i-Jamāl, "why do you look at me today with an unfavourable eye?" "O friend," (replied Alqash) "the day of your death has come. You are going to die. It is for this reason that I look at you with repugnance." Alqash Wazīr was versed in astrological calculations and Bakht-i-Jamāl was alarmed for his life. "I am going to die then," he thought, and he said: "O friend, this that you say is true, but may I perchance escape by some device?" "Friend," said Alqash, "there is one thing, and if you and I can do it, you will escape. If we cannot do it you will die." "O beloved friend, what is it that we cannot do?" "Beloved friend," said Alqash, "for 40 days do not come out of your house, do not speak to anyone, do not look at the face of anyone, let no one look at you, let no one speak to you, let no one hear you speak, and do not you listen to anyone speaking. If you remain (thus) one day more than the 40 then you will die, and if you go out one day too soon, before 40 days are completed, you will die. When exactly 40 days are up, if you go out of your house, you will not die." 539*

Bakht-i-Jamāl was overjoyed. "O beloved friend," said he, "this is a very easy matter. On which day shall I (begin to) stay in the house?" "Stay in today," said Alqash. "Friend, give my wife instructions and advise her how she is to give me food and how she is to give me water." "Bring her here, friend." Bakht-i-Jamāl brought his wife and Alqash Wazīr said: "My sister, give ear to what I say. It is a very serious matter. Make my friend stay in the house. Sit yourself in the upper verandah. Take care not to speak. Take care not to look down. (To Bakht-i-Jamāl) Friend, do not speak. Do not look up. Let her send down food and water to you at the proper time, letting it down on something through the smoke-hole, and do you eat the food and drink the

ourselves. Naját and Shukuru and all the children were 593
gathered round, but the men were out at work and the house
was (relatively) empty. So while the mother fed the child I
learned all I could about orthodox baby management. Until 852
the baby cuts his first tooth his mother will not take him to 562
any house where there is another infant. Possibly it is felt that 574
with one tooth he will be armed for self-defence against his
contemporary; possibly the rival mothers might be tempted
into tactless comparisons. Up till this point, too, no male of
the house may handle him. An amusing little ceremony heralds
the cutting of this all-important tooth. Some elderly man—
usually the grandfather—"well skilled with children," takes
the baby in his arms and out into the open. After that his
father and brothers are free to play with him and carry him
about.

Until the child is two or thereabouts he lives the life of a 854
recluse, strapped into his cradle night and day except at meal-
times, or when taken out for an airing in grown-up arms.

When the moment came for replacing Faqér in his cradle, Naját and Shukuru bestirred themselves and fetched some dry, finely powdered earth which they gently warmed over the ashes of the fire. Bibo Gímo produced a large square of strong cloth, sweet and clean but dark with use, and spread it on the dais, lying the baby down on it with a tiny cushion under his head. Then plenty of the earth—it proved to be pounded sun-dried cow-dung, as clean and inoffensive to handle as the fibre in which we plant our bulbs—was packed round him above and below, and he was carefully parcelled up, arms, legs, and feet, into the stout cloth, bandaged into it with a long binder, and laid in the cradle. When he is "changed" the last lot of packing is thrown on to the fields for their enrichment—and that's that. Very cleanly and ingenious it all is and vastly preferable to the eternal washing of "nappies," which, indeed, would be a grim task with insufficiency of cloths, cold water, and no soap.

The bottom of the cradle was full of nice clean straw with a padded mattress on top, and by the time baby's cushion was adjusted and a red quilt laid up to his chin and well tucked in

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

I had expressed a wish to see what winter life "By the Lamp" was like, and one day Levy Kalbi brought an invitation from his womenfolk to join them some evening in their house. I was warmly welcomed into the living-room, where twenty people were at home and many guests besides myself had been invited. The guests included all our own household except the Kashmiri sweeper. I made my way over to the women's side of the house and murmured such compliments as I could improvise, on the skill and diligence with which they stitched and teazed and span. It was amazing. I could only hope that their zeal was perhaps a little extra on my account. Presently, when all had settled down after my incursion, a princely dish of potatoes cooked in *maltash* (producing a sort of Irish stew effect) was set on the floor in the centre and a wicker platter heaped with bread and another piled with grapes. Kalbi had most thoughtfully asked me to have my own dinner before coming, for he feared that I might not be able to enjoy their food (as *maltash* is an inevitable ingredient in any food set before a guest, this was both tactful and humane). Another large dish of grapes was set near me, and the children who clustered round shared them with me without reluctance.

Again I marvelled at the spaciousness and freedom gained by an absence of furniture. We must have been thirty or forty in that tiny-seeming room, yet there was no sense of crowding, and there was perfect ease of movement. And again I marvelled at the natural graciousness and instinctive good manners of these unsophisticated folk. My hosts and hostesses, who had never had a European in their house before, made me feel welcome and at home, and were evidently not conscious of the slightest embarrassment themselves. In a few minutes two or three prostrate sausage-rolls of bedding came to life, bright eyes peeped out and the respective mothers' exhortations, "Go to sleep again, darling!" were just as successful as their equivalents in similar circumstances at home.

Only a couple of the very senior men of the family shared the extra feast, but the guests were warmly pressed to fall to. Each folded a flap of bread round his potato and ate it neatly as from an egg-cup. Then Kalbi's old father, the patriarch of

574 the twenty, whose great-grandchildren were present in the
538 room, a fine old greybeard, active and handsome still despite his years, set out to tell us his memories of the siege of Chitral and Kelly's famous march to its relief, in which he himself had taken part. That was only four or five years after "the downfall of Hunza," as he phrased it, but numbers of Hunza men enlisted in the British relieving force. (Another neighbour of ours in No. 6 was also one of Kelly's volunteers.) He showed me the sword he had carried and the handsome muzzle-loader with its forked rest, both carefully greased and kept in good condition as befits heirlooms of the kind. He discoursed with a tinge of unconcealed regret on the olden days when men were men and fighting was toward, "though of course peace is best," he added with incomplete conviction in his voice. The others broke in with questions, and led him on to talk of this episode and that, rehearsed no doubt many a time before, and to cap the tale he proudly put his finger through his jaw and out under his ear tracing the path of a Chitrali bullet. This honourable wound he wore more proudly than his medal, though this also was displayed with pride.

While he talked away with ease and modesty even the little children listened with intelligent attention, and you could easily picture them in years to come telling their great-grandchildren: "My great-grandfather used to say . . ." Their tastes uncorrupted by the sensational gossip of the daily press and the melodramatic improbabilities of the screen, their memories not undermined by second-hand book learning, these humble Hunza folk are immensely better educated than the products of our costly schools; not one of them but can tell you all the details of his own lineage for eight or nine generations back on either side. Outside Debrettites, how many of us British folk can do as much?

793 A youngster who has a taste that way or who covets the
874 position of a priest in the future, can easily learn to read and write a little Persian and Urdu at the feet of one of the local
[212] khalifas. Burushaski has no script and is never written; nor would it carry anywhere outside the Hunza and Yasin valleys if it were. If he is more ambitious of letters, he can foot the four

twin sister. "Is that Kaníza's twin?" It was—twice as big and flourishing as our little Kaníza. By way of making conversation I asked the mother: "Isn't it strange that Anjír should be so much bigger than her twin?" "Not really strange," she said quite simply, "there is food in Báltít." Yet when my photographing was done they pressed me to come in. I made to squat just anywhere on the woman's platform, but they must needs find a rug for me to sit on. They were cooking lentils in a big stone pot on a tripod over a tiny fire, and they produced a dish of boiled potatoes and wanted to share it with me. I took a tiny taste for friendliness, but excused myself from eating more with the phrase I had found gave no offence, "I came, having just eaten." These people's hospitality just left me gasping. That dish of lentils and potatoes was probably the only serious meal of the day for five or six of them. And if I had so little, should I want to stuff any of it into over-fed foreigners? I trow not. We were not conscious of being exactly over-fed in Hunza, but by contrast with what our neighbours—much better folk than we—existed on. . . .

Another day I met on the narrow track a perfectly strange lad with a lump of dried apricots in his hand (rather like a lump of the all-glued-together dates you see in a grocer's shop) which he was eating as he walked along. We greeted each other "Jú na!" This is the old-time native greeting, still much more in use than the formal "Salam aleikum" of Islam, which the women scarcely use at all. When you do say "Salam aleikum," the correct Hunza reply is "Salam aleikum." At first, of course, we used to answer: "W'aleikum as salam!" as is usual amongst Muslims elsewhere; but it came to sound stilted and highbrow to our own ears, as I do not doubt it did to theirs. Immediately the boy held out his apricots for me to take some. I tugged a small one off the corner and popped it into my mouth, where it lasted me like chewing-gum for half an hour. These apricots are very good and most sustaining, far tastier than the dried apricots we buy at home, but for serious eating they need to be steeped overnight and then make a delicious dish.

A month later, by the third week of March, we were well

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XI.

The Custom in regard to The Tham's Annual Visit to Hèrber.

539* 643 644 574

Every Autumn, in September or October, or on the 15th. or 20th. of Sambula, the Tham sets out for Hèrber taking with him eighty followers and Elders. With ten or fifteen Elders, fifteen men of superior rank, twenty minor servants, seven or eight huntsmen, eight bandsmen and four grooms, thus he sets out.

It is the custom for the Elders of Galmit and, in addition, a number of young men, to come as far as Chaman Gul to receive the Tham. Slaying a goat and loading it along with a supply of bread in a panier they bring it to Bulchi Das for his reception. It is called *Otaq*. Then the Tham stops there and eats it. When he has eaten and has gone on to Chacha Hera the women come out on to the edge of the terrace and wave their hands round in the Tham's honour.

539* 643 574

(Proceeding) thence they keep playing music in front of the Tham (until) he dismounts at the Galmit dancing place. When the Tham has dismounted they present an ox before him. In former times it was the custom for the Tham to give orders to a distinguished Elder, upon which the latter, they say, seizing the ox and pulling

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11 *tailatsum* — probably from *tele* 'there' and not from *tail* etc. 'such'. There seems to be a verb or two missing in this sentence: the party proceeds, music being played in front of the Tham until the Galmit dancing ground is reached, when the Tham dismounts.

12 *de.iĉum* — "they make an ox stand", "they stand up an ox", or "they keep an ox standing for the Tham", a sort of technical expression for presentation.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

it backwards smote it with his sword straight down the front line of the (shoulder and) forelegs. Now the present Tham has made them give up this practice. (As) for laying hold of the ox, they still lay hold of it. 539A 643 574

Then when the Tham, having dismounted, has taken his seat on the platform at the dancing ground, they bring a small bowl of milk to him. The Tham, saying "Bismillah," drinks a little and enquires of the Headmen: "Are you well?" and they, standing up, reply to the Tham: "You are welcome."

Then the Tham goes into the fort and the servants and elders go off to their respective lodgings. When they have done so the Wakhis bring them *Ksrūtē Dasdas* (a form of food).

Then on the evening of the same day the Headman kills two goats at his house, and then cutting up a lump of ghee, which may be 30 lbs. in weight, he makes *sherbat*. Then, having prepared 15 *chuqs* of wheat bread he conducts the Tham, accompanied by his followers, to his house.

There are two Hunza Trangfas and they go and cut up the bread and meat and prepare the dishes of food. They roast the breast of the one he-goat for the Tham and bring it to the place of assembly, and they convey the breast of the other to the Tham's consort. The kidneys they take to the senior Gushpūr if there is any. One liver they give to the Wazir, if he is there, or, if he has not come, to one of his brothers or his son.

When the Tham goes to the house and when he has arrived at

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6 *ḫwa bawa?* — said in Wakhi which is said to be "*ḫafteya?*" i. e. *ḫaf*, 'good'; *teri*, 'are'; *a*, interrog. particle.

The equivalent Wakhi for the Persian *Xoš amadi* was given as *ṭokur wi.ox*.

8 *tarqor* — The Tham's official residence. It is scarcely a 'fort' and certainly not a 'palace' in the ordinary acceptance of the term.

9 *qoliqor* — Shaw gives Wakhi *qoi* as "household, quarters, camp". It is also used in Sh. and Kho. It is here glossed 'inhabited house', but seems to mean "lodgings".

11 *nikor* — past participle active of °-xorax.

14 *tarq* — i. e. *taq* refers I think only to the meat, cp. l. 12, page 340 below. It was glossed "cutting up".

15 *baskarate* — usually 'ram'; here glossed 'male goat'.

19 *dayo.ayr* — a note adds that the Tham puts a little flour on his head.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the door, they bring out a bowl of flour, and *ispandar* smoke, and 534
a dish of ghee. The Tham touching these and kissing (his fingers) 643
enters the house and sits down on the large dais. The master of 574
the house and his brothers, standing in the centre part of the room, say: "You are welcome!" "God bless you!" replies the Tham.

Then he makes the Elders and followers sit down for a little at the door and he calls up the Wazir and then he calls up the Yerpa. Then they bring the Elders one by one into the house, and then they bring in the inferior followers, and they make them sit down in their appointed places. After this a personal servant brings water for the Tham to wash his hands, and when they have made the Tham wash his hands they make the Elders wash theirs.

Then they set food before the Tham. The Head Cook and the 262
assistant cooks prepare vegetable soup for the Tham and put the 534
hindquarters of a sheep and *sherbat* with bread before him. Also 643
four cakes of thick bread, and curds in a bowl, and cream in a cup. 574
The Head Cook cuts up the meat for the Tham.

Then they place dishes of food before the leading men, and the meat that is in front of the Tham they dispense to the Elders and followers. There are also the two heads of the goats: one of these with some bread they give to the musicians; the other they give to the grooms. To the huntsmen they give the fat tail (of the sheep) which is in front of the Mir. They give two dishes (of food) to each party separately. To the Bodyguard they give five dishes.

Then to the Tham's womenfolk also they send bread and dishes of food and to the Gushpurs they send one dish each. The Gushpurs are not allowed to come to the host's house with the Tham and Elders. They send the food for them to their various lodgings.

When he has eaten the Tham comes out. He says: "Blessings 534
on you!" and they reply: "On your life blessings!" The master 643
of the house comes out in front of the door with the Tham. 574
576

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22 *ḫaṛlom .. ḫanik bi* — the sentence is grammatically obscure and probably faulty, *ḫaṛlom* unless it is adjectival, seems to require a verb, such as "they carry away from ...".
wazirwki — an alternative reading is: *wazirw ḫan* . . .
ispilan — is the p.pc. active of *bikingan* used absolutely.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then from the house of entertainment there is (sent) a dish on which they put as the Wazīr's portion, a leg (of mutton), and *sherbat* along with bread; and also there is a dish apiece for the Headman and the two Hunza Trangfas on which they put a leg. Then for the cooks there are the fat of the two goats and their necks and skins. And for the musicians there is from ancient times a wooden jar which it is the custom to give to them filled with the oil from the *sherbat*. From that evening's food they set something aside and in the morning, and they bring it with *qurūt tsamik* from the host's house to the place of assembly.

When the Tham stays thus for a month or two months in Herber every day the people who are exempt from carrying loads bring to the Tham's house two goats and a lump of ghee and bread, which they have made with 15 *chuqs* of grain, and *sherbat*. And every day the Tham gives green grass to the Elders for their horses. To the Wazīr grass is given from five houses and they give the Wazīr one *chuti* of grain (for his horse). For the horses each village gives (him?) a rope.

When the hospitalities have come to an end they give a goat and bread (made) of five *chuqs* of grain. This is called *Otaq*. The custom of *Otaq* is as follows: One field has been given to each of them by the Thams and on that they have imposed the *Otaq* tax. Further the exempted man every year gives the Tham as *ilban* four animals viz. one he-goat, one ram, one she-goat and one yearling kid. Followers of the second rank and load-carriers give every year three animals viz. one she-goat, one sheep and one yearling kid. These are the tax (imposed) on load-carriers. Further, each household gives the Tham four (measures of) grain, which they call *sabūr jèti* and each household gives a *hichuti* of barley, which is called *yashē yūrk*. It is the custom also for every village to give one rope each for as many dogs and horses as there may be.

The Khudā.abād *ilban* is (assigned) to Gushpur Nafīs, and the Nazīmābād *ilban* to Shābāz Khān and the Misgār *ilban* is vested

19 *yaše yurk* — Wakhi for "horse's barley"; *yaš* 'horse' and *yūrk* 'barley'.
21 *Nazimabad* — the older name of this place was *Šiike Das*.

bʌn'o x ment and food given annually by the Mir of Hunza to the people on certain festivals: 574

1. At the Bopfau: one ox, one very small kid, one very small lamb.
2. At Nauroz: the flesh of an ox and bread brought from the Masjid near the Baltit polo-ground and distributed to the people of the "12 kanants" the name of each section being called out in turn. 318. — *bano diśan ... tsor Baltit-ḥutsor ućan* they bring the "bano" ... first they give it to the people of Baltit. 318.7. (Cp. Sh. *ban'o* = *bago*, share).

1.. *bʌŋ* y resin, gum (of fruit trees), H. *gond*. — *bʌŋ du·śila* gum exudes. 278
The resin of apricot and peach trees is eaten dissolved in water and is said to be strengthening. It is also used as adhesive gum. Others say apricot resin is a remedy for heartburn

2. *bʌŋ, ba·ŋ* the Call to Prayer 000
axondəru.e mazarafe bʌŋ gau the Mullahs call out the Call Prayer over the grave. 312.9. Pra

bʌŋut, -iŋ y fortified camp, cantonment; pl. separate bodies of men. — *i·ne bʌŋut delim padśa* that King who has made entrenchments. 32.2. (Cp. Sh. *bʌŋut, bʌŋuts*, Kho. *bʌŋqut*, both meaning breastwork of stones, 'sangar').

bʌp, -ićʌŋ y.

1. Tribute (as paid by Mirs of Hunza and Nagir to Kashmir), tax. — *bʌp ićiʌs* to pay tribute to him. *u·ŋi.e bʌp gai.rmi* he will take tribute of their beards. 92.20. *Gi·ltum thamu.e Čupu·rsantsum bʌp sućʌm* The Gilgit Thams used to collect tribute from Chupûrsan

Ayesh was a most jovial character. He had the most pleasant smiling happy countenance of any man I've ever met. He was always either laughing or smiling and every time I looked at him I had to smile as well. He was a handsome man but in contrast to the Mir, who had a good head of dark hair, Ayesh was balding, the same as I.

It was most pleasant to see the splendid cordial relationship that existed between him and the Mir's entire family.

"How are you coming along with your quest for information?" asked the Mir.

"Exceptionally well, sir," I replied. "But there are also many questions that only you can answer and I'm hoping that you can spare a few minutes some time within the next few days in private so that I may gain this information."

"Any time you say," replied the Mir pleasantly. "I'm at your disposal. You mention the time and that will be it."

"You are indeed very kind to grant me this great favor and I appreciate it," I said.

So there and then we made an appointment for 5 o'clock the following day.

Every meal at the Mir's was a joy and a delight and both the Mir and the Rani were always present. I had already mentioned to him that this was a trouble and an imposition and too much to expect of him. But he said that it was the way he wanted it and that nothing was too good and no effort too great for his guests. Well, what can you do with a man like that?

Then he informed me concerning my friend's health. "The doctor has things under control now," he told me, "but he will remain here with me as my guest at the palace during your stay so there will be no worries

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 31

Breakfast Chitchat

122 THE MIR was a most tolerant and understanding host.
574 I can't say for sure whether or not all his guests were treated as well as I, but I have no reason to believe otherwise.

Sometimes I would get down to breakfast alone at 8 o'clock in the morning. On other occasions there was Jahangir, sometimes Cec and on some occasions the doctor and the Mir's uncle and a few other individuals. I usually tried to get down at 8 o'clock . . . yet, there were occasions when I got down at 6 o'clock, if I had some adventure or specific project in view.

353 I remember this specific breakfast because the first
792 thing I said to the Mir after I was seated at the table was, "I would judge that you were very fond of the Aga Khan."

You see, it wasn't very hard for me to judge this fact because our apartment was hung with pictures

296 down some 1,500 feet on the other side. He was to provide his own native Indian soap and heat his own iron somehow. In fact, however, I saw him unashamedly spreading out the things to dry on the grass behind the bungalow, having coaxed hot water out of Zaidu. And as Indian soap is made with ghee or some odious, smelly fat which we had no mind to breathe in off our sheets and pillows at night, I agreed to give him one cake of Sunlight soap per week (one of the few supplies I had prudently brought with me). Presently I found that he would much prefer to iron in the kitchen, "it would be so much better for the clothes than being carried to and fro to Báltít," and that he would take it kindly if I would supply the charcoal for his iron. You will deduce that Baráto, like Shafi, had learnt a thing or two in India besides his *dhobing*. However, from my point of view the bargain was a good one, and I was glad it should be a good one from his side too. I don't doubt that my "merchant" saved one bar of soap in four, or perhaps one in two, to stock his "shop" in Báltít; but our clothes were nicely washed and he had no competitor within sixty-four miles and deserved to profit by his own enterprise.

He was an entertaining fellow, the *dhobi*, with a humorous kink in his face, and a quaint, half-defiant, half-amusing way of talking that made his calls rather pleasant episodes. His air implied: "Of course you can't afford to lose me; there's no one else in Hunza you could get instead. On the other hand, of course, 15s. a month for your little scrap of work is money for jam, and I like coming over for a chat with your people, so it suits us to be friends."

565 There is something very winning about the complete lack
576 of servility in Hunza. The people are hospitable, courteous, and polite, and too self-respecting to omit the deference due to "The Great," but they own their soil and live their own lives and can look the whole world in the face. They serve you faithfully and ungrudgingly and more than earn what you pay, but they are servants of none. For which reason I wish we had some other word for these lovable peasants who worked for us.

000 Two other points remained: heat and light. The Hunza

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

As you enter, you turn your eyes left and with your free 342
right hand salute the master of the house and wish him peace. [576]
You will find him seated on a spacious dais raised well above 352
the earthen floor and comfortably carpeted with goats' hair
rugs of his own weaving, or it may be with felt carpets from
Kashgar. The left-hand wall of the dark passage through which
you have entered screens the end of this recessed dais, and is
lined with a capacious cupboard reaching to the ceiling. At
the head of the dais is a gigantic wooden bin, divided into
chambers each with its separate lid, in which the various kinds
of flour are stored as they are ground for use: barley, wheat,
millets, and buckwheats. The dais itself is 6 or 7 feet wide
and 10 or 12 feet long, the men's sitting place by day and the
major sleeping bench by night. Each person has his own set of 352
bedding—padded quilts or homespun blankets—in which he 513
rolls himself like a sausage. The sleepers lie crosswise on the
bench, which is wide enough to let them stretch full length,
and when neatly packed for the night eight or ten can be com-
fortably accommodated. On the opposite side of the room is 352
the minor bench, equally roomy, but an inch or two less
raised, which is the women's sitting place by day, and at night
the sleeping bench for women and children. It also has a built-
up cupboard at the foot, and at the head, corresponding to the
large flour bin, the housewife's spacious "yeast-cupboard" in
which she keeps her kneading trough and rolling-pin, her
cooking-pots and what not. Its door is at her left hand as she
sits on her cross-bench, and the top of it serves as general
shelf, table, and "dresser." A more admirable scheme of 342
architecture, better suited to the family's needs, would be 352
difficult to devise. The complete absence of windows gives a
sense of security and cosiness; the complete absence of sense-
less "furniture" gives a delightful feeling of space and peace
and leisure, and makes you want to go home and make a
bonfire of your tables and chairs. How much more we have
lost than gained by learning to sit on chairs and losing the
pliability of joint that makes squatting natural. How much
unnecessary domestic slavery goes to our "housework." Every 356
morning the Hunza women take the family rugs and bedding

356 and hang them in sun and air. Five minutes with a broom and the whole house is effectively cleaned!

576 The hospitality and goodwill of these people is beyond belief. We had never met or heard of the proud owner of this new house, yet he had spread his benches with rugs and carpets for us, had raised some glass bottles (incredibly precious things these) and filled them with flowers to do us honour. So we sat in comfort and asked innumerable questions, supplementing all we had learned from Kalbi's house and proudly showing off how much we knew. Qudrat Ullah and I worked the measuring tape and sang out various dimensions which David entered on the rough plan he had sketched. And as we worked we chatted about all sorts of things, and found our host most interesting, as indeed all people are who are close in touch with real life—the bore is a pernicious product of civilization. Before we went away they brought two huge dishes of peaches and lovely grapes and bunches of flowers for us to take home. We said all the nice things we could think of and wished the family happiness and long life in the new house and plenty of children to fill it, though to judge by the dozens of merry little faces crowding in the background and peering round the entrance, there was no shortage of these in
858 the neighbourhood. The Hunza children (as I have said more than once) are delightful: bright-eyed and eager, yet perfectly mannered. They never interrupt, they never bother you, they disappear like magic if bidden to go, but they love to see and
000 hear all that is going on. While the men were purposefully, gravely talking, I would keep one half my mind at leisure, smile and nod across at the womenfolk, wordlessly implying: "Yes, we know what men are, don't we, you and I?" I would wag a finger in greeting to one or another of the small boys and girls, and then find another catching my eye and demanding an equal attention; I would tickle an adjacent toddler, who responded with a judiciously muffled squeal, and the whole group of households were our friends.

When finally we said good-bye, we could not insult our host by offering money in return for his kindness and the fruit. So next day I plundered my store-room and took out a small

000 backs. They all thought it rather a thrill to come along and see me safe home and hang about for a salaam to David before they dashed off to some fresh amusement.

487 As soon as DL was better I began exploring further afield. At first I used to be a little shy of just barging down anv rocky track that seemed to end up in someone's back yard. But these tracks are all public ways, and just when you think you have reached a cul-de-sac and are about to plunge into a house, the path gives a sudden twist and leads you on.

● 576 No matter how far I strayed from home and my well-known families, the people came up to their garden walls or out on to their flat roofs—crowds of them sometimes—to shout a welcome and good wishes, and to ask where I was going to and what I was doing. This is the recognized Hunza greeting, not a fatuous, unanswered "How do you do?" countered by another. The answer is : "I'm going to fetch firewood from the orchard," or "I'm getting some green stuff for the cow," or "I've been taking the beasts to water," or "I'm off to get some grain ground at the mill," or "I've been spending the day with mother's people." No one "goes for a walk" to get exercise after a futile day of sitting still. So I was driven to reply that I had come "to see the country." "And a good idea, too," they would respond politely; "and do you like it?" Then I could truthfully say how beautiful it was, and how much I admired their walls, and what lovely air and water and fruit they have, but that most of all I liked the friendly people. Then they grinned with pleasure. When I sometimes risked a short cut and found myself at the top of a huge wall with no visible means of getting further, a kindly man or boy would leave his work to come and point out the almost invisible flight of projecting stones or pull down a side wall to let me out into a tiny lane, and always he would offer his hand to help me. I duly thanked him and perhaps added apologetically: "We haven't walls like yours in our country, and I'm not very good at climbing them." "No, and of course you've got shoes on," he would say sympathetically, "and you're not young."

133 Twice I found my way down to the very edge of the river bank. The river itself, grey and rock-tossed it looked, dashing

2: Lorimer T-3 (1925-8; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

her a little dusty as she worked in the fields and somewhat tired perhaps as her time drew on. To-day she had on a gay, green cap, new cotton dress and trousers of bright chintz, and her hair was beautifully brushed and braided. I gave her hearty greetings before accepting the seat of honour left for me. On the cross-bench sat old grandfather, looking very handsome with his grey beard neatly trimmed, and by him stood the proud father and uncle (all ousted by my presence from their normal sitting bench), while an old woman—Bibi Gímo's mother—crouched with the proprietary air of the *accoucheuse* on the ground beside the mother's dais. Derwish and Man Ali Shah joined the menfolk, the two small girls sat round the fireplace with Naját and Shukuru, while the married sister and other women formed a group behind. Dádo came in with me as a matter of course and sat at my feet, though neither a neighbour nor a relative. (I had fully expected him to fade out at the threshold.)

I took a long breath, summoned all my wits and—a little self-consciously because of so large an audience—started carefully firing off one by one the fine phrases with which Qudrat Ullah had furnished me: "God grant your son long life and happiness! May he live to be a comfort to you! May he take your beasts in summer to the mountain pastures! May he bring you gifts when he comes home from his travels! May he give you a good daughter-in-law and children to brighten your age! May he prove a worthy son of worthy parents!" and so forth till I stopped from sheer exhaustion. These admirable sentiments, couched in the best traditional form, sounded so absurdly different from my usual, halting, extempore speech that they provoked giggles of delight from Naját and her companions. They fully realized that these pretty speeches must have been carefully prepared, and they told me afterwards that everyone had been much gratified at my having taken the trouble to learn the right things to say. But, after all, you may as well say the right things as the wrong, and even amid the simplicities of Hunza, ceremonial phrases are valued on ceremonial occasions.

Then, having recovered breath, I consulted Dádo in a whis-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

563 find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some in-
582 teresting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

616 Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously
562 reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no
291 such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly sym-
771 bolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are
346 called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski
576 *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour
157 looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are
157 black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

000 twin sister. "Is that Kaníza's twin?" It was—twice as big and flourishing as our little Kaníza. By way of making conversation I asked the mother: "Isn't it strange that Anjír should be so much bigger than her twin?" "Not really strange," she said quite simply, "there is food in Báltít." Yet when my photographing was done they pressed me to come in. I made to squat just anywhere on the woman's platform, but they must needs find a rug for me to sit on. They were cooking lentils in a big stone pot on a tripod over a tiny fire, and they produced a dish of boiled potatoes and wanted to share it with me. I took a tiny taste for friendliness, but excused myself from eating more with the phrase I had found gave no offence, "I
574 came, having just eaten." These people's hospitality just left me gasping. That dish of lentils and potatoes was probably the only serious meal of the day for five or six of them. And if I had so little, should I want to stuff any of it into over-fed foreigners? I trow not. We were not conscious of being exactly over-fed in Hunza, but by contrast with what our neighbours—much better folk than we—existed on. . . .

262 Another day I met on the narrow track a perfectly strange
576 lad with a lump of dried apricots in his hand (rather like a lump of the all-glued-together dates you see in a grocer's shop) which he was eating as he walked along. We greeted each other "Jú na!" This is the old-time native greeting, still much more in use than the formal "Salam aleikum" of Islam, which the women scarcely use at all. When you do say "Salam aleikum," the correct Hunza reply is "Salam aleikum." At first, of course, we used to answer: "W'aleikum as salam!" as is usual amongst Muslims elsewhere; but it came to sound stilted and highbrow to our own ears, as I do not doubt it did to theirs. Immediately the boy held out his apricots for me to take some. I tugged a small one off the corner and popped it into my mouth, where it lasted me like chewing-gum for half an hour. These apricots are very good and most sustaining, far tastier than the dried apricots we buy at home, but for serious eating they need to be steeped overnight and then make a delicious dish.

000 A month later, by the third week of March, we were well

000 the ruins, but the manuscripts threw no light on the matter. So far as they have yet been examined they appear to be comparatively commonplace copies of already well-known sacred writings of latish date. They are now lodged in the Srinagar Museum, which is permanently closed.

Our return to Gilgit coincided (somewhat unfortunately we ungraciously felt) with the Jubilee celebrations and perforce we spent another very pleasant (but time-wasting) holiday with our most hospitable friends the Kirkbrides. It was May 13th before we were able to disentangle ourselves from Gilgit and its seductions and set our faces once more towards Hunza. The very horses seemed to scent that they were heading home and gave us of their best. The weather was now very
137 definitely warming up, and we marched early to avoid the greater heat. Nomal and Chalt provided us as usual with loathsome milk tasting of Tom Cat. This indescribably vile flavour is due to some wild herb that grows in these neighbourhoods at certain seasons. I am not botanist enough to know its name, and it is not a plant of which I covet seeds or slips. It is mercifully unknown in Hunza.

312 As we rode through the rich, well-watered string of Nagir villages we were escorted for part of the way by various Nagir princes sent by their father to show us courtesy. Green crops, shady walnut trees and masses of blue iris and wild rose made the road enchanting, its loveliness enhanced a thousandfold by the bleakness and barrenness of the great mountains. I confess I always covet these lovely villages for Hunza, the more so that the Nagirkuts are far more slack and slovenly in their cultivation than "our" people. All the irrigation water, coming straight from the melting glaciers of Rakaposhi, was now milky
576 and unappetizing. The Nagir people, though not actively un-
643 civil, never volunteer a greeting as you pass and never throw you a kindly smile even when they speak. We noticed, too—and how it shocked our loyal Hunza folk—that the Nagir princes also were allowed to ride past unsaluted and apparently unregarded. The Mir of Nagir had been pressing in invitations to us to visit him—as soon as he had convinced himself that no great harm seemed to be accruing to Hunza from our

presence there.

DEGRESSION TO YASIN

We gained, one valu- 291
able piece of information: the Nagir women *do* wear trousers! 562
The trousers-for-women fashion in these parts is new: that is, [77]
it has been going only for the last four or five generations, introduced we were told from Chitral, and my Hunza women friends had assured me that the Nagir women were so backwoodsy that they had not yet adopted it—which I now know to be a libel. The little girls wear cotton caps and fringes like our Hunza ones, but the women cover all their hair in black woollen Salvation Army bonnet-like caps (a type of headgear of which I saw only one specimen surviving in Hunza). What the Nagir women and older girls look like I cannot say, for when they sight a man they crouch down with their backs turned and either pull a cloth over their faces or bury their heads in their arms. Give me the Maulai variety of Islam every time!

After I got back to Hunza and the women crowded round to ask "all about everything," I got a lot of fun by demonstrating—with only a mild amount of legitimate exaggeration—how the crouching and face-hiding ought to be done; but I cleared the Nagir women's character on the trouser question. Certainly half the charm of our delightful country is the freedom of the women and girls. They come up to the roadside or out on to the roof to greet DL just as naturally and frankly as to greet me. They are not brazen-faced or forward, just unafraid and perfectly unselfconscious.

They have one charming custom which I have not heard 576 ●
of elsewhere, and which could only exist amongst free women. 562
When the Mir or any distinguished traveller (such as we!) is passing, the women and girls crowd on to their house tops and silently wave their hands. Not in a stiff Heil Hitler salute nor with our undisciplined exuberance, but with a quiet, graceful circular motion from the wrist, the two hands moving opposite ways outwards from the breast. It is the most gracious and dignified gesture of welcome and goodwill I have seen. We knew it from official days of old, when it might well have been merely a command performance; but it warmed our hearts when it greeted us as private individuals.

To revert to our homeward journey: After descending the 600

was brought the largest wooden tray I ever saw, piled high with various foods: I noted a fresh cabbage, stacks of several kinds of bread, dishes of dried curds, mountains of rice with nuts and onions on top, and every sort of vegetable cooked in butter. The Mir sampled everything very sparingly, laughingly explaining that he must not tuck in now as he had to eat dinner with us presently. Then the royal tray was taken over and placed before the princes, while mountains of bread and meat were set in the centre of the balcony for everybody. The meat was hacked up as usual with an adze and the food quickly distributed and almost as quickly disposed of, no one going through the farce of having a delicate appetite. The beauty of this kind of feast is that there is no "clearing away," for in five minutes not one visible crumb was left.

Then all stood up and turned to the Mir with a bow and a curious gesture brushing down their beards or moustaches or whiskers with both hands (whether they had any such trimming on the face or not) and said in unison *mubárak manish!*—may it be blessed!—thereupon fading out one by one down the trap-door. When the road was clear we all climbed down too, and in the courtyard the Mir mounted his horse again for a sort of triumphal march home. He suggested our riding with him, but we explained that we should prefer to walk down if we might. He laughed and said: "So should I, but I must not!" The ascent of the Hunza Mall is all right, but riding down it is unattractive. We waited till he had plunged vertically out of sight and took our time to the descent on foot. There is a wonderful collection of old buildings, with balcony rooms propped on rudely carved pillars, a charming old, now disused mosque, also lavishly carved, and a wonderful old mill, all packed tight round the feet of the Fort for safety.

After we got back to the Mir's gardens we washed and changed, and dined with him in a roomy tent. The poor man had been having severe toothache for several days and no sleep at night, yet he manfully ate his way through dinner and kept the conversation going. Next morning we were awakened by a magnificent voice chanting the Call to Prayer before dawn. It was the only *muezzin* we ever heard in Hunza, but the Mir

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the door, they bring out a bowl of flour, and *ispandar* smoke, and 534
a dish of ghee. The Tham touching these and kissing (his fingers) 643
enters the house and sits down on the large dais. The master of 574
the house and his brothers, standing in the centre part of the room, say: "You are welcome!" "God bless you!" replies the Tham.

Then he makes the Elders and followers sit down for a little at the door and he calls up the Wazir and then he calls up the Yerpa. Then they bring the Elders one by one into the house, and then they bring in the inferior followers, and they make them sit down in their appointed places. After this a personal servant brings water for the Tham to wash his hands, and when they have made the Tham wash his hands they make the Elders wash theirs.

Then they set food before the Tham. The Head Cook and the 262
assistant cooks prepare vegetable soup for the Tham and put the 534
hindquarters of a sheep and *sherbat* with bread before him. Also 643
four cakes of thick bread, and curds in a bowl, and cream in a cup. 574
The Head Cook cuts up the meat for the Tham.

Then they place dishes of food before the leading men, and the meat that is in front of the Tham they dispense to the Elders and followers. There are also the two heads of the goats: one of these with some bread they give to the musicians; the other they give to the grooms. To the huntsmen they give the fat tail (of the sheep) which is in front of the Mir. They give two dishes (of food) to each party separately. To the Bodyguard they give five dishes.

Then to the Tham's womenfolk also they send bread and dishes of food and to the Gushpurs they send one dish each. The Gushpurs are not allowed to come to the host's house with the Tham and Elders. They send the food for them to their various lodgings.

When he has eaten the Tham comes out. He says: "Blessings 534
on you!" and they reply: "On your life blessings!" The master 643
of the house comes out in front of the door with the Tham. 574
576

22 *hɨ́lom* .. *hɨ́nik bi* — the sentence is grammatically obscure and probably faulty, *hɨ́lom* unless it is adjectival, seems to require a verb, such as "they carry away from ...".
wasirɨ́ki — an alternative reading is: *wasirɨ́r hɨ́n* . . .
ɨrpilɨ́n — is the p.pc. active of *bilɨ́ŋɨn* used absolutely.

000 trees are there? *Hunzulo joŋ doxərčumɛ* when the apricot trees are coming into blossom in Hunza. 320.1. *gaško . . . thaʷiko joŋɛ šərkortsɛ tʌk notʌn* tying ropes to the branches of tall apricot trees. 316.12.

(According to QUB the *j-* of the pl. is not cerebral).

●576 3. *juʷ, juʷna* y.

a. An expression of respect to a superior, greeting, salutation, obeisance, H. *salaʷm*. — N. *ʌwa ju* yes, Sir! *ju goʷr mʌniš!* "thanks to you", sometimes used sarcastically: "thanks for nothing". 112.2. *ju ɛtʌs* to pay one's respects to, thank respectfully. *thʌmɛ ju ɛčər ničʌm* I shall go to pay my respects to the Tham. *thʌmər ju nɛtʌn* saluting the Tham. 302.8. *guʷimo jaʷmʌlɛ ju ɛti* say "salam" to your family. EOL. *gutɛ ju mɛnər ɛtuma?* whom did you salute? EOL.

b. An extended form *juʷna* is also in use:

juʷna nʌnatsəro! hail, mother's brothers! 248.11.

I have also the following notes:

juʷna — "a greeting to which the response was formerly the same: *juʷna*. Now under orders from (the Agha Khan) Bombay the response is: *sʌlaʷm alc.ikum*; in which matter even the women comply".

juʷna nʌzər — "said by women, and sometimes also by men, as when a small gift is received.".

(Both forms were still in 1935 in general use especially by women. *Ju* has also been recorded in Sh.).

000 4. *ju, ʒu*, pl. *-ʌnts, juwʌnts*, x warp-yarn. — *gʌtu diyʌn juwʌnts duʌšimi(ɛ?)* the cloth becoming old the

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.39-B]

By JOHN CLARK

123
164

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ENTRY in my weathered notebook of a decade ago, written when, as an American living in the Himalayas in a run-down castle, I was operating an infirmary:

[576] "'Salaam aleikum, Hasoor! my trouble is very great,' said old Bohar. He raised his white-stubbled chin and pointed to the source of his pain.

"I looked and shuddered a little. Four oozing, open holes, each the diameter of a pencil, pierced his chin and jawbone. I asked him to open his mouth, and he complied, exposing a row of teeth worn absolutely flat. I ran my finger across his lower teeth; four were so loose that I was able to

125 One evening, I took a census of the
165 nine teen-age boys in my wood-carv-
[123] ing school. Of these, all from well-to-do households, how many had seen death in their immediate families?
165 Here was the roll:
551 Gohor Hayat: mother, three brothers, two sisters; Sherin Beg: one brother, one sister; Nur-ud-Din: mother, two brothers, two sisters; Md. Hamid: mother, one sister; Burhan Shah: one brother, one sister; Nasar Md.: mother, two brothers, one sister; Mullah Madut: two brothers; Suleiman: one brother; Ghulam Rasul: father. In a country fabled for the long lives of its inhabitants, these are depressingly typical Asian statistics.
165 Moreover, there is little reason to be-
●576 lieve that any of the old men are really as old as is claimed.

"How old are you?" I once asked a venerable patient.

"Ninety, Hazoor!" he answered.

"How do you know you're ninety?"

"Well, Hazoor, my hair is white, and I know I'm very old, and ninety is very old, so I must be ninety."

[124] My teen-aged assistant, Gohor Hayat, broke in impatiently, "Why do you waste time asking such questions?
[217] You know there are no records, be-
[212] cause so few of my people can write!"

I had thought the old man might have a way of keeping count. "How old are you, Gohor Hayat?" I asked.

Gohor Hayat responded loftily, "I'm

[text continues on p. 43-C]

165 seventeen." Two years before he had
856 told me he was thirteen.

165 Because the Hunzas, themselves,
[217] have no written records, I attempted to
[128] estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

165 THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered
145 firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age
[146] in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance, a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

262 "Purity" has been attributed to the
[214] Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad.
[272] Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter, round out the

~~Mr~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUI Afghanistan AUI~~
4 AVJ Dard
Burush. AVJ

241 covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

771 Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immo-
411 rality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

564 The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yeshkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known
142 as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Iskardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less
197 vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaski, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

576 Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi, the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the names of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gánish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother,
231 and their sons are called "*gushpoor*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

712 Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more
361 forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population takes refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

000 In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

000 *maltash*. We had had many native servants of many races and shades of colour in our time—including a French-speaking negro in Kerman long ago—whom we have grown fond of and who, I think, have been fond of us, but never anyone so entirely lovable as Dádo of Hunza.

262 While the summer lasted we were able to have as much fresh fruit, green vegetables, and potatoes as we could use, so that we were really very well off.

205 Several other problems that had threatened in advance to be serious solved themselves more easily than we had feared. The Political Agent's office in Gilgit has to send a post bag up to Hunza three times a week and they allowed our letters and parcels to come along in a separate bag to be dropped at Aliábád without payment of any extra postage. This was a great luxury, and we were amazed to find letters and newspapers coming through to us in exactly a calendar month from home. They could also send up in the mail-bag small quantities of white flour, sugar, raisins, rice, salt, matches, and cigarettes from the Gilgit bazaar—all unobtainable locally.

577 We needed money only to pay the wages and the daily milk, vegetables, etc. We had a strong suspicion that Shafi, for the few days he spent in charge of things, was gravely over-charging on the petty account, as well as making away with tea and sugar—having learnt, as I have said, more than his prayers in India. All the real Hunza men are so scrupulously straight that this distressed us. So we were doubly glad to have exchanged him for honest Zaidu.

431 At first all sorts of people kept bringing us gifts of fruit—apricots, pears, melons, peaches, apples, tomatoes (introduced like the potato by the British and much appreciated because they can be dried for winter use). This gift-business, however, is expensive for the recipient. If the Mir or any of the princes or any person of importance sent things, we must of course tip the people who brought them—not in proportion to the actual value of the articles, but to the dignity of the sender and ourselves. If a humbler person brought them we obviously must tip him also. As we could in season buy as much fruit and vegetables as we could use for about a half-

186 A note of bitterness crept into the Hunza voices. Whereas
324 Hunza permits the Nagirkuts to cross the river and help
798 themselves free to Hunza stones, the Nagir people levy a tax
563 on all stones taken from their side. So our folk averred; but
578 very probably we should hear the tale reversed if we spoke to Nagir millers on the subject. For the Burusho of Hunza and Nagir, though they speak the same language, are of different race and mentality, and understand each other as little as the Saxon and the so-called Celt, and the rivalry of centuries divides them. At one point they both professed the Shiah faith, but since the Hunzukuts some four or five generations ago adopted the Ismaili (or "Maulai") heresy religious differences have added to their ever-wakeful mutual hostility.

000 Quitting these contentious subjects, we essayed some photographs by the water's edge and turned sharp to mount a side-gorge and reach the level of the cliff road above, by the steepest thing calling itself a path you ever saw. The new Minapin ponies were happily sturdier than the rocking-horses, and managed to climb almost vertically for 600 feet or so. A
342 brisk torrent, which is most of the time a waterfall, pours
361 down the gorge[1] the sides of which are lined with trees and grass, and the track runs right through a most picturesque little village called Tishót. The stone houses are almost indistinguishable from the rocks against which they are built, one here, one 20 feet above, just wherever they can be got to stick.
000 The ponies took the four-foot steps from boulder to boulder as if they had been taught circus riding up and down the Great Pyramid. I never professed to be a horsewoman, and I don't know the orthodox way of staying in the saddle when my pony's back is perpendicular, so I shamelessly wound my right hand in his flowing mane, pressed the stirrups back, and lurched triumphantly to the top. When we emerged on to the fan above we felt so virtuous after the climb that we halted to drink tea, though we had only done four miles and had not really deserved it. Our usual routine on these slow marches was to divide the day's ride into three: have thermos tea at one-third and lunch at two-thirds the distance, and thus let Shafi get well ahead to be preparing the evening meal.

[1] [of the Hunza River -- Analyst]

Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

garden, no fence, to interpose a barrier. The much-frequented 000
public way, following the further edge of an irrigation channel, passes within a dozen yards and beyond lie the fields of lucerne, wheat, buckwheat and pot-herbs descending gently in graded terraces. But the ground is beaten hard right up to the verandah edge, and the more adventurous take full advantage of the right of way when they can do so without intrusiveness. So here, almost within touch, pass men, women and children on their various occasions, none without a salute or a smile, or at least a shy recognition. Fifty yards off toil a joint family party, successively reaping, stacking, threshing and winnowing the wheat and pulse crops and carrying off the spoils.

Work goes on harmoniously, without idleness and without hurry. [461]
Normally division of labour obtains, men and women have their 462
recognised rôles, but the division seems regulated purely by physical 578
capacity and convenience. There is nothing rigid about it and in general each sex will freely assume the work of the other if occasion makes it desirable. In this household there are only two men, one able-bodied on whom the heaviest work falls, and one aged who can only do light jobs and rest, intermittently. There are several women and they relieve each other at the heavier work seemingly from a sense of what is the game and without prompting. There is no apparent shirking, there is no quarrelling, disputing or shouting. I have not seen or heard a quarrel yet, except a minor affair between two small boys. Voices are only raised when information has to be conveyed to a distance.

Children roam about in groups of boys and girls, or mixed family 857
parties, playing along the water-channel, chattering and laughing or retrieving the last over-looked apricots by knocking them down with stones or climbing and shaking the trees. Everyone shares without question in the harvest. Children help spasmodically in the elders' tasks; it is not obligatory. There are always one or two rounding up an errant and centrifugal flock of lambs and kids, or a single agile and enterprising cow.

842 The country cannot afford or support a greater population than exists there today. Therefore, they will have to practice birth control, which it is claimed they already do but with which I disagree, or they will have to send their youths out of the country, which, as a matter of fact, they are doing.

311 There is very little chance of finding or creating more arable land in the country. I believe they have practically every inch tilled now that is tillable. There is no land left in that part of the world that is yet to be broken.

000 Their land and their fruit trees are their whole life. Their health, pleasant dispositions and industry, which they possess to the highest degree, are their entire wealth.

578 Quarreling among children and adults seems to be something that doesn't exist in Hunza. I found close affection and love was the general, accepted pattern throughout the area. This is even more surprising when you realize that most of the houses in the villages are built practically one on top of the other.

181 It was clear to me that they knew no worries and
152 that they create no worries. There was absence of jealousy, greed, covetousness and hurry. Their outlook on life is most unpretentious. They are proud people and do not grovel before anyone and they do not pretend to be anything but what they really are.

433 Every Hunzan farmer is completely self-sufficient, even though he might trade for something that is in short supply or that he would like to possess. He grows wheat, barley, potatoes, millet, cabbage, beans, onions, lettuce and occasionally a bit of rice. In their orchards they have apricots, apples, pears, walnuts and mulberries. Every family has sheep and goats and sometimes a cow or an ox, and occasionally a yak. They till

181 Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV1 Afghanistan AV2~~
4
AV5 Dard AV3
Buriasho AV7

Considerable rivalry exists between Shins and Yeshkuns even in villages where they have lived side by side for generations. D 578 B 578

Living among them, in varying numbers, are Syuds, Krammins, Doms, Shotos, and Goojurs. All of these occupy an inferior position except the Syuds, who relate that they first settled in the country in the time of Tamerlane. They are treated with the highest respect, and receive in marriage daughters from the ruling families, but without reciprocity, for a Syud's daughter is given only to a Syud. There are none in Hunza, but elsewhere they are scattered through the country in small numbers. There is seldom more than one Syud's house in each village. D 564 B 564

The Krammins, who are millers and potters, are most numerous in Darel, and do not exist in Hunza or Nager. They do not intermarry with any other caste. Their name is probably derived from the Persian *kamin*, "mean," though Mr. Shaw, in his paper on "Stray Aryans in Thibet," suggests that the name is derived from *krum*, "work."

The Doms, who are musicians, blacksmiths, and leather-workers, are most numerous in Yassin, Nager, and Chilas, in which latter place they form a sixth of the population.

In Nager there is a caste called Shoto, which exists nowhere else; they work in leather, and rank below the Doms, who take daughters from them without giving in return.

Like the low caste of men of India, the men belonging to these inferior castes are of very dark complexion, coarse features, and inferior physique. Mr. Drew regards them as akin to the low castes of the Punjab, and accounts for their presence in these countries by suggesting that they are remnants of a pre-Aryan aboriginal race, who represent the earliest inhabitants of these valleys. I am more inclined to think that, like the Shins, they have come from the south to settle in these valleys. It is possible that they accompanied the Shins, or they may have followed them, gradually spreading under the protection of the Shin rule. Their status is only consistent with the existence of the Hindoo religion, which I believe to have been introduced by the Shins, and it is worthy of notice that they are not found in the upper part of the Chitral Valley. D 142 174 B 142 174

In Gilgit itself there are a great number of Cashmeris, or, as they are called, Kashiroos, whose forefathers settled in the place in the time of Ahmed Shah Abdali, about 1760 A.D. They now form the largest section of the population, and the shrewdness which forms so distinctive a part of the D 162

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce 643
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 648
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[796] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two: cold weather preserves the meat for the few days
[251] before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[354] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[762] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

sufficiently severe. Happily winter is short, two or three months at most, and for the rest of the year day and night are spent mainly out of doors.

The social culture of the Burusho of Hunza is as high as their material culture is primitive. Three centuries of Islam—they are now Ismaili heretics, having been Shiahs until three or four generations ago—have not induced them to veil or despise their indomitable women, nor to abandon the wholesome tradition of exogamy between their different clans in favour of first-cousin marriage. They are freer from superstition and fanaticism than any people east or west of whom I have heard or read. Whatever be the esoteric teaching of the Ismailis of which Professor Ivanov might tell, it concerns the Hunza peasant as little as the homoousian controversy disturbs the mind of the British schoolboy. He goes his way in cheerful confidence that hard work, fair dealing, kindly affection and generosity must be as well pleasing to God the Merciful, the Compassionate, as ritual prayer or ceremonial fast, and his dreams are not broken by over-anxious fear of Hell or hope of Heaven.

The fastidiousness and personal cleanliness of the Hunza peasant are remarkable. Close packed amongst the crowd at festivals or sitting on the threshing floor amongst the workers, or entertained in their hospitable houses, we were never distressed by human exhalations or molested by parasites. The drinking water is guarded with scrupulous care from pollution by man or beast. Men and women cooperate without embarrassment or restraint and no work is taboo for either sex, though for obvious reasons the heavier jobs of wall-building, irrigation and ploughing fall more naturally to the man, and the care of infants to the woman. But as soon as the father is allowed to handle his child, he will carry the baby proudly and tenderly out for its first airings, while boys and girls alike play with and watch over the toddlers.

Again and again, in face of the high morality and unquenchable spirit of the Hunzukuts, we were ashamed to think of what in our vaunted civilization 'man has made of man'.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1923-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

223 bonfires recklessly consuming grass-cuttings and leaves that would be worth gold in Nímo's home.

511 Burushaski is an amazingly rich language, but it has evolved no word for "litter-lout." Go where you will in lane or courtyard, over field or bare hillside, you will not see an eggshell or a fleck of wool or a nutshell lying about. Hunza must be, bar none, the cleanest and the tidiest spot on earth. If a child is lucky enough to be given a few apricot stones he will crack them on a rock, eat the kernels with gusto, and gather up the shells for mother's fire. Only in a couple of the narrow lanes of the deserted fort did we stumble on a cast-away rag or two. When a homespun cloak has served father for three years' hard work, it will descend to a son, or be handed on to an orphan relation; when it is torn and tattered past repair it is carefully plucked to pieces, washed, beaten, and re-spun to make a girl's cloak, for her work is less strenuous than the boy's, and the re-spun cloak is stout enough for her and quite as warm.

771 Whatever the theoretical tenets of the Maulai (Ismaili) dissenters may be—and of these Professor Ivanow can best speak—the simple Hunzukuts has evolved for himself quite the most practical and admirable modification of Islam that 562 I have ever seen or heard of. He does not veil his womenfolk nor banish them to separate quarters, but treats them as equal partners in field and home. His standard of morals is so high that when a young husband goes abroad, he trusts his young wife to the care of his father and brothers without misgiving. 582 We heard no case of such a trust being abused. He retains his 515 own custom of exogamic marriage between the clans and the normal first-cousin marriage of Islam (though recognized as religiously allowable and occasionally practised by the upper families) savours to the ordinary peasant of incest, and is in fact avoided, though not in principle taboo; he also, as we have noted, preserves his own fastidious and wholesome ideas about sanitation, and keeps his running water scrupulously 793 pure. No archbishops or bishops (whom he would term *pirs*), and no professional priests or *mullas* reside in his territories, for which no doubt he has to thank some tacit concordat between his wise ruler and His Highness the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis.

2r Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 22

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

THE Burusho population of Hunza is divided into four major 614
clans, centred in Báltít, and several minor clans scattered over 621
other villages. Aliábád, being a "new settlement," contained 582
amongst its two hundred houses representatives of almost all the clans. Marriage outside the race is rare, but (as I have already said) exogamous marriage between the clans is the rule.

On the whole the Burusho cling to their settlements along 361
the eight or nine-mile stretch of river below Áltít (two or 563
three miles up-river of Báltít), at a height of 6,000 to 8,000 feet above sea-level. They are not eager to colonize higher-lying districts, for they say their womenfolk refuse to live where the apricot will not ripen. If this is so the women show [263]
sound sense, for the dried apricot is one of their staple foods and almost their only source of sugar. The favourite winter breakfast is a hot porridge of these *batéring*. It thus happens that the higher river-stretches above Báltít are mainly settled (if at all) by Wakhi immigrants from Afghanistan. These are a quiet, peaceable folk, markedly less intelligent than the Burusho, loyal subjects of the Mir, well content with their good pasturages and crops of barley and not missing the wheat and the apricot to which they are unaccustomed. A few Burusho colonies are scattered among the Wakhi ones, but, though friendly relations exist, the two learn little of each other's language; and intermarriage, though it would not be taboo, is very rare.

Similarly a couple of the lower Hunza villages are in- 563
habited by Shins, of the same stock as the Gilgit people, but 582
again intermarriage is the exception. We had fully expected to

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

563 find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some in-
● 582 teresting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

616 Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously
562 reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no
291 such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly sym-
771 bolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are
346 called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski
576 *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour
157 looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are
157 black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

have attributed it to the north-facing mountains which though richer in grass and timber are sorely stinted of the sun. 157

Whatever the difference is—racial, temperamental, religious, political, or climatic—it is too deep-seated to favour intermarriage. Only the royal houses, sprung from a common ancester—Alexander or another—frequently exchange princesses across the water. 582 643

Within Hunza the clans are all reckoned of equal status, but the clan of the Diramiting enjoys a considerable measure of prestige, and at communal ceremonies a Diramiting sets the pace or leads the dance. The story of their origin is interesting. There was once a clan of Tapkients who grew so bold and arrogant that their offences cried to heaven. They were reported to put bread to ignoble uses, they were known to address their mothers by the term *zizi*, which is the exclusive privilege of royal or saiyyid families, and they were haughty and stiff-necked towards their Mir. In vain the eldest royal son implored his father to "do something about it," and when the Mir refused to take suitable measures, the young prince impatiently laid his own schemes. A great gathering of all the clans was to be held on a nameless space of open desert where Aliábád now stands, and the Tapkients attended in full force. The prince plied them with strong *'araq*, and when they had well drunk fell upon them with his retainers and slew every man, boy, and male infant. He did not know that one of the Tapkients had allowed his wife to return to her own people for the birth of her first child. The posthumous infant was called Diram, and from him are sprung the Diramiting of to-day, who carry themselves without arrogance and do not call their mothers *zizi*. 614 173

Child marriages do not take place in Hunza, but a girl will rarely pass sixteen or a boy eighteen unwed. The parents seek out a house among some other clan—frequently a house with which marriage relationships already exist—where there is a potential mate of suitable age and standing, and negotiations proceed between the families. In theory the young folk are not consulted; but in practice, where children have romped and played and worked together there is no doubt that per- 584

nature of their homeland. 000

However, the Mir pointed out to me most clearly and emphatically that intermarriage among members of one tribe is absolutely forbidden. There are four tribes in the Baltit area and they can marry among these four tribes . . . Diramiting, Khorokoch, Borong, Barataling . . . but definitely not among their own tribe. 582● 143 [101]

Lest this sounds like a difficult matter to hold in check, I want to explain that this is easier to control than may be imagined, for the simple reason that all marriages must be sanctioned and performed by the Mir. Therefore he positively knows who is marrying whom. [585]

However, even if this has been the rule for many hundreds of years, the total population of Hunza, even today, stands at something less than 25,000 souls and Lord Curzon in his memoirs states that in 1894, the total population of Hunza was only 6,000. Therefore, among so small a population, it is almost impossible for them to marry very far beyond a family relationship. (In 1934 it was estimated that the population had risen to 15,000.) 161 582 143

Let's put it in another way. If the people of Hunza have remained more or less a pure people for nigh on 1,000 years and the population today is only 25,000, there must have been fairly close intermarriages. Perhaps that would, as I mentioned, account for the similarity of features.

I want to stress, at this point, that I came to Hunza primarily to learn and study (1) about their health and longevity and (2) about their means and methods of agriculture. 121

Let's examine or re-examine a few of the more pertinent details of their unusual country. 000

Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River

Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been two murders only in my country and all the people have been happy and prosperous. The Government of India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity. 674 [648]

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the world and get work in other places. . . . 167

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal. 692

"If it is considered that a death sentence is called for, the people are collected and if any one will speak up for the culprit, his sentence is remitted. Otherwise he is executed in the presence of the people. 695 681

"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, his house could be destroyed, his animals slaughtered and his trees felled without any trouble falling on the offenders and though that custom has fallen into desuetude, it is still considered right for a man to kill his wife's lover if he can catch them 'flagrante delicto'! 684 837

"Marriage is not allowed between near relations and whenever possible, people marry into a clan different from their own. Child marriage is discouraged and tribal customs have been moulded to conform to modern ideas since I became Mir. . . . 582 [177]

"In former years Shimshal was used as a place to 681

when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases. 852 304

The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery. 582 304

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West. 582 [584]

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails. 585 [671]

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare. 586

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

123 smellier than limburger cheese. But so help me, dirt, stink and all, he was a likeable fellow. If only we could have ducked him in the water and got a scrubbing brush and some soap, I probably would have enjoyed his company.

Somewhere near the next village he left us. He was almost in tears at the thought of parting. I had a quarter rupee silver coin in my pocket and gave it to him. He didn't want it but he thanked me at least 200 times for it. I'm sure he would have given me his lousy old shirt if I would have accepted it. As it was, he waved us good-bye with tears in his eyes.

643 The Mir of Hunza and the Mir of Nagir are on
628 friendly terms, but I don't for a moment imagine that they are bosom companions. Yet the Mir of Hunza's wife, the Rani, is a Nagirwal. Her uncle is the present
[582] Mir of Nagir. In fact, through the centuries, while the people of both these states were at loggerheads with each other, the ruling class intermarried and were always on amicable terms . . . and so it continues.

I will quote here again from *The Autobiography of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E*: "From time to time we have tried to have relations with Nagir that were friendly but they have never lasted, although there have been marriages between the ruling families of both countries. My father and Zafar Khan, Mir of Nagir used occasionally to meet and I remember well the formality of these occasions. Each would come with a large number of followers and would halt on his side of the river. On one occasion Uzar Khan came over to Hunza and there was a great feasting; on another the Mir came and I and some other people from Hunza had to go over to the Nagir bank of the river and remain there as hostages until the Mir returned."

000 The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over

4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 302 the top of the head for a space 2 inches broad in front, tapering to half an inch behind. Those who cannot boast of long locks, dress their hair into numerous small cork-screw ringlets all round the head.[1] On the approach of middle age the whole head is shaved, according to the orthodox Mahommedan fashion, and the beard is allowed to grow. In Chitral the effect of the long-flowing locks reaching to the waist is often extremely picturesque.

D 576 The mode of salutation between equals, on meeting after a prolonged absence, is graceful and pleasing. After clasping each other, first on one side then on the other, hands are joined, and each person in turn kisses the hand of the other. Superiors are greeted either by kissing the hand or touching the foot, both at meeting and parting. In Chitral, when the meeting is between two of unequal rank, the inferior kisses the hand of the superior, who in return kisses the former on the cheek. A similar practice is said to have existed among the ancient Persians.[2]

D 644 On the occasion of the visit of one chief to another, a rather curious ceremony called "Kobah" takes place. On arrival, the visitor is conducted to the Shawaran,[3] and the followers of B 644 both chiefs show their dexterity in firing at a mark set up on a tall pole, from horseback while galloping at speed. After this a bullock is led out before the guest, who draws his sword and does his best to cut its head off at a single blow, or deputes one of his followers to do so, and the carcase is given to his retinue. The custom exists in Shighnan, Badakhshan, Wakhan, Chitral, Yassin, Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager. In the latter place it is customary to slay the bullock with bow and arrow. Of late years the practice has become somewhat modified owing to the strict observance of Mahommedan customs, and it is more usual to give over the bullock alive to the guest, so that its throat may be cut in a more orthodox fashion; but occasionally a chief wishing to show off the strength of his arm and the temper of his blade, will adhere to the old custom.

B 575 Polygamy is of course practised, and the right of divorce is somewhat wantonly exercised. The marriage of very ● 582 young children is not common, though occasionally practised. 587 Girls are generally married between the ages of ten and four-

[1] Rawlinson mentions this as an ancient Persian fashion.—*Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. IV.

[2] Strabo Book XV., Chapter 3, Section 20.

[3] The Shawaran answers all the purposes of the village green in England, being used for all gatherings and games.

D 595 582 587 B D [367]

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV1 Afghanistan AV1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B
D
[562] teen. Wives are regarded as the absolute property of the husband and his heirs. On a man's death his brother can
B 595 claim to marry all his widows, and no widow can marry again
582 without the consent of her husband's brothers. Frequently,
587 if a man leaves several widows as well as several brothers, the latter apportion the former among themselves. So strictly
D 595 is the rule observed that, should there be only one surviving brother and he an infant, the widow cannot remarry elsewhere
582 till he is old enough to say whether he will marry her or not;
587 On the other hand, it is considered disgraceful to refuse to marry a brother's widow, so that it is not uncommon for a boy of ten years old to marry a woman more than twice his age. So absolute is the custom, that a woman cannot refuse to marry her deceased husband's brother, and her own parents have no voice in the matter. This often leads to two sisters being wives to the same man simultaneously, though the practice is forbidden by Mahommedan law. In Chitral, marriage with a husband's brother, though common, is not compulsory on the woman. Among the Afghans of Dir, if a widow should refuse to marry her husband's brother, he has the power of selling her, as she is regarded in the light of family property, which has been purchased and paid for. Among the Shin caste the marriage of first cousins or other relations within that degree (such as uncle and niece) is strictly prohibited, though allowed by Mahommedan law. In Torwal and Bushkar the marriage of first cousins is allowed, but marriages such as of uncle and niece or niece's daughter are forbidden.

B In none of the Dard languages are there terms distinctive
595 of polygamous relationship. All wives are of equal rank, priority of marriage not conferring any claim. In the Shina
601 and Boorishki languages, uncles on the father's side are styled
D "great father" or "little father," according to their age in
595 comparison with that of the speaker's father; but there is a distinct term for an uncle on the mother's side. In the same
601 way the term "aunt" is only applied to those on the father's side, the mother's sisters being all styled "mother." There is no specific term either for nephew and niece, who are styled "son" and "daughter." In the same way cousins are styled "brother" or "sister." This would seem to point to the former existence of communal marriage, such as still exists in some parts of India. In the Khowar language the term "uncle" is applied to the brothers of both father and mother without distinction; but aunts on the mother's side are styled "mother,"

4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1876) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B 585 D 585

In Gor, rings are exchanged at marriage. In the ruling families of Hunza and Nager, it is the custom, when a daughter is married, for the bridegroom to present her at betrothal with a gold and silver needle. In Yassin, when, as not unfrequently happens, the bridegroom is too poor to pay the required price, the young couple elope, with the consent of the bride's parents. At the end of ten days the bridegroom comes to them and asks forgiveness, promising to pay the required sum by degrees. A little scene is acted, forgiveness is granted, the neighbours are summoned to the feast which has been already prepared, and the wedding is celebrated. This is to save the credit of the bride's family in not having received a sufficient price for her.

D B 582 D B 851 D B 842

The old marriage barriers between the castes are beginning to be broken down under the levelling influence of Mahommedanism, and in a few generations will probably disappear altogether. The birth of a son is always a matter of general rejoicing. The friends of the happy father at once make it an excuse to stop work for the day, and seizing their matchlocks keep up a general *feu-de-joie* till their powder flasks are empty. The village band is summoned, and dancing kept up round the door for the rest of the day. No notice is taken of the birth of daughters. In the Oxus Valley and in Sirikol, when a son is born, all the father's friends hang their weapons on the walls of his house, so as to accustom the infant to martial sights. After seven days the weapons are returned to the owners, except those belonging to near relations, who receive special presents in exchange.

D B 846

After the birth of a child a woman is esteemed unclean, and no one will eat from her hand for seven days. North of the Hindoo Koosh this period is extended to forty days, and for the first seven the infant is not allowed to suckle its mother.

D 764

I have elsewhere discussed the old custom of disposing of the dead by burning. Now the common form of Mussulman interment is used. A small flat slab of earth about two feet long is neatly plastered over the graves, and a light is kept burning at night by newly-made graves, under the pretence of keeping away wild beasts till the earth has hardened; but, as Mr. Drew has remarked, this is more probably a relic of the old practice of cremation. No attention or care is paid to old graves, which constantly present a most unpleasant appearance, owing to the falling-in of the arched roof. I remarked in Sirikol the same want of attention to old graves

in a low voice replies: "I am content." Three times he asks the Bride and three times he asks the Bridegroom whether they are content. Then, reciting the Khutba, he gives a little water in a cup first to the Bride who drinks a little, and what remains over he gives to the Bridegroom, who drinks it all down at a gulp.

They perform the marriage in the house of the Bride's father. For poor people in Hunza the bride-price is not large. It is twenty four cubits of sized cotton cloth of which the price is five rupees. They fix the bride-price at five rupees. When the Thama marry among themselves the bride-price for them is very big. They fix (it at) a thousand rupees or five hundred rupees.

Then they go out to the Bridegroom's house. They make three or four sets of cotton clothes for the girl. They call them "Tosh Gudu" (the New Clothing). They put a veil (over her head) and they put earrings in her ears and fix a tassel on her cap and then they bring her out of her father's house. As they bring her out they sing bridal songs in her honour and the girl weeps, and her father and mother weep.

Then the girls, children and women collect and come (along with her) to the Bridegroom's house. When they have arrived at his door (his people) bring out *Tomal* (smoke of Syrian rue) and *Khamali* to them and the Bridegroom and Bride touch the hearth-stones (with their fingers) and kiss them, and taking each other by the hand they each simultaneously put a foot down inside the threshold in the house. The Bride, entering the house, first touches the hearth-stone with her fingers and kisses her fingers. Then they take the Bride and make her sit down at the upper end of the room at the foot of the main pillar of the house. They bring trays to the Bride's party and they eat food. When they have eaten they go off to their own houses.

17 *farik wir* — both must step over the threshold at the same moment. The one who may chance to step over first will be inferior. The hinder one's star will be "buland" i. e. he or she will be dominant. A sly man may push his bride over first.

18 *fatimale ikap ur . . .* — touching with the fingers and then kissing the fingers is a demonstration of respect. Here the Bride's thought is said to be: "God bless this house to me".

19 — Lorimer.

m'ayun, mayun, pl. m'ayuyo x. 000

1. Bead, necklace. — *diṇ mayun* 1. a blue bead. 2. a male mallard (= "blue-green necklace"?)

2. Spool, reel. — *sire mayun* reel of thread. *hiṇki mayun* spool used as pulley wheel on loom. *dosfo.s mayuṇ* Adam's apple.

(Cp. Sh. *mani*, *mane*, round bead, necklace; GB (*dofdi*) *mâṇi*, Adam's apple).

mahr, *mahor*, *mow*, *mahor* y payment due from bridegroom to the bride's father at marriage. — *tsundo rupi.a mow* (or, *mahor*) *ewkerkiw* they fix the bride-payment at five rupees. 204.7. V. 202.17 ff. 583 ●

The cloth of which the Rs. 5 represents the price was the *duk pati*, v. s.v. *duk*. Ar. Pra.

makuči y. 000

Noun and Adj.: middle, centre.

Adv. and Postp.: in the middle of. *traṇ makuči yami* it hit dead in the centre. *makuči(mi) mama* mother's middle sister. *makuči ime* the middle one (of 3 brothers). 260.9. *makuči han pfori.en bi* in the middle was a pond. 12.13. *dori.a makuči hurutimi* he sat down in the middle of the river. 176.2. *basi makuči* in the middle of the garden. EOL. *su ay'at makuči yer dimi* the sun has come up (forward) into the middle of the sky. EOL. [601]

(It is doubtful if the word is a nominative form. The *-či* may be the *-tsi*, *-či* suffix).

makučim, N. pl. *-iło*, adj. middle, central. — *makučim ire eual* look at the middle one (of three ibex). 148,7.5. Cp. 148.5,7,8.

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The [273] grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

796 Tumushuling, the great winter cele-
585 bration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom, accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door, which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan [431] from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do [492] marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home, leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival. [643] The Mir gives a small gift, usually a [431] piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

585 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza
583 marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

have attributed it to the north-facing mountains which though richer in grass and timber are sorely stinted of the sun. 157

Whatever the difference is—racial, temperamental, religious, political, or climatic—it is too deep-seated to favour intermarriage. Only the royal houses, sprung from a common ancester—Alexander or another—frequently exchange princesses across the water. 582 643

Within Hunza the clans are all reckoned of equal status, but the clan of the Diramiting enjoys a considerable measure of prestige, and at communal ceremonies a Diramiting sets the pace or leads the dance. The story of their origin is interesting. There was once a clan of Tapkients who grew so bold and arrogant that their offences cried to heaven. They were reported to put bread to ignoble uses, they were known to address their mothers by the term *zizi*, which is the exclusive privilege of royal or saiyyid families, and they were haughty and stiff-necked towards their Mir. In vain the eldest royal son implored his father to "do something about it," and when the Mir refused to take suitable measures, the young prince impatiently laid his own schemes. A great gathering of all the clans was to be held on a nameless space of open desert where Aliábád now stands, and the Tapkients attended in full force. The prince plied them with strong *'araq*, and when they had well drunk fell upon them with his retainers and slew every man, boy, and male infant. He did not know that one of the Tapkients had allowed his wife to return to her own people for the birth of her first child. The posthumous infant was called Diram, and from him are sprung the Diramiting of to-day, who carry themselves without arrogance and do not call their mothers *zizi*. 614 173

Child marriages do not take place in Hunza, but a girl will rarely pass sixteen or a boy eighteen unwed. The parents seek out a house among some other clan—frequently a house with which marriage relationships already exist—where there is a potential mate of suitable age and standing, and negotiations proceed between the families. In theory the young folk are not consulted; but in practice, where children have romped and played and worked together there is no doubt that per- 584

584 sonal preferences carry weight. The business preliminaries include a small payment from the bridegroom's people in recognition of the fact that the bride's family have had the expense of rearing her and are about to lose her services, an interchange of gifts between the houses, and the provision
585 by the bride's father of an outfit for his daughter. In average peasant families a girl will bring to her new home three sets of every-day cotton clothes and caps, a winter cloak, a set of bedding, and for feast days an embroidered cap or two and a coloured scarf; possibly in addition an aluminium pot or iron bucket; details will vary in every individual case.

428 The laws of inheritance in Hunza show the same equitable
585 common sense as distinguishes the Burusho's other customs. A woman cannot inherit land, since only a man can tackle irrigation work, field making, and so forth. But if a girl is still unmarried when her father dies, it is her brothers' duty to see her adequately outfitted, dowried, and settled. Among the gifts that may accompany a girl are apricot trees; her father or brothers may settle on her the right to the fruit of one or more of the family trees. Our friends of No. 3, who were very straitened and possessed only mulberry trees, had fortunately the right to an apricot tree in Zénába's home garden. We saw Kaníza and her sisters coming home one day, all carrying shoulder-baskets piled high with golden apricots: "We've been to Báltít to gather the fruit of mother's tree," they told us, "and this isn't nearly all. There's shaking-down for two or three days more." When the father dies the family property is fairly divided between the sons, who either work it in common or if they prefer divide it up. Questions then arise as to how many poplars equal an apricot tree, or how many willow trees a wheat field, but the distribution rarely gives rise to quarrels, for the people are just-minded and at need will call in neighbours to adjudicate over knotty points.

428 One of their customs is particularly sane: if a father of
587 grown sons elects to marry again, he is free to do so, but in that case he must share the property as if he were himself a son; and a son by the second wife will only inherit a grandson's
587 share. If a woman is widowed young, she will in the natural

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXXIII.

Marriage Custom in Hunza.

5394

When a man proposes to get a wife for his son, and decides to enter 584
into marriage-relationship with someone who has a daughter, he sends one of his own relations or a personal friend to the man's house as an intermediary to ask for his daughter. The delegate they call a "herangush."

The intermediary goes to the man's house and says to them politely: "Today such and such a man has sent me, in accordance with the command of God and the Prophet, to ask for your daughter for his son. He says: 'Give me your daughter for my son.'" That day the man gives the intermediary no promise to give him his daughter. He dismisses him saying: "Well we shall see what will happen."

The next day too the intermediary goes to the house and then the man promises to give him (the girl). The intermediary standing up says: "Bring me a dish (of flour)." When he has got them to bring it he himself sprinkles the girl with the flour. Then they consult together saying: "We shall celebrate the marriage on such and such a day, and on such and such a day we shall 'put on the griddle,' and on such and such a Friday we shall fetch the dishes (of food, from the Bridegroom's house)," and they betroth the girl to the youth.

šukuro pful hanik diśen — Friday i. e. the day before the marriage; all marriages 585
being celebrated on Saturday.

From a note I gather that the *pful hanik* are taken from the bridegroom's 584
house (presumably to the bride's) and contain: *diramp̄ti*, apricot oil and ghee; and that the bridegroom's representatives take with them (on their persons?) two sets of clothes, one of which is kept and the other sent back.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Ho gərər manotəki dorčaʷn. Xamali.ər iʷ, šərbatər iʷ, qıstaʷr iʷ. Aʷltó talečuqiŋ xamali.er, tsindi čuqan šərbatər, gul kɛ ečukoʷnər doʷrčai.i. Ho saʷatər nobaren dʿau.u waščaʷn. Aʷltʿululo xamʿaličiŋ sukuʷyo dutsun daŋ oʷčaʷn. Hikulto qısta očaʷn. Da čap dɛtsirčaʷn. Huyʿɛs waʷlto tsundo ʂuʷçaʷn. Da šərbat dɛtsirčaʷn.

Ho gəroʷni gatuŋ nʿɛʷɛtan, kurdi yaxtai.i neʷbil, baš'a nʿɛʷɛtan, tišk neʷəyan, hik nika biluʷmanɛ gatuŋ ʿɛʷəbiljai.i. Iriʷŋulo gampfuʷri ʿeʷəyaibaʷn. Ho roʷmɛ ečukoʷn haʷlər gati no haʷlɛ mɛl oʷmi bai.i, šapik uʷčai.i. Čstaʷdiŋ dutsun γəriŋ nʿɛtan tamaša ečʿaʷn. Ho iʷlčumutsɛ itigaʷri (*or*, itigaʷr tali) burʿum da niʷlɛ tikumuts gəroʷni ečaʷn.

Ho sa pari.ɛn dyʿuʷasumər Thamuɛ hukum bila gəroʷni baman uyoʷn itɛ guntsulo mərakaʷr duʷišaʷn. Qadiʷmtsum miraʷs bila uyoʷntsum uyər mərakʿaʷr Diramatiŋɛ gəroʷni uyər di.ušaʷn. Ho ilji iski

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1 *manoteki doʷrčaʷn* — These and the following supplies appear to be prepared by the Bridegroom's father. They are presumably those produced and consumed in the Bridegroom's house when the guests and the Bride and Groom have gone there after the conclusion of the actual marriage ceremony by the Akhund in the Bride's father's house. V. p. 304 l. 21.

i. — is probably the Corroborative Pronoun, "for the *xamali* itself" i. e. 'by itself, separately'.

2 *aʷlto talečoqiŋ* — a *čoq* or *čok* is said to be 12 seers i. e. 24 lbs. avoirdupois. So 2 × 7 × 24 = 336 lbs.

Otherwise, a *talečoq* is said to be = 2 maunds
= 160 lbs.
in which case 2 *talečoq* = 320 lbs.

gul — i. e. *guʷl* as in l. 2 p. 298 and also in a note. Here glossed as "Bride's party" consisting no doubt of her family connections, corresponding to *eʷčukoʷn* the Bridegroom's "tribal brethren, the members of his tribe related to him".

saʷatər nobaren i. e. 'the mullahs look for a (favourable) time for making them'. The day or days for holding marriages are, however, fixed by the Tham.

4 *daŋ oʷčaʷn* — a note says that "baking is carried on in both houses".

5 *ʂuʷçaʷn* — is here probably used in its special sense of 'slaughtering (with a view to eating'). It here explains what meat they cook. The number of goats depends on the means of the household.

6 *tišk neʷyan* — The dagger is stuck in the waistbelt at the left side.

7 *hik nika biluʷmanɛ* — glossed as "a once-married woman who has had a child", but it must be a 'once-married man', having regard to *ʿeʷəbiljai.i*.

The phrase is interesting grammatically. The Bride, a note adds, is also dressed up and oil put on her hair, etc.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then they grind the *manotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmiting bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gəre mojok* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 γəriŋ — the songs are in Shina.

10 *tikumats* — *ni·le* must be the genitive of *ni·l* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gəromi — originally written *gəromo*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gəromi* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gəromo*, 'bridegrooms'.

12 *ite gontsulo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *mərʌk'aw* — this is in front of the Fort at Bāltit.

in a low voice replies: "I am content." Three times he asks the Bride and three times he asks the Bridegroom whether they are content. Then, reciting the Khutba, he gives a little water in a cup first to the Bride who drinks a little, and what remains over he gives to the Bridegroom, who drinks it all down at a gulp.

They perform the marriage in the house of the Bride's father. For poor people in Hunza the bride-price is not large. It is twenty-four cubits of sized cotton cloth of which the price is five rupees. They fix the bride-price at five rupees. When the Thams marry among themselves the bride-price for them is very big. They fix (it at) a thousand rupees or five hundred rupees.

Then they go out to the Bridegroom's house. They make three or four sets of cotton clothes for the girl. They call them "Tosh Gatu" (the New Clothing). They put a veil (over her head) and they put earrings in her ears and fix a tassel on her cap and then they bring her out of her father's house. As they bring her out they sing bridal songs in her honour and the girl weeps, and her father and mother weep.

Then the girls, children and women collect and come (along with her) to the Bridegroom's house. When they have arrived at his door (his people) bring out *Tomal* (smoke of Syrian rue) and *Khamali* to them and the Bridegroom and Bride touch the hearth-stones (with their fingers) and kiss them, and taking each other by the hand they each simultaneously put a foot down inside the threshold in the house. The Bride, entering the house, first touches the hearth-stone with her fingers and kisses her fingers. Then they take the Bride and make her sit down at the upper end of the room at the foot of the main pillar of the house. They bring trays to the Bride's party and they eat food. When they have eaten they go off to their own houses.

17 *tsəriš wlo* — both must step over the threshold at the same moment. The one who may chance to step over first will be inferior. The hinder one's star will be "buland" i. e. he or she will be dominant. A sly man may push his bride over first.

18 *šutinʌts tsʌp ne* . . . — touching with the fingers and then kissing the fingers is a demonstration of respect. Here the Bride's thought is said to be: "God bless this house to me".

when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases. 852 304

The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery. 582 304

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West. 582 [584]

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails. 585 [671]

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare. 586

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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Hunza
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[562] [5P4] MIR'S DAUGHTER, the Princess Nilofar, is spokesman for Hunza's women, who, despite public segregation and their low status, never are forced to marry against their will.

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two: cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it is virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[354] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apri-cot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[262] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
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Burusho AV7

D 584 Marriage is the occasion for much ceremony, which differs slightly in each locality. Though the young people B 584 often arrange a marriage between themselves, it is more usual for the match to be arranged by the parents. After determining by private negotiation the conditions of the match, the bridegroom's father proceeds to make a formal proposal. Dressed in his gayest clothes, and accompanied by his friend, he visits the bride's family, who are assembled to meet him, taking with him certain presents, such as a cow or sheep, beads, clothes, and a sword or gun. The formal demand for the bride having been made and assented to, an interchange of presents takes place. In Chitral, Wakhan, and Sirikol the bride has a bracelet of beads placed on her arm by the bridegroom's father. In Gilgit, cedar branches are burnt, and the bride's parents are presented with a knife, a rope, a few yards of cloth, and a leather bag for holding grain; the bridegroom's father receives in return some wool and a gourd. This interchange of gifts is apparently emblematical. In Torwal the price of the bride is paid over at this time, and the bridegroom's father is accompanied by men dressed as women, who dance and sport to the assembled company. In some places it is not etiquette for the bridegroom to be present. D The betrothal being completed, the marriage may not follow 585 for some time, but it generally takes place within the following year. For convenience marriages generally take place in B 585 January and February. There is then no agricultural work to occupy the men, and the houses are well stored with meat. So firmly established is the custom in Nager, that a heavy fine is inflicted on marriages held at any other season.

The fixing of the day for the marriage now rests with the bridegroom's parents. After giving private notice, a smartly-dressed friend of the bridegroom is sent to announce formally that he will arrive on a certain day to claim his bride. Certain prescribed presents are interchanged on the occasion. On the appointed day the bridegroom, surrounded by his friends and equipped with bow, arrows, and battle axe, sets out for the bride's house. The bride remains in the inner apartments, dressed in her gayest clothes with a fillet of cowrie shells bound on her head. This decoration is said to have been introduced by the Shins, and is obligatory among them. On entering the house branches of cedar are burned in an iron dish and waved about over the bridegroom's head, and the party is sprinkled with flour. In Wakhan and Sirikol the bridegroom is met and sprinkled with flour

584 sonal preferences carry weight. The business preliminaries include a small payment from the bridegroom's people in recognition of the fact that the bride's family have had the expense of rearing her and are about to lose her services, an interchange of gifts between the houses, and the provision
585 by the bride's father of an outfit for his daughter. In average peasant families a girl will bring to her new home three sets of every-day cotton clothes and caps, a winter cloak, a set of bedding, and for feast days an embroidered cap or two and a coloured scarf; possibly in addition an aluminium pot or iron bucket; details will vary in every individual case.

428 The laws of inheritance in Hunza show the same equitable
585 common sense as distinguishes the Burusho's other customs. A woman cannot inherit land, since only a man can tackle irrigation work, field making, and so forth. But if a girl is still unmarried when her father dies, it is her brothers' duty to see her adequately outfitted, dowried, and settled. Among the gifts that may accompany a girl are apricot trees; her father or brothers may settle on her the right to the fruit of one or more of the family trees. Our friends of No. 3, who were very straitened and possessed only mulberry trees, had fortunately the right to an apricot tree in Zénába's home garden. We saw Kaníza and her sisters coming home one day, all carrying shoulder-baskets piled high with golden apricots: "We've been to Báltít to gather the fruit of mother's tree," they told us, "and this isn't nearly all. There's shaking-down for two or three days more." When the father dies the family property is fairly divided between the sons, who either work it in common or if they prefer divide it up. Questions then arise as to how many poplars equal an apricot tree, or how many willow trees a wheat field, but the distribution rarely gives rise to quarrels, for the people are just-minded and at need will call in neighbours to adjudicate over knotty points.

428 One of their customs is particularly sane: if a father of
587 grown sons elects to marry again, he is free to do so, but in that case he must share the property as if he were himself a son; and a son by the second wife will only inherit a grandson's
587 share. If a woman is widowed young, she will in the natural

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any un- 587
weaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *rúli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. 585
She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to 614
be "a daughter of the Buróng," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gímo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of 607
fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will 431
ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltít, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltít when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza 561
is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific inno- 888
vations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

888 One day when we were visiting a wine-press, far below the old fort and its graveyards, I made friends with a dear little boy of five who seemed exceptionally active and intelligent, even in a country where all children are peculiarly alive and bright. A beautiful old woman joined us, her handsome face framed by two becoming silver plaits. "Tawálut must be your grandson," I ventured. "'Deed then and he's not," she retorted, "he's my great-grandson. His father was my favourite grandson, and when the poor wife died at this baby's birth, I took and suckled him myself"—a feat with which not many of our great-grandmothers could compete. But of course if you marry at sixteen, you may with luck be a great-grandmother by fifty. Still, it was a good effort, and the boy was an excellent witness to her vitality.

[162] 147 The Burusho population is not large, ten thousand or so at most, and the ramification of well-remembered pedigrees—the humblest can record his genealogy for an astounding number of generations back—brings it about that all families seem ultimately related to one another. It may be this racial purity, judiciously combined with avoidance of close in-breeding, that has produced a stock so markedly fit and healthy. Travelling up through Astor, Gilgit, and Nagir to Hunza, the strong contrast in physical fitness and general intelligence is apparent to the most casual observer; and anyone who knows the races of the Agency will engage a Hunza servant in preference to any other.

585 Marriages normally take place in winter when the people have leisure to give thought to new alliances. The solemn betrothal, presided over by a khalifa, is the effective part of the ceremony. It is usually performed in the bride's house in a semi-private gathering attended only by the members of the families concerned. We were most anxious to be allowed to see one, but by no means hopeful of securing the privilege, to which of course we had not the slightest claim. The servants promised to negotiate matters if possible, and at last Dádo brought us word one day that a girl-relation of Sagi's was about to be betrothed and her people were willing to invite us, but said: "We are poor folk, and our house is humble and we feel

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

● 585 ashamed." We sent Sagi off with all the reassuring messages we could devise and a couple of bottles of our hoarded kerosene to help to light the feasting. The house lay near our own, down one steep lane and across some now open fields. We were met some yards outside the door and escorted in. The kind people had vacated one entire dais for us, which drove some of the younger folk on to the roof, and we could see bright eyes peeping in through the smoke-hole. The whole house was clean and swept and gay with rugs and carpets; the fire was bright, and over it capacious cooking-pots were [302] simmering. On the major dais, opposite us, four people only were in evidence: the khalifa, whose badge of office was a huge pair of spectacles; the bridegroom in a bright silk overdress, a new *choga*, and cap of spotless white homespun (his eyes were blackened and a row of tiny dots of black becomingly distributed on his cheek bones); the "best man" and an equivalent representative of the bride, probably a maternal uncle. Every available inch of other space was gradually filled with members of the two families who, as they arrived at the door, were ceremonially sprinkled on cap and left shoulder with flour. The bride's father was standing near the store-room door, the mother modestly just inside it. Probably but for our space-consuming presence—which filled us with some compunction—they would have been seated on the second dais.

After we had taken our places and had exchanged greetings and congratulations all round, the simple but impressive ceremony began. The khalifa, with his open manuscript, sat at the outer edge of the dais, the bridegroom squatting beside him on his left, while the two best men stood gravely facing them. A railing, hung with a silk curtain, screened the further section of the dais, where the bride was temporarily concealed, supported by her brothers and maternal uncles. The service was in Persian, with a strong admixture of Arabic, and was read—or repeated from memory—clearly and reverently in a pleasant sing-song recitative, which rose to a beautiful intoning when rehearsing the names of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Forgiver of Sins.

When the religious exercise was over, the khalifa reverted

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

585

to the Burushaski of everyday, and enquired of the father whether the milk-money had been duly agreed on. "Yes," he replied, "500 rupees (about £35)." This left us fairly gasping till the colloquy went on: "And are you willing to remit 20 rupees in the name of Allah?" "Assuredly." "And 20 rupees in the name of the Prophet, on whom be peace?" "Agreed." "And 40 rupees in the name of the Imáms?"—and so on. The khalifa eventually thus worked the sum down to 40 rupees (£3). We afterwards heard criticisms of what was otherwise acknowledged to have been a fine performance of the khalifa's: he should have persevered till he got the milk-money down to 5 rupees (= 7s. 6d.); "but it doesn't matter, they won't in any case pay more; seven and sixpence is the current rate."

Then the embers of the fire were blown upon and some Syrian Rue thrown in, which filled the house with a delightful smell of incense. The khalifa now turned to the bridegroom: "I now ask of you, So and So, the son of So and So, Barataling, are you willing to take this girl, Rahil, daughter of So and So, Khurukuts, to be your wedded wife?" The question was put three times, and three times the bridegroom answered clearly: "Yes, willing." Then the girl's uncle, acting as her best man, stepped to the screen and looking over proposed to her the complementary question, and her voice answered: "Yes, willing, willing, willing."

The bridegroom's best man now lifted a silken handkerchief off a small wooden cup of water which the uncle had been holding all the while and passed the cup to the priest, who breathed over it in blessing, and gave it to the bridegroom, who solemnly—and audibly—sipped three times. The uncle now took the cup and passed it under the silken curtain to the bride, who did likewise. The two were now man and wife; the silk curtain was withdrawn and the bride tenderly led out. This courtesy might have been performed by the officiating uncle, but it seemed that he had been twice married, so another male relative, "the husband of one wife," gave her his arm. Bride and groom then seated themselves with linked arms side by side in the centre of the dais while a flat platter of

2; Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

585 very thin wheaten pancakes was brought and presented to them. The bridegroom broke a piece of bread and, before eating, ceremonially touched with it his lips and forehead. The gesture was not unlike that with which a devout Roman Catholic crosses himself before meat. The bride followed suit, and then [292] retired again to her corner now unscreened. She was dressed in red silk and wore a pair of red-dyed soft leather boots; a tinsel scarf shot with gold and orange had been flung over her cap.

The ceremony was now complete, so we said good-bye to our host and hostess, thanking them most warmly for having allowed strangers to come, and pressing into their hands a modest gift of silver for the young husband and a bundle of embroidery silks wrapped in silver paper for the bride. With all-round greetings and best wishes we then withdrew, winning a special smile from the bride, leaving the two families to get down unembarrassed to their feast.

The silken handkerchief which covers the ceremonial drinking-cup is one of the perquisites of the khalifa, and we heard that—having no use for it himself—he usually trades it off to the next clients who summon him for a betrothal, and so it goes the rounds.

It had for a time looked as if we should altogether fail to witness a betrothal, but the ice having now been broken, we were honoured by several further invitations. We accepted one other in which the bridegroom was a relative of Qudrat Ullah's. It more or less duplicated the first; the khalifa recited somewhat less well, and the whole proceedings seemed to us a trifle less well organized. When the milk-money discussion was proceeding Qudrat Ullah suddenly broke in: "Oh, cut the cackle, and get down to five rupees at once!" The suggestion was duly acted on amid much laughter. The fictitious figure first quoted is a compliment to the bride, and in Nagir it is the custom, we were told, to start at thousands of imaginary rupees. This second bride was unusually plain, poor girl—scarcely worth 7s. 6d. at prevailing rates, we thought.

David was pressed to take photographs, which he duly tried to do. It was no easy task in a smoke-darkened, crowded room,

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event. 585

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will. 585 586

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all. 591

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of 843 833 513 853 842 163

addressed to each of the four corners of the shed. To our 788
amazement we saw by the light of the flames that the shed was chock full of goats (we had imagined that they would have been cleared out for the ceremony) who seemed not in the least perturbed. Nadíro then came out again and lit a torch of juniper twigs at the fire and went in to wave it similarly into each of the four corners. Bíbi Anjír then handed [262]
down a big wooden basin of *múl* which looked like a rather slushy brown pudding with pinkish trimming on top. This festive dish is made only on special occasions, such as a child's birth or the like. Before starting in to eat the *múl* or hand it round, the old man took his stand in the door of the byre and with great dignity and reverence lifted his eyes to heaven and recited the fumigating prayer. Bits of it ran something like this: "O Moses, Holy Prophet, grant that one hundred milking vessels may be required, and that our shears may be used on a hundred sheep! May kid follow after kid and lamb after lamb! May there be rams with curly horns and he-goats with short horns turned in! May milk flow in floods and may the butter pit be filled with butter!"

Happily DL had already got the prayer written down so [233]
we were able to follow it better than if we had been hearing it for the first time, and were even able to note that the Ustád got it a bit mixed in parts. We ascertained what was the point of the "short horns turned in." It is simply a question of packing. The byres are small and the beasts have all got to live crowded together in them throughout the winter, so that a princely he-goat with spreading horns is a disaster to his owner and a danger to his fellows.

Now came the moment when the family and friends would tuck into the *múl*, and we thanked our kind hosts most warmly for letting us see the little ceremony, and fled to the warmth of our own fire and our butterless tea. I was in terror lest we should be pressed to partake of the *múl* which is so special a dish that it was sure to be reeking of priceless *mahzah*—of which we had no wish to rob them.

The next item on the Hunza communal programme is the 585 ●
Great Wedding Day, which falls about mid-December on some 787
Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners.

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

585 Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners. The sensible plan prevails of having all weddings celebrated on the same day throughout the country. This avoids all cross-entertaining and much reduces expense. The hungriest guest cannot attend more than one big feed at a time. All betrothals have taken place quietly a few weeks earlier at each family's own convenience. The Wedding Day is only the jollification which sets the seal of publicity on the existing private contract.

All the morning feasting is in progress at the bridegroom's house, attended by the menfolk of both families and by twelve of the bridegroom's tribal brothers who act as his "best men." In the early afternoon the bridegrooms and their guests all repair to "The Gate" of their village where every spare space is already packed with spectators. The women and children are collected roughly at one side, the men and boys at the other, but there is no taboo about this, and no offence is given if one or another happens to stray into or wishes to pass through a crowd of the other sex, nor was it thought odd or unseemly that I usually sat beside DL amongst the men.

585 292 Before we arrived, the tops of walls, the branches of the nearest trees, and all the adjacent roofs were packed (till we feared the slight rafters were bound to give). Everybody had turned out in their best and brightest clothes, our little boy and girl friends almost unrecognizable, their jolly little fringes soaked in oil and plastered down into most unwonted and unbecoming tidiness. The women and girls were very gay with bright-coloured scarves flung over their prettiest caps; poor ones might have only a piece of chintz or muslin, but by far the greater number sported lengths of Bukhara silk in daring blendings of bright green, yellow, red, blue, or purple. The general effect was delightful, and the bunches of womenfolk on the roofs would have needed colour photography to do them justice. Not to be wholly outdone, the men had coloured cotton shirts of marvellous hues and gay silken embroidery trimming their woollen chogas.

The Bérichó band, with big drum, pipe, and kettledrums,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

squatted at the base of a big tree, and the tribal brothers of 585
each bridegroom led him to the dance. The Diramiting led off 292
and the other clans followed in their recognized order of precedence. Each unhappy bridegroom was amazingly got up. Instead of his ordinary homespun cap he was coiffed with an exotic white or coloured turban with a tuft of feathers at one side held in place by a fancy brooch and a dangling string of beads looped on to it. A brightly coloured silk shirt floated out over a startlingly white pair of baggy cotton trousers and (if he could afford it) a loose silk robe replaced his normal homespun *choga*. He carried in his right hand an old-fashioned 293
battle-axe tied with silken ribbons, and in this gaudy attire he looked as ill at ease as bridegrooms the world over.

The picturesqueness of the Hunza dancing, which is the 535
mainstay of every form of merry-making, is nowadays much 585
impaired by dancers who have acquired short-sleeved, would- [177]
be European shooting-jackets or tight trousers, or—worse still—have adopted tennis shoes or ammunition boots or some other form of horrible non-local footgear instead of the orthodox bare feet or soft leather boot. When carried out in the correct dress of the country Hunza dancing is amusing and interesting. Most of the footwork is merely a variant of a sort of polka-step—now short, now long, now in great leaps, now in fierce stamps, now on the toe, now on the flat foot. There is one characteristic step which would require a lot of practice: with one knee bent very deep, you rotate on that foot giving regular little taps on the ground with the other till the circle is complete; then you reverse and repeat in the opposite direction.

Each dancer dances independently, but the five or ten in the ring at any one moment all try to synchronize their steps in time to the music. The footwork, however, is but a small part of the dance; what is most admired is the action of the body and of the arms; these are waved and flung about and bent in a hundred different patterns. The long *choga* sleeves which dangle 6 or 8 inches below the hand give a most fantastic effect to these gestures.

When the second bridegroom's group came to dance they

2: Larimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

535 585 [643] when the second bridegroom's group came to dance they were joined by a young princeling (a morganatic grandson of the Mir's) and a small friend of his, both in lovely silken gowns. They were a picturesque wee pair. The younger was about six, and his fond mother had got him up as a bridegroom, complete to the blackened eyes and fantastic dots on the cheek bones. The two boys polkaed round, stamping their bare feet and waving their tiny arms in perfect imitation of the grown-ups, and whenever they were in danger of being danced down, some kind hand would gently shove them to a safer place in the centre, where they went on gyrating. It was a jolly scene. Whenever there was room other small boys would join in; each normally venturing to do so only when his own clansmen were dancing. Once or twice some little dare-devil would intrude into the wrong group, and another small boy would try to punch his head. At once good-humoured bystanders would collar the pair and dump them out of mischief at some distance from each other.

All the spectators were very merry in their orderly way, and there were bursts of applause at frequent intervals. No small share of the fun was contributed by the bandsmen, who varied the time and pace and worked the dancers up to a fine climax. The big drummer of Aliábád is an old humorist called Húko. He waves his body and his arms about as he lustily attacks his drum and chaffs the dancers: "Go it, man! Leap, can't you, leap! Do you call that *dancing*? What are your legs for? Let your body swing, man! Get a move on there! Wave your arms, can't you? Oh, come alive!" etc., etc. The kettle-drummer flaunts his two sticks and wags his head, but being a younger and less privileged person than Húko does not venture on any verbal chaff. The poor piper who has mouth and hands glued to his funny-looking instrument that is half flute half trumpet just flings his body about and looks volumes. All three are so very much alive and on the spot that they imply that nothing else in life is quite such fun as playing while other men dance and marry. Their special efforts on such occasions are rewarded by extra gifts of bread, flour, and butter.

After about an hour and a half we came away, but for long after we could still hear the dance-music going on.

after we could still hear the dance-music going on. When 585
dusk begins to fall the bridegroom betakes himself with his train of tribal brothers to his bride's house, where feasting is resumed. When the guests can eat no more or the food is finished—which ever happens first—the bridegroom's party carry off the bride to her new home. In theory they carry her all the way, but as that may be for some miles across rough country they frankly admit that they soon set her down and let her walk herself, but carry her again when near their goal. On arrival the bridegroom's family welcome her at the door with incense and thin bread. Then the pair take hands and step over the threshold together putting their feet down simultaneously. The bride then advances to the hearth which is henceforth to be her own. She touches the hearth-stones with her fingers which she then kisses. She is then led to the seat of honour by the main pillar of the house and food is brought for her party, who presently return home. A brother or maternal uncle and a bridesmaid remain with her that first night.

Next morning the mother-in-law leads the bride to the flour bin and sets her to bake thin wheaten bread. She kneads the flour, rolls out the thin pancake, and flings it on the griddle for the waiting bridegroom to turn. If she spoils the bread he is entitled to tap her with the bread-turner; if, on the other hand, he botches the baking she is entitled to smack him with the rolling-pin.

The last public episode before the Great Cold is the 796
Tumushelling, the Midnight Bonfire of the Winter Solstice, a ceremony which, so far as anyone could tell us, had never before been witnessed in Hunza by a European, and small wonder, for late December is no time for a Political Agent to be on tour nor for globe-trotters to trot. We owed our chance of seeing it to our temerity in wintering on the spot. The [805]
Hunzukuts have long since adopted the Muslim Nauroz (the vernal equinox) as their official New Year, but not improbably their earlier custom was to reckon the turn of the year from mid-winter.

We had been told that we should be awakened in the small

291 loan of it. In Kanízah's house (No. 3), though they are very, very poor, they are lucky enough to possess a woman's cloak of feather-wool. It looks extremely cosy and furry—though very old and greasy—with feathers sticking out all over it. When you can get enough down you spin the feathers in with the wool [136] before you weave it. You can only use the breast feathers of the wild duck for the purpose, and it must take a lot of wild duck, which are seasonal and rare, to yield enough for seven yards of feather cloth. This cloak of No. 3 is the only one we have seen. So we watch "the cloak" go out for walks—now on Zenába, the cheery old mother, who is one of the few really ugly women here but who always wears a happy grin that would redeem any face, now on Apicho, the eldest unmarried daughter who seems to be always on the point of getting wed but always just failing for some reason to pull it off.

511 We eventually discovered the reason for No. 3's extreme and obvious poverty. Poor Zenába had produced five girls, including a pair of twins, and only one boy, the second youngest child. Yaman (in full Ali Aman Shah) was one of our best boy friends, a bright, intelligent boy full of life and fun and knowledge, and good at all boys' games, but he was only ten or thereabouts, and not yet able to help his father in the heavier work of irrigating, wall building, ploughing, etc., and poor Ali Akbar looked worn and frail with six to provide for single-handed—not to mention the rare extravagance of the cat. Yaman manfully did all he could, and in addition when he could be spared from home trudged four mountain miles to Báltít to attend the school there with the Mir's grandsons and a few other ambitious boys. A great little fellow, with (as far as we could see) a hard enough life before him.

Yet No. 3 was one of the most cheerful and most hospitable houses round.

511 We supposed that Apicho's prospective bridegroom was as
● 585 poor as she, and when the two families came to tot up the
302 necessary wedding feasts they just couldn't face it. Certainly it had missed fire twice after we had heard that the date was fixed (you can in certain circumstances get from the Mir a special

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

licence to marry at irregular dates). Meantime no one seemed 511
unduly cast down, and Apicho continued to grow her hair so 585 ●
as to be ready. Sometimes it stuck out all round her head in 302
about a hundred tiny plaits, on other days she had a wonderful, if somewhat shaggy, mane of frizzy hair about 5 inches long. She was a dear.

The small boys and girls have the centre of their heads 302
close shaven (a cleanly and sensible arrangement) with just a neat fringe left all round to show below their caps; married women wear, hanging down beside their faces, two plaits which are knotted up into two balls to be well out of the way. It is a most becoming style of hair-dressing. The plaits softly frame the face and the two balls dance merrily about. When a girl reaches thirteen or fourteen and marriage beings to loom ahead, she starts growing her hair in some variety of bob as a practical preparation for the state of matrimony.

We went off to one of the deep open reservoirs hoping in 296
the good light to get a photograph of the cattle being watered at the usual time. But, alas! the nice bright day must have modified their time-table, for not the ghost of a beast turned up. On the way we saw a pretty young woman whom we knew, doing some washing. She was squatting in the sun on a stone sofa beside a pool which was still covered with thick ice and dipping the clothes in through a hole she had broken for the purpose. She then laid the wet garment on the stone and whacked it with a thick wooden beater. Further on, Najat of No. 1 was washing some tattered pieces of felt, probably to pluck down for shoddy. She had flung them into shallow water and was vigorously trampling them while chunks of ice clattered round her ankles. A hardy folk the Hunzukuts.

As we came back we found a large group of women and 524
children on the main road, and one of the wee girls had a "doll." This consisted simply of one piece of stick with some rags hung round it and two cross sticks for arms which were jointed on and neatly attached to a piece of string so that they waved about when you pulled. They made it "dance" for us with much amusement and laughter, but we could not detach the doll and its owner from the crowd to get a decent photograph.

No. XXXIII.

Hunzulo Gəre Dastur.

000 Hire iˈyər gusan dumuˈtsasər rak etimi ke, amine eˈyen bo ke iˈne ka guˈl manaˈsər rai etimi ke, iˈne haˈlər hin iˈmo jaˈman ya gəruˈrum sisan hərəŋuš e dˈuˈmərčər ˈeˈrčai.i. Iˈnər "hərəŋuš" se.ibaˈn.

Ine hərəŋuše ine haˈle niˈn adabe ka oˈšai.i: "Kuˈlto je falaˈnə
5 ine hire iˈyər Xuda ke Peγambəre hukumate go.i duˈmərčər daˈrai.i, 'ja aiˈyər goˈi jo' nusen." Ine hiˈre iˈte guntsulo hərəŋušər e yuˈyase bər ˈečičˈai.i. "Ye be maimi bəreˈyen," nusen, ˈeˈrčai.i.

Yat guntsi ke hərəŋuš iˈne haˈlər ničai.i. Ho yuˈyasər bər ičičai.i. Hərəŋuš daˈl numˈa, "jati ditsu.in" nusen, doˈutsun iˈi dasin daγoˈwaŋe
10 mudəljai.i. Ho, "Falaˈnə guntse gər ečeˈn, fulaˈnə guntse dau.u waščen, da fulaˈnə šukuro pfuˈl hanik dišen" nusen, nukuˈškin hilˈeˈsər dasin(er) musal gi baˈn.

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gəre dastur — gər stas was given as an alternative for *gəre*, and *mirasˈ* for *dastur*.

3 *gəruˈrum sisan* — "a warm person", cp. the English, "a warm friend".

6 *ja aiˈyər* — Ms. *ja iˈyər*, doubtless owing to the running together of the *ja* and the pronoun prefix *a-*. There are other instances of *a + i → ai* as well as *→ e*.

7 *bər* — seems here to be used in the sense of "promise", as in English "he gave his word".

9—10 *daγoˈwaŋe mudəljai.i* — a note adds that he sprinkles the flour on her head.

10—11 *dau.u waščen* — A sort of technical term also denoting a ritual act. I take it as meaning literally: to put the griddle on the fire.

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The griddle also plays an important role in the Shin marriage ritual. The term used in Shina is *tavo doˈrki*, 'placing the griddle (on the fire')'. It is rather surprising that the words used in the Burushaski account for "Marriage" "bridegrooms party" "bride" and "bridegroom", *gər*, *gəroˈni* and *gəroˈno*, are Shina (or shared with Shina).

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXXIII.

Marriage Custom in Hunza.

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When a man proposes to get a wife for his son, and decides to enter into marriage-relationship with someone who has a daughter, he sends one of his own relations or a personal friend to the man's house as an intermediary to ask for his daughter. The delegate they call a "herangush."

The intermediary goes to the man's house and says to them politely: "Today such and such a man has sent me, in accordance with the command of God and the Prophet, to ask for your daughter for his son. He says: 'Give me your daughter for my son.'" That day the man gives the intermediary no promise to give him his daughter. He dismisses him saying: "Well we shall see what will happen."

The next day too the intermediary goes to the house and then the man promises to give him (the girl). The intermediary standing up says: "Bring me a dish (of flour)." When he has got them to bring it he himself sprinkles the girl with the flour. Then they consult together saying: "We shall celebrate the marriage on such and such a day, and on such and such a day we shall 'put on the griddle,' and on such and such a Friday we shall fetch the dishes (of food, from the Bridegroom's house)," and they betroth the girl to the youth.

šukoro pful hʌnik dišen — Friday i. e. the day before the marriage; all marriages being celebrated on Saturday. 585

From a note I gather that the *pful hʌnik* are taken from the bridegroom's house (presumably to the bride's) and contain: *dirʌmpfi·ti*, apricot oil and ghee; and that the bridegroom's representatives take with them (on their persons?) two sets of clothes, one of which is kept and the other sent back. 584

Then they grind the *manotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmitīng bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gəre mujuk* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 γəriŋ — the songs are in Shina.

10 *tikumuts* — *niʼle* must be the genitive of *niʼl* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gəroʼni — originally written *gəroʼno*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gəroʼni* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gəroʼno*, 'bridegrooms'.

12 *ite guntsulo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *mərʌkʼaʼr* — this is in front of the Fort at Bāltit.

Then afterwards the (grooms of the) other three tribes come out. Then the Tham also comes out to the place of assembly, and all the bridegrooms of all the four tribes come out on to the dancing place and, forming a circle, sing songs about all the former Thams in order. They sing the songs in Shina.

One party start a song and the second party take it up from them. So doing they sing songs for a longer or shorter time. When they have finished singing in succession the songs of the Thams they then play the (slow time tune) *Bapo.è Dani* and a man of the Terakuts tribe dances before them, and the Diramiting bridegrooms dance with him. When they have danced for a little they salām to the Tham and sit down. Then the Hurukuts (bridegrooms) dance, and then the Burōng, and then the Berātalīng.

In this way they amuse themselves till evening. Then when evening comes the bridal parties — on the Bridegroom's part twelve or six men — go off each to the house of their respective brides. When the party enters the house they count them and slaughter a kid and the party go inside the house and sit down and sing songs for a little. Then they set food before them and, when they have eaten, the Akhond recites the Khutba in order to effect the marriage of the youth and the girl.

Then they make a relation stand up on the part of the Bridegroom, and they make a relation stand up on the part of the Bride as their representatives. They call them *wakīls*. The Akhond when he has recited the Khutba and fixed the bride-price first asks the Bride in a low voice: "Are you content with this man?" and she

10 *gəroni* — here glossed: "*H. bərartwaʼle*, groom's party; each lot go to their bride's house".

11 *gəroni hilɛs* — i. e. the Bridegroom. Similarly one may say *gəroni dʌsin* for the Bride. *tərma altʌn* — a note says that the Bridegroom's party consists of 6 or 12 persons, and the Bride's of 12.

12 *nətsʌn* — 'counting them up to six or twelve'. For the larger number perhaps the allowance of kid is increased.

17 *nəqʼʌtʌn* — past participle of γʌtʌnʌs here, and often, written *nəkʼʌtʌn*; but I have generalised *q* for the unvoiced equivalent of γ.

18 *gəronitsum* — *gəroni* is here used for "Bridegroom".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

in a low voice replies: "I am content." Three times he asks the Bride and three times he asks the Bridegroom whether they are content. Then, reciting the Khutba, he gives a little water in a cup first to the Bride who drinks a little, and what remains over he gives to the Bridegroom, who drinks it all down at a gulp.

They perform the marriage in the house of the Bride's father. For poor people in Hunza the bride-price is not large. It is twenty-four cubits of sized cotton cloth of which the price is five rupees. They fix the bride-price at five rupees. When the Thams marry among themselves the bride-price for them is very big. They fix (it at) a thousand rupees or five hundred rupees.

Then they go out to the Bridegroom's house. They make three or four sets of cotton clothes for the girl. They call them "Tosh Gatu" (the New Clothing). They put a veil (over her head) and they put earrings in her ears and fix a tassel on her cap and then they bring her out of her father's house. As they bring her out they sing bridal songs in her honour and the girl weeps, and her father and mother weep.

Then the girls, children and women collect and come (along with her) to the Bridegroom's house. When they have arrived at his door (his people) bring out *Tomal* (smoke of Syrian rue) and *Khamali* to them and the Bridegroom and Bride touch the hearth-stones (with their fingers) and kiss them, and taking each other by the hand they each simultaneously put a foot down inside the threshold in the house. The Bride, entering the house, first touches the hearth-stone with her fingers and kisses her fingers. Then they take the Bride and make her sit down at the upper end of the room at the foot of the main pillar of the house. They bring trays to the Bride's party and they eat food. When they have eaten they go off to their own houses.

17 *tsərise wlo* — both must step over the threshold at the same moment. The one who may chance to step over first will be inferior. The hinder one's star will be "buland" i. e. he or she will be dominant. A sly man may push his bride over first.

18 *šutinʌts tsʌp ne . . .* — touching with the fingers and then kissing the fingers is a demonstration of respect. Here the Bride's thought is said to be: "God bless this house to me".

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 Hin muˈŋgo ya muˈlusan huruˈšai.i. Hin dasˈinan gəroˈnimu ka huruˈšabo. Inɛmur "mokaˈtum dasin" se.ibaˈn. Nukˈučɛn tsoˈrdinɛr ho dasin xamali moˈbišɛčər moˈasguse (*or*, moˈaskuse) tsayurɛtum dayo.aŋ dusuˈčər mutsuˈčubo. Dasˈinɛ tsayurate han pˈači.ɛn ya
5 burˈi.e dustsakan moˈsgusmur fat ɛčubo. Dastuˈr bila isɛ gatu moˈsgusɛ yoˈljubo.

Jati.ulo dayo.aŋ dusun ine gəroˈnimur moyuˈibaˈn. Dɛˈqulai.i bo, xamali bišačər duyuˈuski bo. Gəroˈnu.ə yuˈsɛ xamali šar nɛ dawatɛ bišamər inɛ ɛltalai bai.i. Gəroˈni.ɛ xamali ɛˈkušɛlumo kɛ gəroˈnu.ɛ
10 mučuˈškatɛ duwaq moˈučai.i. In ɛltalaniš aiyeˈmanum ˈekušɛlimi kɛ yuˈse yaisɛ duwaq ɛčubo. Gutɛ yərum zamanaˈtsum dastuˈr bila.

Ho usko waˈlto xamaličiŋ daŋ ɛtumər dau dayo.aŋɛ niˈdɪlin diˈušaˈn. Ho xamali moˈbišai.ɛs muˈŋgo ya muˈlus mokaˈtum dasin
15 kɛ uˈimo hˈakičaŋər ničaˈn.

Ho gər nɛ iskikutsum aŋaro guntsɛ yus muˈyər kaˈ ˈoˈgučačaˈn. Aŋaro tsoˈrdimo Hunzu.ɛ dastuˈr bila tumišɛliŋɛ pfu bišɛčˈaˈn. Inɛ gəroˈno yuˈsmu ka nukuˈčɛn iwˈatatɛ tɛil nutˈin toˈntsatsɛ girašər jučai. Nikiˈrat iˈmo haˈlər nimər yu ˈiˈmi.ɛ eˈr mul ɛčaˈn. Ise mul
20 šičai.i. Isɛr "oˈtiki mul" se.ibaˈn. Yərum zamanaˈtsum dastuˈr bila.

Dasˈinmur mu mumi.ɛ haˈlum gərər aˈlto iski sərmutsiŋ kanˈiˈ kɛ

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2 *mokaˈtum dasin* — is in effect a "Bride's Maid", but the precise meaning of *mokaˈtum*, from **-akaˈtum*, is doubtful. It is used of a person in one's service.

8 *dawatɛ* — *dau* + *atɛ*.

13 *dau dayo.aŋɛ niˈdɪlin* — "striking the griddle with flour" the idea is probably "sprinkling it with flour", as in l. 9 p. 298.

14 *moˈbišai.ɛs* — i. e. *mu* + **-abišai.as*. the agent form of the Causative.

[585] 16 *iskikutsum aŋaro* — Tuesday: because marriages are always celebrated on Saturday.

17 *tumišeliŋɛ pfu* — vide Vocab. s. v. There is a difficulty here as *tumišeliŋ* appears 805 to be a period of a few weeks about midwinter, and the fire appears to be connected with the *Šiˈri Badat* myth

This would seem to imply that marriages only take place within a fixed period at midwinter. Perhaps the marriage fire is only similar to, or derived from, the *tumišeliŋ* fire.

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One of the brothers of the Bride's mother or one of the Bride's own brothers stays with the Bride, and one girl stays with her. They call this girl the *Mokātum Dasin* (bridesmaid). Then after sleeping (the night), in the morning the (bride's) mother-in-law takes the Bride away to fetch flour from the flourbin and to make her bake *khamali*. On the bin the Bride leaves a shirt, or an article of silver, for her mother-in-law. It is the custom for the mother-in-law to put on the garment.

They bring flour in a bowl and give it to the Bride. She kneads (dough of) it and begins to cook *khamali*. (As) wife of the Bridegroom she rolls out the dough and throws it on the griddle, and then the Bridegroom turns it. If the Bride spoils the *khamali* the Bridegroom gives her a rap with the bread-turner. If he fails to turn it and spoils it his wife gives him a rap with the rolling pin. This is the custom existing from former times.

When they have baked three or four pieces of *khamali* they throw a little flour on the griddle and take it off. After this the Bride's aunt, or sister, who has made her make the *khamali*, and the bridesmaid depart to their own homes.

Then three days after the marriage, on the Tuesday, they make the wife and husband lie together. On the Tuesday morning it is the custom in Hunza for them to set (lay? light?) the Tumishèling fire. And the Bridegroom, after lying with his wife, washes himself and comes out to dance at the Tumishèling fire. When he has danced and gone home his father and mother make *mūl* (gruel) for him and he eats it. They call it *Ōtiki Mūl*. It is a custom obtaining from ancient times.

For the Bride they prepare two or three large bags of parched grain and dried apricots (and bring them) for the wedding from

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18 *iwˈʌtʌte tsil nutin* — lit. "pouring water over his body" an idiom for "washing oneself". It is noted that he does this in private.

22 *sərmotsiŋ* — A note states that the supplies mentioned are brought by the girl's relations to her father's house one day before the marriage.

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her father's and mother's house. And they prepare for her one *chuq* (= 24 lbs.) or two *chuqs* of apricot kernels, and they provide *dīram* on a tray, and apricot-kernel oil in an oil vessel, and an adze and an axe and an iron brazier (trivet?) and a griddle and a Kashgari or Indian metal cooking pot and a bread-turner, and a quilt or blanket, and a numda.

The iron-ware (and?) domestic articles they call *mutèngi*.

That is all there is to say.

akʌru without knowledge, without reason; H. *nasma'lum*, *sarḥaq*. 000

*-*akartum* in the service of. — *arkartum ine*, we that person, those persons, in my service. *gorkartum ine hir* (*gus*) the man (woman) in your service. *ja 'kartumar ov xabar eli* tell those in my service. 94.19. *morkartum dasin* the girl who accompanies and stays with the bride for the first days after marriage. 306.2. (Probably derived from *karf* with, otherwise from *karf* condition, undertaking). [585]

*'-*akat* -iq *y.* armpit. — *akatiavum* (*akat yavum*) *biśki* hair from under his armpit. 22.8. *'akatiqyavar ja dam at'eiqaltimi* my breath did not reach (under) his armpits. 110.8. *jakuns gorko akatiavs nidilin* putting the donkey-foal under his arm. 118.4. (Perhaps *-*aqat*, cp. *-*qat*).

akhen IUB inopportune, untimely (?). H. *sarasqt*. (*a* + *khen*).

akhrf, IYB, *akṣ*, *akṣi*, pl. *akṣiṣe* strange, novel, extraordinary, remarkable; stranger. — *kine kut akṣi ḍayan śtai.i* this man says this strange thing. *akṣi dustakan* a strange thing, object. *akṣian boi.i* he is a stranger. (Cp. Sh. *akhrf* unfamiliar, inexperienced).

*-*ak*-*i* N. daughter and son, children. — *arkari*, *gokgari*, *eki*; *mokmi*, *makmari*, *orkari*. (*-*a.i* *ke* *-*i*. Cp. *-*ak* *-*ya*). [601]

akhi akhi = *akhiri akhiri* — *akhi akhi nusen hiran dayami* the man, having said thus and thus, hid himself. 378.13.

akhiri IYB, *akiri*, *akiri akiri*. — Adj. such as this, like this, of this kind. — Adv. thus, so, H. *aisa*. — *akiri halkan* a plank like this, of this sort. *akiri aiyefi* don't do thus. *akiri oman* don't be like this.

000 *ɔɔumʌn. nɔvin . . . ɔyɔmɔumʌn* they soaked their boots and leg-bandages in the water. Having done so they put them (hung them) on a stick. Having thus put them they went to sleep. 180.25. *Ʌan bʌdʌlikʌn pɔpʌti nɔv čup ne hɔrwɔ* placing a bowl beside you, sit in silence. 106.18. *ík ɔuʌs* + gen. to give a name to s.o., to call. *ínʌ ík ji bʌʌn ɔlʌm?* what name shall I give him? 102.18. *gurin* (gɔw) *ɔv* keep it in your hand. *ʌʌg ni ɔv* keep it carefully. *ɔɔum* (St.Pc.) *dikolo bɔrɔ bʌi.i, ʌpi ɔɔum dikolo* he looks in the place where he had put it, it is not in the place where he had put it. 168.20. Cp. 274.7, 342.5, 14.

ɔɔunʌs negative *ɔ-* + *ɔɔʌs* not-to say; to say "no", prohibit (?).

ɔčín, pl. *ɔčo*, h guest, visitor. — *ɔčín ʌʌs* (*-ʌʌsʌ*) to entertain as a guest. *hikum ɔčɔrik dɔumʌn* a party of guests came. 232.4. *ɔčʌ.ʌr ɔyɔunɔuo* she gave them (y pl.) to the guests. 232.7. *mʌnik ɔčo* some guests. (Sh. *ɔčo*, pl. *ɔčɔ*).

ɔčʌ y loss.

ɔčʌq, učʌq food supplies provided free (in Gujhal) to the Mir when on tour (It appears to be the same as *mʌwi*). — *ičɔčʌ uʌqo bʌp ɔɔuʌ* on that (field) they have placed the "ɔʌq" tax. 342.14. Cp. 336.8.

● 585 *ɔtiki mɔɔl* a form of food given to a bridegroom by his parents three days after his marriage. — *ínu mɔɔl ʌʌtʌi.i. ínɔr ɔtiki mɔɔl ʌʌ.ʌhʌ* he eats that "mɔɔl". They call it "ɔtiki mɔɔl". 306.20. (*ɔtiki* = copulatory, from *ɔʌʌ*. Cp. *-ʌʌ* 6).

ɔtɔuʌʌ v. *-ʌʌɔuʌʌ*.

d°-asilas d°-asilj- to wet (*of* water, rain). — *hovalts dokosilji, dosilji, dosilji* the rain will wet thee, him, them. *hovalts dosolimi, dokoselimi, dimesilimi* the rain wet me, thee, us. *gukor atosil* don't wet yourself. (Trs. of *d°-silas*. Cp. also, however, *dilas* & *°-ilas*). 000

dasin pl. *dasinants* hf girl, lass, woman (unmarried and till 1 year after marriage), "the bride" at time of wedding. — *jot dasin* a little girl. *gorkus dasin* marriageable girl. 585

Gen. *dasinmo*. 302.14.
Dat. *dasinmar*. 304.2.
Abl. *dasinmotum*. 304.1.
dasinmotu. 244.13.
Pl. *dasinants*. 304.15, 316.12.
mokatum dasin girl who accompanies bride for the first day after her marriage. 306.2. Cp. 28.19, 268.6, 287.5.

d°-askorayas v. *dosskorayas*. 000

d°-askortas v.t. to make rain, or pour, down. (Cp. *°-askortas*, 4).

d°-askatas d°-askat- to stop, prevent, hold up, block, impede. — *atoskat* don't prevent him. *doskatimi, doskatoi.i* he prevented, has prevented, him. *gotsil di.us ditsos Xorum Batale dosgatam* excavating the water-channel and bringing it along he had stopped it at the Kh. B. 383.12. (Trs. of *d°-katas*).

d°-askivas d°-askivé- to decrease, reduce, deduct. — *doskivas, doskivas*. (Cs. and Trs. of *d°-khivas*).

°-askuyas d°-askuć-, Impv. *d°-asko*, Ppa. *d°-askun*. To make descend, lower, let down, put down, set down, pull down, H. *otawna*. — *doskućam* I'll make you get down, I'll set you

115b

000 *duγwimo ʌsi* midday breakfast (a Raja's meal). *dəγwimo pʃiti* midday bread (a children's meal).

duγ'wrskinʌs, duγwrski-, Impv. *duγwrskin.*

Also: *duγwrsk-, duγwrsk-, duγwrsk-, dəγwrsk-*, to begin, commence. *tʌls kutsenmo duγwrski.ʌm* I shall begin in (after) 7 days.

A dependent verb is usually put in the dative of the infinitive: *senʌsər duγwrskinimi* he began to say. *kur manavsər duγ'wrskinimi* he began to patrol up and down. 42.15. *imu ramilʌsər duγ'wrskinimi* he began to persuade him. 374.6.

Other idioms are: *zuši stʌstu dəγ'wrskinumʌn* they began to make rejoicing. 373.22. *xamali bilʌčər duγwrski bo* she is beginning to make the "xamali" bread. 306.8. *šapik dʌŋ stʌsə* (for *stʌsərt*) *dəγwrskimai.i* he has begun to make bread. 126.10.

Fut. 1st. *sg. duγwrski.ʌm,*
duγwrskiyʌm.

Pret. 1st. *sg. duγwrskinʌm.*
2nd. *duγwrskinəma.*

601 *du.iče* N. step (relation). — *dü.ičo baba, mama* step-father, step-mother. *duičo aču, ayʌs* my step-brother, step-sister, (man speaking).

000 *duinʌt, donʌt, doni.a* y the world. — *donʌtə dolʌt* wordly wealth. *in juscanʌn du.inʌtəlo apai.i* there is no one like him in the world. 30.16. Cp. 22.2, 92.28. Ar. Prs. (Cp. Sh. *donyat*).

duisʌs v. *d*-usʌs.*

● 585 *duk -ʌŋ y.*

1. Spindle, used for spinning goat's hair.

585 2. *y* sg. and *pl*, a present formerly given by a man to his bride. It was originally 12 yards of "letta" (stand cotton cloth). This was kept and passed on to the next generation, old and dirty. It was called the "*dukhe pati*".

Ha. 5 is now nominally fixed as its pecuniary equivalent, but this is actually paid only if the woman is divorced.

3. (metaphor.) right, claim.

IUB gives *duk* = right, woman's dowry, H. *haq, mahr 'urzat ka*. V. s.v. *gor*. (Cp. perhaps Sh. *duk*, debt.

dukow *dukʼan y* shop. — *dukowalo jeda hoyag hoi* he is partner with me in the shop. *Kuwo dukowafo dimanum him* it had been made in K.'s shop. 164.15. *dukowafar* (*dimi, dumowo*) (he came, she came) to the shop. Pra. 160.12, 164.10, 168.15.

dukandow km shop-keeper. Pra.

dukhʼarat dukhʼarê to deny, repudiate, reject, refuse compliance, H. *munkir hona, inkar karna, nar marna*.

dukhʼafar, dukhat, v. *dikafar*, to be stopped, closed, impeded, H. *band hona*.

(Form of *dʰ-kafar* used when the subject is *y*).

duke duke with great pleasure, very gladly, I ask for nothing better. — *duke duke ithi* give it to him very gladly.

dukow Ppa. 2nd. sg. of *jwyar* thou having come.

ḍukwi -scale s any very small hut, hovel, N. henhouse. Ha. also used contemptuously of a house. (Cp. Sh. *ḍukwi*).

ede ke I am going to arrange your marriages, I am going to marry you off. 116.10. *ja gor ke wup gor nale ruhu* we shall celebrate my marriage and your marriage at the same time. 194.3. *M. D.s ka (ryi) gor ehini, ówu ka gor ehini* he married his grandmother to M. D. and also effected his own marriage. 184.9. *ja eripo gor bile* my own's marriage is (to come off). 10.10. *gorig ɔɔpanmen* they finished off the marriages. Cp. 16.1. *gor aiy'ehen* how she was unmarried. 244.17.

For details of the Hausa marriage customs see Text No. 58. See also the entry s.v. *ɓori*.

Add: A payment of a "*bori*", Ha. 12, is made to the Mir. The Mir and Wazir also receive payments of butter; and the four tribal magadanas are each entitled to 1½ ounce (5 lbs.) of butter. In practice they receive a half or a third of this. 585

(Cp. 8b. *gor* marriage).

gorovi scattered, strewn about, lying about. — *ahdere ówuwale f'erile gorovi ehini* he has strewn the fragments of the dragon about in the pond. 284.1. *gorovi m.nirdne* they (?) have been scattered about, they are lying about. *ówu gorbale gorovi ne fat ehen.en* scattering their corpses about they left them there. 240.3. *gorovi jager* a pitchfork (for tossing threshed crops).

gor'ei Ha. *goiiig* N. *goiiig y* sheave.

gorelten kowy "the tribe of Gorelt" a name given to a kind of bird (presumably collectively). They are black with white on the head and have long necks, frequent riverside 136

ginḍaraar, ginḍaraar the "sinjid" tree, jujube tree and fruit; IUB, Punj. *beri* (zizyphus jujuba). Ar. Pers. *'unnāb jangali.* 000

ginḍaraar ḍiin Na. a kind of bird, starling (?).

1. *gīram, gīram* h pl. community, clan, IUB II. *garah, gram;* Bu. *ayaneyn rum.* — *warlii gīram (ḥera)* the "Four Tribes" of Baltit, viz. *Dirumiliṇ, Xarulots, Bwrtaliṇ* and *Burug.* — *warlii gīramo wyoṇḍo* the headmen of the Four Tribes. *Baltitum warlii gīram gali nama Hamaiotiṇg ka ustam ekamas* the Four Tribes of Baltit assembling instituted a case(?) with the *Hamaiotiṇg.* 355.1. *warlii gīramar rajakiar* gen *ali* call on the Four Tribes for communal labour. The translation "tribes" exaggerates the significance of these divisions. 621

2. *gir'ram, g'iram* -ólig, N. -ig y.

a. Isolated houses or hamlets situated among the cultivated lands outside the "Khan", the formerly fortified village. — *Zangot[illegible] g gir'amalar* to the hamlet of Zangoting. 330.1.

b. Roofed cattle-house, for goats and sheep.

(Presumably the same word as the preceding and ultimately deriving from Skr. *grāma*).

gīrum dear, expensive, costly. Pu. 000

gir'an, pl. *gir'aiyo* s wicker basket or panier (for carrying grass, manure etc. on the back). 356.8. — *gir'ana ṇāsi* the proceeding of the bride accompanied by the bridegroom, 4 to 8 days after their marriage, to her father's house when they bring back a present of bread and dried apricots (*gilimuts ka ḥaferiṇ*). 585

sinda -*miq* y river. — *sinda hemz* the river ford. 112.7. *sinda hemz . . . ŕŕe hirŕ mawaman* they crossed backwards and forwards over the ford in the river. 114.26. *kapulo sinda ŕ'ilte* on the strand at the edge of the river. 206.13. Cp. 176.1,7 000

sind'ahal, QUB *sindaw'ŕl* hm agent who represents bride at wedding; ditto for bridegroom, H. *wakil*. — *hir yakalem hin, dasin mayakalem hin jawman sind'ahal dolŕem* they put up one relation on behalf of the bridegroom and one on behalf of the bride (as) agent(s) 302.16. 585

sindŕŕ, pl. *sindawŕz*, x goose.

singe (-*e*), -*fig*, -*mots* x dragon, monster, wild animal, lion, Pre. *shŕŕka*. Also applied to a fearless child. — *singe* *-*as* "lion hearted", very brave, dauntless. *A. K. pailuwa hem singe ye him* A. K. was a hero, he was lion-hearted. 110.22. (*him* attracted into the category of *singe* or *ye*). *hen sig'ewa dwaini ŕwa ŕk Gawa Singe* a monster (demon) came out, its name was G. S. 176.20. Cp. 176.11. 000

(The word occurs in the *Kuse* story and probably corresponds to Sengye in Dr. A. H. Francke's Ladakhi version of the tale, which he refers to the Sanskrit *simha*, lion. Cp. Tibetan *senge*, Balti *siige*, lion, brave).

sipa.i -*fig* hm sepoy, Indian infantry soldier. Pre. H.

sry -*ets*, -*ants*, N. -*sriwts* x arrow-head (N. blunt for use in games).

(Cp. *lim* with which in *ŕŕ*:-It is synonymous).

sry'a open. — *hinai wyow ashi ŕŕ'ewa' ŕŕn ŕwa eti* the doors are all open.

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the past year the total collected from fines imposed by me upon the citizens of Hunza totaled less than 200 rupees. You know that my people do not have much money. There is no way or means of earning money— except by the few. We do not require money in order to live in Hunza. Further, the full amount that was collected in this manner was used in the maintenance of the irrigation system."

[436]
[653]
[312]

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I waved my hand and said, "I only asked. I didn't think it was true, but I've read so many tales about Hunza in which ridiculous and fantastic statements are made without any justification or background."

114
585

"A few years ago," I went on, "two of the most influential and widely circulated magazines in the United States published an article by a famed and capable couple of writers—man and wife. I know they visited Hunza on two occasions because I saw their names in your guest book. Now the story they told and which both of these magazines published stated that it was a custom in Hunza for the mother-in-law to go and live with a newly married couple and remain with them on their honeymoon to teach them the ways of life. You explained that this was the reason why Hunzan marriages were so successful and there was seldom, if ever, a divorce.

"Before asking you to clarify this, I just want to tell you that I read this story and when I came to this specific part, I could hardly believe my eyes. But, as I have learned, there are many strange customs followed by different people throughout the world and of course, this could be absolutely true. But it certainly is strange and weird sounding to me anyway. So tell me, is that story true? Is it the custom of the people of Hunza to have the mother-in-law stay with the newly married couple during their honeymoon?"

114 "I said it as a joke," replied the Mir. "I had no
585 knowledge that it would be so widely publicized and written and taken as a fact. I did not mean to mislead the writers you mentioned."

"Then it is not true!"

"No," replied the Mir, "I meant it only as a joke!"

643 There was no doubt in my mind that the Mir had
115 a keen sense of humor. In fact, through all my talks
522 and discussions with the Mir which were frequent, there was seldom a time when he would pass by an opportunity for a bit of witticism or to laugh and have a bit of fun. He was just about as pleasant a man as could be found anywhere. He was not only a great ruler but he had a sense of humor. It was too bad that the writers referred to took him seriously. Maybe it was one of their bad days.

249 "Do you grow poppies here?" I asked the Mir bluntly and more or less out of the clear blue sky. I put this question to the Mir for a most definite reason.

On a few occasions I saw what I believed to be a field of flowers waving in the distance. But I wasn't sure. Invariably these patches of color were a mile or many miles away. I wondered what they were but I never could get close enough to see them. They were always sighted at great distance from where the road lay.

[123] You might ask why I didn't definitely, once and for all, set out across the field and find out. But remember, when you're in a more or less strange unusual territory, you just don't go off across the fields into someone else's private property.

All told, I doubt if I saw more than half a dozen of these patches of color during the full length of my travels. There might have been many more but I certainly didn't see them and I have an idea that if they

nature of their homeland. 000

However, the Mir pointed out to me most clearly and emphatically that intermarriage among members of one tribe is absolutely forbidden. There are four tribes in the Baltit area and they can marry among these four tribes . . . Diramiting, Khorokoch, Borong, Barataling . . . but definitely not among their own tribe. 582 143 [101]

Lest this sounds like a difficult matter to hold in check, I want to explain that this is easier to control than may be imagined, for the simple reason that all marriages must be sanctioned and performed by the Mir. Therefore he positively knows who is marrying whom. [585]

However, even if this has been the rule for many hundreds of years, the total population of Hunza, even today, stands at something less than 25,000 souls and Lord Curzon in his memoirs states that in 1894, the total population of Hunza was only 6,000. Therefore, among so small a population, it is almost impossible for them to marry very far beyond a family relationship. (In 1934 it was estimated that the population had risen to 15,000.) 161 582 143

Let's put it in another way. If the people of Hunza have remained more or less a pure people for nigh on 1,000 years and the population today is only 25,000, there must have been fairly close intermarriages. Perhaps that would, as I mentioned, account for the similarity of features.

I want to stress, at this point, that I came to Hunza primarily to learn and study (1) about their health and longevity and (2) about their means and methods of agriculture. 121

Let's examine or re-examine a few of the more pertinent details of their unusual country. 000

Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River

when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases. 852 304

The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery. 582 304

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West. 582 [584]

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails. 585 [671]

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare. 586

487 I am sure that a people who saw these caravans coming
177 and going could not be called isolated by any stretch of the imagination. They just like their little piece of paradise too well to leave it.

133 *Hunza empties into the Indus.* Two famed writers who should know better . . . or should I say, should have checked more closely . . . made the statement that the Hunza River flows into the Indus. Even a cursory glance at a map would show that the Hunza empties into the Gilgit and the Gilgit empties into the Indus.

585 *Mother-in-law taken along on honeymoon*—This bit of stupidity, or should I say absurdity, appeared in no less than two of the foremost publications in America.

Who ever heard of a honeymoon in Hunza? Not having a Niagara Falls, probably they'd go up and sit on top of Rakaposhi with the mother-in-law between them to cool their ardor.

When the Mir made this statement, he was joking, never believing for a moment that anyone would take such a broad joke as being factual.

481 *Hunzans walk* 60 *to* 100 *miles as though it were*
147 *nothing.* In fact, one author stated somewhere that the Hunzans could walk 60 miles easier than she could walk upstairs.

I will readily grant that I believe the Hunzan people are the world's best walkers and well they would have to be, because there just happens to be no other mode of locomotion. I'll even go further and say that all through my travels in that territory I did not once see a Hunzan man, or for that matter a Nagirwal, who appeared to be worn from the rugged walks and climbs. So it is clear that they have tremendous reserves of energy and stamina . . . but let's not go overboard!

486 *Anyone can visit Hunza.* Contrary to the assertion
114 made by one writer that anyone can get into Hunza, I

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The
[273] grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

796 Tumushuling, the great winter cele-
585 bration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom, accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door, which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan
[431] from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do
[492] marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home, leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival.
[643] The Mir gives a small gift, usually a
[431] piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

585 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza
583 marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride.

[P.45]

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[562]

CELEBRATION of wedding ceremony is enjoyed exclusively by male participants and spectators. Segregation of the sexes prohibits women, including bride, from viewing ceremony. On many public occasions, women hold a separate gathering.

D 105 Marraiges are arranged for auspicious days and hours which are ascertained on each occasion from the village priest.

B 105 *Temporary unions* are allowed by Shias only.

Free access is not allowed before marriage generally.

No caste prohibits remarriages of widows. Moral laxity prevails to a certain extent.

8. *Death.*—The head of the dead points North but the face is turned to the West towards Mecca, the religious centre of Muslims. When a death occurs food is not cooked in that house for three days and cooked food is sent by relatives for that period. On the third, seventh and fortieth day alms are given to avert calamities, also on the first anniversary after the death.

Indigenous drugs are used for medicines and almost every one knows the medicinal properties of certain local plants and use them when required.

9. *Amusements.*—Swimming, polo playing, racing, wrestling, tug of war, arcery, dancing, singing, etc., are some of the amusements indulged in; women do not participate in the sport undertaken by men. They hold their own separate congregation on occasions of rejoicings such as Id and indulge in singing and dancing away from the eyes of the men.

Festival occasions.—Id-ul-Fittar, Id Haj, Id Ghadir and Nauroz are the chief occasions on which rejoicings are made by dancing, singing, polo playing, running and wrestling etc. Dancing is held in a circle to the beat of drum.

D 585 539 10. Before a number of the village people after sunset on the night before the marriage the following song is sung at the bridegroom's house in the following manners:—

B 585 539 A large iron pan is placed in the middle of the assembly and a man of the Katchate or Babuse family rushes forth with some ghee, atta, and seeds of wild rue or leaves of chili, and, putting these things into the pan burns a little fire under it till the contents begin to smoke. To fumigate all the air in the room he holds the pan by its brim and lifting his hands above his head, commences to dance to the accompaniment of the band, while the people applaud and sing a song of which the following is a translation:—

(1) The pan belongs to Bair Gul.

I will never let any one place this pan on the hearth.

I will place it there myself.

(2) The pan belongs to Malik, the Chief of Gilgit.

I will never let any other place this pan on the hearth.

I will place it there myself.

(3) The pan is worthy of belonging to kings, etc.

(4) The pan is worth being kept by a family, etc.

(5) The pan belongs to Shah Mir, the Chief of Kashmir, etc.

(6) The pan belongs to Maqpun, the Chief of Skardu, etc.

(7) The pan belongs to Mughlot, the Chief of Nagar, etc.

Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

(8) The pan belongs to Khana, the Raja of Yasin, etc.

(9) The pan belongs to righteous Girkis (the ruler of Hunza).

(10) The pan belongs to Maryo the son of Machat (a celebrated person of the Rono family).

(11) The pan is placed on Neelo But etc. At the same time the women who are in an inner room recite the following song :—

D 585 539

B 585 539

Translation.

(1) A large coral grain belongs to Bair Gul.

I will never let another string this on a thread.

I will string it myself.

(2) A large coral grain belongs to Malik, the Chief of Gilgit.

I will never let another string this.

I will string it myself.

After the marriage cermony the following song is sung at the house of the bride :—

Translation.

(1) Come out, O beloved of your mother, why are you delaying?

(2) Come out, O water sprite, why are you delaying?

(3) Come, O possessers of golden locks, why are you delaying?

(4) Come out, O mistress of charming eyes, why are you delaying?

(5) Come out, O owner of pearly teeth, why are you delaying?

On this she is brought out. She weeps bitterly at the separation from her relatives, and the assembly sings the following song :—

Translation.

(1) Do not weep, O flower-like girl, thy complexion will turn pale.

(2) Thou wilt go on a lofty hill, O girl, thy complexion will turn pale.

(3) Thou wilt (by weeping) burn your heat, thy complexion will turn pale.

Typical birth song ... Nil

Typical death song ... Nil

B 212
D 212

11. No written language possessed by the people.

~~10:~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 584 B 584 Marriage is the occasion for much ceremony, which differs slightly in each locality. Though the young people often arrange a marriage between themselves, it is more usual for the match to be arranged by the parents. After determining by private negotiation the conditions of the match, the bridegroom's father proceeds to make a formal proposal. Dressed in his gayest clothes, and accompanied by his friend, he visits the bride's family, who are assembled to meet him, taking with him certain presents, such as a cow or sheep, beads, clothes, and a sword or gun. The formal demand for the bride having been made and assented to, an interchange of presents takes place. In Chitral, Wakhan, and Sirikol the bride has a bracelet of beads placed on her arm by the bridegroom's father. In Gilgit, cedar branches are burnt, and the bride's parents are presented with a knife, a rope, a few yards of cloth, and a leather bag for holding grain; the bridegroom's father receives in return some wool and a gourd. This interchange of gifts is apparently emblematical. In Torwal the price of the bride is paid over at this time, and the bridegroom's father is accompanied by men dressed as women, who dance and sport to the assembled company. In some places it is not etiquette for the bridegroom to be present. D 585 B 585 The betrothal being completed, the marriage may not follow for some time, but it generally takes place within the following year. For convenience marriages generally take place in January and February. There is then no agricultural work to occupy the men, and the houses are well stored with meat. So firmly established is the custom in Nager, that a heavy fine is inflicted on marriages held at any other season.

The fixing of the day for the marriage now rests with the bridegroom's parents. After giving private notice, a smartly-dressed friend of the bridegroom is sent to announce formally that he will arrive on a certain day to claim his bride. Certain prescribed presents are interchanged on the occasion. On the appointed day the bridegroom, surrounded by his friends and equipped with bow, arrows, and battle axe, sets out for the bride's house. The bride remains in the inner apartments, dressed in her gayest clothes with a fillet of cowrie shells bound on her head. This decoration is said to have been introduced by the Shins, and is obligatory among them. On entering the house branches of cedar are burned in an iron dish and waved about over the bridegroom's head, and the party is sprinkled with flour. In Wakhan and Sirikol the bridegroom is met and sprinkled with flour

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at some distance from the bride's house. All being seated, a large platter full of bread is presented to the bridegroom, who distributes it to all the company, after which he places his gun or sword on the platter and it becomes the perquisite of the dish-bearer. In Gilgit two of the bride's and two of the bridegroom's friends are seated face to face, and a cake of bread is passed across; each of the bride's friends breaks off a piece, which is left in the dish, and the bridegroom's men place their turbans or caps in it as a token that their heads are at the bride's disposal. The dish is carried in to the bride, who sends back the turbans. In former days the eating of bread together, at this stage, by the bride and bridegroom, was considered to complete the marriage. The idea was that, whoever managed first to eat a morsel would have the mastery in wedded life, and this always caused a scramble. At every stage a prescribed interchange of presents, which have all been carefully stipulated for beforehand, takes place. Meanwhile the friends of both families have been spending the day outside the house in singing and dancing, and this is kept up all night also. The price of the bride, and the presents agreed upon, having been made over to her family, the Moollah appears and reads the marriage service according to the Sharyat. In Chitral the bridegroom then starts for his home with his bride. In Wakhan and Sirikol he is conducted to the bride, and does not take her away till next day; the women of her family resist his entering the room in which she is until he pacifies them with presents. In Gilgit the two still remain apart, and next day the "Kalak Malak," which is peculiar to Gilgit, takes place. This constitutes the ratification of the marriage, and is the assessment of all the presents given from first to last. Two friends of each side meet and appraise all the presents given by the bridegroom. Three toloos of gold-dust, equal to twenty-four rupees, represent the price of the bride herself. Her father then produces a large cooking-pot, a bed, jewels, clothes, dishes, and other articles needful for setting up house. The bride is summoned and allowed to select any two of the articles, which are given with her free. The assessors then price the rest, not forgetting to value the presents given and received since the betrothal, and the price of the balance is paid over at once by the bridegroom or his father.

All being satisfactorily settled, preparations are made for bringing out the bride. The bridegroom and his friends

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stand round the door, and everybody is sprinkled with flour. In Chitral the bride is led out by her mother, who hands her over to the bridegroom, receiving a present in exchange. In Gilgit the women of the bride's family follow the party, assailing the bridegroom with abuse and pelting him with mud and filth, feigning anger. After going a mile in this way, the bridegroom gives a present to the bride's mother, and is then allowed to depart in peace. This is no doubt a relic of the practice of marriage by capture. Sometimes on leaving the house a goat is slaughtered in front of the couple. The flour-sprinkling is practised everywhere and at different stages, but I cannot ascertain what the custom denotes. In Gilgit it is called Doobun.

After a few days it is customary for the bride's parents to visit the newly-married couple, when they are received with flour-sprinkling, which is repeated on the first occasion of the bride revisiting her father's house. In some places it is customary for the couple to go and stay for several months with the bride's parents soon after marriage.

In Wakhan and Chitral, after leading out the bride the bridegroom returns alone and deposits a present of a gun or a sword on the hearth. In Munjan and Ludkho the couple are accompanied to their homes by all the women of the villages, dancing and singing. They are left alone in the house for seven days, during which food is conveyed to them, but nobody enters, nor are they allowed to leave.

In Torwal the bridegroom's party is accompanied by men dressed as women, who dance and jest, and the whole village take part in the entertainment of the bridegroom's friends. The day after marriage the bride is visited by the women of her husband's family, to whom she must show proofs of her not having brought "a cracked teacup" into the family. She is then congratulated and praised; but should she fail to show the requisite proofs, she is ever after treated with contempt.

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In Baltistan, according to Vigne, the husband goes in person to see the bride instead of sending a friend or relation to do so, and if he please he may refuse her, and on the marriage day the bride comes to his house instead of his going to fetch her.

Though the young people often arrange a marriage among themselves before asking the consent of their parents, they are not allowed to meet after it has been agreed upon. Should they meet out of doors by accident, etiquette demands that they should pass with averted eyes and without speaking.

4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
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B 585 D 585 In Gor, rings are exchanged at marriage. In the ruling families of Hunza and Nager, it is the custom, when a daughter is married, for the bridegroom to present her at betrothal with a gold and silver needle. In Yassin, when, as not unfrequently happens, the bridegroom is too poor to pay the required price, the young couple elope, with the consent of the bride's parents. At the end of ten days the bridegroom comes to them and asks forgiveness, promising to pay the required sum by degrees. A little scene is acted, forgiveness is granted, the neighbours are summoned to the feast which has been already prepared, and the wedding is celebrated. This is to save the credit of the bride's family in not having received a sufficient price for her.

D B 582 D B 851 D B 842 The old marriage barriers between the castes are beginning to be broken down under the levelling influence of Mahommedanism, and in a few generations will probably disappear altogether. The birth of a son is always a matter of general rejoicing. The friends of the happy father at once make it an excuse to stop work for the day, and seizing their matchlocks keep up a general *feu-de-joie* till their powder flasks are empty. The village band is summoned, and dancing kept up round the door for the rest of the day. No notice is taken of the birth of daughters. In the Oxus Valley and in Sirikol, when a son is born, all the father's friends hang their weapons on the walls of his house, so as to accustom the infant to martial sights. After seven days the weapons are returned to the owners, except those belonging to near relations, who receive special presents in exchange.

D B 846 After the birth of a child a woman is esteemed unclean, and no one will eat from her hand for seven days. North of the Hindoo Koosh this period is extended to forty days, and for the first seven the infant is not allowed to suckle its mother.

D 764 I have elsewhere discussed the old custom of disposing of the dead by burning. Now the common form of Mussulman interment is used. A small flat slab of earth about two feet long is neatly plastered over the graves, and a light is kept burning at night by newly-made graves, under the pretence of keeping away wild beasts till the earth has hardened; but, as Mr. Drew has remarked, this is more probably a relic of the old practice of cremation. No attention or care is paid to old graves, which constantly present a most unpleasant appearance, owing to the falling-in of the arched roof. I remarked in Sirikol the same want of attention to old graves

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The precepts and observances of the sect are difficult to ascertain, one of their sayings being that "a man should conceal his faith and his women;" and the little I have been able to ascertain is from Maulais who have proselytized, and those only men of no education. D 795 B 795

Soonnees speak of them as "Kaffirs" and "Rafizi," but they themselves do not refuse to pray or eat with Soonnees. They are sometimes accused of worshipping Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and accordingly styled "Ali-purust," and they undoubtedly esteem Ali, who, they say, was born of Light as superior to the Prophet Mahommed, and an incarnation of the deity. They reject the idea of a future state, believing in the transmigration of souls. Evil deeds are punished by the spirit being translated into a dog or other mean animal. Good actions are rewarded by a future incarnation as a great or holy man. They claim little in common with other sects of Mahommedans, saying, the Soonnee is a dog and the Shiah is an ass. They question the divine character of the Koran, though they say that it was entrusted to the Angel Gabriel to give to Ali, but that he gave it by mistake to Mahommed.

They use in place of the Koran a book called the Kalam-i-Pir, a Persian work, which is shown to none but men of their faith. The precept most commonly quoted by them is, that a man should blind himself, so that he should not be moved with envy at sight of his neighbour's prosperity; he should weaken his hands, so that they can grasp nothing belonging to others; and lame himself, that he may be unable to disobey the commands of his Pir. Cattle that have strayed into standing crops are not to be driven out till they have satisfied themselves. A good Maulai is already as one dead, prayers therefore are unnecessary, as also is fasting. If any forcible attempt should be made to cause a Maulai to fast, he should resist it by devouring a pinch of dust. The only pilgrimage enjoined is to the living head of their faith, who is styled the Imam-i-Zeman, or Sahib-i-Zeman. Marriage can be performed by any man whose beard is white. Seating himself with the bridegroom on his right hand and the bride on his left, he takes a few pieces of roasted sheep's liver in both hands, and crossing his arms gives them to the man with his left hand and to the woman with his right. Then taking a cup of water he gives half to the woman, and after he has said a few words out of the Kalam-i-Pir, the ceremony is completed. The form of the Maulai Kalima is

D B [782] D B [779] D B. [595]

is convenient. Each person has his own wooden bowl and 264
wooden spoon. They roll up their pancakes and dip them in [415]
their bowl of thick vegetable soup or take up the soup with
the spoon. The head woman of the house apportions a fair 262
share to each, and I fear there is rarely enough to allow of
second helpings.

The art of rationing the family all through the year is recognized as a difficult one; each able-bodied man is entitled to double a woman's ration, but the expectant or nursing mother gets a larger share than the other women; each child after weaning gets a certain ration according to its age.

If a *rúli gus* (housewife-in-chief) is over-generous with her 262
rationing during the post-harvest months of plenty the whole 586
family may starve before next year; so a "competent woman" is highly valued, and incompetence is a fair ground for divorce. No ill-will is felt or expressed, but back she goes to the father and mother who bred her.

The No. 1 Household consists of grandfather, a charming 592
old man, who proudly boasts that he built the house they live in and himself laid out the fruit garden; his two sons, who now do all the heavy work and who both are lucky enough to have small jobs connected with the hospital—this accounts for the family's relative well-to-do-ness; the elder son's wife is my friend Bibi Gímo, the *rúli gus*; the younger son's wife is a beautiful girl Naját, who became one of our best friends. In a community where all faces are happy and kindly, she has the happiest face I have ever seen, and a natural grace of bearing and manner that would adorn any station in any country. Naját so far has no children, but Bibi Gímo's married daughter was staying with her at the moment. There is also an adolescent daughter, Shukuru, who is already growing her hair, and will no doubt presently be married; two nice boys of perhaps thirteen and nine, and the two little girls I have mentioned already, Shamúli, say six, and Banu of three or four, and I imagined there would ere long be another child.

On my second visit, since they had all been so kind to me, 526
I took a tiny rubber ball for Banu. It was a great success. Not only she and Shamúli played with it, but the grown-ups

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the 585
smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. 585
In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's 586
mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will.

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people 591
take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all.

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she 843
quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their 832
sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and 513
not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A 853
husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears 842
to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to 163
exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

Where a couple are definitely ill-matched, or the daughter-in-law fails to fit into the family scheme, the regrettable fact is faced, the two families meet to arrange a divorce, and each party is free to remarry and hope for better luck. Nothing, however, in our Hunza observations amazed us more than the amicable relations that normally prevailed among the women of a household. There would be a mother-in-law with three or four sons' wives, all perhaps with growing families about them, an adolescent girl or two, and the herd of youngsters. They work together from dawn to dusk without argument or recrimination, and apparently without anyone's attempting to shirk her fair share of the common tasks.

An expectant mother works on in house and field till the very last, but by common consent the heavier tasks are divided amongst the others, and an extra-nourishing ration is assigned to her both before and after the baby's birth. There is no sentimental pampering of the mother, but her immediate job is the baby, and she is expected naturally to concentrate on that. When a woman's monthly affliction overtakes her, she dresses in her oldest clothes and lies immobile by the fire till she is well again. The others make *daudo* for her, a porridge of flour well boiled in water, which is reputed very sustaining, and bring it to her, saying, "Sister, eat." After two days she is herself again, takes a bath, washes her clothes, and sweeps the house; but she is not banished as a pariah nor subject to any degrading superstitions nor to any taboo not imposed by nature.

Shyly one day my friend Zénába asked me was it true that white women were immune from monthly trouble. "We notice that English ladies seem to ride and camp at all times; we have never heard of one of you having to lie up." I explained our habits and conventions, and that we made it our pride to carry on outwardly unruffled. "But surely it can't be good for you?" "I don't believe it is; but there you are; it is our custom, and we should think it shame if the household noticed any difference in our behaviour. It sometimes makes us cross and fretful perhaps, and then our menfolk just think how unreasonable women are." She laughed heartily: "So that's how it is; we've always wondered; but I think our way is better."

roofed. (Metaph.) *ayaḷe tal kalirle* 000
sorrow, or misfortune has fallen on me. QUB. Perhaps also under this head come the expressions: —
. . . *tal kalirle* I, you, etc., have become hungry, *chamine gurumat*. . . .
tal dovirle — *gurl malí bi* (you) have become hungry (?). QUB.

b. Palate. *yafem tal* roof of mouth.

c. Eyelid (upper). *ariline yafem tal* my eyelid. (Cp. Sh. *tal* ceiling, *tarlo* palate).

2. *tal* -*ig*. N. -*mig*, *y* birch tree.
3. *tal* -*po* s pigeon. — *talo talje* . . . *durmis* seven pigeons have come. 12.16. *taljirli dargan* some pigeons have come. 148.6.
4. *tal* stagnant, standing, slow-flowing. — *tail tal mastirle* the water has become spread out like a lake, or marsh (H. *jhil*). *sinda tal* the slack (water) of the river(?).
5. *tal* -*ang y* crossbraces, bindwood.

tlale gently, slowly, quietly, softly. — *tlale tlale oli* do it gently.
tlale gelehanas to go along slowly.
tlale ovas to speak low, whisper.
gurumatem asma tal o dur arajni the foolish counsels of the bride quietly, in a low voice. 222.18.

talaq y divorce. — *talaq* *-*tlé.as*, — *ofas*, — *d ilanas* to divorce s.o. *ruas yamar talaq marlirni* he divorced her. 5860

The customs of divorce are stated to be as follows: When a man divorces his wife he presents her with five rupees, representing the old *dirhi pati* (v. s.v. *dirhi*). He then goes to make payment to the authorities. He pays the Mir *i fani*, i.e. Rs. 12, but the Wazir and Lurgis take some in receiving it to place in the Mir.

586 The divorcing husband has further to provide six portions of butter, one for the Mir, one for the Wazir and one each for the Muqaddams of the "Four Tribes". One of the last is designated by the Mir "ayyum" (senior) for a period of 2, 3, or 4 years. The Mir passes on his butter to this Muqaddam, and the Wazir bestows his on some friend. These portions of butter are called *phatka* q.v.

Women used to be able to divorce their husbands if they had no children within two years (presumably when this was owing to failure on the man's part).

They can still be given divorce by order of a tribal council (*jirga*), but the right is seldom granted.

bewāli talāq, "Dom's divorce". This term is applied to the divorcing of a wife on account of bad conduct. In this case her dowry is not repaid to her and neither *dawā* nor *phatka* is given by the divorcing husband. He may on the other hand recover a fine from the wife's father. The Doms themselves had originally no divorce and did not pay taxation. The Mir has now introduced them to both these amenities of the higher civilisation. Ar. Pra.

000 *talawa*, *tal'aw* -*mate* shallow (of water, bowl etc.). — *tal'aw khapro* shallow spoon. EOL.

1. *talaví* search, seeking for. — *tlawanar talaví shwan* they searched for a King. 396.2. Pra.

2. *talaví*, *talal* effort, endeavour; haste, quickly, without delay. —
talaví eli make haste, hurry.
talaví ma ja come quickly, come at

when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases. 852 304

The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery. 582 304

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West. 582 [584]

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails. 585 [671]

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare. 586

586 The Hunzan law says that in such cases a child must remain with the mother until it is at least 10 years of age. Of course the child can remain with the mother after that period, too, but the father does not have to pay for its keep after that. Divorce is granted to a man only on the grounds of adultery.

Under Hunzan law a woman cannot get a divorce due to any action on the part of her husband. How-
[643] ever, on some occasions where there has been extreme provocation or other clear logical reasons, and the woman brings her justifiable complaint for divorce before the Mir in person, and if the Mir believes her case merits divorce or separation from the man, he will ask or demand of the man that he divorce his wife.

If the wife decides or wants to leave her husband's bed and board of her own free will, the husband does not have to pay for her keep. She will not receive sustenance from him, but he does have to supply her with clothing twice a year.

587 In the event of the death of his wife, the husband is required to wait two months and seven days before he can remarry. However, with the woman, in the event of the death of her husband, she must wait three months and ten days before she can remarry.

586 683 The Mir gave me an example of a divorce case where a certain man had the insidious habit of beating his wife. It seemed he would administer a sound thrashing at the slightest, or even without provocation, until the girl's parents and friends began to fear for her life. In this instance the wife-beater was notified quite clearly and distinctly that it would be in the best interests of all concerned if he gave his wife a divorce.

586 I don't know in what light they regarded this, but now that they knew the man was an avowed wife-beater, if any other woman took the risk of marrying

him, she would at least know beforehand what she had to contend with. Then again, as the Mir performs all marriages, maybe he wouldn't allow this young man to take a second wife. I did not inquire any further into the details concerning this case, but I admit that I was somewhat surprised to think that a good healthy happy Hunzan would resort to one of civilization's favorite pastimes . . . wife-beating. 586

Wife-beating generally seems to be broadly practiced in Hunza. This struck me as being most strange for I could see little cause or likelihood of opportunities for misdemeanors on the part of the wife. 593 683

Upon taking the matter up with the Mir, he told me that most cases of wife-beating were brought about by nagging, and in Hunza that is sufficient justifiable cause for a man to administer a sound thrashing to his wife and she can't take him to the Mir's court about it, either. The next most frequent cause for wife-beating is over-generosity to her parents with her husband's possessions.

Wife-beating under such provocations as stated might meet with universal support and approval on the part of mankind. There may be principles and practices in Hunza that will not find widespread support in the West, but I'll bet on the basis of the two causes for wife-beating there will be broad, if not general, male approval. 000

By Hunza law a daughter cannot inherit property. The best that she can get in a property settlement is the use of the property for her lifetime. It then must revert to a male member of the father's family. There have been instances where a daughter has been willed an individual tree—in most cases, an apricot tree. This remains her property, or at least the crops do, for as long as the tree or she lives. 428 423

[P44-A]

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two; cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[149] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal protein, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apri-cot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as
[262] bitters, to their wine, and occasionally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

584 sonal preferences carry weight. The business preliminaries include a small payment from the bridegroom's people in recognition of the fact that the bride's family have had the expense of rearing her and are about to lose her services, an interchange of gifts between the houses, and the provision
585 by the bride's father of an outfit for his daughter. In average peasant families a girl will bring to her new home three sets of every-day cotton clothes and caps, a winter cloak, a set of bedding, and for feast days an embroidered cap or two and a coloured scarf; possibly in addition an aluminium pot or iron bucket; details will vary in every individual case.

428 The laws of inheritance in Hunza show the same equitable
585 common sense as distinguishes the Burusho's other customs. A woman cannot inherit land, since only a man can tackle irrigation work, field making, and so forth. But if a girl is still unmarried when her father dies, it is her brothers' duty to see her adequately outfitted, dowried, and settled. Among the gifts that may accompany a girl are apricot trees; her father or brothers may settle on her the right to the fruit of one or more of the family trees. Our friends of No. 3, who were very straitened and possessed only mulberry trees, had fortunately the right to an apricot tree in Zénába's home garden. We saw Kaníza and her sisters coming home one day, all carrying shoulder-baskets piled high with golden apricots: "We've been to Báltít to gather the fruit of mother's tree," they told us, "and this isn't nearly all. There's shaking-down for two or three days more." When the father dies the family property is fairly divided between the sons, who either work it in common or if they prefer divide it up. Questions then arise as to how many poplars equal an apricot tree, or how many willow trees a wheat field, but the distribution rarely gives rise to quarrels, for the people are just-minded and at need will call in neighbours to adjudicate over knotty points.

428 One of their customs is particularly sane: if a father of
● 587 grown sons elects to marry again, he is free to do so, but in that case he must share the property as if he were himself a son; and a son by the second wife will only inherit a grandson's
587 share. If a woman is widowed young, she will in the natural

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any un- 587
weaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *rúli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. 585
She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to 614
be "a daughter of the Burong," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gimo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of 607
fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will 431
ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltít, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltít when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza 561
is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific inno- 888
vations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

586 The Hunzan law says that in such cases a child must remain with the mother until it is at least 10 years of age. Of course the child can remain with the mother after that period, too, but the father does not have to pay for its keep after that. Divorce is granted to a man only on the grounds of adultery.

Under Hunzan law a woman cannot get a divorce due to any action on the part of her husband. How-
[643] ever, on some occasions where there has been extreme provocation or other clear logical reasons, and the woman brings her justifiable complaint for divorce before the Mir in person, and if the Mir believes her case merits divorce or separation from the man, he will ask or demand of the man that he divorce his wife.

If the wife decides or wants to leave her husband's bed and board of her own free will, the husband does not have to pay for her keep. She will not receive sustenance from him, but he does have to supply her with clothing twice a year.

587 In the event of the death of his wife, the husband is required to wait two months and seven days before he can remarry. However, with the woman, in the event of the death of her husband, she must wait three months and ten days before she can remarry.

586 683 The Mir gave me an example of a divorce case where a certain man had the insidious habit of beating his wife. It seemed he would administer a sound thrashing at the slightest, or even without provocation, until the girl's parents and friends began to fear for her life. In this instance the wife-beater was notified quite clearly and distinctly that it would be in the best interests of all concerned if he gave his wife a divorce.

586 I don't know in what light they regarded this, but now that they knew the man was an avowed wife-beater, if any other woman took the risk of marrying

4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 302 the top of the head for a space 2 inches broad in front, tapering to half an inch behind. Those who cannot boast of long locks, dress their hair into numerous small cork-screw ringlets all round the head.[1] On the approach of middle age the whole head is shaved, according to the orthodox Mahommedan fashion, and the beard is allowed to grow. In Chitral the effect of the long-flowing locks reaching to the waist is often extremely picturesque.

D 576 The mode of salutation between equals, on meeting after a prolonged absence, is graceful and pleasing. After clasping each other, first on one side then on the other, hands are joined, and each person in turn kisses the hand of the other. Superiors are greeted either by kissing the hand or touching the foot, both at meeting and parting. In Chitral, when the meeting is between two of unequal rank, the inferior kisses the hand of the superior, who in return kisses the former on the cheek. A similar practice is said to have existed among the ancient Persians.[2]

D 644 B 644 On the occasion of the visit of one chief to another, a rather curious ceremony called "Kobah" takes place. On arrival, the visitor is conducted to the Shawaran,[3] and the followers of both chiefs show their dexterity in firing at a mark set up on a tall pole, from horseback while galloping at speed. After this a bullock is led out before the guest, who draws his sword and does his best to cut its head off at a single blow, or deputes one of his followers to do so, and the carcase is given to his retinue. The custom exists in Shighnan, Badakhshan, Wakhan, Chitral, Yassin, Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager. In the latter place it is customary to slay the bullock with bow and arrow. Of late years the practice has become somewhat modified owing to the strict observance of Mahommedan customs, and it is more usual to give over the bullock alive to the guest, so that its throat may be cut in a more orthodox fashion; but occasionally a chief wishing to show off the strength of his arm and the temper of his blade, will adhere to the old custom.

B 575 582 587 Polygamy is of course practised, and the right of divorce is somewhat wantonly exercised. The marriage of very young children is not common, though occasionally practised. Girls are generally married between the ages of ten and four-

[1] Rawlinson mentions this as an ancient Persian fashion.—*Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. IV.

D 595 582 587 B [2] Strabo Book XV., Chapter 3, Section 20.

[3] The Shawaran answers all the purposes of the village green in England, being used for all gatherings and games.

[367]

1a Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B
D
[562] teen. Wives are regarded as the absolute property of the husband and his heirs. On a man's death his brother can claim to marry all his widows, and no widow can marry again without the consent of her husband's brothers. Frequently, if a man leaves several widows as well as several brothers, the latter apportion the former among themselves. So strictly is the rule observed that, should there be only one surviving brother and he an infant, the widow cannot remarry elsewhere till he is old enough to say whether he will marry her or not; On the other hand, it is considered disgraceful to refuse to marry a brother's widow, so that it is not uncommon for a boy of ten years old to marry a woman more than twice his age. So absolute is the custom, that a woman cannot refuse to marry her deceased husband's brother, and her own parents have no voice in the matter. This often leads to two sisters being wives to the same man simultaneously, though the practice is forbidden by Mahommedan law. In Chitral, marriage with a husband's brother, though common, is not compulsory on the woman. Among the Afghans of Dir, if a widow should refuse to marry her husband's brother, he has the power of selling her, as she is regarded in the light of family property, which has been purchased and paid for. Among the Shin caste the marriage of first cousins or other relations within that degree (such as uncle and niece) is strictly prohibited, though allowed by Mahommedan law. In Torwal and Bushkar the marriage of first cousins is allowed, but marriages such as of uncle and niece or niece's daughter are forbidden.

B 595 582 587 D 595 582 587

B 595 601 D 595 601

In none of the Dard languages are there terms distinctive of polygamous relationship. All wives are of equal rank, priority of marriage not conferring any claim. In the Shina and Boorishki languages, uncles on the father's side are styled "great father" or "little father," according to their age in comparison with that of the speaker's father; but there is a distinct term for an uncle on the mother's side. In the same way the term "aunt" is only applied to those on the father's side, the mother's sisters being all styled "mother." There is no specific term either for nephew and niece, who are styled "son" and "daughter." In the same way cousins are styled "brother" or "sister." This would seem to point to the former existence of communal marriage, such as still exists in some parts of India. In the Khowar language the term "uncle" is applied to the brothers of both father and mother without distinction; but aunts on the mother's side are styled "mother,"

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the 585
smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. 585
In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's 586
mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will.

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people 591
take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all.

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she 843
quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their 833
sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and 512
not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A 853
husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears 842
to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to 163
exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of

000 know my father or not? 80.17. *ja ine yeryam* I shall know him. *ine je ayeri bai.i* he knows me. *ine je ayay'ai.i bai.i* he doesn't know me. *ine uŋ guye.i baiya be?* does he know you or not? *ja ine niyen* I recognising him. *ja uŋ nukuryen* I recognising you.

*-*yenči* v. *-*yanči*.

*-*yenom* -*iŋ* y a present given to bride's mother and also to bride's mother's brother(s). — *murmimo muyenom* her (the bride's) mother's present. *maraŋgo uyenom* her (the bride's) uncles' presents. (Cp. *muyenom*).

yeraŋ N. v. *yai.iŋ*.

591 *-*yeri*, *-*yeri* QUB unvarying condition, settled state, permanent residence, permanent dwelling-place, abode, H. *ek halatmi rahna, thikana*. — *halantse yeri ap'i* there is no constant condition of the moon, i.e. it is not always the same.
gusmo muyeri lil ap'i; hire ali'ur lil ap'i nothing is known of any fixed state of a woman; nothing is known of the burial place of a man. (Proverb).

(This was how I understood QUB to interpret the saying, otherwise one would be inclined to take *muyeri* as meaning "permanent abode", in as much as a woman transfers from her father's to her husband's home and is of course liable to reverse the change on divorce, while on the death of her husband she lives as a rule with a son. Hence she has no permanent home. The force of the second phrase is also obscure).
ine hire yeri ap'i that man has no permanent abode.

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THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

these narrow planks placed side by side and pierced by horizontal holes through which two parallel rods are threaded; the hinge is a longer piece of wood pointed at both ends and rotating into holes in threshold and lintel; while the whole is secured by an ingenious wooden lock. Most villages, however, now possess a carpenter or two, trained in the P.W.D. workshop at Gilgit and armed with plane and saw, who can produce more Europeanized doors and cupboards, to the greater comfort of their owners and the selfish regret of the anthropologist. The old, home-made door is still in use for barn and byre.

Every peasant family is almost entirely self-supporting and independent, eating the produce of its own laboriously and beautifully terraced fields (PLATE I), wearing the woollen cloaks and caps spun and woven from the wool of its own sheep, and booted from the skin of its own beasts. The only foreign garments worn are the cotton shirts and trousers of comparatively recent introduction, now considered indispensable by both sexes, and the merry little cotton caps, plain or silk-embroidered, which have replaced the heavy woollen salvation-army bonnet of the women. Butter is made and water carried in skins; grain and flour are carried in skin-bags or sacks and stored in skin-sacks or wooden bins. Rugs, saddlebags and ropes are woven of goat's hair.

In a country where no unirrigated tree can grow, timber is very scarce. An old apricot or appletree is sometimes available, or the root of an old vine, otherwise the only general timber is the poplar, grown primarily for poles and rafters, and the willow, absolutely essential for baskets (PLATE II), a dozen varieties of which are needed for carrying apricots, manure, dry leaves, straw etc., and for storing potatoes and dried fruit.

The soil of Hunza is unimaginably poor, consisting in fact of little but powdered-up mountain side. The scarcity of water means also the non-existence of pasture, and the few animals that can be fed eke out a spartan existence on the scraps of grass growing on the rare semi-irrigated strips of hillside or beside the water-channels, and on such weeds amongst the growing crops as are not earmarked for human consumption or remain after the crops have been reaped. This scanty provision is supplemented by the autumn harvest of dry leaves (not one of which lies on the ground ungarnered), the straw and stubble, and occasionally a small quantity of dried grass. Only a few families command enough land and water to grow a little lucerne for fodder. The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons

ANTIQUITY

233 The most livestock that the average household of 10 to 20 persons
241 hopes to possess is a tiny flock of 20 to 25 sheep, goats and cows. In
237 these circumstances manure is more precious than gold, and the small
592 children who conduct a cow to pasture carry a shoulder basket in which every ounce of the day's output is scrupulously collected and brought home.

233 When the snow retreats on the upper mountains a few patches of green are left here and there, and the more athletic beasts are taken up by young men who live in shelters with their charges, collect the manure, convert the milk into butter and bring these home with the animals when the snows claim their own again. These patches of high pasture, several thousand feet above the villages, are all too few and can only be reached by serious feats of mountaineering. Through field-glasses we could see the grazing animals clinging—by their eyebrows as it seemed—to their precipitous 'summer pastures', but it was impossible to ride up even on a yak, and at our age impossible to climb on foot for a nearer view.

As soon as the trees put out their leaves in spring, each 'donkey tree' (*i.e.*, non-fruit-bearing) is stripped of every scrap of spare foliage to feed the half-starved beasts. This luxury diet has to be very carefully administered lest the animals should perish of its unaccustomed succulence.

243 The major crops grown by the Hunza people for their own use are
[177] wheat, barley, several kinds of millet, sweet and bitter buckwheat, nowadays also the highly-valued potato (introduced by the British in 1892) and small quantities of various pulses. Barley must have been the original staple crop, for all the traditional festivals, the Seed-sowing of early spring, the First Reaping of early summer and the Harvest
[242] Home, relate to barley alone. The peasant is wise about rotation of crops and the various types of wheat, millet, etc., which thrive best in given conditions. Wheaten bread is much preferred to any other, but barley remains the larger crop because spring-sown barley ripens three or four weeks before even the winter-sown wheat, and the vacant fields can be resown with millet; whereas after the wheat only buckwheat can hope to ripen before winter. Bitter buckwheat is frankly detested, but it is hardier than the sweet and can better withstand an attack of early frost, so a certain amount of it is always sown as an insurance.

So poor is the soil, so scanty the manure, that in the newer villages like Aliabad, the average return is only sevenfold and even the storeyed fields of Baltit, which have been tilled in the sweat of man and woman's brow for at least 600 years and probably for twice or thrice as long, yield

is convenient. Each person has his own wooden bowl and 264
wooden spoon. They roll up their pancakes and dip them in [415]
their bowl of thick vegetable soup or take up the soup with
the spoon. The head woman of the house apportions a fair 262
share to each, and I fear there is rarely enough to allow of
second helpings.

The art of rationing the family all through the year is recognized as a difficult one; each able-bodied man is entitled to double a woman's ration, but the expectant or nursing mother gets a larger share than the other women; each child after weaning gets a certain ration according to its age.

If a *rúli gus* (housewife-in-chief) is over-generous with her 262
rationing during the post-harvest months of plenty the whole 586
family may starve before next year; so a "competent woman" is highly valued, and incompetence is a fair ground for divorce. No ill-will is felt or expressed, but back she goes to the father and mother who bred her.

The No. 1 Household consists of grandfather, a charming 592
old man, who proudly boasts that he built the house they live in and himself laid out the fruit garden; his two sons, who now do all the heavy work and who both are lucky enough to have small jobs connected with the hospital—this accounts for the family's relative well-to-do-ness; the elder son's wife is my friend Bibi Gímo, the *rúli gus*; the younger son's wife is a beautiful girl Naját, who became one of our best friends. In a community where all faces are happy and kindly, she has the happiest face I have ever seen, and a natural grace of bearing and manner that would adorn any station in any country. Naját so far has no children, but Bibi Gímo's married daughter was staying with her at the moment. There is also an adolescent daughter, Shukuru, who is already growing her hair, and will no doubt presently be married; two nice boys of perhaps thirteen and nine, and the two little girls I have mentioned already, Shamúli, say six, and Banu of three or four, and I imagined there would ere long be another child.

On my second visit, since they had all been so kind to me, 526
I took a tiny rubber ball for Banu. It was a great success. Not only she and Shamúli played with it, but the grown-ups

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 18

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

SUMMER is a breathless time in the Hunza fields. No sooner 243
does the ripening grain show a fine "fox-brown" than a line 516
of five or six men and women attack it in unison. They do 592
not "reap" in our sense of the word. They squat in that inimitably convenient way that the East has preserved for working—no backs bent with stooping, no knees worn out with kneeling—and grasp a full handful of the ripe stalks and pull up roots and all; first right, then left; clap the two together to shake off the all-too-valuable earth; lay the bundle behind them; shuffle on a pace and repeat. The fields are small and in an incredibly short space of time a golden field is prostrate and the ground carpeted with neatly aligned rows of swathes. It is beautiful to see a party at work: father and mother, daughters, sons, and wives; they space themselves and keep their line as exactly as soldiers on parade, yet each works individually, each at his own pace and in his own way—without haste and without pause. They possess rude iron sickles, but 412
when these are used at all they are not used to *cut*, but merely to pull against, if the crop is more than usually deep-rooted.

When the *shandiming* (cut crops) have lain a little and been 243
turned over once or twice they are tied into sheaves and 482
gathered into piles, some as big as a man can carry, others smaller to suit a boy—according to the "man-power" available. A double goat's hair rope is slipped round the waist of the pile and ingeniously knotted so as to leave two shoulder loops. The man or boy flings himself down backwards on to it, slips his arms through the loops and hitches the rope fast. Then some kindly bystander gives a touch to the load from behind,

aluminium ones, a few had even iron buckets. Several people 776
were busy serving, while the headmen acted as masters of the
ceremonies. Every household—there are two hundred all told [592]
in Aliábád—was entitled to carry off one chunk of meat and
one ladleful each of *sherbet* and *harise* for each mouth at home.

As always in this happy place, the company was full of jokes, laughter, and good temper. There was no hustling, no jostling, no attempt by anyone to secure more than his due share. Any person who had lent one of the big cauldrons (they are costly vessels brought up from down country) was granted an extra "mouthful" as hire, and anyone who had lent a penknife for cutting up was given an extra chunk of meat impaled on it. The people who had lent the tripods were not entitled to anything extra; this apparent injustice was thus explained: "You are fond of your cooking-cauldron; you are fond of your penknife; but no one could possibly be fond of a tripod."

We moved about for some time among the crowd, greeting 000
old acquaintances and making new ones, then the people insisted that we must sit down, cleared one of the stone sofas, dashed into the Assembly Hall and brought out a carpet and spread it for us, while one of the headmen came and sat by explaining the procedure of the festival and naming the various utensils. As the light grew David took a few photographs, but by that time most of the carcases had been hacked to bits and a large number of households, having got their share, had gone home to celebrate a sort of family Christmas dinner with it. Nor for the first time, still less for the last, I regretted my lack of enterprise in sticking to my old familiar quarter-plate camera with its lens working only to F.6.3. David with his 3.5's could get photographs in much weaker light than I.

They insisted on pressing on us a "share" for each of our 431
servants. How can you assess, how hope to repay, the generosity of these hospitable people? Remember that hardly any house has more than *just enough* to eat for the year; yet they must share their feast with our relatively pampered retainers! We could only gratefully accept and as a poor return offer the headman some money for distribution as they thought best "to the orphans and the poor." Hunza has, of course, no charitable 000

592
1/2

Bibi Sajo club; and a neighbour.

2. Hewal Nina with baby niece (who has grandchildr).

PLATE XIV: Household of Nin. 6 (See p. 160)

3. Unial Nadine and Hewal Nina.

[Facing P. 160]

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

Where a couple are definitely ill-matched, or the daughter-in-law fails to fit into the family scheme, the regrettable fact is faced, the two families meet to arrange a divorce, and each party is free to remarry and hope for better luck. Nothing, however, in our Hunza observations amazed us more than the amicable relations that normally prevailed among the women of a household. There would be a mother-in-law with three or four sons' wives, all perhaps with growing families about them, an adolescent girl or two, and the herd of youngsters. They work together from dawn to dusk without argument or recrimination, and apparently without anyone's attempting to shirk her fair share of the common tasks. 586 592

An expectant mother works on in house and field till the very last, but by common consent the heavier tasks are divided amongst the others, and an extra-nourishing ration is assigned to her both before and after the baby's birth. There is no sentimental pampering of the mother, but her immediate job is the baby, and she is expected naturally to concentrate on that. When a woman's monthly affliction overtakes her, she dresses in her oldest clothes and lies immobile by the fire till she is well again. The others make *daude* for her, a porridge of flour well boiled in water, which is reputed very sustaining, and bring it to her, saying, "Sister, eat." After two days she is herself again, takes a bath, washes her clothes, and sweeps the house; but she is not banished as a pariah nor subject to any degrading superstitions nor to any taboo not imposed by nature. 943 262 944 941 [262]

Shyly one day my friend Zénıba asked me was it true that white women were immune from monthly trouble. "We notice that English ladies seem to ride and camp at all times; we have never heard of one of you having to lie up." I explained our habits and conventions, and that we made it our pride to carry on outwardly unruffled. "But surely it can't be good for you?" "I don't believe it is; but there you are; it is our custom, and we should think it shame if the household noticed any difference in our behaviour. It sometimes makes us cross and fretful perhaps, and then our menfolk just think how unreasonable women are." She laughed heartily: "So that's how it is; we've always wondered; but I think our way is better."

142

1. Golden Nimo of No. 2 weeping.

(See p. [illegible])

PLATE XVII

592

2. Family group of No. 12. Mike seated in background; mother-in-law proudly nursing his first grandson. (See p. [illegible])

[Facing Page]

THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

sufficiently severe. Happily winter is short, two or three months at most, and for the rest of the year day and night are spent mainly out of doors.

The social culture of the Burusho of Hunza is as high as their material culture is primitive. Three centuries of Islam—they are now Ismaili heretics, having been Shiahs until three or four generations ago—have not induced them to veil or despise their indomitable women, nor to abandon the wholesome tradition of exogamy between their different clans in favour of first-cousin marriage. They are freer from superstition and fanaticism than any people east or west of whom I have heard or read. Whatever be the esoteric teaching of the Ismailis of which Professor Ivanov might tell, it concerns the Hunza peasant as little as the homoousian controversy disturbs the mind of the British schoolboy. He goes his way in cheerful confidence that hard work, fair dealing, kindly affection and generosity must be as well pleasing to God the Merciful, the Compassionate, as ritual prayer or ceremonial fast, and his dreams are not broken by over-anxious fear of Hell or hope of Heaven.

The fastidiousness and personal cleanliness of the Hunza peasant are remarkable. Close packed amongst the crowd at festivals or sitting on the threshing floor amongst the workers, or entertained in their hospitable houses, we were never distressed by human exhalations or molested by parasites. The drinking water is guarded with scrupulous care from pollution by man or beast. Men and women cooperate without embarrassment or restraint and no work is taboo for either sex, though for obvious reasons the heavier jobs of wall-building, irrigation and ploughing fall more naturally to the man, and the care of infants to the woman. But as soon as the father is allowed to handle his child, he will carry the baby proudly and tenderly out for its first airings, while boys and girls alike play with and watch over the toddlers.

Again and again, in face of the high morality and unquenchable spirit of the Hunzukuts, we were ashamed to think of what in our vaunted civilization 'man has made of man'.

2: Lotzmann T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AVT Barnsley AVT

654

PLATE VIII

1. Grandfather mending Baby Eagle. (See p. 181)

1. Baby worship. Nagin mending in field. (See p. 119)

593

[Facing P. 96]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

463 ment departments, act as postal runners or dispensary assistants, do part-time jobs as "levies," or enter the private employment of British officers. Travel where you will in the Agency, some enterprising Hunza man is there before you, as carpenter or washerman, as touring merchant or in Government employ. You may even meet an old Hunza taxi-driver in Bombay or a Hunza *chaprassi* in Lahore.

177 At first the Mir rather discouraged these farther-afield
167 adventures, and not unwisely. New ideas, new customs, new dress, imported from abroad might well upset the happy balance of the home civilization; but the increasing pressure of population—a dubious benefit the *Pax Britannica* is wont to bring—makes some outlet necessary for ambitious youth, and some supplement necessary for home support, and the Mir's policy has been modified accordingly. With rare exceptions the travellers' hearts remain in their Hunza highlands; they go for a few years and return with newly acquired skill, with a set of carpenter's tools it may be, with a smoothing-iron or a sewing machine, to resume work on the family farm and earn a little "on the side."

583 We heard that a new house was being built by a certain
342 Kalbi (not the Levy; one of another clan) and were invited to go down—some hundreds of feet—and see it in its half-finished state. "It must cost a lot to build a new house," we said. "How did you come to have money enough to spare?" "Well, you see, I have two sons away working—thank God." And, in fact, except in the few cases where the Hunza man goes over-far afield to Bombay or the Panjab, and needs his own earnings to support a down-country family, the Hunza son remits home every spare anna, knowing well that it will be spent on the home he himself will presently enjoy and share. When he comes back on leave he brings his mother an aluminium cooking-pot or basin to jostle the stone *baloh* and wooden bowl, or an iron bucket which incongruously companions the local gourd when his sisters go to draw the drinking water.

342 In theory there are any number of sizes and patterns of house which you can build in Hunza: the cow-pattern, the ant-pattern, and half a dozen more, but in actual fact there are

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

When the threshing floor is heaped with ears, some people 243 turn cows on to trample them; some people prefer to beat the heap with sticks. It depends, I expect, how many cows you have without borrowing, or how many stout arms to wield the flail. It is rather fun to see a family beating, even the children hammering away with tiny poles. The Hunzukuts are kind to 593 their kiddies and fond of them, but have happily no time to 857 spoil them, and as the children have always something new and 861 interesting to do they are very rarely troublesome. If they are, some grown-up will give them a mild smack on the head (the little cap prevents its hurting much) and all is well again. If a child is sick they carry it out with them to the fields (no one can be spared to stay at home to mind it) and chuck a cloth over it to keep the flies off, and let it lie there in peace till it feels better. The youngsters work just as long as they feel interested, then fade away and play for a bit, and join another group and work a while again. There seems to be no attempt to force them or even overtly to encourage them. Their own instinct is to copy the grown-ups or next-older brother. Yet the sense of responsibility wakes early; a five- or six-year-old is often in charge of the two-year-old toddler, rejoices in steadying him as he tries to walk or in mounting him on the shoulders to cross a water-channel or climb a wall. We used sometimes to feel a little anxious about the baby's fate, but its mother never did. I have never heard a Hunza mother shout "Don't do that, darling," or "Take care, you'll drop the baby," or "Don't go so near the edge, you'll fall." Hunza consists of "edges"—the house-roof, the field, the reservoir, the cliff—and no doubt Nature in the course of centuries has weeded out the stocks that lose their balance. Our occasional solicitude was the cause of much merriment; we could not always suppress a "Take care, you'll slip," and this became a standing joke amongst our smaller friends. If all other conversation failed a jesting cry from someone of "Take care, Mother, you'll fall" would set the ball rolling again. Jolly little 000 scamps they are, and pleasant companions for a walk. I counted seven in front and three behind me one day, all between five and seven, with two or three babies mounted on the others'

524 apexes (apices? no, no!) are the "squares" and any man can move and take in any direction. It requires quite as much skill and provides quite as much fun as draughts played in our way. There are half a dozen other games of the sort, roughly variants of "marbles," all played with pebbles and governed by complicated rules which we only partially mastered.

857 We used to watch Nimo, of No. 7, a jolly, bright-eyed mite of eight or nine, pass our window every morning about half-past six, sturdily carrying an empty shoulder basket as she herded her two or three small cows off to the *toq*; sometimes she was taking charge of a small brother or sister as well. Just before nightfall, after a whole summer day on the mountain side, she would return, driving her animals and stooping
237 slightly under her load. One evening in the very early days I
857 stopped her to ask *whose* Nimo she was (their names duplicate
241 each other like our Joans, Anns, and Dorises), and "What have you got in your basket there?" With courteous surprise at being asked a question to which there could be only one answer: "Why, to-day's cow-dung." Sure enough I soon discovered that every little cowherd conscientiously gathers every scrap of the cow's daily output and brings it home to the manure store in the barn—there are no untidy outdoor middens to spoil the landscape or defile the air.

Another day we met Khano of No. 3, one of our first boy-friends, breathlessly chivvying a cow uphill to a spot where he had safely dumped his baby sister Gulâb, in charge of his basket. "Hullo, did she run away from you?" "She did, the villain, but I've got her back, and look, Mother, I've lost nothing," he said, as he proudly displayed the contents of his looped-up cloak. He threw his treasure into the basket and resumed his attentions to Gulâb, while the cow resigned herself to orthodox grazing. He was playing with the little girl, patiently coaxing her to totter a step or two and flop into his waiting arms, and throwing up little stones for her to catch.

857 The tenderness of the bigger children to the babies is a
[593] beautiful thing to watch. I never saw boy or girl out of temper with a baby brother, sister, or cousin, or resentful of having one in charge. When the bigger ones are busy in some momen-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1952-4; 1954-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

600 floor of No. 7 and found a large group of neighbours flailing buckwheat. They made me welcome, and I tried some photographs. "It was very kind of you to send Nimo for me," said I. "But we never sent for you." Then I repeated what the children had said, and we all laughed heartily—the young monkeys had fetched me out on their own account! A few moments later riders were seen approaching. I sped down to welcome them.

Nice folk they proved. The Swedes used to reach Kashgar through Russia in twenty-four days, but Russian travel being uncertain they had been forced to make the long detour via India and our Gilgit road—a matter of at least three months.

593 Some weeks after my last call on Bibi Gimo I was passing by her home again and was hailed by the children from the roof: "Do come in and see the baby!" I was always chary of too readily accepting such impulsive invitations. "Run down and ask mother if she would like to see me." In a moment Najat came out bearing an authorized welcome. It proved that I had come at a fortunate time, for Baby Faqér had just been lifted for a meal and was kicking and crowing in his mother's arms with wonderful vigour for so small an infant. She took
593 off the kerchief that bound his head—it was a large linen hand-
854 kerchief I had purloined from David's store for him, and I
751 gathered that its size and quality were prized—and ran her
291 hand lovingly through his fine crop of dark hair, keeping a watchful eye for possible inhabitants which she gladly failed to find. I was laughed at for admiring his head of hair so much. The kerchief had a funny little needlebook affair attached by brightcoloured threads which had a verse from the Qur'an stitched into it to serve as amulet. Most small children's caps are decorated with several of these gaily coloured, dangling charm, but I should guess that they are merely "the thing," and are not taken more seriously than a charm on a girl's bracelet at home or the mascot on her father's car. Grown-ups rarely display them, but Dido used to sport a string of them underneath his waistcoat when we travelled.

593 I sat down for a chat while the ceremony proceeded, and I observed that baby-worship is as thorough in Hunza as amongst

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

ourselves. Naját and Shukuru and all the children were 593 ●
gathered round, but the men were out at work and the house
was (relatively) empty. So while the mother fed the child I
learned all I could about orthodox baby management. Until 852
the baby cuts his first tooth his mother will not take him to 562
any house where there is another infant. Possibly it is felt that 574
with one tooth he will be armed for self-defence against his
contemporary; possibly the rival mothers might be tempted
into tactless comparisons. Up till this point, too, no male of
the house may handle him. An amusing little ceremony heralds
the cutting of this all-important tooth. Some elderly man—
usually the grandfather—"well skilled with children," takes
the baby in his arms and out into the open. After that his
father and brothers are free to play with him and carry him
about.

Until the child is two or thereabouts he lives the life of a 854
recluse, strapped into his cradle night and day except at meal-
times, or when taken out for an airing in grown-up arms.

When the moment came for replacing Faqér in his cradle, Naját and Shukuru bestirred themselves and fetched some dry, finely powdered earth which they gently warmed over the ashes of the fire. Bibo Gimo produced a large square of strong cloth, sweet and clean but dark with use, and spread it on the dais, lying the baby down on it with a tiny cushion under his head. Then plenty of the earth—it proved to be pounded sun-dried cow-dung, as clean and inoffensive to handle as the fibre in which we plant our bulbs—was packed round him above and below, and he was carefully parcelled up, arms, legs, and feet, into the stout cloth, bandaged into it with a long binder, and laid in the cradle. When he is "changed" the last lot of packing is thrown on to the fields for their enrichment—and that's that. Very cleanly and ingenious it all is and vastly preferable to the eternal washing of "nappies," which, indeed, would be a grim task with insufficiency of cloths, cold water, and no soap.

The bottom of the cradle was full of nice clean straw with a padded mattress on top, and by the time baby's cushion was adjusted and a red quilt laid up to his chin and well tucked in

854 round him, he looked extremely comfortable and well-protected. Next, a piece of wide cloth was threaded by its hem on a rod fastened along the side of the cradle, and passed several times over his tummy and under the wooden cot, being finally lashed to the ridge pole. If the cradle had then been knocked over or rolled down hill baby could neither fall out nor get bumped. Finally a thick blanket was thrown over like a tent, and he was safe from dust or smoke or flies—or fresh air. Mother gave a few gentle rocks and he settled into sleep.

854 The use of the cradle in Hunza is said to be relatively recent,
352 and the pattern of it, wherever it was introduced from, includes the prescription that it shall be made from a special sort of hard wood that grows wild on certain mountain spots and is supposed to possess magical properties. The ridge-pole forms a convenient carrying handle, and wherever you see a group of women working and chatting together, spinning in the shade or on the roof, beating out new-washed wool on a sandy patch beside a stream, pounding kernels, washing clothes, or busy on the threshing floor, you will usually see a cradle or two beside them. Truby King might disapprove of so much infant seclusion; but the flat roof offers a drop of 12 or 14 feet on to boulders, and even the living-room a gentle roll into the open
855 hearth, so that Hunza is no place for crawlers. By the time
593 baby is ripe for toddling, he is old enough to be entrusted to
857 the next-older children, who take him pick-a-back or on their shoulders, scaling walls and leaping streams with him as sure-footed as young goats, and as fearless. They carry him to some flat spot and guard him with the most scrupulous care and proudly watch over his first steps.

163 Babies in Hunza are spaced at intervals of three and four
866 years, so no mother is worn out with child-bearing or embarrassed in her daily work by ex-babies clinging to her skirts and jealous of the infant in her arms. Banu, for instance, was four, sturdy and ripe for independence, before Faqér came to claim the family's attention. Soon after his arrival we used to see her stalking about, proudly taking her first walks alone, and obviously savouring the new freedom from older supervision. One day she had passed twice or three times up and

In discussing the Hunzan game of polo with some 526
friends, when they heard me mention the fact that the 311
best and largest piece of flat land was used for a polo field, they said, "Now, John, this is very contradictory. You claim they are intelligent people and every bit of arable land is needed and used for cultivation and now you tell me that the best piece of land and the largest level space is used for a polo field!"

My reply was, "What I've told you is absolutely true, but sometimes there are considerations involved which neither you nor I nor others in the Western world understand. For example, could we ever explain to the 000
people of Hunza why we rush, swish, hurry and risk our necks driving down the highways, actually risking life and limb—not only our own, but countless others—only to get to our destination . . . and there do nothing!

"Or there is another example that may be even better. A man in America strives all his life to achieve the means of acquiring a home with all modern conveniences and comforts, including every electrically operated appliance or gadget devised to save time and effort. Then when this victory is achieved, he tries to get enough money to buy a summer cottage way up north. There he parks his family for the summer. Then over every weekend he drives hundreds of miles to get there and when he gets there what has he got? Outdoor plumbing, no hot water, no garbage disposal, no electricity—using a lamp or even a candle for light and carrying every bucket of water in from the lake or the creek. You just try to explain that to a Hunzan. There is no more rhyme and reason in one than there is in the other. But who am I to judge?"

It is a positive fact that the men in Hunza do beat 593
their wives. I checked and double checked on this 683
rather important question. The Mir told me he knew

593 of only one case where a man excessively and unjustly
683 administered thrashings on his spouse. In all other instances the men are not punished or sent to prison for it. If a wife doesn't do as her husband commands, he beats her. If she were too generous in giving away her husband's property to her parents, he would also beat
837 her. If she is unfaithful to him and he catches her, he has a right to kill both her and her seducer.

This seems to have an excellent effect in maintaining a high standard of loyalty. I am not sure as to how the people of the West will regard the people of Hunza for the light I have shed here, but whatever your judgment and opinion, I have laid the facts before you.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7

him, she would at least know beforehand what she had to contend with. Then again, as the Mir performs all marriages, maybe he wouldn't allow this young man to take a second wife. I did not inquire any further into the details concerning this case, but I admit that I was somewhat surprised to think that a good healthy happy Hunzan would resort to one of civilization's favorite pastimes . . . wife-beating.

Wife-beating generally seems to be broadly practiced in Hunza. This struck me as being most strange for I could see little cause or likelihood of opportunities for misdemeanors on the part of the wife.

Upon taking the matter up with the Mir, he told me that most cases of wife-beating were brought about by nagging, and in Hunza that is sufficient justifiable cause for a man to administer a sound thrashing to his wife and she can't take him to the Mir's court about it, either. The next most frequent cause for wife-beating is over-generosity to her parents with her husband's possessions.

Wife-beating under such provocations as stated might meet with universal support and approval on the part of mankind. There may be principles and practices in Hunza that will not find widespread support in the West, but I'll bet on the basis of the two causes for wife-beating there will be broad, if not general, male approval.

By Hunza law a daughter cannot inherit property. The best that she can get in a property settlement is the use of the property for her lifetime. It then must revert to a male member of the father's family. There have been instances where a daughter has been willed an individual tree—in most cases, an apricot tree. This remains her property, or at least the crops do, for as long as the tree or she lives.

their own land. They spin their own wool. Then they weave it into cloth from which they cut and sew their clothes. However he can also buy or trade for woolen cloth or he can have his own wool woven for him. 433 [286]

They have little or no money. The few dollars that he might get during the year would come from the expeditions that congregate in the area and hire the Hunzans as porters. And they are unsurpassed at this difficult and arduous work. 436 485

A man has a right to inflict corporal punishment upon his wife if she nags him. Perhaps that is why the men of Hunza have that cheerful look. 593

The children are never neglected because the parents are always at home. Further, the children do their share of the work in the fields and are taught to do so from early childhood. This also eliminates juvenile delinquency. 857

The people of Hunza have splendid dispositions. They are genial, pleasant, smiling and cheerful. They have deep respect for authority, profound love of the land, affection, compassion and understanding for their neighbors and they are most hospitable to strangers. They hold their heads high, their chests out and they are strong, honest and hard-working. To me this showed clearly and positively that people can live and that agriculture can exist and thrive without chemistry, chemical fertilizers, chemical sprays or synthetic medicines and drugs. 157 181 000

They enjoy happiness without modernization, long life without doctors, nurses and hospitals, democracy without bureaucracy, law and order without police and self-sufficiency without money. Part of the answer, if not most of it, is their loyalty to and their faith in their land, a pure case of unremitting agriculture and putting everything back into the soil which was taken

[P44-A]

Marriages are not arranged against the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the reported chief of the house, as the father is of the farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it; men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclusively with other women. They hold their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

At the time of the Tamashalog, and only then, Hunza families butcher a sheep or two; cold weather preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it is virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are unable to raise large crops. (The size of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use every bit of the apricot, as they do of the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the almond-like nuts. The women hand-grind them with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, naturally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about three hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasionally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

Mild cases of rickets and scurvy are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
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D 302 the top of the head for a space 2 inches broad in front, tapering to half an inch behind. Those who cannot boast of long locks, dress their hair into numerous small cork-screw ringlets all round the head.[1] On the approach of middle age the whole head is shaved, according to the orthodox Mahommedan fashion, and the beard is allowed to grow. In Chitral the effect of the long-flowing locks reaching to the waist is often extremely picturesque.

D 576 The mode of salutation between equals, on meeting after a prolonged absence, is graceful and pleasing. After clasping each other, first on one side then on the other, hands are joined, and each person in turn kisses the hand of the other. Superiors are greeted either by kissing the hand or touching the foot, both at meeting and parting. In Chitral, when the meeting is between two of unequal rank, the inferior kisses the hand of the superior, who in return kisses the former on the cheek. A similar practice is said to have existed among the ancient Persians.[2]

D 644 B 644 On the occasion of the visit of one chief to another, a rather curious ceremony called "Kobah" takes place. On arrival, the visitor is conducted to the Shawaran,[3] and the followers of both chiefs show their dexterity in firing at a mark set up on a tall pole, from horseback while galloping at speed. After this a bullock is led out before the guest, who draws his sword and does his best to cut its head off at a single blow, or deputes one of his followers to do so, and the carcase is given to his retinue. The custom exists in Shighnan, Badakhshan, Wakhan, Chitral, Yassin, Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager. In the latter place it is customary to slay the bullock with bow and arrow. Of late years the practice has become somewhat modified owing to the strict observance of Mahommedan customs, and it is more usual to give over the bullock alive to the guest, so that its throat may be cut in a more orthodox fashion; but occasionally a chief wishing to show off the strength of his arm and the temper of his blade, will adhere to the old custom.

B 575 582 587 Polygamy is of course practised, and the right of divorce is somewhat wantonly exercised. The marriage of very young children is not common, though occasionally practised. Girls are generally married between the ages of ten and four-

[1] Rawlinson mentions this as an ancient Persian fashion.—*Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. IV.

[2] Strabo Book XV., Chapter 3, Section 20.

[3] The Shawaran answers all the purposes of the village green in England, being used for all gatherings and games.

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teen. Wives are regarded as the absolute property of the husband and his heirs. On a man's death his brother can claim to marry all his widows, and no widow can marry again without the consent of her husband's brothers. Frequently, if a man leaves several widows as well as several brothers, the latter apportion the former among themselves. So strictly is the rule observed that, should there be only one surviving brother and he an infant, the widow cannot remarry elsewhere till he is old enough to say whether he will marry her or not; On the other hand, it is considered disgraceful to refuse to marry a brother's widow, so that it is not uncommon for a boy of ten years old to marry a woman more than twice his age. So absolute is the custom, that a woman cannot refuse to marry her deceased husband's brother, and her own parents have no voice in the matter. This often leads to two sisters being wives to the same man simultaneously, though the practice is forbidden by Mahommedan law. In Chitral, marriage with a husband's brother, though common, is not compulsory on the woman. Among the Afghans of Dir, if a widow should refuse to marry her husband's brother, he has the power of selling her, as she is regarded in the light of family property, which has been purchased and paid for. Among the Shin caste the marriage of first cousins or other relations within that degree (such as uncle and niece) is strictly prohibited, though allowed by Mahommedan law. In Torwal and Bushkar the marriage of first cousins is allowed, but marriages such as of uncle and niece or niece's daughter are forbidden.

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In none of the Dard languages are there terms distinctive of polygamous relationship. All wives are of equal rank, priority of marriage not conferring any claim. In the Shina and Boorishki languages, uncles on the father's side are styled "great father" or "little father," according to their age in comparison with that of the speaker's father; but there is a distinct term for an uncle on the mother's side. In the same way the term "aunt" is only applied to those on the father's side, the mother's sisters being all styled "mother." There is no specific term either for nephew and niece, who are styled "son" and "daughter." In the same way cousins are styled "brother" or "sister." This would seem to point to the former existence of communal marriage, such as still exists in some parts of India. In the Khowar language the term "uncle" is applied to the brothers of both father and mother without distinction; but aunts on the mother's side are styled "mother,"

681 which people were exiled and as officers were continually asking me what sort of place it was, I determined to go there and see for myself. The track there
491 was very bad indeed and in two places there were goat hair bridges which were very unpleasant to cross. A ring of wood was used and the traveler was drawn from one bank to the other and if he wore a beard most of the hairs were dragged out on the way. . . .

643 "My father[1] had six wives, three of which were of the
595 ruling classes and three from the Zemindaris. All however, were married to him according to the law and so he left behind no bastards."

276 The Mir told me that of late some of the young boys
177 have taken to smoking cigarettes. This they have picked up and learned from the Hunzan men who have been serving in the Pakistani army. Cigarettes can be pur-
685 chased in the shop in Baltit and a few occasions of
276 petty theft have been encountered. In each case it
[443] seems that they stole in order to get money to buy cigarettes. These few petty crimes of course did not
[681] involve ostracism to Shimshal. It is expected that this condition will continue or even become aggravated as the youth of Hunza become more familiar and acquainted with smoking. Some of the men in Hunza smoke the "hookah" which we know as the water-pipe.

249 Some forms and varieties of tobacco have been tried
123 in Hunza. I promised to send the Mir seeds of the various types of tobacco that we grow in America, such as Virginia, Burley and Quesnel. Perhaps if they can learn to grow tobacco, it will enable the youth to get their hands on some tobacco and satisfy their craving for it without resorting to other ways and means. However, they would have to get paper from somewhere for none is made or improvised in Hunza.

674 It is obvious from what I have seen, that crime and

1 [ie - the father of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan - ANALYST]

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
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which would point to polygamy, and not to communal marriage, as an ancient institution in the Chitral Valley. In the Bushkarik language the terms point towards polyandry.

Cases of infidelity are extremely common, and the men show none of the jealousy of their wives usual in older Mahommedan communities. In cases of adultery the injured husband has the right to slay the guilty couple when he finds them together; but should he slay one and not the other, he is held guilty of murder. This practice is followed in Sirikol and Wakhan as well as south of the Hindoo Koosh. It is said that the Afghans of Swat, Dir, and Asmar take no notice of a wife's infidelity if, when it comes to their knowledge, they are able to disguise the knowledge from others; but should they learn it through a third person, a bloody vengeance is inflicted. In cases where conclusive proof is wanting, and which are brought for settlement before the ruler or Wuzeer, guarantee is taken for the future by the accused placing his lips to the woman's breast. She thenceforth is regarded as his foster-mother, and no other relations but those of mother and son can exist between them. So sacred is the tie thus established esteemed, that it has never been known to be broken, and the most jealous husband ceases to suspect even though a confession of previous guilt may have been made. In such a case a sheep and a toloo of gold are placed at the feet of the husband by the offender, who humbly sues for forgiveness.

It would appear that morals were more lax formerly than they are now. In Hunza, where the community approaches most nearly to its pre-Mahommedan state, infidelity is not regarded as an offence, and custom requires that a man shall place his wife at his guest's disposal, as in Hazara. The *droit de seigneur* was exercised by the father of the present ruler, and though the custom has been allowed to fall into disuse, it is evident from the accounts given of weekly orgies held by Ghazan Khan that the right is only held in abeyance and not formally renounced. In Nager things are but slightly better, and a man considers himself highly honoured if his wife attracts the attention of the Thum. Islam has not yet brought about the seclusion of the women, who mix freely with the men on all occasions Young men and maidens of different families eat and converse together without restraint, and great liberty is allowed to young women, with frequent evil results. Infanticide arising from illicit connections is common, and is not considered a crime.

243 wheat—the usual "Ha! Ha! Ha!" encouraging them and the usual dung-dish unostentatiously circulating behind. It was an interesting, very typical scene, and not a hundred yards below 000 our house. I sent a message up to David (there is always a small candidate to act proudly as messenger) to tell him that he might care to bring his camera. In a few minutes he was picking his way cautiously down the breakneck track while a great cheer of welcome rang from the little crowd. They had all been genuinely concerned about his illness, and were delighted to see that he was better and able to come down and watch things himself. It was his first visit to one of the field working parties. He sat on a low wall in a tiny speck of shade, made friendly chat all round, and was a great social success.

601 While I pottered each morning in the fields, enjoying myself 124 among the people, he was usually hard at work indoors with Qudrat Ullah, taking notes of how the irrigation is managed and the system on which the water is distributed by clans and families, and working out genealogical trees. This latter is a weary affair but most useful, for it gives you insight into all their marriage alliances, how many children each family has, how many boys and how many girls, who is allowed to marry whom, and what the relationship terms are, both in the vocative between the various members of a family group, and in the third person when others are talking of them—a highly com- 601 plicated but most instructive subject. An elder brother will address the younger by one method, while the younger will use a more respectful term towards the elder; all the younger boys of a family will use to their *eldest* sister the same respectful form of address as to their eldest brother, though to the uninitiated it would seem to imply that she was a male. A man addresses his wife's father and mother in precisely the same terms and with the same respect as his own. A child's "uncle" is a mother's brother only; the father's brother is "Little Father" or "Big Father" according as the speaker's own father (about whom there is no ambiguity) is older or younger than the uncle concerned. The children of brothers who all share the one home speak of each other as brother and sister, unless there is need to be more explicit, in which case they will

elaborate the statement: "She is my sister, at least: the 601 daughter of my Little Father."

David sadly bemoaned the hideous "waste" of nine weeks 126 spent in illness and convalescence; but in fact he managed to put in a lot of most valuable spade work. Even in the periods of weakness between the fever attacks he got a good deal done—including the Introduction to his first volume of the Burushaski—and during his convalescence he worked steadily and increasingly long hours every day, though he was not able to move freely about the countryside. Qudrat Ullah proved extremely intelligent. David suggested a subject he would like to go into—the rotation of crops; the clans; marriage or funeral rites, etc., etc.—and Qudrat Ullah went home to ponder and collect fuller information than he himself could give offhand, from his entire family, including the elders. Then he wrote out the facts in Burushaski (using still the inadequate and unsatisfactory Arabic script) and came a day or two later to read his "essay." This David took down verbatim—thus getting at least all the relevant technical vocabulary, asked further details, and suggested further lines of enquiry, drawing by this means on a far larger range of informants than he could hope to get into touch with single-handed. As soon as he was able to get about he was able to discuss matters on the spot with a background of knowledge that made it easier for him to understand the less sophisticated speakers, and from their talk and his own observation to check and supplement the information Qudrat Ullah had supplied. This method worked 115 admirably. Nor was Qudrat Ullah his only sedentary informant: the levies and others took their turn in the study.

It proved immensely valuable to have the carefully dictated 000 manuscripts from Qudrat Ullah, with supplementary notes and comments. As soon as these had been worked through, I took them one by one and typed them out in triplicate, so that even if all our manuscript notebooks were to perish by fire or flood or avalanche—which heaven forfend!—we should still have *some* written record to supplement our memory. The two spare copies were posted home to the Bank in separate batches at longish intervals for safe custody till our return. In some ways

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

193 prefixing of an *a*; a further lengthening of the vowel will convert the same transitive into a causative. If the three verbs are clearly said one after the other, the difference is easy to distinguish, but I know no form of conversation in which the speaker wants to perform this feat. When one verb is heard alone in the quick current of colloquial speech I defy the beginner to be always certain which vowel-length has been employed.

193 Another bewildering trick of Burushaski speech—the im-
194 portance of which I must confess we did not at once discern—is that almost any word may mean its exact opposite if pronounced with lengthened vowel and a different tone of voice. If you ask what sort of a horse a would-be seller has brought, the answer *yashkian* may mean either "a very suitable, satisfactory beast for you to ride," or alternatively "a miserable nag you could not be seen on." You need to know. It is best to go and look. *Caveat emptor*, anyhow! Similarly, if I asked Zaidu how much flour we had left in store and he replied *kaman*, this might be interpreted "a good deal, quite enough for the present," or "just a little," or "very, very little indeed."

This playing on vowel length, quality, and tone is carried to amazing lengths. The only kind of parallel I can think of in English is a child's use of *tiny* as less small than *teeny-weeny*, or the onomatopœic *squeak* denoting a thinner, less important sound than *squawk*. The Burusho can imply admiration, ridicule, contempt, degrees of size, importance, loudness, and what not by skilful sleights of vowel play. The only mild approach we can make to this in English is when by our intonation and expression we can say: "He's a fine fellow, he is," and give it to be understood that the remark is ironical. But *we* use this phonetic irony with extreme economy, whereas it is lavishly employed in Burushaski.

• 601 A particular snare into which I was apt to fall—though on paper I could have passed a stiff examination on the facts—lay in this: prefixes apart, Burushaski has no one word for *brother* or *sister*. If said by a boy, *acho* means "my brother"; if said by a girl "my sister." This form of the word means, in fact,

601 "another child of my father and mother, of the same sex as I myself." A second word denotes a boy's sister; a third, a girl's brother. Just to prevent your feeling too sure of things, a boy will address a much older sister out of deference as "my brother." When chattering to my children friends I often provoked delighted chuckles by inadvertently saying the equivalent of: "is that little boy your sister?"

The same sort of differentiation is carried into several other relationships. It does not simplify the tracing out in haste of complicated family genealogies which was one of David's little tasks. My *cousin*, if our two fathers are brothers, is usually described as *my brother* or *my sister*, unless it is necessary to be more explicit; whereas a cousin not reared in the same house has a name to him- or herself. An *uncle* who is my father's brother is *big father*, *little father*, or *middle father* according to his relative age, while my mother's brother is an uncle.

607 One relationship word the Burusho have for which we might well devise an English equivalent. If young Mr. Smith marries young Miss Jones, what relationship exists between the parent Smiths and Joneses? (Amongst us, carefully dissembled hostility, of course.) Burushaski has a special and convenient term for what is amongst them this very real tie of friendship and alliance between the houses. If the Jones family are extra busy or short-handed, the Smiths will come along to lend a hand, or vice versa.

192 It is a common error of the uninitiate to take for granted that people of a primitive material culture will have a limited and easily mastered vocabulary. As all serious language-students know, the reverse is the case. Burushaski would no doubt be found to lack our large supply of terms—mostly non-English—to express philosophical ideas or aesthetic appreciation, though it would from its own rich resources be perfectly capable of creating them without borrowing at second-hand, if anyone could spare time from the urgencies of living to indulge in the futilities of philosophy or aesthetics; but it is rich beyond belief in verb-concepts and in concrete words denoting crops and buds and fruits at every stage of growth, implements of

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

193 of the Pronominal Prefix to the Past Participle Active[1], and the use of finite verbal forms with case suffixes.[2]

●601 One detail regarding the vocabulary deserves special notice. The word -ačo denotes both '*a man's brother*' and *a woman's sister*. The German translation would be *Geschwister von demselben Geschlecht*. A similar conception is found in the word -rik *wife's brother*, *husband's sister*, (*a woman's*[3]) *brother's wife*, (*a man's*) *sister's husband* (but not *wife's sister* or *husband's brother*). Apparently this word denotes *a brother- or sister-in-law belonging to the same sex as the person in relation to whom he or she is mentioned*. Note that *woman's brother* (-ulus) and *man's sister* (-yas) are denoted by separate words.

I have not met with this curious nomenclature in other languages, and I do not know to what kind of special structure of the family group it may originally have been due.

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197 If we turn to the important question of the genealogical relations between Bu. and other languages, we are faced by great, perhaps insurmountable difficulties, *inter alia* because we possess no ancient records of the language and have only the closely related Werchikwar dialect to compare it with.

One fact, however, seems quite certain and indisputable: Bu. is not related to any of the surrounding Indo-Iranian, Turkish or Tibetan languages.

If we exclude A. Hyde's claim that Bu.[4] has a Siberio-Nubian origin, the first attempt to determine the position of Bu. was made by Ph. L. Barbour[5] who suggested the possibility of a connection with the Muṇḍa languages (Santali etc.). In spite of the great anthropological difference between Burusho and Muṇḍas this hypo-

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[1] § 326.
[2] § 407.
[3] Cf. Texts, p. 364.8 where avrikmo *my brother's wife* is said by a girl.
[4] Indian Antiquary, I, 258 (quoted LSI, VIII, 2, 551).
[5] JAOS, 1921, p. 60 sqq.

sg. Pres. Fut. of *ʌwarjoɜrki* to be necessary). 000

ayʌš v. *aiyʌš*.

ayʌfa = *a* + **-yʌfe* upon me.

ayau = *a* + *a* + **-uɜ* neg. impv. of **-uyʌs* with 1st. sg. Pn. Pf. — *šʌpik jaɜr ayau* don't give me bread.

aye = *a* + *e* neg. impv. (short form) of *etʌs*, do not thou do.

ayetʌs. Negative of *etʌs*.

aya, *ʌya*, *-tsɜro* hm (**-ya?*) 601

1. my father! A Vocative used in addressing fathers and father-equivalents, e.g. paternal uncles, step-father, foster-father, father-in-law; but it is also said that in recent times it has ceased to be used for uncles: "because there is only one father".
2. my father, used in the nominative and other cases.
   uyuɜm aya father's elder brother.
   jot aya } father's younger
   čukon aya } brother.
   aɜya dimi my father came; *ja uštam aya* (*or aɜu.e*) *hukomolo manin* abide by the orders of my foster-father. 28.1. *je.imo ayaɜr seyʌm*, "*le.i ʌya*" I shall say to my father. "O father . . ." 368.3. *mi ine aya berumʌn dɜroskuyor šʌpik* . . . . *uče.i* to how many labourers does that father of mine give bread? 368.1.
3. In verse used by woman addressing her beloved (?) 364 3.

(It is not clear whether there is any etymological connection between *aya* and **-uy*. The genitive forms *guɜa* and *muɜa* (282.18. 19) could be referred to a hypothetical **-ya*).

6b

ayamo, *ʌyamo* "our family", "our relations" (an expression used only by women). — *'ayamo hər'o hɛt bi.ɛn* the oxen belonging to our relations are loose. 246.9. *ayamo bʌγərku bərn* our relations are evil people. 246.13. *ʌyamo galiŋʌtər* to my father's staircase. 364.7. 601

(The word seems to be composed of *aya* (-**ya*) and the adjectival ending *-mo* and so should mean pertaining to my father).

ə·zə·d free, at liberty, independent. Prs. ○○○

ə·zə·di freedom. Prs.

azər troubled, vexed, displeased. — *bɛzʌnʌts azər numa* being troubled (*or* vexed) by something. 292.13. *bɛzʌntsum ə·zə·r gumdima?* what are you displeased about? *je u·ntsum bu·t ə·zə·r* I am much displeased with you. Prs.

ʌ and m.

(See also under a).

ʌ- v. *a-*. Negative prefix used with verbs.

ʌ-, *a-*. Privative or negative prefix used in composition with some adjectives and nouns. The corresponding positive prefix being *su-*, e.g. *ʌbaš*, *subaš*; *ʌčɛ·mo*, *sučɛ·mo*. (Cp. Sh. *a-* and *su-*; Skr. *a-* and *su-*).

ʌba um'ə· said to be a Balti expression meaning "It is I", but this is not supported by the L. S. I. 152.14.

*-*ʌbʌltʌs*, *-*ʌbalč-* to cause s.o. to wash s.t., to wash s.t. for s.o. (probably only of y objects). — *thʌmɛ· iriŋ 'ɛ·ʌbʌlčər maharʌmʌnɛ· izil dəsurčai* a private servant brings water to make the Tham wash his hands. 340.7. *thʌmɛ· n'ɛ·ʌbʌlt da ʌkə·bərtiŋ 'ə·rbʌlčə·n* having made the Tham wash (his

000 into his heart for him". See generally §§ 242—247. Cs. of *bilaiyʌs*.

ʌblʌq piebald. Ar.

ʌčaʳčo IUB hasty, brusque.

ʌčəra, ʌčʼera, ačəra confused, bewildered, having lost one's head, startled, alarmed, Pra *pəriłaʳn*; *H. gʌbraʳkər*. — *Šʌhri Baʳno ačʼera numuʳmʌn qi.u ne . . . . sus mumʌnumo* ś. B. being bewildered cried out . . . . and lost consciousness. 30.19. *ačəra numʼuʳman . . . iγʼunumo* losing her head she gave him (the things). 212.7. (Perhaps *ʌ* + *čəra*, cp. *čərči* = *čər* + *tsi*?)

ʌčʌs pl. *ʌčʌšo* x. sheep and/or goat. 72.25.

ʌčʼemi hf. mischievous (woman), malicious. — *ʌčʼemi.en* (γuʼikrēn) *bo* she is an evil woman. (F. sg. of Sh. *ʌčʼemo*).

ʌčʼemo, ʌčʼəmo, ačʼemo, pl. *ʌčʼemutiŋ* h. mischievous, dishonest person; rascal, villain, dangerous person; H. *šʌriʳr*. — *iʳljum biltse* (*beltse*) *ačʼemutiŋ dʌmaʳmʌnumʌn*(?) (Sh. *ʌčʼemo*. Cp. *sučʼemo*).

ʌči = *a* + *tsi*. — *ʌči γʌsičumʌn* they will laugh at me. 98.2.

ʌčo, pl. *ačoʳin*. — 1. wait! *be ačukoʳn, ačoʳin doγərus doʳljen* No, my brothers, wait (and only) after enquiring let us beat them. 248.8. — 2. waiting(?) delay(?) *duʳŋ ʌčoʳwər* or, *duʳŋ ʌčo ke* presently, soon. *duʳŋ ʌčoʳwər juʳči* he will come soon.

●601 *-*ʌčo* pl. *-*ʌčukoʳn* hmf. Gen. sg. hm. *-*ʌčuʳs*, hf. *-*ʌčumo*.
(a man's) brother; (a woman's) sister.
sg. *aʳčo* (*ʌčo*), *goʳčo, sʳčo, moʳčo*; *mesʳčo*.
pl. *ʌčukoʳn, goʳčukoʳn, sʳčukoʳn, mocʼukoʳn*.
ačutsum from my (m.) brother. 10.12.
sʳčutsum from his brother. 10.9. —

The following cover certain categories of nephew and niece: 601

Aču.e i·i my (m.) brother's son.
go·ču.e i·i thy (m.) brother's son.
eču.e i·i his brother's son.
me·ču.e yu· our (m.) brother's sons.
ačumo mu.i, muyu my (f.) sister's son(s).
go·čumo mu.i thy (f.) sister's son.
mo·čumo mu.i her sister's son.
Aču.e ei my (m.) brother's daughter.
Ačumo moi my (f.) sister's daughter.
gučumo moi thy (f.) sister's daughter.
ine imimo mo·čo his mother's sister.
inemo mumimo mo·čo her mother's sister. *o·emo mo·čo* my wife's sister. (*ja*) *o·yere e·čo* my husband's brother. *ro·me ečuko·n* his (the bridegroom's) tribal brethren. 300.8. *ue mučuko·n* those sisters of hers. 118.7.

ačumai.i -miŋ y. mischief, evil-doing. 000
ačum'aimiŋ uyAtiz, ačumaimiŋz sərda·r leader in mischief.
ačumai.e etAšo uyAtis (or *sərda·r*), } ringleader of
ačumaimiŋ etAšu e sərda·r } evildoers.
ačumai.i etAs uyAtum uyu·m the chief of evildoers. (Cp. *Ačemo*. Sh. *Ačemai.i*).

AdAp, AdAb y. respect, politeness. — *AdAp etAs* to show respect, treat respectfully. *AdApe ka huru·* sit respectfully. Ar.

**-AdilAs, *-Adilj-*, Impv. **-Adili*, Ppa. *n*-Adil, n*-Adilin*.

1. Cs. of *delAs*. — *prik delAs* to leap, jump; *prik *-AdilAs* to make jump. *prik ediljome* making his horse jump. 122.21.
2. Equivalent of *delAs*. (The pronoun prefixes seem to be acting as Ethic Datives) to put, apply, fix. — *ese hunər urinčiŋ ediluman* they

000 *hoʷi jʌɣuʷima?* wilt thou give me vegetables? 64.3. *goks ɣenʌŋtsun pyuuʌn jʌɣun* (or *ʌɣun*) give me a little of this gold. 54.23.

(*-ʌɣuʷraiyʌs?*) to cause to defecate. 8. λ. — *hin guʷsʌns muʷi n'eʷɣuʷʌn* a woman having made her (baby) so stool. 272.5. Cp. *ɣuʷʌǰ*.

ʌhmʌq, axmʌq, ʌqmʌq fool. — *uʷŋ bu ʌhmʌq* you are a great fool. 78.7. Ar.

ʌhuʷʌl (v. *hʌl*) state, condition, circumstances. Ar.

● 601 *-ʌ.i pl. *-y'ugušʌnts* hf.

1. Daughter (also, brother's daughter N.) — *ai.i, goʷi, e.i, mo.i* my, thy, his, her daughter. *mai,i, me.i; mai.i, maʷi; o.i* our, your, their daughters. *aiyuʷgušʌnts* my daughters. *yuʷgušʌnts* his daughters. *muyuʷgušʌnts* her daughters. *me.i mi* our daughter and son. *miyu miyuʷgušʌnts* our sons and daughters. *goyʌn dumumʌno ks* if a daughter were born to you. *'eʷiyʌ muʷmi ks muʷuʷʌr osumo* the (his) daughter said to her father and mother. 280 12. *mamatsum maiʷiyen da maiʷyen dumai.imen* a son and a daughter will be born of you (pl.). 280.14.

2. Tribal daughter. — *hin hurutum guʷsʌn Pfekʌrum oʷi bom* there was a woman with child (who was) a daughter of (the people of) *Pfekʌr* (name of a village or community). 242.7. *Baraʷtʌlinʌ 'oʷi bom, Hurukutsʌ uʷs bom* she was a daughter of the Barataling (tribe) and a wife of the Hurukuts (tribe). 258.3.

000 *-ʌ.ikinʌs, *-ʌ.iki(y)-, Impv. *-ʌ.ikin.

1. To teach, instruct, educate, train

12a

ak'ara without knowledge, without reason; H. *nasma'lum, nahaq.* 000

*-*akatum* in the service of. — *ekatum ine*, we that person, those persons, in my service. *gokatum ine hir (gus)* the man (woman) in your service. *ja 'katumər ov xaber sti* tell those in my service. 94.19. *mokatum dasin* the girl who accompanies and stays with the bride for the first days after marriage. 306.2. (Probably derived from *kaf* with, otherwise from *kaf* condition, undertaking). [585]

*-*akat -iŋ* y. armpit. — *ekati.avum (ekat yavum) biske* hair from under his armpit. 22.8. *'ekatiŋyawər ja dam at'eŋqaltimi* my breath did not reach (under) his armpits. 110.8. *jakune gorko ekati.ave nidilin* putting the donkey-foal under his arm. 118.4. (Perhaps *-*aqat*, cp. *-*qal*).

akhen IUB inopportune, untimely (?). H. *nawaqt.* (*a + khen*).

Akhaf, IYB, *akaf, akaf*, pl. *akeftio* strange, novel, extraordinary, remarkable; stranger. — *kine kut akaf čayan sčai.i* this man says this strange thing. *Akaf dustaken* a strange thing, object. *Akftan bai.i* he is a stranger. (Cp. Sh. *akhaf* unfamiliar, inexperienced).

*-*ak*-*i* N. daughter and son, children. — *akari, gokgwi, eki; makmi, makmavi, okwi.* (*-*a.i* *ke* *-*i*. Cp. *-*ak* *-*yu*). [601] •

Akhi Akhi = *Akhiel Akhiel* — *Akhi Akhi nusen hiran dayami* the man, having said thus and thus, hid himself. 378.13.

Akhiel IYB, *akiel, akiel akiel.* — Adj. such as this, like this, of this kind. — Adv. thus, so, H. *aisa.* — *akiel balkan* a plank like this, of this sort. *Akiel aiyeti* don't do thus. *Akiel oman* don't be like this.

Akhírlaṭe in this wise, thus, in this manner. — *čaγa Akírlaṭe ečan* they tell the story on this wise, thus. *Akírleṭe beruman guntsrŋ nírmí* some days passed in this manner. 8.7. 000

Akhírljuko pl. h. (of *Akhírl*) similar, such as. — *ínsmutsum Akírljuko tha muyu dumtanuman* a hundred similar sons were born of her. 102.17. *be, e.i, Akírljuko γonʼikiants man ko apan* No, my son, there are no such ill-favoured people (as you). 168.22.

*-*Akin*, *-*Akimiŋ*, N. *-*Akinin*, y. liver. — *han ʼkinan . . ínčičan* they give him one liver. 338.17. Cp, 66.6, 66.15, 74.4.

*-*Akirminas* EOL to make s.o. write. Cs. of *girminas*.

Akírtsum of dreadful, alarming, appearance, H. *haibątnak;* ill-favoured, hideous (?); IUB *badpuγat*. — *Akírtsuman baí.i* he is a terrible-looking person.

Akuε these (people). — *Akuε baman uyon* all these people who are present. 172.6. Variant of *kuε* pl. of *kíne*. *k-* (*kh-*) has the force of a proximate demonstrative and is sometimes preceded by *a-*, *a-*. V. § 135 note.

Akʼvle here. — *yá· Akʼvle dʼí bi.a* has the bear come here? 228.8. Cp. *kvle* and preceding note.

Akvš IUB without leisure (?) H. *nafurγat*. (Cp. Kho. *γuš* leisure).

*-*Akušelas* v. *-*Aqušelas*.

*-*Ak* *-*yu* daughters and sons, children. 601 •

Sg. 1. *Ak aiyu, ak ayu.*
2. *gok guyu.*
3. *ek yu.*
mok muyu.

Pl. 1. *mek meyu* (*miyu*).
2. *mak maiyu.*
3. *ok uyu.*

13b

601 *mak maiyu bɔ·nc? awa nazɔr, ak ayu bɔ·n* Have you (pl.) any children? (lit. are there your children?) Yes Sir, I have children. *gok gu·i (guyu) bɔ·na?* have you (sg.) any children? *ma ja ak ayu bɔ·n, sanin* you are my children, speak. (Cp. *-ak *-i).

*-*axakin* v. *-*xakin* daughter-in-law.

axɔna . . . ke.

1. if. — *axɔna pfut ma deli bam ke bu·t teil dusum tse* if you had killed the Div, much water would have come out. 292.9. *axɔna du·yen ke . . . ɔ·su.in* if they come (lit. came) say to them . . . 246.16.

2. though. — This meaning (H. *agɔrče*) is supported by IUB and by one other doubtful example. *axɔna maper bam kuli saforete nimi* though he was an elderly man, he went on a journey.

*-*axɔna* is rarely used in Burushaski and its occurrence is perhaps due to the influence of Shina. (Sh. *axɔna* if).

*-*axɔras* v. *-*xɔras*. — (Written by IUB اخارس i.e. *axa·ras*, but *axɔras* was probably meant).

axarat v. *axa·rat*.

*-*axɔ·ras*(?) v. *-*xi·ras* to rend (slay). (Only once so recorded). — *kɔri kɔri s'iŋgetiŋ ox'ɔ·ras* the render (slayer) of famous monsters. 176.11.

axmaq v. *almaq*.

axta castrated. — *axta atas* to geld (a horse). Pra.

*-*axurpat -iŋ*, v. *-*xurpat*, lung. — N. *axurpat* his lung.

alam, *alam -iŋ*, *-ičiŋ* flag, standard. — *alam deli.as* to put up, plant a flag. *alam di.uias* to take down, remove, a flag. *alam diskuyas* to lower, haul

000 *-ʌpʌt, (*-ʌfʌt) -iŋ y side, flank (of person); beside, close to. — *ja ʌ·pʌtulo hurʌ·timi* he sat down beside me. *dʌl ʌ·pʌt* beside me on the upper side. *khʌt ʌ·pʌt* beside me on the lower side. *ilji ʌ·pʌt* behind me. *yʌv ʌ·pʌt* in front of me. *mopʌtɔ dʌl jʌkune go·ko ʌ·gučʌmi* he put the donkey foal to sleep along beside her. 118.6. *ʌ·fʌtʌr guča baiʌ* he is lying on his side. *iriŋ 'ʌ·pʌtʌfʌ jʌk netʌn* laying out his (the dead man's) arm along his side. 312.2. *furuwʌn thʌm yʌr ʌ·pʌt ʌ·wimi* he placed a pumpkin before the Tham. 384.21. *go·pʌt yʌ·rum ʌ·rʌs —!* Prov. 17. (Cp. Sh. *ʌ·fʌt* side, direction; beside).

•601 *-ʌpi -tsʌro hmf grandfather, grandmother (on either side). Used also of any old man or old woman. — *jʌ·rimo ʌ·pi* my paternal grandfather. *ʌ·pkutse ʌ·pi* my maternal grandfather. *wa 'ʌpi!* O father's mother! 286.4. *wa kʌkʌr ʌpi!* O dear mother's mother! 228.15.

In these two cases the renderings are as given by the narrator. The woman was not actually related to her interlocutor.

Kʌsʌrʌ ʌ·pi mutsuya ba I have married Kiser's grandmother (father's mother). 182.18, cp. 184.1, 8. *gute kita·b gopkutse go·pi.s bilum* this book was your maternal grandfather's. 70.2.

*-ʌpkuts (related on the mother's side), maternal; maternal relatives. *ʌ·pkutse nʌnʌ, ʌ·pkutse ʌ·ŋgo* my maternal uncle. *ʌ·pkutse ʌ·pi, ʌ·pkutse dʌ·do* my maternal grandfather. *ʌ·pkutʌtsum dumʌ·rumʌn* they demanded (the boy) from his maternal relatives. 242.13, cp. 70.2.

273 to be made till recently in Hunza). *kir sisɛ birʌnčɛ ʌrʌkičiŋ di.ʍrin* the men, having produced mulberry spirit. 330.4. *padša mərʌkavlo ʌrʌq mi bʌm* the King was drinking spirits in the court. 86.19. *padša iriŋulo ʌrʌq bilum minimi* the King drank the arrack that was in his hand. 86.22. Ar.

601 *-*ʌrər* -*ło* hm son-in-law. — *le.i 'ʌrər!* O (my) son-in-law! *ɛrɛrɛ ka buʍ xuš mʌnimi* he became much pleased with his son-in-law. 39.2. *pərdša hukum ɛtimi* . . . . *ʍu ɛrərču.ər* the King gave orders to those sons-in-law of his. 120.21.

000 *-*ʌrʌs*, *-*ʌrč-*, Impv. *-*ʌri*, Ppa. n*-*ʌrin*.

1. To send (s.o.), despatch. The Pn. pf. refers to the direct object.
   inɛ jɛ ʌrči he will send me.
   gorčʌm I'll send you.
   ɛrčʌm, mo.rčʌm I'll send him, her.
   mɛrčumʌn they'll send us.
   mʌrčʌm I'll send you (pl.).
   ɔrčʌm I'll send them.
   nɛrrin having sent him.
   ʍu aiyɔri don't send them!
   Imʌm Yʌr Beg Paikɛtɛ ɛri send I. Y. B. to Paik. *da ʌltʌn ɔrimi* again he sent two men. 24.8. *iʍɛ . . . guʍti.ər morumʌn* they sent her to the hut. 114.6.
2. It may be regarded as supplying the causative of *niyʌs* to go, i.e. to cause to go.
3. It is used, more or less metaphorically, in various idiomatic expressions: — *gosɛ . . . xʌn ʌwɛši kɛ jiʍsum ʌʍči* if this (elephant) flings me down it will kill me (despatch me from life). 76.25. *ʍʍɛ daulʌt ɣunikrš duroiŋulo*

ate the flowers. 64.9. *joq dusor-tema . . . gir'ameler askuvig divni ki* when, the apricot trees coming into blossom, the blossom (pl.) has reached the village. 320.1. 000

2. *askuv* sg.(?) & pl. n. smallpox rash, smallpox. — *ivise askuv dusaio bi.en* smallpox rash has come out on him. *askuv ousalo ka* I have got smallpox. *askuva (i)oualai.i(?)* or *askuve ualai.i(?)* he has got smallpox. *askuvisum dusai.i* he has recovered from smallpox. *askuvisum dusaio kan* they have recovered from smallpox. (Cp. Khe. *ispru* blossom, smallpox; Sh. *ŋ̊ṣuor* flower, smallpox).

*-*askuvisas* v. *-*asquvisas*.

*-*askus*, *-*asqus*, pl. *-*asqusiqants* N. *-*askusiants* hf. mother-in-law, wife's mother, husband's mother, H. *sas*, *suddrman*. — *ovakus apo* my mother-in-law is not (here). *govakus tsis ko* your mother-in-law is there. *kan pačien . . . mosqusmor fat etobo* she leaves a shirt . . . for her m.-in-law. 306.5. *ise gatu mosqusar* (or *mosaskusar*) *yoljubo* her mother-in-law puts on that garment. 306.6. (*-*as* + *gus*. Cp. *-*askur*). 601

*-*asmilas*, *-*asmilj-*, to pacify, placate, persuade, IUB. H. *roshpar lawa*, *manpur karawa*, *qabul karawa*. — *ugwa insi 'rasmilasar dur'wushinimi* he began to persuade the elder son (H. *use manawar Lagu*). 374.6. 000

*-*aso* pl. *-*asomots* kidney. — *jotrio masomots* our "little kidneys" (meaning?). *gosomots* thy kidneys. 66.15. *osomots* his, its, kidneys. 66.6, 74.4, 228.16. *'osomots dusimi, kabrô otimi, d'otsorimi* he took out its

from my order, i.e. he acted on his own contrary to my order. *ivi· hakičaŋ* separate rooms. EOL. Other persons can probably be similarly used. IUB gives *mi· mi·*, separately, apart, Ar., H. *'alahida*. 000

2. *-i, *-i·, pl. *-yu, *-yu·, *-yu·a hm. son, 601

Hz. son.

Pn.pf. sg. 1. *ei* my son. 2. *gui* thy son. 3. *i·, i·i* his son. *mui, mui·* her son.

Pn.pf. pl. 1. *mi·, mi·i* our son. 2. *mai.i, mai.i·* your son. 3. *ui* their son.

Pn.pf. sg. 1. *ayu, aiyu·, aiyu·a* my sons. 2. *guyu·* thy sons. 3. m. *yu·, yu·u*, f. *muyu·*.

Pn.pf. pl. 1. *miyu·, mi.u* our sons. 2. *maiyu·*. 3. *uyu·*.

N. son, brother's son.

ai·, ai my son. *ayu·a* my sons. *yu·a* his sons. *muyu·ea* her sons.

H. examples:

le ei! O my son! 374.13. *gei·yen dimanimi ke* ... if a son is (was) born to you. 56.15. *uyu·m i·* his elder son. 368.18. *jot i·i.e i·imo besan uyo·n gati netan* his younger son, collecting all his own property. 372.6. *hire i·yor gusan dumu·tsisor rak etimi ke* ... when a man decides to fetch a woman (wife) ... for his son. 298.1. *mu.i·yen dimanimi* a son was born to her. 58.9. *le aiyu·a* O my sons. 246.8. *je ke ayu·a ka* I and (with) my sons. 62.19. *miyu o·ltalik* both our sons. 40.18. *mai.imo maiyu altan kas o·tan ke* ... if you were

601 to slay two of your own sons. 44.11. *Hamačatiŋs uyuʷik Ultarər oʷram* The H. had sent their sons to U. 246.30.

000 *ičagər*, *-iŋ* (y) ray, beam of light, H. *kiʷran*. — *sa ičakər* ray of the sun, sunbeam. *sa sčakər dusimi* a sun beam has come out. *sa.ə ičakər duwašimi* the rays of the sun have come out. EOL.

iʷčər (*i* + *-čhər* q.v.) his (a man's) voice; voice of non-human animate being; noise, sound (pertaining to or arising from an inanimate object).

iʷčit, *ičit* y permanently cultivated land, H. *aʷbaʷdi*. — *kiʷts pa ičit bila?* is there any cultivation hereabouts? *gots diš ičit bila* this place is cultivated (land). EOL.

iḍigaʷr tali (Gh.Kh.), *iʷtigaʷr tali*, *iʷdigaʷri*, *itigaʷri* round a.t., round about (a.t.), round about (Adv.) — *marər iʷteg'ari dešam bila* the grave is enclosed round about. 220.8. *its sam iʷdigaʷri maʷu stimi* he mewed round the smokehole. 174.12. *iʷlčumutss itigaʷri* (or, *itigaʷr tali*) *tikumuts sčaʷn* round his eyes they paint spots. 300.9. *ha iʷtigaʷr tali* round the house. *itigaʷr tali d*-ašeas* to surround. *taʷŋs iḍigaʷr tals* round the palace. 384.9. (*-ḍ-* Gh. Kh.). (Later found to be a form of **-digaʷr*).

iʷasas, *iʷasum*, v. 2. *ʷasaʷs*.

iʷi v. 1. **-i*, and 2. **-i*.

xjaʷzat y permission. — *xjaʷzat xčiʷmi* he gave him permission. 36.24. Ar.

-ik suffix added to the plur. of Nouns and Adjs. V. § 44.

**-iʷk*, *-ičiŋ*, y name; good name; (good) reputation, H. *naʷm*, *neʷknaʷmi*.

42a

Infin. *ivʌse γʌmulo* in grief for his death. 38.20. *gu.ivʌs gunts divmi* the day of your dying has come, i.e. your last day. 50.6. *ivʌs(ər) imʌnimi* he nearly died. 000

Pres. Base. *ins γʌlivr nimʌn ivčər imʌnai* having fallen ill he is (has become) about to die.

Conditional. *'evrčum tse* he would not have died. 150.21.

The following form I cannot explain:

ivs ivs nimʌn dyu.esimi having been on the point of death, he recovered.

ivrš pl. *ivri.ʌnts* (*-ents*), *ivršo* x crest, ridge (of a descending spur). — *mərts, čərs, ivrš* spur, ridge of earth-cliff, of rock-cliff.

The word was on two separate occasions given me in the plural duplicated:

ivri.ents ivri.ents bi.en, ivršo ivršo bi.en and *ivri.ʌŋ ivri.ʌŋ(?) bi.en* This must denote some common physical formation — a series of spurs?

ivum v. *-ivʌs dead.

isavmavnum IUB first-born (child), H. *ʌwʌl bʌčʌ*. (According to later information a form of *-ts'amʌnum*). [601] ●

isʌn IUB a stone vessel. H. *patthʌr ka bʌrtʌn*. (Not confirmed).

isərkʌs v. *-sərkʌs*.

ivse, ise x sg., pl. *ivtse*, cp. h *ivne*, y *ivts*.

Demon. Adj. and Pron.: that, the; that one, it. V § 120.

ise tisetər nitsun evqʌnimi taking him to the (that) pit, he murdered him. 56.20. *ivse yav ʌkvle di bi.a?* has that bear come here? 218.8. *ivse dʌn ži.avʌt et'ʌm. da mu ke isevtər nuvn hivri.e sʌlavm ečavn* they

47 b

000 *u·lum baiyu* indigenous (i.e. locally produced) salt. *u·lum bilʌšu.ɛ i·nɛ gu·tʌs ni'tsun . . . ḳičʌ·n* domestic, i.e. human, "bilases" carrying off his corpse . . . devour it (*u·lum* is here glossed Prs. *ba·tɪrni*).

-ulum suffix denoting:

1. From inside of.
2. Pertaining to (the inside of). V. §§ 77 & 102.

(601) **-ulus*, **-ulutsəro*, hm. a woman's brother, husband's brother. Forms: *o·lus, gu·lus, mu·lus; milutsəro*, —, *u·lutsəro*. — *ja o·smo mu·lus* my wife's brother. *mu·lusə i·i, e·i* (a woman's) brother's son, daughter. *ma·mamo mu·lus* maternal uncle. *jɛ uŋɛ gu·mimo mu·lus ap'a* I am not your mother's brother. 14.14. *hin muŋgo ya mu·lusʌn* an uncle or a brother of hers. 306.1. *o·lus*. 14.18, 18.2; *mu·lus*. 306.14.

000 *um* N., cp, *uŋ*, thou.

-um 1. Ablative suffix.

2. Adjective suffix. V. §§ 78. & 102.

[601] *umʌgus* IUB, co-wife; H. *saut*. (A later authority gives the word as **-mʌngus*).

umər, umər age, lifetime. — *umərə uyu·m ba* I am the elder. *ki·nɛ umər be·rum me.imi* how old will this man be? *umər xa* so long as you live. N. *thʌmɛ imo umərulu but sʌfʌriŋ ɛtubai.i* the Tham has made many journeys in his (life)time. Ar.

umi·d, ume·d y hope, expectation. — *umi·d bila*, or *mai bila* there is hope, it is expected, there is reason to hope. *ume·d api jimʌlər ju·ʌsɛ* there is no hope, possibility, of (his) coming tomorrow. *ʌma umi·d ɛ̃u bom* but she kept hoping. 58.12. *umi·d ɛ·skərtsumo* she abandoned hope. 58.18. Prs.

uŋ IYB, *uɯ* Ns. and GH. Kh., *uɯ* N. thou. V. § 119. 000

upal *ło* x a kind of grub.

*-*uvi* IUB, N. *-muts* nail (of finger, toe), H. *nauun*. — *yuvi* his nail; *mi.uvimuts* our nails. N. *auvi* my nail. *ivuvi* his nail.

urk *-ai.i*, N. pl. *urkaiints*, x wolf. — *urko bat* wolf-skin. *urkai.ik dun tʌle qʌš ifʌγo ši bim* a pack of wolves coming, had eaten seven cubits off his staff. 222.10. (Cp. Ishkashmi, *ɣrk* wolf).

uruvi *-muts* x rifled gun (matchlock?) (Cp. Kho. *oruvi* (*tourk*), a kind of gun ("Russian").

*-*urvš* y concern, affair, business. Forms: *ourvš*, *guurvš*, —; — *mourvš*, *uurvš* — *je be ourvš bilum* what business was it of mine? *je be ourvš ke senʌm* (*stʌm*) . . . what concern (was it) of mine that I said (did) . . . *'steŋe be guurvš mene ke mʌniš* what concern (is it) of yours to whom it may belong? 58.32.

*-*us*, obl. sg. *-*usmu-*, pl. *-*ušints* wife. Forms: *ous*, *guus*, *yuus*; —, —, *uus*. pl. *oušints*, —, *yuušints*. — *kin hin ja ous bo* this one is my wife. 182.4. *ja osmo muulos* my wife's brother. *muyore yuusmur mousimi* (her) husband said to his wife. 232.5, 210.13. *hin . . . hirʌn yuusmu ka . . . di bʌm* a man had come with his wife. 292.1. *ine hir yuusmo gute čʌγatsum xuš n'imʌn* the man, being pleased with his wife's suggestion. 36.20. *Boratʌline oi bom Hurukutse uu bom* she was the daughter of the B. and the wife of the H. i.e. she was married into the H. tribe. 258.3, cp. 256.4. *jʌmaʌt* appears always to be used 601

601 for the Vocative, and frequently for the other cases.

000 *vsko* x and y, cp. *i·ski* and *i·sken*, v. §§ 187 and 206, three. With the Pn.pf., v. § 133. — *i·tse uvsko nuyen* taking those three things. 28.18.

vskuvin IUB hm (kin), H. *bəra·dəri*. V. *sukuvin*.

vsqu·in N., EOL, v. *sukuvin*.

vsta·d, *vsta·t*, pl. *vsta·d(t)iŋ*, *vsta·tiŋ* hm craftsman, skilled craftsman; musician. — *dʌq stʌs vsta·d* blacksmith. *čʌk stʌs vsta·d* carpenter. *bu·t vsta·d bai.i* he is a very skilful craftsman. *GərmʌhʌlmʌS juwʌn vsta·tʌn men kə apa·n* there is (lit. are) no craftsman like G. M. M. 168.13. *vsta·diŋ dutsun . . . tʌmʌša ečam* bringing the musicians . . . they make an entertainment. 300.9. *da ə·γərešo vsta·tiŋ alt'ambu.ʌn* then eight music-playing craftsmen, i.e. musicians, bandsmen. 336.5. Prs.

vsta·di craftsmanship, technical skill. — *vsta·di.s ka stai.i* he has done it, made it, with skill. Prs.

u·ǰ y debt. — *ayeṭe u·ǰ bila* debt is on me, i.e. I am in debt. *ayeṭe u·ǰ di·bila* debt has come on me, i.e. I have got into debt. *ja tsundo rupi.a i·neṭe u·ǰ bila, ja·r joyʌs bai.i* he owes me five rupees, he is to pay (them) to me. *i·ne tsundo rupi.a ja·eṭe u·ǰ bila, yu·yʌs ba* I owe him 5 rupees, I have to pay him. *g'u·ʌṭe u·ǰ api· ke . . .* if your father has no debts. Prov. 44. *u·ǰ ići.ʌs* the debt-giver i.e. the debtor. (-ǰ confirmed by IUB, cp. Sh. *u·ǰ*.)

423 *'u·ǰʌki* term applied to land given to foster-parents, or relations, for service or cash-payment. No obligation in regard to forced labour attaches

423 to it. Something in the nature of a fief, explained by the H. *jagir*. — *beruman bušai.i ʿwšʌki ičimi* he gave him some "*ušʌki*" land. 46.1. *wšʌki γenʌŋ stum bušai "ušʌki"* land acquired by purchase. (*šabase* of **-wše.ʌs* + suffix *-ki*?)

● 601 *wšʌm -rišo* foster-. — *wšʌm aya* (or, *a.u*) my foster-father. 28.1. *wšʌm yu* his foster-father. 32.13. *wšʌm mama, aćo, ayʌs* my foster-mother, brother, sister. *ime wšʌm maper hir* that old man who had fostered (him). 26.24. *wšʌm mama guyaiyʌm* I will take you as my foster-mother. 362.10. *Lʌŋa Brumo wšʌm mumimur se.ibo* L. B. says to her foster-mother. 122.1. *thame ivi* (*e..i*) *inər wšʌm yumi* the Tham gave out his son (daughter) to him to foster. (The exact force of *wšʌm* here is obscure).

I also recorded *wšʌm -rišo* as the equivalent of "mid-wife" and "nurse", but I do not imagine that it can bear these meanings except so far as the function in question may be performed by a foster-mother.

(Form of Static Pc. of *wše.ʌs*).

000 *ušʌŋ* IUB limbs, parts of body, H. *jogr*. (Later information: **-šʌŋ* y pl. occurs usually in the phrase **-ličin *-šʌŋ* eye and limbs).

-wše.ʌs* (-wšai.ʌs*), **-wšeć-*, Impv. **-wša*, Ppa. *n*-wšʌn* to rear, nurture, foster, cherish. Pn.pf. + *š*: *oš-*, *guš-*, *yuš-*, —; *myuš-*, —, *uš-*. —*.ime je ošʌmi* he reared, or fostered me. *ime uŋ guršʌmi* he fostered you. *ime hʌγər yuršʌmi* he reared the horse. *ime hʌγurišo wšʌmi* he reared the horses. *Šahsada Bahram mapeme yuša bʌm* the old man had fostered S. B. 22.17.

56 a

uyʌnčimo receptional. V. **-yʌnčimo*. — *uyʌnčimo hərip* music played when welcoming a guest of honour. 000

uyʌrʌs v. **-yʌrʌs*. — *uyʌrʌs diš* place for (animals) to graze, i.e. grazing-ground, pasture.

**-uyər*, **-uyer*, *-šo* hm. husband. Forms: *oyər, guyər, muyər; mi.uyəršo*, —, *uyəršo*. — *ja oyərʌn bai.i* I have a husband. 24.12. *čevi ja oyərʌle bi* the key is with my husband. 24.16. *muyəre senimi* her husband said. 34.9. *muyərər senumo* she said to her husband. 36.17, 58.10,13. *guke γenʌŋ guyəre gor dotsai.i* your husband has sent you this gold. 56.27. *uvimo uyəršuər senumʌn* (the women) said to their husbands. 262.11. N. **-uyer -ršo; auyer* my husband. 601 ●

The place of **-uyər* is very often taken by *jʌmaʌt*.

-uyʌs* **-uč-*, Impv. **-u*, Ppa. n-un(in)* to give (h and x objects), v. § 231. d. Forms: *joyʌs, guyʌs, yuyʌs, muyʌs; myuyʌs*, —, *uyʌs*. 000

The Pn.pf. refers to the Indirect Object, the person or thing to whom the thing is given. This does not prevent the Indirect Object's being expressed also as noun or independent pronoun.

When the Indir. Obj. is the 1st person sg. the Pn.pf. *a-* is replaced by *ja*, and we get the infinitive *ja* + **-uyʌs* → *joyʌs*, to give (h or x object) to me. When the verb is negative the Pn.pf. *a-* reappears, v. § 255.

Forms of the Affirmative of this type which have been recorded are: Fut. 2nd sg. *jočuma*. 106.3, 118.22. — 3rd sg. bf. *joco*. 50.22. Pres. 2nd sg. *joč'a*. 62.16. —

then they set dishes also before the notables. 340.13. 000

uyuʷmkvʷ y. greatness, authority. — *uyumkvš ne hurutimi* he abode, practising greatness, i.e. exercising authority, governing. 266.14.

In the following it seems to be used as an adjective. There is probably some error:

burt uyuʷmkvš gumai.ima you will become very great. 72.9.

'uʷyumo, variant of *uʷimo*, their own. 126.14, 92.5.

*-uʷy, *-u, pl. *-utsəro father; father's brother. 601

The *-y* was to me more often than not imperceptible. To the following forms it may be added to taste: *aʷu* (*au*), *guʷ*, *yuʷ*, *muʷ*; *myuʷ*, *maʷu*, *uʷu* (*uʷy*).

The non-coalescence of the 1st sg. Pn.pf. *a-* with the *u-* is noteworthy. The combination appears as: *aʷu-*, *au-*, *au.u-*. — *le aʷu* O, my father! (as a term of respect). 282.6, cp. *aya*. *auʷ ʌmi.e baʷgo daiya ba* I have come in place of my father and mother. 282.8. *au.e tinjo* my father's bones. 80.22. *ja au.wər maʷri.e gʌlt ʌldərər di bilum* the turn for (providing) supplies for the monster had come to my father. 282.7. *ja altʌn au.utsəro oʷsqʌnʌm* he had killed my two father's-brothers. 266.10. *je uŋe guʷy* (*guʷye i*) *ap'a* I am not your father (your father's son). 14.13. *uŋe guʷy guʷtsəro altʌn 'oʷsqʌnai i* he has killed your father and your father's two brothers. 264.18. *muʷ ke muʷmi.e muyetsumʌn* her father and mother saw her. 282.19. *muʷmi ke muʷu.ər oʷsumo* she said to her mother and

601 father. 280.12. *jʊt ine yuyʊr ɜnimi* the younger said to his father. 372.2. *yuʊtsʊruʊ tʊrʌq bel ʊraʊn* you have exterminated his fathers (i.e. his father and father's-brothers). 242.15. *mi muu kʌtʌtʂ guča bai.i* our father is lying on the bed. 260.8. *uʊy dimi* their father came. 110.18. *uʊs* (*uʊy*) *iʊmo maʊl . . trʌg ʊtimi* their father divided his property among them. 372.5.

What appears to be a genitive in *-a* is found in the following, but perhaps it is referable to a hypothetical *-ya cp. *aya*.

guʊa haʊlʊr gʊtsʊr . . . muʊa haʊlʊr niʊmo go to your father's house . . . she went to her father's house. 282.18,19.

N. has *uyum* *-*uy* father's elder brother. *jʊt* *-*uy* father's younger brother. *makučim* *-*uy* father's intermediate brother.

In Hz. I have recorded *uyuʊm aya* etc., but it is legitimate to say: *ja aʊu ɜ ɜčo* my father's brother.

*-*uyʌs* v. *yuʊyʌs*, v.i. to dry up (h and x subjects).

000 *uzʊr*, *uzʊr* entreaty; excuse. — *uzʊr ɜtʊmo . . . gʌtʊŋ ayʊn* she entreated . . . give me my clothes. 14.10. *da uzʊr ɜtimi . . . jaʊr ʌsuin* again he entreated, implored tell me . . . 38.18. *uzʊr ɜtʌs* to make an excuse. Ar.

uʊ̇o, *uʊ̇u*, pl. *uʊ̇umʊts*, otter. (Cp. Sh. *uʊ̇u*, Skr. *udrá-*).

B.

ba verb substantive, I am; thou art. The parts of this verb, which lacks an infinitive, are based on; *bʌ-*, *bo-*, *bi-*. For the paradigm see §§ 269, 270.

ba, *bʌ* kiss — *ba ɜtʌs* to kiss, H. *čuʊmna*. *yuʊtis irinʂtʂ ba* (or, *baʊn*)

000 — *gots paći baʿlt* wash this (woman's) shirt. *gatvŋ baʿltas* to wash clothes. *mrškil (miskilʔ) mirin baʿltas* to wash our hands and faces. (Cp. *yaʿltas* to wash (h & x objects). v. § 281. b. Cs. *-abaltas*).

baʿn v. *ba*, kiss.

baʿna v. *bahama*, pretext. Prs.

1. *baŋ* y "charas" (hemp drug). — *baŋ minaʿs, baŋ taskaʿs* to smoke "charas". H.

2. *baŋ* v. 2 *baŋ*, the Call to Prayer. Prs.

●601 *baʿpo, baʿbo, bapo, -tsoro* hm grandfather, (paternal or maternal). (Like *baʿba* this word is appropriated to Royal Families). — *baʿpotsoruʿs hor* (our) grandfather's oxen. 248.5. (Here = "mother's fathers", i.e. probably the father and his brothers).

baʿpo.s dani eγərčaʿn they play the B. D. "the Grandfather's slow time music". 302.6. (Here *bapo* is said to be "the Grandfather of the Mir").

000 *baputs* IUB felt socks, or stockings, H. *numda ka juraʿb*. (Cp. Sh. *baʿpuʿdrŋ*. Prs. *paʿpuʿšʔ*)

baʿq *-atas v. under *baʿk*.

baʿqi remaining; remainder. — *baʿqi rski roʿm* the remaining three tribes. 346.4. Pl. the other ones. 386.8. Ar.

baʿr contemporary, one's own kind, congenial (?). II. *hamʿumr, hamjins, hamdani*. — *dunatemirʿs, le mi šakor yaʿr baʿr* the way of the world, my dear friend and fellow. 360.3.

baʿrakullah God bless you! 340.8. Ar.

baʿrdum pl. hx *-rso*, y *-iŋ*, xy *baʿrčuko*; N. *bærdʿum* pl. *bærjæko*, red. — *baʿrdum korn* red ant.

baʿrtš, baʿri.aŋ —? — *duʿstsak baʿrtš, duʿstsak baʿri.aŋ* (miscellaneous?)

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1/1 [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

baˑzaˑr -iŋ y collection of shops, "bazar", market. — *baˑzaˑrɛn bila* there is a bazar. *baˑzaˑrɛfər ni* go to the bazar. 58.16, 60.11, 19, 66.16, 72.19. Prs. 000

baˑzi IUB trick, deception, H. *mʌkkaˑri*. Cp. *bʌzi*, Prs.

baˑzzaˑs claim, demands; disputing, discussion. — *jaka bɛsʌn baˑzzaˑs oˑmʌnš* there must be no disputing(?) with me. 58.28. *jɛ kɛ uŋ baˑzzaˑs bɛsʌn oˑmʌnš* there must be no claims (disputing?) between thee and me. 62.9. Prs.

bʌbˈa, baˑba father.

This term is used properly only in Royal Families (according to a Nagiri informant in the families also af Saiyids). For commoners to use it among themselves implies arrogance and insolence which demand punishment. Compare the history of the Tapkients, p. 288. 601 554

The corresponding term for mother is "*zizi*".

These words are said to have come down from the time of Alexander the Great who was accompanied by Diram Titag and Diram Moghul.

uˑ uˑmiˑər "zizi, baˑba" sɛˑibʌm they used to address their father(s) and mother(s) as "*zizi baˑba*". 288.6.

Muˑnulum Daˑdo apparently claimed equality with rajas: 000

inɛ sɛnumo "mi bʌbˈa goˑr qau ɛčai.i" she said to him: "my father summons you". 180.6. And Shahzada B. addressing the "White Deu" said: *šu.a bʌbˈa uŋɛ baba daˑrai* your father (the King) has sent me. 30.14. *uŋɛ bʌbaˑr . . . gutɛ haiyɛn tsu* take this token to (the King) your father.

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000 3. Further, in addition, moreover, and also, and. — *ine hir ke ine gus da uʷe jotumuts* . . . . . *dutsumʌn* they brought in the man and his wife and also their children. 36.10. *isumʌle mujoʷq burum bila, da iskila xa bʌlilum* the tassel of its tail is white, and further it had fallen (i.e. it is hanging) down over its face. 186.12. Cp. 4.18, 20.4,9, 22,17, 26.7, 26.11, 28.9, 34.10, 34.12, 36.18, 42.20, 44.1, 116.5,12, 124.20, 128.18, 180.4. 386.3—7, 388.6,10.

4. Special cases of 1 and 3 may give equivalents of "more" and "-else". — *da jo* give me again, i.e. give me more. *da ke γʌšil su* bring still more wood (*or* once more). (IUB, H. *aur bhī*). *da besʌn* something else. *da menʌn atiʷmi.a?* has no one else come?

●601 *daʷdo -tsʷro*, N. *-muts*.

1. Grandfather. — *je.imo daʷdo* my paternal grandfather. *aʷpkutsʷ daʷdo* my maternal grandfather. *daʷdo ja kʌš eta ba* I have slain father's father. 266.9. Cp. 182.3.

2. Used of any old man. (Cp. Sh. *daʷdo* and H. *daʷda*. A foreign equivalent of *-ʌpi*).

000 *dakhuʷrum, dʌkhuʷrumʌn* as much as this, this much. — *čʌγa dakuʷrum bila* the story is this much, this is all the story. 216.7, 220.10, 224.20, 272.16, 290.11, 288.5.. *dʌkuʷrumʌn*, 308.6. (*-kh-* presumably as in *akhuʷrum*. *da + ʌkhuʷrum*).

daʷl up (cp. *dʌl*). — *daʷl stʌs* to take up, raise, remove, H. *uṭhaʷna*. 70.11. *tili.ʌŋ daʷl sti* take off the saddle. *bʌt daʷl stʌs* to remove the skin, to

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000 *dɔγuʷimo ʌsi* midday breakfast (a Raja's meal). *dɔγuʷimo pfiti* midday bread (a children's meal).

duγ'uʷrskinʌs, duγuʷrski-, Impv. *duγuʷskin.*

Also: *duγuʷsk-, duγuʷesk-, duγuʷsk-, dɔγuʷrsk-*, to begin, commence.

tʌle kɔtsenmo duγuʷski.ʌm I shall begin in (after) 7 days.

A dependent verb is usually put in the dative of the infinitive:

senʌsɔr duγuʷskinimi he began to say. *kaʷr mʌnaʷesɔr duγ'uʷeskinimi* he began to patrol up and down. 42.15. *ime esmilʌsɔr duγ'uʷsskinimi* he began to persuade him. 374.6.

Other idioms are:

xuši stʌstse dɔγ'uʷrskinumʌn they began to make rejoicing. 373.22. *xʌmʌli bišʌčɔr duγuʷski bo* she is beginning to make the "xʌmʌli" bread. 306.8. *šʌpik dʌŋ stʌse* (for *stʌsɔr?*) *dɔγuʷrskiʷnai.i* he has begun to make bread. 126.10.

Fut. 1st. sg. *duγuʷski.ʌm,*
duγuʷrskiyʌm.

Pret. 1st. sg. *duγuʷrskinʌm.*
2nd. *duγuʷrskinuma.*

601 *du.ie'o* N. step (relation). — *dü.iʷco baba, mama* step-father, step-mother.

düʷiʷco aʷcu, aʷyʌs my step-brother, step-sister, (man speaking).

000 *duʷinaʷt, dɔnaʷt, dɔni.a* y the world. — *dɔnaʷte dolʌt* wordly wealth. *in juwaʷnʌn du.inaʷtolo apai.i* there is no one like him in the world. 30.16. Cp. 22.2, 92.28. Ar. Prs. (Cp. Sh. *dɔnyaʷt*).

duʷisʌs v. *d*-usʌs.*

585 *duʷk -ʌŋ* y.

1. Spindle, used for spinning goat's hair.

gukuʷrus, guguʷrus, pl. *gukuʷrišo* x. 000

1. Puppy.—*huke gukuʷrišo juʌn* like puppies. 214.3.
2. This year's young of the "Ram Chikor" (snow-partridge). (Cp. Sh. *kukuʷr*, puppy, and Bu. P. N. *Šon Gukuʷr*).

gul, gul relations by marriage; relationship by marriage? IUB H. *naṭa, rɪšta*; Kho. *xrltabʌri*. — *ine ka guʷl mʌnaʷər rai etimi ke* . . . if (the youth's father) wants there to be marriage-relationship with him (the prospective bride's father). . . 298.2. *gul ke ečukoʷnər* for the bride's relations and the bridegroom's tribal brethren. 300.2. 601

gulaʷb v. γulaʷp rose. Prs. 000

gulgul aloes, a sweet-scented drug, H. *ʿuʿd, ek dawari xušbuʷdaʷr*.

guʷli, guli x sg. and pl., dried apricots with the stones in them; any small round object. — *guli.en jo* give me a dried apricot. *goṭe guʷli* a lump of "gur" (crude sugar). *sore guʷli* a ball of thread.

gulsuʷri a kind of flower. Prs.?

gumaʷn y suspicion, expectation, supposition. — *kineʷeṭe gumaʷn bila* suspicion rests on this man. *gumaʷn bila jimʌle juʷči* there is expectation that he will come tomorrow, i.e. he will probably come tomorrow. *ja gumaʷn bila; ja gumaʷn eča ba* . . I suspect, think, imagine. Prs.

1. *gun* v. 1. *goʷn* dawn.
2. *gun* v. 2. *goʷn* come along.
3. *gun* v. γoʷn musk-melon.

gunʿa -miŋ y sin, fault. — *ja besʌn gunа bila?* what fault is it of mine? *gunа apiʷm* innocent, guiltless. *gunа apiʷmʌṭe* in the absence of fault, innocently. Prs.

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000 ugly in appearance and a stupid fellow 116.2.

hʌŋərʌʃ hard, self-willed, refractory, IUB H. *navʃʌrmavn*, QUB *sʌxt*, *sərkʌš*. — *gʌʃ hʌŋərʌʃ mai·ibi*, *gʌʃ ·ʌpi·m hun hili·lum mai.i bi* a knot is hard, knotless wood is soft. *buvʃ hʌŋərʌʃ sivʌn bai.i*, *i·mo e·š ečai.i* he is a refractory person, he acts as he pleases.

601 *hʌpkuvin*, *hʌfkuvin* hmf. spouse, husband, or wife. — *hapkuvin bʌčen ʌγun* as my husband give me (my clothes). 14.15, 18.3. Dat. m. *hʌpku.inər*, f. *hʌpku.inmur*.

000 *hʌq* y right; party. — *iyər uŋe* (*ɪzzʌf*) *stʌs hʌq bilum* it was right for you to do honour to his son; you were in the right to . . . 92.17. *ja hʌqulo bai.i* he is of my party, he is a partisan of mine. 92.12. (So QUB. Correct the translation given with the text accordingly). Ar. Prs.

hʌqi·q -ičiŋ, y cornelian. Ar. Prs. (*ʌqi·q*).

1. *hər -o* x. Sg. also used as pl. ox (male), bullock (used for ploughing), H. *bail*, IUB. *bərzagavo*. — *sərbər stum hər* castrated ox, bullock. *tsindər hər(o)* entire ox(en), bull(s). *hər buva* (*bi.ən*) cattle. *hʌn bepʌy hərʌn* a bullyak. 280.4. *tʌlɛ nʌl hər* seven yoke of oxen. 246.10. *hər oγ'ərkʌsulo* while ploughing with the oxen. 246.14. *hər du·šər . . . uyu·ik ovʌm* they had sent their sons to fetch the oxen. 246.10. Cp. 246.9—248.12. *tʌle·yʌm ga hav·r* look out, oxen, I am going to turn (said by ploughman to plough oxen). 246.15. *hər ga, hər ga* (said to plough oxen to make them go slowly).

2. *hər*, *hʌr -miŋ*, (*-eŋ*) y small nullah, ravine; N. torrent and bed. — *hərʌfum*

000 Genitive used as Poss. Adjective, my. — *ja diš bila* it is my place, the place belongs to me. 112.18.

jaʿdu, v. *jʌdu*, magic. Prs.

jaʿdugər sg. and pl, hm. magician. Prs.

jaγun v. s.v. *jʌγuʿima*.

jaʿkrl impetuous, unruly, H. *tundru*. Ar. Prs.

jaʿkrli wilfulness, unruliness. Bracketed with *hukəm akʌnʌs* not to take orders, to disobey. Ar. Prs.

1. *jaʿk* y pity, compassion, grief. — *jaʿk diʿmi, di bila* pity came (to me, him etc.) i.e. (I, he etc.) was, have been, moved to pity. — *auʿs jaʿk aʿr diʿn hʿerʌm* pity for my father coming over me, I wept. 70.16. (Cp. Sh. *jaʿk wʌloʿzki* to feel pity, Kho. *jaʿk*).
2. *jaʿk* dry, dried up, parched. — *buʃai.i jaʿk mʌniʿla* the land has become dried up.

jaʿl -iŋ y net. (Cp. Sh. Kho. *jʌl*, H. *jaʿl*).

jaʿlo -mals x raft (of inflated skins). (Cp. Sh. *jaʿlo, žaʿlo*; Kho. Psht. *jaʿla*).

●601 *jaʿm* sg. and pl., EOL pl. *-ints*, hmf. relation, kinsman (of relations so far removed as to have no claim to inheritance of land etc.) — *ja jaʿm bai.i* he is a relation of mine. *ja jaʿm bo* she is a relation of mine. *jaʿm baʿn* they are relations. *jaʿm jʌmaʿʌt* relations; N. family and relatives. *hin iʿmo jaʿmʌn* a relation of his own. 298.2. Cp. 302.16. *hirər ʌminʌn jaʿm jʌmaʿʌtʌnε iʿrum iʿner ... γusul ečai.i* some relation of his washes the dead man. 310.6. *mʌthʌnum, ʌsiʿrum, hoʿlum jaʿm(ints)* distant, near, outside, relatives. EOL.

(The relation of this word to *jʌmaʿʌt*, if any, is not clear. The latter was [illegible] given as though it were equivalent to a plural of *jaʿm*).

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In the oblique cases it may, or may not, take the feminine theme *-mo-*. 601

jʌma·ʌtɛ ka hʌ·lɔr ni go home with your wife. 42.11. *jʌma·ʌtmʊr hukɔm eti* give your wife instructions. 50.21. *uŋ nʊkʊm ja jʌma·ʌtʌlɔr . . . γenʌg nuk'ʌn ja jʌma·ʌtmʊlɔr ni* you going to my wife . . . taking the gold go to my wife. 56.10.

b. Husband. In the vocative it takes the particle *le, le*.

"*le ja jʌma·ʌt, niden*" *senʊmo* "O my husband", she said, "let us go". 36.1. *ja jʌma·ʌtɛ yʌs* my husband's sister. *ʌki·l ja jʌma·ʌtʌn bai.i* such a (fine) husband is mine. 122.9. Cp. 122.26, 68.7,12,14.

2. Family, people of the house, women-folk. — *ja·m jʌma·ʌt* relations (not living in the house). *ha jʌma·ʌt* relations living in one house, the people of the house. 266.5. *hʌ·lɔr dir̄n jʌma·ʌtɔr se.ibʌm* arriving home he used to say to the family (*or*, his wife?). 208.11. *thʌmɛ jʌma·ʌtɔr kɛ . . . hʌnīkuts otsučʌ·n* they send dishes of food also to the Tham's women-folk. 340.18.

(Cp. Sh. *jʌma·ʌt*, wife, family, members of household).

jʌmbolos IUB large intestine, H. *bʌri ʌntʌri*. (Not known to QUB). 000

jʌmbulo·s IUB very hairy, a person with a lot of hair on the body. H. *zi.ʌ·da bʌ·lwʌ·la, ek sʌxš jɛs ke jrsm pʌr zi.ʌ·da bʌ·l hö·*. QUB a hairy dog, a tree with a thick growth of twigs.

jʌmɛ, jʌmɛk, v. *ʒʌmɛ* bow.

000 made by women above the ears. IYB, (Cp. Sh. *jurumi* hair cut in fringe over the forehead).

1. *jot, jõ:*, pl. hx *-iło*, y *-iŋ* small (in size, age, social rank etc.) little, younger. — *lokʌn joṭ eti* make it a little smaller. *joṭ hilem* baby boy. *joṭiṭo chiṭko* small hills. *yutiŋ, jutiŋ bitsa* his feet are small. 154.18, 156.19, 156.1. *jot baiyʌm* I was small, little. 156.20. *ifʌtiyor bʌrenin jotʌn bi* look at his forehead, it is small. 154.21. Cp. 158.16. *hin jot giyasʌn* a small infant. 100.2. *umʌre jut; dʌniŋe jut* small in age, young. *zaʼte jut* of low birth. *in jut sis baṭi* he is a person of low standing. 94.14. *uyontsum jut* the youngest. *uʼetsum jut ine* the younger one of them. 366.2, 372.2. *jut mʌṭo, jut mi.ʌs* our younger brother, sister, (man speaking). *aʼu.e jut eṭo* my father's younger brother, i.e. my junior paternal uncle. N. pl. *jotorko(?)* probably for *jotu.rko*. Cp. 76.24, 90.25, 104.25, 106.8, 260.10, 366.5, 370.2.

[601] *jut, juʼt* green grass. — *juʼt ṭiqʌm* grass-green, green. *bʌsi.e jut* garden lawn. (Cp. Sh. *juʼt* growing grass, meadow, lawn).

joṭkuṣ y infancy, childhood. — *iʼmi jutkuše iʼri bim* its (the lamb's) mother had died during its infancy. 380.17.

juwaʼb, jʌwaʼb -ičiŋ y answer. — *jaʼr juwaʼb eti* answer me. *jaʼr juwaʼb ʌčiʼṭ gome.iba?* can you give me answer? *jimʌle je uŋor jʌwaʼb gučičʌm* I shall give you an answer tomorrow. *juwaʼb atiʼmi* no answer came. 24.8. Cp. 312.15. *uʼe jʌwaʼb dusumʌn* they brought answer. 24.8. Cp. 232.1. Ar. Prs.

000 Cp. also 28.11,13, 150,8, 226.9, 280.8, 306,16.

2. *ka*, *kə* v. *kə*.

kha, v. 1. 2. xa.

kafir unbeliever, infidel (from point of view of Muslim). Used of the Chinese and also of the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush. Ar. Prs.

kafur -iŋ y camphor. Ar. Prs.

kaγaz -iŋ y paper, letter. Ar. Prs.

601 *kaka*, *gaka* elder brother (only used of each other by members of Rajas' families). N. *kak'a*, "Rajas' and Saiyids' sons call each other *kak'a* or *açu*".

kaki, *gaki*.

1. Elder sister (term only used in Rajas' families and by the people of Ganish and Altit). N. *kæki*, "Rajas and Saiyids call their sisters *kæki*".

2. Form of address for elder sister.

kako.

1. Stepfather ("the proper word, but *aya*, is also used". QUB questioned this meaning and substituted *nana*).

2. Elder brother (a form of address). 312.14. (Cp. Sh. *kako*, elder brother; *kaki*, elder sister).

000 *kalto* the fifth day in the future.

kham IUB, *xam* QUB Kashgari cotton cloth, H. *khadar*, *desi kapra*. (Cp. Sh. *kham*; Psht. *xamta*, coarse cotton cloth).

kap, QUB *xap*, *manav* to fade (of falling leaves, flowers). (Cp. Sh. *kap*, withered, dried up, and perhaps also Sh. *kap* tinder, consisting of some dried vegetable material. Cp. Bu. *qhap*).

kapo, v. *kapo*, cuckoo.

000 meant: "on what part of me are you going to hit me?" 148.13.

601 *-nakin, *-nakin -dero bt. Some recorded forms postulate *-anakin.
Pn.pf. sg. 1. a-, 2. pa- & pe-, 3. i-, ma-.
pl. 1. ma-, 2. ma-, 3. a-.
daughter-in-law, son's wife, H. ḫaka. *ɣu ɣamin hive inakimanta manu* ḫilow the rich man's daughter-in-law was pregnant. 100.2.

The relationship to the son may be expressed:
amin pa.ɣ panakin pay'eruu ḫo ḫa whichever is your favourite daughter-in-law (son's wife). 106.20. *ɣ in'akimanc. ɣ'a ḫil mutimi* he gave the water to his son's wife (his daughter-in-law). 108.6. (IUB *-nakin).

000 *nali* empty. Az. Pm.

nanu QUB, v. ḫkanu.

601 *nanu* kn "khan". The eldest son and heir of the Mir of Hunza is spoken of, and addressed, as "Xanu".

Rajas and Raiyids call their sons "nanu" (as well as *ɣi* etc., or by name); *ugunu nanu* eldest son; *mukuḫim nanu* middle son; *ḫel nanu* youngest son. N.

000 *nanadanu, nanadanu y* a distinguished family; family stock. — *ɣ'a nanadanuanu ḫaiá* he belongs to that family (the Prophet Abraham's). 92.3. Pm.

nanamanu(a) kn cook, major domo. 282.5. Pm.

nay manaru, ḫkay m. to fade (of falling leaves, flowers).

(Cp. Bu. *nap*, "tinder". See also duplicate entry under *ḫkay*).

nan private. — *nan makramanu* to a private servant. 276.2. Az. Pm.

m'ayun, mayun, pl. m'ayuyo x. 000

1. Bead, necklace. — *diṇ mayun* 1. a blue bead. 2. a male mallard (= "blue-green necklace"?)

2. Spool, reel. — *sore mayun* reel of thread. *hiṇki mayun* spool used as pulley wheel on loom. *doṇlo.s mayuṇ* Adam's Apple.

(Cp. Sh. *mawi*, *mawe*, round bead, necklace; GB (*doṇldi*) *mâṇi*, Adam's apple).

makr, makur, maw, makur y payment due from bridegroom to the bride's father at marriage. — *tuwado rupi.n* 583
maw (or, *makur*) *ṇekardan* they fix the bride-payment at five rupees. 304.7. V. 302.17 ff.

The cloth of which the Rs. 5 represents the price was the *dwki paci*, v. s.v. *dwk*. Ar. Pra.

makuci y. 000

Noun and Adj.: middle, centre.

Adv. and Postp.: in the middle of. *fraṇ makuci yami* it hit dead in the centre. *makuci(mi) mama* mother's middle sister. *makuci ine* the middle one (of 3 brothers). 260.9. *makuci* [601]
kan yfori.an bi in the middle was a pond. 12.13. *dwri.n makuci kerutimi* he sat down in the middle of the river. 176.2. *kani makuci* in the middle of the garden. EOL. *an ay'al makuci yor dimi* the sun has come up (forward) into the middle of the sky. EOL.

(It is doubtful if the word is a nominative form. The -ci may be the -ini, -ci suffix).

makucim, N. pl. -cio, adj. middle, central. — *makucim ine ṇual* look at the middle one (of three ibex). 148.7.8. Cp. 148.5,7,8.

ma·l x property, movable property, chattels. — *gusɪ hʌγor inɪ ma·l bi* this horse is his property, belongs to him. *da ma·l trʌŋ o·timi* then he apportioned the movable property among them. 112.4. *uyo·nər ma·l u·mi* he gave property to all of them. 112.5. *i·nɪ tɪ·ŋuʃolo bimʌn ma·l uyo·n gʌti o·timi* he made them collect all the property that was in the palace. 174.18. *u·ŋɪ ma·ltsum bɪsʌn ja·r trʌŋolo ju·ʈi bi kɪ jo* give me whatever of your property comes to me as my share. 372.3. Ar. Prs. 000

ma·l ha·l property. 372.5. (Ar.).

ma·lto the day after the day after tomorrow; the third day in the future.

ma·lu·m known. — *ma·lu·m api* it is not known. 364.17. Ar. Prs.

ma·ma, mʌma, -tsərо hf mother, maternal aunt. —*je.imo ma·ma* my own mother (not, stepmother). *dʌmʌn ma·ma* one's own mother (not, stepmother). *jʌmi·p ma·ma* stepmother. *mi mʌma* my mother. 156.20, 158.14. *se ma·ma* O mother! 212.12, 264.11. *mamʌtsərо* mothers! 38.11, 364.12. *ma·mamo mu·lus* mother's brother, maternal uncle. *ja ma·mamo mo·ʈo* my mother's sister, my maternal aunt. *joʈ ma·ma, uyu·m ma·ma, makəčim ma·ma* mother's younger, older, middle, sister. 601

ma·mər Dat. of *ma*. 000

mamʌtsum Abl. of *ma*. — *mamʌtsum iljum* from behind you.

mamai.i yourselves (corroborative Pron.), v. § 142. — *ma mamai.i ni·n* you yourselves go.

mamu, v. *mʌmu*, milk.

ma·mu·li ordinary, usual. — *mamu·li gʌtuŋ* ordinary, clothes. Ar. Prs.

mamu·li, mamoli, mʌmoli, mom'oli,

000 **mizon** IUB vulture(?), Sh. *ko.aʷ* (white vulture). (Not known to QUB).

miʷli, *milʲi*, pl. *milʲents*, x medicine, drug, remedy. — *iγumər eʷʌs miʷli* purgative drug (*lit.* medicine that makes (his) bowels go). *miʷli ɛtʌs* to administer medicine, treat. *bi.ai.ər mili sti* treat the sickness(?). *Kɛsərɛ ɛʷpimər milents nomo* Kiser doctoring his grand-mother. 184.8. *kinər mili omaimi* there will be no medicine, cure, for this man. *diʷru.ɛ gaʷlər mili* remedy for a bullet wound. 358.5. As a title for the Beloved. 356.1.

mili.ɛŋ, *mili.ʌŋ*, N. *miʷliʷyæŋ*, y pl., d. pl. *mili.ʌŋčiŋ* gunpowder, explosive. — *tobʌqɛ mili.ɛŋ* gunpowder. *sərvŋɛ miliʷɛŋ* blasting-powder. *mili.ɛŋə frlta* detonating fuse. *iʷltumʌlʌṭɛ mili.ɛŋ* priming-powder.

(Apparently a y pl. of *miʷli*).

miʷm draught, a full drink. — *hik miʷm ts.hil, mel* a drink of water, wine. *hik miʷmʌn tʌmʲʌku* a fill of a pipe. (St. Pc. form of *minaʷ*).

miʷmo of us, our. V. *mi*. — *miʷmo haʷlɛ* at our home. 108.26. Cp. 44.14.

●[601] *-*mimo*, gen. of *-*mi*, mother's, maternal. — *ja aʷmimo moʷçə* my mother's sister, my maternal aunt.

minʲa, *miʷna*, *-mots* x remains of kernels (after the oil has been expressed from them), oil-cake, H. *khʌli*, Punj. Prs. *kunjʌda*. — *minʲa mumupuʃʌn . . . nomotʌn* making a nose for her out of oil-pressings: 152.6. Cp. 176.18. (Cp. Sh. *pino*, Dum. *pinoʷn*)

minadaʷr pleased (at, with), grateful(?), rejoicing. — *jɛ minadaʷr ba* I am pleased. EOL. *jɛ uŋtsum minadaʷr ba* I am pleased with you. EOL. *jɛ inɛ niyʌstsum miʷnʌdaʷr ba* I am

miʷršɪkaʷ -tiŋ hm falconer. 4.13, 6.2,9, 336.4, 340.15. Prs. 000

mɪrəʷɛ of Egypt, Egyptian. 150.3. Ar. Prs.

mɪrəʷi y 1. sugar. 2. a kind of cotton cloth. *mɪrəʷi* (*lattha*) *bila*.

mɪršiʷndilam sixth.

mɪršiʷndo, mʌšiʷndo h x and y, z *mɪršiʷndi, mɪršiʷn-* six. — *mišiʷndo hiʷri* six men. *mʌšiʷndo ʸuʷgušʌnɪse* the six daughters. 120.3. *uʷmišindo eʷrəʷršu.ɛ* the six sons-in-law. 120.22, 124.4. *mišiʷndi bʌjaʷ* at six o clock. *mɪršiʷndi den, heši* six years, six times. *mɪršiʷnsa* six months. *mɪršiʷŋkuts, mɪršiʷŋuts* six days.

miʷz -ɪšo x table. Prs.

miʷzpuʷš -išo x table-cloth. Prs.

mo. Impv. 2nd sg. of **-ʌfʌs* with hf sg. pn.pf. — *kʌn'ao mo* advise her. 50.22.

-mo, -mu.

1. Adjectival suffix:
   iʷmo his own. *duʸu.imo* pertaining to midday. V. § 102.
2. Suffix of general oblique or abl.:
   tʌpmo at night. V. § 64. III.

mobʌq (repetitive of *tobʌq* q.v.) — *tobʌk mobʌk* guns. 120.24.

moʷçɔ v. **-ʌçɔ*, her sister. — *ja aʷmimo moʷçɔ* my mother's sister, my maternal aunt. *uʷŋɛ gumimo moʷçɔ* thy maternal aunt. *ma mamimo moçʌkoʷn* your (pl.) maternal aunts. 601 ●

mo.i, mo.imo, v. *mu.i.*

moʷq mʌnaʷs to smile.

moʷqa, mauqa y right time, opportunity, chance. — *niyʌse moʷqa diʷmi* the right time, or opportunity, for going came. Ar. Prs. 000

**-m'oʷqʌs, *-m'oʷqič-, *-moʷqəč-* to tear (hair off a skin), to pluck (a fowl). — *gumoʷqičʌm* I'll tear thy hair on

000 *nʌmaʷn*, Nz. *nʌmaʷni* Ppa. 2nd. pl. of *niyʌs*, you having gone. 128,13, 246.9.

nʌmʌn Ppa. 1st. sg. of *-*manʌs*. 282.22.

nʌms v. *nʌfs*.

nʌmuʷna y (and x if the object is x) sample. Prs.

●601 1. *nʌna*, *nʌns*, pl. *nʌn'ʌtsəro*, *nʌn'ʷtsəro* hmf.

a. Uncle (paternal or maternal), H. *čʌča*, *maʷma*. The form *nʌns* is properly used only in Rajas' families; *nʌna* being used by aristocrats and commoners.

jot nʌna father's, *or* mother's, younger brother. *uyuʷm nʌna* father's, *or* mother's, elder brother. *nʌn'ʷtsəruʷs gʌsaʷntsɛ nʌzɪr* (we do) homage to (our) mother's brothers' hawks! 248,4. Cp. 246.15, 248.5.

Father's brother. 130.10.15,17. Uncle. 312.14.

b. Term of respectful address used between men, also applied to old men. Cp. 354.2.

c. Aunt (paternal). — *sɛ nʌnʌtsəro* O father's sisters! 266.9.

(Not recorded for maternal aunt).

d. Term of address between women, (applicable to older women). — *xʌbər suʷa? hʌmʌl nʌnʌmo nʌzɪr* have you brought news? (I do) homage to (you) lady neighbour. 362.9. (*nʌnʌmo* is gen. sg. f.).

000 2. *nʌna -mots* x ball (of eye). — *aʷlčins nʌna* my eye-ball. (Cp. Sh. *nʌni*, eyeball).

nʌns v. *nʌna*, a.

nʌph'a, *nʌfa* y gain, profit; profitable. — *gusɛ hʌyur aʷr nʌfa ɔi* this horse is profitable to me. Ar. Prs.

nʌqd x cash. Ar. Prs.

000 *nɛ·stsʊ·nɪ·n* IUB Ppa. v.t. having melted (s.t.), H. *gʌlavkɛ*. (Ppa. of *ɛ·st(s)uyʌs*).
nɛ·sʊn Ppa. of *-ʌsʌs* with Pn. infix *-i-* having said to him.

-ŋgi in front of. — *12 bʊ·ndo i·ŋgi tsa do·rimi* he set up twelve stones in front of himself. 148.15.

-ŋgi·mo Adj. front. — *ya·rʊm mi·ŋgi·mo mi·mɛ* our lower front teeth, incisors. *aŋgi·mo a·mɛ* my front teeth.

● 601 *-ŋgo*, pl. *-ŋguisɔ·ro*, hm. uncle (paternal and maternal). H. *čʌča*, *ma·mo*. — *a·pkʊtsɛ aŋgo* my maternal uncle. Cp. *ʌŋgo*. 14.14. *mʌma "gʊ·ŋgu.ʌlɛ ni" nɔsen* (my) mother saying: "go to your uncle" (father's brother) ... 132.10. *hin mʊ·ŋgo ya mʊ·lɔsʌn* a brother of her mother, or her own brother, i.e. a maternal uncle or a brother of hers. 306.1. *mʊ·ŋgo uyɛ·nʊm* present given to bride's maternal uncle(s).

000 *ni·* (occurring as a particle after a verb). ... or not? — *yā ja ha·lɛ bi.a ni?* is the bear in my house or not? 230.1. (Correct the footnote to the passage). *hʌza·r mili maimi.a, ni·?* perhaps it will be a remedy will it not? 358.14. (Emend the text). *Thʌm A·li.ăba·dɔr di bai.a ni·?* has the Tham come to Aliabad or not?

It may be used with a rude effect: *ma bɛšʌlɔr ničam, ni·?* When are you going to go? Will you tell me that?

-ŋi pl. *-ŋičiŋ*; N. *-ŋyɛ* pl. *-ŋyičʌŋ*; y beard. — *gʊ·ŋi gʊlʊ·š* may your beard be burnt! (a woman's curse). *i·ŋi bʊ·rʊm mʌnʊm bai.i* he has become white-beard, i.e. he is a grey-beard, old man. *kinɛ tʌma·m ... pahlwa·ntiŋɛ uŋ'i·ɛ bʌp gai.rmi* he

noˑkər, *-tiŋ*, *-išo*, hm servant. 373.17,25. 000
Cp. *šʌdər*. Prs.

noˑkəri y service. — *badša noˑkəri.olo hərutimi* he remained in the service of the King. 2.7. Prs.

noˑi -išo an animal something like a small weasel. They sometimes frequent houses and are harmless and considered lucky.
(Cp. Psht. *noˑle* weasel, mongoose; Punj. *ne.ul* mongoose).

noˑsən Ppa. of **-ʌsʌs* with pn. infix *-u-*. having said to them.

**-ntso*, pl. **-ntsutsəro*, **-ntsumots*, **-ntsušo*, 601 ●
hf. father's sister, paternal aunt, H. *phuphi*. Also: mother's brother's wife. — *si ʌntsutsəro* O my father's sisters. 266.9.

nəjuˑm -tiŋ hm. astrologer, diviner, fortune-teller. — *nəjuˑmʌlɛ nimi* he went to the astrologer. 102.4. ff. 000
At 102.5 *rʌmʌlči* is used as a synonym.
nəjuˑmtiŋ astrologers, diviners. 152.18ff.
nəjuˑmɛ hrsaˑb heˑibʌm he knew, was skilled in, astrological calculations. 50.7. Ar. Prs.

nukaˑrts(in) Ppa. of *gaˑrtsʌs*.

nəkʌn, *nəka* Ppa. of *gʌnʌs*.

nəkon Ppa. 2nd. sg. of *niyʌs*.

nəkoˑršʌn Ppa. 2nd. sg. of **-ʌršaiyʌs*.

nəkuˑčen Ppa. of *gəčhaiyʌs*.

nəkuˑškin Ppa. of *gəšuginʌs*.

nəxˈa (obsolete) having said, saying, Bu. *nəsen*.
(Cp. Werch. *nuxʌt*, having said, which belongs to a Verb *xʌtʌn-*, *xʌti-*).

nuxs y defect. — *haγurɛ besʌn nuxs bila?* what defect has the horse? Ar. Prs

nuˑljen Ppa. of *holjʌiyʌs*.

noltʌn Ppa. of **-ltaiyʌs*.

281 a

rem'ivzl, remivzil, rimivzl, -ło, -ıło x stone-marten. — *rimivzlə bʌt* stone-marten skin. 000

-rik -ındəro hmf., gen. sg.f. *-rikmo.* A man's wife's brother, a man's sister's husband. A woman's husband's sister, a woman's brother's wife. The word is used as a term both of reference and of address. 601

The following additional meanings are variously described as rare, obsolete, and objectionable: — a man's wife's sister, a man's brother's wife, a man's father's brother's son's wife. A woman's husband's brother.

It will be remarked that the fully recognised meanings conform to the analogy of *-ʌçə* in that they denote relationships between persons of the same *sex.*

Any of the relationships in question may of course be expressed by descriptive combinations. Thus: —
ʊsmo moçə my wife's sister.
ʊsmo mıvlʊs my wife's brother.
ʊyəre eçə my husband's brother.
ʊyəre yʌs my husband's sister.

Examples of *-rik.*
ʊsmo avrik my brother-in-law on my wife's side, i.e. my wife's brother.
ayʌsmo avrik (man speaking) my brother-in-law on my sister's side, i.e. my sister's husband.

In 364.8 *avrikmo* is glossed as, "my brother's wife" (woman speaking).

rik mʌnaʊ IUB to be absolutely ready (to start etc.). 000

ril y copper. According to IUB the word can also mean "steel". — *ifʌyo rile bi* his stick is of copper. 210.9.

(Cp. Sh. *hʌlhjo ril*, brass).

303b

000 *sa·bɪt* proved. — *sa·bɪt ɛtʌs* to prove (something). Ar. Prs.

sa·bʊn, pl. *sabo·yo* x soap. Ar. Prs.

sa·da plain, blank (of paper); simple, honest; simple-minded. — *sʌm sa·da* quite plain. *sa·da·n bai* he is a simple, honest fellow. Prs.

sa·f pure, clear; clearly. — *nokərɛ sa·f sa·f i·mo bayan ɛtimi* the servant told his story clearly. 380.1. Ar. Prs.

● 601 **-saγʊn*, **-sʌγʊn*, pl. **-saγʊndəro*, **-saγuyo*, N. **-sʌγo·yo* nephew, niece, child of brother or sister. — *le ʌs'a·γʊn* O my nephew (my sister's son). 132.12,14,16. *mi ma mʌsaγʊndəro bam* we are your nephews (your sister's sons). 246.17. *ʊsaγ'ʊndəro* their sister's sons. 248.21.

(Originally applied only to sister's children. Brother's children were, and still frequently are called "son" and "daughter").

000 *sa·ju* third party, unprejudiced, disinterested (and so qualified to act as arbitrator), H. *xalɪş*. — *Diramitiŋ sa·ju numa . . . wər astʌm ɛtʌm* the D. being disinterested parties had settled the case for them. 258.4.

(Cp. Sh. *sʌji·no*, go-between, arbitrator; *sʌ·jo*, jointly-owned, also arbitrator?).

sa·ma·n y pl. kit, equipment, belongings. — *sa·ma·n ɛtimi* he made his preparations (to go out), got ready his kit, H. *tai.a·ri ki*. 94.11. Prs.

**-samʊts*, **-s'ʌmʊts* x pl. end of period of pregnancy, last month of pregnancy. — *hʊru·ʊmtsʊm mʊsamʊts gʊntsiŋ hisa·b ɛtʊmo* she reckoned the days of her pregnancy from the time when she conceived. 108.7. *gu'ai.ʌs tai.a·r bom, mos'ʌmʊts gi.a*

306 b

000 *ʂaza* y punishment. — *iner ivte gane ʂaza ičhiʌm* on that account I punished him. Prs.

sai.rt v. *sevit*.

sail -iŋ y tour, walk, outing; inspection. — *gu·ke bʌsenę sail 'eti* make the round of these gardens. 10.13, *sailər duʂimi* he went out for a walk. 10.17 *sailər itsuʌm* they had taken hin for a walk. 70.17. *sail etʌs* to inspect. EOL. *sail *-ʌ'ʌs* to show v.t. EOL. Ar. Prs.

saurin v. s.v. *sovriŋ*.

sau.u v. *savo*.

● 601 *se, se.i, se* form of address used by husband to his wife, and by women to each other. — *muyəre senimi:* "*se jʌma·ʌt*" her husband said: "O wife". 34.9. *se.i Lʌŋa Bru·mo* O, L. B. (said by husband). 122.24. *le a.u*, [illegible] O father, O mother (said by daughter). 280.12. *se mʌma* O mother (said by son). 264.11.

This use of the term by a (male?) child to his mother was said to be not good form.

The term is used by the supernatural *Šivribərai Bayərthʌm* to his hostess: "*se ma·ma*", 212.4, and by the saint *Ba·ba Ghwundi* to his unrelated young protegée: "*se dʌsin*", 282.5. Such personages apparently do not feel themselves bound by the ordinary rules.

000 *se·rt, sai.rt, sai.rd, -ərę* hm Saiyid. — *tʌlo sevitəru.e mʌzʌriŋ* seven Saiyids graves. 294.1. Ar. Prs.

1. *se·r* "seer", 2 lbs. avoirdupois weight. — *hik se·r* one seer. H.

2. *se·r, ser,* y magic. — *da se·r ja·du ečai.i* then he works enchantment and magic. 172.18. Cp. 174.2. Ar. (*sr̥r*).

Infin. *senas*.

000 *gute senas pfurt deyelimi* the div heard this saying, speech. 176.7.

The dative: *senasor* is common: *gute senasor Š. Bahram burt xoj imanimi* On their saying this S. B. was greatly pleased. 30.6. Cp. 240.6, 262.16, 373.17.

senas called, named. V. section 3 above.

The *senas* in 368.5 and 368.11 is probably due to a confusion of idiom.

Negative forms:

Pres. sg. 1. *osaiya ba*. 118.20.

Perf. sg. 1. *osena ba*. 370.8.

Impv. sg. 2. *osan*. 60.7, 118.17.

setambor September. 336.1. Eng.

si.ari y ink. — *farsi si.ari* Persian ink. *angrezi si.ari* European ink. Prs.

si at good health. — *si.at salamat* safe and sound. 374.3. Ar. Prs. (*sıḥḥat*).

sıfat y merit, virtue, good qualities. — *unge sıfat eço* she will sing your praises. 168.10. *kine sıfat mar 'eçam* I shall tell you this (infant's) virtues. 92.1. Ar. Prs.

sigaret N. *-rso* x cigarette. Eng.

sıkim -iŋ, -ičiŋ, N. *-ičaŋ*, y silk (fabric). — *sıkime* silken, silk (adj.).

(Cp. Sh. *s'ıkim, sıkim*, Kho. *rskim*).

[601] *silažin*, pl. *silažiyo*, hf female relation, related women-folk. — *mi silažin bo* she is a relation of ours. *mi silažiyo bam* (these women) are related to us.

1> *sim* x wire, spiral wire spring. — *sitare sim* guitar wire. *baše sim* wire cable (of bridge) Prs.

simç, sinj, -ko x (roof) beam, rafter. Pers. *šartir*. — *han simčan hol ne pfaš bim* the end of a rafter was sticking out. 174.8,9.

(Cp. perhaps Kho. *sanj* and *sanjir*).

314 b

1 [see supplement to corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 545 - Analyst]

able; the opposite af *ʌbʌš*. — *maʷmər ʌbʌšʌn subʌšʌn di.ɛ kɛ* . . . if any difficu'ty or facility comes on you . . . 284.10. Here *subʌšʌn* seem.s to be introduced only to make a jingle. (Sh. *sʊbʌš*). 000

sučəʷmo honest, of good character. — *sʊčəʷmo.ʌn bai, γiʷn apai* he is an honest man, he is not a thief.

(Sh. *sučəʷmo*. Cp. Sh., Bu. *ʌčəʷmo*).

suʷd v. *suʷt*.

*-*suʷi -mʊts* x umbilical cord, navel. — *isuʷi čʊruk sčan* they cut (the infant's) umbilical cord.

suʷjo pure, sacred, holy, H. *paʷk*. Only recorded in *suʷjo pfuʷnər* (-*iŋ*) primula.

(Sh. *suʷjo* + *pfuʷnər*, flower).

sʊkʹuʷin, pl. *sʊkʹuʷyo*, hmf kinsman, blood-relation (descended from a common ancestor), "near relation such as cousin etc. who inherits when there is no direct heir". — *khuʷt sʊkuʷin bai.i* he is a close relation. *xʌmʌličiŋ sukuʷyo dʊtson dʌŋ oʷčaʷn* fetching (female) relations they make them bake bread. 300.4. Cp. 312.19, 314.7. 601

(Variant: *uskuʷin*. Cp. Sh. *uskuʷn*, near relation, not including relation by marriage.

Cp. also the Bu. *jaʷm* which is more inclusive than *sʊkuʷin*)

sʊluma, sʊlamʹa wrestling. — *sʊluma duʷnʌs* to wrestle. 106.8, 174.17, 198.9. *oʷltʌlikɛ sʊlamʹa duʷnumʌn* the two of them wrestled. 198.5. Cp. 218.5. 000

(Cp. Sh. *sʌmʌla, sʌmla lamoʷrki*, to wrestle).

sʊm female, (of all (domestic?) animals, but not of human beings. The term *gus* is however more commonly used).

sʊmʌn male (corresponding to *sʊm*, and usually replaced by *hir*). — *sʹʊmʌn*

000 halting place ahead, at the next stage. 124.15, 128.7.

2. Adj. (of time):

a. Former, preceding. — *γonikrš yərom ivɛ bʌtər nɪkin* [illegible]tering into that former evil skin (of his). 160.20. *yərom gusɛ* (*ivsɛ?*) *hʌγər jotʌn bim* that former horse was small. 76.23. *yərom zʌmaʷna* former times, ancient times. 192.1, 218.1, 250.1, 280.1. *yərom hisa* last(?) month, the preceding month.

b. Of former times, old-time, IUB. H. *qʌdiʷm*. — *yərom sis baʷn* they are old-time, experienced, men. *yərom bər bila* it is an old saying, proverb, an old affair. *yərom hiʷr, čʌγa, duʷro* a man, story, affair of former times.

c. Before one in the future, next. — *yərom hisa, dɛn* next(?) month, year. *miyərom dɛn* the year ahead of us, next year. (V. *yər*).

*-*yʌs* head. (Only recorded. With the suffix *-ʌtɛ*). — *Šʌmtu Miʷru.ɛ yʌsʌtɛ lʌkpiʷsʌn pfaʷl ɛtimi* Sh. M. threw a handkerchief over his head. 148.24. *yʌsɛtɛ tik nɛ* putting earth on his head. 26.4. (Cp. *yʌči*).

● 601 *-*yʌs*, gen. *-yʌsmo*, pl. *-*yʌstəro*, *-*yʌstsəro* a man's sister, a man's wife's sister. — *wʌziʷrɛ se.ibai.i:* "*aiyaʷs*" the Wazir says: "(O) my sister". 50.24. Cp. *aiyaʷz*. 56.26. *ja oyərɛ* (or, *jʌma.ʌtɛ*) *yʌs* my husband's sister. (*i*)*yʌsmo mu.i* his sister's son. (*i*)*yʌsmo mo.i* his sister's daughter. *Siŋɛ yʌstsəro* (the man) Sing's sisters. 266.5. Cp. 272.6.

000 *yʌsoʷl, yʌsa.ul, -ɪšo, -tiŋ*, hm man who distributes food at the Mīr's darbar. QUB; head house-servant. EOL.

380 b

zɪna y fornication, adultery, sexual commerce with a relation of prohibited degree, incest. — *oʷka zɪna ɛtʊmʌn* they committed incest with them. 272.7. Cp. 374.12. Ar. Prs. 000

zɪnda alive, living. 388.7. Prs.

zɪndagaʷni y livelihood. Prs.

zɪndaʷnxaʷna y prison, jail. Prs.

zɪzi, zizi, Mother! Form of address used only in the families of Rajas and (in Nagir) Saiyids. Foster mothers, being of lower rank are called "*mama*". 601

The corresponding term for father is "*baʷba*", "*bʌb'a*".

These terms are said to have come down from the time of Alexander the Great. 30.15, 238.6.

(*zɪzi* and *baʷba* are in use in Sh. and Kho., and in Balti *zɪzi* and *bawa*).

zoʷr. 000

1. Force, violence. — *zoʷr ɛtʌsʌn bai.i* he is a violent person (a doer of violence). *zoʷr ɛtimi* he insisted. 264.21.
2. Powerful, strong; hard, difficult. — *kinɛ buʷt zoʷr bai.i* this fellow is very strong. 144.19. (*boyo*) *buʷt zoʷrɪšo bi.ɛn* (those "boyo") are very powerful. 250.10. *buʷt zoʷr duʷro bila* it is a very difficult business. 50.24. Prs.

zoraʷwəʷr powerful, mighty. — *buʷt zoraʷwəʷr thʌmʌn bʌm* he was a very powerful ruler. 218.1. Prs.

zoʷzʌx, *doʷzʌx*, IUB & QUB *zoʷzʌq*, y hell. (Cp. Sh. *zozʌk*). Prs. (*doʷzʌx*).

zul searching. — *iʷkɛ uyoʷn zul nʊmo fʌš nʊmo iʷmo haʷlər moɪsuʷʌm* having made her search all those (places) and having made her finish (the business) he had brought her to his own home. 108.27. *dɪšmiŋ uyoʷn*

5: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

SUPPLEMENT to CORRIGENDA et ADDENDA Vol. III. 000

Add to the Vocabulary the following four words originally recorded with Pn. Pf.s, and accidentally omitted when these were excised:

*-khʌkərʌs. *-khʌkərč-, also without the Pn. Pf.,

1. to wind a thing on s.t., wind up s.t.
   sikiʷm moriŋtse ikhʌkərču bo she is winding silk on her hand.
   sikʼʷme lorjomots ukhʌkərčaʷn they are winding balls of silk.
   Ppa. *nikʌkər* 382.15 f.n. V. corrigendum to passage.
2. to crowd round, mob (with hostile intent).
   adəljər uyoʷn aʷtsi khʌkərʌm they had all crowded round me with the intention of beating me.

*-mʌltərʌs, *-mʌltərč-, also without the Pn. Pf.

1. to wind s.t. on to s.t., v.s.v. 2 *tʌliʷl*;
2. to rub on (medicine, oil etc.)
   milents umʌltər rub on medicaments.
   del oʷmʌltər (*oʷ* + *mʌltərʌs*) don't rub on oil.

*-sʼildir -šo, -i.ents hm.

the term applied to joint fathers-in-law in relation to each other, and by them of and to each other; also used by a woman of her daughter's husband's father. 601

hin hirʌns eʷyen iʷər dumotsimi ke ins hilesse yuʷy ke da ins dʌsinmo muʷy hihinər isiʷldiršo baʷn when a man gets someone's daughter (as wife) for his son, the lad's father and the girl's father are *-*sildir* to each other.

khins khins isiʷldir bæi; isiʷldiršo umæibaʷn this man is this man's *-*sildir*; they are *-*sildir-s*.

ʌsʌn ke Biʷk eʷsildiri.ents baʷn A and B are *-*sildir-s* (and speak of each other as *asildir*). (Cp. semantically Sh. *brleʷ*.)

*-sʼilgus, pl. *-silgušo, -gušints, -gši.o (and *-gu.ents?*) hf. the term applied to joint mothers-in-law, corresponding to the male term *-*sildir*.

hi hins eʷsilgu.ents (isilušints?) baʷn they are *-*silgus* to each other.

šu.a, ʌsilgus! Very good, my *-*silgus*! (Cp. semantically Sh. *brleʷ*).

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[p.546 is blank]

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV1 Afghanistan AV1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B D [562] B 595 582 587 D 595 582 587

teen. Wives are regarded as the absolute property of the husband and his heirs. On a man's death his brother can claim to marry all his widows, and no widow can marry again without the consent of her husband's brothers. Frequently, if a man leaves several widows as well as several brothers, the latter apportion the former among themselves. So strictly is the rule observed that, should there be only one surviving brother and he an infant, the widow cannot remarry elsewhere till he is old enough to say whether he will marry her or not; On the other hand, it is considered disgraceful to refuse to marry a brother's widow, so that it is not uncommon for a boy of ten years old to marry a woman more than twice his age. So absolute is the custom, that a woman cannot refuse to marry her deceased husband's brother, and her own parents have no voice in the matter. This often leads to two sisters being wives to the same man simultaneously, though the practice is forbidden by Mahommedan law. In Chitral, marriage with a husband's brother, though common, is not compulsory on the woman. Among the Afghans of Dir, if a widow should refuse to marry her husband's brother, he has the power of selling her, as she is regarded in the light of family property, which has been purchased and paid for. Among the Shin caste the marriage of first cousins or other relations within that degree (such as uncle and niece) is strictly prohibited, though allowed by Mahommedan law. In Torwal and Bushkar the marriage of first cousins is allowed, but marriages such as of uncle and niece or niece's daughter are forbidden.

B 595 601 D 595 601

In none of the Dard languages are there terms distinctive of polygamous relationship. All wives are of equal rank, priority of marriage not conferring any claim. In the Shina and Boorishki languages, uncles on the father's side are styled "great father" or "little father," according to their age in comparison with that of the speaker's father; but there is a distinct term for an uncle on the mother's side. In the same way the term "aunt" is only applied to those on the father's side, the mother's sisters being all styled "mother." There is no specific term either for nephew and niece, who are styled "son" and "daughter." In the same way cousins are styled "brother" or "sister." This would seem to point to the former existence of communal marriage, such as still exists in some parts of India. In the Khowar language the term "uncle" is applied to the brothers of both father and mother without distinction; but aunts on the mother's side are styled "mother,"

~~M:~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushio AV7

which would point to polygamy, and not to communal marriage, as an ancient institution in the Chitral Valley. In the Bushkarik language the terms point towards polyandry. B 595 601 B 595 601

Cases of infidelity are extremely common, and the men show none of the jealousy of their wives usual in older Mahommedan communities. In cases of adultery the injured husband has the right to slay the guilty couple when he finds them together; but should he slay one and not the other, he is held guilty of murder. This practice is followed in Sirikol and Wakhan as well as south of the Hindoo Koosh. It is said that the Afghans of Swat, Dir, and Asmar take no notice of a wife's infidelity if, when it comes to their knowledge, they are able to disguise the knowledge from others; but should they learn it through a third person, a bloody vengeance is inflicted. In cases where conclusive proof is wanting, and which are brought for settlement before the ruler or Wuzeer, guarantee is taken for the future by the accused placing his lips to the woman's breast. She thenceforth is regarded as his foster-mother, and no other relations but those of mother and son can exist between them. So sacred is the tie thus established esteemed, that it has never been known to be broken, and the most jealous husband ceases to suspect even though a confession of previous guilt may have been made. In such a case a sheep and a toloo of gold are placed at the feet of the husband by the offender, who humbly sues for forgiveness. D 837 684 D 608 837

It would appear that morals were more lax formerly than they are now. In Hunza, where the community approaches most nearly to its pre-Mahommedan state, infidelity is not regarded as an offence, and custom requires that a man shall place his wife at his guest's disposal, as in Hazara. The *droit de seigneur* was exercised by the father of the present ruler, and though the custom has been allowed to fall into disuse, it is evident from the accounts given of weekly orgies held by Ghazan Khan that the right is only held in abeyance and not formally renounced. In Nager things are but slightly better, and a man considers himself highly honoured if his wife attracts the attention of the Thum. Islam has not yet brought about the seclusion of the women, who mix freely with the men on all occasions Young men and maidens of different families eat and converse together without restraint, and great liberty is allowed to young women, with frequent evil results. Infanticide arising from illicit connections is common, and is not considered a crime. B 837 771 B 562 B 847

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any un- 587
weaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *rúli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. 585
She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to 614
be "a daughter of the Buróng," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gímo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of 607 ●
fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will 431
ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltít, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltít when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza 561
is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific inno- 888
vations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

601 "another child of my father and mother, of the same sex as I myself." A second word denotes a boy's sister; a third, a girl's brother. Just to prevent your feeling too sure of things, a boy will address a much older sister out of deference as "my brother." When chattering to my children friends I often provoked delighted chuckles by inadvertently saying the equivalent of: "is that little boy your sister?"

The same sort of differentiation is carried into several other relationships. It does not simplify the tracing out in haste of complicated family genealogies which was one of David's little tasks. My *cousin*, if our two fathers are brothers, is usually described as *my brother* or *my sister*, unless it is necessary to be more explicit; whereas a cousin not reared in the same house has a name to him- or herself. An *uncle* who is my father's brother is *big father*, *little father*, or *middle father* according to his relative age, while my mother's brother is an uncle.

• 607 One relationship word the Burusho have for which we might well devise an English equivalent. If young Mr. Smith marries young Miss Jones, what relationship exists between the parent Smiths and Joneses? (Amongst us, carefully dissembled hostility, of course.) Burushaski has a special and convenient term for what is amongst them this very real tie of friendship and alliance between the houses. If the Jones family are extra busy or short-handed, the Smiths will come along to lend a hand, or vice versa.

192 It is a common error of the uninitiate to take for granted that people of a primitive material culture will have a limited and easily mastered vocabulary. As all serious language-students know, the reverse is the case. Burushaski would no doubt be found to lack our large supply of terms—mostly non-English—to express philosophical ideas or aesthetic appreciation, though it would from its own rich resources be perfectly capable of creating them without borrowing at second-hand, if anyone could spare time from the urgencies of living to indulge in the futilities of philosophy or aesthetics; but it is rich beyond belief in verb-concepts and in concrete words denoting crops and buds and fruits at every stage of growth, implements of

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

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Morality in Hunza is of a high level, equal to that of the best records in the world. Sexual promiscuity on the part of either male or female is practically unknown. It is clear and established that they are clean thinking and clean living people. However, the Mir did tell me that on rare occasions there was trouble involving the eternal triangle.

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759
608

The strangest custom that I found practiced in Hunza was that followed by the royal family . . . that is, the Mir's family . . . and it pertained to their children. As soon as a child is born to the royal family, it is given out to foster parents to be reared and brought up by these parents as their own. And there the royal child remains for an unspecified period of years. The child is brought to the palace on occasions and then returned to its foster home.

The exact purpose for this practice was hard to pin down. I felt that probably it was done to save the queen or Rani the difficulty of raising the child through its infancy. I also thought that perhaps this would allow the queen to have more children, and thus be sure to create a long line of descendants to follow in the ruler's footsteps or lineage. It was also suggested that this was a way or manner or means of strengthening the ties of the ruler with his people—a sort of democratic gesture.

The people to whom the child is given out for rearing are referred to as "milk parents" or "milk family." The tie that is thus established with these people is never broken. The individual members of the family are referred to as the milk-mother, the milk-father, the milk-brother and the milk-sister.

In every case, before the child is given out to its milk parents, their character, their habits and their way of life are carefully scrutinized so that the royal couple

know that the child will be given a fine upbringing. 644

It is to be expected that the milk parents will be given much consideration and favors from the Mir's household and family . . . and the Mir has and still does provide better than average homes or residences for these selected people. 853 608

In Hunza at the present time, the Mir has built a row or unit of bungalows for these milk parents and they are given food and necessities from the royal kitchen.

I have tried to find some connection of this practice with other nations or peoples. So far my search has been unsuccessful in this regard.

Death is not the serious thing with the people of Hunza that it is with most other peoples throughout the world. That does not mean that there is no sadness and mourning, but it does not take on the same scope and seriousness that it does in the West. This is primarily due to the religion and beliefs of the people. Being Mohammedans, they believe in predestination . . . "So Allah wills." 761

Seldom are graves of departed kinfolk visited—nor are flowers laid upon them. In fact, very little maintenance is ever carried out on graves. Visits to the graves or graveyards are definitely not encouraged. The dead are revered, but visiting the grave of the departed is not really the accepted thing in Hunza. 769 765

The dead are often commemorated by having roadside lean-tos or "baldies," as they call them, erected for them . . . where a man can stop and find a bit of shelter during a storm, or rest his pack or load. They also build "jhurks" or water holes to serve the same purpose. Women are seldom commemorated in this manner. The best that a woman can hope to get is a rock pile erected in her memory. 769 764 [484] [312]

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India. It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

* *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

[643] ruled his country in the humanest and wisest of benevolent autocracies, since the treaty of 1892 placed him on the throne of his murdered father 181 and parricide brother—to our humbler neighbours in Aliabad, the ● 609 village four miles below the capital which we made our headquarters for fifteen months. As soon as the people grasped the purpose of our [212] coming (which was not easy to explain to an illiterate people) they were overjoyed that a 'Sahib' should trouble to learn their vernacular—a thing which no white man or woman had done before—and take an interest in their customs and hereditary lore. At first they would hesitate: 'but you have wheels (=machines) in England, and can do all these things better than we can'. Within a few days they were vying with each other in explaining, demonstrating and bringing ploughs, looms, winnowing forks, bows, stone cooking pots to the resthouse where we were installed, that D.L. might measure them and take 'studio portraits' of them, 'for you mustn't put anything in the book about us that isn't exactly true'.

132 The entire life of the Hunzukuts is centred in water. The rainfall in the oasis level (7–9,000 feet), is negligible—we reckoned less 312 than 2 inches per annum; in default of any means of raising the 361 water, the river, flowing between its crumbly earthen cliffs, 500 or 1,000 feet below their fields is useless for irrigation; there are no springs or wells; hence all water for all purposes must be trapped high up at the snout of some side glacier and conveyed on galleried aqueducts across yawning gorges and the faces of sheer cliffs. The main water channel, the Dala, which supplies all the more recent villages of Hunza, 'the new settlements' as they are called in contradistinction to the three original villages—Baltit the capital, Altit and Ganesh—travels some 8 or 10 miles in its circuitous route from the Herber glacier in the gorge behind Baltit, cradled between snow-peaks of 23,000 feet, before it peters out in a semicircular sweep round Aliabad.

312 The Dala was dug some three or four generations ago (90–100 years) with wooden shovels and wooden picks tipped with ibex horn, 412 and represents an amazing feat of engineering skill for people without any instruments of precision. The sluices that control the distribu- 816 tion of water—every teaspoonful of which is rigorously allotted—are of the simplest; most often a slab of flattish stone plastered in with mud, sometimes a wooden shutter sliding in a rude wooden frame, sometimes when the water is being taken off to a lower level a circular hole in a stone slab, closed at need with a mushroom-shaped stopper, rough hewn from a solid tree trunk.

SETTLING IN

123 It was at once clear that there was not going to be any initial
● 609 hostility or distrust to overcome, even amongst the women.
771 This is rather remarkable when you think that not one of them has ever been more than five or six miles away from her home village, and that they have never seen a white woman at close quarters before. They are a fine, healthy, good-looking crowd, and always appear cheery and good-tempered. Undoubtedly the short-cut to the women's hearts was to make much of their youngsters. In a superstitious place this would be dangerous; they would be terrified of the Evil Eye; but we noted with thankfulness that these entirely non-Oriental people were as free from inhibiting superstitions as we ourselves. This promised to make our work immensely easier.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

312 And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of
423 the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

562 Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the
884 East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

609 To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and
123 Mīm sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

184 So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours
157 I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

000 We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Wərčikwa·r). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasīn district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasīn is shown in the following table:

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

682 past 40 years. Never to my knowledge has a stranger
[609] or a visitor ever been harmed or injured.

175 In bygone days the Hunzans were considered good
648 fighting men and were feared by the Chinese, the Afghans and neighboring tribes. It is a fact that they have only been conquered or beaten once in their history and that was by a British force that defeated them at the Battle of Nilt. The British did not seek to conquer the country. It was at the time when the British were the rulers of India. They requested that the Mir of Hunza allow free passage of the mail to Kashgar in China. The Mir at that time, Safdar Ali, felt that he could count upon the aid of the Russians and the Chinese and challenged the British authority. Then the British force went into the field and it required deliberation and courage to assault the high fortress, but it was accomplished by the British and the
[643] Mir fled for his life. The British then appointed his brother as the ruler and departed peacefully. Apart from this, the British did not interfere in the affairs of the Hunzans.

123 *You lose face if you carry anything yourself or do any work.* In all my travels throughout the world, including Hunza, I always did my share of the carrying. I wasn't going to stand by and see one or two men burdened down with my belongings while I walked about empty handed. I will not allow it to be said that I lost face because of this.

I don't want it to be thought that I am better than anyone else nor will I allow them to think that they are better than I. Wherever there was work to be done or burdens to be borne, I always did my share and I intend to keep on doing it.

131 *Hunza in the Himalayas.* Some writers keep referring to Hunza, Gilgit and Rakaposhi as being in the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

CHAPTER V

VISIT TO HUNZA NAGAR

609 At Chalt I dismissed the Nagar men who had come to Gilgit to act as hostages during my absence, and sent them away well pleased. The Nagar people seemed to be really keen on my visiting their country, and the Hunza representative with me explained the rather doubtful tone of his master's letters by the fact that the Thum was suffering severely from fever. In addition to this, which might delay our interviews, the chief feared that the height of the river, which was in full flood, might make our
491 journey difficult and dangerous. In the whole course
[186] of the river only two bridges existed, both of them twig rope suspension bridges, one at Chalt, the other exactly opposite Hunza, and there was no other means of crossing the river when in flood. There had been latterly some ill-feeling between the Hunza-Nagar Chiefs, and the upper bridge had not been repaired, neither side caring to take the trouble when it might become necessary to cut the bridge at a moment's notice. However, I heard that the relations were no longer strained, and that the bridge was now being renewed by the Nagar

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

people, who had practically the monopoly of the 491
necessary birch. Our crossing into Hunza was
therefore assured, and I received civil enough letters 609
from the Thum repeating his invitations. His [195]
epistolary style was always quaint and high-flown, and on this occasion, when welcoming me, he compared my party to "camels without nose-ropes uncontrolled," meaning by this that we were free to wander at our pleasure in all directions. In a former letter he had, with reference to the difficulty of supplying our party, compared us to elephants. On a later occasion he incidentally remarked that he proposed to send my head on a charger as a present to the Government of India: but there was a good deal to come before that.

Crossing a mile above Chalt the rope bridge over 491
the Hunza river, which seemed the longest and [131]
steepest we had yet crossed, though that over the Gilgit river had a span of three hundred and sixty feet, we found ourselves in Nagar territory, the first Europeans who had ever penetrated its mysterious wilds. The bridge was a new one, fortunately for us, for they are very unsafe when old, and should be renewed annually. This involves a good deal of labour, as nine cables of twisted birch twigs of the necessary length, in this case some four hundred and fifty feet, have to be prepared. The people therefore often put off the work and chance the bridge lasting, and I have seen bridges three and four years old in use. This is horribly dangerous; the birch twigs dry and perish, and the ropes break suddenly. As a rule they do not go all together, and I have seen a bridge in use con-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

133 land of silent mystery. Looking up from our vantage ground above the glacier, it was obvious that the ice rivers had receded, and, judging from the people's traditions at no distant date, leaving gigantic moraines to the south and in the direction of Hispar.

241 The road to this point from Nagar was very pretty, running entirely through cultivation and orchards, and occasionally under the walls of a village fort. The people were evidently very hard working, and the cultivation and labour expended on walling the fields 609 was most thorough. At some villages they used to bring us out presents of fruit, and at all they were civil and pleasant. They are a nice people, and independent. One old man was very indignant at the men with us for passing along the edge of his 651 field where there was no footpath. We came in one place on an amusing instance of the world-wide tendency to scamp Government work. We were crossing a field which I noticed was very badly gleaned, and I asked the reason. I was told it was one of the Thum's, and that, as the villagers had to cultivate and reap it for him, they did not take as much trouble as if it had been their own.

533 A boy came along with us one day, and played on a long pipe with a very sweet note. It was quite a pastoral. The last we saw of him he was wandering below us on a classic lawn, by the side of a stream which ran flecked with sunlight under the shadow of great walnut trees, playing his pipe, whose plaintive notes floated up to us, mingled with the murmur of 301 the water. His dard cap was ornamented with a garland of red and white flowers stuck into its folds.

000 I had to leave Nagar long before I had exhausted

2r Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 22

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

THE Burusho population of Hunza is divided into four major clans, centred in Báltít, and several minor clans scattered over other villages. Aliábád, being a "new settlement," contained amongst its two hundred houses representatives of almost all the clans. Marriage outside the race is rare, but (as I have already said) exogamous marriage between the clans is the rule. 614 621 582

On the whole the Burusho cling to their settlements along the eight or nine-mile stretch of river below Áltít (two or three miles up-river of Báltít), at a height of 6,000 to 8,000 feet above sea-level. They are not eager to colonize higher-lying districts, for they say their womenfolk refuse to live where the apricot will not ripen. If this is so the women show sound sense, for the dried apricot is one of their staple foods and almost their only source of sugar. The favourite winter breakfast is a hot porridge of these *batéring*. It thus happens that the higher river-stretches above Báltít are mainly settled (if at all) by Wakhi immigrants from Afghanistan. These are a quiet, peaceable folk, markedly less intelligent than the Burusho, loyal subjects of the Mir, well content with their good pasturages and crops of barley and not missing the wheat and the apricot to which they are unaccustomed. A few Burusho colonies are scattered among the Wakhi ones, but, though friendly relations exist, the two learn little of each other's language; and intermarriage, though it would not be taboo, is very rare. 361 563 [263]

Similarly a couple of the lower Hunza villages are inhabited by Shins, of the same stock as the Gilgit people, but again intermarriage is the exception. We had fully expected to 563 582

have attributed it to the north-facing mountains which though richer in grass and timber are sorely stinted of the sun. 157

Whatever the difference is—racial, temperamental, religious, political, or climatic—it is too deep-seated to favour intermarriage. Only the royal houses, sprung from a common ancester—Alexander or another—frequently exchange princesses across the water. 582 643

Within Hunza the clans are all reckoned of equal status, but the clan of the Diramiting enjoys a considerable measure of prestige, and at communal ceremonies a Diramiting sets the pace or leads the dance. The story of their origin is interesting. There was once a clan of Tapkients who grew so bold and arrogant that their offences cried to heaven. They were reported to put bread to ignoble uses, they were known to address their mothers by the term *zizi*, which is the exclusive privilege of royal or saiyyid families, and they were haughty and stiff-necked towards their Mir. In vain the eldest royal son implored his father to "do something about it," and when the Mir refused to take suitable measures, the young prince impatiently laid his own schemes. A great gathering of all the clans was to be held on a nameless space of open desert where Aliábád now stands, and the Tapkients attended in full force. The prince plied them with strong *'araq*, and when they had well drunk fell upon them with his retainers and slew every man, boy, and male infant. He did not know that one of the Tapkients had allowed his wife to return to her own people for the birth of her first child. The posthumous infant was called Diram, and from him are sprung the Diramiting of to-day, who carry themselves without arrogance and do not call their mothers *zizi*. 614 173

Child marriages do not take place in Hunza, but a girl will rarely pass sixteen or a boy eighteen unwed. The parents seek out a house among some other clan—frequently a house with which marriage relationships already exist—where there is a potential mate of suitable age and standing, and negotiations proceed between the families. In theory the young folk are not consulted; but in practice, where children have romped and played and worked together there is no doubt that per- 584

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any un- 587
weaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *rúli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. 585
She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to 614
be "a daughter of the Buróng," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gímo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of 607
fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will 431
ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltít, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltít when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza 561
is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific inno- 888
vations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

563 find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some in-
582 teresting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

● 616 Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously
562 reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no
291 such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly sym-
771 bolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are
346 called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski
576 *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour
157 looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are
157 black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

No. XXVII.

The Story of Raakam.

They say that in early times there were people of Hunza settled in Raakam. They called them the Bakhti Kutōr. Raakam was very prosperous. After kneading dough in the kneading-tray oil used to flow out at its lower end. Eventually in Raakam the people became extremely presumptuous. They say that a woman after making her boy stool finally wiped his buttocks with a piece of bread. And they say that, fearing not God, they made no distinction of daughter and sister, and sister and brother; they committed incest with them.

Then by God's command Raakam all at once boiled up and people and land were all submerged. Only a man called Bakhti, escaping, had come to Shimshāl, they say. There have now come to be some ten or fifteen houses of the descendants of that Bakhti in Shimshāl.

In addition, two tribes, the Ghāzi Kutōr and the Bāqi Kutōr who came to Shimshāl from the Chaprōt direction, have become established there.

There are these three tribes in Shimshāl: the Bakhti Kutōr, the Ghāzi Kutōr, and the Bāqi Kutōr.

That is all there is to say.

The tribes of Galmit are Wakhi and are the following: the Burí Kutōr, the Rūsdōr Kutōr, the Chārshambi Kutōr and the Būdulē Kutōr.

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6 *шарарарін* — ppc. of *барауа*.

11 *ba a ka* — cp. p. 242 l. 20 note. Here glossed: "about".

14 *zskikum rows* — v. § 197.

17 *Galmitum rows* — The people of Galmit, and *Gujirí* generally, are largely of Wakhi origin. The names of the four tribes are said to be the names of men, presumably the founders.

18 — Lorimer.

No. XLI.

Məru stas: Dastur.

660 Diramitiṇe Th'amu.ər maru stas qad'imtsum ap'i, bese ke Hunzu.e aw'alə abə'di γuno bə'n, da Th'amu.e bəsan uyo'nər sə't oč'ə'n.

Thamo amulər niyas man'imi ke Diramitiṇe mirə's bila Thame γəniše qawaš (ər, kawaš) 'o'ye.ibə'n. Bə'qi iski ro'me xurə'po 5 'o'ye.ibə'n. Ku.e iski ro'me xur'ə'bgu'ine ka u'i u'imo r'omulum alt'an b'u'o nu'yen kayər nu'n Thamu.ər datu gəru.e mər'u eč'ə'n.

Hin xurə'bgu'inate bai.i γəniše bap bila. Turma ə'lta rupi.a mai.i bi.en. Thamər hər datu gəru'e məru ne ya mazduri ne bap dusu'č'ə'n.

10 Məru stas u'e qad'imtsum yu'y spi baldaku'in me.ibai.i. Šu'a xidmat stum sis məru siy'o'ečə'n.

Gute məru.e bap Maiyo'ntsum Ata.abə'd xa bila. Her Bəre Galmit(t)sum Misgə'r da Čapursan xa mər'u'e dastu'r ap'i. U siy'o'ečə'n.

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1 *spi* — Note the idiom. *Diramitiṇe* is probably the subject of *məru stas* and the phrase cannot be translated literally. The nearest is: 'there is no Diramiting gold-washing'.

3 *Thamo . . .* — similarly *Thamo* is the subject of *niyas* and *niyas* is the subject of *manimi*.

[614] 4 *qawaš oye.ibə'n* — is causative: 'they make the Diramiting carry the Treasury Bag'.

5 *xur'ə'bgu'in* — the "*jemadar* of Goldwashers", the man who directs and controls the operations. There is one in each of the "three tribes", which are the *Hərukuts*, *Bəroq* and *Bə'stalig*.

[615] 6 *datu gəru.e* -- perhaps "in Autumn and Spring" as in line 8 below.

8 *mazduri ne* — the tax has to be paid in cash, which may be acquired in any way, and not in gold. The *bai.i* is traditionally Rs. 12, but is now reckoned as Rs. 16.

10 *məru stas uv . . .* — A curious study in the employment of grammatical number,

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Č and Čh.

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Čevāmbi Ketev. Name of a clan in Gulmit. 272.18.

Čaṣe Ber. Name of a place near Ge' ft. 288.9.

Chhalt. Name of a village in the lower part of Nagir, situated in a considerable open tract of ground on the right bank of the river, where it turns to the south. 276.4.

Čeman Gol. Name of a place near Gulmit. 288.6.

Čaṣgi H'irpal. Name of Pangkho's (alias, Khar's) horse. 122.7, 124.8, 156.17, 162.16.

Čaprot. Name of a nullah and settlement in lower Nagir. The nullah debouches from the West into the main valley at Chhalt. It provides the water for Chhalt cultivation. 226.1, 227.13.

Gazi, Čhōt Gazi x. The "Forty Yards", name of a Jinn or Dīv who lived at Khelber. 222.1 ff.

The measurement perhaps refers to his stature, but in that case his seven cubit stick would be too short. Pre.

Čin. China, Chinese territory. 344.21, 386.20.

Čitrav. Chitrāl. 344.15, 346.1.

Čovō Nur Šā. Nūr Shāh, son of Chōro. 296.8.

Čapurran, Čapurran y. An open valley leading down from the Chilinji and Irshad Passes, and proceeding eastwards till it joins the valley of the Hunza River above Gircha. 280.1, 284.12 ff., 284.18.

Čuram. V. Dīram Chōram.

D.

Dēiyur. Sh. *Dēiyur*, a place on the left bank at the junction of the Hunza and Gilgit Rivers, close to Gilgit. 290.21.

Dadi. Name of a Bilas who lived at Hindi. 192.1 ff.

Dalīr Manuko. A son of Sing of Hindi. 260.13 ff.

(In Sh. *manuko* = frog).

Dashīrī Bum. The "Sulphur-Boulder", at Murtazābād.

Dorbuko. Son of Fīṣqīr 'Ali. 180.3 ff.

Dataman Xerdū. Fifth son of Dīram Chōram. 248.4.

Dafu Sig. Name of the man who succeeded to Khamar's land. 282.18.

Dafu Sighēta, his descendants.

Dīgoni Pīr, Dekhen Pīr. The prophet Khiṣr. 228.7, 282.8.

Dīamer. Local name of the mountain, Nanga Parbat. The form in Sh. is *Dīamar*. 184.8.

Dīramīkāl, Dīr'amīkāl. The territory of the Dīramīling clan. 216.6.

● 619 *Dīramīlīg, Dīr'amīlīg.* Name of one of the "Four Clans" of Bilīt, among whom they take precedence. They were said to number about 100 households (excluding the Thorukute section?).

These four clans are individually exogamous, but intermarry with each other. Endogamy is said formerly to have entailed penalties and expulsion.

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619

Nowadays though rare, it does not appear to be penalized. The Four Clans are not now confined to [illegible], but also form part of some of the Tisdate settlements.

The Dirkuiting are the descendants of Dirum Chiram, the sole survivor of the Thapkiteis (V. 345.33 and 333 f.) and are spoken of as the "seed", i.e. descendants, of the original population of Hunza. 349.1.

They are said to have resided originally in Shishpar, where they succeeded no doubt to the lands of the Thapkiteis, but to have also cultivated land in [illegible] which is now their headquarters.

At the time of the quarrel between the Khirokuts and the Hanachiting they were still living in Shishpar, but after acting as arbitrators they obtained rights in Ultar. 358.4 f.

Darbish, who had the adventure with Mhaslum Dalo (180.3), was a member of the Dirkuiting, who at that time also were resident in Shishpar.

A member of the clan in later days was Karamo Darbish. 314.1.

The mention of the Dirkuiting at 338.2 appears to be anachronistic.

For the part played by the Dirkuiting at the Boyfan V. 356—73, at the annual celebration of marriages. 310.13, and 322.7, at the Ōdi. 333.

The Dirkuiting are not liable to do gold-washing. 348.1 f.

103 551 *Dow Khan.* Name of a village adjoining Aliabad on the East.

Dumrui. A mountain in Nagir to the South of Ghulmit the "Sakapashi" of the maps.

Dungu Mirra. Father-in-law of Kisar's mother. 100.6 f.

F.

Faiza. Son of Wazir Amdullah Beg. 344.4.

G.

Gara Sirgo. A re-incarnation of Shaulthan. 178.20.

Galdag Galpo. The name of a "Pari" or demon. 174.19.

(Cp. Tib. *rgyal-po*, king).

Gulmit. The principal village in Gojhal, or Hiribar. It is situated on the right bank of the Hunza River about 20 miles above [illegible]. The inhabitants are of Wakhi origin and talk Wakhi as their first language.

For the Gulmitum Khan, the chief of Gulmit, v. 373.

Gusit, Gusud, Gusit. One of the three original villages of Hunza, the other two being [illegible] and Ainin.

It is situated on a terrace below and to the south of [illegible], between it and the Hunza River. According to one account it was founded by Shishkin, a lone man of the Khiraki. It was occupied by the Hanachiting before the time of Azar Jemshed. 384.1 f., 386.2.

Gusikun. A34. and A42. 345.30, 352.3.

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Γ.

103 551 Γawi *Kutow*. The name of a clan settled in Shimshāl. 272.14.

Γadure. The name of a man. 384.1.

Γatreig. The name of a man.

ŋŋlamiŋig ŋatamurus Γatreig, Gh. the patta-fuller.

jamiŋŋfus dulurŋanus Pumo Γatreig (you are) Gh. son of Puno, who work yourself to death for others, i.e. you are a self-sacrificing altruist.

Γatan Xan. 1. A former Tham of Hunza, father of the present Mir, Sir Muḥammad Nazim Khān. He was murdered at the instigation of his eldest son, Safdar 'Ali, who succeeded him. 344.8,14.

2. The present Mir's eldest son and heir.

Γatan Sor. The name of a place. 388.9.

Γulmit. A village in Nagar on the left bank of the river, between Nilt and Minapin. 294.22, 276.2.

Γulmitkuts. The people of Ghulmit. 294.21.

Γulwe Kago. The name of a man of the Ghulwāting. 200.10,13 note.

Γulwatig. A section of the Burong Clan, whose ancestor is said to have come from Punāl, or, according to others, from Gōr. The living (1934) notables, Muhammad Rafi' and Zarparast belong to it. 200.10.

Γund, Γurund. A place stated as being in Wakhan. 286.21.

(Perhaps Ghund in Shughnān is intended).

Γust. The name of a woman. 282.11

H.

Haiana Bria. Name of a supernatural being. 260.10.

Haiyar Jamied, *Azar Jamied*. Supplanter and successor of Shiri Badat as King of Gilgit. An ancestor of the present Royal Families of Hunza, Nagar and Gilgit. 380.20.

Habal. Abyssinia. 68.4.

Halwular. Name of a place in Nagar, below the Phekar terrace and to the East of it. 294.4.

619 *Hamatig*. 1. The name of one of three original tribes of Hunza (the other two being the *Gaqets* and the *Taphkiuts*) who, according to one tradition, were left behind by Alexander the Great when "on his return journey from China". They were established in Ganish before the Azar Jamshed Thams came to power. They were almost exterminated by Khiaran Tham. The survivors are now represented by the Eino caste of Gilgit.

They owned Ultar until they quarrelled with, and were dispossessed by, the Khārukuts. 268.2.

Cp. 265.19, 259.2, 244.12 f., 226.2,7, 262.10.

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2. Said to be the name given in Nagar and Yasin to the Rōno caste of Gilgit, who are represented in Chitrāl by the Zundra.

H'amaći. An irrigation channel, carrying water from the Ūltar Nullah, which supplies Ganish. 352.10.

Hamza. Son of 'Abdu'l Muṭṭalib. 88.22.

Hanisawi. The name of the Gilgit River. 382.20. V. Vocab. s.v. *Hanizawi.*

Hanuman Muṇ. The name of a mountain in Shishpar which has a high grassy spur. 180.3.

Perhaps *hanuman*, alone, isolated + *muṇ* stump.

Hərəfuŋ. The name of a track, leading from Ganish and passing above Bāltit into the Ūltar Nullah. From a note it appears that it is to be taken as 2. *hərəy* + *fuŋ* = the "Track of the Tribe", i.e. of the Hamachāting. 248.3, 256.2.

Hər'əy, pl. *Hərak'indərə*, and perhaps *Hərəiyo* (? Biddulph), a term applied to the original independent tribes of Hunza.

V. s.vv. *Hamaćartiŋ*, *Hərəfuŋ*, and cp. *Garilum Hərəy.*

Hərći, Hərće. The water-course issuing from the Ultar Nullah, immediately to the East of Bāltit. 352.8,12.

Hər'eli. A locality 3 or 4 miles West of Gilgit on the left bank of the Gilgit River. 378.1.

Hərəŋ Gaḷeŋ. The mountain side above Askūr Dās in Nagar, to the West of Sumaiyar. 198.3,8.

Hori Siŋ. A man of the Dirāmitīng, son of Mūko, son of Pūno, son of Garib. He was an old man in 1922. 211.21.

Hasanabād. A village at the mouth of a nullah called after it, which debouches into the main Hunza valley on the north side about 6 miles West of Bāltit. It marches with Alīābād on the East. The nullah is now, except at the lower end, filled by a glacier, but it is said that it was formerly warmer and that there was no glacier. The Shishpar Nullah is a tributary of the Hasanābād Nullah. 238.3.

Hazarat Sulimān. King Solomon, who according to Muslim authorities "inherited from David the gift of prophecy and knowledge". 384.7.

Haidarabād. A village about 2 miles West of Bāltit. 318.3, 346.10.

Haidarabādkuts. The people of Haidarābād.

Haihaiyul. The name of a country. Said to be the old name of Hunza. Alexander the Great is said to have brought his force through it. Seized by Kisar. 142.17.

It is explained as composed of "*hai hai*" an exclamation used to urge cattle along, and "*yul*" road.

Cp. T. *yul*, road.

Hərbər, Hər Bər. The Hunza valley from Galmit upwards, officially known as Gujhāl. 336.2, 342.6.

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Šoŋ Gukur, Šun Gukur. "The Blind Puppy" (?), a famous Hunza "biṭan", of whom there are said to be descendants living at the present day. 186.1 ff., 188.1. 190.5, 192.8 ff., 202.3.

T.

Taydombavi. The Pamir lying to the North of Hunza, beyond the Kilik and Mingtaka Passes, in Chinese territory. 252.23.

[619] *Tapkhi.ents* h.pl., *Tapkhi.entsan bai.i.* He is a member of the T. Tribe.

One of the three original tribes of Hunza (cp. *Ösrqots* and *Hamačartiŋ*) who, according to one tradition, are the descendants of men left behind by Alexander the Great when returning from China. They occupied Shishpar and also cultivated at Bāltīt.

For the story of their extinction and the origin of the Dirāmiting from one posthumous male infant, V. 238 ff. and 236.

Thara Beg. An elder half-brother of Wazīr Humāyūn Bèg, and Wazīr to Safdar 'Ali. 344.14 ff.

Tharakuts. A section of the Dirāmiting Clan, to which the family of Wazīr Humāyūn Bèg belongs, and of which the eponymous founder was one Thara. 302.6, 318.1, 330.1.

Tortsi. Probably the name of a particular place in Wakhān, but it appears to be used to denote the country in general. 386.22. (The H. version has: *Waxan ki sorhadmē a·kar*).

Thol. A village in Nagar between Ghulmit and Nilt near the latter. 294.9 ff.

Tholkuts. The people of Thōl. 294.22.

Traybal. A pass giving access from the Kashmir valley to the valley of the Kishanganga, on the road to Gilgit. 254.1.

Traxanartiŋ. A dynasty whose headquarters were at Gilgit. The word is derived from Trakhan, the name of a descendant of Azur Jamshèd, who was one of his successors on the throne of Gilgit. 280.2. Cp. 388, addendum to notes. V. s.v. *Boxar Tham.*

Tsil Brū. A locality between Gilgit and Nōmal (v. *Namay*) about 7 miles from the latter. 222.9.

Thu.ents, Tho.ents, (h and x pl. of *thoṭ*, new).

The "new" settlements in Hunza proper, from Haidarābād to Murtazābād, both included, as opposed to the original settlements of Bāltīt, Ālīt and Ganish.

They form a separate section for the levy of communal labour. (V. Vocabulary s.v. *maqso*). 322.9.

Torki. The Eastern Turki language. 290.3.

W.

Wače, Wača. A place in Sariqul. 344.4.

Waxan. The Afghan province of Wakhan. 386.20.

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Chapter 22

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

THE Burusho population of Hunza is divided into four major 614
clans, centred in Báltít, and several minor clans scattered over 621
other villages. Aliábád, being a "new settlement," contained 582
amongst its two hundred houses representatives of almost all the clans. Marriage outside the race is rare, but (as I have already said) exogamous marriage between the clans is the rule.

On the whole the Burusho cling to their settlements along 361
the eight or nine-mile stretch of river below Áltít (two or 563
three miles up-river of Báltít), at a height of 6,000 to 8,000 feet above sea-level. They are not eager to colonize higher-lying districts, for they say their womenfolk refuse to live where the apricot will not ripen. If this is so the women show [263]
sound sense, for the dried apricot is one of their staple foods and almost their only source of sugar. The favourite winter breakfast is a hot porridge of these *batéring*. It thus happens that the higher river-stretches above Báltít are mainly settled (if at all) by Wakhi immigrants from Afghanistan. These are a quiet, peaceable folk, markedly less intelligent than the Burusho, loyal subjects of the Mir, well content with their good pasturages and crops of barley and not missing the wheat and the apricot to which they are unaccustomed. A few Burusho colonies are scattered among the Wakhi ones, but, though friendly relations exist, the two learn little of each other's language; and intermarriage, though it would not be taboo, is very rare.

Similarly a couple of the lower Hunza villages are in- 563
habited by Shins, of the same stock as the Gilgit people, but 582
again intermarriage is the exception. We had fully expected to

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Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging. 526

Religion.

By religion the Burusko of Hunza are Muhammadans of the Isma'ili or, as they term it, Maulāi sect, to which, however, they were converted from Shia-ism only three generations ago. 779

With the Maulais, restrictions, formalities and ritual are reduced to a minimum. The masjids of the former Shia days have been abandoned, and have been replaced in recent years by "jamā'atkhānas". There are no mullahs of the ordinary type. Instead there are khalīfa (pl. khalīfātīng; xali·fa, xali·fa·tiŋ), who are more servants of the public — being called in chiefly to perform the necessary ritual at marriages and funerals — than its spiritual leaders or teachers. Spiritual authority rests with the Pīr, in this case 'Abdul Ma'ni, son of the late Shahzada Lais of Chitral. He himself now lives in Zēbāk. He replaced the honoured Pir Jalāli Shah, latterly resident in Ishkoman, who died in February 1931. Two of the latter's daughters were taken in succession as his principal wife by the present Tham of Hunza, which affords an indication of the Pir's status in the country. 795 793

Religious observances and prescriptions do not play any very evident part in the life of the Burusho of Hunza, but this does not appear to have any prejudicial effect on their character or conduct. They seem to have firmly planted in them the root of morality and the social and domestic virtues. The Maulais pay tribute to the Agha Khan, the head of the sect. The Burusho of Nagir are Shiahs (pl. Shiātīng; ši.a·tiŋ), a more rigorous and formal school, but they do not indulge in a fanatical interpretation of the duties and implications of religion. They mildly contemn the "mogkull" (Maulais) as misguided heretics and imperfect Muslims. 788 795 798

Social and Administrative Organisation.

The life of the people is based on the family, and then on the village or community groups which live within definite geographical 621

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621 limits and were originally it seems centred round the *khan* (khan, fortress or strong-place). The general security of later times has led to the scattering of habitations seen in more recent settlements like Aliabad. Inside these village-units, such as Baltit, Altit, Ganish, Haidarabad etc. there survive the names of tribal or class divisions. How far these divisions play any significant part in the communal life of the present day is a subject that remains for investigation.

565 463 Society is recognised as divided into the following general classes:

1. Thamo: the Royal Family, including:
   i. the Karèli, the royally-born on both sides.
   ii. the Arghundaro, of commoner origin on the female side, but in Hunza children of wedlock.
2. Uyōngko or Akābirting — "The Great" — those who enjoy, or have the right to occupy, superior offices in the State, e.g. the posts of Wazir, Trangfa, Yarpa and Farāj.

   These two classes do not work with their hands.
3. Bār, Bārè Sīs, — These cultivate their land and work with their own hands, but, if personally worthy, are eligible for appointment to posts by the Tham. They are not required to carry loads or perform any inferior class of work.
4. Shadarsho — a large class who get their title ("servants") from their eligibility for employment by the Tham as couriers to convey notice of his movements, carry messages etc. They are exempted from menial labour. This class is increasing by recruitment from the next below.
5. Baldakūyo or Tsīlgalasho — these are liable to have to carry loads for the Tham and Uyongko, and to wash for gold. They are exempt from the payment of taxes. The Tsilgalasho are Baldakuyo who are in the employment of Uyongko families and then do not carry loads, but on quitting such employment they revert to the status and obligations of the Baldakuyo. The numbers of this class are declining. Their ascent into the ranks of the Shadarsho is now controlled by the Tham; formerly it was in the hands of the Wazir and Trangfa.

ginḍaɯər, *ginḍauɯər* the "sinjid" tree, jujube tree and fruit; IUB, Punj. *beri* (zizyphus jujuba). Ar. Pers. *'unnab jangali.* 000

ginḍaɯər ṭhin Nz. a kind of bird, starling (?).

1. *giram*, *giram* h pl. community, clan, IUB H. *gurok*, *qaum;* Bu. synonym *rom.* — *walti giram* (*ban*) the "Four Tribes" of Baltit, viz. *Diramitiŋ*, *Xurukuts*, *Bərartaliŋ* and *Burorŋ.* — *walti giramo uyoŋko* the headmen of the Four Tribes. *Baltitum walti giram gati noma Hamačatiŋe ka astʼam etuman* the Four Tribes of Baltit assembling instituted a case(?) with the *Hamačatiŋ.* 258.1. *walti giramər rajakiər qau sti* call on the Four Tribes for communal labour. The translation "tribes" exaggerates the significance of these divisions. 621 ●

2. *girʼam*, *gʼiram -ičiŋ*, N. *-iŋ* y.

a. Isolated houses or hamlets situated among the cultivated lands outside the "Khan", the formerly fortified village.—*Zuŋatiŋe girʼamolər* to the hamlet of Zungating. 320.1.

b. Roofed cattle-house, for goats and sheep.

(Presumably the same word as the preceding and ultimately deriving from Skr. *grāma-*).

giran dear, expensive, costly. Prs. 000

girʼan, pl. *girʼaiyo* x wicker basket or panier (for carrying grass, manure etc. on the back). 336.8. — *girʼane nias* the proceeding of the bride accompanied by the bridegroom, 4 to 8 days after their marriage, to her father's house when they bring back a present of bread and dried apricots (*pfiṭimuts ke baṭeriŋ*). 585

167a

made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide. 291 237

I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship. 121

All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing. 286 291 [437] 294 462

The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho. 326 533 563

These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza. [173] [197]

These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa- [621]

fire, but the usual gaily dressed crowd were at "The Gate," 796
just as on the recent Wedding Day. I slipped across to join the 788
women and got a warm reception from many whom I knew and more whom I did not. Then an old crone came along, bearing a huge dish of flour and sprinkled a pinch on every woman's cap and left shoulder, saying as she did so: "Ya Ali!" All seemed pleased when I said: "Nay, mother, would you forget me?" and as she duly sprinkled me too I slipped a few pence into her hand. Then I extricated myself from the women's throng, scattering good wishes as I went, to rejoin David, whom I found similarly be-floured.

We thankfully toiled uphill home, too hot now in our 796
midnight wrappings, and very shortly faithful Zaidu and Dádo produced a hot breakfast, after which we turned in and slept. There must be some magic in the Hunza air. You would hardly contemplate sitting out of doors to watch an open-air show at home at 7,600 feet from 5 to 8 a.m. on December 21st (or even on December 16th, for the Hunza calendar has got its Solstice slightly "fast") with the thermometer reading 22° Fahrenheit.

There was to be more dancing that p.m., but we felt we had seen enough for one day, and the headmen seemed relieved when we said we would not come. They confessed that after the bonfire people went home and made merry with their wine, and that there might be some mild rowdyism—and since they have no other drink but water, who shall blame them? Not we, dissolute bibbers of hot tea! We did not want to spoil our impression of the astounding orderliness of the night's merry-making. Though everyone was in the highest spirits and the youngsters full of excitement, the crowd's behaviour was perfect. Even when one torch flew right across the circle into the faces of half a dozen spectators, there was only a laughing stampede, and when the circle drew in too close and threatened to impede the dancing, some responsible grown-up simply snatched a brand from the fire and swept it 796
round the front ranks, driving the children back amidst fun 625
and laughter. Considering that there are no police in the 622
country, and that the headmen have no authority except their

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

[625] personal influence, we found the lack of even minor mis-
[622] demeanours among the Hunzukuts perennially astonishing.

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This proved an unfortunate revelation, for from that day forward Shíri Badat demanded a human infant per day, and would not be gainsaid. The country groaned in misery, but the people were helpless, for Shíri Badat was no mortal man to be easily murdered; he was of Peri stock, and bore a charmed life.

Now it happened that a young prince from a neighbouring country had fled in disguise to Gilgit to escape intriguers seeking his life at home. He had taken sanctuary in the Wazir's house, and there he met Princess Nur Bakht, who was a foster-child of the Wazir's. The two young people fell in love, and when the Princess found she was with child she was filled with fear lest her baby should fall a victim to her father's unnatural appetite. So the Wazir, the Prince, and she hatched out a plot in which Nur Bakht was to play the rôle of Delilah to the cannibal Samson, Shíri Badat.

"Father," she said one day, "your subjects are full of wrath and hate because of the baby-tax you levy on them; I fear me they will find some means to slay you. Now if I knew the secret of your life I could the better protect you against harm."

share (what is) better than (what you have given to) all the others. 112.8,14. *jaʷr trʌŋulum ʌči bai.i* he has given me (this place) as my share. 112.18. *besʌn jaʷr trʌŋulo aʷr juʷči bi kɛ* whatever comes (i.e. falls) to me as my share. 372.3. *trʌŋ ɛtʌs, trʌŋ *-ʌtʌs* to divide, divide up among, apportion. *jɛ ma bušai.ɛ trʌŋ maʷčʌm* I shall apportion your land among you. 110.24. *ʷmo daulʌt uʷr trʌŋ nɛ* dividing up his property among them. 366.4. Cp. 54.19, 110.25, 114.11 ff., 148.14, 372.5. *trʌŋum trʌŋ mʌnumʌn* they were divided into parties. *Giltɛ sis aʷlto trʌŋ mʌnumʌn* the people of Gilgit divided into two parties. 386.1. (Cp. Sh. *trʌŋ*, half, etc.).

2, *trʌŋ, -ičʌŋ*, y girth (horse's) H. *tʌŋ*. — *šərma trʌŋ* girth made of goat's hair webbing. *baʷla trʌŋ* circingle of leather. (Cp. Kho. *trʌŋ*, girth).

trʌŋfʷa, -tiŋ, N. pl. *-mots*, hm. headman, of village. In most villages there are 2 or 3 trangfas. — *Bʷʌltitɛ trʌŋfa* the Trangfa of Baltit. 318.2. [622]

(Cp. Sh. *trʌŋfa*, Balti *trʌmpa*).

trʌp ɛtʌs to slap, smack. — *guʷi trʌp ai.ɛ* dont smack your son. QUB. *hʌʏur trʌp ɛti* smack, touch up, the horse. QUB. *uʷɛ uriŋčiŋ trʌp ɛtumʌn* they clasped hands. (From the sound). QUB. !

trʌp šon stone-blind.

thrʌq -iŋ y open crack (in wood, wall etc.), cleft; Adj. split, etc. — *thrʌq niʷmi* it became cracked, it cracked. *thrʌq ɛtʌs* to split, cleave (lengthwise). 86.14. *iʷtɛ bʌt aʷlto trʌq ɛtimi* he cleft the stone in two. 204.12. Cp. 206.1. *ʌtʌn trʌq na* splitting the top of my head (for me). 230.6.

357b

! [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 544 - Analyst]

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.39-A]

Hunza in the Himalayas

Storied Shangri-La undergoes scrutiny

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TERRACED country, *left*, is ruled by the Mir, shown with village chiefs, *above*, at his palace at 8,000 foot altitude. Background peaks exceed 20,000 feet.

648 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
643 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[651] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
643 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
692 which consists of the Mir, his heredi-
[645] tary grand vizier, plus the Mir-ap-
pointed chiefs of all the villages within
walking distance of the palace. How-
[681] ever, since the loser usually pays a fine
to the Mir's treasury, and the winner
traditionally gives the court a present
equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
643 (literally "Grandfather King") is
spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

312 It[1] was beautiful, soft, pure water which gave delightful baths,
271 but heavily silt-laden and supposed not to be fit to drink. We were luckily able to get half a dozen big petrol drums from Gilgit (left behind empty by the R.A.F.), and we stored it in these and let the silt settle. This water served us for washing and for photography.

312 About two miles away there was a spring of clear but hard water that issues from the foot of a cliff down near river level. This was recommended for drinking. So we took on a special man, Sagi by name, as water-carrier and general washer-up, to help in pantry and kitchen. He was a nephew of our old friend Nazar and a good fellow, though for some reason a little less cheery in appearance than our other men. Twice a day he would walk the two miles, climb down and up the 500 or more feet, and bring water for our tea, etc., and for making up the photographic solutions. We paid him the princely sum of about a pound a month, and he was delighted, while his brothers divided amongst them the extra work at home.

Considering the labour involved, it made us feel rather pigs to drink tea half a dozen times a day and expect a daily bath. When two of us were photographing hard and perpetually wanting to wash negatives and prints in eight or ten changes of water, my heart rather bled for Sagi. One day that had been particularly severe I said as he appeared with more and more water buckets at the door of the dark-room: "Poor man, I'm afraid our photographs give you a lot of extra work and trouble." His usually quiet face lit up with a peculiarly charming smile: "Nay, Mother dear, it is a pleasure, not a trouble. The work and trouble are yours."

262 The next thing in importance was food, and we found that
235 we could, without apparent hardship to the people, buy a daily hen. There are a couple of officials whose job it is to see
[624] about supplies for travellers, and they arranged to get the fowls now from one village and now from another, so that our demands might not press too heavily on anyone. The Hunza hen is an athletic bird. You may see her fly like a lumbering, over-weighted pigeon 15 or 20 feet across a gully, and so we were not surprised to find her wing muscles well-developed.

[1] [The water in the Dala[24], the aqueduct--Analyst]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 14

FIRST WALKS ABROAD

THE very day after our arrival we went out for a stroll to take 487
stock of our immediate surroundings. Along the Dála, the little stream which ran in front of our house, there is a tiny footpath, just wide enough for one. On our right was the channel in its carefully made bed with a stone revetting wall above it holding up the field above; on our left a fine hedge of quickthorn to keep passing beasts from jumping into the field 4 or
5 feet below. We could hear a merry sound of drums and 527
pipes coming from somewhere downhill, and asked what was 624 ●
on. It seemed that just before we arrived the first barley- [B34]
cutting had been celebrated with various ceremonies, which we could only hope to see in detail next year, and some of the jollification was still being kept up. Qudrat Ullah was with us, and a "levy." I must explain the levies. In most villages 624
Government chooses, no doubt on the Mir's advice, one or 124
two of the most respected peasant-farmers who are not headmen or officials of the Mir himself, and pays them a small (very small) monthly wage so that they may be ready to do any little Government jobs that are wanted. There are three in Aliábád, which is relatively a large place with about two hundred scattered houses, and the Political Agent had kindly instructed them that one of their jobs was to be useful to us. I may as well at once introduce the two first: Kalbi is a fine upstanding man, rather darker in colour than the average; and Hurmat, a younger, very cheery fellow with dashing moustaches. They are both intelligent and extremely friendly and eager to help. We didn't see why they should waste time on us for nothing, so David at once agreed with them that he

624 would pay them a small retaining fee if they would take it in
124 turns to be "on duty" with him in their spare time. They would obviously be useful informants.

487 We had to walk along in single file. There is no "road" in
312 Hunza where two people can walk abreast, or along which you can ride, except the "Great North Road" running through from Kashmir to Kashgar, and even it is never more than 4 to 6 feet wide. The other tracks run mostly beside small water-channels to enable people to get from one sluice to another to juggle the water now off, now on. Even when you have a neat little track fairly horizontal (there are only three of these possible for ordinary walking) it is broken every few yards by a sluice which you must jump or step over carefully so as not to interfere with the water arrangements or, alternatively, break your leg. The sluices are the simplest things imaginable—just a gap in the side wall of the channel which can be closed with a couple of convenient, slab-like stones and plastered up with mud from the watercourse. Occasionally there is a little wooden shutter which can be raised or lowered in wooden slots at the side.

As we went along David asked the names of the various kinds of water-channels, fields, etc., that we saw (the *names* he already knew, but not at first hand which kind was which), and presently we had a train of bright-eyed boys in the fields on each side, full of amusement at this new game. One would cry: "This stone is a flint; this is a stink-stone," whereupon he would crack it and give it to us to notice the faint smell of sulphur it gave out. Another would run up: "Here's a poppy and a poppy-head"—so we were not going to lack for willing teachers.

After a little we turned down a narrow "lane," less like an English lane than anything else on earth. It plunged downhill pretty steeply, sometimes just a rocky slope, sometimes just one boulder below another making a very crude flight of steps varying from 18 inches to 3 feet or so. Beside the "path" ran the inevitable water-gutter in which you could walk, as it happened at the moment to be dry.

417 On each side, a bare 3 feet apart, were the usual walls of
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2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

spiritual head of the Ismailis. A few of the peasant farmers have learned to read—as some have learned to carpenter—and they have copied out such essential passages of their sacred Persian books as enable them to preside with due solemnity at a name-giving, a burial, or a betrothal. The Mir appoints a sufficient number of these modestly literate men to be khalifas, and lend a dignity to such ceremonies. When you need their services you send for one—as we send for the plumber when our pipes have burst. He performs his duty, shares with honour in the ensuing family feasting, accepts some small gift in kind according to the family's resources, and goes his way to resume his normal work in his own fields.

We knew Afiato of No. 6, for three months or more, as an obliging neighbour and father of a large batch of our child friends; we admired his skill in ploughing and threshing, and the hard work he had put into levelling an intractable patch of hill within a stone's throw of our house and converting it into a vegetable garden before we realized that he was a khalifa or lay-priest. There was nothing in dress or manner to distinguish him from his fellows; he offered no unsought advice and censored no one's morals but his own. If Hunza is, as I believe, the tidiest corner of God's earth, it is also the least priest-ridden, and the absence of fanaticism and superstition is as remarkable and refreshing as the absence of litter. There is an atmosphere of mental independence that makes the air of Hunza spiritually bracing.

What the pre-Islamic cults of Hunza were—and traces of them are slight though DL may have some conjectures to offer about them later—the Hunzukuts of to-day are extraordinarily enlightened.[1] Their folk-lore (very probably borrowed) may tell of apparitions and miracles, but they look for no marvels in their life of everyday, they see no ghosts and fear no Evil Eye. They indulge in no gymnastic prayers, they keep no Fast of Ramazan, they travel on no Hajj. I saw only one man turn Mecca-wards to pray, and that was our Kashmiri

[1] In astounding contrast to their magic- and witch-ridden Shin neighbours in Gilgit (V. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1929, *The Supernatural in the Folklore of the Gilgit Region*).

[P.40-C]

affairs, its defense, and its single telephone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the Pakistani Government. Instead, they are paid to the Mir, who is absolute ruler of the small border state. The Mir appoints an *arbop*, or village chief, and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at arms, for each village. Local disputes are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has the right of appeal to the Mir's court, which consists of the Mir, his hereditary grand vizier, plus the Mir-appointed chiefs of all the villages within walking distance of the palace. However, since the loser usually pays a fine to the Mir's treasury, and the winner traditionally gives the court a present equal to the loser's fine, not many cases are appealed. The Aga Khan (literally "Grandfather King") is spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

of India that it should not be taken over by Russia. It was 643
decided to put on the throne a younger brother of the fugitive 648
Safdar Ali's—who by good luck had escaped murder. This young man, Muhammad Nazím Khán, had had an unusually wide political education. As a boy of only nine or ten he had been sent down by his father as a hostage to Gilgit, and had there met British officers for the first time and gained many new ideas. Later he had acted as ambassador and negotiator for his father and his brother on missions to Chinese Turkestan and Afghanistan, and he could talk Wakhi, Turki, Khowar, and Hindustani, as well as his own Burushaski. Above all, he was an extremely able youth, and had drawn his own deductions from his varied adventures. In 1892[1] he was therefore made king, with the able Humayun Beg as his Wazir, and since that time he has been our trusty and faithful ally, guarding for us the lofty passes that are the extreme northern gates to India on the west. For four and forty years he has now ruled his people with firmness, sympathy, and kindness, maintaining security, dispensing justice in accordance with local custom and public opinion, keeping up and encouraging the traditional festivals that punctuate the year with joust and dance, music and merriment.

During his reign there have been only two murders on 674
Hunza soil, serious crime is unknown, and even theft and 625
petty pilfering are non-existent, though there are in the 697
country no prisons and no police. On rare occasions when
some mischief-maker threatens serious trouble, the Mir, with 681
the concurrence of his subjects, may deport the would-be disturber of the peace to the distant valleys of Shimshál to tend the royal flocks that pasture there or to spend his energy on roads or aqueducts. Food and pasturage are plentiful, and life in some respects more luxurious than in lower Hunza; but the Hunzukuts loves his home, his family, his apricots, and after a couple of years' exile the malcontent returns a wiser man. It is amusing to see a recent book indicting the Mir of Hunza for the "tyranny" that imposes so humane and so useful a punish-

[1] A popular account of these high matters may be found in Algernon 113
Durand's *Making of a Frontier*, and in E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*.

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000 *ečí bo* she kisses his foot and hand. 138.8.

Used especially of the action of touching something with the fingers and then kissing them or putting them to the lips:

hanikʌfe tsʌp ne bʌ ne gəromo ke gəromi . . the bridegroom and bride, touching the dishes and kissing (their fingers). 304.17, Cp. 18. *Thame tsʌp ne b'ʌ ne hə·lər nim . . . hərusai.i* the Tham, touching (the dish) and kissing (his fingers), going to the house, sits down . . . 340.1. Cp. 70.7.

In this phrase *bʌ ne* sounds like one word, *b'ʌne*. The kiss direct is expressed by *bə·n stʌs*. *bə·n* is probably *bə* + *ʌn* = a kiss.

arimʌfe bə·n stimi he kissed my hand. *ine ilčumotsʌfe bə·n stimi, ine if'ʌtiyʌfe bə·n stimi, ine kivrts bimʌn uyornʌfe bə·n stimi* he kissed (the child) on its eyes, he kissed it on the forehead, he kissed it on all its limbs. 90.28.

I have *hiles bə·n stimi*, he kissed the child, but I think this must be wrong, as in all other examples where the object kissed is expressed it has the suffix *-ʌfe*. 92.16, 138.8, 368.9, 373.12.

bə·ba v. *bab'a*.

bə·bo v. *bə·po*.

bə·buk[1]*ʌlo* (x). — *čili bə·buk* very small bead. EOL. (Perhaps "juniper berry." Cp. Sh. *čili* juniper tree).

bə·dəm v. *bʌdʌm*.

625 *bʌdigə·r* the Mir's "Bodyguard". Small bodies of armed men maintained by the Mirs of Hunza and Nagir with the sanction and assistance of the Government of India. 340.17. Eng.

60 b

[1] [See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 541-Analyst]

4: Lorimer L-3 (1933-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

butter milk and carry the butter and buttermilk away from the Wazir's house to the Tham. Then the Tham gives them some present and they return to their homes. After that the Dirāmiting take away their flocks to the grazing grounds.

If any people take their flocks to the grazing grounds before the Odi they fine them a ram.

648 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
643 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[65] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
643 are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
692 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
[648] which consists of the Mir, his heredi-
tary grand vizier, plus the Mir-ap-
pointed chiefs of all the villages within
[681] walking distance of the palace. How-
ever, since the loser usually pays a fine
to the Mir's treasury, and the winner
traditionally gives the court a present
equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
643 (literally "Grandfather King") is
spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

526 what dangerous game. But if you saw the selfsame
177 sport played without an umpire, and only a score keeper, in Hunza, you'd probably think it the most bloodthirsty game in creation. And who am I to say it is or isn't!

Of course, the British changed the rules and regulations somewhat along the line of the Marquis of Queensbury, and a good thing, too, for our men aren't quite as tough as the Hunzans.

526 Practically every village in Hunza has a polo team
628 and matches are being arranged continually . . . and the day of a match is really a red letter day for that village. The villagers may not have too much room for orchards and other farming, but they do have polo
[311] fields. Invariably the best and flattest piece of land in the area is used as a polo field. So you see, sport, for
[367] sport's sake, ranks high among the Hunzans and the Nagirwals as well.

526 The polo field at Baltit sits just below the old castle
367 on the precipice and rather close to the school and the mosque . . . a sort of towering civic square, if it might be called that. A well-maintained low stone wall sur-
[417] rounds the polo field.

While putting in my attendance at the polo field this day, I recalled that a few days previous I had followed a trail that led down from a cleft in this polo field to visit some of the Hunzan farms.

Above the raised wall, in places, are chairs and seating spaces for the spectators.

526 Everybody goes to the polo matches. And why not?
[562] To these affairs even the women go. And even though
[291] their clothes be drab their red, skillfully embroidered Hunzan hats make the spectacle glow with splendor and color.

[533] The Hunzan band is there to do the honors and

184 a good crop of various kinds of grains, forage, vege-
241 table crops and fruits. In Hunza this just doesn't occur.
311 The terrain is steeper, more precipitous, more difficult and seldom if ever does a flat open area come within the limits of normal vision.

[133] Then, too, Nagir has many more nullahs formed by the melting glaciers. Rakaposhi is located in Nagir and surrounding it are many snowfields and glaciers which are used, trained and harnessed to irrigate their country.

Indubitably, the fates and nature have been much kinder to Nagir than they have to Hunza.

438 Let me also tell you frankly that on many occasions the people of Hunza purchase or barter various types of food from Nagir. I asked the ways and means that [437] were used in effecting these deals and found that in most cases money—earned by the Hunzans in service in the army, portering for expeditions and given to them as gifts—was the means.

184 One might gather from what I have said and even [628] from talking to various people or natives of the area, that the Nagirwals and the Hunzans are deadly enemies. But that is not true. The people of Hunza [186] think themselves much better than the people of Nagir. They do believe that they are handsomer, healthier, cleaner and are better husbandmen, but yet there does not appear to be any cases of conflict, physical or armed, between the two peoples.

123 I recall a little incident that may be of some interest. We rounded a spot—I guess it was 10 or so miles from Minapin—on the way up to Baltit and there we saw a decrepit, ragged looking Nagirwal. In his hands he [231] held a pair of chickens. They were the typical chickens of the area—full grown but the size that our chickens are when they're half grown. He waved them in front of us as though indicating they were for sale or could be

123 smellier than limburger cheese. But so help me, dirt, stink and all, he was a likeable fellow. If only we could have ducked him in the water and got a scrubbing brush and some soap, I probably would have enjoyed his company.

Somewhere near the next village he left us. He was almost in tears at the thought of parting. I had a quarter rupee silver coin in my pocket and gave it to him. He didn't want it but he thanked me at least 200 times for it. I'm sure he would have given me his lousy old shirt if I would have accepted it. As it was, he waved us good-bye with tears in his eyes.

643 The Mir of Hunza and the Mir of Nagir are on
628 friendly terms, but I don't for a moment imagine that they are bosom companions. Yet the Mir of Hunza's wife, the Rani, is a Nagirwal. Her uncle is the present
[582] Mir of Nagir. In fact, through the centuries, while the people of both these states were at loggerheads with each other, the ruling class intermarried and were always on amicable terms . . . and so it continues.

I will quote here again from *The Autobiography of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E*: "From time to time we have tried to have relations with Nagir that were friendly but they have never lasted, although there have been marriages between the ruling families of both countries. My father and Zafar Khan, Mir of Nagir used occasionally to meet and I remember well the formality of these occasions. Each would come with a large number of followers and would halt on his side of the river. On one occasion Uzar Khan came over to Hunza and there was a great feasting; on another the Mir came and I and some other people from Hunza had to go over to the Nagir bank of the river and remain there as hostages until the Mir returned."

000 The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over

3t Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

6. Bëricho — now of two classes: 565
   i. ëghersaho bëricho — musicians who provide music on all public occasions. 463
   ii. ḍak ètasho bëricho — blacksmiths.[1]

The functions of the Bericho are undergoing a process of extension. They now fetch firewood for the Tham and thorns for protecting enclosures. They also do plastering work for him. A few serve as sweepers. Their status is said to be rising. The Burusho will now eat food prepared by them, which they would not formerly do.

In both Hunza and Nagir the supreme power resides in an autocracy exercised by the Tham, or Mir. 643 The two royal families derive from a common source and are inter-related by subsequent marriages. This joint royal family claims to have come from Baltistan and to have been established in Hunza and Nagir for the last six hundred years.

Each village group is an administrative unit and the Tham is 631 represented in it by one to three Uyöngko (Uyümko) or Trangfëting (sg.s uyüm = *great*, trangfa). Under their direction these officials have Cherbuting (sg. cherbu, čerbu) who transmit orders to the public. Where the Tham owns land he has a steward, or personal representative, called a Yarpa, who again has subordinates under him to supervise the division of the water-supply.

For the settlement of cases and disputes of all kinds there is in 692 Hunza a long progressive series of "courts", if one may use the term. First the case is dealt with by the heads of the two houses and the two families in conclave. Failing settlement it is referred to the Headman of the community (girämë uyüm; girame uyum). Thirdly: again failing settlement, it is referred to the Headmen of the Four Clans (wälto girämichingë uyöngko; walto girämichingi uyoŋko) who proceed to the "gate" of the khaw and adjudicate on it.

[1] The following are the phonetic renderings of the Burushaski words in the above paragraphs: 1. Thamo; kareḍi; ary'ṇdoro; 2. uyoŋko or uyumko; ghaṛering; waziv; trangfa; yorpa; faraj; 3. hayr ṇie; 4. ḍadoro; 5. balikuyo; tailgalao; 6. beriço; eyoraço; ḍak etaço.

manuv accepted by, acceptable to. — *nuŋev manuv manimi* it has been acceptable to, i.e. accepted by God. 42.7. Ar. Pra. 000

maq *y* pain (rheumatic, in the sinews or nerves, *vag*. QUB). — *ajiŋolo maqan gi bila* lumbago has settled in my back, loins. EOL. *maq ertila* I am suffering from rheumatic pains. QUB. *maq tshow dubila* rheumatic pains quickly go away(?). QUB.

(Cp. *jak*, which is said to be due to cold).

maqmere leap, bound, buck, Punj. *chal*. — *hik maqmeran 'ela* give a buck. 182.21. *maqmere dalas* to caracole.

maqso h. pl. a section of population, *y* share, allotment (of obligatory labour). — *hik maqso*, one share; *aiN maqso* two shares. 631

In Hunza proper the population is divided into five sections, each of which bears one share of *rajaki* (obligatory labour). These are:

1. Baltit. 2. Ganish. 3. Altit. 4. Hindi. 5. Towaste (the "New Villages" from Haidarabad to Murtazabad).

In Gojhal there are 2 sections each bearing one share: 1. Gulmit, Ghulkin and Pisan. 2. Khaibar to Ishad and Minjar.

The latter share is called: *haj tal'ozum maqso*.

mara -*mig* *y* storehouse on roof. 000

1. **marug** *-alas*, to twist, wring. — *gafu marak elas* to wring out (wet) cloth. *merj marak ne* twisting her neck, i.e. turning her face away. 82.2. *ed marak ne* (she) twisting, wringing, their necks (for them). 206.10. (Cp. Sh. *marak thorki*, to twist v.t.).

The Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUL Afghanistan AUL~~
4 AVJ Dard, Burusl. AV7

of "striking the road." The Nager people were never concerned in these raids. 721

With the former rulers of Gilgit the people of Hunza seem to have lived on tolerably good terms, rendering them a nominal allegiance in the days of their prosperity, but asserting their independence as the later Trakhane Ras grew weak. The Sikh and Dogra governors found their most troublesome enemies in Hunza, against which country they never gained a single success. Hunza raids against Gilgit villages were incessant, till in revenge an expedition was organised in 1848 by Nuthoo Shah, the first Sikh governor of Gilgit. Falling into an ambuscade, Nuthoo Shah and Karim Khan, the Ra of Gilgit, were both slain, and their army defeated with serious loss. In the beginning of 1865 a second attempt was made in alliance with the ruler of Nager, whose lukewarmness or treachery caused the expedition to fail. In the succeeding year a third attempt was made, but the Nager ruler's treachery was now evident, and while the Hunza force looked on from across the river, a skirmish took place between the *quondam* allies, in which the Dogra governor was badly wounded. The unexpected defection of their allies and the loss of their leader so disheartened the Dogras that the whole force took to flight, and reached Gilgit with the loss of only two men. Their artillery, which had been at first abandoned, was recovered by the presence of mind of one of the Dogra officers, who, with a few men, preserved the semblance of order in their retreat. The expedition having been undertaken without permission from Jummoo, the governor was recalled and his proceedings ignored. 648

In 1869 the raids from Hunza were at last put an end to by the present Thum consenting to yield allegiance and pay a yearly tribute of two horses, two hounds, and twenty ounces of gold-dust, which has since been paid regularly.

The elevation of Hunza is 8,400 feet. It may be described as an elongated crescent with the points towards the south, formed by the hills receding from the river. At each end is a strong torrent flowing from the glaciers on the peaks, which are just visible to the north. The cultivation extends about 7 miles in length by 1½ in depth. This is terraced down to the river, but in parts is broken and undulating. It is divided into eight districts,—Naraydass, Assanabad, Doorkun, Hyderabad, Aliabad, Ganish, Baltit, and Altit. Each district has its own fort. Baltit is the Thum's residence. The ground is thickly wooded, and the whole eastern end is 133 241 631 341

181 to a halt, the people are resigned to it for the time being. They have found that they can't stem the avalanches or the receding glaciers. So they work with them, instead of against them.

It would be sheer "humbug" on my part to tell you that the people of Hunza have no responsibilities and no worries or cares, because we all know that no human being can exist on the face of the earth without some. But the people of Hunza have learned not to burden themselves with any more than they can help . . . and they stay quite clear of entanglements.

Most of their cares consist of sowing their crops at the right time, harvesting them before the bad weather sets in, storing sufficient to last through the winter and procuring a bit of fuel.

181 64 They lack the continued harassments of our modern, up-to-date civilization. One big thing to bear in mind is that the people of Hunza do not have an expensive, elaborate, many tentacled political setup. Hunza has a government of the simplest form . . . and apart from being an emblem and a guide, it does not interfere with or does very little for the inhabitants of Hunza. No government does anything for any people that the people could not do better for themselves if properly organized . . . this holds true anywhere in the world.

Have we ever stopped to think just what a large proportion of our daily work goes for maintaining our government and for which we receive neither remuneration nor thanks? During World War II, I was astounded to learn that it took 30 men behind the lines to keep one man up front. I discredited it and refused to believe it . . . but subsequently, after tracking down the source of the report, I learned that it is true and that for every fighting man there must be 30 down the line to lend support.

human being take to a task so assiduously and with so 114
much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even if they are printed in German.

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it 194
is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last 197
syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I found every other source, with one exception besides myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better if I, too, used the "aski".

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains un- 671
written, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding.

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza 648
was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowledged sovereignty to India.

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly 643
has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I 175
know this power has never been used or abused by the [642]
present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office.

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
645 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

205 Pakistani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters that I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

exception of the doctor or visitors. There was a letter 205
from my office awaiting me when I reached the Mir's palace. The Mir told me about it right after our first greeting. He was understanding enough to realize I would be happy to hear from home.

I guess many of the things about Hunza wouldn't 642
allow the country to come under the heading of a democracy, but from what I saw of life and living in Hunza, I assure you it is more of a democracy than any other democracy in existence today.

Hunza has no policemen, no soldiers, no bureau- 692
cracy, no customs officers or immigration officers. They 643
do have the Mir who is the ruler and true head of the [647]
state and the Mir appoints the Wazir who is his right [693]
hand man and acts as judge.

All major squabbles and disputes are handled by the Mir. He holds court regularly and makes the decisions and his word is law and cannot be challenged or contested by anyone. Minor cases are looked after and into and tried by the Wazir.

Hunza does not have a jail. There is no lockup 697
whatsoever. If and when a crime is committed, the 681
criminal or culprit is banished to a place called Shimshal. At Shimshal the criminal or guilty person is not confined or jailed. He just has to live in that rugged place, where living is grim. The altitude is somewhere [133]
around 12,000 or 13,000 feet, and eking an existence out of the land there is most difficult and precarious. Actually the form of punishment is a sort of ostracism.

Evidently the threat of being sentenced to live in 674
Shimshal is a great deterrent, because few crimes are committed. There have only been two instances in the last ten years where serious crimes have occurred. In [689]
one instance it was a youth who had posted indecent signs on trees and other places. He was hailed before

1; Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV2
Burusho AV7

CHAPTER XX.

DÂRDISTÂN: COUNTRIES AROUND GILGIT.

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631 FRAGMENTS of information got from hearsay of countries that are
642 inaccessible to one, when they can be verified by comparison, are
563 not without value. I will therefore put down a few notes, which,
564 as far as they go, are likely to be correct, on those parts of Dârd-
567 istân which cannot at present be reached by Europeans.
795 But first I will show, in a tabular form, the several divisions
8 of Dârdistân which have in any way come within my notice, in-
642 cluding those which have already been treated of. These divi-
564 sions are in some cases separate valleys, in other cases parts of the
567 same valley. The Table includes a statement of their form of
795 government, of the races or castes that inhabit them, and of the sect or religion prevailing, as well as the practice that may hold as regards slavery.

DÂRDISTÂN.

	Government.	Prevailing Races or Castes.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
GILGIT ..	Governed directly by the Maharaja's officers.	A few Rond; more Shin; most Yashkun.	Half Sunî, half Shia.	In these neither is there now, nor was there of old, either slavery or slave-trade.
Sa		Shin and Yashkun	Mostly Sunî; a few Shia.	
HARAMOSH		Shin and Yashkun	Shia.	
HASORA ..		Shin and Yashkun	Sunî.	
PUNIAL ..	Ruled by Raja Tah Bigdar, in dependence on the Maharaja. (Raja's caste or family is called Burshe.)	Yashkun	Mulâl; and a few Sunî.	
NAGAR ..	Ruled by Raja Zafar. (Raja's family, Moguldn.)	Yashkun	All Shia.	

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

Dimensir—continued.

	Government.	Prevailing Race or Clans.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
HUNZA ..	Ruled by Raja Ghazan Khan, son of Ghazanfar. (Raja's family, Ayushia.)	Yashkun	All Moslim.	Here slaves are both kept and dealt in.
ISHKUMAN, or CHATARKUN	Belongs to Yasin	Yashkun	Moslim.	
YASIN ..	Ruled by Raja Mir Wali, son of Gaur Rahmat. (Raja's family, Rakhta.)	Yashkun	Moslim and Sunni, the former predominating; no Shia.	
CHITRAL and MASTUJ.	Ruled by Raja Indep-ul-Mulk. (Raja's family, Katurr.)	Yashkun	Sunni.	
GOLJA in BADAKHSHAN	Dependent on the Mir or Prince of Badakhshan (tributary to Kabul).	Wakhi*	Moslim.	
DIRIL ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun	Sunni.	In these, captives of war are kept as slaves; slave-dealing is not practised.
TANGIR ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		
GOR	Republic	Shia and Yashkun	Sunni.	
THALICHA ..	Republic.			
CHILAS ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		
KOHI	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		
PARUS ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		

The first five divisions I have already treated of as fully as I was able. We now come to the countries that surround Gilgit.

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Maharaja, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

The people of Nagar are called Khajant.

Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Maharaja, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Raja sent an agent to Sirinagar to open friendly relations, who was well received; I do not know

* I have never met any of these people, but I believe them to be Dards. Golja is another name by which they are called; that is the territorial name, while Wakhi is the caste name.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

131 **Hunza-Nagar.**—Two small chiefships lying to the extreme north-west of Kashmir, on the banks of the Hunza river. Towards the north they extend into the mountainous region which adjoins the junction of the Hindu Kush and Muztāgh ranges; in the south they border on Gilgit; on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yāsin by a range of mountains; while the Muztāgh range divides Nagar from Baltistān on the
197 east. The inhabitants of both chiefships come from the same stock and speak the same language, but are not usually on good
795 terms with each other. In Hunza the people are Maulais or Ismailis, followers of the Agā Khān, while in Nagar they are ordinarily Shiahs.

175 Lying between these States and Gilgit are Chaprot and Chalt
642 fort with some attached villages, which were long a source of contention between the rival chiefs. In 1877 the ruler of Nagar, with the assistance of the Kashmir Darbār, successfully occupied the disputed tract; but in 1886 he was persuaded to withdraw his troops, which were replaced by a garrison from Kashmir. In the same year Ghazan Khān, the *Thaw* or chief of Hunza, was murdered by his son Safdar Ali, who succeeded him and professed submission to the Mahārājā of Kashmir. The two chiefs combined in 1888, and ejected the Kashmir troops from Chaprot and Chalt, even threatening Gilgit, but both strongholds were reoccupied by the Kashmir forces after a few months.

A British Agency was re-established at Gilgit in 1889; and the chiefs agreed to respect the control of the Agent, to allow free passage through their territory, and to stop raiding on the Yārkand road and elsewhere, yearly subsidies being granted to them, besides the amount paid by the Kashmir State. These engagements were not respected; and in May, 1891, a combined force from Hunza and Nagar threatened Chalt, but dispersed on the arrival of reinforcements. Later in the year they refused to allow roads to be made to Chalt, extending to their own country, and it became necessary to dispatch troops against them. Nagar and Hunza were occupied, and the *Thaw* of the former place submitted, while Safdar Ali, the *Thaw* of Hunza, fled to Chinese Turkistān. The subsidies were withdrawn, and a Political officer and military force remained at Hunza till 1897; but in 1892 Muhammad Nāzim Khān was installed as *Thaw* in place of his half-brother Safdar Ali, while the *Thaw* of Nagar was reinstated. In 1895 subsidies were again granted by the Government of India and the Kashmir State, and in the same year both chiefs assisted in the relief of Chitrāl.

Burusho AV7
Kashmiri AV4

Zafar Zāhid Khān, *Tham* of Nagar, died in 1904 and was succeeded by his son Sikandar Khān.

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The chief of Hunza, who claims Roskam and the Taghdumbāsh Pāmir north of the Hindu Kush watershed, is permitted to exchange presents with the Chinese authorities in Kashgar, but these relations are under consideration. Both States are autonomous as regards internal affairs, and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mahārājā of Kashmīr, to whom they pay a tribute of nominal value. They furnish levies for the defence of the frontier, who receive pay from the Kashmīr State, and are armed with Snider carbines, presented by the Government of India.

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Bāramūla.—Town in the State of Kashmīr, situated in 34° 13′ N. and 74° 23′ E. Population (1901), 5,866. Owing to its position as the river port of Kashmīr, this is a place of some importance; but in consequence of the opening of the cart-road from Bāramūla to Srīnagar, the boat traffic, on which the inhabitants chiefly depend, may in time decrease. It is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, which is crossed at the east end of the town by an excellent bridge. The inhabitants are for the most part traders or shopkeepers. Bāramūla is very liable to earthquakes, and in 1885 it was almost reduced to ruins. The name is derived from the ancient city Vārahmūla, which stood on the right bank of the river along which the old route down the Jhelum used to run. Opposite, on the bank where the present Bāramūla stands, was the town of Hushkapura, founded by king Huvishka, the Kushan ruler, who succeeded Kanishka. The site of the ancient Hushkapura is about two miles to the south-east of the modern Bāramūla.

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Islāmābād.—Town in the State of Kashmīr, situated in 33° 44′ N. and 75° 12′ E., about a mile from the right bank of the Jhelum, near the point where that river becomes navigable. Population (1901), 9,390. It lies under an elevated table-land, on the edge of which rises a conical hill, overlooking the town. From its foot flows a vigorous spring, the Anantnāg, a name applied to the town by Hindus. There are numerous other springs, one of which, the Maliknāg, is sulphurous, and its water is highly prized for garden cultivation. Many of the inhabitants are shawl-weavers, and a large number are engaged in agriculture. It is generally believed that Islāmābād was once a large and prosperous place, but now there are few signs of prosperity or growth. The sanitation has been much neglected, and this constitutes a danger to the health of the capital, Srīnagar.

4: Durand G-S (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 643 that it was our policy to be on good terms with the natural leaders of the people of the country, and the Kashmir frontier officials had mismanaged their affairs so hopelessly, and were so distrusted, that I did not wish to have them as intermediaries. In the end Raja Bahadur Khan proved of the greatest service, and his tact and knowledge of the local conditions helped to avert what might have been a very serious disaster.

B 131 648 642 The position of the small States of Hunza and Nagar, which I was about to visit, is unique; as Biddulph says, "they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago." Shut in by a girdle of practically impassable mountains, they had maintained their independence for centuries, though both States apparently had at different times acknowledged the suzerainty of the rulers of Gilgit, and latterly had bound themselves to respect that of Kashmir, and to pay it tribute. B 648 The relations of Hunza to Kashmir, and through that State with the Government of India, were complicated by the fact that the Chief of Hunza also recognised the suzerainty of China, paid a nominal tribute to, and received presents in return from its ruler. B 186 The two States, which are divided only by a river which runs in a bed six hundred feet wide between cliffs three hundred feet high, are inhabited generally by people of the same stock, speaking the same language, professing the same form of the Mahomedan religion, and are ruled by princes sprung from the same family. Notwithstanding all this, or more correctly perhaps because of it, they have been

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

648 The next few days were passed in private interviews and negotiations with Jafr Khan and his son. 642 The former I found very sensible and amenable, but Uzr Khan showed himself day by day more stupid and boorish. He was below the average of the chiefs I had met with in intelligence, and had none of their diplomatic skill. Still I got a good deal of information out of him as to the course of events during the preceding years, an insight into the politics of the country, and a knowledge of the men likely to be important. Here, as in Chitral, the danger of bloodshed and trouble from the enmity of the royal brothers was but too plain.

The only amusement I got out of the negotiations came from the request, put forward by the Chief, that his Wazirs should be granted some pension. I readily agreed, on the condition that the amounts should be deducted from his subsidy, and that of his son. I heard no more of this proposal. After we had had our final State interview, and had sent the old Chief his presents, I held an informal reception of all the Wazirs and head men, gave them presents and robes of honour, and left them fairly satisfied.

172 During our stay in Nagar we wandered about photographing, in search of anything of archæological importance. The most interesting thing I saw was a Buddhist chorten, and naturally my camera was not to be found at the moment. The building was in several tiers, stood some fifteen feet high, was circular, with a diameter of about six feet, and was finished off with a crown-shaped storey. I expected to pass that way again, and promised myself to photograph and measure it carefully, but I never saw it more.

1: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1938 AV7 Burusho AV7

The Burusho of Hunza

by E. O. Lorimer

101 THE small state of Hunza is the most northerly in British India.
131 It consists for the most part of a close-packed mass of unscaled
and unscalable mountain peaks over 20,000 feet, seamed by
133 untrodden rivers of snow and ice; as might be anticipated, it is
197 mainly uninhabited. Its frontiers march with Afghanistan on the northwest and with Chinese Turkestan on the north and northeast. But where the Hunza river has cut its way down from the Pamirs to join the Gilgit river and ultimately the Indus, there remain, clinging to the mountain sides, a few sloping, rocky terraces which, if water can be brought to them, can with diligence be rendered fit for human habitation. These oases of green amidst the barren desolation of rock and cliff and mountain peak are the habitat of a sturdy mountain people, the Burusho, speaking a difficult but extremely interesting language, of so great antiquity that no affinity between it and any other known form of human speech has yet been traced by the comparative philologist.

114 When D.L. was posted as Political Agent, Gilgit (1920–24) he
12 made it one of his leisure tasks to collect material for a scientific study of Burushaski (the language of the Burusho) the result of which is a three-volume work*—grammar, texts and vocabulary—of which the last volume is just issuing from the press. In 1934—ten years after his retirement—we returned unofficially to Hunza, armed indeed with a considerable knowledge of the language but with no facility in speaking it, to live amongst the peasants and make such a study of their customs, agriculture, economics, etc., as amateur anthropologists might.

181 During our four years in Gilgit we had not failed to discover that
609 the Hunzukuts (dwellers in Hunza) were the most attractive of all the
643 likable mountain peoples of the Gilgit Agency, the most physically prepossessing, the most intelligent and the most trustworthy. All classes in Hunza gave us a warm welcome, from the Mir—who has

113 * *The Burushaski Language*, by Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, Oslo, 1935 (England: Williams and Norgate) published by the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

ANTIQUITY

[643] ruled his country in the humanest and wisest of benevolent autocracies, since the treaty of 1892 placed him on the throne of his murdered father 181 and parricide brother—to our humbler neighbours in Aliabad, the 609 village four miles below the capital which we made our headquarters for fifteen months. As soon as the people grasped the purpose of our [212] coming (which was not easy to explain to an illiterate people) they were overjoyed that a 'Sahib' should trouble to learn their vernacular—a thing which no white man or woman had done before—and take an interest in their customs and hereditary lore. At first they would hesitate: 'but you have wheels (=machines) in England, and can do all these things better than we can'. Within a few days they were vying with each other in explaining, demonstrating and bringing ploughs, looms, winnowing forks, bows, stone cooking pots to the resthouse where we were installed, that D.L. might measure them and take 'studio portraits' of them, 'for you mustn't put anything in the book about us that isn't exactly true'.

132 The entire life of the Hunzukuts is centred in water. The rain-
312 fall in the oasis level (7–9,000 feet), is negligible—we reckoned less
361 than 2 inches per annum; in default of any means of raising the water, the river, flowing between its crumbly earthen cliffs, 500 or 1,000 feet below their fields is useless for irrigation; there are no springs or wells; hence all water for all purposes must be trapped high up at the snout of some side glacier and conveyed on galleried aqueducts across yawning gorges and the faces of sheer cliffs. The main water channel, the Dala, which supplies all the more recent villages of Hunza, 'the new settlements' as they are called in contradistinction to the three original villages—Baltit the capital, Altit and Ganesh—travels some 8 or 10 miles in its circuitous route from the Herber glacier in the gorge behind Baltit, cradled between snow-peaks of 23,000 feet, before it peters out in a semicircular sweep round Aliabad.

312 The Dala was dug some three or four generations ago (90–100
412 years) with wooden shovels and wooden picks tipped with ibex horn, and represents an amazing feat of engineering skill for people without
816 any instruments of precision. The sluices that control the distribution of water—every teaspoonful of which is rigorously allotted—are of the simplest; most often a slab of flattish stone plastered in with mud, sometimes a wooden shutter sliding in a rude wooden frame, sometimes when the water is being taken off to a lower level a circular hole in a stone slab, closed at need with a mushroom-shaped stopper, rough hewn from a solid tree trunk.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 2

GILGIT APPRENTICESHIP

THERE followed four glorious years in Gilgit. The seven districts or provinces under David's supervision gave him plenty of official work and lots of incident, of which in another time and place I should love to write. One, the district of Chilas in the Indus Valley, was directly under a British Officer, Assistant to the Political Agent. Lying on the borders of the restless, untamed democracies of the independent territories of Darel and Tangir (casually lumped together in ordinary speech as Yághistan—"The Home of Rebels") it had, unlike the rest of the Agency, an unenviable record of serious crime, including from nine to fourteen murders a year. Gilgit itself was then administered by Kashmir officials with all the paraphernalia of Wazír-i-Wazárat, Revenue officers, and law-courts. With these two districts the Political Agent was less directly concerned, though his official headquarters were in Gilgit, the only really prosperous oasis of any size in the Agency. Then there were the four political *iláqas*, small states ruled by Government-appointed governors, Punial, Yasin, Kuh-Ghizr, and Ishkoman, and finally the two semi-independent kingdoms of Hunza and Nagir, with their own kings, or Mirs, hereditary chieftains whose families (or family, since the two Mirs are descended from a common ancestor) have held sway in their present territories for at least six hundred years, since the days of our earliest Edwards. Since the famous Hunza Nagir Campaign of 1891 the two Mirs have been our trusty and faithful allies.

It was David's job to be the friend and counsellor of governors and chiefs; to keep a sharp eye out for tyranny or oppression; to be at all times, whether at headquarters or on the road, immediately and easily accessible to humble folk with

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

346 outside the House of Assembly (the Maulai kind of meeting-house that has superseded the Shiah mosque). As we neared Aliábád, riding through rich, flat, large fields, and past walled orchards we heard the local band burst into the familiar "welcome music." Presently we came to an open steeply sloping space near the half-ruined Sarkari Fort, and here was a whole party from the capital (four miles away), including Prince Ghazan Khán, the eldest son, and heir of the Mir,[1] and father of the two young princes who had met us earlier. The band changed the time to the "arrival tune," and we all walked on together to this bungalow. We passed a smart set of new
758 little buildings which are the dispensary, built by the Mir.
743 There is a resident Assistant Surgeon here, an Indian with a certain amount of medical training, who is able to render first aid and keeps a stock of simple drugs.

000 We found chairs set out in the rest-house verandah, and while we and Ghazan Khán talked of old times and the latest Hunza news, the rest of our train grouped themselves on the steps, and all the small boys of Aliábád gathered under the trees along the neighbouring watercourse to see any fun that might be going: a jolly, cheery, intelligent crowd they looked, not a moron or cretin among them; again in a marked contrast to Nagir, where both abound. Presently a tray with teapot was brought, and we thankfully turned to the "doctor" (the aforementioned compounder) whose gift it was. Tea was what we were just dying for after the hot climb; but when I poured it out I found it was a tepid mixture of tea, milk, sugar—and cinnamon. David and Ghazan Khán dealt bravely with it; I unobtrusively hid my cup.

643 [1] He succeeded our good friend his father, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khán, in July 1938.

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

175 361 712 Some time in the days of our earliest Edwards, a princess of Baltistán married the reigning prince of Hunza. For the last hundred years or so the direct route to Baltistán has been completely blocked by advancing glaciers, but for centuries before, the two countries had been in communication with each other. Hunza consisted then of three small villages only: Áltít and Ganesh on the river cliffs, and Báltít high above. The princess's father sent with the bride an army of Balti masons, carpenters, and craftsmen, who built the two forts of Áltít and Báltít as part of the royal dowry, and to-day they still stand proudly on their cliffs, impregnable to assault, [177] centres of ancient ceremonial. To this day, too, the Hunzukuts modestly attribute all their simple arts to Balti influence.

173 643 The original inhabitants of Hunza proper are said to be descended from three soldiers of Alexander the Great, who were left behind sick, presumably plus their womenfolk, and thus while their comrades marched on became the founders of the three first villages in this inhospitable region. Like so many royal houses in Central Asia, the family that has ruled for more than six centuries in Hunza and Nagir likes to claim descent from Alexander himself. But while the Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikander (= Alexander) Khan still upholds this tradition, we noticed that the shrewder Mir of Hunza—who must have seen many a courteously-veiled smile greet this familiar genealogy—shied off the topic.

What seems probable is that the royal family is not in origin of the same stock as the people, and that it may well—as tradition asserts—have come from Persia at some prehistoric date. What is certain is that it can trace its authentic ancestry as far back as can the House of Windsor.

173 144 There may well be truth in the legend of the European descent of the Hunza Burusho, for in temperament and looks our Hunza friends have nothing of the "Oriental" about them. Take from them the very lightly bronzed complexion, "the shadow'd livery of the burnished sun," to which at this altitude they are "neighbour and near bred," and you could transplant them without incongruity to the moors of Yorkshire or the Scottish lowlands.

644 in winter. Rounding the last bend of the road, we saw before us, below the Fort, the park-like promontory on which the Mir has laid out royal gardens and orchards and built himself roomy summer quarters with two or three European guest-houses. As soon as we were sighted, the band broke out into the hospitable welcome music, and at the gate of the park a young prince stood to greet us, the loveliest boy of thirteen I have ever seen. He was Sháh Khán, one of the Mir's youngest sons, but I christened him forthwith Lord Fauntleroy. Short dark curls framed his homespun cap, and with him were two playmates armed with wooden rifles, whom he calls his "bodyguard." They laughingly presented arms in fine style, and we rode on through the trees to a row of hospitable mangers where we left our ponies and saw Prince Ghazan Khan (the "Prince of Wales"[1]) advancing on foot to meet us.

On our right we left the large open courtyard banked up on to the hillside with verandahs on two sides, where the Mir sits daily in public to dispense justice in the final court of appeal. A steep flight of irregular stone steps is fitted to the contour of the hill; above them on a large granite boulder is picturesquely and ingeniously perched one of the Mir's new guest-houses ornamented outside with ibex horns and stuffed game animals. Then the stairs turned abruptly left through a fine gateway of cut granite with two heraldic monsters couchant on the lintel, where the Mir himself was standing to await us.

● 643 Though nearly seventy, he was still a fine figure of a man, every inch a king, as befitted one of the few true, hereditary autocrats left in a topsy-turvy world. He led us through into a lovely English-looking orchard with apple trees bending laden boughs above the grass, to where carpets were spread on the turf beside a miniature playing fountain. A gaily decked tea-table had been set out. Our meeting was one of genuine happiness on both sides. He laughed as he shouted for the tea. "I haven't forgotten, Colonel Sahib," he said, "any hour of the day or night is tea-time, isn't it?" This dear old chestnut-

[1] Now the Mir, 1938.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

joke recalled a journey he and David had made in company 643
twelve or thirteen years before to meet the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, on the Thui Pass as he entered Hunza from Chitral. Mir and Political Agent had messed together, and their shared passion for tea at any hour had strengthened the less frivolous bonds between them.

We noticed that our old friend was wearing coloured glasses and heard that his eyes were giving trouble. They looked as keen and shrewd and kindly as ever when he doffed his glasses, but he was awaiting an operation for cataract. It should have been performed in May, but Major Ledger, the Agency Surgeon, had himself gone down with typhus and was now recuperating in Kashmir, so the operation had been postponed until September. The Mir was also having to diet himself carefully to keep diabetes at bay, but despite these trifles he looked extremely well and very cheerful as he talked with expert knowledge of Central Asian politics and the tangled interactions of "Bolsheviki," Chinese, Turkis, and Tungins, and the mysterious disappearance into Russia of Ma Chung-yin.

We all enjoyed our tea, which was served by Mirza Hasan, a valued old retainer, sometime cook to a British officer, who is summoned to act as chef whenever European guests are expected. In the delightful informality of the Mir's intimate circle, Mirza Hasan stepped forward presently to welcome us and was gratified when I congratulated him on his cakes and biscuits (as I was conscientiously able to do). After a pleasant hour of interchanging news, we took our leave of the royal party, augmented meanwhile by the royal grandsons and a tiny son of two or three, and were seen out of the park with great solemnity by Lord Fauntleroy and bodyguard.

All initial duties were now performed and we could begin 000
our work in Aliábád in all seriousness. The Gods thought otherwise.

The ride home through noonday heat was hot and wearying; towards evening David felt feverish, before morning his temperature was close on 105°. There followed four anxious weeks. Five times his temperature ran up like this; five times after a spell of high fever it plunged down in five or six hours to 95°

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 17

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

423 By far the majority of the peasant families in Hunza are freeholders. The land passes from generation to generation without tax during life or duty after death. In olden days the Mirs owned a certain amount of land in every settlement, and the custom was to have this farmed by forced labour, spread, in theory, justly over the villagers. The Yerpa, or Steward, in charge of such royal demesnes, was obviously in the pleasant position of being able on the one side to cheat his royal master of a large proportion of the produce, and on the other to oppress and squeeze the luckless peasant-labourers. He extorted bribes in kind from anyone able thus to evade the communal work, and he could impose more than a fair share of the labour on anyone who incurred his dislike. When the present Mir (Sir Muhammad Nazím Khán)[1] was a boy he had seen this system at its ugly work under his father, Mir Ghazan Khan, and his elder brother, Mir Safdar Ali, and as he would tell you with a smile: "I knew just how much peculation and bribery went on—had I not acted as Yerpa myself!"

● 643 648 To secure the throne for himself, Safdar Ali, as may be remembered, murdered his father and several brothers in traditional Karakoram style, and ultimately fell foul of the British Government of India by breaking promises and treaties and trying to play off the Chinese and Russian Governments against the Indian. After the brilliant little frontier campaign of 1891–92 he fled—unregretted—to Central Asia, leaving vacant the throne of his ancestors. The British had no wish to annex the country, but it was highly important for the security

[1] Now, alas! the late Mir.—E. O. L., 1938.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

of India that it should not be taken over by Russia. It was 643
decided to put on the throne a younger brother of the fugitive 648
Safdar Ali's—who by good luck had escaped murder. This young man, Muhammad Nazím Khán, had had an unusually wide political education. As a boy of only nine or ten he had been sent down by his father as a hostage to Gilgit, and had there met British officers for the first time and gained many new ideas. Later he had acted as ambassador and negotiator for his father and his brother on missions to Chinese Turkestan and Afghanistan, and he could talk Wakhi, Turki, Khowar, and Hindustani, as well as his own Burushaski. Above all, he was an extremely able youth, and had drawn his own deductions from his varied adventures. In 1892[1] he was therefore made king, with the able Humayun Beg as his Wazir, and since that time he has been our trusty and faithful ally, guarding for us the lofty passes that are the extreme northern gates to India on the west. For four and forty years he has now ruled his people with firmness, sympathy, and kindness, maintaining security, dispensing justice in accordance with local custom and public opinion, keeping up and encouraging the traditional festivals that punctuate the year with joust and dance, music and merriment.

During his reign there have been only two murders on 674
Hunza soil, serious crime is unknown, and even theft and 625
petty pilfering are non-existent, though there are in the 697
country no prisons and no police. On rare occasions when
some mischief-maker threatens serious trouble, the Mir, with 691
the concurrence of his subjects, may deport the would-be disturber of the peace to the distant valleys of Shimshál to tend the royal flocks that pasture there or to spend his energy on roads or aqueducts. Food and pasturage are plentiful, and life in some respects more luxurious than in lower Hunza; but the Hunzukuts loves his home, his family, his apricots, and after a couple of years' exile the malcontent returns a wiser man. It is amusing to see a recent book indicting the Mir of Hunza for the "tyranny" that imposes so humane and so useful a punish-

[1] A popular account of these high matters may be found in Algernon 113
Durand's *Making of a Frontier*, and in E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*.

681 ment. A few years' exile in Shimshál is incomparably preferable to three years' penal servitude in Wormwood Scrubs, yet Hunza delinquents do not become recidivists.

● 643 423 Young Muhammad Nazím Khán took up his job determined, in the light of his travels and experience, to alter much that had been traditional under his ancestors, and within three years of his accession he had completely abolished the Yerpa system of cultivating the royal lands. Such as lay immediately under his own eye he retained, but all the rest are leased out on easy terms to tenants. For the first years a tenant pays no rent at all for new ground that he brings under the plough; he has to get his fields carved out, his water-channels made, and the soil worked. After the land begins to bear he pays a small fixed rent in kind, and if at any point he finds the bargain unprofitable he is free to resign his holding. A large part of the "new settlements" of Aliábád, including all the district immediately round our house, was *kutúkal* land (viz. royal land leased out), and there was no question that the system was working to everyone's satisfaction. The extra fields available had been eagerly taken up by families in the older settlements who were finding their freehold land too cramped, and many of our neighbours were sons who had hived off from the family freehold and whose relations were still living in Báltít, Haidarábád, or Dorkhan.

556 842 We once enquired, *à propos* of the meaning of the words "rich" and "poor": "Now what would you people consider a rich man?" "One who had, say, a hundred animals." (The ordinary peasant household has twenty or so sheep, goats, and cows.) "And is there any rich man in Aliábád?" "Only one, the Yerpa." This struck us as highly significant; the one rich man still bore by courtesy his grandfather's title of "Steward"! He was no doubt still enjoying his grandfather's ill-gotten gains. Our Yerpa was, in fact, a genial, kindly man, reputed generous. He was not envied: "Poor chap, he has no sons; he has to hire herd-boys to mind his flocks, and labourers to work his fields." In Hunza a man's true wealth is in his sons; they work the farm with him; if there are several, some can go abroad and earn. Not that a woman or a woman's work is

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 679
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 643
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws 648
a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

Z: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushō AV7

have attributed it to the north-facing mountains which though richer in grass and timber are sorely stinted of the sun. 157

Whatever the difference is—racial, temperamental, religious, political, or climatic—it is too deep-seated to favour intermarriage. Only the royal houses, sprung from a common ancester—Alexander or another—frequently exchange princesses across the water. 582 643

Within Hunza the clans are all reckoned of equal status, but the clan of the Diramiting enjoys a considerable measure of prestige, and at communal ceremonies a Diramiting sets the pace or leads the dance. The story of their origin is interesting. There was once a clan of Tapkients who grew so bold and arrogant that their offences cried to heaven. They were reported to put bread to ignoble uses, they were known to address their mothers by the term *zizi*, which is the exclusive privilege of royal or saiyyid families, and they were haughty and stiff-necked towards their Mir. In vain the eldest royal son implored his father to "do something about it," and when the Mir refused to take suitable measures, the young prince impatiently laid his own schemes. A great gathering of all the clans was to be held on a nameless space of open desert where Alitbād now stands, and the Tapkients attended in full force. The prince plied them with strong *'araq*, and when they had well drunk fell upon them with his retainers and slew every man, boy, and male infant. He did not know that one of the Tapkients had allowed his wife to return to her own people for the birth of her first child. The posthumous infant was called Diram, and from him are sprung the Diramiting of to-day, who carry themselves without arrogance and do not call their mothers *zizi*. 614 173

Child marriages do not take place in Hunza, but a girl will rarely pass sixteen or a boy eighteen unwed. The parents seek out a house among some other clan—frequently a house with which marriage relationships already exist—where there is a potential mate of suitable age and standing, and negotiations proceed between the families. In theory the young folk are not consulted; but in practice, where children have romped and played and worked together there is no doubt that per- 584

Sz Lawimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burnho AV7

when the second bridegroom's group came to dance they

were joined by a young princeling (a morganatic grandson of the Mir's) and a small friend of his, both in lovely silken gowns. They were a picturesque wee pair. The younger was about six, and his fond mother had got him up as a bridegroom, complete to the blackened eyes and fantastic dots on the cheek bones. The two boys polkaed round, stamping their bare feet and waving their tiny arms in perfect imitation of the grown-ups, and whenever they were in danger of being danced down, some kind hand would gently shove them to a safer place in the centre, where they went on gyrating. It was a jolly scene. Whenever there was room other small boys would join in, each normally venturing to do so only when his own clammen were dancing. Once or twice some little dare-devil would intrude into the wrong group, and another small boy would try to punch his head. At once good-humoured bystanders would collar the pair and dump them out of mischief at some distance from each other.

All the spectators were very merry in their orderly way, and there were bursts of applause at frequent intervals. No small share of the fun was contributed by the bandsmen, who varied the time and pace and worked the dancers up to a fine climax. The big drummer of Aliábád is an old humorist called Húko. He waves his body and his arms about as he lustily attacks his drum and chaffs the dancers: "Go it, man! Leap, can't you, leap! Do you call that *dancing*? What are your legs for? Let your body swing, man! Get a move on there! Wave your arms, can't you? Oh, come alive!" etc., etc. The kettle-drummer flaunts his two sticks and wags his head, but being a younger and less privileged person than Húko does not venture on any verbal chaff. The poor piper who has mouth and hands glued to his funny-looking instrument that is half flute half trumpet just flings his body about and looks volumes. All three are so very much alive and on the spot that they imply that nothing else in life is quite such fun as playing while other men dance and marry. Their special efforts on such occasions are rewarded by extra gifts of bread, flour, and butter.

After about an hour and a half we came away, but for long after we could still hear the dance-music going on.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burushо AV7

Next appeared a lot of men bearing white and red pennants and one carrying the Hunza standard (rather a new invention this, I fancy). The standard is a large triangle of white with two pairs of horizontal red stripes, an open hand in red, and a bow and arrow in green: a handsome and effective national flag.

After the standards came the men of the Royal Family, including Hari Tam of three or four (but not the new baby), the younger members leading the way, and lastly Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan himself, mounted on his snow-white Badakhshani stallion. The horse wore a scarlet saddle-cloth heavily embroidered in gold, and from a broad gold collar round its neck there dangled a large "feather brush" of pure white yak's hair. The Mir, looking as always every inch a king, was robed in bright green velvet cloak with massive padded gold embroidery. He had on a fine silk turban of pale blue. All the people entitled to a place in the procession, from the Mir downwards, were wearing bunches of large-leafed maidenhair in their caps. Gathering this fern, which as far as we could learn grows only in one spot in Hunza near Altit, and collecting the willows for the "horses" provide exciting tasks for the boys for a day or two preceding the feast, while women of the Diramiting clan are busy baking the barley mill-stones and compounding the *chapan*.

Before the procession ultimately emerges many elaborate traditional ceremonies take place in the ancient rooms of the Fort, which is still used for these occasions though no longer inhabited. The detail and significance of these ceremonies (which we were not invited to witness) were fully investigated by DL and I shall not here anticipate his account of them.

The procession passed along the narrow track till it reached the Bopfau field, 6 feet or so above the path and supported by the usual revetting wall. The younger and more active scaled the wall, but for the Mir himself a ladder had been placed at an angle of 45 degrees, bridging the water-channel at the base of the wall, and I followed the royal lead up the ladder. The Mir then took his seat on a chair beneath which a carpet had been spread (chair and carpet being doubtless modern

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

in Hunza affect seclusion except the immediate royal family. 644
In addition to Qudrat's mother, a delightfully gracious woman, and his pretty young wife, we met Dádo's wife—also very pretty, but a shade more embarrassed. The families are in some way inter-related. We got some photos here, the outdoor setting being more favourable, but dare not linger lest the Mir should be waiting for us.

We had only just got planted on the grand stand by the polo- 796
ground when we saw his procession winding down the hill, 643 ●
the bodyguard in smart uniforms carrying the standard and the Mir with a white satin, gold-embroidered robe over his khaki, mounted on the Badakhshani stallion with the same handsome trappings as at the Bopfau. When he had taken his seat, up rushed a huge deputation from one village after another, shouting the equivalent of "O King, live for ever! May your New Year be blessed!" It was rather impressive. There was no mistaking the genuine affection and loyalty in voice and gesture.

After this followed the usual polo, archery, and dancing. Lord Fauntleroy again made excellent showing with his bow and arrow, and the youngest son of Ghazan Khan actually hit the mark, to his grandfather's pride and pleasure. The elder royal grandsons were not present; they were down in Gilgit doing their Scouts' training. We left about four, but the Mir settled down to see the daylight out at the sports and to preside at another bigger feed to The Great of the land. He was an amazing man for nearly seventy, and apparently entered into these shows with as much zest as the people themselves.

the ruins, but the manuscripts threw no light on the matter. So far as they have yet been examined they appear to be comparatively commonplace copies of already well-known sacred writings of latish date. They are now lodged in the Srinagar Museum, which is permanently closed.

Our return to Gilgit coincided (somewhat unfortunately we ungraciously felt) with the Jubilee celebrations and perforce we spent another very pleasant (but time-wasting) holiday with our most hospitable friends the Kirkbrides. It was May 13th before we were able to disentangle ourselves from Gilgit and its seductions and set our faces once more towards Hunza. The very horses seemed to scent that they were heading home and gave us of their best. The weather was now very definitely warming up, and we marched early to avoid the greater heat. Nomal and Chalt provided us as usual with loathsome milk tasting of Tom Cat. This indescribably vile flavour is due to some wild herb that grows in these neighbourhoods at certain seasons. I am not botanist enough to know its name, and it is not a plant of which I covet seeds or slips. It is mercifully unknown in Hunza.

As we rode through the rich, well-watered string of Nagir villages we were escorted for part of the way by various Nagir princes sent by their father to show us courtesy. Green crops, shady walnut trees and masses of blue iris and wild rose made the road enchanting, its loveliness enhanced a thousandfold by the bleakness and barrenness of the great mountains. I confess I always covet these lovely villages for Hunza, the more so that the Nagirkuts are far more slack and slovenly in their cultivation than "our" people. All the irrigation water, coming straight from the melting glaciers of Rakaposhi, was now milky and unappetizing. The Nagir people, though not actively uncivil, never volunteer a greeting as you pass and never throw you a kindly smile even when they speak. We noticed, too—and how it shocked our loyal Hunza folk—that the Nagir princes also were allowed to ride past unsaluted and apparently unregarded. The Mir of Nagir had been pressing in invitations to us to visit him—as soon as he had convinced himself that no great harm seemed to be accruing to Hunza from our presence there.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

shingát breeds caution, not contempt. As we rode in we saw 487
Ali Ausat at the nicely carved door of his house, rather grubby
but pleased to see us, passed the miserable apology for a [743]
hospital which contrasts ill with the well-built one at Alishád,
though the two Mirs got the same grant from Government
for the purpose of building them, and on past a fine, large,
shallow pond. On our right was a steep green slope with jolly
poplars and a lot of grass, and then we reached the polo-
ground. Here the Mir came himself to meet us from the
shelter of a roofed summer-house where he had been waiting.
Another mile of almost perpendicular zigzag, which the ponies
could only just manage, brought us to the familiar old polo-
ground (now disused for play), with its lovely double line of
poplars. This peculiarly steep and horrible approach is new,
and the Mir is very proud of it. From the top there is a mag- 644
nificent view with the pond below looking like a lake and the 643
Mir's palace picturesquely perched on a steep hill-face with
fine windows looking out not at any view but straight into
the terraced hillside opposite. Mir Sikandar Khan looked
shrunken and frail compared with ten years ago, but very brisk,
and was apparently able to ride up his new road without a
qualm.

He himself received us most hospitably and kindly, but his [511]
people serve him ill. Immediately on our arrival a shindy broke
out with talk of grass- and fodder-shortage, though grass and
fodder are plentiful in Nagir, and we found the rest-house
dirty and unswept, bathroom and utensils uncared for, and a
general atmosphere of grudging incompetence pervading it.

We dined with the Mir that evening and duly entertained 643
him in return, while I paid a visit to the ladies and met the
numerous little princes and princesses. The Queen of Nagir,
a fine, handsome woman, not a day older than when I had last
seen her eleven years ago, is a sister of Khan Sahib Mir Baz
Khan of Yasin, and I was able to bring her first-hand news of
her brother and his family, in which it is fair to say she did not
seem over-interested. But she is a gracious motherly woman,
and very intelligent—she even followed my Burushaski (Hunza
variety) with ease. The brightest moments of my call were

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

643 provided by the charming little prince, Shaukat Ali, son of the Mir's eldest son, who unhappily died young during our time in Gilgit. The boy is therefore his grandfather's next heir. He is a most intelligent, well-mannered lad, and manfully upheld the conversation whenever it threatened to flag.

Two of the royal ladies were Hunza princesses married across the border, one a daughter, one a granddaughter of the Mir.

In his day the Mir of Nagir was a mighty hunter before the Lord, and one of the best polo players in the Agency. He told us he had shot three thousand head of big game in his life. He has now been forbidden by the doctors to attempt over-strenuous physical feats, and indeed it is obvious that he would no longer be able for them, but he still has the regal carriage of younger days. His sons used to tell us that they dreaded hunting expeditions with their father because he appeared impervious to fatigue, and quite indifferent to such trifles as food or sleep. His reception-room is hung with lordly trophies of the chase: local ibex, markhor, and several magnificent heads of *bara singh* bagged in Kashmir.

He is justifiably proud that his six sons form a polo-team equal to any other in the Agency.

We had feared that decency would compel us to spend at least three days in Nagir, but since *one* day easily exhausted all our conversational resources—the Mir has nothing like the wide range of interests nor the intellectual curiosity that distinguished his Hunza colleague—and since his ungracious underlings raised one difficulty after another about supplying our very modest needs (we had sent straight through to Hunza all our spare kit and animals so as not to impose any avoidable burden) though offered as of course more than adequate payment, we decided to curtail our visit and the Mir greeted our decision with unconcealed relief, though he "only wished we could stay a year." So the 18th saw us pack up and thankfully make our escape.

000 We had not been reckoning on any language work in Nagir, for we had secured as much material as we could hope for from Ali Ausat during our time in Yasin, so we lost nothing of that sort by cutting short our Nagir visit. We gained one valu-

487 fort. When you reach the courtyard the Fort towers above you like Bush House. Up the semi-spiral ramp outside and the two flights of ladder-like stairs, and out you come on to the great reception balcony with its incomparable view. The country looks its very best in July, every field green or golden with its crops and every fruit tree in full luxuriant leaf, apricots turning golden but not yet ripe.

600 There was a crowd of fifty or sixty on the balcony, and we chatted to the princes and others while DL endeavoured to find some spot from which he could command with his cine-camera the steep approach almost vertically below us up which the Harvest procession would presently be coming, without himself toppling over to certain death. The little parapet—not calculated for the convenience of camera men—just caught his shins in such a way as to encourage a fatal plunge. It is needless to mention that the sinking sun stared straight into his lens. The sun blazed relentlessly on the white mud floor of the balcony, the resultant glare alternating with inky shadows, while the table and chairs which had been hospitably provided for our convenience intruded with infernal incongruity into every foreground. If you escaped sudden death over the parapet to rocks 1,000 feet below, you might meet a less spectacular but equally fatal end by an unpremeditated dive down the trap-door. Photography in Hunza is fraught with danger and difficulty.

643 The Mir meantime had disappeared inside to robe himself before taking his seat on the throne under the carved verandah, where he would be well-nigh invisible to the camera lens. The cloth spread on the throne was the loveliest imaginable: a thick, bright sapphire-blue velvet with a border of apricot colour, or rather that delicate, yellowy, salmony pink which upholsterers call "apricot," though never was an apricot that shade. The whole border as well as a great medallion in the centre was embroidered in real gold, padded quarter of an inch thick: a barbarically lovely thing, bought, the Mir said, for Lord Curzon's visit twenty or thirty years ago, and as untarnished still as only real gold can be.

At last, when we were nearly grilled to death, we heard a

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

shout of "Here they come!" Far away, hundreds of feet below 643
us, we could just descry a pair of horsemen scrambling up the road I have described. It was two of the royal princes, one of them Lord Fauntleroy, each with an armful of ripe golden barley. Soon they disappeared into the bowels of the Fort below us and presently their heads popped up through the trap-door. Someone whisked the barley from their arms and disappeared with it to rub the ears and toast the grains. The Mir appeared from an inner door. He was wearing a loose gown of pale blue silk all embroidered in gold and a pale turban also touched with gold. He greeted his people like a king and went over to his seat, quietly kicked off his slippers, and neatly slithered himself on to the couch-like throne in photograph-defying shadow, and sat cross-legged—the perfect picture of an Oriental monarch whose authentic ancestors were ruling Hunza while our Black Prince was fighting in the fields of France. He graciously signed for us to come near, and I let my chair be brought under the verandah, but DL begged to be allowed to stay out in the balcony where he could move about more freely.

Then came a henchman with ewer and basin and the Mir 241
very sensibly spread a towel over his silken knees and velvet cloth while water was poured over his hands. Another minion then presented a priceless china bowl filled with sour milk, and the Mir taking a silver spoon lifted half a spoonful of the junket and held it out while the man sprinkled in three grains of toasted barley. This he ate—three times three grains in all—thus handselling the first fruits of the year's new harvest. Then the bowl was circulated to DL (with a fresh spoon) and then to me, and then in order of rank and precedence to the rest of the assembled company. It was a simple yet impressive little communion service. And throughout the country every family in like fashion ceremonially tastes the first grains of the new barley, and carries in the first-cut stalks solemnly to bind them round the *shiri dako*, the main pillar of the humble atrium, where they remain till in due course replaced a twelve-month later.

When the bowl and barley grains had made the rounds, in

6. Bértcho — nor of two classes:

i. ǵgherasho bértcho — musicians who provide music on all public occasions.

ii. ḍak ötasho bértcho — blacksmiths.[1]

The functions of the Bértcho are undergoing a process of extension. They now fetch firewood for the Tham and thorns for protecting enclosures. They also do plastering work for him. A few serve as sweepers. Their status is said to be rising. The Burushо will now eat food prepared by them, which they would not formerly do.

In both Hunza and Nagir the supreme power resides in an autocracy exercised by the Tham, or Mir. The two royal families derive from a common source and are inter-related by subsequent marriages. This joint royal family claims to have come from Baltistan and to have been established in Hunza and Nagir for the last six hundred years.

Each village group is an administrative unit and the Tham is represented in it by one to three Uyṇgho (Uyṇmho) or Trangṇting (sg. a uyṇm — *gust*, trangṇa). Under their direction these officials have Cherbuting (sg. cherbu, ḍarbu) who transmit orders to the public. Where the Tham owns land he has a steward, or personal representative, called a Yarpa, who again has subordinates under him to supervise the division of the water-supply.

For the settlement of cases and disputes of all kinds there is in Hunza a long progressive series of "courts", if one may use the term. First the case is dealt with by the heads of the two houses and the two families in conclave. Failing settlement it is referred to the Headmen of the community (giróṇmé uyṇm; giranz uyum). Thirdly: again failing settlement, it is referred to the Headmen of the Four Clans (wálto giróṇmichingé uyṇngho; wa'lto giraumiting uyoṇgko) who proceed to the "gate" of the *khan* and adjudicate on it.

[1] The following are the phonetic renderings of the Burushaski words in the above paragraphs: 1. Thamu; kaṇṇi; ary'ṇmu; 2. uyoṇgho or uyoṇmho; ekarbirtig; wasiv; trangṇa; yarpa; farej; 3. have ste; 4. ḍaḍwáo; 5. hakkakuyo; ṇalgotáo; 6. bertto; oyoṇáo; ḍak ṇtaáo.

000 (or, i·ti) du·simi. Du·sin i·mo yuyu bušai.er e·pi hai.i yakalater niči kr Si·ŋ guča bam, xoer ičer jučilum. Lel etimi guča bai.i. Asi·rer ni·či kr ilčumuta xat bim, ni·nin eyenumatr Si·ŋ kaš etimi. Kaš nr yatie telr pfat nr day·asmi.

5 Day·ai.aser Si·ŋr yastaero da ha jama·at xaber um·anuman. Bareiman kr Si·ŋ meniko kaš eta·n. Hindi.r sistar jo·niŋ (or, šo·niŋ) etuman. Etaser uyo·n bera·n umanuman: "Kin menr kaš eta·n?" nusem. Terumaner Si·ŋr Daltas Manu·ku.r i· du·simi. Du·sin senimi: "Sr nanateero (or, antenteero), da·do ja kaš eta ba. Ja altan 10 an.utaero o·sqanam. Ja an.u Daltas Manu·ko esqanas ya·rum nukar·tsin Pisaner du·sam. Telr ja mama numu·tsum jr damana baiyam. Ja an.u Pisankutar esqanuman. Jr mu·to da·n Si·ŋ e·sqanam, ber·er kr Si·ŋr na·haq i·mo yu· o·sqanam. I·tr ma·rulo ja e·sqanam," o·simi.

Nosem Hindilo Si·ŋr dituło n·urutin uyu·mkuł ne huru·timi.

15 Yer e·pi.r iski·čuk bay yai.iŋr do·rer nikin i·tr hisa·patr telr galt traŋ o·tam. Kin Si·ŋr Daltas Manu·ku.r i·r et fat nr sa hisab nr telr galt traŋ o·timi. Mu·to xa·tiŋer i·nr i·tr hisa·batr sa traŋ nr telr galt ye·lja·n.

Kinr Si·ŋ Hamaču·tiŋr qaumteum bam seiba·n. Ki·nr Si·ŋr Daltas 20 Manu·ku.r i·i waxtulo Hunzamo Thamo Hindi.er ho·l n·uyen du·nin Hindi gana·n. Da Si·ŋr Daltas Manu·ko.r i· esqana·n, seiba·n.

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1 *kaš etimi* — *kaš* is used ordinarily of slaughtering animals and probably implies cutting the throat and cutting off the head, hence the statement that he left the head behind.

6 *šo·niŋ* — was originally preceded by *uisi* referring to the unknown murderers: 'they reviled them'.

10–12 *yer e·pi.r . . . pr̥ijum* — cp. p. 262 l. 4. Again it seems impossible to give an exact translation and explanation of the water-system. The new system was based on the *ai*; and *ai* means 'sun', 'sunlight', 'daylight', 'day'. I have a note that it was "on the basis of days". The word *-ai* 'month' may be ruled out.

I am suspicious of the phrase *telr galt pr̥ijum*. The ordinary phrase is *telr galar*. Perhaps *nr* should be supplied after *galt*.

20 *Hunzamo Thamo* — These Thams are said to have been a dynasty preceding the present one, which was initiated by Girkin, a great-great-grandson of Azar Jamshed.

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This earlier dynasty is said to have been of Persian origin and to have died out.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then they grind the *manotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *ikhamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *girta* separately. He grinds two *taléchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *ikhamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *ikhamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *girta*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirámiting bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gore majuk* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 *yarig* — the songs are in Shina.

10 *ikhamata* — *nili* must be the genitive of *nil* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gurwai — originally written *gurwa*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gurwai* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gurwa*, 'bridegrooms'.

12 *ile gwatanlo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *marak'aw* — this is in front of the Fort at Ráhiti.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

No. XI.

The Custom in regard to The Tham's Annual Visit to Hèrber.

Every Autumn, in September or October, or on the 15th. or 20th. of Sambula, the Tham sets out for Hèrber taking with him eighty followers and Elders. With ten or fifteen Elders, fifteen men of superior rank, twenty minor servants, seven or eight huntsmen, eight bandsmen and four grooms, thus he sets out.

It is the custom for the Elders of Galmit and, in addition, a number of young men, to come as far as Chaman Gul to receive the Tham. Slaying a goat and loading it along with a supply of bread in a panier they bring it to Bulchi Das for his reception. It is called *Otag*. Then the Tham stops there and eats it. When he has eaten and has gone on to Chacha Hera the women come out on to the edge of the terrace and wave their hands round in the Tham's honour.

(Proceeding) thence they keep playing music in front of the Tham (until) he dismounts at the Galmit dancing place. When the Tham has dismounted they present an ox before him. In former times it was the custom for the Tham to give orders to a distinguished Elder, upon which the latter, they say, seizing the ox and pulling

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31 *tsilatsem* — probably from *tsele* 'there' and not from *tsil* etc. 'such'. There seems to be a verb or two missing in this sentence: the party proceeds, music being played in front of the Tham until the Galmit dancing ground is reached, when the Tham dismounts.

31 *de.idum* — "they make an ox stand", "they stand up an ox", or "they keep an ox standing for the Tham", a sort of technical expression for presentation.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

it backwards smote it with his sword straight down the front line of the (shoulder and) forelegs. Now the present Tham has made them give up this practice. (As) for laying hold of the ox, they still lay hold of it. 539K 643 574

Then when the Tham, having dismounted, has taken his seat on the platform at the dancing ground, they bring a small bowl of milk to him. The Tham, saying "Bismillah," drinks a little and enquires of the Headmen: "Are you well?" and they, standing up, reply to the Tham: "You are welcome."

Then the Tham goes into the fort and the servants and elders go off to their respective lodgings. When they have done so the Wakhis bring them *Kurutí Dandan* (a form of food).

Then on the evening of the same day the Headman kills two goats at his house, and then cutting up a lump of ghee, which may be 30 lbs. in weight, he makes *sherbat*. Then, having prepared 15 *chaqr* of wheat bread he conducts the Tham, accompanied by his followers, to his house.

There are two Hunza Trangfas and they go and cut up the bread and meat and prepare the dishes of food. They roast the breast of the one he-goat for the Tham and bring it to the place of assembly, and they convey the breast of the other to the Tham's consort. The kidneys they take to the senior Gushpūr if there is any. One liver they give to the Wazir, if he is there, or, if he has not come, to one of his brothers or his son.

When the Tham goes to the house and when he has arrived at

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4 *ḫaro ḫarwa?* — said in Wakhi which is said to be "*ḫaſkrpa?*" i. e. *ḫaſ*, 'good'; *kri*, 'are'; *a*, interrog. particle.

The equivalent Wakhi for the Persian *Xuš amadi* was given as *ḫakur wi.ce*.

6 *ḫarqar* — The Tham's official residence. It is scarcely a 'fort' and certainly not a 'palace' in the ordinary acceptance of the term.

9 *quiqar* — Shaw gives Wakhi *qui* as "household, quarters, camp". It is also used in Sh. and Kho. It is here glossed 'inhabited house', but seems to mean "lodgings".

11 *wikar* — past participle active of **-ɣwrʌ*.

14 *ḫrq* — i. e. *ḫaq* refers I think only to the meat, cp. l. 12, page 340 below. It was glossed "cutting up".

15 *ḫaskarʌ* — usually 'ram'; here glossed 'male goat'.

19 *daro.ʌqr* — a note adds that the Tham puts a little flour on his head.

the door, they bring out a bowl of flour, and *ispandar* smoke, and 5394
a dish of ghee. The Tham touching these and kissing (his fingers) 643
enters the house and sits down on the large dais. The master of 574
the house and his brothers, standing in the centre part of the room, say: "You are welcome!" "God bless you!" replies the Tham.

Then he makes the Elders and followers sit down for a little at the door and he calls up the Wazir and then he calls up the Yerpa. Then they bring the Elders one by one into the house, and then they bring in the inferior followers, and they make them sit down in their appointed places. After this a personal servant brings water for the Tham to wash his hands, and when they have made the Tham wash his hands they make the Elders wash theirs.

Then they set food before the Tham. The Head Cook and the 262
assistant cooks prepare vegetable soup for the Tham and put the 5391
hindquarters of a sheep and *sherbat* with bread before him. Also 643
four cakes of thick bread, and curds in a bowl, and cream in a cup. 574
The Head Cook cuts up the meat for the Tham.

Then they place dishes of food before the leading men, and the meat that is in front of the Tham they dispense to the Elders and followers. There are also the two heads of the goats: one of these with some bread they give to the musicians; the other they give to the grooms. To the huntsmen they give the fat tail (of the sheep) which is in front of the Mir. They give two dishes (of food) to each party separately. To the Bodyguard they give five dishes.

Then to the Tham's womenfolk also they send bread and dishes of food and to the Gushpurs they send one dish each. The Gushpurs are not allowed to come to the host's house with the Tham and Elders. They send the food for them to their various lodgings.

When he has eaten the Tham comes out. He says: "Blessings 5394
on you!" and they reply: "On your life blessings!" The master 643
of the house comes out in front of the door with the Tham. 574
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22 *ḥrdow .. ḥmik ḥi* — the sentence is grammatically obscure and probably faulty, *ḥrdow* unless it is adjectival, seems to require a verb, such as "they carry away from . . .".
wazirvhi — an alternative reading is: *wazirw ḥas* . . .
arpilas — is the p.pe. active of *bilsigas* used absolutely.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-8) 1936 AVT Burushu AVT

Then from the house of entertainment there is (sent) a dish on which they put as the Wazir's portion, a leg (of mutton), and *sherbat* along with bread; and also there is a dish apiece for the Headman and the two Hunza Trangfas on which they put a leg. Then for the cooks there are the fat of the two goats and their necks and skins. And for the musicians there is from ancient times a wooden jar which it is the custom to give to them filled with the oil from the *sherbat*. From that evening's food they set something aside and in the morning, and they bring it with *gurūt tawīk* from the host's house to the place of assembly.

When the Tham stays thus for a month or two months in Herber every day the people who are exempt from carrying loads bring to the Tham's house two goats and a lump of ghee and bread, which they have made with 15 *chaqe* of grain, and *sherbat*. And every day the Tham gives green grass to the Elders for their horses. To the Wazir grass is given from five houses and they give the Wazir one *chuti* of grain (for his horse). For the horses each village gives (him?) a rope.

When the hospitalities have come to an end they give a goat and bread (made) of five *chaqe* of grain. This is called *Otag*. The custom of *Otag* is as follows: One field has been given to each of them by the Thams and on that they have imposed the *Otag* tax. Further the exempted man every year gives the Tham as *ilhaw* four animals viz. one he-goat, one ram, one she-goat and one yearling kid. Followers of the second rank and load-carriers give every year three animals viz. one she-goat, one sheep and one yearling kid. These are the tax (imposed) on load-carriers. Further, each household gives the Tham four (measures of) grain, which they call *sahar jiti* and each household gives a *kichuti* of barley, which is called *gashi gurk*. It is the custom also for every village to give one rope each for as many dogs and horses as there may be.

The Khudā-abād *ilhaw* is (assigned) to Gushpur Nafis, and the Nazimābād *ilhaw* to Shāhāz Khan and the Miagār *ilhaw* is vested

19 *gash gurk* — Wakhi for "horse's barley"; *gal* 'horse' and *gurk* 'barley'.
21 *Nazimabad* — the older name of this place was *Sitki Das*.

These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. 344
It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an 644
elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

Back about 400 years ago one of the rulers of Hunza [173] married a daughter of the King of Baltistan who, as [648] a gift to his daughter and her husband, dispatched 500 workmen from his country to Hunza to erect the Baltit Fort that we now know. The rulers of Hunza dwelt in that fort and made it their palace until recent times. The present Mir, too, when he took office after the [712] death of his father, resided in this palace known as Baltit Fort.

The new palace, in which we were being wined, [122] dined and entertained, had been completed recently and was taken possession of by the present Mir about 7 years ago. Actually though, the new palace was started by the Mir's grandfather back as far as 1925.

While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I un- [692] derstand, would be used, on completion, as his court, [643] where the citizens of Hunza would come with their problems and where the Mir would preside in judgment.

However, this work in no way interfered with the [342] normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

344 This massive old fortress, for that is what it was,
644 was actually one of the places that had withstood the
712 attacks of invaders for more than 400 years and re-
727 mained impregnable. It has only once been in enemy
[175] hands since the day it was built and that was in 1891,
when, after the Battle of Nilt, it was occupied by the British. Records further indicate that the British added no glory to their occupation at the time because of their indiscriminate looting of the treasures found in the palace. But the Mir, whether because of his friendship for the British or because of his desire to tell the truth, claimed that it was not the British who looted it, but the Dogra troops who were under British command.

Here I would like to quote from E. F. Knight's
344 *Where Three Empires Meet:*
644
352 "This massive fortress, which has been for hundreds of years the secure stronghold of the robber kings, inviolate until this day, stands boldly out, set in the midst of a sublime landscape . . . Twigg, Boisragon and myself took up our quarters in the most comfortable chamber we could find, which we soon discovered to have been the apartment of the ladies belonging to the
[643] Thum's harem. ("Thum" is Burushaski for ruler, sovereign, king, chief, "Mir". Used especially of the hereditary rulers of the states of Hunza and Nagir.) It was surrounded by a low, broad, wooden divan, on which our bedding was laid. Pillars of carved wood rose from the edge of the divan to the carved beams of the roof, blackened by the smoke of ages. . . . A fire was lit in the open fireplace at one end of the floor, the smoke escaping through a square hole in the roof. Save for the Oriental pattern of the wooden carvings it was just a hall, I imagine, as King Canute might have lived in. . . . We enjoyed a delicious night's rest after our late fatigues.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 30

Who Are the Hunzans?

I HAVE HEARD the people of Hunza referred to as Hunzans, Hunzukuts, Hunzawals and Hunzas. They prefer to be called Hunzukuts. 101

However, in my writing I am referring to them as Hunzans. I do this strictly as a matter of simplification. I find it easy to say and easy to remember and I also believe it to be the most phonetical of all the terms given.

The Mir claims that the rulers of Hunza were and are direct descendants of Alexander the Great. I could find no proof to either confirm or refute this statement. But it is generally believed that not only the Mir, but the people of Hunza are descendants of Alexander or his soldiers. 643 173

It has been related by many writers that the Hunzans are not by appearance an Asian people. To that I will subscribe completely. They are definitely, in 144

144 countenance and color, not Indian but European.

If you took the first ten Hunzans that you met anywhere and put them in Europe, no one could doubt that they were Europeans. With the exception of a few clearly and unmistakably Chinese-appearing Hunzans, practically each one would pass as a European. It is understandable that a bit of Mongolian blood got mixed in because Hunza is right smack on the Chinese border.

181 173 The people of this country are unqualifiedly the most energetic and industrious of all the people I came across in the East, which lends credence to the fact that they are of European origin.

173 643 174 Even before I went to Hunza I read carefully Arrian's *Life of Alexander the Great*. After seeing Hunza and being impressed by the conviction that the people of Hunza did appear to be Europeans, I came back and made a further search through the *Life of Alexander the Great*.

It is an historical fact that Alexander took unto himself a wife when he was on his Indian campaign. He married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes who was king of Bactria. Bactria is in the northern part of Afghanistan—right smack against the Hunzan border.

Alexander had a posthumous son with Roxana. His name was Alexander Aegus.

So the Mir's claim might have sound historical basis. The Hunzans claim to trace their history back about 2,000 years. Well, Alexander married Roxana back in 327 B. C. So you see, the story may have its point.

I'll further state that the Mir himself looked exactly like one would expect a Mediterranean European to look. He might feign a relationship or descendancy from Alexander the Great, but he couldn't feign that Macedonian appearance.

History also relates most pointedly that Alexander had difficulty with his troops at various points in India where they refused to go any further. Then in Taxila, which is not very far from Rawalpindi on the route to Hunza, he left the sick, disabled and older men. It wouldn't be difficult to imagine that some of the younger wounded men, when they got well, crossed the Himalayas through the Babusar Pass and then wandered up to Gilgit and Hunza or when they were in Bactria, it would have been quite an easy matter—in fact, it was just a matter of walking a few miles through the mountains—to reach the Hunza River. 173 174

It is not in my interest to strengthen the Mir's story or the tales that other writers have established about the relationship of Alexander or his men and the people of Hunza. I am merely citing the above from my actual observations and studies. You can accept it or waive it aside.

One would not have a comprehensive understanding of Hunza and the people of Hunza without a few facts about their comparatively early history. 175 643

One of the most colorful leaders that the people of Hunza have ever had was the present Mir's grandfather—Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E. (Knight Commander of the Indian Empire)—who was the Mir of Hunza from 1892 until 1938 when he died on July 23 at the age of 79, having ruled for a total of 46 years. 'Twas a long rule for any king in any country.

In 1934 when he was 75 years of age his wife gave birth to a son who was named Sahib Khan. In January, 1938 the British crown conferred the title of K.C.S.I. (Knight Commander of the Star of India) upon Sir Mohomed.

He was followed by his son, Ghazan Khan who ruled from 1938 to 1945—not quite 8 years. Ghazan Khan

175 643 was then succeeded by his son, the present ruler—Mohammed Jamal Khan who has been the ruler of Hunza since 1945.

175 643 669 Here is a quotation from the Mir's grandfather's book in which he tells about the blood-curdling exploits of his brother, Sfdar Ali, whom he succeeded:

"He thereupon had Taighoon, Nematulla and Misiab killed, Sakhawat Shah and Jahandar Shah rolled down a precipice below Ghulkin, their mother put to death and arranged for the murder of Salam Khan in Shimshal."

However, he spared the life of his brother, Nazim Khan and then he wrote to the Maharajah of Kashmir to announce his ascension to the throne in the following descriptive terms:

"By the will of Allah and a decree of fate, my late father and I recently fell out. I took the initiative and settled the matter, and have placed myself on the throne of my ancestors."

This bloodthirsty Mir virtually got away with mass murder and felt that he was cock of the walk and could afford to defy any power.

175 648 From my reading of the Mir's grandfather's autobiography, from studies made from the earlier books written about Hunza and from my observations and discussions on the spot, I have evolved a personal kind of understanding concerning the situation that prevails in Hunza today.

[771] The Mir of Hunza, as well as the other rulers of the principalities in that area, such as Nagir, Punial, Yasin, Baltistan and others, are all Mohammedan and, from what I can gather, they supported or were willing participants in the revolt which tied them together with the central government in Pakistan. This government, bear in mind, is strictly Mohammedan and partition

from India was on this religious basis. 175 648

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward. 175 648 439 [487]

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice. [262]

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.) 175 648 [177] [643] [423] [233]

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

As that entire 200 miles from the Chinese border to Nomal is composed chiefly of this type of terrain, unless a caravan had a guarantee of safe conduct, they just couldn't get through. 175 648 [487]

The Mir was the ruler of Hunza and he held full and complete control over his tribesmen. So what could be more natural and understandable than an annual payment of tribute to the Mir for safe conduct? I know for a fact that right up until the time when the Chinese Communists took over the Singkiang District, the Mir still received a share of the cargo carried by the caravans traveling through Hunza. [643] [487]

Therefore it is my conclusion that the ways, the habits and the mode of life of the people of Hunza were patterned more after the Chinese than the Indians. Further, I suspect that they did a lot more trading with the caravans that came through regularly than they ever did at Gilgit. In one instance the caravans came to them and in the other case they had to go down to Gilgit . . . anywhere from 40 to 200 or so miles away, through the tough mountain roads. 175 648 439 [177]

It was in November 1947, when Pakistan seized part of Kashmir from India by an armed revolt. The circumstances that brought about this event are worth recording and I believe you will have greater understanding of the people of Hunza and Pakistan if you know the story. 175 648

The Pakistanis claim that the Province of Kashmir should belong to Pakistan because the Indian government had agreed to allow all the predominantly Moslem districts to secede and become a part of the newly formed country of Pakistan. Therefore, Kashmir which is more than 90 per cent Moslem should be a part of the Mohammedan nation. Eventually, when partition took place, Kashmir was not permitted out of the fold

114 585 "I said it as a joke," replied the Mir. "I had no knowledge that it would be so widely publicized and written and taken as a fact. I did not mean to mislead the writers you mentioned."

"Then it is not true!"

"No," replied the Mir, "I meant it only as a joke!"

●643 115 522 There was no doubt in my mind that the Mir had a keen sense of humor. In fact, through all my talks and discussions with the Mir which were frequent, there was seldom a time when he would pass by an opportunity for a bit of witticism or to laugh and have a bit of fun. He was just about as pleasant a man as could be found anywhere. He was not only a great ruler but he had a sense of humor. It was too bad that the writers referred to took him seriously. Maybe it was one of their bad days.

249 "Do you grow poppies here?" I asked the Mir bluntly and more or less out of the clear blue sky. I put this question to the Mir for a most definite reason.

On a few occasions I saw what I believed to be a field of flowers waving in the distance. But I wasn't sure. Invariably these patches of color were a mile or many miles away. I wondered what they were but I never could get close enough to see them. They were always sighted at great distance from where the road lay.

[123] You might ask why I didn't definitely, once and for all, set out across the field and find out. But remember, when you're in a more or less strange unusual territory, you just don't go off across the fields into someone else's private property.

All told, I doubt if I saw more than half a dozen of these patches of color during the full length of my travels. There might have been many more but I certainly didn't see them and I have an idea that if they

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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CHAPTER 33

The Mir's Summer Cottage

ALTIT FORT has quite a history. I believe it to be the most historic and most important edifice in all of Hunza. Records that have been handed down would indicate that the fort was about 700 years old and it was erected like a perch, right on a sharp bank of the Hunza River, on what was originally a sharp gigantic precipice. 344 644 712

It may be smaller and perhaps simpler in construction than the larger fort at Baltit, but I thought it was big enough after I walked all around it and went in and out of all its chambers. Then, too, it is much larger now than it was in those days because the present Mir had a new wing erected so that when he holds court and carries out the seed-sowing ceremony, there will be plenty of room for his family, guests and visitors. [643]

I gained the impression that it was a tight little fortress—well built from blocks of rock, expertly

344
644 wedged together to form a formidable protection
712 against invaders of their day.

796 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the
241 Burushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festi-
643 val, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like to emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed
[789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

648 ous, the Russians have infiltrated Afghanistan. Therefore, Hunza is now completely hemmed in by what I would call the bamboo, the iron and the stone curtains.

I can't visualize where the Mir has too much to fear from Communist aggression. From what I have seen and learned, the Communists like their spots plush, soft and succulent. None of these conditions exist in Hunza!

The Communists like locations where they can eventually, if not immediately, take out more than they put in. That would never take place in Hunza. Then, too, people who have chosen to live on the north bank of the Hunza River would not be easily shackled or enslaved. Admittedly, the Mir is an absolute monarch but there are no signs of that type of rule in evidence anywhere in Hunza. There's a parallel in England. While England has a queen, a monarch whom the people respect and revere, whom they would follow in life and in death, the monarch would never make demands on her people.

[643]

I do not believe there is a more democratic nation on the face of the globe than Great Britain . . . and that includes the United States or other republics. I believe the same situation holds true in Hunza.

Another point to be considered by possible invaders is . . . What would they gain besides possible armed conflicts with Pakistan and perhaps India?

[353] No, I would suggest that Hunza is comparatively safe from communist aggression and the Mir can afford to have the communist propaganda pictures on the walls of his summer bungalow in Altit as a gesture of friendship.

247 The yard or garden around the bungalow[1] was aglow
177 with flowers of every description and hue imaginable.

1 [ie. of the Mir - ANALYST]

They were obviously of American or European origin . . . probably grown from seeds that someone had sent him. Plants like zinnias, snapdragons and asters were readily recognizable. 247 177

Then, I was very much surprised to see in front of the bungalow, of all things, a swimming pool . . . and the youth of the district were swimming and enjoying themselves to the fullest possible extent. They were shouting, laughing, splashing and cavorting about just as you would expect boys and girls to do in any swimming pool in America. They displayed the same reckless abandon, glee and happiness that our children do. 529 643 [644]

At this time I thought to myself that here was another mark of the Mir's bigness. He was allowing the children of the town to make full use of his personal family swimming pool. This was quite different from what most people expect of eastern potentates.

I'm not sure that this little incident impresses you but I assure you I was quite impressed by it. It added to my conviction that the people of Hunza were really free and democratic.

A little way off were our yaks and their guides. "Let's go," I said to Jahangir and Sultan Ali, making straight for the yaks. "The Mir and Cec will be waiting for us, so I guess we'd best be off." 000

I selected the larger of the two yaks because I'm quite a bit heavier, or almost twice as heavy as Jahangir. I was assisted on to the yak's back and the yak didn't seem to be too happy about it! For the first time since I'd been riding, which wasn't very long, I felt really comfortable. The well-padded broad back of the animal was delightful to sit on and, best of all, he had a western style saddle. I'm always afraid of falling off a horse with those English saddles because I've got nothing to hold on to except the reins and for my kind of 492

whom I recognized as being a typical Hunzan. But the 115
old fellow who caught my attention did so because he was so strange looking. He was slightly stooped, short of stature, looked very old, had a firm yet halting walk and a beard of bright henna red and wore a long brown coat that touched his boots. It didn't require intuition or even a keen mind to recognize that this man was not ordinary in any sense of the word and I remarked to Sultan Ali that this was someone with whom I would like to converse—by means of an interpreter, or course.

We headed the yaks over so we'd be directly in front of the two as they passed by, and Sultan Ali spoke to them. Then he turned to me with a smile and said, "You are quite right, there *is* something most unusual [165] about this man. He says he's 105 years old today—it's [643] his birthday—and he's come to pay his respects to the Mir."

I allowed myself to slide down off the beast's back as I asked Sultan Ali to introduce me to the fine old fellow and we shook hands. He said, "Salaam aleikum!" and I, too, said, "Salaam aleikum!"

I was really very happy and felt privileged to meet a grand old man like this!

I appraised him from head to foot, scrutinized every part of him—up, down, to the right, to the left—and I smiled as best I knew so as not to offend the fine old fellow. He was indeed a patriarchal old man, but he still looked in mighty fine fettle; he'd come from a little farm a few miles away, on foot!

The old man's name was Dado and he lived in Hasanabad. He has one son, two grandsons, three granddaughters and fifteen great-grandchildren. Dado [165] has 10 close friends, all of whom are more than 95 years of age. Membership in that exalted group is hard to come by . . . a most restricted organization.

Among people—yes, even experienced old-time gardeners and orchardists—there are many who believe that pollination by bees is required in all cases to set a crop of fruit. For many types of fruit and plants, this holds true; pollination by bees or other insects is essential. But in the case of the apricot and many others, wind pollination is the means that nature employs, and actually it is safer and surer than pollination by insects. Rain is also an effective pollinator, contrary to many people's conception and belief. I believe I would be safe in stating that wind pollination is the means of fertilizing more plants than can be claimed for bees and other insects combined. 245

All Hunzans own their own land and house. They pay no rent or taxes. Each citizen does his share of road building, taking care of the water channels and maintenance. The Mir leases his land to various individuals, most of them young people who as yet own no land of their own, or those who have insufficient for their needs. They pay him by means of services rendered and shares of the crops. 423 651 [653] 427 643

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During the past few years a bit of money has come 436
into Hunza. At the time I was there, there were four 177
expeditions doing mountain and glacier climbing—as 464
well as investigations and research, not in Hunza, but in the vicinity. There were groups from Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland and Germany. In each and every case these expeditions would require bearers, guides, horses and pack animals. These would be recruited from among the Nagirwals and Hunzans and they would be paid in Pakistan rupees. I wish to emphasize that this has only taken place during the past few years. Prior to this period expeditions in this area were extremely rare.

While today money does make its appearance, it is 436
still comparatively scarce. The Mir believes that the 177
coming of money, modernization, and civilization as 643
we know it will only harm his people and he seeks to prevent this, if possible. It is my sincere and humble conviction that the Mir is honest and thinking of his people in his endeavors.

"There is no doubt that the people of Hunza know 461
and enjoy the true thrill of leisure." When I mentioned this to my staff, I was quickly brought to bay by one of my more astute employees who said, "How can that be when they are occupied from dawn till dusk?"

I was caught off balance and I had to reflect a moment and when I reflected, the picture was clear to me. Would a man who has never worked understand what is meant by a holiday? Would the average individual who spends his working days sitting at a desk checking figures, making phone calls and chatting with visitors, understand what leisure is? I contend that in order to know the true joy of leisure one must work and the harder one works, the greater is the enjoyment found in utter relaxation.

Can a man know leisure when after his day's work is

533 important part of the proceedings.

533 They have their big feast day just before harvest
535 time and it takes place in the month of Ramadan. At
527 this festival, the musicians set things in motion by starting very early in the morning, and the entire band joins in the sound and the fury. This is followed by dancing and they dance continually, though the same tune is being played over and over and over again in utter monotony. The musicians sit on the floor and make music without pausing, while the dancing goes on in the same way. There are no intermissions or stops.

[643] At this feast the Mir sits on a raised platform in full
[292] regalia. He wears a hat made of Persian lamb, the type of hat you've seen policemen wear in the cold climates in the wintertime.

562 The men invariably dance with their faces turned
[535] towards the Mir. No, the women do not dance, strange to relate. They are merely onlookers. They take no part in any of the social functions or in sport or entertainment. Such Hunzan activities are marked by the distinct absence of women. The Mohammedan religion does not allow women to take part in the social life of the community. This, as far as I can ascertain, has no counterpart in any other religion on earth.

Further, women have no rights or privileges.

After learning of these restrictions by the Mohammedan faith, I felt that there would be no mass migration on the part of the women of the West to Hunza.

535 The harvest dance is very similar to what might be
292 termed a victory dance or a great celebration. The most colorful and interesting dances are the sword dances. The men wear gaily colored costumes that are really very attractive. Their costumes are densely figured and brocaded and the heavy Chinese silks are used as the material. The swords and shields are handmade.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960.AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

hardy, mountaineering people. 526

Some authorities would have us believe that polo as a game had its origin in Tibet, which you can readily see is only a short hop from Hunza. Actually it is right on the border of what was properly old Tibet, but which the Chinese prefer to call Sinkiang. It is also known as Chinese Turkestan. 526 177

The word polo is actually a Tibetan word describing or meaning "root of the willow tree," for it was from the dried stumps of the willow tree that polo balls were originally made. The willow wood, from my intimate knowledge of the tree and the wood, would give quite a bit of bounce if made into a ball and that is exactly what was required.

From the best sources that I am able to dig into and locate, it seems that the modern game of polo as we know it throughout the West, originated in Persia. From there it found its way into Turkey and then it was adopted in India, Tibet, China and Japan. In 1869 the British saw it played in the Turkestan-Hunza regions and began to play it in India, where it became the favorite sport of the British army officers. That was well over 100 years ago. In 1869 it was also introduced into England where it caught on very quickly. Then it made its entrance into the United States in 1876.

Here is a strange fact. While many of the characteristics of the game have changed, the selfsame old willow ball is still used and one of the men still gallops down the center of the polo field and strikes the ball off into play. In the Western world it is the umpire who does this. In Hunza, it's still the Mir or some other distinguished personality. [643]

If any of you have had the opportunity of seeing a polo game in action—that is, Western polo—you might even then get the impression that it is a rough, some-

they play from the time the game starts until it finishes. 526
I don't know who would be more tired . . . the musi- [533]
cians, the polo players or the excited, active, shouting spectators.

I paced off the field and counted 90 good paces [367]
long and 40 wide. This would make it approximately 270 x 120 feet. This is quite a bit smaller in size than the modern polo field which is 300 x 200 feet, and would tend to make the Hunzan sport more hazardous and nerve-racking.

Instead of goal posts they use two large white stones at either end.

The game was started into action by the Mir, in [643]
this case, who started off at the further end at a gallop. As he reached the center, he threw the ball high into the air and as it came down he clobbered it and the game—or the mad scramble—was on!

There are 6 players on each team and as the ball is pummeled from one place to another, the screams of the spectators and the players are more frenzied than those heard at a baseball game.

There are no rules—except that the team who scores 9 goals first is the winner, and the game doesn't stop until one of the teams has scored 9 goals. They don't have rest periods; they don't change horses or men; there are no penalties and no fouls. So you can just imagine the carryings-on.

If the ball is struck or bounces off the wall and is caught by one of the players, this permits him to ride through the goal posts and deposit the ball and score a goal . . . if the opposition will let him! Any means can be and usually are undertaken to prevent him from reaching the goal to which he is entitled to proceed. If they're bold enough and strong enough, they can even pull him from his mount.

human being take to a task so assiduously and with so 114
much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even if they are printed in German.

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it 104
is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last 197
syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I found every other source, with one exception besides myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better if I, too, used the "aski".

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains un- 671
written, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding.

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza 648
was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowledged sovereignty to India.

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly 643
has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I 175
know this power has never been used or abused by the [642]
present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office.

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
648 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

205 Pakistani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters that I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

exception of the doctor or visitors. There was a letter 205
from my office awaiting me when I reached the Mir's palace. The Mir told me about it right after our first greeting. He was understanding enough to realize I would be happy to hear from home.

I guess many of the things about Hunza wouldn't 642
allow the country to come under the heading of a democracy, but from what I saw of life and living in Hunza, I assure you it is more of a democracy than any other democracy in existence today.

Hunza has no policemen, no soldiers, no bureau- 692
cracy, no customs officers or immigration officers. They 643
do have the Mir who is the ruler and true head of the [647]
state and the Mir appoints the Wazir who is his right [693]
hand man and acts as judge.

All major squabbles and disputes are handled by the Mir. He holds court regularly and makes the decisions and his word is law and cannot be challenged or contested by anyone. Minor cases are looked after and into and tried by the Wazir.

Hunza does not have a jail. There is no lockup 697
whatsoever. If and when a crime is committed, the 681
criminal or culprit is banished to a place called Shimshal. At Shimshal the criminal or guilty person is not confined or jailed. He just has to live in that rugged place, where living is grim. The altitude is somewhere [133]
around 12,000 or 13,000 feet, and eking an existence out of the land there is most difficult and precarious. Actually the form of punishment is a sort of ostracism.

Evidently the threat of being sentenced to live in 674
Shimshal is a great deterrent, because few crimes are committed. There have only been two instances in the last ten years where serious crimes have occurred. In [689]
one instance it was a youth who had posted indecent signs on trees and other places. He was hailed before

681 which people were exiled and as officers were continually asking me what sort of place it was, I determined to go there and see for myself. The track there
491 was very bad indeed and in two places there were goat hair bridges which were very unpleasant to cross. A ring of wood was used and the traveler was drawn from one bank to the other and if he wore a beard most of the hairs were dragged out on the way. . . .

643 "My father[1] had six wives, three of which were of the
595 ruling classes and three from the Zemindaris. All however, were married to him according to the law and so he left behind no bastards."

276 The Mir told me that of late some of the young boys
177 have taken to smoking cigarettes. This they have picked up and learned from the Hunzan men who have been serving in the Pakistani army. Cigarettes can be pur-
685 chased in the shop in Baltit and a few occasions of
276 petty theft have been encountered. In each case it
[443] seems that they stole in order to get money to buy cigarettes. These few petty crimes of course did not
[681] involve ostracism to Shimshal. It is expected that this condition will continue or even become aggravated as the youth of Hunza become more familiar and acquainted with smoking. Some of the men in Hunza smoke the "hookah" which we know as the water-pipe.

249 Some forms and varieties of tobacco have been tried
123 in Hunza. I promised to send the Mir seeds of the various types of tobacco that we grow in America, such as Virginia, Burley and Quesnel. Perhaps if they can learn to grow tobacco, it will enable the youth to get their hands on some tobacco and satisfy their craving for it without resorting to other ways and means. However, they would have to get paper from somewhere for none is made or improvised in Hunza.

674 It is obvious from what I have seen, that crime and

[1] [ie - the father of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan - ANALYST]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

misdemeanors on the scale that we know them in the Western world are practically unknown in Hunza. That being the case, it behooves us to investigate and study family life in Hunza, for juvenile delinquency is becoming a very serious and ever broadening problem in America. 674

I saw samples of Hunzan justice. Its simplicity made me weep . . . when I recalled our procrastinating, shackled, unwieldy, judicial system. In the Western world civil cases take months and even years to be heard in court before a judge. In Hunza there are so few cases of wrongdoings, or even individual or family problems, that a hearing can be arranged almost immediately. 692

Petty squabbles or differences between husband and wife or even other disputes can be brought before the Wazir or before the Mir in private. When something more serious is at stake, the grieved party or parties bring their case to the "morning durbar," which is held regularly in the courtyard surrounded by the beautiful gardens at the entrance to the Mir's palace. At the time I was at Baltit many workmen were busily engaged in erecting a large stone enclosure or balcony where the "durbars" will be held, allowing more room for spectators and greater comfort for the counsel. [344] [644]

During the proceedings the Mir sits comfortably ensconced on a square-shaped wooden divan, luxuriantly smothered in rugs, fancy cushions and tapestries. There is none of the strict court procedure or dourness and frigidity known to our Western judiciary system. Here one feels that he is talking to a friend—a fellow citizen—or at least, an acquaintance. [352] [643]

Perhaps we have carried our ideas of justice, freedom and democracy a bit too far. In order that everyone may be afforded justice and fair treatment at the hands

000 of his fellow man and see that it is fairly and impartially carried out, we have made it too complicated. Is there any justifiable reason why it should take months or even years for a civil case to be heard in court? If there are not sufficient judges, I'm sure it would not be difficult to appoint or elect more of them. If there are not enough court rooms and court houses, I feel confident that, with American construction at its high peak of efficiency, it wouldn't take long to correct that.

692 643 Then why isn't it done? I don't know the answer. Do you? The Hunzan system of justice seems to be functioning in a most satisfactory manner. Anyone may petition the Mir and unless he is away, can get an almost immediate hearing. If the Mir is not available or if the problem is not a weighty one, then the Wazir can attend to it.

In truth, justice can be simple!

* * * * *

486 122 In order to get into Hunza you must obtain a permit from the Pakistani authorities in the capital, which is Karachi, but I understand the government is being moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi or a new site close to it. I still think it is more important to have the Mir's invitation, because even though you could get into Hunza, you would be practically helpless without the Mir's assistance and cooperation.

[124] Unless you brought a guide with you and one who could speak English and translate for you, you'd find the going very, very difficult in either Nagir or Hunza. Therefore I would suggest that if you contemplate a visit into this area, you obtain the Mir's invitation or permission first. Then go after the Pakistani government's permit.

648 131 Why the Pakistan government regards Hunza as a strategic region or area is not hard to understand if

123 huge fine quality products that I was told they were. I
241 admit here further that I was in Hunza in July and the
177 later, perhaps the better, varieties were not available or ripe yet. But upon questioning the various people, there was no information given to me that indicated the later maturing kinds were superior to the earlier ones.

So as in vegetables and grains, their fruit could be greatly improved by adopting some of the Western varieties. This could easily be done by having budwood sent to them and they in turn would graft this budwood onto their young stock.

I have made arrangements with the Mir of Hunza and the P.A. at Gilgit to supply them with this required grafting wood at the proper time, and it will be duly sent to them, so that in the future they may have some of the benefit of the West's hybridization and research program. I took along with me a few of the best budding knives that I could procure and I left two with the P.A. at Gilgit and the others with the Mir of Hunza and I explained their use.

245 In talking with the Mir about the planting of new varieties and improved strains, he claimed that his people did graft and seek new varieties and strains, but from the little time I had to inspect things, I did not see any young trees or any great number of grafts that would indicate this being a widely practiced policy. I found nothing resembling a nursery in Hunza or Nagir, but there was a small, unimpressive nursery run by the Pakistani government in Gilgit. Maybe this is the forerunner of bigger and better things to come.

241 There appears to be no central source of seed supply in Hunza. It seems that each farmer saves seeds for next year's crops or barters with his neighbor. In some
[643] years, when, because of any one of many conditions

that may exist or be created in an agricultural community, no seed is available, the Mir has been known to procure supplies from neighboring states and supply his people with sufficient planting stock. 241 643

While through the entire East cow dung and yak dung are used for fuel, in Hunza this is positively not true. The Hunzans are too intelligent to use the mainstay of their lives for fuel. Once it is burned it is gone; but if it is put back into the land, it is there to produce crops for another year. They show their intelligence, if proof of their intelligence is needed, by this one sound principle of self-survival in their means of agriculture. 241 372

However, in the more northerly sections of Hunza, closer to the Chinese border, they do use yak dung for fires because of the almost total lack of wood or other types of fuel. They just have to keep themselves warm during the winter.

Here is a list of the vegetables grown in Hunza—potatoes, turnips, carrots, beans, peas, lettuce, pumpkins, tomatoes, melons, watermelons, radishes, onions, cabbage, spinach, cauliflower. 244

In fruits there are mulberries, apricots, apples, pears, peaches, grapes, walnuts, almonds, a few plums and some cherries. 245

Grapes are grown fairly extensively because they can plant them against most any wall, as long as they have a bit of soil in which to gain a foothold for their roots. From these grapes they make their Hunzan wine. [273]

They grow a few strawberries, but I could find no currants, gooseberries, raspberries—nor did they know what raspberries were.

The grains grown in Hunza, starting from the most important, are wheat, barley, rye, millet, buckwheat and a small quantity of rice. Some alfalfa is grown as a forage crop. 243 246

•643 Here I will quote from *The Autobiography of Sir*
771 *Mohomed Nazim Khan,* K.C.I.E. (Mir of Hunza from
798 1892-1938 and grandfather of the present Mir):
[127] "The people of Hunza were originally idolators and they became Shias when intermarriage with the ruling family of Baltistan was arranged and later, when my great grandfather Shah Salam Khan was on the throne, most of the country became Maulai. In Ganesh and Hinni, there are still a few Shias and two Sunnis. When I became Mir I declared to the people that they could adopt what religion they would, which annoyed my advisers who said that a country with many religions was bound to fall. I said that religion had nothing to do with ruling and have proved myself right in that there has been no religious strife in the country since that time."

788 Maybe the Hunzan farmer mumbles his prayers while he is working, but he seemingly doesn't appear to stop from his efforts on behalf of his farm.

000 From my actual experiences in seeing and viewing religions throughout the world, I am of the opinion that, where religion demands too much of a man's time, his industry suffers and this affects his standard of living. It is a possibility that pious, religious people throughout the world will take exception to this but, nevertheless, I am stating this as my own opinion, based on my findings and observations, and that's all it is. If anyone wants to debate the point with me, I'd be happy to provide the time and the opportunity.

The Hunzans are not fanatics and therefore they can devote more time to their labors than those who spend their time praying and resting, because of religious holidays and observances.

852 Being Mohammedans, circumcision is practiced on
304 all male children. Normally this operation is performed

586 The Hunzan law says that in such cases a child must remain with the mother until it is at least 10 years of age. Of course the child can remain with the mother after that period, too, but the father does not have to pay for its keep after that. Divorce is granted to a man only on the grounds of adultery.

Under Hunzan law a woman cannot get a divorce due to any action on the part of her husband. However, on some occasions where there has been extreme [643] provocation or other clear logical reasons, and the woman brings her justifiable complaint for divorce before the Mir in person, and if the Mir believes her case merits divorce or separation from the man, he will ask or demand of the man that he divorce his wife.

If the wife decides or wants to leave her husband's bed and board of her own free will, the husband does not have to pay for her keep. She will not receive sustenance from him, but he does have to supply her with clothing twice a year.

587 In the event of the death of his wife, the husband is required to wait two months and seven days before he can remarry. However, with the woman, in the event of the death of her husband, she must wait three months and ten days before she can remarry.

586 683 The Mir gave me an example of a divorce case where a certain man had the insidious habit of beating his wife. It seemed he would administer a sound thrashing at the slightest, or even without provocation, until the girl's parents and friends began to fear for her life. In this instance the wife-beater was notified quite clearly and distinctly that it would be in the best interests of all concerned if he gave his wife a divorce.

586 I don't know in what light they regarded this, but now that they knew the man was an avowed wife-beater, if any other woman took the risk of marrying

123 smellier than limburger cheese. But so help me, dirt, stink and all, he was a likeable fellow. If only we could have ducked him in the water and got a scrubbing brush and some soap, I probably would have enjoyed his company.

Somewhere near the next village he left us. He was almost in tears at the thought of parting. I had a quarter rupee silver coin in my pocket and gave it to him. He didn't want it but he thanked me at least 200 times for it. I'm sure he would have given me his lousy old shirt if I would have accepted it. As it was, he waved us good-bye with tears in his eyes.

643 628 The Mir of Hunza and the Mir of Nagir are on friendly terms, but I don't for a moment imagine that they are bosom companions. Yet the Mir of Hunza's wife, the Rani, is a Nagirwal. Her uncle is the present [582] Mir of Nagir. In fact, through the centuries, while the people of both these states were at loggerheads with each other, the ruling class intermarried and were always on amicable terms . . . and so it continues.

I will quote here again from *The Autobiography of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E*: "From time to time we have tried to have relations with Nagir that were friendly but they have never lasted, although there have been marriages between the ruling families of both countries. My father and Zafar Khan, Mir of Nagir used occasionally to meet and I remember well the formality of these occasions. Each would come with a large number of followers and would halt on his side of the river. On one occasion Uzar Khan came over to Hunza and there was a great feasting; on another the Mir came and I and some other people from Hunza had to go over to the Nagir bank of the river and remain there as hostages until the Mir returned."

000 The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Nagir

The Hunzans do not only show their superiority over the Nagirwals, but over others as well. The P.A. at Gilgit, in a discussion that I had with him, admitted that when the Hunzans moved down the valley to the Gilgit area, they showed their heritage by surpassing anyone else in the district when it came to working their lands and producing their crops. They worked harder, they worked longer, they worked better. They used their experience and intelligence to greater advantage, with the net result that they were soon buying more and better land. 157

So far only a few of the Hunzans have come down to Gilgit, but the native Gilgiti farmers are already showing their resentment. Obviously they find it difficult to compete with the Hunzans on an equal basis. [167]

I compared the Hunzans with the Scotch people and I think the comparison has many realistic qualities. Both peoples live in a more or less barren, hilly, rocky, rough country. Both peoples have learned the value of being frugal and thrifty. They waste naught and want naught. They are chiefly outdoorsmen. They are strongly nationalistic. Then, too, they are physically independent and have little or no fear of anyone. 181

When I was talking to the P.A. I called the Hunzans "the Scotsmen of the East" . . . and I trust the Scotsmen won't be offended. In fact, they should be flattered.

Where I think the people of Hunza gain most of their superiority is in leadership. From the little research and reading I have done on the subject, it appears that for many long years the Hunzans have had good capable leaders—really strong men who ruled their people with a firm hand. 643

In reading the autobiography of the Mir's grandfather, one quickly sees that he was not only a man of action but one of ability, foresight and reason.

Now I did not meet the Mir of Nagir. Although I [123]

•643 wrote to him and asked if I could come and visit him,
123 he did not reply to my letter. No, I'm not annoyed nor am I saying anything unfavorable about the Mir because he didn't answer my letter, but I would have liked to meet him so that I could speak more authoritatively about the many unfavorable statements made about him and his people.

However, I spoke to many people who knew the Mir of Nagir personally. I passed right by his official residence both on the way up and on the trail back. It was pointed out to me and I stopped and looked it over.

643 Whereas the Mir of Hunza is respected—not only in Nagir and Hunza and the entire surrounding country, but in most nations throughout the world—the Mir of Nagir is more or less unknown and does not even have any great amount of social intercourse with his own people.

Whenever I met a Hunzan on the road and spoke to him about the Mir of Hunza and the Mir of Nagir, he would hold himself erect and say through our interpreter something like this, "Our Mir is loved and respected by his people and everyone else. His name and fame have spread throughout the world. The Mir of Nagir, nobody knows of or likes him!" If this was said to me only once or twice, I would pay little or no attention, but a similar vein of thought and expression was portrayed on many occasions.

643 I think further that the Mir of Hunza has given a
186 high standard and caliber of leadership to his people. It was apparent wherever I went. He made his people believe and feel that they were good people, that they were equal to the best people of the world and that they were cleaner, stronger, healthier and more intelligent than others, and he was not telling them anything but the truth! The Hunzans hold their heads high.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
Naqir

Therefore, it is my belief, one of the reasons for the Hunzan high standing throughout the world is due to the excellent quality of leadership that they have enjoyed for many years, and is being continued by the present Mir and his staff and family. 643

I don't want anyone to run off with the idea that everything I saw about the Hunzans impressed me or that I thought they were exceptional in every way, because that definitely is not true. I did then and I do today admire the people of Hunza for all the splendid qualities that make them outstanding people. Anyone who could live in the harsh, tough, back-breaking terrain of Hunza must be made of stern fiber. Yet they have their foibles and weaknesses as well. 123 114

You see there are no immigration rules or laws to stop them from going anywhere in that area . . . at least, there weren't until recently. They could have gone to China, India, Afghanistan, Russia, Pakistan or anywhere else where the pickings might have been easier. But their love of freedom and intelligence that told them they were better off than most people in the world, even though financially poorer, kept them on the mountain slopes that are the banks of the Hunza. 486

No book on Hunza would be complete to even a small degree, unless some mention was made of the fact that it was not always known as Hunza. In fact, back before the turn of the twentieth century, Hunza was known as Kanjut and the people as the Kanjuts. 101

From records that I have located, I learned that, when the rulers of Shignam came to Hunza, they called the valley Kanjut. That name remained until the time of the Girkis and they called the country Hunza, because all of the people were united like the arrows in a quiver. In the Burushaski language Hunza means "arrow."

I didn't see any water buffalo in Hunza itself, but they are to be found in the Gilgit area and therefore I suspect they are to be found, if not in the principality of Hunza, at least in close proximity. Well, if you find water buffalo, then there is sure to be the Mana or Lali bird. It's a medium sized bird that is very much like our cow bird. He perches right on the back of the water buffalo and works away like a woodpecker, picking out the insects that infest the water buffalo's leathery hide. Thus, he prevents serious injury and disease from spreading from the hide into the flesh of the animal. 136

This is just another one of the myriad of intricacies that follow in the paths of Mother Nature—how she seeks to balance things for the benefit of all. Here the bird finds a way and means of obtaining food and nourishment and the buffalo keeps healthy and everybody is happy!

Ibex are part and parcel of the Hunza scene. So are the ovis poli or mountain sheep which are actually quite scarce, but are found if one goes high enough into the mountains. The Hunzans call the ibex "markhors." I learned that "markhor" means "eater of snakes," for the ibex, which are actually goats, are known to the people of Hunza for this habit. This also indicates that snakes are found in Hunza. As a matter of fact, every now and then one hears or comes across a snake on the trail. When this happens on a narrow trail high up on a ledge and your horse rears on his hind legs, pawing with his fore . . . 'tis not conducive to a long and boring life! [825]

The Mir of Hunza is quite a hunter. He enjoys shooting and is a true sportsman. My friend, the P.A. at Gilgit, is also an ardent sportsman. Between them, they told me that they had bagged, at one time or another, crows, vultures, golden eagles, geese and ducks, pheasants (two kinds), chicoris (which are their partridge), 224 [643] 136

682 past 40 years. Never to my knowledge has a stranger
[609] or a visitor ever been harmed or injured.

175 In bygone days the Hunzans were considered good
648 fighting men and were feared by the Chinese, the Afghans and neighboring tribes. It is a fact that they have only been conquered or beaten once in their history and that was by a British force that defeated them at the Battle of Nilt. The British did not seek to conquer the country. It was at the time when the British were the rulers of India. They requested that the Mir of Hunza allow free passage of the mail to Kashgar in China. The Mir at that time, Safdar Ali, felt that he could count upon the aid of the Russians and the Chinese and challenged the British authority. Then the British force went into the field and it required deliberation and courage to assault the high fortress, but it was accomplished by the British and the
[643] Mir fled for his life. The British then appointed his brother as the ruler and departed peacefully. Apart from this, the British did not interfere in the affairs of the Hunzans.

123 *You lose face if you carry anything yourself or do any work.* In all my travels throughout the world, including Hunza, I always did my share of the carrying. I wasn't going to stand by and see one or two men burdened down with my belongings while I walked about empty handed. I will not allow it to be said that I lost face because of this.

I don't want it to be thought that I am better than anyone else nor will I allow them to think that they are better than I. Wherever there was work to be done or burdens to be borne, I always did my share and I intend to keep on doing it.

131 *Hunza in the Himalayas.* Some writers keep referring to Hunza, Gilgit and Rakaposhi as being in the

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.39-A]

Hunza in the Himalayas

Storied Shangri-La undergoes scrutiny

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TERRACED country, *left*, is ruled by the Mir, shown with village chiefs, *above*, at his palace at 8,000 foot altitude. Background peaks exceed 20,000 feet.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
[P.40-C] Hunza

648 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
643 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[65] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
643 are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
692 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
[645] which consists of the Mir, his heredi-
tary grand vizier, plus the Mir-ap-
pointed chiefs of all the villages within
[681] walking distance of the palace. How-
ever, since the loser usually pays a fine
to the Mir's treasury, and the winner
traditionally gives the court a present
equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
643 (literally "Grandfather King") is
spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

798 gious sect to which all Hunzas belong;
643 the Mir of Hunza is administrator, but not religious deputy, for the Ismailians of the Central Asian District.

114 THE notes about Bohar and his teeth were made after I had worked with the Hunza people for almost three years during two prolonged stays in the small kingdom. I was introduced to this part of Asia as a reconnaissance engineer on General Stilwell's staff, and returned twice be-
114 tween 1948 and 1951. My primary
123 purpose as Director of the Central Asiatic Research Foundation was to discover what resources were available to the Hunzas, and to teach them to use these to their own best advantage. From the start of my second visit I operated a general dispensary with

[Text continues on p. 41-A]

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The [273] grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

796 Tumushuling, the great winter cele-
585 bration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom. accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door. which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan [431] from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do [492] marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home. leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival. [643] The Mir gives a small gift, usually a [431] piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

585 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza
583 marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

186 for centuries persistent rivals, always at war with each other, but always ready to unite against a common invader, even when that invader had been called in by the one State in order to assist it in coercing the other.

721 131 The State of Hunza was the most important of the two, from the fact that its possession of the passes leading to the Pamirs, and to the valley of the Yarkand river, gave it the opportunity, in the picturesque Persian phrase, of "striking the road," and looting the caravans on their way between [567] Turkestan and India. The rulers of Hunza availed themselves of this commanding position freely; their [439] name was a terror to the merchant and to the gentle Kirghiz, and their success was such that certain roads were entirely abandoned by traders; tracts of country north of the passes were completely depopulated, and Hunza was the centre of the slave trade, the place to which the merchants of Badakshan regularly came to 643 replenish their stocks. The rulers of Hunza were 721 rich compared to those of Nagar, and secure in the fastnesses of their mountains they snapped their fingers at China and Kashmir, and with fine impartiality plundered caravans to the north and kid-241 napped slaves to the south. But brigands by profession as the people were, they appear to have acted always on the orders of their chief, and the admirable cultivation of their ground, the immense and persistent labour spent on their irrigation channels, and on the retaining walls of their terraced fields, 131 showed that they were worthy of better things. The country itself is some hundred miles in length: from Chalt to Hunza, a distance of about twenty-five miles

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

173 of Nagar, and the name is supposed to be the corruption of the Chinese word Tung, which forms part of many Chinese titles. The Thum was an absolute ruler, who killed or sold his subjects into slavery as it pleased him; but that the rule, though despotic, must have been tempered by common-sense is shown by the fact that the office of wazir, or minister, has gone down in unbroken succession from father to son for seven generations.

643 Safdar Ali, the Thum at the time of my visit, had murdered his father, Ghazan Khan, three years previously, and his character caused me some anxiety. He had, it is true, as had the Nagar chief, written to Government, and asked that a mission should be sent to him, but he bore an ill name for treachery, cruelty,
795 and weakness. In common with most of his subjects he belonged to the Maulai sect, the followers of which, though calling themselves Shiahs, were a bye-word on the frontier for their shameless violation of all the
[837] leading Mahomedan doctrines. The men drank wine freely; their morals were of the loosest; a man considered himself honoured if his wife attracted the Thum's attentions, and hospitality enjoined that he should offer her to his guest. Withal, they were
181 cheery, pleasant people to deal with, slight, wiry, and very active, first-rate mountaineers, and of untiring energy, a great contrast to the Shins of
721 Gilgit. With none of the bloodthirstiness of the Pathan they yet had a great reputation for bravery, and had more than once invaded and severely handled their Nagar neighbours, who were said never to have carried the war into their country.

000 The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the

4: Durani G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burusho AV7
643
291
142

RAJA UZR KHAN OF NAGAR.

[facing p. 142]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burushe AV 7

644 three doors are placed in the right angle turn of a
342 very narrow passage which only one man can use at a time, and the doorways are so low that a tall man has to bend almost double to pass through them. The object is to prevent a rush, and to make it impossible for a man to use his weapons as he passes through the last doorway. Similarly the ascent to the flat-topped roof of a man's house is jealously guarded, and he who considers himself in any danger never sleeps twice in the same part of his room, for the skylight gives an enemy a convenient point of vantage from which to shoot.

643 We found the Thum in a typical square room,
159 with an open skylight, and a sunk hearth in the floor, seated by a balconied window, from which there was an extensive view over his country. His beard was carefully dyed, and it was difficult to guess his age, but he was not an old man; drink and debauchery had reduced him to his present state, and paralysed him
644 from the waist down. We did not stop long, as the visit was merely one of ceremony, and the audience room was full of people, before whom business could not be discussed. Our uniforms were a source of much interest to our hosts, and of considerable discomfort to ourselves. Frock coats and spiked helmets, high boots and spurs, sword and sabretache, are not quite the thing for the grand staircases of the
[534] country. Later in the day Uzr Khan paid me a visit,
644 and we had to sit through an interminable dance pro-
535 gramme, which, as the orchestra consisted of six pairs of kettle-drums, six large drums beaten at both ends, and three pipes, was simply deafening. The dances were all very much the same—six or eight men

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

644 been melted down to find metal for it. The Thum of the day was so pleased at possessing it that he at once killed the maker, lest he should go to Nagar and make one there. The Wazir had instructions from his King to go on firing till further orders, but after twenty-three guns we thought they had had enough, and I sent a request that they would stop and let us proceed. We were met at the gate of the fort by Wazir Dadu, rather a pleasant-looking man of about forty-five.

[361] The approach to the fort through the village was much the same as at Nagar, but the road was broader. 643 As we passed over the great water channel which fertilises the Hunza oasis, and which at its débouchere from the parent ravine runs through a low tunnel, an ominous whisper informed me that this was the scene of the old Thum's murder by his rascally son, assisted by his present Wazir, Dadu. The old man was fired at from the roof of a house as he rode in from hawking. The first discharge was not fatal, and the men with the Thum begged him to take refuge for a moment in the irrigation tunnel while they raised help, which, by all accounts, was within an ace of coming, but the old Chief refused, saying, "It was no use; he had lived long enough, and his day was 661 come." His Wazir, Humayum, Dadu's elder brother, was away in Gujhal at the time, and the new Chief sent him an urgent letter, stamped with his father's seal, calling him to return at once to Hunza. But though the letter had been prepared beforehand, was sealed before the warmth was out of the old Chief's body, and was despatched by a trusted messenger, the plot failed. Warned by some friend, or distrusting

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

the wording of the letter, Humayum turned his horse's head, and rode for his life. He reached the passes in safety, and going by Wakhan, entered Chitral, and claimed the hospitality of the Mehtar. This was gladly accorded him, for he was a valuable man in case of trouble with Hunza, and he remained in Chitral, an honoured guest, until his turn came later. 661

Once inside the fort we had only two sets of stairs to ascend, and they were not so primitive as in Nagar, though they were equally defensible. We were received by the Thum at the top, and seated on an open platform overlooking the village and valley. Safdar Ali Khan was a delicate-looking young man of about twenty-two, with shifty Mongolian eyes, and a chestnut-coloured small peaked beard and moustache. The face was a delicate oval in shape, and weak in expression. He was looking decidedly ill, and considerably pulled down by fever. 643

The surroundings were richer than in Nagar. A guard of fifteen men armed with breechloaders, English and Russian, surrounded the Chief; the courtiers were better dressed, and good Central Asian carpets were spread on the ground. The Thum himself was handsomely dressed in silks, and wore a beautiful velvet belt of Chinese workmanship, with clasps and bosses of gold studded with torquoise and coral. We stayed but a short time, paying a purely ceremonial visit. On my return to camp I found that the four men of my guard had been prevented from coming upstairs, and that an attempt had been made at stopping my orderlies also. I accordingly at once sent up to the Wazir, and protested against this, saying that I con- 644 292 644

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

funked himself into a state of great nervousness 159
and a sort of nettle-rash five minutes after he had taken his first dose, which should not have taken effect for an hour. This sounded bad, for a rank coward is a dangerous man to deal with.

The views from our little camp by the polo ground were superb, especially in the afternoons; the great sugar-loaf peak of Dirran, just opposite, seemed to float and melt in the pale blue sky, and Rakapushi was glorious, with great dashes of sunlight at his base, and bands of clouds resting high up, the great peaks standing out above.

And now came the important interviews at 648
which business had to be discussed. The first one was quite satisfactory. I found the Thum in a small open room or court leading into the private apartments, and we sat down to discuss business. It was obvious that the Wazir was the important [643]
man, but also that the Thum, cowardly, shifty, [159]
and with a ridiculous idea of his own importance, must be reckoned with very carefully. Everything passed off well, and the Government conditions were readily assented to, the most important one at the moment being the promise of a free passage to Younghusband, who was to come to Gilgit in November from the Pamirs. Wazir Dadu amused 721
us very much when the question of raiding was raised. He made no attempt at denying that this was the custom of the country, and explained it by saying that Hunza was a poor state, and that necessarily its people looted. The evident enjoyment 000
with which he referred to former exploits, and the expressive grin which accompanied his explanations,

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

000 a *volte-face* on the part of the Chief, who was probably now cursing those who had counselled him to violence, and in whose fickle and unstable mind the advantages of being well with us were now in the 159 ascendant. My reply to his letter was very much to the point, and the result was a complete climb-down on the part of the Thum, abject apologies and profuse protestations of loyalty to the engagements lately taken. I attached the proper value to his vows, but left the country feeling that, at all events for that year, there would be no further trouble, and that Younghusband's safe passage was assured.

643 We all liked what we saw of the Hunza people; 661 they were cheery and pleasant and civil as we passed through their villages. The leaders were scoundrels. Dadu and his son had fired the first shots at the old Thum, while the contemptible young parricide who succeeded cowered in a room below them. The moment the old man was dead Safdar Ali entered the fort, seized the wife of one of his father's chief adherents, and murdered his three younger brothers. Two were strangled and cut to pieces, the third was taken to the edge of the cliff, on which the fort stands, and hurled over. He was a mere boy, and only asked that he might be thrown into the water, not on to the rocks; his prayers were unheeded. Safdar Ali's description of the circumstances attending his accession was contained in a letter to Government which ran somewhat as follows: "By the will of God my father and I fell out; he died suddenly, and I have 000 ascended the throne." The old Thum, with all his villainy, had been a man, and I found traces, even during my short visit to Hunza, of deep discontent

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AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

173 proud of the independence they have always maintained, and
186 they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago. The rulers are called *Thum*, and their families are descended from twin brothers, Moghlot and Gir-
174 kis, who lived about the end of the fifteenth century. General Cunningham makes the somewhat natural mistake of confounding Girkis with Kirghiz, and suggests that the former inhabitants of Hunza must have been Dards (?), who have since been displaced by the nomads of the Pamir. From this he goes on to argue that the rulers of Shigar must also be of Kirghiz blood; and following the same line of argument he states that the Astor district must once have belonged to the Tibetan race, because the ruling family are Makpons. He also mentions the Gilgitis as a race of Dardo-Tibetans, for which assumption there is no adequate foundation.[1]

643 I have been told by a Nepaulese gentleman that *Thum* is a Chinese title, meaning Governor, and that it is used in a reduplicated form *Thum Thum*, to signify a Governor General.[2] Its existence in these countries, where its origin has been completely lost sight of, is curious and must be extremely ancient.

The rulers of Nager, who are descended from the first-named of the two brothers, are called Moghloté, the present
161 Thum being Jaffer Zahid Khan. Though the smaller of the two states, Nager has the larger population, owing to the greater amount of cultivable ground which it contains.
134 The population is about 10,000 souls. The land where cultivable is extremely fertile and bears exceptionably heavy
135 crops, and the Nager streams are rich in gold. The country is especially famous for its apricots, which are dried and export-
439 ed to the Punjab in considerable quantities. Nearly opposite Hunza, the Myetsil River, a considerable stream, joins the
361 main river from the south-west. The fort of Nager and the Thum's house are on the southern side of this stream, about 3 miles from the junction, at an elevation of 8,000 feet
131 above the sea. Both sides of this valley belong to Nager, and it forms the eastern boundary of the state. At the head of it is the difficult and dangerous road over the Hispar Pass into the Shigar Valley, which is never used except in cases
000 of necessity. When Cashmere authority was temporarily

[1] Cunningham's *Ladakh*, pages 27, 38, 58, 295.

[2] It is perhaps a corruption of the word Tung, which appears in many titles. The Chinese Governor of Kashgharia is called Tsung Tung, and the officer who commands the troops is styled Tung-lung.

[See I. Cunningham, AJ4 West Tibetan file -- Analyst]

loose stone. It is amazing how they get these walls to stand 417
up, 6, 7, 10 feet high, without an ounce of mortar or mud. 333
At the bottom they put huge stones like portmanteaux, then smaller ones like bandboxes, then others the size of quartern loaves, till as you get towards the top they have come down to the size of penny buns. Each is carefully chosen to fit as neatly as possible into the space left by the last, and wherever there is a gap left they choose a small stone that will just fit and wedge it in tight. The walls are really a beautiful sight. These side ones they build partly because they want a boundary to their field, but much more, I think, because if you didn't pile the stones somewhere there would be no field at all. There are no gates. Wood is scarce and very precious and, besides, at different seasons and for different purposes you might want the gate now in one place, now in another. So when you want to get in, you just pull down as much of the wall as necessary and build it up again when your work is done.

Presently we came to a large garden with handsome walnut 644 ●
trees, its long wall broken by a wooden door now open. Hurmat told us that this was the semi-royal domain, where the Mir's first wife and what the German royalties would call his morganatic family were settled. Festivities were going on inside, and we were assured that anyone might enter. Fortified by this we went in and were made welcome by two semi-royal grandsons, one a lad of seventeen or eighteen and one a jolly little boy of perhaps ten, who were sitting on a carpet spread on a raised piece of ground below some trees. Our hosts made us immediately at home, and a chair was fetched for me.

There was a little grass under the trees, and just inside the wall an open earthen space like a bit of a school playground. The band was sitting against the wall, while men and boys were dancing and a largish audience was clapping and hurrahing at intervals. Baskets and dishes of ripe apricots were lying about everywhere, and everyone helped himself as inclined. Fruit was brought for us and the merry-making went on as before. It was delightfully gay and informal and our young hosts did not allow us to feel out of things. We took care not to stay too ooo

incarnate deity) conquered Hai Hai Yúl (= Hunza) he took 113
to wife the Princess Búbuli. He had not been long in the 773
country till he saw in a dream Tibet invaded and his earlier queen carried into captivity, so he determined to return and deal with his enemies. Even in the Tibetan versions of the Gesar Saga it is difficult to avoid thinking him an ugly type of hero, a still more unpleasant manifestation of the divine, and the absolute limit in undesirable husbands. Princess Búbuli asked when she might look for his return: "I'll go to-morrow and return yesterday"; he said, "when donkeys grow horns, when millstones grow beards, when the river flows uphill, I shall come back." Lest she should get into trouble during this brief grass-widowhood he seated her on this granite spike with a 200-lb. bag of millet-seed and a cock: "Give him one grain a year, and when the grain is done, I shall return." And there the luckless princess sits, and you can hear her wailing in the winter storm.

The road commands a fine view of the junction of the 133
Nagir with the Hunza River, and the rugged, savage valley 491
which leads to the Nagir capital, tucked away out of sight amongst its sunless mountains near the great Hispar glacier. On our Hunza side the ground falls steeply with fertile bays of terraced fields and groves of apricots, all still in late July laden with their golden fruit. The road winds round various bluffs, following of course the contours of the mountain-side, and you can see several villages below, including Ganesh, clustered on the very edge of the river cliffs. High 644
above the field-terraces on our left we presently espied the 133
white front of the fortress-palace that has looked down over 312
the fields of Hunza for at least six hundred years—surely the most dominating seat of kings in the wide world. It is built on the cliff edge of a projecting promontory that falls perpendicularly—but from the road invisibly—behind it; and behind that again lies the mighty ravine of the Ulter Ber, up which, far out of sight, is the almost inaccessible glacier that supplies all the waters of Hunza, from Áltít (two miles beyond and some hundreds of feet below Báltít) to Aliábád, feeding five or six different aqueducts, including, of course, the Dála.

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

Above and below us as we rode the barley harvest was being 243
speedily gathered in; family groups were reaping, threshing, winnowing, while the more advanced were already hastily reploughing their land for various kinds of millet. Though the [132]
Hunza summer is short, the sun at these heights is hot, and with luck each hard-worked field will bear two crops a season. The barley field which is soonest clear will ripen a later crop of millet; the wheat field, ready a fortnight or three weeks later, will still be in time for one or other type of buckwheat. Barley must in olden days have been the standard crop, for all the sowing and harvest festivals centre round it. But the Hunzukuts[1] of to-day vastly prefers wheaten bread and sows as much wheat as he dares. Even the winter-sown wheat, however, ripens later than the spring barley, and since every ingenious device of agriculture only "just gives what life requires, but gives no more," he cannot afford to concentrate on wheat alone. Each year the peasant farmer makes his calcu- [242]
lations afresh; experience has taught him much about the rotation of crops, the different varieties of grain that each field —according to soil, water, and aspect—can most profitably bear, and his gamble with nature is a highly intelligent one. In the opener fields of Aliábád we reckoned that the proportion of wheat to barley was roughly two to one, nearer Báltít one to two.

If later in the year you point to a field and ask "What crop is that?" the answer will not be "Such and such a millet, or such and such a buckwheat," but the name of the growing crop with the additional information "On top of wheat" or "On top of barley," which will give you the difference of some weeks in the date of sowing and probably also indicate some subtle difference in the quality of the soil if you have learnt enough basic agriculture to interpret the facts aright.

Our narrow mountain track skirted the face of a magnificent 644
amphitheatre of storeyed cultivation, plunging every now and then into welcome belts of fruit trees, willows and poplars, crossing foaming mountain torrents in cracks of the hillside, none too easy to ford in July, though only rock-strewn gullies

[1] Hunzukuts is both singular and plural.

644 in winter. Rounding the last bend of the road, we saw before us, below the Fort, the park-like promontory on which the Mir has laid out royal gardens and orchards and built himself roomy summer quarters with two or three European guest-houses. As soon as we were sighted, the band broke out into the hospitable welcome music, and at the gate of the park a young prince stood to greet us, the loveliest boy of thirteen I have ever seen. He was Sháh Khán, one of the Mir's youngest sons, but I christened him forthwith Lord Fauntleroy. Short dark curls framed his homespun cap, and with him were two playmates armed with wooden rifles, whom he calls his "bodyguard." They laughingly presented arms in fine style, and we rode on through the trees to a row of hospitable mangers where we left our ponies and saw Prince Ghazan Khan (the "Prince of Wales"[1]) advancing on foot to meet us.

On our right we left the large open courtyard banked up on to the hillside with verandahs on two sides, where the Mir sits daily in public to dispense justice in the final court of appeal. A steep flight of irregular stone steps is fitted to the contour of the hill; above them on a large granite boulder is picturesquely and ingeniously perched one of the Mir's new guest-houses ornamented outside with ibex horns and stuffed game animals. Then the stairs turned abruptly left through a fine gateway of cut granite with two heraldic monsters couchant on the lintel, where the Mir himself was standing to await us.

643 Though nearly seventy, he was still a fine figure of a man, every inch a king, as befitted one of the few true, hereditary autocrats left in a topsy-turvy world. He led us through into a lovely English-looking orchard with apple trees bending laden boughs above the grass, to where carpets were spread on the turf beside a miniature playing fountain. A gaily decked tea-table had been set out. Our meeting was one of genuine happiness on both sides. He laughed as he shouted for the tea. "I haven't forgotten, Colonel Sahib," he said, "any hour of the day or night is tea-time, isn't it?" This dear old chestnut-

[1] Now the Mir, 1938.

then about three-thirty. We were gratefully drinking tea and 000
thinking that after all if we were not to see the dance, there were compensations in a quiet afternoon, when Mirza Hasan came in with a most courtly grin to say that if we had finished we ought to mount at once as the Mir had sent word that all was ready and they were waiting our arrival to begin.

So we gulped the rest of our tea, leaped into the saddle again, and set off for Áltít, only a mile and a half away. As someone else has already remarked, however, mere miles in this sort of country are a misleading form of reckoning, since they all stand on their hind legs. Kerimabad and Báltít Fort are perched on the brink of a great cliff about 600 and 1,000 feet respectively above the Altít level. The ground on which they stand appears to be the ancient outpouring of the mighty ravine behind, whose glacier provides all the water for the central part of Hunza. The ground that forms the Báltít spur is not honest rock but finely powdered crumbly earth well strewn with boulders, and the zig-zag road that leads down it is not the kind of thing you would choose for a brisk canter. We scrambled down it with such reasonable caution as haste permitted, forded the torrent at the bottom—very small, of course, at this season—and made towards Áltít Fort. A fine stretch of open and (relatively) level ground lies on the landward side of the Fort, which in its turn is perched on a mighty rock cliff that falls a sheer 500 feet or more into the Hunza river, presenting a most inhospitable face to the Nagir enemy across the water. This open stretch of country explains the fact that Áltít was inhabited long before Báltít, and still remains the ceremonial centre for old-time festivals.

A lovely long polo-ground—the biggest in the Agency, 526
except perhaps the one at Gilgit itself—flanked on both sides by a row of poplars and, of course, by low stone walls (you can no more have a polo-ground in these regions without walls than you could have a billiard table without cushions), leads towards the Fort. Even from the landward side the Fort rises up most impressively from the great rock on which it is built, and the village huddles round it close and tight. We skirted 644 ●
the polo-ground by a narrow path with high field walls rising 796

644 on our left and passed the field in which to-morrow the Bopfau
796 ceremonies were to take place. As we drew near, the various princes and princelings came out courteously to welcome us, the less important ones, of course, coming farthest, then the grandsons in reverse age-order, and lastly Ghazan Khán himself, the heir and "Prince of Wales." Just outside the Fort there is a fine pond outlined with poplars, the main "road" (say 4 feet wide) on the left of it. The hall-doors of the houses open straight on to this track, their front-door steps being tree trunks with notches cut in them in which the foot is planted sideways as you mount.

644 Prince Ghazan Khan led us through a narrow alley between
351 the town houses to where the Mir himself was standing to greet us. As always he made us feel more than welcome, and
798 took us to a nicely carpeted balcony where chairs stood ready. The balcony was only a few feet above the courtyard, and we had a perfect view. You must try to imagine a "courtyard," with no straight walls or edges, shut in by irregular tiers of houses piled on top of each other, mounting the rock to the towering Fort above, their flat roofs and roofed balconies all projecting higgledy-piggledy as the haphazard contours of the rock dictate. Every roof and point of vantage was packed with people till, as usual, you felt sure the beams were bound to crash. Everybody was in their gayest and brightest dress, and every single face just radiant. There never was a people anywhere with such a gift for looking happy as the Hunzukuts.

796 In the courtyard the musicians squatted at the base of the
535 walls: three pipers, three men with pairs of kettledrums, and three big drummers, all of them clowning and play-acting vigorously as they played. Dancing of the more or less ordinary type was going on, varied by the singing of songs—all unfor-
[533] tunately in Shina, not Burushaski. The Hunza people say they have no songs of their own. DL conscientiously recorded the words of these songs later, but as in the case of the Tumushelling chant it is doubtful whether after centuries of being mangled they will yield any intelligent meaning.

Presently the GREAT DANCE came ón. The most glorious

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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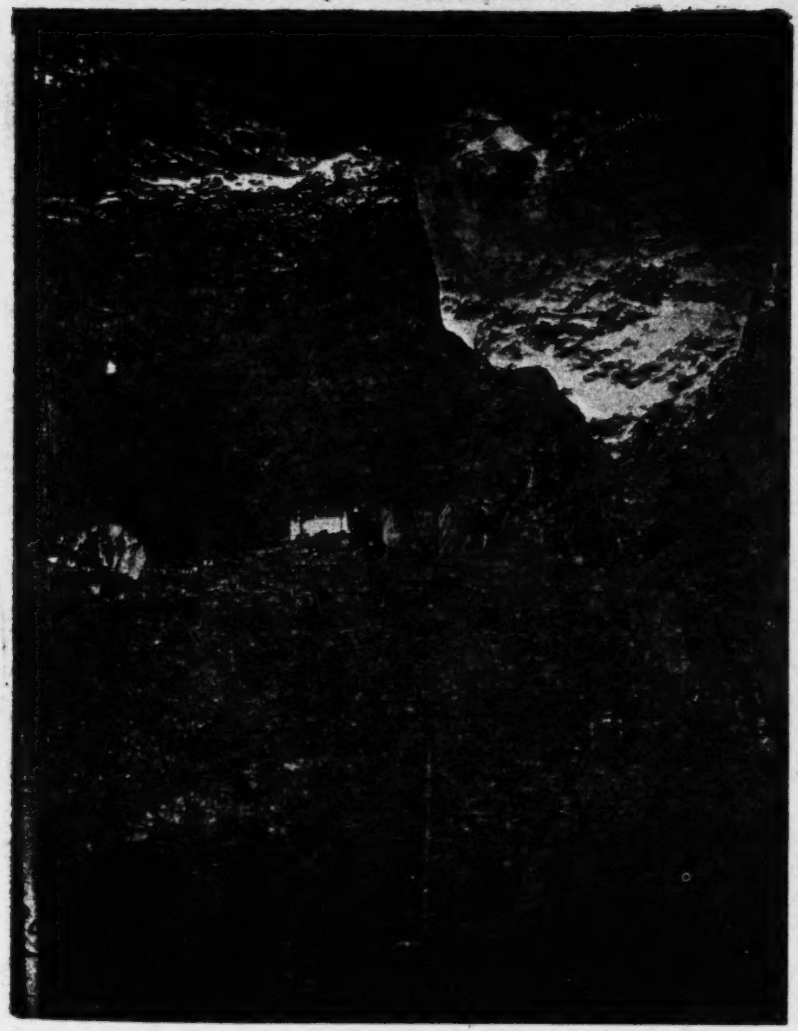

Mir's Fort at Báltit, six hundred years old. Mountains in background 23,000 ft. concealing the great glacier that waters all the oases of central Hunza. (*See pp.* 105, 106)

PLATE XVIII

[Facing P. 240]

the New Year ushered itself in with glorious sunshine and 796
bright skies.

Thanks to the good offices of the invaluable and versatile 000
Mirza Hasan, we had secured two excellent ponies for the Yasin trip, and we decided to try them for the first time on this New Year ride to Báltít. DL's was a handsome brown, guaranteed to be up to his weight, which though not considerable was nevertheless somewhat greater than that of the average Hunza rider. It was accompanied by the owner, Haiyáto of Hasanabad, one of the cheeriest-faced men I have ever laid eyes on. My white one, known as Busho (the cat), was escorted by a willing and obliging lad whose actual name I have forgotten since the temptation to christen him Ernest was immediate and irresistible, so obviously full was he of the importance of being earnest. It was a great delight to feel a real horse, in contrast to a "tat," between our knees again, and we set off in high spirits for Báltít. Instead of making for 644
Kerimabad, the Mir's hospitable gardens and European rest-houses, we mounted direct to the old Fort, which is perched on the perilous-looking brink of a great ravine with a magnificent view up and down the Hunza valley. Steep though the road is, our new mounts pluckily carried us up to the very gate. Dismounting here a rough spiral ramp led us to the "basement" of the Fort, which rises four storeys high. You enter a dark sort of hall with a square hole in the roof through which leads a rude wooden stair whose banisters are just plain poplar poles polished white by centuries of use. This lands you on an open lobby without parapet or railing, when another wooden stair (minus banister) conducts you to an open balcony, that serves as a spacious ceremonial reception-room. A low wall, not over 2 feet high, does nothing to impede the view—one of the finest views that any palace of kings can boast. At the back of this balcony is a handsomely carved pavilion under which stands a roomy "throne" covered with a purple velvet, gold-embroidered cloth. For the moment we were conducted further into a magnificent sitting-room with a fine bow window offering not only the distant scene but a more immediately amusing view of the flat roofs of the

644 capital huddling as close together as they can and stepped up the steep hillside. Each, of course, with its square smoke-hole in the centre.

The Mir was dressed in khaki uniform and was wearing his K.C.I.E., lots of gold lace, etc., and a fine gold skull-cap as the foundation of a silken turban. It is only on state occasions that he abandons the native woollen head-dress of the country. He was also wearing a magnificent old sword in a gold embroidered, purple-velvet scabbard, whose name is Sháhmár, "The King Slayer." After tea and smokes he adjourned with David to the outer balcony to receive his guests, all the headmen and officials of the country who had come from near and far to do homage and wish him a Happy New Year, and must be feasted with bread and meat. When the men had withdrawn the Queen and her ladies came in to join me, and we had an entertaining and amusing time. I had hoped to get some photographs of the royal group, but the indoor lighting was difficult; DL had taken the exposure meter with him, Dádo had removed my climbing stick (marked in feet) which I usually measured with, and the presence of so many grown-ups all offering good advice as to how the little princes and princesses should stand and comport themselves produced a strained atmosphere. In all the cirumstances a better photographer might have failed to get results!

Presently the outside ceremonies were over, the ladies said good-bye, and discreetly vanished before the Mir returned. After another go of tea, the Mir showed us a fine collection of old matchlock guns and swords finely damascened and overlaid with gold and silver wherever these could be got to stick. We then set off downhill to the polo-ground in advance of the Mir's party, and as we threaded our way through narrow lanes between the houses that seemed piled on each other's backs, Qudrat Ullah diverted us for a few moments to introduce us to his people. We were met at the front door by a large cow, a very nice cow, who was shooed back to her proper quarters while we were ushered up a ladder on to an open roof-balcony to meet some of the most beautiful women you can imagine, beautifully dressed, not a bit shy, and most cordial. No ladies

in Hunza affect seclusion except the immediate royal family. 644
In addition to Qudrat's mother, a delightfully gracious woman, and his pretty young wife, we met Dádo's wife—also very pretty, but a shade more embarrassed. The families are in some way inter-related. We got some photos here, the outdoor setting being more favourable, but dare not linger lest the Mir should be waiting for us.

We had only just got planted on the grand stand by the polo- 796
ground when we saw his procession winding down the hill, 643
the bodyguard in smart uniforms carrying the standard and the Mir with a white satin, gold-embroidered robe over his khaki, mounted on the Badakhshani stallion with the same handsome trappings as at the Bopfau. When he had taken his seat, up rushed a huge deputation from one village after another, shouting the equivalent of "O King, live for ever! May your New Year be blessed!" It was rather impressive. There was no mistaking the genuine affection and loyalty in voice and gesture.

After this followed the usual polo, archery, and dancing. Lord Fauntleroy again made excellent showing with his bow and arrow, and the youngest son of Ghazan Khan actually hit the mark, to his grandfather's pride and pleasure. The elder royal grandsons were not present; they were down in Gilgit doing their Scouts' training. We left about four, but the Mir settled down to see the daylight out at the sports and to preside at another bigger feed to The Great of the land. He was an amazing man for nearly seventy, and apparently entered into these shows with as much zest as the people themselves.

zhingát breeds caution, not contempt. As we rode in we saw 487
Ali Ausat at the nicely carved door of his house, rather grubby
but pleased to see us, passed the miserable apology for a [743]
hospital which contrasts ill with the well-built one at Aliábád,
though the two Mirs got the same grant from Government
for the purpose of building them, and on past a fine, large,
shallow pond. On our right was a steep green slope with jolly
poplars and a lot of grass, and then we reached the polo-
ground. Here the Mir came himself to meet us from the
shelter of a roofed summer-house where he had been waiting.
Another mile of almost perpendicular zigzag, which the ponies
could only just manage, brought us to the familiar old polo-
ground (now disused for play), with its lovely double line of
poplars. This peculiarly steep and horrible approach is new,
and the Mir is very proud of it. From the top there is a mag- 644
nificent view with the pond below looking like a lake and the 643
Mir's palace picturesquely perched on a steep hill-face with
fine windows looking out not at any view but straight into
the terraced hillside opposite. Mir Sikandar Khan looked
shrunken and frail compared with ten years ago, but very brisk,
and was apparently able to ride up his new road without a
qualm.

He himself received us most hospitably and kindly, but his [511]
people serve him ill. Immediately on our arrival a shindy broke
out with talk of grass- and fodder-shortage, though grass and
fodder are plentiful in Nagir, and we found the rest-house
dirty and unswept, bathroom and utensils uncared for, and a
general atmosphere of grudging incompetence pervading it.

We dined with the Mir that evening and duly entertained 643
him in return, while I paid a visit to the ladies and met the
numerous little princes and princesses. The Queen of Nagir,
a fine, handsome woman, not a day older than when I had last
seen her eleven years ago, is a sister of Khan Sahib Mir Baz
Khan of Yasin, and I was able to bring her first-hand news of
her brother and his family, in which it is fair to say she did not
seem over-interested. But she is a gracious motherly woman,
and very intelligent—she even followed my Burushaski (Hunza
variety) with ease. The brightest moments of my call were

between your knees of a frightened horse. We put the animals 487
into a quick trot—anything faster only invites stumbling—and got happily across without accident, though some quite nasty rocks were falling at intervals. All the rest got over safely too. We were not sorry when this bit of the road, was behind us. These two Nagir *zhingáts* are to my mind the ugliest bits of road in the Agency. They don't look nearly as sensational as the many *peris*—which can, of course, be dangerous enough at times—but a firm shelf, however high and narrow, is preferable to a shifting surface.

Somewhere below us under the cliffs on the Nagir side of 644
the river gorge, but out of sight of the road, is the Hakúchar 529
spring, where Hunza and Nagir royal ladies occasionally go into camp together for a few days. It was pleasant to think that the young princesses, married across the water into the related family of the hereditary foe, are able to meet their own womenfolk in privacy from time to time. When such a party is arranged five large tents are pitched there for them.

It was very hot slithering down the powdery spiral descent 000
to river level, riding along the sea-beach to the bridge and then mounting the long Hunza zigzag to Murtazábád, but once there we came again into the welcome shade of apricots and *gindáwer* (jujube trees, I think). I very much wished that rome of our own family could have been with us to see our arrival "home." Never in the days when DL was Political Agent and was popularly believed to have money and offices in his gift did we get such a reception. Though we were forty-eight hours ahead of our programme, the news that we were coming had got all round the countryside. Our easily identifiable little procession had, of course, been seen crawling for hours along the Nagir mountain side. Four miles out from Aliábád, on the hither side of the great Hasanabad Nullah, the advance guard met us: two small boys of six or seven had pattered out on their bare feet to be the first to welcome us. A few hundred yards farther on another little pair; next the three levies, who were, of course, to a small extent in our pay (they got the princely sum of nine rupees a month every third month when they came "on duty"!), and then at the bridge at the bottom.

4c Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

No. XI.

The Custom in regard to The Tham's Annual Visit to Hèrber.

Every Autumn, in September or October, or on the 15th. or 20th. of Sambula, the Tham sets out for Hèrber taking with him eighty followers and Elders. With ten or fifteen Elders, fifteen men of superior rank, twenty minor servants, seven or eight huntsmen, eight bandsmen and four grooms, thus he sets out.

It is the custom for the Elders of Galmit and, in addition, a number of young men, to come as far as Chaman Gul to receive the Tham. Slaying a goat and loading it along with a supply of bread in a panier they bring it to Bulchi Das for his reception. It is called *Otaq*. Then the Tham stops there and eats it. When he has eaten and has gone on to Chacha Hera the women come out on to the edge of the terrace and wave their hands round in the Tham's honour.

(Proceeding) thence they keep playing music in front of the Tham (until) he dismounts at the Galmit dancing place. When the Tham has dismounted they present an ox before him. In former times it was the custom for the Tham to give orders to a distinguished Elder, upon which the latter, they say, seizing the ox and pulling

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11 *teiLatuwa* — probably from *trle* 'there' and not from *teil* etc. 'such'. There seems to be a verb or two missing in this sentence: the party proceeds, music being played in front of the Tham until the Galmit dancing ground is reached, when the Tham dismounts.

12 *deiduwa* — "they make an ox stand", "they stand up an ox", or "they keep an ox standing for the Tham", a sort of technical expression for presentation.

burnt. *gunj γolurj* may your beard be burnt! (a curse). *gupinilo uγolʃʌn* may your hair be burnt! *hun iγ'olini* the wood was burnt. *γol'ʌs gumʌnj* may you be burnt (a curse). *(i)γulom ʃʌpik jaur ayau* don't give me burnt bread. *uγulumilo ʃʌpik* burnt bread (pl.). 000

2. To burn as the result of extreme cold, be frostbitten (?). — *aurin γolurči, γolumi* my hand will be, was, frostbitten (described as becoming stiff and numb).

(Cp. *-*ʌsqolʌs*).

γolčin, golčin, golčin pl. *γolčiyo* hm. head-cook (of rajas etc. only), H. *xansamaun*. 6440

M. M. P. supplies the following note: "'Superintendent of the Kitchen of the Tham". There are two *γolčin*, one the superintendent who has charge of the flour for the kitchen and superintends the baking of bread by women; the other is a cook who cooks *sdlan*". (= meat and vegetable dishes?). 60.20 ff., 340.9,12.

(Cp. Sh. *golčin*, land-steward (?). Kho. *γolčin*, official in charge of grain).

γolk -*ʌnts* x underground water-tank, cistern. — *γolk wʌli.ʌs* to construct a tank. *mojur yaure hʌn γolkʌn bim* under the weeping-willow was a tank, pond. 262.17 ff. 312

As far as I have seen there are no wells in Hunza-Nagir fed by subsurface springs. The *γolk* is a pit dug in the ground and filled periodically from an irrigation channel. It is roofed over a little above ground-level, one side being left open; but in this story the *γolk* cannot have been covered over.

1856

124
115 that one would never believe that it was only a second-
191 ary language to him.

231 "You know," I said to the Mir, "one of the things
115 that I wanted to see when I came to Hunza was a yak. I understand from my readings that yaks are used in this part of the country and I have been looking everywhere as I walked along the road to Baltit, but I have as yet seen no sign of a yak!"

"That is not hard to explain," the Mir said. "The yaks are further up in the mountains. They cannot stand the heat and we keep them in the higher altitudes where they can be comfortable. If they are brought to the lower altitudes, they suffer. They like to be up around 11,000 feet or higher."

"Well, then how can I get up to see them?" I asked. "I don't mind if I have to walk for a day or two, but see them I must!"

"I'll do better than that," said the Mir. "I will phone and have two yaks brought down as quickly as possible. They will have to come from Passu which is about 38 miles from here. I will have action taken at once and see that the yaks are provided."

115 (Does that not indicate to you the kind of man and
124 host was the Mir of Hunza?)

I then took my leave of the Mir and the Rani and went out with Sultan Ali and Jahangir to look, see, pry and ask questions.

344 Our first jaunt was a good stiff climb to the old
644 palace located about two miles from the Mir's new palace. As the crow would fly I'm sure it would not have been more than ¾ of a mile. But in order to get up there one has to wend and weave and climb slowly.

I was now becoming quite accustomed to the altitude. Kerimabad is up about 8500 feet and I am sure

that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

121 and of course the kinds and varieties of foods that were used, I attached great importance to this phase of my trip and I was definitely determined that, come what might, this information I would have thoroughly and in detail.

124 No doubt it would have been an advantage had I been able to speak either Urdu, or better still Burushaski, so that I could frame my questions as I saw fit and have answers that would be direct and would not require translation. However, that was not possible. Still, I had no reason to believe that my interpreter would not be a forthright individual who would give me the answers that were relayed to him clearly and to the point.

Mind you, I was seeking no miracle or world panacea. I wanted to find out the simple truth!

Further, I wanted to walk from farm to farm . . . that is, just selecting one at random here and there. I wanted to view the farmer's activities, study his soil and examine it, ask a few questions and thus, I could gather the information that I wanted and which was so vital to me.

344 644 The old palace proved to be in a good state of preservation. I wondered, because of its good condition, why someone didn't live there. Many of the rooms were still furnished. There were even rugs and tapestries placed and hung in their original positions.

[126] When we climbed to the top of the castle—that is, to the roof where I snapped many photos—it seemed mighty high and overlooked everything around us. But [133] in the distance were mountains that were well over 20,000 feet—and that is no exaggeration, but more likely an understatement.

There was a railing around this upper balcony and from this balcony you could walk into other chambers.

These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. 344
It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an 644
elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

Back about 400 years ago one of the rulers of Hunza [173] married a daughter of the King of Baltistan who, as [648] a gift to his daughter and her husband, dispatched 500 workmen from his country to Hunza to erect the Baltit Fort that we now know. The rulers of Hunza dwelt in that fort and made it their palace until recent times. The present Mir, too, when he took office after the [712] death of his father, resided in this palace known as Baltit Fort.

The new palace, in which we were being wined, [122] dined and entertained, had been completed recently and was taken possession of by the present Mir about 7 years ago. Actually though, the new palace was started by the Mir's grandfather back as far as 1925.

While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I un- [692] derstand, would be used, on completion, as his court, [643] where the citizens of Hunza would come with their problems and where the Mir would preside in judgment.

However, this work in no way interfered with the [342] normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

344 This massive old fortress, for that is what it was,
●644 was actually one of the places that had withstood the
712 attacks of invaders for more than 400 years and re-
727 mained impregnable. It has only once been in enemy
[175] hands since the day it was built and that was in 1891, when, after the Battle of Nilt, it was occupied by the British. Records further indicate that the British added no glory to their occupation at the time because of their indiscriminate looting of the treasures found in the palace. But the Mir, whether because of his friendship for the British or because of his desire to tell the truth, claimed that it was not the British who looted it, but the Dogra troops who were under British command.

344 Here I would like to quote from E. F. Knight's
644 *Where Three Empires Meet:*

352 "This massive fortress, which has been for hundreds of years the secure stronghold of the robber kings, inviolate until this day, stands boldly out, set in the midst of a sublime landscape . . . Twigg, Boisragon and myself took up our quarters in the most comfortable chamber we could find, which we soon discovered to have been the apartment of the ladies belonging to the [643] Thum's harem. ("Thum" is Burushaski for ruler, sovereign, king, chief, "Mir". Used especially of the hereditary rulers of the states of Hunza and Nagir.) It was surrounded by a low, broad, wooden divan, on which our bedding was laid. Pillars of carved wood rose from the edge of the divan to the carved beams of the roof, blackened by the smoke of ages. . . . A fire was lit in the open fireplace at one end of the floor, the smoke escaping through a square hole in the roof. Save for the Oriental pattern of the wooden carvings it was just a hall, I imagine, as King Canute might have lived in. . . . We enjoyed a delicious night's rest after our late fatigues.

"We were up betimes on December 23rd, and proceeded to rummage all the nooks and corners of the deserted palace. We had heard that the treasures of many a pillaged caravan . . . were stored here, so the search was an exciting one. The tribesmen had been informed that, provided they gave up their arms, their property would be respected by us. . . But the possessions of the fugitive Thum were declared to be forfeited, so we set to work to collect together all the valuables that were to be found in the place, individual looting being of course forbidden. . . . We were informed that the Thum had made all his preparations for flight long before his defeat at Nilt, and . . . had carried off the bulk of his wealth with him across the Hindoo Koosh. . . . Still, they had not taken all, and we raked together a curious and miscellaneous collection of odds and ends scattered about and secreted away in the various chambers and cellars." 727 344 644

On two sides this mighty fortress (and it is a mighty fortress for that part of the world) is protected by abysses. 344 644

As the views of the mountains and the surrounding country from the balconies were unrivaled, I took many colored photographs and with each click of the shutter I hoped for the best. [26]

I noticed a marvelous old firing piece, gun or matchlock. I don't know how to describe these things as I am not very familiar with firearms. However, I found out that this was a genuine treasure and was almost as old as the fort itself. 411

It was a most unusual firing piece. By actual measurement it was 6 feet long, elegantly and extravagantly decorated with silver and gold, and bore the inscription "946 A.H."

What had evidently been an old calendar portray- 353

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 29

Hunzan Crafts and Skills

THE NEXT MORNING Jahangir came to our quarters just as I was ready to leave for breakfast. Cec again remained in bed on the doctor's advice.

The Mir was waiting for us in his bright, pleasant sun room when we entered and with him was another handsome, beaming man whom he introduced as his brother, Ayesh, who had just returned from a trip up country.

It is customary for the Mir's oldest brother to remain unmarried and act as an advisor, assistant, secretary or whatever else this position might be termed. He also acted as the Mir's emissary and was the engineer of the electric light outfit in operation at the palace.

We were then ushered into the dining room for breakfast. The Mir, Ayesh and the Rani seated themselves just to keep us company and of course add delight and conversation while we breakfasted.

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[373]

124 "You understand," he said, "that the reason I do
[788] not have breakfast with you is due entirely to the fact that I must rise at 3:30 every morning to perform my religious duties . . . and 'tis then I have my morning meal."

"Thank you most sincerely for your explanation. It is most important to me so I may better understand the ways of your people and yourself."

Then the Mir went on, "I have received word that two yaks are being brought down from Passu and should arrive at Altit some time during the night and will be there tomorrow morning."

Then I said to the Mir, "Would it be all right if I walked to Altit and rode one of the yaks back here to your palace?"

"That's exactly what I had in mind for you," said the Mir.

"Well, seeing there are two yaks coming down, as you mentioned, and my friend Cec is confined to his quarters by the doctor, I'll take Jahangir along and he'll ride the other yak back."

"Fine, fine!" said the Mir.

124 Then the conversation continued and the Mir said,
115 "I have another brother and I certainly hope you will
● 644 have an opportunity to meet him. He is serving in the Pakistan army—as a captain. I expect him back within the next 3 or 4 days and you will enjoy meeting him, I know. He is a most likable and interesting man. I hope he gets here before you decide to leave."

"I'd be very happy to meet him and I, too, hope he arrives before we depart."

"We call him Salat," he said. "That means mous-
[302] tache in our language. He has one of those handlebar moustaches and he's a big man—bigger than either Ayesh or I. His proper name is Capt. Jamshed Khan."

Ayesh was a most jovial character. He had the most pleasant smiling happy countenance of any man I've ever met. He was always either laughing or smiling and every time I looked at him I had to smile as well. He was a handsome man but in contrast to the Mir, who had a good head of dark hair, Ayesh was balding, the same as I.

It was most pleasant to see the splendid cordial relationship that existed between him and the Mir's entire family.

"How are you coming along with your quest for information?" asked the Mir.

"Exceptionally well, sir," I replied. "But there are also many questions that only you can answer and I'm hoping that you can spare a few minutes some time within the next few days in private so that I may gain this information."

"Any time you say," replied the Mir pleasantly. "I'm at your disposal. You mention the time and that will be it."

"You are indeed very kind to grant me this great favor and I appreciate it," I said.

So there and then we made an appointment for 5 o'clock the following day.

Every meal at the Mir's was a joy and a delight and both the Mir and the Rani were always present. I had already mentioned to him that this was a trouble and an imposition and too much to expect of him. But he said that it was the way he wanted it and that nothing was too good and no effort too great for his guests. Well, what can you do with a man like that?

Then he informed me concerning my friend's health. "The doctor has things under control now," he told me, "but he will remain here with me as my guest at the palace during your stay so there will be no worries

of the Aga Khan and his wife in various poses and stages of his life. I had given some study to these photographs and many of them were inscribed in the hand of the Aga Khan with endearing terms to his friend, Jamal. 353 792

Our quarters were in the guest house—actually adjoining the palace but on a higher level. This building had been erected by the Mir's grandfather back in 1925. It was a well-built, handsome structure, firmly ensconced on a high rocky ledge of granite. 122 344 644

You walked down the Mir's long staircase from the sun room, then you walked up half a dozen or more stone steps, forward a few feet and then you climbed up a circular, enclosed wooden staircase to the guest quarters. These consisted of a large, comfortable sitting room with many easy chairs and a fine writing desk, a large bedroom with two comfortable beds and further on was the bathroom. Then to the right of the lovely sitting room was a balcony—spacious and inviting. From it you could view Rakaposhi and all its splendor and gorgeous loveliness. [352]

The furniture all round was similar to that which you would find in the average better-class American homes. Photographs adorned the walls, among which were the photos of the old Aga Khan and his French wife. [352] [353] [792]

When I mentioned the Aga Khan to the Mir, he waxed eloquent and his face beamed and he said, "Not only was I fond of him—not only did I love him—but we were close intimate friends. He was the most generous of men and especially to the people of Hunza. I revere his memory! He was a wonderful person. We really miss him since his passing. His ancestors came from Persia to India in 1834. In 1934, one hundred years later, to celebrate the jubilee of the founding of 792 [871]

487 often get a sudden heavy flow of water and these rivers get deeper and broader and flood the roads. But then later, when it gets a bit cooler or cloudy, the river recedes and the river bed is again used as a road.

The alternative for the river bed is to climb hundreds or thousands of feet up along a road cut in the rock of the mountain or where a ledge might have been formed. When it is impossible to walk along the river bed, and this occurs regularly, in some places you must climb a few thousand feet . . . that is the only way you can continue your journey.

No matter how difficult, how dangerous or treacherous a roadway may be, there are some people who must get across, who must make their journey at that time. It is true everywhere in the world.

Therefore, when traveling on such terrain, it is positively advisable to try to get there and do your traveling when the rivers are not in flood. You can see why the river bed is preferable.

361 Altit is the name of the town wherein is located the old Altit Fort which was built in the thirteenth century. I don't know whether or not the other members of the party will agree with me but I did think that Altit was an exceptionally clean, tidy and orderly town. It was one of the first villages in Hunza to be settled because the area consists of a wide level, arable stretch of land almost two miles wide from the mountain wall to the bank of the river and here the drop was sheer—straight down for a thousand feet or more.

Oh, yes, all Hunza villages are clean and orderly but somehow it struck me that Altit was better then most. [644] Perhaps the Mir knew this and that is why he had his picnic bungalow built there. I am convinced that Altit was the most attractive village I found in the entire country.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 33

The Mir's Summer Cottage

ALTIT FORT has quite a history. I believe it to be the most historic and most important edifice in all of Hunza. Records that have been handed down would indicate that the fort was about 700 years old and it was erected like a perch, right on a sharp bank of the Hunza River, on what was originally a sharp gigantic precipice. 344 644 712

It may be smaller and perhaps simpler in construction than the larger fort at Baltit, but I thought it was big enough after I walked all around it and went in and out of all its chambers. Then, too, it is much larger now than it was in those days because the present Mir had a new wing erected so that when he holds court and carries out the seed-sowing ceremony, there will be plenty of room for his family, guests and visitors. [643]

I gained the impression that it was a tight little fortress—well built from blocks of rock, expertly

344 644 712 wedged together to form a formidable protection against invaders of their day.

796 241 643 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the Burushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festival, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like to emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed [789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

partake of the Mir's blessings. 000

In comparing the fort at Altit and the one at Baltit, I gained the impression that the one at Altit had more rooms . . . smaller ones they were, but there seemed to be more of them. The old fort at Baltit was much larger and more impressive. Yet somehow I became more attached to the Altit Fort. I had the impression that it was almost impregnable. 344 644 712

Then I recalled the true story of the capture of the fort by the British and, after appraising its isolation, strength and precipitous banks and sides, I thought to myself, "Any group of men who had the courage to attempt to scale and capture any fort in Hunza deserved a lot more glory and loot than they would ever get in Hunza . . . and that is for certain!" 712 648

On one of the balconies stood a man with a bowl of apricots and Sultan Ali said, "This man is the chowkidor, or guardian, of the fort and it is customary to give him a gift." 124

"Of what?" I asked.

"Oh, about 10 rupees," replied Sultan Ali.

Jahangir almost jumped a foot when he heard that and he said, "For what? He hasn't done anything and we haven't eaten any of his apricots."

"Well," Sultan Ali said, "it's just customary!"

"Customary or no," said Jahangir, "I think it's ridiculous!"

I turned to Sultan Ali and said, "Normally I'd be glad to give him the tip that you suggest, but the truth of the matter is my fund of Pakistan rupees is just about nonexistent. When we set out for Hunza from Pindi we calculated in advance approximately how many rupees we would need and then we added on 100 extra, and that's what we came with. 124 122

"From the stories that we read and from the infor-

124 mation that we could gather, we were under the im-
122 pression that no money was used in Hunza. Therefore we didn't calculate on spending any. So far we have parted with approximately 300 rupees and to place the matter squarely in front of you, we don't have enough money to buy our plane tickets back from Gilgit to Rawalpindi! I'm hoping we'll be able to get some money at the bank in Gilgit because I did notice that there's a bank there, so I'm afraid I'll have to pass up the 10 rupees that I'm supposed to give the chowkidor of the fort. But tell him I enjoyed my visit to the fort very much anyway!"

344 While we were wandering around on the open bal-
●644 cony of the old fort, Sultan Ali pointed to a neat looking place down below, but not far distant, and said, "That is the Mir's picnic place, where he comes every Saturday evening with his family. He stays there Sunday and Monday, returning to the palace for his various duties Monday evening. This practice is followed during the summer months."

"Well," I replied, "that's a custom that's followed pretty well in the West and probably in most places around the world . . . where one tries to get away from the usual home conditions and seeks refuge in a cottage. We, generally speaking, call this our summer cottage. And you know what? Many folks and families travel hundreds of miles just for the weekend, just as long as they can get away from home and the sameness of living for a few days at a time!"

"I guess we've seen everything here at the old fort worth seeing. So let's go down and make for the Mir's picnic place," I said as I headed for the stairs.

It was a walk of but a few hundred yards and we were soon at the garden gate of the bungalow. Sultan Ali spoke in Burushaski to one of the chowkidors who

produced a key and opened the door. 344

Soon I was wandering through the well-appointed summer cottage. It was neat, tidy, clean and solidly built but of course it was not on par with the palace—nor would one expect it to be. After all, as mentioned, it was but a weekend spot and what we would call a summer cottage back home. Yet, of course, it was much nicer than the average summer cottage, but not as good as some of our elegant ones back home. 644

I was rather surprised and quite amused to note that the walls were covered rather widely with shiny lithographed pictures . . . yes, it was good printing or lithographing work. The pictures were obviously put out by the Chinese communist government and everywhere they showed workers and working girls with beaming faces, wearing good clothes and looking prosperous, but no one could doubt that these pictures were splendid specimens of communist propaganda. 353 648

One of the most effective pictures for propaganda purposes, I gathered, was one that showed the happy beaming faces of whites, yellows, blacks—all mixed and enjoying life together.

At first I thought that the Mir couldn't have known about these pictures hanging in his bungalow, but then I gathered that he must know about them. Evidently he doesn't fear them or worry about them. Perhaps he knows his people better than anyone else.

I do not have to go into a long discourse to prove to myself or to anyone else that the Mir does not have communistic leanings because communism would quickly and definitely stamp out any form of absolute rule like his Mirship. Yet I can also see the absolute necessity of the Mir keeping on friendly terms and not antagonizing either the Russian or the Chinese Communists. Then to make the situation even more hazard- 648

They were obviously of American or European origin . . . probably grown from seeds that someone had sent him. Plants like zinnias, snapdragons and asters were readily recognizable. 247 177

Then, I was very much surprised to see in front of the bungalow, of all things, a swimming pool . . . and the youth of the district were swimming and enjoying themselves to the fullest possible extent. They were shouting, laughing, splashing and cavorting about just as you would expect boys and girls to do in any swimming pool in America. They displayed the same reckless abandon, glee and happiness that our children do. 529 643 [644]

At this time I thought to myself that here was another mark of the Mir's bigness. He was allowing the children of the town to make full use of his personal family swimming pool. This was quite different from what most people expect of eastern potentates.

I'm not sure that this little incident impresses you but I assure you I was quite impressed by it. It added to my conviction that the people of Hunza were really free and democratic.

A little way off were our yaks and their guides. "Let's go," I said to Jahangir and Sultan Ali, making straight for the yaks. "The Mir and Cec will be waiting for us, so I guess we'd best be off." 000

I selected the larger of the two yaks because I'm quite a bit heavier, or almost twice as heavy as Jahangir. I was assisted on to the yak's back and the yak didn't seem to be too happy about it! For the first time since I'd been riding, which wasn't very long, I felt really comfortable. The well-padded broad back of the animal was delightful to sit on and, best of all, he had a western style saddle. I'm always afraid of falling off a horse with those English saddles because I've got nothing to hold on to except the reins and for my kind of 492

115 Now I didn't see his birth certificate and I might as
165 well tell you, right here and now, that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. I accept the figure of his age as he told me but remember, I was not there at the time of his birth!

344 When I was through with my spasm of inspection
644 and admiration, we began to parade up the long drive-way that led into the Mir's garden. This area is flanked on the right by space that looks as though it were a parking lot, and maybe that's exactly what it is, but instead of cars, the guests or members of the family park—or should I say tether—their horses and yaks in this area. Maybe now they park their jeeps there.
[493] The Mir owns two of them, but one, I understand, was away in Pindi being repaired. (Or was it the shambles and horrible wreck of a jeep that I came across a week later, on the road back to Gilgit?)

126 Now I noticed that the Mir, Ayesh, the doctor and Cec were coming along the roadway to meet us, and soon we joined forces and were gathered in one group. I thought this was the ideal time to take some photographs and, luckily for us, they were the best photographs we took on the entire trip. Photography is something that has never interested me and I had never taken half a dozen pictures in my life. Before leaving
[122] home, I did try to learn a bit about photography, but I couldn't learn enough fast enough.

124 When the fun, excitement and fast-flowing humorous remarks had subsided, I said to the Mir, "If you've nothing more important to do or if you would care to give me a little more of your time, we could start that question and answer session that I arranged with you for this afternoon."

"I am at your service," he replied pleasantly and with alacrity.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 34

About the People of Hunza

164 THE CLAIMS made for the people of Hunza border on
165 the fantastic. It is claimed that there they live to be 140 and more years of age without trouble and that their mountain home is the genuine Shangri-la, where a man can live without worry or stress in perfect joy and happiness. The claim is also made that their men can sire children when they're 70, 80, 90 and even 100 years of age.

Yes, and another visitor to Hunza said that the women of 80 and 90 are as youthful and as beautiful as our own women of 30 and 40. Well, apart from the [644] Rani who I truly believe was one of the most beautiful women I have ever been privileged to see, I didn't notice anything spectacular about the women of Hunza.

123 Let me be even more frank . . . I hardly saw any women at all. Over the many miles of Hunza territory that I walked, I seldom saw a woman. I saw a few girls

here and there and most of them snickered, giggled and hid or turned their backs so that I couldn't see their faces, just as the girls and women did in Nagir. I did notice and pass many women constantly in the fields, but not once did I think that they even compared with our own attractive women . . . let alone surpass them! 123

Nor do I want you to get the impression that I am prejudiced. To me, at least, a woman can be beautiful whether she be black, yellow, tanned or white. I believe myself to be the kind of a man who shows no prejudice, at least where women are concerned, if you know what I mean!

Here I also want to state that it could be I was somewhat at a disadvantage. In the Western world, when one meets or sees a woman, it is usually at her best or close to it. Here the situation was, I admit, drastically different. I either saw them in the fields or coming or going to and from the fields to their homes or doing household chores in their homes. None of these occupational hazards would give a woman a chance to show herself at her prettiest or to her own best advantage.

I did not inquire as to the Rani's age. I am generally fairly bold but I just wasn't bold enough to pose that question to the Mir or to the Rani herself, although I had ample opportunity to do so had I the courage. 644 165

She would compare favorably in every way with any woman in her twenties. If I did not know her position and I were asked to estimate her age, I would say 24 or 25 but remember, she is the wife of the Mir and has borne him 9 living children, one of whom is married and another of whom is engaged to be married to the Prince of Chitral. Their eldest daughter is married to Yaseen Durishahwar and they have two sons, which means that the Rani is a grandmother. But I still insist that she doesn't look a day over 25.

misdemeanors on the scale that we know them in the Western world are practically unknown in Hunza. That being the case, it behooves us to investigate and study family life in Hunza, for juvenile delinquency is becoming a very serious and ever broadening problem in America. 674

I saw samples of Hunzan justice. Its simplicity made me weep . . . when I recalled our procrastinating, shackled, unwieldy, judicial system. In the Western world civil cases take months and even years to be heard in court before a judge. In Hunza there are so few cases of wrongdoings, or even individual or family problems, that a hearing can be arranged almost immediately. 692

Petty squabbles or differences between husband and wife or even other disputes can be brought before the Wazir or before the Mir in private. When something more serious is at stake, the grieved party or parties bring their case to the "morning durbar," which is held regularly in the courtyard surrounded by the beautiful gardens at the entrance to the Mir's palace. At the time I was at Baltit many workmen were busily engaged in erecting a large stone enclosure or balcony where the "durbars" will be held, allowing more room for spectators and greater comfort for the counsel. [344] [644]

During the proceedings the Mir sits comfortably ensconced on a square-shaped wooden divan, luxuriantly smothered in rugs, fancy cushions and tapestries. There is none of the strict court procedure or dourness and frigidity known to our Western judiciary system. Here one feels that he is talking to a friend—a fellow citizen—or at least, an acquaintance. [352] [643]

Perhaps we have carried our ideas of justice, freedom and democracy a bit too far. In order that everyone may be afforded justice and fair treatment at the hands 000

684 837 Morality in Hunza is of a high level, equal to that of the best records in the world. Sexual promiscuity on the part of either male or female is practically unknown. It is clear and established that they are clean thinking and clean living people. However, the Mir did tell me that on rare occasions there was trouble involving the eternal triangle.

644 853 608 The strangest custom that I found practiced in Hunza was that followed by the royal family . . . that is, the Mir's family . . . and it pertained to their children. As soon as a child is born to the royal family, it is given out to foster parents to be reared and brought up by these parents as their own. And there the royal child remains for an unspecified period of years. The child is brought to the palace on occasions and then returned to its foster home.

The exact purpose for this practice was hard to pin down. I felt that probably it was done to save the queen or Rani the difficulty of raising the child through its infancy. I also thought that perhaps this would allow the queen to have more children, and thus be sure to create a long line of descendants to follow in the ruler's footsteps or lineage. It was also suggested that this was a way or manner or means of strengthening the ties of the ruler with his people—a sort of democratic gesture.

The people to whom the child is given out for rearing are referred to as "milk parents" or "milk family." The tie that is thus established with these people is never broken. The individual members of the family are referred to as the milk-mother, the milk-father, the milk-brother and the milk-sister.

In every case, before the child is given out to its milk parents, their character, their habits and their way of life are carefully scrutinized so that the royal couple

know that the child will be given a fine upbringing. 644

It is to be expected that the milk parents will be given much consideration and favors from the Mir's household and family . . . and the Mir has and still does provide better than average homes or residences for these selected people. 853 608

In Hunza at the present time, the Mir has built a row or unit of bungalows for these milk parents and they are given food and necessities from the royal kitchen.

I have tried to find some connection of this practice with other nations or peoples. So far my search has been unsuccessful in this regard.

Death is not the serious thing with the people of Hunza that it is with most other peoples throughout the world. That does not mean that there is no sadness and mourning, but it does not take on the same scope and seriousness that it does in the West. This is primarily due to the religion and beliefs of the people. Being Mohammedans, they believe in predestination . . . "So Allah wills." 761

Seldom are graves of departed kinfolk visited—nor are flowers laid upon them. In fact, very little maintenance is ever carried out on graves. Visits to the graves or graveyards are definitely not encouraged. The dead are revered, but visiting the grave of the departed is not really the accepted thing in Hunza. 769 765

The dead are often commemorated by having roadside lean-tos or "baldies," as they call them, erected for them . . . where a man can stop and find a bit of shelter during a storm, or rest his pack or load. They also build "jhurks" or water holes to serve the same purpose. Women are seldom commemorated in this manner. The best that a woman can hope to get is a rock pile erected in her memory. 769 764 [484] [312]

534 644 *The piano in the palace was brought by the Mir's grandfather.* This was stated in one of the books I read about Hunza.

The story from the Mir's own lips is, "The piano was brought to Gilgit via Bandipoor and Burzil Pass from Kashmir for the Political Agent who was British. It was installed in the Political Agent's house in Gilgit in 1895. In 1947 when the partition came, it was presented to me by the last British Political Agent, Colonel R. N. Bacon, along with the Union Jack which is unfurled in Gilgit. The piano was brought to Baltit on [482] the backs of 24 men."

164 *Disease is unknown in Hunza.* Oh, how I wish that were true! It was the fondest wish of my heart and soul when I left for Hunza that I could return and be able to attest the fact that disease is unknown in that country.

From definite assertions made by the doctor who was stationed at Aliabad in Hunza, it is true that such diseases as cancer, diabetes, heart disease and hypertension are absolutely unknown in Hunza. But there are other diseases, perhaps not as crucial but, nevertheless, maladies of a serious nature.

As more of civilization's luxuries become known and used in Hunza, it is assured that many more of the diseases of civilization, as yet unknown in Hunza, will make their way into that country.

165 *No infant mortality*—I am unable to speak for the past, but at the present day infant mortality is known in Hunza. As mentioned elsewhere in this book, statistics are unavailable as no records are kept. But the present doctor in Aliabad forcibly states that infant mortality is a force to be reckoned with in Hunza at the present time.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.41-D]

644
142
291
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[562] [564] MIR'S DAUGHTER, the Princess Nilofar, is spokesman for Hunza's women, who, despite public segregation and their low status, never are forced to marry against their will.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

491 sisting only of the foot rope and one side rope, and have crossed them when the connecting ropes were broken and useless, but I never did so willingly, for we had a terrible lesson. A native officer and half a dozen men had been sent on from Gilgit ahead of us to try the bridges, and to arrange for necessary repairs. Coming to one bridge they tried it carefully, going over one at a time, and examining the anchorage and ropes. Thinking all was sound they foolishly returned in a body, crossing, of course, one behind the other. As the leading man got well up the slope towards the timber anchorage, followed by five others, the ropes drew or broke, and the whole party were dashed into the water. Two men, entangled in the ropes, were washed ashore on the bank they had started from, for the anchorages on the far side fortunately held, and the ropes swung across the stream and ashore, but the other unfortunates, caught in the awful torrent, were swept away and instantly drowned. Only one body was recovered, and that forty miles down stream.

487 The road shortly after crossing the river rose twelve hundred feet to cross the end of a spur from Rakapushi, and, descending again, ran generally at a level of six or eight hundred feet above the river—which one could hear roaring through its deep-cut bed below—across uncultivated wastes, and in and out of numerous deep ravines till the cultiva-
644 tion of Nilt was reached. Here Uzr Khan, the eldest living son, and the heir-apparent of the ruling chief, Jafr Khan, met us. He was rather a fine-looking fellow, with a pleasant enough face

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

when he smiled, but with generally a boorish and sulky expression. He received us very cordially, and after we had breakfasted under a fine plane tree he came and discussed affairs. I could see that my main difficulty would be to persuade my new friends that we had come to Gilgit to stay. Biddulph's withdrawal had made them very chary of having anything to do with us. 644

I examined the country very carefully as we marched, and noted the difficulty of the great ravine behind Nilt, which three years later was to baffle for eighteen days the attack of our troops. On the whole the road was better than I expected, and it seemed to me, as I find noted in my diary, "that a decently-armed and led force should not have much difficulty in forcing its way in." My hosts were not averse to my sketching, and I had a road sketch and report made every day, but I did not like to make too much of it, and contented myself personally with noting the positions and the chances of attack they offered. The conclusion I eventually arrived at was that the Hunza-Nagar country presented the most appalling difficulties, and that, with well-armed men holding the country, an advance into it would be terribly costly. 133 487

The views of Rakapushi were very fine, though not so grand as I had hoped, for we were marching too close under it. Still, a mountain rising nineteen thousand feet above you, and over twenty-five thousand feet in height, must be fine when you get a glimpse of it. The next day's march was, however, far more striking; the road rose over gigantic moraine masses, crossing ravine after ravine

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

villages and of cultivation, the terraced fields carried 133
right down into the river bed. Hunza itself lies on 241
the right bank of a ravine ending in a dark glacier, 361
from whose melting ice is supplied the channel which waters the whole of the Hunza cultivation. The houses of the main village are clustered tier upon tier on a high spur crowned by the Thum's Castle. The arrangement at Nagar is precisely the same.

Our entry into Nagar was very similar to my last 644
year's entry into Chitral, only that the crowd was on a smaller scale, the courtiers not so numerous or so brilliantly arrayed. Still it was picturesque enough; before us rode a man bearing a scarlet and white banner; around us, wherever the road permitted, was the gay crowd in Bokhara silks or dirty woollen homespun. The usual irregular salute was fired as we reached the polo ground, and the band made discordant music. Raja Jafr Khan could not receive me, being paralysed, so we moved without further ceremony into our camp by the polo ground, preceded by Raja Uzr Khan, who showed, by riding before us, a lack of breeding which scandalised the other Rajas, and which compared very unfavourably with the Mehtar of Chitral's courtesy.

Next morning I paid my state visit to Raja Jafr 644
Khan. The road runs up through the village to the 342
Thum's Castle, under a succession of easily defensible doorways, which would make an assault very difficult for bad troops or local enemies. The Palace stairs consisted of the trunk of a tree with notches cut in it, which led up through a square hole in the floor to the terraced rooms above. In this, as in every other house I ever entered in these wilds, the last two of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

644 three doors are placed in the right angle turn of a
342 very narrow passage which only one man can use at a time, and the doorways are so low that a tall man has to bend almost double to pass through them. The object is to prevent a rush, and to make it impossible for a man to use his weapons as he passes through the last doorway. Similarly the ascent to the flat-topped roof of a man's house is jealously guarded, and he who considers himself in any danger never sleeps twice in the same part of his room, for the skylight gives an enemy a convenient point of vantage from which to shoot.

643 We found the Thum in a typical square room,
159 with an open skylight, and a sunk hearth in the floor, seated by a balconied window, from which there was an extensive view over his country. His beard was carefully dyed, and it was difficult to guess his age, but he was not an old man; drink and debauchery had reduced him to his present state, and paralysed him
644 from the waist down. We did not stop long, as the visit was merely one of ceremony, and the audience room was full of people, before whom business could not be discussed. Our uniforms were a source of much interest to our hosts, and of considerable discomfort to ourselves. Frock coats and spiked helmets, high boots and spurs, sword and sabretache, are not quite the thing for the grand staircases of the
[534] country. Later in the day Uzr Khan paid me a visit,
644 and we had to sit through an interminable dance pro-
535 gramme, which, as the orchestra consisted of six pairs of kettle-drums, six large drums beaten at both ends, and three pipes, was simply deafening. The dances were all very much the same—six or eight men

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

following each other round and round in a circle— 644
sometimes with sword and shield and the usual 535
flourishes, sometimes with nothing in their hands, now posturing slowly, again flying round with long jumps and steps. In Nagar every one dances—the younger sons of the Thum, Wazirs, and the common herd, all take part. In the pre-Mahomedan days the [562] women also danced, and I should not be surprised if amongst themselves they did not even now join in, but, of course, not on a state occasion, or before strangers. Immediately after the dance came a couple [526] of hours of polo, still to the accompaniment of the band, which played just below our tents, and whose monotonous noise became maddening.

In the evening I dismissed the son of the Hunza 644
Wazir, who had come with letters from the Thum, 431
with my answer and a present. He was good enough to express himself quite satisfied personally, at which I was surprised, for he was wearing a coat of velvet covered with gold embroidery, worth at least five-and-twenty pounds, the outcome of Lockhart's lavish habits of largesse. It was a much more magnificent garment than any I had to give his master, and of much greater value than the present I could afford to give him. He informed me, however, that a scoundrel with him, to whom I had given some money and a choga, was going away hopeless, because I had not promised to renew to him a pension which his father had drawn from the Kashmir Durbar. They were difficult people to deal with in some ways, showed no sense of proportion in making their demands, and really, I believe, could not understand that there must be some limit to one's power of giving rewards.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Gurusho AV7

I had to leave Nagar long before I had exhausted
the objects of interest, and many places had perforce 491
to be left unvisited. The morning we left we plunged 133
down below the fort for several hundred feet to the rope bridge which spans the gorge of the Nagar stream. It was a nasty bridge, with very steep slopes, and I thought one of the servants had gone, for he stumbled badly; but he recovered himself, and merely dropped a bundle he was for some reason carrying, which went floating down amongst masses of ice which, broken from the glacier above, were dancing down the furious stream. There was a stiff climb up a couple of thousand feet to the crest of the ridge between the two streams, and an equally steep descent down to the Hunza river. The approach to the bridge, which springs from two great masses of rock on each side of the river, is villainous, over smooth rock and by pathways a few inches wide, kept bad for safety's sake. We were met by various 644
deputations—one shortly after entering Hunza territory, a second at the bridge, a third on the Hunza bank, and I found it was arranged that we should camp directly we got to the top of the cliff above the river, and that we should make our state entry next day. Accustomed to these ceremonious delays from my experience of Chitral, I agreed.

Next morning we started at about half-past seven in uniform, and rode up through the terraced cultivation to the polo ground. Here we were requested to halt, while our salute was being fired by the Wazir in person, he being the only man who could be trusted to fire the gun. It was a gun with a history, which had been cast by a refugee from Wakhan, all the brass household implements in the country having

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

644 been melted down to find metal for it. The Thum of the day was so pleased at possessing it that he at once killed the maker, lest he should go to Nagar and make one there. The Wazir had instructions from his King to go on firing till further orders, but after twenty-three guns we thought they had had enough, and I sent a request that they would stop and let us proceed. We were met at the gate of the fort by Wazir Dadu, rather a pleasant-looking man of about forty-five.

[361] The approach to the fort through the village was much the same as at Nagar, but the road was broader.
643 As we passed over the great water channel which fertilises the Hunza oasis, and which at its débouchere from the parent ravine runs through a low tunnel, an ominous whisper informed me that this was the scene of the old Thum's murder by his rascally son, assisted by his present Wazir, Dadu. The old man was fired at from the roof of a house as he rode in from hawking. The first discharge was not fatal, and the men with the Thum begged him to take refuge for a moment in the irrigation tunnel while they raised help, which, by all accounts, was within an ace of coming, but the old Chief refused, saying, "It was no use; he had lived long enough, and his day was
661 come." His Wazir, Humayum, Dadu's elder brother, was away in Gujhal at the time, and the new Chief sent him an urgent letter, stamped with his father's seal, calling him to return at once to Hunza. But though the letter had been prepared beforehand, was sealed before the warmth was out of the old Chief's body, and was despatched by a trusted messenger, the plot failed. Warned by some friend, or distrusting

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

the wording of the letter, Humayum turned his 661
horse's head, and rode for his life. He reached the passes in safety, and going by Wakhan, entered Chitral, and claimed the hospitality of the Mehtar. This was gladly accorded him, for he was a valuable man in case of trouble with Hunza, and he remained in Chitral, an honoured guest, until his turn came later.

Once inside the fort we had only two sets of stairs 643
to ascend, and they were not so primitive as in Nagar, though they were equally defensible. We were received by the Thum at the top, and seated on an open platform overlooking the village and valley. Safdar Ali Khan was a delicate-looking young man of about twenty-two, with shifty Mongolian eyes, and a chestnut-coloured small peaked beard and moustache. The face was a delicate oval in shape, and weak in expression. He was looking decidedly ill, and considerably pulled down by fever.

The surroundings were richer than in Nagar. A 644
guard of fifteen men armed with breechloaders, English 292
and Russian, surrounded the Chief; the courtiers were better dressed, and good Central Asian carpets were spread on the ground. The Thum himself was handsomely dressed in silks, and wore a beautiful velvet belt of Chinese workmanship, with clasps and bosses
of gold studded with torquoise and coral. We stayed 644
but a short time, paying a purely ceremonial visit. On my return to camp I found that the four men of my guard had been prevented from coming upstairs, and that an attempt had been made at stopping my orderlies also. I accordingly at once sent up to the Wazir, and protested against this, saying that I con-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

644 cluded that my men had been stopped without the Chief's knowledge, and that I would not stand being treated in this way for a moment. My message brought a full apology, but the incident showed the tendency to insolence on the Chief's part, for which I was prepared, and that it was necessary to prove to the young savage that we were not afraid of him, and should insist on being treated with proper distinction.

262 The Thum sent down during the day a dinner for the whole camp, among the ingredients for which was a half-bred yak. In the old days throughout these regions the chief guest had to cut off the beast's head, or, at all events, to strike the first blow with his sword. This part of the ceremony we dispensed with, but we ate the resulting beef, the first we had tasted since leaving India, for in Kashmir, and its outlying districts—Gilgit, Skardu, and Punyal—taking the life of the sacred cow is a deadly crime, which the Hindu rulers punished severely. There were still at this time unfortunate Mahomedans in prison at Srinagar, who had been confined for years, for keeping themselves and families alive during a famine by killing and eating cows.

311 In the afternoon we went for a walk and admired the cultivation, which is extraordinarily careful, the terraced fields falling in one continuous sheet to the river hundreds of feet below. Every inch of available ground is made use of, and we found many miniature fields a couple of feet wide and a dozen feet in length, telling of the pressure of the population, and the difficulty of the food supply.

241 I had heard a tradition that during the fruit season
262 the people were prohibited from eating any form

4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 302 the top of the head for a space 2 inches broad in front, tapering to half an inch behind. Those who cannot boast of long locks, dress their hair into numerous small cork-screw ringlets all round the head.[1] On the approach of middle age the whole head is shaved, according to the orthodox Mahommedan fashion, and the beard is allowed to grow. In Chitral the effect of the long-flowing locks reaching to the waist is often extremely picturesque.

D 576 The mode of salutation between equals, on meeting after a prolonged absence, is graceful and pleasing. After clasping each other, first on one side then on the other, hands are joined, and each person in turn kisses the hand of the other. Superiors are greeted either by kissing the hand or touching the foot, both at meeting and parting. In Chitral, when the meeting is between two of unequal rank, the inferior kisses the hand of the superior, who in return kisses the former on the cheek. A similar practice is said to have existed among the ancient Persians.[2]

D 644 On the occasion of the visit of one chief to another, a rather curious ceremony called "Kobah" takes place. On arrival, the visitor is conducted to the Shawaran,[3] and the followers of B 644 both chiefs show their dexterity in firing at a mark set up on a tall pole, from horseback while galloping at speed. After this a bullock is led out before the guest, who draws his sword and does his best to cut its head off at a single blow, or deputes one of his followers to do so, and the carcase is given to his retinue. The custom exists in Shighnan, Badakhshan, Wakhan, Chitral, Yassin, Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager. In the latter place it is customary to slay the bullock with bow and arrow. Of late years the practice has become somewhat modified owing to the strict observance of Mahommedan customs, and it is more usual to give over the bullock alive to the guest, so that its throat may be cut in a more orthodox fashion; but occasionally a chief wishing to show off the strength of his arm and the temper of his blade, will adhere to the old custom.

B 595 582 587 Polygamy is of course practised, and the right of divorce is somewhat wantonly exercised. The marriage of very young children is not common, though occasionally practised. Girls are generally married between the ages of ten and four-

D 595 582 587 B D [367]

[1] Rawlinson mentions this as an ancient Persian fashion.—*Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. IV.

[2] Strabo Book XV., Chapter 3, Section 20.

[3] The Shawaran answers all the purposes of the village green in England, being used for all gatherings and games.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P.40-C]

648 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
643 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[651] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
643 are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
692 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
[645] which consists of the Mir, his heredi-
tary grand vizier, plus the Mir-ap-
pointed chiefs of all the villages within
[681] walking distance of the palace. How-
ever, since the loser usually pays a fine
to the Mir's treasury, and the winner
traditionally gives the court a present
equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
643 (literally "Grandfather King") is
spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

tion of his by marriage. The next few hours were anxious, but gradually, after various pourparlers, peace was restored. The Wazir came to see me in the afternoon, accompanied by the Thum's treasurer, an old villain who was the manager in all sales of slaves; for though the Wazir was his right-hand man, and his brain and hand had helped him to power, the Chief would not trust him to see me alone. I gathered enough, however, to show me that Wazir Dadu had been no party to the day's folly, and that he was for peace and friendliness with us. His companion made the most of his opportunities by stealing, while my attention was fixed on Dadu, an enamel matchbox which was on the table. I found that the man I had to thank for all the trouble was a scoundrel called Daulat Shah, the son of one of the old Chief's headmen, who used to go regularly to Kashmir with the yearly tribute. On his death the Durbar discontinued a pension they had been in the habit of giving him. Daulat Shah claimed this as a right, and had been refused. He was the man who had been reported to me as "without hope" at Nagar. As I had declined to promise that this pension should be continued to him, he bided his time, and was taking his revenge. Three years later came my turn, and we got more than level.

After Dadu had left I strolled round camp, and quietly gave orders that none of the fighting men were to leave its precincts, and that the ammunition boxes were to be opened up the moment it was dusk.

It was curious to see the different effect which the knowledge of danger produced on the men in camp. That there was danger all knew by this time, and

exception of the doctor or visitors. There was a letter 205
from my office awaiting me when I reached the Mir's palace. The Mir told me about it right after our first greeting. He was understanding enough to realize I would be happy to hear from home.

I guess many of the things about Hunza wouldn't 642
allow the country to come under the heading of a democracy, but from what I saw of life and living in Hunza, I assure you it is more of a democracy than any other democracy in existence today.

Hunza has no policemen, no soldiers, no bureau- 692
cracy, no customs officers or immigration officers. They 643
do have the Mir who is the ruler and true head of the [647]
state and the Mir appoints the Wazir who is his right [693]
hand man and acts as judge.

All major squabbles and disputes are handled by the Mir. He holds court regularly and makes the decisions and his word is law and cannot be challenged or contested by anyone. Minor cases are looked after and into and tried by the Wazir.

Hunza does not have a jail. There is no lockup 697
whatsoever. If and when a crime is committed, the 681
criminal or culprit is banished to a place called Shimshal. At Shimshal the criminal or guilty person is not confined or jailed. He just has to live in that rugged place, where living is grim. The altitude is somewhere [133]
around 12,000 or 13,000 feet, and eking an existence out of the land there is most difficult and precarious. Actually the form of punishment is a sort of ostracism.

Evidently the threat of being sentenced to live in 674
Shimshal is a great deterrent, because few crimes are committed. There have only been two instances in the last ten years where serious crimes have occurred. In [689]
one instance it was a youth who had posted indecent signs on trees and other places. He was hailed before

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 17

LAND AND HOUSES IN HUNZA

423 By far the majority of the peasant families in Hunza are freeholders. The land passes from generation to generation without tax during life or duty after death. In olden days the Mirs owned a certain amount of land in every settlement, and the custom was to have this farmed by forced labour, spread, in theory, justly over the villagers. The Yerpa, or Steward, in charge of such royal demesnes, was obviously in the pleasant position of being able on the one side to cheat his royal master of a large proportion of the produce, and on the other to oppress and squeeze the luckless peasant-labourers. He extorted bribes in kind from anyone able thus to evade the communal work, and he could impose more than a fair share of the labour on anyone who incurred his dislike. When the present Mir (Sir Muhammad Nazím Khán)[1] was a boy he had seen this system at its ugly work under his father, Mir Ghazan Khan, and his elder brother, Mir Safdar Ali, and as he would tell you with a smile: "I knew just how much peculation and bribery went on—had I not acted as Yerpa myself!"

643 To secure the throne for himself, Safdar Ali, as may be
648 remembered, murdered his father and several brothers in traditional Karakoram style, and ultimately fell foul of the British Government of India by breaking promises and treaties and trying to play off the Chinese and Russian Governments against the Indian. After the brilliant little frontier campaign of 1891–92 he fled—unregretted—to Central Asia, leaving vacant the throne of his ancestors. The British had no wish to annex the country, but it was highly important for the security

[1] Now, alas! the late Mir.—E. O. L., 1938.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

of India that it should not be taken over by Russia. It was decided to put on the throne a younger brother of the fugitive Safdar Ali's—who by good luck had escaped murder. This young man, Muhammad Nazím Khán, had had an unusually wide political education. As a boy of only nine or ten he had been sent down by his father as a hostage to Gilgit, and had there met British officers for the first time and gained many new ideas. Later he had acted as ambassador and negotiator for his father and his brother on missions to Chinese Turkestan and Afghanistan, and he could talk Wakhi, Turki, Khowar, and Hindustani, as well as his own Burushaski. Above all, he was an extremely able youth, and had drawn his own deductions from his varied adventures. In 1892[1] he was therefore made king, with the able Humayun Beg as his Wazir, and since that time he has been our trusty and faithful ally, guarding for us the lofty passes that are the extreme northern gates to India on the west. For four and forty years he has now ruled his people with firmness, sympathy, and kindness, maintaining security, dispensing justice in accordance with local custom and public opinion, keeping up and encouraging the traditional festivals that punctuate the year with joust and dance, music and merriment.

During his reign there have been only two murders on Hunza soil, serious crime is unknown, and even theft and petty pilfering are non-existent, though there are in the country no prisons and no police. On rare occasions when some mischief-maker threatens serious trouble, the Mir, with the concurrence of his subjects, may deport the would-be disturber of the peace to the distant valleys of Shimhál to tend the royal flocks that pasture there or to spend his energy on roads or aqueducts. Food and pasturage are plentiful, and life in some respects more luxurious than in lower Hunza; but the Hunzukuts loves his home, his family, his apricots, and after a couple of years' exile the malcontent returns a wiser man. It is amusing to see a recent book indicting the Mir of Hunza for the "tyranny" that imposes so humane and so useful a punish-

[1] A popular account of these high matters may be found in Algernon Durand's *Making of a Frontier*, and in E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*.

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 643
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws 648
a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. 344
It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an 644
elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

Back about 400 years ago one of the rulers of Hunza [173]
married a daughter of the King of Baltistan who, as [648]
a gift to his daughter and her husband, dispatched 500 workmen from his country to Hunza to erect the Baltit Fort that we now know. The rulers of Hunza dwelt in that fort and made it their palace until recent times. The present Mir, too, when he took office after the [712]
death of his father, resided in this palace known as Baltit Fort.

The new palace, in which we were being wined, [122]
dined and entertained, had been completed recently and was taken possession of by the present Mir about 7 years ago. Actually though, the new palace was started by the Mir's grandfather back as far as 1925.

While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I un- [692]
derstand, would be used, on completion, as his court, [643]
where the citizens of Hunza would come with their problems and where the Mir would preside in judgment.

However, this work in no way interfered with the [342]
normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

175 643 was then succeeded by his son, the present ruler—Mohammed Jamal Khan who has been the ruler of Hunza since 1945.

175 643 669 Here is a quotation from the Mir's grandfather's book in which he tells about the blood-curdling exploits of his brother, Sfdar Ali, whom he succeeded:

"He thereupon had Taighoon, Nematulla and Misiab killed, Sakhawat Shah and Jahandar Shah rolled down a precipice below Ghulkin, their mother put to death and arranged for the murder of Salam Khan in Shimshal."

However, he spared the life of his brother, Nazim Khan and then he wrote to the Maharajah of Kashmir to announce his ascension to the throne in the following descriptive terms:

"By the will of Allah and a decree of fate, my late father and I recently fell out. I took the initiative and settled the matter, and have placed myself on the throne of my ancestors."

This bloodthirsty Mir virtually got away with mass murder and felt that he was cock of the walk and could afford to defy any power.

175 648 From my reading of the Mir's grandfather's autobiography, from studies made from the earlier books written about Hunza and from my observations and discussions on the spot, I have evolved a personal kind of understanding concerning the situation that prevails in Hunza today.

[771] The Mir of Hunza, as well as the other rulers of the principalities in that area, such as Nagir, Punial, Yasin, Baltistan and others, are all Mohammedan and, from what I can gather, they supported or were willing participants in the revolt which tied them together with the central government in Pakistan. This government, bear in mind, is strictly Mohammedan and partition

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7

from India was on this religious basis.

However, records clearly indicate that Hunza had for many years enjoyed a pleasant relationship and trade with her Chinese neighbors through the Province of Singkiang. History shows that for ages the caravans moved continually from Kashgar, Urumchi and Yarkand down through Hunza and on to Gilgit, Peshawar, Afghanistan, Persia and further westward.

Hunza in those days used a lot of rice, which came from China. Wheat has practically completely replaced rice.

If this gives rise to the impression that Hunza was not as self-sufficient as you imagined, I am sorry, but I am dealing with facts and not myths . . . unless they are so identified. I don't believe nor does data prove that, while caravans moved from Turkestan through Hunza, there was any great trade or barter between the people of Hunza and Turkestan.

But because of the regular movement of these caravans across Hunza territory, it is easy to comprehend that most of the things the Hunzans would use and require would come from China and there would be a strong Chinese or Turkic influence in the area. Upon checking closely into the records and history, I found that the Chinese district bordering Hunza was also principally Mohammedan in religion as are most of the Turkic peoples. Mir Nazim Khan states clearly in his autobiography that the Mir of Hunza had possession of vast acreages in China along the Yarkand River, on which roamed herds of yaks and other domestic beasts. (It wasn't China then as they had not yet claimed it.)

The Mirs of Hunza have for many years—in fact, from time immemorial—paid tribute to the Chinese government at Kashgar. From the records that I have been able to find, they paid tribute to Kashgar long

175 before the Chinese government took control of that
648 region. (By that I mean, while it was still in the hands of what is known as the Turki.)

This quotation from the autobiography of Nazim Khan will serve to illustrate the point in question:

"Two years later Colonel Bruce came to Gilgit as temporary British Agent and he told me that the Government had decided that I might still pay my annual tribute to China. To this, however, I demurred as I pointed out to him that having relations with both was like sitting between two stools. He, however, retorted that if this was the case and one stool broke there was always the other to sit on and that no suspicion would attach to me as long as there were friendly relations between the British Government and the Emperor of China. He did make one stipulation, though, and that was that I should let the Political Agent in Gilgit see the letter that accompanied the toll, before it was despatched."

In turn, the Chinese sent a friendly troop of soldiers to Hunza every year with gifts for the Mir and rich, luxurious gifts they were!

175 Now this may sound very strange, almost ridiculous
648 but nevertheless, it is absolutely true. And the reason
487 is simple and easy to understand if you will but follow me. The road through Hunza was by far the shortest route to Gilgit, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Kabul and Persia as well as Srinagar in Kashmir and other parts of India. Elsewhere along the route the caravans could travel with immunity and safety but in Hunza even the largest caravan—yes, even one protected by gun bearers or soldiers—could easily come to grief. All that would be required would be a few men hidden away in the upper reaches on the slopes to begin dropping stones or to start a landslide at a given moment.

As that entire 200 miles from the Chinese border to Nomal is composed chiefly of this type of terrain, unless a caravan had a guarantee of safe conduct, they just couldn't get through. 175 648 [487]

The Mir was the ruler of Hunza and he held full and complete control over his tribesmen. So what could be more natural and understandable than an annual payment of tribute to the Mir for safe conduct? I know for a fact that right up until the time when the Chinese Communists took over the Singkiang District, the Mir still received a share of the cargo carried by the caravans traveling through Hunza. [643] [487]

Therefore it is my conclusion that the ways, the habits and the mode of life of the people of Hunza were patterned more after the Chinese than the Indians. Further, I suspect that they did a lot more trading with the caravans that came through regularly than they ever did at Gilgit. In one instance the caravans came to them and in the other case they had to go down to Gilgit . . . anywhere from 40 to 200 or so miles away, through the tough mountain roads. 175 648 439 [177]

It was in November 1947, when Pakistan seized part of Kashmir from India by an armed revolt. The circumstances that brought about this event are worth recording and I believe you will have greater understanding of the people of Hunza and Pakistan if you know the story. 175 648

The Pakistanis claim that the Province of Kashmir should belong to Pakistan because the Indian government had agreed to allow all the predominantly Moslem districts to secede and become a part of the newly formed country of Pakistan. Therefore, Kashmir which is more than 90 per cent Moslem should be a part of the Mohammedan nation. Eventually, when partition took place, Kashmir was not permitted out of the fold

175 of India but was held in abeyance by her, not belong-
648 ing to one or the other, yet under Indian control.

But in October of 1947, when the Maharajah of Kashmir who was Mohammedan suddenly decided to accede to the side of India because of pressure, threats or promises, word got down to Gilgit and there a few bold, Mohammedan officers and members of the Gilgit Scouts acted. They first approached two British officers who were still in the employ of the government . . . these officers obviously sympathized with their views.

Immediately these officers cut all communications by slicing the telegraph and telephone wires and placed the Governor of Gilgit, who was the Maharajah of Kashmir's representative, along with his few Hindu followers, under arrest.

The Indian government retaliated by bombing Gilgit. The P.A.'s house was hit by one of the bombs but only a small amount of damage was inflicted.

So since that day in November, 1947 the Gilgit area, including Hunza, Baltistan and other parts that were once part of the former Kashmir Province, is now part of Pakistan and forms the Gilgit Agency.

Considering the many casualties that occurred in other parts of Pakistan and India, the Gilgit episode is one that those in charge can be proud of because there were few if any casualties and the entire area seems to be happy under Pakistan authority.

648 Since 1947 the influence in Hunza has been mainly Pakistani. Whether the people of Hunza like it that way or not, I could not ascertain. I did not ask the Mir his opinion. To the best of my knowledge and belief, he is cooperating to the highest degree with the central government in Pakistan.

Actually, from the way the people of Hunza live,

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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I cannot see what difference it would make to them whether they were a part of the British Empire, India or Pakistan, or if they were independent. They receive little or nothing from the outside world and contribute little or nothing in return. They are content to leave the world alone if the world will but leave them alone. The law of "live and let live" seems to be the "Golden Rule" in Hunza. If only more peoples and nations throughout the world would follow this simple principle!

Why have the people of this tiny principality so fascinated the world? That is a question that I have sought to answer.

I believe it was Mrs. Lorimer's book *Language Hunting in the Karakorams* that first brought Hunza to the attention of many parts of the world. Then, too, Robert McCarrison mentioned the health of these people in his research writings. Other writers followed. J. I. Rodale in *The Healthy Hunzas* did a lot to focus attention on the people of Hunza. Then G. T. Wrench, Barbara Mons, Frank and Jean Shore, John Clark, Lowell Thomas, Jr., Owen Williams, Ian Stephens, Peter Fleming, Irene V. Unruh, Ben Ruhe and Dr. Allen Banik.

Here I would like to devote a few lines to the work of the above mentioned authors.

I still believe that the most accurate and detailed information about Hunza was given by Mrs. Lorimer.

Barbara Mons in her book *High Road to Hunza* gives a splendid account of the people. The only serious thing I found wrong with it was that there wasn't enough . . . her book left me hungry, eager and yearning for more information about these delightful people. I rank her work as the most concise, informative, pleasurable book on Hunza.

survive despite the encroachment of modern civilization? 177

I go on record as saying, "Yes, she can survive but it will take good leadership, and the present ruling Mir —my friend, Mohammed Jamal Khan—is capable of this leadership, provided he is not interfered with by the powers that surround him or emanate from Karachi!"

The first detrimental factor that is crawling into Hunza at the present time, and has been for some years, is salt. Already numerous cases of goiter have appeared which did not exist before when they used their native salt. 177 263 164

Travel in Hunza is restricted. In fact, at the present time no foreigner is allowed into the state without a permit and that includes Pakistanis as well. As far as I know, my friend Cec Brunton and I were the last foreigners to enter Hunza. With the political situation as it is today, I doubt if anyone else will be permitted to enter the country until the situation changes. 486 648 123

The fact that China is at the present time encroaching upon India is a rather significant factor. I really can't appraise its implications because the disputed area by any calculation seems to be of little or no value. There are millions of such acres available throughout Tibet and the Himalayan cordillera as well as in the Karakorums. Therefore it must be just for aggrandizement that China is moving. If that is her aim and desire, then Hunza would be right up her alley. 648

Yet it is my firm belief that China will not bother Hunza. I know the Afghans have looked with longing eyes on that part of Pakistan for some years, but they have neither the arms nor the men to successfully invade the area, although with arms from Russia and a little prodding, things could get hot in that area. How-

648 ever, such a move, in my humble opinion, would be most ill-advised because the Pakistan government has splendid leadership, a good army and a mighty impregnable position in Gilgit. Undoubtedly Gilgit is the most accessible point in that entire area and Gilgit which belongs to Pakistan, is most capably staffed, manned and led.

177 Even as I write my tale, changes are occurring in [164] Hunza. In a letter received from the doctor just before [167] my book went to press, he told me that many diseases unknown in Hunza before are making their appearance—primarily because they are brought back by native Hunzans who go out to serve in the army or work in other parts of Pakistan and the area.

[161] The population of Hunza is as great now as its land can foster and sustain. There is no reason to believe that the birth rate in Hunza will decrease and that means that more and more of the people of Hunza will have to seek a livelihood elsewhere. But they will keep returning and bringing with them the benefits of civilization. That, in my opinion, will be the undoing of that little paradise on earth.

Being blessed with the earth's most fabulous mountain scenery may also be the cause of Hunza's undoing. I've noticed that exploration parties and mountain climbers have been congregating in that area more and more. British, Swiss, German, Italian and Austrian expeditions have been in or are planning to go into the Karakorums to scale those hundred peaks over 20,000 feet high.

The magnetism of unscaled impregnable mountain summits becomes overpowering to many men. Why bother with the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rockies or the Andes, when the Himalayas, the Karakorums and the Hindu Kush offer a much more taunting challenge?

partake of the Mir's blessings. 000

In comparing the fort at Altit and the one at Baltit, I gained the impression that the one at Altit had more rooms . . . smaller ones they were, but there seemed to be more of them. The old fort at Baltit was much larger and more impressive. Yet somehow I became more attached to the Altit Fort. I had the impression that it was almost impregnable. 344 644 712

Then I recalled the true story of the capture of the fort by the British and, after appraising its isolation, strength and precipitous banks and sides, I thought to myself, "Any group of men who had the courage to attempt to scale and capture any fort in Hunza deserved a lot more glory and loot than they would ever get in Hunza . . . and that is for certain!" 712 648

On one of the balconies stood a man with a bowl of apricots and Sultan Ali said, "This man is the chowkidor, or guardian, of the fort and it is customary to give him a gift." 124

"Of what?" I asked.

"Oh, about 10 rupees," replied Sultan Ali.

Jahangir almost jumped a foot when he heard that and he said, "For what? He hasn't done anything and we haven't eaten any of his apricots."

"Well," Sultan Ali said, "it's just customary!"

"Customary or no," said Jahangir, "I think it's ridiculous!"

I turned to Sultan Ali and said, "Normally I'd be glad to give him the tip that you suggest, but the truth of the matter is my fund of Pakistan rupees is just about nonexistent. When we set out for Hunza from Pindi we calculated in advance approximately how many rupees we would need and then we added on 100 extra, and that's what we came with. 124 122

"From the stories that we read and from the infor-

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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produced a key and opened the door. 344

Soon I was wandering through the well-appointed summer cottage. It was neat, tidy, clean and solidly built but of course it was not on par with the palace—nor would one expect it to be. After all, as mentioned, it was but a weekend spot and what we would call a summer cottage back home. Yet, of course, it was much nicer than the average summer cottage, but not as good as some of our elegant ones back home. 644

I was rather surprised and quite amused to note that the walls were covered rather widely with shiny lithographed pictures . . . yes, it was good printing or lithographing work. The pictures were obviously put out by the Chinese communist government and everywhere they showed workers and working girls with beaming faces, wearing good clothes and looking prosperous, but no one could doubt that these pictures were splendid specimens of communist propaganda. 353 648

One of the most effective pictures for propaganda purposes, I gathered, was one that showed the happy beaming faces of whites, yellows, blacks—all mixed and enjoying life together.

At first I thought that the Mir couldn't have known about these pictures hanging in his bungalow, but then I gathered that he must know about them. Evidently he doesn't fear them or worry about them. Perhaps he knows his people better than anyone else.

I do not have to go into a long discourse to prove to myself or to anyone else that the Mir does not have communistic leanings because communism would quickly and definitely stamp out any form of absolute rule like his Mirship. Yet I can also see the absolute necessity of the Mir keeping on friendly terms and not antagonizing either the Russian or the Chinese Communists. Then to make the situation even more hazard- 678

648 ous, the Russians have infiltrated Afghanistan. Therefore, Hunza is now completely hemmed in by what I would call the bamboo, the iron and the stone curtains.

I can't visualize where the Mir has too much to fear from Communist aggression. From what I have seen and learned, the Communists like their spots plush, soft and succulent. None of these conditions exist in Hunza!

The Communists like locations where they can eventually, if not immediately, take out more than they put in. That would never take place in Hunza. Then, too, people who have chosen to live on the north bank of the Hunza River would not be easily shackled
[643] or enslaved. Admittedly, the Mir is an absolute monarch but there are no signs of that type of rule in evidence anywhere in Hunza. There's a parallel in England. While England has a queen, monarch whom the people respect and revere, whom they would follow in life and in death, the monarch would never make demands on her people.

I do not believe there is a more democratic nation on the face of the globe than Great Britain . . . and that includes the United States or other republics. I believe the same situation holds true in Hunza.

Another point to be considered by possible invaders is . . . What would they gain besides possible armed conflicts with Pakistan and perhaps India?

[353] No, I would suggest that Hunza is comparatively safe from communist aggression and the Mir can afford to have the communist propaganda pictures on the walls of his summer bungalow in Altit as a gesture of friendship.

247 The yard or garden around the bungalow[1] was aglow
177 with flowers of every description and hue imaginable.

1 [ie. of the Mir - ANALYST]

human being take to a task so assiduously and with so 114
much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even if they are printed in German.

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it 104
is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last 197
syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I found every other source, with one exception besides myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better if I, too, used the "aski".

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains un- 671
written, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding.

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza 648
was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowledged sovereignty to India.

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly 643
has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I 175
know this power has never been used or abused by the [642]
present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office.

643 Therefore, I assume that it was an unimportant or
175 uneventful period or, maybe for other reasons, they don't want to say very much about it. However, his grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, has been famed both in fact and fiction and was well educated.
[538] He left an autobiography, and I am the owner of a copy of it, which was given to me by the present Mir.

• 648 Today Hunza is a part of Pakistan but again, I could
177 see no Pakistani influence in the country, although
167 quite a few of the Hunzan citizens serve in the Pakistani army. But when the Hunzan men and boys return on furlough or after finishing their term of service in the Pakistani army, they take off the uniform and dress in typical Hunzan garb.

643 The Mir is still the absolute monarch of the country.
648 Just what part the Pakistani government takes in his government I do not know, but to all intents and purposes, Hunza is ruled and governed by the Mir.

648 From the most reliable sources that I could contact
642 and glean information from, I learned that Hunza is even today considered an independent state. Hunza and Nagir, its neighbor on the other side of the Hunza River, are said to be the only two remaining independent states in Pakistan, in spite of the fact that, by agreement, the Pakistani government looks after and takes charge of their foreign policy.

436 Apart from the fact that they use the Pakistani ru-
177 pee, and even then only a few of them appear, there seems to be no other Pakistani influence in either Nagir or Hunza.

205 Pakistani postage is also used in Hunza. The mail is
[177] brought in and sorted twice a week. All of the Mir's letters that I have received bear Pakistani airmail postage and they are postmarked "Experimental P.O." I doubt if anyone but the Mir gets any mail, with the

Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been 674
two murders only in my country and all the people have been happy and prosperous. The Government of [648]
India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity.

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the 167
world and get work in other places. . . .

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village 692
there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal.

"If it is considered that a death sentence is called 695
for, the people are collected and if any one will speak 681
up for the culprit, his sentence is remitted. Otherwise he is executed in the presence of the people.

"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, 684
his house could be destroyed, his animals slaughtered 837
and his trees felled without any trouble falling on the offenders and though that custom has fallen into desuetude, it is still considered right for a man to kill his wife's lover if he can catch them 'flagrante delicto'!

"Marriage is not allowed between near relations and 582
whenever possible, people marry into a clan different from their own. Child marriage is discouraged and [177]
tribal customs have been moulded to conform to modern ideas since I became Mir. . . .

"In former years Shimshal was used as a place to 681

of his fellow man and see that it is fairly and impartially carried out, we have made it too complicated. Is there any justifiable reason why it should take months or even years for a civil case to be heard in court? If there are not sufficient judges, I'm sure it would not be difficult to appoint or elect more of them. If there are not enough court rooms and court houses, I feel confident that, with American construction at its high peak of efficiency, it wouldn't take long to correct that.

Then why isn't it done? I don't know the answer. Do you? The Hunzan system of justice seems to be functioning in a most satisfactory manner. Anyone may petition the Mir and unless he is away, can get an almost immediate hearing. If the Mir is not available or if the problem is not a weighty one, then the Wazir can attend to it.

In truth, justice can be simple!

* * * * *

In order to get into Hunza you must obtain a permit from the Pakistani authorities in the capital, which is Karachi, but I understand the government is being moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi or a new site close to it. I still think it is more important to have the Mir's invitation, because even though you could get into Hunza, you would be practically helpless without the Mir's assistance and cooperation.

Unless you brought a guide with you and one who could speak English and translate for you, you'd find the going very, very difficult in either Nagir or Hunza. Therefore I would suggest that if you contemplate a visit into this area, you obtain the Mir's invitation or permission first. Then go after the Pakistani government's permit.

Why the Pakistan government regards Hunza as a strategic region or area is not hard to understand if

you realize that Hunza's neighbors are Afghanistan, 648 •
China and India and slightly above a narrow corridor [131]
of Afghanistan there is Russia, just a scant few miles from the Hunzan border.

Therefore, any person who wanted to start trouble with either Russia or China could get into the Hunza area and it wouldn't take too much maneuvering to cause an international incident, especially if the Chinese or Russians were looking for an excuse. So I don't blame the Pakistani government for being cautious and realistic about those possibilities.

Just a few years ago an American scientist working 648
with funds raised by an organization started for that 177
purpose, known as the Central Asiatic Research Foundation, wanted to take a couple of the Hunzan boys to the United States and have them educated there and then brought back again to Hunza. At first the Mir flatly refused. Then after reconsidering the matter, and perhaps in consultation with others, he changed his mind and gave his permission. I did not inquire as to the exact rhyme and reason for the developments that took place, but eventually the Pakistani government decisively and definitely refused to allow the boys out of the country.

It appeared to me that the Mir felt that there was no reason why he should refuse when the foreign policy of his country was being looked after in Karachi. I am more than certain that the Mir's opinion was recorded in Karachi.

But John Clark, the writer of a book about Hunza, [114
and some American authorities were very annoyed at this and felt that the Mir was being unreasonable, ungenerous and to say the least, unkind in not allowing these boys to come to America.

I did not know then the true reasons behind the Mir's

refusal and what other intrigues were involved, and when I questioned him about this and he explained, I realized that he had acted wisely—and so will you.

"If I allowed those boys to go to America to be educated and then come back to Hunza in a few years, both the Chinese and Russians could say that I sent them to America to be brainwashed, filled with propaganda or trained in subversive capitalistic activities.

"Well, I'm not giving Russia or China any excuses. We are a peace-loving people, we get along with the Chinese and the Russians, we mind our own business and we intend to stay free of entanglements and embroilments, if humanly possible.

"They said that I had refused to let the boys go because I was afraid that when they came back they would teach the people the American way, and that would undermine my rule and to a degree that is true, because I think my people are the happiest and healthiest in the world, and that is more than any other nation can claim. So I would like to keep them that way, if possible.

"But I'm not afraid of my people becoming educated because we do everything within our limited powers to further their education now and have done so for some years."

This statement I found to be absolutely true. The Hunzans by and large are the best learned people of that or any other area in India or Pakistan. Please don't misunderstand. I don't mean that there are no better educated individuals in these two countries because that is not so. I mean that there are few places in Pakistan or India where all of the male citizens are afforded the opportunity of getting an education without cost. That is true in Hunza.

These schools that I saw seemed to be comparable

133 too, as you rose where the road led on high crests, you
487 could see the river winding, twisting, bending in the distance and you knew that you would be there soon—in an hour or a few.

As you course your way along the trail, you see the snow and ice covered mountain ranges with their glorious majestic crests gleaming in slides of silvery softness. You follow a road, that was known for at least a thousand years as a snaking, curving road of exceptional beauty, mid towering heights, nameless peaks and grave hazards.

'Twas but a scant few decades ago—yes, even that short a time—that one or two successful caravan trading trips, winding their way from China to the Khyber Pass via Peshawar, Pindi, Gilgit and the Hunza and Nagir Valleys, could make a trader rich, if he could get through without mishap and avoid being robbed by brigands.

The camel caravans would be laden with silks, gaily colored cloth, clothing, tea, porcelain, earthenware, jewels, gold and silver, ivory, salt, sweetening, spices, trinkets and bottles, fancy slippers, foot coverings, vases, trays and fancily inscribed artware, bars of iron and steel, knives, cooking utensils..

On this caravan route, animals do not walk side by side, but one behind the other.

648 It is no wonder that the owners of the caravans were glad to pay tribute for safe conduct through these defiles and passes.

We met caravans but they were evidently coming from the Pamirs and heading towards Gilgit, Peshawar and Srinagar. They were good sized ones with many donkeys and camels. The altitude wasn't high enough for yaks.

They looked sort of nondescript to me. I thought

to let you figure it out. I'm just telling you what I saw 137
and what I think.

I admit that I would very much like to some day [133]
climb and find out exactly what those trees were, but
Rakaposhi is one of the most difficult of all mountains
on earth to climb. It took 23 attempts to conquer 541
Rakaposhi. The first 22 attempts failed, but a British
expedition succeeded in scaling her summit in 1958.
One side is almost a sheer drop, so from that side I'll
stay clear. Of course there wouldn't be anything growing there, anyway.

The ascent of Rakaposhi was accomplished by the British Pakistan Forces Himalayan Expedition, 1958. Captain Shah Khan, the Mir's uncle, was a member of the expedition. I quote from the account . . .

"Captain Shah Khan was a most important and use- [415]
ful member of the expedition. He personally selected
our 6 Hunza porters, and being a Hunza man himself,
in fact the uncle of the Mir, we hoped for great things
from them. We were not in the least disappointed."

The expedition started May 12th from Gilgit and established a base camp on May 26 at 14,000 feet. It was on June 25th that two members of the expedition, Mike Banks and Tom Pattey, reached the summit, under terrible conditions of winds and drifts.

Varieties of shrubs in Hunza were more numerous. I 137
saw a few wild roses just like any wild rose you see
anywhere. The flower had a slight fragrance and was
reddish-pink in color.

Then there was a plant that resembled barberry, except it had a blue berry instead of a red one. The berry was edible. I tried some and found the taste pleasing and sweet, but there was very little meat or pulp. It was practically all skin and seeds. It was much

682 past 40 years. Never to my knowledge has a stranger
[609] or a visitor ever been harmed or injured.

175 In bygone days the Hunzans were considered good
648 fighting men and were feared by the Chinese, the Afghans and neighboring tribes. It is a fact that they have only been conquered or beaten once in their history and that was by a British force that defeated them at the Battle of Nilt. The British did not seek to conquer the country. It was at the time when the British were the rulers of India. They requested that the Mir of Hunza allow free passage of the mail to Kashgar in China. The Mir at that time, Safdar Ali, felt that he could count upon the aid of the Russians and the Chinese and challenged the British authority. Then the British force went into the field and it required deliberation and courage to assault the high fortress, but it was accomplished by the British and the
[649] Mir fled for his life. The British then appointed his brother as the ruler and departed peacefully. Apart from this, the British did not interfere in the affairs of the Hunzans.

129 *You lose face if you carry anything yourself or do any work.* In all my travels throughout the world, including Hunza, I always did my share of the carrying. I wasn't going to stand by and see one or two men burdened down with my belongings while I walked about empty handed. I will not allow it to be said that I lost face because of this.

I don't want it to be thought that I am better than anyone else nor will I allow them to think that they are better than I. Wherever there was work to be done or burdens to be borne, I always did my share and I intend to keep on doing it.

131 *Hunza in the Himalayas.* Some writers keep referring to Hunza, Gilgit and Rakaposhi as being in the

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P 40-B]

121 In Hunza, say the romanticists, a race
[79] of Moslems—descended, according to their traditions, from the lost legions of Alexander the Great—exist in a Himalayan paradise, thrive on simple foods, live a life free of the corruptions of Western civilization, and reach ages of 120 to 140, the men still fathering children when more than 90 years of age. After being exposed to the realities of Hunza life, one feels more than a sense of irony when he comes upon these representations of a way of life that is among the bitterest in Asia. The "Healthy Hunzas," the "Democratic Court," and the "Land Where There Are No Poor" — almost all of this is born of too-hurried observation by Western tourists.

• 148 Politically, Hunza is a protectorate
204 of Pakistan, which controls its foreign

[P.40-C]

678 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
693 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[65] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
693 are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
692 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
[695] which consists of the Mir, his heredi-
tary grand vizier, plus the Mir-ap-
pointed chiefs of all the villages within
[601] walking distance of the palace. How-
ever, since the loser usually pays a fine
to the Mir's treasury, and the winner
traditionally gives the court a present
equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
693 (literally "Grandfather King") is
spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

134 so sterile that Hunzas have told me, "If
311 you irrigate new land, you must eat for five years somewhere else."

241 HUNZAS are skillful at building a
134 limited fertility into their sterile
[237] material, given enough time. All sheep manure is carefully saved, and the fields are fertilized with it four times during each growing season. Frequent irrigation works with summer warmth and mountain ozone to decompose the manure rapidly. The growing plants thus have a few weeks of available food after each fertilization, before drainage again removes the plant food. Hunza farming is actually hydroponic gardening, with the soil functioning merely to anchor the plants.

Plainly, the plants will receive enough of only those foods that occur abundantly in sheep manure. Nitrates, phosphates, and probably calcium are deficient. Yields of wheat and alfalfa are notably lower per acre than are yields from better-fertilized American acres. Apricot trees generally have reddish leaves at the growing tips, a sure sign of soil deficiencies.

433 Even the most painstaking hydro-
241 ponic gardening cannot compensate
237 for deficiencies in the food chemistry. Moreover, their system makes Hunza one of the few countries where an agrarian economy is absolutely dependent upon the pastoral economy.
[233] Even in the high mountain summer pastures, the sheep are carefully herded into small corrals in order to preserve each night's droppings. Every few days a man climbs down the steep trail with a load of manure on his back. Effectively, the fertility of the high mountain pastures is being transferred down to Hunza's fields.

433 Unfortunately, the human popula-
161 tion has already grown so large that the fields cannot provide sufficient
167 food. Hunzas are moving out of their country in rather large numbers. Although the exact total of annual emigrees is unknown, it is clear that most of them go to the lower villages near Gilgit, where they soon displace their less industrious Shoona predecessors. Hundreds of Hunza's young men
[649] join the Pakistan army. Others take
464 work as servants, where their honesty,
[181] industry, and common sense make them highly valued. The Hunzas realize, as certain Western tourists do not, that their country is a land of little food, and even less opportunity for the future, picturesque as it is.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

DISCOURSE—*continued.*

	Government.	Prevailing Race or Caste.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
HUNZA ..	Ruled by Raja Ghazan Khán, son of Ghazanfar. (Raja's family, Ayushia.)	Yashkun	All Mohál.	
ISHKOMAN, or CHATARKUN	Belongs to Yasin	Yashkun	Mohál.	
YÁSÍN ..	Ruled by Raja Mír Wali, son of Gaur Rahmán. (Raja's family, Bakhta.)	Yashkun	Mohál and Sunl, the former predominating; no Shia.	Here slaves are both kept and dealt in.
CHITRÁL and MASTUJ.	Ruled by Raja Imán-ul-Mulk. (Raja's family, Katori.)	Yashkun	Sunl.	
GOLJÁL in BADAKHSHÁN	Dependent on the Mír or Prince of Badakhshán (tributary to Kabul).	Wakhík *	Mohál.	
DÁREL ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun	Sunl.	In these, captives of war are kept as slaves; slave-dealing is not practised.
TANGIR ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		
GOR	Republic	Shia and Yashkun	Sunl.	
THALICHA ..	Republic.			
CHILÁS ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		
KOLI	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		
PÁLUS ..	Republic	Shia and Yashkun		

The first five divisions I have already treated of as fully as I was able. We now come to the countries that surround Gilgit.

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Maharaja, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

The people of Nagar are called Khajant.

Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Maharaja, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Raja sent an agent to Srinagar to open friendly relations, who was well received; I do not know

* I have never met any of these people, but I believe them to be Dárds. Goljá is another name by which they are called; that is the territorial name, while Wakhík is the caste name.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B 648 what since has occurred, but there seemed to me to be no likelihood of close friendship.

B 101 The people of Hunza are called Hunzije.

D 101 The people of *Ishkoman*, or *Chatarkun*, are called Ishkomanije, or Chatarkune.

As to *Yāsin*, the most that we know of it has been told by Mr. Hayward *; I can add little to that. The people of Yāsin are called Pure.

D 487 Here are some notes, taken from hearsay, of the roads that lead out of Yāsin:

Yāsin to Mastūj; Three Roads.

(1) By Shaver, five or six marches; it can be traversed by men all the year round; for horses it is difficult in winter, but is not altogether closed for them, or if it is, then only for fifteen days or so at a time, until the snow has hardened; also it is bad for horses for a fortnight in spring.

(2) By Tūl, three marches; the Pass crossed the second day.

(3) By Nazba, three marches; the Pass crossed the second day.

Both these are closed for traffic by the end of October.

Probably the marches are of 20 miles each.

Yāsin by Shaver and Tangir to Swāt;

A five days' journey they say; but I think these are long marches: it may be 120 miles.

Yāsin to Badakhshān.

This road is the one which Mr. Hayward was taking when he met with his death.

The Pass closes for horses at the end of October, while for two months it remains closed for all traffic. There is a glacier on the north side, but horses can go over it, avoiding the crevasses.

D 101 The people of Chitrāl are called Katare.

361 *Dārel.* This has seven fort-villages in a valley about a mile 642 and a half wide; the cultivation, I was told, is continuous along

* Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, 1870.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir, Burusho AV7 Kashmiri AV4

Zafar Zāhid Khān, *Tham* of Nagar, died in 1904 and was succeeded by his son Sikandar Khān. B 175 642 [648]

The chief of Hunza, who claims Roskam and the Taghdumbāsh Pāmir north of the Hindu Kush watershed, is permitted to exchange presents with the Chinese authorities in Kashgar, but these relations are under consideration. Both States are autonomous as regards internal affairs, and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mahārājā of Kashmīr, to whom they pay a tribute of nominal value. They furnish levies for the defence of the frontier, who receive pay from the Kashmīr State, and are armed with Snider carbines, presented by the Government of India.

Bāramūla.—Town in the State of Kashmīr, situated in 34° 13′ N. and 74° 23′ E. Population (1901), 5,866. Owing to its position as the river port of Kashmīr, this is a place of some importance; but in consequence of the opening of the cart-road from Bāramūla to Srīnagar, the boat traffic, on which the inhabitants chiefly depend, may in time decrease. It is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, which is crossed at the east end of the town by an excellent bridge. The inhabitants are for the most part traders or shopkeepers. Bāramūla is very liable to earthquakes, and in 1885 it was almost reduced to ruins. The name is derived from the ancient city Vārahmūla, which stood on the right bank of the river along which the old route down the Jhelum used to run. Opposite, on the bank where the present Bāramūla stands, was the town of Hushkapura, founded by king Huvishka, the Kushan ruler, who succeeded Kanishka. The site of the ancient Hushkapura is about two miles to the south-east of the modern Bāramūla. K 361 K [162] K [463] [731]

Islāmābād.—Town in the State of Kashmīr, situated in 33° 44′ N. and 75° 12′ E., about a mile from the right bank of the Jhelum, near the point where that river becomes navigable. Population (1901), 9,390. It lies under an elevated table-land, on the edge of which rises a conical hill, overlooking the town. From its foot flows a vigorous spring, the Anantnāg, a name applied to the town by Hindus. There are numerous other springs, one of which, the Maliknāg, is sulphurous, and its water is highly prized for garden cultivation. Many of the inhabitants are shawl-weavers, and a large number are engaged in agriculture. It is generally believed that Islāmābād was once a large and prosperous place, but now there are few signs of prosperity or growth. The sanitation has been much neglected, and this constitutes a danger to the health of the capital, Srīnagar. K [162] [463] [36-]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Dand AV3
Burusho AV7

D this rather ungrateful at the time, till I found that,
662 with the Governor's connivance, Wazir Ghulam Haidar had previously seized his best house and lands. It was double-dealing of this kind which had brought on the troubles for the Durbar, a mixture of weakness and bullying, fear and swagger, which had half-frightened and half-exasperated the tribesmen into attack. There was also a Helen in the case.

K A fortnight at Gilgit put me in full possession of
721 the leading facts bearing on the existing difficulties, which may be summarised as follows:—Hunza was extremely difficult of attack, and practically could have but little pressure brought to bear on it, having
B exits to the north on to the Pamirs. It could get
[439] all its luxuries from Kashgar and Yarkand, and had
[648] some connection with China; an Amban being at the time I was in Gilgit, or shortly before, in Hunza, to enquire as to the cause of the trouble. He was plundered and practically sent naked away, but that is another story. Nagar being a *cul-de-sac*, and depending for its salt and other luxuries on Gilgit, could be squeezed, and was, moreover, supposed to be easier of access. The Durbar, while jealous of its military reputation, and ostensibly making great preparations for war, really wished to avoid fighting, and was anxious to arrive at peace by any means in its power. The Committee at Gilgit fully recognised the difficulties of supply and carriage, and
K were also most anxious to come to some *modus*
721 *vivendi*. The Hunza-Nagar people were sick of the
B game, and wanted to make peace, so that the men
721 might look after the crops instead of spending the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 643 that it was our policy to be on good terms with the natural leaders of the people of the country, and the Kashmir frontier officials had mismanaged their affairs so hopelessly, and were so distrusted, that I did not wish to have them as intermediaries. In the end Raja Bahadur Khan proved of the greatest service, and his tact and knowledge of the local conditions helped to avert what might have been a very serious disaster.

B 131 648 642 The position of the small States of Hunza and Nagar, which I was about to visit, is unique; as Biddulph says, "they probably present the spectacle of a race living under almost the same conditions now as their forefathers did fourteen centuries ago." Shut in by a girdle of practically impassable mountains, they had maintained their independence for centuries, though both States apparently had at different times acknowledged the suzerainty of the rulers of Gilgit, and latterly had bound themselves to respect that of Kashmir, and to pay it tribute.

B 649 The relations of Hunza to Kashmir, and through that State with the Government of India, were complicated by the fact that the Chief of Hunza also recognised the suzerainty of China, paid a nominal tribute to, and received presents in return from its ruler.

B 186 The two States, which are divided only by a river which runs in a bed six hundred feet wide between cliffs three hundred feet high, are inhabited generally by people of the same stock, speaking the same language, professing the same form of the Mahomedan religion, and are ruled by princes sprung from the same family. Notwithstanding all this, or more correctly perhaps because of it, they have been

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

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The next few days were passed in private interviews and negotiations with Jafr Khan and his son. The former I found very sensible and amenable, but Uzr Khan showed himself day by day more stupid and boorish. He was below the average of the chiefs I had met with in intelligence, and had none of their diplomatic skill. Still I got a good deal of information out of him as to the course of events during the preceding years, an insight into the politics of the country, and a knowledge of the men likely to be important. Here, as in Chitral, the danger of bloodshed and trouble from the enmity of the royal brothers was but too plain.

The only amusement I got out of the negotiations came from the request, put forward by the Chief, that his Wazirs should be granted some pension. I readily agreed, on the condition that the amounts should be deducted from his subsidy, and that of his son. I heard no more of this proposal. After we had had our final State interview, and had sent the old Chief his presents, I held an informal reception of all the Wazirs and head men, gave them presents and robes of honour, and left them fairly satisfied.

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During our stay in Nagar we wandered about photographing, in search of anything of archæological importance. The most interesting thing I saw was a Buddhist chorten, and naturally my camera was not to be found at the moment. The building was in several tiers, stood some fifteen feet high, was circular, with a diameter of about six feet, and was finished off with a crown-shaped storey. I expected to pass that way again, and promised myself to photograph and measure it carefully, but I never saw it more.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

funked himself into a state of great nervousness 159
and a sort of nettle-rash five minutes after he had taken his first dose, which should not have taken effect for an hour. This sounded bad, for a rank coward is a dangerous man to deal with.

The views from our little camp by the polo ground were superb, especially in the afternoons; the great sugar-loaf peak of Dirran, just opposite, seemed to float and melt in the pale blue sky, and Rakapushi was glorious, with great dashes of sunlight at his base, and bands of clouds resting high up, the great peaks standing out above.

And now came the important interviews at 648
which business had to be discussed. The first one was quite satisfactory. I found the Thum in a small open room or court leading into the private apartments, and we sat down to discuss business. It was obvious that the Wazir was the important [643]
man, but also that the Thum, cowardly, shifty, [159]
and with a ridiculous idea of his own importance, must be reckoned with very carefully. Everything passed off well, and the Government conditions were readily assented to, the most important one at the moment being the promise of a free passage to Younghusband, who was to come to Gilgit in November from the Pamirs. Wazir Dadu amused 721
us very much when the question of raiding was raised. He made no attempt at denying that this was the custom of the country, and explained it by saying that Hunza was a poor state, and that necessarily its people looted. The evident enjoyment 000
with which he referred to former exploits, and the expressive grin which accompanied his explanations,

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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000 were too much for me, and I had to join in the general laugh.

648 We parted good friends, but in the evening came
151 a letter from the Thum, asking for the same subsidy for his son as had been promised to Raja Uzr Khan of Nagar. As his son was about four years old and Uzr Khan thirty, I thought this was pretty cool. In the morning came rather an insolent verbal message to the effect that unless the boy's subsidy was granted, my surveyor would not be allowed to proceed to the north, where there was some surveying work to be done. This was in direct contravention of the agreement entered into, but I took no notice, as we were to pay our farewell visits that day. After breakfast, accordingly, we went up and had a long talk, which was quite satisfactory until the question of the boy's subsidy came up. It was useless to point out that Raja Uzr Khan's grant was taken out of his father's, that he was a grown man, with much weight in the country, and that the case of the small boy would doubtless be considered when he came of age, if his father was loyal to his engagements. The Thum got sulkier and sulkier, ruder and ruder. until the Wazir, who was evidently uneasy at the turn things were taking, brought the discussion to
000 a close with smooth and tactful words. We returned to camp fairly well satisfied, to find that we had been meant to march that day, but that with their usual fecklessness the Thum's people had not let us know. It would have saved me hours of anxiety had I but known this the day before.

After sending off the presents I had brought for

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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the Thum by the Raja of Astor and my head orderly, Zyarulla Khan, I sat down and began to write an official letter to India, giving the story of the progress of the negotiations. I had been writing some time, when I saw my orderly strolling towards the tent with a rifle in his hands. I caught his eye, and saw that something was wrong, and that he wanted to see me alone. I therefore dismissed my servant, who was wandering about the tent making preparations for the next day's march, and called Zyarulla in. I never shall forget his coolness that day; he was a well-tried Pathan, for whom danger brought no fears. Looking round to see that no one was within hearing, he walked to the door of my tent, and, laying the rifle on my table, quietly remarked: "Rifle bigr gya, aur Raja bhi bigr gya"—"the rifle has gone wrong, and so has the Raja." Picking up the rifle, a repeater, I set to work to put it right, and listened to the story of his interview with our truculent host. It did not sound pleasant. My envoys had found the Thum sulky about his son's pension, and, after some talk, during which the presents were duly spread before him, he had suddenly flown into a passion, thrown my things about the room, and refused to accept them. He had called for and shown a quantity of presents received from the Russians, and offered to produce the treaty he had made with them, even to show it to me, and generally had behaved like a disappointed and spoilt child. Finally, he had sent me a message that he withdrew all the promises that he had made.

The question I had to solve, and to solve pretty quickly, was whether this was a serious outbreak, or

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
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K and treated accordingly, I marched back to Gilgit.
648 The storm was for the moment averted, but I had no hope that the settlement was permanent,
B for I knew Uzr Khan's ambition to make himself
● 648 master of Chalt, and the Hunza Chief was busy
B breaking every one of the terms of his agreement
[721] with us. He was still raiding across the northern passes; a band of his ruffians had had the insolence to kidnap a Kashmiri subject at Nomal, and to sell him into slavery on the Pamirs, and we had further serious causes of complaint. In other ways than those mentioned above my move had been a success. The Punyali levies were radiant at our having forestalled Uzr Khan, and occupied the Chaichar Parri without striking a blow. The news spread through the country-side like wild-fire, the prestige of the Kashmir troops and their own which was connected with it rose with a bound, and they felt confidence in our leadership and fortune.

000 For the next few months nothing of importance occurred, until early in August Raja Ram Singh, the Maharaja's brother, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir army, came up to inspect Gilgit. I was delighted at his coming, for it gave me an opportunity to show him what we were doing to increase the comfort and efficiency of his troops, and to consolidate the power of the Kashmir Government on the frontier. Various little traps were set with the object of embroiling me with him, but my Intelligence Department was fairly well organised, and I was able to avoid them. It afforded me much interest to explain them to him, and they gave us both a good deal of innocent amusement. The meanest was got up by one of the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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000 Smith led a little body of Kashmir troops up a cliff a thousand feet in height, under cover of a tremendous fire from our side of the ravine, that the attacking column was not discovered until more than half of the ascent was completed, that in consequence it escaped the danger of an avalanche of stones hurled down from the sungahs covering the path, and that these sungahs once taken the enemy's line was pierced, his opposition ceased, and the campaign was over. Within two days we had occupied Nagar, the Hunza Chief and Uzr Khan fled northwards across the frontier, the Hunza people made submission without striking a blow, and our plans were crowned with success.

• 148 It was an open secret that Safdar Ali Khan had counted on help from the north, and had sent an embassy to the Russians, at Tashkent. The Governor-General had refused any assistance, but by all accounts his staff had held very different language, and Safdar Ali Khan had apparently attached some importance to the reports his messenger brought. In his reply to my ultimatum he had threatened me with the wrath of the three Empires—Hunza, Russia, and China. The help expected had not been forthcoming, and the "descendant of Alexander" was now an exile. The result of the little war may best be summed up in the words of a well-known Russian statesman, who said when he heard of our occupation of Hunza: "*Ils nous ont fermés la porte au nez*" (They have slammed the door in our faces).

000 The gallantry of officers and men during the operations was fittingly rewarded. Aylmer, Boisragon, and Manners-Smith received the Victoria Cross, and

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

110 *Treaty between Kashmir and the British Government.*

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"TREATY between the British Government on the one part and MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING of JUMMOO on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by FREDERICK CURRIE, ESQUIRE, and Brevet-Major HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable SIR HENRY HARDINGE, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING in person.

ARTICLE I.

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in INDEPENDENT POSSESSION, TO MAHARAJAH GOLAB SING AND THE HEIRS MALE OF HIS BODY, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its DEPENDENCIES, situated to the EASTWARD of the River Indus and westward of the River Ravee, including Chumba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV. of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

ARTICLE II.

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharajah Golab Sing shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Golab Sing respectively for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate Engagement after survey.

ARTICLE III.

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharajah Golab Sing will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

ARTICLE IV.

The limits of the territories of Maharajah Golab Sing shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

ARTICLE V.

Maharajah Golab Sing will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

ARTICLE VI.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

ARTICLE VII.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages never to take, or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

ARTICLE VIII.

Maharajah Golab Sing engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V., VI., and VII., of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

ARTICLE IX.

The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah Golab Sing in protecting his territories from external enemies.

ARTICLE X.

Maharajah Golab Sing acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmeere shawls.

This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharajah Golab Sing in person; and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Umritsur, this Sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-six, corresponding with the Seventeenth day of Rubbee-ul-awul 1262 Hijree.

(Signed) H. HARDINGE. [SEAL.]

(Signed) F. CURRIE.
" H. M. LAWRENCE.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India.
(Signed) F. CURRIE,
Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General."

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000 sion, when they find his little finger heavier than the whole body of the indigenous oppressor. I have suffered so much from my persistent exposure of the misrule and intrigues of Kashmir by those who now hail the *fait accompli* of its practical annexation, that I may claim to be heard in favour of at least one feature of its former native administration. With bodies of troops averaging from 20 to 200, the late Maharaja, who foresaw what has happened after his death, kept the Hunza-Nagyr frontier in order. It certainly was by rule of thumb, and had no dockets, red tape, and reports. Indeed, his frontier guardians were, as I found them, asleep during a state of siege in 1866, or, when war was over, were engaged in storing grain *outside* the forts; but peace was kept as it will never be again, in spite of 2,000 Imperial troops, first-rate roads, and suspension bridges over the "Shaitan Naré," instead of the rotten rope-way that spanned "Satan's Gorge," or of boats dragged up from Srinagar over the mountains to enable a dozen sepoys to cross the Indus at a time, or to convey couriers with a couple of bullets, some dried butter-cakes, and an open letter or two, who ran the siege at Gilgit and brought such effective reinforcements to its defenders!

648 Nor has our diplomacy been more effectual than our arms, as the encounter at Chalt with Hunza-Nagyr, hereditary foes, but whom our policy has united against us, has shown. To us Nagyr is decidedly friendly; but a worm will turn if trodden on by some of our too quickly advanced subalterns. That, however, the wise and amiable Chief of Nagyr, a patriarch with a large progeny, and preserving the keenness of youth in his old age, is really friendly to us in spite of provocation, may be inferred from the following letter to me, which does credit alike to his head and heart, and which is far from showing him to be our inveterate foe, as alleged by the *Pioneer*. His eldest son began to teach me the remarkable Khajuná language, which I first committed to writing in 1866, during the siege of Gilgit, and another son continued the lessons in 1886.

1: Letter L-3 (1888-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

The latter is a hostage in Kashmir, to secure the good behaviour of his tribe, which is really infinitely superior in culture and piety to those around them. The father, who is over 90, writes in Persian to the following effect, after the usual compliments :—" The affairs of this place are by your fortune in a fair way, and I am in good health and constantly ask the same for you from the Throne which grants requests. Your kind favour with a drawing of the Mosque has reached me, and has given me much pleasure and satisfaction. The reason of the delay in its receipt and acknowledgment is due to the circumstance that, owing to disturbances (*fesâd*) I have not sent agents to Kashmir this year. After the restoration of peace, I will send [a letter] with them. In the meanwhile, I have caught your hem [seek your protection] for my son Habibullah Khan, a beloved son, about whom I am anxious; the aforesaid son is a well-wisher to the illustrious English Government. —ZA'FAR KHAN." [The letter was apparently written in June last, when *The Times* reported a "rising," because the British Agent was at Chalt with 500 men.]

It seems to me that none but a farseeing man could, in the midst of a misunderstanding, if not a fight, with us, so write to one in the enemy's camp, unless he were a true man alike in war and peace, and a ruler whose good-will was worth acquiring. As for his son, I know him to be indeed well-disposed to our Government. He was very popular among our officers when I saw him in Kashmir, owing to his modesty, amiability, and unsurpassed excellence at Polo. In fact, my friendship with several of the chiefs since 1866 has aided our good relations with them; and it is a pity if they should be destroyed for want of a little "*savoir*," as also "*savoir faire*," on our part.

Between the States of Nagyr and Hunza there exists a perpetual feud. They are literally rivals, being separated by a swift-flowing river on which, at almost regulated distances, one Nagyr fort on one bank frowns at the Hunza fort on the other. The paths along the river sides

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 18937 AV3 Dard Gw
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than the physical obstacles to which I have already referred. 000
Here, between the Russian and the British spheres of influence in Central Asia, we have not only the series of Pamirs, or plateaux and high valleys, which I first brought to notice on linguistic grounds, in the map accompanying my tour in Dardistan in 1866 (the country between Kashmir and Kabul), and which have been recently confirmed topographically; but we have also a large series of mountainous countries, which, if left alone, or only assuged of our help against a foreign invader, would guarantee for ever the peace alike of the Russian, the British, and the Chinese frontiers. Unfortunately, we have allowed Afghanistan to annex Badakhshan, Raushan, Shignan, and Wakhan, at much loss of life to their inhabitants; and Russia has similarly endorsed the shadowy and recent claims of Bokhara on neighbouring provinces, like Darwáz and Karategin.

It is untrue that Hunza and Nagyr were ever tributaries 648
of Kashmir, except in the sense that they occasionally sent a handful of gold dust to its Maharaja, and received substantial presents in return. It is to China or Kitái that Hunza considers itself bound by an ancient, but vague, allegiance. Hunza and Nagyr, that will only unite against a foreign common foe, have more than once punished Kashmir when attempting invasion; but they are not hostile to Kashmir, and Nagyr even sends one of the princes to Srinagar as a guarantee of its peaceful intentions. At the same time, it is not very many months ago that they gave us trouble at Chalt, when we sought to establish an outpost, threatening the road to Hunza and the independence alike of Hunza and Nagyr.

Just as Nagyr is pious, so Hunza is impious. Its re- 771
ligion is a perversion even of the heterodox Mulái faith, which is Shiah Muhammadan only in name, but pantheistic in substance. It prevails in Punyál, Zebak, Darwáz, etc. The Tham,* or Raja, of Hunza used to dance in a Mosque and hold revels in it. Wine is largely drunk in Hunza, and like the Druses of the Lebanon, the "initiated" Mulái

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3 Kashmir AV1

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Part I. of a large work, I may claim to speak with some authority as regards these districts, even if I had no other claim. The point which I wish to specially contradict at present, is the one relating to the Russians bringing themselves into almost direct contact with "the Hunza and other tribes subject to Kashmir and, as such, entitled to British protection and under British control."

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When I crossed the then Kashmir frontier in 1866, in the disguise of a Bokhara Maulvi, armed with a testimonial of Muhammadan theological learning, I found that the tribes of Hunza, Nagyr, Dareyl, Yasin, and Chitrál had united under the leadership of the last-named to expel the Kashmir invaders from the Gilgit Fort. My mission was a purely linguistic one; but the sight of dying and dead men along the road, that of heads stuck up along the march of the Kashmir troops, and the attempts made on my life by our feudatory, the late Maharaja of Kashmir, compelled me to pay attention to other matters besides the languages, legends, songs, and fables of the interesting races with whom I now came in contact under circumstances that might not seem to be favourable to the accomplishment of my task. I had been warned by the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, Sir Donald McLeod, whose like we have not seen again, not to cross the frontier, as the tribes beyond were supposed to be cannibals; but as I could not get the information of which I was in search within our frontier, I had to cross it. My followers were frightened off by all sorts of wild stories, till our party was reduced from some fifty to three, including myself. The reason for all this was, that the Maharaja was afraid that I should find out and report his breach of the Treaty by which we sold Kashmir to him in 1846, and in which the Indus is laid down as his boundary on the west. In 1866, therefore, at any rate, even the tenure of Gilgit, which is on the other side of the Indus, was contested and illegal, whilst the still more distant Hunza and Nagyr had more than once inflicted serious punishment on the Kashmir

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1: Letters L-3 (1890-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

troops that sought to invade districts that have preserved their autonomy during the last fourteen centuries, as was admitted by *The Times* of the 2nd November, 1891, before its present change with the times, if an unintentional pun may be permitted.

Then, as ever, the Anglo-Indian newspapers spoke of Russian intrigues in those regions. I am perfectly certain that if, instead of the fussiness of our statesmen and the sensationalism of our journals, the languages, history, and relations of these little-known races had been studied by them, we should never have heard of Russia in that part of the East. It is also not by disingenuousness and short cuts on maps or in diplomacy, but by *knowledge*, that physical, ethnographical, and political problems are to be solved; nor will the bold and brilliant robberies of Russia be checked by our handing over the inhabitants of the supposed "cradle of the human race" to Affghan, Kashmir, or Chinese usurpations. Above all, it is a loss of time to palm off myths as history in order to suit the policy or conceal the ignorance of the moment.

Just as little as Darwaz and Karategin are ancestral dominions of Bokhará, and, therefore, under Russian influence, so little did even Badakhshan, and much less so, Raushan, Shignan, and Wakhan, ever really belong to Affghanistan. As for the Chinese hold on Turkistan, we ourselves denied it when we coquetted with Yakub Khush Begi, though Kitái was ever the acknowledged superior of Eastern Turkistan. If Hunza admits any allegiance, it is to China, and not to Kashmir; and the designations of offices of rule in that country are of Chinese, and not of Aryan origin, including even "Thàm," the title of its Raja.

As a matter of fact, however, the vast number of tribes that inhabit the many countries between the Indus and the Kuner own no master except their own tribal head or the tribal council. From kidnapping Hunza, where the right to plunder is monarchical, hereditary, and "ayeshó" = "heaven-born," to the peace and learning of republican Kandiá or

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Lt Leitner L-9 (1866-92) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

Gabriál, all want to be left alone. If a neighbour becomes troublesome, he is raided on till an interchange of presents restores harmony. It is impossible to say that either side is tributary to the other. The wealthier gives the larger present; the bigger is considered the superior in a general sort of way, and so two horses, two dogs, and a handful of gold dust are yearly sent by Hunza to Kashmir or to Yarkand as a cloak for much more substantial exactions in return. Nagyr sends a basket of apricots instead of the horses and dogs. In 1871 Chitrál still paid a tribute to Badakhshan in slaves, but it would be absurd to infer from this fact that Chitrál ever acknowledged the suzerainty of Jehandar Shah, or of the Affghan faction that dispossessed him. Nor were the Khaibaris, or other highway robbers, our rulers, because we paid them blackmail, or they our subjects because they might bring us "sweetmeats."

The points in which most Englishmen are as deficient as Russians are generally proficient, are language and a sympathetic manner with natives. That, however, linguistic knowledge is not useless may be inferred from the fact that it enabled me, to use the words of my Chief, Commissary General H. S. Jones, C.B., during the Russian War in 1855, "to pass unharmed through regions previously unknown and among tribes hitherto unvisited by any European."

Also in topography and geography linguistics are necessary; and the absurd mistakes now made at certain learned societies and in certain scientific journals regarding the Pamirs, would be avoided by a little study of the Oriental languages concerned. In 1866, the map which accompanies my philological work on "Dardistan" shows, on linguistic grounds, and on the basis of native itineraries, the various Pamirs that have been partially revealed within the last few weeks, or have been laboriously ascertained by expensive Russian and British expeditions between 1867 and 1890. The publication of my material, collected at my own expense and which shall no longer be delayed, would have saved many complications; but when, *e.g.*, I pointed out,

3: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burush. A47

by the British Parliament and public, if our present Liberal Administration cannot do so without pressure from without. We should conciliate Nizam-ul-Mulk before it is too late. He is connected with Umra Khan of Jandôl and with the influential Mullah Shahu of Bajaur through his maternal uncle, Kokhan Beg. He has also connections in Badakhshan, Hunza and Dir, as already stated. Indeed, we ought to have given him our support from the beginning. I doubt whether it would be desirable to subdivide Chitrál as stated in to-day's *Times*, letting Sher Afzul keep Chitrál proper, giving Yasin to "the Nizám" and letting Umra Khan retain what he has already seized of Southern Chitrál. As for Sher Afzul, I believe, that he is also "loyal."

As for Hunza, I am not at all certain that the fugitive, Safdar Ali Khan, really murdered his father. At all events when the deed was committed, I find that it was attributed to Muhammad Khan,* probably not the present

* By the most recent account, Ghazan Khan, the son of Ghazanfar, has been killed by his own son, Muhammad Khan. Muhammad Khan's mother was the sister of Zafar Khan, the ruler of Nagyr. She was killed by her father-in-law, Ghazanfar, and thrown over a precipice from her house. Ghazan Khan treacherously killed his paternal uncle, Abdullah Khan, ruler of Gojal, who unsuspectingly met him. On ascending the throne, Ghazan Khan is also said to have poisoned his ailing full brother, Bukhtawar Shah, and another (by a different Sayad mother) Nanawal Shah. The fratricidal traditions of Hunza and of the Khush-waqtia family of Yasin have now been somewhat thrown into the shade by the parricide of Muhammad Khan. The father of Ghazan Khan, Ghazanfar, is said to have died from the effects of a suit of clothes, impregnated with small-pox, sent to him by his daughter, the full sister of Ghazan Khan, who was married to Mir Shah of Badakhshan, in order to accelerate her brother's accession to the throne. The father of Ghazanfar, Sullum, also poisoned his own father. This state of things is very different from the gentle rules and traditions of Nagyr, whose aged Chief, Zafar Khan, has nineteen sons, and who sent his rebellious eldest son, Muhammad Khan (whose mother was a full sister of Ghazan Khan of Hunza) to Ramsu in Kashmir territory, where he died. He was married to a daughter of his maternal uncle, and tried to sell some of his Nagyr subjects into slavery, against the traditions of that peaceful country, in consequence of which his father, Zafar Khan, expelled him." (See Part referring to the History and Customs of Hunza and Nagyr.) Yet it is this patriarchal, loyal and God-fearing Zafar Khan, whose letter to me I published last year, whom we accused of kidnapping and aggressiveness, so that we might take his country.

1: Letter 1-2 (1888-93) 18937 AV3 Dad

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Mir Muhammad Nazim who has acknowledged the suzerainty of England (through Kashmir) and of China. The latter power has always had something to say to Hunza, and the very title of its Chief "Tham" is of Chinese origin. The subsidy that China used to pay for keeping open the commercial road from Badakhshan and Wakhan through the Pamirs along Kunjût (Hunza) to Yarkand, was about £380 per annum, and this sum was divided between four States and ensured the immunity of the route from raids.* I doubt whether in future £380 a year on Hunza alone will enable us to keep it quiet, and I am sure that the lofty superciliousness with which Chinese officials discuss the Pamir question, as something that scarcely concerns them, is no evidence of that pertinacious power abandoning claims to a suzerainty in those regions which are historically founded, although their exercise has been more by an appeal to imagination of the glorious and invincible, if distant, "Khitái," than by actual interference.

Indeed, it is China alone that has a grievance—against Russia for the occupation of the Alichur Pamir—against Afghanistan for expelling her troops from Somatash (of subsequent Yanoff fame)—and against England for encroaching on her ancient feudatory of Hunza, whose services in suppressing the Khoja rebellion in 1847 are commemorated in a tablet on one of the gates of Yarkand.

NOTE.—We add a reproduction of the photographs of the Mihtar and Badshah Nizam-ul-Mulk, sitting in Council with his uncle, Bahadur Khan, now at Gilgit, where he represented Afzul-ul-Mulk. On the Nizam's left is his foster-uncle, Maimun Shah, whilst behind him stand our Indian Agent, Wafadár Khan and a Chitráli office-holder, Wazir Khan, of corresponding rank. We also give the portrait of the Chitrál Court poet and musician, the celebrated Taighûn Shah, one of whose songs, with its notation, was published in our issue of the 1st of January, 1891. He is seated with the two flute-players who always precede the King of Chitrál when on a tour.

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* Of the £380, Shignán received £170, Sirikul £100, Wakhan £50, and Hunza £60 in Yambus (silver blocks of the value of £17).

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

any such aid would be an infringement of the rights of Abdur-Rahman. Now that Abdur-Rahman is suspected, on the flimsiest possible evidence, to have connived at Sher Afzul's invasion of Chitrál, we seek to pick a quarrel with him for what a few weeks ago was considered an assertion of his rights. Let it be repeated once for always that if ever Abdur-Rahman or Nizám-ul-Mulk, or the Chief of Hunza or Kashmir or Upper India fall into the arms of Russia, it will be *maxima nostra culpa*. I know the Amir Abdur-Rahman, as I knew the Amir Sher Ali, as I know Nizám-ul-Mulk, and of all I can assert that no truer friends to England existed in Asia than these Chiefs. Should Abdur-Rahman be alienated, as Sher Ali was, or Nizám-ul-Mulk might be, it will be entirely in consequence of our meddlesomeness and our provocations. Russia has merely to start a will-o'-the-wisp conversation between Grombcheffsky and the Chief of Hunza, when there is internal evidence that Grombcheffsky was never in Hunza at all, and certainly never went there by the Muztagh Pass, that we, ignoring the right of China and of the treaty with Kashmir in 1846, forgetful of the danger in our rear and the undesirability of paving for an invader the road in front, fasten a quarrel on Hunza-Nagyr, and slaughter its inhabitants. No abuse or misrepresentation was spared in order to inflame the British public even against friendly and inoffensive Nagyr. [648] What wonder that a Deputation was sent from Hunza to seek Russian aid and that it returned contented with presents, and public expressions of sympathy which explained away the Russian official refusal as softened by private assurances of friendship? Whatever may be the disaster to civilization in the ascendancy of Russian rule, the personal behaviour of Russian agents in Central Asia is, generally, pleasant. As in Hunza, so in Afghanistan, some strange suspicion of the disloyalty of its Chief, suggested by Russia, may involve us in a senseless war and inordinate expense, with the eventual result that Afghanistan must be divided between England and Russia, and their frontiers in

Mc Biddulph G-8 (1873-1878) 1880 AUS-Afghanistan-NTS
4 A43 Dard
Burush. A47

When Cashmere authority was temporarily expelled from Gilgit, between 1852 and 1860, communication with Nager was maintained by this road. In the prosperous times of the Shin rule, the Thums of Nager acknowledged the Ras of Gilgit as their feudal superiors, and tradition relates that the villages of Nilt, Gulmit, Toll, and Pussunt, which now belong to Nager, were given as dowries to different Thums who married daughters of the Trakhané. At the time of the Sikh occupation of Gilgit a very close connection existed between the rulers of the two states of Gilgit and Nager. Between Hunza and Nager a great rivalry, which has frequently resulted in open hostility, has always existed, but they are generally ready to combine against an external foe. Though possessing a common origin, the people of Nager are distinguished for timidity and incapacity for war, and no instance is recorded of their being victorious over their rivals of Hunza, at whose hands they have suffered many disastrous defeats. The people of Nager are Shiahs, and slavery does not exist among them. Since 1868 Nager has been tributary to Cashmere, to which it makes an annual payment of twenty-one tolas of gold and two baskets of apricots. 648 186 [79]

Between the two states the river flows between perpendicular banks, 300 feet high and 600 feet apart at the top. The banks can only be ascended in a few places, which are carefully guarded. 131

Hunza, which comprises a considerable extent of territory, has an agricultural population of about 6,000 souls. North of the great range of peaks which bisects the principality from south-east to north-west the country opens out into rolling grass steppes, supporting a scattered pastoral population. Here the great wild sheep (*O. Poli*) roams in large herds. This tract is known as Little Goohjal, to distinguish it from Wakhan, which, south of the Hindoo Koosh, is known as Goohjal proper. 133 [161]

From the north-east the Shimshal stream, draining the valley of that name, brings down a great volume of water in summer, and effectually closes all access from the south, except to men on foot. The only direct route in summer to the Shimshal Valley from the south, is by the high and difficult Moorkôn Pass, which is only open for two months in the year. From the head of the Shimshal Valley a road, only passable for men on foot, leads to Koolanooldi in the Yarkund Valley. It was by this road that attacks on the caravans were organised. Another route leads by a somewhat 487

Dr Biddulph G-3 (1875-1878) 1880 All Afghanistan-All
4 Av3 Dard
Burushe Av7

173 "behaved badly" all through, as the above story is concealed in Hunza under the fiction that a prince of Shighnan became the husband of the princess, but that his name being forgotten he is known only as Ayesho (Heaven-sent), from which the present ruling family of Hunza takes the name. The present Thum of Hunza is Ghazan Khán.

The rivalry of the two brothers has been perpetuated till the present time, and has become almost an article of faith between the people, as well as the rulers, of the two states. 721 The people of Hunza have a greater reputation for bravery than those of Nager, but they are not warlike in the sense 648 that the Afghans may be said to be so.. Secure in the inaccessibility of their country, they have preyed upon all their neighbours without fear of retribution. At the time of the insurrection of the seven Khojas in Yarkund in 1847, Shah Ghazanfur Khan of Hunza rendered assistance to the Chinese in overcoming the rebellion. In recognition of this service a jagheer was granted to him close to Yarkund, and a brass tablet inscribed with a record of the friendship of Hunza towards Pekin, and its reward was placed on the gates of the city. A fixed subsidy was paid by the Chinese to the Thum of Hunza, who in return gave a nominal allegiance. Under these circumstances, the caravans between Yarkund and Leh were regularly plundered in the valley of the Yarkund River near Koolanooldi by the Hunza people, whilst the Chinese authorities winked at a proceeding which they were unable to prevent or punish. The raids were organised by the Thum, and looked upon as a right conferred by the proximity of the caravan route. His agents in Yarkund sent notice when a rich caravan was about to start, and a party was at once despatched by mountain paths known only to themselves, to lie in wait for it. Besides the plunder carried off, young men were generally seized and sold into slavery, which caused Hunza to become the chief place of resort for slave-merchants from Badakhshan. The last exploit of the kind, and the most successful recorded, took place in 1865, when no less than 50 camels and 500 ponies laden with merchandise were driven from Koolanooldi to Hunza by way of Ujadbai without opposition. Kunjooti eyes still glisten when they talk of that day, but the establishment of the firm rule of the Atalik in Kashghar put a stop to future proceedings of the kind. On the re-establishment of Chinese power in Kashghar in 1878, Ghazan Khan preferred a formal request to me that he might revive his ancient right

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of "striking the road." The Nager people were never concerned in these raids. 721

With the former rulers of Gilgit the people of Hunza seem to have lived on tolerably good terms, rendering them a nominal allegiance in the days of their prosperity, but asserting their independence as the later Trakhane Ras grew weak. The Sikh and Dogra governors found their most troublesome enemies in Hunza, against which country they never gained a single success. Hunza raids against Gilgit villages were incessant, till in revenge an expedition was organised in 1848 by Nuthoo Shah, the first Sikh governor of Gilgit. Falling into an ambuscade, Nuthoo Shah and Karim Khan, the Ra of Gilgit, were both slain, and their army defeated with serious loss. In the beginning of 1865 a second attempt was made in alliance with the ruler of Nager, whose lukewarmness or treachery caused the expedition to fail. In the succeeding year a third attempt was made, but the Nager ruler's treachery was now evident, and while the Hunza force looked on from across the river, a skirmish took place between the *quondam* allies, in which the Dogra governor was badly wounded. The unexpected defection of their allies and the loss of their leader so disheartened the Dogras that the whole force took to flight, and reached Gilgit with the loss of only two men. Their artillery, which had been at first abandoned, was recovered by the presence of mind of one of the Dogra officers, who, with a few men, preserved the semblance of order in their retreat. The expedition having been undertaken without permission from Jummoo, the governor was recalled and his proceedings ignored. 648

In 1869 the raids from Hunza were at last put an end to by the present Thum consenting to yield allegiance and pay a yearly tribute of two horses, two hounds, and twenty ounces of gold-dust, which has since been paid regularly.

The elevation of Hunza is 8,400 feet. It may be described as an elongated crescent with the points towards the south, formed by the hills receding from the river. At each end is a strong torrent flowing from the glaciers on the peaks, which are just visible to the north. The cultivation extends about 7 miles in length by 1½ in depth. This is terraced down to the river, but in parts is broken and undulating. It is divided into eight districts,—Naraydass, Assanabad, Doorkun, Hyderabad, Aliabad, Ganish, Baltit, and Altit. Each district has its own fort. Baltit is the Thum's residence. The ground is thickly wooded, and the whole eastern end is 133 241 631 241

or blame that comes at night." I may be misinterpreting his 771
attitude of mind. These are not subjects you can thresh out as 181
easily as the wheat, and neither his vocabulary nor mine would have sufficed to tackle them. But this I can vouch for, that every face you see looks restfully content, breaks readily into a happy smile; that there are in Hunza no nervous gestures and no haunted eyes, and in normal life no irritable words. There is little amiss with a faith which spells happiness and high-principled living without debasing fear of Hell or over-conscious hope of Heaven.

When the final crops of every kind are safely in, the first 651 ●
duty of the paterfamilias is to take stock of the year's yield. 262
So much is set aside for seed-grain, and not the direst shortage 792
will tempt him to violate the sanctity of this; so much is set aside for rent (if he is a tenant) or for the tax due on any craft he pursues—the miller pays a very small tax on his mill, the weaver on his loom-pit, the khalifa on his learning; and all pay (alas!) a sum as "Peter's pence" to their spiritual head, the Agha Khan. Next he calculates the "emergency reserve" that may be needed for hospitality or charity during the coming year; this also is scrupulously put aside unground. On the rest he and his family must live till next harvest, under the careful rationing of the senior housewife, the importance of whose rôle I have already stressed.

The period of comparative—well-earned and welcome—rest 796
that ensues, is inaugurated by a solemn watch-night service of prayer and thanksgiving in the House of Assembly. One of our main difficulties in the early days was to get due notice of such events beforehand. Our people were slow to realize that the normal routine of their affairs could really interest us. The first news we had of this Harvest Thanksgiving Service was one late evening in October when Dádo casually said as he bade us good-night: "I'm off now to the all-night prayer." In [779]
answer to our questions he told us that the Assembly Hall and the women's annex would be packed with the entire population, and that the khalifas in rotation would keep up all night a reading of the sacred Persian books and of the Qur'an. "And shall you be able to understand all that they read?" "Oh no,

326 son, and is accounted a rare treasure; but for the most part
177 local Béricho make such simple iron goods as are wanted: the
412 slightly convex baking-griddle, the tripod, the simple shears,
563 the sickle blade, the iron tip which shoes the wooden plough-share, the unpretentious iron razor, the rough tongs, the horse-shoe, the spatula for turning bread. The Béricho form the only "caste" in Hunza in anything like the Indian sense.

173 The story goes that long ago—two hundred years or so,
563 perhaps—some prince of Hunza rendered a service to the ruler of Baltistan, and was duly asked to name his recompense. He coveted neither gold nor horses, but begged for a few families of artisans. These were presented to him and allotted land in Hunza where they settled and multiplied, supplying the Burusho with blacksmiths for such rare iron as they could obtain, and with musicians to enliven their feasts and games of polo. These strangers in the midst are treated with courtesy and kindness, but remain "foreigners" and social inferiors. The Burusho will not intermarry with them. A threat to a troublesome daughter is said to be: "If you don't behave, I'll marry you to a Bérit"; but we never heard the threat employed, [65] still less a case of its being carried out. Each Burusho household pays a small yearly tax to the Béricho community, and in return the blacksmiths tour the villages once or twice a year and make or mend whatever is required. You will see a little crowd gathered in the corner of someone's garden and in the centre the blacksmith crouching beside his simple forge—a few stones ingeniously built up to contain his charcoal fire, with a neat, hollow tube of soapstone below it, into which the bellows play; a stone anvil sunk in the ground; these accessories are provided on the spot and the blacksmith's outfit consists of his hammer and his skill. The bellows is a double one; two goat-skin bags are fitted with a nozzle at one end; at the other, two wooden lips that open as you raise your hand and meet tightly in your fist as you press down. They are worked with the right and left hand alternately, and the peasant whose job is in hand is expected to do the blowing.

563 The Béricho preserve their own customs, and though the
197 menfolk all talk Burushaski, Dumáki is the language of their

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXVIII.

The Raskam Salt Tribute.

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In early times there was a road from Baltistān to Shimshāl by way of the Biraldo Nullah. They say that there still is.

A man of Hunza called Khush Bēg had come in the time of Shah Ghazanfer from Shigir over the Biraldo with a pair of small drums.

In very early times there were people settled in Raskam, and they say that they used to take a tribute of salt from them to Shigir in Baltistan over the Biraldo. The Baltis imposed the Raskam salt tax.

Then after the destruction of Raskam Bakhti had come from Raskam to Shimshāl. The Raskam salt tribute they (then) paid to the Thame of Hunza. Up to the present day they bring in as tribute from Shimshāl a hundred moulded blocks of salt in autumn and a hundred blocks in spring.

4z Lorimer L-3 (1930–4; 1934–5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7

Then from the house of entertainment there is (sent) a dish on which they put as the Wazīr's portion, a leg (of mutton), and *sherbat* along with bread; and also there is a dish apiece for the Headman and the two Hunza Trangfas on which they put a leg. Then for the cooks there are the fat of the two goats and their necks and skins. And for the musicians there is from ancient times a wooden jar which it is the custom to give to them filled with the oil from the *sherbat*. From that evening's food they set something aside and in the morning, and they bring it with *gurūt tawsik* from the host's house to the place of assembly.

When the Tham stays thus for a month or two months in Herber every day the people who are exempt from carrying loads bring to the Tham's house two goats and a lump of ghee and bread, which they have made with 15 *chaqe* of grain, and *sherbat*. And every day the Tham gives green grass to the Elders for their horses. To the Wazīr grass is given from five houses and they give the Wazīr one *chatī* of grain (for his horse). For the horses each village gives (him?) a rope.

When the hospitalities have come to an end they give a goat and bread (made) of five *chaqe* of grain. This is called *Otaq*. The custom of *Otaq* is as follows: One field has been given to each of them by the Thams and on that they have imposed the *Otaq* tax. Further the exempted man every year gives the Tham as *ilhaw* four animals viz. one he-goat, one ram, one she-goat and one yearling kid. Followers of the second rank and load-carriers give every year three animals viz. one she-goat, one sheep and one yearling kid. These are the tax (imposed) on load-carriers. Further, each household gives the Tham four (measures of) grain, which they call *sabūr jītī* and each household gives a *hichatī* of barley, which is called *gashé yūrk*. It is the custom also for every village to give one rope each for as many dogs and horses as there may be.

The Khudāābād *ilhaw* is (assigned) to Gushpur Nafīs, and the Nastmābād *ilhaw* to Shāhbāz Khān and the Miagūr *ilhaw* is vested

20 *gashé yūrk* — Wakhī for "horse's barley"; *gaś* 'horse' and *yūrk* 'barley'.

21 *Nastmābād* — the older name of this place was Sūlīn *Das*.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burnbo AV7

in the Gushpur. During the Thamship of Ghazan Khán it was given to Wazír Asadullah Bég, because (the Than) had sent his two sons in command of an army to Sariqól. The name of the one was Khairullah and the name of the other Faizu. The Kirgiz had shot both at Wachó in Sariqól, and they had brought them back and buried them in Misgár. It was the hot weather, and in autumn Wazír Asadullah Bég exhumed them and, bringing them to Baltít, he made a grave and buried them there in coffins. For that service Ghazan Khán had granted Wazír Asadullah Bég the Misgár tax as a permanent inheritance. After Asadullah Bég's death Ghazan Khán had bestowed the Wazírship on Humáyún Bég.

A year had not passed after Asadullah Bég's death when Ghazan Khán, who had a son called Bapo, despatched Wazír Humáyún Bég and a Bridal Party, with his son, by way of the Irshad to fetch a daughter of Amán-i-Mulk of Chitrál (as wife) for the latter. After they had arrived at Kirmin, Tura Bég conspired with Safdar Khán against Ghazan Khán and they murdered him. Then they banished Wazír Humáyún to Chitrál, and bringing back the Gushpur, Ghazan Khán's son, they murdered him in Shimshál. Then Safdar Khán possessed himself of the Thamship of Hunza and Tura Bég became Wazír.

When five years had passed with Safdar Khán in possession of the sovereignty the army of the English Government advanced against Hunza. They say that an officer of the English Government, called Lockhart, had come to Tura Bég and Safdar Khán. They had shown him great disrespect, and when he had said: "Give me right of way through Hunza to China" they had subjected him to great insults.

Hunza and Nagir, joined together and made war. But Safdar Khán and Tura Bég found themselves unable to fight and fled away to Chinese territory.

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31 *ساز* *ke* — 'when he said' an unusual expression instead of the normal *کہلائے*.

32 *نہ سکے* — lit. "were unable to" but the sense is more active: "they failed to. In fact I believe they at once fled without making any pretence of fighting.

No. XLI.

Maru ctan: Dastur.

690 Diramitiqe Th'amu.er maru ctas qad'imteum ap'i, bese ke Hunzu.e aw'alz abardi γuno barn, da Th'amu.e bezan uyornar sart ol'arn.

Thamo amular niyas man'imi ke Diramitiqe mirarn bila Thame γunile qawaš (or, kawaš) 'oγe.ibarn. Baγqi iski rorme xurarpo 5 'oγe.ibarn. Ku.e iski rorme xur'arbgurine ka ur'i urimo r'umulum alt'an b'uro nuγun kayar nurn Thamu.er datu guru.e mar'u ol'arn.

Hin xurarbgurinate bai.i γunile bap bila. Turma arlta rupi.a mai.i bi.en. Thamar har datu guruo maru ne ya mandiri ne bap dosuč'arn.

10 Maru ctas ure qad'imteum yuγ epi bakdakurin me.ibai.i. Šura xidmat ctum sis maru aiyorčarn.

Gute maru.e bap Maiyonteum Ata.abad xa bila. Har Bure Galmit(t)eum Misgar da Čapursan xa mar'ure dastur ap'i. U aiyorčarn.

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1 *epi* — Note the idiom. *Diramitiqe* is probably the subject of *maru ctas* and the phrase cannot be translated literally. The nearest is: 'there is no Diramiting gold-washing'.

2 *Thamo . . .* — similarly *Thame* is the subject of *niyas* and *niyas* is the subject of *mandimi*.

[614] 4 *qawaš oγe.ibarn* — is causative: 'they make the Diramiting carry the Treasury Bag'.

5 *xur'arbgurin* — the "jemadar of Gold-washers", the man who directs and controls the operations. There is one in each of the "three tribes", which are the *Hunzakuts*, *Burušq* and *Bur'ušaliq*.

[651] 6 *datu guru.e* — perhaps "in Autumn and Spring" as in line 8 below.

8 *mandiri ne* — the tax has to be paid in cash, which may be acquired in any way, and not in gold. The *bai.i* is traditionally Rs. 12, but is now reckoned as Rs. 16.

10 *maru ctas ure . . .* — A curious study in the employment of grammatical number,

No. XLI.

Gold-Washing in Hunza.

From ancient times the Dirumiting have not (been required) to wash for gold for the Thams, because they are the seed of the original inhabitants of Hunza, and the Thams give them precedence in everything.

When the Thams have to go anywhere it is the custom for the Dirumiting to carry the Tham's bag of gold. The remaining three tribes they make carry the gold-washing tray. The three tribes, each taking, along with the Chief Gold-Washer, two assistants of their own tribe, proceed to the edge of the river and carry out the Autumn and Spring gold-washing for the Tham.

There is a tax of a *bai.i* of gold on each Chief Gold-Washer, Twelve rupees are (a *bai.i*). Every autumn and spring they either wash for gold or work for hire and bring in the tax.

Those (only) are gold-washers whose fathers and grandfathers have from of old been carriers of loads. They do not make people who have done superior service, wash for gold.

This gold-washing tax is in force from Maiyin up to Ain.abād. In Hārbar from Gulmit to Mingār and the Chaprōm there is no custom of gold-washing in force. They do not make the people (there) do it.

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but the sense is clear and is re-inforced by a note: "gold-washing is only imposed on coolies, low-class people and villiers".

In Gilgit and Chilas gold-washing is carried on by a separate community, the *Sheinaul*, who are looked down on but are fairly prosperous. They are probably of foreign origin.

10 pery ayi — is equivalent to "ancestors".

11 aipwiero — the Genitive of "-ai.ar, as also aipwiero in line 12.

ilkan p the name of a certain tax in kind paid by the inhabitants when the Tham is leaving a place (in Herbar). 242.14. *Xoda.ahavo ilkan Nafo gulpawar bila* the "Ilkan" of Xoda.ahard is (assigned) to Gulpav Xoda. 242.21. 651

ilkaf IUB both sides, edges, of a.t., edges of mouth of leather bag. 000

ilum, ilum s pl. map of cloth.

ilgal, -ig meeting point; corner of eye. — *ol/ine ilgal* the corner of my eye. (Cp. Sh. *ergal*, corner of eye).

°-*ilikin.a*, °-*ilikí*, Imp. °-*ilikin*, Pyn. u°-*ilikin* to do reverence to, worship, supplicate (God, the Prophet and the Boryo'); to do honour to, propitiate, rejoice (?), speak fair (?), praise(?). Pa.pt. + *l-; ol, gu.il- (gul-), il, uil-, —, u.il-. Xoda ilikinar bila* God is to be worshipped. *Dekkaw Fir u ilikin* doing reverence to(?) supplicating (?) the Dekkaw Fir. 238.7. *nin ilan (boryo) u.ilikí hum* people used to do reverence to them (the Boryo). 214.4. *Boryo wilikin.ato* Boryo worshippers, heathens. *ja ilikin.a ha* I propitiate him. *ja gulikin.a ha* I propitiate thee. *rau ja ilikimi* he propitiate me. *ilikin, uilikin* propitiate, don't propitiate him. *vaku.ilikin (uilikin) fitan, poljam* I shall eat, put on (a garment), in thy honour, in his honour. *wilikim cyawow* they are ploughing praising them (the oxen, as they do so). 245.6. *uilikimar* praising us. 248.9.

ilji cp. °*ilji*.

1. Adv. afterwards, behind, back. — *ha ilji iski rom dumatawa* then afterwards (after them) the three

hardão, pardão, king. 2.1 (st passim). ○○○
V. § 50. Pra.

hayo, pl. *hayotiq* (e.g. of bread), *hayowiq* (of land), the pl. form *hayotiq* (cp. 83.16) is denied, *y* share, portion, fraction.

1. *ołto hayo ganimi* he took a double share. *jaw hazan hayo jatila* the share that falls (comes) to me.296.2. *jaw hayo ha ati* give me (a) house for my share, or my share of houses(?). 119.11. *hayó ełas* to apportion, share (bread, land etc.) IUB. *ołši hayo manaw* to become the share of the earth, i.e to be wasted, H. *awá ha ṭipo, yawa hawad, hawa*. N. *ołto hayo* two-thirds. *šeki hayo* three quarters.

2. Substitute (for), in place of *ay amiz hayo daiya* ha I have come as a substitute for my father and mother. 282.8, 42.1.

3. On the part of, on behalf of. *gwimo jawa jamart ja hayo* (sic) *ja ełi* salute your relations from me. EOL. (Cp. Sh. *hayo* share, *hayozši* to divide, to apportion).

hayoiri v. *hayowi*.

hayowig v. *hayo*.

hayobara, hayówa (hu) gardener. 64.8, 282.11. Pra.

hakri (x) a kind of black-eyed hawk. Pra.

hari, haiá a coin, formerly of 13, now of 16 rupees. It is divided into 2 *sar*. — *hin zarwdgu.inajo haiá yanzie hap bila. ferma ełła rupia maiá hian* there is a tax of a "hai" of gold on each Jemadar of Goldwashers. It amounts to 13 rupees. 348.7. (Cp. Sh. *hari, haiá*, twelve). 436 651

harj (y) tall, tax. Pra.

Col a

000 (frost) has seized the water, i.e. the water has frozen. *tsiʼlefs* γʌmu *duʼni bi* the water has frozen over. γʌmu *mai.imi* it will freeze. γʌmu *gaɴʌs* to freeze. *kokts* γʌmu *gaɴs* ': ice (frost) has seized on these, i.e. these have frozen, *or*, have become covered with ice. 132.5. *čavočiqts* *čʌwar* γʌmu *nukʌn* hard frost having seized the foot-bandages, i.e. they were frozen stiff. 132.3. *Batuʼrs* γʌmu the Batuʼra glacier. *ítʼs* *zʌmaqna.ɢlo* . . . γʌmoʼnts *apim* in those days there was no ice, no glacier (in the Hʌsʌnabad nullah). 238.4. (Cp. Sh. *gamuk* ice).

●651 γʌn IUB gold-tax, i.e. the tax imposed to pay for the annual gold tribute paid by the Mir of Hunza to Kashmir and to the Chinese representative in Kashgar.

000 1. γʌnʌʼs, γai.ić-, γe.ić-, γaić- and γai-, γəi-, to appear, seem, be visible H. *dɪkhai deʼna*, *nʌzʌr aʼna*, Bu. *lil mʌnʌʼs*.

The forms recorded of this verb, chiefly without contexts, are as follows:

Fut. sg. 1. γaiyaʼm. 3. γai.imi.

Pres. sg. 3. x γai.ići bi. neg. *ʌqai.ići bi.*
y γai.ićila. neg. *ʌqai.ićila.*
γai.i bila.

Pret. sg. 1. γʌnʌm.
3. γʌnimi. neg. *ʌqʼʌnimi.*
pl. 3. x γʌnimi e.

Infinitive and Noun Agent γʌnʌʼs. The abnormal Pres. Base in *-ić-* has been confirmed and appears to be in commoner use than the normal γai-. *gots* *duʼro* *jaʼr* *šuʼa* γai.ićila, or γai.ibila, or, γʌnʌʼs *bila* this work, affair, seems to me good.

Similarly: *jaʼr* *šuʼa* γʌniʼmi it seemed good to me. *šuʼa* γʌnʌʼsʌn

178 b

326 tion of these unusual people stirred up an interest within
533 me, and I wanted to know more about them. I found
563 very little data could be obtained from any of the books I had been able to read on the subject.

[173] But after much discourse and questioning, I learned what I had begun to suspect . . . that the Bericho were actually gypsies who had come to India more than 2,000 years ago. From India, as good gypsies would do, they fanned out to spread themselves in small groups over the entire country . . . some ultimately settling in Baltistan, from whence a colony were sent off to Hunza.

Their place of abode is actually a village known as Berishal. It is a known fact that the people of Hunza depend entirely upon the Bericho for their iron-mongering and their tool-smithing and their music-making.

I was very happy to have unearthed this information so I can pass it along to my readers.

[871] These Berichos used to send their children out of
[167] Hunza to be educated and the Mir told me that he had to put a stop to this practice . . . not because he objected to the children of the Bericho being educated, but because the children did not return or remain with the trade of their parents. As the Mir's country needed artisans of this type, he had to put a stop to their sending their children elsewhere for education.

The Mir went on to tell me how important these Berichos were to the community. They fashioned farm
[414] implements as well as hardware like hinges, latches, razors and many other essential farm and household necessities that are fashioned from metal. Besides making the implements of peace, the blacksmith could also fashion a shotgun barrel.

[651] He further mentioned that each household in the community pays a small tithe as a contribution to-

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland. 326 533 563 [651]

The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows . . . the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil. 325

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh." 326 316 135

This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy. 306 301 [135]

Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work 322 177

792 his ancestors' dynasty in India, he donated what is now
871 the Hunzan school system. The fact that the children of Hunza are given a good education, without any cost to them, is due entirely to the kindness and benevolence of that great man. He started and maintained the system and I trust that his son will continue in his father's footsteps."

That the school system of Hunza is working, I can attest.

792 From what I have been able to gather and learn, Hunza was one of the states of India that contributed to the coffers of the Aga Khan. There is some story, true or mythical, that each year all of his religious followers throughout the world gave him a gift of gold or platinum to the extent of his weight. Now I do know
[316] that some gold was mined in Hunza and probably that, too, was sent to the Aga Khan or added to the sum or weight sent from all of the countries and the millions of his followers to be his gift but, as far as I know, at the present time there is not much gold being mined in Hunza and nowhere did I see any sign of anything that could be used as a means of export to bring money into Hunza.

124 In the meantime I was enjoying my breakfast and between munching mouthfuls of food, I was asking the Mir some rather important questions.

• 651 "I read somewhere some time ago, that the revenues
681 you obtain from the fines you levy upon people in Hunza who commit misdemeanors or break rules or laws are added to the coffers of your own estate."

The Mir thought this was a great joke and laughed heartily.

"To begin with," he said, "laws are seldom broken by my people. They are good people and they live peaceably and do not commit serious offenses. During

the past year the total collected from fines imposed by me upon the citizens of Hunza totaled less than 200 rupees. You know that my people do not have much money. There is no way or means of earning money—except by the few. We do not require money in order to live in Hunza. Further, the full amount that was collected in this manner was used in the maintenance of the irrigation system."

I waved my hand and said, "I only asked. I didn't think it was true, but I've read so many tales about Hunza in which ridiculous and fantastic statements are made without any justification or background."

"A few years ago," I went on, "two of the most influential and widely circulated magazines in the United States published an article by a famed and capable couple of writers—man and wife. I know they visited Hunza on two occasions because I saw their names in your guest book. Now the story they told and which both of these magazines published stated that it was a custom in Hunza for the mother-in-law to go and live with a newly married couple and remain with them on their honeymoon to teach them the ways of life. You explained that this was the reason why Hunzan marriages were so successful and there was seldom, if ever, a divorce.

"Before asking you to clarify this, I just want to tell you that I read this story and when I came to this specific part, I could hardly believe my eyes. But, as I have learned, there are many strange customs followed by different people throughout the world and of course, this could be absolutely true. But it certainly is strange and weird sounding to me anyway. So tell me, is that story true? Is it the custom of the people of Hunza to have the mother-in-law stay with the newly married couple during their honeymoon?"

Among people—yes, even experienced old-time gardeners and orchardists—there are many who believe that pollination by bees is required in all cases to set a crop of fruit. For many types of fruit and plants, this holds true; pollination by bees or other insects is essential. But in the case of the apricot and many others, wind pollination is the means that nature employs, and actually it is safer and surer than pollination by insects. Rain is also an effective pollinator, contrary to many people's conception and belief. I believe I would be safe in stating that wind pollination is the means of fertilizing more plants than can be claimed for bees and other insects combined. 245

All Hunzans own their own land and house. They pay no rent or taxes. Each citizen does his share of road building, taking care of the water channels and maintenance. The Mir leases his land to various individuals, most of them young people who as yet own no land of their own, or those who have insufficient for their needs. They pay him by means of services rendered and shares of the crops. 423 651 [653] 427 643

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
[P.40-C] Hunza

648 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
643 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[651] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
643 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
692 which consists of the Mir, his heredi-
[645] tary grand vizier, plus the Mir-ap-
pointed chiefs of all the villages within
walking distance of the palace. How-
[684] ever, since the loser usually pays a fine
to the Mir's treasury, and the winner
traditionally gives the court a present
equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
643 (literally "Grandfather King") is
spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV.7

133 land of silent mystery. Looking up from our vantage ground above the glacier, it was obvious that the ice rivers had receded, and, judging from the people's traditions at no distant date, leaving gigantic moraines to the south and in the direction of Hispar.

241 The road to this point from Nagar was very pretty, running entirely through cultivation and orchards, and occasionally under the walls of a village fort. The people were evidently very hard working, and the cultivation and labour expended on walling the fields 609 was most thorough. At some villages they used to bring us out presents of fruit, and at all they were civil and pleasant. They are a nice people, and independent. One old man was very indignant at the men with us for passing along the edge of his 651 field where there was no footpath. We came in one place on an amusing instance of the world-wide tendency to scamp Government work. We were crossing a field which I noticed was very badly gleaned, and I asked the reason. I was told it was one of the Thum's, and that, as the villagers had to cultivate and reap it for him, they did not take as much trouble as if it had been their own.

533 A boy came along with us one day, and played on a long pipe with a very sweet note. It was quite a pastoral. The last we saw of him he was wandering below us on a classic lawn, by the side of a stream which ran flecked with sunlight under the shadow of great walnut trees, playing his pipe, whose plaintive notes floated up to us, mingled with the murmur of 301 the water. His dard cap was ornamented with a garland of red and white flowers stuck into its folds.

000 I had to leave Nagar long before I had exhausted

~~Lt.~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUI Afghanistan AUI~~
4 AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

487 difficult pass on to the Shimshal Pamir, from whence a road goes to Ujadbai in the Sirikol Valley. On this Pamir dwell
563 a number of Kirghiz, who pay tribute to the Thum of Hunza,
● 651 and here the wild yák (*P. grunniens*) and the kyang
[136] (*E. Hemionus*) find their most western limit. The Pamir appears to lie north-west and south-east. From its north side the Kara Kuchkar Pass leads to Raskum, once a flourishing settlement, situated on one of the many branches which form the south-western source of the Yarkund River.
[162] Considerably further to the north-east are the two small communities of Pakpooh and Shakshooh, situated on different tributary streams. Pakpooh is said to contain about 4,000 and Shakshooh about 5,000 souls, and they are situated respectively at an elevation of about 10,000 and 9,000 feet.
[142] Both pay tribute to the ruler of Hunza. These curious people, of whom very little is known, are of Aryan race, and
[197] are described as being of very fair and ruddy complexion. Their language is Chagatai Turki, but, like the Ghalchah tribes of Sirikol and the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh to the westward, many of them speak Persian also. Dr. Bellew,[1] who met some men of the tribe, speaks of them as being a tall, very fair, and handsome race, of a purely Aryan physiognomy, and describes them as poorly clad, carrying matchlocks, of timid and subdued demeanour, and very cautious of giving any information regarding themselves. He mentions that they spoke Turki to other people, but conversed among themselves in a totally different language. He says that they are Mussulmans of the Shiah sect, like the Wakhis and Badakhshis,—that is, Maulais.

Nearly due north of Hunza is the small mountain state of Sirikol. The rulers of the two states have ever maintained a close friendship in spite of the mountains which separate them. From Girtchah in Goohjal, Tashkurgan is reached in eight days. Horses can only travel by the Kilik route, which is longer than that by the Kirish Pass; but the road is excellent and open all the year to both horses and camels. For about two months in summer the road by Misgar is impracticable for horses on account of the depth of the stream that has to be forded. The route by Rishipjerab and Derdee is then used, but men on foot can travel by Misgar at all times. Good roads also lead to Lungar and Kabr-i-Bosai in Wakhan territory.

000 In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name of Kunjoot

[1] Bellew's *Kashmir and Kashghar.*

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D 651 634 to furnish him each with a yoke of oxen for ploughing his own lands. This service he could commute if he pleased for one baghaloo of gold for each yoke of oxen. He was also responsible for the collection of the "Koodkool" tax, but no authority could be exercised over him by the Wuzeers or Tarangfahs.

Next to the Tarangfah among the district officials was the Charboo, who acted as an assistant to the Tarangfah in each village. His *luspik* consisted in exemption from all taxes, and two of the ruler's fees on marriage a year; it being part of his duty to collect the "Garé toloo" tax. He also received a certain amount of the meat tribute. To help him in his work he was allowed four men called "Zeytoo," who only served for a year as peons to the Charboo, and were paid by an impost of 12 lbs. of grain from each house, which was divided among them.

Dr. Leitner suggests that these names of officials are of Tartar origin. None of them now exist in Baltistan except Wuzeer and Trangpah (Tarangfah). If it be the case that they are originally Tartar titles, it may be taken as a proof of the influence which the Iskardo rulers once exercised in Dardistan.

D 692 681 634 Justice was administered by the Wuzeers in their own districts. Cases which principally arose out of disputes about land were generally settled by a fine of cattle, sheep, or gold-dust. Any case involving a larger fine than one baghaloo of gold-dust was heard by the Ra. Serious crimes, such as murder or treason, were punished by the destruction of the whole family of the offender. His house was razed to the ground, and his relations reduced to slavery, and sold or distributed according to the will of the Ra.

D 651 The dues above mentioned are still paid, some of them to the Cashmere Government, and some to the present Ra of Gilgit.

B 651 D 804 B 804 The same system exists in Hunza and Nager, and in some respects in Wakhan. The following measures are in common use; in some cases they differ only in name, in others they differ slightly in amount:—

Dry measure.

1 haiy	= 2½ lbs. English	Shina.
6 haiy	= 1 kot	
1 heejootee	= 3 double handfuls, about 2 lbs.	Boorish.
8 heejootee	= 1 heechok	

7/n [CF. category 116, pp. 41-44 -- Analyst]

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

would like to mention that since 1950 here is a list of all the people who were allowed into Hunza from the outside world: Franc and Jean Shore, April, 1952; Lowell Thomas, Jr. in December, 1954; Benjamin Ruhe in July, 1956; Barbara Mons, May, 1956; Dr. Allen Banik, July, 1958; and John Tobe and Cecil Brunton in July, 1959. 486 114

I've a letter here from the Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D. C.: 486

"Dear Dr. Keller,

"Please refer to your letter of September 29, 1959, regarding your request to visit Hunza.

"The Government of Pakistan have regretted their inability to grant permission for your visit to this area. We would like to mention that we have received a number of similar requests from other individuals and we have not been able to comply with those requests.

"We have been informed by Dr. Francis Pottenger of Monrovia, California, that he and Dr. William Albrecht of the University of Missouri, also planned to accompany you on your proposed visit. We would appreciate it if you could kindly convey our regrets to Dr. Albrecht. We are writing to Dr. Pottenger ourselves.

"Yours sincerely,

A. Fatch, Second Secretary"

This should establish clearly, once and for all, whether or not it is easy to get into Hunza.

Court fines go to Mir's treasury. This statement was made by one of the writers on Hunza and when brought to the Mir's attention by me, it was vigorously denied. 652

Any revenue obtained in this manner goes to the state and helps maintain the canals and aqueduct systems. Further, the total obtained from fines during a year would not exceed 200 rupees, about $40.00. [312]

Chapter 13

HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEMS

BEFORE we could really settle down to the business of life 312
there were several practical problems to clear up. Water was 401
naturally the first item. The jolly little stream just in front of our rest-house did not run by any means all the time. It brings water from the great glacier behind Báltít; the actual aqueduct channel is some twelve miles long, and represents an amazing feat of engineering. It was made about three generations ago—before which the "New Settlements" of Aliábád and her outliers did not exist—when iron was still practically unknown in Hunza. The excavations and the galleries on which it is piloted so skilfully over gorges and along impossible cliff faces were all made with wooden shovels and picks tipped with ibex horn. The people had—and have—no instruments of precision, no [413]
theodolites, nor levels. Against this they have some hereditary instinct that we lack, and an inherited or traditional common sense that enables them to adjust the necessary downward gradients exactly right. You never hear of anyone making a false shot in laying out a water channel, and you never hear of any "labour" difficulties. When a new work is undertaken for 312
the public good it is supervised by the Mir, or his Wazir acting 653
for him, and it is carried out by communal labour, of which 476
everyone recognizes the justice and necessity. The Dála, which will frequently recur in my story, is the main aqueduct that supplies Aliábád, but it has to feed other villages *en route*, and our stream, which was its last section, was therefore only in action at certain times. These are, however, known to everyone, and our people drew water enough when they could get it to carry on for the day or half-day when it would be cut off.

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Among people—yes, even experienced old-time gardeners and orchardists—there are many who believe that pollination by bees is required in all cases to set a crop of fruit. For many types of fruit and plants, this holds true; pollination by bees or other insects is essential. But in the case of the apricot and many others, wind pollination is the means that nature employs, and actually it is safer and surer than pollination by insects. Rain is also an effective pollinator, contrary to many people's conception and belief. I believe I would be safe in stating that wind pollination is the means of fertilizing more plants than can be claimed for bees and other insects combined. 245

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number in an institution?

Let's face it! Isn't it true that our responsibilities are becoming too big a burden for us? Aren't we trying or attempting to encompass a little too much? Aren't we reaching beyond our ken—beyond our abilities?

You see, the people of Hunza aren't burdened with all the things I've mentioned above, and therefore, it is easy to see why they enjoy just being alive and healthy.

It must be recognized that the people of Hunza lead, probably, what is the most simple life known to any people on the face of the globe. They are not trying to master the world, their own fates or that of their neighbors. They are busily occupied in looking after just themselves.

Selfish? I don't know. They certainly don't interfere with anyone else or ask anyone for anything. In Hunza a man's responsibilities consist of tilling a bit of soil to produce food for himself and the members of his household. The house is actually small—usually a two-roomed affair. He has to make provisions to store sufficient food for his winter needs—plus a mite for a neighbor who might run short. Then he may be called upon to contribute a day's work or two a year on the roads or toward maintaining the aqueducts. And that's it! From there on out, his time, his life and his liberty are his own. They even have it better than the red Indians in America . . . because the Hunzans have a permanent abode rather than a windy tent.

Do you think that mankind can improve on a setup like that?

It could be that some of our difficulties stem from the fact that we try to work against nature, whereas in Hunza, when nature pulls the switch and brings on winter or creates other conditions that bring activities

were there, they would have been noticed. 249

It is also possible that from a distance of one or two miles, one might confuse a field of alfalfa hay or barley or wheat and, with golden heads when ripe and the sun's rays striking them, what was grain might resemble flowers, but I think I am well enough versed in plant lore to be able to make the distinction.

I want my readers to bear in mind also that most of my traveling from Gilgit to Baltit was done on Nagir territory.

The reason these bits of color were most conspicuous was obviously because of the practically total absence of anything that resembled flowers—or a bit of brightness.

The Mir answered my question about the growing of poppies as follows, "Yes, some of our farmers are growing poppies but I am going to put a stop to it." 249 276 656

I waited for him to continue with keen interest.

"It appears," he went on, "that some of the people have begun to take to smoking opium . . . and fearing this insidious bad habit will take root, I'm going to ban the growing of this plant."

I did not mention it to him then or since, but somehow I had overheard (perhaps at one of the parties in Gilgit where a group of the roundabout notables had gathered) that opium had been drifting in from some locations and commanding fairly good prices. It also struck me that the Chinese border, being close at hand, might prove to be a very appropriate market for the produce that they would get from the poppy plants.

I did not ask if there were any restrictions against the producing of opium, apart from the fact that the Mir was going to ban it for protection of his people. I do not know whether anyone could prevent the Hunzans or the Nagirwals from growing these colorful plants.

661

661 EXPLOITATION--exercise of their power by holders of political office to further personal goals, whether materialistic, psychological, or ideological; perquisites of office (e.g., exceptional income and material comforts, special sexual or marital privileges, unusual honors or deference); use of office for self-aggrandizement (e.g., exhibitionism, extortion of bribes, protection of vice, acceptance of commissions for services rendered); employment of power to force others to conform to personal ethical or religious convictions; suppression of rivals (e.g., purges); oppression of opponents; nepotism; protection of vested interests; etc. See also:

Organized vice . . . . . 548 Religious persecution. 798
Political machines. 667

4: Durand 643 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

644 been melted down to find metal for it. The Thum of the day was so pleased at possessing it that he at once killed the maker, lest he should go to Nagar and make one there. The Wazir had instructions from his King to go on firing till further orders, but after twenty-three guns we thought they had had enough, and I sent a request that they would stop and let us proceed. We were met at the gate of the fort by Wazir Dadu, rather a pleasant-looking man of about forty-five.

[361] The approach to the fort through the village was much the same as at Nagar, but the road was broader.
643 As we passed over the great water channel which fertilises the Hunza oasis, and which at its débouchere from the parent ravine runs through a low tunnel, an ominous whisper informed me that this was the scene of the old Thum's murder by his rascally son, assisted by his present Wazir, Dadu. The old man was fired at from the roof of a house as he rode in from hawking. The first discharge was not fatal, and the men with the Thum begged him to take refuge for a moment in the irrigation tunnel while they raised help, which, by all accounts, was within an ace of coming, but the old Chief refused, saying, "It was no use; he had lived long enough, and his day was
661 come." His Wazir, Humayum, Dadu's elder brother, was away in Gujhal at the time, and the new Chief sent him an urgent letter, stamped with his father's seal, calling him to return at once to Hunza. But though the letter had been prepared beforehand, was sealed before the warmth was out of the old Chief's body, and was despatched by a trusted messenger, the plot failed. Warned by some friend, or distrusting

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Gurusho AV7

the wording of the letter, Humayum turned his horse's head, and rode for his life. He reached the passes in safety, and going by Wakhan, entered Chitral, and claimed the hospitality of the Mehtar. This was gladly accorded him, for he was a valuable man in case of trouble with Hunza, and he remained in Chitral, an honoured guest, until his turn came later. 661

Once inside the fort we had only two sets of stairs to ascend, and they were not so primitive as in Nagar, though they were equally defensible. We were received by the Thum at the top, and seated on an open platform overlooking the village and valley. Safdar Ali Khan was a delicate-looking young man of about twenty-two, with shifty Mongolian eyes, and a chestnut-coloured small peaked beard and moustache. The face was a delicate oval in shape, and weak in expression. He was looking decidedly ill, and considerably pulled down by fever. 643

The surroundings were richer than in Nagar. A guard of fifteen men armed with breechloaders, English and Russian, surrounded the Chief; the courtiers were better dressed, and good Central Asian carpets were spread on the ground. The Thum himself was handsomely dressed in silks, and wore a beautiful velvet belt of Chinese workmanship, with clasps and bosses of gold studded with torquoise and coral. We stayed but a short time, paying a purely ceremonial visit. On my return to camp I found that the four men of my guard had been prevented from coming upstairs, and that an attempt had been made at stopping my orderlies also. I accordingly at once sent up to the Wazir, and protested against this, saying that I con- 644 292 644

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

000 a *volte-face* on the part of the Chief, who was probably now cursing those who had counselled him to violence, and in whose fickle and unstable mind the advantages of being well with us were now in the 159 ascendant. My reply to his letter was very much to the point, and the result was a complete climb-down on the part of the Thum, abject apologies and profuse protestations of loyalty to the engagements lately taken. I attached the proper value to his vows, but left the country feeling that, at all events for that year, there would be no further trouble, and that Younghusband's safe passage was assured.

643 We all liked what we saw of the Hunza people; they were cheery and pleasant and civil as we passed 661 through their villages. The leaders were scoundrels. Dadu and his son had fired the first shots at the old Thum, while the contemptible young parricide who succeeded cowered in a room below them. The moment the old man was dead Safdar Ali entered the fort, seized the wife of one of his father's chief adherents, and murdered his three younger brothers. Two were strangled and cut to pieces, the third was taken to the edge of the cliff, on which the fort stands, and hurled over. He was a mere boy, and only asked that he might be thrown into the water, not on to the rocks; his prayers were unheeded. Safdar Ali's description of the circumstances attending his accession was contained in a letter to Government which ran somewhat as follows: "By the will of God my father and I fell out; he died suddenly, and I have 000 ascended the throne." The old Thum, with all his villainy, had been a man, and I found traces, even during my short visit to Hunza, of deep discontent

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Burusho AV7
A11

K the attention accordingly. Our little expedition had
702 the best effect on the troops. On our return to
703 Gilgit it was much discussed, and I heard with satisfaction that the Governor himself, in an assembly of the senior officers at his house, had pointed the moral. "Which of you," he said, "would have remained out in the sun on the march, and come into camp with the men? Not one. You would have all ridden on and made yourselves comfortable in camp, and left the men to look after themselves. It is the same all through; no wonder that the 'ikbal' (the fortune) of the English Government is great, and that they rule India."

000 In the beginning of May, as the snow was now melting and the forests were approachable, we began to fell timber, and to bring it down for the new quarters being built for the troops. The labour was very severe, for the mountain torrents were too violent to admit of floating logs down, and the whole of the wood had to be carried for ten miles by the men. The work was hardly completed by the autumn. We found good timber and a site for a summer camp a couple of hours' ride from my house, up a narrow valley at the head of which was a pass leading to Darel. I went up there one day in May to look at the timber, and to see if we could manage to erect a saw-mill, for we had nothing of the kind, and all sawing had to be done by hand. On my way down I heard that the expected storm had broken in Nagar.

B The old chief of Nagar had a favourite son named
661 Gauri Tham, who was married to the daughter of the Raja of Astor. I had met the boy there,

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Borusho AV7

661 and he had been a good deal in Gilgit. He was a very bright cheery fellow of about nineteen, a capital polo player, and we were all fond of him. To my sorrow I heard that he and a younger brother had just been murdered by their elder brother, Uzr Khan. They lived in a village at the lower end of the Nagar valley, given them by their father to keep them out of Uzr Khan's way, and to enable them to reach the frontier quickly in case of trouble, and Gauri Tham had left his home on a visit to his old father. Half way between his village and Nagar is the Yol Parri, a piece of road which runs across a shingle slope some three thousand feet in height, at the far end of which the path rises through a tangle of rocks to the cultivated plateau. As Gauri Tham reached the rocks he called out to the man behind him that he smelt a burning matchlock fuze; he pulled up his pony and tried to turn, but the beast was awkward, and before he got him round he was shot dead. The pony breaking loose galloped home, and the younger brother, who was outside the village gate at the moment, caught him. Seeing blood on the saddle he jumped on the pony's back, and started to ride for his life towards the frontier. But Uzr Khan's plans were well laid, and he was at once surrounded and stopped. Seeing that all was over he threw himself off, tore open his shirt, and called on his murderers to complete their work. In another moment he was dead.

I felt the murder deeply, for, at the old chief's request, I had advised Gauri Tham to return to Nagar territory some months before. I had known for some

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Durand AV7

B 661 time that Uzr Khan was desperately jealous of the boy, who was his father's favourite, and very popular with the people, that he hated his brother with added bitterness for his popularity with us, and that in his ignorant and suspicious mind lurked the fear that on the old chief's death we should support his young brother, should he attempt to gain possession of the little kingdom. Yet I had been obliged to advise the boy to act as his father wished, and this was the result.

K 712 The murder did not affect the position on the frontier, but the news which came at the same time that I heard of it did so very seriously. Twelve miles beyond Nomal lay Chalt, a small fort held by Kashmir troops under an agreement with the Nagar Chief. Close to it lay Chaprot, in which also there was a detachment of Kashmir troops. B 662 721 Uzr Khan was now collecting his forces, and preparing to attack both Chalt and Chaprot. He would have moved the moment the murder was committed, but that he was not quite sure of what his father would do, and that he was in correspondence with the Hunza Chief and not in complete accord with him. Two young nephews of his were in Hunza, and he had sent to the Thum and asked that they might also be killed. The Hunza Chief had declined; he was apparently of opinion that they might be useful later in case of trouble with Nagar, being nearer in succession than Uzr Khan, and, moreover, they were his sister's boys. So he declined with indignation, and relations for a few days were strained between the two scoundrels.

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175 643 was then succeeded by his son, the present ruler—Mohammed Jamal Khan who has been the ruler of Hunza since 1945.

175 643 669 Here is a quotation from the Mir's grandfather's book in which he tells about the blood-curdling exploits of his brother, Sfdar Ali, whom he succeeded:

"He thereupon had Taighoon, Nematulla and Misiab killed, Sakhawat Shah and Jahandar Shah rolled down a precipice below Ghulkin, their mother put to death and arranged for the murder of Salam Khan in Shimshal."

However, he spared the life of his brother, Nazim Khan and then he wrote to the Maharajah of Kashmir to announce his ascension to the throne in the following descriptive terms:

"By the will of Allah and a decree of fate, my late father and I recently fell out. I took the initiative and settled the matter, and have placed myself on the throne of my ancestors."

This bloodthirsty Mir virtually got away with mass murder and felt that he was cock of the walk and could afford to defy any power.

175 648 From my reading of the Mir's grandfather's autobiography, from studies made from the earlier books written about Hunza and from my observations and discussions on the spot, I have evolved a personal kind of understanding concerning the situation that prevails in Hunza today.

[771] The Mir of Hunza, as well as the other rulers of the principalities in that area, such as Nagir, Punial, Yasin, Baltistan and others, are all Mohammedan and, from what I can gather, they supported or were willing participants in the revolt which tied them together with the central government in Pakistan. This government, bear in mind, is strictly Mohammedan and partition

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 42

Government

I DON'T KNOW whether to describe the mode of government of Hunza as being complex or simple. The language of the people of Hunza is Burushaski and this language is totally unwritten. Therefore, they have no written code of laws.

The first dictionary of the Burushaski language was written by Colonel David Lorimer in 1935 and at the present time Doctor Hermann Berger, a German language professor, a specialist in Sanskrit, is seeking to write another and perhaps a more thorough and complete dictionary of that language.

I recall in Chalt, while I was enjoying the company of Professor Berger, he showed me a set of books that was published in Norway in 1935. They were Colonel David Lorimer's dictionary of the Burushaski language.

In my estimation Dr. Berger's work should be a masterpiece, because never in my life have I seen any

human being take to a task so assiduously and with so much profound love and feeling. I don't know when it's going to be published or by whom, but I'll certainly make sure to get a set or a copy of the volumes, even if they are printed in German. 114

The word "Burushaski" is pronounced almost as it is written, except there is a "u" sound in the last syllable rather than an "a" sound. My reaction was to spell the word "uski" and all through the writing of my manuscript that was the way I spelled it, but as I found every other source, with one exception besides myself, spelled it "aski" I had to admit defeat and also use that spelling. The spelling of "uski" was used by the Mir and his grandfather in his book. I still think it sounds like "uski" rather than "aski". Dr. Berger agreed with me that it did sound like "uski" but he felt that for the sake of uniformity, it would be better if I, too, used the "aski". 104 197

Nevertheless, though their code of laws remains unwritten, justice does not seem to suffer. The people of Hunza are well acquainted with the laws in vogue. I believe it was Napoleon who said that a nation that has many laws has a lawless people. Perhaps because the Hunzans do not have many laws, they are law-abiding. 671

Until the partition of Pakistan from India, Hunza was a part of India or, at least, it was definitely included on the map as Indian territory. But there is nothing in Hunza to indicate that they obeyed, owed or acknowledged sovereignty to India. 648

The Mir was and is the absolute ruler. He supposedly has the power of life and death over all his subjects. I know this power has never been used or abused by the present Mir, who came to the throne in 1945 at the death of his father who ruled but 8 years. Very little is said or recorded about his father's tenure in office. 643 175 [642]

when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases. 852 304

The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery. 582 304

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West. 582 [584]

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails. 585 [671]

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare. 586

243 dish," and right enough the driver quickly anticipated her cows'
237 needs, and when her dish was full went off and emptied it on a little heap of manure. You thus keep your grain uncontaminated and salvage your manure—most priceless of products. If the driver lapses into a daydream a warning yell from the onlookers would call her attention back in time. I don't know whether the dung-dish is in use elsewhere, but it is at any rate one more symbol of Hunza fastidiousness. You *plough* with oxen, but you thresh with *cows*, whose slighter needs can
[412] also be forestalled. When all the wheat is thoroughly trampled the men take great wooden five-pronged forks, most gracefully shaped things (made, of course, at home), and towards evening when there comes a little breeze they toss the broken
243 wheat up into the air to winnow it. The broken straw is blown to one side while the heavier grain falls into a heap. Then they take wooden, home-made spades and toss the grain again to get rid of any remaining straw. These processes take many hours' hard work, and will not be completed in one day; but they have no rain to fear and can leave their stacks of straw and
[674] heaps of grain from one day till the next. They leave their threshing-floors unguarded when they go home at night; pilfering a neighbour's food is simply "not done."

When the winnowing is over the women take a big sieve, made of thin strips of leather criss-crossed over a round frame. This is coarse enough to let the grain through but to catch any scraps of straw. When this first sieving is over, they take a finer sieve (with, of course, a totally different name) which keeps the grain and lets the dust fall through. But even then they don't consider the job quite finished. The women turn the pile over with their hands, carefully picking out any sliver of straw that may have previously escaped. When at last it is ready, the grain is filled into large skin sacks, which will take up to 160 lb. or so, and the men carry these off to the storeroom while the broken straw is loaded into huge open-ribbed baskets that can also be carried only by a man. The straw is taken up on to the flat roof and poured down through a central hole into the straw shed.

There is no hard and fast rule about what is woman's work

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

of India that it should not be taken over by Russia. It was 643
decided to put on the throne a younger brother of the fugitive 648
Safdar Ali's—who by good luck had escaped murder. This young man, Muhammad Nazím Khán, had had an unusually wide political education. As a boy of only nine or ten he had been sent down by his father as a hostage to Gilgit, and had there met British officers for the first time and gained many new ideas. Later he had acted as ambassador and negotiator for his father and his brother on missions to Chinese Turkestan and Afghanistan, and he could talk Wakhi, Turki, Khowar, and Hindustani, as well as his own Burushaski. Above all, he was an extremely able youth, and had drawn his own deductions from his varied adventures. In 1892[1] he was therefore made king, with the able Humayun Beg as his Wazir, and since that time he has been our trusty and faithful ally, guarding for us the lofty passes that are the extreme northern gates to India on the west. For four and forty years he has now ruled his people with firmness, sympathy, and kindness, maintaining security, dispensing justice in accordance with local custom and public opinion, keeping up and encouraging the traditional festivals that punctuate the year with joust and dance, music and merriment.

During his reign there have been only two murders on 674
Hunza soil, serious crime is unknown, and even theft and 625
petty pilfering are non-existent, though there are in the 697
country no prisons and no police. On rare occasions when
some mischief-maker threatens serious trouble, the Mir, with 681
the concurrence of his subjects, may deport the would-be disturber of the peace to the distant valleys of Shimshál to tend the royal flocks that pasture there or to spend his energy on roads or aqueducts. Food and pasturage are plentiful, and life in some respects more luxurious than in lower Hunza; but the Hunzukuts loves his home, his family, his apricots, and after a couple of years' exile the malcontent returns a wiser man. It is amusing to see a recent book indicting the Mir of Hunza for the "tyranny" that imposes so humane and so useful a punish-

[1] A popular account of these high matters may be found in Algernon 113
Durand's *Making of a Frontier*, and in E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*.

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from my office awaiting me when I reached the Mir's palace. The Mir told me about it right after our first greeting. He was understanding enough to realize I would be happy to hear from home.

I guess many of the things about Hunza wouldn't 642
allow the country to come under the heading of a democracy, but from what I saw of life and living in Hunza, I assure you it is more of a democracy than any other democracy in existence today.

Hunza has no policemen, no soldiers, no bureau- 692
cracy, no customs officers or immigration officers. They 643
do have the Mir who is the ruler and true head of the [647]
state and the Mir appoints the Wazir who is his right [693]
hand man and acts as judge.

All major squabbles and disputes are handled by the Mir. He holds court regularly and makes the decisions and his word is law and cannot be challenged or contested by anyone. Minor cases are looked after and into and tried by the Wazir.

Hunza does not have a jail. There is no lockup 697
whatsoever. If and when a crime is committed, the 681
criminal or culprit is banished to a place called Shimshal. At Shimshal the criminal or guilty person is not confined or jailed. He just has to live in that rugged place, where living is grim. The altitude is somewhere [133]
around 12,000 or 13,000 feet, and eking an existence out of the land there is most difficult and precarious. Actually the form of punishment is a sort of ostracism.

Evidently the threat of being sentenced to live in 674
Shimshal is a great deterrent, because few crimes are committed. There have only been two instances in the last ten years where serious crimes have occurred. In [689]
one instance it was a youth who had posted indecent signs on trees and other places. He was hailed before

674 689 the Wazir and given a stern warning and that ended that!

682 Another case occurred about 10 years ago when the Wazir's son became involved with a young man and girl. In this case the boy and girl (for that is what they were, rather than young man and woman) were misbehaving in the area adjacent to the Wazir's home. An argument was started when they were asked to leave the premises. The young man became unruly, then offensive and he said many unkind and indecent things. The Wazir's son warned him to move on and behave himself, but the young man refused to listen and persisted in his actions. The Wazir's son went into his home, got a gun, and said to him, "Now move away from here or I'll shoot you!"

But still the young hoodlum refused to listen or be warned. So the Wazir's son shot him. At the trial he claimed that he did not know the gun was loaded and he just made the threat in an effort to frighten the lad and make him go about his business. The boy died and the Wazir's son was charged with murder, and for this he was banished to Shimshal for 10 years.

A short time later the dead boy's parents appeared before the Mir and begged him to remit the sentence to the Wazir's son, as they claimed they believed him and that he did not intend to shoot their son. Besides, their son had provoked the attack. After he had been in Shimshal for two years, the Mir had him brought back and as the matter stands at the present moment in Hunza, this lad is now the Wazir.

681 In the olden days, a form of punishment in Hunza that was administered on instructions from the Mir was to immerse the culprit in the cold waters of the Hunza River. A 15-minute immersion in these icy waters was tantamount to a death sentence.

Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been 674
two murders only in my country and all the people have been happy and prosperous. The Government of [648]
India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity.

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the 167
world and get work in other places. . . .

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village 692
there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal.

"If it is considered that a death sentence is called 695
for, the people are collected and if any one will speak 681
up for the culprit, his sentence is remitted. Otherwise he is executed in the presence of the people.

"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, 684
his house could be destroyed, his animals slaughtered 837
and his trees felled without any trouble falling on the offenders and though that custom has fallen into desuetude, it is still considered right for a man to kill his wife's lover if he can catch them 'flagrante delicto'!

"Marriage is not allowed between near relations and 582
whenever possible, people marry into a clan different from their own. Child marriage is discouraged and [177]
tribal customs have been moulded to conform to modern ideas since I became Mir. . . .

"In former years Shimshal was used as a place to 681

681 which people were exiled and as officers were continually asking me what sort of place it was, I determined to go there and see for myself. The track there
491 was very bad indeed and in two places there were goat hair bridges which were very unpleasant to cross. A ring of wood was used and the traveler was drawn from one bank to the other and if he wore a beard most of the hairs were dragged out on the way. . . .

643 "My father[1] had six wives, three of which were of the
595 ruling classes and three from the Zemindaris. All however, were married to him according to the law and so he left behind no bastards."

276 The Mir told me that of late some of the young boys
177 have taken to smoking cigarettes. This they have picked up and learned from the Hunzan men who have been serving in the Pakistani army. Cigarettes can be pur-
685 chased in the shop in Baltit and a few occasions of
276 petty theft have been encountered. In each case it
[443] seems that they stole in order to get money to buy cigarettes. These few petty crimes of course did not
[681] involve ostracism to Shimshal. It is expected that this condition will continue or even become aggravated as the youth of Hunza become more familiar and acquainted with smoking. Some of the men in Hunza smoke the "hookah" which we know as the water-pipe.

249 Some forms and varieties of tobacco have been tried
123 in Hunza. I promised to send the Mir seeds of the various types of tobacco that we grow in America, such as Virginia, Burley and Quesnel. Perhaps if they can learn to grow tobacco, it will enable the youth to get their hands on some tobacco and satisfy their craving for it without resorting to other ways and means. However, they would have to get paper from somewhere for none is made or improvised in Hunza.

674 It is obvious from what I have seen, that crime and

[1] [ie - the father of Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan - ANALYST]

misdemeanors on the scale that we know them in the Western world are practically unknown in Hunza. That being the case, it behooves us to investigate and study family life in Hunza, for juvenile delinquency is becoming a very serious and ever broadening problem in America. 674

I saw samples of Hunzan justice. Its simplicity made me weep . . . when I recalled our procrastinating, shackled, unwieldy, judicial system. In the Western world civil cases take months and even years to be heard in court before a judge. In Hunza there are so few cases of wrongdoings, or even individual or family problems, that a hearing can be arranged almost immediately. 692

Petty squabbles or differences between husband and wife or even other disputes can be brought before the Wazir or before the Mir in private. When something more serious is at stake, the grieved party or parties bring their case to the "morning durbar," which is held regularly in the courtyard surrounded by the beautiful gardens at the entrance to the Mir's palace. At the time I was at Baltit many workmen were busily engaged in erecting a large stone enclosure or balcony where the "durbars" will be held, allowing more room for spectators and greater comfort for the counsel. [344] [644]

During the proceedings the Mir sits comfortably ensconced on a square-shaped wooden divan, luxuriantly smothered in rugs, fancy cushions and tapestries. There is none of the strict court procedure or dourness and frigidity known to our Western judiciary system. Here one feels that he is talking to a friend—a fellow citizen—or at least, an acquaintance. [352] [643]

Perhaps we have carried our ideas of justice, freedom and democracy a bit too far. In order that everyone may be afforded justice and fair treatment at the hands 000

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681 ment. A few years' exile in Shimshál is incomparably preferable to three years' penal servitude in Wormwood Scrubs, yet Hunza delinquents do not become recidivists.

643 423 Young Muhammad Nazím Khán took up his job determined, in the light of his travels and experience, to alter much that had been traditional under his ancestors, and within three years of his accession he had completely abolished the Yerpa system of cultivating the royal lands. Such as lay immediately under his own eye he retained, but all the rest are leased out on easy terms to tenants. For the first years a tenant pays no rent at all for new ground that he brings under the plough; he has to get his fields carved out, his water-channels made, and the soil worked. After the land begins to bear he pays a small fixed rent in kind, and if at any point he finds the bargain unprofitable he is free to resign his holding. A large part of the "new settlements" of Aliábád, including all the district immediately round our house, was *kutúkal* land (viz. royal land leased out), and there was no question that the system was working to everyone's satisfaction. The extra fields available had been eagerly taken up by families in the older settlements who were finding their freehold land too cramped, and many of our neighbours were sons who had hived off from the family freehold and whose relations were still living in Báltít, Haidarábád, or Dorkhan.

556 842 We once enquired, *à propos* of the meaning of the words "rich" and "poor": "Now what would you people consider a rich man?" "One who had, say, a hundred animals." (The ordinary peasant household has twenty or so sheep, goats, and cows.) "And is there any rich man in Aliábád?" "Only one, the Yerpa." This struck us as highly significant; the one rich man still bore by courtesy his grandfather's title of "Steward"! He was no doubt still enjoying his grandfather's ill-gotten gains. Our Yerpa was, in fact, a genial, kindly man, reputed generous. He was not envied: "Poor chap, he has no sons; he has to hire herd-boys to mind his flocks, and labourers to work his fields." In Hunza a man's true wealth is in his sons; they work the farm with him; if there are several, some can go abroad and earn. Not that a woman or a woman's work is

792 his ancestors' dynasty in India, he donated what is now
871 the Hunzan school system. The fact that the children of Hunza are given a good education, without any cost to them, is due entirely to the kindness and benevolence of that great man. He started and maintained the system and I trust that his son will continue in his father's footsteps."

That the school system of Hunza is working, I can attest.

792 From what I have been able to gather and learn, Hunza was one of the states of India that contributed to the coffers of the Aga Khan. There is some story, true or mythical, that each year all of his religious followers throughout the world gave him a gift of gold or platinum to the extent of his weight. Now I do know
[316] that some gold was mined in Hunza and probably that, too, was sent to the Aga Khan or added to the sum or weight sent from all of the countries and the millions of his followers to be his gift but, as far as I know, at the present time there is not much gold being mined in Hunza and nowhere did I see any sign of anything that could be used as a means of export to bring money into Hunza.

124 In the meantime I was enjoying my breakfast and between munching mouthfuls of food, I was asking the Mir some rather important questions.

651 "I read somewhere some time ago, that the revenues you obtain from the fines you levy upon people in
681 Hunza who commit misdemeanors or break rules or laws are added to the coffers of your own estate."

The Mir thought this was a great joke and laughed heartily.

"To begin with," he said, "laws are seldom broken by my people. They are good people and they live peaceably and do not commit serious offenses. During

the past year the total collected from fines imposed by me upon the citizens of Hunza totaled less than 200 rupees. You know that my people do not have much money. There is no way or means of earning money—except by the few. We do not require money in order to live in Hunza. Further, the full amount that was collected in this manner was used in the maintenance of the irrigation system."

I waved my hand and said, "I only asked. I didn't think it was true, but I've read so many tales about Hunza in which ridiculous and fantastic statements are made without any justification or background."

"A few years ago," I went on, "two of the most influential and widely circulated magazines in the United States published an article by a famed and capable couple of writers—man and wife. I know they visited Hunza on two occasions because I saw their names in your guest book. Now the story they told and which both of these magazines published stated that it was a custom in Hunza for the mother-in-law to go and live with a newly married couple and remain with them on their honeymoon to teach them the ways of life. You explained that this was the reason why Hunzan marriages were so successful and there was seldom, if ever, a divorce.

"Before asking you to clarify this, I just want to tell you that I read this story and when I came to this specific part, I could hardly believe my eyes. But, as I have learned, there are many strange customs followed by different people throughout the world and of course, this could be absolutely true. But it certainly is strange and weird sounding to me anyway. So tell me, is that story true? Is it the custom of the people of Hunza to have the mother-in-law stay with the newly married couple during their honeymoon?"

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A short time later the dead boy's parents appeared before the Mir and begged him to remit the sentence to the Wazir's son, as they claimed they believed him and that he did not intend to shoot their son. Besides, their son had provoked the attack. After he had been in Shimshal for two years, the Mir had him brought back and as the matter stands at the present moment in Hunza, this lad is now the Wazir.

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Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been 674
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India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity.

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the 167
world and get work in other places. . . .

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village 692
there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal.

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"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, 684
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648 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
643 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[65] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
643 are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
692 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
[648] which consists of the Mir, his heredi-
tary grand vizier, plus the Mir-ap-
pointed chiefs of all the villages within
[681] walking distance of the palace. How-
ever, since the loser usually pays a fine
to the Mir's treasury, and the winner
traditionally gives the court a present
equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
643 (literally "Grandfather King") is
spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

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Hunzan fruits taste better than those of other parts of the world. Most travelers who reach Hunza invariably state that the apricots and other fruits found there are much better flavored than those found in other parts of the world. I did not find this to be true. 245

Because they do not grow fruits for export or shipping, they can be tree-ripened. Therefore they have a better flavor than fruit that has to be picked in a green or unripened state. It is this fact that makes many people believe that Hunzan fruits taste better than the fruit they are accustomed to eating.

I happen to live in a part of the world where fruit is grown extensively and I must state categorically that Hunzan fruit does not taste any better than that grown on the farms adjacent to my home. Here, also, it must be admitted that most of the fruit I eat, especially during the fruit season, is also tree-ripened.

The people of Hunza are ignorant and uneducated. From my association with the people of Hunza, I must state boldly that they are neither ignorant nor uneducated. 871

There are schools of the same type as our grade schools in every large center in Hunza. It is admitted that only the male children are taught in these schools and there is no formal education offered to girls. This school system is entirely free and has been in existence for more than 25 years. It is emphasized that the native language of the people of Hunza is Burushaski and it is an unwritten language. However. they teach Urdu, Persian and other essential subjects. The intelligence and the abilities of the natives of Hunza rank with those found throughout the world.

The people are fierce and dangerous. There have been only 3 cases of murder recorded in Hunza in the 682

•682 past 40 years. Never to my knowledge has a stranger
[609] or a visitor ever been harmed or injured.

175 In bygone days the Hunzans were considered good
648 fighting men and were feared by the Chinese, the Afghans and neighboring tribes. It is a fact that they have only been conquered or beaten once in their history and that was by a British force that defeated them at the Battle of Nilt. The British did not seek to conquer the country. It was at the time when the British were the rulers of India. They requested that the Mir of Hunza allow free passage of the mail to Kashgar in China. The Mir at that time, Safdar Ali, felt that he could count upon the aid of the Russians and the Chinese and challenged the British authority. Then the British force went into the field and it required deliberation and courage to assault the high fortress, but it was accomplished by the British and the
[643] Mir fled for his life. The British then appointed his brother as the ruler and departed peacefully. Apart from this, the British did not interfere in the affairs of the Hunzans.

123 *You lose face if you carry anything yourself or do any work.* In all my travels throughout the world, including Hunza, I always did my share of the carrying. I wasn't going to stand by and see one or two men burdened down with my belongings while I walked about empty handed. I will not allow it to be said that I lost face because of this.

I don't want it to be thought that I am better than anyone else nor will I allow them to think that they are better than I. Wherever there was work to be done or burdens to be borne, I always did my share and I intend to keep on doing it.

131 *Hunza in the Himalayas.* Some writers keep referring to Hunza, Gilgit and Rakaposhi as being in the

In discussing the Hunzan game of polo with some friends, when they heard me mention the fact that the best and largest piece of flat land was used for a polo field, they said, "Now, John, this is very contradictory. You claim they are intelligent people and every bit of arable land is needed and used for cultivation and now you tell me that the best piece of land and the largest level space is used for a polo field!" 526 311

My reply was, "What I've told you is absolutely true, but sometimes there are considerations involved which neither you nor I nor others in the Western world understand. For example, could we ever explain to the people of Hunza why we rush, swish, hurry and risk our necks driving down the highways, actually risking life and limb—not only our own, but countless others—only to get to our destination . . . and there do nothing! 000

"Or there is another example that may be even better. A man in America strives all his life to achieve the means of acquiring a home with all modern conveniences and comforts, including every electrically operated appliance or gadget devised to save time and effort. Then when this victory is achieved, he tries to get enough money to buy a summer cottage way up north. There he parks his family for the summer. Then over every weekend he drives hundreds of miles to get there and when he gets there what has he got? Outdoor plumbing, no hot water, no garbage disposal, no electricity—using a lamp or even a candle for light and carrying every bucket of water in from the lake or the creek. You just try to explain that to a Hunzan. There is no more rhyme and reason in one than there is in the other. But who am I to judge?"

It is a positive fact that the men in Hunza do beat their wives. I checked and double checked on this rather important question. The Mir told me he knew 593 683

593 of only one case where a man excessively and unjustly
683 administered thrashings on his spouse. In all other instances the men are not punished or sent to prison for it. If a wife doesn't do as her husband commands, he beats her. If she were too generous in giving away her husband's property to her parents, he would also beat
837 her. If she is unfaithful to him and he catches her, he has a right to kill both her and her seducer.

This seems to have an excellent effect in maintaining a high standard of loyalty. I am not sure as to how
000 the people of the West will regard the people of Hunza for the light I have shed here, but whatever your judgment and opinion, I have laid the facts before you.

586 The Hunzan law says that in such cases a child must remain with the mother until it is at least 10 years of age. Of course the child can remain with the mother after that period, too, but the father does not have to pay for its keep after that. Divorce is granted to a man only on the grounds of adultery.

Under Hunzan law a woman cannot get a divorce due to any action on the part of her husband. How-
[643] ever, on some occasions where there has been extreme provocation or other clear logical reasons, and the woman brings her justifiable complaint for divorce before the Mir in person, and if the Mir believes her case merits divorce or separation from the man, he will ask or demand of the man that he divorce his wife.

If the wife decides or wants to leave her husband's bed and board of her own free will, the husband does not have to pay for her keep. She will not receive sustenance from him, but he does have to supply her with clothing twice a year.

587 In the event of the death of his wife, the husband is required to wait two months and seven days before he can remarry. However, with the woman, in the event of the death of her husband, she must wait three months and ten days before she can remarry.

586 The Mir gave me an example of a divorce case where
683 a certain man had the insidious habit of beating his wife. It seemed he would administer a sound thrashing at the slightest, or even without provocation, until the girl's parents and friends began to fear for her life. In this instance the wife-beater was notified quite clearly and distinctly that it would be in the best interests of all concerned if he gave his wife a divorce.

586 I don't know in what light they regarded this, but now that they knew the man was an avowed wife-beater, if any other woman took the risk of marrying

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

him, she would at least know beforehand what she had to contend with. Then again, as the Mir performs all marriages, maybe he wouldn't allow this young man to take a second wife. I did not inquire any further into the details concerning this case, but I admit that I was somewhat surprised to think that a good healthy happy Hunzan would resort to one of civilization's favorite pastimes . . . wife-beating. 586

Wife-beating generally seems to be broadly practiced in Hunza. This struck me as being most strange for I could see little cause or likelihood of opportunities for misdemeanors on the part of the wife. 593 683

Upon taking the matter up with the Mir, he told me that most cases of wife-beating were brought about by nagging, and in Hunza that is sufficient justifiable cause for a man to administer a sound thrashing to his wife and she can't take him to the Mir's court about it, either. The next most frequent cause for wife-beating is over-generosity to her parents with her husband's possessions.

Wife-beating under such provocations as stated might meet with universal support and approval on the part of mankind. There may be principles and practices in Hunza that will not find widespread support in the West, but I'll bet on the basis of the two causes for wife-beating there will be broad, if not general, male approval. 000

By Hunza law a daughter cannot inherit property. The best that she can get in a property settlement is the use of the property for her lifetime. It then must revert to a male member of the father's family. There have been instances where a daughter has been willed an individual tree—in most cases, an apricot tree. This remains her property, or at least the crops do, for as long as the tree or she lives. 428 423

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684 837 Morality in Hunza is of a high level, equal to that of the best records in the world. Sexual promiscuity on the part of either male or female is practically unknown. It is clear and established that they are clean thinking and clean living people. However, the Mir did tell me that on rare occasions there was trouble involving the eternal triangle.

644 853 608 The strangest custom that I found practiced in Hunza was that followed by the royal family . . . that is, the Mir's family . . . and it pertained to their children. As soon as a child is born to the royal family, it is given out to foster parents to be reared and brought up by these parents as their own. And there the royal child remains for an unspecified period of years. The child is brought to the palace on occasions and then returned to its foster home.

The exact purpose for this practice was hard to pin down. I felt that probably it was done to save the queen or Rani the difficulty of raising the child through its infancy. I also thought that perhaps this would allow the queen to have more children, and thus be sure to create a long line of descendants to follow in the ruler's footsteps or lineage. It was also suggested that this was a way or manner or means of strengthening the ties of the ruler with his people—a sort of democratic gesture.

The people to whom the child is given out for rearing are referred to as "milk parents" or "milk family." The tie that is thus established with these people is never broken. The individual members of the family are referred to as the milk-mother, the milk-father, the milk-brother and the milk-sister.

In every case, before the child is given out to its milk parents, their character, their habits and their way of life are carefully scrutinized so that the royal couple

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exception of the doctor or visitors. There was a letter 205
from my office awaiting me when I reached the Mir's palace. The Mir told me about it right after our first greeting. He was understanding enough to realize I would be happy to hear from home.

I guess many of the things about Hunza wouldn't 642
allow the country to come under the heading of a democracy, but from what I saw of life and living in Hunza, I assure you it is more of a democracy than any other democracy in existence today.

Hunza has no policemen, no soldiers, no bureau- 692
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3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

6. Bērīcho — now of two classes: 565
   i. ēgherasho bērīcho — musicians who provide music on all public occasions. 463
   ii. ḍak ètasho bērīcho — blacksmiths.[1]

The functions of the Bericho are undergoing a process of extension. They now fetch firewood for the Tham and thorns for protecting enclosures. They also do plastering work for him. A few serve as sweepers. Their status is said to be rising. The Burusho will now eat food prepared by them, which they would not formerly do.

In both Hunza and Nagir the supreme power resides in an autocracy exercised by the Tham, or Mīr. The two royal families derive from a common source and are inter-related by subsequent marriages. This joint royal family claims to have come from Baltistan and to have been established in Hunza and Nagir for the last six hundred years. 643

Each village group is an administrative unit and the Tham is represented in it by one to three Uyōngko (Uyūmko) or Trangfāting (sg.s uyūm = *great*, trangfa). Under their direction these officials have Cherbuting (sg. cherbu, čərbu) who transmit orders to the public. Where the Tham owns land he has a steward, or personal representative, called a Yarpa, who again has subordinates under him to supervise the division of the water-supply. 631

For the settlement of cases and disputes of all kinds there is in Hunza a long progressive series of "courts", if one may use the term. First the case is dealt with by the heads of the two houses and the two families in conclave. Failing settlement it is referred to the Headman of the community (girāmè uyūm; giramɛ uyuᵊm). Thirdly: again failing settlement, it is referred to the Headmen of the Four Clans (wālto girāmichīngè uyōngko; waᵊlto giraᵊmičiŋɛ uyoᵊŋko) who proceed to the "gate" of the *khan* and adjudicate on it. 692

[1] The following are the phonetic renderings of the Burushaski words in the above paragraphs: 1. Thamo; karɛᵊli; aryˈundəro; 2. uyoᵊŋko *or* uyuᵊmko; akaᵊbirtiŋ; waziᵊr; traŋfa; yərpa; farəj; 3. baᵊrɛ sis; 4. ṣadərṣo; 5. baldakuᵊyo; tsilgalaṣo; 6. beᵊričo; eᵊyəraṣo; ḍak etaṣo.

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692 Fourthly: even after this an aggrieved party may carry his suit to the gate of Baltit Fort, where it is heard by the four Headmen of Baltit and the Kaḍako. Fifthly: if he has still failed to obtain satisfaction he can next submit his case to the Wazir. Sixthly: If the Wazir fails, where so may before him have failed, the case then goes to the final court — the Tham's Audience Assembly (Thamo maraka). Here it is heard and adjudicated on for the last time by the Tham, the Wazir, and the elders and officials of every *khan* in council, and a final irrevocable order is passed. It is said that in recent years the Tham has dispensed with the presence of the elders and officials and gives judgement himself. But I imagine this would not apply in a case of major gravity. All "courts" are held in public.

It is thus the policy in Hunza that only matters of serious importance should be referred to the Ruler and that he should be regarded as a final court of appeal. In this way his prestige and authority are not impaired by the constant decision of minor disputations or factious matters.

Character.

157 Of the character of the Burusho something has already been said in *obiter dicta* above. It may be summarily stated that the Hunzukuts are a cheerful, frank and straightforward people; intelligent, keen, and active, with a sense of fun and humour and a commendable spirit of tolerance. They are pleasant people to meet and work with. Among themselves they appear to be good-natured and forbearing, associating together in relaxation, and cooperating happily and amicably in work. They are fond of their children, but do not spoil them, and are considerate to the old or ailing.

000 For more than a month, while partially laid up, I have sat in the Rest House at Aliabad and from the verandah and through the windows seen the life of the place drift past me or concentrate in activity in the fields immediately in front. There is here no

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After this the four communities of Bāltit assembled and instituted a case with the Hamachāting, and by way of settlement they took the Ulter grazing from the Hamachāting as a fine on account of Shadun Kapūri. She was a daughter of the Berātaling and a wife of the Khūrukuts. The Diramaling, as disinterested parties, had decided the case for them and the Hamachāting.

After that the Khūrukuts, the Diramiting and the Berātaling in partnership settled their flocks in Ulter. Some years later the Thams took the Ulter grazing ground for themselves and up to the present it is in the Thams' possession.

These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. 344
It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an 644
elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

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While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I understand, would be used, on completion, as his court, [692 643] where the citizens of Hunza would come with their problems and where the Mir would preside in judgment.

However, this work in no way interfered with the [342] normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

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I guess many of the things about Hunza wouldn't 642
allow the country to come under the heading of a democracy, but from what I saw of life and living in Hunza, I assure you it is more of a democracy than any other democracy in existence today.

Hunza has no policemen, no soldiers, no bureau- 692
cracy, no customs officers or immigration officers. They 643
do have the Mir who is the ruler and true head of the [647]
state and the Mir appoints the Wazir who is his right [693]
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around 12,000 or 13,000 feet, and eking an existence out of the land there is most difficult and precarious. Actually the form of punishment is a sort of ostracism.

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Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been 674
two murders only in my country and all the people have been happy and prosperous. The Government of [648]
India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity.

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the 167
world and get work in other places. . . .

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village 692
there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal.

"If it is considered that a death sentence is called 695
for, the people are collected and if any one will speak 681
up for the culprit, his sentence is remitted. Otherwise he is executed in the presence of the people.

"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, 684
his house could be destroyed, his animals slaughtered 837
and his trees felled without any trouble falling on the offenders and though that custom has fallen into desuetude, it is still considered right for a man to kill his wife's lover if he can catch them 'flagrante delicto'!

"Marriage is not allowed between near relations and 582
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tribal customs have been moulded to conform to modern ideas since I became Mir. . . .

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misdemeanors on the scale that we know them in the Western world are practically unknown in Hunza. That being the case, it behooves us to investigate and study family life in Hunza, for juvenile delinquency is becoming a very serious and ever broadening problem in America. 674

I saw samples of Hunzan justice. Its simplicity made me weep . . . when I recalled our procrastinating, shackled, unwieldy, judicial system. In the Western world civil cases take months and even years to be heard in court before a judge. In Hunza there are so few cases of wrongdoings, or even individual or family problems, that a hearing can be arranged almost immediately. 692

Petty squabbles or differences between husband and wife or even other disputes can be brought before the Wazir or before the Mir in private. When something more serious is at stake, the grieved party or parties bring their case to the "morning durbar," which is held regularly in the courtyard surrounded by the beautiful gardens at the entrance to the Mir's palace. At the time I was at Baltit many workmen were busily engaged in erecting a large stone enclosure or balcony where the "durbars" will be held, allowing more room for spectators and greater comfort for the counsel. [344] [644]

During the proceedings the Mir sits comfortably ensconced on a square-shaped wooden divan, luxuriantly smothered in rugs, fancy cushions and tapestries. There is none of the strict court procedure or dourness and frigidity known to our Western judiciary system. Here one feels that he is talking to a friend—a fellow citizen—or at least, an acquaintance. [352] [643]

Perhaps we have carried our ideas of justice, freedom and democracy a bit too far. In order that everyone may be afforded justice and fair treatment at the hands 000

000 of his fellow man and see that it is fairly and impartially carried out, we have made it too complicated. Is there any justifiable reason why it should take months or even years for a civil case to be heard in court? If there are not sufficient judges, I'm sure it would not be difficult to appoint or elect more of them. If there are not enough court rooms and court houses, I feel confident that, with American construction at its high peak of efficiency, it wouldn't take long to correct that.

692 643 Then why isn't it done? I don't know the answer. Do you? The Hunzan system of justice seems to be functioning in a most satisfactory manner. Anyone may petition the Mir and unless he is away, can get an almost immediate hearing. If the Mir is not available or if the problem is not a weighty one, then the Wazir can attend to it.

In truth, justice can be simple!

* * * * *

486 122 In order to get into Hunza you must obtain a permit from the Pakistani authorities in the capital, which is Karachi, but I understand the government is being moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi or a new site close to it. I still think it is more important to have the Mir's invitation, because even though you could get into Hunza, you would be practically helpless without the Mir's assistance and cooperation.

[124] Unless you brought a guide with you and one who could speak English and translate for you, you'd find the going very, very difficult in either Nagir or Hunza. Therefore I would suggest that if you contemplate a visit into this area, you obtain the Mir's invitation or permission first. Then go after the Pakistani government's permit.

648 131 Why the Pakistan government regards Hunza as a strategic region or area is not hard to understand if

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
[P.40-C] Hunza

648 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
643 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[651] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
643 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
692 which consists of the Mir, his heredi-
[645] tary grand vizier, plus the Mir-ap-
pointed chiefs of all the villages within
walking distance of the palace. How-
[681] ever, since the loser usually pays a fine
to the Mir's treasury, and the winner
traditionally gives the court a present
equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
643 (literally "Grandfather King") is
spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

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~~Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AUL-Afghanistan-AUL~~
4 Av 3 Dard Av 3
Burushe Av 7

when the drum is heard; if he did so, some evil would be certain to happen to the daring individual, the least he could expect would be that his head would be twisted round to his back, and remain so for the rest of his life. A warlike expedition undertaken without the sounding of the Yoodeni drum would certainly end in disaster.

Trial by appeal to the ordeal of fire is still practised. Seven paces are measured, and a red-hot axe-head is placed on the open palm of the accused, on which a green leaf has first been spread. He must then deposit the hot iron at the spot appointed seven paces distant, and should any mark of a burn remain on his hand, it is a proof of guilt. The Vakeel of the Thum of Hunza on one occasion offered to subject himself to the ordeal before me, in order to clear his master of a false accusation.

Magic has a prominent place in Dard ideas, and many individuals are credited with the power of exercising magical arts. The rulers of Hunza and Nager are credited by their subjects with the power of producing rain. During a very severe winter I captured a full-grown markhor, which had wandered during the night into the cultivated land. The occurrence being unusual, the animal was at once regarded as a *jin*, and a deputation came to me shortly after it was captured, asking me to release it lest it should bring misfortune on the place. The death of the Wuzeer, which happened unexpectedly a few days afterwards, is still ascribed to the occurrence. Written charms are in great request, and every person wears one or more suspended to different parts of the dress by circular brass buckles. Those most in demand are charms conferring invulnerability and courage on the wearer. Charms are also attached to the mane and forelock of favourite horses. Certain springs are supposed to have the power of causing tempests if anything impure, such as a cowskin, is placed in them. This seems to have been an old and widely-spread superstition. Baber mentions it in his memoirs. "Some books mention that in Ghazni there is a fountain, into which if any filth or ordure be thrown, immediately there rises a tempest and hurricane with snow and rain."[1] The same is mentioned by another writer.[2] "Many days elapsed without the opponents having engaged each other, when it was mentioned to Mahmood that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring into which if a mixture of ordure should be thrown, the sky would immediately become overcast, and a dreadful

[1] Bâber's Memoirs by Erskine, p. 149. [2] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 96.

of India that it should not be taken over by Russia. It was 643
decided to put on the throne a younger brother of the fugitive 648
Safdar Ali's—who by good luck had escaped murder. This young man, Muhammad Nazím Khán, had had an unusually wide political education. As a boy of only nine or ten he had been sent down by his father as a hostage to Gilgit, and had there met British officers for the first time and gained many new ideas. Later he had acted as ambassador and negotiator for his father and his brother on missions to Chinese Turkestan and Afghanistan, and he could talk Wakhi, Turki, Khowar, and Hindustani, as well as his own Burushaski. Above all, he was an extremely able youth, and had drawn his own deductions from his varied adventures. In 1892[1] he was therefore made king, with the able Humayun Beg as his Wazir, and since that time he has been our trusty and faithful ally, guarding for us the lofty passes that are the extreme northern gates to India on the west. For four and forty years he has now ruled his people with firmness, sympathy, and kindness, maintaining security, dispensing justice in accordance with local custom and public opinion, keeping up and encouraging the traditional festivals that punctuate the year with joust and dance, music and merriment.

During his reign there have been only two murders on 674
Hunza soil, serious crime is unknown, and even theft and 625
petty pilfering are non-existent, though there are in the 697
country no prisons and no police. On rare occasions when
some mischief-maker threatens serious trouble, the Mir, with 681
the concurrence of his subjects, may deport the would-be disturber of the peace to the distant valleys of Shimshál to tend the royal flocks that pasture there or to spend his energy on roads or aqueducts. Food and pasturage are plentiful, and life in some respects more luxurious than in lower Hunza; but the Hunzukuts loves his home, his family, his apricots, and after a couple of years' exile the malcontent returns a wiser man. It is amusing to see a recent book indicting the Mir of Hunza for the "tyranny" that imposes so humane and so useful a punish-

[1] A popular account of these high matters may be found in Algernon 113
Durand's *Making of a Frontier*, and in E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*.

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2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

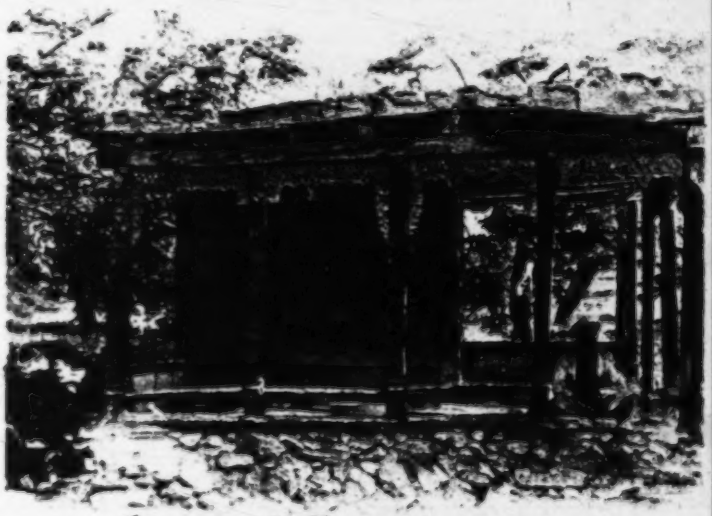
712
361

PLATE VI

1. Old fort-village of Aliábád with beacon tower. Background, Rakapóshi. (*See p.* 123)

346

Old Mosque at Aliábád, with Hurmat seated in verandah. (*See p.* 132)



[Facing P. 80]

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

175 361 712 Some time in the days of our earliest Edwards, a princess of Baltistán married the reigning prince of Hunza. For the last hundred years or so the direct route to Baltistán has been completely blocked by advancing glaciers, but for centuries before, the two countries had been in communication with each other. Hunza consisted then of three small villages only: Áltít and Ganesh on the river cliffs, and Báltít high above. The princess's father sent with the bride an army of Balti masons, carpenters, and craftsmen, who built the two forts of Áltít and Báltít as part of the royal dowry, and to-day they still stand proudly on their cliffs, impregnable to assault, [171] centres of ancient ceremonial. To this day, too, the Hunzukuts modestly attribute all their simple arts to Balti influence.

173 643 The original inhabitants of Hunza proper are said to be descended from three soldiers of Alexander the Great, who were left behind sick, presumably plus their womenfolk, and thus while their comrades marched on became the founders of the three first villages in this inhospitable region. Like so many royal houses in Central Asia, the family that has ruled for more than six centuries in Hunza and Nagir likes to claim descent from Alexander himself. But while the Mir of Nagir, Sir Sikander (= Alexander) Khan still upholds this tradition, we noticed that the shrewder Mir of Hunza—who must have seen many a courteously-veiled smile greet this familiar genealogy—shied off the topic.

What seems probable is that the royal family is not in origin of the same stock as the people, and that it may well—as tradition asserts—have come from Persia at some prehistoric date. What is certain is that it can trace its authentic ancestry as far back as can the House of Windsor.

173 144 There may well be truth in the legend of the European descent of the Hunza Burusho, for in temperament and looks our Hunza friends have nothing of the "Oriental" about them. Take from them the very lightly bronzed complexion, "the shadow'd livery of the burnished sun," to which at this altitude they are "neighbour and near bred," and you could transplant them without incongruity to the moors of Yorkshire or the Scottish lowlands.

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

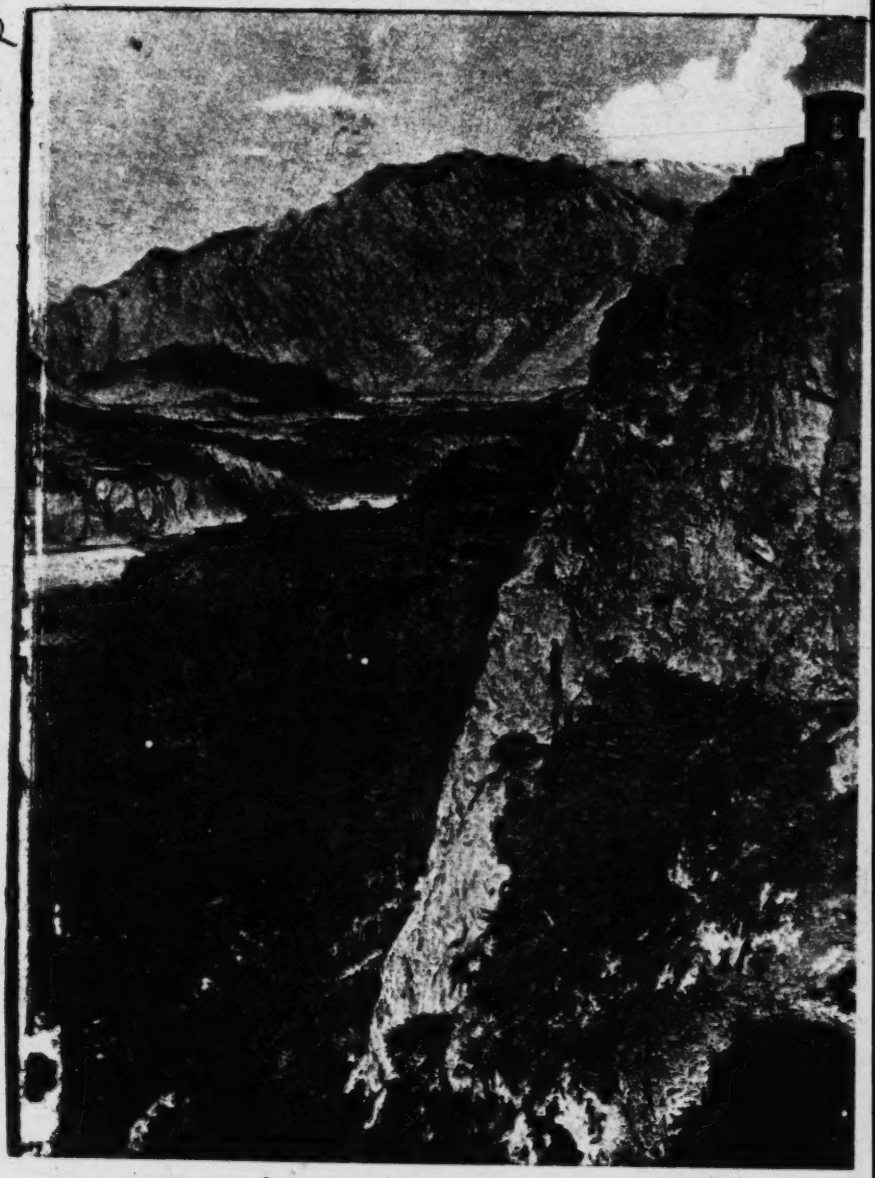
In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce 643
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 648
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

712



Old Fort at Áltít, centre of ancient ceremonial. (*See pp.* 106, 227)

PLATE XIX

[Facing P. 256]

These chambers were once living rooms and bedrooms. 344
It reminded me of a penthouse. While it didn't have an 644
elevator to whiz you upwards in a matter of seconds or the best in modern plumbing, it did have the air, the view, the history and fascination that no penthouse in creation could match.

Back about 400 years ago one of the rulers of Hunza [173] [648]
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dined and entertained, had been completed recently and was taken possession of by the present Mir about 7 years ago. Actually though, the new palace was started by the Mir's grandfather back as far as 1925.

While we were guests at the palace, extensive masonry work was in progress as the Mir was having a broad, low, stone-walled veranda erected. This, I un- [692] [643]
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However, this work in no way interfered with the [342]
normal functions of the household, for, even as the people of Hunza follow the custom of moving upstairs for the summer and downstairs for the winter, so did the Mir.

To me, however, old Baltit Fort was an edifice of distinction, charm and beauty and if I were in the Mir's place, I would never have abandoned it.

344 This massive old fortress, for that is what it was,
644 was actually one of the places that had withstood the
●712 attacks of invaders for more than 400 years and re-
727 mained impregnable. It has only once been in enemy
[175] hands since the day it was built and that was in 1891, when, after the Battle of Nilt, it was occupied by the British. Records further indicate that the British added no glory to their occupation at the time because of their indiscriminate looting of the treasures found in the palace. But the Mir, whether because of his friendship for the British or because of his desire to tell the truth, claimed that it was not the British who looted it, but the Dogra troops who were under British command.

344 Here I would like to quote from E. F. Knight's
644 *Where Three Empires Meet:*

352 "This massive fortress, which has been for hundreds of years the secure stronghold of the robber kings, inviolate until this day, stands boldly out, set in the midst of a sublime landscape . . . Twigg, Boisragon and myself took up our quarters in the most comfortable chamber we could find, which we soon discovered to have been the apartment of the ladies belonging to the [643] Thum's harem. ("Thum" is Burushaski for ruler, sovereign, king, chief, "Mir". Used especially of the hereditary rulers of the states of Hunza and Nagir.) It was surrounded by a low, broad, wooden divan, on which our bedding was laid. Pillars of carved wood rose from the edge of the divan to the carved beams of the roof, blackened by the smoke of ages. . . . A fire was lit in the open fireplace at one end of the floor, the smoke escaping through a square hole in the roof. Save for the Oriental pattern of the wooden carvings it was just a hall, I imagine, as King Canute might have lived in. . . . We enjoyed a delicious night's rest after our late fatigues.

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 33

The Mir's Summer Cottage

ALTIT FORT has quite a history. I believe it to be the most historic and most important edifice in all of Hunza. Records that have been handed down would indicate that the fort was about 700 years old and it was erected like a perch, right on a sharp bank of the Hunza River, on what was originally a sharp gigantic precipice. 344 644 712

It may be smaller and perhaps simpler in construction than the larger fort at Baltit, but I thought it was big enough after I walked all around it and went in and out of all its chambers. Then, too, it is much larger now than it was in those days because the present Mir had a new wing erected so that when he holds court and carries out the seed-sowing ceremony, there will be plenty of room for his family, guests and visitors. [643]

I gained the impression that it was a tight little fortress—well built from blocks of rock, expertly

344
644 wedged together to form a formidable protection
712 against invaders of their day.

796 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the
241 Burushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festi-
643 val, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like to emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed
[789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

partake of the Mir's blessings. 000

In comparing the fort at Altit and the one at Baltit, I gained the impression that the one at Altit had more rooms . . . smaller ones they were, but there seemed to be more of them. The old fort at Baltit was much larger and more impressive. Yet somehow I became more attached to the Altit Fort. I had the impression that it was almost impregnable. 344 644 712

Then I recalled the true story of the capture of the fort by the British and, after appraising its isolation, strength and precipitous banks and sides, I thought to myself, "Any group of men who had the courage to attempt to scale and capture any fort in Hunza deserved a lot more glory and loot than they would ever get in Hunza . . . and that is for certain!" 712 648

On one of the balconies stood a man with a bowl of apricots and Sultan Ali said, "This man is the chowkidor, or guardian, of the fort and it is customary to give him a gift." 124

"Of what?" I asked.

"Oh, about 10 rupees," replied Sultan Ali.

Jahangir almost jumped a foot when he heard that and he said, "For what? He hasn't done anything and we haven't eaten any of his apricots."

"Well," Sultan Ali said, "it's just customary!"

"Customary or no," said Jahangir, "I think it's ridiculous!"

I turned to Sultan Ali and said, "Normally I'd be glad to give him the tip that you suggest, but the truth of the matter is my fund of Pakistan rupees is just about nonexistent. When we set out for Hunza from Pindi we calculated in advance approximately how many rupees we would need and then we added on 100 extra, and that's what we came with. 124 122

"From the stories that we read and from the infor-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

133 seven and eight hundred feet deep, each one filled
487 up by the end of a glacier, the main mass of which was out of sight. We passed through numerous
361 villages whose cultivation, carried far up the moun-
241 tain side, was of the richest. Each village was surrounded by fruit trees, and poplar, plane, and
[712] walnut trees abounded. Every village was either enclosed in a large square fort, with towers at each corner, or had a fort close to it.

133 The third day took us into Nagar. On leaving camp we crossed a great shingle slope, nearly a mile in length, at a point hundreds of feet above the river. Huge cliffs crowned the slope, and made this one of the most difficult pieces of road, from a military point of view, that we had yet passed. During our two last marches we saw conglomerate cliffs and rocks full of garnets, some very fine white sandstone, and in one place a cliff of clay, which was said to be full of
[361] gold. Nagar lies off the main valley, some three
[241] miles up another stream, and the last few miles into it the road ran almost without interruption through cultivation. The fruit trees were a sight to see, apricot trees bending under a burden of red gold fruit, their harvest just beginning, and every house roof, and any other available flat space, was covered with the fruit drying in the sun. As we turned our backs on the main valley the view was superb.
133 Behind us Rukapushi rose in gigantic precipices of
241 thousands of feet of snow and ice, while across the
361 river above Hunza towered another great mountain, its crest broken by sharp granite peaks on which no snow can rest. Its lower spurs are jagged and bare, and below them lay a large semi-circle, one mass of

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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bone of the force, four hundred Gurkhas and Dogras of the Kashmir Body Guard Regiment, two hundred and fifty Dogras of the Kashmir Ragu Pertab Regiment, a hundred and fifty Punyali levies, and a small detachment of twenty men of the 20th Punjab Infantry, my personal escort, half with a gatling gun and half attached to the Punyalis to stiffen them, and the seven-pounders of the Hazara mountain battery. A larger force could not have been fed in the country, a smaller could not have undertaken the job. Opposed to us I counted on finding some four or five thousand men indifferently armed, but very skilful and dangerous enemies behind stone walls. 000

Our advance was unopposed, but the path had been cut away in places, and the march was slightly delayed, so that it was about midday before we crossed the last rising ground and saw Nilt and Mayun before us. Flags fluttered gaily from their walls, and a burst of cheering and the roll of drums told us we were expected. Men could be seen hurrying into the fort and entering the sungahs, stone breastworks, on the hills behind it. At the foot of the slope we were descending I halted my little army, which looked tinier than ever as the detachments closed up, and sent for the officers commanding the different bodies to explain my plan of attack. 726

The forts in the Hindu Kush are generally square, with towers at the corners, the solid walls, often ten to fifteen feet thick for some feet from the base, are built of stones and mud strengthened by timbers, but the towers, which are high, are more flimsy, and the loosening of a timber frame might bring them down with a run. 712

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

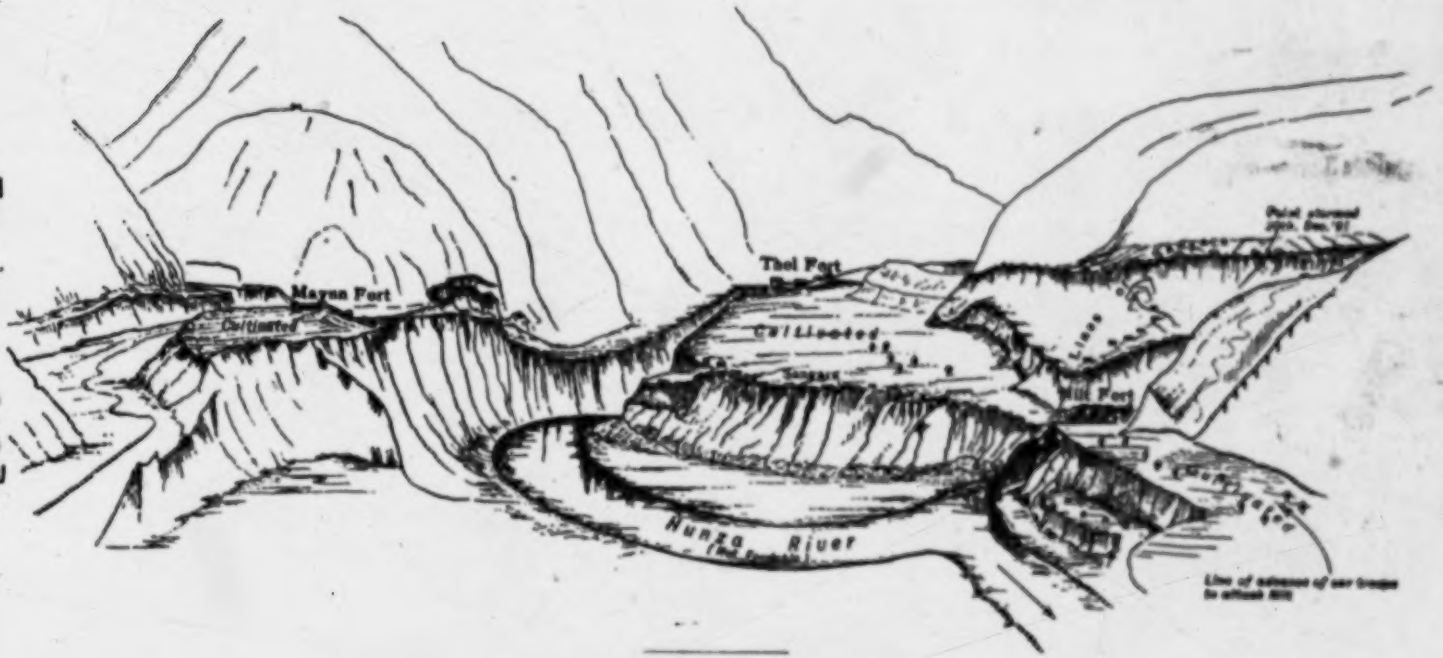
726 and went rolling up the valley ahead of us. We had got in closer than the officer commanding the guns, Lieutenant Gorton, R.A., thought, and the range was only two hundred and fifty yards.

Then the game began in earnest; the little guns pegged away at the corner tower and burst shells inside the fort, and the enemy opened a very heavy but ill-directed fire on us, from which we suffered but little, for they were firing down hill, and our men were fairly well under cover of the walls of the terraced fields, and the bank of a big irrigation channel. Ten minutes was enough to show Gorton and me that we were doing no good; the tower, we found out afterwards, had been built up solid to the top, and the time had come for the decisive attack. The order was given, and with a cheer a covering party of Gurkhas dashed forward, lined the last terrace wall, and opened a hot fire on the loopholes of the fort; under cover of their fire Aylmer and his storming party crossed the open and threw themselves into the ditch.

712 The gate of the fort was in the centre of the main wall, and was hidden from our view by a six-foot wall built on the edge of the ditch, which the enemy had loopholed but had omitted to hold. The ditch was full of abattis made of whole trees, which also stretched from it to the end of the spur above the fort. A path was found through the abattis leading to a small door which gave access to the passage between the outer and main wall; this door was under a heavy fire from the sungahs across the ravine, but it was speedily forced with the loss of one man, and once through it the

4 Dated G-8 (1888-89) 1890 AVI Dublin

7113



THE NILT - MAYUN POSITION
from the West.

[facing p. 262]

Mr Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AUS-Afghanistan-AUS
4 AVS Dard
Burushe AV7

241 covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

771 Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immo-
411 rality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

564 The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yeshkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known
142 as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Iskardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less
197 vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaski, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

576 Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi, the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the names of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gánish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother,
231 and their sons are called "*gushpoor*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

712 Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more
361 forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population takes refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

000 In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

[P.45]

SBS
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411
714

[612]

Observance of wedding ceremony is reserved exclusively for male participants and spectators. Segregation of the male [illegible] women, including brides, from attending ceremonies. On many public occasions, women hold a separate gathering.

113, 175, 721 Burusho AV7

/For history of military campaigns in Hunza and Nagar from 1889-1893 see 4: Durand, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 226-292./

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliábád the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 643
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws 648
a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

3; Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

In the second place we have to note that the population of Hunza and Nagir is neither linguistically nor ethnologically homogeneous. Viewing the territories as a whole, Burushaski occupies only a limited central position. It is legitimate perhaps to see in this an indication that the country has been subject to more or less peaceful penetration from the periphery, but that it has never been overwhelmed by any flood of conquest or organised immigration. We may picture Burushaski as here standing at bay — a language which has once covered a much larger area and has gradually been driven in on its least assailable territory, or has been displaced and pushed back to a final refuge. 162 174

The country with its physical savageness and poverty could never have attracted the ambition or cupidity of any sane conqueror, and with easier routes available to the West there is little reason to believe that any serious invader has traversed or even penetrated it in force. Against this argument, however, are to be set the efforts of the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmir to penetrate and master the country in the nineteenth century. Their aim was doubtless to strengthen their position in Gilgit. 177 721

The relative strengths of the languages current in Hunza and Nagir are set out in the following tables, which are based on figures collected for the 1931 Census, and on the results of private enquiries as to the language spoken in each individual village. 162

District	Number speaking			Total Population 1931 Census
	Burushaski	Shina	Wakhi	
Hunza . . .	9,938	1,184	2,411	13,533
Nagir . . .	10,362	3,293	—	13,655
Total . . .	20,300	4,477	2,411	27,188

To obtain the absolute total numbers of known Burushaski-speakers 513 must be added to the total of the first column on

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D this rather ungrateful at the time, till I found that,
662 with the Governor's connivance, Wazir Ghulam Haidar had previously seized his best house and lands. It was double-dealing of this kind which had brought on the troubles for the Durbar, a mixture of weakness and bullying, fear and swagger, which had half-frightened and half-exasperated the tribesmen into attack. There was also a Helen in the case.

K A fortnight at Gilgit put me in full possession of
721 the leading facts bearing on the existing difficulties, which may be summarised as follows:—Hunza was extremely difficult of attack, and practically could have but little pressure brought to bear on it, having
B exits to the north on to the Pamirs. It could get
[439] all its luxuries from Kashgar and Yarkand, and had
[648] some connection with China; an Amban being at the time I was in Gilgit, or shortly before, in Hunza, to enquire as to the cause of the trouble. He was plundered and practically sent naked away, but that is another story. Nagar being a *cul-de-sac*, and depending for its salt and other luxuries on Gilgit, could be squeezed, and was, moreover, supposed to be easier of access. The Durbar, while jealous of its military reputation, and ostensibly making great preparations for war, really wished to avoid fighting, and was anxious to arrive at peace by any means in its power. The Committee at Gilgit fully recognised the difficulties of supply and carriage, and
K were also most anxious to come to some *modus*
721 *vivendi*. The Hunza-Nagar people were sick of the
B game, and wanted to make peace, so that the men
721 might look after the crops instead of spending the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV 1
Burusho AV 7

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best part of their time sitting like vultures on the tops of cliffs on the look-out for the Kashmir army of invasion. With things in this condition, and nothing much more to be learnt, there was no use in my staying longer, and I welcomed the invitation I now received from the Mehtar of Chitral, and prepared to start for that country.

000

And here, perhaps, will be a fitting place to point out more clearly the importance of Gilgit. It is a poor valley, separated from India by snow passes, situated on the far side of the Indus at the extreme verge of Kashmir territory. Why, it has been asked, should it be worth our while to interfere there whatever happened? The answer is, of course, Russia. She had advanced practically to the Hindu-Kush; it was necessary to see that she did not cross it. No man in his senses ever believed that a Russian *army* would cross the Pamirs and attack India by the passes of Hunza and Chitral, but we could not overlook the fact that in 1885, when war hung in the balance, some thousands of her troops were moved down towards the Pamirs. What was this for?—hardly for change of air or to shoot big game, as the British public were asked to believe later, when similar moves were made. The object was to get a footing on the south side of the Hindu-Kush, and to paralyse numbers of our troops who would have to be kept in observation of possible Russian lines of advance. Further, I have no hesitation in saying, and I know every inch of the country, and every important man in it, that at the time of which I am now writing, had war broken out between us and Russia, there was absolutely nothing

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

for centuries persistent rivals, always at war with each other, but always ready to unite against a common invader, even when that invader had been called in by the one State in order to assist it in coercing the other.

The State of Hunza was the most important of the two, from the fact that its possession of the passes leading to the Pamirs, and to the valley of the Yarkand river, gave it the opportunity, in the picturesque Persian phrase, of "striking the road," and looting the caravans on their way between Turkestan and India. The rulers of Hunza availed themselves of this commanding position freely; their name was a terror to the merchant and to the gentle Kirghiz, and their success was such that certain roads were entirely abandoned by traders; tracts of country north of the passes were completely depopulated, and Hunza was the centre of the slave trade, the place to which the merchants of Badakshan regularly came to replenish their stocks. The rulers of Hunza were rich compared to those of Nagar, and secure in the fastnesses of their mountains they snapped their fingers at China and Kashmir, and with fine impartiality plundered caravans to the north and kidnapped slaves to the south. But brigands by profession as the people were, they appear to have acted always on the orders of their chief, and the admirable cultivation of their ground, the immense and persistent labour spent on their irrigation channels, and on the retaining walls of their terraced fields, showed that they were worthy of better things. The country itself is some hundred miles in length: from Chalt to Hunza, a distance of about twenty-five miles

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

173 of Nagar, and the name is supposed to be the corruption of the Chinese word Tung, which forms part of many Chinese titles. The Thum was an absolute ruler, who killed or sold his subjects into slavery as it pleased him; but that the rule, though despotic, must have been tempered by common-sense is shown by the fact that the office of wazir, or minister, has gone down in unbroken succession from father to son for seven generations.

643 Safdar Ali, the Thum at the time of my visit, had murdered his father, Ghazan Khan, three years previously, and his character caused me some anxiety. He had, it is true, as had the Nagar chief, written to Government, and asked that a mission should be sent to him, but he bore an ill name for treachery, cruelty,
795 and weakness. In common with most of his subjects he belonged to the Maulai sect, the followers of which, though calling themselves Shiahs, were a bye-word on the frontier for their shameless violation of all the
[837] leading Mahomedan doctrines. The men drank wine freely; their morals were of the loosest; a man considered himself honoured if his wife attracted the Thum's attentions, and hospitality enjoined that he should offer her to his guest. Withal, they were
181 cheery, pleasant people to deal with, slight, wiry, and very active, first-rate mountaineers, and of untiring energy, a great contrast to the Shins of
721 Gilgit. With none of the bloodthirstiness of the Pathan they yet had a great reputation for bravery, and had more than once invaded and severely handled their Nagar neighbours, who were said never to have carried the war into their country.

000 The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

795 nearly as lax in their Mahomedanism as the people of Hunza. There is considerably more cultivation
241 than in Hunza, the land is better watered, and the main slopes of the mountains enclosing the country face north, and are consequently covered with forest. The land has the full benefit of the summer sun, and
[135] the crops are splendid. The untold profusion of the apricots, and the quantity of gold which can be washed out of every stream, has gained the country amongst the Nagaris themselves the name of
144 "the land of gold and apricots." The people, though
721 of identically the same stock as those of Hunza, show
511 marked differences. They are less warlike than their
567 neighbours; they were never implicated in the raiding of caravans, owing principally perhaps to there being no outlet to the north or east leading to caravan tracks; they are, on the whole, better off, owing to the better agricultural conditions, and the possession of splendid grazing grounds; and last, but not least, slavery is unknown amongst them — that is, they would not brook their king selling them or their children, and the exile of the present ruler's eldest son is said to have been caused by his attempt to
181 introduce the custom from Hunza. The men are not
829 so bright and cheery as their Hunza cousins; they strike one as more sedate and morose, and their reputation for dash and gallantry is far lower. The reason they themselves assign for the difference, and the one generally accepted, is that in the winter, when the sun is in the south, the great mountains backing their valley shut out all the light and warmth, of which Hunza facing south enjoys the full benefit, and that the depressing effect of passing day after day in the cold and dark-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

funked himself into a state of great nervousness 159
and a sort of nettle-rash five minutes after he had taken his first dose, which should not have taken effect for an hour. This sounded bad, for a rank coward is a dangerous man to deal with.

The views from our little camp by the polo ground were superb, especially in the afternoons; the great sugar-loaf peak of Dirran, just opposite, seemed to float and melt in the pale blue sky, and Rakapushi was glorious, with great dashes of sunlight at his base, and bands of clouds resting high up, the great peaks standing out above.

And now came the important interviews at 648
which business had to be discussed. The first one was quite satisfactory. I found the Thum in a small open room or court leading into the private apartments, and we sat down to discuss business. It was obvious that the Wazir was the important [643]
man, but also that the Thum, cowardly, shifty, [159]
and with a ridiculous idea of his own importance, must be reckoned with very carefully. Everything passed off well, and the Government conditions were readily assented to, the most important one at the moment being the promise of a free passage to Younghusband, who was to come to Gilgit in November from the Pamirs. Wazir Dadu amused 721
us very much when the question of raiding was raised. He made no attempt at denying that this was the custom of the country, and explained it by saying that Hunza was a poor state, and that necessarily its people looted. The evident enjoyment 000
with which he referred to former exploits, and the expressive grin which accompanied his explanations,

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Burushi AV7

B 661 time that Uzr Khan was desperately jealous of the boy, who was his father's favourite, and very popular with the people, that he hated his brother with added bitterness for his popularity with us, and that in his ignorant and suspicious mind lurked the fear that on the old chief's death we should support his young brother, should he attempt to gain possession of the little kingdom. Yet I had been obliged to advise the boy to act as his father wished, and this was the result.

K 712 The murder did not affect the position on the frontier, but the news which came at the same time that I heard of it did so very seriously. Twelve miles beyond Nomal lay Chalt, a small fort held by Kashmir troops under an agreement with the Nagar Chief. Close to it lay Chaprot, in which also there was a detachment of Kashmir troops. B 662 721 Uzr Khan was now collecting his forces, and preparing to attack both Chalt and Chaprot. He would have moved the moment the murder was committed, but that he was not quite sure of what his father would do, and that he was in correspondence with the Hunza Chief and not in complete accord with him. Two young nephews of his were in Hunza, and he had sent to the Thum and asked that they might also be killed. The Hunza Chief had declined; he was apparently of opinion that they might be useful later in case of trouble with Nagar, being nearer in succession than Uzr Khan, and, moreover, they were his sister's boys. So he declined with indignation, and relations for a few days were strained between the two scoundrels.

K 678 721 There was not much time to think; moreover, I naturally had in mental pigeon-holes plans to

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Burusho AV7

bring on the guns, but I turned out every available man of the Nomal garrison and set them to work to improve it, and arranged for the guns to be brought on later. Early next morning we pushed on, being caught up half-way by Raja Akbar Khàn and the Punyali levies under their chiefs, mostly the Raja's cousins and brothers, and after a severe march reached Chalt in the afternoon. I found that my men had cut the bridge, and that my arrival was totally unexpected. I made the best dispositions feasible for my little force, and sat down to wait events. An attack was threatened the first and second nights, but it did not come off. I heard afterwards that my move had come as a complete surprise on Uzr Khan, who was collecting his forces at Nilt, eight miles off.

K 648 721

The next few days were a little anxious, but each day that passed without my being attacked made for peace. Uzr Khan wanted war, but feared to make it, and his old father and the more sensible men of the country were against fighting. Every hour's delay saw us strengthened, and the chances of an attack on Chalt by the Nagar forces being crowned with success rapidly diminished. The guns got through on the third day after my arrival, though getting over the Chaichar Parri was difficult work. The mules had to be swum across the river below the great cliff, and recrossed again above it, a reach of fairly smooth water making this possible. It was dangerous work at the best, and some of the men had narrow escapes of being carried down the river and drowned. The arrival of the guns strengthened my position very much, and I awaited events with equanimity,

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K 648 721

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Burush. AV7

K 648 721

utilising every moment to improve the road behind me. When we marched up there were eight places where mules had to be unladen in as many miles, on our return, three weeks later, there was a practicable mule road open right through from Chalt to Gilgit, a distance of thirty miles.

K 648 B 721

After ten days or so of *pourparlers* the Hunza-Nagar envoys came to my camp in a suitable frame of mind, and we discussed the situation. Both states were for the moment honestly anxious to avoid war. Uzr Khan's contemplated coup had completely failed, and the boot was on the other leg very completely. The fort of Chalt, though contemptible from the military point of view, was now three times as strong as we had found it; it was garrisoned by picked Kashmir troops amply provisioned, and last, but not least, we had driven a road through the Chaichar Parri. I had been told that any attempt to make a road, or to strengthen the fort, would inevitably lead to war, that the tribes looked on Chalt "as on the strings of their wives' paijamas," and by a timely move I had prevented war, strengthened the hold of Kashmir on its frontier posts, and made it easy to reach them. The first and most important step towards curbing the tribesmen and barring the road to their raids had been taken, and without firing a shot.

Having come to an understanding with the envoys, and given them some advice which I much doubted their taking, and a plain warning that any attempt to occupy the Kashmir frontier posts, or to hold the road between them and Nomal, would be taken as an "unfriendly act,"

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Burusho AV7

K and treated accordingly, I marched back to Gilgit.
648 The storm was for the moment averted, but I had no hope that the settlement was permanent,
B for I knew Uzr Khan's ambition to make himself
648 master of Chalt, and the Hunza Chief was busy
B breaking every one of the terms of his agreement
[721] with us. He was still raiding across the northern passes; a band of his ruffians had had the insolence to kidnap a Kashmiri subject at Nomal, and to sell him into slavery on the Pamirs, and we had further serious causes of complaint. In other ways than those mentioned above my move had been a success. The Punyali levies were radiant at our having forestalled Uzr Khan, and occupied the Chaichar Parri without striking a blow. The news spread through the country-side like wild-fire, the prestige of the Kashmir troops and their own which was connected with it rose with a bound, and they felt confidence in our leadership and fortune.

000 For the next few months nothing of importance occurred, until early in August Raja Ram Singh, the Maharaja's brother, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir army, came up to inspect Gilgit. I was delighted at his coming, for it gave me an opportunity to show him what we were doing to increase the comfort and efficiency of his troops, and to consolidate the power of the Kashmir Government on the frontier. Various little traps were set with the object of embroiling me with him, but my Intelligence Department was fairly well organised, and I was able to avoid them. It afforded me much interest to explain them to him, and they gave us both a good deal of innocent amusement. The meanest was got up by one of the

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

133 are very steep, involving at times springing from one ledge of a rock to another, or dropping on to it from a height of six feet, when, if the footing is lost, the wild torrent sweeps
181 one away. Colonel Biddulph does not credit the Nagyris with bravery. History, however, does not bear out his statement; and the defeat inflicted on the Kashmir troops under Nathu Shah in 1848 is a lesson even for the arrogance of a civilized invader armed with the latest rifle.
[533] The Nagyris are certainly not without culture; in music they were proficient before the Muhammadan piety of the Shiah sect somewhat tabooed the art. At all events, they are different in character from the Hunzas with whom they share the same language, and their chiefs the same ancestry.
721 The Hunzas, in whom a remnant of the Huns may be
567 found, were great kidnappers; but under Kashmir influence they stopped raiding since 1869, till the confusion incidental to our interference revived their gone occupation. Indeed, it is asserted on good authority, that even our ally of Chitrál, who had somewhat abandoned the practice of selling his Shiah or Kalásha Kafir subjects into slavery, and who had so disposed of the miners for not working his ruby mines to profit, has now returned to the trade in men, "with the aid of our present of rifles and our moral support." Nor is Bokhara said to be behind Chitrál in the revival of the slave-trade from Darwáz, in spite of Russian influence; so that we have the remarkable instance of two great Powers both opposed to slavery and the slave-trade, having revived it in their approach to one another. Nor is a third Power, quite blameless in the matter; for when we worried Hunza, that robber-nest remembered its old allegiance to distant Kitái and arranged with the Chinese authorities at Yarkand to be informed of the departure of a caravan. Then, after intercepting it on the Kulamuldi road, the Hunzas would take those they kidnapped from it back for sale to Yarkand!

000 As a matter of fact, we have now a scramble for the regions surrounding and extending into the Pamirs by

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burushe AV7

000 loss of their independence,—I venture to point out the impolicy and injustice of interfering with these principalities.

I have already referred to a letter from the venerable chief of Nagyr, in which he strongly commends to my care one of his sons, Raja Habibulla, as a well-wisher of the English Government. Indeed, he has absolutely done nothing to justify any attack on the integrity of his country; and before we invade it other means to secure peace should be tried. I have no doubt that I, for one, could induce him to comply with everything in reason, if reason, and not
721 an excuse for taking his country, is desired. Nagyr has
567 never joined Hunza in kidnapping expeditions, as is alleged in the above-quoted paragraph. Indeed, slavery is an abomination to the pious and peaceful agriculturist of that
181 interesting country. The Nagyris are musical and were fond
[771] of dances, polo, ibex *battue*-hunting, archery and shooting from horseback, and other manly exercises; but the growing piety of the race has latterly proscribed music and dancing. The accompanying drawing of a Nagyri dance in the neighbouring Gilgit gives a good idea of similar performances at Nagyr.

787 The country is full of legendary lore, but less so than
791 Hunza, where Grimm's fairy tales appear to be translated into actual life. No war is undertaken except at the supposed command of an unseen fairy, whose drum is on such occasions sounded in the mountains. Ecstatic women, inhaling the smoke of a cedar-branch, announce the future, tell the past, and describe the state of things in neighbouring valleys. They are thus alike the prophets, the historians, and the journalists of the tribe. They probably now tell their indignant hearers how, under the pretext of shooting or of commerce, Europeans have visited their country, which they now threaten to destroy with strange and murderous weapons; but Hunza is "ayeshó," or "heaven-born," and the fairies, if not the inaccessible nature of the country, will continue to protect it.

000 The folly of invading Hunza and Nagyr is even greater

little stones of any shape—the longest and oval ones being preferred—are used. There is one kind of stone especially which is much used for that purpose; it is called "Balósh Batt," which is found in Hanza, Nagyr, Skardo, and near the "Demídeldèn" hill already noticed, at a village called Pareshinghi near Astor. It is a very soft stone and large cooking utensils are cut out from it, whence the name, "Balósh" Kettle, "Batt" stone, "Balósh Batt." The stone is cut out with a chisel and hammer; the former is called "Gútt" in Astori and "Gukk" in Gilgiti;" the hammer "toi" and "Totshóng" and in Gilgiti "sam-denn." The gunpowder is manufactured by the people themselves.*

The people also play at backgammon, [called in Astóri "Patshis," and "TAKK" in Gilgiti,] with dice [called in Astóri and also in Gilgiti "dall."]

Fighting with iron wristbands is confined to Chilasi women who bring them over their fists which they are said to use with effect.

The people are also fond of wrestling, of butting each other whilst hopping, etc.*

To play the Jew's harp is considered meritorious as King David played it. All other music good Mussulmans are bid to avoid.

The "Sitara" [the Eastern Guitar] used to be much played in Yassen, the people of which country as well as the people of Hunza and Nagyr excel in dancing, singing and playing. After them come the Gilgitis, then the Astoris, Chilasis, Palsis, etc. The people of Nagyr are a comparatively mild race. They carry on goldwashing which is constantly interrupted by kidnapping parties from

* "Powder" is called "Jebuti" in Astóri and in Gilgiti "Bilen," and is, in both dialects, also the word used for medicinal powder. It is made of Sulphur, Saltpetre and coal. Sulphur = dastail. Saltpetre = Shóle in Astori, and Shoéi in Gilgiti. Coal = Kóri. The general proportion of the composition is, as my informant put it, after dividing the whole into six and a half parts to give 5 of Saltpetre, 1 of coal, and ½ of Sulphur. Some put less coal in, but it is generally believed that more than the above proportion of Sulphur would make the powder too explosive.

Biddulph G-3 (1872-1878) 1880
AV3 Dard AV3
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rocky ledges, sometimes letting oneself down nearly to the water's edge, then ascending 300 or 400 feet above the stream, holding on by corners of rock, working along rocky shelves 3 or 4 inches wide, and round projecting knobs and corners where no four-footed animal less agile than a wild goat could find a path. D 133

Immediately above the bend of the river is the district of Chaprot, consisting of the fort and village of that name and three other villages. This has always been a fruitful source of contention among the rulers of the three states of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, between which it is situated, principally on account of the fort, which, according to local ideas, is impregnable. It is situated in the angle formed by the junction of two streams, with high precipitous banks, and can therefore only be approached from one side. It has belonged in turns to all three states, but at present is garrisoned by Cashmere troops. Continuing up the valley to the eastward, at about 52 miles from Gilgit, the residences of the rulers of the two states of Hunza and Nager are reached, the river forming the boundary between the wild two. D 361 648 B 121 361

The view of the great Rakiposh Mountain from the north side is truly striking. From the water's edge it rises without a break for 19,000 feet to its topmost peak, which is over 25,000 feet above the sea-level. Its lofty sides, girdled with dark pine forest and seamed with glaciers and *mers-de-glace*, some of which reach nearly down to the water's edge, overlook numerous fertile settlements which are nourished by streams flowing from the great mountain. Above the forests extensive fields of snow sparkle and glitter in the summer sun, while, overtopping all, great points of granite, on whose steep sides the snow can scarce find a resting-place, give emphasis and unity to a scene not easily forgotten. B 133

Above Hunza the course of the river, which rises in the Hindoo Koosh, lies entirely in Hunza territory. The people of these two states, of whom so little is known, have been counted as mere robber tribes, who have brought themselves into notice by their depredations on the caravans between Yarkund and Leh. This is, however, scarcely a just estimation of them. They are of the same stock as the people of Yassin, Ponyal, and the majority of the people of Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys. So far from being mere robber tribes, they are settled agricultural communities, living under rulers who boast of their long unbroken descent from princes of native blood. Hemmed in by lofty mountains, they are B 721 B 144 B 173 186

Th Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUI Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard
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173 "behaved badly" all through, as the above story is concealed in Hunza under the fiction that a prince of Shighnan became the husband of the princess, but that his name being forgotten he is known only as Ayesho (Heaven-sent), from which the present ruling family of Hunza takes the name. The present Thum of Hunza is Ghazan Khan.

The rivalry of the two brothers has been perpetuated till the present time, and has become almost an article of faith between the people, as well as the rulers, of the two states. 721 The people of Hunza have a greater reputation for bravery than those of Nager, but they are not warlike in the sense 648 that the Afghans may be said to be so.. Secure in the inaccessibility of their country, they have preyed upon all their neighbours without fear of retribution. At the time of the insurrection of the seven Khojas in Yarkund in 1847, Shah Ghazanfur Khan of Hunza rendered assistance to the Chinese in overcoming the rebellion. In recognition of this service a jagheer was granted to him close to Yarkund, and a brass tablet inscribed with a record of the friendship of Hunza towards Pekin, and its reward was placed on the gates of the city. A fixed subsidy was paid by the Chinese to the Thum of Hunza, who in return gave a nominal allegiance. Under these circumstances, the caravans between Yarkund and Leh were regularly plundered in the valley of the Yarkund River near Koolanooldi by the Hunza people, whilst the Chinese authorities winked at a proceeding which they were unable to prevent or punish. The raids were organised by the Thum, and looked upon as a right conferred by the proximity of the caravan route. His agents in Yarkund sent notice when a rich caravan was about to start, and a party was at once despatched by mountain paths known only to themselves, to lie in wait for it. Besides the plunder carried off, young men were generally seized and sold into slavery, which caused Hunza to become the chief place of resort for slave-merchants from Badakhshan. The last exploit of the kind, and the most successful recorded, took place in 1865, when no less than 50 camels and 500 ponies laden with merchandise were driven from Koolanooldi to Hunza by way of Ujadbai without opposition. Kunjooti eyes still glisten when they talk of that day, but the establishment of the firm rule of the Atalik in Kashghar put a stop to future proceedings of the kind. On the re-establishment of Chinese power in Kashghar in 1878, Ghazan Khan preferred a formal request to me that he might revive his ancient right

The Raddalph G-8 (1878-1879) 1880 AUS Afghanistan 2177
4 AV3 Dard.
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of "striking the road." The Nager people were never concerned in these raids. 721

With the former rulers of Gilgit the people of Hunza seem to have lived on tolerably good terms, rendering them a nominal allegiance in the days of their prosperity, but asserting their independence as the later Trakhane Ras grew weak. The Sikh and Dogra governors found their most troublesome enemies in Hunza, against which country they never gained a single success. Hunza raids against Gilgit villages were incessant, till in revenge an expedition was organised in 1848 by Nuthoo Shah, the first Sikh governor of Gilgit. Falling into an ambuscade, Nuthoo Shah and Karim Khan, the Ra of Gilgit, were both slain, and their army defeated with serious loss. In the beginning of 1865 a second attempt was made in alliance with the ruler of Nager, whose lukewarmness or treachery caused the expedition to fail. In the succeeding year a third attempt was made, but the Nager ruler's treachery was now evident, and while the Hunza force looked on from across the river, a skirmish took place between the *quondam* allies, in which the Dogra governor was badly wounded. The unexpected defection of their allies and the loss of their leader so disheartened the Dogras that the whole force took to flight, and reached Gilgit with the loss of only two men. Their artillery, which had been at first abandoned, was recovered by the presence of mind of one of the Dogra officers, who, with a few men, preserved the semblance of order in their retreat. The expedition having been undertaken without permission from Jummoo, the governor was recalled and his proceedings ignored. 648

In 1869 the raids from Hunza were at last put an end to by the present Thum consenting to yield allegiance and pay a yearly tribute of two horses, two hounds, and twenty ounces of gold-dust, which has since been paid regularly.

The elevation of Hunza is 8,400 feet. It may be described as an elongated crescent with the points towards the south, formed by the hills receding from the river. At each end is a strong torrent flowing from the glaciers on the peaks, which are just visible to the north. The cultivation extends about 7 miles in length by 1½ in depth. This is terraced down to the river, but in parts is broken and undulating. It is divided into eight districts,—Naraydass, Assanabad, Doorkun, Hyderabad, Aliabad, Ganish, Baltit, and Altit. Each district has its own fort. Baltit is the Thum's residence. The ground is thickly wooded, and the whole eastern end is 133 241 631 341

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir Butusao AV7

on the Nagar bank, or, lastly, of finding a way up the opposing cliffs and piercing his line of defence by direct attack. There was yet another alternative—to blow up the captured fort and to retire to Chalt to await the arrival, six months later, of help from India. The last had but to be raised to be at once rejected. That way madness lay, and a general conflagration of the frontier.

It was decided to try and tackle Mayun, and one night a force crossed the river and felt its way silently towards the walls. The reconnaissance—for such the movement resolved itself into—effected nothing, and the troops were back in Nilt by daylight. The first course held out no promise of success. The fort was strongly fortified and held, and was very difficult of approach.

The feasibility of moving troops up the river bed and of turning the enemy's position was next considered. The game was too risky. Our troops would have had to pass for six hundred yards under a line of cliffs held at every point, and then to push up the river, exposed to a raking fire from both banks, before they could get round the right of the Nagar position. The cliffs into the river were some hundreds of feet high. Only at rare intervals did a path lead up a ravine to the plateau above, and down these well-known passes the enemy had turned water, which, freezing at once, converted them into sheets of ice. To storm up such paths seemed impossible, and the enemy, ever on the alert, redoubled the difficulty by letting down fire balls at night into the river bed, which lit it up plainly. The second alternative, after careful consideration, had to be given up.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burushe AV7

the story is true. It needs a mountaineer properly 487
equipped to make use of this road, which runs over one of the greatest glacier masses of the world, as Sir Martin Conway shows in his book, "Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram Himalayas." Dependent [439]
therefore on Gilgit for their luxuries, such as weapons, 181
cotton cloth, salt, sugar, etc., most of them the produce of India, or on Hunza for the products of Turkestan and Central Asia, the Nagar people were more easily squeezable than their neighbours across the water, and not so aggressively insolent in their dealings with Kashmir. They were as little to be trusted, however. It was one of their chiefs who many years ago called in the Kashmir arms to help him break his rival Thum, and who, once the Kashmiris were well within the country, fraternised with his enemy, and turned upon his late allies; and Nagar forces had played a prominent part in the disturbances of the past year. The want of dash on the part of the Nagar warriors was well marked on the former occasion; no badly-disciplined army, abandoned by its chiefs as were the Kashmir forces in the former case, should have been able to escape. Pathans would have wiped them out to a man, even Chitralis would have inflicted terrible loss, but the Nagar men allowed their enemies to get out of the country scathless, and even to save, owing to the gallantry of one officer, their small mountain guns carried by coolies. These were points which were worth considering and laying up for future guidance.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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bone of the force, four hundred Gurkhas and Dogras of the Kashmir Body Guard Regiment, two hundred and fifty Dogras of the Kashmir Ragu Pertab Regiment, a hundred and fifty Punyali levies, and a small detachment of twenty men of the 20th Punjab Infantry, my personal escort, half with a gatling gun and half attached to the Punyalis to stiffen them, and the seven-pounders of the Hazara mountain battery. A larger force could not have been fed in the country, a smaller could not have undertaken the job. Opposed to us I counted on finding some four or five thousand men indifferently armed, but very skilful and dangerous enemies behind stone walls. 000

Our advance was unopposed, but the path had been cut away in places, and the march was slightly delayed, so that it was about midday before we crossed the last rising ground and saw Nilt and Mayun before us. Flags fluttered gaily from their walls, and a burst of cheering and the roll of drums told us we were expected. Men could be seen hurrying into the fort and entering the sungahs, stone breastworks, on the hills behind it. At the foot of the slope we were descending I halted my little army, which looked tinier than ever as the detachments closed up, and sent for the officers commanding the different bodies to explain my plan of attack. 726

The forts in the Hindu Kush are generally square, with towers at the corners, the solid walls, often ten to fifteen feet thick for some feet from the base, are built of stones and mud strengthened by timbers, but the towers, which are high, are more flimsy, and the loosening of a timber frame might bring them 712

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir Burdsa AV7

000 down with a run. My intention was to try the corner of a tower with my pop guns, in the hopes of bringing down the tower and giving us a point to storm; if this failed, Aylmer, with a handful of sappers covered by the Gurkhas, was to make a dash for the gate, and blow it in with gun cotton. The necessity of storming the fort at all costs was known to all. The moment the fort was ours the Body Guard Regiment, which was held in reserve, was to be pushed past it into the ravine behind to storm the defences on the far side. The fort stood at the junction with the river of a great ravine coming down from the snows of Rakapushi. The cliffs forming the ravine and river bank from which the walls rose were some three hundred feet in height.

The fort was too far off for the little guns to make the necessary accurate shooting, and every one having their orders we pushed on. The river here took a sudden bend, and we had to march round this to our right, and in doing so lost sight of the fort, which was hidden by a spur of hill. Closer and closer we moved, till we were right under the spur, which I occupied with the Punyalis; as we rounded its end the top of a tower came into view. But only a foot or so was visible, and we had to get nearer in. At last, when about ten feet of the towers and half the wall could be seen, we halted the guns and came into action. A death-like silence had prevailed, and the enemy made no sign, but as the first shell sailed over the wall and burst behind the fort a wild cheer rose from the garrison, which was caught up from point to point

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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726 and went rolling up the valley ahead of us. We had got in closer than the officer commanding the guns, Lieutenant Gorton, R.A., thought, and the range was only two hundred and fifty yards.

Then the game began in earnest; the little guns pegged away at the corner tower and burst shells inside the fort, and the enemy opened a very heavy but ill-directed fire on us, from which we suffered but little, for they were firing down hill, and our men were fairly well under cover of the walls of the terraced fields, and the bank of a big irrigation channel. Ten minutes was enough to show Gorton and me that we were doing no good; the tower, we found out afterwards, had been built up solid to the top, and the time had come for the decisive attack. The order was given, and with a cheer a covering party of Gurkhas dashed forward, lined the last terrace wall, and opened a hot fire on the loopholes of the fort; under cover of their fire Aylmer and his storming party crossed the open and threw themselves into the ditch.

712 The gate of the fort was in the centre of the main wall, and was hidden from our view by a six-foot wall built on the edge of the ditch, which the enemy had loopholed but had omitted to hold. The ditch was full of abattis made of whole trees, which also stretched from it to the end of the spur above the fort. A path was found through the abattis leading to a small door which gave access to the passage between the outer and main wall; this door was under a heavy fire from the sungahs across the ravine, but it was speedily forced with the loss of one man, and once through it the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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India would be landed in serious difficulties. The Indus Valley tribes would be certain to rise, the Chitralis might join in, the whole frontier might be in a blaze, and though I knew neither Gilgit nor Bunji could possibly fall, the difficulty of feeding the troops at the front would become insuperable; added to this the passes were closed, and no help could possibly come till June. I knew I should not want troops to enable me to hold my own, but the anxiety of the authorities in India might prompt them to try and despatch them; and failure now would necessarily entail the despatch of a costly relief expedition in the spring. It was a miserable time, and nothing but the knowledge that George Robertson was political officer with the force, and that his fiery courage and stern determination would brook of no failure, kept me confident.

Day by day reports reached me from the front, and they were not very cheerful reading. Our troops occupied the captured fort of Nilt and the open ground over which we had advanced. Their water supply was assured, and there was a sufficiency of food. The enemy were unenterprising, were wedded to a passive resistance, and showed no desire to attempt the recapture of Nilt, or to work round the little force and to attack the line of communications. So far all was well; the question was, how to break through their guard?

There were the traditional three courses open. It was a case of either crossing the Hunza River and storming the fort of Mayun, or of pushing up the river bed and thus turning the enemy's position

344 This massive old fortress, for that is what it was,
644 was actually one of the places that had withstood the
712 attacks of invaders for more than 400 years and re-
827 mained impregnable. It has only once been in enemy
[175] hands since the day it was built and that was in 1891, when, after the Battle of Nilt, it was occupied by the British. Records further indicate that the British added no glory to their occupation at the time because of their indiscriminate looting of the treasures found in the palace. But the Mir, whether because of his friendship for the British or because of his desire to tell the truth, claimed that it was not the British who looted it, but the Dogra troops who were under British command.

344 Here I would like to quote from E. F. Knight's
644 *Where Three Empires Meet:*

"This massive fortress, which has been for hundreds
352 of years the secure stronghold of the robber kings, inviolate until this day, stands boldly out, set in the midst of a sublime landscape . . . Twigg, Boisragon and myself took up our quarters in the most comfortable chamber we could find, which we soon discovered to have been the apartment of the ladies belonging to the
[643] Thum's harem. ("Thum" is Burushaski for ruler, sovereign, king, chief, "Mir". Used especially of the hereditary rulers of the states of Hunza and Nagir.) It was surrounded by a low, broad, wooden divan, on which our bedding was laid. Pillars of carved wood rose from the edge of the divan to the carved beams of the roof, blackened by the smoke of ages. . . . A fire was lit in the open fireplace at one end of the floor, the smoke escaping through a square hole in the roof. Save for the Oriental pattern of the wooden carvings it was just a hall, I imagine, as King Canute might have lived in. . . . We enjoyed a delicious night's rest after our late fatigues.

"We were up betimes on December 23rd, and proceeded to rummage all the nooks and corners of the deserted palace. We had heard that the treasures of many a pillaged caravan . . . were stored here, so the search was an exciting one. The tribesmen had been informed that, provided they gave up their arms, their property would be respected by us. . . But the possessions of the fugitive Thum were declared to be forfeited, so we set to work to collect together all the valuables that were to be found in the place, individual looting being of course forbidden. . . . We were informed that the Thum had made all his preparations for flight long before his defeat at Nilt, and . . . had carried off the bulk of his wealth with him across the Hindoo Koosh. . . . Still, they had not taken all, and we raked together a curious and miscellaneous collection of odds and ends scattered about and secreted away in the various chambers and cellars." 727 344 644

On two sides this mighty fortress (and it is a mighty fortress for that part of the world) is protected by abysses. 344 644

As the views of the mountains and the surrounding country from the balconies were unrivaled, I took many colored photographs and with each click of the shutter I hoped for the best. [26]

I noticed a marvelous old firing piece, gun or matchlock. I don't know how to describe these things as I am not very familiar with firearms. However, I found out that this was a genuine treasure and was almost as old as the fort itself. 411

It was a most unusual firing piece. By actual measurement it was 6 feet long, elegantly and extravagantly decorated with silver and gold, and bore the inscription "946 A.H."

What had evidently been an old calendar portray- 353

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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Even then they would never push an attack home, it is always an affair of a ring of stone breastworks drawn tighter and tighter round the invested body, of incessant fire and perhaps mining, never of a stern open assault such as Pathans would deliver. From the soldier's point of view they are certainly not first-class fighting men. Their rulers alone are blood-thirsty, and that really from the accident of birth and of religion. Even among them, though you might find instances of ruthless severity such as must accompany succession in a Mahomedan state, you but very rarely found the cruelty of the savage who delights in the torture of his victim. It was generally a case of a short sharp shrift. Among the people murders are very rare, and are almost invariably the result of a slip on the part of a lady. By their own laws the resulting punishment, if inflicted under certain circumstances, is perfectly lawful, so that it can scarcely be called murder.

D 726
D 181
D 627

The great difference between the Dard and the Pathan cannot be better illustrated than by the condition of Hunza and Nagar after our fighting there in the year 1891. Within a day of the last fight which decided the short campaign, officers could and did traverse the country unarmed: Conway's mountaineering party wandered all over it six months later without the semblance of an escort, and not one single shot was fired at us after the power of the tribesmen had been broken. They "took their licking," and bore no malice, and within a year, from the very men who had fought against us, I had organised local levies who were ready to fight on our side, who turned out without hesitation when called on, and who did excellent work.

B 727

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

by the campaign, and our supply of lymph had run out. More was sent for, but the first consignment was frozen crossing the passes and proved useless. Before the second lot arrived small-pox broke out, and most unfortunately one of the prisoners taken at Nilt contracted it. This was not discovered before the men were dismissed to their homes, and the disease went up with them. In a few weeks it was raging, and in Nagar alone two hundred and fifty people died of it. The danger was increased by the habit of inoculating which obtained in the country.

By the beginning of April I was sufficiently recovered to travel, and I started to visit Hunza and Nagar. Colin MacKenzie, now a Major for his conduct of affairs, accompanied me, and we visited Nilt with interest and fought the battles over again. The country was recovering, but showed traces of the war. Nilt and Mayun were in ruins, many villages along the road had been set fire to by Uzr Khan in his flight to spite us, and the people, sore and angry with him for the losses his folly had entailed on them, were civil but depressed. Small-pox was raging—almost every man, woman, and child you met showed signs of the disease. I received the old chief of Nagar at the village of Sumayar opposite Hunza, and had to sit for an hour hand in hand with him discussing the affairs of his country. He had been inoculated and had small-pox on him. It was not a pleasant experience, but I had been vaccinated shortly before, and it had to be gone through.

We had a very pleasant time in Hunza, where the people were delighted to have got rid of their

346 outside the House of Assembly (the Maulai kind of meeting-house that has superseded the Shiah mosque). As we neared Aliábád, riding through rich, flat, large fields, and past walled orchards we heard the local band burst into the familiar "welcome music." Presently we came to an open steeply sloping space near the half-ruined Sarkari Fort, and here was a whole party from the capital (four miles away), including Prince Ghazan Khán, the eldest son, and heir of the Mir,[1] and father of the two young princes who had met us earlier. The band changed the time to the "arrival tune," and we all walked on together to this bungalow. We passed a smart set of new
758 little buildings which are the dispensary, built by the Mir.
743 There is a resident Assistant Surgeon here, an Indian with a certain amount of medical training, who is able to render first aid and keeps a stock of simple drugs.

000 We found chairs set out in the rest-house verandah, and while we and Ghazan Khán talked of old times and the latest Hunza news, the rest of our train grouped themselves on the steps, and all the small boys of Aliábád gathered under the trees along the neighbouring watercourse to see any fun that might be going: a jolly, cheery, intelligent crowd they looked, not a moron or cretin among them; again in a marked contrast to Nagir, where both abound. Presently a tray with teapot was brought, and we thankfully turned to the "doctor" (the aforementioned compounder) whose gift it was. Tea was what we were just dying for after the hot climb; but when I poured it out I found it was a tepid mixture of tea, milk, sugar—and cinnamon. David and Ghazan Khán dealt bravely with it; I unobtrusively hid my cup.

643 [1] He succeeded our good friend his father, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khán, in July 1938.

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

zhingát breeds caution, not contempt. As we rode in we saw Ali Ausat at the nicely carved door of his house, rather grubby but pleased to see us, passed the miserable apology for a hospital which contrasts ill with the well-built one at Aliábád, though the two Mirs got the same grant from Government for the purpose of building them, and on past a fine, large, shallow pond. On our right was a steep green slope with jolly poplars and a lot of grass, and then we reached the polo-ground. Here the Mir came himself to meet us from the shelter of a roofed summer-house where he had been waiting. Another mile of almost perpendicular zigzag, which the ponies could only just manage, brought us to the familiar old polo-ground (now disused for play), with its lovely double line of poplars. This peculiarly steep and horrible approach is new, and the Mir is very proud of it. From the top there is a magnificent view with the pond below looking like a lake and the Mir's palace picturesquely perched on a steep hill-face with fine windows looking out not at any view but straight into the terraced hillside opposite. Mir Sikandar Khan looked shrunken and frail compared with ten years ago, but very brisk, and was apparently able to ride up his new road without a qualm.

He himself received us most hospitably and kindly, but his people serve him ill. Immediately on our arrival a shindy broke out with talk of grass- and fodder-shortage, though grass and fodder are plentiful in Nagir, and we found the rest-house dirty and unswept, bathroom and utensils uncared for, and a general atmosphere of grudging incompetence pervading it.

We dined with the Mir that evening and duly entertained him in return, while I paid a visit to the ladies and met the numerous little princes and princesses. The Queen of Nagir, a fine, handsome woman, not a day older than when I had last seen her eleven years ago, is a sister of Khan Sahib Mir Baz Khan of Yasin, and I was able to bring her first-hand news of her brother and his family, in which it is fair to say she did not seem over-interested. But she is a gracious motherly woman, and very intelligent—she even followed my Burushaski (Hunza variety) with ease. The brightest moments of my call were

526 They seldom ever score 9 goals in less than an hour and many times a game will last half a day. And [533] through all this gleeful yelling and shouting—everybody seems to scream like mad—the band is playing its martial tunes.

When a player scores a goal, he proceeds to pick up the ball and follow the same procedure as the Mir did when he started the action. He races madly down the field, screaming and yelling at the top of his lungs. With the scoring of every goal they change ends; that is, what was the first team's goal now becomes their opponent's goal.

[164] From Gilgit to Altit, whenever I saw someone who had a broken nose or some other definite sign of body injury, I would know even before inquiring, that it was gained in honor on the polo field.

[535] When at last one of the teams scored 9 goals and the game was finished, both teams took part in a dance. The winning team dances first and when they have completed their dance, the losing team do their stint. How they could have the strength and energy required to dance, after hours of unrelenting top-pitch physical activity is more than any Westerner can understand.

The horsemanship displayed at the polo matches beggars that seen at western rodeos. In fact, a Hunzan polo game makes the wildest of rodeos seem almost tame. When it comes to horsemanship, you'd have to go a long way to get anyone to beat these tough, hardy mountaineers.

[164] So furious was the game that I inquired if anyone was ever killed playing polo. The Mir replied that he had never heard of any fatalities from a polo game, but that on many occasions a player was incapacitated. I [743] felt that it would be a good idea if they could build their polo fields close to the hospital at Aliabad!

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 44

Health

For Me To Say that the Hunzans are the healthiest 164
people of the world, which many authors and writers 114
have claimed, would be sheer effrontery . . . mainly because I have not studied the health of all the peoples of the world, nor have I even met them. However, I do attest from what I have seen and observed, that the Hunzans are one of the healthiest people of the world.

To say that they are completely free from diseases or 754
health problems is definitely not true. At the time when 115
I visited Hunza there was a resident doctor located at [743]
Aliabad, where he was in charge of a 10-bed hospital. I conversed with him and questioned him daily during my stay and he answered my pressing questions with complete frankness and candor.

He is only a young man, a Pakistani, and his name is Dr. Mohammed Yusuf Khan, M.B., B.S. He is a handsome, capable, well educated doctor and is, in my

value to the people of Hunza? Let's examine them. 500

Let's start with pasteurization. Well, it would be very 744
difficult to pasteurize in Hunza. First of all, they don't have the means of providing the required heat. Besides, they don't suffer from any conditions which pasteurization would cure—if it does cure anything.

How about hospitalization? Well, they have a comparatively new, modern hospital in Aliabad, but the 743
people don't use it very much. They distrust the hospital and they distrust the doctor, even though he is a fine capable fellow. Besides, I did not notice, particularly, any sick or ailing people sitting around, waiting for a hospital bed.

Then how about inoculations? To begin with, what 751
would you inoculate them against? They don't seem to 164
have many, if any, of our diseases. Then, too, there are no inoculations against cancer, diabetes, heart disease, arthritis and such, anyway. Oh, yes . . . besides, these diseases have never been known in Hunza . . . not even poliomyelitis.

The Mir has a huge medicine chest that was given 757
to him by the German expedition, which was stationed 177
across the river in Nagir. Yes, it did prove most useful 123
—for it helped a man get well. However, I must admit rather dejectedly that the man the medicine chest helped was my companion and not a citizen of Hunza.

They could use a dentist and right here you have 759
struck gold! However, it would be most difficult to get 164
a dentist to set up shop in Hunza, unless he were given room in the Mir's residence, for that's the only place where electric power is provided . . . unless the dentist didn't mind going back to the old days when the old foot pedal was used for power.

But let's be realistic about it! Wouldn't it be much [263]
better to give the people of Hunza back their old

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P. 41-B]

164 beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."
123 Altogether, I was able to treat 5,680
[743] medical cases—the country had no
other dispensary—during my stay in
164 Hunza. My daily group of patients did
not suffer from many of the diseases
[158] common to our civilization. There
were no true neurotics; no cases of
stomach ulcers, appendicitis, or gout;
only one case of cerebral hemorrhage,
[482] and but four cardiac cases. The few
[143] bad hearts had been damaged either
by malarial anemia or by overexertion at high altitudes, as was the case
with one man who had carried the
Mir's piano on his back up twenty
miles of mountain trail. On the other
hand, my Hunza patients did have
malaria. They also had at least two
kinds of intestinal worms, and to see
for the first time a man with *Ascaris*

164 proved laboratory by a qualified technician.

164 Their food is natural, simple, unsophisticated, with-
262 out any unnatural, inorganic, synthetic additives whatsoever. There is no fragmentation in the foods they eat. They do not separate any part of the wheat when they make flour, nor do they separate any part of the other grains when using them.

252 Due to necessity they do not cook foods too much, nor do they cook any food that can be eaten and enjoyed without cooking.

Food is a serious, all prevalent problem. The few trees that they have and that they can grow must be protected for food, shade and timber.

However, I must truthfully admit that the reason that the Hunzans do not cook their food is because of the scarcity and inaccessibility to supplies of fuel.

751 Vaccination is not practiced and, as far as I know,
•744 is unknown in Hunza. Pasteurization in any form is neither practiced nor known. Chlorination is unheard of. Fluoridation is unheard of. No coloring whatsoever is added to any of their food, not even their butter.

263 Up until recent years the salt used by the people of
439 Hunza came from the Shimshal area, somewhere near where the Shimshal River and the Murtagh join together. This salt is unrefined and used just as it is mined from this mountain area. It obviously contains many natural so-called impurities.

493 The only wheeled vehicles—two jeeps, in fact—are owned and used by the Mir chiefly for bringing in supplies, when road conditions permit. Therefore one must walk for every chore. There is no motorized
377 equipment used in Hunza with the exception of the electric light plant in the Mir's palace. Apart from what
401 I have mentioned here, mechanization of any sort is unknown.

tilizers are used on their lands. 241

(8) All children in Hunza are breast fed. There is no specific prenatal care, and the good health of the mother is passed on to the infant . . . and the breast feeding gets the child off to a good start. 853 843

(9) All fruits and vegetables that are dried for storing have been exposed to the sun and air. No foreign substances are added or treatments used. 251

(10) Native herbs are used extensively . . . both as seasoning and as food. 262

(11) Glacial waters are the only waters used both for drinking and irrigation purposes. These glacial waters definitely contain many valuable minerals and nutrients, as revealed by laboratory tests. 312 146

(12) Apricot kernel oil is the most important source of fat. It is used in cooking as well as for salads. No solvents or extreme heat is used to extract the apricot oil. 262

(13) Natural whole grains are used broadly. There is no fragmentization in Hunza. While they do bake a bread, their chief form of bread is an unleavened type which they call chapatties. They are composed of whole ground grain made into a dough and rolled very thin. Then they are heated or baked slightly.

(14) Hunzans are light eaters. Their diet is comparatively meager.

There is no doubt that, if any human being were to follow the health rules of the people of Hunza, he could regain or maintain health. There is no magic formula connected with this set of rules. They are simple and to the point. In fact, they are so simple that most people will doubt their value. To these people I would say, "All of the great things in life—the important things and things of value—are invariably simple!" 777

In Hunza the following established Western health 744

•744 processes are unknown and unused: chlorination, pasteurization, hydrogenation, inoculation, fluoridation.

262 The single most important food, as used by the people of Hunza, consists of dried apricots and whole ground grain mixed together to form a toddy or a gruel. This is actually drunk cold and is enjoyed by all members of the family. It is usually partaken of during the late afternoon or early evening.

Their other important foods consist of the following: potatoes, garlic, beans, peas, carrots, tomatoes and some leafy vegetables. In fruits, they have mulberries, apples, walnuts and a few plums, pears and cherries. Grapes are used chiefly for making wine.

They grow a fairly broad selection of grains: millet, wheat, barley, rye, buckwheat and a little rice. Lucerne [231] or alfalfa is generally used for cattle fodder.

[245] The Persian Walnut is the chief nut grown in the area. Almonds are raised, and their cultivation is increasing. A fair quantity of apricot kernels are used.

Ghee is used for baking and as a spread on their chapatties or bread—the oven-baked loaf. Sour milk, buttermilk and curd are a regular part of the diet.

Meat does not form an important part of the Hunzan way of life.

Most foods are consumed raw. The lack of wood or other heating materials probably accounts for the paucity of cooked foods in their culinary art.

147 There are practically no cases of overweight among the people of Hunza. The importance of this factor cannot be overestimated.

000 The path to health is a simple, easy-to-follow road. It is the most natural way in the world to the people of Hunza. However, to follow a similar path in America would involve complications, difficulties and many frustrations.

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746 Hunza has, of course, no charitable societies, but everyone is related distantly or immediately to other families, and no one, however poor or orphaned, is allowed to starve.

123 It was sad to think that when this harvest thanksgiving came round again next year we should no longer be in Hunza. If we had been we should, I am certain, have been allowed to attend the all-night prayer. But, so soon after our arrival, to have suggested this might have been bad policy or doubtful taste even if we had had sufficient notice to sound the feeling of headmen and khalifas. We were in every detail most scrupulously careful to give rise to no anxieties by prematurely taking liberties, even such as would be gladly accorded. The slightest breath of resentment or suspicion roused in even one household might have spoiled all our future relations with our neighbours or given trouble to the Mir. It was wiser to forgo an occasional experience, however interesting and unique, than to take risks.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1932-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

600 floor of No. 7 and found a large group of neighbours flailing buckwheat. They made me welcome, and I tried some photographs. "It was very kind of you to send Nimo for me," said I. "But we never sent for you." Then I repeated what the children had said, and we all laughed heartily—the young monkeys had fetched me out on their own account! A few moments later riders were seen approaching. I sped down to welcome them.

Nice folk they proved. The Swedes used to reach Kashgar through Russia in twenty-four days, but Russian travel being uncertain they had been forced to make the long detour via India and our Gilgit road—a matter of at least three months.

593 Some weeks after my last call on Bibi Gimo I was passing by her home again and was hailed by the children from the roof: "Do come in and see the baby!" I was always chary of too readily accepting such impulsive invitations. "Run down and ask mother if she would like to see me." In a moment Najat came out bearing an authorized welcome. It proved that I had come at a fortunate time, for Baby Faqér had just been lifted for a meal and was kicking and crowing in his mother's arms with wonderful vigour for so small an infant. She took
593 off the kerchief that bound his head—it was a large linen hand-
854 kerchief I had purloined from David's store for him, and I
751 gathered that its size and quality were prized—and ran her
291 hand lovingly through his fine crop of dark hair, keeping a watchful eye for possible inhabitants which she gladly failed to find. I was laughed at for admiring his head of hair so much. The kerchief had a funny little needlebook affair attached by bright-coloured threads which had a verse from the Qur'an stitched into it to serve as amulet. Most small children's caps are decorated with several of these gaily coloured, dangling charms, but I should guess that they are merely "the thing," and are not taken more seriously than a charm on a girl's bracelet at home or the mascot on her father's car. Grown-ups rarely display them, but Dádo used to sport a string of them underneath his waistcoat when we travelled.

593 I sat down for a chat while the ceremony proceeded, and I observed that baby-worship is as thorough in Hunza as amongst

duz.ɜvas, du'zɜvć-.

1. To open (of flowers). H. *khilna.* — *gosa ɜtuño daporise taiyav bim* this bud was on the point of opening. EOL. 000
2. To expand (of the heart), to become happy. IUH, H. *dil kholjana, dil sud hona.* — **-as du.'ɜvas* to become happy. *es du.'ari bim* his heart had become happy.
3. To split. — *du.ɜv.as dan* "splitting stone" i.e. shale (occurring in the Baltit Nullah).

(Identical with *duz.ɜv.as*, q.v.).

du.ɜño -mig y festival day, day of rejoicing. H. *merla, zeilka koi din.*

du.ɜvu.ołuć x a sheep sacrificed on the third day after a person's death (the word appears to be only used in curses). — *du.ɜvu.ołuć(ɜr) ʒiśum* they eat it for d. *du.ɜvu.ołuśur gomanj* (or *gom.ɜvum*) may you be used for d. (or, may you be for (?) the d.! (a curse).

(Cp. Sh. *dukhami, duzami* with similar sense and use).

du.ɜvyu.as, du.ɜvyuć- to be entangled, involved, H. *uljha jana.*

Impf. 3rd. sg. *y du.ɜvyuśilum.*
Pret. 3rd. sg. *du.ɜvyuwi.*
Ad. pa. *du.ɜvyum.*

(Identical with *du.ɜvy.as* q.v.).

duć collyrium (black stuff painted on eyelids). A mineral found in the Hassanabad Nullah in Hunza. Used for small children to protect their eyes, and by amorous young men — *ganqiu jusum*). — *duć *-ɜf.as* to apply collyrium to a.o. *ołtrik duć.ɜl duć ɜs gaług ɜs ołu.ɜv.ɜs* waking up both (the children) and applying collyrium to them and dressing them 302 751 751

143a

up . . . they took them away. 40.21. 751
(Cp. Sh. *dol*).

doldorg, dwldorg, doldog, -ôtiq y bread-oven; fixed earthen fireplace (in houses of the well-to-do). H. *tanur, dwlha.* 000
(Cp. Wkh. *dildogy* a special kind of fire-place and open oven[A]
Morgenstierne derives *dildogy* from Pra. *dôgdha.* "Etym. Vocab. of Pashto", p. 21).

dold'orgi, doldorgi thick bread (Wakhi) made in "doldorg". — *warlo doldorgi* four pieces of doldorgi bread. 340.11.

dold'um, doldom, y. a rising cloud (as of dust), a great quantity of.

dorljoiyas (-ryas) *dorljat-* to be full (of food), to be eated, to have enough. H. *rajna.*
Fut. 1st. sg. *dorljatam,* 2nd. *dorljati.*
Pret. 1st. sg. *dorljoiyam.*
jo dorljoya he I have become full, eated. *jo jitsam, dosi atsam, mamatsam dorljoiyam* I am "fed up" with life, the world, you, *gab malatsam dorljoiyam* I am "fed up" with this country. EOL. *wpra dorljaman* all had their fill (of the marrow), were satisfied. 138.16.
(A *d°-* derivative from *haljoiyas.* Cx. *d°-amljoiyas*).

dolt'alanas, doltalai-, to become (fruitful). — *Hunas d'oltalaimi,* Hunza will become fruitful again i.e. the crops will flourish. 242.2. *Awar ruki dasum rik doltalai.i bila,* a vine bears fruit (i.e. begins to bear) after 3 years.
(A *d°-* derivative of *tal'anas, °-ltanas,* which can have the meaning of "to turn into," "become").

doltapi.as, doltapuyas (also with *-p-*), *doltapot-* v.i. to wither (with y subjects). — *doltapoti, doltapimi* it

143 b

[A] [see corrigenda et addenda. category 116, p. 543 - Analyst]

164 proved laboratory by a qualified technician.

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846 A couple of months after Bibi Gimo's, Soni's baby son was born—the first grandson of No. 1A—and his arrival was the cause of great rejoicing. I had heard nothing of it till I commented one day to Aliko, whose handsome white beard had suddenly turned orange, on the fact that I had not lately seen Afrots. "She's been staying over with her mother's people in Haiderabad," he said, "but she's coming back to-day." When I next saw her she raced up to me breathless: "How do you do (in English), I've got a baby brother, I've got a baby brother, I've got a BABY BROTHER!" The opportunity of an eighth-day formal visit had passed, so I clambered over a boulder or two into their orchard-garden and called up the [354] blank, unresponsive-looking wall of the house. Soni was busy in the store-room, and put her head out of the one tiny wooden window—the only "window" of a Hunza house is a square, shuttered, ventilation hole in the store-room—inviting me to join her on the roof. I climbed the primitive ladder with caution—a camera and other impedimenta always made me even less agile than need have been—and there she was spinning away and occasionally giving a rock to the cradle beside her. I utilized as many suitable phrases as I could remember without rehearsal, and was rewarded with a peep at a fine little fellow of a fortnight whom any mother might have been 846 proud to own. Soni was gaily dressed, and had dotted her face 302 all over with unsightly brown spots which I learned were 752 supposed to be "good for the complexion" after childbirth. The custom used, it seems, to be universal, but it must be dying out, for I saw only a few young mothers so decorated. Anywhere else one might suppose it a charm against the Evil Eye, but the Burusho of Hunza are so free from any taint of this baleful superstition—so hard-lived where it has once had root—that I think there must be some other explanation. We later found that among the Burushaski speakers of Yasin, all the younger women lived under a permanent coating of similar brown cosmetic, washed off only for feast days, in the belief that it protected their skin against the cold winds of their harsher climate.

860 Afrots, joining devoutly in the admiration of her baby

4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AVT Surukho AVT

Bübuli Gas, bring a husband for me too. In the Shishper nullah, they say, there is a man with a golden moustache. You fetch him for me and we shall celebrate my marriage and your marriage at the same time."

On her saying this to him Kiser (went off and) when he came (to the place) a man with a golden moustache was sitting at a loom weaving a piece of *patu*. Kiser threw the man over his shoulder and brought him to his home. Kiser's grandmother was sitting up on the roof. When she saw Kiser bringing the man with the golden moustache, saying to herself: 'I'll go down the ladder,' she fell down and her ribs were broken, they say. After some days, when he had applied remedies to his grandmother and made her well again, Kiser married her to Münulum Dado. He also effected his own marriage, they say.

Up to the present day a halloo comes from Hazuman Mün in the Shishper nullah. People still hear it.

In *sumo* the *-mo-* infix (*su* + *mu* + *°-o*) must be a kind of dative, duplicating the *ergiuser*.

A local method of treating broken ribs is to apply paper with paste or gum over them.

11 *sudo zu* — The narrator, Jemadār Imam Yār Big, claimed to have heard it. *Darbaio's* experience took place some 80 or 90 years ago.

stay aloft. Heights offer no terror for any Hunzan—man, woman or child. I think if a Hunzan suffered injury because of a fall from a height, he would be ashamed and embarrassed, but let me admit that they do have falls and broken limbs, too. I found this out when I met Hunzans who were expert bone-setters.

I have to admit that generally speaking the Hunzans' clothes are nondescript. However, I was strongly attracted to the Hunza hat which is best described as a rolled, sausage brimmed, soft white woolen covering. But it is really and truly an ingenious contraption. It is made of native homespun wool, white or creamy in color and mighty good wool, it is, in my opinion.

These hats are worn summer and winter by the boys and men. I tried them and found that they did keep out the summer heat. Wherever I met the boys and men of Hunza they always wore these hats. In the winter they can be rolled down to cover not only their ears but their faces and necks as well. I attest that it is a valuable and completely satisfactory headpiece. I thought they were quite attractive and enhanced the handsomest of the Hunzan men.

They have the choga which is a long flowing cloak worn by both men and women during the winter. This cloak is made of the same grey homespun wool and is never dyed but its creamy color is attractive and pleasing to the eye. Evidently this choga is quite similar to the toga worn by the ancient Romans. Who knows? Maybe some of Alexander's men or Alexander himself brought a toga with him from his homeland when he came to the East.

Apart from the attractive, useful, comfortable, Hunzan sausage-brimmed hat and choga, the best I can say for the rest of the clothes worn by the people of Hunza is that they are utilitarian.

164 salt is causing the present goiter and dental caries situations in Hunza today.

"How would you describe the health conditions of the people of Hunza?" I next asked the doctor.

[758] "Since my coming to Hunza a little less than a year ago, I have treated but a few patients a day and seldom are there more than one or two of the hospital beds utilized at one time. Apart from the greatly increasing incidence of goiter and dental caries, no other disease seems to have a firm hold in Hunza.

164 167 "Now that many of the boys and men of Hunza are leaving to go into the army in Pakistan, as well as seeking employment in other adjacent areas, diseases never known in Hunza before are making their appearance.

•753 757 "Another unfortunate characteristic that I have to contend with is the fact that the people feel quite shy of coming to a doctor for advice and treatment, especially when it is concerned with the personal parts of the anatomy. Actually they are callously indifferent to medical science. The majority of them are, in fact, still living in the bygone age when diseases were supposed to be due to influences of evil spirits. So they depend to some degree and waste much of early precious time in useless superstitious pursuits of driving away the ghost."

164 These one or two patients that he treats daily have in most cases only minor ailments and, at that, a good share of these come from across the river and from the neighboring state of Nagir.

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4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Buruaho AV7

Then they grind the *manotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmiting bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gore mujuk* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 γərin̥ — the songs are in Shina.

10 *tikumots* — *nil* must be the genitive of *nil* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gərəni — originally written *gərəno*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gərəni* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gərəno*, 'bridegrooms'.

12 *its gontsolo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *mərak'aw* — this is in front of the Fort at Bālti.

And they[1] have a varied repertoire of berries, roots, and herbs from which they prepare simple medicines for their needs. Nowadays they are able to attend the Government dispensary in Aliábád, but its nostrums have not yet undermined their faith in their own home-made remedies. We very much wished that we had possessed some knowledge of medical botany and could have brought home records of their medicine; but like so many other branches of knowledge which we regretfully ignored, it would have been a specialist's job, and we had out hands full enough with our own work and all too little time at our disposal. 278 757

During the imprisonment of winter the women cut and stitch the winter cloaks, adorning each long seam with a double row of backstitching, which is not only seemly to the eye but serves to hold the raw edges in place. The stiff, shaped collar is decorated with varied designs, diamonds, triangles, and straight lines in the same backstitch. Happily few of them can yet afford to let Dirzi Nazir replace their time-honoured skill with the soulless, cotton stitchery of his sewing machine. We noted with grief that the beautifully hand-embroidered *chogas* with which the Mir presented us this time all had their seams Singer-sewn, and had thus lost (for us) much of their charm. 294 531 [172]

With prudent foresight the woman makes the *choga* six good inches too long for its destined wearer, and introduces a deep tuck above its lower edge. It will last at least three years and will shrink in successive washings. You can tell at a glance whether a man is wearing his best, or medium, or oldest *choga* by the depth—or absence—of the tuck. In former days embroidery was the monopoly of the few royal ladies who beguiled the tedium of their too-sheltered life by decorating *chogas* with bold designs in bright-coloured silks, or working raised patterns of gold and silver on velvet saddle-cloths, and above all in elaborating delicate designs in cross-stitch for the crown and border of their lovely little caps. Where we clumsily work cross-stitch with wool on canvas, they painstakingly cross-stitch the individual threads of calico with bright, gay silks. The patterns are infinitely varied—we possess dozens of specimens of this fine work, no two are alike—but

1 [The Burusho women -- Analyst]

The Pn.inf. refers to the sufferer and the verb is impersonal: it itches me. 000

daγačila, daγayimi I feel, felt, a sensation of itching. *kirło čorwt metaſe* (QUB *metastsom*) *dimaγačila* owing to the mosquito(s) biting us we feel a sensation of itching.

daγai.as, daγayas; daγač-, daγač-.
Impv. *daγ'a* neg. *ataγa*; pl. *daγai.in.*
Ppa. *not'aγan*, static pc. *daγam.*
V.i. to hide, take refuge.
Fut. sg. 1st. *daγačam* 2nd. *daγačoma.*
Pret. sg. 1st. *daγaiyam.*
yai.iŋ kirte pa daγ'ami he hid on the near side of the mill. 204.5. Cp. 286.4. *uyawom notaγan hurutimi* he sat hiding, taking refuge, from them. 262.18. *notaγan* hiding. 122.2,4,20. *not'aγan omičam* I shall not go away secretly, by stealth. 32.1. (Cs. *-astaqayas).

daγo, daγu, pl. *daγumiŋ, daγoŋ* y. gum (adhesive), glue, H. *xareš* IUB. Sh. *dok.* (Sometimes smeared on paper and put over broken ribs). 757

daγoaŋ, daγowaŋ y pl. flour. — *daγoaŋ jačorom bitsa* the flour is coarse. *tsilumiŋ daγoaŋ* fine flour, H. *maida. daγoan pyuwan dosu* bring a little flour. 58.16. *daγowaŋ oyom faš maiyaw taiyaw manimi* all the flour has come near to being finished. Cp. 298.9, 306.4,7,13, 338.19. 000

daγu daγu IUB game played by children with closed eyes, blindman's buff.

daγ'ui, unprepared, unfinished, raw, H. *kača, xam.* — *daγui gap* raw hide. 130.6, 158.1. *daγu.i sor bi* it is untwisted thread, H. *kača.*

d-aγorkas d*-aγorš-*
d-aγoras d*-aγorč* } v. §§ 219 & 222.

107a

164 salt is causing the present goiter and dental caries situations in Hunza today.

"How would you describe the health conditions of the people of Hunza?" I next asked the doctor.

[758] "Since my coming to Hunza a little less than a year ago, I have treated but a few patients a day and seldom are there more than one or two of the hospital beds utilized at one time. Apart from the greatly increasing incidence of goiter and dental caries, no other disease seems to have a firm hold in Hunza.

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Hunza are more or less used to it. However, it does 164
cause trouble with the eyes of the natives. It also weakens the lungs of some of the older women, who probably spend most of their time indoors during the cold months of the year.

I questioned the doctor and the Mir concerning pre- 843
natal care, but from what they told me, I could find no provisions whatsoever made for prenatal care outside the individual home.

The death rate at childbirth, they told me, was next 165
to zero, but the doctor also mentioned that a woman 845
would not consider going to a doctor for gynecological 757
reasons under any circumstances. She would rather die.
He also told me that before and after delivery of a 843
child, Hunzan women do not know of any rest. The 846
pregnant woman works harder and does more laborious jobs till the last day of the term, in the belief that hard and laborious work makes delivery easier and uneventful.

"But," he went on, "they are very careful in exerting themselves during the early days of conception. After delivery they are again up and doing again, only after a short rest."

It seems to be obvious that the method followed by 843
the women of Hunza prior to childbirth "works" because both mother and child come out of it "uneventful." When events occur at such times, it usually means serious trouble.

He went on to tell me further that gallstones, renal 164
calculus, coronary heart disease, hypertension, valvular lesions, myxoldeama thyrsotoxcasis, mental deficiencies, cancer, poliomyelitis, arthritis and diabetes are absolutely unknown in Hunza.

From what I have seen and gathered I am worried 177
about the situation. They are now importing their sugar, 263
439

value to the people of Hunza? Let's examine them. 000

Let's start with pasteurization. Well, it would be very 744
difficult to pasteurize in Hunza. First of all, they don't have the means of providing the required heat. Besides, they don't suffer from any conditions which pasteurization would cure—if it does cure anything.

How about hospitalization? Well, they have a com- 743
paratively new, modern hospital in Aliabad, but the people don't use it very much. They distrust the hospital and they distrust the doctor, even though he is a fine capable fellow. Besides, I did not notice, particularly, any sick or ailing people sitting around, waiting for a hospital bed.

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[P. 41-A]

114 Western equipment. (Training in anat-
123 omy, some concentrated informal studies of Asian diseases, plus previous experience, made this possible for me. In addition, I ran three experimental gardens and founded a craft school, with the Mir's approval.)

164 Bohar had developed scurvy, after
146 which staphylococcus infected the
123 gums and abscessed the roots of his teeth; the abscesses had then eroded downward through the jawbone and out through the flesh and skin. After washing out the sores, I gave him vitamin C tablets to stop the scurvy, and vitamin D with calcium lactate to cure the rickets that were stiffening his knees. The old man was by no means
[757] atypical. My dispensary was always beset by lines of waiting patients, all with afflictions that belied popular beliefs about "the Healthy Hunzas."

346 outside the House of Assembly (the Maulai kind of meeting-house that has superseded the Shiah mosque). As we neared Aliábád, riding through rich, flat, large fields, and past walled orchards we heard the local band burst into the familiar "welcome music." Presently we came to an open steeply sloping space near the half-ruined Sarkari Fort, and here was a whole party from the capital (four miles away), including Prince Ghazan Khán, the eldest son, and heir of the Mir,[1] and father of the two young princes who had met us earlier. The band changed the time to the "arrival tune," and we all walked on together to this bungalow. We passed a smart set of new
758 little buildings which are the dispensary, built by the Mir.
743 There is a resident Assistant Surgeon here, an Indian with a certain amount of medical training, who is able to render first aid and keeps a stock of simple drugs.

000 We found chairs set out in the rest-house verandah, and while we and Ghazan Khán talked of old times and the latest Hunza news, the rest of our train grouped themselves on the steps, and all the small boys of Aliábád gathered under the trees along the neighbouring watercourse to see any fun that might be going: a jolly, cheery, intelligent crowd they looked, not a moron or cretin among them; again in a marked contrast to Nagir, where both abound. Presently a tray with teapot was brought, and we thankfully turned to the "doctor" (the aforementioned compounder) whose gift it was. Tea was what we were just dying for after the hot climb; but when I poured it out I found it was a tepid mixture of tea, milk, sugar—and cinnamon. David and Ghazan Khán dealt bravely with it; I unobtrusively hid my cup.

643 [1] He succeeded our good friend his father, Sir Muhammad Nazím Khán, in July 1938.

Ayesh was a most jovial character. He had the most pleasant smiling happy countenance of any man I've ever met. He was always either laughing or smiling and every time I looked at him I had to smile as well. He was a handsome man but in contrast to the Mir, who had a good head of dark hair, Ayesh was balding, the same as I. 124 115 [344] [172]

It was most pleasant to see the splendid cordial relationship that existed between him and the Mir's entire family.

"How are you coming along with your quest for information?" asked the Mir.

"Exceptionally well, sir," I replied. "But there are also many questions that only you can answer and I'm hoping that you can spare a few minutes some time within the next few days in private so that I may gain this information."

"Any time you say," replied the Mir pleasantly. "I'm at your disposal. You mention the time and that will be it."

"You are indeed very kind to grant me this great favor and I appreciate it," I said.

So there and then we made an appointment for 5 o'clock the following day.

Every meal at the Mir's was a joy and a delight and both the Mir and the Rani were always present. I had already mentioned to him that this was a trouble and an imposition and too much to expect of him. But he said that it was the way he wanted it and that nothing was too good and no effort too great for his guests. Well, what can you do with a man like that? 122 574

Then he informed me concerning my friend's health. "The doctor has things under control now," he told me, "but he will remain here with me as my guest at the palace during your stay so there will be no worries 122 758

122 or cares in regard to Mr. Brunton's condition. The doc-
[758] tor will attend to his duties at Aliabad and look after the hospital there . . . but he only has one or two patients and he will be back and forth from the hospital to the palace. Therefore he will be in constant touch with your friend."

"No man could do more," I assured the Mir. "I don't know how we can ever thank you enough."

"Don't mention it," he said. "You have been very kind, too."

"Now is there anything that you would like me to get for you while you're here? I wish you would tell me because some things may take a few days to procure or prepare and I would like to have them ready for you."

[124] "I'll tell you what I would like and you tell me what you would like me to send you from Canada—and no holds barred." I said to him.

"Fair enough! We'll tell each other frankly what we want."

"Agreed," I joyfuly replied.

126 I always carry a notebook with me. It's a small folding affair made of leatherette or something, that has room for 3 or 4 ball point pens and a pad inside. I was making notes as well as marking down the things the Mir expressed interest in when I spoke of the conveniences available in America. I intended to send these to him anyway.

I had seen quite a few little items around Hunza that I would have liked to have . . . for instance, a Hunzan hat, a cane made in Hunza, a pair of Hunzan boots. The boots are most unusual, being something
291 like the mukluks used in the north by the Eskimos, ex-
237 cept that these are made in a simpler manner. They are somewhat like riding boots in shape except they are

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or a shade below, leaving him swimming in sweat and weaker than a new-born kitten. As everyone knows who has lived in the East, these acute subnormal spells are almost more alarming than raging fever, and are more exhausting to the patient. Slowly, slowly he would regain strength on Zaidu's "chicken broth," on milk and custard, and creep, decimal by decimal, towards 98·4, and each time as we congratulated ourselves that he was nearly well, and he was sitting out on the verandah, observing the life about him and chatting to the passers-by—whizz bang—he was up to 105° once more.

Nothing like our people's devotion was ever seen. Dádo would carry off soaking sheets and drenched pyjamas, wash them and dry them in the sun. Zaidu would devise and cook such invalid dishes as our scanty resources permitted. Everyone, including Sagi and the levies, wanted to sit up all night, but this I would not allow; they had their fields to till and their harvest to gather in. I had a little Meta stove and could heat milk or soup or Ovaltine during the night myself; but always Dádo slept near the bedroom door, and no admonition would drive him from it.

Again and again those many nights I listened in vain for a sound of breathing, and often I feared my patient would be too exhausted to wake to see another dawn creep up on Rakaposhi.

When the fever fiend had played his last card and lost the trick, there started a fortnight of the most gruesome headache. All his life DL has been liable to an occasional bad headache, but they usually wear out their violence in twenty-four hours. This brute went on day and night for fourteen days so that he could neither read nor write nor sleep. That seems, however, to have been the last frantic struggle of the evil spirit before being exorcised.

759 It wasn't till nine weeks of illness and convalescence were past that I realized that I had never for a moment felt lonely or given a thought to the absence of a doctor. The servants had been such trumps, the neighbours so sympathetic and kindly, that I was never consciously aware that the nearest white person was not even four days off in Gilgit, but 150 miles off in Rama or 300 in Kashmir (for no one stays in Gilgit

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

in the summer), or that with luck we might see a doctor in a 759 ●
month or two. In our little home-town there are indignation meetings because we have to travel seven miles in a motor ambulance to reach our nearest hospital.

Another pleasant thing had been the presence of the Indian sub-assistant surgeon in charge of the local dispensary. True when you were sick you would echo George the What-ever-it-was: "Give the doctor my compliments and say I am too ill to see him," but he had a store of any simple drugs absent from our own medicine chest and he kindly acted as sanitary inspector and supervised the disposal of the kitchen refuse, etc., and directed the activities of the sweeper. This removed a source of possible anxiety.

Altogether things might have been a lot worse. It was per- 000
fectly maddening for David to have missed all these interesting weeks of the harvest; but he had seen something of it from his window, and from the verandah, and if he was pretty fit again by mid-September we still had an entire year's cycle ahead of us. And I had sat about a good deal in the fields (within sight of the house and within earshot of his whistle—though he never blew it), and made lots of friends and taken what notes I could with as much of my mind as was on the spot. It wasn't a lot, for I was often anxious and always rather underslept. But with luck we should fill in the missing bits next year.

The September weather was delightful; the "bitter" heat 132
had gone, and it was like the best days of an early English summer, but with perfect dryness and the security we never have at home that to-morrow and the day after would equally be fine.

Before coming we had been afraid that further knowledge 114
might reveal all sorts of mistakes in the Grammar and the Texts (now finally in print and about to appear). We were immensely relieved to find as we worked that there was *nothing* incorrect. It seemed almost incredible. A few difficult points could be further cleared up, but there was nothing to retract. The Vocabulary proofs were beginning to come—and a hideous fag it was correcting them!—but this gave opportunity to eliminate a few question marks and occasionally to

durance and stamina known anywhere, and if Shipton says that the Hunzans had more endurance and stamina than these people, no higher tribute can be given. 114 [147]

It is my humble opinion that too much has been written about the people of Hunza by people who have never been there and know little or nothing about the actual conditions that prevail in that country. Then, too, many visitors spent most of their time taking pictures, viewing the scenery and dining at the Mir's and didn't pay much attention or learn anything about the actual living conditions of the people.

The people of Hunza have not in the least benefited by the visitors that have reached Hunza, and if future visits are discouraged, I believe there would be good cause for it. 177

Most of the diseases known to civilization are unknown in Hunza. I do not ask you to take my word for it but that is my report from consulting the resident doctor in Hunza, as well as a German woman doctor who visited Hunza. 164 [759]

It is further true that the Mir's wife, the Rani of Hunza, had her appendix removed and she took a trip to Rawalpindi to have it done. But in the first place she does not live according to Hunza standards and besides, it was probably stylish to have an appendix operation. On the other hand, if a good surgeon were let loose in Hunza for a few weeks, there's no doubt about it, he'd have hundreds of appendixes removed before he could be stopped.

Another important point that I wish to make at this time is that I paid my own way to and from Hunza. I had no financial backing. Therefore I am not committed to aid anyone or any product or radio station or newspaper. I have no one to fear and no one to please. I can afford to tell the truth. 122

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Hunza

CHAPTER 44

Health

FOR ME TO SAY that the Hunzans are the healthiest 164
people of the world, which many authors and writers 114
have claimed, would be sheer effrontery . . . mainly because I have not studied the health of all the peoples of the world, nor have I even met them. However, I do attest from what I have seen and observed, that the Hunzans are one of the healthiest people of the world.

To say that they are completely free from diseases or 754
health problems is definitely not true. At the time when 115
I visited Hunza there was a resident doctor located at [743]
Aliabad, where he was in charge of a 10-bed hospital. I conversed with him and questioned him daily during my stay and he answered my pressing questions with complete frankness and candor.

He is only a young man, a Pakistani, and his name is Dr. Mohammed Yusuf Khan, M.B., B.S. He is a handsome, capable, well educated doctor and is, in my

759 humble opinion, equal to the best medical men that we
115 can turn out of the European or American universities. Besides his medical degree, he also has a bachelor of science degree which most of our doctors do not have. So if anything, he is perhaps a little bit better learned than our average physician.

164 One of the first questions that I asked of the Mir of Hunza was, "Are there many known epileptics?"

The Mir thought for a moment and then shook his head and said, "No!"

So I turned to the doctor who was on my left and said, "Doctor, do you know of any epileptics in Hunza?"

At that instant the Mir got up and left the room . . . and I wondered about this.

There was a definite purpose behind my question concerning epilepsy. You see, it has always been my conviction—or at least for ~~25 years~~—that epilepsy is strictly nutritional. Of the few epileptics that I knew in my life all had peculiar eating habits . . . that is, they had their positive likes and dislikes . . . and from that day to this I have believed that epilepsy was basically nutritional.

"Yes," the doctor replied, "right at this present time I am treating three epileptic patients. One is from Nagir and two are from entirely different locations in Hunza. But the Nagir case is one of these dream cases —the kind that every doctor hopes he'll come across some day in his work."

"Yes," he went on, "this Nagir case performs every act described in the medical journals. He's a perfect textbook case. The sick man has every condition, symptom and manifestation of epilepsy known to medical science."

Statistics indicate that in America there is one epileptic to every 350 of the population. The population of

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Let's start with pasteurization. Well, it would be very 744
difficult to pasteurize in Hunza. First of all, they don't have the means of providing the required heat. Besides, they don't suffer from any conditions which pasteurization would cure—if it does cure anything.

How about hospitalization? Well, they have a com- 743
paratively new, modern hospital in Aliabad, but the people don't use it very much. They distrust the hospital and they distrust the doctor, even though he is a fine capable fellow. Besides, I did not notice, particularly, any sick or ailing people sitting around, waiting for a hospital bed.

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to him by the German expedition, which was stationed 177
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But let's be realistic about it! Wouldn't it be much [263]
better to give the people of Hunza back their old

759 natural salt, which was mined at the confluence of the
164 Mustagh and Shimshal Rivers? Then a dentist wouldn't
.263 be necessary. I trust you will pardon me if, here and there, as the situation demands, I become my own interrogator.

000 So after all is examined and said and done, how can the Western world help the people of Hunza?

If you asked me this question, I wouldn't want to answer it openly or boldly. But if you pressed me, reluctantly I'd say that the greatest contribution that the West can make to Hunza, or to their good health and longevity, is to stay away. Leave Hunza alone!

Somebody asked me if I would like to live in Hunza. In some respects, that is an unfair question.

It's like this. The climate of California is considered to be the most salubrious and pleasant in all of the United States. Well, why don't all the people of the United States move to California? Economic reasons? That might be a factor . . . but not a very important one. There are other considerations, too, I guess. But basically, everyone doesn't want to live in California—even if it has the most wonderful climate and they have sunshine all the time.

I'd love to go back to Hunza and spend a few more weeks there . . . and if I had been born in Hunza, I'm sure I'd never want to leave the place. But I doubt if, at my age, I'd be able to adjust myself to a change as drastic as the one I would have to meet in Hunza. After all, I am a product of Western civilization—whatever that is.

"Do you think conditions would be too difficult for you in Hunza?"

I believe a young, normal, healthy, strong individual of sound mind could adjust himself to the conditions of Hunza without too much trouble. I am not maintain-

know that the child will be given a fine upbringing. 644

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Seldom are graves of departed kinfolk visited—nor are flowers laid upon them. In fact, very little maintenance is ever carried out on graves. Visits to the graves or graveyards are definitely not encouraged. The dead are revered, but visiting the grave of the departed is not really the accepted thing in Hunza. 769 765

The dead are often commemorated by having roadside lean-tos or "baldies," as they call them, erected for them . . . where a man can stop and find a bit of shelter during a storm, or rest his pack or load. They also build "jhurks" or water holes to serve the same purpose. Women are seldom commemorated in this manner. The best that a woman can hope to get is a rock pile erected in her memory. 769 764 [484] [312]

252 wild in various parts of the area. The oil rendered from
[222] these kernels is probably used only for lighting, because
[373] it is poisonous. Due to their heavy content of prussic acid, a handful of them is considered deadly. In Ni-
[762] agara, if somebody wants to commit suicide, he jumps over Niagara Falls; in Hunza, they eat a batch of wild apricot kernels.

The kneading process is continued and the vessel is kept tilted so the oil runs down and forms a small pool. As the oil begins to form, the kneading becomes even more vigorous until every drop of oil possible is extracted. While the rendering of the oil may be hard on the knuckles, nothing could be simpler and the resulting product is probably the most healthful and finest fat product that human hands can produce.

[231] The pulp that remains after the oil[1] is extracted is
[302] fed to milk-giving goats, sheep or cows, and is often used as a concoction or shampoo in which the Hunzans wash their heads. The oil of course is used in cooking, baking, frying, for lighting—and even for the hair.

[461] The good woman who performed the oil extracting task for me did not seem to be the least bit overburdened or taxed from this sort of arduous work. It probably would have been a hard day's work for a Western woman.

I would like to stress at this point that the heating process was not a cooking process in any sense of the word. Just a slight warming was all that was needed.

251 The apricot oil is never rendered and stored in casks
252 or otherwise, like many other people do with their oils. They may make sufficient to last them a few days but not more. This is poured into an earthen vessel or a bottle, if available. When a further supply is required, the pits are cracked and they go through the entire process as outlined.

1 [ie - oil from apricot seeds - ANALYST]

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it: men
[562] spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families butcher a sheep or two; cold weather
[231] preserves the meat for the few days
[251] before it is all eaten—and it is virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[146] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[762] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4
Av3. Dard Av3
Burushe Av7

D 762 178 It is also a matter of accepted tradition in Gilgit, Gor, Hunza, and Nager, that suttee was formerly practised. The dead man, with his finest clothes and his weapons girded on him was placed on the pyre, and as the fire burnt up, the B 762 178 woman, arrayed in her jewellery and her richest clothes, leaped into the flames.

D [764] The burning of the dead ceased to be practised more than sixty years ago. One or two old men have told me that they could remember hearing it mentioned, as a not uncommon occurrence, in their youth, but none could recollect having witnessed any actual instance. So lately as in 1877, a very old man in Darel scandalised his neighbours by calling his sons to him on his death bed, and after having his arms and valuables brought to him, desiring to be burnt with them when dead. His wish, however, was not carried out. He and a man of Gor, who died twenty years ago, are known to have always refused to be circumcised, or to call themselves Mahommedans. They were probably the very last Hindoos in Dangaristan. Suttee was abolished earlier, and has certainly not been practised in Dangaristan for the last hundred years.

D 771 171 It is to be remarked that none of these customs, which savour so strongly of modern Hindooism, are to be found, either as now existing or as resting on former tradition, in any of the valleys to which the Shin rule did not extend; nor is the term Dangarik applied in any cases except those mentioned. The difference between some types of Hindooism and Buddhism is not necessarily very great, but the existence of customs among them, not shared by their neighbours, the establishment of a caste system, the use of the title of Ra for their rulers, and the common suffix of *Sing* to their own names, with the frequent use of Sanscrit terms, show that considerable differences exist between the Shins and their neighbours of the Swat, Punjkorah, and Chitral Valleys, with whose language their own has so much in common.

D 778 782 In spite of the more severe type of Mahommedanism which prevails, and which gathers strength year by year, idolatrous customs still survive. In every village in which Shins are in the majority, there is a large stone, which is still more or less the object of reverence. Each village has its own name for this stone, but an oath taken or an engagement made over it, is often held more binding than where the Koran is used. In several villages goats are still annually

take photographs of the picturesque, abandoned Shiah mosque. It has been superseded by the New Assembly Hall in cut granite with pointed roof—an amazing achievement for local architects and masons, and one of which they are justly proud, but a dreadful eyesore in these surroundings and as uninspiring to an artistic eye as a Methodist chapel in a London suburb. Unfortunately it jostles the picturesque old mosque (whose entrance flight of steps is a delightful notched tree-trunk and whose flat roof bristles with a parapet of ibex horns), so that you can only see the older building squint-eye up or down a 3-foot lane. We pushed on and found ourselves emerging on a bluff covered with handsome graves. The Hunzukuts are too necessarily frugal to bury their dead on any ground that can be cultivated, so their graves usually stand on some barren hump that rises above the reach of irrigation water. Ordinary graves are just covered by flat slabs of concrete-like beaten earth, but more important folk have picturesque erections of varied shape to mark their last resting place. In theory all should no doubt be oriented in relation to Mecca, but in fact the graves face in whichever direction the site makes most convenient. We skirted round God's acre, re-entering the unappetizing labyrinth of desolate lanes, and presently came on a debris-strewn patch of ground whose houses had been dismantled (probably for their timber), and had fallen in. Here old Ferrájo had made a lathe-pit outside a rather handsome wooden door with a carved lintel. This had once led to his family's "town house," but now they lived out in Jamu, a suburb, as it were, of Aliábád. In its day, the warren of buildings to which he proudly pointed had boasted fifty-two "smokes." (A smoke represents a hearth-fire, and a hearth represents a household. In enquiring of a hamlet how many families it shelters, the correct phrase is: "How many smokes have you here?")

We begged Ferrájo to let us see him at work. He had, however, no wood in hand at the moment; chunks of root or cross-sections of willow trunks are the raw material of his bowls. But he let us inspect his pit—very similar in size and shape to a loom-pit—with the treadles and a leather belt passing three

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXXIV.

The Custom in regard to Funeral-Rites for the Dead.

539* 764

When a man or a woman dies, on their giving up the ghost, (their relations) put them on the ground stretching them out with their forehead facing the Qiblah. Then with their hands they close their eyes and for a little they bend and straighten their legs and arms. Then the relations fetch water and heat it, and the mullah comes and measures the shroud and tears it off. He makes the shroud of twenty-four cubits of cotton.

According to the Sheriat custom some relation of the man's, repeating the prayer for the washing (of the dead), lays the dead man out naked on a plank and washes him. Then having washed him and dried him they put him in the shroud.

Then the men and women collect together and weep. After weeping for a short time they fetch the bier and placing the body on it and tying it there the women and men take the body out of the house, weeping as they do so. The women, after going with it about 200 yards, turn back.

The mullahs together carry the corpse to the grave, repeating prayers as they go. There they take it down from the bier and recite prayers. Then when the grave is ready a relative or mullah lowers the body into it, and they lay the body down, turning it to

8 *kʌfʌn stuwʌščan* — This is the original reading and probably stands for *kʌfʌnʌts wʌščan*, 'they put it down on the shroud'.

12 *gʌti numa* — probably here means "all together", "jointly" rather than "having assembled".

14 *dsakvč'ai.i* — It seems an arduous task for one man.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

face the Qiblah, and undo the shroud from over the face and put the right arm under the head and lay the left arm along the side of the body, and so they leave it. They also bring a clod of earth and put it as a pillow. 539x 764

Then the mullah, obliterating the marks of his feet in the grave, comes up out of it. After that they place flat stones over the grave and throw earth on the top. And they make a mound over the grave and pour water on it. Then the mullah recites verses from the Qur'an and offers up supplications. After this (the relations) ask pardon of those who have (dug) the grave and brought the stones. Then they withdraw from the grave and when they have gone seven paces the mullahs cry out the call to prayer over the grave.

It is said that when they have gone seven paces from the grave two persons come to the dead body in the grave. The name of the one is Nakir and the name of the other is Munkir. When they come and say to the corpse: "Arise with God's permission," it gets up. It starts up with a shout in the dark grave and its head strikes against the stones over the grave and then it sits down again. And it calls out: "Father, Mother, Uncle, Brother!", but answer comes from no one. Then Nakir and Munkir interrogate it. For this reason the mullahs cry out the call to prayer, saying: "Perhaps it will count for merit to the corpse." 539x 775

The people who have left the grave come to the (deceased's) house. On their arrival there the relatives bring them *dauda* and put it in their mouths. In the evening they bring food from the houses of the relatives to the house of the deceased. Then when three days are up they slaughter the *chirāq* goats ("Goats of the Lamp.") 539x 775

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ɛɣun don't give it (the horse) grain. *hiċuti bʌspuʷr wʌzíʷər ɛɣuʷi bʌʷn* they give a "*hiċuti*" of grain (for his horse) to the Wazir. 342.9. *bʌliŋɛ bʌspuʷr ġiʷmər Š. B.ɛ ɛk ʂɛċʌm* on their putting down horse food of walnuts Sh. B. used to eat it (y pl.). 376.9. (Cp. Sh. *bʌspuʷr*). 000

bʌ́ʂum, (of a person) equable, forbearing, self-controlled, mild; H. *hʌlíʷm, ṣaʷbrr, nʌrm*. (St. Pc. of *bʌsaʷs*).

1. *bʌʃ*, *-ʌnts*, N. *-aʷints*, x bridge (general term). — *sindaʃum, hərʌʃum, bʌʃ* the bridge over the river, over the nullah. *bʌʃ-tʌlenum mʌqso* share (of communal labour of the region, or people) beyond the (Galmit) bridge. (IUB *-ʃ*).
2. *bʌʃ* let him be! — *ɛrdelin, teɛ́ bʌʃ ɛtin* don't beat him, let him be as he is. 120.14. (3rd sg. hm of *-ʃ* form of *ba*. V. § 271).

bʌʃ'a -mots x "lungi", turban, H. *ṣaʷfa, pʌgri*. — *bʌ́ʂa n'ɛʷtʌn* making him put on a lungi. 300.6. (IUB *-ʃ-*. Cp. Sh. *pʌʃ'o* turban).

bʌʃ̌ər '*-iŋ* y loophole.

1. *bʌt*, *-ɛŋ* y flat stone, flagstone, shale. — *bʌtɛŋ duwʌʃi.ʌs* (*duwʌʃɛ.ʌsʌ́*) *dʌn* stone that "goes off" into thin sheets, i.e. shale. *je yaʷɛ nʌtʌn bʌtɛŋ nyuwər* burying me put flat stones over the grave. 218.6 ff. (Three or four thin stones are normally put over the grave-cavity). *bʌtɛŋ dʌsuʷin* bring flat stones. 276.5. *hʌn uyuʷm bʌtʌn bilum* there was a big flat stone. 204.11 ff. Cp. 196.15, 210.5, 226.1, 312.5. (Cp. Sh. *bʌt* stone (general word; Kho. *bʌt*, slab of stone). [764]
2. *bʌt*, *baʷt*, pl. *baʷtiŋ* y (not used alone), *brʌsɛ bʌt* plain, boiled rice. *ġʷlu.ɛ bʌt*

know that the child will be given a fine upbringing. 644

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Seldom are graves of departed kinfolk visited—nor are flowers laid upon them. In fact, very little maintenance is ever carried out on graves. Visits to the graves or graveyards are definitely not encouraged. The dead are revered, but visiting the grave of the departed is not really the accepted thing in Hunza. 769 765

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~~Bo~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushi AV7
Balti AV2

D 795 539 Bo 795 539

Others go their own way
But I am faithful to you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

I, Suleem, the distracted in mind,
Have seized the skirts of your bounty,
Sahib-i-zeman.

D Bo 795 [262] D Bo [798]

Wine is drunk by the Maulais without concealment, and they do not strictly abstain from eating the flesh of animals not killed in the orthodox manner. Being absolved from the constraints of prayer and fasting, the practical religion of the uneducated consists of little more than obeying the commands of their Caliphas and Pirs, and making offerings freely through them to their spiritual chief. They are by no means intolerant, and, where permitted, live on good terms with Soonnees and Shiahs, with whom they intermarry without restraint. The only cases I have known of ill-feeling between the sects have been caused in the first instance by Soonnees from other places. From Shiahs they seldom meet with hostility, owing probably to the respect they show to Ali; though they do not celebrate the martyrdom of Hassan and Hoossain.

D 795 764 Bo 795 764

On the death of a Maulai the choicest articles of his portable property are set aside for the Imam-i-zeman. No food is cooked in the house, for from three to eight days, according to the rank of the deceased, and the family subsist on food cooked elsewhere. Food is also placed on trees and exposed places for birds to eat. On the evening of the appointed day a Calipha comes to the house, and food is cooked and offered to him. He eats a mouthful and places a piece of bread in the mouth of the dead man's heir, after which the rest of the family partake. The lamp is then lighted (from which the ceremony is called "Chiragh roshan"), and a six-stringed guitar called "gherba" being produced, singing is kept up for the whole night.

D Bo 795

I have sometimes shown the portrait of Agha Khan in Yule's Marco Palo to Maulais. They pass their fingers lightly over it and then touch their eyes and lips.

Bi 795 173

The Noor Buksh sect, which has been before referred to, is peculiar to Baltistan, where it numbers over twenty thousands followers, most of whom are to be found in Shigar and Khapolor. It is apparently an attempt to form a *viâ media* between Shiah and Soonnee doctrines. Mahommedanism is said to have been first introduced into Baltistan according to Soonnee tenets by Syud Ali Hamadani. Later, a certain

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

face the Qiblah, and undo the shroud from over the face and put the right arm under the head and lay the left arm along the side of the body, and so they leave it. They also bring a clod of earth and put it as a pillow. 534x 764

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They pound one *chuq* of wheat and cook it with the goats flesh and they make *sherbat*. And they light a lamp and the *akhond* then reads the *chirāq-nāma*. They practise this custom in accordance with the commands of Pīr Shāh Nāsir i Khisrau. The *akhond* reads until the wick is burnt out. When it is finished they put the ashes of the wick in water and pour it out in the *slachi*. Then they eat the food, and for the *akhond* they make a dish of the breast of a goat and they give him its skin and head.

For seven days the relations remain keeping watch in the house of the deceased, and they do whatever work turns up for the people of the house When the seven days are up they prepare the "Qur'an Food." Having eaten of this they divide and take (what remains) and depart from the house of the deceased to their own homes. At the end of the seven days they also fetch the master out of the house. Then, after respectfully kissing his hand, they depart.

At the "Lighting of the Lamp" they used to eat one goat, and after the seven days reading of the Qur'an they used to slay three or four goats and cut up ten pieces of ghee. They used to be at great expense. (But) From last year (i. e. 1923) by order of the Agha Khān the Tham has made them give this up. He has permitted the eating of one goat for the Chirāq, and for the Qur'ān Food he has permitted one piece of ghee and one *chuq* of grain.

That is all.

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13 *ḥiṣ̄am* — perhaps in its special sense "slaughter".
talchetum — is probably adjectival, rather than ablative ("after 7 days").

13 *ṭevvumen* — is glossed "ten pieces", otherwise I should have taken it to be "so much", "that much", "the same number (i. e. 3 or 4) of . . ".

000 let us leave him free (to wander about) the houses of all of us as a he-goat (the idea being that he should procreate freely). 262.8, 244.7. (Cp. Wakhi *buč*).

2. IUB gives *bəč* as = H. *sa·nḍ*, *nʌr mʌwerši*, *sa·nḍ* in H. being: "a bull, especially one set at liberty as an act of piety".

bəč -ʌŋ y chenar, plane tree. (Cp. Sh. *bəč*, *bu·č*).

ˈuč'a, pl. *bučʌŋ*, y trap made of stones (for catching rats, foxes, bears, birds), any kind of trap. — *bučə·r girkis wʌlum ju·ʌn* like a rat fallen into a trap. 160.6. (Cp. Sh. *bʌča.o*, trap for leopards, etc.).

bəḍo·k, *-rło* x bin (for grain etc., smaller than *tsʌγur*). Recorded in N. as *boro·k* by EOL.

bəḍo·ko, pl. *bəḍo·kumətə*, x foal (very young, 10 days and upwards). IUB a small-sized horse, pony, H. *ṭʌṭu*, *čho·te qʌdka gho·γa*.

bədəl, *bəduˈl- iŋ* y rags, torn clothes, H. *čithra*, *phʌṭe kʌpre*, (Cp. Sh. *bədul*, *bədɪl*).

buḍulo·γo, *boḍo·lo·γo* muddy (of water). (Cp. Sh. *buḍulo·ko*).

buˈi, *bu.i*, *-mičiŋ* y.

1. Shoulder-blade, scapula. — *ja bu.i* my shoulder-blade.

2. Shovel, N. pl. *-mičʌŋ*. — *humə buˈi* wooden shovel. *čuˈmər buˈi* iron shovel. (Cp. Sh. *pyō·lo*, scapula, shovel; Khp. *phi*, shoulder-blade, *pi.u·*, *pyu·h*, shovel. See also Bu. *pfi*).

765 *bˈu·zki*, *bu.i·ki* food eaten only by the relatives of a deceased person on the 7th. day after his death. IUB alms-bread distributed on behalf of a dead

person, H. *murdake liye xairatki roṭi*, — *burkyər gumanum* a term of abuse. *burikis mučuṣk* (the spatula used for turning funeral bread; originally there was a separate *mučuṣk* for this purpose), a person who performs every sort of action, good or bad. Cp. 356.3. 765

buk, *-ants* x throat (external and internal), front of neck, neck. — *burkulo šok stas* to strangle. *ins iri bukər w'ašimi* he fell on his son's neck (lit. threw his son on his neck?). *burkər* (or, *gorṣər*) *šaŋalićiŋ gorgićam* he will put chains on thy neck. *tsirle buk yuryimi* I became thirsty (lit. my throat became dry for water). 268.11. *uŋə buk* (by) thy throat (what I say is true)! a form of oath or asseveration. (Cp. Kho. *buk*, throat). 000

buk'ak x pl., double pl. *-ints*, beans. — *bukak dotsirčarn* they cook beans. 318.12. *bukakints* bean-crop. (Cp. Sh. *bukak*).

burkans *-*atas* to embrace (neck to neck). — *burkan' stam* I embraced him. *burkans metuman, ortuman* they embraced us, them. *burkans m'atuman* they embraced you (with a bad sense referring to illicit intercourse). *burkans stimi* he embraced him, 16.5. (Explained as *buk* + *kans* ← *kan* = along, beside).

bul, *i-aŋ*[1]*y* spring (of water). — *yər burlan bila* there is a spring on ahead. 124.14 ff. Cp. 128.18 ff., 276.14 ff., 292.9 ff.

bula, *burla* (γ?) polo; originally(?) ball, — *baṭs burla* a leather-covered ball. *bula delas* to play polo. 158.10, 316.11, 328.13, 330.8. *haγuresṭum bula* (ordi-

87a

[1] [see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542—Analyst]

000 čilamči x basin (European). Prs. H.
čili — ? — čili ba·buk, a very small bead. EOL. (Cp. Sh. čili, juniper).

436 čili·ki, čiliki, -mots x obsolete coin (formerly worth 8 annas). — ja·le čiliki.en api I have no money, "I haven't a penny". (Cp. Punjabi čiliki, "A kind of Nanak Shahi rupee . . . a kind of rupee worth ten annas current in the Jammu and Kashmir State". Bhai Maya Singh).

000 čilimdan pipe-bearer to the King. 20.4, 26.7. Prs.

čimi·li, čimili, -miŋ, y chip, splinter. — mentse čim'ili.eŋ yaiyi ke . . . if the splinters strike anyone (or perhaps for čimili'en as in 172.3). 172.1.

čhin, pl. čhiyo, N. čenu, x bird. — — či.u do·las to shoot (small) birds.

činta active. — činta hirañ an active man.

čipuphoj -iŋ y whirlwind.

čiq'rr -rło white-eyed (i.e. with whitish pupil, of horses only).

(Cp. Kho črγər, čiqər; črγeri, light-eyed, "if there is too much white beside the black of the eye that is called črγər". ŠY. Wakhi, čakrr, "light-coloured of eyes", Shaw).

čir stas to spin, — gančats čir stas to spin. (Cp. Sh. čirčir th., to twirl spindle in the fingers).

čira·qna·ma. — axona čira·qna·ma γatai bai.i the mullah reads, recites the "čira·qna·ma" (a prayer (du'a·) used when three days have elapsed after a funeral). 314.2. Prs.

354 765 čiraq, čir'ak, čiraq, čiraγ, -rło, -uts x lamp, small stone container with floating wick. — balovdana čiraq stone lamp. čumara čiraq iron lamp, lantern. čir'ak sepalas to light a

98 b

[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

lamp. Cp. 314.2. *čɪrʌk ɪstayʌs* to put out a lamp. *iskikots mʌnumər čɪrraŋe huy'es kʌš ečʼan* at the end of three days they slaughter the "goat (sheep) of the lamp". 312.20. *iskikotse čɪrraŋ espʌlumʌn* they lighted the "three days" lamp(s). 244.21. 354 765

This refers to the lighting of lamps three days after a funeral, after which a mullah reads the Quran, or prayers, until the lamps are burnt out. After this the people have a feast consisting of 12 seers of pounded wheat with salt and butter added and mutton.

Before the sheep is killed its legs are washed and collyrium is put round its eyes. Pre.

čirbit -rão a kind of plant(?). 000

čɪrbit -rão x snipe.

čiriŋ v. *čiḍiŋ*.

čiriʼpo, -muts x scrap of cloth. — *čiriʼpo tsu* take a scrap of cloth, i.e. a sample. (Cp. Sh. *čirʼipi* shred of cloth, small rag).

čiro, -muts x top (child's toy). — *čiro pfər ɪtʌs* to spin a top.

čiš, -ko x mountain, hill. — *čiṣko thʌrko biyn* the mountains are lofty. *čiṣṭo dusimi* he climbed up the mountain. *čiṣtsum yare sokimi* he came down from, descended, the mountain. *čat čiš* a low hill. *jot čiš* a small hill. *čatoŋo, jotrão čiṣko* low, small hills, hillocks. 156.3, 176.12, 180.8, 212.8, 260.4. (Cp. Sh. *čhīʼj*, GB *čhīʼj*).

čhiš -ko x.

1. Ladder (including log with footnicheс cut in it). — *čiṣe xa sokečʌm* I'll go down the ladder. 184.7.

jabal -ilo x crowbar, jumper. 000

jaćorum, jaćawum, jećorum, ćećorum coarse, coarsely ground (of flour, powder etc.); roughly. — *jaćorum daγoaŋ* coarse flour. *jaćorum (jećorum) aqor* don't speak roughly.

(Cp. Sh. *ćećowo* coarse (of flour), rough).

jaći, from *ja* + *-ći.as* to give to me, v. § 255, give thou to me. — (γeaŋ) *koi jaći* give me (the gold) here. 60.20, 62.4.

jaćir, ł-, sg. & pl. x, d.pl. *-ilo, -inis*, thistle. (Perhaps also the colocynth plant).

(Cp. Sh. *ćaćir*, Kho. *ćanćir*).

jaćo, N. *jaćo*, N. pl. *jaćoik* unripe (of fruit). — *jaćo joroγi* unripe apricot; an immature person.

jaćau dry (of weather), very clear (of sky). — *jaćau bot nimi* it became very clear weather. *jaćau manima* it became quite dry.

jadu, jaidu magic. — *jadu atas* to work magic. *Paγiu jadu natan, uv gabuor 'oγanasor jadu ećaii* P., practising magic, works magic on the princesses to make them laugh. 116.12. Cp. 150.18, 172.5,18, 200.16.

jafat, łafat slack, not tight (as of rope-bridge); relaxed, collapsed. — *ferle dumow jafat numuwan tuz numa-nomo* having arrived there, collapsing, she became unconscious. 108.26.

jagnis, (ł-), -mots x food brought (for seven days following a death) to the house where someone has died. 765

This is apparently what is called "*γorum łapik*" in. 314.8.

uγo łagnismots durim! may your funeral meats be cooked (an ill wish). QUB.

jaγoγu slime. 116.4. 000

know that the child will be given a fine upbringing. 644

It is to be expected that the milk parents will be given much consideration and favors from the Mir's household and family . . . and the Mir has and still does provide better than average homes or residences for these selected people. 853 608

In Hunza at the present time, the Mir has built a row or unit of bungalows for these milk parents and they are given food and necessities from the royal kitchen.

I have tried to find some connection of this practice with other nations or peoples. So far my search has been unsuccessful in this regard.

Death is not the serious thing with the people of Hunza that it is with most other peoples throughout the world. That does not mean that there is no sadness and mourning, but it does not take on the same scope and seriousness that it does in the West. This is primarily due to the religion and beliefs of the people. Being Mohammedans, they believe in predestination . . . "So Allah wills." 761

Seldom are graves of departed kinfolk visited—nor are flowers laid upon them. In fact, very little maintenance is ever carried out on graves. Visits to the graves or graveyards are definitely not encouraged. The dead are revered, but visiting the grave of the departed is not really the accepted thing in Hunza. 769 765

The dead are often commemorated by having roadside lean-tos or "baldies," as they call them, erected for them . . . where a man can stop and find a bit of shelter during a storm, or rest his pack or load. They also build "jhurks" or water holes to serve the same purpose. Women are seldom commemorated in this manner. The best that a woman can hope to get is a rock pile erected in her memory. 769 764 [484] [312]

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THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA

sufficiently severe. Happily winter is short, two or three months at most, and for the rest of the year day and night are spent mainly out of doors. 372 132

The social culture of the Burusho of Hunza is as high as their material culture is primitive. Three centuries of Islam—they are now Ismaili heretics, having been Shiahs until three or four generations ago—have not induced them to veil or despise their indomitable women, nor to abandon the wholesome tradition of exogamy between their different clans in favour of first-cousin marriage. They are freer from superstition and fanaticism than any people east or west of whom I have heard or read. Whatever be the esoteric teaching of the Ismailis of which Professor Ivanov might tell, it concerns the Hunza peasant as little as the homoousian controversy disturbs the mind of the British schoolboy. He goes his way in cheerful confidence that hard work, fair dealing, kindly affection and generosity must be as well pleasing to God the Merciful, the Compassionate, as ritual prayer or ceremonial fast, and his dreams are not broken by over-anxious fear of Hell or hope of Heaven. 771 [582] 783

The fastidiousness and personal cleanliness of the Hunza peasant are remarkable. Close packed amongst the crowd at festivals or sitting on the threshing floor amongst the workers, or entertained in their hospitable houses, we were never distressed by human exhalations or molested by parasites. The drinking water is guarded with scrupulous care from pollution by man or beast. Men and women cooperate without embarrassment or restraint and no work is taboo for either sex, though for obvious reasons the heavier jobs of wall-building, irrigation and ploughing fall more naturally to the man, and the care of infants to the woman. But as soon as the father is allowed to handle his child, he will carry the baby proudly and tenderly out for its first airings, while boys and girls alike play with and watch over the toddlers. 515 271 462 593

Again and again, in face of the high morality and unquenchable spirit of the Hunzukuts, we were ashamed to think of what in our vaunted civilization 'man has made of man'. 000

SETTLING IN

123 It was at once clear that there was not going to be any initial
609 hostility or distrust to overcome, even amongst the women.
771 This is rather remarkable when you think that not one of them has ever been more than five or six miles away from her home village, and that they have never seen a white woman at close quarters before. They are a fine, healthy, good-looking crowd, and always appear cheery and good-tempered. Undoubtedly the short-cut to the women's hearts was to make much of their youngsters. In a superstitious place this would be dangerous; they would be terrified of the Evil Eye; but we noted with thankfulness that these entirely non-Oriental people were as free from inhibiting superstitions as we ourselves. This promised to make our work immensely easier.

223 bonfires recklessly consuming grass-cuttings and leaves that would be worth gold in Nímo's home.

511 Burushaski is an amazingly rich language, but it has evolved no word for "litter-lout." Go where you will in lane or courtyard, over field or bare hillside, you will not see an eggshell or a fleck of wool or a nutshell lying about. Hunza must be, bar none, the cleanest and the tidiest spot on earth. If a child is lucky enough to be given a few apricot stones he will crack them on a rock, eat the kernels with gusto, and gather up the shells for mother's fire. Only in a couple of the narrow lanes of the deserted fort did we stumble on a cast-away rag or two. When a homespun cloak has served father for three years' hard work, it will descend to a son, or be handed on to an orphan relation; when it is torn and tattered past repair it is carefully plucked to pieces, washed, beaten, and re-spun to make a girl's cloak, for her work is less strenuous than the boy's, and the re-spun cloak is stout enough for her and quite as warm.

● 771 Whatever the theoretical tenets of the Maulai (Ismaili) dissenters may be—and of these Professor Ivanow can best speak—the simple Hunzukuts has evolved for himself quite the most practical and admirable modification of Islam that 562 I have ever seen or heard of. He does not veil his womenfolk nor banish them to separate quarters, but treats them as equal partners in field and home. His standard of morals is so high that when a young husband goes abroad, he trusts his young wife to the care of his father and brothers without misgiving. 582 We heard no case of such a trust being abused. He retains his 515 own custom of exogamic marriage between the clans and the normal first-cousin marriage of Islam (though recognized as religiously allowable and occasionally practised by the upper families) savours to the ordinary peasant of incest, and is in fact avoided, though not in principle taboo; he also, as we have noted, preserves his own fastidious and wholesome ideas about sanitation, and keeps his running water scrupulously 793 pure. No archbishops or bishops (whom he would term *pirs*), and no professional priests or *mullas* reside in his territories, for which no doubt he has to thank some tacit concordat between his wise ruler and His Highness the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis.

spiritual head of the Ismailis. A few of the peasant farmers have learned to read—as some have learned to carpenter—and they have copied out such essential passages of their sacred Persian books as enable them to preside with due solemnity at a name-giving, a burial, or a betrothal. The Mir appoints a sufficient number of these modestly literate men to be khalifas, and lend a dignity to such ceremonies. When you need their services you send for one—as we send for the plumber when our pipes have burst. He performs his duty, shares with honour in the ensuing family feasting, accepts some small gift in kind according to the family's resources, and goes his way to resume his normal work in his own fields.

We knew Afiato of No. 6, for three months or more, as an obliging neighbour and father of a large batch of our child friends; we admired his skill in ploughing and threshing, and the hard work he had put into levelling an intractable patch of hill within a stone's throw of our house and converting it into a vegetable garden before we realized that he was a khalifa or lay-priest. There was nothing in dress or manner to distinguish him from his fellows; he offered no unsought advice and censored no one's morals but his own. If Hunza is, as I believe, the tidiest corner of God's earth, it is also the least priest-ridden, and the absence of fanaticism and superstition is as remarkable and refreshing as the absence of litter. There is an atmosphere of mental independence that makes the air of Hunza spiritually bracing.

What the pre-Islamic cults of Hunza were—and traces of them are slight though DL may have some conjectures to offer about them later—the Hunzukuts of to-day are extraordinarily enlightened.[1] Their folk-lore (very probably borrowed) may tell of apparitions and miracles, but they look for no marvels in their life of everyday, they see no ghosts and fear no Evil Eye. They indulge in no gymnastic prayers, they keep no Fast of Ramazan, they travel on no Hajj. I saw only one man turn Mecca-wards to pray, and that was our Kashmiri

[1] In astounding contrast to their magic- and witch-ridden Shin neighbours in Gilgit (V. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1929, *The Supernatural in the Folklore of the Gilgit Region*).

2: Lorimer T-3 (1927-4: 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

771 sweeper; I heard only one muezzin sound the Call to Prayer—
788 and saw no one pay heed to it. He was chanting from a cliff in the Mir's garden, and the Mir gathers round him craftsmen of
778 every sort. There are a few shrines in the country reputed
796 holy—including two burial places of Moses within a few
788 hundred yards of each other on one mountain side—where a few rags on sticks flutter unconvincingly in the wind; and one, the shrine of Baba Ghundi in Chupursan, some seven days' march above Báltít, is the object of an occasional pilgrimage. On Tuesdays and Fridays there are said to be services in the House of Assembly, which has supplanted the older Shiah mosque, but I never observed one of our servants or neighbours absent himself from work to go to them.

771 Yet the people are by no means without faith. It is difficult
181 to know exactly what even church-going Christians of our own
775 country effectively believe—it is impossible to be sure what one effectively believes oneself—so I can offer only a tentative guess as to the average person's simple credo. The Hunzukuts hold, I think, a comforting, unquestioning faith in a good and kindly God, whose ways they cannot profess to understand. They meet bereavement with a murmur that "there is no remedy against the will of God"; they bury their loved ones with genuine sorrow, but without anxiety. They feel that "it is well with the child," and vaguely trust that some day, somewhere, somehow, they will meet again. They assume as axiomatic that God asks of them diligence and truth, fair-dealing and goodwill. They are hard-working and thrifty, tolerant to others; kind and affectionate in the home, gentle to children and the aged; generous beyond their means to the orphan; truthful and just; and they go about their daily work in the happy confidence that God is well pleased. If they din no perfunctory prayers into His ears, there are occasions when they heartily and humbly pray, as will presently be seen.

771 The Hunzukuts is no mystic, no poet, no artist. This life
181 claims his full attention if he is to live at all; philosophic speculation about "fixed fate, freewill, fore-knowledge absolute" does not line his brow or disturb his rest, nor does he "keep in duty through the toilsome day, because of praise

or blame that comes at night." I may be misinterpreting his 771
attitude of mind. These are not subjects you can thresh out as 181
easily as the wheat, and neither his vocabulary nor mine would have sufficed to tackle them. But this I can vouch for, that every face you see looks restfully content, breaks readily into a happy smile; that there are in Hunza no nervous gestures and no haunted eyes, and in normal life no irritable words. There is little amiss with a faith which spells happiness and high-principled living without debasing fear of Hell or over-conscious hope of Heaven.

When the final crops of every kind are safely in, the first 651
duty of the paterfamilias is to take stock of the year's yield. 262
So much is set aside for seed-grain, and not the direst shortage 792
will tempt him to violate the sanctity of this; so much is set aside for rent (if he is a tenant) or for the tax due on any craft he pursues—the miller pays a very small tax on his mill, the weaver on his loom-pit, the khalifa on his learning; and all pay (alas!) a sum as "Peter's pence" to their spiritual head, the Agha Khan. Next he calculates the "emergency reserve" that may be needed for hospitality or charity during the coming year; this also is scrupulously put aside unground. On the rest he and his family must live till next harvest, under the careful rationing of the senior housewife, the importance of whose rôle I have already stressed.

The period of comparative—well-earned and welcome—rest 796
that ensues, is inaugurated by a solemn watch-night service of prayer and thanksgiving in the House of Assembly. One of our main difficulties in the early days was to get due notice of such events beforehand. Our people were slow to realize that the normal routine of their affairs could really interest us. The first news we had of this Harvest Thanksgiving Service was one late evening in October when Dádo casually said as he bade us good-night: "I'm off now to the all-night prayer." In [779]
answer to our questions he told us that the Assembly Hall and the women's annex would be packed with the entire population, and that the khalifas in rotation would keep up all night a reading of the sacred Persian books and of the Qur'an. "And shall you be able to understand all that they read?" "Oh no,

563 find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some in-
582 teresting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents were of different stocks, but we came across no household among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.

616 Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though a common language might appear to unite the two people, a difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously
562 reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no
291 such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their hair while in Aliábád only one such bonnet had survived the comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence Nagir caps and *chogas* are of a sombre hue that fittingly sym-
● 771 bolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are
346 called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their interpretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski
576 *matum* (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour
157 looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women, the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satisfaction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black, and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are
157 black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adjacent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

miles daily to Báltít, as Yaman and a couple of our other young 793
friends did, and attend the Government-supported school 784
with the sons and grandsons of the Mir and the Wazir. Promising children of the more well-to-do can attend a more advanced school at Gilgit, and the really studious may even make their way down to Srinagar.

Ninety-nine per cent of the population, however, happily 212
still remain illiterate, and have not fallen victims to com- 871
pulsory education. When the people would question me about conditions in England, they were horrified to learn of such things as rates and income-tax, but even more aghast at the tyranny that compels both boys and girls to spend the years from five to fourteen at school. "But that's the time when they ought to be *learning things*," they said.

When my pleasant evening "By the Lamp" was ended and I 000
had said good-bye, cautiously descended the ladder and mounted my waiting horse, I was shocked to see my host accompanying us carrying a tray of food. I had expressly stipulated that I would only accept his kind invitation on condition of not being laden with food gifts to take home. To my protests Kalbi said: "Yes, yes, Mother dear, it's all right. I'm not forgetting. I'm only taking up his supper to the sweeper."

With honourable simplicity the Hunzukuts abide by the 771
fundamentals of Islam as they understand them. They may not 788
be strong on ostentatious prayer and fasting, they rack their brains over no theological subtleties, but a Believer is a man and a brother, be he a Kashmiri, be he twenty times a sweeper. Here was a man of substance, a Levy, a grandfather, a much respected citizen in his small community, climbing a mile uphill to carry with his own hands a share of the evening's feast to his absentee guest. That the man was absent was no doubt a tactful concession to any caste-prejudice with which India might have infected me.

The boys lighten the monotony of the indoor weeks of the 857
Great Cold by occasionally dashing out for a hasty game of 526
foot polo or tipcat with their friends or keeping themselves warm with *mindak* matches. Such young men as are real dance

175 643 was then succeeded by his son, the present ruler—Mohammed Jamal Khan who has been the ruler of Hunza since 1945.

175 643 669 Here is a quotation from the Mir's grandfather's book in which he tells about the blood-curdling exploits of his brother, Sfdar Ali, whom he succeeded:

"He thereupon had Taighoon, Nematulla and Misiab killed, Sakhawat Shah and Jahandar Shah rolled down a precipice below Ghulkin, their mother put to death and arranged for the murder of Salam Khan in Shimshal."

However, he spared the life of his brother, Nazim Khan and then he wrote to the Maharajah of Kashmir to announce his ascension to the throne in the following descriptive terms:

"By the will of Allah and a decree of fate, my late father and I recently fell out. I took the initiative and settled the matter, and have placed myself on the throne of my ancestors."

This bloodthirsty Mir virtually got away with mass murder and felt that he was cock of the walk and could afford to defy any power.

175 648 From my reading of the Mir's grandfather's autobiography, from studies made from the earlier books written about Hunza and from my observations and discussions on the spot, I have evolved a personal kind of understanding concerning the situation that prevails in Hunza today.

[771] The Mir of Hunza, as well as the other rulers of the principalities in that area, such as Nagir, Punial, Yasin, Baltistan and others, are all Mohammedan and, from what I can gather, they supported or were willing participants in the revolt which tied them together with the central government in Pakistan. This government, bear in mind, is strictly Mohammedan and partition

evening meal, watch TV and then to bed.

While this may all sound very good and very logical and fit into what we believe is a pattern, the average day is really unlike what I have described here for either the city dweller or the farmer. The truth of the matter is that, as I said at the start, no two days are entirely alike.

The day of the week plays an important role. The weather contributes its variation. Then we all know full well that not even a minute is predictable. So how could anyone expect to give a clear-cut résumé of what any person's day consists?

That is somewhat the way I felt when I set out to outline what a day would be like as lived by the average citizen of Hunza. The only thing that I can hope to set out is a pattern. It may have a few or even hundreds of variations but at least the general pattern will be clear. So here is what I believe to be the procedure of one day—an ordinary day—in the life of a Hunzan.

The people of Hunza are Mohammedans of the Ismaili sect. They are in no way fanatical. In fact, the Ismaili are probably the least religious of all Mohammedans. The call to prayer is at 3:30 in the morning. Only the more pious and devout attend the service at the mosque.

A good true religious Mohammedan prays 5 times a day and on each occasion the prayer will last up to one hour, but through my entire travels through both Nagir and Hunza I saw very few instances where they took time off to pray during the day except on religious holidays or festivals. But, as I mentioned, prayer starts at 3:30 A.M. and I didn't have occasion to see them in action. Those who are devout usually pray from 3:30 to 4:30 and then go have their breakfast and so to the fields.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 48

Religion and Customs

THE PEOPLE of Hunza are Mohammedan. From all reports that I have been able to gather and from their own voluntary statements, I assume that religion with them is something that they don't go overboard about. As a matter of fact, Hunza is one of the few countries in all the world where there has never been any religious strife, nor does even the faintest glimmer of it exist there today.

In other words, they can take their religion or leave it alone!

Just how important a part this plays in the economy of the people is hard to estimate, but one thing is sure —religion does not make the demands upon their time that it does with many other people. In the East, where religion can be a mania or almost a complete absorption or way of life for many people, this can be of vital consequence.

643 Here I will quote from *The Autobiography of Sir*
771 *Mohomed Nazim Khan,* K.C.I.E. (Mir of Hunza from
798 1892-1938 and grandfather of the present Mir):
[127] "The people of Hunza were originally idolators and they became Shias when intermarriage with the ruling family of Baltistan was arranged and later, when my great grandfather Shah Salam Khan was on the throne, most of the country became Maulai. In Ganesh and Hinni, there are still a few Shias and two Sunnis. When I became Mir I declared to the people that they could adopt what religion they would, which annoyed my advisers who said that a country with many religions was bound to fall. I said that religion had nothing to do with ruling and have proved myself right in that there has been no religious strife in the country since that time."

788 Maybe the Hunzan farmer mumbles his prayers while he is working, but he seemingly doesn't appear to stop from his efforts on behalf of his farm.

000 From my actual experiences in seeing and viewing religions throughout the world, I am of the opinion that, where religion demands too much of a man's time, his industry suffers and this affects his standard of living. It is a possibility that pious, religious people throughout the world will take exception to this but, nevertheless, I am stating this as my own opinion, based on my findings and observations, and that's all it is. If anyone wants to debate the point with me, I'd be happy to provide the time and the opportunity.

The Hunzans are not fanatics and therefore they can devote more time to their labors than those who spend their time praying and resting, because of religious holidays and observances.

852 Being Mohammedans, circumcision is practiced on
304 all male children. Normally this operation is performed

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-68) 18637 AV3 Dard
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loss of their independence,—I venture to point out the impolicy and injustice of interfering with these principalities.

I have already referred to a letter from the venerable chief of Nagyr, in which he strongly commends to my care one of his sons, Raja Habibulla, as a well-wisher of the English Government. Indeed, he has absolutely done nothing to justify any attack on the integrity of his country; and before we invade it other means to secure peace should be tried. I have no doubt that I, for one, could induce him to comply with everything in reason, if reason, and not an excuse for taking his country, is desired. Nagyr has never joined Hunza in kidnapping expeditions, as is alleged in the above-quoted paragraph. Indeed, slavery is an abomination to the pious and peaceful agriculturist of that interesting country. The Nagyris are musical and were fond of dances, polo, ibex *battue*-hunting, archery and shooting from horseback, and other manly exercises; but the growing piety of the race has latterly proscribed music and dancing. The accompanying drawing of a Nagyri dance in the neighbouring Gilgit gives a good idea of similar performances at Nagyr.

The country is full of legendary lore, but less so than Hunza, where Grimm's fairy tales appear to be translated into actual life. No war is undertaken except at the supposed command of an unseen fairy, whose drum is on such occasions sounded in the mountains. Ecstatic women, inhaling the smoke of a cedar-branch, announce the future, tell the past, and describe the state of things in neighbouring valleys. They are thus alike the prophets, the historians, and the journalists of the tribe. They probably now tell their indignant hearers how, under the pretext of shooting or of commerce, Europeans have visited their country, which they now threaten to destroy with strange and murderous weapons; but Hunza is "ayeshó," or "heaven-born," and the fairies, if not the inaccessible nature of the country, will continue to protect it.

The folly of invading Hunza and Nagyr is even greater

Lt Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho A17

than the physical obstacles to which I have already referred. 000
Here, between the Russian and the British spheres of influence in Central Asia, we have not only the series of Pamirs, or plateaux and high valleys, which I first brought to notice on linguistic grounds, in the map accompanying my tour in Dardistan in 1866 (the country between Kashmir and Kabul), and which have been recently confirmed topographically; but we have also a large series of mountainous countries, which, if left alone, or only assured of our help against a foreign invader, would guarantee for ever the peace alike of the Russian, the British, and the Chinese frontiers. Unfortunately, we have allowed Afghanistan to annex Badakhshan, Raushan, Shignan, and Wakhan, at much loss of life to their inhabitants; and Russia has similarly endorsed the shadowy and recent claims of Bokhara on neighbouring provinces, like Darwáz and Karategin.

It is untrue that Hunza and Nagyr were ever tributaries 648
of Kashmír, except in the sense that they occasionally sent a handful of gold dust to its Maharaja, and received substantial presents in return. It is to China or Kitái that Hunza considers itself bound by an ancient, but vague, allegiance. Hunza and Nagyr, that will only unite against a foreign common foe, have more than once punished Kashmír when attempting invasion; but they are not hostile to Kashmír, and Nagyr even sends one of the princes to Srinagar as a guarantee of its peaceful intentions. At the same time, it is not very many months ago that they gave us trouble at Chalt, when we sought to establish an outpost, threatening the road to Hunza and the independence alike of Hunza and Nagyr.

Just as Nagyr is pious, so Hunza is impious. Its re- 771
ligion is a perversion even of the heterodox Mulái faith, which is Shiah Muhammadan only in name, but pantheistic in substance. It prevails in Punyál, Zebak, Darwáz, etc. The Tham, or Raja, of Hunza used to dance in a Mosque and hold revels in it. Wine is largely drunk in Hunza, and like the Druses of the Lebanon, the "initiated" Mulái

Is Lahore L-8 (1886-88) 1887 AV3 Dard

Burusho AV7

771 may consider nothing a crime that is not found out. Indeed, an interesting connection can be established between the doctrines of the so-called "Assassins" of the Crusaders, which have been handed down to the Druses, and those of the Muláis in various parts of the Hindukush. Their spiritual chief gave me a few pages of their hitherto mysterious Bible, the "Kelám-i-Pir," in 1886, which I have translated, and shortly intend to publish. All I can now say is, that, whatever the theory of their faith, the practice depends, as elsewhere, on circumstances and the character of the race.

000 The language of Hunza and Nagyr solves many philological puzzles. It is a prehistoric remnant, in which a series of simple consonantal or vowel sounds stands for various groups of ideas, relationships, etc. It establishes the great fact, that customs and the historical and other associations of a race are the basis of the so-called rules of grammar. The cradle, therefore, of human thought as expressed in language, whether of the Aryan, the Turanian, or the Shemitic groups, is to be found in the speech of Hunza-Nagyr; and to destroy this by foreign intervention, which has already brought new diseases into the Hindukush, as also a general linguistic deterioration, would be a greater act of barbarism than to permit the continuance of Hunza raiding on the Yarkand road. Besides, that raiding can be stopped again, by closing the slave-markets of Badakhshan, Bokhara, and Yarkand, or by paying a subsidy, say of £1,000 per annum, to the Hunza chief.

Indeed, as has already been pointed out, the recrudescence of kidnapping is largely due to the state of insecurity and confusion caused by our desire to render the Afghan and the Chinese frontiers conterminous with our own, in the vain belief that the outposts of three large and distant kingdoms, acting in concert, will keep Russia more effectively out of India than a number of small independent republics or principalities. Afghanistan may now be big, but every so-called subject in her outlying districts is her

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
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republic of eleven houses—a region which contains the solution of numerous linguistic and ethnographical problems, the cradle of the Aryan race, inhabited by the most varied tribes, from which region I brought the first Hunza and the first Káfir that ever visited England, and of which region one of its bigger Chiefs, owing to my sympathy with the people, invested me with a kind of titular governorship. In that comparatively small area the questions that are to be solved are great, and it is even now in some parts, perhaps, as hazardous a journey as, say, through the dark continent. Whether you get to the ancient Robber's Seat of Hunza, where the right of plundering is hereditary, or into the recesses of Kafiristan or the fastnesses of Pakhtu settlers; whether you proceed to the republics of Darel, Tangir or Chilás, or proceed to the community where women are sometimes at the head of affairs, and which is neither worse nor better than others, an amount of information, especially ethnographic, is within one's reach which makes Dardistan a region that would reward a number of explorers. I may say, in my own instance, if my life is spared for ten years longer, all I could do would be to bring out the mere material in my possession in a rough form, leaving the theories thereon to be elaborated by others. My difficulties were great, but my reward has been in a mass of material, for the elaboration of which International, Oriental, and other Congresses and learned societies have petitioned Government since 1866. My official duties have hitherto prevented my addressing myself to the congenial task of elaborating the material in conjunction with others. In 1886, I was, however, put for a few months on special duty in connexion with the Hunza language, at the very time that Colonel Lockhart was traversing a portion of Dardistan. But I think you will be more interested if, beyond personal observations, I tell you something about that little country of Hunza itself, which in many respects differs from those surrounding it, not only in regard to its peculiar language, which I have mentioned, but in other respects also. Unfortunately, it is also unlike the surrounding districts, in being characterised by customs the absence of some of which would be desirable. The Hunzas are nominal Muhammedans, and they use their mosques for drinking and dancing assemblies. Women are as free as air. There is little restriction in the relation

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1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

of the sexes, and the management of the State, in theory, is attributed to fairies. No war is undertaken unless the fairy (whom, by the way, one is not allowed to see) gives the command by beating the sacred drum. The witches, who get into an ecstatic state, are the journalists, historians, and prophetesses of the tribe. They tell you what goes on in the surrounding valleys. They represent, as it were, the local *Times*; they tell you the past glories, such as they are, of raids and murders by their tribe; and when the *Thum* or ruler, who is supposed to be heaven-born (there being some mystery about the origin of his dynasty), does wrong, the only one who will dare to tell him the truth is the Dayal, or the witch who prophesies the future, and takes the opportunity of telling the Rajah that, unless he behaves in a manner worthy of his origin, he will come to grief! This is not a common form of popular representation to be met with, say, in India. Grimm's fairy-tales sometimes seem to be translated into practice in Hunza-land, which offers material for discussion alike to those who search for the Huns and to those who search for the very different Honas.

Then with regard to religion, as I said before, though nominally Muhammedan, they are really deniers of all the important precepts of true Muhammedanism, which is opposed to drunkenness, introduces a real brotherhood, and enjoins great cleanliness as absolutely necessary before the spiritual purification by prayer can take place. The people are mostly Muláis, but inferior in piety (?) to those of Zébak, Shignán, Wakhan, and other places. Now, what is that sect? It is represented by His Highness Prince Aga Khan, of Bombay, a person who is not half aware of his importance in those regions, where, till very recently, men were murdered as soon as looked at. One who acknowledges him or has brought some of the water with which he has washed his feet, would always be able to pass through those regions perfectly unharmed! I found my disguise as a Bokhara Mullah in 1866 to be quite useless, as a protection at Gilgit, whence men were kidnapped to be exchanged for a good hunting dog, but in Hunza they used to fill prisoners with gunpowder, and blow them up for general amusement. His Highness, who is much given to horse-racing, confines his spiritual administration to the collection of taxes throughout Central Asia from his followers or

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AV3 Dard
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241 covered with orchards of fruit trees. The cultivation is extremely good, and fruit of all kinds grows in abundance.

771 Mahommedanism sits but loosely on the Hunza people, who make no secret of their preference for easy-going tenets. Though professing to be Maulais, they are disowned by their own Pirs, who refuse to visit the country, and no contributions are sent by them to their spiritual chief. They are great wine-drinkers, and are reproached by their neighbours for their readiness to eat unorthodox food,[1] and for the immo-
471 rality of their women. Firearms are scarce, and bows and arrows are still not quite obsolete.

564 The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yeshkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known
142 as Boorish. They differ slightly in appearance, the Nager people apparently showing an infusion of Tartar blood, derived, no doubt, from their Ishardo neighbours. The Hunza people, who are a somewhat taller race, have finer features and are distinguished for being more deliberate and less
197 vivacious in their actions. The language, called Boorishki or Boorishaski, is identical in both states; the Hunza pronunciation being rather more broad and drawling than that of Nager. This language was first published by Dr. Leitner. All their songs, however, are in Shina,—a language which is supposed to lend itself more readily to poetry,—and Shina songs are sung by men who do not understand a word of that language.

516 Both Thums are still addressed as Soori, as a title of respect. This appears to be the same as *Sri*, an appellation of Lakshmi, the Hindoo goddess of wealth, commonly prefixed to the names of Hindoo princes in India, to denote their honour and prosperity. The Thum's wives are styled "*gánish*," which is almost identical with the original Sanscrit word for mother,
231 and their sons are called "*gushpoor*." In cutting the throat of an animal for food, the people of Hunza make a practice of turning it towards the Thum's abode, even when many miles distant, instead of in the orthodox direction of Mecca.

712 Every village, according to its size, possesses one or more
361 forts, sufficient to give shelter to the whole population. These are built of sun-dried bricks, with walls 15 feet high, and square towers at intervals of 20 yards. At night the whole population takes refuge within the walls. Similar forts exist in Gilgit, but under Cashmere rule they have fallen into disuse.

000 In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence

[1] Animals not slaughtered according to the manner prescribed by Mahommedan law.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
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Burusho AV7

CHAPTER VII.

HABITS AND CUSTOMS.

D 178 771 NOTWITHSTANDING original tribal differences, the Shin rule in Gilgit and the surrounding valleys practically welded both conquerors and conquered into one people, distinguished only by caste divisions; and, though Mahommedanism has in some instances modified and in others abolished old customs, many of great interest still remain. Many of these, though originating in religious rites and beliefs, have now lost all connection with them in the minds of those who still practise them. It is difficult, almost impossible, now to distinguish between those which were introduced by the Shins, and those which were adopted by them from the original inhabitants; but fairly correct conjectures concerning the origin of some of them may be formed. Hunza is the B [178] country least affected by external influences, and in which the [771] laxest form of Mahommedanism now exists, but there is scarcely any custom or observance maintained there which has not its counterpart still existing, or which till lately existed in the neighbouring valleys. In Chitral and some of the valleys to the westward, many customs seem to have partly disappeared. This may, not improbably, be due to the inhabitants having been earlier converts to Islam, or more exposed to external influences. In the valleys to the southward, like Chilas and Darel, the want of a single ruler and the stricter tenets of Soonnee Mahommedanism have contributed to cause many old customs and festivals to fall into disuse. In spite, however, of local differences, enough remains to show that a strong bond of kinship exists between all the Dard and Ghalchah tribes.

D 142 147 In appearance the men are light, active figures, averaging from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 8 inches in height. Though well made, they are not, as a rule, remarkable for muscular development, presenting in this respect a marked contrast to the Tartar races. Notwithstanding their hardy, simple lives, they seem unequal to any prolonged physical effort. In travelling and shooting I have constantly found them knock up before

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which would point to polygamy, and not to communal marriage, as an ancient institution in the Chitral Valley. In the Bushkarik language the terms point towards polyandry.

Cases of infidelity are extremely common, and the men show none of the jealousy of their wives usual in older Mahommedan communities. In cases of adultery the injured husband has the right to slay the guilty couple when he finds them together; but should he slay one and not the other, he is held guilty of murder. This practice is followed in Sirikol and Wakhan as well as south of the Hindoo Koosh. It is said that the Afghans of Swat, Dir, and Asmar take no notice of a wife's infidelity if, when it comes to their knowledge, they are able to disguise the knowledge from others; but should they learn it through a third person, a bloody vengeance is inflicted. In cases where conclusive proof is wanting, and which are brought for settlement before the ruler or Wuzeer, guarantee is taken for the future by the accused placing his lips to the woman's breast. She thenceforth is regarded as his foster-mother, and no other relations but those of mother and son can exist between them. So sacred is the tie thus established esteemed, that it has never been known to be broken, and the most jealous husband ceases to suspect even though a confession of previous guilt may have been made. In such a case a sheep and a toloo of gold are placed at the feet of the husband by the offender, who humbly sues for forgiveness.

D 608 837

It would appear that morals were more lax formerly than they are now. In Hunza, where the community approaches most nearly to its pre-Mahommedan state, infidelity is not regarded as an offence, and custom requires that a man shall place his wife at his guest's disposal, as in Hazara. The *droit de seigneur* was exercised by the father of the present ruler, and though the custom has been allowed to fall into disuse, it is evident from the accounts given of weekly orgies held by Ghazan Khan that the right is only held in abeyance and not formally renounced. In Nager things are but slightly better, and a man considers himself highly honoured if his wife attracts the attention of the Thum. Islam has not yet brought about the seclusion of the women, who mix freely with the men on all occasions Young men and maidens of different families eat and converse together without restraint, and great liberty is allowed to young women, with frequent evil results. Infanticide arising from illicit connections is common, and is not considered a crime.

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fication. It plays a conspicuous part in the incantations of the Dainyals, and on a great man entering a Shin village a pan of burning Chili branches is waved before him. On certain occasions both men and women saturate themselves with the smoke, which is of a particularly pungent nature.

D 171 178 B 171 178

The custom of Chili worship does not appear to have penetrated to Hunza or Nager, nor is any trace of it to be found in the Oxus Valley, in Chitral, or among the tribes of the Swat Valley; but among the Siah-Posh it seems to exist in almost the same form as it did among the Shins. Chili wood, or Padam, is still taken down to the Punjab to be used in Hindoo ceremonials. According to Colonel Prejevalski, the same tree is also held sacred by the Mongols and Tangutans, who burn the branches for incense during prayer time. At Hemis Shukpa, within 20 miles of Leh, a few trees of great age exist, and are held in much veneration by the Tartars of the village, though the tree is not generally an object of Tartar respect.[1] It may be that the feeling of veneration was imbibed from the Shins, whose influence must have extended nearly to Leh. It is still usual in Gilgit to sprinkle goat's blood on a tree of any kind before cutting it down.

D 771 171 B 771 171

The religion of the whole country is now some form of Mahommedanism, and in the immense knot of mountains of which Yassin forms the centre, three different types of the same religion have met, and are now striving for the mastery. From the south, Soonnee Moollahs have carried their tenets up the different valleys with more or less success. From the eastward a current of Shiah doctrines has set in from Iskardo; and from the westward the curious Maulai, or Muglee,[2] tenets have found their way up the Oxus Valley. It is to be noticed that the subversion of Hindooism by Mahommedanism in the remoter valleys seems to have been extremely gradual, and to have been more owing to gradual conversion than to persecution.

D 771 173 B 771 173

The genealogical tables of the present ruling families of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, enable a fair idea to be formed of the date of the introduction of Islam into the country. Tradition records the death of the Gilgit Ra with the non-Mussulman name of Shiri Buddutt,[3] at the hands of a stranger bearing the Mussulman name of Azru, or Azor, from whom the present Ra of Gilgit, and the Thums of Hunza and Nager, trace

[1] Henderson's *Lahore to Yarkund*, page 51.
[2] The common uneducated pronunciation.
[3] The meaning of the name is perhaps "Given by Sri Buddha."—*Sri Buddha Datta*

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their descent. Allowing twenty-five years for each generation, this would place the first appearance of Mahommedanism in Gilgit at about the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century—a time when that faith had already spread over the more accessible parts of Central Asia. It is to be noted that this exactly corresponds with the time when Islam was first introduced into Cashmere, which, according to Ferishta, happened between A. D. 1315 and 1326. General Cunningham, by computing thirty years for each generation, and fifteen for the reign of each ruler, places the introduction of Mahommedanism into Khapolor about a century later.[1] According to one tradition Azor came from Iskardo, and in the genealogy of the Makpon princes, a Mahommedan adventurer is shown to have established himself in that place at exactly the same time, if the same computation be allowed for the duration of a generation.

It is not, however, probable that the usurper would have been in a position to attempt the forcible conversion of his new subjects; and it may be presumed that, for a long period, his descendants contented themselves with practising their own faith, with, no doubt, greatly relaxed stringency, without interfering with that of their subjects. It is not till eight generations of rulers later, which would represent a period of two centuries, that we meet with a Mussulman Thum in the neighbouring state of Nager. There was, probably, a fresh impulse given to Mahommedanism about the end of the sixteenth century, for it was at about that period that a Persian adventurer, the founder of the present ruling families of Chitral and Yassin, established himself in Kashkar. The names of those whose kingdom he usurped are lost, the only record being that they were of the Shahreis family, which is the name by which the Gilgit rulers previous to the time of Azor were known, and which was retained by the descendants of the usurper for four generations. The Emperor Baber, writing in the early part of the sixteenth century, speaks of Chitral as forming part of Kafiristan, "in the hill-country to the north-east lies Kafiristan, such as Kattor and Gebrek."[2] But on several occasions he distinguishes this Kafiristan from Kafiristan Pich (which is still a Kafir country), as if some difference existed between the two. It is probable, therefore, that though the faith of Islam was introduced into the country mentioned about the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was long confined to

[1] Cunningham's Ladakh. 1

[2] Erskine's Memoirs of Baber, page 140.

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1 [See 1: Cunningham, AJ4 West Tibetans file -- Analyst]

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a limited number of the inhabitants, and did not become general till the middle or end of the sixteenth century. Even then its acceptance was so irregular that it is not surprising that Hindooism has lingered on, and has only become extinct in the present day.

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The tribes of the Indus Valley were exposed earlier to the fervid preaching of the Moollahs of Swat and Boneyr, and this has led to the adoption by them of the Soonnee tenets. The people of Chilas, who were always a less tractable race than their neighbours, make it their boast that, though travellers and traders are safe in their country, no Shiah ever escapes out of their hands. At Gor, also, a few miles above Chilas, the people are all Soonnees, but a looser type of Mahommedanism prevails, and prayers were till recently addressed to the god Taiban, whose horse is sculptured on the rock near the village.

In Gilgit the population is now three-fourths Soonnee and the rest Shiah, but at the commencement of the Sikh occupation, the greater proportion were Shiahs or Maulais, and it is related that any Soonnee falling into their hands was branded with a hot iron unless he consented to become a proselyte. Those who now still adhere to the Maulai tenets, are mostly old men, who keep the fact concealed as far as possible, and call themselves Shiahs. At Soomma, a secluded village in Yassin, the people, though professed Mussulmans, still make offerings to the god Shaitum. In several other places the names of local deities are still preserved, and objects, such as a peculiar-shaped rock near a village, are still regarded with veneration, and invoked in the registration of solemn covenants.

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The influence of the Iskardo Princes introduced Shiah tenets into the north-eastern part of Dardistan, while the tenets of the Maulais have made their way from the Oxus Valley across the passes of the Hindoo Koosh. In Nager the entire population are Shiahs of the orthodox type, and so are two-thirds of the people of Baltistan; the rest belong to the Noor Buksh sect. In Hunza, till a few years ago, Shiah tenets found many followers; now the Meer and the whole population are Maulais.

The Shiahs in these countries lament the martyrdom of the sons of Ali twice a year; once at the usual time according to the Mahommedan calendar, and again in the month of August, the season at which they say the martyrdom actually occurred.

Chapter 15

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

000 WHEN after three days we had got the house habitable, cupboards and bookshelves ordered, lamps burning, water and food routine running smoothly, and the first friendly contacts with our neighbours established, we asked leave to pay our first call on the Mir, the king of the country and our host.

Two horses were found for us—it was a welcome let-off that the nature of the country made it useless to keep our own horses—and we started early, while it was still cool, on the 491 four-mile ride to Báltít, his capital. The Great North Road from Kashmir to Central Asia is here some four to five feet wide; the only rideable road in the country. For the first couple of miles it runs fairly level between high field walls, just dipping 50 feet now and again to cross a stony gully, down which pour at times irresistible floods of mud and boulders; then it staggers almost perpendicularly up some hundreds of feet till it reaches the level of the Dála and runs along with the water channel (which is perhaps 4 feet wide and 2 feet deep) on its left and a steep drop on the right into the first fields below. High above us towered staircases of narrow fields and behind them great serrated snow peaks, the most interesting of which culminates in a 2,000-foot needle of sheer granite too steep ever to hold the snow.

133 773 This is Princess Búbuli's Peak, and the story goes that when the hero Kiser (the Gesar of Tibetan myth[1] and an

113 [1] For original Tibetan versions of his story, see Madame Alexandra David-Neel, *Gesar of Ling*; for the Burushaski version, see D. L. R. L., in *Folklore*, XLII, June 2, 1931.

incarnate deity) conquered Hai Hai Yúl (= Hunza) he took 113
to wife the Princess Búbuli. He had not been long in the 773
country till he saw in a dream Tibet invaded and his earlier queen carried into captivity, so he determined to return and deal with his enemies. Even in the Tibetan versions of the Gesar Saga it is difficult to avoid thinking him an ugly type of hero, a still more unpleasant manifestation of the divine, and the absolute limit in undesirable husbands. Princess Búbuli asked when she might look for his return: "I'll go to-morrow and return yesterday"; he said, "when donkeys grow horns, when millstones grow beards, when the river flows uphill, I shall come back." Lest she should get into trouble during this brief grass-widowhood he seated her on this granite spike with a 200-lb. bag of millet-seed and a cock: "Give him one grain a year, and when the grain is done, I shall return." And there the luckless princess sits, and you can hear her wailing in the winter storm.

The road commands a fine view of the junction of the 133
Nagir with the Hunza River, and the rugged, savage valley 491
which leads to the Nagir capital, tucked away out of sight amongst its sunless mountains near the great Hispar glacier. On our Hunza side the ground falls steeply with fertile bays of terraced fields and groves of apricots, all still in late July laden with their golden fruit. The road winds round various bluffs, following of course the contours of the mountain-side, and you can see several villages below, including Ganesh, clustered on the very edge of the river cliffs. High 644
above the field-terraces on our left we presently espied the 133
white front of the fortress-palace that has looked down over 312
the fields of Hunza for at least six hundred years—surely the most dominating seat of kings in the wide world. It is built on the cliff edge of a projecting promontory that falls perpendicularly—but from the road invisibly—behind it; and behind that again lies the mighty ravine of the Ulter Ber, up which, far out of sight, is the almost inaccessible glacier that supplies all the waters of Hunza, from Áltít (two miles beyond and some hundreds of feet below Báltít) to Aliábád, feeding five or six different aqueducts, including, of course, the Dála.

[625] [622] personal influence, we found the lack of even minor misdemeanours among the Hunzukuts perennially astonishing.

796 ● 773 The Tumushelling Bonfire would seem to have originated amongst the Shins, but the Hunza Burusho, with their delight in pageantry, have lifted it and made it the central item in whatever were their own original Solstice rites. The oft-told story of the Bonfire is this: Once upon a time there lived a tyrant King of Gilgit, Shíri Badat by name, who exacted the tribute of one lamb or kid daily from his people. The custom was that each house in turn should pay the tribute. One day the turn fell to a poor old woman who possessed nothing in the world but one well-beloved pet lamb. Shíri Badat ate the lamb as usual, but remarked that it had a peculiarly delicate flavour, and asked its history. The old woman was summoned to the presence and cross-questioned. Yes, it was rather a special lamb. The ewe, its mother, had died when it was born, and the old woman had given it to her daughter-in-law to suckle; so the lamb had been reared on human milk.

This proved an unfortunate revelation, for from that day forward Shíri Badat demanded a human infant per day, and would not be gainsaid. The country groaned in misery, but the people were helpless, for Shíri Badat was no mortal man to be easily murdered; he was of Peri stock, and bore a charmed life.

Now it happened that a young prince from a neighbouring country had fled in disguise to Gilgit to escape intriguers seeking his life at home. He had taken sanctuary in the Wazir's house, and there he met Princess Nur Bakht, who was a foster-child of the Wazir's. The two young people fell in love, and when the Princess found she was with child she was filled with fear lest her baby should fall a victim to her father's unnatural appetite. So the Wazir, the Prince, and she hatched out a plot in which Nur Bakht was to play the rôle of Delilah to the cannibal Samson, Shíri Badat.

"Father," she said one day, "your subjects are full of wrath and hate because of the baby-tax you levy on them; I fear me they will find some means to slay you. Now if I knew the secret of your life I could the better protect you against harm."

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

The old simpleton thereupon revealed to her that while he was 773
invulnerable to spear or arrow, axe or sword, his heart was 796
made of butter and he could be destroyed by fire.

The conspirators thereupon, working privily by night, dug a trench close under the walls of the King's fort and filled it with dry wood, and on a given night at a given signal every Gilgit household poured forth its menfolk armed with blazing torches which they flung into the trench with a great cry: "The enemy is upon you!" The butter-hearted tyrant ran forth and perished miserably in the circle of fierce heat, and the Prince and Princess reigned in his stead.

While Gilgit itself has long since ceased to celebrate its deliverance, the Tumushelling Bonfire in Hunza keeps aflame the memory of Shíri Badat and his heart of butter. In olden days it seems that every Hunza household let its fire die out and rekindled the hearth by a brand from the Tumushelling Fire, but this practice had lapsed before any of our informants could remember.

One winter day, after a gruelling forenoon of solid hard 423
note-taking, DL said: "I'm just about half dead. We must 311
take a quiet walk this afternoon. We'll go up to the Mir's Stables; we can't meet anyone up there. I positively could not talk or listen any more."

The "Mir's Stables" bear no relation to a stable as we understand it. Above the line of terraced fields that sweep round the bay of Aliábád there are 200 or 300 feet of sloping mountain side, forming rude pasture grounds: the *toqs*. Above them rise the steep sand and rock slopes that flow down from the towering crags above. A little farther down the valley from us there is a kind of shelf above the *toqs*, a small roughly level plateau, scattered thick with huge boulders, which is called the "Mir's Stables." It isn't irrigated from any channel; it lies above the highest one, which in any case has petered completely out before it gets so far; but as it is fairly flat it catches any rain or snow there is, and it gets a certain amount of snow and rain drainage from the rocks above, and so in between the boulders and rocks there are patches of coarse, natural grass and thorn bushes. This bit of ground

771 sweeper; I heard only one muezzin sound the Call to Prayer—
788 and saw no one pay heed to it. He was chanting from a cliff in the Mir's garden, and the Mir gathers round him craftsmen of
778 every sort. There are a few shrines in the country reputed
796 holy—including two burial places of Moses within a few
788 hundred yards of each other on one mountain side—where a few rags on sticks flutter unconvincingly in the wind; and one, the shrine of Baba Ghundi in Chupursan, some seven days' march above Báltít, is the object of an occasional pilgrimage. On Tuesdays and Fridays there are said to be services in the House of Assembly, which has supplanted the older Shiah mosque, but I never observed one of our servants or neighbours absent himself from work to go to them.

771 Yet the people are by no means without faith. It is difficult
181 to know exactly what even church-going Christians of our own
●775 country effectively believe—it is impossible to be sure what one effectively believes oneself—so I can offer only a tentative guess as to the average person's simple credo. The Hunzukuts hold, I think, a comforting, unquestioning faith in a good and kindly God, whose ways they cannot profess to understand. They meet bereavement with a murmur that "there is no remedy against the will of God"; they bury their loved ones with genuine sorrow, but without anxiety. They feel that "it is well with the child," and vaguely trust that some day, somewhere, somehow, they will meet again. They assume as axiomatic that God asks of them diligence and truth, fair-dealing and goodwill. They are hard-working and thrifty, tolerant to others; kind and affectionate in the home, gentle to children and the aged; generous beyond their means to the orphan; truthful and just; and they go about their daily work in the happy confidence that God is well pleased. If they din no perfunctory prayers into His ears, there are occasions when they heartily and humbly pray, as will presently be seen.

771 The Hunzukuts is no mystic, no poet, no artist. This life
181 claims his full attention if he is to live at all; philosophic speculation about "fixed fate, freewill, fore-knowledge absolute" does not line his brow or disturb his rest, nor does he "keep in duty through the toilsome day, because of praise

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

face the Qiblah, and undo the shroud from over the face and put the right arm under the head and lay the left arm along the side of the body, and so they leave it. They also bring a clod of earth and put it as a pillow.

Then the mullah, obliterating the marks of his feet in the grave, comes up out of it. After that they place flat stones over the grave and throw earth on the top. And they make a mound over the grave and pour water on it. Then the mullah recites verses from the Qur'an and offers up supplications. After this (the relations) ask pardon of those who have (dug) the grave and brought the stones. Then they withdraw from the grave and when they have gone seven paces the mullahs cry out the call to prayer over the grave.

It is said that when they have gone seven paces from the grave two persons come to the dead body in the grave. The name of the one is Nakīr and the name of the other is Munkir. When they come and say to the corpse: "Arise with God's permission," it gets up. It starts up with a shout in the dark grave and its head strikes against the stones over the grave and then it sits down again. And it calls out: "Father, Mother, Uncle, Brother!", but answer comes from no one. Then Nakīr and Munkir interrogate it. For this reason the mullahs cry out the call to prayer, saying: "Perhaps it will count for merit to the corpse."

The people who have left the grave come to the (deceased's) house. On their arrival there the relatives bring them *daude* and put it in their mouths. In the evening they bring food from the houses of the relatives to the house of the deceased. Then when three days are up they slaughter the *chirāq* goats ("Goats of the Lamp.")

11 *hin ik* — i. e. *hins ik*.

18 *hasaw iss gutasor* . . . — or possibly: "perhaps the deceased has some merit".

19 *nasipa ed'an* — glossed: "put it in their mouths by force".

20 *iskikuts* — apparently comes to be a technical term: "The Three Days" or "The Third Day". So also *Čiraq* the "Day of the Lamp" being also the third day, and *talakuts* "The Seventh Day". If *iskikuts manumor* means "on the three days being completed" then the day in question would be the fourth day; but my impression is that the phrase means: "On its becoming the *iskikuts*". Similarly for *talakuts*.

bim, iˈsɛr giˈmo. Giyasər Šon Guˈkər diˈn iˈsɛ buˈnulo dam nɛ gili mudˈɛlimi.

Hin Dal Kan yakalatər gaˈrtsumo. Elə han buˈnan bim. Iˈsɛr giˈmo. Elər niˈnin dam nɛ giˈli mudɛlimi. Tail oˈčumɛ uˈ talo muyuˈgušants buˈndo buˈnd o.ulo giˈli ud ɛlimi.

Da uˈmi tiˈts motuman. Dumutsun Hindi kanɛ čaˈr ɛšulo, ɛšulum laˈtɛtər dum u.isuman. Telɛ giˈli mod ɛlimi. Modˈɛlasər ɛsumo: "Jɛ bɛsan šičam?" Šon Gukuˈrɛ moˈsimi: "Turma aˈlta tsiˈr guyam (*or*, guˈčam). Iˈtsɛ multan miˈnɛ. Da hər dɛn goˈr du sɛn. Turma aˈlta tsiˈr ay oˈmanuman kɛ talo kuˈli guˈčan, ama uˈŋatɛ gutɛ bap oˈsam, bɛšal mi hoˈlguˈš amulər niman kɛ miyər manɛ. Ho turma aˈltatsatsum talo xa tsiˈr guˈčan."

Numoˈsun iˈsɛ doˈmulo čumərɛ giˈli dam nɛ giˈli mod ɛlimi. Da iˈnɛ gili modɛlumtsum hər dɛn turma aˈlta ya talo tsiˈr nutsum tobak gaˈtaˈŋ nuka ha ha ˈɛčumɛ nuˈn iˈsɛ giˈli iwˈərɛ tsiˈr duˈsumɛ

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1 *iˈsɛr giˈmo . . . giˈli mudɛlimi* — Such beings as bilases have the power of hastily entering into boulders and in the normal course could no doubt come out again, but if an iron peg is driven into the boulder and a suitable spell employed they can be kept shut up for at any rate a long period.

Dadi's eventual escape is said to have been predicted by Shon Gukur: *amelę yasurmər Dadi durši*, 'when my jaw-bone has rotted Dadi will come out'. But the jaw-bone is a very durable article. Cp. also the tale of *Qaŋ Jakon*, p. 202 l. 1.

In this and other stories iron evidently retains its magical qualities, which is not surprising as it was comparatively rare and precious in Hunza till quite recently. A couple of generations ago the important Baltit 'Ali.ābād irrigation channel was dug with ibex horns used as picks.

2 *giˈli mudɛlimi* — I don't think this is to be taken as meaning that the peg was visibly driven into her. She was imprisoned by simply driving the peg into the stone.

5 *buˈndo buˈndo.ulo* — the plural is surprising, but the meaning is obvious.

7 *dumu.isuman* — from *d*-isas* ‖ *d*-usas* 'to take out extract'. Here glossed "made her climb" which suggests a point of contact with the intransitive *dusas* cp. § 303.

mod ɛlimi — from here on the prefix *mo-* replaces the previous *mu-*. As the text was recorded at one sitting there was probably an actual difference in pronunciation by the narrator, not merely a variation in my hearing. So we have **-adɛlas* being substituted for **-dɛlas*. Cp. §§ 242—243.

8 *guyam* — "I have given you" the anticipatory Pret.

[Errata: for duˈši read duˈšo, cf p. 419, cat 116 — Analyst.]

(00) očan. "Heri ipfu·peruman kɛ Thamɛ momus čur·uk ma·oči" nuscn, ar očan.

Ho Gɪn'ani.ɛ herip, Gɪnani ditsas (*or*, ditsasor) tai.ɛ·r manu·mor, ta·ŋe s·ɛrke.ulo teordimo 'eyerčan. Teor Thamo ta·ŋum Gɪnani
5 diišer duwaštčan. Thamo Gɪnani maltsum ditsumor ho ya·rɛ uyo·n nu·n ditsas mira·s bila.

Malor nu·n "bismillah!" netan Dehka·n Pi·r kɛ ni·likin ho heri pfy'u·en dipirtsin ha·lor dusurčan. Ha·lo dusu·n pfyu.an heri širidaqotse tak ečan. Pfy'u·an pfu.atɛ n'ɛsqui n'ipupur pf'atanulo diltor
10 dusun kapanulo heri.ɛ usko ya talo pfalo·ŋo hine ha·lum uyu·m ine·r iski he·li e·r kapanulo gičai.i. Ine ṣu·k ečai.i. Tailatɛ tsirtse ha·lum jama·at uyo·ne Gɪna·ni.e pfal haha ečan.

Ho Gɪna·ni.ɛ tamaša yat guntse ečan. Teo·rdimo Baltit bula daljan. Bula n'i·dil Tham kɛ aka·bortiŋ Thamo yatɛ ho·lo basi·or tamaša 'o·ečor
15 jučan. Dumor Hunzu.e aka·bortiŋe ha·kič'aŋulum Thamor buru·s šapik dišan (*or*, dušan). Tham morakaulo taxtatɛ huru·ṣai.i Wazir ka aka·bortiŋ u·e u·imo dišulo huru·š'an. Ho šapik ṣičan. Šapik ṣi·mor ho·lum jat'aqulo tamaša.ɛtasor gati me.iban. Tham kɛ aka·bortiŋ

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1 *momus* — Note the sg. noun with the pl. pron. prefix cp. § 126. III.
ma·oči = *ma* + **-aɛi* from **-aɛas*.

4 *teordimo* — is glossed "first" but I think the correct meaning is "in the morning" as in line 13.
Thamo — this seems to be a gen. sg. in *-o*. Otherwise it is the pl. less the *-ɛ* of the gen. See also line 14.

5 *yaɛ uyo·n* — This is 2. *yaɛ* = *yor* 'ahead', 'in front' etc. I take it here as meaning 'next'. Otherwise, taking it with *uyo·n*, 'all beyond this', 'all the rest'.

[176] *Dehka·n Pi·r* — elsewhere recorded as *Pi·r Dehqan* and *Dipuni Pi·r*. He is said to be that multiple and ubiquitous personality *Xwaja Xizir*.
heri — barley is used for the Gɪnani in Baltit and Altit; elsewhere, it is said, wheat.

8 *dusu·n* — the object being *heri* (y). Originally *dila·n* was written *ginani* (x) being understood as object.

9 *nɛsqui* — MS. *nɛskui*

11 *kapanulo . . . gičai.i* — The sentence is not very clear. *Hine* 'one person', 'someone' is the subject of *gičai.i*. What is meant is that some buttermilk is put in the dipper (*kapan*) and a few grains of barley are added, and this is

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burushо AV7.

the hands is not permitted; and they warn the small children, saying: "If you rub the barley the Tham will cut out your tongues for you," and frighten them. 539A 527 241

Then when it is time to bring in the Gināni, they play the Gināni tune in the morning on the balcony of the Tham's palace. First they go from the Tham's palace to bring in the Gināni. Then when they have brought the Tham's Gināni from the fields it is the custom next for all to go away and bring in their own.

They go the fields and say "Bismillah" and pray to the Dēhkān Pīr and then they tear up a little barley by the roots and bring it home. Bringing it to the house they tie a little of the barley to the main pillar and a little they roast at the fire and rub it between their hands. Then they bring buttermilk in a bowl and three times in a spoon(ful of it) one of them puts 3 or 7 grains of the barley for the principal person of the house, and he laps it up. And in like manner all the people of the house in turn handsel the Gināni grain. [176]

Then the next day they hold the Gināni sports. In the morning they play polo at Bāltit. After playing polo the Tham and the Elders come to the Tham's upper outside garden to make the people give a display. After they have arrived there they bring bread and *burūs* for the Tham from the houses of the Hunza Elders. The Tham sits down on a seat in the place of assembly and the Wazir and Elders sit down in their respective places and then they eat the bread. When they have eaten, the people assemble for an entertainment at the outside dancing-place, and the Tham and Elders come out and make them dance. First the Tham makes

them given to the senior person in the house who laps it up. This procedure is gone through three times. The word is more correctly *kapun*, but when the accent as here is on the first syllable the quality of the second vowel is not clear.

14 *basior* — called the *Bim'al Bar*.

15 *berwe* — here and in l. 9, p. 330 written *berwd*, owing no doubt to the influence of the *ā* of *kapik*.

16 *ka* — for *ka*.

(The word seems to cover such ideas as "bad-tempered", "fierce", "violent", "avaricious", "stingy" (H. ḫazīṇ), as applied to human beings). ḫayərkźo hirib evil men. ayamo ḫayərku ḫava my relations are evil people. 246.13. ine ajab ḫayərk ayerte ziaan ḫuźi he is an extraordinarily ill-tempered, quarrelsome fellow. EOL. ḫayərka ṭsirij root of evil (a term of abuse for evil-doers). 000

ḫay'ərkźej y evil. (Opposed to nźźi). — jantum ḫayərk(k)ej ayerti evil will not come from me. 90.13. je ḫayərk(k)ej aiy'ertam I will not do evil. 90.14.

ḫayḫe.ayo lynx. (Cp. Sh. ḫaghe.ayo. Ha: ḫawuj).

ḫay'eriş, ḫayai.rş'y d. pl. -źiş, cowdung. — gatuş . . . ḫayerşş tasale etam I held (her) clothes in cowdung smoke. 18.20. Cp. 14.8, 18.5.

Cowdung is antipathetic to peris. The smoke of it when burned deprives them of the power to fly. Cp. also 282.5. n. 776

ḫayerri, ḫayairi, ḫayair only, except that. — man ka o.źtan ba, ḫayerri hikulto Irkźźr huyes tuşa baiyam teile bwk yuşrmi I have seen no one, only one day I had taken the goats to Irkźźl and I became thirsty. 268.10. ḫayair Bazźi aenas hirran duşyasin only a man called B. escaping. 272.9. ḫayairi Źa giliźźb uavum ḫal dewm na bila only the stone placed by Ź. over the peg is still there. 196.14. ḫayerri manan hirane ineo eltan ya ḫal etti ka bardźz dyuseli only if someone slays his two sons will the King survive. 38.24. Ar. Prs. 000

ḫayu -źiş, -miźiş y double armful (whatever can be embraced by the two arms

65b

[See corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p.542 - Analyst]

bilas, pl. *bilaso*, hr. (and m.). 776

1. Female demon, ogress, H. *čhurel*, *bhut*. — *Ganiṭolo hin bilasan bom* there was a "bilas" in Ganish. 190.1. Cp. 192.9, 200.1.
2. *hir bilas* male demon, one-eyed ogre, Cyclops. These are apparently much rarer than the female variety. There is said to be one in the Shishper nullah. He has one eye and looks up towards the sky, not towards the ground. When he sees a man he calls out his name. One should make no answer, otherwise he comes and eats one up. People have seen him. — *hir bilas manuma* you have become a "hir bilas" (said to a youth who is very tall, or troublesome).

bilbinas, *b'irbinas birbi-* to rise excessively, fill up (of water), H. *pani ka ri.arda čarhjana*. — *pfəri.olo tsil birbinila* the water has filled up in the pond. 000

(Connected with *bil* and *bir*?).

b'ili, swinging, H. *jhulna*.

bilirča N. *-mots* x swing. (Cp. *b'ili*, *qurbili* and *bilinčik*?).

biličan (state of) being. — *Baxtakals wazirri biličantsa* owing to (at the time of) the wazirship being in the possession of Bakhtek. 96.28.

(Probably based on the *y* form of the verb *ba*. Cp. *bačan*. V. § 271).

bilinčik, *-ilo* x hammock-cradle (made of blanket and ropes). Cp. *birlirča*?).

bil'is weeding crops and softening and cleaning the ground. — *bilis stas* to weed, etc.

81 b

[see corrigenda et addenda, category 116, p. 542 - Analyst]

000 (f IUB. *bijas* is a synonym of Sh. *daiyal*).

bóts N. *-avuts* x front facing of chogs. (But Cp. Khn. *bóts*, the space between the chogs and the breast when the chogs is tied round the waist, bosom, Pra. *bayal*. This seems equivalent to Ba. *-ayal*).

bówa, neg. *apówa*, N. they (x pl.) were = Ba. *bówa*.

bi-ungurf v. *bonkurf*.

bipuhow, *-ag* y desert. Pra.

bisrw vexed, annoyed. — *ungbrem bisrw ómanáli* he has become vexed with you. 30.12. Pra.

bo y pl., double plural *bortiq*. 1. seed (*of corn*). 2. y sg. semen, H. *serfa*, *m.sal*. — *by gipas*, *bo falk.as* to sow, scatter seed. Cp. 343.3, 18 ff.

bodo y Wednesday. (Cp. Sh. *bowda*, N. *bodi*).

boryera, *boryera* wf, male camel. Turki.

●776 782 *bróin*, pl. *broyt*, x some kind of divine or sacred being; in the plural: animals like puppies to which offerings used to be made.

At *Hiwi* there used to be animals like puppies for which people used to put offerings at the foot of rocks and trees.

The *broyt* came out of holes and ate the offerings. This cult was maintained by the *Hiwi* people till a few years ago when it was stopped by the Hunza authorities. They slaughtered animals in the name of the *broyt*.

According to one statement the *broyt* lived at a spot a little above *Hiwi* Fort known as the *Dadimo Lort*.

There were also *broyt* resembling puppies which lived under a juniper tree in the garden of a man called

Kwama Dorbed in Diramitiy territory, v. Text No. XIV.. 776

See my article in JRAS of July 1929, pp. 307—30. 782 [113]

Sakoda Bo in ka Hwinat Bwin names of two Bwin's in whose names oaths were taken. 250.9. *ilaw bwyo ee.ilam* they called them "*bwyo*". 214.3. *siwa ñtse u.ñlibi hwa* people used to worship, or placate, them. 214.4. *bwyo u.ñlibiwas*, (pl. *u.ñlibinado*), a bwyo-worshipper, a heathen, (cp. *boi.indawyas*).

bokal y pl. seed-grain (of cereals). — *gwie bokale gwe bifaq* this is wheat seed-grain. 000

bowu y pl. seed (of corn). (The *-ow* is only an expletive, conveying at most a sense of multiplicity and indefiniteness). — *da bowu da wiji gwew gwe kwi u'wusin* putting aside wheat and barley for seed and funeral rites. 332.11.

bowda a round lump of dough (2 or 3 inches or more in diameter for making cake of bread from). — *Kan bowdanwe tha kwiw dawda 'wlam* 1 (can) make "dando" for 100 troops with one lump of dough. 176.28.

bowu, *-owda* a plait of hair rolled up and knotted into a ball at the end. 302

The Hunza women wear their hair in two such plaits one at each side of the head. Formerly the men also wore their hair long and dressed it in *bowu's* or twisted in spirals.

A N. y pl. form "*bowuq*" was recorded. (Cp. Sh. *bowu*).

bogfow "seed-scattering". — *bogfow ulas* to perform the ceremony of initiating the seed-sowing in the Spring. V. Text No. XIII. 241

000 he made L. B.'s sleep depart from her, i.e. he wakened her. 118.8. *Laŋa Brumo daŋtsum domostsalimi* he woke up L. B. from sleep i.e. he wakened her. 118.8. (Cp. Kho. *daŋ dik*, to drop off to sleep, no

1. *ɖaŋ* pl. *ɖaŋo* hard (literal and metaphorical), stiff, severe (of pain, famine). — *daŋo hiri, gušiŋents* hard (tough?) men, women. *ese daŋ* stout-hearted, valiant. *tra daŋ* very hard. *tau ɖaŋ* very hard. IYB. *daŋ čam* a severe famine. 366.8, 372.9. (Cp. Kho. *ɖaŋ, ɖaŋ*).

2. *ɖaŋ stas* to bake, cook (bread). — *šapik daŋ sti* bake bread. *pfiti besanafe daŋ ečan* with what are we to bake bread? 126.7. Cp. 126.12,16,22, 128,4, 180.3, 306.13.

(The same word as 1. *ɖaŋ* and so to "harden" by firing the dough).

3. *ɖaŋ stas* to keep; store, lay up, hoard, H. *rakhnā karna*.

ɖ'aŋal -ilo x lever, crowbar, H. *jab.ā'*. — *čumarre daŋal* iron crowbar.

ɖaŋal'at -ilo x aqueduct, water-channel (crossing an irrigation channel).

●776 *ɖ'aŋalafh'as* a kind of "*bilas*", wild woman monster who devoured men, H. *čurel*.

According to another account (M. M. P.) the D. is not a "*bilas*" but the consort of a *Deu* or *Jinn*.

D.'s live in the mountains, but come to inhabited places at night. *hin daŋalitasas be* there is a d. 198.5. Cp. 204.4 ff.

000 *ɖaŋaliski* IYB a kind of grape. — *ɖaŋaliski šum* a kind of vine.

ɖaŋarewe IYB half-sour half-sweet (of wine).

ɖaŋ ɖaŋ stas to knock. — *hiŋafe ɖa ɖaŋ stas* to knock at the door. (Cp Sh. *daŋ(daŋ)* th.).

šošo·likrj̥ -ki.ʌnts hf a supernatural female who exists in the whirlwind and does injury to mortals. 776

She is explained as a H. *čorel* or Sh. *bʌl'a*.

čirpophuj̥ši šošo·likrj̥ the whirlwind witch. The word is also used as a term of abuse for an ugly, ill-dressed old woman. *šošo·likrj̥ ju.ʌn mʌnuma* you have become like a Sh.

šuršu suffering from ague. — *je šuršu amaiya ba* I am suffering from ague. 000

(Cp. Sh. *šušu šal*, cold fever, ague. Kho. *šuršu*, *šušu*, ague).

šut y a sour decoction made from apricots and used as vinegar, especially by Shins. Wakhis use *qorut*. *šut* is put in *ḍaudo*. [263]

(Cp. Kho. *šot*, sour as of unripe grapes).

š'utin pl. *šut'iyo* x the four big stones surrounding the hearth in a house. 304.18. (Cp. *pforitsin*).

šotuko -mots x.

1. Bud.
2. Round button made of cloth.

(Cp. Sh. *šotuko*, with the same meanings).

šutur a kind of mushroom, or truffle(?), Punj. *gučchi*, Sh. *šonutur*.

(Not known to QUB. GB gives Sh. *šutj*, mushroom. I have *šutot* toadstool).

šyu šyu, šyu ši.n etʌs to whistle.

(Cp. Sh. *šyu· thoski*; Kho. *šyu· korik*, to whistle).

T, TH, and Ṭ, ṬH

1. *tā, -mots* x leopard. — *ta b.ʌl* leopard's skin. Cp. Prov. 13.
2. *tha* hundred, one hundred. — *hik, ulto, iski, honti tha* 100, 200, 300, 900.

335 b

c. Miscellaneous other Foods:

262

baṭeriṇ.	čhap.	hori.	pušür šak N.	šuɜt.
biṇ.	ḍauḍo.	mʌnoṭiki.	pfuṭuɜk.	tsʌmik.
buɜzki.	haula N.	mul.	šərbʌt.	utsiyɛnʌs.
čhʌtuɜs.	hoč.	polau.	širča N.	wərk.

7. **Vessels, Utensils etc.**

415

a. Bags and Sacks:

baldakzš.	girgin.	khʌɜʌš.	mʌšk N.	sərmots.
butuɜn.	γuti.	xʌlta N.	mɛɜš.	tʌγər.
gɛɜnzš.	khal.ʌḍu.	xrlta.	qʌp.	təriṇ.

b. Baskets.

čhoṭkus.	čur'a.	giran.	γotuɜl.	khʌreṭi.	thʌli.o.

c. Vessels and Containers:

baḍalik.	čilʌmči.	hanik.	mʌšərba.	qirmzšdoɜn.
baγondokzš.	čhurkʌs.	imʌkzš.	pfʌta.	sʌkʌy.
bali.	dəlgos.	isʌn(?).	pfʌtasuɜndʌl.	tašpi.
baloš.	duɜstsʌk.	jʌti.	pfzrko.	tuspur.
bire.	goḍluɜr.	khʌči.	pfuɜl.	ts.hʌγuɜr.
boḍok.	gərkun.			

8. **Games.**

524

bʌbʌl.	čyuɜ čyuɜ.	gʌṭʌl bula.	tatʌq.	ts.hʌγəra.
bola.	dʌγu dʌγu.	tʌmbok.	ṭoskuɜri.	

9. **Supernatural Beings.**

●776

bilʌs.	ḍʌṇʌlʌṭhʌs.	jʌʌdəra.	pəri.	šušərlikzš.
borin.	hir bilʌs.	jin.	pfuɜt.	yʌčheni.

10. **Words relating to CEREMONIES, CUSTOMS etc. or Objects which have no English equivalent.**

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bʌvi.	bopfau.	dʌni.	γərbel.	*-mi nəmuɜyen.
bʌvr.	buɜzki.	dərmʌn.	γərtsʌpiš, (γʌltapiš).	otʌq.
bʌwzš.	bəruɜi.	duɜk.	1. γon.	ɜtiki.
bʌk bik.	čʌnčʌn.	duxau.ʌkuts.	ivlbʌn.	pʌlos.
balguɜin.	1. čhʌngü.	gʌrljo.	kuɜli.	pfʌnis.
bərginʌs.	čhʌs.	gɛnʌni.	xər.	phʌqis.
berits, v. also page 421.	čɛrʌqnʌɜmʌ.	girʌns niɜʌs.	laješ.	phʌrətsin.
beriski.	čokuṭi.	girgzš.	maḥər.	pəri sa.
bɛrʌl.	čop.	guč.	mʌnoṭiki.	pʌsoɜm.
bits N.	ḍʌmbu.	γʌn.	mʌšʌla.	pi.ʌqmər.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

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republic of eleven houses—a region which contains the solution of numerous linguistic and ethnographical problems, the cradle of the Aryan race, inhabited by the most varied tribes, from which region I brought the first Hunza and the first Káfir that ever visited England, and of which region one of its bigger Chiefs, owing to my sympathy with the people, invested me with a kind of titular governorship. In that comparatively small area the questions that are to be solved are great, and it is even now in some parts, perhaps, as hazardous a journey as, say, through the dark continent. Whether you get to the ancient Robber's Seat of Hunza, where the right of plundering is hereditary, or into the recesses of Kafiristan or the fastnesses of Pakhtu settlers; whether you proceed to the republics of Darel, Tangir or Chilás, or proceed to the community where women are sometimes at the head of affairs, and which is neither worse nor better than others, an amount of information, especially ethnographic, is within one's reach which makes Dardistan a region that would reward a number of explorers. I may say, in my own instance, if my life is spared for ten years longer, all I could do would be to bring out the mere material in my possession in a rough form, leaving the theories thereon to be elaborated by others. My difficulties were great, but my reward has been in a mass of material, for the elaboration of which International, Oriental, and other Congresses and learned societies have petitioned Government since 1866. My official duties have hitherto prevented my addressing myself to the congenial task of elaborating the material in conjunction with others. In 1886, I was, however, put for a few months on special duty in connexion with the Hunza language, at the very time that Colonel Lockhart was traversing a portion of Dardistan. But I think you will be more interested if, beyond personal observations, I tell you something about that little country of Hunza itself, which in many respects differs from those surrounding it, not only in regard to its peculiar language, which I have mentioned, but in other respects also. Unfortunately, it is also unlike the surrounding districts, in being characterised by customs the absence of some of which would be desirable. The Hunzas are nominal Muhammedans, and they use their mosques for drinking and dancing assemblies. Women are as free as air. There is little restriction in the relation

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1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

of the sexes, and the management of the State, in theory, is attributed to fairies. No war is undertaken unless the fairy (whom, by the way, one is not allowed to see) gives the command by beating the sacred drum. The witches, who get into an ecstatic state, are the journalists, historians, and prophetesses of the tribe. They tell you what goes on in the surrounding valleys. They represent, as it were, the local *Times;* they tell you the past glories, such as they are, of raids and murders by their tribe; and when the *Tham* or ruler, who is supposed to be heaven-born (there being some mystery about the origin of his dynasty), does wrong, the only one who will dare to tell him the truth is the Dayal, or the witch who prophesies the future, and takes the opportunity of telling the Rajah that, unless he behaves in a manner worthy of his origin, he will come to grief! This is not a common form of popular representation to be met with, say, in India. Grimm's fairy-tales sometimes seem to be translated into practice in Hunza-land, which offers material for discussion alike to those who search for the Huns and to those who search for the very different Honas.

Then with regard to religion, as I said before, though nominally Muhammedan, they are really deniers of all the important precepts of true Muhammedanism, which is opposed to drunkenness, introduces a real brotherhood, and enjoins great cleanliness as absolutely necessary before the spiritual purification by prayer can take place. The people are mostly Muláis, but inferior in piety (?) to those of Zébak, Shignán, Wakhan, and other places. Now, what is that sect? It is represented by His Highness Prince Aga Khan, of Bombay, a person who is not half aware of his importance in those regions, where, till very recently, men were murdered as soon as looked at. One who acknowledges him or has brought some of the water with which he has washed his feet, would always be able to pass through those regions perfectly unharmed! I found my disguise as a Bokhara Mullah in 1866 to be quite useless, as a protection at Gilgit, whence men were kidnapped to be exchanged for a good hunting dog, but in Hunza they used to fill prisoners with gunpowder, and blow them up for general amusement. His Highness, who is much given to horse-racing, confines his spiritual administration to the collection of taxes throughout Central Asia from his followers or

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

associations, but ceases to be a good native with his own indigenous associations. Therefore, in my humble opinion, of all the unfortunate specimens of mankind, the most degraded are those who, under the guise of being Europeanised and, therefore, reformers, have themselves the greatest necessity for reform. Their mind has become completely unhinged, thereby showing us that if we Europeans wish to do good among Orientals we can do so best by living good lives in the midst of professors of other religions, this being also in accordance with the 13th edict of Asoka. 000

This Druse covenant makes the mad Fatimite ruler of Egypt, Hákim, the "Lord of the Universe." As I said before, the present "Lord of the Universe" for the Hunzas is the lineal descendant of the 7th Imám, a resident of Bombay, one to whom the Muláis make pilgrimages, instead of going to Mecca or to Kerbelá. You may imagine that, even as regards the Druses, there must be something higher than *their* "Lord of the Universe;" but, such as he is, it is with him that this covenant is made. Reverting to his living colleague, the Indian "Lord," it may be stated that there are men scattered throughout India of whose influence we have only the faintest conception. I pointed out in 1866 that if any one wanted to follow successfully my footsteps is Dardistan, he would have to get recommendations from His Highness Aga Khan of Bombay, and I am glad to say that Col. Lockhart has taken advantage of that recommendation. The Druse "Lord of the Universe" is regarded as one with whom nothing can be compared. The Druses are to render him the most implicit obedience, and to carry out his behests at the loss of everything, good name, wealth, and life, with the view of obtaining the favour of one who may be taken to be God; but the sentence is so constructed as to make him, if not God, only second to God; in other words, only just a discrimination between God as the distant ruler of the Universe and, perhaps, some lineal descendant of Hákim, or rather, Hákim himself as an ever-living being, as the ruler of *this* world. This and some other prayers, with some songs, one amongst which breathes the greatest hatred to Muhammedanism, and speaks of the destruction of Mecca as something to look forward to, seem to be deserving of study. There are also references in them to rites 000

776 [788] 795

~~121~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
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AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 805 D [178]

The ordinary Mahommedan calendar is, however, coming into use, especially among the Ashimadek class. The days of the week are named according to the Mahommedan calendar, except that Friday is named Adinna.

In Bushkar and Torwal, the Mahommedan calendar is followed. In the latter place the ordinary names are preserved, in the former the months are named—

Hussan Hoosein.	Sooepi (*Great month*).
Safar.	Shokudder.
Purum ishpo (*First sister*).	Roz.
Dowim ishpo (*Second sister*).	Lokyūl (*Small festival*).
Tlooi ishpo (*Third sister*).	Miâna (*Intervening*).
Chot ishpo (*Fourth sister*).	Gânyūl (*Great festival*).

D B 821

The constellation of the Great Bear is called "the maiden's corpse," the four corner stars being supposed to represent a bier: the small star above the middle star of the tail is called the "star of life," as it is supposed to be invisible to a person forty days before death. The pleiades are called the flock of sheep; a comet, "the star with a tail," is supposed to portend the death of a king. The milky way is called the "track of the cow and horse," the tradition being that in the broad part about the middle the horse fell down from going too fast, while the cow travelled safely. The world is supposed to rest on the horns of a cow, which shakes its head occasionally at the sins of the inhabitants, and so causes earthquakes.

D B 823

D B 776

The west and south are always spoken of as up, and the north and east as down. A man going west or south to a place talks of going up to it. Fairies and demons that live in caves among the mountains or in desert places, have a prominent place in the belief of the Dards. Dr. Leitner has already given an account of the Yetch and its female counterpart the Rooé. In Boorishki they are known as Phoot and Billuss. Madness is supposed to be caused by a demon casting its shadow over a person, while the shadow of a fairy confers the gift of prophecy. Demons assume the appearance of human beings to lure men to destruction, but they are recognisable by their feet being turned backwards.

D B [828]

D B 776 787 784

In Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager the ruler's family is supposed to be specially under the protection of a guardian fairy called Yoodeni. A drum, called the Yoodeni drum, is always kept on the top of the ruler's castle. When it is heard to sound at certain festivals and at critical times it presages good fortune. Nobody must try to see the Yoodeni, or look in that direction

~~12~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 Av 3 Dard Av 3
Burusho Av 7.

when the drum is heard; if he did so, some evil would be certain to happen to the daring individual, the least he could expect would be that his head would be twisted round to his back, and remain so for the rest of his life. A warlike expedition undertaken without the sounding of the Yoodeni drum would certainly end in disaster.

Trial by appeal to the ordeal of fire is still practised. Seven paces are measured, and a red-hot axe-head is placed on the open palm of the accused, on which a green leaf has first been spread. He must then deposit the hot iron at the spot appointed seven paces distant, and should any mark of a burn remain on his hand, it is a proof of guilt. The Vakeel of the Thum of Hunza on one occasion offered to subject himself to the ordeal before me, in order to clear his master of a false accusation.

Magic has a prominent place in Dard ideas, and many individuals are credited with the power of exercising magical arts. The rulers of Hunza and Nager are credited by their subjects with the power of producing rain. During a very severe winter I captured a full-grown markhor, which had wandered during the night into the cultivated land. The occurrence being unusual, the animal was at once regarded as a *jin*, and a deputation came to me shortly after it was captured, asking me to release it lest it should bring misfortune on the place. The death of the Wuzeer, which happened unexpectedly a few days afterwards, is still ascribed to the occurrence. Written charms are in great request, and every person wears one or more suspended to different parts of the dress by circular brass buckles. Those most in demand are charms conferring invulnerability and courage on the wearer. Charms are also attached to the mane and forelock of favourite horses. Certain springs are supposed to have the power of causing tempests if anything impure, such as a cowskin, is placed in them. This seems to have been an old and widely-spread superstition. Baber mentions it in his memoirs. "Some books mention that in Ghazni there is a fountain, into which if any filth or ordure be thrown, immediately there rises a tempest and hurricane with snow and rain."[1] The same is mentioned by another writer.[2] "Many days elapsed without the opponents having engaged each other, when it was mentioned to Mahmood that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring into which if a mixture of ordure should be thrown, the sky would immediately become overcast, and a dreadful

[1] Baber's Memoirs by Erskine, p. 149. [2] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 16.

Chapter 26

DIGRESSION TO YASIN

WE had intended to start on Friday, March 20th, but after a 177
couple of hellish days packing, clearing up correspondence, developing, printing, washing photographs, and tidying the house so as to leave all in order for our absence, we found that we must postpone till Saturday. This apparently unimportant alteration in our plans caused evident jubilation amongst the servants. "Why are you all so pleased?" I asked Zaidu. "Well, you see, Mother, it is said not to be lucky to start downstream on a Friday; upstream is all right, but not down." I said that if they felt like that they should have told us and we should have gladly changed the day to oblige them. "What should you have done if we had insisted on starting on a Friday?" "Oh, we'd have managed all right. We'd have said good-bye and left our own houses and camped on Thursday night in your compound, and so we should not have had to *begin* the journey on Friday." Wonderful people! The few superstitions they half-heartedly indulge (which we suspect they have caught in this mild form from their superstition-ridden neighbours, the Shins) they are always prepared and able to outwit.

We got off at nine on March 21st in lovely weather, at 000
once warm and cool. Quite a large crowd assembled to say good-bye and see us start, our friends shouting: "Come back soon. We shall miss you." As we rode through Murtazabad we saw the first occasional fruit blossoms and felt sad to be leaving Hunza behind in apricot time. Slight steam was rising from the sulphur springs by the river as we passed. Later, in 136
Nagir, we saw the first wasps of the year and the first butter-

1. *tʌp*, pl. *-oŋ*, EOL *-uŋ*, y leaflet, petal; leaf, page (of book). — *iski tʌp ʒɪqa* 3-leaved grass, i.e. trefoil, clover. 777

Specimens with four or more leaflets are searched for, and those with 4 and 6 leaflets are considered "lucky".

(Perhaps the same word is to be seen in Sh. *tʌpi bʌt*, very thin stone, shale).

2. *thʌp -ičʌŋ* y night. — *thʌp uyom* all night. *sa thʌp* day and night. 116.15. *tʌpe, tʌpe.i* at night. 4.16, 94,1. *thʌpmo* at night. *ɪ·te th'ʌpe.i* (or, *thʌpər*) that night. *trʌŋ thʌp, thʌpe trʌŋ* midnight. *ku·lto nɪm thʌp* last night. *er tʌp mʌnimi* it became night for him, i.e. night overtook him. 234.2. *tʌp bilom* it was night. 198.1. Cp. 358.7, 384.9. Prov 26. 000

(Cp. Chilāsi Sh. *tʌp*, dark).

ʈʌpʈʌp with a tapping sound. — *hərʌlt ʈʌpʈʌp mai.ibila* the rain is tapping down. *ʒu yaw ne ʈʌpʈʌp šel'iči.en* the apricots are falling tap, tap, tap.

(Cp. Sh, *tʌptʌp*, dropping, spitting of rain).

1. *tʌq* *-*ʌtʌs*.

V.t. to break into pieces, smash, cut up. — *sʌnduqʌʈe dʌn isərk tʌq ne gʌtom di.usin* smash down a stone on the box and breaking it up take out the clothes. 24.18. *gutʌs tʌq ne* cutting up the corpse into bits. 226.3. *čʌp taq* (i.e. *tʌq*) *netʌn* cutting up the meat. 338,14, 340,12, 384.23.

V.i. *tʌq mʌnʌ·s, tʌq* *-*mʌnʌs* to break in pieces, be smashed, crushed. — *ikərenɛ tʌq imʌnimi. i·se tʌq imʌnom čʌma* . . . (the brooch) broke in pieces of itself. The brooch that was broken in pieces. 164.18. *tʌq*

3456

771 sweeper; I heard only one muezzin sound the Call to Prayer—
788 and saw no one pay heed to it. He was chanting from a cliff in the Mir's garden, and the Mir gathers round him craftsmen of
● 778 every sort. There are a few shrines in the country reputed
796 holy—including two burial places of Moses within a few
788 hundred yards of each other on one mountain side—where a few rags on sticks flutter unconvincingly in the wind; and one, the shrine of Baba Ghundi in Chupursan, some seven days' march above Báltít, is the object of an occasional pilgrimage. On Tuesdays and Fridays there are said to be services in the House of Assembly, which has supplanted the older Shiah mosque, but I never observed one of our servants or neighbours absent himself from work to go to them.

771 Yet the people are by no means without faith. It is difficult
181 to know exactly what even church-going Christians of our own
775 country effectively believe—it is impossible to be sure what one effectively believes oneself—so I can offer only a tentative guess as to the average person's simple credo. The Hunzukuts hold, I think, a comforting, unquestioning faith in a good and kindly God, whose ways they cannot profess to understand. They meet bereavement with a murmur that "there is no remedy against the will of God"; they bury their loved ones with genuine sorrow, but without anxiety. They feel that "it is well with the child," and vaguely trust that some day, somewhere, somehow, they will meet again. They assume as axiomatic that God asks of them diligence and truth, fair-dealing and goodwill. They are hard-working and thrifty, tolerant to others; kind and affectionate in the home, gentle to children and the aged; generous beyond their means to the orphan; truthful and just; and they go about their daily work in the happy confidence that God is well pleased. If they din no perfunctory prayers into His ears, there are occasions when they heartily and humbly pray, as will presently be seen.

771 The Hunzukuts is no mystic, no poet, no artist. This life
181 claims his full attention if he is to live at all; philosophic speculation about "fixed fate, freewill, fore-knowledge absolute" does not line his brow or disturb his rest, nor does he "keep in duty through the toilsome day, because of praise

No. XXXI.

The Misgār Shrine, Aqtash.

At Misgār there is a shrine of which the name is Aqtash. In Turki they call a white stone "aq tash." The Kirgiz had given it the name. 539 778

Then they say that oil used to come out of the stone. Its proper name in Turki was "yāghtash." They call oil "yāgh." They used to call it the "Oil-Exuding-Stone."

In early times the Kirgiz were settled in Misgār. They had made this stone into a shrine for themselves. Even now the Misgāris go to it, and the men salām and the women wave their hands. And the Misgār people take goats and go there and sacrifice them. [782] From old times they have fixed up horns on (the wall round) it, after they have been hunting.

Oil exudes from the stone.

That is all there is to tell.

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8 *iserts* — a note adds: *ba·ltse dəli bam* 'they fix them on the wall'. It is a common practice to fix horns on the enclosure walls of shrines and mosques. [783]

10 *ise dənalom* — possibly means: 'from the environs of the stone' as opposed to *dəntsom* (l. 3) 'from the stone itself'. But perhaps *dənolom* — 'from inside the stone' — was intended.

~~Biddulph~~ G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

The precepts and observances of the sect are difficult to ascertain, one of their sayings being that "a man should conceal his faith and his women;" and the little I have been able to ascertain is from Maulais who have proselytized, and those only men of no education. D 795 B 795

Soonnees speak of them as "Kaffirs" and "Rafizi," but they themselves do not refuse to pray or eat with Soonnees. They are sometimes accused of worshipping Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and accordingly styled "Ali-purust," and they undoubtedly esteem Ali, who, they say, was born of Light as superior to the Prophet Mahommed, and an incarnation of the deity. They reject the idea of a future state, believing in the transmigration of souls. Evil deeds are punished by the spirit being translated into a dog or other mean animal. Good actions are rewarded by a future incarnation as a great or holy man. They claim little in common with other sects of Mahommedans, saying, the Soonnee is a dog and the Shiah is an ass. They question the divine character of the Koran, though they say that it was entrusted to the Angel Gabriel to give to Ali, but that he gave it by mistake to Mahommed.

They use in place of the Koran a book called the Kalam-i-Pir, a Persian work, which is shown to none but men of their faith. The precept most commonly quoted by them is, that a man should blind himself, so that he should not be moved with envy at sight of his neighbour's prosperity; he should weaken his hands, so that they can grasp nothing belonging to others; and lame himself, that he may be unable to disobey the commands of his Pir. Cattle that have strayed into standing crops are not to be driven out till they have satisfied themselves. A good Maulai is already as one dead, prayers therefore are unnecessary, as also is fasting. If any forcible attempt should be made to cause a Maulai to fast, he should resist it by devouring a pinch of dust. The only pilgrimage enjoined is to the living head of their faith, who is styled the Imam-i-Zeman, or Sahib-i-Zeman. Marriage can be performed by any man whose beard is white. Seating himself with the bridegroom on his right hand and the bride on his left, he takes a few pieces of roasted sheep's liver in both hands, and crossing his arms gives them to the man with his left hand and to the woman with his right. Then taking a cup of water he gives half to the woman, and after he has said a few words out of the Kalam-i-Pir, the ceremony is completed. The form of the Maulai Kalima is

D B [782] D B [779] D B [585]

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

or blame that comes at night." I may be misinterpreting his attitude of mind. These are not subjects you can thresh out as easily as the wheat, and neither his vocabulary nor mine would have sufficed to tackle them. But this I can vouch for, that every face you see looks restfully content, breaks readily into a happy smile; that there are in Hunza no nervous gestures and no haunted eyes, and in normal life no irritable words. There is little amiss with a faith which spells happiness and high-principled living without debasing fear of Hell or over-conscious hope of Heaven.

When the final crops of every kind are safely in, the first duty of the paterfamilias is to take stock of the year's yield. So much is set aside for seed-grain, and not the direst shortage will tempt him to violate the sanctity of this; so much is set aside for rent (if he is a tenant) or for the tax due on any craft he pursues—the miller pays a very small tax on his mill, the weaver on his loom-pit, the khalifa on his learning; and all pay (alas!) a sum as "Peter's pence" to their spiritual head, the Agha Khan. Next he calculates the "emergency reserve" that may be needed for hospitality or charity during the coming year; this also is scrupulously put aside unground. On the rest he and his family must live till next harvest, under the careful rationing of the senior housewife, the importance of whose rôle I have already stressed.

The period of comparative—well-earned and welcome—rest that ensues, is inaugurated by a solemn watch-night service of prayer and thanksgiving in the House of Assembly. One of our main difficulties in the early days was to get due notice of such events beforehand. Our people were slow to realize that the normal routine of their affairs could really interest us. The first news we had of this Harvest Thanksgiving Service was one late evening in October when Dádo casually said as he bade us good-night: "I'm off now to the all-night prayer." In answer to our questions he told us that the Assembly Hall and the women's annex would be packed with the entire population, and that the khalifas in rotation would keep up all night a reading of the sacred Persian books and of the Qur'an. "And shall you be able to understand all that they read?" "Oh no,

3t Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging. 526

Religion.

By religion the Burusho of Hunza are Muhammadans of the Isma'ili or, as they term it, Maulái sect, to which, however, they were converted from Shia-ism only three generations ago. 779

With the Maulais, restrictions, formalities and ritual are reduced to a minimum. The masjids of the former Shia days have been abandoned, and have been replaced in recent years by "jamá'atkhánas". There are no mullahs of the ordinary type. Instead there are khalifs (pl. khalifátting; xali·fa, xali·fa·tin), who are more servants of the public — being called in chiefly to perform the necessary ritual at marriages and funerals — than its spiritual leaders or teachers. Spiritual authority rests with the Pír, in this case 'Abdul Ma'ni, son of the late Shahzada Lais of Chitral. He himself now lives in Zébák. He replaced the honoured Pír Jaláli Shah, latterly resident in Ishkoman, who died in February 1931. Two of the latter's daughters were taken in succession as his principal wife by the present Tham of Hunza, which affords an indication of the Pír's status in the country. 795 793

Religious observances and prescriptions do not play any very evident part in the life of the Burusho of Hunza, but this does not appear to have any prejudicial effect on their character or conduct. They seem to have firmly planted in them the root of morality and the social and domestic virtues. The Maulais pay tribute to the Agha Khan, the head of the sect. The Burusho of Nagir are Shiahs (pl. Shiátting; ši·a·tin), a more rigorous and formal school, but they do not indulge in a fanatical interpretation of the duties and implications of religion. They mildly contemn the "mog[illegible]" (Maulais) as misguided heretics and imperfect Muslims. 788 795 798

Social and Administrative Organisation.

The life of the people is based on the family, and then on the village or community groups which live within definite geographical 621

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
[P. 40-A]
Hunza

142
291
302
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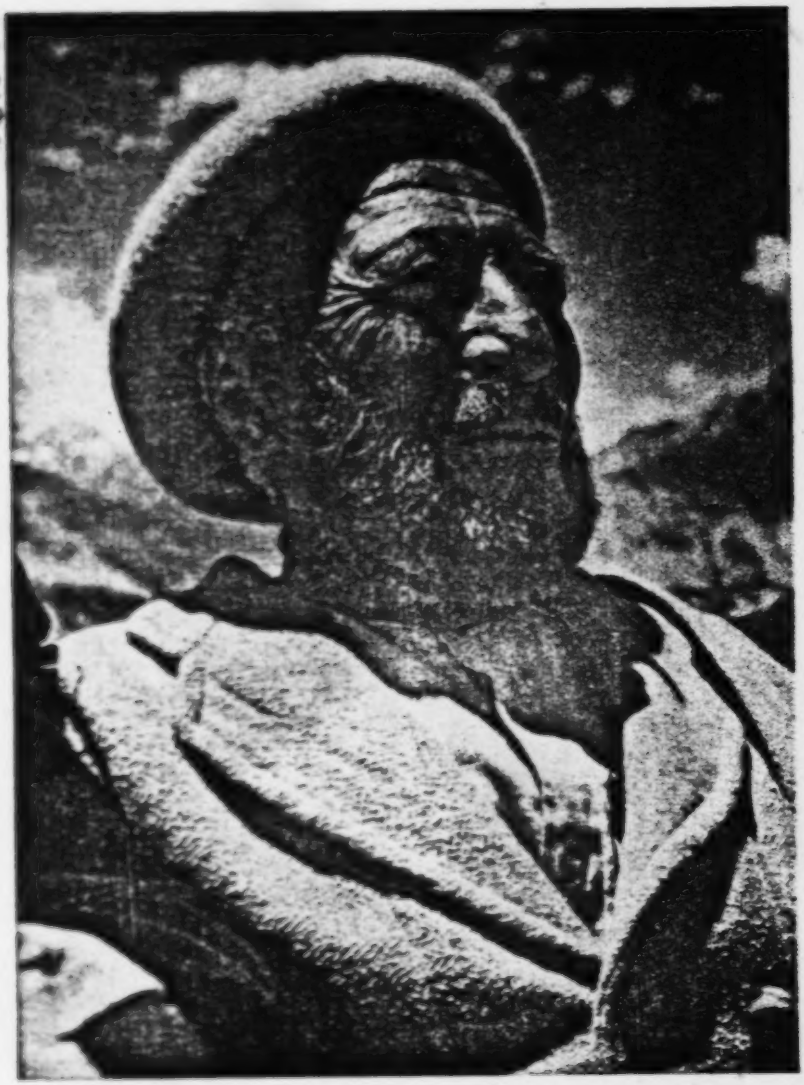

FABLED ELDERS of Hunza are products of rugged mountain life, scarcity, Moslem faith, and an autocratic tradition. If they exaggerate age, it is done to claim society's veneration.

8:Clark N-S (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burushо AV7
Hunza
[P 90-B]

121 In Hunza, say the romanticists, a race
[77] of Moslems—descended, according to their traditions, from the lost legions of Alexander the Great—exist in a Himalayan paradise, thrive on simple foods, live a life free of the corruptions of Western civilization, and reach ages of 120 to 140, the men still fathering children when more than 90 years of age. After being exposed to the realities of Hunza life, one feels more than a sense of irony when he comes upon these representations of a way of life that is among the bitterest in Asia. The "Healthy Hunzas," the "Democratic Court," and the "Land Where There Are No Poor" — almost all of this is born of too-hurried observation by Western tourists.

148 Politically, Hunza is a protectorate
206 of Pakistan, which controls its foreign

Lt Leitner L-3 (1886-93) 18707 AV3 Dad AV3

080 8 197 B [779] 8 [142]

the opposite Hunza. The language of Nagyr and Hunza is the Non-Aryan Khajuná and no affinity between that language and any other has yet been traced. The Nagyris are mostly Shiahs. They are short and stout and fairer than the people of Hunza [the Kunjûtis] who are described* as "tall skeletons" and who are desperate robbers. The Nagyris understand Tibetan, Persian and Hindustani. Badakhshan merchants were the only ones who could travel with perfect safety through Yassen, Chitral and Hunza.

DANCES†

D 535 B [535]

Fall into two main divisions: "slow" or "Bûti Harip" = Slow Instrument" and Quick "Danni Harip," = Quick Instrument. The Yassen, Nagyr and Hunza people dance quickest; then come the Gilgitis; then the Astóris; then the Baltis, and slowest of all are the Ladakis.

When all join in the dance, cheer or sing with gesticulations, the dance or recitative is called "thapnatt" in Gilgiti, and "Burró" in Astóri.

When there is a solo dance it is called "nàtt" in Gilgiti, and "aott" in Astóri.

"Cheering" is called "Halamush" in Ghilgiti, and "Halamûsh" in Astóri. Clapping of hands is called "tza" Cries of "Yú, Yú dea; tza thea, Hiú Hiú dea; Halamush thea; shabâsh" accompany the performances.

There are several kinds of Dances. The PRASULKI NATE, is danced by ten or twelve people ranging themselves behind the bride as soon as she reaches the bridegroom's house. This custom is observed at Astor. In this dance men swing above sticks or whatever they may happen to hold in their hands.

The BURO' NATT is a dance performed on the Nao holiday, in which both men and women engage—the women forming a ring round the central group of dancers, which is composed of men. This dance is called THAPPNATT at

* By the people of Gilgit.

† A few remarks made under this head and that of music have been taken from Part II, pages 32 and 21, of my "Dardistan," in order to render the accounts more intelligible.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1876) 1880 ~~AV1 Afghanistan AV2~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Durusha AV7

CHAPTER VIII.

FESTIVALS.

D 241 779 B 241 779 IN spite of the general conversion of the tribes to Mahommedanism, ancient semi-religious festivals, mostly connected with agriculture, are still observed by them more or less in accordance with ancient customs. About Gilgit, where Mahommedan ways of thought have as yet only penetrated skin-deep, the festivals are still observed with little less ceremony than formerly, and are called "Shiné baradesi," or "Great days of the Shins," which would appear to show that they are mainly of Shin introduction. The dates of the festivals connected with ploughing, sowing, and reaping, differ slightly according to the proper seasons for those operations in different places.

D 241 B 241 The first festival is that of *Nás*, at the time of the winter solstice in celebration of the beginning of the new year, which, according to ancient computation, commenced then. The name *Nás* means "fattening," and alludes to the slaughtering of cattle which takes place. The first day is one of work, and is devoted in every household to dressing and storing the carcases of bullocks, sheep, and goats slaughtered a few days previously. This is done by drying them in a particular way, so that they remain fit for food for several months. This is necessary because the pastures have become covered with snow, and only sufficient fodder is stored to keep a few animals alive through the winter.[1] The next morning, two hours before day-light, the *Talewi*[2] celebration takes place. Bonfires are lighted, and everybody flocks to the Shawaran, torch in hand. The drums sound summoning all laggards, and as the first streaks of day-light appear, the torches are thrown in the direction of Gilgit, or in that place are scattered about at pleasure. Singing, dancing, and polo go on through the day, and are continued at intervals daily for a whole month.

[1] A similar process of curing meat is practised in Cabul.
[2] *Talewi* is the name given to a bundle of strips of wood bound together and used as a torch.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XIV.

Boʸyo Galɛ Čaγa.

000 Qadiʸm zamanaʸtsum Kəramo Dərbeš sɛnas hirane basi.uʸlo han galɛn bilum. Iʸtɛ iʸk Boʸyo Gal se.ibam.

Yərum zamanaʸtsum čaγa ɛčʿam iʸtɛ gal yaʸrɛ huqe gukuʸrišo ju.an jaʸndaʸrik duwašači bim se.ibaʸn. Hunzu.ɛ sisɛ iʸtsɛ u.iʸliki bam. Iʸtsər Boʸyo se.ibam.

Iʸtɛ gal hin Mano Baγʿərtham sɛnasane dɛlimi se.ibaʸn. Čərap ɛtase kʿaʸ tɛʸlɛ iʸrimi se.ibaʸn. Da gamuntsum iʸtɛ gal da duʸsilum. Aʸlto jakər šərkʿo bim. Hin hirane han šəran čərap ɛtʿam. Iʸn čoko čaʸko imanam seibaʸn. Han dyu.asum iʸse šər hin Mamad Ša sɛnasane čərap ɛtimi seibaʸn. ʿEtasər iʸn kɛ čəratum xau wʿalimi.

Dakiʸlatɛ u.iʸrasər ər nuʸman han damuʸan fat ɛtuman se.ibaʸn. Iʸse damo tamiʸni yər dɛn kɛ bim. Hin Yaqiʸn sɛnasane damantsum hukum nuka iʸse čərap nʿetan haʸlər dʿitsimi. Ditsasər tapɛ yuʸlji

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1 *zamanaʸtsum* — this unusual form of the word is due to the concentration of stress on the third syllable: an apparently arbitrary proceeding.

Kəramo Dərbeš — i. e. *Dərbeš*, son of *Kəramo*, is, as will appear, the present owner. He was still living in 1924 as an old man of the Diramiting. The *Mano Baγərtham*, mentioned below, l. 6, also belonged to the Diramiting.

4—5 *u.iʸliki bam* — it is difficult to know how exactly to translate this. "Worship" probably implies too much, "pay consideration, or attention, to" is perhaps nearer the mark. In practice people put down food for the Boyo.

The word is also used of appeasing or placating ordinary human beings or of doing them honour, and seems to correspond very closely in use with the Shina *šiloʸki*.

6—7 *čərap ɛtase ka tɛʸlɛ iʸrimi* — I think it is meant that the moment he perpetrated the deed he fell dead on the spot.

No. XXXI.

The Misgār Shrine, Aqtash.

At Misgār there is a shrine of which the name is Aqtash. In Turki they call a white stone "aq tash." The Kirgiz had given it the name. 778

Then they say that oil used to come out of the stone. Its proper name in Turki was "yāghtash." They call oil "yāgh." They used to call it the "Oil-Exuding-Stone."

In early times the Kirgiz were settled in Misgār. They had made this stone into a shrine for themselves. Even now the Misgāris go to it, and the men salām and the women wave their hands. And the Misgār people take goats and go there and sacrifice them. [782] From old times they have fixed up horns on (the wall round) it, after they have been hunting.

Oil exudes from the stone.

That is all there is to tell.

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8 *iscte* — a note adds: *bavlise dili bava* 'they fix them on the wall'. It is a common practice to fix horns on the enclosure walls of shrines and mosques. [779]

10 *ise danalum* — possibly means: 'from the environs of the stone' as opposed to *danisum* (l. 3) 'from the stone itself'. But perhaps *danalum* — 'from inside the stone' — was intended.

turn him back! *ɨlji ayɛltʌlʌn* 000
don't turn him back!

3. to wave round, revolve v.t. H. *fɪraʷna:* — (*thʌmər*) *gʊbiŋʌntɛ uriŋ(ɛi.) 'ɛltʌlai.i baʷn* the women wave their hands (in compliment) to the Tham. 290.7.

This is a demonstration of reverence made by women to the Tham, a shrine etc. They wave their two hands with a circular motion in front of the body, each hand inwards, upwards, outwards, downwards, and so on. They remain sitting while doing this. 782

Cs. of *-*ltʌlʌnʌs*, cp. also *tʌlɛʷnʌs*.

*-*ʌltʌlik*, *-*ʌltik*, pl., Adj. and Pron. 000
both, the two of. — *mɛʷ-*, *maʷ-*, *oʷ-* both of us, we two, both of you, both of them. — *oʷltʌlik bʌlkoŋ* both planks. *mɛltʌlik niyʌs amiʷmʌnumʌn* neither of us had to go. EOL. Cp. 42.1, 148.10, 198.5. V. § 177.

*-*ʌlt(h)aiyʌs*, *-*ʌlt(h)ʌč-*.

1. to put (shoes) on s.o. else; to cause s.o. to put on (shoes).

In the 3 examples available the first meaning would best suit the sense, and in the third of them the second meaning is unsuitable. See note on *-*ʌbilʌs*.

yuʷtiŋolo kʌfɨamots ɛʷltai.in, and *yuʷtiŋolo kʌfɨa 'ɛʷltai.in* put ye shoes on his feet. 368.14, 373.19. *goʷltʌčər bɛsʌn aiy'aiyɛʷʌm* I got nothing to put on you, i.e. to shoe you with. 156.20. Cs. form of 2. *-*ltaiyʌs*, cp. also 3. *i(h)aiyʌs*.

2. In an obscure note I have: *yuʷmʊlonɔ ɛʷltʌmi* glossed "he joined on".

The idea, I think, is that "he

000 (f IUB. *biʃʌn* is a synonym of Sh. *daiyʌl*).

bi·ts N. *-ai·nts* x front facing of choga. (But Cp. Kho. *bi·ts*, the space between the choga and the breast when the choga is tied round the waist, bosom, Prs. *bʌγʌl*. This seems equivalent to Bu. *-soγuʃ*).

bi·um, neg. *ʌpi·um*, N. they (x pl.) were = Hz. *bi·m*.

bi-ɯvqu·f v. *be-uku·f*.

biyaba·n, *-iŋ* y desert. Prs.

bisaw vexed, annoyed. — *uŋtsum bisaw imanai.i* he has become vexed with you. 20.12. Prs.

bo y pl., double plural *bo·čiŋ*. 1. seed (of corn). 2. y sg. semen, H. *nutfa*, *mani*. — *bo ʒiyʌs*, *bo jali.ʌs* to sow, scatter seed. Cp. 242.8, 18 ff.

bodo y Wednesday. (Cp. Sh. *bo·do*, H. *budh*).

boγəra, *boγəra uʃ*, male camel. Turki.

776 *bo·in*, pl. *bo·yo*, x some kind of divine
782 or sacred being; in the plural: animals like puppies to which offerings used to be made.

At *Hi·ni* there used to be animals like puppies for which people used to put offerings at the foot of rocks and trees.

The *bo·yo* came out of holes and ate the offerings. This cult was maintained by the *Hi·ni* people till a few years ago when it was stopped by the Hunza authorities. They slaughtered animals in the name of the *bo·yo*.

According to one statement the *bo·yo* lived at a spot a little above *Hi·ni* Fort known as the *Dadimo Lari*.

There were also *bo·yo* resembling puppies which lived under a juniper tree in the garden of a man called

5; Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935
AV7 Burusho AV7

Kərʌmo Dərbeʿs in Diramitiŋ territory, v. Text No. XIV.. 776 782

See my article in JRAS of July 1929, pp. 507—36. [113]

Sahaʿla Bo in ke Haʿlasa Boʿin names of two Boʿin's in whose names oaths were taken. 250.9. *itser boʿyo se.ibʌm* they called them "*boʿyo*". 214.5. *sisɛ itse u.iʿliki bʌm* people used to worship, or placate, them. 214.4. *boʿyo u.iʿlikiʿnʌs*, (pl. *u.iʿlikiʿnʌšo*), a boʿyo-worshipper, a heathen, (cp, *boi.indurgʌs*).

bokʌl y pl. seed-grain (of cereals). — *guke bokʌle gur bitsʌŋ* this is wheat seed-grain. 000

boʿmo y pl. seed (of corn). (The -mo is only an expletive, conveying at most a sense of multiplicity and indefiniteness). — *da boʿmo da uʿlji yərər gur hərі nʿoʿusin* putting aside wheat and barley for seed and funeral rites. 332.11.

boʿnis a round lump of dough (2 or 3 inches or more in diameter for making cake of bread from). — *hʌn boʿnisʌne tha hoʿlər daudo 'ed.ʌm* I (can) make "daudo" for 100 troops with one lump of dough. 176.23.

boʿno, *-muts* x plait of hair rolled up and knotted into a ball at the end. 302

The Hunza women wear their hair in two such plaits one at each side of the head. Formerly the men also wore their hair long and dressed it in *bono's* or twisted in spirals.

A N. y pl. form "*boʿniŋ*" was recorded. (Cp. Sh. *boʿno*).

bopʃʌu "seed-scattering". — *bopʃʌu ʃtʌs* to perform the ceremony of initiating the seed-sowing in the Spring. V. Text No. XIII. 241

L: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

795 believers, and the believers themselves represent what is still left of the doctrine of the Sheik-ul-Jabl or the Ancient of the Mountain, the head of the so-called Assassins, a connexion of the Mahdi; if he was the Mahdi, or the supposed Mahdi in the Soudan. I consider he was not the Mahdi as foretold in Muhammedan tradition; but, be that as it may, the 7th Imám of the Shiahs has given rise to the sects both of the Druses in the Lebanon and to the Hunzas on the Pamir. They are the existing Ismailians, who, centuries ago, under the influence of *Hashish*, the Indian hemp, committed crimes throughout Christendom, and were the terror of Knight-Templars, as "Hashîshîn," corrupted into "Assassins."

Now, I have been fortunate enough, owing to my friendship with the head of their tribe, to obtain some portions of the Kelám-i-pîr volume, which takes the place, really, of the Korán, and of which I have got a portion here. I thought it might not be unworthy of your society to bring this to your knowledge, as a very interesting remnant which throws, *inter alia*, considerable [782] light not only on their doctrine, but also on the Crusades. By a similar favour, I have had the opportunity of hearing the Mithâq, or covenant of the Druses, and that covenant of the Druses is a kind of prayer they offer up to God, not only in connexion with the Old Man of the Mountain, the head of the assassins who began about 1022, but also with those mysterious rites which also take place in what I may call the fairy-land of Hunza. With regard to the covenants, or one of them, which the 000 "U'qelá" or the "initiated" or "wise," as distinguished from the "Juhelá" or "ignorant" "laity," among the Druses, offer up every night, this was used by a so-called educated Druse, one who had been converted to Protestantism,—a very good thing; but, as often happens, with that denationalisation which renders his conversion useless as a means for the promotion of any religion, as there are no indigenous elements for its growth. Such a convert is often unable to obtain a knowledge of the practices of his still unconverted countrymen, as nobody can be looked upon with greater distrust than that native of a country who has unlearnt to think in his own language, and who cannot acquire a foreign language with its associations, which are part of the history of that language; he does not become an Englishman with English

~~22:~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

The precepts and observances of the sect are difficult to ascertain, one of their sayings being that "a man should conceal his faith and his women;" and the little I have been able to ascertain is from Maulais who have proselytized, and those only men of no education. D 795 B 795

Soonnees speak of them as "Kaffirs" and "Rafizi," but they themselves do not refuse to pray or eat with Soonnees. They are sometimes accused of worshipping Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and accordingly styled "Ali-purust," and they undoubtedly esteem Ali, who, they say, was born of Light as superior to the Prophet Mahommed, and an incarnation of the deity. They reject the idea of a future state, believing in the transmigration of souls. Evil deeds are punished by the spirit being translated into a dog or other mean animal. Good actions are rewarded by a future incarnation as a great or holy man. They claim little in common with other sects of Mahommedans, saying, the Soonnee is a dog and the Shiah is an ass. They question the divine character of the Koran, though they say that it was entrusted to the Angel Gabriel to give to Ali, but that he gave it by mistake to Mahomned.

They use in place of the Koran a book called the Kalam-i-Pir, a Persian work, which is shown to none but men of their faith. The precept most commonly quoted by them is, that a man should blind himself, so that he should not be moved with envy at sight of his neighbour's prosperity; he should weaken his hands, so that they can grasp nothing belonging to others; and lame himself, that he may be unable to disobey the commands of his Pir. Cattle that have strayed into standing crops are not to be driven out till they have satisfied themselves. A good Maulai is already as one dead, prayers therefore are unnecessary, as also is fasting. If any forcible attempt should be made to cause a Maulai to fast, he should resist it by devouring a pinch of dust. The only pilgrimage enjoined is to the living head of their faith, who is styled the Imam-i-Zeman, or Sahib-i-Zeman. Marriage can be performed by any man whose beard is white. Seating himself with the bridegroom on his right hand and the bride on his left, he takes a few pieces of roasted sheep's liver in both hands, and crossing his arms gives them to the man with his left hand and to the woman with his right. Then taking a cup of water he gives half to the woman, and after he has said a few words out of the Kalam-i-Pir, the ceremony is completed. The form of the Maulai Kalima is

D B. [782] D B [779] D B [585]

sufficiently severe. Happily winter is short, two or three months at most, and for the rest of the year day and night are spent mainly out of doors.

The social culture of the Burusho of Hunza is as high as their material culture is primitive. Three centuries of Islam—they are now Ismaili heretics, having been Shiahs until three or four generations ago—have not induced them to veil or despise their indomitable women, nor to abandon the wholesome tradition of exogamy between their different clans in favour of first-cousin marriage. They are freer from superstition and fanaticism than any people east or west of whom I have heard or read. Whatever be the esoteric teaching of the Ismailis of which Professor Ivanov might tell, it concerns the Hunza peasant as little as the homoousian controversy disturbs the mind of the British schoolboy. He goes his way in cheerful confidence that hard work, fair dealing, kindly affection and generosity must be as well pleasing to God the Merciful, the Compassionate, as ritual prayer or ceremonial fast, and his dreams are not broken by over-anxious fear of Hell or hope of Heaven.

The fastidiousness and personal cleanliness of the Hunza peasant are remarkable. Close packed amongst the crowd at festivals or sitting on the threshing floor amongst the workers, or entertained in their hospitable houses, we were never distressed by human exhalations or molested by parasites. The drinking water is guarded with scrupulous care from pollution by man or beast. Men and women cooperate without embarrassment or restraint and no work is taboo for either sex, though for obvious reasons the heavier jobs of wall-building, irrigation and ploughing fall more naturally to the man, and the care of infants to the woman. But as soon as the father is allowed to handle his child, he will carry the baby proudly and tenderly out for its first airings, while boys and girls alike play with and watch over the toddlers.

Again and again, in face of the high morality and unquenchable spirit of the Hunzukuts, we were ashamed to think of what in our vaunted civilization 'man has made of man'.

~~121~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4
AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D 805 D [178] The ordinary Mahommedan calendar is, however, coming into use, especially among the Ashimadek class. The days of the week are named according to the Mahommedan calendar, except that Friday is named Adinna.

In Bushkar and Torwal, the Mahommedan calendar is followed. In the latter place the ordinary names are preserved, in the former the months are named—

Hussan Hoosein.	Sooepi (*Great month*).
Safar.	Shokudder.
Purum ishpo (*First sister*).	Roz.
Dowim ishpo (*Second sister*).	Lokyül (*Small festival*).
Tlooi ishpo (*Third sister*).	Miâna (*Intervening*).
Chot ishpo (*Fourth sister*).	Gânyül (*Great festival*).

D B 821 The constellation of the Great Bear is called "the maiden's corpse," the four corner stars being supposed to represent a bier: the small star above the middle star of the tail is called the "star of life," as it is supposed to be invisible to a person forty days before death. The pleiades are called the flock of sheep; a comet, "the star with a tail," is supposed to portend the death of a king. The milky way is called the "track of the cow and horse," the tradition being that D B 823 in the broad part about the middle the horse fell down from going too fast, while the cow travelled safely. The world is supposed to rest on the horns of a cow, which shakes its head occasionally at the sins of the inhabitants, and so causes earthquakes.

D B 776 The west and south are always spoken of as up, and the north and east as down. A man going west or south to a place talks of going up to it. Fairies and demons that live in caves among the mountains or in desert places, have a prominent place in the belief of the Dards. Dr. Leitner has D B [828] already given an account of the Yetch and its female counterpart the Rooé. In Boorishki they are known as Phoot and Billuss. Madness is supposed to be caused by a demon casting its shadow over a person, while the shadow of a fairy confers the gift of prophecy. Demons assume the appearance of human beings to lure men to destruction, but they are D recognisable by their feet being turned backwards.

B 776 787 784 In Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager the ruler's family is supposed to be specially under the protection of a guardian fairy called Yoodeni. A drum, called the Yoodeni drum, is always kept on the top of the ruler's castle. When it is heard to sound at certain festivals and at critical times it presages good fortune. Nobody must try to see the Yoodeni, or look in that direction

~~121~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUI Afghanistan AUI~~
4 Av 3 Dard Av 3
Burushe Av 7

when the drum is heard; if he did so, some evil would be certain to happen to the daring individual, the least he could expect would be that his head would be twisted round to his back, and remain so for the rest of his life. A warlike expedition undertaken without the sounding of the Yoodeni drum would certainly end in disaster.

Trial by appeal to the ordeal of fire is still practised. Seven paces are measured, and a red-hot axe-head is placed on the open palm of the accused, on which a green leaf has first been spread. He must then deposit the hot iron at the spot appointed seven paces distant, and should any mark of a burn remain on his hand, it is a proof of guilt. The Vakeel of the Thum of Hunza on one occasion offered to subject himself to the ordeal before me, in order to clear his master of a false accusation.

Magic has a prominent place in Dard ideas, and many individuals are credited with the power of exercising magical arts. The rulers of Hunza and Nager are credited by their subjects with the power of producing rain. During a very severe winter I captured a full-grown markhor, which had wandered during the night into the cultivated land. The occurrence being unusual, the animal was at once regarded as a *jin*, and a deputation came to me shortly after it was captured, asking me to release it lest it should bring misfortune on the place. The death of the Wuzeer, which happened unexpectedly a few days afterwards, is still ascribed to the occurrence. Written charms are in great request, and every person wears one or more suspended to different parts of the dress by circular brass buckles. Those most in demand are charms conferring invulnerability and courage on the wearer. Charms are also attached to the mane and forelock of favourite horses. Certain springs are supposed to have the power of causing tempests if anything impure, such as a cowskin, is placed in them. This seems to have been an old and widely-spread superstition. Baber mentions it in his memoirs. "Some books mention that in Ghazni there is a fountain, into which if any filth or ordure be thrown, immediately there rises a tempest and hurricane with snow and rain."[1] The same is mentioned by another writer.[2] "Many days elapsed without the opponents having engaged each other, when it was mentioned to Mahmood that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring into which if a mixture of ordure should be thrown, the sky would immediately become overcast, and a dreadful

[1] Baber's Memoirs by Erskine, p. 149. [2] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 16.

addressed to each of the four corners of the shed. To our 788
amazement we saw by the light of the flames that the shed was chock full of goats (we had imagined that they would have been cleared out for the ceremony) who seemed not in the least perturbed. Nadíro then came out again and lit a torch of juniper twigs at the fire and went in to wave it similarly into each of the four corners. Bibi Anjír then handed [262]
down a big wooden basin of *múl* which looked like a rather slushy brown pudding with pinkish trimming on top. This festive dish is made only on special occasions, such as a child's birth or the like. Before starting in to eat the *múl* or hand it round, the old man took his stand in the door of the byre and with great dignity and reverence lifted his eyes to heaven and recited the fumigating prayer. Bits of it ran something like this: "O Moses, Holy Prophet, grant that one hundred milking vessels may be required, and that our shears may be used on a hundred sheep! May kid follow after kid and lamb after lamb! May there be rams with curly horns and he-goats with short horns turned in! May milk flow in floods and may the butter pit be filled with butter!"

Happily DL had already got the prayer written down so [233]
we were able to follow it better than if we had been hearing it for the first time, and were even able to note that the Ustád got it a bit mixed in parts. We ascertained what was the point of the "short horns turned in." It is simply a question of packing. The byres are small and the beasts have all got to live crowded together in them throughout the winter, so that a princely he-goat with spreading horns is a disaster to his owner and a danger to his fellows.

Now came the moment when the family and friends would tuck into the *múl*, and we thanked our kind hosts most warmly for letting us see the little ceremony, and fled to the warmth of our own fire and our butterless tea. I was in terror lest we should be pressed to partake of the *múl* which is so special a dish that it was sure to be reeking of priceless *makhsh*—of which we had no wish to rob them.

The next item on the Hunza communal programme is the 585
Great Wedding Day, which falls about mid-December on some 787
Thursday fixed by the Mir, in consultation with the diviners.

000 ɣaɴuki beki the mullah recites(?) the "Xctba". 302.15. Cp. 314.2, ɣ'aɴuɴimi, ɣaf'ɴuimi he read it. 10.10, 70.8 ff. alimɴle ɴahɴ ɣaf'ɴuimi he took lessons, studied, with the learned man. 68.21. ɣaɴuki here they recite, read. 312.6. ɴrtɴy ɣaɴuɴj (or, gaɴuɴj) ... oiyerɴuɴimi he was unable to read the book. 48.6. noy'ɴiɴ having read it. 70.8,10, 302.17. qorow ɣaɴuɴuɴ after reading the qrow. 314.12.

ɣaɴuɴj, v. ɣaɴuɴj, sword.

ɣay left (hand). Cp. ɣayow.

ɣayu, ɣayu -ɴig, ɣayuɴɴ, ɣayuɴɴ; N. gayu pl. gayuɴɴ lame; cripple, H. Langra, Lag. — gayu ɴangu crippled, lame.

ɣaɴ'ɴu ɴiɴ, to snatch up, to snatch away. To scratch (the face) with nails or claws. — gaɴeɴ ɣaɴ'ɴu ɴu ɴanje ɴimi snatching up (her) clothes he held them in the smoke. 14.9, 14.19. (Cp. gaɴ'ɴu. Cp. Sh. gaɴ'ɴu th., to snatch at, lay hands on).

921 ɣaɴuɴi.o x pl. the Pleiades. — ɣaɴ'ɴuɴyu.o
● 781 ɴu'ɴiɴu the Pleiades have overpowered, overthrown, me, H. ɣaɴiɴ kayiya kamaɴu uyu.

Their influence is apparently in general injurious to human interests. If, when going off to bring in grain from the threshing-floor to his house, a man sees the Pleiades, he abandons his intention, as it is an unlucky omen.

000 ɣaiɴaɴu supernatural, not human, H. karamati. — manu ɴaiɴaɴu (B.aeɴ Gewi) ɣaiɴaɴu kam some say that B. G. was (a) supernatural (being). 278.6. (Ar.) Pre.

ɣaiɴi supernatural, magic. — ɣaiɴi gaɴeɴ magic clothes. 24.20. (Ar.) Pre.

182 b

1: Lahnur L-3 (1891-92) 18537 AV3 Dard
Burusha AV7

000 loss of their independence,—I venture to point out the impolicy and injustice of interfering with these principalities.

I have already referred to a letter from the venerable chief of Nagyr, in which he strongly commends to my care one of his sons, Raja Habibulla, as a well-wisher of the English Government. Indeed, he has absolutely done nothing to justify any attack on the integrity of his country; and before we invade it other means to secure peace should be tried. I have no doubt that I, for one, could induce him to comply with everything in reason, if reason, and not
721 an excuse for taking his country, is desired. Nagyr has
567 never joined Hunza in kidnapping expeditions, as is alleged in the above-quoted paragraph. Indeed, slavery is an abomination to the pious and peaceful agriculturist of that
181 interesting country. The Nagyris are musical and were fond
[771] of dances, polo, ibex *kattur*-hunting, archery and shooting from horseback, and other manly exercises; but the growing piety of the race has latterly proscribed music and dancing. The accompanying drawing of a Nagyri dance in the neighbouring Gilgit gives a good idea of similar performances at Nagyr.

787 The country is full of legendary lore, but less so than
791 Hunza, where Grimm's fairy tales appear to be translated into actual life. No war is undertaken except at the supposed command of an unseen fairy, whose drum is on such occasions sounded in the mountains. Ecstatic women, inhaling the smoke of a cedar-branch, announce the future, tell the past, and describe the state of things in neighbouring valleys. They are thus alike the prophets, the historians, and the journalists of the tribe. They probably now tell their indignant hearers how, under the pretext of shooting or of commerce, Europeans have visited their country, which they now threaten to destroy with strange and murderous weapons; but Hunza is "ayeshó," or "heaven-born," and the fairies, if not the inaccessible nature of the
000 country, will continue to protect it.

The folly of invading Hunza and Nagyr is even greater

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

of the sexes, and the management of the State, in theory, is attributed to fairies. No war is undertaken unless the fairy (whom, by the way, one is not allowed to see) gives the command by beating the sacred drum. The witches, who get into an ecstatic state, are the journalists, historians, and prophetesses of the tribe. They tell you what goes on in the surrounding valleys. They represent, as it were, the local *Times;* they tell you the past glories, such as they are, of raids and murders by t' ir tribe; and when the *Tham* or ruler, who is supposed to be heaven-born (there being some mystery about the origin of his dynasty), does wrong, the only one who will dare to tell him the truth is the Dayal, or the witch who prophesies the future, and takes the opportunity of telling the Rajah that, unless he behaves in a manner worthy of his origin, he will come to grief! This is not a common form of popular representation to be met with, say, in India. Grim 's fairy-tales sometimes seem to be translated into practice in Hunza-land, which offers material for discussion alike to those who search for the Huns and to those who search for the very different Honas.

Then with regard to religion, as I said before, though nominally Muhammedan, they are really deniers of all the important precepts of true Muhammedanism, which is opposed to drunkenness, introduces a real brotherhood, and enjoins great cleanliness as absolutely necessary before the spiritual purification by prayer can take place. The people are mostly Muláis, but inferior in piety (?) to those of Zébak, Shignán, Wakhan, and other places. Now, what is that sect? It is represented by His Highness Prince Aga Khan, of Bombay, a person who is not half aware of his importance in those regions, where, till very recently, men were murdered as soon as looked at. One who acknowledges him or has brought some of the water with which he has washed his feet, would always be able to pass through those regions perfectly unharmed! I found my disguise as a Bokhara Mullah in 1866 to be quite useless, as a protection at Gilgit, whence men were kidnapped to be exchanged for a good hunting dog, but in Hunza they used to fill prisoners with gunpowder, and blow them up for general amusement. His Highness, who is much given to horse-racing, confines his spiritual administration to the collection of taxes throughout Central Asia from his followers or

[243]

G-3 (1873-1878) 1880
4
A/3 Dard A/3
Burushi A/7

D 805 D [178]

The ordinary Mahommedan calendar is, however, coming into use, especially among the Ashimadek class. The days of the week are named according to the Mahommedan calendar, except that Friday is named Adinna.

In Bushkar and Torwal, the Mahommedan calendar is followed. In the latter place the ordinary names are preserved, in the former the months are named—

Hussan Hossein.	Soorpi (*Great month*).
Safar.	Shukubler.
Purum ishpo (*First sister*).	Rue.
Dowim ishpo (*Second sister*).	Lokyll (*Small festival*).
Thoei ishpo (*Third sister*).	Mikua (*Intervening*).
Chot ishpo (*Fourth sister*).	Gloyll (*Great festival*).

D B 821

The constellation of the Great Bear is called "the maiden's corpse," the four corner stars being supposed to represent a bier: the small star above the middle star of the tail is called the "star of life," as it is supposed to be invisible to a person forty days before death. The pleiades are called the flock of sheep; a comet, "the star with a tail," is supposed to portend the death of a king. The milky way is called the "track of the cow and horse," the tradition being that in the broad part about the middle the horse fell down from going too fast, while the cow travelled safely. The world is supposed to rest on the horns of a cow, which shakes its head occasionally at the sins of the inhabitants, and so causes earthquakes.

D B 823

D B 776

The west and south are always spoken of as up, and the north and east as down. A man going west or south to a place talks of going up to it. Fairies and demons that live in caves among the mountains or in desert places, have a prominent place in the belief of the Dards. Dr. Leitner has already given an account of the Yetch and its female counterpart the Roof. In Boorishki they are known as Phoot and Billusa. Madness is supposed to be caused by a demon casting its shadow over a person, while the shadow of a fairy confers the gift of prophecy. Demons assume the appearance of human beings to lure men to destruction, but they are recognisable by their feet being turned backwards.

D B [828]

D B 776 ●787 784

In Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager the ruler's family is supposed to be specially under the protection of a guardian fairy called Yoodeni. A drum, called the Yoodeni drum, is always kept on the top of the ruler's castle. When it is heard to sound at certain festivals and at critical times it presages good fortune. Nobody must try to see the Yoodeni, or look in that direction

Sir Raleigh C-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afghanistan-Afr
4 Av 3 Dard Av 2
Burusho Av 7

when the drum is heard; if he did so, some evil would be certain to happen to the daring individual, the least he could expect would be that his head would be twisted round to his back, and remain so for the rest of his life. A warlike expedition undertaken without the sounding of the Yoodeni drum would certainly end in disaster.

Trial by appeal to the ordeal of fire is still practised. Seven paces are measured, and a red-hot axe-head is placed on the open palm of the accused, on which a green leaf has first been spread. He must then deposit the hot iron at the spot appointed seven paces distant, and should any mark of a burn remain on his hand, it is a proof of guilt. The Vakeel of the Thum of Hunza on one occasion offered to subject himself to the ordeal before me, in order to clear his master of a false accusation.

Magic has a prominent place in Dard ideas, and many individuals are credited with the power of exercising magical arts. The rulers of Hunza and Nager are credited by their subjects with the power of producing rain. During a very severe winter I captured a full-grown markhor, which had wandered during the night into the cultivated land. The occurrence being unusual, the animal was at once regarded as a *jin*, and a deputation came to me shortly after it was captured, asking me to release it lest it should bring misfortune on the place. The death of the Wuzeer, which happened unexpectedly a few days afterwards, is still ascribed to the occurrence. Written charms are in great request, and every person wears one or more suspended to different parts of the dress by circular brass buckles. Those most in demand are charms conferring invulnerability and courage on the wearer. Charms are also attached to the mane and forelock of favourite horses. Certain springs are supposed to have the power of causing tempests if anything impure, such as a cowskin, is placed in them. This seems to have been an old and widely-spread superstition. Baber mentions it in his memoirs. "Some books mention that in Ghazni there is a fountain, into which if any filth or ordure be thrown, immediately there rises a tempest and hurricane with snow and rain."[1] The same is mentioned by another writer.[2] "Many days elapsed without the opponents having engaged each other, when it was mentioned to Mahmood that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring into which if a mixture of ordure should be thrown, the sky would immediately become overcast, and a dreadful

[1] Baber's Memoirs by Erskine, p. 149. [2] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 98.

4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D 778 821

storm of hail and wind arise. Mahmood having caused this to be done, the effects became visible; for, instantly the sky lowered, and thunder, lightning, wind, and hail succeeded, turning the day into night, and spreading horror and destruction around."

D 787 791

Divination is still practised, in spite of the conversion of the country to Mahommedanism. The Dainyals, or diviners, who are of both sexes but are more frequently women, are supposed to receive the gift of second sight by the shadow of a Barai, or fairy, having fallen on them in sleep. Dr. Leitner speaks of the gift as being supposed to be hereditary, but this is not the case, though the daughters of Dainyals often become Dainyals also. Dainyals are said to be only found among the shepherd population, and it is easy to understand how a solitary life among the wild crags of the Hindoo Koosh should encourage a belief in the power of intercourse with the unseen world. Quite young people become Dainyals, and the spirit of prophecy is supposed to remain with them for life.

B 787 791

The first intimation of the gift to the friends of the recipient is conveyed by their finding him or her in a deep trance. The requisite music is brought, flageolets being substituted for the ordinary clarionets, and softly modulated airs are played close to the ear of the entranced. Gradually he moves and begins to show signs of life, on which a goat is brought and decapitated, and the bleeding neck presented to the Dainyal novice. This is the test of a true Dainyal. If the gift of divination has really come to him, he seizes the bleeding neck, and sucks the blood. Some find this too much for them, and refusing to suck the blood are looked on afterwards as only feebly gifted with the spirit of prophecy. The idea of imposture never seems to be entertained by these simple-minded people. The recognised Dainyals are consulted on all special occasions, such as the yearly festivals in summer, or the declaration of war with a neighbouring state. The spirit of divination is supposed to lie dormant in winter, and to be strong in proportion to the heat of the weather.

On the first occasion of my witnessing an incantation, two Dainyals were brought from a considerable distance to prophesy at the Ganom festival in June. They were both women, one of about twenty-five and the other about forty years of age, who showed by their wild and haggard looks the strain of the often-practised ceremony on their faculties. A circle

~~Afg~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~Afg Afghanistan Afg~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusha AV7

being formed round which the spectators seated themselves, a bunch of cedar twigs was placed on a flat stone and set on fire, and while two or three men vigorously blew up the flame, the Dainyal with a cloth over her head inhaled the thick pungent smoke which curled round her head, while the music played softly. In a few minutes she became violently agitated, her hands were convulsively clasped over her head, and her whole body was shaken with uncontrollable muscular motion, till, dashing the burning branches aside, she fell prostrate at the feet of the musicians, grasping the drum with her hands, and violently throwing her head backwards and forwards in a way that threatened dislocation. At length, overcome by the violence of her exertions, she fell apparently senseless on the ground. The spectators shouted long and loud at this triumphant manifestation of the fairy's presence, and the music played its loudest. Then the second Dainyal entered the circle, and in a few minutes was also lying motionless. The music now changed to a harsh cadence, and soon one, and then the other, rose and staggered round the circle in a rude attempt at stepping in time to the music. With their long hair floating loose, half-closed eyes, drunk with the fumes of the cedar smoke, and occasionally coming into collision, they formed a most weird and somewhat painful spectacle, while the shouts of the spectators rose and fell at each uncouth gesture, varied by shrill whistles that would have done credit to the gallery of a popular London theatre. The violent exertion soon produced fatigue, while the worst effects of the cedar smoke seemed to disappear and the prophesying began. While the music played softly, the two witches reduced their movements to a sort of aimless walk round the circle, with fixed and vacant gaze, occasionally one would stop and place her head close to the flutes or the drum as if listening to a language that others could not hear, and then again resume the weary round. Sometimes, during one of these pauses, one would, after listening, raise a shrill chaunt which was attentively listened to by the musicians, and after being repeated once or twice was caught up by them and loudly chaunted to the audience, while murmurs of surprise or congratulation ran round the circle.

D 787 791 B 787 791

This, varied with intervals of leaping and dancing which seemed to excite both themselves and the spectators to the highest pitch, lasted for about an hour, when the palpable exhaustion of the Dainyals made it necessary to close the meeting. A man going into the circle gave a back, as at

Sir Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AV3 Afghanistan AV3~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D leapfrog, and one of the women, taking a flying leap on to
787 his shoulders, was carried out of the ring, the second Dainyal
791 following in like fashion on another back being offered,
B and the meeting broke up. No attempt is made to direct
787 the prophecy to any topic by hint or question, and the Dainyal
is always free to give, as the communication of the fairy,
791 whatever comes into her head. Considerable freedom of
speech is gained in this way, and an unpopular ruler often
D gets a broad hint given him. Dainyals only exist now in Gil-
[177] git, Hunza, and Nager, the stricter Mahommedanism of the
neighbouring valleys having disestablished them. Circum-
B stances point to this mode of divination being of Shin intro-
[177] duction, the majority of Dainyals being of that caste. Stronger
evidence is afforded by the fact that it is incumbent upon a
Dainyal, of whatever caste, to refrain from cow's milk, like
the most orthodox Shin.

During the ceremony the witches attempt, occasionally, to rush out of the circle, but are thrust back by the spectators, the idea being that they are forced to prophecy against their will. Occasionally, too, they affect to become excited by the sight of certain persons, bright colours, dogs, &c., and rush at and try to tear them, but are repelled by the spectators, and so are forced to content themselves with hurling stones at the object of aversion.

According to Elphinstone's account of the Siah Posh Kaffirs, something of the same kind exists among them. He says: "They have also persons who can procure an inspiration of some superior being, by holding their heads over the smoke of a sacrifice; but these are held in no particular reverence." Moorcroft mentions mountain witches at Nadaun who were called *Dain*, and a form of divination called *Dewalla* is still practised in some parts of the Punjab.

C Serious crimes, such as murder, are rare. In Wakhan
674 murder is punished by a fine of six horses, six guns, and
thirty woollen robes; should the murderer be unable to pay
681 the fine, he is forced to give up a son or daughter as a slave
to the family of the murdered person. Theft is punished by
a fourfold restoration of the stolen property, and the thief
is bound to a tree and beaten. Grave disturbances, in which
deadly weapons are used, are punished by heavy fines, and an
offender is not pardoned till he succeeds in bringing a live hare
D to the Meer, which at certain seasons is a matter of difficulty.
Though bloodshed is rare among the Dards as compared
674 with the Afghans, brutal murders are sometimes committed

spiritual head of the Ismailis. A few of the peasant farmers have learned to read—as some have learned to carpenter—and they have copied out such essential passages of their sacred Persian books as enable them to preside with due solemnity at a name-giving, a burial, or a betrothal. The Mir appoints a sufficient number of these modestly literate men to be khalifas, and lend a dignity to such ceremonies. When you need their services you send for one—as we send for the plumber when our pipes have burst. He performs his duty, shares with honour in the ensuing family feasting, accepts some small gift in kind according to the family's resources, and goes his way to resume his normal work in his own fields.

We knew Afiato of No. 6, for three months or more, as an obliging neighbour and father of a large batch of our child friends; we admired his skill in ploughing and threshing, and the hard work he had put into levelling an intractable patch of hill within a stone's throw of our house and converting it into a vegetable garden before we realized that he was a khalifa or lay-priest. There was nothing in dress or manner to distinguish him from his fellows; he offered no unsought advice and censored no one's morals but his own. If Hunza is, as I believe, the tidiest corner of God's earth, it is also the least priest-ridden, and the absence of fanaticism and superstition is as remarkable and refreshing as the absence of litter. There is an atmosphere of mental independence that makes the air of Hunza spiritually bracing.

What the pre-Islamic cults of Hunza were—and traces of them are slight though DL may have some conjectures to offer about them later—the Hunnukuts of to-day are extraordinarily enlightened.[1] Their folk-lore (very probably borrowed) may tell of apparitions and miracles, but they look for no marvels in their life of everyday, they see no ghosts and fear no Evil Eye. They indulge in no gymnastic prayers, they keep no Fast of Ramazan, they travel on no Hajj. I saw only one man turn Mecca-wards to pray, and that was our Kashmiri

[1] In astounding contrast to their magic- and witch-ridden Shin neighbours in Gilgit (V. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1919, *The Supernatural in the Folklore of the Gilgit Region*).

2: Lorimer T-3 (1927-4: 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

sweeper; I heard only one muezzin sound the Call to Prayer—and saw no one pay heed to it. He was chanting from a cliff in the Mir's garden, and the Mir gathers round him craftsmen of every sort. There are a few shrines in the country reputed holy—including two burial places of Moses within a few hundred yards of each other on one mountain side—where a few rags on sticks flutter unconvincingly in the wind; and one, the shrine of Baba Ghundi in Chupursan, some seven days' march above Báltít, is the object of an occasional pilgrimage. On Tuesdays and Fridays there are said to be services in the House of Assembly, which has supplanted the older Shiah mosque, but I never observed one of our servants or neighbours absent himself from work to go to them.

Yet the people are by no means without faith. It is difficult to know exactly what even church-going Christians of our own country effectively believe—it is impossible to be sure what one effectively believes oneself—so I can offer only a tentative guess as to the average person's simple credo. The Hunzukuts hold, I think, a comforting, unquestioning faith in a good and kindly God, whose ways they cannot profess to understand. They meet bereavement with a murmur that "there is no remedy against the will of God"; they bury their loved ones with genuine sorrow, but without anxiety. They feel that "it is well with the child," and vaguely trust that some day, somewhere, somehow, they will meet again. They assume as axiomatic that God asks of them diligence and truth, fair-dealing and goodwill. They are hard-working and thrifty, tolerant to others; kind and affectionate in the home, gentle to children and the aged; generous beyond their means to the orphan; truthful and just; and they go about their daily work in the happy confidence that God is well pleased. If they din no perfunctory prayers into His ears, there are occasions when they heartily and humbly pray, as will presently be seen.

The Hunzukuts is no mystic, no poet, no artist. This life claims his full attention if he is to live at all; philosophic speculation about "fixed fate, freewill, fore-knowledge absolute" does not line his brow or disturb his rest, nor does he "keep in duty through the toilsome day, because of praise

273 brew will all be finished by the end of December, but a man is looked on as over-impetuous who does not keep it for at least a month. Old vintages are luxuries for wealthier lands. The Hunzukuts do not profess to be expert vintners or connoisseurs of wine. They consider it rather a gamble how the wine turns out: "Sometimes it is sweet and sometimes sour. Either is good to drink. But if we have enough manure and if the season has been hot enough fully to ripen the grapes, then the wine is sweet."

● 788 The wine and weaving having been disposed of and the winter-wheat sown, the year's serious work is over, and little remains but to fumigate the empty manure shed. We had come in from our walk one evening and were settling down to work after tea when I heard a modest little "Mother dear!" outside the window, and found Hérul Nisa had been sent down to tell us that Ustád Nadíro and Bibi Anjír were going to fumigate their byre in the good old style, if we would care to come. So we flung on our coats, seized a lantern, and scrambled up the particularly rocky track that led to No. 8. Bibi Anjír and her married daughter were watching proceedings from the roof of the byre which also forms the landing at the top of the ladder that leads to their verandah and summer living-room. The couple at No. 8 are old-fashioned and scrupulously keep up the ancient fumigating ceremony which many of their younger neighbours neglect.

The wall of their manure byre sticks out at right angles into the lane, and the door of it is sideways on. In the angle formed between it and the house, Nadíro had a little fire of dry sticks already burning. He took an iron ladle with a long handle and filled it full of precious apricot-kernel oil and heated it over the fire. There was a cold circular wind whizzing round which delayed the oil's getting warm and catching fire. We and a lot of interested neighbours pressed in round him as closely as we could to shelter the flame, which at last blazed up like the brandy in our tablespoons to light the Christmas pudding. Then the old man went into the byre and Hérul Nisa followed him with a bowl of cold water. He took a little of the water and flung it into the ladle four times, causing a lovely flare

addressed to each of the four corners of the shed. To our 788
amazement we saw by the light of the flames that the shed was chock full of goats (we had imagined that they would have been cleared out for the ceremony) who seemed not in the least perturbed. Nadíro then came out again and lit a torch of juniper twigs at the fire and went in to wave it similarly into each of the four corners. Bibi Anjír then handed [262]
down a big wooden basin of *múl* which looked like a rather slushy brown pudding with pinkish trimming on top. This festive dish is made only on special occasions, such as a child's birth or the like. Before starting in to eat the *múl* or hand it round, the old man took his stand in the door of the byre and with great dignity and reverence lifted his eyes to heaven and recited the fumigating prayer. Bits of it ran something like this: "O Moses, Holy Prophet, grant that one hundred milking vessels may be required, and that our shears may be used on a hundred sheep! May kid follow after kid and lamb after lamb! May there be rams with curly horns and he-goats with short horns turned in! May milk flow in floods and may the butter pit be filled with butter!"

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we were able to follow it better than if we had been hearing it for the first time, and were even able to note that the Ustád got it a bit mixed in parts. We ascertained what was the point of the "short horns turned in." It is simply a question of packing. The byres are small and the beasts have all got to live crowded together in them throughout the winter, so that a princely he-goat with spreading horns is a disaster to his owner and a danger to his fellows.

Now came the moment when the family and friends would tuck into the *múl*, and we thanked our kind hosts most warmly for letting us see the little ceremony, and fled to the warmth of our own fire and our butterless tea. I was in terror lest we should be pressed to partake of the *múl* which is so special a dish that it was sure to be reeking of priceless *maltash*—of which we had no wish to rob them.

The next item on the Hunza communal programme is the 585
Great Wedding Day, which falls about mid-December on some 787
Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 the remaining wood for a final flare up; there was one last uproarious scamper of many dancers: and all was still. Then
796 up stood a pair of men, reverent, solemn, sword in hand, and
● 788 recited a moving litany:

> May the New Year be blessed!
> May the seed bring forth an hundredfold!
> May every ear be filled with golden grain!
> May the mountain side be piebald with goats!
> May the pastures be piebald with sheep!
> May kid follow after kid and lamb after lamb!
> May our houses be filled with children and empty of sickness!

and to each clause the congregation fervently shouted "Yá! Yá!" as an earnest Amen.

After some time the older man who was leading began to repeat himself somewhat, and a good-humoured protest went up: "Enough, Uncle, enough!" which brought the litany to a speedy conclusion. (What a useful innovation this would be in Church and Parliament!)

Then half a dozen grey-bearded men formed a semi-circle to face the rising but still long invisible sun, and struck up a delightful solemn chant that sounded not unlike a Te Deum. In contrast to the litany which was in wholesome, rhythmic Burushaski prose, the chant was in so-called Shina, mangled by generations of Burusho singers into an almost unintelligible, though impressive anthem. David later took it down verbatim, but could only very partially reconstruct or divine the Shina original, and so far he has not been able to trace the ungarbled Shina text, which is quite possibly no longer known in its country of origin.

Then, while drum and kettledrum and pipe still played and the old men still chanted, we all moved slowly downhill in the growing daylight to "The Gate," where dancing was resumed by those who wished it, and a faint lamp burning in the Assembly Hall silently summoned the pious to morning prayer, and the ice-bound pond invited them less cordially to the preliminary ablutions. Few seemed to accept the chilly invitation.

Except myself, no woman had attended the Midnight Bon-

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

fire, but the usual gaily dressed crowd were at "The Gate," 796
just as on the recent Wedding Day. I slipped across to join the 788
women and got a warm reception from many whom I knew
and more whom I did not. Then an old crone came along,
bearing a huge dish of flour and sprinkled a pinch on every
woman's cap and left shoulder, saying as she did so: "Ya Ali!"
All seemed pleased when I said: "Nay, mother, would you
forget me?" and as she duly sprinkled me too I slipped a few
pence into her hand. Then I extricated myself from the
women's throng, scattering good wishes as I went, to rejoin
David, whom I found similarly be-floured.

We thankfully toiled uphill home, too hot now in our 796
midnight wrappings, and very shortly faithful Zaidu and Dádo
produced a hot breakfast, after which we turned in and slept.
There must be some magic in the Hunza air. You would hardly
contemplate sitting out of doors to watch an open-air show
at home at 7,600 feet from 5 to 8 a.m. on December 21st
(or even on December 16th, for the Hunza calendar has
got its Solstice slightly "fast") with the thermometer reading
22° Fahrenheit.

There was to be more dancing that p.m., but we felt
we had seen enough for one day, and the headmen seemed
relieved when we said we would not come. They confessed
that after the bonfire people went home and made merry with
their wine, and that there might be some mild rowdyism—and
since they have no other drink but water, who shall blame
them? Not we, dissolute bibbers of hot tea! We did not want
to spoil our impression of the astounding orderliness of the
night's merry-making. Though everyone was in the highest
spirits and the youngsters full of excitement, the crowd's
behaviour was perfect. Even when one torch flew right across
the circle into the faces of half a dozen spectators, there was
only a laughing stampede, and when the circle drew in too
close and threatened to impede the dancing, some responsible
grown-up simply snatched a brand from the fire and swept it
round the front ranks, driving the children back amidst fun 796
and laughter. Considering that there are no police in the 625
country, and that the headmen have no authority except their 622

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1989 AV7 Burusho AV7

miles daily to Báltít, as Yaman and a couple of our other young 793
friends did, and attend the Government-supported school 784
with the sons and grandsons of the Mir and the Wazir. Promising children of the more well-to-do can attend a more advanced school at Gilgit, and the really studious may even make their way down to Srinagar.

Ninety-nine per cent of the population, however, happily 212
still remain illiterate, and have not fallen victims to com- 871
pulsory education. When the people would question me about conditions in England, they were horrified to learn of such things as rates and income-tax, but even more aghast at the tyranny that compels both boys and girls to spend the years from five to fourteen at school. "But that's the time when they ought to be *learning things*," they said.

When my pleasant evening "By the Lamp" was ended and I 000
had said good-bye, cautiously descended the ladder and mounted my waiting horse, I was shocked to see my host accompanying us carrying a tray of food. I had expressly stipulated that I would only accept his kind invitation on condition of not being laden with food gifts to take home. To my protests Kalbi said: "Yes, yes, Mother dear, it's all right. I'm not forgetting. I'm only taking up his supper to the sweeper."

With honourable simplicity the Hunzukuts abide by the 771
fundamentals of Islam as they understand them. They may not 788
be strong on ostentatious prayer and fasting, they rack their brains over no theological subtleties, but a Believer is a man and a brother, be he a Kashmiri, be he twenty times a sweeper. Here was a man of substance, a Levy, a grandfather, a much respected citizen in his small community, climbing a mile uphill to carry with his own hands a share of the evening's feast to his absentee guest. That the man was absent was no doubt a tactful concession to any caste-prejudice with which India might have infected me.

The boys lighten the monotony of the indoor weeks of the 857
Great Cold by occasionally dashing out for a hasty game of 526
foot polo or tipcat with their friends or keeping themselves warm with *mindak* matches. Such young men as are real dance

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging. 526

Religion.

By religion the Burusko of Hunza are Muhammadans of the Isma'ili or, as they term it, Maulāi sect, to which, however, they were converted from Shia-ism only three generations ago. 779

With the Maulais, restrictions, formalities and ritual are reduced to a minimum. The masjids of the former Shia days have been abandoned, and have been replaced in recent years by "jamā'atkhānas". There are no mullahs of the ordinary type. Instead there are khalifa (pl. khalifāting; xali·fa, xali·fa·tiṇ), who are more servants of the public — being called in chiefly to perform the necessary ritual at marriages and funerals — than its spiritual leaders or teachers. Spiritual authority rests with the Pīr, in this case 'Abdul Ma'ni, son of the late Shahzada Lais of Chitral. He himself now lives in Zēbāk. He replaced the honoured Pīr Jalāli Shah, latterly resident in Ishkoman, who died in February 1931. Two of the latter's daughters were taken in succession as his principal wife by the present Tham of Hunza, which affords an indication of the Pīr's status in the country. 795 793

Religious observances and prescriptions do not play any very evident part in the life of the Burusho of Hunza, but this does not appear to have any prejudicial effect on their character or conduct. They seem to have firmly planted in them the root of morality and the social and domestic virtues. The Maulais pay tribute to the Agha Khan, the head of the sect. The Burusho of Nagir are Shiahs (pl. Shiāting; ši·a·tiṇ), a more rigorous and formal school, but they do not indulge in a fanatical interpretation of the duties and implications of religion. They mildly contemn the "mog[illegible] (Maulais) as misguided heretics and imperfect Muslims. 788 795 798

Social and Administrative Organization.

The life of the people is based on the family, and then on the village or community groups which live within definite geographical 621

124 "You understand," he said, "that the reason I do
[788] not have breakfast with you is due entirely to the fact that I must rise at 3:30 every morning to perform my religious duties . . . and 'tis then I have my morning meal."

"Thank you most sincerely for your explanation. It is most important to me so I may better understand the ways of your people and yourself."

Then the Mir went on, "I have received word that two yaks are being brought down from Passu and should arrive at Altit some time during the night and will be there tomorrow morning."

Then I said to the Mir, "Would it be all right if I walked to Altit and rode one of the yaks back here to your palace?"

"That's exactly what I had in mind for you," said the Mir.

"Well, seeing there are two yaks coming down, as you mentioned, and my friend Cec is confined to his quarters by the doctor, I'll take Jahangir along and he'll ride the other yak back."

"Fine, fine!" said the Mir.

124 Then the conversation continued and the Mir said,
115 "I have another brother and I certainly hope you will
644 have an opportunity to meet him. He is serving in the Pakistan army—as a captain. I expect him back within the next 3 or 4 days and you will enjoy meeting him, I know. He is a most likable and interesting man. I hope he gets here before you decide to leave."

"I'd be very happy to meet him and I, too, hope he arrives before we depart."

"We call him Salat," he said. "That means mous-
[302] tache in our language. He has one of those handlebar moustaches and he's a big man—bigger than either Ayesh or I. His proper name is Capt. Jamshed Khan."

evening meal, watch TV and then to bed.

While this may all sound very good and very logical and fit into what we believe is a pattern, the average day is really unlike what I have described here for either the city dweller or the farmer. The truth of the matter is that, as I said at the start, no two days are entirely alike.

The day of the week plays an important role. The weather contributes its variation. Then we all know full well that not even a minute is predictable. So how could anyone expect to give a clear-cut résumé of what any person's day consists?

That is somewhat the way I felt when I set out to outline what a day would be like as lived by the average citizen of Hunza. The only thing that I can hope to set out is a pattern. It may have a few or even hundreds of variations but at least the general pattern will be clear. So here is what I believe to be the procedure of one day—an ordinary day—in the life of a Hunzan.

The people of Hunza are Mohammedans of the Ismaili sect. They are in no way fanatical. In fact, the Ismaili are probably the least religious of all Mohammedans. The call to prayer is at 3:30 in the morning. Only the more pious and devout attend the service at the mosque.

A good true religious Mohammedan prays 5 times a day and on each occasion the prayer will last up to one hour, but through my entire travels through both Nagir and Hunza I saw very few instances where they took time off to pray during the day except on religious holidays or festivals. But, as I mentioned, prayer starts at 3:30 A.M. and I didn't have occasion to see them in action. Those who are devout usually pray from 3:30 to 4:30 and then go have their breakfast and so to the fields.

643 Here I will quote from *The Autobiography of Sir*
771 *Mohomed Nazim Khan*, K.C.I.E. (Mir of Hunza from
798 1892-1938 and grandfather of the present Mir):
[127] "The people of Hunza were originally idolators and they became Shias when intermarriage with the ruling family of Baltistan was arranged and later, when my great grandfather Shah Salam Khan was on the throne, most of the country became Maulai. In Ganesh and Hinni, there are still a few Shias and two Sunnis. When I became Mir I declared to the people that they could adopt what religion they would, which annoyed my advisers who said that a country with many religions was bound to fall. I said that religion had nothing to do with ruling and have proved myself right in that there has been no religious strife in the country since that time."

788 Maybe the Hunzan farmer mumbles his prayers while he is working, but he seemingly doesn't appear to stop from his efforts on behalf of his farm.

From my actual experiences in seeing and viewing religions throughout the world, I am of the opinion that, where religion demands too much of a man's time, his industry suffers and this affects his standard of living. It is a possibility that pious, religious people throughout the world will take exception to this but, nevertheless, I am stating this as my own opinion, based on my findings and observations, and that's all it is. If anyone wants to debate the point with me, I'd be happy to provide the time and the opportunity.

The Hunzans are not fanatics and therefore they can devote more time to their labors than those who spend their time praying and resting, because of religious holidays and observances.

852 Being Mohammedans, circumcision is practiced on
304 all male children. Normally this operation is performed

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burzahe AV7

associations, but ceases to be a good native with his own indigenous associations. Therefore, in my humble opinion, of all the unfortunate specimens of mankind, the most degraded are those who, under the guise of being Europeanised and, therefore, reformers, have themselves the greatest necessity for reform. Their mind has become completely unhinged, thereby showing us that if we Europeans wish to do good among Orientals we can do so best by living good lives in the midst of professors of other religions, this being also in accordance with the 13th edict of Asoka. 000

This Druse covenant makes the mad Fatimite ruler of Egypt, Hákim, the "Lord of the Universe." As I said before, the present "Lord of the Universe" for the Hunzas is the lineal descendant of the 7th Imám, a resident of Bombay, one to whom the Muláis make pilgrimages, instead of going to Mecca or to Kerbelá. You may imagine that, even as regards the Druses, there must be something higher than *their* "Lord of the Universe;" but, such as he is, it is with him that this covenant is made. Reverting to his living colleague, the Indian "Lord," it may be stated that there are men scattered throughout India of whose influence we have only the faintest conception. I pointed out in 1866 that if any one wanted to follow successfully my footsteps is Dardistan, he would have to get recommendations from His Highness Aga Khan of Bombay, and I am glad to say that Col. Lockhart has taken advantage of that recommendation. The Druse "Lord of the Universe" is regarded as one with whom nothing can be compared. The Druses are to render him the most implicit obedience, and to carry out his behests at the loss of everything, good name, wealth, and life, with the view of obtaining the favour of one who may be taken to be God; but the sentence is so constructed as to make him, if not God, only second to God; in other words, only just a discrimination between God as the distant ruler of the Universe and, perhaps, some lineal descendant of Hákim, or rather, Hákim himself as an ever-living being, as the ruler of *their* world. This and some other prayers, with some songs, one amongst which breathes the greatest hatred to Muhammedanism, and speaks of the destruction of Mecca as something to look forward to, seem to be deserving of study. There are also references in them to rites 000

776 [798] 795

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 on their hunkers and waved their arms and leapt frog-like
535 along.

A very quaint and effective act consisted of the dancers turning back to back in pairs, each leaning heavily against his partner, and dancing with all his weight on his heels. They danced round the circle three times like this (it must be particularly difficult for the ones who have to dance backwards). All were raising and flourishing their arms alternately and making great byplay with the outward-facing dancer of the other pair. The semi-final act had no small resemblance to our Sir Roger de Coverley. The circle halted facing inwards and the two leaders of the teams of eight signalled across and danced to meet each other, overshooting and passing back to back. As they passed, they halted a second, leaned heavily back against each other's shoulders and raised first one hand, then the other with their waving scarves, and each then flourished off to take the other's place. When all eight pairs had similarly changed places the dance was at an end.

The team work was admirable throughout. There was not at any point the slightest hitch, such as invariably wrecks amateur lancers or quadrilles at home. I could not extract from my adjacent prince any information as to the length of time they had spent rehearsing; he implied that they just "remembered" from one year to the next; but such faultless co-operation must have followed very strenuous rehearsal both of dancers and musicians.

Seeing so many of the dancers very elderly, I asked the Mir was there no fear that the skill and knowledge of the dance would die out. He assured me that every year a couple of younger men are drafted into the team so that the tradition may not be lost. The dance, in very much its present form, has been performed uninterruptedly for six hundred or seven hundred years, and probably immeasurably longer.

789 It seems likely that it originated in some imitative-magic
796 rites designed to benefit the crops: dabbling the ground may
535 be preparing it for seed: the cry with high-flung arms may be intended to encourage the growing ears to tower to heaven: the crouching springs may imitate the springing of the shoots;

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

the flogging may portray the threshing and the back to back scene with waving arms might well represent the winnowing. None of the present-day Hunzukuts attach the slightest magical value to these things, and it is hard to believe that they themselves at any period ever did so, for a less superstitious people can never have existed. But they love dancing and music and *tamashas*, they love any pretext for holiday-making and dressing up, and they may well have borrowed the Bopfau Dance, minus its magic implications, from some people amongst whom the magic was still believed to be potent.

The wise Mir fully realized the psychological value of periodic festivals, and though the keeping up of all the ancient ceremonial often imposed a good deal of hard work and fatigue on himself, he devoted thought and care to preserving the old traditions and preventing the ceremonial's being curtailed or scamped.

When the dance was ended the performers turned and all saluted the Mir; then one by one they came forward and took his left foot in their two hands and stooped over it with the gesture of kissing and then faded out backwards.

The next item on the programme, the Seed Sowing itself, was scheduled for noon on the following day (Thursday, February 7th). We determined to ride down to Altít bright and early, partly to avoid crowds in narrow tracks, and partly hoping for photographs in the new-found daylight. We overshot the Fort and scrambled out on to the edge of the river cliff—not without some risk to our necks—in attempts to get good pictures of Áltít Fort in profile.

There is a nice little old mosque not far from the Fort where chairs had most thoughtfully been placed in case we should like to rest a while before the show began. We presently installed ourselves here to watch the crowds pouring in from miles and miles away; people on foot streamed across the countryside, all very gay and merry, and as much interested in us as we in them. When a group of horsemen arrived, men of consequence from distant villages, they did not ride straight in, but halted at the end of the polo-ground till they were observed from the Fort; then the band struck up a wild tune

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-6) 1939 AV7 Burushe AV7

796 innovations). Chairs had been set for us also and the crowd formed a circle round. A large skin sack was then brought containing sections of a roasted ox. These were emptied out on to a skin tablecloth on the ground, while hundreds of thin bread pancakes were spread on another skin. The Master of the Ceremonies, a fine old man with a white beard dyed orange, took an adze and hacked the joints of meat into neat little chunks. A dish of bread and meat was brought to the Mir to handsel, and he duly tasted a little of each.

A piece of meat was then folded into several flaps of bread and the name of a village was called out. The little parcel was promptly passed back over the heads of the crowd to the authorized representative of that village who was present to receive it. A portion of the royal food was thus distributed to every village in Hunza. Bundles of new arrows and bundles of arrow heads wrapped in red handkerchiefs were then emptied at the Mir's feet. These he distributed to all the people about to take part in the archery.

796 The stage was now set for the essential part of the Bopfan
• 789 ceremony. The Mir and Royal Princes stood up and formed a semi-circle facing east, holding their joined hands out cup-wise in front of them. A small bag of seed-grain had been brought adorned at the mouth with a bunch of maidenhair. From this, grain was poured into their hands, and on top of the Mir's handful was placed a microscopic bag made from the skin of a sheep's heart and filled with gold dust. The officiating greybeard intoned a prayer of blessing, and at a given signal the Mir and Princes flung the grain back over their heads and the people crowded in to catch it in their hands. Those lucky enough to secure any, promptly rubbed it between their palms and ate it. He was doubly lucky who secured the bag of gold, but we heard that he was expected to distribute it in alms, so the concrete advantage was slight.

796 The grain-throwing was three times repeated, and we all
241 moved off to another part of the field, where a little heap of manure had been spread out. Two yoked oxen were now driven forward drawing an old-style plough (rather perfunctorily attached for it came adrift and had to be readjusted).

bim, iwer gimo. Giyaser Šon Gurkar dîn iwa buruslo dam ne gili modelimi.

Hin Dal Kan yakalater gurtumo. Ele han berman bim. Iwer gimo. Eler sirain dam ne gili modelimi. Tali ortum ur talo muyugutanta buruslo buruslo gili udelimi.

Du uni tirta motuman. Dumotum Hindi kane ičir sirdo, sirdum istetor dum u.ioman. Tele gili modelimi. Modelaser ermo: "Je bessan ilam?" Šon Gukure moximi: "Turmo arita taiv guyam ur. gurtam). Iwa mulian mirwa. Du her dan gur dusen. Turmo arita taiv ay gumanuman ke talo kurli gurtan, amo urgate gute hap oram, beial mi hoiguré amular niman ke mayer mane. Ho turma oritatastum talo ra taiv gurtan."

Numorum iwa dumulo čumaer gili dam ne gili modelimi. Du iwa gili modelumtum her dan turma arita ya talo taiv mutum tohak gurtarq mika ha ha ebuna nura iwa gili iwaes taiv dumuma

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778 : iwer gimo ... gili modelimi — Such beings as bilmes have the power of bodily entering into boulders and in the normal course could no doubt come out again, but if an iron peg is driven into the boulder and a suitable spell employed they can be kept shut up for at any rate a long period.

000 Dadi's eventual escape is said to have been predicted by Šon Gurkar: *amili čumaer Dadi dirai* 'when my jaw-bone has rotted Dadi will come out'. But the jaw-bone is a very durable article. Cp. also the tale of Qorq *Jalan*, p. 202 l. 1.

412 237 281 In this and other stories iron evidently retains its magical qualities, which is not surprising as it was comparatively rare and precious in Hunza till quite recently. A couple of generations ago the important Baltit (Altit) irrigation channel was dug with their horse used as pick.

[illegible] : gili modelimi — I don't think this is to be taken as meaning that the peg was visibly driven into her. She was imprisoned by simply driving the peg into the stone.

: *buruslo buruslo* — the plural is surprising, but the meaning is obvious.

: *dumotum* — from *d^h-mat* ~ *d^h-mat* 'to take out, extract'. Here glossed "made horrible" which suggests a point of contact with the intransitive *dumat* cp. § 300.

modelimi — from here on the prefix *mo-* replaces the previous *mu-*. As the text was recorded at one sitting there was probably an actual difference in pronunciation by the narrator, not merely a variation in my hearing. So we have **-udelar* being substituted for **-delar*. Cp. §§ 242—248.

: *guyam* — "I have given you" the anticipatory Perf.

! [Errata: for du^ši read du^šo. Cf p. 489, col. 116 — Analyst.]

000 *ziré* recently, lately, just, H. *ziki ziki*. — *ziré dimanum hiliu* a boy who has just, very lately, been born.

ziki(i) upright(?) in *ziki(i) khapuu* a kind of spoon also known as the *pa-ireki khapuu*, in which the handle is up at an angle from the side of the bowl. (Probably identical with *ziré*).

ziréo perpendicular, upright, steep. — *gan dum ziréo hiliu* the path is very steep. *hal ziréo hiliu* the wall is perpendicular. (P. IVS. Cp. Sh. *ziréi*, upright, vertical, *ziré(u)*, straight, GB. *zi

* ascent. Khu. *ziré-fu*, upwards, uphill, steep. Badakhshi Pra. *ziú*, upright, steep).

ziréo ziréo, quite crippled, paralysed, H. *Lagyra ziréo*. — *ira ziréo ziréo imanum* he had become paralysed. 314.9.

*-*zhuyurag* y pl. hair cut in a fringe on forehead, forelock. — *ôyrkurag* (a boy's) fringe. *mashrkurag* (a girl's) fringe. *ladurkis ôyrkurag* the calf's forelock. 104.22. *Ayuru ôthuyurag* a horse's forelock.

343 *zhuyi*, -*mate* s hut, shelter; hole dug beside the threshing-floor in which the grain used to be stored for three or four days. It was covered over with cloths etc. so that it might not be seen by people, for fear that it might be lessened by the evil eye.

000 *zuhuyi* hut, shelter.

*-*zhunjuf*, pl. *-*zhunji.ag*, y beak, bill. — *ithunjuf*, *uthunji.ag*; H. *ziunjuf*, *uiunjuyag* its beak, their beaks (Cp. H. *ziú*).

zup -*ots* s small heap (of cut corn, grain or flour); heap of earth on which the mark (*gim*) is fixed for shooting at with bow and arrow from horseback. 314.6.

zuperi, *ziperi* s caper-plant. — *ziperu ashawig* the flowers of the caper plant.

344
644 wedged together to form a formidable protection
712 against invaders of their day.

796 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the
241 Burushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festi-
643 val, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like fo emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed
[789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

4th Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~Alis-Afghanistan-Asia~~
4 Ar 3 Dard Ar 3
Burushe Ar 7

when the drum is heard; if he did so, some evil would be certain to happen to the daring individual, the least he could expect would be that his head would be twisted round to his back, and remain so for the rest of his life. A warlike expedition undertaken without the sounding of the Yoodeni drum would certainly end in disaster.

Trial by appeal to the ordeal of fire is still practised. Seven paces are measured, and a red-hot axe-head is placed on the open palm of the accused, on which a green leaf has first been spread. He must then deposit the hot iron at the spot appointed seven paces distant, and should any mark of a burn remain on his hand, it is a proof of guilt. The Vakeel of the Thum of Hunza on one occasion offered to subject himself to the ordeal before me, in order to clear his master of a false accusation.

Magic has a prominent place in Dard ideas, and many individuals are credited with the power of exercising magical arts. The rulers of Hunza and Nager are credited by their subjects with the power of producing rain. During a very severe winter I captured a full-grown markhor, which had wandered during the night into the cultivated land. The occurrence being unusual, the animal was at once regarded as a *jin*, and a deputation came to me shortly after it was captured, asking me to release it lest it should bring misfortune on the place. The death of the Wuzeer, which happened unexpectedly a few days afterwards, is still ascribed to the occurrence. Written charms are in great request, and every person wears one or more suspended to different parts of the dress by circular brass buckles. Those most in demand are charms conferring invulnerability and courage on the wearer. Charms are also attached to the mane and forelock of favourite horses. Certain springs are supposed to have the power of causing tempests if anything impure, such as a cowskin, is placed in them. This seems to have been an old and widely-spread superstition. Baber mentions it in his memoirs. "Some books mention that in Ghazni there is a fountain, into which if any filth or ordure be thrown, immediately there rises a tempest and hurricane with snow and rain."[1] The same is mentioned by another writer.[2] "Many days elapsed without the opponents having engaged each other, when it was mentioned to Mahmood that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring into which if a mixture of ordure should be thrown, the sky would immediately become overcast, and a dreadful

[1] Baber's Memoirs by Erskine, p. 149. [2] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 16.

The Lattimer Lot (1880-4) 1884-6) 1888 AVI Bernsto AVI

A woman "Bitan" dressed in red, dancing on the Polo ground at Boltit. The Band with pipes, big drums and kettledrums. Chenar and apricot trees.

End Plate 3

000 When the object is h or x the same notion is conveyed by the verb *wałłaa*. Cp. in the above:
xal wałłmi and *xywxałin*, and v.a.v. *wałłja*. V. § 231. (Ca. *-ałłłaiyaa*).

łłałł y pl., double pl. *-mig*, hair (of animals), fur. — *łaiwa*, *łaγwa*, *łapaγa*, *yał*, *łłałł* goat's, horse's, yak's hair, bear's fur. Cp. 194.24, 194.8 ff.

łłłałłał hairy. — *łłłałłał γałγu* a hairy caterpillar.

791 *łłłaa*, pl. *łłłaiyo*, (*płłaiyu*. 378,14), hm. and hf., soothsayer, wizard, sorcerer.

A person of either sex with certain supernatural powers, e.g. the ability to tell what is happening at a distance and to foretell the future. Nowadays they exercise these powers at public assemblies where they inhale the smoke of burning juniper twigs and dance till they reach a state of exaltation when their gifts become operative. Eventually they collapse from exhaustion. In earlier days they possessed the power to "bind" malignant supernatural beings. Cp. Texts Nos VI, VII, VIII, IX and XI.

000 To cause *łłłaa*'s to play their rôle is expressed by several verbs:
łłłaiyo 'γγiałhumaa } they caused bi-
łłłaiyo upwmaa } łłaa to dance.
242.1. Cp. 378.14. *S. G. łs H. M. łłłaa wwałłłw ałwaa* they had brought S. G. and H. M. to make them act as bitaas. 186.1.

(Possibly *łłłaa* goes with the names, in apposition).
łłłaa mwwałłłwa they set a female bitaa to work. 316.11. Cp. 190.5 192.8, 200.16.

84a

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-68) 1867 AV3 Dard

Burusha AV7

000 loss of their independence,—I venture to point out the impolicy and injustice of interfering with these principalities.

I have already referred to a letter from the venerable chief of Nagyr, in which he strongly commends to my care one of his sons, Raja Habibulla, as a well-wisher of the English Government. Indeed, he has absolutely done nothing to justify any attack on the integrity of his country; and before we invade it other means to secure peace should be tried. I have no doubt that I, for one, could induce him to comply with everything in reason, if reason, and not
721 an excuse for taking his country, is desired. Nagyr has
567 never joined Hunza in kidnapping expeditions, as is alleged in the above-quoted paragraph. Indeed, slavery is an abomination to the pious and peaceful agriculturist of that
181 interesting country. The Nagyris are musical and were fond
[77] of dances, polo, ibex *battue*-hunting, archery and shooting from horseback, and other manly exercises; but the growing piety of the race has latterly proscribed music and dancing. The accompanying drawing of a Nagyri dance in the neighbouring Gilgit gives a good idea of similar performances at Nagyr.

787 The country is full of legendary lore, but less so than
791 Hunza, where Grimm's fairy tales appear to be translated into actual life. No war is undertaken except at the supposed command of an unseen fairy, whose drum is on such occasions sounded in the mountains. Ecstatic women, inhaling the smoke of a cedar-branch, announce the future, tell the past, and describe the state of things in neighbouring valleys. They are thus alike the prophets, the historians, and the journalists of the tribe. They probably now tell their indignant hearers how, under the pretext of shooting or of commerce, Europeans have visited their country, which they now threaten to destroy with strange and murderous weapons; but Hunza is "ayeshó," or "heaven-born," and the fairies, if not the inaccessible nature of the country, will continue to protect it.

000 The folly of invading Hunza and Nagyr is even greater

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

of the sexes, and the management of the State, in theory, is attributed to fairies. No war is undertaken unless the fairy (whom, by the way, one is not allowed to see) gives the command by beating the sacred drum. The witches, who get into an ecstatic state, are the journalists, historians, and prophetesses of the tribe. They tell you what goes on in the surrounding valleys. They represent, as it were, the local *Times*; they tell you the past glories, such as they are, of raids and murders by their tribe; and when the *Thum* or ruler, who is supposed to be heaven-born (there being some mystery about the origin of his dynasty), does wrong, the only one who will dare to tell him the truth is the Dayal, or the witch who prophesies the future, and takes the opportunity of telling the Rajah that, unless he behaves in a manner worthy of his origin, he will come to grief! This is not a common form of popular representation to be met with, say, in India. Grimm's fairy-tales sometimes seem to be translated into practice in Hunza-land, which offers material for discussion alike to those who search for the Huns and to those who search for the very different Honas.

Then with regard to religion, as I said before, though nominally Muhammedan, they are really deniers of all the important precepts of true Muhammedanism, which is opposed to drunkenness, introduces a real brotherhood, and enjoins great cleanliness as absolutely necessary before the spiritual purification by prayer can take place. The people are mostly Muliis, but inferior in piety (?) to those of Zébak, Shignán, Wakhan, and other places. Now, what is that sect? It is represented by His Highness Prince Aga Khan, of Bombay, a person who is not half aware of his importance in those regions, where, till very recently, men were murdered as soon as looked at. One who acknowledges him or has brought some of the water with which he has washed his feet, would always be able to pass through those regions perfectly unharmed! I found my disguise as a Bokhara Mullah in 1866 to be quite useless, as a protection at Gilgit, whence men were kidnapped to be exchanged for a good hunting dog, but in Hunza they used to fill prisoners with gunpowder, and blow them up for general amusement. His Highness, who is much given to horse-racing, confines his spiritual administration to the collection of taxes throughout Central Asia from his followers or

Sir Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afghanistan AU1
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

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storm of hail and wind arise. Mahmood having caused this to be done, the effects became visible; for, instantly the sky lowered, and thunder, lightning, wind, and hail succeeded, turning the day into night, and spreading horror and destruction around."

D 787 791 B 717 711

Divination is still practised, in spite of the conversion of the country to Mahommedanism. The Dainyals, or diviners, who are of both sexes but are more frequently women, are supposed to receive the gift of second sight by the shadow of a Barai, or fairy, having fallen on them in sleep. Dr. Leitner speaks of the gift as being supposed to be hereditary, but this is not the case, though the daughters of Dainyals often become Dainyals also. Dainyals are said to be only found among the shepherd population, and it is easy to understand how a solitary life among the wild crags of the Hindoo Koosh should encourage a belief in the power of intercourse with the unseen world. Quite young people become Dainyals, and the spirit of prophecy is supposed to remain with them for life.

The first intimation of the gift to the friends of the recipient is conveyed by their finding him or her in a deep trance. The requisite music is brought, flageolets being substituted for the ordinary clarionets, and softly modulated airs are played close to the ear of the entranced. Gradually he moves and begins to show signs of life, on which a goat is brought and decapitated, and the bleeding neck presented to the Dainyal novice. This is the test of a true Dainyal. If the gift of divination has really come to him, he seizes the bleeding neck, and sucks the blood. Some find this too much for them, and refusing to suck the blood are looked on afterwards as only feebly gifted with the spirit of prophecy. The idea of imposture never seems to be entertained by these simple-minded people. The recognised Dainyals are consulted on all special occasions, such as the yearly festivals in summer, or the declaration of war with a neighbouring state. The spirit of divination is supposed to lie dormant in winter, and to be strong in proportion to the heat of the weather.

On the first occasion of my witnessing an incantation, two Dainyals were brought from a considerable distance to prophesy at the Ganoni festival in June. They were both women, one of about twenty-five and the other about forty years of age, who showed by their wild and haggard looks the strain of the often-practised ceremony on their faculties. A circle

~~[illegible] Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AUS Afghanistan AUS~~
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being formed round which the spectators seated themselves, a bunch of cedar twigs was placed on a flat stone and set on fire, and while two or three men vigorously blew up the flame, the Dainyal with a cloth over her head inhaled the thick pungent smoke which curled round her head, while the music played softly. In a few minutes she became violently agitated, her hands were convulsively clasped over her head, and her whole body was shaken with uncontrollable muscular motion, till, dashing the burning branches aside, she fell prostrate at the feet of the musicians, grasping the drum with her hands, and violently throwing her head backwards and forwards in a way that threatened dislocation. At length, overcome by the violence of her exertions, she fell apparently senseless on the ground. The spectators shouted long and loud at this triumphant manifestation of the fairy's presence, and the music played its loudest. Then the second Dainyal entered the circle, and in a few minutes was also lying motionless. The music now changed to a harsh cadence, and soon one, and then the other, rose and staggered round the circle in a rude attempt at stepping in time to the music. With their long hair floating loose, half-closed eyes, drunk with the fumes of the cedar smoke, and occasionally coming into collision, they formed a most weird and somewhat painful spectacle, while the shouts of the spectators rose and fell at each uncouth gesture, varied by shrill whistles that would have done credit to the gallery of a popular London theatre. The violent exertion soon produced fatigue, while the worst effects of the cedar smoke seemed to disappear and the prophesying began. While the music played softly, the two witches reduced their movements to a sort of aimless walk round the circle, with fixed and vacant gaze, occasionally one would stop and place her head close to the flutes or the drum as if listening to a language that others could not hear, and then again resume the weary round. Sometimes, during one of these pauses, one would, after listening, raise a shrill chaunt which was attentively listened to by the musicians, and after being repeated once or twice was caught up by them and loudly chaunted to the audience, while murmurs of surprise or congratulation ran round the circle.

This, varied with intervals of leaping and dancing which seemed to excite both themselves and the spectators to the highest pitch, lasted for about an hour, when the palpable exhaustion of the Dainyals made it necessary to close the meeting. A man going into the circle gave a back, as at

Dr. Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3-Afghanistan-AV3-
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D leapfrog, and one of the women, taking a flying leap on to
787 his shoulders, was carried out of the ring, the second Dainyal
791 following in like fashion on another back being offered,
B and the meeting broke up. No attempt is made to direct
787 the prophecy to any topic by hint or question, and the Dainyal
is always free to give, as the communication of the fairy,
● 791 whatever comes into her head. Considerable freedom of
speech is gained in this way, and an unpopular ruler often
D gets a broad hint given him. Dainyals only exist now in Gil-
[177] git, Hunza, and Nager, the stricter Mahommedanism of the
neighbouring valleys having disestablished them. Circum-
B stances point to this mode of divination being of Shin intro-
[177] duction, the majority of Dainyals being of that caste. Stronger
evidence is afforded by the fact that it is incumbent upon a
Dainyal, of whatever caste, to refrain from cow's milk, like
the most orthodox Shin.

During the ceremony the witches attempt, occasionally, to rush out of the circle, but are thrust back by the spectators, the idea being that they are forced to prophecy against their will. Occasionally, too, they affect to become excited by the sight of certain persons, bright colours, dogs, &c., and rush at and try to tear them, but are repelled by the spectators, and so are forced to content themselves with hurling stones at the object of aversion.

According to Elphinstone's account of the Siah Posh Kaffirs, something of the same kind exists among them. He says: "They have also persons who can procure an inspiration of some superior being, by holding their heads over the smoke of a sacrifice; but these are held in no particular reverence." Moorcroft mentions mountain witches at Nadaun who were called *Dain*, and a form of divination called *Dewalla* is still practised in some parts of the Punjab.

D Serious crimes, such as murder, are rare. In Wakhan
674 murder is punished by a fine of six horses, six guns, and
thirty woollen robes; should the murderer be unable to pay
681 the fine, he is forced to give up a son or daughter as a slave
to the family of the murdered person. Theft is punished by
a fourfold restoration of the stolen property, and the thief
is bound to a tree and beaten. Grave disturbances, in which
deadly weapons are used, are punished by heavy fines, and an
offender is not pardoned till he succeeds in bringing a live hare
to the Meer, which at certain seasons is a matter of difficulty.

D Though bloodshed is rare among the Dards as compared
674 with the Afghans, brutal murders are sometimes committed

Chapter 6

EAST AGAIN

We knew, of course, that it would not be possible to ride 114
over the snow passes into Gilgit before June or July, but we had no wish to incur the heat of the Red Sea or the Indian plains in May. We therefore sailed on March 1st (1934), a slack shipping season, for few people return to India just before the hot weather if they can help it. After an uneventful journey out, with an unprecedentedly dull lot of fellow-passengers (or were we ourselves grown old and dull? we didn't feel it. We felt like a pair of school children who had snatched an unexpected holiday and were off on a wild adventure), we found ourselves back in the familiar clammy dampness of Bombay. We made it our first business to pay a courtesy call on the Russian scholar, Professor Ivanow, with whom DL had had correspondence from time to time. We thought of no practical advantage beyond the pleasure of the great man's personal acquaintance. Professor Ivanow is, of course, one of the leading authorities on the doctrines, practices, and literature of Ismailism, the Muslim sect to which the Hunza people belong. But the Hunza peasant would know as little about these esoteric mysteries as the nominal Church of England peasant aboutt he homoousian or filioque controversies or the detail of the Thirty-nine Articles.

It happened, however, that the Professor was in touch with 112
some Hunza people in Bombay, more especially with a small 115
deputation which had just come down—on foot through the winter snows—to pay their respects and their annual "Peter's Pence" to His Highness, the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis, and to them God's vice-regent upon earth, whether his headquarters be Paris or Monte Carlo or the racing stables.

or blame that comes at night." I may be misinterpreting his 771
attitude of mind. These are not subjects you can thresh out as 181
easily as the wheat, and neither his vocabulary nor mine would have sufficed to tackle them. But this I can vouch for, that every face you see looks restfully content, breaks readily into a happy smile; that there are in Hunza no nervous gestures and no haunted eyes, and in normal life no irritable words. There is little amiss with a faith which spells happiness and high-principled living without debasing fear of Hell or over-conscious hope of Heaven.

When the final crops of every kind are safely in, the first 651
duty of the paterfamilias is to take stock of the year's yield. 262
So much is set aside for seed-grain, and not the direst shortage 792
will tempt him to violate the sanctity of this; so much is set aside for rent (if he is a tenant) or for the tax due on any craft he pursues—the miller pays a very small tax on his mill, the weaver on his loom-pit, the khalifa on his learning; and all pay (alas!) a sum as "Peter's pence" to their spiritual head, the Agha Khan. Next he calculates the "emergency reserve" that may be needed for hospitality or charity during the coming year; this also is scrupulously put aside unground. On the rest he and his family must live till next harvest, under the careful rationing of the senior housewife, the importance of whose rôle I have already stressed.

The period of comparative—well-earned and welcome—rest 796
that ensues, is inaugurated by a solemn watch-night service of prayer and thanksgiving in the House of Assembly. One of our main difficulties in the early days was to get due notice of such events beforehand. Our people were slow to realize that the normal routine of their affairs could really interest us. The first news we had of this Harvest Thanksgiving Service was one late evening in October when Dído casually said as he bade us good-night: "I'm off now to the all-night prayer." In 771
answer to our questions he told us that the Assembly Hall and the women's annex would be packed with the entire population, and that the khalifas in rotation would keep up all night a reading of the sacred Persian books and of the Qur'an. "And shall you be able to understand all that they read?" "Oh no,

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 31

Breakfast Chitchat

122 574 THE MIR was a most tolerant and understanding host. I can't say for sure whether or not all his guests were treated as well as I, but I have no reason to believe otherwise.

Sometimes I would get down to breakfast alone at 8 o'clock in the morning. On other occasions there was Jahangir, sometimes Cec and on some occasions the doctor and the Mir's uncle and a few other individuals. I usually tried to get down at 8 o'clock . . . yet, there were occasions when I got down at 6 o'clock, if I had some adventure or specific project in view.

353 792 I remember this specific breakfast because the first thing I said to the Mir after I was seated at the table was, "I would judge that you were very fond of the Aga Khan."

You see, it wasn't very hard for me to judge this fact because our apartment was hung with pictures

of the Aga Khan and his wife in various poses and stages of his life. I had given some study to these photographs and many of them were inscribed in the hand of the Aga Khan with endearing terms to his friend, Jamal. 353 792

Our quarters were in the guest house—actually adjoining the palace but on a higher level. This building had been erected by the Mir's grandfather back in 1925. It was a well-built, handsome structure, firmly ensconced on a high rocky ledge of granite. 122 344 644

You walked down the Mir's long staircase from the sun room, then you walked up half a dozen or more stone steps, forward a few feet and then you climbed up a circular, enclosed wooden staircase to the guest quarters. These consisted of a large, comfortable sitting room with many easy chairs and a fine writing desk, a large bedroom with two comfortable beds and further on was the bathroom. Then to the right of the lovely sitting room was a balcony—spacious and inviting. From it you could view Rakaposhi and all its splendor and gorgeous loveliness. [352]

The furniture all round was similar to that which you would find in the average better-class American homes. Photographs adorned the walls, among which were the photos of the old Aga Khan and his French wife. [352] [353] [792]

When I mentioned the Aga Khan to the Mir, he waxed eloquent and his face beamed and he said, "Not only was I fond of him—not only did I love him—but we were close intimate friends. He was the most generous of men and especially to the people of Hunza. I revere his memory! He was a wonderful person. We really miss him since his passing. His ancestors came from Persia to India in 1834. In 1934, one hundred years later, to celebrate the jubilee of the founding of 792 [871]

his ancestors' dynasty in India, he donated what is now the Hunzan school system. The fact that the children of Hunza are given a good education, without any cost to them, is due entirely to the kindness and benevolence of that great man. He started and maintained the system and I trust that his son will continue in his father's footsteps."

That the school system of Hunza is working, I can attest.

From what I have been able to gather and learn, Hunza was one of the states of India that contributed to the coffers of the Aga Khan. There is some story, true or mythical, that each year all of his religious followers throughout the world gave him a gift of gold or platinum to the extent of his weight. Now I do know that some gold was mined in Hunza and probably that, too, was sent to the Aga Khan or added to the sum or weight sent from all of the countries and the millions of his followers to be his gift but, as far as I know, at the present time there is not much gold being mined in Hunza and nowhere did I see any sign of anything that could be used as a means of export to bring money into Hunza.

In the meantime I was enjoying my breakfast and between munching mouthfuls of food, I was asking the Mir some rather important questions.

"I read somewhere some time ago, that the revenues you obtain from the fines you levy upon people in Hunza who commit misdemeanors or break rules or laws are added to the coffers of your own estate."

The Mir thought this was a great joke and laughed heartily.

"To begin with," he said, "laws are seldom broken by my people. They are good people and they live peaceably and do not commit serious offenses. During

2: Lorimer T-3 (1923-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

223 bonfires recklessly consuming grass-cuttings and leaves that would be worth gold in Nímo's home.

511 Burushaski is an amazingly rich language, but it has evolved no word for "litter-lout." Go where you will in lane or courtyard, over field or bare hillside, you will not see an eggshell or a fleck of wool or a nutshell lying about. Hunza must be, bar none, the cleanest and the tidiest spot on earth. If a child is lucky enough to be given a few apricot stones he will crack them on a rock, eat the kernels with gusto, and gather up the shells for mother's fire. Only in a couple of the narrow lanes of the deserted fort did we stumble on a cast-away rag or two. When a homespun cloak has served father for three years' hard work, it will descend to a son, or be handed on to an orphan relation; when it is torn and tattered past repair it is carefully plucked to pieces, washed, beaten, and re-spun to make a girl's cloak, for her work is less strenuous than the boy's, and the re-spun cloak is stout enough for her and quite as warm.

771 Whatever the theoretical tenets of the Maulai (Ismaili) dissenters may be—and of these Professor Ivanow can best speak—the simple Hunzukuts has evolved for himself quite the most practical and admirable modification of Islam that
562 I have ever seen or heard of. He does not veil his womenfolk nor banish them to separate quarters, but treats them as equal partners in field and home. His standard of morals is so high that when a young husband goes abroad, he trusts his young wife to the care of his father and brothers without misgiving.
582 We heard no case of such a trust being abused. He retains his
515 own custom of exogamic marriage between the clans and the normal first-cousin marriage of Islam (though recognized as religiously allowable and occasionally practised by the upper families) savours to the ordinary peasant of incest, and is in fact avoided, though not in principle taboo; he also, as we have noted, preserves his own fastidious and wholesome ideas about sanitation, and keeps his running water scrupulously
793 pure. No archbishops or bishops (whom he would term *pirs*), and no professional priests or *mullas* reside in his territories, for which no doubt he has to thank some tacit concordat between his wise ruler and His Highness the Agha Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismailis.

spiritual head of the Ismailis. A few of the peasant farmers have learned to read—as some have learned to carpenter—and they have copied out such essential passages of their sacred Persian books as enable them to preside with due solemnity at a name-giving, a burial, or a betrothal. The Mir appoints a sufficient number of these modestly literate men to be khalifas, and lend a dignity to such ceremonies. When you need their services you send for one—as we send for the plumber when our pipes have burst. He performs his duty, shares with honour in the ensuing family feasting, accepts some small gift in kind according to the family's resources, and goes his way to resume his normal work in his own fields.

We knew Afiato of No. 6, for three months or more, as an obliging neighbour and father of a large batch of our child friends; we admired his skill in ploughing and threshing, and the hard work he had put into levelling an intractable patch of hill within a stone's throw of our house and converting it into a vegetable garden before we realized that he was a khalifa or lay-priest. There was nothing in dress or manner to distinguish him from his fellows; he offered no unsought advice and censored no one's morals but his own. If Hunza is, as I believe, the tidiest corner of God's earth, it is also the least priest-ridden, and the absence of fanaticism and superstition is as remarkable and refreshing as the absence of litter. There is an atmosphere of mental independence that makes the air of Hunza spiritually bracing.

What the pre-Islamic cults of Hunza were—and traces of them are slight though DL may have some conjectures to offer about them later—the Hunzukuts of to-day are extraordinarily enlightened.[1] Their folk-lore (very probably borrowed) may tell of apparitions and miracles, but they look for no marvels in their life of everyday, they see no ghosts and fear no Evil Eye. They indulge in no gymnastic prayers, they keep no Fast of Ramazan, they travel on no Hajj. I saw only one man turn Mecca-wards to pray, and that was our Kashmiri

[1] In astounding contrast to their magic- and witch-ridden Shin neighbours in Gilgit (V. *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1929, *The Supernatural in the Folklore of the Gilgit Region*).

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934+5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

574 the twenty, whose great-grandchildren were present in the
538 room, a fine old greybeard, active and handsome still despite his years, set out to tell us his memories of the siege of Chitral and Kelly's famous march to its relief, in which he himself had taken part. That was only four or five years after "the downfall of Hunza," as he phrased it, but numbers of Hunza men enlisted in the British relieving force. (Another neighbour of ours in No. 6 was also one of Kelly's volunteers.) He showed me the sword he had carried and the handsome muzzle-loader with its forked rest, both carefully greased and kept in good condition as befits heirlooms of the kind. He discoursed with a tinge of unconcealed regret on the olden days when men were men and fighting was toward, "though of course peace is best," he added with incomplete conviction in his voice. The others broke in with questions, and led him on to talk of this episode and that, rehearsed no doubt many a time before, and to cap the tale he proudly put his finger through his jaw and out under his ear tracing the path of a Chitrali bullet. This honourable wound he wore more proudly than his medal, though this also was displayed with pride.

While he talked away with ease and modesty even the little children listened with intelligent attention, and you could easily picture them in years to come telling their great-grandchildren: "My great-grandfather used to say . . ." Their tastes uncorrupted by the sensational gossip of the daily press and the melodramatic improbabilities of the screen, their memories not undermined by second-hand book learning, these humble Hunza folk are immensely better educated than the products of our costly schools; not one of them but can tell you all the details of his own lineage for eight or nine generations back on either side. Outside Debrettites, how many of us British folk can do as much?

● 793 A youngster who has a taste that way or who covets the
874 position of a priest in the future, can easily learn to read and write a little Persian and Urdu at the feet of one of the local
[212] khalifas. Burushaski has no script and is never written; nor would it carry anywhere outside the Hunza and Yasin valleys if it were. If he is more ambitious of letters, he can foot the four

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1989 AV7 Burusho AV7

miles daily to Báltít, as Yaman and a couple of our other young 793
friends did, and attend the Government-supported school 784
with the sons and grandsons of the Mir and the Wazir. Promising children of the more well-to-do can attend a more advanced school at Gilgit, and the really studious may even make their way down to Srinagar.

Ninety-nine per cent of the population, however, happily 212
still remain illiterate, and have not fallen victims to com- 871
pulsory education. When the people would question me about conditions in England, they were horrified to learn of such things as rates and income-tax, but even more aghast at the tyranny that compels both boys and girls to spend the years from five to fourteen at school. "But that's the time when they ought to be *learning things*," they said.

When my pleasant evening "By the Lamp" was ended and I 000
had said good-bye, cautiously descended the ladder and mounted my waiting horse, I was shocked to see my host accompanying us carrying a tray of food. I had expressly stipulated that I would only accept his kind invitation on condition of not being laden with food gifts to take home. To my protests Kalbi said: "Yes, yes, Mother dear, it's all right. I'm not forgetting. I'm only taking up his supper to the sweeper."

With honourable simplicity the Hunzukuts abide by the 771
fundamentals of Islam as they understand them. They may not 788
be strong on ostentatious prayer and fasting, they rack their brains over no theological subtleties, but a Believer is a man and a brother, be he a Kashmiri, be he twenty times a sweeper. Here was a man of substance, a Levy, a grandfather, a much respected citizen in his small community, climbing a mile uphill to carry with his own hands a share of the evening's feast to his absentee guest. That the man was absent was no doubt a tactful concession to any caste-prejudice with which India might have infected me.

The boys lighten the monotony of the indoor weeks of the 857
Great Cold by occasionally dashing out for a hasty game of 526
foot polo or tipcat with their friends or keeping themselves warm with *mindak* matches. Such young men as are real dance

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging. 526

Religion.

By religion the Burusko of Hunza are Muhammadans of the Isma'ili or, as they term it, Maulāi sect, to which, however, they were converted from Shia-ism only three generations ago. 779

With the Maulais, restrictions, formalities and ritual are reduced to a minimum. The masjids of the former Shia days have been abandoned, and have been replaced in recent years by "jamā'atkhānas". There are no mullahs of the ordinary type. Instead there are khalīfa (pl. khalīfātīng; xʌli·fa, xʌli·fa·tiŋ), who are more servants of the public — being called in chiefly to perform the necessary ritual at marriages and funerals — than its spiritual leaders or teachers. Spiritual authority rests with the Pīr, in this case 'Abdul Ma'ni, son of the late Shahzada Lais of Chitral. He himself now lives in Zēbāk. He replaced the honoured Pir Jalāli Shah, latterly resident in Ishkoman, who died in February 1931. Two of the latter's daughters were taken in succession as his principal wife by the present Tham of Hunza, which affords an indication of the Pir's status in the country. 795 793

Religious observances and prescriptions do not play any very evident part in the life of the Burusho of Hunza, but this does not appear to have any prejudicial effect on their character or conduct. They seem to have firmly planted in them the root of morality and the social and domestic virtues. The Maulais pay tribute to the Agha Khan, the head of the sect. The Burusho of Nagir are Shiahs (pl. Shiātīng; ši.a·tiŋ), a more rigorous and formal school, but they do not indulge in a fanatical interpretation of the duties and implications of religion. They mildly contemn the "mog[illegible]" (Maulais) as misguided heretics and imperfect Muslims. 788 795 798

Social and Administrative Organisation.

The life of the people is based on the family, and then on the village or community groups which live within definite geographical 621

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging. 526

Religion.

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Social and Administrative Organisation.

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361 sides. Few, if any, Hunza homes are ever built where the land can be tilled. Usually the site that is selected for a home is part of a rocky promontory or some other location where the land could not be used for crops. They just can't afford to use a piece of tillable soil for a homesite.

342 The houses or homes are usually built of stones or rocks. No cement or any other binding compound is used. Yet the homes seem sturdy enough to stand most anything. I also saw some that were built of clay.

342 231 The lower floor of the Hunzan house is usually divided into two sections. One section has either no roof over it or just a part roof or covering and there is an opening in the wall, but no door. This is where the animals are kept. The Hunzan pasture and forage supply doesn't allow for the larger beasts. The cattle of Hunza are the diminutive kind, bred and selected for their dwarfishness, so that they will require less feeding, but still yield an abundant udderful of rich milk. This applies to goats, sheep and cows. The partial covering over the courtyard is so that the animals will have some form of protection overhead.

342 Then beside this is the house proper, probably half again as large . . . maybe 12 or 14 feet square.

The Hunzan farmer steps from his home into the stable, so to speak. This, of course, would horrify the people of America but it is not to be regarded as a sort of calamity, as utter degradation, or as a matter of filth and ill health, because this system is practiced in most other parts of the world even at the present time.

231 795 The Hunzans, being Mohammedans, do not raise pigs. Therefore they don't have the conditions that pigs would create.

356 I'm sure that I visited many of these courtyards and

302 safety hair removing instruments. So please tell me what kind of an instrument the people of Hunza use to remove the hair from their face."

[326] "I'll be glad to show you!" . . . and with that, he displayed a homemade razor, one made by the smithy of the village. "Similar instruments are made by the smithys in the various other villages throughout Hun-

[795] za," he went on. "Our religion recommends that our faces be kept clean of hair."

"I will also have a razor made for you and sent along with the shoes."

123 "Thank you very much," I said to the Mir. "I am very grateful. I was really and truly hoping you'd say that, because that is another item that I would love to add to my collection."

I didn't know how to thank him for all these very lovely gifts, but I was somewhat concerned as to how I'd carry them all the way home. It was absolutely unthinkable to ship them individually or separately because I certainly wouldn't want any of them lost.

With the exception of the silver tea service, the other items were things that I had specifically wanted and had mentioned at one time or another. The Mir had keen ears and each and every item that I had mentioned was there as a gift for me.

To my friend, Cec Brunton, he also presented a Hunza hat and a cane of a little different type.

Not being a hunter it is understandable that I would not appreciate an ibex or a Marco Polo sheep head as a trophy, but most assuredly I would hang or display all of the items that the Mir was presenting to me most conspicuously in my home. And if perchance my wife wouldn't feel that some of them were sufficiently ornate or perhaps were unbecoming to her living room, then I would proudly hang them in my office. In fact, I felt

648 affairs, its defense, and its single tele-
206 phone line. Hunza pays no taxes to the
643 Pakistani Government. Instead, they
[65] are paid to the Mir, who is absolute
[622] ruler of the small border state. The Mir
[624] appoints an *arbop*, or village chief,
and a *chowkidar*, or local sergeant at
[627] arms, for each village. Local disputes
643 are tried by village chiefs. Anyone has
692 the right of appeal to the Mir's court,
[645] which consists of the Mir, his heredi-
tary grand vizier, plus the Mir-ap-
pointed chiefs of all the villages within
[681] walking distance of the palace. How-
ever, since the loser usually pays a fine
to the Mir's treasury, and the winner
traditionally gives the court a present
equal to the loser's fine, not many
795 cases are appealed. The Aga Khan
643 (literally "Grandfather King") is
spiritual leader of the Ismaili reli-

● 795 gious sect to which all Hunzas belong;
643 the Mir of Hunza is administrator, but not religious deputy, for the Ismailians of the Central Asian District.

114 THE notes about Bohar and his teeth were made after I had worked with the Hunza people for almost three years during two prolonged stays in the small kingdom. I was introduced to this part of Asia as a reconnaissance engineer on General Stilwell's staff, and returned twice be-
114 tween 1948 and 1951. My primary
123 purpose as Director of the Central Asiatic Research Foundation was to discover what resources were available to the Hunzas, and to teach them to use these to their own best advantage. From the start of my second visit I operated a general dispensary with

[Text continues on p. 41-A]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

CHAPTER XX.

DARDISTAN: COUNTRIES AROUND GILGIT.

D 1 FRAGMENTS of information got from hearsay of countries that are 642 inaccessible to one, when they can be verified by comparison, are 563 not without value. I will therefore put down a few notes, which, 564 as far as they go, are likely to be correct, on those parts of Dardistan which cannot at present be reached by Europeans. 567

795 But first I will show, in a tabular form, the several divisions of Dardistan which have in any way come within my notice, including those which have already been treated of. These divisions are in some cases separate valleys, in other cases parts of the same valley. The Table includes a statement of their form of government, of the races or castes that inhabit them, and of the sect or religion prevailing, as well as the practice that may hold as regards slavery.

B 642 564 567 795

DARDISTAN.

	Government.	Prevailing Races or Castes.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
GILGIT ..	Governed directly by the Maharaja's officers.	A few Ronū; more Shīn; most Yashkun.	Half Sunī, half Shīa.	In these neither is there now, nor was there of old, either slavery or slave-trade.
SE		Shīn and Yashkun	Mostly Sunī; a few Shīa.	
HARAMOSH		Shīn and Yashkun	Shīa.	
HASORA ..		Shīn and Yashkun	Sunī.	
PUNIĀL ..	Ruled by Raja 'Isā Bāgdur, in dependence on the Maharaja. (Raja's caste or family is called Burshe.)	Yashkun	Molāī; and a few Sunī.	
NAGAR ..	Ruled by Raja Zafar. (Raja's family, Mogulute.)	Yashkun	All Shīa.	

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

DARDISTÂN—*continued.*

	Government.	Prevailing Race or Caste.	Religion.	Condition as regards Slavery.
HUNZA ..	Ruled by Raja Ghazan Khân, son of Ghazanfar. (Raja's family, Ayeshia.)	Yashkun	All Molâi.	
ISHKOMAN, or CHATARKUN	Belongs to Yâsin	Yashkun	Molâi.	
YÂSIN ..	Ruled by Raja Mir Wali, son of Ganr Rahmât. (Raja's family, Bakhta.)	Yashkun	Molâi and Sunî, the former predominating; no Shia.	Here slaves are both kept and dealt in.
CHITRÂL and MASTÛJ.	Ruled by Raja Imân-ul-Mulk. (Raja's family, Katorî.)	Yashkun	Sunî.	
GOIJÂL in BADAKHSHÂN	Dependent on the Mir or Prince of Badakhshân (tributary to Kâbul).	Wâkhik *	Molâi.	
DÂREL ..	Republic	Shîn and Yashkun	Sunî.	In these, captives of war are kept as slaves; slave-dealing is not practised.
TANGIR ..	Republic	Shîn and Yashkun		
GOR	Republic	Shîn and Yashkun	Sunî.	
THALICHA ..	Republic.			
CHILÂS ..	Republic	Shîn and Yashkun		
KOLI	Republic	Shîn and Yashkun		
PÂLUS ..	Republic	Shîn and Yashkun		

The first five divisions I have already treated of as fully as I was able. We now come to the countries that surround Gilgit.

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Maharaja, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

The people of Nagar are called Khajanî.

Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Maharaja, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Raja sent an agent to Sirinagar to open friendly relations, who was well received; I do not know

* I have never met any of these people, but I believe them to be Dârda. Goije is another name by which they are called; that is the territorial name, while Wâkhik is the caste name.

131 **Hunza-Nagar.**—Two small chiefships lying to the extreme north-west of Kashmīr, on the banks of the Hunza river. Towards the north they extend into the mountainous region which adjoins the junction of the Hindu Kush and Muztāgh ranges; in the south they border on Gilgit; on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yāsīn by a range of mountains; while the Muztāgh range divides Nagar from Baltistān on the
197 east. The inhabitants of both chiefships come from the same stock and speak the same language, but are not usually on good
795 terms with each other. In Hunza the people are Maulais or Ismailis, followers of the Agā Khān, while in Nagar they are ordinarily Shiahs.

175 Lying between these States and Gilgit are Chaprot and Chalt
642 fort with some attached villages, which were long a source of contention between the rival chiefs. In 1877 the ruler of Nagar, with the assistance of the Kashmīr Darbār, successfully occupied the disputed tract; but in 1886 he was persuaded to withdraw his troops, which were replaced by a garrison from Kashmīr. In the same year Ghazan Khān, the *Tham* or chief of Hunza, was murdered by his son Safdar Alī, who succeeded him and professed submission to the Mahārājā of Kashmīr. The two chiefs combined in 1888, and ejected the Kashmīr troops from Chaprot and Chalt, even threatening Gilgit, but both strongholds were reoccupied by the Kashmīr forces after a few months.

A British Agency was re-established at Gilgit in 1889; and the chiefs agreed to respect the control of the Agent, to allow free passage through their territory, and to stop raiding on the Yārkand road and elsewhere, yearly subsidies being granted to them, besides the amount paid by the Kashmīr State. These engagements were not respected; and in May, 1891, a combined force from Hunza and Nagar threatened Chalt, but dispersed on the arrival of reinforcements. Later in the year they refused to allow roads to be made to Chalt, extending to their own country, and it became necessary to dispatch troops against them. Nagar and Hunza were occupied, and the *Tham* of the former place submitted, while Safdar Alī, the *Tham* of Hunza, fled to Chinese Turkistān. The subsidies were withdrawn, and a Political officer and military force remained at Hunza till 1897; but in 1892 Muhammad Nāzim Khān was installed as *Tham* in place of his half-brother Safdar Alī, while the *Tham* of Nagar was reinstated. In 1895 subsidies were again granted by the Government of India and the Kashmīr State, and in the same year both chiefs assisted in the relief of Chitrāl.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV 7

173 of Nagar, and the name is supposed to be the corruption of the Chinese word Tung, which forms part of many Chinese titles. The Thum was an absolute ruler, who killed or sold his subjects into slavery as it pleased him; but that the rule, though despotic, must have been tempered by common-sense is shown by the fact that the office of wazir, or minister, has gone down in unbroken succession from father to son for seven generations.

643 Safdar Ali, the Thum at the time of my visit, had murdered his father, Ghazan Khan, three years previously, and his character caused me some anxiety. He had, it is true, as had the Nagar chief, written to Government, and asked that a mission should be sent to him, but he bore an ill name for treachery, cruelty, ●795 and weakness. In common with most of his subjects he belonged to the Maulai sect, the followers of which, though calling themselves Shiahs, were a bye-word on the frontier for their shameless violation of all the [837] leading Mahomedan doctrines. The men drank wine freely; their morals were of the loosest; a man considered himself honoured if his wife attracted the Thum's attentions, and hospitality enjoined that he should offer her to his guest. Withal, they were 181 cheery, pleasant people to deal with, slight, wiry, and very active, first-rate mountaineers, and of untiring energy, a great contrast to the Shins of 721 Gilgit. With none of the bloodthirstiness of the Pathan they yet had a great reputation for bravery, and had more than once invaded and severely handled their Nagar neighbours, who were said never to have carried the war into their country.

000 The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the

The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the
241 finest stretch is just below the fort of the chief, and
311 extends for some six and a half miles in length with a width of from a mile to a mile and a half, the whole
[361] of the land being irrigated. This main stretch of arable land, which is studded with villages, lies at an altitude of eight thousand feet, and faces south, and the climate here is delightful. Further up the valley lie scattered patches of cultivation, getting poorer and poorer as the altitude increases. The mountains enclosing the valley are very precipitous even for the Hindu-Kush; wood and grazing for cattle are therefore unusually scarce, and the people suffer in conse-
291 quence. The clothing of the people is practically the same both in Hunza and Nagar as it is in Chitral, and has been described before,[1] the only difference being that the men's stockings are not knitted in such elaborate patterns, and that, as a general rule, the woollen outer robe is, in Hunza especially, more often white than brown. All, except on State occasions when the higher ranks don the turban, wear the Dard head-dress. This is a long bag of brown woollen cloth rolled back on itself till it forms a cap, which is one fold thick on the top, with a border an inch or so thick round the head. It makes a light, warm, and delightfully comfortable head-dress, but is a very poor protection against severe sun.

101 Nagar, as most of the surrounding people and the inhabitants themselves generally call it, though they also pronounce the word Nagér, and the scientific, for some cause best known to themselves, insist on spell-
[161] ing it *Nagyr*, is a smaller State than Hunza. The
795 population is about the same,[2] and is composed of Yeshkuns, professing themselves Shiahs, but very

[1] [Cf. pp. 59 75 102 catalogue 116 -- Analyst] [2] [ca. 10,000 -- Analyst]

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burush. AV7

795 nearly as lax in their Mahomedanism as the people of Hunza. There is considerably more cultivation
241 than in Hunza, the land is better watered, and the main slopes of the mountains enclosing the country face north, and are consequently covered with forest. The land has the full benefit of the summer sun, and
[135] the crops are splendid. The untold profusion of the apricots, and the quantity of gold which can be washed out of every stream, has gained the country amongst the Nagaris themselves the name of
142 "the land of gold and apricots." The people, though
721 of identically the same stock as those of Hunza, show
511 marked differences. They are less warlike than their
567 neighbours; they were never implicated in the raiding of caravans, owing principally perhaps to there being no outlet to the north or east leading to caravan tracks; they are, on the whole, better off, owing to the better agricultural conditions, and the possession of splendid grazing grounds; and last, but not least, slavery is unknown amongst them — that is, they would not brook their king selling them or their children, and the exile of the present ruler's eldest son is said to have been caused by his attempt to
181 introduce the custom from Hunza. The men are not
829 so bright and cheery as their Hunza cousins; they strike one as more sedate and morose, and their reputation for dash and gallantry is far lower. The reason they themselves assign for the difference, and the one generally accepted, is that in the winter, when the sun is in the south, the great mountains backing their valley shut out all the light and warmth, of which Hunza facing south enjoys the full benefit, and that the depressing effect of passing day after day in the cold and dark-

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

of the sexes, and the management of the State, in theory, is attributed to fairies. No war is undertaken unless the fairy (whom, by the way, one is not allowed to see) gives the command by beating the sacred drum. The witches, who get into an ecstatic state, are the journalists, historians, and prophetesses of the tribe. They tell you what goes on in the surrounding valleys. They represent, as it were, the local *Times*; they tell you the past glories, such as they are, of raids and murders by their tribe; and when the *Tham* or ruler, who is supposed to be heaven-born (there being some mystery about the origin of his dynasty), does wrong, the only one who will dare to tell him the truth is the Dayal, or the witch who prophesies the future, and takes the opportunity of telling the Rajah that, unless he behaves in a manner worthy of his origin, he will come to grief! This is not a common form of popular representation to be met with, say, in India. Grimm's fairy-tales sometimes seem to be translated into practice in Hunza-land, which offers material for discussion alike to those who search for the Huns and to those who search for the very different Honas.

Then with regard to religion, as I said before, though nominally Muhammedan, they are really deniers of all the important precepts of true Muhammedanism, which is opposed to drunkenness, introduces a real brotherhood, and enjoins great cleanliness as absolutely necessary before the spiritual purification by prayer can take place. The people are mostly Muláis, but inferior in piety (?) to those of Zébak, Shignán, Wakhan, and other places. Now, what is that sect? It is represented by His Highness Prince Aga Khan, of Bombay, a person who is not half aware of his importance in those regions, where, till very recently, men were murdered as soon as looked at. One who acknowledges him or has brought some of the water with which he has washed his feet, would always be able to pass through those regions perfectly unharmed! I found my disguise as a Bokhara Mullah in 1866 to be quite useless, as a protection at Gilgit, whence men were kidnapped to be exchanged for a good hunting dog, but in Hunza they used to fill prisoners with gunpowder, and blow them up for general amusement. His Highness, who is much given to horse-racing, confines his spiritual administration to the collection of taxes throughout Central Asia from his followers or

L: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

795 believers, and the believers themselves represent what is still left of the doctrine of the Sheik-ul-Jabl or the Ancient of the Mountain, the head of the so-called Assassins, a connexion of the Mahdi, if he was the Mahdi, or the supposed Mahdi in the Soudan. I consider he was not the Mahdi as foretold in Muhammedan tradition; but, be that as it may, the 7th Imám of the Shiahs has given rise to the sects both of the Druses in the Lebanon and to the Hunzas on the Pamir. They are the existing Ismailians, who, centuries ago, under the influence of *Hashish*, the Indian hemp, committed crimes throughout Christendom, and were the terror of Knight-Templars, as "Hashîshîn," corrupted into "Assassins."

Now, I have been fortunate enough, owing to my friendship with the head of their tribe, to obtain some portions of the Kelám-i-pîr volume, which takes the place, really, of the Korán, and of which I have got a portion here. I thought it might not be unworthy of your society to bring this to your knowledge, as a very interesting remnant which throws, *inter alia*, considerable [782] light not only on their doctrine, but also on the Crusades. By a similar favour, I have had the opportunity of hearing the Mithâq, or covenant of the Druses, and that covenant of the Druses is a kind of prayer they offer up to God, not only in connexion with the Old Man of the Mountain, the head of the assassins who began about 1022, but also with those mysterious rites which also take place in what I may call the fairy-land of Hunza. With regard to the covenants, or one of them, which the 000 "U'qelá" or the "initiated" or "wise," as distinguished from the "Juhelá" or "ignorant" "laity," among the Druses, offer up every night, this was used by a so-called educated Druse, one who had been converted to Protestantism,—a very good thing; but, as often happens, with that denationalisation which renders his conversion useless as a means for the promotion of any religion, as there are no indigenous elements for its growth. Such a convert is often unable to obtain a knowledge of the practices of his still unconverted countrymen, as nobody can be looked upon with greater distrust than that native of a country who has unlearnt to think in his own language, and who cannot acquire a foreign language with its associations, which are part of the history of that language; he does not become an Englishman with English

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho AV7

associations, but ceases to be a good native with his own indigenous associations. Therefore, in my humble opinion, of all the unfortunate specimens of mankind, the most degraded are those who, under the guise of being Europeanised and, therefore, reformers, have themselves the greatest necessity for reform. Their mind has become completely unhinged, thereby showing us that if we Europeans wish to do good among Orientals we can do so best by living good lives in the midst of professors of other religions, this being also in accordance with the 13th edict of Asoka. 000

This Druse covenant makes the mad Fatimite ruler of Egypt, Hákim, the "Lord of the Universe." As I said before, the present "Lord of the Universe" for the Hunzas is the lineal descendant of the 7th Imám, a resident of Bombay, one to whom the Muláis make pilgrimages, instead of going to Mecca or to Kerbelá. You may imagine that, even as regards the Druses, there must be something higher than *their* "Lord of the Universe;" but, such as he is, it is with him that this covenant is made. Reverting to his living colleague, the Indian "Lord," it may be stated that there are men scattered throughout India of whose influence we have only the faintest conception. I pointed out in 1866 that if any one wanted to follow successfully my footsteps is Dardistan, he would have to get recommendations from His Highness Aga Khan of Bombay, and I am glad to say that Col. Lockhart has taken advantage of that recommendation. The Druse "Lord of the Universe" is regarded as one with whom nothing can be compared. The Druses are to render him the most implicit obedience, and to carry out his behests at the loss of everything, good name, wealth, and life, with the view of obtaining the favour of one who may be taken to be God; but the sentence is so constructed as to make him, if not God, only second to God; in other words, only just a discrimination between God as the distant ruler of the Universe and, perhaps, some lineal descendant of Hákim, or rather, Hákim himself as an ever-living being, as the ruler of *this* world. This and some other prayers, with some songs, one amongst which breathes the greatest hatred to Muhammedanism, and speaks of the destruction of Mecca as something to look forward to, seem to be deserving of study. There are also references in them to rites 000

776 [788] 795

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1: Leitner

AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

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/For general information on the Druse (Druze), or Muláis sect see category 116 pp. 209-338 and 246. /

~~30:~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1-Afghanistan AU2~~
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AV3 Dard
Burush. AV7

When Cashmere authority was temporarily expelled from Gilgit, between 1852 and 1860, communication with Nager was maintained by this road. In the prosperous times of the Shin rule, the Thums of Nager acknowledged the Ras of Gilgit as their feudal superiors, and tradition relates that the villages of Nilt, Gulmit, Toll, and Pussunt, which now belong to Nager, were given as dowries to different Thums who married daughters of the Trakhané. At the time of the Sikh occupation of Gilgit a very close connection existed between the rulers of the two states of Gilgit and Nager. Between Hunza and Nager a great rivalry, which has frequently resulted in open hostility, has always existed, but they are generally ready to combine against an external foe. Though possessing a common origin, the people of Nager are distinguished for timidity and incapacity for war, and no instance is recorded of their being victorious over their rivals of Hunza, at whose hands they have suffered many disastrous defeats. The people of Nager are Shiahs, and slavery does not exist among them. Since 1868 Nager has been tributary to Cashmere, to which it makes an annual payment of twenty-one tolas of gold and two baskets of apricots. 648 186 [795]

Between the two states the river flows between perpendicular banks, 300 feet high and 600 feet apart at the top. The banks can only be ascended in a few places, which are carefully guarded. 131

Hunza, which comprises a considerable extent of territory, has an agricultural population of about 6,000 souls. North of the great range of peaks which bisects the principality from south-east to north-west the country opens out into rolling grass steppes, supporting a scattered pastoral population. Here the great wild sheep (*O. Poli*) roams in large herds. This tract is known as Little Goohjal, to distinguish it from Wakhan, which, south of the Hindoo Koosh, is known as Goohjal proper. 133 [161]

From the north-east the Shimshal stream, draining the valley of that name, brings down a great volume of water in summer, and effectually closes all access from the south, except to men on foot. The only direct route in summer to the Shimshal Valley from the south, is by the high and difficult Moorkôn Pass, which is only open for two months in the year. From the head of the Shimshal Valley a road, only passable for men on foot, leads to Koolanooldi in the Yarkund Valley. It was by this road that attacks on the caravans were organised. Another route leads by a somewhat 487

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~NOT Afghanistan NOT~~
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Burusho AV7

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a limited number of the inhabitants, and did not become general till the middle or end of the sixteenth century. Even then its acceptance was so irregular that it is not surprising that Hindooism has lingered on, and has only become extinct in the present day.

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The tribes of the Indus Valley were exposed earlier to the fervid preaching of the Moollahs of Swat and Boneyr, and this has led to the adoption by them of the Soonnee tenets. The people of Chilas, who were always a less tractable race than their neighbours, make it their boast that, though travellers and traders are safe in their country, no Shiah ever escapes out of their hands. At Gor, also, a few miles above Chilas, the people are all Soonnees, but a looser type of Mahommedanism prevails, and prayers were till recently addressed to the god Taiban, whose horse is sculptured on the rock near the village.

In Gilgit the population is now three-fourths Soonnee and the rest Shiah, but at the commencement of the Sikh occupation, the greater proportion were Shiahs or Maulais, and it is related that any Soonnee falling into their hands was branded with a hot iron unless he consented to become a proselyte. Those who now still adhere to the Maulai tenets, are mostly old men, who keep the fact concealed as far as possible, and call themselves Shiahs. At Soomma, a secluded village in Yassin, the people, though professed Mussulmans, still make offerings to the god Shaitum. In several other places the names of local deities are still preserved, and objects, such as a peculiar-shaped rock near a village, are still regarded with veneration, and invoked in the registration of solemn covenants.

B
[795]

The influence of the Iskardo Princes introduced Shiah tenets into the north-eastern part of Dardistan, while the tenets of the Maulais have made their way from the Oxus Valley across the passes of the Hindoo Koosh. In Nager the entire population are Shiahs of the orthodox type, and so are two-thirds of the people of Baltistan; the rest belong to the Noor Buksh sect. In Hunza, till a few years ago, Shiah tenets found many followers; now the Meer and the whole population are Maulais.

The Shiahs in these countries lament the martyrdom of the sons of Ali twice a year; once at the usual time according to the Mahommedan calendar, and again in the month of August, the season at which they say the martyrdom actually occurred.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushio AV7

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Wherever Soonnees and Shiahs are found living together, they seem to practise a mutual tolerance rare in other purely Mahommedan communities. Intermarriage between the sects is so common as not to excite remark.

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The whole of the people of Hunza, Ponyal, Zebak, Shighnan, Roshan, Munjan, Kolab, and Darwaz, more than half the people of Sirikol, Wakhan, Yassin, and the greater number of the inhabitants of the Ludkho Valley in Chitral, belong to the Maulai sect. A few Maulais are said to exist in Khokand, Karategin, and Badakhshan, among the poorest of the people, and in one district near Balkh, they are known as the disciples of Syud Jaffer Khan. Some are also to be found in Afghanistan, where they are known as Muftadis. A few may possibly exist in Bokhara and Khorasan, but in a fanatical country they would probably pass themselves off as Shiahs.

The head of this sect is Agha Khan, the acknowledged spiritual chief of the Khojas of India and Persia, a gentleman of Khorasan, who came to India in 1840 for political reasons, and who has resided in Bombay ever since.

The countries inhabited by the Maulais are roughly divided among a number of Pirs, who are treated by their disciples with extraordinary respect, but residence does not give the Pir authority over the whole of any special district. The office is hereditary, and Maulai families transfer their spiritual obedience from father to son, regardless of changes of residence. For instance, Shah Abdul Rahim of Zebak, who is honoured and respected as being next in rank to Agha Khan himself, has disciples in Sirikol, Kunjoot, Zebak, Yassin, and Badakhshan, but other Pirs also have disciples in those places. The respect paid to the Pirs by their disciples is unbounded; nothing is refused them. If they ask for a son or a daughter of any house, no refusal is dreamt of. One of them once said to me, "If I ordered a father to kill his own son, he dare not refuse." Whenever they move about, they are attended by a large number of followers, who are fed and maintained out of their superfluities, and they live entirely on the offerings of their disciples. Presents of horses, cattle, clothes, fruit, wheat, &c., are continually being made them, and the best of everything a Maulai possesses is given to his Pir. A portion of these offerings is converted into coin and sent yearly to Agha Khan, and agents travel yearly from these remote parts to Bombay solely for the purpose of conveying these contributions to him.

Biddulph G-8 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

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Next in rank to the Pirs are Caliphas, whose duty consists in little more than the collection of offerings. The Pirs each correspond direct with Agha Khan.

The Maulais must not be confounded with the Maulavi sect of dancing Darweshes, with whom they have nothing in common. They assert that their sect was founded by the Imam Jaffer Ali Sadik (the just), a descendant of Ali, by the daughter of the Prophet, who died A.H. 148. Aboo Mahommed Hussain, however, writing in the *Zubdat-ool-akhbar*, says, that Mahommed, surnamed Mahdi, who claimed to be sixth in descent from the Imam Jaffer Ali Sadik, founded the sect, w' o were first known as Ismailyas,[1] in Egypt in the year A H. 299. His followers recognised him as the twelfth Imam, nd quoted a supposed saying of the Prophet Mahommed that every 300 years the sun would rise in the west, explaining that Mahommed Mahdi's preaching 300 years after the Hijra was a fulfilment of the prophecy. Aboo Yezid, a Moolla who questioned Mahommed Mahdi's descent from Jaffer Ali Sadik, on the plea that Ismail's only son had died childless, was proclaimed to be Dejjal (Antichrist). The conquest of Egypt by Sultan Sala-oo-deen Yusuf destroyed the temporal power of the sect in that country. They were, at that time, ruled by Azid, a descendant of Mahommed Mahdi. Meanwhile, the tenets of the sect had been brought to Persia by Hassan-i-Sabbah, an Arab of the tribe of Himyar in Yemen, who established himself later in Alamot, where his grandson, on the seventh day of the Ramazan, A.H. 555, publicly proclaimed that fasting and other observances of the Sharyat were no longer obligatory.

Colonel Yule, in his notes on the Travels of Marco Polo, has given an interesting account of the "old man of the mountain," whose representative he recognises in Agha Khan. On this supposition the Maulais of the Hindoo Koosh and Oxus Valley belong to the sect of assassins, and are an offshoot of the sect to which the Druses of the Lebanon belong. They call themselves Muglees, Maulais, or Mawallis indifferently. Mr. Drew suggests that the name is derived from Maula, an Arabic name for God. The appellation may equally claim to be a corruption of Muwahideen, the name by which the Druses still call themselves, or Mulahidah, from *Mulhed*, "an infidel," the name given to the sect in old times.

[1] So named from Ismail, son of Imam Jaffer.

~~Sir~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU3 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

The precepts and observances of the sect are difficult to ascertain, one of their sayings being that "a man should conceal his faith and his women;" and the little I have been able to ascertain is from Maulais who have proselytized, and those only men of no education. D 795 B 795

Soonnees speak of them as "Kaffirs" and "Rafizi," but they themselves do not refuse to pray or eat with Soonnees. They are sometimes accused of worshipping Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and accordingly styled "Ali-purust," and they undoubtedly esteem Ali, who, they say, was born of Light as superior to the Prophet Mahommed, and an incarnation of the deity. They reject the idea of a future state, believing in the transmigration of souls. Evil deeds are punished by the spirit being translated into a dog or other mean animal. Good actions are rewarded by a future incarnation as a great or holy man. They claim little in common with other sects of Mahommedans, saying, the Soonnee is a dog and the Shiah is an ass. They question the divine character of the Koran, though they say that it was entrusted to the Angel Gabriel to give to Ali, but that he gave it by mistake to Mahommed.

They use in place of the Koran a book called the Kalam-i-Pir, a Persian work, which is shown to none but men of their faith. The precept most commonly quoted by them is, that a man should blind himself, so that he should not be moved with envy at sight of his neighbour's prosperity; he should weaken his hands, so that they can grasp nothing belonging to others; and lame himself, that he may be unable to disobey the commands of his Pir. Cattle that have strayed into standing crops are not to be driven out till they have satisfied themselves. A good Maulai is already as one dead, prayers therefore are unnecessary, as also is fasting. If any forcible attempt should be made to cause a Maulai to fast, he should resist it by devouring a pinch of dust. The only pilgrimage enjoined is to the living head of their faith, who is styled the Imam-i-Zeman, or Sahib-i-Zeman. Marriage can be performed by any man whose beard is white. Seating himself with the bridegroom on his right hand and the bride on his left, he takes a few pieces of roasted sheep's liver in both hands, and crossing his arms gives them to the man with his left hand and to the woman with his right. Then taking a cup of water he gives half to the woman, and after he has said a few words out of the Kalam-i-Pir, the ceremony is completed. The form of the Maulai Kalima is

D B [782] D B [778] D B [585]

~~1st~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 795 B 795

changed yearly in accordance with instructions from their spiritual head.

The following is a favourite poem recited in praise of the Imam-i-zeman :—

D 795 539 B 795 539

HELP! OH ALI.

Oh amulet of life, thou glory, Sahib-i-zeman,
Speak thy praise incessantly,
Sahib-i-zeman.

Sultan of both worlds from east to west,
All kings are beggars compared to you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

The sun of heaven shines by your beauty,
Sun and moon by your light,
Sahib-i-zeman.

When shall peace be from evil and strife of Dejjal,
Except it be your pleasure,
Sahib-i-zeman.

I hope that my heart may be lighted up
One day under the dust of your feet,
Sahib-i-zeman.

There will be a day with my last breath,
I shall speak your praises,
Sahib-i-zeman.

It is time that the sound of your trumpet
Be heard through the world,
Sahib-i-zeman.

From Kaf to Kaf take the whole world
In your world-conquering hand,
Sahib-i-zeman.

The time is come for the faithful to gird
Their loins and follow you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

Jesus will come down from the fourth heaven
To imitate you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

Nobody will worship or pay respect to God
Without worshipping also you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

~~Bi~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushi AV7
Balti AV2

D 795 539 Bo 795 539

Others go their own way
But I am faithful to you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

I, Suleem, the distracted in mind,
Have seized the skirts of your bounty,
Sahib-i-zeman.

D Bo 795 [262] D Bo [798]

Wine is drunk by the Maulais without concealment, and they do not strictly abstain from eating the flesh of animals not killed in the orthodox manner. Being absolved from the constraints of prayer and fasting, the practical religion of the uneducated consists of little more than obeying the commands of their Caliphas and Pirs, and making offerings freely through them to their spiritual chief. They are by no means intolerant, and, where permitted, live on good terms with Soonnees and Shiahs, with whom they intermarry without restraint. The only cases I have known of ill-feeling between the sects have been caused in the first instance by Soonnees from other places. From Shiahs they seldom meet with hostility, owing probably to the respect they show to Ali; though they do not celebrate the martyrdom of Hassan and Hoossain.

D 795 764 Bo 795 764

On the death of a Maulai the choicest articles of his portable property are set aside for the Imam-i-zeman. No food is cooked in the house, for from three to eight days, according to the rank of the deceased, and the family subsist on food cooked elsewhere. Food is also placed on trees and exposed places for birds to eat. On the evening of the appointed day a Calipha comes to the house, and food is cooked and offered to him. He eats a mouthful and places a piece of bread in the mouth of the dead man's heir, after which the rest of the family partake. The lamp is then lighted (from which the ceremony is called "Chiragh roshan"), and a six-stringed guitar called "gherba" being produced, singing is kept up for the whole night.

D Bo 795

I have sometimes shown the portrait of Agha Khan in Yule's Marco Palo to Maulais. They pass their fingers lightly over it and then touch their eyes and lips.

Bi 795 173

The Noor Buksh sect, which has been before referred to, is peculiar to Baltistan, where it numbers over twenty thousands followers, most of whom are to be found in Shigar and Khapolor. It is apparently an attempt to form a *vid media* between Shiah and Soonnee doctrines. Mahommedanism is said to have been first introduced into Baltistan according to Soonnee tenets by Syud Ali Hamadani. Later, a certain

771 sweeper; I heard only one muezzin sound the Call to Prayer—
788 and saw no one pay heed to it. He was chanting from a cliff in the Mir's garden, and the Mir gathers round him craftsmen of
778 every sort. There are a few shrines in the country reputed
● 796 holy—including two burial places of Moses within a few
788 hundred yards of each other on one mountain side—where a few rags on sticks flutter unconvincingly in the wind; and one, the shrine of Baba Ghundi in Chupursan, some seven days' march above Báltít, is the object of an occasional pilgrimage. On Tuesdays and Fridays there are said to be services in the House of Assembly, which has supplanted the older Shiah mosque, but I never observed one of our servants or neighbours absent himself from work to go to them.

771 Yet the people are by no means without faith. It is difficult
181 to know exactly what even church-going Christians of our own
775 country effectively believe—it is impossible to be sure what one effectively believes oneself—so I can offer only a tentative guess as to the average person's simple credo. The Hunzukuts hold, I think, a comforting, unquestioning faith in a good and kindly God, whose ways they cannot profess to understand. They meet bereavement with a murmur that "there is no remedy against the will of God"; they bury their loved ones with genuine sorrow, but without anxiety. They feel that "it is well with the child," and vaguely trust that some day, somewhere, somehow, they will meet again. They assume as axiomatic that God asks of them diligence and truth, fair-dealing and goodwill. They are hard-working and thrifty, tolerant to others; kind and affectionate in the home, gentle to children and the aged; generous beyond their means to the orphan; truthful and just; and they go about their daily work in the happy confidence that God is well pleased. If they din no perfunctory prayers into His ears, there are occasions when they heartily and humbly pray, as will presently be seen.

771 The Hunzukuts is no mystic, no poet, no artist. This life
181 claims his full attention if he is to live at all; philosophic speculation about "fixed fate, freewill, fore-knowledge absolute" does not line his brow or disturb his rest, nor does he "keep in duty through the toilsome day, because of praise

or blame that comes at night." I may be misinterpreting his 771
attitude of mind. These are not subjects you can thresh out as 181
easily as the wheat, and neither his vocabulary nor mine would have sufficed to tackle them. But this I can vouch for, that every face you see looks restfully content, breaks readily into a happy smile; that there are in Hunza no nervous gestures and no haunted eyes, and in normal life no irritable words. There is little amiss with a faith which spells happiness and high-principled living without debasing fear of Hell or over-conscious hope of Heaven.

When the final crops of every kind are safely in, the first 651
duty of the paterfamilias is to take stock of the year's yield. 262
So much is set aside for seed-grain, and not the direst shortage 792
will tempt him to violate the sanctity of this; so much is set aside for rent (if he is a tenant) or for the tax due on any craft he pursues—the miller pays a very small tax on his mill, the weaver on his loom-pit, the khalifa on his learning; and all pay (alas!) a sum as "Peter's pence" to their spiritual head, the Agha Khan. Next he calculates the "emergency reserve" that may be needed for hospitality or charity during the coming year; this also is scrupulously put aside unground. On the rest he and his family must live till next harvest, under the careful rationing of the senior housewife, the importance of whose rôle I have already stressed.

The period of comparative—well-earned and welcome—rest 796
that ensues, is inaugurated by a solemn watch-night service of prayer and thanksgiving in the House of Assembly. One of our main difficulties in the early days was to get due notice of such events beforehand. Our people were slow to realize that the normal routine of their affairs could really interest us. The first news we had of this Harvest Thanksgiving Service was one late evening in October when Dádo casually said as he bade us good-night: "I'm off now to the all-night prayer." In [779]
answer to our questions he told us that the Assembly Hall and the women's annex would be packed with the entire population, and that the khalifas in rotation would keep up all night a reading of the sacred Persian books and of the Qur'an. "And shall you be able to understand all that they read?" "Oh no,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 of course not; but we shall hear the names of God and the Imams, and we shall pray."

Further, it appeared that while the non-stop worship went on inside the Hall, a great communal feast would be prepared outside to be enjoyed at daybreak. We sent Dádo off with our good wishes; when he was gone I raided his pantry, assembled materials for early morning tea, and set the alarm-clock. Up we hopped before dawn and made our way, rather sleepy and unwashed, down to the open space "At the Gate" of the old fort, to see whether we could without offence look on at the morning feast. As we drew near I wondered whether it was altogether wise. If you think of the fanaticism of Pathans or Arabs towards Unbelievers . . . we were still new to the country and had not sounded the depths of Hunza tolerance. Already, however, we had considerable trust in it, and this trust was not misplaced. As we were seen coming round the corner, two headmen of the clans came out to greet us, and a chorus of spontaneous, evidently gratified greeting went up from the crowd. Every inch of the open space was packed with boys and men, while women and girls crowded in the background and round every corner, but the most of them had already hurried home to get their houses ready.

796 In the centre on a large carpet was a pile of cooked beasts
262 presented by the more well-to-do—two oxen, fifteen sheep, and goats. Round this six men were crouching with a log in front of each, disjointing limbs and chopping off chunks of meat and bone with an adze. Beside the carpet were ranged ten or a dozen immense iron cauldrons, quite 3 feet 6 inches across and 2 feet deep or more. Each of these was full to the very brim of a rich porridge that looked like soft dripping. There were two kinds: one called *sherbet* (but not remotely like the sherbet of Persia) was made of flour and butter well cooked and stirred; the other, of unground wheat similarly blent with butter, was called *harisa*. The humbler families according to their means had contributed these ingredients. Some of the great cooking-pots were still standing on
796 large iron tripods over the ashes of the night's fire. Most of the audience had wooden basins in their hands, a few had

aluminium ones, a few had even iron buckets. Several people were busy serving, while the headmen acted as masters of the ceremonies. Every household—there are two hundred all told in Aliábád—was entitled to carry off one chunk of meat and one ladleful each of *sherbet* and *harisa* for each mouth at home.

As always in this happy place, the company was full of jokes, laughter, and good temper. There was no hustling, no jostling, no attempt by anyone to secure more than his due share. Any person who had lent one of the big cauldrons (they are costly vessels brought up from down country) was granted an extra "mouthful" as hire, and anyone who had lent a penknife for cutting up was given an extra chunk of meat impaled on it. The people who had lent the tripods were not entitled to anything extra; this apparent injustice was thus explained: "You are fond of your cooking-cauldron; you are fond of your penknife; but no one could possibly be fond of a tripod."

We moved about for some time among the crowd, greeting old acquaintances and making new ones, then the people insisted that we must sit down, cleared one of the stone sofas, dashed into the Assembly Hall and brought out a carpet and spread it for us, while one of the headmen came and sat by explaining the procedure of the festival and naming the various utensils. As the light grew David took a few photographs, but by that time most of the carcases had been hacked to bits and a large number of households, having got their share, had gone home to celebrate a sort of family Christmas dinner with it. Nor for the first time, still less for the last, I regretted my lack of enterprise in sticking to my old familiar quarter-plate camera with its lens working only to F.6.3. David with his 3.5's could get photographs in much weaker light than I.

They insisted on pressing on us a "share" for each of our servants. How can you assess, how hope to repay, the generosity of these hospitable people? Remember that hardly any house has more than *just enough* to eat for the year; yet they must share their feast with our relatively pampered retainers! We could only gratefully accept and as a poor return offer the headman some money for distribution as they thought best "to the orphans and the poor." Hunza has, of course, no charitable

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

after we could still hear the dance-music going on. When 585
dusk begins to fall the bridegroom betakes himself with his train of tribal brothers to his bride's house, where feasting is resumed. When the guests can eat no more or the food is finished—which ever happens first—the bridegroom's party carry off the bride to her new home. In theory they carry her all the way, but as that may be for some miles across rough country they frankly admit that they soon set her down and let her walk herself, but carry her again when near their goal. On arrival the bridegroom's family welcome her at the door with incense and thin bread. Then the pair take hands and step over the threshold together putting their feet down simultaneously. The bride then advances to the hearth which is henceforth to be her own. She touches the hearth-stones with her fingers which she then kisses. She is then led to the seat of honour by the main pillar of the house and food is brought for her party, who presently return home. A brother or maternal uncle and a bridesmaid remain with her that first night.

Next morning the mother-in-law leads the bride to the flour bin and sets her to bake thin wheaten bread. She kneads the flour, rolls out the thin pancake, and flings it on the griddle for the waiting bridegroom to turn. If she spoils the bread he is entitled to tap her with the bread-turner; if, on the other hand, he botches the baking she is entitled to smack him with the rolling-pin.

The last public episode before the Great Cold is the 796 ●
Tumushelling, the Midnight Bonfire of the Winter Solstice, a ceremony which, so far as anyone could tell us, had never before been witnessed in Hunza by a European, and small wonder, for late December is no time for a Political Agent to be on tour nor for globe-trotters to trot. We owed our chance of seeing it to our temerity in wintering on the spot. The [805]
Hunzukuts have long since adopted the Muslim Nauroz (the vernal equinox) as their official New Year, but not improbably their earlier custom was to reckon the turn of the year from mid-winter.

We had been told that we should be awakened in the small

● 796 hours by the loud drumming of a warning drum; then after an interval we should hear two outbursts and soon after, three, at which point we should set out. We could not ascertain how long the intervals would be between the summonses, but Dádo promised to waken us at the sound of the first. He was so fearful of oversleeping that he lay awake all night, and with characteristic zeal brought us morning tea two hours too soon. The third drumming was not, in fact, heard till about 5 a.m. It called us out into the inkiest night I ever saw, but it was windless and not unduly cold. Thick snow clouds over the whole sky hid every suspicion of a star, so that though the great mountains all round were white with snow to within a few feet of our level there was not even a glimmer from them.

All over the hillsides we could see tiny points of light converging on the rendezvous and hear the lively chatter of men [372] and boys from every homestead. Their torches were faggots of juniper held high on a long pole. From the polo-ground came the sound of music punctuated by unison cheers of Ha-Ha-Ha that echoed up the hill to hurry stragglers. By the time we got down there was already a goodly group of men thronging three deep round a princely bonfire, and each new party as it came flung in its torch over the heads of the crowd sending a shower of rocket sparks into the darkness of the night. Our arrival was greeted by a cheer and a lane was made for us to a stone sofa, where we speedily obliterated ourselves not to interfere with the progress of events, regretting only that our people had not thought to provide us with torches instead of the prosaic hurricane lamps which they doubtless thought more dignified.

796 The bonfire leapt, the band played, the jolly Ha-Ha-Ha 535 sounded at intervals, and still the velvet darkness was starred by points of oncoming light. As soon as a sufficient congregation had assembled, the band struck up in earnest and dancing began. In the flickering firelight the scene looked extraordinarily romantic. Prominent among the dancers were the bridegrooms of a few days ago, who thus made their re-entry into public life, clad happily once more in caps and woollen *chogas*. The dancers sprang and capered, their long sleeves

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

dangling fantastically as they waved their arms; now you saw 796
them in inky silhouette, now full-lit by the flames; and behind 535
the serried rows of eager laughing faces was nothing but the impenetrable blackness of the starless night.

After a short spell of ordinary dancing, more spirited and vigorous in the darkness than by day, swords and shields were brought and two men stepped into the ring. They threw their arms up into the air with sword and shield, leaped several times as high as they could with both feet together, and then staged a splendid duel: the one pursuing, the other fleeing, now this way, now that, and all the time the great curved swords flashed in the firelight and cut the air. When one fighter overtook the other, sometimes by a daring leap across the fire, they slashed and hacked till you felt sure that at any moment an ear or nose would go. When one pair was exhausted, they would suddenly fling up their weaponed arms again, turn sharply about, and bang their backs together in the oddest gesture imaginable, then lay down sword and shield and merge into the crowd as another pair stepped forward. Now and again the crowd would call by name on some favourite champions, who came forth with modest reluctance to take the challenge.

The variety of their poses and feints and gestures was astonishing; each couple improvised at will but kept in perfect time to the music. It was the best display of sword dancing I have ever seen, and the duels were more real than any I have witnessed on a stage at home: just as safe and incomparably more convincing. All the while the crowd shouted and cheered and bandied jests about, the band banged indefatigably, and every now and then in would whizz yet another blazing torch with its attendant shower of sparks.

We watched the ever-changing pageant for a couple of hours 796
without the slightest boredom. Still there was not the faintest streak of dawn, and the pessimists were whispering anxiously: "Great Scott, we must have started too soon, the wood will never last out!" And in truth the apparently inexhaustible mound of firewood was waning fast. At last the eastern sky above the mighty mountain rampart of the Nagir side showed faintly pale. With a cry of delight willing hands flung on all

796 the remaining wood for a final flare up; there was one last uproarious scamper of many dancers: and all was still. Then 796 up stood a pair of men, reverent, solemn, sword in hand, and 788 recited a moving litany:

> May the New Year be blessed!
> May the seed bring forth an hundredfold!
> May every ear be filled with golden grain!
> May the mountain side be piebald with goats!
> May the pastures be piebald with sheep!
> May kid follow after kid and lamb after lamb!
> May our houses be filled with children and empty of sickness!

and to each clause the congregation fervently shouted "Yá! Yá!" as an earnest Amen.

After some time the older man who was leading began to repeat himself somewhat, and a good-humoured protest went up: "Enough, Uncle, enough!" which brought the litany to a speedy conclusion. (What a useful innovation this would be in Church and Parliament!)

Then half a dozen grey-bearded men formed a semi-circle to face the rising but still long invisible sun, and struck up a delightful solemn chant that sounded not unlike a Te Deum. In contrast to the litany which was in wholesome, rhythmic Burushaski prose, the chant was in so-called Shina, mangled by generations of Burusho singers into an almost unintelligible, though impressive anthem. David later took it down verbatim, but could only very partially reconstruct or divine the Shina original, and so far he has not been able to trace the ungarbled Shina text, which is quite possibly no longer known in its country of origin.

Then, while drum and kettledrum and pipe still played and the old men still chanted, we all moved slowly downhill in the growing daylight to "The Gate," where dancing was resumed by those who wished it, and a faint lamp burning in the Assembly Hall silently summoned the pious to morning prayer, and the ice-bound pond invited them less cordially to the preliminary ablutions. Few seemed to accept the chilly invitation.

Except myself, no woman had attended the Midnight Bon-

fire, but the usual gaily dressed crowd were at "The Gate," 796
just as on the recent Wedding Day. I slipped across to join the 788
women and got a warm reception from many whom I knew and more whom I did not. Then an old crone came along, bearing a huge dish of flour and sprinkled a pinch on every woman's cap and left shoulder, saying as she did so: "Ya Ali!" All seemed pleased when I said: "Nay, mother, would you forget me?" and as she duly sprinkled me too I slipped a few pence into her hand. Then I extricated myself from the women's throng, scattering good wishes as I went, to rejoin David, whom I found similarly be-floured.

We thankfully toiled uphill home, too hot now in our 796
midnight wrappings, and very shortly faithful Zaidu and Dádo produced a hot breakfast, after which we turned in and slept. There must be some magic in the Hunza air. You would hardly contemplate sitting out of doors to watch an open-air show at home at 7,600 feet from 5 to 8 a.m. on December 21st (or even on December 16th, for the Hunza calendar has got its Solstice slightly "fast") with the thermometer reading 22° Fahrenheit.

There was to be more dancing that p.m., but we felt we had seen enough for one day, and the headmen seemed relieved when we said we would not come. They confessed that after the bonfire people went home and made merry with their wine, and that there might be some mild rowdyism—and since they have no other drink but water, who shall blame them? Not we, dissolute bibbers of hot tea! We did not want to spoil our impression of the astounding orderliness of the night's merry-making. Though everyone was in the highest spirits and the youngsters full of excitement, the crowd's behaviour was perfect. Even when one torch flew right across the circle into the faces of half a dozen spectators, there was only a laughing stampede, and when the circle drew in too close and threatened to impede the dancing, some responsible grown-up simply snatched a brand from the fire and swept it round the front ranks, driving the children back amidst fun 796
and laughter. Considering that there are no police in the 625
country, and that the headmen have no authority except their 622

[625] personal influence, we found the lack of even minor mis-
[622] demeanours among the Hunzukuts perennially astonishing.

796 The Tumushelling Bonfire would seem to have originated
773 amongst the Shins, but the Hunza Burusho, with their delight in pageantry, have lifted it and made it the central item in whatever were their own original Solstice rites. The oft-told story of the Bonfire is this: Once upon a time there lived a tyrant King of Gilgit, Shíri Badat by name, who exacted the tribute of one lamb or kid daily from his people. The custom was that each house in turn should pay the tribute. One day the turn fell to a poor old woman who possessed nothing in the world but one well-beloved pet lamb. Shíri Badat ate the lamb as usual, but remarked that it had a peculiarly delicate flavour, and asked its history. The old woman was summoned to the presence and cross-questioned. Yes, it was rather a special lamb. The ewe, its mother, had died when it was born, and the old woman had given it to her daughter-in-law to suckle; so the lamb had been reared on human milk.

This proved an unfortunate revelation, for from that day forward Shíri Badat demanded a human infant per day, and would not be gainsaid. The country groaned in misery, but the people were helpless, for Shíri Badat was no mortal man to be easily murdered; he was of Peri stock, and bore a charmed life.

Now it happened that a young prince from a neighbouring country had fled in disguise to Gilgit to escape intriguers seeking his life at home. He had taken sanctuary in the Wazir's house, and there he met Princess Nur Bakht, who was a foster-child of the Wazir's. The two young people fell in love, and when the Princess found she was with child she was filled with fear lest her baby should fall a victim to her father's unnatural appetite. So the Wazir, the Prince, and she hatched out a plot in which Nur Bakht was to play the rôle of Delilah to the cannibal Samson, Shíri Badat.

"Father," she said one day, "your subjects are full of wrath and hate because of the baby-tax you levy on them; I fear me they will find some means to slay you. Now if I knew the secret of your life I could the better protect you against harm."

WINTER AND THE "GREAT COLD"

The old simpleton thereupon revealed to her that while he was 773
invulnerable to spear or arrow, axe or sword, his heart was 796
made of butter and he could be destroyed by fire.

The conspirators thereupon, working privily by night, dug a trench close under the walls of the King's fort and filled it with dry wood, and on a given night at a given signal every Gilgit household poured forth its menfolk armed with blazing torches which they flung into the trench with a great cry: "The enemy is upon you!" The butter-hearted tyrant ran forth and perished miserably in the circle of fierce heat, and the Prince and Princess reigned in his stead.

While Gilgit itself has long since ceased to celebrate its deliverance, the Tumushelling Bonfire in Hunza keeps aflame the memory of Shíri Badat and his heart of butter. In olden days it seems that every Hunza household let its fire die out and rekindled the hearth by a brand from the Tumushelling Fire, but this practice had lapsed before any of our informants could remember.

One winter day, after a gruelling forenoon of solid hard 423
note-taking, DL said: "I'm just about half dead. We must 311
take a quiet walk this afternoon. We'll go up to the Mir's Stables; we can't meet anyone up there. I positively could not talk or listen any more."

The "Mir's Stables" bear no relation to a stable as we understand it. Above the line of terraced fields that sweep round the bay of Aliábád there are 200 or 300 feet of sloping mountain side, forming rude pasture grounds: the *toqs*. Above them rise the steep sand and rock slopes that flow down from the towering crags above. A little farther down the valley from us there is a kind of shelf above the *toqs*, a small roughly level plateau, scattered thick with huge boulders, which is called the "Mir's Stables." It isn't irrigated from any channel; it lies above the highest one, which in any case has petered completely out before it gets so far; but as it is fairly flat it catches any rain or snow there is, and it gets a certain amount of snow and rain drainage from the rocks above, and so in between the boulders and rocks there are patches of coarse, natural grass and thorn bushes. This bit of ground

291 to have enough wool to spare for superfluities. The preciousness of boots accounts, I think, for a fact which puzzled us at
291 first: you never see children, sporting as they are in every
526 possible respect, sliding on the ice for fun. Boots are too valuable, and barefoot sliding would be a bit severe. Also, as David remarked, sliding and snowballing are games for such as can go home and change their clothes and get warm beside a nice big fire. These poor mites have at most one warm *choga* (and possibly a share of Father's on occasion) and a tiny fire at mealtimes only. Anyhow, they don't slide.

132 The bright weather of February 1st did not last, and though the cold was broken we reverted to gloomy grey weather and
796 the ceiling of snow-cloud overhead. We knew that a week or two would bring the great festival of the Bopfau, or Barley Seed-Sowing, and we feared that it was going to take place in semi-darkness. But everyone assured us: "Oh no, it will be bright for the Bopfau." The great week drew near and we had heard no word from the Mir confirming his earlier invitation to come and stay at Kerimabad (his garden and rest-house in
000 the park below the Fort at Báltít) for the occasion. We were beginning to fear that he had forgotten us and were wondering whether we could without offence remind him. Just as we were nearly in desperation and terribly afraid that we should wake some morning to be told that everything was over, a kind message came from him to say that he hoped we would come over on Wednesday afternoon. He himself would be away at Áltít, engaged with the preliminary ceremonies, but everything would be ready for us and we need only bring our own bedding. Now we knew that the GREAT DANCE was bound to take place on the Wednesday afternoon, and we feared that this meant that he did not specially want us at it—in which case, of course, there was nothing to be done.

We had a glorious ride over to Báltít on the Wednesday afternoon (of February 6th) in perfect weather, exactly as predicted. Various grandees had been told off to welcome us, a nice fire blazed in "our" beautifully furnished sitting-room, and the Mir's pet cook-for-European-guests, Mirza Hasan, was waiting with his best bedside manner to offer us tea. It was

then about three-thirty. We were gratefully drinking tea and 000
thinking that after all if we were not to see the dance, there were compensations in a quiet afternoon, when Mirza Hasan came in with a most courtly grin to say that if we had finished we ought to mount at once as the Mir had sent word that all was ready and they were waiting our arrival to begin.

So we gulped the rest of our tea, leaped into the saddle again, and set off for Áltít, only a mile and a half away. As someone else has already remarked, however, mere miles in this sort of country are a misleading form of reckoning, since they all stand on their hind legs. Kerimabad and Báltít Fort are perched on the brink of a great cliff about 600 and 1,000 feet respectively above the Altít level. The ground on which they stand appears to be the ancient outpouring of the mighty ravine behind, whose glacier provides all the water for the central part of Hunza. The ground that forms the Báltít spur is not honest rock but finely powdered crumbly earth well strewn with boulders, and the zig-zag road that leads down it is not the kind of thing you would choose for a brisk canter. We scrambled down it with such reasonable caution as haste permitted, forded the torrent at the bottom—very small, of course, at this season—and made towards Áltít Fort. A fine stretch of open and (relatively) level ground lies on the landward side of the Fort, which in its turn is perched on a mighty rock cliff that falls a sheer 500 feet or more into the Hunza river, presenting a most inhospitable face to the Nagir enemy across the water. This open stretch of country explains the fact that Áltít was inhabited long before Báltít, and still remains the ceremonial centre for old-time festivals.

A lovely long polo-ground—the biggest in the Agency, 526
except perhaps the one at Gilgit itself—flanked on both sides by a row of poplars and, of course, by low stone walls (you can no more have a polo-ground in these regions without walls than you could have a billiard table without cushions), leads towards the Fort. Even from the landward side the Fort rises up most impressively from the great rock on which it is built, and the village huddles round it close and tight. We skirted 644
the polo-ground by a narrow path with high field walls rising 796

644 on our left and passed the field in which to-morrow the Bopfau
796 ceremonies were to take place. As we drew near, the various princes and princelings came out courteously to welcome us, the less important ones, of course, coming farthest, then the grandsons in reverse age-order, and lastly Ghazan Khán himself, the heir and "Prince of Wales." Just outside the Fort there is a fine pond outlined with poplars, the main "road" (say 4 feet wide) on the left of it. The hall-doors of the houses open straight on to this track, their front-door steps being tree trunks with notches cut in them in which the foot is planted sideways as you mount.

644 Prince Ghazan Khan led us through a narrow alley between
351 the town houses to where the Mir himself was standing to greet us. As always he made us feel more than welcome, and
796 took us to a nicely carpeted balcony where chairs stood ready. The balcony was only a few feet above the courtyard, and we had a perfect view. You must try to imagine a "courtyard," with no straight walls or edges, shut in by irregular tiers of houses piled on top of each other, mounting the rock to the towering Fort above, their flat roofs and roofed balconies all projecting higgledy-piggledy as the haphazard contours of the rock dictate. Every roof and point of vantage was packed with people till, as usual, you felt sure the beams were bound to crash. Everybody was in their gayest and brightest dress, and every single face just radiant. There never was a people anywhere with such a gift for looking happy as the Hunzukuts.

796 In the courtyard the musicians squatted at the base of the
535 walls: three pipers, three men with pairs of kettledrums, and three big drummers, all of them clowning and play-acting vigorously as they played. Dancing of the more or less ordinary type was going on, varied by the singing of songs—all unfor-
[533] tunately in Shina, not Burushaski. The Hunza people say they have no songs of their own. DL conscientiously recorded the words of these songs later, but as in the case of the Tumushelling chant it is doubtful whether after centuries of being mangled they will yield any intelligent meaning.

Presently the GREAT DANCE came on. The most glorious

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

piece of dancing either of us has seen. Oh, for a Philip Thornton to record the music and interpret the movements! It consisted of twelve acts with twelve separate tunes, through all of which, however, the same *time* was preserved (the only thing about a tune which I am competent to recognize!). The light was too weak for my 6.3 lens, so I had to leave all thought of photography to David, and in compensation I concentrated as best I could on memorizing the various figures of the dance. It wasn't possible to make courteous conversation to our hospitable hosts and at the same time overtly take notes, and when I set myself to write down the detail immediately on our return to Kerimabad I found to my disgust that I could reconstruct only ten out of the twelve acts.

The eight pairs of dancers, all old or middle-aged men, dressed in gay shirts, homespun *chogas*, and long soft native boots, each clutched a bright strip of barbaric-looking Bukhara silk thrown behind his shoulders (over the right and under the left arm), a foot or so of the silk dangling out beyond his hands. The figures of the dance were very varied; some of the most interesting and striking were these: The dancers formed a circle, doing a dignified slow polka on their flat feet three times round, then faced inwards and danced towards the centre with their arms stiffly stretched out in front. When they had nearly met they all flung their arms suddenly over the heads with a well-synchronized shout of Ha-Ha-Ha! Then all bent slowly forward and dabbled the ends of their scarves on the ground as if dipping them in water.

Again they all circulated, waving their arms and scarf-tails gracefully, then sat down on the ground with legs stiffly out in front pointing to the centre. Then they leaned forward and again dabbled the scarf-ends on the ground beyond their toes. Then they leaned back almost to the point of losing their balance and flung their arms up with the same shout. Next they leaned slowly back till they lay flat on the ground and rolling from side to side they gently flogged the shoulder of first one and then the other neighbour with their silken scarves.

Throughout a couple of other figures the dancers crouched

796 on their hunkers and waved their arms and leapt frog-like
535 along.

A very quaint and effective act consisted of the dancers turning back to back in pairs, each leaning heavily against his partner, and dancing with all his weight on his heels. They danced round the circle three times like this (it must be particularly difficult for the ones who have to dance backwards). All were raising and flourishing their arms alternately and making great byplay with the outward-facing dancer of the other pair. The semi-final act had no small resemblance to our Sir Roger de Coverley. The circle halted facing inwards and the two leaders of the teams of eight signalled across and danced to meet each other, overshooting and passing back to back. As they passed, they halted a second, leaned heavily back against each other's shoulders and raised first one hand, then the other with their waving scarves, and each then flourished off to take the other's place. When all eight pairs had similarly changed places the dance was at an end.

The team work was admirable throughout. There was not at any point the slightest hitch, such as invariably wrecks amateur lancers or quadrilles at home. I could not extract from my adjacent prince any information as to the length of time they had spent rehearsing; he implied that they just "remembered" from one year to the next; but such faultless co-operation must have followed very strenuous rehearsal both of dancers and musicians.

Seeing so many of the dancers very elderly, I asked the Mir was there no fear that the skill and knowledge of the dance would die out. He assured me that every year a couple of younger men are drafted into the team so that the tradition may not be lost. The dance, in very much its present form, has been performed uninterruptedly for six hundred or seven hundred years, and probably immeasurably longer.

789 It seems likely that it originated in some imitative-magic
796 rites designed to benefit the crops: dabbling the ground may
535 be preparing it for seed: the cry with high-flung arms may be intended to encourage the growing ears to tower to heaven: the crouching springs may imitate the springing of the shoots:

the flogging may portray the threshing and the back to back 796
scene with waving arms might well represent the winnowing. 535
None of the present-day Hunzukuts attach the slightest magical 789
value to these things, and it is hard to believe that they themselves at any period ever did so, for a less superstitious people can never have existed. But they love dancing and music and *tamashas*, they love any pretext for holiday-making and dressing up, and they may well have borrowed the Bopfau Dance, minus its magic implications, from some people amongst whom the magic was still believed to be potent.

The wise Mir fully realized the psychological value of periodic festivals, and though the keeping up of all the ancient ceremonial often imposed a good deal of hard work and fatigue on himself, he devoted thought and care to preserving the old traditions and preventing the ceremonial's being curtailed or scamped.

When the dance was ended the performers turned and all 796
saluted the Mir; then one by one they came forward and took his left foot in their two hands and stooped over it with the gesture of kissing and then faded out backwards.

The next item on the programme, the Seed Sowing itself, was scheduled for noon on the following day (Thursday, February 7th). We determined to ride down to Áltít bright and early, partly to avoid crowds in narrow tracks, and partly hoping for photographs in the new-found daylight. We overshot the Fort and scrambled out on to the edge of the river cliff—not without some risk to our necks—in attempts to get good pictures of Áltít Fort in profile.

There is a nice little old mosque not far from the Fort where chairs had most thoughtfully been placed in case we should like to rest a while before the show began. We presently installed ourselves here to watch the crowds pouring in from miles and miles away; people on foot streamed across the countryside, all very gay and merry, and as much interested in us as we in them. When a group of horsemen arrived, men of consequence from distant villages, they did not ride straight in, but halted at the end of the polo-ground till they were observed from the Fort; then the band struck up a wild tune

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

796 and the party galloped hell for leather down the field, providing a fine spectacle for the pedestrian crowds.

As noon drew on we went along towards the pond and took our stand where DL thought his prospects of cine-photography were best. It was his first serious attempt to use his cine-camera, and everything seemed unpropitious. The only point of view from which it was possible to command the path of the procession faced straight into the eye of the sun while the path itself was in heavy shade. I posted myself as well as I could to try to shade his lens, and as a matter of fact the film has not turned out too badly. We were both so much preoccupied throughout the day with the unwonted problems of the cine, and the endeavour not to appear rude or ungrateful, that I realized too late that I had entirely forgotten to take ordinary snapshots of separate figures, etc., as I should normally have done. It is particularly disappointing for the chance was unique, and there would have been ample opportunity if I had not let my wits go wool-gathering.

Noontide came; music was heard inside the Fort, and out came the band in necessary single file carrying on their usual byplay with vigour and evident enjoyment. Next followed "The Great" (viz. headmen, officials, and the like) in single file on foot, but carrying "horses" in their hands. The horses were wands made of a few dark red willow twigs, bent over in a circle at the top not unlike one of the toys a bishop has to play with. A striking personage was a man bearing two huge loaves of barley bread on his back. They were about the size [262] of millstones and looked about equally digestible. Next came a sturdy fellow bearing shoulder high an ancient iron platter hung with chains, on which was piled a white cone called the *chopan*, crowned with a pear and a bunch of maidenhair. The *chopan* is concocted of several favourite Hunza foods, *maltash*, of course, a mulberry preserve called *bing*, and other ingredients kneaded together and coated thick with flour. This dish was escorted by a man drowned from head to foot in flour, whose face was like an over-pierrotted pierrot; lastly came a man carrying a dish of burning incense.

Next appeared a lot of men bearing white and red pennants

Next appeared a lot of men bearing white and red pennants and one carrying the Hunza standard (rather a new invention 796 this, I fancy). The standard is a large triangle of white with 186 two pairs of horizontal red stripes, an open hand in red, and a bow and arrow in green: a handsome and effective national flag.

After the standards came the men of the Royal Family, 796 including Hari Tam of three or four (but not the new baby), 643 the younger members leading the way, and lastly Sir Muhammad 292 Nazím Khán himself, mounted on his snow-white Badakhshani stallion. The horse wore a scarlet saddle-cloth heavily embroidered in gold, and from a broad gold collar round its neck there dangled a large "feather brush" of pure white yak's hair. The Mir, looking as always every inch a king, was robed in bright green velvet cloak with massive padded gold embroidery. He had on a fine silk turban of pale blue. All the people entitled to a place in the procession, from the Mir downwards, were wearing bunches of large-leafed maidenhair in their caps. Gathering this fern, which as far as we could learn grows only in one spot in Hunza near Altít, and collecting the willows for the "horses" provide exciting tasks for the boys for a day or two preceding the feast, while women of the Diramiting clan are busy baking the barley mill-stones and compounding the *chopan*.

Before the procession ultimately emerges many elaborate 796 traditional ceremonies take place in the ancient rooms of the Fort, which is still used for these occasions though no longer inhabited. The detail and significance of these ceremonies (which we were not invited to witness) were fully investigated by DL and I shall not here anticipate his account of them.

The procession passed along the narrow track till it reached the Bopfau field, 6 feet or so above the path and supported by the usual revetting wall. The younger and more active scaled the wall, but for the Mir himself a ladder had been placed at an angle of 45 degrees, bridging the water-channel at the base of the wall, and I followed the royal lead up the ladder. The Mir then took his seat on a chair beneath which a carpet had been spread (chair and carpet being doubtless modern

●796 innovations). Chairs had been set for us also and the crowd formed a circle round. A large skin sack was then brought containing sections of a roasted ox. These were emptied out on to a skin tablecloth on the ground, while hundreds of thin bread pancakes were spread on another skin. The Master of the Ceremonies, a fine old man with a white beard dyed orange, took an adze and hacked the joints of meat into neat little chunks. A dish of bread and meat was brought to the Mir to handsel, and he duly tasted a little of each.

A piece of meat was then folded into several flaps of bread and the name of a village was called out. The little parcel was promptly passed back over the heads of the crowd to the authorized representative of that village who was present to receive it. A portion of the royal food was thus distributed to every village in Hunza. Bundles of new arrows and bundles of arrow heads wrapped in red handkerchiefs were then emptied at the Mir's feet. These he distributed to all the people about to take part in the archery.

796 The stage was now set for the essential part of the Bopfau
789 ceremony. The Mir and Royal Princes stood up and formed a semi-circle facing east, holding their joined hands out cup-wise in front of them. A small bag of seed-grain had been brought adorned at the mouth with a bunch of maidenhair. From this, grain was poured into their hands, and on top of the Mir's handful was placed a microscopic bag made from the skin of a sheep's heart and filled with gold dust. The officiating greybeard intoned a prayer of blessing, and at a given signal the Mir and Princes flung the grain back over their heads and the people crowded in to catch it in their hands. Those lucky enough to secure any, promptly rubbed it between their palms and ate it. He was doubly lucky who secured the bag of gold, but we heard that he was expected to distribute it in alms, so the concrete advantage was slight.

796 The grain-throwing was three times repeated, and we all
241 moved off to another part of the field, where a little heap of manure had been spread out. Two yoked oxen were now driven forward drawing an old-style plough (rather perfunctorily attached for it came adrift and had to be readjusted).

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

Then the Mir, still wearing his royal robes, ploughed three parallel furrows and formally initiated the Barley Sowing of the year. In theory no true Hunzukuts will sow his barley till this ceremony has been performed, but we were told that in fact anyone who is ready earlier and thinks the time is ripe has not the slightest hesitation in going ahead with the good work. Never was a people so admirably full of common sense! 796 241

The Bopfau field was now deserted for the polo-ground; the crowd helter-skeltered down the wall, bringing the stones down on their heels in clouds of dust: the one and only time when I saw Hunza folk knock even one stone from its place without halting to replace it. We descended by the ladder with greater dignity and proceeded to the raised dais reserved for "The Great" on such occasions. Directly opposite the Grand Stand at the farther side of the ground was a little pile of earth about 2 feet high, and piled as steep as it would stand, on the side of which was fixed a target of brittle wood covered with a thin plaque of beaten silver. The mark was about 2 inches by 2½, and much the shape of an egg in profile. 796 526

Before the archery began all the Mir's horses in fine trappings were galloped down the field—the band thumping and piping as they came. Then the archers rode by carrying their immense bows of spliced wood faced with plates of ibex horn and strung with plaited leather. There were about thirty of them, including Prince Shah Khan ("Little Lord Fauntleroy") on a small pony with a full-sized bow nearly as long as himself. From the far end of the ground they came hurtling along one by one, coaxing their horses into a steadier gallop as they neared the mark, then flinging down the reins and firing as they passed. Some arrows flew a bit wide, but by far the greater number buried themselves to the feathers in the little earthen mound. A few horses sheered off, not permitting their riders to take a shot, and one fine animal, seeing the mound stuck as full of arrows as it could hold, decided that the game was a steeplechase and cleared the mound in a magnificent leap, evoking much laughter. One man, a very William Tell, split the target through the very centre to thunderous applause.

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

● 796 526 Lord Fauntleroy came along riding full gallop as if born in the saddle and got his arrow well into the mound of earth, to his father's justifiable delight: "the boy is only learning," he modestly explained.

There were three courses of archery, at each of which the mark was won. The archer who strikes the target is entitled to pocket it for his reward, but on the two last occasions it was only grazed; I suppose that William Tell was debarred from further competition. If the targets had not been hit they would have fallen as perquisites to the bandsmen. After the archery there was going to be polo, but the Mir thoughtfully suggested that this was a thing of which we had seen enough for life, and perhaps we should like to ride home before the crush. It was by now two o'clock, and we had had nothing to eat since a very early breakfast, so we gratefully made our adieux. DL was fairly weary: there are few things more exhausting than wielding a 16 mm. cine-camera in adverse circumstances at eye-level.

000 We scrambled up the crumbling cliffs to Kerimabad again and found that the invaluable Mirza Hasan was awaiting us with a welcome spread of tea and cakes. He had observed us zigzagging up the hill. You can't, of course, easily arrive anywhere in Hunza unobserved if you come by the one and only road. Dádo got busy packing up our kit, and we made ready to start back on the road to Aliábád. Before we left, the Mir himself returned, and we were able to thank him once again, and congratulate him on his royal weather. He was delighted that we had taken the whole affair so seriously and done our best to put its main features on record; as far as he can grasp what DL's work is all about, he feels proud and happy that Hunza customs are considered of so much interest and importance. He said he thought he remembered one British officer having attended the Bopfau many, many years ago, but he could not recall the name, and we have not been able to trace any record left by this predecessor. It would be extremely interesting to have an earlier account of it all.

The two glorious days of Bopfau weather were almost a miracle: a very suitable miracle fór a Chief traditionally

000 the generous givers. How petty a return was a small cash gift to the child who brought them!

245 At last, as March drew to its close, the apricot buds were reddening and swelling, and the most glorious season of the year from the scenic point of view was at hand. No one who has not seen Hunza, its fields carpeted with new green, its orchards clothed with blossom and the snow mountains towering behind, can form even a feeble picture of its loveliness. The sad thing was that we were going to have to forgo the sight.

006 The next door valley of Yasin is the home of the only extant dialect of Burushaski, and if our work on the language was to be at all complete we must go and spend some weeks there, making a study, however sketchy, of "Werchikwár." Many reasons made it advisable to devote April and May to the job, of which one was that we should thus pass through Gilgit while the annual Jalsa was on. Every year all the Chiefs and Governors of the Agency gather in Gilgit for a kind of Chiefs' Conference *cum* Ascot week, over which the Political Agent presides, and since Major Kirkbride had hospitably invited us, this would give DL an opportunity of meeting old friends of his official days whom he could not hope to visit in their own provinces.

When I say "next door valley" I refer to the geographical position of Yasin on the map. The great ranges that intervene between Hunza and the Yasin valleys are, however, impassable even for goats, and in order to reach Yasin—only some fifty miles distant as the crow flies, if any crows do fly over—we should be obliged to travel down the Hunza river to Gilgit (a four days' march at our modest pace) and five days' up the Gilgit river to our goal. With much reluctance we prepared to mobilize and bid Hunza a temporary farewell.

796 First, however, there were the celebrations of Nauroz to see, which, owing to the unexplained originalities of the Hunza calendar, fell some ten days before the correct date of the Spring Equinox. Again, as for the Bopfau, the Mir worked magic on the weather, and after several cloudy, gloomy days

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

the New Year ushered itself in with glorious sunshine and 796
bright skies.

Thanks to the good offices of the invaluable and versatile 000
Mirza Hasan, we had secured two excellent ponies for the Yasin trip, and we decided to try them for the first time on this New Year ride to Báltít. DL's was a handsome brown, guaranteed to be up to his weight, which though not considerable was nevertheless somewhat greater than that of the average Hunza rider. It was accompanied by the owner, Haiyáto of Hasanabad, one of the cheeriest-faced men I have ever laid eyes on. My white one, known as Busho (the cat), was escorted by a willing and obliging lad whose actual name I have forgotten since the temptation to christen him Ernest was immediate and irresistible, so obviously full was he of the importance of being earnest. It was a great delight to feel a real horse, in contrast to a "tat," between our knees again, and we set off in high spirits for Báltít. Instead of making for 644
Kerimabad, the Mir's hospitable gardens and European rest-houses, we mounted direct to the old Fort, which is perched on the perilous-looking brink of a great ravine with a magnificent view up and down the Hunza valley. Steep though the road is, our new mounts pluckily carried us up to the very gate. Dismounting here a rough spiral ramp led us to the "basement" of the Fort, which rises four storeys high. You enter a dark sort of hall with a square hole in the roof through which leads a rude wooden stair whose banisters are just plain poplar poles polished white by centuries of use. This lands you on an open lobby without parapet or railing, when another wooden stair (minus banister) conducts you to an open balcony, that serves as a spacious ceremonial reception-room. A low wall, not over 2 feet high, does nothing to impede the view—one of the finest views that any palace of kings can boast. At the back of this balcony is a handsomely carved pavilion under which stands a roomy "throne" covered with a purple velvet, gold-embroidered cloth. For the moment we were conducted further into a magnificent sitting-room with a fine bow window offering not only the distant scene but a more immediately amusing view of the flat roofs of the

in Hunza affect seclusion except the immediate royal family. 644
In addition to Qudrat's mother, a delightfully gracious woman, and his pretty young wife, we met Dádo's wife—also very pretty, but a shade more embarrassed. The families are in some way inter-related. We got some photos here, the outdoor setting being more favourable, but dare not linger lest the Mir should be waiting for us.

We had only just got planted on the grand stand by the polo- 796
ground when we saw his procession winding down the hill, 643
the bodyguard in smart uniforms carrying the standard and the Mir with a white satin, gold-embroidered robe over his khaki, mounted on the Badakhshani stallion with the same handsome trappings as at the Bopfau. When he had taken his seat, up rushed a huge deputation from one village after another, shouting the equivalent of "O King, live for ever! May your New Year be blessed!" It was rather impressive. There was no mistaking the genuine affection and loyalty in voice and gesture.

After this followed the usual polo, archery, and dancing. Lord Fauntleroy again made excellent showing with his bow and arrow, and the youngest son of Ghazan Khan actually hit the mark, to his grandfather's pride and pleasure. The elder royal grandsons were not present; they were down in Gilgit doing their Scouts' training. We left about four, but the Mir settled down to see the daylight out at the sports and to preside at another bigger feed to The Great of the land. He was an amazing man for nearly seventy, and apparently entered into these shows with as much zest as the people themselves.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XIII.

The Story of Pūno and Shīri Berai Baghertham.

There is a custom in Hunza from ancient times. In the month of Dalv on the fifteenth (day of the month) they carry out the Bopfau. There is a large wooden bowl (which has come down) from olden days. There is also one like it in Yasīn. They say that these bowls have been in existence from the time of Alexander the Great.

Now when the Bopfau has to be performed, the man who has precedence among the Dirāmitīng takes the bowl and carries it from Bāltīt to Āltīt. Again, when the Bopfau has been completed, he takes it and brings it to Bāltīt.

In former times there was one, Pūno by name, the son of Gerīb, and he took the bowl and carried it to Āltīt for the Bopfau. The meat and the bread which were left over after the Bopfau he used to bring back in the bowl to Bāltīt to his own home. Then when he had drunk wine and become intoxicated he used to present himself to the Tham. Returning to his home he used to say to his family: "There are bread and meat in the bowl. Handsel them." When (however) his wife and sons uncovered the bowl and looked there was nothing in it. They said to Pūno: "You are out of your

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10 *thamo* — plural of respect.

11 *jamavator* — here obviously includes the other members of his family besides his wife.

se.ibam — being in the Imperf. implies that the following little drama was of yearly occurrence, though it is narrated in the Past Definite.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

twenty years Shīri Berai Baghertham remained in Pūno's house, but he did not become attached to it.

One day Pūno had gone for firewood and Shīri Berai Baghertham coming into the house said: "Mother, Mother." "Yes," said Pūno's wife. "Give me my leg-wrappers and stick. Father has not come back; he is late. I shall go to meet him and take his load from him." (Now) Pūno had charged his wife, saying, "Perhaps Shīri Berai Baghertham will ask for his leg-wrappers and stick. Don't give them to him." (But) losing her head she took them out of the box and gave them to him.

Putting on the leg-wrappers and taking his stick Shīri Berai Baghertham climbed up the mountain. Meanwhile Pūno came in at the door of the house bringing the wood. Shīri Berai Baghertham was not there, he had got up on to the mountain. He made off, saying: "Good-bye, Mother and Father." Pūno, shouting: "Heigh, son!" gave chase to him. Shīri Berai Baghertham said to him: "What is left over be your portion, what I have eaten be mine. You just stay where you are, Father." While he said this he ran on, and Pūno pursuing after him would not let him go. Getting further and further away Shīri Berai Baghertham, they say, crossed over the Khu. Pūno, turning back, came again to his home.

Then after Shīri Berai Baghertham had left Pūno's house, Pūno, they say, became indigent.

Pūno was of the Diramiting tribe. At the present day too one of his descendants goes with the Bopfau bowl from Bāltit to Āltit. His name is Heri Sing. They make him carry the seed that is to be scattered at the Bopfau from the Tham's palace and bring him along in front of the Tham to the Mamutsa field.

That is all; The story is on this wise.

22 *pfau ɛtʌs bo* — 'the seed that is to be thrown up', or 'scattered' by the Mir. *Tham yər nɛ . . . dilʌn* — I am not sure of the meaning of this. *yər nɛ* may, I think, mean: 'forwards', 'ahead', 'in front' or 'putting him in front', 'making him go ahead' *Tham* may be accusative, or it may be genitive or general oblique (the *-ɛ* being lost before the following *y*). It is said that they whiten the man's face on the occasion with flour.

Mamutsa — probably the gen. of a nom. *Mamuts*.

jurčʌm why won't (shouldn't?) I come to a king? I will come. 74.20. 000

turm, however, can not be a truly interrogative particle; if it were, the verb would not also take the interrogative suffix -a. It appears to be an expression of affected surprise.

turm ečʌs to run the point of one's finger forwards over the surface of a drum so as to produce a noise.

tom'ʌq IUB, *tom'ʌk* N, *-ots* v. *tobʌq*.

turmor, *tumor*, *-iq* y amulet, talisman, H. *ta'wiz*. — *zafərəvne turmor* a saffron amulet. Cp. 356.2. (Cp. Sh. *tum'ər*, amulet).

tumʌy sg. & pl., d.pl. *-ints* x Hz. & N. shell of nut or fruit-stone that contains the kernel. — *čilis tumʌy* walnut shell. *k'ʌnis tumʌy* shell of stone of apricot etc.

(Cp. Sh. *toma*, fruit-stone).

thumuželiq QUB, *thomiželiq* y sg. a fire-festival celebrated at the winter solstice if it falls on Tuesday, otherwise on the preceding Tuesday. In the early hours of morning a fire is made at a public place with burning faggots brought, nominally, from every house in the village. There is then dancing round it and certain songs are chanted. Proceedings terminate with the appearance of dawn. The ceremony is supposed to commemorate the burning of Shiri Badat the cannibal king of Gilgit, and his return to life. This legend was probably originally acquired from the Shina. The Tham takes part in the celebrations at Baltit which are more elaborated. 796

The three weeks or so of mid-winter are described as the Thumuželiq season.

359 a

The barley of the preceding harvest is supposed to be first brought into use after the Thumushèling. V. 334.7. 796

aŋaro tsoʷrdimo . . . tumišeling pfu bišæčaʷn on the Tuesday morning they make the T. fire. 306.17. 000

ʃumʃaŋ dark, darkness and dust. — *ʃumʃaŋ manila* it has become dark (owing to a storm).

(Cp. Kho. *ʃumʃaŋ*, very dark; Sh. *tumiʃaŋ*, very dark?).

ʃhumok *-*atas* to create, present, make appear. — *gose haγur uγe nasibtsum Xodaγe tuʷmok etai.i* by your good fortune God has created (or made appear) this horse. 6.17. *γorib hiranı bator nikin ikor tomok etimi* entering into the skin of a poor man he revealed (or, presented) himself. 284.22.

ʃhumok manaʷ to meet, come upon, light upon; make one's appearance, turn up, — *jatse ʃhumok manimi* he met me (on the road). *hin jat guʷran tomok manumo* an old woman turned up (on his way), i.e. met him. 228.13. *ise xaʷina.ate tomok amanam* I have come upon the Treasury. 54.8. Here given as an alternative for *fat*. *hin . . . hiran tuʷmok numan* a man turning up. 282.23. *haγurate nuljan . . . tuʷmok manimi* he appeared riding on a horse. 284.16. Cp. 282.3, 286.2. (Cp. Sh. *ʃhomok boʷrki*, to meet by chance).

tuʷn, *ton* hard, taut. IUB. H. *saxt*.

(Cp. Kho. *tuʷn* tight, (of string etc.), tight-full, of a box).

tond quarrelsome. — *tond hiran* a quarrelsome man. QUB. Prs.

tuʷp -*ots* x roll of cloth (muslin etc.). (Cp. Kho. *tup*). Prs.

359b

344
644 wedged together to form a formidable protection
712 against invaders of their day.

796 'Tis for the Festival of the Bopfau, which is the
241 Burushaski name given to the barley-seed-sowing festi-
643 val, that the Mir comes dressed in all his regal finery and robes of state to practice a ritual that has been carried on for hundreds of years by the Mirs of Hunza.

[173] It would appear this ceremony is a carry-over from that performed by the ancient Greeks and the people of Hunza like to emphasize this, as though forging another link in the chain of evidence that would tie them in as descendants of Alexander the Great.

[292] On this occasion, the Mir wears a magnificent gown with a wide belt fastened around his waist, in harmony with the gold brocade that bedecks the gown. At his side he carries the ceremonial sword in a carved ivory scabbard. He makes a most imposing, handsome figure with his head crowned with a clerical cap with flowing egret feathers held in place by a large golden pin. The Mir's brother, Ayesh, and the Mir's eldest son, the heir apparent, come similarly attired.

With an assembled crowd watching, the Mir drives a plough pulled by two oxen or a yak down and back along the field and into this furrow he sprinkles seed mixed with gold dust. The ceremony is repeated three times and then the Mir throws handfuls of the seed
[789] into the air. Fable has it that if anyone catches a grain of seed and takes it home and mixes it with his own seed, he will be assured of a fine harvest.

The seed-sowing ceremony is not only performed at Altit but in two other Hunzan villages so that the Hunzan farmers can come and catch a seed to insure themselves of plenty for the following year. By doing it in three different locations, it means that no Hunzan farmer will have to walk more than a few miles to partake of the Mir's blessings.

461 done and he turns on his television set, he is bombarded with commercials that seek to hypnotize his brain by making him believe he needs those products, when in reality he needs them like a hole in the head? Can a man know the meaning of true leisure when his head is throbbing with the bills he must meet on the morrow, the food he must buy and the clothing he must procure for his family, for which in many cases ready money is not available? Can a man who is harassed by and has pressing about him a hundred problems that must be reckoned with, find leisure or peace by escaping to the country for a weekend or by taking to drink?

Of course not! True relaxation and leisure are as far away from him as the moon!

Therefore, when I say that the people of Hunza know and enjoy the true thrill of leisure, I mean every [512] word of it sincerely. While they rise at 3.30 or 4 o'clock in the morning, they go to bed between 7 and 8, and in the winter time even earlier, if there is no celebration or dancing in the village. They are without doubt the most industrious people that I have met—especially in the East. Laziness is positively foreign to Hunza!

[481] Wherever I went I noticed that the Hunzans had ample time to talk and chat, and seldom did they appear to be in a hurry although whenever they walked, their walk was brisk—much more so than the average Western gait. In fact, this is one of their most recognizable and admired traits.

571 Lest anyone should get the impression that life in Hunza is dull, let me clearly emphasize that there is great fellowship between families and the selfsame group-gathering that we know of in our way of life is also practiced and followed by the people of Hunza. [796] Further, religious gatherings are quite frequent and play an important role in the social life of the people.

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The
[273] grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

● 796 Tumushuling, the great winter cele-
585 bration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom, accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door, which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan
[431] from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do
[492] marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home, leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival.
[643] The Mir gives a small gift, usually a
[431] piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

585 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza
583 marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride,

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass companionship as we know it: men
[562] spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two; cold weather preserves the meat for the few days
[251] before it is all eaten—and it is virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[148] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vita-
245 min C, but the poorer families are un-
556 able to raise large crops. (The size of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apri-cot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[262] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

No. XLVI. A.

Wa·lum iᵛɛ misa·l.

Da iᵛnɛ senimi kɛ:

Hin hirane altan yu· bam. Uᵛetsum jut inɛ senimi yu·yər: "Lɛ aya, mi ɛtɛ dolattsum ja·r besan ba·go jučila kɛ ja·r ači."

Yu·yɛ iᵛmo dolat u·ər tran nɛ učimi.

Da bu·t guntsiŋ hərangulo oᵛnitsum (*or*, omanitsum) jot iᵛnɛ iᵛɛ iᵛmo besan uyoᵛn gati netan bu·t matan bušai.ɛnər niᵛmi. Da iᵛtɛ dišulo (*or*, bušai.ulo) γunikiš duroᵛulo iᵛmo besan biman faš ɛtimi. Besan biman uyoᵛn fas ɛtumtsum iᵛlji iᵛtɛ bušai.ulo bu·t dan čam diᵛmi. Bu·t abaš ɛᵛr diᵛmi. Inɛ niᵛn iᵛtɛ bušai.ulum hiranalɛ walimi. Iᵛnɛ inɛ iᵛmo malɛŋulo kuᵛkišo uyərčər eᵛrimi.

Inɛ ɛᵛsulo ərmaᵛn bilum kɛ "Iᵛtsɛ xuᵛkišo besan ši̇či.ɛn kɛ iᵛtsɛtsum ja oᵛl maniš" nusɛ. Inɛr menɛ besan kɛ eᵛučam.

These two versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son were made from the text of the British and Foreign Bible Society's "Persian Urdu" translation of the New Testament (Luke XV, 11—32).

The first version, A, was produced by a committee of whom the leading spirit was Nazer of Aliābād, Hunza, and the secretary Sarferāz, a literate Yaskün of Gilgit with a Nageri wife and an acquaintance with Burushaski. I eventually wrote it down to someone's dictation. Sarferāz's vernacular Ms., which I possess, is a somewhat ambiguous document, as it is not very carefully written and he had not arrived at a fixed system of correlating the sounds of Burushaski with the symbols of the Arabic-Persian script. For instance he uses ت regularly to represent ta, but also on occasion to render č, j, š, or rather, as far as can be judged, the post-alveolar or cerebral forms of them č̣, j̣, and ṣ̌.

The second, or B version, was made some four months later by Jemadār Imām Yār Bēg and was recorded with his own hand, but it is probable that he consulted the previous translators who were on the spot. The Ms. is fairly clear and consistent.

186 A note of bitterness crept into the Hunza voices. Whereas
324 Hunza permits the Nagirkuts to cross the river and help
798 themselves free to Hunza stones, the Nagir people levy a tax
563 on all stones taken from their side. So our folk averred; but
578 very probably we should hear the tale reversed if we spoke to Nagir millers on the subject. For the Burusho of Hunza and Nagir, though they speak the same language, are of different race and mentality, and understand each other as little as the Saxon and the so-called Celt, and the rivalry of centuries divides them. At one point they both professed the Shiah faith, but since the Hunzukuts some four or five generations ago adopted the Ismaili (or "Maulai") heresy religious differences have added to their ever-wakeful mutual hostility.

000 Quitting these contentious subjects, we essayed some photographs by the water's edge and turned sharp to mount a side-gorge and reach the level of the cliff road above, by the steepest thing calling itself a path you ever saw. The new Minapin ponies were happily sturdier than the rocking-horses, and managed to climb almost vertically for 600 feet or so. A
342 brisk torrent, which is most of the time a waterfall, pours
361 down the gorge[1] the sides of which are lined with trees and grass, and the track runs right through a most picturesque little village called Tishót. The stone houses are almost indistinguishable from the rocks against which they are built, one here, one 20 feet above, just wherever they can be got to stick.
000 The ponies took the four-foot steps from boulder to boulder as if they had been taught circus riding up and down the Great Pyramid. I never professed to be a horsewoman, and I don't know the orthodox way of staying in the saddle when my pony's back is perpendicular, so I shamelessly wound my right hand in his flowing mane, pressed the stirrups back, and lurched triumphantly to the top. When we emerged on to the fan above we felt so virtuous after the climb that we halted to drink tea, though we had only done four miles and had not really deserved it. Our usual routine on these slow marches was to divide the day's ride into three: have thermos tea at one-third and lunch at two-thirds the distance, and thus let Shafi get well ahead to be preparing the evening meal.

1 [of the Hunza River -- Analyst]

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Sports.

Sports are represented by Polo for men who own or can borrow horses, and children's games. The women at certain seasons amuse themselves with games of ball and swinging. 526

Religion.

By religion the Burusko of Hunza are Muhammadans of the Isma'īli or, as they term it, Maulāi sect, to which, however, they were converted from Shia-ism only three generations ago. 779

With the Maulais, restrictions, formalities and ritual are reduced to a minimum. The masjids of the former Shia days have been abandoned, and have been replaced in recent years by "jamā'atkhānas". There are no mullahs of the ordinary type. Instead there are khalifa (pl. khalifātīng; xali·fa, xali·fa·tiṇ), who are more servants of the public — being called in chiefly to perform the necessary ritual at marriages and funerals — than its spiritual leaders or teachers. Spiritual authority rests with the Pīr, in this case 'Abdul Ma'ni, son of the late Shahzada Lais of Chitral. He himself now lives in Zēbāk. He replaced the honoured Pir Jalāli Shah, latterly resident in Ishkoman, who died in February 1931. Two of the latter's daughters were taken in succession as his principal wife by the present Tham of Hunza, which affords an indication of the Pir's status in the country. 795 793

Religious observances and prescriptions do not play any very evident part in the life of the Burusho of Hunza, but this does not appear to have any prejudicial effect on their character or conduct. They seem to have firmly planted in them the root of morality and the social and domestic virtues. The Maulais pay tribute to the Agha Khan, the head of the sect. The Burusho of Nagir are Shiahs (pl. Shiātīng; ši.a·tiṇ), a more rigorous and formal school, but they do not indulge in a fanatical interpretation of the duties and implications of religion. They mildly contemn the "mog[illegible]" (Maulais) as misguided heretics and imperfect Muslims. 788 795 798

Social and Administrative Organisation.

The life of the people is based on the family, and then on the village or community groups which live within definite geographical 621

643 Here I will quote from *The Autobiography of Sir*
771 *Mohomed Nazim Khan,* K.C.I.E. (Mir of Hunza from
●798 1892-1938 and grandfather of the present Mir):
[127] "The people of Hunza were originally idolators and they became Shias when intermarriage with the ruling family of Baltistan was arranged and later, when my great grandfather Shah Salam Khan was on the throne, most of the country became Maulai. In Ganesh and Hinni, there are still a few Shias and two Sunnis. When I became Mir I declared to the people that they could adopt what religion they would, which annoyed my advisers who said that a country with many religions was bound to fall. I said that religion had nothing to do with ruling and have proved myself right in that there has been no religious strife in the country since that time."

788 Maybe the Hunzan farmer mumbles his prayers while he is working, but he seemingly doesn't appear to stop from his efforts on behalf of his farm.

000 From my actual experiences in seeing and viewing religions throughout the world, I am of the opinion that, where religion demands too much of a man's time, his industry suffers and this affects his standard of living. It is a possibility that pious, religious people throughout the world will take exception to this but, nevertheless, I am stating this as my own opinion, based on my findings and observations, and that's all it is. If anyone wants to debate the point with me, I'd be happy to provide the time and the opportunity.

The Hunzans are not fanatics and therefore they can devote more time to their labors than those who spend their time praying and resting, because of religious holidays and observances.

852 Being Mohammedans, circumcision is practiced on
304 all male children. Normally this operation is performed

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard
Burusho AV 7

APPENDIX IV.

THE RACES AND LANGUAGES OF THE HINDU-KUSH.

By Dr. G. W. Leitner.

000 The accompanying illustration was autotyped some years ago from a photograph taken in 1881, and is now published for the first time. Following the numbers on each figure represented we come first to No. 1, the tall Khudayár, the son of an Akhun or Shiah priest of Nagyr, a country ruled by the old and wise Tham or Raja Zafar Ali Khan, whose two sons, Alidád Khan in 1866, and Habib ulla Khan in 1886, instructed me in the Khajuná language, which is spoken alike in gentle but brave Nagyr and in its hereditary rival country, the impious and savage Hunza "Hun-land," represented by figure 6, Matavalli, the ex-kidnapper whom I took to England, trained to some Muhammadan piety, and sent to Kerbalá a year ago. No. 2 was an excellent man, an Uzbek visitor from Koláb, one Najmuddin, a poet and theologian, who gave me an account of his country. Nos. 3 and 4 are pilgrims from Nagyr to the distant Shiah shrine in Syria of the martyrdom of Husain at Kerbelá; No. 5 is a Chitráli soldier, whilst No. 7 is a distinguished Arabic Scholar from Gabriál, from whom much of my information was derived regarding a peaceful and learned home, now, alas! threatened by European approach, which my travels in 1866 and 1872, and my sympathetic intercourse with the tribes of the Hindu Kush, have unfortunately facilitated. The Jalkóti, Dareyli, and others, who are referred to in the course of the present narrative, will either figure on other illustrations or must be "taken as read." No. 8 is the Sunni Moulvi Habibulla, a Tájik of Bukhara and a *Hakîm* (physician). No. 9 is my old retainer, Ghulám Muhammad, a Shiah of Gilgit, a Shîn Dard (highest caste), who was prevented by me from cutting down his mother, which he was attempting to do in order "to save her the pain of parting from him." 10. Ibrahim Khan, a Shiah, Rôno (highest official caste) of *Nagyr*, pilgrim to Kerbelá. 11. Sultan Ali Yashkun (2nd Shîn caste) Shiah, of Nagyr, pilgrim to Kerbelá. The word "Yashkun" is, perhaps, connected with "Yuechi."

[197] The languages spoken by these men are: Khajuná by the Hunza-Nagyr men; Arnyiá by the Chitráli; Turki by the Uzbek from Koláb; Shiná by the Gilgiti; Pakhtu and Shuthun, a dialect of Shiná, by the Gabriáli. The people of *Hunza* are dreaded robbers and kidnappers; they, together with the people of Nagyr, speak a language, Khajuná, which philologists have not yet been able to classify, but which I believe to be a remnant of a pre-historic language. They are great wine-drinkers and most licentious. They are 798 nominally Muláis, a heresy within the Shiah schism from the orthodox Sunni Muhammadan faith, but they really only worship their Chief or Raja, commonly called "Thàm." The present ruler's name is Mohammad Khan. They are at constant feud with the people of *Nagyr*, who have some civilization, and are *now* devoted Shiahs (whence the number of pilgrims, four, from one village). They are generally fair, and taller than the people 142 of Hunza, who are described as dark skeletons. The Nagyris have fine embroideries, and are said to be accomplished musicians. Their forts confront those of Hunza on the other 000 side of the same river. The people of *Badakhshán* used to deal largely in kidnapped slaves. A refugee, Shahzada Hasan, from the former royal line (which claims descent from Alexander the Great), who has been turned out by the Afghan faction, was then at Gilgit with a number of retainers on fine Badakhshi horses, awaiting the fortunes of war, or, perhaps, the support of the British. He was a younger brother of Jehandár Shah, who used to infest the Koláb road, after being turned out by a relative, Mahmûd Shah, with the help of the Amir of Kabul. *Koláb* is about eleven marches from *Faizabád*, the capital of Badakhshán. The Chitrá[illegible] from Shogòt, the residence of Adam Khor (man-eater), brother of Aman-ul-Mulk, of Chitrál, who used to sell his Shiah subjects regularly into slavery and to kidnap Bashgeli Kafirs. The man from *Gabriál* was attracted to Lahore by the fame of the Oriental College, Lahore, as were also several others in this group; and there can be no doubt that this institution may still serve as a nucleus for sending pioneers of our civilization throughout Central Asia. Gabriál is a town in Kandiá, or Kiliá, which is a secluded Dard country, keeping itself aloof from tribal wars. *Gilgit* and its representative have been described in my "Dardistan," to which refer, published in parts between 1866 and 1877.

1/A [Cf. catego[illegible] 16, p. 17[illegible] -- Analyst]

B

[173]

~~30~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AUI-Afghanistan AUI~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D
B.
798

Wherever Soonnees and Shiahs are found living together, they seem to practise a mutual tolerance rare in other purely Mahommedan communities. Intermarriage between the sects is so common as not to excite remark.

D
795
B
795

The whole of the people of Hunza, Ponyal, Zebak, Shighnan, Roshan, Munjan, Kolab, and Darwaz, more than half the people of Sirikol, Wakhan, Yassin, and the greater number of the inhabitants of the Ludkho Valley in Chitral, belong to the Maulai sect. A few Maulais are said to exist in Khokand, Karategin, and Badakhshan, among the poorest of the people, and in one district near Balkh, they are known as the disciples of Syud Jaffer Khan. Some are also to be found in Afghanistan, where they are known as Muftadis. A few may possibly exist in Bokhara and Khorasan, but in a fanatical country they would probably pass themselves off as Shiahs.

The head of this sect is Agha Khan, the acknowledged spiritual chief of the Khojas of India and Persia, a gentleman of Khorasan, who came to India in 1840 for political reasons, and who has resided in Bombay ever since.

The countries inhabited by the Maulais are roughly divided among a number of Pirs, who are treated by their disciples with extraordinary respect, but residence does not give the Pir authority over the whole of any special district. The office is hereditary, and Maulai families transfer their spiritual obedience from father to son, regardless of changes of residence. For instance, Shah Abdul Rahim of Zebak, who is honoured and respected as being next in rank to Agha Khan himself, has disciples in Sirikol, Kunjoot, Zebak, Yassin, and Badakhshan, but other Pirs also have disciples in those places. The respect paid to the Pirs by their disciples is unbounded; nothing is refused them. If they ask for a son or a daughter of any house, no refusal is dreamt of. One of them once said to me, "If I ordered a father to kill his own son, he dare not refuse." Whenever they move about, they are attended by a large number of followers, who are fed and maintained out of their superfluities, and they live entirely on the offerings of their disciples. Presents of horses, cattle, clothes, fruit, wheat, &c., are continually being made them, and the best of everything a Maulai possesses is given to his Pir. A portion of these offerings is converted into coin and sent yearly to Agha Khan, and agents travel yearly from these remote parts to Bombay solely for the purpose of conveying these contributions to him.

~~23~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushi AV7
Balti AV2

D
795
539
Bo
795
539

Others go their own way
But I am faithful to you,
Sahib-i-zeman.

I, Suleem, the distracted in mind,
Have seized the skirts of your bounty,
Sahib-i-zeman.

D
Bo
795
[262]
D
Bo
[798]

Wine is drunk by the Maulais without concealment, and they do not strictly abstain from eating the flesh of animals not killed in the orthodox manner. Being absolved from the constraints of prayer and fasting, the practical religion of the uneducated consists of little more than obeying the commands of their Caliphas and Pirs, and making offerings freely through them to their spiritual chief. They are by no means intolerant, and, where permitted, live on good terms with Soonnees and Shiahs, with whom they intermarry without restraint. The only cases I have known of ill-feeling between the sects have been caused in the first instance by Soonnees from other places. From Shiahs they seldom meet with hostility, owing probably to the respect they show to Ali; though they do not celebrate the martyrdom of Hassan and Hoossain.

D
795
764
Bo
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764

On the death of a Maulai the choicest articles of his portable property are set aside for the Imam-i-zeman. No food is cooked in the house, for from three to eight days, according to the rank of the deceased, and the family subsist on food cooked elsewhere. Food is also placed on trees and exposed places for birds to eat. On the evening of the appointed day a Calipha comes to the house, and food is cooked and offered to him. He eats a mouthful and places a piece of bread in the mouth of the dead man's heir, after which the rest of the family partake. The lamp is then lighted (from which the ceremony is called "Chiragh roshan"), and a six-stringed guitar called "gherba" being produced, singing is kept up for the whole night.

D
Bo
795

I have sometimes shown the portrait of Agha Khan in Yule's Marco Palo to Maulais. They pass their fingers lightly over it and then touch their eyes and lips.

Bi
795
173

The Noor Buksh sect, which has been before referred to, is peculiar to Baltistan, where it numbers over twenty thousands followers, most of whom are to be found in Shigar and Khapolor. It is apparently an attempt to form a *viâ media* between Shiah and Soonnee doctrines. Mahommedanism is said to have been first introduced into Baltistan according to Soonnee tenets by Syud Ali Hamadani. Later, a certain

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

I cannot perceive any striking similarity between the Bu.-W. type šika-m *grass-ish*, i.e. *green* and Mingrelian čil-am-i '*married* (*man*)' from čil-i *wife*. 193 197

VI. Numerals. The vigesimal system is used in Bu. and in most Cauc. languages, but also in a great number of other languages, e.g. in N. W. India, and it cannot be used to prove genealogical relationship. [802]

VII. Pronouns. Bl. compares the Bu. pronouns with Cauc. ones. Opening, at random, a grammar of the West African Ewe language, I cannot help thinking that one might make out as strong a case for comparing the pronouns of this language with Bu. Cf.:

	Bu.	Udic	Kürin.	Tsakhur	Awar	Ewe
I	jɛ[1]	zu	zun	zə	dun	nye
Thou	uʿŋ, gu-[2]	un	wun	γu	mun	wo[2]
We	mi	yan	čun	:ši	nit:	miawo (Abure ame).
You	ma	wän	k'uʿn	šu	nuž	mía („ ama).
He, etc.	iʿ- (nɛ etc.)	šeno	am(a)	man(a)	doṇ	(y)e.
They	uʿɛ	šonor	àbar	manbo	dol	wo.
Who?	amìn	šu		ha-:šu-nä	amẹ̄ ka.	

VIII. The Verb. Bl.'s comparison of the Bu. infinitive in -as, (which is a noun taking case suffixes) to the datival form in -as, -es of some Daghestan languages is not convincing.

Somewhat more striking is the accordance between Bu. n- which forms the Past Ptc. and Georgian na-, used in the same way. But we must remember, that the odds are greatly in favour of finding some elements resembling those of Bu. among the heterógenous mass of Cauc. languages, between whose different groups the relationship has yet to be established.

An objective conjugation is found both in Bu. and in S. Cauc. (Georgian). I know nothing about the history of the Georgian forms in question, but the addition of an element denoting the object is

[1] Which might easily be derived from a conjectural *njɛ. — I agree with Bl. that there is no reason to derive the Bu.-W. forms — with Zarubin — from Ir.

[2] Which might be derived from *(u)gu, cf. N. Chinese g- > w-.

Shina-speaking stock had forced its way in among, or acquired 197
domination over, an originally Burushaski-speaking population. To 193
enumerate such similarities would require a treatise in itself, and in the Grammar I have purposely abstained from drawing comparisons with Shina, which would have taken up space and obscured the immediate issues. I may here just draw attention to a few points. V. § 43. There is much parallelism in the use of the Bu. suffix -ʌn and the Sh.- -ɛk, -k (ɛk = one), e. g. Sh. ɛk manu·ju'k *a man*; a·pu'k *a little*; with pronouns: ko·uk *what person?*, jɛk-ɛk *something*, kača·k-ɛk *a certain number of*, cp. Bu. be·rum-ʌn; with numerals: dai bai-ɛk *ten or a dozen*, bi·ɛk *a score*. It is also used with the plural and so corresponds to the Bu. -ik. Employed with passive participles and verbal bases it replaces the indefinite by a definite sense. Thus: rai.ituk *the thing said* cp. Bu. senumʌn; ā·thi hanuk *the bones there are*, cp. Bu. maltaš biluman *the ghee there was*.

Points of similarity can also be found in the use of the case suffixes: Sh. jɛk čokɪj *how?*, cp. Bu. bɛlaṭɛ. Sh. -ɪj = ʌjɛ is semantically parallel to Bu. -ʌṭɛ. Sh. abl. -jo, parallel to Bu. -tsum used with meaning *after* (of time). Among the pronouns, Sh. ɛk ɛk is parallel with Bu. hin hin *one another* v. § 134. Sh. baiyɛ *both* and bu·to pl. bu·tɛ *all* generally follow the noun: jʌk bu·tɛ *all the people*, cp. Bu. *-ʌltʌlik and *-yo·n, §§ 177—178.

There is a parallelism between the use of the Sh. ga, gɛ and the Bu. kɛ with the indefinite pronouns when the verb is in the negative e. g. Sh. jɛga nɪš, Bu. bɛsʌn kɛ api *it is nothing*, v. §§ 148—154 and 333.

The higher numeral system of both languages is based on the [802] score (20). In compound verbal expressions there is much parallelism in the use of the verbs *to come*, Sh. wai.o·ɪki Bu. ju·yʌs; *to bring*, Sh. wʌlo·ɪki and aṭo·ɪki, Bu. d*-tsʌs, dusu·yʌs, su·yʌs, v. §§ 261 ff. and 266, also in some other cases. These seem to be translations.

Parallelism of use can also be noted in some independent verbs e.g. Sh. nɪkhai.o·ɪki, Bu. du·sʌs, *to come out, go out, get out, escape;*

Ho gərər manotzki dorčan. Xamali.er i, šərbatər i, qıstar i. Alto talɛčuqiŋ xamali.er, tsindi čuqan šərbatər, gul kɛ ɛčukonər dorčai.i. Ho sa'atər nobarɛn d'au.u waščan. Alt'ululo xam'aličiŋ sukuyo dutsun daŋ očan. Hikulto qısta očan. Da čap dɛtsirčan. Huy'ɛs wa'lto tsundo ɣu'çan. Da šərbat dɛtsirčan.

Ho gəro'ni gatuŋ n'ɛ'ɛtan, kurdi yaxtai.i nɛ'bil, baš'a n'ɛ'ɛtan, tišk nɛ'əyan, hik nika bilu'manɛ gatuŋ 'ɛ'əbiljai.i. Iri'ŋulo gampfu'ri 'ɛ'əyaiba'n. Ho ro'mɛ ɛčuko'n ha'lər gati no ha'lɛ mɛl o'mi bai.i, šapik u'čai.i. Čsta'diŋ dutsun γəriŋ n'ɛtan tamaša ɛč'a'n. Ho i'lčumutsɛ itiga'ri (*or*, itiga'r tali) bur'um da ni'lɛ tikumuts gəro'ni ɛčan.

Ho sa pari.en dy'u'asumər Thamu.ɛ hukum bila gəro'ni baman uyo'n itɛ guntsulo mərakar duʼišan. Qadi'mtsum mira's bila uyo'ntsum uyər mərak'a'r Diramatiŋɛ gəro'ni uyər di.ušan. Ho ilji iaki

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1 *manoteki dorčan* — These and the following supplies appear to be prepared by the Bridegroom's father. They are presumably those produced and consumed in the Bridegroom's house when the guests and the Bride and Groom have gone there after the conclusion of the actual marriage ceremony by the Akhund in the Bride's father's house. V. p. 304 l. 21.

i. — is probably the Corroborative Pronoun, "for the *xamali* itself" i. e. 'by itself, separately'.

2 *alto talɛčoqiŋ* — a *čoq* or *čok* is said to be 12 seers i. e. 24 lbs. avoirdupois. So 2 × 7 × 24 = 336 lbs.

Otherwise, a *talɛčoq* is said to be = 2 maunds
= 160 lbs.
in which case 2 *talɛčoq* = 320 lbs.

gul — i. e. *guri* as in l. 2 p. 298 and also in a note. Here glossed as "Bride's party" consisting no doubt of her family connections, corresponding to *ɛčukon* the Bridegroom's "tribal brethren, the members of his tribe related to him".

sa'atər nobarɛn i. e. 'the mullahs look for a (favourable) time for making them'. The day or days for holding marriages are, however, fixed by the Tham.

4 *daŋ očan* — a note says that "baking is carried on in both houses".

5 *ɣuçan* — is here probably used in its special sense of 'slaughtering (with a view to eating)'. It here explains what meat they cook. The number of goats depends on the means of the household.

6 *tišk nɛ'əyan* — The dagger is stuck in the waistbelt at the left side.

7 *hik nika bilu'manɛ* — glossed as "a once-married woman who has had a child", but it must be a 'once-married man', having regard to *'ɛ'əbiljai.i*.

The phrase is interesting grammatically. The Bride, a note adds, is also dressed up and oil put on her hair, etc.

OOO γərawan *bai.i* be is a speaker of bitter things. *jičərum ʌqər* don't speak roughly. *tik ki* γəri·mi the ground said (so) too. 252.6.

Fut. 1. sg. γəriičʌm.

Pret. 1. sg. γərawm.

(*-aγərʌs is probably the Ca. of this verb).

γʌrʌm IYB, cp. γəǰʌm, (sound of) speech. (Not known to QUB).

γərʌǰ x pl. a kind of pulse. (Cp. Sh. *gərəǰ*, Kho. *kərəǰ*).

γərʌt v. γərʌt.

γʌrau thunder. — *ʌyʌǰulo* γərau *mʌnimi* it thundered in the sky. (Cp. Sh. γərə.o/γərau.u, noise, disturbance).

γərbawts *-iło* x shelter under overhanging rock (such as is used by ibex). (QUB gives this word as y with no pl. form).

γərb'el, γərb'el, γərbəl *-iło* x.

1. Fine-meshed sieve for cleaning grain, flour-sieve. — *ičis mowulo* γərb'el *bi* the (old woman's) sieve is in the flood. 286.13.

●804 2. Measure of grain, equivalent to the *hičoq*, of 22—24 lbs. (QUB denies that this meaning is current in Hz. Bu, though the Wakhis use γʌlbəl in this sense).

OOO 3. Yearly allowance of grain payable to a labourer, which from a note would appear to be 9 *čoq*, H. *sarlawna mozd*.

dur'oskinər γərbel *yur* give the labourer his yearly allowance. Ar. Prs.

γərey, γərey, variegated in colour, parti-coloured, piebald. (V. *gərey*).

γərγər *ʌtʌs* to gargle, H. *kulli karna*. — *mili.ʌg* γərγər *ʌti* gargle with the medicine.

jati, jeti x. 000

1. Wooden dish or vessel covered with skin with the hair on it (the skin is sewn or tied on to the dish). Used for fetching flour in: 415
"*jati ditsu.in*" *nusra dowtsa ivi danin dayowaqs modeljai.i* saying "bring a *jati* (of flour)", and making them bring it, he himself sprinkles the girl with flour. 298.9, — *jatiulo dayowaq dusra* fetching flour in a "jati". 306.7. *dayowaqs jat'i* a "jati" of flour. 338.19.
2. A measure of grain etc. (about 3 lbs.). — *altambi jeti* (8 *jati*) = 1 *yerbal* = 24 lbs. 804
The single *jati* is equivalent to the *Ativqt*, and the Sh. *hati*.
sabur jeti four "jati" (*sabur* being Wakhi for 4). 342.18.

jatpat. V. 240.3 and footnote. This form is denied by QUB. Substitute for it *jotpat*. 000

jatow, jatur.

1. Quince (x fruit, y tree). E . 14.
2. Knot in shape of a quince at end of thong etc.
(Cp. Sh. *čatow*, quince).

jawan, v. *jowan*, youth. Prs.

jaiai namaz prayer-mat, praying-carpet. Prs.

jau etas.

1. To hold a thing in the fire and burn it.
2. To weld two bits of iron together.
3. To join falsehood to truth.
(In this combination of meanings there is perhaps a rough analogy with the various uses of the English "forge".
The word was given by IYB with reference to the phrase:

compliment them by mentioning among their qualities 805
the fact that they were precise and exacting. That statement is about as far-fetched as a statement can be.

In the cities of Asia and when dealing with government officials, one found them quite observant of time. An appointment for a certain hour was usually kept at that hour. However, in dealing with the people of [804] Hunza I found that time and distance were meaningless. All rivers were nullahs, all mountains were doranis. Haste and speed caused consternation. They did not understand the necessity or need for it. I stress again however, that in the official capacity this did not necessarily apply.

Birth control—More than one writer, and some who 842
should have had more common sense, has referred to the extraordinary method of birth control as practiced by the people of Hunza. From my observations I would state clearly and to the point, that they don't know what birth control means and it is from my observations and conclusion definitely not practiced.

The average family in Hunza consists of 7 people [163]
which means that they have 5 living children. Many have more, some have less. If you can call that birth control by any stretch of the imagination, well, that's your privilege.

Even the most primitive of people know that as long as the child is sucking at the mammary glands the ovum somehow doesn't come down the fallopian tubes . . . nature's own method of survival, as common sense will indicate.

I know—I know—I know that some or many obstetricians and general practitioners say that it doesn't mean a thing, but they are just trying to prove that science is greater than empiricism. Sure, I know that conception can take place under the circumstances

Sir Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afghanistan-Afr
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D 651 634 to furnish him each with a yoke of oxen for ploughing his own lands. This service he could commute if he pleased for one baghaloo of gold for each yoke of oxen. He was also responsible for the collection of the "Koodkool" tax, but no authority could be exercised over him by the Wuzeers or Tarangfahs.

Next to the Tarangfah among the district officials was the Charboo, who acted as an assistant to the Tarangfah in each village. His *kispit* consisted in exemption from all taxes, and two of the ruler's fees on marriage a year; it being part of his duty to collect the "Garé toloo" tax. He also received a certain amount of the meat tribute. To help him in his work he was allowed four men called "Zeytoo," who only served for a year as peons to the Charboo, and were paid by an impost of 12 lbs. of grain from each house, which was divided among them.

Dr. Leitner suggests that these names of officials are of Tartar origin. None of them now exist in Baltistan except Wuzeer and Trangpah (Tarangfah). If it be the case that they are originally Tartar titles, it may be taken as a proof of the influence which the Iskardo rulers once exercised in Dardistan.

D 692 681 634 Justice was administered by the Wuzeers in their own districts. Cases which principally arose out of disputes about land were generally settled by a fine of cattle, sheep, or gold-dust. Any case involving a larger fine than one baghaloo of gold-dust was heard by the Ra. Serious crimes, such as murder or treason, were punished by the destruction of the whole family of the offender. His house was razed to the ground, and his relations reduced to slavery, and sold or distributed according to the will of the Ra.

D 651 The dues above mentioned are still paid, some of them to the Cashmere Government, and some to the present Ra of Gilgit.

B 651 D 804 B 804 The same system exists in Hunza and Nager, and in some respects in Wakhan. The following measures are in common use; in some cases they differ only in name, in others they differ slightly in amount:—

Dry measure.

1 haiy	= 2½ lbs. English	Shina.
6 haiy	= 1 hut	
1 hurjoutee	= 3 double handfuls, about 2 lbs.	Burushi.
8 hurjoutee	= 1 bowlook	

[cf. category 116, pp. 41-44 -- Analysis]

[redacted] G-8 (1873-1879) 1880 [redacted]
4 Av3 Dard Av3
Burusle Av7

D
804
B
804

Gold-dust measure.

1 sukhee = 1 rut.
1 rute = 1 baghaloo (Shina), or Khur (Boorish).
1 baghaloo = 1 toloo (Shina), or Bai (Boorish).

The hollow formed between the thumb and the back of the hand, placed palm downwards with the fingers extended, was the old measure of a Baghaloo.

Land measure.

1 chookli = the amount it takes 6 kots of wheat to sow.
1 chookli = 1 choosi.
1 choosi = 1 makhani.

Long measure.

A span is called Ditt (Shina), or Tidet (Boorish).
1 spans = 1 kutt (Shina), or khash (Boorish).

after we could still hear the dance-music going on. When 585
dusk begins to fall the bridegroom betakes himself with his train of tribal brothers to his bride's house, where feasting is resumed. When the guests can eat no more or the food is finished—which ever happens first—the bridegroom's party carry off the bride to her new home. In theory they carry her all the way, but as that may be for some miles across rough country they frankly admit that they soon set her down and let her walk herself, but carry her again when near their goal. On arrival the bridegroom's family welcome her at the door with incense and thin bread. Then the pair take hands and step over the threshold together putting their feet down simultaneously. The bride then advances to the hearth which is henceforth to be her own. She touches the hearth-stones with her fingers which she then kisses. She is then led to the seat of honour by the main pillar of the house and food is brought for her party, who presently return home. A brother or maternal uncle and a bridesmaid remain with her that first night.

Next morning the mother-in-law leads the bride to the flour bin and sets her to bake thin wheaten bread. She kneads the flour, rolls out the thin pancake, and flings it on the griddle for the waiting bridegroom to turn. If she spoils the bread he is entitled to tap her with the bread-turner; if, on the other hand, he botches the baking she is entitled to smack him with the rolling-pin.

The last public episode before the Great Cold is the 796
Tumushelling, the Midnight Bonfire of the Winter Solstice, a ceremony which, so far as anyone could tell us, had never before been witnessed in Hunza by a European, and small wonder, for late December is no time for a Political Agent to be on tour nor for globe-trotters to trot. We owed our chance of seeing it to our temerity in wintering on the spot. The [805] ●
Hunzukuts have long since adopted the Muslim Nauroz (the vernal equinox) as their official New Year, but not improbably their earlier custom was to reckon the turn of the year from mid-winter.

We had been told that we should be awakened in the small

192 turn on," till you discover that it "diverts the flow of water" whether in one direction or another.

195 All technical terms, be they verbs or nouns, are capable of vivid metaphorical application, humorous and pointed when you are sufficiently *au courant* to appreciate the intended allusion. Such metaphorical uses are improvised as required with an originality and freshness that an American might envy.

A tiresome person may be "a wasps' nest" or "a painful disease," an over-strenuous worker "an earthquake," an only child "one torch-splinter," a loutish person "a pumpkin," an inexperienced fellow "a green apricot," a short-handled spoon "a tadpole," and so forth.

● 805 Clocks and watches are, of course, unknown where work is simply from dawn to dusk, yet the complicated exchanges of water at midnight or 3 a.m. are faultlessly concerted. Our day appointments would be defined "when the sun is one lance-length above the hill" or "when the first shadow falls on such and such a spot." Dádo had had experience of European time in some earlier service, and was thrilled to possess the watch that DL gave him. He used to come to the study every evening to set it by our little clock. He always held it upside down, and in order to compare it with ours (which was naturally right side up) he went through the oddest neck contortions to get his head upside down. But the idea of time had enslaved him; he was more rigorously and unforgivingly punctual than any servant we ever had, and it was impossible to bear the reproach in his eyes if we waited to wind up a paragraph after dinner was on the table. When I was typing in the dining-room he would appear at the door and say politely but firmly: "I must come to lay the table in another three minutes, Mother." Sometimes, just to tease him, I would say, "Well, you can't, for I'm going to finish this, and it will take at least ten minutes." "Oh, Mother *dear*, then dinner will be late!"

192 Burushaski has no expressions for East and West or North
823 and South except the learned words of Arabic; Hunza thought runs "up river" and "down river," "uphill and downhill." One day in describing a house I said, "You know So and So's,

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

600 dimanum i·nɛ šati·lo·an bam. I·nɛ yu·čər yu·y pasoʿm imanumi. I·nɛ senimi: "Ja wa·da ɛta baiyam ki·nɛ hilɛ·ran baiya das'i·nan bo?" senimi. "Hilɛsan bai.i," senimi. "Jo·čumana?" s'ɛnimi. "Gu·čam," senimi. "Mulkulo astam no·tan gučam," senimi.

5 I·nɛ yu· nuyɛn asta·mər du·simi. Mulkulum sistsum doγarusumi: "Daltas ki·nɛ e·u·ča ba. Ašaʿto nɛ yu·čaba. Jɛ hunərin 'o·čam, ma barɛ·nin," senimi. Yu·ər hukəm ɛtimi: "Ki·nɛ ka galt nɛ suluma du·nin," senimi. Hin di.ɛn du·nimi ɛ·ka. I·nɛ jut i·nɛ šat nɛ uyu·m inɛ wašimi. Yatɛ hi·nər hukəm ɛtimi: "Du·n" nusɛ.

10 I·n kɛ wašimi. "Ma asta·m ɛtin ku·ɛ hərɛŋulo amin γunikiš, amin daltaš bai.i kɛ." U·ɛ ki·nɛ šatilo inɛr han bər nɛ 'ašato bai.i' se.iba·n. Da "ki·nɛ ka·tulu kɛ ki·nɛ dimanai kinɛ yučam," se.ibai.i.

I·nɛ ditsun ha·lər. "Šugu·lo, u·ŋɛ ka·tulo ki·nɛ dimanai.i, gu·čam," se.ibai.i. Ho i·nɛ hilɛ·sər doγarusumi: "Lɛ e·i, u·ŋ ja ka·tulo ba.

15 Ja ka jučuma bɛ?" "Aya, jučam," senimi. "Ama u·ŋ gu·imo bušai.ər ni ku·ltomo guntsatsum pfər gutɛ dɛ·nər yo·ltsər hisa·b ɛti. Gu·imo tɛšatər du·sin hisa·b ɛti. Han baḍali·kɛn (*or*, barali·kɛn) gopači no·s, čup nɛ huru·t. Hərə·ltɛ asma·nulo xuro·nčan numan i·tɛ xuro·nčatsum han čuto·wan numan i·sɛ baḍali·kər gi·čam," ɛsimi.

20 "I·tɛ tsil numan amin gu.i·ɛ goxakin goy'ɛrum bo kɛ i·tɛ baḍali·kulum tsil inɛmur muči, mo·min. Te·latɛ jɛ jučam. Mu·to u·ŋ guyɛmo ganatɛ guyɛmo bušai.ər ni," senimi.

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2 *i·nɛ senimi* — i. e. *Pfasan Karaski* said . . . The narrative is continued from *dəriqaltisi* p. 104 l. 20.

ja wa·da ɛta baiyam kinɛ . . . 'the one whom I had stipulated about'. This is an example of how the lack of a Relative Pronoun is made good in Burushaski. The clause is adjectival and one must either suppose a relative which does not exist or regard the verb as being participial.

4 *astam no·tan* — 'causing them (the people) to make a decision'. The exact nature & significance of the episode which follows is obscure.

6 *ašaʿto nɛ* — 'i. e. *ašaʿto inɛ* 'that weak one' there is nothing to indicate who the "weak one" was.

9 *yatɛ hi·nər* — probably 'next, to another'.

15 *ama u·ŋ . . . ni* — "he said to his own father" should be inserted either before or after *ama*.

805 16 *pfər* — the use of *pfər* here is peculiar. The literal rendering of the passage is probably "reckon from today backwards in the current year up to twelve

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the contract was strong. His father grudged to hand him over to the man. The latter said: "Is (the child) I had made the condition about a boy, or is it a girl?" "It is a boy," said Dungpa Mīru. "Are you going to give him to me, or not?" "I will give him to you. I will have the matter adjudicated on in my country and then give him to you."

Taking his sons with him he presented himself for a decision of the case. He said to the people of the country: "I won't give him this fine boy. I'll give him the feeble one. I'll make them show off their accomplishments. You watch." Then he gave orders to his sons saying: "You take it in turns and wrestle with this boy." One got up and grappled with him. The small lad overpowered and threw the big one. Then the father said to another: "Tackle him," and the small lad threw him too. "Now you decide," said he to the people, "which among them is the inferior, and which is the superior?" They all with one voice said of the strong one: "He is the weakest." On this Dungpa Mīru said: "I shall give him this boy, as the one who was born under the agreement."

So he brought him along to the man's house and said: "Friend, this lad was born under the agreement, I give him to you." "My son," said the man to the boy. "You are mine according to the agreement. Will you come with me or not?" "Yes, father, I will come," said the boy. But (to his own father he said:) "You go back to your own country and in this coming year reckon up to twelve months from today. Then go up on to your roof, make your reckoning, put a bowl down beside you and sit in silence. I shall become a raincloud in the sky and I shall become a drop of rain and fall from the cloud into the bowl. Then whoever is your favourite daughter-in-law give her the water from the bowl and make her drink it. Thus shall I come (back). Now go off by your own road to your own country."

months". We should say "forwards" but the point of view is the end of the twelve months and one reckons backwards towards oneself.

18 *xuromčan numan* — is perhaps absolute: "a rain-cloud having come into being in the sky" i. e. 'a raincloud will appear in the sky and I shall turn into a drop of rain and fall from that cloud'.

20 *gu.iṣ goxakin* — 'your daughter-in-law (wife) of your son.' *-*xakin* or *-*axakin* alone means 'daughter-in-law'.

000 Hin mu·ŋgo ya mu·lusan huru·šai.i. Hin das'inan gəro·nimu ka huru·šabo. Inɛmur "moka·tum dasin" se.iba·n. Nuk'učɛn tso·rdinɛr ho dasin xamali mo·bišɛčər mo·asguse (*or*, mo·askuse) tsayuretum dayo.aŋ dusu·čər mutsu·čubo. Das'inɛ tsayurate han p'ači.ɛn ya
5 bur·i.e dustsakan mo·sgusmur fat ɛčubo. Dastu·r bila isɛ gatu mo·sgusɛ yo·ljubo.

Jati.ulo dayo.aŋ dusun ine gəro·nimur moyu·iba·n. Dɛ·qulai.i bo, xamali bišačər duyu·uski bo. Gəro·nu.ə yu·sɛ xamali šar nɛ dawatɛ bišamər inɛ ɛltalai bai.i. Gəro·ni.ɛ xamali ɛ·kušɛlumo kɛ gəro·nu.ɛ
10 muču·škatɛ duwaq mo·učai.i. In ɛltalaniš aiye·manum 'ekušɛlimi kɛ yu·se γaisɛ duwaq ɛčubo. Gutɛ yərum zamana·tsum dastu·r bila.

Ho usko wa·lto xamaličiŋ daŋ ɛtumər dau dayo.aŋɛ ni·dılin di·ušа·n. Ho xamali mo·bišai.ɛs mu·ŋgo ya mu·lus moka·tum dasin
15 kɛ u·imo h'akičaŋər ničа·n.

Ho gər nɛ iskikutsum aŋaro guntsɛ yus mu·yər ka· 'o·gučačа·n. Aŋaro tso·rdimo Hunzu.ɛ dastu·r bila tumišeliŋɛ pfu bišəč'a·n. Inɛ gəro·no yu·smu ka nuku·čɛn iw'atatɛ tsil nut'in to·ntsatsɛ girašər jučai. Nıki·rat i·mo ha·lər nimər yu 'i·mi.ɛ ɛ·r mul ɛčа·n. Ise mul
20 šičai.i. Isɛr "o·tiki mul" se.iba·n. Yərum zamana·tsum dastu·r bila.

Das'inmur mu mumi.ɛ ha·lum gərər a·lto iski sərmutsiŋ kan'i· kɛ

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2 *moka·tum dasin* — is in effect a "Bride's Maid", but the precise meaning of *moka·tum*, from *-*aka·tum*, is doubtful. It is used of a person in one's service.

8 *dawate* — *dau* + *ate*.

13 *dau dayo.aŋɛ ni·dılin* — "striking the griddle with flour" the idea is probably "sprinkling it with flour", as in l. 9 p. 298.

14 *mo·bišai.ɛs* — i. e. *mu* + *-*abišai.as*, the agent form of the Causative.

[585] 16 *iskikutsum aŋaro* — Tuesday: because marriages are always celebrated on Saturday.

17 *tumišeliŋɛ pfu* — vide Vocab. s. v. There is a difficulty here as *tumišeliŋ* appears
805 to be a period of a few weeks about midwinter, and the fire appears to be connected with the *Ši·ri Badat* myth

This would seem to imply that marriages only take place within a fixed period at midwinter. Perhaps the marriage fire is only similar to, or derived from, the *tumišeliŋ* fire.

ispakpa y minced meat. (Said to be Shina). 000
xstinjaʷb stas to urinate, relieve nature.
54.4. Ar. *xstrnjaʷ*.
iʷstsor, *-iŋ* y.
1. Lining, inner side of cloth. H. (IUB) *astar*, *kapre ke andar ka rux*.
2. Planks fixed on outside of house to keep off rain. (IUB vernacular Ms. *estor*, but this is probably merely due to a misuse of symbols).
-iʷš, *-ǯ* (*ǯ*) Nominal suffix, v. § 21.c. e.g. *γasaʷs* to laugh, *γasiʷǯ* laughter.
-iǯ, *-ǯ* Verbal suffix, v. §§ 321 and 357.
iʷša solstice. period following the solstice(?) — *sa išaʷr walimi*, or *nimi* the sun has fallen into, or, entered the *iʷša*, i.e. the sun has reached the solstice. *bai.imo iʷša* winter solstice (explained as the months of Dalv, (Ḥuʷt), Jaddi — the Chilla, but the Chilla is roughly only January and the beginning of February). *šinimo iša* summer solstice. *sa iʷšaʷr ǵimi je šormaʷr ǵuyam* or *sa išaʷr je ke šormaʷr* the sun has gone into the *iša* and I have gone under the rug(?), i.e. I have got fever. 805
(Biddulph gives B. iša and Sh. iša as "winter solstice" and "summer solstice". Leitner gives them as "January" and "July" and translates iša literally as "mill pond". V. "Handbook" pp. 18—20).
išaʷra, *išaʷrat* y sign, signal. — *išaʷra stas* to make a sign, to signal. *emxšate išaʷrat stimi* with his finger he pointed out (the hill). 28.11. Ar. 000
xšpoʷš y sg. and pl. seedling (of rice, tobacco etc.). *brase xšpoʷš eʷworkas* to plant out (rice) seedlings.
iǯq y love (of lovers). Ar.
itan, *itaiyn* x. v. *-than*, top, point.

48 b

000 *qurum* -*iŋ* y cavity or cleft between boulders.

qurut, *xurut* sg. & pl. x, d.pl. -*ints* dried curds. — *Gu.iču.ε kurutε daudau dusučan* the Wakhis bring them "*aš*" (broth) of "*qurut*". 338.9. *ɟurutε tsam'ike ka . . . dusučan* they bring it with "*tsamik*" of "*qurut*". 342.5. Elsewhere "*xurut tsamik* (*bila*)" was recorded.

(Steingass gives Prs. *qurūt* = dried curds, and the word occurs in Wkh., Kho., Psht., Parāchi and Kābuli Persian). Turk. Prs.

qušεlAs, *kušAlAs*, *qušεlj-* to go wrong, be spoilt, become ruined, H. *bigAr-jana*, *barbad hona*, *wairan hona*. — *gutε duro kušælimi* this affair has gone wrong. *itε mAzər kušεlila, api* the grave has become ruined, it no longer exists. 224.7.

(*q-* IUB & QUB. Cs. **-Aqušεlas*. Cp. Sh. *kuš'olo*, *kušεlo* broken, damaged).

quts for *kuts*, q.v., days. 102.5.

qhüyε, *qü.ε*, *qhiyε*, *khiε*; N. *qiyε* x (sg. and) pl. pebble(s), shingle, gravel. — *hAn qhüyεn* (or, *qhiεn*) *fAt εtimi* he put aside a pebble. 52.7. *gunts kε hAn qü.ε wAšimi* he also every day threw aside a pebble. 52.9. Cp. 52.10,14,19.

It is said that uneducated people put 365 pebbles in a basket and keep count of the days of the year by transferring one every day to another basket.

000 The exact sounds of the word are difficult to determine. I originally wrote it: *khi.ε*, but I think there is a -*y*- which affects the preceding vowel and consonant.

300 b

105 where. They use water to turn the mill that grinds
[376] their bread and that is primitive. But many thousands of people throughout the world would say that it is the right way. The adroitness and the ability of the Hunzan men would match that of any people in the Western world.

I cannot say that I found anything about them that was primitive. Further, they can choose the modern way of life if they so desire it. But the only people who seek it are those who are forced to leave Hunza because of the shortage of actual living room.

511 *Poverty stricken*—One writer referred to them as being poverty stricken. If the beast of the fields and forests and the birds of the air are poverty stricken, then I guess we would have to admit that the people of Hunza are poverty stricken as well. If you want to feel sorry for birds, because they have to seek shelter in their unheated nests high up in the trees, where the winds blow around them, and because they do not have oil heating for their nests or motors for their wings as a sign of poverty, then I will be forced to agree with you.

As long as the people of Hunza are free, have a bit of land to till and a house of their own that is not mortgaged or tax-ridden and are in good health and attain long life, I definitely cannot accede that they are poverty stricken.

142 *Fair complexioned*—Now and then some author re-
fers to them as being fair complexioned. I did not see one fair complexioned person in all of Hunza. Perhaps
[144] the writers meant to say that they were Caucasians, which is true, as compared to Orientals or Negroes. They are not a fair people any more than the Spaniards, Italians or Greeks are fair complexioned peoples.

805 *Precise, exacting*—An occasional writer sought to

compliment them by mentioning among their qualities 805
the fact that they were precise and exacting. That statement is about as far-fetched as a statement can be.

In the cities of Asia and when dealing with government officials, one found them quite observant of time. An appointment for a certain hour was usually kept at that hour. However, in dealing with the people of [804]
Hunza I found that time and distance were meaningless. All rivers were nullahs, all mountains were doranis. Haste and speed caused consternation. They did not understand the necessity or need for it. I stress again however, that in the official capacity this did not necessarily apply.

Birth control—More than one writer, and some who 842
should have had more common sense, has referred to the extraordinary method of birth control as practiced by the people of Hunza. From my observations I would state clearly and to the point, that they don't know what birth control means and it is from my observations and conclusion definitely not practiced.

The average family in Hunza consists of 7 people [163]
which means that they have 5 living children. Many have more, some have less. If you can call that birth control by any stretch of the imagination, well, that's your privilege.

Even the most primitive of people know that as long as the child is sucking at the mammary glands the ovum somehow doesn't come down the fallopian tubes . . . nature's own method of survival, as common sense will indicate.

I know—I know—I know that some or many obstetricians and general practitioners say that it doesn't mean a thing, but they are just trying to prove that science is greater than empiricism. Sure, I know that conception can take place under the circumstances

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D 726

cut off or their stores fail, and they are obliged to make terms. On the other hand, if they are well supplied, the invader gets tired after a short time and retires. If they feel strong and confident, the garrison sallies out to offer battle outside the walls, but the taking of a fort by assault is unknown. On account of the supplies it is usual to plan an attack for the time when the standing crops in the invaded country are just ripe.[1] The store in the fort is then at its lowest, and the invader finds no difficulty in subsistence.

D 805 [177] B 805

Though Islam has introduced the inconvenient Mahommedan calendar, the ancient method of computation by the sun is still in use. In Gilgit and the valleys to the south the months are now distinguished by the Arabic names of the zodiacal signs. In Hunza and Nager a more ancient nomenclature still exists, as it did till lately in Gilgit, though most of the names in the latter place are now lost. The year is divided into two seasons, from solstice to solstice, called "yôl" (Boorish) and "hallôl" (Shina). The season commencing at the winter solstice is called "baiy," and the one commencing at the summer solstice "shini." Each season is divided into six months, the names of which are repeated in each season in a different order; the second season beginning with the first month, and then the other names being taken backwards. The months are named from certain objects or fancied resemblances on the horizon behind which the sun sets at certain dates, as seen from the gate of the ruler's castle, so that each place has a different set of names for the month. The calendar as it still exists in Nager will give a sufficiently good idea of the system.

The months are as follows, commencing with the winter solstice:—

1. Baiy Isha.
2. „ Gamoosa (*ice-sun*, the sun sets behind a glacier).
3. „ Tikkidir, (*earth line*, the sun sets behind a level space).
4. „ Kabula, (*kebla*, the direction of Mecca).
5. „ Hingbalter (*door-way*, from a rock resembling a gateway).
6. „ Booye (*shoulder-blade*, from a rock resembling the blade bone of a sheep).
7. Shini Isha (commencing with the summer solstice).
8. „ Booye.
9. „ Hingbalter.
10. „ Kabula.
11. „ Tikkidir.
12. „ Gamoosa.

[1] "The time that kings go out to battle," 1 Chron., XX, 1.

~~141 Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
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Isha literally means a mill-pond, but in this case it is not meant to represent a mark on the horizon, but to signify a receptacle, the place beyond which there is no going. The Kebla month is no doubt a name of modern introduction. In ancient times computation seems to have been by these seasons. The term "yôl" has now come to be used for the whole year, and the half year is called "yôl trang," but a man of forty when asked his age will often say that he is eighty "yôl-trang." According to Mr. Schuyler, the Kirghiz make the same computation. The half-month is called *toonts* (Boorish), and *putch* (Shina), and no smaller division of days is recognised, though in Shina there are but seven names of days, which closely resemble the Sanscrit days of the week thus— D 805 B 805

Sunday	Adit	*in Sanscrit*	Aditya bar.
Monday	Tsundora	"	Sambar.
Tuesday	Ungaroo	"	Mangal bar.
Wednesday	Bodo	"	Budh bar.
Thursday	Bresspu t	"	Brihaspati bar.
Friday	Shooker	"	Suka bar.
Saturday	Shimshere	"	Sanischar bar.

These names are used in Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager, and were most probably introduced by the Shins, as they were in use long before the Sikh power was felt across the Indus. It would seem as if the Shins, while introducing the Hindoo days of the week, adopted in other respects the mode of computing time already existing in the country. D B [177]

In Chitral the calendar is computed by the solar year commencing with the winter solstice; but the months take their names from peculiarities of season or agricultural operations, not from local land marks. They are— D 805

1. Toongshal (*long nights*).
2. Phutting (*Extreme cold*).
3. Aryan (*Wild ducks*).
4. Shadakh (*Black mark*, in allusion to the black appearance of the earth when the snow melts).
5. Boi (*Sparrows*).
6. Ronzuk (*Trembling*, in allusion to the waving appearance of the growing corn).
7. Yogh (*Full*).
8. Mooj (*Middle*, alluding to summer being half over)
9. Poiyanaso (*The end*).
10. Kolkomi (*Threshing*).
11. Kirman (*Sowing*).
12. Chunchoori (*Leaf falling*).

ANTIQUITY

[643] ruled his country in the humanest and wisest of benevolent autocracies,
181 since the treaty of 1892 placed him on the throne of his murdered father
609 and parricide brother—to our humbler neighbours in Aliabad, the
[212] village four miles below the capital which we made our headquarters for fifteen months. As soon as the people grasped the purpose of our coming (which was not easy to explain to an illiterate people) they were overjoyed that a 'Sahib' should trouble to learn their vernacular—a thing which no white man or woman had done before—and take an interest in their customs and hereditary lore. At first they would hesitate: 'but you have wheels (=machines) in England, and can do all these things better than we can'. Within a few days they were vying with each other in explaining, demonstrating and bringing ploughs, looms, winnowing forks, bows, stone cooking pots to the resthouse where we were installed, that D.L. might measure them and take 'studio portraits' of them, 'for you mustn't put anything in the book about us that isn't exactly true'.

132 The entire life of the Hunzukuts is centred in water. The rain-
312 fall in the oasis level (7–9,000 feet), is negligible—we reckoned less
361 than 2 inches per annum; in default of any means of raising the water, the river, flowing between its crumbly earthen cliffs, 500 or 1,000 feet below their fields is useless for irrigation; there are no springs or wells; hence all water for all purposes must be trapped high up at the snout of some side glacier and conveyed on galleried aqueducts across yawning gorges and the faces of sheer cliffs. The main water channel, the Dala, which supplies all the more recent villages of Hunza, 'the new settlements' as they are called in contradistinction to the three original villages—Baltit the capital, Altit and Ganesh—travels some 8 or 10 miles in its circuitous route from the Herber glacier in the gorge behind Baltit, cradled between snow-peaks of 23,000 feet, before it peters out in a semicircular sweep round Aliabad.

312 The Dala was dug some three or four generations ago (90–100
412 years) with wooden shovels and wooden picks tipped with ibex horn,
816 and represents an amazing feat of engineering skill for people without any instruments of precision. The sluices that control the distribution of water—every teaspoonful of which is rigorously allotted—are of the simplest; most often a slab of flattish stone plastered in with mud, sometimes a wooden shutter sliding in a rude wooden frame, sometimes when the water is being taken off to a lower level a circular hole in a stone slab, closed at need with a mushroom-shaped stopper, rough hewn from a solid tree trunk.

000 γatai.i bai.i the mullah recites(?) the "Xutba". 302.15. Cp. 314.2, γ'atanimi, γat'animi he read it. 10.10, 70.8 ff. alimale sabaq γat'animi he took lessons, studied, with the learned man. 68.21. γatai.i ban they recite, read. 312.6. krtap γatanę (or, gaṭanę) ... aiyemanimi he was unable to read the book. 48.5. noq'atan having read it. 70.8,10, 302.17. quran γatanaor after reading the quran. 314.12.

γatunę, v. γatunę, sword.

γay left (hand). Cp. γayum.

γayu, γayu -tiŋ, γayunts, γayumots; N. gayu pl. gayunts lame; cripple, H. langra, laŋ. — yayu čaŋgu crippled, lame.

γaṭam etas, to snatch up, to snatch away. To scratch (the face) with nails or claws. — gatuŋ γaṭ'am ne tasaṭo etimi snatching up (her) clothes he held them in the smoke. 14.9, 16.19. (Cp. gaṭam. Cp. Sh. gajam th., to snatch at, lay hands on).

● 821 787 γaṭami.o x pl. the Pleiades. — γaṭamiyus aw'ali.en the Pleiades have overpowered, overthrown, me, H. γulib hogiya hamare upar.

Their influence is apparently in general injurious to human interests. If, when going off to bring in grain from the threshing-floor to his house, a man sees the Pleiades, he abandons his intention, as it is an unlucky omen.

000 γaibama supernatural, not human, H. karamati. — mene se.ibam (Basuŋ Gevi) γaibama bam some say that B. G. was (a) supernatural (being). 278.6. (Ar.) Prs.

γaibi supernatural, magic. — γaibi gatuŋ magic clothes. 24.20. (Ar.) Prs.

182 b

jamíp.

000 *1. Foreign, outside, H. *ynir, beyowa.* — *jamíp sis* a outside person. *jamípe tokak yan* borrow an outside person's gun. *jamíp(f)ɜs dukuyanas Purno Γaforsiq* you (are) a P. Γ. who wear yourself out for others.

2. Step- (of relationship). — *jamíp aya, jamíp as* my step-father. *jamíp nawma, jamíp ami* my step-mother. *jamíp ayu bara, daman apaw* they are my step-sons, not my own.

jamkaţ *-*manas* to be affected by, influenced by, restrained by, QUB H. *mayluwb, ayw.* — *besan dawutsum kuli jamkaţ ewaisbai.i* he is not restrained by anything. (Cp. 2. *jam*).

janam'or *-*atas* to cause s.o. much trouble. — *janam'or 'ustimi* he gave me a lot of trouble. *janam'or atas* to make an effort, exert oneself.

● 821 *jand'ora* an animal which is said, when there is an eclipse, to have swallowed the sun or moon, as the case may be.

The people on such occasions make a noise by beating griddles etc. and the luminary escapes through a cut in the *jandora's* throat.

In its function the *jandora* seems to correspond to the Sh. *grō*, Kho. *grok, grok.*

(*jandor'a* has been recorded in Sh. as a dialectal equivalent of *jan*, snake).

000 *janjarl* disturbance, row, quarrel, H. *fasad, jhagra.* (Cp. Kho. *jrujarl*). Pra. *janjarikţ* quarrelsome, fighter.

janwb y South. — *janwb yakalaţ* towards the South, southwards. Ar. Pra.

215 b

Indigo is said to be injected with a needle as a cure for a swollen finger, and also to be given to a child or horse with a cough, to drink. Prs. 278

nírm St. Pc. of *niyas*.

nimarz y prayers. — *nimarz ɛtas* to say, or perform, the Muslim prayers. *nimarz ɣalai bai* he is reciting, reading, the prayers. Cp. 310.13. Prs. 000

nɪrmak hɔrumi y treachery, disloyalty. — *ilamor nɪrmak hɔrumi ɛtimi* he practised disloyalty towards the Tham. Prs. (+ Ar.).

nimɪn.

1. Ppa. of *-*mɪnas* with Pn. Infix *i-*.
2. 3rd. pl. Pret. of *niyas*.

nɪrmʼas N. *-iq* y story. Cp. Hz. *minas*.

nimɪrn Ppa. 1st. pl. of *niyas*. 248.6.

nʼiqɔr Ppa. of *-*ɪrnas* with Pn. Pf. *i-*.

nʼɪromaq, *-ido*, *niromarqɔlo* x rainbow. — *niromaq walí bí* a rainbow has appeared (*lit.* has fallen). *niromaqilo gi.a bi.a* rainbows have appeared (*giyuɪ.as*) (*lit.* come down). 821

It is said that something comes down from the skies to drink. It drinks and goes up again, legs up and head down. It leaves a pot (*kɪhɔr*) behind.

niromaq dɔwi bí the rainbow has come out.

(Cp. Sh. *nɪrɔrɔ* || *bíjɔrɔ*, rainbow).

nɪkɔrɔ -iq y sign, token, mark, Bu. *koiyas*, — *iltarɔlo kɔrɔqilo kas nɪkɔrɔas bila* there is a mark between his eyebrows. 92.2. Cp. 136.1. Prs. 000

niyas, *ni.as*, *nit-*, *Impr.* *ni*, Ppa. *n*-n* (and *n*-as*). St.pc. *nírn*

1. To go (in all aspects); go, depart from; go, proceed to; (absolute) go away, go off.

For forms see the paradigm § 294.

1. *t'ali*ʃ, pl. *t'ali.aŋ*, y swaddling-clothes, the cloth in which an infant is wrapped. 854

The child is laid on the cloth with, in winter, a supply of dried cowdung to keep it warm and to absorb its urine. In the hot weather sand is substituted for cowdung.

The child is then rolled up in the cloth and the resulting bundle is tied round with a bandage, *tali·ʒe ban*, (H. *patti*).

The verb used to describe the process is **-ltali.as*, from which *taliʃ* is probably a derivative.

Čuram talizulo bam Ch. was in swaddling-clothes. 242.17. (Cp. Sh. *tali·ʃ*).

2. *tal'i·ʃ -iʒ* y large spindle on to which spun yarn is wound from small spindle, and from which it is eventually wound off into balls. 000

joʃ gančaʃum thi·rtum tal'i·ʃaʃe imaltərčam. Ho tal'i·ʃtsum loʃo di.wljam they wind the spindleful of yarn from the small spindle on to the *tali·ʃ*, and then they wind it from the *tal'i·ʃ* into a ball.

thalo h x y; *thale* x seven, — *thalo hiri* seven men. *talo gušiŋants* 7 women. 180.10. Cp. 116.2, 192.10. *talo taljo* 7 pigeons. 16.14. *thalo hakičaŋ* 7 houses. *thalo badaŋ* 7 paces. 312.10. *thal'oma* 7 months. *thalekuts* (v. a.v.) 7 days. *tale dem* 7 years. Cp. 210.3. *thale keži* 7 times. *thale kum* 7 pairs, sets. *thalo sčukom* "The Seven Brothers", the name of a constellation conceived as representing seven brothers on a journey, one of whom got left behind. (Cp. Wkh. *hüb tərüt*, the Great Bear. Skold). 821

341b

Biddulph C-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~with afghanistan AUS~~
4
AVS Dard AVS
Burush AS7

D 805 D [178]

The ordinary Mahommedan calendar is, however, coming into use, especially among the Ashimadek class. The days of the week are named according to the Mahommedan calendar, except that Friday is named Adinna.

In Bushkar and Torwal, the Mahommedan calendar is followed. In the latter place the ordinary names are preserved, in the former the months are named—

Hussan Hoosein.	Soorji (*Great month*).
Safar.	Shekadder.
Purum ishpo (*First sister*).	Roz.
Dowim ishpo (*Second sister*).	Lokyil (*Small festival*).
Tloi ishpo (*Third sister*).	Mikna (*Intervening*).
Chot ishpo (*Fourth sister*).	Gânyil (*Great festival*).

D B 821

The constellation of the Great Bear is called "the maiden's corpse," the four corner stars being supposed to represent a bier: the small star above the middle star of the tail is called the "star of life," as it is supposed to be invisible to a person forty days before death. The pleiades are called the flock of sheep; a comet, "the star with a tail," is supposed to portend the death of a king. The milky way is called the "track of the cow and horse," the tradition being that in the broad part about the middle the horse fell down from going too fast, while the cow travelled safely. The world is supposed to rest on the horns of a cow, which shakes its head occasionally at the sins of the inhabitants, and so causes earthquakes.

D B 823

D B 776

The west and south are always spoken of as up, and the north and east as down. A man going west or south to a place talks of going up to it. Fairies and demons that live in caves among the mountains or in desert places, have a prominent place in the belief of the Dards. Dr. Leitner has already given an account of the Yetch and its female counterpart the Roo. In Boorishki they are known as Phoot and Billuss. Madness is supposed to be caused by a demon casting its shadow over a person, while the shadow of a fairy confers the gift of prophecy. Demons assume the appearance of human beings to lure men to destruction, but they are recognisable by their feet being turned backwards.

D B [828]

D B 776 787 784

In Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager the ruler's family is supposed to be specially under the protection of a guardian fairy called Yoodeni. A drum, called the Yoodeni drum, is always kept on the top of the ruler's castle. When it is heard to sound at certain festivals and at critical times it presages good fortune. Nobody must try to see the Yoodeni, or look in that direction

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

turn on," till you discover that it "diverts the flow of water" whether in one direction or another.

All technical terms, be they verbs or nouns, are capable of vivid metaphorical application, humorous and pointed when you are sufficiently *au courant* to appreciate the intended allusion. Such metaphorical uses are improvised as required with an originality and freshness that an American might envy.

A tiresome person may be "a wasps' nest" or "a painful disease," an over-strenuous worker "an earthquake," an only child "one torch-splinter," a loutish person "a pumpkin," an inexperienced fellow "a green apricot," a short-handled spoon "a tadpole," and so forth.

Clocks and watches are, of course, unknown where work is simply from dawn to dusk, yet the complicated exchanges of water at midnight or 3 a.m. are faultlessly concerted. Our day appointments would be defined "when the sun is one lance-length above the hill" or "when the first shadow falls on such and such a spot." Dido had had experience of European time in some earlier service, and was thrilled to possess the watch that DL gave him. He used to come to the study every evening to set it by our little clock. He always held it upside down, and in order to compare it with ours (which was naturally right side up) he went through the oddest neck contortions to get his head upside down. But the idea of time had enslaved him; he was more rigorously and unforgivingly punctual than any servant we ever had, and it was impossible to bear the reproach in his eyes if we waited to wind up a paragraph after dinner was on the table. When I was typing in the dining-room he would appear at the door and say politely but firmly: "I must come to lay the table in another three minutes, Mother." Sometimes, just to tease him, I would say, "Well, you can't, for I'm going to finish this, and it will take at least ten minutes." "Oh, Mother *dear*, then dinner will be late!"

Burushaski has no expressions for East and West or North and South except the learned words of Arabic; Hunza thought runs "up river" and "down river," "uphill and downhill." One day in describing a house I said: "You know So and So's,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

it is on the Dála." "No, no, it is on the Middle Channel." 192
For a moment I was puzzled, for the house, in fact, sat exactly [823]
on the upper bank of the Dála, but of course watered its fields and drew its water from the channel *above*: the essential fact to a Hunza mind.

Though their technical vocabulary is so exact, the Hunzukuts are only human, and occasionally like ourselves take refuge in "thingumabob," "what you may call it," and "bandobast." They have coined an invaluable word which for fun I wrote "Alice." I found it was quite in order to say: "We are nearly out of charcoal, tell Zaidu to do Alice," viz., to make the necessary arrangements for getting more, or "the Alices are coming, tell everyone to get the Alices," which would mean that the So and So's are coming, tell everyone to get ready whatever is necessary. I hoped to import "Alice" into my home-speech as maid of all work, but here she awakens thoughts of Wonderland and the Looking Glass and proves a plant too delicate to rear in another atmosphere.

The weather in Hunza also provides some entertaining idioms. It is natural to say "the rain is falling," but the Hunzukuts not illogically also say "the sun is falling", where we would say shining, and where we put a thing *in* the sun to dry he puts it *on* the sun, that is, on the patch of warm sunshine.

In the main, Burushaki is innocent of the elaborate circumlocutions of ceremonial speech in which Persian, for instance, is so rich. The humblest peasant addresses his King as "thou," but one foreign courtesy-word has crept in. One day I excused myself to the party of women amongst whom I was sitting by saying: "I must now go home. My husband will be ready to eat bread." "She has said 'my husband,'" they chuckled. "Well, isn't the Colonel Sahib my husband? What should I have said?" "You yourself should say 'my spouse' (*jama'at*) though we might say 'her husband.'"

After this I was careful in talking to man or woman, however humble, to enquire after the *jama'at* and not crudely after the wife or husband, and found that this was more acceptable. I

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

Part or all of the armies of Alexander the Great wound their way through the Hindu Kush mountains. Whether or not they ever found their way into the Karakorums, history does not designate, but I suspect that they did, because the Hunzans are supposed to be descendants of Alexander the Great or his soldiers and Hunza is in the Karakorums. 131 133 [173]

The Himalayas in the encyclopedia are stated to lie in India, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and China but I know for certain the Himalayas extend into Pakistan as well.

At this point I am not seeking to take issue with any gazetteer, encyclopedia or other volume of facts. I am just pointing out the difficulty I encountered in getting the information down to a semblance of order and accuracy. Further, I have consulted with, written to and requested details from many sources who should know the facts, and in practically every case I came to a dead end. It seems as though very few people in the world know the exact location and extent of these three mountain systems. [114]

One man who did seem to know them and placed them accurately was Eric Shipton and by the heavens, he should know—he spent more time among these mountains than any white man in history.

A curious thing about the people of Hunza . . . they do not have names for the peaks in the area and there are some mighty lofty peaks. Even the famed Rakaposhi has no individual name in Hunza. It is just called "Dumani," the same as every other high mountain or mountain peak that they came across. Actually, "dumani" means "covered with a cloud." 823 103

I guess they're so accustomed to seeing these awesome peaks that they become impervious to them. So what? Another hill! Every time I asked one of the

823 bearers the name of yon mountain, he pointed to it
103 and said, "Dumani!"

It was quite some time before I found out that it wasn't the same mountain we kept seeing from different views or angles. In fact, after the second day's travel and the only peak that we had passed was "Dumani," I began to get suspicious and thought that somebody was pulling my leg. As a matter of fact, I didn't find out that "Dumani" meant "covered with a cloud," "high peak" or "big mountain" until I came across Professor Berger in Baltit. He, being interested in the language of the people, put me straight on the "dumani" business.

What made matters even worse—or should I say, more difficult—was the fact that long after we had left the Hunza area, people kept telling me about the "Dobani" nullahs and the "Dobani" mountains. Sometimes they said "Dobani," other times they said "Dubani" and then they would also say "Dumani" and "Domani." I don't think they know themselves exactly
[133] what they mean. Of course when they said Dumani Nullah, it would mean the "river flowing from the glacier on the breast of the mountain" and when they pointed to a hill and said "Dumani," they meant it was a big hill.

133 In trying to relate the circumstances covering our travel and journey from Gilgit to Hunza one must maintain a sort of running encounter of the trail and the incidents surrounding it. Then, too, in other parts of the book I try to tell about the agriculture, the habits and health of the people of Hunza. Therefore little time remains for one to describe the charm, the beauty and whatever else may be said about the scenes one passes.

So will you bear with me while I try to describe as

~~121~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
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AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D 805 D [178]

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4: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4: 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

They said to him: "Why have you cut down our juniper tree?" and frightened him. Upon this he gave the bough back to the (original) owner who is a man called Keramo Derbèah.

The wood of the Bōyo Juniper is still in his house. Fearing [824] (what might happen) they do not burn it.

This Juniper was in Dirāmiting territory.

That is all the story there is.

137 more prickly than our barberry. In fact, it seemed to have 5 prickles for every one that ours have and they were longer and stronger and more painful.

I recognized a variety of honeysuckle, too.

Then, of course, there was the imperturable "chush." It was found growing everywhere. I understand that its orange colored berries, which vary greatly in size, from that of a grain of millet to that of a large pea, also are edible, although they weren't as sweet or as pleasant tasting as the blue barberry, as I call it.

Caragana seems to grow widely in the area. I saw caragana plants ranging in size from 10-12 feet to one that was barely 6 inches tall, replete with all the trimmings, including the ripened seed pods. I stood entranced and marveled at the sturdy little plant growing out of the bit of soil that had fallen on the surface of a rock. I was strongly tempted to take some seeds back with me but I was quite certain that if the seed were sown in our fertile soils, the plant would quickly lose its dwarfing habit and only because it was so tiny did it look so cute and appealing.

Tamarix grows broadly. In fact, it is the most widely seen plant, shrub or tree in the area. On a few occasions we stopped, rested and found a bit of shade and comfort under a tamarix thicket or bush.

Herbaceous plants were more common again. At varying places along the river bank could be found fairly extensive patches. There was "fog" to which I will refer a little later, and a most formidable looking thistle, that neither man nor beast nor insect could get close to without feeling the barbs. My guides and bearers all warned me to stay away from it. I wanted to get some of its seed and feel, handle and examine it. On a few occasions I was determined to investigate it thoroughly, but they actually pleaded with me to leave it alone. It contains poison, they told me, and it would

137
824

actually make me sick and my skin would break out in sores or a rash. 137

In truth, I wasn't much worried, but, on the other hand, prudence must be considered. I was a long way from home, with a medicine kit that consisted of a bit of bandage and some salve, and I was in no position to do battle with some unknown, dangerous and perhaps poisonous plant. So I heeded their entreaties and left that symmetrical, unusual, neat but murderous looking plant alone. [824] [122]

The plants that I actually saw in flower along the trail or in the fields were very few. There was the wild rose, the fog, the inconspicuous flowers of chush and the fringed gentian and a few poppies. Remember, this was in July and very few plants, shrubs or trees are in flower at that period.

Yet, I must bear in mind that from Gilgit to beyond Altit the difference in maturity would run about two weeks. While I ate some of the last of the cherries at the Political Agent's table in Gilgit, when I got to Baltit I was eating the first of the cherries that the Mir had picked from his trees of exactly the same species and variety. In fact, I came upon many peculiarities caused by the altitude and the proximity to the river. In one place the fog plants, for example, were in flower and in other places along the route, they had already formed seed pods. Again, in other spots the seed pods had already burst.

This is not unusual, because if you examine the situation in the Niagara District, for example, at Queenston the cherries are in full blossom when in Niagara-on-the-Lake, along the lake, the buds haven't even swelled. There is a difference of 10 days to two weeks between Niagara-on-the-Lake and Queenston and the distance is a scant 7 miles.

The plant that impressed me most was the fog plant.

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women are neither abused nor overworked, and the mother is the respected chief of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men spend their spare time in the company of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing floors a half-mile or so apart, on the same night, and woe betide the eager teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[796] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two; cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually all eaten. Even the long bones are cracked to extract the last marrow. After this taste of meat, the winter of the dietary year sets in. Gradually the supply of carrots and potatoes fails, then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[148] apricots, and the tea. By springtime the poorer folk may eat only once in two days. No one starves to death, but no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats, no animal proteins, no vitamin A, no vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B, and a serious deficiency of calcium. Apricots contain some sugar and vitamin C, but the poorer families are un-
248 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-grind these with stone mortars, then squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[354] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apricot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped lamps that illuminate their homes, as lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high content of prussic acid, fifty drops of which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[762] ally a despondent woman takes a dose in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough to kill, just enough to loosen teeth, cause aching knees, and deform ribs

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Khūru agreed to this. At night Khamer taking one of his sons with him went and dug (a hole) in the field, and after giving him instructions he buried his son there and went home.

Then he took Khūru with him and they went to the field in which his son was buried. On arriving there they put their question (and Khamer said:) "O land, look and see whether I have got the larger share or Khūru." Khamer's son whom he had buried answered from below the ground: "No, Khūru has got too much." On this Khūru, being convinced, returned home. "For," said he, "the land said so too."

When Khūru had gone home, Khamer went off to the field to extract his son. He went to the place where he had been buried and opened it up. His son was not there. Then he called him by name, but he was not there. On ahead there came a call "Hallo!" He went forward and dug, but his son wasn't there. Again he called, and on ahead (the voice) called "Hallo!" Going on in this way it made him dig all through the field, but nowhere did he find his son.

After that he returned to his home. At home there were his six sons. Both they and Khamer, it is said, died and Khamer's land was left heirless. Khūru did not make use of it. It is said they brought in a man named Datu Sīng and settled him on that land. In Hunza when it is necessary to go anywhere to fight, the descendants of Datu Sīng carry the standard.

In Bāltīt there are at the present day the Khūrukuts descended from Khūru, and on Khamer's land there are the Datu Sīngkuts.

There is also the following story about Khamer's descendants. There is an animal called the marmot. There are none in Hunza but they are found in Misgār, above the Khān Wāli Fort, at Murkush.

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22 *Misgar* — the intention is probably: "In the Misgar Valley, above the Khan Wali Fort, at Murkush".

23 The Miṇtaka and the Kilik are passes above Murkush, leading over to the Tagdumbash Pamir.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

539*
825
173

and also at the Mintaka, the Kilik and the Qarāchukur in the Tagdumbāsh. Again they occur on the Kashmir passes as far as Trāgbal. Now they say that Khamer's son after being buried turned into the marmot.

From ancient times they tell the story thus.

I didn't see any water buffalo in Hunza itself, but they are to be found in the Gilgit area and therefore I suspect they are to be found, if not in the principality of Hunza, at least in close proximity. Well, if you find water buffalo, then there is sure to be the Mana or Lali bird. It's a medium sized bird that is very much like our cow bird. He perches right on the back of the water buffalo and works away like a woodpecker, picking out the insects that infest the water buffalo's leathery hide. Thus, he prevents serious injury and disease from spreading from the hide into the flesh of the animal. 136

This is just another one of the myriad of intricacies that follow in the paths of Mother Nature—how she seeks to balance things for the benefit of all. Here the bird finds a way and means of obtaining food and nourishment and the buffalo keeps healthy and everybody is happy!

Ibex are part and parcel of the Hunza scene. So are the ovis poli or mountain sheep which are actually quite scarce, but are found if one goes high enough into the mountains. The Hunzans call the ibex "markhors." I learned that "markhor" means "eater of snakes," for the ibex, which are actually goats, are known to the people of Hunza for this habit. This also indicates that snakes are found in Hunza. As a matter of fact, every now and then one hears or comes across a snake on the trail. When this happens on a narrow trail high up on a ledge and your horse rears on his hind legs, pawing with his fore . . . 'tis not conducive to a long and boring life! [825]

The Mir of Hunza is quite a hunter. He enjoys shooting and is a true sportsman. My friend, the P.A. at Gilgit, is also an ardent sportsman. Between them, they told me that they had bagged, at one time or another, crows, vultures, golden eagles, geese and ducks, pheasants (two kinds), chicoris (which are their partridge), 224 [643] 136

down on the far side of our Dála. It had gently sloping banks 163
where it passed our door, and was both narrow and shallow, 166
having been divided a mile or so away to give Aliábád the "Middle Channel" that ran 30 or 40 feet above our level and watered the fields between. She looked long at it and pondered. She wanted to come over, but had always before leaped the little stream on Naját's or Derwish's back. Presently she made her decision and her first jump and fell spread-eagled into 18 inches or so of water. She gave a cry, wholly of vexation, not at all of fright, and scrambled safely out. Someone ran up laughing, took off her little shift and spread it for her in the sun to dry. She played about cheerfully on a sunny patch of sand till it was ready, and later we saw her jumping triumphantly to and fro, again and yet again, as if she could never jump enough. By the time Faqér emerges from his cradle she will be leaping the Dála with him astride her back.

Our very first girl friend, Kaníza of No. 3, has a younger 865
sister, Gúlo, a sporting little imp, who had just cut her second teeth. One day she had a difference of opinion with her family, and we met her striding away from home. "Where are you off to?" "I'm annoyed," she said. "I'm going to mother's folk in Báltít," and off she set on a solitary four-mile mountain walk and a climb of hundreds of feet to her grandparents' home. No one tried to call her back or reason with her. She was wisely left to work off her waywardness her own way. She must have tramped home again the same day, for on the morrow we saw her happily busy with her own people again. After that our usual greeting to her was: "Hullo, Gúlo, off to Báltít?" "Not to-day!" she would say with a mischievous twinkle in her eye. Thus the Hunza youngsters learn independence.

The only drawback—from my point of view—about the shel- 866
tered life of the Hunza infants, was that when they were out for a walk in someone's arms, they were distinctly world-shy and were apt to set up a howl if I approached too near. The [326]
three-year olds were seldom frightened—though you must remember that a pale-faced woman with horrible blue eyes ("cat's eyes" they call them amongst themselves), and an

~~AVI~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AVI Afghanistan AVI~~
4
AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

D 805 D [178]

The ordinary Mahommedan calendar is, however, coming into use, especially among the Ashimadek class. The days of the week are named according to the Mahommedan calendar, except that Friday is named Adinna.

In Bushkar and Torwal, the Mahommedan calendar is followed. In the latter place the ordinary names are preserved, in the former the months are named—

Hussan Hoosein.	Soopi (*Great month*).
Safar.	Shokudder.
Purum ishpo (*First sister*).	Roz.
Dowim ishpo (*Second sister*).	Lokyül (*Small festival*).
Tlooi ishpo (*Third sister*).	Milna (*Intervening*).
Chot ishpo (*Fourth sister*).	Gänyül (*Great festival*).

D B 821

The constellation of the Great Bear is called "the maiden's corpse," the four corner stars being supposed to represent a bier: the small star above the middle star of the tail is called the "star of life," as it is supposed to be invisible to a person forty days before death. The pleiades are called the flock of sheep; a comet, "the star with a tail," is supposed to portend the death of a king. The milky way is called the "track of the cow and horse," the tradition being that in the broad part about the middle the horse fell down from going too fast, while the cow travelled safely. The world is supposed to rest on the horns of a cow, which shakes its head occasionally at the sins of the inhabitants, and so causes earthquakes.

D B 823

D B 776

The west and south are always spoken of as up, and the north and east as down. A man going west or south to a place talks of going up to it. Fairies and demons that live in caves among the mountains or in desert places, have a prominent place in the belief of the Dards. Dr. Leitner has already given an account of the Yetch and its female counterpart the Roué. In Boorishki they are known as Phoot and Billuss. Madness is supposed to be caused by a demon casting its shadow over a person, while the shadow of a fairy confers the gift of prophecy. Demons assume the appearance of human beings to lure men to destruction, but they are recognisable by their feet being turned backwards.

D B [178]

D B 776 787 784

In Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager the ruler's family is supposed to be specially under the protection of a guardian fairy called Yoodeni. A drum, called the Yoodeni drum, is always kept on the top of the ruler's castle. When it is heard to sound at certain festivals and at critical times it presages good fortune. Nobody must try to see the Yoodeni, or look in that direction

177
179 presumed from the possession of a pattern of door known as "Balowki hing" (balowki hiŋ), and a method of three-fencing "Balowki chash" (balowki čaš). See also Text No. XXVIII. I have even been
[124] told that the Burusho believe that they acquired the whole of their material culture from Baltistan. Though there is no territorial contact with Khowar, an occasional surprising common property in words suggests questions.

177
195 The Qirgis and Balti languages may at once be dismissed as sources of any perceptible influence on Burushaski, and, with infinitely greater opportunity, Wakhi seems to have been equally impotent to make any general impression on it. There remains Shina. Clearly there are borrowings from Shina to be found in the Burushaski vocabulary. Words with characteristic Shina prefixes and endings may be assumed to be Shina e. g. Bu. a-hal, a-dram, ao-dram, a-šato; adjectives ending in -aṭo, ḍamar-aṭo, yalit-aṭo; abstract nouns ending in -av, -iav, and -ri such as: damijav, ṭuriav, ṭuguḷri etc. In Shina -o is a very common ending in nouns and the masculine singular of adjectives. Where such words are shared the probability lies that in Burushaski they are borrowings from Shina. Examples are: bargo, baskoro, biḷiro. Sometimes the final -o is lacking in the Burushaski form. In such cases is the -o of Shina possibly an addition to a Burushaski word? Such are:

Bu.	yuk	Shn.	gukro	*covered water-land*
	yuṭum		gṭumo	*deep*
	hisk		hrsko	*lame*
	hokar		hokawo	*tomorrow*

Of undistinguished shared words it is for the Philologist to say whether they are of Indo-Aryan stock, and so presumably a contribution from Shina, or not. The same applies to similarities of a more radical character found in the sharing of syntactical practices and idiomatic usages, which seem to postulate direct translation from one language into the other. It is a fair hypothesis that such a process came into action at some time when the two languages were in intimate association, probably by intermarriage, after the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Burush. AV7

795 nearly as lax in their Mahomedanism as the people of Hunza. There is considerably more cultivation
241 than in Hunza, the land is better watered, and the main slopes of the mountains enclosing the country face north, and are consequently covered with forest. The land has the full benefit of the summer sun, and
[135] the crops are splendid. The untold profusion of the apricots, and the quantity of gold which can be washed out of every stream, has gained the country amongst the Nagaris themselves the name of
144 "the land of gold and apricots." The people, though
721 of identically the same stock as those of Hunza, show
511 marked differences. They are less warlike than their
567 neighbours; they were never implicated in the raiding of caravans, owing principally perhaps to there being no outlet to the north or east leading to caravan tracks; they are, on the whole, better off, owing to the better agricultural conditions, and the possession of splendid grazing grounds; and last, but not least, slavery is unknown amongst them — that is, they would not brook their king selling them or their children, and the exile of the present ruler's eldest son is said to have been caused by his attempt to
181 introduce the custom from Hunza. The men are not
829 so bright and cheery as their Hunza cousins; they strike one as more sedate and morose, and their reputation for dash and gallantry is far lower. The reason they themselves assign for the difference, and the one generally accepted, is that in the winter, when the sun is in the south, the great mountains backing their valley shut out all the light and warmth, of which Hunza facing south enjoys the full benefit, and that the depressing effect of passing day after day in the cold and dark-

4c Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1906 AV1 Kashmir
Burusha AV7

181 ness of their uncomfortable houses leaves an indelible
829 mark on the national character.

342 It must be remembered that a house in the
[351] Hindu-Kush has no glass windows, no comfortable fire-place and chimney corner. The better-class houses are built round a courtyard, but the rooms rarely have windows, all light comes from the
354 open door or from a skylight. Immediately below
352 the skylight is a square open hearth, on which smoulders a fire; round this run raised platforms, on which are the beds and household paraphernalia; the smoke, before escaping through the roof, fills the whole room, blackens walls and pillars, and chokes the unfortunate inhabitants. If it is very cold, or raining and snowing heavily, the skylight is shut, the room is in pitchy darkness but for a sputtering torch, and the atmosphere horrible. It is no wonder that an existence under these circumstances should be rather depressing, and in Nagar the people get the full benefit of it, for there are several villages which during December and January only get twenty minutes' sun a day; some, I believe, get none. The men having no agricultural work on hand, owing to the land being frost-bound, there is practically nothing for them to do during the winter months but to sit idly round their smouldering fires for about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four.

Nagar has practically no outlet except down the
417 river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there is only the bare possibility of reaching
417 Baltistan by the Hispar pass: there is a tradition that the road was once used, but it is very doubtful if

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the 585
smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. 585
In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple 586
are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will.

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people 591
take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all.

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she 843
quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their 832
sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and 513
not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A 853
husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears 842
to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to 163
exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

842 married life; he has been married early and has no arrears of
163 sex-starvation to make up, and he lives a healthy, active, outdoor life with no unwholesomely suggestive literature or cinema shows to stir his blood to rebellion. This admirable convention automatically spaces Hunza infants at decent intervals without artificial birth-control.

• 837 Unfaithfulness on either side is extremely rare, and I venture to assert without fear of contradiction that in Hunza morals
[348] are higher than in any other country in the world. There is no
[164] prostitute in the country, and no venereal disease. We may, I think, fairly ascribe this to high principle and a strongly developed tradition of fine practice, but we need not overlook the fact that circumstances conspire to reinforce principle. DL and I used sometimes to amuse ourselves speculating on the possible ways in which a pair of errant lovers, if such existed, could gratify their guilty passion, and we decided that the way of transgressors would be exceptionally hard.

No man or woman could be absent from the usual sleeping place without immediate comment, and by day each person's duties and destinations and occupations are common knowledge. The countryside lies sloping and open to view, and every corner and cranny of it, even the desolate rocky mountain sides where large boulders or ravines or semi-caves might seem to offer privacy, is subject to invasion at any moment by a herd-child with his goats. One tale was told us of an intriguing pair. The woman lover went to the edge of the river cliff, left some identifiable articles on the brink, and staged an accident. She then hid herself with the mother's connivance in the locked store-room of her lover's house. No search was made for the body, for these mountain rivers reveal no secrets, but it was, of course, not long before her presence in her lover's house was discovered. The unusual case came up before the Mir, whose sane judgment was that the guilty pair had better be divorced from their lawful partners and married to each other. Public opinion would have none of it, and while discussion was proceeding the disgraced woman drowned herself in earnest. I don't remember what the man's fate was, but general odium would certainly compel him to seek voluntary exile.

000 *traq* *-*manaw* v.i. to split in two. 150.12,15. Cp. *traq* *-*atas* v.t. 148.23, 150.4,9, 226.9, 230.2.

(Cp. Sh. *trak thowki*, to split, tear in two. Kho. *traq*, crack, cleft, fissure).

traqo -mots x grasshopper, locust.

trip hik quite full.

thuw atas to spit. 294.6.

(Cp. Sh. *thu thowki*, Kho. *thuwik*, to spit).

thuawq y pl. of *thowj*.

tobaq v. *tobaq*.

554 *thug'ow -ilo* x.

837 1. He-goat (used for breeding from).

2. (Metaphor.) a man granted right to exercise his sexual powers without restriction throughout the State. It is said that this right used formerly to be accorded to notable warriors in Hunza and Nager. Cp. entry *bwć*.

(Cp. Sh. *thogor*, *thoger* uncastrated he-goat).

000 *t'ayoli*, *toyoli*, *-mots* x male lamb, male young sheep (castrated), — *hik*, *iski*, *denkuo* *tayoli* a T., 3- year-old male sheep. *Kalkowan ya toyoli.an bi?* is it a female or male young sheep? *matum ivar tayoli.an bi* the black one is a male lamb. 64.18,26. Cp. 66.16 ff.

twk a division of the night; a doze, short sleep. — *hik twk(an) bila* one *twk* remains before dawn (about half an hour before first daylight). *twk ačito*, *twk iski*, *twk uwili* 2, 3, 4 *twk* before dawn. *gowu twk* the *twk* before dawn. *hik twk amana boiyan* I had dozed for a little. QUB.

thwk atas to peck (at). — *gwyawmotu bay thwk ati bi* the hen is pecking at

593 of only one case where a man excessively and unjustly
683 administered thrashings on his spouse. In all other instances the men are not punished or sent to prison for it. If a wife doesn't do as her husband commands, he beats her. If she were too generous in giving away her husband's property to her parents, he would also beat
837 her. If she is unfaithful to him and he catches her, he has a right to kill both her and her seducer.

This seems to have an excellent effect in maintaining a high standard of loyalty. I am not sure as to how
000 the people of the West will regard the people of Hunza for the light I have shed here, but whatever your judgment and opinion, I have laid the facts before you.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

Here are some interesting quotations from Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan's autobiography 127

"During my thirty-nine years as Mir there have been 674
two murders only in my country and all the people
have been happy and prosperous. The Government of [648]
India had never interfered with the internal administration of the country and as my people see more of the world they have added cleverness to their previous simplicity.

"There is not enough land for the growing population and so I encourage my people to go out into the 167
world and get work in other places. . . .

"There are four clans in Hunza and in each village 692
there are appointed four 'Makaddams' (men of good family who settle any little disputes that may arise.) If they consider a crime is too serious for them to settle they refer it to the Trangfas and they, in turn to the Mir's court which is ever open and from sentence of which there is no appeal.

"If it is considered that a death sentence is called 695
for, the people are collected and if any one will speak 681
up for the culprit, his sentence is remitted. Otherwise he is executed in the presence of the people.

"In the former times if anyone committed adultery, 684
his house could be destroyed, his animals slaughtered 837
and his trees felled without any trouble falling on the offenders and though that custom has fallen into desuetude, it is still considered right for a man to kill his wife's lover if he can catch them 'flagrante delicto'!

"Marriage is not allowed between near relations and 582
whenever possible, people marry into a clan different
from their own. Child marriage is discouraged and [177]
tribal customs have been moulded to conform to modern ideas since I became Mir. . . .

"In former years Shimshal was used as a place to 681

684 837 Morality in Hunza is of a high level, equal to that of the best records in the world. Sexual promiscuity on the part of either male or female is practically unknown. It is clear and established that they are clean thinking and clean living people. However, the Mir did tell me that on rare occasions there was trouble involving the eternal triangle.

644 853 608 The strangest custom that I found practiced in Hunza was that followed by the royal family . . . that is, the Mir's family . . . and it pertained to their children. As soon as a child is born to the royal family, it is given out to foster parents to be reared and brought up by these parents as their own. And there the royal child remains for an unspecified period of years. The child is brought to the palace on occasions and then returned to its foster home.

The exact purpose for this practice was hard to pin down. I felt that probably it was done to save the queen or Rani the difficulty of raising the child through its infancy. I also thought that perhaps this would allow the queen to have more children, and thus be sure to create a long line of descendants to follow in the ruler's footsteps or lineage. It was also suggested that this was a way or manner or means of strengthening the ties of the ruler with his people—a sort of democratic gesture.

The people to whom the child is given out for rearing are referred to as "milk parents" or "milk family." The tie that is thus established with these people is never broken. The individual members of the family are referred to as the milk-mother, the milk-father, the milk-brother and the milk-sister.

In every case, before the child is given out to its milk parents, their character, their habits and their way of life are carefully scrutinized so that the royal couple

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Burusho AV7

173 of Nagar, and the name is supposed to be the corruption of the Chinese word Tung, which forms part of many Chinese titles. The Thum was an absolute ruler, who killed or sold his subjects into slavery as it pleased him; but that the rule, though despotic, must have been tempered by common-sense is shown by the fact that the office of wazir, or minister, has gone down in unbroken succession from father to son for seven generations.

643 Safdar Ali, the Thum at the time of my visit, had murdered his father, Ghazan Khan, three years previously, and his character caused me some anxiety. He had, it is true, as had the Nagar chief, written to Government, and asked that a mission should be sent to him, but he bore an ill name for treachery, cruelty, 795 and weakness. In common with most of his subjects he belonged to the Maulai sect, the followers of which, though calling themselves Shiahs, were a bye-word on the frontier for their shameless violation of all the [837] leading Mahomedan doctrines. The men drank wine freely; their morals were of the loosest; a man considered himself honoured if his wife attracted the Thum's attentions, and hospitality enjoined that he should offer her to his guest. Withal, they were 181 cheery, pleasant people to deal with, slight, wiry, and very active, first-rate mountaineers, and of untiring energy, a great contrast to the Shins of 721 Gilgit. With none of the bloodthirstiness of the Pathan they yet had a great reputation for bravery, and had more than once invaded and severely handled their Nagar neighbours, who were said never to have carried the war into their country.

000 The cultivation in Hunza is very limited; the

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard

900
B
[931]

picturesque vice, which, unfortunately, may form part of indigenous associations, is as reprehensible as the hypocrisy of those hired knights of the pen, who, not practising the virtues which they preach, take away the character of nations and of Chiefs, merely because they are opposed to us, and falsify their history. I do not, for instance, palliate the old Hunza practice of lending one's wife to a guest, or of kidnapping good-looking strangers in order to improve the race, though the latter course may be preferred by a physiologist to a careless marriage, but I do find a reproach on European or Indian morality in the fact that not a single Hunza woman showed herself to the British or Kashmiri invaders, although the men, once conquered, freely joined them in sport and drinking bouts. Europeans have a worse reputation among Orientals than Orientals among Europeans, and, in either case, ignorance, prejudice, want of sympathy and disinclination to learn the truth, are probably among the causes of such regrettable preconceptions. At any rate, it shall not be said that the races which I, so disastrously for them, discovered and named, shall suffer from any misrepresentation so far as I can help it, although the political passions of the moment may deprive my statements of the weight which has hitherto attached to them as authoritative in this speciality. *Ve victis et victoribus*—for history now marches rapidly towards the common disaster. *Finis Dardarum.* "It has been decided that CHILÁS is to be *permanently* held, and consequently the present strength of the garrison in the GILGIT district will be *increased* by one native regiment, while the 23rd Pioneers will complete the road through the Kaghan Valley to Chilás, and will then *remain for duty on the advanced frontier.* This strengthening of the garrison in the sub-Himalayan country will effectually *secure British influence* over CHITRÁL where an Agent is to be *permanently* stationed; it will also insure the *control of the Indus Valley tribes*" (*Times* telegram of the 8th July, 1893—the italics are mine). Alas that British influence should so destroy both itself and the freedom of ancient races!

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat. Considering the promises of redress of all grievances made by the Great Northern Emancipator of Oppressed Nationalities,* whose lightest finger is heavier than our entire yoke, it would be a great mistake on our part to still further reduce the independence of Native States, the troops of which are already at our disposal. Even as regards Kashmir, against the mismanagement of which I have protested for so many years, and the Agents of which made several attempts on my life in order to prevent my exposure of their frontier encroachments in 1866, I am bound to say that our procedure has been a great deal too peremptory, if not altogether illegal. The following Treaty between Kashmir and the British Government shows alike that Kashmir had no right to encroach on Chilás and Gilgit (see preceding pages), and still less on Hunza-Nagyr, and that the Government of India has no right to convert Kashmir into a "*semi* independent State" as called by the *Times* of the 8th July, 1893. Kashmir is an *independent* State, whose independence has been paid for and must be protected by our honour against our ambition, as long as it is loyal to the British Government:

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* The last (semi-official) *Moscow Gazette* says: "Russia will not neglect to avail herself of the first convenient opportunity to assist the people of India to throw off the English yoke, with the view of establishing the country under independent native rule."

~~Y2~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

B 595 601 B 595 601 D 837 684

which would point to polygamy, and not to communal marriage, as an ancient institution in the Chitral Valley. In the Bushkarik language the terms point towards polyandry.

Cases of infidelity are extremely common, and the men show none of the jealousy of their wives usual in older Mahommedan communities. In cases of adultery the injured husband has the right to slay the guilty couple when he finds them together; but should he slay one and not the other, he is held guilty of murder. This practice is followed in Sirikol and Wakhan as well as south of the Hindoo Koosh. It is said that the Afghans of Swat, Dir, and Asmar take no notice of a wife's infidelity if, when it comes to their knowledge, they are able to disguise the knowledge from others; but should they learn it through a third person, a bloody vengeance is inflicted. In cases where conclusive proof is wanting, and which are brought for settlement before the ruler or Wuzeer, guarantee is taken for the future by the accused placing his lips to the woman's breast. She thenceforth is regarded as his foster-mother, and no other relations but those of mother and son can exist between them. So sacred is the tie thus established esteemed, that it has never been known to be broken, and the most jealous husband ceases to suspect even though a confession of previous guilt may have been made. In such a case a sheep and a toloo of gold are placed at the feet of the husband by the offender, who humbly sues for forgiveness.

D 608 837

It would appear that morals were more lax formerly than they are now. In Hunza, where the community approaches most nearly to its pre-Mahommedan state, infidelity is not regarded as an offence, and custom requires that a man shall place his wife at his guest's disposal, as in Hazara. The *droit de seigneur* was exercised by the father of the present ruler, and though the custom has been allowed to fall into disuse, it is evident from the accounts given of weekly orgies held by Ghazan Khan that the right is only held in abeyance and not formally renounced. In Nager things are but slightly better, and a man considers himself highly honoured if his wife attracts the attention of the Thum. Islam has not yet brought about the seclusion of the women, who mix freely with the men on all occasions Young men and maidens of different families eat and converse together without restraint, and great liberty is allowed to young women, with frequent evil results. Infanticide arising from illicit connections is common, and is not considered a crime.

B 837 771 B 542 B 847

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 55

Treasured Gifts

EITHER I AM most naive or I have an awful pile of 115
unmitigated gall, because I kept harassing my fine and wonderful friend, the Mir, with continued questions. Luckily for me, the Mir is a most understanding man and he tolerated my questions. In fact, I sometimes believe he welcomed them.

I recall on this day we were chatting in his man- 838
living room and I said to him out of the clear blue sky, "Do you have any hermaphrodites in Hunza?"

A puzzled expression appeared on his face and he shook his head and said, "I don't know what you mean. I never heard the word before."

I smiled and said, "Don't let that make you feel too badly because most people, even native born English or Americans in many instances have never heard the word before either."

I started to grope for another word that would

138 describe what I meant, when I spied the doctor standing close by. So I called him and waved to him to come over, which he did. I then said to him, "Would you explain to the Mir the meaning of the word hermaphrodite."

Now, as I have told you, the doctor was a Pakistani but although young, he was learned, having both his science degree and his medical one. With a flicker of a smile on his lips, he translated the word to the Mir in Urdu.

A glow appeared on the Mir's face and suddenly he broke into a chuckle and then it went on to uproarious laughter. I stood by mystified. Even the good doctor wore an air of puzzlement.

I waited a minute or two for the Mir's laughter to die down and then I said to him, "Tell us the joke, too, so we can join in the laughter. After all, laughter is something that should be shared."

At this he broke out laughing again. So we waited calmly until he cooled down. Then I said, "Now take it easy and tell me just what the joke is."

Containing himself as best he could, he replied, "Why I've got one of those things you mentioned working for me right here in the palace."

Then we all began to laugh. When it was all over, he said, "Strange you would ask about a thing like that. Actually I know of one other one in Hunza. That makes a total of two."

"If you are interested," he went on to say, "the name for hermaphrodite in Burushaski is 'mukhanas' . . . but enough of this!"

* * * * *

123 After lunch the Mir said, "Come with me! I have something I'd like to show you."

He then led me into the room I've been referring to

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

Where a couple are definitely ill-matched, or the daughter-in-law fails to fit into the family scheme, the regrettable fact is faced, the two families meet to arrange a divorce, and each party is free to remarry and hope for better luck. Nothing, however, in our Hunza observations amazed us more than the amicable relations that normally prevailed among the women of a household. There would be a mother-in-law with three or four sons' wives, all perhaps with growing families about them, an adolescent girl or two, and the herd of youngsters. They work together from dawn to dusk without argument or recrimination, and apparently without anyone's attempting to shirk her fair share of the common tasks. 586 592

An expectant mother works on in house and field till the very last, but by common consent the heavier tasks are divided amongst the others, and an extra-nourishing ration is assigned to her both before and after the baby's birth. There is no sentimental pampering of the mother, but her immediate job is the baby, and she is expected naturally to concentrate on that. When a woman's monthly affliction overtakes her, she dresses in her oldest clothes and lies immobile by the fire till she is well again. The others make *doudo* for her, a porridge of flour well boiled in water, which is reputed very sustaining, and bring it to her, saying, "Sister, eat." After two days she is herself again, takes a bath, washes her clothes, and sweeps the house; but she is not banished as a pariah nor subject to any degrading superstitions nor to any taboo not imposed by nature. 843 262 844 841 [262]

Shyly one day my friend Zénába asked me was it true that white women were immune from monthly trouble. "We notice that English ladies seem to ride and camp at all times; we have never heard of one of you having to lie up." I explained our habits and conventions, and that we made it our pride to carry on outwardly unruffled. "But surely it can't be good for you?" "I don't believe it is; but there you are; it is our custom, and we should think it shame if the household noticed any difference in our behaviour. It sometimes makes us cross and fretful perhaps, and then our menfolk just think how unreasonable women are." She laughed heartily: "So that's how it is; we've always wondered; but I think our way is better."

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

"I'm sure it is," said I, "and you are well again in two days, whereas our discomfort lasts twice as long."

So I betrayed to them some of our minor secrets, but I could not bear to reveal to these innocent, clean-minded people the cankers of our vaunted civilization: the dark, unanswered questions that cloud our childhood (in this matter there is nowadays, thank God, much more, though still only sporadic enlightenment); the too-long postponed marriage; the widespread sex-starvation; the so-called wild oats of so many young men; prostitution, unmarried motherhood, or the unwanted celibacy of so many young women; the secret, second establishments of so many respectable fathers of families; the sordid adulteries that lead to the divorce court—all the tangled maladjustments of our modern life in the West, where insane economics have trampled the humanities in the dust.

One of my gravest disappointments in Hunza was that for all my free and easy intercourse with the womenfolk I was not able to glean much of the more intimate detail of their married life: of their pregnancies and child-bearing and the like, from the woman's point of view. I had hoped to be able in such matters to offer a useful complement to David's masculine researches, but in fact he learned far more than I did. I rarely or never got a chance to speak to an older woman alone, or quietly, for any length of time; friends, relations, children, and babies were always buzzing round. There is no false prudery in Hunza, and children know the basic facts of life from infancy and hear grown-up discussion on any topic under heaven; but there is great fastidiousness and decency in speech, and it would have required far more subtle knowledge of their conventions than I possessed to have framed my questions inoffensively, even if I had mustered the nerve to frame them at all.

This mattered the less that DL in his quiet *tête-à-tête* in the study, with his various informants, was able to go into all such matters with unembarrassed freedom. I had also hoped to be perhaps allowed to be present at the birth of a child, and to this end had taken a superficial course of study at Queen Charlotte's Hospital, which, as things turned out, I had no

841 *gʊʃi* pl. *gʊʃents*, EOL *-ints*, x hut, shed. — *kərkamʊtsɛ gʊʃi* a hen-house. *gʊʃi.ʊlo* in the hut, etc. *bʊrt ɣʊmikiš ɔrrʊtʌs gʊti.ɛn bim* there was a very evil uninhabitable(?) hut. 112.12. Cp. 114.6,9,25.

This is said to refer to a hut in which it was formerly the practice to isolate women for seven days during menstruation. This practice has been abandoned and women only bathe according to the prescriptions of the Shers' law and use separate bedding for 3 or 4 days.

gʊts.kərʌs, *gʊts.kərč*, Ppa. *nʊkʊrtsər* to walk, go on, proceed, pass, flow, H. *čʌlna* — *šuɛn gʊtsərʌs sisʌn* a man who is a good goer, walker. *tsɔrdine je gʊtsərčʌm* I shall go on tomorrow. 128.2,17. *tsɔrdimər daɛl numʌn gʊtsərumʌn*. *Nʊkʊrtsər* . . . . *buɛltsər dɔšqʌltumʌn* getting up in the morning they proceeded on their way. Proceeding . . . . they came to the spring. 128.5. *gʊtsərčʊmɛ gʊtsərčʊmɛ* going on and on. 244.10. *dəri.a dʌl nɛ gʊtsərimi kɛ* . . . when the river flows uphill . . . 142.27. 8.5, 22.12, 36.3, 134.8, 144.3, 244.1, 373.10.

gʊtsɛ x pl., sg. *gʊsɛ*. cp. *khinɛ*, v. §§ 135, 136.

Demonstrative Adj. and Pron. these, these ones. — *gʊtsɛ baɛlt uyʌm bi.ɛn* these apples are sweet.

gʊtsil v. *gərtsil*.

gʊtsimo v. 1. *-tsimo*, Cp. § 127., III., from thee.

guwʌ -*tiŋ* h witness. — *uɛ guwʌtiŋ dʊtso* bring them as witnesses. 80.15. Prs.

gʊwʌɛi y evidence, testimony. — *aɛs gʊwʌɛi ačiči bi* my heart gives me

176a

E. Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-8) 1939 AVT Burushu AVT

681 ment. A few years' exile in Shinshál is incomparably preferable to three years' penal servitude in Wormwood Scrubs, yet Hunza delinquents do not become recidivists.

643 Young Muhammad Nazím Khán took up his job deter-
423 mined, in the light of his travels and experience, to alter much that had been traditional under his ancestors, and within three years of his accession he had completely abolished the Yerpa system of cultivating the royal lands. Such as lay immediately under his own eye he retained, but all the rest are leased out on easy terms to tenants. For the first years a tenant pays no rent at all for new ground that he brings under the plough; he has to get his fields carved out, his water-channels made, and the soil worked. After the land begins to bear he pays a small fixed rent in kind, and if at any point he finds the bargain unprofitable he is free to resign his holding. A large part of the "new settlements" of Aliábád, including all the district immediately round our house, was *kunikal* land (viz. royal land leased out), and there was no question that the system was working to everyone's satisfaction. The extra fields available had been eagerly taken up by families in the older settlements who were finding their freehold land too cramped, and many of our neighbours were sons who had hived off from the family freehold and whose relations were still living in Báltit, Haidarábád, or Dorkhan.

556 We once enquired, *à propos* of the meaning of the words
842 "rich" and "poor": "Now what would you people consider a rich man?" "One who had, say, a hundred animals." (The ordinary peasant household has twenty or so sheep, goats, and cows.) "And is there any rich man in Aliábád?" "Only one, the Yerpa." This struck us as highly significant; the one rich man still bore by courtesy his grandfather's title of "Steward"! He was no doubt still enjoying his grandfather's ill-gotten gains. Our Yerpa was, in fact, a genial, kindly man, reputed generous. He was not envied: "Poor chap, he has no sons; he has to hire herd-boys to mind his flocks, and labourers to work his fields." In Hunza a man's true wealth is in his sons; they work the farm with him; if there are several, some can go abroad and earn. Not that a woman or a woman's work is

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-6) 1939 AV7 Burushe AV7

under-valued, but a boy will bring a wife to the house and 556
children to the hearth, while a daughter will take her labour 842
and her children to her husband's home.

In pre-British days the Hunza men bore a bad name in 579
Central Asia as daring raiders. They are a hardy, fearless race, 175
and they would strike a track through uninhabited and un- 721
inhabitable mountain country, leaving dumps of food at intervals as they went, fall on a rich caravan travelling from Leh to Yarqand, carry off the spoil, and return—via their food dumps—to divide the proceeds, the lion's share of which fell, of course, to their brigand chief. Any prisoners captured were sold as slaves into Afghanistan or Central Asia. Alternatively they would raid across the river into Nagir and come back with slaves and cattle.

Since such a form of life invites reprisals the Hunza people 361
lived walled in in tight-packed villages close under their forts. 712
We had in Aliabid the old fort-village, built on a promontory, 202
with ravines protecting it on both sides, surrounded by a wall 175
whose twelve beacon towers could send warning of a raid up and down the river—"and the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle." Only one of these beacon towers now remains and the crowded hovels are falling to decay. Since the *Pax Britannica* has come, the peasant builds his house and stores his crops out amongst his fields and orchards—without even a watchdog. A few conservative families move into their old "town house" in winter time perhaps for warmth and companionship, perhaps merely to make a change.

These famous raids were primarily the sport of chieftains, 175
and the peasants of to-day find adventure enough, and danger 579
enough, in their daily life not to regret them. The profits of such raids, which welcomely supplemented the scanty produce
of the fields, are nowadays more than compensated by the 643
money which the British put into circulation. The Mir draws 648
a small and well-earned salary for his services as guardian of the frontier, a grant for keeping up the road through his territory, and a subsidy for his bodyguard of twenty-four men or so. Any sons the peasant can temporarily spare take service 463
with the Gilgit Scouts, in the Public Works or other Govern-

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the 585
smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. 585
In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's 586
mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will.

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people 591
take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all.

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she 593
quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their 833
sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and 513
not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A 953
husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears 942
to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to 163
exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of

142 married life; he has been married early and has no arrears of
163 sex-starvation to make up, and he lives a healthy, active, outdoor life with no unwholesomely suggestive literature or cinema shows to stir his blood to rebellion. This admirable convention automatically spaces Hunza infants at decent intervals without artificial birth-control.

537 Unfaithfulness on either side is extremely rare, and I venture to assert without fear of contradiction that in Hunza morals
[541] are higher than in any other country in the world. There is no
[164] prostitute in the country, and no venereal disease. We may, I think, fairly ascribe this to high principle and a strongly developed tradition of fine practice, but we need not overlook the fact that circumstances conspire to reinforce principle. DL and I used sometimes to amuse ourselves speculating on the possible ways in which a pair of errant lovers, if such existed, could gratify their guilty passion, and we decided that the way of transgressors would be exceptionally hard.

No man or woman could be absent from the usual sleeping place without immediate comment, and by day each person's duties and destinations and occupations are common knowledge. The countryside lies sloping and open to view, and every corner and cranny of it, even the desolate rocky mountain sides where large boulders or ravines or semi-caves might seem to offer privacy, is subject to invasion at any moment by a herd-child with his goats. One tale was told us of an intriguing pair. The woman lover went to the edge of the river cliff, left some identifiable articles on the brink, and staged an accident. She then hid herself with the mother's connivance in the locked store-room of her lover's house. No search was made for the body, for these mountain rivers reveal no secrets, but it was, of course, not long before her presence in her lover's house was discovered. The unusual case came up before the Mir, whose sane judgment was that the guilty pair had better be divorced from their lawful partners and married to each other. Public opinion would have none of it, and while discussion was proceeding the disgraced woman drowned herself in earnest. I don't remember what the man's fate was, but general odium would certainly compel him to seek voluntary exile.

7:Tobe C.T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

CHAPTER 51

They Chose Years Ere Comfort

I WILL NOT go on record as stating that some Hunzans have sired children at the ripe old ages of 80, 90 or more, because I have no proof of such occurrences, although this information was relayed to me by some people of authority. 842

Yet, I would not disbelieve or laugh at that statement, because from my studies I have found that where the human body is fed natural proper food, the regenerating process in the body can be maintained for a long time. Yes, and all the faculties can be alert and keen well into a ripe old age. Most certainly the people of Hunza have lived and still live, in the main, according to the laws of nature.

I would, without hesitation, accept the fact that the people of Hunza are longer-lived than most people. Everything about their way of life seems to lend credence to the tales. I investigated, I asked questions and 165

842 The country cannot afford or support a greater population than exists there today. Therefore, they will have to practice birth control, which it is claimed they already do but with which I disagree, or they will have to send their youths out of the country, which, as a matter of fact, they are doing.

311 There is very little chance of finding or creating more arable land in the country. I believe they have practically every inch tilled now that is tillable. There is no land left in that part of the world that is yet to be broken.

Their land and their fruit trees are their whole life. Their health, pleasant dispositions and industry, which they possess to the highest degree, are their entire wealth.

578 Quarreling among children and adults seems to be something that doesn't exist in Hunza. I found close affection and love was the general, accepted pattern throughout the area. This is even more surprising when you realize that most of the houses in the villages are built practically one on top of the other.

181 152 It was clear to me that they knew no worries and that they create no worries. There was absence of jealousy, greed, covetousness and hurry. Their outlook on life is most unpretentious. They are proud people and do not grovel before anyone and they do not pretend to be anything but what they really are.

433 Every Hunzan farmer is completely self-sufficient, even though he might trade for something that is in short supply or that he would like to possess. He grows wheat, barley, potatoes, millet, cabbage, beans, onions, lettuce and occasionally a bit of rice. In their orchards they have apricots, apples, pears, walnuts and mulberries. Every family has sheep and goats and sometimes a cow or an ox, and occasionally a yak. They till

compliment them by mentioning among their qualities the fact that they were precise and exacting. That statement is about as far-fetched as a statement can be. 805

In the cities of Asia and when dealing with government officials, one found them quite observant of time. An appointment for a certain hour was usually kept at that hour. However, in dealing with the people of Hunza I found that time and distance were meaningless. All rivers were nullahs, all mountains were dorani. Haste and speed caused consternation. They did not understand the necessity or need for it. I stress again however, that in the official capacity this did not necessarily apply. [804]

Birth control—More than one writer, and some who should have had more common sense, has referred to the extraordinary method of birth control as practiced by the people of Hunza. From my observations I would state clearly and to the point, that they don't know what birth control means and it is from my observations and conclusion definitely not practiced. 842

The average family in Hunza consists of 7 people which means that they have 5 living children. Many have more, some have less. If you can call that birth control by any stretch of the imagination, well, that's your privilege. [163]

Even the most primitive of people know that as long as the child is sucking at the mammary glands the ovum somehow doesn't come down the fallopian tubes . . . nature's own method of survival, as common sense will indicate.

I know—I know—I know that some or many obstetricians and general practitioners say that it doesn't mean a thing, but they are just trying to prove that science is greater than empiricism. Sure, I know that conception can take place under the circumstances

842 mentioned above and so do women who have reached the menopause age become pregnant, but it doesn't happen every day.

Siring children at 90 and 100 years of age—The only conclusive proof or record that I could find concerning men well up in years siring children was that of the Mir's grandfather, Sir Mohomed Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E. It is definitely recorded that he sired a son when he was in his 75th year.

Upon questioning and during discourse with the Mir, the resident doctor and the affected individuals themselves, it is clearly established that the siring of offspring at the age of 70 and upwards is quite common. Invariably it was revealed in these studies that the men had married younger women, their second or third wives. It is suggested that the answer lies somewhere close to this very important related fact.

165 [217] *Living to the age of 140 years.* The oldest man that I could find in Hunza was said to be 105 years old. I want to stress firmly that no vital statistics are kept in Hunza. Therefore it is not easy to establish any definite age or date. I will, however, accept this old man's age as being correct and established beyond doubt. The fact that he was alive before the Mir's grandfather was born (who died when 79 years of age in 1938) is ample proof that the statement is correct and true.

There are many people in Hunza over 90 years of age, quite a few over 95 years of age and some over 100 years.

142 165 *Their women are beautiful when they are 70 and 80 years old.* This I will agree is a statement that depends entirely upon a man's appreciation or understanding of beauty. I have seen old women of 80 who I thought were beautiful in a frail, wrinkled, grandmotherly way.

4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B 585 D 585

In Gor, rings are exchanged at marriage. In the ruling families of Hunza and Nager, it is the custom, when a daughter is married, for the bridegroom to present her at betrothal with a gold and silver needle. In Yassin, when, as not unfrequently happens, the bridegroom is too poor to pay the required price, the young couple elope, with the consent of the bride's parents. At the end of ten days the bridegroom comes to them and asks forgiveness, promising to pay the required sum by degrees. A little scene is acted, forgiveness is granted, the neighbours are summoned to the feast which has been already prepared, and the wedding is celebrated. This is to save the credit of the bride's family in not having received a sufficient price for her.

D B 582 D B 851 D B 842

The old marriage barriers between the castes are beginning to be broken down under the levelling influence of Mahommedanism, and in a few generations will probably disappear altogether. The birth of a son is always a matter of general rejoicing. The friends of the happy father at once make it an excuse to stop work for the day, and seizing their matchlocks keep up a general *feu-de-joie* till their powder flasks are empty. The village band is summoned, and dancing kept up round the door for the rest of the day. No notice is taken of the birth of daughters. In the Oxus Valley and in Sirikol, when a son is born, all the father's friends hang their weapons on the walls of his house, so as to accustom the infant to martial sights. After seven days the weapons are returned to the owners, except those belonging to near relations, who receive special presents in exchange.

D B 846

After the birth of a child a woman is esteemed unclean, and no one will eat from her hand for seven days. North of the Hindoo Koosh this period is extended to forty days, and for the first seven the infant is not allowed to suckle its mother.

D 764

I have elsewhere discussed the old custom of disposing of the dead by burning. Now the common form of Mussulman interment is used. A small flat slab of earth about two feet long is neatly plastered over the graves, and a light is kept burning at night by newly-made graves, under the pretence of keeping away wild beasts till the earth has hardened; but, as Mr. Drew has remarked, this is more probably a relic of the old practice of cremation. No attention or care is paid to old graves, which constantly present a most unpleasant appearance, owing to the falling-in of the arched roof. I remarked in Sirikol the same want of attention to old graves

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

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When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people 591
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is faced, the two families meet to arrange a divorce, and each party is free to remarry and hope for better luck. Nothing, however, in our Hunza observations amazed us more than the amicable relations that normally prevailed among the women of a household. There would be a mother-in-law with three or four sons' wives, all perhaps with growing families about them, an adolescent girl or two, and the herd of youngsters. They work together from dawn to dusk without argument or recrimination, and apparently without anyone's attempting to shirk her fair share of the common tasks.

An expectant mother works on in house and field till the 843
very last, but by common consent the heavier tasks are divided 262
amongst the others, and an extra-nourishing ration is assigned to her both before and after the baby's birth. There is no 844
sentimental pampering of the mother, but her immediate job is the baby, and she is expected naturally to concentrate on that. When a woman's monthly affliction overtakes her, she 841
dresses in her oldest clothes and lies immobile by the fire till [262]
she is well again. The others make *daudo* for her, a porridge of flour well boiled in water, which is reputed very sustaining, and bring it to her, saying, "Sister, eat." After two days she is herself again, takes a bath, washes her clothes, and sweeps the house; but she is not banished as a pariah nor subject to any degrading superstitions nor to any taboo not imposed by nature.

Shyly one day my friend Zénába asked me was it true that white women were immune from monthly trouble. "We notice that English ladies seem to ride and camp at all times; we have never heard of one of you having to lie up." I explained our habits and conventions, and that we made it our pride to carry on outwardly unruffled. "But surely it can't be good for you?" "I don't believe it is; but there you are; it is our custom, and we should think it shame if the household noticed any difference in our behaviour. It sometimes makes us cross and fretful perhaps, and then our menfolk just think how unreasonable women are." She laughed heartily: "So that's how it is; we've always wondered; but I think our way is better."

Hunza are more or less used to it. However, it does 164
cause trouble with the eyes of the natives. It also weakens the lungs of some of the older women, who probably spend most of their time indoors during the cold months of the year.

I questioned the doctor and the Mir concerning pre- 843
natal care, but from what they told me, I could find no provisions whatsoever made for prenatal care outside the individual home.

The death rate at childbirth, they told me, was next 165
to zero, but the doctor also mentioned that a woman 845
would not consider going to a doctor for gynecological 757
reasons under any circumstances. She would rather die.
He also told me that before and after delivery of a 843
child, Hunzan women do not know of any rest. The 846
pregnant woman works harder and does more laborious jobs till the last day of the term, in the belief that hard and laborious work makes delivery easier and uneventful.

"But," he went on, "they are very careful in exerting themselves during the early days of conception. After delivery they are again up and doing again, only after a short rest."

It seems to be obvious that the method followed by 843
the women of Hunza prior to childbirth "works" because both mother and child come out of it "uneventful." When events occur at such times, it usually means serious trouble.

He went on to tell me further that gallstones, renal 164
calculus, coronary heart disease, hypertension, valvular lesions, myxoldeama thyrsotoxcasis, mental deficiencies, cancer, poliomyelitis, arthritis and diabetes are absolutely unknown in Hunza.

From what I have seen and gathered I am worried 177
about the situation. They are now importing their sugar, 263
439

tilizers are used on their lands. 241

(8) All children in Hunza are breast fed. There is no 853
specific prenatal care, and the good health of the 843
mother is passed on to the infant . . . and the breast
feeding gets the child off to a good start.

(9) All fruits and vegetables that are dried for stor- 251
ing have been exposed to the sun and air. No foreign
substances are added or treatments used.

(10) Native herbs are used extensively . . . both as 262
seasoning and as food.

(11) Glacial waters are the only waters used both 312
for drinking and irrigation purposes. These glacial 146
waters definitely contain many valuable minerals and
nutrients, as revealed by laboratory tests.

(12) Apricot kernel oil is the most important source 262
of fat. It is used in cooking as well as for salads. No
solvents or extreme heat is used to extract the apricot
oil.

(13) Natural whole grains are used broadly. There
is no fragmentization in Hunza. While they do bake a
bread, their chief form of bread is an unleavened type
which they call chapatties. They are composed of
whole ground grain made into a dough and rolled very
thin. Then they are heated or baked slightly.

(14) Hunzans are light eaters. Their diet is com-
paratively meager.

There is no doubt that, if any human being were to
follow the health rules of the people of Hunza, he could
regain or maintain health. There is no magic formula
connected with this set of rules. They are simple and
to the point. In fact, they are so simple that most people
will doubt their value. To these people I would say,
"All of the great things in life—the important things
and things of value—are invariably simple!"

In Hunza the following established Western health 744

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

Where a couple are definitely ill-matched, or the daughter-in-law fails to fit into the family scheme, the regrettable fact is faced, the two families meet to arrange a divorce, and each party is free to remarry and hope for better luck. Nothing, however, in our Hunza observations amazed us more than the amicable relations that normally prevailed among the women of a household. There would be a mother-in-law with three or four sons' wives, all perhaps with growing families about them, an adolescent girl or two, and the herd of youngsters. They work together from dawn to dusk without argument or recrimination, and apparently without anyone's attempting to shirk her fair share of the common tasks.

An expectant mother works on in house and field till the very last, but by common consent the heavier tasks are divided amongst the others, and an extra-nourishing ration is assigned to her both before and after the baby's birth. There is no sentimental pampering of the mother, but her immediate job is the baby, and she is expected naturally to concentrate on that. When a woman's monthly affliction overtakes her, she dresses in her oldest clothes and lies immobile by the fire till she is well again. The others make *dosáb* for her, a porridge of flour well boiled in water, which is reputed very sustaining, and bring it to her, saying, "Sister, eat." After two days she is herself again, takes a bath, washes her clothes, and sweeps the house; but she is not banished as a pariah nor subject to any degrading superstitions nor to any taboo not imposed by nature.

Shyly one day my friend Zénába asked me was it true that white women were immune from monthly trouble. "We notice that English ladies seem to ride and camp at all times; we have never heard of one of you having to lie up." I explained our habits and conventions, and that we made it our pride to carry on outwardly unruffled. "But surely it can't be good for you?" "I don't believe it is; but there you are; it is our custom, and we should think it shame if the household noticed any difference in our behaviour. It sometimes makes us cross and fretful perhaps, and then our menfolk just think how unreasonable women are." She laughed heartily: "So that's how it is; we've always wondered; but I think our way is better."

opportunity of utilizing. I should not, of course, have dreamt of offering advice or help—the reckless courage with which some travellers ply their medical ignorance has always horrified me—but I thought that some knowledge of birth-rites at home might enable me to follow Hunza procedure with more intelligence. But if an Englishman's house is his castle, the fortress-like home of the Hunzukuts is no less inviolable, and in the event I could no more have proposed to a Hunza woman to let me attend her confinement for mere scientific curiosity than I could make the same proposal to an English friend.

Like women in many other parts of the East, the Hunza woman bears her child in a crouching posture, which gives full play to her muscles—admirably developed by varied exercise and unatrophied by chair-sitting—and speeds up the period of labour. An experienced woman, usually her own mother, acts as midwife, while her husband guards the threshold and her brother the smoke-hole to prevent the intrusion of evil man or evil spirit. Within a week, as has been related, she is ready to receive visitors, and within a fortnight she is out of doors again doing light work in the fields.

There are, of course, no vital statistics available for infant or maternal mortality, but as far as my enquiries and observations extended, casualties are rare. This is not to be wondered at, since for countless generations Nature has here been at her beneficent work of weeding out inferior stocks, uninterrupted by soppy sentiment or misguided philanthropy. No C_3 girl baby can be reared in an incubator to die in childbirth or burden the community with D_4 offspring.

THE FIRST OF THE HARVEST

Windy weather was knocking down unripe mulberries in 233
alarming quantities, which were incontinently guzzled by the 245
goats and sheep.

By June 9th ripe mulberries were reported from Ganesh and Hasanabad, some hundreds of feet below us, but we had to wait another three weeks for ours.

One afternoon we were out on the hillside and stopped to 524
watch a group of boys playing a complicated game of *bada bada* with a lot of small stones cast into twelve little holes in the ground. It was roughly equivalent to some of our games of marbles, and thinking of a large consignment of these which we had brought with us for future gifts we ruefully realized how useless marbles would be in a country where there are not six inches of smooth, level ground. As we sat trying to master 231
the rules of *bada bada* Gulo crept up alongside me and slipped her hand confidentially into mine, whispering "Our pussy cat has had a confinement," using for fun the same term as she would have applied to her mother, and not the word suitable for cats. "There are three kittens, and they opened their eyes yesterday; do come and see them!"

When the game was over we accordingly started crosswise downhill to No. 3. I halted at the door to make sure that Zénaba was prepared to endorse the impulsive invitation. She was sitting crouched by the hearth boiling the greens for dinner and jumped up with delight to bring us in. We squatted down on a sleeping-bench, from the back of which the children produced a round fruit basket in which the cat was cosily curled up. She was evidently accustomed to seeing her babies tenderly handled, for she let us take them out without other comment than a loud purr. Dear little furry things they were, about the size of small mice, and Gulo bubbled over: "She made first the black one and then the white one and then the yellow one—and that was all." Meantime, in addition to Kanfza and Apícho, a strange young man had drifted in to see what was going on, and presently Father arrived and we all chatted together very gaily. Laughing somewhat apologetically, 231
Zénaba confessed that she had drawn on the emergency reserve 844 ●
to make some *daudo* (a sort of porridge with butter) for pussy 262

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

231 to keep her strength up—and this in one of the poorest houses,
● 844 where they have had no bread nor butter for themselves for
262 weeks. *Daudo* is one of the nourishing dishes you make for a human mother, and the cat was such a pet that the kittens were considered as a birth in the family, one of the emergencies budgeted for. There is as little need in Hunza for an R.S.P.C.A.
231 as for an anti-litter crusade. Everyone is devoted to his animals,
562 and the children have pet names for ever lamb and kid. You will often see a boy or girl carrying home a tired animal slung over the neck like a fashionable lady's fur. Only people who have lived in the East can realize how amazing was this affectionate care for a pet; or how still more amazing this happy family life where father could come in and find his wife and daughters entertaining two strange men and be obviously delighted to see the guests. At least, if this sort of thing is possible elsewhere in the East, I have not heard of it.

231 When we passed next day we heard that a strange cat, which must be the only other one in Aliábád, for in general everyone is too poor to keep either cat or dog, had come in while the mother was mouse-hunting and had killed two of the kittens.
[115] Yaman, the only brother of our most beloved young friends, and most intelligent of informants, lifted a pathetic little white body with his toes from the field to show us. The children were half horrified and half amused at the kittens' fate.

137 There were a few wild flowers these June days amongst the scanty grass of the *toqs*: red bladder campion, stitchwort, and an occasional starved-looking forget-me-not. The children were much amused when we told them what the English call it, and that sentimentalists amongst us use it as a love-token. After that, one or another would run up to us offering a tiny blue flower and saying, "Don't forget me!" Some future linguist, language-hunting like ourselves, may be puzzled to hear of *je til akol* growing in Hunza fields and rack his brains as to how
123 the idea came to the Karakoram. On principle we have tried to avoid poisoning the ground for future workers by importing European ideas, legends, or phrases, and in this connection the forget-me-not, the "one little pig" and Afrot's *How do you do?* are the only sins on my conscience.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7

Hunza are more or less used to it. However, it does cause trouble with the eyes of the natives. It also weakens the lungs of some of the older women, who probably spend most of their time indoors during the cold months of the year. 164

I questioned the doctor and the Mir concerning prenatal care, but from what they told me, I could find no provisions whatsoever made for prenatal care outside the individual home. 843

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"But," he went on, "they are very careful in exerting themselves during the early days of conception. After delivery they are again up and doing again, only after a short rest."

It seems to be obvious that the method followed by the women of Hunza prior to childbirth "works" because both mother and child come out of it "uneventful." When events occur at such times, it usually means serious trouble. 843

He went on to tell me further that gallstones, renal calculus, coronary heart disease, hypertension, valvular lesions, myxoldeama thyrsotoxcasis, mental deficiencies, cancer, poliomyelitis, arthritis and diabetes are absolutely unknown in Hunza. 164

From what I have seen and gathered I am worried about the situation. They are now importing their sugar, 177 263 439

Le Lezimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 20

HUNZA BABIES

EARLY one October morning I saw Naját going off to the mill 846
with a little sheepskin bag on her shoulder. She looked even more radiant than usual as she stopped to talk. After the usual interchanges: "Have you heard our news? Bibi Gímo's baby boy has been born!" This was splendid. No. 1 already possessed four girls, one married, Shukuru almost marriageable and already growing her hair as a preliminary, and our two special friends, Shamúli and Bano, and two boys, Derwish and Man Ali Shah; a third son was the wanted thing. Mother and baby were doing well, and the household was overjoyed. [302]

I took pains to ascertain how soon I might call to offer my congratulations—the eighth day was best. So I set Zaidu to bake biscuits with butter and treacle, which he was sure would be acceptable, and I borrowed Qudrat Ullah for half an hour to coach me in the correct phraseology. When the great day came I threaded my rough way down the lane and turned in at the hospitable door in the wall, through which I had several times entered their garden but never yet their house. Here I was greeted by the four youngest, all looking as pleased as if they had by themselves conjured the baby into being. They led me through the byre, past the cow, who also had a festive air on her bed of nice clean straw, and into the living-room. It was beautifully bright with sunshine pouring through the smokehole, and as neat and clean as a new pin. The chief sleeping bench had a red felt carpet on it and had been left empty for me. On the other dais, also gaily carpeted, Bibi Gímo sat in state beside the cradle. She was looking so fresh and young and tidy that I hardly knew her. Hitherto I had seen

her a little dusty as she worked in the fields and somewhat tired perhaps as her time drew on. To-day she had on a gay, green cap, new cotton dress and trousers of bright chintz, and her hair was beautifully brushed and braided. I gave her hearty greetings before accepting the seat of honour left for me. On the cross-bench sat old grandfather, looking very handsome with his grey beard neatly trimmed, and by him stood the proud father and uncle (all ousted by my presence from their normal sitting bench), while an old woman—Bibi Gímo's mother—crouched with the proprietary air of the *accoucheuse* on the ground beside the mother's dais. Derwish and Man Ali Shah joined the menfolk, the two small girls sat round the fireplace with Naját and Shukuru, while the married sister and other women formed a group behind. Dádo came in with me as a matter of course and sat at my feet, though neither a neighbour nor a relative. (I had fully expected him to fade out at the threshold.)

I took a long breath, summoned all my wits and—a little self-consciously because of so large an audience—started carefully firing off one by one the fine phrases with which Qudrat Ullah had furnished me: "God grant your son long life and happiness! May he live to be a comfort to you! May he take your beasts in summer to the mountain pastures! May he bring you gifts when he comes home from his travels! May he give you a good daughter-in-law and children to brighten your age! May he prove a worthy son of worthy parents!" and so forth till I stopped from sheer exhaustion. These admirable sentiments, couched in the best traditional form, sounded so absurdly different from my usual, halting, extempore speech that they provoked giggles of delight from Naját and her companions. They fully realized that these pretty speeches must have been carefully prepared, and they told me afterwards that everyone had been much gratified at my having taken the trouble to learn the right things to say. But, after all, you may as well say the right things as the wrong, and even amid the simplicities of Hunza, ceremonial phrases are valued on ceremonial occasions.

Then, having recovered breath, I consulted Dádo in a whis-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

per as to whether it would be in order to ask to see the baby, 846
who was entirely hidden by a doubled homespun blanket flung over the ridge-pole of his cradle. "Quite the right thing." I made my request and approached the cradle. They turned back the cloth for me, and there was a very handsome baby (for seven days old) in beautifully clean kit, very carefully [302] bolstered in, his eyes painted black all round, which gave his face a comical look of maturest wisdom. This black stuff is supposed to be "cooling" to the eyes, and is quite probably a disinfectant of some kind. I said what a fine baby he was, and how big for his age, and so forth, then wished them all the best of luck, repeated my congratulations, and turned to come away. But they called me back to receive two heaped dishes of grapes and apples. I protested as well as I could against robbing their store-room, especially at such a moment when hordes of hungry guests would come well-wishing—it is for similar occasions that the "emergency reserve" is set apart—but I protested in vain. Derwish and Man Ali Shah followed us up the hill bearing the fruit, and I could only resort to the contemptible expedient of small silver.

Anyone who knows life in the East will realize how in- 562
credible it seems that a woman should sit in state to receive visitors of both sexes while her menfolk look proudly on. No wonder the Hunza women have this happy fearlessness, this dignified gait, these courtly manners.

I was typing text next morning when I heard piping voices 000
in the verandah outside my window: "Mother, Mother, Mother, *dear*, do come at once; we are threshing buckwheat on our floor." I went out to find seven of my smallest friends, boys and girls from the Middle Channel above, led by Nímo, dancing with excitement and impatience: "Do come and take photographs! Father and mother say you are *please* to come." I wasn't very keen to go, for we were expecting some Swedish missionaries to lunch. They were passing through on their way to Kashgar—another month's march—and they might arrive at any moment. Still . . . I had asked all our neighbours to send for me when anything was going on, and if I showed reluctance such summonses might stop. I scrambled up to the

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

HUNZA BABIES

846 A couple of months after Bibi Gímo's, Soni's baby son was born—the first grandson of No. 1A—and his arrival was the cause of great rejoicing. I had heard nothing of it till I commented one day to Aliko, whose handsome white beard had suddenly turned orange, on the fact that I had not lately seen Afrots. "She's been staying over with her mother's people in Haiderabad," he said, "but she's coming back to-day." When I next saw her she raced up to me breathless: "How do you do (in English), I've got a baby brother, I've got a baby brother, I've got a BABY BROTHER!" The opportunity of an eighth-day formal visit had passed, so I clambered over a boulder or two into their orchard-garden and called up the [354] blank, unresponsive-looking wall of the house. Soni was busy in the store-room, and put her head out of the one tiny wooden window—the only "window" of a Hunza house is a square, shuttered, ventilation hole in the store-room—inviting me to join her on the roof. I climbed the primitive ladder with caution—a camera and other impedimenta always made me even less agile than need have been—and there she was spinning away and occasionally giving a rock to the cradle beside her. I utilized as many suitable phrases as I could remember without rehearsal, and was rewarded with a peep at a fine little fellow of a fortnight whom any mother might have been 846 proud to own. Soni was gaily dressed, and had dotted her face 302 all over with unsightly brown spots which I learned were 752 supposed to be "good for the complexion" after childbirth. The custom used, it seems, to be universal, but it must be dying out, for I saw only a few young mothers so decorated. Anywhere else one might suppose it a charm against the Evil Eye, but the Burusho of Hunza are so free from any taint of this baleful superstition—so hard-lived where it has once had root—that I think there must be some other explanation. We later found that among the Burushaski speakers of Yasin, all the younger women lived under a permanent coating of similar brown cosmetic, washed off only for feast days, in the belief that it protected their skin against the cold winds of their harsher climate.

000 Afrots, joining devoutly in the admiration of her baby

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4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

B 585 D 585

In Gor, rings are exchanged at marriage. In the ruling families of Hunza and Nager, it is the custom, when a daughter is married, for the bridegroom to present her at betrothal with a gold and silver needle. In Yassin, when, as not unfrequently happens, the bridegroom is too poor to pay the required price, the young couple elope, with the consent of the bride's parents. At the end of ten days the bridegroom comes to them and asks forgiveness, promising to pay the required sum by degrees. A little scene is acted, forgiveness is granted, the neighbours are summoned to the feast which has been already prepared, and the wedding is celebrated. This is to save the credit of the bride's family in not having received a sufficient price for her.

D B 582 D B 851 D B 842

The old marriage barriers between the castes are beginning to be broken down under the levelling influence of Mahommedanism, and in a few generations will probably disappear altogether. The birth of a son is always a matter of general rejoicing. The friends of the happy father at once make it an excuse to stop work for the day, and seizing their matchlocks keep up a general *feu-de-joie* till their powder flasks are empty. The village band is summoned, and dancing kept up round the door for the rest of the day. No notice is taken of the birth of daughters. In the Oxus Valley and in Sirikol, when a son is born, all the father's friends hang their weapons on the walls of his house, so as to accustom the infant to martial sights. After seven days the weapons are returned to the owners, except those belonging to near relations, who receive special presents in exchange.

D B 846

After the birth of a child a woman is esteemed unclean, and no one will eat from her hand for seven days. North of the Hindoo Koosh this period is extended to forty days, and for the first seven the infant is not allowed to suckle its mother.

D 764

I have elsewhere discussed the old custom of disposing of the dead by burning. Now the common form of Mussulman interment is used. A small flat slab of earth about two feet long is neatly plastered over the graves, and a light is kept burning at night by newly-made graves, under the pretence of keeping away wild beasts till the earth has hardened; but, as Mr. Drew has remarked, this is more probably a relic of the old practice of cremation. No attention or care is paid to old graves, which constantly present a most unpleasant appearance, owing to the falling-in of the arched roof. I remarked in Sirikol the same want of attention to old graves

~~V2:~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burushio AV7

which would point to polygamy, and not to communal marriage, as an ancient institution in the Chitral Valley. In the Bushkarik language the terms point towards polyandry.

Cases of infidelity are extremely common, and the men show none of the jealousy of their wives usual in older Mahommedan communities. In cases of adultery the injured husband has the right to slay the guilty couple when he finds them together; but should he slay one and not the other, he is held guilty of murder. This practice is followed in Sirikol and Wakhan as well as south of the Hindoo Koosh. It is said that the Afghans of Swat, Dir, and Asmar take no notice of a wife's infidelity if, when it comes to their knowledge, they are able to disguise the knowledge from others; but should they learn it through a third person, a bloody vengeance is inflicted. In cases where conclusive proof is wanting, and which are brought for settlement before the ruler or Wuzeer, guarantee is taken for the future by the accused placing his lips to the woman's breast. She thenceforth is regarded as his foster-mother, and no other relations but those of mother and son can exist between them. So sacred is the tie thus established esteemed, that it has never been known to be broken, and the most jealous husband ceases to suspect even though a confession of previous guilt may have been made. In such a case a sheep and a toloo of gold are placed at the feet of the husband by the offender, who humbly sues for forgiveness.

It would appear that morals were more lax formerly than they are now. In Hunza, where the community approaches most nearly to its pre-Mahommedan state, infidelity is not regarded as an offence, and custom requires that a man shall place his wife at his guest's disposal, as in Hazara. The *droit de seigneur* was exercised by the father of the present ruler, and though the custom has been allowed to fall into disuse, it is evident from the accounts given of weekly orgies held by Ghazan Khan that the right is only held in abeyance and not formally renounced. In Nager things are but slightly better, and a man considers himself highly honoured if his wife attracts the attention of the Thum. Islam has not yet brought about the seclusion of the women, who mix freely with the men on all occasions Young men and maidens of different families eat and converse together without restraint, and great liberty is allowed to young women, with frequent evil results. Infanticide arising from illicit connections is common, and is not considered a crime.

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ourselves. Naját and Shukuru and all the children were 593
gathered round, but the men were out at work and the house was (relatively) empty. So while the mother fed the child I learned all I could about orthodox baby management. Until 852
the baby cuts his first tooth his mother will not take him to 562
any house where there is another infant. Possibly it is felt that 574
with one tooth he will be armed for self-defence against his contemporary; possibly the rival mothers might be tempted into tactless comparisons. Up till this point too, no male of the house may handle him. An amusing little ceremony heralds the cutting of this all-important tooth. Some elderly man—usually the grandfather—"well skilled with children," takes the baby in his arms and out into the open. After that his father and brothers are free to play with him and carry him about.

Until the child is two or thereabouts he lives the life of a 854
recluse, strapped into his cradle night and day except at meal-times, or when taken out for an airing in grown-up arms.

When the moment came for replacing Faqér in his cradle, Naját and Shukuru bestirred themselves and fetched some dry, finely powdered earth which they gently warmed over the ashes of the fire. Bibo Gímo produced a large square of strong cloth, sweet and clean but dark with use, and spread it on the dais, lying the baby down on it with a tiny cushion under his head. Then plenty of the earth—it proved to be pounded sun-dried cow-dung, as clean and inoffensive to handle as the fibre in which we plant our bulbs—was packed round him above and below, and he was carefully parcelled up, arms, legs, and feet, into the stout cloth, bandaged into it with a long binder, and laid in the cradle. When he is "changed" the last lot of packing is thrown on to the fields for their enrichment—and that's that. Very cleanly and ingenious it all is and vastly preferable to the eternal washing of "nappies," which, indeed, would be a grim task with insufficiency of cloths, cold water, and no soap.

The bottom of the cradle was full of nice clean straw with a padded mattress on top, and by the time baby's cushion was adjusted and a red quilt laid up to his chin and well tucked in

643 Here I will quote from *The Autobiography of Sir*
771 *Mohomed Nazim Khan,* K.C.I.E. (Mir of Hunza from
798 1892-1938 and grandfather of the present Mir):
[127] "The people of Hunza were originally idolators and they became Shias when intermarriage with the ruling family of Baltistan was arranged and later, when my great grandfather Shah Salam Khan was on the throne, most of the country became Maulai. In Ganesh and Hinni, there are still a few Shias and two Sunnis. When I became Mir I declared to the people that they could adopt what religion they would, which annoyed my advisers who said that a country with many religions was bound to fall. I said that religion had nothing to do with ruling and have proved myself right in that there has been no religious strife in the country since that time."

788 Maybe the Hunzan farmer mumbles his prayers while he is working, but he seemingly doesn't appear to stop from his efforts on behalf of his farm.

000 From my actual experiences in seeing and viewing religions throughout the world, I am of the opinion that, where religion demands too much of a man's time, his industry suffers and this affects his standard of living. It is a possibility that pious, religious people throughout the world will take exception to this but, nevertheless, I am stating this as my own opinion, based on my findings and observations, and that's all it is. If anyone wants to debate the point with me, I'd be happy to provide the time and the opportunity.

The Hunzans are not fanatics and therefore they can devote more time to their labors than those who spend their time praying and resting, because of religious holidays and observances.

852 Being Mohammedans, circumcision is practiced on
304 all male children. Normally this operation is performed

when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases. 852 304

The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery. 582 304

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West. 582 [584]

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails. 585 [671]

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare. 586

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the 585
smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. 585
In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's
mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple 586
are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will.

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people 591
take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all.

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she 843
quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their 833
sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and 513
not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A 853
husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more
opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears 842
to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to 163
exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of

684 837 Morality in Hunza is of a high level, equal to that of the best records in the world. Sexual promiscuity on the part of either male or female is practically unknown. It is clear and established that they are clean thinking and clean living people. However, the Mir did tell me that on rare occasions there was trouble involving the eternal triangle.

644 853 608 The strangest custom that I found practiced in Hunza was that followed by the royal family . . . that is, the Mir's family . . . and it pertained to their children. As soon as a child is born to the royal family, it is given out to foster parents to be reared and brought up by these parents as their own. And there the royal child remains for an unspecified period of years. The child is brought to the palace on occasions and then returned to its foster home.

The exact purpose for this practice was hard to pin down. I felt that probably it was done to save the queen or Rani the difficulty of raising the child through its infancy. I also thought that perhaps this would allow the queen to have more children, and thus be sure to create a long line of descendants to follow in the ruler's footsteps or lineage. It was also suggested that this was a way or manner or means of strengthening the ties of the ruler with his people—a sort of democratic gesture.

The people to whom the child is given out for rearing are referred to as "milk parents" or "milk family." The tie that is thus established with these people is never broken. The individual members of the family are referred to as the milk-mother, the milk-father, the milk-brother and the milk-sister.

In every case, before the child is given out to its milk parents, their character, their habits and their way of life are carefully scrutinized so that the royal couple

know that the child will be given a fine upbringing. 644

It is to be expected that the milk parents will be given much consideration and favors from the Mir's household and family . . . and the Mir has and still does provide better than average homes or residences for these selected people. 853 608

In Hunza at the present time, the Mir has built a row or unit of bungalows for these milk parents and they are given food and necessities from the royal kitchen.

I have tried to find some connection of this practice with other nations or peoples. So far my search has been unsuccessful in this regard.

Death is not the serious thing with the people of Hunza that it is with most other peoples throughout the world. That does not mean that there is no sadness and mourning, but it does not take on the same scope and seriousness that it does in the West. This is primarily due to the religion and beliefs of the people. Being Mohammedans, they believe in predestination . . . "So Allah wills." 761

Seldom are graves of departed kinfolk visited—nor are flowers laid upon them. In fact, very little maintenance is ever carried out on graves. Visits to the graves or graveyards are definitely not encouraged. The dead are revered, but visiting the grave of the departed is not really the accepted thing in Hunza. 769 765

The dead are often commemorated by having roadside lean-tos or "baldies," as they call them, erected for them . . . where a man can stop and find a bit of shelter during a storm, or rest his pack or load. They also build "jhurks" or water holes to serve the same purpose. Women are seldom commemorated in this manner. The best that a woman can hope to get is a rock pile erected in her memory. 769 764 [484] [312]

Both the irrigation water which they use on their fields and their drinking water come from the Ultar Glacier. Therefore, their entire water supply is glacial. 312

Their entire economy is dependent upon their agriculture and everything that is taken from the soil is religiously returned to the soil. Chemical fertilizers or chemical sprays of any type are unknown to the people. It may be possible that the Mir has used sprays in his palace grounds. He might have brought them with him from his visits abroad, but I saw none and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, none are used. I saw no insect infestation of any kind or type through my entire travels and investigations. In Gilgit I did see insect injury in a garden and it was apparent to me that the soil of Hunza was in balance and therefore it produced food that was balanced. Therefore, it is understandable, the people of Hunza are healthy! 241 [433]

The food of the people of Hunza is in the main, raw food. It is neither dissected nor desiccated, but is eaten in the whole. The only exception that I could find to this rule was in their milk. When they made butter, they drank the remains or the buttermilk. Of course, in due time, they ate the butter. 262

All children born in Hunza are breast fed for at least two years. Male children are often breast fed until they are 3 years old. 853

I do not intend to stress any one factor of the points mentioned above. I am submitting them to you for your consideration and study. 000

It is, however, my belief that their soil and location does not lend itself to mechanization and therefore their good health should continue. If they could mechanize, then they would not get the needed beneficial exercise which, as you can gather, is one of the important contributors to their good health and longevity. 241 164

tilizers are used on their lands. 241

(8) All children in Hunza are breast fed. There is no specific prenatal care, and the good health of the mother is passed on to the infant . . . and the breast feeding gets the child off to a good start. 853 843

(9) All fruits and vegetables that are dried for storing have been exposed to the sun and air. No foreign substances are added or treatments used. 251

(10) Native herbs are used extensively . . . both as seasoning and as food. 262

(11) Glacial waters are the only waters used both for drinking and irrigation purposes. These glacial waters definitely contain many valuable minerals and nutrients, as revealed by laboratory tests. 312 146

(12) Apricot kernel oil is the most important source of fat. It is used in cooking as well as for salads. No solvents or extreme heat is used to extract the apricot oil. 262

(13) Natural whole grains are used broadly. There is no fragmentization in Hunza. While they do bake a bread, their chief form of bread is an unleavened type which they call chapatties. They are composed of whole ground grain made into a dough and rolled very thin. Then they are heated or baked slightly.

(14) Hunzans are light eaters. Their diet is comparatively meager.

There is no doubt that, if any human being were to follow the health rules of the people of Hunza, he could regain or maintain health. There is no magic formula connected with this set of rules. They are simple and to the point. In fact, they are so simple that most people will doubt their value. To these people I would say, "All of the great things in life—the important things and things of value—are invariably simple!" 000

In Hunza the following established Western health 744

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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PLATE VIII

1. Grandfather minding Baby Faqér. (See p. 282)

2. Baby worship. Naját standing in field. (See p. 117)

593

[Facing p. 96]

Chapter 16

HOME LIFE AT No. 1

293 WHEN the women are working in the fields through the heat
[132] of the day—and it is very, very hot at 7,800 feet with a tem-
● 854 perature of 105° in the shade—they usually have a large square
482 of cotton cloth with them, which they sometimes throw over their heads for protection. This cloth turns in for all sorts of purposes; if you are carrying a small quantity of flour home from the mill you can wrap it up and tie it across from one shoulder to the other armpit and so keep both hands free. If the baby is too small to sit safely on your back or shoulders, you treat it in the same way. In fact, if you see a woman with this kind of bundle that appears to have two lumps in it you may safely guess that it's a baby.

342 I made great friends with the family who worked just below us (I have named them in my notebook Household No. 1), and I felt quite sad when their wheat harvest was over—it was so convenient just to run down and join them in sight of our own windows. They asked me, however: "Won't you come home and sit in our shade?" Of course I accepted with delight. It was just a few steps along the Dála and down one of the little lanes, half path, half watercourse. We came to a slightly taller, mud-plastered wall on the left with a wooden door in it. Through this I stepped in to a tiny courtyard with a shed on each side, one for straw and one for the lambs and kids. The
[333] house itself is just a rough cube of stones plastered with mud, and it has a flat roof with a smoke-hole in it above the central hearth. You go up by a ladder, and the roof makes a nice place for sitting out, watching the neighbours go by, spinning, and drying apricots. It has a second store-room built on a part of

600 floor of No. 7 and found a large group of neighbours flailing buckwheat. They made me welcome, and I tried some photographs. "It was very kind of you to send Nímo for me," said I. "But we never sent for you." Then I repeated what the children had said, and we all laughed heartily—the young monkeys had fetched me out on their own account! A few moments later riders were seen approaching. I sped down to welcome them.

Nice folk they proved. The Swedes used to reach Kashgar through Russia in twenty-four days, but Russian travel being uncertain they had been forced to make the long detour via India and our Gilgit road—a matter of at least three months.

593 Some weeks after my last call on Bibi Gímo I was passing by her home again and was hailed by the children from the roof: "Do come in and see the baby!" I was always chary of too readily accepting such impulsive invitations. "Run down and ask mother if she would like to see me." In a moment Naját came out bearing an authorized welcome. It proved that I had come at a fortunate time, for Baby Faqér had just been lifted for a meal and was kicking and crowing in his mother's arms with wonderful vigour for so small an infant. She took 593 off the kerchief that bound his head—it was a large linen hand- ● 854 kerchief I had purloined from David's store for him, and I 751 gathered that its size and quality were prized—and ran her 291 hand lovingly through his fine crop of dark hair, keeping a watchful eye for possible inhabitants which she gladly failed to find. I was laughed at for admiring his head of hair so much. The kerchief had a funny little needlebook affair attached by bright-coloured threads which had a verse from the Qur'an stitched into it to serve as amulet. Most small children's caps are decorated with several of these gaily coloured, dangling charms, but I should guess that they are merely "the thing," and are not taken more seriously than a charm on a girl's bracelet at home or the mascot on her father's car. Grown-ups rarely display them, but Dádo used to sport a string of them underneath his waistcoat when we travelled.

593 I sat down for a chat while the ceremony proceeded, and I observed that baby-worship is as thorough in Hunza as amongst

ourselves. Naját and Shukuru and all the children were 593
gathered round, but the men were out at work and the house
was (relatively) empty. So while the mother fed the child I
learned all I could about orthodox baby management. Until 852
the baby cuts his first tooth his mother will not take him to 562
any house where there is another infant. Possibly it is felt that 574
with one tooth he will be armed for self-defence against his
contemporary; possibly the rival mothers might be tempted
into tactless comparisons. Up till this point, too, no male of
the house may handle him. An amusing little ceremony heralds
the cutting of this all-important tooth. Some elderly man—
usually the grandfather—"well skilled with children," takes
the baby in his arms and out into the open. After that his
father and brothers are free to play with him and carry him
about.

Until the child is two or thereabouts he lives the life of a 854
recluse, strapped into his cradle night and day except at meal-
times, or when taken out for an airing in grown-up arms.

When the moment came for replacing Faqér in his cradle, Naját and Shukuru bestirred themselves and fetched some dry, finely powdered earth which they gently warmed over the ashes of the fire. Bibo Gímo produced a large square of strong cloth, sweet and clean but dark with use, and spread it on the dais, lying the baby down on it with a tiny cushion under his head. Then plenty of the earth—it proved to be pounded sun-dried cow-dung, as clean and inoffensive to handle as the fibre in which we plant our bulbs—was packed round him above and below, and he was carefully parcelled up, arms, legs, and feet, into the stout cloth, bandaged into it with a long binder, and laid in the cradle. When he is "changed" the last lot of packing is thrown on to the fields for their enrichment—and that's that. Very cleanly and ingenious it all is and vastly preferable to the eternal washing of "nappies," which, indeed, would be a grim task with insufficiency of cloths, cold water, and no soap.

The bottom of the cradle was full of nice clean straw with a padded mattress on top, and by the time baby's cushion was adjusted and a red quilt laid up to his chin and well tucked in

854 round him, he looked extremely comfortable and well-protected. Next, a piece of wide cloth was threaded by its hem on a rod fastened along the side of the cradle, and passed several times over his tummy and under the wooden cot, being finally lashed to the ridge pole. If the cradle had then been knocked over or rolled down hill baby could neither fall out nor get bumped. Finally a thick blanket was thrown over like a tent, and he was safe from dust or smoke or flies—or fresh air. Mother gave a few gentle rocks and he settled into sleep.

854 The use of the cradle in Hunza is said to be relatively recent,
352 and the pattern of it, wherever it was introduced from, includes the prescription that it shall be made from a special sort of hard wood that grows wild on certain mountain spots and is supposed to possess magical properties. The ridge-pole forms a convenient carrying handle, and wherever you see a group of women working and chatting together, spinning in the shade or on the roof, beating out new-washed wool on a sandy patch beside a stream, pounding kernels, washing clothes, or busy on the threshing floor, you will usually see a cradle or two beside them. Truby King might disapprove of so much infant seclusion; but the flat roof offers a drop of 12 or 14 feet on to boulders, and even the living-room a gentle roll into the open
855 hearth, so that Hunza is no place for crawlers. By the time
593 baby is ripe for toddling, he is old enough to be entrusted to
857 the next-older children, who take him pick-a-back or on their shoulders, scaling walls and leaping streams with him as sure-footed as young goats, and as fearless. They carry him to some flat spot and guard him with the most scrupulous care and proudly watch over his first steps.

163 Babies in Hunza are spaced at intervals of three and four
866 years, so no mother is worn out with child-bearing or embarrassed in her daily work by ex-babies clinging to her skirts and jealous of the infant in her arms. Banu, for instance, was four, sturdy and ripe for independence, before Faqér came to claim the family's attention. Soon after his arrival we used to see her stalking about, proudly taking her first walks alone, and obviously savouring the new freedom from older supervision. One day she had passed twice or three times up and

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1. Little girl barely five taking baby brother of two for a ride. Madat, the elder boy, watches the experiment with some anxiety. (*See p.* 137)

2. Fetching firewood in a shoulder basket. (*See p.* 131)

PLATE XV

857

3. Gúlo and friends working mud into "cakes like those Mother makes." A wish-fulfilment of Starvation Springtime. (*See p.* 290)

[Facing P. 176]

1. *tʼʌliš*, pl. *tʼʌli.ʌŋ*, y swaddling-clothes, the cloth in which an infant is wrapped. 854

The child is laid on the cloth with, in winter, a supply of dried cowdung to keep it warm and to absorb its urine. In the hot weather sand is substituted for cowdung.

The child is then rolled up in the cloth and the resulting bundle is tied round with a bandage, *tʌliʼšɛ bʌn*, (H. *patti*).

The verb used to describe the process is **-ltʌli.ʌs*, from which *tʌliš* is probably a derivative.

Čʊrʌm tʌlɪšʊlo bʌm Ch. was in swaddling-clothes. 242.17. (Cp. Sh. *tʌliʼš*).

2. *tʌlʼiʼš -iŋ* y large spindle on to which spun yarn is wound from small spindle, and from which it is eventually wound off into balls. 000

jʊt gʌnčʌtʊm thiʼrʊm tʌlʼiʼšʌtɛ imʌltʊrčʌm. Ho tʌlʼiʼštsʊm lʊrto di.wʊljʌm they wind the spindleful of yarn from the small spindle on to the *tʌliʼš*, and then they wind it from the *tʌlʼiʼš* into a ball.

thʌlo h x y; *thʌlɛ* z seven, — *thʌlo hiʼri* seven men. *tʌlo gʊšiŋʌnts* 7 women. 180.10. Cp. 116.2, 192.10. *tʌlo tʌljo* 7 pigeons. 16.14. *thʌlo hakičʌŋ* 7 houses. *thʌlo bʌdʌŋ* 7 paces. 312.10. *thʌlʼoʼsa* 7 months. *thʌlɛkʊts* (v. s.v.) 7 days. *tʌlɛ dɛʼn* 7 years. Cp. 210.3. *thʌlɛ hɛši* 7 times. *thʌlɛ kʊm* 7 pairs, sets. *thʌlo ɛčʊkoʼn* "The Seven Brothers", the name of a constellation conceived as representing seven brothers on a journey, one of whom got left behind. (Cp. Wkh. *hüb vʼrüt*, the Great Bear. Sköld). 821

3416

854 round him, he looked extremely comfortable and well-protected. Next, a piece of wide cloth was threaded by its hem on a rod fastened along the side of the cradle, and passed several times over his tummy and under the wooden cot, being finally lashed to the ridge pole. If the cradle had then been knocked over or rolled down hill baby could neither fall out nor get bumped. Finally a thick blanket was thrown over like a tent, and he was safe from dust or smoke or flies—or fresh air. Mother gave a few gentle rocks and he settled into sleep.

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SETTLING IN

Our chief lack at first was shelves and cupboards, but as soon as we had seen what was most needed and what could be accommodated David got busy with rulers and squared paper and drew up detailed specifications, which he sent to the Divisional Engineer's office in Gilgit. They were able to make us the skeletons and send them up in such form that we needed only to screw them together. I then nailed cloth over the back of the cupboards and hung curtains over the front so that we no longer needed to live in the misery of half-unpacked boxes. 000

The bow window of the study where we sat to smoke and take tea looked out on to a jolly little watercourse (about 2 feet wide) which chattered merrily along. On its farther bank is a row of apricot and mulberry trees which, if they break the view a bit, also provide some welcome shade. From the foot of the trees terraced fields fall away, down, down, down to the top of the great cliff—some 500 feet or so—that forms the right bank of the river. We looked right across the gorge (the river, of course, is entirely out of sight, and nothing would lead you to guess its existence if you hadn't just had to cross it) to stark, magnificently seamed mountains, with tiny fans of green here and there, which are other villages similar to Aliábád on the Nagir side.

The nearer side of our little stream was one of the main highways; and all the life of the place went on in full view of our window. People passed by all day, laden with green fodder for their beasts, or carrying baskets of ripe apricots to dry. The nearest field of lucerne had just been reaped, and then below it the barley field, and we watched them stack the barley and make a circular threshing floor on which to deal with it. They flooded a patch of the newly reaped field, built a little circular wall of mud about four inches high round it, then flooded it twice more, and then when it was nearly dry a whole family, from grandfather down to the small boys and girls, systematically tramped it down with their bare feet till the surface was as smooth and level as a hard tennis court. 487 243

Jolly youngsters of all sizes romped in the new-cut fields, snowballed each other with clods of dry earth, tripped each 857

857 other up, chivvied their lambs and kids about by chucking stones skilfully to turn but not to hit them, and half a dozen noisy scamps would jump to and fro over the watercourse in competition.

361 Between us and the river bank were groups of poplars,
133 willows, and fruit trees with quaint cube-like stone houses dotted about in between, and right above this delightfully restful patch of green (which you could not properly appreciate if you had not had days and days of barren bleakness before you reached it), in the great triangular space between the barren mountains of Nagir and those of Hunza which rose around and behind us, there towered up the great mass of far the loveliest mountain on earth: RAKAPOSHI.

133 She is 25,550 feet high, and the top 10,000 feet which we saw from our window is a conical series of triangles, cliffs, precipices and peaks all covered in dazzling frozen snow—a never-ending joy to watch. At this time of year she was usually clear, escaping the skirts of the monsoon which are apt to catch on Nanga Parbat; and the clear sky behind changes from the palest blue at dawn to the brilliant burning blue of midday and then to delicate shades of pink, green, violet, and orange towards sunset. Ruskin could write volumes on the ever-changing shadows and colours that delighted us: I must leave them to the imagination. From our beds we could see Raka when we first woke and bid her good-night before we fell asleep. It is a wonderful thing when beauty such as this becomes part and parcel of your daily life.

132 It was still pretty hot in Hunza in July, in spite of our 7,600 feet. We had it up to 95° in the shade of the verandah outside, but were able to keep the study ten degrees cooler by closing doors and windows in the morning before the sun got up. Out in the sun the heat is all the fiercer for the altitude, a point stay-at-home travellers seldom realize. Another odd point is that in cloudless, dustless air like this, granted equal apparent brightness, photographic exposures need to be *longer* than lower down—at least this is David's experience.

157 The people round were from the first unbelievably friendly; we could run out quite informally at any moment and join

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

000 only made them laugh, and luckily they all kept forgetting my name, so that I could laugh *tu quoque*. "Larimair memsahib, they would say laboriously, but they had forgotten again before the morrow, and from the first day I was just "Mother dear" to everyone, and sometimes "Granny dear" to the kiddies. It was a delight to be quit of the formal "Memsahib" of India.

857 Meantime David would be seated in his chair in the big study window or out in the verandah, and everyone who passed by would try to catch his eye and wave a salaam, men and women alike. It was a joy to get away from the furtive, veiled womenfolk of India and Kashmir. When little batches of kids and lambs or an occasional cow passed by, the children in charge waved and showed off with an occasional hullabaloo as one beast broke away, leapt a wall, and started tucking in to the new green crop or the vegetable patch. The children dashed after it, chucking well-directed stones, and drove it out in double quick time, and the animals seemed to think it as much fun as the youngsters. After one of these asides they would run past David again to see whether he had noticed the little adventure and were greatly pleased if he shouted out "Well done!" or "Was that the 'bad goat' again?"

243 and by a gymnastic miracle the bearer staggers to his feet,
482 almost invisible under his tossing burden, and sets off at a trot up a steep flight of rough stones, or a boulder track, or a rude wooden ladder laid against a high field wall, to the thresh-
243 ing-floor. Beside this, a stack is built by other workers as the loads come in. A core of several upright sheaves forms the centre; layers of other sheaves are laid symmetrically round these, heads to centre, roots out, till the stack is 5 or 6 feet high. The priceless grain is thus beyond the greed of passing goats, and if rain threatens a carpet flung on top suffices to keep the whole erection dry. The moment the *shandiming* are off the ground the children drive their tiny flocks, one minute cow, a couple of sheep and goats, on to the empty field, and the hungry beasts greedily snatch at every green blade of grass or weed they chance to sight. There is cruelly little. In the early days the crop is diligently and systematically weeded, and even after the grain has reached some height the field is invaded every few days by the women and children in the hopes that some further weeds may be detected and carried off for fodder. The two stages of weeding are quite distinct. I was much laughed at one day, when the second stage had set in, for asking a party of crouching women whether they were "weeding." "Oh, no," they said, "weeding time is long since over; we are just fetching some green stuff for the cow." Both weedings are done so thoroughly that the expectant beasts who invade the new-reaped field have quickly cleared the few remaining stalks.

857 When the fields are temporarily empty a great feeling of freedom pervades the land. The boys rejoice in the rare luxury of flat open spaces for foot polo, tip-cat, races, rounders, and a dozen other games; the weavers seize the chance to lay out their warp and the girls romp and play ball—"the fields are free" is joyfully remarked on every side. DL and I rejoiced no less in being able to walk side by side on the flat—an experience foregone these many months—and take short-cuts from one farmstead to another without the usual boulder-jumping scramble.

But the freedom of the fields is short-lived.

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

When the threshing floor is heaped with ears, some people turn cows on to trample them; some people prefer to beat the heap with sticks. It depends, I expect, how many cows you have without borrowing, or how many stout arms to wield the flail. It is rather fun to see a family beating, even the children hammering away with tiny poles. The Hunzukuts are kind to their kiddies and fond of them, but have happily no time to spoil them, and as the children have always something new and interesting to do they are very rarely troublesome. If they are, some grown-up will give them a mild smack on the head (the little cap prevents its hurting much) and all is well again. If a child is sick they carry it out with them to the fields (no one can be spared to stay at home to mind it) and chuck a cloth over it to keep the flies off, and let it lie there in peace till it feels better. The youngsters work just as long as they feel interested, then fade away and play for a bit, and join another group and work a while again. There seems to be no attempt to force them or even overtly to encourage them. Their own instinct is to copy the grown-ups or next-older brother. Yet the sense of responsibility wakes early; a five- or six-year-old is often in charge of the two-year-old toddler, rejoices in steadying him as he tries to walk or in mounting him on the shoulders to cross a water-channel or climb a wall. We used sometimes to feel a little anxious about the baby's fate, but its mother never did. I have never heard a Hunza mother shout "Don't do that, darling," or "Take care, you'll drop the baby," or "Don't go so near the edge, you'll fall." Hunza consists of "edges"—the house-roof, the field, the reservoir, the cliff—and no doubt Nature in the course of centuries has weeded out the stocks that lose their balance. Our occasional solicitude was the cause of much merriment; we could not always suppress a "Take care, you'll slip," and this became a standing joke amongst our smaller friends. If all other conversation failed a jesting cry from someone of "Take care, Mother, you'll fall" would set the ball rolling again. Jolly little scamps they are, and pleasant companions for a walk. I counted seven in front and three behind me one day, all between five and seven, with two or three babies mounted on the others'

Chapter 19

HARVEST THANKSGIVING

THERE are a couple of minor items of the autumn harvest I 312
have omitted to mention. In Aliabád, the widest and most 233
gently sloping bay of the Hunza mountain side, there is for one short stretch of perhaps a mile a patch of ground above the level of possible fields before the steep cliff face begins. Through and above this run the third and fourth of our horizontal watercourses, offshoots from the Berber Channel that waters the higher levels of Báltit and derives also from the great glacier of the Ulter Ber, but takes off much higher up than the Dala. Sufficient water can occasionally be spared from these two channels (which in the main are needed to irrigate high-lying "gardens" of trees) to flood these rocky slopes, which then bring forth that rarest of Hunza products, natural grass. These *toqs*, as they are called, are divided into strips by loose stone walls and used as grazing grounds by whoever leases them. Two or even four families often combine to share 857 ●
a *toq*, and on your walks you will find children of various sizes 526
in charge of a few animals; a small girl may be sitting gravely alone practising embroidery stitches on a strip of calico, a boy may be twisting the string of horse-gut for his catapult bow, a group may be romping together or playing a game like rounders with a home-spun cap for ball, or "horses" where half the players are mounted on the others' backs and the pairs charge each other to a fall, and any rider thrown becomes in turn a horse. When these livelier games begin to pall, a couple 524
will withdraw to the edge of the little channel and scratch a draught-board on a level patch of ground and play with pebbles white and grey as men. The board is formed of triangles whose

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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PLATE XIII:
Young Friends

1. Nim and sister with the baby.
(See p. 144)

3. Zulfi.

2. Dido with Akil Shah aged two.
(See p. 87)

4. Khano with baby sister Gulab.

(See p. 144)

[Facing P. 144]

524 apexes (apices? no, no!) are the "squares" and any man can move and take in any direction. It requires quite as much skill and provides quite as much fun as draughts played in our way. There are half a dozen other games of the sort, roughly variants of "marbles," all played with pebbles and governed by complicated rules which we only partially mastered.

● 857 We used to watch Nimo, of No. 7, a jolly, bright-eyed mite of eight or nine, pass our window every morning about half-past six, sturdily carrying an empty shoulder basket as she herded her two or three small cows off to the *toq*; sometimes she was taking charge of a small brother or sister as well. Just before nightfall, after a whole summer day on the mountain side, she would return, driving her animals and stooping 237 slightly under her load. One evening in the very early days I 857 stopped her to ask *whose* Nimo she was (their names duplicate 241 each other like our Joans, Anns, and Dorises), and "What have you got in your basket there?" With courteous surprise at being asked a question to which there could be only one answer: "Why, to-day's cow-dung." Sure enough I soon discovered that every little cowherd conscientiously gathers every scrap of the cow's daily output and brings it home to the manure store in the barn—there are no untidy outdoor middens to spoil the landscape or defile the air.

Another day we met Khano of No. 3, one of our first boyfriends, breathlessly chivvying a cow uphill to a spot where he had safely dumped his baby sister Guláb, in charge of his basket. "Hullo, did she run away from you?" "She did, the villain, but I've got her back, and look, Mother, I've lost nothing," he said, as he proudly displayed the contents of his looped-up cloak. He threw his treasure into the basket and resumed his attentions to Guláb, while the cow resigned herself to orthodox grazing. He was playing with the little girl, patiently coaxing her to totter a step or two and flop into his waiting arms, and throwing up little stones for her to catch.

857 The tenderness of the bigger children to the babies is a [593] beautiful thing to watch. I never saw boy or girl out of temper with a baby brother, sister, or cousin, or resentful of having one in charge. When the bigger ones are busy in some momen-

857 tarily empty field, playing team games of tipcat or chucking stones at a mark—they have dozens of admirable games, with rules strictly adhered to—the small ones sit about and look on or amuse themselves dabbling in water if there is any or making mud-pies. A group of youngsters were playing round me one day when a tiny girl unaccountably took fright and set up a terrified howl. A big boy stooped to comfort her: "There, there, don't cry, don't be afraid," he said soothingly, and wrapped his cloak round her to shut out whatever was the disturbing sight (I rather think it was I), and patted her reassuringly. "That will be your little sister?" said I. "No, no," was the answer, "I don't know really whose kid it is."

246 As autumn approaches and no further growth can be hoped
241 from the grass, these mountain meadows are painstakingly reaped, *cut* this time, with the blunt iron sickles—for the roots must be left for next year—and the tiny bunches of grass tied up. There will be a few longer, tougher stalks in each double handful, and these are doubled back over the shorter ones and the bundle tied twice, once at the base where it is fattest, and once near the top where the bent heads are caught. These bundles are then laid out in the sun—a benevolent accessory to harvest that never faileth—and gathered in to form part of the winter fodder. Then follows an incredible sight: every inch of the mountain side is painstakingly swept by the Nímos and Shamúlis, whose besoms are minute thorn bushes. Every pellet of sheep or goat, every half inch of stubbly grass above the root is garnered into the tiny shoulder baskets and added to the manure. When you have seen one strip of ground thus treated you might think the job was done; not a bit of it. A few days later Nímo and Shamúli are at it again and yet again, till not one speck of animal or vegetable matter remains. You can imagine that there is no need when walking round Hunza to "pick your steps" as in an English meadow.

233 Every individual leaf, from garden or orchard, from watercourse or steep hill-garden, is similarly swept up and stored; these dry leaves are the staple winter food for the stalled beasts —no wonder the milk lacks cream-content and the sheep is bare of fat! No wonder that I shudder now to see our autumn

854 round him, he looked extremely comfortable and well-protected. Next, a piece of wide cloth was threaded by its hem on a rod fastened along the side of the cradle, and passed several times over his tummy and under the wooden cot, being finally lashed to the ridge pole. If the cradle had then been knocked over or rolled down hill baby could neither fall out nor get bumped. Finally a thick blanket was thrown over like a tent, and he was safe from dust or smoke or flies—or fresh air. Mother gave a few gentle rocks and he settled into sleep.

854 The use of the cradle in Hunza is said to be relatively recent,
352 and the pattern of it, wherever it was introduced from, includes the prescription that it shall be made from a special sort of hard wood that grows wild on certain mountain spots and is supposed to possess magical properties. The ridge-pole forms a convenient carrying handle, and wherever you see a group of women working and chatting together, spinning in the shade or on the roof, beating out new-washed wool on a sandy patch beside a stream, pounding kernels, washing clothes, or busy on the threshing floor, you will usually see a cradle or two beside them. Truby King might disapprove of so much infant seclusion; but the flat roof offers a drop of 12 or 14 feet on to boulders, and even the living-room a gentle roll into the open
855 hearth, so that Hunza is no place for crawlers. By the time
593 baby is ripe for toddling, he is old enough to be entrusted to
● 857 the next-older children, who take him pick-a-back or on their shoulders, scaling walls and leaping streams with him as sure-footed as young goats, and as fearless. They carry him to some flat spot and guard him with the most scrupulous care and proudly watch over his first steps.

163 Babies in Hunza are spaced at intervals of three and four
866 years, so no mother is worn out with child-bearing or embarrassed in her daily work by ex-babies clinging to her skirts and jealous of the infant in her arms. Banu, for instance, was four, sturdy and ripe for independence, before Faqér came to claim the family's attention. Soon after his arrival we used to see her stalking about, proudly taking her first walks alone, and obviously savouring the new freedom from older supervision. One day she had passed twice or three times up and

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1. Little girl barely five taking baby brother of two for a ride. Madat, the elder boy, watches the experiment with some anxiety. (*See p.* 137)

2. Fetching firewood in a shoulder basket. (*See p.* 131)

PLATE XV

857

3. Gúlo and friends working mud into "cakes like those Mother makes." A wish-fulfilment of Starvation Springtime. (*See p.* 290)

[Facing P. 176]

423 belongs to the Mir, and once or twice a year he sends people to
311 cut the grass, such as it is, and bring it in for his horses. It was rather a favourite walk of ours when we felt inclined for an upward scramble, for there is a fine view from it over the whole of the Aliábád Bay and the smaller Bay of Jamu, before the ground falls sheer away into the great Hasanabad gorge with the glacier at the top that waters the village of Hasanabad, our next neighbour downstream. Moreover, it is one of the rare places where, once you have got there, you can walk a little on the level, dodging about between the boulders. We were about halfway up to the Stables when Khano overtook us, desperately out of breath: "I've parked my animals in that garden over there, and I'm coming with you," he said. The "garden" was a desert of stones and rocks, with a rough, loose-stone wall about it and a few miserable stunted trees. "But we know the way quite well, thanks." "Oh no, you don't, not half so well as I do," he retorted. (This, of course, was true enough.) "I'll come with you."

● 857 So along he came, chattering away nineteen to the dozen, and most entertaining he was. "Do you see the Red Rock?" "There are heaps of red rocks." "Yes, but there's only the one big red boulder, that's the Red Rock. There's a cave under it where we boys shelter when it rains, and on top there are cracks in the rock that hold rain water where we can drink." Right enough, the great boulder—50 or 60 feet high, I suppose—overhung a hollow (you could hardly call it a cave) and the youngsters had built themselves a rude wall and made a very cosy nest that would hold several dozen animals. We scrambled up on to the top and found as he had said that there were several deep cracks which would evidently make neat little drinking troughs when they weren't dry. Then Khano took us round in and out of the boulders and showed us all the boys' pet places. In one they had improved a natural stone sofa and built a sheltering wall and rigged up a fireplace with a few stones, and there they cook potatoes for themselves (when they can get any). They have a very merry life out all day on the hillside in every sort of weather instead of crouching indoors over lessons. The goats climb for miles and miles,

up and up amongst the stones till they look like mites in a cheese. What they find to eat is a mystery, for there is not one visible blade of grass and not one inch of thorn. But they "feed" there all day with the boys in the offing to see that they do not stray too far.

The Hunza sheep have prudently established the tradition that they cannot climb so high without breaking their legs, so they stay farther down where there is a small amount of very scanty grass (a home sheep would not recognize it as such) and an occasional dead leaf to gorge on.

Khano pointed out the "lizards' apricots"; patches of yellow, green, grey, and white lichen, which he says the lizards live on. He showed us the spoor of a fox and the tracks of his friends and a host of other interesting things. He's an amusing little play-actor. "Oh, I've got a thorn in my foot!" and he pretended to cry and limp helplessly about. Then with a laugh he clutched his foot, stooped to meet it, and whisked the thorn out with his teeth—a huge thing it was. Next he pulled a *mindak* out of some unexpected recess in his clothing and tried to teach us to play shuttlecock. The *mindak* is a most attractive toy. You get a small flat central button of lead and somehow contrive to attach to it a horizontal frill of kids' hair, black or white preferred. You then throw it in the air and try to kick it up with your foot, counting how often you succeed before letting it fall to the ground. You may kick it with your instep in an amateurish way, but the stylish thing is to strike it with the sole of your bare foot. The boys are extraordinarily adept, but the art is one not easily acquired in leather-shod middle age. Our indifferent attempts reduced us all three to helpless laughter. We were much amused to note that just as with the girls stotting their balls, the reckoning started at three and your first successful stroke was counted "four." In return for this demonstration lesson I tried to teach Khano to do handstands and cart-wheels, but my attempts to demonstrate these arts were somewhat unconvincing.

On the way home we met Kamber (Ustád Nadíro's boy) driving his herd of goats helter-skelter downhill. DL had

miles daily to Báltít, as Yaman and a couple of our other young 793
friends did, and attend the Government-supported school 784
with the sons and grandsons of the Mir and the Wazir. Promising children of the more well-to-do can attend a more advanced school at Gilgit, and the really studious may even make their way down to Srinagar.

Ninety-nine per cent of the population, however, happily 212
still remain illiterate, and have not fallen victims to com- 871
pulsory education. When the people would question me about conditions in England, they were horrified to learn of such things as rates and income-tax, but even more aghast at the tyranny that compels both boys and girls to spend the years from five to fourteen at school. "But that's the time when they ought to be *learning things*," they said.

When my pleasant evening "By the Lamp" was ended and I 000
had said good-bye, cautiously descended the ladder and mounted my waiting horse, I was shocked to see my host accompanying us carrying a tray of food. I had expressly stipulated that I would only accept his kind invitation on condition of not being laden with food gifts to take home. To my protests Kalbi said: "Yes, yes, Mother dear, it's all right. I'm not forgetting. I'm only taking up his supper to the sweeper."

With honourable simplicity the Hunzukuts abide by the 771
fundamentals of Islam as they understand them. They may not 788
be strong on ostentatious prayer and fasting, they rack their brains over no theological subtleties, but a Believer is a man and a brother, be he a Kashmiri, be he twenty times a sweeper. Here was a man of substance, a Levy, a grandfather, a much respected citizen in his small community, climbing a mile uphill to carry with his own hands a share of the evening's feast to his absentee guest. That the man was absent was no doubt a tactful concession to any caste-prejudice with which India might have infected me.

The boys lighten the monotony of the indoor weeks of the 857
Great Cold by occasionally dashing out for a hasty game of 526
foot polo or tipcat with their friends or keeping themselves warm with *mindak* matches. Such young men as are real dance

526 enthusiasts may dance every afternoon at The Gate, but they
857 do not draw a large circle of spectators.

On one of the rare bright days that we were blessed with,
541 word was sent us that a special show was being got up for that
536 evening if we would care to come. We reached "The Gate" just before dusk and found a stone sofa duly carpeted for us. As the evening grew darker, the crowd became larger and the general feeling of infectious excitement increased, till at last the organizers of the show went round the crowd using their long sleeves as conductors' batons to mark time for the magnificent Ha-Ha-Ha and the unison clapping they so much enjoy which now announced the arrival of the performers. A lot of young men had got themselves up in various disguises, pairs of them stooping under a blanket with a horse's head fixed in front, pranced about most realistically under two boy-riders. Two other pairs were got up as markhor with real horns in front, while a fantastic huntsman with an aged muzzle-loading matchlock stalked them with exaggerated caution. Five or six were dressed up as women with silken veils to hide their moustaches. The best of all were two bent old men with flowing white beards; they were dressed in sheepskins with huge humps on their backs, and tottered very effectively on stout sticks. They contrived to look very aged and very frail. Then they got up a sham quarrel about the wife of one whom the other was supposed to have stolen. Thereupon they laid about each other with their cudgels—very carefully smiting only each other's well-padded humps—and did amazing leaps with their staves as jumping poles, the one lighting on the other's back and rolling him in the dust. This excellent horseplay was wildly applauded.

There were two absurd little boys with tiny besoms who made admirable clowns. They fussed about, sweeping the ground just in front of the dancers and choking everyone with dust, getting kicked out of the way and looking innocently pained at being so misunderstood. When anyone was knocked down in the rough and tumble they would officiously dash up to brush him down and get cuffed for their pains.

Altogether it was an extremely clever rag, mostly nonsense

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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1. Children watching water-hole (centre) to close it with the mushroom-plug (right) at given signal from father. (*See p.* 94)

PLATE XXIII

142
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2. Two small Hunza princesses with pet puppy. (*See p.* 246)

3. Khalifa Farághat teaching his son to read the Persian scriptures. (*See p.* 241)

[Facing P. 304]

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

garden, no fence, to interpose a barrier. The much-frequented 000
public way, following the further edge of an irrigation channel, passes within a dozen yards and beyond lie the fields of lucerne, wheat, buckwheat and pot-herbs descending gently in graded terraces. But the ground is beaten hard right up to the verandah edge, and the more adventurous take full advantage of the right of way when they can do so without intrusiveness. So here, almost within touch, pass men, women and children on their various occasions, none without a salute or a smile, or at least a shy recognition. Fifty yards off toil a joint family party, successively reaping, stacking, threshing and winnowing the wheat and pulse crops and carrying off the spoils.

Work goes on harmoniously, without idleness and without hurry. [461]
Normally division of labour obtains, men and women have their 462
recognised rôles, but the division seems regulated purely by physical 578
capacity and convenience. There is nothing rigid about it and in general each sex will freely assume the work of the other if occasion makes it desirable. In this household there are only two men, one able-bodied on whom the heaviest work falls, and one aged who can only do light jobs and rest, intermittently. There are several women and they relieve each other at the heavier work seemingly from a sense of what is the game and without prompting. There is no apparent shirking, there is no quarrelling, disputing or shouting. I have not seen or heard a quarrel yet, except a minor affair between two small boys, Voices are only raised when information has to be conveyed to a distance.

Children roam about in groups of boys and girls, or mixed family 857
parties, playing along the water-channel, chattering and laughing or retrieving the last over-looked apricots by knocking them down with stones or climbing and shaking the trees. Everyone shares without question in the harvest. Children help spasmodically in the elders' tasks; it is not obligatory. There are always one or two rounding up an errant and centrifugal flock of lambs and kids, or a single agile and enterprising cow.

their own land. They spin their own wool. Then they 433
weave it into cloth from which they cut and sew their [286]
clothes. However he can also buy or trade for woolen cloth or he can have his own wool woven for him.

They have little or no money. The few dollars that 436
he might get during the year would come from the 485
expeditions that congregate in the area and hire the Hunzans as porters. And they are unsurpassed at this difficult and arduous work.

A man has a right to inflict corporal punishment 593
upon his wife if she nags him. Perhaps that is why the men of Hunza have that cheerful look.

The children are never neglected because the parents
are always at home. Further, the children do their 857
share of the work in the fields and are taught to do so from early childhood. This also eliminates juvenile delinquency.

The people of Hunza have splendid dispositions. 157
They are genial, pleasant, smiling and cheerful. They 181
have deep respect for authority, profound love of the land, affection, compassion and understanding for their neighbors and they are most hospitable to strangers. They hold their heads high, their chests out and they
are strong, honest and hard-working. To me this showed ~~000~~
clearly and positively that people can live and that agriculture can exist and thrive without chemistry, chemical fertilizers, chemical sprays or synthetic medicines and drugs.

They enjoy happiness without modernization, long life without doctors, nurses and hospitals, democracy without bureaucracy, law and order without police and self-sufficiency without money. Part of the answer, if not most of it, is their loyalty to and their faith in their land, a pure case of unremitting agriculture and putting everything back into the soil which was taken

356 and hang them in sun and air. Five minutes with a broom and the whole house is effectively cleaned!

576 The hospitality and goodwill of these people is beyond belief. We had never met or heard of the proud owner of this new house, yet he had spread his benches with rugs and carpets for us, had raised some glass bottles (incredibly precious things these) and filled them with flowers to do us honour. So we sat in comfort and asked innumerable questions, supplementing all we had learned from Kalbi's house and proudly showing off how much we knew. Qudrat Ullah and I worked the measuring tape and sang out various dimensions which David entered on the rough plan he had sketched. And as we worked we chatted about all sorts of things, and found our host most interesting, as indeed all people are who are close in touch with real life—the bore is a pernicious product of civilization. Before we went away they brought two huge dishes of peaches and lovely grapes and bunches of flowers for us to take home. We said all the nice things we could think of and wished the family happiness and long life in the new house and plenty of children to fill it, though to judge by the dozens of merry little faces crowding in the background and peering round the entrance, there was no shortage of these in

● 858 the neighbourhood. The Hunza children (as I have said more than once) are delightful: bright-eyed and eager, yet perfectly mannered. They never interrupt, they never bother you, they disappear like magic if bidden to go, but they love to see and

000 hear all that is going on. While the men were purposefully, gravely talking, I would keep one half my mind at leisure, smile and nod across at the womenfolk, wordlessly implying: "Yes, we know what men are, don't we, you and I?" I would wag a finger in greeting to one or another of the small boys and girls, and then find another catching my eye and demanding an equal attention; I would tickle an adjacent toddler, who responded with a judiciously muffled squeal, and the whole group of households were our friends.

When finally we said good-bye, we could not insult our host by offering money in return for his kindness and the fruit. So next day I plundered my store-room and took out a small

291 Afrots, joining devoutly in the admiration of her baby brother, volunteered: "And now I put on my tunic right side
858 out!" I looked up at Soni, mystified. She laughed and explained that the last-born of a family always wore its little shift inside out until the next baby came. She could not tell me *why*. It just was "done." If no further child is born, the youngest on reaching seven, is promoted to the right side of its clothes.

291 Up till six or seven the young children of both sexes wear no garment but the one cotton shift and cap (with a homespun cloak for the cold); after that they are outfitted with baggy trousers of but slightly different cut, the boys' held in at the ankle by a plain, straight band, the girls' by a more elaborate "cuff," something like our spats. There is no rigid rule about the kind of cotton cloth used—it depends, no doubt, primarily on what happens to be available when the family is able to buy—but the men and boys mainly affect plain striped shirtings and the women bright-patterned chintz. Since a whole "piece" will be bought at a time, if often happens that all the women and girls of one household will be dressed at the same time in the same stuff. You often see women in plain stripes, however, and more rarely some boy-Benjamin in an amazing chintz shirt.

SEPTEMBER HARVEST

When the threshing floor is heaped with ears, some people turn cows on to trample them; some people prefer to beat the heap with sticks. It depends, I expect, how many cows you have without borrowing, or how many stout arms to wield the flail. It is rather fun to see a family beating, even the children hammering away with tiny poles. The Hunzukuts are kind to their kiddies and fond of them, but have happily no time to spoil them, and as the children have always something new and interesting to do they are very rarely troublesome. If they are, some grown-up will give them a mild smack on the head (the little cap prevents its hurting much) and all is well again. If a child is sick they carry it out with them to the fields (no one can be spared to stay at home to mind it) and chuck a cloth over it to keep the flies off, and let it lie there in peace till it feels better. The youngsters work just as long as they feel interested, then fade away and play for a bit, and join another group and work a while again. There seems to be no attempt to force them or even overtly to encourage them. Their own instinct is to copy the grown-ups or next-older brother. Yet the sense of responsibility wakes early; a five- or six-year-old is often in charge of the two-year-old toddler, rejoices in steadying him as he tries to walk or in mounting him on the shoulders to cross a water-channel or climb a wall. We used sometimes to feel a little anxious about the baby's fate, but its mother never did. I have never heard a Hunza mother shout "Don't do that, darling," or "Take care, you'll drop the baby," or "Don't go so near the edge, you'll fall." Hunza consists of "edges"—the house-roof, the field, the reservoir, the cliff—and no doubt Nature in the course of centuries has weeded out the stocks that lose their balance. Our occasional solicitude was the cause of much merriment; we could not always suppress a "Take care, you'll slip," and this became a standing joke amongst our smaller friends. If all other conversation failed a jesting cry from someone of "Take care, Mother, you'll fall" would set the ball rolling again. Jolly little scamps they are, and pleasant companions for a walk. I counted seven in front and three behind me one day, all between five and seven, with two or three babies mounted on the others'

boulders, and gaunt tree-skeletons amidst which the cubes of 132
stone-and-mud houses were indistinguishable save for the thin spiral of blue smoke that rose from their flat roofs at feeding time.

We were able to work on indoors, for informants were glad enough to come and sit by our fire and tell all they knew about any question asked, but we sorely missed the cheering chance encounters, the casual wayside chats that normally brightened our walks.

Indoors during the Great Cold the family is merry and happy 512
enough. The recurrent tiny fire, whose ashes never quite grow 861 ●
cold and which is stirred into life at baking time, reinforced 538
by human heat and not squandered by wanton draughts, keeps sufficient warmth alive for comfort, and the weeks of enforced leisure from outdoor work are thoroughly enjoyed. The women spin and sew and bake and tend the babies; the men mend and make their various implements; the children eagerly demand the right to help in every job for which they are ripe, while the old people come into their own and entertain the company by telling tales of every kind; not only nor even mainly tales of heroes and of kings, of raiding chiefs and bandit exploits from the good old days before the Serkár brought peace and security at the cost of adventure, nor folklore yarns borrowed from other times and climes—though they have good store of these; but the history of their country and its clans and anecdotes of every day. In this homely school the Hunza child learns all that it needs to know, the elements of ethics, morals, and religion, the accepted codes of decent behaviour, and all the accumulated wisdom of the land.

The Hunzukuts have no artistic gift of story-telling, and no 538
professional story-tellers; they have no oral literature to match the Sagas of the North or the Persian wealth of the Thousand and One Nights, but they can tell a straightforward story simply and well and with considerable humour, and the phrases in which their yarns are couched have become sanctified and semi-stereotyped by frequent repetition. Some of these DL had recorded in 1923–24, and they were already in print when we returned to Hunza ten years later. We were surprised and

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the lighting of lamps, between supper and bedtime, in recounting past events, and doubtless in confirming and explaining traditional behaviour and practices:

558 [173]

šapi·k ši·mtsum gučaǰpal xa (I am told) geri·tsa geri-bilumišo ya dapiŋ ctašo huru·šav·n. Thamini tə·ndili gərəŋtsə akə·birtiŋ huru·šam da sajara (= šajara = tə·ri·x) ečam.

"From eating food till lying-down time those who had lamps or those who were preparing wool for spinning used to sit "by the lamp." In former years the people of the upper class used to sit by their lamps and recount past events."

[283]

That these séances had an educative and moral intention is evident from the saying, ascribed by tradition to Big Ali of the Ghulwāting clan:

861

Ghulwaṭiŋə Big Ali.ə bər bila: "uyo·n ja geri·tsər du·n jə·tsum siskuǰ (= insa·ni.at) haki·bə·n. Ja khu γuniki.ənts ayu· γuniki.əntsə gərəŋtsər ničə·n."

"There is the saying of Big Ali of the Ghulwāting: 'All people have come to my lamp-side and have learnt from me human virtue. Only these evil sons of mine go to the lamp-sides of evil persons."

The few remarks I have to make about the provenance of the subject matter of the texts are embodied in the notes subjoined to each. Otherwise the notes are chiefly confined to grammatical queries and explanations. Paragraph numbers quoted in the notes refer to the Grammar. Obviously the texts, especially those relating to local traditions or customs, require much fuller annotation to reveal and explain their full content; but lack of knowledge, no less than lack of space, made it impossible for me to attempt such annotation.

128

I hope that my present investigations in Hunza may serve to throw light on many of such obscurities.

Aliabad, Hunza,
29th October 1934.

D. L. R. L.

[p.1 contains no textual material – Analyst]

000 *-*maltsas*, *-*malč-*. Impv. *-*malts* to abuse, revile. There is possibly a parallel form: *maltsas*, *maltsič-*. The only evidence is two isolated forms: (*i*)*maltsičai.i* Nz., and *maltsas* in: *maltsas buva api, γunikrī bila* to give abuse is not a good thing, it is evil. Nz.

Of *-*maltsas* the following forms were given:

gumalča ba I abuse thee.
imaltsam I abused him.
amaltsimi he abused me.
je ayamalts don't abuse me.
iγa amalts don't abuse him.
iγa amumalts don't abuse her.
gurkir bese imalča? why do you abuse (outrage?) thyself? 356.4.

maltsiγ y abuse. — *gušiγski maltsiγ* female abuse, i.e. terms of abuse used by women.

malγaw, *malʼam* y ointment. — *gaγlas malʼam ʼeγdilas* to apply ointment on the wound.

mamu v. *mamu*. 60.12.

mamu, *mamu*, *-čiq*, *-miq*; N. *-čaq*, y milk. H. *dwdh*, *šīr*. — *dumanum mamu* (*-miq*) coagulated milk (in a bowl), (*-čiq*) (in a skin). Nz. *mamu.s γfori* a pond of milk. 14.5. (*mamu.o* 18.9. n.). *Diramitiqs ṭsir waγkuts mamu čuu.u* so the D. for four days milking their goats. 322.10. *ile mamu maγ* *ne* scalding the milk. 322.5. *hilas mamu ṭat eγas* to wean a child. *hine hilas mamu ṭat ešum bai.i* this boy is weaned.

● 862 Boys are weaned after 3 years, girls after 2 years. To facilitate this the teats are blackened, or pepper is put on them.

256b

841 "I'm sure it is," said I, "and you are well again in two days, whereas our discomfort lasts twice as long."

000 So I betrayed to them some of our minor secrets, but I could not bear to reveal to these innocent, clean-minded people the cankers of our vaunted civilization: the dark, unanswered questions that cloud our childhood (in this matter there is nowadays, thank God, much more, though still only sporadic enlightenment); the too-long postponed marriage; the widespread sex-starvation; the so-called wild oats of so many young men; prostitution, unmarried motherhood, or the unwanted celibacy of so many young women; the secret, second establishments of so many respectable fathers of families; the sordid adulteries that lead to the divorce court—all the tangled maladjustments of our modern life in the West, where insane economics have trampled the humanities in the dust.

One of my gravest disappointments in Hunza was that for all my free and easy intercourse with the womenfolk I was not able to glean much of the more intimate detail of their married life: of their pregnancies and child-bearing and the like, from the woman's point of view. I had hoped to be able in such matters to offer a useful complement to David's masculine researches, but in fact he learned far more than I did. I rarely or never got a chance to speak to an older woman alone, or quietly, for any length of time; friends, relations, children, and babies were always buzzing round. There is no 864 false prudery in Hunza, and children know the basic facts of life from infancy and hear grown-up discussion on any topic under heaven; but there is great fastidiousness and decency in speech, and it would have required far more subtle knowledge of their conventions than I possessed to have framed my questions inoffensively, even if I had mustered the nerve to frame them at all.

000 This mattered the less that DL in his quiet *tête-à-tête* in the study, with his various informants, was able to go into all such matters with unembarrassed freedom. I had also hoped to be perhaps allowed to be present at the birth of a child, and to this end had taken a superficial course of study at Queen Charlotte's Hospital, which, as things turned out, I had no

down on the far side of our Dála. It had gently sloping banks 163
where it passed our door, and was both narrow and shallow, 866
having been divided a mile or so away to give Aliábád the "Middle Channel" that ran 30 or 40 feet above our level and watered the fields between. She looked long at it and pondered. She wanted to come over, but had always before leaped the little stream on Naját's or Derwish's back. Presently she made her decision and her first jump and fell spread-eagled into 18 inches or so of water. She gave a cry, wholly of vexation, not at all of fright, and scrambled safely out. Someone ran up laughing, took off her little shift and spread it for her in the sun to dry. She played about cheerfully on a sunny patch of sand till it was ready, and later we saw her jumping triumphantly to and fro, again and yet again, as if she could never jump enough. By the time Faqér emerges from his cradle she will be leaping the Dála with him astride her back.

Our very first girl friend, Kaníza of No. 3, has a younger 865
sister, Gúlo, a sporting little imp, who had just cut her second teeth. One day she had a difference of opinion with her family, and we met her striding away from home. "Where are you off to?" "I'm annoyed," she said. "I'm going to mother's folk in Báltít," and off she set on a solitary four-mile mountain walk and a climb of hundreds of feet to her grandparents' home. No one tried to call her back or reason with her. She was wisely left to work off her waywardness her own way. She must have tramped home again the same day, for on the morrow we saw her happily busy with her own people again. After that our usual greeting to her was: "Hullo, Gúlo, off to Báltít?" "Not to-day!" she would say with a mischievous twinkle in her eye. Thus the Hunza youngsters learn independence.

The only drawback—from my point of view—about the shel- 866
tered life of the Hunza infants, was that when they were out for a walk in someone's arms, they were distinctly world-shy and were apt to set up a howl if I approached too near. The [326]
three-year olds were seldom frightened—though you must remember that a pale-faced woman with horrible blue eyes ("cat's eyes" they call them amongst themselves), and an

854 round him, he looked extremely comfortable and well-protected. Next, a piece of wide cloth was threaded by its hem on a rod fastened along the side of the cradle, and passed several times over his tummy and under the wooden cot, being finally lashed to the ridge pole. If the cradle had then been knocked over or rolled down hill baby could neither fall out nor get bumped. Finally a thick blanket was thrown over like a tent, and he was safe from dust or smoke or flies—or fresh air. Mother gave a few gentle rocks and he settled into sleep.

854 The use of the cradle in Hunza is said to be relatively recent,
352 and the pattern of it, wherever it was introduced from, includes the prescription that it shall be made from a special sort of hard wood that grows wild on certain mountain spots and is supposed to possess magical properties. The ridge-pole forms a convenient carrying handle, and wherever you see a group of women working and chatting together, spinning in the shade or on the roof, beating out new-washed wool on a sandy patch beside a stream, pounding kernels, washing clothes, or busy on the threshing floor, you will usually see a cradle or two beside them. Truby King might disapprove of so much infant seclusion; but the flat roof offers a drop of 12 or 14 feet on to boulders, and even the living-room a gentle roll into the open
855 hearth, so that Hunza is no place for crawlers. By the time
593 baby is ripe for toddling, he is old enough to be entrusted to
857 the next-older children, who take him pick-a-back or on their shoulders, scaling walls and leaping streams with him as sure-footed as young goats, and as fearless. They carry him to some flat spot and guard him with the most scrupulous care and proudly watch over his first steps.

163 Babies in Hunza are spaced at intervals of three and four
● 866 years, so no mother is worn out with child-bearing or embarrassed in her daily work by ex-babies clinging to her skirts and jealous of the infant in her arms. Banu, for instance, was four, sturdy and ripe for independence, before Faqér came to claim the family's attention. Soon after his arrival we used to see her stalking about, proudly taking her first walks alone, and obviously savouring the new freedom from older supervision. One day she had passed twice or three times up and

down on the far side of our Dála. It had gently sloping banks 163
where it passed our door, and was both narrow and shallow, 866
having been divided a mile or so away to give Aliábád the "Middle Channel" that ran 30 or 40 feet above our level and watered the fields between. She looked long at it and pondered. She wanted to come over, but had always before leaped the little stream on Naját's or Derwish's back. Presently she made her decision and her first jump and fell spread-eagled into 18 inches or so of water. She gave a cry, wholly of vexation, not at all of fright, and scrambled safely out. Someone ran up laughing, took off her little shift and spread it for her in the sun to dry. She played about cheerfully on a sunny patch of sand till it was ready, and later we saw her jumping triumphantly to and fro, again and yet again, as if she could never jump enough. By the time Faqér emerges from his cradle she will be leaping the Dála with him astride her back.

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three-year olds were seldom frightened—though you must remember that a pale-faced woman with horrible blue eyes ("cat's eyes" they call them amongst themselves), and an

866 outrageous hat, must be a terrifying sight when it advances on you for the first time—but I learned cautiously to admire the babies from afar, though the father or mother always wanted to show them off. Only little Faqér, initiated so young, was always unafraid, and would stretch out his little hands and gurgle at me and let me take him in my arms or tickle him.

123 Soni, of the next house to Bibi Gímo's (I had to call it
866 No. 1A, because in my first notes I had confused the two households) had a little girl Afrots—quite the ugliest and brightest atom of three years old in Hunza. She had cried the first day on seeing me but immediately made friends, and ever after if I were sighted would run up to me and put out an abnormally grubby little paw and say "How do you do?" in imitation English fashion. On general principles we resisted all temptation to teach the children English ways or words or tales. This was almost my one lapse from grace, but Afrots was by general consent a special case, and her old grandfather, Aliko, was extraordinarily proud when he was witness to our meetings.

123 In the very first days of romping with the children of No. 1
535 and 1A on the threshing floor I had—stupidly—thought it might
562 be fun to teach Shamúli, Bano, and Afrots to dance. So I stood
273 up and started on a Highland schottische, and endeavoured, with little success, to coax them to join in. I was puzzled by something a little frigid in the air and soon gave up the attempt. When I climbed home for breakfast Dádo gravely and kindly said: "Excuse me, Mother, but Hunza women do not dance. It is thought unseemly." I thanked him for the warning; I wasn't sure whether the fear was that I should corrupt the girls or merely make an unseemly exhibition of myself. Either danger was to be avoided, so that began and ended my dancing lessons. Later Qudrat Ullah explained that in the olden days, when the Hunzukuts distilled a powerful *araq* from their mulberries, men and women used to dance together in drunken orgies that had untoward consequences. The Mir had long since forbidden the spirit, which provoked quarrels as well as dances, and "mixed dancing" fell under the same ban. This was the only man-made restriction on woman's freedom that I encountered in Hunza, and it did not seem to worry anyone.

miles daily to Báltít, as Yaman and a couple of our other young 793
friends did, and attend the Government-supported school 784
with the sons and grandsons of the Mir and the Wazir. Promising children of the more well-to-do can attend a more advanced school at Gilgit, and the really studious may even make their way down to Srinagar.

Ninety-nine per cent of the population, however, happily 212
still remain illiterate, and have not fallen victims to com- 871
pulsory education. When the people would question me about conditions in England, they were horrified to learn of such things as rates and income-tax, but even more aghast at the tyranny that compels both boys and girls to spend the years from five to fourteen at school. "But that's the time when they ought to be *learning things*," they said.

When my pleasant evening "By the Lamp" was ended and I 000
had said good-bye, cautiously descended the ladder and mounted my waiting horse, I was shocked to see my host accompanying us carrying a tray of food. I had expressly stipulated that I would only accept his kind invitation on condition of not being laden with food gifts to take home. To my protests Kalbi said: "Yes, yes, Mother dear, it's all right. I'm not forgetting. I'm only taking up his supper to the sweeper."

With honourable simplicity the Hunzukuts abide by the 771
fundamentals of Islam as they understand them. They may not 788
be strong on ostentatious prayer and fasting, they rack their brains over no theological subtleties, but a Believer is a man and a brother, be he a Kashmiri, be he twenty times a sweeper. Here was a man of substance, a Levy, a grandfather, a much respected citizen in his small community, climbing a mile uphill to carry with his own hands a share of the evening's feast to his absentee guest. That the man was absent was no doubt a tactful concession to any caste-prejudice with which India might have infected me.

The boys lighten the monotony of the indoor weeks of the 857
Great Cold by occasionally dashing out for a hasty game of 526
foot polo or tipcat with their friends or keeping themselves warm with *mindak* matches. Such young men as are real dance

326 tion of these unusual people stirred up an interest within
533 me, and I wanted to know more about them. I found
563 very little data could be obtained from any of the books I had been able to read on the subject.

[173] But after much discourse and questioning, I learned what I had begun to suspect . . . that the Bericho were actually gypsies who had come to India more than 2,000 years ago. From India, as good gypsies would do, they fanned out to spread themselves in small groups over the entire country . . . some ultimately settling in Baltistan, from whence a colony were sent off to Hunza.

Their place of abode is actually a village known as Berishal. It is a known fact that the people of Hunza depend entirely upon the Bericho for their iron-mongering and their tool-smithing and their music-making.

I was very happy to have unearthed this information so I can pass it along to my readers.

[871] [167] These Berichos used to send their children out of Hunza to be educated and the Mir told me that he had to put a stop to this practice . . . not because he objected to the children of the Bericho being educated, but because the children did not return or remain with the trade of their parents. As the Mir's country needed artisans of this type, he had to put a stop to their sending their children elsewhere for education.

The Mir went on to tell me how important these Berichos were to the community. They fashioned farm [414] implements as well as hardware like hinges, latches, razors and many other essential farm and household necessities that are fashioned from metal. Besides making the implements of peace, the blacksmith could also fashion a shotgun barrel.

[651] He further mentioned that each household in the community pays a small tithe as a contribution to-

of the Aga Khan and his wife in various poses and stages of his life. I had given some study to these photographs and many of them were inscribed in the hand of the Aga Khan with endearing terms to his friend, Jamal. 353 792

Our quarters were in the guest house—actually adjoining the palace but on a higher level. This building had been erected by the Mir's grandfather back in 1925. It was a well-built, handsome structure, firmly ensconced on a high rocky ledge of granite. 122 344 644

You walked down the Mir's long staircase from the sun room, then you walked up half a dozen or more stone steps, forward a few feet and then you climbed up a circular, enclosed wooden staircase to the guest quarters. These consisted of a large, comfortable sitting room with many easy chairs and a fine writing desk, a large bedroom with two comfortable beds and further on was the bathroom. Then to the right of the lovely sitting room was a balcony—spacious and inviting. From it you could view Rakaposhi and all its splendor and gorgeous loveliness. [352]

The furniture all round was similar to that which you would find in the average better-class American homes. Photographs adorned the walls, among which were the photos of the old Aga Khan and his French wife. [352] [353] [792]

When I mentioned the Aga Khan to the Mir, he waxed eloquent and his face beamed and he said, "Not only was I fond of him—not only did I love him—but we were close intimate friends. He was the most generous of men and especially to the people of Hunza. I revere his memory! He was a wonderful person. We really miss him since his passing. His ancestors came from Persia to India in 1834. In 1934, one hundred years later, to celebrate the jubilee of the founding of 792 [871]

792 his ancestors' dynasty in India, he donated what is now
871 the Hunzan school system. The fact that the children of Hunza are given a good education, without any cost to them, is due entirely to the kindness and benevolence of that great man. He started and maintained the system and I trust that his son will continue in his father's footsteps."

That the school system of Hunza is working, I can attest.

792 From what I have been able to gather and learn, Hunza was one of the states of India that contributed to the coffers of the Aga Khan. There is some story, true or mythical, that each year all of his religious followers throughout the world gave him a gift of gold or platinum to the extent of his weight. Now I do know
[316] that some gold was mined in Hunza and probably that, too, was sent to the Aga Khan or added to the sum or weight sent from all of the countries and the millions of his followers to be his gift but, as far as I know, at the present time there is not much gold being mined in Hunza and nowhere did I see any sign of anything that could be used as a means of export to bring money into Hunza.

124 In the meantime I was enjoying my breakfast and between munching mouthfuls of food, I was asking the Mir some rather important questions.

651 "I read somewhere some time ago, that the revenues
681 you obtain from the fines you levy upon people in Hunza who commit misdemeanors or break rules or laws are added to the coffers of your own estate."

The Mir thought this was a great joke and laughed heartily.

"To begin with," he said, "laws are seldom broken by my people. They are good people and they live peaceably and do not commit serious offenses. During

648 refusal and what other intrigues were involved, and
177 when I questioned him about this and he explained, I realized that he had acted wisely—and so will you.

"If I allowed those boys to go to America to be educated and then come back to Hunza in a few years, both the Chinese and Russians could say that I sent them to America to be brainwashed, filled with propaganda or trained in subversive capitalistic activities.

"Well, I'm not giving Russia or China any excuses. We are a peace-loving people, we get along with the Chinese and the Russians, we mind our own business and we intend to stay free of entanglements and embroilments, if humanly possible.

"They said that I had refused to let the boys go because I was afraid that when they came back they would teach the people the American way, and that would undermine my rule and to a degree that is true, because I think my people are the happiest and healthiest in the world, and that is more than any other nation can claim. So I would like to keep them that way, if possible.

371 "But I'm not afraid of my people becoming educated because we do everything within our limited powers to further their education now and have done so for some years."

This statement I found to be absolutely true. The Hunzans by and large are the best learned people of that or any other area in India or Pakistan. Please don't misunderstand. I don't mean that there are no better educated individuals in these two countries because that is not so. I mean that there are few places in Pakistan or India where all of the male citizens are afforded the opportunity of getting an education without cost. That is true in Hunza.

These schools that I saw seemed to be comparable

to the average little red school house in the West. The one in Baltit was quite a bit better and as good as any of our schools of 25 years ago . . . which I would say was mighty fine going for a far off place like Hunza. 871

Then I asked the Mir what had happened to John Clark's woodworking school and he told me, with calm deliberation, that he knew and felt that Mr. Clark was an earnest, honest man with the best of intentions. . . . "But, how could he," went on the Mir, "hope to improve the economy of our little country by means of a woodworking school and the training of our men in woodcraft when we do not have the required wood? We can't cut down our apricot trees, which are our very life, in order to get wood to use in making things that we could export to the United States!" 874 322 177 114

Then I recalled from Mr. Clark's book that he did have great difficulty in locating suitable lumber for his school.

From what I have read and learned on the scene about Clark's work, I know he was a man of high caliber and integrity and did a mighty good job with the boys, but for some strange reason there is an unusual silence about his work and his efforts. I could neither understand nor explain it. I'm still trying to get the true impression of the people concerning this matter.

At this point I want to emphasize that I am not seeking to pick a battle with anyone, but from my travels back and forth and around the Hunzan territory, it is fantastic to believe that there could ever be sufficient timber to make it worthwhile to run a woodworking school, especially to make woodcraft for export purposes.

Stonecraft, yes—for stones, even including some of the more precious and rare types, could without doubt be found in Hunza or at least in the mountains close

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

Hunzan fruits taste better than those of other parts of the world. Most travelers who reach Hunza invariably state that the apricots and other fruits found there are much better flavored than those found in other parts of the world. I did not find this to be true. 245

Because they do not grow fruits for export or shipping, they can be tree-ripened. Therefore they have a better flavor than fruit that has to be picked in a green or unripened state. It is this fact that makes many people believe that Hunzan fruits taste better than the fruit they are accustomed to eating.

I happen to live in a part of the world where fruit is grown extensively and I must state categorically that Hunzan fruit does not taste any better than that grown on the farms adjacent to my home. Here, also, it must be admitted that most of the fruit I eat, especially during the fruit season, is also tree-ripened.

The people of Hunza are ignorant and uneducated. From my association with the people of Hunza, I must state boldly that they are neither ignorant nor uneducated. 871

There are schools of the same type as our grade schools in every large center in Hunza. It is admitted that only the male children are taught in these schools and there is no formal education offered to girls. This school system is entirely free and has been in existence for more than 25 years. It is emphasized that the native language of the people of Hunza is Burushaski and it is an unwritten language. However, they teach Urdu, Persian and other essential subjects. The intelligence and the abilities of the natives of Hunza rank with those found throughout the world.

The people are fierce and dangerous. There have been only 3 cases of murder recorded in Hunza in the 682

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

574 the twenty, whose great-grandchildren were present in the
538 room, a fine old greybeard, active and handsome still despite his years, set out to tell us his memories of the siege of Chitral and Kelly's famous march to its relief, in which he himself had taken part. That was only four or five years after "the downfall of Hunza," as he phrased it, but numbers of Hunza men enlisted in the British relieving force. (Another neighbour of ours in No. 6 was also one of Kelly's volunteers.) He showed me the sword he had carried and the handsome muzzle-loader with its forked rest, both carefully greased and kept in good condition as befits heirlooms of the kind. He discoursed with a tinge of unconcealed regret on the olden days when men were men and fighting was toward, "though of course peace is best," he added with incomplete conviction in his voice. The others broke in with questions, and led him on to talk of this episode and that, rehearsed no doubt many a time before, and to cap the tale he proudly put his finger through his jaw and out under his ear tracing the path of a Chitrali bullet. This honourable wound he wore more proudly than his medal, though this also was displayed with pride.

While he talked away with ease and modesty even the little children listened with intelligent attention, and you could easily picture them in years to come telling their great-grandchildren: "My great-grandfather used to say . . ." Their tastes uncorrupted by the sensational gossip of the daily press and the melodramatic improbabilities of the screen, their memories not undermined by second-hand book learning, these humble Hunza folk are immensely better educated than the products of our costly schools; not one of them but can tell you all the details of his own lineage for eight or nine generations back on either side. Outside Debrettites, how many of us British folk can do as much?

793 A youngster who has a taste that way or who covets the
874 position of a priest in the future, can easily learn to read and write a little Persian and Urdu at the feet of one of the local
[212] khalifas. Burushaski has no script and is never written; nor would it carry anywhere outside the Hunza and Yasin valleys if it were. If he is more ambitious of letters, he can foot the four

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

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3: Lorimer L-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

192 A third point of contact is provided by the Schools attended by
177 a very limited number of boys chiefly of the upper classes. Elementary
● 674 instruction in reading and writing Hindustani in the Arabic script is obtainable in Baltit and Nagir. A small number of boys proceed to the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School in Gilgit, where they learn Urdu and Persian, and can make a beginning on English up to the VIIIth. Standard. A few of the sons of the *ditir* now go for two or three years to the State College in Srinagar, where they can carry their studies to the point of passing the B. A. examination in English. But as yet there are no Burusho B. A.'s.

177 From all these encounters people return to their homes, temporarily or for good, bringing with them some degree of linguistic acquirement, and an enlarged, not necessarily improved, view of life. A few in recent times have brought with them some foreign accomplishment, tailoring, clothes-washing or, petty trading and shopkeeping.

177 One great source of extraneous culture remains to be mentioned:
192 the Islamic Tradition, which carries with it many kinds of lore and knowledge not directly religious. What exactly it connotes in any given case would be a complicated subject of research, on which I have made no attempt to embark, but it is probable that what Ismailism has brought to Hunza does not exactly tally with what Shiahism has brought to Nagir. What comes in the way of doctrine, history, legend and language (Arabic terms) directly through mullahs and religious teachers, where they exist, and what is transmitted by the ordinary intercourse of Muslims of all nationalities and in all places? It is by the latter route presumably that folk tales such as Texts I, II and III have found their way into Hunza and Nagir. I think it may also be assumed that the bulk of Arabic words current in Burushaski have been acquired through the medium of Persian and Hindustani, or have filtered through Shina.

ccc The people of Yasin have had less numerous external contacts than those of Hunza and Nagir. They have also, I think, sent

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

to the average little red school house in the West. The one in Baltit was quite a bit better and as good as any of our schools of 25 years ago . . . which I would say was mighty fine going for a far off place like Hunza. 871

Then I asked the Mir what had happened to John Clark's woodworking school and he told me, with calm deliberation, that he knew and felt that Mr. Clark was an earnest, honest man with the best of intentions. . . . "But, how could he," went on the Mir, "hope to improve the economy of our little country by means of a woodworking school and the training of our men in woodcraft when we do not have the required wood? We can't cut down our apricot trees, which are our very life, in order to get wood to use in making things that we could export to the United States!" 874 322 177 114

Then I recalled from Mr. Clark's book that he did have great difficulty in locating suitable lumber for his school.

From what I have read and learned on the scene about Clark's work, I know he was a man of high caliber and integrity and did a mighty good job with the boys, but for some strange reason there is an unusual silence about his work and his efforts. I could neither understand nor explain it. I'm still trying to get the true impression of the people concerning this matter.

At this point I want to emphasize that I am not seeking to pick a battle with anyone, but from my travels back and forth and around the Hunzan territory, it is fantastic to believe that there could ever be sufficient timber to make it worthwhile to run a woodworking school, especially to make woodcraft for export purposes.

Stonecraft, yes—for stones, even including some of the more precious and rare types, could without doubt be found in Hunza or at least in the mountains close

874 by. And if they were taught to make useful jewels and
177 do other types of work with rock, then they would have
322 something, because the supply is absolutely unlimited.
114 I agree wholeheartedly with the Mir that the thought of making a worthwhile contribution to the people of Hunza by opening a woodcraft school is utter nonsense.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

312 And so life seems to go on. Even water rights, the turning of
423 the carefully-husbanded water on to the land of the various groups in succession, appear to be exercised, according to the recognised scheme, by those concerned without recrimination. But at this season water is plentiful.

562 Women here hold a position of freedom and respect rare in the
884 East. Young and old they move freely about, unveiled and unaccompanied. They mingle and converse quite naturally and unselfconsciously with men. No doubt everyone knows everyone else and many are related. Young marriageable girls are as free and open-faced as the married women.

609 To the stranger within their gates, at any rate to the Sāhib and
123 Mīm sāhiba, strayed out of another world, everyone is courteous and cordial, welcoming approach and questions, anxious to give information, amused at and appreciative of stumbling efforts to speak their difficult language, inviting them to their work parties in their fields or their leisure gatherings in their shady gardens. Always there is perfectly natural, self-respecting courtesy and good feeling, never that servility, false familiarity, self-assertiveness or aggressiveness characteristic of those who suffer from a sense of real or imagined inferiority.

This may appear a roseate, even idyllic picture, and no doubt there must be darker patches on the reverse side of it, but these do not appear to dim the general effect.

184 So much for the Hunzukuts Burusho. Of their Nagir neighbours
157 I can say little. In casual contacts I have found them also friendly and courteous. The general impression is that they are not so actively cheerful as the Hunzukuts.

000 We may now turn our attention to the speakers of Werchikwār (Wərčikwa·r). That language is spoken only in the Wershigūm valley, known as the Yasīn district from the name of the village adjoining the administrative headquarters. The linguistic situation existing in Yasīn is shown in the following table:

262 care in rationing the year's supply (rationing begins the moment the first barley crop is harvested), scarcely a household we knew but was out of flour and out of potatoes weeks before the first barley was ripe, and was living solely on turnip tops, greens and edible weeds. 'Starvation Springtime' in Hunza evokes no poet's raptures, only a wailing of hungry babies who, as their mothers apologetically explain 'are too small to understand', and a tightening of the belt by those who do; but never a complaint. How these hardy people exist and work and smile—and keep on smiling—on a diet which no Minister of Health would consider even 50 per cent. adequate in quantity or 10 per cent. adequate in proteins, is a mystery, and must represent a miracle of
147 natural selection over centuries. There are no sick or ailing in Hunza; men, women and children are wiry, tough and fit, and a fair
● 888 proportion live to a ripe and honoured age, busy to the last about
561 such tasks as suit their waning strength and valued for their experienced counsel, for no devilish inventions—cinemas, wireless or machines—have created a gulf between the generations.

243 Harvesting processes are extremely simple. When barley or wheat is ripe, the adults of the family turn out and pull up the shallow-
476 rooted crop by hand, laying the swathes in neat rows to dry. Even when a sickle is used, it is used to pull with, not to cut. As soon as a suitable field is bare, it is flooded, and a circular (more rarely a rectangular) space is enclosed by a small mud wall four or five inches high. When the ground is soft but no longer wet, the whole family, down to the tiniest toddler, forms in line and marks time systematically over the surface to level it. After three floodings and tramplings the new threshing floor is as smooth and even as a hard tennis court. Two neighbouring houses sometimes share a threshing floor which becomes the focus of family activity till the last sheaf is gathered in. The cut crops are stacked conveniently near, and a small quantity of corn is spread on the centre of the floor. Then while Grandfather with his beautifully graceful five-pronged fork throws in more grain from time to time, the team of five cows, loosely lashed together by their muzzles, is driven round by man, woman, boy or girl in turns until the threshing
243 is complete (PLATE III). The person in attendance on the trampling beasts has a switch in the right hand and in the left a wooden bowl
262 as 'dung-dish' in which all excreta of either type are conscientiously collected, not only because the Hunza folk cannot afford to waste an ounce of manure but equally because they are too fastidious to tolerate the fouling of their food. Great was the contempt of our Hunza

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any un- 587
weaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *rúli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. 585
She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to 614
be "a daughter of the Buróng," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gímo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of 607
fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will 431
ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltít, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltít when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza 561
is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific inno- 888
vations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

561 Hurmat was telling me about his home affairs one day: "Our
888 father and mother are fortunately still with us; they can't *do* very much nowadays, of course; but they are still able to give us orders, thank God." And he meant the "thank God." In the same way the uncanny skill of the old *rúli gus* in husbanding the year's supplies is fully appreciated, and her skill with wool and spindle still puts her daughters-in-law to shame.

888 Old Aliko of No. 1A was past all serious work, though he
159 kept up a plucky effort to preserve his youth by the constant dyeing of his fine white beard; but he was a renowned sower and could spread the seed more advantageously on the prepared
243] field than younger men. There is no reckless wastage of precious seed-grain in Hunza; it is never flung where thorns could spring up and choke it, nor by the wayside to be trodden by the feet of men. And the neighbours would call Aliko in to sow for them. A real centenarian is a family treasure. Old Aliko's father was still living at the old homestead in Dorkhan with the other brothers (Aliko had hived off to Aliábád), and we made a special journey by request to see him and take his photograph. He was seated on a roof commanding a magnificent view of a steep hillside on which the farmstead straggled downhill in several storeys, as Hunza houses often do where the ground is steep. He had put on his best silk robe to receive us, and as we climbed the ladder and popped up over the roof brink, he apologized that he could not rise to greet us. Mentally he was as bright as ever and not even slightly deaf, and while David was busy with the portraiture I sat beside him and heard how he had lived through the reigns of four Mirs and four Maharajahs of Kashmir (the Mir, it should not be forgotten, had already reigned forty-five years); how proud he was that his son, Sangi Khan, was one of the headmen of Dorkhan, and how he had three sons and twelve grandsons still living at home (not to mention daughters and their children elsewhere). Before we reached the tale of his great-grandchildren, the photography and our visit were drawing to a close. He counted himself at least a hundred, and was certainly well on in the nineties, but still seemed full of the joy of life.

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

889 One day when we were visiting a wine-press, far below the old fort and its graveyards, I made friends with a dear little boy of five who seemed exceptionally active and intelligent, even in a country where all children are peculiarly alive and bright. A beautiful old woman joined us, her handsome face framed by two becoming silver plaits. "Tawálut must be your grandson," I ventured. "'Deed then and he's not," she retorted, "he's my great-grandson. His father was my favourite grandson, and when the poor wife died at this baby's birth, I took and suckled him myself"—a feat with which not many of our great-grandmothers could compete. But of course if you marry at sixteen, you may with luck be a great-grandmother by fifty. Still, it was a good effort, and the boy was an excellent witness to her vitality.

[162] 147 The Burusho population is not large, ten thousand or so at most, and the ramification of well-remembered pedigrees—the humblest can record his genealogy for an astounding number of generations back—brings it about that all families seem ultimately related to one another. It may be this racial purity, judiciously combined with avoidance of close in-breeding, that has produced a stock so markedly fit and healthy. Travelling up through Astor, Gilgit, and Nagir to Hunza, the strong contrast in physical fitness and general intelligence is apparent to the most casual observer; and anyone who knows the races of the Agency will engage a Hunza servant in preference to any other.

585 Marriages normally take place in winter when the people have leisure to give thought to new alliances. The solemn betrothal, presided over by a khalifa, is the effective part of the ceremony. It is usually performed in the bride's house in a semi-private gathering attended only by the members of the families concerned. We were most anxious to be allowed to see one, but by no means hopeful of securing the privilege, to which of course we had not the slightest claim. The servants promised to negotiate matters if possible, and at last Dádo brought us word one day that a girl-relation of Sagi's was about to be betrothed and her people were willing to invite us, but said: "We are poor folk, and our house is humble and we feel

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza
[P. 40-A]
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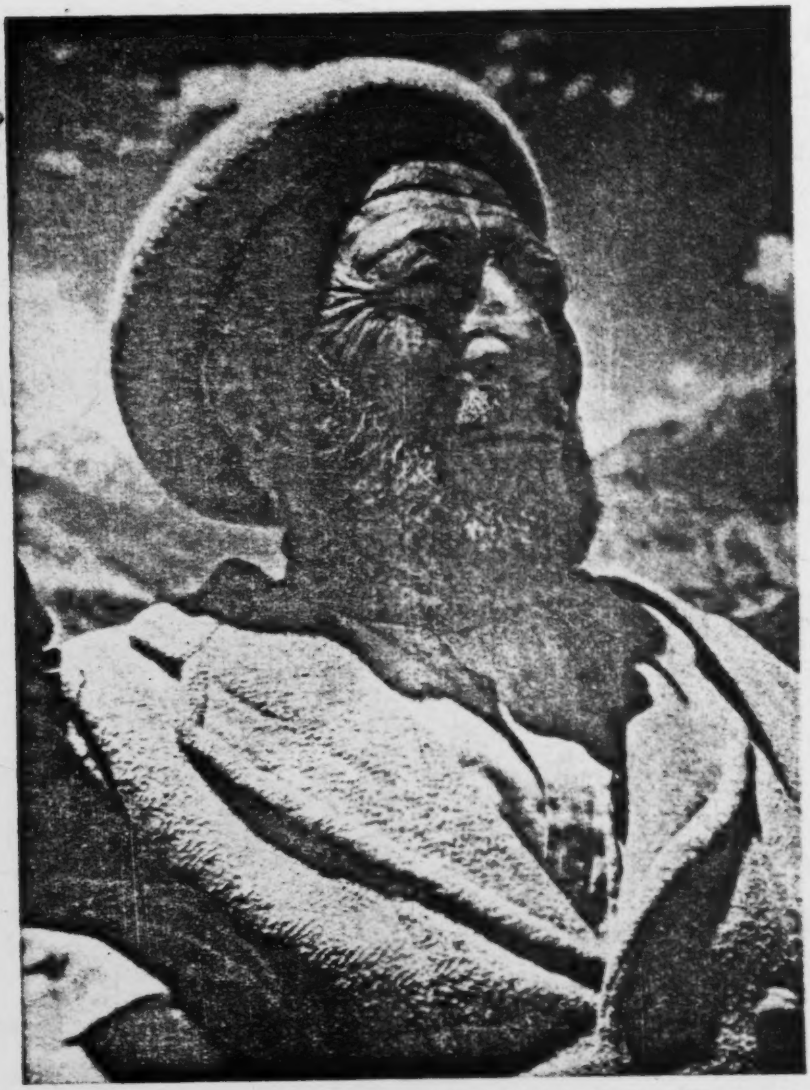

FABLED ELDERS of Hunza are products of rugged mountain life, scarcity, Moslem faith, and an autocratic tradition. If they exaggerate age, it is done to claim society's veneration.